



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

Appian's Roman history

Appianus (of
Alexandria.)

888.9
A6W



LELAND • STANFORD • JUNIOR • UNIVERSITY

5/-4.

THE LOEB CLASSICAL LIBRARY
EDITED BY
T. E. PAGE, M.A. AND W. H. D. ROUSE, LITT.D

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY
IV

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

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

IN FOUR VOLUMES

IV



1913

**LONDON : WILLIAM HEINEMANN
NEW YORK : THE MACMILLAN CO.**

MCMXIII

D

888.9
A6W

206952

THEATRE GROUP

CONTENTS

THE CIVIL WARS

	PAGE
BOOK III. (<i>continued</i>)	1
BOOK IV.	139
BOOK V.	375
INDEX	619

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

THE CIVIL WARS

VOL. IV.

B

ΑΙΠΠΙΑΝΟΥ ΡΩΜΑΙΚΑ

ΡΩΜΑΙΚΩΝ ΕΜΦΤΛΙΩΝ

Γ'

IV

CAP. 27. 'Ο δ' Ἀντώνιος ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν τὸν στρατὸν
IV ἐκ τῆς Μακεδονίας διενεγκεῖν ἐπενόει, καὶ προφάσεως ἄλλης ἐς τοῦτο ἀπορῶν ἡξίου τὴν βουλὴν ἀντὶ τῆς Μακεδονίας ἐναλλάξαι οἱ τὴν ἐντὸς Ἀλπεων Κελτικήν, ἡς ἡγεῖτο Δέκμος Βροῦτος Ἀλβῖνος, εἰδὼς μέν, ὅτι καὶ ὁ Καῦσαρ ἐκ τῆσδε τῆς Κελτικῆς ὄρμώμενος ἐκράτησε Πομπήιου, ώς δὲ τὸν στρατὸν δόξων οὐκ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ἀλλ' ἐς τὴν Κελτικὴν μετακαλεῖν. ἡ δὲ βουλὴ τήνδε τὴν Κελτικὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἐπὶ σφίσιν ἡγουμένη ἐδυσχέραινέ τε καὶ τῆς ἐνέδρας τότε πρῶτον ἥσθοντο καὶ τὴν Μακεδονίαν δόντες αὐτῷ μετενόουν. ἵδιᾳ τε αὐτῶν οἱ δυνατοὶ ἐπέστελλον τῷ Δέκμῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐγκρατῶς ἔχεσθαι καὶ στρατὸν ἄλλον καὶ χριματα ἀγείρειν, εἰ πρὸς Ἀντωνίου βιάζοιτο· οὗτως ἐδεδοίκεσάν τε καὶ ἐν ὀργῇ τὸν Ἀντώνιον εἶχον. ὁ δὲ ἀντὶ μὲν τῆς βουλῆς ἐπενόει τὸν

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

THE CIVIL WARS

BOOK III.—*continued*

IV

27. ANTONY conceived the idea of bringing his army from Macedonia to Italy; and being in want of any other pretext for this step he asked the Senate to let him exchange the province of Macedonia for that of Cisalpine Gaul, which was under the command of Decimus Brutus Albinus. He remembered that Caesar had marched from the latter province when he overthrew Pompey and he thought that he should appear to be transferring his army to Gaul and not to Italy. The Senate, which looked upon Cisalpine Gaul as its own fortress, was angry, and now, for the first time perceived the stratagem and repented having given him Macedonia. The principal members sent word privately to Decimus to keep a strong hold on his province, and to raise additional troops and money in case Antony should resort to violence, so much did they fear and hate the latter. Antony then bethought him to ask the people, instead of the Senate, for this province by a law

CHAP.
IV
B.C. 44
Antony
brings the
Macedonian
army to
Italy

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. δῆμον αἰτήσαι νόμῳ τὴν Κελτικήν, φέτος παῖδες καὶ ὁ
IV Καῖσαρ· αὐτὴν πρότερον εἰλήφει καὶ Συρίαν
Δολαβέλλας ὑπογύως, ἐς δὲ φόβον τῆς βουλῆς
τὴν στρατιὰν ἐς τὸ Βρευτέσιον ἐκέλευε Γαῖφ τὸν
Ιόνιον περᾶν αὐτίκα.

28. Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἔμελλε ποιήσειν, ώς προσετέτακτο· θέαι δὲ ἡσαν, ὃς Κριτώνιος ἀγορανομῶν
ἔμελλε τελέσειν καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐς τὰς θέας τῷ
πατρὶ τόν τε χρύσεον θρόνον καὶ στέφανον παρεσκεύαζεν, ἅπερ αὐτῷ κατὰ πάσας θέας ἐψηφίσαντο
προτίθεσθαι· τοῦ Κριτωνίου δὲ εἰπόντος οὐκ
ἀνέξεσθαι τιμωμένου Καίσαρος ἐν ταῖς αὐτοῦ
δαπάναις, ὁ Καῖσαρ αὐτὸν ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἤγειν
ώς ὑπατον. Ἀντωνίου δὲ εἰπόντος ἐς τὴν βουλὴν
ἐπανοίσειν, χαλεπήνας ὁ Καῖσαρ, “ἀνάφερε,” εἶπεν,
“ἐγὼ δὲ τὸν θρόνον, ἔως ἂν ἡ τὸ δόγμα, προθήσω.”
καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος χαλεπήνας ἐκώλυσεν. ἐκώλυσε
δὲ καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἔξῆς θέαις ἔτι παραλογώτερον, ὃς
αὐτὸς ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐτέλει, ἀνακειμένας ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς
Ἀφροδίτη Γενετείρᾳ, ὅτε περ αὐτῇ καὶ τὸν νεών ὁ
πατὴρ τὸν ἐν ἀγορᾷ ἄμα αὐτῇ ἀγορᾷ ἀνετίθει.
τότε δὴ καὶ μάλιστα μῆσος ἥδη σαφὲς ἐκ πάντων
ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐγίγνετο, ώς οὐκ ἐς τὸν νῦν
Καίσαρα φιλονικοῦντα μᾶλλον ἢ ἐς τὸν πρότερον
ὑβρίζοντα ἀχαρίστως.

Αὐτός τε ὁ Καῖσαρ μετὰ πλήθους οἴλα φρουρᾶς
τὸν δῆμον καὶ τοὺς εὖ τι παθόντας ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς
καὶ τοὺς ἐκείνῳ στρατευσαμένους περιθέων ἐπι-
φθόνως ἰκέτευεν οὐ μὲν αὐτοῦ τοιάδε καὶ τοσάδε

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

in the same manner that Caesar had obtained it CHAP.
at a former time, and Dolabella had recently obtained IV
Syria. In order to intimidate the Senate he
ordered his brother, Gaius, to bring his army across
the Adriatic to Brundusium.

28. Gaius proceeded to do as ordered. Meanwhile Growing rivalry between Octavian and Antony
there had arrived the time for the games which the aedile Critonius was about to exhibit, and Octavian made preparations to display his father's gilded throne and garland, which the Senate had voted should be placed in front for him at all games. When Critonius said that he could not allow Caesar to be honoured in this way at games given at his expense, Octavian brought him before Antony as consul. Antony said he would refer the matter to the Senate. Octavian was vexed and said, "Refer it; I will place the throne there as long as the decree is in force." Antony became angry and prohibited it. He prohibited it still more unreasonably in the next games given by Octavian himself, which had been instituted by his father in honour of Venus Genetrix when he dedicated a temple to her in a forum, together with the forum itself. Then at last it became evident that universal hatred of Antony was already growing out of this affair, since he seemed to be moved not so much by a feeling of rivalry toward the younger Caesar as by an ungrateful purpose to insult the memory of the elder one.

Octavian himself, with a crowd of people like a body-guard, moved about among the plebeians and those who had received benefits from his father, or had served under him in war, stirring their anger and beseeching them to pay no attention to

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. πάσχοντος ὑπερορᾶν καὶ ἀμελεῖν ἐκόντος, Καίσαρι
IV δὲ τῷ σφῶν αὐτοκράτορι καὶ εὐεργέτῃ ἀμύνειν,
ἀτιμουμένῳ πρὸς Ἀντωνίου ἀμυνεῖν δὲ καὶ σφίσιν
αὐτοῖς, οὐδὲν ἔξουσι βέβαιον ὃν εἰλήφασι παρὰ
Καίσαρος, εἰ μηδὲ αὐτῷ Καίσαρι μενεῖ τὰ ἐψηφισ-
μένα βέβαια. Ἀντωνίου τε πανταχοῦ τῆς πόλεως
ἐς τὰ ὑψηλὰ ἀναπηδῶν κατεβόα· “Καίσαρι μὲν
δι’ ἐμὲ μήτε ὄργίζεσθαι μήτε ἐνυβρίζειν, εὐεργέτη
σοῦ μάλιστα, ὡς Ἀντώνιε, ἐς τὰ μάλιστα γεγενη-
μένῳ ἐμοὶ δὲ τῶν μὲν ὕβρεων, ἐς ὅσον θέλεις,
ἐμφορεῖσθαι, τὴν δὲ τῆς οὐσίας ἀρπαγὴν ἐπισχεῖν,
μέχρι τοὺς πολίτας κομίσασθαι τὴν διανέμησιν
καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα ἔχειν· ἀρκέσειν γὰρ ἐμοὶ
πενομένῳ τήν τε τοῦ πατρὸς δόξαν, ἀν διαμένη,
καὶ τὴν τοῦ δῆμου διανέμησιν, ἐὰν ἔάσης δοθῆναι.”

29. 'Εφ' οὶς ἥδη παρὰ πάντων συνεχεῖς ἐγίγνοντο
καὶ φανεραὶ κατὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου βοαί. ἀπειλη-
σαμένου δὲ αὐτοῦ τῷ Καίσαρι πικρότερον καὶ τῆς
ἀπειλῆς ἔξενεχθείσης ἐς τὸ φανερόν, ἔτι μᾶλλον
ἄπαντες ὥρμηντο· καὶ οἱ τῆς φρουρᾶς Ἀντωνίου
ταξίαρχοι, ἐστρατευμένοι τε Καίσαρι τῷ προτέρῳ
καὶ ἐς τὰ μέγιστα ὑπ' Ἀντωνίου τότε προτιμώ-
μενοι, τὴν ὕβριν αὐτὸν ἐπισχεῖν ἤξιον καὶ διὰ
σφᾶς καὶ δι' ἑαυτόν, ὑπὸ Καίσαρι στρατευσάμενον
καὶ τῶνδε τῶν οἱ παρόντων ἀγαθῶν παρ' ἐκείνους
τυχόντα. συγγιγνώσκων οὖν ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἀληθέσιν
οὓσιν τούτοις καὶ τοὺς προφέροντας αὐτὰ αἰδού-
μενος, ἥδη δέ τι καὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος αὐτοῦ διὰ τὸν
δῆμον ἐς τὴν ἀλλαγὴν τῆς Κελτικῆς δεόμενος,
ώμολόγει τοῖς λεγομένοις καὶ ἐπώμνυεν αὐτὰ καὶ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

himself, though the victim of so many and so great CHAP.
outrages, and to ignore him, by his own request,^{IV}
but to defend Caesar, their commander and bene-
factor, against the insults of Antony; to defend
themselves too, because they would never be secure
in what they had received from Caesar unless the
decrees passed in his honour should remain in full
force. He exclaimed against Antony everywhere
throughout the city, leaping up on to any elevated
spot, saying, "O Antony, do not be angry with
Caesar on my account. Do not insult one who has
been the greatest benefactor to you. On me heap
indignities to your heart's content. Cease plunder-
ing his property until the legacy to the citizens
is paid; then take all the rest. However poor I
may be, my father's glory, if that remains, and the
distribution to the people, if you will allow it to be
made, will be all-sufficient for me."

29. Henceforth there were open and repeated
outrages against Antony on all sides. The latter
indulged in more bitter threats against Octavian, and
when they became known the people were still
more incensed against him. The tribunes of ^{The}
Antony's guard, who had served under the elder ^{military}
Caesar, and who were then in the highest favour ^{tribunes}
intervene
with Antony, urged him to refrain from insult,
both on their account and on his own, as he
had served under Caesar and had obtained his
present good fortune at Caesar's hands. Antony,
recognizing the truth of these words, and feeling a
sense of shame before those who uttered them
and needing some help from Octavian himself
with the people, to procure the exchange of
provinces, agreed with what they said and swore

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. οἱ πάνυ ἀβούλητα εἶναι, τῆς δὲ γνώμης τοῦ
IV νεανίσκου ἔνεκεν μετατίθεσθαι, ἐπηρμένου τε
ἐπαχθῶς ἔτι τηλικοῦδε ὄντος καὶ οὐδὲν ἔχοντος
αἰδέσιμον ἡ τίμιον ἐς πρεσβυτέρους τε καὶ ἐς
ἄρχοντας· ἅπερ αὐτοῦ μὲν χάριν τοῦ νεανίσκου
χρήζειν ἔτι νουθεσίας, σφῶν δὲ τῶν ταῦτα ἀξι-
ούντων ἔνεκα αὐτὸς καθέέξειν τῆς ὁργῆς καὶ ἐς
τὴν προτέραν ἑαυτοῦ φύσιν τε καὶ γνώμην ἐπαν-
ήξειν, ἦν κάκεῖνος ἀπέχηται τῆς ἀμετρίας.

30. Ταῦτα οἱ ταξίαρχοι ἀσπασάμενοι συνῆγον
ἀμφοτέρους. οἱ δὲ ἐπεμέμφοντο ἀλλήλοις καὶ
συνέβαινον ἐς φιλίαν. ὃ τε νόμος ὁ περὶ τῆς
Κελτικῆς προυγράφετο αὐτίκα, ὀρρωδούσης πάνυ
τῆς βουλῆς καὶ ἐπινοούσης, εἰ μὲν ὁ Ἀντώνιος
αὐτὸν προβούλευοι, κωλύειν προβούλευόμενον,
εἰ δὲ ἀπροβούλευτον ἐς τὸν δῆμον ἐσφέροι, τοὺς
δημάρχους ἐς κώλυσιν ἐπιπέμπειν. ἥσαν δὲ οἱ
καὶ τὸ ἔθνος δλως ἐλευθεροῦν ἡγεμονίας ἡξίουν-
οῦτως ἐδεδοίκεσαν ἀγγοῦ τὴν Κελτικὴν οὖσαν.
ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος αὐτοῖς ἀντενεκάλει, εἰ Δέκμῳ μὲν
αὐτὴν πιστεύουσιν, ὅτι Καίσαρα ἀπέκτεινεν, αὐτῷ
δὲ ἀπιστοῦσιν, ὅτι οὐκ ἀπέκτεινε τὸν καταστρεψά-
μενον αὐτὴν καὶ κλίναντα ἐς γόνυ, ἀπορρίπτων
ἥδη ταῦτα φανερῶς ἐς ἅπαντας ὡς ἐφηδομένους
τοῖς γεγονόσιν. ἐλθούσης δὲ τῆς κυρίας ἡμέρας ἡ
μὲν βουλὴ τὴν λοχῆτιν ἐνόμιζεν ἐκκλησίαν συλλε-
γῆσεσθαι, οἱ δὲ νυκτὸς ἔτι τὴν ἀγορὰν περισχοι-

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

that what he had done had been quite contrary to CHAP
his intention, but that he changed his purpose IV
because the young man was inordinately puffed up,
being still a youth and showing no respect for his
elders and no honour for those in authority. Al-
though for his own benefit the young man still
needed reproof, yet in deference to their re-
monstrances he would restrain his anger and return
to his former disposition and intention, if Octavian,
also, would curb his presumption.

30. The tribunes were delighted with this reply and they brought Antony and Octavian together, who, after some mutual chiding, formed an alliance. The law concerning Cisalpine Gaul was proposed at once to the great dismay of the senators. They intended, if Antony should first bring the law before them, to reject it, and if he should bring it before the popular assembly without consulting them, to send the tribunes of the people to veto it. There were some who advised that this province be made free altogether, so much was it dreaded on account of its nearness. Antony, on the other hand, accused them of entrusting it to Decimus because he had been one of Caesar's murderers and of having no confidence in himself because he had not joined in killing the man who had subdued the province and brought it to its knees¹—throwing out these insinuations openly against all of his opponents, as persons who rejoiced over the assassination. When the day for the comitia came the Senate expected that the people would be summoned by centuries, but the Antonians, who had enclosed the forum

Antony obtains
Cisalpine Gaul with
Octavian's help

¹ There is some confusion here. Caesar did not subdue Cisalpine Gaul.

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. ηισάμενοι τὴν φυλέτιν ἐκάλουν, ἀπὸ συνθήματος
IV ἑληλυθυῖαν. καὶ ὁ δημότης λεώς, ἀχθόμενος
τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ, συνέπρασσεν ὅμως διὰ τὸν Καίσαρα
ἐφεστῶτα τοῖς περισχοινίσμασι καὶ δεόμενον.
ἔδειτο δὲ μάλιστα μέν, ἵνα μὴ Δέκμος ἄρχοι χώρας
τε ἐπικαίρου καὶ στρατιᾶς ἀνδροφόνος ὡν τοῦ
πατρός, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτῳ καὶ ἐς χάριν Ἀντωνίου
συνηλλαγμένου. προσεδόκα δὲ αρά τι καὶ αὐτὸς
ἀντιλήψεσθαι παρὰ Ἀντωνίου. διαφθαρέντων δὲ
χρήμασι τῶν δημάρχων ὑπ' Ἀντωνίου καὶ κατα-
σιωπώντων ὁ νόμος ἐκυροῦτο, καὶ ὁ στρατὸς Ἀν-
τωνίῳ μετ' αἰτίας εὐπρεποῦς ἥδη τὸν Ἰόνιον
ἐπέρα.

V

CAP. 31. Τῶν δὲ δημάρχων τινὸς ἀποθανόντος, ἐς
V τὴν ἀντ' αὐτοῦ χειροτονίαν ὁ Καῖσαρ συνέ-
πρασσεν Φλαμινίῳ· καὶ ὁ δῆμος οἰόμενος αὐτὸν
ἐπιθυμοῦντα τῆς ἄρχῆς διὰ τὸ νεώτερον τῆς
ἡλικίας οὐ παραγγέλλειν, ἐπειδόντων ἐν ταῖς χειρο-
τονίαις δημαρχον ἀποφῆται τὸν Καίσαρα. ἡ δὲ
βουλὴ τῆς αὐξήσεως ἐφθόνει καὶ ἔδεδοίκει, μὴ
δημαρχῶν τοὺς φονέας τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον
ἐς δίκην ἀπαγάγοι· Ἀντώνιός τε τῆς ἄρτι συγκει-
μένης πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα φιλίας ὑπεριδών, εἴτε ἐς
χάριν τῆς βουλῆς ἡ παρηγορίαν, ἀχθομένης τῷ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

with a rope during the night summoned them by CHAP.
tribes according to a plan they had agreed upon.¹ ^{IV}
Although the plebeians were incensed against
Antony they nevertheless co-operated with him for
the sake of Octavian, who stood alongside the rope
and begged them to do so. He did this in order
that Decimus, who had been one of his father's
murderers, might not have the government of so
convenient a province, and of the army belonging
to it, and, moreover, to gratify Antony, who was
now in league with him. He expected also to get
some assistance from Antony in return. The tribunes,
too, had been corrupted with money by Antony and
remained silent. So the law was passed and Antony
now with plausible reason began to bring his army
across the Adriatic.

V

31. ONE of the tribunes of the people having died CHAP.
Octavian favoured the election of Flaminius as ^V
his successor. The people thought that he was ^{Antony} again
ambitious of this office for himself, but that he ^{opposes}
refrained from being a candidate because he was
under age, and accordingly, they proposed to cast
their votes for him for tribune. The Senate
begrudging him this increase of power, fearing lest,
as tribune, he should bring the murderers of his
father before the popular assembly for trial. Antony,
in disregard of his recent alliance with Octavian,
either to curry favour with the Senate, or to appease

¹ The reading of all the codices is that Antony wanted the votes to be taken by centuries and not by tribes, whereas that plan would have defeated him. Editors accordingly transpose the words "centuries" and "tribes."

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

ΟΔΑΡ. περὶ τῆς Κελτικῆς νόμῳ, εἴτε ἀπ' οἰκείας γνώμης,
προύγραφεν ώς ὑπατος μηδενὶ Καίσαρα ἐγχειρεῖν
παρανόμως, ἢ χρήσεσθαι κατ' αὐτοῦ παντὶ μέτρῳ
τῆς ἔξουσίας. ἀχαρίστου δ' ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα καὶ
ὑβριστικῆς ἄμα ἐς αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν δῆμον τῆς
προγραφῆς γενομένης, ὁ μὲν δῆμος διώργιστο καὶ
φιλονικήσειν ἔμελλον ἐν ταῖς χειροτονίαις, ὥστε
δεῖσαι τὸν Ἀντώνιον καὶ ἀνελεῖν τὴν χειροτονίαν,
τοῖς ὑπολοίποις τῶν δημάρχων ἀρκούμενον· ὁ δὲ
Καίσαρ, ώς σαφῶς ἐπιβουλευόμενος ἦδη, πολλοὺς
περιέπεμπεν ἐς τέ τὰς τοῦ πατρὸς ἀποικίδας
πόλεις ἔξαγγέλλειν, ἢ πάσχοι, καὶ τὴν ἑκάστων
γνώμην καταμανθάνειν· ἔπεμπε δὲ καὶ ἐς τὰ
Ἀντωνίου στρατόπεδα ἐπιμίγνυσθαι τινας ἀγορὰν
φέροντας καὶ ἐντυγχάνειν τοῖς θαρροῦσι μάλιστα
καὶ ἐς τὸ πλήθος διαρριπτεῖν ἀφανῶς βιβλία.

32. Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀμφὶ ταῦτα ἦν· οἱ ταξίαρχοι δὲ
αὖθις παρὰ Ἀντωνίου καιρὸν αἰτήσαντες ἔλεγον·
“ἡμεῖς, ὡς Ἀντώνιε, καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι μετὰ σοῦ
Καίσαρι στρατευσάμενοι τὴν τε ἡγεμονίαν αὐτῷ
συνεστησάμεθα καὶ ἐς τὰ καθ' ἡμέραν αὐτῆς
ὑπηρέται γιγνόμενοι διετελοῦμεν, ἔχθει μὲν ἵστω
καὶ ἐπιβουλῇ τοὺς φονέας αὐτοῦ γιγνώσκομεν εἰς
ἡμᾶς χρωμένους καὶ τὴν βουλὴν ἐκείνοις ἐπιρρέ-
πουσαν, τοῦ δήμου δ' ἔξελάσαντος αὐτοὺς ἀνεθαρ-
ρήσαμεν, οὐ πάντῃ τὰ Καίσαρος ὄρῶντες ἄφιλα
οὐδὲ ἀμνήμονα οὐδὲ ἀχάριστα. τὴν δ' ἐς τὸ
μέλλον ἀσφάλειαν εἴχομεν ἐν σοί, φίλῳ τε Καί-
σαρος ὅντι καὶ ἡγεμονικωτάτῳ μετ' ἐκείνον ἐκ
πάντων καὶ ἄρχοντι νῦν ἡμῶν καὶ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

its dissatisfaction with the law respecting Cisalpine CHAP.
Gaul, or for private reasons, gave public notice, as ^V consul, that Octavian should not attempt anything contrary to law; and that if he should do so he (Antony) would use the full measure of his authority against him. As this edict was an act of ingratitude toward Octavian, and was insulting both to him and to the people, the latter were extremely angry and took steps to defeat Antony's wishes in the election, so that he became alarmed and annulled the comitia, saying that the remaining number of tribunes was sufficient. Octavian, thus at last openly attacked, sent numerous agents to the towns colonized by his father to tell how he had been treated and to learn the state of feeling in each. He also sent certain persons in the guise of traders into Antony's camp to mingle with the soldiers, to work upon the boldest of them, and secretly distribute handbills among the rank and file.

32. While Octavian was doing this the military ^{The} tribunes again sought an audience with Antony ^{tribunes} _{again} _{intervene} and addressed him thus: "We, O Antony, and the others who served with you under Caesar, established his rule and continued to maintain it from day to day as its faithful supporters. We know how his murderers equally hate and conspire against us and how the Senate favours them. But after the people drove them out we took fresh courage seeing that Caesar's acts were not altogether without friends, were not forgotten, were not unappreciated. For our future security we put our trust in you, the friend of Caesar, after him the most experienced of all as a commander, our present leader, and the one most fit to be such."

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. ἐπιτηδείφ. ἀναφυομένων δὲ τῶν ἔχθρῶν καὶ θρα-
σέως ἐς τε Συρίαν καὶ Μακεδονίαν βιαζομένων
καὶ χρήματα καὶ στρατιὰν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς συνιστάντων,
καὶ τῆς βουλῆς σοι Δέκμου ἐπαλειφούστης, καὶ σοῦ
τὰς φροντίδας ἐς τὴν Καίσαρος τοῦ νέου διαφορὰν
δαπανῶντος, δέδιμεν εἰκότως, μὴ ἐς τὸν μέλλοντα
καὶ ὅσον οὕπω παρόντα πόλεμον ἡ στάσις ὑμῶν
τῷ πολέμῳ συνεπιθῆται καὶ διαπραχθῇ τοῖς
ἔχθροῖς καθ' ἡμῶν, ἢ βούλονται. ὃν ἐνθυμηθέντα
σε ἀξιούμεν, ὁσίας τε χάριν ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα καὶ
φειδοῦς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν οὐδὲν ἐπιμέμπτων σοι γενο-
μένων καὶ πρὸ ἡμῶν αὐτοῦ σοῦ τῶν συμφερόντων
οὖνεκα, ἔως ἔτι δύνασαι, Καίσαρι μέν, ὅπερ
ἀρκέσει, μόνον συνεπαμύναι τοὺς φονέας τιμωρου-
μένω, σὲ δὲ αὐτίκα δυναστεύειν, ἐν ἀμερίμνῳ
γενόμενόν τε καὶ ἡμᾶς γενέσθαι παρασκευάσαντα
τοὺς ὑπέρ τε σφῶν αὐτῶν καὶ ὑπὲρ σοῦ δεδιότας."

33. Τοσαῦτα τοὺς ταξιάρχους εἰπόντας ὁ
Ἀντώνιος ὡδε ἡμείψατο· "ὅση μὲν εὔνοίᾳ καὶ
·σπουδῇ πρὸς Καίσαρα περιόντα ἔχρωμην, φιλο-
κινδυνότατος ἐκ πάντων ἐς τὰς ἐκείνου χρείας
γενόμενος, ἵστε σαφῶς, συστρατευσάμενοί τε
καὶ τοῖς γιγνομένοις παρατυχόντες· ὅση δ' αὖ
κάκενος εἰς ἐμὲ χάριτι καὶ προτιμήσει χρώμενος
διετέλει, οὐ μαρτυρεῖν ἐμὲ δίκαιον. ἄμφω δὲ
ταῦτα καὶ οἱ φονεῖς εἰδότες συνετίθεντο κάμε
Καίσαρι συνανελεῖν, ώς ἐμοῦ περιόντος οὐ καθέ-
ξοντες ὃν ἐπενόουν. καὶ ὅστις αὐτοὺς μετέπεισε
τῆς γυνώμης, οὐκ εὔνοίᾳ τῆς ἐμῆς σωτηρίας
ἐπεισεν, ἀλλ' εὐπρεπείᾳ τῆς τυραννοκτονίας, ώς
μὴ δοκῶσι πολλοὺς ὥσπερ ἔχθρούς, ἀλλ' ἔνα
ἀνελεῖν ώς τύραννον. τίς ἀν οὖν πιστεύσειεν

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

Our enemies are starting up afresh. They are CHAP.
forcibly seizing Syria and Macedonia and are raising
money and troops against us. The Senate is stirring
up Decimus Brutus against you. Yet you are
wasting your powers of mind in a disagreement
with the young Caesar. We naturally fear lest
there be added to the war, which has not yet broken
out but is imminent, dissensions among you, which
shall accomplish all that our enemies desire against
us. We beseech you to consider these things for
the sake of piety toward Caesar and care for us,
who have never given you cause for complaint, for
your own interest even more than ours; and, while
you still may, to assist Octavian at any rate so far—
for this will suffice—as to punish the murderers.
Then you will enjoy your power without anxiety and
will provide security for us, who are now apprehensive
both for ourselves and for you."

33. To the tribunes who had thus spoken Antony made the following reply: "What friendship and zeal I had for Caesar while he lived, what dangers I braved in his service, you, who have been my fellow-soldiers and the sharers in those events, know full well. What favours he showed me, what honours he continually bestowed upon me, it does not become me to say. The murderers, too, were acquainted with these facts. They conspired to kill me with Caesar because they knew that if I were living they could not compass their designs. Whoever dissuaded them from that purpose did so not from regard for my safety, but to preserve the appearance of tyrannicide, so that they might not seem to be killing a number of persons as enemies, but only one as a despot. Who, then,

v

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. ἐμὲ Καίσαρός τε ἀμελεῖν εὐεργέτου μοι γεγενημένου καὶ προτιμᾶν τοὺς ἔχθροὺς ἐκείνου καὶ τὸν φόνον ἑκόντα χάριζεσθαι τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἐπιβούλοις, ὡς οἴεται Καίσαρ ὁ νέος; πόθεν οὖν αὐτοῖς ἀμυηστία τοῦ φόνου καὶ ἡγεμονίαι; ταῦτα γὰρ ἐπικαλεῖν, ἀντὶ τῆς βουλῆς, ἐμὸὶ βούλεται. μάθετε, ὡς ἐγένετο.

34. "Καίσαρος ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ σφαγέντος ἄφνω, δέος ἐπέσχεν ἐκ πάντων δὴ μάλιστα πλεῖστον ἐμὲ φιλίᾳ τε αὐτοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ ἀγνοίᾳ τοῦ ἀκριβοῦς· οὐ γάρ πω τὴν συνθήκην ἔώρων οὐδὲ ἐπὶ ὅσοις. ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἐθορυβεῖτο, καὶ οἱ σφαγεῖς σὺν μονομάχοις τὸ Καπιτώλιον καταλαβόντες ἀπέκλειον, καὶ ἡ βουλὴ σὺν ἐκείνοις ἦν, ἥ καὶ νῦν ἐστι φανερώτερον, γέρα τε τοῖς ἀνελοῦσιν ὡς τυραννοκτόνοις ἐψηφίζετο. καὶ εἰ τύραννος ὁ Καίσαρ ἐφάνη, ἡμῖν ὑπῆρχεν ἀπολέσθαι πᾶσιν ὡς τυράννου φίλοις. ὧδε δὴ με ἔχοντα θορύβου καὶ μερίμνης καὶ δέους, ὅτε οὐκ ἦν γνώμης παράδοξον οὐδὲ ἀπορῆσαι, σκοποῦντες εὑρήσετε, ἔνθα μὲν ἔδει τόλμης, θρασύτατον, ἔνθα δὲ ὑποκρίσεως, εὐμήχανον. τὸ μὲν δὴ πρῶτον ἐκ πάντων καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ συνέχον ἦν ἀναιρεθῆναι τὰ γέρα τὰ ψηφιζόμενα τοῖς ἀνδράσιν· ὅπερ, ἀντιτάξας ἐμαυτὸν ἐγὼ τῇ τε βουλῇ καὶ τοῖς σφαγεῦσιν ἐγκρατῶς, ἐπραττον σὺν θράσει παραβόλω καὶ ἐπικυνδύνω, τότε μόνον ἡγούμενος ἡμᾶς τοὺς Καίσαρος ἀσφαλῶς περιέσεσθαι, ὅταν μὴ Καίσαρ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

will believe that I have no care for Caesar, who CHAP.
was my benefactor, that I prefer his enemies, and
that I willingly condone his murder at the hands
of those who conspired against me also, as the
young Caesar imagines? Whence came their
amnesty, whence their preferment? For he wishes
to charge these things upon me instead of the
Senate. Learn from me how they came about.

34. "When Caesar was suddenly slain in the senate-house fear fell upon me most of all by reason of my friendship for him and my ignorance of the facts, as I knew not yet the particulars of the conspiracy nor against how many it was designed. The people were terror-stricken. The murderers with a body of gladiators took possession of the Capitol and shut themselves up in it. The Senate was on their side, just as it now is more openly, and was about to vote rewards to them as tyrannicides. If Caesar had been declared a tyrant then might we all have perished as the friends of a tyrant. In the midst of such confusion, anxiety, and fear, when it was not the time either for any rash move, or for any long hesitation,¹ you will find, if you examine, that where courage was needed I was boldest and where artifice was required I was most crafty. The first thing to be done, because it embraced everything else, was to prevent the voting of rewards to the conspirators. This I accomplished against the strong opposition of the Senate and of the murderers, with unfailing courage and in the face of danger, because I then believed that we of Caesar's party could be safe only in case Caesar were not declared

¹ So Keil, approved by Viereck. Others couple γνώμης with ἀπορῆσαι, and Nauck transposes γνώμης. It would then mean "When I might well have been at a loss what to decide."

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. είναι δόξη τύραννος. τῷ δ' αὐτῷ δέει τῶν ἔχθρῶν
καὶ τῆς βουλῆς αὐτῆς ἔχομένων, ὅτε μὴ Καῖσαρ
εἴη τύραννος, ἀνδροφονίας αὐτοὺς ἀλώσεσθαι, καὶ
διὰ τοῦτο φιλονικούντων, εἰξα τῆς ἀμνηστίας
διδομένης ἀντὶ τῶν γερῶν, ἵν' ὅσων ἔχρηζον
ἀντιλάβοιμι. τὰ δὲ ἦν πόσα καὶ πηλίκα; μήτε
τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν τοῦ Καΐσαρος ἀπηλεῖθαι τὴν
ἔμοὶ μάλιστα πάντων ἡδίστην μήτε τὴν περιου-
σίαν δεδημεῦσθαι μήτε τὴν θέσιν, ἐφ' ἣ νῦν οὗτος
γαυριᾷ, διαλελύσθαι μήτε τὰς διαθήκας ἀκύρους
γενέσθαι τό τε σῶμα τεθάφθαι βασιλικῶς καὶ
τιμᾶς αὐτῷ τὰς πάλαι δεδομένας ἀθανάτους δια-
μένειν καὶ τὰ πεπραγμένα πάντα κύρια είναι καὶ
τὸν ἔκεινου παῖδα καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἡμᾶς, καὶ
στρατηγοὺς καὶ στρατιώτας, ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ γενέσθαι
σωτηρίᾳ καὶ ἐνδόξῳ Βίῳ ἀντὶ ἐπονειδίστου.

35. “Αρ’ ύμνη ὀλίγα ἡ σμικρὰ τῆς ἀμνηστίας
τὴν βουλὴν ἀνταιτῆσαι δοκῶ; ἡ δοῦναι ἀν αὐτὰ
ἡ βουλὴ χωρὶς τῆς ἀμνηστίας; ἦν μὲν δὴ καὶ
καθαρῶς ἀντιδοῦναι τάδε τῶνδε ἄξιον καὶ φείσα-
σθαι σὺν ἀληθεῖ γνώμῃ φονέων ἀνδρῶν ὑπὲρ
ἀθανάτου Καίσαρος δόξης καὶ ἡμῶν ἀσφαλοῦς
σωτηρίας· οὐ μὴν ἐγὼ μετὰ τῆσδε τῆς γνώμης
ἐποίουν, ἀλλ’ ἀνατιθέμενος τὴν δίκην. ἐπεὶ γέ
τοι τῆς βουλῆς ἐσ ἡ πρῶτα ἔχρηζον ἐκράτησα καὶ
οἱ σφαγεῖς ώς ἐν ἀμερίμνῳ μεθεῖντο, ἀνεθάρρησα
καὶ τὴν ἀμνηστίαν παρέλυσον, οὐ ψηφίσμασιν ἢ
δόγμασιν (οὐ γὰρ ἦν), ἀλλ’ ἀσήμῳ δημοκοπίᾳ, τὸ
σῶμα τοῦ Καΐσαρος ἐπὶ προφάσει τῆς ταφῆς ἐσ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

a tyrant. But when I saw our enemies, and CHAP.
the Senate itself, plunged alike in fear (lest, if
Caesar were not decreed a tyrant, they themselves
should be convicted of murder), and making their
fight for this reason, I yielded and granted amnesty
instead of rewards to the murderers, in order to
gain what I wanted in exchange. What number
of things did I want and how important were they?
That Caesar's name, to me most dear, should not
be blotted out, that his property should not be
confiscated, that the adoption on which this young
man prides himself should not be annulled, that the will
should not be declared invalid, that his body
should have a royal funeral, that the immortal
honours previously decreed to him should be
fulfilled, that all his acts should be confirmed, and
that his son, and we his friends, both generals and
soldiers, should remain in perfect safety and enjoy
a life of honour instead of ignominy.

35. "Think you that I asked few or small things
from the Senate in exchange for the amnesty, or
that the Senate would have made these concessions
without the amnesty? If this exchange had been
made in all sincerity it would have been a fair
bargain actually to spare the murderers for the
sake of Caesar's immortal glory and our complete
security, but in fact I did it not with that intention,
but in order to postpone the retribution. Accordingly,
as soon as I had obtained what I wanted from
the Senate, and the murderers, freed from anxiety,
were off their guard, I took fresh courage and
undermined the amnesty, not by votes, not by
decrees (for that was impossible), but by working
on the people imperceptibly. I brought Caesar's

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐκφέρων καὶ τὰ τραύματα ἀπογυμνῶν
 καὶ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα ἐπιδεικνὺς
 ἥμαγμένην τε καὶ κατακεκομμένην καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν
 καὶ τὸ φιλόδημον αὐτοῦ παλιλλογῶν, ἐκπαθῶς ἐν
 μέσῳ καὶ ὁδυρόμενος μὲν ὡς ἀνηρημένον, κατα-
 καλῶν δὲ ὡς θεόν. τάδε γάρ μου τὰ ἔργα καὶ
 ρήματα ἡρέθισε τὸν δῆμον, καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἦψε μετὰ
 τὴν ἀμνηστίαν, καὶ ἐς τὰς οἰκίας τῶν ἔχθρῶν
 ἔπειμψε καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐξέβαλε τῆς πόλεως.
 τοῦτο δὲ ὅπως ἀντιπραττούσης καὶ λυπουμένης
 τῆς βουλῆς ἐγένετο, αὐτίκα ἔδειξαν, ἐμὲ μὲν
 αἴτιώμενοι τῆς δημοκοπίας, τοὺς δὲ φονέας ἐκπέμ-
 ψαντες ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν ἐθνῶν ἡγεμονίας, Βροῦτον δὲ
 καὶ Κάστιον ἐς Συρίαν καὶ Μακεδονίαν, αἱ μεσταὶ
 μεγάλων στρατῶν ἡσαν, ἐπείγεσθαι καὶ πρὸ τοῦ
 δεδομένου χρόνου διδάξαντες ἐπὶ προφάσει φρον-
 τίδος σίτου. ἔτερον δή με δέος ἔτι μεῖζον ἐπελάμ-
 βανεν, οὐκ ἔχοντά πω στρατὸν ἵδιον οὐδένα, μὴ
 πρὸς ἐνόπλους τοσούσδε ἄνοπλοι καθιστώμεθα.
 καὶ ὁ σύναρχος ὑποπτος ἦν, ἐμοί τε διάφορος ὁν
 αἰεὶ καὶ ὑποκρινόμενος ἐπιβουλεύσαι τῷ Καίσαρι
 καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν τοῦ φόνου γενέθλιον τῇ πόλει
 τιθέμενος.

36. “Ωδε δὲ ἀπορῶν καὶ ἐπειγόμενος ἐξοπλίσαι
 τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἀντ’ ἐκείνων τὰ ὅπλα
 μετειεγκεῖν, Ἀμάτιον ἔκτεινα καὶ κατεκάλεσα
 Πομπήιον, ἵνα τοῦσδε αὐθις ἀλοῦσα ἡ βουλὴ
 πρὸς με μεταθοῖτο. καὶ οὐδ’ ὡς αὐτῇ πιστεύων
 ἐπεισα Συρίαν αἴτειν Δολοβέλλαν, οὐ παρὰ τῆς
 βουλῆς, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τοῦ δήμου νόμῳ, καὶ συνέ-
 πραξα αἴτοῦντι, ἵνα τοῖς τε σφαγεῦσι Δολοβέλλας
 ἔχθρὸς ἀντὶ φίλου γένοιτο καὶ τοῖς βουλευταῖς

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

body into the forum under pretence of burial, I CHAP.
laid bare his wounds, I showed the number of them ^V
and his clothing all bloody and slashed. In public
speech I dwelt on his bravery and his services to
the common people in pathetic terms, weeping for
him as slain but invoking him as god. These acts
and words of mine stirred up the people, kindled
a fire after the amnesty, sent them against the
houses of our enemies, and drove the murderers
from the city. How all this was done in the teeth
of and to the chagrin of the Senate was presently
shown, when they blamed me for exciting the people
and sent the murderers away to take command of
provinces, Brutus and Cassius to Syria and Macedonia,
which were provided with great armies, telling them
to hasten before the appointed time, under pretence
of looking after the corn supply. And now another
and still greater fear took possession of me (since I
had no military force of my own as yet), lest we
should be exposed without arms to the assaults of so
many armed men. I suspected my colleague also
because he was always at variance with me, and while
pretending to be in the conspiracy against Caesar
had proposed that the day of the murder should be
celebrated as the birthday of the republic.

36. "While I was at a loss what to do, desiring to
disarm our enemies and to arm ourselves instead, I
put Amatius to death and recalled Sextus Pompeius
in order to entrap the Senate again and bring it
over to my side. But as even then I had no confi-
dence in it I persuaded Dolabella to ask for the
province of Syria, not from the Senate, but from the
people by a law, and I favoured his petition so that
he should become an enemy instead of a friend of

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. αἰσχρὸν γὰρ μετὰ Δολοβέλλαν ἀντειπεῖν ἐμοὶ περὶ^V Μακεδονίας. οὐ μέντ' ἀν οὐδὲ ὡς μοι Μακεδονίαν ἔδοσαν, οὐδὲ ἐπὶ Δολοβέλλᾳ, διὰ τὴν ἐν αὐτῇ στρατιάν, εἰ μὴ τὴν στρατιὰν προμεθῆκα τῷ Δολοβέλλᾳ ὡς Συρίαν καὶ τὰ ἐς Πάρθους διαλαχόντι. τοὺς δ' αὖ περὶ τὸν Κάσσιον οὔτε Μακεδονίαν ἀφείλοντο ἀν οὔτε Συρίαν, μὴ ἔτερα αὐτοῖς ἐς ἀσφάλειαν ἀντιλαβόντες ἔθνη. δεῆσαν οὖν ἀντιδοῦναι θεάσασθε, οἷα ἀνθ' οῶν καὶ ὡς στρατοῦ γυμνὰ ἔδόθη, Κυρήνη τε καὶ Κρήτη· ὡν καὶ οἱ ἔχθροὶ καταφρονοῦσιν οὐκ ἀσφαλῶν σφίσιν ὅντων καὶ ἐς τὰ ἀφηρημένα βιάζονται. οὕτω μὲν δὴ καὶ ὁ στρατὸς ἐς Δολοβέλλαν μετενήκετο ἀπὸ τῶν ἔχθρῶν τέχναις καὶ μηχανᾶς καὶ ἀντιδόσεσιν ἐτέρων· οὐ γάρ πω τῶν ὅπλων φανέντων ὑπὸ τοῖς νόμοις ἔδει πράσσειν.

37. “Γεγενήμενων δὲ τῶνδε καὶ τῶν ἔχθρῶν ἔτερον στρατὸν ἀγειράντων, ἔδει μοι τοῦ περὶ τὴν Μακεδονίαν στρατοῦ καὶ προφάσεως ἡπόρουν. φήμη δὲ κατέσκηψε Γέτας Μακεδονίαν πορθεῖν. ἀπιστουμένης δὲ καὶ ταύτης καὶ τῶν ἐπισκεψομένων ἀπεσταλμένων, εἰσηγησάμην ἐγὼ περὶ τῆς δικτάτορος ἀρχῆς μὴ ἔξεῖναι μήτε εἰπεῖν μήτε ἐπιψηφίσαι μήτε λαβεῖν διδομένην· ωδὴ μάλιστα ὑπαχθέντες ἔδοσάν μοι τὸν στρατόν. καὶ ἐγὼ τότε πρώτον ἐμαυτὸν ἡγησάμην ἵσόπαλον εἶναι τοῖς ἔχθροῖς, οὐ τοῖσδε τοῖς φανεροῖς, ὡς οὔεται Καῖσαρ, ἀλλὰ τοῖς πλέοσί τε καὶ δυνατωτέροις

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

the murderers, and so that the senators should be CHAP.
ashamed to refuse me Macedonia afterwards. Still,
V
the Senate would not have assigned Macedonia to
me, even after Dolabella had been provided for, by
reason of the army belonging to it, if I had not
previously transferred the army to Dolabella, on
the ground that Syria and the Parthian war had
fallen to his lot. And again they would not have taken
Macedonia and Syria away from Brutus and Cassius
unless other provinces had been obtained for them
to ensure their safety. When it became necessary
to make them a recompense, look at the compensation
that was given to them—Cyrene and Crete, devoid of
troops, provinces which even our enemies despise as
not sufficient for their safety; and they are now
trying to seize by force those that were taken from
them. Thus in fact was the army transferred from
our enemies to Dolabella by artifice, by stratagem,
by exchange; for when there was no way to gain
our end openly by arms we had necessarily to have
recourse to the laws.

37. "After these events our enemies had raised
another army and it became needful for me to have
the one in Macedonia; but I was in want of a pre-
text. A rumour gained currency that the Getae
were ravaging Macedonia. This was disbelieved,
and while messengers were sent to make inquiry I
brought forward the decree about the dictatorship,
providing that it should not be lawful to speak of
it, to vote for it, or to accept it if offered. The
senators were particularly taken with this proposal
and they gave me the army. Then for the first time
I considered myself on an equality with my enemies,
not merely with the open ones, as Octavian thinks,

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. καὶ ἀφανέσιν ἔτι εἶναι θέλουσι. ταῦτα δ'
V ἐργασαμένῳ μοι ἔτερος τῶν σφαγέων ἔλειπεν ἐν
πλευραῖς, Βροῦτος ὁ Δέκμος, ἡγούμενος καὶ ὅδε
χώρας ἐπικαίρου καὶ στρατοῦ πολλοῦ· διὸ ἐγὼ καὶ
θρασύτερον εἰδὼς τὴν Κελτικὴν ἀφηρούμην, ἐς
εὐπρέπειαν ἔτι τῆς βουλῆς Μακεδονίαν ὑπισχνού-
μενος ἀντιδώσειν, γυμνὴν στρατοῦ γενομένην.
ἀγανακτούσης δὲ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τὴν ἐνέδραν ἥδη
καθορώσης καὶ ἵστε οἴλα καὶ ὅσα Δέκμῳ πολλῶν
γραφόντων καὶ ἐπαλειφόντων ἥδη τοὺς μετ' ἐμὲ
ὑπάτους, ἐγὼ θρασύτερον ἔτι τὸ μὲν ἔθνος, ἀντὶ^τ
τῆς βουλῆς, νόμῳ παρὰ τοῦ δήμου λαβεῖν
ἐπενόησα, τὸν δὲ στρατὸν ἀπὸ τῆς Μακεδονίας
ἐς τὸ Βρευτέσιον ἐπέρων ὡς χρησόμενος δὴ ἐς τὰ
ἐπείγοντα. καὶ σὺν θεοῖς εἰπεῖν, χρησόμεθα, ὡς
ἄν αἱ χρεῖαι καλῶσιν.

38. “Οὕτως ἐκ πολλοῦ δέους τοῦ πρὶν ἡμᾶς
ἐπισχόντος μετεβάλομεν ἐς τε ἀσφάλειαν ὑπὲρ
ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἐγκρατῆ καὶ ἐς θάρσος ἐπὶ τοὺς
ἔχθρούς· ὃν ἐκφανέντων ἀνεφάνη καὶ ἡ τῶν
πλεόνων ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους σπουδή. ὄρατε γάρ,
ὅση μὲν αὐτοῖς ἐστι μεταμέλεια τῶν ἐψηφισ-
μένων, δοσος δὲ ἀγῶν ἀφελέσθαι με τὴν Κελτικὴν
ἥδη δεδομένην. ἵστε, ἂ γράφουσι Δέκμῳ καὶ ὅσα
τοὺς ὑπάτους τοὺς μετ' ἐμὲ πείθουσι περὶ τῆς
Κελτικῆς μεταψηφίσασθαι. ἀλλὰ σὺν θεοῖς τε
πατρώοις καὶ σὺν εὐσεβεῖ γνώμῃ καὶ σὺν ταῖς
ἡμετέραις ἀνδραγαθίαις, μεθ' ὃν καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ
ἐκράτει, ἀμυνοῦμεν αὐτῷ, τῷ τε σώματι ἐπεξιόντες
καὶ τῇ γνώμῃ βοηθοῦντες.

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

but with the more numerous and powerful ones CHAP.
who still choose to remain secret. When I had ^V accomplished these plans there remained one of the murderers on my flank, Decimus Brutus, governing a conveniently placed province with a large army ; whom I, knowing him to be bolder than the rest, tried to deprive of Cisalpine Gaul, by promising, in order to keep up appearances with the Senate, to give him in exchange Macedonia, without an army. The Senate was indignant, for it now perceived the stratagem, and you know what kind of letters, and how many, they are writing to Decimus, and how they are inciting my successors in the consulship. I decided, therefore, to take a bolder course and ask the people for this province by a law, instead of asking the Senate, and I brought my army from Macedonia to Brundusium so that I might use it in emergencies. And with the help of the gods, we will use it as may be needful.

38. "Thus have we changed from the great fear that formerly beset us to a state of entire safety for ourselves, where we can boldly face our foes. When this change became known the multitude also let their zeal against our enemies be known. You see how the latter regret the decrees that have been passed, and what a fight they are making to deprive me of the Gallic province which has already been given to me. You know what they write to Decimus and how they are urging my successors in the consulship to get the law relating to this province changed. But with the help of our country's gods, and with pious intent, and by means of your valour, with which Caesar also conquered, we will avenge him, devoting to that purpose our powers both of body and of mind.

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. ^V Ταῦτά μοι γιγνόμενα μέν, ὡς συστρατιῶται, ἔτι
ἔχρηξον ἀπόρρητα εἶναι, γενόμενα δὲ ἐξενήνεκται
πρὸς ὑμᾶς, οὓς ἐγὼ καὶ ἔργου καὶ λόγου κοινωνοὺς
ἐς ἅπαντα τίθεμαι. καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, εἴ τινες αὐτὰ
οὐ συνορῶσι, μεταφέρετε, πλὴν μόνου Καίσαρος
ἀχαρίστως ἐς ὑμᾶς ἔχοντος.”

VI

CAP. ^{VI} 39. Τοιαῦτα τοῦ Ἀντωνίου διεξιόντος, παρέστη
τοῖς ταξιάρχαις αὐτὸν ἅπαντα μετ' ἔχθρας ἀκρι-
βοῦς ἐς τοὺς ἀνδροφόνους, ἐπιτεχνάζοντα τῇ
θουλῇ, πεποιηκέναι. ἡξίουν δὲ καὶ ὡς τῷ
Καίσαρι συναλλαγῆναι καὶ πείσαντες αὐτοὺς
συνήλλασσον αὐθις ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ. οὐ πολὺ
δὲ ὕστερον ὁ Ἀντώνιος τῶν σωματοφυλάκων τινὰς
ἐς τοὺς φίλους παρήγαγεν ὡς ὑπηρέτας γενομένους
ἐπιβουλεύοντος αὐτῷ τοῦ Καίσαρος, εἴτε συκο-
φαντῶν εἴτε τῷ ὅντι νομίσας εἴτε περὶ τῶν εἰς
τὰ στρατόπεδα περιπεμφθέντων πυθόμενος καὶ
τὴν ἐς τὸ ἔργον ἐπιβουλὴν μεταφέρωι ἐς τὸ σῶμα.
ὅ τε λόγος ἐκδραμὼν αὐτίκα θόρυβον ἥγειρε
πάνδημον, καὶ ἀγανάκτησις ἦν, ἥδεσαν Καίσαρι
συμφέρειν Ἀντώνιον καὶ βλάπτοντα ὅμως περιεῖ-
ναι, ἐπίφοβον ὅντα τοῖς φονεῦσιν ἀποθανόντος

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

"While these events were in progress, fellow-soldiers, I preferred that they should not be talked of; now that they are accomplished I have laid them before you, whom I shall make the sharers of my deeds and my counsels in every particular hereafter. Communicate to others, if there are any, who do not see them in the same light—excepting only Octavian, who behaves ungratefully towards us."¹

VI

39. THESE words of Antony convinced the tribunes that in all he had done he had been moved by bitter animosity towards the murderers and that he had been scheming against the Senate. Nevertheless they urged him to come to an agreement with Octavian; and, proving successful, brought about a reconciliation between them in the Capitol. But not long afterward Antony announced to his friends that some of his bodyguard had been tampered with by Octavian, who had formed a plot against him. This he said either as a slander, or because he believed it to be true, or because he had heard of the emissaries of Octavian in his camp, and turned the plot to checkmate his actions into a plot against his life. When this story was noised about there was a general tumult forthwith and great indignation, for there were few who had sufficient penetration to see that it was for the interest of Octavian that Antony, even though he was unjust to him, should live, because he (Antony)

Octavian accused of attempting to assassinate Antony

¹ Clearly this speech was composed by Appian and put in the mouth of Antony. It contains errors as to dates and as to the order of events which Antony could not have made.

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. γὰρ ἀδεέστερον ἐκείνους ἅπασιν ἐπιτολμήσειν,
βοηθουμένους μάλιστα ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς. ὡδε μὲν
εἴκαζον οἱ συνετώτεροι· τὸ δὲ πλέον, ὁρῶντες,
οὐα καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ὁ Καίσαρ ὑβριζόμενός
τε καὶ ζημιούμενος πάσχοι, οὐκ ἄπιστον ἐτίθεντο
τὴν διαβολὴν οὐδὲ ὅσιον ἢ ἀνεκτὸν ἐνόμιζον
Ἀντώνιον ὑπατεύοντα ἐς τὸ σῶμα ἐπιβεβου-
λεῦσθαι.

‘Ο δὲ Καίσαρ καὶ πρὸς οὗτως ἔχοντας ἔξέτρεχε
σὺν ὄργῃ μανιώδει καὶ ἐβόα αὐτὸς ἐπιβουλεύεσθαι
πρὸς Ἀντώνιον ἐς τὴν παρὰ τῷ δῆμῳ φιλίαν ἔτι
οἱ μόνην οὖσαν· ἐπὶ τε τὰς θύρας τοῦ Ἀντώνιου
δραμῶν τὰ αὐτὰ ἐβόα καὶ θεοὺς ἐμαρτύρετο καὶ
ἀρὰς ἡράτο πάσας καὶ ἐς δίκην ἐλθεῖν πρου-
καλεῖτο. οὐδενὸς δὲ προϊόντος, “ἐν τοῖς φίλοις,”
ἔφη, “δέχομαι τοῖς σοῖς κριθῆναι,” καὶ εἰπὼν
ἐπέτρεχεν ἔσω. κωλυθεὶς δὲ αὐθις φῶμαζε καὶ
ἐλοιδορεῖτο αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς περὶ θύρας ἡγανάκτει
κωλύουσι τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐλεγχθῆναι. ἀπιών τε
τὸν δῆμον ἐμαρτύρετο, εἴ τι πάθοι, πρὸς Ἀντώνιον
δολοφονεῖσθαι. λεγομένων δὲ τῶνδε σὺν πάθει
πολλῷ μετέπιπτε τὸ πλῆθος, καὶ τις αὐτοῖς τῆς
πρὶν δόξης μετάνοια ἐνεγίγνετο. εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ καὶ
τότε ἀπιστοῦντες ὥκνουν ἐκατέρῳ τὸ πιστὸν
νέμειν, καὶ τινες ὑπόκρισιν ἀμφοῖν τὰ γυγνόμενα
διέβαλλον εἶναι, συνθεμένων μὲν ἄρτι ἐν ἴερῷ,
μηχανωμένων δὲ ταῦτα ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐχθρούς. οἱ δὲ
αὐτὰ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἡγοῦντο ἐπινοεῖν εἰς ἀφορμὴν

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

was a terror to the murderers. If he were dead CHAP.
they would quite fearlessly dare anything, especially VI
as they had the support of the Senate. The more intelligent knew this, but the greater part, seeing what Octavian suffered daily from the indignities and the losses inflicted on him, considered the accusation not incredible, yet held it to be impious and intolerable that a conspiracy should be formed against Antony's life while he was consul.

Octavian ran with mad fury even to those who held this opinion of him, exclaiming that it was Antony who was conspiring against him to alienate from him the friendship of the people, which was the only thing left to him. He ran to Antony's door and repeated the same things, calling the gods to witness, taking all kinds of oaths, and inviting Antony to a judicial investigation. As nobody came forward he said, "I will accept your friends as judges." With these words he attempted to enter the house. Being prevented from doing so he again cried out and railed at Antony and vented his wrath against the door-keepers who prevented Antony being brought to book. Then he went away and called the people to witness that if anything should happen to him his death would be due to Antony's plots. As these words were spoken with deep feeling the multitude underwent a change, and a kind of penitence took the place of their former opinion. There were some who still doubted, and hesitated to put faith in either of them. Some accused them both of making false pretences, believing that they had come to an agreement in the temple, and that these were plots devised against their enemies. Still others thought that this was a device of Antony to He denies
the accu-
sation

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. φρουρᾶς πλείονος ἡ ἐς ἀλλοτρίωσιν τῶν κληρουχιῶν Καίσαρι.

40. Ὡς δὲ τῷ Καίσαρι ὑπὸ τῶν κρύφα ἀπεσταλμένων ἀπηγγέλθη τὸν ἐν Βρευτεσίῳ στρατὸν καὶ τοὺς ἀπωκισμένους ἐν ὄργῃ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἔχειν, ἀμελοῦντα τοῦ Καίσαρος φόνου, καὶ σφᾶς ἐπικουρήσειν, ἀν δύνωνται, ὁ μὲν Ἀντώνιος ἐς τὸ Βρευτέσιον ἔξηει διὰ τάδε. δείσας δὲ ὁ Καῖσαρ, μὴ μετὰ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐπανελθὼν ἀφρούρητον αὐτὸν λάβοι, χρήματα φέρων εἰς Καμπανίαν γῆει, πείσων τὰς πόλεις οἱ στρατεύεσθαι, τὰς ἵπο τοῦ πατρὸς ωκισμένας. καὶ ἔπεισε Καλατίαν πρώτην, ἐπὶ δ' ἐκείνη Κασιλίνον, δύο τάσδε Καπύης ἐκατέρωθεν ἐπιδοὺς δ' ἐκάστῳ δραχμὰς πεντακοσίας ἥγεν ἐς μυρίους ἄνδρας, οὕτε ὠπλισμένους ἐντελῶς οὔτε συντεταγμένους πω κατὰ Ἰλας, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐς μόνην τοῦ σώματος φυλακήν, ὑφ' ἐνὶ σημείῳ. οἱ δὲ ἐν ἄστει τὸν Ἀντώνιον δεδιότες μετὰ στρατιᾶς ἐπανίστανται, ὡς ἐπύθοντο καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα μεθ' ἑτέρας προσιέναι, οἱ μὲν διπλασίως ἐδεδοίκεσαν, οἱ δ' ὡς χρησόμενοι κατ' Ἀντώνιον Καίσαρι ἡσμένιζον· οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν τὰς ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ διαλλαγὰς ἐωρακότες ὑπόκρισιν ἐνόμιζον εἶναι τὰ γιγνόμενα καὶ ἀντίδοσιν Ἀντωνίῳ μὲν δυναστείας, Καίσαρι δὲ τῶν φονέων.

41. Ὡδε δὲ αὐτῶν θορυβουμένων, Καννούτιος ὁ δήμαρχος, ἔχθρὸς ὧν Ἀντωνίῳ καὶ παρ' αὐτὸν Καίσαρι φίλος, ὑπήντα τῷ Καίσαρι καὶ τὴν γνώμην ἐκμαθὼν ἀπήγγελλε τῷ δήμῳ, μετ' ἔχθρας

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

increase his body-guard or to alienate the colonies of CHAP.
veterans from Octavian.

40. Presently news was brought to Octavian by his secret emissaries that the army at Brundusium and the colonized soldiers were incensed against Antony for neglecting to avenge the murder of Caesar, and that they would assist him (Octavian) to do so if they could. For this reason Antony departed to Brundusium. As Octavian feared lest Antony, returning with the army, should catch him unprotected, he went to Campania with money to enlist the veterans who had been settled in those towns by his father. He first brought over those of Calatia and next those of Casilinum, two towns situated on either side of Capua, giving 500 drachmas to each man. He collected about 10,000 men, not fully armed and not mustered in regular cohorts, but serving merely as a body-guard under one banner. The citizens of Rome were alarmed at the approach of Antony with an army, and when they learned that Octavian was advancing with another some were doubly alarmed, while others were well pleased, believing that they could make use of Octavian against Antony. Still others, who had seen them reconciled to each other in the Capitol, considered these transactions a game of false pretences by which Antony was to have the supreme power and Octavian in return was to wreak vengeance on the murderers.

41. In this time of consternation Cannutius, the tribune, an enemy of Antony, and hence friendly to Octavian, went to meet the latter. Having learned his intentions Cannutius addressed the people, saying that Octavian was advancing with real hostility to

Octavian obtains soldiers in Galatia and Casilinum

The tribune Cannutius sides with Octavian against Antony

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. VI. 'Αντωνίου σαφοῦς ἐπιέναι τὸν Καίσαρα καὶ χρῆναι δεδιότας 'Αντώνιον ἐπὶ τυραννίδι τόνδε προσεταιρίσασθαι, στρατὸν ἄλλον οὐκ ἔχοντας ἐν τῷ παρόντι. ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν ἐσῆγε τὸν Καίσαρα, αὐλισάμενον πρὸ τοῦ ἀστεος ἀπὸ σταδίων πεντεκαίδεκα ἐν τῷ τοῦ Ἀρεως ἵερῳ. ὡς δὲ εἰσῆλθον, ὁ μὲν εἰς τὸν νεῶν τῶν Διοσκούρων παρῆλθε, καὶ τὸν νεῶν περιέστησαν οἱ στρατευόμενοι ξιφίδια ἀφανῶς περιεζωσμένοι, Καννούτιος δὲ πρότερον ἐδημητγόρει κατὰ τοῦ 'Αντωνίου. ὁ δὲ Καίσαρ καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοὺς ὑπεμίμησκε καὶ ὡν αὐτὸς ὑπὸ 'Αντωνίου πάθοι, δι' ἀ καὶ τόνδε τὸν στρατὸν ἐς φυλακὴν εἴη συνειλεγμένος· ἔφη τε ἐς πάντα τῆς πατρίδος ὑπηρέτης καὶ κατήκοος ἐσεσθαι καὶ ἐς τὰ νῦν πρὸς 'Αντώνιον ἔτοιμος.

42. 'Ωδε δ' εἰπόντος αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν διαλύσαντος ἐπὶ τῷδε, ὁ στρατὸς ἥγούμενος ἐς τὸ ἐναντίον ἐπὶ διαλλαγαῖς 'Αντωνίου τε καὶ Καίσαρος ἀφίχθαι ἦ ἐς μόνην γε φυλακὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ τῶν φονέων ἄμυναν, ἤχθοντο τῇ κατ' 'Αντωνίου προαγορεύσει, στρατηγοῦ τε σφῶν γεγονότος καὶ δύντος ὑπάτου· καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐπανελθεῖν ἤτουν εἰς τὰ οἰκεῖα ὡς ὀπλιούμενοι· οὐ γὰρ ἄλλων ἦ τῶν ἴδιων ὅπλων ἀνέξεσθαι· οἱ δὲ καὶ τὸ ἀληθὲς ὑπέφαινον. ὁ δὲ Καίσαρ ἡπόρητο μὲν ἐς τὸ ἐναντίον ὡν προσεδόκησε μετενεχθείς, ἐλπίσας δ' αὐτῶν πειθοῦ μᾶλλον ἦ βίᾳ περιέσεσθαι, συνεχώρει ταῖς προφάσεσι καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα ἔπεμπε, τοὺς δὲ ἀπλῶς ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα. πάντας δ', ἐπικρύπτων τὴν ἀχθηδόνα, ἐπήγει τῆς συνύδου καὶ ἐδωρεῖτο ἐτέραις δωρεαῖς

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

Antony and that those who were afraid that Antony CHAP.
was aiming at tyranny should side with Octavian as VI
they had no other army at present. After speaking
thus he brought in Octavian, who was encamped
before the city at the temple of Mars, fifteen stades
distant. When the latter arrived he proceeded to
the temple of Castor and Pollux, which his soldiers
surrounded carrying concealed daggers. Cannutius
addressed the people first, speaking against Antony.
Afterwards Octavian also reminded them of his
father and of what he had himself suffered at the
hands of Antony, on account of which he had
enlisted this army as a guard for himself. He
declared himself the obedient servant of his country
in all things, and said that he was ready to confront
Antony in the present emergency.

42. After he had thus spoken and dismissed the assembly; the soldiers, taking the opposite view (that they had come to support the alliance of Antony and Octavian or as a mere guard for the latter and to punish the murderers), were vexed at the declaration of war against Antony, who had been their general and was now consul. Some of them asked leave to return home in order to arm themselves, saying that they could not perform their duty with other arms than their own. Others hinted at the truth. As things had turned out contrary to his expectation, Octavian was at a loss what to do. Hoping, however, to retain them by persuasion rather than by force he yielded to their requests, and sent some of them to get their arms and others simply to their homes. Concealing his disappointment he praised all the assembled multitude, gave them fresh presents, and said that he would reward

Octavian
declares his
readiness
to confront
Antony

Caesar's
veterans
refuse to
fight
against
Antony

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. VI καὶ δαψιλέστερον ἔτι ἀμείψεσθαι ἔλεγεν, αἰεὶ χρώμενος ἐς τὰ ἐπείγοντα ως πατρικοῖς φίλοις μᾶλλον ἢ στρατιώταις. χιλίους μὲν δὴ μόνους ἢ τρισχιλίους τάδε λέγων ἐπέκλασεν ἐκ μυρίων οἱ παραμεῖναι (διαφέρονται γὰρ περὶ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ). οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τότε μὲν ἔξήεσαν, ἀνεμιμνήσκοντο δ' αὐτίκα γεωργίας τε πόνων καὶ κερδῶν στρατείας καὶ λόγων τῶν Καίσαρος καὶ εὐπειθείας αὐτοῦ, πρὸς ἣ ἐβούλοντο, καὶ χαρίτων, ὡν τε εἰλήφεσαν καὶ ὡν ἥλπιζον ἔτι λήψεσθαι. οἶόν τε ὅχλος ἀνώμαλος μετενόουν καὶ τῆς προφάσεως ἐς εὐπρέπειαν ἐπιβαίνοντες ὡπλίζοντο καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπανήεσαν. ὁ δὲ ἥδη μετὰ χρημάτων ἄλλων τήν τε Ἐρβενναν καὶ τὰ ἀγχοῦ πάντα περιήει, στρατεύων ἑτέρους ἐφ' ἑτέροις· καὶ πάντας ἐς Ἀρρήτιον ἐπεμπεν.

VII

CAP. VII 43. Ἀντωνίῳ δ' ἀφίκτο μέσον ἐς τὸ Βρευτέσιον ἐκ πέντε τῶν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ τελῶν τέσσαρα· ἐπιμεμφόμενοι δ' αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐπεξελθόντα τῷ φόνῳ Καίσαρος, χωρὶς εὐφημίας ἐς τὸ βῆμα παρέπεμπον ως περὶ τοῦδε σφίσιν ἐκλογιούμενουν πρώτουν. ὁ δὲ αὐτοῖς χαλεπτόμενος, τῆς σιωπῆς οὐ κατέσχεν, ἀλλ' ὠνείδιζεν ἀχαριστίαν ἐκ Παρθυαίων ὑπὸ οὐ μετενεχθεῖσιν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ οὐκ ἐπιμαρτυροῦσι τοιᾶσδε χάριτος· ἐμέμφετο δὲ καὶ ὅτι παρὰ μειρακίου προπετοῦς, ὥδε τὸν Καίσαρα καλῶν, ἄνδρας ἐπιπεμπομένους σφίσιν εἰς διαφθορὰν οὐκ αὐτοὶ προσάγουσιν αὐτῷ.

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

them still more generously, for he made use of them CHAP.
for emergencies rather as the friends of his father
than as soldiers. After he had spoken these words,
he influenced 1000 only from 10,000 to remain with
him, or perhaps 3000, for accounts differ as to the
number. The rest then took their departure, but
presently they remembered the toils of agriculture
and the gains of military service, the words of
Octavian, his compliance with their wishes, and the
favours they had received and hoped still to receive
from him. And so, as a fickle multitude would, they
repented, and seizing upon their former pretext for
the sake of appearances, they armed themselves and
went back to him. Octavian had already proceeded
with new supplies of money to Ravenna and the
neighbouring parts, continually enlisting new forces
and sending them all to Arretium.

VII

43. IN the meantime four of the five Macedonian CHAP.
legions had joined Antony at Brundusium. They
blamed him because he had not proceeded against
the murderers of Caesar. They conducted him
without applause to the platform, implying that they
required explanations on this subject first. Antony
was angry at their silence. He did not keep his
temper, but charged them with ingratitude in that
they had expressed no thanks for being transferred
from the Parthian expedition to Italy. He blamed
them because they had not arrested and delivered
to him the emissaries of a rash boy (for so he called
Octavian) who had been sent among them to stir up
discord. Those men he would find out himself, he

VII
Mutiny
among
Antony's
troops

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. ἀλλὰ τούσδε μὲν αὐτὸς εύρήσειν, τὸν δὲ στρατὸν
VII ἄξειν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐψηφισμένην οἱ χώραν εὐδαιμονα
Κελτικήν, καὶ τοῖς παροῦσιν ἐκάστῳ δοθήσεσθαι
δραχμὰς ἑκατόν. οἱ δὲ ἐγέλασαν τῆς σμικρο-
λογίας καὶ χαλεπήναντος αὐτοῦ μᾶλλον ἐθορύ-
βουν καὶ διεδίρασκον. ὁ δὲ ἔξανέστη τοσοῦτον
εἰπών· “μαθήσεσθε ἄρχεσθαι.” αἰτήσας δὲ
παρὰ τῶν χιλιάρχων τοὺς στασιώδεις (ἀνά-
γραπτος γάρ ἔστιν ἐν τοῖς Ἀριστοτελεῖς
αἰὲν καθ' ἕνα ἄνδρα ὁ τρόπος) διεκλήρωσε τῷ
στρατιωτικῷ νόμῳ καὶ οὐ τὸ δέκατον ἅπαν, ἀλλὰ
μέρος ἔκτεινε τοῦ δεκάτου, νομίζων σφᾶς ὡδε
καταπλήξειν δι' ὀλίγου. οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἐς φόβον μᾶλ-
λον ἢ ἐς ὀργὴν ἀπὸ τοῦδε καὶ μῆσος ἐτρέποντο.

44. Ταῦτα δὲ ὁρῶντες οὖς ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ δια-
φορᾷ τῶνδε προπεπόμφει, βιβλία πολλὰ τότε
μάλιστα διερρίπτουν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἀντὶ¹
τῆς Ἀντώνιου μικρολογίας τε καὶ ὠμότητος ἐς
τὴν Καίσαρος μνήμην τοῦ προτέρου καὶ βοήθειαν
τοῦ νῦν καὶ χορηγίας δαψιλεῖς μετατίθεσθαι.
οὖς ὁ Ἀντώνιος μηνύμασι τε μεγάλοις ἐζήτει, καὶ
ἀπειλαῖς, εἴ τις ἐπικρύπτοι. οὐδένα δὲ συλλαβὼν
ἐχαλέπηνεν ὡς τοῦ στρατοῦ σφᾶς ἐπικρύπτοντος.
ἀπαγγελλομένων δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἀποικίαις τε
καὶ ἐν Ἀριστοτελεῖς πεπραγμένων ἐθορυβεῖτο.
καὶ ἐπελθὼν αὐθις ἐπὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἔφη χαλε-
πῆναι μὲν τῶν γεγονότων ὑπὸ ἀνάγκης στρατιω-
τικῆς ὀλίγοις ἀντὶ πλεόνων ὧν ἐκόλαζεν ὁ νόμος,
αὐτοὺς δὲ εἰδέναι σαφῶς οὕτε ὡμὸν οὕτε μικρο-
λόγον Ἀντώνιον. “ἄλλ’ ὁ μὲν φθόνος οἰχέσθω,

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

said; but the army he would lead to the province CHAP.
vii voted to him, the prosperous Gallic country, and would give 100 drachmas to each man present. They laughed at his parsimony, and when he became angry they broke out in tumult and went away. Antony rose and departed, saying, "You shall learn to obey orders." Then he required the military tribunes to bring before him the seditious characters (for it is customary in Roman armies to keep at all times a record of the character of each man). From these he chose by lot a certain number according to military law, and he put to death not every tenth man, but a smaller number, thinking that he would thus quickly strike terror into them. But the others were turned to rage and hatred instead of fear by this act.

44. In view of these facts the men whom Octavian had sent to tamper with the soldiers distributed the greatest possible number of handbills throughout the camp, reflecting on Antony's stinginess and cruelty, recalling the memory of the elder Caesar and urging them to share the service of the younger and his liberal gifts. Antony tried to find these emissaries by means of rewards to informers and threats against those who abetted them, but as he caught no one he became angry, believing that the soldiers concealed them. When the news came of what Octavian was doing among the colonized veterans and at Rome, he became alarmed, and going before the army again he said that he was sorry for what he had been compelled by military discipline to do to a few instead of the much larger number who were punishable by law, and that they must know very well that Antony was neither cruel nor stingy. "Let us lay aside

He punishes
them

Octavian
excites
dissension
in Antony's
army

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. ^{VII} κεκορεσμένος,” ἔφη, “καὶ τοῖς ἀμαρτήμασι καὶ
ταῖς κολάσεσι· τὰς δὲ ἑκατὸν δραχμὰς ὑμῖν οὐ
δωρεάν (οὐ γὰρ τοῦτό γε τῆς Ἀντωνίου τύχης),
ἀλλὰ τῆς πρώτης ἐς ὑμᾶς ἐντεύξεως προσαγορευ-
τικὸν μᾶλλον ἡ δωρεὰν ἐκέλευσα δοθῆναι, καὶ
χρὴ νόμῳ πατρίῳ τε καὶ στρατιωτικῷ καὶ ἐς
τάδε καὶ ἐς πάντα εὔπειθεῖς ὑπάρχειν.” ὁ μὲν
οὗτος εἶπεν, οὐδέν τι ἔτι προσθεὶς τῇ δωρεᾷ τοῦ
μὴ δοκεῖν ὁ στρατηγὸς ἡσσῆσθαι τοῦ στρατοῦ.
οἱ δὲ ἐλάμβανον, εἴτε μεταγνόντες εἴτε καὶ δε-
διότες. ὁ δὲ αὐτῶν τοὺς μὲν ταξιάρχους, εἴτε
μηνίων ἔτι τῆς στάσεως εἴθ' ἐτέρως ὑπονοῶν,
ἐνήλλασσε, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς καὶ τάλλα ἐν ταῖς
χρείαις ἐδεξιοῦτο καὶ προύπεμπεν ἀνὰ μέρος τὴν
παραθαλάσσιον ὁδεύειν ἐπὶ Ἀριμίνου.

45. Αὐτὸς δ' ἐπιλεξάμενος ἐκ πάντων στρα-
τηγίδα σπεῖραν ἀνδρῶν ἀρίστων τά τε σώματα
καὶ τὸν τρόπον ὥδευεν ἐς Ῥώμην ώς ἐκεῖθεν ἐπὶ¹
τὸ Ἀρίμινον ὄρμήσων. ἐσήει δὲ ἐς τὴν πόλιν
σοβαρῶς, τὴν μὲν Ἰλην πρὸ τοῦ ἀστεως στρατο-
πεδεύσας, τοὺς δ' ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἔχων ὑπεζωσμένους
καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν νυκτοφυλακοῦντας ἐνόπλους· συν-
θήματά τε αὐτοῖς ἐδίδοτο, καὶ αἱ φυλακαὶ παρὰ
μέρος ἡσαν ώς ἐν στρατοπέδῳ. συναγαγὼν δὲ
τὴν βουλὴν ώς μεμψόμενος Καίσαρι περὶ τῶν
πεπραγμένων, ἐσιὼν ἦδη μανθάνει τῶν τεσσάρων
τελῶν τὸ καλούμενον Ἀρειον κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐς
Καίσαρα μετατεθεῖσθαι. καὶ αὐτῷ τὴν εἰσοδον
ἐπισχόντι τε καὶ διαποροῦντι ἀγγέλλεται καὶ τὸ
καλούμενον τέταρτον ὄμοίως τοῖς Ἀρείοις ἐς

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

ill-will," he continued, "and rest satisfied with these CHAP.
faults and punishments. The 100 drachmas which
I have ordered to be given you is not my donative,
for that would be unworthy of the fortune of Antony,
but a small dole to mark our first meeting rather than
a full reward ; but it is necessary to obey the laws of
our country, and of the army, in this affair as in
all others." When he had thus spoken he did not
as yet add anything to the donative, that it might
not seem that as general he had yielded anything to
the army ; but they, whether moved by penitence
or by fear, took what was given them. Antony,
however, being still angry at the outbreak, or from
some other suspicion, changed their tribunes, but
the rest of the army he treated well because he had
need of their services, and he sent them forward by
detachments along the sea-coast toward Ariminum.

45. Antony chose from the whole number a praetorian cohort of the men who were best in body and character and marched to Rome, intending to push on thence toward Ariminum. He entered the city in a haughty manner, leaving his squadron of horse encamped outside the walls. But the troops that accompanied him were girded as for war, and they mounted guard over his house at night under arms, and he gave them a countersign and relieved them regularly, just as in a camp. He convoked the Senate in order to make complaint of the acts of Octavian, and just as he was entering it he learned that the so-called Martian legion, one of the four on the road, had gone over to Octavian. While he was waiting at the entrance cogitating over this news it was announced to him that another legion, called the Fourth, had followed the example of the Martian

Two of
Antony's
legions
desert to
Octavian

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. Καίσαρα μετατεθεῖσθαι. διαταραχθεὶς οὖν εἰσῆλθε
VII μὲν ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον, ώς δ' ἐφ' ἔτερα αὐτοὺς
συναγαγὼν μικρὰ διελέχθη καὶ εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὰς
πύλας ἔχώρει καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν πυλῶν ἐπὶ Ἀλβην
πόλιν ώς μεταπείσων τοὺς ἀποστάντας. βαλλό-
μενος δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ἀνέστρεφε καὶ τοῖς
ἄλλοις τέλεσι προσέπεμπεν ἀνὰ πεντακοσίας
δραχμὰς ἑκάστῳ, καὶ σὺν οἷς εἶχεν αὐτὸς ἐς
Τίβυρον ἔξηει, σκευὴν ἔχων τὴν συνήθη τοῖς ἐπὶ¹
τοὺς πολέμους ἔξιοῦσι· καὶ γὰρ ἥδη σαφῆς ἦν ὁ
πόλεμος, Δέκμου τὴν Κελτικὴν οὐ μεθιέντος.

46. Δεῦρο δὲ ὅντι ἡ τε βουλὴ σχεδὸν ἄπασα
καὶ τῶν ἵππέων τὸ πλεῖστον ἀφίκετο ἐπὶ τιμῇ
καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου τὸ ἀξιολογώτατον· οἱ καὶ
καταλαβόντες αὐτὸν ὄρκοῦντα τοὺς παρόντας οἱ
στρατιώτας καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πάλαι στρατευ-
σαμένων συνδραμόντας (πολὺ γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο ἦν)
συνώμινον ἔκόντες οὐκ ἐκλείψειν τὴν ἐς Ἀντώ-
νιον εὔνοιάν τε καὶ πίστιν, ώς ἀπορῆσαι, τίνες
ἥσαν, οἱ πρὸ ὀλίγου παρὰ τὴν Καίσαρος ἐκκλη-
σίαν τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐβλασφήμουν.

'Ο μὲν δὴ λαμπρῶς οὕτως ἐς τὸ Ἀρίμινον
προεπέμπετο, ὅθεν ἐστὶν ἡ τῆς Κελτικῆς ἀρχὴ.
καὶ ὁ στρατὸς ἦν αὐτῷ, χωρίς γε τῶν νεολέκτων,
τρία τέλη τὰ ἐκ Μακεδονίας μετάπεμπτα (ἥδη
γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἀφίκτο), ἔξεστρατευ-
μένων δὲ ἔν, οἱ καὶ γηρῶντες ὅμως ἐδόκουν νεο-
συλλόγων ἀμείνους ἐς τὸ διπλάσιον εἶναι. οὕτω
μὲν Ἀντωνίῳ τέσσαρα ἐγίγνετο τέλη γεγυμνασ-
μένων ἀνδρῶν καὶ ὅσον ἔξ. ἔθους αὐτοῖς ἐπίκουρον

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

and espoused the side of Octavian. Disconcerted as CHAP.
he was he entered the senate-house, pretending that VII
he had convened them about other matters, said a few words, and immediately departed to the city gates, and thence to the town of Alba, in order to persuade the deserters to come back to him. They shot arrows at him from the walls, and he retreated. To the other legions he forwarded 500 drachmas per man. With the soldiers he had with him he marched to Tibur, taking the equipment customary to those who are going to war; for war was now certain, since Decimus Brutus had refused to give up Cisalpine Gaul.

46. While Antony was at Tibur nearly all the Senate, and the greater part of the knights, and the most influential plebeians, came there to do him honour. These persons, arriving while he was swearing into his service the soldiers present and also the discharged veterans who had flocked in (of whom there was a goodly number), voluntarily joined in taking the oath that they would not fail in friendship and fidelity to Antony; so that one would have been at a loss to know who were the men who, a little before, had decried Antony at Octavian's public meeting.

With this brilliant send-off Antony started for Ariminum, which lies on the border of Cisalpine Gaul. His army, exclusive of the new levies, consisted of three legions summoned from Macedonia (for the remainder had now arrived). There was also one of discharged veterans, old men, who appeared nevertheless to be worth twice as much as the new levies. Thus Antony had four legions of well-disciplined troops, and the helpers who usually

Antony
departs to
Cisalpine
Gaul

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. ἄλλο ἔπεται, καὶ ἡ τοῦ σώματος φρουρὰ καὶ τὰ
VII νεόλεκτα. Λέπιδός τε ἔχων ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ τέσσαρα
τέλη καὶ Ἀσίνιος Πολλίων δύο καὶ Πλάγκος ἐν
τῇ ἑτέρᾳ Κελτικῇ τρία ἐδόκουν αἱρήσεσθαι τὰ
Ἀντωνίου.

47. Καίσαρι δὲ ἦν δύο ὁμοίως ἀξιολογώτατα,
τὰ ἐς αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου μεταστάντα, ἐν δὲ
νεοσυλλόγων, δύο δὲ ἐκ τῶν πρότερον ἐστρατευ-
μένων, οὐκ ἐντελῆ μὲν ταῦτα τοῖς ἀριθμοῖς οὐδὲ
ταῖς ὀπλίσεσιν, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν νεοσυλλόγων καὶ
ταῦτα ἀναπληρούμενα. συναγαγὼν δ' ἅπαντας
ἐς Ἀλβην ἐπέστελλε τῇ βουλῇ. ἡ δὲ ἐφήδετο
μὲν αὐθις Καίσαρι, ως ἀπορεῖν καὶ τότε, τίνες
ἡσαν, οἱ προύπεμπον Ἀντώνιον ἥχθοντο δὲ
τοῖς τέλεσιν οὐκ ἐς τὴν βουλήν, ἀλλ' ἐς τὸν Καί-
σαρα μετελθοῦσιν. ἐπαινέσαντες δ' ὅμως αὐτούς
τε καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα, ἔφασαν ὀλίγον ὕστερον ὁ τι
χρὴ ποιεῖν αὐτοὺς ψηφιεῖσθαι, ὅταν αὐτοῖς αἱ
νέαι ἀρχαὶ ἐς τὰ πράγματα παρέλθωσιν. ἦν δὲ
σαφές, ὅτι χρήσονται μὲν αὐτοῖς κατὰ Ἀντωνίου·
στρατὸν δὲ οὐδένα πω ἔχοντες ἵδιον οὐδὲ κατα-
λέξαι χωρὶς ὑπάτων δυνάμενοι ἐς τὰς νέας ἀρχὰς
πάντα ἀνετίθεντο.

48. Τῷ Καίσαρι δ' ὁ στρατὸς πελέκεας τε
καὶ ῥαβδοφόρους ἐσκευασμένους προσαγαγόντες,
ἥξιον ἐαυτὸν ἀντιστράτηγον ἀποφῆναι, πολέμου
τε ἡγεμονεύοντα καὶ σφῶν αἰεὶ ὑπ' ἀρχουσι τα-
χθέντων. ὁ δὲ τὴν μὲν τιμὴν ἐπήνει, τὸ δὲ ἔργον

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

accompanied them, besides his body-guard and the new levies. Lepidus in Spain with four legions,^{VII} Asinius Pollio with two, and Plancus in Transalpine Gaul with three, seemed likely to espouse the side of Antony.

47. Octavian had two legions equally efficient, those which had deserted from Antony to him, also one legion of new levies, and two of veterans, not complete in numbers or in arms, but these also filled up with new recruits. He brought them all to Alba and there communicated with the Senate, which congratulated him in such a way that now one would have been at a loss to know who were those who had lately ranged themselves with Antony; but it regretted that the legions had not come over to the Senate itself instead of to him. It praised them and Octavian nevertheless, and said that it would vote them whatever was needful as soon as the new magistrates should enter upon their duties. It was plain that the Senate would use these forces against Antony; but having no army of its own anywhere, and being unable to levy one without consuls, it adjourned all business until the new consuls should come in.¹

48. The soldiers of Octavian furnished him lictors provided with fasces and urged him to assume the title of propraetor, carrying on war and acting as their leader, since they were always marshalled under magistrates. He thanked them for the honour, but referred the matter to the Senate. When they

¹ The new consuls were Hirtius and Pansa. They had been designated in advance by Caesar and succeeded to the office by virtue of the decree of the Senate confirming all Caesar's acts,

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. ές τὴν βουλὴν ἀνετίθετο· καὶ βουλομένους ἐπὶ^{VII} τοῦτο χωρεῖν ἀθρόους ἐκώλυε καὶ πρεσβευομένους ἐπεῖχεν, ώς καὶ τῆς βουλῆς ψηφιουμένης ταῦτα καθ' ἑαυτήν, καὶ μᾶλλον, ἦν αἰσθωνται τὴν ὑμετέραν προθυμίαν καὶ τὸν ἐμὸν ὅκνον.

Διαλυθέντων δὲ μόλις οὕτω καὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἐς ὑπεροφίαν αὐτὸν αἴτιωμένων, ἐξελογεῖτο αὐτοῖς τὴν βουλὴν οὐκ εὔνοίᾳ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀποκλίνειν μᾶλλον ἢ Ἀντωνίου δέει καὶ στρατιᾶς ἀπορίᾳ, “μέχρι καθέλωμεν ἡμεῖς Ἀντώνιον καὶ οἱ σφαγεῖς φίλοι τε τῇ βουλῇ καὶ συγγενεῖς ὅντες δύναμιν αὐτοῖς συναγάγωσιν· ὃν αἰσθανόμενος ὑπηρετεῖν ὑποκρίνομαι. μὴ δὴ πρότεροι τὴν ὑπόκρισιν ἀποκαλύπτωμεν, ώς προλαβοῦσι μὲν ἡμῖν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπικαλέσουσιν ὕβριν ἢ βίαν, αἰδεσθεῖσι δ' ἵσως ἐπιδώσουσιν αὐτὸὶ δέει, μὴ παρ' ὑμῶν λάβοιμι.” τοιάδε εἰπὼν ἐθεάτο γυμνάσια τῶν δύο τελῶν τῶν αὐτομολησάντων ἀπ' Ἀντωνίου, διαστάντων τε ἐς ἄλλήλους καὶ δρώντων ἀφειδῶς ἔργα πολέμου πάντα πλὴν ἐς μόνον θάνατον. ἡσθεὶς οὖν τῇ θέᾳ καὶ τῆς προφάσεως ἐπιβαίνων ἄσμενος, ἐτέρας αὐτῶν ἐκάστῳ πεντακοσίας δραχμὰς ἐπεδίδου καί, εἴ τις πολέμου χρεία γένοιτο, νικήσασιν ἐπηγγέλλετο πεντακισχιλίας. ὡδε μὲν ὁ Καῖσαρ δαψιλείᾳ δωρεῶν τοὺς μισθοφόρους ἐκρατύνετο.

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

wanted to go before the Senate *en masse* he pre- CHAP.
vented them and would not even allow them to send VII
messengers, believing that the Senate would vote
these things to him voluntarily; "and all the
more," he said, "if they know of your zeal and my
hesitation."

They were reconciled to this course with difficulty. The leading officers complained that he disdained them, and he explained to them that the Senate was moved not so much by good-will toward him as by fear of Antony and the want of an army; "and that will be the case," he continued, "until we humble Antony, and until the murderers, who are friends and relatives of the senators, collect a military force for them. Knowing these facts I falsely pretend to be serving them. Let us not be the first to expose this false pretence. If we usurp the office they will accuse us of arrogance and violence, whereas if we are modest they will probably give it of their own accord, fearing lest I accept it from you." After he had thus spoken he witnessed some military exercises of the two legions that had deserted from Antony, who ranged themselves opposite each other and gave a complete representation of a battle, except only the killing. Octavian was delighted with the spectacle and was pleased to make this a pretext for distributing 500 drachmas more to each man, and he promised that in case of war he would give them 5000 drachmas each if they were victorious. Thus, by means of lavish gifts, did Octavian bind these mercenaries to himself.

Military
manœuvres
of
Octavian's
legions

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

VIII

CAP. 49. Καὶ τάδε μὲν ἦν ἀνὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ἐν δὲ τῇ
VIII Κελτικῇ τὸν Δέκμον ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐκέλευσεν ἐς
 Μακεδονίαν μετιέναι, πειθόμενόν τε τῷ δῆμῳ καὶ
 φειδόμενον ἑαυτοῦ. ὃ δὲ ἀντέπεμπεν αὐτῷ τὰ
 παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς οἱ κεκομισμένα γράμματα, ὡς
 οὐχὶ διὰ τὸν δῆμον εἴκειν οἱ πρέποντες ἢ διὰ τὴν
 βουλὴν Ἀντωνίφ μᾶλλον. Ἀντωνίου δ' αὐτῷ
 προθεσμίαν ὅρίζοντος, μεθ' ἦν ὡς πολεμίφ χρή-
 σται, μακροτέραν ὁ Δέκμος ἐκέλευεν ὅρίζειν
 ἑαυτῷ, μὴ θᾶσσον γένοιτο τῇ βουλῇ πολέμιος.
 καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος εὔμαρῶς ἀν αὐτοῦ κρατήσας ἔτι
 ὅντος ἐν πεδίῳ ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις ἔκρινε προελθεῖν.
 αἱ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐδέχοντο. καὶ δείσας ὁ Δέκμος, μὴ
 οὐδὲ ἐσελθεῖν ἔς τινα αὐτῶν ἔτι δύνηται, πλάστεται
 γράμματα τῆς βουλῆς καλούσης αὐτὸν ἐς Ῥώμην
 σὺν τῷ στρατῷ· καὶ ἀναζεύξας ἔχωρει τὴν ἐπὶ
 τῆς Ἰταλίας, ὑποδεχομένων αὐτὸν ὡς ἀπιόντα
 πάντων, μέχρι Μουτίνην παροδεύων, πόλιν εὐδαι-
 μονα, τάς τε πύλας ἀπέκλειε καὶ τὰ τῶν Μου-
 τιναίων ἔς τὰς τροφὰς συνέφερεν, ὑποξύγιά τε
 ὅσα ἦν κατέθυε καὶ ἐταρίχευε δέει, μὴ χρόνιος
 ἡ πολιορκία γένοιτο, καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ὑπέμενε.
 στρατιὰ δ' ἦν αὐτῷ μονομάχων τε πλῆθος
 καὶ ὄπλιτῶν τρία τέλη, ὧν ἐν μὲν ἦν ἀρτιστρα-
 τεύτων ἀνδρῶν ἔτι ἀπείρων, δύο δέ, ἀ καὶ πρό-
 τερον ὑπεστρατευμένα αὐτῷ πιστότατα ἦν. ὁ
 δ' Ἀντώνιος ἐπελθὼν αὐτῷ σὺν ὄργῃ τὴν Μου-
 τίνην ἀπετάφρευε τε καὶ ἀπετείχιζε.

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

VIII

49. SUCH was the course of events in Italy. In CHAP.
Cisalpine Gaul Antony ordered Decimus Brutus to VIII
withdraw to Macedonia in obedience to the decree
of the Roman people, and for his own safety. Decimus,
in reply, sent him the letters that had been furnished him by the Senate, as much as to say that he cared no more for the command of the people than Antony did for that of the Senate. Antony then fixed a day for his compliance, after which he should treat him as an enemy. Decimus advised him to fix a later day lest Antony should too soon make himself an enemy to the Senate. Although Antony could have easily overcome him, as he was still in the open country, he decided to proceed first against the cities. These opened their gates to him. Decimus, fearing that he for his part should now be unable to enter any of them, fabricated letters from the Senate calling him to Rome with his army and retired towards Italy, admitted by all as they thought he was departing, until he arrived at the wealthy city of Mutina.¹ Here he closed the gates and possessed himself of the property of the inhabitants for the support of his army. He slaughtered and salted all the cattle he could find there in anticipation of a long siege, and awaited Antony. His army consisted of a large number of gladiators and three legions of infantry, one of which was composed of new recruits as yet inexperienced. The other two had served under him before and were entirely trustworthy. Antony advanced against him with fury, and drew a line of circumvallation around Mutina.

Antony orders D. Brutus to withdraw from Cisalpine Gaul

Decimus retires to Mutina and Antony besieges him there

¹ The modern Modena.

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. 50. Καὶ Δέκμος μὲν ἐπολιορκεῖτο, ἐν δὲ τῇ
 VIII Ῥώμη κατὰ τὴν ἑτήσιον νουμηνίαν ὑπατοὶ γενό-
 μενοι "Ιρτιός τε καὶ Πάνσας τὴν βουλὴν εὐθὺς
 ἐπὶ ταῖς θυσίαις ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἵερῳ συνῆγον ἐπὶ¹
 Ἀντωνίῳ. Κικέρων μὲν δὴ καὶ οἱ Κικέρωνος
 φίλοι πολέμιον αὐτὸν ἡξίουν ἥδη ψηφίσασθαι,
 τὴν Κελτικὴν ἀκούσης τῆς βουλῆς ἐς ἐπιτείχισμα
 τῆς πατρίδος βιαζόμενον δπλοις καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ²
 Θρᾶκας αὐτῷ δεδομένον στρατὸν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν
 διαγαγόντα· ἐπελέγοντο δὲ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην αὐτοῦ
 μετὰ Καίσαρα προαιρεσιν, ἐν τε τῇ πόλει φανερῶς
 δορυφορηθέντος ὑπὸ τοσῶνδε λοχαγῶν καὶ περὶ³
 τὴν οἰκίαν ὕσπερ ἄκραν δπλοις καὶ συνθήμασι
 κεχρημένου καὶ τάλλα σοβαρωτέρου σφίσι φανέν-
 τος ἦ κατὰ τὴν ἑτήσιον ἀρχήν. Λεύκιος δὲ
 Πείσων, ὁ τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ τὴν ἀποδημίαν ἐπιτρυ-
 πεύων, ἀνὴρ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα Ῥωμαίων ἐπιφαινής,
 ὅσοι τε ἄλλοι τῷ Πείσωνι δι' αὐτὸν ἦ δι' Ἀντώνιον
 ἦ κατ' οἰκείαν γνώμην προσετίθεντο, καλεῖν αὐτὸν
 ἐς κρίσιν ἡξίουν, ώς οὐ πάτριον σφίσιν ἀκρίτου
 καταδικάζειν οὐδ' εὐπρεπὲς τοῦ χθὲς ὑπάτου τῆς
 ἐπιούσης ἡμέρας, οὐ γε μάλιστα συνεχεῖς ἐπαίνους
 ἄλλοι τε καὶ Κικέρων αὐτὸς εἰπε πολλάκις. ἦ δὲ
 βουλὴ τότε μὲν ἀγγώμαλοι ταῖς γνώμαις ἐς νύκτα
 περιῆλθον, ἔμα δ' ἔφ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐς τὸ βου-
 λευτήριον συνελέγοντο· ἔνθα τῶν Κικερωνείων
 ἐπιβαρούντων ἐψήφιστο ἀν ὁ Ἀντώνιος πολέμος,
 εἰ μὴ τῶν δημάρχων Σάλουιος ἐς τὴν ἐπιούσαν

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

50. Decimus, then, was besieged : but at Rome, CHAP.
at the beginning of the new year, the consuls, VIII
Hirtius and Pansa, convened the Senate on the B.C. 48
subject of Antony immediately after the sacrifices
had been performed and in the very temple. Cicero
and his friends urged that Antony be now declared
a public enemy, since he had seized Cisalpine Gaul
with an armed force against the will of the Senate
and made of it a point of attack on the republic,
and had brought into Italy an army given to him to
operate against the Thracians. They spoke also of
his seeking the supreme power as Caesar's successor,
because he publicly surrounded himself in the city
with such a large body of armed centurions, and
converted his house into a fortress with arms and
countersigns, and had borne himself more haughtily
in other respects than was befitting a yearly magis-
trate. Lucius Piso, who had charge of Antony's
interest in his absence, a man among the most
illustrious in Rome, and others who sided with him
on his own account, or on Antony's, or because of
their own opinion, contended that Antony ought to
have a trial, that it was not the custom of their
ancestors to condemn a man unheard, that it was
not decent to declare a man an enemy to-day who
was a consul yesterday, and especially one whom
Cicero himself as well as the rest had so often
lavishly praised. The Senate, which was about
equally divided in opinion, remained in session till
night. Early the next morning it reassembled to
consider the same question and then the party of
Cicero was in the majority and Antony would have
been voted a public enemy had not the tribune
Salvius adjourned the sitting to the following day ;

Cicero urges
that Antony
be declared
a public
enemy

The tribune
Salvius
interposes
in favour
of Antony

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. έκέλευσεν ἀναθέσθαι. ἔστι δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ὁ
VIII κωλύων ἀεὶ δυνατώτερος.

51. Οἱ μὲν δὴ Κικερώνειοι καὶ τούτῳ μάλα φορ-
τικῶς ὡνείδιζόν τε καὶ ἐνύβριζον καὶ τὸν δῆμον
ἐκδραμόντες ἥρεθιζον ἐπ' αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν Σάλουιον
ἐς αὐτὸν ἐκάλουν. ὁ δὲ ἀκαταπλήκτως ἔξετρεχεν,
ἔως ἡ βουλὴ κατέσχε δείσασα, μὴ μεταπείσειε
τὸν δῆμον ἐς μυήμην ἀγαγὼν Ἀντωνίου. οὐ γὰρ
ἡγνόουν καταγινώσκοντες ἀνδρὸς ἐπιφανοῦς πρὸ^τ
δίκης οὐδέ ὅτι τὴν Κελτικὴν ὁ δῆμος αὐτῷ δεδώκει.
ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῶν σφαγέων δεδιότες ὠργίζοντο πρώτῳ
μετὰ τὴν ἀμνηστίαν ἀνακινήσαντι τὰ κατ' αὐτούς.
διὸ καὶ τῷ Καίσαρι ἐς αὐτὸν προκατεχρῶντο·
καὶ ὁ Καίσαρ οὐκ ἀγνοῶν ἥρεῖτο καὶ αὐτὸς ὅμως
προκαθελεῖν τὸν Ἀντώνιον. τοιαῦτες μὲν ἡ βουλὴ
γνώμῃ τὸν Ἀντώνιον εἶχεν ἐν ὄργῃ, ἀναθέμενοι δὲ
τὴν ψῆφον, ὡς ὁ δήμαρχος ἐκέλευεν, ἐψηφίσαντο
ὅμως Δέκμον τε ἐπαινέσαι οὐκ ἐκστάντα Ἀντώνιῳ
τῆς Κελτικῆς, καὶ τοῖς ὑπάτοις Ἰρτίῳ καὶ Πάνσᾳ
Καίσαρα συστρατηγεῖν οὐ νῦν ἔχει στρατοῦ,
ἐπίχρυσόν τε αὐτοῦ εἰκόνα τεθῆναι καὶ γνώμην
αὐτὸν ἐσφέρειν ἐν τοῖς ὑπατικοῖς ἥδη καὶ τὴν
ὑπατείαν αὐτὴν μετιέναι τοῦ νόμου θᾶσσον ἔτεσι
δέκα, ἔκ τε τοῦ δημοσίου δοθῆναι τοῖς τέλεσι τοῖς
ἐς αὐτὸν ἀπὸ Ἀντωνίου μεταστᾶσιν, ὅσον αὐτοῖς
ὁ Καίσαρ ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ δώσειν ὑπέσχετο.

Οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ψηφισάμενοι διελύθησαν, ὡς

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

for among the magistrates the one who has the veto CHAP.
always prevails. VIII

51. The Ciceronians heaped gross reproaches and insults on Salvius for this, and hastening out tried to excite the people against him and summoned him to answer before them. He set forth to obey the summons undismayed until he was restrained by the Senate, which feared lest he should cause the people to change by recalling Antony to their memory; for the senators well knew that they were condemning an illustrious man without a trial, and that the people had given him this very Gallic province. But since they feared for the safety of the murderers they were angry with Antony because he had made the first movement against them after the amnesty, for which reason the Senate had previously called in the help of Octavian against him. Although Octavian knew this he desired nevertheless to take the lead in humbling Antony. Such were the reasons why the Senate was angry with Antony. Although the vote on him was adjourned by the command of the tribune, they passed a decree praising Decimus for not abandoning Cisalpine Gaul to Antony, and directing Octavian to assist the consuls, Hirtius and Pansa, with the army he now had. They awarded him a gilded statue and the right to declare his opinion among the consulars in the Senate even now, and the right to stand for the consulship itself ten years before the legal period, and voted from the public treasury to the legions that deserted from Antony to him the same amount that he promised to give them if they should be victorious.

Debate in
the Senate

After passing these decrees they adjourned, that

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. τὸν Ἀντωνίου ἔργῳ διὰ τῶνδε εἰδέναι πολέμιον
VIII ἐψηφισμένον καὶ τὸν δήμαρχον ἐς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν
οὐδὲν ἔτι ἀντεροῦντα· Ἀντωνίου δὲ ἡ μήτηρ καὶ
ἡ γυνὴ καὶ παῖς ἔτι μειράκιον οὗ τε ἄλλοι οἰκεῖοι
καὶ φίλοι δι’ ὅλης τῆς οὐκτὸς ἐς τὰς τῶν δυνατῶν
οἰκίας διέθεον ἰκετεύοντες καὶ μεθ’ ἡμέραν ἐς τὸ
βουλευτήριον ἴόντας ἥνωχλουν, ρίπτούμενοί τε
πρὸ ποδῶν σὺν οἰμωγῇ καὶ ὀλολυγαῖς καὶ μελαίνῃ
στολῇ παρὰ θύραις ἐκβοῶντες. οἱ δὲ ὑπό τε τῆς
φωνῆς καὶ τῆς ὄψεως καὶ μεταβολῆς ἐς τοσοῦτον
αἴφνιδίου γενομένης ἐκάμπτοντο. δείσας δ’ ὁ
Κικέρων ἐβουληγόρησεν ὡδε.

52. “Α μὲν ἔδει γνῶναι περὶ Ἀντωνίου, ἔχθες
ἔγνωμεν οἷς γὰρ αὐτοῦ τοὺς ἔχθροὺς ἐτιμῶμεν,
τούτοις ἐψηφιζόμεθα εἶναι πολέμιον. Σάλουιον δὲ
τὸν μόνον ἐμποδὼν γινόμενον ἡ πάντων εἶναι χρὴ
συνυετώτερον ἡ φιλίᾳ τάδε πράσσειν ἡ τῶν ἐνεστώ-
των ἀμαθίᾳ. ὃν τὸ μὲν αἰσχιστόν ἐστιν ἡμῖν, εἰ
δόξομεν ἀσυνυετώτεροι πάντες ἐνὸς εἶναι, τὸ δὲ
αὐτῷ Σαλούιφ, εἰ φιλίαν τῶν κοινῶν προτιμώῃ.
ἀμαθῶς δ’ αὐτὸν ἔχοντα τῶν παρόντων ἔδει πισ-
τεύειν ὑπάτοις ἀνθ’ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ στρατηγοῖς καὶ
δημάρχοις τοῖς συνάρχουσιν αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις
βουλευταῖς, οἱ τοσοὶδε τὴν ἀξίωσίν τε καὶ τὸν
ἀριθμὸν ὄντες διά τε ἡλικίαν καὶ ἐμπειρίαν ὑπὲρ
τὸν Σάλουιον, καταγινώκομεν Ἀντωνίου. ἔστι
δ’ ἐν τε χειροτονίαις καὶ δίκαιαις αἰεὶ τὸ πλέον
δικαιότερον. εἰ δὲ καὶ νῦν ἔτι χρήζει τὰς αἰτίας

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

Antony might in fact know from the votes taken CHAP.
that he was declared a public enemy and that on the VIII
following day the tribune would no longer inter-
pose his veto. The mother, the wife, and the son
of Antony (who was still a young man), and his
other relatives and friends went around the whole
night visiting the houses of influential men and
beseeching them. In the morning they put them-
selves in the way of those going to the senate-house,
fell at their feet with wailing and lamentation and
in mourning garments, crying out alongside the
doors. Some of the senators were moved by these
cries, this spectacle, this so sudden change of fortune.
Cicero, fearing the result, addressed the Senate as
follows :—

52. "What decision ought to be reached concerning Cicero's
Antony we determined yesterday. When we speech
bestowed honours on his enemies we thereby voted
him an enemy. Salvius, who alone interrupted the
proceedings, must either have been wiser than all
the rest, or moved to do so by private friendship, or
by ignorance of present circumstances. It would be
most disgraceful to us, on the one hand, if all should
seem to know less than one, and to Salvius, on the
other hand, if he should prefer private friendship to
the public weal. If he is not well acquainted with
the present circumstances he ought to repose con-
fidence in the consuls, rather than himself, in the
praetors, in his fellow-tribunes, and the other
senators, so imposing in dignity and in numbers, so
much his superiors in age and experience, who con-
demn Antony. In our elections and in our jury
trials justice is ever on the side of the majority. If
it be needful still to acquaint him with the reasons

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. VIII μαθεῖν, λελέξεται διὰ βραχέος, ὡς ἐν ἀναμυήσει,
τὰ μέγιστα αὐτῶν.

“Τὰ χρήματα ἡμῶν Καίσαρος ἀποθανόντος
ἐσφετερίσατο Ἀντώνιος. Μακεδονίας ἄρχειν παρ'
ἡμῶν ἐπιτυχὼν ἐπὶ τὴν Κελτικὴν ὥρμησε χωρὶς
ἡμῶν. τὸν στρατὸν ἐπὶ Θράκας λαβὼν ἀντὶ¹
Θρακῶν ἐπήγαγεν ἡμῖν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν. ἐκάτερα
τούτων αἰτήσας ἡμᾶς ἐπ' ἐνέδρᾳ καὶ οὐ λαβὼν
ἐπράξε δὶ' ἑαυτοῦ. σπεῖραν ἐν Βρευτεσίῳ βασι-
λικὴν συνέταξεν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν εἶναι, καὶ φανερῶς
αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ πόλει σιδηροφοροῦντες ἄνδρες ἐδορυ-
φόρουν τε καὶ ἐνυκτοφυλάκουν ὑπὸ συνθήματι.
ἥγεν ἐκ τοῦ Βρευτεσίου καὶ τὸν ἄλλον στρατὸν ἐς
τὴν πόλιν ἅπαντα, συντομώτερον ἐφιέμενος ὡν
ἐπενόει Καίσαρ. Καίσαρος δὲ αὐτὸν τοῦ νέου σὺν
ἔτέρῳ στρατῷ φθύσαντος ἔδεισε καὶ ἐς τὴν
Κελτικὴν ἐτράπετο ὡς εὔκαιρον ἐφ' ἡμῖν ὄρμητήρ-
ιον, ὅτι καὶ ὁ Καίσαρ ἐκεῖθεν ὄρμώμενος ἐδυνά-
στευσεν ἡμῶν.

53. “Τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπὶ τοῖσδε καταπλησσόμε-
νος, ἵνα πρὸς μηθὲν αὐτῷ παρανομοῦντι κατοκνῆ,
διεκλήρωσεν ἐς θάνατον, οὐ στασιάσαντας ἢ φυλα-
κὴν ἢ τάξιν ἐν πολέμῳ λιπόντας, ἐφ' ὧν μόνων
ὁ στρατιωτικὸς νόμος τὴν οὕτως ὡμὴν ὥρισε
τιμωρίαν, καὶ ὅμως αὐτῇ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖσδε δλίγοι
μόλις ἐν τοῖς πάνυ κινδύνοις ἐχρήσαντο ὑπ'
ἀνάγκης. ὁ δὲ φωνῆς ἢ γέλωτος ἥγεν ἐς θάνατον
τοὺς πολίτας καὶ θάνατον οὐ τῶν ἐλεγχθέντων,
ἀλλὰ τῶν διαλαχόντων. τοιγαροῦν οἱ μὲν δυνη-
θέντες ἀπέστησαν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὑμεῖς αὐτοῖς ὡς εὑ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

for our action I will briefly recount the principal ones by way of reminder.

CHAP.
VIII

"At Caesar's death Antony possessed himself of our money. Having been invested with the government of Macedonia by us he seized upon that of Cisalpine Gaul without our authority. Having received an army to operate against the Thracians he brought it into Italy against us instead. Each of these powers he asked from us for his own secret motives, and when they were refused he acted on his own authority. At Brundusium he organized a royal cohort for his own use and openly made men-at-arms his private guards and night-watchmen, serving under a countersign. The whole remainder of the army he led from Brundusium to the city, aiming by a shorter path at the same designs that Caesar contemplated. Being anticipated by the younger Caesar and his army he became alarmed and turned his course to the Gallic province as a convenient point of attack on us, because Caesar had used it as his base when he made himself our master.

53. "In order to intimidate the soldiers to do every unlawful act he should order, he decimated them although they had not revolted and had not abandoned their watch or their ranks in time of war, for which offences alone military law allows such cruel punishment, which only a few generals have visited upon their soldiers and with reluctance, in cases of extreme peril, as a matter of necessity. These citizens Antony put to death for a word or a laugh; a death, moreover, of men not regularly condemned but merely chosen by lot. For this reason those who could do so revolted from him, and

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. VIII πράξασι δωρεὰς χθὲς ἐψηφίσασθε· οἱ δὲ οὐ δυνηθέντες ἀποδρᾶνται δεδιότες συναδικοῦσι καὶ χωροῦσιν ἐπὶ χώραν ὑμετέραν πολέμιοι καὶ πολιορκοῦσι στρατὸν ὑμέτερον καὶ στρατηγὸν ὑμέτερον, φέροντες μὲν ὑμεῖς ἐμμένειν τῇ Κελτικῇ, Ἀντώνιος δ' ἔξιέναι κελεύει. πότερον οὖν ἡμεῖς Ἀντώνιον ψηφιζόμεθα εἶναι πολέμιον, ή Ἀντώνιος ἡμᾶς ἥδη πολεμεῖ, καὶ ὁ δῆμαρχος ἡμῶν ἔτι ἀγνοεῖ, μέχρι ἣρα Δέκμου πεσόντος η τε χώρα τοσήδε οὖσα καὶ ὅμορος ἡμῖν καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ χώρᾳ ὁ Δέκμου στρατὸς ἐς τὰς καθ' ἡμῶν ἐλπίδας Ἀντωνίῳ προσγένηται. τότε γὰρ αὐτόν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ὁ δῆμαρχος ψηφιεῖται πολέμιον, ὅταν ἡμῶν γένηται δυνατώτερος.”

54. Ταῦτ' ἔτι τοῦ Κικέρωνος λέγοντος οἱ φίλοι θορυβοῦντες ἀπαύστως οὐδενὶ ἀντειπεῖν ἐπέτρεπον, μέχρι Πείσωνος αὐτοῦ παρελθόντος η τε ἄλλη βουλὴ κατ' αἰδῶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἡσύχασε καὶ οἱ τοῦ Κικέρωνος ἡνέσχοντο. καὶ ἔλεγεν ὁ Πείσων· “οἱ μὲν νόμος, ὁ βουλή, δικαιοῖ τὸν εὐθυνόμενον αὐτὸν ἀκοῦσαι τε τῆς κατηγορίας καὶ ἀπολογησάμενον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ κρίνεσθαι· καὶ τὸν δεινότατον εἰπεῖν Κικέρωνα ἐς ταῦτα προκαλοῦμαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὀκνεῖ μὲν παρόντος Ἀντωνίου κατηγορεῖν, ἀπόντος δ' ἐγκλήματά τινα εἰπεν ως μέγιστα ἐκ πάντων καὶ ἀναμφίλογα ὅντα, παρῆλθον ἐγὼ δείξων αὐτὰ ψευδῆ βραχυτάταις ἀπο-

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

you yesterday voted them a donative as well-doers. CHAP.
Those who could not desert joined him in wrong-
doing under the influence of fear, marched against
our province as enemies, and besieged our army and
our general, to whom you send letters directing him
to hold the province, while Antony now orders him to
evacuate it. Are we voting Antony an enemy, or is
he already making war against us? And these
things our tribune is still ignorant of, and will
remain so until Decimus is overthrown and this
great province on our border, together with the
army of Decimus, is added to the resources with
which Antony hopes to attack us. I suppose that
the tribune will vote Antony an enemy only as soon
as he becomes our master.”¹

54. While Cicero was yet speaking his friends
broke forth in such tumultuous applause that for a
long time nobody could be heard on the other side,
until finally Piso came forward, when the senators,
out of respect for him, became silent and even the
Ciceronians restrained themselves. Then Piso said :
“ Our law, Senators, requires that the accused shall
himself hear the charge preferred against him and
shall be judged after he has made his own defence ;
and for the truth of this I appeal to Cicero, our greatest
orator. Since, however, he hesitates to accuse Antony
when present, but brings against him in his absence
certain charges which he considers of the greatest
gravity, and not open to doubt, I have come forward
to show, in the fewest words, that these charges are

VIII

Piso
defends
Antony

¹ The fifth Philippic of Cicero was delivered in the Senate on the first day of January, 43, and the sixth to a popular assembly on the fourth day of the same month. They bear only slight resemblance to this speech.

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

ΟΑΡ. κρισεσι. τὰ χρήματά φησιν Ἀντώνιον τὰ κοινὰ
VIII μετὰ τὴν Καίσαρος τελευτὴν σφετερίσασθαι, τοῦ
μὲν νόμου τὸν κλέπτην οὐ πολέμιον ἀποφαίνοντος,
ἀλλὰ ὡρισμένη δίκη ζημιούντος, Βρούτου δὲ τοῦ
Καίσαρα κτείναντος ἐν τῷ δῆμῳ καὶ τόδε κατη-
γορήσαντος, ὅτι ὁ Καῖσαρ τὰ χρήματα διεφόρησε
καὶ κενὰ καταλέλοιπε τὰ ταμιεῖα, Ἀντωνίου δὲ
μετ' οὐ πολὺ ζητεῖν αὐτὰ ψηφισαμένου καὶ ὑμῶν
ἀποδεξαμένων τε τὴν γνώμην καὶ κεκυρωκότων
καὶ γέρας τοῦς μηνύουσι δεκάτην ὑπεσχημένων, ἦν
διπλασιάσομεν ἡμεῖς, εἴ τις Ἀντώνιον περὶ αὐτῶν
ἔχοι τι διελέγχειν.

55. “Καὶ τάδε μὲν περὶ τῶν χρημάτων· τὴν δὲ
Κελτικὴν ἡγεμονίαν οὐκ ἐψηφισάμεθα μὲν ἡμεῖς
Ἀντωνίῳ, ἔδωκε δὲ ὁ δῆμος νόμῳ, παρόντος αὐτοῦ
Κικέρωνος, φῶ τρόπῳ καὶ ἔτερα πολλάκις ἔδωκε
καὶ τήνδε τὴν ἡγεμονίαν αὐτὴν Καίσαρι πάλαι.
μέρος δὲ ἔστι τοῦ νόμου τὸν Ἀντώνιον, τὴν
δεδομένην οἱ μετιόντα, Δέκμῳ μὴ παραχωροῦντι
πολεμεῖν καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἀντὶ Θρακῶν οὐδὲν ἔτι
κινουμένων ἐς τὴν Κελτικὴν ἐπὶ τὸν ἀντιλέγοντα.
ἀλλὰ Κικέρων Δέκμον μὲν οὐχ ἡγεῖται πολέμιον,
ἐναντία τῷ νόμῳ τιθέμενον ὅπλα, Ἀντώνιον δὲ
πολέμιον, τῷ νόμῳ συμμαχοῦντα. εἰ δὲ αὐτὸν
αἴτιάται τὸν νόμον, τοὺς θεμένους αἴτιάται· οὓς
ἔδει μεταπείθειν, οὐχὶ συνθέμενον ὑβρίζειν, οὐδὲ
τὴν χώραν Δέκμῳ μὲν πιστεύειν, διν ὁ δῆμος
ἔδίωξεν ἐπὶ τῷ φονῷ, Ἀντωνίῳ δὲ ἀπιστεῖν, ὃ τι
ὁ δῆμος ἔδωκεν. οὐ γὰρ εὖ βουλευομένων ἔστι·

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

false. He says that Antony converted the public money to his own use after Caesar's death. The law declares such a person to be a thief, not a public enemy, and limits his punishment accordingly. After Brutus had killed Caesar he accused the latter before the people of plundering the public money and leaving the treasury empty. Soon afterward Antony proposed a decree to investigate these matters and you adopted and confirmed his motion and promised a reward of one-tenth to informers, which reward we will double if anybody will prove that Antony had any part in the fraud.

55. "So much for the charge in reference to money. We did not vote the governorship of Cisalpine Gaul to Antony, but the people gave it to him by a law, Cicero being present; just as other provinces had often been given, and as this same governorship had previously been given to Caesar. It was a part of this law that, when Antony should arrive at the province given to him, if Decimus would not yield it Antony should declare war and lead the army into the Gallic province against him, instead of using it against the Thracians, who were still quiet. But Cicero does not consider Decimus, who is entrenching himself against the law, an enemy, although he considers Antony an enemy who is fighting on the side of the law. He who accuses the law itself accuses the authors of the law, whom he ought to change by persuasion, not to insult after having himself agreed with them. He ought not to entrust the province to Decimus, whom the people drove out of the city on account of the murder, while refusing to entrust to Antony what the people gave to him. It is not the part of good

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. VIII διαστασιάζεσθαι πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ἐν καιροῖς
μάλιστα ἐπικινδύνοις οὐδὲ ἀμνημονεῖν, ὅτι καὶ
τόδε αὐτὸ τοῦ δήμου πρότερον ἦν, τὸ κρίνειν τὰ
φίλια καὶ πολέμια. μόνος γὰρ ἐκ τῶν πάλαι
νόμων ὁ δῆμος αὐτοκράτωρ εἰρήνης πέρι καὶ
πολέμου σκοπεῖν. ὃν μηδὲν ὁ δῆμος ἐπιστήσειε
μηδὲ ἐπιμηνίσειεν ἡμῖν, προστάτου λαβόμενος.

56. "Αλλ' ἔκτεινέ τινας τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὁ
Ἀντώνιος. αὐτοκράτωρ γε ὃν καὶ ἐς τοῦτο ὑφ'
ὑμῶν κεχειροτονημένος. καὶ οὐδέις πω τῶνδε
λόγον ὑπέσχειν αὐτοκράτωρ. οὐ γὰρ ἔκριναν οἱ
νόμοι λυσιτελήσειν ἡμῖν τὸν ἄρχοντα τοῖς στρα-
τευομένοις ὑπεύθυνον εἶναι· οὐδ' ἔστιν ἀπειθείας
τι χεῖρον ἐν στρατοπέδῳ, δι' ἦν καὶ νικῶντές τινες
ἀνηρέθησαν, καὶ οὐδέις εὕθυνε τοὺς ἀνελόντας.
οὐδὲ τῶν νῦν συγγενὴς οὐδέις, ἀλλὰ Κικέρων
ἐπιμέμφεται καὶ φόνου κατηγορῶν πολέμου κοι-
νὸν ἀντὶ τῶν ὀρισμένων ἐπιτιμίων τοῖς φονεῦσι
τίθεται. Ἀντωνίῳ δὲ τὸ στρατόπεδον ὅπως τε
ἄτακτον ἦν καὶ ὅπως κατεφρόνει, δηλοῖ καὶ τὰ
μεταστάντα αὐτοῦ δύο τέλη, ἀντὶ τῶν δύο μὲν ἐψηφί-
σασθε Ἀντωνίῳ στρατεύειν, αὐτομολήσαντα δὲ
παρὰ τοὺς στρατιωτικοὺς νόμους, οὐ πρὸς ὑμᾶς,
ἀλλ' ἐς Καίσαρα, ὁ Κικέρων δμως ἐπήνεσε καὶ
ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν ἔχθες ἐμισθοδότησε· καὶ μή ποτε
ὑμᾶς λυπήσειε τὸ παράδειγμα. Κικέρωνα δὲ καὶ
ἐς ἀνωμαλίαν ἔξεστησεν ἡ ἔχθρα· κατηγορεῖ γὰρ
Ἀντωνίου τυραννίδα καὶ κόλασιν στρατιωτῶν, ἀεὶ
τῶν ἐπιβουλευόντων τὰ στρατεύματα θεραπευόν-
των, οὐ κολαζόντων. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ὥκνησεν οὐδε-

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

counsellors to be at variance with the people, espe- CHAP.
cially in times of danger, or to forget that this very
power of deciding who are friends and who are
enemies formerly belonged to the people. Ac-
cording to the ancient laws the people are the sole
arbiters of peace and war. Heaven grant that they
may not be reminded of this, and consequently be
angry with us when they have found a leader.

VIII

56. "But it is said that Antony put certain soldiers to death. Being commander-in-chief he was empowered to do so by you. No commander has ever yet rendered an account of such matters. The laws do not consider it expedient that the general should be answerable to his soldiers. There is nothing worse in an army than disobedience, on account of which some soldiers have been put to death even after a victory, and no one called to account those who killed them. None of their relatives complain now, but Cicero complains and while accusing Antony of murder stigmatizes him as a public enemy, instead of calling for the punishment prescribed for murderers. The desertion of two of his legions shows how insubordinate and arrogant Antony's army was—legions which you have voted that he should command, and who deserted, in violation of military law, not to you, but to Octavian. Nevertheless Cicero praised them and yesterday proposed that they be paid out of the public treasury. Heaven grant that this example may not plague you hereafter. Hatred has betrayed Cicero into inconsistency, for he accused Antony of aiming at supreme power and yet punishing his soldiers, whereas such conspirators are always lenient, not severe, toward the men serving under them. As Cicero does not

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. τὴν ἄλλην Ἀντωνίου μετὰ Καίσαρα ἀρχὴν ώς
VIII τυραννικὴν διαβαλεῖν, φέρε πύθωμαι καθ' ἔκα-
στον ὥδε.

57. “Τίνα ἔκτεινεν ώς τύραννος ἄκριτον ὁ νῦν
κινδυνεύων ἀκρίτως; τίνα δ' ἐξέβαλε τῆς πόλεως;
τίνα δὲ ὑμᾶν διέβαλεν; ἢ καθ' ἕνα μὲν τοιόσδε ἦν,
ἐπεβούλευε δὲ πᾶσιν ὁμοῦ; πότε, ὡς Κικέρων; ὅτε
τὴν ἀμυηστίαν ἐκύρου τῶν γεγονότων; ἢ ὅτε
μηδένα διώκεσθαι φόνου; ἢ ὅτε ζήτησιν εἰναι τῶν
κοινῶν χρημάτων; ἢ ὅτε Πομπήιον τὸν Πομπήιον
τοῦ ὑμετέρου κατεκάλει καὶ τὴν πατρῷαν ἐκ τῶν
δημοσίων αὐτῷ διέλυε περιουσίαν; ἢ ὅτε τὸν
Ψευδομάριον λαβὼν ἐπιβουλεύοντα ἀπέκτεινε καὶ
ἐπηγέσατε πάντες καὶ τοῦτο μόνον δι' ὑμᾶς οὐ
διέβαλε Κικέρων; ἢ ὅτε ἐψηφίζετο μὴ εἰσηγεῖ-
σθαι περὶ δικτάτορος μηδένα μήτε ἐπιψηφίζειν,
ἢ νηποιούντες πρὸς τοῦ θέλοντος ἀποθυήσκειν; ταῦτα
γάρ ἔστιν, ἀ ἐποιητεύσατο ὑμᾶν Ἀντώνιος ἐν δύο
μησίν, οἷς μόνοις ἐπέμεινε τῇ πόλει μετὰ Καί-
σαρα, ἅρτι μὲν τοῦ δήμου τοὺς φονέας διώκοντος,
ἅρτι δὲ ὑμῶν δεδιότων ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐσομένοις· οὐ τίνα
καιρόν, εἰ πονηρὸς ἦν, ἀμείνονα εἶχεν;

“Αλλ’ ἔστι τὰ ἐναντία· οὐκ ἡρχε. πῶς; οὐ μόνος
ἡρχεν ἀποδημήσαντος ἐπὶ Συρίας Δολοβέλλα; οὐ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

hesitate to arraign as tyrannical all the rest of CHAP.
Antony's administration since Caesar's death, come,^{VIII}
let me examine his acts one by one.

57. "Whom has Antony put to death in a tyrannical manner without trial—he who is now in danger of being condemned himself without trial? Whom has he banished from the city? Whom has he slandered in our presence? Or, if innocent toward us individually, has he conspired against all of us collectively? When, Cicero? Was it when he carried through the Senate the act of amnesty for the past? Was it when he abstained from prosecuting anybody for the murder? Was it when he moved an investigation of the public accounts? Was it when he proposed the recall of Sextus Pompeius the son of your Pompeius, and payment for his father's confiscated property out of the public treasury? Was it when he seized that conspirator, the false Marius, and put him to death, and you all applauded, and because you did so it was the only act of Antony that Cicero did not calumniate? Was it when he brought in a decree that nobody should ever propose a dictatorship, or vote for it, and that anybody disobeying the decree might be killed with impunity by anyone who wished? These are the public acts that Antony performed for us during two months, the only months that he remained in the city after Caesar's death, the very time when the people were pursuing the murderers and you were apprehensive of the future. If he were a villain what better opportunity could he have had?

"But, you will say, the fact is quite the other way: he was not in authority. What? Did he not exercise the sole authority after Dolabella departed

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. στρατὸν εἶχεν ἔτοιμον ἐν τῇ πόλει τὸν ὑφ' ἡμῶν
VIII αὐτῷ δεδομένον; οὐκ ἐνυκτοφυλάκει τὴν πόλιν;
οὐκ ἐνυκτοφυλακεῖτο διὰ τὴν τῶν ἔχθρῶν ἐπι-
βουλήν; οὐ πρόφασιν εἶχε τὴν σφαγὴν Καίσαρος,
φίλου τέ οἱ καὶ εὐεργέτου ὅντος καὶ τῷ δῆμῳ
μάλιστα ὑπεραρέσκοντος; οὐχ ἐτέραν εἶχεν οἰ-
κείαν, ἐπιβεβουλευμένος ἐς τὸ σῶμα ὑπὸ τῶν
ἀνδρῶν; ὃν ἔκτεινε μὲν ἡ ἐφυγάδευσεν οὐδένα,
συνέγνω δέ, ὅσον εἶχε μέτρου καλῶς, καὶ διδο-
μένας αὐτοῖς ἡγεμονίας οὐκ ἐφθόνησε δοθῆναι.

Τὰ μὲν δὴ μέγιστα, ὡς Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ ἀναμφίλογα
Κικέρωνος ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐγκλήματα ὄρατε·
58. ἐπεὶ δέ γε ἐπὶ τοῦς ἐγκλήμασι καὶ μαντεύ-
ματα ἐπάγουσιν, ώς ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἔμελλε μὲν τὸν
στρατὸν ἄξειν ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν, δείσειε δὲ προλα-
βόντος αὐτὴν ἐτέρῳ στρατῷ Καίσαρος, πῶς οὖν,
εἰ τὸ μελλῆσαι μόνον ἐστὶν ἀνδρὸς πολεμίου, τὸν
ἔλθόντα καὶ παραστρατοπεδεύσαντα ἡμῖν ἀσή-
μαντον οὐχ ἡγεῖται πολέμιον; πῶς δ', εἴπερ
ἡθελεν ὁ Ἀντώνιος, οὐκ ἀφίκετο; ἡ τρισμυρίους
ἔχων συντεταγμένους ἔδεισε τρισχιλίους τοὺς
ἀμφὶ τὸν Καίσαρα ὅντας ἀνόπλους, ἀσυντάκτους,
ἐς μόνας Καίσαρι διαλλαγὰς συνελθόντας καὶ
εὐθύς, ώς ἔγνωσαν πολεμεῖν αἵρούμενον, καταλι-
πόντας; εἰ δὲ μετὰ τρισμυρίων ἔλθεῖν ἔδεισε, πῶς
ἡλθε μετὰ μόνων χιλίων; μεθ' ὃν αὐτὸν ἐς τὸ
Τίβυρον ἔξιόντα πόσοι προεπέμπομεν καὶ πόσοι
συνώμυνμεν οὐχ ὄρκούμενοι; πόσους δὲ Κικέρων
ἐπαίνους ἐς τὴν πολιτείαν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀρετὴν
ἀνάλισκε; πῶς δ' αὐτὸς Ἀντώνιος, εἰ τι τοιοῦτον

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

for Syria? Did he not keep an armed force that CHAP
you gave him in readiness in the city? Did ^{VIII} he not patrol the city by night? Was he not guarded at night against any conspiracy of his enemies? Did he not have an excuse for this in the murder of Caesar, his friend and benefactor, the man most beloved by the common people? Did he not have another of a personal kind in the fact that the murderers conspired against his life also? Yet none of them did he kill or banish, but pardoned them what he could in decency, and did not begrudge them the governorships that were offered to them.

"You behold then, Romans, these very grave and indisputable charges of Cicero against Antony. 58. But since in addition to charges, surmises are introduced to the effect that Antony was about to lead an army to the city, but became alarmed because Octavian had anticipated him with another army, how does it happen that, when the mere intention to do this makes a man an enemy, the one who actually comes and encamps alongside of us without emblems of authority is not regarded by Cicero as an enemy? What would have prevented Antony from coming if he had wanted to? With 30,000 troops in line was he afraid of Octavian's 3000, half-armed, unorganized, who had come together merely to gain his friendship, and who left him as soon as they knew that he had chosen them for war? If Antony was afraid to come with 30,000 how did he dare to come with only 1000? With these what a crowd of us accompanied him to Tibur! What a crowd of us voluntarily joined the soldiers in taking the oath of fidelity to him! What praises did Cicero lavish on his acts and virtues! If Antony himself contemplated any such

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. ἐγίγνωσκε, τὰ ἐνέχυρα τὰ νῦν διητα πρὸ τοῦ βου-
VIII λευτηρίου κατέλιπεν ἡμῖν; μητέρα καὶ γυναικά
καὶ μειράκιον υἱόν; οἱ κλαίουσι καὶ δεδίασι νῦν
οὐ τὴν Ἀντωνίου πολιτείαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν τῶν ἔχθρων
δυναστείαν.

59. "Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἔξενήνοχα δεῖγμα
τῆς Ἀντωνίου τε ἀπολογίας καὶ Κικέρωνος μετα-
βολῆς· παραίνεσιν δ' ἐπιθήσω τοῖς εὖ φρονοῦσι
μήτε ἐς τὸν δῆμον μήτε ἐς Ἀντώνιον ἀμαρτάνειν
μηδὲ ἔχθρας καὶ κινδύνους ἐπάγειν τοῖς κοινοῖς,
νοσούσης ἔτι τῆς πολιτείας καὶ ἀπορούσης τῶν
δξέως ἀμυνούντων, δύναμιν δ' ἐν τῇ πόλει συστη-
σαμένους, πρὶν θορυβῆσαι τι τῶν ἔξω, τὴν ἄρκε-
σουσαν, τότε τοῖς ἑκάστοτε ἐπείγουσιν ἐφεδρεύειν
καὶ κρίνειν, οὓς ἀν ἐθέλητε, δυναμένους τὸ κεκρι-
μένον τελεῖν. πῶς οὖν ἔσται ταῦτα; ἐὰν Ἀντώ-
νιον μὲν ἐώμεν ἐς πρόφασιν ἡ χάριν τοῦ δήμου
τὴν Κελτικὴν ἔχειν, Δέκμον δὲ μετὰ τριῶν ὡν
ἔχει τελῶν ἐνθάδε καλῶμεν καὶ ἀφικόμενον ἐκπέμ-
πωμεν ἐς Μακεδονίαν, τὰ τέλη κατασχόντες. εἰ
δὲ καὶ τὰ ἀπ' Ἀντωνίου μεταστάντα δύο πρὸς
ἡμᾶς μετέστη, καθάπερ φησὶ Κικέρων, καὶ τάδε
καλῶμεν ἀπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐς τὴν πόλιν. οὕτω
γάρ πέντε τελῶν ἡμῖν ὑπαρχόντων ψηφιζόμεθα
ἄν, ὅ τι δοκιμάζοιμεν, ἐγκρατῶς, ἐς οὐδενὸς ἀνδρὸς
ἔλπίδας αἰωρούμενοι.

60. "Καὶ τάδε μὲν εἴρηται τοῖς ἄνευ φθόνου καὶ
φιλονικίας ἀκροωμένοις· τοῖς δὲ ἀπερισκέπτως
καὶ ἀπαρασκεύως δι' οἰκείαν ἔχθραν ἡ φιλονικίαν
ἐκθορυβοῦσιν ὑμᾶς κριτὰς παραινῶ μὴ ταχεῖς
εἶναι μηδὲ προπετεῖς ἐς ἄνδρας μεγίστους τε καὶ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

thing [as invasion] why did he leave as pledges in CHAP.
our hands his mother, his wife, and his grown up
son, who are even now at the door of the Senate-
house weeping and fearful, not on account of the
policy of Antony, but of the overwhelming power of
his enemies.

VIII

59. "These facts I have now brought before you as proof of Antony's defence and of Cicero's fickleness. I will add an exhortation to right-minded men, not to do injustice to the people or to Antony, not to expose the public interests to new enmities and dangers while the commonwealth is sick and in want of timely defenders, but to establish a sufficient force in the city before breeding disorder outside, to provide against attacks from every quarter, and to come to such decisions as you please when you are able to carry them into effect. How shall these ends be accomplished? By allowing Antony, as a matter of policy, or for the sake of the people, to have Cisalpine Gaul. Call Decimus thence with his three legions, and when he comes send him to Macedonia, retaining his legions here. If the two legions that deserted from Antony deserted to us, as Cicero says, let us summon them also from Octavian to the city. Thus with five legions sustaining us we might pass such decrees as we think best with entire confidence, depending on the favour of no man.

60. "I have addressed these words to men who listen to me without malice or the spirit of contention. Those who would excite you heedlessly and inconsiderately on account of private enmity and private strife I exhort not to come to hasty and rash decisions against the most important personages,

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. στρατιᾶς ἄρχοντας ἵκανῆς μηδὲ ἄκοντας ἐκπολεμοῦν, ἀναμιμνησκομένους Μαρκίου τε τοῦ Κοριολανοῦ καὶ τὰ ἔναγχος δὴ ταῦτα Καίσαρος, δν στρατιᾶς ὁμοίως ἡγούμενον καὶ σπουνδὰς ἀρίστας ἀν ἡμῖν γενομένας προτείνοντα προπετῶς πολέμιον ψηφισάμενοι τῷ ὅντι πολέμιον ἡναγκάσαμεν γενέσθαι, φείδεσθαι δὲ καὶ τοῦ δήμου πρὸ βραχέος τοῖς φονεῦσι τοῖς Καίσαρος ἐπιδραμόντος, μὴ ἐς ὕβριν αὐτοῦ δοκῶμεν τοῖς μὲν ἡγεμονίας ἐθνῶν διδόναι, Δέκμον δὲ ἐπαινεῖν, ὅτι τοῦ δήμου νόμον ἀκυροῦ, καὶ Ἀντώνιον πολέμιον κρίνειν, ὅτι τὴν Κελτικὴν ἔλαβε παρὰ τοῦ δήμου. ὃν τοὺς μὲν εὐ βουλευομένους ἐνθυμεῖσθαι χρὴ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἔτι πλανωμένων, τοὺς δ' ὑπάτους καὶ δημάρχους πλείονας κινδυνεύοντι τοῖς κοινοῖς γενέσθαι."

61. Ὁδε μὲν ὁ Πείσων ἀπελογεῖτο καὶ ὧνείδιζεν ὁμοῦ καὶ ἐφόβει καὶ σαφῶς αἴτιος ἐγένετο μὴ ψηφισθῆναι πολέμιον Ἀντώνιον. οὐ μὴν ἐκράτησε τῆς Κελτικῆς αὐτὸν ἄρχειν· οἱ γὰρ τῶν σφαγέων φίλοι τε καὶ συγγενεῖς ὑπὸ δέους ἐκώλυσαν, μὴ τοῦ πολέμου λυθέντος ἐπεξέλθοι τὸν φόνον Καίσαρι συναλλαγείς· διὸ καὶ στασιάζειν αἰεὶ παρεσκεύαζον Καίσαρά τε καὶ Ἀντώνιον. ἐψηφίσαντο δ' Ἀντωνίῳ προαγορεῦσαι Μακεδονίαν ἀντὶ τῆς Κελτικῆς ἔχειν· τὰς δὲ ἄλλας ἐντολάς, εἴτε λαθόντες εἴτ' ἐξεπίτηδες, Κικέρωνα συγγράψαι τε καὶ δοῦναι τοῖς πρεσβεύοντι προσέταξαν. ὁ δὲ τὴν γυνώμην παραφέρων συνέγραφεν ὥδε· Μουτίνης Ἀντώνιον εὐθὺς ἀπανίστασθαι

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

who command strong armies, and not to force them CHAP.
into war against their will. Remember Marcius VIII
Coriolanus. Recall the recent doings of Caesar,
whom we rashly voted an enemy while he was in like
manner leading an army and offering us the fairest
terms of peace, whereby we forced him to be an
enemy in deed. Have regard for the people who
were lately pursuing Caesar's murderers, lest we
seem to insult them by giving those murderers the
governorship of provinces, by praising Decimus for
nullifying the people's law, and by voting Antony an
enemy because he accepted the Gallic province from
the people. For which reasons the well-wishers of
the country ought to take thought for the erring,
and the consuls and tribunes ought to multiply their
activities¹ in view of the public dangers."

61. Thus did Piso defend Antony, reproaching his
enemies and alarming them. He was evidently the
cause of their not voting Antony an enemy. Never-
theless, he did not succeed in securing for him the
governorship of the Gallic province. The friends
and relatives of the murderers prevented it, fearing
lest, at the end of the war, Antony should join
Octavian in avenging the murder, for which reason
they meant to keep Octavian and Antony always at
variance with each other. They voted to offer
Antony Macedonia instead of the Gallic province,
and they ordered, either heedlessly or designedly, The Senate
orders
that the other commands of the Senate be reduced
to writing by Cicero and delivered to the ambassadors. Antony to
Cicero altered the decree and wrote as follows:
desist from
the siege
of Mutina
“Antony must raise the siege of Mutina forthwith,

¹ The text is probably corrupt. Compare perhaps the French *se multiplier*: “to be a host in oneself.”

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. καὶ Δέκμῳ τὴν Κελτικὴν μεθιέναι, ἐντὸς δὲ VIII 'Ρουβίκωνος ποταμοῦ, τοῦ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὁρίζοντος ἀπὸ τῆς Κελτικῆς, ἡμέρᾳ ῥητῇ γενόμενον ἐπιτρέψαι τὰ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἅπαντα τῇ βουλῇ. οὗτω μὲν φιλονίκως τε καὶ ψευδῶς τὰς ἐντολὰς ὁ Κικέρων συνέγραφεν, οὐδεμιᾶς ἔχθρας τοσῆσδε ὑπούσης, ἀλλ', ὡς ἔοικε, τοῦ δαιμονίου τὰ κοινὰ ἐς μεταβολὴν ἐνοχλοῦντος καὶ αὐτῷ Κικέρωνι κακῶς ἐπινοοῦντος. ἄρτι δὲ καὶ τῶν Τρεβωνίου λειψάνων κομισθέντων καὶ τῆς ἐς αὐτὸν ὕβρεως γνωσθείσης ἀκριβέστερον, οὐ δυσχερῶς ἡ βουλὴ τὸν Δολοβέλλαν ἔκρινεν εἶναι πολέμιον.

62. Οἱ δ' ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀπεσταλμένοι πρέσβεις, αἰδούμενοι τῶν ἐντολῶν τὸ ἀλλόκοτον, οὐδὲν μὲν ἔφασαν, αὐτὰς δὲ ἐπέδοσαν αὐτῷ. καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος σὺν ὄργῃ πολλὰ ἔς τε τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν Κικέρωνα ἀπερρίπτει, θαυμάζων, ὅτι Καίσαρα μὲν τὸν τὰ μέγιστα ὠφελήσαντα τὴν ἀρχὴν ἥγοῦνται τύραννον ἡ βασιλέα, Κικέρωνα δὲ οὐ νομίζουσιν, ὃν Καῖσαρ μὲν εἶλε πολέμῳ καὶ οὐκ ἀπέκτεινε, Κικέρων δὲ τοὺς ἐκείνου φονέας προτίθησι τῶν φίλων αὐτοῦ καὶ Δέκμον Καίσαρι μὲν δυντα φίλοι ἐμίσει, ἀνδροφόνον δὲ αὐτοῦ γενόμενον ἴγαπῆ, καὶ τῷ μὲν παρ' οὐδενὸς μετὰ Καίσαρα λαβόντι τὴν Κελτικὴν προστίθεται, τῷ δὲ παρὰ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

relinquish Cisalpine Gaul to Decimus, withdraw to CHAP
the hither side of the river Rubicon (which forms ^{VIII}
the boundary between Italy and the province) before
a specified day, and submit himself in all things
to the Senate." Thus provokingly and falsely did
Cicero write the orders of the Senate, not by reason
of an underlying hostility, as it seems, but at the instigation
of some evil spirit that was goading the
republic to revolution and meditating destruction to
Cicero himself.¹ The remains of Trebonius having
been lately brought home and the indignities visited
upon him more carefully inquired into, the Senate
with little opposition declared Dolabella a public
enemy.

62. The ambassadors who had been sent to Antony, ashamed of the extraordinary character of the orders, said nothing, but simply delivered them to him. Antony in his wrath indulged in many invectives against the Senate and Cicero. "He was ^{Antony's} astonished," he said, "that they should consider ^{reply} Caesar (the man who had contributed most to the Roman sway) a tyrant and a king, and did not so consider Cicero, whom Caesar had captured in war and whose life he had spared, while Cicero in return now prefers Caesar's assassins to his friends. He hated Decimus as long as the latter was the friend of Caesar, but loves him now that he has become his murderer. He favours a man who took the province of Gaul after Caesar's death without authority, and makes war on one who received it at the hands of

¹ The statement that Cicero falsified the message of the Senate to Antony is untrue. Cicero was vehemently opposed to sending ambassadors to Antony, and in favour of an immediate declaration of war and the levying of troops against him.

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. τοῦ δήμου λαβόντι πολεμεῖ. “τῶν τε ἐψηφισ-
viii μένων μοι τελῶν τοῖς μὲν αὐτομολήσασι γέρα
δίδωσι, τοῖς δὲ παραμείνασιν οὖ, διαφθείρων οὐκ
έμοὶ μᾶλλον ἀλλὰ τῇ πόλει τὰ στρατιωτικά. καὶ
τοῖς μὲν ἀνδροφόνοις ἀμνηστίαν ἔδωκεν, ἢ κάγῳ
συνεθέμην διὰ δύο ἄνδρας αἰδεσίμους· Ἀντώνιον
δὲ καὶ Δολοβέλλαν ἡγεῖται πολεμίους, ὅτι τῶν
δεδομένων ἔχόμεθα. ἥδε γάρ ἐστιν ἡ ἀληθῆς
αἵτια· κὰν ἀποστῶ τῆς Κελτικῆς, οὗτε πολέμιος
οὔτε μόναρχός εἴμι. ταῦτα μέντοι μαρτύρομαι
λύσειν τὴν οὐκ ἀγαπωμένην ἀμνηστίαν.”

63. Τοιάδε πολλὰ εἰπὼν ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἀντέγραφε
τῷ δόγματι τῇ μὲν βουλῇ πεισθῆναι ἀν ἐς ἅπαντα
ώς πατρίδι, Κικέρωνι δὲ τῷ συγγράψαντι τὰς
ἐντολὰς ὡδε ἀποκρίνεσθαι· “ὁ δῆμος ἔδωκέ μοι
τὴν Κελτικὴν νόμῳ, καὶ Δέκμον ἀπειθοῦντα τῷ
νόμῳ μετελεύσομαι καὶ τοῦ φόνου δίκας ἀπαιτήσω
μόνον ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων, ἵνα καὶ ἡ βουλὴ καθαρεύσῃ
ποτὲ τοῦ μύσους, ἐμπιπλαμένη νῦν διὰ Κικέρωνα
Δέκμῳ βοηθοῦντα.” τάδε μὲν ὁ Ἀντώνιος εἰπέ
τε καὶ ἀντέγραψε, καὶ ἡ βουλὴ αὐτὸν αὐτίκα
ἐψηφίζετο εἶναι πολέμιον καὶ τὸν ὑπ' αὐτῷ στρα-
τόν, εἰ μὴ ἀποσταῖεν αὐτοῦ· Μακεδονίας δὲ καὶ
τῆς Ἰλλυρίδος αὐτῆς καὶ τῶν ἐν ἀμφοτέραις
ὑπολοίπων στρατῶν Μᾶρκον Βροῦτον ἄρχειν,
μέχρι κατασταίη τὰ κοινά. ὁ δὲ ἕδιόν τε εἰχεν
ἥδη στρατὸν καὶ παρὰ Ἀπουληίου τινὰ προσει-

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

the people. He gives rewards to those who deserted from the legions voted to me, and none to those who remain faithful, thus impairing military discipline not more to my disadvantage than to that of the state. He has given amnesty to the murderers, to which I have assented on account of two men who deserve respect. He holds Dolabella and myself as enemies because we keep what was given to us. That is the real reason. And if I but withdraw from Gaul, then I am neither enemy nor autocrat! I declare that I will bring to naught the amnesty with which they are not satisfied."

63. After saying much more to the same purpose Antony wrote his reply to the decree, saying that he would obey the Senate in all respects as the voice of his country, but to Cicero, who wrote the orders, he made the following answer: "The people gave me the province of Gaul by a law, and I shall prosecute Decimus for not obeying the law, and I shall visit with punishment for the murder him alone, as representative of them all, in order that the Senate, which now participates in the wickedness by reason of Cicero's support of Decimus, may at last be purged of such pollution." These words Antony spoke and wrote in reply.¹ The Senate immediately voted him an enemy and also the army under him, if it should not abandon him. The government of Macedonia and Illyria, with the troops still remaining in both, was assigned to Marcus Brutus until the republic should be re-established. The latter already had an army of his own and had received some troops from Apuleius. He also had

The Senate
votes him
a public
enemy

Macedonia
voted to
Brutus and
Syria to
Cassius

¹ Antony's reply is quoted by Cicero with a running comment in the eighth Philippic (8-9.)

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. λήφει καὶ ναῦς εἶχε μακράς τε καὶ ὀλκάδας καὶ
VIII χρημάτων ἐς μύρια καὶ ἔξακισχίλια τάλαντα καὶ
ὅπλα πολλά, ὅσα ἐν Δημητριάδι Γαῖῳ Καίσαρι
ἐκ πολλοῦ γιγνόμενα εὑρεν· οἷς ἄπασιν αὐτὸν ἡ
βουλὴ τότε ἐψηφίζετο ἐς τὰ συμφέροντα τῆς
πατρίδος χρῆσθαι. ἐψηφίσαντο δὲ καὶ Κάσσιον
ἄρχειν τε Συρίας καὶ πολεμεῖν Δολοβέλλᾳ· τούς
τε ἄλλους, ὅσοι τινὸς ἔθνους ἢ στρατοῦ Ῥωμαίων
ἄρχουσιν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰονίου θαλάσσης ἐπὶ τὴν ἕω,
πάντας ὑπακούειν ἐς ὁ τι προστάσσοι Κάσσιος ἢ
Βρούτος.

IX

CAP. 64. *Ωδε μὲν ὁξέως σὺν ἀφορμῇ τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν
IX Κάσσιον ἔξελάμπρυνον, καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἔκαστα
μαθὼν ἡπόρητο, τὴν μὲν ἀμνηστίαν ἡγούμενος
εὐπρέπειαν ἐσχηκέναι φιλανθρωπίας καὶ ἔλεον
συγγενῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ ὁμοτίμων, καὶ τὰς
βραχυτέρας ἡγεμονίας ἀσφάλειαν· Δέκμῳ τε τὴν
Κελτικὴν βεβαιοῦντας Ἀντωνίῳ δόξαι περὶ¹
τυραννίδος διαφέρεσθαι, ω̄ προσποιήματι καὶ
αὐτὸν ὑπάγεσθαι κατ' Ἀντωνίου· τὸ δὲ καὶ
Δολοβέλλαν πολέμιον ψηφίσασθαι δι' ἔνα τῶν
ἀνδροφόνων ἀναιρεθέντα καὶ Βρούτῳ καὶ Κασσίῳ
τὰς ἡγεμονίας ἐς τὰ μέγιστα ἔθνη διαλλάξαι
στρατόπεδά τε δοῦναι πολλὰ ἀθρόως καὶ χρήματα
καὶ ἡγεμόνας ἡγεμονῶν ἀποφῆναι πάντων, ὅσοι
πέραν εἰσὶ τῆς Ἰονίου θαλάσσης, σαφῶς εἴναι τὴν
μὲν Πομπηίου μοῖραν αὐξόντων, τὴν δὲ Καίσαρος

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

war-ships and ships of burden and about 16,000 CHAP.
talents in money, and quantities of arms which he VIII
found in Demetrias, where they had been placed by
Gaius Caesar long before, all of which the Senate
now voted that he should use for the advantage of
the republic. They voted that Cassius should be
governor of Syria and that he should make war
against Dolabella, and that all other commanders of
Roman provinces and soldiers between the Adriatic
sea and the Orient should obey the orders of Cassius
and Brutus in all things.

IX

64. Thus quickly did the Senate seize the oppor- CHAP.
tunity to put the affairs of Cassius and his party in a IX
brilliant aspect. When Octavian learned what had Octavian
been done he was troubled. He had considered the alarmed by
amnesty in the light of an act of humanity and of the action
pity for the relatives and compeers of these men, of the Senate
and that the very small commands had been given
them for their safety merely; finally, the confirming
of the Gallic province to Decimus seemed to him to
have been done by reason of the Senate's difference
with Antony respecting the supreme power, on
which ground also they were inciting him against
Antony. But the voting of Dolabella an enemy
because he had put one of the murderers to death,
the changing of the commands of Brutus and Cas-
sius to the largest provinces, the granting of
great armies and large sums of money to them
and putting them in command of all the governors
beyond the Adriatic sea—all pointed plainly to the
building up of the party of Pompey and the pulling

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. ΚΑΘΑΙΡΟΥΝΤΩΝ. ἐνεθυμεῖτο δὲ καὶ τῆς ἐς αὐτὸν ὡς
IX μειράκιον τέχνης, εἰκόνα μὲν αὐτῷ καὶ προεδρίαν
παρασχόντων καὶ ἀντιστράτηγον ἀποφηνάντων,
ἔργῳ δὲ ἕδιον αὐτοῦ τὸν στρατὸν ὅντα ἀφαιρου-
μένων· ὑπάτων γὰρ συστρατηγούντων οὐδὲν εἶναι
τὸν ἀντιστράτηγον· τά τε γέρα τοῖς ἀπὸ
Ἀντωνίου μόνοις μεταστᾶσιν ἐψηφισμένα τοὺς
αὐτῷ στρατευομένους ἀτιμοῦν· καὶ τὸν πόλεμον
ὅλως αὐτῷ μὲν αἰσχύνην ᔁχειν, ᔁργῷ δὲ τὴν
βουλὴν ἀποχρῆσθαι οἱ κατὰ Ἀντωνίου, μέχρι
καθέλωσιν αὐτόν.

65. Ταῦτα λογιζόμενος ἐπέκρυπτε καὶ θύων ἐπὶ¹
τῇ δεδομένῃ ἀρχῇ πρὸς τὸν στρατὸν ἔφη· “καὶ
τάδε μοι παρ' ὑμῶν, ὡς συστρατιώται, γέγονεν, οὐ
νῦν, ἀλλ' ἔξ οὖν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐδίδοτε· καὶ γὰρ ἡ
βουλὴ δι' ὑμᾶς ἐδωκεν. ὥστε ἐμὲ καὶ τούτων
ἴστε τὴν χάριν ὑμῖν ὀφλήσοντα καί, ἦν οἱ θεοὶ²
παρέχωσιν εὐπραγεῖν, ἀποδώσοντα ἀθρόως”.

‘Ο μέν ούτωσὶ τὸν στρατὸν οἰκειούμενος ὑπήγετο,
· τῶν δὲ ὑπάτων Πάνσας μὲν ἀνὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν
ἔξενάγει, “Ιρτιος δὲ τῷ Καίσαρι τὸν στρατὸν
ἐμερίζετο καί, ὡς αὐτῷ παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἐν
ἀπορρήτῳ λέλεκτο, ἐς τὸ μέρος ἦτει τὰ δύο τέλη
τὰ παρὰ Ἀντωνίου μεταστάντα, εἰδὼς τάδε ὅντα
τοῦ στρατοῦ τὸ ἀξιολογώτατον. καὶ ὁ μὲν
Καῖσαρ ἅπαντα συνεχώρει, μερισάμενοι δὲ
ἔχείμαζον μετ' ἀλλήλων· παροδεύοντος δὲ τοῦ
χειμῶνος ἥδη Δέκμος μὲν ἔκαμψεν ὑπὸ λιμοῦ,

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

down of that of Caesar. He bethought himself of their artifice in treating him as a young man, in providing him a statue and a front seat, and giving him the title of propraetor, when in fact they were taking from him what army he did have, for a propraetor has no authority when consuls are serving with him. Then the rewards voted only to those of his soldiers who had deserted from Antony to him were an indignity to those who had enlisted under him. Finally the war would be nothing but a disgrace to him, for the Senate would simply make use of him against Antony till the latter was crushed.

65. Meditating thus to himself he performed the sacrifices appertaining to the command assigned to him, and said to his army : " I owe these honours of mine to you, fellow-soldiers, not now merely but from the time when you gave me the command ; for the Senate conferred them upon me on account of you. Know, therefore, that my gratitude will be due to you for these things, and that it will be expressed to you abundantly if the gods grant success to our undertakings."

In this way he conciliated the soldiers and attached them to himself. In the meantime, Pansa, one of the consuls, was collecting recruits throughout Italy, and the other one, Hirtius, shared the command of the forces with Octavian, and as he was secretly ordered to do it by the Senate he demanded as his share the two legions that had deserted from Antony, knowing that they were the most reliable in the army. Octavian yielded to him in everything and they shared with each other and went into winter quarters together. As winter advanced Decimus began to suffer from hunger, and Hirtius

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. IX. Ιρτίος δὲ καὶ Καίσαρ ἐς τὴν Μουτίνην ἔχώρουν,
 μὴ κάμνοντα τὸν Δέκμου στρατὸν ὁ Ἀντώνιος
 παραλάβοι. ἀκριβῶς δὲ τῆς Μουτίνης φυλασσο-
 μένης ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου, πανσυδὶ μὲν οὐ συνεπλέ-
 κοντο αὐτῷ Πάνσαν περιμένοντες, ἵππομαχίαι
 δ' ἡσαν πυκναί, πολὺ μὲν πλείους ἵππεας ἔχοντος
 Ἀντωνίου τοῦ πεδίου δὲ ἡ δυσχέρεια, διὰ
 χειμάρρους ἐκτεταφρευμένου, τὴν πλεονεξίαν τὸ
 πλῆθος ἀπεστέρει.

66. Καὶ τάδε μὲν ἦν ἀμφὶ τῇ Μουτίνῃ, τὰ δὲ ἐν
 Ρώμῃ τῶν ὑπάτων οὐ παρόντων ὁ Κικέρων ἤγει
 ὑπὸ δημοκοπίας· καὶ συνεχεῖς ἡσαν ἐκκλησίαι,
 ὅπλα τε εἰργάζετο συναγαγὼν τοὺς δημιουργοὺς
 ἀμισθὶ καὶ χρήματα συνέλεγε καὶ βαρυτάτας
 ἐσφορὰς τοῖς Ἀντωνίου φίλοις ἐπετίθει. οἱ δὲ
 ἐτοίμως ἐσέφερον ἐκλυσόμενοι τὴν διαβολήν, μέχρι
 Πούπλιος Οὐεντίδιος, ἐστρατευμένος τε Γαΐῳ
 Καίσαρι καὶ Ἀντωνίῳ φίλοις ὡν, οὐκ ἥνεγκε τὴν
 βαρύτητα τοῦ Κικέρωνος, ἀλλ' ἐς τὰς Καίσαρος
 ἀποικίας ἐκδραμῶν ὡς γνώριμος δύο ἐς τὸν
 Ἀντώνιον ἀνεστράτευσε τέλη καὶ ἐς τὴν Ρώμην
 συλλαβεῖν Κικέρωνα ἤπειρετο. τότε μὲν δὴ
 θόρυβός τε ἦν ἄπλετος, καὶ τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας
 ὑπεξέφερον οἱ πλείους μετὰ δυσελπιστίας, καὶ ὁ
 Κικέρων τῆς πόλεως ἀπεδίδρασκε. καὶ ὁ
 Οὐεντίδιος μαθὼν ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀνέστρεφε.
 διακλειόμενος δὲ ὑπὸ Καίσαρός τε καὶ Ιρτίου ἐς
 τὴν Πικηνίτιδα παρῆλθε καὶ τέλος ἄλλο συλ-
 λογίσας ἐφήδρευε τοῖς ἐσομένοις.

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

and Octavian advanced towards Mutina lest Antony should receive in surrender Decimus' army which was now weak with famine ; but as Mutina was closely hemmed in by Antony, they did not venture to come to close quarters with him at once, but waited for Pansa. There were frequent cavalry engagements, as Antony had a much larger force of horse, but the difficulty of the ground, which was cut up by torrents, deprived him of the advantage of numbers.

IX

Octavian
Hirtius and
Pansa
march to
the relief
of Decimus

66. Such was the course of events round Mutina. At Rome, in the absence of the consuls, Cicero took the lead by public speaking. He held frequent assemblies, procured arms by inducing the armourers to work without pay, collected money, and exacted heavy contributions from the Antonians. These paid without complaining in order to avoid calumny, until Publius Ventidius, who had served under Gaius Caesar and who was a friend of Antony, unable to endure the exactions of Cicero, betook himself to Caesar's colonies, where he was well known, and brought over two legions to Antony and hastened to Rome to seize Cicero. The consternation was extreme. They removed most of the women and children in a panic, and Cicero himself fled from the city. When Ventidius learned this he turned his course towards Antony, but being intercepted by Octavian and Hirtius, he proceeded to Picenum, where he recruited another legion and waited to see what would happen.¹

Activity
of Cicero
in Rome

¹ This tale, in so far as it relates to Cicero, must be entirely fictitious, since nothing of the kind is mentioned in the Philippiques, although Ventidius is mentioned twice after his supposed march upon Rome to arrest Cicero.

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP.
IX Οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸν Καίσαρα, τοῦ Πάνσα μετὰ στρατιᾶς πλησιάζοντος, Καρσουλήιον αὐτῷ προσ-έπειπον ἄγοντα τὴν Καίσαρος στρατηγίδα τάξιν καὶ τὸ Ἀρειον τέλος ἐς βοήθειαν τῆς διόδου τῶν στενῶν. οἱ δὲ Ἀντώνιος τῶν μὲν στενῶν ὑπερεῖδεν ως οὐδὲν πλέον ἡ κωλύσων ἐν αὐτοῖς, ἐπιθυμίᾳ δὲ ἀγῶνος, οὐκ ἔχων τοὺς ἵππους ἐλλαμπρύνασθαι διὰ τὸ πεδίον ἐλωδέστερον ὃν καὶ τεταφρευμένον, δύο ἐνήδρευσε τέλη τὰ ἄριστα ἐν τῷ ἔλει, τῆς ὁδοῦ, χειροποιήτου καὶ στενῆς οὔσης, ἐκατέρωθεν τῷ δόνακι κρύπτων.

67. Καρσουλήιον δὲ καὶ Πάνσα τὰ στενὰ νυκτὸς διαδραμόντων, ἅμα δὲ ἡμέρα μόνοις τοῖς Ἀρείοις καὶ πέντε ἄλλαις τάξεσιν εἰς τὴν χειροποίητον ὁδὸν ἐσβαλόντων, ἔτι καθαρευούσαν πολεμάνων, καὶ τὸ ἔλος ἐκατέρωθεν ὃν περισκεπτομένων, ὃ τε δόναξ διακινούμενος ὑπωπτεύετο, καὶ ἀσπὶς ἡδη που καὶ κράνος ἔξελαμπε, καὶ ἡ στρατηγὸς Ἀντωνίου τάξις αὐτοῖς αἴφνιδιον ἐπεφαίνετο ἐκ τοῦ μετώπου. οἱ δὲ Ἀρειοι περιειλημμένοι τε πάντοθεν καὶ οὐδαμόσε διαδραμεῖν ἔχοντες ἐκέλευσον τοὺς νεήλυδας εἰ παραγένοιντο, μὴ συνεφάπτεσθαι σφίσι τῶν πόνων, ως μὴ συνταράξειαν αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ ἀπειρίας, τῇ στρατηγίδι δὲ Ἀντωνίου τὴν Καίσαρος στρατηγίδα ἀντέταξαν αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐς δύο διαιρεθέντες ἐνέβαινον ἐς ἐκάτερον ἔλος, καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐπεστάτουν τῇ μὲν ὁ Πάνσας, τῇ δὲ ὁ Καρσουλήιος. δύο δὲ τῶν ἐλῶν δύτων δύο ἡσαν οἱ πόλεμοι, τῇ διόδῳ εἰργόμενοι μὴ γινώσκειν τὰ ἀλλήλων· καὶ κατὰ τὴν δίοδον αὐτὴν αἱ στρατηγίδες πόλεμον ἄλλον ἐφ' ἔαυτῶν ἐπολέμουν. γνώμη δὲ ἦν τοῖς μὲν Ἀντωνίου τοὺς

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

When Pansa was drawing near with his army, CHAP.
Octavian and Hirtius sent Carsuleius to him with IX
Octavian's praetorian cohort and the Martian legion
to assist him in passing through the defile. Antony
had disdained to occupy the defile as it served no
other purpose than to hinder the enemy ; but, eager
to fight, and having no chance to win distinction
with his cavalry, because the ground was marshy and
cut by ditches, he placed his two best legions in
ambush in the marsh, where they were concealed by
the reeds and where the road, which had been
thrown up artificially, was narrow.

67. Carsuleius and Pansa hurried through the Battle
defile by night. At daybreak, with only the Martian between
legion and five other cohorts, they entered upon the
high road above mentioned, which was still free from
enemies, and looked over the marsh on either side. Antony and
There was a suspicious agitation of the rushes, then the consul
a gleam here and there of shield and helmet, and
Antony's praetorian cohort suddenly shewed itself
directly in their front. The Martian legion, sur-
rounded on all sides and having no way to escape,
ordered the new levies, if they came up, not to join in
the fight lest they should cause confusion by their in-
experience. The praetorians of Octavian confronted
the praetorians of Antony. The other troops divided
themselves in two parts and advanced into the marsh
on either side, the one commanded by Pansa and the
other by Carsuleius. Thus there were two battles in
two marshes, and neither division could see the other
by reason of the elevated road, while along the road
itself the praetorian cohorts fought another battle of
their own. The Antonians were determined to

81

G

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. 'Αρείους ἀμύνασθαι τῆς αὐτομολίας οἷα προδότας
^{IX} σφῶν γενομένους, τοῖς δ' Ἀρείοις ἐκείνους τῆς
ὑπεροψίας τῶν ἐν Βρευτεσίῳ διεφθαρμένων.
συνειδότες τε ἀλλήλοις τὸ κράτιστον ὡς εἴη τῆς
ἐκατέρου στρατιᾶς, ἥλπιζον ἐν τῷδε τῷ ἔργῳ
μόνῳ τὸν πόλεμον κρινεῖν. καὶ τοῖς μὲν αἰδώς ἦν
τὸ δύο τέλεσιν οὖσιν δι' ἐνὸς ἡσσᾶσθαι, τοῖς δὲ
φιλοτιμίᾳ μόνοις τῶν δύο κρατῆσαι.

68. Οὗτω μὲν ἀλλήλοις ἐπήεσαν διωργισμένοι
τε καὶ φιλοτιμούμενοι, σφίσι μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς στρα-
τηγοῖς οἰκείον ἥγούμενοι τόδε ἔργον· ὑπὸ δὲ
ἐμπειρίας οὔτε ἥλαλαξαν ὡς οὐκ ἐκπλήξοντες
ἀλλήλους, οὔτε ἐν τῷ πόνῳ τις αὐτῶν ἀφῆκε
φωνὴν οὔτε νικῶν οὔτε ἡσσώμενος. περιόδους
δὲ οὐκ ἔχοντες οὔτε δρόμους ὡς ἐν ἔλεσι καὶ
τάφροις, ἀραρότως συνίσταντο, καὶ οὐδέτεροι τοὺς
έτερους ὕστασθαι δυνάμενοι τοῖς ξίφεσιν ὡς ἐν
πάλῃ συνεπλέκοντο. πληγή τε οὐδεμίᾳ ἦν ἀργός,
ἀλλὰ τραύματα καὶ φόνοι καὶ στόνοι μόνον ἀντὶ^{βοής·} ὅ τε πίπτων εὐθὺς ὑπεξεφέρετο, καὶ ἄλλος
ἀντικαθίστατο. παραινέσεων δὲ ἢ ἐπικελεύσεων
οὐκ ἔδεοντο, δι' ἐμπειρίαν ἔκαστος ἑαυτοῦ στρατη-
γῶν. ὅτε δὲ καὶ κάμοιεν, ὕσπερ ἐν τοῖς γυμνικοῖς
ἐς ἀναπνοὴν ὀλίγον ἀλλήλων δύσταντο καὶ αὐθις
συνεπλέκοντο. θάμβος τε ἦν τοῖς νεήλυσιν ἐπελ-
θοῦσι, τοιάδε ἔργα σὺν εὐταξίᾳ καὶ σιωπῇ γιγνό-
μενα ἐφορῶσι.

69. Πονουμένων δὲ ὁδε πάντων ὑπὲρ φύσιν
ἀνθρωπίνην, ἡ μὲν στρατηγὸς ἡ Καίσαρος ἅπασα
διεφθάρη, τῶν δὲ Ἀρείων οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ τῷ Καρσου-

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

punish the Martians for desertion as being traitors to CHAP.
themselves. The Martians were equally determined ^{IX} to punish the Antonians for condoning the slaughter of their comrades at Brundusium. Recognizing in each other the flower of either army, they hoped to decide the whole war by this single engagement. The one side was moved by shame lest its two legions should be beaten by one ; the other by ambition that its single legion should overcome the two.

68. Thus urged on by animosity and ambition they assailed each other, considering this their own affair rather than that of their generals. Being veterans they raised no battle-cry, since they could not expect to terrify each other, nor in the engagement did they utter a sound, either as victors or vanquished. As there could be neither flanking nor charging amid marshes and ditches, they met together in close order, and since neither could dislodge the other they locked together with their swords as in a wrestling match. No blow missed its mark. There were wounds and slaughter but no cries, only groans ; and when one fell he was instantly borne away and another took his place. They needed neither admonition nor encouragement, since experience made each one his own general. When they were overcome by fatigue they drew apart from each other for a brief space to take breath, as in gymnastic games, and then rushed again to the encounter. Amazement took possession of the new levies who had come up, as they beheld such deeds done with such precision and in such silence.

69. All put forth superhuman exertions, and the praetorians of Octavian perished to the last man. Those of the Martians who were under Carsuleius

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. ληήφι μᾶλλον ἐκράτουν τῶν κατὰ σφᾶς, οὐκ
 αἰσχρῶς, ἀλλὰ κατ' ὀλίγον ἐνδιδόντων, οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ^{IX}
 τῷ Πάνσᾳ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἐβαροῦντο, διεκαρτέ-
 ρουν δ' ὅμως ἐπ' ἵσης ἐκάτεροι, μέχρι Πάνσας
 ὀβελῷ τὴν λαγόνα τρωθεὶς ἐς Βουνώνιαν ἔξεφέρετο.
 τότε γὰρ οἱ κατ' αὐτὸν ἀνεχώρουν, ἐπὶ πόδα
 πρώτον, εἴτα μεταβαλόντες ὀξύτερον ὡς ἐν φυγῇ.
 καὶ οἱ νεήλυδες ἰδόντες ἔφευγον ἀτάκτως καὶ μετὰ
 βοῆς ἐς τὸ χαράκωμα, ὅπερ αὐτοῖς ἔξείργαστο ὁ
 ταμίας Τορκουάτος συνεστώσης ἔτι τῆς μάχης,
 ὑπονοήσας ἐν χρείᾳ γενήσεσθαι. οἱ μὲν δὴ νεή-
 λυδες ἐς αὐτὸν ἀτάκτως συνειλοῦντο, Ἰταλοὶ μὲν
 δύντες ὄμοιώς τοῖς Ἀρείοις· ή δὲ ἀσκησις ἄρα τοῦ
 γένους ἐς τοσοῦτον ἀρετῇ διαφέρει. οἱ δὲ Ἀρειοι
 οὐκ ἐσῆλθον μὲν ἐς τὸ χαράκωμα αὐτοὶ ὑπὸ
 ἀδοξίας, ἀλλὰ παρ' αὐτὸν ἔστησαν· κατάκοποι δὲ
 δύντες ὥργων ὅμως, εἴ τις ἐπίοι, μέχρι τοῦ ἀναγ-
 καίου τέλους διαγωνίσασθαι. Ἀντώνιος δὲ τῶν
 μὲν Ἀρείων ἀπέσχετο ὡς ἐπιπόνων, τοῖς δὲ νεήλυ-
 σιν ἐπιδραμών πολὺν εἰργάζετο φόνον.

70. Ἰρτιος δὲ ἐν Μουτίνῃ τῆς μάχης πυθόμενος,
 ἔξήκοντα στάδια ἀπέχούσης, ἵετο δρόμῳ μετὰ τοῦ
 ἔτέρου τέλους τῶν ἀπὸ Ἀντωνίου μεταστάντων.
 ἦδη τε ἡν ὄψια δείλη, καὶ οἱ νικήσαντες τῶν
 Ἀντωνίου παιανίζοντες ἐπανήσαν· καὶ αὐτοῖς ὁ
 Ἰρτιος ἀσυντάκτοις οὖσιν ἐπιφαίνεται συντεταγ-
 μένος ὄλοκλήρῳ τέλει καὶ ἀπαθεῖ. οἱ δὲ συνε-
 τάχθησαν μὲν αὐθις ὑπ' ἀνάγκης, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ
 πρὸς τούσδε ἔργα λαμπρὰ ἐπεδείξαντο· οἷα δὲ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

got the better of those opposed to them, who gave CHAP.
way, not in disgraceful rout, but little by little. IX
Those under Pansa were likewise in difficulties, but
they held out with equal bravery on both sides until
Pansa was wounded in the side by a javelin and
carried off the field to Bononia. Then his soldiers
retired, at first step by step, but afterwards they
turned and hurried as if in flight. When the new
levies saw this they fled in disorder, and with loud
cries, to their camp, which the quaestor, Torquatus,
had put in readiness for them while the battle was
in progress, apprehending that it might be needed.
The new levies crowded into it confusedly although
they were Italians, as well as the Martians; so
much more does training contribute to bravery than
race; but the Martians for fear of shame did not
enter into the camp, but ranged themselves near it.
Although fatigued they were still furious and ready
to fight to the bitter end if anybody should attack
them. Antony refrained from attacking the Martians
as being a troublesome business, but he fell upon the
new levies and made a great slaughter.

Pansa is wounded and his men retire to their camp

70. When Hirtius, near Mutina, heard of this fight,
at a distance of sixty stades, he hurried thither
with the other legion that had deserted from
Antony. It was already evening and the victorious
Antonians were returning singing hymns of triumph.
While they were in loose order Hirtius made his
appearance in perfect order with his legion complete
and fresh. The Antonians got themselves in line
under compulsion, and performed against this foe
also many splendid deeds of valour; but being
wearyed by their recent exertions they were over-
come by the fresh army opposed to them, and the

Hirtius comes to the rescue and defeats Antony

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. ἀκμήτων ἡσσῶντο κεκυηκότες, καὶ τὸ πλεῖστον
^{IX} αὐτῶν μάλιστα τὸ ἔργον Ἰρτίου διέφθειρε, καίπερ
οὐ διώκοντος αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ φόβου τῶν ἐλῶν, καὶ
τῆς ἐσπέρας ἥδη μελαινομένης διέλυσσεν αὐτούς.
καὶ τὸ ἔλος ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐπεπλήρωτο ὅπλων τε
καὶ νεκρῶν καὶ ἀνδρῶν ἡμιθυήτων καὶ τετρωμένων·
οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐρρωμένοι σφῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ κόπου κατε-
φρόνουν. ἵππεες δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐξ Ἀντωνίου περι-
θέοντες, ὅσοι παρήσπιζον αὐτῷ, δι’ ὅλης τῆς
νυκτὸς ἀνελέγοντο καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀντὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν,
τοὺς δὲ σὺν ἑαυτοῖς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἀνετίθεντο ἡ
τῆς οὐρᾶς ἀντεχομένους παρεκάλουν παρατροχά-
ζειν καὶ βοηθεῖν σφίσιν ἐς τὴν σωτηρίαν. ὥδε
μὲν Ἀντωνίῳ καλῶς ἀγωνισαμένῳ διέφθαρτο ἡ
ἰσχὺς διὰ "Ιρτιον ἐπελθόντα. καὶ ηὐλίσατο ἐν
κώμῃ παρὰ τὸ πεδίον ἀχαρακώτως. Ἀγορὰ
Κελτῶν ἡ κώμη καλεῖται. ἐπεσον δὲ τῶν μὲν
ἄλλων ἀμφὶ τοὺς ἡμίσεας ἐκατέρων, καὶ ἡ στρα-
τηγὸς ἡ Καίσαρος ἄπασα, Ἰρτίου δὲ ὀλίγοι.

X

CAP. 71. Τῆς δ' ἐπιούσης ἀνεζεύγνυον ἐς τὰ ἐν τῇ
^X Μουτίνῃ στρατόπεδα πάντες. γνώμη δὲ ἡν
Ἀντωνίῳ μὲν ἐπὶ τοσῷδε πταίσματι μὴ ἐπι-
χειρεῖν ἔτι τοῖς ἔχθροῖς μεγάλῃ μάχῃ μηδὲ ἐπι-
όντων ἀμύνεσθαι, διὰ δὲ τῶν ἵππεων τὰ ἐφήμερα
μόνα αὐτοὺς ἐνοχλεῖν, μέχρι παραδόντη Δέκμος
αὐτὸν ἐς ἔσχατον ἥδη λιμοῦ τετρυμένος, Ἰρτίῳ
δὲ καὶ Καίσαρι διὰ τοῦτο μάλιστα τὰ ἐς τὴν
μάχην ἐπείγεσθαι. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκτάσσουσιν αὐτοῖς ὁ
Ἀντώνιος οὐκ ἐπεξῆγεν, ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ θάτερα τῆς

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

greater part of them were slain in this encounter CHAP.
by Hirtius, although the latter did not pursue, being IX
apprehensive of the marshy ground. As darkness
was coming on he allowed them to escape. A wide
stretch of the marsh was filled with arms, corpses,
wounded men, and half-dead men, and some even
who were unhurt mistrusted their strength by reason
of their fatigue. Antony's cavalry, as many as he
had with him, went to their assistance and collected
them through the entire night. Some they put on
horseback in their own places, others they took on
the horses with themselves, still others they urged
to take hold of the horses' tails and run along with
them and so secure their safety. Thus were Antony's
forces, after he had fought splendidly, destroyed by
the coming of Hirtius. He encamped without en-
trenchments in a village near the plain, named Forum
Gallorum. Antony and Pansa each lost about one-
half of their men. The whole of Octavian's praetorian
cohort perished. The loss of Hirtius was slight.

X

71. THE next day they all withdrew to the camps CHAP.
at Mutina. After so severe a disaster Antony X
decided not to come to a general engagement with
his enemies at present, not even if they should
attack him, but merely to harass them daily with
his cavalry until Decimus, who was reduced to
extremity by famine, should surrender. For this
very reason Hirtius and Octavian decided to push
on a fight. As Antony would not come out when
they offered battle, they moved toward the other
Octavian and Hirtius defeat Antony at Mutina

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. Μουτίνης ἀφυλακτότερα δύτα διὰ δυσχέρειαν
^X ἔχωρουν ώς βιασόμενοι βαρεῖ στρατῷ παρεσελθεῖν ἐς αὐτήν. καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος αὐτῶν ἐξήπτετο τοῖς ἵππεῦσι καὶ τότε μόνοις. ἀμυνομένων δὲ κάκείνων αὐτὸν ἵππεῦσι μόνοις καὶ τῆς ἄλλης στρατιᾶς χωρούσης, ἐφ' ἣ ἐβούλοντο, δείσας ὁ Ἀντώνιος περὶ τῇ Μουτίνῃ ἐξῆγε δύο τέλη· οἱ δὲ ἡσθέντες ἐπέστρεφον καὶ ἐμάχοντο. ἄλλα δὲ Ἀντωνίου τέλη καλοῦντος ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων στρατοπέδων, ὃν βραδέως ώς ἐν αἴφνιδίῳ τε μετακλήσει καὶ μακρόθεν ἴόντων ἐκράτουν οἱ τοῦ Καίσαρας τῇ μάχῃ. "Ιρτιος δὲ καὶ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐσῆλατο τοῦ Ἀντωνίου καὶ περὶ τὴν στρατηγίδα σκηνὴν μαχόμενος ἐπεσε. καὶ αὐτοῦ τό τε σῶμα ὁ Καίσαρ ἐσδραμὼν ἀνείλετο καὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου κατέσχεν, ἔως μετ' ὀλίγον ἐξεώσθη πρὸς Ἀντωνίου. διενυκτέρευσαν δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐκάτεροι.

72. Καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος δευτέρᾳ τῇδε συμπεσὼν πληγῇ συνεβόλεύετο τοῖς φίλοις εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ πόνου. καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἐδόκει τῆς προτέρας αὐτὸν γνώμης ἔχεσθαι, πολιορκοῦντα Μουτίνην καὶ ἐς μάχην οὐκ ἐπεξιόντα· τό τε γὰρ πάθος ὅμοιον ἀμφοῖν γεγονέναι καὶ "Ιρτιον ἀνηρῆσθαι καὶ Πάνσαν νοσεῖν καὶ σφᾶς τοῖς ἵππεῦσι πλεονεκτεῖν Μουτίνην τε ἐς ἕσχατον ἀφίχθαι λιμοῦ καὶ εὐθὺς ἐνδώσειν. ὡδε μὲν ἥρεσκε τοῖς φίλοις, καὶ ἦν τὰ ἄριστα· ὃ δὲ Ἀντώνιος, ἥδη θεοῦ βλάπτοντος, ἐδεδοίκει, μὴ ἐς τὴν Μουτίνην ὁ Καίσαρ, ὥσπερ ἔχθες ἐπιχειρήσας, ἐσδράμοι ἡ αὐτὸν ἐπιχειρήσειε

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

side of Mutina where it was less closely besieged CHAP.
on account of the badness of the ground, as if about X
to force their way into the town with their strong army. Antony hung upon their movement with his cavalry and this time also with those alone. But as the enemy, too, fought him with their cavalry only, the rest of their army moving to effect their purposes, Antony, lest he should lose Mutina, drew out of his entrenchments two legions. Then his enemies, rejoicing at this, turned and delivered battle. Antony ordered up other legions from other camps, but as they came slowly, by reason of the suddenness of the call or the long distance, the army of Octavian won the victory. Hirtius even broke into Antony's camp, where he was killed, fighting near the general's tent. Octavian rushed in and carried off his body and possessed himself of the camp. A little later he was driven out by Antony. Both sides passed the night also under arms.

Death of
Hirtius

72. When Antony had suffered this second defeat, he took counsel with his friends directly after the battle. They advised him to adhere to his first resolution, to continue the siege of Mutina and not to go out and fight, saying that the losses had been about equal on both sides, Hirtius having been killed and Pansa wounded; they said that he was superior in cavalry and that Mutina was reduced to extremity by famine and must succumb. Such was the advice of his friends, and it was truly for the best. But Antony, already under some divine infatuation, was fearful lest Octavian should make another attempt to break into Mutina like that of yesterday, or even try to enclose him, as Octavian had the greater force to work with,

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. περιτειχίζειν, πλέον ἔχων τὸ ἐργάσιμον, “ἐν ω̄ καὶ
^X τῶν ἵππεων,” ἔφη, “γιγνομένων· ήμūν ἀχρήστων,
ὑπερόψεται με Λέπιδος καὶ Πλάγκος ἡττώμενον.
εἰ δὲ Μουτίνης ἔξανασταῖμεν, Οὔεντίδιός τε ήμūν
αὐτίκα προσέσται, τρία τέλη φέρων ἐκ τῆς
Πικηνίτιδος, καὶ Λέπιδος καὶ Πλάγκος ἐρρωμένως
οἱ συμμαχήσουσι.” ταῦτα ἔλεγεν, οὐκ ἄτολμος
ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις ἀνήρ, καὶ εἰπὼν εὐθὺς ἀνίστατο
καὶ ὕδενεν ἐπὶ τῶν Ἀλπεων.

73. Δέκμῳ δὲ ἀπαλλαγέντι τῆς πολιορκίας ὁ
φόβος ἐσ τὸν Καίσαρα ἐνηλλάσσετο· τῶν γὰρ
ὑπάτων ἐκποδῶν γενομένων ὡς ἐχθρὸν ἐδεδοίκει.
τάς τε οὖν γεφύρας τοῦ ποταμοῦ διέκοπτε πρὸ^τ
ἡμέρας καὶ κελητίφ τινὰς ἐσ τὸν Καίσαρα ἀπο-
στέλλων ἐμαρτύρει μὲν ὡς αἰτίφ τῆς σωτηρίας,
ηξίου δὲ μέσον ἔχοντα τὸν ποταμὸν ἐσ λόγους οἱ
συνελθεῖν ἐπὶ μάρτυσι τοῖς πολίταις· πείσειν γάρ,
ὅτι δαιμόνιον αὐτὸν ἔβλαψεν, ἐσ τὴν Καίσαρος
ἐπιβούλην ἐπηγμένον ὑφ' ἐτέρων. Καίσαρος δὲ
τοῖς ἥκουσιν ἀποκριναμένου τε πρὸς ὄργὴν καὶ τὴν
χάριν, ἦν δίδωσίν οἱ Δέκμος, διωθουμένου (“οὐδὲ
γὰρ Δέκμον ἐγὼ πάρειμι περισώσων, ἀλλ' Ἀντωνίῳ
πολεμήσων, ω̄ μοι καὶ συναλλαγῆναι ποτε θέμις·
Δέκμῳ δὲ ἡ φύσις οὐδὲ ἐσ δψιν ἡ λόγους ἐλθεῖν
ἐπιτρέπει· σωζέσθω μέντοι, μέχρι τοῖς ἐν ἄστει
δοκεῖ”), πυθόμενος τούτων ὁ Δέκμος ἔστη τε πρὸ^τ
τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ καλῶν ὄνομαστὶ τὸν Καίσαρα,
σὺν βοῇ τὰ γράμματα τῆς βουλῆς ἀνεγίνωσκε,
διδούσης οἱ τὴν Κελτικὴν ἡγεμονίαν, ἀπηγόρευε τε
Καίσαρι χωρὶς ὑπάτων μὴ περᾶν τὸν ποταμὸν ἐσ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

"in which case," said he, "our cavalry will be CHAP.
useless and Lepidus and Plancus will despise me X
as a vanquished man. If we withdraw from Mutina,
Ventidius will presently join us with three legions
from Picenum, and Lepidus and Plancus will be
emboldened to ally themselves with him." So he
spake, although he was not a timid man in the
presence of danger; and breaking camp forthwith
he made his way toward the Alps.

Antony
flees to
the Alps

73. When Decimus was delivered from the siege he began to be afraid of Octavian, whom, after the removal of the two consuls, he feared as an enemy. So he broke down the bridge over the river before daybreak and sent certain persons to Octavian in a boat, as if to return thanks for rescuing him, and asked that Octavian would come to the opposite bank of the river to hold a conversation with him in the presence of the citizens as witnesses, because he could convince Octavian, he said, that an evil spirit had deceived him and that he had been led into the conspiracy against Caesar by others. Octavian answered the messengers in a tone of anger, declining the thanks that Decimus gave him, saying: "I am here not to rescue Decimus, but to fight Antony, with whom I may properly come to terms some time, but nature forbids that I should even look at Decimus or hold any conversation with him. Let him have safety, however, as long as the authorities at Rome please." When Decimus heard this he stood on the river bank and, calling Octavian by name, read with a loud voice the letters of the Senate giving him command of the Gallic province, and forbade Octavian to cross the river without consular authority into the government belonging to another,

Decimus
seeks an
interview
with
Octavian

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. ἀλλοτρίαν ἡγεμονίαν μηδὲ ἐπὶ Ἀντώνιον ἔτι
^X χωρεῖν· αὐτὸς γὰρ αὐτὸν διώκων ἀρκέσειν. οὐ δὲ
ἥδει μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς αὐτὸν ἐς τήνδε τὴν
θρασύτητα αὐξανόμενον, δυνηθεὶς δ' ἀν ἐκ προσ-
τάγματος ἐλεῖν ἐφείδετο ἔτι καὶ πρὸς τὸν Πάνσαν
ἐς Βουνίαν τραπεὶς ἔγραφε τῇ βουλῇ περὶ ἀπάν-
των. ἔγραφε δὲ καὶ Πάνσας.

74. Καὶ Κικέρων ἐν 'Ρώμῃ τὰ μὲν ἐς τὸν δῆμον
ἀνεγίγνωσκεν ως ὑπάτου, τὰ δὲ τοῦ Καίσαρος τῇ
βουλῇ μόνον. θυσίας τε ἐπ' Ἀντωνίῳ πεντήκοντα
ἡμερῶν ἱκεσίους ἐψηφίζετο, ὅσας οὕτε ἐπὶ Κελτοῖς
οὕτε ἐπὶ ἄλλῳ πολέμῳ ποτὲ ἐψηφίσαντο 'Ρωμαῖοι,
καὶ τὸν στρατὸν τῶν ὑπάτων ἐδίδου Δέκμῳ καίπερ
ἔτι Πάνσα περιόντος (ἥδη γὰρ ἀπειγιγνώσκετο),
στρατηγόν τε τὸν Δέκμον ἀπέφηνεν ἐπ' Ἀντωνίῳ
μόνον εἴναι καὶ εὐχάς δημοσίας ἐποιεῖτο Δέκμον
Ἀντωνίου περιγενέσθαι. τοσοῦτος ἦν οἰστρος
ἀντῷ κατὰ Ἀντωνίου καὶ ἀπειροκαλία. ἐβεβαίου
τε αὐθις τοῖς δύο τέλεσι τοῖς ἀπὸ Ἀντωνίου μετα-
στᾶσι τὰς ἐκάστῳ προϋπεσχημένας παρὰ τοῦ
κοινοῦ 'Ρωμαίων ἐπινικίους δραχμὰς πεντακισ-
χιλίας ως ἥδη νενικηκόσι καὶ στέφανον αὐτοὺς ἐν
ταῖς ἑορταῖς αἱὲ θαλλοῦ περιτίθεσθαι. περὶ δὲ
Καίσαρος οὐδὲν ἦν ἐν τοῖς γραφομένοις, οὐδὲ
τούνομα ὅλως· οὕτως αὐτίκα κατεφρονεῖτο ως
Ἀντωνίου καθηρημένου. ἔγραφον δὲ καὶ Λεπίδῳ
καὶ Πλάγκῳ καὶ Ἀσινίῳ πολεμεῖν, ὅπως πλη-
σιάσειαν Ἀντωνίῳ.

75. Καὶ τάδε μὲν ἦν τὰ ἐν 'Ρώμῃ, Πάνσας δ' ἐκ
τοῦ τραύματος ἀποθηγόσκων Καίσαρά οἱ παρεστή-

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

and not to follow Antony further, for that he himself CHAP.
would be quite capable of pursuing him. Octavian X
knew that he was prompted to this audacious course
by the Senate, and although able to seize him by
giving an order, he spared him for the present and
withdrew to Pansa at Bononia, where he wrote a
full report to the Senate, and Pansa did likewise.

74. In Rome Cicero read to the people the report
of the consul, and to the Senate alone that of
Octavian. For the victory over Antony, he caused them to vote a thanksgiving of fifty days,—a longer festivity than the Romans had ever decreed even after the Gallic or any other war. He induced them to give the army of the consuls to Decimus, although Pansa was still alive (for his life was now despaired of), and to appoint Decimus the sole commander against Antony. Public prayers were offered that Decimus might prevail over him. Such was Cicero's passion and want of decorum in reference to Antony. He confirmed again, to the two legions that had deserted from Antony, the 5000 drachmas per man previously promised to them as the rewards of victory, as though they had already conquered, and gave them the perpetual right to wear the olive crown at the public festivals. There was nothing about Octavian in the decrees, and his name was not even mentioned. He was forthwith disregarded as though Antony were already destroyed. They wrote to Lepidus, to Plancus, and to Asinius Pollio to continue the campaign so as to come to close quarters with Antony.

75. Such was the course of events at Rome. In the meantime Pansa was dying of his wound, and he

Thanks-giving at Rome for victory over Antony

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. ^X σατο καὶ εἰπεν· “έγὼ τῷ σῷ πατρὶ φίλος ἦν ὡς
ἔμαυτῷ, ἀναιρεθέντι δὲ οὐκ εἶχον ἐπαμύνειν οὐδὲ
τοῖς πλείοσι μὴ συνίστασθαι, οἷς γε δὴ καὶ σὺ
καλῶς ποιῶν ὑπήκουσας, καίτοι στρατὸν ἔχων.
δείσαντες δ' ἐν ἀρχῇ σὲ καὶ Ἀντώνιον, φιλο-
τιμότατον κάκεῦνον ἐς τὴν Καίσαρος γνώμην
φανέντα, διαφερομένοις ὑμῖν ἐφήσθησαν ὡς ἐς
ἀλλιγίλους συντριβησομένοις. ἐπεὶ δέ σε καὶ
στρατοῦ δεσπότην εἶδον, προσεποιοῦντο εὐπρεπέστι
καὶ ἀσθενέστι τιμᾶς οἴλα μειράκιον. σοβαρωτέρου
δέ σου καὶ ἐγκρατεστέρου τιμῆς τότε μάλιστα
ὁφθέντος, ὅτε τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατοῦ σοι
δεδομένην οὐκ ἐδέξω, διεταράχθησαν καὶ συστρα-
τηγεῖν σε ἡμῖν ἀπέφηναν, ἵνα σου τὰ δύο τέλη τὰ
πρακτικώτερα ἀποσπάσωμεν, ἐλπίσαντες ἡττη-
θέντος ὑμῶν τοῦ ἑτέρου τὸν ἑτερον ἀσθενέστερόν
τε καὶ μόνον ἔσεσθαι καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν ἥδη πᾶσαν
τὴν Καίσαρος ἐταιρείαν καθελόντες ἀνάξειν τὴν
Πομπηίου· τόδε γάρ ἐστιν αὐτοῖς τῆς γνώμης τὸ
κεφάλαιον.

76. “Ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ Ἰρτιος τὸ προστεταγμένον
ἐποιοῦμεν μέχρι συστεῖλαι τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐπι-
πολάζοντα ὑπεροφίᾳ· ἡττηθέντα δὲ σοὶ συναλ-
λάσσειν ἐπενοοῦμεν, ὡς τῇ Καίσαρος φιλίᾳ τόδε
χαριστήριον ἔχοντες ἀποδοῦναι καὶ μόνον τῇ
μοίρᾳ χρησιμώτατον ἐσόμενον ἐς τὰ μέλλοντα.
τοῦτο δ' οὐκ ἦν ἐκφέρειν σοι πρότερον, ἡττημένου
δὲ νῦν Ἀντωνίου καὶ Ἰρτίου τεθνεῶτος κάμε τοῦ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

summoned Octavian to his side, and said :¹ “ I loved CHAP.
your father as I did myself, yet I could not avenge ^X
his death, nor could I fail to unite with the majority,
whom you have also done well to obey, although
you have an army. At first they feared you and
Antony, and especially Antony, as he also seemed
to be most ambitious to continue the policy of
Caesar, and they were delighted with your dissen-
sions, thinking that you would mutually destroy
each other. When they saw you the master of an
army, they complimented you as a young man with
specious and inexpensive honours. When they saw
that you were more proud and self-restrained in
respect of honours than they had supposed, and
especially when you declined the magistracy that
your army offered you, they were alarmed and they
appointed you to the command with us in order that
we might draw your two experienced legions away
from you, hoping that when one of you was van-
quished the other would be weakened and isolated,
and so the whole of Caesar’s party would be effaced
and that of Pompey be restored to power. This is
their chief aim.

76. “ Hirtius and I did what we were ordered to do, until we could humble Antony, who was much too arrogant; but we intended when he was vanquished to bring him into alliance with you and thus to pay the debt of gratitude we owed to Caesar’s friendship, the only payment that could be serviceable to Caesar’s party hereafter. It was not possible to communicate this to you before, but now that Antony is vanquished and Hirtius dead, and I am

¹ This interview is probably an invention of the Augustan age.

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. ^X χρεών ἀπάγοντος, ἐν καιρῷ λέλεκται, οὐχ ἵνα μοι γινώσκης χάριν ἀποθανόντι, ἀλλ' ἵνα σὺν δαιμονίᾳ μοίρᾳ γενόμενος, ώς τὰ ἔργα ὑποδείκνυσι, τά τε σαυτῷ συμφέροντα γινώσκῃς καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν καὶ Ἰρτίου προαίρεσίν τε καὶ ἀνάγκην. τὸν μὲν οὖν στρατόν, δν ἡμῖν αὐτὸς ἔδωκας, εὐπροφάσιστον ἀποδούναί σοι, καὶ παραδίδωμι· τοὺς δὲ νεήλυδας εἰ μὲν καθέξεις λαβών, καὶ τούσδε σοι παραδώσω, εἰ δὲ τεθήπασι τὴν βουλὴν ἀμέτρως, ὅτι καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες αὐτῶν φύλακες ἡμῖν ἐπέμφθησαν εἶναι, καὶ τό τε ἔργον ἐπίφθονον ἔσται σοι καὶ πρὸ τοῦ δέοντος ἐξανίστησί σε, ὁ ταμίας παραλήφεται Τορκουάτος.” ταῦτα εἰπὼν καὶ τῷ ταμίᾳ τοὺς νεήλυδας ἐγχειρίσας ἀπέθανε. καὶ τούσδε μὲν ὁ ταμίας, καθὰ προσέτασσεν ἡ βουλή, Δέκμῳ παρεδίδουν, “Ιρτιον δὲ καὶ Πάνσαν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπιφανῶς ἔθαπτε καὶ ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπεμπε μετὰ τιμῆς.

XI

CAP. ^{XI} 77. Τῷ δ' αὐτῷ χρόνῳ περί τε Συρίαν καὶ Μακεδονίαν τοιάδε ἐγίγνετο. Γάιος Καῖσαρ ὅτε Συρίαν διώδευε, τέλος ἐν αὐτῇ καταλεκοίπει τὰ ἐς Παρθυαίους ἥδη διανοούμενος. τούτου τὴν μὲν ἐπιμέλειαν Καικίλιος Βάσσος είχε, τὸ δὲ ἀξίωμα Ιούλιος Σέξτος, μειράκιον αὐτοῦ Καίσαρος συγγενές, ὅπερ ἐκδιαιτώμενον ἐς τρυφὴν τὸ τέλος ἀσχημόνως ἐπήγετο πανταχοῦ. μεμψαμένῳ δὲ τῷ Βάσσῳ ποτὲ ἐνύβρισε· καὶ καλῶν αὐτὸν

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

about to pay the debt of nature, the time for speaking has come, not that you may be grateful to me after my death, but that you, born to a happy destiny, as your deeds proclaim, may know what is for your own interest, and know that the course taken by Hirtius and myself was a matter of necessity. The army that you yourself gave to us should most properly be given back to you, and I do give it. If you can take and hold the new levies, I will give you those also. If they are too much in awe of the Senate (for their officers were sent to act as spies upon us), and if the task would be an invidious one, and would create trouble for you prematurely, the quaestor Torquatus will take command of them." After speaking thus he formally transferred the new levies to the quaestor and expired. The quaestor transferred them to Decimus as the Senate had ordered. Octavian sent the bodies of Hirtius and Pansa with honours to Rome, where they received a public funeral.

XI

77. THE following events took place in Syria and Macedonia about the same time. Gaius Caesar, when he passed through Syria, left a legion there, as he was already contemplating an expedition against the Parthians. Caecilius Bassus had charge of it, but the title of commander was held by Sextus Julius, a young man related to Caesar himself, who was given over to dissipation and who led the legion around everywhere in an indecorous manner. Once when Bassus reproved him, he replied insultingly, and some time later, when he called Bassus to him

State of affairs in Syria

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. ^{XI} ὕστερον, ἐπεὶ βραδέως ὑπήκουσεν, ἄγειν ἐκέλευσεν
ἔλκοντας. θορύβου δὲ καὶ πληγῶν γενομένων ἡ
στρατιὰ τὴν ὕβριν οὐ φέρουσα τὸν Ἰούλιον κατη-
κόντισε. καὶ εὐθὺς ἦν μετάνοια καὶ δέος ἐκ τοῦ
Καίσαρος. συνομόσαντες οὖν, εἰ μή τις αὐτοῖς
συγγνώμη καὶ πίστις γένοιτο, μέχρι θανάτου
διαγωνιεῖσθαι καὶ ἐς αὐτὸν Βάσσον ἀναγκάσαντες
ἄλλο συνέλεξαν τέλος καὶ συνεγύμνασαν. ὅδε
μέν τισι περὶ τοῦ Βάσσου δοκεῖ, Λίβων δ', ὅτι
τῆς Πομπηίου στρατιᾶς γενόμενος καὶ μετὰ τὴν
ἡτταν ἴδιωτεύων ἐν Τύρῳ, διέφθειρέ τινας τοῦ
τέλους, καὶ διεχρήσαντο τὸν Σέξτον καὶ τῷ
Βάσσῳ σφᾶς ἐνεχείρισαν. ὅποτέρως δ' ἐγένετο,
Στάιον Μοῦρκον οἶδε, μετὰ τριῶν τελῶν ἐπι-
πεμφθέντα σφίσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἐγκρατῶς
ἀπεμάχοντο, ἔως ὁ Μοῦρκος ἐπεκαλεῖτο Μάρκιον
Κρίσπον ἡγούμενον Βιθυνίας καὶ ἀφίκετο αὐτῷ
βοηθῶν ὁ Κρίσπος τέλεσιν ἄλλοις τρισίν.

78. Ὡς δὲ ὑπὸ τούτων ἐπολιορκοῦντο, ὁ Κάσσιος
σὺν ἐπείξει καταλαβὼν τά τε τοῦ Βάσσου δύο
τέλη παρελάμβανεν αὐτίκα καὶ τὰ τῶν πολιορ-
κούντων αὐτὸν ἔξ, φιλίᾳ τε παραδόντων καὶ ὡς
ἀνθυπάτῳ κατηκόων γενομένων ἐψήφιστο γάρ,
ὡς μοι προείρηται, πάντας ὑπακούειν Κασσίῳ τε
καὶ Βρούτῳ. ἄρτι δὲ, καὶ Ἀλλιηνός, ὑπὸ Δολο-
βέλλα πεμφθεὶς ἐς Αἴγυπτον, ἐπανῆγεν ἔξ αὐτῆς
τέσσαρα τέλη τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἥσσης Πομπηίου τε καὶ
Κράσσου διαρριφέντων ἡ ὑπὸ Καίσαρος Κλεο-
πάτρᾳ καταλελειμμένων. καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Κάσσιος

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

and the latter was slow in obeying, he ordered him CHAP.
to be dragged before him. A tumult and blows X¹
ensued. The soldiers would not tolerate the in-
dignity and slew Julius. This act was followed by
repentance and fear of Caesar. Accordingly, they
took an oath together that they would defend them-
selves to the death if they were not pardoned and
restored to confidence, and they compelled Bassus
to take the same oath. They also enlisted and
drilled another legion as associates with themselves.
This is one account of Bassus, but Libo¹ says that
he belonged to the army of Pompey and that after
the latter's defeat he became a private citizen in
Tyre, where he corrupted certain members of the
legion, who slew Sextus and chose Bassus for their
leader. However that may have been, Caesar sent
Staius Murcus against him with three legions.
Bassus defeated him badly. Finally, Murcus ap-
pealed to Marcius Crispus, the governor of Bithynia,
and the latter came to his aid with three legions.

78. While Bassus was besieged by the latter, Cassius suddenly came up with them and took possession, not only of the two legions of Bassus, but also of the six that were besieging him, whose leaders surrendered in a friendly way and obeyed him as proconsul; for the Senate had decreed, as I have already said, that all [beyond the Adriatic] should obey Cassius and Brutus. Just then Allienus, who had been sent to Egypt by Dolabella, brought from that quarter four legions of soldiers dispersed by the disasters of Pompey and of Crassus, or left with Cleopatra by Caesar. Cassius surrounded him

¹ Λίβων; either Scribonius Libo, or there is an error of text for Λίβω (Livy).

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. οὐδὲν προπεπυσμένον ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ περιέλαβέ
^{XI} τε καὶ ἡνάγκασεν ἑαυτῷ προσθέσθαι; δείσαντα
τοῦς τέσσαρσι μάχεσθαι πρὸς ὀκτώ. ὅδε μὲν δὴ
Κάσσιος ἐκ παραδόξου δυώδεκα τελῶν ἀθρόως
ἐκράτει καὶ Δολοβέλλαν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας σὺν δύο
τέλεσιν ἐλθόντα τε καὶ ἐς Λαοδίκειαν ὑπὸ οἰκειό-
τητος ἐσδεχθέντα περικαθήμενος ἐπολιόρκει. καὶ
ἡ Βουλὴ μαθοῦσα ἐφῆδετο.

79. Μακεδονίας δὲ πέρι Γάιος Ἀντώνιος, ὁ
Ἀντωνίου Μάρκου ἀδελφός, Βρούτῳ διεφέρετο
καὶ ἐπολέμει, τέλος ἔχων ἐν ὄπλιτῶν· καὶ τὸν
Βρούτον ἡσσώμενος ἐνῆδρευσεν. ὁ δ' ἐκφυγὼν
ἀντενήδρευσε καὶ οὐδὲν εἰργάσατο ἀποληφθέντας,
ἄλλὰ ἀσπάσασθαι τῷ ἵδιῳ στρατῷ τοὺς ἐναν-
τίους προσέταξε· τῶν δὲ οὐκ ἀντασπασαμένων
οὐδὲ τὴν πεῖραν ἐνδεξαμένων, μεθῆκεν ἀπαθεῖς
ἐκ τῆς ἐνέδρας ἀπιέναι. κατὰ δὲ ἄλλας ὁδοὺς
περιελθὼν αὐθις ἐν ἀποκρήμνοις κατέστησε καὶ
πάλιν οὐκ ἐπεχείρησεν, ἀλλ' ἡσπάσατο. οἱ δέ,
ώς πολιτῶν τε περιφειδόμενον καὶ τῆς δόξης
ᾶξιον ἡς εἶχεν ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ τε καὶ πραότητι, ἥγά-
σαντο καὶ ἀντησπάσαντο καὶ ἐς αὐτὸν μετε-
βάλοντο. ἐπέτρεψε δὲ καὶ ὁ Γάιος ἑαυτὸν καὶ
ἥν ἐν τιμῇ παρὰ Βρούτῳ, μέχρι τὸν στρατὸν
πολλάκις διαφθείρων ἐλεγχθεὶς ἀνηρέθη. οὕτω
μὲν δὴ καὶ Βρούτῳ μετὰ τῶν προτέρων στρατῶν
ἔξι ἐγίνετο τέλη· καὶ Μακεδόνας ἐπαινῶν δύο τέλη
κατέλεξεν ἔξι αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐς τὸν Ἰταλικὸν τρόπον
καὶ τάδε ἐγυμνάζετο.

80. Τοιαῦτα μὲν δὴ καὶ τὰ περὶ Συρίαν καὶ
Μακεδονίαν ἦν· ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐν

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

unawares in Palestine and compelled him to sur- CHAP.
render, as he did not dare to fight with four legions XI
against eight. Thus Cassius became the master, in a surprising way, of twelve legions, and laid siege to Dolabella, who was coming from Asia with two legions and had been received in Laodicea in a friendly manner. The Senate was delighted when it heard the news.

79. In Macedonia Gaius Antonius, the brother of Brutus captures Gaius Antonius in Macedonia Mark Antony, with one legion of foot soldiers, contended with Brutus, and, being inferior in strength to the latter, laid an ambuscade for him. Brutus avoided the trap, and, in his turn, laid an ambuscade, but he did no harm to those whom he caught in it, but ordered his own soldiers to salute their adversaries. Although the latter did not return the salutation or accept the courtesy, he allowed them to pass out of the trap unharmed. Then he went around by other roads and confronted them again at a precipice, and again did them no harm but saluted them. Then, regarding him as a saviour of his fellow citizens and as one deserving the reputation he had gained for wisdom and mildness, they conceived an admiration for him, saluted him, and passed over to him. Gaius also surrendered himself and was treated with honour by Brutus until he was convicted of having tried several times to corrupt the army, when he was put to death. Thus, including his former forces, Brutus had possession of six legions, and since he approved the valour of the Macedonians he raised two legions among them, whom, too, he drilled in the Italian discipline.

80. Such was the state of affairs in Syria and Macedonia. In Italy Octavian, although he con-

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. ΥΒΡΕΙ ΘΕΜΕΝΟΣ ἀντὶ οὐ Δέκμον γρῆσθαι στρατηγὸν ἐπὶ Ἀντώνιῳ, τὴν μὲν ὁργὴν ἐπέκρυπτε, θρίαμβον δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς εἰργασμένοις ἦτει. καταφρονούμενος δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ὡς πρεσβύτερα τῆς ἡλικίας ἐπινοῶν, ἔδεισε, μὴ διαφθαρέντος Ἀντωνίου μᾶλλον ἔτι καταφρονηθείη, καὶ τὰς ἐς αὐτὸν συμβάσεις ἐπόθει, καθὰ καὶ Πάνσας αὐτῷ διεσήμαινεν ἀποθνήσκων. τούς τε οὖν ἀλωμένους ἐκ τῆς ἐκείνου στρατιᾶς ἡγεμόνας ἢ στρατιώτας ἐφίλανθρωπεύετο, καὶ τοῖς ἰδίοις ἐγκατέλεγεν ἢ τοὺς ἐθέλοντας αὐτῶν ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐπεμπεν, ὡς οὐ δι' ἔχθρας ἀνηκέστου πρὸς αὐτὸν ἴόντα. Οὐεντίδιῳ τε τῷ Ἀντωνίου φίλῳ, μετὰ τριῶν τελῶν ὅντι, παραστρατοπεδεύσας καὶ δέος ἐμβαλὼν ἐπραξε μὲν οὐδὲν πολέμιον, ἐδίδου δὲ ὄμοιώς συνεῖναι οἱ ἢ ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀδεῶς ἀπιέναι μετὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ μέμφεσθαι τῆς ἐς τὸ κοινὸν συμφέρον ἀγνωσίας. ὃν Οὐεντίδιος συνεὶς ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀπήγει. ο δὲ Καῖσαρ Δέκιον, τῶν τινα ἡγεμόνων Ἀντωνίου, περὶ Μουτίνην ληφθέντα διὰ τιμῆς ἄγων μεθῆκεν, εἰ θέλοι, πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀπιέναι καὶ πυνθανομένῳ περὶ τῆς ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον γνώμης πολλὰ ἔφη σύμβολα τοῖς εὐ φρονοῦσιν ἐξενηνοχέναι, τοῖς δὲ ἄφροσιν οὐδὲ τὰ πλείονα ἀρκέσειν.

81. Ἀντώνιῳ μὲν δὴ τάδε ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐνεσήμαινε, Λεπίδῳ δὲ καὶ Ἀσινίῳ σαφέστερον ἔτι περὶ τῆς ἐς αὐτὸν ύβρεως καὶ τῆς τῶν σφαγέων ἀθρόας προαγωγῆς ἐπέστελλεν, ἐκφοβῶν αὐτούς, μὴ ἐς χάριν τῆς Πομπηιανῆς ἔταιρείας καθ' ἔνα τῶν

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

sidered it an insult that Decimus, instead of himself, was chosen general against Antony, concealed his indignation and asked the honours of a triumph for his exploits. But being disdained by the Senate as though he were seeking honours beyond his years, he began to fear lest if Antony were destroyed he should be despised still more, and so he desired the reconciliation with Antony, which Pansa on his death-bed had recommended to him. Accordingly, he began to make friends of the stragglers from Antony's army, both officers and soldiers, enrolling them among his own troops, or if they wished to return to Antony allowing them to do so, in order to show that Antony was not moved by implacable hatred against him. Having encamped near to Ventidius, Antony's friend, who had command of three legions, he made him anxious, but performed no hostile act, and in like manner gave him the opportunity either to join himself or to go on unmolested with his army to Antony and chide him for ignoring their common interests. Ventidius took the hint and proceeded to join Antony. Decius also, one of Antony's officers, who had been taken prisoner at Mutina, treated with honour, allowing him to return to Antony if he wished, and when Decius asked what were his sentiments toward Antony, he said that he had given plenty of indications to persons of discernment and that even more would be insufficient for fools.

81. After conveying these hints to Antony, Octavian wrote still more plainly to Lepidus and Asinius concerning the indignities put upon himself and the rapid advancement of the murderers, causing them to fear, lest to secure the favour of the Pompeian faction, each of the Caesarians should one by

XI
Octavian takes steps toward a reconciliation with Antony

He communicates with Lepidus and Asinius Pollio

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. Καίσαρος ἔκαστος ὅμοια Ἀντωνίῳ πάθοι, κάκεί-
^{XI} νῷ δὶ' ἀφροσύνην καὶ ὑπεροψίαν τοῦδε τοῦ δέους
τάδε παθόντι. ἡξίου τε ἐς μὲν εὐπρέπειαν τῆς
βουλῆς εἶναι κατηκόους, ἐς δὲ τὸ σφέτερον
ἀσφαλὲς συμφρονεῖν, ἔως ἔτι δύνανται, καὶ διει-
δίζειν ταῦτα Ἀντωνίῳ, μιμεῖσθαι τε τοὺς ὑπὸ[·]
σφίσιν ὄπλίτας· οὐδὲ διαλυομένους, οὐδὲ διτε παύ-
σαιντο τῶν στρατειῶν, ἵνα μὴ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἐιεν
εὐεπίθετοι, ἀλλ' ἀθρόους ἐν ἀλλοτρίᾳ συνοικί-
ζεσθαι διὰ τὴν ἴσχὺν μᾶλλον ἐθέλοντας ἢ καθ'
ἔνα τῶν πατρίδων ἀπολαύειν. τάδε μὲν ὁ Καίσαρ
Λεπίδῳ τε ἐπέστελλε καὶ Ἀσινίῳ Δέκμῳ δὲ ὁ
ἀρχινὸς στρατὸς ἐνόσει πιμπλάμενος ἐκ λιμοῦ καὶ
τὰς γαστέρας κατερρίγγυντο, ὃ τε νεοστράτευτος
ἀγύμναστος ἔτι ἦν. Πλάγκος δὲ προσεγένετο
μετὰ τοῦ οἰκείου στρατοῦ, καὶ ὁ Δέκμος ἐπέ-
στελλε τῇ βουλῇ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀλώμενον κυνη-
γετήσειν ναυτικῶν περ ἥδη γεγονότων.

82. Οἵ τε Πομπηιανοὶ πυθόμενοι θαυμαστοὶ[·]
ὅσοι διεφάνησαν, ἐκβοῶντες ἄρτι τὴν πάτριον ἐλευ-
θερίαν ἀπειληφέναι, καὶ θυσίαι καθ' ἔνα ἥσαν καὶ
χειροτονίαι δέκα ἀνδρῶν ἐς εὑθυναν τῆς ἀρχῆς
τῆς Ἀντωνίου. πρόσχημα δὲ τοῦτο ἦν ἐς
ἀκύρωσιν τῶν ὑπὸ Καίσαρος διατεταγμένων
Ἀντώνιος γὰρ οὐδὲν αὐτὸς ἢ πάνυ σμικρά, πάντα
δὲ ἐκ τῶν Καίσαρος ὑπομνημάτων διώκήκει, καὶ
τόδε σαφῶς εἰδυῖα ἡ βουλὴ τὰ μέν τινα αὐτῶν

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

one be treated like Antony, since he too was suffering CHAP.
the consequences of his own folly and contempt of ^{XI} this fear. He advised that, for the sake of appearances, they should obey the Senate, but that they should confer together for their own safety while they could still do so, and reproach Antony for his conduct; that they should follow the example of their own soldiers, who did not separate even when they were discharged from the service but, in order that they might not be exposed to the assaults of enemies, preferred for the sake of strength to settle together in groups upon the conquered territory, rather than to enjoy their own homes singly. This is what Octavian wrote to Lepidus and Asinius. But the first soldiers of Decimus fell sick by reason of excessive eating after their famine, and suffered from dysentery, and the newer ones were still undrilled. Plancus soon joined him with his own army, and then Decimus wrote to the Senate that he would hunt down Antony, who was now a wanderer; certain small naval actions having already taken place.¹

82. When the Pompeians learned what had happened an astonishing number showed themselves to be of that party; they exclaimed that their ancestral freedom had at last been regained: they each offered sacrifices, and decemvirs, too, were chosen to examine the accounts of Antony's magistracy. This was a preliminary step to annulling Caesar's arrangements, for Antony had done little or nothing himself, but had conducted all the affairs of state in accordance with Caesar's memoranda. The Senate knew this well, but it hoped that by finding a pretext

¹ The text is probably corrupt. The mention of naval actions is out of place.

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

ΣΑΡ. ἐπὶ προφάσεσι διέλυεν, ἀθρόα δὲ οὕτως ἥλπιζε
^{XI} διαλύσειν. οἱ μὲν δὴ δέκα προύγραφον, ὅ τι τις
 λάβοι παρὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν Ἀντωνίου, πάντας αὐτίκα
 ἀπογράφεσθαι καὶ διδάσκειν ἀπειλάι τε τοῖς
 ἀπειθοῦσιν ἐπετίθεντο. καὶ τὴν ὑπατον ἀρχὴν
 ἐς τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ ἔτους οἱ Πομπηιανοὶ μετήστησαν
 ἀντὶ Ἰρτίου τε καὶ Πάνσα· μετήστη δὲ καὶ ὁ
 Καῖσαρ, οὐκ ἐς τὴν βουλὴν ἔτι πέμπων, ἀλλ' ἐς
 τὸν Κικέρωνα ἴδιᾳ, καὶ αὐτὸν παρεκάλει καὶ
 συνάρξαι, ὡς Κικέρωνα μὲν τὴν ἀρχὴν διοική-
 σοντα πρεσβύτερον τε καὶ ἐμπειρότερον ὄντα,
 αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν καρπωσόμενος μόνην ἐς
 ἀπόθεσιν τῶν ὄπλων εὐπρεπῆ, οὐ δὴ καὶ πρώην
 ἔνεκα τὸν θρίαμβον αἰτήσαι. Κικέρων μὲν δὴ
 τούτοις ἐπαρθεὶς διὰ φιλαρχίαν, ἔλεγεν αἰσθέσθαι
 σπονδῶν ἐν τοῖς ἔξω στρατηγοῖς ὑπονοουμένων
 καὶ συνεβούλευε θεραπεῦσαι τὸν ἄνδρα, ὑβρισμένον
 καὶ στρατοῦ ἔτι ἄρχοντα πολλοῦ, ἀνασχέσθαι
 τε παρ' ἥλικίαν ἄρχοντος ἐν τῇ πόλει μᾶλλον
 ἢ μηνίοντος ἐν ὄπλοις· ὡς δ' ἂν τι μὴ πράξειε
 παρὰ τὸ τῇ βουλῇ συμφέρον, ἐκέλευεν αὐτῷ
 συνελέσθαι τῶν τινα πρεσβυτέρων ἔμφρονα, τῆς
 ἐκείνου νεότητος ἐγκρατῆ παιδαγωγόν.

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

for annulling a part of the measures it would be CHAP.
enabled in the same way to annul the whole. The XI
deceimvirs gave public notice that whoever had re-
ceived anything in the course of Antony's government
should make it known in writing immediately, and
threatened any who should disobey. The Pompeians
also sought the consulship for the remainder of the
year in place of Hirtius and Pansa; but Octavian also
sought it, applying not to the Senate, but to Cicero
privately, whom he urged to become his colleague,
saying that Cicero should carry on the government,
as he was the elder and more experienced, and that
he himself desired to enjoy the title only, as a means
by which he could dismiss his army in a becoming
manner, and that this was the reason he had pre-
viously asked the honour of a triumph. Cicero,
whose desire for office was excited by this proposal,
said to the Senate that he understood that a negotia-
tion was on foot among the generals commanding the
provinces, and he advised that they should conciliate
the man whom they had treated with disdain and
who was still at the head of a large army, and allow
him to hold office in the city, notwithstanding his
youth, rather than that he should remain under arms
in a state of resentment. But lest he should do
anything contrary to the interests of the Senate,
Cicero proposed that some man of prudence from
among the older ones should be chosen as his col-
league to be a firm guardian of the immature nature
of Octavian.

Octavian applies
for the
consulship,
asking
Cicero to
be his
colleague

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

XII.

CAP. XII. Ἀλλὰ Κικέρωνα μὲν ἥ τε βουλὴ τῆς φιλαρχίας ἐγέλασε, καὶ οἱ συγγενεῖς μάλιστα τῶν σφαγέων ἐνέστησαν, δεδιότες μὴ αὐτοὺς ὁ Καίσαρ τίσαιτο ὑπατεύων· 83. ὑπερθέσεων δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ χειροτονίᾳ γιγνομένων ἐννόμων κατὰ ποικίλας αἰτίας, ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐν τῷ τέως τὰς Ἀλπεις ὑπερέβαλε, Κουλλεῶνα πείσας τὸν ἐκ Λεπίδου φύλακα αὐτῶν, ἐπὶ τε ποταμὸν ἥλθεν, ἔνθα ἐστρατοπεδεύμένος ἦν ὁ Λέπιδος, καὶ οὕτε χάρακα περιεβάλετο οὕτε τάφρου ὡς δὴ φίλῳ παραστρατοπεδεύων. διαπομπαὶ δὲ ἡσαν ἐς ἀλλήλους πυκναί, Ἀντωνίου μὲν ὑπομιμήσκοντος φιλίας τε καὶ χαρίτων ποικίλων, καὶ διδάσκοντος, ὅτι μεθ' αὐτὸν ὅμοια πείσονται καθ' ἓνα πάντες, οἱ τῆς Καίσαρος ἐγένοντο φιλίας, Λεπίδου δὲ τὴν μὲν βουλὴν δεδιότος πολεμεῦν αὐτῷ κελεύουσαν, ὑπισχνουμένου δ' ὅμως οὐ πολεμήσειν ἐκόντος. ὁ δὲ στρατὸς ὁ τοῦ Λεπίδου τό τε ἀξίωμα αἰδούμενοι τὸ Ἀντωνίου καὶ τῶν διαπομπῶν αἰσθανόμενοι καὶ τὴν ἀφέλειαν αὐτοῦ τῆς στρατοπεδείας ἀγάμενοι, ἐπειμήνυντο τοῖς Ἀντωνίου λαυθάνοντες, εἴτα φανερῶς οία πολίταις τε καὶ συστρατιώταις γενομένοις, τῶν τε χιλιάρχων κωλύοντων ὑπερεώρων καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐς εὐμάρειαν τῆς ἐπιμήξιας ναυσὶν ἐγεφύρουν τό τε καλούμενον δέκατον τέλος, ἐξεναγημένον ὑπὸ Ἀντωνίου πάλαι, τὰ ἔνδον αὐτῷ παρεσκεύαζεν.

84. Ὡν αἰσθανόμενος Λατερήσιος, τῶν τις ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς ἐπιφανῶν, προηγόρευε τῷ Λεπίδῳ καὶ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

XII

THE Senate laughed at Cicero's ambition, and the CHAP.
relatives of the murderers especially opposed him,
fearing lest Octavian, as consul, should bring the
murderers to punishment, 83. but on various accounts
the election was postponed by certain legal objec-
tions. Meanwhile, Antony passed over the Alps with
the permission of Culleo, who had been stationed
there by Lepidus to guard them, and advanced to a
river where Lepidus was encamped ; but he neglected
to surround himself with palisade and ditch, as
though he were camping alongside a friend.
Antony encamps near Lepidus
Messengers were going to and fro between them
constantly. Antony reminded Lepidus of their
friendship and of his various good offices, pointing
out that after he himself should be destroyed all
who had enjoyed Caesar's friendship would suffer a
like fate, one by one : Lepidus feared the Senate,
which had ordered him to make war on Antony, but
he promised nevertheless that he would not do so
willingly. The army of Lepidus, having respect
for Antony's dignity and perceiving the messengers
going to and fro, and being gratified with the sim-
plicity of Antony's camp, mingled with his men, at
first secretly, then openly, as with fellow-citizens
and fellow-soldiers ; they disregarded the orders of
the tribunes, who forbade their doing so ; and in
order to facilitate their intercourse they made a
bridge of boats across the river. The Tenth Legion,
which had been originally enlisted by Antony,
arranged things for him inside the camp of Lepidus.

84. When Laterensis, one of the distinguished
members of the Senate, perceived this, he warned

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. XII ἀπιστοῦντα ἐκέλευε τὴν στρατιὰν ἐς πολλὰ
 διελόντα ἐκπέμψαι κατὰ δή τινας χρείας, ἐς
 ἐπίδειξιν ἡ τῆς προδοσίας ἡ τῆς πίστεως. καὶ ὁ
 Λέπιδος ἐς τρία διελών, ἐκέλευε νυκτὸς ἔξορμᾶν
 ἐς φρουρὰν ταμείων πλησιαζόντων. οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ
 τὴν ἐσχάτην φυλακήν, ώς ἐς τὴν ἔξοδον ὄπλισά-
 μενοι, τὰ ἐρυμνὰ τοῦ στρατοπέδου κατέλαβον
 καὶ τὰς πύλας ἀνεῳγγυνον Ἀντωνίῳ. ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ
 τὴν Λεπίδου σκηνὴν ἵετο δρόμῳ, τοῦ στρατοῦ
 παντὸς ἥδη τοῦ Λεπίδου παραπέμποντος αὐτὸν
 καὶ τὸν Λεπίδου αἰτοῦντος εὐρήνην τε καὶ ἔλεον
 ἐς ἀτυχοῦντας πολίτας. ὁ μὲν δὴ Λέπιδος, ώς
 εἶχεν, ἐκ τῆς εὐνῆς ἄξωστος ἐς αὐτοὺς ἔξεθορε
 καὶ ὑπισχνεῖτο ποιήσειν. καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον
 ἡσπάζετο καὶ ἔξελογεῖτο τῆς ἀνάγκης. οἱ δὲ
 αὐτὸν καὶ προσπεσεῖν Ἀντωνίῳ νομίζουσιν, ἅπρα-
 κτον μὲν ὅντα καὶ ἄτολμον, οὐ μὴν ἄπασι τοῖς
 συγγραφεῦσι πιστὸν οὐδ' ἐμοὶ πιθανόν· οὐ γάρ
 πώ τι αὐτῷ πολέμιον ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐπέπρακτο,
 δέους ἄξιον. οὕτω μὲν ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐς μέγα¹
 δυνάμεως αὐθις ἐπῆρτο, καὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἦν
 ἐπιφοβώτατος· στρατὸν γὰρ εἶχεν, ὃν τε ἔξανέ-
 στησε Μουτίνης καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ λαμπρότατον
 ἴππικόν, τρία τε αὐτῷ τέλη κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν
 προσγεγένητο τὰ Οὔεντιδίου, καὶ Λέπιδος αὐτῷ
 σύμμαχος ἐγίγνετο ἐπτὰ ἔχων ὄπλιτικὰ τέλη
 καὶ πολὺν ὅμιλον ἄλλον καὶ παρασκευὴν ἀξιό-
 λογον. καὶ τοῦσδε ὁ μὲν Λέπιδος ἐπωνυμάζετο
 ἔτι, ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος ἄπαντα διφέκει.

85. Ἐξαγγελθέντων δὲ τῶνδε ἐς Ῥώμην θαυ-
 μαστὴ καὶ αἴφνιδιος ἦν αὐθις μεταβολή, τῶν μὲν
 ἐκ τῆς οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ καταφρονήσεως ἐς δέος,

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

Lepidus. As the latter was incredulous Laterensis CHAP. advised him to divide his army in several parts and send them away on some ostensible errands in order to test whether they were faithful or not. Accordingly, Lepidus divided them in three parts, and ordered them to go out by night in order to protect some convoys who were approaching. About the last watch the soldiers armed themselves as if for the march, seized the fortified parts of the camp, and opened the gates to Antony. He came running to the tent of Lepidus, whose whole army now escorted him, demanding from Lepidus peace and compassion for their unfortunate fellow-citizens. Lepidus leaped out of bed among them ungirt, just as he was, promised to do what they asked, embraced Antony, and pleaded necessity as his excuse. Some say that he actually fell on his knees before Antony, being an irresolute and timid man. Not all writers put faith in this report, nor do I, for he had as yet done nothing whatever inimical to Antony which might cause him fear. Thus did Antony again become a very powerful man, and most formidable to his enemies; for he had the army with which he had abandoned the siege of Mutina, including its magnificent cavalry; Ventidius had joined him on the road with three legions, and Lepidus had become his ally with seven legions of foot soldiers and a great number of auxiliary troops and apparatus in proportion. Lepidus nominally retained the command of these, but Antony directed everything.

They unite
their forces
and
Ventidius
joins
Antony

85. When these facts became known at Rome another wonderful and sudden change took place. Those who had just now held Antony in contempt

Consternation at
Rome

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. τῶν δὲ ἐς θάρσος ἀπὸ τοῦ δέους μεθισταμένων.
 XII αἴ τε προγραφαὶ τῶν δέκα ἀνδρῶν κατεσπῶντο
 σὺν ὑβρει, καὶ αἱ χειροτονίαι τῶν ὑπάτων ἐπεί-
 χοντο ἔτι μᾶλλον· ἡ τε βουλὴ πάμπαν ἀποροῦσα,
 καὶ δεδιυῖα, μὴ συνθοῖντο ἀλλήλοις ὅ τε Καῖσαρ
 καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος, ἐπεμπε μὲν ἐς Βροῦτόν τε καὶ
 Κάσσιον κρύφα ἀπὸ σφῶν Λεύκιον καὶ Πάνσαν,
 ὡς ἐπὶ θέας εἰς Ἑλλάδα ἔξιόντας, ἀμύνειν αὐτοῖς
 ἐς δ δύναιντο, μετεκάλει δὲ ἐκ Λιβύης ἀπὸ τριῶν
 τῶν ὑπὸ Σέξτιον δύο τέλη, καὶ τὸ τρίτον ἐκέλευε
 Κορηνιφικίῳ παραδοθῆναι, τῆς ἐτέρας ἄρχοντι
 Λιβύης καὶ τὰ τῆς βουλῆς φρονοῦντι, εἰδότες μὲν
 καὶ τούσδε Γαῖφ Καίσαρι ἐστρατευμένους καὶ τὰ
 ἐκείνου πάντα ὑπονοοῦντες· ἡ δὲ ἀπορία σφᾶς
 ὥδε ἥπειγεν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸν νέον Καίσαρα, δεδιότες
 μὴ συνθοῖτο Ἀντωνίῳ, στρατηγὸν αὐθις ἐπὶ¹
 Ἀντωνίῳ μάλα ἀπρεπῶς ἔχειρονουν ἄμα
 Δέκμῳ.

86. Ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἥδη τὸν στρατὸν εἰς ὁργὴν
 ὑπέρ τε αὐτοῦ, ὡς συνεχῶς ὑβριζόμενος, ἀνεκίνει
 καὶ ὑπὲρ σφῶν ἐκείνων, ἐπὶ δευτέραν στρατείαν
 πεμπομένων, πρὶν ἐπὶ τῇ προτέρᾳ λαβεῖν τὰς
 πεντακισχιλίας δραχμάς, ὅσας αὐτοῖς ὑπέσχοντο
 δώσειν· ἐδίδασκε τε πέμποντας αἰτεῖν. οἱ δ'
 ἐπεμπον τοὺς λοχαγούς. καὶ ἡ βουλὴ συνίει μὲν
 αὐτοὺς ἐς ταῦτα διδασκομένους, ἀποκρινεῖσθαι δὲ
 αὐτοῖς ἔφη δι' ἐτέρων πρέσβεων. καὶ ἐπεμπον,
 οὓς ἐδίδαξαν τοῖς δύο τέλεσι τοῖς ἀπ' Ἀντωνίου
 μεθεστηκόσιν ἐντυχεῖν ἄνευ τοῦ Καίσαρος, καὶ
 διδάσκειν μὴ ἐφ' ἐνὶ ποιεῖσθαι τὰς ἐλπίδας, ἀλλ'
 ἐπὶ τῇ βουλῇ τὸ κράτος ἀθάνατον ἔχούσῃ μόνη,

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

were alarmed, while the fears of others were changed CHAP.
to courage. The edicts of the decemvirs were torn XII
down with derision, and the consular election was still further postponed. The Senate, wholly at a loss what to do and fearful lest Octavian and Antony should form an alliance, secretly sent two of their number, Lucius and Pansa, to Brutus and Cassius, under pretence of attending the games in Greece, to urge them to lend all the assistance possible. It recalled from Africa two of the three legions under Sextius, and ordered the third to be given over to Cornificius, who commanded another portion of Africa, and favoured the senatorial party, although they knew that these legions had served under Gaius Caesar, and although they suspected everything of his, but their embarrassment drove them to this, since they even appointed, awkwardly enough, Octavian as general with Decimus against Antony, for they feared lest he should unite with Antony.

86. But Octavian excited the army to anger against the Senate both on account of its repeated indignities towards himself, and for requiring the soldiers to undertake a second campaign before paying them the 5000 drachmas per man which it had promised to give them for the first. He advised them to send and ask for the money. They sent their centurions. The Senate understood that the men had been advised to this course by Octavian and said that they would make answer also by deputies. They sent these, under instructions, to address themselves, when Octavian was not present, to the two legions which had deserted from Antony, and to advise the soldiers not to rest their hopes on a single person, but on the Senate, which alone had perpetual power, and to go

Increasing coolness between Octavian and the Senate

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

ΧΑΡ. XII. χωρεῦν δὲ πρὸς Δέκμον, ἔνθα σφίσι τὰ χρήματα ἀπαντήσειν. ταῦτ' ἐπισκῆψαντες λέγειν ἐσέφερον ἥδη τὸ ἡμισυ τῆς δωρεᾶς καὶ δέκα ἄνδρας ἐς τὴν διαινέμησιν ἔχειροτόνουν, οὓς οὐδὲ ἐνδέκατον προσετίθεσαν εἶναι τὸν Καίσαρα. οἱ μὲν δὴ πρέσβεις, οὐκ ἀνασχομένων τῶν δύο τελῶν ἐντυχεῖν σφίσιν ἄνευ τοῦ Καίσαρος, ὑπέστρεφον ἅπρακτοι· ὁ δὲ Καίσαρ οὐκέτι τοὺς λόγους καθίει δι' ἑτέρων οὐδὲ μέλλειν ἡξίου, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἐς τὸν στρατὸν συνειλεγμένον ἐπελθών, τά τε ὑβρίσματα, δοσα ἐς αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς γεγένητο, κατέλεξε, καὶ τὴν ἐς πάντας τοὺς Γαῖου Καίσαρος ἐπιβουλήν, καθ' ἓνα καθαιρουμένους, δεδιέναι τε αὐτοῖς περὶ σφῶν διεκελεύσατο, μεταφερομένοις ἐς τε πολέμιον τῆς μοίρας στρατηγὸν καὶ πολέμους ἑτέρους ἀφ' ἑτέρων, ἵν' ἡ ἐκφθαρεῖεν ἡ καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους στασιάσειαν· ἐπὶ γὰρ τῷδε καὶ τοῦ περὶ Μουτίνην ἔργου κοινοῦ γεγονότος τὰ γέρα τοῖς δύο τέλεσι μόνοις δίδοσθαι, ἵν' αὐτοὺς ἐς ἔριν καὶ στάσιν ἐμβάλοιεν.

87. “Ιστε δέ,” ἔφη, “καὶ ἐφ' οἷς ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἔναγχος ἡττήθη οἴλα τε τοὺς Πομπηιανοὺς ἐπύθεσθε ἐν ἄστει πεποιηκέναι κατὰ τῶν τινας δωρεὰς παρὰ Καίσαρος εἰληφότων. τί δὴ πιστὸν ἡ ὑμῖν ὡν ἐλάβετε παρ' ἐκείνου χωρίων τε καὶ χρημάτων ἡ ἐμοὶ τῆς σωτηρίας, ὡδε ἐν τῇ βουλῇ δυναστεύοντων τῶν οἰκείων τοῖς σφαγεῦσι; κάγῳ μὲν ἐκδέξομαι τὸ τέλος, ὅ τι ἀν ἐπιγίγνηται μοι (καλὸν γάρ τι καὶ παθεῖν πατρὶ ἐπικουροῦντα), ὑπὲρ δὲ ὑμῶν δέδια τοιῶνδε καὶ τοσῶνδε, κινδυνευούντων ἐς ἐμὴν καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς χάριν. Ιστε μὲν δή με καθαρεύοντα φιλοτιμίας, ἐξ οὐ στρατηγεῖν

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

to the camp of Decimus, where they would find the CHAP.
promised money. Having delivered this charge to XII
the deputies they forwarded one-half of the donative
and appointed ten men to divide it, to whom it did
not add Octavian even as an eleventh. As the two
legions refused to meet them without Octavian, the
deputies returned without effecting anything. Octavian
no longer held communication with the troops
through the medium of others, and no longer asked
them to wait, but assembled the army and came
before them and related to them the indignities he
had suffered from the Senate, and its purpose to
destroy all the friends of Gaius Caesar, one by one :
he admonished them also to beware against being
transferred to a general opposed to their party and
being sent to one war after another to be killed or
set in opposition to each other. This, he said, was
the reason why, after their common struggles at
Mutina were ended, rewards were given to only two
legions, in order to induce strife and sedition among
them.

87. " You know, too," he said, " the reason why Antony was lately vanquished. You have heard what the Pompeians in the city did to those who had received certain gifts from Caesar. What confidence can you have of keeping the lands and money you have received from him, or what confidence can I have in my own safety, while the relatives of the murderers thus dominate the Senate ? For my part I shall accept my fate, whatever it may be, for it is honourable to suffer anything in the service of a father; but I fear for you, such a host of brave men, who have incurred danger in behalf of me and my father. You know that I have been free from

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. μοι διδόντων ὑμῶν ὑπὸ σημείους οὐκ ἐδεχόμην.
XII ἐν δὲ μόνον ὄρῳ νῦν ἀμφοτέροις σωτήριον, εἰ δὶ¹ ὑμῶν ὕπατος ἀποδειχθείην. τά τε γὰρ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ὑμῖν δοθέντα πάντα βέβαια ἔσται, ἀποικίαι τε προσέσονται αἱ ἔτι ὁφειλόμεναι, καὶ γέρα πάντα ἐντελῆ ἐγώ τε τοὺς φονέας ὑπὸ δίκην ἀγαγὼν τοὺς ἄλλους ἀν ὑμῖν καταλύσαιμι πολέμους.”

88. Ὡν λεγομένων ἡ τε στρατιὰ προθύμως ἐπεβόησε, καὶ τοὺς λοχαγοὺς αὐτίκα ἔπειτον αἴτησοντας τὴν ἀρχὴν τῷ Καίσαρι. ὑποκριναμένης δὲ τῆς βουλῆς τὴν ἡλικίαν, ἔλεγον οἱ λοχαγοὶ ἀ ἐδιδάχθησαν, ὅτι καὶ πάλαι Κορούννος τε ἄρξειε νεώτερος ὃν ἔτι καὶ Σκιτίων ὑστερον, ὅ τε πρότερος καὶ ὁ δεύτερος, καὶ ἐκ τῆς νεότητος ἐκάστου πολλὰ ὅνατο ἡ πατρίς. τά τε ἔναγχος ταῦτα καὶ Πομπήιον Μάγνον αὐτοῖς καὶ Λολοβέλλαν προύφερον, αὐτῷ τε Καίσαρι ἥδη δεδόσθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν μετιέναι θᾶσσον ἐτῶν δέκα. ταῦτα τῶν λοχαγῶν σὺν πλέονι παρρησίᾳ λεγόντων, οὐκ ἀνασχόμενοι τινες τῶν βουλευτῶν λοχαγοὺς ὅντας ὡδε παρρησιάζεσθαι, ἐπέπλησσον ώς θρασυνομένοις ὑπὲρ τὸ στρατιώταις πρέπον. καὶ ὁ στρατὸς πυθόμενος ἔτι μᾶλλον ὡργίζοντο καὶ ἄγειν σφᾶς εὐθὺς ἐκέλευον ἐς τὴν πόλιν, ώς αὐτοὶ χειροτονήσοντες αὐτὸν ἐξαιρέτῳ χειροτονίᾳ, Καίσαρος νιὸν ὅντα, πολλά τε τὸν πρότερον Καίσαρα ἀπαύστως εὐφήμουν. ὡδε δὲ αὐτοὺς

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

ambition from the time when I declined the praetorship which you offered me with the insignia of that office. I see only one path of safety now for both of us : if I should obtain the consulship by your help. In that case all my father's gifts to you will be confirmed, the colonies that are still due to you will be forthcoming, and all your rewards will be paid in full ; and I should bring the murderers to punishment and release you from any more wars."

XII

88. At these words the army cheered heartily, and forthwith sent their centurions to ask the consulship for Octavian. When the Senate began to make talk about his youth, the centurions replied, as they had been instructed, that in the olden times Corvinus had held the office and at a later period the Scipios, both the elder and the younger, before the legal age, and that the country profited much from the youth of each. They instanced, as recent examples, Pompey the Great and Dolabella and said that it had been granted to Caesar himself to stand for the consulship ten years before the legal age.¹ While the centurions were arguing with much boldness, some of the senators, who could not endure that centurions should use such freedom of speech, rebuked them for exceeding the bounds of military discipline. When the army heard of this, they were still more exasperated and demanded to be led immediately to the city, saying that they would hold a special election and raise Octavian to the consulship because he was Caesar's son. At the same time they extolled

Octavian
sends
soldiers
to the
Senate
to demand
the
Consulship

¹ This is erroneous. Caesar was first elected consul in the year 694 (B.C. 60), and entered upon the office at the beginning of 695, at which time he had just reached the legal age of forty-three.

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. ορμῆς ἔχοντας ὁ Καῖσαρ ῥώμην εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τῆς
XII συνόδου, ὁκτὼ τέλη πεζῶν καὶ ἵππον ἰκανὴν καὶ
ὅσα ἄλλα τοῖς τέλεσι συνετάσσετο. περάσας δὲ
τὸν Ῥουβίκωνα ποταμὸν ἐκ τῆς Κελτικῆς ἐς τὴν
Ιταλίαν, ὃν τινα αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ὁμοίως ἐπὶ¹
τῷ πολιτικῷ πολέμῳ πρῶτον ἐπέρασεν, ἐς δύο
πάντας διήρει· καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐπεσθαι κατὰ σχολὴν
ἐκέλευσε, τὸ δὲ ἄμεινον ἐπιλεξάμενος ἐτρόχαζεν,
ἐπειγόμενος ἔτι ἀπαρασκεύους καταλαβεῖν. μέρους
τε τῶν χρημάτων ὑπαντώντος, ἣ ἐς τὰ γέρα τοῖς
στρατιώταις ἡ βουλὴ πεπόμφει, δείσας ἐπὶ τοῖς
μισθοφόροις ὁ Καῖσαρ προύπεμπε κρύφα τοὺς
ἐκφοβήσοντας· καὶ οἱ μὲν ἔφευγον μετὰ τῶν
χρημάτων.

XIII

CAP. 89. Ἐς δὲ τὸ ἄστυ τῆς ἀγγελίας ἀφικομένης
XIII θόρυβος ἦν καὶ φόβος ἅπλετος, διαθεόντων τε
ἀκόσμως καὶ γύναιά τινων ἡ παιᾶς ἡ ὅσα
τιμιώτατα ἄλλα ἐς ἀγροὺς ἡ τὰ ἐρυμνὰ τῆς
πόλεως μεταφερόντων· οὐ γάρ πω σαφοῦς ὅντος,
ὅτι μόνης ὀρέγοιτο ὑπατείας, πολέμιον στρατὸν
ἐπιέναι σὺν ὄργῃ πυνθανόμενοι ἐς πάντα ἐδεδοί-
κεσαν. ἡ βουλὴ δὲ ἐξεπέπληκτο ἀμέτρως,
οὐδεμιᾶς αὐτοῖς οὔσης ἐτοίμου δυνάμεως, ἀλλήλους
τε, οἷον ἐν τοῖς φόβοις γίγνεται, κατεμέμφοντο, οἱ
μὲν ὅτι τὴν στρατιὰν αὐτὸν ἀφέλοιντο τὴν ἐπὶ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

the elder Caesar without stint. When Octavian CHAP.
saw them in this excited state, he led them XII
directly from the assembly, eight legions of foot
and a corresponding number of horse, and the
auxiliary troops that were serving with the legions.
Having crossed the river Rubicon from the Gallic
province into Italy,—the stream that his father
crossed in like manner at the beginning of the civil
war,—he divided his army in two parts. One of
these divisions he ordered to follow in a leisurely
way. The other and better one, consisting of picked
men, made forced marches, hastening in order to
take the city unprepared. Meeting a convoy on the
road with a part of the money which the Senate had
sent as a present to the soldiers, Octavian feared
the effect it might have on his mercenaries. So he
secretly sent forward a force to scare away the
convoy, and they took to flight with the money.

He marches
towards
Rome with
his army

XIII

89. WHEN the news of Octavian's approach reached CHAP.
the city there was immense confusion and alarm. XIII
People ran hither and thither, and some conveyed
their wives and children and whatever they held
most dear to the country and to the fortified parts of
the city, for it was not yet known that he aimed
only at securing the consulship. Having heard that
an army was advancing with hostile intentions, there
was nothing that they did not fear. The Senate was
struck with consternation since they had no military
force in readiness. As is usual in cases of panic they blamed each other. Some complained that they had Mutual
recriminations in
the Senate

Alarm in
the city

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. τὸν Ἀντώνιον ὑβριστικῶς, οἱ δὲ τῆς ἐς τὸν θρίαμ-
βον ὑπεροφίας, οὐκ ἄδικον ὅντα, οἱ δὲ τοῦ φθόνου
τῆς διαινεμήσεως τῶν χρημάτων, οἱ δὲ οὐδὲ ἐνδέ-
κατον ἐπιγράψαντες· οἱ δὲ αὐτὰ τὰ ἀθλα, οὗτε
δξέως οὕτε ἐντελῇ διδόμενα, τὴν στρατιὰν σφίσιν
ἔλεγον ἐκπολεμῶσαι. τῆς τε φιλονικίας τὸ
ἄκαιρον μάλιστα ἐμέμφοντο, Βρούτου μὲν καὶ
Κασσίου πορρωτέρω τε ὅντων καὶ συνισταμένων
ἔτι, ἐν δὲ πλευρᾶς Ἀντωνίου καὶ Λεπίδου
πολεμίων· οὓς ὅτε ἐνθυμηθεῖεν Καίσαρι συν-
αλλαγήσεσθαι, πάμπαν ἡκμαζεν ὁ φόβος. Κικέ-
ρων τε, δις τέως αὐτοῖς ἐπεπόλαζεν, οὐδὲ ἐφαίνετο.

90. Ἀθρόα δὴ πάντων ἐς πάντα ἦν μετάθεσις,
ἀντὶ μὲν δισχιλίων καὶ πεντακοσίων δραχμῶν τὰς
πεντακισχιλίας, ἀντὶ δὲ τῶν δύο τελῶν τοῖς ὀκτὼ
δοθῆναι, Καίσαρά τε αὐτοῖς ἀντὶ τῶν δέκα ἀνδρῶν
διαινέμειν καὶ ἐς τὴν ὕπατον ἀρχὴν παραγγέλλειν
ἀπόντα. πρέσβεις τε ἐξέτρεχον, οὐ τάδε φράσειν
ἔμελλον αὐτῷ κατὰ σπουδήν. ὃν ἄρτι τῆς
πόλεως ἐκδραμόντων μετάνοια ἐνέπιπτε τῇ βουλῇ,
μὴ δεῖν οὕτως ἀνάνδρως καταπεπλῆχθαι, μηδὲ
ἐτέραν ἐνδέξασθαι τυραννίδα ἀναιμωτί, μηδὲ
ἐθίσαι τοὺς ἀρχῆς ἐφιεμένους ἐκ βίᾳς τυγχάνειν,
μηδὲ τοὺς στρατευομένους ἐξ ἐπιτάγματος ἀρχειν
τῆς πατρίδος, ὀπλισαμένους δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἐνόντων
τοὺς νόμους τοῖς ἐπιοῦσι προτείνειν προσδοκᾶν
γὰρ οὐδὲ ἐκείνους νόμων προτεινομένων ὅπλα τῷ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

the campaign against Antony, others that they had treated with contempt his demand for a triumph, a request which was not without justice ; others because they had envied him the honour of distributing the money ; others because he had not been made an additional member of the board of ten : still others said that they had made the army hostile because the gifts voted to them had not been quickly and fully paid. They complained especially of the inopportune time for such a strife, while Brutus and Cassius were far away and their forces not yet organized, and on their own flank in a hostile attitude were Antony and Lepidus, who, they thought, might form an alliance with Octavian, and thus their fears were greatly augmented. Cicero, who had so long been in evidence, was nowhere to be seen.

90. There was a sudden change on all hands. Instead of 2500 drachmas 5000 were given ; instead of two legions only, the entire eight were to be paid. Octavian was appointed to make the distribution instead of the ten commissioners, and he was allowed to be a candidate for the consulship while absent. Messengers were hastily despatched to tell him these things. Directly after they had left the city the Senate repented. They felt that they ought not to be so weakly terror-stricken, or accept a new tyranny without bloodshed, or accustom those seeking office to gain it by violence, or the soldiers to govern the country by the word of command. Rather should they arm themselves as best they could and confront the invaders with the laws, for there was some hope that, if they were confronted with the laws, not even they would bear arms against their country. If

Vacillating counsels

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. πατρίδι ἐποίσειν· εἰ δὲ φέροιεν, ἀνέχεσθαι τε
XIII πολιορκίας, μέχρι Δέκμος ἢ Πλάγκος ἔλθοι, καὶ
ἀμύνεσθαι μέχρι θανάτου μᾶλλον ἢ ἐκόντας ἐνδέ-
ξασθαι δουλείαν ἄνωθεν ἀδιόρθωτον· τά τε
ἀρχαῖα Ρωμαίων ἐπὶ ἐλευθερίᾳ φρονήματα καὶ
πάθη, πρὸς οὐδὲν ἐνδόντων ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας,
ἀνελέγοντο.

91. Ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ δύο τέλη τὰ ἐκ
Λιβύης μετάπεμπτα ἐς τὸν λιμένα αὐτῆς ἡμέρας
ἀφίκετο, τοὺς θεοὺς σφᾶς ἔδοξαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐλευ-
θερίαν ἐποτρύνειν. ἡ μὲν δὴ μετάνοια ἐκεκύρωτο,
καὶ μετεψηφίζετο ἅπαντα, Κικέρωνος αὐθίς αὐτοῖς
ἐπιφανέντος· ἡ τε στρατεύσιμος ἥλικία προεγρά-
φετο πᾶσα, καὶ τὰ δύο τέλη τάδε, τὰ ἐκ Λιβύης,
καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτοῖς ἵππεες χίλιοι καὶ τέλος ἔτερον,
δὲ Πάνσας αὐτοῖς ὑπολελοίπει, πάντες οἵδε μερι-
σθέντες οἱ μὲν τὸν λόφον τὸν καλούμενον
Ιάνουκλον, ἔνθα καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἐσώρευσαν,
ἔφρούρουν, οἱ δὲ τὴν τοῦ ποταμοῦ γέφυραν, ἐπι-
διηρημένων σφίσι τῶν στρατηγῶν τῶν κατὰ τὴν
πόλιν· ἄλλοι δὲ αὐτοῖς τὰ ἐν τῷ λιμένι σκάφη
καὶ ναῦς καὶ χρήματα εὐτρέπιζον, εἰ δεήσειεν
ἡττωμένους φυγεῖν διὰ θαλάσσης. καὶ τάδε σὺν
εὐθαρσείᾳ πράσσοντες οὕτως δξέως ἥλπιζον ἀν-
τικαταπλήξειν τὸν Καίσαρα, καὶ ἡ μεταπείσειν
παρὰ σφῶν ἀντὶ τοῦ στρατεύματος αἴτεῖν τὴν
ἀρχήν, ἡ ἐγκρατῶς ἀμυνεῖσθαι· τούς τε τῆς
ἐναντίας μοίρας νῦν γε μεταθήσεσθαι προσεδόκων,
μέχρι περὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἐστὶν ὁ ἀγών. τὴν
δὲ μητέρα Καίσαρος καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν οὕτε
φανερῶς οὔτε λάθρᾳ ζητοῦντες εὕρισκον. ἐθορυ-

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

they should do so, it would be best to endure a CHAP.
siege until Decimus and Plancus should come to XIII
the rescue, and to defend themselves to the death
rather than submit voluntarily to a slavery thence-
forth without remedy. They recounted the high
spirit and endurance in behalf of freedom of the
Romans of old, who never yielded to anything when
their liberty was at stake.

91. As both the legions sent for from Africa happened to arrive in the harbour on this very day, it seemed as though the gods were urging them to defend their freedom. Their regret for what they had done was confirmed; Cicero again made his appearance, and they repealed all the decrees above mentioned. All who were of military age were called to arms, also the two legions from Africa, and 1000 horse with them, and another legion that Pansa had left behind,—all these were assigned to their proper places. Some of them guarded the hill called the Janiculum, where the money was stored, others held the bridge over the Tiber, and the city praetors were put in command of the separate divisions. Others made ready small boats and ships in the harbour, together with money, in case they should be vanquished and have to escape by sea. While courageously making these hasty preparations they hoped to alarm Octavian in his turn, and induce him to seek the consulship from them instead of the army, or they hoped at least to defend themselves vigorously. They hoped also to change those of the opposite faction as soon as it became a contest for liberty. They sought for the mother and sister of Octavian, but as they did not discover them either by any open or secret search, they were again alarmed

The Senate
resolves
to resist

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. βοῦντο οὖν αὐθις ὁμήρων μεγάλων ἀφηρημένοι·
XIII καὶ τῶν Καισαριανῶν οὕπω σφίσιν ἐπικλωμένων,
ὑπὸ ἐκείνων αὐτὰς ὡδε ἀκριβῶς ἐνόμιζον ἐπι-
κρύπτεσθαι.

92. Καίσαρι δὲ ἔτι τῶν πρέσβεων ἐντυγχα-
νόντων τὰ μετεψηφισμένα ἀγγέλλεται· καὶ αὐτὸν
οἱ πρέσβεις ἀπολιπόντες ἀνέστρεφον ὑπὸ αἰδοῦς.
ό δὲ τῷ στρατῷ μᾶλλον ἔτι παρωξυμμένῳ κατὰ
σπουδὴν ἔχώρει, σὺν φόβῳ μή τι πάθοιεν αἱ
γυναῖκες· ἐς τε τὸν δῆμον τεθορυβημένον ἵππεας
ἔπεμψεν ἀτρεμεῖν ἐπικελεύων, καὶ τεθηπότων
πάντων τὰ πέραν τοῦ Κυριναλίου λόφου κατ-
έλαβεν, οὐδενὸς ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν ἢ κωλύειν
ὑποστάντος. ἦν τε αὐθις ἐτέρα θαυμάσιος ἄφνω
μεταβολή, θεόντων ἐς αὐτὸν τῶν ἐπιφανῶν καὶ
προσαγορευόντων· ἔθει δὲ καὶ ὁ δημότης λεὼς καὶ
τὴν εὐταξίαν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὡς εἰρηνικὴν ἀπε-
δέχοντο. οἱ δὲ τὸν στρατόν, ἔνθαπερ ἦν, ἀπο-
λιπὼν ἔχώρει τῆς ἐπιούσης πρὸς τὸ ἄστυ, φυ-
λακὴν ἔχων ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἰκανήν. οἱ δὲ καὶ τότε
ὑπήντων δι' ὅλης τῆς ὁδοῦ κατὰ μέρη καὶ προση-
γόρευον, οὐδὲν ἐνδέοντες ἢ φιλοφροσύνης ἢ θερα-
πείας ἀσθενοῦς. ἡ δὲ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ ἀδελφὴ
ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἐστίας ἱερῷ μετὰ τῶν ἱερῶν παρθένων
ἡσπάσαντο. καὶ τὰ τρία τέλη, τῶν στρατηγῶν
ὑπεριδόντα, πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπρέσβευε καὶ μετετίθετο·
καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν οἱ ἥρχον αὐτῶν, Κορνοῦτος
μὲν ἑαυτὸν ἔκτεινεν, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι σπουδῶν καὶ
πίστεων ἔτυχον. Κικέρων τε τῶν σπουδῶν
πυθόμενος ἔπραξε διὰ τῶν Καίσαρος φίλων
ἐντυχεῖν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἐντυχὼν ἀπελογεῖτο καὶ τὴν
εἰσήγησιν τῆς ὑπατείας ὑπερεπήρευ, ἦν αὐτὸς ἐν

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK

at finding themselves deprived of such hostages, and as the Caesarians showed no disposition to yield to them they concluded that it was by reason that these women were being carefully concealed.

92. While Octavian was still giving audience to the messengers, it was announced to him that the decrees had been rescinded. The messengers thereupon withdrew, covered with confusion. With his army still more exasperated Octavian hastened to the city, fearing lest some evil should befall his mother and sister. To the plebeians, who were in a state of consternation, he sent horsemen in advance to tell them to have no fear. While all were amazed he took a position just beyond the Quirinal hill, no one daring to fight or prevent him. Now another wonderful and sudden change took place. Patricians flocked out and saluted him; the common people ran also and took the good order of the soldiers for a sign of peace. On the following day Octavian advanced toward the city, leaving his army where it was, and having with him only a sufficient guard. Here, again, detached crowds met him along the whole road and saluted him, omitting nothing that savoured of friendliness and weak compliance. His mother and sister, who were in the temple of Vesta with the Vestal virgins, embraced him. The three legions, in spite of their generals, sent ambassadors and transferred themselves to him. One of the generals in command of them, Cornutus, killed himself; the others allied themselves with Octavian. When Cicero learned of the truce he sought an interview with Octavian through friends. When it was granted he defended himself and dwelt much upon his proposing Octavian for the

Octavian arrives at the city gates

The new legions go over to him

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. τῇ βουλῇ πρότερον εἰσηγήσατο. ὁ δὲ τοσοῦτον
XIII ἀπεκρίνατο ἐπισκώπων ὅτι τῶν φίλων αὐτῷ
τελευταῖος ἐντυγχάνοι.

93. Νυκτὸς δ' ἄφνω δόξης γενομένης, ὅτι δύο
τέλη Καίσαρος, τό τε Ἀρειον καὶ τὸ τέταρτον,
μεταθοῖτο ἐς τὴν πόλιν ὡς δι' ἐνέδρας ἐπὶ τὴν
πατρίδα ἐπαχθέντα, οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ ἡ βουλὴ
πάμπαν ἀταλαιπώρως ἐπίστευσαν, καίπερ δυτος
ἐγγυτάτῳ τοῦ στρατοῦ νομίσαντές τε ἀνθέξειν
αὐτοῖς οὐσιν ἀρίστοις πρὸς τὰ λοιπὰ τοῦ Καί-
σαρος, μέχρι τις ἐτέρωθεν αὐτοῖς ἵσχὺς ἐπιγένοιτο,
νυκτὸς ἔτι Μάνιον Ἀκύλιον Κράσσον ἐς τὴν
Πικηνίτιδα ἔξέπεμπον στρατὸν ἀθροίζειν, καὶ τῶν
τινα δημάρχων Ἀπουλήιον ἐς τὸν δῆμον ἐποίουν
τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἐκφέρειν περιθέοντα. ἡ τε βουλὴ
νυκτὸς ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον συνέθεον, Κικέρωνος
ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις αὐτοὺς δεξιούμενου. ψευδοῦς δὲ
τῆς δόξης φανείσης ἐν φορείῳ διέφυγεν.

94. Ὁ δὲ Καίσαρ ἐπιγελάσας αὐτοῖς τὸν μὲν
στρατὸν ἐγγυτέρῳ τῆς πόλεως προήγαγεν, ἐς τὸ
πεδίον τὸ καλούμενον Ἀρειον, τῶν δὲ στρατηγῶν
τότε μὲν οὐδένα ἥμινατο, οὐδὲ Κράσσον τὸν ἐς
Πικήνην ἐκδραμόντα, καίπερ οἱ προσαχθέντα ὡς
εἶχε ληφθεὶς ἐν σχήματι οἰκέτου, ἀλλὰ μεθῆκεν
ἄπαντας ἐς δόξαν φιλανθρωπίας. οὐ πολὺ δὲ
ὕστερον ἐπὶ θαυμάτῳ προυγράφησαν. τὰ χρήματα
δέ, ὅσα τε κοινὰ ἦν ἐν τῷ Ἰανούκλῳ ἦ ἐτέρωθι καὶ
ἄλλα συνενεχθῆναι κελεύσας, ὅπόσα Κικέρωνος
ἐσηγούμενου πρότερον αὐτοῖς ἐπεγέγραπτο, δι-
ένειμεν ἀνὰ δισχιλίας καὶ πεντακοσίας δραχμᾶς

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

consulship, as he had done in the Senate on a former occasion. Octavian answered ironically that Cicero seemed to be the last of his friends to greet him.

CHAP.
XIII

93. The next night a rumour gained currency that two of Octavian's legions, the Martian and the Fourth, had gone over to the side of the republic, saying that they had been deceived and led against their country. The praetors and the Senate put faith in this report heedlessly, although the army was very near, thinking that with the assistance of these two legions, as they were the bravest, it would be possible to hold out against the rest of Octavian's army until some force from elsewhere should come to the rescue. The same night they sent Manius Aquilius Crassus to Picenum to raise troops, and ordered one of the tribunes, named Apuleius, to run through the city and proclaim the good news to the people. The senators assembled by night in the senate-house, and Cicero received them at the door, but when the news was contradicted he took flight in a litter.

Cicero
takes flight

94. Octavian laughed at them and moved his army nearer to the city and stationed it in the Campus Martius. He did not then punish any of the praetors, not even Crassus, who had rushed off to Picenum, although the latter was brought before him just as he was caught, in the disguise of a slave, but he pardoned all in order to acquire a reputation for clemency. But not long afterward they were put on the list of the proscribed. He ordered that the public money on the Janiculum or elsewhere be brought to him, and the amount which had been previously ordered to be paid to the army on the motion of Cicero, he distributed, namely 2500

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. τῷ στρατῷ, καὶ τὸ ἐπίλοιπον ἐπιδώσειν ὑπέσχετο.
XIII καὶ τῆς πόλεως ὑπεξῆλθε, μέχρι χειροτονήσαιεν
ὑπάτους αἴρετούς. αἱρεθεὶς δὲ αὐτὸς σὺν φιλέροητο
Κοῖντῳ Πεδίῳ, ὃς τὸ μέρος αὐτῷ δε-
δώρητο τῆς Καίσαρος κληρονομίας, ἐς τὴν πόλιν
αῦθις ὡς ὑπατος ἐσήει, καὶ ἔθυε, δώδεκά οἱ γυπων·
φανέντων, ὅσους φασὶ καὶ Ῥωμύλῳ τὴν πόλιν
οἰκίζοντι ὀφθῆναι. ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν θυσιῶν ἑαυτὸν
εἰσεποιεῖτο τῷ πατρὶ αὐθις κατὰ νόμον κουριάτιον.
ἔστι δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ δήμου γίγνεσθαι τὴν θέσιν· κουρίας
γάρ ἐς μέρη τὰς φυλὰς ἢ τοὺς δήμους διαιροῦντες
καλοῦσιν, ὡς "Ελληνες, εἰκάζοντι φάναι, φατρίας.
ἐπινομώτατος δ' ἐστὶ Ῥωμαίοις ὁ τρόπος οὗτος
ἐπὶ τῶν ἀπατόρων· καὶ δύνανται μάλιστα αὐτοὶ
ἴσα τοῖς γυησίοις παισὶν ἄγειν τοὺς συγγενεῖς τῶν
θεμένων καὶ ἀπελευθέρους. Γαῖῳ δ' ἦν τά τε
ἄλλα λαμπρὰ καὶ ἔξελεύθεροι πολλοί τε καὶ
πλούσιοι, καὶ διὰ τόδ' ἴσως μάλιστα ὁ Καίσαρ
ἐπὶ τῇ προτέρᾳ θέσει, κατὰ διαθήκας οἱ γενομένη,
καὶ τῆσδε ἐδεήθη.

XIV

CAP. 95. Νόμῳ δ' ἐτέρῳ ἀπέλυε μὴ εἶναι πολέμιον
XIV Δολοβέλλαν, καὶ εἶναι φόνου δίκας ἐπὶ Καίσαρι.
καὶ εὐθὺς ἥσαν γραφαί, τῶν φίλων τοῦ Καίσαρος
γραφομένων τοὺς μὲν αὐτόχειρας, τοὺς δὲ συνεγ-

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

drachmas per man, and promised to give them the CHAP.
remainder. Then he took his departure from the city XIII
until the consuls should be chosen by the comitia.

Having been elected himself, together with Quintus Pedius, the man whom he desired to have as his colleague, and who had given to him his own portion of his inheritance from Caesar, he entered the city again as consul. While he offered the sacrifices, twelve vultures were seen; the same number, they say, that appeared to Romulus when he laid the foundations of the city. After the sacrifices he caused his adoption by his father to be ratified again, according to the *lex curiata*,—(it is possible to have adoption ratified by the people)—for the parts into which the tribes, or local divisions, are divided are called *curiae*, just as, I suppose, the similar divisions among the Greeks are called *phratriae*. Among the Romans this was the method of adoption most in accordance with law in the case of orphans; and those who follow it have the same rights as real sons in respect of the relatives and the freedmen of the persons who adopt them. Among the other splendid accessories of Caesar was a large number of freedmen, many of them rich, and this was perhaps the principal reason why Octavian wanted the adoption by a vote of the people in addition to the former adoption which came to him by Caesar's will.

Octavian
is elected
consul
with Pedius
as his
colleague

His
adoption
by Caesar is
ratified by
the people

XIV

95. OCTAVIAN caused a new law to be passed to CHAP.
repeal the one which declared Dolabella a public XIV
enemy, and also to punish the murder of Caesar.
Indictments were found forthwith, the friends of

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. νωκέναι μόνον. καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο ἐνίοις ἐπεγράφη,
XIV καὶ τισιν οὐδ' ἐπιδημήσασιν, ὅτε ὁ Καῖσαρ
 ἐκτείνετο. πᾶσι δ' ὁρισθείσης ὑπὸ κηρύγματι
 μᾶς ἡμέρας ἐς κρίσιν, ἐρήμην ἀπαντες ἑάλωσαν,
 ἐφορῶντος τὰ δικαστήρια τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ τῶν
 δικαστῶν οὐδενὸς τὴν ἀπολύουσαν φέροντος πλὴν
 ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς τῶν ἐπιφανῶν, ὃς τότε μὲν οὐδ' αὐτός
 τι ἔπαθε, μικρὸν δ' ὑστερον ἐπὶ θανάτῳ μετὰ τῶν
 ἄλλων καὶ ὅδε προνυγράφη. ἔδοξε δὲ ταῖσδε
 ταῖς ἡμέραις Κόιντος Γάλλιος, ἀδελφὸς Μάρκου
 Γαλλίου συνόντος Ἀντωνίῳ, τὴν πολιτικὴν στρα-
 τηγίαν ἄρχων, αἰτήσαι παρὰ Καίσαρος τὴν στρα-
 τηγίαν τῆς Διβύνης, καὶ οὕτω τυχὼν ἐπιβουλεῦσαι
 τῷ Καίσαρι· καὶ αὐτοῦ τὴν μὲν στρατηγίαν
 περιεῖλον οἱ σύναρχοι, τὴν δ' οἰκίαν διήρπασεν ὁ
 δῆμος, ἡ δὲ βουλὴ κατεγίνωσκε θάνατον. ὁ δὲ
 Καῖσαρ ἐς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐκέλευσε χωρεῖν, καὶ δοκεῖ
 νεώς ἐπιβὰς οὐδαμοῦ ἔτι φανῆναι.

96. Τοσάδε πράξας ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπενόει μὲν τὰς
 ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον διαλύσεις, πυνθανόμενος ἥδη τοῖς
 ἀμφὶ τὸν Βρούτον εἴκοσι συνῆχθαι τέλη στρατοῦ,
 καὶ χρῆζων ἐπ' αὐτὰ Ἀντωνίου, ἔξηει δὲ τῆς
 πόλεως ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰόνιον καὶ σχολαίως ἀνεξεύγνυε,
 τὰ παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἐπιμένων. Πέδιος γὰρ αὐτὴν
 ἀποστάντος τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐπειθε τὰ ἐς ἄλληλους
 μὴ δυσίατα ποιουμένους συναλλαγῆναι Λεπίδῳ τε
 καὶ Ἀντωνίῳ. οἱ δὲ προεώρων μὲν ὅτι μὴ σφίσι
 μηδ' ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος εἰσὶν αἱ διαλλαγαί, ἀλλ'
 ἐς συμμαχίαν Καίσαρι κατὰ Κασσίου τε καὶ
 Βρούτου, ἐπήγουν δ' ὅμως καὶ συνετίθεντο ὑπ'

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

Caesar bringing accusations against some for the act and others for guilty knowledge. This last charge was even brought against some who were not in the city when Caesar was killed. One day was fixed by public proclamation for the trial of all, and judgment was taken against all by default, Octavian presiding over the court, and none of the judges voting for acquittal except one patrician, who then escaped with impunity, but a little later was included with the others in the proscription. It appears that about this time Quintus Gallius, a city praetor and brother of Marcus Gallius, who was serving with Antony, asked Octavian for the command of Africa, and having thus got his chance, plotted against Octavian. His colleagues stripped him of his praetorship, the people tore his house down, and the Senate condemned him to death. Octavian ordered him to depart to his brother, and it is said that he took ship and was never seen again.

XIV

Indictment
and trial
of Caesar's
murderers

96. These things accomplished, Octavian formed his plans for a reconciliation with Antony, for he had learned that Brutus and Cassius had already collected twenty legions of soldiers, and he needed Antony's help against them. He moved out of the city toward the Adriatic coast and proceeded in a leisurely way, waiting to see what the Senate would do. Pedius persuaded the senators, after Octavian had taken his departure, not to make their differences with each other irremediable, but to be reconciled to Lepidus and Antony. Although they foresaw that such a reconciliation would not be for their advantage or for that of the country, but would be merely an assistance to Octavian against Brutus and Cassius, nevertheless, they gave their approval and assent to

The Senate
rescinds its
decrees
against
Antony and
Lepidus

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. ἀνάγκης. καὶ τὰ πολέμια δόγματα Ἀντωνίου
 XIV τε καὶ Λεπίδου καὶ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῖς στρατῶν
 κατελύετο, εἰρηναῖα δὲ ἔτερα αὐτοῖς ἐπέμπετο.
 καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ αὐτοῖς συνήδετο γράφων, Ἀντωνίῳ
 δὲ καὶ Βοηθὸς ἐπὶ Δέκμου ὑπισχνεῖτο ἥξειν, εἰ
 δέοιτο. οἱ δὲ ἀντεφιλοφρονοῦντο μὲν αὐτὸν ἄφινω
 καὶ ἐπήνουν, ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος ἔγραφεν αὐτὸς ἀποτί-
 σεσθαι Δέκμου τε ὑπὲρ Καίσαρος καὶ Πλάγκου
 ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ συμμάξειν Καίσαρι.

97. Τοσάδε μὲν ἀλλήλοις ἐπέστειλαν, διώκοντι
 δὲ τῷ Ἀντώνῳ Δέκμου προσγίγνεται Πολλίων
 Ἀσίνιος ἄγων δύο τέλη. καὶ Πλάγκῳ μὲν
 Ἀσίνιος ἐπραξεῖ διαλλαγάς, καὶ ὁ Πλάγκος σὺν
 τρισὶ τέλεσι μεθίστατο ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον, ὃστε
 ἥδη βαρυτάτης δυνάμεως ἥρχεν ὁ Ἀντώνιος.
 Δέκμῳ δὲ ἦν τέλη δέκα, ὡν τέσσαρα μὲν τὰ ἐμ-
 πειροπολεμώτατα ὑπὸ λιμοῦ διέφθαρτο καὶ ἐνόσει
 ἔτι, τὰ νεοστράτευτα δὲ ἦν ἕξ, ἀταλαίπωρα ἔτι
 καὶ πόνων ἀπειρα. ἀπογνοὺς οὖν μάχεσθαι, φεύγειν
 ἔκρινε πρὸς Βροῦτον ἐς Μακεδονίαν. ἔφενγε δ'
 οὐκ ἐπὶ τάδε τῶν "Αλπεων, ἀλλ' ἐς 'Ράβενναν ἢ
 Ἀκυληίαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ Καῖσαρ ὕδεν ταύτη, ἀλλην
 μακροτέραν ὅδὸν καὶ δύσπορον ἐπενόει, τὸν τε
 'Ρῆνον περᾶσαι καὶ τὰ ἀγριώτερα τῶν βαρβάρων
 ὑπερελθεῖν" ὅθεν αὐτὸν ὑπό τε τῆς ἀπορίας καὶ
 τοῦ καμάτου πρῶτοι μὲν οἱ νεοστράτευτοι κατα-
 λιπόντες ἐς Καίσαρα ἔχώρουν, ἐπὶ δὲ ἐκείνοις καὶ
 τὰ ἀρχαιότερα τέσσαρα ἐς Ἀντώνιον καὶ ὁ ἄλλος
 δμιλος ἥδη χωρὶς τῶν σωματοφυλάκων ἵππέων
 Κελτῶν. ὁ δὲ καὶ τούτων τοῖς ἐθέλουσιν ἐπιτρέ-
 ψας ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα σφῶν ἀφίστασθαι καὶ διαδοὺς ἐκ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

it as a matter of necessity. So the decrees declaring CHAP.
Antony and Lepidus, and the soldiers under them,
^{XIV} public enemies, were repealed, and others of a
peaceful nature was sent to them. Thereupon
Octavian wrote and congratulated them, and he
promised to lend assistance to Antony against
Decimus Brutus if he needed it. They replied to
him at once in a friendly spirit and eulogized him.
Antony wrote that he would himself punish Decimus
on Caesar's account and Plancus on his own, and
that then he would join forces with Octavian.

97. Such were the letters which they exchanged
with each other. While pursuing Decimus, Antony
was joined by Asinius Pollio with two legions.
Asinius also brought about an arrangement with
Plancus, by virtue of which Plancus passed over to
Antony with three legions, so that Antony now had
much the strongest force. Decimus had ten legions,
of whom four, the most experienced in war, had
suffered severely from famine and were still enfeebled;
while the other six were new levies, still untrained and
unaccustomed to their labours, so, as he despaired of
fighting, he decided to flee to Marcus Brutus in
Macedonia. He retreated not by this side of the Appenines, but toward Ravenna and Aquileia. But since
Octavian was travelling by this route, Decimus proposed another longer and more difficult one—to cross the Rhine and traverse the wild country of barbarian tribes. Thereupon the new levies, bewildered and fatigued, were the first to desert him and join Octavian; after them the four older legions joined Antony, and the auxiliaries did the same, except a body-guard of Gallic horse. Then Decimus allowed those who wished to do so to return to their own

Flight of
Decimus
Brutus

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. τοῦ παρόντος ἔτι χρυσίου, μετὰ τριακοσίων τῶν
xiv παραμεινάντων μόνων ἐπὶ τὸν Ἐρήνην ἐφέρετο.
δυσπόρου δ' ὄντος αὐτοῦ περᾶν σὺν ὀλίγοις, ἀπε-
λείφθη καὶ ὑπὸ τῶνδε πλὴν δέκα μόνων. ἥλλαξε
δὲ τὴν ἐσθῆτα ἐς τὸ Κελτικόν, ἐξεπιστάμενος ἂμα
καὶ τὴν φωνὴν, καὶ διεδίδρασκε σὺν ἐκείνοις οἱά
τις Κελτός, οὐ τὴν μακροτέραν ἔτι περιών, ἀλλὰ
ἐπὶ Ἀκυληίας, λήσεσθαι νομίζων διὰ τὴν ὀλι-
γότητα.

98. Ἀλοὺς δὲ ὑπὸ ληστῶν καὶ δεθείς, ἥρετο
μὲν ὅτου Κελτῶν δυνάστου τὸ ἔθνος εἴη, μαθὼν
δ' ὅτι Καμίλου, πολλὰ πεποιηκώς εὖ τὸν Κάμιλον,
ἄγειν αὐτὸν αὐτοῖς ἐς τὸν Κάμιλον ἐκέλευεν. ὁ δὲ
ἀχθέντα ἵδων ἐφιλοφρονεῖτο μὲν ἐς τὸ φανερὸν
καὶ τοὺς δήσασιν ἐπεμέμφετο ὑπ' ἀγνοίας ἐνυβρί-
σασιν ἀνδρὶ τοσῷδε, κρύφα δ' ἐπέστελλεν Ἀν-
τωνίῳ. καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιός τι παθὼν ἐπὶ τῇ μεταβολῇ
οὐχ ὑπέστη τὸν ἄνδρα ἵδεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐκέλευσε τῷ
Καμίλῳ κτείναντα τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐς αὐτὸν ἐκ-
πέμψαι· καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἵδων ἐκέλευσε τοῖς
παροῦσι θάψαι. τοῦτο Δέκμῳ τέλος ἦν, ἵππαρχῃ
τε Καίσαρος γενομένῳ καὶ ἄρξαντι τῆς παλαιᾶς
Κελτικῆς ὑπ' ἐκείνῳ καὶ ἐς τὸ μέλλον ἔτος

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

homes, and, after distributing among them the gold CHAP.
he had with him, proceeded toward the Rhine with XIV
300 followers, the only ones who remained. As it was difficult to cross the river with so few, he was now abandoned by these also except ten. He put on Gallic clothing, and, as he was acquainted with the language, he proceeded on his journey with these, passing himself off as a Gaul. He no longer followed the longer route, but went toward Aquileia, thinking that he should escape notice by reason of the smallness of his force.¹

98. Having been captured by robbers and bound, he asked them who was the chief of this Gallic tribe. He was informed that it was Camillus, a man to whom he had done many favours; so he told them to bring him to Camillus. When the latter saw him led in, he greeted him in a friendly way in public, and scolded those who had bound him for putting an indignity on so great a man through ignorance; but secretly he sent word to Antony. Antony was somewhat touched by this change of fortune, and was not willing to see Decimus, but he ordered Camillus to kill him and send his head to himself. When he saw the head he ordered his attendants to bury it. Such was the end of Decimus, who had been Caesar's praefect of horse and had governed Narbonensian Gaul under him and had been designated by him for the consul-

He is captured and put to death

¹ Appian's geography is much in need of amendment. It is impossible to trace the route taken by Decimus from this description.

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. ίπατεύειν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κεχειροτονημένῳ[•] καὶ τῆς
XIV ἑτέρας Κελτικῆς ἄρχειν. καὶ δεύτερος τῶν
σφαγέων οὗτος ἐπὶ Τρεβωνίῳ δίκην ἔδίδου μετ'
ἐνιαυτόν που καὶ ἡμισυ τῆς ἀναιρέσεως. τῷ δ'
αὐτῷ χρόνῳ καὶ Μινούκιος Βάσιλος, σφαγεὺς
καὶ ὅδε Καίσαρος, ὑπὸ τῶν θεραπόντων ἀνηρέθη,
εύνουχίζων τινὰς αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τιμωρίᾳ.

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

ship the coming year and for the governorship of the CHAP.
other Gaul. He was the next of the murderers XIV
after Trebonius to meet punishment, within a year
and a half of the assassination. About the same time
Minucius Basilus, another of Caesar's murderers, was
killed by his slaves, some of whom he was mutilating
by way of punishment.

Δ'

I

CAP. I. Δύο μὲν δὴ Γατου Καίσαρος φονεῖς οὗτω δίκην, ἐν ταῖς σφετέραις αὐτῶν στρατηγίαις ἐκπολεμηθέντες, ἐδεδώκεσαν, Τρεβώνιος ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ καὶ Δέκμος ἐν τῇ Κελτικῇ· ὅπως δὲ ἔδοσαν Κάσσιός τε καὶ Βροῦτος, οἱ καὶ μάλιστα τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ἐπὶ τῷ Καίσαρι ἥρξαν, καὶ γῆς ἐκράτουν ἀπὸ Συρίας ἐπὶ Μακεδονίαν ἀπάστη, καὶ στρατὸς ἦν αὐτοῖς πολύς, ἵππικός τε καὶ ναυτικὸς καὶ ὄπλιτῶν ὑπὲρ εἴκοσι τέλη, καὶ νῆες ὁμοῦ καὶ χρήματα, ἡ τετάρτη τῶν ἐμφυλίων ἦδε ὑποδείκυνσιν. ἅμα δὲ τούτοις ἐγίγνοντο αἱ ἐν Ρώμῃ τῶν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ προγραφέντων ἔρευναί τε καὶ εὑρέσεις καὶ παθήματα πάμπαν ἐπαχθῆ, οἷα οὕτε ἐπὶ Ἐλλήνων ἐν στάσεσιν ἡ πολέμοις οὕτ' ἐπὶ Ρωμαίων αὐτῶν ἐμνημονεύετο γενέσθαι, πλὴν ἐπὶ μόνου Σύλλα τοῦ πρώτου τοὺς ἔχθρους ἐς θάνατον προγράψαντος. Μάριος μὲν γὰρ ἐζήτει καὶ ἐκόλαζεν, οὓς εὔροι· Σύλλας δὲ ὑπὸ μισθοῖς τε μεγάλοις καὶ κολάσεσι τῶν ἐπικρυψάντων δομοίαις τὸν ἐντυχόντα κτείνειν προέγραφεν. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀμφὶ Μάριόν τε καὶ Σύλλαν ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἐκείνων προείρηται, τὰ δὲ ἔξῆς οὕτως ἐγένετο.

BOOK IV

I

1. **T**HUS was punishment visited upon two of Caesar's murderers, who were conquered in their own provinces, Trebonius in Asia and Decimus Brutus in Gaul. How vengeance overtook Cassius and Marcus Brutus, who were the principal leaders in the conspiracy against Caesar, and who controlled the territory from Syria to Macedonia, and had large forces of cavalry and sailors, and more than twenty legions of infantry, together with ships and money, this fourth book of the Civil Wars will show. During the progress of these events came the pursuit and capture of the proscribed in Rome and the sufferings consequent thereon, the like of which cannot be recalled among the civil commotions or wars of the Greeks, or those of the Romans themselves save only in the time of Sulla, who was the first to put his enemies on a proscription list. For Marius searched for his and punished those whom he found, but Sulla proclaimed large rewards to persons who should kill the proscribed and severe punishment to those who should conceal them. But what took place in the time of Marius and Sulla I have previously narrated in the history relating to them. The sequel to my previous book is as follows.

CHAP
I
Outline of
this Book

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. I. 2. Καίσαρ μὲν καὶ Ἀντώνιος ἐς φιλίαν ἀπ' ἔχθρας συνήσαν ἀμφὶ Μουτίνην πόλιν, ἐς νησῖδα τοῦ Λαβινίου ποταμοῦ βραχεῖάν τε καὶ ὑπτίαν, ἔχων ἐκάτερος ὄπλιτῶν τέλη πέντε· καὶ τάδε ἀλλήλοις ἀντικαθιστάντες ἔχώρουν σὺν τριακοσίοις ἐκάτερος ἐπὶ τὰς τοῦ ποταμοῦ γεφύρας. Λέπιδος δὲ αὐτὸς προελθὼν διηρεύνα τὴν νῆσον καὶ τῇ χλαμύδι κατέσειεν ἥκειν ἐκάτερον. οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν γεφυρῶν τοὺς τριακοσίους μετὰ τῶν φίλων ἀπολιπόντες ἐς τὸ μέσον ἦσαν ἐν περιόπτῳ, καὶ συνήδρευνον οἱ τρεῖς, Καίσαρος ἐν μέσῳ διὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν προκαθίσαντος. δύο δὲ ἡμέραις ἔωθεν ἐς ἐσπέραν συνιόντες τάδε ἔκριναν ἀποθέσθαι μὲν τὴν ὑπατον ἀρχὴν Καίσαρα καὶ Οὐεντίδιον αὐτὴν ἐς τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ ἔτους μεταλαβεῖν, καὶ νὴ δὲ ἀρχὴν ἐς διόρθωσιν τῶν ἐμφυλίων νομοθετηθῆναι Λεπίδῳ τε καὶ Ἀντωνίῳ καὶ Καίσαρι, ἣν ἐπὶ πενταετὲς αὐτοὺς ἀρχειν, ἵσον ἰσχύουσαν ὑπάτοις· ὡδε γὰρ ἔδοξεν ἀντὶ δικτατόρων ὀνομάσαι, διὰ τὸ δογμα ἵσως τὸ Ἀντωνίου κωλύον ἔτι γίγνεσθαι δικτάτορα. τοὺς δὲ ἀποφῆναι μὲν αὐτίκα τῆς πόλεως ἀρχοντας ἐς τὰ ἐτήσια ἐπὶ τὴν πενταετίαν, τὰς δὲ ἡγεμονίας τῶν ἐθνῶν νειμαμένους, ἔχειν Ἀντώνιον μὲν τὴν Κελτικὴν ἅπασαν ἀνευ τῆς συναφούς τοῦ Πυρηναίοις ὅρεσιν, ἣν παλαιὰν ἐκάλουν Κελτικήν· ταύτης δὲ Λέπιδον ἀρχειν καὶ Ἰβηρίας ἐπὶ ταύτῃ· Καίσαρι δὲ εἶναι Λιβύην καὶ Σαρδὼ καὶ Σικελίαν καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλη νῆσος ἐνταῦθα.

3. *Ωδε μὲν τὴν Ρῶμαίων ἡγεμονίαν οἱ τρεῖς ἐνείμαντο ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς, τὰ πέραν ἄρα τοῦ Ιονίου μόνα ὑπερθέμενοι διὰ Βρούτον καὶ Κάσσιον

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

2. Octavian and Antony composed their differences CHAP.

on a small, depressed islet in the river Lavinius,
near the city of Mutina. Each had five legions of
soldiers whom they stationed opposite each other, after
which each proceeded with 300 men to the bridges
over the river. Lepidus by himself went before
them, searched the island, and waved his military
cloak as a signal to them to come. Then each left
his three hundred in charge of friends on the bridges
and advanced to the middle of the island in plain
sight, and there the three sat together in council,
Octavian in the centre because he was consul. They
were in conference from morning till night for two
days, and came to these decisions: that Octavian
should resign the consulship and that Ventidius
should take it for the remainder of the year; that a
new magistracy for quieting the civil dissensions
should be created by law, which Lepidus, Antony,
and Octavian should hold for five years with consular
power (for this name seemed preferable to that of
dictator, perhaps because of Antony's decree abolishing
the dictatorship); that these three should at
once designate the yearly magistrates of the city for
the five years; that a distribution of the provinces
should be made, giving to Antony the whole of Gaul
except the part bordering the Pyrenees Mountains,
which was called Old Gaul; this, together with
Spain, was assigned to Lepidus; while Octavian
was to have Africa, Sardinia, and Sicily, and the other
islands in the vicinity thereof.

3. Thus was the dominion of the Romans divided by the triumvirate among themselves. Only the assignment of the parts beyond the Adriatic was

I
Reconcili-
ation of
Octavian
and Antony,
who are
joined by
Lepidus

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. κρατοῦντας ἔτι αὐτῶν, Κασσίφ δὲ καὶ Βρούτῳ πολεμεῖν Ἀντώνιόν τε καὶ Καίσαρα· Λέπιδον γὰρ ὑπατεύειν ἐς τὸ μέλλον καὶ τῇ πόλει διὰ τὰς ἐν αὐτῇ χρείας ὑπομένειν, ἥγεμονεύοντα τῆς Ἰθηρίας δι' ἑτέρων· τοῦ δὲ Λεπίδου στρατοῦ τρία μὲν αὐτὸν Λέπιδον ἔχειν ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ Ρώμης, ἐπτὰ δὲ τέλη νείμασθαι Καίσαρα καὶ Ἀντώνιον, τρία μὲν Καίσαρα, τέσσαρα δὲ Ἀντώνιον, ὡς ἀν ἐς τὸν πόλεμον αὐτῶν ἑκάτερος εἴκοσιν ἄγοι. ἐπελπίσαι δὲ ἥδη τὸν στρατὸν ἐς τὰ νικητήρια τοῦ πολέμου, ἄλλαις τε δωρεαῖς καὶ ἐς κατοικίαν δόσεσι τῶν Ἰταλικῶν πόλεων ὀκτωκαίδεκα, αἱ καὶ περιουσίᾳ καὶ ἐδάφεσι καὶ οἴκοις εἰς κάλλος διαφέρουσαι ἔμελλον αὐτοῖς ἐδάφεσι καὶ οἴκοις αὐτῷ διανεμήσεσθαι, ὕσπερ αὐτοῖς ἀντὶ τῆς πολεμίας δορίληπτοι γενόμεναι. καὶ ἡσαν αἱ πόλεις ἄλλαι τε καὶ αἱ περιφανέσταται μάλιστα αὐτῶν Καπύη καὶ Ρήγιον καὶ Οὔενουσία καὶ Βενεβεντὸς καὶ Νουκερία καὶ Αρίμινον καὶ Ἰππώνιον. οὕτω μὲν τὰ κάλλιστα τῆς Ἰταλίας τῷ στρατῷ διέγραφον, ἔδοξε δὲ σφίσι καὶ τοὺς ἴδιους ἔχθροὺς προανελεῖν, ἵνα μὴ ἐνοχλοῖεν αὐτοῖς τάδε καθισταμένοις καὶ πολεμοῦσι πόλεμον ἔκδημον. ταῦτα μὲν ἔδοξε, καὶ ταῦτα συνεγράψαντο· καὶ αὐτῶν ὁ Καῖσαρ ὡς ὑπατος ἀνέγνω τοὺς στρατοῖς τὰ λοιπὰ χωρὶς τῶν ἀποθανουμένων. οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες ἐπαιώνισάν τε καὶ ἡσπάσαντο ἀλλήλους ἐπὶ διαλλαγῇ.

4. Γιγνομένων δὲ τούτων τέρατα καὶ σημεῖα ἐν Ρώμῃ πολλὰ καὶ φοβερὰ ἦν. κύνες τε γὰρ ὡρύοντο ὄμαλῶς οἱα λύκοι, σύμβολον ἀηδές, καὶ λύκοι τὴν ἀγορὰν διέθεον, οὐκ ἐπιχωριάζοντες ἐν

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

postponed, since these were still under the control CHAP.
of Brutus and Cassius, against whom Antony and I
Octavian were to wage war. Lepidus was to be
consul the following year and to remain in the city
to do what was needful there, meanwhile governing
Spain by proxy. He was to retain three of his
legions to guard the city, and to divide the other
seven between Octavian and Antony, three to the
former and four to the latter, so that each of them
might lead twenty legions to the war. To encourage
the army with expectation of booty they promised
them, beside other gifts, eighteen cities of Italy
as colonies—cities which excelled in wealth, in the
splendour of their estates and houses, and which
were to be divided among them (land, buildings,
and all), just as though they had been cap-
tured from an enemy in war. The most renowned
among these were Capua, Rhegium, Venusia, Bene-
ventum, Nuceria, Ariminum, and Vibo. Thus were
the most beautiful parts of Italy marked out for
the soldiers. But they decided to destroy their
personal enemies beforehand, so that the latter
should not interfere with their arrangements while
they were carrying on war abroad. Having come
to these decisions, they reduced them to writing,
and Octavian as consul communicated them to the
soldiers, all except the list of proscriptions. When the
soldiers heard them they applauded and embraced
each other in token of mutual reconciliation.

4. While these transactions were taking place many fearful prodigies and portents were observed at Rome. Dogs howled continuously like wolves—a fearful sign. Wolves darted through the forum—an animal unused to the city. Cattle uttered a

Fearful
prodigies
at Rome

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. πόλει ζῷον, βοῦς τε φωνὴν ἀφῆκεν ἀνθρώπου, καὶ
^I βρέφος ἀρτίτοκον ἐφθέγξατο, καὶ τῶν ξοάνων τὰ
μὲν ἴδρου, τὰ δὲ καὶ αἷμα ἴδρου, ἀνδρῶν τε μεγά-
λαι βοαὶ καὶ κτύπος ὅπλων καὶ δρόμος ἵππων
οὐχ ὄρωμένων ἡκούετο. ἀμφὶ τε τὸν ἥλιον ἀηδῆ
σημεῖα πολλά, καὶ λιθώδεις ἐγύγνουντο ὑετοί, καὶ
κεραυνοὶ συνεχεῖς ἐστορεῖται καὶ ἀγάλματα ἔπιπτον.
ἔφ' οἵς ἡ μὲν βουλὴ θύτας καὶ μάντεις συνῆγεν
ἀπὸ Τυρρηνίας· καὶ ὁ πρεσβύτατος αὐτῶν, τὰς
πάλαι βασιλείας ἐπανήξειν εἰπών, καὶ δουλεύσειν
ἄπαντας χωρὶς ἑαυτοῦ μόνου, τὸ στόμα κατέσχε
καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα, ἔως ἀπέθανεν.

II

CAP. II 5. Οἱ δὲ τρεῖς ἄνδρες ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν γενόμενοι τοὺς
ἀποθανομένους συνέγραφον, τούς τε δυνατοὺς
ὑφορώμενοι καὶ τοὺς ἴδιους ἐχθροὺς καταλέγοντες,
οἰκείους τε σφῶν αὐτῶν ἡ φίλους ἐστορεῖται
ἀντιδιδόντες ἀλλήλοις καὶ τότε καὶ ὕστερον.
προσκατελέγοντο γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἔτεροι μεθ' ἐτέρους,
οἱ μὲν ἀπ' ἐχθρας, οἱ δὲ μόνου προσκρούματος ἡ
φιλίας ἐχθρῶν ἡ φίλων ἐχθρας ἡ πλούτου δια-
φέροντος. ἐδέοντο γὰρ ἐστὸν πόλεμον χρημάτων
πολλῶν, Βρούτῳ μὲν καὶ Κασσίῳ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς
Ἀσίας φόρων δεδομένων τε καὶ προσοδευομένων
ἔτι καὶ βασιλέων καὶ σατραπῶν συμφερόντων,
αὐτοὶ δ' ἐπὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης καὶ μάλιστα τῆς
Ιταλίας πολέμοις τε καὶ εἰσφοραῖς τετρυμένης

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

human voice. A newly born infant spoke. Sweat CHAP.
issued from statues; some even sweated blood. I
Loud voices of men were heard and the clashing
of arms and the tramp of horses where none could
be seen. Many fearful signs were observed around
the sun, there were showers of stones, and con-
tinuous lightning fell upon the sacred temples and
images; and in consequence of these things the
Senate sent for diviners and soothsayers from Etruria.
The oldest of them said that the kingly rule of
former times was coming back, and that they would
all be slaves except only himself, whereupon he
closed his mouth and held his breath till he was
dead.

II

5. As soon as the triumvirs were by themselves CHAP.
they joined in making a list of those who were to II
be put to death. They put on the list those whom
they suspected because of their power, and also their
personal enemies, and they exchanged their own
relatives and friends with each other for death, both
then and later. For they made additions to the
catalogue from time to time, in some cases on the
ground of enmity, in others for a grudge merely,
or because the victims were friends of their enemies
or enemies of their friends, or on account of their
wealth, for the triumvirs needed a great deal of
money to carry on the war, since the revenue from
Asia had been paid to Brutus and Cassius, who were
still collecting it, and the kings and satraps were
contributing. So the triunvirs were short of money
because Europe, and especially Italy, was exhausted

Proscription
decreed
by the
triumvirs

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. ἀποροῦντες· δι' ἀ καὶ τοῖς δημόταις καὶ ταῖς
γυναιξὶ λήγοντες ἐπέγραψαν εἰσφορὰς βαρυτάτας,
καὶ τέλη πράσεων καὶ μισθώσεων ἐπενόησαν.
ἡδη δέ τις καὶ διὰ κάλλος ἐπαύλεως καὶ οἰκίας
προεγράφη. καὶ ἐγένοντο πάντες οἱ θανάτου τε
καὶ δημεύσεως κατεγνωσμένοι ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς βουλῆς
ἀμφὶ τοὺς τριακοσίους, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν καλουμένων
ἰππέων ἐς δισχιλίους. καὶ ἡσαν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀδελ-
φοί τε καὶ θεῖοι τῶν προγραφόντων, καὶ τῶν ὑπ'
αὐτοῖς ἥγεμόνων, ὅσοι τι τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἢ τοῖς
ἥγεμόσι προσεκεκρούκεσαν.

6. Τὸ μὲν δὴ πλῆθος αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τῆς συνόδου
διελθόντες ἐς Ῥώμην προγράψειν ἔμελλον, δυώ-
δεκα δὲ ἄνδρας, ἦ, ώς ἔτεροι λέγουσιν, ἐπτακάι-
δεκα, τοὺς μάλιστα δυνατούς, ἐν οἷς ἦν καὶ
Κικέρων, ἔδοξε προανελεῖν ἐπιπέμψαντας ἄφνω.
καὶ τῶνδε μὲν τέσσαρες αὐτίκα ἀνηρέθησαν ἐν
ἔστιάσεσί τε καὶ ὑπαντήσεσι· ζητουμένων δὲ τῶν
ἄλλων καὶ ἐρευνωμένων νεών τε καὶ οἰκιῶν, ἄφνω
θόρυβος ἀνὰ τὴν υύκτα πᾶσαν ἦν καὶ βοαὶ καὶ
διαδρομαὶ μετ' οἰμωγῆς ως ἐν ἀλισκομένῃ πόλει.
τῷ γὰρ ἐγνῶσθαι μὲν ἀνδρολήψια γίγνεσθαι, μὴ
προγεγράφθαι δὲ μηδένα τῶν προκατεγνωσμένων,
πᾶς τις αὐτὸς ἥγειτο ζητεῖσθαι πρὸς τῶν περι-
θεόντων. οὕτω δὲ ἀπογινώσκοντες αὐτῶν, οἱ μὲν
τὰ ἴδια, οἱ δὲ τὰ κοινὰ ἐμπρήσειν ἔμελλον, δρᾶσαι
τι δεινὸν ἀλόγως αἴρούμενοι πρὶν παθεῖν· καὶ
τάχα ἀν ἕδρασαν, εἰ μὴ Πέδιος αὐτὸν ὁ ὑπατος
μετὰ κηρύκων περιθέων ἐπήλπιζε περιμείναντας

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

by wars and exactions ; for which reason they levied CHAP.
very heavy contributions from the plebeians and II
finally even from women, and contemplated taxes on sales and rents. By now, too, some were proscribed because they had handsome villas or city residences. The number of senators who were sentenced to death and confiscation was about 300, and of the knights about 2000. There were brothers and uncles of the triumvirs in the list of the proscribed, and also some of the officers serving under them who had had some difficulty with the leaders, or with their fellow-officers.

6. As they left the conference to proceed to Rome they postponed the proscription of the greater number of victims, but they decided to send executioners in advance and without warning to kill twelve, or, as some say, seventeen, of the most important ones, among whom was Cicero. Four of these were slain immediately, either at banquets or as they were met on the streets ; and when search was made for the others in temples and houses, there was a sudden panic which lasted through the night, and a running to and fro with cries and lamentation as in a captured city. When it was known that men were being seized and massacred, although there was no list of those who had been previously sentenced, every man thought that he was the one whom the pursuers were in search of. Thus in despair some were on the point of burning their own houses, and others the public buildings, or of choosing some terrible deed in their frenzied state before the blow should fall upon them ; and they would perhaps have done so had not the consul Pedius hurried around with heralds and encouraged them, telling them to wait till daylight

First massacre

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. ἐς ἦω τὰ ἀκριβέστατα μαθεῖν. ἅμα δὲ ἐῷ παρὰ
γνώμην τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν προύγραφεν ὁ Πέδιος
τοὺς ἐπτακαίδεκα ως μόνους τε αἰτίους δόξαντας
εἶναι τῶν ἐμφυλίων κακῶν καὶ μόνους κατεγ-
νωσμένους, πίστεις τε τοῖς ἄλλοις δημοσίᾳς ἐποι-
εῖτο, ἀγνοῶν τὰ ἐγνωσμένα.

Καὶ Πέδιος μὲν ἐκ καμάτου τῆς νυκτὸς ἐτε-
λεύτησεν, 7. ἐσήεσαν δ' οἱ τρεῖς τρισὶν ἡμέραις,
ἀνὰ μέρος ἔκαστος αὐτῶν, ὁ Καῖσάρ τε καὶ
ὁ Ἀντώνιος καὶ ὁ Λέπιδος, σὺν ταῖς στρα-
τηγίσι τάξεσι καὶ ὀπλιτῶν ἔκαστος ἐνὶ τέλει.
ώς δὲ ἐσῆλθον, αὐτίκα μὲν ἡ πόλις ἦν πλήρης
ὅπλων τε καὶ σημείων διατεταγμένων ἐς τὰ
ἐπίκαιρα, αὐτίκα δὲ ἐν μέσῳ τούτων ἤγετο
ἐκκλησία, καὶ δήμαρχος Πούπλιος Τίτιος ἐνομο-
θέτει καινὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπὶ καταστάσει τῶν παρόντων
ἐς πενταετὲς εἶναι τριῶν ἀνδρῶν, Λεπίδου τε καὶ
Ἀντωνίου καὶ Καίσαρος, ἵσον ἰσχύουσαν ὑπά-
τοις, (ἥν ἀν τις Ἐλλήνων ἀρμοστὰς ὀνομάσειεν, δὲ
καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοῖς ἄρτι καθισταμένοις τὰ
ὑπήκοα ἐτίθεντο ὄνομα,) οὕτε διαστήματος ἐς
δοκιμασίαν οὔτε κυρίας ἐς τὴν χειροτονίαν ἡμέρας
προτεθείσης· ἀλλ' αὐτίκα ἐκυροῦτο ὁ νόμος. καὶ
νυκτὸς ἄλλων, ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐπτακαίδεκα, τριάκοντα
καὶ ἑκατὸν ἀνδρῶν προγραφαὶ κατὰ πολλὰ τῆς
πόλεως προτίθεντο καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον ἄλλων πεν-
τήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν. καὶ τις προσετίθετο τοῖς
πίναξιν αἱεὶ τῶν προσκαταγινωσκομένων ἡ τῶν
προανηρημένων ὑπ' ἀγνοίας, ἐς δόξαν τοῦ δικαίως
ἀνηρῆσθαι. διετέτακτό τε πάντων τὰς κεφαλὰς

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

and get more accurate information. When morning CHAP.
came Pedius, contrary to the intention of the
triumvirs, published the list of seventeen as being
deemed the sole authors of the civil strife and the
only ones condemned. To the rest he pledged the
public faith, being ignorant of the determinations of
the triumvirs.

Pedius died in consequence of fatigue the fol- The
lowing night, 7. and the triumvirs entered the city
separately on three successive days, Octavian, Antony,
and Lepidus, each with his praetorian cohort and one
legion. As they arrived, the city was speedily filled
with arms and military standards, disposed in the
most advantageous places. A public assembly was
forthwith convened in the midst of these armed
men, and a tribune, Publius Titius, proposed a law pro-
viding for a new magistracy for settling the present
disorders, to consist of three men to hold office for
five years, namely, Lepidus, Antony, and Octavian,
with the same power as consuls. (Among the Greeks
these would be called harmosts, which is the name
the Lacedaemonians gave to those whom they
appointed over their subject states.) No time was
given for scrutiny of this measure, nor was a fixed
day appointed for voting on it, but it was passed
forthwith. That same night, the proscription of
130 men in addition to the seventeen was proclaimed
in various parts of the city, and a little later 150
more, and additions to the lists were constantly made
of those who were condemned later or previously
killed by mistake, so that they might seem to have
perished justly. It was ordered that the heads of all
the victims should be brought to the triumvirs at a
fixed reward, which to a free person was payable in

II

The
triumvirs
enter the
city

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. ἐς τοὺς τρεῖς ἄνδρας ἐπὶ ρήτῳ κέρδει φέρεσθαι.
II καὶ ἡν τὸ κέρδος ἐλευθέρῳ μὲν ἀργύριον, θερά-
ποντι δὲ ἐλευθερία τε καὶ ἀργύριον. παρέχειν δὲ
ἐς ἔρευναν πάντας τὰ ἴδια. καὶ τὸν ὑποδεξάμενον
ἡ κρύψαντα ἡ τὴν ἔρευναν οὐ παρασχόντα τοῖς
ἴσοις ἐνέχεσθαι. μηνύειν δὲ ἔκαστα τούτων τὸν
ἔθέλοντα ἐπὶ τοῖς ίσοις κέρδεσι.

8. Καὶ εἶχεν οὕτως ἡ προγραφή· “Μᾶρκος
Λέπιδος, Μᾶρκος Ἀντώνιος, Ὁκτάουνος Καίσαρ,
οἱ χειροτονηθέντες ἀρμόσαι καὶ διορθῶσαι τὰ
κοινά, οὕτως λέγουσιν· εἰ μὴ δι' ἀπιστίαν οἱ
πονηροὶ δεόμενοι μὲν ἡσαν ἐλεεινοί, τυχόντες δὲ
ἐγίγνοντο τῶν εὐεργετῶν ἔχθροί, εἰτα ἐπίβουλοι,
οὗτ' ἀν Γάιον Καίσαρα ἀνηρήκεσαν, οὓς ἐκεῖνος
δορὶ λαβὼν ἔσωσεν ἐλέφῳ καὶ φίλους θέμενος ἐπὶ
ἀρχὰς καὶ τιμὰς καὶ δωρεὰς προήγαγεν ἀθρόως,
οὗτ' ἀν ἡμεῖς τοῖς ἐνυβρίσασι καὶ πολεμίους
ἀναγράψασιν ἡμᾶς ὡδε ἀθρόως ἡναγκαζόμεθα
χρῆσθαι. νῦν δέ, ἔξ ὧν ἐπιβεβούλεύμεθα καὶ ἔξ
ὧν Γάιος Καίσαρ ἔπαθεν, ἀτιθάσευτον ὄρῶντες
τὴν κακίαν ὑπὸ φιλανθρωπίας, προλαβεῖν τοὺς
ἔχθρους ἡ παθεῖν αίρούμεθα. μὴ δή τις τὸ ἔργον
ἄδικον ἡ ὥμδον ἡ ἀμετρον ἡγείσθω, ἐς τε Γάιον
καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς οīα πεπόνθαμεν ὄρῶν. Γάιον μὲν δὴ
καὶ αὐτοκράτορα ὅντα καὶ ἄρχοντα ἱερῶν, καὶ τὰ
φοβερώτατα Ῥωμαίοις καθελόντα τε ἔθνη καὶ
κτησάμενον, καὶ πρῶτον ἄνδρῶν ὑπὲρ τοὺς Ἡρα-
κλείους ὅρους ἀπλώτου θαλάσσης ἀποπειράσαντα,

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

money and to a slave in both money and freedom. CHAP.
All were required to afford opportunity for searching
their houses. Those who received fugitives, or con-
cealed them, or refused to allow search to be made,
were liable to the same penalties as the proscribed,
and those who informed against concealers were
allowed the same rewards [as those who killed the
proscribed].

8. The proscription was in the following words : Text of the proscription

"Marcus Lepidus, Marcus Antonius, and Octavius Caesar, chosen by the people to set in order and regulate the republic, do declare that, had not perfidious traitors begged for mercy and when they obtained it become the enemies of their benefactors and conspired against them, neither would Gaius Caesar have been slain by those whom he saved by his clemency after capturing them in war, whom he admitted to his friendship and upon whom he heaped offices, honours, and gifts ; nor should we have been compelled to use this wide-spread severity against those who have insulted us and declared us public enemies. Now, seeing that the malice of those who have conspired against us and by whose hands Gaius Caesar suffered, cannot be mollified by kindness, we prefer to anticipate our enemies rather than suffer at their hands. Let no one who sees what both Caesar and ourselves have suffered consider our action unjust, cruel, or immoderate. Although Caesar was clothed with supreme power, although he was pontifex maximus, although he had overthrown and added to our sway the nations most formidable to the Romans, although he was the first man to attempt the untried sea beyond the pillars of Hercules and was the discoverer of a country hitherto unknown to the

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. καὶ Ῥωμαίοις γῆν ἄγνωστοι εύρόντα, ἐν μέσῳ τῷ
II ἱερῷ λεγομένῳ βουλευτηρίῳ, ὑπὸ δψεσι θεῶν,
κατέκανον εἴκοσι καὶ τρισὶ σφαγαῖς ἐνυβρίσαντες,
οἱ πολέμῳ ληφθέντες ὑπ' ἐκείνου καὶ περισω-
θέντες κληρονόμοι τέ τινες αὐτοῦ τῆς οὔσιας
ἐγγραφέντες εἰναι· οἱ λοιποὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ μύσει
τῷδε τὸν ἐναγεῖς ἀντὶ κολάσεων ἐπὶ ἀρχὰς καὶ
ἡγεμονίας ἔξεπεμψαν, αἷς ἐκεῖνοι χρώμενοι τά τε
κοινὰ τῶν χρημάτων ἥρπασαν, καὶ στρατὸν ἔξ
αὐτῶν ἀγείρουσι καθ' ἡμῶν καὶ ἔτερον αἰτοῦσι
παρὰ βαρβάρων ἀεὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς πολεμίων, τάς τε
ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις πόλεις τὰς μὲν οὐ πείθοντες ἐνέ-
πρησαν ἡ κατέσκαψαν ἡ κατήρειψαν, τὰς δὲ
καταπλήξαντες ἐπάγουσι τῇ πατρίδι καθ' ἡμῶν.

9. “Ημεῖς δὲ αὐτῶν τοὺς μὲν ἡδη τετιμωρήμεθα,
τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς θεοῦ συνεπιλαμβάνοντος αὐτίκα
δίκην διδόντας δψεσθε. τῶν δὲ μεγίστων ἡμῖν
ἡνυσμένων καὶ ὑπὸ χερσὸν ὅντων, Ἰβηρίας τε καὶ
Κελτικῆς καὶ τῶνδε τῶν οἴκοι, ἐν ἐστι λοιπὸν ἔτι
ἔργον, στρατεύειν ἐπὶ τοὺς πέραν θαλάσσης αὐτό-
χειρας Γαίου. μέλλουσι δὴ πόλεμον ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν
ἐκδημον ἀγωνιεῖσθαι οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς οὕτε ἐς τὰ
ἡμέτερα οὕτε ἐς τὰ ὑμέτερα εἰναι δοκεῖ τοὺς
ἄλλους ἔχθροὺς ὀπίσω καταλιπεῖν, ἐπιβησομένους
ταῖς ἀπουσίαις ἡμῶν καὶ τὰ συμβαίνοντα τοῦ
πολέμου καιροφυλακήσοντας, οὐδ' αὖ βραδύνειν
διὰ τούσδε ἐν ἐπείξει τοσῆδε μᾶλλον ἡ ἐκποδὼν
αὐτοὺς ἀθρόως ποιήσασθαι, ἄρξαντάς γε τοῦ καθ'
ἡμῶν πολέμου, δτε πολεμίους ἡμᾶς τε καὶ τοὺς
ὑφ' ἡμῖν στρατοὺς ἐψηφίζοντο εἰναι.

10. “Κάκεῖνοι μὲν τοσάσδε πολιτῶν μυριάδας

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

Romans, this man was slain in the midst of the CHAP.
senate-house, which is designated as sacred, under ^{II} the eyes of the gods, with twenty-three dastardly wounds, by men whom he had taken prisoners in war and had spared, while some of them he had named as co-heirs of his wealth. After this execrable crime, instead of arresting the guilty wretches, the rest sent them forth as commanders and governors, in which capacity they seized upon the public money, with which they are collecting an army against us and are seeking reinforcements from barbarians ever hostile to Roman rule. Cities subject to Rome that would not obey them they have burned, or ravaged, or levelled to the ground; other cities they have forced by terror to bear arms against the country and against us.

9. "Some of them we have punished already; and by the aid of divine providence you shall presently see the rest punished. Although the chief part of this work has been finished by us or is well under control, namely the settlement of Spain and Gaul as well as matters here in Italy, one task still remains, and that is to march against Caesar's assassins beyond the sea. On the eve of undertaking this foreign war for you, we do not consider it safe, either for you or for us, to leave other enemies behind to take advantage of our absence and watch for opportunities during the war; nor again do we think that there should be delay on their account, but that we ought rather to sweep them out of our pathway, once for all, seeing that they began the war against us when they voted us and the armies under us public enemies.

10. "What vast numbers of citizens have they, on

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. ήμιν συναπώλλυον, οὕτε θεῶν νέμεσιν οὕτε φθόνου
II ἀνθρώπων ὑφορώμενοι· ήμεῖς δὲ πλήθει μὲν
οὐδενὶ χαλεπανοῦμεν οὐδὲ τοὺς ἔχθροὺς ἐπιλεξό-
μεθα πάντας, ὅσοι διηνέχθησαν ήμιν ἡ ἐπεβού-
λευσαν, οὐδὲ ἐκ πλούτου πάντως ἡ περιουσίας ἡ
ἀξιώσεως οὐδ' ὅσους ἔτερος πρὸ ήμῶν αὐτοκράτωρ
ἔκτεινε, τὴν πόλιν κάκεῦνος ἐν ἐμφυλίοις καθι-
στάμενος, διν Εὔτυχῆ προσείπατε δι' εὐπραξίαν,
καίπερ ἀνάγκης οὕσης τρισὶ πλέονας ἔχθροὺς ἡ
ἐνὶ εἶναι. ἀλλὰ μόνους δὴ τοὺς φαυλοτάτους τε
καὶ πάντων αἰτιωτάτους ἀμυνούμεθα. καὶ τόδε
δι' ὑμᾶς οὐχ ἡσσον ἡμῶν ἀνάγκη μὲν γὰρ
ἡμῶν διαφερομένων ὑμᾶς πάντας ἐν μέσῳ δεινὰ
πάσχειν, ἀνάγκη δέ τι καὶ τῷ στρατῷ γενέσθαι
παραμύθιον ὑβρισμένῳ τε καὶ παρωξυμμένῳ καὶ
πολεμίῳ πρὸς τῶν κοινῶν ἔχθρῶν ἀναγεγραμμένῳ.
δυνηθέντες δ' ἄν, οὓς ἔγνωμεν, ἐξ ἐφόδου συλλα-
βεῖν, αἴρούμεθα προγράψαι μᾶλλον ἡ ἀγνοοῦντας
ἔτι συλλαβεῖν· καὶ τόδε δι' ὑμᾶς, ἵνα μὴ ἐπὶ τοῖς
όπλίταις ἡ διωργισμένοις πλεονάζειν ἐς τοὺς
ἀνευθύνους, ἀλλὰ ἀπηριθμημένους καὶ ὠρισμέν-
ους ἔχοντες ὄνομαστὶ τῶν ἄλλων κατὰ πρόσταγμα
ἀπέχωνται.

11. “Αγαθῆ τύχῃ τοίνυν τῶν ὑπογεγραμμένων
τῷδε τῷ διαγράμματι μηδεὶς δεχέσθω μηδένα
μηδὲ κρυπτέτῳ μηδὲ ἐκπεμπέτῳ ποι μηδὲ πει-
θέσθω χρήμασι. δις δ' ἀν ἡ σώσας ἡ ἐπικουρήσας
ἡ συνειδὼς φανῆ, τοῦτον ἡμεῖς, οὐδεμίαν ὑπο-
λογισάμενοι πρόφασιν ἡ συγγνώμην, ἐν τοῖς

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

their part, doomed to destruction with us, disregarding the vengeance of the gods and the reprobation of mankind ! We shall not deal harshly with any multitude of men, nor shall we count as enemies all who have opposed us or plotted against us, or those distinguished for their riches merely, their abundance, or their high position ; nor shall we slay as many as another man who held the supreme power before us, when he, too, was regulating the commonwealth in civil convulsions, and whom you named the Fortunate on account of his success ; and yet necessarily three persons will have more enemies than one. We shall take vengeance only on the worst and most guilty. This we shall do for your interest no less than for our own, for while we keep up our conflicts you will all be involved necessarily in great dangers, and it is necessary for us also to do something to quiet the army, which has been insulted, irritated, and decreed a public enemy by our common foes. Although we might arrest on the spot whomsoever we had determined on, we prefer to proscribe rather than seize them unawares ; and this, too, on your account, so that it may not be in the power of enraged soldiers to exceed their orders against persons not responsible, but that they may be restricted to a certain number designated by name, and spare the others according to order.

11. "So be it then !¹ Let no one harbour any one of those whose names are hereto appended, or conceal them, or send them away, or be corrupted by their money. Whoever shall be detected in saving, or aiding, or conniving with them we will put on the list of the proscribed without allowing

¹ A pious formula like the Latin *quod felix faustumque sit.*

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. προγεγραμμένοις τιθέμεθα. ἀναφερόντων δὲ τὰς
κεφαλὰς οἱ κτείναντες ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, ὁ μὲν ἐλεύθερος
ἐπὶ δισμυρίαις δραχμαῖς Ἀττικαῖς καὶ πεντα-
κισχιλίαις ὑπὲρ ἐκάστης, ὁ δὲ δοῦλος ἐπ' ἐλευ-
θερίᾳ τοῦ σώματος καὶ μυρίαις Ἀττικαῖς καὶ τῇ
τοῦ δεσπότου πολιτείᾳ. τὰ δὲ αὐτὰ καὶ τοῖς
μηνύουσιν ἔσται. καὶ τῶν λαμβανόντων οὐδεὶς
ἐγγεγράφεται τοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν ἡμῶν, ἵνα μὴ
κατάδηλος ἦ". ὥδε μὲν εἶχεν ἡ προγραφὴ τῶν
τριῶν ἀνδρῶν, ὅσον ἔις Ἑλλάδα γλωσσαν ἀπὸ
Λατίνης μεταβάλειν.

III

CAP. 12. Πρῶτος δὲ ἦν ἐν τοῖς προγράφουσι Λέπιδος,
καὶ πρῶτος ἐν τοῖς προγραφομένοις ὁ ἀδελφὸς ὁ
Λεπίδου Παῦλος, καὶ δεύτερος ἦν τῶν προγρα-
φόντων Ἀντώνιος καὶ δεύτερος τῶν προγραφο-
μένων ὁ θεῖος ὁ Ἀντωνίου Λεύκιος, οὗδε μέν, ὅτι
πρῶτοι πολεμίους αὐτοὺς ἐψηφίσαντο. τρίτος
δὲ καὶ τέταρτος ἦν τῶν ἐν ἑτέρῳ πίνακι προκει-
μένων ἔις τὸ μέλλον ὑπάτων Πλάγκου μὲν ὁ
ἀδελφὸς Πλάτιος, Ἀσινίου δὲ ὁ πενθερὸς Κοιν-
τιος. καὶ οὐ κατ' ἀξίωσιν ἄρα μόνην οὗδε τῶν
ἄλλων προύκειντο μᾶλλον ἦ ἔις θάμβος καὶ
δυσελπιστίαν, μηδένα ρύσεσθαι τινα προσδοκάν.
ἦν δὲ καὶ Θωράνιος ἐν τοῖς προγεγραμμένοις,
λεγόμενος ὑπό τινων ἐπιτροπεῦσαι Καισαρος.
ἄμα δὲ ταῖς προγραφαῖς αἴ τε πύλαι κατείχοντο
καὶ ὅσαι ἄλλαι τῆς πόλεως ἔξοδοι τε καὶ λιμένες
ἦ ἔλη καὶ τέλματα ἦ εἰ τι ἄλλο ἔις φυγὴν ὑποπ-
τον ἦν ἦ ἔις λαθραίους καταφυγάς· τήν τε χώραν

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

any excuse or pardon. Let those who kill the pro- CHAP.
scribed bring us their heads and receive the follow- II
ing rewards: to a free man 25,000 Attic drachmas per head; to a slave his freedom and 10,000 Attic drachmas and his master's right of citizenship. Informers shall receive the same rewards. In order that they may remain unknown the names of those who receive the rewards shall not be inscribed in our registers." Such was the language of the proscription of the triumvirate as nearly as it can be rendered from Latin into Greek.

III

12. LEPIDUS was the first to begin the work of CHAP.
proscription, and his brother Paulus was the first on III
the list of the proscribed. Antony came next, and the second name on the list was that of his uncle, Lucius Caesar. These two men had been the first to vote Lepidus and Antony public enemies. The third and fourth victims were relatives of the consuls-elect for the coming year, namely, Plotius, the brother of Plancus, and Quintus, the father-in-law of Asinius. These four were placed at the head of the list, not only on account of their dignity as to produce terror and despair, so that none of the proscribed might hope to escape. Among the proscribed was Thoranius, who was said by some to have been a tutor of Octavius. When the lists were published, the gates and all the other exits from the city, the harbour, the marshes, the pools, and every other place that was suspected as adapted to flight or concealment, were occupied by soldiers; the centurions were charged to scour the

The
triumvirs
proscribe
their own
relatives

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. ἐπετέτραπτο τοῖς λοχαγοῖς ἐρευνᾶν περιθέουσι,
III καὶ ἐγίγνετο πάντα όμοῦ.

13. Εὐθὺς οὖν ἦν ἀνά τε τὴν χώραν καὶ ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν, ὡς ἔκαστος πῃ συνελαμβάνετο, ἀνδρολήψια αἰφνίδια πολλὰ καὶ τρόποι τῶν φόνων ποικίλοι τῶν τε κεφαλῶν ἀποτομαὶ τοῦ μισθοῦ χάριν ἐστίν εἶναι φυγαί τε ἀπρεπεῖς καὶ σχῆματα ἄτοπα ἐκ τοῦ πρὸν περιφανοῦς. κατέδυνον γὰρ οἱ μὲν ἐστίν φρέατα, οἱ δὲ ἐστίν τὰς ὑπονόμους τάφρους ἐπὶ τὰ ἀκάθαρτα, οἱ δὲ ἐστίν καπνώδεις ὑπωροφίας ἢ τῶν τεγών ταῖς κεραμίσι βυομέναις ὑπεκάθηντο μετὰ σιγῆς βαθυτάτης. ἐδεδοίκεσαν γὰρ οὐχ ἥσσον τῶν σφαγέων οἱ μὲν γυναικας ἢ παιᾶς οὐκ εὔμενῶς σφίσιν ἔχοντας, οἱ δὲ ἐξελεύθερους τε καὶ θεράποντας, οἱ δὲ καὶ δανεισμάτων χρήστας ἢ χωρίων γείτονας ἐπιθυμίᾳ τῶν χωρίων. ἐπανάστασις γὰρ δὴ πάντων, ὅσα τέως ὑπούλα ἦν, ἀθρόα τότε ἐγίγνετο καὶ ἀθέμιστος μεταβολὴ βουλευτῶν ἀνδρῶν, ὑπάτων ἢ στρατηγῶν ἢ δημάρχων, ἔτι τάσδε τὰς ἀρχὰς μετιόντων ἢ ἐν αὐταῖς γεγονότων, ἐστὶ πόδας ἰδίου θεράποντος ῥιπτουμένων σὺν ὀλοφύρσεσι καὶ σωτῆρα καὶ κύριον τὸν οἰκέτην τιθεμένων. οἰκτιστον δὲ ἦν, ὅτε καὶ ταῦτα ὑποστάντες οὐκ ἐλεηθεύειν.

14. Ἰδέα τε πᾶσα κακῶν ἦν, οὐχ ὡς ἐν στάσεσιν ἢ πολέμου καταλήψεσιν· οὐ γάρ, ὡς ἐν ἐκείνοις, τὸν μὲν ἀντιστασιώτην ἢ πολέμιον ἐδεδοίκεσαν, τοῖς δὲ οἰκείοις σφᾶς ἐπέτρεπον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούσδε τῶν σφαγέων μᾶλλον ἐδεδοίκεσαν, οὐδὲν μὲν αὐτοὺς ὡς ἐν πολέμῳ καὶ στάσει δεδιότας, σφίσι τε αὐτίκα γιγνομένους ἐξ οἰκείων

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

surrounding country. All these things took place CHAP.
simultaneously.

III

13. Straightway, throughout city and country, wherever each one happened to be found, there were sudden arrests and murder in various forms, decapitations for the sake of the rewards when the head should be shown, and undignified flights in disguises which strangely contrasted with former splendour. Some descended into wells, others into filthy sewers. Some took refuge in chimneys. Others crouched in the deepest silence under the thickly-packed tiles of their roofs. For some were not less fearful of their wives and ill-disposed children than of the murderers, while others feared their freedmen and their slaves ; creditors feared their debtors and neighbours feared neighbours who coveted their lands. There was a sudden outburst of previously smouldering hates and a shocking change in the condition of senators, consulars, praetors, tribunes (men who were about to enter upon those offices, or who had already held them), who threw themselves with lamentations at the feet of their own slaves, giving to the servant the character of saviour and master. But the most lamentable thing was that even after this humiliation they did not obtain pity.

14. Every kind of calamity was rife, but not as in ordinary sedition or military occupation : for in those cases the people had to fear only the members of the opposite faction, or the enemy, but could rely on their own households ; but now they were more afraid of these than of the assassins, for as the former had nothing to fear on their own account, as in ordinary seditions or wars, they were suddenly transformed from domestics into enemies, either

161

M

VOL. IV.

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. III πολεμίους, ἡ δι' ὑπουρλον ἔχθραν ἡ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπικεκηρυγμένων σφίσι γερῶν ἡ διὰ τὸν ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις χρυσόν τε καὶ ἄργυρον. ἅπιστος γὰρ δὴ διὰ ταῦτα ἀθρόως ἔκαστος ἐς τὸν οἰκεῖον ἐγίγνετο καὶ τὸ σφέτερον κέρδος τοῦ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλέου προυτίθει· ὁ δὲ πιστὸς ἡ εὔνους ἐδεδίει βοηθεῖν ἡ κρύπτειν ἡ συνειδέναι δι' ὁμοιότητα τῶν ἐπιτιμίων. ἐς τε τὸ ἔμπαλιν αὐτοῖς τοῦ πρώτου τῶν ἑπτακαίδεκα ἀνδρῶν δέους περιέστη. τότε μὲν γὰρ οὐ προγραφέντος οὐδενός, ἀλλά τινων ἀφνω συλλαμβανομένων πάντες ἐδεδοίκεσαν ὅμοια καὶ συνήσπιζον ἀλλήλοις· ἐπὶ δὲ ταῖς προγραφαῖς οἱ μὲν αὐτίκα πᾶσιν ἔκδοτοι γεγένητο, οἱ δὲ ἐν ἀμερίμνῳ περὶ σφῶν καὶ ἐπὶ κέρδει γενόμενοι τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπὶ μισθῷ τοῖς σφαγεῦσιν ἐκυνηγέτουν. ὁ δὲ λοιπὸς ὅμιλος, οἱ μὲν τὰς οἰκίας τῶν ἀναιρουμένων διήρπαζον, καὶ τὸ κέρδος αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς συνέσεως τῶν παρόντων κακῶν ἐψυχαγώγει· οἱ δὲ ἐμφρονέστεροί τε καὶ ἐπιεικεῖς ἐτεθῆπεσαν ὑπὸ ἐκπλήξεως, καὶ ἡν αὐτοῖς παραλογώτερον, ὅτε μάλιστα ἐνθυμηθεῖεν, ὅτι τὰς μὲν ἄλλας πόλεις ἐλυμήναντο στάσεις καὶ περιέσωσαν ὁμόνοιαι, τὴν δὲ καὶ αἱ στάσεις τῶν ἀρχόντων προαπώλεσαν καὶ ἡ ὁμόνοια τοιάδε ἐργάζεται.

15. "Εθνησκον δὲ οἱ μὲν ἀμυνόμενοι τοὺς ἀναιροῦντας, οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἀμυνόμενοι ώς οὐχ ὑπὸ τῶνδε ἀδικούμενοι, εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ καὶ σφᾶς αὐτοῦς λιμῷ τε ἐκουσίῳ δαπανῶντες καὶ βρόχοις χρώμενοι καὶ τὰ σώματα καταποντοῦντες ἡ ῥιπτοῦντες ἀπὸ τῶν τεγῶν ἡ ἐς πῦρ ἐναλλόμενοι ἡ τοῖς σφαγεῦσιν

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

from some concealed hatred, or in order to obtain published rewards, or to possess themselves of the gold and silver in their masters' houses. For these reasons each one became treacherous to his master, preferring his own gain to compassion for him, and those who were faithful and well-disposed feared to aid, or conceal, or connive at the escape of the victims, because such acts made them liable to the very same punishments. This was quite different from the peril that befell the seventeen men first condemned. Then there was no proscription, but certain persons were arrested unexpectedly, and as all feared similar treatment all sheltered each other; but in the proscriptions some immediately became the prey of all, others, being free from danger themselves and eager for gain, became blood-hounds for the murderers for the sake of the rewards; while of the general throng, some plundered houses of the slain, and their private gains turned their thoughts away from the public calamities; others, more prudent and upright, were palsied with consternation. It seemed most astounding to them, when they reflected upon it, that while other states afflicted by civil strife had been rescued by harmonizing the factions, in this case the dissensions of the leaders had wrought ruin in the first instance and their agreement with each other had had like consequences afterwards.

15. Some died defending themselves against their slayers. Others made no resistance, considering the assailants not to blame. Some starved, or hanged, or drowned themselves, or flung themselves from their roofs or into the fire. Some offered themselves to the murderers or sent for them when they

Scenes of
agony and
horror

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. ίπίσχοντες ἡ καὶ μεταπεμπόμενοι βραδύνοντας,
III ἔτεροι δὲ κρυπτόμενοι καὶ λιπαροῦντες ἀπρεπῶς
ἵ διωθούμενοι τὸ κακὸν ἡ ώνούμενοι. οἱ δὲ καὶ
παρὰ γυνώμην τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν, ὑπ' ἀγνοίᾳς ἡ
κατ' ἐπιβουλήν, ἀπώλλυντο. καὶ δῆλος ἦν ὁ μὴ
προγραφεὶς νέκυς, ὅτε οἱ προσκέοιτο ἡ κεφαλή·
τῶν γὰρ δὴ προγεγραμμένων ἐν ἀγορᾷ προυτίθεντο
παρὰ τοῖς βήμασιν, ἔνθα ἔδει κομίσαντας ἀντι-
λαβεῖν τὰ ἀγαθά. ἵση δ' ἦν ἐτέρων σπουδὴ
καὶ ἀρετή, γυναικῶν τε καὶ παιδίων καὶ ἀδελφῶν
καὶ θεραπόντων, περισφέζόντων τε καὶ συμμη-
χανωμένων πολλὰ καὶ συναποθνησκόντων, ὅτε μὴ
τύχοιεν ὧν ἐπενόουν· οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐπανήρουν σφᾶς
ἀνηρημένοις. τῶν δὲ ἐκφυγόντων οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ^τ
ναυαγίων ἀπώλλυντο, ἐς πάντα σφίσι τῆς τύχης
ἐπιβαρούσης, οἱ δὲ ἐπανήχθησαν ἐκ παραλόγων
ἐπί τε ἀρχὰς τῆς πόλεως καὶ στρατηγίας πολέμων
καὶ θριάμβους. οὕτως ὁ καιρὸς ἦν ἐκεῖνος ἐπί-
δειξις παραδοξολογίας.

16. Καὶ τάδε ἐγίγνετο οὐκ ἐν ἴδιώτιδι πόλει
οὐδὲ ἐν ἀσθενεῖ καὶ σμικρῷ βασιλείῳ, ἀλλὰ τὴν
δυνατωτάτην καὶ τοσούτων ἔθνων καὶ γῆς καὶ
θαλάσσης ἥγεμονίδα διέσειεν ὁ θεός, ἐκ πολλοῦ
ἄρα ἐς τὴν νῦν καθιστάμενος εὐταξίαν. ἐγένετο
μὲν οὖν τοιάδε ἔτερα ἐν αὐτῇ κατά τε Σύλλαν
καὶ ἔτι πρὸ ἐκείνου Γάιον Μάριον, ὧν ὁμοίως τὰ
γυναικώτατα τῶν κακῶν ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἐκείνων
ἀνελεξάμην, καὶ προσῆν ἐκείνοις ἀταφίᾳ· ταῦτα
δὲ ἀξιώσει τε τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τοῦ ἐνὸς
αὐτῶν μάλιστα ἀρετὴ καὶ τύχη, τὴν ἀρχὴν

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

delayed. Others concealed themselves and made abject entreaties, or tried to thrust aside the danger, or to buy themselves off. Some were killed by mistake, or by private malice, contrary to the intention of the triumvirs. It was evident that a corpse was not one of the proscribed if the head was still attached to it, for the heads of the proscribed were displayed on the rostra in the forum, where it was necessary to bring them in order to get the rewards. Equally conspicuous were the fidelity and courage of others — of wives, of children, of brothers, of slaves, who rescued the proscribed or planned for them in various ways, and died with them when they did not succeed in their designs. Some even killed themselves on the bodies of the slain. Of those who made their escape some perished by shipwreck, ill luck pursuing them to the last. Others were preserved, contrary to expectation, to become city magistrates, commanders in war, and even to enjoy the honours of a triumph. Such a display of paradoxes did this time afford.

16. These things took place not in an ordinary city, not in a weak and petty kingdom; but the evil deity thus shook the most powerful mistress of so many nations and of land and sea, and so brought about after a long period of time the present well ordered condition. Other like events had taken place in the time of Sulla and even before him in that of Caius Marius. The most notable of these calamities I have narrated in my history of those times, in which was the added horror that the dead were cast away unburied. The matters we are now considering are the more remarkable by reason of the dignity of the triumvirs and especially the character

Some
remarkable
cases

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. συστησαμένου τε ἐς ἔδραν ἀσφαλῆ καὶ γένος καὶ
III ὄνομα τὸ νῦν ἄρχον ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ καταδιπόντος,
ἐπιφανέστερα. ὃν τὰ λαμπρὰ καὶ τὰ χείρω
γενόμενα ἐν μνήμῃ τε μᾶλλον δύτα, ὅτι καὶ
τελευταῖα γέγονεν, ἐπελεύσομαι νῦν, οὐ πάντα
(οὐ γὰρ ἀξιαφήγητον ἀναίρεσις ἀπλῆ καὶ φυγὴ
ἡ τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν τισὶ συγγνόντων ὕστερον
ἐπάνοδος ἡ ἐπανελθόντων ἀφανῆς καταβίωσις),
ἀλλ' ὅσα παραλογώτατα δύτα μάλιστα ἀν
ἐκπλήξεις καὶ πιστεύειν ποιήσεις τοῖς προλεγο-
μένοις. πολλὰ δέ ἔστι, καὶ πολλοὶ Ῥωμαίων
ἐν πολλαῖς βίβλοις αὐτὰ συνέγραψαν ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν·
ὅλιγα δὲ ἐγὼ καθ' ἐκάστην ἰδέαν, ἐς πίστιν
ἐκάστης καὶ ἐς εὑδαιμόνισμα τῶν νῦν παρόντων,
ἐπὶ κεφαλαίου διὰ τὸ μῆκος ἀναγράψω.

IV

CAP. 17. Ἡρξατο μὲν δὴ τὸ κακὸν ἐκ συντυχίας
IV ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν ἀρχαῖς ἔτι δύτων, καὶ πρῶτος ἀνηρέθη
δημαρχῶν Σάλονιος. ἱερὰ δέ ἔστιν ἡ ἀρχὴ καὶ
ἄσυλος ἐκ τῶν νόμων καὶ τὰ μέγιστα ἵσχυεν, ὡς
καὶ τῶν ὑπάτων τινὰς ἐς τὰς φυλακὰς ἐμβαλεῖν.
καὶ ἦν ὅδε ὁ δημαρχος ὁ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐν
μὲν ἀρχῇ κεκωλυκὼς εἶναι πολέμιον, ὕστερον δὲ
συμπεπραχὼς ἐς πάντα Κικέρωνι. πυθόμενος
δὲ τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν τῆς τε συμφρονήσεως καὶ
τῆς ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐπείξεως τοὺς οἰκείους εἰστία ὡς
166

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

and good fortune of one of them, who established CHAP.
the government on a firm foundation, and left his ^{III} lineage and the name which is now supreme after him. I shall now go over the most remarkable as well as the most shocking of these events, which are all the better to be remembered because they were the last of the kind. I shall not speak of all, however, because the mere killing, or flight, or subsequent return of those who were pardoned by the triumvirs at a later period and passed undistinguished lives at home, is not worthy of mention. I shall refer only to those which are most calculated to astonish by their extraordinary nature or to confirm what has already been said. These events are many, and they have been written in many books by many Roman historians successively. By way of summary, and to shorten my narrative, I shall record a few of each kind in order to confirm the truth of each and to illustrate the happiness of the present time.

IV

17. THE massacre began, as it happened, among CHAP.
those who were still in office, and the first one slain ^{IV} was the tribune Salvius. His office was, according to the laws, sacred and inviolable, endowed with the greatest powers, so that tribunes have even imprisoned consuls. Salvius, too, was the tribune who had at first prevented the Senate from declaring Antony a public enemy, but later he had co-operated with Cicero in everything. When he heard of the agreement of the triumvirs, and of their hastening to the city, he gave a banquet to his
The tribune Salvius slain at a banquet

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. οὐ πολλάκις αὐτοῖς ἔτι συνεσόμενος· ἐσδραμόντων
^{IV} δὲ ἐς τὸ συμπόσιον τῶν ὄπλιτῶν οἱ μὲν ἔξανίσταντο σὺν θορύβῳ καὶ δέει, ὁ δὲ τῶν ὄπλιτῶν λοχαγὸς ἐκέλευεν ἡρεμεῖν κατακλιθέντας, τὸν δὲ Σάλονιον, ώς εἶχε, τῆς κόμης ἐπισπάσας ὑπὲρ τὴν τράπεζαν, ἐς ὅσον ἔχρηζε, τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπέτεμε καὶ τοῖς ἔνδον αὐθις ἐκέλευεν ἀτρεμεῖν, ώς ἔχουσι, μὴ θορύβου γενομένου πάθοιεν ὅμοια. οἱ μὲν δὴ καὶ οἰχομένου τοῦ λοχαγοῦ τεθηπότες ἄναυδοι μέχρι βαθυτάτης νυκτός, τῷ λοιπῷ τοῦ δημάρχου σώματι συγκατέκειντο. δεύτερος δ' ἀνὴρ ἔθνησκε στρατηγὸς Μινούκιος, ἀρχαιρεσιάζων μὲν ἐν ἀγορᾷ πυθόμενος δὲ ἐπιέναι τοὺς ὄπλιτας ἵνεπήδησε καὶ περιθέων ἔτι καὶ ἐννοούμενος, ὅποι διαλάθοι, τὴν ἐσθῆτα ἐνήλλασσεν ἐς τι τῶν ἐργαστηρίων ἐσδραμών, τοὺς ὑπηρέτας καὶ τὰ σημεῖα ἀποπέμψας. οἱ δὲ αἰδοῖ καὶ ἐλέφω παραμένοντες εὔμαρέστερον ἄκοντες ἐποίησαν τοῖς σφαγεῦσι τὸν στρατηγὸν εὑρεῖν.

18. Ἀννᾶλιν ἔτερον στρατηγόν, τῷ παιδὶ μετιόντι ταμείαν συμπεριθέοντα καὶ τοὺς ψηφιούμένους παρακαλοῦντα, οἵ τε συνόντες φίλοι καὶ οἱ τὰ σημεῖα τῆς ἀρχῆς φέροντες ἀπεδίδρασκον, πυθόμενοι προσγεγράφθαι τοῖς πίναξι τὸν Ἀννᾶλιν. ὁ δὲ ἐς πελάτην ἔαυτοῦ τινα φυγῶν, ὡς βραχὺν καὶ εὐτελὲς ἦν τέγος ἐν προαστείᾳ καὶ διὰ πάντα εὐκαταφρόνητον, ἐκρύπτετο ἀσφαλῶς, μέχρι τοὺς σφαγέας ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ, τὴν φυγὴν ἐς τὸν πελάτην ὑποτοπίσας, ὠδήγησεν ὑπὸ τὸ τέγος,

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

friends, believing that he should not have many CHAP.
more opportunities for doing so. Soldiers burst in
while the feast was going on, some of the guests
started up in tumultuous alarm, but the centurion in
command ordered them to resume their places and
remain quiet. Then, seizing Salvius by the hair,
just as he was, the centurion drew him as far as need
be across the table, cut off his head, and ordered the
guests to stay where they were and make no
disturbance, unless they wished to suffer a like fate.
So they remained even after the centurion's de-
parture, stupefied and speechless, till the most silent
watches of the night, reclining by the tribune's head-
less body. The second one slain was the praetor
Minucius, who was holding the comitia in the forum.
Learning that the soldiers were seeking him, he leapt
up, and while he was still running about looking for a
hiding-place he changed his clothes, and then darted
into a shop, sending away his attendants and the
insignia of his office. The attendants, moved by
shame and pity, lingered near the place, and thus
unintentionally made the discovery of the praetor
more easy to his slayers.

18. Annalis, another praetor, was going around with his son, who was a candidate for the quaestorship, and soliciting votes for him. Some friends who accompanied Annalis, and those who bore his insignia of office, when they heard that he was on the list of the proscribed, ran away from him. Annalis took refuge with one of his clients, who had in the suburbs a small, mean apartment in every way despicable, where he remained safely concealed until his son, suspecting that he had fled to this client, guided the murderers to the place. The

Annalis and
Thuranius
betrayed by
their sons

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. καὶ παρὰ τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν τήν τε οὐσίαν ἔλαβε
IV τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ ἐς ἀγορανομίαν ἤρέθη. ἀναλύοντα
δὲ αὐτὸν ἐκ μέθης στρατιώται τι προσκρούσαντες
ἔκτειναν, οὐ καὶ τὸν πατέρα ἀνηρήκεσαν.

Θουράνιος δὲ οὐ στρατηγῶν μὲν ἔτι, ἀλλ' ἐστρατηγηκώς, πατὴρ δὲ νεανίου τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἀκολάστου, δυναστεύοντος δὲ παρ' Ἀντωνίῳ, τοὺς λοχαγοὺς ἡξίου τὴν σφαγὴν ἐπισχεῖν οἱ πρὸς ὀλίγον, ἔστε αὐτὸν ὁ υἱὸς αἰτήσαιτο παρ' Ἀντωνίου. οἱ δ' ἐπιγελάσαντες “ἥτησεν,” εἶπον, “ἄλλ' ἐπὶ θάτερα.” καὶ συνεὶς ὁ πρεσβύτης ἔτερον αὐτίκα βραχύτατον ἥτει διάστημα, μέχρις οὐ τὴν θυγατέρα ἴδοι. ἴδων δὲ ἐκέλευε μὴ μετασχεῖν τῶν πατρῷων, μὴ κάκείνην ὁ ἀδελφὸς αἰτήσαιτο παρὰ Ἀντωνίου. συνέβη δὲ καὶ τῷδε τὴν οὐσίαν ἐς αἰσχρὰ δαπανῆσαι καὶ κλοπῆς ἀλόντι φυγεῖν ἐκ καταδίκης.

19. Κικέρων δέ, δις μετὰ Γάιου Καίσαρα ἰσχυσεν, ὅση γένοιτο ἀν δημαγωγοῦ μοναρχία, κατέγνωστο μὲν ἄμα τῷ παιδὶ καὶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ καὶ τῷ παιδὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ καὶ πᾶσιν οἰκείοις τε καὶ στασιώταις καὶ φίλοις· φυγὼν δὲ ἐπὶ σκάφους οὐκ ἔφερε τὴν ἀηδίαν τοῦ κλύδωνος, ἀλλὰ εἰς ἴδιον χωρίον, δικαθέεις τοῦδε τοῦ πάθους εἴδον, ἀμφὶ Καιητην πόλιν τῆς Ἰταλίας, καταχθεὶς ἤρεμει. πλησιαζόντων δὲ τῶν ἐρευνωμένων (τοῦτον γὰρ δὴ φιλοτιμότατα πάντων Ἀντώνιος τε ἐξήτει καὶ Ἀντωνίῳ πάντες) ἐς τὸ δωμάτιον αὐτοῦ κόρακες ἐσπτάντες ἔκλαζον, ἐπεγείροντες ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕπνου,

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

triumvirs gave him his father's fortune and raised him to the aedileship. As he was returning home drunk he fell into a quarrel about something, and was killed by the same soldiers who had killed his father.

IV

Thuranius, who was not then praetor but had been, and who was the father of a young man who was a scapegrace generally, but had great influence with Antony, asked the centurions to postpone his death for a short time, till his son could appeal to Antony for him. They laughed at him, and said, "He has already appealed, but on the other side." When the old man knew this he asked for another very short interval until he could see his daughter, and when he saw her he told her not to claim her share of the inheritance lest her brother should ask for her death also from Antony. It happened that this man too, after squandering his fortune in disgraceful ways, in the end was convicted of theft and sentenced to banishment.

19. Cicero, who had held supreme power after Caesar's death, as much as a public speaker could, was proscribed, together with his son, his brother, and his brother's son and all his household, his faction, and his friends. He fled in a small boat, but as he could not endure the sea-sickness, he landed and went to a country place of his own near Caieta, a town of Italy, which I visited to gain knowledge of this lamentable affair, and here he remained quiet. While the searchers were approaching (for of all others Antony sought for him most eagerly and the rest did so for Antony's sake), ravens flew into his chamber and awakened him from sleep by their croaking, and pulled off his

Flight and
pursuit of
Cicero

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. καὶ τὸ ἴμάτιον ἀπέσυρον ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος, ἔως οἱ
 IV θεράποντες, σημηνάμενοι τὸ γιγνόμενον εἶναι
 σύμβολον ἔκ του θεῶν, ἐς φορεῖον ἐσθέμενοι τὸν
 Κικέρωνα αὐθις ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἥγον διὰ
 λόχμης βαθείας λαυθάνοντες. πολλῶν δὲ ἀνὰ
 μέρη διαθεόντων τε καὶ πυνθανομένων, εἴ που
 Κικέρων ὄραθείη, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἐπ' εὔνοίᾳ καὶ
 ἐλέῳ πλεῖν αὐτὸν ἔξαναχθέντα ἔλεγον ἥδη,
 σκυτοτόμος δὲ πελάτης Κλωδίου, πικροτάτου τῷ
 Κικέρωνι ἔχθροῦ γεγονότος, Λαίνα τῷ λοχαγῷ
 σὺν ὀλίγοις ὅντι τὴν ἀτραπὸν ἔδειξεν. ὁ δὲ
 ἐπέδραμέ τε καὶ θεράποντας ἵδων πολὺ πλείους
 τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ὄρμωντας ἐς ἄμυναν, στρατη-
 γικῶς μάλα ἀνεβόησεν· “ἐσελθέτωσαν ἐς τὸ
 χωρίον οἱ περὶ οὐρὰν λοχαγοί·”

Τότε γάρ οἱ μὲν θεράποντες ὡς ἐλευσομένων
 πλεόνων κατεπλάγησαν, 20. ὁ δὲ Λαίνας, καὶ
 δίκην τινὰ διὰ τοῦ Κικέρωνός ποτε κατωρθωκώς,
 ἐκ τοῦ φορείου τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐπισπάσας ἀπέ-
 τεμνεν, ἐς τρὶς ἐπιπλήσσων καὶ ἐκδιαπρίζων ὑπὸ¹
 ἀπειρίας ἀπέτεμε δὲ καὶ τὴν χεῖρα, ἥ τοὺς κατὰ
 Ἀντωνίου λόγους οὐα τυράννου συγγράφων, ἐς
 μίμημα τῶν Δημοσθένους, Φιλιππικούς ἐπέγρα-
 φεν. ἔθεον δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ ἵππων, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ νεῶν,
 αὐτίκα τὸ εὐαγγέλιον Ἀντωνίῳ διαφέροντες· καὶ
 ὁ Λαίνας ἐν ἀγορᾷ προκαθημένῳ τὴν κεφαλὴν
 καὶ τὴν χεῖρα μακρόθεν ἀνέσειεν ἐπιδεικνύς. ὁ δὲ
 ἥσθη μᾶλιστα καὶ τὸν λοχαγὸν ἐστεφάνωσε
 καὶ πλέοσι τῶν ἄθλων ἐδωρήσατο πέντε καὶ
 εἴκοσι μυριάσιν Ἀττικῶν δραχμῶν ὡς μέγισ-
 τον δὴ τόνδε πάντων ἔχθρὸν καὶ πολεμιώτατόν οἱ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

bed-covering, until his servants, divining that this CHAP.
was a warning from one of the gods, put him in a litter and again conveyed him toward the sea, going
cautiously through a dense thicket. Many soldiers
were hurrying around in squads inquiring if Cicero
had been seen anywhere. Some people, moved by
good-will and pity, said that he had already put to
sea; but a shoemaker, a client of Clodius, who had
been a most bitter enemy of Cicero, pointed out the
path to Laena, the centurion, who was pursuing with
a small force. The latter ran after him, and seeing
slaves mustering for the defence in much larger
number than the force under his own command, he
called out by way of stratagem, "Centurions in the
rear, to the front!"

Thereupon the slaves, thinking that more soldiers
were coming, were terror-stricken, 20. and Laena,
although he had been once saved by Cicero when
under trial, drew his head out of the litter and cut it
off, striking it three times, or rather sawing it off by
reason of his inexperience. He also cut off the
hand with which Cicero had written the speeches
against Antony as a tyrant, which he had entitled
Philippies in imitation of those of Demosthenes.
Then some of the soldiers hastened on horseback
and others on shipboard to convey the good news
quickly to Antony. The latter was sitting in front
of the tribunal in the forum when Laena, a long
distance off, shewed him the head and hand by lift-
ing them up and shaking them. Antony was
delighted beyond measure. He crowned the cen-
turion and gave him 250,000 Attic drachmas in
addition to the stipulated reward for killing the man
who had been his greatest and most bitter enemy.

He is
cruelly
killed

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. γενόμενον ἀνελόντα. ή κεφαλὴ δὲ τοῦ Κικέρωνος
IV καὶ ἡ χεὶρ ἐν ἀγορᾷ τοῦ βῆματος ἀπεκρέμαντο
ἐπὶ πλεῖστον, ἔνθα πρότερον ὁ Κικέρων ἐδημη-
γόρει· καὶ πλείους ὄψόμενοι συνέθεον ἡ ἀκροώ-
μενοι. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς διαιτῆς ὁ Ἀντώνιος
τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ Κικέρωνος θέσθαι πρὸ τῆς
τραπέζης, μέχρι κόρου ἔσχε τῆς θέας τοῦ κακοῦ.

*Ωδε μὲν δὴ Κικέρων, ἐπὶ τε λόγοις ἀοίδιμος
ἔστι νῦν ἀνήρ, καὶ ὅτε ἥρχε τὴν ὑπατον ἀρχήν,
ἔστι τὰ μέγιστα τῇ πατρίδι γεγονὼς χρήσιμος,
ἀνήρητο καὶ ἀνηρημένος ἐνυβρίζετο· ὁ δὲ παῖς ἔστι
τὴν Ἑλλάδα προαπέσταλτο ἐς Βρούτον. Κόιντος
δέ, ὁ τοῦ Κικέρωνος ἀδελφός, ἀμα τῷ παιδὶ κατα-
ληφθεὶς ἐδεῦτο τῶν σφαγέων πρὸ τοῦ παιδὸς
αὐτὸν ἀνελεῖν· τὰ δὲ ἐναντίᾳ καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς
ἰκετεύοντος, οἱ σφαγεῖς ἔφασαν ἀμφοτέροις διαι-
τήσειν καὶ διαλαβόντες ἔτερον ἔτεροι κατὰ
σύνθημα φονεῖς ἀνεῖλον ὅμοι.

21. Ἐγνάτιοι δέ, πατὴρ καὶ νιός, συμφυέντες
ἄλληλοις διὰ μιᾶς πληγῆς ἀπέθανον· καὶ αὐτῶν
αἱ κεφαλαὶ μὲν ἀπετέμηντο, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ
σώματα ἔτι συνεπέπλεκτο. Βάλβος τὸν νιόν,
ίνα μὴ βαδίζοντες ὅμοι φανεροὶ γένοιντο,
προύπεμψεν ἐς φυγὴν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν καὶ
μετ' ὀλίγον εἴπετο ἐκ διαστήματος. ἔξαγγει-
λαντος δέ τινος, εἴτε ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς εἴθ' ὑπ'
ἀγνοίας, τὸν νιὸν συνειλῆφθαι, ἐπανῆλθε καὶ
τοὺς σφαγέας μετεπέμψατο. συνέβη δὲ καὶ
τὸν παῖδα ἀπολέσθαι ναυαγίῳ· οὕτω ταῖς τότε
συμφοραῖς καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον ἐπέκειτο. Ἀρρούν-
τιος τὸν νιόν, οὐχ ὑφιστάμενον φεύγειν χωρὶς
αὐτοῦ, μόλις ἐπεισεν ὡς νέον περισφέζειν ἐαυτόν.

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

The head and hand of Cicero were suspended for a CHAP.
long time from the rostra in the forum where formerly he had been accustomed to make public speeches, and more people came together to behold this spectacle than had previously come to listen to him. It is said that even at his meals Antony placed the head of Cicero before his table, until he became satiated with the horrid sight.

His head
and hand
suspended
from the
rostra

Thus was Cicero, a man famous even yet for his eloquence, and one who had rendered the greatest service to his country when he held the office of consul, slain, and insulted after his death. His son had been sent in advance to Brutus in Greece. Cicero's brother, Quintus, was captured, together with his son. He begged the murderers to kill him before his son, and the son prayed that he might be killed before his father. The murderers said that they would grant both requests, and, dividing themselves into two parties, each taking one, killed them at the same time at a given signal.

21. The Egnatii, father and son, while embracing each other, died by one blow, and their heads were cut off while the remainder of their bodies was still locked together. Balbus sent his son in advance of himself in flight toward the sea in order that they might not be too conspicuous travelling together, and he followed at a short interval. Somebody told him, either by design or by mistake, that his son had been captured. He went back and delivered himself to the murderers. It happened, too, that his son perished by shipwreck. Thus did evil destiny increase the calamities of the time. Aruntius had a son who was not willing to fly without his father. The latter with difficulty persuaded him to

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. καὶ τόνδε μὲν ἡ μήτηρ ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας προύπεμψε
^{IV} καὶ ὑπέστρεψεν, ἵνα ἀνηρημένου τὸν ἄνδρα θά-
ψειε· πυθομένη δὲ καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ὑπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης
διεφθάρθαι λιμῷ διεχρήσατο ἕαυτήν.

Αἴδε μὲν δὴ παίδων ἀγαθῶν καὶ κακῶν ἔστων
εἰκόνες· 22. ἀδελφοὶ δὲ δύο ὁμοῦ προγραφέντες,
οἱς ὄνομα ἦν Λιγάριοι, ἐκρύπτοντο ὑπὸ ἵπνῳ,
μέχρι τῶν θεραπόντων αὐτοὺς ἀνευρόντων ὁ μὲν
αὐτίκα ἀνηρέθη, ὁ δὲ ἐκφυγών, ἐπεὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν
ἔγνω διεφθαρμένου, ἔρριψεν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ ποτα-
μοῦ τῆς γεφύρας ἐς τὸ ρέūμα. καὶ αὐτὸν ἀλιέων
περισχόντων ὡς οὐκ ἐναλάμενον, ἀλλὰ πεπτω-
κότα, ἐς πολὺ μὲν ἐφίλονίκει καὶ ἕαυτὸν ἐς τὸ
ρέūμα ἐώθει, ἡσσώμενος δὲ τῶν ἀλιέων περιε-
γύγνετο καὶ “οὐκ ἐμέ,” ἔφη, “περισφέζετε, ἀλλ’
ἕαυτοὺς ἐμοὶ προγεγραμμένῳ συναπόλλυτε.” οἱ
δὲ καὶ ὡς αὐτὸν οἰκτείραντες περιέσφεζον, μέχρι
τινὲς τῶν στρατιωτῶν, οἱ τὴν γέφυραν ἐτήρουν,
ἰδόντες ἐπέδραμόν τε καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπέτεμον.
ἐτέρων δὲ ἀδελφῶν ὁ μὲν αὐτὸν ἔρριψε κατὰ τοῦ
ρέūματος, καὶ θεράπων αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα ἀνεξήτει
μέχρι πέμπτης ἡμέρας, εὔρων δὲ ἔτι γνωρίζεσθαι
δυναμένου, τὴν κεφαλὴν διὰ τὸ ἀθλον ἀπέκοψε·
τὸν δὲ ἔτερον ἐν κοπρῶν κρυπτόμενον ἔτερος
ἐμήνυσε θεράπων, καὶ οἱ σφαγεῖς εἰσελθεῖν μὲν
ἀπηξίωσαν, δόρασι δὲ περικεντοῦντες ἔξήγαγον καί,
ὡς εἶχε, τὴν κεφαλὴν οὐδὲ ἀπονίψαντες ἀπέκο-
ψαν. ἔτερος δέ, τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ συλλαμβανομένου,
προσδραμὼν ἀγνοίᾳ τοῦ καὶ αὐτὸς ἄμα ἐκείνῳ
προγεγράφθαι, “ἐμέ,” ἔφη, “κτείνατε πρὸ τούτου.”

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

seek his safety because he was young. His mother CHAP. accompanied him to the city gates and returned only to bury her slain husband. When she learned that her son also had perished at sea she starved herself to death.

Let these serve as examples of sons good and bad. The two Ligarii 22. As for brothers, two of the name of Ligarius, being proscribed together, hid themselves in an oven till their slaves found them, when one of them was killed and the other fled; when he learned that his brother had perished he threw himself from the bridge into the Tiber. Some fishermen seized him thinking that he had fallen into the water instead of leaping in. He stoutly resisted rescue and tried to throw himself into the river again; but when he was overcome by the fishermen he exclaimed "You are not saving me, but ruining yourselves by helping one who is proscribed." Nevertheless they had pity on him and saved him until some soldiers who were guarding the bridge saw him, ran to him, and cut off his head. One of two other brothers threw himself into the river and one of his slaves searched for the body five days. At last he found it, and as it was still possible to recognize it, he cut off the head for the sake of the reward. The other brother had concealed himself in a dung-heap and another slave betrayed him. The murderers disdained to go into the heap, but thrust their spears into him and dragged him out, and then cut off his head, just as he was, without even washing it. Another one seeing his brother arrested ran up to him, not knowing that he was himself proscribed also, and said, "Kill me

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. καὶ ὁ λοχαγὸς ἔχων τὸ ἀκριβὲς ἀνάγραπτον,
^{IV} “εἰκότα ἀξιοῖς,” ἔφη· “σὺ γὰρ πρὸ τούτου
 γέγραψαι,” καὶ εἰπὼν κατὰ τὴν τάξιν ἔκτεινεν
 ἄμφω.

23. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ καὶ ἀδελφῶν δείγματα·
 Λιγάριον δὲ ἡ γυνὴ κρύπτουσα μίαν ἐσ τὸ ἀπόρ-
 ρητον ἐπηγάγετο θεράπαιναν, προδοθεῖσα δὲ ὑπ’
 αὐτῆς εἴπετο τῇ κεφαλῇ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς φερομένη
 βοῶσα· “ἐγὼ τοῦτον ὑπεδεξάμην, τὰ δὲ δομοια
 τοῖς ὑποδεξαμένοις ἐστὶν ἐπιτίμια.” καὶ οὐδενὸς
 αὐτὴν οὔτε ἀναιροῦντος οὔτε μηνύοντος, αὐτάγ-
 γελος ἐσ τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἥλθε καθ’ ἑαυτῆς, κάκεί-
 νων αὐτὴν διὰ τὴν φιλανδρίαν ὑπεριδόντων,
 ἑαυτὴν ἀπέκτεινε λιμῷ. καὶ τῆσδε μὲν ἐνθάδε
 ἐπεμνήσθην, ὅτι τὸν ἄνδρα περισώζουσα ἀπ-
 ετύγχανέ τε καὶ συνεξήγαγεν ἑαυτήν· ὅσαι δὲ
 ἐπέτυχον τῆς φιλανδρίας, ἐν τοῖς περισωθεῖσι
 τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀναγράψω. ἔτεραι δὲ ἀθεμίστως
 ἐπεβούλευσαν τοῖς ἀνδράσιν. καὶ αὐτῶν ἐστιν,
 ἡ Σεπτιμίῳ μὲν ἐγεγάμητο, ὑπὸ δέ τινος Ἀντωνίῳ
 φίλου διεφθείρετο· ἐπειγομένη δὲ ἐκ μοιχείας ἐσ
 γάμον ἐδεήθη διὰ τοῦ μοιχεύοντος αὐτὴν Ἀντω-
 νίου, καὶ ὁ Σεπτίμιος αὐτίκα τοῖς πίναξι προσε-
 τέθη. καὶ μαθὼν ἐσ τῆς γυναικὸς ὑπ’ ἀγνοίας τῶν
 οἴκοι κακῶν ἔφευγεν. ἡ δὲ ὡς φιλοφρονουμένη τὰς
 θύρας ἐπέκλεισε καὶ ἐτήρει τὸν ἄνδρα, ἔως οἱ
 σφαγεῖς παρεγένοντο· καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας οἱ
 μὲν ἐκεῖνον ἀνήρουν, ἡ δὲ ἔθυε γάμους.

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

before him."¹ The centurion, having the proscrip- CHAP.
tion list at hand, said, "Your request is a proper
one, for your name comes before his." And so
saying, he killed both of them in due order.

23. The above may serve as examples in the case of brothers. Ligarius was concealed by his wife, who communicated the secret to only one female slave. Having been betrayed by the latter, she followed her husband's head as it was carried away, crying out, "I sheltered him; those who give shelter are to share the punishment." As nobody killed her or informed of her, she came to the triumvirs and accused herself before them. Being moved by her love for her husband they pretended not to see her, so she starved herself to death. I have mentioned her in this place, because she failed to save her husband and would not survive him. I shall refer to those who were successful in their devotion to their husbands when I speak of the men who escaped. Other women betrayed their husbands infamously. Among these was the wife of Septimius, who had an amour with a certain friend of Antony. Being impatient to exchange this illicit connection for matrimony, she besought Antony through her paramour to rid her of her husband. Septimius was at once put on the list of the proscribed. When he learned this, in ignorance of this domestic treachery he fled to his wife's house. She, as though with loving anxiety, closed the doors, and kept him until the murderers came. The same day that her husband was killed she celebrated her new nuptials.

Septimius
betrayed by
his wife

¹ έμέ κτείνατε πρό τούτου. This may mean, "kill me before him," or "kill me instead of him." The latter was the meaning intended, but the centurion interpreted it the other way for the sake of the jest.

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. IV. 24. Σάλασσος δὲ ἐκφυγών τε καὶ ἀπορούμενος
ἡκε μὲν ἐς πόλιν νυκτός, ὅτε μάλιστα ἔδοξεν
ἀμβλύνεσθαι τὸ δεινόν, πεπραμένης δὲ τῆς οἰκίας
μόνος αὐτὸν ὁ θυρωρὸς τῇ οἰκίᾳ συμπεπραμένος
ἐπέγνω καὶ ἐς τὸ έαυτοῦ οἴκημα ὑπεδέχετο καὶ
κρύψειν ἐπηγγέλλετο καὶ θρέψειν, ἐξ ὧν ἐδύνατο.
ὁ δὲ τὴν γυναικά οἱ καλέσαι προσέταξεν ἐκ τῆς
ἐκείνης οἰκίας. ἡ δ' ὑποκριναμένη μὲν ἐλθεῖν
ἐπείγεσθαι, δεδιέναι δ' ὡς ἐν νυκτὶ καὶ θεραπαίναις
τὸ ὑποπτον, μεθ' ἡμέραν ἥξειν ἔφη. καὶ γενο-
μένης ἡμέρας ἡ μὲν τοὺς σφαγέας μετήει, καὶ ὁ
θυρωρὸς αὐτὴν ὡς βραδύνουσαν ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν
ἀπέτρεχεν ἐπείξων ὁ δὲ Σάλασσος, οἰχομένου τοῦ
θυρωροῦ δείσας ὡς ἐς ἐνέδραν ἀπιόντος, ἐς τὸ
τέγος ἀναδραμὼν ἐκαραδόκει τὸ γυνόμενον, ἵδων
δὲ οὐ τὸν θυρωρόν, ἀλλὰ τὴν γυναικα τοῖς
σφαγεῦσιν ἥγουμένην ἔρριψεν έαυτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ
τέγους. Φούλβιον δὲ ἐς θεραπαίνης φυγόντα
παλλακευθείσης τε αὐτῷ καὶ ἀπηλευθερωμένης
καὶ προΐκα ἐς γάμου ἐπιλαβούσης, ἡ τοσάδε εὖ
παθοῦσα προύδωκε ζηλοτυπίᾳ τῆς μεθ' έαυτὴν τῷ
Φούλβίῳ γεγαμημένης.

Τοσάδε μὲν δὴ καὶ γυναικῶν πονηρῶν ὑπο-
δείγματα γεγράφθω· 25. Στάτιος δὲ ὁ Σαυνίτης,
πολλὰ Σαυνίταις ἐν τῷ συμμαχικῷ πολέμῳ
κατειργασμένος, διὰ δὲ περιφάνειαν ἔργων καὶ διὰ
πλοῦτον καὶ γένος ἐς τὸ Ρωμαίων βουλευτήριον
ἀνακεκλημένος, ὄγδοηκοντούτης ὧν ἥδη καὶ διὰ
πλοῦτον προγεγραμμένος, ἀνεπέτασε τὴν οἰκίαν τῷ
τε δῆμῳ καὶ τοῖς θεράπουσιν ἐκφορεῖν, ὅσα θέλοιεν,

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

24. Salassus escaped, and, not knowing what to do with himself, came back to the city by night, thinking that the danger had mostly passed away. His house had been sold. The janitor, who had been sold with the house, was the only one who recognized him, and he received him in his room, promising to conceal him and feed him as well as he could. Salassus told the janitor to call his wife from her own house. She pretended to be very desirous to come, but to be fearful of the night and distrustful of her servants, and said that she would come at daybreak. When daylight came she went for the murderers, and the janitor, because she was delaying, ran to her house to hasten her coming, and Salassus, when he had gone out, feared that he had gone to lay a plot against him, and went up to the roof to watch what would happen. Seeing not the janitor but his wife bringing the murderers, he precipitated himself from the roof. Fulvius fled to the house of a female servant, who had been his mistress, and to whom he had given freedom and a dowry on her marriage. Although she had been so well treated by him she betrayed him on account of jealousy of the woman whom Fulvius had married after his relations with her.

Let the above suffice as examples of depraved women. 25. Statius, the Samnite, who had had great influence with the Samnites during the social war and who had been raised to the rank of a Roman senator for his noble deeds, his wealth, and his lineage, and who was now eighty years of age, was proscribed on account of his riches. He threw open his house to the people and to his own slaves to carry away whatever they pleased. He also scattered

Other
depraved
women

Statius,
Capito, and
Vetulinus

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. τὰ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς διερρίπτει, μέχρι κεκενωμένης
IV ἐπικλείσιας ἐνέπρησε καὶ ἀπώλετο, καὶ τὸ πῦρ
πολλὰ τῆς πόλεως ἄλλα ἐπενείματο. Καπίτων
δὲ ἐς πολὺ τὰς θύρας ὑπανοίγων τοὺς ἐσβιαζό-
μένους καθ' ἕνα ἀνήρει, ὑπὸ δὲ πολλῶν ἐπιθρισάν-
των εἰς ἀπέθανε πολλοὺς ἀποκτείνας. Οὐετουλῖνος
δὲ χεῖρα ἥθροισε πολλὴν ἀμφὶ τὸ 'Ρήγιον αὐτῶν·
τε τῶν προγεγραμμένων ἀνδρῶν καὶ ὅσοι συνέφευ-
γον αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ὀκτωκαίδεκα πόλεων, αἱ
τοῖς στρατοῖς ἐπινίκια ἐπηγγελμέναι πάνυ ἐδυσχέ-
ραινον. τούσδε οὖν ἔχων ὁ Οὐετουλῖνος ἀνήρει
τῶν λοχαγῶν τοὺς διαθέοντας, μέχρι πεμφθέντος
ἐπ' αὐτὸν στρατοῦ πλέονος οὐδὲν ὡς ἔλληξεν, ἀλλ'
ἐς Σικελίαν πρὸς Πομπήιον, κρατοῦντά τε αὐτῆς
καὶ τοὺς φεύγοντας ὑποδεχόμενον, ἐπέρασεν. εἴτα
ἐπολέμει καρτερῶς, μέχρι πολλαῖς μάχαις ἡσσώ-
μενος τὸν μὲν νίδην καὶ ὅσοι τῶν προγεγραμμένων
ἄλλοι συνῆσαν, ἐπὶ Μεσσήνης ἐπεμψεν, αὐτὸς δέ,
ὡς εἶδε πορθμευόμενον ἦδη τὸ σκάφος, ἐμπεσὼν
τοῖς πολεμοῖς κατεκόπη.

26. Νάσων δὲ ὑπὸ ἔξελευθέρου, παιδικῶν οἱ
γενομένου, προδοθεὶς ἥρπασε παρά τον τῶν
στρατιωτῶν ξίφος καὶ τὸν προδότην μόνον ἀπο-
κτείνας ἑαυτὸν τοῖς σφαγεῦσιν ὑπέσχε. φιλοδέ-
σποτος δὲ οἰκέτης τὸν κεκτημένον ἐπὶ λόφου
ἐκάθισε καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ἦει μισθωσό-
μενος αὐτῷ σκάφος. ἐπανιὼν δὲ κτεινόμενόν τε
εἶδε τὸν δεσπότην καὶ ἀποψύχοντος ἦδη μέγα
βοῶν "ἐπίμεινον ἐς βραχύ, ὡ δέσποτα," εἶπε καὶ
κτείνει τὸν λοχαγὸν ἐμπεσὼν ἄφνω. μετὰ δὲ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

his property around with his own hand. When at CHAP.
last the house was empty he closed the doors, set ^{IV} fire to it, and perished, and the fire spread to many other parts of the city. Capito, through his half-opened door, for a long time resisted those who had been sent against him, killing them one by one. Finally, he was overpowered by numbers and slain after killing single-handed many of his assailants. Vetulinus assembled around Rhegium a large force of the proscribed and those who had fled with them, and others from the eighteen cities which had been promised as rewards of victory to the soldiers and who were indignant at such treatment. With these men Vetulinus slew the centurions who were scouting thereabouts, until a larger force was sent against him, and even then he did not desist, but passed over to Sicily and joined Sextus Pompeius, who was master of that island and who received the fugitives. There he fought bravely until he was defeated in several engagements. Then he sent his son and the remainder of the proscribed who were with him to Messana, and when he saw that their boat was passing the straits he dashed upon the enemy and was cut in pieces.

26. Naso, having been betrayed by a freedman who had been his favourite, snatched a sword from one of the soldiers, and, having killed his betrayer with it, surrendered himself to the murderers. A slave who was devoted to his master left the latter on a hill while he went to the sea-shore to hire a boat. On his return he saw his master being killed, and while he was breathing his last the slave called out to him, "Wait a moment, my master," whereupon he fell suddenly upon the

Servants
and their
masters

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. έκεινον ἔαυτὸν ἐπαναιρῶν εἶπε τῷ δεσπότῃ
IV “παραμύθιον ἔχεις.” Λεύκιος δὲ δύο πιστοτάτοις
ἀπελευθέροις χρυσίον δοὺς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ἦει,
διαδράντων δὲ ἐκείνων ὑπέστρεψε καταγινώσκων
τοῦ βίου καὶ ἔαυτὸν ἐμήνυσε τοῖς σφαγεῦσι.
Λαβιηνὸς δὲ ἐν ταῖς Σύλλα προγραφαῖς πολλοὺς
τῶν τότε συλλαβών τε καὶ κτείνας ἥδοξησεν ἄρα,
εἰ μὴ τὰ ὅμοια γενναίως ἐνέγκοι, καὶ προελθὼν
τῆς οἰκίας ἐκαθέζετο ἐπὶ θρόνου τοὺς σφαγέας
περιμένων. Κέστιος δὲ ἐν χωρίοις παρὰ εὐνόοις
θεράπουσιν ἐκρύπτετο, λοχαγῶν δ' αἱεὶ σὺν
ὅπλοις ἡ κεφαλᾶς διαθεόντων οὐκ ἔφερε τὸ μῆκος
τοῦ φόβου, ἀλλ' ἔπεισε τοὺς θεράποντας ἄψαι
πυράν, ἵνα ἔχοιεν λέγειν, ὅτι Κέστιον ἀποθανόντα
θάπτοιεν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐνεδρευθέντες ἤφαν, ὁ δὲ
ἔσήλατο ἐς αὐτήν. Ἀπώνιος δὲ ἀσφαλῶς ἔαυ-
τὸν ἐπικρύψας οὐκ ἦνεγκε τὴν πονηρίαν τῆς
διαίτης, ἀλλὰ προήγαγεν ἔαυτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν σφαγήν.
ἄλλος ἐν φανερῷ καθῆστο ἐκῶν καὶ βραδυνόντων
τῶν σφαγέων ἀπήγξατο ἐν μέσῳ.

27. Λεύκιος δὲ ὁ Ἀσινίον τοῦ ὑπατεύοντος
τότε πενθερός, φεύγων διὰ θαλάσσης, οὐ φέρων
τοῦ χειμῶνος τὴν ἀηδίαν ἔρριψεν ἔαυτὸν εἰς τὸ
πέλαγος. Καισέννιον δὲ οἱ διώκοντες, ὑποφεύ-
γοντά τε καὶ βιωντα oύ προγεγράφθαι, ἀλλὰ διὰ
τὰ χρήματα ἐπιβουλεύεσθαι πρὸς αὐτῶν, ἐπὶ<sup>τὸν πίνακα ἀγαγόντες ἀναγινώσκειν ἔαυτοῦ τὸ
ὄνομα ἐκέλευον καὶ ἀναγινώσκοντα ἔκτειναν.</sup>

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

centurion and slew him. Then he killed himself, CHAP.
saying to his master, "Now you have consolation." ^{IV}
Lucius put money in the hands of his two most
faithful freedmen and started for the sea-shore.
They ran away with it, and he turned around,
despairing of his life, and gave himself up to the
murderers. Labienus, who had captured and killed
many persons in the time of the proscription of
Sulla, thought that he would be disgraced if he
did not bear a like fate bravely. So he went
to his front door, seated himself in a chair, and
waited for the murderers. Cestius concealed him-
self in the fields among faithful slaves. When he
saw centurions running hither and thither with
weapons and the heads of the proscribed he could
not endure the prolonged fear. He persuaded
the slaves to light a funeral pyre, so that they might
say that they were paying the last rites to the dead
Cestius. They were deceived by him and lighted
the pyre accordingly, whereupon he leaped into it.
Aponius concealed himself securely, but, as he could
not endure the meanness of his mode of existence,
he came forth and delivered himself to slaughter.
Another proscript voluntarily seated himself in full
view, and, as the murderers delayed their coming,
he strangled himself in public.

27. Lucius, the father-in-law of Asinius, who was
then consul, fled by sea, but, as he could not bear
the anguish of the tempest he leaped overboard.
Caesennius fled from his pursuers, exclaiming that he
was not proscribed, but that they had conspired
against him on account of his money. They brought
him to the proscription list and told him to read his
name on it, and while he was reading killed him.

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. Αἰμίλιος δὲ ἀγνοῶν, ὅτι προγέγραπται, διωκό-
^{IV} μενον ἄλλον ἵδων ἥρετο τὸν λοχαγὸν τὸν διώ-
κοντα, τίς ὁ προγεγραμμένος εἴη· καὶ ὁ λοχαγὸς
τὸν Αἰμίλιον γνωρίσας "σὺ κάκεῖνος" εἶπε καὶ
τοὺς δύο ἀπέκτεινε. Κίλλων δὲ ἐκ τοῦ βουλευ-
τηρίου προϊὼν καὶ Δέκιος, ἐπεὶ τοῖς πίναξιν ἐπύ-
θοντο σφῶν τὰ ὀνόματα πρσγεγράφθαι, οὕπω
τινὸς ἐπιόντος αὐτοῖς, ἔφευγον ἀκόσμως διὰ
πυλῶν, καὶ αὐτοὺς τοῖς ἀπαντῶσι τῶν λοχαγῶν
αὐτὸς ὁ δρόμος ἐμήνυσεν.

'Ικέλιος δέ, ὃς ἐπὶ Βρούτῳ τε καὶ Κασσίφ
δικάζων, Καίσαρος τοῖς δικαστηρίοις μετὰ στρα-
τιᾶς ἐφεστῶτος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δικαστῶν κρύφα
τὴν καταδικάζουσαν φερόντων, μόνος τὴν ἀπο-
λύουσαν ἥνεγκε φανερῶς, ἐκλαθόμενος τῆς μεγα-
λόφρονος ἐλευθεριότητος, νεκρὸν σῶμα ἐκκομι-
ζόμενον ὑποστὰς τοῖς φέρουσι συνεβάσταζε τὸ
λέχος. ἴδοντων δὲ τῶν φρουρούντων τὰς πύλας,
ὅτι πλεονάζουσιν οἱ νεκροφόροι παρὰ τὸ σύνηθες
ἐνὶ ἀνδρί, καὶ τοὺς μὲν φέροντας οὐχ ὑπονοούντων,
τὸ δὲ λέχος ἐρευνωμένων, μὴ νεκρὸν τις ὑποκρί-
νοιτο, οἱ νεκροφόροι τὸν Ἰκέλιον ἥλεγχον οὐχ
ὅμοτεχνον σφίσιν ὄντα, ἐπιγνωσθέντα τε οἱ
σφαγεῖς ἀπέκτειναν.

28. Οὐâρος δ' ἀπελευθέρου προδιδόντος αὐτὸν
ἀπέδρα, καὶ ὅρος ἐξ ὄρους ἀμείβων ἐς τὸ Μιντουρ-
ναίων ἔλος ἐνέπεσεν, ἔνθα ἐαυτὸν διαναπαύων
ἥσυχαζε. τῶν δὲ Μιντουρναίων ἐπὶ ζητήσει
ληστηρίου τὸ ἔλος περιθεόντων, ἦ τε κόμη τοῦ
δόνακος σαλευθεῖσα ἐνέφηνε τὸν Οὐâρον, καὶ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

Aemilius, not knowing that he was proscribed and seeing another man pursued, asked the pursuing centurion who the proscribed man was. The centurion, recognizing Aemilius, replied, "You and he," and killed them both. Cillo and Decius were going out of the senate-house when they learned that their names had been added to the list of the proscribed, but no one had yet gone in pursuit of them. They fled incontinently through the city gates, and their running betrayed them to the centurions whom they met on the road.

Icelius, who was one of the judges in the trial of Brutus and Cassius, when Octavian was supervising the tribunal with his army, and who, when all the other judges deposited secret ballots of condemnation, alone publicly deposited one of acquittal, now unmindful of his former magnanimity and independence, put his shoulder under a dead body that was being conveyed to burial, and took a place among the carriers of the bier. The guards at the city gates noticed that the number of corpse-bearers was greater by one man than usual, but they did not suspect the bearers. They only searched the bier to make sure that it was not somebody counterfeiting a corpse, but, as the bearers convicted Icelius as not being a member of their trade, he was recognized by the murderers and killed.

28. Varus, who was betrayed by a freedman, ran away, and after wandering from mountain to mountain came to the marsh at Minturnae, where he stopped to take rest. The inhabitants of Minturnae were scouring this marsh in search of robbers, and the agitation of the reeds revealed the hiding-place of Varus. He was captured and

The cases
of Varus
and Largus

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. ληφθεὶς ἔλεγεν εἶναι ληστῆς καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε
IV θανάτῳ καταδικαζόμενος ἦνείχετο. ὡς δὲ αὐτὸν
ἔμελλον καὶ βασανιεῦν ἐς τοὺς συνεγνωκότας,
οὐκ ἐνεγκὼν ἥδη τοῦτο ὡς ἀπρεπέστερον, “ἀπα-
γορεύω,” φησίν, “ὑμῖν, ὡς Μιντουρναῖοι, ὑπατόν
με γεγενημένον, καί, ὃ τοῖς νῦν ἄρχουσι τιμιώτερόν
ἐστι, προγεγραμμένον μήτε βασανίζειν μήτε
ἀναιρεῖν ἔτι εἰ γὰρ οὐκ ἔνι μοι διαφυγεῖν,
ἄμεινον ὑπὸ τῶν ὁμοτίμων παθεῖν.” ἀπιστούν-
των δὲ τῶν Μιντουρναίων καὶ τὸν λόγον ὑπο-
νοούντων λοχαγὸς ἐπέγνω διαθέων καὶ τὴν κεφα-
λὴν ἀπέτεμε, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν σῶμα τοῖς Μιντουρ-
ναίοις κατέλιπε.

Λάργον ἔτεροι συνελάμβανον ἐν χωρίοις, οὐ
Λάργον, ἀλλ’ ἔτερον διώκοντες· οἰκτείραντες δ’,
ὅτι μὴ ζητούμενος ἀλοίη, φεύγειν μεθῆκαν ἀνὰ
τὴν ὕλην. ὁ δὲ ὑφ’ ἔτέρων διωκόμενος δρόμῳ
τοὺς προτέρους κατέλαβε καί “ὑμεῖς,” ἔφη, “με
κτείνατε μᾶλλον, οἱ ἐλεήσαντες, ἵνα τὸν μισθὸν
ἀντὶ τούτων ὑμεῖς φέρησθε.”

‘Ο μὲν δὴ ταύτην ἔδωκεν ἀμοιβὴν ἀποθυήσκων
φιλανθρωπίας, 29. ‘Ροῦφος δὲ ἔχων συνοικίαν
περικαλλῆ, γείτονα Φουλβίας τῆς γυναικὸς
Ἀντωνίου, πάλαι μὲν ἀξιούσῃ τῇ Φουλβίᾳ
πρίασθαι τὴν οἰκίαν οὐ συνεχώρει, τότε δὲ καὶ
δωρούμενος προεγράφη. καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ὁ μὲν
Ἀντώνιός οἱ προσφερομένην οὐχ ἔαυτῷ προσήκειν
εἰπὼν ἐπεμψεν ἐς τὴν γυναικά, ἡ δὲ ἀντὶ τῆς
ἀγορᾶς ἐκέλευσεν ἐπὶ τῆς συνοικίας προτεθῆναι.
ἔπαυλιν ἔτερος εἶχε περικαλλῆ καὶ σύσκιψ,

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

said that he was a robber. He was condemned to death on this ground and resigned himself, but as they were preparing to subject him to torture to compel him to reveal his accomplices, he could not bear such an indignity. "I forbid you, citizens of Minturnae," he said, "either to torture or to kill one who has been a consul and—what is more important in the eyes of our present rulers—also proscribed! If it is not permitted me to escape, I prefer to suffer at the hands of my equals." The Minturnians did not believe him. They discredited his story until a centurion, who was scouting in that neighbourhood, recognized him, and cut off his head, leaving the remainder of his body to the Minturnians.

Largus was captured in the fields by soldiers who were pursuing another man. They took pity on him because he had been captured when they were not seeking him, and allowed him to escape in the forest. Being pursued by others, he ran back to his first captors, saying, "I would rather that you, who had compassion on me, should kill me, so that you may have the reward instead of those men."

Thus Largus recompensed them with his death for their kindness to him. 29. As for Rufus, he possessed a handsome mansion near that of Fulvia, the wife of Antony, which she had wanted to buy, but he would not sell it, and although he now offered it to her as a free gift, he was proscribed. His head was brought to Antony, who said it did not concern him and sent it to his wife. She ordered that it be fastened to the front of his own house instead of the rostra. Another man had a very handsome and well-shaded country-place

Rufus
proscribed
for the sake
of his house

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. ἄντρου τε καλὸν ἦν ἀντῆ καὶ βαθύ, καὶ τάχα
IV διὰ ταῦτα καὶ προυγράφη. ἔτυχε δὲ ἀναψύχων
κατὰ τὸ ἄντρον, καὶ αὐτῷ τῶν σφαγέων ἔτι
μακρόθεν ἐπιθεόντων θεράπων αὐτὸν ἐς τὸν μυχὸν
τοῦ ἄντρου προπέμψας ἐνέδυ τὸν τοῦ δεσπότου
χιτωνίσκον καὶ ὑπεκρίνετο ἐκεῖνος εἶναι καὶ
δεδιέναι· καὶ τάχα ἀν ἐπέτυχεν ἀναιρεθεῖς, εἰ μὴ
τῶν ὁμοδούλων τις ἐνέφηνε τὴν ἐνέδραν. ἀναιρε-
θέντος δὲ ὡδε τοῦ δεσπότου, ὁ δῆμος ἀγανακτῶν
παρὰ τοῖς ἄρχουσιν οὐκ ἐπαύετο, μέχρι τὸν μὲν
ἐνδείξαντα κρεμασθῆναι, τὸν δὲ περισώσαντα
ἔλευθερῶσαι ἐποίησεν. Ἀτέριον δὲ κρυπτόμενον
θεράπων ἐμήνυσέ τε καὶ ἐλεύθερος αὐτίκα γενό-
μενος ἀντωνεῖτο τοῖς παισὶν αὐτοῦ τὴν οὔσιαν
καὶ ἐνύβριζεν ἐπαχθῶς. οἱ δὲ αὐτῷ πανταχῇ
μετὰ συγῆς εἴποντο κλαίοντες, ἔως ὁ δῆμος
ἡγανάκτησε, καὶ οἱ τρεῖς αὐτόν, ὡς πλεονάσαντα
τῆς χρείας, ἀνέδούλωσαν τοῖς παισὶ τοῦ προγε-
γραμμένου.

V

CAP. 30. Περὶ μὲν δὴ τοὺς ἄνδρας τοιάδε ἐγίγνετο,
V ἥψατο δὲ καὶ ὄρφανῶν διὰ πλοῦτον ἡ τότε τύχη.
καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐς διδασκάλου φοιτῶν αὐτῷ παιδα-
γωγῷ συνανηρέθη, τὸν πᾶντα περισχομένῳ τε καὶ
οὐ μεθιέντι· Ἀτίλιος δὲ ἄρτι τὴν τῶν τελείων
περιθέμενος στολὴν ἦει μέν, ὡς ἔθος ἐστί, σὺν
πομπῇ φίλων ἐπὶ θυσίας ἐς τὰ ιερά, ἀφνω δὲ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

in which was a beautiful and deep grotto, on account CHAP.
of which probably he was proscribed. He was
taking the air in this grotto when the murderers
were observed by a slave, as they were coming
toward him, but still some distance off. The slave
conveyed him to the innermost recess of the grotto,
dressed himself in his master's short tunic, pretended
that he was the man and simulated alarm, and
would have been killed on the spot had not one
of his fellow-slaves exposed the trick. In this
way the master was killed, but the people were
so indignant that they gave the triumvirs no rest
until they had obtained from them the crucifixion
of the slave who had betrayed his master, and
the freedom of the one who had tried to save him.

A slave revealed the hiding-place of Haterius and obtained his freedom in consequence. He bid against the sons at the sale of the dead man's property, and insulted them grossly. They followed him everywhere with silent tears till the people became exasperated, and the triumvirs made him again the slave of the sons of the proscript, for overdoing his part.

V

30. SUCH were the miseries of grown men, but CHAP.
the calamity extended to orphan children on account
of their wealth. One of these, who was going
to school, was killed, together with his attendant,
who threw his arms around the boy and would
not give him up. Atilius, who was just assuming
the man's toga, went, as was customary, with a
procession of friends to sacrifice in the temples.

V
Children
proscribed
for their
wealth

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. ἐγγραφέντος αὐτοῦ τοῖς πίναξιν οἱ φίλοι καὶ οἱ
θεράποντες διεδίδρασκον. ὁ δὲ μόνος καὶ ἔρημος
ἐκ δαψιλοῦ παραπομῆς ἐς τὴν μητέρα ἔχώρει·
οὐδὲ δεξαμένης δὲ αὐτὸν οὐδὲ ἐκείνης ὑπὸ δέους,
οὐκ ἀξιώσας ἔτι ἐς πεῖραν ἐλθεῖν ἐτέρου μετὰ
μητέρα, ἐς ὅρος ἐφυγεν· ὅθεν ὑπὸ λιμοῦ ἐς τὰ
πεδινὰ κατελθὼν ἐλήφθη πρὸς ἀνδρὸς ληστεύειν
τοὺς παροδεύοντας καὶ ἐπὶ ἔργῳ καταδεῖν εἰθι-
σμένου. οἷα δὲ παῖς ἐκ τρυφῆς τὸν πόνον οὐκ
ἐνεγκὼν ἐς τὴν ἀμαξιτὸν αὐταῖς χοινικίσι διέδρα
καὶ παροδεύοντι λοχαγοῖς ἑαυτὸν ἐμήνυσε τε καὶ
ἀνηρέθη.

31. Γιγνομένων δὲ τούτων Λέπιδος ἐπὶ Ἱβηρσιν
ἐθριάμβευε, καὶ προυτέθη διάγραμμα οὗτως ἔχον·
“ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ προειρήσθω πᾶσι καὶ πάσαις θύειν
καὶ εὐωχεῖσθαι τὴν ἡμέραν τὴν παροῦσαν· δος δ’
ἄν φὴ φαίνηται ταῦτα ποιῶν, ἐν τοῖς προγεγραμ-
μένοις ἔσται.” ὁ μὲν δὴ τὸν θρίαμβον ἐς τὰ ἱερὰ
ἀνῆγε, παραπεμπόντων αὐτὸν ἀπάντων μετὰ
σχήματος ἵλαροῦ καὶ γνώμης δυσμενοῦς· τῶν δὲ
προγεγραμμένων τὰ μὲν ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις διεφορεῖτο,
καὶ οὐ πολὺς ἦν ὁ τὰ χωρία ὠνούμενος, οἱ μὲν
ἐπιβαρεῖν τοῖς ἡτυχηκόσιν αἰδούμενοι καὶ οὐκ ἐν
αἰσίῳ σφίσι τὰ ἐκείνων ἔσεσθαι νομίζοντες οὐδὲ
ἀσφαλὲς ὅλως χρυσίον ἢ ἀργύριον ἔχοντας ὄρâ-
σθαι οὐδὲ τὰς ἐπικτήσεις νῦν ἀκινδύνους, πολὺ δὲ
μᾶλλον τὰ ὄντα ἐπικίνδυνα. μόνοι δὲ οἱ διὰ
θρασύτητα προσιόντες, ἄτε μόνοι, βραχυτάτου
πάμπαν ὠνοῦντο. ὅθεν τοῖς ἄρχουσιν, ἐλπίσασιν

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

His name being put on the proscription list un- CHAP.
expectedly, his friends and servants ran away. ^v
Left alone, and bereft of his fine escort, he went
to his mother. She was afraid to receive him. As
he did not consider it safe to ask help from anybody
else after his mother had failed him, he fled to
a mountain. Hunger drove him down to the plain,
where he was captured by a highwayman, accustomed
to rob passers-by and set them to work in factories.
The delicate boy, unable to endure the toil, escaped
to the high roads with his fetters, revealed himself
to some passing centurions, and was killed.

31. While these events were taking place Lepidus enjoyed a triumph for his exploits in Spain, and an edict was displayed in the following terms : " May Fortune favour us. Let it be proclaimed to all men and women that they celebrate this day with sacrifices and feasting. Whoever shall fail to do so shall be put on the list of the proscribed." Lepidus led the triumphal procession to the Capitol, accompanied by all the citizens, who showed the external appearance of joy, but were sad at heart. The houses of the proscribed were looted, but there were not many buyers of their lands, since some were ashamed to add to the burden of the unfortunate. Others thought that such property would bring them bad luck, or that it would not be at all safe for them to be seen with gold and silver in their possession, or that, as they were not free from danger with their present holdings, it would be an additional risk to increase them. Only the boldest spirits came forward and purchased at the lowest prices, because they were the only buyers. Thus it came to pass that the triumvirs, who had

Sales of
confiscated
property

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. ἐς τὰς τοῦ πολέμου παρασκευὰς τάδε ἀρκέσειν,
ἐνέδει μυριάδων ἔτι δισμυρίων.

32. Καὶ τοῦτο ἐς τὸν δῆμον εἰπόντες προύγρα-
φουν χιλίας καὶ τετρακοσίας γυναικας, αἱ μάλιστα
πλούτῳ διέφερον· καὶ αὐτὰς ἔδει, τὰ ὅντα τιμω-
μένας, ἐσφέρειν ἐς τὰς τοῦ πολέμου χρείας, ὅσον
ἔκαστην οἵ τρεῖς δοκιμάσειαν. ἐπέκειτό τε ταῖς
ἀποκρυψαμέναις τι τῶν ὅντων, ἡ τιμησαμέναις
κακῶς ἐπιτίμια καὶ τοῖς ταῦτα μηνύουσιν ἐλευθέ-
ροις τε καὶ δούλοις μίνυτρα. αἱ δὲ γυναικες
ἔκριναν τῶν προσηκουσῶν τοῖς ἄρχουσι γυναικῶν
δεηθῆναι. τῆς μὲν δὴ Καίσαρος ἀδελφῆς οὐκ
ἀπετύγχανον, οὐδὲ τῆς μητρὸς Ἀντωνίου· Φουλ-
βίας δέ, τῆς γυναικὸς Ἀντωνίου, τῶν θυρῶν
ἀπωθούμεναι χαλεπῶς τὴν ὕβριν ἥνεγκαν, καὶ ἐς
τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα τῶν ἀρχόντων ὡσάμεναι,
διսταμένων τοῦ τε δήμου καὶ τῶν δορυφόρων,
ἔλεγον, Ὁρτησίας ἐς τοῦτο προκεχειρισμένης· “ὅ
μὲν ἥρμοζε δεομέναις ὑμῶν γυναιξὶ τοιαῖσδε, ἐπὶ
τὰς γυναικας ὑμῶν κατεφύγομεν· ὃ δὲ οὐχ
ἥρμοζεν, ὑπὸ Φουλβίας παθοῦσαι, ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν
συνεώσμεθα ὑπ' αὐτῆς. ὑμεῖς δ' ἡμᾶς ἀφείλεσθε
μὲν ἡδη γονέας τε καὶ παῖδας καὶ ἄνδρας καὶ
ἀδελφοὺς ἐπικαλοῦντες, ὅτι πρὸς αὐτῶν ἥδικησθε·
εἰ δὲ καὶ τὰ χρήματα προσαφέλοισθε, περιστήσετε
ἐς ἀπρέπειαν ἀναξίαν γένους καὶ τρόπων καὶ
φύσεως γυναικείας. εἰ μὲν δὴ τι καὶ πρὸς ἡμῶν,
οἷον ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ἥδικησθαι φατε, προγράψατε
καὶ ἡμᾶς ὡς ἔκείνους. εἰ δὲ οὐδένα ὑμῶν αἱ
γυναικες οὔτε πολέμον ἐψηφισάμεθα οὔτε καθεί-

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

hoped to realize a sufficient sum for their pre-^{CHAP.}parations for the war, were still short by 200,000,^V drachmas.

32. The triumvirs addressed the people on this subject and published an edict requiring 1400 of the ^{Taxes imposed upon women} richest women to make a valuation of their property, and to furnish for the service of the war such portion as the triumvirs should require from each. It was provided further that if any should conceal their property or make a false valuation they should be fined, and that rewards should be given to informers, whether free persons or slaves. The women resolved to beseech the women-folk of the triumvirs. With the sister of Octavian and the mother of Antony they did not fail, but they were repulsed from the doors of Fulvia, the wife of Antony, whose rudeness they could scarce endure. They then forced their way to the tribunal of the triumvirs in the forum, the people and the guards dividing to let them pass. There, through the mouth of Hortensia, whom they had selected to speak, they spoke as follows : " As befitted women of our rank addressing a petition to you, we had recourse to the ladies of your households ; but having been treated as did not befit us; at the hands of Fulvia, we have been driven by her to the forum. You have already deprived us of our fathers, our sons, our husbands, and our brothers, whom you accused of having wronged you ; if you take away our property also, you reduce us to a condition unbecoming our birth, our manners, our sex. If we have done you wrong, as you say our husbands have, proscribe us as you do them. But if we women have not voted any of you public enemies, have not torn down your houses, destroyed your

Protest of
Hortensia

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. λομεν οίκιαν ἡ στρατὸν διεφθείραμεν ἡ ἐπηγάγομεν ἔτερον ἡ ἀρχῆς ἡ τιμῆς τυχεῖν ἐκωλύσαμεν, τί κοινωνοῦμεν τῶν κολάσεων αἱ τῶν ἀδικημάτων οὐ μετασχόσαι;

33. “Τί δὲ ἐσφέρωμεν αἱ μήτε ἀρχῆς μήτε τιμῆς μήτε στρατηγίας μήτε τῆς πολιτείας ὅλως, τῆς ὑμᾶς ἐς τοσούτον ἥδη κακοῦ περιμαχήτου, μετέχουσαι; ὅτι φατὲ πόλεμον εἴναι; καὶ πότε οὐ γεγόνασι πόλεμοι; καὶ πότε γυναῖκες συνεισήνεγκαν; ἂς ἡ μὲν φύσις ἀπολύει παρὰ ἄπασιν ἀνθρώποις, αἱ δὲ μητέρες ἡμῶν ὑπὲρ τὴν φύσιν ἐσήνεγκάν ποτε ἄπαξ, ὅτε ἐκινδυνεύετε περὶ τῇ ἀρχῇ πάσῃ καὶ περὶ αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει, Καρχηδονίων ἐνοχλούντων. καὶ τότε δὲ ἐσήνεγκαν ἐκοῦσαι, καὶ οὐκ ἀπὸ γῆς ἡ χωρίων ἡ προικὸς ἡ οἰκιῶν, ὃν χωρὶς ἀβίωτόν ἐστιν ἐλευθέραις, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ μόνων τῶν οἴκοι κόσμων, οὐδὲ τούτων τιμωμένων οὐδὲ ὑπὸ μηνυταῖς ἡ κατηγόροις οὐδὲ πρὸς ἀνάγκην ἡ βίαν, ἀλλ’ ὅσον ἐβούλουντο αὐταί. τίς οὖν καὶ νῦν ἐστιν ὑμᾶς περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἡ περὶ τῆς πατρίδος φόβος; ἵτω τοίνυν ἡ Κελτῶν πόλεμος ἡ Παρθναιῶν, καὶ οὐ χείρους ἐς σωτηρίαν ἐσόμεθα τῶν μητέρων. ἐς δὲ ἐμφυλίους πολέμους μήτε ἐσενέγκαιμέν ποτε μήτε συμπράξαιμεν ὑμᾶς κατ’ ἀλλήλων. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπὶ Καίσαρος ἡ Πομπηίου συνεφέρομεν, οὐδὲ Μάριος ἡμᾶς οὐδὲ Κίννας ἡνάγκασεν οὐδὲ Σύλλας, ὁ τυραννήσας τῆς πατρίδος· ὑμεῖς δέ φατε καὶ καθίστασθαι τὴν πολιτείαν.”

34. Τοιαῦτα τῆς Ὁρτησίας λεγούστης, οἱ τρεῖς ἡγανάκτουν, εἰ γυναῖκες ἀνδρῶν ἡσυχαζόντων

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

army, or led another one against you ; if we have CHAP.
not hindered you in obtaining offices and honours,—
why do we share the penalty when we did not share
the guilt ?

33. "Why should we pay taxes when we have no part in the honours, the commands, the state-craft, for which you contend against each other with such harmful results ? 'Because this is a time of war,' do you say ? When have there not been wars, and when have taxes ever been imposed on women, who are exempted by their sex among all mankind ? Our mothers did once rise superior to their sex and made contributions when you were in danger of losing the whole empire and the city itself through the conflict with the Carthaginians. But then they contributed voluntarily, not from their landed property, their fields, their dowries, or their houses, without which life is not possible to free women, but only from their own jewellery, and even these not according to fixed valuation, not under fear of informers or accusers, not by force and violence, but what they themselves were willing to give. What alarm is there now for the empire or the country ? Let war with the Gauls or the Parthians come, and we shall not be inferior to our mothers in zeal for the common safety ; but for civil wars may we never contribute, nor ever assist you against each other ! We did not contribute to Caesar or to Pompey. Neither Marius nor Cinna imposed taxes upon us. Nor did Sulla, who held despotic power in the state, do so, whereas you say that you are re-establishing the commonwealth."

34. While Hortensia thus spoke the triumvirs were angry that women should dare to hold a public

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. Θρασυνοῦνται τε καὶ ἐκκλησιάσουσι, καὶ τὰ δρώμενα τοῖς ἄρχοντιν ἔξετάσουσι, καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν στρατευομένων αὐτὰν οὐδὲ χρήματα ἐσοίσουσιν ἐκέλευόν τε τοῖς ὑπηρέταις ἔξωθεῦν αὐτὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος, μέχρι βοῆς ἔξωθεν ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους γενομένης οἵ τε ὑπηρέται τὸ ἔργον ἐπέσχον καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες ἔφασαν ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίαν ἀνατίθεσθαι. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ τετρακοσίας μὲν ἀντὶ χιλίων καὶ τετρακοσίων προύγραφου ἀποτιμᾶσθαι τὰ ὅντα, τῶν δὲ ἀνδρῶν πάντα τὸν ἔχοντα πλείους δέκα μυριάδων, ἀστὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ ξένον καὶ ἀπελεύθερον καὶ ιερέα καὶ πανταεθνῆ, μηδενὸς ἀφιεμένου, καὶ τούσδε μεθ' ὁμοίου φόβου τῶν ἐπιτιμίων καὶ ὑπὸ μηνύμασιν ὁμοίοις, ἵνα πεντηκοστὴν μὲν τῶν ὅντων αὐτίκα δανείσαιεν αὗτοῖς, ἐνιαυτοῦ δὲ φόρον ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἐσενέγκαιεν.

35. Ἐκ μὲν δὴ τῶν προσταγμάτων τοιαῦτα Ἀρμαίους ἐπεῖχεν, ὁ δὲ στρατὸς σὺν καταφρονήσει χείρονα ἐποίουν. ὡς γὰρ τῶν ἀρχόντων ἐπὶ τοιοῦσδε ἔργοις ἐν σφίσι μόνον τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ἔχόντων, οἱ μὲν αὐτοὺς ἥτοῦντο τῶν δεδημευμένων οἰκίαν ἢ ἀγρὸν ἢ ἔπαυλιν ἢ ὅλον κλῆρον, οἱ δ' αὖ παῖδας ἀνδράσι θετοὺς γενέσθαι· οἱ δὲ ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν ἔτερα ἔδρων, κτινοῦντες τε τοὺς οὓς προγεγραμμένους καὶ οἰκίας οὐδὲν ὑπαιτίων διαφοροῦντες. ὥστε καὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας προγράψαι τῶν ὑπάτων τὸν ἔτερον ἐπιστροφήν τινα ποιήσασθαι τῶν ὑπὲρ τὸ πρόσταγμα γιγνομένων. ὁ δὲ τῶν μὲν ὄπλιτῶν

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

meeting when the men were silent ; that they should demand from magistrates the reasons for their acts, and themselves not so much as furnish money while the men were serving in the army. They ordered the lictors to drive them away from the tribunal, which they proceeded to do until cries were raised by the multitude outside, when the lictors desisted and the triumvirs said they would postpone till the next day the consideration of the matter. On the following day they reduced the number of women, who were to present a valuation of their property, from 1400 to 400, and decreed that all men who possessed more than 100,000 drachmas, both citizens and strangers, freedmen and priests, and men of all nationalities without a single exception, should (under the same dread of penalty and also of informers) lend them at interest a fiftieth part of their property and contribute one year's income to the war expenses.

CHAP.
V

The
triumvirs
relax the
impost

35. Such calamities befell the Romans from the orders of the triumvirs ; but even worse ones were visited upon them by the soldiers in disregard of orders. Believing that they alone enabled the triumvirs to do what they were doing with impunity, some of them asked for the confiscated houses, or fields, or villas, or entire property of the proscribed. Others demanded that they should be made the adopted sons of [rich] men. Others, of their own motion, killed men who had not been proscribed, and plundered the houses of those who were not under accusation, so that the triumvirs were obliged to publish an edict that one of the consuls should put a restraint upon those who were exceeding their orders. The consul did not dare to touch the

Outrages
committed
by soldiers

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. ἔδεισεν ἄψασθαι, μὴ σφᾶς ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν παροξύνη,
V τῶν δὲ θεραπόντων τινάς, οἱ σχήματι στρατιωτῶν
συνεξημάρτανον ἐκείνοις, λαβὼν ἐκρέμασε.

VI

CAP. 36. Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐς τέλος τῶν συμφορῶν τοῖς
VI προγεγραμμένοις ἀπαντῶντα τοιάδε μάλιστα ἦν.
ὅσα δὲ ἐκ παραλόγου τισὶν ἐγίγνετο ἐς τε τὴν
σωτηρίαν αὐτίκα καὶ ἐς ἀξίωσιν ὕστερον, ἐμοὶ τε
ἥδιον εἰπεῖν καὶ τοῖς ἀκούουσιν ὡφελιμώτερον ἐς
μηδὲν ἀποκάμνοντας ἐλπίζειν περιέσεσθαι. αἱ μὲν
οὖν φυγὰ τοῖς δυναμένοις ἥσαν ἐς Κάσσιον ἢ
Βροῦτον ἢ ἐς Λιβύην ἐπὶ Κορνιφίκιον, καὶ
τόνδε τῆς δημοκρατίας μεταποιούμενον ὁ δὲ
πολὺς ἐς Σικελίαν ἦει, γειτονεύουσαν τῆς
Ιταλίας, καὶ Πομπήιον σφᾶς προθύμως ὑπο-
δεχομένου. λαμπροτάτην γὰρ δὴ σπουδὴν ἐς
τοὺς ἀτυχοῦντας ὁ Πομπήιος ἐν καιρῷ τότε
ἔδειξε, κήρυκάς τε περιπέμπων, οἱ πάντας ἐς
αὐτὸν ἐκάλουν, καὶ τοῖς περισώζουσιν αὐτοὺς
ἐλευθέροις τε καὶ θεράπουσι προλέγων διπλάσια
τῶν διδομένων τοῖς αἴροῦσι λέμβοι τε αὐτοῦ καὶ
στρογγύλα ὑπήντα τοῖς πλέουσι, καὶ τριήρεις
τοὺς αἰγιαλοὺς ἐπέπλεον, σημεῖά τε ἀνίσχουσαι
τοῖς ἀλωμένοις, καὶ τὸν ἐντυγχάνοντα περισώ-
ζουσαι. αὐτός τε τοῖς ἀφικινούμένοις ἀπήντα καὶ
ἐσθῆτος αὐτίκα καὶ κατασκευῆς ἐμερίζετο· τοῖς δὲ
ἀξίοις καὶ ἐς στρατηγίας ἢ ναυαρχίας ἔχρητο.
σπουδῶν τέ οἱ πρὸς τοὺς τρεῖς γυγνομένων ὕστε-
ρον, οὐ συνέθετο, πρὶν καὶ τούσδε τοὺς εἰς αὐτὸν

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

soldiers lest he should excite their rage against CHAP.
himself, but he seized and crucified certain slaves ^V
who were masquerading as soldiers and committing
outrages in company with them.

VI

36. Such are examples of the extreme misfortunes CHAP.
that befell the proscribed. Instances where some ^{VI}
were unexpectedly saved and at a later period raised
to positions of honour are more agreeable to me to re-
late, and will be more useful to my readers, as showing
that they should never fall into despair, but that hope
will always remain to them. Some, who were able to
do so, fled to Cassius, or to Brutus, or to Africa,
where Cornificius upheld the republican cause. The
greater number, however, went to Sicily because of
its nearness to Italy, where Sextus Pompeius
received them gladly. The latter showed the most
admirable and timely zeal in behalf of the unfortun-
ate, sending heralds who invited all to come to
him, and offered to those who should save the
proscribed, both slaves and free persons, double the
rewards that had been offered for killing them. His
small boats and merchant ships met those who were
escaping by sea, and his war-ships sailed along the
shore and made signals to those wandering there and
saved such as they found. Pompeius himself met
the newcomers and provided them at once with
clothing and other necessaries. To those who were
worthy he assigned commands in his military and
naval forces. When, at a later period, he entered
into negotiations with the triumvirs, he would not
conclude a treaty without embracing in its terms

Examples
of escape
among the
proscribed

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. VI. διαφυγόντας ἐς ταύτας περιλαβεῖν. ὁ μὲν δὴ χρησιμώτατος οὗτως ἀτυχούσῃ τῇ πατρίδι ἐγίγνετο, καὶ δόξαν ἐκ τοῦδε ἀγαθήν, ἕδιον ἐπὶ τῇ πατρῷᾳ καὶ οὐχ ἡσσονα τήνδε ἐκείνης, προσελάμβανεν ἔτεροι δὲ ἑτέρως φυγόντες ἢ κρυπτόμενοι μέχρι τῶν σπουδῶν, οἱ μὲν ἐν χωρίοις ἢ τάφοις, οἱ δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἀστει, σὺν ἐπινοίαις οἰκτραῖς διεγένοντο. φιλανδρίαι τε παράδοξοι γυναικῶν ὥφθησαν καὶ παίδων ἐς πατέρας εὔνοιαι καὶ θεραπόντων ὑπὲρ φύσιν ἐς δεσπότας. καὶ τῶνδε ὅσα παραδοξότατα, ἀναγράψω.

37. Παῦλος, ὁ ἀδελφὸς Λεπίδου, τῶν λοχαγῶν αὐτὸν ὡς ἀδελφὸν αὐτοκράτορος αἰδουμένων, ἐπὶ ἀδείας ἔξέπλευσεν ἐς Βροῦτον καὶ ἐς Μίλητον μετὰ Βροῦτον· ὅθεν οὐδὲ εἰρήνης ὕστερον γενομένης καλούμενος ἐπανελθεῖν ἤξιώσε. Λεύκιον δέ, τὸν Ἀντωνίου θεῖον, ἡ Ἀντωνίου μήτηρ ἀδελφὸν ὄντα εἶχεν οὐδ' ἐπικρύπτουσα, αἰδουμένων ἐς πολὺ καὶ τήνδε τῶν λοχαγῶν ὡς μητέρα αὐτοκράτορος. βιαζομένων δ' ὕστερον ἔξέθορεν ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ προκαθημένῳ τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ μετὰ τῶν συνάρχων ἔφη· “ἐμαυτήν, ὡς αὐτοκράτορ, μηνύώ σοι Λεύκιον ὑποδεδέχθαι τε καὶ ἔχειν ἔτι καὶ ἔξειν, ἔως ἂν ἡμᾶς ὅμοι κατακάνῃς· τὰ γὰρ ὅμοια καὶ τοῖς ὑποδεδεγμένοις ἐπικεκήρυκται.” ὁ δὲ αὐτὴν ἐπιμεμφάμενος ὡς ἀδελφὴν μὲν ἀγαθήν, μητέρα δὲ οὐκ εὐγνώμονα (οὐ γὰρ νῦν χρῆναι περισώζειν Λεύκιον, ἀλλὰ κωλύειν, ὅτε σου τὸν υἱὸν εἴναι

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

those who had taken refuge with him. In this way CHAP.
he rendered to his unfortunate country the greatest VI
service, from which he gained a high reputation of
his own in addition to that which he had inherited
from his father, and not less than that. Others
escaped by concealing themselves in various ways,
some in the fields or in the tombs, others in the city
itself, undergoing cruel anxiety until peace was
restored. Remarkable examples were shown of the
love of wives for their husbands, of sons for their
fathers, and of slaves, quite beyond nature, for
their masters. Some of the most remarkable of
these I shall now relate.

37. Paulus, the brother of Lepidus, made his escape to Brutus by the connivance of the centurions who respected him as the brother of a triumvir. After the death of Brutus he went to Miletus, which he refused to leave after peace was restored, although he was invited to return. The mother of Antony gave shelter to her brother Lucius, Antony's uncle, without concealment, and the centurions had respect for her for a long time as the mother of a triumvir. When, later, they attempted to take him by force, she hurried into the forum where Antony was seated with his colleagues, and exclaimed, "I denounce myself to you, triumvir, for having received Lucius under my roof and for still keeping him, and I shall keep him till you kill us both together, for it is decreed that those who give shelter shall suffer the same punishment." Antony reproached her for being an unreasonable mother, although a good sister, saying that she ought to have prevented Lucius in the first place from voting her son a public enemy instead of seeking to save him now.

The brother
of Lepidus
allowed to
escape

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. πολέμιον ἐψηφίζετο), παρεσκεύασεν ὅμως Πλάγ-
VI κον ὑπατεύοντα κάθοδον τῷ Λευκίῳ ψηφίσασθαι.

38. Μεσσάλας δὲ ἐπιφανὴς καὶ νέος ἐς Βροῦ-
τον ἔφυγε, καὶ αὐτοῦ δείσαντες οἱ τρεῖς τὸ φρό-
νημα προύγραψαν οὕτως· “ἐπεὶ Μεσσάλαν
ἀπέφηναν ἡμῖν οἱ προσήκοντες αὐτῷ μηδὲ ἐπι-
δημεῖν, ὅτε Γάιος Καίσαρ ἀνηρεῖτο, ἐξηρήσθω
τῶν προγραφέντων ὁ Μεσσάλας.” ὁ δὲ τὴν μὲν
συγγνώμην οὐκ ἐδέξατο, Βρούτου δὲ καὶ Κασσίου
περὶ Θράκην πεσόντων καὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ πολλοῦ
τε ἔτι ὄντος καὶ ναῦς καὶ χρήματα καὶ ἐλπίδας
ἔχοντος οὐκ ἀσθενεῖς, ἄρχειν σφῶν τὸν Μεσσάλαν
αἴρουμένων οὐκ ἀνασχόμενος, ἐπεισεν αὐτοὺς
ἐνδόντας ἐπιβαρούσῃ τῇ τύχῃ μεταστρατεύσασθαι
τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον. οἰκειότερος δὲ ὧν Ἀντων-
ίῳ συνῆν, μέχρι κρατούσης Ἀντωνίου Κλεοπάτρας
ἐπιμεμψάμενος ἐς Καίσαρα μετῆλθεν. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν
ὑπατόν τε ἀπέφηνεν ἀντὶ αὐτοῦ Ἀντωνίου, ἀπο-
χειροτονηθέντος, ὅτε αὐθις ἐψηφίζετο εἶναι πολέ-
μιος, καὶ περὶ Ἀκτιον ναυαρχήσαντα κατὰ τοῦ
Ἀντωνίου στρατηγὸν ἐπεμψεν ἐπὶ Κελτοὺς ἀφ-
ισταμένους καὶ νικήσαντι ἔδωκε θριαμβεῦσαι.

Βύβλος δὲ ἐσπείσατο ἄμα τῷ Μεσσάλᾳ καὶ
ἐνανάρχησεν Ἀντωνίῳ διαλλαγάς τε πολλάκις
Ἀντωνίῳ καὶ Καίσαρι ἐς ἀλλήλους ἐπόρθμευσε
καὶ στρατηγὸς ἀπεδείχθη Συρίας ὑπὸ Ἀντωνίου
καὶ στρατηγῶν ἔτι αὐτῆς ἀπέθανεν.

39. Ἀκίλιος δὲ ἔφευγε μὲν τῆς πόλεως
λαθών, οἰκέτου δ' αὐτὸν ἐμφήναντος ὄπλιταις,
τοὺς ὄπλιτας ἐπεισεν ἐλπίδι χρημάτων πλεόν-

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

Nevertheless, he procured from the consul Plancus CHAP.
a decree restoring Lucius to citizenship.

VI

38. Messala, a young man of distinction, fled to Brutus. The triumvirs, fearing his high spirit, published the following edict : "Since the relatives of Messala have made it clear to us that he was not in the city when Gaius Caesar was slain, let his name be removed from the list of the proscribed." He would not accept pardon, but, after Brutus and Cassius had fallen in Thrace, although there was a considerable army left, as well as ships and money, and although strong hopes of success still existed, Messala would not accept the command when it was offered to him, but persuaded his associates to yield to overpowering fate and join forces with Antony. He became intimate with Antony and adhered to him until the latter became the slave of Cleopatra. Then he heaped reproaches upon him and joined himself to Octavian, who made him consul in place of Antony himself when the latter was deposed and again voted a public enemy. After the battle of Actium, where he held a naval command against Antony, Octavian sent him as a general against the revolted Celts and awarded him a triumph for his victory over them.

Bibulus was received into favour at the same time with Messala, and was given a naval command by Antony, and often served as an intermediary in the negotiations between Octavian and Antony. He was appointed governor of Syria by Antony and died while serving in that capacity.

39. Acilius fled from the city secretly. His hiding-place was disclosed by a slave to the soldiers, but he prevailed upon them, by the hope of a larger

Acilius and
Lentulus

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. ^{VI} ων πέμψαι τινὰς ἀπὸ σφῶν πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα μετὰ συμβόλων ὡν αὐτὸς ἐδίδουν. ἡ δὲ τοῖς ἐλθοῦσιν τὸν κόσμον αὐτῆς ἅπαντα προθεῖσα ἔφη διδόναι μὲν ὡς ἀντιδώσουσιν, ἢ ὑπέσχοντο, οὐκ εἰδέναι δέ, εἰ ἀντιδώσουσιν. οὐ μὴν ἐψεύσθη τῆς φιλανδρίας οἱ γὰρ ὄπλιται καὶ ναῦν ἐμίσθωσαν τῷ Ἀκιλίῳ καὶ προύπεμψαν ἐς Σικελίαν. Λέντλοις δέ, ἀξιούσης αὐτῷ συμφεύγειν τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ ἐς τοῦτο αὐτὸν ἐπιτηρούσης, οὐκ ἐθέλων αὐτὴν συγκινδυνεύειν ἔαυτῷ, λαθὼν ἔφυγεν ἐς Σικελίαν, στρατηγὸς δὲ ἀποδειχθεὶς ὑπὸ Πομπήίου ἐσήμηνεν, ὅτι σφέζοιτο καὶ στρατηγοίη. ἡ δ', ὅποι γῆς ἐστιν ὁ ἀνήρ, ἐπιγνοῦσα τὴν μητέρα φυλάσσουσαν ἐξέφυγε καὶ ἥδε σὺν θεράπουσι δύο· μεθ' ὧν ὕδεινεν ἐπιμόχθως καὶ εὐτελῶς οἴλα θεράπαινα, μέχρι διέπλευσεν ἐς Μεσσήνην ἀπὸ Ρηγίου περὶ ἐσπέραν. καὶ οὐ δυσχερῶς τὴν στρατηγίδα σκηνὴν μαθοῦσα, εὗρε τὸν Λέντλον οὐχ οἴλα στρατηγόν, ἀλλ' ἐν χαμενίῳ καὶ κόμῃ καὶ διαίτῃ πονηρᾷ πόθῳ τῆς γυναικός.

40. Ἀπουληίῳ δὲ ἡπείλησεν ἡ γυνὴ καταμήνυσεν αὐτόν, εἰ μόνος φεύγοι· καὶ ὁ μὲν ἄκων αὐτὴν ἐπήγετο, συνήνεγκε δὲ ἐς τὴν φυγὴν αὐτῷ τὸ ἀνύποπτον, ἅμα γυναικὶ καὶ θεράπουσι καὶ θεραπαίναις ὁδεύοντι φανερῶς. Ἀντιον δὲ ἡ γυνὴ στρωματοδέσμῳ κατείλησε καὶ ἐπέθηκε τοῖς μισθοῦ φέρουσι καὶ διήνεγκεν ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκίας ἐπὶ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

reward, to send some of their number to his wife CHAP.
with a private token that he gave them. When VI
they came she gave them all of her jewellery, saying
that she gave it in return for what they had
promised, although she did not know whether they
would keep their agreement. But her fidelity to
her husband was not disappointed, for the soldiers
hired a ship for Acilius and saw him off to Sicily.
The wife of Lentulus asked that she might
accompany him in his flight and kept watch upon
his movements for that purpose, but he was not
willing that she should share his danger, and fled
secretly to Sicily. Being appointed praetor there
by Pompeius he sent word to her that he was saved
and elevated to office. When she learned in what
part of the earth her husband was she escaped with
two slaves from her mother, who was keeping watch
over her. With these she travelled in the guise of
a slave, with great hardship and the meanest fare,
until she was able to make the passage from
Rhegium to Messana about nightfall. She learned
without difficulty where the praetor's tent was, and
there she found Lentulus, not in the attitude of a
praetor, but on a low pallet with unkempt hair and
wretched food, mourning for his wife.

40. The wife of Apuleius threatened that if he
should fly without her, she would give information
against him. So he took her with him unwillingly,
and he succeeded in avoiding suspicion in his flight
by travelling with his wife and his male and female
slaves in a public manner. The wife of Antius
wrapped him up in a clothes-bag and gave the
bundle to some porters to carry from the house
to the sea-shore, whence he made his escape to

Escape of
Apuleius
and
Rheginus

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. Θάλασσαν, ὅθεν ἔφυγεν ἐς Σικελίαν. ὉΡηγῆνον
VI δὲ ἡ γυνὴ νυκτὸς ἐς ὑπόνομον λυμάτων καθῆκεν,
ἐς δὲ τὴν ἡμέρας οὐχ ὑποστάντων ἐμβῆναι τῶν
όπλιτῶν διὰ δυσοδομίαν, νυκτὸς ἄλλης εἰς ἀν-
θρακέα ἐσκεύασε καὶ διον ἄνθρακας φέροντα
ἔλαύνειν ἔδωκεν· αὐτὴν δὲ ἐκ βραχέος διαστήματος
ἡγεῖτο φορείῳ φερομένη. τῶν δὲ ἀμφὶ τὰς πύλας
όπλιτῶν τινος τὸ φορεῖον ὑπονοήσαντός τε καὶ
ἐρευνωμένου, δείσας ὁ ὉΡηγῆς ἐπέδραμε καὶ ὡς
ὅδῷ χρώμενος ἤξειν τὸν ὄπλιτην φείδεσθαι γυ-
ναικῶν. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν ὡς ἄνθρακέα μετ' ὀργῆς
ἀμειβόμενος ἐγνώρισεν (ἐστράτευτο γάρ ὑπ' αὐτῷ
ποτε ἐν Συρίᾳ) καὶ “ἄπιθι χαίρων,” εἶπεν, “αὐτο-
κράτορ· τοῦτο γάρ μοι προσήκει καὶ νῦν καλεῖν
σε.” Κοπώνιον δὲ τὸ γύναιον ἤτησε παρὰ
Ἀντωνίου, σώφρων μὲν οὖσα τέως, ἀτυχήματι
δὲ τὸ ἀτύχημα ἰωμένη.

41. Γέταν δὲ ὁ οὔτος ἐν εὐρυχώρῳ τῆς οἰκίας
ἔδοξε καίειν ὡς ἀπαγξάμενον καὶ λαθὼν ἐν ἀγρῷ
νεωνήτῳ κατέλιπεν, ἔνθα ὁ πρεσβύτης μετα-
μορφῶν ἑαυτὸν ἐπεδήσατο διφθέραν ἐς τὸν ἔτερον
ὸφθαλμόν. καὶ τῶν σπουδῶν γενομένων ἔλυσε
τὴν διφθέραν, καὶ ὁ ὀφθαλμὸς ὑπὸ τῆς ἀργίας
δεδαπάνητο. “Οππιον δὲ ὁ οὔτος, ὑπὸ γήρως
ἀσθενεστάτου μένειν ἐθέλοντα, ἔφερεν ἐπὶ τοῦ
σώματος, ἕως ἐξήγαγέ τε διὰ τῶν πυλῶν καὶ
τὸ λοιπὸν μέχρι Σικελίας ἄγων ἦ φέρων ἐκόμισεν,
οὐδενὸς ἄρα τὸ σχῆμα ὑπονοήσαντος ἦ ἐνυβρί-
σαντος, οἷον που καὶ τὸν Αἰνείαν γράφουσιν

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

Sicily. The wife of Rhiginus concealed him by CHAP.
night in a sewer, into which the soldiers were ^{VI}
not willing to enter in the daytime, on account
of the foul odour. The next night she disguised
him as a charcoal dealer, and furnished him an ass
to drive, carrying coals. She led the way at a
short distance, borne in a litter. One of the
soldiers at the city gates suspected the litter and
searched it. Rhiginus was alarmed and hastened his
steps, and as if he were a passer-by admonished the
soldier not to give trouble to women. The latter,
who took him for a charcoal dealer, answered him
angrily, but suddenly recognizing him (for he had
served under him in Syria), said, "Go on your
way rejoicing, general, for such I ought still to
call you." The wife of Coponius purchased his
safety from Antony, although she had previously
been chaste, thus curing one evil with another.

41. The son of Geta pretended to burn his father's remains in the courtyard of his house, making people believe that he had strangled himself. Then he conveyed him secretly to a newly bought field and left him. There the old man changed his appearance by putting a bandage over one of his eyes. After the return of peace he took off the bandage and found that he had lost the sight of that eye by disuse. Oppius, by reason of the infirmities of age, was unwilling to fly, but his son carried him on his shoulder till he had brought him outside the gates. The remainder of the journey as far as Sicily he accomplished partly by leading and partly by carrying him, nobody suspecting his appearance and nobody mocking him. In like manner they say that Aeneas was respected

Oppius saved by his son

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. VI αἰδέσιμον τοῖς πολεμίοις γενέσθαι φέροντα τὸν
 πατέρα. καὶ τὸν νεανίαν ὁ δῆμος ἐπαινῶν
 ὕστερον ἀπέφηνεν ἀγορανόμον· δεδημευμένης δ'
 αὐτῷ τῆς οὐσίας οὐκ ἔχουντι τῆς ἀρχῆς τὸ δαπά-
 νημα οἵ τε χειροτέχναι τὰ ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀμισθὶ
 συνειργάσαντο, καὶ τῶν θεωμένων ἔκαστος ἐπὶ
 τὴν ὄρχήστραν ὅσον ἐβούλετο νόμισμα ἐρρίπτει,
 ἔως τὸν ἄνδρα κατεπλούτισαν. Ἀρριανοῦ δὲ καὶ
 ἐν τῇ στήλῃ κεκόλαπτο ἐκ διαθηκῶν· “τὸν
 ἐνθάδε κείμενον υἱὸς οὐ προγραφεὶς προγραφέντα
 ἔκρυψε τε καὶ συνέφυγε καὶ περιέσωσε.”

42. Μετέλλω δὲ ἡστην υἱός τε καὶ πατήρ· καὶ
 αὐτοῖν ὁ μὲν πατὴρ στρατηγῶν Ἀντωνίῳ περὶ¹
 Ἀκτιον αἰχμάλωτος ἑάλω καὶ ἡγνοεῖτο, ὁ δὲ υἱὸς
 τῷ Καίσαρι συνεστρατεύετο καὶ ἐστρατηγήκει
 καὶ ὅδε περὶ τὸ Ἀκτιον. ἐν δὲ Σάμῳ διακρίνοντι
 τῷ Καίσαρι τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ὁ μὲν παῖς συνή-
 δρευεν, ὁ δὲ πρεσβύτης ἥγετο κόμης τε ἔμπλεως
 καὶ δύης καὶ ρύπου καὶ τῆς ἐκ τῶνδε μετα-
 μορφώσεως. ὡς δὲ ἐν τῇ τάξει τῶν αἰχμαλώτων
 ὑπὸ τοῦ κήρυκος ἀνεκλήθη, ἀνέθορεν ὁ υἱὸς ἐκ
 τοῦ συνεδρίου καὶ μόλις ἐπιγνοὺς τὸν πατέρα
 ἡσπάζετο σὺν οἰμωγῇ· ἐπισχὼν δέ ποτε τοῦ
 θρήνου πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα ἔφη· “οὗτος μέν σοι
 πολέμιος γέγονεν, ὡς Καίσαρ, ἐγὼ δὲ σύμμαχος·
 καὶ χρὴ τοῦτον μέν σοι δοῦναι δίκην, ἐμὲ δὲ γέρας
 εὑρέσθαι. αἰτῶ δή σε τὸν πατέρα σφίζειν δι' ἐμὲ ἦ-

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

even by his enemies when carrying his father. CHAP. VI
In admiration of his piety the people in later days elected the young man to the aedileship, and since his property had been confiscated and he could not defray the expenses of the office,¹ the artisans performed the work appertaining thereto without pay, and each of the spectators tossed such money as he could afford to give into the orchestra, so that he became a rich man. By the will of Arrianus the following inscription was engraved on the father's tomb : "Here lies one who, when proscribed, was concealed by his son, who had not been proscribed, but who fled with him, and saved him."

42. There were two men named Metellus, father The Metelli, and son. The father held a command under Antony father and son at the battle of Actium and was taken prisoner, but not recognized. The son fought on the side of Octavian and held a command under him at the same battle. When Octavian was classifying the prisoners at Samos the son was sitting with him. The old man was led forward covered with hair, misery, and dirt, and completely metamorphosed by them. When his name was called by the herald in the array of prisoners the son sprang from his seat, and, with difficulty recognizing his father, embraced him with a cry of anguish. Then restraining his lamentation he said to Octavian, "He was your enemy, I was your fellow-soldier. He has earned your punishment, I your reward. I ask you either to spare my father on my account, or to kill me

¹ Aediles were involved in much expense by reason of the public games they were accustomed to give during their term of office.

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. δι' ἐκεῖνον ἐμὲ συγκατακανεῖν." οἴκτου δὲ ἐξ ἀπάντων γενομένου μεθῆκε σώζεσθαι τὸν Μέτελλον ὁ Καῖσαρ, καίτοι πολεμιώτατον αὐτῷ γενόμενον καὶ δωρεῶν πολλῶν, εἰ μεταθοῖτο πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπ' Ἀντωνίου, πολλάκις ὑπεριδόντα.

43. Μᾶρκον δὲ οἱ θεράποντες σὺν εὐνοίᾳ καὶ τύχῃ πάντα τὸν τῆς προγραφῆς χρόνον διεφύλαξαν ἔνδον ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας, μέχρι τῆς ἀδείας δοθείσης ὁ Μᾶρκος ἐξήει τῆς οἰκίας ώς ἀπὸ φυγῆς. Ἱρτιος δὲ σὺν τοῖς οἰκέταις ἐκφυγὼν τῆς πόλεως διώδευε τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ἐκλύων τε δεσμώτας καὶ συνάγων τοὺς ἀποδιδράσκοντας καὶ πολίχνια δηῶν, ὀλίγα πρώτον, εἶτα καὶ μείζω, μέχρι χειρὸς ἰκανῆς ἐκράτησε καὶ τὸ Βρεττίων ἔθνος ἐχειρώσατο καὶ, στρατοῦ πεμφθέντος ἐπ' αὐτὸν, ἐς Πομπήιον μεθ' ὅσων εἶχε διέπλευσε.

'Ρεστίωνι δὲ οἰομένῳ μονῷ φεύγειν οἰκέτης εἴπετο λανθάνων, ἀνάθρεπτος μὲν αὐτοῦ 'Ρεστίωνος καὶ πολλὰ πρότερον εὖ παθών, διὰ δὲ μοχθηρίαν ὕστερον ἐστιγμένος. ἀναπαυομένῳ δὲ ἐν ἔλει τῷ 'Ρεστίωνι ἐπιστὰς ὁ θεράπων ἐξέπληξε μὲν αὐτίκα δόθείς, δεδοικότι δὲ ἔφη οὐ τῶν παρούντων στιγμάτων αἰσθάνεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ μνημονεύειν τῶν πρότερον εὑρεγετημάτων. καὶ αὐτὸν εἰς τι σπήλαιον ἀναπαύσας εἰργάζετο καὶ τροφὰς αὐτῷ συνέλεγεν, ώς ἐδύνατο. ὑπονοίας δὲ τινος ἀμφὶ τὸ σπήλαιον τοῖς ἐγγὺς ὄπλίταις περὶ τοῦ 'Ρεστίωνος γενομένης καὶ χωρούντων ἐπ' αὐτόν, ὁ οἰκέτης εἴπετο συνεὶς καὶ τινα πρεσβύτην προδεύοντα προδραμὰν ἀπέκτεινε καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπέτεμεν. ἐκπλαγέντων δὲ τῶν ὄπλιτῶν καὶ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

at the same time on his account." There was CHAP
much emotion on all sides, and Octavian spared VI
Metellus, although he had been bitterly hostile
to himself and had scorned many offers made to him
to desert Antony.

43. The slaves of Marcus guarded him with fidelity and success within his own house during the whole period of the proscription until there was nothing more to fear, when Marcus came out of his house as though from exile. Hirtius escaped from the city with his household servants and traversed Italy releasing prisoners, collecting runaways, and ravaging small towns at first and afterward large ones, until he found himself possessed of sufficient force to master Bruttium. When an army was sent against him he crossed the straits with his forces and joined Pompeius.

Marcus and Restio saved by slaves

When Restio fled, thinking that he was alone, he was followed secretly by a slave of his own rearing, who had been very well treated by him formerly, but had lately been branded for bad conduct. While Restio was stopping in a marsh the slave came up to him. He was startled at the sight, but the slave said that he did not feel the pain of the brand so much as he remembered the former kindness shown to him. Then he found a resting-place for his master in a cave, and by working procured such sustenance for him as he could. The soldiers in the neighbourhood of the cave had their suspicions aroused concerning Restio, and went to it. The slave observed their movements and followed them, and, seeing an old man walking in front of them, he ran up and killed him and cut off his head. The soldiers were astounded. They arrested him

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. VI. ώς ἀνδροφόνου ὁδοιπόρου περισχόντων, “‘Ρεστί-
ωνα,” ἔφη, “‘ἔκτεινα, τὸν ἐμαυτοῦ δεσπότην, τάδε
μοι τὰ στίγματα ἐγχαράξαντα.” οἱ μὲν δὴ τὴν
κεφαλὴν αὐτὸν ἀφελόμενοι διὰ τὸ γέρας, ἡπείγοντο
μάτην ἐς τὸ ἄστυ, ὁ δὲ τὸν δεσπότην ἀναστήσας
διέπλευσεν ἐς Σικελίαν.

44. “Αππιον δὲ ἀναπαυόμενον ἐν ἐπαύλει, τῶν
ὄπλιτῶν ἐπιθεόντων, οἰκέτης τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἐσθῆτα
ἐνέδυσε, καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς τὴν εὔνην οἴλα δεσπότης
ἀνακλιθεὶς ἕκὼν ἀπέθανεν ἀντὶ τοῦ δεσπότου,
παρεστώτος ὡς οἰκέτου. Μενηνίου δὲ τὴν οἰκίαν
καταλαβόντων ὄπλιτῶν, θεράπων ἐς τὸ τοῦ δεσ-
πότου φορεῖον ἐνέβη καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ὁμοδούλων συνερ-
γούντων ἐξεφέρετο, ἔως ὅδε μὲν ὡς Μενήνιος ἕκὼν
ἀνήρητο, Μενήνιος δὲ ἐς Σικελίαν διέφυγεν. Οὐνιον
δὲ ἀπελεύθερος αὐτοῦ Ούνιον, Φιλήμων, οἰκίαν
κεκτημένος λαμπράν, ἐν τῷ μεσαιτάτῳ τῆς οἰκίας
ἔκρυψεν ἐν λάρνακι, ἀς ἀπὸ σιδήρου ἐς χρημάτων
ἡ βιβλίων ἔχονσι φυλακήν· καὶ νυκτὸς ἔτρεφε
μέχρι τῶν σπουδῶν. ἔτερος δὲ ἀπελεύθερος, τάφον
δεσπότου φυλάσσων, τὸν δεσπόσυνον προγρα-
φέντα ἐφύλασσεν ἐν τῷ τάφῳ μετὰ τοῦ πατρός.

Λουκρήτιος ἀλώμενος σὺν δυσὶ θεράπουσιν ἀγα-
θοῖς ὑπὸ ἀπορίας τῶν τροφῶν ἦει πρὸς τὴν
γυναικα, φορείω φερόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκετῶν οἴλα
τις ἄρρωστος, ἐς τὴν πόλιν. ἐνὸς δὲ τῶν φερόν-
των τὸ σκέλος συντρίβεντος τῷ ἔτέρῳ τὴν χείρα
ἐπιθεὶς ἦει. παρὰ δὲ τᾶς πύλαις γενόμενος,
ἔνθα αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ὑπὸ Σύλλα προγραφεὶς
έαλώκει, εἰδε λόχον ὄπλιτῶν ἐκτρέχοντα καὶ πρὸς
τὸ συγκύρημα τοῦ τόπου καταπλαγεὶς συνεκρύφθη

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

for a highwayman, but he said, "I have killed Restio, CHAP.
my master, the man who marked me with these VI
scars." The soldiers took the head from him for the sake of the reward, and made haste to the city, to find their mistake. The slave brought his master away and conveyed him by ship to Sicily.

44. Appius was resting at his country-place when the soldiers burst in. A slave put on his master's clothes and threw himself on his bed and voluntarily died for his master, who was standing beside him dressed as a slave. When the soldiers made a descent upon the house of Menenius, one of his slaves got into his master's litter and procured himself to be carried by his fellow-slaves, and in this way allowed himself to be killed for Menenius, who thereby escaped to Sicily. Vinius had a freedman named Philemon, the owner of a splendid mansion, who concealed him in the inmost recesses thereof, in an iron chest used for holding money or manuscripts, and gave him food in the night-time, until the return of peace. Another freedman, who had the custody of his master's tomb, guarded his master's son, who had been proscribed, in the tomb with his father.

Faithful
freedmen

Lucretius, who had been wandering about with two faithful slaves and had become destitute of food, set out to find his wife and was carried in a litter, in the guise of a sick man, by the two slaves to the city. One of the bearers broke his leg, so Lucretius walked leaning upon the other. When they reached the gate where the father of Lucretius, who had been proscribed by Sulla, had been captured, he saw a cohort of soldiers coming out. Being unnerved by the coincidence, he concealed himself with the slave

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. μετὰ τοῦ θεράποντος ἐν τάφῳ. τυμβωρύχων δὲ τοὺς τάφους ἐρευνωμένων, ὁ θεράπων ἑαυτὸν τοῖς τυμβωρύχοις παρέσχε περιδύειν, μέχρι Λουκρήτιον ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας διαφυγεῖν. ἐκεῖ δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Λουκρήτιος περιμείνας τε καὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ μερισάμενος ἐσθῆτος, ἥκε πρὸς τὴν γυναικα καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῆς ἐκρύπτετο ἐπὶ διπλῆς ὁροφῆς μεταξύ, μέχρι τινὲς αὐτὸν ἐρρύσαντο παρὰ τῶν προγραψάντων καὶ ὕστερον ἐπὶ εἰρήνης ὑπάτευσεν.

45. Σέργιος δὲ ἐκρύφθη παρ' αὐτῷ Ἀντωνίῳ, μέχρι Πλάγκον ὑπατεύοντα ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἔπεισε κάθοδον αὐτῷ ψηφίσασθαι. καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε ὁ Σέργιος ὕστερον, ἐν τῇ Καίσαρος καὶ Ἀντωνίου στάσει, τῆς βουλῆς ψηφιζομένης εἶναι πολέμιον τὸν Ἀντώνιον, μόνος τὴν ἀπολύουσαν ἔφερε φανερῶς.

Καὶ οὕδε μὲν οὗτως ἐσώζοντο, Πομπώνιος δὲ εἰς στρατηγοῦ σχῆμα κοσμήσας ἑαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς θεράποντας ἐς ὑπηρέτας σκευάσας τὴν πόλιν ὡς στρατηγὸς ὑπὸ ῥαβδούχοις διῆλθεν, ἐπιθλιβόντων αὐτὸν τῶν ὑπηρετῶν, ἵνα μὴ γνωσθείη πρὸς ἑτέρους, καὶ παρὰ ταῖς πύλαις ὀχημάτων τε δημοσίων ἐπέβη καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν διώδευεν, ἀποδεχομένων αὐτὸν καὶ παραπεμπόντων ἀπάντων οὐα στρατηγὸν ὑπὸ τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐπὶ σπουδᾶς ἐς Πομπίου ἀπεσταλμένουν, μέχρι καὶ δημοσίᾳ τριήρει διέπλευσε πρὸς ἐκεῖνον.

46. Ἀπουλήιος δὲ καὶ Ἀρρούντιος ὑποκριθέντες εἶναι λοχαγοὶ καὶ τοὺς θεράποντας ἐς στρατιώτας σκευάσαντες, τὰς μὲν πύλας διέδραμον ὡς λοχαγοὶ διώκοντες ἑτέρους, τὴν δὲ λοιπὴν ὄδον διελόμενοι τοὺς δεσμώτας ἐξέλυνον καὶ τοὺς

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

in a tomb. When some tomb-robbers came there CHAP.
searching for plunder, the slave offered himself to VI
these robbers to be stripped till Lucretius could escape to the city gate. There Lucretius waited for him, shared his clothing with him, and then went to his wife, by whom he was concealed between the planks of a double roof until his friends got his name erased from the proscription. After the restoration of peace he was raised to the consulship.

45. Sergius was concealed at the house of Antony himself until Antony persuaded the consul Plancus to procure a decree of amnesty for him. At a later period, when Octavian and Antony had fallen into disagreement, and when the Senate was voting Antony a public enemy, Sergius alone cast his vote openly in the negative.

Thus these all were saved. As for Pomponius, he arrayed himself in the garb of a praetor and disguised his slaves as his official attendants. He passed through the city as a praetor attended by lictors, his attendants pressing close to him lest he should be recognized. At the city gates he took possession of public carriages and traversed Italy in the character of a praetor sent by the triumvirs to conduct negotiations with Pompeius, all the people receiving him and sending him on as such, until he entered into a public ship and passed over to Pompeius.

46. Apuleius and Aruntius assumed the character of centurions, armed their slaves as soldiers, and passed through the gates pretending to be in pursuit of other persons, while for the remainder of their course they took different roads, releasing prisoners

Daring
exploit
of
Pomponius

Strange
battle
between
fugitives

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. ἀποδράντας συνέλεγον, μέχρι χειρὸς ἰκανῆς
VI ἑκατέρῳ γενομένης σημεῖά τε ἦν ἥδη καὶ ὅπλα
καὶ ὄψις στρατοῦ. χωρῶν δὲ ἑκάτερος αὐτῶν
ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, ἀμφί τινι λόφῳ σταθμεύουσι,
μεγάλῳ δέει καθορῶντες ἀλλήλους. ἔμα δὲ ἐφ
περινεύοντες ἐκ τοῦ λόφου ἔδοξαν ἀλλήλους
ἑκάτερος στρατὸν ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἐπιπεμφθέντα εἶναι
καὶ συμπλακέντες ἐμάχοντο, μέχρι ποτὲ ἔγνωσαν
καὶ τὰ ὅπλα ἀπερρίπτουν καὶ ὠλοφύροντο καὶ
τὴν τύχην ὡς ἐπιβαροῦσάν σφισιν ἐς ἅπαντα
ἐπεμέμφοντο. διαπλεύσαντες δὲ ὁ μὲν ἐς Βρούτον,
ὁ δ' ἐς Πομπήιον, ὁ μὲν τῷ Πομπηίῳ συγκατήλθεν,
ὁ δὲ ἐστρατήγησε τῷ Βρούτῳ Βιθυνίας καὶ
Βρούτου πεσόντος Ἀντωνίῳ παραδοὺς Βιθυνίαν
κατήχθη. Οὐεντίδιον δὲ ἀπελεύθερος εὐθὺς
μὲν προγραφέντα κατέδησεν ὡς παραδώσων τοῖς
σφαγεῦσι, νυκτὸς δὲ τοὺς θεράποντας ἐπεισε καὶ
ἐσκεύασεν ὡς ὄπλίτας καὶ τὸν δεσπότην ὡς
λοχαγὸν ἐξήγαγε· τὴν τε ἄλλην Ἰταλίαν μέχρι
Σικελίας διώδευσαν καὶ συγκατέλυσαν πολλάκις
ἔτεροις λοχαγοῖς ζητοῦσιν Οὐεντίδιον.

47. "Ετερον ἐν τάφῳ κρύπτων ἀπελεύθερος, οὐ
φέροντα φαντασίαν τάφου, μετήγαγεν ἐς φαῦλον
οἴκημα μισθωτόν. στρατιώτου δ' αὐτῷ παρακατ-
οικισθέντος, οὐδὲ τοῦτον φέρων τὸν φόβον ἐς
θαυμαστὴν τόλμαν ἐκ δειλίας μετέβαλε καὶ
κειράμενος ἤγεῖτο ἐν αὐτῇ Ῥώμῃ διδασκαλείου

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

and collecting fugitives until a sufficient force was obtained by each to display the standards, the equipment, and the appearance of an army. When they each arrived separately at the sea-shore they took position on either side of a certain hill and contemplated each other with great apprehension. At daybreak the next morning, after reconnoitring each other from the hillside, each army took the other for an army sent against itself, and they actually came to blows and fought until they discovered their error, when they dropped their arms and broke into lamentations, blaming the hard fate that pursued them everywhere. Then they took ship, and one of them sailed to Brutus and the other to Pompeius. The latter was included in the reconciliation with Pompeius. The former took command of Bithynia for Brutus, and when Brutus fell he surrendered Bithynia to Antony and was restored to citizenship. When Ventidius was proscribed one of his freedman put fetters on him as though intending to deliver him to the murderers. But at night he gave instructions to some slaves, whom he armed as soldiers, and then he led his master forth in the character of a centurion, and they traversed the whole of Italy as far as Sicily, and often passed the night in company with other centurions who were in search of Ventidius.

47. Another proscript was concealed by a freedman in a tomb, but as he could not endure the horror of the place he was transferred to a miserable hired hovel. A soldier was lodged near him, and as he could not endure this fear he changed from a feeling of cowardice to the most wonderful audacity. He cut off his hair and opened a school in Rome

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. μέχρι τῶν σπουδῶν. Οὐολούσιος δὲ ἀγορανομῶν προεγράφη καὶ φίλοιν ὄργιαστὴν τῆς Ἰσιδος ἔχων ἥτησε τὴν στολὴν καὶ τὰς ὁθόνας ἐνέδυ τὰς ποδήρεις καὶ τὴν τοῦ κυνὸς κεφαλὴν ἐπέθετο καὶ διῆλθεν οὕτως ὄργιάζων αὐτῷ σχήματι ἐς Πομπίουν. Σίττιον δὲ Καληνοί, πολίτην σφῶν ὅντα καὶ πολλὰ ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐκ περιουσίας δαψιλοῦς ἀναλώσαντα, ἐφύλασσον, σιδηροφοροῦντές τε ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῖς οἰκέταις ἀπειλοῦντες καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀπερύκοντες ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν, μέχρι μαρανομένου τοῦ κακοῦ καὶ ἐς τοὺς τρεῖς ἐπρέσβευσαν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔτυχον Σίττιον τῆς ἄλλης Ἰταλίας εἱργόμενον ἐν τῇ πατρίδι μένειν. Σίττιος μὲν δὴ πρῶτος ἡ μόνος ἀνδρῶν ὅδε τῆς ξένης ἐφυγαδεύετο ἐν τῇ πατρίδι, Οὐάρρων δὲ ἦν φιλόσοφος τε καὶ ἴστορίας συγγραφεύς, ἐστρατευμένος τε καλῶς καὶ ἐστρατηγηκώς, καὶ ἵσως διὰ ταῦτα ὡς ἔχθρὸς μοναρχίας προυγράφη. φιλοτιμουμένων δὲ αὐτὸν ὑποδέξασθαι τῶν γυωρίμων καὶ διεριζόντων ἐς ἄλλήλους, Καληνὸς ἐξενίκησε καὶ εἶχεν ἐν ἐπαύλει, ἔνθα Ἀντώνιος, δτε διοδεύοι, κατήγετο· καὶ τὸν Οὐάρρωνα οὐδεὶς ἔνδον ὅντα ἐνέφηνε θεράπων, οὔτε αὐτοῦ Οὐάρρωνος οὔτε Καληνοῦ.

48. Οὐεργίνιος δέ, ἀνὴρ ἥδυς εἰπεῖν, τοὺς οἰκέτας ἐδίδασκεν, ὅτι κτείναντες μὲν αὐτὸν δι' ὀλίγα χρήματα οὐκ ἀσφαλῆ μύσους τε πίμπλανται καὶ φόβων ἐς ὕστερον μεγάλων, περισώσαντες δὲ δόξης τε εύσεβοῦς καὶ ἐλπίδων ἀγαθῶν καὶ χρημάτων ὕστερον πολὺ πλεόνων τε καὶ ἀσφαλεσ-

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

itself, which he taught until the return of peace. CHAP.
Volusius was proscribed while holding the office VI
of aedile.

He had a friend who was a priest of Isis, whose robe he begged. He clothed himself with this linen garment reaching to his feet, put on the dog's head and thus as a priest of Isis he made the journey to Pompeius. The inhabitants of Cales protected Sittius, one of their citizens who had made lavish expenditures from his own fortune for their benefit, and provided an armed guard for him. They silenced his slaves by threats and prevented the soldiers from approaching their walls until the troubles began to subside, when they sent envoys to the triumvirs on his behalf and obtained permission for Sittius that he might remain at home, but should be excluded from the rest of Italy. Sittius was thus the first or the only man who was ever an exile in his own country. Varro was a philosopher and a historian, a soldier and a distinguished general, and for these reasons perhaps was proscribed as hostile to the monarchy. His friends were eager to give him shelter and contended with each other for the honour of doing so. Calenus won the privilege and took him to his country house, where Antony was accustomed to stop when travelling. Yet no slave, either of Calenus or of Varro himself, revealed the fact that Varro was there.

48. Virginius, an orator of distinction, told his slaves that if they should kill him for a small and uncertain reward they would be filled with remorse and terror afterward, while if they should save him they would enjoy an excellent reputation and good hopes, and, later, a much larger and more

How Varro
the
historian
was saved

Escape of
Virginius
the orator

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. τέρων. οἱ μὲν δὴ συνέφευγον ώς ὁμοδούλῳ καὶ
VI γνωρισθέντος αὐτοῦ παρὰ τὴν ὄδὸν πρὸς τοὺς
όπλίτας ἀπεμάχοντο· ὁ δὲ ληφθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν ὄπλι-
τῶν ἐδίδασκε κάκείνους, ὅτι κατὰ μὲν ἔχθραν
αὐτὸν οὐκ ἀνελοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ χρημάτων οὖνεκα-
μόνων, χρήματα δὲ αὐτοῖς εἴη δικαιότερα καὶ
πλέονα λαβεῖν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ἐλθοῦσιν, “ἔνθα
μοι τὸ γύναιον,” ἔφη, “ναῦν φέρουσα χρημάτων
συνετάξατο.” καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ οἵδε πεισθέντες
κατήγεσαν ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἡ γυνὴ δὲ ἀφίκτο
μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν ἡιόνα κατὰ τὸ συγκείμενον, βραδύ-
νοντος δὲ τοῦ Οὔεργινίου, νομίσασα αὐτὸν ἐς
Πομπήιον προπεπλευκέναι ἀνήγετο, θεράποντα
ὅμως ἐπὶ τῆς ἡιόνος ἐξαγγέλλειν ὑπολιπούσα.
καὶ ὁ θεράπων τὸν Οὔεργίνιον ὥδων ἀνέθορέ τε ώς
ἐς δεσπότην καὶ τὴν ναῦν ἐδείκνυεν ώς ὄρωμένην
καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα ἔφραζε καὶ τὰ χρήματα καὶ
αὐτὸς ἐφ' ὅτῳ κατελείφθη. οἱ δὲ ἐπίστευον
ἄπασιν ἥδη, καὶ τὸν Οὔεργίνιον ἀξιοῦντα σφᾶς
περιμένειν, ἔστε μετακληθείη τὸ γύναιον, ἡ συν-
ελθεῖν οἱ πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐπὶ τὰ χρήματα, ἐσβάντες
ἐς σκάφος παρέπεμπον ἐς Σικελίαν, ἐρέσσοντες
φιλοπόνως· ἐκεῦ δὲ ἔτυχόν τε τῶν ἐπαγγελμῶν καὶ
οὐκ ἀπέστησαν ἔτι θεραπεύοντες αὐτὸν μέχρι τῶν
σπουδῶν.

‘Ρέβιλον δὲ ναύκληρος ἐς τὴν ναῦν ὑποδεξί-
μενος ώς διοίσων ἐς Σικελίαν ἥτει χρήματα,
μηνύσειν ἀπειλῶν, εἰ μὴ λάθοι. ὁ δέ, οἶον τι καὶ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

certain reward. So they fled, taking him with them in the guise of a fellow-slave, and when he was recognized on the road they fought against the soldiers. Being captured by the latter, he told them that they had no reason for killing him except for money, and that they would get a more honourable and larger reward by going with him to the sea-shore, "where," said he, "my wife has arranged to bring a ship with money." They followed his suggestion and went with him to the sea-shore. His wife had come to the rendezvous according to agreement, but as Virginius had been delayed, she thought that he had already sailed to Pompeius. So she had embarked, leaving a slave at the rendezvous, however, to tell him if he should come. When the slave saw Virginius he ran up as though to his master, and pointed out to him the ship which had just started, and told him about his wife and the money and why he (the slave) had been left behind. The soldiers now believed all that they heard, and when Virginius asked them to wait till his wife could be called back, or to go with him after her to obtain the money, they embarked in a small boat and conveyed him to Sicily, rowing with all their might. There they received what had been promised them, and they did not go back, but remained in his service until peace was declared.

A ship captain received Rebilus in his vessel in order to convey him to Sicily and then demanded money, threatening to betray him if he did not get it. Rebilus followed the example of Themistocles when he fled. He threatened in turn that he would

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. VI Θεμιστοκλῆς φεύγων ἐποίησεν, ἀντηπείλει μηνύ-
σειν, ὅτι αὐτὸν ἐπὶ χρήμασιν ἄγοι, μέχρι δείσας
ὁ ναύκληρος διέσωσεν ἐς Πομπήιον.

49. Μᾶρκος δὲ Βρούτῳ στρατηγῷ προεγέ-
γραπτό μὲν καὶ ὅδε διὰ τόδε, ἡττωμένου δὲ τοῦ
Βρούτου συλλαμβανόμενος ὑπεκρίνατο εἶναι θερά-
πων, καὶ αὐτὸν ὡνήσατο Βαρβούλας. δεξιὸν δὲ
όρῶν ἐπέστησε τοῖς ὁμοδούλοις καὶ χρήματα
διοικεῖν ἔδωκεν· δεινὸν δὲ ἐν ἅπασι καὶ συνετὸν
ὄντα ὑπὲρ θεράποντος φύσιν ὑπενόει καὶ ἐπήλπι-
ζεν, εἰ τῶν προγεγραμμένων τις εἴη, περισώσειν
όμολογήσαντα. ἀπομαχόμενον δὲ ἵσχυρῶς καὶ
γένος ἀναπλάσσοντα καὶ ὄνομα καὶ προτέρους δε-
σπότας ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπήγετο, ἐλπίσας ὀκνήσειν ἐς
Ῥώμην ἀφικέσθαι προγεγραμμένον. ὁ δὲ εἴπετο
καὶ ὡς. περὶ δὲ τὰς πύλας τῶν ὑπαντώντων τις
φίλων Βαρβούλα, θεασάμενος τὸν Μᾶρκον ὡς
οἰκέτην αὐτῷ παρεστῶτα, κρύφα ἐμήνυσε τῷ
Βαρβούλᾳ. ὁ δὲ ἐδεήθη Καίσαρος δι' Ἀγρίππα,
καὶ ἀφείθη τῆς προγραφῆς ὁ Μᾶρκος, καὶ φίλος
ἐγίγνετο Καίσαρι καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ καὶ στρατηγὸς
ἥν ἐπὶ Ἀντωνίῳ περὶ Ἀκτιον. ἐστρατήγει δὲ καὶ
Ἀντωνίῳ Βαρβούλας, καὶ ἡ τύχη περιῆλθεν ἐς τὸ
ὅμοιον ἀμφοτέροις. Βαρβούλας τε γὰρ ἡττηθέντος
Ἀντωνίου λαμβανόμενος ὑπεκρίνατο οἰκέτης εἶναι,
καὶ ὁ Μᾶρκος αὐτὸν ὡς ἀγνοῶν ὡνήσατο, ἐκθέ-
μενος δὲ ἅπαντα τῷ Καίσαρι ἥτησέ τε καὶ ἔτυχε
τοῖς ὁμοίοις τὸν Βαρβούλαν ἀμείψασθαι.

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

tell how the captain was helping him to escape CHAP.
for money. The captain was afraid, and he carried VI
Rebilus over to Pompeius.

49. Marcus was one of the lieutenants of Brutus Adventures of Marcus Lollius and was proscribed for that reason. When Brutus was defeated he was captured. He pretended to be a slave and was bought by Barbula. The latter, perceiving that he was skilful, placed him over his fellow-slaves and gave him charge of his private disbursements. As he was clever in all respects and superior in intelligence to the condition of a slave, his master had suspicions and encouraged him to hope that if he would confess that he was one of the proscribed he (Barbula) would procure his pardon. He denied stoutly, and gave himself a feigned name and family and former masters. Barbula brought him to Rome, expecting that if he were proscribed he would show reluctance to come, but he followed all the same. One of Barbula's friends, who met him at the gates, saw Marcus standing by his side in the character of a slave, and privately told Barbula who he was, and he obtained from Octavian, through the intercession of Agrippa, the erasure of the name of Marcus from the proscription. The latter became a friend of Octavian, and some time later served as his lieutenant against Antony at the battle of Actium. Barbula was then serving with Antony, and the fortune of both of them was reversed. For when Antony was vanquished Barbula was taken prisoner and he pretended to be a slave, and Marcus bought him pretending not to know him. Then he laid the whole matter before Octavian and asked that he might compensate Barbula with a like service, and his request was granted.

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. VI Τοῖσδε μὲν οὖν ἡ συντυχία τῶν ὁμοίων καὶ ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα παρέμεινεν· ἥρξαν γὰρ τὴν ἐπώνυμον ἀρχὴν ἐν ἄστει οἱ δύο ὁμοῦ. 50. Βαλβίνφ δέ, ἐκφυγόντι καὶ κατελθόντι σὺν Πομπηίῳ καὶ ὑπατεύοντι οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον, Λέπιδος ἴδιώτης ὑπὸ Καίσαρος ἐκ δυνάστου γενόμενος ὑπὸ τοιάσδε ἀνάγκης παρέστη. Μαικήνας ἐδίωκε τὸν Λεπίδου παῖδα θουλεύσεως ἐπὶ Καίσαρι, ἐδίωκε δὲ καὶ τὴν μητέρα τῷ παιδὶ συνεγνωκέναι· Λεπίδου γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἄρα ως ἀσθενοῦς ὑπερέωρα. τὸν μὲν δὴ παῖδα ὁ Μαικήνας ἐς Ἀκτιον ἔπειμπε τῷ Καίσαρι, τὴν δὲ μητέρα, ἵνα μὴ ἄγοιτο οὖσα γυνή, ἐγγύην ἦτει παρὰ τῷ ὑπάτῳ πρὸς Καίσαρα ἀφίξεσθαι. οὐδενὸς δὲ τὴν ἐγγύην ὑφισταμένου, ὁ Λέπιδος ἀμφὶ τὰς Βαλβίνου θύρας ἐτρίβετο πολλάκις καὶ δικάζοντι παρίστατο καὶ διωθουμένων αὐτὸν ἐς πολὺ τῶν ὑπηρετῶν μόλις εἰπεν· “ἐμοὶ μὲν καὶ οἱ κατήγοροι μαρτυροῦσιν ἐπιείκειαν, οὐδὲ γυναικί με ἢ παιδὶ συγγνῶναι λέγοντες· σὲ δὲ οὐκ ἐγὼ μὲν προέγραψα, κάτω δέ εἰμι τῶν προγραφέντων. ἀλλ' ἐς τὴν ἀνθρώπειον τύχην ἀφορῶν καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ σοὶ παρεστῶτα, χάρισαί μοι τὴν γυναικα ἀπαντήσειν ἐς Καίσαρα ἐγγυωμένῳ ἢ μετ' ἐκείνης ἀπελθεῖν δεομένῳ.” ταῦτα ἔτι τοῦ Λεπίδου λέγοντος, οὐκ ἐνεγκὼν τὴν μεταβολὴν ὁ Βαλβίνος ἀπέλυσε τῆς ἐγγύης τὴν γυναικα.

51. Κικέρων δὲ ὁ Κικέρωνος προαπέσταλτο μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, τοιάδε ἔσεσθαι προσδοκῶντος· ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐς Βρούτον

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

This similarity of good fortune attended these two in CHAP.

VI

after times, for they both held the chief magistracy in
the city the same year. 50. Balbinus took refuge with
Pompeius and was restored with him, and became
consul not long afterward. Lepidus, who had
meanwhile been deposed from the triumvirate by
Octavian and reduced to private life, presented
himself to Balbinus under the following stress.
Maeccenas prosecuted the son of Lepidus for high
treason against Octavian and also the young man's
mother as knowing of the crime. Lepidus himself
he overlooked as being a person of no consequence.
Maeccenas sent the son to Octavian at Actium, but in
order to spare his mother the journey on account of
her sex, he demanded that she should give bail to
the consul for her appearance before Octavian. As
nobody offered bail for her, Lepidus presented him-
self frequently at the door of Balbinus and also at
his tribunal, and though the attendants long forced
him away, he made himself heard with difficulty to
this effect : "The accusers testify to my innocence,
since they say that I was not an accomplice of my
wife and son. I did not cause you to be pro-
scribed, yet I am now inferior to the proscribed.
Consider the mutability of human affairs and grant
to one, who stands by your side, the favour of
becoming security for my wife's appearance before
Octavian, or let me go there with her." When
Lepidus had thus spoken, Balbinus took pity on his
reverse of fortune, and released his wife from bail
altogether.

51. Cicero, the son of Cicero, had been sent away
to Greece by his father, who anticipated these evils.
From Greece he proceeded to join Brutus, and after

Balbinus
and Lepidus

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. καὶ μετὰ Βροῦτον ὑποθανόντα ἐς Πομπήιον ἐλθὼν
VI τιμῆς παρ' ἑκατέρῳ καὶ στρατηγίας ἡξιοῦτο. ἐπὶ δὲ ἐκείνοις αὐτὸν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐς ἀπολογίαν τῆς Κικέρωνος ἐκδόσεως ἰερέα τε εὐθὺς ἀπέφηνε καὶ ὑπατον οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον καὶ Συρίας στρατηγόν· καὶ τὴν Ἀντωνίου περὶ Ἄκτιον συμφορὰν ἐπισταλεῖσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὁ Κικέρων ὅδε ὑπατεύων ἀνέγνω τε τῷ δῆμῳ καὶ προύθηκεν ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος, ἔιθα πρότερον ἡ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ προύκειτο κεφαλή. Ἀππιος δὲ διένειμε τοῖς θεράπονσιν τὰ ὄντα καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν ἐς Σικελίαν ἔπλει. χειμῶνος δὲ ἐπιλαβόντος ἐπιβουλεύοντες οἱ θεράποντες τοῖς χρήμασιν ἐς σκάφος ἐνέθεντο τὸν Ἀππιον, ώς ἐς ἀσφαλεστέραν ἐλπίδα μεταφέροντες. καὶ συνέβη τῷ μὲν ἐκ παραλόγου διαπλεῦσαι, τοῖς δὲ ἀπολέσθαι τῆς νεῶς διαλυθείσης. Πούπλιος δὲ ὁ ταμίας Βρούτου, τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον αὐτὸν πειθόντων προδοῦναι Βρούτον οὐκ ἀνασχόμενος, διὰ τόδε καὶ προεγράφη. καὶ κατήχθη καὶ Καῖσαρι φίλος ἐγίγνετο καὶ ἐπιόντι ποτὲ τῷ Καῖσαρι προύθηκεν εἰκόνας Βρούτου καὶ ἐπηνέθη καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος.

VII

CAP. VII Τὰ μὲν δὴ παρὰ δόξαν τισὶ τῶν προγραφέντων εἴς τε κίνδυνον καὶ σωτηρίαν γενόμενα, πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα παραλιπόντι τοιάδε μάλιστα ἦν 52. γιγνομένων δὲ τούτων ἐν Ῥώμῃ, καὶ τὰ ὑπερόρια πάντα πολέμοις διὰ τήνδε τὴν στάσιν ἐδονεῖτο· καὶ τῶν πολέμων οἱ μείζους ἦσαν ἀμφί τε Λιβύην
228

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

the latter's death he joined Pompeius, by both of whom he was honoured with a military command.

Afterwards Octavian, by way of apology for his betrayal of Cicero, caused him to be appointed pontifex, and not long afterwards consul and then proconsul of Syria. When the news of the overthrow of Antony at Actium was forwarded by Octavian this same Cicero, as consul, announced it to the people and affixed it to the rostra where formerly his father's head had been exhibited. Appius distributed his goods among his slaves and then sailed with them to Sicily. Being overtaken by a storm, the slaves formed a plot to get possession of his money, and placed Appius in a small boat, pretending to transfer him to a safer place; but it turned out that he reached the port most unexpectedly, while their ship was wrecked and they all perished. Publius, quaestor of Brutus, was solicited by the party of Antony to betray his chief, but refused, and was for that reason proscribed. Afterward he was restored to citizenship and became a friend of Octavian. Once when Octavian came to visit him Publius displayed some images of Brutus, and Octavian praised him for doing so.

The son
of Cicero
escapes and
is restored
to favour

VII

VII

THE above are some of the most remarkable cases where the proscribed were lost or saved. Many others I have omitted. 52. In the meantime, while these transactions were taking place at Rome, all the outlying countries were torn by hostilities growing out of the same commotion. Chief among

VII
The war
in the
provinces

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. Κορνιφικίου πρὸς Σέξτιον καὶ ἐν Συρίᾳ Κασσίου
VII πρὸς Δολοβέλλαν καὶ περὶ Σικελίαν Πομπηίου.
πάθη τε πολλὰ συνηνέχθη πόλεσιν ἐκ δορια-
λωσίας, ὑπεριδόντι δὲ τῶν ἔλασσόνων τὰ μέγιστα
δὴ καὶ δι' ἀξίωσιν τῶν ἄλλων περιφανέστατα
Λαοδικεῦσι καὶ Ταρσεῦσι καὶ Ῥοδίοις καὶ Πατα-
ρεῦσι καὶ Ξανθίοις. καὶ αὐτῶν ἔκαστα, ὡς ἐν
κεφαλαίῳ συναγαγόντι φράσαι, τοιάδε ἦν.

53. Λιβύης Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν μὲν ἔτι καλοῦσι
παλαιάν, ὅσην Καρχηδονίους ἀφείλοντο· ἦν δὲ
Ἰόβας εἶχεν, ὑστερόν τε ἔλαβον ἐπὶ Γαῖου
Καίσαρος καὶ διὰ τοῦτο νέαν προσαγορεύουσι
Λιβύην· εἴη δ' ἀν τῆς Νομαδικῆς. Σέξτιος οὖν
ὑπὸ Καίσαρι τῆς νέας ἡγούμενος ἤτει Κορνιφίκιον
ἐκστῆναι οἱ τῆς παλαιᾶς, ὡς Λιβύης ἀπάσης ἐν
τῇ λήξει τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν Καίσαρι νενεμημένης. ὁ
δὲ οὔτε τὴν λήξιν ἔφη γιγνώσκειν τῶν τριῶν ἐφ'
έαυτῶν πεποιημένων, οὔτε τὴν ἀρχὴν παρὰ τῆς
βουλῆς λαβὼν ἄλλῳ μεθήσειν χωρὶς αὐτῆς· ἐκ
μὲν δὴ τούτων ἀλλήλοις ἐπολέμουν, στρατὸν δὲ
εἶχεν ὁ μὲν βαρύν τε καὶ πλείονα, ὁ δὲ Σέξτιος
κουφότερον τε καὶ ὀλιγώτερον, φῶ δὴ καὶ τὰ
μεσόγαια τοῦ Κορνιφίκιου περιῳ πάφιστη καὶ
Οὐεντίδιον, στρατηγὸν τοῦ Κορνιφίκιου, μετὰ
πλειόνων ἐπελθόντα ἀπεμάχετο πολιορκούμενος.
ἔδήσου δὲ καὶ Λαίλιος, ἔτερος τοῦ Κορνιφίκιου
στρατηγός, τὴν Σεξτίου Λιβύην καὶ Κίρταν
περικαθήμενος ἐπολιόρκει.

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

these wars was that in Africa between Cornificius CHAP. VII
and Sextius, that in Syria between Cassius and Dolabella, and that against Pompeius around Sicily. Many cities suffered the calamity of capture. I shall pass by the smaller ones and confine myself to the largest, and especially the very celebrated captures of Laodicea, Tarsus, Rhodes, Patara, and Xanthus. I shall relate briefly what took place at each of these.

53. That part of Africa which the Romans took from the Carthaginians they still call Old Africa. The part that belonged to King Juba, and which was taken by Gaius Caesar at a later period, they call for that reason New Africa; it might also be called Numidian Africa. Accordingly Sextius, who held the government of New Africa, being appointed by Octavian, summoned Cornificius to abandon Old Africa to him because the whole country had been assigned to Octavian in the allotment of the triumvirs. Cornificius replied that he did not know what allotment the triumvirs had made among themselves, and that since he had received the government from the Senate he would not surrender it to anybody else without the order of the Senate. This was the origin of hostilities between them. Cornificius had the heavier and more numerous army. That of Sextius was more nimble though inferior in number, by which means he was enabled to dash round and detach from Cornificius his inland districts until he was besieged by Ventidius, a lieutenant of Cornificius, who brought against him superior forces and whom he resisted valiantly. Laelius, another lieutenant of Cornificius, ravaged the province of Sextius, sat down before the city of Cirta, and laid siege to it.

Cornificius
and Sextius
in Africa

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. 54. Καὶ πάντες ἐπρέσβευον περὶ συμμαχίας
 VII ἐς τε Ἀραβίωνα βασιλέα καὶ τοὺς καλουμένους
 Σιττιανούς, οἱ ἀπὸ τοιᾶσδε συντυχίας οὗτοι
 ὠνομάζοντο. Σίττιος ἐν Ῥώμῃ δίκην ἰδίαν οὐχ
 ὑποστὰς ἔφυγε καὶ στρατὸν ἀγείρας ἐκ τε αὐτῆς
 Ἰταλίας καὶ Ἰβηρίας ἐς Λιβύην διέπλευσε καὶ
 τοῖς Λιβύων βασιλεῦσι πολεμοῦσιν ἀλλήλοις
 ἀνὰ μέρος συνεμάχει. ἀεὶ δὲ οἰς προσθοῖτο
 νικῶντων, ὁ Σίττιος ἐπὶ ὄνόματος ἐγίγνετο, καὶ
 ὁ στρατὸς αὐτῷ γεγύμναστο λαμπρῶς. Γαῖῳ
 τε Καίσαρι διώκοντι τοὺς Πομπηιανοὺς ἐν Λιβύῃ
 συνεμάχησε, καὶ Σαβόρραν, Ἰόβα στρατηγὸν
 διώνυμον, ἀνεῖλε καὶ γέρας τούτων ἔλαβε παρὰ
 Καίσαρος τὴν Μασανάσσου γῆν, οὐχ ἅπασαν,
 ἀλλὰ τὸ κράτιστον αὐτῆς. Μασανάσσης δ' ἦν
 Ἀραβίωνος τοῦδε πατήρ, Ἰόβα σύμμαχος, καὶ
 αὐτοῦ τὴν χώραν ὁ Καῖσαρ τῷδε τῷ Σιττίῳ καὶ
 Βόκχῳ, Μαυρουσίων βασιλεῦι, δεδώρητο· καὶ τὸ
 μέρος ὁ Σίττιος τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτὸν ἀνδράσιν ἐπιδιεῖλεν.
 Ἀραβίων δὲ τότε μὲν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν ἔξεφυγε πρὸς
 τοὺς παιδας τοὺς Πομπήιους, Γαῖον δὲ Καίσαρος
 ἀναιρεθέντος ἐς Λιβύην ἐπανῆλθε, καὶ Λιβύων
 τινὰς ἀεὶ τῷ νεωτέρῳ Πομπήιῳ πέμπων ἐς Ἰβη-
 ρίαν καὶ γεγυμνασμένους ἀπολαμβάνων Βόκχον
 ἀφήρητο τὴν χώραν καὶ Σίττιον ἀνηρήκει δόλῳ.
 εὔνους δὲ ὃν τοῖς Πομπηιανοῖς διὰ τάδε, κατε-
 γίνωσκεν ἀεὶ τῆς μοίρας ως ἀτυχούσης ἀμειλίκ-
 τως καὶ Σεξτίῳ προσέθετο, εὐμενιζόμενος δι'
 αὐτοῦ Καίσαρα. προσέθεντο δὲ καὶ οἱ Σιττιανοί,
 κατ' εὔνοιαν οἵδε πατρώαν τοῦ Καίσαρος.

55. Θαρρήσας οὖν ὁ Σεξτίος ἔξήσει τῆς πολιορ-
 κίας ἐς μάχην καὶ πεσόντος τοῦ Οὐεντιδίου καὶ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

54. Both parties sent ambassadors to secure the CHAP.

alliance of King Arabio and of the so-called Sittians,

VII

who received their name from the following circumstance.

Adventures
of Sittius

A certain Sittius, who was under accusation at Rome, took flight in order to avoid trial.

Collecting an army from Italy and Spain, he crossed over to Africa, where he allied himself now with one and now with another of the warring kings of that country.

As those with whom he joined himself were always victorious, Sittius acquired a reputation and his army became wonderfully efficient. When Gaius Caesar pursued the Pompeians to Africa

Sittius joined him and destroyed Juba's famous general, Saburra, and received from Caesar, as a reward for these services, the territory of Masinissa,

not all, but the best part of it. Masinissa was the father of this Arabio and the ally of Juba. Caesar gave his territory to this Sittius, and to Bocchus,

the king of Mauritania, and Sittius divided his own portion among his soldiers. Arabio at that time fled to the sons of Pompey in Spain, but returned to Africa

after Caesar's death and kept sending to the younger Pompeius detachments of his men, whom he received back in a state of good training, and so expelled Bocchus from his territory and killed Sittius by stratagem. Although for these reasons he was friendly toward the Pompeians, he nevertheless decided against that party, because it was so extremely unlucky, and joined Sextius, through whom he acquired the favour of Octavian. The Sittians also joined him by reason of their friendship for the elder Caesar.

55. Thus encouraged Sextius made a sortie by A battle
which Ventidius was killed and his army put to at Utica

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. τοῦ στρατοῦ φεύγοντος ὑπ' ἀναρχίας, εἴπετο
VII κτείνων τε καὶ ζωγρῶν. καὶ τάδε μαθὼν ὁ
Λαίλιος διέλυε τὴν τῆς Κίρτης πολιορκίαν καὶ
ἔχώρει πρὸς τὸν Κορνιφίκιον. ὁ δὲ Σέξτιος
ἐπαιρόμενος τοῖς γεγονόσιν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἥδη τὸν
Κορνιφίκιον ἐς Ἰτύκην ἦει καὶ ἀντεστρατοπέδευε
μετὰ πλειόνων ὅντι. Λαίλιον δὲ τοῦ Κορνιφίκιου
μετὰ τῶν ἱππέων πέμψαντος ἐς τινα κατάσκεψιν,
ὁ Σέξτιος Ἀραβίωνα ἐπεμψεν ἵππομαχεῖν τῷ
Λαιλίῳ κατὰ μέτωπον καὶ αὐτὸς ἦει μετὰ τῶν
εὐζώνων ἐς τὰ πλάγια τῆς ἵππομαχίας καὶ
ἐμβαλὼν ἐθορύβει, μέχρι τὸν Λαίλιον οὐχ ἡσση-
μένον πω δεῖσαι περὶ τῆς ἀναχωρήσεως, μὴ
ἀποκλεισθείη, καὶ λόφον ἐν μέσῳ καταλαβεῖν,
Ἀραβίωνα δὲ ἀρτώμενον αὐτοῦ κτεῖναί τε πολ-
λοὺς καὶ τὸν λόφον περικυκλῶσαι. ὄρῶν δὲ ταῦτα
ὁ Κορνιφίκιος ἔξήει τῷ πλέονι στρατῷ, βοηθήσων
τῷ Λαιλίῳ· καὶ τοῦδε μὲν ὁ Σέξτιος ὅπισθεν
γενόμενος ἔξήπτετο συντρέχων, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐπι-
στρεφόμενος ὁ Κορνιφίκιος ἀπεμάχετο μάλα
κακοπαθῶς.

56. Ὁ δὲ Ἀραβίων ἐν τούτῳ πετροβάταις
ἀνδράσιν ἀνέρπουσι διὰ κρημνῶν ἐς τὸ στρατό-
πεδον τοῦ Κορνιφίκιου παρέδυ λαθών. καὶ Ῥώ-
σκιος μὲν ὁ φύλαξ, τοῦ χάρακος ἀλισκόμενου,
τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν τινι τὴν σφαγὴν ὑπέσχε καὶ
ἀνηρέθη, ὁ δὲ Κορνιφίκιος τῇ μάχῃ κάμνων μετε-
πῆδα πρὸς Λαίλιον ἐς τὸν κολωνόν, οὐκ εἰδώς πω
περὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου· μεταπηδῶντα δ' αὐτὸν
οἱ τοῦ Ἀραβίωνος ἱππέες ἐπιδραμόντες ἔκτειναν.
καὶ γιγνόμενα ταῦτα ὁ Λαίλιος ἀπὸ τοῦ λόφου
καθορῶν ἑαυτὸν διεχρήσατο. τῶν δ' ἀρχόντων

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

headlong flight. Sextius pursued them, killing and CHAP.
taking prisoners. When Laelius heard the news he
VII
raised the siege of Cirta and joined Cornificius.
Sextius, elated by his success, advanced against
Cornificius himself at Utica and encamped opposite
him, although the latter had the superior force.
Cornificius sent Laelius with his cavalry to make a
reconnaissance, and Sextius ordered Arabio to
engage him with his own cavalry in front, and
Sextius himself with his light troops fell upon the
enemy's flank and threw them into such confusion
that Laelius, although not vanquished, feared lest
his retreat should be cut off and took possession of a
hill near by. Arabio hung upon his rear, killed
many, and surrounded the hill. When Cornificius
saw this he sallied out with the greater part of his
force to assist Laelius. Sextius, who was in his rear,
dashed up and attacked him, but Cornificius turned
upon him and drove him back, although suffering
severely.

56. Meanwhile Arabio, with a band of men
accustomed to climbing rocks, scaled a precipice to
the camp of Cornificius and stole into it unobserved.
When the camp was captured Roscius, the custodian,
offered his throat to one of his assistants and was
killed. Cornificius, overcome by the fatigue of the
engagement, retired toward Laelius on the hill, not
yet knowing what had happened to his camp.
While he was retreating the cavalry of Arabio
charged upon him and killed him, and when Laelius,
looking down from the hill, saw what had happened
he killed himself. When the leaders had fallen the

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. πεσόντων ὁ στρατὸς κατὰ μέρη διέφυγεν· καὶ
VII ὅσοι τῶν προγεγραμμένων ἦσαν παρὰ τῷ Κορινθικῷ, οἱ μὲν ἐς Σικελίαν διέπλεον, οἱ δὲ ὅπῃ δύναιντο ἔκαστος. ὁ δὲ Σέξτιος Ἀραβίωνα μὲν καὶ τοὺς Σιττιανοὺς ἐδωρεῖτο πολλοῖς λαφύροις, τὰς δὲ πόλεις τῷ Καίσαρι καθίστατο, συγγινώσκων ἀπάσαις.

VIII

CAP. Τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τέλος ἦν τῷ περὶ Λιβύην Σεξτίου καὶ Κορινθικίου πολέμῳ, βραχεῖ διὰ ταχυεργίαν δόξαντι εἴναι· 57. τὰ δὲ ἀμφὶ Κάσσιον τε καὶ Βροῦτον, μικρὰ καὶ τῶν εἰρημένων ἀναλαβόντι ἐς ὑπόμνημα, ἦν τοιάδε. ἐπειδὴ Γάιος Καίσαρ ἀνήρητο, οἱ μὲν σφαγεῖς αὐτοῦ τὸ Καπιτώλιον κατέλαβον καὶ ψηφισθείσης αὐτοῖς ἀμυηστίας κατέβησαν. ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἐπὶ τῇ ἐκκομιδῇ τοῦ σώματος ἐν οἰκτῷ Καίσαρος γενόμενος ἐξήτει τοὺς φονέας περιθέων. οἱ δὲ τότε μὲν ἡμύνοντο αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν τεγῶν, εὐθὺς δὲ ἐξήσαν αὐτῶν, ὅσοι στρατηγεῖν ἐθνῶν ὑπὸ Καίσαρος αὐτοῦ κεχειροτόνητο. Κάσσιος δὲ καὶ Βροῦτος ἐστρατηγούν μὲν ἔτι τῆς πόλεως, ἥρηντο δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ στρατηγίᾳ καὶ οἵδε ὑπὸ Γαῖου Καίσαρος ἡγεῖσθαι Συρίας μὲν ὁ Κάσσιος, Μακεδονίας δὲ ὁ Βροῦτος. οὕτε δὲ ἄρχειν πω τῶν ἐθνῶν πρὸ τοῦ χρόνου δυνάμενοι οὕτε τὸν ἐν ἀστει φόβον ὑπομένοντες ἐξήσαν ἔτι στρατηγοῦντες· καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐς εὐπρέπειαν ἡ βουλὴ σίτου φροντίσαι προσέταξεν, ἵνα μὴ τὸ ἐν μέσῳ διάστημα φεύγειν νομίζοιντο. οἰχομένων δὲ αὐτῶν

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

soldiers fled in various directions. Of the proscribed who were with Cornificius, some crossed over to Sicily, others took refuge wherever they could. Sextius gave great spoils to Arabio and the Sittians, but the cities he brought into allegiance to Octavian and granted pardon to them all.

VII

End of
the War
in Africa

VIII

THIS was the end of the war in Africa between CHAP. Sextius and Cornificius, which seemed inconsiderable

VIII

by reason of the rapidity with which it was prosecuted. 57. Resuming the narrative of Cassius and

B.C. 44

Brutus, I shall repeat some small part of what has

Brutus and

Cassius

already been said, in order to refresh the memory.

When Caesar was assassinated his murderers took possession of the Capitol, and when amnesty was voted to them they came down. The people were greatly moved at Caesar's funeral and scoured the city in pursuit of his murderers. The latter defended themselves from the roofs of their houses, and those of them who had been appointed by Caesar himself as governors of provinces departed from the city forthwith.

Cassius, however, and Brutus were still city praetors, though Cassius had been chosen by Caesar as governor of Syria and Brutus of Macedonia. As they could not enter at once upon these offices, and as they were afraid to remain in the city, they took their departure while still praetors, and the Senate, for the sake of appearances, gave them charge of the supply of corn, so that they might not seem to have taken flight in the interval. After they had gone,

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. Συρία μὲν καὶ Μακεδονία εἰς τοὺς ὑπάτους
VIII Ἀντώνιόν τε καὶ Δολοβέλλαν μετεψηφίζετο, τῆς
βουλῆς πάνυ δυσχεραινούσης, ἀντεδόθη δὲ ὅμως
τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Κάσσιον Κυρήνη τε καὶ Κρήτη·
ῶν ὑπεριδόντες ὡς βραχυτέρων ἐκεῖνοι στρατὸν
καὶ χρήματα ἤγειρον ὡς ἐς Συρίαν καὶ Μακε-
δονίαν ἐσβαλοῦντες.

58. Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἥσαν ἐν τούτοις, Τρεβώνιον δὲ
ἐν Ἀσίᾳ κτείναντος Δολοβέλλα καὶ Δέκμον
Ἀντωνίου πολιορκοῦντος ἐν Κελτοῖς, χαλεπαί-
νουσα ἡ βουλὴ Δολοβέλλαν μὲν καὶ Ἀντώνιον
ἐψηφίσαντο εἶναι πολεμίους, Βροῦτον δὲ καὶ
Κάσσιον ἐς τὰς προτέρας ἡγεμονίας ἐπανήγαγον
καὶ Βρούτῳ τὴν Ἰλλυρίδα προσέθεσαν τοῖς τε
ἄλλοις πᾶσιν ἐκέλευσαν, ὅσοι Ῥωμαίοις ἡγεμο-
νεύουσιν ἔθνῶν ἡ στρατοπέδων ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰονίου
μέχρι Συρίας, ὑπακούειν, ἐς δὲ τι κελεύοι Κάσσιος
ἡ Βροῦτος. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις Κάσσιος φθάνει
Δολοβέλλαν ἐς τὴν Συρίαν ἐμβαλὼν καὶ σημεῖα
τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀνέσχε καὶ δυωδεκα τέλη στρατοῦ
Γαϊφ Καίσαρι ἐκ πολλοῦ στρατευόμενα καὶ γε-
γυμνασμένα προσέλαβεν ἀθρόως· οὐδὲ τὸ μὲν ἐν
αὐτῷ ὁ Καΐσαρ ἐν Συρίᾳ καταλεοίπει, τὰ δὲ
Παρθιαίους ἡδη διανοούμενος, τὴν δὲ ἐπιμέλειαν
αὐτοῦ ἐπιτέτραπτο μὲν Καικίλιος Βάσσος, τὸ δὲ
ἀξίωμα εἶχε νεανίας αὐτοῦ Καΐσαρος συγγενής,
Σέξτος Ἰούλιος. ἐκδιαιτώμενος δὲ ὁ Ἰούλιος τὸ
τέλος ἐς τρυφὴν ἐπήγετο ἀσχημόνως καὶ ἐπι-
μεμφομένῳ τῷ Βάσσῳ ποτὲ ἐνύβρισε· καὶ
καλῶν ὕστερον, ἐπειδὴ βραδέως ὑπήκουεν, ἄγειν
αὐτὸν ἐκέλευεν ἔλκοντας. Θορύβου δὲ ἀσχήμονος
καὶ πληγῶν ἐς τὸν Βάσσον γενομένων οὐκ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

the provinces of Syria and Macedonia were transferred to the consuls Dolabella and Antony much against the will of the Senate. Nevertheless, Cyrene and Crete were given to Brutus and Cassius in exchange. These provinces they despised because of their insignificance, and, accordingly, they set about raising troops and money in order to invade Syria and Macedonia.

58. While they were thus engaged Dolabella put Trebonius to death in Asia and Antony besieged Decimus Brutus in Cisalpine Gaul. The Senate in indignation voted both Dolabella and Antony public enemies, and restored both Brutus and Cassius to the former commands and added Illyria to that of Brutus. It also ordered all other persons holding commands of Roman provinces or armies, between the Adriatic and Syria, to obey the orders of Cassius and Brutus. Thereupon Cassius anticipated Dolabella by entering Syria, where he raised the standards of a governor and won over twelve legions of soldiers who had been enlisted and trained by Gaius Caesar long before. One of these Caesar had left in Syria when he was contemplating a war against the Parthians, and had placed it under the charge of Caecilius Bassus, but had given the nominal command to Sextus Julius, a young man who was his kinsman. This Julius was a fellow of loose habits who led the legion into shameful dissipations and once insulted Bassus when the latter remonstrated with him. Afterward he summoned Bassus to his presence, and when the latter delayed he ordered that he be dragged before him. There was a disgraceful tumult in consequence, and some blows were given to Bassus, the

VIII

B.C. 43

Cassius
raises an
army in
Syria

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. ένεγκοῦσα τὴν ὄψιν ἡ στρατιὰ τὸν Ἰούλιον συνη-
VIII κόντισε. καὶ εὐθὺς ἦν μετάνοια καὶ δέος ἐκ τοῦ
Καίσαρος. συνομόσαντες οὖν ἀλλήλοις, εἰ μή τις
αὐτοῖς συγγνώμη καὶ πίστις γένοιτο, διαγωνιεῖ-
σθαι μέχρι θανάτου, τὸν Βάσσον ἐς ταῦτα συνη-
νάγκασαν. τέλος δὲ στρατεύσαντες ἔτερον, συνε-
γύμναξον ἅμφω καὶ Στάιον Μούρκον, ὑπὸ Καί-
σαρος αὐτοῖς σὺν τρισὶ τέλεσιν ἐπιπεμφθέντα,
γενναίως ἀπεμάχοντο. Μούρκῳ δ' ἤκει ἐπίκουρος
Μάρκιος Κρίσπος ἐκ Βιθυνίας μετὰ τριῶν τελῶν
ἀλλων, καὶ τὸν Βάσσον ἐπολιόρκουν ὅμοῦ πάντες
ἔξι τέλεσιν ἥδη.

59. Κάσσιος οὖν τήνδε τὴν πολιορκίαν σπουδῆ
καταλαβὼν τόν τε τοῦ Βάσσου στρατὸν αὐτίκα
παρελάμβανεν ἑκόντα καὶ ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ τὰ Μούρκου
τέλη καὶ Μαρκίου, κατά τε φιλίαν αὐτῷ παραδιδόν-
των καὶ κατὰ τὸ δόγμα τῆς βουλῆς ἐς πάντα ὑπα-
κουόντων. ἄρτι δὲ καὶ Ἀλλιηνός, ὑπὸ Δολοβέλλα
πεμφθεὶς ἐς Αἴγυπτον, ἐπανῆγεν ἔξι αὐτῆς τέσσαρα
τέλη τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἥσσης Πομπηίου τε καὶ Κράσ-
σου διαρριφέντων ἢ ὑπὸ Καίσαρος Κλεοπάτρα
καταλελειμμένων· καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Κάσσιος ἐν τῇ
Παλαιστίνῃ, τῶν ὄντων οὐ προπεπυσμέγον, ἀφνω
περιέλαβέ τε καὶ ἡγάγκασε προσθέσθαι οἱ καὶ
παραδοῦναι τὸν στρατόν, δείσαντα τέσσαρις
τέλεσι μάχεσθαι πρὸς ὀκτώ. οὕτω μὲν ὁ Κάσσιος
ἐκ παραδοξου δυωδεκα τελῶν ἀρίστων ἀθρόως
ἐκράτει. καὶ αὐτῷ τινες καὶ Παρθυαίων ἵπποτο-
ξόται συνεμάχουν, δόξαν ἔχοντι παρὰ τοῖς Παρ-
θυαίοις, ἔξι οὖν Κράσσῳ ταμιεύων ἐμφρονέστερος
ἔδοξε τοῦ Κράσσου γενέσθαι.

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

sight of which the army resented, and Julius was shot down. This act was followed straightway by repentance and fear of Caesar, and so they bound each other by an oath that, unless they were granted pardon and reconciliation, they would fight to the death ; and they compelled Bassus to take the same oath. They recruited another legion and both were drilled together. Caesar sent Staius Murcus against them with three legions, but they resisted bravely. Marcus Crispus was then sent from Bithynia to the aid of Murcus with three additional legions, and thus Bassus was besieged by six legions altogether.

59. Cassius speedily intervened in this siege and took command at once of the army of Bassus with its consent, and afterward of the legions of Murcus and Marcus, who surrendered them to him in a friendly way and in pursuance of the decree of the Senate obeyed him in all respects. About the same time Allienus, who had been sent to Egypt by Dolabella, brought from that country four legions composed of men who had been dispersed after the disasters of Pompey and Crassus, or who had been left with Cleopatra by Caesar. Cassius surrounded him in Palestine unexpectedly, while he was in ignorance of what had happened, and compelled him to come to terms and surrender his army, as he did not dare to fight with four legions against eight. Thus in a marvellous manner Cassius came into possession of twelve first-rate legions, to whom were added a certain number of Parthian mounted bowmen, who were attracted by the reputation he had acquired among them from the time when, as quaestor to Crassus, he had shown himself to be more skilful than that general.

CHAP.
VIII

He gains
four legions
from Egypt

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. VIII. 60. Δολοβέλλας δὲ διέτριψε μὲν περὶ τὴν Ιωνίαν, κτείνων Τρεβάνιους καὶ ταῦς πόλεσιν ἐπιβάλλων ἐσφορὰς καὶ ναυτικὸν ἀγείρων ἐπὶ μισθῷ διὰ Λευκίου Φίγλου παρά τε Ὄρδιων καὶ Λυκίων καὶ Παμφύλων καὶ ἐκ Κιλικίας· ὡς δέ οἱ τάδε ἔτοιμα ἦν ἐπήει τῇ Συρίᾳ, κατὰ μὲν τὴν γῆν αὐτὸς μετὰ δύο τελῶν, διὰ δὲ τῆς θαλάσσης ὁ Φίγλος. πυθόμενος δὲ τῆς Κασσίου στρατιᾶς ἐς Λαοδίκειαν οἰκείως ἔχουσάν οἱ παρῆλθεν, ἐπὶ τε χερρονήσου συνῳκισμένην καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῆς γῆς ὡχυρωμένην καὶ ἐς τὸ πέλαγος ἔχουσαν ὅρμον, ὅθεν ἔμελλεν εὐπορήσειν τε ἀγορᾶς ἀπὸ θαλάσσης καὶ ἀδεῶς, ὅτε βούλοιτο, ἀποπλευσέσθαι. ὃν αἰσθανόμενος ὁ Κάσσιος καὶ δεδιώς, μὴ αὐτὸν ὁ Δολοβέλλας διαφύγοι, τόν τε ἵσθμὸν ἔχου διστάδιον ὄντα, λίθους καὶ πᾶσαν ὕλην ἔξ ἐπαύλεων καὶ προαστείων καὶ τάφων συμφέρων, καὶ ἐπὶ ναῦς περιέπεμπεν ἐς τε Φοινίκην καὶ Λυκίαν καὶ Ὅρδον.

61. Τπερορώμενος δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων πλὴν Σιδωνίων ἐπανήχθη τῷ Δολοβέλλᾳ, καὶ κατέδυσαν μὲν ἐκατέρου νῆες ἴκαναι, πέντε δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν εἶλεν Δολοβέλλας. καὶ ὁ Κάσσιος αὐθις ἐπεμπεν ἐς τοὺς ὑπεριδόντας αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐς Κλεοπάτραν, τὴν Αἰγύπτου βασιλίδα, καὶ ἐς Σεραπίωνα, τὸν ἐν Κύπρῳ τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ στρατηγοῦντα. Τύριοι μὲν δὴ καὶ Ἀράδιοι καὶ Σεραπίων, οὐδὲν τῆς Κλεοπάτρας προμαθών, ἐπεμψαν αὐτῷ ναῦς, ὅσας εἶχον· ἡ βασιλὶς δὲ Κασσίφ μὲν προύφερε λιμὸν ὄμοῦ καὶ λοιμὸν ἐνοχλοῦντα τότε Αἰγύπτῳ, διὰ δὲ οἰκειότητα τοῦ προτέρου Καίσαρος συνέπρασσε τῷ Δολοβέλλᾳ. καὶ ἀπὸ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

60. Dolabella was spending his time in Ionia, where he put Trebonius to death, levied tribute on the towns, and hired a naval force, by means of Lucius Figulus, from the Rhodians, Lycians, Pamphylians, and Cilicians. When all was in readiness he advanced toward Syria, leading two legions by land himself, while Figulus proceeded by sea. After he had learned of the forces of Cassius he passed on to Laodicea, a city friendly to himself, situated on a peninsula, fortified on the landward side and having a roadstead in the sea, so that supplies might be easily obtained by water and he might sail away securely whenever he wished. When Cassius learned this, fearing lest Dolabella should escape him, he threw up a mound across the isthmus, two stades in length, composed of stones and all sorts of material brought together from suburban houses and tombs, and at the same time sent to Phoenicia, Lycia, and Rhodes for ships.

CHAP.
VIII
Cassius
marches
against
Dolabella

61. Being ignored by all except the Sidonians, he came to a naval engagement with Dolabella, in which a number of ships were sunk on both sides and Dolabella captured five with their crews. Then Cassius again sent to those who had rejected his application, and also to Cleopatra, queen of Egypt and to Serapio, her viceroy in Cyprus. The Tyrians, the Aradii, and Serapio, not waiting to consult Cleopatra, sent Cassius what ships they had. The queen excused herself on the ground that Egypt was at that time suffering from famine and pestilence, but she was really co-operating with Dolabella on account of her relations with the elder Caesar. This

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. τῆς γυνώμης αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ τέσσαρα τέλη
VIII προπεπόμφει δι' Ἀλλιηνοῦ καὶ στόλον ἄλλον
ἔτοιμον εἶχεν ἐπαμύνειν, ἀνεμοι δὲ ἐπεῖχον.
‘Ρόδιοι δὲ καὶ Λύκιοι οὗτε Καστίω οὗτε Βρούτῳ
συμμαχήσειν ἔφασκον ἐς ἐμφύλια, ἐπεὶ καὶ Δολο-
βέλλᾳ δοῦναι ναῦς προπομπούς, καὶ οὐκ εἰδέναι
συμμαχούσας.

62. Ἐτοιμασάμενος οὖν ὁ Κάσσιος αὐθις ἐκ τῶν
παρόντων ἐπανήγετο δις τῷ Δολοβέλλᾳ· καὶ τὸ
μὲν πρῶτον ἀγχώμαλοι διεκρίθησαν ἀπ' ἄλληλων,
τῇ δὲ ἑξῆς ναυμαχίᾳ ἡστάτο ὁ Δολοβέλλας, καὶ ὁ
Κάσσιος αἱρομένου τοῦ χώματος ἕκοπτεν αὐτοῦ
τὸ τεῖχος ἥδη καὶ ἐσάλευεν. τόν τε νυκτοφύλακα
αὐτοῦ Μάρσον οὐ δυνηθεὶς διαφθεῖραι διέφθειρε
τοὺς ἡμεροφυλακοῦντας αὐτῷ λοχαγοὺς καὶ ἀνα-
παυομένου τοῦ Μάρσου μεθ' ἡμέραν ἐσῆλθεν,
ὑπανοιχθεισῶν αὐτῷ πυλίδων κατὰ μέρη πολλῶν.
ἄλούσης δὲ τῆς πόλεως ὁ μὲν Δολοβέλλας πρού-
τεινε τὴν κεφαλὴν τῷ σωματοφύλακι αὐτοῦ καὶ
τεμόντα προσέταξε φέρειν Καστίω σῶστρον ἵδιον·
ὁ δὲ τεμὼν ἐπικατέσφαξεν ἑαυτόν, διεχρήσατο
δὲ καὶ Μάρσος ἑαυτόν. ὁ δὲ Κάσσιος τὴν μὲν τοῦ
Δολοβέλλα στρατιὰν ἐς ἑαυτὸν μεθώρκου, Λαο-
δικέων δὲ τά τε ἱερὰ καὶ τὰ κοινὰ ἐσύλα καὶ τοὺς
ἐπιφανεῖς ἐκόλαζε καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐσφορᾶς
βαρυτάταις ἐξέτρυχε, μέχρι τὴν πόλιν περιήνεγκεν
ἐς ἔσχατον κακοῦ.

63. Μετὰ δὲ Λαοδίκειαν ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον ὡρμα,
πυνθανόμενος μὲν Κλεοπάτραν βαρεῖ στόλῳ
διαπλευσεῖσθαι πρός τε Καίσαρα καὶ πρὸς
Ἀιντώνιον, ἐπινοῶν δὲ κωλῦσαι τε τὸν πλοῦν καὶ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

was the reason why she had sent him the four CHAP.
legions by Allienus, and had another fleet ready to ^{VIII} assist him, which was kept back by adverse winds. The Rhodians and the Lycians said that they would help neither Cassius nor Brutus in civil wars, and that when they supplied ships to Dolabella they furnished them as an escort, not knowing that they were to be used as allies in war.

62. When Cassius had again made such preparations as he could with the forces in hand he engaged Dolabella a second time. The first battle was doubtful, but in the next one Dolabella was beaten on the sea. Then Cassius completed his mound and battered Dolabella's walls till they trembled. He tried unsuccessfully to bribe Marsus, the captain of the night-watch, but he bribed the centurions of the day force, and while Marsus was taking his rest, effected an entrance by daylight through a number of small gates that were secretly opened to him one after another. When the city was taken Dolabella offered his head to his private sentry and told him to cut it off and carry it to Cassius in order to secure his own safety. The guard cut it off, but he killed himself also and Marsus took his own life. Cassius swore Dolabella's army into his own service. He plundered the temples and the treasury of Laodicea, punished the chief citizens, and exacted very heavy contributions from the rest, so that the city was reduced to the extremest misery.

<sup>He captures
Laodicea</sup>

<sup>Dolabella
killed</sup>

63. After the capture of Laodicea Cassius turned his attention to Egypt. Having learned that Cleopatra was about to join Octavian and Antony with a strong fleet, he proposed to prevent its

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. ^{VIII} τίσασθαι τῆς γυνώμης τὴν βασιλίδα καὶ πρὸ τῶνδε αὐτὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐνθυμιζόμενος μάλιστα ἐν καιρῷ, τετρυμένην τε ὑπὸ λιμοῦ καὶ ξενικὸν στρατὸν οὐ πολὺν ἔχουσαν, ἅρτι τῶν Ἀλλιηνοῦ στρατιωτῶν ἀποστάντων. οὗτω δὲ αὐτὸν ὄρμῆς καὶ ἐλπίδος ἔχοντα καὶ καιροῦ ὁ Βροῦτος ἐκάλει κατὰ σπουδήν, ώς ἡδη Καίσαρος καὶ Ἀντωνίου τὸν Ἰόνιον περώντων. ἄκων μὲν δὴ Κάσσιος Αἴγυπτον ἐκ τῶν ἐλπίδων μεθίει καὶ τοὺς Παρθναίων ἵπποτοξότας ἀπέπεμπε τιμήσας καὶ πρέσβεις πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα αὐτῶν ἐστελλε περὶ μείζονος συμμαχίας, ἥ μετὰ τὸ ἔργον ἀφικνουμένη Συρίαν τε καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἐγγὺς ἐθνῶν μέχρι Ἰωνίας ἐπέδραμε καὶ ἀνεχώρησεν. αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Κάσσιος τὸν μὲν ἀδελφιδοῦν ἐν Συρίᾳ μεθ' ἐνὸς τέλους ἀπέλιπε, τοὺς δὲ ἱππέας προύπεμψεν ἐς Καππαδοκίαν, οἱ Ἀριοβαρξάνην τε ἄφνω κατέκανον ώς ἐπιβουλεύοντα Κασσίψ καὶ χρήμata πολλὰ τὰ ἐκείνου καὶ τὴν ἄλλην κατασκευὴν ἐς τὸν Κάσσιον ἐπανήγαγον.

64. Ταρσέων δ' ἐς στάσιν διηρημένων οἱ μὲν τὸν Κάσσιον ἐστεφανώκεσαν ἐλθόντα πρότερον, οἱ δὲ τὸν Δολοβέλλαν ἐπελθόντα ἀμφότεροι δὲ τῷ τῆς πόλεως σχήματι ταῦτα ἐπρασσον. καὶ παραλλάξ αὐτῶν προτιμώντων ἐκάτερον, ώς εὐμεταβόλω πόλει χαλεπῶς ἔχρωντο ἐκάτεροι. Κάσσιος δὲ νικήσας Δολοβέλλαν καὶ ἐσφορὰν ἐπέθηκεν αὐτοῖς χίλια καὶ πεντακόσια τάλαντα. οἱ δὲ ἀποροῦντές τε καὶ ὑπὸ στρατιωτῶν ἐπειγόντων ἀπαιτούμενοι σὺν ὕβρει, τά τε κοινὰ ἀπειδούντο πάντα καὶ τὰ ἴερὰ ἐπὶ τοῖς κοινοῖς, ὅσα

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

sailing and to punish the queen for her intention. CHAP. VIII
He had before this thought that the condition of Egypt was especially favourable for these designs, because it was wasted by famine and had no considerable foreign army, now that the forces of Allienus had taken their departure. In the midst of his eagerness, his hopes, and his opportunity came a hasty summons from Brutus telling him that Octavian and Antony were crossing the Adriatic. Cassius reluctantly gave up his hopes in respect of Egypt. He also sent back his Parthian mounted bowmen with presents, and with them ambassadors to their king asking for a larger force of auxiliaries. This force arrived after the decisive battle, ravaged Syria and many of the neighbouring provinces as far as Ionia, and then returned home. Cassius left his nephew in Syria with one legion and sent his cavalry in advance into Cappadocia, who presently killed Ariobarzanes for plotting against Cassius. Then they seized his large treasures and other military supplies and brought them to Cassius.

64. The people of Tarsus were divided into factions. One of these factions had crowned Cassius, who was the first to arrive. The other had done the same for Dolabella, who came later. Both had acted thus in the name of the city. As the inhabitants bestowed their honours upon each alternately, each of them treated it despitefully as a fickle-minded place. After Cassius had overcome Dolabella he levied a contribution on it of 1500 talents. Being unable to find the money, and being pressed for payment with violence by the soldiers, the people sold all their public property and after that they coined all the sacred articles used in religious processions

Brutus
informs
Cassius that
Octavian
and Antony
are crossing
the
Adriatic

Cassius
captures
Tarsus

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. εἰχον ἐς πομπὰς ἡ ἀναθήματα, ἔκοπτον. οὐδενὸς
VIII δὲ μέρους οὐδ' ὡς ἀνυομένου, ἐπώλουν αἱ ἀρχαὶ
τὰ ἐλεύθερα· καὶ πρῶτα μὲν ἦν παρθένοι τε καὶ
παιᾶς, ἐπὶ δὲ γυναικές τε καὶ γέροντες ἐλεεινοί,
βραχυτάτου πάμπαν ὄντες, μετὰ δὲ οἱ νέοι. καὶ
διεχρώντο οἱ πλέονες ἑαυτούς, ἕως ὅδε ἔχοντας ὁ
Κάσσιος ἐκ Συρίας ἐπανιὼν φόκτειρέ τε καὶ τοῦ
λοιποῦ τῶν ἐσφορῶν ἀπέλυσε.

IX

CAP. 65. Τάρσος μὲν δὴ καὶ Λαοδίκεια τοιάδε
IX ἐπεπόνθεσαν, Κάσσιος δὲ καὶ Βρούτος συμβολή-
σαντες ἀλλήλουν, Βρούτῳ μὲν ἐδόκει τὴν στρατιὰν
ἀλίσαντε χωρεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ μεῖζον ἔργον ἐς Μακε-
δονίαν· τέλη τε γὰρ ἥδη τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐς
τεσσαράκοντα εἶναι στρατοῦ καὶ αὐτῶν διεληλυ-
θέναι τὸν Ἰόνιον ὀκτώ· Κασσίφ δὲ ἐδόκει τῶν μὲν
πολεμίων ἔτι περιορᾶν ὡς τριφθησομένων ἐν
σφίσιν ἐξ ἀπορίας διὰ τὸ πλῆθος, Ῥοδίους δὲ καὶ
Λυκίους ἐξελεῦν, εὔνους τε ὅντας ἐκείνοις καὶ
ναυτικὸν ἔχοντας, ἵνα μὴ κατὰ νότου σφίσι
γίγνωνται παρὰ τὸ ἔργον. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδοξεῖν ὅδε,
ἐχώρουν Βρούτος μὲν ἐπὶ Λυκίους, Κάσσιος δὲ
ἐπὶ Ῥοδίους, τεθραμμένος τε ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ πεπαιδευ-
μένος τὰ Ἑλληνικά. ὡς δὲ κρατίστοις τὰ ναυτικὰ
ἀνδράσι συνοισόμενος ἐς μάχην, τὰς ἴδιας ναῦς
ἐπεσκεύαζε καὶ ἀνεπλήρουν καὶ ἐγύμναζεν ἐν
Μύνδῳ.

66. Ῥοδίων δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐν λόγῳ μᾶλλον ὄντες
ἐδεδοίκεσαν Ῥωμαίοις μέλλοντες ἐς χείρας ἰέναι, ἀ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

and the temple offerings into money. As this was CHAP
not sufficient, the magistrates sold free persons into ^{VIII} bondage, first girls and boys, afterward women and miserable old men, who brought a very small price, and finally young men. Most of these committed suicide. Finally Cassius, on his return from Syria, took pity on their sufferings and released them from the remainder of the contribution. Such were the calamities that befell Tarsus and Laodicea.

IX

65. WHEN Brutus and Cassius had their conference, CHAP.
Brutus was in favour of uniting their armies and ^{IX}
making Macedonia their chief concern, since the enemy had forty legions, of which eight had already crossed the Adriatic. Cassius was of the opinion that the enemy might still be disregarded, believing that they would waste away of themselves for want of supplies by reason of their great numbers. He thought it would be best to reduce the Rhodians and Lycians, who were friendly to Octavian and Antony, who had fleets, lest they should fall on the rear of the republicans while the latter were busy with the enemy. Having decided to do this, they separated, Brutus proceeding against the Lycians and Cassius against Rhodes, in which place he was brought up, and educated in the literature of Greece. As he had to contend with men of superior naval prowess, he prepared his own ships with care, filled them with troops, and drilled them at Myndus.

Cassius
summons
Rhodes to
surrender

66. The Rhodians of distinction were alarmed at the prospect of a conflict with Romans, but the

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. δὲ λεὼς ἐμεγαλοφρονεῖτο, ἐπεὶ οἱ καὶ παλαιῶν
^{IX} ἔργων πρὸς οὐχ ὁμοίους ἄνδρας ἐμνημόνευον.
ναῦς τε καθεῖλκον τὰς ἀρίστας σφῶν τρεῖς καὶ
τριάκοντα. καὶ τάδε πράσσοντες ἐπεμπόν τινας
ἐς Μύνδον ὅμως, οὐ τὸν Κάσσιον ἡξίουν μήτε
Ῥόδου καταφρονεῖν, πόλεως ἀμυναμένης ἀεὶ τοὺς
καταφρονήσαντας, μήτε συνθηκῶν, αἱ Ῥοδίοις
εἰσὶ καὶ Ῥωμαίοις, ὅπλα μὴ φέρειν ἐπὶ ἀλλή-
λους· εἰ δέ τι περὶ συμμαχίας ἐπιμέμφοιτο,
ἐθέλειν παρὰ τῆς Ῥωμαίων βουλῆς πυθέσθαι, καὶ
κελευούσης ἔφασαν συμμαχήσειν.

Οἱ μὲν δὴ τοιάδε μάλιστα ἔλεγον, ὁ δὲ τὰ μὲν
ἄλλα τὸν πόλεμον ἀντὶ λόγων ἔφη κρινεῖν, τὰς
δὲ συνθήκας κελεύειν ὅπλα μὴ φέρειν ἐπ' ἀλλή-
λους, καὶ ἐπεινηροχέναι Ῥοδίους Κασσίφ, Δολο-
βέλλᾳ συμμαχοῦντας, κελεύειν δὲ ἀλλήλοις
συμμαχεῖν, Κασσίφ δὲ δεομένῳ εἰρωνεύεσθαι τὰ
περὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων βουλῆς, φευγούσης καὶ ἀλω-
μένης ἐν τῷ παρόντι διὰ τοὺς ἐν ἄστει τυράν-
νους, οἱ δώσοντι μὲν αὐτοὶ δίκας, δώσοντι δὲ καὶ
Ῥόδιοι τὰ ἐκείνων προτιμῶντες, ἦν μὴ θᾶσσον
ἀνέχωνται τῶν κελευομένων. ὅδε μὲν ὁ Κάσσιος
αὐτοὺς ἡμείψατο, καὶ οἱ εὖ φρονοῦντες Ῥοδίων
μᾶλλον ἐδεδοίκεσαν· τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ἐδημαγώγουν
Ἀλέξανδρός τε καὶ Μνασέας ἀναμιμνήσκοντες,
ὅτι καὶ Μιθριδάτης πλέοσι ναυσὶν ἐπιπλεύσειε
τῇ Ῥόδῳ καὶ Δημήτριος ἔτι πρὸ τοῦ Μιθρι-
δάτου.

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

common people were in high spirits, because they CHAP.
recalled former victories achieved over men of differ- IX
ent character.¹ They launched thirty-three of their best ships, but while doing so they nevertheless sent messengers to Myndus to urge Cassius not to despise Rhodes, which had always defended herself against those who underestimated her, and not to disregard the treaty which existed between the Rhodians and the Romans which bound them not to bear arms against each other. If he complained of them for not rendering military assistance, they would be glad to hear from the Roman Senate, and if called upon they would lend such assistance.

The
Rhodians
resolve
to fight

When they had spoken thus Cassius replied that as to the other matters war would decide instead of words, but as regarded the treaty, which forbade them to bear arms against each other, the Rhodians had violated it by allying themselves with Dolabella against Cassius. The treaty required them to assist each other in war, but when Cassius asked for assistance they quibbled about the Roman Senate, which was either in flight or held captive at present by the tyrants who had mastered the city. Those tyrants would be punished, and the Rhodians would be punished also for siding with them, unless they speedily obeyed his commands. Such was the answer Gassius returned to them. The more prudent Rhodians were still more alarmed, but the multitude were excited by two public speakers named Alexander and Mnaseas, who reminded them that Mithridates had invaded Rhodes with a still larger fleet, and that Demetrius had done so before him.

¹ Demetrius Poliorcetes (B.C. 307) and Mithridates (B.C. 88), who are referred to presently.

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP.
IX Οἱ μὲν δὴ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐκ τούτων εἴλοντο σφίσι πρυτανεύειν, ἥπερ ἐστὶν ἀρχὴ παρ' αὐτοῖς μάλιστα αὐτοκράτωρ, καὶ ναυαρχεῖν Μνασέαν, 67. ἐπεμπον δὲ ὅμως ἐς τὸν Κάσσιον ἔτι πρεσβευτὴν Ἀρχέλαιον, διὸ ἐν Ῥόδῳ τὰ Ἑλληνικὰ διδάσκαλος γεγένητο τῷ Κασσίῳ, δεησόμενον ἥδη τόνδε τοῦ Κασσίου λιπαρέστερον· καὶ ἐδεῖτο, τῆς δεξιᾶς λαβόμενος, ὡς γυνωρίμου. “μὴ πόλιν ἀναστήσῃς Ἑλληνίδα φιλέλλην ἀνήρ, μὴ Ῥόδον φιλελεύθερος ἀνήρ· μηδὲ αἰσχύνης ἀξίωμα Δώριον, οὐχ ἡσσημένον, ἔξ οὐ γεγόναμεν, μηδὲ ἐκλάθη καλῆς ἱστορίας ἡς ἔμαθες ἐν Ῥόδῳ τε καὶ ἐν Ῥώμῃ, ἐν Ῥόδῳ μέν, ὅσα Ῥόδιοι κατὰ πόλεις καὶ πρὸς βασιλέας, ἄλλους τε καὶ τοὺς μάλιστα ἀμάχους δόξαντας εἶναι, Δημήτριον καὶ Μιθριδάτην, ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας ἐπραξαν, ὑπὲρ ἡς δὴ καὶ σὺ φῆς τάδε κάμνειν· ἐν Ῥώμῃ δέ, ὅσα ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς καθ' ἐτέρων καὶ κατ' Ἀντιόχου τοῦ μεγάλου συνεμαχήσαμεν, ὧν εἰσὶν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀνάγραπτοι στῆλαι παρ' ὑμῖν.

“Τάδε μὲν δὴ καὶ γένους ἔνεκα καὶ ἀξιώσεως ἡμῶν καὶ τύχης ἐς τὸ νῦν ἀδουλώτου καὶ συμμαχίας καὶ προαιρέσεως ἐς ὑμᾶς, ὡς Ῥωμαῖοι, λελέχθω· 68. πρὸς σὲ δέ, ὡς Κάσσιε, καὶ αἰδώς τις ἐστιν ἐξαίρετος ἐς τε τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν ἐν αὐτῇ τροφήν τέ σου καὶ παίδευσιν καὶ διατριβὴν καὶ ἐστίαν, ἦν ϕκησας, καὶ τούμὸν διδασκαλεῖον αὐτὸν καὶ ἐμέ, ἐλπίσαντα μὲν ἐς ἔτερα τούτοις ποτὲ ἐναβρυνεῖσθαι, νῦν δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος αὐτὰ δαπανῶντα, ἵνα μηδὲ αὐτή σοι πολεμεῖν ἀναγκάζηται πεπαιδευμένῳ τε ὑφ' αὐτῆς καὶ τεθραμμένῳ μηδὲ γένηται δυοῖν ὑπ' ἀνάγκης

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

Thereupon they elected Alexander as president, CHAP.
who is the magistrate exercising the supreme IX
power among them, and Mnaseas as admiral of their
fleet. 67. Nevertheless, they sent still another am- They send
bassador to Cassius in the person of Archelaus, who
had been his teacher in Greek literature in Rhodes,
to present a more earnest petition. This he did,
taking Cassius by the right hand in a familiar man- Archelaus
ner, and saying, "O friend of the Greeks, do not
destroy a Greek city. O friend of freedom, do not
destroy Rhodes. Do not put to shame the glory of a
Doric state hitherto unvanquished. Do not forget
the famous histories you learned both at Rhodes and
at Rome—at Rhodes, what the Rhodians accomplished
against states and kings (and especially against
Demetrius and Mithridates, who were deemed
invincible), in behalf of that freedom for which
you say that you also are now contending—at
Rome, our services to you, among others those
that were rendered when we fought with you
against Antiochus the Great, concerning which
you have monuments inscribed in our honour.

"So much, Romans, for our race, our dignity, our
condition hitherto unenslaved, our alliance, and our
good-will toward you. 68. As for you, Cassius, you
owe a peculiar reverence to this city in which you
were brought up and educated, lived, and had your
homes, and where you attended my very school. You
owe respect to me who hoped that I should some
time plume myself on your education with different
expectations, but I am now pleading this relation
in behalf of my country, lest it be forced into
a war with you, its pupil and its ward, where
one of two things must necessarily happen: either

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

ΙΧ. θάτερον, ἡ Ἀρδίους ἀποθανεῖν πάντως ἡ Κάσσιον
ἡσσᾶσθαι. συμβουλεύω δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ παρακλήσει,
τοιῶνδέ σε ὑπὲρ τῆς Ῥωμαίων πολιτείας ἀπτό-
μενον ἔργων θεοὺς ἡγεμόνας αἰὲν ποιεῖσθαι παντὸς
ἔργου. θεοὺς δ' ὡμόσατε, ὅτε ἡμῖν ἐνάγχος διὰ
Γαῖον Καίσαρος συνετίθεσθε καὶ σπουδὰς ἐπὶ
τοῖς ὄρκοις ἐσπένδετε καὶ δεξιὰς ἐτίθεσθε, αἱ
καὶ παρὰ πολεμίοις ἴσχύουσιν, οὐ παρὰ, φίλοις
καὶ τροφεῦσιν; φείδου δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ δόξης
τῆς κατὰ ἀνθρώπους· ὡς οὐδέν ἐστι συνθηκῶν
παραβάσεως μᾶλλον, ὃ τοὺς ἀμαρτάνοντας ἀπίσ-
τους ἐς ἄπαντα ποιεῖ καὶ φίλοις καὶ πολεμίοις.”

69. Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ὁ πρεσβύτης οὐ μεθίετο τῆς
χειρός, ἀλλ' ἐπεδάκρυεν αὐτῇ, ὡς ἐρυθριᾶσαι μὲν
ἐπὶ τῷ σχήματι τὸν Κάσσιον καὶ παθεῖν τι ὑπὸ^{τούτου} αἰδοῦς, ὑφελόντα δὲ ὅμως εἰπεῖν· “εἰ μὲν οὐ
συνεβούλευσας Ἀρδίοις μὴ ἀδικεῖν με, σύ με
ἡδίκεις· εἰ δὲ διδάσκων οὐκ ἔπεισας, ἀμυνῶ σοι.
ἡδικούμην δὲ δή που σαφῶς τὸ μὲν πρῶτον
ἀδίκημα συμμαχίαν αἵτων καὶ παρορώμενος ὑπὸ^{τούτων}
τῶν παιδευσάντων καὶ θρεψάντων, τὸ δὲ
ἔξῆς προτιμῶντων μου Δολοβέλλαν, ὃν οὐκ
ἐπαιδευσαν οὐδὲ ἀνέθρεψαν, τὸ δὲ ἀνιαρότερον,
ἔμοι μὲν καὶ Βρούτου καὶ ὅσων ὄρâτε ἀπὸ τῆς
βουλῆς ἀρίστων ἀνδρῶν φευγόντων τυραννίδα
καὶ τὴν πατρίδα ἐλευθερούντων, ὡς Ἀρδιοι φιλε-

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

that the Rhodians perish utterly, or that you, CHAP.
Cassius, be defeated. In addition to my entreaty ^{IX}
I give you the advice that while engaged in such
important tasks in behalf of the Roman common-
wealth you take the gods for your leaders at
every step. You, Romans, swore by the gods when
you recently concluded the treaty with us through
Gaius Caesar, and to the oaths you added libations
and gave the right hand, assurances valid even
among enemies; shall they not be valid among
friends and guardians? Besides dreading the judg-
ment of the gods, have regard for the opinions
of mankind, who consider nothing more base than
a violation of treaties, which causes the violators
to be distrusted in all respects by both friends and
enemies."

69. When the old man had thus spoken he did Reply of Cassius not let go Cassius' hand, but shed tears on it, so that Cassius blushed at the spectacle and was moved somewhat by the sense of shame, yet he drew away his hand, and said, "If you have not counselled the Rhodians not to wrong me, you have yourself done me wrong. If you have so counselled them and they have not followed your advice I will avenge you. That I have suffered injury is plain enough. The first wrong done me was when I asked assistance and was slighted by my instructors and guardians. In the next place they gave the preference to Dolabella, whom they had not brought up and educated, rather than to me. And what makes it worse, O freedom-loving Rhodians, is that Brutus and I and the noblest men of the Senate, whom you see here, were fugitives from tyranny for endeavouring to liberate their

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. λεύθεροι, Δολοβέλλα δὲ αὐτὴν καταδουλοῦντος
^{IX} ἑτέροις, οἵς δὴ καὶ ὑμεῖς εὕνως ἔχοντες ὑποκρί-
νεσθε ἐξίστασθαι τοῖς ἐμφυλίοις ἡμῶν. ἔστι δὲ
ἐμφύλια μέν, εἰ καὶ ὑμεῖς δυναστείας ὠρεγόμεθα,
πόλεμος δὲ σαφῆς τὸ γιγνόμενόν ἔστι δημοκρατίας
πρὸς μοναρχίαν. καὶ δημοκρατίαν ἀβοήθητον
καταλείπετε οἱ παρακαλοῦντες ὑπὲρ αὐτονομίας·
φιλίαν τε Ῥωμαίοις προφέροντες οὐκ ἐλεεῖτε
ἀκρίτους ἐπὶ θανάτῳ καὶ δημεύσει προγραφο-
μένους, ἀλλ' ὑποκρίνεσθε πεύσεσθαι τῆς βουλῆς
τῆς ταῦτα πασχούσης καὶ οὐδὲ ἀμύνειν ἑαυτῇ πω
δυναμένης. ἡ δὲ ὑμῖν ἥδη προαπεκρίνατο, ἐν οἷς
ἐψηφίσατο τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὴν ἕω πάντας ἀμύνειν
ἔμοι τε καὶ Βρούτῳ.

70. Σὺ δέ, εἰ μέν ποτε ἡμῖν περικτωμένοις τι
συνεπράξατε, ὃν εὐεργεσίας καὶ μισθοὺς ἀντικε-
κόμισθε που, καταλογίζῃ, ὅτι δὲ ἡμῖν ἐς τὴν
ἐλευθερίαν καὶ σωτηρίαν ἀδικουμένοις οὐ συμ-
μαχεῖτε, ἐπιλανθάνη· οὓς εἰκὸς ἦν, εἰ καὶ μηδὲν
ἡμῖν ἐς ἄλλήλους ὑπῆρχεν, ἀλλὰ νῦν ἄρχειν
ἔθελοντάς ὑπερμαχῆσαι τῆς Ῥωμαίων δημοκρα-
τίας, Δωριέας δοντας. οἱ δὲ ἀντὶ τοιούτων ἔργων
καὶ λογισμῶν συνθήκας ἡμῖν προφέρετε, γενο-
μένας μὲν ὑμῖν καὶ τάσδε πρὸς Γάιον Καίσαρα,
τῆσδε τῆς μοναρχίας ἡγεμόνα· λέγουσι δὲ ὅμως
αἱ συνθῆκαι Ῥωμαίους καὶ Ῥοδίους ἐν ταῖς
χρείαις ἄλλήλοις ἀμύνειν. ἀμύνατε οὖν ἐς τὰ
μέγιστα κινδυνεύοντι Ῥωμαίοις. Κάσσιος ὑμῖν
ἔστιν ὁ τὰς συνθήκας τάσδε προφέρων καὶ ἐπὶ¹
συμμαχίαν καλῶν, Ῥωμαῖος ἀνὴρ καὶ Ῥωμαίων
στρατηγός, ὡς φησι τὸ ψήφισμα τῆς βουλῆς, ἐν
ῳ πάντας ὑπακούειν ἡμῖν ἔταξε τοὺς τοῦ Ἰονίου

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

country, while Dolabella was seeking to enslave it to others, whom you also favour while pretending to abstain from our civil wars. This would be a civil war if we also were aiming at supreme power, but it is plainly a war of the republic against monarchy. And you, who appeal to me in behalf of your own freedom, have refused aid to the republic. While professing friendship for the Romans you have no pity for those who are sentenced to death and confiscation without trial. You pretend that you want to hear from the Senate, which is suffering from these evils and is not yet able to defend itself. But the Senate had answered you beforehand when it decreed that all the peoples of the Orient should lend aid to Brutus and myself.

70. "Whatever aid you have rendered us when we were adding to our possessions (for which you reaped abundant benefactions and rewards) you remind us of, but that in our time of adversity you fail us in the struggle for freedom and safety, you lose sight of. Even if we had had no relations with each other before, you ought, as members of the Doric race, now at least to begin to fight as volunteers for the Roman republic. Instead of such thoughts and deeds you quote to us treaties—treaties made with you by Gaius Caesar, the founder of the present monarchy—yet these very treaties say that the Romans and the Rhodians shall assist each other in case of need. Therefore, assist the Romans in the time of their greatest peril ! It is Cassius who quotes these very treaties to you and calls for your help in war—Cassius, a Roman citizen and a Roman general, whom, as the Senate's decree says, all the countries beyond the Adriatic are required to

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. πέραν. τὰ δ' αὐτὰ καὶ Βροῦτος ὑμῖν προτείνει
IX ψηφίσματα καὶ Πομπήιος, τὴν θάλασσαν ὑπὸ^{τῆς} βουλῆς ἐπιτετραμένος, τὰς δ' ίκετείας ἐπὶ^{τοὺς} ψηφίσμασι καὶ οἵδε πάντες, ὅσοι φεύγουσιν
ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς, οἱ μὲν ἐς ἐμὲ καὶ Βροῦτον, οἱ
δ' ἐς Πομπήιον. ἔστι δὲ δή που τὸ συγκείμενον,
‘Ρωμαίοις ‘Ροδίους βοηθεῦν, κὰν καθ' ἕνα χρή-
ξωσιν. εἰ δὲ οὕτε στρατηγοὺς ἡμᾶς οὕτε ‘Ρω-
μαίους ἔτι, ἀλλὰ φυγάδας ἡ ξένους ἡ κατακρίτους,
ώς οἱ προγράψαντες λέγουσιν, ἡγεῖσθε, οὐ πρὸς
ἡμᾶς ἔστιν ὑμῖν ἔτι, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ‘Ρωμαίους, ὡς
‘Ρόδιοι, τὰ συγκείμενα· ἡμεῖς δὲ ξένοι καὶ ἀλλό-
τριοι τῶν συνθηκῶν ὄντες πολεμήσομεν ὑμῖν, ἦν
μὴ ἐς πάντα κατακούντετε.

Τοιαῦτα μὲν ὁ Κάσσιος ἐπειρωνευσάμενος τὸν
‘Αρχέλαον ἀπέλυεν, 71. ‘Αλέξανδρος δὲ καὶ
Μνασέας, οἱ ‘Ροδίων ἡγούμενοι, ταῖς τριάκοντα
καὶ τρισὶ ναυσὶν ἀνήγοντο ἐπὶ Κάσσιον ἐς
Μύνδον ὡς προκαταπλήξοντες τῷ ἐπίπλῳ· καὶ
τί που καὶ κουφως εἶχον ἐλπίδος, ὅτι καὶ Μιθρι-
δάτη ἐς Μύνδον ἐπιπλεύσαντες ἐδόκουν ἐς τὸ
τοῦ πολέμου τέλος εύτυχῆσαι. εἰρεσίᾳ δὲ ἐς
ἐπίδειξιν χρώμενοι τήν τε πρώτην ἡμέραν ἡὐλί-
σαντο ἐν Κινδῷ καὶ τῆς ἐπιούσης ἐπεφαίνοντο
τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Κάσσιον ἐκ τοῦ πελάγους. οἱ δὲ
θαυμάσαντες ἀντανήγοντο, καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἦν
ἐκατέρωθεν ἵσχυος τε καὶ δυνάμεως· ‘Ρόδιοι μὲν
γάρ ναυσὶ κούφαις διεξέπλεόν τε τοὺς πολεμίους
δξέως καὶ περιέπλεον καὶ ἐπανόδοις ἐχρῶντο,
‘Ρωμαῖοι δὲ ἐπὶ νεῶν βαρυτέρων, ὅτε συμπλακεῖεν,
ἀπὸ βαρυτέρας ρύμης ἐπεβάρουν ὥσπερ ἐν πεζο-

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

obey. The same decrees are presented to you CHAP.
by Brutus, and also by Pompeius, who has been ^{IX} invested by the Senate with the command of the sea. Added to these decrees are the prayers of all these senators who have fled, some to myself and Brutus, and others to Pompeius. The treaty provides that the Rhodians shall lend aid to the Romans even in cases where the application is made by single individuals. If you do not consider us as generals or even as Romans, but as exiles, or strangers, or persons condemned, as the proscribers call us, O Rhodians, you have no treaties with us, but only with the Roman people. Being strangers and foreigners to the treaties, we will fight you unless you obey our orders in everything."

With this ironical remark Cassius sent Archelaus away. 71. Meanwhile Alexander and Mnaseas, the Rhodian leaders, put to sea with their thirty-three ships against Cassius at Myndus, intending to surprise him by the suddenness of their attack. They built their hopes somewhat lightly on the supposition that it was at Myndus by sailing against Mithridates they had brought that war to a successful end. In order to display their seamanship they took their station the first day at Cnidus. The next day they showed themselves to the forces of Cassius on the high sea. The latter in astonishment put to sea against them, and it was a battle of strength and capacity on both sides. The Rhodians with their light ships darted swiftly through the enemy's line, turned around, and attacked them in the rear. The Romans had heavier ships, and whenever they could come to close quarters they prevailed, as in an engagement on land, by their greater momentum.

Sea-fight
between
Cassius
and the
Rhodians

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. μαχίᾳ. τοῦ δὲ Κασσίου πλήθει νεῶν τὰς πολε-
^{IX} μίας περιλαβόντος, οἱ μὲν 'Ρόδιοι περιπλεῖν ἔτι
καὶ διεκπλεῖν οὐκ ἐδύναντο, ἐμβάλλουσι δ' αὐτοῖς
μόνον ἐκ τοῦ μετώπου καὶ ἀναχωροῦσιν ή μὲν
ἐμπειρία διέφθαρτο ὑπὸ τῆς στενοχωρίας κεκυ-
κλευμένοις, αἱ δὲ ἐμβολαὶ καὶ ἀποσιμώσεις ἐς
βαρυτέρας τὰς 'Ρωμαίων ναῦς ἀσθενεῖς ἐγίγνοντο,
'Ρωμαίοις δ' ἡσαν ἐς κουφοτέρας εὔτονοι, μέχρι
'Ρόδιαι μὲν τρεῖς αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐλήφθησαν καὶ
δύο ἀνερράγησάν τε καὶ κατέδυσαν καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ
βεβλαμμέναι διέφυγον ἐς τὴν 'Ρόδον, αἱ δὲ
'Ρωμαίων ἄπασαι μὲν ἐπανῆλθον ἐς Μύνδον, ἐπ-
εσκευάζοντο δὲ καὶ τούτων αἱ πλέονες βλαβεῖσαι.

72. Τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τῆς ἐν Μύνδῳ 'Ρωμαίων τε
καὶ 'Ροδίων ναυμαχίας τέλος ἦν, καὶ αὐτὴν γιγνο-
μένην ὁ Κάσσιος ἀπὸ ὅρους καθεώρα· ώς δὲ
ἐπεσκεύασε τὰ σκάφη, διέπλευσεν ἐς Λώρυμα,
'Ροδίων τι φρούριον ἐν τῇ περαίᾳ, καὶ τὸ πεζὸν
ἐς τὴν 'Ρόδον διεβίβαξεν ἐπὶ ὅλαδων ὑπὸ Φαννίψ
τε καὶ Λέντλω. αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπέπλει ταῖς ὄγδοῃ-
κοντα ναυσὶν ἐσκευασμέναις ἐς τὸ φοιβερώτατον
καὶ περιστήσας τῇ 'Ρόδῳ τὸ πεζὸν ὄμοῦ καὶ τὸ
ναυτικὸν ἡσύχαζεν ώς ἐνδωσόντων τι τῶν πολε-
μίων. οἱ δὲ ἐπανήχθησαν μὲν αὐθις εὐθαρσῶς, δύο
δὲ καὶ τότε ναῦς ἀποβαλόντες συνεκλείσθησαν.
καὶ ἀναδραμόντες ἐπὶ τὰ τείχη πάντα τε ὅπλων
ἐπλήρουν καὶ ἀπεμάχοντο ὄμοῦ τοὺς περὶ τὸν
Φάννιον ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἐνοχλοῦντας καὶ τὸν
Κάσσιον τοῖς πρὸς θαλάσση τείχεσι τὸ ναυτικὸν

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

Cassius, by reason of his more numerous fleet, was enabled to surround his enemy, and then the latter could no longer turn and dart through his line. When they could only attack in front and then haul off, their nautical skill was of no avail in the narrow space where they had been confined. The ramming with their prows and broadside movements¹ against the heavier Roman ships did little damage, while those of the Romans against the lighter vessels were more effective. Finally, three Rhodian ships were captured with their crews, two were rammed and sunk, and the remainder took flight to Rhodes in a damaged condition. All of the Roman ships returned to Myndus, where they were repaired, the greater part of them also having suffered injury.

72. Such was the result of the naval engagement of the Romans and the Rhodians at Myndus. Cassius watched the fight while it was going on from a mountain. When he had repaired his ships he sailed to Loryma, a fortified place belonging to the Rhodians on the mainland opposite the island, from which he sent his foot-soldiers across in transports under the command of Fannius and Lentulus. He advanced in person with eighty ships rigged in a way to produce terror. He surrounded Rhodes with his land and naval forces, and then remained quiet, expecting that the enemy would show signs of weakening. But they sailed out again valiantly and, after losing two more ships, were hemmed in on all sides. Then they mounted the walls, heaped them with missiles, and resisted simultaneously the soldiers of Fannius, who were assailing them on the landward side, and Cassius,

¹ *ἀποσίμωσις* was apparently a swerving out of the line to avoid direct attack.

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. οὐκ ἀνέτοιμον ἐς τειχομαχίαν ἐπαγαγόντα· ἐλπί-
_{IX} ζων γάρ τι τοιοῦτον ἐπεφέρετο πύργους ἐπτυγ-
μένους, οἱ τότε ἀνίσταντο. Ὁδος μὲν δὴ δύο
πείραις καμοῦσα ἔκ τε γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης ἐπολι-
ορκεῖτο· καὶ οὐδέν, ὡς ἐν ἔργῳ ταχεῖ καὶ ἀδοκήτῳ,
παρεσκεύαστο αὐτοῖς ἐς πολιορκίαν. ὅθεν ἦν
εὔδηλον ἀλώσεσθαι τάχιστα τὴν πόλιν ἡ χερσὸν
ἡ λιμῷ· καὶ τάδε Ὅρδιων οἱ συνετώτεροι καθεώ-
ρων, καὶ Φάννιος αὐτοῖς καὶ Λέντλος διελέγοντο.

73. Γιγνομένων δ' ἔτι τούτων ἄφινω Κάσσιος
ἥν ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλει μετ' ἐπιλέκτου στρατοῦ,
βίας μὲν οὐδεμιᾶς φανείσης οὐδὲ κλιμάκων ἔργου.
εἴκαζον δὲ οἱ πολλοί, καὶ δοκεῖ γενέσθαι, τοὺς
χαρίεντας αὐτῷ τῶν πολιτῶν ὑπανοῖξαι πυλίδας
ἐλέω τῆς πόλεως καὶ προμηθείᾳ τροφῶν.

*Ωδε μὲν ἔαλώκει Ὅρδος, καὶ Κάσσιος ἐν αὐτῇ
προυκάθητο ἐπὶ βήματος καὶ δόρυ τῷ βήματι
παρεστήσατο ὡς ἐπὶ δοριαλώτῳ. ἀτρεμεῦν τε
κελεύσας τὸν στρατὸν ἀκριβῶς καὶ θάνατον
ἐπικηρύξας, εἴ τις ἀρπάσειεν ἡ βιάσαιτό τι, αὐτὸς
ἔξ ὄνόματος ἐκάλει Ὅρδιων ἐς πεντήκοντα ἄνδρας
καὶ ἀχθέντας ἐκόλαζε θανάτῳ ἐτέροις δέ, ἀμφὶ^{τοὺς} πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν, οὐχ εύρεθεῖσι φυγὴν
ἐπέταττεν. χρήματα δὲ ὅσα ἦν χρυσὸς ἢ
ἄργυρος ἐν ἱεροῖς τε καὶ δημοσίοις, πάντα·
συλήσας ἐκέλευσε καὶ τὸν ἴδιωτικὸν ἐκφέρειν τοὺς
κεκτημένους εἰς ἡμέραν ῥητήν· καὶ ἐπεκήρυξε
τοῖς μὲν ἐπικρύψασι θάνατον, τοῖς δὲ μηνύσασι

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

who was advancing his naval force, prepared for CHAP.
wall-fighting, against the defences on the sea. IX
Anticipating such a necessity he had brought with
him turrets in sections, which were then elevated.
Thus was Rhodes, after suffering two naval defeats,
beleaguered by land and sea, and, as frequently
happens in sudden and unexpected trouble, found
herself wholly unprepared for siege; whence it
became evident that the city must speedily be taken
either by assault or by famine. The more intelligent
of the Rhodians perceived this and opened com-
munications with Fannius and Lentulus.

73. While this was going on Cassius suddenly
made his appearance in the midst of the city with a
chosen band of soldiers, without any show of violence
or use of ladders. Most people conjectured, as
seems the fact, that those of the citizens who were
favourable to him had opened the small gates, being
moved by pity for the town and the apprehension of
famine.

Thus was Rhodes captured; and Cassius took his
seat on the tribunal and planted a spear by the side
of it to indicate that he had taken the city by the
spear. Laying strict commands upon his soldiers to
remain quiet, and threatening with death any who
should resort to violence or plunder, he summoned by
name about fifty citizens, and when they were
brought, put them to death. Others, who were not
found, numbering about twenty-five, he ordered to
be banished. All the money that was found, either
gold or silver, in the temples and the public
treasury, he seized, and he ordered private citizens
who had any to bring it to him on a day named,
proclaiming death to those who should conceal it,

Rhodes
captured
and put
under
contri-
butio

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. δεκάτην, δούλοις δὲ καὶ ἐλευθερίαν. οἱ δὲ ἐν μὲν
^{IX} ἀρχῇ πολλοὶ συνέκρυψαν, οὐκ ἐσ τέλος ἐλπίζουσι τοιούτοις
ἀφίξεσθαι τὴν ἀπειλήν· διδομένων δὲ τῶν γερῶν
καὶ κολαζομένων τῶν μηνυομένων ἔδεισάν τε
καὶ προσθεσμίαν ἑτέραν λαβόντες οἱ μὲν ἐκ γῆς
ἀνώρυσσον, οἱ δὲ ἐκ φρεάτων ἀνίμων, οἱ δὲ ἐξέ-
φερον ἐκ τάφων πολὺ πλέονα τῶν προτέρων.

74. Αἱ μὲν δὴ Ἱοδίων συμφοραὶ τοιαίδε ἦσαν,
καὶ Λεύκιος Οὐάρος αὐτοῖς μετὰ φρουρᾶς ὑπελέ-
λειπτο· ὁ δὲ Κάσσιος ἡδόμενος τῇ ταχυεργίᾳ τῆς
ἀλώσεως καὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν χρημάτων ἐπέταττεν
ὅμως καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔθνεσι τῆς Ἀσίας ἅπασι
φόρους ἐτῶν δέκα συμφέρειν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπράσ-
σοντο συντόνως, ἐξαγγέλλεται δὲ αὐτῷ Κλεο-
πάτρα μέλλουσα διαπλεῖν μεγάλῳ στόλῳ καὶ
παρασκευῇ βαρυτάτῃ πρὸς Καίσαρά τε καὶ
Ἀυτώνιον· τὰ γὰρ ἐκείνων αἴρουμένη καὶ τέως
διὰ τὸν πρότερον Καίσαρα, τότε μᾶλλον ἥρεῦτο
διὰ τὸν ἐκ Κασσίου φόβον. ὁ δὲ Μοῦρκον μετά
τε ὀπλιτῶν ἀρίστου τέλους καὶ τοξοτῶν τινων ἐπὶ²⁶⁴
νεῶν ἐξήκοντα καταφράκτων ἐσ Πελοπόννησον
ἐπεμπει ταυλοχεῖν περὶ Ταίναρον, . . . περισυρά-
μενος ἐκ τῆς Πελοποννήσου λείαν, ὅσην ἔφθασε.

X

CAP. 75. Τὰ δὲ ἀμφὶ Λυκίαν καὶ Βροῦτον, μικρὰ καὶ
^{X.} τῶν ἀμφὶ τοῦτον ἐσ ὑπόμνησιν ἀναλαβόντι

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

together with a reward of one-tenth to informers CHAP.
and freedom in addition in the case of slaves. At ^{IX}
first many concealed what they had, hoping that in
the end the threat would not be carried out, but
when they saw the rewards paid and those who had
been informed against punished, they became
alarmed, and having procured the appointment of
another day, some of them dug their money out of
the ground, others drew it out of wells, and others
brought it from tombs, in much larger amounts than
the former collections.

74. Such were the calamities that befell the Rhodians. Lucius Varus was left in charge of them with a garrison. Cassius, although delighted with the quickness of the capture and the quantity of money taken, nevertheless ordered all the other peoples of Asia to pay ten years' tribute, and this they did within a short space of time. News now reached him that Cleopatra was about to sail with a large fleet, heavily provisioned, to Octavian and Antony. She had espoused their cause previously on account of her relations with the first Caesar, and now she espoused it all the more by reason of her fear of Cassius. The latter sent Murcus, with a legion of the best soldiers and a certain number of archers, with sixty decked ships, to the Peloponnesus, to lie in wait in the neighbourhood of Taenarum ; [and this he did] collecting as much booty as he could come upon from the Peloponnese.

Ten years'
tribute
exacted
from Asia

X

75. WE will now relate the transactions of Brutus CHAP.
in Lycia, first glancing at what has been mentioned ^X

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. ἄνωθεν, ἦν τοιάδε. ἐπειδὴ παρὰ Ἀπουληίου στρατιάν τέ τινα εἰλήφει, ὅσην Ἀπουλήιος εἶχεν, καὶ χρήματα ἔστι ἔξακισχίλια καὶ μύρια τάλαντα, ὅσα ἐκ τῶν φόρων τῆς Ἀσίας συνείλεκτο, παρῆλθεν ἔστι Βοιωτίαν. ψῆφισαμένης δὲ αὐτῷ τῆς βουλῆς τοῖς τε χρήμασιν ἔστι παρόντα χρῆσθαι καὶ Μακεδονίας ἄρχειν καὶ τῆς Ἰλλυρίδος ἐπὶ τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ, τὰ μὲν ἐν τοῖς Ἰλλυριοῖς τρία τέλη τοῦ στρατοῦ παραλαμβάνει, Οὐατινίου τοῦ πρότερον ἄρχοντος Ἰλλυριῶν παραδόντος, ἐν δὲ ἐκ Μακεδονίας ἀφείλετο Γάιον, τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἀντωνίου. τέσσαρα δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἄλλα συναγαγὼν ὀκτὼ τὰ πάντα εἶχε, Γαϊώ Καίσαρι τὰ πολλὰ αὐτῶν ἐστρατευμένα. εἶχε δὲ καὶ ἵππεων πλῆθος καὶ ψιλοὺς καὶ τοξότας, καὶ τοὺς Μακεδόνας ἐπαινῶν ἔστι τὸν Ἰταλικὸν ἥσκει τρόπον. ἀγείροντι δὲ αὐτῷ στρατὸν ἔτι καὶ χρήματα συντυχία Θράκιος τοιάδε γίγνεται. Πολεμοκρατία, γυνή τινος τῶν βασιλίσκων, ἀναιρεθέντος αὐτῇ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ὑπὸ ἔχθρῶν δείσασα περὶ τῷ παιδὶ ἔτι ὅντι μειρακίῳ, ἥκεν αὐτὸν φέρουσα καὶ ἐνεχείρισε Βρούτῳ, ἐνεχείρισε δὲ καὶ τοὺς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς θησαυρούς. ὁ δὲ τὸν μὲν παιδὰ Κυζικηνοῖς ἀνατρέφειν παρέδωκε, μέχρι σχολάσειεν ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν καταγαγεῖν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς θησαυροῖς εὗρε παράδοξον χρυσίου τι πλῆθος καὶ ἀργύρου.

Καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἔκοπτε καὶ νόμισμα ἐποίει. 76.
ώς δὲ ἦλθε τε ὁ Κάστιος καὶ ἔδοξε Λυκίους καὶ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

above in order to refresh the memory. When he CHAP.
had received from Apuleius certain soldiers which
the latter had under his command, together with X
16,000 talents in money which Apuleius had collected
from the tribute of Asia, he passed into Boeotia.
The Senate having voted that he should use this
money for his present necessities and that he should
have command of Macedonia, and of Illyria in
addition, he came into possession of the three legions
of the army which were in Illyria, which Vatinius,
the former governor of Illyria, delivered to him.
Another one he captured from Gaius, the brother of
Mark Antony, in Macedonia. He collected four
more in addition to these, so that he had eight
legions in all, most of whom had served under
Gaius Caesar. He had a large force of cavalry,
light-armed troops, and archers. He had a high
opinion of his Macedonian soldiers and he drilled
them in the Roman way. While he was still
collecting soldiers and money a piece of good luck
came to him from Thrace, of the following sort.
Polemocratia, the wife of one of the Thracian
princes, whose husband had been killed by his
enemies, being alarmed for her son, who was still a
boy, came to Brutus bringing the boy, whom she
placed in his hands together with her husband's
treasures. Brutus delivered the boy to the in-
habitants of Cyzicus to be cared for until he
should have leisure to restore him to his kingdom.
Among the treasures he found an unexpected
quantity of gold and silver.

This he coined and converted into currency.
76. When Cassius came, and it was decided to
begin by reducing the Lycians and Rhodians, Brutus

X
Brutus in
Macedonia

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. Ροδίους προεξαιρεῖν, ἐτράπετο Λυκίων ἐπὶ Ξανθίους πρώτους. οἱ δὲ τὰ τε προάστεια σφῶν καθεῖλον, ἵνα μὴ ἐσ κατάλυσιν αὐτοῖς ὁ Βροῦτος μηδὲ ἐσ ὑλην ἔχῃ χρῆσθαι, καὶ τὴν πόλιν περιταφρεύσαντες ἀπέμαχοντο ἀπὸ τῆς τάφρου, τὸ μὲν βάθος οὔσης πεντήκοντα ποδῶν βαθυτέρας, τὸ δὲ πλάτος κατὰ λόγου τοῦ βάθους, ὥστε παρ' αὐτὴν ἐστῶτες ἡκόντιζόν τε καὶ ἐτόξευον ὕσπερ ἐν μέσῳ ποταμὸν ἔχοντες ἀπέρατον. ὁ δὲ Βροῦτος αὐτὴν ἔχον βιαζόμενος καὶ σκεπαστήρια τῶν ἐργαζομένων προστίθει καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἐσ ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτα ἐμέριζε, καὶ τὴν ὑλην μακρόθεν, ὕσπερ ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι, σὺν δρόμῳ καὶ βοῇ μετέφερεν, οὐδὲν ἐκλεύπων σπουδῆς καὶ πόνου. ὅθεν αὐτῷ τὸ ἔργον ἐλπισθὲν ἡ οὐκ ἔσεσθαι κωλυόντων τῶν πολεμίων ἡ πολλοῖς μησὶ μόλις ἔσεσθαι, ὀλίγας ἡμέραις ἔξειργαστο, καὶ οἱ Ξάνθιοι κατακλεισθέντες ἐπολιορκοῦντο.

77. Καὶ αὐτοῖς ὁ Βροῦτος τοὺς μὲν ἐκ μηχανημάτων εἰς τὰ τείχη, τοὺς δὲ ἐκ ποδὸς ἐπῆγεν ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας καὶ πάντας ἐνήλλασσε συνεχῶς. οἱ δὲ ἀκμῆσιν αἱὲ κεκμηκότες συμφερόμενοι καὶ τετρωμένοι πάντες, ὅμως ὑπέμενον, ἔως σφίσιν αἱ ἐπάλξεις διέμενον. ὡς δὲ καὶ αὗται κατεσύρησαν καὶ οἱ πύργοι διερράγεσαν, ὑποτοπήσας τὸ ἐσόμενον ὁ Βροῦτος ἐκέλευσε τὰς ἐφέδρους τῶν πυλῶν τάξεις ἀποστῆναι· καὶ οἱ Ξάνθιοι νομίσαντες ἀφυλαξίαν καὶ ἀμέλειαν εἶναι υսκτὸς ἔξεδραμον μετὰ λαμπάδων ἐπὶ τὰ μηχανήματα. ταχὺ δὲ ἐκ συνθήματος αὐτοῖς τῶν Ρωμαίων ἐπιδραμόντων, συνέφευγον αὐθις ἐσ τὰς πύλας· καὶ τῶν φυλάκων αὐτὰς προαποκλεισάντων ὑπὸ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

turned his attention first to the inhabitants of Xanthus in Lycia. The latter destroyed their suburbs in order that Brutus might not effect a lodgment or find material there. They also surrounded the city with a trench and embankment of more than fifty feet vertically and of corresponding breadth, from which they fought, so that standing upon it they could hurl darts and shoot arrows as though protected by an impassable river. Brutus invested the place, pushed forward mantlets for his men, divided his army into day and night forces, brought up material from long distances, hurrying and cheering them on as if for prizes, and spared neither zeal nor labour. So the work which it seemed most likely could not be done at all in the face of an opposing enemy, or only at the end of many months, was accomplished by him in a few days, and the Xanthians were now subjected to close siege.

He marches
against
Xanthus

77. Brutus attacked them now with battering-rams against the walls, now by assaults upon the gates with foot-soldiers, whom he kept changing continually. The defenders being always pitted against fresh soldiers although fatigued, and all wounded, nevertheless held out as long as their parapets remained. When these were battered down and the towers broken through, Brutus, foreseeing what would happen, ordered those who were attacking the gates to withdraw. The Xanthians, thinking that the enemy's works were deserted and unguarded, darted out by night with torches to set fire to the machines. Suddenly the Romans attacked them as ordered, and they again fled to the gates, the guards of which closed them before

Desperate
defence of
the place

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. δέους, μὴ συνεσπέσοιεν οἱ πολέμιοι, φθόρος ἦν
X Ξανθίων πολὺς ἀμφὶ ταῖς πύλαις ἀποκεκλει-
σμένων.

78. Οὐ πολὺ δὲ ὕστερον ἔξεδραμον αῦθις οἱ λοιποὶ περὶ μεσημβρίαν, ἀναχωρούστης πάλιν τῆς τάξεως, καὶ ἐνέπρησαν τὰ μηχανήματα ἅπαντα ἀθρόως. πεπετασμένων δ' αὐτοῖς τῶν πυλῶν διὰ τὸ πρότερον πάθος, συνεισέπεσον ἀμφὶ δισχιλίους μάλιστα Ῥωμαίων. καὶ ἐτέροις δὲ εἰσωθιζομένοις ἀμφὶ τὴν εἰσοδον ἐπέπεσον αὐλινίδιον αἱ πύλαι, εἴθ' ὑπό του Ξανθίων εἴτε καὶ αὐτομάτως τῶν χαλαστηρίων διαρραγέντων, ὥστε τῶν ἐσβιασαμένων Ῥωμαίων τοὺς μὲν ἀπολέσθαι, τοὺς δὲ ἔνδον ἀποληφθῆναι, τὰς πύλας οὐ δυναμένους ἔτι ἀνασπάσαι, χωρὶς ἀνασπαστηρίων γενομένας. βαλλόμενοι δ' ἐν τοῖς στενωποῖς ἄνωθεν ὑπὸ τῶν Ξανθίων, βιασάμενοί ποτε μόλις ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐγγὺς οὖσαν διέδραμον· κἀνταῦθα τῶν μὲν συμπλεκομένων σφίσι κρατοῦντες, τοξευόμενοι δὲ χαλεπῶς καὶ οὐδὲν ἔχοντες αὐτοὶ τόξον ἢ ἀκόντιον, παρὰ τὸ Σαρπηδόνειον, ἵνα μὴ κυκλωθεῖεν, διέδραμον. οἱ δὲ ἔξω τείχους Ῥωμαῖοι περὶ τῶν ἔνδον ἀγανακτοῦντες τε καὶ δεδιότες, Βρούτου περιθέοντος αὐτούς, ἐς πᾶσαν ἐμερίζοντο πεῖραν, οὕτε τὰς πύλας δυνάμενοι ῥῆξαι σιδήρῳ περιβεβλημένας; οὕτε κλιμάκων ἢ πύργων ἐμπεπρησμένων εύποροῦντες. ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἐσχεδίαζον κλίμακας, οἱ δὲ κεραίας τοῖς τείχεσι προστιθέντες ὡς διὰ κλιμάκων ἐπεχείρουν, οἱ δὲ καὶ σιδήρια ὁξέα καλῷδίοις περιτιθέντες ἐσφεν-

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

they entered, fearing lest the enemy should rush CHAP
in with them—and so there was round the gates a
great slaughter of the Xanthians who were shut out.

78. Soon afterwards the remainder made a fresh sally about midday, and as the besiegers withdrew again, they set fire to all the machines. As the gates were left open for them on account of the former calamity, about 2000 Romans broke in with them. While others were pushing in at the entrance the portcullis suddenly fell upon them, either by the design of the Xanthians or the accidental breaking of the ropes, so that some of the Romans who were forcing their way in were crushed and the others found their retreat cut off, as they could not raise the portcullis without hoisting apparatus. Pelted by missiles hurled upon them by the Xanthians from the roofs in the narrow streets, they forced their way with difficulty till they came to the forum, which was near by, and there they overcame the forces which were at close quarters with them, but, being under heavy volleys of arrows and having themselves neither bows nor javelins, they took refuge by the temple of Sarpedon to avoid being surrounded. The Romans who were outside the walls were excited and anxious for those inside, and tried every expedient, Brutus meantime darting hither and thither, but they were not able to break the portcullis, which was protected with iron, nor could they procure ladders or towers since their own had been burned. Nevertheless some of them made extemporized ladders, and others pushed trunks of trees against the walls and climbed up as if by ladders. Still others fastened iron hooks to ropes and hurled

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. δόνων τὰ σιδήρια ἐς τὸ τεῖχος ἄνω καί, ὅτε κατα-
_X παγέη τινὰ αὐτῶν, ἑαυτοὺς ἀνύμων.

79. Οἰνοανδεῖς δὲ γείτονες, διὰ τὴν ἐς τοὺς Ξανθίους ἔχθραν τῷ Βρούτῳ συμμαχοῦντες, διὰ τῶν κρημνῶν ἐπετροβάτουν ἄνω καὶ αὐτοὺς ἵδοντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐμιμοῦντο ἐπιμόχθως. καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν ἔξεπιπτον, εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ τὸ τεῖχος ὑπερβάντες καὶ πυλίδα ἀνέφεξαν, ἢ προεσταύρωτο πυκνοτάτοις σταυροῖς, καὶ τοὺς εὔτολμοτάτους αἰώρουμένους ὑπὲρ τὰ σταυρώματα ἐσεδέχοντο. καὶ πλείους γενόμενοι τὰς πύλας ἔκοπτον, οὐ περιβεβλημένας ἔτι τῷ σιδήρῳ τὰ ἐντός, ἀντικοπτόντων αὐτοῖς ἅμα ἔξωθεν ἐτέρων ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ συνεργούντων. Ξανθίων δὲ σὺν μεγάλῃ πάνυ βοῇ τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸ Σαρπηδόνειον οὖσι Ῥωμαίοις ἐπιθεόντων, δείσαντες ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, ὅσοι περὶ τὰς πύλας ἔνδοθέν τε καὶ ἔξωθεν αὐτὰς ἔκοπτον, ὑπὸ μανιώδους ὄρμῆς ἐβιάζοντο καὶ διαρρήξαντες ἐσέδραμον ἀθρόοι, δύνοντος ἄρτι τοῦ θεοῦ, μετὰ ἀλαλαγῆς, ἵνα σύμβολον εἴη τοῖς ἐντὸς οὖσιν.

80. Ἀλούστης δὲ τῆς πόλεως οἱ Ξάνθιοι ἐς τὰς οἰκίας συνέτρεχον καὶ τὰ φίλατα σφῶν κατέκαινον, ἐκόντα τὴν σφαγὴν ὑπέχοντα. οἰμωγῆς δὲ γιγνομένης ὁ Βροῦτος νομίσας ἀρπαγὴν εἶναι τὸν στρατὸν ἀνεῖργε διὰ κηρύκων· ώς δὲ ἔγνω τὸ γιγνόμενον, ὥκτειρεν ἀνδρῶν φρόνημα φιλελεύθερον καὶ σπονδὰς περιέπεμπεν. οἱ δὲ καὶ τοὺς φέροντας ἔβαλλον καὶ τὰ σφέτερα πάντα ἀνελόντες ἐς πυρὰς προνευησμένας ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις ἐπέθεσαν

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

them up to the walls, and whenever one of them CHAP.
caught fast they climbed up.

79. The Oenandians, who were neighbours of the Xanthians, and who had formed an alliance with Brutus by reason of their enmity to the latter, clambered up by way of the crags. When the Romans saw them they toiled up after them. Many fell off, but some scaled the wall and opened a small gate, defended with a very dense palisade, and admitted the most daring of the assailants, who swung themselves over the palings. Being now more numerous they began to hack at the portcullis, which was not protected with iron on the inside, while others joined in hacking it from outside, to help them. While the Xanthians, with loud cries, were rushing upon the Romans who were at the temple of Sarpedon, the Romans within and without, who were demolishing the portcullis, fearful for their comrades, struggled with frantic zeal. Finally they broke it down and rushed through in crowds about sunset, with a loud shout intended as a signal to those in the temple.

80. When the city was taken the Xanthians ran to their houses and killed those dearest to them, all of whom willingly offered themselves to the slaughter. Upon hearing cries of lamentation, Brutus thought that plundering was going on, and he gave orders to the army to stop it; but when he knew what the facts were he commiserated the freedom-loving spirit of the citizens, and sent messengers to offer them terms. They hurled missiles at the messengers, and, after destroying their own families, placed the bodies on funeral piles, which they had previously erected in their houses, set

Capture of
Xanthus

The
Xanthians
destroy the
city and
themselves

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἄψαντες ἑαυτοὺς ἐπικατέσφαξαν.
_X Βροῦτος δὲ τῶν ἱερῶν περισώσας ὅσα ἔδύνατο,
μόνους θεράποντας εἶλε Ξανθίων καὶ ἐκ τῶν
ἀνδρῶν γύναια δλίγα ἐλεύθερα καὶ ἀνδρας οὐδὲ ἐς
ἐκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα πάντας.

Ξάνθιοι μὲν δὴ τρίτον ὑπὸ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἀπώλ-
λυντο ἐλευθερίας οὕνεκα. καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ Ἀρπάγου
τοῦ Μήδου, Κύρῳ τῷ μεγάλῳ στρατηγοῦντος,
ῳδε σφᾶς ἀντὶ δουλοσύνης διέφθειραν, καὶ τάφος
Ξανθίοις ἡ πόλις ἀνειληθεῖσιν ὑπὸ Ἀρπάγου τότε
ἐγένετο· καὶ ἐπὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Φιλίππου φασὶν
ὅμοια παθεῖν, οὐχ ὑποστάντας οὐδὲ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ
μετὰ τοσῆσδε γῆς ἀρχὴν ὑπακοῦσαι.

81. Βροῦτος δὲ ἐς Πάταρα ἀπὸ Ξάνθου κατήει,
πόλιν ἐοικυῖαν ἐπινείψας Ξανθίων, καὶ περιστήσας
αὐτοῖς τὸν στρατὸν ἐκέλευσεν ἐς πάντα ὑπακούειν
ἡ τὰς Ξανθίων συμφορὰς προσδέχεσθαι· προσή-
γοντό τε αὐτοῖς οἱ Ξάνθιοι ὀδυρόμενοι τὰ σφέτερα
καὶ παραινοῦντες ἀμείνονα βουλεύσασθαι. Ξαν-
θίοις δὲ οὐδὲν ἀποκριναμένων πω τῶν Παταρέων,
ἔδίδου τὸ λοιπὸν αὐτοῖς τῆς ἡμέρας ἐς σκέψιν καὶ
ἀνεχώρει. ἂμα δὲ ἡμέρᾳ προσῆγεν. οἱ δὲ ἀπό τε
τῶν τειχῶν ἐβόων ὑπακούειν, ἐς ὅ τι βούλοιτο, καὶ
τὰς πύλας ἀνεῳγμον. ὁ δὲ ἐσελθὼν ἔκτεινε μὲν
οὐδένα οὐδὲ ἔξηλασε, χρυσὸν δὲ καὶ ἄργυρον, ὃσον
ἡ πόλις εἶχε, συνενεγκὼν ἐκέλευε καὶ τὸν ἴδιωτικὸν
ἐκάστους ἐσφέρειν ὑπὸ ζημίαις καὶ μηνύμασιν,

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

fire to them, and slew themselves on the same. CHAP.
Brutus saved such of the temples as he could,
^X but he captured only the slaves of the Xanthians ;
and of the citizens a few free women and hardly
150 men.

Thus the Xanthians perished the third time by their own hands on account of their love of liberty ; for when the city was besieged by Harpagus, the Mede, the general of Cyrus the Great, they destroyed themselves in like manner rather than be enslaved, and the city then became the tomb of the Xanthians hemmed in by Harpagus ; and it is said that they suffered a similar fate at the hands of Alexander, the son of Philip, as they would not submit to obey him even after he had become the master of so large a portion of the earth.

81. Brutus went from Xanthus down to Patara, a ^{Capture} _{of Patara} city which was something like a seaport of the Xanthians. He surrounded it with his army and ordered the inhabitants to obey him in everything, under penalty of meeting the fate of the Xanthians. Certain Xanthians were brought to them who lamented their own misfortunes and advised them to adopt wiser counsels. As the inhabitants of Patara made no sort of answer to the Xanthians, Brutus gave them the remainder of the day to consider the matter, and went away. The next morning he moved his troops forward. The Patarans cried out from the walls that they would obey all his commands and opened their gates. He came in, but he neither killed nor banished anybody ; but he ordered them to deliver to him whatever gold and silver the city possessed, and each citizen to bring in his private holdings under the same penalties and

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

• CAP. οῖοις καὶ Κάσσιος ἐκήρυξεν ἐν Ἱόδῳ. καὶ οἱ μὲν
^X ἐσέφερον, θεράπων δὲ τὸν δεσπότην ἐμήνυσε
χρυσίον κρύψαι καὶ πεμφθέντι λοχαγῷ τὸ χρυσ-
ίον ἔδειξεν. ἀγομένων δὲ ἀπάντων ὁ μὲν δεσ-
πότης ἐσιώπα, ἡ δὲ ἐκείνου μήτηρ περισώζουσα
τὸν οἰὸν εἴπετο, βοῶσα αὐτὴ τὸ χρυσίον κρύψαι.
ὁ δὲ οἰκέτης, οὐδὲ ἀνερωτώμενος, τὴν μὲν ἥλεγχε
ψευδομένην, τὸν δὲ κρύψαντα. καὶ ὁ Βροῦτος
τὸν μὲν νεανίαν ἀπεδέξατο τῆς σιωπῆς καὶ τὴν
μητέρα τοῦ πάθους καὶ μεθῆκεν ἀμφοτέρους
ἀπαθεῖς ἀπιέναι τὸ χρυσίον φερομένους, τὸν δὲ
οἰκέτην ὡς πέρα τοῦ προστάγματος ἐπιβούλευ-
σαντα τοῖς δεσπόταις ἐκρέμασε.

82. Τῷ δ' αὐτῷ χρόνῳ καὶ Λέντλος ἐπιπεμφθεὶς
'Ανδριάκῃ Μυρέων ἐπινείψ τὴν τε ἄλυσιν ἔρρηξε
τοῦ λιμένος καὶ ἐς Μύρα ἀνήει. Μυρέων δέ, ἀ
προσέτασσε, δεχομένων χρηματισάμενος ὁμοίως
ἐς Βροῦτον ἐπανήει. καὶ τὸ κοινὸν τὸ Λυκίων ἐς
Βροῦτον ἐπρέσβευε, συμμαχήσειν τε ὑπισχνού-
μενοι καὶ ἐσοίσειν, δσα δύναιντο. ὁ δὲ αὐτοῖς
ἐσφοράς τε ἐπέβαλε καὶ Ξανθίων τοὺς ἐλευθέρους
ἀπεδίδον τῇ πόλει καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν τὸ Λυκίων ἅμα
ταῖς ἄλλαις ναυσὶν ἐκέλευε περιπλεῖν ἐς "Αβυδον,
ἔνθα καὶ τὸ πεξὸν αὐτὸς ἦγε καὶ Κάσσιον ἐξ
'Ιωνίας ἀνέμενεν, ὡς ἐς Σηστὸν ὁμοῦ διαβαλοῦντες.
Μοῦρκος δὲ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ ναυλοχῶν Κλεοπάτ-
ραν, ἐπειδὴ ἔμαθεν αὐτὴν ὑπὸ χειμῶνος ἀμφὶ τῇ
Λιβύῃ βλαβεῖσαν καὶ τὰ ναυάγια εἶδε μέχρι τῆς
Λακωνικῆς ἐκφερόμενα καὶ σὺν ἀρρωστίᾳ μόλις

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

rewards to informers as those proclaimed by Cassius CHAP.
at Rhodes. They obeyed his order. One slave ^X testified that his master had concealed his gold and showed it to a centurion who was sent to find it. All the parties were brought before the tribunal. The master remained silent, but his mother, who had followed in order to save her son, cried out that she had concealed the gold. The slave, although not interrogated, disputed with her, saying that she lied and that his master had concealed it. Brutus approved of the young man's silence and sympathized with his mother's grief. He allowed them both to depart unharmed and to take their gold with them, and he crucified the slave for officious zeal in accusing his superiors.

82. At the same time Lentulus, who had been sent to Andriace, the seaport of the Myreans, broke the chain which closed the harbour and ascended to Myra. As the inhabitants obeyed his commands, he collected money in the same way as at Patara and returned to Brutus. The confederation of Lycia sent ambassadors to Brutus promising to form a military league with him and to contribute what money they could. He imposed taxes on them and he restored the free Xanthians to their city. He ordered the Lycian fleet together with his own ships, to set sail for Abydus; where he would rendezvous with his land forces and await Cassius, who was coming from Ionia, so that they might cross over to Sestus together. When Murcus, who was at Peloponnesus lying in wait for Cleopatra, learned that her fleet had been damaged by a storm on the Libyan coast, and saw the wreckage borne by the waves as far as Laconia, and knew that she had

Murcus
sails to
Brundusium to
blockade
Antony

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. αύτὴν ἐς τὰ έαυτῆς ἐπανιοῦσαν, ἵνα μὴ δι' ἀπράξίας εἴη μετὰ τοσοῦδε στόλου, διέπλευσεν ἐπὶ Βρευτεσίου καὶ ἐς τὴν ἐπικειμένην τῷ λιμένι νῆσον ὄρμισάμενος ἐκώλυε τὴν ὑπόλοιπον τῶν πολεμίων στρατιὰν ἡ ἀγορὰν ἐς Μακεδονίαν περαιοῦσθαι. καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἀπεμάχετο ναυσὶ μακραῖς, ὅσαις εἶχεν, ὀλίγαις· ἀπεμάχετο δὲ καὶ πύργοις, οὓς ἐπήγεν ἐπὶ σχεδιῶν, ὅτε τὸν στρατὸν ὄλκάσιν ἐκπέμποι κατὰ μέρη, πνεῦμα ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς τολὺν φυλάσσων, ἵνα μὴ καταλαμβάνοιντο ὑπὸ τοῦ Μούρκου. κακοπαθῶν δὲ ἐκάλει Καίσαρα, Πομπηίῳ Σέξτῳ κατὰ Σικελίαν περὶ αὐτῆς Σικελίας ναυμαχοῦντα.

XI

CAP. 83. Ὡδε δὲ εἶχε καὶ τὰ περὶ Πομπήιον. νεώτερος
XI ὧν ὅδε τῶν Μάγνου Πομπηίου παιδῶν ὑπερώφθη μὲν τὰ πρῶτα ὑπὸ Γαῖου Καίσαρος περὶ Ἰθηρίαν, ὡς οὐδὲν μέγα διὰ νεότητα καὶ ἀπειρίαν ἐργασόμενος, καὶ ἥλατο περὶ τὸν ὡκεανὸν ληστεύων σὺν ὀλίγοις καὶ λανθάνων, ὅτι εἴη Πομπήιος. πλεόνων δὲ ἐς τὸ ληστεύειν αὐτῷ συνιόντων χείρ τε ἦν ἥδη καρτερὰ καὶ ἔξεφαίνετο Πομπήιος ὃν. καὶ αὐτίκα, ὅσοι τοῦ πατρὸς ἡ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ στρατιῶται γεγονότες ἥλωντο, ὡς ἐς οἰκεῖον ἡγεμόνα συνέτρεχον, καὶ Ἀραβίων ἐκ Λιβύης ἀφίκετ' αὐτῷ, ἀφηρημένος τὰ πατρῷα, ὡς μοι προείρηται. ὡδε δὲ αὐτῷ πλήθους γενομένου, ἔργα τε ἦν ἥδη ληστηρίου δυνατώτερα

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

returned home with difficulty and in ill-health, he CHAP.
sailed for Brundusium in order that he might not be
^X idle with so great a fleet. He came to anchor at
the island lying opposite the harbour, and prevented
the remainder of the enemy's army and supplies
from passing over to Macedonia. Antony fought
him with the few war-ships that he had, and with
towers which he mounted on floats, whenever he
sent out detachments of his army on transports,
waiting for a strong wind from the land, in order
that they might not be captured by Murcus. As he
fared badly he called for help from Octavian, who
was contending on the water with Sextus Pompeius
along the coast of Sicily for possession of that island.

XI

83. WITH Pompeius the situation was as follows. CHAP.
Being the younger son of Pompey the Great, he was
^{XI} at first disregarded by Gaius Caesar in Spain as not
likely to accomplish anything of importance on ac-
count of his youth and inexperience. He roamed
about the ocean with a few followers, committing
piracy and concealing the fact that he was Pompeius.
When larger numbers joined him for the purpose of
pillage, and his force became powerful, he revealed
his name. Presently those who had served with his
father and his brother, and who were leading a
vagabond life, drifted to him as their natural leader,
and Arabio, who had been deprived of his ancestral
kingdom, as I have related previously, came to him
from Africa. His forces being thus augmented, his
doings were now more important than robbery, and

B.C. 45
Doings of
Sextus
Pompeius
in Spain

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. καὶ ὄνομα τοῦ Πομπηίου ἀνὰ δλην τὴν Ἰβηρίαν,
XII εύρυτάτην ἐθνῶν οὖσαν, περιθέουτός τε καὶ μεθι-
πταμένου καὶ ἐς χεῖρας οὐχ ὑπομένοντος ἐλθεῖν
τοῖς ἡγούμενοις αὐτῆς ὑπὸ Γαϊδ Καίσαρι. ὃν ὁ
Γάιος πυνθανόμενος ἔπειμπε σὺν στρατῷ πλέονι
Καρρίναν ἐκπολεμήσοντα Πομπήιον. ὁ δὲ καὶ
τούτῳ, κουφότερος ὅν, ἔπειφαίνετο ἄφινω καὶ
ἀφιπτάμενος ἡνώχλει καὶ πόλεις ἥδη τινὰς ἥρει
βραχυτέρας τε καὶ μείζους.

84. Καὶ ὁ Γάιος ἔπειμψε τῷ Καρρίνᾳ διάδοχον
Ἀσίνιον Πολλίωνα πολεμεῖν Πομπήιφ. ὃν τινα
πόλεμον αὐτῶν ὁμοίως διαφερόντων, ὁ τε Γάιος
Καῖσαρ ἀνηρέθη καὶ ἡ βουλὴ κατεκάλει Πομ-
πήιον. ὁ δὲ ἐν Μασσαλίᾳ γενόμενος περιεσκόπει
ἔτι τὰ ἐν Ῥώμῃ. αἱρεθεὶς δὲ καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης
ἄρχειν, καθὰ ἡρχειν αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ πατήρ, ἐς μὲν
τὴν πόλιν οὐδ' ὡς ἀνῆλθεν, ὅσαι δὲ μῆες ἐν τοῖς
λιμέσιν ἦσαν, λαβὼν ἔξέπλευσε σὺν αἷς εἶχεν ἀπὸ
τῆς Ἰβηρίας. ἐπιγενομένης δὲ τῆς τῶν τριῶν
ἀρχῆς ἐς Σικελίαν διέπλευσε καὶ Βιθυνικὸν ἄρ-
χοντα αὐτῆς, οὐ παριέντα οἱ τὴν νῆσον, ἐπο-
λιόρκει, μέχρι προγραφέντες ἐπὶ θανάτῳ καὶ
φυγόντες ἐκ Ῥώμης Ἰρτιός τε καὶ Φάννιος
ἔπεισαν ἐκστῆναι Πομπήιφ Βιθυνικὸν Σικελίας.

85. Ὁδε μὲν ὁ Πομπήιος Σικελίας ἐκράτησε,
καὶ ναῦς ἔχων καὶ νῆσον ἐπικειμένην τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ
καὶ στρατὸν ἥδη πολύν, ὅσον τε πρότερον εἶχε
καὶ ὅσον οἱ φεύγοντες ἐκ Ῥώμης ἐλεύθερον ἦ-
δοῦλον ἦγον ἡ αἱ πόλεις ἔξ Ιταλίας ἔπειμπον
αὐτῷ, αἱ ἐπινίκια τοῖς στρατοῖς ἐπηγγελμέναι.

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

as he flew from place to place the name of Pompeius CHAP.
spread through the whole of Spain, which was the XI
most extensive of the provinces; but he avoided coming to an engagement with the governors of it appointed by Gaius Caesar. When Caesar learned of his doings he sent Carinas with a stronger army to fight him. Pompeius, however, being the more nimble of the two, would show himself and then disappear, and so he wore out his enemy and got possession of a number of towns, large and small.

84. Then Caesar sent Asinius Pollio as successor B.C. 44
to Carinas to prosecute the war against Pompeius. While they were carrying on warfare on equal terms, Caesar was assassinated and the Senate recalled Pompeius. The latter came to Massilia and there watched the course of events at Rome. Having been appointed commander of the sea with the same powers that his father had exercised, he did not yet come back to the city, but taking what ships he found in the harbours, and joining them with those he had brought from Spain, he put to sea. When the triumvirate was established he sailed to B.C. 43 Sicily, and as Bithynicus, the governor, would not yield the island, he besieged him, until Hirtius and Fannius, two men who had been proscribed and had fled from Rome, persuaded Bithynicus to surrender Sicily to Pompeius. He sails to Sicily

85. In this way Pompeius possessed himself of B.C. 42 Sicily, and thus had ships, and an island lying convenient to Italy, and an army, now of considerable size, composed of those whom he had before and those who had fled from Rome, both freedmen and slaves, or those sent to him by the Italian cities which had been proclaimed as prizes of victory for

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. ταῖς γὰρ δὴ γνώμαις αὖδε μάλιστα τὴν νίκην τῶν
^{XI} τριῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀπεύχοντο καί, ὅσα δύναιντο, κρύφα
ἀντέπρασσον ἀποδιδράσκουτές τε τῶν πατρίδων
ώς οὐκέτι πατρίδων οἱ δυνάμενοι συνέφευγον ἐς
Πομπήιον, ἀγχοτάτῳ τε ὅντα καὶ περιφίλητον
ἄπασιν ἐν τῷ τότε παρῆσαν δ' αὐτῷ καὶ
ναυτικὸν ἄνδρες ἐκ Λιβύης καὶ Ἰβηρίας, ἔμπειροι
θαλάσσης, ὥστε καὶ ἡγεμόσι καὶ ναυσὶ καὶ
πεζῷ καὶ χρήμασιν ὁ Πομπήιος ἐπῆρτο. καὶ
τούτων ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπήκοος ὃν ἔπειμπε Σαλου-
διηνὸν ἐπὶ νεῶν στόλου, Πομπήιον ὡς εὐχερὲς
ἔργον ἔξελεῖν παραπλέοντα· καὶ αὐτὸς ἦει διὰ
τῆς Ἰταλίας ὡς αὐτῷ Σαλουιδιηνῷ συμβολήσων
περὶ Ῥήγιον. Σαλουιδιηνῷ δ' ὁ Πομπήιος ἀπαντᾷ
μεγάλῳ στόλῳ, καὶ πρὸ τοῦ πορθμοῦ ναυμαχίας
ἀμφὶ τὸ Σκύλλαιον αὐτοῖς γενομένης αἱ μὲν τοῦ
Πομπήιου νῆες, κουφότεραι τε οὖσαι καὶ ναυτικω-
τέρων ἀνδρῶν, ταχυτῆτι καὶ ἔμπειρᾳ προῦχον, αἱ
δὲ Ῥωμαίων ἄτε βαρύτεραι καὶ μείζους ἐμόχθουν.
ώς δ' ὁ συνήθης τοῦ πορθμοῦ κλύδων ἐπεγίγνετο
καὶ διεσπάτο ἡ θάλασσα ἐφ' ἐκάτερα ὑπὸ τοῦ ροῦ,
οἱ μὲν ἡσσον ἐμόχθουν ὑπὸ ἔθους τοῦ κλύδωνος,
οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸν Σαλουιδιηνόν, οὔτε ἐστῶτες
βεβαίως ὑπὸ ἀηθείας οὔτε τὰς κώπας ἔτι ἀναφέ-
ρειν δυνάμενοι οὔτε τὰ πηδάλια ἔχοντες εὐπειθῆ,
συνεταράσσοντο, ὥστε κλίνοντος ἐς δείλην ἐσπέραν
ἥδη τοῦ θεοῦ πρότερος ὁ Σαλουιδιηνὸς ἀνεκάλει.
ὑπεχώρει δὲ καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος. νῆες δὲ ἐκατέρων
ἴσαι διεφθάρατο, καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς λελωβημένας τε

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

the soldiers. These cities dreaded a victory of the CHAP.
triumvirs more than anything else, and whatever

XI

they could do against them secretly they did. The wealthy citizens fled from a country that they could no longer consider their own and took refuge with Pompeius, who was near by and greatly beloved by all at that time. There were present with him also many seafaring men from Africa and Spain, skilled in naval affairs, so that Pompeius was well provided with officers, ships, troops, and money. When Octavian learned these facts he sent Salvidienus with a fleet, as though it were an easy task, to come alongside of Pompeius and destroy him, while he himself passed through Italy with the intention of joining Salvidienus at Rhegium. Pompeius advanced with a large fleet to meet Salvidienus, and a naval engagement took place between them at the entrance of the straits near the promontory of Scyllaeum. The ships of Pompeius, being lighter and manned by better sailors, excelled in swiftness and skill, while those of the Romans, being of great tonnage and size, laboured heavily. When the usual rush of waves through the straits came on, and the sea dashed hither and thither under the influence of the current the crews of Pompeius suffered less than their adversaries, because they were accustomed to the agitation of the waters; while those of Salvidienus, not having their sea-legs through want of experience, and being unable to work their oars, or manage their rudders, were thrown into confusion. Accordingly, about sunset, Salvidienus was the first to give the signal of retreat. Pompeius withdrew also. The ships suffered about equally on both sides. Salvidienus retired to the port of Balarus, facing the

Sea-fight
between
Pompeius
and
Salvidienus

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. καὶ πεπονημένας ὁ Σαλουιδιηνὸς ἐπεσκεύαζεν, ὑποχωρήσας ἐς λιμένα πρὸ τοῦ πορθμοῦ Βαλαρόν.

XI 86. Ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐπελθὼν Ῥηγίνοις μὲν καὶ Ἰππωνεῦσι μεγάλας πίστεις αὐτὸς ἔδωκεν ἀναλύσειν αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἐπινικίων (ἔδεδίει γὰρ ὅντας ἐπὶ τοῦ πορθμοῦ μάλιστα), καλοῦντος δ' αὐτὸν Ἀντωνίου κατὰ σπουδὴν διέπλει πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐς τὸ Βρευτέσιον, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἔχων Σικελίαν καὶ Πομπήιον καὶ Σικελίαν ὑπερθέμενος ἐν τῷ τότε Μοῦρκος δὲ ἐπιόντος τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἵνα μὴ ἐν μέσῳ γένηται Ἀντωνίου τε καὶ Καίσαρος, μικρὸν ἀναχωρήσας τοῦ Βρευτεσίου, τὰς ὀλκάδας ἐφύλασσεν ἐν τῷ πόρῳ τὸν στρατὸν ἐς Μακεδονίαν ἐκ τοῦ Βρευτεσίου διαφερούσας. αἱ δὲ προεπέμποντο μὲν ὑπὸ τριήρων, πνεύματος δὲ πολλοῦ κατὰ θεὸν οἰκείου γενομένου διέπτησαν ἀδεῶς, οὐδὲν τῶν προπομπῶν δεηθεῖσαι. καὶ ὁ Μοῦρκος ἀχθόμενος ὅμως ἐφῆδρεν εἰναῖς κεναῖς. αἱ δὲ καὶ τότε, καὶ αὖθις ἔτερον στρατὸν ἄγουσαι, διέπλεον ἴστιοις στρογγύλοις, μέχρι πᾶς ὁ στρατὸς καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ Καῖσάρ τε καὶ Ἀντώνιος διέπλευσαν. καὶ ὁ Μοῦρκος ὑπό του δαιμόνων βεβλάφθαι νομίζων, ὑπέμενεν ὅμως τὰς ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας αὐτοῖς διαπλεούσας παρασκευὰς ἢ τροφὰς ἢ τὸν ἐπισυλλεγόμενον στρατὸν βλάπτων, ὅσα δύναιτο. καὶ αὐτῷ Δομίτιος Ἀηνόβαρβος ὑπὸ τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Κάσσιον ἐς τὸ αὐτὸν ἔργον, ὡς χρησιμώτατον δή, μετὰ νεῶν ἄλλων πεντήκοντα καὶ τέλους ἔτέρου

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

straits, where he repaired what was left of his CHAP.
damaged and wasted fleet.

XI

86. When Octavian arrived he gave a solemn promise to the inhabitants of Rhegium and Vibo that they should be exempt from the list of prizes of victory, for he feared them on account of their nearness to the straits. As Antony had sent him a hasty summons, he set sail to join the latter at Brundusium, having Sicily and Pompeius on his left hand; and postponing the conquest of the island for the time being. On the approach of Octavian, Murcus withdrew a short distance from Brundusium in order that he might not be between Antony and Octavian, and there he watched for the passage of the transports that were carrying the army across from Brundusium to Macedonia. The latter were escorted by triremes, but a strong and favourable wind having sprung up they darted across fearlessly, needing no escort. Murcus was vexed, but he lay in wait for the empty ships on their return. Yet these returned, took on board the remainder of the soldiers, and crossed again with full sails until the whole army, together with Octavian and Antony, had passed over. Although Murcus recognized that his plans were frustrated by some fatality, he held his position nevertheless, in order to hinder as much as possible the passage of the enemy's munitions and supplies, or supplementary troops. Domitius Ahenobarbus¹ was sent by Brutus and Cassius to co-operate with him in this work, which they deemed most useful, together with fifty additional ships, one legion, and a body of archers; for as the

¹ This was the son of Caesar's enemy of the same name who was killed at Pharsalus.

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. καὶ τοξοτῶν ἐπέμφθη· ὡς γὰρ οὐκ ἔχουσι τοῖς
^{XI} ἀμφὶ τὸν Καίσαρα τροφὰς δαψιλεῖς ἐτέρωθεν
ἔδοκει τὰ ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας διακλείσειν.

Οἱ μὲν δὴ ναυσί τε μακραῖς ἑκατὸν καὶ
τριάκοντα καὶ ὑπηρετικαῖς πλέοσι καὶ στρατῷ
πολλῷ διαπλέοντες ἥνωχλουν, 87. Δεκίδιος δὲ καὶ
Νωρβανός οὖς ὁ Καίσαρ καὶ Ἀντώνιος μετὰ ὀκτὼ
τελῶν ἐς Μακεδονίαν προεπεπόμφεσαν, ἐκ Μακε-
δονίας ἔχώρουν ἐπὶ Θράκης τῆς ὁρείου χιλίους καὶ
πεντακοσίους σταδίους, μέχρι πόλιν ὑπερβάντες
Φιλίππους τὰ στενὰ Κορπίλων καὶ Σαπαίων, τῆς
Ρασκουπόλιδος ὅντα ἀρχῆς, κατέλαβον, ἢ μόνη
διελθεῖν ἔστιν ἐς τὴν Εύρωπην ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας τὴν
γνώριμον ὄδόν. καὶ τοῦτο τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Κάσσιον,
ἐς Σηστὸν ἐξ Ἀβύδου περάσασι, πρῶτον ἀντ-
εκεκρούκει. Ρασκούπολις δὲ καὶ Ράσκος ἡστην
ἀδελφῷ Θρακίῳ βασιλίσκῳ, μιᾶς ἀρχοντε χώρας,
οἱ τότε τῇ γνώμῃ περὶ τῆς συμμαχίας διεφέροντο.
καὶ Ράσκος μὲν τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον συνε-
μάχει, Ρασκούπολις δὲ τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Κάσσιον,
τρισχιλίους ἵππεας ἔχων ἐκάτερος. πυνθανο-
μένοις δὲ τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Κάσσιον περὶ τῶν ὄδῶν
ὁ Ρασκούπολις ἔφη τὴν μὲν δι' Αἴνου καὶ
Μαρωνείας ἐπίτομόν τε καὶ συνήθη καὶ λεωφόρον
οὖσαν ἐπὶ τὰ Σαπαίων στενὰ ἄγειν, κατεχόντων
δὲ αὐτὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἀμήχανα ἐς δίοδον εἶναι,
τὴν δὲ περίοδον τριπλασίονά τε καὶ χαλεπήν.

88. Οἱ δὲ τοὺς πολεμίους ὑπολαβόντες οὐκ ἐς
κώλυσιν μὲν ὄδῶν αὐτοῖς ἀπαντᾶν, τροφῶν δὲ
ἀπορίᾳ ἐς Θράκην ἀντὶ Μακεδονίας ὑπερβῆναι,
ἐβάδιξον ἐπὶ Αἴνου καὶ Μαρωνείας, ὅθεν ἐπὶ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

triumvirs did not have a plentiful supply of provisions from elsewhere, it was deemed important to cut off their convoys from Italy.

And so Murcus and Domitius, with their 130 war ships and a still greater number of small ones, and their large military force, sailed hither and thither harassing the enemy. 87. Meanwhile Decidius and Norbanus, whom Octavian and Antony had sent in advance with eight legions to Macedonia, proceeded from that country a distance of 1500 stades toward the mountainous part of Thrace until they had passed beyond the city of Philippi, and seized the passes of the Corpilans and the Sapaeans, tribes under the rule of Rhascupolis, where lies the only known route of travel from Asia to Europe. Here was the first obstacle encountered by Brutus and Cassius after they had crossed over from Abydus to Sestus. Rhascupolis and Rhascus were brothers of the royal family of Thrace, ruling one country. They differed in opinion at that time in regard to the proper alliance. Rhascus had taken up arms for Antony and Rhascupolis for Cassius, each having 3000 horse. When the Cassians came to inquire about the roads, Rhascupolis told them that the one by way of Aenus and Maronea was the short and usual and most travelled route, but that it led to the gorge of the Sapaeans, which was occupied by the enemy and hence was impassable, but the roundabout road was difficult and three times as long.

88. Brutus and Cassius, thinking that the enemy had taken that position not to close the passage to them but had crossed to Thrace instead of Macedonia for want of provisions, marched toward Aenus and Maronea from Lysimacheia and

Their
advance-
guard
march to
Philippi

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. Λυσιμαχείας τε καὶ Καρδίας,¹ αἱ τὸν ἵσθμὸν
^{XI} τῆς Θρακίου χερρούνησου διαλαμβάνουσιν ὥσπερ
πύλαι, μετὰ δὲ ἄλλην ἡμέραν ἐς τὸν Μέλανα
κόλπον ἀφίκοντο. καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἔξετάζουσιν
αὐτοῖς ἐγένοντο πάντες ὁπλιτῶν ἐννεακαΐδεκα
τέλη, Βρούτου μὲν ὀκτώ, Κασσίου δὲ ἐννέα,
ἐντελὲς οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ἐς δύο που τέλη μάλιστα
ἀναπληρούμενα, ὡς γίνεσθαι μυριάδας ὁπλιτῶν
ἀμφὶ τὰς ὀκτώ. ἵππεες δὲ ἡσαν Βρούτῳ μὲν
Κελτοὶ καὶ Λυσιτανοὶ τετρακισχίλιοι καὶ Θρᾷκες
καὶ Ἰλλυριοὶ Παρθηνοὶ καὶ Θεσσαλοὶ δισχίλιοι,
Κασσίφ δὲ Ἱβηρές τε καὶ Κελτοὶ δισχίλιοι καὶ
ἵπποτοξόται Ἀραβές τε καὶ Μῆδοι καὶ Παρθυναῖοι
τετρακισχίλιοι. σύμμαχοι δὲ εἴποντο βασιλέες
καὶ τετράρχαι Γαλατῶν τῶν ἐν Ἀσίᾳ, πεζόν τε
ἄγοντες πολὺν ἄλλον καὶ ἵππεας ὑπὲρ πεντα-
κισχιλίους.

XII

CAP. 89. Τοσήδε μὲν στρατιὰ τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Κάσσιον
^{XII} ἐπὶ τοῦ Μέλανος κόλπου διεκρίθη, καὶ τοσήδε
ἔχώρουν ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον, τὴν λοιπὴν ἔχοντες ἐπὶ τῶν
ἄλλαχόθι χρειῶν. καθήραντες δὲ αὐτὴν τοῖς
νομιζομένοις ἀνεπλήρουν τὰς ἐκ τῶν ἐπηγγελ-
μένων τισὶν ὁφειλομένας ἔτι δωρεάς, πολλῆς μὲν
περιουσίας χρημάτων πεφροντικότες, οἰκειούμενοι
δὲ ταῖς δόσεσιν αὐτούς, Γαϊώ μάλιστα Καίσαρι

¹ The text says that they marched toward Aenus and Maronea and thence toward Lysimacheia and Cardia, which would be the reverse of the route they actually took to Philippi. Schweighäuser judged that this was a copyist's blunder.

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

Cardia, which enclose the isthmus of the Thracian CHAP.
Chersonesus like gates. The next day brought them ^{XI} to the gulf of Melas.¹ Here they reviewed their army which contained in all nineteen legions of infantry. Of these Brutus had eight and Cassius nine, not full, but among them were two legions that were nearly full,² so that they mustered about 80,000 foot-soldiers. Brutus had 4000 Gallic and Lusitanian horse, besides 2000 Thracian and Illyrian, Parthian and Thessalian. Cassius had 2000 Spanish and Gallic horse and 4000 mounted bowmen, Arabs, Medes, and Parthians. The allied kings and tetrarchs of the Galatians in Asia followed him, leading a large additional force of foot-soldiers and about 5000 horse.

XII

89. Such was the size of the army reviewed by CHAP.
Brutus and Cassius at the gulf of Melas, and with it ^{XII} they advanced to battle, leaving the remainder of their forces on duty elsewhere. After performing a lustration for the army, they completed the payment of the promised donative still due to the soldiers. They had provided themselves with an abundant supply of money in order to propitiate them with gifts, especially the large number who had

Brutus and
Cassius
hold a
review at
the gulf
of Melas

¹ The gulf of Melas was a day's journey east, not west, of Aenus.

² The text is corrupt. Perhaps we should read δυάδεκα for δύο. The seventeen so-called legions were equal to twelve full legions.

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. τοὺς πλέονας ἐστρατευμένους, μή τις ἐς τὴν ὄψιν
XII ἡ ὁμωνυμίαν τοῦ νέου Καίσαρος νεωτερίσειεν
ἔλθόντος. καὶ αὐθις ἔδοξε τούτου χάριν καὶ
δημηγορῆσαι. βῆμά τε οὖν ἐπήχθη μέγα, καὶ οἱ
στρατηγοὶ μετὰ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς μόνων ἐς
αὐτὸ ἀναβάντες, ὁ δὲ στρατὸς αὐτῶν, ὃ τε ἴδιος
καὶ συμμαχικός, κάτω περιστάντες, ἤδοντο εὐθὺς
ἐπὶ τῇ ὄψει τοῦ πλήθους ἀλλήλων ἑκάτεροι,
ἰσχυροτάτῃ σφίσι φανείση· καὶ θάρσος ἦν ἀμφο-
τέροις αὐτίκα καὶ ἐλπὶς ἰσχυρά, τοσῶνδε στρατη-
γούσιν. αὐτά τε πρῶτα πάντων τάδε τοῖς στρα-
τηγοῖς τὸν στρατὸν ἐς πίστιν συνῆγε· τίκτουσι
γὰρ εὔνοιαν ἐλπίδες κοιναί. θροῦ δὲ ὡς ἐν το-
σούτοις ὅντος οἵ τε κήρυκες καὶ οἱ σαλπιγκταὶ
σιωπὴν ἐποίουν, καὶ γενομένης ποτὲ ὁ Κάσσιος
(προῦχε γὰρ ἡλικίᾳ) προελθὼν μικρὸν ἐκ τῆς
τάξεως ἐς τὸ μέσον ἐλεξεν ὥδε.

90. “Ο μὲν ἀγῶν πρῶτον ἡμᾶς, ὁ συστρα-
τιώται, κοινὸς ὡν ἐς πίστιν ἀλλήλοις συνάγει·
συνάπτει δὲ καὶ ὅσα ὑμῖν ὑποσχόμενοι πάντα
ἔδομεν, ὃ μεγίστη πίστις ἐστὶ καὶ περὶ ὧν ἐς τὸ
μέλλον ὑπισχνούμεθα. αἱ δὲ ἐλπίδες εἰσὶν ἐν τῇ
ἀρετῇ, ὑμῶν τε τῶν στρατευομένων καὶ ἡμῶν,
οὓς ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος τοῦδε ὄράτε τοσούσδε καὶ
τοιούσδε ἄνδρας ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς. ἐστι δὲ καὶ
πλῆθος παρασκευῆς, ὃσον ἵστε, σίτου τε καὶ
ὅπλων καὶ χρημάτων καὶ νεῶν καὶ συμμάχων
κατά τε ἔθνη καὶ βασιλέας. ὥστε τί χρὴ τῷ
λόγῳ παρακαλεῖν ἐς προθυμίαν τε καὶ ὁμόνοιαν,
οὓς ἡ τε παρασκευὴ καὶ τὰ ἔργα κοινὰ ὅντα
συνάγει; περὶ δὲ ὧν διαβάλλουσιν ἡμᾶς δύο

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

served under Gaius Caesar, lest at the sight or the name of the younger Caesar, who was advancing, they should change their minds. For which reason also it was deemed best to address the soldiers publicly. A large platform was built, upon which the generals took their places, accompanied by the senators only. The soldiers, both their own and their allies, stood around it below, filled with joy at the sight of their vast number, the most powerful force they had ever beheld. To both the generals their immense commands were an immediate source of the greatest hope and courage. This more than anything else confirmed the fidelity of the army to the generals, for common hopes generate good feeling. There was a great deal of noise, as is usual on such occasions. The heralds and trumpeters proclaimed silence, and, when this was obtained, Cassius, who was the elder of the two, advanced a little in front of his companions and spoke as follows:—

90. "A common peril, like the present, fellow-soldiers, is the first thing that binds us in a common fidelity to each other. The second is, that we have given you all that we have promised, and this is the surest guarantee for what we have promised you in the future. All our hopes rest in bravery—the bravery of you, fellow-soldiers, and of us whom you see on this platform, this large and noble body of senators. We have, as you see, the most abundant munitions of war, supplies, arms, money, ships, and auxiliaries both from Roman provinces and the allied kings. Why is it needful, then, to exhort you with words to zeal and unanimity—you whom a common purpose and common interests have brought together? As to the slanders that those two men,

Speech of
Cassius to
the
republican
army

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. ^{XII} ἄνδρες ἐχθροί, ἵστε μὲν αὐτὰ ἀκριβέστατα, καὶ δι’ αὐτὸ συστρατεύεσθε ήμūν ἔτοίμως, δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ νῦν ἐπεξελθεῖν ἔτι τὴν αἰτίαν, ἡ μάλιστα ἐπιδείκνυσι τοῦ πολέμου καλλίστην τε οὖσαν ημūν καὶ δικαιοτάτην τὴν πρόφασιν.

91. “Ημεῖς γὰρ Καίσαρα ἐν μὲν τοῖς πολέμοις συστρατεύομενοί τε αὐτῷ μεθ' ὑμῶν καὶ στρατηγοῦντες ἐπὶ μέγα ήρομεν καὶ φίλοι διετελοῦμεν ὅντες, ὡς μὴ δοκεῖν αὐτὸν δι’ ἐχθραν ὑφ’ ημῶν ἐπιβεβουλεῦσθαι. τὰ δὲ ἐς τὴν εἰρήνην ἐπίμεμπτος ἦν, οὐχ ημūν τοῖς φίλοις, ἐπεὶ καν τούτοις προετιμώμεθα, ἀλλὰ τοῖς νόμοις καὶ τῷ κόσμῳ τῆς πολιτείας, ὡν οὐδεὶς νόμος οὔτε ἀριστοκρατικὸς κύριος οὔτε δημοτικὸς ἔτι ἦν· ἅπερ ἄπαντα οἱ πατέρες ημῶν ἡρμοσαν, ὅτε τοὺς βασιλέας ἐκβαλόντες ἐπώμοσαν καὶ ἐπηράσαντο οὐκ ἀνέξεσθαι βασιλέων ἐς τὸ μέλλον ἐτέρων. ὡς τινι ὅρκῳ βοηθοῦντες οἱ τῶν ὁμωμοκότων ἔκγονοι καὶ τὰς ἀρὰς ἀπερύκοντες ἀφ’ ἑαυτῶν οὐχ ὑπεμείναμεν ἐς πολὺ περιιδεῖν ἔνα ἄνδρα, εἰ καὶ φίλος ἦν ημūν καὶ χρήσιμος, τά τε κοινὰ χρήματα καὶ στρατόπεδα καὶ χειροτονίας ἀρχῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου καὶ ἡγεμονίας ἐθνῶν ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἐς ἑαυτὸν περιφέροντα καὶ νόμον ἀντὶ τῶν νόμων καὶ κύριον ἀντὶ τοῦ δήμου καὶ αὐτοκράτορα ἀντὶ τῆς βουλῆς γιγνόμενον ἐς ἄπαντα.

92. “Ων ἵσως ὑμεῖς οὐκ ἀκριβῶς ἥσθάνεσθε, ἀλλὰ μόνην αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἀρετὴν ἔωράτε. νῦν δὲ ῥᾳδίως τε ἀν καὶ ἐκ μόνου τοῦ περὶ ὑμᾶς μέρους καταμάθοιτε. ὁ γὰρ δῆμος

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

our enemies, have brought against us, you understand CHAP.
them perfectly, and it is for that reason that you XII
were ready to take up arms with us. Yet it seems
fitting to explain our reasons once more. These
will prove to you that we have the most honourable
and righteous cause for war.

91. "We raised Caesar to his high place, serving
him in war in conjunction with you and holding
commands under him. We continued his friends so
long that no one could imagine that we conspired
against him on account of any private grudge. It
was in the time of peace that he sinned, not against
us, his friends (for we were honoured by him
even among his friends), but against the laws,
against the order of the commonwealth. There was
no longer any law supreme, either aristocratic or
plebeian, nor any of the institutions that our fathers
established when they expelled the kings and swore
never to tolerate royal government again. We,
descendants of the men who thus swore, sustained
that oath and warded off the curse from ourselves.
We could no longer endure that one man, although
he was our friend and benefactor, should take from
the people and vest in himself the control of the
public money, the armies, and the elections, and
from the Senate the appointment of governors of the
provinces; that he should be a law in place of the
laws, a sovereign in place of the sovereign people,
an autocrat in place of the senate's authority, for
every purpose.

92. "Perhaps you did not understand these
matters particularly, but saw only his bravery in war.
Yet you may easily learn about them now by
observing only the part that concerns yourselves.

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. ίμενις ἐν μὲν τοῖς πολέμοις ὑπακούετε ἐς πάντα
XII ὡς κυρίοις τοῖς στρατηγοῖς, τὸ δὲ κῦρος τόδε ἐν
τοῖς εἰρηνικοῖς ἐφ' ήμīν ἀντιλαμβάνετε αὐτοῖς,
προβουλευούσης μὲν τῆς βουλῆς, ἵνα μὴ σφα-
λείητε, κρίνοντες δὲ αὐτοὶ καὶ ψηφιζόμενοι κατὰ
φυλὰς ἢ λόχους καὶ ἀποφαίνοντες ὑπάτους τε καὶ
δημάρχους καὶ στρατηγούς. ἐπὶ δὲ ταῖς χειρο-
τονίαις καὶ τὰ μέγιστα δικάζετε, κολάζοντες
ἢ τιμῶντες, ὅτε κολάσεως ἢ τιμῆς ἀξίως
ἀρξαιμεν ὑμῶν. ἡ δὲ ἀντίδοσις ἥδε τήν τε ἡγε-
μονίαν, ὡς πολῖται, ἐς εὐδαιμονίαν ἄκραν ὑπερή-
γαγε καὶ τοὺς ἀξίους ἐτίμησε, καὶ οἱ τετιμημένοι
χάριν εἶχον ὑμῖν. ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς ἔξουσίας
ὑπατον ἐποιήσασθε Σκιπίωνα, ὅτε αὐτῷ περὶ
Λιβύην ἐμαρτυρήσατε· καὶ δημάρχους ἐποιεῖσθε
ἀνὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον, οὓς ἐβούλεσθε, διοισομένους
ἥμīν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, εἰ δέοι. καὶ τί μοι καταλέγειν
τὰ πολλά, ὅσα ἔστε;

93. “Αλλ’ οὐκ, ἀφ’ οὐ Καῖσαρ ἐδυνάστευσεν,
οὐκ ἀρχήν τινα, οὐ στρατηγόν, οὐχ ὑπατον, οὐ
δημαρχον ἔχειροτονήσατε ἔτι, οὐκ ἐμαρτυρήσατε
οὐδενί, οὐκ ἀμοιβὴν εἴχετε δοῦναι μαρτυροῦντες.
ἐν κεφαλαίῳ δὲ εἰπεῖν, οὐδὲ εἰς ὑμῖν χάριν
ῶφειλεν, οὐκ ἀρχῆς, οὐχ ἡγεμονίας, οὐκ εὐθυνῶν,
οὐ δίκης. ὃ δὲ οἰκτιστον ἀπάντων ἐγένετο, οὐδ’
αὐτοῖς ἐδυνήθητε ἐπικουρῆσαι τοῖς δημάρχοις
ὑμῶν ὑβριζομένοις, ἦν τινα ἀΐδιον ὑμῶν αὐτῶν
ἀρχὴν ἐστήσασθε εἶναι καὶ ἰερὰν καὶ ἄσυλον
ἀπεφήνατε, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἀσύλους εἰδετε τὴν
ἀρχὴν τὴν ἄσυλον καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα τὴν ἰερὰν ἐς

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

You, of the people, when you go to the wars, obey CHAP.
your generals as masters in everything, but in time XII
of peace you resume your mastery over us. The Senate deliberates first, in order that you may not make a slip, but you decide for yourselves ; you give your votes by tribes, or by centuries ; you choose the consuls, the tribunes, the praetors. In the comitia you pass judgment on the weightiest questions, and you decide rewards and punishments when we have deserved rewards or punishments at your hands. This balance of powers, O citizens, has raised the empire to the summit of fortune and conferred honours upon those worthy of them, and the men thus honoured have returned thanks to you. By virtue of this power you made Scipio consul when you bore testimony to his deeds in Africa, and you elected whom you pleased each year as tribunes, to oppose us in your interest if necessary. But why should I repeat so many things that you already know ?

93. "From the time when Caesar's domination began you no longer elected any magistrate, either praetor, or consul, or tribune. Nor did you bear testimony to anybody's deeds, nor if you had done so, could you have rewarded them. In a word, nobody owed you any thanks either for a magistracy or a governorship, either for approving his accounts or acquitting him on a trial. Most lamentable of all, you could not defend your tribunes against insult, whose office you had constituted your own peculiar and perpetual magistracy, and had made sacred and inviolable. Yet you saw these inviolable men despoiled with contumely of this inviolable office, and of their sacred vestments, without trial, at the

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. Υβριν ἀφαιρουμένους ἀκρίτους, ἀπὸ μόνου προστάγματος, ὅτι ἔδοξαν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν χαλεπῆναι τοῖς καὶ βασιλέα αὐτὸν ἐθέλουσι προσαγορεῦσαι. ὃ καὶ μάλιστα ἐπαχθῶς ἡνεγκεν ἡ βουλὴ δὶς ὑμετέρα γὰρ καὶ οὐ τῆς βουλῆς ἐστιν ἡ τῶν δημάρχων ἀρχή. ἐπιμέμψασθαι δὲ σαφῶς οὐ δυναμένη τὸν ἄνδρα οὐδὲ ἐς κρίσιν ἐπαγαγεῖν διὰ ἵσχυν στρατοπέδων, ἢ καὶ αὐτά, τέως ὅντα τῆς πόλεως, ἑαυτοῦ πεποίητο ἵδια, τὸν ἔτι λοιπὸν τρόπον ἀμύνασθαι τὴν τυραννίδα ἐπενόησεν, ἐς τὸ σῶμα ἐπιβουλεύσασα.

94. Ἔδει δὲ τὴν μὲν γνώμην γενέσθαι τῶν ἀρίστων, τὸ δὲ ἔργον ὀλίγων. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγένετο, αὐτίκα ἡ βουλὴ τὴν κοινὴν γνώμην ἔξεφηνε, σαφῶς μὲν ὅτε καὶ γέρα τυραννοκτονικὰ ἐψηφίζοντο εἶναι· ἐπισχόντος δὲ αὐτοὺς Ἀντωνίου καθ' ὑπόκρισιν ἀταξίας καὶ οὐδὲ ἡμῶν ἀξιούντων διὰ γέρα τῇ πόλει μᾶλλον ἡ δὶς αὐτὴν τὴν πατρίδα βοηθεῖν, τοῦδε μὲν ἀπέσχοντο, οὐκ ἐθέλοντες ἐφιβρίζειν τῷ Καίσαρι, ἀλλὰ μόνης τῆς τυραννίδος ἀπηλλάχθαι, ἀμνηστίαν δὲ ἀπάντων ἐψηφίσαντο εἶναι καὶ σαφέστερον ἔτι, φόνου μὴ εἶναι δίκας. καὶ μετὰ μικρόι, Ἀντωνίου τὸ πλῆθος ἐφ' ἡμῖν δημοκοπήσαντος, ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ἀρχὰς ἐθνῶν τῶν μεγίστων καὶ ἡγεμονίας ἔδοσαν ἡμῖν καὶ γῆς ἀπέφηναν ἡγεῖσθαι πάσης ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰονίου μέχρι Συρίας, πότερον ὡς ἐναγεῖς κολάζοντες ἡ ὡς ἀνδροφόνους πορφύρᾳ τε ἰερᾷ καὶ ῥάβδοις καὶ πελέκεσι περικοσμοῦντες; φῶ λόγῳ καὶ Πομπήιον τὸν νέον, οὐδὲν μὲν ἐς ταῦτα συνειργασμένον, ὅτι δὲ μόνον Πομπηίου Μάγνου τοῦ πρώτου περὶ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

order of one man, because in your behalf they saw CHAP.
fit to proceed against certain persons who wished to XII
proclaim him as king. The senators were deeply
grieved at this on your account, for the office of
tribune is yours, not theirs. But they were not able
to censure this man openly or to bring him to trial
by reason of the strength of the armies which,
although heretofore belonging to the republic, he
had made his own. So they adopted the only
remaining method to ward off tyranny, and that was
to conspire against the person of the tyrant.

94. "It was necessary that the decision should be that of the best men, but that the deed should be done by a few. When it was done the Senate voiced the general approval clearly by proposing rewards to the tyrannicides. But since Antony restrained them from doing so on the pretext that it would lead to disorder, and since it was not our intention to confer this benefit upon Rome for the sake of reward, but solely for the sake of the country, the senators refrained, not wishing to insult Caesar, but only to get rid of the tyranny. So they voted amnesty for all, and it was more particularly decreed that there should be no prosecution for the murder. After a little, when Antony excited the mob against us, the Senate gave us command of the largest provinces and armies, and ordered all the countries between Syria and the Adriatic to obey us. In so doing did they punish us as monsters, or did they rather distinguish us as tyrannicides with the royal purple and with the rods and axes? For like reason the Senate recalled from exile the younger Pompeius (who was not concerned in this conspiracy) because he was the only son of Pompey the Great,

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. τῆς δημοκρατίας ἀγωνισαμένου παῖς καὶ ὅτι μικρὰ
XII τὴν τυραννίδα ἡνώχλει λανθάνων περὶ Ἰβηρίαν,
κατεκάλεσέ τε ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς καὶ τὸ τύμημα αὐτῷ
τῶν πατρών ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν ἔκριναν ἀποδοῦναι
χρημάτων καὶ θαλασσοκράτορα ἀπέφηναν, ἵνα
κάκεῖνος ἀρχήν τινα ἔχοι δημοκρατικὸς ὁν. τί δὴ
πλέον ἔργον ἔτι τῆς βουλῆς ἡ σύμβολον ἐπιξη-
τεῖτε τοῦ κατὰ γνώμην αὐτῆς πάντα πεπρᾶχθαι,
πλὴν ἡ λόγῳ μόνον ὑμῖν ἔτι ὄμολογῆσαι; δικαίως
αὐτὸς πράξουσι καὶ ἐροῦσι καὶ λέγοντες ἂμα
ὑμᾶς ἀμείψονται μεγάλαις δωρεαῖς, ὅταν εἰπεῖν
καὶ ἀμείψασθαι δύνωνται.

95. “Νῦν μὲν γὰρ ὡς ἔχουσιν, ἔστε. προ-
γράφονται χωρὶς δίκης, καὶ τὰ ὄντα αὐτοῖς
δημεύεται, καὶ κτείνονται χωρὶς καταδίκης ἐν
οἰκίαις, ἐν στενωποῖς, ἐν Ἱεροῖς, ὑπὸ στρατιωτῶν,
ὑπὸ θεραπόντων, ὑπὸ ἐχθρῶν, ἐκ μυχῶν ἀνασπώ-
μενοι καὶ διωκόμενοι πανταχῆ, τῶν νόμων τὸν
ἐθέλοντα φεύγειν ἐώντων. ἐσ δὲ τὴν ἀγοράν, ἐσ ἣν
οὐδενὸς πολεμίου κεφαλήν, ἀλλὰ ὅπλα μόνα καὶ
ἔμβολα νεῶν ἐφέρομεν, ὑπάτων ἄρτι καὶ στρατη-
γῶν καὶ δημάρχων καὶ ἀγορανόμων καὶ ἵππεων
κεφαλαὶ πρόκεινται· καὶ γέρα τούτων ἔστι τῶν
κακῶν ὡρισμένα. τοῦτο γὰρ ἐπανάστασίς τίς ἔστι
πάντων, ὅσα τέως ἦν ὕπουλα, καὶ ἀνδρολήψια
αιφνίδια καὶ μύση ποικίλα γυναικῶν τε καὶ σίων
καὶ ἀπελευθέρων καὶ οἰκετῶν. ἐσ τοσοῦτον ἥδη
καὶ τοὺς τρόπους ἡ πόλις ἐπιτέτριπται. καὶ τῶνδε
τοῖς πονηροῖς ἡγεμόνες εἰσὶν οἱ τρεῖς ἄνδρες, αὐτοὶ
πρὸ τῶν ἀλλων ἀδελφοὺς καὶ θείους καὶ ἐπιτρόπους

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

who first took up arms to defend the republic, and CHAP.
because the young man had made some little opposition to the tyranny in a private way in Spain. It passed a decree also to pay back to him, out of the public funds, the value of his father's property, and it appointed him admiral in order that he also might hold a command because he was on the side of the republic. What more could you ask of the Senate by way of deed or of sign to show that everything was done with their approval, unless that they should declare it to you in so many words? But they will do and say this very thing, and saying it they will repay you with magnificent gifts, when they are able to speak and to requite your services.

95. "What their present situation is you know. They are proscribed without trial, and their property is confiscated. Without being condemned, they are put to death in their houses, in the streets, in temples, by soldiers, by slaves, by personal enemies. They have been dragged out of their hiding-places and pursued everywhere, although the laws allow anybody to go into voluntary exile. In the forum, where the head of an enemy was never carried, but only captured arms and the beaks of ships, the heads of those who were lately consuls, praetors, tribunes, aediles, and knights are exhibited. Rewards have been assigned for these horrors. This is a breaking out of all the wounds that had been previously healed over,—sudden seizure of men, and all kinds of infamy perpetrated by wives and sons, freedmen and slaves. Into so desperate a plight and such condition has the city now been plunged. The leaders of evil men in all this are the triumvirs, who proscribe their own brothers and uncles and

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

ΧΠΙ προγράψαντες. λέγεται ποτε πρὸς τῶν ἀγριωτάτων βαρβάρων ἡ πόλις ἀλῶναι· καὶ οὐδενὸς ἀπέτεμνον οἱ Κελτοὶ κεφαλὰς οὐδὲ ἐνύθριζον ἀνηρημένοις οὐδὲ πολεμοῦσιν ἔτι λαθεῦν ἡ φυγεῦν ἐφθόνουν. οὐδ' αὐτοί πω πόλιν οὐδεμίαν ὥν δορὶ ἐλάβομεν, τοιαῦτα διεθήκαμεν οὐδὲ ἑτέρους ἐπυθόμεθα διαθεῖναι, οἷα νῦν οὐκ ἴδιωτις πόλις, ἀλλ' ἡγεμονὶς ἀδικεῖται πρὸς τῶν αὐτὴν ἀρμόσαι καὶ διορθώσαι τὰ κοινὰ κεχειροτονημένων. τί τοιοῦτον εἰργάσατο Ταρκύνιος; δν διὰ μιᾶς γυναικὸς ὕβριν, ἐξ ἔρωτος γενομένην, βασιλέα τε ὅντα ἐξέβαλον καὶ βασιλεύεσθαι διὰ ἐν ἔργον οὐκέτι ὑπέστησαν.

96. “Καὶ τάδε, ὡς πολῖται, πράσσοντες οἱ τρεῖς ἡμᾶς ἐναγεῖς λέγοντες, καὶ φασι μὲν ἀμύνειν Καίσαρι, προγράφουσι δὲ τοὺς οὐδὲ ἐπιδημοῦντας, ὅτε ἀνηρεῖτο: ὡν καὶ οἴδε εἰσὶν οἱ πλέονες, οὓς ὄρατε, διὰ πλοῦτον ἡ γένος ἡ γυνώμην· δημοκρατικῆς διανοίας προγεγραμμένοι. ὡς λόγῳ καὶ Πομπήιος μεθ' ἡμῶν προεγράφη, πόρρω μὲν ὡν περὶ Ἰβηρίαν, ὅτε ἡμεῖς ἐδρῶμεν· ὅτι δέ ἐστι δημοκρατικοῦ πατρός, διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν ὑπὸ μὲν τῆς βουλῆς κατεκλήθη τε καὶ θαλασσοκράτωρ ἐγένετο, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν τριῶν προεγράφη. τί δὲ γυναῖκες ἐπὶ Καίσαρι συνέγνωσαν αἱ ἐσφορὰς προγεγραμμέναι; τί δὲ ὁ δῆμος ὁ μέχρι δέκα μυριάδων τιμᾶσθαι τὰ ὅντα κεκελευσμένος ὑπὸ μηνύμασι καὶ ζημίαις, ὡς τέλη καινὰ καὶ ἐσφορὰς ἐπιγράφουσι; καὶ τάδε πράσσοντες οὐδὲ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

guardians first of all. History tells us that the CHAP.
city was once captured by the most savage bar-
barians, but the Gauls never cut off any heads, they
never insulted the dead, they never begrimed their
enemies a chance to hide or fly. Nor did we ever
treat in this way any city that we had captured in
war, nor did we ever hear of others doing so. More-
over, it is no ordinary city, but the mistress of
the world, that is thus wronged by those who have
been chosen to set in order and regulate the
republic. What did Tarquin ever do like this,—
Tarquin, whom our ancestors hurled from the throne
for an insult to one woman under the influence of
passion, and then for that one act, resolved to be
ruled by kings no longer?

XII

96. "While the triumvirs are committing these outrages, O citizens, they call us infamous wretches. They say they are avenging Caesar when they proscribe men who were not even in Rome when he was killed. Very many of these are here, as you see, who have been proscribed on account of their wealth, their family, or their preference for republican government. For this reason Pompeius was proscribed with us, although he was far away in Spain when we did the deed. Because he is the son of a republican father (for which reason also he was recalled by the Senate and made commander of the sea), he was proscribed by the triumvirs. What part had those women in the conspiracy against Caesar, who have been condemned to pay tribute? What part had those plebeians who holding property up to the value of 100,000 drachmas have been ordered to submit it to valuation under pressure of informers and fines?

301

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. XII ὡς ἀνεπλήρωσαν τοῖς στρατευομένοις σφίσι τὰς δωρεάς. ἡμεῖς δέ, οἵς ἀσεβὲς οὐδὲν εἴργασται, καὶ τὰ ἐπηγγελμένα δεδώκαμεν καὶ ἔτερα ἔτοιμα ἔχομεν ἐς ἀμοιβᾶς μείζονας. οὕτως ἡμῖν καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον, ὡς δίκαια πράσσουσι, συνεπιλαμβάνει.

97. “Ἐπὶ δέ γε τῷ δαιμονίῳ καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων ὄρᾶν ἔχετε, ἐς τοὺς ὑμῶν πολίτας ἀποβλέποντες, οὓς εἴδετε μὲν στρατηγοῦντας ὑμῶν πολλάκις καὶ ὑπατεύοντας καὶ ἐπαινουμένους, ὄρâτε δὲ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὡς εὐαγεῖς καὶ δημοκρατικοὺς καταπεφευγότας καὶ τὰ ἡμέτερα ἥρημένους καὶ συνευχομένους ἡμῖν ἐς τὰ λοιπὰ καὶ συναιρομένους. πολὺ γὰρ δικαιότερα ἡμεῖς γέρα τοῖς περισώσασιν αὐτοὺς ἐκηρύξαμεν ὃν ἐκεῖνοι τοῖς ἀναιροῦσιν οὐδὲ ὄρῶσιν ἡμᾶς Γάιον μέν, ὅτι ἡξίου μόνος ἄρχειν, ἀνηρηκότας, τοὺς δὲ τὴν ἐκείνου περιποιουμένους ἀρχὴν ὑπερορᾶν μέλλοντας καὶ μὴ ἐς ἑαυτούς, ἀλλ' ἐς τὸ μέσον τῷ δῆμῳ προτιθέντας τὴν πολιτείαν κατὰ τὰ πάτρια. ὡς οὖν οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς γνώμης αἱρουμένων πολεμεῖν ἐκατέρων, ἀλλὰ τῶν μὲν ὑπὲρ δυναστείας καὶ τυραννίδος, ἦν ἐν ταῖς προγραφαῖς ἐπέδειξαν ἡδη, ἡμῶν δὲ οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ἡ μόνον ἵνα τῆς πατρίδος ἐλευθερωθείσης ἴδιωτεύοιμεν ὑπὸ τοῖς νόμοις, εἰκότως οὖδε τε οἱ ἄνδρες καὶ πρὸ τούτων οἱ θεοὶ τὰ ἡμέτερα κρίνουσι. μεγίστη δὲ ἐλπὶς ἐν πολέμοις ἔστι τὸ δίκαιον.

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

and what is more new taxes and contributions CHAP.
have been imposed upon them. And even while XII
levying these exactions the triumvirs have not fully paid the sums promised to their troops, while we, who have done nothing contrary to justice, have given you all that we promised and have other funds ready for still larger rewards. So it comes about that the gods favour us because we do what is just.

97. "Besides the favour of the gods you can see that we have that of mankind by looking at these, your fellow-citizens, whom you have often beheld as your generals and your consuls, and who have won your praises as such. You see that they have had recourse to us as to men doing right and defending the republic. They espouse our cause, they offer up their prayers, and they co-operate with us for what still remains to be done. Far more just are the rewards we have offered to those who rescue them than those which the triumvirs offer for killing them. The triumvirs know that we, who killed Caesar because he assumed the monarchy, would not tolerate them in assuming his power and that we would not assume it ourselves, but that we would restore to the people in common the government as we received it from our ancestors. So you see the two sides do not decide to take up arms for the same reason—the enemy aiming at monarchy and despotism, as their proscription already proves, while we seek nothing but the mere privilege of living as private citizens under the laws of our country made once more free. Naturally the men before you espouse our side as the gods had done previously. In war the greatest hope lies in the justice of one's cause.

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP.
XII 98. “Μηδέ τω, εὶς Καίσαρος ἐγένετο στρατιώτης,
 ἐπὶ νοῦν ἔτι ἵτω· οὐ γὰρ ἔκείνου γε ἡμεν οὐδὲ
 τότε, ἀλλὰ τῆς πατρίδος, οὐδ' οἱ διδύμενοι μισθοὶ
 καὶ δωρεαὶ Καίσαρος ἦσαν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ κοινοῦ, ἐπεὶ
 οὐδὲ νῦν ἔστε Κασσίου στρατὸς οὐδὲ Βρούτου
 μᾶλλον ἡ Ῥωμαίων ἡμεῖς δ' ἐσμὲν ὑμῖν συστρα-
 τιῶται, Ῥωμαίων στρατηγοί. καὶ εἰ τόδε καὶ οἱ
 πολεμοῦντες ἡμῖν ἐφρόνουν, ἐνīν ἀκινδύνως ἄπασι
 τὰ ὅπλα καταθέσθαι καὶ τοὺς στρατοὺς πάντας
 ἀποδοῦναι τῇ πόλει, κάκείην ἐλέσθαι τὰ συνοί-
 σοντα· καὶ εἰ δέχονται ταῦτα, προκαλούμεθα.
 ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐ δέχονται, οὐδὲ ἀν δέξαιντο ἔτι διὰ
 τὰς προγραφὰς καὶ ὅσα ἀλλα ἔδρασαν, ἴωμεν, ὡ
 συστρατιῶται, μετά τε πίστεως ὑγιοῦς καὶ
 προθυμίας ἀδόλου στρατευσόμενοι Ῥωμαίων τῇ
 τε βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ μόνοις ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας.”

99. Ἀναβοησάντων δὲ πάντων “ἴωμεν” καὶ
 εὐθὺς ἄγειν ἀξιούντων, ἡσθεὶς ὁ Κάσσιος τῇ
 προθυμίᾳ κατεκήρυξεν αὐθις σιωπὴν καὶ αὐθις
 ἔλεγε· “θεοὶ μέν, ὅσοι πολέμων δικαίων δεσπό-
 ται, τῆς πίστεως ὑμᾶς, ὡ συστρατιῶται, καὶ
 προθυμίας ἀμείβουιντο· τὰ δ' ἐς ἀνθρωπίνην
 στρατηγῶν πρόνοιαν ὅτι καὶ πλέονα καὶ ἀμεί-
 νονά ἔστιν ἡ τοῖς πολεμίοις, μάθετε οὕτως.
 τέλη μὲν ὄπλιτῶν ἵσα αὐτοῖς ἀντεπάγομεν, πολλὰ
 καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν χρειῶν ἀλλα πολλαχοῦ καταλι-
 πόντες· ἵππεῦσι δὲ καὶ ναυσὶ πολὺ προύχομεν
 καὶ συμμάχοις βασιλεῦσί τε καὶ ἔθνεσι τοῖς
 μέχρι Μήδων καὶ Παρθυαίων. καὶ ἡμῖν μὲν ἐκ
 μετώπου μόνον εἰσὶ πολέμιοι, ἡμεῖς δ' αὐτῶν καὶ
 κατὰ νώτου Πομπήιόν τε ὁμογνώμονα ἡμῖν ἔχο-
 μεν ἐν Σικελίᾳ, καὶ Μοῦρκος ἐν τῷ Ἰονίῳ καὶ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

98. "Let it give no one any concern that he ^{CHAP.} has been one of Caesar's soldiers. We were not *his* ^{XII} soldiers then, but our country's. The pay and the rewards given were not Caesar's, but the republic's. For the same reason you are not now the soldiers of Cassius, or of Brutus, but of Rome. We, Roman generals, are your fellow-soldiers. If our enemies were of the same spirit with ourselves it would be possible for all to lay down their arms without danger, and give back all the armies to the commonwealth, and let it choose what will be most fitting. If they will accept such terms, we challenge them to do so. Since they will not (for they could not, on account of the proscription and the other things they have done), let us go forward, fellow-soldiers, with unwavering confidence and honest zeal, fighting only for the freedom of the Senate and people of Rome."

99. They all cried out, "Forward!" and urged him to lead them on immediately. Cassius was delighted with their spirit, and again proclaimed silence and again addressed them, saying: "May the gods who preside over just wars and over good faith reward your zeal, fellow-soldiers. How far superior we are to the enemy in everything that the human foresight of generals can provide let me tell you. We are equal to them in the number of legions, although we have left behind us the large detachments needed in many places. In cavalry and ships we greatly surpass them, as also in auxiliaries from kings and nations as far as the Medes and Parthians. Besides this we have to deal only with an enemy in front, while Pompeius is co-operating with us in Sicily in their rear, and in the Adriatic Murcus and

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. Αηνόβαρβος στόλῳ πολλῷ καὶ ὑπηρεσίᾳ δαψιλεῖ
^{XII} καὶ δύο τέλεσι στρατοῦ καὶ τοξόταις αἱεὶ δια-
πλέοντες ἐνοχλοῦσι πολλά, καθαρευούσης πολε-
μίων ἡμῖν τῆς ὅπισθεν γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης.
χρήματά γε μήν, ἃ τινες καλοῦσι νεῦρα πολέμου,
τοῖς μὲν οὐκ ἔστιν, οὐδ' ἀπέδωκάν πω τὰ ὑπεσ-
χημένα τῷ στρατῷ, οὐδὲ κατὰ δόξαν ἀπήντησε τὰ
τῶν προγραφῶν, οὐδενὸς τῶν ἐπιεικῶν ὡνουμένου
χωρία ἐπίφθονα· οὐδ' ἔτέρωθεν εὐποροῦσι, τετρυ-
μένης στάσεσι καὶ ἐσφορᾶς καὶ προγραφᾶς τῆς
Ιταλίας. ἡμῖν δὲ ἐκ πολλῆς φροντίδος καὶ τὰ
παρόντα ἔστὶ δαψιλῆ, ως αὐτίκα ὑμῖν ἄλλα
χαρίσασθαι, καὶ ἔτερα πολλὰ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀπὸ
τῶν ὅπισθεν ἔθνῶν προσοδεύεται συμφερόμενα.

100. “Τροφαὶ δέ, ὁ δυσπορώτατόν ἔστι στρατοῖς
μεγάλοις, ἐκείνοις μὲν οὐκ εἰσί, πλὴν ἐκ μόνης
Μακεδονίας, ἔθνους ὄρείου, καὶ Θεσσαλίας, χώρας
βραχείας· καὶ τάδε χρὴ κατὰ γῆν αὐτοῖς φέρε-
σθαι κακοπαθοῦσιν. εἰ δ' ἐκ Λιβύης ἐπάγοιντο ἡ
Λευκανίας ἢ Ιαπυγίας, διακλείσουσι πάντα
Πομπήιός τε καὶ Μούρκος καὶ Δομίτιος. ἡμῖν δὲ
καὶ εἰσὶ καὶ φέρονται καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἀπόνως
διὰ θαλάττης ἐκ τε νήσων καὶ ἡπείρων ἀπασῶν,
ὅσαι ἀπὸ Θράκης ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Εὐφράτην, καὶ
τάδε ἀκωλύτως, οὐδενὸς ἡμῖν ὅντος ὅπισθεν ἔχθρον·
ῶστ' ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἔσται καὶ ταχύνειν τὸ ἔργον καὶ ἐπὶ¹
σχολῆς ἐκτρύχειν τοὺς πολεμίους λιμῷ. τοσάδε
μὲν ὑμῖν καὶ τοιάδε ἔστιν, ὃ συστρατιώται, παρ'
ἀνθρωπίνης φροντίδος ἔτοιμα· τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ αὐτοῖς
ἀνὰ λόγον ἀπαντήσειε παρά τε ὑμῶν καὶ παρὰ
τῶν θεῶν. ἡμεῖς δ' ὑμῖν ἐπὶ τοῖς προτέροις

306

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

Ahenobarbus with a large fleet and abundance of small ^{CHAP.} XII craft,—besides two legions of soldiers and a body of archers, are cruising hither and thither harassing them in various ways, while both land and sea in our rear are clear of enemies. As regards money, which some call the sinews of war, they are destitute. They cannot pay what they have promised their army. The proceeds of the proscription have not met their expectation, because no good man will buy lands entailed with hate. Nor can they obtain resources elsewhere, since Italy is exhausted by civil strife, exactions, and proscriptions. Thanks to abundant foresight, we have plenty for the present, so that we can give you more shortly, and there are other large sums on the road collected from the nations behind us.

100. “Provisions, the supply of which is the chief difficulty in large armies, they can obtain only from Macedonia, a mountainous region, and the narrow country of Thessaly, and these must be carried to them overland with severe labour. If they try to obtain any from Africa, or Lucania, or Apulia, Pompeius, Murcus, and Domitius will cut them off entirely. We have abundance, brought to us daily by sea without labour from all the islands and mainlands which lie between Thrace and the river Euphrates, and without hindrance, since we have no enemy in our rear. So it rests with us either to hasten the battle, or by delaying it to waste the enemy by hunger. Such and so great, fellow-soldiers, are our preparations, so far as they depend on human foresight. May the future event correspond to these preparations by your efforts and by the help of the gods. As we have paid you all that we promised for

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. άποδόντες ἄπαντα, ὅσα ὑπεσχήμεθα, καὶ τὴν
XII πίστιν ὑμῶν ἀμειψάμενοι πλήθει δωρεῶν, ἀμει-
ψόμεθα καὶ τὸ μεῖζον ἔργον ἀξίως αὐτοῦ κατὰ¹
γνώμην θεῶν. καὶ νῦν δέ, ὅσον ἐς προθυμίαν,
ἰοῦσιν ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον ἥδη, συνόδου τῆσδε καὶ λόγων
τῶνδε ἔνεκα, ἐπιδώσομεν εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τοῦδε τοῦ
βήματος στρατιώτῃ μὲν χιλίας καὶ πεντακοσίας
δραχμᾶς Ἰταλικάς, λοχαγῷ δὲ πενταπλάσιον καὶ
χιλιάρχῃ δὲ τὸ ἀνάλογον.”

101. Ταῦτα εἰπὼν καὶ παρασκευάσας τὸν στρα-
τὸν ἔργῳ καὶ λόγῳ καὶ δωρεαῖς διέλυε τὴν ἐκκλη-
σίαν. οἱ δὲ ἐπιμένοντες ἐπήνουν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον
αὐτόν τε καὶ Βρούτον καὶ περὶ σφῶν, ὅσα εἰκὸς
ἡν, ὑπισχνοῦντο. οἱ δὲ αὐτοῖς τὴν δωρεὰν αὐτίκα
διηρήθμον καὶ ἔτερα ὑπὲρ αὐτὴν κατὰ προφάσεις
πολλὰς τοῦς ἀρίστοις. τοὺς δὲ λαμβάνοντας ἀεὶ²
κατὰ μέρη προαπέλυνον, ἐς Δορίσκον, καὶ αὐτοὶ³
μετ' ὄλιγον ἐφείποντο. δύο δὲ ἀετοὶ καταπτάντες
ἐς τῶν σημείων δύο αἰετοὺς ἀπ' ἀργύρου πεποιη-
μένους, ἐκόλαπτον αὐτοὺς ἦ, ὡς ἔτεροις δοκεῖ,
περιέσκεπτον καὶ παρέμενον δημοσίας τε τροφῆς
ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἡξιοῦντο, μέχρι πρὸ μᾶς
τῆς μάχης ἡμέρας ἀπέπτησαν. δύο δ' ἡμέραις
τὸν Μέλανα κόλπον περιοδεύσαντες ἐς Αἴνου
ἀφίκοντο καὶ ἐπὶ Αἴνῳ Δορίσκον τε καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα
μέχρι Σερρείου ὅρους παράλια.

XIII

CAP. 102. Τοῦ δὲ Σερρείου προύχοντος ἐς τὸ πέλα-
χος, αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐς τὰ μεσόγαια ἀνεχώρουν, Τίλ-
λιον δὲ Κίμβρον μετὰ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ καὶ τέλους

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

your former exploits and have rewarded your fidelity CHAP.
with abundant gifts, so for this greater battle we XII
will, under the favour of the gods, provide you a
reward worthy of it. And now, to increase the zeal
with which you already advance to your task, and in
remembrance of this assembly and of these words,
we will make an additional gift from this platform—
to each soldier 1500 Italic drachmas, to each centu-
rion five times that sum, and to each tribune in
proportion."

101. Having thus spoken, and having put his army in good spirits by deed and word and gifts, he dissolved the assembly. The soldiers remained a long time heaping praises on Cassius and Brutus and promising to do their duty. The generals immediately counted out the money to them, and to the bravest awarded an additional sum on various pretexts. As they received their pay they were dismissed by detachments on the march to Doriscus, and the generals themselves followed soon afterward. Two eagles alighted upon the two silver eagles which surmounted the standards, pecking at them, or, as others say, protecting them, and there they remained, being fed by the generals from the public stores until the day before the battle, when they flew away. After marching two days round the gulf of Melas the army came to Aenus and thence to Doriscus and the other towns on the coast as far as Mount Serrium.

XIII

102. As Mount Serrium projected into the sea CHAP.
Cassius and Brutus turned to the mainland, but they XIII
sent Tillius Cimber with the fleet and one legion of

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. οπλιτῶν ἐνὸς καὶ τοξοτῶν τινων τὴν ἀκτὴν περιπλεῦν ἔπειμπον, ἡ πάλαι μὲν ἦν ἐρημοτάτη, καίπερ εὔγεως οὖσα, τῶν Θρᾳκῶν οὕτε θαλάσσῃ χρωμένων οὕτε ἐς τὰ παράλια κατιόντων ὑπὸ δέους τῶν ἐπιπλεόντων· Ἐλλήνων δ' αὐτὴν ἐτέρων τε καὶ Χαλκιδέων καταλαβόντων καὶ θαλάσσῃ χρωμένων, ἥνθει ταῖς ἐμπορίαις καὶ γεωργίαις, χαιρόντων σφίσι καὶ τῶν Θρᾳκῶν διὰ τὴν τῶν ὡραίων ἄμειψιν, μέχρι Φίλιππος ὁ Ἀμύντου τούς τε ἄλλους καὶ Χαλκιδέας ἀνέστησεν, ὡς μηδὲν ἔτι πλὴν οἰκόπεδα μόνον ιερῶν ὄρᾶσθαι. τήνδε οὖν τὴν ἀκτὴν αὐθις ἔρημον οὖσαν ὁ Τίλλιος παραπλέων, ὡς οἱ πρὸς τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Βροῦτον εἴρητο, στρατοπέδοις ἐπιτήδεια χωρία ἀνεμέτρει καὶ διέγραφε καὶ ταῖς ναυσὶ κατὰ μέρη προσπλουν, ὃν οἱ περὶ τὸν Νωρβανόν, ὡς ἀχρεῖον ἔτι τὸ τηρεῖν, τὰ στενὰ ἐκλίποιεν. καὶ ἐγένετο μὲν ὡς προσεδόκησαν· ὑπὸ γὰρ τῆς φαντασίας τῶν νεῶν Νωρβανὸς ἐπὶ τῶν Σαπαίων στενῶν ἐθόρυβήθη καὶ ἐκάλει Δεκίδιον ἐκ τῶν Κορπίλων κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐπικουρεῖν οἱ. καὶ ἐπεκούρει, τὰ δὲ τῶν Κορπίλων στενὰ ἐκλειφθέντα οἱ περὶ τὸν Βροῦτον διώδευον.

103. Ἐκφανείσης δὲ τῆς ἐνέδρας ὁ Νωρβανὸς καὶ ὁ Δεκίδιος τὰ Σαπαίων κατεῖχον ἵσχυρῶς. καὶ πάλιν ἦν ἄπορα τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Βροῦτον, ἀθυμία τε ἐνέπιπτε, μὴ δέοι σφᾶς ἢς ὑπερεωράκεσαν περιόδου νῦν ἄρχεσθαι, καὶ ἀνακυκλεύειν τὰ ἡνυσμένα, ὅψε καὶ τοῦ χρόνου καὶ τῆς ὥρας νεγονότων. ὡδε δὲ αὐτοῖς ἔχουσιν ὁ Ρασκούπολις ἔφη περίοδον εἶναι παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ τῶν Σαπαίων.

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

troops and some archers to sail around the promontory, which, although fertile, was formerly deserted because the Thracians were not accustomed to the sea and avoided the coast for fear of pirates. So the Chalcideans and other Greeks took possession of it, being seafaring people, and caused it to flourish with commerce and agriculture, and the Thracians were much gratified by the opportunity for the exchange of products. Finally Philip, the son of Amyntas, drove out the Chalcideans and other Greeks so that no traces of them were to be seen except the ruins of their temples. Tillius sailed along this promontory, which was again deserted, as he had been ordered to do by Cassius and Brutus, measuring and mapping places suitable for camps, and approaching it with his ships now and then in order that the forces of Norbanus might abandon the pass, under the belief that it was useless to hold it longer. And it turned out as he had anticipated, for on the appearance of the ships Norbanus became alarmed for the Sapaean pass and called on Decidius to hasten from that of the Corphilans to his assistance, which he did. As soon as the latter pass was abandoned Brutus and Cassius marched through it.

103. When the stratagem became manifest Norbanus and Decidius occupied the gorge of the Sapaeans strongly. Again Brutus and his men could find no passage. They fell into discouragement lest they should now have to begin the roundabout journey which they had disdained, and to turn upon their own tracks, although pressed by time and the lateness of the season. While they were in this mood Rhescupolis said that there was a circuitous route (along the very side of the Sapaean

CHAP.
XIII
Tillius
Cimber
flanks the
enemy with
his fleet

Brutus and
Cassius
impeded
by the
mountains

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. XIII. ὅρος ἡμερῶν τριῶν, ἄβατον μὲν ἀνθρώποις ἐς τὸ
νῦν ὑπό τε κρημνῶν καὶ ἀνυδρίας καὶ ὑλῆς πυκνῆς·
ἥν δὲ ἐθέλωσιν ὕδωρ τε ἐπάγεσθαι καὶ ὁδοποιεῖν
στενὴν καὶ αὐτάρκη δίοδον, οὐ γνωσθήσεσθαι μὲν
διὰ τὴν συνηρέφειαν οὐδὲ οἰωνοῖς, τῇ τετάρτῃ δὲ
ἐπὶ Ἀρπησσὸν ποταμὸν ἥξειν, ἐκπίπτοντα ἐς
τὸν Ἔρμον, ὅθεν ἡμέρας ἔτι μιᾶς ἐν Φιλίπποις
ἔσεσθαι, τοὺς πολεμίους περιλαβόντας, ώς
ἀπειλῆθαι τέλεον αὐτοὺς καὶ οὐδὲ ἀναχώρησιν
ἔξειν. τοῖς δὲ ἐδόκει τὰ λεγόμενα τῆς τε ἄλλης
ἀπορίας οὕνεκα καὶ ἐλπίδι μάλιστα τοῦ περιλή-
ψεσθαι τοσόνδε στρατὸν πολεμίων.

104. Προπέμπουσιν οὖν μέρος, Λευκίφ Βύβλῳ
παραδόντες, ὁδοποιεῖν μετὰ τοῦ Ῥασκουπόλιδος.
οἱ δ' ἐπιμόχθως μέν, ὅμως δὲ ἐπραττον αὐτὸ μετὰ
όρμῆς καὶ προθυμίας, καὶ μᾶλλον, ἐπεί τινες
αὐτοῖς προπεμφθέντες ἐπανῆλθον, ἵδειν τὸν
ποταμὸν ἔξι ἀπόπτου λέγοντες. τῇ δὲ τετάρτῃ
κάμνοντες ὑπό τε κόπου καὶ δίψους, ἐπιλιπόντος
ἡδη τι καὶ τοῦ ὕδατος, δὲ ἐπήγοντο, ἀνέφερον, ὅτι
τριήμερόν σφισι τὸ ἄνυδρον ἐλέγετο εἶναι, καὶ ἐν
φόβῳ παιικῷ περὶ ἐνέδρας ἐγίγνοντο, οὐκ ἀπι-
στοῦντες μὲν τοῖς προπεμφθεῖσι τὸν ποταμὸν
ἵδειν, ἥγούμενοι δὲ ἐτέραν ἄγεσθαι. καὶ ἀθύμουν
καὶ ἐβόων καὶ τὸν Ῥασκούπολιν, ὅτε ἴδοιεν
περιθέοντα καὶ παρακαλοῦντα, ἐλοιδόρουν καὶ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

mountain) of three days' march, which had been CHAP.
impassable to men up to this time on account of ^{XIII} rocks, scarcity of water, and dense forests. If, however, they could carry their water and make a narrow but sufficient pathway, they would be so enveloped in shade that they would not be perceived even by birds. On the fourth day they would come to the river Harpessus, which falls into the Hermus, and in one day more they would be at Philippi, flanking the enemy so as to cut him off completely and leave him no chance to retreat. They adopted this plan since there was nothing else to do, and especially because it held out the hope of surrounding so large a force of the enemy.

104. They sent a detachment in advance under command of Lucius Bibulus, in company with Rhascupolis, to cut a path. They found it a very laborious task, but they accomplished it nevertheless with enthusiastic zeal, and all the more when some who had gone ahead came back and said that they had had a distant view of the river. On the fourth day, fatigued with labour and thirst, the water which they carried being nearly exhausted, they recollect ed that it had been said that they should be in a waterless region only three days. So they fell into a panic fearing that they were the victims of a stratagem. They did not disbelieve those who had been sent in advance and who said that they had seen the river, but they thought that they themselves were being led in a different direction. They lost heart and cried aloud, and when they saw Rhascupolis riding by and exhorting them to have courage, they reviled him and threw stones at him.

Severe labours
in the Thracian forests

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. ἔβαλλον. Βύθλου δὲ αὐτοὺς ἵκετεύοντος ἐκπονῆσαι τὰ λοιπὰ μετ' εὐφημίας, ὁ ποταμὸς περὶ ἑσπέραν ἐωράτο τοῖς πρώτοις καὶ βοῆς, ὡς εἰκός, λαμπρᾶς ἐπὶ τῇ χαρᾷ γενομένης, ἡ βοή, μεταλαμβανόντων αὐτὴν τῶν κατόπιν ἔξῆς, ἐπὶ τοὺς ὑστάτους περιήει. Βροῦτος δὲ καὶ Κάσσιος ἐπεὶ ἔμαθον, ἵεντο αὐτίκα δρόμῳ, διὰ τῆς τετμημένης τὸν ἄλλον στρατὸν ἄγοντες. οὐ μὴν ἔλαθόν γε τοὺς πολεμίους ἐσ τέλος οὐδὲ περιέλαβον αὐτούς· ὁ γάρ τοι Ῥάσκος, ὁ ἀδελφὸς τοῦ Ῥασκουπόλιδος, ἐκ τῆς βοῆς ὑπονοήσας ἐσκέψατο καὶ τὸ γιγνόμενον ἴδων ἐθαύμασε μὲν ὅδὸν ἀνυδρον ἐλθόντος στρατοῦ τοσοῦδε, ἦν οὐδὲ θηρίον φέτο ὅδεύσειν διὰ τοιᾶσδε ὕλης, καὶ ἀνήγγειλε τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Νωρβανόν· οἱ δὲ νυκτὸς ἔφευγον ἐκ τῶν Σαπαίων ἐπ' Ἀμφιπόλεως. καὶ οἱ Θράκες ἀμφω διὰ στόματος ἤσαν ἐν τοῖς στρατοῖς, ὁ μὲν ἀγνοούμενην ἀγαγών, ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἀγνοήσας.

105. Οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸν Βροῦτον ἐκ παραλόγου τόλμης ἐσ Φιλίππους παρῆλθον, ἔνθα αὐτοῖς καὶ ὁ Τίλλιος ἐπικατήχθη καὶ πᾶς ὁ στρατὸς συνεληλύθει. οἱ δὲ Φίλιπποι πόλις ἐστίν, ἡ Δάτος ὀνομάζετο πάλαι καὶ Κρημίδες ἔτι πρὸ Δάτου· κρήναι γάρ εἰσι περὶ τῷ λόφῳ ναμάτων πολλαί. Φίλιππος δὲ ὡς εὐφυὲς ἐπὶ Θράκης χωρίον ὡχύρωσέ τε καὶ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ Φιλίππους προσεῖπεν. ἐστι δὲ ἡ πόλις ἐπὶ λόφου περικρήμνου, τοσαύτη

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

While Bibulus was beseeching them with words of good cheer to persevere to the end, towards evening the river was seen by those in front, who, as was natural, raised a cry of joy, which was taken up by those behind in due order until it reached the rear. When Brutus and Cassius learned this they hurried forward at once, leading on the remainder of their army through the pathway that had been cleared. Nevertheless, they did not conceal their doings from the enemy altogether, nor surround them, for Rhascus, the brother of Rhascupolis, having his suspicions aroused by the shouting, made a reconnaissance; and when he saw what was being done he was astonished at so large an army traversing a pathway where no water could be obtained, and where he thought not even a wild beast could penetrate by reason of the dense foliage, and he forthwith communicated the news to the army of Norbanus. The latter retreated by night from the gorge of the Sapaeans toward Amphipolis. Each of the Thracian brothers received high commendation in his own army, the one because he had led an army by a secret path, the other because he had discovered the secret.

105. Thus Brutus and Cassius by an astounding act of audacity advanced to Philippi, where Tillius also disembarked, and the whole army was there assembled. Philippi is a city that was formerly called Datus, and before that Crenides, because there are many springs bubbling around a hill there. Philip fortified it because he considered it an excellent stronghold against the Thracians, and named it from himself, Philippi. It is situated on a precipitous hill and its size is exactly that

They arrive
at Philippi

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. τὸ μέγεθος, ὅσον ἔστι τοῦ λόφου τὸ εὑρος. ἔχει
 XIII δὲ πρὸς μὲν ἄρκτῳ δρυμούς, δι' ὧν ὁ Ρασκούπολις
 ἥγαγε τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Βροῦτον πρὸς δὲ τῇ μεσημ-
 βρίᾳ ἔλος ἔστι καὶ θάλασσα μετ' αὐτό, κατὰ δὲ
 τὴν ἕω τὰ στενὰ τὰ Σαπαίων τε καὶ Κορπίλων,
 ἐκ δὲ τῆς δύσεως πεδίου μέχρι Μυρκίνου τε καὶ
 Δραβήσκου καὶ ποταμοῦ Στρυμόνος, τριακοσίων
 που καὶ πεντήκοντα σταδίων, εὔφορον πάνυ καὶ
 καλόν, ἔνθα καὶ τὸ πάθος τῇ Κόρη φασὶν ἀνθιζο-
 μένη γενέσθαι, καὶ ποταμὸς ἔστι Ζυγάκτης, ἐν ᾧ
 τοῦ θεοῦ περῶντος τὸ ἄρμα τὸν ζυγὸν ἔξαι λέγουσι
 καὶ τῷ ποταμῷ γενέσθαι τὸ ὄνομα. κατωφερὲς δ'
 ἔστι τὸ πεδίον, ὡς ἐπιδέξιον μὲν εἶναι τοῖς ἄνωθεν
 ὄρμῶσιν ἐκ τῶν Φιλίππων, ἄναντες δὲ τοῖς ἐξ
 Ἀμφιπόλεως βιαζομένοις.

106. Φιλίππων μὲν οὖν ἔστιν ἔτερος λόφος οὐ
 μακράν, διν Διονύσου λέγουσιν, ἐν ᾧ καὶ τὰ
 χρυσεῖα ἔστι τὰ Ἀσυλα καλούμενα. ἀπὸ δὲ
 τούτου δέκα σταδίους προελθόντι δύο εἰσὶν ἄλλοι
 λόφοι, Φιλίππων μὲν αὐτῶν ὅσον ὀκτωκαΐδεκα
 σταδίους ἀφεστῶτες, ἄλληλων δὲ ὅσον ὀκτώ, ἐν
 οἷς ἐστρατοπέδευσαν, Κάσσιος μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ πρὸς
 μεσημβρίαν, Βροῦτος δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ βορείου. καὶ τῶν
 ἀμφὶ τὸν Νωρβανὸν ὑποχωρούντων οὐκέτι
 προήσαν. Ἀντώνιόν τε γὰρ ἐπινθάνοντο πλη-
 σιάζειν, Καίσαρος ὑπολελειμμένου διὰ νόσου ἐν
 Ἐπιδάμνῳ, καὶ τὸ πεδίον ἦν ἐναγωνίσασθαι
 καλὸν καὶ οἱ κρημνοὶ στρατοπεδεῦσαι. τὰ γὰρ
 ἐκατέρωθεν αὐτῶν, τῇ μὲν ἦν ἔλη καὶ λίμναι
 μέχρι τοῦ Στρυμόνος, τῇ δὲ τὰ στενὰ καὶ
 ἀτριβῆ καὶ ἀνόδευτα· τὸ δὲ μέσον τῶν λόφων,
 τὰ ὀκτὼ στάδια, δίοδος ἦν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν τε καὶ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

of the summit of the hill. There are woods on CHAP.
the north through which Rhascupolis led the army XIII
of Brutus and Cassius. On the south is a marsh
extending to the sea. On the east are the gorges
of the Sapaeans and Corpileans, and on the west
a very fertile and beautiful plain extending to
the towns of Murcinus and Drabiscus and the
river Strymón, about 350 stades. Here it is said
that Persephone was carried off while gathering
flowers, and here is the river Zygactes, in crossing
which they say that the yoke of the god's chariot
was broken, from which circumstance the river
received its name. The plain slopes downward so
that movement is easy to those descending from
Philippi, but toilsome to those going up from
Amphipolis.

106. There is another hill not far from Philippi which is called the Hill of Dionysus, in which are gold mines called the Asyla. Ten stades farther are two other hills, at a distance of eighteen stades from Philippi itself and eight stades from each other. On these hills Cassius and Brutus were encamped, the former on the southern and the latter on the northern of the two. They did not advance against the retreating army of Norbanus because they learned that Antony was approaching, Octavian having been left behind at Epidamnum on account of sickness. The plain was admirably situated for fighting and the hill-tops for camping, since on one side of them were marshes and ponds stretching as far as the river Strymon, and on the other gorges destitute of roads and impassable. Between these hills, eight stades apart, lay the main pass from Europe to Asia as between

They
encamp
there

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. Εύρωπην καθάπερ πύλαι, καὶ αὐτὰ διετείχισαν
XIII ἀπὸ χάρακος ἐς χάρακα καὶ πύλας ἐν μέσῳ
κατέλιπον, ὡς ἐν εἶναι τὰ δύο στρατόπεδα. ἦν δὲ
καὶ παρ' αὐτὸ ποταμός, διν Γάγγαν τινές, οἱ δὲ
Γαγγίτην λέγουσι, καὶ θάλασσα ὅπισθεν, ἐν ἧ
καὶ τὰ ταμιεῖα καὶ ἐνορμίσματα ἔμελλον ἔξειν.
Θάσον μὲν δὴ ταμιεῖον, ἀπὸ ἑκατὸν σταδίων
οὖσαν, ἐτίθεντο, ἐνόρμισμα δὲ ταῖς τριήρεσι Νέαν
πόλιν, ἀπὸ ἑβδομήκοντα σταδίων.

XIV

CAP. 107. Οἱ μὲν δὴ χαίροντες τῷ χωρίῳ τὰ στρατό-
XIV πεδα ὠχύρουν, Ἀντώνιος δὲ ὥδενε μὲν σὺν τῷ
στρατῷ μετ' ἐπείξεως, τὴν Ἀμφίπολιν ἐθέλων ἐς
τὴν ὑπηρεσίαν τῆς μάχης προλαβεῖν, ὡς δὲ αὐτὴν
εὑρεν ὠχυρωμένην οἱ πρὸς τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Νωρ-
βανόν, ἥσθη καὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν ἐν αὐτῇ κατέλιπε
μεθ' ἐνὸς τέλους, οὐ Πινάριος ἥγειτο, αὐτὸς δὲ
μάλα θρασέως πολὺ προελθὼν ἐστρατοπέδευεν ἐν
τῷ πεδίῳ, σταδίους ὁκτὼ μόνους ἀποσχὼν ἀπὸ
τῶν πολεμίων. καὶ εὐθὺς ἦν κατάδηλος ἡ τῶν
στρατοπέδων ἐλάττωσίς τε καὶ πλεονεξία. οἱ μὲν
γὰρ ἥσαν ἐπὶ κολωνῷ, οἱ δὲ ἐν πεδίῳ, καὶ οἱ μὲν
ἐξυλεύοντο ἀπὸ τῶν ὄρων, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐλους.
καὶ ὑδρεύοντο οἱ μὲν ἐκ ποταμοῦ, οἱ δὲ ἐκ φρεάτων
ῶν αὐτίκα ὠρωρύχεισαν· τὴν τε ἀγορὰν οἱ μὲν
ἀπ' ὀλίγων σταδίων ἐπήγοντο ἐκ Θάσου, οἱ δὲ
ἀπὸ πεντήκοντα καὶ τριακοσίων ἐξ Ἀμφιπόλεως.
ἔδοκει γε μὴν ἐξ ἀνάγκης ὁ Ἀντώνιος ὥδε πρᾶξαι,

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

gates. Across this space they built a fortification CHAP. from camp to camp, leaving a gate in the middle, so XIII that the two camps became virtually one. Alongside this fortification flowed a river, which is called by some the Ganga and by others the Gangites, and behind it was the sea, where they could keep their supplies and shipping in safety. Their depot was on the island of Thasos, 100 stades distant, and their triremes were anchored at Neapolis, at a distance of seventy stades.

watering

XIV

107. BRUTUS and Cassius were satisfied with the position and proceeded to fortify their camps, but Antony moved his army rapidly, wishing to anticipate the enemy in occupying Amphipolis as an advantageous position for the battle. When he found it already fortified by Norbanus he was delighted. Leaving his supplies there and one legion, under He the command of Pinarius, he advanced with the advances boldly greatest boldness and encamped in the plain at to Philippi a distance of only eight stades from the enemy, and straightway the superiority of the enemy's situation and the inferiority of his own became evident. The former were on elevated ground, the latter on the plain; the former procured fuel from the mountains, the latter from the marsh; the former obtained water from a river, the latter from wells freshly dug; the former drew their supplies from Thasos, requiring carriage of only a few stades, while the latter was 350 stades from Amphipolis. Still it seems that Antony was

CHAP.
XIV

Antony
arrives at
Amphipolis

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP.^{XIV} κολωνοῦ μὲν οὐδενὸς ὄντος ἔτέρου, τὸ δ' ἄλλο πεδίον οἴα κοιλότερον ἐκλιμνάζοντος ἐνίοτε τοῦ ποταμοῦ· παρ' ὃ καὶ τὰς πηγὰς τῶν ὄρυσσομένων φρεάτων γλυκείας τε καὶ δαψιλοῦς ὕδατος εὕρισκε. τό γε μὴν τόλμημα, εἰ καὶ ἐξ ἀπορίας ἐγένετο, κατέπλησσε τοὺς πολεμίους, ἐγγὺς οὕτω καὶ εὐθὺς ἐξ ἐφόδου σὺν καταφρονήσει παραστρατοπεδεύσαντος. φρούριά τε ἥγειρε πολλὰ καὶ πάντα κατὰ σπουδὴν ὡχύρους τάφροις καὶ τείχεσι καὶ χαρακώμασιν. ὡχύρουν δὲ καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι, ὅσα αὐτοῖς ἐνέλειπεν. ὁ δὲ Κάσσιος τὴν ὄρμὴν τοῦ Ἀντωνίου μανιώδη οὖσαν ὥρῶν διετείχιζεν, ὃ ἔτι μόνον αὐτοῖς ἔλειπεν ἐσ τὸ ἔλος ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατόπεδου, διὰ στενότητα ὑπεροφθέν, ὡς μηδὲν ἔτι ἀτείχιστον εἶναι πλὴν κατὰ πλευρὰς Βρούτῳ μὲν τὰ ἀπόκρημνα, Κασσίῳ δὲ τὸ ἔλος καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἐπὶ τῷ ἔλει· τὰ δὲ ἐν μέσῳ πάντα διεῖληπτο τάφρῳ καὶ χάρακι καὶ τείχει καὶ πύλαις.

108. Οὕτω μὲν ὡχυροῦντο αὐτῶν ἔκάτεροι καὶ ἐν τοσούτῳ μόνοις ἵππεῦσι καὶ ἀκροβολισμοῖς ἐπειρῶντο ἄλληλων. ὡς δὲ ἐξείργαστο πάντα, ὅσα ἐπενόουν, καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀφίκτο, οὕπω μὲν ἐρρωμένος ἐσ μάχην, φορείῳ δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς συντάξεις τοῦ στρατοῦ κομιζόμενος, οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν Καίσαρα εὐθὺς ἐξέτασσον ἐσ μάχην, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸν Βροῦτον ἀντεξέτασσον μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν ὑψηλοτέρων, οὐ κατήεσσαν δέ· οὐ γὰρ ἐγνώκεσσαν ἐσ τὴν μάχην ἐπείγεσθαι, ταῦς ἀγοραῖς ἐλπίζοντες ἐκτρύσειν τοὺς

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

compelled to do as he did, for there was no other hill, and the rest of the plain, lying in a sort of hollow, was liable to inundation at times from the river; for which reason also the fountains of water were found fresh and abundant in the wells that were dug there. Antony's audacity, although he was driven to it by necessity, confounded the enemy when they saw him pitch his camp so near them and in such a contemptuous manner as soon as he arrived. He raised numerous towers and fortified himself on all sides with ditch, wall, and palisade. The enemy also completed their fortification wherever their work was defective. Cassius, observing that Antony's advance was reckless, extended his fortification at the only place where it was still wanting, from the camp to the marsh, a space which had been overlooked on account of its narrowness, so that there was now nothing unfortified except the cliffs on Brutus's flank and the marsh on that of Cassius and the sea lying against the marsh. In the centre everything was intercepted by ditch, palisade, wall, and gates.

108. In this way both sides had fortified themselves, in the meantime making trial of each other by cavalry skirmishes only. When they had done all that they intended and Octavian had arrived (for, although he was not yet strong enough for a battle, he could be carried along the ranks reclining in a litter), he and Antony prepared for battle forthwith. Brutus and Cassius also drew out their forces on their higher ground, but did not come down. They decided not to give battle, hoping to wear out the enemy by want of supplies. There were nineteen legions of infantry on each

The forces
on either
side

APPLIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP.
XIV πολεμίους. ἦν δὲ τὰ μὲν πεζὰ ἑκατέροις ἐννεακαιδεκα ὄπλιτῶν τέλη, τοῖς μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν Βροῦτον ἐνδέοντα τοῖς ἀριθμοῖς, τοῖς δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸν Καίσαρα καὶ ἐπλεόναξον ἑκατέρωθεν· ἵππεες δὲ ἅμα τοῖς ἑκατέρων Θρακίοις ἥσαν Καίσαρι μὲν καὶ Ἀντώνιῳ μύριοι καὶ τρισχίλιοι, Βρούτῳ δὲ καὶ Κασσίῳ δισμύριοι. ὥστε πλήθει μὲν ἄνδρῶν καὶ θράσει καὶ ἀρετῇ στρατηγῶν καὶ ὅπλοις καὶ παρασκευῇ λαμπροτάτην ἑκατέρων παράταξιν ὀφθῆναι, ἀπρακτον δὲ ἐς πολλὰς ἡμέρας, οὐκ ἐθελόντων συμπλέκεσθαι τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Βροῦτον, ἀλλὰ ταῖς ἀγοραῖς προεκτρύχειν τοὺς πολεμίους, αὐτοὶ μὲν ἔχοντες Ἀσίαν χορηγὸν καὶ ἐξ ἐγγύονος πάντα διὰ θαλάσσης ποριζόμενοι, τοῖς δὲ πολεμίοις οὐδὲν ὃν δαψιλὲς οὐδὲ οἰκεῖον· οὔτε γάρ τι δι' ἐμπόρων ἀπ' Αἴγυπτου λαβεῖν εἰχον, ὑπὸ λιμοῦ τῆς χώρας δεδαπανημένης, οὔτε ἐξ Ἰβηρίας ἢ Λιβυῆς διὰ Πομπήιον οὔτε ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας διὰ Μούρκον καὶ Δομύτιον. οὐκ ἐς πολὺ δὲ αὐτοῖς ἔμελλον ἀρκέσειν Μακεδονία τε καὶ Θεσσαλία, μόναι σφίσιν ἐν τῷ τότε χορηγοῦσαι.

109. Ὡν οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν Βροῦτον ἐνθυμούμενοι μάλιστα διέτριβον· ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος αὐτὰ δεδιὼς ἔγνω βιάσασθαι τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐς μάχην καὶ ἐπενόησεν, εἰ δύναιτο βάσιμον τὸ ἔλος ἐργάσασθαι λαθών, ἵνα κατόπιν τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἔτι ἀγνοούντων γενόμενος τὴν ἀγορὰν σφᾶς ἀφέλοιτο τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς Θάσου κομιζομένην. ἐκτάσσων οὖν αὐθις ἐκάστοτε ἐς μάχην τὰ σημεῖα τοῦ στρατοῦ πάντα, ἵνα ὅλος ἐκτετάχθαι νομίζοιτο, μέρει τινὶ νυκτός τε καὶ ἡμέρας ἐκοπτεν ἐν τῷ ἔλει δίοδον στενήν, κείρων τε τὸν δόνακα καὶ χῶμα

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

side, but those of Brutus and Cassius lacked something of being full, while those of Octavian and Antony were complete. Of cavalry the latter had 13,000 and the former 20,000, including Thracians on both sides. Thus in the multitude of men, in the spirit and bravery of the commanders, and in arms and munitions, was beheld a most magnificent display on both sides ; yet they did nothing for several days. Brutus and Cassius did not wish to engage, but rather to continue wasting the enemy by lack of provisions, since they themselves had abundance from Asia, all transported by the sea from close at hand, while the enemy had nothing in abundance and nothing from their own territory. They could obtain nothing through merchants from Egypt, since that country was exhausted by famine, nor from Spain or Africa by reason of Pompeius, nor from Italy by reason of Murcus and Domitius. Macedonia and Thessaly, which were the only countries then supplying them, would not suffice much longer.

Brutus and
Cassius
hope to
starve the
enemy

109. Mindful chiefly of these facts Brutus and his generals protracted the war. Antony, fearful of the delay, resolved to force them to an engagement. He formed a plan of effecting a passage through the marsh secretly, if possible, in order to get in the enemy's rear without their knowledge, and cut off their avenue of supply from Thasos. So he arrayed his forces for battle with all the standards set each day, so that it might seem that his entire army was drawn up, while a part of his force was really working night and day making a narrow passage in the marsh, cutting down reeds, throwing up a causeway upon them, and flanking it with stone, so

Antony
seeks to
force an
engagement

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. έπιβάλλων καὶ λίθους ἐκατέρωθεν, ἵνα μὴ τὸ
 XIV χῶμα διαπίπτοι, τὰ δὲ βαθέα διεσταύρου καὶ
 ἔγεφύρου μετὰ σιωπῆς βαθυτάτης. ἀφηρητο δὲ
 τὴν ὄψιν τοῦ ἔργου τοὺς πολεμίους ὁ πεφυκὼς ἔτι
 δόναξ ἀμφὶ τῇ διόδῳ. δέκα δὲ ἡμέρας ἐργασά-
 μενος ὥδε ἐσέπεμψε λόχους ὀρθίους νυκτὸς ἄφνω
 καὶ τὰ ἐρυμνὰ τῶν ἐντὸς κατέλαβε καὶ ἔχαράκωσε
 φρούρια ὁμοῦ πολλά. ὁ δὲ Κάσσιος κατεπλάγη
 μὲν τοῦ ἔργου τὴν ἐπίνοιάν τε καὶ κλοπήν,
 ἀντεπινοῶν δὲ ἀποτεμέσθαι τὰ φρούρια τὸν
 Ἀντώνιον, διετείχιζε καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπικάρσιον τὸ
 ἔλος ἄπαν, ἀρχομένον ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου
 μέχρι τῆς θαλάσσης, κόπτων ὁμοίως καὶ γεφυρῶν
 καὶ τὸν χάρακα τοῖς στεριφώμασιν ἐπιτιθεὶς καὶ
 τὴν ὑπὸ Ἀντωνίου γεγενημένην δίοδον ἀπολαμ-
 βάνων, ἵνα μήτε ἐκδραμεῖν ἐσ αὐτὸν οἱ ἔνδον ἔτι
 δυνηθεῖεν μήτε ἐκεῖνος αὐτοῖς ἐπιβοηθεῖν.

110. Ταῦτα δὲ ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἴδων περὶ μεσημ-
 βρίαν, ὡς εἰχεν, αὐτίκα σὺν ὄρμῃ τε καὶ ὄργῃ τὸν
 στρατὸν τὸν ἴδιον, ἐπὶ θάτερα τεταγμένον, ἥγεν
 ἐπιστρέφων εἰς τὸ διατείχισμα τοῦ Κασσίου,
 μεταξὺ τοῦ ἔλους καὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου, σιδήρια
 φέρων καὶ κλίμακας, ὡς ἔξελῶν αὐτὸ καὶ παρο-
 δεύσων ἐσ τὸ τοῦ Κασσίου στρατόπεδον. γιγνο-
 μένου δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦ δρόμου σὺν τόλμῃ πλαγίου τε
 καὶ πρὸς ἄναντες, κατ' αὐτὸ δὴ τὸ μεταίχμιον τῶν
 στρατιῶν ἐκατέρων, περιήλγησαν οἱ τοῦ Βρούτου
 στρατιῶται ἐπὶ τῇ ὑβρει, ὥδε μάλα θρασέως
 αὐτοὺς ὅντας ἐνόπλους ἐχθρῶν διαθεόντων, καὶ
 ἐπέδραμον αὐτοῖς αὐτοκέλευστοι πρό τινος ἐκ τῶν
 ἥγεμόνων ἐπιτάγματος καὶ ἔκτεινον οἴα πλαγίους
 ἀθρόως, οὓς καταλάβοιεν. ἀρξάμενοι δὲ ἄπαξ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

that the earth should not fall away, and bridging CHAP.
the deeper parts with piles, all in the profoundest XIV
silence. The reeds, which were still growing round
his passage-way, prevented the enemy from seeing
his work. After working ten days in this manner he
sent a column of troops by night suddenly, who
occupied all the strong positions within his lines and
built several redoubts at the same time. Cassius was
amazed at the ingenuity as well as the secrecy of
this work, and he formed the counter design of
cutting Antony off from his redoubts. He carried a
transverse wall across the whole marsh from his
camp to the sea, cutting and bridging in the same
manner as Antony had done, and setting up the
palisade on the top of his mounds, thus intercepting
the passage made by Antony, so that those inside
could not escape to him, nor he render assistance to
them.

110. When Antony saw this about noon, instantly, with rage and fury, he turned his own army, which was facing in another direction, and led it against the cross-fortification of Cassius between his camp and the marsh. He carried tools and ladders intending to take it by storm and force his way into Cassius' camp. While he was making this audacious charge, obliquely and up hill, across the space that separated the two armies, the soldiers of Brutus were provoked at the insolence of the enemy in dashing boldly athwart their front while they stood there armed. So they charged on their own account, without any order from their officers, and killed with much slaughter (as natural in a flank attack) all they came up with. The battle once begun they charged upon

He attacks
the fortifi-
cations of
Cassius

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. ξρίγου καὶ τῷ Καίσαρος στρατῷ τεταγμένῳ
XIV μάλιστα κατὰ σφᾶς ἐπέδραμον καὶ τρέψαντες
ἔδίωκον, μέχρι καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἔξειλον, ὃ
κοινὸν ἦν Ἀυτωνίῳ τε καὶ Καίσαρι, Καίσαρος αὐτοῦ
δι' ἐνύπνιον ἔνδον οὐκ ὄντος, ἀλλὰ φυλαξαμένου τὴν
ἡμέραν, ὡς αὐτὸς ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν ἔγραψεν.

111. Ο δὲ Ἀυτώνιος ὅρῶν τὴν μάχην συνερ-
ρωγυῖαν ἤσθη μὲν ὡς ἀναγκάστας (πάνυ γὰρ ἐπὶ¹
ταῖς ἀγοραῖς ἐδεδίει), ἀναστρέφειν δὲ εἰς τὸ πεδίον
οὐκ ἔκρινεν, μὴ τὴν φάλαγγα ἀνελίσσων ταρά-
ξειεν, ὡς ἀρξάμενος δ' εἶχεν ὄρμῆς, ἔχειτο δρόμῳ
καὶ ἀνέβαινε, βαλλόμενός τε καὶ χαλεπῶς, μέχρι
βιαζόμενος ἐνέκυρσε τῇ φάλαγγι τῇ Κασσίου,
τὴν τάξιν τὴν δεδομένην φυλασσούσῃ καὶ τὸ
γιγνόμενον ὡς ἄλογον καταπεπληγμένη. ῥήξας
δ' αὐτὴν ὑπὸ τόλμης ἐπὶ τὸ διατείχισμα ὥρμα, τὸ
μεταξὺ τοῦ τε ἔλους καὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου, τόν τε
χάρακα ἀνασπῶν καὶ τὴν τάφρον ἐγχωνὺς καὶ τὸ
οἰκοδόμημα ὑπορύσσων καὶ τοὺς ἐν ταῖς πύλαις
καταφονεύων καὶ τὰ ἐπιπίποντα ἐκ τοῦ τείχους
ὑπομένων, ἕως αὐτὸς μὲν ἐσῆλατο διὰ τῶν πυλῶν
ἔνδον, ἔτεροι δὲ ταῖς ὑπωρυχίαις ἐσῆλθον, οἱ δὲ καὶ
τοῖς πεπτωκόσιν ἐπανέβαινον. καὶ πάντα οὕτως
ἐγίγνετο ὁξέως, ὥστε τοῖς τὸ ἔλος ἐργαζομένοις
ἐπιβοηθοῦσιν ὑπήντων ἐλόντες ἥδη τὸ διατείχισμα.
τρεψάμενοι δὲ καὶ τούσδε σὺν ὄρμῇ βιαίῳ καὶ
ἐσ τὸ ἔλος κατώσαντες ἐπανήσεαν ἐσ αὐτὸ ἥδη
τὸ στρατόπεδον τοῦ Κασσίου, μόνοι σὺν τῷ
Ἀυτωνίῳ, δσοι τὸ διατείχισμα ὑπερῆλθον, τοῦ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

the army of Octavian, also, which was drawn up opposite, put it to flight, pursued it to the camp which Antony and Octavian had in common, and captured it. Octavian himself was not there, having been warned in a dream to beware of that day, as he has himself written in his Memoirs.

111. When Antony saw that battle was joined he was delighted because he had forced it, for he had been in trouble about his supplies. He judged it inadvisable to turn again toward the plain, lest in making the evolution his ranks should be thrown into disorder. So he continued his charge, as he had begun it, on the run, and advanced under a shower of missiles, and forced his way till he struck the troop of Cassius which had not moved from its assigned position and which was amazed at this unexpected audacity. He courageously broke this advance guard and dashed against the fortification that ran between the marsh and the camp, demolished the palisade, filled up the ditch, undermined the works, and killed the men at the gates, disregarding the missiles hurled from the wall, until he had forced an entrance through the gates, and others had made breaches in the fortification, and still others had climbed up on the débris. All this was done so swiftly that those who had just now captured the fortification met Cassius' men, who had been at work in the marsh, coming to the assistance of their friends, and, with a powerful charge, put them to flight, drove them into the marsh, and then at once wheeled against the camp of Cassius itself. These were only the men who had scaled the fortification with Antony, the remainder being engaged in

Brutus
routs the
army of
Octavian
and captures
his camp

Antony
puts the
army of
Cassius
to flight

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. ἄλλου πλήθους, ἑκατέρων ἐκτὸς ἀλλήλοις μα-
XIV χομένου.

112. Τὸ δὲ στρατόπεδον ὡς ἐρυμνὸν ὄλιγος πάμπαν ἐφύλασσον· ὅθεν αὐτῶν εὔμαρῶς ἐκράτησεν ὁ Ἀντώνιος. ἦδη δὲ καὶ ἔξω τοῦ Κασσίου στρατὸς ἥσσατο καὶ τὴν κατάληψιν ἴδων τοῦ στρατοπέδου διεσκίδνατο ἀκόσμως. καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἦν ἐντελὲς ἑκατέροις καὶ ὅμοιον· Βροῦτός τε γὰρ τὸ λαιὸν τῶν πολεμίων ἐτέτραπτο καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἥρήκει, Ἀντώνιος τε Κασσίου κρατῶν σὺν ἀμηχάνῳ τόλμῃ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐπόρθει. φόνος τε ἦν ἑκατέρων ποικίλος· ὑπὸ δὲ μεγέθους πεδίου τε καὶ κοινορτοῦ τὰ ἀλλήλων ἡγυνόουν, μέχρι ποτὲ ἐπύθοντο καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀνεκάλουν. οἱ δὲ ἐπανήεσαν, ἀχθοφόροις ἐοικότες μᾶλλον ἡ στρατιώταις· καὶ οὐδὲ τότε ἀλλήλων ἥσθάνοντο οὐδὲ καθεώρων, ἐπεὶ ῥίψαντές γε, ὅσα ἔφερον, οἱ ἔτεροι μέγα ἀν εἰργάσαντο κατὰ τῶν ἐτέρων, ἀσυντάκτως ὅδε ἀχθοφορούντων. τὸν δ' ἀριθμὸν τῶν ἀποθανόντων εἰκάζουσι τῶν μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν Κάσσιον ἐς ὀκτακισχιλίους σὺν τοῖς παρασπίζουσι θεράπουσι γενέσθαι, τῶν δ' ἀμφὶ τὸν Καίσαρα διπλασίονα.

XV

CAP. 113. Κάσσιος δὲ ἔξ οὐ τῶν διατειχισμάτων ἔξ-
XV έωστο καὶ οὐδὲ ἐσελθεῖν ἔτι εἰχεν ἐς τὸ στρατό-
πεδον, ἀνέδραμεν ἐς τὸν Φιλίππων λόφον καὶ τὰ γιγνόμενα ἔφεωρα. οὐκ ἀκριβῶς δὲ αὐτὰ διὰ τὸν
328

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

conflict with the enemy on the other side of the wall.

CHAP.
XIV

112. As the camp was in a strong position it was guarded by only a few men, for which reason Antony easily overcame them. Cassius' soldiers outside the camp were already being beaten, and when they saw that the camp was taken they scattered in disorderly flight. The victory was complete and alike on either side, Brutus defeating the enemy's left wing and taking their camp, while Antony overcame Cassius and ravaged his camp with irresistible courage. There was great slaughter on both sides, but by reason of the extent of the plain and the clouds of dust they were ignorant of each other's fate. When they learned the facts they recalled their scattered forces. Those who returned resembled porters rather than soldiers, and did not at once perceive each other nor see anything clearly. Otherwise either party would have flung down their burdens and fiercely attacked the others carrying off plunder in this disorderly fashion. According to conjecture the number of killed on the side of Cassius, including slave shield-bearers, was about 8000, and on the side of Octavian double that number.

He captures
and
plunders
his camp

XV

113. WHEN Cassius was driven out of his fortifications and no longer had even a camp to go to, he hurried up the hill to Philippi and took a survey of the situation. As he could not see accurately on

CHAP.
XV
Cassius
commits
suicide

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. κονιορτὸν οὐδὲ πάντα ὄρῶν, ἀλλ' ἡ τὸ στρατό-
^{XV} πεδον ἑαυτοῦ μόνον εἰλημμένον, ἐκέλευσε Πινδάρῳ
τῷ ὑπασπιστῇ προσπεσεῖν οἱ καὶ διαφθεῖραι.
διαμέλλοντος δ' ἔτι τοῦ Πινδάρου προσέθει τις
ἀγγέλλων Βροῦτον ἐπὶ θάτερα νικᾶν καὶ τὸ
στρατόπεδον τῶν πολεμίων πορθεῖν. ὁ δὲ τούτῳ
μὲν τοσόνδε ἀπεκρίνατο· “νικώτης, λέγε αὐτῷ,
παντελῆ νίκην,” ἐσ δὲ τὸν Πίνδαρον ἐπιστραφεῖς,
“τί βραδύνεις;” ἔφη, “τί τῆς ἐμῆς αἰσχύνης με
οὐκ ἀπαλλάσσεις;” Πίνδαρος μὲν δὴ δεσπότην,
ὑπέχοντα τὴν σφαγήν, διεχρήσατο. καὶ τισιν
οὗτως ἀποθανεῖν δοκεῖ Κάσσιον. ἔτεροι δὲ αὐτὸν
οἴονται, προσιόντων ἐς εὐαγγέλιον ἵππεων Βρού-
του, νομισαντα εἶναι πολεμίους, πέμψαι τὸ
ἀκριβὲς εἰσόμενον Τιτίνιον τὸν δὲ τῶν ἵππεων
ώς Κασσίου φίλον περισχόντων τε σὺν ἥδονῇ καὶ
ἐπὶ τῷδε καὶ ἀλαλαξάντων μέγα, τὸν Κάσσιον
ἡγούμενον ἐσ ἔχθροὺς ἐμπεσεῖν Τιτίνιον τοῦτο
φάναι· “περιεμένομεν φίλον ἀρπαζόμενον ἰδεῖν,”
καὶ ἐσ τινα σκηνὴν ὑποχωρῆσαι μετὰ τοῦ Πιν-
δάρου καὶ τὸν Πίνδαρον οὐκέτι φανῆναι. διὸ καὶ
νομίζουσί τινες οὕπω κεκελευσμένον ἐργάσασθαι.

Κασσίφ μὲν δὴ τέλος ἦν τοῦ βίου κατὰ τὴν
αὐτοῦ Κασσίου γενέθλιον ἡμέραν, ὧδε τῆς μάχης
γενέσθαι συμπεσούσης, καὶ Τιτίνιος ώς βραδυνας
έαυτὸν ἔκτεινε. 114. Βροῦτος δὲ Κασσίου τὸν
νέκυν περικλαίων, ἀνεκάλει τελευταῖον ἄνδρα
Ῥωμαίων, ώς οὐ τινος ἔτι τοιοῦδε ἐσ ἀρετὴν
ἐσομένου, ταχυεργίας τε αὐτῷ καὶ προπετείας
ἐνεκάλει καὶ ἐμακάριζεν ὅμοι φροντίδων καὶ
ἀνίας ἀπηλλαγμένου, αλ Βροῦτον ἐσ ποίον ἄρα
τέλος ὁδηγοῦσι; παραδοὺς δὲ τὸ σῶμα τοῖς

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

account of the dust, nor could he see everything, CHAP.
but only that his own camp was captured, he ordered
Pindarus, his shield-bearer, to fall upon him and kill
him. While Pindarus still delayed a messenger ran up
and said that Brutus had been victorious on the other
wing, and was ravaging the enemy's camp. Cassius
merely answered, "Tell him that I pray this victory
may be complete." Then, turning to Pindarus, he
said, "What are you waiting for? Why do you not
deliver me from my shame?" Then, as he
presented his throat, Pindarus slew him. This
is one account of the death of Cassius. Others say
that as some horsemen were approaching, bringing
the good news from Brutus, he took them for
enemies and sent Titinius to find out exactly; that
the horsemen pressed around Titinius joyfully as a
friend of Cassius, and at the same time uttered loud
hurrahs; that Cassius, thinking that Titinius had
fallen into the hands of enemies, said, "Have
I waited to see my friend torn from me?" and that
then he withdrew to a tent with Pindarus, and
Pindarus was never seen afterward. For this reason
some persons think that he killed Cassius without
orders.

Thus Cassius ended his life on his birthday, on
which, as it happened, the battle was fought, and
Titinius killed himself because he had been too late;
114. and Brutus wept over the dead body of Cassius Brutus weeps over his body
and called him the last of the Romans, meaning that
his equal in virtue would never exist again. He re-
proached him for haste and precipitancy, but at the
same time he esteemed him happy because he was
freed from cares and troubles, "which," he said, "are
leading Brutus, whither, ah whither?" He delivered

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. φίλοις, ἵνα μὴ καταδα-
^{XV} κρύσειε τὸν στρατὸν ὄρωντα, αὐτὸς ἄσιτος τε
καὶ ἀτημέλητος ἀνὰ τὴν νύκτα πᾶσαν τὸ Κασσίου
στρατόπεδον καθίστατο. ἅμα δὲ ἡμέρᾳ τῶν
πολεμίων τὸν στρατὸν παρατασσόντων ἐς μάχην,
ἵνα μὴ δοκοῦεν ἡλασσώσθαι, συνεὶς τοῦ ἐνθυμή-
ματος, “ὅπλισώμεθα,” ἔφη, “καὶ ἡμεῖς καὶ ἀνθ-
υποκριθῶμεν ἐλάσσονα παθεῖν.” ὡς δὲ παρέταξεν,
οἱ μὲν ἀνεχώρουν, ὁ δὲ Βροῦτος ἐπιτωθάσας ἔφη
τοῖς φίλοις: “οἱ μὲν δὴ προκαλούμενοι ἡμᾶς ὡς
κεκμηκότας οὐδὲ ἀπεπείρασαν.”

115. Ἡι δὲ ἡμέρᾳ τὴν μάχην ἐν Φιλίπποις
συνέβαινεν εἶναι, καὶ ἐν τῷ Ἰονίῳ τοιόνδε πάθος
ἄλλο ἐγίγνετο μέγα. Δομύτιος Καλουῆνος ἐπὶ¹
όλκάδων ἦγεν ὄπλιτῶν δύο τέλη Καίσαρι, καὶ
τὸ διώνυμον ἦν αὐτῶν, τὸ Ἀρειον, ὃ ἐπὶ τιμῇ τῆς
ἀλκῆς ὠνόμαζον. ἥγε δὲ καὶ στρατηγίδα σπείραν,
ἐς δισχιλίους ἄνδρας, ἵππεων τε ἵλας τέσσαρας
καὶ ἔτερον πλῆθος ἐπειλεγμένου· καὶ τριήρεις
αὐτοὺς παρέπεμπον ὀλίγαι. Μοῦρκος δὲ αὐτοῖς
καὶ Ἀηνόβαρβος ἑκατὸν καὶ τριάκοντα μακραῖς
ὑπήντων. καὶ αὐτοὺς αἱ ὄλκάδες ἴστιφ μὲν αἱ
πρῶται διέφυγον ὀλίγαι, αἱ λοιπαὶ δέ, χαλά-
σαντος ἄφνω τοῦ πνεύματος, ἐν γαλήνῃ σταθερὰ
κατὰ τὸ πέλαγος ἤλωντο, ὑπό του θεῶν ἐκδεδο-
μέναι τοῖς πολεμίοις. ἐνέβαλλον γὰρ ἀδεῶς
ἐκάστη καὶ ἀνερρήγνυσον· οὐδὲ αἱ παραπέμπουσαι
σφας τριήρεις ἐπικουρεῖν ἐδύναντο, διὰ τὴν ὀλ-
γότητα κυκλούμεναι. ἔργα δὲ ἦν τῶν κινδυνευ-
ούντων πολλὰ καὶ ποικίλα, ὅτε μὲν τὰ πλοῖα
συναγόντων ἀπὸ κάλω σπουδῇ καὶ κοιτοῦς ἀρμο-

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

the corpse to friends to be buried secretly lest the CHAP.
army should be moved to tears at the sight; and
himself passed the whole night, without food and
without care for his own person, restoring order in
Cassius' army. In the morning the enemy drew up
their army in order of battle, so that they might not
seem to have been beaten. Brutus, perceiving their
design, exclaimed, "Let us arm also and make
believe that we have suffered defeat." So he put
his forces in line, and the enemy withdrew. Brutus
said to his friends, jestingly, "They challenged us
when they thought we were tired out, but they
dared not put us to the test."

115. On the same day that witnessed the battle at Philippi another great calamity took place in the Adriatic. Domitius Calvinus was bringing two legions of infantry on transport ships to Octavian, one of which was known as the Martian legion, a name which had been given to it as a distinction for bravery. He led also a praetorian cohort of about 2000 men, four squadrons of horse, and a considerable picked body of other troops, under the convoy of a few triremes. Murcus and Ahenobarbus met them with 130 war-ships. A few of the transports that were in front got away under sail. But the wind suddenly failing, the rest drifted about in a dead calm on the sea, delivered by some god into the hands of their enemies. For the latter, without danger to themselves, fell upon each ship and crushed it; nor could the triremes that escorted them render any aid, since they were hemmed in by reason of their small number. The men who were exposed to this danger performed many deeds of valour. Sometimes they hastily warped their ships together with

Naval engagement in the Adriatic

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. ζόντων ἐς ἄλληλα, ἵνα μὴ διεκπλεῖν αὐτὰ ἔχοιεν
XV οἱ πολέμιοι. ὅτε δὲ τούτου κρατήσειαν, οἱ μὲν
Μοῦρκοις αὐτοῖς ἐπέβαλλε τοξεύματα πυρός, οἱ
δὲ τοὺς συνδέσμους ἀνέλυνον ὀξέως καὶ ἀπέφευγον
ἄλληλων διὰ τὸ πῦρ αὐθίς τε ἐγίγνοντο ταῖς
τριήρεσιν ἐς περίπλουν καὶ ἐμβολὴν ἔτοιμοι.

116. Ἀγανακτοῦντες δὲ οἱ ἄνδρες, καὶ μάλιστα
αὐτῶν οἱ Ἄρειοι, ὅτι κρείττους ὄντες ἀλκὴν δι'
ἀπραξίας ἀπώλλυντο, οἱ μὲν πρὸ τοῦ πυρὸς
έαυτοὺς ἀνήρουν, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὰς τριήρεις τῶν πολε-
μίων ἐναλλομενοι τὰ μὲν ἔδρων, τὰ δὲ ἔπασχον.
νῆσέ τε ἡμίφλεκτοι μέχρι πολλοῦ περιέπλεον,
ἄνδρας ἔχουσαι τοὺς μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρός, τοὺς δ'
ὑπὸ λιμοῦ καὶ δίψης δαπανωμένους· οἱ δὲ καὶ
ἰστῶν ἡ σανίδων ἔχόμενοι ἐς πέτρας ἡ ἀκτὰς
ἔξεφέροντο ἐρήμους. καὶ εἰσὶν αὐτῶν, οἱ καὶ
περιεσώθησαν ἐκ παραλόγου· τινὲς δὲ καὶ ἐς
πέντε διήρκεσαν ἡμέρας, λιχμώμενοι τὴν πίσσαν
ἡ ἰστίων ἡ κάλων διαμασώμενοι, μέχρι σφᾶς ὁ
κλύδων ἔξήνεγκεν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν. πολὺ δ' ἦν, δ καὶ
τοὺς πολεμίοις ἔαυτὸ ἐπέτρεπεν, ὑπὸ τῶν συμ-
φορῶν ἡσώμενον. ἐπέτρεψαν δὲ καὶ τῶν τριή-
ρων ἐπτακαΐδεκα. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄνδρας οἱ περὶ
Μοῦρκον ἐς ἔαυτοὺς μεθώρκουν, ὁ δὲ στρατηγὸς
αὐτῶν Καλαυῆνος ἐπὶ τῆς ἔαυτοῦ νεὼς ἐπανῆλθεν
ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἡμέρᾳ πέμπτῃ, δόξας ἀπο-
λωλέναι.

Τοιοῦτο μὲν δὴ πάθος τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας τῇ
περὶ Φιλίππους μάχῃ κατὰ τὸν Ἰόνιον ἐπεγίγ-
νετο, εἴτε ναυάγιον εἴτε ναυμαχίαν ὀνομάσαι
χρή· καὶ ἔξέπληησε τὸ συγκύρημα τῶν ἔργων
ὑστερού ἐπιγνωσθέν·¹

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

ropes and made them fast with spars to prevent the enemy from breaking through their line. But when they succeeded in doing this Murcus discharged burning arrows at them. Then they cast off their fastenings as quickly as possible and separated from each other on account of the fire and thus again were exposed to being surrounded or rammed by the triremes.

116. Some of the soldiers, and especially the Martians, who excelled in bravery, were exasperated that they should lose their lives uselessly, and so killed themselves rather than be burned to death; others leaped on board the triremes of the enemy, selling their lives dearly. Vessels half burned floated a long time, containing men perishing by fire, or hunger, and thirst. Others, clinging to masts or planks, were thrown upon barren rocks or promontories, and of these some were saved unexpectedly. Some of them even lasted for five days by licking pitch, or chewing sails or ropes, until the waves bore them to the land. The greater part, vanquished by their misfortunes, surrendered to the enemy. Seventeen triremes surrendered, and the men in them took the oath to Murcus. Their general, Calvinus, who was believed to have perished, returned to Brundusium on his ship five days later.

Such was the catastrophe that befell in the Adriatic on the same day that the battle of Philippi was fought, whether it be more fitly called a naval catastrophe or a naval battle. The coincidence of the two battles caused amazement when it became known later.

The
Antonian
fleet
destroyed

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

XVI

CAP.
XVI 117. Ό δὲ Βρούτος τὸν στρατὸν ἐς ἐκκλησίαν συναγαγὼν ἔλεξεν ὡδε· “οὐδὲν ἔστιν, ὡ συστρατιῶται, παρὰ τὸν χθὲς ἀγῶνα, ἐν φιλέ μὴ κρείσσους ἐγένεσθε τῶν πολεμίων. τῆς τε γὰρ μάχης ἥρξατε προθύμως, εἰ καὶ χωρὶς παραγγέλματος· καὶ τὸ τέταρτον τέλος, ὃ περιώνυμον αὐτοῖς ὃν ἐπεπίστευτο τὸ κέρας, διεφθειρατε ἄπαν καὶ τοὺς ἐπιτεταγμένους αὐτῷ μέχρι τοῦ στρατοπέδου· καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτὸν εἴλετε πρότερον καὶ διηρπάσατε· ὡς προύχειν τάδε παρὰ πολὺ τῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ λαιοῦ βλάβης ἡμῶν. δυνηθέντες δὲ ἀν δολού ἐργάσασθαι τὸ ἔργον, ἀρπάσαι μᾶλλον εἴλεσθε ἡ κτείνειν τοὺς ἡσσωμένους· οἱ γὰρ πλέονες ὑμῶν τοὺς πολεμίους παροδεύοντες ἐπὶ τὰ τῶν πολεμίων ὕρμων. καὶ ἐν τῷδε αὖ πάλιν οἱ μὲν διήρπασαν δύο τῶν ἡμετέρων στρατοπέδων δυτῶν τὸ ἔτερον, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐκείνων ἄπαντα ἔχομεν, ὡς καὶ τῷδε τὴν ἐπίκτησιν τῆς βλάβης διπλασίονα είναι. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ πλεονεκτήματα τοσαῦτα· ὅσα δὲ ἔτερα προύχομεν αὐτῶν, ἔχετε καὶ παρὰ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων μανθάνειν, περὶ τε ἀπορίας σίτου καὶ ἐπιτιμήσεως αὐτοῦ καὶ κομιδῆς κακοπαθοῦς καὶ παρ' ὀλίγον ἥδη σαφοῦς ἐπιλείψεως. οὕτε γὰρ ἐκ Σικελίας ἢ Σαρδόνος ἢ Λιβύης ἢ Ἰθηρίας ἔστιν αὐτοῖς λαβεῖν διὰ Πομπήιον καὶ Μούρκον καὶ Ἀηνόβαρβον, ναυσὸν ἔξηκοντα καὶ διακοσίαις ἀποκλείοντας αὐτοῖς τὸ πέλαγος· Μακεδονίαν τε ἔξαναλώκασιν ἥδη καὶ ἐκ μόνης ἄρτι Θεσσαλίας ἔχουσιν, ἢ ἐς πόσον αὐτοῖς ἔτι ἀρκέσει;

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

XVI

117. BRUTUS assembled his army and addressed it CHAP.
XVI
Brutus
addresses
his army as follows: "In yesterday's engagement, fellow-soldiers, you were in every respect superior to the enemy. You began the battle eagerly, although without orders, and you utterly destroyed their far-famed fourth legion, on which their wing placed its reliance, and all those supporting it as far as their camp, and you took and plundered their camp first, so that our victory far outweighs the disaster on our left wing. But when it was in your power to finish the whole work, you chose rather to plunder than to kill the vanquished; for most of you passed by the enemy and made a rush for his property. We are the superior again in this, that of our two camps they captured only one, while we took all of theirs, so that here our gain is twice as great as our loss. So great are our advantages in the battle. How far we excel them in other respects you may learn from our prisoners—concerning the scarcity and dearness of provisions among them, the difficulty of procuring further supplies, and how near they are to absolute want. They can obtain nothing from Sicily, Sardinia, Africa, or Spain, because Pompeius, Murcus, and Ahenobarbus with 260 ships close the sea against them. They have already exhausted Macedonia. They are now dependent on Thessaly alone. How much longer will it suffice?"

337

z

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. 118. “Οταν οὖν αὐτοὺς ἐπειγομένους εἰς μάχην
XVI μάλιστα ἴδητε, τότε ἡγεῖσθε διωκομένους ὑπὸ^{τὸν} λιμοῦ τὸν ἐν χερσὶ θάνατον αἱρεῖσθαι. ἡμεῖς δ'^{τὸν} ἀντιμηχανησώμεθα αὐτοῖς τὸν λιμὸν ἡμῶν προπολεμεῖν, ἵν' ἀσθενεστέροις καὶ τετρυμένοις ἐντύχοιμεν, ὅτε χρή. μηδὲ ἐκφερώμεθα ταῖς προθυμίαις παρὰ καιρόν, μηδὲ βραδυτῆτά τις ἡγείσθω τὴν ἐμπειρίαν ἢ ταχυτῆτα, ἐς τὴν ὀπίσω θάλασσαν ἀφορῶν, ἢ τοσαύτας ἡμῖν ὑπηρεσίας καὶ τροφὰς ἐπιπέμπουσα δίδωσιν ἀκινδύνου νίκης ἐπιτυχεῖν, ἢν ὑπομένητε καὶ μὴ ἀδοξῆτε, εἰ προσπαίξονταί τε ἡμῖν καὶ προκαλοῦνται, οὐκ ἀμείνουνες ὄντες, ὡς διέδειξε τὸ ἔχθες ἔργον, ἀλλὰ ἔτερον δέος ἴώμενοι. τὴν δὲ προθυμίαν, ἃς νῦν ὑμᾶς ἀξιώ κρατεῖν, ἀθρόαν ἀπόδοτε, ὅταν αἰτῶμεν. ἐγὼ δ' ὑμῖν τὰ νικητήρια ἐντελῆ μέν, ὅταν οἱ θεοὶ κρίνωσιν, ἐπὶ ἐντελέσι τοῖς ἔργοις διαλύσομαι· νῦν δὲ τῆς ἔχθες ἀρετῆς ἀνὰ χιλίας ἐκάστῳ στρατιώτῃ δραχμὰς ἐπιδίδωμι καὶ τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν ὑμῶν ἀνὰ λόγον.”

‘Ο μὲν οὔτως εἶπεν καὶ αὐτίκα διεμέτρει τὴν δωρεὰν κατὰ τέλη· δοκεῖ δέ τισι καὶ Λακεδαιμονα καὶ Θεσσαλονίκην ἐς διαρπαγὴν αὐτοῖς δώσειν ὑποσχέσθαι.

119. ‘Ο δὲ Καῖσαρ καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος, εἰδότες οὐ μαχούμενον ἐκόντα τὸν Βροῦτον, τοὺς ἴδίους συνῆγον, καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐλεξε· “τὸ ἔχθες ἔργον, ὃ ἄνδρες, τοῖς μὲν λόγοις οἴδα ὅτι καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι μερίζονται, ὡς διώξαιντές τινας ἡμῶν καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον διαρπάσαντες, ἔργῳ δὲ ἐπιδείξουσιν ἄπαν ὑμέτερον· ὑπισχνοῦμαι γὰρ ὑμῖν οὔτε αὔριον οὔτε ταῖς ἐπιούσαις ἐκόντας αὐτοὺς ἐς μάχην ἥξειν.

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

118. "When, therefore, you see them eager to CHAP.
fight, bear in mind that they are so pressed by XVII
hunger that they prefer death by battle. We will
make it part of our plan that hunger shall engage
them before we do, so that when it is necessary
to fight we shall find them weakened and exhausted.
Let us not be carried away by our ardour before the
proper time. Let no one think that my generalship
has become sloth rather than action, when he casts his
eye on the sea behind us, which sends us all this aid
and provisions and enables us to win victory without
danger if you wait and do not mind the insults and
provocations of the enemy, who are not braver than
ourselves, as yesterday's work shows, but are trying
to avert another danger. Let the zeal which I
now desire you to repress be shown abundantly
when I ask it. The rewards of victory I myself will
pay you in full when it shall please the gods that
our work be finished. And now for your bravery in
yesterday's engagement, I will give to each soldier
1000 drachmas and to your officers in proportion."

After speaking thus he distributed the donative to
the legions in their order. Some writers say that he
promised to give them also the cities of Lacedaemon
and Thessalonica to plunder.

119. Meanwhile Octavian and Antony, seeing Speech of
that Brutus was not willing to fight, assembled their ^{Antony} to his
men, and Antony addressed them thus : " Soldiers, _{soldiers}
I am sure that the enemy claim in their speeches a
share of yesterday's victory because they drove some
of us and plundered our camp, but they will show
by their action that it was wholly yours. For I promise
you that neither to-morrow nor on any subsequent
day will they be willing to fight. It is the clearest

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. XVI. ὁ σαφεστάτη πίστις ἐστὶ τῆς ἔχθες ἡσσης καὶ φόβου, ὅταν ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς γυμνικοῖς ἀφιστῶνται τοῦ ἀγῶνος οἱ ἐλάττονες· οὐ γὰρ ἐς τοῦτο γε στρατὸν ἥγειρον τοσόνδε, ἵνα τῶν Θρακῶν ἐρημίαν οἰκῶσι διατειχίσαντες. ἀλλὰ αὐτὴν διετείχισαν μὲν ἔτι προσιόντων ὑμῶν διὰ δέος, ἐλθόντων δὲ ἐνοικοῦσι διὰ τὴν ἔχθες ἡσσαν· ἐφ' ἣ καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν ὁ πρεσβύτερος τε καὶ ἐμπειρότερος πάντα ἀπογνοὺς ἑαυτὸν διεχρήσατο, ὁ καὶ αὐτὸ μεγίστη συμφορῶν ἐστιν ἀπόδειξις. ὅταν οὖν ἡμῶν αὐτοὺς προκαλουμένων μὴ δέχωνται μηδὲ καταβαίνωσιν ἀπὸ τῶν ὄρῶν, ἀλλὰ ἀντὶ τῶν χειρῶν πιστεύωσι τοῖς κρημνοῖς, τότε μοι θαρροῦντες ὑμεῖς, ὡς ἄνδρες Ῥωμαῖοι, συναναγκάσατε αὐτοὺς αὐθις, ὥσπερ ἔχθες ἡναγκάσατε, αἰσχρὸν ἡγούμενοι δεδιότων ἐλασσοῦσθαι καὶ ὀκνούντων ἀπέχεσθαι καὶ τειχῶν ἄνδρες ὅντες ἀσθενέστεροι γενέσθαι. οὐ γὰρ ἥλθομέν γε καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν πεδίῳ βιώσοντες, οὐδὲ ἔστι βραδύνουσιν οὐδὲν αὔταρκες. ἀλλὰ δεῖ τοῖς εὖ φρονοῦσι τοὺς μὲν πολέμους ὀξεῖς, τὴν δὲ εἰρήνην ἐπὶ μήκιστον εἶναι.

120. “Τοὺς μὲν οὖν καιροὺς καὶ τὰ ἐς τοῦτον ἔργα ἐπιμηχανησόμεθα ἡμεῖς, οὐ μεμπτοὶ καὶ τῆς ἔχθες ὄρμῆς τε καὶ μηχανῆς ὑμῖν γενούμενοι· τὴν δὲ ἀρετὴν ὑμεῖς, ὅταν αἰτήσθε, ἀποδίδοτε τοῖς στρατηγοῖς. μηδὲ ἄχθεσθε τῆς ἔχθες ἀρπαγῆς μηδὲ ἐπ' ὀλίγον· οὐ γὰρ ἐν οἷς ἔχομέν ἔστι τὸ πλουτεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ κρατεῖν ταῖς δυνάμεσιν, ὁ καὶ τὰ ἔχθες ἀφαιρεθέντα, ἔτι ὅντα παρὰ τοῖς πολεμίοις σῶα, καὶ τὰ πολέμια αὐτὰ ἐπ' ἐκείνοις

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

proof of their defeat yesterday and of their lack of CHAP.
courage, that like those who have been vanquished XVI
in public games, they keep out of the arena. Surely
they did not collect so numerous an army in order
to pass their time in fortifications in the desert parts
of Thrace. But they built their fortifications when
you were still approaching because they were afraid ;
and now that you have come they adhere to them
because of yesterday's defeat, for which also the
older and more experienced of their generals in
utter despair committed suicide, and this act is itself
the greatest proof of their disaster. Since, therefore,
they do not accept our challenge and come down
from the mountain, but trust to their precipices
instead of their arms, be valiant, O my soldiers of
Rome, and force them to it again as you forced them
yesterday. Let us consider it base to yield to
those who are afraid of us, to keep our hands off
such sluggards, or, soldiers as we are, to be men
weaker than walls. We did not come hither to pass
our lives in this plain, and if we delay we shall be
in want of everything. If we are well advised we
shall prosecute the war sharply, in order that peace
may be of the longest duration possible.

120. "We, who have not incurred your censure
for the onset and the plan of yesterday's battle, will
devise fresh opportunities and means for this end.
Do you, on the other hand, when you are asked,
repay your generals with your valour. Nor must you
be troubled, for a moment, by yesterday's plundering
of our camp, for wealth consists not in the
property we hold, but in conquering with might,
which will restore to us as victors not only what we
lost yesterday, which is still safe in the enemy's

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. κρατοῦσιν ἡμῖν ἀποδώσει. καὶ εἰ ἐπειγόμεθα
XVI αὐτὰ λαβεῖν, ἐπειγόμεθα ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην. ἵκανὰ
δὲ καὶ ἔχθες ἀντειλήφαμεν αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν
ἡμετέρων ἵσως ἵκανώτερα· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τῆς
Ἀσίας πάνθ', ὅσα ἐβιάσαντο καὶ ἥρπασαν, ἐπή-
γοντο, ὑμεῖς δ' ὡς ἐκ πατρίδος ἴόντες τὰ μὲν
δαψιλέστερα οἴκοι ύπελίπεσθε, τὰ δ' ἀναγκαῖα
μόνα ἐπήγεσθε. εἰ δέ τι καὶ δαψιλὲς ἦν, ἡμέτε-
ροι ἦν τῶν στρατηγῶν, οἱ πάντα ἐσμὲν ύπερ
τῆς ὑμετέρας νίκης ἐπιδιδόναι πρόθυμοι. καὶ τῆς
τοιαύτης δ' ὅμως ζημίας ὑμῖν ἔνεκα ἐπιδώσομεν
νικητήρια, δραχμὰς ἕκαστῳ στρατιώτῃ πεντα-
κισχιλίας, λοχαγῷ δὲ πεντάκις τοσαύτας, χιλι-
άρχῃ δὲ τὸ διπλάσιον τοῦ λοχαγοῦ."

121. Τοιαῦτα εἰπὼν τῆς ἐπιούσης πάλιν ἔξ-
τασσε· καὶ οὐ κατιόντων οὐδὲ τότε τῶν πολεμίων
ό μὲν Ἀντώνιος ἐβαρυθύμει καὶ ἔξέτασσεν αἱεί,
ό δὲ Βρούτος τοῦ στρατοῦ τὸ μὲν εἶχε συντεταγ-
μένου, μὴ ἀναγκασθείη μάχεσθαι, τῷ δὲ τὰς ὁδοὺς
τῆς κομιδῆς τῶν ἀναγκαίων διελάμβανε. λόφος
δὲ ἦν ἀγχοτάτω τοῦ Κασσίου στρατοπέδου, δυσ-
χερῆς μὲν ύπὸ ἔχθρῶν καταληφθῆναι, διὰ τὴν
ἐγγύτητα ἐστοξεύεσθαι δυναμένων ὁ δὲ Κάσσιος
αὐτὸν ὅμως ἐφρούρει, μὴ καὶ παρὰ δόξαν ἐπιτολ-
μήσειέ τις. ἐκλειφθέντα δὲ ύπὸ τοῦ Βρούτου
κατέλαβον οἱ περὶ τὸν Καίσαρα νυκτὸς τέτρασι
τέλεσιν, ἐπαγόμενοι γέρρα πολλὰ καὶ διφθέρας ἐς
προβολὴν τοῖς τοξεύμασιν. ὡς δὲ κατέσχουν,
ἄλλα τέλη δέκα μετεστρατοπέδευον ύπερ πεντε
σταδίους ἀποῦσιν ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ ύπερ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

possession, but the enemy's wealth in addition. CHAP. XVI
And if we are in haste to take these things let us hasten to bring on a battle. What we took from them yesterday balances what we lost, and perhaps more, for they brought with them all that they had extorted and plundered from Asia, while you, coming from your own country, left at home everything in the way of luxury, and brought with us only what was necessary. If there was anything lavish in our camp it was the property of your generals, who will gladly give it all to you as a reward for your victory. However, as compensation even for this loss we will give you an additional reward of 5000 drachmas for each soldier, five times as much to each centurion, and twice the latter sum to each tribune."

121. Having spoken thus, he marshalled his men again on the following day. As the enemy would not come down even then, Antony was disgusted, but he continued to lead out his men daily. Brutus had a part of his army in line lest he should be compelled to fight ; and with another part he guarded the road by which his supplies were conveyed. There was a hill very near the camp of Cassius, which it was difficult for an enemy to occupy, because by reason of its nearness, it was exposed to arrows from the camp. Nevertheless, Cassius had placed a guard on it, lest any one should make bold to attack it. As it had been abandoned by Brutus, the army of Octavian occupied it by night with four legions and protected themselves with wickerwork and hides against the enemy's bowmen. When this position was secured they transferred ten other legions a distance of more than five stades toward the sea. Four stades farther

He offers battle to the enemy

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. **XVI** ἄλλους τέσσαρας δύο, ως τῷδε τῷ τρόπῳ προελευσόμενοι μέχρι θαλάσσης καὶ ἡ παραποτήν
ἄρα τὴν θάλασσαν ἡ διὰ τῶν ἐλῶν ἡ ὅν τινα
τρόπον ἄλλον ἐπενόουν, βιασόμενοι καὶ τὴν
ἀγορὰν ἀποκλείσοντες τῶν πολεμίων. καὶ ὁ
Βροῦτος αὐτοῖς ἀντεμηχανᾶτο, ἄλλα τε καὶ φρούρια
ἀντικαθιστὰς τοῖς ἐκείνων στρατοπέδοις.

122. Τὸ δὲ ἔργον ἥπειγε τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Καλσαρα, καὶ λιμὸς ἦν ἡδη σαφῆς, ἐς τε μέγεθος καὶ
δέος ἑκάστης ἡμέρας ἐπεγίνετο. οὔτε γὰρ ἐκ
Θεσσαλίας αὐτοῖς ἔτι τὰ ἀρκοῦντα ἐκομίζετο,
οὔτε τις ἦν ἐλπὶς ἐκ θαλάσσης, ναυκρατούντων
πανταχῇ τῶν πολεμίων· τῆς τε ἔναγχος περὶ τὸν
Ιόνιον συμφορᾶς ἐξηγγελμένης ἐς ἑκατέρους ἡδη,
μᾶλλον ἐδεδοίκεσαν αὐτά τε καὶ τὸν χειμῶνα
προσιόντα ως ἐν πεδίῳ πηλώδει σταθμεύοντες.
ῶν ἐνθυμούμενοι τέλος μὲν ὄπλιτῶν ἐς Ἀχαϊαν
ἐξέπεμψαν, ἀγείρειν τὰ ἐντυγχάνοντα πάντα καὶ
πέμπειν σφίσι κατὰ σπουδήν. οὐκ ἀνεχόμενοι δὲ
κινδύνου τοσοῦντε προσιόντος οὔτε τῶν ἄλλων
ἐπιτεχνήσεων οὔτε ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ λοιπὸν ἐκτάσσειν,
παρὰ τὸ τείχισμα τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀνέβαινον μετὰ
βοῆς καὶ τὸν Βροῦτον ἐκάλουν ἐς μάχην, ἐπισκώπτοντες
ἄμα καὶ λοιδοροῦντες καὶ ἐγνωκότες οὐ
πολιορκίας τρόπῳ μᾶλλον ἡ μανιώδει φορᾷ μὴ
βουλομένῳ συμπλέκεσθαι.

123. Τῷ δὲ αὐτῷ μὲν ἔγνωστο τὰ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς,
καὶ μᾶλλον ἔτι πυνθανομένῳ περὶ τε τοῦ λιμοῦ
καὶ περὶ τῆς κατὰ τὸν Ιόνιον εὐπραξίας καὶ τῶν
πολεμίων ὄρῶντι τὴν ἐκ τῆς ἀπορίας ἀπόνοιαν· καὶ
ἡρείτο πολιορκίας καὶ ἄλλου παντὸς ἀνέχεσθαι,
μᾶλλον ἡ ἐς χεῖρας ἴεναι ἀνδράσιν ἐπειγομένοις ὑπὸ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

they placed two legions, in order to extend themselves in this manner quite to the sea, with a view of breaking through the enemy's line either along the sea itself, or through the marsh, or in some other way, and to cut off their supplies. Brutus counteracted this movement by building fortified posts opposite their camps and in other ways.

122. The task of Octavian and Antony became Scarcity in pressing, hunger was already felt, and in view of the magnitude [of the coming famine] the fear of it grew upon them more and more each day, for the camp of the Triumvirs Thessaly could no longer furnish sufficient supplies, nor could they hope for anything from the sea, which was commanded by the enemy everywhere. News of their recent disaster in the Adriatic having now reached both armies, it caused them fresh alarm, as also did the approach of winter while they were quartered in this muddy plain. Moved by these considerations they sent a legion of troops to Achaia to collect all the food they could find and send it to them in haste. As they could not rest under so great an impending danger, and as their other artifices were of no avail, they ceased offering battle in the plain and advanced with shouts to the enemy's fortifications, and challenged Brutus to fight, reviling and scoffing at him, intending not so much to besiege him as by a mad assault to force him to an engagement.

123. But Brutus adhered to his original intention, and all the more because he knew of the famine and of his own success in the Adriatic, and of the enemy's desperation for want of supplies. He preferred to endure a siege, or anything else rather than come to an engagement with men desperate Brutus declines to fight

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. λιμοῦ, καὶ ἀπογινώσκουσιν ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ἑαυτοὺς
XVI καὶ ἐν μόναις ταῖς χερσὶ τὴν ἐλπίδα ἔχουσιν. ὁ δὲ
στρατὸς οὐχ ὁμοίως εἶχεν ὑπὸ ἀφροσύνης, ἀλλ'
ἐδυσφόρουν γυναικῶν τρόπον ἔνδον μετὰ ἀπρα-
ξίας καὶ φόβου κατακεκλεισμένοι. ἐδυσχέραινον
δὲ καὶ οἱ ἡγεμόνες αὐτῶν, ἐπαινοῦντες μὲν τὸ
ἐνθύμημα τοῦ Βρούτου, νομίζοντες δὲ καὶ θᾶσσον
ἐπικρατήσειν τῶν πολεμάων μετὰ προθύμου στρα-
τοῦ. αἴτιον δὲ τούτων ἦν αὐτὸ τὸ Βρούτον
ἐπιεικῆ καὶ φιλόφρονα ἐς ἅπαντας εἶναι καὶ
ἀνόμοιον Κασσίψ, αὐστηρῷ καὶ ἀρχικῷ περὶ
πάντα γεγενημένῳ. ὅθεν ἐκείνῳ μὲν ἐξ ἐπιτάγ-
ματος ὑπῆκουον, οὐ παραστρατηγοῦντες οὐδὲ τὰς
αἰτίας μανθάνοντες οὐδὲ εὐθύνοντες, ὅτε καὶ
μάθοιεν, Βρούτῳ δὲ οὐδὲν ἄλλ' ἢ συστρατηγεῖν
ἥξιον διὰ πραῦτητα. τέλος δὲ τοῦ στρατοῦ
φανερώτερον ἥδη κατὰ ἵλας καὶ κατὰ συστάσεις
διαπυνθανομένου· “τί κατέγνωκεν ἡμῶν ὁ στρα-
τηγός; τί ἔναγχος ἡμάρτομεν οἱ νικήσαντες, οἱ
διώξαντες, οἱ τοὺς καθ' ἡμᾶς πολεμίους κατα-
κανόντες, οἱ τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτῶν ἐλόντες;”
Βρούτος ἐκὼν ἡμέλει καὶ ἐς ἐκκλησίαν οὐ συνῆγε,
μὴ ἀπρεπέστερον ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους ἀλογίστως
ἐκβιασθείη, καὶ μάλιστα μισθοφόρων, οἷς ἐστιν
αἱεί, καθὰ καὶ τοὺς εὐχερέστιν οἰκέταις ἐς ἐτέρους
δεσπότας, ἐλπὶς ἐς σωτηρίαν ἡ ἐς τὸ ἀντίπαλον
μεταβολή.

124. Ἐνοχλούντων δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων
καὶ κελευόντων νῦν μὲν ἀποχρήσασθαι τοῦ στρα-

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

for hunger, and whose hopes rested solely on CHAP.
fighting because they despaired of every other resource. His soldiers, however, without reflection, entertained a different opinion. They took it hard that they should be shut up, idle and cowardly, like women, within their fortifications. Their officers also, although they approved of Brutus' design, were vexed, thinking that in the present temper of the army they might overpower the enemy more quickly. Brutus himself was the cause of these murmurs, being of a gentle and kindly disposition toward all—not like Cassius, who had been austere and imperious in every way, for which reason the army obeyed his orders promptly, not interfering with his authority, not inquiring the reasons for his orders, and not criticising them when they had learned them. But in the case of Brutus they expected nothing else than to share the command with him on account of his mildness of temper. Finally, the soldiers began more and more openly to collect together in companies and groups and to ask each other, "Why does our general put a stigma upon us? How have we offended lately—we who conquered the enemy and put him to flight; we who slaughtered those opposed to us and took their camp?" Brutus took no notice of these murmurs, nor did he call an assembly, lest he should be forced from his position, contrary to his dignity, by the unreasoning multitude, and especially by the mercenaries, who, like fickle slaves seeking new masters, always rest their hopes of safety on desertion to the enemy.

His soldiers
become
restive

124. His officers also kept irritating him and urging him to make use of the eagerness of the army

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. τοῦ τῇ προθυμίᾳ, τάχα τι λαμπρὸν ἐργασομένου,
XVI ἦν δ' ἀντιπίπτη τι παρὰ τὴν μάχην, ἐπανιέναι
πάλιν ἐς τὰ τείχη καὶ προβάλλεσθαι τὰ αὐτὰ
χαρακώματα, χαλεπήνας ὁ Βροῦτος τοῖσδε μά-
λιστα ἡγεμόσιν οὖσι καὶ περιαλγήσας, ὅτι τὸν
αὐτὸν οἱ κίνδυνον ἐπικείμενοι συμφέρονται τῷ
στρατῷ κουφόνως, ἀμφίβολον καὶ δξεῖαν τύχην
προτιθέντι νίκης ἀκινδύνου, εἰξεν ἐπ' οἰκείῳ καὶ
σφῶν ἐκείνων ὀλέθρῳ, τοσόνδε ἐπιμεμψάμενος
αὐτοῖς· “ἐόίκαμεν ὡς Πομπήιος Μάγνος πολεμή-
σειν, οὐ στρατηγοῦντες ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ στρατη-
γούμενοι.” καὶ μοι δοκεῖ τόδε μόνον ἐξειπεῖν,
ἐπικρύπτων, ὃ ἐδεδοίκει μάλιστα, μὴ ὁ στρατὸς
οὐα τοῦ πάλαι Καίσαρος γεγονὼς ἀγανακτήσειέ
τε καὶ μεταβάλοιτο· ὅπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς αὐτός τε καὶ
Κάσσιος ὑφορώμενοι ἐς οὐδὲν ἔργον αὐτοῖς πρό-
φασιν ἀγανακτήσεως ἐπὶ σφίσιν ἐνεδίδουν.

125. Ὡδε μὲν δὴ καὶ ὁ Βροῦτος ἐξῆγεν ἄκων
καὶ ἐς τάξεις διεκόσμει πρὸ τοῦ τείχους καὶ
ἐδίδασκε μὴ πολὺ προύχειν τοὺς λόφους, ἵνα αὐτοῖς
ἢ τε ἀναχώρησις, εἰ δεήσειεν, εὐχερής εἴη καὶ τὰ
ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους ἀφιέμενα ἐπιδέξια. ἦν δὲ
ἐκατέρωθεν παρακέλευσίς τε πάντων ἐς ἀλλήλους
καὶ φρόνημα ἐπὶ τῷ ἔργῳ μέγα καὶ θρασύτης
ὑπὲρ λόγου ἀναγκαῖον, τοῖς μὲν ὑπὸ δέους λιμοῦ,
τοῖς δὲ ὑπὸ αἰδοῦς δικαίας, βιασαμένοις τὸν στρα-
τηγὸν ἀναβαλλόμενον ἔτι, μὴ χείροσιν ὡν ὑπέ-
σχοντο ὀφθῆναι μηδὲ ἀσθενεστέροις ὡν ἐθρασύ-
νοντο, μηδὲ προπετείας ὑπευθύνοις μᾶλλον ἢ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

now, which would speedily bring glorious results. CHAP. XVI
If the battle should turn out adversely, they could fall back to their walls and put the same fortifications between themselves and the enemy. Brutus was especially vexed with these, for they were his officers, and he grieved that they, who were exposed to the same peril as himself, should capriciously side with the soldiers in preferring a quick and doubtful chance to a victory without danger; but, to the ruin of himself and them, he yielded, chiding them with these words, "I seem likely to carry on war like Pompey the Great, not so much commanding now as commanded." I think that Brutus restricted himself to these words in order to conceal his greatest fear, lest those of his soldiers who had formerly served under Caesar should become disaffected and desert to the enemy. This both himself and Cassius had suspected from the beginning, and they had been careful not to give any excuse for such disaffection toward themselves.

¶125. So Brutus led out his army unwillingly and formed them in line of battle before his walls, ordering them not to advance very far from the hill so that they might have a safe retreat if necessary and a good position for hurling darts at the enemy. In each army the men exchanged exhortations with each other. There was great eagerness for battle, and exaggerated confidence. On the one side was the fear of famine, on the other a proper shame that they had constrained their general to fight when he still favoured delay, and fear lest they should come short of their promises and prove weaker than their boastings, and expose themselves to the charge of rashness instead of winning praise for good

His officers
urge him
to fight

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. ἀξιεπαίνοις εὐβουλίας. ἀ καὶ ὁ Βροῦτος αὐτοῖς,
XVI ἐπὶ ἵππου περιθέων, σοβαρῷ τῷ προσώπῳ προε-
νέφαινε καὶ δι' ὀλίγων ὑπεμίμησκεν, ὅσων ὁ
καιρὸς ἐδίδουν. “ ὑμεῖς ἡθελήσατε μάχεσθαι, ὑμεῖς
με ἔτέρως ἔχοντα νικᾶν ἐβιάσασθε· μὴ δὲ ψεύ-
σησθε τῆς ἐλπίδος μήτε ἐμὲ μήτε αὐτούς. ἔχετε
καὶ λόφον σύμμαχον καὶ τὰ κατὰ νώτου πάντα
ἴδια. οἱ πολέμοι δὲ εἰσὶν ἐν ἀμφιβόλῳ· μεταξὺ^ν
γάρ εἰσιν ὑμῶν τε καὶ λιμοῦ.”

Ο μὲν τουαῦτα λέγων διετρόχαζε, καὶ αὐτὸν αἱ
τάξεις ἐπήλπιζον καὶ μετὰ βοῆς παρέπεμπον
εὐφίμου· 126. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος τοὺς
ἰδίους περιθέοντες τὴν τε δεξιὰν ὥρεγον, ἐφ' οὓς
παραγένοιυτο, καὶ σοβαρώτερον ἔτι οἵδε ἐπέ-
σπερχον αὐτοὺς καὶ τὸν λιμὸν οὐκ ἐπέκρυπτον ὡς
εὔκαιρον ἐς εὐτολμίαν προφέρειν. “ εὔρομεν, ὡ
ἄνδρες, τοὺς πολεμίους· ἔχομεν οὓς ἐζητοῦμεν ἔξω
τείχους λαβεῖν. μὴ δή τις ὑμῶν τὴν ιδίαν πρό-
κλησιν καταισχύνῃ μηδὲ τῆς ἀπειλῆς ἐλάττων
γένηται· μηδὲ λιμόν, δλεθρον ἀμήχανόν τε καὶ
ἐπώδυνον, ἐληται μᾶλλον ἢ πολεμίων τείχη καὶ
σώματα, ἀ καὶ τόλμαις ἐνδίδωσι καὶ σιδήρῳ καὶ
ἀπονοίᾳ. ἔχει δὲ ἡμῖν ἐπείξεως ὡδε τὰ παρόντα,
ὡς μηδὲν ἐς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἡμέραν ἀνατίθεσθαι,
ἀλλὰ σήμερον περὶ ἀπάντων διακριθῆναι μέχρι^ν
νίκης ἐντελοῦς ἢ εὐγενοῦς θανάτου. νικῶσι δ'
ἔστι λαβεῖν διὰ μᾶς ἡμέρας καὶ δι' ἐνὸς ἔργου
τροφὰς καὶ χρήματα καὶ ναῦς καὶ στρατόπεδα
καὶ τὰ νικητήρια παρ' ἡμῶν. ἔσται δὲ ταῦτα,
ἥν πρῶτον μὲν ἐμβάλλοντες αὐτοῖς μνημονεύωμεν

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

counsel, and because Brutus also, riding through the CHAP. ranks on horseback, showed himself before them XVI with a solemn countenance and reminded them of these things in such words as the opportunity offered. "You have chosen to fight," he said; "you have forced me to battle when I could conquer otherwise. Do not falsify my hopes or your own. You have the advantage of the higher ground and everything safe in your rear. The enemy's position is the one of peril because he lies between you and famine."

With these words he passed on, the soldiers telling him to trust them and echoing his words with shouts of confidence. 126. Octavian and Antony rode through their own ranks shaking hands with those nearest them, urging them even more solemnly to do their duty and not concealing the danger of famine, because they believed that that would be an opportune incitement to bravery. "Soldiers," they said, "we have found the enemy. We have before us those whom we sought to catch outside of their fortifications. Let none of you shame his own challenge or prove unequal to his own threat. Let no one prefer hunger, that unmanageable and distressing evil, to the walls and bodies of the enemy, which yield to bravery, to the sword, to despair. Our situation at this moment is so pressing that nothing can be postponed till to-morrow, but this very day must decide for us either a complete victory or an honourable death. If you conquer you gain in one day and by one blow provisions, money, ships, and camps, and the prizes of victory offered by ourselves. Such will be the result if, from our first onset upon them, we are mindful of the necessities urging us on

Octavian
and Antony
encourage
their forces

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. τῶν ἐπειγόντων, εἴτα παραρρήξαντες εὐθὺς ἀπο-
^{XVI} κλείωμεν ἀπὸ τῶν πυλῶν, ἐσ δὲ τοὺς κρημνοὺς
ἡ τὰ πεδία περιωθῶμεν, ἵνα μὴ ὁ πόλεμος αὐθις
ἀναφύοιτο μηδὲ ἐσ τὴν ἀργίαν πάλιν οἱ ἔχθροὶ¹
διαδιδράσκοιεν, οὐδὲ δι' ἀσθένειαν, μόνοι δὴ πολε-
μίων, οὐκ ἐν τῷ μάχεσθαι τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχουσιν,
ἄλλ' ἐν τῷ μὴ μάχεσθαι."

127. Οὗτῳ μὲν ὁ Καῖσαρ καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος
παρώτρυνον, ἐφ' οὓς παραγένοιντο. καὶ πᾶσιν ἦν
αἰδὼς ἀξίοις τε φανῆναι τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ τὴν
ἀπορίαν ἐκφυγεῖν, ὑπεραυξηθεῖσαν ἐκ παραλόγου
διὰ τὰ ἐν τῷ Ἰονίῳ γενόμενα. ἥροῦντό τε ἐν
ἔργῳ καὶ ἐν ἐλπίσιν, εἰ δέοι, τὶ παθεῖν μᾶλλον
ἡ ὑπὸ ἀμηχάνου κακοῦ δαπανώμενοι.

“Ωδε δὲ ἐχόντων αὐτῶν καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἐγγὺς
αὐτὰ ἐκφέροντος ἑκάστου, ὁ θυμὸς ἀμφοτέρων
ηὔξετο μάλιστα καὶ ἐνεπίμπλαντο τόλμης ἀκατα-
πλήκτου· οὐδέν τε ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἀλλήλων ὅτι
ἥσαν πολῖται οὐδὲ ἐπεμέμνηντο, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐκ
φύσεως καὶ γένους ἔχθροῖς ἐπηπεῖλουν. οὗτως
ἡ παραυτίκα ὄργὴ τὸν λογισμὸν αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν
φύσιν ἔσβεσεν. ἐπεμαυτεύοντο δὲ ὄμαλῶς ἑκά-
τεροι τήνδε τὴν ἡμέραν ἐν τῷδε τῷ ἔργῳ πάντα
τὰ Ἄρωμαίων πράγματα κρινεῖν. καὶ ἐκρίθη.

128. “Ηδη δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας ἀμφὶ τήνδε τὴν παρα-
σκευὴν ἐσ ἐνάτην ὥραν δεδαπανημένης αἱετοὶ δύο
ἐσ τὸ μεταίχμιον συμπεσόντες ἀλλήλοις ἐπολέμουν·
καὶ ἦν σιγὴ βαθυτάτη. φυγόντος δὲ τοῦ κατὰ
Βροῦτον βοή τε παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων ὀξεῖα ἡγέρθη
καὶ τὰ σημεῖα ἐκατέρωθεν ἐπῆρτο, καὶ ἔφοδος ἦν
σοβαρά τε καὶ ἀπηνῆς. τοξευμάτων μὲν δὴ καὶ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

and if, after breaking their ranks, we immediately cut them off from their gates and drive them upon the rocks or into the plain, so that the war may not spring up again or these enemies get away for another period of idleness—the only warriors, surely, who are so weak as to rest their hopes, not on fighting, but on declining to fight.”

127. In this way Octavian and Antony roused the spirit of those with whom they came in contact. The emulation of the troops was excited to show themselves worthy of their commanders and also to escape the danger of famine, which had been greatly augmented by the naval disaster in the Adriatic. They preferred, if necessary, to suffer in battle, with the hope of success, rather than be wasted by an irresistible foe.

Inspired by these thoughts, which each man exchanged with his neighbour, the spirit of the two armies was wonderfully raised and both were filled with undaunted courage. They did not now remember that they were fellow-citizens of their enemies, but hurled threats at each other as though they had been enemies by birth and descent, so much did the anger of the moment extinguish reason and nature in them. Both sides divined equally that this day and this battle would decide the fate of Rome completely; and so indeed it did.

128. The day was consumed in preparations till the ninth hour, when two eagles fell upon each other and fought in the space between the armies, amid the profoundest silence. When the one on the side of Brutus took flight his enemies raised a great shout and battle was joined. The onset was superb and terrible. They had little need

Prodigies
before the
battle

Second
battle of
Philippi

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. λίθων ἡ ἀκοντισμάτων ὀλίγον αὐτοῖς ἐδέησε
XVI πολέμου νόμῳ, ἐπὶ οὐδὲ τῇ ἄλλῃ τέχνῃ καὶ τάξει
τῶν ἔργων ἐχρῶντο, ἀλλὰ γυμνοῖς τοῖς ξίφεσι
συμπλεκόμενοι ἔκοπτόν τε καὶ ἐκόπτοντο καὶ
ἄλλήλους ἐξώθουν ἀπὸ τῆς τάξεως, οἱ μὲν περὶ
σωτηρίας μᾶλλον ἡ νίκης, οἱ δὲ περὶ νίκης καὶ
παρηγορίας στρατηγοῦ βεβιασμένου. φόνος δὲ ἦν
καὶ στόνος πολύς, καὶ τὰ μὲν σώματα αὐτοῖς
ὑπεξεφέρετο, ἔτεροι δὲ ἀντικαθίσταντο ἐκ τῶν
ἐπιτεταγμένων. οἱ στρατηγοὶ δὲ σφᾶς, περιθέοντες
καὶ ὄρώμενοι πανταχοῦ, ταῖς τε ὄρμαις ἀνέφερον
καὶ παρεκάλουν πονοῦντας ἔτι προσπονῆσαι καὶ
τοὺς κεκμηκότας ἐνήλλασσον, ὕστε ὁ θυμὸς αἰὲν
τοῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου καινὸς ἦν.

Τέλος δὲ οἱ τοῦ Καίσαρος, εἴτε διὰ δέος τοῦ
λιμοῦ, εἴτε δι’ αὐτοῦ Καίσαρος εὔτυχίαν (οὐ γὰρ
ἐπίμεμπτοι γε ἡσαν οὐδὲ οἱ Βρούτειοι), τὴν
φάλαγγα τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐκίνουν, ὕσπερ τι μηχάνημα
τῶν βαρυτάτων ἀνατρέποντες. οἱ δὲ ἀνεῳθοῦντο
μὲν ἐπὶ πόδας ἐς τὸ ὅπίσω βάδην ἔτι καὶ μετὰ
φρονήματος· ὡς δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἡ σύνταξις ἥδη
παρελέντο, δξύτερον ὑπεχώρουν καί, τῶν ἐπι-
τεταγμένων σφίσι δευτέρων καὶ τρίτων συνυποχω-
ρούντων, μισγόμενοι πάντες ἀλλήλοις ἀκόσμως
ἐθλίβοντο ὑπὸ σφῶν καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἀπαύστως
αὐτοῖς ἐπικειμένων, ἔως ἔφευγον ἥδη σαφῶς. καὶ
οἱ τοῦ Καίσαρος τότε μάλιστα τοῦ παρηγγελ-
μένου σφίσιν ἐγκρατῶς ἐχόμενοι τὰς πύλας προε-
λάμβανον· σφόδρα ἐπικινδύνως (ἄνωθέν τε γὰρ
ἐβάλλοντο καὶ ἐκ τοῦ μετώπου), μέχρι πολλοὺς
ἐσδραμεῖν ἐκώλυσαν, οἱ διέφυγον ἐπὶ τε τὴν

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

of arrows, stones, or javelins, which are customary in war, for they did not resort to the usual manœuvres and tactics of battles, but, coming to close combat with naked swords, they slew and were slain, seeking to break each other's ranks. On the one side it was a fight for self-preservation rather than victory: on the other for victory and for the satisfaction of the general who had been forced to fight against his will. The slaughter and the groans were terrible. The bodies of the fallen were carried back and others stepped into their places from the reserves. The generals flew hither and thither overlooking everything, exciting the men by their ardour, exhorting the toilers to toil on, and relieving those who were exhausted so that there was always fresh courage at the front.

Finally, the soldiers of Octavian, either from fear of famine, or by the good fortune of Octavian himself (for certainly the soldiers of Brutus were not blameworthy), pushed back the enemy's line as though they were turning round a very heavy machine. The latter were driven back step by step, slowly at first and without loss of courage. Presently their ranks broke and they retreated more rapidly, and then the second and third ranks in the rear retreated with them, all mingled together in disorder, crowded by each other and by the enemy, who pressed upon them without ceasing until it became plainly a flight. The soldiers of Octavian, then especially mindful of the order they had received, seized the gates of the enemy's fortification at great risk to themselves because they were exposed to missiles from above and in front, but they prevented a great many of the enemy from gaining

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. θάλασσαν καὶ ἐς τὰ ὅρη διὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ
XVI Ζυγάκτου.

129. Γενομένης δὲ τῆς τροπῆς τὸ λοιπὸν ἔργον
οἱ στρατηγοὶ διηροῦντο, Καίσαρ μὲν αἰρεῖν τοὺς
ἐκπίπτοντας ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ αὐτὸ φυ-
λάσσειν τὸ στρατόπεδον· ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος πάντα
ἥν καὶ πᾶσιν ἐνέπιπτε, τοῖς τε φεύγουσι καὶ τοῖς
ἔτι συνεστῶσι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις στρατοπέδοις
αὐτῶν, ὁρμῇ τε ὑπερηφάνῳ πάντα ἐβιάζετο ὄμοῦ.
καὶ περὶ τοῖς ἡγεμόσι δείσας, μὴ αὐτὸν διαφυγόν-
τες αὐθις ἔτερον στρατὸν ἀγείρειαν, τοὺς ἵππεας
ἐξέπεμπεν ἐπὶ τὰς ὁδούς τε καὶ ἐκβολὰς τῆς
μάχης, αἰρεῖν τοὺς ἀποδιδράσκοντας· οἱ διελόμενοι
τὸ ἔργον ἀνά τε τὸ ὅρος ἐφέροντο σὺν τῷ Θρᾳκίῳ
‘Ράσκῳ, δι’ ἐμπειρίαν ὁδῶν συναπεσταλμένῳ, καὶ
τὰ χαρακώματα καὶ κρημνοὺς περιστάντες τοὺς
ἐκφεύγοντας ἐκυνηγέτουν καὶ τοὺς ἐντὸς ἐφρού-
ρουν. οἱ δὲ Βροῦτον αὐτὸν ἐδίωκον· καὶ αὐτοὺς
ἀσχέτως ἔχοντας τοῦ δρόμου Λουκίλιος ἴδων
ὑπέστη καὶ ὡς Βροῦτος ὡν ἥξιον πρὸς Ἀντώνιον
ἀντὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀναχθῆναι· φὰ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα
εἶναι Βροῦτος ἐνομίσθη, τὸν ἀδιάλλακτον ἐχθρὸν
ἐκκλίνων. ἀγομένου δὲ αὐτοῦ πυθόμενος ὁ Ἀν-
τώνιος ἀπήντα σὺν ἐπιστάσει, τὴν τύχην ὄμοῦ
καὶ τὸ ἀξίωμα τάνδρος καὶ ἀρετὴν ἐνθυμούμενος,
ὅπως Βροῦτον ὑποδέξαιτο. πλησιάσαντι δέ ὁ
Λουκίλιος ἐντυχὼν μάλα θρασέως εἶπε· “Βροῦτος
μὲν οὐχ ἔάλωκεν, οὐδὲ ἀλώσεται ποτε πρὸς κακίας
ἀρετή· ἐγὼ δὲ τούσδε ἀπατήσας ὡδέ σοι πάρειμι.”
καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος τοὺς ἵππεας ἴδων αἰδουμένους

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

entrance. These fled, some to the sea, and some through the river Zygactes to the mountains.

CHAP.
XVI

129. The enemy having been routed, the generals divided the remainder of the work between themselves, Octavian to capture those who should break out of the camp and to watch the main camp, while Antony was everything, and attacked everywhere, falling upon the fugitives and those who still held together, and upon their other camping-places, crushing all alike with vehement impetuosity. Fearing lest the leaders should escape him and collect another army, he despatched cavalry upon the roads and outlets of the field of battle to capture those who were trying to escape. These divided their work ; some of them hurried up the mountain with Rhascus, the Thracian, who was sent with them on account of his knowledge of the roads. They surrounded the fortified positions and escarpments, hunted down the fugitives, and kept watch upon those inside. Others pursued Brutus himself. Lucilius seeing them rushing on furiously surrendered himself, pretending to be Brutus, and asked them to take him to Antony instead of Octavian ; for which reason chiefly he was believed to be Brutus trying to avoid his implacable enemy. When Antony heard that they were bringing him, he went to meet him, with a pause to reflect on the fortune, the dignity, and the virtue of the man, and thinking how he should receive Brutus. As he was approaching, Lucilius presented himself, and said with perfect boldness. " You have not captured Brutus, nor will virtue ever be taken prisoner by baseness. I deceived these men and so here I am." Antony, observing that the horsemen were ashamed

The
republican
army
routed

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. παρηγόρει καί, “οὐ μείονά μοι τήνδε ἄγραν,” εἰπεν,
XVI “ἀλλὰ ἀμείνονα ἡς ἐνομίζετε ἐθηρεύσατε, ὅσῳ
κρείττων ἔχθροῦ φίλος.” καὶ τὸν Λουκίλιον τότε
μέν τινι τῶν φίλων ἔδωκε θεραπεύειν, ὕστερον δὲ
αὐτὸς ἔχων ἔχρητο ώς πιστῷ.

XVII

CAP. 130. Ο δὲ Βροῦτος ἀναφεύγει μὲν ἐς τὰ ὅρη
σὺν ἵκανῳ πλήθει, ώς νυκτὸς ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον
ὑποστρέψων ἥ καταβησόμενος ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν.
ἐπεὶ δὲ περιείληπτο πάντα φυλακαῖς, διενυκτέ-
ρευεν ἔνοπλος μετὰ πάντων. καὶ φασιν αὐτὸν ἐς
τοὺς ἀστέρας ἀναβλέποντα εἰπεῖν·

“Ζεῦ, μὴ λάθοι σε τῶνδ' ὃς αἴτιος κακῶν,”
ἐνσημαινόμενον ἄρα τὸν Ἀντώνιον. ὃ καὶ αὐτὸν
Ἀντώνιόν φασιν ὕστερον ἐν τοῖς ἴδιοις κινδύνοις
μεταγινώσκοντα εἰπεῖν, ὅτι συνεξετάζεσθαι Κασ-
σίῳ καὶ Βρούτῳ δυνάμενος ὑπηρέτης γένοιτο
Ὀκταονίου. τότε γε μὴν καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἔνο-
πλος ἐπὶ τῶν φυλακτηρίων ἀντιδιενυκτέρευε τῷ
Βρούτῳ, χάρακα περιθέμενος ἐκ νεκρῶν σωμάτων
καὶ λαφύρων συμφορηθέντων. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐς
μέσην νύκτα πονηθεὶς ἀνεχώρησε διὰ τὴν νόσον,
Νωρβανῷ φυλάσσειν παραδοὺς τὸ στρατόπεδον.

131. Βροῦτος δὲ καὶ τῆς ἐπιούσης ὄρῶν τὰς
ἔφεδρείας τῶν ἔχθρῶν ἐπιμενούσας, ἔχων οὐ πλήρη
τέσσαρα τέλη συναναβάντα οἱ, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπελθεῖν
ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐφυλάξατο, τοὺς δὲ ἡγουμένους αὐτῶν,

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

of their mistake, consoled them, saying, "The game CHAP.
you have caught for me is not worse, but better than XVI
you think—as much better as a friend is than
an enemy." Then he committed Lucilius to the
care of one of his friends, and later took him into his
own service and employed him in a confidential
capacity.

XVII

130. BRUTUS fled to the mountains with a CHAP.
considerable force, intending to return to his camp XVII
by night, or to move down to the sea. But since all
the roads were encompassed by guards he passed the
night under arms with all his party, and it is
said that, looking up to the stars, he exclaimed :—
Brutus escapes to the mountains

"Forget not, Zeus, the author of these ills,"¹

referring to Antony. It is said that Antony himself
repeated this saying at a later period in the midst of
his own dangers, regretting that when he might
have associated himself with Cassius and Brutus, he
had become the tool of Octavian. At the present
time, however, Antony passed the night under arms
with his outposts over against Brutus, fortifying
himself with a breastwork of dead bodies and
spoils collected together. Octavius toiled till mid-
night and then retired on account of his illness,
leaving Norbanus to watch the enemy's camp.

131. On the following day Brutus, seeing the His officers
enemy still lying in wait for him, and having decline to
fewer than four full legions, which had ascended fight again
the mountain with him, thought it best not to

¹ Eur. *Medea* 332.

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. αἰδουμένους τε τὸ ἀμάρτημα καὶ μετανοοῦντας,
XVII ἐπεμπεν ἀποπειράσοντας αὐτῶν, εἰ ἐθελήσουσιν
ώσασθαι διὰ τῶν ἐφεδρειῶν καὶ ἀναλαβεῖν τὰ ἔδια,
ἔτι φυλασσόμενα ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκείων ὑπολειειμέ-
νων. οἱ δὲ ἀθουλότατα μὲν ἐς τὸ ἔργον ὄρμήσαντες,
εὐψυχότατοι δὲ τὸ μέχρι πλείστου γενόμενοι,
τότε, βλάπτοντος ἡδη τοῦ θεοῦ, τῷ στρατηγῷ
σφῶν ἀπεκρίναντο ἀναξίως βουλεύεσθαι περὶ
αὐτοῦ· αὐτοὶ γάρ, τῆς τύχης πολλάκις πεπειρα-
μένοι, οὐκ ἀνατρέψειν τὴν ἔτι λοιπὴν διαλλαγῶν
ἐλπίδα. καὶ ὁ Βρούτος ἐς τοὺς φίλους εἰπών·
“οὐδὲν οὖν ἔτι εἰμὶ τῇ πατρίδι χρήσιμος, ὅδε
καὶ τούτων ἔχόντων,” ἐκάλει Στράτωνα τὸν
Ἡπειρώτην, ὃντα φίλον ἑαυτῷ, καὶ ἐγχειρεῖν
ἐκέλευε τῷ σώματι. τούτου δὲ ἔτι βουλεύεσθαι
παραινοῦντος ἐκάλει τινὰ τῶν οἰκετῶν. καὶ ὁ
Στράτων, “οὐκ ἀπορήσεις,” εἶπεν, “ὦ Βρούτε,
φίλου μᾶλλον ἡ οἰκετῶν ἐς τὰ ὕστατα προστάγ-
ματα, εἰ ἡδη κέκριται.” καὶ εἰπὼν ἐνήρεισε ταῖς
λαγόσι τοῦ Βρούτου τὸ ξίφος οὕτε ἀποστραφέντος
οὕτε ἐνδόντος.

132. Ὡδε μὲν δὴ Κάσσιος καὶ Βρούτος ἐθνη-
σκέτην, ἄνδρε Ῥωμαίων εὐγενεστάτῳ τε καὶ περι-
φανεστάτῳ καὶ ἐς ἀρετὴν ἀδηρίτῳ, χωρὶς ἄγους
ἐνός, ὡς γε καὶ Γάιος Καῖσαρ, ὃντε τῆς Μάγ-
νου Πομπηίου μοίρας, ἐκ μὲν ἐχθροῦν καὶ πολε-
μίοιν ἐποιήσατο φίλω, ἐκ δὲ φίλοιν ἥγεν
ὡς νιώ. καὶ ἡ βουλὴ περιποθήτῳ τε εἰχεν αἰεὶ¹
καὶ ἀτυχήσαντε ἐλεεινῷ δυοῖν τε τούτοιν ἔνεκα

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

address himself to his troops, but to their officers, who were ashamed and repentant of their fault. To them he sent to put them to the test and to learn whether they were willing to break through the enemy's lines and regain their own camp, which was still held by their troops who had been left there. These officers, though they had rushed to battle unadvisedly, had been of good courage for the most part, but now, for some divine infatuation was already upon them, gave to their general the undeserved answer that he should look out for himself, that they had tempted fortune many times, and that they would not throw away the last remaining hope of accommodation. Then Brutus said to his friends, "I am no longer useful to my country if such is the temper of these men," and calling Strato, the Epirote, who was one of his friends, gave him the order to stab him. While Strato still urged him to deliberate, Brutus called one of his servants. Then Strato said, "Your friend shall not come short of your servants in executing your last commands, if the decision is actually reached." With these words he thrust his sword into the side of Brutus, who did not shrink or turn away.

Brutus
commits
suicide

132. So died Cassius and Brutus, two most noble and illustrious Romans, and of incomparable virtue, ^{Characters of Brutus and Cassius} but for one crime; for although they belonged to the party of Pompey the Great, and had been the enemies, in peace and in war, of Gaius Caesar, he made them his friends, and from being friends he was treating them as sons. The Senate at all times had a peculiar attachment to them, and commiseration for them when they fell into mis-

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. πᾶσιν ἀμιηστίαν ἐτίθετο καὶ φυγόντοιν αὐτοῖν
XVII ἔπειμψεν ἡγεμονίας, ἵνα μὴ φυγάδες εἰεν, οὐκ
ἀμελοῦσα μὲν Γαῖου Καίσαρος οὐδὲ ἐφηδομένη
τοῖς γεγονόσιν, ὅπου καὶ ζῶντα τῆς ἀρετὴς καὶ
τύχης ἐθαύμαζε καὶ ἀποθανόντα ἔθαπτε δημοσίᾳ
καὶ ἐκύρου τὰ ἔργα ἀθάνατα εἶναι ἀρχάς τε καὶ
ἡγεμονίας ἐς πολὺ ἐκ τῶν ὑπογραφῶν ἐποίει
τῶν Καίσαρος, οὐδὲν ἡγουμένη κρείσσον εὑρή-
σειν ὃν ἐκεῖνος ἐνόησεν. ἀλλ' ἡ περὶ τώδες
τὸ ἄνδρε σπουδὴ καὶ δέος τὸ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ προή-
γαγεν αὐτὴν ἐς ὑπεροψίαν διαβολῆς· οὕτως
ἄπασιν ἐγενέσθην τιμώ. ἐγενέσθην δὲ καὶ τῶν
φυγόντων τοῖς ἀρίστοις τιμιωτέρω Πομπήιου,
πλησιάζοντος καὶ οὐκ ἀδιάλλακτον ἔχοντος
αἰτίαν, πορρωτέρω τε ὅντε αὐτῷ καὶ ἀδιαλ-
λάκτω.

133. Ἐπεί γε μὴν ἔργων ἐδέησε, δυοῖν οὐδὲ
ὅλοιν ἐτοῦν στρατιάν τε συνέλεξαν ὑπὲρ εἴκοσιν
όπλιτῶν τέλη καὶ ἵππέας ἀμφὶ τοὺς δισμυρίους
καὶ ναῦς μακρὰς ὑπὲρ τὰς διακοσίας τήν τε ἄλλην
παρασκευὴν ἀξιόλογον καὶ χρήματα ἀπειρα καὶ
παρ' ἑκόντων καὶ παρὰ ἀκόντων, πολέμους τε
ἐπολέμησαν ἔθνεσι καὶ πόλεσι καὶ τῶν ἀντι-
στασιωτῶν πολλοῖς καὶ κατώρθουν. ἔθνῶν τε
ἐκράτησαν ἀπὸ Μακεδονίας μέχρι Εὐφράτου· καὶ
ὅσους ἐπολέμησαν, ἐς συμμαχίαν αὐτοῖς ἐπεισαν
καὶ βεβαιοτάτους ἐχρήσαντο. ἐχρήσαντο δὲ καὶ
βασιλεῦσι καὶ δυνάσταις, καὶ Παρθυαίοις καίπερ
οὖσιν ἐχθροῖς ἐς τὰ βραχύτερα· ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ μεῖζον

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

fortune. On account of those two it granted ^{CHAP.} XVII amnesty to all the assassins, and when they took flight it bestowed governorships on them in order that they should not be exiles; not that it was disregardful of Gaius Caesar or rejoiced at what had happened to him, for it admired his bravery and good fortune, gave him a public funeral at his death, ratified his acts, and had for a long time awarded the magistracies and governorships to his nominees, considering that nothing better could be devised than what he proposed. But its zeal for these two men and its solicitude for them brought it under suspicion of complicity in the assassination—so much were those two held in honour by all. By the most illustrious of the exiles they were more honoured than [Sextus] Pompeius, although he was nearer and not irreconcilable to the triumvirs, while they were farther away and irreconcilable.

133. When it became necessary for them to take up arms, two whole years had not elapsed ere they had brought together upward of twenty legions of infantry and something like 20,000 cavalry, and 200 ships of war, with corresponding apparatus and a vast amount of money, some of it from willing and some from unwilling contributors. They carried on wars with many peoples and with cities and with men of the adverse faction successfully. They brought under their sway all the nations from Macedonia to the Euphrates. Those whom they had fought against they had brought into alliance with them and had found them most faithful. They had had the services of the independent kings and princes, and in some small measure even of the Parthians, who were enemies of the Romans;

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. ἔργον οὐκ ἀνέμειναν ἐρχομένους, ἵνα μὴ βάρβαρον
XVII ἡ ἀντίπαλον ἔθνος ἐθίσειαν ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίοις. ὃ δὲ
δὴ μάλιστα πάντων ἀδοκητότατον ἦν, ὃ στρατὸς ὁ
πλείων ὅδε Γαῖον Καίσαρος ἐγεγένητο, καὶ δαι-
μονίως αὐτὸν εύνοίας καὶ σπουδῆς ἔχοντα ἐς
ἐκεῖνον μετέπεισαν οἱ σφαγεῦς οἵδε τοῦ Καί-
σαρος, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν τοῦ Καίσαρος νίὸν ἐσποντο
αὐτοῖς πιστότερον ἡ Ἀντωνίῳ τῷ Καίσαρος
συναγωνιστῇ τε καὶ συνάρχῳ· οὐ γάρ τις
αὐτῶν Βροῦτον ἡ Κάσσιον οὐδὲ ἡσσωμένους
ἀπέλιπεν, οἱ Ἀντώνιον ἀμφὶ τὸ Βρευτέσιον καὶ
πρὸ πεύρας ἀπολιπόντες· ἦν τε πρόφασις αὐτοῖς
τῶν πόνων, καὶ ἐπὶ Πομπήιον καὶ νῦν, οὐχ ὑπὲρ
σφῶν αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ δημοκρατίας, ὀνόματος
εὐειδοῦς μέν, ἀλυσιτελοῦς δὲ αἰεί. σφῶν τε αὐ-
τῶν, ὅτε μηδὲν ἐδόκουν ἔτι εἶναι χρήσιμοι τῇ
πατρίδι, ἀμφω κατεφρόνησαν ὁμοίως. ἐν δὲ
ταῖς φροντίσι καὶ πόνοις ὁ μὲν Κάσσιος ἀμετα-
στρεπτή, καθάπερ ἐς τὸν ἀγωνιστὴν οἱ μονομα-
χοῦντες, ἐς μόνον τὸν πόλεμον ἀφεώρα· ὃ δὲ
Βροῦτος, ὅπῃ γίγνοιτο, καὶ φιλοθεάμων ἦν καὶ
φιλήκοος, ἄτε καὶ φιλοσοφήσας οὐκ ἀγεννῶς.

134. Ἀλλὰ καὶ τοιοῦσδε οὖσιν αὐτοῖς ἀντί-
θετον ἐς ἄπαντα ἦν τὸ ἄγος τὸ ἐς Καίσαρα. ὃ γε
οὐδὲ ἀπλοῦν ἄγος ἦν οὐδὲ ἐν ὀλίγῳ· καὶ γὰρ ἐς
φίλον ἐγίγνετο παραλόγως καὶ ἐς εὐεργέτην ἐκ
πολέμου περισώσαντα ἀχαρίστως καὶ ἐς αὐτο-
κράτορα ἀθεμίστως καὶ ἐν βουλευτηρίῳ καὶ ἐς
ἰερέα καὶ ἱερὰν ἐσθῆτα ἐπικείμενον καὶ δυνάστην

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

but they did not wait for them to come and take part in the decisive battle, lest this barbarous and hostile race should become accustomed to encounters with the Romans. Most extraordinary of all was the fact that the greater part of their army had been the soldiers of Gaius Caesar and wonderfully attached to him, yet they were won over by the very murderers of Caesar and followed them more faithfully against Caesar's son than they had followed Antony, who was Caesar's companion in arms and colleague; for not one of them deserted Brutus and Cassius even when they were vanquished while some of them had abandoned Antony at Brundusium before the war began. The reason for their service, both under Pompey aforetime and now under Brutus and Cassius, was not their own interest, but the cause of democracy; a specious name indeed, but always hurtful. Both of the leaders, when they thought they could no longer be useful to their country, alike despised their own lives. In that which related to their cares and labours Cassius gave his attention strictly to war, like a gladiator to his antagonist. Brutus, wherever he might be, wanted to see and hear everything, having been a philosopher of no mean note.

134. Against all these virtues and merits must be set down the crime against Caesar, which was not an ordinary or a small one, for it was committed unexpectedly against a friend, ungratefully against a benefactor who had spared them in war, and nefariously against the head of the state, in the senate-house, against a pontiff clothed in his sacred vestments, against a ruler without equal, who was

CHAP.
XVII

Their crime
against
Caesar

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. μὲν οἰον οὐχ ἔτερον, χρησιμώτατον δὲ ὑπὲρ XVII ἄπαντας τῇ τε πατρίδι καὶ τῇ ἡγεμονίᾳ γενόμενον.

ἄ καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον αὐτοῖς ἄρα ἐνεμέσησε καὶ προεσήμηνε πολλάκις. Καστίφ τε γὰρ τὸν στρατὸν καθαίροντι ὁ ῥαβδοῦχος ἀνεστραμμένον τὸν στέφανον ἐπέθηκε· καὶ Νίκη, χρύσεον ἀνάθημα Καστίου, κατέπεσεν, δρυεά τε πολλὰ ὑπὲρ τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτοῦ καθιέμενα κλαγγὴν οὐδεμίαν ἦφιει, καὶ μελισσῶν ἐπεκάθηντο συνεχεῖς ἐσμοί. Βροῦτον δὲ ἐν Σάμῳ γενεθλιάζοντά φασι παρὰ τὸν πότον, οὐδὲ εὐχερῆ πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα δύντα, ἀλόγως τόδε τὸ ἔπος ἀναβοήσαι·

“ ἀλλά με μοῖρ' ὀλοὴ καὶ Λητοῦς ἔκτανεν νίός.”

μέλλοντα δὲ περᾶν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην σὺν τῷ στρατῷ, νυκτὸς ἐγρηγορότα, μαραινομένου τοῦ φωτὸς ὅψιν ἵδειν ἐφεστῶσάν οἱ παράλογον καὶ πυθέσθαι μὲν εὐθαρσῶς, ὃς τις ἀνθρώπων ἡ θεῶν εἴη, τὸ δὲ φάσμα εἰπεῖν “ ὁ σός, ὁ Βροῦτε, δαίμων κακός· ὀφθήσομαι δέ σοι καὶ ἐν Φιλίπποις.” καὶ ὀφθῆναι φασιν αὐτῷ πρὸ τῆς τελευταίας μάχης.

Ἐξιόντι δὲ τῷ στρατῷ πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν αἰθίοψ ὑπήντησε· καὶ τόνδε μὲν ὡς οἰώνισμα φαῦλον ὁ στρατὸς αὐτίκα συνέκοψε, δαιμόνια δ' ἦν αὐτοῖς ἄρα καὶ τάδε, Κάστιον μὲν ἐν ἀμφηρίστῳ νίκη πάντα ἀλόγως ἀπογυῶναι, Βροῦτον δὲ εὐβούλου βραδυτῆτος ἐκβιασθῆναι καὶ ἐς χείρας ἐλθεῖν ἀνδράσι διωκομένοις ὑπὸ λιμοῦ, δαψιλῶς

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

most serviceable above all other men to Rome CHAP.
and to its empire. For these reasons Heaven was XVII
incensed against them and often forewarned them
of their doom. When Cassius was performing a
lustration for his army his lictor placed his garland
upon him wrong side up; a Victory, a gilded offering
of Cassius, fell down. Many birds hovered over
his camp, but uttered no sound, and swarms of
bees continually settled upon it. While Brutus
was celebrating his birthday at Samos it is said
that in the midst of the feast, although not a ready
man with such quotations, he shouted out this
verse without any apparent cause:—

Cruel fate
Hath slain me, aided by Latona's son.”¹

Once when he was about to cross from Asia into Europe with his army, and while he was awake at night and the light was burning low, he beheld an apparition of extraordinary form standing near him, and when he boldly asked who of men or gods it might be, the spectre answered, “I am thy evil genius, Brutus. I shall appear to thee again at Philippi.” And it is said that it did appear to him before the last battle.

The spectre
in Brutus'
tent

When the soldiers were going out to the fight an Ethiopian met them in front of the gates, and as they considered this a bad omen they immediately cut him in pieces. It was due, too, to something more than human, no doubt, that Cassius gave way to despair without reason after a drawn battle, and that Brutus was forced from his policy of wise delay to an engagement with men who were pressed by hunger, while he himself had

¹ *Il. xvi. 849.*

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. αύτὸν ἔχοντα ἀγορᾶς καὶ ναυκρατοῦντα, καὶ τόδε
XVII παθεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκείων μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν πολεμίων,
καὶ μὴν πολλάκις ἀγώνων μετασχόντες ἐν μὲν
ταῖς μάχαις οὐδὲν ἔπαθον, ἅμφω δ' αὐτῶν ἐγένουντο
αὐθένται καθάπερ ἐγένουντο τοῦ Καίσαρος. Κάσ-
σιος μὲν δὴ καὶ Βροῦτος τοιάνδε δίκην ἐδεδώκεσαν.

135. Καὶ Βροῦτον Ἀντώνιος ἀνευρὼν περιέ-
βαλέ τε τῇ ἀρίστῃ φοινικίδι εὐθὺς καὶ καύσας τὰ
λείφανα τῇ μητρὶ Σερουιλίᾳ ἔπεμψεν. ὁ δὲ σὺν
τῷ Βρούτῳ στρατός, ὃτε ἐπύθοντο τεθνάναι
Βροῦτον, πρέσβεις ἐς Καίσαρα καὶ Ἀντώνιον
ἔπεμπον καὶ συγγνώμης ἔτυχον καὶ ἐς τὰ στρα-
τεύματα αὐτῶν διηρέθησαν· καὶ ἦσαν ἀμφὶ τοὺς
μυρίους καὶ τετρακισχιλίους. παρέδοσαν δὲ ἐπὶ¹
τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἑαυτοὺς καὶ οἱ κατὰ τὰ φρούρια, πολλὰ
δῆτα. τὰ δὲ φρούρια αὐτὰ καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον
ἐδόθη τοῖς Καίσαρος καὶ Ἀντωνίου στρατοῖς
διαρπάσαι. τῶν δ' ἀμφὶ τὸν Βροῦτον ἀνδρῶν
ἐπιφανῶν οἱ μὲν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ἀπέθανον, οἱ δὲ
αὐτοὺς ἔξήγαγον ὁμοίως τοῖς στρατηγοῖς, οἱ δὲ
καὶ ἔξεπίτηδες ἐμαχέσαντο μέχρι θανάτου· ὡν
ἢν Λεύκιός τε Κάσσιος, ὁ ἀδελφιδοῦς αὐτοῦ
Κασσίου, καὶ Κάτων ὁ Κάτωνος, ἐμπίπτων ὅδε
τοῖς πολεμίοις πολλάκις, εἴθ' ὑποχωρούντων
ἀναλύσας τὸ κράνος, ἵνα ἢ γυνώριμος ἢ εὐβλητος
ἢ ἀμφότερα εἴη. Λαβεὼν δέ, ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ γυνώριμος,
οἱ πατὴρ Λαβεῶνος τοῦ κατ' ἐμπειρίαν νόμων ἔτι
νῦν περιωνύμου, βόθρον ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ τὸ μέγεθος
αὐτάρκη σώματι ὀρυξάμενος καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τοῖς
θεράπονσιν ἐντειλάμενος ἐπέσκηψε τῇ γυναικὶ²
καὶ τοῖς παισί, περὶ ὡν ἐβούλετο, καὶ τὰ γράμ-
ματα φέρειν ἔδωκε τοῖς οἰκέταις· τοῦ δὲ πιστο-

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

supplies in abundance and the command of the sea, so that his calamity proceeded rather from his own troops than from the enemy. Although they had participated in many engagements, they never received any hurt in battle, but both became the slayers of themselves, as they had been of Caesar. Such was the punishment that overtook Cassius and Brutus.

135. Antony found the body of Brutus, wrapped it in the best purple garment, burned it, and sent the ashes to his mother, Servilia. Brutus' army, when it learned of his death, sent envoys to Octavian and Antony and obtained pardon, and was divided between their armies. It consisted of about 14,000 men. Besides these a large number who were in the forts surrendered. The forts themselves and the enemy's camp were given to the soldiers of Octavian and Antony to be plundered. Of the distinguished men in Brutus' camp some perished in the battles, others killed themselves as the two generals had done, others purposely continued fighting till death. Among these men of note were Lucius Cassius, a nephew of the great Cassius, and Cato, the son of Cato. The latter charged upon the enemy many times; then, when his men began to retreat, he threw off his helmet, either that he might be recognized, or be easily hit, or for both reasons. Labeo, a man renowned for learning, father of the Labeo who is still celebrated as a jurisconsult, dug a trench in his tent the size of his body, gave orders to his slaves in reference to the remainder of his affairs, made such arrangements as he desired for his wife and children, and gave letters to his domestics to carry to them. Then, taking his most faithful slave

Death of
young Cato

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. τάτου τῆς δεξιᾶς λαβόμενος καὶ περιστρέψας
XVII αὐτόν, ὡς ἔθος ἐστὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἐλευθεροῦν, ἐπι-
στρεφομένῳ ξίφος ἕδωκε καὶ τὴν σφαγὴν ὑπέσχε.

Καὶ τῷδε μὲν ἡ σκηνὴ τάφος ἐγένετο, 136. Ῥά-
σκος δὲ ὁ Θρᾷξ ἐπανήγαγεν ἐκ τῶν ὄρῶν πολλούς,
καὶ γέρας ἥτησέ τε καὶ ἔλαβε σφύζεσθαι τὸν
ἀδελφὸν ἑαυτοῦ Ῥασκούπολιν· φὰ καὶ διεδείχθη,
ὅτι οὐδέ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἀλλήλοις οἶδε οἱ Θρᾷκες
διεφέροντο, ἀλλὰ δύο στρατοπέδων μεγάλων τε
καὶ ἀμφηρίστων περὶ τὴν ἐκείνων γῆν συμφερο-
μένων τὸ ἄδηλον τῆς τύχης ἐμερίσαντο, ἵνα ὁ
νικῶν περισφύζοι τὸν ἡσσωμενον. Πορκία δ', ἡ
Βρούτου μὲν γυνή, Κάτωνος δὲ ἀδελφὴ τοῦ νεω-
τέρου, ἐπείτε ἀμφοῖν ὡδε ἀποθανόντοιν ἐπύθετο,
φυλασσομένη πρὸς τῶν οἰκείων πάνυ ἐγκρατῶς,
ἐσχάρας πυρὸς ἐνεχθείσης ἀρπάσασα τῶν ἀνθρά-
κων κατέπιεν. ὅσοι δὲ ἄλλοι τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἐς
Θάσον διέφυγον, οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐξέπλευσαν, οἱ
δὲ ἐπέτρεψαν ἑαυτοὺς ἄμα τῷ λοιπῷ στρατῷ
τῶν ὁμοτίμων Μεσσάλᾳ τε Κορούνῳ καὶ
Λευκίῳ Βύβλῳ, ὃ τι βουλεύσοιντο περὶ σφῶν,
ποιεῖν περὶ ἀπάντων. οἱ δὲ συνθέμενοι τοῖς περὶ
τὸν Ἀντώνιον, Ἀντωνίῳ διαπλεύσαντι ἐς τὴν
Θάσον παρέδοσαν, ὅσα ἦν ἐν Θάσῳ χρήματά τε
καὶ ὅπλα καὶ τροφαὶ δαψιλεῖς καὶ ἄλλῃ παρα-
σκευῇ πολλή.

137. Οὕτω μὲν δὴ Καίσαρί τε καὶ Ἀντωνίῳ διὰ
τόλμης ἐπισφαλοῦς καὶ δυοῖν πεζομαχίαιν τηλι-
κοῦτον ἔργον ἤνυστο, οἷον οὐχ ἔτερον ἐγένετο πρὸ
ἐκείνου. οὔτε γὰρ στρατὸς τοσοῦτος ἢ τοιοῦτος
ἐς χεῖρας πρότερον ἦλθε Ῥωμαίων ἐκατέρωθεν,
οὐχ ὑπὸ συντάξει πολιτικῇ στρατευσαμένων,

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

by the right hand and whirling him around, as is the CHAP.
Roman custom in granting freedom, he handed him XVIII
a sword as he turned, and presented his throat.
And so his tent became his tomb.

136. Rhascus, the Thracian, brought many troops from the mountains. He asked and received as his reward the pardon of his brother, Rhascupolis, from which it was made plain that from the beginning these Thracians had not been at variance with each other, but that seeing two great and hostile armies coming into conflict near their territory, they divided the chances of fortune in such a way that the victor might save the vanquished. Porcia, the wife of Death of
Brutus and sister of the younger Cato, when she Porcia learned that both had died in the manner described, although very strictly watched by domestics, seized some hot embers that they were carrying on a brazier, and swallowed them. Of the other members of the nobility who escaped to Thasos some took ship from thence, others committed themselves with the remains of the army to the judgment of Messala Corvinus and Lucius Bibulus, men of equal rank, to do for all what they should decide to do for themselves. These came to an arrangement with Antony and Octavian, whereby they delivered to Antony on his arrival at Thasos the money and arms, besides abundant supplies and a great quantity of war material, there in store.

137. Thus did Octavian and Antony by perilous daring and by two infantry engagements achieve a success, the like of which was never before known; for never before had such numerous and powerful Roman armies come in conflict with each other. These soldiers were not enlisted from the ordinary Magnitude
of the
victory

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. ἀλλὰ ἀριστίνδην ἐπειλεγμένων οὐδ' ἀπειροπολέ-
 XVII μων ἔτι, ἀλλ' ἐκ πολλοῦ γεγυμνασμένων ἐπὶ τε
 σφᾶς καὶ οὐκ ἀλλόφυλα ἡ βάρβαρα ἔθνη τρεπο-
 μένων. ἀλλὰ καὶ γλώσσης μιᾶς ὅντες καὶ τέχνης
 πολέμων μιᾶς καὶ ἀσκήσεως καὶ καρτερίας ὁμοίας,
 δυσκαταγώνιστοι παρ' αὐτὸν ἥσαν ἀλλήλους. οὐδὲ
 ὄρμῆ καὶ τόλμη τοσῆδε τινες ἐχρήσαντο ἐν πολέμῳ,
 πολῖται τε ὅντες ἀλλήλων καὶ οἰκεῖοι καὶ συστρα-
 τιῶται γενόμενοι. τεκμήριον δέ, ὅτι τῶν νεκρῶν ὁ
 ἀριθμός, ἐπανισουμένης ἑκατέρας μάχης, οὐκ
 ἐλάσσων ἔδοξεν οὐδὲ παρὰ τοῖς νικῶσιν εἶναι.

138. 'Ο δὲ στρατὸς ὁ Ἀντωνίου καὶ Καίσαρος
 τὸν τῶν στρατηγῶν λόγον ἐπηλήθευσαν, διὰ μιᾶς
 ἡμέρας καὶ δι' ἐνὸς ἔργου κίνδυνον ἔσχατον λιμοῦ
 καὶ δέος ἀπωλείας ἐς εὐπορίαν δαψιλῆ καὶ σωτη-
 ρίαν ἀσφαλῆ καὶ νίκην εὐκλεῆ μεταβαλόντες.
 ἀπήντησέ γε μὴν αὐτοῖς καὶ δὲ συνιόντες ἐς τὴν
 μάχην ἐπεμαντεύσαντο 'Ρωμαίοις· ἐκρίθη γάρ
 αὐτῶν ἡ πολιτεία παρ' ἐκεῖνο τὸ ἔργον μάλιστα
 καὶ οὐκ ἐπανῆλθεν ἐς δημοκρατίαν ἔτι, οὐδὲ πόνων
 αὐτοῖς ἐς ἀλλήλους ἐδέησεν ὁμοίων, χωρίς γε τῆς
 μετ' οὐ πολὺ Ἀντωνίου καὶ Καίσαρος στάσεως,
 ὑστάτης 'Ρωμαίοις γενομένης. τὰ δὲ ἐν μέσῳ μετὰ
 Βρούτον ὑπό τε Πομπηίου καὶ τῶν διαφυγόντων
 Κασσίου καὶ Βρούτου φίλων, λείψανα τοσῆσδε
 παρασκευῆς μεγάλα ἔχοντων, οὔτε ταῖς τόλμαις
 ὅμοια ἔτι ἐγίγνετο οὔτε ταῖς τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἡ πόλεων
 ἡ στρατῶν ἐς τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ὄρμαῖς· οὐ γάρ τις
 αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἔτι οὐδὲ ἡ βουλὴ οὐδὲ ἡ δόξα
 αὕτη, ως ἐς Κάσσιόν τε καὶ Βρούτον, ἀπήντα.

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

conscription, but were picked men. They were not new levies, but under long drill and arrayed against each other, not against foreign or barbarous races. Speaking the same language and using the same tactics, being of like discipline and power of endurance, they were for these reasons what we may call mutually invincible. Nor was there ever such fury and daring in war as here, when citizens contended against citizens, families against families, and fellow-soldiers against each other. The proof or this is that, taking both battles into the account, the number of the slain even among the victors appeared to be not fewer than among the vanquished.

138. Thus the army of Antony and Octavian confirmed the prediction of their generals, passing in one day and by one blow from extreme danger and famine and fear of destruction to lavish wealth, absolute security, and glorious victory. Moreover, that result came about which Antony and Octavian had predicted as they advanced into battle. Their form of government was decided by that day's work chiefly, and they have not gone back to democracy yet. Nor was there any further need of similar contentions with each other, except the strife between Antony and Octavian not long afterward, which was the last that took place between Romans. The events that happened after the death of Brutus, under Sextus Pompeius and the friends of Cassius and Brutus, who escaped with the very considerable remains of their extensive war material, were not to be compared to the former in daring or in the devotion of men, cities, and armies to their leaders; nor did any of the nobility, nor the Senate, nor the same glory, attend them as attended Brutus and Cassius.

Its lasting results

BOOK V

Ε'

I

CAP. 1. Μετὰ δὲ τὸν Κασσίου καὶ Βρούτου θάνατον ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἦει, ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν, ἔνθα αὐτῷ συμβάλλει Κλεοπάτρα βασιλὶς Αἰγύπτου, καὶ εὐθὺς ὀφθεῖσα ἐκράτει. ὁ δὲ ἕρως ὅδε αὐτοῖς τε ἐκείνοις ἐς ἔσχατον ἔληξε κακοῦ καὶ ἐς ὅλην Αἰγύπτου ἐπ' ἐκείνοις. ὅθεν ἂν τι καὶ Αἰγύπτιον εἴη τῆσδε τῆς βίβλου μέρος, ὀλίγον τε καὶ οὐκ ἄξιον ἐπιγραφῆς πω, διὸ δὴ καὶ τοῖς ἐμφυλίοις πολὺ πλείοσιν οὖσιν ἐπίμικτον. ἐγίνετο γὰρ δὴ καὶ μετὰ Κάσσιον τε καὶ Βρούτου ἔτερα ἐμφύλια ὅμοια, στρατηγοῦ μὲν οὐδενὸς ὄντος ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ὥσπερ ἐκείνοις, κατὰ μέρος δὲ ἐτέρων, μέχρι Πομπήιος τε Σέξτος, ὁ νεώτερος παῖς Πομπήιου Μάγνου, λοιπὸς ὧν ἔτι τῆσδε τῆς στάσεως, τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Βρούτου ἐπανηρέθη, καὶ Λέπιδος ἔξεπεσε τοῦ μέρους τῆς ἡγεμονίας καὶ ἡ Ρωμαίων ἀρχὴ πᾶσα περιῆλθεν ἐς δύο μόνον, Ἀντώνιον τε καὶ Καίσαρα. ἐγίνετο δὲ αὐτῶν ἔκαστα οὕτως.

2. Κάσσιος ὁ Παρμήσιος ἐπίκληη ὑπελέλειπτο μὲν ὑπὸ Κασσίου καὶ Βρούτου περὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐπὶ νεῶν καὶ στρατοῦ, χρήματα ἐκλέγειν. Κασσίου δὲ ἀποθανόντος οὐδὲν ἐλπίζων ὅμοιον ἐν

BOOK V

I

1. AFTER the death of Cassius and Brutus,^{CHAP.}
Octavian returned to Italy, but Antony proceeded to
Asia, where he met Cleopatra, queen of Egypt,^I
and succumbed to her charms at first sight. This
passion brought ruin upon them and upon all
Egypt besides. For this reason a part of this
book will treat of Egypt—a small part, however,
not worth mentioning in the title, since it is
incidental to the narrative of the civil wars, which
constitutes much the larger portion. Other similar
civil wars took place after Cassius and Brutus,
but there was no one in command of all the forces
as they had been. The latter wars were sporadic,
till finally Sextus Pompeius, the younger son of
Pompey the Great, the last remaining leader of that
faction, was slain, as Brutus and Cassius had been,
Lepidus was deprived of his share of the triumvirate,
and the whole government of the Romans was
centred in two only, Antony and Octavian. These
events came about in the following manner.

2. Cassius, surnamed Parmesius, had been left ^{How they}
by Cassius and Brutus in Asia with a fleet and ^{were}
an army to collect money. After the death of ^{reassembled}
Cassius, not anticipating the like fate of Brutus,

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. Βρούτῳ, Ὄρδιων ἐπελέξατο νῆσος τριάκοντα, ὅσας
I ἐνόμιζε πληρώσειν, καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς διέπρησε
χωρὶς τῆς Ἱερᾶς, ἵνα μὴ δύναιντο νεωτερίσαι. καὶ
οἱ μὲν τάδε πράξας ἀνήγετο ταῖς τε ἴδιαις καὶ
ταῖς τριάκοντα, Κλώδιος δὲ ἐκ Βρούτου πεμφθεὶς
ἐς Ὄρδον ἐπὶ μὲν τρισκαίδεκα, τοὺς Ὄρδίους
νεωτερίζοντας εὑρών (ἐτεθνήκει γὰρ ἡδη καὶ ὁ
Βρούτος), ἐξήγαγε τὴν φρουράν, οὖσαν ὄπλιτῶν
τρισχιλίων, καὶ ἐς τὸν Παρμήσιον ἔχώρει. ἀφί-
κετο δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ Τουρούλιος, ἑτέρας ναῦς ἔχων
πολλὰς καὶ χρήματα, ὅσα προεξείλεκτο ἀπὸ τῆς
Ὄρδου. ἐς δη τὸ ναυτικὸν τοῦτο ὡς ἐς ἡδη τινὰ
ἰσχὺν συνέθεον, ὅσοι ἥσαν κατὰ μέρη τῆς Ἀσίας
ἐπὶ τῶν ὑπηρεσιῶν, καὶ αὐτὸ ὄπλίταις τε ἐξ ὧν
ἔδύναντο ἀνεπλήρουν καὶ ἐρέταις ἐκ θεραπόντων ἦ
δεσμωτῶν, ἐπιπλέοντες δὲ ταῖς νήσοις καὶ ἀπὸ
τῶν ητσιωτῶν. ἥλθον δ' εἰς αὐτοὺς καὶ Κικέρων
ὁ Κικέρωνος καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἐκ τῆς
Θάσου διεπεφεύγεσαν. καὶ ταχὺ πλῆθος ἦν καὶ
σύνταξις ἀξιόχρεως ἡγεμόνων τε καὶ στρατοῦ καὶ
νεῶν. προσλαβόντες δὲ καὶ Λέπιδον μεθ' ἑτέρας
δυνάμεως, ἥ Βρούτῳ καθίστατο Κρήτην, πρὸς
Μούρκον καὶ Δομίτιον Ἀηνόβαρβον ἐπὶ μεγάλης
δυνάμεως ὄντας ἐς τὸν Ἰόνιον διέπλεον. καὶ αὐτῶν
οἱ μὲν ἅμα τῷ Μούρκῳ διέπλευσαν ἐς Σικελίαν
καὶ τὴν ἰσχὺν Πομπηίῳ Σέξτῳ συνῆψαν, οἱ
δὲ κατέμειναν παρὰ Ἀηνοβάρβῳ καί τιν' αἴρεσιν
ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν καθίσταντο.

Τοιαδε μὲν ἐκ τῶν λειψάνων τῆς παρασκευῆς
Κασσίου τε καὶ Βρούτου πρῶτα συνίστατο, 3. οἱ δὲ
Καῖσαρ καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ τῇ περὶ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

he selected thirty ships belonging to the Rhodians, CHAP.¹ which he intended to man, and burned the rest, except the sacred one, so that they might not be able to revolt. Having done this he took his departure with his own ships and the thirty. Clodius, who had been sent by Brutus to Rhodes with thirteen ships, found the Rhodians in revolt (for Brutus also was now dead). Clodius took away the garrison, consisting of 3000 soldiers, and joined Parmesius. They were joined by Turulius, who had another numerous fleet and a large sum of money which he had previously extorted from Rhodes. To this fleet, which was now quite powerful, flocked those who were rendering service in various parts of Asia, and they manned the ships with soldiers as well as they could, and with slaves, prisoners, and inhabitants of the islands where they touched, as rowers. The son of Cicero joined them, and others of the nobility who had escaped from Thasos. Thus in a short time there was a considerable gathering and organization of officers, soldiers, and ships. Having received additional forces under Lepidus,¹ with which he had brought Crete under subjection to Brutus, they made sail to the Adriatic and united with Murcus and Domitius Ahenobarbus, who had a large force under their command. Some of these sailed with Murcus to Sicily to join Sextus Pompeius. The rest remained with Ahenobarbus and formed a faction by themselves.

Such was the first reassembling of what remained of the war preparations of Cassius and Brutus.
3. After the victory of Philippi Octavian and Antony

¹ Brother of the triumvir.

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. Φιλίππους ἔθυόν τε λαμπρῶς καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἐπήγονον. καὶ ἐς τὴν δόσιν τῶν ἐπινικίων ὁ μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἔχώρει, τὴν τε γῆν αὐτοῖς διανεμῆσσων καὶ ἐς τὰς ἀποικίας καταλέξων (ἀδε γὰρ αὐτὸς εἶλετο διὰ τὴν ἀρρωστίαν), ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος ἐς τὰ πέραν ἔθυη, συλλέξων τὰ χρήματα, ὅσα αὐτοῖς ὑπέσχηντο. διενείμαντο δὲ αὐθις ὅσα καὶ πρότερον ἔθυη καὶ ἐπελάμβανον τὰ Λεπίδου· τὴν τε γὰρ Κελτικὴν τὴν ἐντὸς Ἀλπέων ἐδόκει Καίσαρος ἀξιοῦντος αὐτόνομον ἀφίεναι γνώμῃ τοῦ προτέρου Καίσαρος, ὃ τε Λέπιδος διεβάλλετο τὰ πράγματα Πομπηίῳ προδιδόναι· καὶ ὥριστο, εἰ Καίσαρι ψευδὴς ἡ διαβολὴ φανείη, ἔτερα ἀντιδοῦναι τῷ Λεπίδῳ. ἀφίεσαν δὲ καὶ τῆς στρατείας τοὺς ἐντελῆ χρόνου ἐστρατευμένους χωρὶς ὀκτακισχιλίων, οὓς δεηθέντας ἔτι στρατεύεσθαι σφίσιν ἀποδεξάμενοι διείλοντο καὶ συνελόχισαν ἐς στρατηγίδας τάξεις. ὁ δὲ λοιπὸς αὐτοῖς στρατὸς ἐγένετο, σὺν τοῖς μεταθεμένοις ἀπὸ Βρούτου, τέλη πεζῶν ἔνδεκα καὶ ἵππεες μύριοις καὶ τετρακισχίλιοι. καὶ ἔσχεν αὐτῶν ὁ μὲν Ἀντώνιος διὰ τὴν ἀποδημίαν ἔξ τέλη καὶ ἵππεας μυρίους, ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἵππέας τετρακισχιλίους καὶ τέλη πέντε· καὶ τῶνδε δὲ αὐτῶν Ἀντωνίῳ δύο ἔδωκεν, ἀντιληφόμενος ἐκ τῶν ὑπὸ Καληνῷ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὑπολελειμμένων.

4. Ο μὲν δὴ Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰόνιον ἤει, ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος ἐν Ἐφέσῳ γενόμενος τῇ θεῷ μεγαλοπρεπῶς ἔθυε καὶ τοὺς καταφυγόντας ἐκ τῆς Βρούτου καὶ Κασσίου συμφορᾶς ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν ἴκέτας ἀπέλυε, χωρὶς Πετρωνίου, συνεγνωκότος

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

offered a magnificent sacrifice and awarded praise to CHAP.
their army. In order to provide the rewards of
victory Octavian went to Italy to divide the land
among the soldiers and to settle the colonies. He
chose this himself on account of his illness. Antony
went to the nations beyond the Aegean to collect
the money that had been promised to the soldiers.
They divided the provinces among themselves as
before and took those of Lepidus besides. For
it was decided, at the instance of Octavian to make
Cisalpine Gaul independent, as the elder Caesar had
intended. Lepidus had been accused of betraying
the affairs of the triumvirate to Pompeius and it was
decided that if Octavian should find that this
accusation was false other provinces should be given
to Lepidus. They dismissed from the military
service the soldiers who had served their full time
except 8000 who had asked to remain. These they
took back and divided between themselves and
formed them in praetorian cohorts. There remained
to them, including those who had come over from
Brutus, eleven legions of infantry and 14,000 horse.
Of these Antony took, for his foreign expedition,
six legions and 10,000 horse. Octavian had five
legions and 4000 horse, but of these he gave two
legions to Antony in exchange for others that
Antony had left in Italy under the command of
Calenus.

4. Octavian then proceeded toward the Adriatic; ^{Antony} _{in Asia} but when Antony arrived at Ephesus he offered a splendid sacrifice to the city's goddess and pardoned those who, after the disaster to Brutus and Cassius, had fled to the temple as suppliants, except Petronius, who had been privy to the murder of

Octavian
and Antony
after the
battle

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ Καίσαρος, καὶ Κοῖντου, προδόντος
ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ Κασσίφ Δολοβέλλαν. τοὺς δὲ
Ἐλληνας καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἔθνη τὴν ἀμφὶ τὸ Πέρ-
γαμον Ἀσίαν νέμονται, κατά τε πρεσβείας
παρόντας ἐπὶ συνθέσει καὶ μετακεκλημένους
συναγαγὼν ἔλεξεν ὡδε· “ ὑμᾶς ἡμῖν, ὡς ἄνδρες
Ἐλληνες, Ἀτταλος ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑμῶν ἐν διαθήκαις
ἀπέλιπε, καὶ εὐθὺς ἀμείνονες ὑμῖν ἡμεν Ἀττάλου·
οὓς γὰρ ἐτελεῖτε φόρους Ἀττάλῳ, μεθήκαμεν
ὑμῖν, μέχρι δημοκόπων ἀνδρῶν καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν
γενομένων ἐδέησε φόρων. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδέησεν, οὐ
πρὸς τὰ τιμήματα ὑμῖν ἐπεθήκαμεν, ὡς ἀν ἡμεῖς
ἀκίνδυνον φόρον ἐκλέγοιμεν, ἀλλὰ μέρη φέρειν
τῶν ἐκάστοτε καρπῶν ἐπετάξαμεν, ἵνα καὶ τῶν
ἐναντίων κοινωνῶμεν ὑμῖν. τῶν δὲ ταῦτα παρὰ
τῆς βουλῆς μισθουμένων ἐνυβριζόντων ὑμῖν καὶ
πολὺ πλείονα αἴτούντων, Γάιος Καῖσαρ τῶν μὲν
χρημάτων τὰ τρίτα ὑμῖν ἀνήκεν ὡν ἐκείνοις
ἐφέρετε, τὰς δ' ὑβρεις ἔπαυσεν ὑμῖν γὰρ τοὺς
φόρους ἐπέτρεψεν ἀγείρειν παρὰ τῶν γεωργούντων.
καὶ τόνδε τοιόνδε ὄντα οἱ χρηστοὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων
πολιτῶν τύραννον ἐκάλουν, καὶ ὑμεῖς αὐτοῖς
συνετελεῖτε χρήματα πολλά, σφαγεῦσί τε οὖσι
τοῦ ὑμετέρου εὐεργέτου, καὶ καθ' ἡμῶν τῶν
τιμωρούντων ἐκείνῳ.

5. “Τῆς δὲ δικαίας τύχης οὐχ, ὡς ἐβούλεσθε,
ἀλλ', ὡς ἦν ἄξιον, κρινάσης τὸν πόλεμον, εἰ μὲν
ώς συναγωνισταῖς τῶν πολεμίων ἔδει χρῆσθαι,
κολάσεως ὑμῖν ἔδει, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκόντες πιστεύομεν
ὑμᾶς κατὰ ἀνάγκην τάδε πεποιηκέναι, τῶν μὲν
μειζόνων ἀφίεμεν, χρημάτων δὲ ἡμῖν δεῖ καὶ γῆς

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

Caesar, and Quintus, who had betrayed Dolabella to CHAP.
Cassius at Laodicea. Having assembled the Greeks
and other peoples who inhabited the Asiatic country
around Pergamos, and who were present on a peace
embassy, and others who had been summoned
thither, Antony addressed them as follows: "Your
King Attalus, O Greeks, left you to us in his will,
and straightway we proved better to you than
Attalus had been, for we released you from the taxes
that you had been paying to him, until the action of
popular agitators also among us made these taxes ne-
cessary. But when they became necessary we did not
impose them upon you according to a fixed valuation
so that we could collect an absolutely certain sum,
but we required you to contribute a portion of your
yearly harvest in order that we might share with you
the vicissitudes of the seasons. When the publicans,
who farmed these collections by the authority of
the Senate, wronged you by demanding more than
was due, Gaius Caesar remitted to you one-third of
what you had paid to them and put an end to
their outrages: for he turned over to you the
collection of the taxes from the cultivators of
the soil. And this was the kind of man that our
honourable citizens called a tyrant, and you contrib-
uted vast sums of money to the murderers of your
benefactor and against us, who were seeking to
avenge him.

5. "Now that just fortune has decided the war,
not as you wished, but as was right, if we were to
treat you as allies of our enemies we should be
obliged to punish you. But as we are willing
to believe that you were constrained to this course
by necessity, we will release you from the heavier

He makes
a public
speech at
Ephesus

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. καὶ πόλεων ἐς τὰ νικητήρια τοῦ στρατοῦ, τέλη δέ ἔστιν ὄκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσιν ὄπλιτῶν, ἀ μετὰ τῶν συντασσομένων εἰσὶ μυριάδες ἀνδρῶν ὑπὲρ ἐπτακαίδεκα, καὶ τούτων ἄνευθεν οἱ ἵππεες καὶ ἔτερος ὅμιλος ἐτέρου στρατοῦ. ἐκ μὲν δὴ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὸ πλῆθος τῆς χρείας συνορᾶν δύνασθε. τὴν δὲ γῆν καὶ τὰς πόλεις αὐτοῖς διαδώσων ὁ Καῖσαρ ἅπεισιν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, εἰς χρὶ τῷ λόγῳ τὸ ἔργον εἰπεῖν, ἀναστήσων τὴν Ἰταλίαν. ὑμᾶς δ', ἵνα μὴ γῆς καὶ πόλεων καὶ οἰκιῶν καὶ ἱερῶν καὶ τάφων ἀνίστησθε, ἐς τὰ χρήματα ἐλογισάμεθα, οὐδὲ ἐς ἄπαντα (οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀν δύναισθε), ἀλλὰ μέρος αὐτῶν καὶ βραχύτατον, δ καὶ πυθομένους ὑμᾶς ἀγαπήσειν οἴμαι. ἀ γὰρ ἔδοτε τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἔχθροῖς ἐν ἔτεσι δύο (ἔδοτε δὲ φόρους δέκα ἐτῶν), ταῦτα λαβεῖν ἀρκέσει μόνα, ἀλλ' ἐνὶ ἔτει· ἐπείγουσι γὰρ αἱ χρεῖαι. συνεῖσι δὲ τῆς χάριτος ὑμῖν τοσοῦτον ἀν ἐπείποιμι, ὅτι μηδενὸς ἀμαρτήματος ἵσον ἐπιτίμιον ὄρίζεται."

6. 'Ο μὲν οὕτως εἶπεν, ἐς ὄκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσι τέλη πεζῶν τὴν χάριν περιφέρων, ὅτι, οἴμαι, τρία καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἡν αὐτοῖς, ὅτε ἐν Μουτίνῃ συνηλλάσσοντο ἀλλήλοις καὶ τάδε ὑπισχνοῦντο, ὁ δὲ πόλεμος αὐτὰ ἐς τοσοῦτον ὑπενηνόχει· οἱ δὲ "Ἐλληνες ἔτι λέγοντος αὐτοῦ ταῦτα ἔρριπτουν ἔαυτοὺς ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος, ἀνάγκην καὶ βίαν ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐκ Βρούτου καὶ Κασσίου γενομένας ἐπιλέγοντες οὐκ ἐπιτιμίων ἀξίας εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἐλέουν, δόντες δ' ἀν τοῖς εὐεργέταις ἐκόντες ἀπορεῦν διὰ τοὺς πολεμίους, οἷς οὐ τὰ χρήματα μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

penalty, but we need money and land and cities as CHAP.
rewards for our soldiers. There are twenty-eight I
legions of infantry which, with the auxiliaries,
amount to upwards of 170,000 men, besides cavalry
and various other arms of the service. The vast sum
that we need for such a vast number of men you can
easily imagine. Octavian has gone to Italy to
provide them with the land and the cities—to
expropriate Italy, if we must speak plainly. That we
may not be under the necessity of expelling you
from your lands, cities, houses, temples, and tombs,
we have assessed you for contribution not of
all that you have (for you could not pay that), but
a part, a very small part, which when you learn it,
I think you will cheerfully pay. For what you
contributed to our enemies in two years (and you
gave them the taxes of ten years in that time)
will be quite sufficient for us; but it must be paid
in one year, because we are pressed by neces-
sity. As you are sensible of our leniency toward
you, I will merely add that the penalty imposed is
not equal to any one of your deserts."

6. Antony spoke thus of providing a donative for
twenty-eight legions of infantry, whereas I think
that they had forty-three legions when they came to
their agreement at Mutina and made these promises,
but the war had probably reduced them to this
number. The Greeks, while he was still speaking,
threw themselves upon the ground, declaring that
they had been subjected to force and violence by
Brutus and Cassius, and that they were deserving of
pity, not of punishment; that they would willingly
give to their benefactors, but that they had been
stripped by their enemies, to whom they had de-

Distress
of the
inhabitants

385

c c

VOL. IV.

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

Ι
CAP. σκεύη καὶ τοὺς κόσμους ἐσενεγκεῖν ἀντὶ τῶν χρημάτων, τοὺς δὲ αὐτὰ παρὰ σφίσιν ἐς νόμισμα χαλκεῦσαι. καὶ τέλος παρακαλοῦντες ἔτυχον ἐννέα ἐτῶν φόρους ἐσενεγκεῖν ἔτεσι δύο. βασιλεῦσι δὲ καὶ δυνάσταις καὶ πόλεσιν ἐλευθέραις ἄλλα ἐς τὴν ἑκάστων δύναμιν ἐπετάχθη.

7. Περιόντι δ' αὐτῷ τὰ ἔθνη Λεύκιος τε ὁ Κασσίου ἀδελφὸς καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι τῶν δεδιότων ἐπεὶ τῆς ἐν Ἐφέσῳ συγγνώμης ἐπύθουντο, ἵκέται προσήσαν. καὶ ἀπέλυε πάντας, πλὴν τοὺς συνεγνωκότας ἐπὶ φόνῳ Καίσαρος· τούτοις γὰρ δὴ μόνοις ἀδιάλλακτος ἦν. παρηγόρει δὲ καὶ τῶν πόλεων τὰς μάλιστα δεινὰ παθούσας, Λυκίους μὲν ἀτελεῖς φόρων ἀφιεὶς καὶ Ξάνθον οἰκίζειν παραινῶν, Ῥοδίοις δὲ διδοὺς "Ανδρον τε καὶ Τῆνον καὶ Νάξον καὶ Μύνδον, ἃς οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον ἀφηρέθησαν ώς σκληρότερον ἄρχοντες. Λαοδικέας δὲ καὶ Ταρσέας ἐλευθέρους ἡφίει καὶ ἀτελεῖς φόρων καὶ Ταρσέων τοὺς πεπραμένους ἀπέλυε τῆς δουλείας διατάγματι. Ἀθηναίοις δ' ἐς αὐτὸν ἐλθοῦσι μετὰ Τῆνον Αἴγιναν ἔδωκε καὶ Ἰκον καὶ Κέω καὶ Σκίαθον καὶ Πεπάρηθον. ἐπιπαριὼν δὲ Φρυγίαν τε καὶ Μυσίαν καὶ Γαλάτας τοὺς ἐν Ἀσίᾳ Καππαδοκίαν τε καὶ Κιλικίαν καὶ Συρίαν τὴν κοίλην καὶ Παλαιστίνην καὶ τὴν Ἰτουραίαν καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα γένη Σύρων, ἀπασιν ἐσφορὰς ἐπέβαλλε βαρείας καὶ διήτα πόλεσι καὶ βασιλεῦσιν, ἐν μὲν Καππαδοκίᾳ Ἀριαράθῃ τε καὶ Σισίνῃ, ὧν τῷ Σισίνῃ συνέπραξεν ἐς τὴν βασιλείαν, καλῆς οἱ φανείσης τῆς μητρὸς τοῦ Σισίνου

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

livered not only their money, but, in default of CHAP.
money, their plate and their ornaments, and who
had coined these things into money in their presence.
Finally, they prevailed by their entreaties that the
amount should be reduced to nine years' taxes, payable
in two years. It was ordered that the kings,
princes, and free cities should make additional
contributions according to their means, respectively.

7. While Antony was making the circuit of the provinces Lucius Cassius, the brother of Gaius, and some others, who feared for their own safety, when they heard of the pardon of Ephesus, presented themselves to him as suppliants. He released them all except those who had been privy to the murder of Caesar: to these alone he was inexorable. He gave relief to the cities that had suffered most severely. He released the Lycians from taxes altogether, and urged the rebuilding of Xanthus; he gave to the Rhodians Andros, Tenos, Naxos, and Myndus, which were taken from them not long afterward because they ruled them too harshly; he made Laodicea and Tarsus free cities and released them from taxes entirely, and those inhabitants of Tarsus who had been sold into slavery he liberated by an order. To the Athenians when they came to him to ask for Tenos he gave Aegina and Icos, Ceos, Sciathos, and Peparethos. Proceeding onward to Phrygia, Mysia, Galatia, Cappadocia, Cilicia, Coele-Syria, Palestine, Ituraea, and the other provinces of Syria, he imposed heavy contributions on all, and acted as arbiter between kings and cities,—in Cappadocia, for example, between Ariarthes and Sisina, awarding the kingdom to Sisina on account of his mother, Glaphyra, who struck him as a beautiful woman. In

Antony makes a tour of the eastern provinces

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. Γλαφύρας· ἐν δὲ Συρίᾳ τοὺς κατὰ πόλεις ἔξηρει τυράννους.

8. Καὶ ἐν Κιλικίᾳ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθούσης Κλεοπάτρας ἐμέμψατο μὲν ὡς οὐ μετασχούσης τῶν ἐπὶ Καισαρι πόνων· τῆς δὲ οὐκ ἀπολογουμένης μᾶλλον ἡ καταλογιζομένης αὐτοῖς, ὅτι καὶ τὰ παρὰ οἱ τέσσαρα τέλη πρὸς Δολοβέλλαν αὐτίκα πέμψει, καὶ στόλον ἄλλον ἔτοιμον ἔχουσα κωλυθείη ὑπό τε ἀνέμου καὶ αὐτοῦ Δολοβέλλα, ταχυτέρας ἥσσης τυχόντος, Κασσίψ τε δις ἀπειλοῦντι μὴ συμμαχήσει καὶ σφίσιν ἐκείνοις πολεμοῦσιν ἐς τὸν Ἰόνιον αὐτὴ τὸν στόλον ἔχουσα πλεύσει μετὰ παρασκευῆς θαρυτάτης, οὕτε δείσασα Κάστιον οὕτε φυλαξαμένη Μούρκον ναυλοχοῦντα, μέχρι χειμῶν τά τε ἄλλα διελυμήνατο καὶ αὐτὴν ἐς νόσον ἐνέβαλεν, ἡς δὴ χάριν οὐδ' ὕστερον ἐπαναχθῆναι νεικηκότων ἦδη, ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐπὶ τῇ ὅψει τὴν σύνεσιν καταπλαγεὶς εὐθὺς αὐτῆς μειρακιωδῶς ἑαλώκει, καίπερ ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα γεγονώς, λεγόμενος μὲν ὑγρότατος ἐς ταῦτα ἀεὶ φῦναι, λεγόμενος δ' ἐς ταῦτην καὶ πάλαι, παῖδα ἔτι οὖσαν, ἐρέθισμά τι τῆς ὅψεως λαβεῖν, ὅτε ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν Γαβινίψ στρατεύοντι νέος ἵππαρχῶν εἴπετο.

9. Εὐθὺς οὖν Ἀντώνιψ μὲν ἡ περὶ ἄπαντα τέως ἐπιμέλεια ἀθρόα ἡμβλύνετο, Κλεοπάτρα δ' ὅ τι προστάξειεν, ἐγίγνετο, οὐ διακριδὸν ἔτι περὶ τῶν ὄστιν ἡ δικαίων, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν αὐτῆς Ἀρσινόην, ἵκετιν οὖσαν ἐν Μιλήτῳ τῆς Λευκοφρυηνῆς Ἀρτέμιδος, πέμψας ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἀνεῖλε, καὶ Σεραπίωνα, τὸν ἐν Κύπρῳ στρατηγὸν αὐτῆς,

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

Syria he delivered the cities from tyrants one after another.

8. Cleopatra came to meet him in Cilicia, and he blamed her for not sharing their labours in avenging Caesar. Instead of apologising she enumerated to him the things she had done, saying that she had sent the four legions that had been left with her to Dolabella forthwith, and that she had another fleet in readiness, but had been prevented from sending it by adverse winds and by the misfortune of Dolabella, whose defeat came suddenly; but that she did not lend assistance to Cassius, who had threatened her twice; that while the war was going on she had set sail for the Adriatic in person with a powerful fleet to assist them, in defiance of Cassius, and disregarding Murcus, who was lying in wait for her; but that a tempest shattered the fleet and prostrated herself with illness, for which reason she was not able to put to sea again till they had already gained their victory. Antony was amazed at her wit as well as her good looks, and became her captive as though he were a young man, although he was forty years of age. It is said that he was always very susceptible in this way, and that he had fallen in love with her at first sight long ago when she was still a girl and he was serving as master of horse under Gabinius at Alexandria.

9. Straightway Antony's former interest in public affairs began to dwindle. Whatever Cleopatra ordered was done, regardless of laws, human or divine. While her sister Arsinoe was a suppliant in the temple of Artemis Leucophryne at Miletus, Antony sent assassins thither and put her to death; and Serapion, Cleopatra's prefect in Cyprus, who had assisted

The murder
of Arsinoe

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

Ι ουμμαχήσαντα Κασσίφ, Τυρίων δυτα ἵκέτην,
ἐκέλευσε τοὺς Τυρίους ἐκδοῦναι τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ,
ἐκδοῦναι δὲ καὶ Ἀραδίους ἔτερον ἵκέτην, ὃν τινα,
Πτολεμαίου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας ἀφα-
νοῦς ἐν τῇ πρὸς Καίσαρα κατὰ τὸν Νεῖλον
ναυμαχίᾳ γενομένου, οἱ Ἀράδιοι εἶχον λέγοντα
Πτολεμαῖον εἶναι. καὶ τὸν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ δὲ τῆς
Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερέᾳ, δν Μεγάβυζον ἥγοῦνται, ὑπο-
δεξάμενόν ποτε τὴν Ἀρσινόην ὡς βασιλίδα ἀχθῆ-
ναι μὲν ἐκέλευσεν, Ἐφεσίων δ' αὐτὴν Κλεοπάτραν
ἵκετευσάντων μεθῆκεν. οὕτω μὲν ὁ Ἀντώνιος
ἐνήλακτο ταχέως, καὶ τὸ πάθος αὐτῷ τοῦτο
ἀρχὴ καὶ τέλος τῶν ἔπειτα κακῶν ἐγένετο. ἀπο-
πλευσύσης δὲ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα, ὁ
Ἀντώνιος ἔπειμπε τοὺς ἴππεας Πάλμυρα πόλιν,
οὐ μακρὰν οὖσαν ἀπὸ Εὐφράτου, διαρπάσαι,
μικρὰ μὲν ἐπικαλῶν αὐτοῖς, δτι Ῥωμαίων καὶ
Παρθιναίων δυτες ἐφόριοι ἐς ἐκατέρους ἐπιδεξίως
εἶχον (ἔμποροι γὰρ δυτες κομίζουσι μὲν ἐκ
Περσῶν τὰ Ἰνδικὰ ἢ Ἀράβια, διατίθενται δ' ἐν
τῇ Ῥωμαίων), ἔργῳ δ' ἐπινοῶν τοὺς ἴππεας περι-
ουσιάσαι. Παλμυρηνῶν δὲ προμαθόντων καὶ τὰ
ἀναγκαῖα ἐς τὸ πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ μετενεγκάντων
τε καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ὅχθης, εἴ τις ἐπιχειροίη σκευασα-
μένωι τόξοις, πρὸς ἄ πεφύκασιν ἔξαιρέτως, οἱ
ἴππεες τὴν πόλιν κενὴν καταλαβόντες ὑπέστρε-
ψαν, οὕτε ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθόντες οὔτε τι λαβόντες.

10. Καὶ δοκεῖ τόδε τὸ ἔργον Ἀντωνίῳ τὸν μετ'
οὐ πολὺ Παρθινικὸν πόλεμον ἔξαψαι, πολλῶν ἐκ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

Cassius and was now a suppliant at Tyre, Antony CHAP.¹ ordered the Tyrians to deliver to her. He commanded the Aradians to deliver up another suppliant, who when Ptolemy, the brother of Cleopatra, disappeared at the battle with Caesar on the Nile, said that he was Ptolemy, and whom the Arcadians now held. He ordered the priest of Artemis at Ephesus, whom they called the Megabyzus,¹ and who had once received Arsinoe as queen, to be brought before him, but in response to the supplications of the Ephesians, addressed to Cleopatra herself, released him. So swiftly was Antony transformed, and this passion was the beginning and the end of evils that afterwards befell him. When Cleopatra returned home Antony sent a cavalry force to Palmyra, situated not far from the Euphrates, to plunder it, bringing the trifling accusation against its inhabitants, that being on the frontier between the Romans and the Parthians, they had avoided taking sides between them; for, being merchants, they bring the products of India and Arabia from Persia and dispose of them in the Roman territory; but in fact, Antony's intention was to enrich his horsemen. However, the Palmyreans were forewarned and they transported their property across the river, and, stationing themselves on the bank, prepared to shoot anybody who should attack them, for they are expert bowmen. The cavalry found nothing in the city. They turned round and came back, having met no foe, and empty-handed.

Unsuccess-
cessful
attack upon
Palmyra

10. It seems that this course on Antony's part caused the outbreak of the Parthian war not long afterward, as many of the rulers expelled from

¹ A title.

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. Συρίας τυράννων ἐς αὐτοὺς συμφυγόντων. ἡ γὰρ
I Συρία μέχρι μὲν ἐπ' Ἀντίοχον τὸν Εὐσεβῆ καὶ
τὸν τοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς υἱὸν Ἀντίοχον ὑπὸ τοῖς ἐκ
Σελεύκου τοῦ Νικάτορος ἐβασιλεύετο, ὡς μοι
περὶ Σύρων λέγοντι εἴρηται· Πομπηίου δ' αὐτὴν
Ῥωμαίοις προσλαβόντος καὶ στρατηγὸν αὐτῇ
Σκαῦρον ἀποδείξαντος, ἡ βουλὴ μετὰ Σκαῦρον
ἐπεμψεν ἑτέρους καὶ Γαβίνιον τὸν Ἀλεξαν-
δρεῦσι πολεμήσαντα, ἐπὶ δὲ Γαβίνιῳ Κράσσον
τὸν ἐν Παρθναίοις ἀποθανόντα καὶ Βύθλον ἐπὶ
τῷ Κράσσῳ. παρὰ δὲ τὴν Γαῖον Καίσαρος ἄρα
τελευτὴν καὶ στάσιν ἐπ' αὐτῇ κατὰ πόλεις ὑπὸ¹
τυράννων εἴχετο, συλλαμβανόντων τοῖς τυράννοις
τῶν Παρθναίων. ἐσέβαλον γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἐς τὴν
Συρίαν οἱ Παρθναῖοι μετὰ τὴν Κράσσου συμ-
φορὰν καὶ συνέπραξαν τοῖς τυράννοις. οὖς ὁ
Ἀντώνιος ἐξελαύνων ὑποφεύγοντας ἐς τὴν Παρ-
θηνὴν καὶ τοῖς πλήθεσιν ἐπιβάλλων ἐσφορὰς
βαρυτάτας καὶ ἐς Παλμυρηνὸν τάδε ἀμαρτών,
οὐδὲ ἐπέμεινε συστῆσαι τὴν χώραν θορυβουμένην,
ἀλλὰ τὸν στρατὸν ἐς τὰ ἔθνη διελὼν χειμάσοντα
αὐτὸς ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἦει πρὸς Κλεοπάτραν.

11. Ἡ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπεδέχετο λαμπρῶς. καὶ ὁ μὲν
ἐχείμαζεν ἐνταῦθα, ἄνευ σημείων ἥγεμονίας, ἰδιώ-
του σχῆμα καὶ βίον ἔχων, εἰθ' ὡς ἐν ἀλλοτρίᾳ τε
ἀρχῆ καὶ βασιλευούσῃ πόλει, εἴτε τὴν χειμασίαν
ὡς πανήγυριν ἄγων, ἐπεὶ καὶ φροντίδας ἀπετέ-
θειτο καὶ ἥγεμόνων θεραπείαν, καὶ στολὴν εἰχε
τετράγωνον Ἐλληνικὴν ἀντὶ τῆς πατρίου, καὶ
ὑπόδημα ἦν αὐτῷ λευκὸν Ἀττικόν, δὲ καὶ Ἀθη-
ναίων ἔχουσιν ἱερεῖς καὶ Ἀλεξανδρέων, καὶ
καλοῦσι φαικάσιον. ἔξοδοί τε τε ἤσαν αὐτῷ ἐς

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

Syria had taken refuge with the Parthians. Syria, CHAP.
until the reign of Antiochus Pius and his son,
Antiochus, had been ruled by the descendants of
Seleucus Nicator, as I have related in my Syrian
history. Pompey added it to the Roman sway, and
Scaurus was appointed praetor over it. After Scaurus
the Senate sent others, including Gabinius, who
made war against the Alexandrians, and after
Gabinius, Crassus, who lost his life in the Parthian
war, and after Crassus, Bibulus. At the time of
Caesar's death and the intestine strife which
followed, tyrants had possession of the cities one
by one, and they were assisted by the Parthians,
who made an irruption into Syria after the disaster
to Crassus and co-operated with the tyrants. Antony
drove out the latter, who took refuge in Parthia.
He then imposed very heavy tribute on the masses
and committed the outrage already mentioned
against the Palmyreans, and did not wait for the
disturbed country to become quiet, but distributed
his army in winter quarters in the provinces, and
himself went to Egypt to join Cleopatra.

11. She gave him a magnificent reception, and he
spent the winter there without the insignia of his
office and with the habit and mode of life of a
private person, either because he was in a foreign
jurisdiction, in a city under royal sway, or because
he regarded his wintering as a festal occasion; for he
even laid aside the cares and escort of a general, and
wore the square-cut garment of the Greeks instead
of the costume of his own country, and the white
Attic shoe of the Athenian and Alexandrian priests,
which they call the *phaecasium*. He went out only to
the temples, the schools, and the discussions of the

Antony
goes to
Egypt to
join
Cleopatra

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

Ι ΚΑΡ. ἵερά ἡ γυμνάσια ἡ φιλολόγων διατριβὰς μόναι καὶ δίαιτα μεθ' Ἑλλήνων ὑπὸ Κλεοπάτρᾳ, ἥ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα τὴν ἐπιδημίαν ἀνετίθει.

II

ΙΙ ΚΑΡ. 12. Καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ Ἀντώνιου ἦν τοιάδε· Καίσαρι δὲ ἐσ τὴν Ῥώμην ἐπανιόντι ἥ τε υόσος αὐθις ἥκμαζεν ἐν Βρευτεσίφ μάλιστα ἐπικινδύνως, καὶ φήμη διήνεγκεν αὐτὸν καὶ τεθνάναι. ῥαῖσας δ' ἐσῆλθεν ἐσ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοῖς Ἀντωνίου τὰ γράμματα ἐδείκνυε τὰ Ἀντωνίου. οἱ δὲ Καληνόν τε προσέτασσον ἀποδοῦναι τὰ δύο τέλη τῷ Καίσαρι καὶ ἐσ Λιβύην ἐπέστελλον Σεξστίφ Λιβύης καὶ αὐτὸν Καίσαρι ἀποστῆναι. καὶ οἱ μὲν οὕτως ἐποίουν, ὁ δὲ Καίσαρ οὐδὲν ἀνήκεστον ἀμαρτεῖν δόξαντι Λεπίδῳ Λιβύην ἀντὶ τῶν προτέρων ἔθνῶν ἐνήλλασσε καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν ἐπὶ ταῖς προγραφαῖς δεδημευμένων διεπίπρασκε. καταλέγοντι δ' αὐτῷ τὸν στρατὸν ἐσ τὰς ἀποικίας καὶ τὴν γῆν ἐπινέμοντι δυσεργὲς ἦν. οἵ τε γὰρ στρατιῶται τὰς πόλεις ἥτουν, αἱ αὐτοῖς ἀριστίνδην ἥσαν ἐπειλεγμέναι πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου, καὶ αἱ πόλεις ἥξιον τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀπασαν ἐπινείμασθαι τὸ ἔργον ἥ ἐν ἀλλήλαις διαλαχεῖν τῆς τε γῆς τὴν τιμὴν τοὺς δωρουμένους ἥτουν, καὶ ἀργύριον οὐκ ἥν, ἀλλὰ συνιόντες ἀνὰ μέρος ἐσ τὴν Ῥώμην οἵ τε νέοι καὶ γέροντες ἥ αἱ γυναῖκες ἄμα τοῖς παιδίοις, ἐσ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἥ τὰ ἱερά, ἐθρήνουν, οὐδὲν μὲν ἀδικῆσαι λέγοντες, Ἰταλιῶται δὲ ὅντες ἀνίστασθαι γῆς τε καὶ ἐστίας οἰα δορίληπτοι. ἐφ'

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

learned, and spent his time with Greeks, out of CHAP.
deference to Cleopatra, to whom his sojourn in ¹ Alexandria was wholly devoted.

II

12. Such was the state of affairs with Antony. CHAP.

As Octavian was journeying to Rome his illness became acute at Brundusium, and a rumour gained currency that he was dead. On his recovery he returned to the city and showed to Antony's friends the letters Antony had written. The Antonians directed Calenus to give Octavian the two legions, and wrote to Sextius in Africa to turn that province over to him. This was the course of the Antonians while, as it appeared that Lepidus had not been guilty of any serious wrong, Octavian transferred Africa to him in exchange for his former provinces. He also sold the remainder of the property confiscated under the conscriptions. The task of assigning the soldiers to their colonies and dividing the land was one of exceeding difficulty. For the soldiers demanded the cities which had been selected for them before the war as prizes for their valour, and the cities demanded that the whole of Italy should share the burden, or that the cities should cast lots with the other cities, and that those who gave the land should be paid the value of it; and there was no money. They came to Rome in crowds; young and old, women and children, to the forum and the temples, uttering lamentations, saying that they had done no wrong for which they, Italians, should be driven from their fields and their hearthstones, like people conquered in war. The

II
Octavian returns to Rome

Consternation among the Italians

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. οῖς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι συνήχθοντο καὶ ἐπεδάκρυον, καὶ
II μάλιστα, ὅτε ἐνθυμηθεῖεν οὐχ ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως,
ἀλλ' ἐπὶ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς καὶ τῇ μεταβολῇ τῆς
πολιτείας τόν τε πόλεμον γεγονότα καὶ τὰ ἐπι-
νίκια διδόμενα καὶ τὰς ἀποικίας συνισταμένας
τοῦ μηδ' αὐθις ἀνακύψαι τὴν δημοκρατίαν, παρ-
φκισμένων τοῖς ἄρχουσι μισθοφόρων ἔτοίμων, ἐς
ὅ τι χρήζοιεν.

13. Ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ταῦς πόλεσιν ἔξελογεῦτο τὴν
ἀνάγκην, καὶ ἐδόκουν οὐδ' ὡς ἀρκέσειν. οὐδὲ
ἥρκουν, ἀλλὰ ὁ στρατὸς καὶ τοῖς γείτοσιν ἐπέ-
βαινε σὺν ὕβρει, πλέονά τε τῶν διδομένων σφίσι
περισπώμενοι καὶ τὸ ἄμεινον ἐκλεγόμενοι. οὐδὲ
ἐπιπλήσσοντος αὐτοῖς καὶ δωρουμένου πολλὰ
ἄλλα τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐπαύοντο, ἐπεὶ καὶ τῶν
ἀρχόντων, ως δεομένων σφῶν ἐς τὸ ἐγκρατὲς τῆς
ἀρχῆς, κατεφρόνουν. καὶ γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἡ πενταετία
παρώδευε, καὶ τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ἡ χρεία συνῆγεν ἀμφο-
τέροις παρ' ἀλλήλων, τοῖς μὲν ἡγεμόσιν ἐς τὴν
ἀρχὴν παρὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ, τῷ στρατῷ δὲ ἐς τὴν
ἐπικράτησιν ὡν ἔλαβον, ἡ τῶν δεδωκότων ἀρχὴ
παραμένουσα. ως γὰρ αὐτῶν οὐ βεβαίως ἐπι-
κρατήσοντες, εἰ μὴ βεβαίως ἄρχοιεν οἱ δόντες,
ὑπερεμάχουν ἀπ' εὐνοίας ἀναγκαίου. πολλὰ δὲ
καὶ ἄλλα τοῖς ἀπορουμένοις αὐτῶν ἐδωρεῦτο,
δανειζόμενος ἐκ τῶν ἴερῶν, ὁ Καῖσαρ. ὅθεν τὴν
γνώμην ὁ στρατὸς ἐς αὐτὸν ἐπέστρεφε, καὶ πλείων
ὑπήντα χάρις ως γῆν ἄμα καὶ πόλεις καὶ χρή-
ματα καὶ οἰκήματα δωρουμένῳ καὶ καταβοωμένῳ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

Romans mourned and wept with them, especially CHAP.
when they reflected that the war had been waged,^{II}
and the rewards of victory given, not in behalf of
the commonwealth, but against themselves and for a
change of the form of government; that the colonies
were established to the end that democracy should
never again lift its head,—colonies composed of
hirelings settled there by the rulers to be in readi-
ness for whatever purpose they might be wanted.

13. Octavian explained to the cities the necessity
of the case, but he knew that it would not satisfy
them; and it did not. The soldiers encroached
upon their neighbours in an insolent manner, seizing
more than had been given to them and choosing the
best lands; nor did they cease even when Octavian
rebuked them and made them numerous other pre-
sents, since they were contemptuous of their rulers
in the knowledge that they needed them to confirm
their power, for the five years' term of the triumvirate
was passing away, and army and rulers needed the
services of each other for mutual security. The
chiefs depended on the soldiers for the continuance
of their government, while, for the possession of what
they had received, the soldiers depended on the
permanence of the government of those who had
given it. Believing that they could not keep a firm
hold unless the givers had a strong government,
they fought for them, from necessity, with good-will.
Octavian made many other gifts to the indigent
soldiers, borrowing from the temples for that purpose,
for which reason the affections of the army were
turned toward him, and the greater thanks were
bestowed upon him both as the giver of the land,
the cities, the money, and the houses, and as the

Confiscation
and division
of the land

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. μὲν ἐπιφθόνως ὑπὸ τῶν ἀφαιρουμένων, φέροντι δὲ
II τὴν ὕβριν ἐς χάριν τοῦ στρατοῦ.

14. Ταῦτα δὲ ὄρῶν ὅ τε ἀδελφὸς ὁ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου Λεύκιος Ἀντώνιος, ὑπατεύων τότε, καὶ ἡ γυνὴ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου Φουλβία καὶ ὁ τῆς ἀποδημίας ἐπιτροπεύων τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ Μάνιος, ἵνα μὴ Καίσαρος δόξειε τὸ ἔργον ἄπαν εἶναι μηδὲ μόνος αὐτοῦ τὴν χάριν ἀποφέροιτο μηδ' ἔρημος ὁ Ἀντώνιος εὐνοίας στρατιωτῶν γένοιτο, τὰς κατοικίσεις ἐτέχναζον ἐς τὴν ἐπιδημίαν Ἀντωνίου διατρίβειν. οὐδὲ δυνατοῦ δὲ φαινομένου διὰ τὸν στρατὸν ἐπείγοντα, τοὺς οἰκιστὰς τῶν Ἀντωνίου τελῶν ἡξίουν Καίσαρα παρὰ σφῶν λαβεῖν, τῆς μὲν συνθήκης Ἀντωνίου μόνῳ Καίσαρι διδούσης, ἐπιμεμφόμενοι δὲ ως οὐ παρόντι τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ. καὶ ἐς τὸν στρατὸν αὐτοὶ τὴν τε Φουλβίαν παράγοντες καὶ τὰ παιδία τὰ Ἀντωνίου, μάλα ἐπιφθόνως ἰκέτευον μὴ περιιδεῖν Ἀντώνιον ἢ δόξης ἡ χάριτος τῆς ἐς αὐτοὺς ὑπηρεσίας ἀφαιρούμενον. ἥκμαζε δὲ ἐν τῷ τότε μάλιστα τὸ κλέος τὸ Ἀντωνίου καὶ παρὰ τῷ στρατῷ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἄπασι· τὸ γὰρ ἔργον τὸ ἐν Φιλίπποις διὰ τὴν τότε Καίσαρος ἀρρωστίαν ἄπαν ἡγοῦντο Ἀντωνίου γεγονέναι. οἱ δὲ Καίσαρ οὐκ ἡγούντες μὲν ἀδικούμενος ἐς τὰ συγκείμενα, εἴξε δὲ ἐς χάριν Ἀντωνίου. καὶ οἱ μὲν τοὺς οἰκιστὰς ἐπὶ τοῖς Ἀντωνίου τέλεσιν ἀπέφαινον, οἱ δὲ οἰκισταὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις, ἵνα τι καὶ δοκοῖεν εὐνούστεροι τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐς αὐτοὺς εἶναι, συνεχώρουν ἔτι πλέον ἀδικεῖν. ἄλλο δὴ πλῆθος ἦν ἐτέρων πόλεων, αἱ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

object of denunciation on the part of the despoiled,^{CHAP.} and as one who bore this contumely for the army's ^{II} sake.

14. Observing this, Lucius Antonius, the brother ^{Beginning of trouble with Lucius Antonius} of Antony, who was then consul, and Fulvia, the wife of Antony, and Manius, his procurator during his absence, resorted to artifices to delay the settlement of the colonies till Antony should return home, in order that it might not seem to be wholly the work of Octavian, and that he might not reap the thanks alone, and Antony be bereft of the favour of the soldiers. As this evidently could not be done, on account of the haste of the soldiers, they asked that Octavian should take the colony leaders of Antony's legions from Antony's own friends, although the agreement with Antony yielded the selection to Octavian exclusively; they made it a matter of complaint that Antony was not present. They themselves brought Fulvia and Antony's children before the soldiers, and, in terms such as would cause ill feeling, besought them not to forget Antony or allow him to be deprived of the glory or the gratitude due to his service to them. The fame of Antony was then at its height, not only among the soldiers, but among all others. The victory of Philippi was considered wholly due to him, on account of Octavian's illness. Although Octavian was not ignorant that it was a violation of the agreement, he yielded as a matter of favour to Antony, and appointed friends of the latter as colony leaders for Antony's legions. These leaders, in order that they might appear more favourable to the soldiers than Octavian was, allowed them to commit still greater outrages. So there was another multitude from another group

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. ταῖς νενεμημέναις γειτονεύουσαι τε καὶ πολλὰ
πρὸς τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀδικούμενοι κατεβόων
τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἀδικωτέρας εἶναι τὰς ἀποικίσεις
τῶν προγραφῶν τὰς μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ ἔχθροῖς, τὰς δὲ
ἐπὶ μηδὲν ἀδικοῦσι γίγνεσθαι.

15. 'Ο δὲ Καίσαρ οὐκ ἡγνόει ἀδικουμένους.
ἀμήχανα δ' ἦν αὐτῷ οὔτε γὰρ ἀργύριον ἦν ἐς
τιμὴν τῆς γῆς δίδοσθαι τοῖς γεωργοῖς, οὔτε ἀνα-
βάλλεσθαι τὰ ἐπινίκια διὰ τοὺς ἔτι πολέμους,
Πομπηίου μὲν ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ κρατοῦντος καὶ
τὴν πόλιν κλείοντος ἐς λιμόν, Ἀηνοβάρβου δὲ καὶ
Μούρκου στρατὸν καὶ ναῦς ἄλλας ἀγειρόντων
ἀθυμοτέρων δὲ ἐς τὰ ἐσόμενα ὅντων τῶν στρα-
τιωτῶν, εἰ μὴ τὰ πρότερα ἐπινίκια λάβοιεν.
πολὺ δ' ἦν καὶ τὸ παροδεύειν σφίσιν ἥδη τὴν τῆς
ἀρχῆς πενταετίαν καὶ χρήζειν αὐθις εὐνοίας
στρατοῦ διόπερ αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς ὑβρεως ἡ κατα-
φρονήσεως ἐν τῷ τότε ἑκὰν ὑπερεώρα. ἐν γέ τοι
τῷ θεάτρῳ, παρόντος αὐτοῦ, στρατιώτης ἀπορῶν
οἰκείας ἔδρας παρῆλθεν ἐς τοὺς καλουμένους
ἱππέας καὶ ὁ μὲν δῆμος ἐπεσημήνατο, καὶ ὁ
Καίσαρ τὸν στρατιώτην ἀνέστησεν, ὁ δὲ στρατὸς
ἡγανάκτησε καὶ περιστάντες αὐτὸν ἀποχωροῦντα
τοῦ θεάτρου τὸν στρατιώτην ἀπήγτουν, οὐχ ὄρώ-
μενον ἡγούμενοι διεφθάρθαι. ἐπελθόντα δὲ
ἐνόμιζον ἐκ τοῦ δεσμωτηρίου νῦν προαχθῆναι

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

of communities, neighbours of the dispossessed ones, CHAP.
suffering many injuries at the hands of the soldiers,^{II}
and crying out against Octavian, saying that the
colonisation was worse than the proscription, since
the latter was directed against foes, while the former
was against unoffending persons.¹

Outrages
committed
by the
soldiers

15. Octavian knew that these citizens were suffering injustice, but he was without means to prevent it, for there was no money to pay the value of the land to the cultivators, nor could the rewards to the soldiers be postponed, on account of the enemies who were still on foot. Pompeius ruled the sea and was reducing the city to famine by cutting off supplies : Ahenobarbus and Murcus were collecting a new fleet and army : the soldiers would be less zealous in the future if they were not paid for their former service. It was a matter of much importance that the five years' term of office was running out, and that the good-will of the soldiers was needed to renew it, for which reason he was willing to overlook for the time being their insolence and arrogance. Once in the theatre when he was present, a soldier, not finding his own seat, went and took one in the place reserved for the knights. The people pointed him out and Octavian had him removed. The soldiers were angry. They gathered around Octavian as he was going away from the theatre and demanded their comrade, for, as they did not see him, they thought that he had been put to death. When he was produced before them they supposed that he had been brought from prison, but he denied that he had been imprisoned and related

Octavian
powerless
to prevent
them.

¹ Among the dispossessed were the poets, Vergil, Horace, Tibullus, and Propertius.

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. ἀρνούμενόν τε καὶ τὰ γεγονότα διηγούμενον ψεύ-^{II} δεσθαι διδαχθέντα ἔλεγον καὶ ἐλοιδόρουν ὡς τὰ κοινὰ προδιδόντα· καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ γενόμενον τοιόνδε ἦν.

16. Κεκλημένοι δ' ἐπὶ νέμησιν τότε γῆς ἐς τὸ πεδίον τὸ Ἀρειον ὑπὸ σπουδῆς ἔτι νυκτὸς ἀφίκουτο, καὶ βραδύτερον αὐτοῖς τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐπιόντος ἥγανάκτουν. Νώνιος δὲ λοχαγὸς ἐπέπλησσεν αὐτοῖς σὺν παρρησίᾳ, τό τε πρέπον τοῖς ἀρχομένοις ἐς τὸν ἄρχοντα προφέρων καὶ τὴν Καίσαρος ἀσθένειαν, οὐχ ὑπεροψίαν. οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἔσκωπτον ὡς κόλακα, πλέονος δὲ ἕκατέρωθεν τοῦ διερεθίσματος γενομένου ἐλοιδόρουν τε καὶ ἔβαλλον καὶ φεύγοντα ἐδίωκον ἐς τε τὸν ποταμὸν ἔξαλόμενον ἔξειρυσαντες ἔκανον καὶ ἔρριψαν, ἐνθα παροδεύσειν ὁ Καίσαρ ἔμελλεν. οἱ μὲν δὴ φίλοι τῷ Καίσαρι παρήνουν μηδὲ ἐπελθεῖν ἐς αὐτούς, ἀλλ' ἐκστῆναι μανιώδει φορᾷ. ὁ δὲ ἐπήσει μέν, ἀναθρέψειν ἔτι μᾶλλον αὐτῶν ἥγούμενος τὸ μανιώδες, εἰ μὴ ἀφίκοιτο, καὶ τὸν Νώνιον ἴδων ἔξεκλινεν, ὡς δὲ ὀλίγων ταῦτα δρασάντων ἐπεμέμφετο καὶ ἐς τὸ μέλλον ἀλλήλων φείδεσθαι παρήνει καὶ τὴν γῆν διένεμε, καὶ δωρεὰς αἴτειν τοῖς ἀξίοις ἐπέτρεπε καὶ τῶν οὐκ ἀξίων ἐνίοις ἐδίδου παρὰ γνώμην, μέχρι τὸ πλήθος ἐκπλαγέν αὐτοῦ τῆς

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

what had taken place. They said that he had been CHAP.
instructed to tell a lie and reproached him for be- ^{II}
traying their common interests. Such was the ex-
ample of their insolence in the theatre.¹

16. Having been called, about that time, to the Campus Martius for a division of the land, they came in haste while it was still night, and they grew angry because Octavian delayed his coming. Nonius, a centurion, chided them with considerable freedom, urging decent treatment of the commander by the commanded, and saying that the cause of the delay was Octavian's illness, not any disregard of them. They first jeered at him as a sycophant; then, as the excitement waxed hot on both sides, they reviled him, threw stones at him, and pursued him when he fled. Finally he plunged into the river and ^{The murder} _{of Nonius} they pulled him out and killed him and threw his body into the road where Octavian was about to pass along. So the friends of Octavian advised him not to go among them, but to keep out of the way of their mad career. But he went forward, thinking that their madness would be augmented if he did not come. When he saw the body of Nonius he turned aside. Then, assuming that the crime had been committed by a few, he chided them and advised them to exercise forbearance toward each other hereafter, and proceeded to divide the land. He allowed the meritorious ones to ask for rewards, and he gave to some who were not meritorious, contrary to their expectation. Finally the crowd were confounded; they repented and were ashamed of their

¹ Suetonius (*Aug.* 14) relates this incident in the theatre. He says that Octavian narrowly escaped with his life, and was saved only by the sudden appearance of the man safe and sound.

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. βαρύτητος μετενέι καὶ ἥδεῖτο καὶ κατεγίνωσκουν
II αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς ἐς τὸν Νόνιον ἀμαρτόντας ἡξίουν
ἀνευρόντα κολάσαι. ὁ δὲ καὶ γινώσκειν αὐτὸν
ἔφη καὶ κολάσειν αὐτῷ τῷ συνειδότι σφῶν
μόνῳ καὶ τῇ παρ' ὑμῶν καταγνώσει. οἱ δὲ συγ-
γνώμης τε ὁμοῦ καὶ τιμῆς καὶ δωρεῶν ἀξιωθέντες
εὐθὺς αὐτὸν εὐφήμουν ἐκ μεταβολῆς.

17. Καὶ δύο μὲν εἰκόνες ἐκ πλεόνων αὗδε ἔστων
τῆς τότε δυσαρχίας· αἴτιον δ' ἦν, δτι καὶ οἱ
στρατηγοὶ ἀχειροτόνητοι ἥσαν οἱ πλείους ὡς ἐν
ἐμφυλίοις καὶ οἱ στρατοὶ αὐτῶν οὐ τοῖς πατρίοις
ἔθεσιν ἐκ καταλόγου συνήγοντο οὐδὲ ἐπὶ χρείᾳ
τῆς πατρίδος, οὐδὲ τῷ δημοσίῳ στρατευομένοι
μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς συνάγουσιν αὐτοὺς μόνοις, οὐδὲ
τούτοις ὑπὸ ἀνάγκη νόμων, ἀλλ' ὑποσχέσεσιν
ἰδίαις, οὐδὲ ἐπὶ πολεμίους κοινούς, ἀλλὰ ἰδίους
ἔχθρούς, οὐδὲ ἐπὶ ξένους, ἀλλὰ πολίτας καὶ ὁμοτί-
μους. τάδε γὰρ πάντα αὐτοῖς τὸν στρατιωτικὸν
φόβον ἔξελυεν, οὕτε στρατεύεσθαι νομίζουσι
μᾶλλον ἢ βοηθεῖν οἰκείᾳ χάριτι καὶ γνώμῃ, καὶ
τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἥγουμένοις ὑπὸ ἀνάγκης αὐτῶν
ἐς τὰ ἴδια ἐπιδεῖσθαι. τό τε αὐτομολεῖν, πάλαι
Ῥωμαίοις ἀδιάλλακτον ὅν, τότε καὶ δωρεῶν
ἡξιοῦτο· καὶ ἐπρασσον αὐτὸν οἵ τε στρατοὶ
κατὰ πλῆθος καὶ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἀνδρῶν ἔνιοι,
νομίζοντες οὐκ αὐτομολίαν εἶναι τὴν ἐς τὰ ὅμοια
μεταβολήν. ὅμοια γὰρ δὴ πάντα ἦν, καὶ οὐδὲ
ἔτερα αὐτῶν ἐς ἔχθραν κοινὴν Ῥωμαίοις ἀπεκέ-
κριτο· ἢ τε τῶν στρατηγῶν ὑπόκρισις μία, ὡς
ἀπάντων ἐς τὰ συμφέροντα τῇ πατρίδι βοηθούν-
των, εὐχερεστέρους ἐποίει πρὸς τὴν μεταβολὴν

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

importunity ; they condemned themselves and asked CHAP.
him to search out and punish the slayers of Nonius. II
He replied that he knew them and would punish
them only with their own guilty consciences and the
condemnation of their comrades. The soldiers, thus
honoured with pardon, rewards, and gifts, changed
at once to joyful acclamations.

17. Let these two instances out of many serve as examples of the prevailing insubordination. The cause was that the generals, for the most part, as is usually the case in civil wars, were not regularly chosen ; that their armies were not drawn from the enrolment according to the custom of the fathers, nor for the benefit of their country ; that they did not serve the public so much as they did the individuals who brought them together ; and that they served these not by the force of law, but by reason of private promises ; not against the common enemy, but against private foes ; not against foreigners, but against fellow-citizens, their equals in rank. All these things impaired military discipline, and the soldiers thought that they were not so much serving in the army as lending assistance, by their own favour and judgment, to leaders who needed them for their own personal ends. Desertion, which had formerly been unpardonable, was now actually rewarded with gifts, and whole armies resorted to it, including some illustrious men, who did not consider it desertion to change to a like cause, for all parties were alike, since neither of them could be distinguished as battling against the common enemy of the Roman people. The common pretence of the generals that they were all striving for the good of the country made desertion easy in the thought that

Insubordin-
ation and
desertion
and the
causes
thereof

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. II. ώς πανταχοῦ τῇ πατρίδι βοηθοῦντας. ἀ καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ συνιέντες ἔφερον, ώς οὐ νόμῳ μᾶλλον αὐτῶν ἄρχοντες ἢ ταῖς δωρεαῖς.

III

CAP. III. 18. Οὗτοι μὲν ἐστάσεις τότε πάντα, καὶ ἐστὶ δυσαρχίαιν τοῖς στασιάρχοις τὰ στρατόπεδα ἐτέτραπτο, τὴν δὲ Ῥώμην λιμὸς ἐπίεζεν, οὔτε τῆς θαλάσσης τι αὐτοῖς φερούσης διὰ Πομπήιου, οὔτε τῆς Ἰταλίας διὰ τοὺς πολέμους γεωργουμένης. ὃ δὲ καὶ γένοιτο, ἐστὶ τοὺς στρατοὺς ἔδαπανάτο. ἐκλώπευόν τε οἱ πολλοὶ νυκτὸς ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ κλοπῆς ἔτι βιαιότερον ἡνῶχλουν, καὶ ἡνῶχλουν ἀδεῶς, καὶ ἡ δόξα ἐστὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐφέρετο. ὃ δὲ λεὼς ἀπέκλειε τὰ ἐργάστηρια καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἔξανίστη, ώς οὔτε ἄρχῶν οὔτε τεχνῶν χρήζοντες ἐν ἀπορούσῃ καὶ ληστευομένη πόλει.

19. Λευκίφ δὲ ὅντι δημοτικῷ καὶ δυσχεραίνοντι τῇ τῶν τριῶν ἀρχῇ, οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τῷ χρόνῳ παύσεσθαι νομίζομένη, προσκρούσματα ἐστὶ τὸν Καίσαρα ἐγίγνετο καὶ διαφορὰ μείζους· τούς τε γεωργούς, ὅσοι τῆς γῆς ἀφηροῦντο, ἵκετας γιγνομένους τῶν δυνατῶν ἑκάστου μόνος ὑπεδέχετο καὶ βοηθήσειν ὑπισχνεῖτο, κάκείνων ὑπισχνουμένων ἀμυνεῖν, ἐστὶ δὲ κελεύοι. ὅθεν αὐτὸν ὁ στρατὸς ὁ Ἀντωνίου κατεμέμφετο καὶ ὁ Καίσαρ ώς ἀντιπράσσοντα Ἀντωνίῳ, καὶ Φουλβίᾳ ώς πολεμοποιοῦντα ἐν

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

one could serve his country in any party. Under-
standing these facts the generals tolerated this be-
haviour, for they knew that their authority over their
armies depended on donatives rather than on law.

III

18. Thus, everything was torn in factions, and the armies indulged in insubordination toward the leaders of the factions, while famine began to afflict Rome, the supplies by sea being cut off by Pompeius, and Italian agriculture ruined by the wars. Whatever food was produced was consumed by the troops. Most of them committed robberies by night in the city. There were acts of violence worse than robbery which went unpunished, and these were supposed to have been committed by soldiers. The people closed their shops and drove the magistrates from their places as though there were no need of courts of justice, or of the useful arts, in a city oppressed by hunger and infested with brigands.

19. Lucius Antonius, who was a republican and ill affected toward the triumvirate, which seemed not likely to come to an end at the appointed time, fell into controversy, and even graver differences, with Octavian. He alone received kindly, and promised aid to the agriculturists who had been deprived of their lands and who were now the suppliants of every man of importance ; and they promised to carry out his orders. So Antony's soldiers, and Octavian also, blamed him for working against Antony's interests, and Fulvia blamed him for stirring up war at an inopportune time, until Manius

Lucius
Antonius
espouses
the cause
of the
citizens

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. άκαίρῳ, μέχρι τὴν Φουλβίαν ὁ Μάνιος πανούργως μετεδίδαξεν ώς εἰρηνευομένης μὲν τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐπιμενεῦν Ἀντώνιον Κλεοπάτρᾳ, πολεμουμένης δ' ἀφίξεσθαι κατὰ τάχος. τότε γὰρ! δὴ γυναικός τι παθοῦσα ἡ Φουλβία τὸν Λεύκιον ἐπέτριβεν ἐς τὴν διαφοράν. ἔξιόντος δὲ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐς τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν κατοικίσεων, ἐπεμπειν ἐφομένους αὐτῷ τοὺς Ἀντωνίου παῖδας ἅμα τῷ Λευκίῳ, ώς μηδὲν ἐκ τῆς ὄψεως ὁ Καίσαρ ἐν τῷ στρατῷ πλέον ἔχοι. ἵππεων δὲ Καίσαρος ἐκτρεχόντων ἐπὶ τὴν Βρεττίων ἡιόνα, πορθουμένην ὑπὸ Πομπηίου, δόξας ὁ Λεύκιος ἡ ὑποκρινάμενος ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς Ἀντωνίου παῖδας τόδε τὸ ἵππικὸν ἀπεστάλθαι, διέδραμεν ἐς τὰς Ἀντωνίου κατοικίας, συλλεγόμενος φρουρὰν τῷ σώματι, καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα τῷ στρατῷ διέβαλλεν ἐς ἀπιστίαν πρὸς Ἀντώνιον. ὁ δὲ ἀντεδίδασκεν αὐτούς, ὅτι αὐτῷ μὲν καὶ Ἀντωνίῳ πάντα εἶναι φίλια καὶ κοινά, Λεύκιον δὲ ὑφ' ἑτέρας γνώμης αὐτοὺς πολεμοποιεῦν ἐς ἀλλήλους ἀντιπράσσοντα τῇ τῶν τριῶν ἀρχῇ, δι' ἣν οἱ στρατευόμενοι τὰς ἀποικίας ἔχουσι βεβαίους· καὶ τοὺς ἵππέας εἶναι καὶ νῦν ἐν Βρεττίοις τὰ ἐντεταλμένα φυλάσσοντας.

20. *Ων οἱ ἡγεμόνες τοῦ στρατοῦ πυνθανόμενοι διήτησαν αὐτοῖς ἐν Τεανῷ καὶ συνήλλαξαν ἐπὶ τοῖσδε, τοὺς μὲν ὑπάτους τὰ πάτρια διοικεῖν μὴ κωλυομένους ὑπὸ τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν, μηδενὶ δὲ γῆν ὑπὲρ τοὺς στρατευσαμένους ἐν Φιλίπποις ἐπινέμεσθαι, τά τε χρήματα τῶν δεδημευμένων καὶ τιμᾶς τῶν ἔτι πιπρασκομένων καὶ τὸν στρατὸν Ἀντωνίου τὸν περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπ' ἵσης διανέ-

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

maliciously changed her mind by telling her that as CHAP.
long as Italy remained at peace Antony would stay III
with Cleopatra, but that if war should break out
there he would come back speedily. Then Fulvia,
moved by a woman's jealousy, incited Lucius to dis-
cord. While Octavian was leading out the last of
the colonies she sent the children of Antony,
together with Lucius, to follow him, so that he
should not acquire too great éclat with the army by
being seen alone. A body of Octavian's cavalry
made an expedition to the coast of Bruttium, which
Pompeius was ravaging, and Lucius either thought
or pretended to think that it had been sent against
himself and Antony's children. Accordingly, he
betoak himself to the Antonian colonies to collect a
body-guard, and accused Octavian to the soldiers as
being treacherous to Antony. Octavian replied that
everything was on a friendly and harmonious footing
between himself and Antony, and that Lucius was
trying to stir up a war between them for another
reason, in that he was working against the trium-
virate, by virtue of which the soldiers had a firm
hold upon their colonies, and that the cavalry were
now in Bruttium executing the triumvirate's orders.

20. When the officers of the army learned these
facts, they arbitrated between Lucius and Octavian
at Teanum and brought them to an agreement on
the following terms : That the consuls should exer-
cise their office in the manner of the fathers and not
be hindered by the triumvirs ; that the land should
be assigned only to those who fought at Philippi ;
that of the money derived from confiscated property,
and of the value of that which was still to be sold,
Antony's soldiers in Italy should have an equal share ;

An
arbitration
between
Lucius and
Octavian

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. μεσθαι καὶ μηδέτερον αὐτῶν ἔτι καταλέγειν ἐκ
III τῆς Ἰταλίας, στρατεύοντι δὲ ἐπὶ Πομπήιον τῷ
Καίσαρι δύο συμμαχεῖν τέλη παρὰ Ἀντωνίου,
ἀνεῳχθαι δὲ τὰς Ἀλπεις τοῖς ὑπὸ Καίσαρος
πεμπομένοις ἐς τὴν Ἰβηρίαν καὶ μὴ κωλύειν
αὐτοὺς ἔτι Ἀσίνιον Πολλίωνα, Λεύκιον δὲ ἐπὶ¹
τοῖσδε συνηλλαγμένον ἀποθέσθαι τὴν φρουρὰν
τοῦ σώματος καὶ πολιτεύειν ἀδεῶς. τάδε μὲν ἦν,
ἄ συνέθεντο ἀλλήλοις διὰ τῶν ἡγεμόνων τοῦ
στρατοῦ, ἐπράχθη γε μὴν αὐτῶν δύο μόνα τὰ
τελευταῖα· καὶ Σαλουιδιηνὸς ἄκων αὐτῷ συμ-
περιῆλθε τὰς Ἀλπεις.

21. Οὐ γιγνομένων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἡ βραδυνόν-
των, ἐς Πραινεστὸν ἀνεχώρει Λεύκιος, δεδιέναι
λέγων Καίσαρα διὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν δορυφορούμενον,
αὐτὸς ἀφρούρητος ὡν. ἀνεχώρει δὲ καὶ Φουλβία
πρὸς Λέπιδον, ἥδη λέγουσα περὶ τοῖς τέκνοις
δεδιέναι· τοῦτον γὰρ ἀντὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος προυτί-
θει. καὶ τάδε μὲν ἐγράφετο παρ' ἑκατέρων
Ἀντωνίῳ, καὶ φίλοι μετὰ τῶν γραμμάτων ἐς
αὐτὸν ἐπέμποντο, οἱ διδάξειν ἔμελλον περὶ ἑκάσ-
των. καὶ οὐχ εὑρον ἐρευνώμενος, ὃ τι σαφῶς
ἀντεγράφετο αὐτοῖς. οἱ δὲ τῶν στρατῶν ἡγεμόνες
συνομόσαντες κρινεῖν τοῖς ἄρχουσιν αὐθις, δοκοίη
δίκαιον εἶναι, καὶ τοὺς ἀπειθοῦντας ἐς αὐτὸ
συναναγκάσειν, ἐκάλουν ἐπὶ ταῦτα τοὺς περὶ²
Λεύκιον. οὐ δεξαμένων δ' ἐκείνων, ὁ Καῖσαρ
ἐπιφθόνως αὐτοὺς ἔν τε τοῖς ἡγεμόσι τοῦ στρατοῦ
καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Ῥωμαίων ἀρίστοις ἐπεμέμφετο. οἱ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

that neither Antony nor Octavian should draw CHAP.
soldiers from Italy by conscription hereafter ; that
two of Antony's legions should serve with Octavian
in the campaign against Pompeius ; that the passes
of the Alps should be opened to the forces sent by
Octavian into Spain, and that Asinius Pollio should
not further interfere with them ; that Lucius should
be satisfied with those conditions, should dispense
with his body-guard, and administer his office fear-
lessly. Such was the agreement which they made
with each other through the influence of the officers
of the army. Of these only the two last were
carried into effect, Salvidienus crossing the Alps
with him, but unwillingly.

21. As the other conditions were not carried into effect, or were delayed, Lucius departed to Praeneste, saying that he was in fear of Octavian, who, by virtue of his office, had a guard, while he himself was unprotected. Fulvia went there to meet Lepidus, saying now that she had fears for her children. She used him for a pretext this time instead of Octavian. Both of them wrote these things to Antony, and friends were sent to him with the letters, who were to give him particulars about each complaint. Although I have searched, I have not been able to find any clear account of what Antony wrote in reply. The officers of the armies bound themselves by an oath to act as umpires again between their magistrates, to decide what was right, and to coerce whichever should refuse to obey the decision ; and they summoned Lucius and his friends to attend for this purpose. These refused to come, and Octavian reproached them in invidious terms to the officers of the army and in the presence of the optimates of

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

ΕΑΡ. δὲ ἐξέθεον ἐς τὸν Λεύκιον καὶ παρεκάλουν οἰκτεῖρας
III μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦς ἐμφυλίους τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν,
δέξασθαι δὲ κοινῷ νόμῳ τὴν κρίσιν ἢ ἐπὶ σφῶν ἢ
ἐπὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων γενέσθαι.

22. Αἰδουμένου δὲ τοῦ Λευκίου τά τε λεγόμενα
καὶ τοὺς λέγοντας, ὁ Μάνιος μάλα θρασέως ἔφη
τὸν μὲν Ἀντωνίον οὐδὲν ἀλλ' ἢ χρήματα μόνα
ἀγείρειν ἐν ξένοις ἀνδράσι, τὸν δὲ Καίσαρα καὶ
τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ τὰ ἐπίκαιρα τῆς Ἰταλίας ταῖς
θεραπείας προκαταλαμβάνειν· τὴν τε γὰρ Κελ-
τικὴν Ἀντωνίῳ πρότερον δεδομένην ἐλευθεροῦν
μετ' ἐξαπάτης Ἀντωνίου, καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν σχεδὸν
ἄπασαν ἀντὶ μόνων ὀκτωκαίδεκα πόλεων τοῖς
ἐστρατευμένοις καταγράφειν, τέσσαρσί τε καὶ
τριάκοντα τέλεστιν ἀντὶ ὀκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσι τῶν συμ-
μαχησάντων ἐπινέμειν οὐ γῆν μόνην, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ
ἐκ τῶν Ἱερῶν χρήματα, συλλέγοντα μὲν ὡς ἐπὶ¹
Πομπήιον, ἐφ' ὃν οὐδέ πω παρατάττεται λιμωτ-
τούσης ὅδε τῆς πόλεως, διαιροῦντα δὲ τοῖς στρατοῖς
ἐς θεραπείαν κατὰ Ἀντωνίου καὶ τὰ δεδημευμένα οὐ
πιπράσκοντα μᾶλλον ἢ δωρούμενον αὐτοῖς. χρῆναι
δέ, εἰ τῷ ὄντι εἰρηνεύειν ἐθέλοι, τῶν μὲν ἥδη
διφκημένων ὑποσχεῖν λόγον, ἐς δὲ τὸ μέλλον, ἂν
ἂν κοινῇ βουλευομένοις δοκῆ, μόνα πράσσειν.
οὗτοι μὲν θρασέως ὁ Μάνιος ἡξίου μήτε τὸν
Καίσαρά τιος εἶναι κύριον ἔργου μήτε τὴν Ἀν-
τωνίου συνθήκην βέβαιον, ὡρισμένου τῶν ἐγκε-
χειρισμένων ἐκάτερον αὐτοκράτορα εἶναι καὶ τὸ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

Rome. The latter hastened to Lucius and implored him to have pity on the city and on Italy, torn by the civil wars, and to consent that by common agreement the decision should rest with themselves or with the officers.

22. Although Lucius had respect for the speakers and for what they said, Manius boldly declared that while Antony was doing nothing but collecting money from foreigners, Octavian was, by his favours, preoccupying the affections of the army and the desirable places in Italy ; for that defrauding Antony he had freed Cisalpine Gaul, which had previously been given to Antony ; that he had assigned to the soldiers almost the whole of Italy instead of the eighteen cities ; that, instead of the twenty-eight legions that had participated in the battle, he had admitted thirty-four to a share of the lands and also of the money from the temples, which he had collected on the pretext of fighting Pompeius, against whom he had done nothing as yet, although the city was oppressed by famine ; that he had distributed this money in order to curry favour with the soldiers, to the prejudice of Antony, and that the property of the proscribed had been not so much sold as given to the soldiers outright ; and, finally, that if he really wanted peace he should give his account for what he had already done, and for the future do only what should be agreed upon in common. Thus arrogantly did Manius proclaim his views, implying that Octavian could not do anything by his own authority and that his agreement with Antony was of no validity, although it provided that each should have absolute power over the affairs committed to him, and that each should ratify what

The trouble
breaks out
afresh

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. πρασσόμενον ὑπὸ ἀλλήλων εἶναι κύριον. παν-
III ταχόθεν οὖν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἔώρα πολεμησέοντας
αὐτούς, καὶ παρεσκευάζοντο αὐτῶν ἐκάτεροι.

23. Δύο δὲ στρατοῦ τέλη τὰ ἐς Ἀγκῶνα πόλιν
φύκισμένα, Καίσαρί τε δοντα πατρῷα καὶ ἐστρατευ-
μένα Ἀντωνίῳ, τῆς τε ἴδιας παρασκευῆς αὐτῶν
πυθόμενοι καὶ τὴν εἰς ἐκάτερον σφῶν οἰκειότητα
αιδούμενοι, πρέσβεις ἐπεμψαν ἐς Ῥώμην, οἱ ἔμελ-
λον ἐκατέρων ἐς διαλύσεις δεήσεσθαι. Καίσαρος
δ' αὐτοῖς εἰπόντος οὐκ Ἀντωνίῳ πολεμεῖν, ἀλλ'
ὑπὸ Λευκίου πολεμεῖσθαι, συμβαλόντες οἱ πρέσ-
βεις τοῖς ἡγεμόσι τοῦδε τοῦ στρατοῦ, κοινῇ πάντες
ἐς Λεύκιον ἐπρέσβευον, ἀξιοῦντες αὐτὸν ἐς δίκην
Καίσαρι συνελθεῖν· δῆλοί τε ἡσαν, δι πράξειν
ἔμελλον, εἰ μὴ τὴν κρίσιν ὑποδέχοιτο. δεξαμένων
δὲ τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Λεύκιον, χωρίον τε ὥριστο τῇ
δίκῃ Γάβιοι πόλις ἐν μέσῳ Ῥώμης τε καὶ Πραινεσ-
τοῦ, καὶ συνέδριον τοῖς κρίνουσιν ἐγίνετο καὶ
βήματα ἐν μέσῳ δύο τοῖς ἐροῦσιν ώς ἐν δίκῃ.
πρότερος δ' ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐλθὼν ἵππεας ἐπεμψεν ἐς
τὴν πάροδον τοῦ Λευκίου, ἐρευνησομένους ἄρα,
μή τίς ποθεν ὄρῳτο ἐνέδρα. καὶ οἱ ἵππεες αἷδε
ἐτέροις ἵππεῦσι τοῦ Λευκίου, προδρόμοις ἄρα ἦ
καὶ τοῦσδε κατασκόποις, συμβαλόντες ἔκτεινάν
τινας αὐτῶν. καὶ ἀνεχώρησε δείσας ὁ Λεύκιος,
ώς ἔλεγεν, ἐπιβουλήν· καλούμενός τε ὑπὸ τῶν
ἡγεμόνων τοῦ στρατοῦ, παραπέμψειν αὐτὸν ὑπισχ-
νουμένων, οὐκέτι ἐπείθετο.

24. Οὕτω μὲν ἡσαν αἱ διαλύσεις ἄπρακτοι, καὶ
πολεμεῖν ἐγνώκεσαν καὶ διαγράμμασιν ἤδη πικροῖς

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

was done by the other. When Octavian saw that CHAP.
they were everywhere preparing for war, each side III
made similar preparations.

23. Two legions of the army which had been colonised at Ancona and which had served under the elder Caesar and under Antony, hearing of the respective preparations for war, and being moved by friendship for each of them, sent ambassadors to Rome to beseech them both to come to an agreement. Octavian replied that he was not making war against Antony, but that Lucius was making war against him. The ambassadors then united with the officers of this army in a common embassy to Lucius asking him to submit his controversy with Octavian to a tribunal; and they made it plain what they would do if he should not accept the decision. Lucius and his friends accepted the proposal, and fixed the place for the trial at Gabii, a city midway between Rome and Praeneste. A council-chamber was prepared for the arbiters, and two platforms for the speakers in the centre, as in a regular trial. Octavian, who arrived first, sent some horsemen along the road by which Lucius was to come, in order to find out whether any stratagem was discoverable. These met certain horsemen of Lucius, either his advance guard or men spying like the others, and as the two parties came into collision killed some of them. Lucius retreated, saying that he was afraid of being entrapped, and, although recalled by the officers of the army, who promised to escort him, he could not be persuaded to come again.

24. Thus the negotiations came to nothing, and Octavian and Lucius resolved upon war and issued proclamations even now full of bitterness against each

Another arbitration proposed

The negotiations are fruitless

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. κατ' ἄλληλων ἔχρωντο. στρατὸς δὲ ἦν Λευκίῳ
 III μὲν ὄπλιτῶν ἔξι τέλη, ὅσα αὐτὸς ἐσ τὴν ὑπατείαν
 ἐλθὼν ἐστράτευσε, καὶ τὰ Ἀντωνίου ἔνδεκα ἔτερα,
 ὧν ἐστρατήγει Καληνός, σύμπαντα ταῦτα ἀνὰ
 τὴν Ἰταλίαν· Καίσαρι δὲ ἐν μὲν Καπύῃ τέσσαρα
 ἦν τέλη, καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν αἱ στρατηγίδες, ἔξι δὲ
 ἔτερα Σαλουνιδηνὸς ἥγεν ἔξι Ιβηρίας. καὶ χρήματα
 ἦν Λευκίῳ μὲν ἔξι ἑθνῶν τῶν ὑπὸ τὸν Ἀντωνιον οὐ
 πολεμουμένων, Καίσαρι δέ, ἀ εἰλήχει, πάντα χωρὶς
 Σαρδοῦς ἐπολεμεῖτο, δθεν ἐκ τῶν ιερῶν ἐδανεί-
 ζετο, σὺν χάριτι ἀποδώσειν ὑπισχνούμενος, ἀπό
 τε Ῥώμης ἐκ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου καὶ ἀπὸ Ἀντίου καὶ
 Λανουβίου καὶ Νεμοῦς καὶ Τίβυρος, ἐν αἷς μάλιστα
 πόλεσι καὶ νῦν εἰσι θησαυροὶ χρημάτων ιερῶν
 δαψιλεῖς.

25. Τετάρακτο δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ τῆς Ἰταλίας
 ἔξω. Πομπήιος γάρ ἐκ τῶν προγραφῶν καὶ
 κατοικίσεων τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ τῆσδε τῆς Λευκίου
 διαφορᾶς ἐπὶ μέγα δόξης καὶ δυνάμεως ἡρτο. οἱ
 γὰρ περὶ σφῶν δεδιότες ἡ τὰ δοντα ἀφαιρούμενοι
 ἢ τὴν πολιτείαν ὅλως ἀποστρεφόμενοι ἐσ αὐτὸν
 ἔχώρουν μάλιστα· καὶ ἡ ἄλλη ὕεότης ὡρμημένη
 στρατεύεσθαι διὰ τὰ κέρδη καὶ οὐδὲν ἥγονύμενοι
 διαφέρειν, ὑφ' ὅτῳ στρατεύσονται, Ῥωμαίοις παν-
 ταχοῦ συστρατευόμενοι, μᾶλλον ἐσ τὸν Πομ-
 πήιον ἔχώρουν ώς δικαιότερα αἰρούμενον. γεγέ-
 νητό τε πλούσιος ἐκ τῆς θαλασσίου λείας καὶ ναῦς
 εἶχε πολλὰς καὶ πληρώματα ἐντελῇ. Μοῦρκός
 τε ἀφίκτο αὐτῷ δύο ἄγων στρατοῦ τέλη καὶ
 τοξότας πεντακοσίους καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ καὶ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

other. The army of Lucius consisted of six legions CHAP of infantry, which he commanded by virtue of his consulship, and eleven others belonging to Antony, which were under the command of Calenus; these were all in Italy. Octavian had four legions at Capua and his praetorian cohorts about his person. Salvidienus was leading six other legions to Spain.¹ Lucius had supplies of money from Antony's provinces where peace prevailed. But war was raging in all the provinces that had fallen to the lot of Octavian except Sardinia,² for which reason he borrowed money from the temples, promising to return it with thanks—from the Capitoline temple at Rome, from those of Antium, of Lanuvium, of Nemus,³ and of Tibur, in which cities there are to-day the most abundant stores of consecrated money.

25. The affairs of Octavian were in disorder outside of Italy also. For Pompeius, by reason of the proscription, the colonising of the soldiers, and these dissensions with Lucius, had gained much in reputation and power. Those who feared for their safety, or had been despoiled of their property, or who utterly abhorred the form of government, mostly went and joined him. Young men, also, eager for military service for the sake of gain, who thought that it made no difference under whom they served, since all service was Roman service, rather preferred to join Pompeius as representing the better cause. He had become rich by sea-robbery and had a numerous fleet and full crews. Murcus joined him with two legions of soldiers, 500 archers, a large

Growing
power of
Sextus
Pompeius

¹ The text says “from Spain,” but this is obviously an error, perhaps Appian’s own. See c. 27 below.

² There is perhaps a gap in the text here. ³ Near Aricia.

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. ναῦς ὁγδοήκοντα· καὶ τὸν ἄλλον στρατὸν ἐκ
III Κεφαληνίας μετεπέμπετο. ὅθεν τισὶ δοκεῖ τότε
ὁ Πομπήιος ἐπελθὼν εὐμαρῶς ἀν τῆς Ἰταλίας
κρατήσαι, ὑπό τε λιμοῦ καὶ στάσεως διεφθαρ-
μένης καὶ ἐς αὐτὸν ἀφορώσης.

26. Ἀλλὰ Πομπήιῳ μὲν ὑπὸ ἀφροσύνης οὐκ ἐπι-
χειρεῖν, ἀλλὰ ἀμύνεσθαι μόνον ἐδόκει, μέχρι καὶ
τοῦδε ἥσσων ἐγένετο· ἐν δὲ Λιβύῃ Σέξτιος,
ὕπαρχος Ἀντωνίου, παρεδεδώκει μὲν ἄρτι τὸν
στρατόν, ὑπὸ Λευκίου κεκελευσμένος, Φάγγωνι
τῷ Καίσαρος, ἐπισταλὲν αὐθις ἀναλαμβάνειν
αὐτὸν οὐκ ἀποδιδόντι τῷ Φάγγωνι ἐπολέμει,
συναγαγών τινας τῶν ἀπεστρατευμένων καὶ Λι-
βύων πλῆθος ἄλλο καὶ ἔτερους παρὰ τῶν βασι-
λέων. ἡτηθέντων δὲ τῶν κερῶν ἑκατέρων καὶ
ληφθέντων τῶν στρατοπέδων, ὁ Φάγγων ἤγου-
μενος ἐκ προδοσίας τάδε παθεῖν αὐτὸν διεχρή-
σατο. καὶ Λιβύης μὲν αὐθις ὁ Σέξτιος ἑκατέρας
ἐκράτει· Βόκχον δὲ τὸν Μαυρουσίων βασιλέα
Λεύκιος ἐπεισε πολεμεῖν Καρρίνα τῷ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν
ἐπιτροπεύοντι τῷ Καίσαρι. Ἀγνόβαρβός τε
ἔβδομήκοντα ναυσὶ καὶ στρατοῦ δύο τέλεσι καὶ
τοξόταις καὶ σφενδονήταις τισὶ καὶ ψιλοῖς καὶ
μοιομάχοις περιπλέων τὸν Ἰόνιον ἐπόρθει τὰ τοῖς
τρισὶν ἀνδράσιν ὑπήκοα, ἐς τε τὸ Βρευτέσιον
ἐπιπλεύσας τῶν Καίσαρος τριήρων τὰς μὲν εἴλε,
τὰς δὲ ἐνέπρησε, καὶ τοὺς Βρευτεσίους ἐς τὰ
τείχη κατέκλεισε καὶ τὴν χώραν προυνόμευεν.

27. Ο δὲ Καίσαρ ἐς τὸ Βρευτέσιον στρατιω-
τῶν τέλος ἐπεμπεῖ καὶ Σαλονιδηνὸν κατὰ σπου-
δὶν ἐκ τῆς ἐς Ἰβηρίαν ὄδον μετεκάλει. τούς τε
στρατολογήσοντας σφίσιν ἀνὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὁ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

sum of money, and eighty ships; he also sent for CHAP.
the other army from Cephallenia. Accordingly,^{III} some persons think that if Pompeius had then invaded Italy, which was wasted with famine and civil strife, and was looking for him, he might easily have mastered it.

26. But Pompeius lacked wisdom. His idea was not to invade, but only to defend, and this he did till he failed in that also. In Africa Sextius, ^{Affairs} Antony's lieutenant, had just delivered his army, in ^{in Africa} pursuance of an order from Lucius, to Fango, a lieutenant of Octavian. He was ordered to resume the command, and as Fango would not relinquish it he collected a force composed of retired veterans, a miscellaneous crowd of Africans, and auxiliaries of the native princes, and made war on him. Fango, having been defeated on both wings and having lost his camp, thought that he had been betrayed, and committed suicide; and Sextius again became master of the two African provinces. Bocchus, king of Mauretania, at the instance of Lucius, made war on Carinas, who was Octavian's procurator in Spain. Ahenobarbus, who was patrolling the Adriatic with seventy ships, two legions of soldiers, and a force of archers and slingers, light-armed troops and gladiators, devastated the regions subject to the triumvirs. He sailed against Brundusium, captured some of the triremes of Octavian, burned others, shut the inhabitants up in their walls, and plundered their territory.

27. Octavian sent a legion of soldiers to Brundusium and hastily recalled Salvidienus from his march to Spain. Both Octavian and Lucius sent recruiting officers throughout Italy, who had skir- ^{Beginning of hostilities}

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

III Καίσαρ καὶ ὁ Λεύκιος περιέπεμπον πεῦραι τε τούτων τῶν ξεναγῶν ἥσαν ἐς ἀλλήλους βραχύτεραι καὶ μείζους καὶ ἐνέδραι πολλάκις. ἡ δὲ εὔνοια τῶν Ἰταλῶν ἐς τὸν Λεύκιον παρὰ πολὺ ἐποίει, ὡς ὑπὲρ σφῶν τοῖς κληρουχουμένοις πολεμοῦντα. καὶ οὐχ αἱ καταγραφόμεναι τῷ στρατῷ πόλεις ἔτι μόναι, ἀλλ' ἡ Ἰταλία σχεδὸν ἄπασα ἀνίστατο, φοβουμένη τὰ ὅμοια· τοὺς τε τῷ Καίσαρι κιχραμένους ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων ἐκβάλλοντες ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ἡ ἀναιροῦντες, τὰ τείχη σφῶν διὰ χειρὸς εἰχον καὶ πρὸς τὸν Λεύκιον ἔχωρουν. ἔχώρουν δὲ καὶ οἱ κατοικιζόμενοι τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα, ὡς ἐς οἰκεῖον ἥδη πόλεμον ὑπὲρ σφῶν ἐκάτεροι διαρούμενοι.

28. Καὶ τῶνδε γυγνομένων ὁ Καίσαρ ὅμως ἔτι τήν τε βουλὴν καὶ τοὺς καλουμένους ἵππεας συναγαγὼν ἔλεγεν ὅδε· “καταγινώσκομαι μέν, εὖ οἶδα, ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ Λεύκιον, οὐκ ἀμυνόμενος αὐτούς, εἰς ἀσθένειαν ἡ ἀτολμίαν, ἀ καὶ νῦν μου καταγινώσονται διὰ τήνδε τὴν σύνοδον ὑμῶν· ἐμοὶ δὲ ἔρρωται μὲν ὁ στρατός, ὃσος τέ μοι συναδικεῖται τὴν κληρουχίαν ἀφαιρούμενος ὑπὸ Λευκίου καὶ ὁ ἄλλος, διν ἔχω, ἔρρωται δὲ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πλὴν τῆς γυνώμης μόνης. οὐ γάρ ἥδυ μοι πολεμεῖν ἐμφυλίους πολέμους χωρὶς ἀνάγκης βαρείας, οὐδὲ καταχρῆσθαι τῶν πολιτῶν τοῖς ἔτι λοιποῖς κατ' ἄλλήλων, καὶ μάλιστα τοῦδε τοῦ ἐμφυλίου οὐκ ἐκ Μακεδονίας ὑμῖν ἡ Θράκης ἀκουσθησομένου, ἀλλ' ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ γενησομένου, ἦν πόσα χρὴ χωρὶς τῶν ἀπολλυμένων ἀνδρῶν κακοπαθῆσαι, γυγνομένην στάδιον ἥμин. ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ διὰ τάδε ὀκνῶ καὶ νῦν ἔτι μαρτύρομαι μηδὲν

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

mishes with each other of more or less importance, and frequent ambuscades. The good-will of the Italians was of great service to Lucius, as the latter believed that he was fighting for them against the new colonists. Not only the cities that had been designated for the army, but almost the whole of Italy, rose, fearing like treatment. They drove out of the towns, or killed, those who were borrowing money from the temples for Octavian, manned their walls, and joined Lucius. On the other hand, the colonised soldiers joined Octavian. Each one in both parties took sides as though this were his own war.

28. Though these events were taking place, Octavian nevertheless convoked the Senate and the equestrian order and addressed them as follows : " I know very well that I am accused by Lucius and his friends of weakness and want of courage because I do not fight them, and that I shall be still further accused on account of my calling you together. But I have strong forces who have suffered wrong in common with me, both those who have been dispossessed of their colonies by Lucius and the others whom I have in hand ; and I am strong in all other respects except only in the purpose to fight. I am not fond of fighting in civil wars except under dire necessity, or of wasting the remainder of our citizens in conflicts with each other ; least of all in this civil war, whose horrors will not be announced to us from Macedonia or Thrace, but will take place in Italy itself, which, if it becomes the field of battle, must suffer countless evils in addition to the loss of life. For these reasons I hesitate. And now I do still protest

I
Octavian
seeks peace

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. ἀδικεῖν Ἀντώνιον μηδὲ ἀδικεῖσθαι πρὸς Ἀντώνιον· ὑμᾶς δὲ ἐλέγξαι τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Λεύκιον τάδε δι' ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς καὶ συναλλάξαι μοι παρακαλῶ. καὶ εἰ μὴ πείθοιντο μηδὲ νῦν, ἐκείνοις μὲν αὐτίκα δείξω τὰ μέχρι νῦν εὐθουλίαν, οὐ δειλίαν οὖσαν, ὑμᾶς δὲ καὶ παρ' ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς καὶ πρὸς Ἀντώνιον ἀξιῶ μάρτυρας εἶναι μοι καὶ συνίστασθαι διὰ τὴν ὑπεροψίαν Λευκίου."

29. Ταῦτ' εἶπεν ὁ Καῖσαρ. καὶ τούτων οἱ μὲν δὴ πάλιν ἔστι τὸ Πραινεστὸν ἔξέτρεχον· καὶ ὁ Λεύκιος τοσόνδε εἶπεν, ὅτι καὶ τῶν ἔργων ἡδη προειλήφασιν ἀμφότεροι καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ὑποκρίνεται, τέλος ἄρτι πέμψας ἔστι τὸ Βρεντέσιον κωλύειν Ἀντώνιον ἐπανιόντα. ὁ δὲ Μάνιος καὶ ἐπιστολὴν ἔδεικνυε τοῦ Ἀντωνίου, εἴτε πλασάμενος εἴτε ἀληθῆ, πολεμεῖν, ἐάν τις αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀξίωσιν καθαιρῇ. ἐρομένων δὲ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Βουλῆς, εἰ καθαιροῦτό τι τῆς ἀξιώσεως Ἀντωνίου, καὶ προκαλουμένων ἔστι δίκην περὶ τοῦδε, ἔτερα αὖ πολλὰ ἐσοφίζετο ὁ Μάνιος, ἔως οἱ μὲν ἀπῆλθον ἀπρακτοί, καὶ οὐ συνῆλθον ἔστι τὴν ἀπόκρισιν τῷ Καίσαρι, εἴτε καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀπαγγείλας ἔκαστος εἴτε δι' ἑτέραν γνώμην εἴτε ὑπὸ αἰδοῦς· ὁ δὲ πόλεμος ἀνέψκτο, καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἔξήει, φύλακα τῆς Ρώμης Λέπιδον σὺν δύο τέλεσι καταλιπών. οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν τότε μάλιστα ἐπεδείκνυον οὐκ ἀρέσκεσθαι τῇ τῶν τριῶν ἀρχῇ· ἔστι γὰρ τὸν Λεύκιον ἔχώρουν.

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

that I do Antony no wrong, nor do I suffer any wrong CHAP.
from him, but I beseech you to reason with Lucius III
and his friends on your own account, and to bring
them to a reconciliation with me. If you cannot
even now persuade them, I shall presently show them
that I have hitherto been moved by good-will, not by
cowardice ; and I ask you to be witnesses for me not
only among yourselves, but also to Antony, and to
sustain me on account of the arrogance of Lucius."

29. So spake Octavian. Thereupon some of his hearers went again to Praeneste. Lucius said to them merely, that both sides had already begun hostilities, that Octavian was practising deception ; for he had lately sent a legion to Brundusium to prevent Antony from coming home. Manius showed also a letter of Antony's, either true or fictitious, saying that they should fight if anybody assailed his dignity. When the senators asked if anybody had assailed Antony's dignity, and urged Manius to submit that question to trial, he indulged in many other quibbles till they went away unsuccessful. Nor did they collectively bring any answer to Octavian, either because they had communicated it each for himself, or because they were ashamed, or for some other reason. The war broke out and Octavian set forth to take part in it, leaving Lepidus with two legions to guard Rome. Most of the aristocrats then most clearly showed, by joining Lucius, that they were not pleased with the rule of the triumvirs.

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

IV

CAP.
^{IV} 30. Καὶ ἦν τὰ κεφαλαια τοῦ πολέμου τοιάδε. Λευκίου μὲν δὴ δύο τέλη περὶ Ἀλβην ἐστασίασε καὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἐκβαλόντα ἐστασιν ἔχώρει· ἐπειγομένων δὲ ἐστασιν ἀπόστασιν ἔχώρει· Φουρνίου δὲ ἄλλον στρατὸν ἄγοντος τῷ Λευκίῳ, ὁ Καῖσαρ ἔξήπτετο τῆς οὐραγίας· ἐστασία δὲ λόφον ἀναδραμόντι τῷ Φουρνίῳ καὶ νυκτὸς ἐστασία δὲ ὁμογνώμονα πόλιν ἐπειγομένῳ Σεντίαν, νυκτὸς μὲν οὐχ ἔσπετο ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐνέδραν ὑποπτεύων, ἡμέρας δὲ τὴν τε Σεντίαν ὁμοῦ καὶ τὸ τοῦ Φουρνίου στρατόπεδον ἐπολιόρκει. Λεύκιος δὲ ἐστασία Ρώμην ἐπειγόμενος τρεῖς μὲν τάξεις προύπεμψεν, αὖτις νυκτὸς ἔλαθον ἐστασία τὴν πόλιν ἐσδραμοῦσαι, αὐτὸς δὲ σὺν πολλῷ στρατῷ καὶ ἵππεῦσι καὶ μονομάχοις εἶπετο. καὶ αὐτὸν Νωνίου τοῦ φύλακος τῶν πυλῶν δεξαμένου τε καὶ τὸν ὑφ' αὐτῷ στρατὸν ἐγχειρίσαντος, ὁ μὲν Λέπιδος ἐστασία Καῖσαρα ἔφευγεν, ὁ δὲ Λεύκιος Ρωμαίοις ἐδημηγόρει, Καῖσαρα μὲν καὶ Λέπιδον αὐτίκα δώσειν δίκην ἀρχῆς βιαίου, τὸν δὲ ἀδελφὸν αὐτὴν ἐκόντα ἀποθήσεσθαι καὶ ὑπατείαν ἀλλάξεσθαι, νομιμωτέραν ἀρχὴν παρανόμου καὶ πάτριον ἀντὶ τῆς τυραννικῆς.

31. Καὶ ὁ μὲν τάδε εἶπών, ἡδομένων ἀπάντων καὶ ἡγουμένων ἥδη λελύσθαι τὴν τῶν τριῶν ἀρχῆν, αὐτοκράτωρ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου προσαγορευθεὶς ἐπὶ τὸν Καῖσαρα ἔχώρει καὶ στρατὸν ἥθροιζεν ἄλλον

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

IV

30. THE following were the principal events of the CHAP.
war. A sedition broke out in two of Lucius' legions ^{IV} at Alba, which expelled their commanding officers and began to revolt. Both Octavian and Lucius hastened to them. Lucius arrived there first and kept them by a large donative and great promises. While Furnius was bringing a reinforcement to Lucius, Octavian fell upon his rearguard. Furnius took refuge on a hill and withdrew by night to Sentia, a city of his own faction. Octavian did not dare to follow by night, suspecting an ambush, but the next day he laid siege to Sentia and Furnius' camp together. Lucius, who was hastening toward Rome, sent forward three cohorts, which effected an entrance into the city clandestinely by night. He followed with his main army and some cavalry and gladiators. Nonius, who had charge of the gates, admitted him, and handed over to him the forces under his own command. Lepidus fled to Octavian. Lucius made a speech to the citizens, saying that he should visit punishment upon Octavian and Lepidus for their lawless rule, and that his brother would voluntarily resign his share of it and accept the consulship, exchanging an unlawful magistracy for a lawful one, a tyranny for the constitution of their fathers.

Lucius
declares his
intention to
restore the
republic

31. All were delighted with this speech, and thought that the government of the triumvirs was already ended. Lucius was saluted as imperator by the people. He marched against Octavian, and collected a fresh army from the cities colonized

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. έκ τῶν ἀποικίδων Ἀντωνίου πόλεων καὶ αὐτὰς
^{IV} ἐκρατύνατο. αἱ δὲ δὶ' εὔνοίας μὲν ἡσαν Ἀντωνίφ, Βαρβάτιος δὲ ὁ Ἀντωνίου ταμίας, Ἀντωνίφ τι προσκρούσας καὶ διὰ ταῦτ' ἐπανιών, ἔλεγε πυνθανομένοις τὸν Ἀντώνιον χαλεπαίνειν τοῖς πολεμοῦσι τῷ Καίσαρι κατὰ τῆς κοινῆς σφῶν δυναστείας. καὶ οἱ μέν, ὅσοι μὴ τῆς ἔξαπάτης ἥσθοντο τῆς Βαρβατίου, ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα ἀπὸ τοῦ Λευκίου μετετίθεντο· ὁ δὲ Λεύκιος ὑπήντα Σαλουιδιηνῷ μετὰ στρατοὺς πολλοὺς πρὸς Καίσαρα ἐκ Κελτῶν ἐπανιόντι. καὶ εἴποντο τῷ Σαλουιδιηνῷ Ἀσίνιός τε καὶ Οὐεντίδιος, Ἀντωνίου στρατηγοὶ καὶ οἵδε, κωλύοντες αὐτὸν ἐς τὸ πρόσθεν ιέναι. Ἀγρίππας δέ, φίλτατος Καίσαρι, δείσας ἐπὶ τῷ Σαλουιδιηνῷ μὴ κυκλωθείη, Σούτριον κατέλαβε, χωρίον τι χρήσιμον τῷ Λευκίφ, νομίσας τὸν Λευκίον ἀπὸ τοῦ Σαλουιδιηνοῦ περισπάσειν ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν καὶ οἱ τὸν Σαλουιδιηνὸν βοηθήσειν, κατόπιν τοῦ Λευκίου γενόμενον. καὶ τάδε μέν, ὡς προσεδόκησεν ὁ Ἀγρίππας, ἐγίγνετο ἄπαντα· ὁ δὲ Λεύκιος ἀποτυχὼν ὧν ἐπενόει, πρὸς Ἀσίνιον καὶ Οὐεντίδιον ἦει, ἐνοχλούντων αὐτὸν ἐκατέρωθεν Σαλουιδιηνοῦ τε καὶ Ἀγρίππου καὶ φυλασσόντων, ὅτε μάλιστα περιλάβοιεν ἐν τοῖς στενοῖς.

32. Ἐκφανείσης δὲ παρ' αὐτὰ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ὁ Λεύκιος οὐ θαρρῶν ἀμφοτέροις ἐκατέρωθεν οὖσιν ἐς χεῖρας ιέναι ἐς Περυσίαν παρῆλθεν, ἔχυρὰν πόλιν, καὶ παρ' αὐτὴν ἐστρατοπέδευσε, τοὺς περὶ τὸν Οὐεντίδιον περιμένων. ὅμοιον δ' αὐτὸν τε καὶ τὴν Περυσίαν ὁ Ἀγρίππας καὶ ὁ Σαλουιδιηνὸς καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπελθὼν τρισὶ στρατοπέδοις ἐκυκλώ-

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

by Antony's soldiers, and strengthened their fortifications. These colonies were well affected toward ^{CHAP.} IV Antony. Barbatius, Antony's quaestor, who had had some difficulty with him and was returning home for that reason, said, in answer to inquiries, that Antony was displeased with those who were making war on Octavian to the prejudice of their common sway: whereupon some, who were not aware of the deception practised by Barbatius, changed sides from Lucius to Octavian. Lucius put ^{He} himself in the way of Salvidienus, who was returning to Octavian with a large army from Gaul. Asinius and Ventidius, also Antony's generals, were following Salvidienus to prevent him from advancing. Agrippa, who was the closest friend of Octavian, fearing lest Salvidienus should be surrounded, seized Sutrium, a stronghold very useful to Lucius, expecting that he would turn Lucius from Salvidienus and draw him upon himself, and that Salvidienus, who would then be in the rear of Lucius, would assist him (Agrippa). It all turned out as Agrippa had anticipated. So Lucius, having failed of his undertaking, marched to join Asinius and Ventidius. Salvidienus and Agrippa harassed him on both sides, watching especially for an opportunity to catch him in the defiles.

seeks to intercept Salvidienus

Agrippa prevents him

32. When Lucius perceived their design he did not dare to come to an engagement with both of them closing in upon him; so he turned aside to Perusia, a strongly fortified city, and encamped near it, to wait there for Ventidius. Agrippa, Salvidienus, and Octavian advanced against him and against Perusia and enclosed them with three armies

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

**CAP. σαντο· καὶ τὸν ἄλλον στρατὸν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐκάλει
IV πανταχόθεν κατὰ σπουδὴν ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦτο δὴ κεφάλαιον τοῦ πολέμου, ἐν φέτῃ Λεύκιον εἶχε περιειλημμένον. προύπεμπε δὲ καὶ ἑτέρους, ἐμποδὼν εἰναι τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Οὐεντίδιον ἐπιοῦσιν. οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ διὰ σφῶν ὕκνουν ἐπείγεσθαι, τόν τε πόλεμον ἀποδοκιμάζοντες ὅλως καὶ τὴν Ἀντωνίου γνώμην οὐκ ἐπιστάμενοι καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τῆς στρατιᾶς οὐ παριέντες ἀλλήλοις κατ' ἀξίωσιν οὐδέτερος. ὁ δὲ Λεύκιος οὗτ' ἐς μάχην ἦε τοῖς περικαθημένοις, ἀμείνοσι καὶ πλέοσιν οὖσι καὶ γεγυμνασμένοις, νεοστράτευτον ἔχων τὸ πλέον, οὗτε ἐς ὁδοιπορίαν, ἐνοχλησόντων αὐτὸν ὅμοιον τοσῶνδε. Μάνιον δὲ ἐς τὸν Οὐεντίδιον καὶ Ἀσίνιον ἐπεμπεν, ἐπείγειν αὐτοὺς βοηθεῖν πολιορκουμένῳ Λευκίῳ, καὶ Τισιηνὸν μετὰ τετρακισχιλίων ἵππεων, λεηλατεῖν τὰ Καίσαρος, ἵνα ἀνασταίη. αὐτὸς δὲ παρῆλθεν ἐς τὴν Περυσίαν ὡς ἐν ὁχυρῷ πόλει χειμάσων, εἰ δέοι, μέχρι τοὺς περὶ τὸν Οὐεντίδιον ἀφικέσθαι.**

33. Καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ αὐτίκα μετὰ σπουδῆς ἀπαντι τῷ στρατῷ τὴν Περυσίαν ἀπετείχιξε χάρακι καὶ τάφρῳ, πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑξ σταδίους περιῳδόν διὰ τὸ τῆς πόλεως λοφῶδες καὶ σκέλη μακρὰ ἐπὶ τὸν Τίβεριν ἐκτείνων, ἵνα τι ἐς τὴν Περυσίαν μὴ ἐσφέροιτο. ἀντεπονεῦτό γε μὴν καὶ ὁ Λεύκιος, ἑτέροις ὁμοίοις χαρακώμασι καὶ τάφροις τὴν πέζαν ὁχυρούμενος τοῦ λόφου. καὶ Φουλβία Οὐεντίδιον καὶ Ἀσίνιον καὶ Ἀτήιον καὶ Καληνὸν ἐκ τῆς Κελτικῆς ἥπειγε βοηθεῖν Λευκίῳ καὶ στρατὸν ἄλλον ἀγείρασα Πλάγκον ἐπεμπεν ἄγειν Λευκίῳ. Πλάγκος μὲν δὴ τέλος τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐς Ῥώμην

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

and Octavian summoned reinforcements in haste CHAP. IV from all directions, as against the vital point of the war, where he had Lucius surrounded. He sent others forward to hold in check the forces of Ventidius, who were approaching. The latter, however, hesitated on their own account to advance, as they altogether disapproved of the war and did not know what Antony thought about it, and on account of mutual rivalry were unwilling to yield to each other the military chieftainship. Lucius did not go out to battle with the forces surrounding him, because they were better and more numerous and well drilled, while his were for the most part new levies; nor did he resume his march, since so many enemies were on his flanks. He sent Manius to Ventidius and Asinius to hasten them to the aid of the besieged Lucius, and he sent Tisienus with 4000 horse to pillage the enemy's supplies, in order to force him to raise the siege. Lucius entered within the walls of Perusia so that he might winter in a strong place, if necessary, until Ventidius and Asinius should arrive.

33. Octavian, with all haste and with his whole army, drew a line of palisade and ditch around Perusia fifty-six stades in circuit, on account of the hill on which it was situated; he extended long arms to the Tiber, that nothing might be introduced into the place. Lucius on his part built a similar line of countervallation, thus fortifying the foot of the hill. Fulvia urged Ventidius, Asinius, Ateius, and Calenus to hasten from Gaul to the assistance of Lucius, and collected reinforcements, which she sent to Lucius under the lead of Plancus. Plancus destroyed one of Octavian's legions, which

Lucius
besieged in
Perusia

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. οόδενον διέφθειρεν. Ἀσινίου δὲ καὶ Οὐεντιδίου σὺν μὲν ὅκυφ καὶ διχονοίᾳ τῆς Ἀντωνίου γνώμης, διὰ δὲ Φουλβίαν ὅμως καὶ διὰ Μάνιου ἐς τὸν Λεύκιον ἴόντων καὶ τοὺς ἀποκλείοντας βιαζομένων, ὁ Καῖσαρ ὑπήντα σὺν Ἀγρίππῃ, φυλακὴν τῆς Περυσίας καταλιπών. οἱ δὲ οὗτε πω συμβαλόντες ἀλλήλοις οὕτε σὺν προθυμίᾳ χωροῦντες, ὁ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐς Ράβενναν, ὁ δ' ἐς Αρίμινον, ὁ δὲ Πλάγκος ἐς Σπωλήτιον συνέφυγον. καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ αὐτῶν ἐκάστῳ στρατὸν ἐπιστήσας, ἵνα μὴ πρὸς ἄλληλους συνέλθοιεν, ἐς τὴν Περυσίαν ἐπανῆλθε καὶ μετὰ σπουδῆς τὰς τάφρους προσεσταύρου καὶ ἐδιπλασίαζε τὸ βάθος καὶ πλάτος ὡς τριάκοντα πόδας ἀμφότερα εἶναι, τό τε περιτείχισμα ὕψου καὶ πύργους ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ξυλίνους δι' ἔξηκοντα ποδῶν ἵστη χιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους· καὶ ἐπάλξεις τε ἡσαν αὐτῷ πυκναὶ καὶ ἡ ἄλλη παρασκευὴ πᾶσα διμέτωπος, ἐς τε τοὺς πολιορκουμένους καὶ εἴ τις ἔξωθεν ἐπίοι. ἐγίγνετο δὲ ταῦτα σὺν πείραις πολλαῖς καὶ μάχαις, ἀκοντισμαὶ μὲν ἀμεινόνων ὅντων τῶν Καίσαρος, συμπλέκεσθαι δὲ τῶν Λευκίου μονομάχων· καὶ πολλοὺς ἔκτεινον συμπλεκόμενοι.

34. Ως δὲ ἔξείργαστο πάντα τῷ Καίσαρι, λιμὸς ἥπτετο τοῦ Λευκίου, καὶ τὸ κακὸν ἥκμαζεν ἀγρίως ἄτε μηδὲν αὐτοῦ μηδὲ τῆς πόλεως προπαρεσκευασμένης. ὡν ὁ Καῖσαρ αἰσθόμενος ἀκριβεστέρας τὰς φυλακὰς ἐποίει. νουμηνίας δὲ ἔτους ἐς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἡμέραν οὔσης, φυλάξας ὁ Λεύκιος τὴν ἑορτὴν ὡς ἀμελείας τοῖς πολεμοῖς

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

was on the march to Rome. While Asinius and CHAP.
Ventidius were proceeding, at the instance of ^{IV} Fulvia and Manius, to the relief of Lucius (but with hesitation and doubt as to Antony's intention), in order to raise the blockade, Octavian and Agrippa, leaving a guard at Perusia, threw themselves in the way. The former, who had not yet formed a junction with each other and were not proceeding with much alacrity, retreated—Asinius to Ravenna and Ventidius to Ariminum. Plancus took refuge in Spoletium. Octavian stationed a force in front of each, to prevent them from forming a junction, and returned to Perusia, where he speedily strengthened his investment of the place and doubled the depth and width of his ditch to the dimensions of thirty feet each way. He increased the height of his wall and built 1500 wooden towers on it, sixty feet apart. He had also strong redoubts and every other kind of intrenchment, with double front, to besiege those within and to repel assaults from without. While these works were under construction there were frequent sorties and fights, in which the forces of Octavian had the advantage in the use of missiles, and the gladiators of Lucius were better at hand-to-hand fighting. So these killed many at close quarters.

34. When the work of Octavian was finished famine fastened upon Lucius, and the evil grew more pressing, since neither he nor the city had made preparations beforehand. Knowing this fact Octavian kept the most vigilant watch. On the day preceding the Calends of January, Lucius thought to avail himself of the holiday, under

He there
awaits
reinforce-
ments

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. αἰτίαν ἐξέθορε νυκτὸς ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας αὐτῶν ὡς
IV διεκπαίσων αὐτοὺς καὶ στρατιὰν ἐπαξόμενος
ἔτέραν· πολλὴ γάρ ἦν αὐτῷ πολλαχοῦ. ταχὺ δὲ
τοῦ πλησίου ἐφεδρεύοντος τέλους καὶ τοῦ Και-
σαρος αὐτοῦ σὺν ταῖς στρατηγίσι σπείραις ἐπι-
δραμόντων, ὁ Λεύκιος μάλα προθύμως ἀγωνιζό-
μενος ἀνεώσθη. τῶν δ' αὐτῶν ἡμερῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ,
τοῦ σίτου τοῖς στρατευομένοις φυλασσομένου, τὸ
πλῆθος τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ τῇ νίκῃ φανερώς ἐπηρῶντο
καὶ ἐς τὰς οἰκίας ἐστρέχοντες ἐπὶ ἐρεύνη σίτου,
ὅσα εὑροιεν, ἥρπαζον.

35. Οἱ δ' ἀμφὶ τὸν Οὔεντίδιον αἰδούμενοι λιμῷ
κάμνοντα Λεύκιον περιορᾶν, ἔχώρουν ἐς αὐτὸν
ἄπαντες, βιαζόμενοι τοὺς Καίσαρος πανταχόθεν
αὐτοὺς περικειμένους καὶ ἐνοχλοῦντας. ὑπαν-
τώντων δ' αὐτοῖς Ἀγρίππου τε καὶ Σαλονιδιηνοῦ
μετὰ δυνάμεως ἔτι πλείονος, ἔδεισαν, μὴ κυκλω-
θεῖεν, καὶ ἐς Φουλκίνιον τι χωρίον ἐξέκλιναν,
ἐξήκοντα καὶ ἐκατὸν σταδίους τῆς Περυσίας
διεστηκός· ἔνθα αὐτοὺς τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀγρίππαν
περικαθημένων πυρὰ πολλὰ ἤγειραν, σύμβολα τῷ
Λευκίῳ. καὶ γνώμην ἐποιοῦντο Οὔεντίδιος μὲν καὶ
Ἀσίνιος βαδίζειν καὶ ὡς μαχούμενοι, Πλάγκος
δὲ ἔσεσθαι μέσους Καίσαρός τε καὶ Ἀγρίππου,
χρῆναι δ' ἔτι καραδοκεῖν τὰ γυγνόμενα· καὶ
ἐκράτει λέγων ὁ Πλάγκος. οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ Περυσίᾳ τὰ
μὲν πυρὰ ἴδοντες ἤδουντο, τῶν δ' ἀνδρῶν βραδυ-
νόντων εἴκασαν καὶ τούσδε ἐνοχλεῖσθαι καὶ
παυσαμένου τοῦ πυρὸς διεφθάρθαι. ὁ δὲ Λεύκιος
τοῦ λιμοῦ πιέζοντος ἐνυκτομάχησεν αὐθις ἐκ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

the belief that the enemy would be off their CHAP.
guard, to make a sally by night against their IV
gates, hoping to break through them and bring
in his other forces, of which he had abundance
in many places. But the legion that was lying
in wait near by, and Octavian himself with some
praetorian cohorts, attacked him, and Lucius,
although he fought valiantly, was driven back.
About the same time the mass of the people
in Rome openly denounced the war and the
victory, because the grain was kept under guard
for the soldiers. They broke into houses in search
of food, and carried off whatever they could
find.

35. Ventidius and his friends, ashamed to look on B.C. 40
while Lucius was perishing of hunger, all moved to his support, intending to overpower Caesar's His lieutenants
forces surrounding and besieging him. Agrippa assistants fail to assist him
and Salvidienus went to meet them with still
larger forces. Fearing lest they should be surrounded,
they diverged to the stronghold of Fulginium,
distant 160 stades from Perusia. There Agrippa
besieged them, and they lighted many fires as signals
to Lucius. Ventidius and Asinius were of the
opinion that they should still go forward and fight,
but Plancus said that, as they were between
Octavian and Agrippa, they had best await events.
The opinion of Plancus prevailed. Those in Perusia
rejoiced when they saw the fires, but when
Ventidius delayed his coming they conjectured
that he, too, was in difficulties, and when the
fires ceased they thought that he had been destroyed.
Lucius, oppressed by hunger, again fought a night
battle, extending from the first watch till daylight,

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. πρώτης φυλακῆς ἐστὶ περὶ ἅπαν τὸ περιτείχισμα· καὶ οὐ δυνηθεὶς ἀνέθορεν αὐθις ἐστὶ τὴν Περυσίαν καὶ τὰς ὑπολοίπους συλλογισάμενος τροφὰς ἀπεῖπε δίδοσθαι τοῖς θεράπονσι καὶ ἐφύλασσεν αὐτοὺς μηδὲ ἐκφυγεῖν, ἵνα μὴ γνωριμώτερον γένοιτο τοῖς πολεμίοις τὸ δεινόν. ἥλωντο οὖν οἱ θεράποντες κατὰ πλῆθος καὶ κατέπιπτον ἐν τε αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει καὶ μέχρι τοῦ σφετέρου διατειχίσματος, πόσαν εἴ τινα εὔροιεν ἡ φυλλάδα χλωράν, νεμόμενοι. καὶ τοὺς ἀποφύχοντας ὁ Λεύκιος ἐστὶ τάφρους ἐπιμήκεις κατώρυσσεν, ἵνα μήτε καιομένων ἐπίδηλον τοῖς ἐχθροῖς γένοιτο, μήτε σηπομένων ἀτμὸς καὶ νόσος.

36. Ἐπεὶ δὲ οὕτε τοῦ λιμοῦ τι τέλος ἦν οὕτε τῶν θανάτων, ἀχθόμενοι τοῖς γυγνομένοις οἱ ὄπλιται παρεκάλουν τὸν Λεύκιον αὐθις ἀποπειρᾶσαι τῶν τειχῶν, ὡς διακόψουντες αὐτὰ πάντας. ὁ δὲ τὴν ὄρμὴν ἀποδεξάμενος, “οὐκ ἀξίως,” ἔφη, “πρώην τῆς παρούσης ἀνάγκης ἡγωνισάμεθα,” καὶ νῦν ἡ παραδιδόναι σφᾶς ἡ τούτῳ χείρον ἡγουμένους θανάτου μάχεσθαι μέχρι θανάτου. δεξαμένων δὲ προθύμως ἀπάντων καὶ, ἵνα μή τις ὡς ἐν υὐκτὶ πρόφασις γένοιτο, κατὰ φῶς ἄγειν σφᾶς κελευόντων, ὁ Λεύκιος ἤγε πρὸ ἡμέρας. σίδηρόν τε τειχομάχον εἰχον πολὺν καὶ κλίμακας ἐστὶ διεσκευασμένας. ἐφέρετο δὲ καὶ τάφρων ἐγχωστήρια ὅργανα καὶ πύργοι πτυκτοί, σανίδας ἐστὶ τὰ τείχη μεθιέντες, καὶ βέλη παντοῖα καὶ λίθοι, καὶ γέρρα τοῖς σκόλοψιν ἐπιρριπτεῖσθαι. προσπεσόντες δὲ μεθ' ὄρμῆς βιαίου τὴν τάφρον ἐνέχωσαν καὶ τοὺς σταυροὺς ὑπερέβησαν καὶ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

around the whole circumvallation ; but he failed and was driven back into Perusia. There he took an account of the remaining provisions, and forbade the giving of any to the slaves, and prohibited them from escaping, lest the enemy should gain better knowledge of his desperate situation. The slaves wandered about in crowds, threw themselves upon the ground in the city, and between the city and their forts, and ate grass or green leaves wherever they could find them. Those who died Lucius buried in long trenches, lest, if he burned them, the enemy should discover what was taking place, and, if they were unburied, disease should result from the poisonous exhalations.

36. As no end of the famine, or of the deaths, could be discerned, the soldiers became restive under the condition of affairs, and implored Lucius to make another attempt upon the enemy's works, believing that they could break through them completely. He approved of their ardour, saying, "In our recent battle we did not fight in a way corresponding to our present necessity. Now we must either surrender, or, if that seems worse than death, we must fight to the death." All assented eagerly, and, in order that no one should have the night for an excuse, they demanded to be led out by daylight. Lucius marched out at dawn. He took an abundance of iron tools, for wall fighting, and ladders of every form. He carried machines for filling the ditches, and folding towers from which planks could be let down to the walls ; also all kinds of missiles and stones, and wickerwork to be thrown upon the palisades. They made a violent assault, filled up the ditch, scaled the

IV
Famine in
Perusia

Lucius
attempts to
break out

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. τοῖς τείχεσι προσελθόντες οἱ μὲν ὑπώρυσσον, οἱ
IV δὲ τὰς κλίμακας ἐπῆγον, οἱ δὲ τοὺς πύργους·
ἐνεχείρουν τε ὁμοῦ καὶ ἡμύνοντο λίθοις καὶ τοξεύ-
μασι καὶ μολυβδαίναις σὺν πολλῇ θανάτου κατα-
φρονήσει. καὶ τάδε ἐγίγνετο κατὰ μέρη πολλά·
ἐπειδὴ δέ τινας . . . ἐς πολλὰ διαιρουμένοις τοῖς
πολεμίοις ἀσθενέστερα πάντα ἦν.

37. Ἐκταθεισῶν δέ που τῶν σανίδων ἐς τὸ
τείχος, βίᾳ τότε μάλιστα ἐπικίνδυνος ἦν τῶν
Λευκιανῶν ἐπὶ ταῖς σανίσι μαχομένων, καὶ βέλη
πλάγια πάντοθεν ἦν ἐς αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀκόντια.
ἐβιάσαντο δὲ ὅμως καὶ ἐς τὸ τείχος ἐξήλαντο
ὅλιγοι, καὶ αὐτοῖς εἴποντο ἔτεροι καὶ τάχα ἄν
τι ἔξειργαστο αὐτοῖς μετὰ ἀπονοίας, εἰ μή, γνω-
σθέντος οὐ πολλὰ εἶναι τὰ τοιαῦτα μηχανή-
ματα, οἱ ἄριστοι τῶν Καίσαρος ἐφεδρεῖων ἀκ-
μῆτες ἐπήγοντο κεκμηκόσι. τότε γὰρ δὴ τῶν
τειχῶν αὐτοὺς κατήρεψαν καὶ τὰ μηχανήματα
συνέτριψαν καὶ ἔβαλλον ἄνωθεν ἥδη σὺν κατα-
φρονήσει. τοῖς δὲ τὰ μὲν ὅπλα καὶ τὰ σώματα
ὅλα συνεκέκοπτο, καὶ βοὴ σφᾶς ἐπελελοίπει,
παρέμενον δ' ὅμως τῇ προθυμίᾳ. ὡς δὲ καὶ τὰ
νεκρὰ τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους ἀνηρημένων ἐσκυλευ-
μένα κάτω διερριπτεῖτο, τὴν ὕβριν οὐκ ἔφερον,
ἀλλὰ ἀνετρέποντο ὑπὸ τῆς ὅψεως, καὶ μικρὸν
ἔστησαν ἀποροῦντες ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς γυμνικοῖς
ἀγώσιν οἱ διαναπανόμενοι. ὡδε δὲ αὐτοὺς ἔχον-
τας ἐλεῶν ὁ Λεύκιος ἐκάλει τῇ σάλπιγγι ἀνα-
χωρεῖν. ἡσθέντων δὲ τῶν Καίσαρος ἐπὶ τῷδε
καὶ τὰ ὅπλα παταγησάντων οἷον ἐπὶ νίκη,

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

palisades, and advanced to the walls, which some CHAP.
of them undermined, while others applied the IV
ladders; and others simultaneously moved up the
towers and defended themselves with stones, arrows,
and leaden balls, with absolute contempt of death.
This was done at many different places, and the
enemy being drawn in many different directions
made a more feeble resistance.¹

37. The planks having been thrown upon the walls at some places, the struggle became very hazardous, for the forces of Lucius fighting on the bridges were exposed to missiles and javelins on every side. They forced their way, nevertheless, and a few leaped over the wall. Others followed, and they would speedily have accomplished something in their desperation, had not the fact become known to Octavian that they had not many such machines, so that the best of his reserves were brought fresh to the assistance of the tired men. These troops now flung the assailants down from the walls, broke their machines in pieces, and hurled missiles upon them contemptuously (fearing them no longer) from above. Their enemy, although their shields and bodies were pierced and even their cries had failed, held their ground bravely. When the corpses of those who had been killed on the wall were stripped and thrown down among them, they could not bear the indignity, but turned away from the spectacle and stood for a moment undecided, like athletes taking a breathing-spell in the gymnastic games. Lucius had pity on them in this condition and sounded a retreat. Then the troops of Octavian joyfully clashed their arms as for a victory, whereupon

He is
defeated
after
desperate
fighting

¹ The text here is incomplete.

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. έρεθισθέντες οἱ τοῦ Λευκίου τὰς κλίμακας αὐθις
^{IV} ὑρπάσαντες (οὐ γὰρ ἔτι πύργους εἰχον) ἔφερον ἐς
τὰ τείχη μετὰ ἀπονοίας, οὐδὲν ἔτι βλάπτοντες· οὐ
γὰρ ἔδύναντο. περιθέων δ' αὐτοὺς ὁ Λεύκιος
ἔδειτο μὴ ψυχομαχεῖν ἔτι καὶ οἱ μόζονταις ἀπῆγεν
ἄκοντας.

38. Τὸ μὲν δὴ τέλος τῆσδε τῆς τειχομαχίας,
ἐκθυμοτάτης γενομένης, ἐς τοῦτο ἐτελεύτα· οὐ δὲ
Καῖσαρ, ἵνα μὴ αὐθις ἐπιτολμήσειαν οἱ πολέμιοι
τοῖς τείχεσι, τὴν στρατιάν, ὅση τοῖς γιγνο-
μένοις ἐφήδρευε, παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ τείχος ἴδρυσε καὶ
ἔδίδαξεν ἀναπηδᾶν ἐς τὸ τείχος ἄλλους ἄλλαχοῦ
κατὰ σύνθημα σάλπιγγος· συνεχώς τε ἀπεπήδων
οὐδενὸς ἐπείγοντος, ἵνα διδαχή τε σφίσι καὶ
φόβοις εἴη τοῖς πολεμίοις. ἀθυμίᾳ δὲ ἐπεῖχε τοὺς
τοῦ Λευκίου, καί, ὅπερ ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις εἴωθε
γίγνεσθαι, τῆς φυλακῆς οἱ φύλακες ἡμέλουν· ἐκ
δὲ τῆς ἀμελείας αὐτομολίαι πολλῶν ἐγίγνοντο,
καὶ οὐχ οἱ ἀφανέστεροι τοῦτο μόνοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ
τῶν ἡγεμονικῶν τινες ἔδρων. ἐνεδίδουν τε ὁ Λεύ-
κιος ἥδη πρὸς διαλύσεις ἐλέφω τοσοῦτο πλήθους
ἀπολλυμένου, ἔχθρῶν δέ τινων Καίσαρος περὶ
σφῶν δεδιότων ἔτι ἐπεῖχεν. ώς δὲ ὁ Καῖσαρ
ῶφθη τοὺς αὐτομόλους φιλανθρώπως ἐκδεχόμενος
καὶ πλείων ὄρμὴ πᾶσιν ἐς τὰς διαλύσεις ἐγίγνετο,
δέος ἥπτετο τοῦ Λευκίου, μὴ ἀντιλέγων ἐκδοθείη.

V

CAP. 39. Γενομένης οὖν τινος ἐς τοῦτο πείρας καὶ
^V ἐλπίδος οὐκ ἀηδοῦς, τὸν στρατὸν συναγαγὼν

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

those of Lucius were roused to anger and again seized CHAP.
their ladders (although they had no more towers),
and carried them to the walls with desperation. Yet
they did not do any harm to the enemy, for they
had not the strength. Lucius ran among them and
besought them to sacrifice their lives no longer, and
led them back groaning and reluctant.

38. This was the end of this hotly contested
siege. In order that the enemy might not make
another attempt on his works, Octavian stationed
a part of his army, that was held in reserve,
alongside the fortifications, and instructed others
in other places to leap upon the wall at the sound
of the trumpet. Although no one urged them
on, they went through this exercise continually,
in order to become familiar with it, and to inspire
the enemy with fear. The troops of Lucius began
to grow down-hearted, and, as usually happens in
such cases, the guards relaxed their vigilance, and
thus desertion became more frequent, not only
of the common soldiers, but, in some cases, of the
higher officers also. And now Lucius inclined
toward peace, out of pity for the perishing multitude,
but the fears of some of the enemies of Octavian
for their own safety still restrained him. But as
Octavian was observed to treat the deserters kindly,
and the desire for peace increased among all,
Lucius began to fear lest, if he refused, he should
be delivered up.

He begins
to entertain
thoughts of
surrender

V

39. ACCORDINGLY, having made a sort of test which CHAP.
gave him satisfactory encouragement, Lucius called ^V

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. ξλεξεν ὁδε· “γνώμη μὲν ἦν μοι τὴν πάτριον ὑμῖν
V ἀποδοῦναι πολιτείαν, ὡς συστρατιῶται, τυρρα-
νίδα τὴν τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀρχὴν καὶ οὐδ', ἐφ' ἣ
συνέστη προφύσει, Κασσίου καὶ Βρούτου τεθ-
νεώτων διαλυθεῖσαν. Λεπίδου γὰρ τὸ μέρος τῆς
ἀρχῆς ἀφηρημένου καὶ Ἀντωνίου πορρωτάτω
χρήματα συλλέγοντος, εἰς οὗτος ἅπαντα πρὸς
τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γνώμην διεφκει, τὰ δὲ πάτρια Ῥω-
μαίοις πρόσχημα μόνον ἦν καὶ γέλως. ἀπέρ ἐγὼ
μεταβάλλειν ἐις τὴν ἄνωθεν ἐλευθερίαν τε καὶ
δημοκρατίαν ἐπινοῶν ἥξίουν τῶν ἐπινικίων διαδο-
θέντων ἐκλυθῆναι τὴν μοναρχίαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ
ἔπειθον, ἐπειρώμην ἐπὶ τῆς ἐμῆς ἀρχῆς καταναγ-
κάσαι. ὁ δέ με τῷ στρατῷ διέβαλλε, κωλύειν
τὰς κληρουχίας ἐλέω τῶν γεωργῶν καὶ τὴν
διαβολὴν ἐγὼ τήνδε ἡγνόησα ἐπὶ πλεῖστον.
ἄλλ' οὐδὲ ἐπιγνοὺς ἐπίστευσά τινα πιστεύσειν,
όρωντα τοὺς οἰκιστὰς καὶ παρ' ἐμοῦ δεδομένους, οὓς
μεριεῖν ἔμελλον ὑμῖν τὰς κληρουχίας. ἀλλὰ
ἐδημαγώγησε γάρ τινας ἡ διαβολή, καὶ πρὸς
ἐκεῖνον ὥχοντο πολεμήσοντες ὑμῖν, ώς νομί-
ζουσι, σὺν χρόνῳ δ' εἴσονται στρατευσάμενοι καθ'
αντῶν. ὑμῖν δ' ἐγὼ μαρτυρῶ μὲν ἐλομένοις τὰ
ἀμείνονα καὶ ὑπὲρ δύναμιν κακοπαθήσασιν,
ἡττήμεθα δὲ οὐχ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, ἀλλὰ τοῦ
λιμοῦ, φὶ δὴ καὶ πρὸς τῶν ἡμετέρων στρατηγῶν
ἐγκαταλείμμεθα. ἐμοὶ μὲν δὴ καλῶς εἶχεν
ἀγωνίσασθαι μέχρι τοῦ τελευταίου δαίμονος ὑπὲρ
τῆς πατρίδος· καλὸν γάρ μοι τὸν ἔπαινον ἐπὶ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

his army together and spoke as follows: "It was my CHAP.
intention, fellow-soldiers, to restore the republic to
you when I saw that the government of the
triumvirs was a tyranny, which was established,
indeed, on the pretext of combating Brutus and
Cassius, but was not relaxed after their death.
Lepidus had been deprived of his share of the
government, Antony was far away collecting money,
and this one man was managing everything according
to his own will, and the ancient system of Roman
government was only a pretence and a laughing-stock.
With the intention of reverting to the freedom
and democratic government of our ancestors, I asked
that after the rewards of victory had been distributed
the monarchy should be dissolved. When my
request was not granted, I sought to enforce it by
virtue of my office. Octavian falsely accused me,
before the army, of obstructing the colonies out
of pity for the landowners. I was ignorant of
this slander for a long time, and even when I
learned of it I did not suppose that anybody could
believe it, when one saw that the colony officers
were men assigned by my very self to divide the
lands among you. But the calumny misled some
people, who joined Octavian in order to make
war against you, as they think. But eventually they
will find that they have been warring against
their own interests. I affirm that you have chosen
the better cause, and that you have suffered for it
beyond your strength. We are vanquished, not
by our enemies, but by hunger, to which we have
been left a prey by our own generals. It would
be becoming in me to fight to the last extremity
for my country. Such an end would set a halo of

He
addresses
his soldiers
on the
subject

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. τῇ γνώμῃ καὶ τὸ τέλος ἐποίει· οὐχ ὑφίσταμαι δὲ
δι' ὑμᾶς, οὓς τῆς ἐμῆς προτίθημι εὔκλείας.
πέμψω δὴ πρὸς τὸν κεκρατηκότα καὶ δεήσομαι
ἔμοι μὲν ἀντὶ πάντων ὑμῶν εἰς δὲ θέλει κατα-
χρήσασθαι μόνῳ, ὑμῖν δὲ ἀντ' ἔμοῦ ἀμυηστίαν
δοῦναι, πολίταις τε οὐσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ στρατιώταις
ποτὲ γενομένοις καὶ οὐδὲ νῦν ἀδικοῦσιν οὐδὲ
πολεμήσασιν ἄνευ καλῆς αἰτίας οὐδὲ ἡσσημένοις
πολέμῳ μᾶλλον ἢ λιμῷ.”

40. Ὁ μὲν οὗτος εἰπε καὶ εὐθὺς ἔπειμπε τρεῖς
ἐπιλεξάμενος ἐκ τῶν ἀρίστων· ἥ· δὲ πληθὺς
ἀνώμωζον, οἱ μὲν ἑαυτῶν χάριν, οἱ δὲ τοῦ στρα-
τηγοῦ, γνώμῃ μὲν ὁμοῦ σφισιν ἀρίστου καὶ δημο-
κρατικοῦ φανέντος, ὑπὸ δὲ ἐσχάτης ἀνάγκης
ἡτημένου· οἱ δὲ τρεῖς ἐντυχόντες τῷ Καίσαρι
ἀνεμίμησκον τοῦ γένους τῶν στρατῶν ἐνὸς
ἐκατέροις ὅντος καὶ στρατειῶν ὁμοῦ γενομένων
καὶ φιλίας τῶν ἐπιφανῶν καὶ ἀρετῆς προγόνων
οὐκ ἐστὸν τὰς διαφορὰς προαγαγόντων·
ὅσα τε εἰκὸς ἦν ἄλλα ἐπαγωγά, τούτοις ὅμοια,
ἔλεγον. ὁ δὲ Καίσαρ εἰδὼς τῶν πολεμίων τοὺς
μὲν ἀπειροπολέμους ἔτι, τοὺς δὲ κληρούχους
γεγυμνασμένους ἔφη τεχνάζων τοῖς ὑπ' Ἀντωνίῳ
στρατευσαμένοις διδόναι τὴν ἀμυηστίαν, ώς χάριν
ἐκείνῳ φέρων, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἐπιτρέπειν σφᾶς
ἑαυτῷ προσέτασσεν. ταῦτα μὲν εἰπεν ἀπασιν
ἰδίᾳ δὲ ἔνα τῶν τριῶν ἀπολαβών, Φούρνιον, ἐσ
μείζονα φιλανθρωπίαν ἐπήλπισε τοὺς περὶ Λεύ-
κιον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους χωρὶς τῶν ἴδιων ἔχθρῶν
ἑαυτοῦ.

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

fame upon my high purposes. To that destiny ^{CHAP} _V I do not submit, for the sake of you, whom I prefer to my own fame. I will send to the conqueror and beg that he will inflict such punishment as he chooses upon me alone, in place of all of you; that he will grant amnesty, not to me, but to you, his fellow-citizens and formerly his soldiers, who are not now in the wrong, who are not fighting without good cause, and are vanquished, not by war, but by hunger."

40. After speaking thus he at once selected three men from the optimates for this mission. The multitude wept, some on their own account, some on account of their general, who appeared to them to have been actuated by the most excellent and democratic purpose, and who now yielded to extreme necessity. The three envoys, when admitted to the presence of Octavian, reminded him that the soldiers on both sides were all of one race, and that they had made campaigns together. They called to mind the friendship of the nobility on either side and also the virtue of their ancestors, who did not allow their differences to become irreconcilable. They advanced other like arguments which were calculated to prevail with him. Octavian, knowing that some of the enemy were still raw recruits, while others were veteran colonists, replied artfully that he would grant amnesty to Antony's soldiers out of regard for him, but that the others must surrender at discretion. This he said in the presence of all, but, taking aside Furnius, one of the three, he led him to expect mild treatment for Lucius and the rest, except his own personal enemies.

He sends
envoys to
Octavian

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. V 41. Οὗδε οὖν οἱ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἔχθροι, τὴν ἴδιᾳ γενομένην ἔντευξιν τοῦ Φουρνίου ὑπονοοῦντες ἐπὶ σφίσι γενέσθαι, αὐτὸν τε τὸν Φούρνιον ἐλοιδόρουν ἐπανελθόντα καὶ τὸν Λεύκιον ἡξίουν ἡ σπονδὰς αὐθις αἰτεῖν ὄμοίας ἅπασιν ἡ πολεμεῖν μέχρι θανάτου· οὐ γὰρ ἵδιόν τινι τὸν πόλεμον, ἀλλὰ κοινὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος γεγονέναι. καὶ ὁ Λεύκιος ἐπήνει μὲν ἐλεῶν ἄνδρας ὄμοτίμους καὶ πέμψειν ἔλεγεν ἑτέρους, οὐδένα δὲ εἰπὼν ἀμείνονα ἔχειν ἑαυτοῦ, εὐθὺς ἄνευ κήρυκος ἥει, προθεόντων αὐτοῦ δρόμῳ τῶν ἀπαγγελούντων Καίσαρι κατιέναι Λεύκιον. ὁ δὲ αὐτίκα ὑπήντα. ἐωρῶντο οὖν ἀλλήλοις ἥδη μετὰ τῶν φίλων καὶ περιφανεῖς ἥσαν ἀπὸ τῶν σημείων καὶ τῆς στολῆς οὕσης ἑκατέρῳ στρατηγικῆς. καὶ ὁ Λεύκιος ἀποθέμενος τοὺς φίλους ἥει σὺν δύο ῥαβδούχοις μόνοις, ἐπιδεικνὺς ἄμα τὴν γνώμην ἀπὸ τοῦ σχήματος· καὶ ὁ Καίσαρ συνεὶς ἀντεμιμεῖτο ἐς δεῦγμα καὶ ὅδε τῆς εἰς τὸν Λεύκιον εὔνοίας ἐσομένης· ώς δὲ καὶ σπεύδοντα εἶδε τὸν Λεύκιον παρελθεῖν ἐς τὸ Καίσαρος χαράκωμα, ἵνα καὶ τῷδε φαίνοιτο ἑαυτὸν ἐπιτρέπων ἥδη, προλαβὼν ὁ Καίσαρ ἐξῆλθε τοῦ χαρακώμακος, ἵνα ἐλεύθερον εἴη τῷ Λευκίῳ βουλεύεσθαι τε καὶ κρίνειν ἔτι περὶ αὐτοῦ. τοιάδε ἀλλήλοις προσιόντες ἀπό τε τῆς στολῆς καὶ τῶν σχημάτων προσαπεδείκνυντο.

42. Ὡς δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν τάφρον ἀφίκοντο, „προσηγόρευσάν τε ἀλλήλους καὶ ὁ Λεύκιος ἔφη· “εἰ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

41. These personal enemies of Octavian, having CHAP.
learned of Furnius' private interview and suspecting
that it related to themselves, reproached him when
he came back, and demanded of Lucius either that
he should ask a new treaty, which should include
all alike, or fight to the death, saying that this
had not been a private war for any individual, but
a public one in behalf of their country. Lucius
approved, pitying them as men of the same rank
as himself, and said that he would send another
embassy. Then he added that no one was better
fitted for this task than himself, and went im-
mediately without a herald, merely preceded by
some persons who went in advance to announce to
Octavian his coming. The latter at once advanced
to meet him. There they saw each other surrounded
by their friends and conspicuous by the standards
and military equipment of generals on either side.
Then Lucius, dismissing¹ his friends, went forward
with two lictors only, showing his state of mind
by his outward appearance. Octavian understood
and imitated his example, showing his intended
good-will toward Lucius. When he saw the latter
hastening to pass inside his fortification, indicating
thereby that he had already surrendered, Octavian
anticipated him and went outside the fortification
in order that Lucius might still be free to consult
and decide concerning his own interests. Thus as
they moved forward they foreshadowed their in-
tentions to each other in advance, by their retinue
and their outward appearance.

He makes
a personal
visit to
Octavian

42. When they came to the ditch they saluted each other, and Lucius said: "If I had been a

Lucius speech

¹ Perhaps: "putting off his uniform and dismissing . . ."

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. μὲν ξένος ὧν ἐπολέμησα, ὡς Καῖσαρ, αἰσχρὰν ἀν
V τὴν τοιαύτην ἡσσαν ἥγούμην καὶ αἰσχίουα ἔτι
τὴν παράδοσιν· καὶ τῆσδε τῆς αἰσχύνης εἶχον
ἀπαλλαγὴν εὔκολον παρ' ἐμαυτοῦ. ἐπεὶ δὲ
πολίτη διηνέχθην καὶ ὁμοτίμῳ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς
πατρίδος, οὐκ αἰσχρὸν ἥγοῦμαι μετὰ τοιασδε
προφάσεως ὑπὸ τοιοῦδε ἡσσῆσθαι. καὶ τάδε
λέγω οὐ παραιτούμενος παθεῖν, διὰ τοῦ θέλοις (διὰ
γάρ σοι τοῦτο ἐσ τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ σὸν ἄνευ
σπουνδῶν ἴέμην), ἀλλ' ἵνα τοὺς ἄλλοις αἰτήσω
συγγνώμην δικαίαν τε καὶ τοὺς σοὺς πράγμασι
συμφέρουσαν. δεῖ δέ με τοῦτο ἐπιδεικνύντα
διελεῖν τὸν λόγον ὑπὲρ τε ἐκείνων καὶ ὑπὲρ
ἐμαυτοῦ, ἵνα μόνον ἐμὲ τῶν γεγονότων αἰτιον
ἐπιγνοὺς εἰς ἐμὲ τὴν ὄργὴν συναγάγῃς. μὴ
νομίσῃς δὲ ἐλεγχθῆσεσθαι μετὰ παρρησίας
(ἄκαιρον γάρ), ἀλλὰ μετὰ ἀληθείας, ἢς οὐκ ἔνι
μοι χωρὶς εἰπεῖν.

43. "Ἐγὼ τὸν πρὸς σὲ πόλεμον ἡράμην, οὐχ ἵνα
σε καθελὼν διαδέξωμαι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, ἀλλ' ἵνα
τὴν ἀριστοκρατίαν ἀναλάβω τῇ πατρίδι, λελυ-
μένην ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν τριῶν ἀρχῆς, ὡς οὐδὲ ἀν αὐτὸς
ἀι τείποις· καὶ γὰρ δτε συνίστασθε αὐτήν, ὁμολο-
γοῦντες εἶναι παράνομον, ὡς ἀναγκαίαν καὶ
πρόσκαιρον ἐτίθεσθε, Κασσίου καὶ Βρούτου
περιόντων ἔτι καὶ ὑμῶν ἐκείνοις οὐ δυναμένων
συναλλαγῆναι. ἀποθανόντων δὲ ἐκείνων, οἱ τὸ
τῆς στάσεως κεφάλαιον ἡσαν, καὶ τῶν ὑπολοίπων
εἴ τινα λείψανα ἔστιν, οὐ τῇ πολυτείᾳ πολε-
μούντων, ἀλλὰ ὑμᾶς δεδιότων, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτῳ καὶ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

foreigner waging war against you, Octavian, I should CHAP.
consider it disgraceful to be vanquished in this way
and still more disgraceful to surrender, and I should
have for myself an easy means of deliverance from
such humiliation. But since I have been contending
with a countryman, my equal in rank, on
behalf of our country, I do not consider it dis-
graceful to be beaten in such a cause by such a
man. This I say not to deprecate any suffering that
you may choose to inflict upon me (for you see that
I have come to your camp without any guarantee),
but to ask for others such pardon as may be just, and
conducive to your own interests. That I may make
this clear to you it is necessary to separate their
cause from mine, so that, when you know that I am
the only one to blame, you may visit your wrath
upon me, and not think that I have come here to
bandy words (for that would be inopportune), but to
tell the truth, for it is not in my power to speak
otherwise.

43. "I undertook this war against you, not in
order to succeed to the leadership by destroying you
but to restore to the country the patrician govern-
ment which had been subverted by the triumvirate,
as not even yourself will deny. For when you
created the triumvirate you acknowledged that it
was not in accordance with law, but you established
it as something necessary and temporary because
Cassius and Brutus were still alive and you could
not be reconciled to them. When they, who had
been the head of the faction, were dead, and the
remainder, if there were any left, were bearing arms,
not against the state, but because they feared you,
and moreover the five years' term was running out, I

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. τῆς πενταετίας παριούσης, ἀνακῦψαι τὰς ἀρχὰς
V ἐπὶ τὰ πάτρια ήξίουν, οὐ προτιμῶν οὐδὲ τὸν
ἀδελφὸν τῆς πατρίδος, ἀλλ' ἐλπίζων μὲν ἐπανελ-
θόντα πείσειν ἑκόντα, ἐπειγόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς
ἐμῆς ἀρχῆς γενέσθαι. καὶ εἰ κατήρξας σύ, μό-
νος ἀν καὶ τὴν δόξαν εἰχεις. ἐπεὶ δὲ δή σε οὐκ
ἔπειθον, φύμην ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ Ῥώμην καὶ ἀναγκάσαι,
πολίτης τε ὁν καὶ γνώριμος καὶ ὑπατος. αἱ μὲν
αἵτιαι, δι' ἣς ἐπολέμησα, αὗται μόναι, καὶ οὕτε ὁ
ἀδελφὸς οὕτε Μάνιος οὕτε Φουλβία, οὕτε ἡ
κληρουχία τῶν ἐν Φιλίπποις πεπολεμηκότων
οὕτε ἔλεος τῶν γεωργῶν τὰ κλήματα ἀφαιρου-
μένων, ἐπεὶ κάγῳ τοῖς τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τέλεσιν
οἰκιστὰς ἔδωκα, οἱ τὰ τῶν γεωργῶν ἀφαιρούμενοι
τοῖς στρατευσαμένοις διένεμον. ἀλλά με σὺ
τήνδε τὴν διαβολὴν αὐτοῖς διέβαλλες, τὴν αἵτιαν
τοῦ πολέμου μεταφέρων ἐπὶ τὴν κληρουχίαν ἀπὸ
σαυτοῦ, καὶ τῷδε μάλιστα αὐτοὺς ἐλῶν ἐμοῦ
κεκράτηκας· ἀνεπείσθησαν γὰρ πολεμεῖσθαι τε
ὑπ' ἐμοῦ καὶ ἀμύνεσθαι με ἀδικοῦντα. τεχνάζειν
μὲν δή σε ἔδει πολεμοῦντα· νικήσαντα δέ, εἰ μὲν
ἔχθρὸς εἰ τῆς πατρίδος, κάμε ἡγεῖσθαι πολέμου,
ἄ ἔδοξα συνοίσειν αὐτῇ, βουληθέντα μέν, οὐ
δυνηθέντα δὲ διὰ λιμόν.

44. “Λέγω δὲ ταῦτα ἐγὼ ἐγχειρίζων μὲν ἐμαυτόν
σοι, καθάπερ εἶπον, εἰς ὃ τι θέλοις, ὑποδεικνὺς
δέ, οἴα καὶ πρότερον καὶ νῦν ἐφρόνησα περὶ σοῦ
καὶ φρονῶν ἔτι μόνος ἀφικόμην. καὶ περὶ μὲν

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

demanded that the magistracies should be revived in CHAP.
accordance with the custom of our fathers, not even
preferring my brother to my country, but hoping to
persuade him to assent upon his return and
hastening to bring this about during my own term
of office. If you had begun this reform you alone
would have reaped the glory. Since I was not
able to persuade you, I thought to march against
the city and to use force, being a citizen, a noble-
man, and a consul. These are the causes of the
war I waged and these alone: not my brother, nor
Manius, nor Fulvia, nor the colonization of those
who fought at Philippi, nor pity for the cultivators
who were deprived of their holdings, since I myself
appointed the leaders of colonies to my brother's
legions who deprived the cultivators of their posses-
sions and divided them among the soldiers. Yet
you brought this charge against me before the
soldiers, shifting the cause of the war from yourself
to the land distribution, and in this way chiefly you
drew them to your side and overcame me, for they
were persuaded that I was warring against them,
and that they were defending themselves against my
wrong-doing. You certainly needed to use artifice
while you were waging war. Now that you have
conquered, if you are the enemy of the country you
must consider me your enemy also, since I wished
what I thought was for her advantage, but was
prevented by famine from accomplishing it.

44. "While I say these things I surrender myself Lucius surrenders uncon-
to you, as I have already declared, to do with me ditionally
whatever you wish. I came here alone merely
to show what I have thought of you before the war,
during the war, and at this moment. So much for

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. ἐμοῦ τοσαῦτα· περὶ δὲ τῶν φίλων καὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ
παντός, εἰ μὲν οὐχ ὑποπτεύσεις με λέγοντα,
συμβουλεύσω τὰ σοὶ μάλιστα ὡφελιμώτατα,
μηδὲν δεινὸν αὐτὸν ἐργάσασθαι διὰ τὴν ἐμὴν
καὶ σὴν φιλονικίαν, μηδὲ ἄνθρωπον ὅντα καὶ
τύχη χρώμενον, οὐ βεβαίω πράγματι, κωλῦσαι
τοὺς κινδυνεύειν ἐν τύχαις ἡ χρείαις ἔθελήσουντάς
ποτε ὑπὲρ σοῦ, μαθόντας ἐκ τοῦδε τοῦ σοῦ νόμου
δυσέλπιστον σῷζεσθαι μὴ κατορθοῦσιν. εἰ δὲ
ὑποπτος ἡ ἀπίστος ἐχθροῦ πᾶσα συμβουλή, οὐκ
όκνῳ καὶ παρακαλεῖν σε μὴ τοὺς φιλοὺς τίνυσθαι
τῆς ἐμῆς ἀμαρτίας καὶ τύχης, ἀλλ' εἰς ἐμὲ συν-
αγαγεῖν πάντα, τὸν πάντων αἴτιον. ἀφ' ης δὴ
γνώμης αὐτοὺς ὑπελιπόμην, ἵνα μὴ δόξαιμι, σοὶ
τάδε λέγων ἐκείνων ἀκουόντων, ὑπὲρ ἐμαυτοῦ
τεχνάξων εἰπεῖν.”

45. Τοιαῦτα δὲ εἰπόντος τοῦ Λευκίου καὶ σιω-
πήσαντος ὁ Καῖσαρ ἔλεξεν· “ἄσπονδον μέν σε
κατιόντα πρὸς ἐμὲ ὄρῶν, ὡ Λεύκιε, ὑπήντησα
τῶν ἐμῶν ἐρυμάτων ἔτι ἐκτὸς ὅντι κατὰ σπουδῆν,
ἵνα ἔτι κύριος ὡν σεαυτοῦ βουλεύοιο καὶ λέγοις
καὶ πράττοις, ἂ νομίζεις σοὶ συνοίσειν. ἐπεὶ δ',
ὅπερ ἔστὶ τῶν ἀδικεῖν ὄμολογούντων, σαυτὸν ἡμῖν
ἐπιτρέπεις, οὐδὲν ἔτι δέομαι διελέγχειν, ὅσα σὺν
τέχνῃ μου κατεψεύσω. ἔξ ἀρχῆς δέ με βλάψειν
ἔλόμενος καὶ νῦν ἔβλαψας. σπουδὰς γάρ μοι
τιθέμενος ἔτυχες ἀν ἡδικημένου καὶ νευκηκότος·

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

myself. Concerning my friends and my whole army CHAP.
if you will not discredit my words, I will give you some advice for your own best interests, and that is,^V
that you inflict no severity upon them on account of the quarrel between you and me. As you are a mortal and in the hands of fortune, which is always fickle, do not deter those who might be willing to incur danger for you in hazardous or trying times hereafter, by teaching them that under your rule there is no hope of safety except for the victors. Even if all advice from an enemy is suspected or untrustworthy, I do not hesitate to implore you not to punish my friends for my fault and my ill fortune, but to put the whole punishment on me, who am alone to blame. I purposely left my friends behind so that I might not seem, by using these words in their presence, to be securing favour for myself in an underhand way."

45. After Lucius had thus spoken he relapsed into silence, and Octavian said: "When I saw you, Lucius, approaching without any guarantee I hastened to meet you while you were still outside my entrenchments, so that you might even now be master of your own counsels and be able to say or do whatever you should think best for your own interests. Since you deliver yourself to me (as is customary to those who acknowledge that they are in the wrong), it is not necessary that I should discuss the false accusations that you have brought against me with so much art. You began by injuring me and you continue to do so. If you were here negotiating a treaty, you would be dealing with a victor whom you

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. ἄσπονδον δὲ σαυτόν τε καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἐπιτρεπων
V ήμιν καὶ τὸν στρατόν, ἀφαιρῆ μὲν πάσαν ὁργήν,
ἀφαιρῆ δὲ καὶ τὴν ἔξουσίαν, ἣν σπενδόμενος ἀν
ἔδωκας ὑπ' ἀνάγκης. συμπέπλεκται γὰρ οἱς
ἄξιον ὑμᾶς παθεῖν, τὸ προσῆκον ὃν ἐμὲ δίκαιον
ἐστι ποιεῖν ὃ δὴ προτιμήσω διά τε τοὺς θεοὺς
καὶ δι' ἐμαυτὸν καὶ διὰ σέ, ὡς Λεύκιε, καὶ οὐ
ψεύσω σε τῆς προσδοκίας, ἣν ἔχων περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ
κατελήλυθας."

Ταῦτα μὲν ἔλεξαν ὄλληλοις, ὡκ ἐκ τῶν ὑπο-
μημάτων ἣν ἔσ τὸ δυνατὸν τῆσδε τῆς φωνῆς
μεταβαλεῖν τεκμαιρομένῳ τῆς γυώμης τῶν λελεγ-
μένων. καὶ διεκρίθησαν, ὃ μὲν Καίσαρ ἐν ἐπαίνῳ
καὶ θαύματι τὸν Λεύκιον ἔχων, οὐδὲν ὡς ἐν συμ-
φοραῖς ἀγεννὲς οὐδὲ ἀσύνετον εἰπόντα, ὃ δὲ Λεύκιος
τὸν Καίσαρα τοῦ τε ἥθους καὶ βραχυλογίας. οἱ
λοιποὶ δὲ ἐτεκμαίροντο τῶν εἰρημένων ἐκ τῆς
δψεως ἔκατέρων.

46. Καὶ ὁ Λεύκιος ἐπεμπε τοὺς χιλάρχους τὸ
σύνθημα τῷ στρατῷ ληψομένους παρὰ τοῦ
Καίσαρος. οἱ δὲ ἔφερον αὐτῷ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τοῦ
στρατοῦ, καθὰ καὶ νῦν ἔθος ἐστὶ τὸν αἰτοῦντα
τὸ σύνθημα χιλίαρχον ἐπιδιδόναι τῷ βασιλεῖ
βιβλίον ἐφίμερον τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τοῦ παρόντος. οἱ
μὲν δὴ τὸ σύνθημα λαβόντες τὰς φυλακὰς ἔτι διὰ
χειρὸς εἶχον, οὕτω κελεύσαντος αὐτοῦ Καίσαρος,
νυκτοφυλακεῖν ἔκατέρους τὰ ἴδια· ἅμα δὲ ἡμέρᾳ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

had wronged. Now that you surrender yourself CHAP.
and your friends and your army without conditions,
you take away not only all resentment, but also
the power which, under negotiations for a treaty,
you would necessarily have given me. There is
involved in this question not only what you and
your friends ought to suffer, but what it is becoming
in me, as a just man, to do. I shall make the
latter my chief consideration on account of the
gods, on my own account, and on yours, Lucius,
and I shall not disappoint the expectation with
which you came to me."

These things they said to each other, as nearly as it is possible to gather the meaning of the speakers from the Memoirs and translate it into our language.¹ They then separated, and Octavian praised and admired Lucius because he had said nothing impolite or inconsiderate (as is usual in adversity), and Lucius praised Octavian for his mildness and brevity of speech. The others gathered the meaning of what had been said from the countenances of the two parties.

46. Lucius sent tribunes to receive the watchword for the army from Octavian, and they took the army roll to him, as it is still customary for the tribune who asks for the watchword to deliver to the commander the daily register of the number of troops present. After they had received the watchword they still kept their outposts on duty, for Octavian himself ordered that each army should keep its own guard that night, and the next morn-

¹ Probably the Memoirs here mentioned are those of Octavian himself, to which reference is made in *Illyr.* 14, and in *C. W.* iv. 110.

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ ἔθυεν, ὁ δὲ Λεύκιος αὐτῷ τὸν στρατὸν ἔπειπε, τὰ μὲν ὅπλα φέροντα, ἐσκευασμένον δὲ ώς ἐν ὁδοιπορίᾳ. οἱ δὲ τὸν Καίσαρα πόρρωθεν ώς αὐτοκράτορα ἡσπάσαντο καὶ ἐστησαν ἐν μέρει κατὰ τέλος, οὐ προσέταξεν ὁ Καῖσαρ, ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ, οἵ τε κληροῦχοι καὶ οἱ νεοστράτευτοι κεχωρισμένοι. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐκτελεσθείστης τῆς θυσίας στεψάμενος δάφνῃ, συμβόλῳ νίκης, προυκάθητο ἐπὶ βήματος καὶ προσέταξε μὲν ἄπασι θέσθαι τὰ ὅπλα, ἔνθα εἰστήκεσαν, θεμένων δὲ τοὺς κληρούχους, ἐκέλευσεν ἐγγυτέρω προσελθεῖν, διεγνωκὼς ἄρα ὀνειδίσαι τῆς ἀχαριστίας καὶ φοβῆσαι. προέγνωστο δὲ μέλλων ὅδε ποιήσειν, καὶ ὁ στρατὸς ὁ τοῦ Καίσαρος, εἴτε ἐξεπίτηδες, οἱα προδιδάσκονται πολλάκις, εἴτε ὑπὸ πάθους ώς πρὸς οἰκείους ἄνδρας, ἀκρατεῖς τῆς δεδομένης σφίσι τάξεως γενομενοι, προσιοῦσι τοῖς Λευκιανοῖς οἱα συνεστρατευμένοις ποτὲ περιχυθέντες ἡσπάζοντο καὶ συνέκλαιον καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν παρεκάλουν καὶ οὔτε βοῶντες ἔτι ἐπαύοντο οὔτε συμπλεκόμενοι, κοινωνούντων ἐκατέροις τοῦ πάθους ἥδη καὶ τῶν νεοστρατεύτων· οὐδὲ ἦν τι διακεκριμένον ἔτι οὐδὲ εὔκριτον.

47. "Οθεν οὐδὲ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἔτι τῆς γυνώμης ἐκράτει, ἀλλὰ μόλις τὴν βοὴν καταπαύσας εἰπε τοῖς ἰδίοις. " ὑμεῖς μέν, ὡς συστρατιώτας, οὕτως ἀεί μοι προσενήνεχθε ώς μηδενὸς ἀτυχῆσαι παρ' ἐμοῦ δύνασθαι· ἐγὼ δὲ τοὺς μὲν νεοστρατεύτους ὑπ' ἀνάγκης ἐστρατεύσθαι Λευκίῳ νομίζω, τουτωνὶ δὲ τῶν συνεστρατευμένων τε πολλάκις ὑμῖν καὶ νῦν ὑφ' ὑμῶν σφέζομένων ἐπενόουν πυθέσθαι,

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

ing Octavian offered sacrifice, and Lucius sent his CHAP.
soldiers to him bearing their arms, but prepared
for marching. They saluted Octavian as imperator
while still at some distance, and each legion took
its separate position as Octavian had directed,
the colonized veterans being apart from the new
levies. When Octavian had finished the sacrifice
he took his seat in front of the tribunal, crowned
with laurel, the symbol of victory, and ordered
them all to lay down their arms where they stood.
When they had done so he ordered the veterans to
draw nearer, intending, it seems, to reproach them for
their ingratitude and to strike terror into them.
It was known beforehand what he was about to
do, and his own army, either purposely (as soldiers
are often advised beforehand), or moved by sympathy
as for their own relatives, broke from the formation
in which they had been placed, crowded around
Lucius' men as they approached their former
fellow-soldiers, embraced them, wept with them,
and implored Octavian in their behalf, and ceased
not crying out and embracing them, the new
levies sharing in the outburst of feeling, so that it
was impossible to distinguish or discriminate between
them.

V

The soldiers
of the two
armies
embrace
one another

47. For this reason Octavian did not persist
in his intention, but, after appeasing the tumult
with difficulty, addressed his own men as follows :
" You have always behaved in such a way to
me, fellow-soldiers, that you can ask nothing from
me in vain. I think that the new levies served
Lucius under compulsion, but I intended to ask these
old soldiers, who have often served with us and
who are now saved from punishment by you,

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. ^V τί παθόντες ἐξ ἡμῶν ἢ τίνος χάριτος οὐκ ἀξιωθέντες ἢ τί μεῖζον παρ' ἑτέρου προσδοκῶντες ἐναντία δπλα ἤραντο καὶ ἐμοὶ καὶ ὑμῖν καὶ ἑαυτοῖς; ἂν γὰρ ἔκαμνον ἐγώ, πάντα ἦν ὑπὲρ τῆς κληρουχίας, ἃς τοῦ μέρους καὶ τούτοις μετήν. καὶ εἰ συγχωρεῖτε μοι, καὶ νῦν πεύσομαι.” οὐκ ἐπιτρεπόντων δέ, ἀλλὰ ἀπαύστως παρακαλούντων, “συγχωρῷ ὑμῖν, ὅσα βούλεσθε,” ἔφη, “καὶ ἀφείσθωσαν ἀπαθεῖς τῶν ἡμαρτημένων, ἀν ἐς τὸ μέλλον ὑμῖν ὅμοια φρονῶσιν.” ὑπισχνουμένων δ' ἑκατέρων βοαί τε καὶ χάριτες ἥσαν ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα· καὶ τισιν αὐτῶν ἐπέτρεψε τινας καὶ ὑποδέξασθαι, τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ἐκέλευε σκηνοῦν, ἐνθα περ εἰστήκεσαν, ἄπωθεν, ἔως ὁ Καίσαρ αὐτοῖς πόλεις τε ἐς χειμασίαν καὶ τοὺς ἀπάξοντας ἐς τὰς πόλεις δοίη.

48. Καθεζόμενος δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος ἐκάλει τὸν Λεύκιον ἐκ τῆς Περυσίας μετὰ τῶν ἐν τέλει Ῥωμαίων. καὶ κατήεσαν πολλοὶ μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς, πολλοὶ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν καλουμένων ἵππεων, ἐν δψει πάντες οἰκτρᾶ· καὶ ὀξείᾳ μεταβολῇ. ἅμα δὲ ἐξήεσαν οὗτοι τῆς Περυσίας, καὶ φρουρὰ τὴν πόλιν περιέστη. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο, Λεύκιον μὲν ὁ Καίσαρ ἑαυτῷ παρεστήσατο, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων τοὺς μὲν οἱ φίλοι Καίσαρος, τοὺς δὲ οἱ λοχαγοὶ διέλαβον, προδεδιδαγμένοι πάντες ἐς τιμὴν ἀπάγειν ἅμα καὶ φυλακὴν ἀσημον. τοὺς δὲ Περυσίους ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους παρακαλοῦντας ἐκέλευσεν

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

what they have suffered at our hands, or what CHAP.
favour they have asked in vain, or what greater V
favours they expected from anybody else that they
have taken up arms against me, against you, against
themselves. For all the trouble I have met with has
grown out of the division of the lands, in which
they had their share. And now if you will permit
me I will yet ask them these questions." They
would not allow him to do so, but continued their
beseeching. "I grant what you wish," he said.
"Let them be dismissed without punishment for their
wrong-doing, provided they will hereafter be like-
minded with you." They promised on both sides
with acclamations and thanks to Octavian, who
allowed some of his own men to entertain some
of their men as guests. He ordered the remainder
to pitch their tents where they had been stationed,
at a certain distance from the others, until he
should assign them towns for winter quarters and
appoint persons to lead them thither.

48. Then, seated on his tribunal, Octavian summoned from Perusia Lucius and the Romans of responsibility who were with him. Many of the senators and knights came down, all presenting a pitiful appearance by reason of their sudden change of fortune. As soon as they passed out of Perusia a guard was stationed around it. When they reached the tribunal Octavian placed Lucius by his own side. Of the rest, some were taken in charge by the friends of Octavian, others by centurions, all of whom had been instructed beforehand to show them honour and to keep watch upon them unobserved. He commanded the Perusians who stretched out their hands to him from the walls, to come

Octavian pardons
Lucius and all but
a few leaders

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. ήκειν, ἄνευ τῆς βουλῆς μόνης· καὶ ἐλθοῦσι
^V συνέγνω. οἱ δὲ βουλευταὶ τότε μὲν φύλαξι
 παρεδόθησαν, μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ ἀνηρέθησαν, χωρὶς
 Αἰμιλίου Λευκίου, ὃς ἐν Ῥώμῃ δικάζων ἐπὶ τῷ
 φόνῳ Γατού Καίσαρος τὴν καταδικάζουσαν ἤνεγκε
 φανερῶς καὶ πάντας φέρειν ἐκέλευεν ὡς ἐκλυο-
 μένους μύσος.

49. Τὴν δὲ Περυσίαν αὐτὴν ἐγνώκει μὲν ὁ
 Καῖσαρ ἐς διαρπαγὴν ἐπιτρέψαι τῷ στρατῷ,
 Κέστιος δέ τις αὐτῶν ὑπομαργότερος, ἐν Μακε-
 δονίᾳ πεπολεμηκὼς καὶ ἐκ τοῦδε Μακεδονικὸν
 αὐτὸν ὄνομάζων, ἐνέπρησε τὴν οἰκίαν καὶ ἔαυτὸν
 ἐς τὸ πῦρ ἐνέβαλε, καὶ ἄνεμοι τὴν φλόγα ὑπολα-
 βόντες περιήνεγκαν ἐκ ὅλην Περυσίαν, καὶ ἐνε-
 πρήσθη χωρὶς τοῦ Ἡφαιστείου μόνου. τόδε μὲν
 δὴ τῇ Περυσίᾳ τέλος ἦν, δόξαν ἀρχαιότητος
 ἔχούσης καὶ ἀξιώσεως· ὑπὸ γὰρ Τυρρηνῶν πάλαι
 φασὶν αὐτὴν ἐν ταῖς πρώταις δυώδεκα πόλεσιν
 ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ γενέθαι. διὸ καὶ τὴν "Ἡραν ἔσεβον,
 οία Τυρρηνοί· τότε δὲ ὅσοι τὰ λείψανα τῆς
 πόλεως διέλαχον, τὸν "Ἡφαιστον σφίσιν ἔθεντο
 θεὸν εἴναι πάτριον ἀντὶ τῆς "Ἡρας. τῆς δὲ ἐπι-
 ούσης ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ ἐσπένδετο ἄπασιν, ὁ δὲ
 στρατὸς οὐκ ἐπαύετο ἐπὶ τισι θορυβῶν, ἕως
 ἀνηρέθησαν· καὶ ἥσαν οἱ μάλιστα Καίσαρος
 ἔχθροί, Καννούτιός τε καὶ Γάιος Φλάνιος καὶ
 Κλώδιος ὁ Βιθυνικὸς καὶ ἔτεροι. τοῦτο μὲν
 δὴ τέλος ἦν τῆς ἐν Περυσίᾳ Λευκίου πολιορκίας,
 καὶ ὁ πόλεμος ὡδε ἐξελέλυτο, χαλεπώτατός
 τε καὶ χρόνιος ἐλπισθεὶς ἔσεσθαι τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ.

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

forward, all except their town council, and as they CHAP.
presented themselves he pardoned them; but the
councillors were thrown into prison and soon
afterward put to death, except Lucius Aemilius, who
had sat as a judge at Rome in the trial of the
murderers of Caesar, who had voted openly for
condemnation, and had advised all the others to do
the same in order to expiate the guilt.

49. Octavian intended to turn Perusia itself over to the soldiers for plunder, but Cestius, one of the citizens, who was somewhat out of his mind, who had fought in Macedonia and for that reason called himself the Macedonian, set fire to his house and plunged into the flames, and a strong wind fanned the conflagration and drove it over the whole of Perusia, which was entirely consumed, except the temple of Vulcan. Such was the end of Perusia, a city renowned for its antiquity and importance. It is said that it was one of the first twelve cities built by the Etruscans in Italy in the olden time. For this reason the worship of Juno prevailed there, as among the Etruscans generally. But thereafter those who shared among themselves the remains of the city took Vulcan for their tutelary deity instead of Juno. On the following day Octavian made peace with all of them, but the soldiers did not desist from tumults against some of them until the latter were killed. These were the chief personal enemies of Octavian, namely, Cannutius, Gaius Flavius, Clodius Bithynicus, and others. Such was the conclusion of the seige of Lucius in Perusia, and thus came to an end a war which had promised to be long-continued and most grievous to Italy.

Perusia destroyed by fire

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY.

VI

CAP.
VI 50. Καὶ γὰρ Ἀσίνιος αὐτίκα καὶ Πλάγκος καὶ
Οὐεντίδιος καὶ Κρύσσος καὶ Ἀτήιος καὶ ὅσοι
τῆσδε τῆς γυνώμης ὄντες ἔτεροι στρατὸν εἰχον οὐκ
εὐκαταφρόνητον, ἀλλ' εἰς τρισκαίδεκα τέλη γεγυ-
μασμένα καὶ ἵππεας ἔξακισχιλίους ἐπὶ πεν-
τακοσίοις, ἡγούμενοι τὸ κεφάλαιον τοῦ πολέ-
μου Λεύκιον γενονέναι ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ἥεσαν,
ἔτερος ἑτέρας ὄδούς, οἱ μὲν ἐς Βρευτέσιον, οἱ
δ' ἐπὶ Ραβέννης, οἱ δ' ἐς Τάραντα καὶ οἱ μὲν
ἐς Μούρκουν ἢ Ἀηνόβαρβον, οἱ δὲ ἐς Ἀντών-
ιον, διωκόντων αὐτοὺς τῶν Καίσαρος φίλων
καὶ σπουδὰς προτεινόντων καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλουσιν
ἐνοχλούντων τὰ πεζὰ μάλιστα· ὃν δὴ καὶ μόνων
Ἀγρίππας ἐπεισε μεταθέσθαι δύο τέλη Πλάγκου,
ἀποληφθέντα ἐν Καμερίᾳ. ἔφευγε δὲ καὶ Φουλβία
μετὰ τῶν τέκνων ἐς Δικαιάρχειαν καὶ ἀπὸ Δικαι-
αρχείας ἐς τὸ Βρευτέσιον, μετὰ τρισχιλίων ἵππέων
οἱ αὐτῇ παρὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν πομποὶ ἀπεστά-
λησαν. ἐν δὲ τῷ Βρευτεσίῳ νεῶν πέντε μακρῶν
ἐκ Μακεδονίας οἱ μεταπέμπτων γενομένων ἐπι-
βᾶσα ἀνήγετο· καὶ αὐτῇ Πλάγκος συνέπλει, τὸν
ἔτι λοιπὸν αὐτοῦ στρατὸν ἐκλιπὼν ὑπὸ δειλίας. οἱ
δὲ Οὐεντίδιον σφῶν εἶλοντο ἄρχειν. Ἀσίνιος δὲ
Ἀηνοβάρβῳ συνετίθετο φιλίαν εἶναι πρὸς Ἀν-
τώνιον· καὶ ἐπέστελλον ἄμφω τάδε τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ
καὶ ἀποβάσεις αὐτῷ καὶ ἀγορὰν ὡς αὐτίκα ἥξοντι
εὐτρέπιζον ἀνὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν.

51. "Αλλω δ' Ἀντωνίου στρατῷ πολλῷ περὶ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

VI

50. FOR Asinius, Plancus, Ventidius, Crassus, CHAP.
Ateius, and the others of that party, who had forces VI
not to be despised, numbering about thirteen legions of disciplined troops and upward of 6500 horse, considering Lucius to have been the chief actor in the war, retired to the sea-coast by various routes, some to Brundusium, some to Ravenna, some to Tarentum, some to Murcus and Ahenobarbus, and still others to Antony. The friends of Octavian followed them, offering terms of peace, and, when they refused, harassing especially the infantry. From among them only two legions, belonging to Plancus, who were intercepted at Cameria, were persuaded by Agrippa to desert to him. Fulvia also fled with her children to Dicaearchia,¹ and thence to Brundusium, with 3000 horse, who were sent with her by the generals as an escort. At Brundusium there were five war-ships which had been sent for from Macedonia, and she embarked and put to sea, accompanied by Plancus, who abandoned the remains of his army through cowardice. These soldiers chose Ventidius as their commander. Asinius drew over Ahenobarbus to the side of Antony. Both Asinius and Ventidius wrote these facts to Antony, and they prepared landing-places, in expectation of his early arrival, and stores of provisions throughout Italy.

The armies
of Asinius,
Plancus,
and
Ventidius

51. Octavian was planning to get possession of

¹ The Greek name of the modern Pozzuoli.

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. VI. "Αλπεις, οὐ Φουφίος Καληγὸς ἡγεῖτο, ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπεβούλευεν, ἥδη μὲν τὸν Ἀντώνιον ὑπονοῶν, ἐλπίζων δὲ ἡ φίλῳ ἔτι δύτι φυλάξειν ἡ πολεμοῦντος μεγάλην ἴσχὺν προσλήψεσθαι. διαμέλλοντος δὲ ὅμως ἔτι αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ εὐπρεπὲς περιορωμένου, ὁ Καληγὸς ἐτελεύτησε· καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ, ως ἐς ἀμφότερα πρόφασιν εύρων, ἥει καὶ παρελάμβανε τόν τε στρατὸν καὶ τὴν Κελτικὴν ἐπ' αὐτῷ καὶ Ἰβηρίαν, καὶ τάσδε οὕσας ὑπὸ Ἀντωνίῳ, Φουφίου τοῦ παιδὸς Καληνοῦ καταπλαγέντος τε αὐτὸν καὶ παραδόντος ἄπαντα ἀμαχεῖ.

'Ο μὲν δὴ Καῖσαρ ἐνὶ τῷδε ἔργῳ ἔνδεκα τέλη στρατοῦ καὶ χώρας τοσάσδε λαβὼν τοὺς ἡγεμόνας αὐτῶν παρέλυε τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ ἰδίους ἐπιστήσας ἐς Ῥώμην ἀνέστρεφεν· 52. ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος χειμῶνος μὲν ἔτι τοὺς πρέσβεις κατεῖχε τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν κληρουχιῶν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθόντας, ἔτι ἐπικρύπτων, ἀ εφρόνει, ἥρι δ' ἐκ μὲν Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐς Τύρον ὕδενεν, ἐκ δὲ Τύρου διαπλεων ἐπὶ Κύπρου καὶ Ῥόδου καὶ Ἀσίας ἥσθετο τῶν ἐν τῇ Περσίᾳ γεγονότων καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐμέμφετο καὶ Φουλβίαν καὶ μάλιστα πάντων Μάνιον. Φουλβίαν μὲν οὖν εὑρεν ἐν Ἀθήναις, ἐκ Βρευτεσίου φυγοῦσαν· Ἰουλίαν δ' αὐτῷ τὴν μητέρα Πομπήιος, ἐς αὐτὸν διαφυγοῦσαν, ἐπεμπεν ἐκ Σικελίας ἐπὶ νεῶν μακρῶν, καὶ παρέπεμπον αὐτὴν οἱ τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Πομπήιον ἄριστοι, Λεύκιός τε Λίβων, ὁ κηδεστὴς τοῦ Πομπήίου, καὶ Σατουρνῖνος καὶ ἔτεροι, ὅσοι χρήζουντες τῆς Ἀντωνίου μεγαλοπραγίας ἡξίουν αὐτὸν συναλλαγέντα Πομπηίῳ σύμμαχον ἐπὶ Καίσαρι λαβεῖν

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

another considerable army belonging to Antony, CHAP.
VI
that was under the command of Fufius Calenus near
the Alps. He already had suspicions of Antony,
and he hoped, if the latter remained friendly, to pre-
serve these forces for him, or, if war should break out,
to add this large force to his own strength. While
he was still delaying and looking around for a fair-
seeming occasion, Calenus died; and Octavian, be-
lieving that he had found a good excuse for both
transactions, went and took possession of the army
and of Gaul and Spain besides, which were also
Antony's provinces. Fufius, the son of Calenus, was
terrified, and delivered everything over to him
without a fight.

Octavian, having acquired eleven legions of
soldiers and these large provinces by one stroke, dis-
missed the chief officers from their commands,
substituted his own, and returned to Rome. 52. As
it was still winter, Antony retained the deputies of
the colonized veterans, who had been sent to him,
and still concealed his intentions. In the spring he set
out from Alexandria and proceeded by land to Tyre,
and thence by sea, touching at Cyprus and Rhodes,
to the province of Asia. There he learned of the
doings at Perusia and he blamed his brother and
Fulvia, and, most of all, Manius. He found Fulvia
at Athens, whither she had fled from Brundusium.
His mother, Julia, who had fled to Pompeius, had
been sent thither by him from Sicily with warships,
and escorted by some of the optimates of his party,
by Lucius Libo, his father-in-law, by Saturninus and
others, who, being attracted by Antony's capacity
for great deeds, sought to bring him into friendly
relations with Pompeius and to form an alliance

Octavian
gains
possession
of the army
of Calenus

Antony's
wife and
mother
join him
at Athens

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. Πομπήιον. ὁ δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀπεκρίνατο χύριν μὲν ἐπὶ^{VI} τῇ μητρὶ γιγνώσκειν Πομπηίῳ καὶ ἀποτίσειν ἐν χρόνῳ, αὐτὸς δέ, εἰ μὲν πολεμοίη Καίσαρι, χρήσεσθαι Πομπηίῳ συμμάχῳ, εἰ δ' ἐμμένοι τοῖς πρὸς αὐτὸν ώμολογημένοις ὁ Καίσαρ, πειράσεσθαι καὶ Πομπηίον Καίσαρι συναλλάξαι.

53. 'Ο μὲν ὡδε ἀπεκρίνατο, ὁ δὲ Καίσαρ ἐς 'Ρώμην ἀπὸ Κελτῶν ἐπανιὼν ἥσθετο μὲν τῶν ἐς 'Αθήνας διαπεπλευκότων, τὸ δὲ τῆς ἀποκρίσεως ἀκριβὲς ἄρα οὐκ εἰδὼς ἔξωτρυνε τοὺς κληρούχους ἐπὶ τὸν 'Αντώνιον ὡς κατάγοντα μετὰ τῶν γεωργῶν Πομπήιον, ὃν αὐτοὶ τὰ χωρία ἔχουσιν· ἐς γὰρ δὴ Πομπήιον οἱ πλέονες τῶν γεωργῶν ἐπεφεύγεσαν. καὶ πιθανοῦ τοῦ διερεθίσματος ὅντος, οὐδὲ ὡς οἱ κληροῦχοι προθύμως ἐπὶ τὸν 'Αντώνιον ἐστράτευον· οὕτως ἡ δόξα τῶν ἐν Φιλίπποις γεγονότων ἐδημαγώγει τὸν 'Αντώνιον. ὁ δὲ Καίσαρ 'Αντωνίου μὲν καὶ Πομπήιον καὶ 'Αηνοβάρβους κατὰ πλῆθος ὀπλιτῶν ὑπεροίσειν ἐνόμιζεν (ἥρχε γὰρ τελῶν ἐς τότε τεσσαράκοντα πλεόνων), ναῦν δὲ οὐδεμίαν ἔχων οὐδὲ καιρὸν ἐς ναυπηγίαν ὡρρώδει, ναῦς ἐκείνων ἔχόντων πεντακοσίας, μὴ τὴν 'Ιταλίαν περιπλέοντες ἐς λιμὸν περιενέγκαιεν. ὃν ἐνθυμούμενος (ἐλέλεκτο δὲ αὐτῷ περὶ πολλῶν παρθένων ἐς γάμον) ἐπέστελλε Μαικήνᾳ συνθέσθαι Σκριβωνίᾳ, τῇ Λίβωνος ἀδελφῇ, τοῦ κηδεύοντος Πομπηίῳ, ἵν' ἔχοι καὶ τήνδε ἀφορμὴν ἐς διαλύσεις, εἰ δεήσειεν. καὶ πυθόμενος ὁ Λίβων ἐπέστελλε τοῖς οἰκείοις ἐγγυᾶν αὐτὴν τῷ Καίσαρι

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

between them against Octavian. Antony replied CHAP.
that he thanked Pompeius for sending his mother VI
and that he would requite him for the service in due
time; that if there should be a war with Octavian
he would ally himself with Pompeius, but that if
Octavian should adhere to their agreements he
would endeavour to reconcile him with Pompeius.

53. Such was his answer, and when Octavian returned from Gaul to Rome he heard about those who had set sail for Athens. Not knowing exactly what answer Antony had given them, he began to excite the colonized soldiers against the latter, representing that Antony intended to bring back Pompeius with the owners of the lands which the soldiers now held, for most of the owners had taken refuge with Pompeius. Although this cause of irritation was plausible, the soldiers would not even then take up arms against Antony with any zeal, so popular had he become by the reputation he had gained at Philippi. Octavian considered himself likely to be far superior to Antony, Pompeius, and Ahenobarbus in the number of troops, as he now had more than forty legions, but as he had not one ship and no time to make any, while they had 500, he feared lest they should bring famine upon Italy by patrolling the coast. While meditating on those things, and while proposals had been made to him about many girls in marriage, he wrote to Maecenas to make an engagement for him with Scribonia, the sister of Libo, the father-in-law of Pompeius, so that he might have the means of coming to an arrangement with the latter if need be. When Libo heard of this he wrote to his family that they should betroth her to Octavian without hesitation.

Octavian begins to suspect Antony

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. προθύμως. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ τῶν Ἀντωνίου φίλων καὶ
VI στρατῶν ὅσους ὑπώπτευε, διέπεμπεν ἐπὶ προ-
φάσεων ἄλλους ἀλλαχοῦ καὶ Λέπιδον ἐς τὴν
ἐψηφισμένην αὐτῷ Λιβύην, ἀγοντα τῶν Ἀν-
τωνίου τελῶν τὰ ὑποπτότατα ἔξ.

54. Λεύκιον δὲ καλέσας ἐπήνει μὲν ἐς φιλα-
δελφίαν, εἰ τῇ Ἀντωνίου γνώμῃ ὑπομεμενηκὼς
ἴδιον τὸ ἀμάρτημα ποιοῖτο, ὡνείδιζε δὲ ἐς ἀχα-
ριστίαν, εἰ τοιούτου τυχῶν αὐτοῦ μηδὲ νῦν
όμολογοίη περὶ Ἀντωνίου, σαφῶς ἥδη καὶ Πομ-
πηίῳ συνθέσθαι λεγομένου. “ἐγὼ δέ σοι πισ-
τεύων,” ἔφη, “Καληνοῦ τελευτήσαντος τά τε
ἔθνη τὰ ὑπ’ αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν στρατόν, ἵνα μὴ
ἄναρχος εἴη, διὰ τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ φίλων διώκουν
Ἀντωνίῳ. ἀλλὰ νῦν ἐκφανείσης τῆς ἐνέδρας
ἐκεῖνά τε ἐμαυτοῦ πάντα ποιοῦμαι καὶ σὸν πρὸς
τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀπιέναι θέλοντι συγχωρῶ μετὰ
ἀδείας.” ὁ μὲν οὕτως ἐπεν, εἴτε πειρώμενος τοῦ
Λευκίου, εἴτε τὸ λεχθὲν ἐκπεσεῖν ἐθέλων ἐς τὸν
Ἀντώνιον· ὁ δὲ οὐα καὶ πρότερον εἶπε· “Φουλ-
βίας μὲν ἡσθόμην οὕσης μοναρχικῆς, ἐγὼ δὲ
συνεχρώμην τοῖς τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ στρατοῖς ἐς τὴν
ἀπάντων ὑμῶν καθαίρεσιν. καὶ νῦν, εἰ μὲν ἐπὶ¹
καταλύσει τῆς μοναρχίας ἔρχοιτο ὁ ἀδελφός, καὶ
φανερῶς καὶ λαθὼν οἰχήσομαι πρὸς αὐτὸν, ἀγω-
νιούμενος αὐθὶς ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος πρὸς σέ,
καίπερ ἥδη μοι γενόμενον εὐεργέτην. εἰ δ’ ἐπιλέ-
γοιτο κύκεῖνυς καὶ διακρίνοι τοὺς συμμοναρχή-
σοντας αὐτῷ, πολεμήσω σὺν σοὶ πρὸς αὐτόν,
ἔως ἂν ἡγῶμαι μηδὲ σὲ μοναρχίαν καθίστασθαι·
τὸ γὰρ τῆς πατρίδος αἱὲ προθήσω καὶ χάριτος

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

Then Octavian, on various pretexts, sent away to CHAP.
this place and that, such of Antony's friends and VI
soldiers as he could not trust, and he sent Lepidus
to Africa, the province assigned to him, and with
him the six of Antony's legions who were most under
suspicion.

54. Then he summoned Lucius to his presence and praised him for his attachment to his brother, because he had taken the blame upon himself while carrying out Antony's wishes, but reproached him with ingratitude, if, after meeting such a favour from himself, he should now refuse to make confession concerning Antony, who was said to have formed an alliance openly with Pompeius. "Having confidence in you," he said, "when Calenus died I took charge of his provinces and army through my friends for Antony, so that they might not be without a head, but now that the plot is unveiled I shall keep them all for myself, and if you wish to go to your brother I will allow you to do so fearlessly." He spoke thus, either to test Lucius or in order that what he said might reach Antony. Lucius replied in the same spirit as before, saying, "I knew that Fulvia was in favour of the monarchy, but I joined with her and made use of my brother's soldiers to overthrow all of you. And now if my brother should come to dissolve the monarchy I will go to join him, either openly or secretly, and will fight you again in behalf of the country, although you have been a benefactor to me. But if he seeks allies to assist him in maintaining the tyranny, I will fight on your side against him as long as I think that you, too, are not trying to establish a monarchy. For I shall always set my country above gratitude and above family."

He
converses
on the
subject with
Lucius

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. καὶ γένους.” ὡδε μὲν ὁ Λεύκιος εἶπεν, ὁ δὲ
VI Καῖσαρ αὐτὸν καὶ τέως ἐν θαύματι ἄγων οὐκ
ἔφη μὲν οὐδὲ βουλόμενον ἐπάξεσθαι κατὰ ἀδελ-
φοῦ, πιστεύσειν δὲ ὡς τοιῷδε ἀνδρὶ πᾶσαν
Ἰβηρίαν καὶ τὸν ἐν αὐτῇ στρατόν, ὑποστρατη-
γούντων αὐτῷ τῶν νῦν ἥγουμένων αὐτῆς Πεδου-
καίου τε καὶ Λευκίου.

Οὕτω μὲν δὴ καὶ Λεύκιον ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀπέπεμπε
σὺν τιμῇ καὶ διὰ τῶν ὑποστρατήγων ἐφύλασσεν
ἀφανῶς· 55. Ἀντώνιος δὲ Φουλβίαν μὲν ἐν Σικυῶνι
νοσηλευομένην ἀπέλιπεν, ἀπὸ δὲ Κερκύρας ἐς τὸν
Ιόνιον ἔπλει, στρατῷ μὲν οὐ πολλῷ, ναυσὶ δὲ
διακοσίαις, ἃς ἐν Ἀσίᾳ πεποίητο. πυθόμενος δὲ
Ἀηνόβαρβον ἀπαντᾶν αὐτῷ ναυσὶ καὶ στρατῷ
πολλῷ, οὐ δοκοῦντά τισιν οὐδὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς διαπεμ-
φθείσαις σπουδαῖς εἶναι βέβαιον (ἥν γὰρ Ἀηνό-
βαρβος τῶν κατεγνωσμένων τε ἐκ δίκης ἐπὶ Γαϊώ
Καίσαρι φόνου καὶ προγεγραμμένων ἐπὶ τῇ
καταδίκῃ καὶ ἐν Φιλίπποις Ἀντωνίῳ καὶ Καίσαρι
πεπολεμηκότων), δμως ἔπλει, πέντε ναυσὶν ἐπι-
βὰς ταῖς ἀρίσταις, ἵνα φαίνοιτο πιστεύων, καὶ
τὰς λοιπὰς ἐκ διαστήματος ἐπεσθαι κελεύσας.
καθορωμένου δὲ ἥδη τοῦ Ἀηνοβάρβου παντί τε τῷ
στρατῷ καὶ παντὶ τῷ στόλῳ μετ' ὁξείας εἰρεσίας
προσπλέοντος, ἔδεισεν ὁ Πλάγκος Ἀντωνίῳ παρε-
στὼς καὶ ἐπισχεῖν αὐτὸν ἥξίου τὸν πλοῦν καὶ
προπέμψαι τινᾶς ἐς πείραν ὡς πρὸς ἀμφίβολον
ἄνδρα. ὁ δὲ εἰπὼν αἴρεισθαι παρασπονδούμενος
ἀποθανεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ σώζεσθαι δειλὸς ὁφθείς,

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

So spake Lucius. Octavian, holding him in the same admiration as recently [at Perusia], said that he did not wish to incite him against his brother, but that he would entrust to Lucius, because he was what he was, the whole of Spain, and the army in it, with Peducaeus and Lucius, who now commanded it, as his lieutenants.¹ CHAP. VI

Thus Octavian dismissed Lucius with honour, but kept a secret watch upon him by means of his lieutenants. 55. Antony left Fulvia ill at Sicyon, and set sail from Coreyra into the Adriatic with an inconsiderable army and 200 ships that he had built in Asia. Antony learned that Ahenobarbus was coming to meet him with a fleet and a large number of soldiers. Then some of Antony's friends thought that it was not safe to trust even to the agreement exchanged between them, since Ahenobarbus had been condemned at the trial of Caesar's murderers, and after the condemnation had been placed on the list of the proscribed, and had fought against Antony and Octavian in the campaign of Philippi. Nevertheless, Antony advanced with five of his best ships in order to seem to have confidence in Ahenobarbus, and he ordered the others to follow at a certain distance. When Ahenobarbus was observed coming forward, rowing swiftly, with his whole army and fleet, Plancus, who was standing by the side of Antony, was alarmed and advised him to check his course and send a few men forward to make a test, as to a man whose intentions were doubtful. Antony replied that he would rather die by a breach of the treaty than be saved by an appearance of cowardice, and con-

Antony
sets sail
for Italy

Meets
Aheno-
barbus
in the
Adriatic

¹ Perhaps Lucius Carinas.

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. ἔπλει. πλησίον τε ήσαν ἀλλήλων ἥδη, καὶ αἱ
 VI ναυαρχίδες ἐκ τῶν σημείων ἐφαίνοντο καὶ ἀλλή-
 λαις προσέπλεον· καὶ τῶν ῥαβδούχων ὁ ἡγού-
 μενος Ἀντωνίῳ, κατὰ τὴν πρῷραν, ὥσπερ ἔθος
 ἐστίν, ἐστώς, εἴτ' ἐκλαθόμενος, διτὶ ἀμφίβολος ἀνὴρ
 καὶ στρατοῦ κάκεῖνος ἡγούμενος ἵδιου προσπλέοι,
 εἴτε ἀπὸ εὐγενεστέρου φρονήματος, ὡς ὑπηκόοις
 ἦ ἐλάσσοσιν ἀνδράσιν ὑπαντώσι, προσέταξε καθ-
 ελεῖν τὸ σημεῖον. οἱ δὲ καθήρουν τε καὶ τὴν ναῦν
 ἐς τὰ πλάγια τῆς Ἀντωνίου νεὼς περιέστρεφον.
 ὡς δὲ καὶ συνιδόντες ἀλλήλους ἡσπάσαντο
 καὶ ὁ στρατὸς ὁ τοῦ Ἀηνοβάρβου τὸν Ἀντώ-
 νιον ἡγεμόνα προσεῖπεν, ὁ μὲν Πλάγκος ἀνεθάρρει
 μόλις, ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος ἐς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ναῦν τὸν
 Ἀηνόβαρβον ἀναδεξάμενος ἐς Παλόεντα κατέ-
 πλευσεν, ἔνθα ἦν Ἀηνοβάρβῳ καὶ τὸ πεζόν. καὶ
 ὁ Ἀηνόβαρβος τῆς σκηνῆς ἔξιστατο Ἀντωνίῳ.

56. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπὶ Βρευτεσίου διέπλεον, φυλασ-
 σομένου πρὸς πέντε Καίσαρος τάξεων, καὶ οἱ
 Βρευτέσιοι τὰς πύλας ἀπέκλειον, Ἀηνοβάρβῳ
 μὲν ὡς ἐκ πολλοῦ πολεμίῳ, Ἀντωνίῳ δὲ ὡς πολέ-
 μιον ἐπάγοντι. ὁ δὲ ἀγανακτῶν καὶ ἡγούμενος
 εἶναι τάδε καλλωπίσματα, τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς ἀποκλεί-
 εσθαι πρὸς τῶν Καίσαρος φρουρῶν γυνώμῃ Καί-
 σαρος, διετάφρευε τῆς πόλεως τὸν ἴσθμὸν καὶ
 ἀπετείχιζεν. ἔστι δ' ἡ πόλις χερρόνησος ἐν
 μηνοειδεῖ λιμένι, καὶ οὐκ ἦν ἔτι τοῖς ἐξ ἡπείρου
 προσελθεῖν ἀνάντει λόφῳ, διατετμημένῳ τε καὶ
 διατετειχισμένῳ. ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος καὶ τὸν λιμένα
 μέγαν ὅντα φρουρίοις πυκνοῖς περιεφράξατο καὶ
 τὰς νήσους τὰς ἐν αὐτῷ. ἐς τε τὰ παράλια τῆς
 Ἰταλίας περιέπεμπεν, οἷς εἴρητο τὰ εὔκαιρα

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

tinued his course. Now they were drawing near,^{CHAP.} VI
and the vessels which bore the chiefs were distinguishable by their ensigns and approached each other. Antony's first lector, who stood in the bows as was customary, either forgetful that Ahenobarbus was a man of doubtful purpose, and that he too was leading his own forces, or moved by a lofty spirit as though he were meeting subject or inferior men, ordered them to lower their flag. They did so, and laid their ship alongside of Antony's. When the two commanders saw each other they exchanged greetings, and the army of Ahenobarbus saluted Antony as imperator. Plancus recovered his courage with difficulty. Antony received Ahenobarbus in his own ship and sailed to Paloeis, where Ahenobarbus had his infantry, and here he yielded his tent to Antony.

56. From thence they sailed to Brundusium, which was garrisoned by five cohorts of Octavian's troops. The citizens closed their gates against Ahenobarbus, as an old enemy, and against Antony, as one introducing an enemy. Antony was indignant, and considering this a pretence, and that he was in fact shut out by Octavian's garrison at the latter's instance, he drew a ditch and palisade across the isthmus that connects the town with the mainland. The city is situated on a peninsula which fronts a crescent-shaped harbour, and the people coming from the mainland could no longer reach the rising ground on which the city stands, as it had been cut off and walled in. Antony also surrounded the harbour, which is large, and the islands in it, with towers planted closely together. He sent forces along the coasts of Italy, whom he ordered to seize

Antony arrives at
Brundusium and
lays siege to it

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. καταλαμβάνειν. ἐκέλευε δὲ καὶ Πομπήιον ἐπι-
VI πλεῦν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ δρᾶν, ὃ τι δύναιτο. ὁ δὲ
ἄσμενος αὐτίκα Μηνόδωρον σὺν ναυσὶ πολλαῖς
καὶ στρατοῦ τέσσαρσι τέλεσιν ἐκπέμψας Σαρδὼ
Καίσαρος οὖσαν καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ δύο τέλη περιέσ-
πασε τὴν συμφροσύνην Ἀντωνίου καταπλαγέντας.
τῆς δὲ Ἰταλίας Σιποῦντα μὲν τῆς Αὔσονίας οἱ
τοῦ Ἀντωνίου κατέλαβον, Θουρίους δὲ καὶ Κων-
σεντίαν Πομπήιος ἐπολιόρκει καὶ τὴν χώραν
ἐπενέμετο τοῖς ἵππεῦσιν.

57. 'Ο δὲ Καΐσαρ, ὀξείας καὶ πανταχοῦ τῆς
ἐπιχειρήσεως γενομένης, ἐς μὲν τὴν Αὔσονίδα
ἐπεμπεν Ἀγρίππαν ἐπικουρεῖν τοῖς πονουμένοις.
καὶ ὁ Ἀγρίππας τοὺς ἐν ὁδῷ κληρούχους ἤγει,
ἐκ διαστήματος ἐπομένους ώς ἐπὶ Πομπήιον
ἰόντας· μαθόντες δὲ Ἀντωνίου γνώμη τὰ γιγνό-
μενα εἶγαι, ἀνέστρεφον αὐτίκα διαλανθάνοντες.
καὶ τοῦτο μάλιστα κατέπληξε τὸν Καίσαρα.
όδεύων δ' ὅμως ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον αὐτὸς μεθ'
ἔτέρου στρατοῦ, τοῖς κληρούχοις αὐθις ἐνετύγχανε
καὶ μετεδίδασκε καὶ τοὺς ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ συνψκισ-
μένους ἤγει, αἰδουμένους καὶ γνώμην ἐν ἀπο-
ρήτῳ ποιουμένους Ἀντώνιον καὶ Καίσαρα συναλ-
λάσσειν, εἰ δ' ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἀπειθῶν πολεμοίη,
Καΐσαρι ἀμύνειν. ὁ δὲ Καΐσαρ ἐν μὲν Κανυσίφ
τινὰς ἡμέρας ἐνοσηλεύετο, παντὶ δὲ ᾧ ἔτι κρείσ-
σων Ἀντωνίου κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος, εὗρε τὸ Βρεν-
τέσιον ἀποτειχισμένον καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλ' ἢ παρε-
στρατοπέδευε καὶ τοῖς γιγνόμενοις ἐφήδρευεν.

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

the advantageous positions. He called upon Pompeius CHAP.
also to move against Italy with his fleet and do
whatever he could. Pompeius, with alacrity,
despatched Menodorus with a numerous fleet and
four legions of soldiers, who seized Sardinia, which
belonged to Octavian, and two legions in it, who
were panic-stricken at this agreement between
Pompeius and Antony. In Italy Antony's men
captured the town of Sipuntum of Ausonia. Pompeius besieged Thurii and Consentia and ravaged
their territory with his cavalry.

57. Octavian, attacked so suddenly and in so many places, sent Agrippa into Ausonia to succour the distressed inhabitants. Agrippa called out the colonized veterans along the road, and they followed at a certain interval, supposing that they were moving against Pompeius, but when they learned that what was happening was at Antony's instance, they turned around and went back secretly. Octavian was greatly alarmed by this. Nevertheless, while marching to Brundusium with another army he again fell in with the colonized veterans, and interceded with them, and prevailed upon those who had been colonized by himself to follow him. They were ashamed to refuse, but they had the secret intention to bring Antony and Octavian into harmony with each other, and if Antony should refuse and should go to war, then to defend Octavian. The latter was detained some days at Canusium by sickness. Although his forces considerably outnumbered those of Antony, he found Brundusium walled in, and he could do nothing but encamp alongside of it and await events.

Octavian marches thither

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. 58. Ο δ' Ἀντώνιος ἐκράτει μὲν τοῖς ὄχυρώ-
 VI μασιν ώς πολὺ μείονας ἔχων ἀσφαλῶς ἀπομάχε-
 σθαι, ἐκάλει δὲ τὸν στρατὸν ἐκ Μακεδονίας κατὰ
 σπουδὴν καὶ ἐτέχναζεν ἐσπέρας ἀφανῶς ἀνάγεσθαι
 ναῦς μακράς τε καὶ στρογγύλας ἴδιωτικοῦ πλή-
 θους, οἱ μεθ' ἡμέραν ἄλλοι μετ' ἄλλους κατέπλεον
 ωπλισμένοι καθάπερ ἐκ Μακεδονίας ἐπιόντες,
 ἐφορῶντος αὐτῶν τὸν ἐπίπλουν τοῦ Καίσαρος.
 ἦδη δ' αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ μηχανήματα γεγένητο, καὶ
 ἐπιχειρήσειν ἔμελλε τοῖς Βρευτεσίοις, ἀχθομένου
 τοῦ Καίσαρος, ὅτι μὴ εἶχεν ἐπαμύνειν. περὶ δὲ
 ἐσπέραν ἐκατέροις ἀγγέλλεται Σιποῦντα μὲν
 Ἀγρίππας ἀναλαβών, Πομπήιος δὲ Θουρίων μὲν
 ἀπεωσμένος, Κωνσεντίαν δ' ἔτι περικαθήμενος,
 ἐφ' οὓς ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐδυσχέραινεν. ώς δὲ καὶ
 Σερουίλιος ἀπηγγέλθη προσιὼν τῷ Καίσαρι μετὰ
 χιλίων καὶ πεντακοσίων ἵππεων, οὐ κατασχών
 τῆς ὁρμῆς ὁ Ἀντώνιος εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ δείπνου,
 μεθ' ὧν εὑρεν ἑτοίμων φίλων καὶ ἵππεων τετρα-
 κοσίων, μάλα θρασέως ἐπειχθεὶς ἐπέπεσε τοῖς
 χιλίοις καὶ πεντακοσίοις εύναξομένοις ἔτι περὶ
 πόλιν Τρίαν καὶ ἐκπλήξας ἀμαχεὶ παρέλαβέ τε
 καὶ αὐτῆς ἡμέρας ἐς τὸ Βρευτέσιον ἐπανήγαγεν.
 οὕτω τὸν Ἀντώνιον ώς ἄμαχον ἐκ τῆς ἐν Φιλίπ-
 ποις δόξης ἔτι κατεπεπλήγεσαν.

59. Αὗ τε στρατηγίδες αὐτοῦ τάξεις, ὑπὸ τῆσδε
 τῆς δόξης ἐπαιρόμεναι, προσεπέλαζον τῷ χάρακι
 τῷ Καίσαρος κατὰ μέρη καὶ τοὺς συνεστρατευ-
 μένους σφίσιν ὠνείδιζον, εἰ πολεμήσοντες ἥκοιεν
 Ἀντωνίῳ τῷ πάντας αὐτοὺς περισώσαντι ἐν
 Φιλίπποις. τῶν δὲ ἀντεπικαλούντων, ὅτι αὐτοὶ
 σφίσιν ἥκουσι πολεμήσοντες, λόγοι συνισταμένων

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

58. Antony was enabled by means of his entrenchments to defend himself easily, although he was much inferior in numbers, and he summoned his army from Macedonia in haste, and in the meantime resorted to the stratagem of sending war-ships and merchant vessels to sea by night secretly with a multitude of private citizens on board, who returned, in batches, the next day, in sight of Octavian, fully armed, as though they had just come from Macedonia. Antony had his machines already prepared and was about to attack the Brundusians, to the great chagrin of Octavian, since he was not able to defend them. But toward evening the news reached both armies that Agrippa had captured Sipuntum and that Pompeius had been repulsed from Thurii, but was still besieging Consentia. Antony was disturbed by this news. When it was announced that Servilius was coming to the assistance of Octavian with 1500 horse, Antony could not restrain his rage, but sprang up from supper, and, with such friends as he could find ready and with 400 horse, he pressed forward with the utmost intrepidity, and fell upon the 1500, who were still asleep near the town of Hyria, threw them into a panic, captured them without a fight, and returned to Brundusium the same day. Thus did the reputation that Antony had gained at Philippi as invincible still inspire terror.

59. Antony's praetorian cohorts, proud of his prestige, approached the camp of Octavian in groups and reproached their former comrades for coming hither to fight Antony, to whom they all owed their safety at Philippi. When the latter replied that the others had come making war against themselves,

Antony
sends to
Macedonia
to bring
his army

VI

The soldiers
of the
two armies
fraternize

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. ἐγίγνοντο, καὶ τὰ ἐγκλήματα ἀλλήλους προύφερον,
VI οἱ μὲν τὴν ἀπόκλεισιν τοῦ Βρευτεσίου καὶ τὴν
ἀφαίρεσιν τοῦ Καληνοῦ στρατοῦ, οἱ δὲ τὴν ἀποτεί-
χισιν τοῦ Βρευτεσίου καὶ πολιορκίαν καὶ τὴν τῆς
Αὐσονίδος καταδρομὴν καὶ τὸ συνθέσθαι μὲν
Ἀηνοβάρβῳ σφαγεῖ Γαίου Καίσαρος, συνθέσθαι
δὲ Πομπηίῳ κοινῷ πολεμίῳ. καὶ τέλος οἱ τοῦ
Καίσαρος τὴν γνώμην σφῶν τοῖς ἑτέροις ἀνε-
κάλυπτον, ὅτι Καίσαρι συνέλθοιεν οὐκ ἀμνημο-
νοῦντες Ἀντωνίου τῆς ἀρετῆς, ἀλλὰ διαλλαγὰς
ἐπινοοῦντες ἀμφοτέροις ἡ Ἀντώνιον ἀπειθοῦντα
καὶ πολεμοῦντα ἀμυνούμενοι. καὶ τάδε καὶ αὐτοὶ
προσπελάζοντες τοῖς Ἀντωνίου χαρακώμασι
προύλεγον.

Γιγνομένων δὲ τούτων ἀγγέλλεται Φουλβία
τεθνεώσα, λεγομένη μὲν ἐπὶ ταῖς Ἀντωνίου
μέμψεις ἀθυμῆσαι καὶ ἐς τὴν νόσον ἐμπεσεῖν,
νομιζομένη δὲ καὶ τὴν νόσον ἐκοῦσα ἐπιτρῆψαι
διὰ τὴν ὄργὴν Ἀντωνίου νοσοῦσάν τε γὰρ αὐτὴν
ἀπολελοίπει καὶ οὐδὲ ἀπολείπων ἔωράκει. ἔδόκει
δ' ἀμφοτέροις ἐς πολλὰ συνοίσειν ὁ θάνατος;
γυναίου φιλοπράγμονος ἀπηλλαγμένοις, ἢ διὰ τὸν
Κλεοπάτρας ζῆλον ἔξερρίπισε τοσόνδε πόλεμον.
τό γε μὴν πάθος ἀσθενῶς ἥνεγκεν ὁ Ἀντώνιος,
ἡγουμενός τι καὶ αἴτιος γεγονέναι.

VII

CAP. 60. Λεύκιος δὲ ἦν Κοκκήιος ἑκατέρῳ φίλῳ καὶ
VII ὑπὸ Καίσαρος ἐς Φοινίκην τοῦ προτέρου θέρφου

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

they fell to arguing and brought charges against each other. Antony's men said that Brundusium had been closed against him and that Calenus' troops had been taken from him, the others spoke of the investment and siege of Brundusium, the invasion of Southern Italy, the agreement with Ahenobarbus, one of Caesar's murderers, and the treaty with Pompeius, their common enemy. Finally Octavian's men revealed their purpose to the others, saying that they had come with Octavian, not because they were forgetful of Antony's merits, but with the intention of bringing them to an agreement, or, if Antony refused and continued the war, of defending Octavian against him. These things they openly said also when they approached Antony's works.

While these events were in progress the news came that Fulvia was dead. It was said that she was dispirited by Antony's reproaches and fell sick, and it was thought that she had become a willing victim of disease on account of the anger of Antony, who had left her while she was sick and had not visited her even when he was going away. The death of this turbulent woman, who had stirred up so disastrous a war on account of her jealousy of Cleopatra, seemed extremely fortunate to both of the parties who were rid of her. Nevertheless, Antony was much saddened by this event because he considered himself in some sense the cause of it.

VII

60. THERE was a certain Lucius Cocceius, a friend of both, who had been sent, in company with

CHAP.
VII

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. ^{VII} πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀπέσταλτο μετὰ Καικίνα,
ἐπανιόντος δὲ τοῦ Καικίνα παρὰ Ἀντωνίῳ κατέ-
μενεν. οὗτος τότε ὁ Κοκκήιος, τὸν καιρὸν οὐ
μεθείσ, ὑπεκρίνατο μεταπεμφθῆναι πρὸς Καίσαρος
ἀσπασόμενος αὐτόν. συγχωροῦντος δ' ἀπιέναι
τοῦ Ἀντωνίου πειρώμενος ἥρετο, εἴ τι καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ
Ἀντώνιος ἐπιστέλλει τῷ Καίσαρι, κεκομισμένος δι'
αὐτοῦ Κοκκήιου γράμματα. καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος "νῦν
μέν," ἔφη, "τί ἀν ἀλλήλοις γράφοιμεν, δοντες ἔχ-
θροί, εἰ μὴ κακῶς ἀγορεύοιμεν ἀλλήλους; ἀντέ-
γραψα δὲ τοῖς πάλαι διὰ Καικίνα· καὶ εἰ βούλει,
λάβε τὰ ἀντίγραφα." ὁ μὲν οὕτως ἐπεχλεύασεν, δὲ
δὲ Κοκκήιος οὐκ εἴᾳ πω τὸν Καίσαρα καλεῖν ἔχθρόν,
ἔς τε Λεύκιον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἀντωνίου φίλους
τοιόνδε γεγενημένον. ὁ δέ "ἐκ Βρευτεσίου με,"
φησίν, "ἀποκλείων καὶ τὰ ἐμὰ ἔθνη καὶ τὸν
Καληνοῦ στρατὸν ἀφαιρούμενος ἔτι τοῖς φίλοις
ἔστιν εὔνους μόνοις· οὐδὲ τοὺς φίλους ἐμοὶ περι-
σώζειν ἔοικεν, ἀλλὰ ταῖς εὐεργεσίαις ἔχθροποιεῖν."
καὶ ὁ Κοκκήιος, ἂ μὲν ἐπεμέμφετο μαθών, οὐδὲν
δὲ ἔτι δξυτέραν φύσιν ἐπερεθίσας, φέρετο πρὸς τὸν
Καίσαρα.

61. Ο δὲ αὐτὸν ἴδων ἐν θαύματι ἐποιεῖτο, ὅτι
μὴ θᾶσσον ἔλθοι· "οὐ γάρ," ἔφη, "καὶ τὸν σὸν
ἀδελφόν, ἵν' ἔχθρὸς ἦς μοι, περιέσωσα." ὁ δέ
"πῶς," ἔφη, "τοὺς μὲν ἔχθροὺς φίλους ποιῇ,
τοὺς δὲ φίλους ἔχθροὺς ἀποκαλεῖς τε καὶ
τὸν στρατὸν ἀφαιρῇ καὶ τὰ ἔθνη;" καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ
"οὐ γάρ," ἔφη, "Καληνοῦ τελευτήσαντος ἔχρην

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

Caecina, by Octavian, the previous summer, to CHAP.
Antony in Phoenicia, and had remained with VII
Antony after Caecina returned. This Cocceius, Cocceius
seizing his opportunity, pretended that he had been attempts to
sent for by Octavian for the purpose of a friendly mediate
greeting. When Antony allowed him to go he asked,
by way of testing his disposition, whether Antony
would like to write any letter to Octavian making use
of himself as his messenger. Antony replied : " What
can we write to each other, now that we are enemies,
except mutual recrimination ? I wrote letters in
reply to his of some time ago, which I sent by the
hand of Caecina. Take copies of those if you like."
This he said by way of jest, but Cocceius would not
yet allow him to call Octavian an enemy after his
generous behaviour towards Lucius and Antony's
other friends. But Antony replied : " He has shut
me out of Brundusium and taken my provinces and
the army of Calenus from me. He is kind only to
my friends, and evidently not to keep them friendly,
but to make them enemies to me by his benefac-
tions." Cocceius, after hearing these complaints,
did not care to irritate further a naturally passionate
disposition, but proceeded to make his visit to
Octavian.

61. When Octavian saw him he expressed astonish- He has an
ment that he had not come sooner. " I did not save interview
your brother," he exclaimed, " in order that you with
should be my enemy."¹ Cocceius replied, " How is Octavian
it that you, who make friends out of enemies, call
your friends enemies and take from them their
armies and provinces ? " " It was not fitting,"
replied Octavian, " that after the death of Calenus

¹ The brother was M. Cocceius Nerva, Antony's proquaestor.

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. VII. ἐπὶ μειρακίῳ τῷ Καληνοῦ παιδὶ γενέσθαι τοσαύτας ἀφορμάς, ὡπόντος ἔτι Ἀντωνίου· αἰς καὶ Λεύκιος ἐπαρθεὶς ἐμάνη, καὶ Ἀσίνιος καὶ Ἀηνόβαρβος γειτονεύοντες ἐχρώντο καθ' ἡμῶν. ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ Πλάγκου τέλη κατὰ σπουδὴν κατέλαβον, ἵνα μὴ οἴχοιτο πρὸς Πομπήιον· οἱ γοῦν ἵππεες αὐτῶν διέπλευσαν ἐς Σικελίαν.” καὶ ὁ Κοκκήιος “έτέρως,” ἔφη, “τάδε λογοποιούμενα οὐδὲ Ἀντώνιος ἐπίστευεν, ἕως ἀπεκλείσθη τοῦ Βρευτεσίου καθάπερ πολέμιος.” καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ οὐδὲν μὲν αὐτὸς ἔφη περὶ τοῦδε προστάξαι (οὐδὲ γὰρ προμαθεῖν προσπλέοντα οὐδ' ἀφικέσθαι μετὰ πολεμίων προσδοκῆσαι), Βρευτεσίους δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ τὸν ὑπολελειμμένον αὐτοῖς διὰ τὰς Ἀηνόβαρβου καταδρομὰς ταξίαρχον αὐτοκελεύστους ἀποκλεῖσαι τὸν Ἀντώνιον, συνθέμενον μὲν ἐχθρῷ κοινῷ Πομπήιῳ, ἐπαγαγόντα δὲ Ἀηνόβαρβον φονέα τοῦ ἐμοῦ πατρός, ψήφῳ καὶ κρίσει καὶ προγραφῇ κατεγνωσμένον καὶ πολιορκήσαντα μὲν τὸ Βρευτέσιον μετὰ Φιλίππους, πολιορκοῦντα δὲ ἔτι τὸν Ἰόνιον ἐν κύκλῳ, ἐμπρήσαντα δὲ τὰς ἐμὰς ναῦς καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν λεηλατήσαντα.

62. ‘Ο δέ “σπένδεσθαι μέν,” ἔφη, “συνεχωρήσατε ἀλλήλοις, πρὸς οὓς ἀν ἐθέλητε· καὶ οὐδενὶ τῶν ἀνδροφόνων Ἀντώνιος ἐσπείσατο, οὐδὲν ἔλασσον ἢ αὐτὸς σὺ τὸν σὸν πατέρα τιμῶν. Ἀηνόβαρβος δὲ οὐκ ἔστι τῶν ἀνδροφόνων, ἢ δὲ ψῆφος αὐτῷ κατ’ ὄργην ἐπῆκται· οὐδὲ γὰρ τῆς

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

such large resources should be left in the hands CHAP. VII of such a stripling as Calenus' son while Antony was still far distant. Lucius was excited to frenzy by them and Asinius and Ahenobarbus, who were near by, were about to use them against us. So, too, I took sudden possession of the legions of Plancus, in order that they might not join the Pompeians. His cavalry has actually gone to Sicily." "These matters have been told differently," said Cocceius; "but even Antony did not credit the statements made to him until he was shut out of Brundusium as an enemy." "I gave no order on that subject," replied Octavian, "for I did not know beforehand that he was coming, nor did I anticipate that he would come here with enemies. The Brundusians themselves and the praefect, who had been left with them on account of the raids of Ahenobarbus, of their own motion excluded Antony, who was in league with the common enemy, Pompeius, and was bringing in Ahenobarbus, one of my father's murderers, who had been condemned by vote of the Senate, by judgment of the court, and by the proscription, who besieged Brundusium after the battle of Philippi, and is still blockading the Adriatic coast, who has burned my ships and plundered Italy."

62. "But it was agreed between you," said He argues for Antony's rectitude Cocceius, "that you might treat with whomsoever you chose. Yet Antony has not made a treaty with any of the murderers, and he holds your father in no less honour than you do. Ahenobarbus was not one of the murderers, but the vote was cast against him on account of personal animosity, for he had no share whatever in the plots of those

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. Βουλῆς πω τότε μετεῖχεν. εἰ δ' ὡς φίλῳ Βρού-
του μὴ συγγνῶναι νομίζοιμεν, οὐκ ἀν φθάνοιμεν
ὅλιγου δεῖν ἅπασι χαλεπαίνοντες; Πομπήιώ δὲ
οὐ συνέθετο μὲν συμμαχήσειν ὁ Ἀντώνιος, πολε-
μούμενος δ' ὑπὸ σοῦ προσλήψεσθαι σύμμαχον ἢ
καὶ σοὶ συναλλάξειν, οὐδὲν ἀνήκεστον οὐδ' ἐκεῖνον
εἰργασμένον. σὺ δὲ καὶ τῶνδε τὴν αὐτίαν ἔχεις·
εἰ γὰρ οὐκ ἐπολεμήθη κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν, οὐδὲ ἀν
οὗτοι πρεσβεύεσθαι ταῦτα πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον
ἐθάρρουν.” καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἔτι ἐπικαλῶν “τὴν
μὲν Ἰταλίαν,” ἔφη, “κάμε σὺν αὐτῇ, Μανιος καὶ
Φουλβία καὶ Αεύκιος ἐπολέμουν· ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος
οὐ πρότερον, ἀλλὰ νῦν Ἀντωνίῳ θαρρῶν ἐπιβέ-
βηκε τῆς παραλίου.” καὶ ὁ Κοκκήιος “οὐκ
Ἀντωνίῳ θαρρῶν,” εἶπεν, “ἀλλὰ ὑπ’ Ἀντωνίου
πεμφθείς. οὐ γὰρ ἐπικρύψω σε, ὅτι καὶ τὴν ἄλλην
Ἰταλίαν ἐπιδραμέται ναυτικῷ πολλῷ ναυτικὸν
οὐκ ἔχουσαν, εἰ μὴ διαλύσεσθε ὑμεῖς.” ὁ δὲ
Καῖσαρ (οὐ γὰρ ἀμελῶς ἥκουσε τοῦ τεχνάσματος)
ἐπισχὼν ὅλιγον εἶπεν “ἀλλ’ οὐ χαιρήσει Πομ-
πήιος, κακὸς κακῶς καὶ νῦν ἐκ Θουρίων ἔξελα-
θείς.” καὶ ὁ Κοκκήιος τὰ ἀμφίλογα πάντα κατ-
ιδὼν ἐπῆγε τὸν Φουλβίας θάνατον καὶ τρόπον
αὐτοῦ, ὅτι πρὸς τὴν ὄργὴν Ἀντωτίου δυσχεράναστά
τε νοσήσειε καὶ τὴν νόσον ἐπιτρίψειεν ὑπὸ τῆς
δυσθυμίας, οὐκ ἰδόντος αὐτὴν οὐδὲ νοσοῦσαν
Ἀντωνίου, ὡς αἴτιον τῇ γυναικὶ θανάτου γενό-
μενον· ἐκποδὼν δὲ κάκείνης γενομένης, οὐδενὸς
ὑμῖν ἐνδεῖν ἔτι ἔφη “πρὸς ἀλλήλους πλὴν ἀλη-
θεῦσαι, περὶ ὧν ὑπενοήσατε.”

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

days. If we consider him unpardonable because he was a friend of Brutus, are we not in a fair way to be bitter against almost everybody? Antony made an agreement with Pompeius, not to make an aggressive war with him, but either to secure his help in case of an attack by you, or to bring him into good relations with you, since even he has done nothing which should make him irreconcileable. You are the one to blame for these things, for if there had been no war in Italy those men would not have ventured to send ambassadors to Antony." Octavian repeated his accusations, saying, "Manius and Fulvia and Lucius brought war against Italy, and against me as well as Italy; and Pompeius, who did not attack before, now makes descents upon the coast, encouraged by Antony." Cocceius replied, "Not encouraged by Antony, but directed by him; for I will not conceal from you the fact that the rest of Italy, which is destitute of naval defences, will be attacked by a powerful fleet unless you two agree to peace." Octavian, who gave due weight to this artful suggestion, reflected a moment, and then said, "But Pompeius will have the worst of it. He has just been repulsed from Thurii as he deserves." Then Cocceius, having gone over the whole controversy, led the conversation up to the death of Fulvia and the manner of it, saying that she fell sick because she could not bear the anger of Antony and wasted away with grief because he would not see her even when she was ill, and that he was in a manner the cause of his wife's death. "Now that she is dead," he continued, "it only remains for you to tell each other frankly what your suspicions are."

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. 63. Οὗτω καθομιλῶν τὸν Καίσαρα ὁ Κοκκήιος
VII ἐκείνην τε τὴν ἡμέραν ἔξενίζετο παρ' αὐτῷ καὶ
ἔδειτο ἐπιστεῖλαι τι τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ, νεώτερον δοντα
πρεσβυτέρῳ. ὁ δὲ πολεμοῦντι μὲν ἔτι οὐκ ἔφη
γράψειν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκείνον· μέμψεσθαι δ' αὐτοῦ
τῇ μητρί, ὅτι συγγενῆς οὖσα καὶ προτιμηθεῖσα
ἐκ πάντων ὑφ' αὐτοῦ, φύγοι τὴν Ἰταλίαν καθά-
περ οὐ τευχομένη πάντων ὡς παρ' υἱοῦ. ὥδε
μὲν καὶ ὁ Καίσαρ ἐτέχναξε καὶ ἐπέστελλε τῇ
Ἰουλίᾳ. ἔξιόντι δὲ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τῷ Κοκκηίῳ
πολλοὶ τῶν ταξιάρχων τὴν γνώμην ἔξεφερον τοῦ
στρατοῦ. ὁ δὲ καὶ τάλλα καὶ τόδε αὐτὸ τῷ
Ἀντωνίῳ μετέφερεν, ἵνα εἰδείη πολεμήσοντας οὐ
συντιθεμένῳ. συνεβούλευεν οὖν Πομπήιον μὲν
ἐς Σικελίαν ἔξι ὧν ἐπόρθει μετακαλεῖν, Ἀηνό-
βαρβον δέ ποι πέμπειν, ἔως αἱ συνθῆκαι γένοιντο.
παρακαλούσης δὲ καὶ τῆς μητρὸς ἐς ταῦτα τὸν
Ἀντώνιον (γένει γὰρ ἦν ἐκ τῶν Ιουλίων), γῆσχύ-
νετο Ἀντώνιος, εἰ μὴ γενομένων τῶν συμβάσεων
τὸν Πομπήιον αὐθις ἐς συμμαχίαν καλοίη. τῆς
δὲ μητρὸς οὐκ ἀπελπιζούσης αὐτὰς ἔσεσθαι καὶ
Κοκκηίου ἰσχυριζομένου τε περὶ αὐτῶν καὶ ἐλπι-
ζομένου τι πλέον εἰδέναι, ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐνεδίδου καὶ
τὸν Πομπήιον ἀναχωρεῖν ἐκέλευεν ἐς Σικελίαν,
ὡς ἐπιμελησόμενος τῶν συγκειμένων, καὶ Ἀηνό-
βαρβον ἐπεμπειν ἡγεῖσθαι Βιθυνίας.

64. Ὡν ὁ στρατὸς ὁ τοῦ Καίσαρος αἰσθανό-

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

63. In this way Cocceius won the confidence of Octavian and passed the day as his guest, and begged him to write to Antony as the younger man to the older. Octavian said that he would not write to one who was still waging war against him, because Antony had not written to him, but that he would make complaint to Antony's mother, because, although a relative and held in the highest honour by Octavian, she had fled from Italy, as though she could not have obtained everything from him as from her own son. This was his device also for opening a correspondence by writing to Julia. As Cocceius was going away from the camp many of the higher officers advised him of the purpose of the army, and he communicated this and other things he had learned to Antony, so that he might know that they would fight against him because he did not come to an agreement. So he advised Antony that Pompeius should be called back from his ravaging to Sicily, and that Ahenobarbus should be sent somewhither until the treaty of peace should be made. Antony's mother besought him to the same purpose, for she belonged to the Julian clan. Antony apprehended that if the negotiations should fail he would be put to the shame of calling on Pompeius for assistance again, but his mother encouraged him to believe that they would not fail, and Cocceius confirmed her, intimating that he knew more than he had told. So Antony yielded, and ordered Pompeius back to Sicily, implying that he would take care of their mutual concerns, and sent Ahenobarbus away as governor of Bithynia.

Octavian
writes to
Antony's
mother

64. When Octavian's soldiers learned these facts

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. μενοι πρέσβεις εῖλοντο τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐς ἀμφο-
VII τέρους, οἱ τὰ μὲν ἐγκλήματα αὐτῶν ἐπέσχον ώς
οὐ κρίναι σφίσιν, ἀλλὰ διαλλάξαι μόνον ἡρημένοι,
σφίσι δ' αὐτοῖς προσελόμενοι Κοκκήιον μὲν ώς
οἰκεῖον ἀμφοῖν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν Ἀντωνίου Πολλίωνα
καὶ Μαικήναν ἐκ τῶν Καίσαρος, ἔγνωσαν Καίσαρι
καὶ Ἀντωνίῳ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀμνηστίαν εἶναι τῶν
γεγονότων καὶ φιλίαν ἐς τὸ μέλλον. ὑπογύως
δὲ Μαρκέλλου τεθνεώτος, δις τὴν ἀδελφὴν Καί-
σαρος είχεν Ὁκταονίαν, ἐδικαίουν οἱ διαλλακταὶ
τὴν Ὁκταονίαν Ἀντωνίῳ τὸν Καίσαρα ἐγγυῆσαι.
καὶ ὁ μὲν αὐτίκα ἐνηγγύα, καὶ ἡσπάζοντο ἀλ-
λήλους, καὶ βοαὶ παρὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ εὐφημίαι
πρὸς ἕκάτερον αὐτῶν ἥσαν ἄπανστοι δι' ὅλης
τε τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ ἀνὰ τὴν νύκτα πᾶσαν.

65. 'Ο δὲ Καῖσαρ καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος τὴν Ῥω-
μαίων αὐθις ἀρχὴν ἐφ' ἔαυτῶν ἐμερίσαντο ἄπασαν,
ὅρον μὲν εἶναι σφίσι Σκόδραν πόλιν τῆς Ἰλλυ-
ρίδος, ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ Ἰονίου μυχοῦ μάλιστα δο-
κοῦσαν εἶναι, ταύτης δ' ἔχειν τὰ μὲν πρὸς ἔω
πάντα τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἔθνη τε καὶ νήσους ἔως ἐπὶ¹
ποταμὸν Εὐφράτην ἄνω, τὰ δὲ ἐς δύσιν τὸν Καί-
σαρα μέχρι ὧκεανοῦ. Λιβύης δὲ Λέπιδον ἀρχειν,
καθὰ Καῖσαρ ἐδεδώκει. πολεμεῖν δὲ Πομπήϊῳ
μὲν Καίσαρα, εἰ μή τι συμβαίνοι, Παρθυαίοις
δὲ Ἀντώνιον, ἀμυνόμενον τῆς ἐς Κράσσον παρ-
σπονδήσεως. Αηνοβάρβῳ δ' εἶναι πρὸς Καίσαρα
συμβάσεις τὰς πρὸς Ἀντώνιον γενομένας. στρατὸν
δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας προσκαταλέγειν ἀκωλύτως
ἴσον ἕκάτερον.

Αὗδε μὲν ἥσαν αἱ τελευταῖαι Καίσαρί τε καὶ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

they chose deputies and sent the same ones to both commanders. They took no notice of accusations because they had been chosen, not to decide a controversy, but to restore peace. Cocceius was added to their number as a friend of both, together with Pollio from Antony's party and Maecenas from that of Octavian. It was determined that there should be amnesty between Antony and Octavian for the past and friendship for the future. Moreover, as Marcellus, the husband of Octavian's sister Octavia, had recently died, the umpires decided that her brother should betroth her to Antony, which he did immediately. Then Antony and Octavian embraced each other. Thereupon shouts went up from the soldiers and congratulations were offered to each of the generals, without intermission, through the entire day and night.

Octavian
and Antony
reconciled

65. Now Octavian and Antony made a fresh partition of the whole Roman empire between themselves, the boundary line being Scodra, a city of Illyria which was supposed to be situated about midway up the Adriatic gulf. All provinces and islands east of this place, as far as the river Euphrates, were to belong to Antony and all west of it to the ocean to Octavian. Lepidus was to govern Africa, inasmuch as Octavian had given it to him. Octavian was to make war against Pompeius unless they should come to some agreement, and Antony was to make war against the Parthians to avenge their treachery toward Crassus. Octavian was to make the same agreement with Ahenobarbus that Antony had already made. Both of them might freely enlist soldiers in Italy in equal numbers.

They make
a fresh
partition of
the empire

These were the last conditions of peace between

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. ^{VII} Ἀντωνίῳ γενόμεναι συμβάσεις. καὶ εὐθὺς ἐς τὰ
έπειγοντα τοὺς φίλους ἑκάτερος αὐτῶν περιέ-
πεμπεν, Οὐεντίδιον μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν Ἀντώνιος.
ἀναστέλλειν Παρθυαίους τε καὶ Λαβιηνὸν τὸν
Λαβιηνοῦ, μετὰ τῶν Παρθυαίων ἐν ταῖσδε ταῖς
ἀσχολίαις Συρίαν τε καὶ τὰ μέχρι τῆς Ἰωνίας
ἐπιδραμόντα.

“Α μὲν δὴ Λαβιηνός τε καὶ Παρθυαῖοι δρά-
σαντες ἔπαθον, ἡ Παρθυικὴ δηλώσει γραφή· 66.
“Ἐλενον δὲ στρατηγὸν Καίσαρος, σὺν ὄρμῃ κατα-
σχόντα Σαρδοῦς, αὐθις ἔξεβαλε τῆς Σαρδοῦς
Μηνόδωρος ὁ Πομπήιον, καὶ τῷδε μάλιστα χαλε-
παίνων ὁ Καίσαρ οὐκ ἐδέχετο τὰς πείρας Ἀν-
τωνίου συνάγοντος αὐτῷ Πομπήιον. ἐς δὲ Ρώμην
παρελθόντες ἐτέλουν τοὺς γάμους. καὶ ὁ Ἀν-
τώνιος Μάνιον μὲν ἔκτεινεν ὡς ἐρεθίσαντά τε
Φουλβίαν ἐπὶ διαβολῇ Κλεοπάτρας καὶ τοσῶνδε
αἴτιον γενόμενον, Καίσαρι δὲ ἐνέφηνε Σαλουι-
διηνόν, τὸν ἥγούμενον τῷ Καίσαρι τοῦ περὶ
Ροδανὸν στρατοῦ, ἀπόστασιν ἵδιᾳ βουλεῦσαι καὶ
οἱ περὶ τοῦδε προσπέμψαι περικαθημένῳ τὸ Βρευ-
τέσιον. καὶ ὁ μὲν τόδε ἔξειπεν οὐ πρὸς πάντων
ἐπαινούμενον, εὐφυὴς ὧν ἄρα καὶ ταχὺς ἐς
εὔνοιαν ὁ δὲ Καίσαρ αὐτίκα τὸν Σαλουιδιηνὸν
ἐκάλει κατὰ σπουδήν, ὡς ἐπὶ δή τι μόνου χρῆζων
καὶ εὐθὺς ἐκπέμψων αὐθις ἐς τὸν στρατόν, καὶ
ἐλθόντα ἔκτεινε διελέγξας καὶ τὸν ὑπ' αὐτῷ
στρατὸν ὡς ὑποπτον ὅντα ἔχειν ἔδωκεν Ἀντωνίῳ.

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

Octavian and Antony. Straightway each of them sent his friends to attend to urgent business. ^{CHAP. VII} Antony despatched Ventidius to Asia against the Parthians and against Labienus, the son of Labienus, who, with the Parthians, had made a hostile incursion into Syria and had advanced as far as Ionia during the late troubles.

What Labienus and the Parthians did and suffered I will show in my Parthian history; 66. but in the meantime Helenus, a lieutenant of Octavian, who had repossessed Sardinia by a sudden onset, was driven out again by Menodorus, the lieutenant of Pompeius. Octavian was so exasperated by this that he rejected Antony's endeavours to bring him to an agreement with Pompeius. They proceeded to Rome together and celebrated the marriage. <sup>Antony
marries
Octavia</sup> Antony put Manius to death because he had excited Fulvia by his accusations against Cleopatra and had been the cause of so many evils. He also revealed to Octavian the fact that Salvidienus, who was in command of Octavian's army on the Rhone, had had the intention of deserting him, and had sent word to that effect to Antony while he was besieging Brundusium. This secret Antony revealed not with universal approbation, but because of his real frankness and eagerness to show his good-will. Octavian instantly summoned Salvidienus to Rome pretending that he had some private communication to make to him, and that he should send him back to the army. When he came Octavian confronted him with proofs of his treachery and put him to death, and gave his army to Antony, as he considered it untrustworthy.

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

VIII

CAP.
VIII 67. Ρωμαίους δ' ὁ λιμὸς ἐπίεζεν, οὕτε τῶν ἑφών
ἐμπόρων ἐπιπλεόντων δέει Πομπηίου καὶ Σικελίας,
οὕτε τῶν ἐκ δύσεως διὰ Σαρδὼ καὶ Κύρον ἔχο-
μένας ὑπὸ τῶν Πομπηίου, οὗτ' ἐκ τῆς περαίας
Λιβύης διὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐκατέρωθεν ναυκρατοῦν-
τας. ἐπετίμητο δὴ πάντα, καὶ τῶνδε τὴν αἰτίαν
ἐς τὴν ἔριν τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἀναφέροντες ἐβλασφή-
μουν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐς διαλύσεις πρὸς Πομπήιου
ἐπέσπερχον. οὐκ ἐνδιδόντος δὲ τοῦ Καίσαρος οὐδ'
ῶς, ὁ Ἀυτώνιος αὐτὸν ἤξιον ταχύνειν γε τὸν
πόλεμον διὰ τὴν ἀπορίαν. χρημάτων δὲ ἐς αὐτὸν
οὐκ ὄντων προυτέθη διάγραμμα, εἰσφέρειν ἐπὶ μὲν
τοῖς θεράπουσι τοὺς κεκτημένους ὑπὲρ ἐκάστου
τὸ ἥμισυ τῶν πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι δραχμῶν ὡρισ-
μένων ἐς τὸν πόλεμον τὸν Κασσίου τε καὶ Βρού-
του, ἐσφέρειν δὲ καὶ μοῖραν τοὺς ἐκ διαθήκης τι
καρπουμένους. τοῦτο τὸ γράμμα σὺν ὄρμῃ μαγι-
ώδει καθεῖλεν ὁ δῆμος ἀγανακτῶν, εἰ τὰ κοινὰ
ταμιεῖα κεκενωκότες καὶ τὰ ἔθνη σεσυληκότες καὶ
τὴν Ἰταλίαν αὐτὴν ἐσφοραῖς καὶ τέλεσι καὶ δη-
μεύσεσι καταβαρήσαντες οὐκ ἐς πολέμους οὐδὲ ἐς
ἐπίκτητον ἀρχήν, ἀλλ' ἐς ἴδιους ἔχθρους ὑπὲρ
οἰκείας δυναστείας, ὑπὲρ ἡς δὴ καὶ προγραφὰς καὶ
σφαγὰς καὶ λιμὸν ἐκ τῶνδε πανώδυνον γεγονέναι,
ἔτι καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ περιδύοιεν αὐτούς.

Συνιστάμενοί τε ἐβόων καὶ τοὺς οὓς συνιστα-
μένους ἐβαλλον καὶ ἡπείλουν διαρπάσειν αὐτῶν
τὰς οἰκίας καὶ καταπρήσειν, 68. ἔως τὸ μὲν

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

VIII

67. Now famine fell upon Rome, since the CHAP.
merchants of the Orient could not put to sea for fear
of Pompeius, who controlled Sicily, and those of the
west were deterred by Sardinia and Corsica, which
the lieutenants of Pompeius held, while those of
Africa opposite were prevented by the same hostile
fleets, which infested both shores. Thus there was a
great rise in cost of provisions, and the people
considered the cause of it to be the strife between the
chiefs, and cried out against them and urged them to
make peace with Pompeius. As Octavian would by no
means yield, Antony advised him to hasten the war
on account of the scarcity. As there was no money
for this purpose, an edict was published that the
owners of slaves should pay a tax for each one, equal
to one-half of the twenty-five drachmas that had
been ordained for the war against Brutus and Cassius,
and that those who acquired property by legacies
should contribute a share thereof. The people tore Riot in
down the edict with fury. They were exasperated the forum
that, after exhausting the public treasury, stripping
the provinces, burdening Italy itself with contribu-
tions, taxes, and confiscations, not for foreign war,
not for extending the empire, but for private
enmities and to add to their own power (for which
reason the proscriptions and murders and this terrible
famine had come about), the triumvirs should deprive
them of the remainder of their property.

They banded together, with loud cries, and stoned
those who did not join them, and threatened to
plunder and burn their houses, 68. until the whole

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. πλήθος ἄπαν ἡρέθιστο, ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ σὺν τοῖς
VIII φίλοις καὶ ὀλίγοις ὑπασπισταῖς ἐς μέσους ἥλθεν,
ἐντυχεῖν τε βουλόμενος καὶ τὴν μέμψιν ἐκλογίσα-
σθαι. οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν εὐθὺς ὀφθέντα ἔβαλλόν τε
ἀφειδῶς πάνυ καὶ οὐδὲ ὑπομένοντα καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἐμ-
παρέχοντα καὶ τιτρωσκόμενον ηδοῦντο. πυθό-
μενος δὲ ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐβοήθει κατὰ σπουδήν. οἱ
δὲ καὶ τόνδε, κατιόντα τὴν Ἱερὰν ὁδόν, οὐκ ἔβαλλον
μὲν ὡς ἔτοιμον ἐς τὰς Πομπήιου διαλύσεις,
ἀναχωρεῖν δὲ ἐκέλευσον· καὶ οὐ πειθόμενον, τότε
ἔβαλλον. ὁ δὲ ὀπλίτας πλέονας, οὐ ησαν ἔξω τοῦ
τείχους, ἐκάλει. καὶ οὐ παριέντων οὐδὲ ὧς αὐτόν,
οἱ μὲν ὄπλιται διαιρεθέντες ἐς τὰ πλάγια τῆς
όδοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐπεχείρουν ἐκ τῶν στενωπῶν
καὶ τὸν ἐντυχόντα ἀνήρουν· οἱ δὲ οὐκέτι εὔμαρῶς
οὐδὲ φυγεῖν ἐδύναντο, βεβυσμένοι τε ὑπὸ πλήθους
καὶ διαδρομὴν οὐκέτι ἔχοντες, ἀλλὰ φόνος ἦν καὶ
τραύματα καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν τεγῶν οἰμωγαὶ καὶ βοαι·
καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος μόλις τε παρῆλθε, καὶ τοῦ κιν-
δύνου τὸν Καίσαρα περιφανῶς δὴ τότε μάλιστα
οὗτος ἔξείλετο καὶ ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν περιέσωσε. δια-
φυγόντος δέ ποτε τοῦ πλήθους τὰ νεκρά, ἵνα μὴ
ἐνοχλοίη θεωρούμενα, ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἀπερρι-
πτεῖτο· καὶ ἔτερον πένθος ἦν ὄρωμένων ἀνὰ τὸ
ρέμα, καὶ περιδυόντων αὐτὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ
ὅσοι μετ' αὐτῶν κακούργοι τὰ εὐσχήμονα μάλιστα
ώς οἰκεῖα ἔφερον. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἐπαύετο σὺν

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

populace was aroused, and Octavian with his CHAP.
friends and a few attendants came into the
forum intending to intercede with the people
and to show the unreasonableness of their
complaints. As soon as he made his appearance
they stoned him unmercifully, and they were not
ashamed when they saw him enduring this treatment
patiently, and offering himself to it, and even bleed-
ing from wounds. When Antony learned what was
going on he came with haste to his assistance.
When the people saw him coming down the Via
Sacra they did not throw stones at him, since he was
in favour of a treaty with Pompeius, but they told
him to go away. When he refused to do so they
stoned him also. He called in a larger force of
troops, who were outside the walls. As the people
would not allow him even so to pass through, the
soldiers divided right and left on either side of the
street and the forum, and made their attack from
the narrow lane, striking down those whom they met.
The people could no longer find ready escape on
account of the crowd, nor was there any way out of
the forum. There was a scene of slaughter and
wounds, while shrieks and groans sounded from the
housetops. Antony made his way into the forum
with difficulty, and snatched Octavian from the most
manifest danger, in which he then was, and brought
him safe to his house. The mob having been dis-
persed, the corpses were thrown into the river in
order to avoid their gruesome appearance. It was a
fresh cause of lamentation to see them floating down
the stream, and the soldiers stripping them, and cer-
tain miscreants, as well as the soldiers, carrying off
the clothing of the better class as their own property.

VIII
Octavian stoned by the mob and rescued by Antony

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. VIII φόβῳ τε καὶ μίσει τῶν ἡγουμένων, ὁ δὲ λιμὸς ἥκμαζε, καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἔστενε καὶ ἡσύχαζεν.

69. Ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος ἐδίδασκε τοὺς Λίβωνος οἰκείους Λίβωνα καλεῖν ἐκ Σικελίας ἐπὶ συνησθήσει τοῦ κήδους, ἐργασόμενόν τι καὶ μεῖζον· τὸ δὲ ἀσφαλὲς τῷ Λίβωνι ἀνεδέχετο αὐτός. οἱ μὲν δὴ ταχέως ἐπέστελλον, καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος τῷ Λίβωνι συνεχώρει. ἀφικόμενος δὲ ὁ Λίβων ἐς νῆσον ὡρμίσθη τὰς Πιθηκούσας, ἥ νῦν ἐστιν Αίναρια. καὶ μαθὼν ὁ δῆμος αὐθις ἥθροίζετο καὶ παρεκάλει σὺν ὀλοφύρσει τὸν Καίσαρα πέμψαι Λίβωνι πίστιν, πρεσβεύειν ἐθέλοντι πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ ἐιρήνης. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἄκων ἐπεμπει, ὁ δὲ δῆμος καὶ Μουκίαν, τὴν μητέρα τοῦ Πομπήιου, καταπρήσειν ἀπειλούντες, ἐξέπεμπον ἐργασομένην διαλύσεις. Λίβων μὲν δὴ συνεὶς τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐνδιδόντων ἡξίου τοὺς ἡγεμόνας αὐτοὺς συνελθεῖν ώς ἀλλήλοις ἐνδώσοντας, ὅ τι ἀν δοκῆ· βιασαμένου δὲ καὶ ἐς τοῦτο τοῦ δήμου, ἐξήεσαν ἐς Βατας ὁ Καίσαρ καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος.

70. Πομπήιον δὲ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πάντες ὄμαλῶς ἐπειθον ἐς τὴν εἰρήνην, Μηνόδωρος δὲ ἀπὸ Σαρδοῦς ἐπέστελλεν ἡ πολεμεῖν ἐγκρατῶς ἡ βραδύνειν ἔτι, ώς τοῦ λιμοῦ σφῶν προπολεμοῦντος καὶ τῶν συμβάσεων, εἰ καραδοκοίη, κρεισσόνων ἐσομένων· Μοῦρκόν τε τούτοις ἐνιστάμενον ὑποβλέπειν ἐκέλευεν ώς ἀρχὴν αὐτῷ περικτώμενον. ὁ δὲ καὶ τέως τὸν Μοῦρκον διά τε ἀξίωμα καὶ γνώμην

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

This insurrection was suppressed, but with terror CHAP
and hatred for the triumvirs; the famine grew ^{VIII} worse; the people groaned, but did not stir.

69. Antony suggested to the relatives of Libo that ^{B.C. 39} they should summon him from Sicily for the purpose of congratulating his brother-in-law,¹ and to accomplish something more important; and he himself promised him a safe-conduct. His relatives wrote promptly and Pompeius acquiesced. Libo, on his arrival, cast anchor at the isle of Pithecusa, which is now called Aenaria.² When the people learned this, they assembled together again and besought Octavian with tears to send letters of safeguard to Libo, who desired to negotiate with him for peace. He did so reluctantly. The people also, threatening to burn Mucia, the mother of Pompeius, with her house, sent her to communicate with her son in the interest of peace. When Libo perceived that his enemies were on the point of yielding, he demanded that the leaders themselves should come together in order to make such concessions to each other as they could agree upon. The people compelled them to this course, and, accordingly, Octavian and Antony went to Baiae.

70. All the friends of Pompeius urged him with one accord to make peace, except Menodorus, who wrote to him from Sardinia either to prosecute the war vigorously or still to procrastinate, because famine was fighting for them, and he would thus get better terms if he should decide to make peace. Menodorus also advised him to distrust Murcus, who opposed these views, intimating that he was seeking power for himself. Pompeius, who had been vexed with

¹ The text is doubtful.

² The modern Ischia.

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. ἐγκρατῆ βαρυνόμενος ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐκ τῶνδε ἀπερ-
VIII ρίπτει, καὶ οὐδὲν ἦν, ὃ τι Μούρκω προσεῖχεν, ἔως
ὅ μὲν Μούρκος ἀχθόμενος ἐς Συρακούσας ὑπεχώρει
καὶ τινας ἴδων φύλακας ἐπομένους ἐκ Πομπήιου,
φανερῶς αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς φύλαξιν ἐλοιδόρει. ὁ δὲ
χιλίαρχον καὶ λοχαγὸν αὐτοῦ Μούρκου διαφθεί-
ρας ἐπεμψεν ἀνελεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ φάσκειν ὑπὸ
θεραπόντων ἀνηρῆσθαι· ἐς τε πίστιν τῆς ὑπο-
κρίσεως τοὺς θεράποντας ἐσταύρου. οὐ μὴν ἐλάν-
θανε δεύτερον ἐπὶ Βιθυνικῷ τόδε μύσος ἐργασά-
μενος, περὶ ἄνδρα καὶ τὰ πολέμια λαμπρὸν καὶ
τῆς αἰρέσεως ἐγκρατῆ φίλον ἀπ' ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐς
αὐτὸν Πομπήιου εὐεργέτην τε ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ γενόμενον
καὶ ἐκόντα ἐλθόντα ἐς Σικελίαν.

71. Μούρκος μὲν δὴ τεθυήκει, τῶν δ' ἄλλων τὸν
Πομπήιον ἐς τὰς διαλύσεις ἐπειγόντων καὶ τὸν
Μηνόδωρον διαβαλλόντων ἐς φιλαρχίαν ὡς οὐκ
εὐνοίᾳ τοῦ δεσπότου μᾶλλον ἢ ὅπως αὐτὸς ἄρχοι
στρατοῦ καὶ χώρας ἐνιστάμενον, ἐνδοὺς ὁ Πομ-
πήιος ἐς τὴν Αἰναρίαν διέπλει ναυσὶ πολλαῖς
ἀρίσταις, ἐξήρους λαμπρᾶς ἐπιβεβηκώς. καὶ
Δικαιάρχειαν μὲν οὕτω σοβαρῶς παρέπλευσε περὶ
ἐσπέραν, ἐφορώντων τῶν πολεμίων ἅμα δὲ ἔῳ,
καταπηχθέντων σταυρῶν ἐξ ὀλίγου διαστήματος
ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ, σανίδες τοῖς σταυροῖς ἐπετέθησαν,
καὶ διὰ τῶνδε τῶν καταστρωμάτων ὁ μὲν Καῖ-
σαρ καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος παρῆλθον ἐς τὸ πρὸς τῇ γῇ
πεποιημένον, ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος καὶ ὁ Λίβων ἐς τὸ
πελαγιώτερον, ὀλίγου ρεύματος αὐτοὺς διείργοντος

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

Murcus lately on account of his high position and his CHAP.
stubbornness, became still more averse to him for VIII
this reason, and held no communication with him
whatever, until, finally, Murcus retired in disgust to
Syracuse. Here he saw some of Pompeius' guards
following him, and he expressed his opinion of
Pompeius to them freely. Then Pompeius bribed
a tribune and a centurion of Murcus, and sent Sextus puts
Murcus
to death
them to kill him and to say that he had been
murdered by slaves. To give credibility to this
falsehood he crucified the slaves. But he did not
succeed in concealing this crime,—the next one
committed by him after the murder of Bithynicus,—
Murcus having been a man distinguished for his
warlike deeds, who had been strongly attached to
that party from the beginning, and had rendered
great assistance to Pompeius himself in Spain, and
had joined him in Sicily voluntarily.

71. Such was the death of Murcus. His other Sextus goes
to Puteoli
and has a
conference
with
Antony and
Octavian
friends urged Pompeius to make peace, and they
accused Menodorus of fondness of power and as
opposing peace not so much from good-will to his
master as from a desire to command an army and a
province. Pompeius yielded and set sail for Aenaria
with a large number of his best ships, having em-
barked himself on a magnificent one with six banks
of oars. In this style, toward evening, he sailed
proudly past Puteoli in sight of his enemies. Early
in the morning two sets of piles were driven in the
sea a short distance apart, and planks were placed
upon them. Upon the platform nearest the shore
Octavian and Antony took their places, while
Pompeius and Libo occupied the seaward one, a
small space of water separating them, so that they

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. μὴ κεκραγότας ἀλλήλων ἀκούειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ μὲν
VIII Πομπήιος ἐπὶ κοινωνίᾳ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἥκειν φέτο ἀντὶ¹
Λεπίδου, οἱ δὲ ως κάθοδον αὐτῷ δώσοντες μόνην,
τότε μὲν ἐπ' οὐδεὶν ἔργῳ διεκρίθησαν, διαπομπαὶ
δὲ συχναὶ τῶν φίλων ἥσαν ἐπὶ ποικίλαις ἐκατέ-
ρων προκλήσεσιν. ἦτε δ' ὁ Πομπήιος τῶν
προγεγραμμένων τε καὶ οἱ συνόντων τοῖς μὲν
ἀνδροφόνοις Γαῖου Καίσαρος φυγὴν ἄδολον, τοῖς
δὲ λοιποῖς κάθοδόν τε ἔντιμον καὶ τὰς οὐσίας, ἃς
ἀναλώκεσαν. ἐπειγόμενοι δὲ ἐσ τὰς συμβάσεις
ὑπό τε τοῦ λιμοῦ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, ἐσ τὸ τέταρ-
τον μόλις ἐνεδίδουν ως ὡνησόμενοι παρὰ τῶν
ἔχοντων· καὶ τοῖς προγεγραμμένοις αὐτοῖς περὶ²
τούτων ἐπέστελλον, ἐλπίζοντες αὐτοῖς αὐτοὺς
ἀγαπήσειν. οἱ δὲ ἐδέχοντο πάντα, ἐπεὶ καὶ Πομ-
πήιον αὐτὸν ἐδεδοίκεσαν ἥδη διὰ τὸ Μούρκου
μύσος· καὶ προσιόντες τῷ Πομπήιῳ συνθέσθαι
παρεκάλουν, ὅτε καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα κατερρήξατο ὁ
Πομπήιος ως καὶ τῶνδε προδιδόντων αὐτόν, ὃν
προμάχεται, καὶ θαμινὰ τὸν Μηνόδωρον ως
στρατηγικὸν καὶ μόνον εὔνουν ἀνεκάλει.

72. Μουκίας δὲ αὐτὸν τῆς μητρὸς καὶ Ἰουλίας
τῆς γυναικὸς ἐναγουστῶν, αὐθις· οἱ τρεῖς συνῆλθον
ἐσ τὸ ἀμφίκλυστον Δικαιαρχέων χῶμα, περιορ-
μουστῶν τῶν φυλακίδων νεῶν, καὶ συνέβησαν ἐπὶ³
τοῖσδε· λελύσθαι μὲν τὸν πόλεμον αὐτοῖς καὶ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

could hear each other without shouting. As Pompeius thought that he had come in order to be admitted to a share of the government in place of Lepidus, while the others would concede nothing but his recall from exile, they separated for the time without accomplishing anything. Nevertheless, negotiations were continued on the part of friends, who advanced various proposals from one side to the other. Pompeius demanded that, of the proscrips and the men with him, those who had participated in the murder of Gaius Caesar should be allowed a safe place of exile, and the rest restoration to their homes and citizenship, and that the property they had lost should be restored to them. Urged on by the famine and by the people to an agreement, Octavian and Antony reluctantly conceded a fourth part of this property, promising to buy it from the present holders. They wrote to this effect to the proscrips themselves, hoping that this would satisfy them. The latter accepted all the terms, for they already had apprehensions of Pompeius on account of his crime against Murcus. So they gathered around Pompeius and besought him to come to an agreement. Then Pompeius rent his garments, declaring that he was betrayed by those for whom he had fought, and he frequently invoked the name of Menodorus as one most competent to command and his only friend.

72. Finally, at the instance of his mother, Mucia, and of his wife, Julia, again the three men (Octavian, Antony, and Pompeius) came together on the mole of Puteoli, washed by the waves on both sides, and with ships moored round it as guards. Here they came to an agreement on the following terms:

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν καὶ τὰς ἐμπορίας
VIII ἀκωλύτους εἶναι πανταχοῦ, Πομπήιον δὲ τὰς
φρουρὰς ἔξαγαγεῖν, ὅσαι κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν εἰσί,
καὶ μηκέτι τοὺς ἀποδιδράσκοντας οἰκέτας ὑποδέ-
χεσθαι μηδ' ἐφορμεῖν ναυσὶ τὴν ἀκτὴν τῆς
Ἰταλίας, ἄρχειν δὲ Σαρδοῦς καὶ Σικελίας καὶ
Κύρνου καὶ ὅσων ἄλλων εἶχεν ἐς τότε νήσων, ἐς
ὅσον ἄρχοιεν τῶν ἑτέρων Ἀντώνιος τε καὶ Καῖσαρ,
πέμποντα Ῥωμαίοις τὸν ἐκ πολλοῦ τεταγμένον
αὐταῖς φέρειν σῖτον, ἐπιλαβεῖν δὲ καὶ Πελοπόν-
νησον ἐπὶ ταύταις, ὑπατεῦσαι δ' ἀπόντα, δὶ' ὅτου
κρίνοι τῶν φίλων, καὶ τῆς μεγίστης ἱερωσύνης ἐς
τοὺς Ἱερέας ἐγγραφῆναι. καὶ τάδε μὲν εἶναι
Πομπήιώ, κάθοδον δὲ τοῖς ἔτι φεύγουσι τῶν
ἐπιφανῶν, πλὴν εἴ τις ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ Γαῖου Καίσα-
ρος ψήφῳ καὶ κρίσει κατέγνωσται· καὶ τῆς
περιουσίας τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις, ὅσοι κατὰ φόβου
ἔφευγον καὶ τὰ ὄντα αὐτοῖς ἐκ βίας ἀπωλώλει, τὸ
ἐντελὲς ἀποδοθῆναι χωρὶς ἐπίπλων, τοῖς δὲ προ-
γεγραμμένοις μοῖραν τετάρτην. καὶ τῶν ἐστρα-
τευμένων τῷ Πομπήιῷ τοὺς μὲν οἰκέτας ἐλευθέρους
εἶναι, τοῖς δ' ἐλευθέροις, ὅτε παύσαιντο τῆς
στρατείας, τὰ αὐτὰ δοθῆναι γέρα τοῖς ἐστρατευ-
μένοις Καίσαρί τε καὶ Ἀντωνίῳ.

73. Ἐς ταῦτα συνέβησαν καὶ ταῦτα συνε-
γράψαντο καὶ ἐσημήναντο καὶ ταῦς ἱερᾶς παρθένοις
φυλάσσειν ἐπεμψαν ἐς Ῥώμην. ἐξένιζον δ' ἀλ-
λήλους αὐτίκα, περὶ τῆς τάξεως διαλαχόντες,

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

That the war between them should cease at once CHAP.
both on land and sea, and that commerce should be VIII
everywhere unmolested ; that Pompeius should They come
remove his garrisons from Italy and no longer afford to an
a refuge to fugitive slaves ; that he should not agreement
blockade with his fleet the Italian coast, but should
govern Sardinia, Sicily, and Corsica, and any other
islands then in his possession, as long as Antony and
Octavian should hold sway over the other countries ;
that he should send to Rome the corn that had
been long since required as tribute from those
islands, and that he might have Peloponnesus
in addition : that he might hold the consulship
in his absence through any friend he might
choose, and be inscribed as a member of the
Augurs' College. Such were the conditions accorded
to Pompeius himself ; while the nobles who were
still in exile were allowed to return, except those
who had been condemned by vote of the Senate
and judgment of the court for participation in the
murder of Gaius Caesar. The property of the rest,
who had fled merely from fear, and whose goods
had been seized by violence, was all to be restored
except movables, but prosscripts were to receive a
fourth part of theirs. Slaves who had served in
the army of Pompeius were to be free, and free
persons who had thus served should, upon their
discharge, receive the same rewards as those who had
served under Octavian and Antony.

73. Such were the terms of the treaty, to which they attached their names and seals and sent it to Rome to be placed in the custody of the Vestal virgins. Then they entertained each other, casting lots to determine the order of the ceremony.

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. πρῶτος μὲν ἐπὶ ἔξηρους Πομπήιος περιωρμασμένης
VIII ἐς τὸ χῶμα, ταῖς δὲ ἔξῆς Ἀντώνιός τε καὶ Καίσαρ, σκηνοποιησάμενοι καὶ οἵδε ἐπὶ τοῦ χώματος, πρόφασιν μὲν ὡς ἅπαντες ἐπὶ ἀκτῆς ἐστιφυτο, τάχα δ' ἐς ἀσφάλειαν ἀνύποπτον. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ ὡς εἰχον ἀμελῶς, ἀλλ' αὖτε τε νῆες αὐτοῖς παρώρμουν, καὶ οἱ φύλακες περιειστήκεσαν, καὶ οἱ περὶ τὸ δεῖπνον αὐτὸν ἀφανῶς εἰχον ὑπεξωσμένα ξιφίδια. λέγεται δὲ Μηνόδωρος ἐστιωμένων ἐν τῇ ητὴ τῶν ἀνδρῶν πέμψαι Πομπηίῳ, προτρέπων αὐτὸν ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖς ἀνδράσι καὶ τίσασθαι μὲν τῆς ἐς τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀμαρτίας, ἀναλαβεῖν δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν πατρών δι' ὁξυτάτης ἀφορμῆς· ἐπιμελήσεσθαι γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶν ὃν μηδένα διαφυγεῖν. ὁ δ' ἀποκρίνασθαι τοῦ γένους ἄμα καὶ τῆς χρείας ἀξίως· “εἴθε Μηνόδωρον ἦν ἐργάσασθαι ταῦτα χωρὶς ἐμοῦ” Μηνοδώρῳ γὰρ ἀρμόζειν ἐπιορκεῖν, οὐ Πομπηίῳ. ἥρμοσαν δ' ἐν τῷδε τῷ δείπνῳ τὴν Πομπηίου θυγατέρα, Λίβωνος οὐσαν θυγατριδῆν, Μαρκέλλῳ τῷ προγόνῳ μὲν Ἀντωνίου, ἀδελφιδῷ δὲ Καίσαρος. ἀπέφηναν δὲ τῆς ἐπιούσης ὑπάτους ἐς τετραετὲς Ἀντώνιον μὲν καὶ Λίβωνα πρώτους, ἀπτικαθιστάντος ὅμως Ἀντωνίου, δὺν βούλοιτο, ἐπὶ δ' ἐκείνοις Καίσαρά τε καὶ Πομπήιον, εἴτα Ἀηνόβαρβον καὶ Σόσιον, εἰτ' αὐθις Ἀντώνιόν τε καὶ Καίσαρα, τρίτον δὴ τότε μέλλοντας ὑπατεύσειν καὶ ἐλπιζομένους τότε καὶ ἀποδώσειν τῷ δήμῳ τὴν πολιτείαν.

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

The first banquet took place on Pompeius' six-
banked ship, moored alongside the mole. On
succeeding days Antony and Octavian gave banquets,
they too on the mole, in tents, on the pretext
that thus all might participate, but perhaps really
for their better security and to quiet apprehensions ;
for they did not even then neglect precautions.
Their ships were moored alongside and guards
were stationed around them, and the banqueters
were girded with concealed daggers. It is said
that, while the three were feasting in the ship,
Menodorus sent a message to Pompeius advising
him to entrap these men and avenge the wrongs
of his father and his brother, and to avail himself
of this most favourable occasion to resume the
sway that his father had exercised, saying that
he, with his own ships, would take care that
nobody should escape ; but that Pompeius replied,
in a manner worthy of his family and his position,
“Would that Menodorus had done this without my
knowledge.” False swearing, that is, might suit
Menodorus, but not Pompeius. At this banquet
the daughter of Pompeius and granddaughter of
Libo was betrothed to Marcellus, the stepson of
Antony and nephew of Octavian. On the following
day they designated the consuls for the next four
years, for the first year Antony and Libo, Antony
being privileged to substitute whomsoever he liked
in his own place ; next Octavian and Pompeius ;
next Ahenobarbus and Sosius ; and, finally, Antony
and Octavian again ; and as they would then
have been consuls the third time it was expected
that they would then restore the government to the
people.

CHAP.
VIII
Banquets on
board ship
and on
shore

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. VIII. 74. Τάδε μὲν ἔπραξαν, καὶ διακριθέντες ἀλλήλων ὁ μὲν ἐς Σικελίαν ἔπλει, Καῖσαρ δὲ καὶ Ἀντώνιος ὥδευον ἐς Ῥώμην. πυθόμεναι δὲ ἡ τε πόλις καὶ ἡ Ἰταλία, ἐπαιάνιζον αὐτίκα ἅπαντες ὡς ἐπὶ εἰρήνῃ, πολέμου τε ἀπαλλαγέντες ἐπιχωρίου καὶ ξεναγήσεως υἱῶν καὶ φρουρῶν ὕβρεως καὶ θεραπόντων αὐτομολίας καὶ λεηλασίας πεδίων καὶ γεωργίας ἀργίας, ὑπὲρ ἅπαντα δὲ τοῦ λιμοῦ, πιέσαντος αὐτοὺς ἐς ἔσχατον, ὥστε παροδεύοντισιν αὐτοῖς οἴλα σωτῆρσιν ἐγίγνοντο θυσίαι καὶ τὸ ἄστυ ἔμελλεν ὑποδέξεσθαι περιφανῶς, εἰ μὴ νυκτός, ἐκκλίνοντες τὸ φορτικόν, ἔλαθον ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐσελθόντες. μόνοι δὲ ἥχθοντο, ὅσοι τὰ τῶν ἐλευσομένων σὺν Πομπήιῳ χωρία κεκληρουχήκεσσαν, ἥγούμεναι σφίσι τοὺς γεωμόρους ἀδιαλλάκτους ἔχθροὺς παροικήσειν καί, εἰ ποτε δυνηθείεν, ἐπιθήσεσθαι. οἱ δ' ἀμφὶ τὸν Πομπήιον φυγάδες αὐτίκα, χωρὶς ὀλίγων, οἱ πλείους ἐν τῇ Δικαιαρχείᾳ τὸν Πομπήιον ἀσπασάμενοι κατέπλεον ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην. καὶ ἔτέρα τοῦ πλήθους ἦν ἡδονὴ καὶ βοαὶ ποικίλαι, τοσῶνδε οὕτως ἐπιφανῶν ἐξ ἀέλπτου περισεσωσμένων.

75. Ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ ἐς τὴν Κελτικὴν ἐξώρμα ταρασσομένην, ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον τῶν Παρθυαίων. καὶ αὐτῷ τῆς βουλῆς ψηφισαμένης εἶναι κύρια, ὅσα ἔπραξέ τε καὶ πράξει, αὐθις στρατηγοὺς πανταχῇ περιέπεμπε καὶ τάλλα ὡς ἐπενόει πάντα διεκόσμει. ἵστη δέ πη καὶ βασιλέας, οὓς δοκιμάσειεν, ἐπὶ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

74. Having finished this business they separated, Pompeius going to Sicily by sea, Octavian and Antony to Rome by land. When the Romans and Italians learned the news there was universal rejoicing at the return of peace and at their deliverance from intestine war, from the conscription of their sons, from the arrogance of guards, from the running away of slaves, from the pillage of fields, from the ruin of agriculture, and, above all, from the famine that had pressed upon them with the greatest severity. So, as the triumvirs were proceeding on their journey sacrifices were offered in their honour as to saviours. The city would have given them a magnificent reception, had they not entered secretly by night in order to avoid jealousies. The only people disappointed were those to whom had been allotted lands belonging to men who were to be restored with Pompeius. They thought that they should have irreconcilable enemies dwelling alongside of them as landlords, who would do them injury whenever they could. The exiles who were with Pompeius, all but a few, took leave of him at Puteoli and set sail for Rome. Their coming was to the people a new source of joy and acclamations, so great a number of illustrious men having been unexpectedly saved from death.

75. After these events Octavian set forth on an expedition to Gaul, which was in a disturbed state, and Antony started for the war against the Parthians. The Senate having voted to ratify all that he had done or should do, Antony again despatched his lieutenants in all directions and arranged everything else as he wished. He set up kings here and there as he pleased, on condition of their paying a

Antony
returns to
the East

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. φόροις ἄρα τεταγμένοις, Πόντου μὲν Δαρεῖον τὸν
VIII Φαρνάκους τοῦ Μιθριδάτου, Ἰδουμαίων δὲ καὶ
Σαμαρέων Ἡρώδην, Ἀμύνταν δὲ Πισιδῶν καὶ
Πολέμωνα μέρους Κιλικίας καὶ ἐτέρους ἐς ἔτερα
ἔθιη. τὸν δὲ στρατόν, ὃσος ἔμελλεν αὐτῷ συγ-
χειμάσειν, περιουσιάσαι τε βουλόμενος καὶ γυμ-
άσαι, τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἐπὶ Παρθηνοὺς ἔπειμπεν,
Ἰλλυρικὸν ἔθνος Ἐπιδάμνῳ πάροικον, προθυμο-
τάτους γενομένους Βρούτῳ, τοὺς δ' ἐπὶ Δαρδανέας,
ἔτερον Ἰλλυριῶν γένος, αἱεὶ Μακεδονίαν ἐπιτρέ-
χοντας· τοὺς δ' ἐν Ἡπείρῳ μένειν ἐκέλευεν, ώς ἀν
ἐν κύκλῳ πάντας ἔχῃ, μέλλων αὐτὸς ἐν Ἀθήναις
χειμάσειν.. ἔπειμπε δὲ καὶ Φούρνιον ἐν Λιβύην,
τὰ ὑπὸ Σεξτίῳ τέλη τέσσαρα ἄξοντα ἐπὶ¹
Παρθναίους· οὐ γάρ πω πέπυστο αὐτὰ Λέπιδον
ἀφηρῆσθαι Σεξτίου.

76. Ταῦτα διαθέμενος ἔχείμαζεν ἐν ταῖς Ἀθή-
ναις μετὰ τῆς Ὀκταονίας, καθὰ καὶ ἐν Ἀλεξαν-
δρείᾳ μετὰ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας, τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῶν
στρατοπέδων ἐπιστελλόμενα ἐφορῶν μόνα, ἀφέ-
λειαν δὲ ἴδιωτικὴν αὐθις ἐξ ἡγεμονίας καὶ σχῆμα
τετράγωνον ἔχων καὶ ὑπόδημα Ἀττικὸν καὶ
θύρας ἡρεμούσας. ἔξοδοί τε ἡσαν ὁμοίως ἄνευ
σημείων αὐτῷ, σὺν δύο φίλοις καὶ σὺν ἀκολούθοις
δύο, ἐς διδασκάλων διατριβᾶς ἡ ἀκροάσεις. καὶ
τὸ δεῖπνον ἦν Ἑλληνικὸν καὶ μεθ' Ἑλλήνων ἡ
γυμνασία πανηγύρεις τε σὺν θυμηδίᾳ μετὰ τῆς
Ὀκταονίας· πολὺς γάρ καὶ ἐς τήνδε ἐρρύη, ταχὺς
ῶν ἐς ἔρωτας γυναικῶν. λήγοντος δὲ τοῦ χειμῶ-
νος, ὥσπερ ἐτέρῳ γενομένῳ, ἡ τε ἐσθὴς αὐθις καὶ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

prescribed tribute : in Pontus, Darius, the son of CHAR. Pharnaces and grandson of Mithridates : in Idumea VIII and Samaria, Herod : in Pisidia, Amyntas ; in a part of Cilicia, Polemon, and others in other countries. Desiring to enrich as well as to exercise the soldiers, who were to go with him into winter quarters, he sent some of them against the Partheni, an Illyrian tribe near Epidamnus, who had been very much attached to Brutus ; others against the Dardani, another Illyrian tribe, who were for ever making incursions into Macedonia. Others he ordered to remain in Epirus, in order to have them all round him, as he intended to pass the winter himself in Athens. He sent Furnius to Africa to bring four legions, that were under the command of Sextius, for service against the Parthians. He did not know as yet that Lepidus had deprived Sextius of the command of these troops.

76. Having made these dispositions, he spent the He winters at Athens winter at Athens with Octavia just as he had spent the previous one at Alexandria with Cleopatra, merely looking over the reports sent from the army, exchanging the display of a commander for the simplicity of private life, wearing the square-cut pallium and the Attic shoe, and with no crowd at his doors. He went out, in like manner, without the insignia of office, accompanied by two friends and two attendants, to the discussions and lectures of the public teachers. He took his meals in the Greek fashion, passed his leisure time with Greeks, and enjoyed their festivals in company with Octavia, with whom he was very much in love, being by nature excessively fond of women. At the end of the winter he was like another man. He changed B.C. 38

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. ^{VIII} μετὰ τῆς ἐσθῆτος ἡ ὄψις ἐνηλλάσσετο, καὶ πλῆθος ἡν ἀμφὶ τὰς θύρας αὐτίκα σημείων τε καὶ ἥγεμόνων καὶ δορυφόρων, καὶ φόβου πάντα μεστὰ καὶ καταπλήξεως πρεσβεῖαι τ' ἐσεδέχοντο, αἱ τέως ἡρέμουν κεκελευσμέναι, καὶ δίκαι διεκρίνοντο, καὶ υῆς καθείλκοντο, καὶ ἡ ἄλλη παρασκευὴ πᾶσα συνεκινεῖτο.

IX

CAP. ^{IX} 77. Καὶ Ἀντώνιος μὲν ἀμφὶ ταῦτα ἦν, Καίσαρι δὲ καὶ Πομπηίῳ διελύθησαν αἱ γενόμεναι σπουδαί, κατὰ μὲν αὐτίας, ώς ὑπενοεῖτο, ἐτέρας, αἱ δὲ ἐς τὸ φανερὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐκφερόμεναι αἵδε ἥσαν. Πελοπόννησον Ἀντώνιος μὲν ἐδίδου Πομπηίῳ, κελεύων, ὅσα ἔτι ὥφειλον αὐτῷ Πελοποννήσιοι δόντα ἡ αὐτὸν ἀναδεξάμενον ἀποδώσειν παραλαβεῖν ἡ περιμεῖναι τὴν πρᾶξιν αὐτῶν. ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἐδέχετο μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦσδε τὴν χώραν, ἥγονύμενος αὐτῷ σὺν τοῖς ὀφλήμασι δεδόσθαι· χαλεπαίνων δέ, ώς ὁ Καίσαρ ἔλεγεν, εἴτε ἐπὶ τούτοις εἴτε κατὰ γνώμην ἄπιστον εἴθ' ὑπὸ ζήλου τῶν ἐτέρων μεγάλους στρατοὺς ἔχόντων εἴτε Μηνοδώρου διερεθίζοντος αὐτὸν ἀνοχὰς μᾶλλον ἡ βεβαίους σπουδὰς είναι νομίζειν, ναῦς ἄλλας ἐποιεῖτο καὶ ἐρέτας συνέλεγε καὶ τῷ στρατῷ ποτε ἐδημηγόρησε χρῆναι παντὸς οὖνεκα παρασκευάζεσθαι. ληστήριά τε αὐθις ἀφανῆ τὴν θάλασσαν ἡνώχλει, καὶ μικρὸν ἡ οὐδὲν ἄκος τοῦ λιμοῦ γεγένητο Ρωμαίοις,

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

his clothing, and with his clothing his whole appearance. There was straightway a crowd around his doors composed of lictors, army officers, guards, and all things that inspire terror and awe. Embassies were received which had previously been kept waiting by his orders, lawsuits were decided, ships were launched, and all other preparations for the campaign were put in motion.

CHAP.
VIII

IX

77. WHILE Antony was thus occupied the treaty existing between Octavian and Pompeius was broken for other reasons, as was suspected, than those avowed by Octavian, which were the following : Antony had ceded the Peloponnesus to Pompeius on condition that the tribute then due from the Peloponnesians should either be given over at once, or that it should be guaranteed by Pompeius to Antony, or that Pompeius should wait till the collection had been made. But Pompeius had not accepted it on these conditions. He thought that it had been given to him with the amount of tribute then due. Vexed, as Octavian said, whether at this state of things, or from his general faithlessness, or his jealousy because the others had large armies, or because Menodorus had prompted him to consider the agreement as a truce rather than a lasting peace, he began to build ships and recruit crews, and once harangued his soldiers, telling them they must be prepared for everything. Mysterious robbery again infested the sea ; and there was little or no relief from the famine among the Romans, who

CHAP.
IX
Peace
broken
between
Sextus and
Octavian

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. ^{IX} ὡστε ἐβόων οὐκ ἀπαλλαγὴν τῶν κακῶν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ ληψιν τετάρτου τυράννου κατὰ σπουδὰς γεγονέναι. καὶ ὁ Καῖσάρ τινα ληστήρια συλλαβὼν ἐθασάνιζεν, οἱ Πομπήιον σφᾶς ἔλεγον ἐπιπέμψαι· καὶ τάδε αὐτὰ ὁ Καῖσαρ τῷ δῆμῳ προσέφερε καὶ ἐπέστελλεν αὐτῷ Πομπήιῳ. ὁ δὲ ἐξελογείτο μὲν ὑπὲρ τούτων, ἀντενεκάλει δὲ Πελοποννήσου χάριν.

78. "Οσοι δὲ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἡσαν ἔτι παρὰ τῷ Πομπήιῳ, ὁρῶντες αὐτὸν αἰεὶ πειθόμενον τυῆς ἀπελευθέροις, διέφθειραν ἐιώνις τῶν ἀπελευθέρων, εἴτε ἀπὸ σφῶν αὐτῶν εἴτε ἐς χάριν Καίσαρος, ἐξοτρύνειν ἐπὶ Μηνοδώρῳ, Κύρνου καὶ Σαρδοῦς ἔτι ἄρχοντι, τὸν δεσπότην. οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ φθόνῳ τῆς Μηνοδώρου δυνάμεως ἐκόντες ἐποίουν. καὶ Πομπήιος μὲν ἐς ἀλλοτρίωσιν ὑπῆγετο τοῦ Μηνοδώρου, τῶν δ' αὐτῶν ἡμερῶν Φιλάδελφος, ὁ Καίσαρος ἀπελεύθερος, πρὸς τὸν Μηνόδωρον διέπλευσε σίτου κομιδῆς οὕνεκα καὶ Μικυλίων ὁ πιστότατος τῷ Μηνοδώρῳ πρὸς Καίσαρα περὶ αὐτομολίας τοῦ Μηνοδώρου· ὑπισχνεῖτο δὲ ἐγχειριεῖν Σαρδὸν καὶ Κύρνον καὶ τρία τέλη στρατοῦ καὶ ψιλῶν πλῆθος ἔτερον. καὶ τόδε ὃν ἔργον εἴτε Φιλαδέλφου εἴτε τῶν ἐς Μηνόδωρον παρὰ Πομπήιου διαβολῶν, ὁ Καῖσαρ οὐκ εὐθὺς μέν, ἐδέξατο δ' ὅμως, ἥγονύμενος ἔργῳ τὴν εὐρήνην λελύσθαι. καὶ Ἀντώνιον ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ἐς τὸ Βρευτέσιον ἐς ἡμέραν ῥητὴν παρεκάλει, συμβουλευσόμενος αὐτῷ περὶ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου· ναῦς τε μακρὰς ἐκ Ραβένης καὶ στρατὸν ἐκ τῆς Κελτικῆς καὶ παρασκευὴν ἄλλην ἐς τὸ Βρευτέσιον καὶ ἐς Δικαιαρχειαν ὀξέως περιέπεμπεν, ὡς ἐκατέρω-

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

cried out that the treaty had brought no deliverance CHAP.
from their sufferings, but only a fourth partner to
the tyranny. Octavian having caught certain pirates
and put them to torture, they said that Pompeius
had sent them out, and Octavian proclaimed this to
the people and wrote it to Pompeius himself, who
disavowed it and made a counter complaint
respecting the Peloponnesus.

78. Those of the nobility who were still with Pompeius, seeing him always under the influence of his freedmen, bribed some of them, either for their own purposes or to gratify Octavian, to incite their master against Menodorus, who was still governing Corsica and Sardinia. The freedmen, for their part, did this gladly, because they were envious of the power of Menodorus. In this way Pompeius was brought to an estrangement with Menodorus, and about the same time Philadelphus, a freedman of Octavian, made a voyage to Menodorus to procure corn, and Micylio, the closest friend of Menodorus, visited Octavian to arrange for the desertion of Menodorus. The latter promised to hand over to him Sardinia, Corsica, three legions of soldiers, and a large number of light-armed troops. Whether this was the work of Philadelphus, or was a consequence of the calumnies against Menodorus, which Pompeius had listened to, Octavian accepted the offer, not immediately, but soon, since he considered the peace broken in fact. He invited Antony to come from Athens and meet him at Brundusium on an appointed day, in order to take counsel with him about this war. At the same time he brought war-ships from Ravenna and an army from Gaul, and the remainder of his apparatus, rapidly to Brundusium and Puteoli,

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. θεν ἐπιπλευσούμενος τῇ Σικελίᾳ, ἦν Ἀντωνίῳ
IX συνδοκή.

79. Ὁ δὲ ἥλθε μὲν ἐς τὴν τεταγμένην ἡμέραν σὺν ὀλίγοις, Καίσαρα δὲ οὐχ εὑρὼν οὐ περιέμεινεν, εἴτε τὴν γνώμην τοῦ πολέμου μεμψάμενος ὡς παράσπονδον εἴτε τὴν Καίσαρος παρασκευὴν ἵδων πολλὴν οὖσαν (οὐ γάρ ποτε αὐτοὺς ἀνέπαυε φόβων ἡ τῆς μοναρχίας ἐπιθυμία), εἴτε τι σημεῖον δειδισάμενος. τῶν γὰρ περικοιμωμένων αὐτοῦ τῇ σκηνῇ πρὸς θηρίων τις εὑρέθη δεδαπανημένος, ἄνευ τοῦ προσώπου μόνου, καθάπερ ἐς ἐπίδειξιν παραλελειμμένου, οὕτε τι βοήσας οὕτε τινὸς τῶν συναναπαυομένων ἡσθημένου· καὶ λύκον ἔλεγον οἱ Βρευτέσιοι πρὸ ἔω φανῆναι τῶν σκηνωμάτων ἐκθέοντα. ἔγραφέ γε μὴν τῷ Καίσαρι μὴ λύειν τὰ συγκείμενα καὶ ἡπείλει Μηνόδωρον ἀπάξειν ὡς ἑαυτοῦ δραπέτην· γεγένητο γὰρ Πομπήιου Μάγνου, τὴν δὲ τοῦ Μάγνου περιουσίαν ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐώνητο νόμῳ πιπρασκομένην ὡς πολεμίου.

80. Ὁ δὲ Καίσαρ ἔπειμπεν ἐς Σαρδόνα καὶ Κύρουν τοὺς παραληφθομένους, ἀ Μηνόδωρος ἐνεχείριζεν, ἐκρατύνετο δὲ τὰ παράλια τῆς Ἰταλίας φρουρίοις πολλοῖς, μὴ αὐθις αὐτὰ ὁ Πομπήιος ἐπιδράμοι. τριήρεις δὲ ἐτέρας ἐν Ῥώμῃ καὶ ἐν Ραβέννῃ προσέτασσε γίγνεσθαι καὶ στρατὸν πολὺν ἐκ τῆς Ἰλλυρίδος μετεπέμπετο· Μηνόδωρόν τε ἐλθόντα ἐλεύθερον εὐθὺς ἀπέφηνεν ἐξ ἀπελευθέρου καὶ ὃν αὐτὸς ἤγαγε νεῶν, ἐπέτρεπεν ἥγεισθαι, ὑποστρατηγοῦντα τῷ ναυάρχῳ Καλουσίῳ. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ καθιστάμενος ὁ Καίσαρ καὶ παρασκευὴν ἔτι πλέονα συνάγων ἐβράδυνε καὶ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

intending to sail from both sides of Italy to Sicily if CHAP.
Antony should agree in opinion with him. IX

79. Antony came at the appointed day with a small escort, but not finding Octavian there he did not wait, either because he did not approve of the war, considering it a violation of the treaty, or because he observed Octavian's great preparations (for the desire to be the sole ruler did not permit their fears to slumber at any time), or because he was alarmed by a prodigy. It was found that one of the guards who slept around his tent had been devoured by wild beasts except his face only, as though this had been left for the purpose of recognition, and that he had uttered no cry, nor did any of those who were asleep with him know of it. The Brundusians said that a wolf had been seen just before daybreak running away from the tents. Nevertheless Antony wrote to Octavian not to violate the treaty, and he threatened Menodorus with punishment as his own fugitive slave; for he had been the slave of Pompey the Great, whose property Antony had bought when it was sold under the law of war.

80. Octavian sent officers to receive Sardinia and Corsica, which Menodorus turned over to them. He strengthened the Italian coast with numerous towers to prevent Pompeius from raiding it again. He ordered the building of new triremes at Rome and Ravenna, and he sent for a large army from Illyria. When Menodorus came he made the latter a free citizen instead of a freedman, and put him in command, under the admiral Calvisius, of the ships which he had brought with him. When he had finished these preparations and brought together a still larger amount of war material he yet delayed,

Defection
of Meno-
dorus

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP
IX τὸν Ἀντώνιον οὐ περιμείναντα ἐμέμφετο, τὴν δὲ οὖσαν ἥδη παρασκευὴν ἐκέλευε Κορινθίκιον ἐκ Ῥαβένης μεταγαγεῖν ἐς Τάραντα. Κορινθικίφ μὲν δὴ χειμὼν περιπλέοντι ἐπιγύγνεται, καὶ μόνη τῶν νεῶν ἡ ναυαρχὶς ἡ γενομένη Καίσαρι διεφθάρη· καὶ ἔδοξε τοῦτ' ἐς τὰ μέλλοντα σημῆναι. ἐπιπολαζούσης δὲ ὑπονοίας ἔτι, ὡς παρασπόνδως ὁ πόλεμος ὅδε γίγνοιτο, τὴν ὑπόνοιαν ὁ Καίσαρ ἐκλύων ἐπέστελλε τῇ πόλει καὶ τὸν στρατὸν αὐτὸς ἔδίδασκεν, ὅτι τὰς σπουδὰς ὁ Πομπήιος ληστεύων τὴν θάλασσαν ἀναλύσειε καὶ τοῦθ' οἱ λησταὶ κατείποιεν αὐτοῦ, κατείποι δὲ καὶ Μηνόδωρος τὴν ὅλην γνώμην, μάθοι δὲ καὶ Ἀντώνιος καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Πελοπόννησον οὐ δοίη.

81. Ὡς δὲ αὐτῷ τὰ ἐν χερσὶν ἔτοιμα γεγένητο, ἐπέπλει τῇ Σικελίᾳ, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐκ Τάραντος, Καλουίσιος δὲ Σαβῖνος καὶ Μηνόδωρος ἀπὸ Τυρρηνίας· περιήι δὲ καὶ τὸ πεζὸν ἐς Ῥήγιον, καὶ μετὰ σπουδῆς ἐταχύνετο ἄπαντα. ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος τῆς μὲν αὐτομολίας τοῦ Μηνοδώρου ἐπιπλέοντος ἥδη Καίσαρος ἥσθετο, πρὸς δὲ τὸν ἐκατέρωθεν ἐπίπλουν αὐτὸς μὲν ὑπέμεινεν ἐν Μεσσήνῃ τὸν Καίσαρα, Καλουισίῳ δὲ καὶ Μηνοδώρῳ τὸν ἔχθιστον τῷ Μηνοδώρῳ μάλιστα τῶν ἔξελευθέρων ἐαυτοῦ Μενεκράτη προσέτασσεν ἄπαντάν ἐπὶ στόλου πολλοῦ. ὅδε οὖν ὁ Μενεκράτης ἐπιφαίνεται τοῖς πολεμίοις περὶ δείλην ἐσπέραν πελάγιος. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐς τὸν κόλπον τὸν ὑπὲρ Κύμης συνέφυγον καὶ τὴν νύκτα ἀνεπαύοντο, καὶ Μενεκράτης ἐς Αἰναρίαν παρῆλθεν· ἥοντις δὲ ἀρχομένης οἱ μὲν τὸν κόλπον ἐν χρῷ παρὰ τὴν γῆν αὐτὴν

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

and he reproached Antony for not waiting. He CHAP.
ordered Cornificius to bring with him to Tarentum IX
everything that was now in readiness. While
Cornificius was making the voyage a storm overtook
him which destroyed only the admiral's ship, which
had been built for Octavian himself. This was con-
sidered an omen of what was to take place. As the
belief still prevailed that this war was a violation of
the treaty, Octavian sought to dispel the suspicion.
He wrote to the city and he told his soldiers that
Pompeius had violated the treaty by encouraging
piracy, that the pirates had confessed this, that
Menodorus had revealed the whole design, and that
Antony knew it, and for that reason had refused to
give up the Peloponnesus.

81. When all things were in readiness he set sail Octavian
for Sicily, going himself from Tarentum, while makes war
Calvisius Sabinus, and Menodorus sailed from against
Etruria. The infantry was sent on the march to
Rhegium and great haste was displayed in all
quarters. Pompeius had scarcely heard of the
desertion of Menodorus when Octavian was already
moving against him. While the hostile fleets were
advancing from both sides, he awaited the attack of
Octavian at Messana, and ordered Menecrates, who
of all his freedmen was the bitterest enemy of Meno-
dorus, to advance against Calvisius and Menodorus with
a large fleet. This Menecrates then was observed by
his enemies near nightfall on the open sea. They
retired into the bay near Cumae, where they passed Sea-fight
the night, Menecrates proceeding to Aenaria. At at Cumae
between
Menodorus
and
Menecrates
day-break they drew up their fleet, in the form of a crescent, as close to the shore as possible, in order to

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP.
IX μηνοειδεῖ στόλῳ παρέπλεον, ἵνα μὴ αὐτοὺς διεκ-
πλέοιεν οἱ πολέμιοι, ὁ δὲ Μενεκράτης αὐτοῖς αὐθίς
ἐπιφαίνεται τε καὶ εὐθὺς ἐπλησίαζεν ὑπὸ ρύμης καὶ
τάχους· δρᾶν δὲ οὐκ ἀναγομένους ἐς τὸ πέλαγος
οὐδὲν μέγα ἔχων, ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐγχρίμπτων ἔξεώθει.
οἱ δὲ ἔξωκελλόν τε ὄμοῦ καὶ τὰς ἐμβολὰς ἀπεμά-
χοντο. ἦν δὲ τοῖς μὲν ἐς τὸ πέλαγος ἀναχώρησίς
τε καὶ ἐφόρμησις, ὅτε βούλοιντο, καὶ σκαφῶν
ἔτερων ἀλλαγὴ παρὰ μέρος· οἱ δὲ ἔκαμνον ἐκ τε
τῶν πετρῶν, ἐφ' ἣς ἐπώκελλον, καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς
ἀκινησίας τῶν νεῶν· πεζομαχεῖν γὰρ πρὸς ναυμα-
χοῦντας ἐώκεσαν, οὔτε διώκειν οὔτε ἐκκλίνειν
ἔχοντες.

82. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ Μηνόδωρος καὶ Μενεκράτης
καθορῶσιν ἀλλήλους καὶ τὸν ἄλλον πόνον ἀφέν-
τες αὐτίκα μετ' ὄργης καὶ βοῆς ἀλλήλοις ἐπέ-
πλεον, ἐν τῷδε τὴν νίκην καὶ τὸ κεφάλαιον τοῦ
πολέμου τιθέμενοι, ἐν ᾧ τις αὐτῶν κρατήσειν
ἔμελλεν. αἱ μὲν δὴ νῆες ἀλλήλαις ὑπὸ ρύμης
ἐνέπεσον καὶ συνέτριψαν ἡ μὲν τὸν ἐμβολὸν
τῆς Μηνοδώρου νεώς, ἡ δὲ τὸν ταρσὸν τῆς
Μενεκράτους· ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐταῖς ἐκατέρωθεν χεῖρες
ἐπειβλήθησαν σιδηραῖ, τῶν μὲν νεῶν οὐδὲν ἔτι
ἔργον ἦν, συνεστηκούσιας ἐκατέρας, οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες
ώσπερ ἐν γῇ πόνου καὶ ἀρετῆς οὐδὲν ἀπέλειπον.
ἀκόντιά τε γὰρ ἦν ἀθρόα καὶ λίθοι καὶ τοξεύματα
ἐπ' ἀλλήλους, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς καταρράκτας
ἐρρίπτουν ἐς τὸ ἐπιέναι δι' αὐτῶν. ὑψηλοτέρας
δ' οὖσης τῆς Μηνοδώρου νεώς, οἵ τε καταρράκ-
ται τοῖς τολμῶσιν ἥσαν εὐεπιβατώτεροι καὶ
τὰ βαλλόμενα ὡς ἀφ' ὑψηλοῦ βιαιότερα. τε-
θνεώτων δ' ἡδη πολλῶν καὶ τῶν ὑπολοίπων

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

prevent the enemy breaking through them. Mene- CHAP. -
crates again showed himself, and immediately came on IX
with a rush. As his enemies would not advance to the open sea, and he could do nothing of importance there, he made a charge in order to drive them upon the land. They beached their ships and fought back against the attacking prows. Menecrates had the opportunity to draw off and renew the attack as he pleased, and to bring up fresh ships by turns, while the enemy were distressed by the rocks, on which they had grounded, and by the inability to move. They were like land forces contending against sea forces, unable either to pursue or retreat.

82. In this situation Menodorus and Menecrates came in sight of each other ; and, abandoning the rest of the fight, drove at once against each other with fury and shouting, as though they had staked the issue of the battle on this encounter, whichever should be the victor. Their ships came into violent collision and were badly damaged, Menodorus losing his prow and Menecrates his oar-blades. Grappling-irons were thrown by both, and the ships, being fastened together, could no longer manœuvre, but the men, as in a battle on land, failed not in deeds of valour. Showers of javelins, stones, and arrows were discharged, and bridges for boarding were thrown from one ship to the other. As the ship of Menodorus was higher than the other his bridges made a better passage-way for those who ventured on them, and his missiles were more effective for the same reason. Many men were already slain, and

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. ΚΑΤΑΤΕΤΡΩΜΕΝΩΝ, ὁ μὲν Μηνόδωρος ὀβελῷ τὸν
IX βραχίονα ἐτρώθη, καὶ ὁ ὀβελὸς ἐξηρέθη, ὁ δὲ
Μενεκράτης τὸν μηρὸν ἀκοντίῳ πολυγλώχινι
Ίβηρικῷ ὄλοσιδήρῳ, καὶ οὐκ ἦν ἐξελεῖν αὐτὸν
σὺν ἐπείξει. ἀχρεῖος οὖν ὁ Μενεκράτης ἐστι μάχην
γενόμενος ἐπέμενε καὶ ὡς, τοὺς ἄλλους ἐποτρύ-
νων, μέχρι λαμβανομένης τῆς νεώς ἐστὶ τὸν βυθὸν
τοῦ πελάγους ἑαυτὸν ἔρριψεν. καὶ τὴν μὲν ναῦν
ὁ Μηνόδωρος ἀνεδήσατο καὶ ἐστὶ τὴν γῆν ἀπέ-
πλευσεν, οὐδὲν ἔτι δρᾶν οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνος δυνάμενος.

83. Καὶ τὸ μὲν λαιὸν τῆς ναυμαχίας οὕτως
ἐπεπράχει. ἐκ δὲ τοῦ δεξιοῦ Καλουίσιος μέν, δια-
πλέων ἐστὶ τὸ λαιόν, ἀπετέμετό τινας τῶν Μενεκρά-
τους νεῶν καὶ ἐκφυγούσας εἰς τὸ πέλαγος ἐδίωκε,
Δημοχάρης δ', ὁ τοῦ Μενεκράτους συνεξελεύθερός
τε καὶ ὑποστράτηγος, ταῖς λοιπαῖς τοῦ Καλουι-
σίου συμπεσών, τὰς μὲν ἐστὶ φυγὴν ἐτρέπετο, τὰς
δὲ ἐστὶ πέτρας συνήραξε, καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐξαλο-
μένων ἐνεπίμπρα τὰ σκάφη, μέχρι Καλουίσιος
ἐκ τῆς διώξεως ἐπανιὼν τὰς τε φευγούσας τῶν
ἰδίων ἐπανήγαγε καὶ τὰς ἐμπιπραμένας ἐκώλυσε.
καὶ νυκτὸς ἐπιλαβούσης ηὐλίσαντο πάντες, ἔνθα
καὶ τῆς προτέρας.

Ἡ μὲν δὴ ναυμαχία ἐστὶ τοῦτο ἐτελεύτα, καὶ
προῦχεν ἐν αὐτῇ τὰ Πομπηίου παρὰ πολύ
Δημοχάρης δὲ βαρυθυμῶν ἐπὶ τῷ θανάτῳ Μενε-
κράτους ὡς ἐπὶ ἥττῃ μεγίστη (δύο γὰρ οὖδε ἤσαν
μάλιστα τῷ Πομπηίῳ θαλάσσης ἐργάται, Μενε-
κράτης τε καὶ Μηνόδωρος), ἀπαντα μεθεὶς ἐκ
χειρῶν εὐθὺς ἐστὶ Σικελίαν ἐπλει, καθάπερ οὐ τὸ
Μενεκράτους σῶμα καὶ ναῦν μίαν, ἀλλὰ τὸν
στόλον ἀποβαλών.

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

the remainder wounded, when Menodorus was CHAP.
pierced in the arm with a dart, which was, however,
drawn out. Menecrates was struck in the thigh
with a Spanish javelin, made wholly of iron with
numerous barbs, which could not be readily extracted.
Although Menecrates could no longer take part in
the fight, he remained there all the same, encour-
aging the others, until his ship was captured, when
he plunged into the depths of the sea. Menodorus
towed the captured ship to the land, but was able to
do nothing more himself.

IX
Menodorus
wounded
and
Menecrates
drowned

83. Thus had fared the left wing of the naval
fight. Calvisius directed his course from the right
to the left and cut off some of Menecrates' ships
from the main body, and when they fled pursued
them to the open sea. Demochares, who was a
fellow-freedman of Menecrates and his lieutenant,
fell upon the remainder of Calvisius' ships, put
some of them to flight, broke others in pieces on
the rocks, and set fire to them after the crews
had abandoned them. Finally Calvisius, returning
from the pursuit, led back his own retreating ships
and prevented the burning of any more. As night
approached all rested in their stations of the
previous night.

Such was the end of this naval fight, in which the Octavian s
forces of Pompeius had much the best of it; but fleet
Demochares, grieving over the death of Menecrates
beaten
as the greatest possible defeat (for those two, Mene-
cbrates and Menodorus, had been the foremost of
Pompeius' sea-captains) abandoned everything and
sailed for Sicily immediately, as though he had lost
not merely the body of Menecrates and one ship, but
his whole fleet.

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. 84. Ὁ δὲ Καλουίσιος ἦως μὲν ἐπιπλευσεῖσθαι
 IX τὸν Δημοχάρην προσεδόκα, παρέμενεν, ἔνθαπερ
 ὥρμιστο, ναυμαχεῖν οὐ δυνάμενος· αἱ τε γὰρ
 κράτισται τῶν νεῶν αὐτῷ διωλώλεσαν, καὶ αἱ
 ἔτεραι πρὸς ναυμαχίαν εἶχον ἀχρείως· ἐπεὶ δὲ
 ἔμαθεν οἰχόμενον ἐς Σικελίαν, ἐπεσκεύαζε τὰς
 ναῦς καὶ παρέπλει τὴν γῆν, τοὺς κόλπους ἐξελίσ-
 σων. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐκ μὲν Τάραντος ἐς τὸ Ῥήγιον
 διεπεπλεύκει ναυσὶ πολλαῖς καὶ στρατῷ πολλῷ
 καὶ Πομπήιον περὶ Μεσσήνην κατειλήφει ναῦς
 ἔχοντα τεσσαράκοντα μόνας, ὥστε αὐτῷ παρή-
 νουν οἱ φίλοι, ώς ἐν καιρῷ μάλιστα, ἐπιθέσθαι
 τῷ Πομπήιῳ μετὰ τοσοῦδε στόλου, ναῦς ἔχοντι
 ὀλίγας, μέχρι τὸ λοιπὸν ἐκείνῳ ναυτικὸν οὐ
 πάρεστιν. ὁ δ' οὐκ ἐπείθετο, Καλουίσιον περι-
 μένων καὶ λέγων οὐκ εὑβούλον είναι τὸ ριψοκίν-
 δυνον, ἔνθα συμμαχίαν ἄλλην προσδοκώῃ.

Ὦς δὲ Δημοχάρης ἐς Μεσσήνην κατέπλευσεν,
 ὁ μὲν Πομπήιος αὐτὸν τε Δημοχάρην καὶ Ἀπολ-
 λοφάνην, καὶ τόνδε ἀπέλευθερον ἔαυτοῦ, ναυάρ-
 χους ἀπέφηνεν ἀντὶ Μηνοδώρου καὶ Μενεκράτους.
 85. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ περὶ τῶν συμβεβηκότων ἀμφὶ τῇ
 Κύμη πυθόμενος ἐξέπλει τὸν πορθμόν, ὑπαντήσων
 τῷ Καλουίσιῳ. ἀνύσαντι δ' αὐτῷ τοῦ πόρου τὸ
 πλέον καὶ Στυλίδα ἥδη παραπλέοντι καὶ ἐς τὸ
 Σκύλλαιον ἐπικάμπτοντι, ἐκθορὼν ἐκ τῆς Μεσ-
 σήνης ὁ Πομπήιος ἐξήπτετο τῶν ὑστάτων καὶ
 τὰς πρόπλους ἐδίωκε καὶ πάσαις ἐνέβαλλε καὶ
 ἐς μάχην προυκαλεῖτο. αἱ δὲ καίπερ ἐνοχλού-
 μεναι ἐς μὲν ναυμαχίαν οὐκ ἐπέστρεφον, Καί-
 σαρος οὐκ ἐώντος, εἴτε δείσαντος ἐν στενῷ
 ναυμαχεῖν εἴτ' ἐπιμένοντος οἵς ἀπ' ἀρχῆς διε-

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

84. Calvisius, as long as he expected that Demo- CHAP.
chares would renew his attack, remained at his IX
station, unable to fight in the open sea, for his best ships had been destroyed and the others were unfit for battle. When he learned that his antagonist had gone to Sicily, he repaired his ships and coasted along the shore exploring the bays. Octavian, in the meantime, proceeded from Tarentum to Rhegium, with a large fleet and army, and near Messana came up with Pompeius, who had forty ships only. Octavian's friends advised him to improve this most favourable opportunity and attack Pompeius with his great fleet, while the latter had so few ships and before the rest of his naval force should arrive. He did not follow this advice, but waited for Calvisius, saying that it was not good policy to run a risk when he was expecting reinforcements.

When Demochares arrived at Messana, Pompeius appointed him and Apollophanes, another of his freedmen, admirals in place of Menodorus and Menecrates; 85. and when Octavian heard of his disaster at Cumae he sailed out of the straits to meet Calvisius. After accomplishing the greater part of the distance, and while he was passing Stylos and turning into Scyllaeum, Pompeius darted out of Messana and fell upon his rear, pushed on to his front, attacked him all along the line, and challenged him to fight. Although beset in this way, Octavian's fleet did not give battle, since Octavian forbade it, either because he feared to fight in the straits or because he adhered A second victory for Pompeius

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. γνώκει, μὴ ναυμαχεῖν δίχα τοῦ Καλουισίου·
IX γνώμη δὲ αὐτοῦ παρά τε τὴν γῆν ὑπεχώρουν
ἀπασαι καὶ ἐπ' ἀγκυρῶν ἐσάλευον καὶ κατὰ
πρῷραν ἀπεμάχοντο τοὺς ἐπιόντας. Δημοχά-
ρους δ' ἐπιστήσαντος δύο ναῦς περὶ ἑκάστην
ἐθορυβοῦντο ἥδη, πρὸς τε τὰς πέτρας ἀρασσόμεναι
καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλας, θαλάσσης τε ἐνεπίμπλαντο·
καὶ διεφθείροντο μετὰ ἀργίας καὶ αἶδε ὕσπερ αἱ
περὶ Κύμην, ὄρμοῦσαι τε καὶ ἐμβαλλόμεναι πρὸς
ἔχθρῶν ἐπιπλεόντων καὶ ἀναχωρούντων.

86. Ὁ μὲν δὴ Καίσαρ ἔξηλατο τῆς νεῶς ἐπὶ τὰς
πέτρας καὶ τοὺς ἐκνέοντας ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης
ἀνελάμβανε καὶ ἐς τὸ ὅρος ἄνω παρέπεμπε·
Κορυφίκιος δὲ καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ ἦσαν
αὐτοῦ, παρακαλέσαντες ἀλλήλους, ἀνευ προστάγ-
ματος ἀπέρρηξαν τὰ ἀγκύρια καὶ ἀνήχθησαν ἐπὶ
τοὺς πολεμίους, ώς δέον τι δρῶντας παθεῖν
μᾶλλον ἢ ἐστῶτας ἀμαχεὶ τοῖς ἐπιχειροῦσι προ-
κεῖσθαι. τόλμη τε παραβόλῳ πρῶτον ὁ Κορυ-
φίκιος τὴν ναυαρχίδα τοῦ Δημοχάρους κατέσεισε
καὶ εἰλε. καὶ Δημοχάρης μὲν ἐς ἐτέραν ἔξηλατο,
τοιούτου δὲ ὄντος τοῦ πόνου καὶ τοῦ φθόρου
ἐπεφαίνοντο ἐκ πόντου προσπλέοντες ἥδη Καλου-
ίσιος τε καὶ Μηνόδωρος. καὶ αὐτοὺς οἱ μὲν τοῦ
Καίσαρος οὐχ ἐώρων οὔτε ἀπὸ γῆς οὔτε ἐκ
θαλάσσης, πελαγιωτέροι δὲ ὄντες οἱ τοῦ Πομ-
πηίου κατεῖδον καὶ ἴδοντες ἀνεχώρουν· συνεσκό-
ταζε γὰρ ἥδη, καὶ κεκμηκότες ἀκμῆσιν οὐκ
ἔθάρρουν συμπλέκεσθαι.

Τοῦτο μὲν δὴ συγκύρημα τοῖς ὑπολοίποις ἐκ
τοῦ τέως ἀχρείου χρηστὸν ἐπιγίγνεται· 87. νυκτὸς
δὲ ἐπιλαβούσης οἱ μὲν ἐκ τῶν νεῶν ἐκπεσόντες

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

to his first determination not to fight without Calvisius. By his orders, however, all hugged the shore, rode at anchor, and defended themselves with their prows toward the enemy. Demochares, by setting two of his ships by turns against one of the enemy's, threw them into confusion. They dashed against the rocks and against each other, and began to fill with water. And so these ships were lost, like those at Cumae, without striking a blow, being stuck fast and battered by the enemy, who had freedom of movement to advance and retreat.

CHAP.
IX

86. Octavian leaped from his ship upon the rocks and pulled out of the water those who swam ashore, and conducted them to the mountain above. However, Cornificius and the other generals who were there, encouraged each other, cut loose from their anchors without awaiting orders, and put to sea against the enemy, thinking that it was better to be conquered fighting than to fall unresisting before the blows of their assailants. First, with wonderful audacity, Cornificius rammed the flag-ship of Demochares and captured it. Demochares leaped upon another vessel. Then, while the struggle and carnage were in progress, Calvisius and Menodorus hove in sight, advancing from the open sea, although they had not been observed by Octavian's men either from the land or the water. The Pompeians, being farther out at sea, beheld them first, and, when they saw them, retreated, for darkness was approaching, and, fatigued as they were, they dared not encounter fresh men.

Octavian is driven ashore and retreats to the mountains

This conjuncture happened very opportunely for those who had just now been in difficulties ; 87. but at nightfall, those who had reached the shore from

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. ἐς τὰ ὅρη συνέφευγον καὶ πυρὰ πολλὰ ἔκαιον
IX σύμβολα τοῖς ἔτι οὖσιν ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ καὶ
 διενυκτέρευον οὕτως ἄσιτοι καὶ ἀθεράπευτοι καὶ
 πάντων ἐνδεεῖς. καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁ Καίσαρ, ὁμοίως
 ἔχων, παρεκάλει περιθέων ἐς τὴν ἕω κακοπαθῆσαι.
 ταλαιπωρουμένῳ δὲ αὐτῷ περὶ ταῦτα Καλού-
 σιος μὲν οὐδ' ὡς ἐγιγνώσκετο προσπλέων, οὐδὲ
 ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν τι χρηστὸν ἐγίγνετο, ἀσχολου-
 μένων περὶ τὰ ναυάγια· ὑπὸ δὲ ἑτέρου δαι-
 μονος ἀγαθοῦ τὸ τρισκαιδέκατον τέλος ἐπλη-
 σίαζε διὰ τῶν ὄρῶν καὶ περὶ τοῦ κακοῦ πυθόμενοι
 τοὺς κρημνούς, τῷ πυρὶ περὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ τεκμαι-
 ρόμενοι, διέδραμον καὶ καταλαβόντες τὸν αὐτο-
 κράτορα σφῶν καὶ τοὺς συμφυγόντας ὥδε ἔχοντας
 καμάτου καὶ τροφῶν ἀπορίας ἐθεράπευον, ἄλλους
 ἄλλη διαλαβόντες, οἱ δὲ ταξίαρχοι τὸν αὐτοκρά-
 τορα ἐς αὐτοσχέδιον σκηνὴν ἐσαγαγόντες, οὐδενὸς
 τῶν οἰκετῶν αὐτῷ θεραπευτήρων παρόντων, ὡς
 ἐν νυκτὶ καὶ τοσῷδε ταράχῳ διερριμμένων. περι-
 πέμψας δὲ εὐθὺς πανταχῇ τοὺς ἔξαγγελούντας,
 δτι σφέζοιτο, πυνθάνεται Καλούσιον σὺν ταῖς
 πρόπλοις καταπλέοντα καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ δύο χρηστοῖς
 καὶ ἀδοκήτοις ἀνεπαύετο.

X

CAP. 88. "Αμα δ' ἡμέρᾳ τὴν θάλασσαν ἐφορῶν
X ἐθεᾶτο ναῦς ἐμπεπρησμένας τε καὶ ἡμιφλέκτους
 ἔτι καὶ ἡμικαύστους ἄλλας τε λελυμασμένας

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

the ships took refuge on the mountains and lighted CHAP.
numerous fires as signals to those who were still on IX
the sea, and there passed the night without food,
uncared for, and in want of everything. Octavian
fared like the rest, and moved around exhorting
them to endure their privations till morning. While
he was undergoing these hardships it was not known
that Calvisius had arrived, nor could anything need-
ful be obtained from the ships busied as they were
with their wrecks. But good luck came to them from
another quarter. The thirteenth legion was approach-
ing by way of the mountains, and, learning of the disas-
ter and judging of their route by the fire, they made
their way through the crags. They found their com-
mander, and those who had taken refuge with him,
suffering from fatigue and want of food, and min-
istered to them, dividing the work, some caring for
some, others for others. The centurions brought
their commander into an improvised tent, as none
of his body-servants were present, these having been
dispersed in the darkness and disorder. He sent
messengers in all directions forthwith, to announce
that he was safe, and he learned that Calvisius had
arrived with the vanguard of his fleet ; and, in view
of these two helpful and unexpected events, he
allowed himself some rest.

X

88. THE next morning, when Octavian looked out CHAP.
upon the water, he beheld some of his ships burned,
X
others partly burned, others still burning, and others

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP.^X ίστιων τε ὁμοῦ καὶ πηδαλίων καὶ σκευῶν ἔμπλεων τὸ πέλαγος καὶ τῶν ἔτι σφραγίσμένων τὰ πολλὰ πεπονηκότα. προστησάμενος οὖν τὸν Καλουσίου στόλον, ἐπεσκεύαζε τὰ ἐπείγοντα τῶν σκαφῶν πλαγιάσας, ἡρεμούντων καὶ τῶν πολεμίων, εἴτε διὰ Καλουσίου εἴτε αὐθις ἀναγομένοις ἐπιθέσθαι διεγνωκότων. ὅδε δὲ ἔχόντων ἐκατέρων, ἐκ μέσης ἡμέρας νότος ἐμπεσὼν ἤγειρε κῦμα βίαιον ἐν ρῷδει καὶ στενῷ χωρίῳ. Πομπήιος μὲν οὖν ἐν Μεσσήνῃ λιμένων ἔνδον ἦν, αἱ δὲ τοῦ Καίσαρος νῆες αὐθις περὶ τραχεῖαν ἀκτὴν καὶ δύσορμον ἀρασσόμεναι ταῖς τε πέτραις καὶ ἀλλήλαις ἐπεφέροντο, οὐδὲ τῶν πληρωμάτων σφίσιν ὥστε διακρατεῖν ἐντελῶν δυτῶν.

89. Μηνόδωρος μὲν οὖν, ἀρχόμενον τὸ δεινὸν ἐλπίσας πλεονάσειν, ἐσ τὸ πελαγιώτερον ἀνήχθη καὶ ἐπ' ἀγκυρῶν διεσάλευεν ἀσθενέστερον δὲ ἔχων τὸ κῦμα διὰ τὸν βυθόν, εἰρεσίᾳ ὅμως καὶ πρὸς τόδε ἐνίστατο καρτερᾶ μὴ παραφέρεσθαι, καὶ τινες αὐτὸν ἐμμούντο ἔτεροι. τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν πλῆθος, οἰόμενοι ταχέως τὸ πνεῦμα ἐνδώσειν ως ἐν ἕαρι, τὰς ναῦς ἐκατέρωθεν ἀγκύραις ἐκ τε τοῦ πελάγους καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς διεκράτουν καὶ κοντοῖς ἐξεώθουν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων. τραχυτέρου δὲ τοῦ πνεύματος γενομένου συνεκέχυτο πάντα καὶ συνετρίβοντο αἱ νῆες, τὰς ἀγκύρας ἀπορρηγνύουσαι καὶ ἐσ τὴν γῆν ἦ ἐπ' ἀλλήλας τινασσόμεναι βοή τε ἦν παμμιγῆς δεδιότων ὁμοῦ καὶ οἰμφάσιν των καὶ παρακελευόντων ἀλλήλοις ἐσ ἀνήκοον οὐ γὰρ ἐφικνούντο ἔτι τῶν λεγομένων, οὐδὲ κυβερνήτης

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

broken in pieces ; and the sea filled with sails, CHAP.
rudders, and tackle, while, of the ships that were ^X
saved, the greater part were damaged. Having
ranged the fleet of Calvisius in front, he made repairs
on those of his vessels that most needed them,
canting them, the enemy meantime remaining quiet,
either because they feared Calvisius, or because they
had decided to attack again in the open sea. Thus Terrible
they remained on either side until midday, when storm in
a south wind burst upon them, raising violent billows
of Sicily
in that surging and confined channel. Pompeius
was then inside the harbour of Messana. The
ships of Octavian were again shattered on the
rough and inhospitable coast, dashing against the
rocks and against each other, for, as they were not
fully manned, they were not under good control.

89. Menodorus, apprehending that this rising
storm would increase in violence, moved farther
seaward and rode at anchor : here, on account of
the depth of water, the waves were less boisterous ;
and even here he had recourse to hard rowing
to avoid being driven ashore, some of the others
following his example, but most of them, thinking
that the wind would soon subside, as it usually
does in the springtime, moored themselves with
anchors at either end, landward and seaward,
pushing each other off with poles. As the wind
grew more violent everything was thrown into
confusion. The ships collided, broke their anchors, ^{Destruction}
and were thrown quivering on the shore or against ^{of}
one another. Cries of alarm and groans of pain
fleet
were mingled together, and exhortations that fell
upon deaf ears. Orders could not be heard, and
there was no distinction between pilot and common

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. ίδιώτου διέφερεν οὕτε κατ' ἐπιστήμην οὕτε προσ-
^X τάσσων. ἀλλ' ὁ φθόρος ἦν ὅμοιος ἐν τε ταῖς
ναυσὶν αὐταῖς καὶ, ὅτε τις αὐτῶν ἐκπέσοι κύματι
καὶ κλύδωνι καὶ ξύλοις ἀρασσομένων· ἔγεμεν γὰρ
ἡ θάλασσα ἵστιν καὶ ξύλων καὶ ἀνδρῶν καὶ
νεκρῶν. εἰ δέ τις καὶ τάδε διαφυγὴν ἐκνήχοιτο
ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, συνηράσσοντο καὶ οἴδε ἐπὶ τὰς
πέτρας ὑπὸ τοῦ κύματος. ως δὲ καὶ τὸ σπάσμα
τὴν θάλασσαν ἐλάμβανεν, ὃ συνήθως ἐπιγίγνεται
τῷδε τῷ πορθμῷ, τοὺς μὲν ἀήθεις καὶ τόδε ἐξ-
ἐπλησσε, τὰ δὲ σκάφη τότε μάλιστα περιφερό-
μενα συνέπιπτεν ἀλλήλοις. καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα ἐς
νύκτα χαλεπώτερον ἐγίγνετο, ὥστε μηδὲ κατὰ
φῶς ἔτι, ἀλλ' ἐν σκότῳ διόλλυσθαι.

90. Οἵμωγαί τε ἀνὰ τὴν νύκτα πᾶσαν ἡσαν καὶ
τῶν οἰκείων μετακλήσεις ἀνά τε τὴν γῆν διαθεόν-
των καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ καλούντων ἐξ ὄνό-
ματος καὶ θρηνούντων, ὅτε μὴ ἐπακούσειαν, ως
ἀπολωλότας· ἔμπαλίν τε ἑτέρων ἀνὰ τὸ πέλαγος
ὑπερκυπτόντων τὸ κῦμα καὶ ἐς βοήθειαν τοὺς ἐν
τῇ γῇ παρακαλούντων. ἀμήχανα δὲ πάντα ἦν
ἐκατέροις· καὶ οὐχ ἡ θάλασσα μόνη τοῖς ἐς αὐτὴν
ἐσελθοῦσιν καὶ ὅσοι τῶν νεῶν ἐπεβεβήκεσαν ἔτι,
ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ γῆ τοῦ κλύδωνος οὐχ ἡσσον ἦν ἀπο-
ρωτέρα, μὴ σφᾶς τὸ κῦμα συναράξειεν ἐπὶ τὰς
πέτρας. ἐμόχθουν τε χειμῶνι τῶν πώποτε μά-
λιστα καινοτρόπῳ, γῆς ὅντες ἀγχοτάτῳ καὶ τὴν
γῆν δεδιότες καὶ οὕτε ἐκφυγεῖν αὐτὴν ἔχοντες ἐς
τὸ πέλαγος οὕτε ὅσον ἀλλήλων διαστῆναι· ἡ γὰρ
στενότης ἡ τοῦ χωρίου καὶ τὸ φύσει δυσέξοδον
αὐτοῦ καὶ κλύδων ἐπιπεσὼν καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα, ὑπὸ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

sailor, knowledge and authority being alike un- CHAP.
availing. The same destruction awaited those in X
the ships and those who fell overboard, the latter
being crushed by wind, waves, and floating timber.
The sea was full of sails, spars, and men, living
and dead. Those who sought to escape by swimming
to land were dashed against the rocks by the surf.
When the convulsion seized the water,¹ as is usual
in that strait, they were terrified, being unaccustomed
to it; and then their vessels were whirled around
and dashed against each other worse than ever.
As night came on the wind increased in fury, so
that they perished no longer in the light but in the
darkness.

90. Groans were heard throughout the entire Great loss
night, and the cries of men running along the of life
shore and calling their friends and relatives upon
the sea by name, and mourning for them as lost
when they could hear no responses; and anon
the cries of others lifting their heads above the
waves and beseeching aid from those on shore.
Nothing could be done on either land or water.
Not only was the sea inexorable to those engulfed
in it, as well as to those still in the ships, but
the danger was almost as great on land as at sea,
lest the surf should dash them against the rocks.
So distressed were they by this unexampled tempest
that those who were nearest the land feared the
land, yet could not get sufficient offing to avoid
collision with each other, for the narrowness of
the place and its naturally difficult outlet, together
with the force of the waves, the rotary motion
of the wind, caused by the surrounding mountains,

¹ This refers to the whirlpool of Charybdis.

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. τῶν περικειμένων ὄρῶν ἐς θυέλλας περικλώμενον,
^x καὶ ὁ τοῦ βυθοῦ σπασμὸς ἐπὶ πάντα εἰλούμενος
οὗτε μένειν οὕτε φεύγειν ἐπέτρεπε· τό τε σκότος
ἡνώχλει νυκτὸς μάλιστα μελαίνης· ὅθεν ἔθνη-
σκον οὐδὲ καθορῶντες ἀλλιγίλους ἔτι, οἱ μὲν θορυ-
βούμενοι καὶ βοῶντες, οἱ δὲ ἐφ' ἡσυχίας παριέμενοι
καὶ τὸ δεινὸν ἐκδεχόμενοι καὶ συνεργοῦντες ἐς
αὐτὸν ἔνιοι ώς ἀπολούμενοι πάντως. γενόμενον
γὰρ τὸ κακὸν κρεῖσσον ἐπινοίας καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῶν
παραλόγων αὐτοὺς ἐλπίδα ἀφηρεῖτο, μέχρι ποτὲ
ἄφνω τὸ πνεῦμα προσιουσῆς ἡμέρας διελύετο καὶ
μεθ' ἡλίου ἐπιτολὴν πάμπαν ἐμαραίνετο. καὶ τὸ
κῦμα ὅμως καὶ τότε, τοῦ πνεύματος ἐκλυθέντος,
ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐτραχύνετο. καὶ τὸ δεινὸν οὐδὲ ὑπὸ¹
τῶν ἐγχωρίων ποτὲ τηλικούτον ἐμνημονεύετο
γενέσθαι· γενόμενον δὲ ἔθους τε καὶ νόμου κρεῖσ-
σον διέφθειρε τῶν Καίσαρος νεῶν καὶ ἀνδρῶν
τὸ πλέον.

91. Ο δὲ καὶ τῆς προτεραίας ἡμέρας πολλὰ τῷ
πολέμῳ βλαβεῖς καὶ δύο τοῦσδε συμπτώμασιν
όμοιον συνενεχθεὶς ἐπὶ τὸ Ἰππώνειον εὐθὺς ἦει διὰ
ὄρῶν τῶν νυκτὸς αὐτῆς ἐκείνης κατὰ σπουδῆν, οὐχ
ὑφιστάμενος τὴν συμφοράν, ἐν φῇ μηδὲν εἶχεν
ἐπικουρεῖν. καὶ φίλοις καὶ στρατηγοῖς ἐπέστελλε
πᾶσι διὰ χειρὸς εἶναι, μή τις αὐτῷ καὶ ἐτέρωθεν
ώς ἐν κακοπραγίᾳ γένοιτο ἐπιβουλή. περιέπεμπε
δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν ἀκτὴν ἅπασαν τῆς Ἰταλίας τὰ
παρόντα πεζά, μὴ ἐπιτολμήσειε καὶ τῇ γῇ διὰ τὴν
εὐτυχίαν ὁ Πομπήιος. ὁ δὲ οὕτε περὶ τῆς γῆς
ἐνενόησεν οὕτε τοῖς λειψάνοις τοῦ ναυαγίου παρ-
οῦσιν ἡ ἀπιοῦσι καταστάντος τοῦ κλύδωνος ἐπ-

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

and the whirlpool of the deep, holding everything CHAP.
in its grasp, allowed neither tarrying nor escape. X
The darkness of a very black night added to their distress. And so they perished, no longer even seeing each other, some uttering confused cries, others yielding in silence, accepting their doom, some even hastening it, believing that they were irretrievably doomed. The disaster so far surpassed their experience that it bereft them of the hope of saving themselves even by chance. Finally, at the approach of daylight, the wind suddenly relaxed its force, and after sunrise wholly died away; yet even then, although the storm had ceased, the surges rolled a long time. The fury of the tempest surpassed the memory of the oldest inhabitants. It was altogether unexampled, and the greater part of Octavian's ships and men were destroyed by it.

91. Octavian, who had lost heavily in the battle the previous day and had sustained two severe calamities together, took the road in haste to Vibo that same night, by way of the mountains, being unable to repair this disaster, for which there was no help at hand. He wrote to all his friends and generals to be on the alert lest a plot should be formed against him here or there, as is liable to be the case when adversity comes. He despatched the infantry he had with him to all points on the Italian coast, lest Pompeius should be emboldened by his good luck even to invade the mainland. But the latter had no thought of an expedition by land. He did not even attack the ships that were left from the wreck, nor those that went away after the storm had subsided.

Octavian retreats to Vibo

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

ΧΑΡ. εχείρησεν, ἀλλ' ὑπερεῖδεν ἐκ τῶν δυνατῶν διαζων-
νυμένους τὰ σκάφη καὶ ἀνέμῳ διαπλέοντας ἐς τὸ
Ἴππώνειον, εἴτε τὴν συμφορὰν ἀρκεῦν οἱ νομίζων
εἴτ' ἄπειρος ὡν νίκην ἐπεξελθεῖν εἴθ', ὥσπερ
εἰρηταί μοι καὶ ἔτέρωθι, ἐπιχειρεῦν ὅλως μαλακὸς
ὡν καὶ μόνον ἐγνωκὼς ἀμύνεσθαι τοὺς ἐπιπλέ-
οντας.

92. Καίσαρι δὲ οὐδ' ἐς ἥμισυ τῶν νεῶν περιε-
σώθη, καὶ τοῦτο σφόδρα πεπονηκός. καταλυπὼν
δ' ὅμως αὐτοῦ τινας ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, ἐπὶ Καμπανίαν
ἥει δυσφορῶν· οὕτε γὰρ ἄλλας ναῦς εἰχεν, δεό-
μενος πολλῶν, οὕτε χρόνον ἐς ναυπηγίαν, ἐπειγό-
μενος ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ καὶ τοῦ δήμου περὶ
συμβάσεων αὐθις ἐνοχλήσαντος καὶ τὸν πόλεμον
ἐπιτωθάσαντος ὡς παράσπονδον. χρημάτων τ'
ἔχρησε καὶ ἡπόρει, 'Ρωμαίων οὕτε εἰσφερόντων
οὕτε τοὺς πόρους ἐώντων, οὓς ἐπινοήσειε. δεινὸς
δὲ ὧν ἀεὶ τὸ συμφέρον συνιδεῖν ἐπεμπε Μαικήναν
ἐς Ἀντώνιον, μεταδιδάξοντα περὶ ὧν ἔναγχος
ἐπεμέμφοντο ἀλλήλοις, καὶ ἐς συμμαχίαν ὑπαξό-
μενον. εἰ δὲ μὴ πείσειεν, ἐπενόει τοὺς ὄπλίτας
ὅλκάσιν ἐπιβήσας ἐς Σικελίαν περαιοῦν καὶ τὴν
θάλασσαν μεθεὶς κατὰ γῆν πόλεμον συνίστασθαι.
οὕτω δ' ἀθύμως ἔχοντι αὐτῷ ἀγγέλλεται ὁ Ἀντώ-
νιος συνθέμενος συμμαχήσειν καὶ νίκη κατὰ
Κελτῶν τῶν Ἀκυιτανῶν ἐπιφανής, ἦν Ἀγρίππας

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

On the contrary, he paid no attention to the CHAP.
enemy while they were frapping their ships with X
ropes as well as they could, and sailing with a Pompeius
favourable wind to Vibo. He neglected them either pursue
because he thought that the disaster was all-
sufficient for him, or because he did not know how
to follow up a victory, or, as I have said elsewhere,
because he was altogether inefficient in attack and
determined only to defend himself against assailants.

92. Less than half of Octavian's ships were saved, and these badly damaged. He left certain officers in charge of them and proceeded to Campania much cast down, for he had no other ships and he needed many; nor did he have time to build them, pressed as he was by the famine and by the people, who were again harassing him about a new treaty and mocking at the war as being in violation of the old one. He needed money, but had none. The Romans were not paying the taxes, nor would they allow the use of the revenues that he had devised. But he was always clever at discovering what was for his advantage. He sent Maecenas to Antony to change the mind of the latter respecting the things about which they had lately had some bickering, and to bring him to an alliance. If Maecenas should not succeed, he intended to embark his infantry on merchant vessels, cross over to Sicily, abandon the sea, and wage war on land. While in this state of dejection the news reached him that Antony had agreed to the alliance, and he heard of a splendid victory over the Gauls of Aquitania, gained under the leadership of Agrippa.¹ His friends

¹ There is probably a gap or error in the text.

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. ἄγων ἐφάνη. οἵ τε φίλοι καὶ τῶν πόλεών τινες
_X αὐτῷ ναῦς ὑπισχνοῦντο καὶ ἐποίουν.

‘Ο μὲν δὴ καὶ τῆς λύπης ἀνίη καὶ λαμπροτέραν τῆς προτέρας παρασκευῆς συνεπήγνυτο· 93. ἀρχομένου δ’ ἥρος ὁ μὲν Ἀντώνιος ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ἐς Τάραντα διέπλει ναυσὶ τριακοσίαις, τῷ Καίσαρι συμμαχήσων, ώς ὑπέσχητο, ὁ δ’ ἐνήλλακτο τὴν γνώμην καὶ ἐς τὰς ἔτι γινομένας αὐτῷ ναῦς ἀνεβάλλετο. καλούμενος δὲ αὐθις ώς ἐπὶ ἔτοιμα καὶ ἀρκοῦντα τὰ Ἀντωνίου, ἐτέρας ἀσχολίας προύφερε καὶ δῆλος ἡ αὐθις ἐπιμεμφόμενός τι τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ ἡ τῆς συμμαχίας διὰ τὴν εὐπορίαν τὴν οἰκείαν ὑπερορῶν. χαλεπαίνων δ’ ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐπέμενεν ὅμως καὶ αὐθις αὐτὸν ἐκάλει· τῇ τε γὰρ χορηγίᾳ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ κάμνων καὶ στρατοῦ χρήζων ἐπὶ Παρθυαίους Ἰταλοῦ, Καίσαρι τὰς ναῦς ἐπενόει διαλλάξαι, εἰρημένον μὲν ἐν ταῖς συνθήκαις ἑκάτερον ἔνολογεῦν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας, δυσχερὲς δ’ ἐσόμενον αὐτῷ Καίσαρος τὴν Ἰταλίαν εἰληχότος. Ὁκταονία οὖν ἔχώρει πρὸς Καίσαρα διαιτήσουσα αὐτοῖς. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐγκαταλειεῖθαι τοῖς κινδύνοις ἔλεγε τοῖς ἐν πορθμῷ καταλαβοῦσιν, ἡ δὲ ἐκλελύσθαι τοῦτο διὰ Μαικήνα. ὁ δὲ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἔφη καὶ Καλλίαν ἀπελεύθερον ἐς Λέπιδον ἐκπέμψαι, συντιθέμενον τῷ Λεπίδῳ κατὰ Καίσαρος, ἡ δὲ συνειδέναι Καλλίαν περὶ γάμων ἀπεσταλμένον· βουληθῆναι γὰρ Ἀντώνιον πρὸ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

and certain cities also promised him ships, and CHAP.
X
built them.

Accordingly, Octavian cast off his despondency, B.C. 36 and made more formidable preparations than his previous ones. 93. At the beginning of spring, Antony comes to his help with three hundred ships Antony set sail from Athens to Tarentum with 300 ships to assist Octavian as he had promised. But the latter had changed his mind and postponed his movement until his own ships should be finished. When called upon again and told that Antony's forces were ready and sufficient, he advanced other reasons for delay. It was evident that he was again offended with Antony about something, or that he disdained his assistance because his own resources were abundant. Antony was vexed, but he remained, nevertheless, and communicated with Octavian again, because the expense of his fleet was burdensome. Moreover, he needed Italian soldiers for his war against the Parthians, and he contemplated exchanging his fleet for a part of Octavian's army ; for, although it was provided in their treaty that each of them might recruit soldiers in Italy, it would be difficult for him to do so when Italy had fallen to the lot of Octavian. Accordingly, Octavia betook herself to her brother to act as mediator between them. Octavian complained that he had been abandoned by Antony when he was overtaken by danger in the straits ; she replied that that had been explained through Maecenas. Octavian said that Antony had sent his freedman Callias to Lepidus in Africa to induce the latter to make an alliance against him ; she replied that she knew that Callias had been sent to make arrangements about a marriage, because Antony desired, before

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. τῶν Παρθυικῶν ἐκδεδόσθαι τὴν θυγατέρα τῷ
παιδὶ Λεπίδου, καθάπερ ὡμολόγητο. καὶ τάδε
μὲν ἡ Ὀκταονία, Ἀντώνιος δὲ καὶ τὸν Καλλίαν
ἐπεμπεν, ἐς βάσανον τῷ Καίσαρι διδούς· ὁ δὲ
οὐκ ἐδέξατο μέν, ἀφίξεσθαι δὲ ἔφη καὶ συμμίξειν
Ἀντωνίῳ μεταξὺ Μεταποντίου καὶ Τάραντος,
μέσον ἔχων ποταμὸν τὸν ἐπώνυμον.

94. Κατὰ δαίμονα δ' ἀμφοτέρων προσιόντων
τῷ ῥεύματι, Ἀντώνιος ἐκ τῆς ἀπήνης καταθορὼν
ἔς τι τῶν παρορμούντων σκαφῶν ἐσήλατο μόνος
κινή ἐπέρα πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα, πιστεύον ὡς φίλῳ.
καὶ ὁ Καίσαρ ἵδων ἀντεμιμεῖτο, καὶ ξυμβάλ-
λουσιν ἀλλήλοις κατὰ τὸ ῥεῦμα καὶ διηρίζον, ἐκά-
τερος ἐκβῆναι βουλόμενος ἐς τὴν ὅχθην τοῦ
έτερου. ἐνίκα δὲ ὁ Καίσαρ, ὡς καὶ πρὸς τὴν
Ὀκταονίαν ἦξων ἐς Τάραντα, ἐπὶ τε τῆς ἀπήνης
Ἀντωνίου συνήδρευεν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐν Τάραντι ἐς τὴν
καταγωγὴν αὐτοῦ παρῆλθε τε ἀφύλακτος καὶ τὴν
νύκτα ομοίως ἀνεπαύετο χωρὶς δορυφόρων παρ'
αὐτῷ. τὰ δ' ὅμοια καὶ παρ' Ἀντωνίου τῆς ἐπι-
ούσης ἐπεδείκνυτο. οὕτως αὐτοῖς ἦν συνεχῆς ἡ
μεταβολή, πρὸς τε τὰς ὑπονοίας διὰ φιλαρχίαν
καὶ ἐς τὰς πίστεις ὑπὸ χρείας. •

95. Τὸν μὲν οὖν ἐπίπλουν τὸν ἐπὶ Πομπήιον ὁ
Καίσαρ ἐς νέωτα ἀνεβάλλετο· ὁ δ' Ἀντώνιος
ἐπιμένειν διὰ Παρθυαίους οὐ δυνάμενος, ἀντέ-
δοσαν ὅμως ἀλλήλοις, Καίσαρι μὲν ὁ Ἀντώνιος
ναῦς ἐκατὸν εἴκοσιν, ἀς αὐτίκα πέμψας εἰς
Τάραντα παρέδωκεν, Ἀντωνίῳ δὲ ὁ Καίσαρ
δισμυρίους Ἰταλοὺς ὄπλίτας, οὓς ἐπιπέμψειν
ὑπισχνεῖτο· ἐδωρήσατο δὲ καὶ Ὀκταονίᾳ τὸν

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

setting out on his Parthian expedition, to marry his CHAP.
daughter to the son of Lepidus, as had been agreed. X
After Octavian had made this statement Antony sent Callias to Octavian with permission to put him to the question. Octavian would not receive him, but said that he would go and have an interview with Antony between Metapontum and Tarentum, at a place where there is the river whence the town is named¹ between them.

94. They both chanced to reach the river at the same time. Antony sprang down from his chariot and leaped alone into one of the skiffs moored near by, and rowed toward Octavian, showing confidence in him as a friend. When Octavian saw this he followed the example. So they met in the stream and contended with each other which of them should disembark on the other's bank. Octavian prevailed because he was going to make a visit to Octavia at Tarentum. He took a seat with Antony in the latter's chariot, and proceeded to his lodgings at Tarentum unprotected, and passed the night there without guards. On the following day Antony made the same exhibition of trust. Thus they were continually changing from suspicion born of rivalry to confidence due to their mutual needs.

95. However, Octavian postponed his expedition against Pompeius till the following year. On account of the Parthian war Antony was not able to wait. Nevertheless, they made an exchange with each other, Antony giving to Octavian 120 ships, which he sent at once and delivered at Tarentum, in return for which Octavian promised to send him 20,000 Italian legionaries. Octavia, begging the

¹ The Taras.

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. ἀδελφόν, αἰτήσασα παρ' Ἀντωνίου, δέκα φασῆ-
^X λοις τριηριτικοῖς, ἐπιμίκτοις ἔκ τε φορτίδων νεῶν
καὶ μακρῶν, καὶ τὴν Ὁκταουίαν ὁ Καῖσαρ χιλίοις
λογάσι σωματοφύλαξιν, οὓς ἐπιλέξαιτο Ἀντώ-
νιος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ χρόνος αὐτοῖς ἔληγε τῆς ἀρχῆς,
ἡ τοῦς τρισὶν ἐψήφιστο ἀνδράσιν, ἐτέραν ἑαυτοῖς
ῶριζον πενταετίαν, οὐδὲν ἔτι τοῦ δήμου δεηθέντες.
οὕτω μὲν οὖν διεκρίθησαν ἀπ' ἄλλῃλων, καὶ ὁ
Ἀντώνιος εὐθὺς ἐς τὴν Συρίαν ἤπειρετο, τὴν
Ὁκταουίαν παρὰ τῷ ἀδελφῷ καταλιπὼν μετὰ
θυγατρὸς ἥδη γενομένης αὐτοῖς.

96. Μηνόδωρος δέ, εἴτε τις ὧν φύσει παλιμ-
προδότης εἴτε δείσας τὴν ποτε ἀπειλὴν Ἀντωνίου,
ἀπάξειν αὐτὸν εἰπόντος ὡς ἀνδράποδον πολεμο-
ποιόν, εἴτε ἐλασσόνων ἀξιοῦσθαι νομίζων παρ'
ἄ προσεδόκησεν, εἴτε τῶν ἄλλων αὐτὸν ἔξελευ-
θέρων τοῦ Πομπήιου συνεχῶς ὀνειδιζόντων ἐς
ἀπιστίαν δεσπότου καὶ παρακαλούντων ἐπανελ-
θεῖν Μενεκράτους ἀποθανόντος, πίστιν αἰτήσας
καὶ λαβὼν ηύτομόλησε πρὸς Πομπήιου σὺν ἐπτὰ
ναυσί, Καλουνίσιον τὸν ναύαρχον τοῦ Καίσαρος
διαλαθών. ἐφ' ὧ τὸν Καλουνίσιον ὁ Καῖσαρ
ἀπέλυσε τῆς ναυαρχίας καὶ ἀντικατέστησεν
Αγρίππαν.

'Ἐπεὶ δ' ἔτοιμος ἦν ὁ στόλος, ἐκάθαιρεν αὐτὸν ὁ
Καῖσαρ ὅδε. οἱ μὲν βωμοὶ ψαύουσι τῆς θαλάσ-
σης, καὶ ἡ πληθὺς αὐτοὺς περιέστηκε κατὰ ναῦν
μετὰ σιωπῆς βαθυτάτης· οἱ δὲ ἱερουργοὶ θύουσι
μὲν ἐστῶτες ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάσσῃ καὶ τρὶς ἐπὶ σκαφῶν
περιφέρουσιν ἀνὰ τὸν στόλον τὰ καθάρσια, συμ-
περιπλεόντων αὐτοῖς τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ ἐπαρω-
μένων ἐς τάδε τὰ καθάρσια, ἀντὶ τοῦ στόλου, τὰ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

favour from Antony, made her brother a present of CHAP.
ten three-banked phaseli—a combination of war-ship
and merchant vessel—and Octavian gave her in
return 1000 picked men as a body-guard, to be
selected by Antony. As the term of the triumvirate
voted to them was about expiring, they renewed it
for five years without again asking the people. And so they separated, Antony proceeding straightway to Syria and leaving Octavia with her brother, and also a daughter already born to them.

X

Antony
returns
to his
Parthian
expedition

96. But Menodorus,—either because he was a turn-coat by nature, or because he feared the former threat of Antony, who had said that he would punish him as a rebellious slave, or because he had received less consideration than he had expected, or because the other freedmen of Pompeius were continually reproaching him for unfaithfulness to his master and urging him to return,—now that Menecrates was dead, asked forgiveness, and, having obtained it, deserted to Pompeius with seven ships, without the knowledge of Octavian's admiral, Calvisius. For this reason Octavian dismissed the latter from his command and appointed Agrippa in his place.

When the fleet was ready, Octavian performed a lustration for it in the following manner. The altars are erected on the margin of the sea, and the multitude ranged around them in a circle of ships, observing the most profound silence. The priests who perform the ceremony offer the sacrifice while standing at the water's edge, and carry the expiatory offerings in skiffs three times round the fleet, the generals sailing with them, beseeching the gods to turn the bad omens against the victims instead of the fleet.

B.C. 36

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. ἀπαίσια τραπήναι. νείμαντες δὲ αὐτά, μέρος ἐς
X τὴν θάλασσαν ἀπορρίπτουσι καὶ μέρος ἐς τοὺς
βωμοὺς ἐπιθέντες ἅπτουσι, καὶ ὁ λεῶς ἐπευφημεῖ.
οὕτω μὲν Ῥωμαῖοι τὰ ναυτικὰ καθαιρουσιν.

XI

CAP. 97. "Εμελλε δ' ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ ἐκ Δικαιαρχείας,
XI ὁ δὲ Λέπιδος ἐκ Λιβύης, Ταῦρος δ' ἐκ Τάραντος
ἐπιπλευσεῖσθαι τῇ Σικελίᾳ, ως ἀν αὐτὴν ἐξ ἡοῦς
όμοῦ καὶ δύσεως καὶ μεσημβρίας περιλάβοιεν.
καὶ τῆς ἀναγωγῆς τοῦ Καίσαρος ἡ ἡμέρα προεί-
ρητο πᾶσι, καὶ ἦν δεκάτη τροπῶν θερινῶν, ἦν
τινα Ῥωμαῖοι νουμηνίαν ἔχουσι τοῦ μηνός, ὃν ἐπὶ
τιμῇ τοῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ προτέρου Ἰούλιου ἀντὶ
Κυυντιλίου καλοῦσι. τήνδε μὲν ὁ Καῖσαρ ὥρισε
τὴν ἡμέραν, αἰσιούμενος ἵσως διὰ τὸν πατέρα
νικηφόρον αἱὲν γενόμενον ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος Λεπίδῳ
μὲν ἀντέταττε Πλένιον ἐι Λιλυβαίῳ, τέλος ὄπλι-
τῶν ἔχοντα καὶ ἄλλο πλῆθος ἐσκευασμένον
κούφως, τὴν δὲ πρὸς ἕω καὶ δύσιν ἀκτὴν τῆς
Σικελίας πᾶσαν ἐφρούρει, καὶ νήσους μάλιστα
Λιπάραν τε καὶ Κοσσύραν, ἵνα μήτε Κοσσύρα
Λεπίδῳ μήτε Λιπάρα Καίσαρι ἐνορμίσματα ἡ
ναύσταθμα γένοιτο εὔκαιρα ἐπὶ τῇ Σικελίᾳ. τὸ δ'
ἄριστον τοῦ ναυτικοῦ ἐν Μεσσήνῃ συνεῖχεν ἐπε-
δρεῦον ὅπη δεήσειεν.

98. Οὕτω μὲν ἑκάτεροι παρασκευῆς εἶχον, γενο-
μένης δὲ τῆς νουμηνίας ἀνήγοντο πάντες ἀμα ἡοῖ,
Λέπιδος μὲν ἐκ Λιβύης χιλίαις ὀλκάσι καὶ μα-
κραῖς ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ τελεσι στρατοῦ δυώδεκα

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

Then, dividing the entrails, they cast a part of them CHAP.
into the sea, and put the remainder on the altars ^X
and burn them, while the multitude chant in
unison. In this way the Romans perform lustrations
of the fleet.

XI

97. It was intended that Octavian should set sail CHAP.
from Puteoli, Lepidus from Africa, and Taurus from ^{XI}
Tarentum, against Sicily, in order to surround the
enemy at once, from the east, the west, and the south.
The day of Octavian's sailing had been previously
communicated to all; it was the tenth day after
the summer solstice. This, in the Roman calendar,
was the calends of the month which, in honour of
the first Caesar, they call July instead of Quintilis.
Octavian fixed on this day, perhaps because he con-
sidered it propitious on account of his father, who
was always victorious. Pompeius stationed Plenius
at Lilybaeum with one legion and a considerable
body of light-armed troops, to oppose Lepidus. He
guarded the whole coast of Sicily, both east and
west, and especially the islands of Lipara and
Cossyra, lest they should become convenient harbours
and naval stations, the one for Octavian the other for
Lepidus against Sicily. The best part of his naval
force he kept together at Messana watching its
chances.

Expedition
against
Sextus
Pompeius

98. In this way they made their preparations on either side, and when the calends came they all set sail at daybreak, Lepidus from Africa with 1000 ships of burden, seventy war vessels, twelve legions of

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. καὶ ἵππεῦσι Νομάσι πεντακισχιλίοις καὶ ἔτέρᾳ
 XI παρασκευῇ πολλῇ, Ταῦρος δ' ἐκ Τάραντος ταῖς
 Ἀντωνίου ναυσὶν ἐξ ἑκατὸν καὶ τριάκοντα δύο
 μόναις καὶ ἑκατόν, ἐπεὶ τῶν λοιπῶν οἱ ἐρέται
 χειμῶνος ἐτεθνήκεσαν, ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐκ Δικαιαρ-
 χείας, θύων ἄμα καὶ σπένδων ἀπὸ τῆς ναυαρχίδος
 νεώς ἐς τὸ πέλαγος ἀνέμοις εὐδίοις καὶ Ἀσφαλείῳ
 Ποσειδῶνι καὶ ἀκύμονι θαλάσσῃ, συλλήπτορας
 αὐτῷ κατὰ ἔχθρῶν πατρώων γενέσθαι. πρόπλοι
 δ' αὐτῷ τινες τοὺς μυχὸν τῆς θαλάσσης διηρεύ-
 νων, καὶ Ἀππιος μετὰ πλήθους νεῶν ὀπισθοφυ-
 λακῶν εἴπετο. τρίτη δὲ τῆς ἀναγωγῆς ἡμέρᾳ
 νότος ἐμπεσὼν Λεπίδου μὲν ὀλκάδας ἀνέτρεψε
 πολλάς, ὥρμίσθη δὲ ὅμως ἐς Σικελίαν καί, Πλένιον
 ἐν Λιλυβαίῳ πολιορκῶν, τινὰς τῶν πόλεων ὑπή-
 γετο καὶ ἔτέρας ἐβιάζετο. Ταῦρος δὲ ἀρχομένου
 τοῦ πνεύματος ἐς Τάραντα ἐπαλινδρόμει. Ἀππίου
 δ' ἄρτι τὸ Αθηναῖον ἄκρον περιπλέοντος αἱ μὲν
 συνετρίβοντο τῶν νεῶν ἀμφὶ ταῖς πέτραις, αἱ δὲ ἐς
 τέλματα ἐξώκελλον ὑπὸ ρύμης, αἱ δὲ καὶ δι-
 ερρίφησαν οὐκ ἀσινεῖς. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἀρχομένου
 μὲν τοῦ χειμῶνος ἐς τὸν Ἐλεάτην κόλπον ἐρυμνὸν
 ὅντα συμπεφεύγει, χωρὶς ἐξήρους μᾶς, ἢ περὶ τῇ
 ἄκρᾳ διελύθη· λιβός δὲ τὸν νότον μεταλαβόντος
 ὁ κόλπος ἐκυκάτο, ἐς τὴν ἐσπέραν ἀνεψημένος,
 καὶ οὕτε ἐκπλεῦσαι δυνατὸν ἦν ἔτι πρὸς ἐναντίον
 τοῦ κόλπου τὸ πνεῦμα, οὕτε κῶπαι κατεῖχον οὕτε
 ἄγκυραι, ἀλλ' ἐς ἀλλήλας ἢ ἐς τὰς πέτρας
 ἐνηράσσοντο αἱ νῆες. καὶ νυκτὸς ἦν ἔτι τὸ δεινὸν
 ἀτοπώτερον.

99. Ἐνδόντος δέ ποτε τοῦ κακοῦ τὰ νεκρὰ
 ἔθαπτεν ὁ Καῖσαρ, καὶ τοὺς τραυματίας ἐθεράπευε,

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

soldiers, 500 Numidian horse, and a great quantity CHAP.
of apparatus; Taurus from Tarentum with only 102 ^{XI}
of the 130 ships that Antony had left, since the
oarsmen of the remainder had perished during the
winter. Octavian sailed from Puteoli, offering
sacrifices and pouring out libations from the admiral's
ship into the water to the propitious winds, and to
Saviour Neptune, and to Waveless Ocean, that they
should be his allies against his father's enemies.
Certain ships sent in advance made examination of
the bays, and Appius with a large squadron followed
as a rear guard. On the third day after their
departure a south wind blew with violence and
capsized a large number of ships of burden belonging
to Lepidus. Nevertheless, he reached the Sicilian
coast, laid siege to Plenius in Lilybaeum, and got
possession of some towns by persuasion and others
by force. When the wind began to blow Taurus
returned to Tarentum. While Appius was doubling
the promontory of Minerva, some of his ships were
shattered against the rocks, others ran with violence
on the shoals, and the rest were dispersed, not
without injury. At the beginning of the storm,
Octavian took refuge in the sheltered bay of Elea,
except one six-banked ship, which was wrecked on
the promontory. The south wind was succeeded by
a south-wester, which threw the bay into commotion,
as it opened toward the west. It was impossible to
sail out of the bay with the wind still ahead, nor
could the ships be held by oars or anchors. They
crashed against each other or against the rocks, and
by night confusion became worse confounded.

99. When the tempest had subsided, Octavian
buried the dead, cared for the wounded, clothed

Another
storm
damages
Octavian's
ships and
causes delay

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. καὶ τοὺς ἐκνέοντας ἐνέδυε, καὶ ὥπλιζεν ἑτέροις
 XI ὅπλοις, καὶ τὸν στόλον ἅπαντα ἐκ τῶν ἐνόντων
 ἀνελάμβανε. διεφθάρατο δ' αὐτῷ νῆες βαρεῖαι
 μὲν ἔξ, κουφότεραι δὲ ἔξ καὶ εἴκοσι, λιβυρνίδες δὲ
 ἔτι πλείους. καὶ ἐς τάδε διορθούμενα τριάκοντα
 ἡμέρας ἀναλώσειν ἔμελλεν, ἡδη τοῦ θέρους προ-
 κόπτοντος· ὅθεν ἦν ἄριστον αὐτῷ τὸν πόλεμον ἐς
 τὸ μέλλον θέρος ἀναβαλέσθαι. ἐνοχλουμένου δὲ
 τοῦ δήμου ταῖς ἀπορίαις, ἐπεσκεύαζε τὰς ναῦς ἐς
 τὴν γῆν ἀνέλκων μετὰ ἐπείξεως καὶ τὰ πληρώματα
 τῶν διεφθαρμένων ἐς τὰς παρὰ Ταύρῳ ναῦς κενὰς
 ἔξεπεμπεν. ὡς δὲ ἐπὶ συμφορᾶ μείζονι, Μαικήναν
 μὲν ἐς Ῥώμην ἔξεπεμπε διὰ τοὺς ἐπτοημένους ἔτι
 πρὸς τὴν μνήμην Πομπήίου Μάγνου· οὐ γὰρ
 αὐτοὺς ἔξέλιπεν ἡ δόξα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τούτου· τοὺς
 δὲ κληρούχους αὐτὸς ἀνὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπέτρεχε
 καὶ ἐκ τοῦ φόβου τῶν γεγονότων ἀνελάμβανε.
 διέδραμε δὲ καὶ ἐς Τάραντα καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν εἰδε
 τὸ ὑπὸ Ταύρῳ, καὶ ἐς Ἰππώνειον ἥλθε καὶ τὰ πεζὰ
 παρηγόρησε καὶ τὴν τῶν νεῶν ἐπισκευὴν ἐπ-
 έσπερχεν. καὶ πλησίον ἦν ἡδη καὶ ὁ δεύτερος ἐς
 Σικελίαν ἐπίπλους.

100. 'Ο δὲ Πομπήιος οὐδ' ἐπὶ τοιᾶδε εὐκαιρίᾳ
 τοσοῦσδε ναυαγίοις ἐπιχειρεῖν ἤξιον, ἀλλ' ἔθυε
 μόνον θαλάσση καὶ Ποσειδῶνι καὶ νίος αὐτῶν
 ὑφίστατο καλεῖσθαι, πειθόμενος οὐκ ἄνευ θεοῦ δὶς
 οὕτω θέρους πταῖσαι τοὺς πολεμίους. φασὶ δ'
 αὐτόν, ὑπὸ τῶνδε χαννούμενον, καὶ τὴν συνήθη

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

those who had swum ashore and furnished them CHAP.
with new weapons, and repaired his whole fleet with ^{XI}
the means at his command. Six of his heavy ships,
twenty-six lighter ones, and a still larger number of
liburnian galleys had been destroyed. He was
likely to consume nearly thirty days in these repairs;
and now the end of summer was approaching, for
which reason he deemed it best to postpone the war
till the following summer, but as the people were
suffering from scarcity he drew his ships upon the
land and made his preparations rapidly, and sent the
crews of the ships he had lost to fill the empty ones
in the fleet of Taurus. In anticipation of more
serious misfortune he sent Maecenas to Rome on
account of those who were still under the spell of
the memory of Pompey the Great, for the fame of
that man had not yet lost its influence over them.
Octavian himself visited the new colonies throughout
Italy and dispelled their fears, which had been
excited by the recent events. He also went to
Tarentum and inspected the naval force under
Taurus. Then he proceeded to Vibo, where he
encouraged his infantry and hastened the prepara-
tions of his fleet, the time for his second invasion of
Sicily being near at hand.

100. Pompeius however did not deign to seize even the fine opportunity presented to him by so many shipwrecks. He merely offered sacrifice to the sea and to Neptune, assuming to call himself their son, and persuading himself that it was not without the special act of Providence that his enemies had been twice overwhelmed in this way in the summer months. It is said that he was so much puffed up by these circumstances that he exchanged the purple

Sextus
fails to use
his oppor-
tunities

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. τοῖς αὐτοκράτορσι χλαμύδα ἐξ φοινικῆς ἐσ κυανῆν
^{XI} μεταλλάξαι, εἰσποιούμενον ἅρα ἑαυτὸν τῷ Ποσειδῶνι. ἐλπίσας δ' ἀναζεύξειν τὸν Καίσαρα, ώς ἐπύθετο ναυπηγούμενόν τε καὶ ἐπιπλευσούμενον αὐθις αὐτοῦ θέρους, ἔξεπλήσσετο μὲν ὡς ἀμάχῳ γνώμῃ καὶ παρασκευῇ πολεμῶν, Μηνόδωρον δὲ μετὰ νεῶν ἐπτὰ ὧν ἥγαγεν ἐπεμπε κατασκεψόμενον τὰ νεώλκια τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ δράσοντα, ὅ τι καὶ δύναιτο. ὁ δὲ καὶ τέως ἀχθόμενος οὐκ ἀποδοθείσης αὐτῷ τῆς ναυαρχίας καὶ τότε αἰσθόμενος, ὅτι σὺν ὑποψίᾳ μόνων ἤξιστο ὧν ἥγαγε νεῶν, ἐπεβούλευεν αὐθις αὐτομολίαν.

101. Ἐπινοῶν δὲ πρότερον, ώς ἐσ πάντα οἱ συνοῖσον, ἀνδραγαθίσασθαι, διέδωκε τοῖς συμπλέουσιν, ὅσον εἶχε χρυσίον, καὶ διέπλευσεν εἰρεσίᾳ τρισὶν ἡμέραις πεντακοσίους ἐπὶ χιλίοις σταδίους καὶ τοῖς προφύλαξι τῶν ναυπηγουμένων Καίσαρι νεῶν οἴλα σκηπτὸς ἀφανῶς ἐμπίπτων καὶ ἐσ ἀφανὲς ἀναχωρῶν ἥρει κατὰ δύο καὶ τρεῖς ναῦς τῶν φυλακίδων καὶ τὰς ὄλκάδας, αἱ τὸν σῖτον ἔφερον, ὄρμούσας ἡ παραπλεούσας κατέδυεν ἡ ἀνεδεῦτο ἡ ἐνεπίμπρη. Θορύβου δὲ πάντα μεστὰ διὰ Μηνόδωρον ἦν, Καίσαρος ἀπόντος ἔτι καὶ Ἀγρίππα· καὶ γὰρ οὗτος ἐπὶ ὑλην ἐπεπόρευτο. γαυρούμενος δὲ ὁ Μηνόδωρος ἔξώκειλέ ποτε τὴν ναῦν ἕκὼν ἐσ ἔρμα γῆς ἀπαλὸν σὺν καταφρονήσει καὶ ὑπεκρίνετο αὐτὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ πηλοῦ κατέχεσθαι, μέχρι, τῶν πολεμίων ἐκ τῶν ὄρῶν καταθορόντων

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

cloak customary to Roman commanders for a dark CHAP.
blue one, to signify that he was the adopted son of ^{XI} Neptune. He hoped that Octavian would now take himself off, but when he learned that the latter was building ships and was about to renew the expedition against him that summer, he became alarmed at finding himself at war with a man of such indomitable spirit and such formidable preparations. He sent Menodorus, with the seven ships he had brought, to reconnoitre the dockyards of Octavian and to do whatever damage he could. Menodorus had been vexed for some time past because the naval command had not been given to him, and he now perceived that he was entrusted with only the ships that he had brought, because he was under suspicion. So he plotted a new desertion.

101. Conceiving that however matters might turn out, he should first signalize himself by some act of valour, he distributed among his companions all the gold he had, and crossed by a three days' rowing, accomplishing a distance of 1500 stades, and fell like a thunderbolt, unperceived, on the vessels that were guarding Octavian's shipyards, and disappeared carrying off the guard-ships by twos and threes, sinking also, or capturing, or burning the merchant vessels, laden with corn, that were moored there or sailing along the coast. Everything was thrown into confusion by this raid of Menodorus, both Octavian and Agrippa being absent, for Agrippa had gone away to procure timber. In a spirit of bravado Menodorus once ran his ship upon a sandbank, voluntarily and contemptuously, and pretended to be stuck in the mud, until his enemies dashed down from the mountains upon him as to a certain

Menodorus
again turns
traitor

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. ώς ἐπὶ Μηνοδώρου θήραν ἔτοιμον, ἀνακρουσάμενος
^{XI} ὥχετο σὺν θαύματι.

‘Ως δὲ ίκανῶς ἐπεδέδεικτο, οἷος ἔχθρος τε καὶ φίλος εἴη, ‘Ρέβιλον μὲν ἐλών, ἄνδρα ἀπὸ βουλῆς, μεθῆκε, μνώμενος ἡδη τὸ μέλλον. 102. Μινδίφ δὲ Μαρκέλλῳ, τῶν ἑταίρων τινὶ τῶν Καίσαρος, φίλος ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ γεγονώς αὐτομολίᾳ, τοῖς μὲν ἀμφ’ αὐτὸν ἔφη τὸν Μίνδιον βουλεύειν αὐτομολίαν καὶ προδοσίαν, τοῖς δὲ πολεμίοις προσπελάσας ἡξίου Μίνδιον αὐτῷ συγελθεῖν ἐς τινα νησῖδα ἐπὶ λόγοις συνοίσουσι. καὶ συνελθόντι ἔλεγεν, οὐδενὸς ἀκούοντος ἑτέρου, φυγεῖν μὲν ἐς Πομπήιον ὑβριζόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ τότε ναυάρχου Καλουισίου, τὴν δὲ ναυαρχίαν Ἀγρίππου μεταλαβόντος ἐπανελεύσεσθαι πρὸς Καίσαρα οὐδὲν ἀδικοῦντα, εἰ πίστιν αὐτῷ κομίσειεν ὁ Μίνδιος παρὰ Μεσσάλα τοῦ τὴν ἀποδημίαν Ἀγρίππα διοικοῦντος. ἔφη δ’ ἐπανελθὼν μὲν ίάσεσθαι λαμπροῖς τὸ ἀμάρτημα ἔργοις, μέχρι δὲ τῶν πίστεων λυμανεῖσθαι τινα τῶν Καίσαρος ὄμοίως ἐς τὸ ἀνύποπτον. καὶ ὁ μὲν αὐθις ἐλυμαίνετο, Μεσσάλας δ’ ἐνεδοίασε μὲν ώς ἐπὶ αἰσχρῷ, ἐνέδωκε δ’ ὅμως, εἴτε πολέμου ταῦτ’ εἶναι νομίζων ἀνάγκας εἴτε καὶ τῆς Καίσαρος γνώμης τι προμαθὼν ἡ τεκμηράμενος. καὶ Μηνόδωρος μὲν αὐθις ηύτομόλει καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα ἐλθόντα προσπίπτων ἡξίου συγγνῶναι μὴ λέγοντι τὰς αἰτίας τῆς φυγῆς· ὁ δὲ ἐς

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

prey, when he backed away, and left them in amaze- CHAP.
ment.

XI

When he had sufficiently shown what he was capable of, as enemy or friend, he dismissed a senator whom he had taken prisoner, named Rebilus, having a view already to the future. 102. During his former desertion he had been a friend of Mindius Marcellus, one of the companions of Octavian, and he now told his own men that Mindius had the intention of betraying his party and deserting to that of Pompeius. Then he drew near to the enemy and invited Mindius to go with him to a small island in order to have a conference. When the latter came, and there was nobody else within earshot, Menodorus said that he had gone back to Pompeius because he was ill-treated by the admiral of those days, Calvisius, but that since Agrippa had been appointed to the command of the fleet he would come back to Octavian, who had done him no wrong, if Mindius would bring him a safe-conduct from Messala, who was commanding in Agrippa's absence. He said that on his return he would make amends for his fault by brilliant exploits, but that until the safe-conduct arrived he should be obliged to harrass the forces of Octavian as before in order to avoid suspicion; and this he did. Messala hesitated at so dirty a transaction, but he nevertheless yielded, either because he considered such things necessary in war, or because he had learned beforehand, or conjectured, the mind of Octavian. So Menodorus again deserted, and, upon the approach of Octavian, threw himself at his feet and begged that he would pardon him without asking for the reasons for his flight. Octavian conceded his safety

He
surrenders
his ships
and himself
to Octavian

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP.
^{XI} μὲν σωτηρίαν αὐτῷ συνεγίνωσκε διὰ τὰς σπουδὰς
καὶ ἀφανῶς ἐφυλάσσετο, τοῦς δὲ τριηράρχους
αὐτοῦ μεθίει χωροῦντας ὅποι θέλοιεν.

103. Ἐτοίμου δὲ τοῦ στόλου γενομένου, αὐθις ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀνήγετο καὶ ἐς Ἱππώνειον παραπλεύσας δύο μὲν τέλη πεζῶν Μεσσάλαν ἔχοντα περᾶν ἐκέλευσεν ἐς Σικελίαν ἐπὶ τὸ Λεπίδου στρατόπεδον καὶ σταθμεύειν ἐς τὸν κόλπον διελθόντα τὸν εὐθὺ Ταυρομενίου, τρία δ' ἐπεμπεν ἐπὶ Στυλίδα καὶ πορθμὸν ἄκρον ἐφεδρεύειν τοῖς ἐσομένοις· Ταῦρον δ' ἐς τὸ Σκυλάκιον ὅρος, ὃ πέραν ἐστὶ Ταυρομενίου, περιπλεῦν ἐκ Τάραντος ἐκέλευε. καὶ ὁ μὲν περιέπλει διεσκευασμένος ἐς μάχην ὅμοῦ καὶ εἰρεσίαν· καὶ τὰ πεζὰ αὐτῷ παρωμάρτει, προερευνώντων τὴν τε γῆν ἵππέων καὶ λιβυρνίδων τὴν θάλασσαν. καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ὡδε ἔχοντι ἐξ Ἱππωνείου ἐπιδραμὼν ἐπιφαίνεται κατὰ τὸ Σκυλάκιον, καὶ τὴν εὐταξίαν ἀποδεξάμενος ἐπανῆλθεν ἐς τὸ Ἱππώνειον. ὃ δὲ Πομπήιος, ὡς μοι προείρηται, τὰς τε ἐς τὴν νῆσον ἀποβάσεις ἐφύλασσεν ἀπάσας καὶ τὰς ναῦς ἐν Μεσσήνῃ συνεῖχεν ὡς βοηθήσων, ὅποι δεήσειεν.

104. Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐν τούτῳ παρασκευῆς ἥσαν, Λεπίδῳ δὲ αὐθις ἐκ Λιβύης ἥγον αἱ ὄλκάδες τὰ λοιπὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ τέλη τέσσαρα. καὶ αὐταῖς ὑπήντα πελάγιος ἐκ Πομπηίου Παπίας καὶ διέφθειρεν ὡς φιλίους δεχομένας· φόντο γὰρ σφίσι τὰς Λεπίδου συνναυτᾶν. αἱ δὲ βραδέως τε ὑπὸ τοῦ Λεπίδου καθείλκουτο, καὶ ὕστερον αὐτὰς προσιούσας αἱ ὄλκάδες ὡς καὶ τάσδε ἄλλας πολεμίας

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

on account of the pledges made, but had him secretly CHAP. watched. He dismissed the captains of his triremes XI and allowed them to go wherever they pleased.

103. When the fleet was ready Octavian set sail again. He landed at Vibo and ordered Messala, who had two legions of infantry, to cross over to Sicily, join the army of Lepidus, pass through to the bay in front of Tauromenium, and station himself there, and three legions he sent to Stylos and the extremity of the straits, to await events. He ordered Taurus to sail round from Tarentum to Mount Scylacium, which is opposite Tauromenium. Taurus did so, having prepared himself for fighting as well as for rowing. His infantry kept even pace with him, cavalry reconnoitring by land and liburnians by sea. While he was making this movement Octavian, who had advanced from Vibo, made his appearance near Scylacium, and, after giving his approval to the good order of the forces, returned to Vibo. Pompeius, as I have already said, guarded all the landing places on the island and retained his fleet at Messana, in order to send aid where it might be needed.

104. Such were the preparations of Octavian and Pompeius. Meanwhile four more legions were en route to Lepidus from Africa in merchant ships, being the remainder of his army. Papias, one of Pompeius' captains, threw himself in their way on the sea, and, after they had received him as a friend (for they thought that these were ships sent by Lepidus to meet them), destroyed them. Some ships were despatched by Lepidus leisurely, and when these were approaching, the merchant ships that had escaped mistook them for Disaster to Lepidus

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. έξέκλιναν, ἔως αἱ μὲν ἐκαύθησαν, αἱ δὲ ἐλήφθησαν,
 XI αἱ δὲ ἀνετράπησαν, αἱ δὲ ἐς Λιβύην ἀνέπλευσαν. τοῦ δὲ στρατοῦ δύο μὲν τέλη διώλετο ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ, καὶ, εἴ τινες αὐτῶν ἐξενήχοντο, καὶ τούσδε Τισιηνὸς ὁ τοῦ Πομπηίου στρατηγὸς ἐκνέοντας ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν διέφθειρεν· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ πρὸς Λέπιδον κατήχθησαν, οἱ μὲν αὐτίκα, οἱ δὲ ὕστερον. καὶ Παπίας ἀπέπλευσε πρὸς Πομπήιον.

105. Οἱ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐς μὲν Στρογγύλην, ἡ τῶν πέντε νῆσων ἐστὶ τῶν Αἰόλου, παντὶ τῷ στόλῳ διέπλευσεν ἐξ Ἰππωνείου, προερευνωμένης αὐτῷ τῆς θαλάσσης· στρατὸν δὲ ἐπὶ μετώπου τῆς Σικελίας πλέονα ἴδων ἐν τε Πελωριάδι καὶ Μύλαις καὶ Τυνδαρίδι, εἴκασεν αὐτὸν παρεῖναι Πομπήιον καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐνθάδε Ἀγρίππα διαστρατηγεῖν ἐπέτρεψεν. αὐτὸς δὲ εἰς τὸ Ἰππώνειον αὐθις ἀπέπλει καὶ ἐς τὸ Ταύρουν στρατόπεδον ἐξ Ἰππωνείου σὺν τρισὶ τέλεσι μετὰ Μεσσάλα διετρόχαζεν, ώς Ταυρομένιον αἱρήσων ἀπόντος ἔτι τοῦ Πομπηίου καὶ τὰς ἐμβολὰς αὐτῷ διχόθεν παρέξων. Ἀγρίππας μὲν οὖν ἀπὸ Στρογγύλης εἰς Ιερὰν διέπλει καὶ τῶν Πομπηίου φρουρῶν αὐτὸν οὐχ ὑποστάντων εἶλε τὴν Ιερὰν καὶ τῆς ἐπιούσης ἔμελλεν ἐπιχειρήσειν ἐς Μύλας Δημοχάρει τῷ Πομπήιον, τεσσαράκοντα ναῦς ἔχοντι· ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος, τὸ βίαιον ὑφορώμενος τοῦ Ἀγρίππα, ἐπεμπε τῷ Δημοχάρει ναῦς ἄλλας πέντε καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἀπὸ Μεσσήνης ἐξελεύθερον ἄγοντα Ἀπολλοφάνη, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐφείπετο ἄλλαις ἐβδομήκοντα.

106. Ἀγρίππας δὲ ἔτι νυκτὸς ἐξ Ιερᾶς ἀνήγετο ταῖς ἡμίσεσι τῶν νεῶν ὡς Παπίᾳ μόνῳ ναυμαχή-

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

other enemies and fled. So some of them were CHAP.
burned, some captured, some upset, and the
rest returned to Africa. Two legions perished in
the sea, or, if any of them could swim, Tisienus, the
lieutenant of Pompeius, slew them when they reached
the land. The other legions re-embarked and joined
Lepidus, some sooner and some later. Papias sailed
back to Pompeius.

105. Octavian crossed from Vibo with his whole fleet to Strongyle,¹ one of the five Aeolian islands, having made a reconnaissance of the sea beforehand. Seeing large forces in front of him on the Sicilian shore at Pelorum, Mylae, and Tyndaris, he conjectured that Pompeius himself was there. So he left Agrippa in command and returned again to Vibo, and thence hastened with Messala and three legions to the camp of Taurus, intending to seize Tauromenium while Pompeius was still absent, and thus threaten him on two sides at once. In pursuance of this plan Agrippa moved forward from Strongyle to the island of Hiera, and as Pompeius' garrison made no resistance he occupied it and intended on the following day to attack, at Mylae, Demochares, the lieutenant of Pompeius, who had forty ships. Pompeius observed the menacing attitude of Agrippa and sent to Demochares from Messana forty-five ships, under the command of his freedman Apollophanes, and followed in person with seventy others.

106. Agrippa, with half of his ships, sailed out of Hiera before daylight in order to have a naval engagement with Papias only. When he saw the

Agrippa
occupies
the island
of Hiera

¹ The modern Stromboli.

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. σων. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τὰς Ἀπολλοφάνους εἶδε καὶ τὰς
^{XI} ἔβδομήκοντα ἑτέρωθι, Καίσαρι μὲν αὐτίκα ἐδήλου
Πομπήιον ἐπὶ τῶν Μυλῶν εἶναι σὺν τῷ πλέονι
ναυτικῷ, τὰς δὲ βαρείας αὐτὸς ἦγε κατὰ μέσον
καὶ τὸν ἄλλον στόλον ἐξ Ἱερᾶς ἐκάλει κατὰ
σπουδῆν· ἐσκεύαστο δ' ἀμφοτέροις πάντα λαμ-
πρῶς, καὶ πύργους ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν εἰλούν κατά τε
πρῷραν καὶ κατὰ πρύμναν. ὡς δὲ αὐτοῖς αὖ τε
παρακελεύσεις, οἵας εἰκὸς ἦν, ἐγεγένητο καὶ τὰ
σημεῖα κατὰ ναῦν ἥρτο, ἐξώρμων ἐπ' ἄλλήλους, οἱ
μὲν κατὰ μέτωπον, οἱ δὲ ἐς περικύκλωσιν, σύν τε
βοῇ καὶ ροθίῳ νεῶν καὶ καταπλήξει ποικίλῃ. ἦν
δὲ καὶ τὰ σκάφη Πομπήιῳ μὲν βραχύτερα καὶ
κοῦφα καὶ ὀξέα ἐς τὰς ἐφορμήσεις τε καὶ
παρ' αὐτὸν καὶ βραδύτερα, βιαιότερα δὲ ὅμως
ἐμπεσεῖν καὶ τρωθῆναι δυσπαθέστερα. τῶν τε
ἀνδρῶν οἵ μὲν ναυτικώτεροι τῶν Καίσαρος ἦσαν,
οἱ δὲ σθεναρώτεροι· καὶ κατὰ λόγον οἱ μὲν οὐκ
ἐμβολαῖς, ἀλλὰ μόναις περιόδοις ἐπλεονέκτουν, καὶ
ταρσοὺς τῶν μειζόνων ἡ πηδάλια ἀνέκλων ἡ
κώπας ἀνέκοπτον ἡ ἀπεχώριζον ὅλως τὰ σκάφη
καὶ ἔβλαπτον ἐμβολῆς οὐχ ἦσσονα· οἱ δὲ τοῦ
Καίσαρος αὐτὰς ἐμβολαῖς ὡς βραχυτέρας ἀνέκο-
πτον ἡ κατέσειον ἡ διερρήγνυνον καί, ὅτε συμ-
πλακεῖεν, ἔβαλλόν τε ὡς ταπεινοτέρας ἀφ' ὑψηλοῦ
καὶ κόρακας ἡ χεῖρας σιδηρᾶς εὐκολώτερον ἐπ-
ερρίπτουν. οἱ δὲ ὅτε βιασθεῖεν, ἐξήλλοντο ἐς
τὸ πέλαγος. καὶ τούσδε μὲν τὰ ὑπηρετικὰ τοῦ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

fleet of Apollphanes also, and seventy ships on the other wing, he sent word to Octavian at once that Pompeius was at Mylae with the greater part of his naval forces. Then he placed himself with his heavy ships in the centre, and summoned the remainder of his fleet from Hiera in all haste. The preparations on both sides were superb. The ships had towers on both stem and stern. When the usual exhortation had been given and the standards raised, they rushed against each other, some coming bow on, others making flank attacks, the shouts of the men and the spray from the ships adding terror to the scene. The Pompeian ships were shorter and lighter, and better adapted to blockading and darting about. Those of Octavian were larger and heavier, and, consequently, slower, yet stronger to give blows and not so easily damaged. The Pompeian crews were better sailors than those of Octavian, but the later were stronger. Accordingly, the former excelled not so much in close fighting as in the nimbleness of their movements, and they broke oar blades and rudders, cut off oar handles, or separated the enemy's ships entirely, doing them no less harm than by ramming. Those of Octavian sought to cut down with their beaks the hostile ships, which were smaller in size, or shatter them, or break through them. When they came to close quarters, being higher, they could hurl missiles down upon the enemy, and more easily throw the "ravens"¹ and the grappling-irons. The Pompeians whenever they were overpowered in this manner leaped into the sea.

They were picked up by their small boats, which

¹ A plank with a spike, for grappling.

He attacks
the
Pompeian
fleet and
wins a
victory

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. Πομπηίου περιπλέοντα ἀνελάμβανεν, 107. ὁ δὲ
^{καὶ} Ἀγρίππας ἦτο μάλιστα εὐθὺν τοῦ Παπίου καὶ
αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν ἐπωτίδια ἐμπεσὼν κατέσεισε τὴν
ναῦν καὶ ἐσ τὰ κοῖλα ἀνέρρηξεν· ἡ δὲ τούς τε ἐν
τοῖς πύργοις ἀπεσείσατο καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν
ἀθρόως ἐδέχετο, καὶ τῶν ἐρετῶν οἱ μὲν θαλαμίαι
πάντες ἀπελήφθησαν, οἱ δὲ ἔτεροι τὸ κατάστρωμα
ἀναρρήξαντες ἔξενήχοντο. Παπίας δὲ ἐσ τὴν
παρορμοῦσαν ἀναληφθεὶς αὐθις ἐπήει τοῖς πο-
λεμίοις. καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος ἐξ ὅρους ἐφορῶν τὰς μὲν
ἰδίας μικρὰ ἐπωφελούσας καὶ ψιλουμένας τῶν
ἐπιβατῶν, ὅτε συμπλακεῖεν, Ἀγρίππα δὲ τὸν
ἔτερον στόλον ἐξ Ἱερᾶς προσπλέοντα, ἀναχωρεῖν
ἐσήμηνε σὺν κόσμῳ. καὶ ἀνεχώρουν ἐπιόντες τε
καὶ ἀναστρέφοντες ἀεὶ κατ' ὄλιγον. Ἀγρίππα δ'
ἐπιβαρήσαντος αὐτοῖς ἔφευγον, οὐκ ἐσ τοὺς
αἰγαλούς, ἀλλ' ὅσα τῆς θαλάσσης οἱ ποταμοὶ
τεναγώδη πεποιήκεσαν.

108. Καὶ Ἀγρίππας, κωλυόντων αὐτὸν τῶν
κυβερνητῶν μεγάλαις ναυσὶν ἐσ ὄλιγον ὕδωρ
ἐπιπλεῖν, πελάγιος ἐπ' ἀγκυρῶν ἐσάλευεν ὡς
ἐφορμούμενος τοῖς πολεμίοις καὶ νυκτομαχήσων,
εἰ δέοι. τῶν φίλων δὲ αὐτῷ παραινούντων μὴ
ἀλόγῳ θυμῷ συμφέρεσθαι μηδὲ τὸν στρατὸν
ἐκτρύχειν ἀγρυπνίᾳ καὶ πόνῳ μηδὲ πιστεύειν
πολυχείμωνι θαλάσσῃ, μόλις ἐσπέρας ἀνεζεύγνυε.
καὶ οἱ Πομπηιανοὶ ἐσ τοὺς λιμένας παρέπλεον,
τριάκοντα μὲν τῶν σφετέρων νεῶν ἀποβαλόντες,
πέντε δὲ καταδύσαντες τῶν πολεμίων καὶ βλά-
ψαντες ἄλλα ἴκανὰ καὶ βλαβέντες ὅμοια. καὶ
αὐτοὺς ὁ Πομπήιος ἐπαινῶν, ὅτι τηλικαύταις
ναυσὶν ἀντέσχοι, τειχομαχήσαι μᾶλλον ἔφασκεν

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

were hovering around for this purpose, 107. but CHAP.
Agrippa bore down directly upon Papias and struck
his ship under the bow, shattering it and breaking
into the hold. The men in the towers were
shaken off, the water rushed into the ship, and all
the oarsmen on the lower benches were cut off.
The others broke through the deck and escaped by
swimming. Papias escaped to a ship alongside of
his own, and returned to the battle. Pompeius,
who observed from a mountain that his ships were
making little headway, and that whenever they
came to close quarters with the enemy they were
denuded of fighting men, and that reinforcements
were coming to Agrippa from Hiero, gave the signal
to retire in good order. This they did, advancing
and retreating little by little. Agrippa continued to
bear down upon them, and they took refuge, not on
the beach, but among the shoals formed in the sea
by river deposits.

XI

108. Agrippa's pilots prevented him from running
his large ships on the shoals. He cast anchor in the
open sea, intending to blockade the enemy and to
fight a battle by night if necessary : but his friends
advised him not to be carried away by rashness and
not to wear out his soldiers with excessive toil and
want of sleep, and not to trust to that tempestuous
sea. So in the evening he reluctantly withdrew.
The Pompeians made sail to their harbours, having
lost thirty of their ships, and sunk five of the
enemy's, and having inflicted considerable other
damage and suffered as much in return. Pompeius
praised his own men because they had resisted such
formidable vessels, saying they had fought against
walls rather than against ships ; and he rewarded

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP.
XI ἡ ναυμαχῆσαι καὶ ὡς νευικηκότας ἐδωρεῦτο, καὶ
ἐπήλπιζεν ἐν τῷ πορθμῷ διὰ τὸν ὁσὺν κουφοτέ-
ρους ὄντας περιέσεσθαι καὶ αὐτὸς ἔφη τι προσ-
θήσειν ἐς τὸ τῶν νεῶν ὕψος.

XII

CAP.
XII Τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τῆς ναυμαχίας τέλος ἦν τῆς περὶ
Μύλας Ἀγρίππα καὶ Παπιὰ γενομένης· 109. τον
δὲ Καίσαρα ὁ Πομπήιος, ὥσπερ ἦν, ὑπολαβὼν ἐς
τὸ Ταύρουν στρατόπεδον οἰχεσθαι καὶ ἐπιχειρήσειν
τῷ Ταυρομενίῳ, μετὰ δεῖπνον εὐθὺς ἐς Μεσσήνην
περιέπλει, μέρος ἐν ταῖς Μύλαις ὑπολιπών, ἵνα
αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀγρίππας ἔτι παρεῖναι νομίζοι. Ἀγρίπ-
ππας μὲν δὴ διαναπαύσας τὸν στρατόν, ἐις ὅσον
ἡπειγεν, ἐς Τυνδαρίδα ἐνδιδομένην ἔπλει· καὶ
παρῆλθε μὲν εἰσω, μαχομένων δὲ λαμπρῶς τῶν
φρουρῶν ἔξεωσθη. προσεχώρησαν δ' ἔτεραι πόλεις
αὐτῷ καὶ φρουρὰς ἐδέξαντο· καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπανῆλθεν
ἐς Ἱεράν. ὁ δὲ Καίσαρ ἥδη μὲν ἐς Λευκόπετραν ἐκ
τοῦ Σκυλακίου διεπεπλεύκει, μαθὼν ἔτι ἀκριβέσ-
τερον, ὅτι ὁ Πομπήιος ἐκ Μεσσήνης ἐς Μύλας
οἴχοιτο δι' Ἀγρίππαν· ἐκ δὲ Λευκοπέτρας ἐμελλε
νυκτὸς περᾶν ὑπὲρ τὸν πορθμὸν ἐς τὸ Ταυρομέν-
ιον. πυθόμενος δὲ περὶ τῆς ναυμαχίας μετέγνω
μὴ κλέπτειν ἔτι τὸν διάπλουν νευικηκώς, ἀλλὰ
κατὰ φῶς θαρροῦντι τῷ στρατῷ περαιοῦσθαι· καὶ
γὰρ ἔτι πάντως ἥγεῖτο Πομπήιον Ἀγρίππα παρα-
μένειν. κατασκεψάμενος οὖν ἡμέρας τὸ πέλαγος
ἐκ τῶν ὁρῶν, ἐπεὶ καθαρὸν ἔγνω πολεμίων, ἔπλει

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

them as though they had been victorious. He en- CHAP.
couraged them to believe that, as they were lighter,^{XI}
they would prevail over the enemy in the straits on
account of the current. He said also that he would
make some addition to the height of his ships.

XII

So ended the naval battle of Mylae, between CHAP.
Agrippa and Papias. 109. But Pompeius suspected
that Octavian had gone to the camp of Taurus for
the purpose of attacking Tauromenium, which was
the case. So, directly after supper, he sailed to
Messana, leaving a part of his forces at Mylae so
that Agrippa might think that he was still there. Agrippa,
as soon as he had given his army sufficient
rest, set sail for Tyndaris, which was apparently
ready to surrender. He entered the town, but the
garrison fought valiantly and drove him out. Some
other towns espoused his cause and received his garri-
sons, and he returned that evening to Hiera. In the
meantime, Octavian had sailed from Scylacium to
Leucopetra, having learned for a certainty that
Pompeius had gone from Messana to Mylae on
account of Agrippa. He was about to cross the
straits from Leucopetra to Tauromenium by night,
but learning of the sea-fight he changed his mind,
thinking that a victor ought not to steal his passage,
but to cross with his army boldly by daylight; for
he was fully convinced that Pompeius was still con-
fronting Agrippa. Looking down from the moun-
tains upon the sea at daybreak and finding that it was
clear of enemies, he set sail with as many troops as
Octavian crosses the straits and demands the surrender of Tauromenium

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. στρατὸν ἔχων, ὅσον αἱ νῆες ἐδέχοντο, Μεσσάλαν
XII ἐπὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ καταλιπών, ἕως ἐπ' αὐτὸν αἱ νῆες
ἐπανέλθοιεν. ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ Ταυρομένιον προσ-
έπεμψε μὲν ὡς ὑπαξόμενος αὐτό, οὐδὲξαμένων δὲ
τῶν φρουρῶν παρέπλει τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Ὄνοβά-
λαν καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ Ἀφροδίσιον καὶ ώρμίσατο ἐς
τὸν Ἀρχηγέτην, Ναξίων τὸν θεόν, ὡς χάρακα
θησόμενος ἐνταῦθα καὶ ἀποπειράσων τοῦ Ταυρο-
μενίου. ὁ δὲ Ἀρχηγέτης Ἀπόλλωνος ἀγαλμάτιον
ἔστιν, δὲ πρῶτον ἔστήσαντο Ναξίων οἱ εἰς Σικελ-
ίαν ἀποφικισμένοι.

110. Ἐνταῦθα τῆς νεώς ἐκβαίνων ὁ Καίσαρ
ῶλισθε καὶ ἐπεσε καὶ ἀνέδραμε δι' αὐτοῦ. καὶ
αὐτῷ καθισταμένῳ ἔτι τὸ στρατόπεδον Πομπήιος
ἐπέπλει στόλῳ πολλῷ, θαῦμα ἀδόκητον φέτο γὰρ
αὐτὸν ἐκπεπολεμῆσθαι πρὸς Ἀγρίππα. παρ-
ήλαυνε δὲ τῷ Πομπήιῳ καὶ ἡ ἵππος, ἐς τάχος
διερίζουσα τῷ ναυτικῷ, καὶ τὰ πεζὰ ἐτέρωθεν
ἔφαινετο, ὥστε δεῖσαι μὲν ἄπαντας, ἐν μέσῳ τριῶν
στρατῶν πολεμίων γενομένους, δεῖσαι δὲ τὸν
Καίσαρα, Μεσσάλαν οὐκ ἔχοντα μεταπέμψασθαι.
οἱ μὲν οὖν ἵππεες εὐθὺς ἡνώχλουν οἱ Πομπήιον
χαρακοποιουμένους ἔτι τοὺς τοῦ Καίσαρος· εἰ δὲ
ἐπὶ τοῖς ἵππεῦσιν οἱ πεζοὶ καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν ἐφώρ-
μησε, τάχα ἂν τι μεῖζον ἐξήνυστο τῷ Πομπήιῳ.
υῦν δὲ ἀπείρως τε πολέμου, καὶ ὑπ' ἀγνοίας τοῦ
θορύβου τῶν Καίσαρος, καὶ ὄκνου, μὴ μάχης περὶ
δείλην ἐσπέραν ἄρχειν, οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐς Κόκκυνον
ἄκραν ώρμίσαντο, οἱ πεζοὶ δὲ οὐκ ἀξιοῦντες ἀγχοῦ
τῶν πολεμίων στρατοπεδεύειν ἐς Φοίνικα πόλιν
ἀνεχώρουν. καὶ νυκτὸς οἱ μὲν ἀνεπαύοντο, οἱ δὲ
τοῦ Καίσαρος τὸν μὲν χάρακα ἐτέλουν, ὑπὸ δὲ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

the ships could carry, leaving the rest with Messala CHAP.
until the fleet could return to him. Arriving at XII
Tauromenium, he sent messengers to demand its
surrender. As his guards were not admitted, he
made sail to the river Onobalas and the temple of
Venus, and moored his fleet at the shrine of the
Archegetes, the god of the Naxians, intending to
pitch his camp there and attack Tauromenium. The
Archegetes is a small statue of Apollo, erected by the
Naxians when they first migrated to Sicily.

110. When Octavian disembarked from his ship He is
he slipped and fell, but arose without assistance. suddenly
While he was yet laying out his camp, Pompeius attacked by
made his appearance with a large fleet—an astounding Pompeius
spectacle, since Octavian believed that he had on land
been beaten by Agrippa. Pompeius' cavalry ad- and sea
vanced at the same time, rivalling the fleet in rapidity of movement, and his infantry was seen on the other side; so that the forces of Octavian were terrified at finding themselves surrounded by enemies on three sides, and Octavian himself was alarmed because he could not send for Messala. The cavalry of Pompeius assailed Octavian's men while they were still fortifying their camp. If his infantry and his naval force had attacked simultaneously with the cavalry, Pompeius might have accomplished greater results, but as it was, being inexperienced in war and ignorant of the panic among the troops of Octavian, and hesitating to begin a battle at the approach of nightfall, one part of his forces stationed themselves at the promontory of Coccynus, while his infantry, deeming it unwise to encamp near the enemy, withdrew to the town of Phoenix. Night coming on, they went to rest, and Octavian's soldiers finished their camp,

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. κόπου καὶ ἀγρυπνίας ἐς τὴν μάχην ἐβλάπτοντο.
XII τέλη δ' ἦν αὐτῷ τρία καὶ ἵππεις χωρὶς ἵππων
πεντακόσιοι καὶ κούφοι χίλιοι καὶ κληροῦχοι
σύμμαχοι χωρὶς καταλόγου δισχίλιοι καὶ ναυτικὴ
δύναμις ἐπὶ τούτοις.

111. Τὰ μὲν οὖν πεζὰ πάντα Κορινθικίῳ παραδοὺς ὁ Καίσαρ ἐκέλευσε τοὺς κατὰ τὴν γῆν πολεμίους ἀπομάχεσθαι καὶ πράσσειν, ὃ τι ἐπείγου· αὐτὸς δὲ ταῖς ναυσὶν ἔτι πρὸ ἡμέρας ἀνήγετο ἐς τὸ πέλαγος, μὴ καὶ τοῦδε αὐτὸν ἀποκλείσαιεν οἱ πολέμιοι. καὶ τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν ἐπέτρεπε Τιτινίῳ, τὸ δὲ λαιὸν Καρισίῳ, λιθυρνίδος δὲ αὐτὸς ἐπέβαινε καὶ περιέπλει πάντας παρακαλῶν· ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ παρακλήσει τὰ στρατηγικὰ σημεῖα, ὡς ἐν κινδύνῳ μάλιστα ὥν, ἀπέθετο. ἐπαναχθέντος δὲ τοῦ Πομπηίου δὶς μὲν ἐπεχείρησαν ἀλλήλοις, καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἐς νύκτα ἐτελεύτησεν. ἀλισκομένων δὲ καὶ πιμπραμένων τῶν Καίσαρος νεών, αἱ μὲν ἀράμεναι τὰ βραχέα τῶν ἴστων ἀπέπλεον ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, τῶν παραγγελμάτων καταφρονοῦσαι· καὶ αὐτὰς ἐπ' ὀλίγον οἱ τοῦ Πομπηίου διώξαντες ἐπὶ τὰς ὑπολοίπους ἀνέστρεψαν, καὶ τῶνδε τὰς μὲν ἥρουν ὄμοιώς, τὰς δὲ ἐνεπίμπρασαν. ὅσοι δ' ἔξ αὐτῶν ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐσενήχοντο, τοὺς μὲν οἱ ἵππεις οἱ τοῦ Πομπηίου διέφθειρον ἡ συνελάμβανον, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὸ τοῦ Κορινθικίου στρατόπεδον ἀνεπήδων, καὶ αὐτοῖς ὁ Κορινθικὸς ἐπιθέουσιν ἐπεχείρει, τοὺς κούφους ἐκπέμπων μόνους· οὐ γὰρ εὔκαιρον ἐδόκει κινεῖν φάλαγγα δύσθυμον ἀντικαθημένων πεζῶν μεγαλοφρονουμένων, ὡς εἰκὸς ἦν, ἐπὶ νίκη.

112. Καίσαρα δὲ ἐν τοῖς ὑπηρετικοῖς ἐς πολὺ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

but were incapacitated for battle by toil and want of CHAP.
sleep. They consisted of three legions, and 500 XII
cavalry without horses, 1000 light-armed, and 2000
colonists serving as allies, but not enrolled, besides
his fleet.

111. Octavian placed all of his infantry under charge of Cornificius, and ordered him to drive back the enemy and do whatever the exigency required. He himself took ship before daylight and went seaward lest the enemy should enclose him on this side also, giving the right wing of the fleet to Titinius and the left to Carisius, and embarking himself on a liburnian, with which he sailed around the whole fleet, exhorting them to have courage. Having done this he lowered the general's ensign, as is customary in times of extreme danger. Pompeius put to sea against him, and they encountered each other twice, the battle ending with the night. Some of Octavian's ships were captured and burned; others spread their small sails and made for the Italian coast, contrary to orders. Those of Pompeius followed them a short distance and then turned against the remainder, capturing some and burning others. Some of the crews swam ashore, most of whom were slaughtered or taken prisoners by Pompeius' cavalry. Some of them set out to reach the camp of Cornificius, who sent only his light-armed troops to assist them as they came near, because he did not consider it prudent to move his disheartened legionaries against the enemy's infantry, who were naturally much encouraged by their victory.

Octavian's
fleet
beaten and
dispersed

112. Octavian spent the greater part of the night

563

o o 2

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. τῆς νυκτὸς ἀνακωχεύοντα καὶ βουλευόμενον, εἴτε
XII ἐσ Κορινθίκιον ἐπανέλθοι διὰ μέσων τοσῶνδε
ναναγίων εἴτε ἐσ Μεσσάλαν διαφύγοι, θεὸς ἐσ τὸν
Ἀβάλαν λιμένα παρήνεγκε μεθ' ἐνὸς ὀπλοφόρου,
χωρὶς φίλων τε καὶ ὑπασπιστῶν καὶ θεραπόντων.
καὶ τινες ἐκ τῶν ὄρῶν ἐσ πύστιν τῶν γεγονότων
καταθέοντες εὔρον αὐτὸν τό τε σῶμα καὶ τὴν
ψυχὴν ἐσταλμένον, καὶ ἐσ ἀκάτιον ἐξ ἀκατίου
μεταφέροντες, ἵνα διαλάθοι, μετεκόμισαν ἐσ Μεσ-
σάλαν οὐ μακρὰν ὅντα. ὁ δ' εὐθύς, ἔτι ἀθερά-
πευτος, ἐσ τε Κορινθίκιον ἔστελλε λιβυρνίδα καὶ
πανταχοῦ διὰ τῶν ὄρῶν περιέπεμπεν, ὅτι σφόδραιο,
Κορινθικίφ τε πάντας ἐπικουρεῖν ἐκέλευε καὶ
αὐτὸς ἔγραφεν αὐτίκα πέμψειν βοήθειαν. θερα-
πεύσας δὲ τὸ σῶμα καὶ ἀναπαυσάμενος ὀλίγον ἐσ
Στυλίδα νυκτὸς ἐξῆει, παραπεμπόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ
Μεσσάλα, πρὸς Καρρίναν τρία ἔχοντα ἐπὶ τοῦ
πρόπλου τέλη· καὶ τῷδε μὲν ἐκέλευσε διαπλεῖν ἐσ
τὸ πέραν, ἔνθα καὶ αὐτὸς ἔμελλε διαπλευσεῖσθαι,
Ἀγρίππαν δὲ γράφων ἡξίου κινδυνεύοντι Κοριν-
θικίφ πέμψειν Λαρώνιον μετὰ στρατιᾶς ὀξέως.
Μαικήναν δ' αὐθις ἐσ Ῥώμην ἔπειπτε διὰ τοὺς
νεωτερίζοντας· καὶ τινες παρακινοῦντες ἐκολά-
σθησαν. καὶ Μεσσάλαν ἐσ Δικαιάρχειαν ἔπειμ-
πεν, ἄγειν τὸ πρῶτον καλούμενον τέλος ἐσ
Ιππώνειον.

113. Μεσσάλας δὲ οὗτος ἦν, δν οἱ τρεῖς ἐπὶ¹
θανάτῳ προγεγράφεσαν ἐν Ῥώμῃ, καὶ χρήματα
τῷ κτείναντι καὶ ἐλευθερίαν ἐπικεκηρύχεσαν· ὁ δὲ
πρὸς Κάσσιον καὶ Βρούτον φυγών, ἀποθανόντων
ἐκείνων, τὸν στόλον ἐπὶ σπουδαῖς Ἀντωνίφ
παραδεδώκει. καὶ μοι τοῦτο ἀναμνῆσαι νῦν

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

among his small boats, in doubt whether he should go back to Cornificius through the scattered remains of his fleet, or take refuge with Messala. Providence brought him to the harbour of Abala with a single armour-bearer, without friends, attendants, or slaves. Certain persons, who had come down from the mountain to learn the news, found him shattered in body and mind and brought him in rowboats (changing from one to another for the purpose of concealment) to the camp of Messala, which was not far distant. Straightway, and before he had attended to his bodily wants, he dispatched a liburnian to Cornificius, and set word throughout the mountains that he was safe, and ordered all his forces to help Cornificius, and wrote to him that he would send him aid forthwith. After attending to his own person and taking a little rest, he set forth by night, accompanied by Messala, to Stylis, where Carinas was stationed with three legions ready to embark, and ordered him to set sail to the other side, whither he would shortly follow. He wrote to Agrippa and urged him to send Laronius with an army to the rescue of Cornificius with all speed. He sent Maecenas again to Rome on account of the revolutionists ; and some of these, who were stirring up disorder, were punished. He also sent Messala to Puteoli to bring the first legion to Vibo.

Octavian escapes to the shore and rallies his land forces

113. This was the same Messala whom the triumvirs proscribed at Rome, and for the killing of whom money and freedom were offered as rewards. He had fled to Cassius and Brutus, and after their death had delivered his fleet to Antony, in pursuance of an agreement made between them. It seems fitting to recall this fact now in honour of Roman

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. έδοξεν ἐσ ζήλωμα τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρετῆς, ὅπου
XII Μεσσάλας, μόνον ἔχων ἐν τοσῆδε συμφορᾷ τὸν
προγράψαντα, ἐθεράπευεν ὡς αὐτοκράτορα καὶ
περιέσφε.

Κορινθίκιος δὲ ἀποτρέψασθαι μὲν ἐκ τοῦ
χάρακος εὐμαρῶς εἶχε τοὺς πολεμίους, κινδυνεύων
δὲ ἐξ ἀπορίας ἐσ μάχην ἔξετασσε καὶ προυκαλεῖτο.
Πομπηίου δὲ οὐ συμπλεκομένου μὲν ἀνδράσιν ἐν
μόνῃ τῇ μάχῃ τὴν ἐλπίδα ἔχουσιν, παραστήσε-
σθαι δὲ αὐτοὺς τῷ λιμῷ προσδοκῶντος, ὕδειν ό
Κορινθίκιος, ἐν μέσῳ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν διαφυ-
γόντας ἀνόπλους ἔχων βαλλόμενός τε καὶ χαλε-
πῶς, ἐν μὲν τοῖς πεδινοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν ἵππέων, ἐν δὲ
τοῖς τραχέσιν ὑπὸ τῶν ψιλῶν τε καὶ κούφων, οἱ
Νομάδες Λίβυες ὅντες ἡκόντιζόν τε ἐπὶ πλεῖστον
καὶ τοὺς ἐπεκθέοντας ὑπέφευγον.

114. Τετάρτη δὲ ἡμέρα μόλις ἐπὶ τὴν ἄνυδρον
γῆν ἀφίκοντο, ἦν ρύακα πυρὸς λέγουσι, ποτὲ
μέχρι θαλάσσης κατιοῦσαν, ἐπικλύσαι καὶ σβέσαι
τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ νάματα. καὶ αὐτὴν οἱ μὲν ἐπιχώριοι
μόνης ὀδεύοντι νυκτός, πνιγώδη τε οὖσαν ἀπ'
ἐκείνου καὶ κονιορτοῦ σποδώδους γέμουσαν, οἱ δὲ
ἀμφὶ τὸν Κορινθίκιον οὔτε νυκτὸς ἐθάρρουν, ἐν
ἀσελήνῳ μάλιστα, ιέναι διὰ ἀπειρίαν ὄδῶν καὶ
ἐνέδρας, οὔτε ἡμέρας ὑπέμενον, ἀλλ' ἀπεπνίγοντο
καὶ τὰς βάσεις ὡς ἐν θέρει καὶ καύματι ὑπεκαίον-
το, μάλιστα οἱ γυμνοί. βραδύνειν τε οὐ δυνάμενοι
διὰ τὴν δίψαν ἐνοχλοῦσαν, οὐδένα ἔτι τῶν βαλ-
λόντων αὐτοὺς ἐπεξήσαν, ἀλλ' ἐτετρώσκοντο

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

magnanimity, inasmuch as Messala, when he had in CHAP.
his power, alone and overwhelmed with misfortune,
XII the man who had proscribed him, saved him and
cared for him as his commander.

Cornificius was able easily to defend his camp against attack; but, being in danger from want of supplies, he drew his men out for battle and challenged the enemy. But Pompeius did not care to come to an engagement with men whose only hope rested in battle and whom he expected to subdue by famine. Cornificius, having placed in the centre the unarmed men who had escaped to him from the ships, took to the road, grievously exposed to missiles in the open plains from the enemy's horsemen and in the broken country from the light-armed troops from Numidia in Africa, who hurled javelins from long distances and made their escape when charged by their enemies.

Cornificius
marches
across
Sicily

114. On the fourth day, with difficulty, they arrived at the waterless region which they say was formerly inundated by a stream of fire that ran down as far as the sea and dried up all the springs in the district. The inhabitants of the country traverse it only by night, on account of the stifling heat and the dust and ashes with which it abounds. Being ignorant of the roads and fearing ambush, Cornificius and his men did not dare to march through it by night, especially as there was no moon, nor could they endure it by day, but even suffocated, and the soles of their feet were burned (especially those who had no shoes), as it was now the hottest part of the summer; and since delay was impossible on account of the tormenting thirst, they no longer resisted their assailants, but re-

Terrible
sufferings
of his
troops

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. ^{XII} ἀφυλάκτως. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τὰς ἔξόδους τῆς διακε-
καυμένης ἔτεροι κατεῖχον πολέμιοι, ἀμελήσαντες
τῶν ἀσθενεστέρων τε καὶ γυμνῶν ἀνεπήδων ἐς
τοὺς αὐχένας οἱ δυνάμενοι τόλμη παραβόλω καὶ
ἐβιάζοντο τοὺς πολεμίους, ἐς ὅστον εἶχον δυνάμεως.
κατεχομένων δὲ καὶ τῶν ἑξῆς αὐχένων ἀπεγίνω-
σκον αὐτῶν ἥδη καὶ μεθεῖντο ὑπὸ δίψης καὶ θέρους
καὶ κόπου. προτρέποντος δὲ αὐτοὺς τοῦ Κορινθικίου
καὶ πηγὴν πλησίον οὖσαν ἐπιδεικνύοντος, οἱ μὲν
αὐθις ἐβιάζοντο, πολλοὺς ἀπὸ σφῶν ἀπολλύντες,
ἔτεροι δὲ τὴν πηγὴν κατεῖχον πολέμιοι, καὶ παν-
τελῆς ἥδη τοὺς τοῦ Κορινθικίου κατεῖχον ἀθυμία,
καὶ παρίεντο.

115. Ὡδε δὲ αὐτοῖς ἔχουσι Λαρώνιος ἐπιφαι-
νεται μακρόθεν, ὑπὸ Ἀγρίππου σὺν τρισὶ τέλεσι
πεμφθείσι, οὕπω μὲν ἔνδηλος ὡν, ὅτι φίλοι εἴη-
ὑπὸ δὲ ἐλπίδος ἀεὶ τοιούτον ἔσεσθαι προσδοκῶν-
τες ἀνέφερον αὐθις αὐτῶν. ὡς δὲ καὶ τοὺς πολε-
μίους εἶδον τὸ ὕδωρ ἀπολιπόντας, ἵνα μὴ γένοιντο
ἐχθρῶν ἐν μέσῳ, ἀνέκραγον μὲν ὑπὸ ἥδονῆς, ὅσου
ἔσθενον, ἀντιβοήσαντος δ' αὐτοῖς τοῦ Λαρωνίου
δρόμῳ τὴν πηγὴν κατέλαβον. καὶ ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν
ἡγεμόνων ἐκωλύοντο πίνειν ἀθρόως· ὅσοι δὲ ἦμέλη-
σαν, ἔπινον ὄμοῦ καὶ ἀπέθυησκον.

Οὕτω μὲν ἐξ ἀέλπτου Κορινθίκιος καὶ τοῦ
στρατοῦ τὸ φθάσαν μέρος περιεσώθη πρὸς Ἀγρίπ-
παν ἐς Μύλας· 116. ἄρτι δὲ ὁ Ἀγρίππας Τυνδαρίδα
εἰλήφει, τροφῶν μεστὸν χωρίον καὶ εὐφυῶς ἐς

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

ceived wounds without any means of defence. When CHAP
they saw the place of exit from this burned district XII
occupied by enemies, the able-bodied ones, heedless
of their sick and unprotected companions, dashed at
the defile with amazing courage and overpowered
the enemy with all their remaining strength.
When they found the next defile occupied by
hostile forces they gave way to despair and
succumbed to thirst and heat. Cornificius aroused
them by showing them a spring of water near by ;
and again they overpowered the enemy, but
with heavy loss to themselves. Another body of
enemies held possession of the fountain, and now
Cornificius' men lost all courage and gave way
completely.

115. While they were in this state Laronius, ^{He is rescued by Agrippa} who had been sent by Agrippa with three legions, made his appearance a long way off. Although it was not yet plain that he was a friend, still, as hope all the time led them to expect a friend, they once more recovered their spirits. When they saw the enemy abandon the water in order not to be exposed to attack on both sides, they shouted for joy with all their strength ; and when the troops of Laronius shouted in return, they ran and seized the fountain. The leaders forbade the men to drink to excess : those who neglected this advice died while drinking.

In this unexpected manner did Cornificius, and those of his army who managed to get away, escape to Agrippa at Mylae.¹ 116. Agrippa, however, had just taken Tyndaris, a stronghold full of provisions and admirably situated for naval warfare. Thither

¹ An error of Appian's : see below.

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. ἀναπηδᾶν ὑπὸ δέους, τοὺς δέ, ἀκοῇ τῶν περὶ τῆς
XII Αἴτινης λεγομένων, οὐκ ἀπιστεῖν ἐν τοσοῦσδε
παραδόξοις ἐμπεσεῖσθαι σφίσι καὶ τὸν ρύακα.
μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὴν Παλαιστηνῶν γῆν ἔκειρε, καὶ
Λέπιδος αὐτῷ συνήντετο σιτολογῶν, καὶ Μεσσήνη
παρεστρατοπέδευον ἀμφότεροι.

118. Γιγνομένων δ' ἀν' ὅλην τὴν Σικελίαν
ἀψιμαχιῶν πολλῶν, ἔργου δὲ μείζονος οὐδενός,
Ταῦρου ὁ Καΐσαρ ἐπεμψε τὰς ἀγορὰς τοῦ Πομ-
πήιου περικόπτειν καὶ τὰς πόλεις τὰς χορηγούσας
προκαταλαμβάνειν. καὶ τῷδε μάλιστα κάμινων ὁ
Πομπήιος ἔκρινε μάχη μείζονι κριθῆναι περὶ
ἀπάντων. τὰ μὲν δὴ πεζὰ τοῦ Καΐσαρος ἐδεδίει,
ταῖς δὲ ναυσὶν ἐπαιρόμενος ἥρετο πέμπων, εἰ
δέχοιτο ναυμαχία κριθῆναι. ὁ δὲ ὡρρώδει μὲν τὰ
ἐνάλια πάντα, οὐ σὺν τύχῃ μέχρι δεῦρο κεχρη-
μένος αὐτοῖς, αἰσχρὸν δὲ νομίσας ἀντειπεῖν ἐδέχετο.
καὶ ωρίζετο αὐτοῖς ἡμέρα, ἐις ἣν τριακόσιαι νῆες
ἔκατέρων ἴδιᾳ παρεσκευάζοντο, βέλη τε παντοῖα
φέρουσαι καὶ πύργους καὶ μηχανάς, ὅσας ἐπενόουν.
ἐπενόει δὲ καὶ τὸν καλούμενον ἄρπαγα ὁ Ἀγρίπ-
πας, ἔνδον πεντάπηχυ σιδήρῳ περιβεβλημένον,
κρίκους ἔχον περὶ κεραίας ἔκατέρας· τῶν δὲ κρίκων
εἴχετο τοῦ μὲν ὁ ἄρπαξ, σιδήριον καμπύλον, τοῦ
δὲ καλώδια πολλά, μηχανᾶς ἐπισπώμενα τὸν
ἄρπαγα, ὅτε τῆς πολεμίας νεώς ἐκ καταπέλτου
λάβοιτο.

119. Ἐλθούσης δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας πρῶτα μὲν ἦν
ἐρετῶν ἀμιλλα καὶ βοή, καὶ βέλη τὰ μὲν ἐκ
μηχανῆς, τὰ δ' ἀπὸ χειρῶν, ὅσα λίθοι καὶ πυρφόρα
καὶ τοξεύματα. μετὰ δὲ αἱ νῆες αὐταὶ συνερρήγ-

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

beds in fear. Others, who had heard what had been related of Mount Etna, would not have been surprised, in presence of these remarkable phenomena, if even the torrent of fire had rolled upon them. After this Octavian ravaged the territory of the Palaestenians, where Lepidus, who was foraging, met him, and they both encamped near Messana.

118. As there had been many skirmishes throughout Sicily, but no general engagement, Octavian sent Taurus to cut off Pompeius' supplies by first capturing the towns that furnished them. Pompeius was so much inconvenienced by this that he decided to stake everything on a great battle. Since he feared the enemy's infantry, but had confidence in his own ships, he sent and asked Octavian if he would allow the war to be decided by a naval engagement. Octavian, although he dreaded all naval encounters, which until now had turned out badly for him, considered it base to refuse, and, accordingly, accepted the challenge. A day was fixed by them, for which 300 ships were put in readiness on either side, provided with missiles of all kinds, with towers and whatever machines they could think of. Agrippa devised one called the "grip," a piece of wood five cubits long bound with iron and having rings at the extremities. To one of these rings was attached the grip itself, an iron claw, to the other one numerous ropes, which drew it by machine power after it had been thrown by a catapult and had seized the enemy's ships.

119. When the appointed day came the rival shouts of the oarsmen were first heard, accompanied by missiles thrown by machines and by hand, such as stones, firebrands, and arrows. Then the ships dashed

XII

Pompeius challenges Octavian to a naval engagement; the challenge is accepted

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. ^{XII} νυντο ἀλλήλαις, αἱ μὲν εἰς τὰ πλάγια, αἱ δὲ κατ' ἐπωτίδας, αἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐμβόλους, ἔνθα μάλιστά εἰσιν αἱ πληγαὶ βίαιοι τινάξαι τε τοὺς ἐπιβάτας καὶ τὴν ναῦν ἀργοτέραν ἐργάσασθαι. ἄλλαι δὲ ἀλλήλας διεξέπλεον βάλλουσαι τε καὶ ἀκοντίζουσαι· καὶ τὰ ὑπηρετικὰ τοὺς ἐκπίπτοντας ἀνελάμβανεν. ἔργα τε χειρῶν ἦν καὶ βίᾳ ναυτῶν καὶ τέχνῃ κυβερνητῶν καὶ βοαὶ καὶ στρατηγῶν πιρακελεύσεις καὶ μηχανήματα πάντα. εὐδοκίμει δὲ μάλιστα ὁ ἄρπαξ, ἕκ τε πολλοῦ ταῖς ναυσὶ διὰ κουφότητα ἐμπίπτων καὶ ἐμπηγνύμενος, δτε μάλιστα ὑπὸ τῶν καλῳδίων ἐφέλκουτο ὅπίσω· κοπῆναι τε ὑπὸ τῶν βλαπτομένων οὐκ ἦν εὕπορος διὰ σίδηρον τὸν περιέχοντα, καὶ τὸ μῆκος αὐτοῦ δυσεφικτότατα τοῖς κόπτουσι τὰ καλῳδια ἐποίει· οὐδὲ τὸ μηχάνημά πω προέγνωστο, ὡς δρέπανα δόρασι περιθέσθαι· ἐν δ' ἐπεινόουν ὡς ἐν ἀδοκήτῳ, τὴν ναῦν κρούοντες ἐπὶ πρύμναν ἀντισπᾶν. τὸ δ' αὐτὸν ποιούντων καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἵση μὲν ἦν ἡ βίᾳ τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ὁ δὲ ἄρπαξ ἐποίει τὸ ἴδιον.

120. "Οτε μὲν οὖν προσπελάσειαν αἱ νῆες, ἐμάχοντο παντοίως καὶ ἐς ἀλλήλους μεθήλλοντο. καὶ διαγνῶναι τὸν πολέμιον οὐκ ἦν ἔτι ὄμοίως εὕπορον· ὅπλοις τε γάρ ὡς τὰ πολλὰ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἔχρωντο καὶ φωνῇ σχεδὸν ἅπαντες Ἰταλῆ, τά τε συνθήματα μιγνυμένων ἐς ἀμφοτέρους ἐξενήμεκτο, καὶ ἐκ τοῦδε μάλιστα ἐνέδραι πολλαὶ καὶ ποικίλαι

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V.

against each other, some striking amidships, others CHAP.
XII on the prows, others on the beaks, where the blows are most effectual in discomposing the combatants and rendering the vessel useless. Others broke the opposing line by sailing through it, at the same time discharging arrows and javelins; and the small boats picked up those who fell overboard. There was a struggle of soldiers while the sailors put forth their strength and the pilots their skill and their lung-power; the generals cheered their men, and all the machines were brought into requisition. The "grip" achieved the greatest success. Thrown from a long distance upon the ships, as it could be by reason of its lightness, it clutched them, as soon as the ropes pulled on it from behind. On account of the iron bands it could not be easily cut by the men whom it attacked, and those who tried to cut the ropes were prevented from reaching them by its length. As this apparatus had never been known before, the enemy had not provided themselves with scythe-mounted poles. One thing seemed advisable in this unexpected emergency, and that was, to back water and draw the ship away; but as the enemy did the same the force exerted by the men was equal on both sides, and the grip did its work.

120. Accordingly, when the ships were drawn together, there was every kind of fighting, the men leaping upon each other's decks. It was no longer easy to distinguish an enemy from a friend, as they used the same weapons for the most part, and nearly all spoke the Latin tongue, and the watchwords of each side were divulged to the other while they were mingled together. Hence arose many and divers

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. παρὰ ἀμφοῖν, καὶ ὑπιστία πρὸς τὸν λέγοντας
XII αὐτὰ ἐπεγύγνετο, ἀγνωσίᾳ τε πάντας ἀλλήλων
ἐπεῖχεν ὡς ἐν πολέμῳ καὶ θαλάσσῃ γεμούσῃ
φόνων τε καὶ ὅπλων καὶ ναυαγίων. οὐ γάρ τινα
πεῖραν ἔλιπον, ὅτι μὴ μόνον τὸ πῦρ τούτου δὲ
μετὰ τὸν πρώτους ἐπίπλους ἐφείσαντο διὰ τὰς
συμπλοκάς. ὁ δὲ πεζὸς ἑκατέρων στρατὸς ἀπὸ
τῆς γῆς μετὰ φόβου καὶ σπουδῆς ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν
ἀφεώρων, ὡς ἐν τῇδε καὶ αὐτοὶ περὶ τῆς σφῶν
σωτηρίας τὴν ἐλπίδα ἔχοντες. διέκρινόν γε μὴν
οὐδέν, οὐδὲ ἐδύναντο, καὶ μάλιστα περισκοποῦντες,
οἴα νεῶν ἔξακοσίων ἐπὶ μῆκιστον ἐκτεταγμένων
καὶ τῆς οἰμωγῆς ἐναλλασσομένης ἀνὰ μέρος ἑκα-
τέρωθεν.

121. Μόλις δέ ποτε ταῖς χροιαις τῶν πύργων,
αἱς δὴ μόναις διέφερον ἀλλήλων, ὁ Ἀγρίππας
συνεὶς πλέονας ἀπολωλέναι τοῦ Πομπηίου ναῦς
ἔθάρρυνε τὸν συνόντας ὡς ἥδη κατορθοῦντας· καὶ
τοῖς πολεμίοις αὐθις ἐμπεσὼν ἐπέκειτο ἀπαύστως,
μέχρι βιασθέντες, ὅσοι μάλιστα κατ' αὐτὸν ἦσαν,
τοὺς τε πύργους κατέρριψαν καὶ τὰς ναῦς
ἐπιστρέψαντες ἐς τὸν πορθμὸν ἔφευγον. καὶ
ἔφθασαν ἐσδραμεῖν ἐπτακαίδεκα νῆσοι. αἱ δὲ
λοιπαὶ, διακλείσαντος αὐτὰς τοῦ Ἀγρίππου, αἱ
μὲν ἔξωκελλον ἐς τὴν γῆν διωκόμεναι, καὶ συνεξώ-
κελλον αὐταῖς ὑπὸ ὄρμῆς οἱ διώκοντες ἢ ὄρμιζο-
μένας ἀπέσπων ἢ ἐνεπίμπρασαν· ὅσαι δὲ ἔτι κατὰ
τὸ πέλαγος ἐμάχοντο, τὰ περὶ αὐτὰς γυγνόμενα
κατιδοῦσαι παρεδίδοσαν ἑαυτὰς τοῖς πολεμίοις.
καὶ ὁ τοῦ Καίσαρος στρατὸς ἐπινίκιον ἡλάλαξεν
ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ, καὶ ὁ πεζὸς ἀντεβόησεν ἐπὶ τῆς
γῆς. οἱ Πομπηίου δ' ἀνφώμωξαν, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκ τῶν

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

frauds and lack of confidence on both sides on the CHAP.
part of those using the same watchword. They ^{XII} failed to recognize each other, what with the fighting and the sea, now a confused medley of corpses, clashing arms, and crashing ships; for they left nothing untried except fire. This they abstained from, after their first onset, because they were locked together. The foot-soldiers of each army on the land beheld this sea-fight with apprehension and eagerness, believing that their own hope of safety was bound up in it. They could not distinguish anything, however sharply they might look, but merely a long-drawn-out line of 600 ships, and an alternation of cries and groans now on one side and now on the other.

121. Judging from the colours of the towers, which constituted the only difference between them, Agrippa with difficulty made out that Pompeius' ships had sustained the greater loss, and he cheered on those who were close to him as though they were already victors. Then he drove at the enemy and pressed upon them without ceasing, until he overpowered those nearest him. They then lowered their towers and turned their ships in flight toward the straits. Seventeen of them, which were in advance, made their escape thither. The rest were cut off by Agrippa and some were pursued and driven aground. Agrippa gains the victory The pursuers ran aground with them in the rush, and either pulled off those that had come to a standstill or set fire to them. When the Pompeian ships that were still fighting saw what had befallen these, they surrendered to their enemies. Then the soldiers of Octavian who were in the ships raised a shout of victory and those on land gave an answering shout. Those of Pompeius groaned. Pompeius himself,

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. Ναυλόχων ἀναθορὼν ἐς τὴν Μεσσήνην ἡπείγετο,
XII οὐδὲν ὑπὸ ἐκπλήξεως περὶ τῶν πεζῶν οὐδὲ
ἐπισκῆψας· ὅθεν καὶ τούσδε ὁ Καῖσαρ Τισιηνοῦ
παραδιδόντος ὑποσπόνδους ἐδέχετο καὶ τοὺς
ἰππέας ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, τῶν ἵππάρχων παραδιδόντων.
κατέδυσαν δὲ ἐν τῷ πόνῳ νῆες Καίσαρος μὲν
τρεῖς, Πομπηίου δὲ ὄκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσι, καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ
κατεφλέχθησαν ἡ ἐλήφθησαν ἡ ἐς τὴν γῆν
ὁκέλλουσαι συνετρίβησαν· αἱ δὲ ἐπτακαίδεκα
μόναι διέφυγον.

122. Καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος ἐν ὁδῷ περὶ τῆς μετα-
γνώμης τοῦ πεζοῦ πυθόμενος τὴν τε ἐσθῆτα ἥλ-
λαξεν ἐς ἴδιωτην ἀπ' αὐτοκράτορος καὶ πρού-
πεμψεν ἐς Μεσσήνην ἐς τὰς ναῦς ἐντίθεσθαι τὰ
δυνατά· παρεσκεύαστο δὲ ἄπαντα ἐκ πολλοῦ.
Πλένιον τε ἐκ Λιλυβαίου, μεθ' ὧν εἶχεν ὄκτὼ
τελῶν, ἐκάλει κατὰ σπουδὴν ὡς μετὰ τῶνδε φευ-
ξόμενος. καὶ Πλένιος μὲν ἡπείγετο πρὸς αὐτόν,
αὐτομολούντων δὲ ἐτέρων, φίλων τε καὶ φρουρίων
καὶ στρατῶν, καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἐς τὸν πορθμὸν
ἐσπλεόντων, οὐκ ἀναμείνας οὐδὲ Πλένιον ὁ Πομ-
πήιος ἐν πόλει καλῶς τετειχισμένη, ἔφευγεν ἐκ
τῆς Μεσσήνης ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπτακαίδεκα νεῶν ἐς
'Αντώνιον, ὡς ἐξ ὁμοίων αὐτῷ τὴν μητέρα περισε-
σωκώς. καὶ ὁ Πλένιος αὐτὸν οὐ καταλαβὼν ἐς
τὴν Μεσσήνην παρῆλθε καὶ κατεῖχε τῆς πόλεως.
ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ αὐτὸς μὲν ἔμεινεν ἐν τῷ περὶ
Ναυλόχους στρατοπέδῳ, Ἀγρίππαν δὲ ἐκέλευσε
τῇ Μεσσήνῃ παρακαθέξεσθαι· καὶ παρεκάθητο
σὺν Λεπίδῳ. Πλενίου δὲ πρεσβευομένου περὶ
σπουδῶν Ἀγρίππας μὲν ἡξίου περιμένειν Καίσαρα

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

darting away from Naulochi, hastened to Messana, CHAP.
giving not even orders to his infantry in his panic. Accordingly Octavian received the surrender of these also at the hands of Tisienus on terms agreed upon, and of the cavalry besides, who were surrendered by their officers. Three of Octavian's ships were sunk in the fight. Pompeius lost twenty-eight in this way, and the remainder were burned, or captured, or run aground and stove in pieces, except the seventeen that escaped.

XII

Pompeius
flees to
Messana

122. Pompeius learned of the defection of his infantry while on the road, and changed his costume from that of a commander to that of a private citizen, and sent orders to Messana to put on ship-board everything possible. All preparations to this end had been made long before. He summoned Plenius from Lilybaeum in haste, with the eight legions he had, intending to take flight with them. Plenius hastened to comply with this order, but as other friends, garrisons, and soldiers were deserting, and the enemy's fleet was moving into the straits, Pompeius did not wait even for Plenius in his well-fortified city, but fled, with his seventeen ships, from Messana to Antony, remembering that he had saved his mother in similar circumstances. After his departure Plenius arrived at Messana and occupied the place. Octavian himself remained in the camp at Naulochi, but he ordered Agrippa to lay siege to Messana, which the latter did, in conjunction with Lepidus. Plenius sent envoys to treat for peace. Agrippa wanted to wait till morning for the arrival

He departs
from Sicily

579

P P 2

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. ές ἔω, Λέπιδος δὲ ἐδίδου τὰς σπουδὰς καὶ τὸν τοῦ
XIIΙΙ Πλευρὸν στρατὸν οἰκειούμενος ἑαυτῷ συνεχώρει
διαρπάσαι τὴν πόλιν μετὰ τοῦ ἄλλου στρατοῦ.

XIII

CAP. XIIIΙΙ Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ σωτηρίᾳ, περὶ ἡς δὴ καὶ
μόνης παρεκάλουν, κέρδος ἀδόκητον εὐρόμενοι,
τὴν Μεσσήνην ὅλη τῇ νυκτὶ μετὰ τῶν Λεπίδου
διήρπαζον καὶ μετεστρατεύοντο τῷ Λεπίδῳ· 123.
ό δὲ σὺν τούτοις ἔχων δύο καὶ εἴκοσι τέλη πεζῶν
καὶ ἵππεας πολλοὺς ἐπῆρτο καὶ κρατήσειν ἐδόκει
Σικελίας, πρόφασιν ἔχων, ὅτι πρῶτος ἐπιβαίνη τῇς
νήσου καὶ πλέονας πόλεις ἐπαγάγοιτο· ἐς τε τὰ
φρούρια αὐτίκα περιέπεμπε τοὺς παρὰ τοῦ Καί-
σαρος ἐλευσομένους μὴ προσίεσθαι καὶ τὰ στενὰ
πάντα ἐκρατύνετο. οὐδὲ Καῖσαρ ἥλθε μὲν τῇς
ἐπιούσης καὶ ἐμέμφετο τῷ Λεπίδῳ διὰ τῶν φίλων,
οἱ σύμμαχον αὐτὸν ἔφασκον ἐλθεῖν Καίσαρι ἐς
Σικελίαν, οὐχ ἑαυτῷ κατακτησόμενον αὐτὴν· οὐδὲ
ἀντενεκάλει τῇς προτέρας τάξεως ἀφηρῆσθαι καὶ
μόνον ἔχειν αὐτὴν Καίσαρα βουλομένῳ τε νῦν
ἀντιδιδόναι Λιβύην καὶ Σικελίαν ὑπὲρ ἐκείνης.
χαλεπαίνων δ' οὐδὲ Καῖσαρ ἥλθε μὲν καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπὸ^{το}
ὅργῆς, ὃνειδιῶν τὸν Λέπιδον ἐς χαριστίαν, δια-
πειλησάμενοι δὲ ἀλλήλοις διέστησαν, καὶ αὐτίκα
αἴ τε φυλακαὶ διεκρίθησαν καὶ αἱ νῆες ὥρμουν ἐπ'

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

of Octavian, but Lepidus granted terms, and in CHAP.
order to conciliate the soldiers of Plenius to himself
allowed them to join the rest of the army in ^{XII}
Lepidus plunders Messana

XIII

THESE had asked for nothing but safety, and now, CHAP.
finding unexpected gain in addition, they plundered ^{XIII}
Messana the whole night, in conjunction with the
soldiers of Lepidus, and then ranged themselves
under his standards. 123. Including this new accession,
Lepidus now had twenty-two legions of infantry.
and a large body of cavalry; so that he was elated,
and thought to make himself master of Sicily, using ^{Lepidus lays claim to Sicily}
the pretext that he was the first to invade the island
and that he had induced many cities to join the
triumvirs. He sent word at once to the garrisons of
these places that they should not admit the emissaries
of Octavian, and he seized all the defiles. Octavian
arrived on the following day, and reproached Lepidus
through friends, who reminded him that he had come
into Sicily as an ally of Octavian, not to acquire it
for himself. Lepidus replied that he had been
despoiled of his former allotment, which was now in
the exclusive possession of Octavian, and that, if the
latter pleased, he would now exchange Africa and
Sicily for that former allotment. Octavian, ex-
asperated, came also in person to Lepidus in anger
and heaped reproaches on him for ingratitude. They
separated, indulging in mutual threats. They forth-
with surrounded themselves with guards, and the
ships of Octavian were anchored away from the

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. άγκυρῶν· ἐλέχθη γὰρ αὐτὰς ἐπινοεῖν ὁ Λέπιδος ἐμπρῆσαι.

124. Ό δὲ στρατὸς ἥχθετο, εἰ πολεμήσουσιν αὐτοὶς ἐμφύλιον πόλεμον ἔτερον καὶ οὐ ποτε σφᾶς ἐπιλείψουσιν αἱ στάσεις. οὐ μὴν ἐν ὁμοίῳ Καίσαρα καὶ Λέπιδον ἐτίθεντο, οὐδὲ οἱ τῷ Λεπίδῳ στρατευόμενοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς τὸν Καίσαρα ἔθαύμαζον καὶ τὴν ἀργίαν συνήδεσαν Λεπίδῳ, καὶ τῆς ἀρπαγῆς αὐτὸν ἐπεμέμφοντο αὐτῆς, ἐς τὸ ἵσον τοῦς ἡσσημένοις καταστάντες. ὃν ὁ Καίσαρ πυνθανόμενος περιέπεμπε τοὺς τὰ συμφέροντα παραιγέσοντας κρύφα ἐκάστοις. ὡς δὲ αὐτῷ διεφθάρατο πολλοί, καὶ μάλιστα οἱ γενούμενοι τοῦ Πομπήιου διὰ δέος τοῦ μήπω τὰς σπονδὰς βεβαίους σφίσιν, εἰ μὴ συνθοῖτο ὁ Καίσαρ, εἶναι, ἀγνοοῦντος ἔτι ταῦτα τοῦ Λεπίδου δι' ἀπραξίαν ὁ Καίσαρ ἐπῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτοῦ σὺν ἴππεῦσι πολλοῖς, οὓς πρὸ τοῦ χάρακος καταλιπὼν ἐσήει μετ' ὀλίγων, καὶ παριὼν ἐπεμαρτύρετο ἐκάστοις ἄκων ἐς πόλεμον καθίστασθαι. ἀσπαζομένων δὲ αὐτὸν ὡς αὐτοκράτορα τῶν ὁρώντων, οἱ Πομπηιανοὶ πρῶτοι συνέθεον, ὅσοι διεφθάρατο, καὶ συγγρῦνωνται σφίσι παρεκάλουν. ὁ δ' ἔλεγε θαυμάζειν, εἰ συγγρῦματην αἴτοῦντες οὐ πράσσουσιν οὕπω τὰ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς συνοίσοντα. οἱ δὲ συνέντες αὐτίκα ἤρπαζον τὰ σημεῖα καὶ ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα μετέφερον, καὶ σκηνὰς ἔλυον ἔτεροι.

125. Καὶ τοῦ θορύβου Λέπιδος αἰσθόμενος ἔξέθορε τῆς σκηνῆς ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα: βολαί τε ἡσαν ἥδη, καὶ τῶν ὄπλοφόρων τις τῶν Καίσαρος ἐπιπτε,

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

shore, as it was said that Lepidus intended to set fire to them.

CHAP.
XIII

124. The soldiers were angry at the thought that they were to engage in another civil war, and that there was never to be an end of sedition. They did not, however, seek to compare Octavian and Lepidus; not even the army of Lepidus did that. They admired the energy of Octavian, and they were aware of the indolence of Lepidus; they also blamed him for admitting the defeated enemy to an equal share of the plunder. When Octavian learned their state of mind, he sent emissaries among them to advise them secretly of their individual interests. Many of them he tampered with, especially those who had served under Pompeius, who feared lest the terms of their capitulation should not be valid if Octavian did not ratify them. While Lepidus, by reason of his ineptitude, remained ignorant of these things Octavian came to his camp with a large body of horse, whom he left at the entrance, and himself went in with a few. Coming forward, he declared to those whom he met that he was drawn into war unwillingly. Those who saw him saluted him as imperator. First of all the Pompeians, who had been tampered with, collected together and asked his forgiveness. He said that he was astonished that persons asking forgiveness should not do what their own interests demanded. They understood his meaning, and forthwith seized their standards and went over to him, while others began to take down their tents.

Octavian
tampering
with his
troops

125. When Lepidus became aware of this tumult he sprang from his tent to arms. Blows were already exchanged and one of Octavian's armour-bearers was

Conflict
in Lepidus'
camp

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐς τὸν θώρακα ἐβλήθη· τὸ
 XIII δὲ βέλος οὐκ ἐξίκετο ἐπὶ τὸν χρῶτα, ἀλλὰ δρόμῳ
 διέφυγε εἰπὲ τὸν ιππέας. Λεπίδου δέ τι φρούριον
 ἐπετώθασε τῷ δρόμῳ· καὶ οὐκ ἀνέσχεν ὁ
 Καῖσαρ ὑπὸ ὄργης, πρὶν ἐξελεῖν αὐτὸ σὺν τοῖς
 ιππεῦσι καὶ καθελεῖν. ἐτέρων δ' αὐτὸν φρούριων
 ἡγεμόνες, οἱ μὲν αὐτίκα, οἱ δὲ νυκτός, μετετίθεντο
 ἐκ Λεπίδου πρὸς Καίσαρα, οἱ μὲν ἄνευ τινὸς
 πείρας, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐς ὑπόκρισιν ὑπὸ ιππέων μικρὰ
 ἐνοχληθέντες. εἰσὶ δ' οἱ τὰς προσβολὰς ἔτι ὑπέ-
 μενον καὶ ἀπεκρούοντο· καὶ γὰρ ὁ Λέπιδος
 περιέπεμπεν ἐς πάντα ἐπικούρους· καὶ αὐτῶν δὲ
 τῶν ἐπικούρων μεθισταμένων ἡ λοιπὴ τοῦ Λεπίδου
 στρατιά, καὶ εἴ τις εὔνους ἔτι ἦν, ἐτρέπετο τῇ
 γνώμῃ. καὶ πρῶτοι μὲν αὐθις οἱ Πομπηιανοί,
 ὅσοι ἔτι ἤσαν παρ' αὐτῷ, μετεπήδων κατὰ μέρη·
 Λεπίδου δὲ ἐς κώλυσιν αὐτοῖς τοὺς ἐτέρους ἐφ-
 οπλίσαντος, οἱ ἐπὶ κώλυμα τῶν ἄλλων ὀπλισά-
 μενοι τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἐπήγοντο σημεῖα καὶ σὺν τοῖς
 ἐτέροις ἔχωρουν πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα. Λέπιδος δ'
 αὐτοῖς ἀπιοῦσιν ἥπειλει καὶ ἐδεῖτο καὶ τῶν
 σημείων εἴχετο καὶ οὐ μεθίσειν ἔλεγε, μέχρι τῶν
 φερόντων αὐτά τις εἰπε μεθήσειν ἀποθανόντα καὶ
 δείσας μεθῆκεν.

126. Οἱ δὲ ιππέες τελευταῖοι χωροῦντες ἔπεμ-
 ψάν τινα πευσόμενοι τοῦ Καίσαρος, εἰ κτείνωσι
 Λέπιδον, οὐκέτι δύντα αὐτοκράτορα· ὁ δὲ ἀπεῖπεν.
 οὕτω Λέπιδος, ἀδοκήτῳ πάντων ἀπιστίᾳ συμ-
 πεσών, ἕρημος ἐκ τύχης τοσῆσδε καὶ στρατοῦ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

killed. Octavian himself was struck by a weapon CHAP. XIII on his breastplate, but it did not penetrate the flesh, and he ran and took refuge with his horsemen. A detachment of guards belonging to Lepidus jeered at him as he ran. Octavian was so angry that he could not restrain himself from cutting them off with horsemen and destroying them. The officers of the other guards transferred their allegiance from Lepidus to Octavian, some immediately, others during the night; some without solicitation, others pretending to be coerced more or less by the cavalry. There were some who still resisted the assault and beat off the assailants, for Lepidus sent reinforcements in all directions; but when these also went over, the remainder of his army, even those who were yet well disposed toward him, changed their opinion. Again the first to move were those Pompeians who still remained with him, transferring themselves by detachments, one after another. Lepidus armed the other body to prevent them from going, but the very men who were armed for this purpose seized their standards and went over to Octavian with the rest. Lepidus threatened and besought them as they took their departure. He held fast to the standards, and said he would not give them up, until one of the standard-bearers said to him, "Let go, or you are a dead man." Then he was afraid and let go.

His
soldiers
desert him

126. The last to come over were the cavalry. They sent a messenger to Octavian to ask if they should kill Lepidus, who was no longer a commander. He replied in the negative. Thus Lepidus found himself deserted by all and bereft, in a moment of time, of so exalted a station and so great an army. He

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. τοσοῦδε ἐγίγνετο ἐν βραχεῖ. καὶ τὸ σχῆμα
XIII ἀλλιάξας ἔθει πρὸς τὸν Καῖσαρα δρόμῳ, συν-
τρεχόντων ὡς ἐπὶ θέᾳ τῶν ὄρώντων. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ
ὑπανέστη τε αὐτῷ προσθέουντι καὶ προσπεσεῖν
ἔθέλοντα κωλύσας ἐπεμψειν ἐς 'Ρώμην, ἐφ' οὐπερ
ἥν σχήματος, ἵδιωτην ἀπ' αὐτοκράτορος, οὐδὲν ἔτι
πλὴν ιερέα ἥς εἶχεν ιερωσύνης.

'Ο μὲν δὴ καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ πολλάκις καὶ τῶν
τριῶν ἀνδρῶν γενόμενος ἄρχοντάς τε ἀποφήνας
καὶ προγράψας ἐπὶ θανάτῳ τοσούσδε ὄμοτίμους,
ἵδιωτεύων καὶ ἐνίοις τῶν προγραφέντων ἄρχουσιν
ὕστερον παριστάμενος διεβίωσε. 127. Πομπήιον
δὲ ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ οὐκ ἐδίωκεν οὐδὲ ἑτέροις ἐπέτρεπε
διώκειν, εἴτε ὡς ἐς ἄλλοτρίαν ἀρχὴν τὴν Ἀντωνίου
φυλασσόμενος ἐμβαλεῖν, εἴτε καραδοκῶν τὸ μέλλον
καὶ τὰ ἐς αὐτὸν ἐσόμενα ἐξ Ἀντωνίου καὶ πρό-
φασιν ἔξων διαφορᾶς, εἰ μὴ δίκαια γίγνοιτο (οὐ
γὰρ ἀνύποπτοί γε ἡσαν ἐκ πολλοῦ διὰ φιλαρχίαν,
ὅτε τοὺς ἄλλους ἐξέλοιεν, ἄλλήλοις διερίσειν), εἴθ',
ὡς αὐτὸς ἔλεγεν ὕστερον ὁ Καῖσαρ, ὅτι μὴ γένοιτο
τοῦ πατρὸς ἀνδροφόνος ὁ Πομπίος. τὴν δὲ
στρατιὰν συνῆγε, καὶ ἐγένετο αὐτῷ τέλη μὲν
ὄπλιτῶν πέντε καὶ τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἵππεες
δισμύριοι καὶ πεντακισχίλιοι, κοῦφοι δὲ τῶν
ἵππεων ὑπὲρ ἡμιολίους μακραί τε νῆες ἔξακόσιαι·
τὸ δὲ τῶν φορτίδων πλῆθος, καίπερ ὃν ἄπειρον,
τοῖς δεσπόταις διέπεμπε. καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἐπι-
νικίοις ἐδωρεῖτο, τὰ μὲν ἡδη διδούς, τὰ δὲ
ὑπισχνούμενος, στεφάνους τε καὶ τιμὰς ἄπασιν
ἔνεμεν καὶ συγγνώμην τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν ἐδίδου τοῦ
Πομπήιου.

128. Ζήλουν δὲ αὐτῷ γέμουντι ἐπὶ τούτοις τὸ
586

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

changed his costume and hastened to Octavian, all CHAP.
the spectators running with him to enjoy the spec- XIII
tacle. Octavian started up as he approached, and prevented him from throwing himself at his feet, and sent him to Rome in the garb of a private citizen, which he was wearing, deprived of his command, but not of the priesthood, which he held.

And so this man, who had often been a commander and once a triumvir, who had appointed magistrates and had proscribed so many men of his own rank, passed his life as a private citizen, asking favours of some of the proscribed, who were magistrates at a later period. 127. Octavian neither pursued Pompeius nor allowed others to do so; either because he refrained from encroaching on Octavian Pompeius does not pursue Pompeius Antony's dominions, or because he preferred to wait and see what Antony would do to Pompeius and make that a pretext for a quarrel if he should do wrong (for they had long entertained the suspicion that ambition would bring them into mutual conflict when other rivals were out of the way), or, as Octavian said later, because Pompeius was not one of his father's murderers. He now brought his forces together, and they amounted to forty-five legions of infantry, 25,000 horse and some 40,000 light-armed troops, with 600 war-ships; he had also an immense number of merchant-vessels, which nevertheless he sent back to their owners. To the soldiers he awarded the prizes of victory, paying a part down and promising the rest later. He distributed crowns and other honours to all, and granted pardon to the Pompeian leaders.

128. With all this success he was prosperous

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. δαιμόνιον ἐνεμέσησε τοῦ ζήλου, καὶ ὁ στρατὸς
XIII ἐστασίασεν, ὁ οἰκεῖος αὐτοῦ μάλιστα, ἀπολυθῆναι
τε τῆς στρατείας ἐπειγόμενοι καὶ γέρα λαβεῖν
δμοια τοῖς ἐν Φιλίπποις ἀγωνισαμένοις. ὁ δὲ ἥδει
μὲν οὐχ δμοιον ἐκείνῳ τόνδε τὸν ἄγωνα, ὑπι-
σχνεῖτο δ' ὅμως τὰ ἄξια δώσειν σὺν τοῖς ὑπ'-
Ἀντωνίῳ στρατευομένοις, ὅτε κάκεῖνος ἀφίκηται.
περὶ δὲ τῆς ἀστρατείας ὑπεμίμησκε σὺν ἀπειλῇ
τῶν πατρίων νόμων τε καὶ ὄρκων καὶ κολάσεων.
οὐκ εὔπειθῶς δὲ ἀκροωμένων ὑφῆκε τῆς ἀπειλῆς,
ἴνα μὴ τις ἐκ τῶν νεολήπτων στρατῶν ἐπιγένοιτο
θόρυβος, καὶ ἔλεγεν ἐν καιρῷ τε ἀπολύσειν σὺν
Ἀντωνίῳ, καὶ ἄξειν νῦν οὐκ ἐπ' ἐμφύλια ἔτι,
πεπαυμένα σὺν τύχῃ χρηστῇ, ἐπὶ δ' Ἰλλυριοὺς
καὶ ἔτερα ἔθνη βάρβαρα, σαλεύοντα τὴν μόλις
κτηθεῖσαν εἰρήνην, ὅθεν καταπλούτειν αὐτούς. οἱ
δ' οὐκ ἔφασαν αὐθις στρατεύσεσθαι, πρὶν τῶν
προτέρων λαβεῖν γέρα τε καὶ τιμάς. ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἔφη
τὰς τιμὰς οὐδὲ νῦν ἀνατίθεσθαι, πολλὰς δὲ δοὺς
προστιθέναι στεφάνους ἔτι τοῖς τέλεσιν ἄλλους
καὶ λοχαγοῖς καὶ χιλιάρχοις περιπορφύρους
ἐσθῆτας καὶ βουλευτικὴν ἐν ταῖς πατρίσιν
ἀξίωσιν. ἔτι δὲ αὐτοῦ τοιάδε προστιθέντος ἔτερα,
ὑπεφώνησε χιλιάρχος Ὁφίλλιος στεφάνους μὲν
καὶ πορφύραν εἶναι παισὶν ἀθύρματα, στρατοῦ δὲ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

beyond words, and of his great prosperity Fortune CHAP.
became jealous. His army revolted, especially his XIII
own troops. They demanded to be discharged from Mutiny in
the service and that rewards should be given them
equal to those given to the men who fought at
Philippi. Octavian knew that the present war had
not been of the same grade as that one. He
promised nevertheless to pay what their services
were worth, and to include the soldiers serving under
Antony when he too should return. As to their
breach of discipline, he reminded them, in a
threatening tone, of the laws of their ancestors, of
their oaths and of the punishments. As they gave
little heed to what he said, he abandoned his
threatening tone lest the spirit of mutiny should
extend to his newly acquired troops, and said that he
would discharge them at the proper time in con-
junction with Antony. He said, also, that he would
not engage them in any more civil wars, which had
fortunately come to an end, but in war against the
Illyrians and other barbarous tribes, who were dis-
turbing the peace which had been gained with so
much difficulty; from which war the soldiers would
acquire great riches. They said that they would not
go to war again until they had received the prizes
and honours of the previous wars. He said that he
would not even now postpone the honours, but that
he had distributed many prizes, and now gave to the
legions additional crowns, and to the centurions and
tribunes purple-bordered garments and the dignity
of chief councillors in their native towns. While
he was distributing other awards of this kind, the
tribune Ofilius exclaimed that crowns and purple
garments were playthings for boys, that the rewards

Octavian
appears and
rewards his
troops

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. XIII γέρα χωρία καὶ χρήματα· καὶ τοῦ πλήθους ἐπιβοήσαντος, ὅτι ὁρθῶς λέγοι, οὐ μὲν Καῖσαρ ἀπέστη τοῦ βῆματος δυσχεραίνων. οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸν χιλιάρχον ἥσαν ἐπαινοῦντές τε καὶ τοῖς οὐ συνισταμένοις αὐτῷ λοιδορούμενοι. ὁ δ' ἔφη καὶ μόνος ἀρκέσειν ἐπὶ οὕτω δικαίοις.

'Αλλ' οὐ μὲν τόδε εἰπὼν ἐστὶ τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἀφανῆς ἦν, καὶ οὐδέ, ὅ τι γένοιτο, ἐγινώσκετο.' 129. οὐ δὲ στρατὸς οὐκέτι μέν, ὑπὸ δέους, οὐδεὶς καθ' ἕνα ἐφθέγγετο, κοινῇ δὲ ἐβόων, ἀνὰ μέρη συνιστάμενοι, ἀφεθῆναι τῶν στρατειῶν. οὐ δὲ Καῖσαρ αὐτῶν τοὺς μὲν ἄρχοντας ἔξωμίλει ποικίλως, τῶν δὲ ἐν Φιλίπποις καὶ Μουτίνῃ στρατευσαμένων, ὡς χρονιωτέρων ἄρα οὗτων, ἐδίδου τοῖς θέλουσιν ἀποστρατεύεσθαι. καὶ γενομένους ἐστὶ δισμυρίους εὐθὺς ἀπέλυε καὶ ἔξεπεμπε τῆς νήσου, μὴ διαφθείραιεν ἑτέρους, τοσόνδε τοῖς ἐκ Μουτίνης μόνοις ἐπειπὼν, ὅτι σφίσιν ἀποδώσει τὰ τότε ὑπεσχημένα καίπερ οὕτως ἀπολυθεῖσιν. ἐστὶ δὲ τὸ ἄλλο πλῆθος ἐπελθὼν τοὺς μὲν ἀποστάντας ἐμαρτύρετο τῆς ἐπιορκίας, οὐ κατὰ γνώμην τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος τῆς στρατείας ἀπολυθέντας, τοὺς δὲ παρόντας ἐπήνει καὶ ἐπήλπιζεν ἀπολύσειν μὲν ταχέως, ὅτε μηδενὶ μετανοήσει, καταπλούσιεν δὲ ἀπολύων καὶ νῦν ἐπιδιδόναι δραχμὰς πεντακοσίας ἐκάστῳ. τοιάδε εἰπὼν Σικελίᾳ μὲν ἐπέβαλλεν ἐσφορὰν χίλια τάλαντα καὶ ἔξακόσια, στρατηγοὺς δὲ ἀπέφαινε Λιβύης καὶ Σικελίας καὶ στρατὸν ἐστρατέραν διήρει καὶ τὰς ναῦς τὰς Ἀντωνίου διέπεμπεν ἐστὶ Τάραντα καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ στρατοῦ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

for soldiers were lands and money. The multitude CHAP.
cried out "Well said"; whereupon Octavian descended XIII
from the platform in anger. The soldiers gathered round the tribune, praising him and railing at those who did not join with them, and the tribune said that he alone would suffice to defend so just a cause. After saying this he disappeared the following day, and it was never known what became of him.

129. The soldiers no longer dared to give utterance to their complaints singly, but joined together in groups and called for their discharge in common. Octavian conciliated their leaders in various ways. He released those who had served at Philippi and Mutina, and who wished to be discharged, as their time had expired. These, to the number of 20000, he dismissed and sent out of the island at once, lest they should seduce the others. To those only who had served at Mutina he added, that, although they were discharged in this way, he would fulfil the promises made to them at that time. He came before the rest of the army and called upon them to bear witness to the perjury of the revolters, who had been dismissed not by the wish of their military commander. He praised those who remained with him, and encouraged them to expect a speedy release, saying that nobody would regret it, that they would be discharged rich, and that he would give them 500 drachmas per man now. Having thus spoken, he exacted tribute from Sicily to the amount of 1600 talents, appointed propraetors for Africa and Sicily, and assigned a division of the army to each of these provinces. He sent back Antony's ships to Tarentum. A part of the army he

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. τὸν μὲν προύπεμπεν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπὶ νεῶν, τὸν
XIII δ' ἐπαγόμενος αὐτὸς ἐκ τῆς νήσου διεπέρα.

130. Ἐρχομένῳ δ' ἦ τε βουλὴ τιμᾶς ἐψηφίσατο
ἀμέτρους, ὃν αὐτὸν ἐποίουν κριτήν, ἢ πάσας
λαβεῖν ἢ ὅσας δοκιμάσειε· καὶ ὑπήντων ὅτι
πορρωτάτῳ καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐστεφανωμένοι
ἔστι τε τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν
ἀπιόντα παρέπεμπον. τῆς δ' ἐπιούσης αὐτὸς
ἐβουληγόρησέ τε καὶ ἐδημηγόρησε, τὰ ἔργα καὶ
τὴν πολιτείαν ἕαυτοῦ τὴν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἐς τότε
καταλέγων· καὶ τὰ εἰρημένα συγγράψας τὸ
βιβλίον ἔξεδωκε. κατήγγελλέ τε εἰρήνην καὶ
εὐθυμίαν, ἐς τέλος τῶν ἐμφυλίων ἀνηρημένων,
καὶ τῶν εἰσφορῶν τοὺς ἔτι ὀφείλοντας ἀπέλυε
καὶ φόρων τελώνας τε καὶ τοὺς τὰ μισθώματα
ἔχοντας ὡν ἔτι ὀφείλοιεν. ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἐψηφισμένων
τιμῶν ἐδέχετο πομπήν, ἐτήσιόν τε ἱερομηνίαν
εἶναι, καθ' ἀς ἡμέρας ἐνίκα, καὶ ἐπὶ κίουνος ἐν
ἀγορᾷ χρύσεος ἐστάναι μετὰ σχήματος οὐπερ
ἔχων εἰσῆλθε, περικειμένων τῷ κίουνι νεῶν ἐμβό-
λων. καὶ ἔστηκεν ἡ εἰκὼν, ἐπιγραφὴν ᔹχουσα,
ὅτι "τὴν εἰρήνην ἐστασιασμένην ἐκ πολλοῦ συνέ-
στησε κατά τε γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν".

131. Τοῦ δὲ δήμου τὴν μεγίστην ἱερωσύνην ἐς
αὐτὸν ἐκ Λεπίδου μεταφέροντος, ἣν ἔνα ἔχειν
νενόμισται μέχρι θανάτου, οὐκ ἐδέχετο καὶ κτεί-
νειν τὸν Λέπιδον ὡς πολέμιον κελευσόντων οὐκ
ἡνείχετο. ἐς δὲ τὰ στρατόπεδα πάντα σεση-
μασμένας ἐπεμψεν ἐπιστολάς, ἐντελλόμενος ἡμέρᾳ
μιᾷ πάντας ἀνειλήσαντας αὐτὰς ἐπιχειρεῖν τοῖς

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

sent in advance of himself to Italy in ships, and took the remainder with him when he departed from the island.

130. When he arrived at Rome the Senate voted him unbounded honours, giving him the privilege of accepting all, or such as he chose. They and the people went out a long distance to meet him, wearing garlands on their heads, and escorted him, when he arrived, first to the temples, and then from the temples to his house. The next day he made speeches to the Senate and to the people, recounting his exploits and his policy from the beginning to the present time. These speeches he wrote down and published in pamphlet form. He proclaimed peace and good-will, said that the civil wars were ended, remitted the unpaid taxes, and released the farmers of the revenue and the holders of public leases from what they owed. Of the honours voted to him, he accepted an ovation and annual solemnities on the days of his victories, and a golden image to be erected in the forum, with the garb he wore when he entered the city, to stand on a column covered with the beaks of captured ships. There the image was placed bearing the inscription :—

“ PEACE, LONG DISTURBED, HE RE-ESTABLISHED ON LAND AND SEA.”

131. When the people desired to transfer from Lepidus to himself the office of pontifex maximus, which the law bestowed on one person for life, he would not accept it, and when they prayed that Lepidus might be put to death as a public enemy he would not allow it. He sent sealed letters to all the armies, with instructions to open them all on a day designated and to execute the orders contained

XIII.
He returns
to Italy

Unbounded
honours
bestowed
on him
at Rome

He refuses
to punish
Lepidus

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. ΚΕΚΕΛΕΥΣΜΕΝΟΙΣ. καὶ ἡν τὰ ἐπεσταλμένα περὶ
XIII τῶν θεραπόντων, ὅσοι παρὰ τὴν στάσιν ἀποδράντες ἐστρατεύοντο, καὶ αὐτοῖς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν
ἡτήκει Πομπήιος, καὶ ἡ βουλὴ καὶ αἱ συνθῆκαι
δεδώκεσσαν. οἱ δὲ μιᾶς ἡμέρας συνελαμβάνοντο.
καὶ ἀχθέντας αὐτὸν ἐς Ῥώμην ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀπέδωκεν
αὐτῶν τε Ῥωμαίων καὶ Ἰταλῶν τοῖς
δεσπόταις ἡ διαδόχοις αὐτῶν, ἀπέδωκε δὲ καὶ
Σικελιώταις. ὅσους δ' οὐκ ἡν ὁ ληφόμενος,
ἔκτεινε παρὰ ταῖς πόλεσιν αὐταῖς, ὃν ἀπέδρασεν.

132. Τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τῶν τότε στάσεων ἔδοκει
τέλος εἶναι. καὶ ἡν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐτῶν ἐς τότε ὀκτὼ
καὶ εἴκοσι, καὶ αὐτὸν αἱ πόλεις τοῖς σφετέροις
θεοῖς συνίδρυσον. ληστευομένης δὲ κατὰ συστάσεις
τῆς τε Ῥώμης αὐτῆς καὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας περιφανῶς
καὶ τῶν γυγνομένων ἀρπαγῇ μετὰ τόλμης ἡ
ληστείᾳ λανθανούσῃ μᾶλλον ἐοικότων, Σαβίνος
ὑπὸ Καίσαρος αἱρεθεὶς εἰς διόρθωσιν πολὺν μὲν
εἰργάσατο φθόρον τῶν ἀλισκομένων, ἐνιαυτῷ δ'
ὅμως εἰς εἰρήνην ἀφύλακτον ἄπαντα περιήγαγε.
καὶ ἔξ ἐκείνου φασὶ παραμεῖναι τὸ τῆς στρατιᾶς
τῶν νυκτοφυλάκων ἔθος τε καὶ εἶδος. θαυμαζό-
μενος δὲ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ τῷδε ὀξέως οὕτως ἔξ ἀδοκή-
του διωρθωμένῳ πολλὰ τῆς πολιτείας ἐφίει τοῖς
ἐτησίοις ἄρχουσι διοικεῖν κατὰ τὰ πάτρια, καὶ
γραμματεῖα, ὅσα τῆς στάσεως σύμβολα, ἔκαιε,
καὶ τὴν ἐντελῆ πολιτείαν ἔλεγεν ἀποδώσειν, εἰ
παριγένοιτο ἐκ Παρθυαίων Ἀντώνιος πείθεσθαι
γὰρ κάκεῖνον ἐθέλειν ἀποθέσθαι τὴν ἀρχήν, τῶν
ἐμφυλίων καταπεπαυμένων. ἐφ' οἷς αὐτὸν εὐφη-
μοῦντες εἶλοντο δήμαρχον ἐς ἀεί, διηνεκεῖ ἄρα

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

therein. These orders related to slaves who had run away during the civil dissensions and joined the armies, for whom Pompeius had asked freedom, which the Senate and treaty had granted. These were all arrested on the same day and brought to Rome, and Octavian returned them to their Roman or Italian masters, or to the heirs of the same. He also gave back those belonging to Sicilian masters. Those whom nobody claimed he caused to be put to death in the cities from which they had absconded.

XIII

132. This seemed to be the end of the civil dissensions. Octavian was now twenty-eight years of age. Cities joined in placing him among their tutelary gods. At this time Italy and Rome itself were openly infested with bands of robbers, whose doings were more like barefaced plunder than secret theft. Sabinus was chosen by Octavian to correct this disorder. He executed many of the captured brigands, and within one year brought about a condition of absolute security. At that time, they say, originated the custom and system of cohorts of night watchmen still in force. Octavian excited astonishment by putting an end to this evil with such unexampled rapidity. He allowed the yearly magistrates to administer public affairs, in many particulars, according to the customs of the country. He burned the writings which contained evidence concerning the civil strife, and said that he would restore the constitution entirely when Antony should return from the Parthian war, for he was persuaded that Antony, too, would be willing to lay down the government, the civil wars being at an end. Thereupon he was chosen tribune for life by acclamation, the people urging him, by the offer of this perpetual

Robbery suppressed

Octavian chosen tribune for life

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. XIII ἀρχῇ προτρέποντες τῆς προτέρας ἀποστῆναι. ὁ δὲ ἐδέξατο ἡμὲν καὶ τήνδε, Ἀντωνίῳ δὲ ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπέστελλεν. ὁ δὲ καὶ Βύβλου ἀπιόντα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐντυχεῖν ἐδίδασκεν· ἐς δὲ τὰ ἔθνη τοὺς ἡγεμόνας αὐτὸς ὄμοιώς ἔπειμπε καὶ ἐς Ἰλλυριοὺς ἐπενόει συστρατεύειν.

XIV

CAP. XIV 133. Πομπήιος δ' ἐκ μὲν Σικελίας ἕκρα Λακινίᾳ προσέσχε καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς "Ἡρας πλουτοῦν ἀναθύμασιν ἐσύλησε, φεύγων ἐς Ἀντώνιον· ἐς δὲ Μιτυλήνην καταχθεὶς διέτριβεν, ἔνθα αὐτὸν ἔτι παῖδα μετὰ τῆς μητρὸς ὑπεξέθετο ὁ πατήρ, Γαϊφ Καίσαρι πολεμῶν, καὶ ἡττηθεὶς ἀνέλαβεν. Ἀντωνίου δὲ πολεμοῦντος ἐν Μηδίᾳ Μήδοις τε καὶ Παρθυαίοις, γνώμην ὁ Πομπήιος ἐποιεῖτο ἑαυτὸν ἐπανελθόντι ἐπιτρέψαι. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπύθετο ἡσσῆσθαι Ἀντώνιον καὶ τὸ συμβάν ἡ φήμη μειζόνως μετέφερεν, αὐθις ἦν ἐλπίσιν ὡς ἡ διαδεξόμενος Ἀντώνιον, εἰ τέθνηκεν, ἡ μεριούμενος ἐπανελθόντι· ἐνθύμιος τέ οἱ συνεχὲς ἦν Λαβιηνὸς οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐπιδραμών. ὥδε δὲ ἔχοντι ἀγγέλλεται Ἀντώνιος εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἐπαιελθών. καὶ τεχνάξων ἔτι ἐπ' ἀμφότερα διεπρεσβεύετο πρὸς αὐτόν, ἐπιτρέπων ἐκείνῳ καὶ φίλον εἶναι διδοὺς καὶ σύμμαχον, ἔργῳ δὲ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

magistracy, to give up his former one. This he accepted, and at the same time he wrote privately to Antony in reference to the government. CHAP.
XIII Antony gave instructions to Bibulus, who was going away from him, to confer with Octavian. He sent governors to take charge of his provinces in like manner as Octavian had done, and he had thoughts of joining the latter in his expedition against the Illyrians.

XIV

133. POMPEIUS, fleeing from Sicily to Antony, stopped at the Lacinian promontory and robbed the rich temple of Juno of its gifts. CHAP.
XIV He landed at Mitylene and spent some time at that place, where his father, when at war with Caesar, had bestowed him with his mother, while still a boy, and after his defeat had joined him again. As Antony was now waging war in Media against the Medes and the Parthians, Pompeius decided to entrust himself to Antony on his return. When he heard that Antony had been beaten, and this result was more than confirmed by reports, his hopes once more revived, and he fancied that he might succeed Antony if the latter were dead, or share his power if he returned. Sextus
Pompeius
flees to
Antony He was continually thinking of Labienus, who had overrun Asia not long before. While he was in this frame of mind the news reached him that Antony had returned to Alexandria. Scheming for both objects, he sent ambassadors to Antony ostensibly to place himself at the latter's disposal and to offer himself as a friend and ally, but really to get accurate information about Antony's affairs. At the He forms
plans to
assist or
supersede
him

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. τὰ Ἀντωνίου κατασκεπτόμενος. ἐς τε Θράκην
XIV καὶ ἐς τὸν Πόντον ἔπειταν ἑτέρους κρύφα πρὸς
τοὺς ἑκατέρων δυνάστας ἐπινοῶν, εἰ μὴ κρατεῖ
τῶν ἐνθυμουμένων, διὰ τοῦ Πόντου φυγεῖν ἐς
Ἀρμενίαν. ἔπειταν δὲ καὶ ἐς Παρθυαίους, ἐλπί-
στας ἐς τὰ λοιπὰ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς Ἀντώνιον
αὐτοὺς δέξεσθαι προθύμως στρατηγὸν Ῥωμαῖόν
τε καὶ παῖδα Μάγνου μάλιστα. τάς τε ναῦς
ἐπεσκεύαζε καὶ τὸν ἐν αὐταῖς στρατὸν ἐγύμναζεν,
ὑποκρινόμενος ἡ δεδιέναι Καίσαρα ἢ Ἀντώνιφ
τάδε παρασκευάζειν.

134. 'Ο δὲ Ἀντώνιος πυθόμενος μὲν εὐθὺς ἀμφὶ¹
τοῦ Πομπήιου, στρατηγὸν ἐπ' αὐτῷ Τίτιον ἥρητο
καὶ ναῦς καὶ στρατὸν ἐκ Συρίας λαβόντα ἐκέλευε
πολεμοῦντι μὲν τῷ Πομπήιῳ πολεμεῖν κατὰ
κράτος, ἐπιτρέποντα δὲ αὐτὸν Ἀντώνιφ μετὰ
τιμῆς ἄγειν. ἐλθοῦσι δὲ τοῖς πρέσβεσιν ἐχρη-
μάτιζεν, ἀγγέλλονταν οὕτως· "ἡμᾶς Πομπήιος
ἔπειταν οὐκ ἀπορῶν μὲν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν, εἰ πολεμεῖν
ἐγνώκει, διαπλεῦσαι, φίλην οὖσαν αὐτῷ πατρό-
θεν καὶ συλλαβοῦσαν ἔτι ὅντι νεωτέρῳ καὶ
καλοῦσαν ἐπὶ ταῦτα καὶ νῦν, αἴρούμενος δὲ
εἰρηνεύειν τε σὺν σοὶ καὶ πολεμεῖν, εἰ δεήσειεν,
ὑπὸ σοί. καὶ τάδε οὐ νῦν πρῶτον, ἀλλ' ἔτι
κρατῶν Σικελίας καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν πορθῶν, ὅτε σοι
τὴν σὴν μητέρα περισώσας ἔπειταν, προύτεινε.
καὶ εἰ ἐδέξω, οὕτ' ἀν ὁ Πομπήιος ἐξέπεσε Σικελίας
(οὐ γὰρ ἀν Καίσαρι τὰς ναῦς κατ' αὐτοῦ παρέ-

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

same time he sent others secretly to the princes of CHAP.
Thrace and Pontus, intending, if he should not XIV
obtain what he desired from Antony, to take flight through Pontus to Armenia. He sent also to the Parthians, hoping that, for the remainder of their war against Antony, they would be eager to receive him as a general, because he was a Roman, and especially because he was the son of Pompey the Great. He refitted his ships and drilled the soldiers he had brought in them, pretending at one time that he was in fear of Octavian, and at another that he was getting ready to assist Antony.

134. As soon as Antony heard of the coming of Pompeius he designated Titius to take the field against him. He ordered the latter to take ships and soldiers from Syria and to wage war vigorously against Pompeius if he showed himself hostile, but to treat him with honour if he submitted himself to Antony. Then he gave audience to the messengers who had arrived, and addressed him as follows: "Pompeius has sent us to you, not because he can- Pompeius'
not take refuge (if he were minded to continue the embassy
war) in Spain, a country friendly to him on his father's account, which espoused his own cause when he was younger, and even now calls upon him for that purpose, but because he prefers to enjoy peace with you, and, if need be, to fight under your orders. He makes these advances now not for the first time, but did so while he was master of Sicily and was ravaging Italy, and when he rescued your mother and sent her to you. If you had accepted these advances, Pompeius would not have been driven out of Sicily (for you would not have provided Octavian with ships against him), nor would you have been

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. σχες), οὗτ' ἀν σὺ ἥπτησο ἐν Παρθιναίοις, Καί-
XIV σαρός σοι τὸν στρατὸν οὐ πέμψαντος, δὸν
συνέθετο· ἐκράτεις δ' ἀν ἥδη πρὸς οἰς εἶχες καὶ
τῆς Ἰταλίας. οὐ δεξάμενον δέ σε ταῦτα, ἐν
καιρῷ τότε μάλιστ' ἀν σοι γενόμενα, ἀξιοῖ καὶ
νῦν μὴ πολλάκις ὑπὸ Καίσαρος ἐνεδρευθῆναι
λόγοις τε καὶ τῷ γενομένῳ κήδει, μνημονεύοντα,
ὅτι Πομπήιῳ τε κηδεύων μετὰ συνθήκας ἐπολέ-
μησεν ἄνευ προφάσεως, καὶ Λέπιδον κοινωνὸν
ὄντα τῆς ἀρχῆς τὸ μέρος ἀφείλετο καὶ οὐδέτερα
αὐτῶν ἐνείματό σοι.

135. “Λοιπὸς δ' ἐς τὴν περιπόθητον αὐτῷ μοναρ-
χίαν σὺ νῦν ὑπολείπῃ· ἥδη γάρ σοι καὶ ἐν χερσὶν
ἥν, εἰ μὴ Πομπήιος ἔτι ἦν ἐν μέσῳ. καὶ τάδε
εἰκὸς μὲν καὶ σὲ προορᾶν ἐπὶ σεαυτοῦ, προφέρει
δέ σοι καὶ Πομπήιος ὑπὸ εὔνοίας, αἴρούμενος
ἄνδρα ἄκακον καὶ μεγαλόφρονα ἀντὶ ὑπούλου τε
καὶ δολεροῦ καὶ φιλοτέχνου. οὐδὲ ἐπιμέμφεται
σοι τῆς δόσεως τῶν νεῶν, ἃς ἐπ' αὐτὸν Καίσαρι
ἔδωκας ὑπὸ ἀνάγκης, ἀντιλαβεῖν στρατὸν ἐς
Παρθιναίους δεόμενος, ἀλλ' ὑπομιμήσκει, τὸν οὐ
πεμφθέντα στρατὸν προφέρων. συνελόντι δὲ
εἰπεῖν, Πομπήιος ἑαυτὸν ἐπιτρέπει σοι μετὰ τῶν
νεῶν, ἃς ἔτι ἔχει, καὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ, πιστοτάτου
γε ὅντος αὐτῷ καὶ οὐδ' ἐν τῇ φυγῇ καταλι-
πόντος, εἰρηνεύοντι μὲν μέγα κλέος, εἰ τὸν
Μάγνου παῖδα περισώζοις, πολεμοῦντι δὲ μοῖ-
ραν ἵκανὴν ἐς τὸν ἐσόμενον πόλεμον, ὅσον οὕπω
παρόντα.”

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

defeated in Parthia, in consequence of Octavian not sending you the soldiers he agreed to send. In fact, you would now be in possession of Italy in addition to your other dominions. As you did not accept the offer at the time when it would have been most advantageous to you, he repeats it now in order that you may not be so often ensnared by Octavian's words and by the marriage relationship existing between you; for you will remember that, although he is connected by marriage with Pompeius, he declared war against him after the treaty had been made, and without excuse. He also deprived Lepidus, his partner in the government, of his share, and divided neither part of it with you.

135. "You are now the only remaining one who stands between him and the monarchy that he longs for: indeed he would already have been at blows with you, had not Pompeius stood in the way. Although you ought to have foreseen these things for yourself, Pompeius calls your attention to them out of goodwill, because he prefers a candid and magnanimous man to a deceitful, treacherous, and artful one. He does not blame you for the gift of ships which you made to Octavian against him as a matter of necessity, in order to procure soldiers for the Parthian war in exchange, but he reminds you of that army which was not sent. In short, Pompeius delivers himself to you with the ships which he still has and his most faithful soldiers, who have not abandoned him even in his flight. If peace is maintained, it will be a great glory to you to have saved the son of Pompey the Great. In case of war, he will be a considerable help to your party in the conflict which is coming, in fact is as good as come."

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. XIV. 136. Τοιαῦτα τῶν πρέσβεων εἰπόντων, ὁ
Αυτώνιος τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῖς ἔξεφερεν, ἃς ἐντεί-
λαιτο Τιτίφ· καὶ εἰ τῷ ὅντι ταῦτα φρονοίη
Πομπήιος, ἥξειν αὐτὸν ἔφασκεν παραπεμπόμενον
ὑπὸ Τιτίου. ἂμα δὲ ταῦτα ἐγίγνετο, καὶ οἱ
πεμφθέντες ἐς Παρθναίους ὑπὸ τοῦ Πομπηίου
ἐλήφθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀντωνίου στρατηγῶν καὶ
ἐς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἥχθησαν. καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος
ἔκαστα μαθὼν ἐκάλει τοὺς τοῦ Πομπηίου πρέσ-
βεις καὶ τοὺς ληφθέντας αὐτοῖς ὑπεδείκνυεν. οἱ
δὲ καὶ ὡς παρηγούντο νέον ἄνδρα ἐν συμφοραῖς
ἐσχάταις ὑπὸ δέους, εἰ ἄρα μὴ προσοῦτο φιλίως
αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀντώνιος, ἀναγκασθέντα καὶ τῶν ἀεὶ¹
Ρωμαίοις ἐχθίστων ἀποπειρᾶσαι· δηλώσειν τ'
αὐτὸν αὐτίκα, ὅτε μάθοι τὰ Ἀντωνίου, μηδὲν ἔτι
πείρας ἡ μηχανῆς δεόμενον. οἷς ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐπί-
στευσεν, ὃν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα αἰεὶ τὸ φρόνημα ἀπλοῦς
καὶ μέγας καὶ ἄκακος.

137. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Φούρνιος, ὁ τῆς Ἀσίας ἥγονύ-
μενος Ἀντωνίφ, τὸν Πομπήιον ἐλθόντα μὲν καὶ
ἀτρεμοῦντα ἐδέχετο, οὔτε κωλύειν ἀξιόμαχος ὃν
οὔτε πω τὴν γνωμην εἰδὼς τὴν Ἀντωνίου· γυμνά-
ζοντα δὲ τὸν στρατὸν ὄρῶν κατέλεγέ τινας ἐκ τῶν
ὑπηκόων καὶ Ἀηνόβαρβον ἄρχοντα γείτονος
στρατοῦ καὶ Ἀμύνταν ἐτέρωθεν ἐκάλει κατὰ
σπουδήν. συνελθόντων δ' ὀξέως, ὁ Πομπήιος
ἐμέμφετο, εἰ πολέμιον ἥγονται τὸν πρέσβεις ἐς
Ἀντωνίουν ἀπεσταλκότα καὶ τὰ παρ' ἐκείνου περι-
μένοντα. καὶ ταῦτα λέγων Ἀηνόβαρβον δμως
ἐπενόει συλλαβεῖν ἐκ προδοσίας Κουρίου τινὸς

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

136. When the messengers had thus spoken, **An-** CHAP.
tony showed them the orders he had sent to Titius,
and said that if Pompeius was truly in this frame of
mind he would be coming in person under the escort
of Titius. In the meantime, the messengers who
had been sent by Pompeius to the Parthians were
captured by Antony's generals and brought to Alex-
andria. After Antony had examined each of them
he summoned the ambassadors of Pompeius and
showed the captives to them. They made excuses
for Pompeius even then as a young man in a
desperate plight, fearful lest Antony should not
treat him kindly, and driven by necessity to make
trial even of the bitterest enemies of Rome. They
said that he would show his true disposition as soon
as he should learn Antony's, and would then need
no other attempt or devices. Antony believed them,
being in other respects and at all times of a frank,
magnanimous, and unsuspecting nature.

137. In the meantime Furnius, who was govern- B.C. 85
ing the province of Asia for Antony, had received
Pompeius when he arrived, as he was behaving
quietly; since Furnius had not sufficient force to
prevent him and did not yet know Antony's mind.
Seeing Pompeius drilling his troops, he mustered a
force from the provincials and hastily summoned
Ahenobarbus, who had command of an army in the
vicinity, and also Amyntas from the other side.
They responded promptly, and Pompeius complained
against Furnius for regarding him in the light of an
enemy when he had sent ambassadors to Antony and
was waiting for an answer from him. While he was
saying this he was meditating the project of seizing
Ahenobarbus, with the connivance of Curius, one of

XIV

Antony
captures
the envoys
of Pompeius
to the
Parthians

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀηνόβαρβον, ἐλπίζων ἐς ἀντίδοσιν
XIV αὐτοῦ μεγάλην ἔξειν μοῖραν Ἀηνόβαρβον. γνω-
σθείσης δ' οὖν τῆς προδοσίας, Κούριος μὲν ἐν τοῖς
παροῦσι 'Ρωμαίων ἐλεγχθεὶς ἀπέθανε, Πομπήιος
δὲ Θεόδωρον ἔξελευθερον, ὃς μόνος οἱ συνήδει τὸ
βούλευμα, ώς ἔξειπόντα ἔκτεινεν. οὐκέτι δὲ τοὺς
ἀμφὶ τὸν Φούρνιον λίσειν ἐλπίσας, Λάμψακον
ἐκ προδοσίας κατέλαβεν, ἥ πολλοὺς εἶχεν Ἰταλοὺς
ἔξι ἐποικίσεως Γαῖου Καίσαρος, καὶ μισθοῖς μεγά-
λοις εὐθὺς ἐστράτευε τοὺς Ἰταλούς. ἥδη δὲ ἔχων
ἰππέας τε διακοσίους καὶ πεζοὺς τρία τέλη,
ἐπεχείρησε Κυζίκῳ κατά τε γῆν καὶ διὰ θαλάσ-
σης. οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν ἑκατέρωθεν ἀπεκρούσαντο· καὶ
γάρ τις ἦν ἐν τῇ Κυζίκῳ στρατὸς οὐ πολὺς
Ἀντωνίῳ, φύλακες τῶν ἐκεῖ τρεφομένων αὐτῷ
μονομάχων. ἐς δὲ τὸν Ἀχαιῶν λιμένα ἐπανελ-
θὼν ἐσιτολόγει.

138. Φουρνίου δὲ οὐκ ἄρχοντος μὲν χειρῶν, ἀεὶ
δ' αὐτῷ παραστρατοπεδεύοντος σὺν ἵππεῦσι πολ-
λοῖς καὶ σιτολογεῖν οὐκ ἐώντος οὐδὲ προσποιεῖ-
σθαι τὰς πόλεις, ὁ Πομπήιος ἵππέας οὐκ ἔχων
ἐπεχείρησε τῷ τοῦ Φουρνίου στρατοπέδῳ κατὰ
μέτωπον καὶ κατόπιν ἐκ περιόδου λαθών. ὅθεν ὁ
Φούρνιος ἐς τὸν Πομπήιον ἐπεστραμμένος ὑπὸ^{τοῦ}
τῶν ὅπισθεν ἔξεβλήθη τοῦ στρατοπέδου. καὶ
φεύγοντας αὐτοὺς διὰ τοῦ Σκαμανδρίου πεδίου
διώκων ὁ Πομπήιος ἔκτεινε πολλούς· καὶ γάρ ἦν
τὸ πεδίον ὑγρὸν ἔξι ὅμβρων. οἱ δὲ περισωθέντες
τότε μὲν ὑπεχώρουν, οὐκ ὅντες ἀξιόμαχοι. προσ-
δεχομένων δὲ ἀπό τε Μυσίας καὶ τῆς Προποντίδος

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

Ahenobarbus' officers, intending to hold that general CHAP
as a valuable hostage to exchange for himself in case XIV
of need. The treachery was discovered and Curius Double
was convicted before the Romans present and put dealing
to death. Pompeius put to death his freedman of Pompeius
Theodorus, the only person who was privy to the discovered
plan, believing that he had divulged it. As he no longer expected to conceal his projects from Furnius, he possessed himself of Lampsacus by treachery, a city which contained many Italians, placed there as colonists by Gaius Caesar. These Italians he induced to enter his military service by large bounties. Having now 200 horse and three legions of infantry, he attacked Cyzicus by land and sea. He was repulsed on both sides, because Antony had a force, although not a large one, in Cyzicus, that was guarding some gladiators whom Antony supported there. So Pompeius retired to the harbour of the Achaeans and collected provisions.

138. Furnius did not begin hostilities, but he continually camped alongside of Pompeius with a large body of horse and prevented his foe from foraging or winning the cities to his side. As Pompeius had no cavalry, he assaulted the camp of Furnius in front and, at the same time, sent a force secretly around to his rear. Furnius accordingly directed his forces against Pompeius' front attack, but he was driven out of his camp by the force in his rear. Pompeius pursued his men and killed many as they fled over the Scamandrian plain, which was saturated with recent rains. Those who were saved withdrew for the time to a place of safety, as they were not fit for battle. While those who, impoverished by continual exactions, enlisted gladly

He begins
hostilities
against
Antony's
lieutenants

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. καὶ ἐτέρωθεν, οἱ πενόμενοι διὰ τὰς συνεχεῖς
XIV εἰσφορὰς ἐμισθοφόρουν ἀσμένως τῷ Πομπήιῳ
κατὰ δόξαν μάλιστα τῆς ἐν Ἀχαιῶν λιμένι
γενομένης νίκης, ἵππικοῦ δὲ ἀπορῶν ὁ Πομπήιος,
καὶ παρ' αὐτὸν βλαπτόμενος ἐν ταῖς προνομαῖς,
ἐπύθετο Ἰλην ἵππεων Ἰταλικὴν ἐς Ἀντώνιον
χωρεῖν, ὑπὸ Ὁκταονίας χειμεριζούσης ἐν Ἀθή-
ναις ἀπεσταλμένην· καὶ εὐθὺς ἔπειπε τινας ἐς
διαφθορὰν τῆς Ἰλης μετὰ χρυσίου.

'Αλλὰ τούσδε μὲν ὁ τῆς Μακεδονίας ἡγούμενος
'Αντωνίῳ συνέλαβε καὶ τὸ χρυσίον τοῖς ἵππεῦσι
διένειμεν· 139. ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος Νίκαιάν τε καὶ
Νικομήδειαν καταλαβὼν ἐχρηματίζετο λαμπρῶς,
καὶ ἐς μεγάλα ταχέως αὐτῷ πάντα ηὔξετο παρ'
ἔλπίδα. Φουρνίῳ δὲ οὐ μακρὰν παραστρατοπε-
δεύοντι πρῶται μὲν ἡκον ἐκ Σικελίας, ἥρος ἀρχο-
μένου, υἱῆς ἐβδομήκοντα, ὅσαι περιεσώθησαν ἐξ
ῶν Ἀντώνιος ἐκεχρήκει κατὰ Πομπηίου Καίσαρι
(μετὰ γὰρ τὸ Σικελικὸν ἔργον αὐτὰς ὁ Καίσαρ
ἀπέλυσεν), ἡκεν δὲ καὶ ἐκ Συρίας Τίτιος ἐτέραις
ἐκατὸν εἴκοσι ναυσὶ καὶ στρατῷ πολλῷ, καὶ
κατήραν ἅπαντες ἐς Προκόνησον. δείσας οὖν
ὁ Πομπήιος τὰς ναῦς ἐνέπρησε καὶ τοὺς ἐρέτας
ῶπλισεν, ὡς ἀμείνον ὄμοι πᾶσι κατὰ τὴν γῆν
συνοισόμενος. Κάσσιος δὲ ὁ Παρμήσιος καὶ
Νασίδιος καὶ Σατορνῖνος καὶ Θέρμος καὶ Ἀν-
τίστιος ὅσοι τε ἄλλοι τῷ ἀξιολόγων ἔτι τῷ
Πομπηίῳ παρῆσαν φίλοι, καὶ ὁ τιμιώτατος αὐτῷ
Φάννιος καὶ ὁ κηδεστής αὐτοῦ Πομπηίου Λίβων
ὡς εἶδον αὐτὸν οὐδὲ Τιτίου παρόντος, ὅτῳ τὰ περὶ
αὐτὸν Ἀντώνιος ἐπέτρεπε, παυόμενον τοῦ πρὸς
τὸν ἀμείνονα πολέμου, ἀπέγνωσαν αὐτοῦ καὶ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

under Pompeius especially on account of the reputation he had gained by his victory at the harbour of the Achaeans, were awaiting help from Mysia, the Propontis, and elsewhere, Pompeius, deficient in cavalry, and thus crippled in procuring supplies, learned that a troop of Italian horse was coming to Antony, sent by Octavia, who was passing the winter in Athens. So he sent emissaries with gold to corrupt this troop.

Antony's governor of Macedonia caught these men and distributed their gold to the cavalry : 139. but Pompeius took Nicea and Nicomedia, from which he obtained large supplies of money, and his strength was augmented in all respects with a rapidity that exceeded his expectations. But Furnius, who was camping not far away from him, was reinforced, at the beginning of spring, first with seventy ships that had come from Sicily, which had been saved from those that Antony had lent to Octavian against Pompeius ; for after the close of the war in Sicily Octavian had dismissed them. Then Titius arrived from Syria with 120 additional ships and a large army ; and all these had landed at Proconnesus. So Pompeius became alarmed and burned his own ships and armed his oarsmen, believing that he could fight to better advantage with all of his forces combined on land. Cassius of Parma, Nasidius, Saturninus, Thermus, Antistius, and the other distinguished men of his party who were still with him as friends, and Fannius, who held the highest rank of all, and Pompeius' father-in-law, Libo, when they saw that he did not desist from war against superior forces even after Titius, to whom Antony had given entire charge, had

Antony
sends
reinforce-
ments
against him

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. πράξαντες ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν πίστιν ἐς Ἀντώνιον
XIV μετῆλθον.

140. 'Ο δ' ἔρημος ὡν ἥδη φίλων ἐς τὰ μεσόγαια τῆς Βιθυνίας ἀνεχώρει, λεγόμενος ἐς Ἀρμενίους ἐπείγεσθαι. καὶ αὐτὸν, νυκτὸς ἀναζεύξαντα ἀφανῶς, ἐδίωκεν ὁ τε Φούρνιος καὶ ὁ Τίτιος, καὶ ἐπ' ἐκείνοις Ἀμύντας. συντόνῳ δὲ δρόμῳ περὶ ἐσπέραν καταλαβόντες ἐστρατοπέδευσαν ἕκαστος ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ περὶ λόφῳ τινί, ἄνευ τάφρου καὶ χάρακος, ὡς ἐν ἐσπέρᾳ καὶ κόπῳ. ὡδε δὲ αὐτοῖς ἔχουσιν ὁ Πομπήιος νυκτὸς ἐπέθετο πελτασταῖς τρισχιλίοις καὶ πολλοὺς ἔκτεινεν εὐναζομένους ἔτι καὶ ἀναπηδῶντας· οἱ δὲ καὶ γυμνοὶ πάμπαν αἰσχρῶς ἔφευγον. καὶ δοκεῖ τότε ὁ Πομπήιος ἅπαντι τῷ στρατῷ νυκτὸς ἐπελθὼν ἡ τῆς γε τροπῆς γενομένης ἐπαγαγὼν τάχ' ἀν αὐτῶν ἐντελῶς ἐπικρατῆσαι. νῦν δ' ὁ μὲν καὶ ταῦτα θεοῦ βλάπτοντος ὑπερεῖδε καὶ οὐδὲν ἐπ' ἔργῳ τοιῷδε πλέον ἡ αὐθις ἐς τὸ μεσόγαιον ἔχώρει· οἱ δ' ἀλισθέντες εἴποντο καὶ σιτολογοῦντα ἡνῶχλουν, ἔως κινδυνεύων ὑπὸ τῆς ἀπορίας ἡξίωσεν ἐς λόγους ἐλθεῖν Φουρνίῳ, φίλῳ τε Μάγνου γεγενομένῳ καὶ ἀξιώσει προύχοντι τῶν ἄλλων καὶ βεβαιοτέρῳ τὸν τρόπον.

141. Ποταμὸν δ' ἐν μέσῳ λαβὴν ἔλεγε μέν, ὅτι πρεσβεύσαιτο πρὸς Ἀντώνιον, ἐπετίθει δ', ὅτι τροφῶν ἐν τοσούτῳ δεόμενος καὶ ἀμελούμενος ὑπὸ αὐτῶν, τάδε ἔργάσαιτο. "ὑμεῖς δὲ εἰ μὲν Ἀντώνιον γνώμῃ πολεμεῖτέ μοι, κακῶς ὁ" Ἀντώνιος ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ βούλεύεται, τὸν ἐπιόντα πόλεμον οὐ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

arrived, despaired of him, and, having made terms for themselves, went over to Antony.

CHAP
XIV

140. Pompeius, now deserted by his friends, withdrew to the interior of Bithynia, being reported as making his way to Armenia. One night as he marched out of his camp quietly, Furnius and Titius followed him, and Amyntas joined in the pursuit. After a hot chase they came up with him toward evening, and each encamped by himself around a certain hill without ditch or palisade, as it was late and they were tired. While they were in this state, Pompeius made a night attack with 300 light troops and killed many who were still asleep or springing out of bed. The rest took to disgraceful flight half dressed as they were. It is evident that if Pompeius had made this night attack with his entire army, or if he had followed up energetically the victory he did win, he would have overcome them completely. But, misled by some evil genius, he let slip these opportunities also, and he gained no other advantage from the affair than to penetrate farther into the interior of the country. His enemies, having formed a junction, followed him and cut him off from supplies, until he was in danger from want. Then he sought an interview with Furnius, who had been a friend of Pompey the Great, and who was of higher rank and of a more trustworthy character than the others.

141. Taking a position where a river flowed between them, Pompeius said that he had sent ambassadors to Antony, and he added that, being in need of provisions meanwhile, and they supplying him, he had done what he had done. "If you fight against me," he continued, "by Antony's direction, Antony has misconceived his own interests in not foreseeing the

Pompeius
offers to
surrender
to Furnius,
who refuses
to accept
him

609

R R

VOL. IV.

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP.
XIV προορῶν· εἰ δὲ τὴν Ἀντωνίου γνώμην φθάνετε,
μαρτύρομαι καὶ παρακαλῶ περιμεῖναι τὴν πρεσ-
βείαν μου τὴν ἐς Ἀντώνιον ἀπεσταλμένην ἡ
λαβόντας ἄγειν ἥδη πρὸς αὐτόν. ἐπιτρέψω δ'
ἔμαυτὸν ἐγὼ σοὶ μόνῳ, Φούρνιε, τοσοῦτον ἐς πίστιν
αἰτήσας, ὅτι με σῶν ἄξεις ἐς Ἀντώνιον·” ὁ μὲν
οὗτος εἶπεν, Ἀντωνίφ τε θαρρῶν ὡς ἀγαθῷ τὴν
φύσιν καὶ μόνα τὰ ἐν μέσῳ δεδιώς· ὁ δὲ Φούρνιος
αὐτὸν οὕτως ἡμείψατο· “ἐπιτρέποντος μὲν ἦν
έαυτὸν Ἀντωνίφ χωρεῦν ἐς αὐτὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἡ περι-
μένειν ἀτρεμοῦντα ἐν Μιτυλήνῃ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις,
πολεμοῦντος δέ, ἣ πεποίηκας ἄπαντα· τί γὰρ
αὐτὰ δεῖ πρὸς εἰδότα λέγειν; εἰ δὲ νῦν μετέγνω-
κας, μὴ συγκρούειν μὲν ἡμᾶς τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἐς
ἀλλήλους, Τιτίφ δὲ σαυτὸν ἐπιτρέπειν· Τιτίφ γὰρ
ἐπιτέτραπται τὰ περὶ σὲ ὑπὸ Ἀντωνίου καὶ
πίστιν, ἦν αἴτεν παρ' ἡμῶν, ἔνι σοι καὶ Τίτιον
αἴτεν. κεκέλευσται δ' ὑπὸ Ἀντωνίου πολε-
μοῦντα μέν σε κατακαυεῖν, ἐγχειρίζοντα δὲ πέμ-
πειν ἐς αὐτὸν ἐντίμως.”

142. ‘Ο δὲ Πομπήιος Τιτίφ μὲν ἀχαριστίας
ώργιζετο, τὸν πόλεμον τόνδε ὑποδεξαμένῳ πολε-
μῆσειν πρὸς αὐτόν· ἀλόντα γὰρ αὐτὸν αἰχμά-
λωτον περισεσώκει. ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ ὄργῃ καὶ ἥδοξει,
Πομπήιος ὡν, ἐπὶ Τιτίφ γενέσθαι, οὐκ ἐπιφανεῖ
πάνυ ἀνδρί, καὶ ὑπώπτευεν αὐτὸν ὡς οὐ βέβαιον
ἐς τε τὸν τρόπον ὑπονοῶν καὶ τινα συγγινώσκων
ἐς αὐτὸν ὕβριν παλαιὰν πρὸ τῆς εὐεργεσίας.
Φουρνίφ δ' αὐθις ἔαυτὸν ἐπέτρεπε καὶ δέξασθαι

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

coming war. If you are anticipating Antony's intentions, I protest and implore you to wait for the embassy that I sent to Antony or to take and bring me to him now. I will surrender myself to you alone, Furnius, asking merely your pledge that you will conduct me to him in safety." He spoke thus because he had confidence in Antony as a man of generous nature, and he apprehended merely that something might happen to him on the journey. Furnius replied to him as follows: "If you wish to surrender yourself to Antony you ought to have done so in the beginning, or else have waited quietly at Mitylene for his answer. But if you desired the war you should have done as you have done; for why is it necessary to recount your deeds to one who knows them? If now you repent, do not bring us, generals, into collision with each other, but surrender yourself to Titius, to whom these matters have been entrusted by Antony. The pledge which you ask from me you can ask from him. He has been ordered by Antony to put you to death if you wage war, but, if you surrender yourself, to send you to him in an honourable manner."

142. Pompeius was angry with Titius for his ingratitude, in that he undertook to wage this war against him, for he had once been taken prisoner and spared by Pompeius. Besides being angry he considered it beneath his dignity that a Pompeius should be in the power of Titius, who was not of noble birth. Moreover he suspected Titius, either because he was acquainted with his character and did not consider him trustworthy, or because he was conscious of some old injury done to him previous to the benefaction above mentioned. Again

XIV

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. XIV. παρεκάλει. ὡς δ' οὐκ ἔπειθεν, ὁ δὲ καὶ Ἀμύντα
 ἔλεγεν ἑαυτὸν ἐπιτρέψειν. τοῦ Φουρνίου δὲ
 φήσαντος οὐδ' Ἀμύνταν ἀν δέξασθαι τόδε ὕβριν
 ἔχον ἐς τὸν ἐξ Ἀντωνίου τὸ πᾶν ἐπιτετραμμένου,
 διελύθησαν. καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν Φούρνιον δόξα
 ἦν, ὅτι ὁ Πομπήιος ἐξ ἀπορίας τῶν παρόντων
 ἑαυτὸν ἐς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἡμέραν ἐκδώσει τῷ Τιτίῳ·
 ὁ δὲ νυκτὸς τὰ συνήθη πυρὰ καίεσθαι καταλιπὼν
 καὶ τοὺς σαλπιγκτὰς σημαίνειν τὰ διαστήματα
 τῆς νυκτὸς, ὥσπερ ἦν ἔθος, ἔλαθε μετὰ τῶν
 εὐζώνων ὑπεξελθὼν τοῦ στρατοπέδου, οἱς οὐδὲ
 αὐτοῖς προεῖπεν, οἱ χωρήσειν ἔμελλεν. ἐπενόει δ'
 ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ἐλθὼν ἐμπρῆσαι τὸ τοῦ Τιτίου
 ναυτικόν. καὶ τάχα ἀν ἔδρασεν, εἰ μὴ Σκαῦρος
 αὐτομολήσας ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὴν μὲν ἔξοδον ἐμήνυσε
 καὶ τὴν ὄδόν, ἦν ἐφέρετο, τὴν δὲ ἐπίνοιαν οὐκ ἤδει.
 τότε δὴ χιλίοις καὶ πεντακοσίοις ἵππεῦσιν Ἀμύν-
 τας ἐδίωκε τὸν Πομπήιον ἵππέας οὐκ ἔχοντα.
 καὶ ἐς τὸν Ἀμύνταν οἱ τοῦ Πομπήιου πλησιά-
 σαντα μετεχώρουν, οἱ μὲν ἀποδιδράσκοντες, οἱ δὲ
 καὶ φανερῶς. μονούμενος οὖν ὁ Πομπήιος καὶ
 δεδιῶς ἤδη τὰ οἰκεῖα, ἑαυτὸν ἄνευ σπουδῶν ἐνε-
 χείρισεν Ἀμύντα, ὁ Τιτίῳ μετὰ σπουδῶν ἀδοξήσας.

143. Οὕτω μὲν ἑάλω Πομπήιος Σέξτος, ὁ
 λοιπὸς ἔτι παῖς Πομπηίου Μάγνου, νεώτερος μὲν
 ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀπολειφθεὶς καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ
 μειράκιον ἤδη, λαθὼν δὲ ἐπ' ἐκείνοις ἐς πολὺ καὶ
 κρύφα ληστεύων ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ, μέχρι, πολλῶν συν-
 δραμόντων ἐς αὐτὸν ἐπιγύνωσθέντα εἶναι Πομπηίου

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

he offered to surrender himself to Furnius, and CHAP.
begged that he would receive him. When the XIV

latter refused he said that he would surrender to Amyntas. Furnius said that Amyntas would not receive him, because that would be an insult to the one whom Antony had entrusted with this whole business; and so the interview ended. The opinion prevailed in the camp of Furnius that, for want of other resources, Pompeius would deliver himself up to Titius on the following day. When night came Pompeius left the customary fires burning, and the trumpets giving the usual signal at intervals through the night, while he quietly withdrew from the camp with a well-prepared band, who had not previously been advised whither they were to go. He intended to go to the sea-shore and burn Titius' fleet, and perhaps would have done so had not Scaurus deserted from him and communicated the fact of his departure and the road he had taken, although ignorant of his design. Amyntas, with 1500 horse, pursued Pompeius, who had no cavalry. When Amyntas drew near, Pompeius' men passed over to him, some privately, others openly. Pompeius, being almost entirely deserted and afraid of his own men, surrendered himself to Amyntas without conditions, although he had scorned to surrender to Titius with conditions.

143. Thus was Sextus Pompeius captured. He was the last remaining son of Pompey the Great, and had been deprived of his father when very young and of his brother while still a stripling. After their death he concealed himself for a long time and practised robbery secretly in Spain until he had collected a large following, because he made

Pompeius
refuses to
surrender
to Titius

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. παῖδα, ἐλήστευε τε φανερώτερον, καὶ μετὰ Γάιου
XIV Καίσαρα ἐπολέμησεν ἐγκρατῶς καὶ στρατὸν ἥγειρε
πολὺν καὶ ναῦς καὶ χρήματα, καὶ νῆσους εἶλε, καὶ
θαλλασσοκράτωρ τῆς ἀμφὶ τὰς δύσεις θαλάσσης
ἐγένετο, καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν περιήνεγκεν ἐς λιμὸν καὶ
τοὺς ἔχθροὺς ἐς συμβάσεις, ἀς ἥθελε. τὸ δὲ
μέγιστον, ἐπίκουρος ἐν ταῖς προγραφαῖς τῇ πόλει
πανώλεθρα πασχούσῃ γενόμενος περιέσωσεν
ἄνδρας ἀρίστους τε καὶ πολλούς, οἱ τότε δὶ' αὐτὸν
ἥσαν ἐν τῇ πατρίδι. ὑπὸ δὲ θεοβλαβείας αὐτὸς
οὐ ποτε ἐπεχείρησε τοῖς πολεμόις, πολλὰ τῆς
τύχης εὔκαιρα παρεχούσης, ἀλλ' ἡμύνετο μόνον.

144. Καὶ Πομπήιος μὲν τοιόσδε γενόμενος ἑαλώ-
κει, Τίτιος δὲ τὸν μὲν στρατὸν αὐτοῦ μετεστρά-
τευσεν Ἀντωνίῳ, αὐτὸν δὲ Πομπήιον, τεσσαρα-
κοστὸν ἔτος βιοῦντα, ἐν Μιλήτῳ κατέκανεν, εἴτε
δὶ' αὐτοῦ, μηνίων ἄρα τῆς ποτὲ ὑβρεως καὶ
ἀχάριστος ἐς τὴν ἔπειτα εὐεργεσίαν γενόμενος,
εἴτε καὶ ἐπιστείλαντος Ἀντωνίου. εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ
Πλάγκον, οὐκ Ἀντώνιον λέγοντες ἐπιστεῖλαι,
καὶ νομίζουσιν ἄρχοντα Συρίας, καὶ ταῖς ἐπιστο-
λαῖς ἐπιτετραμμένου ἐς τὰ ἔπειγοντα ἐπιγράφειν
τὸν Ἀντώνιον καὶ τῇ σφραγῖδι χρῆσθαι. καὶ
Πλάγκον δὲ γράψαι νομίζουσιν οἱ μὲν συνειδότος
Ἀντωνίου καὶ αἰδούμενον γράψαι διὰ ὄνομα τοῦ
Πομπήιον καὶ διὰ Κλεοπάτραν, εὗνως ἔχουσαν τῷ
Πομπήιῳ διὰ τὸν πατέρα Μάγινον, οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐφ'
έαυτοῦ Πλάγκον, τάδε αὐτὰ συνιδόντα καὶ
φυλαξάμενον, μὴ τὴν αἰσίαν Ἀντωνίου καὶ
Καίσαρος ἐς ἀλλήλους αἰδῶ Πομπήιος καὶ Κλεο-
πάτρα Πομπήιῳ συνεργοῦσα ἀνατρέψαιεν.

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

himself known as Pompey's son. Then he practised more open robbery. After the death of Gaius Caesar he carried on war vigorously and collected a large army, together with ships and money, took islands, became master of the western sea, brought famine upon Italy, and compelled his enemies to make peace on such terms as he chose. Of most importance was the aid that he rendered in the proscriptions to Rome when exposed to utter destruction, rescuing many of the nobility who were, at this later time, safe at home by means of him. But stricken with some strange aberration, he never pursued an aggressive policy against his foes, although fortune offered him many opportunities ; he only defended himself.

144. After such a career Pompeius was taken prisoner. Titius brought Pompeius' soldiers into Antony's service and put Pompeius himself to death at Miletus in the fortieth year of his age. This he did either on his own account, angry at some former insult, and ungrateful for the subsequent kindness, or in pursuance of Antony's order. Some say that Plancus, not Antony, gave this order. They think that Plancus, while governing Syria, was authorized by letters to sign Antony's name in cases of urgency and to use his seal. Some think that it was written by Plancus with Antony's knowledge, but that the latter was ashamed to write it on account of the name Pompeius, and because Cleopatra was favourable to him on account of Pompey the Great. Others think that Plancus, being cognizant of these facts, took it upon himself to give the order as a matter of precaution, lest Pompeius, with the co-operation of Cleopatra, should disturb the auspicious respect between Antony and Octavian.

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP.
XIV 145. Ἀλλὰ Πομπήιος μὲν ἐτεθνήκει, Ἀντώνιος
δὲ αὐθις ἐστράτευε, καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ
ἐπὶ Ἰλλυριούς, οἱ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐλήστευον, οἱ μὲν
οὐχ ὑπακούσαντές πω Ρωμαίων, οἱ δὲ ἐν τοῖς
ἔμφυλίοις ἀποστάντες. καὶ μοι ἔδοξε τὰ Ἰλλυ-
ρικά, οὔτε ἀκριβῶς γενόμενά μοι γνώριμα οὔτε
συντελοῦντα μῆκος ἴδιας συγγραφῆς οὔτε χώραν
ἔχοντα ἐτέρωθι λεχθῆναι, τούς χρόνους, καθ' ὃν
ἐλήφθησαν, συνάγοντος αὐτὰ ἐσ τέλος, προανα-
γράψαι καὶ ὑποθεῖναι αὐτὰ τῇ ὁμόρφῳ Μακεδονικῇ.

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

145. After the death of Pompeius Antony made a CHAP.
new expedition to Armenia, and Octavian made one XIV
against the Illyrians, who were plundering Italy,
some of whom had never been subject to the
Romans, while others had revolted during the civil
wars. Since these Illyrian affairs are not very well
known to me, and are not of sufficient length to
make a book by themselves, and have no suitable
place to be treated elsewhere, I have recorded them
above (beginning with the time when Illyria was
acquired by the Romans and bringing them down to
the end),¹ and added them to the history of Mace-
donia, which marches with Illyria.

¹ The meaning is doubtful.

INDEX

INDEX

Pr. denotes the Preface. K. the book Concerning the Kings. It. Italy.
Sa. Samnite History. G. Gallic History. Si. Sicily and the Islands.
Sp. Wars in Spain. H. Hannibalic War. Pu. Punic Wars. Nu. Numidian
fragments. Ma. Macedonian fragments. Il. Illyrian Wars. Sy. Syrian
Wars. Mi. Mithridatic Wars. C. I., C. II., etc., Civil Wars I, II, etc.
The Arabic numerals signify sections.

A

ABALA (harbour), (perh. Balarus), C. V, 112.
Aborigines, K. I, 1.
Abrupolis, friend of the Romans, Ma. XI, 2, 6.
Abydus, Sy. 28; Mi. 56; C. IV, 82, 87; fortified by Antiochus, Sy. 21; besieged by Livius, 23.
Academy, Mi. 30.
Acarnania, Ma. XI, 4; Mi. 95; invaded by Antiochus, Sy. 16.
Acarnanians, auxiliaries of Caesar at Pharsalus, C. II, 70.
Acerrae (in Campania), its senators thrown into wells, Pu. 63; besieged by Papius in the Social War, C. I, 42.
Achaeans, abandon Philip and join the Romans, Ma. VII; assist L. Quintius in besieging Corinth, *ib.*; aid Eumenes, Sy. 26; aid the Romans against Antiochus, 31; revolt to Mithridates, Mi. 29, 69.
Achaeans of Scythia, remnant of the Greeks from Troy, Mi. 67, 102; unsuccessfully attacked by Mithridates, 67; send aid to him, 69; afterward resisting him are put to flight, 102; hate the Greeks, *ib.*; led in triumph by Pompey, 116.

Achaeans, harbour of, Sy. 23; Mi. 77; C. V, 137 *sq.*
Achaia, a country of Greece, Mummius triumphs over, Pu. 135.
Achaia, a town of Syria, Sy. 57; of Parthia, *ib.*
Achillas, military prefect of Cleopatra's brother, Ptolemy, C. II, 84, 101; killed by Caesar (Appian in error), 90.
Achilles, prayer of, It. VIII, 2; his words to Thetis, C. III, 13.
Acholla, a town of Africa, Pu. 94.
Acilius, a proscript, C. IV, 39.
Acilius, L., escapes from Aesernia, C. I, 41.
Acilius Glabrio, M., Roman general in Greece against Antiochus, Sy. 17-21.
Acilius Glabrio, M., proconsul to Asia, Mi. 90.
Actium, C. I, 5, 6; IV, 38, 42, 49, 50, 51.
Adana, a town of Cilicia, Mi. 96.
Adramytteans (in Asia), acts of cruelty to Roman residents, Mi. 23.
Adriatic sea, C. II, 54, 150; town of Scodra midway of, V, 65.
Aeacus, ancestor of Alexander, C. II, 151.
Aeculanum, a town in Apulia, captured by Sulla, C. I, 51.
Aedui attacked by Ariovistus, G.

INDEX

- XVI; fall away from the Romans, XXI.
Aeetes, golden fleece of, Mi. 103.
Aegean sea, Pr. 2.
Aegestus, son of Numitor, K. I, 2; Fr. 1, 3.
Aegina, island, C. V, 7.
Aemilian way at Rome, C. III, 66.
Aemilius killed, not knowing that he had been proscribed, C. IV, 27.
Aemilius Barbula, sent against the Tarentines, Sa. VII, 3.
Aemilius, L., saved by Octavian at Perusia, C. V, 48.
Aemilius Lepidus, the consul, wages war unjustly against the Vaccaei, Sp. 80 *sq.*
Aemilius Lepidus, captures Norba by treachery, C. I, 94; as consul opposes the party of Sulla, 105; defeated in battle by Catulus and dies, 107.
Aemilius Lepidus, the triumvir, made prefect of Rome by Caesar, C. II, 41; again by Octavian, V, 29; prefect of Spain by Caesar, II, 48; governs Spain by proxy, 107; becomes Caesar's master of horse, 107 and 115; desires to avenge Caesar's death, 118, 124, 130 *sq.*; the people propose for him the office of pontifex maximus, 132; ordered to make war against Antony, III, 74; joins forces with Antony, 83 *sq.*; voted an enemy by the Senate but again received into favour, 96; becomes triumvir, IV, 2 *sq.*; appointed consul, 3; triumphs over the Spaniards, 31; deprived of his provinces because suspected of treachery, V, 3; compensated with the province of Africa, 12, 53, 65; invades Sicily with Octavian, 97; besieges Lilybaeum, 98; his fleet meets with disaster at the hands of Papias, 104; besieges Messana with Octavian, 117; attempts to hold Sicily for himself, 122 *sq.*; deserted by his soldiers, 124 *sq.*; deprived of command and sent to Rome, 126; Octavian not willing that he be put to death, 131; presents himself as a suppliant before the tribunal of the consul Balbinus, IV, 50; a sluggish man, III, 84, V, 124; his wife, IV, 50.
Aemilius Lepidus, son of the triumvir, given as a hostage to Brutus and Cassius, C. II, 142; Antony desires to betroth his daughter to him, V, 93; is accused of conspiracy against Octavian, IV, 50.
Aemilius, L., had waged war against the Illyrians, H. 17; as consul favours delay in coming to an engagement with Hannibal, 18; commands the Roman centre at Cannae, 19; is killed, 24.
Aemilius Paulus, captures Perseus, king of Macedonia, Sp. 65; Sy. 29; Ma. XIX; plunders seventy-two towns in one hour, II. 9; speech to the people concerning his exploits, Ma. XIX; his death, *ib.*; of his four sons he gives two for adoption, *ib.*; one of these was Scipio Africanus the younger, Pu. 101; the other Fabius Maximus Aemilianus, Sp. 65.
Aemilius Paulus, consul, bribed by Caesar, builds a basilica, C. II, 26.
Aemilius Paulus, brother of Lepidus the triumvir, C. IV, 12; flees to Brutus, then betakes himself to Miletus, 37.
Aemilius Regillus, prefect of the fleet against Antiochus, Sy. 26; wins a naval victory at Myonnesus, 27.
Aenaria, island of, C. V, 69, 71.
Aeneas, K. I, 1; Fr. 1; father of Ilus and of the Julian *gens*, C. II, 68; bears his father on his shoulders, C. IV, 41.
Aeneas Silvius, K. I, 2.
Aenus, a town of Thrace, C. IV, 87 *sq.*, 101.
Aeolian islands, C. V, 105.
Aeolians, King Antiochus marches among them, Sy. 1; accustomed to obey the Asiatic kings, 12;

INDEX

- their ambassadors favourably received by Caesar, C. II, 89.
- Aeolis, Sy. 23, 25.
- Aesculapius, rich temple of, at Carthage, Pu. 130; at Pergamus, Mi. 24, 60; Carthaginian supplicants carry his sacred laurel branches, Pu. 130.
- Aesepus, river of Mysia flowing into Propontis, Mi. 76.
- Aesernia, town of Samnium, C. I, 41, 51.
- Aesis, river of Umbria, C. I, 57.
- Aetolians, allies of the Romans in war against Philip, Ma. III, 1; make peace, 2; complain of Philip to the Romans and again form an alliance with them, IV; accuse Flamininus, IX; Perseus aids them, XI, 1, 3; Crassus puts upon them the blame of the flight, XII; summon Antiochus to Greece, Sy. 12; occupy Thermopylae, 18; overcome by Manius and sue for peace, 21; auxiliaries of Caesar, C. II, 70.
- Afranius, lieutenant of Pompey in Spain, fights against Caesar, C. II, 42; yields Spain to Caesar, 43; present at the battle of Pharsalus, 76; conquered by Caesar, flees with L. Scipio from Africa, 97.
- Africa, Old and New, C. IV, 53; Caesar adds New to the Roman sway, *ib.*; Cornificius has command over Old, III, 85; IV, 36; Sextius over New, IV, 53; princes of Africa wage war against each other, 54; civil wars in the province, Attius Varius against Curio, C. II, 44 *sq.*; Sextius against Cornificius, IV, 53; Sextius against Fango, V, 26.
- African war of Caesar, C. II, 95 *sq.*
- Africans, rebel against the Carthaginians, Si. I, 3; Sp. 4; Pu. 5; reduced by hunger, *ib.*; offer themselves to the Romans, but are not accepted, *ib.*
- Agamemnon, nickname of Pompey, C. II, 67.
- Agathocles, son of Lysimachus, Sy. 64.
- Agathocles, tyrant of Syracuse, Sa. XI; builder of Hippo, Pu. 110; tower of, Pu. 14.
- Agrarian law, of Licinius, C. I, 8; proposed by Tiberius Gracchus, 9 *sq.*; enacted, 13; of Spurius Thorius, 27; of Saturninus, 29.
- Agrippa, C. IV, 49; the lieutenant of Octavian, II. 20; his closest friend, C. V, 31; shuts Lucius Antonius up in Perusia, 32; besieges Antonian generals, 33, 35; draws legions of Plancus over to himself, 50; sent by Octavian against Antony in southern Italy, 57 *sq.*; overcomes Aquitanians, 92; commands fleet of Octavian against Sextus Pompeius, 96; overcomes fleet of Pompeius at Mylae, 105–108; captures certain towns in Sicily, 109; takes Tyndaris, *ib.*, and 116; overcomes Sextus Pompeius in a naval combat, 118 *sq.*; besieges Messana with Lepidus, 112.
- Agron, king of the Illyrians, II. 7.
- Ajax Telamon, C. II, 81.
- Alba, built by Ascanius, K. I, 2; Fr. I, 2; mother city of Rome, H. 39; Pu. 89; Alban mount, Sa. I, 2; C. I, 69; Alban lake, It. VIII, 1; Alban territory, C. I, 92.
- Alba, Roman colony among the Aequi, H. 39; C. III, 47; V, 30.
- Albanians of Asia, Mi. 103; conquered by Pompey, Mi. 114; led in triumph, Mi. 116 *sq.*
- Albinovanus, P., with Marius, adjudged a public enemy, C. I, 60; flees to Hiempsal, 62; flees to Sulla after killing Carbo's lieutenants, 91.
- Albinus, A., appointed prefect of Sicily by Caesar, C. II, 48.
- Albinus, perished in the Social War, C. I, 93.
- Alcetas, prefect of Caria, Sy. 52.
- Alexander the Great, builds Alexandria, Pr. 1; under him the

INDEX

- Macedonian empire is like a flash of brilliant lightning, 10; Hannibal's opinion of, Sy. 10; his phalanx, 19, 32; rules all countries he comes to, 52; diadem carried away by the wind, 56; binds up wound of Lysimachus with his diadem, 64; writers differ on the question whether he touched Cappadocia, Mi. 8; gives freedom to the city of Amisus, 83; when wounded shows himself to his soldiers, 89; makes use of the Agrianes as allies, II. 14; besieges Xanthus, C. IV, 8; comparison with Caesar, C. II, 149 *sq.*; his brother Ardaeus and his two sons, Sy. 52, 54; Mithridates stops at the inn where A. had lodged, Mi. 20; Pompey said to have worn a cloak of A. in his triumph, Mi. 117.
- Alexander, prince of the Aetolians, Ma. IX, 1.
- Alexander of Megalopolis, Sy. 13.
- Alexander, son of Lysimachus, flees to Seleucus, Sy. 64.
- Alexander, the bastard, thrusts himself into the family of Seleucidae, Sy. 67; his wife a daughter of Ptolemy, 68.
- Alexander, son of the foregoing, Sy. 68.
- Alexander, sent by Mithridates to assassinate Nicomedes, Mi. 57.
- Alexander, the Paphlagonian, lieutenant of Mithridates captured by Lucullus, Mi. 76 *sq.*
- Alexander, son of Alexander, king of Egypt, brought up by Mithridates, Mi. 28; restored to the kingdom of Egypt by Sulla, is put to death at Alexandria, C. I, 102.
- Alexander, the Prytanis of the Rhodians, C. IV, 66; defeated by Cassius, 71.
- Alexandreschata, town of Scythia, Sy. 57.
- Alexandria, city of Egypt, Pr. 1; Sy. 66; C. II, 89; V, 8, 52, 138; Gabinius wages war against, Sy. 51; C. V, 8, 10; war of Caesar in, C. II, 89 *sq.*; priests of, wear the Attic shoe, C. V, 11. Alexandria on the Granicus, Sy. 29.
- Alexandropolis, town of India, Sy. 57.
- Allienus, supposed to have delivered to Cassius the legions which he led from Egypt, C. III, 78; IV, 59.
- Allies, difference between allies and friends, in Roman policy, G. XIII; Sp. 11; Romans call on Italian allies for help in the Hannibalic war, H. 8; strife with allies concerning Roman citizenship, C. I, 19, 21, 23; Social War grows out of it, C. I, 34-53; Mi. 62.
- Allobroges, conquered by Caesar, G. I, 4; Domitius wages war against them, XII; their ambassadors become informers in the conspiracy of Catiline, C. II, 4.
- Alor, river in Epirus (error for Apsus), C. II, 56.
- Alps, the, G. XIII; H. 8; Mi. 102; C. I, 117; II, 26, 32; III, 72; V, 20, 51; crossed by Hannibal, Sp. 13; H. 4; by Hasdrubal, H. 52; by Pompey, C. I, 109; by Antony, III, 83; Octavian subdues inhabitants of the high Alps, II. 15 *sq.*
- Altar built to Caesar, C. II, 148; altar of Philoctetes, Mi. 77.
- Amastris, town of Pontus, Mi. 11 *sq.*; captured by Lucullus, 82.
- Amatus, pseudo-Marius, C. III, 2, 3, 36.
- Amazons, Mi. 103; region of, 69; expedition of Hercules against, 83.
- Ambo, leader of the Arevaci, Sp. 46.
- Ambracia, city of Thesprotia, Sy. 17; Ma. III, 1.
- Amisus, city of Pontus, Mi. 78, 120; of Attic origin, made free by Alexander, 83; besieged by Lucullus, 78; restored to its citizens, 83; plundered by Pharnaces, C. II, 91.

INDEX

- Amnus, river of Paphlagonia, Mi.** 18.
Amphipolis, of Syria, Sy. 57; of Macedonia, C. IV, 104 *sq.*
Amilius, brother of Numitor, K. I, 2.
Amynander, king of the Athamanes, attempts to reconcile the Aetolians and Romans and Philip, Ma. III, 1; complains against Philip, VIII; Philip, brother of his wife Apama, administers his kingdom, Sy. 13; forms an alliance with Antiochus, *ib.*; expelled from his kingdom by Philip of Macedon, flees to Ambrasia, 17.
Amyntas, father of Philip, king of Macedonia, Pr. 8, 10; C. IV, 102.
Amyntas, made king of the Pisidians by Antony, C. V, 75; called by Furnius to aid him against Sextus Pompeius, 137, 140; Pompeius surrenders to him, 142.
Anagnia, town of Latium, Sa. X, 3.
Ancharius, Q., killed by order of Marius, C. I, 73; his head suspended from the rostra, *ib.*
Anchises, K. I, 1; C. II, 151.
Ancona, two legions colonized at, C. V, 23.
Ancus Marcius, K. II.
Anda, town of Africa, Pu. 24.
Andriace, seaport of the Myreans, C. IV, 82.
Andriscus, pseudo-Philip, Pu. 135.
Androcottus, king of a people dwelling on the Indus, Sy. 55.
Andronicus, ambassador of Attalus to the Romans, conspires with Nicomedes, Mi. 4 *sq.*
Andronicus, sent by Perseus to throw his money into the sea and burn his ships, Ma. XVI; put to death by Perseus, *ib.*
Andros, island of, given by Antony to Rhodians and soon taken from them, C. V, 7.
Antcius leads Genthius, conquered and bound, to Rome, Il. 9.
Anto, river of Latium H. 38 *sq.*
Annalis, a praetor, proscribed, is betrayed by his son, C. IV, 18.

SS

- Annalis, son of preceding, killed by the same soldiers who killed his father, C.** IV, 18.
Anti-Cato, the, of Caesar, C. II, 99.
Anticragus, a castle of Cilicia, Mi. 96.
Antigonus, satrap of Phrygia and Pamphylia, subjects Babylonia and Syria to himself, Sy. 53; takes Phoenicia and Coele-Syria from Ptolemy, *ib.*; after repelling Ptolemy, takes name of king, 54; killed in battle by Seleucus, 55; intends to kill Mithridates, Mi. 9; his son Demetrius, Sy. 54.
Antiochia, towns of that name, sixteen built by Seleucus Nicator, most renowned of which was under Mt. Lebanon, Sy. 57.
Antiochis, daughter of Antiochus the Great, married to Ariarathes, Sy. 5.
Antiochus, father of Seleucus Nicator, Sy. 57.
Antiochus Asiaticus, son of Antiochus Pius, recovers kingdom, but deprived of it by Pompey, Sy. 49, 70; Mi. 106; C. V, 10.
Antiochus of Commagene, vanquished by Pompey, Mi. 106, 117; received on friendly terms by him, 106; receives Seleucia with a part of Mesopotamia, 11; sends aid to Pompey, C. II, 49.
Antiochus Cyzicenus, Sy. 68; drives his brother, Antiochus Grypus, from the throne, 69; himself expelled by Seleucus, his brother's son, *ib.*
Antiochus Deus, son of Antiochus Soter, poisoned by his wife Laodice, Sy. 65; has two wives, Laodice and Berenice, *ib.*; his son Seleucus Callinicus, 66; his grandson Antiochus the Great, 1.
Antiochus Epiphanes, son of Antiochus the Great Sy. 45, 66; hostage at Rome, 39; conducted to his kingdom by Eumenes and Attalus, 45, 66; makes expeditions into Armenia and Egypt, *ib.*; his son Antiochus Eupator, 46, 66.

625

INDEX

- Antiochus Grypus**, son of Demetrius Nicator and brother of Cyzicenus, Sy. 68 *sq.*
- Antiochus the Great**, Ma. IV; XI, 4; son of Seleucus Callinicus, Sy. 1, 66; causes of war with the Romans, embassies, 2 *sq.*; receives Hannibal, 4, 7, 9, 22; beginning of the war, 15; moves into Thessaly, celebrates his marriage at Chalcis, 16; defeated at Thermopylae by Manius, 19; and in a naval battle at Myonnesus, 27; sends to Scipio the latter's son, whom he had captured, 29 *sq.*; defeated at Mt. Sipylus by Domitius, 30 *sq.*; peace and treaty with the Romans, 38 *sq.*; his sons, Seleucus, 3, 65; Antiochus, 4, 12; daughters, Laodice, 4; others, 5.
- Antiochus Pius**, son of Antiochus Cyzicenus, Sy. 48, 67; Mi. 105; C. V, 10; his son **Antiochus Asiaticus**, Sy. 70.
- Antiochus**, son of Demetrius Soter, brother of Demetrius Nicator, Sy. 68.
- Antiochus Soter**, son of Seleucus Nicator, Sy. 59; in love with his stepmother Stratonice and marries her, 59–61; succeeds his father, 65; succeeded by his son Antiochus Deus, *ib.*
- Antipater**, Sy. 52; Mi. 8; father of Cassander, 53, 62.
- Antipater**, C., lieutenant of Norbanus, C. I, 91.
- Antistius**, P., killed by order of Marius, C. I, 88.
- Antistius**, deserts from Sextus Pompeius to Antony, C. V, 139.
- Antium**, town of the Volsci in Latium, C. I, 69; a rich temple there, V, 24.
- Antius**, proscribed, flees to Sicily, C. IV, 40.
- Antonius**, C., consul, defeats Catiline, C. II, 7.
- Antonius**, C., brother of **Mark Antony**, C. III, 14; made governor of Illyricum by Caesar, C. II, 41; vanquished by Pompey's lieutenant, Octavius, 47; city praetor, III, 14, 23; contends with Brutus for possession of Macedonia, 79; IV, 75; killed by Brutus, III, 79.
- Antonius**, Lucius, brother of **Mark Antony**, consul, C. V, 14; stirs up strife against Octavian, 19 *sq.*; withdraws to Praeneste, 21; makes preparations for war with Octavian, 24; Italians side with him, 27; begins war, promises liberty to the Romans and is saluted as *Imperator* by the people, 30 *sq.*; he is besieged by Octavian in Perusia, 32 *sq.*; pressed by hunger, 34 *sq.*; endeavours to break out, 36 *sq.*; sues for peace, 40; goes to Octavian in person, 41 *sq.*; received and pardoned, 48.
- Antonius**, M., consul, C. I, 32; great orator, put to death, 72 *sq.*
- Antonius Creticus**, father of the triumvir, Si. VI.
- Antonius**, Marcus, son of the preceding, accompanies Gabinius to Alexandria, C. V, 8; as tribune favours Caesar, C. II, 33; put in charge of Italy by Caesar, 41; master of horse for Caesar, 92, 107; consul with Caesar, 109; is detained when Caesar is killed, 117; desires to avenge Caesar, 118, 124 *sq.*; delivers the funeral oration, 143 *sq.*; conciliates Senate by putting Amatius to death, III, 2 *sq.*; recruits a bodyguard by permission of Senate, 45; makes many friends by means of Caesar's memoranda, *ib.*; obtains the province of Macedonia in place of Brutus, 8; cold reception of young Octavian, 14 *sq.*; disputes Octavian's claim to Caesar's property, 22; desiring to obtain the army in Macedonia, proposes a law to abolish office of dictator, 24 *sq.*; after reconciliation with Octavian seeks province of Cisalpine Gaul, 30; new difficulty with Octavian, 31 *sq.*; he alienates army by parsimony

INDEX

and severity, 40 *sq.*; introduces a praetorian cohort into the city as body-guard, 45; marches against Decimus Brutus to compel him to resign province of Cisalpine Gaul, 46; besieges Decimus in Mutina, 49; at instance of Cicero is declared a public enemy, 50-63; battle with consul Pansa, 67, 69; wins a victory, but is in turn defeated by Hirtius, 70; abandons Mutina and flees to the Alps, 73; Octavian through friends offers him terms, 80, 96; crosses the Alps and is received by Lepidus, who joins him, 83 *sq.*; reconciliation with the Senate, 96; proposes alliance with Octavian, *ib.*; Asinius Pollio and Plancus join him, also veteran legions of Decimus Brutus, 97; pursues Decimus, *ib.*; forms triumvirate with Octavian and Lepidus, IV, 2; with his colleagues issues decree of proscription, 7 *sq.*; with Octavian sends forces into Macedonia, 82, 86; pitches his camp opposite Brutus and Cassius at Philippi, 107 *sq.*; defeats Cassius at the first battle of Philippi, 110 *sq.*; defeats Brutus at the second battle, 128 *sq.*; advances to Asia to collect money, V, 3; addresses people at Ephesus, 4 *sq.*; confirms Sisinna on the throne of Cappadocia, 7; falls in love with Cleopatra, 1, 8; commits many cruelties to please her, 9; makes war unsuccessfully against the Palmyreans, *ib.*; goes to Alexandria to join Cleopatra, 10 *sq.*; Manius takes charge of his affairs at Rome, and with his wife, and his brother, stirs up strife against Octavian, 14 *sq.*; proceeding from Alexandria, meets Fulvia at Athens and receives his mother from Sextus Pompeius, 52; forming an alliance with Domitius Ahenobarbus, besieges Brundusium, 56; urges Sextus Pompeius to invade Italy, *ib.*; reconciled to Octavian

by the intervention of Cocceius, 60-63; on the death of Fulvia marries Octavia, 64, 66; makes new division of provinces with Octavian, 65; sends Ventidius against the Parthians, *ib.*; rescues Octavian at Rome, 68; concludes peace with Sextus Pompeius on the mole at Puteoli, 69, 73; acts, past and future, ratified, 75; disposes of many thrones in the East, *ib.*; intending to march against the Parthians, he passes the winter at Athens, with Octavia, 75; is invited by Octavian to come from Athens and meet him at Brundusium, 78; gives Octavian 120 ships to be used against Sextus Pompeius, 93, 95; after extension of power for five years he hastens to Syria for his Parthian expedition, 95; returns from Parthia to Alexandria, 132; Sextus Pompeius sends legates to treat with him, *ib.*, *sq.*; makes new expedition to Armenia, 145; vanquished at Actium, IV, 49.

Antyllus killed by the partisans of Gracchus, C. I, 25.

Apama, wife of Seleucus Nicator, Sy. 57.

Apama, daughter of Alexander of Megalopolis and wife of Amyntander, Sy. 13.

Apamea, town of Bithynia, Mi. 19, 77; of Phrygia, Sy. 36, 39; of Syria, 57.

Apennines, H. 8; C. I, 117.

Aphrodisias, of Caria, C. I, 97 *note.*

Apion, king of Cyrene, Mi. 121; C.

I, 111.

Apollo, Romans send him tenth part of the spoils of Veii, It. VIII, 1; Delium sacred to, Sy. 12; Eumenes sacrifices to, Ma. XI, 4; Aemilius Paulus, XIX; oracle of concerning the Alban lake, It. VIII, 1; promontory of, Pu. 34; Roman soldiers plunder statue and temple of, at Carthage, 127, 133; anger of, against the Autarienses and

INDEX

- Gauls**, Il. 4; colossal statue of, on Capitoline hill, 30; statue of A. Archegetes, C. V., 109.
- Apollonia**, city of Illyria, Sy. 17; C. II, 54, 64; III, 9; made a free city by Rome, Il. 8.
- Apollonia**, town of Mysia, Il. 30; of Asia, built by Seleucus Nicator, Sy. 57.
- Apollophanes**, prefect of fleet under Sextus Pompeius, C. V., 84, 105 *sq.*
- Apponius**, proscribed, C. IV, 26.
- Appian way**, C. I, 69.
- Appian of Alexandria** concerning himself, Pr. 15; lived under Trajan and Hadrian, 7; Sp. 38; Sy. 50; C. I, 38; II, 86, 90; Fr. II.
- Appius**, proscribed, escapes to Sicily, C. IV, 51.
- Appius**, lieutenant of Octavian, C. V, 98.
- Apsar**, friend of Jugurtha, Nu. IV.
- Apsarus**, river of Armenia, Mi. 101.
- Apsus**, river. *See Alor.*
- Apuleius**, robber, Sp. 68.
- Apuleius**, M., pro-praetor of Asia, delivers his forces to Brutus, C. III, 63; IV, 75; having been proscribed, obtains province of Bithynia from Brutus, IV, 46.
- Apuleius**, Quintus, tribune, C. III, 93; proscribed, IV, 40.
- Apuleius Saturninus**, fraudulently chosen tribune, C. I, 28; elected a third time, 32; killed in the Capitol, 29, 32.
- Apulians**, the, fall away from the Romans, H. 49; C. I, 39; conquered by Metellus, 53.
- Aquileia**, city of Gaul beyond the Po, Il. 18; C. III, 97.
- Aquilius**, M., corrupted by money gives Phrygia to Mithridates, Mi. 12, 57; tried for bribery but escapes punishment, C. I, 22; Senate declares acts void, Mi. 57.
- Aquilius**, son of preceding, re-establishes Nicomedes in Bithynia and Ariobarzanes in Cappadocia, Mi. 11; principal author of Mithridatic war, 17, 21; vanquished, 19; captured by Mithridates and killed, 21, 112.
- Aquilius Crassus**, C. III, 93; proscribed, 94.
- Aquinus, Marcus**, a conspirator against Caesar, C. II, 119.
- Aquitanians**, overcome by Agrippa, C. V, 92.
- Arabio**, son of Masinissa, aids Sextius, C. IV, 54-66, 83.
- Arabs**, riding on camels, Sy. 32; infest Syria, 51; subdued by Seleucus, 55; of Nabataea, Mi. 106; conquered by Pompey, 114; among the allies of Pompey, C. II, 71; mounted bowmen, IV, 88; part of Arabia in the Roman empire, Pr. 9; Arabs in Egypt, Fr. II.
- Arachotae**, people of India, subdued by Seleucus, Sy. 55.
- Aradians**, in Phoenician island, C. IV, 61; V, 9.
- Araxes**, river separating Armenia from Media, Mi. 103.
- Arcadians**, Thebans send aid to, Sy. 41.
- Archathias**, son of Mithridates, Mi. 17; overcomes Nicomedes, 18; subdues Macedonia, 35, 41.
- Archegetes**, statue of Apollo, C. V, 109.
- Archelaus**, general of Mithridates, Mi. 17; overcomes Nicomedes, 18; sent against Greece, 27; brings many of her peoples over to Mithridates, 28 *sq.*; besieged by Sulla in the Piraeus, 30-37; defeated by Sulla at Chaeronea, 42-45; again at Orchomenus, 49; deserts to the Romans, 64; his brother Neoptolemus, 17; his son Diogenes, 49.
- Archelaus**, priest of the goddess of Comana, Mi. 114; deposed by Caesar, 121.
- Archelaus of Rhodes**, tutor of Cassius, sent as ambassador to him, C. IV, 67 *sq.*
- Ardea**, town of Latium, It. VIII, 2; C. II, 50.
- Ardiae**, Illyrian tribe, Il. 3, 10.
- Areacidae**, Numidian people, Pu. 33.

INDEX

- Aretas, king of Nabataean Arabs, conquered by Pompey, Mi. 106, 117.
- Aretusa, town built by Seleucus Nicator on the river Orontes, Sy. 57.
- Arevaci, Spanish tribe, Sp. 45 *sq.*
- Arganthonius, king of Tartessus, Sp. 2, 63.
- Argeadae, the Macedonian, Sy. 63.
- Argonauts, Sy. 63; Mi. 101, 103.
- Argos, several towns of that name, Sy. 63.
- Argyraspides, in the army of Antiochus, Sy. 32.
- Ariarathes, after the expulsion of Ariobarzanes by Mithridates, is seated on the throne of Cappadocia, but is expelled again by the Romans, Mi. 10 *sq.*
- Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, ally of the Romans, Ma. XI, 4; marries Antiochis, daughter of Antiochus the Great, Sy. 5; sends aid to Antiochus, 32, 42.
- Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, furnishes aid to Pompey, C. II, 71; contends with Sisinna for the kingdom, but is rejected by Antony, C. V, 7.
- Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, ordered by the Romans to share the throne with his brother Olophernes, Sy. 47.
- Ariarathes, prefect of Cappadocia, crucified, Mi. 8.
- Ariarathes, the son of Mithridates, occupies kingdom of Cappadocia, Mi. 15.
- Aricia, a city of Latium, captured by Marius, C. I, 69.
- Aridaeus, brother of Alexander the Great, Sy. 52.
- Ariminum, town on the Rubicon, H. 12; C. I, 87, 90; V, 33; occupied by Cinna, C. I, 67; by Caesar, II, 35; by Antony, III, 44 *sq.*; promised as a prize to the soldiers by triumvirs, IV, 3.
- Ariobarzanes, king of Cappadocia, often expelled from his kingdom and restored by the Romans, Sy. 48; Mi. 10 *sq.*, 15, 57, 60, 64, 105, 114; Mithridates betroths to him his daughter, four years old, 66; transfers kingdom to his son, while still living, 105; C. I, 103.
- Ariobarzanes, king of Cappadocia, put to death by Cassius, C. IV, 63.
- Ariovistus, king of the Germans, G. I, 3; XVI, XVIII.
- Aristandus, a soothsayer, Sy. 64.
- Aristarchus, made prince of the Colchians by Pompey, Mi. 114.
- Aristides, accused of theft, Sy. 41.
- Ariston, the Epicurean, tyrant of Athens, Mi. 28 *sq.*; besieged by Sulla, 30–38; killed, 39.
- Aristo, Tyrian, sent by Hannibal to incite Carthaginians to war, Sy. 8.
- Aristobulus, king of the Jews, Sy. 50; Jews fall away from him, Mi. 106; after being led in triumph by Pompey, is put to death, 117.
- Aristonicus, contends with the Romans for dominion of Asia, Mi. 12; C. I, 17.
- Armenians, subdued by Seleucus, Sy. 55; Greater and Lesser Armenia, Pr. 2; Mi. 90, 105.
- Armenians, conquered by Pompey, Mi. 114, 116; in the army of Pompey, C. II, 49.
- Arpi, town of Daunia, built by Diomedes, H. 31.
- Arretium, town of Etruria, C. I, 91; III, 42.
- Arrianus, proscribed, saved by his son, C. IV, 41.
- Arsa, town of Spain, Sp. 70.
- Arsaces, king of Parthians, ally of Mithridates, Mi. 15.
- Arsinoe, sister of Cleopatra, put to death by Antony, C. V, 9.
- Artaphernes, son of Mithridates, Mi. 108; led in triumph by Pompey, 117.
- Artaxata, royal seat of Tigranes, Mi. 104.
- Artaxias, king of Armenia, Sy. 45, 66.
- Artemidorus, Caesar's host, C. II, 116.
- Artemisium, town of Sicily, C. V 116.

INDEX

- Arthetaurus**, Illyrian prince, Ma. XI, 2.
Artoces, king of the Iberians of Asia, Mi. 103, 117.
Aruntius, proscribed, restored, C. IV, 46.
Arupini, bravest of the Iapydes, II. 16.
Asander, overcomes Pharnaces, Mi. 120.
Asasis, Masinissa's prefect of horse, deserts to the Carthaginians, Pu. 70.
Ascanius, K. I, 1; Fr. I, 2.
Asclepiodotus, conspires against Mithridates, Mi. 48.
Asculum, town of Apulia, C. I, 52; of Picenum, 38, 47, 48.
Asellio, praetor, slain, C. I, 54.
Asia, separated from Egypt by sands, Mi. 121; lower Asia a great peninsula, Pr. 2; C. II, 89; Maritime Asia, Sy. 3, 15; upper Asia, 12, 15; Asia this side of Mt. Taurus, 29, 38; Pergamean Asia, Mi. 11, 118.
Asia proper, Roman province, Mi. 20, 112; C. III, 2; V, 137; Sulla imposes heavy tax on, Mi. 62; Lucullus, 83; Cassius, C. IV, 74; Antony, V, 5 *sq.*
Asinius Pollio, occupies Sicily in Caesar's name, C. II, 40; fights unsuccessfully in Africa, 45 *sq.* (in II 45 an error for Marcius Rufus); in battle of Pharsalus, 82, writes history of civil war, *ib.*; sent by Caesar against Sextus Pompeius, C. IV, 84; has command in Spain, III, 46; ordered to make war against Antony, 74; joins Antony, 97; consul, IV, 12, 27; deeds in war between Octavian and Lucius Antonius, V, 20, 23; reconciles Domitius Ahenobarbus to Antony, 50; arbiter of peace between Octavian and Antony, 64.
Asprenas, tribune, C. III, 7.
Assyrians, Pr. 9; Pu. 87.
Astacus, town of Bithynia, Sy. 57.
Astapa, town of Baetica in Spain, Sp. 33.
Astronomy, C. II, 154.
- Asyla**, gold mines near Philippi, C. IV, 106.
Atabyrius, mountain of Rhodes, Mi. 26.
Ateius, lieutenant of Antony, C. V, 33, 50.
Atella, town of Campania, H. 48.
Aterius, proscript, C. IV, 29.
Athamanes, tribe in Epirus, Ma. III, 1; allies of Antiochus, Sy. 13; driven out of Thessaly by the Romans, 17; subjugated by Philip, *ib.*
Athenians, lose their empire soon after they had extended it beyond the Ionian sea, Pr. 8; Pu. 87; send colony to Amisus, Mi. 8; friendly to Mithridates, 28; their tyrant Aristion, 28, 38; Sulla deprives of right of suffrage, 38; send military aid to Pompey, C. II, 70; priests of the Thespomphori they are considered inviolable, *ib.*; obtain pardon from Caesar, 88; Antony bestows certain islands upon them, V, 7.
Athens, besieged by Philip, Ma. IV; by Sulla, Mi. 30–38; Antony winters there with Octavia, C. V, 76.
Atilius, consul during Hannibalic war, H. 16.
Atilius, proscribed, C. IV, 30.
Atilius, P., lieutenant of Pompey in war against the pirates, Mi. 95.
Atilius Regulus, taken prisoner by the Carthaginians, Fu. 3; sent to Rome, goes back to torture, 4; Si. II.
Atilius Serranus, slain by Marian faction, C. I, 72.
Atilius, wages war with Boli, H. 5.
Atintani, people of Illyria, II. 7, 8.
Atlas, mountain of Mauritania, Nu. V.
Atrapos, mountain pass at Thermopylae, Sy. 18.
Attalus, brother of Eumenes, Sy. 5, 36, 45; king of Pergamus, Mi. 3; war with Prusias, *ib.*; with his help Nicomedes invades the kingdom of his father Prusias, 6 *sq.*

INDEX

- Attalus, father of Eumenes, Sy. 38; kingdom ravaged by Philip, Ma. IV.
 Attalus, made king of Paphlagonia by Pompey, Mi. 114.
 Attalus Philometor, leaves kingdom of Pergamus to the Romans in his will, Mi. 62; C. V. 4.
 Attidius, Roman senator, exile in camp of Mithridates, Mi. 90.
 Attius, chief of Volsci, It. V, 5.
 Attius Varus, lieutenant of Pompey in Africa, C. II, 44, 87; slain, 105.
 Aufidus, river of Apulia, H. 16.
 Augustus, name bestowed upon Octavian, C. I, 5.
 Aulonia, town of Bruttium, H. 49.
 Aurelia Orestilla, wife of Catiline, C. II, 2.
 Ausonius, C. V, 56, 57, 59.
 Autarienses, people of Illyria, II. 3, 4.
 Autaricus, father of Pannonius, II. 2.
 Autolycus, companion of Hercules in his expedition against the Amazons, Mi. 83.
 Autronius Paetus, a consul, II. 28.
 Avarus, ambassador of the Numantines to Scipio, Sp. 95.
 Aventine mount, C. I, 26.
 Axinum, a town of Spain, Sp. 47.
- B**
- Babylon, Sy. 45, 65; C. II, 153; Babylonia, Sy. 53; Babylonians, Sy. 1.
 Bacchus, eunuch, Mi. 82.
 Bacchus, hill of, C. IV, 106.
 Bactrians, Sy. 55.
 Baebius, C., C. I, 48.
 Baebius, M., slain by Marian faction, C. I, 72.
 Baebius, prefect of Macedonia, Sy. 16.
 Baebius, slain by the Illyrians, II. 13.
 Baecor, castle in Spain, Sp. 65.
 Baetica, Sp. 24, 68.
 Baetis, river in Spain, Sp. 71, 72.
 Bagoas and Mithraas expel Ario-
- barzanes from Cappadocia, Mi. 10.
 Bagrada, river in Africa, C. II, 45.
 Baiae in Campania, C. V, 69.
 Balarus, harbour, C. IV, 85; V, 112.
 Balbinus, proscribed, afterward consul, C. IV, 50.
 Balbus, C. Octavius, proscribed, perishes with his son, C. IV, 21.
 Balearic, islands, Pr. 5; slingers, Pu. 40.
 Banno Tigillias, Pu. 82, 83 *sq.*
 Barathrum Magnum, plain in Africa, Pu. 109.
 Barba, lieutenant of Lucullus, Mi. 77.
 Barbatius, M. Philippus, quaestor of Antony, C. V, 31.
 Basilica, of Paulus, C. II, 26.
 Basillus, military tribune, Mi. 50 *sq.*
 Bastarnae, tribe of European Sarmatia, Ma. XI, 1; Mi. 15, 69, 71; II. 4, 22.
 Bastitani, Spanish tribe, Sp. 66.
 Bathiatae, Illyrian tribe, II. 16.
 Bebrycia, Bithynia, Mi. 1.
 Beliae, G. I, 4.
 Belgida, town of Spain, whose people burned their senate in the senate-house, Sp. 100.
 Belli, people of Spain, Sp. 44, 50, 63, 66.
 Beneventum, town of the Hirpini faithful to Rome, H. 36, 37; promised as prize to the soldiers, C. IV, 3.
 Berenice, daughter of Ptolemy Philadelphus, wife of Antiochus Deus, Sy. 65.
 Berroea, town of Macedonia, from which another was named in Syria, Sy. 57.
 Besi, people of Thrace or Illyria, II. 16.
 Bestia, Calpurnius, goes into exile, C. I, 37.
 Bestia, L., companion of Catiline, C. II, 3.
 Bibulus, L. Calpurnius, proscribed, flees to Brutus, after Philippi passes over to Antony, by whom

INDEX

- made governor of Syria, C. IV, 38, 104, 136; V, 132; Sy. 51.
Bibulus, M., consul with Caesar (Appian wrongly gives *Lucius*), C II, 9-12; successor of Crassus in Syria, Sy. 51; prefect of fleet to Pompey, C. II, 49.
Blesius, prefect of horse, Sp. 47.
Bithya, prefect of Numidian horse, Pu. 111, 114, 120.
Bithyas, river in Thracian Bithynia, Mi. 1.
Bithynia, origin of name, Mi. 1; kings, 2; left to the Romans by Nicomedes in his will, C. I, 111; occupied by Mithridates, added to the Roman sway, 118; annual praetor of B. and Pontus, 121; praetors of: Tillius Cimber, C. III, 2; M. Brutus, 8; Marcius Crispus, 77; V, 58; Apuleius, 46; Domitius Ahenobarbus, V, 63.
Bithynicus, A. Pompeius, praetor of Sicily, yields island to Sextus Pompeius, C. IV, 84; put to death by him, V, 70.
Bituitus, a Gaul, kills Mithridates at his own request, Mi. 111.
Bituitus, king of the Allobroges, G. XII, 2.
Blastophoenicians, Spanish tribe near the straits of Hercules, Sp. 56.
Blatius, of Salapia, H. 45 *sq.*
Blitor, prefect of Mesopotamia, Sy. 58.
Bocchus, king of Mauritania, betrays Jugurtha to Marius, Nu. IV; V.
Bocchus, king of Mauritania, occupies Cirta, C. II, 96; driven out by Arابio, IV, 54; makes war against Carinas in Spain, V, 26.
Boetia, sides with Mithridates, Mi. 29; goes over to the Romans, 30; plundered by Sulla, 51; aids to Pompey, C. II, 70.
Boëtharch, of Carthage, Pu. 68, 70.
Boii, most savage of the Gauls, are overcome by Sulpicius, G. I, 1; war against on the Po, H. 5, 8; II, 8.
Bomilcar, flees from Rome, Nu. I.
Bononia, Italian city, C. III, 69.
- Bosporus, subdued by Mithridates, Mi. 64, 67; its king Machares, son of Mithridates, 67; Pharnaces, 113; C. II, 92; Mithridates of Pergamus, Mi. 121; condition in the time of Appian, *ib.*
Bosporus, Thracian, Mi. 119.
Bostar, Carthaginian, H. 43.
Bovianum, Samnite colony, C. I, 51.
Bovillae, town of Latium, C. II, 21.
Bracari, people of Lusitania, Sp. 72.
Brahmins, C. II, 154.
Brennus, king of the Gauls, G. III.
Bribery, law of Pompey to punish, C. II, 23 *sq.*
Briges, people who held region around Dyrrachium, C. II, 39.
Britain, Pr. 5; Sp. 1; Caesar crosses ocean to, G. I, 5; C. II, 150.
Britonaris, Gaul, Sa. VI, 1; G. XI.
Britoires, author of defection of the Aedui, G. XXI.
Brundusium, made free from customs duties by Sulla, C. I, 79; besieged by Caesar, II, 40; blockaded by Domitius Ahenobarbus, V, 26, 61; besieged by Antony, 56 *sq.*
Bruttians, allies of Hannibal, H. 44, 49, 54; treated with severity by him, 54, 57; deprived of land and fined by the Romans, 61; territory seized by Hirtius, C. IV, 43; coast infested by Sextus Pompeius, V, 19.
Bruttius, praetor of Macedonia, Mi. 29.
Brutus, who expelled the kings, C. II, 112, 119, 120.
Brutus, Decimus Albinus, one of Caesar's intimates, C. II, 111; his prefect of horse, and of old and new Gaul, III, 98; II, 48, 111; designated consul with province of Cisalpine Gaul, III, 98; heir in second degree under Caesar's will, II, 143; conspires

INDEX

- against Caesar, 111, 113; occupies Cisalpine Gaul, III, 2; besieged in Mutina by Antony, III, 49 *sq.*; appointed commander against Antony, 74; writes to Senate that he will pursue Antony, 81; deserted by army, 97; captured and killed, 98.
- Brutus, Junius**, father of **Marcus Brutus**, with Marius declared public enemy, C. I, 60; put to death, II, 111.
- Brutus, L. Junius Damasippus**, city praetor, C. I, 88, 92.
- Brutus, Marcus Caerio**, formerly of Pompey's party, after Pharsalus joins Caesar, and is made governor of Cisalpine Gaul, C. II, 111; city praetor and designated pro-praetor of Macedonia, II, 112; III, 2; IV, 37; conspires against Caesar, II, 111 *sq.*; I, 4; thought to have been Caesar's son, II, 112; put in charge of the corn supply, III, 6; IV, 57; Antony causes province of Bithynia to be decreed to him in place of Macedonia, III, 8; IV, 57; Senate again invests him with the command of Macedonia and Illyria, III, 63; IV, 58, 75; II, 13; contends against Gaius Antonius for possession of Macedonia, III, 79; IV, 75; condemned; fights against the Lycians and captures Xanthus, IV, 65, 76–82; in first battle of Philippi captures camp of Octavian, 110; weeps over body of Cassius, 114; defeated by Antony, 128; killed at his own request by Strato, 131; spectre appears to him before Philippi, 134; Antony sends his ashes to his mother Servilia, 135; orations, II, 122, 137 *sq.*; IV, 117 *sq.*, 125; wife Porcia, IV, 136.
- Brutus, S. Junius**, overcomes robbers and various tribes in Spain, Sp. 71, 73.
- Bucolianus**, conspires against Caesar, C. II, 113, 117.
- Byrsa**, citadel of Carthage, how it acquired its name, Pu. 1; very strongly fortified, 95; captured by Scipio, 127–130.
- Byzantium**, Mi. 1, 17; Perseus sends aid to, Ma. XI, 1, 7; Antiochus bestows many favours upon, Sy. 6.

C

- Cabira**, town of Pontus, Mi. 78, 79.
- Caecilius**, brother of Bucolianus, conspires against Caesar, C. II, 113.
- Caecilius Bassus**, conspires with the legion in Syria against Sextus Julius, C. III, 77; IV, 58 *sq.*; gives himself up to Cassius, III, 78; IV, 59.
- Caecilius Metellus**, consul, conquers the Segestani, II, 10; has triumph over the Dalmatians without cause, 11.
- Caecilius Metellus, Q.**, severe to his soldiers and cruel to deserters, Nu. II; as censor removes Glaucia and Saturninus from the Senate, C. I, 28; refuses to swear to obey agrarian law and driven into exile by Marius, 30 *sq.*; recalled, 33.
- Caecilius Metellus Pius**, son of preceding, C. I, 33; as praetor, with proconsular power, finishes the Social War, C. I, 53, 68, 80; joins Sulla, 80 *sq.*, 85; overcomes Carbo, 87 *sq.*, 91; commander against Sertorius, 97, 108–115; Sp. 101; consul with Sulla, C. I, 103.
- Caelius**, tribune and friend of Milo, C. II, 22.
- Caesar, Gaius Julius**, while aedile and praetor is overwhelmed with debt, C. II, 1, 8–13; suspected of being privy to the conspiracy of Catiline, 6; allies himself with Pompey and Crassus, 9; consul, 10–14; proconsul of Gaul and Illyria, 13, 15, 17, 32, 150; G. I, 2–5; XV, XXI; II. 12, 15, 29; his bribery fund, C. II, 26; command taken from him by the Senate, 30 *sq.*; occupies Ariminum and

INDEX

- invades Italy, 35, 38, 40 *sq.*; marches to Spain against Pompey's lieutenants, 42 *sq.*; created dictator at Rome, designates himself consul, 48; marches against Pompey at Dyrrachium, 55 *sq.*; battle of Pharsalus, 64-82; proceeds to Alexandria, 88-90; marches against Pharnaces, 91; thence to Rome to quell sedition, 92 *sq.*; thence to Africa against L. Scipio, Cato, and Juba, 95-100; his triumphs, 101 *sq.*; marches to Spain against the son of Pompey, 103-105; honours heaped upon him at Rome, 106 *sq.*; contemplates war against the Getae and the Parthians, 110; conspiracy against him, 111 *sq.*; killed in Pompey's theatre, 117; his will, 143; funeral, 143 *sq.*; deified after death, I, 4; II, 148; compared with Alexander the Great, 149-154; adultery of his wife with Clodius, 14; marries Calpurnia, 14, 115; gives his daughter to Pompey, 14; believed by some to have been the father of M. Brutus, 112; is subject to epileptic fits, 110; his orations, 10, 43, 47, 53, 55, 73; writings, diary, G. XVIII; letters, C. II. 79; Anti-Cato, 99; memoranda, III, 5.
- Caesar, Lucius, uncle of Antony, C. II, 143; proscribed, IV, 12; saved by his sister, 37.
- Caesar, Sextus (really Lucius) Julius, consul in the Social War, C. I, 40, 41, 42, 45; killed while besieging Asculum, 48.
- Caesaras, Lusitanian chief, Sp. 56.
- Caesennius, C., Philo, proscribed, C. IV, 27.
- Caesetius, tribune, C. II, 108, 122; IV, 93.
- Caleta, town on sea-coast, where Cicero was killed, C. IV, 19.
- Calaguris, of Spain, C. I, 112.
- Calatia, colony of Caesar, C. III, 40.
- Calatis, town of Moesia, II. 30.
- Caleni, in Campania, intercede for Sittius, C. IV, 47.
- Calidius, messenger from the Senate to Murena, Mi. 65.
- Callias, freedman of Antony, C. V, 93.
- Callidromus, mountain at Thermopylae, Sy. 17.
- Calliope, town of Parthia, Sy. 57.
- Callipolis, town of Aetolia, Sy. 21; a town of Syria, 57.
- Calor, river near Beneventum, H. 36.
- Calpurnia, wife of Caesar, C. II, 14, 116; her dream, 115.
- Calpurnius Piso, praetor in Spain put to flight by the Lusitanians, Sp. 56; as consul wages war unsuccessfully in Africa, Pu. 109, 113.
- Calpurnius Piso, L., Caesar's father-in-law, C. II, 14, 135 *sq.*; brings Caesar's body into the forum, 143; defends Antony against Cicero, III, 50, 54.
- Calvisius, C. Sabinus, prefect of the fleet for Octavian, C. V, 80; fights with Menecrates, 81 *sq.*; deposed from command, 96 (in C. II, 60, in error for Longinus or Calvinus).
- Calycadnus, promontory of Cilicia, Sy. 39.
- Camels, Arab bowmen ride on, Sy. 32.
- Cameria, town of Italy, C. V, 50.
- Camillus, It. VIII, 1; exiled, 2; dictator, *ib.*; G. V; vanquishes the Gauls, G. I, 1; H. 8; C. II, 50.
- Camillus, son of preceding, G. I, 2.
- Camillus, Gallic chief, puts Decimus Brutus to death, C. III, 98.
- Campania, H. 36; C. III, 40; devastated by Hannibal, H. 49; fertile territory of, 43.
- Campus Martius, C. I, 89; II, 92; III, 94; V, 16; kings buried in, I, 106; also Sulla, *ib.*
- Cannae, battle of, H. 19 *sq.*
- Cannutius, Tiberius, tribune, brings Octavian into the city, C. III, 41; is killed, V, 49.

INDEX

- Cantabrians, Spanish people, Sp. 80.
 Canuleius, Q., tribune of the people, C. I, 33.
 Canusium, town of Apulia, H. 24, 26; C. I, 84 (perhaps error for Casilinum); V, 57; rebels against the Romans, I, 42; besieged by Cosconius, 52.
 Capito, a proscript, slays those sent to kill him, C. IV, 25.
 Capitol, Pu. 66; C. I, 73; II, 148; III, 39; where the Senate was accustomed to deliberate on the subject of war, Pu. 75; comitia for choosing tribunes held there, C. I, 15; Tiberius Gracchus slain there, C. I, 2, 15 *sq.*; burned, I, 83, 86; occupied by Caesar's assassins, II, 120, 137.
 Cappadocia, tributary to Alexander the Great, Mi. 8; part of, called Seleucis, subject to Seleucus, Sy. 55; acquired by Mithridates Cötistes, Mi. 9; separated from Pontus, 9, 12; acquired by Mithridates Eupator, 12, 112; by Ariobarzanes, 60, 67, 105, 114; invaded by Tigranes, 67; Roman province, 105, 118; to which is added Lesser Armenia, 105; Cappadocians among the allies of Pompey, C. II, 49; Antony imposes tribute upon, V, 7; Ariarathes contends with Sisenna for kingdom of, *ib.*
 Capua, city of Campania, C. I, 56, 63, 64, 85, 116; II, 29, 37; III, 40; V, 24; besieged by the Romans, relieved by Hanno, H. 36; besieged a second time by Fulvius Flaccus and Appius Claudius, 37 *sq.*; surrenders to the Romans, 43; promised as prize to soldiers by the triumvirs, C. IV, 3.
 Capys, grandfather of Aeneas, K. I, 1.
 Capys Silvius, king of the Latins, K. I, 2.
 Caravis, town of Spain, Sp. 43.
 Carchedon, founder of Carthage, Pu. 1.
 Cardia, town of Chersonesus, C. IV, 88.
 Caria, Sy. 52; given by the Romans to the Rhodians, but soon taken back, 44; added to the Roman sway, Mi. 118.
 Carinas, lieutenant of Carbo, vanquished by Metellus, C. I, 87; besieged by Pompey and Crassus, 90; vanquished by Sulla and killed, 92.
 Carinas, sent by Caesar against Sextus Pompeius in Spain, C. IV, 83; V, 26; while governing Spain for Octavian is attacked by Bocchus, V, 26, 54; commands three legions in war in Sicily against Sextus Pompeius, V, 112.
 Carisius, T., lieutenant of Octavian, C. V, 111.
 Carmona, town of Spain, Sp. 25, 27, 58.
 Carni, Illyrian tribe, II. 16.
 Carpessus, town of Spain, Sp. 2, 63; its inhabitants, 51, 64, 70, 83.
 Carsuleius (perh. Carpulenus), lieutenant of Caesar, C. III, 66.
 Carthage, founded, Pu. 1; stands seven hundred years, 2, 132; inhabitants ordered to yield city to the Romans, 81; site of, 95; harbour, 96; suburb Megara, 117; destroyed by Scipio, 136; C. I, 24; G. Gracchus proposes to found colony on former site, Pu. 136; C. I, 24; Caesar leaves memorandum of his intention to do so, Pu. 136; carried into effect by Augustus, *ib.*
 Carthaginians, Tyrian colony, Pu. 1, 89; their sway in Africa, 2; expeditions into Sicily, Sa. XI, 2; XII, 1; Pu. 2; into Sardinia, 2; into Spain, 2, 6; Sp. 3; war with African and Gallic mercenaries, Si. II, 3; Sp. 4; Pu. 5; first war with the Romans, Si. II, 2; Pu. 3 *sq.*; Sp. 3; second war with the Romans, Sp. 4; Pu. 6-66; third, 74 *sq.*; violators of treaties, Sp. 4; Pu. 6, 64; divided in factions among themselves, 70; deliver all their arms to the Romans, 80; make new

INDEX

- ones, 93; send aid to the Romans against three kings, 83; Sy. 22; defend city bravely, Pu. 98.
- Carthago Spartagena, or New Carthage, in Spain, Sp. 12, 19, 75; taken by Scipio, 20 *sq.*
- Carthalo, auxiliary commander of Carthage, Pu. 68, 74.
- Carthalo, prefect of Tarentum, H. 49.
- Casilinum, colony in Campania, C. III, 40, and see *Canusium*.
- Casium (or Cassium), in Egypt, C. II, 84, 89.
- Caspian sea, Mi. 103.
- Cassandra, son of Antipater, king of Macedonia, Sy. 53.
- Cassius, Roman writer [L. Cassius Hemina], G. VI.
- Cassius, Gaius Longinus, trained in Greek by Archelaus at Rhodes, C. IV, 65, 67; quaestor of Crassus, 59; after Pharsalus delivers himself, and fleet to Caesar, C. II, 88 (Appian is in error), 111; city praetor, II, 112; III, 2; designated propraetor of Syria, *ib.*; IV, 57 *sq.*; II, 13; conspires against Caesar, C. I, 4; IV, 91, 132; put in charge of corn supply, III, 6; IV, 57; provinces of Cyrene and Crete decreed to him in place of Syria, III, 7 *sq.*; IV, 57; Syria again voted to him by Senate with full power, III, 63; gains possession of twelve legions, IV, 59; wages war against Dolabella, III, 63, 78; IV, 60–62; tried and condemned under presidency of Octavian, III, 95; IV, 27; kills Ariobarzanes, IV, 63; captures Laodicea, 62; fines inhabitants of Tarsus, 64; makes war upon the Rhodians, 65–73; leads his forces into Thrace and Macedonia, 87 *sq.*; speech to the soldiers, 90 *sq.*; vanquished by Antony at Philippi and commits suicide, 111–113; character, 114, 123, 132 *sq.*
- Cassius, L., proconsul of Asia, Mi. 11, 17, 24; captured by Mithridates, 112.
- Cassius, L., ally of Catiline, C. II, 4.
- Cassius, L., nephew of Gaius, C. IV, 135; another left in Syria, 63.
- Cassius, Lucius, brother of Gaius, seeks pardon from Antony, C. V, 7.
- Cassius, Q., tribune and friend of Caesar, C. II, 33; appointed prefect of Spain by Caesar, 43.
- Cassius of Parma, C. V, 2, 139.
- Castabala, town of Cilicia, Mi. 105.
- Castax, town of Spain, Sp. 32.
- Castor, the Argonaut, Mi. 103.
- Castor, of Phanagoria, Mi. 108, 114.
- Castor and Pollux, temple of, C. I, 25, 54; III, 41.
- Castulo, city of Spain, Sp. 16.
- Catiline, C. II, 2–7.
- Cato, Porcius, consul, killed in Social War, C. I, 50.
- Cato, the, book of Cicero, C. II, 99.
- Cato Major, called Demosthenes on account of his eloquence, Sp. 39; proconsul in Spain, 39–41; orders Celiberians to demolish walls of their towns, 41; sent as legate to Africa, expresses opinion that Carthage should be destroyed, Pu. 69; Witticism concerning legation to Attalus, Mi. 6; lieutenant of Manius in war against Antiochus, Sy. 18; dislodges the Aetolians from Callidromus, 19.
- Cato Minor, casts suspicion on Caesar as privy to Catiline's conspiracy, C. II, 6; salutes Cicero as Father of his Country, 7; denounces Caesar, 11; refuses to swear support to Caesar's laws, 12; holds that Caesar should be delivered up to the barbarians, G. XVIII; sent to Cyprus (Appian is in error), C. II, 23; yields Sicily to Caesar and goes to join Pompey, 40; refuses command offered in Africa, 87; has charge of Utica, 95 *sq.*; commits suicide, 99; lends his wife Marcia to Hortensius, *ib.*; his sister Servilia, 112.

INDEX

- Cato, son of preceding, C. II, 100; at Philippi, IV, 135; his sister Porcia wife of Brutus, 136.
- Cauca, town of the Celtiberians, Sp. 51, 52, 89.
- Caucenus, leader of the Lusitanians, Sp. 57.
- Caucasus, mount, Pr. 4, 9; Mi. 103.
- Caudium, in Samnium, Sa. IV, 3.
- Caunii, inhabitants of Caunus in Caria, Mi. 23; the Caunic wind, 26.
- Cea, one of the Cyclades islands, C. V, 7.
- Celtiberians, Sp. 1, 2, 54, etc.; Celtiberian war of the Romans, 43 *sq.*, 100; Pu. 68, 71; treaty of Gracchus with, 43 *sq.*; revolt from the Romans, Sp. 100; Celtiberian mercenaries employed against Hannibal, H. 30; enlisted by Hannibal in Spain, H. 4; take part in battle of Cannae, 20, 22; in army of Hasdrubal, 52; Sp. 24; in army of Mago, 31.
- Celts, named from Celts, Il. 2; Cimbri reckoned among the Celts, 4; C. I, 29; also Teutones, G. I, 2; called Gauls by the Romans and Galatians by the Greeks, Sp. 1; H. 4.
- Censors by Caesar's direction fix price at which goods shall be taken for debts, C. II, 48.
- Census, taken by Caesar, C. II, 102.
- Centenius, slaughter of his army by Hannibal at the Plestine marsh, H. 11, 17.
- Cephalenia, island of the Ionian sea, C. V, 25.
- Ceraunian Mountains, in Epirus, C. II, 54.
- Ceraunus, son of Ptolemy Soter, a fugitive, received by Seleucus, murders his benefactor, Sy. 62 *sq.*
- Ceres, temple of, struck by lightning, C. I, 78.
- Cestius, proscribed, C. IV, 26.
- Cethagus, P., with Marius declared public enemy, C. I, 60, 63; turns to Sulla as a suppliant, 80.
- Cethagus, fellow-conspirator with Catiline, C. II, 2, 8, 5 *sq.*, 15.
- Chæronea, city of Boeotia, Mi. 29; where Sulla overthrew Archelaus, 42–45.
- Chalcedon, city of Bithynia, Mi. 52, 71.
- Chalcis, city of Euboea, Sy. 20, 29; Mi. 31, 34, 42, 45, 51; one of the fetters of Greece, Ma. VIII.
- Chalcis, citizens of, aid Antiochus against the Romans, Sy. 21; are driven from sea-coast of Thrace by Philip, C. IV, 102.
- Chalcis, town of Syria, Sy. 57.
- Chaldaean soothsayers, C. II, 153.
- Chalybes, allies of Mithridates, Mi. 69.
- Chaonia, part of Epirus, Il. 1.
- Charis, town of Parthia, Sy. 57.
- Chersonesus, Pontic, town of the Cimmerian Bosporus, Mi. 102, 108.
- Chersonesus, Thracian, C. IV, 88; Sy. 1, 6, 21; occupied by the Scipios when abandoned by Antiochus, 58 *sq.*; seized by Mithridates, Mi. 13.
- Chios, ambassadors of, Ma. III, 1; allies of Mithridates, Mi. 25; Mithridates angry with them, 25, 46 *sq.*; enrolled as allies by Sulla, 61; island of, Sy. 22; captured by Philip, Ma. IV.
- Chotene, a prefecture of Armenia, Mi. 101; inhabitants of, *ib.*
- Cicero, *see* Tullius.
- Cilicia, Pr. 2; Sy. 1, 22; Mi. 8, 57, 75, 112; C. I, 77; V, 7, 8; Tigranes annexes part of; Sy. 48; Mi. 105; added to Roman sway, Sy. 50; Mi. 106, 118; part given to Ariobarzanes by Pompey, 105; to Polemon by Antony, C. V, 75; Craggy Cilicia a stronghold of pirates, Mi. 92; surrenders to Pompey, 96.
- Cilla, town of Africa, Pu. 40.
- Cimber, *see* Tillius.
- Cimbri, Celtic people, make an expedition against Delphi, Il. 4; make an incursion into Italy and Gaul, G. I, 2; C. I, 29; the Nervii descended from them, G. I, 4.

INDEX

- Cinambri, Illyrian tribe, II. 16.
Cineas, ambassador of Pyrrhus, Sa. X, XI.
Cinna, C. Helvius, tribune and poet, torn in pieces by the people, who mistake his name, C. II, 147.
Cinna, L. Cornelius, as consul favours Marius and the new citizens, C. I, 64; deprived of consulship, 65; enlists an army, *ib.*; enters the city with Marius and persecutes the friends of Sulla, 69 *sq.*; Mi. 60; consul a second time, C. I, 75; Mi. 51; consul a third time, stabbed by soldiers in an assembly, C. I, 77 *sq.*
Cinna, L. Cornelius, praetor, lauds murderers of Caesar, C. II, 121; in danger of being killed, 126.
Cirrha, town of Phocis, Ma. IX, 4.
Cirta, royal city of Syphax, Pu. 27; Nu. III; of Masinissa, and afterward of Micipsa, Pu. 106; of Juba, C. II, 96; besieged by Laelius, C. IV, 53, 55.
Citizen, illegal to scourge Roman, C. II, 26; strife between new and old, I, 55, 64; Caesar orders that citizens be spared in the pursuit at Pharsalus, C. II, 80; and after the war, 130; IV, 8.
Citizenship, dissensions with Italian allies respecting, C. I, 21 *sq.*; cause of Social War, 38 *sq.*; given to the Italians except the Lucanians and Samnites, 49, 53.
Claudia Quintia, H. 56.
Claudius, Appius, the blind, Sa. X, 2.
Claudius, Appius, consul, draws line of circumvallation round Capua, H. 37, 40; captures the city, 43.
Claudius, Appius, a military tribune, surprises Antiochus at Larissa, Sy. 16.
Claudius, Appius, father-in-law of Tiberius Gracchus, triumvir under the agrarian law, C. I, 13.
Claudius, Appius, military tribune, admits Marius into the city, C. I, 68.
- Claudius, Paulus, historian, G. I, 3.
Claudius, the Sabine, admitted to Roman citizenship, K. X.
Claudius Asellus, single combat at Capua, H. 37.
Claudius Nero, H. 17.
Claudius Pulcher, consul, C. I, 103.
Clazomenae, city of Ionia, Mi. 63.
Cleemporus, ambassador of Issa, II. 7.
Clemency, temple of, erected in honour of Caesar, C. II, 106.
Cleopatra, daughter of Mithridates, Mi. 108.
Cleopatra, wife of Demetrius Nicator, kills her husband, Sy. 68.
Cleopatra, leaves her grandson Alexander at Cos, Mi. 23; deposits treasure at Cos, 115.
Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, with her brother Ptolemy, sends fleet to assist Pompey, C. II, 71; expelled from her kingdom, collects forces in Syria against her brother, 84; restored by Caesar, 90; Caesar leaves an army with her, III, 78; IV, 59; places her image in the temple of Venus, II, 102; Cleopatra sends aid to Dolabella, IV, 61; V, 8; amour of Cleopatra and Antony V. 1, 8; IV, 39; fatal to Egypt, I, 6; V, 1; causes her sister Arsinoë to be slain, V, 9; welcomes Antony to Egypt, 11.
Cleopatra Syra, daughter of Antiochus, Sy. 5.
Clisthenes, of Lesbos, a friend of Mithridates, Mi. 48.
Clodius Bithynicus, slain by Octavian, C. V, 49.
Clodius Pulcher, violates the mysteries of the Bona Dea, Si. VII; prosecuted for impiety by Cicero, C. II, 14; procures the banishment of Cicero, 15; slain by Milo, 21; his body exposed and burned in the forum, *ib.*
Clodius, lieutenant of Brutus, C. V, 2.

INDEX

- Cloelius, officer of the Getae, Ma. XVIII, 2, 3.
 Cluentius, Lucius, C. I, 50.
 Clupea, town of Africa, Pu. 3, 110.
 Clusium, town of Etruria, G. II; C. I, 89, 92.
 Cnidus, town of Caria, C. II, 116; IV, 71.
 Cnossus, town of Crete, Si. VI, 2.
 Cocceius, L. Nerva, brings about a good understanding between Octavian and Antony, C. V, 60-64.
 Coccynus, perh. Cape St. Alessio, C. V, 110.
 Coele-Syria, Pr. 2; Sy. 1, 5, 50, 53; Mi. 106, 115, 118; C. V, 7.
 Coelian gate, at Rome, C. I, 58.
 Colchians, Sy. 63; under Mithridates, Mi. 15, 64, 67, 101; under Pompey, 103, 114, 117.
 Colenda, town of Spain, Sp. 99, 100.
 Colline gate, at Rome, C. I, 58, 67, 93.
 Colonies, Roman, law passed for establishing twelve, C. I, 23; placed in Italy and Sicily by Lucius Drusus, 35; of Sulla's veterans, 96, 104; of Caesar's, II, 119; III, 2; of Octavian and Antony, V, 12 *sq.*; at Lampsacus, 137.
 Comana, city of Cappadocia, Mi. 64, 82, 114, 121.
 Comitia, to vote on the agrarian law of Gracchus, C. I, 10 *sq.*; consular, 98; tribunician, III, 31; *tributa*, I, 100; IV, 92; *centuriata*, 59; III, 30; IV, 92.
 Commageneans, in Pompey's army, C. II, 49.
 Complanius, plain in Spain, Sp. 88.
 Concord, temple of, Mi. 23; C. I, 26.
 Conistorgis, town of Spain, Sp. 57 *sq.*
 Connoba, a robber, Sp. 58.
 Cononeus, betrays Tarentum, H. 32.
 Consentia, town of Bruttium, H. 56; C. V, 56, 58.
 Consul, inferior officers cease to exercise authority when consul is present, H. 5; consul ceases to exercise authority when a dictator is created, 12; consuls before the legal age, Sp. 84; Pu. 112; C. II, 129; III, 51, 88; rods and axes of, Sy. 15; power of, diminished by creation of tribunician office, C. I, 1; consul-elect gives his opinion before other senators, C. II, 5; permission to stand for consulship while absent, 8; consul unable to convoke the Senate without concurrence of his colleague, 11; eight hundred talents once deposited to secure consulship, 19; vacancy in consulship for eight months, *ib.*; Pompey consul without a colleague, 23.
 Coponius, proscribed, C. IV, 41.
 Coralli, Sarmatian tribe, Mi. 69.
 Corax, high mountain near Callipolis, Sy. 21.
 Corduba, city of Spain, Sp. 65 *sq.*; battle of (= Munda), C. II, 104, 105.
 Corfinium, town of the Peligni, C. II, 38.
 Corinth, Ma. VII, VIII.
 Cornelia, mother of the Gracchi, daughter of Scipio Africanus the elder, C. I, 17, 20.
 Cornelia, wife of the younger Crassus, and afterward of Pompey, C. II, 83.
 Cornelii, the, created by Sulla, C. I, 100; three Cornelii destined to hold supreme power in Rome, II, 4.
 Cornelius, Carthaginian freedman, Nu. V.
 Cornelius, maltreated at Tarentum, Sa. VIII, 1.
 Cornelius, overcomes the Samnites, Sa. I, 1.
 Cornificius, in command of Old Africa, C. III, 85; receives proscripts, IV, 36; contends with Sextius, 53 *sq.*; is killed, 56.
 Cornificius, lieutenant of Octavian, C. V, 80, 86, 111-115.
 Cornutus, M. Caecilius, saved by

INDEX

- his slaves, C. I, 73; another, III, 92.
 Corplae, pass of, near Philippi, C. IV, 87, 102.
 Corsica, Pr. 5; Mi. 95; C. V, 67, 72, 78, 80.
 Coruncanus, Sa. X, 3; another, II. 7.
 Cos, island of, Mi. 23, 115; C. I, 102.
 Cosconius, C. I, 52.
 Cossyra, island, between Sicily and Africa, C. I, 96; V, 97.
 Cothon, part of Carthage, Pu. 127.
 Cotta, Aurelius, prosecuted for extortion, escapes by bribing jury, C. I, 22.
 Cotta, Aurelius, summoned to trial under Varian law, goes into exile, C. I, 37.
 Cotta, L., II. 10.
 Cotta, consul, in command of Bithynia, conquered by Mithridates, Mi. 71, 112.
 Cotta, lieutenant of Caesar, meets disaster in Gaul, C. II, 29, 150.
 Cragus, castle of Cilicia, Mi. 96.
 Crassus, consul, Ma. XII.
 Crassus, Licinius, consul, H. 55 *sq.*
 Crassus, Licinius, lieutenant of Sextus Caesar in Social War, C. I, 40 *sq.*; killed by Cinna (Appian perhaps in error), I, 72.
 Crassus, M. Licinius, as praetor ends war with Spartacus, C. I, 118–124; as consul has a difference with Pompey, 121; reconciled to him, *ib.*; forms first triumvirate with Pompey and Caesar, C. II, 9; consul a second time, 18; proconsul of Syria, Sy. 51; C. II, 18; V, 10; wages war against the Parthians, II, 18; defeated and killed, *ib.*
 Crassus, Quintus, put in command of Spain by Caesar, C. II, 43.
 Crastinus, centurion in Caesar's army, performs prodigies of valour at Pharsalus, C. II, 82.
 Craterus, general of Mithridates, Mi. 17.
 Cremona, town of Italy, H. 7.
 Crenides (the Springs), former name of Philippi, C. IV, 105.
 Crete, Pr. 5; C. III, 8; IV, 57; V, 2; Cretans, Sy. 32; Cretan bowmen, C. II, 49; slingers, 71; Cretan history of Appian, II. 6; Cretan war, Si. VI; C. I, 111; Antonius Creticus, *ib.*
 Creusa, wife of Aeneas, K. I, 1.
 Crispinus, consul, H. 50 *sq.*
 Crispus, Aulus Marcius, C. III, 77; IV, 58 *sq.*
 Critias, of Athens, Mi. 28.
 Critonius, an aedile, C. III, 28.
 Crixus, a gladiator and lieutenant of Spartacus, C. I, 116 *sq.*
 Croesus, Pu. 28.
 Croton, city of Italy, H. 57.
 Culleo, Q. Terentius, lieutenant of Lepidus, C. III, 83.
 Cumae, or Cyme, a town of Campania, Sy. 25.
 Cumae, C. I, 49–104; V, 81, 84 85.
 Cunei, a people of Spain, Sp. 57 *sq.*
 Curio, tribune, bribed by Caesar, C. II, 26 *sq.*; flees from Rome to Caesar's camp, 31–33; made prefect of Sicily, 41; sent to Africa with an army, defeated and killed, 44 *sq.*
 Curius, a robber, Sp. 68.
 Curius, Quintus, fellow-conspirator with Catiline, C. II, 3.
 Cyclades, islands, Pr. 5; Ma. IV.
 Cydonia, town of Crete, Si. VI, 2.
 Cynocephalae, hills in Thessaly, Sy. 16.
 Cyprus, Ma. IV; Sy. 4, 52, 54; Mi. 56, 92, 95; C. II, 23; IV, 61; V, 52; Cato sent thither, C. II, 23.
 Cypella, town in Thrace, Mi. 56.
 Cyrene, Cyrenaica, in Africa, Pr. 1; Ma. IV; Pu. 106; C. III, 8; IV, 57; passes into possession of the Romans, Mi. 121; C. I, 111.
 Cyrus, Pu. 28; C. IV, 80.
 Cyrus, son of Mithridates, Mi. 117.
 Cyrus, river of northern Asia, Mi. 103.
 Cyzicus, on the Propontis, Sy. 68; Mi. 72–76, 80, 85; C. IV, 75; V, 137.

INDEX

D

- Dacamas, king of the Numidians, Pu. 41.
 Dacians, Pr. 4; II. 22 *sq.*
 Dahae, cavalry in army of Antiochus, Sy. 32.
 Dalmatians, II. 11, 13, 17, 24, 28.
 Damagoras, a Rhodian, Mi. 25.
 Danube (the lower Ister), II. 22.
 Daortho, daughter of Illyrius, II. 2.
 Dardani, II. 2, 5, 14, 22; Mi. 55 C. V. 75.
 Dardanus, son of Illyrius, II. 2.
 Darius, king of Media, Mi. 106, 117.
 Darius, son of Hystaspes, Mi. 112, 115.
 Darius, son of Mithridates, Mi. 108, 117.
 Darius, son of Pharnaces, C. V. 75.
 Darsi, an Illyrian tribe, II. 2.
 Dasius, of Salapia, H. 45, 47.
 Daunia, part of Apulia, Sa. IV, 1; H. 31.
 Decemvirs, consult Sibylline books, H. 56; appointed to inquire into acts of Antony, C. III. 82; for distributing money to soldiers, 86.
 Decidius Saxa, lieutenant of Anthony at Philippi, C. IV, 87, 102 *sq.*; prefect of Syria, Sy. 51.
 Decius, P., overcomes the Samnites, Sa. I, 1.
 Decius, treacherously slaughters men of Rhegium, Sa. IX, 1-3.
 Decius, lieutenant of Antony, C. III. 80.
 Decius, proscribed, C. IV, 27.
 Decuriones, of Perusia, C. V, 48.
 Delium, town of Boeotia, Sy. 12, 15.
 Delminium, town of Illyria, II. 11.
 Delos, Mi. 28; C. I, 37.
 Delphi, H. 27; Ma. XI, 4; XIX; Mi. 112; II. 4 *sq.*
 Demetrias, town of Thessaly, Ma. VIII; Sy. 29; Mi. 29; C. III, 63.
 Demetrius, of Pharos, II. 8 *sq.*
 Demetrius, son of Antigonus, Sy. 54; attacks the Rhodians, C. IV, 66.
 Demetrius, son of Philip, Ma. IX, 5 *sq.*; Sy. 20.

T T

- Demetrius Nicator, son of the preceding, Sy. 67 *sq.*
 Demetrius Soter, son of Seleucus, grandson of Antiochus the Great, Sy. 45, 47, 67.
 Demochares, naval officer of Sextus Pompeius, C. V, 83-86; 105 *sq.*
 Demosthenes, Sp. 39; C. II, 15 *sq.*; III. 20; IV, 20.
 Dentatus, Roman general, Sa. V.
 Derbani, Illyrian people, II. 28.
 Diana, temple of, at Ephesus, Mi. 23; C. V, 4; at Rome, C. I, 26; at Dyrrachium, II. 60; priest of, at Ephesus, C. V, 9; Diana Leucophryne, *ib.*
 Dictator, Camillus, It. VIII, 2; C. Sulpicius, G. I, 1; Fabius, H. 11; Sulla, C. I, 3, 99; Caesar, C. I, 4; II, 48, 106; dictatorship, C. I, 3, 98 *sq.*, 100; II, 111; law of Antony abolishing, III, 25, 37.
 Didius, T., Sp. 99 *sq.*; C. I, 40.
 Dido, founder of Carthage, Pu. 1.
 Didymaeon oracle at Miletus, Sy. 56.
 Diegyles, a Thracian, Mi. 6.
 Dindymus, mountain at Cyzicus, Mi. 57 *sq.*
 Diocles, officer of Mithridates, Mi. 78.
 Diodotus, usurper of throne of Syria, Sy. 68, 70.
 Diogenes, son of Archelaus, Mi. 49.
 Diomedes, builds Arpi in Daunia, H. 31; Sy. 63; and Lanuvium, Italy, C. II, 20; kills Rhesus, Mi. 1; carries palladium away from Troy, 53.
 Dionysius, a eunuch, Mi. 76 *sq.*
 Dionysopolis, town of lower Moesia, II. 30.
 Diophanes, leader of the Achaeans, Sy. 26.
 Dioscuri, the Argonauts, Mi. 101; their temple, C. I, 25; *see* Castor.
 Dioscurias, town of Colchis on the Euxine, Mi. 101.
 Ditalco, friend of Viriathus, Sp. 74.
 Dolabella, Gnaeus Cornelius, C. I, 100.
 Dolabella, P. Cornelius, prefect of fleet for Caesar, C. II, 41; falsely

641

INDEX

- pretends to have been in conspiracy against Caesar, 119, 122; consul, 129, 132; III, 22; obtains province of Syria, III, 7 *sq.*; puts Trebonius to death at Smyrna, 26; decreed a public enemy, 61; IV, 58; decree repealed by Octavian, III, 94; besieged at Laodicea by Cassius and commits suicide, IV, 60–62, 64; V, 4.
- Dolcatae, an Illyrian tribe, II, 16.
- Dolopes, a people of Thessaly, Ma. XI, 6; C. II, 70.
- Domitius, overcomes the Senones, Sa. VI, 2; G. XI.
- Domitius, Ahenobarbus, sent by Brutus and Cassius with a fleet to the Adriatic, C. IV, 86, 100, 108, 115–117; V, 2, 15, 26; comes to an agreement with Antony, 50, 55 *sq.*; also with Octavian, 61 *sq.*, 65; prefect of Bithynia, 63, 137; designated as consul, 73.
- Domitius (Calvinus), a lieutenant of Caesar at Pharsalus, C. II, 76; in war with Pharnaces, Mi. 120; C. II, 91; lieutenant of Octavian, overcome in sea-fight by Marcus and Ahenobarbus, IV, 115 *sq.*
- Domitius, Gnaeus, overcomes the Allobroges, G. XII.
- Domitius, Gnaeus, lieutenant of L. Scipio, defeats Antiochus, Sy. 30, 36.
- Domitius, Lucius, killed by order of Marius, C. I, 88.
- Domitius, Lucius Ahenobarbus, competitor of Pompey for consulship, defeated by violence, C. II, 17; captured by Caesar at Corfinium and dismissed, 32, 38; commands Pompey's left wing at Pharsalus, 76; killed, 82.
- Dorian origin of the Rhodians, C. IV, 67, 70.
- Doriscus, town of Thrace, C. IV, 101.
- Dorylaus, general of Mithridates, Mi. 17, 49.
- Drabescus (-iscus), town of Thrace, C. IV, 105.
- Dream, of Dido, Pu. 1; of Caesar concerning colony of Carthage, 136; of the mother of Seleucus, Sy. 56; of Antigonus concerning first Mithridates, Mi. 9; of Mithridates concerning grove of Latona, Mi. 27; of Lucullus concerning Autolycus, 83; of Sulla concerning his death, C. I, 105; of Pompey concerning temple to Venus Victrix, II, 69; of Calpurnia concerning death of Caesar, 115; of Octavian at Philippi, IV, 110; of Ulysses, V, 116.
- Dromichaetes, a general of Mithridates, Mi. 32, 41.
- Durius, river of Spain, H. 72, 76, 91.
- Dyme, river of Achaea, Mi. 96.
- Dyrachium, town of Illyria, C. II, 39, 55–64, 150.
- Dyrrachus, father of Ionius, from whom the Ionian sea was named, C. II, 39.

E

- Eagle, principal military standard, C. II, 61; two eagles in camp of Cassius, IV, 101; two eagles fight before second battle of Philippi, 128; seven young eagles, omen of Marius, C. I, 61.
- Earthquake, overthrows the towns of the Celts, II, 4; destroys temples in Rome, C. I, 83.
- Echinades, islands of the Mediterranean, Pr. 5.
- Edessa, town of Mesopotamia, Sy. 57.
- Egestus, son of Numitor, K. I, 2.
- Egnatii, father and son, proscribed, C. IV, 21.
- Egnathus, Marius, leader of the Italians in the Social War, C. I, 40 *sq.*, 45, 52.
- Egypt, divided from Asia by sands, Mi. 121; oldest and strongest kingdom of the successors of Alexander, C. I, 5; Pr. 10; regulated by Caesar, C. I, 4; II, 90; subjugated by Augustus, Mi. 121; II, 30; C. I, 5.

INDEX

- Elaea**, naval station of Aeolis, Sy. 26, 30.
Elatea, town of Phocis, Sy. 20.
Eleates, gulf of, in Lucania, C. V. 98.
Elephants, "common enemy" in battle, Sp. 46; Pu. 43; interspersed with archers and slingers, 89; frighten horses by their odour, H. 7; sent into the Roman camp by night, 41; hunting for elephants, Pu. 9; Scipio fights them ingeniously, 41, 43; Carthaginians invoke them by name, 92; smaller African fear the larger Asiatic, Sy. 31; in Antiochus's line of battle, 32; put to death by order of the Senate, 46; insignia of fifth legion, C. II, 96; fight in circus at Rome, 102.
Eleusis, town of Attica, Mi. 30, 33.
Elymais, temple of Venus, Sy. 66; Elymaean archers, 32.
Emporiae, town of Spain, Sp. 6, 40; Emporia Punica, Pu. 72.
Enchelees, Illyrian peoples descended from Encheleus, II. 2.
Eneti, tribe bordering Macedonia, Mi. 55.
Enipeus, river of Thessaly, C. II, 75.
Epaminondas, the Theban, Sy 41.
Ephesus, city of Ionia, Sy. 4, 6, 9, 20, 22, 24 *sq.*; Mi. 48, 115; C. III, 26; V. 4; citizens of, Mi. 48; C. V. 9; overthrow statues of Romans and kill Italians sojourning among them, Mi. 21, 23, 61.
Epicurus, school of, Mi. 28.
Epycydes, leader of the Syracusans, Si. III.
Epidamnus, town of Illyria, II. 7, 13; C. II, 39; IV, 106; V. 75.
Epidaurus, temple of, Mi. 54.
Epiphanea, a town of Cilicia, Mi. 96.
Epirus, Ma. XI, 4; Mi. 4; II. 7; C. II, 38; V. 75; Epirotes, Ma. V.
Equestrian order, C. I, 23; obtains the judicial function, *ib.*; Sulla chooses three hundred of them for the Senate, 100; farmers of the revenue, II, 13; two thousand proscribed, IV, 5.
Erasistratus, physician to Seleucus, Sy. 59–61.
Erennius, of Brundusium, Ma. XI, 7.
Eridanus, river, H. 5; C. I, 109; II. 8.
Erisane, town of Lusitania, Sp. 69.
Erythea, town of Spain, C. II, 39.
Erythrae, town of Ionia, Mi. 46.
Escadia, town of Lusitania, Sp. 68.
Esquiline forum and gate, C. I, 58.
Ethiopia, eastern, Pr. 1, 9; Nu. V; western, Nu. V; heat of, Pu. 71.
Ethiopian, meets soldiers of Brutus at Philippi, C. IV, 134.
Etna, eruption of, C. V, 117; lava of, 114.
Etruria, H. 5, 9 *sq.*, 52; Mi. 93; C. I, 50, 67; IV, 4; V. 81.
Etruscans, Lydian colony, Pu. 66; procession of, *ib.*; war of, with the Romans, Sa. VI, 1; C. I, 36, 49, 67; worship Juno, C. V, 49.
Euboaea, girl married by Antiochus, Sy. 16, 20.
Euboaea, island of, Sy. 12; Mi. 29, 95; Euboic talent, Si. II, 2; Pu. 54; Sy. 38.
Eudorus, a Rhodian, Sy. 27.
Eumachus, satrap of Mithridates, Mi. 46, 75.
Eumenes, of Cardia, Sy. 53; Mi. 8.
Eumenes, king of Pergamus in Asia, his controversy with Philip, Ma. IX, 6; with Perseus, XI, 1 *sq.*; aids the Romans against Antiochus, Sy. 5, 22, 25 *sq.*, 31, 33 *sq.*, 38, 43; brings Antiochus Epiphanes to his kingdom, 45; his father Attalus, 38; his brothers, 22.
Eunuchs, Mi. 76, 82, 107 *sq.*; C. II, 84.
Eupatoria, Mi. 78, 115.
Eupatra, daughter of Mithridates, Mi. 108, 117.
Euphrates, Pr. 2, 4; Sy. 1, 50, 55 *sq.*; sources of, Mi. 101; forms marshes and pools below Babylon C. II, 153.

INDEX

- Euripides, quoted, C. II, 153; IV, 130.
Euripus, of Chalcidice, Mi. 45.
Europe, Mi. 107; C. IV, 87, 106;
Romans order kings of Pontus and Syria to keep away from, Mi. 13, 58; Sy. 6.
Eurydice, daughter of Antipater, Sy. 62.
Euryleon, surname of Ascanius, K. I, 1.
- F
- Faberius, private secretary of Caesar, C. III, 5.
Fabian, *gens* destroyed, It. IV.
Fabii, three sent as ambassadors to the Gauls, G. II; accused by Brennus, made military tribunes, G. III.
Fabius, lieutenant of Lucullus, defeated by Mithridates, Mi. 88, 112.
Fabius Maximus, dictator, H. 11-16, 31.
Fabius Maximus Aemilianus, son of Aemilius Paulus, Ma. XIX; consul, sent to take charge of affairs in Spain, Sp. 65; brother by adoption of Fabius Maximus Servilianus, 67; lieutenant of his brother Scipio Aemilianus, 90.
Fabius Maximus Aemilianus, gains victory over the Gauls, G. I, 2.
Fahius Maximus Servilianus, Sp. 67-69; brother of Caepio, 70.
Fabius, Quintius, historian, H. 27.
Fabricius, Sa. IX, 3; X, 4.
Faesulae, town of Etruria, C. II, 2.
Faith, temple of, C. I, 16.
Falerinus, Mount, C. I, 47.
Famine, in Carthage, Pu. 73; in Caesar's camp, C. II, 61; in Perusia, V, 34 *sq.*; compels the Numantines to eat human flesh, Sp. 96 *sq.*; Athenians also, Mi. 38; soldiers of Mithridates also, 76.
Fango, C. Fuficius, lieutenant of Octavian in Africa, C. V, 26.
Fannius, son-in-law of Laelius, fights against Viriathus, Sp. 67.
Fannius, L., sent by Sertorius to Mithridates, Mi. 68.
Fannius, lieutenant of Cassius, C. IV, 72.
Fannius, proscribed, C. IV, 84; another, deserts from Sextus Pompeius to Antony, V, 39.
Faustulus, Fr. I, 3.
Faustus, cognomen of Sulla, C. I, 97.
Faustus, son of Sulla, C. I, 106.
Faventia, town of Cisalpine Gaul, C. I, 91.
Favonius, ridicules Pompey, C. II, 37; pretends to have been one of the conspirators against Caesar, 119.
Fear and Courage, Scipio sacrifices to, Pu. 21.
Felix, Sulla, C. I, 97, 105 *sq.*
Fetial priests, Sa. IV, 1, 5.
Figulus, L., lieutenant of Dolabella, C. IV, 60.
Figulus, M., consul, II. 11.
Fimbria, puts consul Flaccus to death, Mi. 51-53; commits suicide, 59 *sq.*
Fimbria, Flavius, brother of the preceding, C. I, 91.
Flaccus, lieutenant of Aemilius Lepidus, Sp. 81.
Flaccus, Fulvius, overcomes the Celtiberians, Sp. 42.
Flaccus, Fulvius, consul, besieges Capua, H. 37; follows Hannibal to Rome, 40 *sq.*; takes Capua, 43.
Flaccus, Fulvius, consul and triumvir for dividing the land, cooperates with Gaius Gracchus, C. I, 18, 21, 34; marches against the Illyrians, II. 10; C. I, 34; made Tribune, 24 *sq.*, 38; killed with his son and Gaius Gracchus, 26.
Flaccus, L. Valerius, consul, sent by Cinna into Asia against Mithridates, Mi. 51; C. I, 75; put to death by Fimbria, Mi. 52.
Flaccus, Valerius, interrex, C. I, 100.
Flamen Dialis (priest of Jupiter), C. I, 65, 74.
Flamininus, Roman general, Ma. V; has a colloquy with Philip,

INDEX

- king of Macedonia, VIII; grants peace to Philip after Cynoscephalae, IX; at the Isthmian games he proclaims the Greeks free, IX, 4; commends Demetrius, son of Philip, to the Roman Senate, 6; negotiations between Flamininus and Antiochus, Sy. 2; sends embassy to Prusias with fatal results to Hannibal, 11.
- Flamininus, L. Quintius, brother of the preceding, Ma. VII.
- Flaminius, C., consul, killed in battle, H. 8-10, 17.
- Flamma, prefect of the fleet of Utica, C. II, 46.
- Flavius, C., put to death by Octavian, C. V, 49.
- Flavius, L., betrays proconsul, Sempronius Gracchus, to Hannibal, H. 35.
- Fleece, the golden, Mi. 103.
- Forum Gallorum, a town of Cisalpine Gaul, C. III, 70.
- Freedmen, King Prusias in the garb of, Mi. 2; admitted to military service, C. I, 49; made equal to citizens, 120; faithful ones, IV, 44, 46 *sq.*; unfaithful, 26, 28; Sextus Pompeius under the control of, V, 78; Octavian makes the freedman Menodorus a free citizen, V, 80.
- Fregellae, a town of Latium, Sa. IV, 1.
- Frentani, a people of Italy C. I, 39.
- Fufius Calenus, lieutenant of Antony, C. V, 3, 12, 24, 51.
- Fufius, son of the preceding, on the death of his father, delivers his army to Octavian, C. V, 51.
- Fulginium, town of Umbria, C. V, 35.
- Fulvia informs Cicero of conspiracy of Catiline, C. II, 3.
- Fulvia, wife of Antony, petitions senators on behalf of her husband, C. III, 51; Antony sends her the head of Rufus, IV, 29; repulses Roman ladies from her doors, 32; stirs up strife against Octavian, V, 14, 19, 21, 33, 43.
- 59, 62; flees to Athens, 50, 52; her death, 55, 59.
- Fulvius, proscribed, is betrayed by a concubine, C. IV, 24.
- Funeral, of Viriathus, Sp. 75; of Mithridates, Mi. 113; of Sulla, C. I, 105; of Caesar, II, 143 *sq.*
- Furius, the consul, delivers Maninus to Numantines, Sp. 83.
- Furius, P., a tribune torn in pieces by the populace, C. I, 33.
- Furnius, C., lieutenant of Lucius Antonius, C. V, 30, 40 *sq.*; of Mark Antony, 75; as prefect of Asia, fights with Sextus Pompeius, 137-142.

G

- Gabii, town of Latium, K. VII; C. V, 23.
- Gabinius, Aulus, sent on a mission to Murena and Mithridates, Mi. 66; his law concerning war against pirates, 94; made consul at Caesar's instance, C. II, 14; while proconsul of Syria restores Ptolemy to throne of Egypt, Sy. 51; C. II, 24; banished and fined by Senate for this, *ib.*; as lieutenant of Caesar perishes with his forces in Illyria, II. 12, 25; C. II, 59.
- Gades (Cadiz), town of Spain, Sp. 5, 28, 31; comes into possession of the Romans, 37.
- Gaetulia, country in interior of Africa, Nu. V.
- Gala, son of Polyphemus, II. 2.
- Galatea, wife of Polyphemus, II. 2.
- Galatia, II. 2; western, sometimes called Celtica, H. 4; Sp. 1; eastern, C. II, 49; also called Gallograecia, Mi. 114 (see below).
- Galba, Servius, appointed prefect of Lusitania, Sp. 58-60.
- Galba, Publius Sulpicius, proconsul of Macedonia, Ma. III; crosses over to Greece a second time, IV; inflicts wrongs on the Greeks, VII.
- Galba, lieutenant of Sulla, Mi. 43.
- Galba, Servius, conspires against Caesar, C. II, 118.

INDEX

- Gallograecians, or Galatians, Mi. 114; their chiefs, Sy. 6; allies of Antiochus, 32; they fight partly on the side of Mithridates and partly on that of the Romans, Sy. 50; Mi. 11, 17, 41, 65, 68, 112; Mithridates puts their tetrarchs to death by treachery, 46; the tetrarch Deiotarus, 114; others allied with Brutus and Cassius, C. IV, 88; Antony requires them to pay tribute, V, 7; their country made a Roman province, Sy. 50; Mi. 118.
 Games, votive, of Scipio, Pu. 135; Isthmian, Ma. IX, 3, 4; musical, in triumph of Caesar, C. II, 102; in honour of Venus Genetrix, III, 28.
 Ganga, or Gangites, a river of Thrace, C. IV, 106.
 Garganum, mountain of Apulia, (confused with river Gargarus), C. I, 117.
 Gates, of Cilicia, the pass of Mount Taurus between Cilicia and Syria, Sy. 53; of Rome, Coelian, Colline, and Aesquiline, C. I, 58.
 Gaul, around the Po, the boundary of Italy, C. I, 86; II, 17; Cisalpine, H. 6; C. I, 92, 109; II, 13, 41, 111; the Gallic province, C. I, 29; old Gaul, III, 98; IV, 2; new Gaul, II, 48; Caesar conquers four hundred tribes of, II, 150.
 Gauls, overcome by Camillus, by T. Quintius, by Popillius, by the son of Camillus, by Emilius Pappus, and by Caesar, G. I, 1, 2; they cross the Alps and invade Clusium, G. II; burn Rome and besiege the Capitol, G. I, 1; III *sq.*; intemperate, G. VII; their chiefs, G. I, 2; III; C. I, 50; the Boii, H. 5, 8; war of Gallic mercenaries against the Carthaginians, Pu. 5; make an incursion from Europe into Asia, Sy. 65.
 Gaza, town of Syria, Sy. 54.
 Gelleius, L., lieutenant of Pompey,
- Mi. 95; as consul defeated by Spartacus, C. I, 117.
 Gemella, town of Lusitania, Sp. 68.
 Gentius, king of the Illyrians, Ma. XVIII, 1; II. 9.
 Germans in Caesar's army make themselves ridiculous by drink, C. II, 64; alarmed by an eruption of Mount Etna, V, 117; their king Ariovistus, G. I, 3; XVI, XVII.
 Geronia, town of Apulia, H. 15, 16.
 Geta, proscribed, loses an eye, C. IV, 41.
 Getae, a people of Sarmatia in Europe, Ma. XVIII, 1, 2; II. 3, 4, 13; C. II, 100; III, 25.
 Glaber, Varinius (error for Claudius Glaber), C. I, 116.
 Gladiators, war of, C. I, 111, 116-121; at Rome, C. II, 118; V. 26; in the army of Decimus Brutus, III, 49; of Lucius Antonius, V, 30, 33; of Antony at Cyzicus, 137.
 Glanis, river of Spain, C. I, 89.
 Glaphyra, mother of Sisinna, king of Cappadocia, C. V, 7.
 Glaucia, Roman senator, C. I, 28, 32.
 Glintidiones, a people of Dalmatia, II. 16.
 Gomphi, town of Thessaly plundered by Caesar, C. II, 64.
 Gordiene, town of Armenia Minor, Mi. 105.
 Gordius, general of Mithridates, Mi. 66.
 Gracchus, Sempronius, proconsul against the Lucanians, betrayed and loses his life, H. 35.
 Gracchus, Tiberius Sempronius, praetor of Spain, captures Complaga, Sp. 43.
 Gracchus, Tiberius Sempronius, son of the preceding, tribune, C. I, 2 *sq.*; proposes agrarian law and is slain on the Capitoline hill, 9-16; his father and mother, 17.
 Gracchus, Gaius Sempronius, brother of the preceding, triumvir for apportioning the land under agrarian law, C. I, 18; as tribune

INDEX

enacts law for monthly distribution of corn, 21; carries through law for transferring judicial power to the knights, 22; tries to secure right of Roman citizenship for Latins and Italian allies, 23; marks out boundary of the colony of Carthage in Africa, 24; is killed in Rome, 32 *sq.*
Granius, Q., exiled, C. I. 60.
Greeks, the power of, Pr. 8; in Spain, Sp. 2, 7; H. 2; in Italy, H. 8; subjected to Roman rule, Ma. III, 1; Antiochus crosses over to Greece, Sy. 7, 12 *sq.*; Greeks in Asia freed from rule of Antiochus, 44; Greek names of Syrian and Asiatic cities, 57; Greeks inhabiting Pontus, Ml. 15; the Achaeans of Scythia slaughtered the Greeks who fell into their hands, 102; Mithridates cultivates the arts and religion of Greece, 112; Greek cities in Moesia, II. 30; Sulla transfers Greek dramatic spectacles to Rome, C. I, 99; Greeks formerly in Thrace, IV, 102.
Grumentum, town of Lucania, C. I, 41.
Gulussa, son of Masinissa, Pu. 70, 73, 106, 109, 111, 126.
Gymnasium, Sy. 10, 46, 69; C. I, 102; V, 11.

H

Hadrian, born at Italica in Spain, Sp. 38; destroys Jerusalem, Sy. 50; renews practice of appointing proconsuls in Italy, C. I, 38; restores Pompey's monument in Egypt, II, 86.
Hadrumetum, town in Africa, Pu. 33, 47, 94.
Hamilcar Barca, father of Hannibal, H. 2; Carthaginian commander in Sicily, Si. II, 3; Sp. 4; H. 2; cause of war between Africans and Carthaginians, *ib.*; commander of the Carthaginians against the Numidians, Sp. 4; H. 2; in Spain, Sp. 5; H. 2.

Hamilcar, prefect of Carthaginian fleet, Pu. 24, 25, 30.
Hamilcar, the Samnite, chief of democratic faction, Pu. 68; attacks Gulussa by ambush, 70.
Hannibal, son of Hamilcar Barca, brother-in-law and lieutenant of Hasdrubal, Sp. 6; commander of the Carthaginians in Spain, Sp. 8; H. 3; swears eternal hatred of the Romans, Sp. 9; H. 3; makes war on the Saguntines, Sp. 10 *sq.*; H. 3; destroys Saguntum, Sp. 12; crosses the Alps, Sp. 13; H. 4; puts P. Scipio to flight at Ticinus and crosses the Po, H. 5; defeats Scipio and Sempronius at Trebia, 7; defeats and kills Flaminius at Thrasimenes, 10; destroys army of Centenius at Plestine marsh, 11; has an indecisive engagement with Minucius, 12; caught in a trap by Fabius but escapes, 14; in vain seeks aid from the Carthaginians, 16; calls his brother Hasdrubal from Spain, *ib.*; destroys Roman army at Cannae, 19-24; gets possession of Petilia with difficulty, 29; his affairs begin to decline, 30; makes an alliance with Philip of Macedonia, Ma. I; burns wife and children of Dasius of Arpi, 31; Tarentum betrayed into his hands, 32; marches from Capua to Rome, 38; after reconnoitring returns to Capua, 40; gives himself up to luxury, 43; acts as judge between Dasius and Blattius, 45 *sq.*; kills pro-consul Fulvius, 48; eulogizes and criticizes Marcellus, 50; oppresses his allies, 54, 57; having devastated Italy for sixteen years, withdraws unwillingly, 60; sails for Hadrumetum, Pu. 33; procures truce for Carthaginians, 37; interview with Scipio, 39; defeated by Scipio, 40 *sq.*; flees to Hadrumetum and prepares new army, 47; persuades his countrymen to accept peace, 55; visits Antiochus, Sy.

INDEX

- 4; his advice to Antiochus rejected, 7, 14; urges the Carthaginians to renew war with the Romans, 7; colloquy with Scipio concerning the world's greatest generals, 10; besieged by the Rhodians, 22; after overthrow of Antiochus takes refuge with Prusias, his death, 11; destroys four hundred cities in Italy, Pu. 64, 134; breaker of treaties, H. 3, 10, 54, 57 *sq.*; his stratagems, 6, 14, 18, 26, 40, 51; Pu. 33; Sertorius is called Hannibal by the Celtiberians, C. I, 112.
- Hannibalic history, of Appian, Pr. 14; Sp. 14; Pu. 2.
- Hanno, Carthaginian prefect of horse captured by the Romans, is exchanged for the mother of Masinissa, Pu. 14.
- Hanno, at Cannae, H. 20; captures Petilia, 29; besieges Tarentum, 33; captures Thurii, 34; brings succour to Capua while it is besieged, 36; delivered to the Romans by the Capuans, 43.
- Hanno, betrayed by the Celtiberians to Marcus, Sp. 31.
- Hanno, son of Bomilcar, Pu. 24; tampers with Spaniards in Scipio's camp, 29; calumniates Hasdrubal to the people, 30; repulsed from Utica, *ib.*
- Hanno the Great, sent against the Numidians, Sp. 4; recalled home, 5; snatches the Roman ambassadors from fury of the people, 34; goes as ambassador to Scipio, 49; leader of Romanizing faction, 68.
- Hanno the White, Pu. 108.
- Harpalus, general of Cyrus, C. IV, 80.
- Harpax ("grip"), an invention of Agrippa, C. V, 118 *sq.*
- Harpessus, river of Thrace (Appian's error for Arda), C. IV, 103.
- Hasdrubal, brother of Hannibal, left by him in Spain, Sp. 13; H. 4; recalled to Africa, Sp. 15; sent back to Spain, kills P. Scipio, 16; recruits mercenaries in Celtiberia, 24; H. 52; summoned to Italy by Hannibal, crosses the Alps, Sp. 28; H. 16, 52; defeated and slain, 52.
- Hasdrubal, grandson of Masinissa, city praetor of Carthage, Pu. 93; falsely accused and beaten to death, 111.
- Hasdrubal, prefect of fleet, sent to bring Hannibal home, H. 58; attacks Scipio's ambassadors, Pu. 34.
- Hasdrubal, son-in-law of Hamilcar Barca, Sp. 4, 6, 8; H. 2.
- Hasdrubal, son of Gisco, Sp. 16, 24; vanquished by Scipio, 24 *sq.*; dines with Scipio as guest of Syphax, 30; his daughter Sophonisba, betrothed to Masinissa, is given to Syphax by the Carthaginians clandestinely, 37; Pu. 10; lays a trap for Masinissa and Scipio in Africa, Pu. 10-15; his camp captured by Scipio, 21; condemned to death, seizes command of the army without authority, 24; reappointed, 36; ends life by poison, 38.
- Hasdrubal, the Boetharch, commands army against Masinissa, Pu. 70-73; condemned to death in his absence, 74; recalled and made commander of forces outside city, 93; defeats Romans with great slaughter, 102; betakes himself to city, where he is besieged by Scipio, 114 *sq.*; when city is captured he comes from citadel and presents himself as a suppliant to Scipio, 130; upbraided by his wife, who commits herself and her two children to the flames, 131.
- Hasdrubal Eriphus, protects Roman ambassadors, Pu. 34; ambassador to Scipio, 49 *sq.*
- Hebrews, auxiliaries of Pompey, C. II, 71.
- Hebrus, river of Thrace, C. IV, 103.
- Hecatompyle, town of Parthia, Sy. 57.
- Hegesianactes, lieutenant of Antiochus, Sy. 6.

INDEX

- Helenus, lieutenant of Octavian, C. V. 66.
 Heliодор, ensnares Seleucus Philopator, Sy. 45.
 Hellespont, Ma. IX, 5; Sy. 23, 28 *sq.*, 53, 62; Mi. 95; C. II, 88, 111.
 Hellenes, Sy. 1; C. II, 71.
 Helvetii, G. I. 3; XV.
 Helvius, M. Sp. 39; another, Il. 21.
 Heniochi, auxiliaries of Mithridates, Mi. 69, 102, 116.
 Hephaestion, general of Alexander, Sy. 57; C. II, 152.
 Heraclea, town of Italy, H. 35; of Pontus, Mi. 83.
 Heraclides, of Byzantium, ambassador of Antiochus, Sy. 29; another, 45, 47.
 Heraea, town of Macedonia, Sy. 57.
 Hercules, expedition against Amazons, Mi. 83; builder of Dyrrachium, C. II, 89; temple of, at Gades, Sp. 2, 65; at Tibur, C. V, 24; pillars of, Sp. 2, 57 *sq.*; Pr. 1; Mi. 93, 119, 121; watchword of Pompey, C. II, 76; Alexander descended from, 151; also Antony, III, 16, 19.
 Herdonia, town of Apulia, H. 48.
 Hermocrates, general of Mithridates, Mi. 70.
 Herod, king of Idumaea and Samaria, C. V, 75.
 Hiempsal, Numidian prince, C. I, 62, 80.
 Hiero, island of, C. V, 105 *sq.*
 Hero, king of Syracuse, Si. II, 2.
 Heronius, of Cardia, historian, Mi. 8.
 Himilco, surnamed Phameas, Carthaginian leader of horse, Pu. 97, 100, 104, 107-109.
 Hippagreta, town of Africa, Pu. 110, 135.
 Hippasini, a people of Pannonia, Il. 16.
 Hippo, city of Africa, besieged by Scipio, Pu. 30.
 Hippocrates of Syracuse, Si. III.
 Hipponium (Vibo), town in Brutium, C. IV, 86; V, 91, 99, 103, 105, 112.
 Hirpini, Samnite people, C. I, 39, 51.
 Hirtius, consul after Caesar's death, C. III, 50; falls at Mutina, 65 *sq.*, 70 *sq.*, 76.
 Hirtius, proscribed, C. IV, 43.
 Homer cited, Pu. 132; Mi. 1; C. III, 13; IV, 134; cited indirectly, It. VIII, 2; Pu. 71; C. II, 81.
 Hortensia, daughter of orator Hortensius, her speech to triumvirs, C. IV, 32 *sq.*
 Hortensius, lieutenant of Sulla, Mi. 43.
 Hortensius, receives wife of Cato as loan, C. II, 99.
 Hydrus, or Hydruntum, town of Apulia, C. II, 40.
 Hypaepeni, people of Lydia, Mi. 48.
 Hypsaeus, condemned for bribery, C. II, 24.
 Hyrcani, people of Asia, Sy. 55.

I

- Iapodes, an Illyrian people, Il. 10, 14, 16; transalpine, 17-21, 22.
 Iassus, town of Caria, Mi. 63.
 Iazyges, a people of Sarmatia, Mi. 69.
 Iberians of Asia, Mi. 101, 103, 104, 116 *sq.*
 Iberus, river of Spain, Sp. 6 *sq.*, 43; H. 2; Pu. 6; C. I, 111.
 Icileus (perh. Silcius Corona), proscribed, C. IV, 27.
 Icus, one of the Cyclades islands near Euboea, C. V, 7.
 Ida, Mount, Pu. 71.
 Idumaea, Mi. 106; C. V, 75.
 Ilerda, town of Spain, C. II, 42.
 Ilium, Pu. 132; Mi. 1; C. II, 20, 81; burned by Fimbria, Mi. 58, 61.
 Illyria, a Roman province, Ma. XVIII, 1; wholly subdued by Augustus, Il. 16, 28; C. V, 128, 145; subjected to tribute, Il. 6; seventy-two towns destroyed in one day, 9; embraced with Cisalpine Gaul as Caesar's province, 15; C. II, 32; Gaius

INDEX

- Antonius appointed governor by Caesar, 41, 47; Gabinius appointed governor, II. 12; C. II, 59; Vatinius, II. 13; Brutus appointed governor of, together with Macedonia, II. 13; C. III, 63; IV, 75.
Illyrians, II. 1 *sq.*; harass Italy, 16; C. V, 145; Arthetaurus, prince of, Ma. XI, 2; Genthius, king of, XVIII, 1.
Illyrius, son of Polyphemus and Galatea, II. 2.
Ilurgis, town of Baetica in Spain, Sp. 32.
Iulus, or Iulus, supposed ancestor of the Julian *gens*, C. II, 68.
Imperator, in triumph, Pu. 66; accustomed to harangue the people concerning his exploits, Ma. XIX; imperators, Pr. 6.
India, Pu. 71; Sy. 55 *sq.*; Mi. 89; C. II, 149, 153 *sq.*; Indian merchandise, V, 9.
Indians, as leaders of elephants, H. 41.
Indibilis, chief of the Celtiberians, Sp. 37 *sq.*
Indus, the river, Sy. 55.
Inquiline (a lodger), name applied to Cicero by Catiline, C. II, 2.
Insignia, of imperator, Mi. 43; C. V, 11, 41, 76, 111; of praetor lowered on a ship when he meets imperator, 55; elephant the insignia of fifth legion, C. II, 96.
Intercalary months, C. II, 154.
Intercatia, town of Spain, Sp. 53 *sq.*
Interfruini, an Illyrian tribe, II. 16.
Io, Mi. 101.
Ionian sea and gulf, Pr. 3; Pu. 87; H. 8, 12; Sy. 15, 16, 63; Mi. 95, 112; II. 3, 7; C. I 5; II. 39, 49, 110; III, 9, 63, 96; IV, 115; V, 26, 55.
Ionians and Ionia, Ma. IV; XVIII, 3; Sy. 1, 51; Mi. 20 *sq.*; C. II, 49, 71, 89; IV, 82; V, 65; accustomed to obey kings of Asia, Sy. 12; pass under Roman rule, Mi. 118; Ionian islands, Pr. 5.
Ionius, son of Dyrrachus, C. II, 39.
- Ipsus, town of Phrygia, Sy. 55.
Isaurians, in Asia Minor, near Mount Taurus, Mi. 75.
Isis, apparition of, at Rhodes, Mi. 27.
Issa, island in Illyrian waters, II. 7.
Ister (Danube), Ma. XVIII, 1, 2; Mi. 15, 69; II. 1, 3, 6, 14, 22.
Isthmian games, Ma. IX, 4.
Istri, a people on border of Italy and the Adriatic, II. 8.
Istrus, Greek town on border of Moesia, II. 30.
Italians, the best soldiers, C. I, 7; choose Scipio Africanus the younger as their patron, 19; Drusus promises them citizenship, 35; revolt from the Romans 38 *sq.*; Mi. 22.
Italy proper, within the Apennines, H. 8, 44; Italic Gaul, 8; fruitful of trees, 58; Mithridates thinks of invading it, Mi. 109; full of slaves, C. I, 7; proconsuls throughout Italy, 38; divided from Gaul by the Rubicon, II, 35.
Ituoca, town of Baetica in Spain, Sp. 66, 97.
Ituraea, a country of Syria near Palestine, Mi. 106; C. V, 7.

J

- Janiculum, hill of, C. I, 68, 71; III, 91, 94.
Jerusalem, chief city of Judaea, Sy. 50; Mi. 106.
Jews, conquered by Pompey, Mi. 106, 114, 117; by Trajan in Egypt, C. II, 90; Fr. II; compelled to pay heavier tribute than others, Sy. 50.
Juba, king of Mauritania, C. II, 44–46, 83, 87, 96, 100; IV, 53 *sq.*
Juba, son of the preceding, historian, C. II, 101.
Jugurtha, Sp. 89; Nu. I; III–V; C. I, 42.
Julia, mother of Antony, C. II, 143; IV, 37; V, 52, 63.

INDEX

Julia, wife of Sextus Pompeius (error for Scribonia), C. V, 72.
Julian gens descended from Ilus, C. II, 68.
Julius, Lucius, put to death by faction of Marius, C. I, 72.
Julius, Sextus, relative of Julius Caesar, placed in command of legion in Syria, killed by his soldiers, C. III, 77; IV, 58.
Junius, prefect of the garrison at Tarentum, H. 32.
Juno, worship of, by the Etruscans, C. V, 49; Io flees from her jealousy, Mi. 101; temple at Lanuvium, C. V, 24; on the Lacinian promontory, 133.
Jupiter, on Mount Ida, Pu. 71; temple of, at Rhodes, Mi. 26; of Jupiter Stator, C. II, 11; Mithridates sacrifices to, Mi. 66, 70; both Caesar and Alexander descended from, 151; priest of, I, 65, 74.

L

Labeo, father of Labeo the juris-consult, C. II, 135.
Labienus, proscribed, C. IV, 26.
Labienus, Lieutenant of Caesar, G. I, 3; XV; afterward of Pompey, C. II, 62; after Pharsalus goes to Africa, 95; loses his life in Spain, 105.
Labienus, son of the preceding, general of the Parthians, C. V, 65, 183.
Lacedaemonians, send Xanthippus to the Carthaginians, Pu. 3; their tyrant Nabis, Ma. VII; their harmosts, C. IV, 7; laws of, Pu. 112; their alliance promised by the Aetolians to Antiochus, Sy. 12, 14; war with Epaminondas, 41; they join Mithridates, Mi. 29; and Pompey, C. II, 70.
Lacinian promontory, Sa. VII, 1; C. V, 133.
Laelius, lieutenant of Scipio Africanus the elder, Sp. 25 *sq.*; sent on a mission to Syphax, 29; with Masinissa pursues Syphax, Pu. 26-28; fights against Hannibal, 41, 44.

Laelius, lieutenant of Cornificius in Africa, C. IV, 53, 55 *sq.*
Laelius, C., lieutenant of Scipio the younger, Pu. 126 *sq.*; father-in-law of Fannius, Sp. 67.
Laetorius, M., associate of Marius, C. I, 60, 62.
Laevinus, Valerius, consul, Sa. X, 3.
Lafrenius, a leader in the Social War, C. I, 40, 47.
Lagidae, family of the, Mi. 121.
Lamponius, M., a leader in the Social War, C. I, 40 *sq.*, 90, 93.
Lampsacus, city of Mysia on the Hellespont, Sy. 2, 29; Mi. 76; C. V, 137.
Land, Public, taken by war, how disposed of, C. I, 7; carelessly surveyed, 18; Caesar distributes Campanian land to fathers of three children each, II, 10.
Lania (or *Lanassa*), daughter of Agathocles married to Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, Sa. XI, 1.
Lanuvium, town near Rome, C. I, 69; II, 20; V, 24.
Laodice, mother of Seleucus Nicator, Sy. 57; another, wife of Antiochus Deus, 65.
Laodicea, six cities of this name founded by Seleucus Nicator, Sy. 57; of Phoenicia, *ib.*; on the river Lycus, Mi. 20; of Syria, Sy. 46; C. III, 78; IV, 52, 60, 62; V, 4, 7.
Laomedon, first governor of Syria after Alexander, Sy. 52; Mi. 9.
Largus, proscribed, C. IV, 28.
Larinates, a people on border of Apulia, C. I, 52.
Larissa, of Thessaly, Sy. 16; C. II, 83; of Syria, Sy. 57.
Laronius, sent by Octavian to help Cornificius, C. V, 112, 115.
Lasthenes, a Cretan general, Si. VI.
Laterensis, M. Juventius, senator, warns Lepidus against treachery in his army when confronting Antony, C. III, 84.
Latins, K. I, 1; alliance with the Romans, XII; Gaius Gracchus

INDEX

- promises them Roman citizenship, C. I, 23.
- Latona**, grove of, in the island of Rhodes, Mi. 27.
- Laurentum**, town of Latium, K. I, 1.
- Lauro**, town of Spain, C. I, 109.
- Lavinia**, daughter of Faunus, married to Aeneas, K. I, 1.
- Lavinium**, city of, K. I, 1.
- Lavinius**, river of, and island in it, C. IV, 2.
- Legion**, Roman, in the time of Hannibal, H. 8; tenth legion, C. II, 76, 79, 82; III, 83; mutinies, 92-94; Martian and fourth legion desert from Antony to Octavian, 45; Martian perishes in battle, IV, 115 *sq.*; fifth legion confronts the elephants at Thapsus, II, 96.
- Lemnos**, island in the Aegean, Mi. 77.
- Lentulus**, Conscellio, proscribed, flees to Sicily, C. IV, 39.
- Lentulus**, Cornelius, city praetor, one of the conspirators with Catiline, C. II, 2-6.
- Lentulus**, Gn. Cornelius, consul, longs to supersede Scipio in Asia, Pu. 56.
- Lentulus**, Gn., lieutenant of Pompey in war against pirates, Mi. 95.
- Lentulus**, L. Cornelius, consul, opposes Caesar, C. II, 33; follows Pompey, 36-38; commands right wing of Pompeians at Pharsalus, 76.
- Lentulus**, Marcellinus, appointed by Pompey governor of Syria, Sy. 51.
- Lentulus**, P. Cornelius, harangues the Senate on Scipio's proposals of peace with Carthage, Pu. 62-64.
- Lentulus**, P., lieutenant of Sextus Caesar in Social War, C. I, 40; put to death by Cinna and Marius, 72.
- Lentulus**, lieutenant of Cassius, C. IV, 72, 82.
- Lentulus Spinther**, P. Cornelius, one of Caesar's enemies, C. II, 119.
- Leonidas**, the Lacedaemonian, Sy. 18.
- Leontini**, inhabitants of Leontium, town of Sicily, Si. III.
- Lepidus**, *see* Aemilius.
- Leptines**, general of Demetrius, Sy. 46 *sq.*
- Leptis**, town of Africa, near Hadrumetum, Pu. 94.
- Lethe**, river of Lusitania in Spain, Sp. 71 *sq.*
- Leuco**, leader of the Numantines, Sp. 46.
- Leucopetra**, promontory of Italy, near Sicily, C. V, 109.
- Leucophryne**, Diana, C. V, 9.
- Leucosyri**, a people at the mouth of the river Thermodon in Pontus, Mi. 69.
- Leuctra**, where Epaminondas was victorious, Sy. 41.
- Lex curiata**, C. III, 94.
- Lex (law)**: impious to enact a law when Jove thunders, C. I, 30; "let the laws sleep to-day," Pu. 112.
- Libanus**, Mount, Sy. 57.
- Libo**, cited, C. III, 77.
- Libo**, brother-in-law of Sextus Pompeius, C. V, 52 *sq.*, 69, 71, 73, 139.
- Liburni**, a people of Illyria, II. 12, 16, 25; C. I, 77; II, 39; liburnicas (ships), C. II, 39.
- Libyssus**, river of Bithynia, Sy. 11.
- Licinius Crassus**, leader in Social War, C. I, 40.
- Ligarius**, Q., conspires against Caesar, C. II, 113; two brothers of that name proscribed, IV, 22; another, 23.
- Liguria**, a territory of Cisalpine Gaul, Pu. 9; Ligurians, Sp. 37; Pu. 40; Nu. III; C. I, 80; Ligurian sea, Mi. 95.
- Lilybaeum**, promontory of Sicily, looking toward Africa, C. II, 95; V, 97 *sq.*, 122.
- Lipara**, one of the Aetolian Islands, C. V, 97, 112.
- Liris** (really the Tolenus), river of Campania, C. I, 39.
- Lissus**, town of Illyria, II. 7.

INDEX

- Liteno**, a leader of the Numantines, Sp. 50.
- Liternus**, river, C. I., 39.
- Liternus**, prefect of fleet against Antiochus, Sy. 22-25.
- Livius Drusus**, tribune, C. I., 23; another, promises citizenship to Italian allies, passes a judiciary law, is killed, C. I., 35 *sq.*
- Livy**, the historian, perhaps cited, C. III., 77.
- Locha**, a town of Africa, Pu. 15.
- Locri Epizephyrii**, town of Brutium, Sa. XII.; H. 55.
- Lollius**, L., lieutenant of Pompey, Mi. 95.
- Loryma**, castle of Rhodes, C. IV., 72.
- Lucanians**, revolt from the Romans in Hannibalic war, H. 35, 57 *sq.*, 43, 49; again in Social War, C. I., 39, 51, 53; the Sullan war, 90 *sq.*
- Lucilius**, at Philippi, pretends that he is Marcus Brutus, C. IV., 129.
- Lucius**, senator, sent with Pansa by the Senate to Brutus and Cassius, C. III., 85.
- Lucius**, proscribed and put to death, C. IV., 26.
- Lucius Quintius**, father-in-law of the consul Asinius Pollio, proscribed, C. IV., 27.
- Lucretius Ofella**, lieutenant of Sulla, C. I., 88, 94; put to death by him for disobedience, 101.
- Lucretius Vespillo**, proscribed, afterwards consul, C. IV., 44; his father proscribed by Sulla, *ib.*
- Luculæa**, games in honour of **Lucullus**, Mi. 76.
- Lucullus**, L. **Licinius**, consul, wages an unjust war against the Vaccaei in Spain, Sp. 49, 55; ravages Lusitania, 59; Scipio Africanus, the younger, his lieutenant, Sp. 49; Pu. 71.
- Lucullus**, L. **Licinius**, expels Tigranes from Syria, Sy. 49; lieutenant of Sulla in Mithridatic war, Mi. 33, 51, 56; consul and imperator he compels Mithridates to raise siege of Cyzicus, 72-76; overcomes generals of Mithridates and drives Mithridates himself out of Pontus, 77-83; overcomes Tigranes 84, 87; follows Mithridates when he returns to Pontus, 88 *sq.*; charged with protracting the war and deprived of his army, 90; returns to Italy (error of Appian for M. Vario Lucellus), C. I., 120; envious of Pompey's glory, 11, 9.
- Lucullus**, M., lieutenant of Sulla, overcomes forces of Carbo, C. I., 92; brother of **Lucius Lucullus**, wages war against the Mysians, II. 30.
- Lusitania**, Sp. 56-61, 71 *sq.*; C. I., 110 *sq.*
- Lusones**, Spanish tribe on the Ebro, Sp. 42, 79.
- Lutatius** grants peace to the Carthaginians, Si. II., 1.
- Lutatius Catulus**, C. I., 74; another, consul of the Sullan faction, C. I., 105, 107.
- Lutia**, town of Spain near Numantia, Sp. 94.
- Lycia**, Sy. 4, 32, 53; Mi. 20 *sq.*, 24 *sq.*, 27, 95; the Romans give it to the Rhodians and take it away again, Sy. 44; Mi. 61 *sq.*; Brutus makes war against the Lycians, C. IV., 65, 75 *sq.*; Antony grants them freedom from taxes, V., 7.
- Lycomedes**, priest of the goddess of Comana, Mi. 121.
- Lycus**, river of Asia Minor, Mi. 20.
- Lysias**, ambassador of Antiochus, Sy. 6.
- Lysias**, teacher of Antiochus Eupator, Sy. 46 *sq.*
- Lysimacheia**, port of the Thracian Chersonesus, C. IV., 88; founded by Lysimachus, rebuilt by Antiochus, Sy. 1, 3; abandoned by Antiochus and occupied by the Scipios, 28, 29.
- Lysimachus**, Sy. 1; attendant of Alexander, foresees his future greatness, 64; king of Thrace, Sy. 53 *sq.*; killed in war with Seleucus, 62, 64.

INDEX

M

- Macedonia, conquered by Aemilius Paulus, Ma. XIX; by Mithridates, Mi. 35; taken by Sulla, 41; harassed by Illyrian tribes, II. 5; Mi. 55; C. V, 75; the province of M. Brutus, II. 13; C. III, 2, 63; IV, 57 *sq.*, 75; given to Antony, III, 8; IV, 57; exhausted by Antony and Octavian, 117.
- Macedonians, driven from Rome suddenly, Ma. XI, 9; phalanx, Sy. 19; Argeadae, 63; kings of Syria, 52 *sq.*; legions trained by Brutus in the Roman military drill, C. III, 79; IV, 75; empire, Pr. 10.
- Macedonicus, Cestius, burns his house and himself in Perusia, C. V, 49.
- Machares, son of Mithridates, Mi. 67, 78, 83, 102, 113.
- Maecenas, prosecutes the son of Lepidus for conspiracy against Octavian, C. IV, 50; negotiates peace between Octavian and Antony, V, 64; executes various orders of Octavian, 53, 92 *sq.*, 99, 112.
- Maeotic territories, Mi. 102.
- Maeotis, lake, Mi. 15.
- Magadates, general of Tigranes, Sy. 48 *sq.*
- Magdalses, friend of Bocchus, Nu. V.
- Magi, speech of, to Seleucus, Sy. 58; C. II, 154.
- Magius, follower of Sertorius, Mi. 68, 72.
- Magnesia, of Thessaly, Mi. 29; on the Meander, 21; at Mt. Sypylus, 21, 61; citizens of, Ma. VI.
- Magnopolis, city of Pontus, Mi. 115.
- Mago, son of Hamilcar and brother of Hannibal, H. 20.
- Mago, prefect of horse to Hasdrubal, Pu. 15.
- Mago, prefect of new Carthage, Sp. 19, 22.
- Mahabal, lieutenant of Hannibal, H. 10 *sq.*, 20 *sq.*
- Malia, town of Spain, Sp. 77.
- Maliac gulf, between Thermopylae and Phthiotis, Ma. VIII.
- Mallius, C., one of the conspirators with Catiline, C. II, 2.
- Mallus, town of Cilicia, Mi. 96.
- Mamertines, a people at the straits of Sicily, Sa. IX, 1.
- Mancaeus, appointed by Tigranes governor of Tigranocerta, Mi. 84, 86.
- Mancinus, Hostilius, supersedes Pompeius in Spain, Sp. 79; delivered naked by the Romans to the Numantines, who refuse to receive him, 88.
- Mancinus, L., at siege of Carthage, Pu. 110-114.
- Manilius, Manius, praetor of Spain, Sp. 56; as consul sent to Carthage, Pu. 75, 94-105, 108-110.
- Manius, procurator of Antony, stirs up strife against Octavian, C. V, 12, 19, 22, 29, 32, 66.
- Manlius, Aulus, lieutenant of Marius, Nu. IV.
- Manlius, L., Roman senator killed at Chalcedon, Mi. 71.
- Manlius, Marcus, saves Rome from the Gauls, It. IX.
- Manlius, in command against the Boii, H. 5.
- Manlius Torquatus, lieutenant of Pompey, Mi. 59.
- Manlius Torquatus, vindicates his father against accusation, Sa. II, III.
- Manlius Vulso, after Scipio commander against Antiochus, Sy. 39, 42 *sq.*
- Marathon, battle of, H. 39.
- Marcellus, Claudius, Si. IV, V; 27, 50; another, Sp. 48-50.
- Marcellus, Claudius, consul, cousin of the preceding, also hostile to Caesar, C. II, 26, 30; delivers his sword to Pompey, 31; another, consul, orders the tribunes Antony and Curio out of the Senate lest harm come to them, 33; follows Pompey into Epirus, 37 *sq.*
- Marcellus, M., consul, enemy of Caesar, C. II, 26.

INDEX

- Marcellus**, first husband of Octavia, C. V, 64.
Marcellus, son of the preceding, C. V, 73.
Marcius, C., Spaniard from Italica, Sp. 66.
Marcius Censorinus, consul, at siege of Carthage, Pu. 75, 80 *sq.*, 86, 97.
Marcius Censorinus, C., adherent of Carbo, C. I, 71, 88, 90.
Marcius Coriolanus, It. II, V; C. I, 1.
Marcius Philippus, persuades the Rhodians to send ambassadors to Rome, Ma. XIV, XVII.
Marcius Philippus, praetor, Sy. 51; his daughter, **Marcia**, wife of Cato, C. II, 99.
Marcius Philippus, L., step-father of Octavian, C. III, 10, 13.
Marcus, proscribed, C. IV, 43.
Marcus, lieutenant of Brutus, bought as a slave by Barbula, afterward consul, C. IV, 49.
Marius, Gaius, Nu. IV, V; G. I, 2; II. 4; Mi. 51, 60; in his sixth consulship, by a stratagem, causes Metellus to be exiled, C. I, 29-31; lieutenant of Rutilius in Social War, 40 *sq.*, 43 *sq.*, 46; seeks to snatch the command of Mithridatic war from Sulla, 55; vanquished by Sulla in battle, and declared public enemy, 58, 60; flees to Minturnae, thence to Africa, 61 *sq.*; returns, joins Cinna, and marches toward the city with an army, 67-71; slaughters his personal enemies, 71-74; dies while consul the seventh time, 75.
Marius, adopted son of the preceding, declared public enemy with his father, C. I, 60; flees to Africa, 62; son of the brother of Marius, 87; consul, vanquished by Sulla, flees to Praeneste *ib.*; shut up in Praeneste by Sulla, he sends orders to Rome to kill his enemies, 88; attempts in vain to escape, 90; commits suicide, 94.
Marius Gratidianus, of the faction of Cinna, C. I, 65.
Maronea, town of Syria, Sy. 57; of Thrace, C. IV, 87 *sq.*
Marrucini, a people of Italy, on the Adriatic coast, C. I, 39, 52.
Mars and Minerva, spoils of war are burned in honour of, Pu. 133; Sp. 57; Caesar invokes Mars, C. II, 68; temple of, fifteen stades from Rome, III, 41.
Marsi, a people adjacent to Latium, C. I, 39, 50, 52; proverb concerning them, 46.
Marsus, prefect of the guards of Laodicea, C. IV, 62.
Martian legion, C. III, 45, 66 *sq.*; IV, 115 *sq.*
Marullus, tribune, C. II, 108, 112.
Masinissa, son of king of the Massylii, Pu. 10; educated at Carthage, 10, 37; accompanies Hasdrubal to Spain, Sp. 25, 27; passes over to the Romans, 37; sends aid to them in Spain, 46; escapes plot of Hasdrubal and prepares an army for himself, Pu. 10-12; meets plot with counterplot, 13; fights against Syphax in alliance with the Romans, 14-28; receives his paternal kingdom and that of Syphax at the hands of the Romans, 32; against Hannibal, 37, 41-48; encroaches on territory of Carthage, 67-70; defeats Carthaginians, 71 *sq.*; his death, 105; his sons, *ib.*; his grandson Jugurtha, Sp. 89; his grandson Hasdrubal, Pu. 93.
Massathes, Numidian prince, Pu. 44.
Massilia (Marseilles), Sp. 40; C. II, 47; IV. 44; offerings of the Massilians in temple of Delphi, It. VIII, 1.
Massylii, a people of Africa, Pu. 10, 26 *sq.*
Mastanabal, son of Masinissa, Pu. 106.
Mazaca, town of Cappadocia, Mi. 115.
Medes, conquered by Pompey, Mi. 114; Median archers, C. IV, 88; Antony wages war against the Medes, V. 133; empire of the Medes, Pr. 9; Pu. 87.

INDEX

- Media, Sy. 1, 52, 55; Darius, king of, Mi. 106.
- Mediterranean sea, Pr. 1, 2, 3, 5; Mi. 93 *sq.*
- Megabates, general of the Armenians beyond the Euphrates, C. II, 71.
- Megabyzus, priest of Diana of the Ephesians, C. V, 9.
- Megalopolis, town of Arcadia, Sy. 13.
- Megara, town of Attica, Mi. 30; suburb of Carthage, Pu. 117.
- Melas, gulf between Thrace and Thracian Chersonesus, C. IV, 88, 101.
- Melitenses, inhabitants of an island near Dalmatia, Il. 16.
- Memmius, convicted of bribery under Pompey's law, C. II, 24.
- Menander, prefect of horse, Mi. 117.
- Menas, ambassador of Prusias, Mi. 4 *sq.*
- Mendis, general of Antiochus, Sy. 33.
- Menecrates, prefect of fleet of Sextus Pompeius, C. V, 81-83.
- Menenius, proscribed, C. IV, 44.
- Menippus, lieutenant of Antiochus, Sy. 6.
- Menodorus, prefect of fleet of Sextus Pompeius, C. V, 56, 66, 70-73, 77-82, 89, 96, 100-102.
- Menophanes, persuades Mithridates to pardon his son Pharnaces, Mi. 110.
- Meromenni, Illyrian tribe, Il. 16.
- Merula, L., consul and priest of Jupiter, C. I, 65, 70, 74.
- Mesembria, town of Lower Moesia, Il. 30.
- Mesopotamia, under the Parthians, Sy. 48; under Seleucus, 53, 55; part subjugated by Pompey, Mi. 114.
- Mesotulus, son of Syphax, a Numidian prince, Pu. 33.
- Messala Corvinus, proscribed and pardoned, joins Brutus, C. IV, 38; after Philippi takes service under Antony, 136; lieutenant of Octavian against Sextus Pompeius, V, 102 *sq.*, 109, 112; his magnanimity, 113; overcomes the Salassi, Il. 17; has a triumph, C. IV, 38.
- Messana, town of Sicily, Sa. IX, 2; C. II, 95; IV, 25, 39; V, 81, 84 *sq.*, 97, 103, 109, 121; Octavian besieges it, 117; Lepidus plunders it, 122.
- Meessenians, in Peloponnesus, Sy. 41.
- Metapontum, town on the Tarentine strait, H. 33, 35; C. V, 93.
- Metellus Nepos, lieutenant of Pompey in war against pirates, Mi. 95.
- Metellus, captured by Octavian, is saved by the prayers of his son, C. IV, 42.
- Metrophanes, lieutenant of Mithridates, Mi. 29.
- Metropolis, in Lydia, citizens of, Mi. 48.
- Metulum, town of Illyria, Il. 19-21.
- Micipsa, son of Masinissa, Pu. 70, 106; Sp. 67.
- Micythio, lieutenant of Antiochus, Sy. 12.
- Miletus, town of Ionia, Sy. 65; C. IV, 37; V, 9, 144.
- Military discipline, restored by Scipio, Sp. 85 *sq.*; Pu. 115; weakened in the Civil Wars, C. V, 17.
- Military service, the Bruttians forbidden to enter it, H. 61; only priests and old men exempted from, C. II, 150.
- Milo, enemy of Clodius, C. II, 16, 20; kills Clodius, 21; tried and convicted, 24; excepted from Caesar's amnesty, 48.
- Milonius, senator who joins faction of Cinna, C. I, 65.
- Mina, an Attic coin, C. II, 102.
- Mindius Marcellus, close friend of Octavian, C. V, 102.
- Minerva, spoils of war burnt in honour of, Pu. 133; Sp. 75; palladium and temple of, at Ilium, Mi. 53; promontory of, C. V, 98.
- Minius, river of Hither Spain, Sp. 72.
- Minturnae, town on the coast of Latium, C. I, 61 *sq.*; IV, 28.
- Minucius, follower of Pompey, C.

INDEX

- II, 54; another, soldier in Caesar's army, 60.
Minucius, proscribed, C. IV, 17.
Minucius Basillus, conspirator against Caesar, C. II, 113; killed by his own slaves, III, 98.
Minucius Rufus, master of horse, H. 12 *sq.*; another, prefect of Roman fleet of Byzantium, Mi. 17.
Minucius Thermus, military tribune under the elder Scipio in Africa, Pu. 36, 44; praetor of Spain, Sp. 39; sent to receive oath of Antiochus, Sy. 39.
Minurus, friend of Viriathus, Sp. 74.
Mithraas, general of Mithridates, Mi. 10.
Mithridates, Euergetes, Mi. 10, 57.
Mithridates, surnamed Eupator and Dionysus, king of Pontus, retaliates on Bithynia and Cappadocia, Mi. 10–16; wages war with Nicomedes and the Roman leaders, 17–19; seizes Phrygia and other parts of Asia, 20 *sq.*; massacres Romans in Asia, 22, 23; attacks Rhodes, 24–27; carries war into Greece by means of Archelaus, who is conquered by Sulla, 27–45; rage against the Chians and other suspected peoples, 46–48; sends reinforcements to Archelaus, but in vain, 49–51; makes peace with Sulla, 54–58; reduces the Colchians and other peoples of the Bosphorus, 64; second Mithridatic war with Murena, 64–66; incites Tigranes against the Romans and forms an alliance with Sertorius, 67; third Mithridatic war, 68 *sq.*; compelled by Lucullus to raise siege of Cyzicus, 72 *sq.*; flees to Pontus in a small boat, 78; from Pontus to Tigranes, 81 *sq.*, 85 *sq.*; returns to Pontus, 88–90; Pompey marches against him, 97 *sq.*; Mithridates put to flight, 99 *sq.*; retreats to the Cimmerian Bosphorus through Colchian and Scythian territory, 101 *sq.*, 107 *sq.*; contemplates an incursion into Italy, by way of the Alps with the help of the Gauls, 109; his death, 110 *sq.*; fortune, talents, and manners, 112 *sq.*; his sons, 108, 117; his daughters, 108, 111, 117; his grandson Darius, C. V, 75.
Mithridates, son of the preceding, Mi. 52, 64.
Mithridates, king of the Parthians, Sy. 51.
Mithridates of Pergamus, Mi. 121.
Mithridatis, daughter of Mithridates, Mi. 111.
Mithrobarzanes, king of Armenia, ally of Tigranes, Mi. 84.
Mitylenians, Ma. III, 1; Mi. 21; Mytlyene, largest city of Lesbos, Mi. 52; C. II, 83; V, 133.
Mnaseas, prefect of fleet of Rhodes, C. IV, 66; V, 133.
Moentini, a people of Illyria, Il. 16.
Moesia, in Europe, Il. 6, 29 *sq.*
Molostomus, prince of an Illyrian tribe, Il. 4.
Molossi, a people of Epirus, Sa. XI, 1.
Monima, a wife of Mithridates, Mi. 21, 27, 48.
Mons sacer (the sacred mountain) of Rome C. I, 1; mountain of Venus, on the river Tagus, Sp. 64.
Moon, temple of, struck by lightning, C. I, 78.
Moors (inhabitants of Mauritania), Pr. 1; Il. 4; C. IV, 54; V, 26; Moorish archers, Pu. 40; Moors bordering the ocean, 106; free Moors, 111; Moors of Numidia, C. I, 42; Atlas, a Moorish mountain, Nu. V; Mauritania subjected to Roman rule, C. I, 100.
Mopsuestia, city on coast of Cilicia, Sy. 69.
Mucia, mother of Sextus Pompeius, C. V, 69, 72.
Mummius, tribune, C. I, 13 *sq.*
Mummius, Roman general in Spain, Sp. 56 *sq.*; has a triumph for victories in Greece, Pu. 135; condemned to exile under Varian law, C. I, 37.
Munatius, lieutenant of Sulla, Mi. 34.

U U

657

INDEX

- Murcinus, town of Macedonia near Philippi and the river Strymon, C. IV, 105.
- Murcus, Statius, conspirator against Caesar, C. II, 119; sent by Caesar to quell mutiny in Syria, III, 77; IV, 58; joins Cassius, III, 78; IV, 59; sent by Cassius with fleet to Peloponnesus, 74; entraps enemy's fleet at Brundisium, 82, 86, 100, 108, 115–117; joins Sextus Pompeius, V, 2, 15, 50; is put to death by him, 70.
- Murderers of Caesar, all except Decimus Brutus welcomed by senatorial party, C. II, 146; all brought to punishment, 154; III, 26, 98; IV, 134.
- Murena, lieutenant of Sulla, Mi. 32, 43; left by Sulla in Asia, 64 *sq.*, 93 *sq.*, 112.
- Mutina, town of Cisalpine Gaul, IV, 2; V, 129; Decimus Brutus besieged by Antony in, III, 49 *sq.*
- Myconius, a mountain of Sicily, C. V, 117.
- Mylae, town of Sicily, C. V, 105 *sq.*, 108 *sq.*, 115 *sq.*
- Mynthus, town on coast of Caria, C. IV, 65 *sq.*, 71; an island, V, 7.
- Mynnio, of Smyrna, conspires against Mithridates, Mi. 48.
- Myonesus, city on coast of Lydia, Sy. 27.
- Myra, town on coast of Lycia, C. IV, 82.
- Myrtoan sea, part of the Aegean Pr. 5.
- Mysia, in Asia, Sy. 42; Mi. 20; C. V, 7, 138; Mysian mounted bowmen, 32.
- N
- Nabataeans, Arabian tribe, Mi. 106.
- Nabis, tyrant of the Lacedaemonians, Ma. VII.
- Narce, town of Africa, Pu. 33.
- Naresii, a people of Dalmatia, II. 16.
- Naro, river of Dalmatia, II. 11.
- Nasidius, Roman noble, who de-
- serts Sextus Pompeius and joins Antony, C. V, 139.
- Naso, Sextius, conspirator against Caesar, C. II, 113.
- Naval battle, at siege of Carthage, Pu. 112; of the Romans against Polyxenidas, admiral of Antiochus, Sy. 22, 27; between the Rhodians and Mithridates, Mi. 25; between the Rhodians and Cassius, C. IV, 71; between Sextus Pompeius and Salvidienus, lieutenant of Octavian, 85; between Calvisius, lieutenant of Octavian and Menecrates, lieutenant of Sextus Pompeius, V, 81, 88; of Agrippa against S. Pompeius, 106–108; naval spectacle represented at Rome, II, 102.
- Naulochus, maritime town of Sicily, C. V, 116, 121.
- Naxians, colony of, in Sicily, C. V, 109.
- Naxos, one of the Cyclades Islands, C. V, 7.
- Neapolis (Naples), city of Campania C. I, 89; Romans make war on the Neapolitans, Sa. IV, 5.
- Neapolis of Macedonia, C. IV, 16.
- Nemanes, an Armenian, Mi. 19.
- Nemesis, chapel of, name given by Caesar to Pompey's monument in Egypt, C. II, 90.
- Nemus, grove near Aricia containing a rich temple, from which Octavian borrowed money, C. V, 24.
- Neoptolemus, general of Mithridates, Mi. 17, 19, 34.
- Nepheris, town of Africa, Pu. 101, 108, 126.
- Neptune, Scipio sacrifices to, Pu. 13; Octavian, C. V, 98; Mithridates plunges white horses into the sea in honour of, Mi. 70; Neptune beholds a battle from Samothrace, Pu. 71; Sextus Pompeius affects to be son of Neptune, C. V, 100; Dyrrachus son of Neptune, II, 39.
- Nergobriga, town of Baetica, Sp. 50.
- Nergobriges, a people of Baetica in Spain, Sp. 48.

INDEX

- Nero, consul, H. 52; defeats and kills Hasdrubal at Metaurus, *ib.*; a senator, C. II, 5.
- Nervii, a people of Belgic Gaul, G. I, 4.
- Nicaea, city of Bithynia, Mi. 6, 77; C. V, 139.
- Nicander, a pirate, Sy. 24 *sq.*
- Nicanor, satrap of Cappadocia, Mi. 8.
- Nicator, satrap of Media, Sy. 55.
- Nicatorium, chapel enclosing tomb of Seleucus Nicator, Sy. 63.
- Nicephorium, town of Mesopotamia on the Euphrates, Sy. 57; citadel of Pergamus, Mi. 3.
- Nicias, put to death by King Perseus, Ma. XVI.
- Nicomedes son of Prusias, conspires against his father, and by the help of Attalus acquires the kingdom of Bithynia, Mi. 4-7.
- Nicomedes Philopator, son of the preceding, king of Bithynia, Mi. 7; driven from his kingdom by his brother Socrates, 10; restored by the Romans, he makes war against Mithridates, is put to flight, 11-20, 57; is brought back to his kingdom by Curio, 60.
- Nicomedia, city of Bithynia, Mi. 7, 52, 76; C. V, 139.
- Nicopolis, town of Armenia founded by Seleucus, Sy. 57; another founded by Pompey in Lesser Armenia, Mi. 105, 115.
- Nile, river of Egypt, Pr. 1; C. II, 90.
- Nola, town of Campania, C. I, 42, 50, 65.
- Nomads, Latin for Numidians, Pr. 1.
- Nonius, tribune-elect, slain by faction of Glaucia, C. I, 28.
- Nonius, centurion, killed by fellow-soldiers, C. V, 16.
- Nonius, friend of Fimbria, Mi. 59.
- Nonius, gate-keeper of Rome, C. V, 30.
- Norba, town of Latium, C. I, 94.
- Norbanus, C., consul, fights against Sulla, C. I, 82, 84, 86; defeated and flees to Rhodes, where he stabs himself, 91.
- Norbanus, C. Flaccus, sent by Antony to occupy mountain passes against Brutus and Cassius, C. IV, 87, 103 *sq.*; 106 *sq.*; receives command of camp from Octavian, 130.
- Norici, a German people between the Drave and the Danube, G. XIII; II, 6, 29.
- Noverca, wife of Antiochus, Sy. 59-61.
- Novum Comum (Como), Roman colony near Mediolanum (Milan), C. II, 26.
- Novus Homo*, C. II, 2.
- Nuceria, town of Campania (and of Umbria), H. 49; Pu. 63; C. II, 38; IV, 3.
- Nudus, naval officer of Mithridates, Mi. 71.
- Numa Pompilius, K. II; sacred funds accumulated by him sold, Mi. 22.
- Numantia, town of the Arevaci, Sp. 46, 66; its site, 76; Numantine war, 66, 76-98.
- Numidia, divided among princes, Pu. 10.
- Numidians, a people of Africa, H. 35, 50, 57; Pu. 9; II, 4; C. I, 42; II, 44; V, 98, 113; their method of fighting, their supplies, their customs, Sp. 25; Pu. 11, 71; brought into a more civilized state by Masinissa, 106; single combat between a Numidian and a Gaul, C. I, 50.
- Numitor, K. I, 2; Fr. 1, 3, 4.
- Numitorius, C., is killed, C. I, 72.
- Nymphaeum, stronghold of the Bosporus, Mi. 108; Illyrian port, C. II, 59.
- Nyssa, daughter of Mithridates, Mi. III.

O

- Obolcola, town of Lusitania, Sp. 68.
- Ocean, Pr. 1; C. II, 32; V, 65; western and northern, Sp. 1; British, II, 150.
- Ocile, town of Spain, Sp. 57.
- Ocilia, town of Spain, Sp. 47.
- Octavia, a Roman portico, II, 28.

INDEX

Octavia, the sister of Octavian, wife of Marcellus and afterward of Antony, C. V, 64, 67, 76, 93, 95, 138.
Octavius Caesar (Augustus), changes Roman government into a monarchy, Pr. 14; surname Augustus, Sp. 102; establishes colony at Carthage, Pu. 136; reduces Galatia to a province, Sy. 50; also Cappadocia, Mi. 105; also Egypt, Mi. 121; Il. 30; C. I, 5; subdues Illyrian tribes, Il. 16-29; adopted by his great-uncle Julius Caesar, C. II, 143; dedicates temple to him, 148; comes to Rome and accepts adoption in praetor's court, C. III, 9-14; presents himself to Antony, 14-20; offers Caesar's property for sale to pay legacy to Roman people, 21-28; his controversies with Antony, 28-39; draws Caesar's veterans to his side, 40 sq.; obtains honours and authority from Senate, 51 sq.; marches with Hirtius to relief of Mutina, 65 sq.; after the flight of Antony is neglected by Senate, 74 sq.; desires reconciliation with Antony, 80 sq.; seeks consulship by Cicero's help, 82; after Antony and Lepidus join forces is again honoured by Senate, 85 sq.; and created consul, 94; forms triumvirate with Antony and Lepidus and issues proscription, IV, 2 sq.; comes in conflict with Sextus Pompeius concerning Sicily, 82, 85; accompanies Antony to Macedonia, 86, 106, 108; not present at first battle of Philippi, 110 sq.; takes part in second battle, 127 sq.; shares provinces with Antony and returns to Italy, V, 3 sq.; contentions with Lucius Antonius, 14, 19 sq.; war with him, 29 sq.; siege of Perusia, 33-49; draws Antony's Gallic and Spanish legions over to himself, 51; asks Scribonia in marriage, 53; sends Lucius Antonius to Spain, 54; quarrels with Antony, is reconciled and

betroths his sister Octavia to him, 57, 64; rescued by Antony from mob at Rome, 67 sq.; makes peace with Sextus Pompeius, 71-74; pacifies Gaul, 75; peace with Pompeius broken, 77; asks Antony to meet him at Brundisium, but does not come himself, 78 sq.; gains possession of Corsica and Sardinia through Menodorus, 80; invades Sicily, 81; his fleet suffers disaster at Cumae, 82-84; is wrecked by storm in the straits, 85-91; is reconciled with Antony and prepares new fleet, 92; interviews Antony at Tarentum and receives ships from him, 93-95; suffers another shipwreck in bay of Elea, 98 sq.; again attacks Sicily, 103; naval battle at Mylae, 106-108; with a part of his forces crosses to Tauromenium, where he is surrounded by enemies, 109 sq.; naval battle with Pompeius, 111; is defeated and returns alone to Italian coast, 112-115; rescues his men by means of Agrippa, ib.; occupies pass of Mylae, 116; with Lepidus lays siege to Messana, 117; in naval battle at Naulochus he overcomes Pompeius, 118 sq.; captures Messana, frustrates conspiracy of Lepidus, acquires all Sicily, and sends Lepidus to Rome as a private citizen, 122-127; quells mutiny among troops, 128 sq.; returns to Rome and receives boundless honours from the Senate, 130-132; marches against the Illyrians, 145; his memoirs cited, Il. 14 sq.; C. IV, 110; V, 45.

Octavius, colleague of Cinna in consulship, C. I, 64; put to death by Marius, 68-71.

Octavius, father of Octavius Caesar, C. III, 11, 23.

Octavius, Gnaeus, Roman legate sent to Syria to destroy elephants, himself killed, Sy. 46.

Octavius, lieutenant of Pompey, C. II, 47.

INDEX

- Octavius, lieutenant of Scipio against Hannibal, Pu. 41, 49.
 Octavius, M., tribune, colleague of Tiberius Gracchus, C. I, 12.
 Odessus, city of Mysia, II. 30.
 Odeum, of Athens, consumed by fire, Mi. 38.
 Oenoandians, a people in the vicinity of Xanthus, in Lycia, C. IV, 79.
 Oenomaus, a gladiator, C. I, 116.
 Ofilius, seditious military tribune, C. V, 128.
 Olcaba, a Scythian, deserts from Mithridates to Lucullus, Mi. 79.
 Olophernes, king of Cappadocia with Ariarathes, Sy. 47, 48.
 Olthaces, king of Colchis, Mi. 117.
 Olympias, mother of Alexander, Sy. 54.
 Olympic games, in the 175 Olympiad, C. I, 99.
 Olympus, mountain of Mysia, Sy. 42.
 Omens, presenting themselves to Seleucus, Sy. 56; to Alexander, *ib.*; to Lysimachus, 64; to Mithridates, Mi. 20; to Marius, C. I, 61; to Crassus, II, 18; to Pompey, 58, 68; to Octavian, V, 80.
 Onobala, river of Sicily, C. V, 100.
 Onomarchus, melts golden vase taken from Delphi during Phocian war, It. VIII, 1.
 Optimus, consul, puts Galus Gracchus and Flaccus to death, C. I, 25 *sq.*
 Oppius, military tribune, Sp. 78.
 Oppius, proconsul, Mi. 17; taken prisoner by Mithridates, 20; surrendered to Sulla, 112.
 Oppius, proscript, saved by his son, C. IV, 41; son is created aedile, *ib.*
 Oracle, of Delphi, consulted by the Romans, H. 27; of Ammon, C. II, 149; of Didymaeum, Sy. 56, 63; oracle respecting the death of Hannibal, Sy. 11; oracle announced to Sulla, C. I, 97; to the inhabitants of Sinope, Mi. 83.
 Orchomenus, city of Boeotia, Mi. 49.
 Orestea (or Orestias), a subdivision of Macedonia, Sy. 63.
 Oricum, town on coast of Epirus, C. II, 54, 56.
 Orodes, brother of Mithridates, king of the Parthians, Sy. 51.
 Oroeas, king of the Albanians, Mi. 103, 117.
 Oropus, town of Syria, Sy. 57.
 Oroscoxa, town of Africa, Pu. 70.
 Orso, town of Baetica, in Spain, Sp. 16, 65.
 Ostia, city at mouth of the Tiber, C. I, 67.
 Ovation, procession inferior to triumph, C. V, 130.
 Oxathres, son of Mithridates, Mi. 108, 117.
 Oxitracae, town of Lusitania, Sp. 58.
 Oxyael, an Illyrian tribe, II. 16.
 Oxydraceae, a people of Hither India, C. II, 152.
 Oxynta, son of Jugurtha, C. I, 42.

P

- Padus (Po), river of Cisalpine Gaul, formerly Eridanus, H. 5; C. I, 109.
 Paeon (or Pannionius), grandson of Polyphenus, II. 2.
 Palaestenians, a Sicilian tribe, C. V, 117.
 Palarii, an Illyrian tribe, II. 10.
 Palestine, part of Syria, Pr. 2; subdued by Pompey, Sy. 50; Mi. 106, 118; *see also* Mi. 115, 117; C. III, 78; IV, 59; V, 7.
 Pallacotta, river of Assyria, C. II, 153.
 Palladium, Mi. 53.
 Pallantia, a state of Spanish province of Tarragonensis, Sp. 55, 80, 82 *sq.*; 88; C. I, 115.
 Palma, *see* Phoenix.
 Palmyra, city of Syria, C. V, 9.
 Pamphylia, on coast of Asia Minor, Sy. 22, 53; Mi. 8, 20, 56, 95; Pamphylians, Pr. 2; Sy. 32; Mi. 92; C. II, 49, 71; IV, 60; Pamphylian sea, Pr. 2; Pamphylian gulf, C. II, 149.

INDEX

- Panaces, surrenders Cydonia to T. Metellus, Si. 6.
- Pannonia, a country between Illyria and Danube, Mi. 102; II. 1, 2, 3, 6, 14, 17, 22 *sq.*
- Pansa, consul, C. III, 50; collects forces for relief of Mutina, 65; has battle with Antony near Mutina, 66-69; death and funeral, 76.
- Pansa (son of above), sent to Brutus and Cassius, C. III, 85.
- Panticapaeum, city on the confines of Europe, at the Cimmerian Bosporus, Mi. 107, 120.
- Paphlagonia, country of Asia Minor, Mi. 17, 21, 56, 68, 70, 112; Pompey gives it a king, 114; C. II, 71; adds it to Roman sway, 118.
- Papias, general of Sextus Pompeius, C. V, 104, 106 *sq.*
- Papirius Carbo, triumvir for dividing public lands, C. I, 18.
- Papirius Carbo, Gn., colleague of Cinna, C. I, 67, 69; makes preparations for war against Sulla, 76-78, 82; proclaims Metellus and other followers of Sulla public enemies, 86; consul the second time, wages war with Sulla, 87, 89, 90 *sq.*; overcome by Metellus he flees to Africa, 91 *sq.*; is killed in Sicily, 96, 98.
- Papius Mutilus, Italian general in Social War, C. I, 40, 42, 51; another, proscribed, IV, 35.
- Papyrus, used for diadem, Mi. 111.
- Parium, city of Asia Minor on the Propontis, Mi. 76.
- Partheni, Illyrian tribe, II. 2; C. IV, 88; V, 75.
- Parthians, a people of Asia, subdued by Seleucus, Sy. 55; revolt from the Seleucidæ, 65; capture Demetrius Nicator, 67; invaded by Antiochus, 1; son of Tigranes takes refuge among them, Mi. 104 *sq.*; Crassus loses his life in war against them, C. II, 18; remains of his legions, 49; IV, 59; Pompey contemplates flight to them, II, 83; Caesar contemplates war against them, 110; II. 18; they send aid to Cassius, C. IV, 59, 63, 88; ravage Syria and Asia as far as Ionia, 63; V, 10, 65; Sy. 51; Antony undertakes Parthian war, C. V, 10, 65, 75, 133; meets disaster, 134; Sextus Pompeius offers himself to the Parthians as general, 133; cities in Parthia founded by Seleucus, Sy. 57.
- Partha, daughter of Illyrius, II. 2.
- Parthus, town of Africa, Pu. 39.
- Pasargada, town belonging to Persia, Mi. 66.
- Patara, seaport of the Xanthians, Mi. 27; C. IV, 52, 81.
- Patiscus, joins murderers of Caesar after the event, C. II, 119.
- Patrae (Patras), town of Achala, C. I, 79.
- Paulus, basilica of, C. II, 26.
- Pausimachus, of Rhodes, Sy. 23 *sq.*
- Pedius, Q., one of the heirs under Caesar's will, C. III, 22; colleague with Octavian in consilanship, 94, 96; first to enforce proscription, IV, 6; his death, *ib.*
- Peducæus, Sextus, prefect of Sardinia for Caesar, C. II, 48; Quintus, praetor of Spain, V, 54.
- Peligni, a people of Italy proper, C. I, 39.
- Pella, town of Syria, Sy. 57.
- Pelopidas, colleague of Epaminnondas, Sy. 41.
- Pelopidas, legate of Mithridates, Mi. 12, 14-16, 27.
- Peloponnesus, southern division of Greece, Ma. VIII; Mi. 95; C. IV, 74, 77, 80; contention between Sextus Pompeius and Antony respecting, V, 72, 77.
- Pelorus, promontory, north-east extremity of Sicily, C. V, 105, 116.
- People (the multitude), easily seduced, Pu. 50; unstable as the waves of the sea, C. III, 20; come to elections to be bought, II, 19; arbiters of peace and war, III, 55; and of the comitia, Pu. 112.
- Peparethus, island in the Aegean sea, off Thessaly, C. V, 7.

INDEX

- Peraea, district belonging to Rhodes, ravaged by Philip, king of Macedonia, Ma. IV.
- Perdiccas, general of Alexander, Sy. 52, 57; Mi. 8.
- Pergamenians, slothful in defending themselves against Seleucus, Sy. 26; kill Romans domiciled among them, Mi. 23; their kingdom left to the Romans in the will of Attalus, 62.
- Pergamus, city of Asia Minor, Sy. 63; Mi. 19, 21, 52, 56; Philip attacks it, Ma. IV; Seleucus besieges it, Sy. 26; defended by Diophanes the Achaean, *ib.*; Prusias attacks Attalus, its king, Mi. 3; temple of Aesculapius there, 23; Trebonius forbids Dolabella to enter, C. III, 26.
- Pericles, fortifies the Piraeus, Mi. 30.
- Perinthus, town of Syria, Sy. 57.
- Perpenna, legate of the Romans to the Illyrian King Genthius, Ma. XVIII, 1.
- Perpenna, C., lieutenant of Rutilius in Social War, C. I, 40 *sq.*
- Perpenna, leads army to help Sertorius in Spain C. I, 107; defeated and put to flight by Metellus, 110; kills Sertorius, 113; Sp. 101; governs cruelly, C. I, 114; defeated by Pompey and killed, 115.
- Perrhaebi, a people of Thessaly, Ma. XI, 1; II. 2.
- Perrhaebus, grandson of Polymenus, II. 2.
- Perseus, king of Macedonia, accused before the Romans by Eumenes, Ma. XI, 1, 2; replies, 5, 8; as a victor offers peace to Crassus, XII; alarmed at news of enemy's approach, XV; throws his money into the sea, XVI; changes his habits, *ib.*; seeks aid from Genthius, XVIII, 1; II. 9; also from the Getae, Ma. XVIII, 1, 2; captured by Aemilius Paulus, Sp. 65; his sister married to Prusias, Mi. 2.
- Persians, empire of, Pr. 9; Pu. 87; Seleucus gains possession of, Sy. 55; law of, 61; solemn sacrifice of, Mi. 66; Darius, king of, 112; think it disgraceful to be in debt, C. I, 54; study and discuss their laws in market-places, II, 102; their Magi, 154.
- Perthoneatae, an Illyrian tribe, II. 16.
- Perusia, town of Etruria, besieged, C. V, 32 *sq.*; one of the twelve original states of the Etruscans, 49.
- Pessinus, town of Phrygia, H. 56.
- Petilia, town of Magna Graecia, in Bruttium, H. 29, 57.
- Petilius, legate of the Romans to Genthius, Ma. XVIII, 1.
- Petrius, Roman general, lieutenant of Pompey in Spain, C. II, 42 *sq.*, 150; in Africa, 95; commits suicide with Juba, 100.
- Petronius, privy to conspiracy against Caesar, C. V, 4.
- Phaeacium, Attic shoe, C. V, 11, 76.
- Phalanx, Macedonian, Sy. 19, 32, 35.
- Phanagoria, city of Asiatic Sarmatia, at the Cimmerian Bosporus, Mi. 108, 113, 120.
- Pharnaces, son of Mithridates, Mi. 87, 110–113, 120; C. II, 91 *sq.*
- Pharsalus, town of Thessaly, C. II, 64; battle of, 75–82.
- Pharus, island near Dalmatia, II. 7 *sq.*
- Phila, town of Macedonia, Ma. XVIII, 3.
- Philadelphus, freedman of Octavian, C. V, 78.
- Philemon, freedman, saves his former master, C. IV, 44.
- Philetaerus, king of Pergamus, Sy. 63; another, brother of Eumenes, 5.
- Philip, father of Alexander, Pr. 8; II. 14; Sy. 19, 32, 54; C. II, 149; drives people of Chalcidice out of Thrace, IV, 102; fortifies Philippi, 105; his slayers, II, 154.
- Philip V, king of Macedonia, his treaty with Hannibal, Ma. II; war and peace with the Aetolians and the Romans, III, 1, 2;

INDEX

- attacks Attalus and Rhodes, besieges Athens, IV; the Achaeans prefer him to the Romans, V; his colloquy with Flamininus, VII; being vanquished makes peace, VIII, 1, 3; helps Romans against Antiochus, Sy. 16 *sq.*, 21, 23; new bickerings and preparation for war, Ma. IX, 6; his son Demetrius, *ib.*
- Philip, master of elephants to Antiochus, Sy. 33.
- Philip, son of Alexander of Megalopolis, Sy. 13, 17.
- Philippi, city of Macedonia, C. IV, 87, 103; its origin, name, and situation, 105 *sq.*; first battle of, 110–112; second battle of, 125 *sq.*; victory ascribed to Antony chiefly, V, 14, 53, 58.
- Philocharis, of Tarentum, Sa. VII, 1.
- Philoctetes, altar of, Mi. 77.
- Philologists, of Athens, Antony attends their lectures, C. V, 11.
- Philonidas, of Tarentum, Sa. VII, 2.
- Philopator, Nicomedes, Mi. 7.
- Philopoemen, father of Monima, Mi. 21, 48.
- Philotimus, conspires against Mithridates, Mi. 48.
- Phocaea, city of Ionia, Sy. 22, 25.
- Phocian war, It. VIII, 1.
- Phocians, lend aid to Antiochus, Sy. 21.
- Phocis, country of Greece between Boeotia and Aetolia, Ma. VIII; Mi. 41.
- Phoenicia, Pr. 2; Sy. 22; Mi. 13, 56, 95; considered part of Syria, 116, 118; subject to Romans, Sy. 50; Mi. 106.
- Phoenicians, build Carthage, Pu. 1; settle in Spain, Sp. 2; auxiliaries of Pompey, C. II, 71; also of Cassius, IV, 60.
- Phoenix, town of Sicily, (= Palma), C. V, 110.
- Phoenix, general of Mithridates, Mi. 79.
- Phraates, king of the Parthians, captures Demetrius Nicator, Sy. 67 *sq.*
- Phraates, king of the Parthians, son of Sintricus, seeks friendship of Pompey, Mi. 104; wages war against Tigranes, 106.
- Phrygia, country of Asia Minor, Sy. 53; Mi. 20, 65, 112; C. II, 39; V. 7; inland, Sy. 55; on Hellespont, 62; given to Mithridates by Romans, Mi. 12, 57; taken away again, *ib.* 13; declared free by Romans, 57; added to Roman sway, 118.
- Phrygians, Sy. 32; Mi. 41; unwarlike, 19; worship the Mother of the gods at Pessinus, H 56; auxiliaries of Pompey, C. II, 71.
- Phrygius, river of Ionia, Sy. 30.
- Picentines, take arms against Romans, C. I, 39.
- Picenum, country of Italy proper on Adriatic coast, Sa. VI, 1; G. XI; C. I, 80, 117; II, 2; III, 66, 93.
- Pinarius, an heir of Caesar, C. III, 22; given charge of war material at Amphipolis by Antony, IV, 107.
- Pindarus, shield-bearer of Cassius, C. IV, 113.
- Pinnes, son of Argo, king of Illyria, II. 7 *sq.*
- Piraeus, seaport of Athens, Sy. 22; C. I, 79; occupied by Archelaus, Mi. 29; fortified by Pericles, 30; besieged by Sulla, 31 *sq.*; burned, 41.
- Pirates, their beginning and growth, Mi. 92 *sq.*; their destroyer Pompey, 91, 94–96; C. I, 111; aided by the Cretans, Si. VI, 1; by order of Sextus Pompeius they infest the seas, C. V, 77, 80; Mithridates takes flight in a piratical craft, Mi. 78; Demetrius practices piracy, II. 8; Clodius captured by pirates, C. II, 23.
- Pisidia, country of Asia Minor near Mount Taurus, between Pamphylia and Phrygia, Sy. 9; subdued by Eumachus for Mithridates, Mi. 75; Amyntas appointed its king by Antony, C. V, 75.
- Pisistratus, governor of Cyzicus

INDEX

- during its siege by Mithridates, Mi. 73.
- Pitane, town of Mysia, near Pergamum, Mi. 52.
- Pithagoras, soothsayer, C. II, 152.
- Pithecura, island near Neapolis, also called Aenaria, C. V, 69.
- Pius, Metellus, C. I, 33.
- Placentia, city of Cisalpine Gaul, H. 5, 77; C. I, 92; II, 47.
- Plague, the, Pu. 73; Mi. 76; II. 4.
- Plancus, with three legions in Farther Gaul, C. III, 46; ordered to make war against Antony, 74; joins Decimus Brutus, 81; goes over to Antony, 97; his brother Plotius proscribed while he is consul, IV, 12; arranges at the instance of Antony for the restoration of Lucius Caesar to citizenship, 37; also of Sergius, 45; destroys a legion of Octavian, 33; hesitates to join Lucius Antonius at Perusia, 35; deserted by his army flees from Italy, 50, 61; is made governor of Syria by Antony, 144.
- Plataea, comes to help of Athens, H. 39.
- Plato, his *Apology of Socrates*, Sy. 41; his treatise on the soul, C. II, 98.
- Plautius, C., vanquished by Viriathus, Sp. 64.
- Plebeians of Rome, withdraw to the Sacred Mount, C. I, 1; come to voting place with concealed daggers, II, 10; much mixed with foreign blood, 120; plunder private houses to obtain food, V, 34; receive three hundred sesterces per man as a legacy from Caesar, II, 134; subjected to taxation by triumvirs, IV, 5, 96; attack Octavian with stones in Forum, V, 68.
- Pleminius, made prefect of Locri by Scipio, H. 55.
- Pleniulus, (or Plinius) L. Rufus, lieutenant of Sextus Pompeius, C. V, 97 *sq.*, 122.
- Plestine marsh, H. 9, 11.
- Plotius, brother of Plancus, proscribed, C. IV, 12.
- Plotius Varus, lieutenant of Pompey in war against the pirates, Mi. 95.
- Poediculi, a people of Italy, in Apulia, C. I, 52.
- Polemo, appointed king of part of Cilicia by Antony, C. V, 75.
- Polemocratis, widow of a Thracian prince, C. IV, 75.
- Pollux, Mi. 101, 103.
- Polybius, tutor of Scipio Africanus the Younger, his history cited, Pu. 132.
- Polyphemus, his sons, daughters, and grandchildren, II. 2.
- Polyxenidas, Rhodian exile and admiral of Antiochus, Sy. 14, 21, 24.
- Pompean mountains, C. I, 50.
- Pompeians, boast before battle of Pharsalus, C. II, 69; Pompeian gardens, III, 14.
- Pompeii, town of Campania, takes arms against Romans in Social War, C. I, 39.
- Pompeipolis, town of Cilicia, Mi. 115.
- Pompeius, Gn., father of Pompey the Great, lieutenant of Rutilius in Social War, C. I, 40, 47, 50, 52; kills Quintus Pompeius, 63; drives Marius from Rome, 66-68; is killed by lightning, 68, 80.
- Pompeius, Gn., son of the preceding, C. I, 40, 80; his title, "the Great," Mi. 97, 118, 121; C. I, 4; II, 86; assists Sulla in the Civil War, I, 80, 87-89, 92; sent by Sulla against Carbo in Africa, 80, 95 *sq.*; sent against Sertorius in Spain, Sp. 101; C. I, 80, 108; loses a legion, 109; defeated and severely wounded by Sertorius, 110; overcomes Perpenna, 115; with Crassus finishes war with Spartacus, 119; quarrels with Crassus concerning honours, 120 *sq.*; designated consul with Crassus, dismisses his army and shakes hands with his colleague, 121; made commander of the sea for three years against pirates, ends war in short time,

INDEX

Mi. 94, 96; made general-in-chief of war against Mithridates, with command over all armies outside Italy, 97; overcomes Mithridates and puts him to flight, 97-100; pursues him to Colchis and reduces the Albanians and Iberians, 103; receives the surrender of Tigranes, king of Armenia, 105; reduces and regulates eastern kingdoms as far as Egypt, 106 *sq.*; Sy. 49-51, 70; orders corpse of Mithridates to be buried in royal tomb at Sinope, Mi. 113; concedes kingdom of the Cimmerian Bosporus to Pharnaces, *ib.*; list of his exploits in the East, 114 *sq.*; his triumph, 116 *sq.*; demands of the Senate that his acts be ratified, C. II, 9; joins Caesar and Crassus in forming first triumvirate, 9, 14; approves Caesar's measures, 10; his own acts ratified through Caesar's influence, 13; marries Caesar's daughter, 14; causes Cicero's recall from exile, 16; elected consul by violence in the comitia, 17; governs provinces of Spain and Africa by proxy, 18; remains himself in Italy and is put in charge of corn supply, *ib.*; his wife Julia dies, 19; he longs for dictatorship, *ib.*; is made consul without a colleague, 23; passes a law concerning bribery, *ib.*; becomes sole power in the city, 25; his contention with Caesar about laying down authority, 26-30; consuls present him a sword and tell him to defend the republic; beginning of the Civil War, 31 *sq.*; sends forces across the Adriatic to Dyrrachium, 38; follows with remainder, 40; addresses officers and soldiers, 49 *sq.*; defeats Caesar at Dyrrachium, but does not make good use of victory, 61 *sq.*; follows Caesar to Pharsalus, 65 *sq.*; his army and allies, 70, 71; his speech before battle, 72; battle of Pharsalus, 76-81;

flees to Larissa, 81; thence to Mitylene and finally to Egypt, 83; is killed, 84 *sq.*; his head shown to Caesar, 86, 90; his monument and epitaph, 86; his sons Gnaeus and Sextus, and his daughter, 100; his theatre, 115; Antony buys his property at sale *sub hasta*, V. 79; his memory remains in public mind, 99.

Pompeius, Gn., son of preceding, raises army in Spain, C. II, 87, 103; defeated by Caesar and killed, 104 *sq.*

Pompeius Aulus, Sp. 64; successor of Metellus at Numantia, 76 *sq.*; makes deceitful peace with Numantines, 79; delivers worthless army to his successor, 83.

Pompeius, Quintus, consul with Sulla, C. I, 56; joins forces with Sulla when the latter advances against the city, 57; killed in a military assembly, 63.

Pompeius, Q., son of preceding and son-in-law of Sulla, C. I, 56.

Pompeius, Sextus, son of Pompey the Great, moves about Spain in hiding with a few followers, C. II, 105; IV, 83; V, 143; pursued by Caesar's officers, II, 122; III, 4; recalled by Senate and invested with command of the sea, *ib.*; IV, 84; occupies Sicily, 84 *sq.*; proscribed by triumvirs, 96; gives refuge to proscripts, 25, 36; V, 143; naval engagement with Salvidienus, lieutenant of Octavian, IV, 85; cuts off supplies of Antony and Octavian, 100, 108, 117; Murcus joins forces with him, V. 2, 25; brings famine upon Rome, 15, 18, 67; infests coast of Italy, 19, 56, 58, 62; prefers defence to attack, 25, 91, 143; sends Antony's mother to him, and gains his friendship, 52, 62 *sq.*; Octavian not willing to be reconciled to him, 65 *sq.*; holds Corsica and Sardinia, 67; puts Murcus to death, 70; makes peace with

INDEX

- Octavian and Antony, 71-74; his mother, Mucia, 69, 72; peace broken, 77; war with Octavian, 81 *sq.*; wins naval battle against Octavian, 85; allows Octavian's shattered fleet to escape, 91; calls himself the son of the sea and of Neptune, 100; looks on at battle of Mylae, 105 *sq.*; swoops upon his enemy at Tauromenium, but again wastes opportunity, 110 *sq.*; naval fight at Naulochus, 118 *sq.*; vanquished, flees from Sicily, sends legates to Antony and also to the Parthians, 133 *sq.*; received in Asia by Antony's lieutenant Furnius, with whom he wages war, 137 *sq.*; forced to surrender and is killed, 142, 144; summary of his exploits, 143.
- Pomponius, tribune, accuses father of M. Torquatus, Sa. II.
- Pomponius, prefect of horse to Lucullus, captured by Mithridates, Mi. 79.
- Pomponius, proscribed, escapes in guise of a praetor, C. IV, 45.
- Pomponius, M., lieutenant of Pompey in war against pirates, Mi. 95.
- Pontic sea (the Euxine), Pr. 2, 4; Mi. 47, 118, 121; its mouth, 12, 17, 95, 107.
- Pontifex Maximus (chief priest), Scipio Nasica, C. I, 16; Mucius Scaevola, 88; the Pompeians contend with each other for the office when held by Caesar, II, 69; position offered to Lepidus, 132; office held for life by one person, V, 131.
- Pontilius, G., a leader of the Italians in Social War, C. I, 40.
- Pontius Aquila, conspirator against Caesar, C. II, 113.
- Pontius the Samnite, sends the Romans under the yoke, Sa. IV, 2 *sq.*; his father, *ib.*, 3 *sq.*
- Pontus, Mi. 1, 8, 78, 103, 107, 115, 119; C. II, 49, 87; V, 133; Mithridates the founder of Pontic kingdom, Mi. 9; kingdom of Pontus and Cappadocia formerly one, afterward divided, *ib.*; Pompey has a triumph on account of Pontus, 116; Darius appointed king of Pontus by Antony, C. V, 75; Pontus a Roman province, Mi. 121; Pontic nations, Pr. 2; Pontic people, Mi. 41, 92.
- Popaedius, leader in Social War, C. I, 40, 44, 53.
- Popilius, C., prefect of fleet, guards mouth of Euxine, Mi. 17; another, succeeds Pompeius in Spain, Sp. 79; another, draws a circle round Antiochus, Sy. 66.
- Popilius Laena, senator, prays for success of Brutus and Cassius in their attempt on Caesar's life, C. II, 115; detains Caesar at entrance of senate-house, 116; another, kills Cicero, IV, 19 *sq.*
- Popillius, overcomes the Gauls, G. I, 2.
- Porcia, wife of Brutus, swallows live coals, C. IV, 136.
- Postumius, consul, Sa. IV, 6; ambassador to the Tarentines, VII, 2; another, lictor of Bibulus, C. II, 12; another, lieutenant of Caesar, 58.
- Pothinus, a eunuch, has charge of treasury of Ptolemy, brother of Cleopatra, C. II, 84, 90.
- Praeneste, town of Latium, obtains Roman citizenship, C. I, 65; Sulla besieges younger Marius there, 87 *sq.*; place captured and cruelly treated, 94; occupied by Lucius Antonius, V, 21.
- Praetor, has one-half of insignia of consul, Sy. 25; city praetor introduces ambassadors to Senate, Mi. 6; chooses ambassadors from Senate, *ib.*; two praetors with insignia of office captured by pirates, Mi. 93; praetor presides over comitia, C. I, 28; praetor killed in senate-house by people, who threw tiles down upon his head, 32; another killed while offering sacrifice, 54; praetor convokes Senate (in absence of the consuls), 88; Sulla forbids anybody

INDEX

- to hold praetorship before quaestorship, 100; no candidates for praetorship during war with Spartacus, 118; city praetor holds higher position than other praetors, II, 112; city praetor must not absent himself from the city, III, 2; adoption of son must be ratified in presence of praetor, 14; proscrip. escapes in guise of a praetor, IV, 45.
- Praetorian guard, of Octavian, C. III, 66, 67; annihilated in battle near Mutina, 69.
- Procas Silvius, K. I, 1.
- Proconnesus, island of Propontis, C. V, 139.
- Proconsuls, with consular power sent to Syria, Sy. 51; sent throughout Italy (Appian in error), C. I, 38; title of proconsul continues until he returns to the city, 80.
- Prometheus, on Mount Caucasus, Mi. 103.
- Promona, town of the Liburnians in Illyria, II. 12, 25 *sq.*
- Propontis, between Hellespont and Euxine, Mi. 95; C. V, 138.
- Proscription, invented by Sulla, C. I, 95 *sq.*; IV, 1; reasons for proscription of triumvirs, 5; edict of, 8-11; number of proscribed, 5, 17 *sq.*; boys proscribed, 30; heads of proscribed carried to triumvirs, 7, 11; and exposed on the rostra, 15.
- Proserpina, temple of, Sa. XII, 1, 2; H. 55; festival of, at Cyzicus, Mi. 75; rape of, C. IV, 105.
- Protopachium, stronghold in Asia Minor, Mi. 19.
- Prusias, king of Bithynia, surnamed the Hunter, Mi. 2; ally of the Romans against Antiochus, Sy. 23; Hannibal takes refuge with, and loses his life thereby, 11; after war with Perseus presents himself as suppliant, Mi. 2; attacks Attalus, king of Pergamus, 3; sends his son Nicomedes to Rome, 4; intending to kill his son, loses his own life, 6 *sq.*
- Prusias (Broussa), under the mountain, town of Asia Minor, Mi. 77.
- Prytanis, a magistrate of Rhodes, C. IV, 66.
- Pseudo-Gracchus, C. I, 32 *sq.*
- Pseudo-Marius, C. III, 57.
- Ptolemy Euergetes, son of Ceraunus and king of Egypt, Sy. 65.
- Ptolemy Lagus (or Soter), destroys walls of Jerusalem, Sy. 50; acquires Syria, 52; loses it again, 53; saluted as king, 54; companion of Seleucus at Babylon, 56; leaves kingdom of Egypt to his younger son, 62.
- Ptolemy Philadelphus, second king of Egypt, his wealth, Pr. 10; friend of the Romans and the Carthaginians, Si. I; his daughter Berenice wife of Antiochus Deus, Sy. 65.
- Ptolemy IV, Philopator, king of Egypt, Ma. III, 1; IV (*see note*); Sy. 1, 2, 4.
- Ptolemy VI, Philometor, Sy. 66, 67, 68; Ma. XI, 4.
- Ptolemy XI, Auletes, king of Egypt, Sy. 51; invites Pompey to suppress insurrection in his kingdom, Mi. 114; daughter of Mithridates betrothed to him, 111; driven from his kingdom by his own people, restored by Gabinius, Sy. 51.
- Ptolemy, king of Cyprus, brother of Auletes, deprived of his kingdom by Clodian law, commits suicide, C. II, 23.
- Ptolemy, a boy, son of Auletes, contends with his sister Cleopatra for kingdom and puts Pompey to death, C. II, 84; overcome by Caesar, 90; disappears at battle on the Nile, V, 9.
- Publius, C. IV, 51; *see* Sestius.
- Punic trenches, Pu. 32, 54; Punic War, first, Si. II, 2; Pu. 3 *sq.*; Sp. 3; second, 4; Pu. 6-37; H. 4-61; third, Pu. 74 *sq.*
- Punicus, general of the Lusitanians, Sp. 56.
- Puteoli (Pozzuoli), town on coast

INDEX

- of Campania, C. V, 50, 71 *sq.*, 74, 78, 97, 98, 112.
Pygmalion, prince of Tyre, kills husband of Dido, Pu. 1.
Pyrenees Mountains, divide Spain from Gaul, Sp. I, 17, 28; H. 4; II. 4; C. I, 140 *sq.*; IV, 2.
Pyrrissaei, an Illyrian tribe, II. 16.
Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, called by the Tarentines to their assistance, Sa. VII, 3; puts people of Tarentum under severe discipline, VIII; offers peace through Cineas in vain to defeated Romans, X, 1, 3; offers bribe to Fabricius, 4; dismisses prisoners to let them attend festival of Saturn, 5; makes truce and departs for Sicily, XI; driven out by Carthaginians, XII, 1; robs temple of Proserpina, 2; holds control of Adriatic, II. 7; stands next to Alexander as military commander, in the opinion of Hannibal, Sy. 10.
Pythian temple, despoiled by Sulla, Mi. 54.
- Q
- Quintilis, month of, changed to July in honour of Caesar, C. II, 106.
Quintius, Roman general against Viriathus, Sp. 66; another, proscribed, father-in-law of Asinius Pollio, C. IV, 12, 27.
Quintius, Titus, drives back Gauls with great slaughter, G. I, 1.
Quintus, centurion, betrays Dolabella to Cassius, C. IV, 62; V, 4.
- R
- Rams, battering, Pu. 98; C, IV, 62; protected by the *testudo*, Mi. 73 *sq.*
Ravenna, city of the Boii near Adriatic, C. I, 89; II, 32; III, 42, 97; V, 33, 50, 78, 80.
Rebilus, proscribed, C. IV, 48; another, senator, captured and released by Menodorus, C. V, 101.

- Regillum, town of the Sabines, K. XI.
Remus, brother of Romulus, K. I, 2; Fr. I, 3.
Restio, C. Antius, proscribed, C. IV, 43.
Rhaeti, Alpine tribe at head of Danube, II. 6, 29.
Rhescupolis, Thracian prince, guides Brutus and Cassius to Philippi, C. IV, 87, 103 *sq.*, 136.
Rhescus, brother of preceding, *ib.*
Rhea Silvia, daughter of Numitor, K. I, 2; Fr. I, 2.
Rheginus, C. Antistius, proscribed, flees in garb of a coal dealer, C. IV, 40.
Rhegium (Reggio), town of the Brutti near straits of Sicily, H. 44; C. II, 95; IV, 25, 39, 85; V, 81, 84; promised by triumvirs as booty to soldiers, IV, 3, 86; inhabitants of, killed Roman garrison, Sa. IX, 1 *sq.*; Fabricius delivers town to remaining citizens, 3; column of Rhegium, C. V, 85, 103, 112.
Rhesus, at siege of Troy, Mi. 1.
Rhetogenes, a Numantine, Sp. 94.
Rhine, river, Pr. 4; G. I, 5; C. III, 97.
Rhodians, of Doric descent, C. IV, 67, 79; bravely repel Demetrius, 66; complain to Romans against Philip, Ma. IV, VII, VIII; aid Romans against Antiochus, Sy. 22, 25; receive Lycia and Caria from Romans, 44; these provinces taken back, *ib.*; Romans incensed against them, Ma. XI, 3; C. IV, 66; defeat Mithridates in a naval battle, Mi. 24-26; again inscribed as allies of Roman people by Sulla, 61; contemplate surrendering Norbanus to Sulla, C. I, 91; send ships to Pompey, II, 71, 83; to Dolabella, IV, 60; but refuse them to Cassius, 61; Cassius makes war against them, 65 *sq.*; overcomes and fines them, 73; Lucius Varus left in charge of them, 74; their revolution after Philippi, V, 2; Antony gives

INDEX

- them certain islands, 7; takes them away again, *ib.*
- Rhodoguna, sister of Phraates, wife of Demetrius Nicator, Sy. 67.
- Rhodope, mountain in Thrace, Mi. 69.
- Rhoeteum, town of the Troad, Sy. 23.
- Rhone, river of Gaul, G. XV; C. I, 109; V, 66.
- Rhyndacus, river of Mysia, Mi. 75.
- Robbers, in Lusitania, Sp. 71-77; capture Decimus Brutus, C. III, 98; infest Rome, V, 132; suppressed by Octavian, *ib.*; Varus, proscribed, taken for a robber, IV, 28; robber seizes a proscribed boy, 30.
- Romans, never cast down by disaster, Pr. 11; greedy of gold, Sa. XI, 1; Mi. 56; profess superiority in religion and good faith, Pu. 79; deliver twenty of their leaders naked to the Samnites, Sp. 83; lose 100,000 men in two years in war with Hannibal, H. 25; not experienced in naval affairs, Sy. 22; too credulous in respect of prodigies, C. I, 83; perfidy toward Spaniards, Sp. 61; toward Carthaginians, Pu. 67 *sq.*, 72; zeal in defending honour of the Roman name, Mi. 22; slaughter of Romans in cities of Asia, 22 *sq.*, 62.
- Rome, captured by the Gauls, G. I, 1; C. IV, 95; "city of kings," Sa. X, 3; lustration of, C. I, 26; part of, consumed by fire, IV, 25; afflicted by famine, V, 18, 80; infested by robbers and delivered from them, 132.
- Romulus, founder of the city, K. I, 2; II; Fr. I, 3, 4; war with Tatius, K. IV; said to have been killed for turning royal power into tyranny, C. II, 114.
- Romulus Silvius, king of Alba, killed by lightning, K. I, 2.
- Roscius, prefect of camp of Cornificius, C. IV, 56.
- Rubicon, river separating Cisalpine Gaul from Italy, C. II, 85; III, 61.
- Rubrius, tribune, C. I, 14.
- Rubrius Ruga (or Rex), conspires against Caesar, C. II, 113.
- Rufus, Q. Salvidienus, proscribed on account of his house, C. IV, 29; another, crosses the Alps, V, 20.
- Rutilius Lupus, consul in Social War, C. I, 40 *sq.*; dies, 43.
- Rutilius Rufus, military tribune, wrote history of Numantine war, Sp. 88.
- Rutilius, legate of Sulla, sent to hold a colloquy with Fimbria, Mi. 60.
- Rutuli, people of Italy, in Latium, K. I, 1.

S

- Sabines, people of Italy on Tiber, K. III; peace made with Romans, IV; incited against Romans by Tarquinius, XI.
- Sabinus, lieutenant of Calvisius, C. V, 81; purges Italy of robbers, 132.
- Saburra, general of Juba, C. II, 45; killed by Sittius, IV, 54.
- Sacriportus, near Praeneste, C. I, 87.
- Saguntum, maritime city of Spain, colony of Zacynthus, embraces alliance of the Romans, Sp. 7; H. 2; Pu. 6; captured and destroyed by Hannibal, 10-12.
- Salapia, city of Apulia in Italy, betrayed to Romans by Blatius, H. 45-47; Salapians answer Hannibal's stratagem by stratagem of their own, 51; Cosconius captures and burns Salapia in Social War, C. I, 52.
- Salassi, Alpine tribe in east of Cisalpine Gaul, II, 17.
- Salassus, Vettius, proscribed, betrayed by his wife, C. IV, 24.
- Salernum, Roman colony in Italy, C. I, 42.
- Salinator, C. Livius, consul, H. 42.
- Sallustius (Salustius) Crispus, sent by Caesar to quiet mutiny, narrowly escapes, C. II, 92 (*see note*); prefect of Mauritania, 100.

INDEX

- Salona**, maritime town of Dalmatia, II. 11.
- Salvidienus**, lieutenant of Octavian sent against Sextus Pompeius in Sicily, C. IV, 85; sent to Spain, V, 20; recalled, 24, 27, 31 *sq.*, 35; detected in attempt to betray Octavian, put to death by him, 66.
- Salvius**, tribune, at first favours Antony, C. III, 50 *sq.*; afterward joins Cicero, is proscribed and slain, IV, 17.
- Salyi**, a people of Gallia Narbonensis, near Marseilles, G. XII.
- Samaritans**, in Palestine, Herod appointed king of, by Antony, C. V, 75.
- Samnites**, descendants of Sabines, Sa. IV, 5; engaged in conflict with Romans for eighty years, Pr. 14; Pu. 58; overcome by Cornelius and Corvinus, Sa. I, 1; defeated again, offer satisfaction to Romans, which is not accepted, IV, 1; humble the pride of the Romans at Caudine forks, 2-7; twenty Roman generals are surrendered to them, Sp. 83; Mithridates makes a league with them, Mi. 112; take up arms in Social War, C. I, 39; conquered by Sulla, 51; again by Cosconius, 52; gain right of citizenship later than other Italians, 53; join Marius, 68; Sulla slaughters Samnites captured by him, 87; Samnite leader Statius proscribed, IV, 25.
- Samnium**, part of Italy, adjoining Latium, C. I, 90, 119.
- Samos**, island near Ionia, Sy. 24; C. IV, 42, 134; captured by Philip, Ma. IV; captured by pirates, Mi. 63.
- Samothrace**, island of the Aegean sea, Ma. XVIII, 1; Pu. 71; temple plundered by pirates, Mi. 63.
- Sangarius**, river of Bithynia, Mi. 19.
- Sapaeans**, Thracian tribe, their mountain pass, C. IV, 87, 102 *sq.*
- Sardinia**, island of the Mediter-
- ranean, H. 54; Mi. 95; C. I, 107; II, 40, 54; V, 78; taken from Carthaginians, Sp. 4; Pu. 2, 5; war in it, H. 8; fruitful in corn, C. II, 40; Caesar appoints Q. Valerius governor, 41, 48; one of Octavian's provinces, IV, 2; V, 24; taken by Sextus Pompeius and again by Octavian, 56, 66, 72, 80.
- Sardis**, chief city of Lydia, Sy. 29, 36.
- Sarmatians**, at mouth of the Tanais (Don), Mi. 15, 120; Sauromatae, Basilidae, and Iazyges, at mouth of the Borysthenes (Dnieper), 69.
- Sarpedon**, building sacred to, in Xanthus, C. IV, 78 *sq.*
- Sarpedonium**, promontory of Cilicia, Sy. 39.
- Sarus**, river of Cilicia, Sy. 4.
- Satraps**, of Alexander, assume title of king after his death, Sy. 52, 54; kingdom of Alexander divided into many satrapies, Pr. 10; Sy. 52.
- Saturn**, temple of, where quaestors administered oaths, C. I, 31.
- Saturnalia**, Sa. X, 5.
- Saturninus**, town of Etruria, C. I, 89.
- Sentius Vetulo**, seeks to conciliate Sextus Pompeius to Antony, C. V, 52; goes over to Antony, 139.
- Save**, river of Pannonia flowing into the Danube, II. 22.
- Scaeva**, centurion of Caesar at Dyrrachium, C. II, 60.
- Scaevola**, Mucius, pontifex maximus, C. I, 88.
- Scamander**, plain of, part of Troad, C. V, 138.
- Scapula**, proceeds to Spain with son of Pompey, C. II, 87; burns himself to death, 105.
- Scarpheia**, town of the Locri Epicnemidi, Sy. 19.
- Scatton**, Vettius, leader in Social War, C. I, 40 *sq.*
- Scaurus**, quaestor of Pompey, prefect of Syria, Sy. 51; C. V, 10; convicted of bribery and banished, II, 24; son of above,

INDEX

- passes over from Sextus Pompeius to Antony, V, 142.
- Sciathus, island near Thessaly, storehouse of robbers, Mi. 29; given to Athenians by Antony, C. V, 7.
- Scipio, Publius Cornelius, consul, sent to Spain against Carthaginians, returns to oppose Hannibal, Sp. 14; H. 5 sq.; wounded and put to flight by Hannibal on the Po, 7; goes to Spain as pro-consul, 8; Sp. 16; surrounded by Hasdrubal and killed, 16; Pu. 6; father of Scipio Africanus the elder, Sp. 18.
- Scipio, Gnaeus Cornelius, brother and lieutenant of preceding, goes to Spain, Sp. 14 sq.; burned to death by Carthaginians, 16; Pu. 6; father of Scipio Nasica, H. 56.
- Scipio, P. Cornelius (the elder Africanus), son of Publius, sent to Spain as commander while yet a youth, Sp. 18; Pu. 6; gives out that he is divinely inspired, Sp. 19, 26; Pu. 6; believes so himself, Sp. 23; besieges and captures New Carthage, 20-23; overcomes Hasdrubal, 24; also Masinissa, at Carmo, 25-27; exposes himself to great peril there, *ib.*; crosses to Africa to meet Syphax, 28 sq.; destroys Ilurgis and captures Castace, 32; mutiny in his army, 34-36; grants peace to Indibilis and comes to terms with Masinissa, 37; establishes colony of Italica, returns to Rome and enjoys triumph, 38; consul is sent to Africa, H. 55; Pu. 6; in Sicily he arms and equips three hundred young men as his body-guard, 8; appoints Pleminius prefect of Locri, H. 55; proceeds from Sicily to Africa, Pu. 13; captures Hanno with aid of Masinissa, 14; also the town of Locha, 15; besieges Utica, 16; makes night attack on camp of Hasdrubal and scatters his forces, 19-21, 23; advances to Carthage, repels naval attack by Hamilcar, 24 *sq.*; winters before Utica, 25; has a colloquy with Syphax, whom he has taken prisoner, 27 *sq.*; punishes conspiracy in his camp, 29 *sq.*; armistice, 31; grants peace to Carthaginians, 32; peace broken by Carthaginians, 34; his magnanimity to Carthaginian ambassadors, 35; confronts Hannibal at Zama, 36; grants armistice to Hannibal, 37; armistice broken, 39; overcomes Hannibal, 40-48; embassies concerning peace, 49 *sq.*; conditions of peace, 54; Roman Senate deliberates, 56-64; opinion of Scipio prevails and peace is given to Carthage, 65; Scipio's triumph, 66; goes as ambassador to Antiochus, Sy. 9; conversation with Hannibal at Ephesus, 10; as lieutenant of his brother Lucius wages war against Antiochus, 21, 23, 29 *sq.*; fixes conditions of peace with Antiochus, 38; placed under accusation at Rome, but refuses to take notice, 40 *sq.*; his brother Lucius, Sp. 29; his son captured by Antiochus and returned without ransom, 29; his daughter Cornelia, mother of the Gracchi, C. I, 17.
- Scipio, L. Cornelius, brother of preceding, accompanies his brother in Spain, Sp. 29; as consul is sent against Antiochus, Sy. 21; his brother goes with him as lieutenant, *ib. sq.*; commands the centre in the battle against Antiochus, 31; *see also* II. 5.
- Scipio, P. Cornelius Aemilianus (the younger Africanus), Pu. 2; son of Aemilius Paulus, 101; Ma. XIX; Sy. 29; adopted into family of the Scipios, *ib.*; lieutenant of Lucullus in Spain, Sp. 49; vanquishes a Celtiberian in single combat, 53; sent by Lucullus to Masinissa, Pu. 71; mediator between Masinissa and Carthaginians, 72; as military tribune in Africa rescues detach-

INDEX

ment of soldiers, 98, 103; also the camp, 99, 101; Phameas does not dare to attack him, 100; other tribunes envious of him *ib.*; gives advice to Manilius in vain, 102; his rising fame, 105; divides Masinissa's estate among his sons, 106; sent to Rome with Phameas, 109; while seeking election as aedile, is elected consul before lawful age, 112; C. IV, 92; arrives at Utica and frees Mancinus from position of great peril, *Pu.* 114; restores discipline in the army, 114–117; captures Megara, a suburb of Carthage, and forces Carthaginians inside of Byrsa, 117 *sq.*; gets possession of the isthmus and cuts off enemy's supplies, 121; a naval battle, 112 *sq.*; desperate fight for possession of a quay, 124; Scipio captures neighbouring towns, 126; besieges and captures Byrsa, 127–133; weeps over destruction of city, 132; pronounces a curse on its site, 135; C. I, 24; his triumph, *Pu.* 135; consul a second time, *Sp.* 84; marches against Numantines, *ib.*; restores military discipline, 85 *sq.*; makes preparations for investing Numantia, 87 *sq.*; draws a line of circumvallation around the city, 90 *sq.*; captures it, 96; receives title of Numantius, 98; becomes patron of Italian allies and loses popularity at home, C. I, 19; found dead in his bed, 20; his brother Maximus Aemilianus, *Sp.* 90; his wife Sempronia, C. I, 20.

Scipio Nasica, son of Gnaeus Scipio, who fell in Spain, H. 56; another, thinks Carthage should be spared, *Pu.* 69; as consul, demolishes a theatre, C. I, 28; another, quaestor of the younger Africanus, sent to receive arms of Carthaginians, *Pu.* 8; as *pontifex maximus* makes an assault on the crowd of Gracchans at the Capitol, C. I, 16.

XX

Scipio, L. (Asiaticus), escapes from Aesernia during Social War, in guise of a slave, C. I, 41; as consul commands army against Sulla, 82; has a colloquy with Sulla, and is deserted by his army, 85; dismissed with his son Lucius, without harm, by Sulla, 86.

Scipio, L., father-in-law of Pompey the Great, accused of bribery, is saved by Pompey, C. II, 24; colleague of Pompey in consilium, 25; leads army to Pompey from Syria, 60; commands centre of Pompey's army at Pharsalus, 76; proceeds with Cato to Africa, 87; obtains aid from Juba, 95 *sq.*; vanquished by Caesar and takes flight, 97; throws himself into the sea, 100; his image borne in Caesar's triumph, 101.

Scodra, town of Illyria, C. V, 65.
Scorba, mountain on boundary of Bithynia and Pontus, Mi. 19.

Scordisci, a people of lower Pannonia, II. 2, 3.

Scordiscus, descendant of Polypheus, II. 2.

Scotius, mountain of Lesser Armenia, Mi. 210.

Scribonia, sister of Libo, her hand in marriage asked by Octavian, C. V, 53.

Scyllaeum, projecting rock in straits of Sicily, C. IV, 85; V, 85.

Scythia, Sy. 57; Mi. 102, 108, 112, 119.

Scythians, a people of northern Europe and Asia, Mi. 13, 78, 101; allies of Mithridates, 15, 41, 69, 119; their medical men, the Agari, 88; Scythians in Pompey's triumph, 116; their female rulers, 117.

Sedetania, town of the Celtiberians in Spain, *Sp.* 77.

Segeda, town of the Celtiberians in Spain, *Sp.* 44 *sq.*

Segesta, town of Pannonia near the Save, II. 10, 17, 22, 24.

Seguntia, (or -ium) town of Spain, C. I, 110.

673

INDEX

- Selene, wife of Antiochus Pius, king of Syria, Sy. 69; her son Antiochus Asiaticus, 70.
- Seleucia, on the sea, a city of Syria, Sy. 4, 58; thunder worshipped as a god, 58; Seleucus buried there, 63; on the Tigris, founded at a propitious time, 58; stronghold of Mesopotamia, Mi. 114; nine Seleucias built by Seleucus, Sy. 57.
- Seleucidæ, Sy. 65 *sq.*; Parthians revolt from, 48, 65; family of, reigns two hundred and thirty years, 70.
- Seleucis, part of Cappadocia, Sy. 55; of Palestine, Mi. 117.
- Seleucus Nicator, Sy. 1; C. V, 10; satrap of Babylon, expelled by Antigonus and flees to Ptolemy, Sy. 53; regains Babylon, 54; assumes name of king, and on death of Antigonus acquires other provinces, 55; omens formerly appearing to him, 56; surname Nicator, his strength, his wives, 57; cities built by him, 57 *sq.*; gives his wife, Stratonice, in marriage to his son, Antiochus Soter, 59–61; is killed by Ceraunus, son of Ptolemy 62 *sq.*
- Seleucus, the second, Callinicus, father of Antiochus, Sy. 1, 66.
- Seleucus, the third, brother of Callinicus, Sy. 66.
- Seleucus, the fourth, son of Antiochus, Sy. 3; besieges Pergamus, 26; commands left wing of his father's army at Magnesia, 33; flees to Apamea, 36; succeeds his father and is killed by a plot, 45.
- Seleucus, the fifth, son of Demetrius Nicator and Cleopatra, killed by his mother, Sy. 68 *sq.*
- Seleucus, the sixth, son of Grypus, burned to death in the gymnasium at Mopsuestia, Sy. 69.
- Sempronius, Gnaeus, Hannibal's prisoner, allowed to go to Rome to treat for ransom of all, H. 28.
- Sempronius (or Septimus), Roman soldier in service of Ptolemy, the boy king of Egypt, C. II, 84; kills Pompey the Great, 85.
- Sempronius Longus, T., consul, comes from Sicily with an army to oppose Hannibal, H. 6; defeated with Scipio at the Trebia, 7.
- Sempronius, P., with remnant of the Roman forces from Cannae, breaks through the enemy, H. 26.
- Sempronius Tuditanus, consul, sits in judgment on cases arising under the agrarian law of Gracchus, C. I, 19; finding the labour irksome, he marches against Illyrians, *ib.*; II. 10.
- Sena (Siena), town of the Senones in Umbria, H. 25; C. I, 88.
- Senate meets in the temple of Fides, C. I, 16; swears to support the Apuleian law, 31; cannot be convoked by one consul without consent of the other, II, 11; tribune of the plebs has right to dismiss, 29; presents itself before Caesar with decrees concerning him, 107; when games are in progress, holds its meetings near the theatre, 115; after assassination of Caesar meets in temple of Tellus, 126; a Roman Senate of three hundred men collects at Utica, 95; Senate of Sertorius, Mi. 68; of Belgida burned to death in senate-house, Sp. 100; Carthaginian Senate reproves rashness of the people, Pu. 35; Senate of Nuceria suffocated in bathhouse, Pu. 63; of Acerrae thrown into wells, *ib.*; of the Vacenses put to death by Metellus, Nu. III.
- Senatorial order, deprived of judicial function, C. I, 22; heads of senators suspended from the rostra, 71; senators of Marian faction put to death by Sulla, 94; interreges, 98; three hundred knights chosen for Senate, 100; senators carry Sulla's body to the Campus Martius, 106; senators assemble at house of

INDEX

- Bibulus, II, 11;** go to meet Caesar in Gaul, 17; twenty senators lieutenants to Pompey in war against the pirates, 18; Mi. 94; Pompey addresses them, 50; three hundred senators proscribed, IV, 5; Octavian promises to his military tribunes and centurions senatorial office in their own towns, V, 128; senators go out to meet Octavian, 130.
- Sentia (or Sentinum), town of Italy, C. V, 30.**
- Septimius,** proscribed, betrayed by his wife, C. IV, 23.
- Serapio,** prefect of Cyprus for Cleopatra, C. IV, 61.
- Sergius,** proscribed, hides in house of Antony, C. IV, 45.
- Serranus,** prefect of fleet, Pu. 114.
- Serrium,** promontory of Thrace on the Aegean, C. IV, 101 *sq.*
- Sertorius,** associated with Cinna and Carbo, C. I, 65, 67, 85; departs to province of Spain, 86; receives reinforcements under Perpenna, 107; Sertorian war, 108-114; sends legates to Mithridates, Mi. 68; killed by Perpenna, C. I, 113; his white fawn, I, 110; his character, 112.
- Servile war in Sicily, Sp. 99;** C. I, 9.
- Servilia,** sister of Cato and mother of Marcus Brutus, C. IV, 135; beloved by Caesar, II, 112.
- Servilius, Gn.,** consul against Hannibal, H. 8; sent by dictator Fabius to Rome, 12; returns to army, 16; approves Fabius's policy of delay, 18; loses his life at Cannae, 19, 22-24.
- Servilius, Q.,** proconsul in Social War, killed by people of Asculum, C. I, 38.
- Servilius Caepio, Q.,** brother of Fabius Maximus Servilianus, Sp. 70; succeeds his brother against Viriathus, *ib.*; procures murder of Viriathus by treachery, 74; vanquishes Tantalus, successor of Viriathus, 75; another, lieutenant of Rutilius in Social War, C. I, 40.
- Servilius Casca, Q., conspirator against Caesar, C. II, 113, 115, 117.**
- Servilius Casca, P.,** brother of preceding, C. II, 113.
- Servilius Isauricus,** consul, C. I, 103; accomplishes nothing against the pirates, Mi. 93; another, consul with Caesar, C. II, 48.
- Servilius Rullus,** general of horse for Octavian, routed by Antony near Brundusium, C. V, 58.
- Servius Tullius,** king of Rome, K. II; institutes *comitia tributa*, C. I, 59.
- Sestius (Lucius : Appian wrongly Publius) proscribed, C. IV, 5.**
- Sestus,** European town on Hellespont, Sy. 21, 23; C. IV, 82, 87.
- Setium (or Setia),** (Plutarch *Signia*), town of Italy in Latium, C. I, 87.
- Setovia,** town of Dalmatia, II, 27.
- Sextilius,** lieutenant of Lucullus, besieges Tigranocerta, Mi. 84.
- Sextius (or Sextilius)** warns Marius away from Africa, C. I, 62; another (Sextius), condemned for bribery, C. II, 24.
- Sextius, T.** commands three legions in Africa for Caesar, C. III, 85; IV, 53; draws Arabio and Sittius over to his side, 54; kills Ventidius, Laelius, and Cornificius, and brings all Africa under control of triumvirs, 55 *sq.*; as lieutenant of Antony yields Africa to Octavian and delivers his army to Fango, V, 12; attacks and overcomes Fango and regains two provinces of Africa, 26; Lepidus deprives him of command of legions, 75.
- Sextius Naso,** conspirator against Caesar, C. II, 113.
- Ship,** sticking in mud of Tiber, H. 56; carrying fire, Sy. 24, 27; Romans burn Syrian, Sy. 46; different kinds and names of: *acatum*, C. V, 112; open ship (without deck), Pu. 75; *cercurus*, *ib.*; *celes celetum*, a fast-sailing ship, 13; Mi. 33; C. II,

INDEX

- 56; *dicrotum*, galley with two banks of oars, Mi. 17, 92; *hemolia*, one and a half banks, Pu. 75; Mi. 29, 92; *hexeris*, six banks, Ma. IX, 3; C. V, 71, 73; *lembus* (pinnacle), Pu. 13; *tiburnica*, II, 3; C. II, 39; *myoparo* (light piratical craft), Mi. 92; *oneraria* (ship of burden), Pu. 13; C. II, 56; *penteris*, *quinqueremis* (five banks), Pu. 75; Mi. 25; *phaselus triremis* (light vessel shaped like a kidney bean), C. V, 95; *praetoria* (flag ship), C. V, 80, 86; *remulus* (tow boat), Mi. 78; *rostratae* (beaked ships) Mi. 117; *tectae*, *cataphractae*, decked ships, Sa. VII, 1; Ma. IX, 3; Mi. 17.
- Sibylline books, bought by Tarquinius, K. VIII; consulted by decemvirs during Hannibalic war, H. 56; prediction concerning Philip, Ma. II; forbid a war against Egypt, Sy. 51; C. II, 24; prediction concerning Parthians, 110.
- Sicambri, a Gallic tribe, G. I, 4.
- Sicily, claimed by Pyrrhus, Sa. XI, 1; he is driven out by the Carthaginians, 2; XII, 1; Marcellus hated by Sicilians, Si. IV; taken from the Carthaginians by the Romans, Pu. 2, 4; Si. II, 2; Scipio restores the temple gifts taken by the Carthaginians, 133; insurrection of slaves in, C. I, 9; Cato yields the government to Pollio, II, 40; Curio appointed prefect by Caesar, 41; afterward A. Albinus, 48; becomes province of Octavian, IV, 2; pro-praetor Bithynicus surrenders it to Sextus Pompeius, 84 *sq.*; conceded to him by triumvirs, V, 78; Lepidus seeks to obtain, 123; Octavian imposes tribute on, 129; infested by robbers, 132.
- Sicoris, river of Spain, C. II, 42.
- Sicyon, city of Peloponnesus, on gulf of Corinth, C. V, 55.
- Sidetae, a people of Pamphylia, send ships to aid Scipio, Pu. 123.
- Sidicini, a people of Italy in Campania, Sa. III, 5.
- Sidonians, a people of Phoenicia, send ships to aid Cassius, C. IV, 61.
- Silanus, consul elect, opinion on conspirators with Catiline, C. II, 5.
- Silanus, lieutenant of Scipio in Spain, Sp. 28, 32.
- Silvius, surname of the Alban kings, K. I, 1, 2.
- Sinope, a town of Paphlagonia, on the Euxine, Mi. 78; captured by Lucullus, 83; statue of Autolycus there, *ib.*; tombs of kings of Pontus, 113; captured by Pharnaces, who surrenders it to Domitius, 120.
- Sinorex, stronghold in Asia Minor, Mi. 101.
- Sintos, Thracian tribe, against whom Sulla makes war, Mi. 55.
- Sintricus, king of the Parthians, father of Phraates, Mi. 104.
- Sipus, town of southern Italy, C. V, 56, 58.
- Sipylos, mountain of Asia Minor, in Lydia, Sy. 30.
- Sisenna, L., lieutenant of Pompey in war against pirates, Mi. 95.
- Sisinna, son of Glaphyra, obtains kingdom of Cappadocia from Antony, C. V, 7.
- Sittians, followers of Sittius in Africa, C. IV, 54, 56.
- Sittius Calenus, proscribed, C. IV, 47.
- Sittius, Nucerinus, raises a military force in Africa, C. IV, 54.
- Slaves, Senate frees and arms in Hannibalic war, H. 27; Fabius, lieutenant of Lucullus, does the same in Mithridatic war, Mi. 88; a slave occupies throne of Syria, Sy. 68; two slaves betray Piraeus to Sulla, Mi. 31, 34; price of a slave in Scythia four drachmas, 78; Italy endangered by vast number of slaves, C. I, 7, 9; slaves of proscribed enfranchised by Sulla, 100; slaves wear same garb as their masters, 120; slaves faithful to their proscribed masters, 73; IV, 22, 29, 39, 51.

INDEX

- a slave who betrays his master punished by triumvirs, 29; slave feigns himself a proscrip, 49; manumission of slaves, 135; slaves in Perusia denied food by Lucius Antonius, V, 35; tax *per capita* imposed on ownership of slaves, 67; freedom decreed to slaves serving under Sextus Pompeius, 72, 131; Octavian returns them to their masters or puts them to death, 131.
- Smyrna, city of Ionia, Sy. 29; C. II, 26; Smyrneans resist Antiochus and send legates to Flaminius, Sy. 2.
- Sobadacus, Scythian put under arrest by Mithridates, Mi. 79.
- Socrates, Athenian philosopher, Sy. 41.
- Socrates Chrestus, brother of Nicomedes, and pretender to throne of Bithynia, Mi. 10, 13.
- Sogdiani, a people of Asia between Jaxartes and Oxus, Sy. 55.
- Soli, a town of Cilicia, Mi. 115.
- Soothsayer, predicts danger of death to Caesar, C. II, 116, 153; prediction of an Etruscan soothsayer and his own voluntary death, IV, 4; soothsayer consulted, It. VIII, 1; admonishes Scipio to beware of fire, Pu. 29; predicts falsely to the consul Octavius that no harm will come to him, C. I, 71; Scipio drives soothsayers from his camp, Sp. 85.
- Sophene, part of Lesser Armenia, Mi. 105.
- Sophocles, Pompey quotes, C. II, 85.
- Sophonisba, daughter of Hasdrubal, betrothed to Masinissa, but married to Syphax, Pu. 10; her heroic death, 28.
- Sossius, designated consul by Anthony, Octavian, and Pompeius, C. V, 73.
- Sotera, a town of Parthia, Sy. 57.
- Spain, exploited by Carthaginians, Sp. 5; by Romans, 14 *sq.*; reduced to province after expulsion of Carthaginians, 37 *sq.*; divided by Augustus into three parts, 102; arrayed in hostility to the Romans by Sertorius, 101; Mi. 68; C. I, 86, 108 *sq.*; war of Caesar with Petreius and Afranius in Spain, C. II, 42 *sq.*; with elder son of Pompey, 103–105.
- Spartacus, Thracian gladiator, wages war against Rome for three years, C. I, 116–120.
- Spartagena, New Carthage in Spain, Sp. 12.
- Spoletium, town of Italy, in Umbria, C. I, 90; V, 33.
- Spurius, M., conspirator against Caesar, C. II, 113.
- Staberius, appointed by Caesar governor of Apollonia, C. II, 54.
- Stabiae town on coast of Campania near Mt. Vesuvius, C. I, 42.
- Stabias, leader in Social War, C. I, 42.
- Standards, taken from the Romans by the Lusitanians, Sp. 56; by the Dalmatians, II. 28.
- Statilius, conspirator with Catiline, C. II, 4.
- Statilius Taurus, left by Octavian in command against the Dalmatians, II. 27; lieutenant in war against Sextus Pompeius, C. V, 97–99, 103, 105, 109, 118.
- Stola quadrata* (a square-cut robe), worn by the Greeks, C. V, 11.
- Strato, friend of Brutus, at Philippi, C. IV, 131.
- Stratonice, wife of Seleucus Nicator, Sy. 57; stepmother and wife of Antiochus, 59–61; another, wife of Mithridates, Mi. 107.
- Stratonicea, town of Asia Minor, in Caria, Sy. 57; Mi. 21.
- Strongyle (Stromboli), one of the Aeolian islands, C. V, 105.
- Strymon, river dividing Macedonia from Thrace, C. IV, 105 *sq.*
- Suba, Numidian general of horse, deserts from Masinissa to Carthaginians, Pu. 70.
- Subura, street in Rome, C. I, 58.
- Sucro, town of Tarraconensis, in Spain, C. I, 110.
- Suessa, town of Campania, on Liris, C. I, 85, 108.

INDEX

Sulla, L. Cornelius, quaestor of Marius, Nu. IV, V, lieutenant in the Cimbrian war, C. I, 77; as pro-praetor of Cilicia restores Ariobarzanes to his kingdom, Mi. 57; C. I, 77; lieutenant of Sextus Caesar in Social War, 40; overcomes Marsians, *ib.*, 46; also Cluentia and other places, 50 *sq.*; as consul departs to take command against Mithridates, 53; Marius, with help of Sulpicius, seeks to take the command from him, *ib.*; Sulla marches against Rome, defeats Marius and drives his faction out, 57 *sq.*; regulates affairs in the city, 59; marches against Mithridates, 63 *sq.*; obtains money, Mi. 22; despoils the temples of Greece, 54; besieges and captures Athens and Piraeus, 30-41; overcomes Archelaus at Chaeronea, 42 *sq.*; and at Orchomenus, 49 *sq.*; declared public enemy by Senate, 51; C. I, 73; peace conference with Archelaus, Mi. 54 *sq.*; crosses to Asia to fight Fimbria and Mithridates, 53, 56; grants peace to Mithridates, 56-58; gains possession of army of Fimbria, 59 *sq.*; regulates Asia and imposes heavy fine on inhabitants, 61-64; C. I, 76; writes to Senate, 77 *sq.*; returns to Italy with his army, Mi. 64; C. I, 79; gains Metellus and Pompey as allies, 81 *sq.*; puts his enemies to flight and enters the city, 89; proscribes senators and knights, 95; imposes heavy penalties on Italian cities, 96; assumes name of Fortune's Favourite, 97; created dictator, but is in fact king, 98 *sq.*; his constitution, 100; lays down dictatorship, 103; his death, 105; funeral, 106; his son, Faustus, *ib.*

Sulla, lieutenant of Caesar at Pharsalus, C. II, 76.

Sulpicius, C., dictator, overcomes Boii, G. I, 1.

Sulpicius Publius, tribune, of

Marian faction, C. I, 55; perishes in war against Sulla, 58, 60.

Sulpicius, S., lieutenant of Gn. Pompeius in Social War, C. I, 47.

Sun, festival of, at Rhodes, Ma. XI, 3; C. V, 116.

Sutrium, town of Etruria, C. V, 31. **Synodium**, town of Dalmatia, II, 27.

Syphax, prince of the Numidians, Pu. 10; attacks Carthaginians, Sp. 15; marries daughter of Hasdrubal, who had been betrothed to Masinissa, Pu. 10; Sp. 37; joins Carthaginians in a war against Romans, Pu. 11; feigns friendship for Masinissa, 13; returns home, 14; seeks in vain to negotiate peace between Rome and Carthage, 17; openly sides with Carthage, 18; defeated and captured by Masinissa, 22; sent to Rome, where he dies of grief, 28.

Syracuse, city of Sicily, Si. II, 2; III; C. V, 70.

Syria, from the Persian rule to the Seleucidae, Sy. 52 *sq.*; C. V, 10; conquered by Tigranes, Sy. 48; Mi. 105; recovered by Antiochus, son of Pius, Sy. 49; and made Roman province by Pompey, 49 *sq.*; Mi. 106, 118; its governors from time of Pompey to Decidius Saxa, Sy. 51; Parthians make an incursion, C. IV, 63; V, 10, 65; governors after Saxa, Ventidius, V, 65; Plancus, 144; L. Bibulus, IV, 38; the son of Cicero, 51; different divisions of Syria, Pr. 2; Sy. 48, 50; Mi. 106, 118.

T

Taenarum, promontory of Peloponnesus, C. IV, 74.

Tagus, river of Spain, Sp. 51, 57, 71. **Talabriga**, town of Lusitania, Sp. 73.

Talaura, town of Pontus, Mi. 115.

Talent, a money weight, Egyptian, Pr. 10; Euboic, Si. II, 2; Pu.

INDEX

- 54; Sy. 38; Attic, Mi. 94; of silver, Sy. 56; Mi. 3; of gold, Pu. 127.
- Tanais (the Don), river which separates Europe from Asia, Mi. 15.
- Tangius, a robber, Sp. 77.
- Tantalus, successor of Viriathus, Sp. 75.
- Tarentine war, Sa. VII.
- Tarentum, city in Calabria, Sy. 15; C. II, 40; V, 50, 80 *sq.*, 84, 93-99, 103; betrayed to Hannibal, H. 32; he takes citadel, 33 *sq.*; Romans recapture it by treachery, 49; its harbour, 34.
- Tarquinius, Priscus, K. II.
- Tarquinius Superbus, K. II, VII *sq.*; XI; C. IV, 95.
- Tarsus, town of Cilicia, C. IV, 52; treated with severity by Cassius, 64; given freedom from tribute by Antony, V, 7.
- Tartessus, town of Spain, at mouth of Baetis (Guadalquivir), Sp. 2.
- Tatius, king of Sabines, K. III, IV; It. V, 5.
- Taulantii, a people of Macedonia, II. 2, 16, 24; C. II, 39.
- Taulas, son of Illyrius, grandson of Polyphemus, II. 2.
- Taurasia, Gallic town on the Po, H. 5.
- Taureas, a Capuan, single combat of, H. 37.
- Tauri, allies of Mithridates, Mi. 15, 69.
- Taurisci, a people of Pannonia, II. 16.
- Tauromenium (Taormina), town of Sicily near Mt. Etna, Si. V; C. V, 103, 105, 109, 116.
- Taurus, mountain range of Asia, Sy. 29; Mi. 62, 106.
- Taxiles, general of Mithridates, Mi. 70, 82.
- Teanum, town of Campania, H. 27; C. I, 45; V, 20.
- Tectosagi, inhabitants of Galatia, in Asia Minor, Sy. 32, 42.
- Tegea, town of Syria (and of Arcadia), Sy. 57.
- Tellus, temple of, C. II, 126.
- Telmissus, town of Asia Minor between Caria and Lycia, Mi. 24.
- Tempe, vale of Thessaly at mouth of Peneus, Sy. 16.
- Tenchteri, people of Germany, on the Rhine, G. I, 4; XVIII.
- Tenus, one of the Cyclades islands, C. V, 7.
- Terentius Varro, C., consul, H. 17; hastens to fight Hannibal, 18 *sq.*; gives signal of flight at Cannae, 23; goes to Rome with remains of army, 26.
- Terentius Varro, M., lieutenant of Pompey in war against pirates, Mi. 95; composes satire on triumvirate of Caesar, Pompey, and Crassus, C. II, 9; philosopher and historian, proscribed, IV, 47.
- Tergestum, sea-coast town of Istria, II. 18.
- Termantia, town of Spain, Sp. 76, 77.
- Termesus, town of Spain, Sp. 99.
- Terponus, town of Illyria, II. 18.
- Terracina, city on coast of Latium, Sa. I, 1; C. III, 12.
- Testimus, leader of the Dalmatians, II. 26 *sq.*
- Teutones, a Celtic people, G. I, 2; invade Noricum, XIII.
- Thapsus, maritime town of Africa, Pu. 94.
- Thasus, island of Aegean, near Thrace, C. IV, 106, 136; V, 2.
- Thebans, allies of Antiochus, Sy. 13; of Mithridates, Mi. 30; deprived of part of their territory by Sulla, 54; aid Arcadians against Lacedaemonians, Sy. 41.
- Themiscyra, town of Asia Minor in Pontus, Mi. 78.
- Themistocles, C. IV, 48.
- Theodorus, freedman of Pompey, C. V, 137.
- Theodosia, stronghold on coast of Thracian Chersonesus, Mi. 108, 120.
- Theodotus, tutor to boy king Ptolemy, advises the killing of Pompey, C. I, 84; crucified by Cassius in Asia, 90.
- Theophilus, a Paphlagonian em-

INDEX

- ployed by inhabitants of Tralles to kill Italians there, Mi. 23.
 Thermodon, river in Pontus, Mi. 69, 78.
 Thermopylae, pass between Thessaly and Phocis, Sy. 17; Mi. 41.
 Thermus, lieutenant of Flaccus, Mi. 52; another, abandons Sextus Pompeius and joins Antony, C. V, 139.
 Thespians, in Boeotia, besieged by Archelaus, Mi. 29.
 Thesprotia, part of coast of Epirus, II. 1.
 Thessalians, Ma. XI, 1; liberty given to them by Caesar, C. II, 88; Thessalian cavalry serving with Brutus, IV, 88.
 Thessalonica, formerly Therma, city of Macedonia on Thermaic gulf, C. IV, 18.
 Thessaly, part of northern Greece, Ma. XI, 4; XVIII, 3; XIX; Sy. 13 *sq.*, 16 *sq.*; Mi. 30, 41, 51, 95; C. I, 4; II, 52, 64; IV, 100, 108, 117.
 Thetis, mother of Achilles, C. III, 13.
 Thoas, commander of Aetolian forces, offers aid to Antiochus, Sy. 12.
 Tholus, town of Africa, Pu. 18.
 Thoranius, C., tutor of Octavian, proscribed, C. IV, 12; another, proscribed, C. IV, 18; his son seeks the father's death, *ib.*
 Thorax, buries body of Lysimachus, Sy. 64.
 Thorius (Sp.), C. I, 27.
 Thrace, mother of Bithys, ancestor of the Bithynians, Mi. 1.
 Thrace, country of Europe, on the Euxine, Ma. IX, 5; Sy. 23; Mi. 56, 95, 102; subject to Perseus, Ma. XI, 1; subdued by Antiochus, Sy. 1, 6; *see* II. 1; C. IV, 38, 75, 87; V, 133.
 Thracians, Mi. 6, 18, 41; attack Romans passing through their territory, Ma. IX, 5; Sy. 43; destroy Lysimacheia, Sy. 1; followers of Rhesus at siege of Troy, Mi. 1; allies of Mithridates, 15, 69; Thracian slingers, C. II, 49, 71; cavalry, IV, 88; abstain from sea, 102.
 Thucydides, what he says of Epidamus, C. II, 30.
 Thurii, town of Italy on gulf of Tarentum, Sa. VII, 1; H. 34 *sq.*, 49 *sq.*, 57; C. I, 117; V, 56, 58, 62.
 Thyatira, plains of, in Lydia, Sy. 30.
 Tiber, river of Italy, C. I, 16, 26, 67, 88; V, 33; ford of, H. 56; bridge of, III, 91.
 Tiberius Caesar, conquers Moesia, II. 30.
 Tiberius Nero, lieutenant of Pompey, Mi. 95.
 Tiberius Pandusa, wages war against the Iapydes, II. 10.
 Tiberius Silvius, descendant of Aeneas, K. I, 1.
 Tibur, city of Latium, C. III, 45; obtains right of Roman citizenship, I, 65.
 Tichius, mountain at Thermopylae, Sy. 17.
 Tigranes, king of kings, takes Syria and Cilicia away from the Seleucidae, Sy. 48, 69; Mi. 105; holds them for fourteen years, Sy. 70; son-in-law of Mithridates, 15, 67; invades Cappadocia, builds Tigranocerta, 67, 84; does not admit Mithridates to his presence, 82; vanquished by Lucullus, 85, 87; deprived of his provinces, Sy. 49; kills two of his sons, surrenders himself to Pompey, and yields provinces gained by war, Mi. 104, 106; receives Lesser Armenia from Pompey, 114; Mi. 67, 84, 86.
 Tigranocerta, city of Lesser Armenia, Mi. 67, 84, 86.
 Tigris, river of Asia flowing into Persian gulf, Sy. 57.
 Tigurini, a people of Helvetia, G. I, 3; XV.
 Tillius Cimber, conspirator against Caesar, C. II, 113, 117; III. 2; IV, 102, 105.
 Timarchus, governor of Babylonia, Sy. 45, 47.
 Timarchus, tyrant of Miletus, Sy. 65.

INDEX

- Timotheus, physician to Mithridates, Mi. 89.
- Tisaeum, town of Macedonia, Mi. 35.
- Tisia, town of Brutthum, H. 44.
- Tisiens Gallus, lieutenant of Lucius Antonius, C. V, 35; of Sextus Pompeius, 104, 117; surrenders his army to Octavian, 121.
- Titinius, friend of Cassius, C. IV, 114.
- Titius, P., tribune, passes law for creating triumvirate, C. IV, 7.
- Titius, lieutenant of Antony sent against Sextus Pompeius in Asia Minor, C. V, 134, 136, 140, 144.
- Titthi, a people of Spain, in Celtiberia, Sp. 44, 63, 66.
- Titurius, lieutenant of Caesar in Gallic war, C. II, 29.
- Tolistoboi, a people of Asia Minor, in Galatia, Sy. 32, 42.
- Torquatus, quaestor of Pansa at Mutina, C. III, 69, 76.
- Tracheotae, a people of Cilicia, Mi. 92.
- Trajan, Roman emperor, born in Italica in Spain, Sp. 38; war with Jews, C. II, 90.
- Trallians (inhabitants of Tralles), a people of Lydia, Sy. 32; kill Italians residing among them, Mi. 23; revolt to Mithridates, 48.
- Trebatus, leader of Samnites, C. I, 52.
- Trebia, river of Cisalpine Gaul, battle of, H. 6 *sq.*
- Trebonius, conspirator against Caesar, C. II, 113, 117; takes command of province of Asia, III, 2; captured and beheaded at Smyrna by Dolabella, 26.
- Triarius, lieutenant of Lucullus, captures Apamea, Mi. 77; battle with Mithridates, 88; defeated by Mithridates, 89, 112, 120.
- Triballi, the people of Lower Moesia, II. 2 *sq.*
- Triballus, descendant of Polymenus, II. 2.
- Tribes, thirty-five in Rome, C. I, 12; ten, composed of new citizens, added, 49; tribes divided into curiae, III, 94; Claudian tribe, K. XI; *comitia tributa*, C. I, 59; III, 30.
- Tribunes, military, wear gold rings, Pu. 104; twenty-four tribunes slain in battle, Mi. 89; bodyguard for Antony composed of tribunes and centurions, C. III, 5; tribunes receive double the prizes of centurions, IV. 120.
- Tribunes of the plebs, first created on sacred mountain, C. I, 1; re-election of, 21; veto, 23; repeal law concerning legal age of consuls, and re-enact it following year, Pu. 112; power of, much reduced by Sulla, C. I, 59, 100; under Sulla's law, *ib.*; wounded in Forum, II, 11; utter imprecations on Crassus, 18; have power to adjourn the Senate, 31; cannot leave city during term of office, *ib.*; tribunes friendly to Caesar ordered to depart from senate-house, 33; two tribunes removed from office and banished by Caesar, 108; IV, 93; persons of tribunes inviolable, II, 33, 108, 138; IV, 17, 93; cannot be prosecuted while in office, II, 138; have not right of taking omens, III, 7; may sometimes imprison consuls, IV, 17; tribune threatens consuls, Pu. 112; Octavian appointed tribune for life, C. V, 132.
- Tribute, or tax, imposed on Jews *per capita*, Sy. 50; annual tribute of Syrians and Cilicians, *ib.*; five years' tribute imposed on Asia at once by Sulla, Mi. 62, 83; ten years' by Cassius, C. IV, 74; nine years' by Antony, V, 5, 6; tax imposed according to style of houses and number of slaves, Mi. 83; tribute exacted with outrages by collectors, 63, 107; Illyrian tribute, II. 6; tribute imposed on allies and states that were exempt, C. I, 102; Roman knights act as farmers of tribute of provinces, II, 13; tax imposed on plebeians and women in Rome, IV, 5; tax on slaves and

INDEX

- on inheritances, V, 67; Antony imposes tribute on kings of Asia, 75; past due taxes remitted by Octavian, 130.
- Tricaranus, a satire written by Varro, C. II, 9.
- Triumph, certain Romans sought command of army through desire for, Sp. 80; Mi. 64; form of, Pu. 66; of Scipio Africanus the elder, *ib.*; of Pompey, Mi. 116 *sq.*; of Pompey before legal age, C. I, 80; fourfold triumph of Caesar, II, 101; captives put to death on Capitol, Mi. 117; Caesar rejects a triumph in order to stand for consulship, C. II, 8; Caesar authorized to wear triumphal garb while offering sacrifice, 106.
- Triumvirs, for dividing public lands, C. I, 9, 18, 18 *sq.*; for settling affairs of republic, IV, 27; issue a proscription, 8 *sq.*; absorb all powers of government, II, 28; C. V, 95; triumvirate turned into tyranny, 39.
- Trocmi, a people of Galatia, Sy. 32, 42.
- Troy (or Ilium), Pu. 1; Trojan war, 71; Sy. 63; Mi. 1, 67, 102.
- Trypho (or Diodotus), usurper of throne of Syria, Sy. 68.
- Tullius, M., consul, C. I, 100.
- Tullius Cicero, M., a "new man," C. II, 2; as consul overthrows conspiracy of Catiline, 3-7; saluted as "father of his country," 7; prosecuted by Clodius, goes into voluntary exile, 14 *sq.*; recalled by Senate, 16; votes in favour of sending legates to Caesar to treat for peace, 36; writes in praise of Cato, 99; favours amnesty after murder of Caesar, 142; praises Antony, III, 4; thinks Antony should be voted public enemy, 50; speech in Senate, 52 *sq.*; proposes a thanksgiving on account of defeat of Antony at Mutina, 74; proscribed, IV, 6; and killed, 19.
- Tullius Cicero, M., son of preceding,
- proscribed with his father, IV, 19; previously sent into Greece, 20; betakes himself to Sextus Pompeius, 51; with Cassius of Parma, V, 2; after Civil War becomes consul, IV, 51.
- Tullius Cicero, Q., brother of Marcus, lieutenant of Caesar in Gallic war, G. 20; proscribed with his son, and both put to death, C. IV, 20.
- Tullus Hostilius, king of Rome, K. II.
- Tunis, town of Africa near Carthage, Si. II, 3.
- Turbuletae, people of Spain, neighbours of Saguntines, Sp. 10.
- Turditania, part of Spain lying on the ocean, Sp. 16, 55, 61.
- Turnus, king of the Rutuli, K. I, 1.
- Turpilius, Roman citizen put to death by Metellus, Nu. III.
- Turilius, Roman nobleman of party of Brutus and Cassius, C. V, 2.
- Tyndaris, town of Sicily, C. V, 105; attacked by Agrippa, 109; captured by him, 116.
- Tyre, city of Phoenicia, Pu. 1; C. III, 77; V, 52; Tyrians, Pu. 1; C. II, 83; IV, 61; V, 9.
- Tyrrhenians (or Etruscans), origin, C. V, 49; Tyrrhenian sea, Pr. 3; C. I, 109.
- Tysca, region containing fifty towns near Carthage, Pu. 68.

U

- Ulysses, carries away Palladium from Troy, Mi. 53; his dream, C. V, 116.
- Umbria, part of Italy, on Adriatic, H. 8; Umbrians, C. I, 36, 49.
- Uria, town of Calabria, C. V, 58.
- Uritanian territory, C. I, 89.
- Usipites, a people of Germany, on the Rhine, G. I, 4; XVIII.
- Utica, city of Africa, Pu. 13 *sq.*, 94; C. II, 44 *sq.*; besieged by Scipio, Pu. 16, 25; siege raised, 30; gives itself to Romans, 75; situation, *ib.*; Romans assign to it part of Carthaginian terri-

INDEX

tory, 135; Cato placed in command of, C. II, 95; kills himself there, 98-100.

V

Vaccaei, people of Hither Spain, unjustly attacked by Lucullus, Sp. 51; Vaccaean and Numantine war, 76; Vaccaei accused of aiding Numantines, 80; largest town, Pallantia, besieged, *ib.*; Scipio plunders territory, 87; great slaughter of, 99.

Vaccenses, a people of Numidia, their Senate put to death by Metellus, Nu. III.

Valeria, daughter of Poplicola, It. V, 3.

Valerius, L., military tribune, Sy. 18.

Valerius, P. (error for P. Varinius), Roman general defeated by Spartacus, C. I, 116.

Valerius, Q., prefect of Sardinia appointed by Caesar, C. II, 40 *sq.*

Valerius Corvinus, overcomes a Gaul in single combat, G. X; created consul under legal age, C. III, 88; Sa. I, 1, 2.

Valerius Messala, lieutenant of Rutilius in Social War, C. I, 40.

Varinius, *see* Valerius, P.

Varius, M., sent by Sertorius to Mithridates, Mi. 68, 76 *sq.*

Varius, Q., tribune, proposes law to prosecute those who aid Italians to acquire Roman citizenship, C. I, 37.

Varus, L., prefect of Rhodes, appointed by Cassius, C. IV, 74.

Varus, river between Gallia Narbonensis and Liguria, C. II, 43.

Varus, Roman of consular rank, proscribed, is taken for a robber, C. IV, 28.

Vatinius, lieutenant of Caesar, sent to Illyria with three legions, II. 18; delivers them to Brutus, C. IV, 75.

Veii, town of Etruria, near Rome, It. VIII.

Venafrum, town of Italy in Campania, C. I, 41.

Ventidius, leader of Italians in Social War, C. I, 47; another, proscribed, traverses Italy in guise of centurion, C. IV, 46; another, lieutenant of Cornificius, 53, 55.

Ventidius, P., friend and lieutenant of Antony, C. III, 66, 80; consul, IV, 2; sides with Lucius Antonius, V, 31 *sq.*, 35; betakes himself to Antony, 50; sent by Antony against Parthians, 65.

Venus of Elymais, temple of, Sy. 66; temple of, at Rome, C. I, 93; Caesar vows temple and games to, II, 68, 102; III, 28; Caesar derives his descent from, II, 151; "Venus the Victorious" Caesar's watchword, 76, 104; temple of, near Tauromenium, V, 109; Venus Mountain, Sp. 64.

Venusia, city of Italy in Apulia, H. 50; C. I, 39, 42, 52; IV, 3.

Vermina, son of Syphax, Pu. 33.

Vespasian, Roman emperor, destroys Jerusalem, Sy. 50.

Vesta, temple of, Mi. 23, 54; C. I, 54; III, 92.

Vestal virgin, Rhea Silvia, K. I, 2; Vestals accompany funeral of Sulla, C. I, 106; offer public prayers for safety of Caesar, II, 106; III, 92; preserve treaties of peace, V, 73; sacrilege for man to enter their house, I, 54.

Vestini, a people of Italy in Samnium, on Adriatic, C. I, 39, 52.

Vesuvius, mountain of Italy in Campania, C. I, 116.

Veterans, dismissed after six years' service, Sp. 78; presented with lands by Sulla, C. I, 96; settled in colonies by Caesar, II, 119, 132; ready to be bought for any purpose, 120; urge Octavian to avenge murder of Caesar, III, 12; not willing to fight against Antony, 53; seek to reconcile Antony and Octavian, V, 57.

Vetilius, C., praetor in Viriathic war, taken prisoner and killed, Sp. 61-63.

Vettius Scaton, leader of Italians

INDEX

- in Social War, C. I, 40; Publius, I, 47.
Vettius, an informer, C. II, 12.
Vettones, a people on border of Lusitania in Spain, Sp. 56, 58.
Vetulinus, proscribed, perishes fighting, C. IV, 25.
Veturia, mother of Coriolanus, It. V, 3, 5.
Veturius, consul, sent under yoke by Pontius, Sa. IV, 6.
Via Sacra, street in Rome, K. IV; C. I, 59, 64; V, 68.
Vibo, town of Italy in Bruttium, C. IV, 3, 86; V, 91, 99, 103, 105, 112.
Vidacilius, leader in Social War, C. I, 40, 42, 47 *sq.*
Vinius, proscribed, C. IV, 44.
Virginius, proscribed, C. IV, 48.
Viriathus, Spanish general, carries on war of ten years against Romans, Sp. 60 *sq.*; assassinated at instigation of Caepio, 74; his funeral, 75.
Volas, one of the body guard of Octavian, Il. 20.
Volcatius Tullus, consul with Octavian, Il. 27.
Volsci, a people of Italy in Latium, It. I, IV; C. I, 1.
Volumnia, wife of Coriolanus, It. V, 3.
Volusius, proscribed, escapes in guise of priest of Isis, C. IV, 47.
Vulcan, Romans will not fight on day of his festival, Sp. 45; temple of, at Perusia, C. V, 49; the Perusians choose him as their deity, *ib.*
Vulturcius, of Croton, conspirator with Catiline, C. II, 4.
Vultures, twelve appear to Romulus and also to Octavian, C. III, 94.

X

- Xanthippus, a Lacedaemonian, as general of Carthaginians, vanquishes Romans, Pu. 3.
Xanthus, city of Asia Minor, in Lycia, C. IV, 52; besieged and captured by Brutus, 76-80; citizens kill themselves, 80.
Xenophanes, ambassador of Philip to Hannibal, captured by Romans, Ma. I.
Xerxes, at Thermopylae, Sy. 18.
Xerxes, son of Mithridates, Mi. 108, 117.
Xiphares, son of Mithridates by Stratonicé, killed by his father, Mi. 107.

Y

- Year, in Roman calendar, regulated by Caesar, C. II, 154.
Yoke, Romans sent under the, Sa. IV, 6; G. I, 3.

Z

- Zacynthus, an island in Ionian sea, near Elis, besieged by Archelaus, relieved by Romans, Mi. 45; Saguntum, colony of Zacynthus, Sp. 7.
Zama, town of Africa, Pu. 36.
Zenobius, general of Mithridates, persecutes inhabitants of Chios, Mi. 47; put to death by Ephesians, 48.
Zeuxis, general of Antiochus, Sy. 33.
Zorus, one of the founders of Carthage, Pu. 1.
Zygactes, river of Thrace near Philippi, C. IV, 105, 128.

Richard Clay & Sons, Limited, London and Bungay.

