

BOOK XLVII

Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῇ Δίῳ τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν τετταρακοστῇ ἐβδόμῃ

- α. Ὡς Καῖσαρ καὶ Ἀντώνιος καὶ Λέπιδος ἐς Ῥώμην ἐλθόντες σφαγὰς εἰργάσαντο.
 β. Περὶ Βρούτου καὶ Κασσίου καὶ ὧν ἔπραξαν πρὸ τῆς πρὸς Φιλίπποις¹ μάχης.
 γ. Ὡς Βρούτος καὶ Κάσσιος ὑπὸ Καίσαρος ἠττήθησαν καὶ ἀπέθανον.

Χρόνον πλήθος τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς Γαίου Οὐιβίου² Πάνσου καὶ Αὔλου Ἰρτίου ὑπατείας, καὶ ἄλλο ἔτος ἓν, ἐν ᾧ³ ἄρχοντες οἱ ἀριθμούμενοι οἶδε ἐγένοντο

Μ. Αἰμίλιος Μ. υἱ. Λέπιδος τὸ β' ὑπ.
 Λ. Μουνάτιος⁴ Λ. υἱ. Πλάγκος.

Ταῦτ' οὖν συνθέμενοι καὶ συνομόσαντες ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην, δόξῃ μὲν ὡς καὶ πάντες ἀπὸ τῆς ἰσης ἀρξούτες, γνώμῃ δὲ ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς ἕκαστος πᾶν τὸ κράτος ἕξων, ἠπειγόντο, καίπερ ἐναργέστατα μὲν καὶ πρότερον, σαφέστατα δὲ καὶ τότε τὸ μέλλον² ἔσεσθαι προμαθόντες· τῷ μὲν γὰρ Λεπίδῳ ὄφει τέ τις ξίφει ἑκατοντάρχου περιπλακεῖς καὶ λύκος ἐς τε τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ ἐς τὴν σκηνὴν δειπνοποιουμένου αὐτοῦ ἐσελθὼν καὶ τὴν τράπεζαν καταβαλὼν τὴν τε ἰσχὺν ἅμα καὶ τὴν δυσχέρειαν τὴν ἐπ' αὐτῇ προσήμνηεν, τῷ δ' Ἀντωνίῳ γάλα

¹ Φιλίπποις Dind., φίλιππον LM.

² Οὐιβίου Dind., ἰουβίου LM. ³ ᾧ Reim., οἷς LM.

⁴ Λ. Μουνάτιος Xyl., λμ' συνάτιος LM.

BOOK XLVII

The following is contained in the Forty-seventh of Dio's Rome :—

How Caesar, Antony, and Lepidus came to Rome and perpetrated murders (chaps. 1-19).
 About Brutus and Cassius and what they did before the battle of Philippi (chaps. 20-36).
 How Brutus and Cassius were defeated by Caesar and perished (chaps. 37-49).

Duration of time, the remainder of the consulship of Gaius Vibius Pansa and Aulus Hirtius, together with one additional year, in which there were the magistrates (consuls) here enumerated :—

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42 M. Aemilius M. F. Lepidus (II), L. Munatius L. F. Plancus.

AFTER forming this compact and taking oaths they hastened to Rome, giving the impression that they were all going to rule on equal terms, but each having the intention of getting the entire power himself. Yet they had learned in advance very clearly before this, and very plainly at this time also, what was going to happen. For in the case of Lepidus a serpent that coiled about a centurion's sword and a wolf that entered his camp and his tent while he was eating dinner and knocked over the table foretold at once his future power and the trouble that was to follow it; in the case of Antony, the flowing of milk round about

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τε περίξ περι τὸ¹ τάφρουμα περιρρυνὲν καὶ συνω-
 διά τις νυκτὸς περιηχῆσασα τὰς τε θυμηδίας καὶ
 3 τὸν ὄλεθρον τὸν ἀπ' αὐτῶν προέδειξεν. ἐκείνοις
 μὲν οὖν ταῦτα πρὶν εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐλθεῖν ἐγένετο·
 τῷ δὲ δὴ Καίσαρι τότε εὐθὺς ἐπὶ ταῖς συνθήκαις
 αἰτὸς ὑπὲρ τε τῆς σκηπῆς αὐτοῦ ἰδρυθεῖς, καὶ δύο
 κόρακας προσπεσόντας οἱ τίλλειν τε τῶν πτερῶν
 πειρωμένους ἀποκτείνας, τὴν νίκην κατ' ἀμφο-
 τέρων αὐτῶν ἔδωκε.

2 Καὶ οἱ μὲν οὕτως εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην, πρότερος μὲν
 ὁ Καίσαρ, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἐκείνοι, χωρὶς ἐκάτερος,
 μετὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀπάντων ἦλθον, καὶ παρα-
 χρήμα τὰ δόξαντά σφισι διὰ τῶν δημάρχων
 2 ἐνομοθέτησαν. ἃ γὰρ ἐπέταττον καὶ ἐβιάζοντο
 τό τε ὄνομα τὸ τοῦ νόμου ἐλάμβανε καὶ προσέτι
 καὶ παράκλησιν αὐτοῖς ἔφερε· πάνν γὰρ ἰκετευ-
 θῆναί σφας ἔδει ἵνα αὐτὰ ποιήσωσι. καὶ διὰ
 τοῦτο καὶ θυσίαι ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ὡς καὶ ἐπ' εὐτυχήμασι
 τισιν ἐψηφίσθησαν, καὶ ἡ ἐσθῆς ὡς καὶ εὐδαι-
 μονούντων σφῶν μετεβλήθη, καίπερ πολλοῦ μὲν
 καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν πραττομένων, πολλῶ δὲ ἔτι
 3 πλείονος ἐκ τεράτων δέους αὐτοῖς ὄντος. τὰ τε
 γὰρ σημεῖα τοῦ στρατεύματος τοῦ τὴν πόλιν
 φυλάττοντος ἀραχνίων ἀνεπλήσθη, καὶ ὄπλα ἐκ
 τῆς γῆς εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνιόντα ὤφθη, κτύπος τε
 ἀπ' αὐτῶν πολλὸς ἠκούσθη, καὶ ἐν τῷ Ἀσκλη-
 πείῳ² μέλισσαι εἰς τὴν ἄκραν πολλαὶ συνε-
 στράφησαν, γυπὲς τε ἐπὶ τε τοῦ νεῶ τοῦ Γενίου³
 τοῦ δήμου καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ⁴ τῆς Ὀμονοίας παμπληθεῖς
 ἰδρύθησαν.

¹ τὸ Xiph., τι LM. ² τῷ Ἀσκληπείῳ Bs., τοῖς ἀσκληπείοις LM.

³ Γενίου Xyl., γενείου LM. ⁴ τοῦ added by Rk.

the trenches and the resounding of a kind of chant B.C. 43
 at night foreshadowed the satisfactions that he was to
 experience and the destruction that was to grow out
 of them. These portents befell them before they
 entered Italy; but in Caesar's case it was at this very
 time, immediately after the covenant had been made,
 that an eagle settled upon his tent and killed two
 crows which had attacked it and were trying to pluck
 out its feathers—a sign which gave him the victory
 over both his rivals.

So they came to Rome with all their troops, first
 Caesar and then the others, each one separately, and
 immediately they enacted through the tribunes the
 laws they had agreed upon. For the measures which
 they dictated and forced through not only assumed
 the name of law, but actually had to be supported by
 petitions, since the triumvirs required to be besought
 earnestly to pass them. Hence sacrifices were voted
 in honour of them as if for successes and the people
 changed their attire as if they had been blessed by
 fortune, although great fear was upon them because
 of these very acts and still greater fear because of
 omens. For the standards of the army which was
 guarding the city became covered with cobwebs,
 pieces of armour were seen to rise up from the
 earth to the sky and a great clashing that came
 from them was heard; in the shrine of Aesculapius
 bees gathered in swarms on the ceiling, and crowds
 of vultures settled on the temple of the Genius
 Populi and on that of Concordia.

3 Καὶ αὐτῶν ἐνταῦθα ἔτι ὡς εἰπεῖν ὄντων αἱ τε σφαγαὶ ἐκεῖναι αἰς ποτε ὁ Σύλλας ἐκ τῶν προγραφῶν¹ ἐκέχρητο ἐπανήχθησαν,² καὶ ἡ πόλις ἅπασα νεκρῶν ἐπληρώθη· πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς ἐν τε ταῖς ἀγοραῖς καὶ πρὸς τοῖς ἱεροῖς σποράδιον ἀπεκτί-
 2 νυτο, καὶ αἱ τε κεφαλαὶ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα αὔθις ἀνετίθεντο, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ σώματα τὰ μὲν αὐτοῦ τε ἐρριπτεῖτο καὶ ὑπὸ κυνῶν ὀρνίθων τε ἡσθίετο, τὰ δὲ ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐνεβάλλετο. τὰ τε ἄλλα ὅσα ἐπὶ τοῦ Σύλλου πρότερον ἐπέπρακτο, καὶ τότε συνεφέρετο, πλὴν ὅτι δύο μόνον λευκώματα, χωρὶς μὲν τῶν βουλευτῶν χωρὶς δὲ τῶν
 3 ἄλλων, ἐξετέθη. καὶ τὸ μὲν αἴτιον δι' ὃ τοῦτ' ἐγένετο, οὔτε παρ' ἑτέρου τινὸς μαθεῖν οὔτ' αὐτὸς εὐρεῖν ἠδυνήθη· ὃ γὰρ τοι μόνον ἂν τις, τὸ γε ἐλάττους θανατωθῆναι, ἐνενόησεν,³ ἥκιστα ἀληθές ἐστι· πολλῶ γὰρ πλείους, ἅτε καὶ ὑπὸ πλειόνων, ἐσεγράφησαν. τοῦτο δὲ οὐ παρὰ τὰς σφαγὰς τὰς
 4 ἐν τῷ πρὶν γενομένης παρήλλαξεν· ἐπεὶ ὅτι γε οὐκ ἀναμίξ τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν πρώτων τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀλλὰ χωρὶς ἐξετέθη, λήρῳν που πολὺν τοῖς γε⁴ ἐκ τοῦ ὁμοίου σφαγησομένοις ἔφερεν. ἀντ' ἐκεῖνου δὲ δὴ ἕτερα καὶ πάνυ δυσχερῆ, καίπερ μηδεμίαν τῶν προτέρων ὑπερβολήν, ὡς γε καὶ ἐδόκει, λιπόντων, οὐκ ὀλίγα αὐτοῖς συνηρέχθη.
 4 ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ Σύλλου οἱ τέ τι δρῶντες τὰς τε τὸλμας ἐκ τοῦ παραχρήμα,⁵ ἅτε καὶ πρῶτον τοῦ

¹ προγραφῶν R. Steph., προσηγραφῶν LM.

² ἐπανήχθησαν Naber, ἐποιήθησαν LM.

³ ἐνενόησεν M, ἐνενόησαν L. ⁴ γε Leuncl., τε LM.

⁵ ἐκ τοῦ παραχρήμα Bs., πρόσχημα LM.

And while the people were still in this state of mind, those murders by proscription which Sulla¹ had once indulged in were once more resorted to and the whole city was filled with corpses. Many were killed in their houses, many even in the streets and here and there in the fora and around the temples; the heads of the victims were once more set up upon the rostra and their bodies either allowed to lie where they were, to be devoured by dogs and birds, or else cast into the river. Everything that had been done before in the days of Sulla occurred also at this time, except that only two white tablets were posted, one for the senators and one for the others. The reason for this I have not been able to learn from anyone else or to find out myself; for the only reason that might occur to one, namely, that fewer were to be put to death, is by no means true, since many more names were posted, owing to the fact that there were more persons making the lists. However, this circumstance did not cause these proscriptions to differ from the murders on the earlier occasion; since the posting of the names of the prominent citizens, not promiscuously along with those of the rabble, but separately, must surely have seemed a very absurd distinction to the men who were to be murdered on precisely the same terms. But over against this one difference there were not a few other conditions of a very distressing nature that fell to their lot, although Sulla's proscriptions, to all appearances, left no room for outdoing them. In Sulla's time, to be sure, the perpetrators had committed their shocking deeds on the spur of the moment, inasmuch as they were trying this sort of thing for the

¹ Cf. Frg. 109.

τοιούτου πειρώμενοι, καὶ οὐκ ἐκ προβουλῆς ἐποιοῦντο, καὶ διὰ τοῦθ' ἦττον τὰ πλείω κακοτρόπως, οἷα οὐκ ἐκ προνοίας ἀλλ' ἐκ συντυχίας, ἔπραττον· καὶ οἱ πάσχοντες ἐξαπιναίαις τε καὶ ἀνηκούστοις συμφοραῖς περιπίπτοντες ῥαστώνην τινὰ ἐκ τοῦ ἀνελπίστου τῶν παθῶν ἐλάμβανον.

2 τότε δὲ πάντα μὲν τὰ προτολμηθέντα οἱ μὲν αὐτοὶ χειρουργήσαντες, οἱ δὲ ἰδόντες, οἱ δ' ἀκοῇ γούν ὑπογύω¹ ἀκριβοῦντες, πολλὰ δ' οὖν² ἐν τῷ διὰ μέσου τῇ προσδοκίᾳ τῶν ὁμοίων οἱ μὲν ὡς δράσουσι προσεπινοήσαντες, οἱ δ' ὡς πείσονται

3 προσδείσαντες, ἐκείνοί τε πλείστην ἀτοπίαν τῇ τε ζηλώσει τῶν προτέρων ἔργων καὶ τῇ ἀπ' αὐτῶν σπουδῇ³ ἐς τὸ καινώσαί⁴ πως τὰ ἐπιβουλευμάτα ἐξ ἐπιτεχνήσεως παρέιχον, καὶ οἱ ἕτεροι πάνθ' ὅσα παθεῖν ἐδύνατο λογιζόμενοι πολλὰ ταῖς ψυχαῖς καὶ πρὸ τῶν σωμάτων, ὡς καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς

5 ἤδη ὄντες, διεκναίοντο. κἂν τε⁵ τούτῳ χαλεπώτερος ἢ πρὶν ἀπήλασσον, καὶ διότι τότε μὲν μόνοι οἱ τοῦ Σύλλου τῶν τε περὶ αὐτὸν δυνατῶν ἐχθροὶ διώλοντο, τῶν δὲ δὴ φίλων αὐτοῦ τῶν τε ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων οὐδεὶς ἐκείνου γε κελεύσαντος

2 ἐφθάρη, ὥστε ἔξω τῶν πάνυ πλουσίων (τούτοις γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτε εἰρήνη πρὸς τὸν ἰσχυρότερον ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις γίγνεται) οἷ γε λοιποὶ ἐθάρσουν· ἐν δὲ δὴ ταῖς δευτέραις ταύταις σφαγαῖς οὐχ ὅπως οἱ

¹ ὑπογύω R. Steph., ὑπογύωι LM.

² δ' οὖν Bk., γούν LM. ³ σπουδῇ supplied by Xyl.

⁴ καινώσαί R. Steph., κενῶσαί LM. ⁵ τε added by Bk.

first time, and not as the result of deliberate planning, and hence in most cases they behaved less wickedly, since they were acting, not with malice aforethought, but as chance dictated; and the victims, encountering misfortunes which came upon them suddenly and had never before been heard of by them, found some alleviation in the unexpectedness of their sufferings. At this time, however, when men had either taken part themselves in all the former terrible deeds, or had beheld them, or were at any rate thoroughly acquainted with them from recent descriptions, and accordingly in all the time between, in the expectation of a recurrence of similar outrages, had, on the one hand, been devising many additional horrors, with the idea that they would inflict them, and, on the other hand, been conjuring up additional terrors with the idea that they would suffer them, the perpetrators resorted to most unusual devices in their emulation of the outrages of yore and their consequent eagerness to introduce into their schemes, by their ingenuity, novel features of some sort; and the victims, reflecting upon all that they might suffer, underwent great tortures in their minds even before their bodies were put to torture, as if they were already in the very midst of their sufferings. Another reason for their faring worse on this occasion than before was that previously only the enemies of Sulla and of the leaders associated with him were destroyed, whereas among the friends of Sulla or of the other men no one perished, at least not at Sulla's bidding; so that, apart from the very wealthy, who can never be at peace on such occasions with the man more powerful than themselves, all the rest had no cause for fear. In this second series of murders,

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ἐχθροὶ αὐτῶν ἢ καὶ οἱ πλούσιοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ πάνν
 3 φίλοι καὶ παρὰ δόξαν ἐκτείνοντο. ἄλλως μὲν γὰρ
 ἢ τις ἢ οὐδεὶς ἐς ἐχθραν ἀπ' ἰδίας τινὸς αἰτίας
 τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐκείνοις, ὡς καὶ σφαγῆναι πρὸς
 αὐτῶν, ἐληλύθει· τὰ δὲ δὴ κοινὰ πράγματα καὶ
 αἱ τῶν δυναστειῶν διαλλαγὰὶ καὶ τὰς φιλίας τὰς
 τε ἐχθρας τὰς σφοδρὰς αὐτοῖς ἐπεποιήκεσαν.
 4 πάντας γὰρ τοὺς τῷ πέλας συναραμένους¹ τέ τι
 καὶ συμπράξαντας ἐν πολεμίου μοίρα οἱ ἕτεροι
 ἐτίθεντο· καὶ οὕτω συνέβαινε τοὺς αὐτοὺς καὶ
 φίλους τινὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ἐχθροὺς πάντων² γεγο-
 νέναι ὥστε, ἐν ᾧ ἰδίᾳ ἕκαστος τοὺς ἐπιβουλεύσαν-
 τὰς οἱ ἡμύνετο, καὶ τοὺς φιλτάτους κοινῇ συν-
 5 ἀπώλλυσαν. ἐκ γὰρ τῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους πραγμά-
 των τό τε οἰκειωθέν σφισι καὶ τὸ ἀλλοτριωθέν ἐν
 λόγῳ τινὲ τιθέμενοι οὐτε τὸν ἑαυτοῦ τις αὐτῶν
 ἐχθρὸν τιμωρήσασθαι, φίλον ἑτέρου ὄντα, ἐδύνατο
 μὴ ἀντιδιδόνς ἄλλον, καὶ ἐκ τῆς τῶν γεγονότων
 ὀργῆς τῆς τε ἔπειτα ὑποψίας παρ' οὐδὲν τὴν τοῦ
 ἑταιρικοῦ σωτηρίαν πρὸς τὴν τοῦ διαφόρου
 τιμωρίαν ποιούμενοι ῥαδίως σφᾶς ἀντεδίδουσαν.
 6 κακὰ τούτου τοὺς τε φιλτάτους ἀντὶ τῶν ἐχθίστων
 ἀλλήλοις προέβαλλον, καὶ τοὺς πολεμωτάτους
 ἀντὶ τῶν ἑταιροτάτων, τοῦτο μὲν ἴσους πρὸς
 ἴσους, τοῦτο δὲ ἀνθ' ἑνὸς πλείονας ἢ καὶ ἀντὶ

¹ συναραμένους R. Steph., συναραμένους LM.

² πάντων Kuiper, πάντως LM.

however, not only the men's enemies or the rich B.C. 49
 were being killed, but also their best friends, in-
 credible as it may seem. For in general almost no-
 body had incurred the enmity of those men for any
 mere private cause, to such an extent as to be
 murdered by them; but it was their public relations
 and their changing of their allegiance from one
 political leader to another that had created for the
 Romans not only their friendships, but also their
 violent enmities. For everyone who had made
 common cause or coöperated with his neighbour in
 anything was regarded by all the rest in the light
 of an enemy. And thus it came about that the
 same persons had become friends of some one of
 the leaders and enemies of them all as a body, so
 that while privately each leader was merely taking
 vengeance upon those who had plotted against him,
 as a group they were destroying even their dearest
 friends. For in consequence of the dealings they
 had had with one another they kept a sort of
 reckoning of the items of "friend" and "enemy,"
 and no one of their number could take vengeance
 on one of his own enemies, if he was a friend of
 one of the other two, without giving up some friend
 in return; and because of their resentment over
 what was past and their suspicion regarding the
 future they cared nothing about the saving of an
 associate as over against their vengeance upon an
 adversary, and therefore readily gave their friends
 in return. In consequence they were now offering
 up to each other their staunchest friends in return
 for their bitterest enemies, and getting their most
 implacable foes in return for their closest comrades,
 sometimes exchanging equal numbers and some-

πλειόνων ἐλάττωνας, ἠλλάττοντο, τά τε ἄλλα ἐν ἀγορᾷ τρόπῳ ποιούμενοι, καὶ ὑπερβάλλοντες
 2 ὡσπερ ἐν πρατηρίῳ. εἰ μὲν γὰρ¹ εἰς τις ἐνός τινος ἀντάξιός ὡστ' ἰσομοιρεῖν εὐρίσκετο, ἀπλή ἢ ἀντίδοσις ἐγίγνετο· ὅσους δὲ δὴ ἀρετὴ τις ἢ ἀξίωσις ἢ καὶ συγγένεια ἀνετίμα, ἀντὶ πλειόνων ἀπώλλυντο. ἅτε γὰρ ἐν ἐμφυλίοις πολέμοις, καὶ πολλῶ μὲν χρόνῳ πολλαῖς δὲ καὶ πράξεσι γενομένοις, συχροὶ καὶ τοῖς πάνυ συγγενέσι² κατὰ τὸ
 3 στασιωτικὸν προσεκεκρούεσαν. ἀμέλει τῷ τε Ἀντωνίῳ καὶ ὁ θεῖος Λούκιος³ Καῖσαρ καὶ τῷ Λεπίδῳ καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς Λούκιος Παῦλος ἐπεπολέμωντο. ἀλλ' οὗτοι μὲν ἐσώθησαν, τῶν δὲ δὴ ἄλλων πολλοὶ καὶ παρ' αὐτοῖς τοῖς τε φίλοις καὶ τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις, ἕψ' ὥσπερ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα καὶ σωθήσεται καὶ τιμηθήσεται προσεδόκων, ἐσφά-
 4 γησαν. ὅπως γὰρ μηδεὶς στερηθήσεται τῶν ἄθλων φοβηθεῖς, ὅτι τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ Σύλλου φενεύσαντάς τινας ὁ Κάτων ὁ Μάρκος ταμιεύσας ἀπήτησε πίνθ' ὅσα ἐπ' αὐτοῖς εἰλήφεσαν, ἡττόν τινα ἀποκτείνῃ, προηγόρευσαν ὅτι οὐδένα αὐτῶν
 5 ἐς τὰ δημόσια γράμματα ἐσγράψουσι.⁴ τοὺς⁵ τε οὖν ἄλλους ἐτοιμότερον διὰ τοῦτ' ἐσφάζον καὶ τοὺς εὐπόρους, εἰ καὶ μηδενὶ αὐτῶν ἀπήχθοντο· παμπόλλων τε γὰρ χρημάτων δεόμενοι, καὶ οὐκ ἔχοντες ὀπόθεν ἄλλοθεν τὰς ἐπιθυμίας τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀποπληρώσωσι, κοινὴν τινα κατὰ τῶν

¹ γὰρ supplied by Bk.

² συγγενέσι E. Steph., συγγενέσι LM.

³ Λούκιος Xyl., Λούκιος ἀντώνιος LM.

⁴ ἐσγράψουσι Reim., ἐσγράφοσι LM.

⁵ τοὺς M cod. Peir., τούτους L.

times several for one or fewer for more, and carrying on their negotiations in general after the fashion of a market, particularly in over-bidding one another as at an auction. If one person was found who matched another in value so that there was a parity between them, there was an even exchange; but those whose value was enhanced by some excellence or rank or even relationship perished each at the price of several lives. For, as is natural in civil wars, which last a long time and involve many incidents, many had in the course of the strife come into collision even with their nearest relatives. For example, Antony had found an enemy in his uncle, Lucius Caesar, and Lepidus in his brother, Lucius Paullus. But though the lives of these men were spared, yet many of the rest were slaughtered even in the houses of their friends and relatives, at whose hands they most confidently expected to be saved and honoured. For, in order that no one should hesitate to kill another out of fear of being deprived of the rewards,—inasmuch as Marcus Cato, in his quaestorship, had demanded back from those who had murdered anyone in the time of Sulla all that they had received for their work,—they proclaimed that the name of none of the perpetrators should be registered in the public records. Encouraged by this, men proceeded to slay, in addition to the others, also the well-to-do, even when they had no dislike for any of them. For since they stood in need of vast sums of money and had no other source from which to satisfy the desires of their soldiers, they affected a kind of common enmity

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6 πλουσίων ἔχθραν προσέθεντο.¹ καὶ ἄλλα τε διὰ τοῦτο πολλὰ παρενομήθη,² καὶ παιδίσκον τινὰ ἐς ἐφήβους ἐσήγαγον, ἵν' ὡς ἐς ἄνδρας ἤδη τελῶν ἀποθάνῃ.

7 Ταῦτα δὲ ἐπράττετο μὲν ὑπὸ τε τοῦ Λεπίδου καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου μάλιστα (πρὸς τε γὰρ τοῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ προτέρου ἐπὶ μακρότατον τιμηθέντες, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ταῖς τε ἡγεμονίαις ἐπὶ πλείστον γενόμενοι, πολλοὺς ἔχθροὺς εἶχον),
 2 ἐδόκει δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος κατὰ τὴν τῆς δυναστείας κοινωσίαν γίνεσθαι, ἐπεὶ αὐτὸς γε οὐδὲν τι συχνοὺς ἀποκτείνει ἐδεήθη τῇ τε γὰρ φύσει οὐκ ὠμὸς ἦν, καὶ ἐν τοῖς τοῦ πατρὸς ἤθεσιν ἐνετέθραπτο. πρὸς δ' ἔτι νέος τε ὢν καὶ ἄρτι ἐς τὰ πράγματα παριῶν οὐτ' ἄλλως ἀνάγκην³ πολλοὺς σφοδρῶς μισεῖν εἶχε καὶ φιλεῖσθαι
 3 ἤθελε. σημεῖον δὲ ὅτι, ἀφ' οὗ τῆς τε πρὸς ἐκείνους συναρχίας ἀπηλλάγη καὶ τὸ κράτος μόνος ἔσχεν, οὐδὲν ἔτι τοιοῦτον ἔπραξεν. καὶ τότε δὲ οὐχ ὅσον πολλοὺς οὐκ ἔφθειρεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔσωσε πλείστους, τοῖς τε προδοῦσι τοὺς δεσπότας ἢ τοὺς φίλους χαλεπώτατα καὶ τοῖς συναρα-
 4 μένοις⁴ τισὶν ἐπιεικέστατα ἐχρήσατο. τεκμήριον δέ, Τανουσία γυνὴ ἐπιφανὴς τὸν ἄνδρα Τίτον Οὐίνιον ἐπικηρυχθέντα τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐς κιβωτὸν παρὰ ἀπελευθέρῳ τινὶ Φιλοποίμενι κατέκρυψεν, ὥστε καὶ πίστιν τοῦ τεθηγκέναι αὐτὸν παρασχεῖν· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο δημοτελῆ εορτὴν, ἣν συγγενῆς τις αὐτῆς ποιήσειν ἔμελλε, τηρήσασα, τὸν τε Καίσαρα

¹ προσέθεντο M cod. Peir., προέθεντο L.

² παρενομήθη L, παρενομίσθη M, παρενομήθη cod. Peir.

³ ἀνάγκην Xiph., ἵν' ἀνάγκην LM.

⁴ συναραμένους cod. Peir., συναραιμένους LM.

against the rich. And among the many other lawless acts they committed in carrying out this policy, they took a lad and enrolled him among the youths of military age, in order that they might kill him as now classed among the grown men.

These acts were committed chiefly by Lepidus and Antony; for they had been honoured by the former Caesar for many years, and as they had been holding offices and governorships for a long time they had many enemies. But Caesar seems to have taken part in the business merely because of his sharing the authority, since he himself had no need at all to kill a large number; for he was not naturally cruel and had been brought up in his father's ways. Moreover, as he was still a young man and had just entered politics, he was under no necessity in any case of hating many persons violently, and, besides, he wished to be loved. A proof of this is that from the time he broke off his joint rulership with his colleagues and held the power alone he no longer did anything of the sort. And even at this time he not only refrained from destroying many but actually saved a very large number; and he treated with great severity those who betrayed their masters or friends and very leniently those who helped others; witness the case of Tanusia, a woman of note. She at first concealed her husband Titus Vinus, one of the proscribed, in a chest at the house of a freedman named Philopoemen and so made it appear that he had been killed. Later she waited for a popular festival, which a relative of hers was to direct, and through the

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