

BOOK LVII

Τάδε ἔρεσιν ἐν τῷ πεντηκοστῷ ἔβδόμῳ τῶν Δίωτος Ῥωμαϊκῶν

- α. Περὶ Τιβερίου.
β. Ὡς Καππαδοκία ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἄρχεσθαι ἤρξατο.
γ. Ὡς Γερμανικὸς Καίσαρ ἀπέθανεν.
δ. Ὡς Δροῦσος Καίσαρ ἀπέθανεν.

Χρόνου πλῆθος ἔτη ἔνδεκα, ἐν οἷς ἄρχοντες οἱ ἀριθμούμενοι οἷδε ἐγένοντο

- Δροῦσος Καίσαρ Τιβερίου υἱ.
Γ. Νωρβανὸς Γ. υἱ. Φλάκκος ὕπ.¹
Τ. Στατίλιος Τ. υἱ. Σισέννας² Ταῦρος ὕπ.
Λ. Σκριβάνιος Λ. υἱ. Λίβων
Γ. Κακίλιος Γ. υἱ. Νέπας³ ἢ⁴ Ροῦφος ὕπ.
Λ. Πομπώνιος Λ. υἱ. Φλάκκος
Τιβ. Καίσαρ Αἰγούστου υἱ. τὸ γ' ὕπ.
Γερμανικὸς Καίσαρ Τιβ. υἱ. τὸ β' ὕπ.
Μ. Ἰούνιος Μ. υἱ. Σιλανός
Γ. Νωρβανὸς Γ. υἱ. Φλάκκος ἢ⁴ Βάλβας ὕπ.⁵
Μ. Οὐαλέριος Μ. υἱ. Μεσσάλας ὕπ.
Μ.⁶ Αἰρήλιος Μ. υἱ. Κόττας
Τιβ. Καίσαρ Αἰγούστου υἱ. τὸ δ' ὕπ.
Δροῦσος Ἰούλιος Τιβ. υἱ. τὸ β' ὕπ.
Δέκιμος Ἀτέριος Κ. υἱ. Ἀγρίππας
Γ.⁸ Σουλπίκιος Σεργ. υἱ.⁹ Γάλβας¹⁰ ὕπ.
Γ. Ἀσίνιος Γ. υἱ. Πωλίων ὕπ.
Γ. Ἀντίστιος Γ. υἱ. Οὐέτος¹¹ ὕπ.
Σέργ. Κορνήλιος Σεργ. υἱ. Κέθηγος
Λ. Οὐισέλλιος¹² Γ. υἱ.¹³ Οὐάρων¹⁴ ὕπ.
Μ.¹⁵ Ἀσίνιος Γ.¹⁶ υἱ. Ἀγρίππας
Κόσσος Κορνήλιος Κόσσου υἱ. Λεντοῦλος ὕπ.

¹ ὕπ. supplied by Bs.

² Σισέννας R. Steph., σισένναι M.

³ Νέπας R. Steph., νέπος M.

⁴ Bs. suggests that ἢ should be deleted.

⁵ ὕπ. supplied by Bs.

⁶ M. R. Steph., μ' υἱ' M.

⁸ Γ. supplied by Xyl.

⁷ τὸ β' ὕπ. Bs., ὕπ. τὸ β' M.

⁹ Σεργ. υἱ. supplied by Bs.

BOOK LVII

The following is contained in the Fifty seventh of Dio's *Rome* :—

About Tiberius (chap. 1 ff.).

How Cappadocia began to be governed by Romans (chap. 17).

How Germanicus Caesar died (chap. 18).

How Drusus Caesar died (chap. 22).

Duration of time, eleven years, in which there were the magistrates (consuls) here enumerated :—

- A.D.
15 Drusus Caesar Tiberi f., C. Norbanus C. f. Flaccus.
16 T. Statilius T. f. Sisenna Taurus, L. Scribonius L. f. Libo.
17 C. Caecilius C. f. Nepos [or¹] Rufus, L. Pomponius L. f. Flaccus.
18 Ti. Caesar Augusti f. (III), Germanicus Caesar Ti. f. (II).
19 M. Iunius M. f. Silanus, C. Norbanus C. f. Flaccus [or⁴] Balbus.
20 M. Valerius M. f. Messalla, M. Aurelius M. f. Cotta.
21 Ti. Caesar Augusti f. (IV), Drusus Iulius Ti. f. (II).
22 Decimus Haterius C. f. Agrippa, C. Sulpicius Serg. f. Galba.
23 C. Asinius C. f. Pollio, C. Antistius C. f. Vetus.
24 Sergius Cornelius Sergi f. Cethegus, L. Visellius C. f. Varro.
25 M. Asinius C. f. Agrippa, Cossus Cornelius Cossi f. Lentulus.

¹ "Or" is perhaps to be deleted.

¹⁰ Γάλβας R. Steph., γάλουας M.

¹¹ Οὐέτος Xyl., ἰούστος M.

¹² Λ. Οὐισέλλιος Xyl., κηλουσέλλιος M, i. e. K. ἢ Λ. Οὐισέλλιος?
¹³ Γ. υἱ. Ryckius, Λ. υἱ. M.

¹⁴ Οὐάρων H. Steph., οὐάρων M.

¹⁵ M. R. Steph., μ' ηγ' M.

¹⁶ Γ. Bs., M. R. Steph., μ' ηγ' M.

Ταῦτα μὲν κατὰ Αὐγουστον ἐγένετο, Τιβέριος δὲ εὐπατρίδης μὲν ἦν καὶ ἐπαιδευτο, φύσει δὲ ιδιωτᾶτῃ ἐκέχρητο. οὔτε γὰρ ὧν ἐπεθύμει προσεποιεῖτό τι, καὶ ὧν ἔλεγεν οὐδὲν ὡς εἰπεῖν ἐβούλετο, ἀλλ' ἐναντιωτάτους τῇ προαιρέσει τοὺς λόγους ποιούμενος πᾶν τε ὃ ἐπόθει ἠρνεῖτο καὶ πᾶν ὃ ἐμίσει προετίετο· ὠργίζετό τε ἐν οἷς ἤκιστα ἐθυμοῦτο, καὶ ἐπιεικῆς ἐν οἷς μάλιστα ἠγανάκει
 2 ἐδόκει εἶναι· ἠλέει τε δῆθεν οὐς σφόδρα ἐκόλαζε, καὶ ἐχαλέπαιεν οἷς συνεγίνωσκε· τὸν τε ἐχθιστον ὡς οἰκειότατον ἔστιν ὅτε ἑώρα, καὶ τῷ φιλιτᾶτῳ ὡς ἀλλοτριωτᾶτῳ προσεφέρετο. τό τε σύμπαν οὐκ ἤξιον τὸν αὐταρχοῦντα κατάδηλον ὧν φρονεῖ εἶναι· ἐκ τε γὰρ τούτου πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα πταίσθαι καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου πολλῶ
 3 πλείω καὶ μείζω κατορθοῦσθαι ἔλεγε. καὶ εἰ μὲν μόνα ταῦτ' εἶχεν, εὐφύλακτος ἂν τοῖς ἐς πείραν αὐτοῦ ἐλθοῦσιν ἦν· πρὸς γὰρ τοι τὸ ἐναντιώτατον πάντα ἂν λαμβάνοντες¹ ἐκ τοῦ ἴσου τό τε μὴ βούλεσθαι δὴ τι αὐτὸν τῷ πᾶν ποθεῖν καὶ τὸ ὀρέγεσθαι τινος τῷ² μὴ ἐφίεσθαι ἐνόμιζον· νῦν δὲ ὠργίζετο εἴ τις αὐτοῦ συνεῖς φανερός ἐγένετο, καὶ πολλοὺς οὐδὲν ἄλλο σφίσις ἢ ὅτι συνενόησαν αὐτὸν ἐγκαλέσαι ἔχων ἀπέκτει-
 4 νεν. ὥστε χαλεπὸν μὲν ἦν μηδεμίαν αὐτοῦ σύνεσιν ποιεῖσθαι (πολλὰ γὰρ ἄτε πρὸς τὸ λεγόμενον ἀλλὰ μὴ πρὸς τὸ βουλόμενον συναυουντῆς οἱ ἐσφάλλοντο), χαλεπώτερον δὲ συνιέναι·

¹ ἂν λαμβάνοντες Xiph., ἀναλαμβάνοντες M cod. Peir.

² τῷ R. Steph., τὸ M cod. Peir. Xiph.

TIBERIUS was a patrician of good education, but he had a most peculiar nature. He never let what he desired appear in his conversation, and what he said he wanted he usually did not desire at all. On the contrary, his words indicated the exact opposite of his real purpose; he denied all interest in what he longed for, and urged the claims of what he hated. He would exhibit anger over matters that were very far from arousing his wrath, and make a show of affability where he was most vexed. He would pretend to pity those whom he severely punished, and would retain a grudge against those whom he pardoned. Sometimes he would regard his bitterest foe as if he were his most intimate companion, and again he would treat his dearest friend like the veriest stranger. In short, he thought it bad policy for the sovereign to reveal his thoughts; this was often the cause, he said, of great failures, whereas by the opposite course far more and greater successes were attained. Now if he had merely followed this method quite consistently, it would have been easy for those who had once come to know him to be on their guard against him; for they would have taken everything by exact contraries, regarding his seeming indifference to anything as equivalent to his ardently desiring it, and his eagerness for anything as equivalent to his not caring for it. But, as it was, he became angry if anyone gave evidence of understanding him, and he put many to death for no other offence than that of having comprehended him. While it was a dangerous matter, then, to fail to understand him,—for people often came to grief by approving what he said instead of what he wished,—it was still more dangerous to understand him, since

τὴν τε γὰρ ἐπιτήδευσιν αὐτοῦ καταφωρᾶν καὶ
 5 τοῦτου καὶ ἀχθεσθαι αὐτῇ ὑπωπτεύοντο. μόνος¹
 οὖν ὡς εἰπεῖν, ὅπερ που σπανιώτατόν ἐστι, διε-
 γένητο δὲ οὐτ' ἠγνόησε τὴν φύσιν αὐτοῦ οὐτ'
 ἤλεγξεν· οὕτω γὰρ οὔτε πιστεύσαντές οἱ ἠπατή-
 θησαν, οὔτε ἐνδειξάμενοι νοεῖν ἃ ἔπραττεν ἐμισή-
 θησαν. πάνν γὰρ πολὺν ὄχλον παρείχεν, εἴτε
 6 τις ἐναντιοῖτο οἷς ἔλεγεν εἴτε καὶ συναίροίτο· τὸ
 μὲν γὰρ ἀληθῶς γενέσθαι τὸ δὲ δοκεῖν βούλεσθαι
 ἐθέλων, πάντως τέ τινες πρὸς ἐκάτερον ἐναντιου-
 μένους εἶχε, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τοὺς μὲν τῆς ἀληθείας
 τοὺς δὲ τῆς δοκίσεως ἕνεκα ἤχθαιρε.

2 Τοιοῦτος οὖν δὴ τις ὢν ἐς τε τὰ στρατόπεδα
 καὶ ἐς τὰ ἔθνη πάντα ὡς αὐτοκράτωρ εἰθὺς ἀπὸ
 τῆς Νώλης ἐπέστειλε, μὴ λέγων αὐτοκράτωρ εἶναι·
 ψηφισθὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦτο μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων
 ὀνομάτων οὐκ ἐδέξατο, καὶ τὸν κλῆρον τοῦ
 Αὐγούστου λαβὼν τὴν ἐπίκλησιν αὐτοῦ ταύτην
 2 οὐκ ἔθετο. τοὺς τε σωματοφύλακας ἀμφ' αὐτὸν
 ἤδη ἔχων ἐδεῖτο δὴ τῆς γερουσίας συνάρασθαι οἱ
 ὥστε μηδὲν βίαιον ἐν τῇ τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ ταφῇ
 παθεῖν· ἐδεδίει γὰρ δῆθεν μὴ τινες αὐτὸ ἀρπά-
 σαντες ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ, ὥσπερ τὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος,
 3 καύσωσι. καὶ ἐπειδὴ γε κομφυεσάμενός τις ἐπὶ
 τούτῳ φρουρὰν αὐτῷ ὡς οὐκ ἔχοντι δοθῆναι
 ἐσηγήσατο, τὸν τε χλευασμὸν αὐτοῦ συνῆκε, καὶ
 ἔφη καὶ ὅτι “οἱ στρατιῶται οὐκ ἐμοὶ ἀλλὰ

¹ μόνος Xiph., μόνον M cod. Peir.

people were then suspected of discovering his practice and consequently of being displeased with it. Practically the only sort of man, therefore, that could maintain himself,—and such persons were very rare,—was one who neither misunderstood his nature nor exposed it to others; for under these conditions men were neither deceived by believing him nor hated for showing that they understood his motives. ¶ He certainly gave people a vast amount of trouble whether they opposed what he said or agreed with him; for inasmuch as he really wished one thing to be done but wanted to appear to desire something different, he was bound to find men opposing him from either point of view, and therefore was hostile to the one class because of his real feelings, and to the other for the sake of appearances. ¶

It was due to this characteristic, that, as emperor, he immediately sent a dispatch from Nola to all the legions and provinces, though he did not claim to be emperor; for he would not accept this name, which was voted to him along with the others, and though taking the inheritance left him by Augustus, he would not adopt the title “Augustus.” At a time when he was already surrounded by the bodyguards, he actually asked the senate to lend him assistance so that he might not meet with any violence at the burial of the emperor; for he pretended to be afraid that people might catch up the body and burn it in the Forum, as they had done with that of Caesar. When somebody thereupon facetiously proposed that he be given a guard, as if he had none, he saw through the man's irony and answered: “The soldiers do not belong to me, but to the State.”

δημόσιοι εἰσι." ταῦτά τε οὖν οὕτως ἔπρασσε, καὶ τὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔργω πάντα διοικῶν ἠρνεῖτο 4 μηδὲν αὐτῆς δεῖσθαι. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον καὶ πᾶσαν αὐτὴν διὰ τε τὴν ἡλικίαν (ἕξ γὰρ καὶ πεντήκοντα ἔτη ἐγεγόνει) καὶ δι' ἀμβλυωπίαν (πλεῖστον γὰρ τοῦ σκότους βλέπων ἐλάχιστα τῆς ἡμέρας ἑώρα) ἐξίστασθαι ἔλεγεν. ἔπειτα δὲ κοινωνοὺς τέ τινας καὶ συνάρχοντας, οὗτοι γὰρ καὶ πάντων καθάπαξ ὥσπερ ἐν ὀλιγαρχίᾳ, ἀλλ' ἐς 5 τρία μέρη νέμων αὐτὴν, ἤτει, καὶ τὸ μὲν αὐτὸς ἔχειν ἡξίου, τῶν δὲ ἑτέρων ἄλλοις παρεχώρει. ἦν δὲ ταῦτα ἐν μὲν ἧ τε Ῥώμῃ καὶ ἡ ἄλλη 6 Ἰταλία, ἕτερον δὲ τὰ στρατόπεδα, καὶ ἕτερον οἱ λοιποὶ ὑπήκοοι. ὡς οὖν πολλὸς ἐνέκειτο, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι καὶ ὡς ἀντέλεγον δῆθεν καὶ ἐδέοντο αὐτοῦ ἄρχειν πάντων, Ἀσίνιος δὲ δὴ Γάλλος παρρησίᾳ αἰεί ποτε πατρῴα καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸ συμφέρον αὐτῷ χρώμενος "ἐλοῦ" ἔφη "ἦν ἂν ἐθελήσης 7 μοῖραν." καὶ Τιβέριος "καὶ πῶς οἷόν τέ ἐστίν" εἶπεν "τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ νέμειν τι καὶ αἰρεῖσθαι;" συνεῖς οὖν ὁ Γάλλος ἐν ᾧ κακοῦ ἐγεγόνει, τῷ μὲν λόγῳ ἐθεράπευσεν αὐτόν, ὑπολαβὼν ὅτι "οὐχ ὡς καὶ τὸ τρίτον ἔξουτός σου, ἀλλ' ὡς ἀδύνατον ἂν τὴν ἀρχὴν διαιρεθῆναι, τοῦτό σοι 7 προέτεινα," οὐ μόντοι καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ ἐτιθᾶσεν, ἀλλὰ πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ προπαθὼν μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπαπεσφάγη. καὶ γὰρ καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ τὴν προτέραν ἐγεγαμήκει, τὸν τε Δροῦσον ὡς μῖον προσεποιεῖτο, ὅθενπερ καὶ πρότερον διὰ μίσους αὐτῷ ἦν.

Such was his action in this matter; and similarly he A. D. 14 was administering in reality all the business of the empire while declaring that he did not want it at all. At first he kept saying he would give up the rule entirely on account of his age (he was fifty-six) and of his near-sightedness (for although he saw extremely well in the dark, his sight was very poor in the daytime); but later he asked for some associates and colleagues, though not with the intention that they should jointly rule the whole empire, as in an oligarchy, but rather dividing it into three parts, one of which he would retain himself, while giving up the remaining two to others. One of these portions consisted of Rome and the rest of Italy, the second of the legions, and the third of the subject peoples outside. When now he became very urgent, most of the senators still opposed his expressed purpose, and begged him to govern the whole realm; but Asinius Gallus, who always employed the blunt speech of his father more than was good for him, replied: "Choose whichever portion you wish." Tiberius rejoined: "How can the same man both make the division and choose?" Gallus, then, perceiving into what a plight he had fallen, tried to find words to please him and answered: "It was not with the idea that you should have only a third, but rather to show the impossibility of the empire's being divided, that I made this suggestion to you." As a matter of fact, however, he did not mollify Tiberius, but after first undergoing many dire sufferings he was at length murdered. For Gallus had married the former wife of Tiberius and claimed Drusus as his son, and he was consequently hated by the other even before this incident.

3 Ὁ δ' οὖν Τιβέριος ταῦτα τότε ἐποίει τὸ μὲν πλείστον ὅτι οὕτω τε ἐπεφύκει καὶ οὕτω προήρητο, ἥδη δὲ καὶ ὅτι τὰ τε στρατεύματα, καὶ τὰ Παννονικὰ καὶ τὰ Γερμανικὰ, ὑπετόπει, καὶ τὸν Γερμανικὸν τῆς Γερμανίας ἄρχοντα τότε¹ καὶ φιλούμενον ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐδέδιει. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ ὄντας τοῖς ὅρκοις τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ Αὐγούστου καταδειχθεῖσι προκατέλαβεν· ἐς δὲ ἐκείνους ὑποπεύων ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα ἀνείχεν, ὅπως, ἂν τι νεωτερίσαντες ἐπικρατήσωσιν, ὡς καὶ ἰδιωτεύων σωθῆ. καὶ πολλάκις γε διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἀρρωστεῖν προσποιεῖτο καὶ οἶκοι κατέμενεν, ἵνα μὴ ἀναγκασθῆ ἀποκεκριμένον τι εἰπεῖν ἢ πράξαι.

3 ἥδη μὲν γὰρ ἤκουσα ὅτι, ἐπειδὴ ἡ Διοῦα ἄκοντος τοῦ Αὐγούστου τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῷ περιπεποιηκέναι ἐλέγετο, ἔπραττεν,² ὅπως μὴ παρ' ἐκείνης (καὶ γὰρ πάνυ αὐτῇ ἤχθετο) ἀλλὰ παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἀναγκαστός, ὡς καὶ κατὰ ἀρετὴν σφῶν προήκων,

4 δόξειεν αὐτὴν εἰληφέναι· καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐκείνο, ὅτι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὀρᾶν ἀλλοτρίως ἑαυτῷ ἔχοντας διέμελλε καὶ διῆγεν, ὅπως μὴ φθάσαντες τι νεοχμώσωσιν ἐλπίδι τοῦ καὶ ἐβελούσιον αὐτὸν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀφήσειν, μέχρις οὗ ἐγκρατῆς αὐτῆς

5 διὰ πάντων ἐγένετο. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ταῦθ' οὕτως αἴτια τῆς διαγωγῆς ταύτης γράφω, ὡς τὰ τε ἐπιτήδευσις τῆς γνώμης αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν παραχρῆν τῶν στρατιωτῶν. τὸν μὲν γὰρ Ἀγρίππαν παραχρῆμα ἀπὸ τῆς Νώλης πέμψας τινὰ ἀπέκτεινε· καὶ ἔλεγε μὲν μὴ ἐκ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ προστάξεως τοῦτο

¹ τῆς Γερμανίας ἄρχοντα τότε Zon., τῆς τότε Γερμανίας ἄρχοντα M.

Tiberius acted in this way at that time, chiefly A.D. 14 because it was his nature to do so and because he had determined upon that policy, but partly also because he was suspicious of both the Pannonian and Germanic legions and feared Germanicus, then governor of the province of Germany and beloved by them. For he had previously made sure of the soldiers in Italy by means of the oaths of allegiance established by Augustus; but as he was suspicious of the others, he was ready for either alternative, intending to save himself by retiring to private life in case the legions should revolt and prevail. For this reason he often feigned illness and remained at home, so as not to be compelled to say or do anything definite. I have even heard that when it began to be said that Livia had secured the rule for him contrary to the will of Augustus, he took steps to let it appear that he had not received it from her, whom he cordially hated, but under compulsion from the senators by reason of his surpassing them in excellence. Another story I have heard is to the effect that when he saw that people were cool toward him, he waited and delayed until he had become complete master of the empire, lest in the hope of his voluntarily resigning it they should rebel before he was ready for them. Still, I do not mean to record these stories as giving the true causes of his behaviour, which was due rather to his regular disposition and to the unrest among the soldiers. Indeed, he immediately sent from Nola and caused Agrippa to be put to death. He declared, to be sure, that this had not been done by his orders and

² ἔπραττεν Bs., ἔπραττεν M.

- 6 γεγονέναι, ἐπηπείλει τε τῷ δράσαντι, οὐ μὴν καὶ τιμωρίαν τινὰ αὐτοῦ ἐποιήσατο, ἀλλ' εἶα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους λογοποιεῖν, τοὺς μὲν ὅτι ὁ Αὐγούστος αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τὴν τελευταίην ἀπεχρήσατο, τοὺς δ' ὅτι ὁ ἑκατόνταρχος ὁ τὴν φρουρὰν αὐτοῦ ἔχων καινοτομοῦντά τι ἀπέσφαξεν αὐτογνωμονήσας, ἄλλους ὡς ἡ Διοῦία, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκεῖνος, ἀποθανεῖν αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσεν.
- 4 Τοῦτον μὲν οὖν αὐτίκα ὑπεξείλετο, τὸν δὲ δὴ Γερμανικὸν δεινῶς ἐφοβεῖτο. ἐθορύβησαν μὲν γὰρ καὶ οἱ ἐν τῇ Παινονίᾳ στρατιῶται, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα τῆς τοῦ Αὐγούστου μεταλλαγῆς ἦσθοντο· καὶ συνελθόντες ἐς ἓν τεῖχος, καὶ ἐκεῖνο κρατυνάμενοι, πολλὰ καὶ στασιαστικὰ ἔπραξαν.
- 2 τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ τὸν ἄρχοντά σφον Ἰούνιον Βλαῖσον ἀποκτείναι ἐπεχείρησαν, τοὺς τε δούλους αὐτοῦ συλλαβόντες ἐβασάνισαν. τό τε σύμπαν οὐθ' ὑπὲρ ἑκκαίδεκα ἔτη στρατεύεσθαι ἤθελον, καὶ δραχμὴν ἡμερησίαν φέρειν τὰ τε ἄθλα εὐθὺς αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ λαμβάνειν ἠξίου, ἀπειλοῦντες, ἂν μὴ τύχωσιν αὐτῶν, τό τε ἔθνος
- 3 ἀποστήσειν καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Ρώμην ἐλάσειν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνοι μὲν τότε τε¹ μόλις ποτὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Βλαῖσου πεισθέντες πρέσβεις πρὸς τὸν Τιβέριον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἔπεμφαν· ἐν γὰρ τῇ μεταβολῇ τῆς ἀρχῆς πάνθ' ὅσα ἐπεθύμουν, ἢ αὐτὸν ἐκφοβήσαντες ἢ καὶ ἄλλω τινὶ τὸ κράτος δόντες, κατα-
- 4 πράξειν ἠλπίζον· καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τοῦ Δρούσου σὺν τοῖς δορυφόροις ἐπελθόντος σφίσιν ἐταράχθησαν μὲν, ἐπεὶ μηδὲν αὐτοῖς βέβαιον ἐλέγετο, καὶ τῶν τε συνόντων αὐτῷ κατέτρωσάν τινας καὶ

¹ τε supplied by Bk.

made threats against the perpetrator of the deed ; yet he did not punish him at all, but allowed men to invent their own versions of the affair, some to the effect that Augustus had put Agrippa out of the way just before his death, others that the centurion who was guarding him had slain him on his own responsibility for some revolutionary dealings, and still others that Livia instead of Tiberius had ordered his death.

This rival, then, he got rid of at once, but of Germanicus he stood in great fear. For the troops in Pannonia had mutinied as soon as they learned of the death of Augustus, and coming together into one camp and strengthening it, they committed many rebellious acts. Among other things they attempted to kill their commander, Junius Blaesus, and arrested and tortured his slaves. Their demands were, in brief, that their term of service should be limited to sixteen years, that they should be paid a denarius per day, and that they should receive their prizes then and there in the camp ; and they threatened, in case they did not obtain these demands, to cause the province to revolt and then to march upon Rome. However, they were at this time finally and with no little difficulty won over by Blaesus, and sent envoys to Tiberius at Rome in their behalf ; for they hoped in connexion with the change in the government to gain all their desires, either by frightening Tiberius or by giving the supreme power to another. Later, when Drusus came against them with the Pretorians, they fell to rioting when no definite answer was given them, and they wounded some of his followers and placed a guard round about him in the night to

αὐτὸν τῆς νυκτὸς περιεφρούρησαν, μὴ διαφύγη, τῆς δὲ δὴ σελήνης ἐκλιπούσης ἐνθυμηθέντες ἀπημβλύνθησαν, ὥστε κακὸν μὲν μηδὲν ἔτ' αὐτοὺς ποιῆσαι, πρέσβεις δ' ἀθήεις πρὸς τὸν
 5 Τιβέριον ἀποστείλαι. κὰν τούτῳ χειμῶνος μεγάλου γενομένου, καὶ δι' αὐτὸν ἐς τὰ οἰκεία ἐκάστων τείχη ἀναχωρησάντων, οἷ τε θρασύτατοι ὑπὸ τε τοῦ Δρούσου καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ γε τῇ σκηνῇ αὐτοῦ, μεταπεμφθέντες ὡς καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλο τι, καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν συνακολουθησάντων αὐτῷ ἄλλοι κατ' ἄλλον τρόπον ἐφθάρησαν, καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ κατέστησαν, ὥστε καὶ πρὸς τιμωρίαν τινὰς ὡς καὶ αἰτίους τῆς στάσεως γεγονότας ἐκδοῦναι.

5 Καὶ οὗτοι μὲν οὕτως ἡσύχασαν, οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ Γερμανίᾳ, καὶ πολλοὶ διὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἠθροισμένοι καὶ τὸν Γερμανικὸν καὶ Καίσαρα καὶ πολὺ τοῦ Τιβερίου κρείττω ὄρωντες ὄντα, οὐδὲν ἐμετρίαζον ἀλλὰ τὰ αὐτὰ προτεινόμενοι τὸν τε Τιβέριον ἐκακηγόρησαν καὶ τὸν Γερμανικὸν αὐτοκράτορα
 2 ἐπεκάλεσαν. ἐπειδὴ τε ἐκεῖνος πολλὰ εἰπὼν καὶ μὴ δυνηθεὶς αὐτοὺς καταστήσαι, τέλος τὸ ξίφος ὡς καὶ ἑαυτὸν καταχρησόμενος ἐσπάσατο, ἐπέβησάν οἱ χλευάζοντες,¹ καὶ τινες αὐτῶν τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ξίφος ἀνατείνας “τοῦτο” ἔφη “λαβέ· τοῦτο γὰρ
 3 ὀξύτερόν ἐστιν.” ὁ οὖν Γερμανικὸς ἰδὼν ὅποι² τὸ πρᾶγμα προεληλύθει, ἀποκτείνει μὲν ἑαυτὸν οὐκ ἐτόλμησε διὰ τε τᾶλλα καὶ ὅτι στασιάσειν αὐτοὺς οὐδὲν ἤττον ἠλπισε, γράμματα δὲ δὴ τινα ὡς καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Τιβερίου πεμφθέντα συνθείς, τὴν τε ὄρωσαν τὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ Αὐγούστου καταλειφθείσαν

¹ χλευάζοντες v. Herw., αἰάζοντες M. ² ὅποι Bk., ὅπηι M.

prevent his escape. But when the moon suffered A.D. 14 eclipse, they took the omen to heart and their spirit abated, so that they did no further harm to this detachment and dispatched envoys again to Tiberius. Meanwhile a great storm came up; and when in consequence all had retired to their own quarters, the boldest spirits were put out of the way in one manner or another, either by Drusus himself in his own tent, whither they had been summoned as if for some other purpose, or else by his followers; and the rest were reduced to submission, and even surrendered for punishment some of their number whom they represented to have been responsible for the mutiny.

These troops, then, were reduced to quiet in the manner described; but the soldiers in the province of Germany, where many had been assembled on account of the war, would not hear of moderation, since they saw that Germanicus was at once a Caesar and far superior to Tiberius, but putting forward the same demands as the others, they heaped abuse upon Tiberius and saluted Germanicus as emperor. When the latter after much pleading found himself unable to reduce them to order, he finally drew his sword as if to slay himself; at this they jeeringly shouted their approval, and one of them proffered his own sword, saying: “Take this; this is sharper.” Germanicus, accordingly, seeing to what lengths the matter had gone, did not venture to kill himself, particularly as he did not believe they would stop their disturbance in any case. Instead, he composed a letter purporting to have been sent by Tiberius and then gave them twice the amount of the gift bequeathed them by Augustus,

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