

APPIAN
ROMAN HISTORY

VOLUME VI
CIVIL WARS, BOOK 5
FRAGMENTS

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APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

XVII

ΕΜΦΥΛΙΩΝ ΠΕΜΠΤΗ¹

1. Μετὰ δὲ τὸν Κασσίου καὶ Βρούτου θάνατον ὁ μὲν
 Καίσαρ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἦει, ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος ἐς τὴν
 Ἀσίαν, ἔνθα αὐτῷ συμβάλλει Κλεοπάτρα βασιλὶς
 2 Αἰγύπτου, καὶ εὐθὺς ὀφθείσα ἐκράτει. ὁ δὲ ἔρωσ ὅδε
 αὐτοῖς τε ἐκείνοις ἐς ἔσχατον ἔληξε κακοῦ καὶ ἐς ὅλην
 Αἴγυπτον 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 πλείο-
 3 σιν οὖσιν ἐπίμικτον. ἐγίγνετο γὰρ δὴ καὶ μετὰ Κάσ-
 σιόν τε καὶ Βρούτον ἕτερα ἐμφύλια ὅμοια, στρατηγοῦ
 μὲν οὐδενὸς ὄντος ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ὥσπερ ἐκείνοις, κατὰ
 μέρος δὲ ἐτέρων, μέχρι Πομπηϊός τε Σέξστος, ὁ νεώ-
 τερος παῖς Πομπηίου Μάγνου, λοιπὸς ὢν ἔτι τῆσδε
 τῆς στάσεως, τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Βρούτον ἐπανηρέθη, καὶ
 Λέπιδος ἐξέπεσε τοῦ μέρους τῆς ἡγεμονίας καὶ ἡ Ῥω-
 μαίων ἀρχὴ πᾶσα περιήλθεν ἐς δύο μόνον, Ἀντωνιόν
 τε καὶ Καίσαρα. ἐγίγνετο δὲ αὐτῶν ἕκαστα οὕτως.
 4 2. Κάσσιος ὁ Παρμήσιος ἐπὶ κλην ὑπελέλειπτο μὲν
 ὑπὸ Κασσίου καὶ Βρούτου περὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐπὶ νεῶν

BOOK XVII

CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

1. After the death of Cassius and Brutus, Octavian went
 to Italy and Antony to Asia, where Cleopatra, queen of
 Egypt, meets him and conquered his heart at first sight. 2
 This passion ended in complete disaster for them, and for
 the whole of Egypt in addition. For this reason a part of
 the book will deal with Egypt—a small part, however, not
 really worth mentioning in the title, since it is mixed in
 with the far more substantial narrative of the civil wars. For 3
 even after Cassius and Brutus, other similar civil conflicts
 occurred, but there was no one in overall command as they
 had been, just different commanders in different sectors.
 Eventually, Sextus Pompeius, the younger son of Pompey
 the Great and last remaining member of that faction, was
 killed, as Brutus and his men had been; Lepidus was re-
 moved from his share of the leadership; and the whole
 government of Rome devolved on two men only, Antony
 and Octavian. The details of these events are as follows.
 2. Cassius of Parma, as he was known, had been left by 4
 Cassius and Brutus in Asia in command of ships and troops

¹ Ἀππιανοῦ Ῥωμαϊκῶν ἠ' Ἐμφυλίων πέμπτον L (πέμπτη
 BJ); Ἀππιανοῦ Ῥωμαϊκῶν ἠ' Ἐμφυλίων ε' P

καὶ στρατοῦ, χρήματα ἐκλέγειν. Κασσίου δὲ ἀπο-
θανόντος οὐδὲν ἐλπίζων ὁμοιον ἐν Βρούτῳ, Ῥοδίων
ἐπελέξατο νῆας τριάκοντα, ὅσας ἐνόμιζε πληρώσειν,
καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς διέπρησε χωρὶς τῆς ἱερᾶς, ἵνα μὴ δύ-
5 ναιντο νεωτερίσαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν τάδε πράξας ἀνήγετο
ταῖς τε ἰδίαις καὶ ταῖς τριάκοντα, Κλώδιος δὲ ἐκ
Βρούτου πεμφθεὶς ἐς Ῥόδον ἐπὶ νεῶν τρισκαίδεκα,
τοὺς Ῥοδίους νεωτερίζοντας εὐρών (ἐτεθνήκει γὰρ
ἤδη καὶ ὁ Βρούτος), ἐξήγαγε τὴν φρουράν, οὐσαν
ὀπλιτῶν τρισχιλίων, καὶ ἐς τὸν Παρμησίον ἐχώρει.
6 ἀφίκετο δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ Τουρούλιος, ἐτέρας ναῦς ἔχων
πολλὰς καὶ χρήματα, ὅσα προεξείλετο ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥό-
δου. ἐς δὴ τὸ ναυτικὸν τοῦτο ὡς ἐς ἤδη τινα ἰσχὺν
συνέθεον, ὅσοι ἦσαν κατὰ μέρη τῆς Ἀσίας ἐπὶ τῶν
ὑπηρεσιῶν, καὶ αὐτὸ ὀπλίταις τε ἐξ ὧν ἐδύναντο ἀν-
επλήρουν καὶ ἐρέταις ἐκ θεραπόντων ἢ δεσμωτῶν,
ἐπιπλέοντες δὲ ταῖς νήσοις καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν νησιωτῶν.
7 ἦλθον δ' εἰς αὐτοὺς καὶ Κικέρων ὁ Κικέρωνος καὶ
ὅσοι ἄλλοι τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἐκ τῆς Θάσου διεπεφεύγε-
σαν. καὶ ταχὺ πλῆθος ἦν καὶ σύνταξις ἀξιόχρεως
8 ἡγεμόνων τε καὶ στρατοῦ καὶ νεῶν. προσλαβόντες δὲ
καὶ Λέπιδον μεθ' ἐτέρας δυνάμεως, ἠ' Βρούτῳ καθ-

¹ Gaius Cassius Parmensis, a well-known poet and playwright, had been one of the assassins of Caesar. Quaestor in 43, he made his way to Sextus Pompeius after the battle of Philippi, then joined Antony, for whom he fought at the battle of Actium. He was executed, the last of Caesar's assassins, on Octavian's orders (Val. Max. 1.7.7; Orosius 6.19.20).

in order to collect money.¹ On the death of Cassius, not expecting a similar fate for Brutus, he selected thirty ships belonging to the Rhodians—which were as many as he intended to man—and apart from the sacred ship,² burned the rest to make sure the Rhodians could not revolt. Hav- 5
ing done this, he set sail with his own ships and the thirty. Clodius, who had been sent by Brutus to Rhodes in com- mand of thirteen ships, found the Rhodians in revolt. (For Brutus too was now dead.) Clodius removed the garrison of three thousand legionaries, and made his way to Cassius of Parma. They were also joined by Turullius, who had a 6
large number of other ships and the money that had previ- ously been collected from Rhodes.³ All those who were serving in various parts of Asia hurried to join this fleet, believing it to be now quite powerful, and they manned the ships with what legionaries they could and with rowers taken from among the slaves and prisoners, and after at- 7
tacking the islands, from the islanders. Cicero, the son of Cicero, also joined them, and those other nobles who had escaped from Thasos.⁴ Soon there was a large gathering and a substantial collection of officers, soldiers, and ships. Taking Lepidus too, who had another force, which had 8

² Some Greek states kept ships for special diplomatic and religious missions. At Athens, we know the names of two of them: the Paralos and the Salaminia. ³ Turullius, like Cassius Parmensis, one of the last surviving assassins of Caesar, also met his death on the orders of Octavian (Val. Max. 1.1.19).

⁴ Cicero's son, Marcus, served first under Pompey, then Brutus and Sextus Pompeius. In 39 he was reconciled with Octavian. In 30 he was consul with Octavian, and later governor of Syria and of Asia.

9 *ίστατο Κρήτην, πρὸς Μούρκον καὶ Δομίτιον Ἀηνό-
 βαρβον ἐπὶ μεγάλης δυνάμεως ὄντας ἐς τὸν Ἴόνιον
 9 διέπλεον. καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν ἅμα τῷ Μούρκῳ διέπλευ-
 σαν ἐς Σικελίαν καὶ τὴν ἰσχὺν Πομπηίῳ Σέξστῳ
 συνῆψαν, οἱ δὲ κατέμειναν παρὰ Ἀηνοβάρβῳ καὶ τιν'
 αἵρεσιν ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν καθίσταντο.*
 10 3. Τοιάδε μὲν ἐκ τῶν λειψάνων τῆς παρασκευῆς
 Κασσίου τε καὶ Βρούτου πρῶτα συνίστατο, ὁ δὲ Καί-
 11 σαρ καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ τῇ περὶ Φιλίππους
 ἔθνον τε λαμπρῶς καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἐπήγουν. καὶ ἐς
 τὴν δόσιν τῶν ἐπινικίων ὁ μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐχώρει,
 τὴν τε γῆν αὐτοῖς διανεμήσων καὶ ἐς τὰς ἀποικίας
 καταλέξων (ὧδε γὰρ αὐτὸς εἴλετο διὰ τὴν ἀρρωστίαν),
 12 ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος ἐς τὰ πέραν ἔθνη, συλλέξων τὰ χρή-
 ματα, ὅσα αὐτοῖς ὑπέσχηντο. διενείμαντο δὲ αὐθις
 ὅσα καὶ πρότερον ἔθνη καὶ ἐπελάμβανον τὰ Λεπίδου.
 13 τὴν τε γὰρ Κελτικὴν τὴν ἐντὸς Ἀλπεων ἐδόκει Καί-
 σαρὸς ἀξιούντος αὐτόνομον ἀφιέναι γνώμη τοῦ προ-
 τέρου Καίσαρος, ὃ τε Λέπιδος διεβάλλετο τὰ πρά-
 γματα² Πομπηίῳ προδιδόναι καὶ ὄριστο, εἰ Καίσαρι
 ψευδῆς ἢ διαβολὴ φανείη, ἕτερα ἀντιδοῦναι τῷ Λε-
 πίδῳ. ἀφίεσαν δὲ καὶ τῆς στρατείας τοὺς ἐντελῆ χρό-

² τὰ παρὰ codd.; τὰ πράγματα Bekker; τὰ παρ' αὐτῶν Schweig.; τὰ πάτρια Étienne-Duplessis

⁵ The exploits of Lucius Staius Murcus (praetor 45) and Gnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus (consul 32) were covered in de-

subjugated Crete for Brutus, they sailed over to the Ionian
 gulf to Murcus and Domitius Ahenobarbus, who had a
 large force under their command.⁵ Some of these crossed
 with Murcus to Sicily to combine their strength with that
 of Sextus Pompeius. The rest remained with Ahenobarbus
 and pursued an independent policy.

3. Such were the first groups that formed from the
 remains of Brutus' and Cassius' army. After the victory at
 Philippi Octavian and Antony offered magnificent sacri-
 fice and commended the army. With a view to distributing
 the rewards of victory, Octavian made his way to Italy to
 divide the land among the soldiers and to register them
 for the colonies—he himself chose this task because of his
 ill health—while Antony went to the overseas provinces to
 collect the money they had promised to the soldiers. Once
 again they divided the provinces among themselves as be-
 fore and took those of Lepidus besides.⁶ For, at the re-
 quest of Octavian, they decided to make Cisalpine Gaul
 autonomous, as the elder Caesar had intended, and Lepi-
 dus had been accused of betraying their interests⁷ to Pom-
 peius. It was also decided that, if Octavian found the ac-
 cusation to be false, they would recompense Lepidus with
 other provinces. They also discharged those who had com-

tail by Appian in Book 4 of the *Civil Wars*. This Lepidus is not
 the famous triumvir, but Publius Aemilius Lepidus, who is known
 from coins issued in Crete and Cyrene.

⁶ For the original distribution of provinces, see App. *BCiv.* 4.2.7.

⁷ Or, possibly, "the interests of the state" (*ta patria* rather than *ta pragmata*): a word seems to have dropped out of the manu-
 scripts.

- νον ἐστρατευμένους χωρὶς ὀκτακισχιλίων, οὓς δεηθέν-
 14 τας ἔτι στρατεύεσθαι σφίσιν ἀποδεξάμενοι διείλοντο
 καὶ συνελόχισαν ἐς στρατηγίδας τάξεις. ὁ δὲ λοιπὸς
 αὐτοῖς στρατὸς ἐγένετο, σὺν τοῖς μεταθεμένοις ἀπὸ
 Βρούτου, τέλη πεζῶν ἕνδεκα καὶ ἱππέες μύριοις καὶ
 τετρακισχίλιοι. καὶ ἔσχεν αὐτῶν ὁ μὲν Ἀντώνιος διὰ
 τὴν ἀποδημίαν ἕξ τέλη καὶ ἱππέας μυρίουσ, ὁ δὲ
 Καῖσαρ ἱππέας τετρακισχιλίους καὶ τέλη πέντε· καὶ
 τῶνδε δὲ αὐτῶν Ἀντωνίῳ <δύο ἔδωκεν>,³ ἀντιληψόμε-
 νος ἐκ τῶν ὑπὸ Καληνῶ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου κατὰ τὴν
 Ἰταλίαν ὑπολελειμμένων.
- 15 4. Ὁ μὲν δὴ Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰόνιον ἦει, ὁ δὲ
 Ἀντώνιος ἐν Ἐφέσῳ γενόμενος τῇ θεῷ μεγαλοπρεπῶς
 ἔθνε καὶ τοὺς καταφυγόντας ἐκ τῆς Βρούτου καὶ Κασ-
 σίου συμφορᾶς ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν ἰκέτας ἀπέλυε, χωρὶς Πε-
 τρωνίου, συνεγνωκότες ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ Καίσαρος, καὶ
 Κοῦντου, προδόντος ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ Κασσίῳ Δολοβέλ-
 16 λαν. τοὺς δὲ Ἕλληνας καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἔθνη τὴν ἀμφὶ
 τὸ Πέργαμον Ἀσίαν νέμονται, κατὰ τε πρεσβείας
 παρόντας ἐπὶ συνθέσει καὶ μετακεκλημένους συν-
 17 αγωγῶν ἔλεξεν ὧδε· “Ἰμᾶς ἡμῖν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες,
 Ἄτταλος ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑμῶν ἐν διαθήκαις ἀπέλιπε, καὶ
 εὐθὺς ἀμείνονες ὑμῖν ἦμεν Ἀττάλου· οὓς γὰρ ἐτελείτε

³ δύο ἔδωκεν add. Schweig.

⁸ Quintus Fufius Calenus was a partisan of Julius Caesar and one of his senior officers in the civil wars. Consul in 47, he joined

pleted their full period of service, apart from eight thou-
 sand who asked to remain under arms with them. These
 they accepted, dividing them between themselves, and
 incorporated into their praetorian cohorts. Their remain- 14
 ing army, along with those who had come over from Bru-
 tus, numbered eleven legions of infantry and fourteen
 thousand cavalry. Of these, Antony kept six legions and ten
 thousand horse because he was going to be operating
 abroad, and Octavian five legions and four thousand horse.
 Two of these, however, he gave to Antony, in exchange for
 two of Antony's legions that had been left behind in Italy
 under the command of Calenus.⁸

4. So Octavian left for the Ionian gulf. As for Antony, 15
 having arrived at Ephesus, he offered splendid sacrifice to
 the goddess and pardoned those who, after the disaster
 suffered by Brutus and Cassius, had fled to the sanctuary
 as suppliants—except for Petronius, who had been impli-
 cated in the murder of Caesar, and Quintus, who had be-
 trayed Dolabella to Cassius at Laodicea. He called a meet- 16
 ing of the Greeks and other peoples who live in Asia
 around Pergamum, both their representatives who were
 there on a diplomatic mission to conclude an agreement,
 and others who had been summoned, and delivered a
 speech as follows: “Men of Greece, your King Attalus be- 17
 queathed you to us in his will, and we immediately proved
 better for you than Attalus.⁹ For we remitted the taxes you

Antony after Caesar's death. He commanded eleven legions in
 Transalpine Gaul for Antony but died in 40, and his son handed
 over his legions to Octavian.

⁹ Attalus III of Pergamum died in 133, leaving his kingdom to
 Rome.

18 φόρους Ἀττάλῳ, μεθήκαμεν ὑμῖν, μέχρι δημοκόπων
 ἀνδρῶν καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν γενομένων ἐδέησε φόρων. ἐπεὶ
 δὲ ἐδέησεν, οὐ πρὸς τὰ τιμήματα ὑμῖν ἐπεθήκαμεν, ὡς
 ἂν ἡμεῖς ἀκίνδυνον φόρον ἐκλέγοιμεν, ἀλλὰ μέρη
 19 φέρειν τῶν ἐκάστοτε καρπῶν ἐπετάξαμεν, ἵνα καὶ τῶν
 ἐναντίων κοινωνῶμεν ὑμῖν. τῶν δὲ ταῦτα παρὰ τῆς
 βουλῆς μισθουμένων ἐνυβριζόντων ὑμῖν καὶ πολὺ
 πλείονα αἰτούντων, Γάιος Καῖσαρ τῶν μὲν χρημάτων
 τὰ τρίτα ὑμῖν ἀνήκεν ὧν ἐκείνοις ἐφέρετε, τὰς δ'
 ὕβρεις ἔπαυσεν ὑμῖν γὰρ τοὺς φόρους ἐπέτρεψεν
 20 ἀγείρειν παρὰ τῶν γεωργούντων. καὶ τόνδε τοιόνδε
 ὄντα οἱ χρηστοὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων πολιτῶν τύραννον ἐκά-
 λουν, καὶ ὑμεῖς αὐτοῖς συνετελεῖτε χρήματα πολλά,
 σφαγεῦσί τε οὖσι τοῦ ὑμετέρου εὐεργέτου, καὶ καθ'
 ἡμῶν τῶν τιμωρούντων ἐκείνῳ.

21 5. "Τῆς δὲ δικαίας τύχης οὐχ, ὡς ἐβούλεσθε, ἀλλ',
 ὡς ἦν ἄξιον, κρινάσης τὸν πόλεμον, εἰ μὲν ὡς συν-
 αγωνισταῖς τῶν πολεμίων ἔδει χρῆσθαι, κολάσεως
 ὑμῖν ἔδει, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκόντες πιστεύομεν ὑμᾶς κατὰ ἀνά-
 γκην τάδε πεποιηθέναι, τῶν μὲν μειζόνων ἀφίεμεν,
 χρημάτων δὲ ἡμῖν δεῖ καὶ γῆς καὶ πόλεων ἐς τὰ νι-
 κητήρια τοῦ στρατοῦ, τέλη δὲ ἐστὶν ὀκτῶ καὶ εἴκοσιν
 ὀπλιτῶν, ἃ μετὰ τῶν συντασσομένων εἰσὶ μυριάδες
 ἀνδρῶν ὑπὲρ ἑπτακαίδεκα, καὶ τούτων ἄνευθεν οἱ ἰπ-
 22 πέες καὶ ἕτερος ὄμιλος ἑκατέρου⁴ στρατοῦ. ἐκ μὲν δὴ
 τοῦ πλήθους τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὸ πλήθος τῆς χρείας συν-
 ορᾶν δύνασθε. τὴν δὲ γῆν καὶ τὰς πόλεις αὐτοῖς δια-
 δώσων ὁ Καῖσαρ ἄπεισιν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, εἰ χρῆ τῷ

had been paying him, until with the rise of populist leaders 18
 among us too, we needed tribute. But when the need
 arose, we did not tax you according to property valuations,
 so that we could collect a sum not subject to fluctuations,
 but we required you to pay a percentage of your yearly
 harvest in order that we would share with you the bad
 19 harvests too. And when those who bought their contract
 to collect these taxes from the senate were treating you
 violently and demanding much more, Gaius Caesar remit-
 ted a third of the sum of money you were paying them,
 and brought an end to their assaults. For he entrusted to
 you the job of collecting the taxes from the cultivators.
 This was the kind of man our 'good' citizens called a tyrant, 20
 while you yourselves contributed large amounts of money
 to the murderers of your benefactor in opposition to us,
 who were seeking to avenge him.

5. "Now that just fortune has decided the war, not as 21
 you wished, but as was right, if we were required to treat
 you as accomplices of our enemies, we would have to pun-
 ish you. Since we are willing, however, to believe that you
 were forced to act in this way, we will release you from the
 heavier penalty, but we need money and land and towns as
 the rewards of victory for our soldiers. There are twenty-
 eight legions of infantry that, with the auxiliaries, number
 more than one hundred and seventy thousand men, not
 including the cavalry and other units from the two armies.
 You can well imagine the scale of our need from the vast 22
 number of men. Octavian is going to Italy to provide them
 with the land and the cities—to uproot the Italian popula-

⁴ ἑτέρου codd.; ἑκατέρου Étienne-Duplessis

- 23 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 ἅπαντα (οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν δύναισθε), ἀλλὰ μέρος αὐτῶν
καὶ βραχύτατον, ὃ καὶ πυθομένους ὑμᾶς ἀγαπήσειν
24 οἶομαι. ἃ γὰρ ἔδοτε τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἐχθροῖς ἐν ἔτεσι
δύο (ἔδοτε δὲ φόρους δέκα ἐτῶν), ταῦτα λαβεῖν ἀρκέ-
σει μόνα, ἀλλ' ἐνὶ ἔτει ἐπέιγουσι γὰρ αἱ χρεῖαι. συν-
εἶσι δὲ τῆς χάριτος ὑμῖν τοσοῦτον ἂν ἐπέποιμι, ὅτι
μηδενὸς ἀμαρτήματος ἴσον ἐπιτίμιον ὀρίζεται.”
- 25 6. Ὁ μὲν οὕτως εἶπεν, ἐς ὀκτῶ καὶ εἴκοσι τέλη πεζῶν
τὴν χάριν περιφέρων, ὅτι, οἶμαι, τρία καὶ τεσσαρά-
κοντα ἦν αὐτοῖς, ὅτε ἐν Μουτίνῃ συνηλλάσσοντο ἀλ-
λήλοις καὶ τάδε ὑπισχνοῦντο, ὃ δὲ πόλεμος αὐτὰ ἐς
26 τοσοῦτον ὑπενηνόχει. οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ἔτι λέγοντος
αὐτοῦ ταῦτα ἐρρίπτουν ἑαυτοὺς ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος, ἀν-
ἀγκην καὶ βίαν ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐκ Βρούτου καὶ Κασσίου
γενομένας ἐπιλέγοντες οὐκ ἐπιτιμίων ἀξίας εἶναι,
ἀλλ' ἐλέου, δόντες δ' ἂν τοῖς εὐεργέταις ἐκόντες ἀπο-
ρεῖν διὰ τοὺς πολεμίους, οἷς οὐ τὰ χρήματα μόνον,
ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ σκεύη καὶ τοὺς κόσμους ἐσενεγκεῖν ἀντὶ
τῶν χρημάτων, τοὺς δὲ αὐτὰ παρὰ σφίσιν ἐς νόμισμα
27 χαλκεῦσαι. καὶ τέλος παρακαλοῦντες ἔτυχον ἐννέα
ἐτῶν φόρους ἐσενεγκεῖν ἔτεσι δύο. βασιλεῦσι δὲ καὶ
δυνασταῖς καὶ πόλεσιν ἐλευθέραις ἄλλα ἐς τὴν ἐκά-
στων δύναμιν ἐπετάχθη.
- 28 7. Περιμόντι δ' αὐτῷ τὰ ἔθνη Λεύκιός τε ὁ Κασσίου
ἀδελφὸς καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι τῶν δεδιότων ἐπεὶ τῆς ἐν

- tion, if we are to call a deed by its real name. So that we 23
do not have to remove you from your land and towns and
homes and sanctuaries and tombs, we have assessed you
for the money, not for all of it (you would not be able to
pay that), but for a part, a very small part, which I think
you will like when you find out what it is. It will be enough 24
if we take simply the same amount as you contributed to
our enemies in two years (and that was the taxes of ten
years), but in one year, since our needs are urgent. You are
well aware of the favor we are doing you, so I would add
only this, that the penalty being fixed is not sufficient for
a single one of the wrongs you have committed.”
6. Antony spoke in this way, limiting the reward to 25
twenty-eight legions of infantry, because, I think, they had
forty-three legions when they reached their agreement at
Mutina and made this promise, but the war had reduced
them to this number. While he was still speaking, the 26
Greeks threw themselves on the ground, declaring that, as
they had been subjected to force and violence by Brutus
and Cassius, they deserved pity, not punishment. While
they would willingly contribute to their benefactors, they
did not have the resources. This was because of their en-
emies, to whom they had delivered not only money, but,
in place of money, their tools and their ornaments, and
who had minted coins from this material in their very
presence. In the end, their pleas were successful: they 27
were to pay the taxes of nine years in two. Tribute was
imposed on kings and princes and free cities in accordance
with the capacity of each to pay.
7. While Antony was touring the provinces, Lucius the 28
brother of Cassius and all the others who feared for their

Ἐφέσῳ συγγνώμης ἐπέθοντο, ἰκέται προσήεσαν. καὶ ἀπέλυε πάντας, πλὴν τοὺς συνεγνωκότας ἐπὶ φόνοϋ Καίσαρος· τούτοις γὰρ δὴ μόνοις ἀδιάλλακτος ἦν.
 29 παρηγόρει δὲ καὶ τῶν πόλεων τὰς μάλιστα δεινὰ παθούσας, Λυκίους μὲν ἀτελεῖς φόρων ἀφίει καὶ Ξάνθον οἰκίζειν παραινῶν, Ῥοδίους δὲ διδοὺς Ἄνδρον τε καὶ Τήνον καὶ Νάξον καὶ Μύνδον, ἃς οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον ἀφηρέθησαν ὡς σκληρότερον ἄρχοντες. Λαοδικέας δὲ καὶ Ταρσέας ἐλευθέρους ἠφίει καὶ ἀτελεῖς φόρων· καὶ Ταρσέων τοὺς πεπραμένους ἀπέλυε τῆς δουλείας διατάγματι. Ἀθηναίους δ' ἐς αὐτὸν ἐλθοῦσι μετὰ Τήνον Αἴγιναν ἔδωκε καὶ Ἴκον καὶ Κέω καὶ
 31 Σκίαθον καὶ Πεπάρηθον. ἐπιπαριῶν 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, ἅπασιν 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 Γλαφύρας· ἐν δὲ Συρίᾳ τοὺς κατὰ πόλεις ἐξήρει τυράννους.

32 8. Καὶ ἐν Κιλικίᾳ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθούσης Κλεοπάτρας ἐμέμψατο μὲν ὡς οὐ μετασχούσης τῶν ἐπὶ Καίσαρι πόνων· τῆς δὲ οὐκ ἀπολογουμένης μᾶλλον ἢ καταλογιζομένης αὐτοῖς, ὅτι καὶ τὰ παρὰ οἱ τέσσαρα

safety approached him as suppliants when they heard of his mercy at Ephesus. He released them all, except those who had been involved in the assassination of Caesar: to these alone he was unforgiving. He gave relief to those 29 cities that had suffered particularly badly, exempting the Lycians, on the one hand, from tax and encouraging them to resettle Xanthus, and granting to Rhodes, on the other, Andros and Tenos and Naxos and Myndus, which were taken away from them not long afterward because they ruled them too harshly. He made Laodicea and Tarsus free 30 cities and released them from taxes, and liberated by decree all those inhabitants of Tarsus who had been sold into slavery. When the Athenians came to him to make a claim for Tenos, he gave them Aegina and Icos and Ceos and Sciathos and Peparethos. He passed through Phrygia and 31 Mysia and Galatia and Cappadocia and Cilicia and Coele-Syria and Palestine and Ituraea, and the lands of all the other Syrian peoples, and imposed heavy contributions on them all. He also acted as arbitrator for kings and cities: in Cappadocia, for example, in the dispute between Ariarathes and Sisina, he awarded the kingdom to Sisina, because his mother, Glaphyra, struck him as a beautiful woman.¹⁰ Or again, in Syria he expelled the city tyrants.

8. When Cleopatra came to meet him in Cilicia, he 32 blamed her for not taking part in the struggles made on Caesar's behalf. Instead of defending herself, she listed the things she had done for him and Octavian. She had

¹⁰ Glaphyra was the wife of Archelaus, high-priest ruler of the temple estate of Comana in Pontus. Antony later had an affair with her, and she induced him to make Sisina king of Cappadocia. To do this, Antony had to remove Ariarathes X of Cappadocia.

- τέλη πρὸς Δολοβέλλαν αὐτίκα πέμψειε, καὶ στόλον ἄλλον ἔτοιμον ἔχουσα κωλυθείη ὑπὸ τε ἀνέμου καὶ αὐτοῦ Δολοβέλλα, ταχυτέρας ἤσσης τυχόντος, Κασσίω τε δις ἀπειλοῦντι μὴ συμμαχήσειε καὶ σφίσιιν ἐκείνοις πολεμοῦσιν ἐς τὸν Ἰόνιον αὐτὴ τὸν στόλον ἔχουσα πλεύσειε μετὰ παρασκευῆς βαρυτάτης, οὔτε δείσασα Κάσσιον οὔτε φυλαξαμένη Μοῦρκον ναυλοχοῦντα, μέχρι χειμῶν τά τε ἄλλα διελυμήνατο καὶ αὐτὴν ἐς νόσον ἐνέβαλεν, ἧς δὴ χάριν οὐδ' ὕστερον
- 33 ἐπαναχθῆναι νενικηκότων ἤδη, ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐπὶ τῇ ὄψει τὴν σύνεσιν καταπλαγεὶς εὐθὺς αὐτῆς μεираκιωδῶς ἐαλώκει, καίπερ ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα γεγονώς, λεγόμενος μὲν ὑγρότατος ἐς ταῦτα αἰεὶ φῦναι, λεγόμενος δ' ἐς ταύτην καὶ πάλαι, παῖδα ἔτι οὔσαν, ἐρέθισμά τι τῆς ὄψεως λαβεῖν, ὅτε ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν Γαβινίω στρατεύοντι νέος ἱππαρχῶν εἶπετο.
- 34 9. Εὐθὺς οὖν Ἀντωνίω μὲν ἢ περὶ ἅπαντα τέως ἐπιμέλεια ἀθρόα ἤμβλύνετο, Κλεοπάτρα δ' ὅ τι προστάξειεν, ἐγίγνετο, οὐ διακριδὸν ἔτι περὶ τῶν ὀσίων ἢ δικαίων, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν αὐτῆς Ἀρσινόην, ἰκέτιν οὔσαν ἐν Μιλήτῳ τῆς Λευκοφρυηνῆς Ἀρτέμιδος, πέμψας ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἀνείλε, καὶ Σεραπίωνα, τὸν ἐν Κύπρῳ
- 35 στρατηγὸν αὐτῆς, συμμαχήσαντα Κασσίῳ, Τυρίων

¹¹ In 55, Aulus Gabinius (consul in 58) led an expedition from Syria, where he was governor, to Egypt to restore Ptolemy XII Auletes, who had been deposed. Antony was twenty-seven at the time and Cleopatra sixteen.

immediately sent the four legions that were with her to Dolabella; she had prepared another fleet, but had been frustrated by the wind and by Dolabella himself, who had been defeated too quickly; although Cassius had threatened her twice, she had not sent him military assistance; she had personally sailed with her heavily equipped fleet into the Ionian gulf to assist the triumvirs in their campaign against these men, neither fearing Cassius nor taking precautions against Murcus who was lying in ambush for her at sea; eventually a storm not only caused general damage, but also brought on some illness in her, which was the reason she had not even put to sea again later on when the triumvirs had already gained their victory. Antony was struck by her intelligence as well as her good looks, and immediately fell in love with her as if he were a teenager, although he was forty years old. It is said that he was by nature always very prone to such behavior, and that he had been attracted to her a long time ago at first sight when she was still a girl and he was a young man serving as cavalry commander on Gabinius' expedition to Alexandria.¹¹

9. And so with immediate effect, Antony's former attention to detail began to lose its edge completely, and whatever Cleopatra ordered happened, without regard any more for what was sacred or just. When, for example, her sister Arsinoe was a suppliant in Miletus at the temple of Artemis Leucophryne, Antony sent off to have her killed; and he ordered the Tyrians to hand over to Cleopatra her governor of Cyprus, Serapion, who had given

ὄντα ἰκέτην, ἐκέλευσε τοὺς Τυρίους ἐκδοῦναι τῇ Κλεο-
 πάτρα, ἐκδοῦναι δὲ καὶ Ἀραδίους ἕτερον ἰκέτην, ὃν
 τινα, Πτολεμαίου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας ἀφα-
 νοῦς ἐν τῇ πρὸς Καίσαρα κατὰ τὸν Νεῖλον ναυμαχία
 γενομένου, οἱ Ἀράδιοι εἶχον λέγοντα Πτολεμαῖον εἶ-
 36 ναι. καὶ τὸν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ δὲ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερέα, ὃν
 Μεγάβυζον ἡγοῦνται, ὑποδεξάμενόν ποτε τὴν Ἀρσι-
 νόην ὡς βασιλίδα ἀχθῆναι μὲν ἐκέλευσεν, Ἐφεσίων
 δ' αὐτὴν Κλεοπάτραν ἰκετευσάντων μεθῆκεν. οὕτω
 μὲν ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐνήλλακτο ταχέως, καὶ τὸ πάθος αὐτῷ
 τοῦτο ἀρχὴ καὶ τέλος τῶν ἔπειτα κακῶν ἐγένετο.
 37 ἀποπλευσάσης δὲ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας εἰς τὰ οἰκεία, ὁ
 Ἀντώνιος ἔπεμπε τοὺς ἰππέας Πάλμυρα πόλιν, οὐ μα-
 κρὰν οὖσαν ἀπὸ Εὐφράτου, διαρπάσαι, μικρὰ μὲν
 ἐπικαλῶν αὐτοῖς, ὅτι Ῥωμαίων καὶ Παρθυαίων ὄντες
 ἐφόριοι εἰς ἑκατέρους ἐπιδεξίως εἶχον (ἔμποροι γὰρ
 ὄντες κομίζουσι μὲν ἐκ Περσῶν τὰ Ἰνδικὰ ἢ Ἀράβια,
 διατίθενται δ' ἐν τῇ Ῥωμαίων), ἔργῳ δ' ἐπινοῶν τοὺς
 38 ἰππέας περιουσιάζαι. Παλμυρηγῶν δὲ προμαθόντων
 καὶ τὰ ἀναγκαῖα εἰς τὸ πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ μετενεγκάν-
 των τε καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ὄχθης, εἴ τις ἐπιχειροίη σκευα-
 σαμένωνν τόξοις, πρὸς ἃ πεφύκασιν ἑξαιρέτως, οἱ ἰπ-
 πέες τὴν πόλιν κενὴν καταλαβόντες ὑπέστρεψαν, οὔτε
 εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθόντες οὔτε τι λαβόντες.

¹² Both Dio (48.24.2) and Josephus (AJ 15.89) indicate that
 Arsinoe was a suppliant at the temple of Artemis in Ephesus.
 Strabo (14.40) and others refer to a cult of Artemis Leucophryne
 at Magnesia-on-the-Meander, rather than at Tyre.

military assistance to Cassius and was now a suppliant at
 Tyre.¹² He also ordered the Aradians to give up another
 suppliant, a man they were holding who, after the dis-
 appearance of Cleopatra's brother Ptolemy at the naval
 battle against Caesar on the Nile, claimed to be Ptolemy.¹³
 He ordered the priest of Artemis at Ephesus, whom they 36
 call Megabyzus,¹⁴ to be brought to him for once receiving
 Arsinoe as queen, but released him when the Ephesians
 petitioned Cleopatra herself. Such was the way in which
 Antony changed so quickly, and this passion of his became
 the beginning and end of his subsequent troubles. When 37
 Cleopatra sailed off home, Antony sent his cavalry to plun-
 der Palmyra, which is situated not far from the Euphra-
 tes.¹⁵ He brought a trivial accusation against its inhabi-
 tants: living on the frontier between Rome and Parthia,
 they managed both sides with dexterity (and indeed being
 merchants, they import Indian and Arabian goods from
 Persia and dispose of them in Roman territory); but in
 fact, his intention was to enrich his cavalry. The Palmy- 38
 renes were forewarned, however, and having carried their
 essentials over to the other side of the river, stationed
 themselves on the bank to face any attack, equipped with
 bows, with which they are exceptionally expert. The cav-
 alry found the city deserted and without fighting returned
 empty-handed.

¹³ Cleopatra's brother, Ptolemy XIII Theos Philopator, tried
 to remove her as joint ruler, but with Caesar's help, she won, and
 Ptolemy drowned at the battle of the Nile (47).

¹⁴ Strabo (14.1.23) says the priests were eunuchs called Mega-
 byzi.

¹⁵ It is some 125 miles away.

- 39 10. Καὶ δοκεῖ τόδε τὸ ἔργον Ἀντωνίῳ τὸν μετ' οὐ
πολὸν Παρθυικὸν πόλεμον ἐξάψαι, πολλῶν ἐκ Συρίας
τυράννων ἐς αὐτοὺς συμφυγόντων. ἡ γὰρ Συρία μέ-
χρι μὲν ἐπ' Ἀντίοχον τὸν Εὐσεβῆ καὶ τὸν τοῦ Εὐσε-
βοῦς υἱὸν Ἀντίοχον ὑπὸ τοῖς ἐκ Σελεύκου τοῦ Νικάτο-
ρος ἐβασιλεύετο, ὥς μοι περὶ Σύρων λέγοντι εἴρηται
40 Πομπηίου δ' αὐτὴν Ῥωμαίοις προσλαβόντος καὶ
στρατηγὸν αὐτῇ Σκαῦρον ἀποδείξαντος, ἡ βουλὴ
μετὰ Σκαῦρον ἔπεμψεν ἑτέρους καὶ Γαβίνιον τὸν
Ἀλεξανδρεῦσι πολεμήσαντα, ἐπὶ δὲ Γαβινίῳ Κράσ-
σον τὸν ἐν Παρθυαίοις ἀποθανόντα καὶ Βύβλον ἐπὶ
41 τῷ Κράσσῳ. παρὰ δὲ τὴν Γαῖου Καίσαρος ἄρα τελευ-
τὴν καὶ στάσιν ἐπ' αὐτῇ κατὰ πόλεις ὑπὸ τυράννων
εἶχετο, συλλαμβανόντων τοῖς τυράννοις τῶν Παρθυ-
αίων· ἐσέβαλον γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἐς τὴν Συρίαν οἱ Παρθυ-
αῖοι μετὰ τὴν Κράσσου συμφορὰν καὶ συνέπραξαν
42 τοῖς τυράννοις. οὗς ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐξελαύνων ὑποφεύγον-
τας ἐς τὴν Παρθυηνὴν καὶ τοῖς πλήθεσιν ἐπιβάλλων
ἐσφορὰς βαρυστάτας καὶ ἐς Παλμυρηνοὺς τάδε ἀμαρ-
τῶν, οὐδ' ἐπέμεινε συστήσασθαι τὴν χώραν θορυβου-
μένην, ἀλλὰ τὸν στρατὸν ἐς τὰ ἔθνη διελὼν χειμά-
σοντα αὐτὸς ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἦει πρὸς Κλεοπάτραν.
43 11. Ἡ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπεδέχετο λαμπρῶς. καὶ ὁ μὲν
ἐχείμαζεν ἐνταῦθα, ἄνευ σημείων ἡγεμονίας, ἰδιώτου

¹⁶ Antiochus X Eusebes Philopator ("Pious, Father-loving"), ruled from 95 and was succeeded by his son, Antiochus XIII

10. It seems that this action lit the fuse on the Parthian 39
war Antony faced shortly afterward, as many of the Syrian
tyrants had taken refuge with the Parthians. For until the
time of Antiochus Eusebes and his son Antiochus, Syria
had been ruled by the descendants of Seleucus Nicator, as
I have related when I was talking about the Syrians.¹⁶
Pompey annexed it for Rome, and appointed Scaurus to 40
govern it.¹⁷ After Scaurus, the senate sent, among others,
Gabinus, who made war on the Alexandrians, and after
Gabinus, Crassus, who died in Parthia, and after Crassus,
Bibulus. At the time of Caesar's death and the civil unrest 41
that followed, the Syrian cities came under the control of
tyrants, who were supported by the Parthians. For the
latter, of course, invaded Syria after the disaster suffered
by Crassus, and cooperated with the tyrants. Antony ex- 42
pelled these tyrants, who took refuge in Parthia, imposed
very heavy taxes on the ordinary people and met with the
failure already mentioned against the Palmyrenes. He did
not even stay, however, to restore order to the troubled
land, but distributed his army in winter quarters in the
provinces, while he himself went to Egypt to join Cleopa-
tra.
11. She gave him a splendid reception, and he spent 43
the winter there without displaying the insignia of com-
Asiaticus, who was eventually deposed by Pompey in 64. Appian
mentions these last Seleucid kings briefly (*Syr.* 48.248-49), but
he had dealt extensively with the founder of the dynasty, Seleucus
I Nicator (*Syr.* 53.267-63.331).

¹⁷ For Appian's coverage of the first Roman governors from Marcus Aemilius Scaurus to Marcus Calpurnius Bibulus, see *Syr.* 51.255-59.

σχῆμα καὶ βίον ἔχων, εἴθ' ὡς ἐν ἀλλοτρίᾳ τε ἀρχῇ
καὶ βασιλευούσῃ πόλει, εἴτε τὴν χειμασίαν ὡς παν-
ήγγυριν ἄγων, ἐπεὶ καὶ φροντίδας ἀπετέθειτο καὶ
ἡγεμόνων θεραπείαν, καὶ στολὴν εἶχε τετράγωνον
Ἑλληνικὴν ἀντὶ τῆς πατρίου, καὶ ὑπόδημα ἦν αὐτῷ
λευκὸν Ἀττικόν, ὃ καὶ Ἀθηναίων ἔχουσιν ἱερεῖς καὶ
44 Ἀλεξανδρέων, καὶ καλοῦσι φαικάσιον. ἔξοδοί τε ἦσαν
αὐτῷ ἐς ἱερὰ ἢ γυμνάσια ἢ φιλολόγων διατριβὰς μό-
ναι καὶ δίαίτα μεθ' Ἑλλήνων ὑπὸ Κλεοπάτρα, ἣ δὴ
καὶ μάλιστα τὴν ἐπιδημίαν ἀνετίθει.
45 12. Καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ Ἀντώνιον ἦν τοιάδε· Καίσαρι
δὲ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐπανιόντι ἢ τε νόσος αὐθις ἤκμαζεν
ἐν Βρεντεσίῳ μάλιστα ἐπικινδύνως, καὶ φήμη διή-
46 νεγκεν αὐτὸν καὶ τεθνάναι. ῥαίσας 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
47 Σεξστίῳ Λιβύης καὶ αὐτὸν Καίσαρι ἀποστῆναι. καὶ
οἱ μὲν οὕτως ἐποίουν, ὃ δὲ Καίσαρ οὐδὲν ἀνήκεστον
ἀμαρτεῖν δόξαντι Λεπίδῳ Λιβύην ἀντὶ τῶν προτέρων
ἔθνων ἐνήλλασσε καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν ἐπὶ ταῖς προγρα-
48 φαῖς δεδημευμένων διεπίπρασκε. καταλέγοντι δ' αὐτῷ
τὸν στρατὸν ἐς τὰς ἀποικίας καὶ τὴν γῆν ἐπινέμουσι
δυσεργὲς ἦν. οἳ τε γὰρ στρατιῶται τὰς πόλεις ἤτουν,
αἱ αὐτοῖς ἀριστίνδην ἦσαν ἐπειλεγμένοι πρὸ τοῦ πο-
λέμου, καὶ αἱ πόλεις ἠξίουσαν τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἅπασαν ἐπι-

mand, and wearing the clothes and leading the life of a
private person. He did this either because he was in a
kingdom ruled by someone else, in a sovereign city, or
because he was treating the winter as a holiday. He cer-
tainly set aside his worries and his commander's retinue,
and wore the square-cut Greek cloak instead of his native
one, and the white Attic sandal also worn by the Athenian
and Alexandrian priests, which they call a *phaecassium*. His
only excursions were to temples or gymnasia or the discus-
sions of scholars, and he spent his time with Greeks, in
deference to Cleopatra, to whom he particularly devoted
his stay in Alexandria. 44

12. Such was the state of affairs with Antony. As for
Octavian, while returning to Rome his illness became
acute again at Brundisium to a very dangerous degree, and
a rumor even spread that he had died. After recovering,
46 he made his way to Rome and brought Antony's letters to
the attention of his staff, who ordered Calenus to hand
over the two legions to Octavian, and also wrote to Sextius
in Africa with instructions to turn that province over to
him.¹⁸ Both men acted accordingly. As Lepidus appeared
47 not to have committed any serious offense, Octavian gave
him Africa in exchange for his previous provinces. He also
sold what remained of the property confiscated during the
proscriptions. But the task of registering the soldiers in
48 their colonies and distributing the land was very difficult.
For the soldiers demanded the towns that had been se-
lected for them as prizes for their courage before the war,
and the towns asked that the whole of Italy should share

¹⁸ For Appian's detailed treatment of Titus Sextius (praetor
45), see 4.52.224-56.242. On Fufius Calenus, see above, note 8.

49 *νείμασθαι τὸ ἔργον ἢ ἐν ἀλλήλαις διαλαχεῖν τῆς τε γῆς τὴν τιμὴν τοὺς δωρουμένους ἤτουν, καὶ ἀργύριον οὐκ ἦν, ἀλλὰ συνιόντες ἀνὰ μέρος ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην οἱ τε νέοι καὶ γέροντες ἢ αἱ γυναῖκες ἅμα τοῖς παιδίοις, ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἢ τὰ ἱερά, ἐθρήνουν, οὐδὲν μὲν ἀδικῆσαι λέγοντες, Ἰταλιῶται δὲ ὄντες ἀνίστασθαι γῆς τε*
 50 *καὶ ἐστίας οἷα δορίληπτοι. ἐφ' οἷς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι συνήχθοντο καὶ ἐπεδάκρουν, καὶ μάλιστα, ὅτε ἐνθυμηθεῖεν οὐχ ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ σφίσι αὐτοῖς καὶ τῇ μεταβολῇ τῆς πολιτείας τόν τε πόλεμον γεγνότα καὶ τὰ ἐπινίκια διδόμενα καὶ τὰς ἀποικίας συνισταμένας τοῦ μηδ' αὐθις ἀνακῦψαι τὴν δημοκρατίαν, παρωκισμένων τοῖς ἄρχουσι μισθοφόρων ἐτοίμων, ἐς ὃ τι χρῆζοιεν.*

51 13. Ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐξελογεῖτο τὴν ἀνάγκην, καὶ ἐδόκουν οὐδ' ὡς ἀρκέσειν. οὐδ' ἤρκουν, ἀλλὰ ὁ στρατὸς καὶ τοῖς γείτοσιν ἐπέβαινε σὺν ὕβρει, πλεονά τε τῶν διδομένων σφίσι περισπώμενοι καὶ τὸ ἄμεινον ἐκλεγόμενοι. οὐδὲ ἐπιπλήσσοντος αὐτοῖς καὶ δωρουμένου πολλὰ ἄλλα τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐπαύοντο, ἐπεὶ καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων, ὡς δεομένων σφῶν ἐς τὸ ἐγ-
 52 *κρατὲς τῆς ἀρχῆς, κατεφρόνουν. καὶ γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἡ πενταετία παρώδευε, καὶ τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ἢ χρεῖα συνῆγεν ἀμφοτέροις παρ' ἀλλήλων, τοῖς μὲν ἡγεμόσιν ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν παρὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ, τῷ στρατῷ δὲ ἐς τὴν ἐπικράτησιν ὧν ἔλαβον, ἢ τῶν δεδωκότων ἀρχὴ παραμένουσα. ὡς γὰρ αὐτῶν οὐ βεβαίως ἐπικρατήσοντες,*

the burden of redistribution, or cast lots with each other, and demanded that those who had received grants of land pay for it. But there was no money. People came in groups 49 to Rome, young men and old ones, women along with their children, and went to complain in the Forum, or the temples, saying that they had done nothing wrong, and that even though they were Italians, they were being forced from their land and hearths as if they had been defeated in war. At this, the people of Rome sympathized with them 50 and wept over the situation, especially when they considered that it was not on behalf of the city, but against themselves and the restoration of the constitution that the war had been fought, the rewards of victory given, and the colonies established, so that the democracy should never again lift its head, mercenaries having been settled alongside them, ready to do whatever the men in power needed.

13. Octavian excused himself to the towns on the 51 grounds of necessity, but they thought that even so, there would not be enough land. And there was not enough. The soldiers encroached violently even on their neighbors, seizing more than they had been given and choosing the better land. Nor did they stop when Octavian reprimanded them and gave them many other gifts, since they had low regard even for their rulers, because they knew that the latter needed them to confirm their power. For their five- 52 year term was running out, and both needed each other for their mutual security, the leaders needing the army to retain their power, and the army to confirm possession of what they had received, needing the continuing rule of those who had given it. In the belief that they would not retain secure control of what they had been given unless those who had given it had security of power, the

53 εἰ μὴ βεβαίως⁵ ἄρχοιεν οἱ δόντες, ὑπερεμάχουν ἀπ' εὐνοίας ἀναγκαίου. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα τοῖς ἀπορουμένοις αὐτῶν ἔδωρείτο, δανειζόμενος ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν, ὁ Καῖσαρ. ὅθεν τὴν γνώμην ὁ στρατὸς ἐς αὐτὸν ἐπέστρεφε, καὶ πλείων ὑπήντα χάρις ὡς γῆν ἅμα καὶ πόλεις καὶ χρήματα καὶ οἰκήματα δωρουμένῳ καὶ καταβοωμένῳ μὲν ἐπιφθόνως ὑπὸ τῶν ἀφαιρουμένων, φέρουσι δὲ τὴν ὕβριν ἐς χάριν τοῦ στρατοῦ.

54 14. Ταῦτα δὲ ὁρῶν ὃ 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 Καῖσαρος δόξειε τὸ ἔργον ἅπαν εἶναι μὴδὲ μόνος αὐτοῦ τὴν χάριν ἀποφέροιτο μὴδ' ἔρημος ὁ Ἀντώνιος εὐνοίας στρατιωτῶν γένοιτο, τὰς κατοικίσεις ἐτέχναζον ἐς τὴν ἐπιδημίαν

55 Ἀντωνίου διατρίβειν. οὐ δυνατοῦ δὲ φαινομένου διὰ τὸν στρατὸν ἐπέιγοντα, τοὺς οἰκιστὰς τῶν Ἀντωνίων τελῶν ἠξίουσαν Καίσαρα παρὰ σφῶν λαβεῖν, τῆς μὲν συνθήκης Ἀντωνίου μόνῳ Καίσαρι διδούσης, ἐπιμεμ-

56 φόμενοι δὲ ὡς οὐ παραδόντι⁶ τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ. καὶ ἐς τὸν στρατὸν αὐτοὶ τὴν τε Φουλβίαν παράγοντες καὶ

⁵ ἐπικρατήσοντες, εἰ μὴ βεβαίως add. Schweig.

⁶ παραδόντι P; προδόντι L; παρόντι BJ

soldiers fought for them out of forced goodwill. Octavian 53 made many other gifts to the soldiers in difficulty, borrowing money from the temples. For this reason the army began to turn their favor on him, and greater gratitude came his way because he was gifting them land along with towns and money and houses, and being denounced virulently by the dispossessed, but putting up with the insult for the sake of the army.

14. When he saw this, Antony's brother, Lucius Anto- 54 nius, who was consul at the time, along with Fulvia, Antony's wife, and Manius, his agent during his absence, tried to devise ways of delaying the founding of the colonies until Antony's return, so that it would not seem to be entirely the work of Octavian, and he would not be the only one to get the credit for it, and Antony would not be deprived of the goodwill of the soldiers.¹⁹ As this appeared 55 to be impossible because the army was pressing its demands, they asked Octavian to take those founding the colonies for Antony's legions from Antony's men, and even though the agreement with Antony gave the choice to Octavian alone, they blamed him for not entrusting it to Antony.²⁰ Bringing Fulvia and Antony's children before 56

¹⁹ Lucius Antonius was consul in 41 and was captured by Octavian at Perugia in that year but spared and sent to Spain as governor. Fulvia was one of the most politically active women of the Roman Republic. She married three populist leaders, Publius Clodius Pulcher (d. 52), Gaius Scribonius Curio (d. 49), and Marc Antony. Antony's agent, Manius, is referred to in an epigram of Martial (11.20).

²⁰ Or, perhaps (the text is uncertain), "they found fault with the fact that Antony was not present."

τὰ παιδιά τὰ Ἀντωνίου, μάλα ἐπιφθόνως ἰκέτευον μὴ
 περιδεῖν Ἀντώνιον ἢ δόξης ἢ χάριτος τῆς ἐς αὐτοὺς
 57 ὑπηρεσίας ἀφαιρούμενον. ἤκμαζε δὲ ἐν τῷ τότε μάλι-
 στα τὸ κλέος τὸ Ἀντωνίου καὶ παρὰ τῷ στρατῷ καὶ
 παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν· τὸ γὰρ ἔργον τὸ ἐν Φιλίπ-
 ποις διὰ τὴν τότε Καίσαρος ἀρρωστίαν ἅπαν ἠγοῦντο
 58 Ἀντωνίου γεγονέναι. ὁ δὲ Καίσαρ οὐκ ἠγνόει μὲν
 ἀδικούμενος ἐς τὰ συγκείμενα, εἶξε 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
 59 αὐτοὺς εἶναι, συνεχώρουν ἔτι πλέον ἀδικεῖν. ἄλλο δὲ
 πλῆθος ἦν ἐτέρων πόλεων, αἱ ταῖς νενεμημέναις γει-
 τονεύουσαί τε καὶ πολλὰ πρὸς τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀδι-
 κούμενοι κατεβῶν τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἀδικωτέρας εἶναι
 τὰς ἀποικίσεις τῶν προγραφῶν· τὰς μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ
 ἐχθροῖς, τὰς δὲ ἐπὶ μηδὲν ἀδικοῦσι γίνεσθαι.
 60 15. Ὁ δὲ Καίσαρ οὐκ ἠγνόει ἀδικουμένους. ἀμή-
 χανα δ' ἦν αὐτῷ· οὔτε γὰρ ἀργύριον ἦν ἐς τιμὴν τῆς
 γῆς δίδοσθαι τοῖς γεωργοῖς, οὔτε ἀναβάλλεσθαι τὰ
 ἐπινίκια διὰ τοὺς ἔτι πολέμους, Πομπηίου μὲν ἐν τῇ
 θαλάσῃ κρατοῦντος καὶ τὴν πόλιν κλείοντος ἐς λι-
 μόν, Ἀηνοβάμβου δὲ καὶ Μούρκου στρατὸν καὶ ναῦς

21 It is not clear who the subject of this sentence is. Gram-
 matically, "they" seems to refer to Lucius, Fulvia, and Manius,
 the subjects of the previous sentence. Similarly in chapter 58, it

the army, they²¹ begged the soldiers in particularly mali-
 cious terms not to let Antony be deprived of the glory and
 gratitude he deserved for his service to them. Antony's 57
 reputation was then very much at its height, both among
 the soldiers and everyone else. For they regarded the vic-
 tory at Philippi as entirely due to him, on account of Oc-
 tavian's illness at the time. Although Octavian was well 58
 aware that he was being mistreated in relation to the
 agreement, he yielded as a favor to Antony. So they ap-
 pointed the leaders of the colonies to be founded for his
 legions, but in order to appear more well disposed to the
 soldiers than Octavian, the colony leaders allowed the
 men to commit yet more injustices. And of course a large 59
 number of people from other towns, neighboring on the
 ones that had been resettled and suffering many injustices
 at the hands of the soldiers, complained loudly against
 Octavian that the settlements were more unjust than the
 proscriptions. For the proscriptions, they argued, targeted
 personal enemies, the settlements those who had done no
 wrong.

15. Octavian was not unaware that they were the vic- 60
 tims of injustice, but he could do nothing about it, because
 there was no money to pay the farmers the price of the
 land, and he could not postpone granting the rewards of
 victory in view of the wars that were still being fought.
 Pompeius ruled the sea and was causing famine in Rome
 with his blockade; Ahenobarbus and Murcus were collect-

seems to have been Lucius, Fulvia, and Manius who appointed
 the colony leaders, but perhaps Appian is referring more gener-
 ally to Antony's associates.

ἄλλας ἀγειρόντων ἀθυμοτέρων δὲ ἐς τὰ ἐσόμενα ὄν-
 των <τῶν στρατιωτῶν>,⁷ εἰ μὴ τὰ πρότερα ἐπινίκια
 61 λάβοιεν. πολὺ δ' ἦν καὶ τὸ παροδεύειν σφίσιν ἤδη
 τὴν τῆς ἀρχῆς πενταετίαν καὶ χρῆζειν αὐθις εὐνοίας
 στρατοῦ· διόπερ αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς ὕβρεως ἢ καταφρονή-
 62 σεως ἐν τῷ τότε ἐκὼν ὑπερέωρα. ἔν γέ τοι τῷ θεάτρῳ,
 παρόντος αὐτοῦ, στρατιώτης ἀπορῶν οἰκείας ἔδρας
 παρῆλθεν ἐς τοὺς καλουμένους ἰππέας· καὶ ὁ μὲν
 δῆμος ἐπεσημήνατο, καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ τὸν στρατιώτην
 ἀνέστησεν, ὁ δὲ στρατὸς ἠγανάκτησε καὶ περιστάν-
 63 τεσ αὐτὸν ἀποχωροῦντα τοῦ θεάτρου τὸν στρατιώτην
 ἀπήτουν, οὐχ ὀρώμενον ἠγούμενοι διεφθάρθαι. ἐπελ-
 θόντα δὲ ἐνόμιζον ἐκ τοῦ δεσμοτηρίου νῦν προαχθῆ-
 ναι ἀρνούμενόν τε καὶ τὰ γεγονότα διηγούμενον ψεύ-
 δεσθαι διδαχθέντα ἔλεγον καὶ ἐλοιδόρουν ὡς τὰ κοινὰ
 προδιδόντα.
 64 16. Καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ γεγόμενον τοιόνδε ἦν.
 κεκλημένοι δ' ἐπὶ νέμῃσιν τότε τῆς γῆς ἐς τὸ πεδίου
 τὸ Ἄρειον ὑπὸ σπουδῆς ἔτι νυκτὸς ἀφίκοντο, καὶ βρα-
 δύτερον αὐτοῖς τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐπιόντος ἠγανάκτουν.
 65 Νώνιος δὲ λοχαγὸς ἐπέπλησεν αὐτοῖς σὺν παρρη-
 σία, τό τε πρέπον τοῖς ἀρχομένοις ἐς τὸν ἄρχοντα
 προφέρων καὶ τὴν Καίσαρος ἀσθένειαν, οὐχ ὑπερο-
 ψίαν. οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἔσκωπτον ὡς κόλακα,
 πλέονος δὲ ἐκατέρωθεν τοῦ διερεθίσματος γενομένου
 ἐλοιδόρουν τε καὶ ἔβαλλον καὶ φεύγοντα ἐδίωκον ἐς

ing a new fleet and an army; and the soldiers would be less
 enthusiastic in the future if they did not get the rewards
 of their previous victory. Also very important was the fact 61
 that the triumvirs' five-year term of office was running out,
 and they again needed the goodwill of an army. For this
 reason Octavian was willing to overlook for the time being
 their insolence and disrespect. For example, he was pres- 62
 ent in the theater when a soldier who could not find a seat
 in the right place, went over to the section reserved for the
 so-called equestrians. The people pointed him out and
 Octavian had him removed. But the soldiers became an-
 noyed, surrounded Octavian as he left the theater, and
 demanded that he produce the man, as he was nowhere
 to be seen and they thought he had been killed. When he 63
 turned up, they believed he had just been brought out of
 the prison, but although he denied this, and explained
 what had happened, they said he had been coached to lie,
 and abused him for betraying the common cause.

16. Such was the incident in the theater. When the men 64
 were called to the Campus Martius for the distribution of
 land being made at that time, in their enthusiasm they
 arrived while it was still night, and grew angry at Octavian
 for being rather slow to join them. Nonius, a centurion, 65
 reprimanded them bluntly, urging due deference from
 subordinates to their superior, and citing Octavian's ill
 health, not arrogance, as the cause of the delay. They first
 mocked him as a flatterer, but then with provocation grow-
 ing from both sides, they abused him, threw stones at him,
 and chased him as he fled. When he jumped into the river

⁷ τῶν στρατιωτῶν add. Viereck; ἐς τὰ ἐσόμενα τῶν ἐστρα-
 τευμένων ὄντων Étienne-Duplessis

- 66 τε τὸν ποταμὸν ἐξαλόμενον ἐξειρύσαντες ἔκανον καὶ ἔρριψαν, ἔνθα παροδεύσειν ὁ Καίσαρ ἔμελλεν. οἱ μὲν δὴ φίλοι τῷ Καίσαρι παρήνουν μηδὲ ἐπελθεῖν ἐς αὐτούς, ἀλλ' ἐκστήναι μανιώδει φορᾷ. ὁ δ' ἐπήρει μὲν, ἀναθρέψειν ἔτι μᾶλλον αὐτῶν ἠγούμενος τὸ μανιώδες, εἰ μὴ ἀφίκοιτο, καὶ τὸν Νώνιον ἰδὼν ἐξέκλινεν, ὡς δὲ ὀλίγων ταῦτα δρασάντων ἐπεμέμφετο καὶ ἐς τὸ μέλλον ἀλλήλων φείδεσθαι παρήνει καὶ τὴν γῆν διένεμε, καὶ δωρεὰς αἰτεῖν τοῖς ἀξίοις ἐπέτρεπε καὶ τῶν οὐκ ἀξίων ἐνίοις ἐδίδου παρὰ γνώμην, μέχρι τὸ πλήθος ἐκπλαγὲν αὐτοῦ τῆς βαρύτητος μετενόει καὶ ἠδέϊτο καὶ κατεγίνωσκον αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς ἐς τὸν Νώνιον
- 67 ἀμαρτόντας ἠξίουσαν ἀνευρόντα κολάσαι. ὁ δὲ καὶ γυνώσκειν αὐτοὺς ἔφη καὶ κολάσειν "Αὐτῷ τῷ συνειδῶτι σφῶν μόνῳ καὶ τῇ παρ' ὑμῶν καταγνώσει." οἱ δὲ συγγνώμης τε ὁμοῦ καὶ τιμῆς καὶ δωρεῶν ἀξιωθέντες εὐθύς αὐτὸν εὐφήμον ἐκ μεταβολῆς.
- 68 17. Καὶ δύο μὲν εἰκόνες ἐκ πλεόνων αἶδε ἔστων τῆς τότε δυσαρχίας· αἴτιον δ' ἦν, ὅτι καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἀχειροτόνητοι ἦσαν οἱ πλείους ὡς ἐν ἐμφυλίοις καὶ οἱ στρατοὶ αὐτῶν οὐ τοῖς πατρίοις ἔθεσιν ἐκ καταλόγου συνήγοντο οὐδ' ἐπὶ χρεῖα τῆς πατρίδος, οὐδὲ τῷ δημοσίῳ στρατευόμενοι μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς συνάγουσιν αὐτοὺς μόνοις, οὐδὲ τούτοις ὑπὸ ἀνάγκη νόμων, ἀλλ' ὑποσχέσεσιν ἰδίαις, οὐδὲ ἐπὶ πολεμίους κοινούς, ἀλλὰ ἰδίους ἐχθρούς, οὐδὲ ἐπὶ ξένους, ἀλλὰ πολίτας καὶ

they dragged him out, killed him and threw his body down at a spot where Octavian was due to pass. His associates naturally advised Octavian not even to approach the men, but to stay out of the way of their mad rage. But he went anyway, in the belief that he would feed their madness even more if he did not come. When he saw the body of Nonius he turned away from it and, on the assumption that only a small number had committed this act, he rebuked them and advised them to show forbearance to each other in future. He then began to distribute the land, and allowed the deserving to ask for gifts, and unexpectedly gave grants even to some of those who did not deserve them. Eventually the mob were astonished and regretted their heavy-handed behavior: they became ashamed, began to accuse themselves, and asked Octavian to find and punish those who had committed the crime against Nonius. He replied that he knew who they were and would punish them "only with their own guilty conscience and your condemnation." Having all at once been judged worthy of pardon and respect and gifts, the men immediately changed their opinion and began to speak well of him.

17. Let these two instances, among many, serve as examples of the indiscipline prevailing at that time. The cause was that, as happens in civil wars, most of the generals were not elected, and their armies were not recruited from the register in the ancestral manner, nor to meet their country's need; it was not the public interest they served, but only the men who recruited them, and they did not serve these men under constraint of the laws, but in response to private promises; they did not fight against enemies of the state, but against personal adversaries, nor against foreigners, but against fellow citizens who were

- 69 ὁμοτίμους. τάδε γὰρ πάντα αὐτοῖς τὸν στρατιωτικὸν φόβον ἐξέλυνεν, οὔτε στρατεύεσθαι νομίζουσι μᾶλλον ἢ βοηθεῖν οἰκεία χάριτι καὶ γνώμῃ, καὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἡγουμένους ὑπὸ ἀνάγκης αὐτῶν ἐς τὰ ἴδια ἐπιδεῖσθαι. τό τε αὐτομολεῖν, πάλαι Ῥωμαίοις ἀδιάλλακτον 70 ὄν, τότε καὶ δωρεῶν ἡξιούτο· καὶ ἔπρασσον αὐτὸ οἷ τε στρατοὶ κατὰ πλῆθος καὶ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἀνδρῶν ἔνιοι, νομίζοντες οὐκ αὐτομολίαν εἶναι τὴν ἐς τὰ 71 ὅμοια μεταβολήν. ὅμοια γὰρ δὴ πάντα ἦν, καὶ οὐδὲ ἕτερα αὐτῶν ἐς ἔχθραν κοινήν Ῥωμαίοις ἀπεκέκριτο· ἢ τε τῶν στρατηγῶν ὑπόκρισις μία, ὡς ἀπάντων ἐς τὰ συμφέροντα τῇ πατρίδι βοηθούντων, εὐχερεστεροὺς ἐποίει πρὸς τὴν μεταβολήν ὡς πανταχοῦ τῇ πατρίδι βοηθούντας. ἃ καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ συνιέντες ἔφερον, ὡς οὐ νόμῳ μᾶλλον αὐτῶν ἄρχοντες ἢ ταῖς δωρεαῖς.
- 72 18. Οὕτω μὲν ἐς στάσεις τότε πάντα, καὶ ἐς δυσαρχίαν τοῖς στασιάρχοις τὰ στρατόπεδα ἐτέτραπτο, τὴν δὲ Ῥώμην λιμὸς ἐπίεζεν, οὔτε τῆς θαλάσσης τι αὐτοῖς φερούσης διὰ Πομπήιον, οὔτε τῆς Ἰταλίας διὰ τοὺς πολέμους γεωργουμένης. ὁ δὲ καὶ γένοιτο, ἐς τοὺς 73 στρατοὺς ἔδαπανᾶτο. ἐκλώπευόν τε οἱ πολλοὶ νυκτὸς ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ κλοπῆς ἔτι βιαιότερον ἠνώχλουν, καὶ ἠνώχλουν ἀδεῶς, καὶ ἡ δόξα ἐς τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐφέρετο. ὁ δὲ λεῶς ἀπέκλειε τὰ ἐργαστήρια καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐξανίστη, ὡς οὔτε ἀρχῶν οὔτε τεχνῶν χρήζοντες ἐν ἀπορούσῃ καὶ ληστευομένῃ πόλει.
- 74 19. Λευκίῳ δὲ ὄντι δημοτικῶ καὶ δυσχεραίνοντι τῇ

their equals. All these things undermined military discipline among soldiers who thought that they were not serving in the army so much as lending assistance as a favor and by their own choice, and believed that their leaders were forced to rely on them for their own personal ends. Desertion, which had previously been unpardonable for Romans, was now actually rewarded with gifts, and whole armies resorted to it, as well as some leading figures who did not consider it desertion to change sides to a similar cause. For all parties were indeed alike, and none of them had been separated out as a public enemy of Rome. The common deceit of the generals that they were all contributing to the best interests of the country made men more ready to change sides, on the grounds that they were assisting their country whatever side they were on. The generals understood this and put up with it, recognizing that they controlled the men less by the rule of law than by donatives.

18. So it was at that time that everything developed into factional strife, and the faction leaders faced insubordination in the armies. Famine began to squeeze the city of Rome, as neither the sea brought them anything because of Pompeius, nor the land of Italy, which was not being farmed because of the wars. Whatever there was was used up on the troops. The ordinary people resorted to theft at night in the city, and caused trouble more violent than theft, and did so with impunity: public opinion attributed this to the soldiers. The working people closed their workshops and made the magistrates leave, since, they alleged, there was no need of either magistrates or crafts in a city oppressed by food shortages and robbers.

19. Lucius Antonius, who was a republican and ill dis-

τῶν τριῶν ἀρχῇ, οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τῷ χρόνῳ παύσεσθαι νομι-
 ζομένη, προσκρούσματα ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα ἐγίγνετο
 καὶ διαφοραὶ μείζους· τοὺς τε γεωργούς, ὅσοι τῆς γῆς
 ἀφηροῦντο, ἰκέτας γιγνομένους τῶν δυνατῶν ἐκάστου
 μόνος ὑπεδέχετο καὶ βοηθήσειν ὑπισχνεῖτο, κἀκείνων
 75 ὑπισχνουμένων ἀμυνεῖν, ἐς ὃ κελεύοι. ὅθεν αὐτὸν ὁ
 στρατὸς ὁ Ἀντωνίου κατεμέμφετο καὶ ὁ Καίσαρ ὡς
 ἀντιπράσσοντα Ἀντωνίῳ, καὶ Φουλβία ὡς πολεμο-
 ποιοῦντα ἐν ἀκαίρῳ, μέχρι τὴν Φουλβίαν ὁ Μάνιος
 πανούργως μετεδίδαξεν ὡς εἰρηνευομένης μὲν τῆς
 Ἰταλίας ἐπιμενεῖν Ἀντωνίῳ Κλεοπάτρα, πολεμουμέ-
 νης δ' ἀφίξεσθαι κατὰ τάχος. τότε γὰρ δὴ γυναικός
 τι παθοῦσα ἢ Φουλβία τὸν Λεύκιον ἐπέτριβεν ἐς τὴν
 76 διαφοράν. ἐξίοντος δὲ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐς τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν
 κατοικίσεων, ἔπεμπεν ἐφομένους αὐτῷ τοὺς Ἀντωνίου
 παῖδας ἅμα τῷ Λευκίῳ, ὡς μηδὲν ἐκ τῆς ὄψεως ὁ Καί-
 77 σαρ ἐν τῷ στρατῷ πλέον ἔχοι. ἰππέων δὲ Καίσαρος
 ἐκτρεχόντων ἐπὶ τὴν Βρεττίων ἡίονα, πορθουμένην
 ὑπὸ Πομπηίου, δόξας ὁ Λεύκιος ἢ ὑποκρινάμενος ἐφ'
 ἑαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς Ἀντωνίου παῖδας τόδε τὸ ἰππικὸν
 ἀπεστάλθαι, διέδραμεν ἐς τὰς Ἀντωνίου κατοικίας,
 συλλεγόμενος φρουρὰν τῷ σώματι, καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα
 78 τῷ στρατῷ διέβαλλεν ἐς ἀπιστίαν πρὸς Ἀντωνίον. ὁ
 δὲ ἀντεδίδασκεν αὐτούς, ὅτι αὐτῷ μὲν καὶ Ἀντωνίῳ
 πάντα εἶναι φίλια καὶ κοινά, Λεύκιον δὲ ὑφ' ἑτέρας
 γνώμης αὐτοὺς πολεμοποιεῖν ἐς ἀλλήλους ἀντιπράσ-
 σοντα τῇ τῶν τριῶν ἀρχῇ, δι' ἣν οἱ στρατευόμενοι

posed toward the triumvirate, which, it was believed,
 would not cease to operate at the appointed time, engen-
 dered causes of friction with Octavian and more serious
 disagreements. Those farmers who had been dispossessed
 of their land were lobbying every man of influence, but
 Lucius was the only one to listen to them and promise to
 help, while they on their side promised to protect him in
 whatever way he might require. For this reason Antony's
 75 soldiers and Octavian accused him of working against
 Antony, and Fulvia blamed him for stirring up war at an
 awkward time, until Manius deviously changed her mind
 by pointing out that as long as Italy remained at peace
 Antony would stay with Cleopatra, but that if war broke
 out he would be back in a hurry. So then of course Fulvia,
 moved by the feelings of a wife, incited Lucius to promote
 disagreement. When Octavian was leaving Rome to found
 76 the remaining settlements, she sent Antony's children,
 along with Lucius, to accompany him, so that the sight of
 them would prevent Octavian getting any extra credit with
 the army. And when Octavian's cavalry made a sortie to
 77 the coast of Bruttium, which was being raided by Pom-
 peius, Lucius either believed or pretended to believe that
 this cavalry expedition had been sent against himself and
 the children of Antony. So he hurried over to the Antonian
 settlements, collected a bodyguard, and accused Octavian
 to the soldiers of disloyalty to Antony. Octavian explained
 78 to them that on the contrary, relations between himself
 and Antony were entirely friendly and affable, and that
 Lucius, in pursuit of a different policy, was trying to stir
 up a war between them in his opposition to the triumvi-
 rate, and that it was because of the triumvirate that those

τὰς ἀποικίας ἔχουσι βεβαίους· καὶ τοὺς ἰππέας εἶναι
καὶ νῦν ἐν Βρεττίοις τὰ ἐντεταλμένα φυλάσσοντας.

79 20. Ὡν οἱ ἡγεμόνες τοῦ στρατοῦ πυνθανόμενοι
διήτησαν αὐτοῖς ἐν Τεανῶ καὶ συνήλλαξαν ἐπὶ
τοῖσδε, τοὺς μὲν ὑπάτους τὰ πάτρια διοικεῖν μὴ κω-
λυομένους ὑπὸ τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν, μηδενὶ δὲ γῆν ὑπὲρ
τοὺς στρατευσαμένους ἐν Φιλίπποις ἐπινέμεσθαι, τά
τε χρήματα τῶν δεδημευμένων καὶ τιμὰς τῶν ἔτι πι-
πρασκομένων καὶ τὸν στρατὸν Ἀντωνίου τὸν περὶ τὴν
80 Ἰταλίαν ἐπ' ἴσης διανέμεσθαι καὶ μηδέτερον αὐτῶν
ἔτι καταλέγειν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας, στρατεύοντι δὲ ἐπὶ
Πομπήιον τῷ Καίσαρι δύο συμμαχεῖν τέλη παρὰ
Ἀντωνίου, ἀνεῶχθαι δὲ τὰς Ἄλπεις τοῖς ὑπὸ Καίσα-
ρος πεμπομένοις ἐς τὴν Ἰβηρίαν καὶ μὴ κωλύειν
αὐτοὺς ἔτι Ἀσίνιον Πολλίωνα, Λεύκιον δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖσδε
συνηλλαγμένον ἀποθέσθαι τὴν φρουρὰν τοῦ σώμα-
81 τος καὶ πολιτεύειν ἀδεῶς. τάδε μὲν ἦν, ἃ συνέθεντο
ἀλλήλοις διὰ τῶν ἡγεμόνων τοῦ στρατοῦ, ἐπράχθη γε
μὴν αὐτῶν δύο μόνα τὰ τελευταῖα· καὶ Σαλονιδιηνὸς
ἀκωλύτως <εἶχε καὶ ὁ στρατὸς>⁸ αὐτῷ συμπεριῆλθε
τὰς Ἄλπεις.

82 21. Οὐ γιγνομένων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἢ βραδυνόντων,

⁸ ἄκων αὐτῷ συμπεριῆλθε codd.; ἀκωλύτως Mend.; ἀκω-
λύτως <εἶχε καὶ ὁ στρατὸς> Étienne-Duplessis

²² On the historian and politician Gaius Asinius Pollio, see
App. BCiv. 2.40.162 note 41.

serving had secure tenure of their settlements. As for the
cavalry, they were at that moment in Bruttium, following
orders.

20. When the senior army officers heard this, they ar- 79
bitrated between Lucius and Octavian at Teanum and
reconciled them on the following terms: the consuls were
to carry out their traditional functions without hindrance
from the triumvirs; land was to be assigned to no one who
had not fought at Philippi; Antony's troops in Italy were to
have an equal share of the money derived from confisca-
tions and of the proceeds from what was still being sold;
neither Antony nor Octavian were to recruit in Italy; An- 80
tony was to give two of his legions to assist Octavian in his
campaign against Pompeius; the Alps were to be opened
to the forces being sent by Octavian to Iberia, and Asinius
Pollio was to stop obstructing them;²² and Lucius, on
agreeing to this reconciliation, was to disband his body-
guard, and carry out his political functions without having
anything to fear. Such were the terms of the agreement 81
they made with each other through the senior officers of
the army, but only the last two were actually carried out:
Salvidienus encountered no further hindrance and his
army accompanied him through the Alps.²³

21. As the other conditions were not fulfilled, or were 82

²³ The text is corrupt at this point. I have adopted the reading
of the Budé text. Quintus Salvidienus Rufus was an equestrian
and one of Octavian's main generals. He was defeated by Sextus
Pompeius in 42, sent to Spain by Octavian with six legions in 41,
appointed governor of Gaul in 41 and designated consul (even
though he was not a senator), but he was eventually denounced
by Octavian for plotting against him with Antony.

ἐς Πραινεστὸν ἀνεχώρει Λεύκιος, δεδιέναι λέγων Καί-
 σαρα διὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν δορυφορούμενον, αὐτὸς ἀφρούρη-
 τος ὢν. ἀνεχώρει δὲ καὶ Φουλβία, Λέπιδον ἤδη λέ-
 83 γουσα⁹ περὶ τοῖς τέκνοις δεδιέναι· τοῦτον¹⁰ γὰρ ἀντὶ
 τοῦ Καίσαρος προτίθει. καὶ τάδε μὲν ἐγράφετο παρ'
 ἑκατέρων Ἀντωνίῳ, καὶ φίλοι μετὰ τῶν γραμμάτων ἐς
 αὐτὸν ἐπέμποντο, οἱ διδάξειν ἔμελλον περὶ ἑκάστων.
 καὶ οὐχ εὔρον ἐρευνώμενος, ὃ τι σαφῶς ἀντεγράφετο
 84 αὐτοῖς. οἱ δὲ τῶν στρατῶν ἡγεμόνες συνομόσαντες
 κρινεῖν τοῖς ἄρχουσιν αὐθις, ὃ δοκοίη δίκαιον εἶναι,
 καὶ τοὺς ἀπειθοῦντας ἐς αὐτὸ συναναγκάσειν, ἐκά-
 λουν ἐπὶ ταῦτα τοὺς περὶ Λεύκιον. οὐ δεξαμένων δ'
 ἐκείνων, ὃ Καίσαρ ἐπιφθόνως αὐτοὺς ἐν τε τοῖς ἡγε-
 85 μόσι τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Ῥωμαίων ἀρίστοις
 ἐπεμέμφετο. οἱ δὲ ἐξέθεον ἐς τὸν Λεύκιον καὶ παρ-
 εκάλουν οἰκτεῖραι μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐμφυλίοις τὴν πόλιν
 καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν, δέξασθαι δὲ κοινῶ νόμῳ¹¹ τὴν κρίσιν
 ἢ ἐπὶ σφῶν ἢ ἐπὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων γενέσθαι.
 86 22. Αἰδουμένου δὲ τοῦ Λευκίου τά τε λεγόμενα καὶ
 τοὺς λέγοντας, ὃ Μάνιος μάλα θρασέως ἔφη τὸν μὲν
 Ἀντώνιον οὐδὲν ἄλλ' ἢ χρήματα μόνα ἀγείρειν ἐν ξέ-
 νοις ἀνδράσι, τὸν δὲ Καίσαρα καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ
 τὰ ἐπίκαιρα τῆς Ἰταλίας ταῖς θεραπείας προκατα-

⁹ πρὸς ante Λέπιδον add. BJ; ἀνεχώρει δὲ καὶ Φουλβία, Λέπιδον <ένα> ἤδη λέγουσα Étienne-Duplessis; ἀνεχώρει δὲ καὶ Φουλβία πρὸς Λέπιδον, ἤδη λέγουσα Viereck

¹⁰ τοῦτον LBJ; τοῦτο L

delayed, Lucius retired to Praeneste, saying that he was
 afraid of Octavian, who because of the office he held had
 a bodyguard, while he himself had no protection. Fulvia
 also withdrew, now claiming that Lepidus was afraid for
 her children: for she was using Lepidus as a pretext, in-
 83 stead of Octavian.²⁴ These issues were written up by both
 sides in letters to Antony, and associates were sent to him
 with the letters to explain all the details. Although I have
 searched, I have not been able to find any clear account of
 what Antony wrote in reply to them. The senior officers of
 84 the armies, having sworn an oath to make a new judgment
 for their leaders about what they thought was just, and to
 force any dissidents into compliance, summoned Lucius
 and his staff for this purpose. But they did not accept
 the terms, and Octavian criticized them maliciously both
 among the army commanders and the Roman aristocracy.
 The latter hurried to Lucius from Rome and implored him
 85 to have pity on the city and on Italy, after the civil wars,
 and to accept that by common agreement the decision
 should rest with themselves or with the officers.

22. Although Lucius respected the speakers and what
 86 was being said, Manius very insolently claimed that while
 Antony was doing nothing more than collecting money
 among foreigners, Octavian, because of the services
 he was providing, was securing in advance both the
 army and the strategic positions in Italy. For example,
 87

²⁴ The text is again uncertain in this sentence, and the mean-
 ing far from clear.

¹¹ κοινωνὸν ᾧ codd.; κοινῶ νόμῳ Madvig; post κοινωνὸν
 lacunam indic. Étienne-Duplessis

- 87 λαμβάνειν· τήν τε γὰρ Κελτικὴν Ἀντωνίῳ πρότερον
 δεδομένην ἐλευθεροῦν μετ' ἐξαπάτης Ἀντωνίου, καὶ
 τὴν Ἰταλίαν σχεδὸν ἅπασαν ἀντὶ μόνων ὀκτωκαίδεκα
 πόλεων τοῖς ἐστρατευμένοις καταγράφειν, τέσσαρσί
 τε καὶ τριάκοντα τέλεσιν ἀντὶ ὀκτῶ καὶ εἴκοσι τῶν
 συμμαχησάντων ἐπινέμειν οὐ γῆν μόνην, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν χρήματα, συλλέγοντα μὲν ὡς ἐπὶ
 Πομπήϊον, ἐφ' ὃν οὐδέ πω παρατάττεται λιμωπτούσης
 ὧδε τῆς πόλεως, διαιροῦντα δὲ τοῖς στρατοῖς ἐς θερα-
 πείαν κατὰ Ἀντωνίου καὶ τὰ δεδημευμένα οὐ πιπρά-
 88 σκοντα μᾶλλον ἢ δωρούμενον αὐτοῖς. χρῆναι δέ, εἰ
 τῷ ὄντι εἰρηνεύειν ἐθέλοι, τῶν μὲν ἤδη διωκημένων
 ὑποσχέειν λόγον, ἐς δὲ τὸ μέλλον, ἃ ἂν κοινῇ βουλευ-
 89 ομένοις δοκῆ, μόνα πράσσειν. οὕτω μὲν θρασέως ὁ
 Μάνιος ἠξίου μήτε τὸν Καίσαρά τινος εἶναι κύριον
 ἔργου μήτε τὴν Ἀντωνίου συνθήκην βέβαιον, ὠρισμέ-
 νου τῶν ἐγκεχειρισμένων ἐκάτερον αὐτοκράτορα εἶναι
 καὶ τὸ πρασσόμενον ὑπὸ ἀλλήλων εἶναι κύριον. παν-
 ταχόθεν οὖν ὁ Καίσαρ ἐώρα πολεμησείοντας αὐτούς,
 καὶ παρεσκευάζοντο αὐτῶν ἐκάτεροι.
- 90 23. Δύο δὲ στρατοῦ τέλη τὰ ἐς Ἀγκῶνα πόλιν ὤκι-
 σμένα, Καίσαρί τε ὄντα πατρῶα καὶ ἐστρατευμένα
 Ἀντωνίῳ, τῆς τε ἰδίας παρασκευῆς αὐτῶν πυθόμενοι
 καὶ τὴν εἰς ἐκάτερον σφῶν οἰκειότητα αἰδούμενοι,
 πρέσβεις ἔπεμψαν ἐς Ῥώμην, οἳ ἔμελλον ἐκατέρων ἐς
 91 διαλύσεις δεήσεσθαι. Καίσαρος δ' αὐτοῖς εἰπόντος
 οὐκ Ἀντωνίῳ πολεμεῖν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ Λευκίου πολεμεῖ-
 σθαι, συμβαλόντες οἱ πρέσβεις τοῖς ἡγεμόσι τοῦδε

he alleged that Octavian was deceiving Antony by freeing Gaul, which had previously been granted to Antony; that he was using almost the whole of Italy to assign land to the veterans instead of the eighteen cities; that he was distributing to thirty-four legions instead of the twenty-eight that had fought for him, not only land, but also the money from the temples he had collected supposedly to fight Pompeius—against whom he was not yet even marshaling his troops in spite of the fact that Rome was suffering so much from famine—but that he was in fact distributing to the soldiers to gain their favor against Antony; and that he was giving away what had been confiscated rather than selling it to them. If Octavian really wanted there to be peace, he should account for his administration up to this point, and in future do only what they decided after consulting together. Such was the audacity with which Manius required that Octavian have no authority for independent action and that his agreement with Antony be invalid, even though it had been fixed that each of them would have full authority over the tasks allotted to them, and that what either of them did would be validated by the other. So from all perspectives Octavian could see that they were warmongering, and both of them began to make their preparations.

23. Two legions that had been settled at Ancona—Octavian had inherited them from his father, but they had also served under Antony—on hearing of each side's preparations, and out of respect for their relationship with both, sent envoys to Rome to ask them to resolve their differences. When Octavian told them that it was not he who was making war on Antony, but Lucius who was making war on him, the envoys came to an agreement with the

τοῦ στρατοῦ, κοινῇ πάντες ἐς Λεύκιον ἐπρέσβευον,
 ἀξιοῦντες αὐτὸν ἐς δίκην Καίσαρι συνελθεῖν· δηλοῖ τε
 ἦσαν, ὁ πράξειν ἔμελλον, εἰ μὴ τὴν κρίσιν ὑποδέ-
 92 χοιτο. δεξαμένων δὲ τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Λεύκιον, χωρίον τε
 ὄριστο τῇ δίκῃ Γάβιοι πόλις ἐν μέσῳ Ῥώμης τε καὶ
 Πραϊνεστοῦ, καὶ συνέδριον τοῖς κρίνουσιν ἐγίνετο καὶ
 93 βήματα ἐν μέσῳ δύο τοῖς ἐρουσίω ὡς ἐν δίκῃ. πρότε-
 ρος δ' ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐλθὼν ἰππέας ἔπεμψεν ἐς τὴν πάρ-
 οδον τοῦ Λευκίου, ἐρευνησομένους ἄρα, μή τίς ποθεν
 ὀρῶτο ἐνέδρα. καὶ οἱ ἰππέες οἶδε ἐτέροις ἰππεῦσι τοῦ
 Λευκίου, προδρόμοις ἄρα ἢ καὶ τοῖσδε κατασκόποις,
 94 συμβαλόντες ἔκτεινάν τινας αὐτῶν. καὶ ἀνεχώρησε
 δείσας ὁ Λεύκιος, ὡς ἔλεγεν, ἐπιβουλήν· καλούμενός
 τε ὑπὸ τῶν ἡγεμόνων τοῦ στρατοῦ, παραπέμψειν αὐ-
 τὸν ὑπισχνουμένων, οὐκέτι ἐπέειθετο.
 95 24. Οὕτω μὲν ἦσαν αἱ διαλύσεις ἀπρακτοί, καὶ
 πολεμεῖν ἐγνώκεσαν καὶ διαγράμμασιν ἤδη πικροῖς
 κατ' ἀλλήλων ἐχρῶντο. στρατὸς δὲ ἦν Λευκίῳ μὲν
 ὀπλιτῶν ἕξ τέλη, ὅσα αὐτὸς ἐς τὴν ὑπατείαν ἐλθὼν
 ἐστράτευσε, καὶ τὰ Ἀντωνίου ἕνδεκα ἕτερα, ὧν ἐστρα-
 τήγει Καληνός, σύμπαντα ταῦτα ἀνὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν.
 96 Καίσαρι δὲ ἐν μὲν Καπύῃ τέσσαρα ἦν τέλη, καὶ περὶ
 αὐτὸν αἱ στρατηγίδες, ἕξ δὲ ἕτερα Σαλουιδιηνὸς ἦγεν
 97 ἐξ Ἰβηρίας. καὶ χρήματα ἦν Λευκίῳ μὲν ἐξ ἐθνῶν
 τῶν ὑπὸ τὸν Ἀντώνιον οὐ πολεμουμένων, Καίσαρι δέ,
 ἃ εἰλήχει, πάντα χωρὶς Σαρδοῦς < . . . > ἢ¹² ἐπολεμέιτο,

officers of Lucius' army, and they all sent a joint delegation
 to Lucius to ask him to meet with Octavian to settle the
 case; and they made it plain what they intended to do if
 he did not accept the decision. Lucius and his staff ac- 92
 cepted the proposal, and Gabii, a town situated halfway
 between Rome and Praeneste, was fixed as the site of the
 hearing. There was a council chamber for those judging
 the matter, and two tribunals in the middle for the speak-
 ers, as in a court case. Octavian arrived first and sent some 93
 cavalry along Lucius' route, no doubt to investigate if any
 signs of an ambush could be seen anywhere. These troops
 encountered another squadron of horse, belonging to Lu-
 cius, either his advance guard, I suppose, or scouts like
 themselves, and killed some of them. Lucius withdrew, so 94
 he claimed, in fear of a trap, and although summoned by
 the army's officers, who promised to provide him with an
 escort, he could no longer be persuaded.

24. Thus the negotiations came to nothing, and Octa- 95
 vian and Lucius decided to go to war and issued what were
 now bitter edicts against each other. Lucius had an army
 of the six legions he himself had enlisted on entering his
 consulship, and the eleven others of Antony commanded
 by Calenus. These were all in Italy. Octavian had four le- 96
 gions at Capua and his praetorian cohorts escorting him
 personally, while Salvidienus was bringing six more le-
 gions from Iberia. Lucius had supplies of money from 97
 Antony's provinces where there was no fighting, but all the
 provinces that Octavian had been allotted except Sardinia

¹² ἢ B; ἢ LPJ del. Schweig.; lacunam post Σαρδοῦς indic. Étienne-Duplessis

ὅθεν ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐδανείζετο, σὺν χάριτι ἀποδώσειν ὑπισχνούμενος, ἀπὸ τε Ῥώμης ἐκ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου καὶ ἀπὸ Ἀντίου καὶ Λανουβίου καὶ Νεμούς καὶ Τίβυρος, ἐν αἷς μάλιστα πόλεσι καὶ νῦν εἰσι θησαυροὶ χρημάτων ἱερῶν δασιλεῖς.

98 25. Τετάρακτο δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἔξω. Πομπήιος γὰρ ἐκ τῶν προγραφῶν καὶ κατοικίσεων τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ τῆσδε τῆς Λευκίου διαφορᾶς ἐπὶ
99 μέγα δόξης καὶ δυνάμεως ἦρτο. οἱ γὰρ περὶ σφῶν δεδιότες ἢ τὰ ὄντα ἀφαιρούμενοι ἢ τὴν πολιτείαν ὅλως ἀποστρεφόμενοι ἐς αὐτὸν ἐχώρουν μάλιστα· καὶ ἡ ἄλλη νεότης ὠρμημένη στρατεύεσθαι διὰ τὰ κέρδη καὶ οὐδὲν ἠγούμενοι διαφέρειν, ὑφ' ὧν στρατεύονται, Ῥωμαίοις πανταχοῦ συστρατευόμενοι, μᾶλλον ἐς τὸν Πομπήιον ἐχώρουν ὡς δικαιότερα αἰρούμενον.
100 γεγένητό τε πλούσιος ἐκ τῆς θαλασσίου λείας καὶ ναῦς εἶχε πολλὰς καὶ πληρώματα ἐντελῆ. Μοῦρκός τε ἀφῖκτο αὐτῷ δύο ἄγων στρατοῦ τέλη καὶ τοξότας πεντακοσίους καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ καὶ ναῦς ὀγδοήκοντα· καὶ τὸν ἄλλον στρατὸν ἐκ Κεφαληνίας μετεπέμπετο. ὅθεν τισὶ δοκεῖ τότε ὁ Πομπήιος ἐπελθὼν εὐμαρῶς ἂν τῆς Ἰταλίας κρατῆσαι, ὑπὸ τε λιμοῦ καὶ στάσεως διεφθαρμένης καὶ ἐς αὐτὸν ἀφορώσης. ἀλλὰ Πομπηίῳ μὲν ὑπὸ ἀφροσύνης οὐκ ἐπιχειρεῖν, ἀλλὰ ἀμύνεσθαι μόνον ἐδόκει, μέχρι καὶ τοῦδε ἥσσω ἐγένετο·

102 26. Ἐν δὲ Λιβύῃ Σέξστιος, ὑπαρχος Ἀντωνίου, παρεδεδώκει μὲν ἄρτι τὸν στρατὸν, ὑπὸ Λευκίου κεκε-

were <...> or at war.²⁵ For this reason he borrowed money from the temples—from the Capitol in Rome, from Antium and Lanuvium and Nemi and Tibur, all towns in which even today there are treasuries full of sacred monies—but he promised to pay it back with interest.

25. Octavian had to face a disturbed situation outside 98 Italy too. For Pompeius, as a result of the proscriptions, the military colonies, and this dispute caused by Lucius, had risen high in reputation and power. Those who feared 99 for their safety or were being robbed of their possessions or were in general alienated from the regime made their way to him especially. And other young men, eager to serve in the military because of the financial rewards, but believing that it made no difference under whom they served, since they would be fighting alongside Romans whichever side they were on, preferred to join Pompeius as representing the more righteous cause. He had become 100 rich from the booty won at sea, and had a large number of ships and full crews. Murcus had joined him with two legions of soldiers, five hundred archers, a large sum of money, and eighty ships; and he was sending for the rest of his army from Cephallenia. This is the reason why some 101 people think that if Pompeius had invaded Italy at that moment, he would easily have taken control of it, as it had been wasted by famine and civil war, and was looking to him. But Pompeius made the foolish decision not to attack, but only to defend, and in the end he could not even manage this.

26. In Africa, Antony's governor Sextius had recently 102 on the orders of Lucius handed over his army to Fango,

²⁵ There seems to be a small gap in the text in this sentence.

λευσμένος, Φάγγωνι τῷ Καίσαρος, ἐπισταλὲν αὐθις
 ἀναλαμβάνειν αὐτὸν οὐκ ἀποδιδόντι τῷ Φάγγωνι ἐπο-
 λέμει, συναγαγὼν τινὰς τῶν ἀπεστρατευμένων καὶ
 Λιβύων πλῆθος ἄλλο καὶ ἑτέρους παρὰ τῶν βασι-
 λέων. ἡττηθέντων δὲ τῶν κερῶν ἑκατέρων καὶ ληφθέν-
 των τῶν στρατοπέδων, ὁ Φάγγων ἡγούμενος ἐκ προ-
 103 δοσίας τάδε παθεῖν αὐτὸν διεχρήσατο. καὶ Λιβύης
 μὲν αὐθις ὁ Σέξστιος ἑκατέρας ἐκράτει· Βόκχον δὲ τὸν
 Μαυρουσίων βασιλέα Λεύκιος ἔπεισε πολεμεῖν Καρ-
 104 ρίνα τῷ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν ἐπιτροπεύοντι τῷ Καίσαρι. Ἀη-
 νόβαρβός τε ἑβδομήκοντα ναυσὶ καὶ στρατοῦ δύο
 τέλεσι καὶ τοξόταις καὶ σφενδονήταις τισὶ καὶ ψιλοῖς
 καὶ μονομάχοις περιπλέων τὸν Ἰόνιον ἐπόρθει τὰ τοῖς
 τρισὶν ἀνδράσιν ὑπήκοα, ἔς τε τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἐπι-
 πλεύσας τῶν Καίσαρος τριήρων τὰς μὲν εἶλε, τὰς δὲ
 ἐνέπρησε, καὶ τοὺς Βρεντεσίους ἐς τὰ τείχη κατ-
 ἐκλείσει καὶ τὴν χώραν προυνόμενευ.
 105 27. Ὁ δὲ Καίσαρ ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον στρατιωτῶν
 τέλος ἔπεμπε καὶ Σαλουιδιηνὸν κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐκ τῆς
 ἐς Ἰβηρίαν ὁδοῦ μετεκάλει. τοὺς τε στρατολογήσον-
 τας σφίσιν ἀνὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὁ Καίσαρ καὶ ὁ Λεύκιος
 περιέπεμπον· πείραί τε τούτων τῶν ξεναγῶν ἦσαν ἐς
 106 ἀλλήλους βραχύτεραι καὶ μείζους καὶ ἐνέδραι πολ-
 λάκις. ἡ δὲ εὐνοια τῶν Ἰταλῶν ἐς τὸν Λεύκιον παρὰ
 πολὺ ἐποίει, ὡς ὑπὲρ σφῶν τοῖς κληρουχομένοις πο-
 λεμοῦντα. καὶ οὐχ αἱ καταγραφόμεναι τῷ στρατῷ

Octavian's governor.²⁶ On being ordered to resume com-
 mand of it, he collected some veterans, a large crowd of
 Africans, and other men sent by the kings, and made war
 on Fango because he refused to give the troops back. De-
 feated on both wings and having lost his camps, Fango
 believed that this had happened to him as a result of
 treachery, and he committed suicide. Thus Sextius again 103
 became master of the two African provinces. Lucius also
 persuaded Bocchus, king of Mauretania, to make war on
 Carrinas, who was governing Iberia for Octavian.²⁷ Ahe- 104
 nobarbus, with seventy ships, two legions, some archers
 and slingers, light-armed troops and gladiators, was sailing
 around the Ionian gulf devastating the areas subject to
 the triumvirate. He attacked Brundisium by sea, captured
 some of Octavian's triremes, burned others, shut the in-
 habitants up in their walls, and plundered the land.

27. As for Octavian, he sent a legion of soldiers to 105
 Brundisium and hurriedly recalled Salvidienus from his
 march to Spain. Both Octavian and Lucius sent agents all
 over Italy to recruit troops for them, and there were many
 engagements and ambushes, both serious and minor, be-
 tween these mercenary leaders. The goodwill of the Ital- 106
 ians was directed very largely to Lucius, as they believed
 that he was fighting in their interests against the colonists.
 And it was no longer just the towns assigned to the army

²⁶ Gaius Fuficius Fango was a centurion in the Roman army, but he was raised to the senate by Julius Caesar (Cass. Dio 48.22.3). ²⁷ Gaius Carrinas (consul 43) became governor of Gaul in 30 and was awarded a triumph in 28. There is some confusion here and in other sources between Bocchus II of Mauretania and his brother Bogud.

πόλεις ἔτι μόναι, ἀλλ' ἢ Ἰταλία σχεδὸν ἅπασα ἀνίστατο, φοβουμένη τὰ ὅμοια· τοὺς τε τῷ Καίσαρι κυχραμένους ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων ἐκβάλλοντες ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ἢ ἀναιροῦντες, τὰ τείχη σφῶν διὰ χειρὸς εἶχον καὶ πρὸς τὸν Λεύκιον ἐχώρουν. ἐχώρουν δὲ καὶ οἱ κατοικιζόμενοι τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα, ὡς ἐς οἰκείου ἤδη πόλεμον ὑπὲρ σφῶν ἐκάτεροι διαιρούμενοι.

- 107 28. Καὶ τῶνδε γιγνομένων ὁ Καίσαρ ὅμως ἔτι τήν τε βουλήν καὶ τοὺς καλουμένους ἱππέας συναγαγὼν ἔλεγεν ὧδε· “Καταγινώσκομαι μὲν, εἴ οἶδα, ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ Λεύκιον, οὐκ ἀμυνόμενος αὐτοῦς, εἰς ἀσθένειαν ἢ ἀτολμίαν, ἃ καὶ νῦν μου καταγνώσονται διὰ τήνδε τήν σύνοδον ὑμῶν· ἐμοὶ δὲ ἔρρωται μὲν ὁ στρατός, ὅσος τέ μοι συναδικεῖται τήν κληρουχίαν ἀφαιρούμενος ὑπὸ Λευκίου καὶ ὁ ἄλλος, ὃν ἔχω, ἔρρωται δὲ καὶ
- 108 τὰ λοιπὰ πλὴν τῆς γνώμης μόνης. οὐ γὰρ ἠδύ μοι πολεμεῖν ἐμφυλίου πολέμου χωρὶς ἀνάγκης βαρείας, οὐδὲ καταχρῆσθαι τῶν πολιτῶν τοῖς ἔτι λοιποῖς κατ' ἀλλήλων, καὶ μάλιστα τοῦδε τοῦ ἐμφυλίου οὐκ ἐκ Μακεδονίας ὑμῖν ἢ Θράκης ἀκουσθησομένου, ἀλλ' ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ γενησομένου, ἣν πόσα χρῆ
- 109 χωρὶς τῶν ἀπολλυμένων ἀνδρῶν κακοπαθῆσαι, γιγνομένην στάδιον ἡμῖν. ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ διὰ τὰδε ὀκνῶ καὶ νῦν ἔτι μαρτύρομαι μηδὲν ἀδικεῖν Ἀντώνιον μηδὲ ἀδικεῖσθαι πρὸς Ἀντωνίου· ὑμᾶς δὲ ἐλέγξαι τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Λεύκιον τὰδε δι' ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς καὶ συναλλάξαι μοι
- 110 παρακαλῶ. καὶ εἰ μὴ πείθονται μηδὲ νῦν, ἐκείνοις μὲν

that rose in revolt, but, because they feared similar treatment, almost the whole of Italy. Those borrowing money from the temples for Octavian they either drove out of the towns or killed, and taking control of their own walls, they went over to Lucius. On the other hand, the troops being settled in the colonies joined Octavian: on each side men made their choices in defense of their own interests, as if they were fighting a personal war.

28. In spite of these events, Octavian still summoned 107 the senate and those called the equestrians, and spoke as follows: “I am well aware that I stand accused by Lucius’ party of weakness and lack of courage for not defending myself against them, and that they are going to make the same accusation against me now because of this meeting with you. But my army is strong, both the part of it that shares with me the injustice of being deprived of their land allotment by Lucius, and the rest of the force I have at my disposal, and I am strong in all other respects with the sole exception of my resolve to fight. For I take no pleasure in 108 fighting civil wars unless under pressure of grave necessity, nor in using what survives of our citizenry against each other, especially in this civil war: for you will not be hearing from Macedonia or Thrace, but it will take place in Italy itself which, if it becomes our arena, will inevitably suffer innumerable miseries, quite apart from the loss of life. As far as I am concerned, it is for these reasons that I 109 hesitate, and continue even now to assert that I am doing no wrong to Antony and suffering no wrong at his hands. For your part, I urge you to convince Lucius’ party of this yourselves, and reconcile him to me. But if, even now, you 110 cannot persuade them, I will immediately show them that

αὐτίκα δείξω τὰ μέχρι νῦν εὐβουλίαν, οὐ δειλίαν οὖσαν, ὑμᾶς δὲ καὶ παρ' ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς καὶ πρὸς Ἀντώνιον ἀξιῶ μάρτυρας εἶναί μοι καὶ συνίστασθαι διὰ τὴν ὑπεροψίαν Λευκίου."

- 111 29. Ταῦτ' εἶπεν ὁ Καῖσαρ. καὶ τούτων οἱ μὲν δὴ πάλιν ἐς τὸ Πραϊνεστὸν ἐξέτρεχον· καὶ ὁ Λεύκιος τοσόνδε εἶπεν, ὅτι καὶ τῶν ἔργων ἤδη προειλήφασιν ἀμφοτέροι καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ὑποκρίνεται, τέλος ἄρτι πέμψας ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον κωλύειν Ἀντώνιον ἐπανιόντα. ὁ δὲ Μάνιος καὶ ἐπιστολὴν ἐδείκνυε τοῦ Ἀντωνίου, εἴτε πλασάμενος εἴτε ἀληθῆ, πολεμεῖν, εἴαν τις αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀξίωσιν καθαιρῆ. ἐρομένων δὲ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς, εἰ καθαιροῖτό τι τῆς ἀξιώσεως Ἀντωνίου, καὶ προκαλουμένων ἐς δίκην περὶ τοῦδε, ἕτερα αὖ πολλὰ ἐσοφίζετο ὁ Μάνιος, ἕως οἱ μὲν ἀπήλθον ἄπρακτοι, καὶ οὐ συνῆλθον ἐς τὴν ἀπόκρισιν τῷ Καίσαρι, εἴτε καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀπαγγέλλας ἕκαστος εἴτε δι' ἑτέραν γνώμην
- 112 113 114 115 116
- εἴτε ὑπὸ αἰδοῦς· ὁ δὲ πόλεμος ἀνέφκτο, καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐξήει, φύλακα τῆς Ῥώμης Λέπιδον σὺν δύο τέλεσι καταλιπών. οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν τότε μάλιστα ἐπεδείκνυον οὐκ ἀρέσκεσθαι τῇ τῶν τριῶν ἀρχῇ· ἐς γὰρ τὸν Λεύκιον ἐχώρουν.
30. Καὶ ἦν τὰ κεφαλαία τοῦ πολέμου τοιάδε. Λευκίου μὲν δὴ δύο τέλη περὶ Ἄλβην ἐστασίασε καὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἐκβαλόντα ἐς ἀπόστασιν ἐχώρει· ἐπειγομένων δὲ ἐς αὐτὰ Καίσαρός τε καὶ Λευκίου, φθάσας τὸν Καίσαρα ὁ Λεύκιος ἀνεσώσατο αὐτὰ χρήμασί τε πολλοῖς καὶ ὑποσχέσεσι μεγάλαις. Φουρνίου δ' ἄλ-

it was goodwill that motivated me up to this point, not cowardice; and I ask you to bear witness on my behalf both among yourselves and before Antony, and to stand with me because of Lucius' arrogance."

29. Such was Octavian's speech. And of course some of his audience hurried off to Praeneste again, where Lucius said only that both sides had already begun hostilities, and that Octavian was putting on an act, as he had just sent a legion to Brundisium to prevent Antony from returning. Manius also produced a letter from Antony, which may have been a forgery or a real letter, giving orders to fight, if anybody tried to damage his reputation. When the delegation from the senate asked if any damage was being done to Antony's reputation, and proposed legal arbitration on the matter, Manius again produced many other sophistries until the senators went away without achieving anything. And they did not hold a meeting with Octavian to give him the answer, either because they had each reported to him individually, or because they held contrary opinions, or because they were ashamed. Open war now broke out and Octavian set off to conduct it, leaving Lepidus with two legions to guard Rome. It was then in particular that most of the aristocracy showed their dissatisfaction with the triumvirate: for they went to join Lucius.
30. The following were the main events of the war. Two of Lucius' legions at Alba mutinied, expelled their officers, and prepared to defect. Both Octavian and Lucius rushed to get to them, but Lucius arrived first and succeeded in keeping them with large sums of money and big promises.
- 111 112 113 114 115

- λον στρατὸν ἄγοντος τῷ Λευκίῳ, ὁ Καίσαρ ἐξήπτετο τῆς οὐραγίας· ἐς δὲ λόφον ἀναδραμόντι τῷ Φουρνίῳ καὶ νυκτὸς ἐς ὁμογνώμονα πόλιν ἐπειγομένῳ Σεντίαν, νυκτὸς μὲν οὐχ ἔσπετο ὁ Καίσαρ ἐνέδραν ὑποπτεύων, ἡμέρας δὲ τὴν τε Σεντίαν ὁμοῦ καὶ τὸ τοῦ Φουρνίου
- 117 στρατόπεδον ἐπολιόρκει. Λεύκιος δὲ ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπειγόμενος τρεῖς μὲν τάξεις προύπεμψεν, αἱ νυκτὸς ἔλαθον ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσδραμούσαι, αὐτὸς δὲ σὺν πολλῷ
- 118 στρατῷ καὶ ἵππεύσι καὶ μονομάχοις εἶπετο. καὶ αὐτὸν Νωνίου τοῦ φύλακος τῶν πυλῶν δεξαμένου τε καὶ τὸν ὑφ' αὐτῷ στρατὸν ἐγχειρίσαντος, ὁ μὲν Λέπιδος ἐς Καίσαρα ἔφευγεν, ὁ δὲ Λεύκιος Ῥωμαίοις ἐδημηγόρει, Καίσαρα μὲν καὶ Λέπιδον αὐτίκα δώσειν δίκην ἀρχῆς βιαίου, τὸν δὲ ἀδελφὸν αὐτῆν ἐκόντα ἀποθήσασθαι καὶ ὑπατείαν ἀλλάξεσθαι, νομιμωτέραν ἀρχὴν καὶ πάτριον ἀντὶ παρανόμου καὶ τυραννικῆς.¹³
- 119 31. Καὶ ὁ μὲν τάδε εἰπὼν, ἠδομένων ἀπάντων καὶ ἠγουμένων ἤδη λελύσθαι τὴν τῶν τριῶν ἀρχήν, αὐτοκράτωρ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου προσαγορευθεὶς ἐπὶ τὸν Καίσαρα ἐχώρει καὶ στρατὸν ἠθροίζεν ἄλλον ἐκ τῶν
- 120 ἀποικίδων Ἀντωνίου πόλεων καὶ αὐτὰς ἐκρατύνατο. αἱ δὲ δι' εὐνοίας μὲν ἦσαν Ἀντωνίῳ, Βαρβάτιος δὲ ὁ Ἀντωνίου ταμίας, Ἀντωνίῳ τι προσκρούσας καὶ διὰ ταῦτ' ἐπανιών, ἔλεγε πυνθανομένοις τὸν Ἀντώνιον χα-

¹³ νομιμωτέραν ἀρχὴν καὶ πάτριον ἀντὶ παρανόμου καὶ τυραννικῆς Étienne-Duplessis; νομιμωτέραν ἀρχὴν παρανόμου καὶ πάτριον ἀντὶ τῆς τυραννικῆς Viereck

- While Furnius was bringing another army to Lucius, Octavian attacked his rearguard.²⁸ Furnius quickly took refuge up a hill and pressed on by night to Sentinum, a town that shared his political position. Because he was afraid of an ambush, Octavian did not follow him during the night, but next day he laid siege to Sentinum and Furnius' camp at the same time. Lucius, who was hurrying on to Rome, sent three cohorts ahead, which burst into the city at night without being seen, while he himself followed with a large force, including cavalry and gladiators. Nonius, who was guarding the gates, let him in and handed over to him the soldiers under his command. Lepidus fled to Octavian, and Lucius made a speech to the citizens, saying that Octavian and Lepidus would soon pay the price of their violent rule, and that his brother would willingly resign his command in exchange for the consulship, a more legitimate and traditional magistracy for an illegal and tyrannical one.
31. Everyone was delighted at this speech of his, and believed that the triumvirate was now dissolved. Lucius was saluted as Emperor by the people, and set off against Octavian, collecting a new army from Antony's colonies, of which he took control. These colonies were well disposed toward Antony, but Barbatius, Antony's quaestor, who had some dispute with him and was returning to Rome because of it, told those who asked that Antony was

²⁸ Gaius Furnius was a friend of Cicero and supporter of Marc Antony. He had been tribune in 50 and was governor of Asia in 36/35. His son reconciled him to Octavian after the battle of Actium (Sen. *Ben.* 2.25).

- 121 λεπαίνειν τοῖς πολεμοῦσι τῷ Καίσαρι κατὰ τῆς κοι-
νῆς σφῶν δυναστείας. καὶ οἱ μὲν, ὅσοι μὴ τῆς ἐξα-
πάτης ἦσθοντο τῆς Βαρβατίου, ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα ἀπὸ
τοῦ Λευκίου μετετίθεντο· ὁ δὲ Λεύκιος ὑπήντα Σαλου-
διηνῶ μετὰ στρατοῦ πολλοῦ πρὸς Καίσαρα ἐκ Κελ-
τῶν ἐπανιόντι. καὶ εἶποντο τῷ Σαλουδιηνῶ Ἀσίνιος
τε καὶ Οὐεντίδιος, Ἀντωνίου στρατηγοὶ καὶ οἶδε, κω-
122 λύοντες αὐτὸν ἐς τὸ πρόσθεν ἰέναι. Ἀγρίππας δέ, φίλ-
τατος Καίσαρι, δείσας ἐπὶ τῷ Σαλουδιηνῶ μὴ κυ-
κλωθείη, Σούτριον κατέλαβε, χωρίον τι χρήσιμον τῷ
Λευκίῳ, νομίσας τὸν Λεύκιον ἀπὸ τοῦ Σαλουδιηνοῦ
περισπάσειν ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν καὶ οἱ τὸν Σαλουδιηνὸν βο-
123 ηθήσειν, κατόπιν τοῦ Λευκίου γενόμενον. καὶ τὰδε
μὲν, ὡς προσεδόκησεν ὁ Ἀγρίππας, ἐγίγνετο ἅπαντα·
ὁ δὲ Λεύκιος ἀποτυχὼν ὧν ἐπενόει, πρὸς Ἀσίνιον καὶ
Οὐεντίδιον ἦει, ἐνοχλοῦντων αὐτὸν ἐκατέρωθεν Σα-
λουδιηνοῦ τε καὶ Ἀγρίππου καὶ φυλασσόντων, ὅτε
μάλιστα περιλάβοιεν ἐν τοῖς στενοῖς.
- 124 32. Ἐκφανείσης δὲ παρ' αὐτὰ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ὁ
Λεύκιος οὐ θαρρῶν ἀμφοτέροις ἐκατέρωθεν οὔσιν ἐς
χείρας ἰέναι ἐς Περυσίαν παρῆλθεν, ἐχυρὰν πόλιν,
καὶ παρ' αὐτὴν ἐστρατοπέδευσε, τοὺς περὶ τὸν Οὐεν-
125 τίδιον περιμένων. ὁμοῦ δ' αὐτὸν τε καὶ τὴν Περυσίαν
ὁ Ἀγρίππας καὶ ὁ Σαλουδιηνὸς καὶ ὁ Καίσαρ ἐπελ-
θὼν τρισὶ στρατοπέδοις ἐκυκλώσαντο· καὶ τὸν ἄλλον
στρατὸν ὁ Καίσαρ ἐκάλει πανταχόθεν κατὰ σπουδὴν

annoyed with the people who were making war on Octavian contrary to the interests of their joint regime. Some, 121
who failed to see Barbatius' deceit, changed sides from Lucius to Octavian. For his part, Lucius went to confront Salvidienus, who was coming back from Gaul with a large army to join Octavian. Asinius and Ventidius—they too were generals of Antony—were following Salvidienus, trying to prevent him from advancing.²⁹ Agrippa, Octavian's closest associate, was afraid that Salvidienus would be 122
surrounded, and seized Sutrium, a stronghold of importance for Lucius.³⁰ Agrippa believed that this would draw Lucius away from Salvidienus onto himself, and that Salvidienus, who would then be in the rear of Lucius, would come to his assistance. It all turned out as Agrippa had 123
anticipated. So Lucius, disappointed in his plan, marched off to join Asinius and Ventidius, with Salvidienus and Agrippa harassing him on both flanks, watching for the best opportunity to catch him in the narrows.

32. At this point the plan against Lucius became evi- 124
dent and, as he did not dare to join battle with both of them, located as they were on each of his flanks, he made his way to Perugia, a strongly fortified town and encamped beside it, to wait for Ventidius' men. Agrippa and Salvidi- 125
enus and the newly arrived Octavian surrounded him and Perugia at the same time with their three armies. And Octavian urgently summoned the rest of his forces from

²⁹ For Publius Ventidius Bassus, see App. *BCiv.* 3.66.270 note.

³⁰ Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa (consul 37, 28, 27), right-hand man of the emperor Augustus, was mentioned in passing at App. *BCiv.* 4.49.213 but only now enters the scene as one of the major players.

- 126 ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦτο δὴ κεφάλαιον τοῦ πολέμου, ἐν ᾧ Λεύκιον εἶχε περιειλημμένον. προύπεμπε δὲ καὶ ἑτέρους, ἐμποδῶν εἶναι τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Οὐεντίδιον ἐπιούσιν. οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ διὰ σφῶν ὄκνου ἐπέειγεσθαι, τὸν τε πόλεμον ἀποδοκιμάζοντες ὅλως καὶ τὴν Ἀντωνίου γνώμην οὐκ ἐπιστάμενοι καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τῆς στρατιᾶς οὐ παρι-
- 127 ἔντες ἀλλήλοις κατ' ἀξίωσιν οὐδέτερος. ὁ δὲ Λεύκιος οὐτ' ἐς μάχην ἦει τοῖς περικαθημένοις, ἀμείνοσι καὶ πλέοσιν οὖσι καὶ γεγυμνασμένοις, νεοστράτευτον ἔχων τὸ πλεόν, οὔτε ἐς ὁδοιπορίαν, ἐνοχλησόντων
- 128 αὐτὸν ὁμοῦ τοσῶνδε. Μάνιον δὲ ἐς τὸν Οὐεντίδιον καὶ Ἀσίνιον ἔπεμπε, ἐπέειγεν αὐτοὺς βοηθεῖν πολιορκουμένῳ Λευκίῳ, καὶ Τισιηνὸν μετὰ τετρακισχιλίων ἰππέων, λεηλατεῖν τὰ Καίσαρος, ἵνα ἀνασταίῃ. αὐτὸς δὲ παρήλθεν ἐς τὴν Περυσίαν ὡς ἐν ὄχυρᾷ πόλει χειμάσων, εἰ δέοι, μέχρι τοὺς περὶ τὸν Οὐεντίδιον ἀφικέσθαι.
- 129 33. Καὶ ὁ Καίσαρ αὐτίκα μετὰ σπουδῆς ἅπαντι τῷ στρατῷ τὴν Περυσίαν ἀπετείχιζε χάρακι καὶ τάφρῳ, πεντήκοντα καὶ ἕξ σταδίους περιῶν διὰ τὸ τῆς πόλεως λοφῶδες καὶ σκέλη μακρὰ ἐπὶ τὸν Τίβεριν ἐκτείνων, ἵνα τι ἐς τὴν Περυσίαν μὴ ἐσφέροίτο. ἀντεπονείτο γε μὴν καὶ ὁ Λεύκιος, ἑτέροις ὁμοίοις χαρακώμασι καὶ τάφροις τὴν πύζαν ὄχυρούμενος τοῦ λόφου. καὶ Φουλβία Οὐεντίδιον καὶ Ἀσίνιον καὶ Ἀτήιον καὶ Καληνὸν ἐκ τῆς Κελτικῆς ἤπειγε βοηθεῖν Λευκίῳ καὶ στρατὸν ἄλλον ἀγείρασα Πλάγκον ἔπεμπεν ἄγειν
- 130

all quarters, in the belief that here, where he had Lucius trapped, was the key location of the war. He also sent others ahead to block the advance of Ventidius' men. The latter were, however, reluctant on their own part to press on, as they completely disapproved of the war and did not know what Antony thought about it, and because out of consideration for rank none of them would yield command of their army to each other. Lucius neither engaged the forces surrounding him—who were better, more numerous, and well-trained, while he had mostly new recruits—nor did he resume his march, since so many enemies were harassing him at the same time. He sent Manius to Ventidius and Asinius to urge them to come to his assistance as he was under siege, and he sent Tisienus with four thousand cavalry to plunder Octavian's territory and make him abandon the siege.³¹ Lucius himself entered Perugia with the intention of wintering in a strong town, if it proved necessary, until Ventidius' men arrived.

33. Octavian, using his whole army, immediately and urgently set about walling off Perugia with a palisade and ditch, creating a perimeter fifty-six stades long because of the location of the town on a hill, and laying out long extensions to the Tiber, so that nothing could be brought into Perugia. Lucius on his part countered Octavian's efforts by fortifying the foot of the hill with new palisades and ditches of a similar sort. Fulvia pressed Ventidius and Asinius and Ateius and Calenus to bring help to Lucius from Gaul, and raised a new army, which she instructed Plancus

³¹ Tisienus Gallus had repulsed Octavian's attack on the town of Nursia in 41 and succeeded in joining Sextus Pompeius in Sicily (Cass. Dio 48.13, 49.8).

- 131 Λευκίῳ. Πλάγκος μὲν δὴ τέλος τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐς Ῥώμην ὁδεῦον διέφθειρεν· Ἀσινίου δὲ καὶ Οὐεντιδίου σὺν μὲν ὄκνῳ καὶ διχονοίᾳ τῆς Ἀντωνίου γνώμης, διὰ δὲ Φουλβίαν ὅμως καὶ διὰ Μάνιον ἐς τὸν Λεύκιον ἰόντων καὶ τοὺς ἀποκλείοντας βιαζομένων, ὁ Καίσαρ ὑπήντα σὺν Ἀγρίππᾳ, φυλακὴν τῆς Περυσίας κατα-
- 132 λιπών. οἱ δὲ οὔτε πω συμβαλόντες ἀλλήλοις οὔτε σὺν προθυμίᾳ χωροῦντες, ὁ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐς Ῥάβενναν, ὁ δ' ἐς Ἀρίμινον, ὁ δὲ Πλάγκος ἐς Σπωλήτιον συνέφυγον.
- 133 καὶ ὁ Καίσαρ αὐτῶν ἐκάστῳ στρατὸν ἐπιστήσας, ἵνα μὴ πρὸς ἀλλήλους συνέλθοιεν, ἐς τὴν Περυσίαν ἐπανῆλθε καὶ μετὰ σπουδῆς τὰς τάφρους προσεσταύρου καὶ ἐδιπλασίαζε τὸ βάθος καὶ πλάτος ὡς τριάκοντα πόδας ἀμφοτέρα εἶναι, τό τε περιτείχισμα ὕψου καὶ πύργους ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ξυλίλους δι' ἐξήκοντα ποδῶν ἴσθη χιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους· καὶ ἐπάλξεις τε ἦσαν αὐτῷ πυκναὶ καὶ ἡ ἄλλη παρασκευὴ πᾶσα διμέτωπος, ἐς τε τοὺς πολιορκουμένους καὶ εἴ τις ἔξωθεν ἐπίοι.
- 134 ἐγίγνετο δὲ ταῦτα σὺν πείραις πολλαῖς καὶ μάχαις, ἀκοντισαὶ μὲν ἀμεινόνων ὄντων τῶν Καίσαρος, συμπλέκεσθαι δὲ τῶν Λευκίου μονομάχων· καὶ πολλοὺς ἔκτεινον συμπλεκόμενοι.
- 135 34. Ὡς δὲ ἐξείργαστο πάντα τῷ Καίσαρι, λιμὸς ἤπτετο τοῦ Λευκίου, καὶ τὸ κακὸν ἤκμαζεν ἀγρίως ἅτε μηδὲν αὐτοῦ μηδὲ τῆς πόλεως προπαρασκευασμένης.

to bring to Lucius.³² Plancus destroyed one of Octavian's legions while it was on its way to Rome, and Asinius and Ventidius, although hesitant and in disagreement about Antony's intentions, were nevertheless, thanks to Fulvia and Manius, heading to Lucius, forcing their way past the troops blocking them. After leaving a force to keep watch at Perugia, Octavian went with Agrippa to confront them. But as they had not yet joined up with each other, and were not advancing with enthusiasm, they simultaneously took to flight, Asinius to Ravenna, Ventidius to Ariminum, and Plancus to Spolegium. Octavian stationed a force in front of each, to prevent them from joining forces, and returned to Perugia, where he quickly added stakes to his ditches, doubling both their depth and breadth to thirty feet, and increased the height of the encircling wall, building one thousand five hundred wooden towers on it, sixty feet apart. It also had continuous battlements, and all the rest of the structure was double-fronted, facing both inward at the besieged, and outward in case anyone attacked from there. While these works were under way there were frequent sorties and engagements, Octavian's troops being better at throwing missiles, Lucius' gladiators at hand-to-hand fighting; and the latter killed many when engaging at close quarters.

34. When Octavian had seen to the completion of all these works, famine began to grip Lucius, and the problem became fiercely intense, since neither he nor the town had made any preparations beforehand. On learning of

³² It is not clear who Ateius was. For Quintus Fufius Calenus, see above, note 8. Lucius Munatius Plancus (consul 42) featured extensively in Book 3 of the *Civil Wars*.

136 ὧν ὁ Καίσαρ αισθόμενος ἀκριβεστέρας τὰς φυλακὰς
 ἐποίει. νομηγίας δὲ ἔτους ἐς τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἡμέραν
 οὔσης, φυλάξας ὁ Λεύκιος τὴν ἑορτὴν ὡς ἀμελείας
 τοῖς πολεμίοις αἰτίαν ἐξέθορε νυκτὸς ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας
 137 αὐτῶν ὡς διεκπαίσων αὐτοὺς καὶ στρατιὰν ἐπαξόμε-
 νος ἑτέραν· πολλὴ γὰρ ἦν αὐτῷ πολλαχού. ταχὺ δὲ
 τοῦ πλησίον ἐφεδρεύοντος τέλους καὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος
 αὐτοῦ σὺν ταῖς στρατηγίσι σπέραις ἐπιδραμόντων,
 138 ὁ Λεύκιος μάλα προθύμως ἀγωνιζόμενος ἀνεώσθη.
 τῶν δ' αὐτῶν ἡμερῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ, τοῦ σίτου τοῖς στρα-
 τευομένοις φυλασσομένου, τὸ πλῆθος τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ
 τῇ νίκῃ φανερώς ἐπηρῶντο καὶ ἐς τὰς οἰκίας ἐστρέ-
 χοντες ἐπὶ ἐρεύνη σίτου, ὅσα εὔροιεν, ἤρπαζον.
 139 35. Οἱ δ' ἀμφὶ τὸν Οὐεντίδιον αἰδούμενοι λιμῷ
 κάμνοντα Λεύκιον περιορᾶν, ἐχώρουν ἐς αὐτὸν ἄπαν-
 τες, βιαζόμενοι τοὺς Καίσαρος πανταχόθεν αὐτοὺς
 140 περικειμένους καὶ ἐνοχλοῦντας. ὑπαντώντων δ' αὐτοῖς
 Ἀγρίππου τε καὶ Σαλουιδιηνοῦ μετὰ δυνάμεως ἔτι
 πλείονος, ἔδεισαν, μὴ κυκλωθεῖεν, καὶ ἐς Φουλκίνιον
 τι χωρίον ἐξέκλιναν, ἐξήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν σταδίους
 τῆς Περυσίας διεστηκός· ἐνθα αὐτοὺς τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν
 Ἀγρίππαν περικαθημένων πυρὰ πολλὰ ἤγειραν, σύμ-
 141 βολα τῷ Λευκίῳ. καὶ γνώμην ἐποιοῦντο Οὐεντίδιος
 μὲν καὶ Ἀσίνιος βαδίζειν καὶ ὡς μαχούμενοι, Πλάγ-
 κος δὲ ἔσεσθαι μέσους Καίσαρός τε καὶ Ἀγρίππου,
 χρῆναι δ' ἔτι καταδοκεῖν τὰ γιννόμενα· καὶ ἐκράτει
 142 λέγων ὁ Πλάγκος. οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ Περυσίᾳ τὰ μὲν πυρὰ
 ἰδόντες ἠδοντο, τῶν δ' ἀνδρῶν βραδυνόντων εἴκασαν

this, Octavian put his blockading force on closer watch.
 With the new year starting the next day, Lucius, who had 136
 waited on the festival in the belief that it would cause the
 enemy to be careless, made a sortie against their gates to
 burst through their lines and get himself another army.
 For he had many troops everywhere. But the legion sta- 137
 tioned nearby, and Octavian himself with his praetorian
 cohorts, quickly attacked, and Lucius was forced back in
 spite of his very determined resistance. In the same period 138
 at Rome, because the grain was being kept for serving
 soldiers, the ordinary people began openly to curse the
 war and the victory, and, after breaking into houses in
 search of grain, to seize as much of it as they could find.

35. Ventidius and his men, ashamed to look on while 139
 Lucius was worn down by hunger, all advanced toward
 him, forcing back the troops of Octavian in the vicinity
 who were harassing them from all directions. But when 140
 Agrippa and Salvidienus went to meet them with an even
 larger force, they were afraid that they would be sur-
 rounded, and changed their route for a place called Ful-
 ginium, one hundred and sixty stades away from Perusia.
 Here, with Agrippa's men camped all around them, they
 lit a large number of fires to signal Lucius. Ventidius and 141
 Asinius were of the opinion that they should advance, even
 in the present circumstances, with the intention of joining
 battle, but Plancus maintained that, as this would put
 them between Octavian and Agrippa, they should con-
 tinue to wait and see what happened. Plancus' words pre-
 vailed. Those in Perusia were delighted to see the fires, 142
 but when the contingent of men was slow in coming, the

καὶ τούσδε ἐνοχλείσθαι καὶ παυσαμένου τοῦ πυρὸς
 143 διεφθάρθαι. ὁ δὲ Λεύκιος τοῦ λιμοῦ πιέζοντος ἐνυκτο-
 μάχησεν αὐθις ἐκ πρώτης φυλακῆς ἐς ἔω περὶ ἅπαν
 τὸ περιτείχισμα· καὶ οὐ δυνηθεὶς ἀνέθορεν αὐθις ἐς
 τὴν Περυσίαν καὶ τὰς ὑπολοίπους συλλογισάμενος
 τροφὰς ἀπέειπε δίδοσθαι τοῖς θεράπουσι καὶ ἐφύλασ-
 144 σεν αὐτοὺς μηδ' ἐκφυγεῖν, ἵνα μὴ γνωριμώτερον γέ-
 νοιτο τοῖς πολεμίοις τὸ δεινόν. ἠλῶντο οὖν οἱ θεράπον-
 τες κατὰ πλῆθος καὶ κατέπιπτον ἐν τε αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει
 καὶ μέχρι τοῦ σφετέρου διατειχίσματος, πόαν εἴ τινα
 εὔροιεν ἢ φυλλάδα χλωράν, νεμόμενοι. καὶ τοὺς ἀπο-
 ψύχοντας ὁ Λεύκιος ἐς τάφρους ἐπιμήκεις κατάρνο-
 σεν, ἵνα μήτε καιομένων ἐπίδηλον τοῖς ἐχθροῖς γέ-
 νοιτο, μήτε σηπομένων ἀτμὸς καὶ νόσος.
 145 36. Ἐπεὶ δὲ οὔτε τοῦ λιμοῦ τι τέλος ἦν οὔτε τῶν
 θανάτων, ἀχθόμενοι τοῖς γιγνομένοις οἱ ὀπλίται παρ-
 εκάλουν τὸν Λεύκιον αὐθις ἀποπειρᾶσαι τῶν τειχῶν,
 146 ὡς διακόψοντες αὐτὰ πάντως. ὁ δὲ τὴν ὀρμὴν ἀποδε-
 ξάμενος, "Οὐκ ἀξίως," ἔφη, "Πρώην τῆς παρουσίας
 ἀνάγκης ἠγωνισάμεθα," καὶ νῦν ἢ παραδιδόναι σφᾶς
 ἢ τοῦτο χεῖρον ἠγουμένους θανάτου μάχεσθαι μέχρι
 θανάτου. δεξαμένων δὲ προθύμως ἀπάντων καί, ἵνα
 μή τις ὡς ἐν νυκτὶ πρόφασις γένοιτο, κατὰ φῶς ἄγειν
 147 σφᾶς κελευόντων, ὁ Λεύκιος ἦγε πρὸ ἡμέρας. σίδη-
 ρόν τε τειχομάχον εἶχον πολὺν καὶ κλίμακας ἐς εἶδη
 πάντα δισκευασμένας. ἐφέρετο δὲ καὶ τάφρων ἐγχω-
 στήρια ὄργανα καὶ πύργοι πτυκτοί, σανίδας ἐς τὰ
 τεῖχη μεθιέντες, καὶ βέλη παντοῖα καὶ λίθοι, καὶ

Perusians guessed that it too was in trouble, and when the
 flames died out, that it had been destroyed. With famine 143
 pressing him, Lucius again fought a night battle, lasting
 from the first watch till dawn, and extending around the
 entire fortification; but he failed and hurried back up into
 Perugia again. There, having taken stock of his remaining
 provisions, he issued an order against any being given to
 the slaves, and took precautions to prevent them escaping,
 so that his dire situation should not become clearer to the
 enemy. The slaves wandered around in crowds, and fell to 144
 the ground both in the town itself and right up to their
 own cross-wall, feeding on any grass or green leaves they
 could find. Those who died Lucius buried in long trenches,
 to avoid the situation becoming clear to the enemy by
 burning them, and to prevent the stench and disease
 caused by rotting corpses.

36. As there was no end to the famine or the deaths, 145
 the soldiers, annoyed at what was happening, urged Lu-
 cius to make another attempt on the walls, at least to open
 a breach in them. Welcoming their eagerness, he said, 146
 "Our efforts yesterday were not adequate for our present
 desperate situation": now they must, he continued, either
 surrender or, if they thought this was worse than death,
 then they must fight to the death. They all agreed enthu-
 siastically, and so darkness would provide no excuse, they
 demanded that he lead them out in the light of day. So
 Lucius marched them out before daybreak. He had a large 147
 quantity of iron tools for wall-fighting, and all sorts of lad-
 ders, and took with him machines for filling up the ditches,
 retractable towers from which gangways could be lowered
 onto the walls, all kinds of missiles and stones, and wick-

- 148 γέρρα τοῖς σκόλοψιν ἐπιρριπτείσθαι. προσπεσόντες
 δὲ μεθ' ὀρμῆς βιαίῳ τὴν τάφρον ἐνέχωσαν καὶ τοὺς
 σταυροὺς ὑπερέβησαν καὶ τοῖς τείχεσι προσελθόντες
 οἱ μὲν ὑπώρυσσον, οἱ δὲ τὰς κλίμακας ἐπήγον, οἱ δὲ
 τοὺς πύργους ἐνεχείρουν τε ὁμοῦ καὶ ἡμύνοντο λίθοις
 καὶ τοξεύμασι καὶ μολυβδαίναις σὺν πολλῇ θανάτῳ
 149 καταφρονήσει. καὶ τότε ἐγένετο κατὰ μέρη πολλά·
 ἐπ' εἶδη δέ τινα καὶ¹⁴ ἐς πολλὰ διαιρουμένοις τοῖς πο-
 λεμίοις ἀσθενέστερα πάντα ἦν.
- 150 37. Ἐκταθεισῶν δὲ πῶν τῶν σανίδων ἐς τὸ τεῖχος,
 βία τότε μάλιστα ἐπικίνδυνος ἦν τῶν Λευκιανῶν ἐπὶ
 ταῖς σανίσιν μαχομένων, καὶ βέλη πλάγια πάντοθεν
 151 ἦν ἐς αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀκόντια. ἐβιάσαντο δὲ ὁμῶς καὶ ἐς
 τὸ τεῖχος ἐξήλαντο ὀλίγοι, καὶ αὐτοῖς εἶποντο ἕτεροι
 καὶ τάχα ἂν τι ἐξείργαστο αὐτοῖς μετὰ ἀπονοίας, εἰ
 μή, γνωσθέντος οὐ πολλὰ εἶναι τὰ τοιαῦτα μηχανή-
 ματα, οἱ ἄριστοι τῶν Καίσαρος ἐφεδρειῶν ἀκμήτες
 152 ἐπήγοντο κεκμηκόσι. τότε γὰρ δὴ τῶν τειχῶν αὐτοὺς
 κατήρειψαν καὶ τὰ μηχανήματα συνέτριψαν καὶ
 ἔβαλλον ἄνωθεν ἤδη σὺν καταφρονήσει. τοῖς δὲ τὰ
 μὲν ὄπλα καὶ τὰ σώματα ὅλα συνεκέκοπτο, καὶ βοῇ
 σφᾶς ἐπελελοίπει, παρέμενον δ' ὁμῶς τῇ προθυμίᾳ.
 153 ὡς δὲ καὶ τὰ νεκρὰ τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους ἀνηρημένων
 ἐσκυλευμένα κάτω διερριπτέιτο, τὴν ὕβριν οὐκ ἔφε-

¹⁴ ἐπ' εἶδη δέ τινα καὶ Étienne-Duplessis; ἐπεὶ δὲ τινας
 codd.; post τινας lacunam indic. Schweig.

erwork mats to be thrown onto the pointed stakes. Attack- 148
 ing with a violent rush, they filled in the ditch, got over the
 stakes, and advancing to the walls, some men began to
 undermine them, others placed the ladders against them,
 others again the towers. They attacked and at the same
 time defended themselves with stones and arrows and
 lead slingshots, showing great contempt for death. This 149
 happened in many sectors. The whole situation became
 less secure for the enemy, divided as they were into many
 units to undertake all forms of combat.³³

37. It was when the gangways had been deployed at 150
 various places on the wall that the violent action was par-
 ticularly dangerous for those of Lucius' men who were
 fighting on them and taking missiles and javelins on their
 flanks from all directions. They forced their way forward 151
 nevertheless, and a few jumped onto the wall followed by
 others. And they could perhaps have achieved something
 in their desperation if, in the knowledge that Lucius did
 not have many such siege engines, Octavian's best re-
 serves had not been brought up, fresh troops against ex-
 hausted ones. At this point these men threw the enemy 152
 down from the walls, shattered their siege engines, and
 now disdainfully hurled missiles at them from above. Lu-
 cius' men, although their shields and bodies were totally
 shattered and their war cry had deserted them, held their
 ground all the same with strength of purpose. But when 153
 the corpses of those who had been killed on the wall were
 stripped and thrown down on them, they could not bear

³³ There is something wrong with the text here. I have fol-
 lowed the Budé edition, but only as an example of what might
 make sense in the context.

ρον, ἀλλὰ ἀνετρέποντο ὑπὸ τῆς ὄψεως, καὶ μικρὸν
 ἔστησαν ἀποροῦντες ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς γυμνικοῖς ἀγῶσιν
 154 οἱ διαναπαύομενοι. ὦδε δὲ αὐτοὺς ἔχοντας ἐλεῶν ὁ
 Λεύκιος ἐκάλει τῇ σάλπιγγι ἀναχωρεῖν. ἡσθέντων δὲ
 τῶν Καίσαρος ἐπὶ τῷδε καὶ τὰ ὄπλα παταγησάντων
 οἶον ἐπὶ νίκη, ἐρεθισθέντες οἱ τοῦ Λευκίου τὰς κλίμα-
 κας αὐθις ἀρπάσαντες (οὐ γὰρ ἔτι πύργους εἶχον)
 ἔφερον ἐς τὰ τείχη μετὰ ἀπονοίας, οὐδὲν ἔτι βλάπτου-
 τες· οὐ γὰρ ἐδύναντο. περιθέων δ' αὐτοὺς ὁ Λεύκιος
 ἐδεῖτο μὴ ψυχομαχεῖν ἔτι καὶ αἰμώζοντας ἀπῆγεν
 ἄκοντας.
 155 38. Τὸ μὲν δὴ τέλος τῆσδε τῆς τειχομαχίας, ἐκθυ-
 μοτάτης γενομένης, ἐς τοῦτο ἐτελεύτα· ὁ δὲ Καίσαρ,
 ἵνα μὴ αὐθις ἐπιτολμήσειαν οἱ πολέμιοι τοῖς τείχεσι,
 τὴν στρατιάν, ὅση τοῖς γιγνομένοις ἐφήδρευε, παρ'
 αὐτὸ τὸ τείχος ἴδρυσε καὶ ἐδίδαξεν ἀναπηδᾶν ἐς τὸ
 τείχος ἄλλους ἄλλαχού κατὰ σύνθημα σάλπιγγος·
 συνεχῶς τε ἀπεπήδων οὐδενὸς ἐπείγοντος, ἵνα διδαχὴ
 156 τε σφίσι καὶ φόβος εἴη τοῖς πολεμίοις. ἀθυμία δὲ
 ἐπέιχε τοὺς τοῦ Λευκίου, καὶ, ὅπερ ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις
 εἶωθε γίνεσθαι, τῆς φυλακῆς οἱ φύλακες ἡμέλουν·
 ἐκ δὲ τῆς ἀμελείας αὐτομολίαι πολλῶν ἐγίγνοντο,
 καὶ οὐχ οἱ ἀφανέστεροι τοῦτο μόνοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν
 157 ἡγεμονικῶν τινες ἔδρων. ἐνεδίδου τε ὁ Λεύκιος ἤδη
 πρὸς διαλύσεις ἐλέω τοσοῦδε πλήθους ἀπολλυμένου,
 ἐχθρῶν δὲ τινῶν Καίσαρος περὶ σφῶν δεδιότων ἔτι
 158 ἐπέιχε. ὡς δὲ ὁ Καίσαρ ὤφθη τοὺς αὐτομόλους φι-
 λανθρώπως ἐκδεχόμενος καὶ πλείων ὀρμῇ πᾶσιν ἐς

the insult, but turned away from the sight and stood for a
 moment not knowing what to do, like athletes taking a rest
 in the gymnastic games. Lucius had pity on their situation 154
 and sounded a retreat by trumpet. Octavian's troops were
 delighted at this and clashed their arms as if they had won
 a victory. Infuriated by this, Lucius' men again seized their
 ladders (for they did not have any towers left), and in
 desperation carried them to the walls, but inflicted no
 further damage, as they did not have the strength. Lucius
 ran from one man to another, begging them not to keep
 fighting to their last breath, and led them back cursing and
 reluctant.

38. This was how this hotly contested battle at the walls 155
 came to an end. To insure that the enemy did not dare to
 make any further attempt on his fortifications, Octavian
 stationed hard by the wall itself those of his troops who
 were on guard duty, and instructed them to mount the
 rampart, everyone in their own sector, at a given signal
 from a trumpet. Even without orders, the men kept doing
 this, to provide training for themselves and to strike fear
 into the enemy. Lucius' men began to lose heart, and as 156
 usually happens in these situations, the guards became
 careless. As a result of their negligence, many deserted,
 and it was not just the ordinary men who did this, but even
 some of the officer class. Lucius now began to consider a 157
 settlement out of distress at such a high casualty rate, but
 he still held back since some of Octavian's enemies feared
 for their lives. When it was observed, however, that 158
 Octavian received the deserters in a humane manner, and
 everyone became much more eager for a cessation of

τὰς διαλύσεις ἐγένετο, δέος ἤπτετο τοῦ Λευκίου, μὴ ἀντιλέγων ἐκδοθείη.

- 159 39. Γενομένης οὖν τινος ἐς τοῦτο πείρας καὶ ἐλπίδος οὐκ ἀηδοῦς, τὸν στρατὸν συναγαγὼν ἔλεξεν ὧδε·
 “Γνώμη μὲν ἦν μοι τὴν πατριὸν ὑμῖν ἀποδοῦναι πολιτείαν, ᾧ συστρατιῶται, τυρραννίδα τὴν τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀρχὴν ὀρώντι καὶ οὐδ’, ἐφ’ ἧ συνέστη προφάσει, Κασσίου καὶ Βρούτου τεθνεώτων διαλυθείσαν.
- 160 Λεπίδου γὰρ τὸ μέρος τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀφηρημένου καὶ Ἀντωνίου πορρωτάτῳ χρήματα συλλέγοντος, εἰς οὗτος ἅπαντα πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γνώμην διώκει, τὰ δὲ πατρία Ῥωμαίοις πρόσχημα μόνον ἦν καὶ γέλωσ.
- 161 ἄπερ ἐγὼ μεταβάλλειν ἐς τὴν ἄνωθεν ἐλευθερίαν τε καὶ δημοκρατίαν ἐπινοῶν ἠξίου τῶν ἐπινικίων διαδοθέντων ἐκλυθῆναι τὴν μοναρχίαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἔπειθον,
- 162 ἐπειρώμην ἐπὶ τῆς ἐμῆς ἀρχῆς καταναγκάσαι. ὁ δὲ μετῷ στρατῷ διέβαλλε, κωλύειν τὰς κληρουχίας ἐλέω τῶν γεωργῶν· καὶ τὴν διαβολὴν ἐγὼ τήνδε ἠγγνόησα ἐπὶ πλείστον. ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ ἐπιγνοῦς ἐπίστευσά τινα πιστεύσειν, ὀρώντα τοὺς οἰκιστὰς καὶ παρ’ ἐμοῦ δεδομένους, οἳ μεριεῖν ἔμελλον ὑμῖν τὰς κληρουχίας. ἀλλὰ ἐδημαγώγησε γὰρ τινὰς ἢ διαβολή, καὶ πρὸς ἐκείνους ὄχοντο πολεμήσουσες ὑμῖν, ὡς νομίζουσι, σὺν χρόνῳ
- 164 δ’ εἴσονται στρατευσάμενοι καθ’ αὐτῶν. ὑμῖν δ’ ἐγὼ μαρτυρῶ μὲν ἐλομένοις τὰ ἀμείνονα καὶ ὑπὲρ δύναμιν κακοπαθήσασιν, ἠττήμεθα δὲ οὐχ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, ἀλλὰ τοῦ λιμοῦ, ᾧ δὴ καὶ πρὸς τῶν ἡμετέρων στρατηγῶν ἐγκαταλελείμμεθα. ἐμοὶ μὲν δὴ καλῶς εἶχεν
- 165

hostilities, Lucius was seized by a fear that if he opposed them he would be betrayed.

39. Accordingly, after making a tentative move to this end with a reasonable hope of success, he called the men together and spoke as follows: “It was my intention, fellow soldiers, to restore the ancestral constitution to you when I saw that the government of the triumvirs was a tyranny, and was not dissolved even when Cassius and Brutus met their death, which was the excuse on which it was set up. Lepidus was deprived of his share of the government, Antony far away collecting money, and this one man was managing everything according to his own will, and the ancestral constitution was nothing more than a sham and a farce. With the intention of reverting to our previous freedom and democratic government, I asked that after the rewards of victory had been distributed, the monarchy should be dissolved. When persuasion failed, I tried to force the issue by virtue of my office. But Octavian falsely accused me before the army of obstructing the colonies out of pity for the landowners. I knew nothing of this slander for a long time, and even when I found out, I did not think that anybody would believe it, as they could see that the colony leaders, whose job was to distribute the allotments to you, were appointed by me. But the slander misled some people, who went over to Octavian in order to make war against you, so they believe, although in time they will come to see that it was against themselves that they have been campaigning. As for you, I myself bear witness that you, who chose the better course and suffered beyond bearing, have been defeated not by the enemy, but by famine, a fate to which we have in fact been left by our own generals. To be sure, it would have been a fine thing
- 159
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- ἀγωνίσασθαι μέχρι τοῦ τελευταίου δαίμονος ὑπὲρ
 τῆς πατρίδος· καλὸν γάρ μοι τὸν ἔπαινον ἐπὶ τῇ
 γνώμῃ καὶ τὸ τέλος ἐποίει· οὐχ ὑφίσταμαι δὲ δι' ὑμᾶς,
 166 οὓς τῆς ἐμῆς προτίθημι εὐκλείας. πέμψω δὴ πρὸς τὸν
 κεκρατηκότα καὶ δεήσομαι ἐμοὶ μὲν ἀντὶ πάντων
 ὑμῶν εἰς ὃ θέλει καταχρήσασθαι μόνῳ, ὑμῖν δὲ ἀντ'
 ἐμοῦ ἀμνηστίαν δοῦναι, πολίταις τε οὓσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ
 στρατιώταις ποτὲ γενομένοις καὶ οὐδὲ νῦν ἀδικούσιν
 οὐδὲ πολεμήσασιν ἄνευ καλῆς αἰτίας οὐδὲ ἡσσημέ-
 νοις πολέμῳ μᾶλλον ἢ λιμῷ.”
- 167 40. Ὁ μὲν οὕτως εἶπε καὶ εὐθὺς ἔπεμπε τρεῖς ἐπι-
 λεξάμενος ἐκ τῶν ἀρίστων· ἡ δὲ πληθὺς ἀνώμωζον, οἱ
 μὲν ἑαυτῶν χάριν, οἱ δὲ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ, γνώμῃ μὲν
 ὁμοῦ σφισιν ἀρίστου καὶ δημοκρατικοῦ φανέντος,
 168 ὑπὸ δ' ἐσχάτης ἀνάγκης ἡττημένον. οἱ δὲ τρεῖς ἐντυ-
 χόντες τῷ Καίσαρι ἀνεμίμησκον τοῦ γένους τῶν
 στρατῶν ἐνὸς ἑκατέροις ὄντος καὶ στρατειῶν ὁμοῦ
 γενομένων καὶ φιλίας τῶν ἐπιφανῶν καὶ ἀρετῆς προ-
 γόνων οὐκ ἐς ἀνήκεστον τὰς διαφορὰς προαγαγόν-
 των· ὅσα τε εἰκὸς ἦν ἄλλα ἐπαγωγὰ, τούτοις ὅμοια,
 169 ἔλεγον. ὁ δὲ Καίσαρ εἰδὼς τῶν πολεμίων τοὺς μὲν
 ἀπειροπολέμους ἔτι, τοὺς δὲ κληρούχους γεγυμνασμέ-
 νους ἔφη τεχνάζων τοῖς ὑπ' Ἀντωνίῳ στρατευσαμέ-
 νοις διδόναι τὴν ἀμνηστίαν, ὡς χάριν ἐκείνῳ φέρων,
 τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἐπιτρέπειν σφᾶς ἑαυτῷ προσέτασσε.
 170 ταῦτα μὲν εἶπεν ἅπασιν ἰδίᾳ δὲ ἓνα τῶν τριῶν ἀπο-
 λαβῶν, Φούρνιον, ἐς μείζονα φιλανθρωπίαν ἐπήλπισε

for me to have fought for my country until my fated end: for that would have made a noble ending for me and won handsome praise for my decision. But for your sakes, this is a course of action I will not take, since I value your lives more than my own glory. I will send word to the victor and beg that he dispose as he chooses of me alone, instead of all of you, and that he grant an amnesty not to me, but rather to you—you who are his fellow citizens and were once his soldiers, who even now have been doing no wrong, who have not fought without good reason, and who have been defeated not by war but by famine.”

40. After making this speech he immediately chose 167 three noblemen and sent them off, while the common soldiers grieved, some for themselves, others for their general, whose intentions appeared to them to be at the same time both aristocratic and democratic, and who had been defeated by extreme necessity. The three envoys, 168 when meeting Octavian, reminded him that the armies of both sides belonged to one people, and had campaigned together. They called to mind the friendship of the leading men and the virtue of their ancestors, who had not pushed their differences to breaking point; and they made other arguments similar to these, that were likely to be persuasive. Octavian, knowing that some of the enemy were still 169 without experience of fighting, while the colonists were well trained, replied astutely that he would grant amnesty to those who had served with Antony, as a favor to him, but ordered the others to surrender to himself. This he 170 said in the presence of all, but, taking one of the three envoys, Furnius, aside privately, he led him to expect more

τοὺς περὶ Λεύκιον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους χωρὶς τῶν ἰδίων ἐχθρῶν ἑαυτοῦ.

- 171 41. Οἶδε οὖν οἱ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐχθροί, τὴν ἰδία
γενομένην ἔντευξιν τοῦ Φουρνίου ὑπουοῦντες ἐπὶ
σφίσι γενέσθαι, αὐτόν τε τὸν Φούρνιον ἐλοιδόρου
ἐπανελθόντα καὶ τὸν Λεύκιον ἠξίου ἢ σπονδὰς αὐθις
172 αἰτεῖν ὁμοίας ἅπασιν ἢ πολεμεῖν μέχρι θανάτου· οὐ
γὰρ ἰδιὸν τιμὴν τὸν πόλεμον, ἀλλὰ κοινὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς
πατρίδος γεγονέναι. καὶ ὁ Λεύκιος ἐπήγει μὲν ἐλεῶν
ἄνδρας ὁμοτίμους καὶ πέμψειν ἔλεγεν ἑτέρους, οὐδένα
δὲ εἰπὼν ἀμείονα ἔχειν ἑαυτοῦ, εὐθύς ἄνευ κήρυκος
ἦει, προθεόντων αὐτοῦ δρόμῳ τῶν ἀπαγγελούντων
173 Καίσαρι κατιέναι Λεύκιον. ὁ δὲ αὐτίκα ὑπήντα. ἐω-
ρῶντο οὖν ἀλλήλοις ἤδη μετὰ τῶν φίλων καὶ περιφα-
νεῖς ἦσαν ἀπὸ τῶν σημείων καὶ τῆς στολῆς οὔσης
174 ἑκατέρῳ στρατηγικῆς. καὶ ὁ Λεύκιος ἀποθέμενος <τὴν
στολὴν καὶ ὑπολιπόμενος>¹⁵ τοὺς φίλους ἦει σὺν δύο
ραβδούχοις μόνοις, ἐπιδεικνὺς ἅμα τὴν γνώμην ἀπὸ
τοῦ σχήματος· καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ συνεὶς ἀντεμιμείτο ἐς
δέιγμα καὶ ὅδε τῆς εἰς τὸν Λεύκιον εὐνοίας ἐσομένης·
175 ὡς δὲ καὶ σπεύδοντα εἶδε τὸν Λεύκιον παρελθεῖν ἐς τὸ
Καίσαρος χαράκωμα, ἵνα καὶ τῷδε φαίνοιτο ἑαυτὸν
ἐπιτρέπων ἤδη, προλαβὼν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐξῆλθε τοῦ χα-
ρακώματος, ἵνα ἐλεύθερον εἴη τῷ Λευκίῳ βουλευέ-

¹⁵ τὴν στολὴν καὶ ὑπολιπόμενος add. Étienne-Duplessis; ἀποθέμενος <τὴν στρατηγικὴν στολὴν καὶ ἀποπεμφάμενος> τοὺς φίλους Mend.

humane treatment for Lucius and his men, and for the others, except his own personal enemies.

41. Now, these personal enemies of Octavian, suspect- 171
ing that Furnius' private meeting was directed against
them, abused Furnius himself when he returned, and
asked Lucius either to demand new terms that were the
same for everybody, or to fight to the death: for, they said,
this had not been a private war for anyone, but a common
undertaking on behalf of their country. Lucius approved, 172
having pity on them as men of the same rank as himself,
and said that he would send new envoys. Arguing that he
had no one better for the task than himself, he set off im-
mediately without a herald, just with men running ahead
of him to announce that Lucius was coming down to meet
Octavian. Octavian immediately went to meet him. So, 173
now they were within sight of each other, accompanied by
their associates and conspicuous by their standards and
general's uniform they both wore. Then Lucius, after re- 174
moving <his uniform and leaving behind>³⁴ his associates,
went forward with two lictors only, revealing at the same
time his intention by his demeanor. Octavian understood
and imitated his example, as a demonstration on his part
too of the goodwill he would show to Lucius. And when 175
he saw Lucius hurrying to get to his palisade, in order to
indicate by this too that he was now surrendering, Octa-
vian anticipated him by advancing out of the palisade, to
allow Lucius the freedom to continue to take counsel and

³⁴ Editors have long agreed on the need for some such addition.

σθαί τε καὶ κρίνειν ἔτι περὶ αὐτοῦ. τοιάδε ἀλλήλοις
προσιόντες ἀπὸ τε τῆς στολῆς καὶ τῶν σχημάτων
προαπεδείκνυντο.

- 176 42. Ὡς δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν τάφρον ἀφίκοντο, προσηγόρευσά
τε ἀλλήλους καὶ ὁ Λεύκιος ἔφη. “Εἰ μὲν ξένος ὦν
ἐπολέμησα, ὦ Καῖσαρ, αἰσχρὰν ἂν τὴν τοιαύτην ἦσ-
σαν ἡγούμην καὶ αἰσχίονα ἔτι τὴν παράδοσιν· καὶ
τῆσδε τῆς αἰσχύνης εἶχον ἀπαλλαγὴν εὐκόλου παρ’
ἔμαντοῦ. ἐπεὶ δὲ πολίτη διηνέχθην καὶ ὁμοτίμῳ καὶ
ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος, οὐκ αἰσχρὸν ἡγούμαι μετὰ τοι-
177 ᾶσδε προφάσεως ὑπὸ τοιούδε ἡσσηῆσθαι. καὶ τάδε
λέγω οὐ παραιτούμενος παθεῖν, ὃ τι θέλοις (διὰ γάρ
τοι¹⁶ τοῦτο ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ σὸν ἄνευ σπονδῶν
ιέμην), ἀλλ’ ἵνα τοῖς ἄλλοις αἰτήσω συγγνώμην δι-
178 καίαν τε καὶ τοῖς σοῖς πράγμασι συμφέρουσαν. δεῖ
δέ με τοῦτο ἐπιδεικνύντα διελεῖν τὸν λόγον ὑπὲρ τε
ἐκείνων καὶ ὑπὲρ ἔμαντοῦ, ἵνα μόνον ἐμὲ τῶν γεγο-
νότων αἴτιον ἐπιγνοῦς εἰς ἐμὲ τὴν ὀργὴν συνα-
γάγης. μὴ νομίσης δὲ ἐλεγχθήσεσθαι μετὰ παρρη-
σίας (ἄκαιρον γάρ), ἀλλὰ μετὰ ἀληθείας, ἧς οὐκ ἔνι
μοι χωρὶς εἰπεῖν.
- 179 43. “Ἐγὼ τὸν πρὸς σὲ πόλεμον ἡράμην, οὐχ ἵνα
σε καθελὼν διαδέξωμαι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, ἀλλ’ ἵνα τὴν
ἀριστοκρατίαν ἀναλάβω τῇ πατρίδι, λελυμένην ὑπὸ
τῆς τῶν τριῶν ἀρχῆς, ὡς οὐδ’ ἂν αὐτὸς ἀντίποις· καὶ
γὰρ ὅτε συνίστασθε αὐτήν, ὁμολογοῦντες εἶναι παρά-

¹⁶ τοι LPJ; σοι B

make a decision about his own fate. Such were the signals
as they approached each other they gave in advance by
their dress and behavior.

42. When they came to the ditch they greeted each 176
other, and Lucius said: “If I had been a foreigner waging
war against you, Octavian, I would consider it disgraceful
to have suffered such a defeat and even more shameful to
have surrendered in this way; and I would have had an easy
means of deliverance from this humiliation at my own
hands. But since my dispute was with a citizen, and one of
equal rank, and conducted in the cause of our country, I
do not consider it a disgrace to be defeated by such a man
for such a motive. I say this not to intercede against what- 177
ever you may wish me to suffer (and that is, of course, why
I came to your camp without a truce being in place), but
in order to beg forgiveness for the others, a forgiveness
that is both just and serves your own interests. To demon- 178
strate this, I must separate out the case on their behalf
from that on my own, so that you may understand that I
alone am responsible for what has happened, and direct
your anger against me. You should not think that I will
make my accusations rudely (it is not the right time for
that), but with truthfulness, without which I cannot speak
at all.

43. “For my part, I undertook this war against you, not 179
in order to succeed to the leadership by destroying you,
but to restore to the country the aristocratic government
which had been dismantled by the triumvirate, as not even
you yourself would deny. For when you set up the trium-
virate you acknowledged that it was unconstitutional, but

νομον, ὡς ἀναγκαίαν καὶ πρόσκαιρον ἐτίθεσθε, Κασ-
 σίου καὶ Βρούτου περιόντων ἔτι καὶ ὑμῶν ἐκείνοις οὐ
 180 δυναμένων συναλλαγῆναι. ἀποθανόντων δὲ ἐκείνων,
 οἱ τὸ τῆς στάσεως κεφάλαιον ἦσαν, καὶ τῶν ὑπολοί-
 πων εἴ τινα λείψανα ἔστιν, οὐ τῇ πολιτεία πολεμού-
 ντων, ἀλλὰ ὑμᾶς δεδιότων, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτῳ καὶ τῆς
 πενταετίας παριούσης, ἀνακῦψαι τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐπὶ τὰ
 πάτρια ἠξίου, οὐ προτιμῶν οὐδὲ τὸν ἀδελφὸν τῆς
 πατρίδος, ἀλλ' ἐλπίζων μὲν ἐπανελθόντα πείσειν
 ἐκόντα, ἐπειγόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐμῆς ἀρχῆς γενέσθαι.
 181 καὶ εἰ κατήρξας σύ, μόνος ἂν καὶ τὴν δόξαν εἶχες.
 ἐπεὶ δὲ δὴ σε οὐκ ἔπειθον, ὄμνην ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ Ῥώμην
 καὶ ἀναγκάσαι, πολίτης τε ὢν καὶ γνώριμος καὶ ὑπα-
 182 τος. αἱ μὲν αἰτίαι, δι' ἃς ἐπολέμησα, αὐταὶ μόναι, καὶ
 οὔτε ὁ ἀδελφὸς οὔτε Μάνιος οὔτε Φουλβία, οὔτε ἡ
 κληρουχία τῶν ἐν Φιλίπποις πεπολεμηκότων οὔτε
 ἔλεος τῶν γεωργῶν τὰ κτήματα ἀφαιρουμένων, ἐπεὶ
 κἀγὼ τοῖς τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τέλεσιν οἰκιστὰς ἔδωκα, οἱ τὰ
 τῶν γεωργῶν ἀφαιρούμενοι τοῖς στρατευσαμένοις δι-
 183 ἔνεμον. ἀλλὰ με σὺ τήνδε τὴν διαβολὴν αὐτοῖς δι-
 ἔβαλλες, τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ πολέμου μεταφέρων ἐπὶ τὴν
 κληρουχίαν ἀπὸ σαντοῦ, καὶ τῷδε μάλιστα αὐτοῦς
 ἐλὼν ἐμοῦ κεκράτηκας· ἀνεπίεσθησαν γὰρ πολεμεί-
 184 σθαί τε ὑπ' ἐμοῦ καὶ ἀμύνεσθαί με ἀδικοῦντα. τεχνά-
 ζειν μὲν δὴ σε ἔδει πολεμοῦντα· νικήσας¹⁷ δέ, εἰ μὲν
 ἐχθρὸς εἶ τῆς πατρίδος, κἀμὲ ἠγεῖσθαι πολέμιον, ἂ

¹⁷ νικήσας Mend.; νικήσαι LP; νικήσαντα BJ

you held it to be necessary and temporary, because Cas-
 sius and Brutus were still at large, and you could not come
 to terms with them. But when they, the leaders of the 180
 faction, died, and what was left of the survivors were not
 at war with the state, but afraid of you, and moreover with
 the five years' period running out, I demanded that the
 magistracies should revive in accordance with the custom
 of our fathers. I did not even value my brother over my
 country, but hoped to persuade him into willing agree-
 ment and pressed hard to make this happen during my
 own term of office. If you had been the one to take the 181
 initiative, you alone would have won the glory. But when
 I was not able to persuade you, I thought I would proceed
 to Rome and force you, being, as I was, a citizen and well
 known and consul. These are the only reasons I made war, 182
 and these alone, not my brother, not Manius nor Fulvia,
 not the allotment of land to those who fought at Philippi,
 nor pity for the farmers who had their holdings taken from
 them, for I too appointed colony founders for my brother's
 legions, and they took the land from the farmers and dis-
 tributed it to the veterans. But this was the very slander 183
 that you, for your part, laid against me to them, transfer-
 ring the blame for the war from yourself to the allotment
 of land. It was with this slander in particular that you
 won them to your side and have defeated me. For
 they were persuaded that they were being attacked by me
 and were defending themselves against me as I was the
 one in the wrong. But since you were the one waging 184
 war, you certainly needed to resort to trickery. Now that
 you are victorious, if you are an enemy of our country, you
 must consider me an enemy too, since I wished for her

ἔδοξα συνοίσειν αὐτῇ, βουλευθέντα μὲν, ἡσσηθέντα¹⁸
δὲ διὰ λιμόν.

185 44. "Λέγω δὲ ταῦτα ἐγὼ ἐγχειρίζων μὲν ἑμαυτὸν
σοι, καθάπερ εἶπον, εἰς ὃ τι θέλεις, ὑποδεικνύς δέ, οἷα
καὶ πρότερον καὶ νῦν ἐφρόνησα περὶ σοῦ καὶ φρονῶν
186 ἔτι μόνος ἀφικόμην. καὶ περὶ μὲν ἐμοῦ τοσαῦτα· περὶ
δὲ τῶν φίλων καὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ παντός, εἰ μὲν οὐχ
ὑποπτεύσεις με λέγοντα, συμβουλεύσω τὰ σοὶ μάλι-
στα ὠφελιμώτατα, μηδὲν δεινὸν αὐτοὺς ἐργάσασθαι
διὰ τὴν ἐμὴν καὶ σὴν φιλονικίαν, μηδὲ ἄνθρωπον
ὄντα καὶ τύχῃ χρώμενον, οὐ βεβαίω πράγματι, κωλύ-
σαι τοὺς κινδυνεύειν ἐν τύχαις ἢ χρείαις ἐθελήσοντάς
ποτε ὑπὲρ σοῦ, μαθόντας ἐκ τοῦδε τοῦ σοῦ νόμου
187 δυσέλπιστον σῶζεσθαι μὴ κατορθοῦσιν. εἰ δὲ ὑπο-
πτος ἢ ἄπιστος ἐχθροῦ πᾶσα συμβουλή, οὐκ ὀκνῶ
καὶ παρακαλεῖν σε μὴ τοὺς φίλους τίνυσθαι τῆς ἐμῆς
ἀμαρτίας καὶ τύχης, ἀλλ' εἰς ἐμὲ συναγαγεῖν πάντα,
τὸν πάντων αἴτιον. ἀφ' ἧς δὴ γνώμης αὐτοὺς ὑπελι-
πόμην, ἵνα μὴ δόξαιμι, σοὶ τάδε λέγων ἐκείνων ἀκου-
όντων, ὑπὲρ ἑμαυτοῦ τεχνάζων εἰπεῖν."

188 45. Τοιαῦτα δὲ εἰπόντος τοῦ Λευκίου καὶ σιωπήσαν-
τος ὁ Καῖσαρ ἔλεξεν· "Ἄσπονδον μὲν σε κατιόντα
πρὸς ἐμὲ ὄρων, ὦ Λεύκιε, ὑπήντησα τῶν ἐμῶν ἐρυ-
μάτων ἔτι ἐκτὸς ὄντι κατὰ σπουδὴν, ἵνα ἔτι κύριος ὢν
σεαυτοῦ βουλευόιο καὶ λόγοις καὶ πράττοις, ἃ νομί-
ζεις σοι συνοίσειν. ἐπεὶ δ', ὅπερ ἐστὶ τῶν ἀδικεῖν ὁμο-

¹⁸ ἡσσηθέντα P; οὐ δυναθέντα BJ

what I thought would be of benefit, but was defeated by
famine.

44. "In saying this, I place myself in your hands, for you 185
to do whatever you wish. I have demonstrated my opinion
of you both before and now, an opinion I still hold, since
I have come here alone. But enough about myself. Con- 186
cerning my associates and my whole army, if you will not
look with suspicion on what I say, the most useful advice
I can give you is to inflict no harsh treatment on them on
account of our mutual rivalry. As you are human and sub-
ject to fate, an unreliable thing, do not put off those who
might be willing one day to face danger on your behalf
when fate or necessity demands, by having them find out
from this practice of yours that there is no hope of safety
for those who fail. Even if any advice from an enemy is 187
suspect or untrustworthy, I do not hesitate to implore you
not to take vengeance on my associates for my mistake and
my ill fortune, but to blame everything on me, as I am
responsible for it all. It was precisely with this intention
that I left them behind, so that I would not appear, by
saying these things in their presence, to be speaking in
some calculating manner on my own behalf."

45. After this speech, Lucius relapsed into silence, and 188
Octavian spoke: "When I saw you coming down to me,
Lucius, without a truce in place, I hurried to meet you
while you were still outside my defenses, so that while still
master of your own fate, you could plan, speak, and act in
accordance with what you regard as your best interests.
Since you are surrendering to me, which is what people

189 λογούντων, σαυτὸν ἡμῖν ἐπιτρέπεις, οὐδὲν ἔτι δέομαι
 διελέγχειν, ὅσα σὺν τέχνῃ μου κατεψεύσω. ἐξ ἀρχῆς
 δέ με βλάβειν ἐλόμενος καὶ νῦν ἔβλαψας. σπονδὰς
 γάρ μοι τιθέμενος ἔτυχες ἂν ἡδίκημένου καὶ νευικη-
 κότητος· ἄσπονδον δὲ σαυτὸν τε καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἐπι-
 τρεπων ἡμῖν καὶ τὸν στρατόν, ἀφαιρῆ μὲν πᾶσαν
 ὀργήν, ἀφαιρῆ δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν, ἣν σπενδόμενος
 190 ἂν ἔδωκας ὑπ' ἀνάγκης. συμπέπλεκται γὰρ οἷς ἄξιον
 ὑμᾶς παθεῖν, τὸ προσῆκον ὧν ἐμὲ δίκαιόν ἐστι ποιεῖν
 ὃ δὴ προτιμήσω διὰ τε τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ δι' ἑμαυτὸν καὶ
 διὰ σέ, ὦ Λεύκιε, καὶ οὐ ψεύσω σε τῆς προσδοκίας,
 191 ἣν ἔχων περὶ ἑμαυτοῦ κατελήλυθας." ταῦτα μὲν ἔλε-
 ξαν ἀλλήλοις, ὡς ἐκ τῶν ὑπομνημάτων ἦν ἐς τὸ δυ-
 νατὸν τῆσδε τῆς φωνῆς μεταβαλεῖν τεκμαιρομένῳ
 τῆς γνώμης τῶν λελεγμένων. καὶ διεκρίθησαν, ὃ μὲν
 Καῖσαρ ἐν ἐπαίνῳ καὶ θαύματι τὸν Λεύκιον ἔχων, οὐ-
 δὲν ὡς ἐν συμφοραῖς ἀγεννὲς οὐδ' ἀσύνητον εἰπόντα,
 ὃ δὲ Λεύκιος τὸν Καῖσαρα τοῦ τε ἥθους καὶ βραχυ-
 λογίας. οἱ λοιποὶ δ' ἐτεκμαίροντο τῶν εἰρημένων ἐκ
 τῆς ὄψεως ἐκατέρων.

192 46. Καὶ ὁ Λεύκιος ἔπεμπε τοὺς χιλάρχους τὸ σύν-
 θημα 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 ἐφήμερον τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ
 193 τοῦ παρόντος. οἱ μὲν δὴ τὸ σύνθημα λαβόντες τὰς

do who admit that they are in the wrong, I have no need
 to disprove the false allegations you cleverly make against
 me. But from the start you chose to inflict damage on me, 189
 and now you have succeeded in doing so. For if you were
 negotiating a truce with me, you would have been dealing
 with a man both wronged and victorious. But by surren-
 dering yourself, your associates, and your army to me
 without seeking a truce, you rob me of all anger, and you
 rob me of the power which you would necessarily have
 given me in negotiating terms. What you deserve to suffer 190
 and the appropriateness of what it is right that I do, are
 interwoven. And to be sure, I will prioritize the latter, for
 the sake of the gods, of myself, and of you, Lucius, and I
 will not disappoint you in the expectation you had of me
 in coming down here." This is what they said to each other, 191
 insofar as it was possible for somebody trying to assess the
 substance of what was said, to translate from the memoirs
 into what could be rendered in the Greek language.³⁵
 They then parted, Octavian praising and admiring Lucius
 for not saying anything unworthy or unwise, as happens in
 times of adversity, and Lucius feeling the same toward
 Octavian for his character and economy with words. The
 others made their assessment of what had been said from
 the expression of the two men.

46. Lucius sent the tribunes to get the watchword for 192
 the army from Octavian, and they took the army roll to
 him, just as it is even still the practice for the tribune who
 asks for the watchword to deliver to the emperor the daily
 register of the number of troops present. After receiving 193

³⁵ This is presumably another reference to Octavian's autobi-
 ography, mentioned at *BCiv.* 4.110.463, *Ill.* 15.42.

φυλακὰς ἔτι διὰ χειρὸς εἶχον, οὕτω κελεύσαντος αὐ-
 τοῦ Καίσαρος, νυκτοφυλακεῖν ἑκατέρους τὰ ἴδια· ἅμα
 δὲ ἡμέρα ὁ μὲν Καίσαρ ἔθνευ, ὁ δὲ Λεύκιος αὐτῷ τὸν
 στρατὸν ἔπεμπε, τὰ μὲν ὄπλα φέροντα, ἐσκευασμένοι
 194 δ' ὡς ἐν ὁδοιπορίᾳ. οἱ δὲ τὸν Καίσαρα πόρρωθεν ὡς
 αὐτοκράτορα ἠσπάσαντο καὶ ἔστησαν ἐν μέρει κατὰ
 τέλος, οὗ προσέταξεν ὁ Καίσαρ, ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν, οἳ τε
 195 κληροῦχοι καὶ οἱ νεοστράτευτοι κεχωρισμένοι. ὁ δὲ
 Καίσαρ ἐκτελεσθείσης τῆς θυσίας στεψάμενος δά-
 φνη, συμβόλῳ νίκης, προυκάθητο ἐπὶ βήματος καὶ
 προσέταξε μὲν ἅπασιν θέσθαι τὰ ὄπλα, ἔνθα εἰστήκε-
 σαν, θεμένων δὲ τοὺς κληροῦχους ἐκέλευσεν ἐγγυ-
 τέρῳ προσελθεῖν, διεγνωκῶς ἄρα ὀνειδίσαι τῆς ἀχα-
 196 ριστίας καὶ φοβῆσαι. προέγνωστο δὲ μέλλων ὧδε
 ποιήσειν, καὶ ὁ στρατὸς ὁ τοῦ Καίσαρος, εἴτε ἐξ-
 ἐπίτηδες, οἷα προιδάσκονται πολλάκις, εἴτε ὑπὸ
 πάθους ὡς πρὸς οἰκείους ἄνδρας, ἀκρατεῖς τῆς δεδο-
 μένης σφίσι τάξεως γενόμενοι, προσιοῦσι τοῖς Λευ-
 κIANOῖς οἷα συνεστρατευμένοις ποτὲ περιχυθέντες
 ἠσπάζοντο καὶ συνέκλαιον καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα ὑπὲρ
 αὐτῶν παρεκάλουν καὶ οὔτε βοῶντες ἔτι ἐπαύοντο
 οὔτε συμπλεκόμενοι, κοινωνούντων ἑκατέροις τοῦ πά-
 θους ἤδη καὶ τῶν νεοστρατεῦτων· οὐδὲ ἦν τι διακεκρι-
 μένον ἔτι οὐδ' εὐκριτον.

197 47. Ὅθεν οὐδὲ ὁ Καίσαρ ἔτι τῆς γνώμης ἐκράτει,
 ἀλλὰ μόλις τὴν βοήν καταπαύσας εἶπε τοῖς ἰδίοις.
 "Ἔμεῖς μὲν, ὧ συστρατιῶται, οὕτως αἰεὶ μοι προσενή-
 198 νεχθε ὡς μηδενὸς ἀτυχῆσαι παρ' ἐμοῦ δύνασθαι· ἐγὼ

the watchword they still kept their guards on hand, Octa-
 vian himself having given orders to this effect that both
 armies should mount their own guard at night. At dawn,
 Octavian offered sacrifice, and Lucius sent his soldiers
 to him carrying their weapons, but equipped as if for a
 march. From a distance they saluted Octavian as impera- 194
 tor, and took up position separately legion by legion on its
 own where Octavian had ordered, the colonists being
 separated from the new recruits. With the sacrifice com- 195
 pleted, Octavian, crowned with laurel, the symbol of vic-
 tory, took his seat on the tribunal in front of them, and
 ordered them all to lay down their arms where they stood.
 When they had done so he instructed the colonists to ap-
 proach closer, having decided, of course, to rebuke them
 for their ingratitude and strike fear into them. It was dis- 196
 covered beforehand that he was intending to do this, and
 his own army, either by design, as soldiers are often tu-
 tored beforehand, or moved by sympathy for men who
 were their own kin, became unable to keep the ranks as-
 signed to them and crowded around Lucius' men as they
 approached, greeting them as former companions in arms.
 They wept with them, pleaded with Octavian on their be-
 half, and would not stop shouting and embracing, the new
 recruits now sharing in the emotion on both sides, so that
 there was nothing to distinguish or discriminate between
 them.

47. As a result, not even Octavian could enforce his 197
 decision, but after bringing the shouting to an end with
 some difficulty, he addressed his own men. "You, my fel-
 low soldiers, have always behaved toward me in such a way
 that you can ask nothing of me in vain. My own belief is 198

δὲ τοὺς μὲν νεοστρατεύτους ὑπ' ἀνάγκης ἐστρατεύ-
 σθαι Λευκίῳ νομίζω, τουτωνὶ δὲ τῶν συνεστρατευ-
 μένων τε πολλάκις ὑμῖν καὶ νῦν ὑφ' ὑμῶν σωζομένων
 ἐπενόουν πυθέσθαι, τί παθόντες ἐξ ἡμῶν ἢ τίνος
 χάριτος οὐκ ἀξιοθέντες ἢ τί μείζον παρ' ἐτέρου προσ-
 δοκῶντες ἐναντία ὄπλα ἤραυτο καὶ ἐμοὶ καὶ ὑμῖν καὶ
 ἑαυτοῖς; ἀ γὰρ ἔκαμνον ἐγώ, πάντα ἦν ὑπὲρ τῆς κλη-
 ρουχίας, ἧς τοῦ μέρους καὶ τούτοις μετῆν. καὶ εἰ συγ-
 199 χωρεῖτέ μοι, καὶ νῦν πεύσομαι." οὐκ ἐπιτρεπόντων
 δέ, ἀλλὰ ἀπαύστως παρακαλούντων, "Συγχωρῶ ὑμῖν,
 ὅσα βούλεσθε," ἔφη, "Καὶ ἀφείσθωσαν ἀπαθείς τῶν
 ἡμαρτημένων, ἂν ἐς τὸ μέλλον ὑμῖν ὅμοια φρονῶσιν."
 200 ὑπισχνουμένων δ' ἐκατέρων βοαί τε καὶ χάριτες ἦσαν
 ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα· καὶ τισιν αὐτῶν ἐπέτρεψέ τινας καὶ
 ὑποδέξασθαι, τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ἐκέλευε σκηνοῦν, ἔνθα
 περ εἰστήκεσαν, ἄπωθεν, ἕως ὃ Καίσαρ αὐτοῖς πόλεις
 τε ἐς χειμασίαν καὶ τοὺς ἀπάξοντας ἐς τὰς πόλεις
 δοίη.
 201 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 ἰππέων, ἐν ὧσιν πάντες <ὄντες>¹⁹
 202 οἰκτρᾶ καὶ ὀξεία μεταβολῇ. ἅμα δὲ ἐξήεσαν οὗτοι τῆς
 Περυσίας, καὶ φρουρὰ τὴν πόλιν περιέστη. ἐπεὶ δὲ
 ἀφίκοντο, Λεύκιον μὲν ὃ Καίσαρ ἑαυτῷ παρεστή-
 σατο, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων τοὺς μὲν οἱ φίλοι Καίσαρος, τοὺς

¹⁹ ὄντες add. Étienne-Duplessis

that the new recruits fought for Lucius under compulsion,
 but it was my intention to ask these men here, who have
 often campaigned alongside you and whom you are now
 in the process of protecting, what they have suffered at our
 hands, or what favor they were refused, or what greater
 favors they are expecting from somebody else, that they
 have taken up arms against me, against you, against them-
 selves. For the issues that have caused me difficulty all
 arose from the assignment of lands, in which they too have
 had their share. And now, if you will permit me, I will put
 these questions to them." As they would not allow him to 199
 do this, but continued to make their entreaties, he said, "I
 yield to all your wishes. Let them be released without
 punishment for their crimes, on condition that in future
 they display the same attitude as you." Both sides made 200
 their promises, and there were cheers and expressions of
 gratitude for Octavian, who allowed some of his own men
 to look after particular individuals among their men. He
 ordered the ordinary soldiers, however, to pitch their tents
 where they stood, away from his own men, until he could
 assign them towns for winter quarters and appoint persons
 to lead them off to those towns.

48. Then, seated on his tribunal, Octavian summoned 201
 Lucius from Perusia along with those Romans who had
 official positions in his entourage. Many senators and
 those called knights came down to him, all exposed to view
 by their bitter and sudden change of fortune. As soon as 202
 they left Perusia, a guard was stationed around it. When
 they arrived, Octavian put Lucius standing beside him,
 and of the rest, Octavian's associates took charge of some,
 and the centurions of others, but all had been instructed

203 δὲ οἱ λοχαγοὶ διέλαβον, προδεδιδαγμένοι πάντες ἐς
 τιμὴν ἀπάγειν ἅμα καὶ φυλακὴν ἄσημον. τοὺς δὲ Πε-
 ρυσίους ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους παρακαλοῦντας ἐκέλευσεν
 ἦκειν, ἄνευ τῆς βουλῆς μόνης· καὶ ἐλθοῦσι συνέγνω.
 οἱ δὲ βουλευταὶ τότε μὲν φύλαξι παρεδόθησαν, μετ'
 οὐ πολὺ δὲ ἀνηρέθησαν, χωρὶς Αἰμιλίου Λευκίου, ὃς
 ἐν Ῥώμῃ δικάζων ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ Γαίου Καίσαρος τὴν
 καταδικάζουσαν ἤνεγκε φανερώς καὶ πάντας φέρειν
 ἐκέλευεν ὡς ἐκλυομένους μύσος.

204 49. Τὴν δὲ Περυσίαν αὐτὴν ἐγνώκει μὲν ὁ Καίσαρ
 ἐς διαρπαγὴν ἐπιτρέψαι τῷ στρατῷ, Κέστιος δὲ τις
 αὐτῶν ὑπομαργότερος, ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ πεπολεμηκῶς
 καὶ ἐκ τοῦδε Μακεδονικὸν αὐτὸν ὀνομάζων, ἐνέπρησε
 τὴν οἰκίαν καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἐς τὸ πῦρ ἐνέβαλε, καὶ ἄνεμοι
 τὴν φλόγα ὑπολαβόντες περιήνεγκαν ἐς ὅλην Περυ-
 σίαν, καὶ ἐνεπρήσθη χωρὶς τοῦ Ἡφαιστίου μόνου.

205 τόδε μὲν δὴ τῇ Περυσίᾳ τέλος ἦν, δόξαν ἀρχαιότητος
 ἐχούση καὶ ἀξιώσεως· ὑπὸ γὰρ Τυρρηνῶν πάλαι φα-
 σὶν αὐτὴν ἐν ταῖς πρώταις δώδεκα πόλεσιν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ

206 γενέσθαι. διὸ καὶ τὴν Ἥραν ἔσεβον, οἷα Τυρρηνοὶ
 τότε δὲ ὅσοι τὰ λείψανα τῆς πόλεως διέλαχον, τὸν
 Ἡφαιστον σφίσιν ἔθεντο θεὸν εἶναι πατριὸν ἀντὶ τῆς

207 Ἥρας. τῆς δ' ἐπιούσης ὁ μὲν Καίσαρ ἐσπένδετο ἅπα-
 σιν, ὁ δὲ στρατὸς οὐκ ἐπαύετο ἐπὶ τισι θορυβῶν, ἕως
 ἀνηρέθησαν· καὶ ἦσαν οἱ μάλιστα Καίσαρος ἐχθροί,

beforehand to treat them honorably while at the same
 time keeping a discreet watch on them. As for the Peru- 203
 sians who were making their appeal for mercy from the
 walls, he ordered them, with the exception of the town
 council, to approach, and when they came he pardoned
 them. The council members were put under guard at the
 time, but were executed shortly after, apart from Lucius
 Aemilius, who, while acting as a juror at Rome in the trial
 of the murderers of Gaius Caesar, had voted openly for
 condemnation, and urged all the others to do the same in
 an attempt to expiate pollution.

49. As for Perugia itself, Octavian had intended to turn 204
 it over to the soldiers to plunder, but one of the citizens,
 a certain Cestius, who was somewhat deranged and called
 himself "the Macedonian" because he had fought in Mac-
 edonia, set fire to his house and threw himself into the
 flames. The wind caught the fire and spread it to the whole
 of Perugia, which was burned to the ground, except the
 temple of Vulcan. Such was the end of Perugia, a town 205
 renowned for its antiquity and importance. They say that
 in the past under Etruscan rule, it became one of the
 twelve major towns of Italy.³⁶ That is why they used to 206
 worship Hera in the Etruscan manner. But at this time,
 those who inherited the remains of the town took Vulcan
 as their patron god instead of Hera. Next day Octavian 207
 made peace with everyone, but the army would not stop
 raising a clamor against certain people, until they were
 executed. These were the particular personal enemies

³⁶ Perugia may have been one of the twelve towns in the
 Etruscan League that, according to Livy (6.2), met in the temple
 of Voltumna at Volsinii.

Καννούτιός τε καὶ Γάιος Φλάμιος καὶ Κλώδιος ὁ Βι-
θνικὸς καὶ ἕτεροι.

- 208 50. Τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τέλος ἦν τῆς ἐν Περυσία Λευκίου
πολιορκίας, καὶ ὁ πόλεμος ὧδε ἐξελέλυτο, χαλεπώτα-
τός τε καὶ χρόνιος ἐλπισθεὶς ἔσσεσθαι τῇ Ἰταλία. καὶ
γὰρ Ἀσίνιος αὐτίκα καὶ Πλάγκος καὶ Οὐεντίδιος καὶ
Κράσσος καὶ Ἀτήιος καὶ ὅσοι τῆσδε τῆς γνώμης
ὄντες ἕτεροι στρατὸν εἶχον οὐκ εὐκαταφρόνητον, ἀλλ'
εἰς τρισκαίδεκα τέλη γεγυμνασμένα καὶ ἱππέας ἑξα-
κισχιλίους ἐπὶ πεντακοσίοις, ἡγούμενοι τὸ κεφάλαιον
τοῦ πολέμου Λεύκιον γενόμενα ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ἤεσαν,
209 ἕτερος ἑτέρας ὁδοῦς, οἱ μὲν ἐς Βρεντέσιον, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ
Ῥαβέννης, οἱ δ' ἐς Τάραντα καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐς Μοῦρκον ἢ
Ἀηνόβαρβον, οἱ δὲ ἐς Ἀντώνιον, διωκόντων αὐτοῦς
τῶν Καίσαρος φίλων καὶ σπονδὰς προτεινόντων καὶ
οὐκ ἐθέλουσιν ἐνοχλούντων τὰ περὶ μάλιστα ὧν δὴ
καὶ μόνων Ἀγρίππας ἔπεισε μεταθέσθαι δύο τέλη
210 Πλάγκου, ἀποληφθέντα ἐν Καμερία. ἔφηνγε δὲ καὶ
Φουλβία μετὰ τῶν τέκνων ἐς Δικαιάρχειαν καὶ ἀπὸ
Δικαιαρχείας ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον, μετὰ τρισχιλίων
ἱππέων οἳ αὐτῇ παρὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν πομποὶ ἀπ-
211 εστάλησαν. ἐν δὲ τῷ Βρεντεσίῳ νεῶν πέντε μακρῶν
ἐκ Μακεδονίας οἱ μεταπέμπτων γενομένων ἐπιβάσα
ἀνήγετο· καὶ αὐτῇ Πλάγκος συνέπλει, τὸν ἔτι λοιπὸν
αὐτοῦ στρατὸν ἐκλιπὼν ὑπὸ δειλίας. οἱ δὲ Οὐεντίδιον

³⁷ None of these figures has been securely identified. There was a Tiberius Cannutius who was tribune of the plebs in 44, but

of Octavian, Cannutius and Gaius Flavius and Clodius
Bithynicus, among others.³⁷

50. Such, then, was the end of the siege of Lucius in 208
Perusia, and it also brought the war to an end, a war that
had been expected to be extremely difficult and long for
Italy. The reason it ended was that Asinius and Plancus
and Ventidius and Crassus and Ateius, and all the others
of this party, although they had an army not to be despised,
numbering some thirteen trained legions and six thousand
five hundred cavalry, thought that Lucius had become the
vital person in the war, and they now made for the coast.³⁸
They all took different routes, some to Brundisium, some 209
to Ravenna, some to Tarentum, some to join Murcus and
Ahenobarbus, and still others to Antony. Octavian's associ-
ates pursued them, offering a truce, and, when they re-
fused, harassed them, particularly the infantry. In fact,
from this force, Agrippa was only able to persuade two of
Plancus' legions, who had been abandoned at Cameria, to
come over to his side. Fulvia also fled with her children to 210
Dicaearchia, and from there to Brundisium, accompanied
by three thousand cavalry, who had been dispatched by
the generals to escort her. At Brundisium she embarked 211
on the five warships that had been summoned from Mace-
donia for her, and put to sea. Plancus sailed with her,
having abandoned the remains of his army out of coward-

Appian himself (*BCiv.* 3.41.167-69) refers to him as a staunch partisan of Octavian. There was also a Publius Cannutius whom Cicero regarded as the most eloquent of senators (*Brut.* 56.205).

³⁸ Publius Canidius Crassus (suffect consul 40) was a loyal supporter of Antony to the very end: he was executed by Octavian after the battle of Actium.

- 212 σφῶν εἶλοντο ἄρχειν. Ἀσίνιος δὲ Ἀηνοβάρβω συν-
ετίθετο φιλίαν εἶναι πρὸς Ἀντώνιον· καὶ ἐπέστελλον
ἄμφω τάδε τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ καὶ ἀποβάσεις αὐτῷ καὶ
ἀγορὰν ὡς αὐτίκα ἤξοντι εὐτρέπιζον ἀνὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν.
- 213 51. Ἄλλω δ' Ἀντωνίου στρατῷ πολλῷ περὶ Ἄλπεις,
οὗ Φούφιος Καληνὸς ἡγείτο, ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπεβούλευεν,
ἤδη μὲν τὸν Ἀντώνιον ὑπονοῶν, ἐλπίζων δὲ ἢ φίλῳ
ἔτι ὄντι φυλάξειν ἢ πολεμοῦντος μεγάλην ἰσχὺν
- 214 προσλήψεσθαι. διαμέλλοντος δὲ ὅμως ἔτι αὐτοῦ καὶ
τὸ εὐπρεπὲς περιορωμένου, ὁ Καληνὸς ἐτελεύτησε
καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ, ὡς ἐς ἀμφοτέρω πρόφασιν εὐρών, ἤει
καὶ παρελάμβανε τὸν τε στρατὸν καὶ τὴν Κελτικὴν
ἐπ' αὐτῷ καὶ Ἰβηρίαν, καὶ τάσδε οὔσας ὑπὸ Ἀντωνίῳ,
Φουφίου τοῦ παιδὸς Καληνοῦ καταπλαγέντος τε
- 215 αὐτὸν καὶ παραδόντος ἅπαντα ἀμαχεί. ὁ μὲν δὲ Καί-
σαρ ἐνὶ τῷδε ἔργῳ ἕνδεκα τέλη στρατοῦ καὶ χώρας
τοσάσδε λαβὼν τοὺς ἡγεμόνας αὐτῶν παρέλυε τῆς
ἀρχῆς καὶ ἰδίου ἐπιστήσας ἐς Ῥώμην ἀνέστρεφεν.
- 216 52. Ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος χειμῶνος μὲν ἔτι τοὺς πρέσβεις
κατείχε τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν κληρουχιῶν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθόν-
τας, ἔτι²⁰ ἐπικρύπτων, ἃ ἐφρόνει, ἦρι δ' ἐκ μὲν Ἀλεξ-
ανδρείας ἐς Τύρον ὤδευεν, ἐκ δὲ Τύρου διαπλέων ἐπὶ
Κύπρον καὶ Ῥόδον καὶ Ἀσίας ἦσθετο τῶν ἐν τῇ Πε-
ρυσία γεγονότων καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐμέμφετο καὶ

²⁰ ἔτι BJ; εἶτε LP.; post ἐλθόντας lacunam indic. Étienne-Duplessis

ice; these soldiers now chose Ventidius as their com-
mander. Asinius came to an agreement with Ahenobarbus 212
to make a pact of friendship with Antony. Both Asinius and
Ventidius wrote to inform Antony of this, and they pre-
pared landing places and store depots for him throughout
Italy, in the expectation that he would come immediately.

51. Octavian now began to make plans to acquire an-
other large army belonging to Antony stationed in the 213
Alpine region under the command of Fufius Calenus. He
was on the one hand already suspicious of Antony, and on
the other he hoped to keep this army for Antony if he
remained friendly, or, if war broke out, to get for himself
a large additional force. However, while he was still hesi-
tating and looking around for a decent excuse, Calenus 214
died; and Octavian, having found his pretext for both
eventualities, went and took possession both of this army
and of Gaul and Iberia as well—these too were under
Antony's control—for Fufius, the son of Calenus, was ter-
rified of him, and handed over everything without a fight.
So with this one stroke Octavian acquired an army of 215
eleven legions and very extensive territory. He relieved
the governors of their command, installed his own men,
and returned to Rome.

52. While it was still winter, Antony detained the rep-
resentatives who had come to him from the colonists, 216
keeping his intentions to himself for the time being,³⁹ but
in spring he journeyed from Alexandria to Tyre, and sailed
from Tyre across to Cyprus and Rhodes and Asia. Hearing
of the events in Perusia, he blamed his brother and Fulvia,

³⁹ It is possible that Antony keeping his intentions to himself
is the second part of an either/or construction, in which case
something is missing from the text.

- 217 Φουλβίαν καὶ μάλιστα πάντων Μάνιον. Φουλβίαν
 μὲν οὖν εὗρεν ἐν Ἀθήναις, ἐκ Βρεντεσίου φυγοῦσαν
 Ἰουλίαν δ' αὐτῷ τὴν μητέρα Πομπήιος, ἐς αὐτὸν δια-
 φυγοῦσαν, ἔπεμπεν ἐκ Σικελίας ἐπὶ νεῶν μακρῶν, καὶ
 παρέπεμπον αὐτὴν οἱ τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Πομπήιον ἄρι-
 στοί, Λεύκιός τε Λίβων, ὁ κηδεστὴς τοῦ Πομπηίου,
 καὶ Σατουρνίνος καὶ ἕτεροι, ὅσοι χρῆζοντες τῆς
 Ἀντωνίου μεγαλοπραγίας ἠξίουσαν αὐτὸν συναλλα-
 γέντα Πομπηίῳ σύμμαχον ἐπὶ Καίσαρι λαβεῖν Πομ-
 218 πηίου. ὁ δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀπεκρίνατο χάριν μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ μητρὶ
 γιγνώσκειν Πομπηίῳ καὶ ἀποτίσειν ἐν χρόνῳ, αὐτὸς
 δέ, εἰ μὲν πολεμοίῃ Καίσαρι, χρήσεσθαι Πομπηίῳ
 συμμάχῳ, εἰ δ' ἐμμένοι τοῖς πρὸς αὐτὸν ὠμολογημέ-
 νοις ὁ Καῖσαρ, πειράσεσθαι καὶ Πομπηίου Καίσαρι
 συναλλάξαι.
- 219 53. Ὁ μὲν ὧδε ἀπεκρίνατο, ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐς Ῥώμην
 ἀπὸ Κελτῶν ἐπανιῶν ἤσθητο μὲν τῶν ἐς Ἀθήνας δια-
 πεπλευκότων, τὸ δὲ τῆς ἀποκρίσεως ἀκριβὲς ἄρα οὐκ
 εἰδὼς ἐξώτρυνε τοὺς κληρούχους ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ὡς
 κατάγοντα μετὰ τῶν γεωργῶν Πομπηίου, ὧν αὐτοὶ τὰ
 χωρία ἔχουσιν· ἐς γὰρ δὴ Πομπηίου οἱ πλείονες τῶν
 220 γεωργῶν ἐπεφεύγεσαν. καὶ πιθανοῦ τοῦ διερεθίσμα-
 τος ὄντος, οὐδ' ὡς οἱ κληρούχοι προθύμως ἐπὶ τὸν
 Ἀντώνιον ἐστράτευον· οὕτως ἡ δόξα τῶν ἐν Φιλίπποις

⁴⁰ Lucius Scribonius Libo (praetor 50) was a supporter of Pompey in the civil war against Julius Caesar, with whom he was reconciled after the battle of Pharsalus. Although not part of the

but most of all Manius. He found Fulvia at Athens, after 217
 her flight from Brundisium. His mother, Julia, had es-
 caped to Pompeius, who sent her to him from Sicily in a
 convoy of warships, and she was escorted by leading fig-
 ures of Pompeius' entourage, including his father-in-law,
 Lucius Libo, Saturninus, and others who needed Antony's
 capacity for great undertakings, and asked him to come to
 an agreement with Pompeius and take him as an ally
 against Octavian.⁴⁰ Antony replied that he was grateful to 218
 Pompeius for what he had done for his mother, and would
 repay him in time. As for himself, if he waged war against
 Octavian he said he would treat Pompeius as an ally, but
 if Octavian adhered to the terms of their agreement, he
 would try to reconcile Pompeius too with Octavian.

53. Such was his answer. When Octavian returned from 219
 Gaul to Rome, he found out about the deputation that
 had sailed to Athens, but as he did not really have accu-
 rate information about the reply, he roused the colonists
 against Antony, alleging that he was intending to restore
 Pompeius along with the farmers whose land they them-
 selves were holding. For it was certainly the case that most
 of the farmers had taken refuge with Pompeius. Although 220
 this provocation was plausible, the colonists were not even
 then keen to take up arms against Antony, so popular had

conspiracy against Caesar, he was proscribed in 43. Octavian mar-
 ried his sister in 40 to secure a peace with Sextus Pompeius, Libo's
 son-in-law. After abandoning Pompeius in 35, he held the consul-
 ship with Marc Antony in 34. Saturninus is probably Gaius Sen-
 tius Saturninus Vetulo, who was proscribed in 43. His son, also
 proscribed in 43, became a loyal supporter of Augustus and held
 the consulship in 19.

- 221 γεγονότων ἐδημαγώγει τὸν Ἀντώνιον. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ Ἀντωνίου μὲν καὶ Πομπηίου καὶ Ἀηνοβάρβου κατὰ πλῆθος ὀπλιτῶν ὑπεροίσειν ἐνόμιζεν (ἦρχε γὰρ τελῶν ἐς τότε τεσσαράκοντα πλεόνων), ναῦν δὲ οὐδεμίαν ἔχων οὐδὲ καιρὸν ἐς ναυπηγίαν ὠρρώδει, ναῦς ἐκείνων ἐχόντων πεντακοσίας, μὴ τὴν Ἰταλίαν περιπλέοντες
- 222 ἐς λιμὸν περιενέγκαιεν. ὦν ἐνθυμούμενος (ἐλέεκτο δὲ αὐτῷ περὶ πολλῶν παρθένων ἐς γάμον) ἐπέστειλε Μαικήνην συνθέσθαι Σκριβωνία, τῇ Λίβωνος ἀδελφῇ, τοῦ κηδεύοντος Πομπηίῳ, ἵν' ἔχοι καὶ τήνδε ἀφορμὴν ἐς διαλύσεις, εἰ δεήσειεν. καὶ πυθόμενος ὁ Λίβων ἐπέστειλε τοῖς οἰκείοις ἐγγυᾶν αὐτὴν τῷ Καίσαρι
- 223 προθύμως. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ τῶν Ἀντωνίου φίλων καὶ στρατῶν ὅσους ὑπώπτει, διέπεμπεν ἐπὶ προφάσεων ἄλλους ἀλλαχοῦ καὶ Λέπιδον ἐς τὴν ἐψηφισμένην αὐτῷ Λιβύην, ἄγοντα τῶν Ἀντωνίου τελῶν τὰ ὑποπτότατα ἕξ.
- 224 54. Λεύκιον δὲ καλέσας ἐπήνει μὲν ἐς φιλαδελφίαν, εἰ τῇ Ἀντωνίου γνώμῃ ὑπομεμενηκῶς ἴδιον τὸ ἀμάρτημα ποιοῖτο, ὠνείδιζε δὲ ἐς ἀχαριστίαν, εἰ τοιούτου τυχὼν αὐτοῦ μηδὲ νῦν ὁμολογοίη περὶ Ἀντωνίου, σαφῶς ἤδη καὶ Πομπηίῳ συνθέσθαι λεγομένου. "Ἐγὼ δέ σοι πιστεύων," ἔφη, "Καληνοῦ τελευτήσαντος τά
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⁴¹ Scribonia was the sister of Lucius Scribonius Libo (consul 34), who was aligned for most of this period against Octavian.

- his reputation for the events at Philippi made him. Octavian thought that he would have the better of Antony, Pompeius, and Ahenobarbus in the number of soldiers, for he commanded more than forty legions at that time, but as he did not have a single ship nor the opportunity to build any, while they had five hundred, he was afraid that they would reduce Italy to famine by patrolling its coasts. With these matters on his mind, and having had proposals made to him about many young women he could marry, he wrote to Maecenas to arrange an engagement for him with Scribonia, the sister of Libo, the father-in-law of Pompeius, so that he might have this as the basis for a settlement with Pompeius, if it should prove necessary.⁴¹ When Libo heard of this he wrote to his family telling them to betroth her to Octavian without hesitation. Those of Antony's associates and armed forces Octavian did not trust he found excuses to send to various different places; and he dispatched Lepidus to Africa, the province officially assigned to him, bringing with him the six most suspect of Antony's legions.
54. Then he summoned Lucius and praised him for his loyalty to his brother, if it was the case that he had taken the blame on himself while carrying out Antony's policy, but reproached him with ingratitude, if it was the case that, after meeting with such a response from himself, he refused to admit the truth about Antony even now when he was spoken of openly as having made an agreement with Pompeius. "Because I trusted you," Octavian said, "when
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After two previous marriages, she was married to Octavian in 40, who divorced her on the birth of their daughter, Julia, in 39.

τε ἔθνη τὰ ὑπ' αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν στρατόν, ἵνα μὴ ἄναρχος εἴη, διὰ τῶν ἑμαυτοῦ φίλων διώκουν Ἀντωνίῳ. ἀλλὰ νῦν ἐκφανείσης τῆς ἐνέδρας ἐκεῖνά τε ἑμαυτοῦ πάντα ποιῶμαι καὶ σοὶ πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀπιέναι θέλοντι
 226 συγχωρῶ μετὰ ἀδείας." ὁ μὲν οὕτως εἶπεν, εἴτε πειρώμενος τοῦ Λευκίου, εἴτε τὸ λεχθὲν ἐκπεσεῖν ἐθέλων ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον· ὁ δὲ οἶα καὶ πρότερον εἶπε· "Φουλβίας μὲν ἡσθόμην οὔσης μοναρχικῆς, ἐγὼ δὲ συνεχρώμην τοῖς τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ στρατοῖς ἐς τὴν ἀπάντων ὑμῶν καθ-
 227 αῖρεσιν. καὶ νῦν, εἰ μὲν ἐπὶ καταλύσει τῆς μοναρχίας ἔρχοιτο ὁ ἀδελφός, καὶ φανερώς καὶ λαθῶν οἰχήσομαι πρὸς αὐτόν, ἀγωνιούμενος αὐθις ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος πρὸς σέ, καίπερ ἤδη μοι γενόμενον εὐεργέτην. εἰ δ' ἐπιλέγοιτο κακείνος καὶ διακρίνοι τοὺς συμμοναρχήσοντας αὐτῷ, πολεμήσω σὺν σοὶ πρὸς αὐτόν, ἕως ἂν ἡγῶμαι μηδὲ σὲ μοναρχίαν καθίστασθαι· τὸ γὰρ τῆς πατρίδος αἰεὶ προθήσω καὶ χάριτος καὶ γένους."
 229 ὧδε μὲν ὁ Λεύκιος εἶπεν, ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ αὐτόν καὶ τέως ἐν θαύματι ἄγων οὐκ ἔφη μὲν οὐδὲ βουλόμενον ἐπάξεσθαι κατὰ ἀδελφοῦ, πιστεύσειν δὲ ὡς τοιῶδες ἀνδρὶ πᾶσαν Ἰβηρίαν καὶ τὸν ἐν αὐτῇ στρατόν, ὑποστρατηγούντων αὐτῷ τῶν νῦν ἡγουμένων αὐτῆς Πεδουκαίου τε καὶ Λευκίου.²¹

230 55. Οὕτω μὲν δὴ καὶ Λεύκιον ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀπέπεμπε

²¹ Post Λευκίου indic. lacunam Schweig.

Calenus died I took on the administration of the provinces under his command and of his army, so that it would not be without a leader, using my own associates, and acting on behalf of Antony. But now that this plot has come to light, I claim all these for myself, and if you wish to go off to join your brother, I grant you safe conduct to do so." He 226 said this either to test Lucius, or because he wanted his words to reach Antony's ears. Lucius replied as before, saying, "I was aware that Fulvia was a proponent of monarchic government, but as far as I was concerned, I collaborated with my brother's forces in order to destroy all 227 of you. And now if my brother comes to abolish the monarchic regime, I will go to join him, either openly or secretly, and, on behalf of our country, I will renew my struggle against you, even though you have now become my benefactor. On the other hand, if he too is merely 228 choosing and setting apart people to share sole rule with him, I will fight on your side against him, as long as I think that you are not also trying to establish a monarchy. For I will always set the interests of my country above favor and family." Such was Lucius' reply, and Octavian, who already 229 admired him before, said that he would not take him as an ally against his brother, even if he was willing, but, because he was a man of such character, he would entrust to him the whole of Iberia and the army stationed there, with its present governors, Peducaeus and Lucius, acting as his subordinates.⁴²

55. In this way Octavian removed Lucius to a distance 230

⁴² There was a Titus Peducaeus who was suffect consul in 35. It is odd that the second man only has a praenomen, and there may be something wrong with the text.

σὺν τιμῇ καὶ διὰ τῶν ὑποστρατήγων ἐφύλασσε
 ἀφανῶς· Ἀντώνιος δὲ Φουλβίαν μὲν ἐν Σικυῶνι νοση-
 λευομένην ἀπέλιπεν, ἀπὸ δὲ Κερκύρας ἐς τὸν Ἰόνιον
 ἔπλει, στρατῷ μὲν οὐ πολλῷ, ναυσὶ δὲ διακοσίαις, ἃς
 231 ἐν Ἀσίᾳ πεποίητο. πυθόμενος δὲ Ἀηνόβαρβον ἀπαν-
 τᾶν αὐτῷ ναυσὶ καὶ στρατῷ πολλῷ, οὐ δοκοῦντά τι-
 σιν οὐδ' ἐπὶ ταῖς διαπεμφθείσαις σπονδαῖς εἶναι βέ-
 βαιον (ἦν γὰρ Ἀηνόβαρβος τῶν κατεγνωσμένων τε
 ἐκ δίκης ἐπὶ Γαίῳ Καίσαρι φόνου καὶ προγεγραμ-
 μένων ἐπὶ τῇ καταδίκη καὶ ἐν Φιλίπποις Ἀντωνίῳ καὶ
 Καίσαρι πεπολεμηκότων), ὅμως ἔπλει, πέντε ναυσὶν
 ἐπιβὰς ταῖς ἀρίσταις, ἵνα φαίνοιτο πιστεύων, καὶ τὰς
 232 λοιπὰς ἐκ διαστήματος ἔπεσθαι κελεύσας. καθορωμέ-
 νου δὲ ἤδη τοῦ Ἀηνοβάρβου παντί τε τῷ στρατῷ καὶ
 παντὶ τῷ στόλῳ μετ' ὀξείας εἰρεσίας προσπλέοντος,
 ἔδεισεν ὁ Πλάγκος Ἀντωνίῳ παρεστῶς καὶ ἐπισχεῖν
 αὐτὸν ἡξίου τὸν πλοῦν καὶ προπέμψαι τινὰς ἐς πείραν
 ὡς πρὸς ἀμφίβολον ἄνδρα. ὁ δὲ εἰπὼν αἰρείσθαι
 παρασπονδούμενος ἀποθανεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ σώζεσθαι
 233 δειλὸς ὀφθείς, ἔπλει. πλησίον τε ἦσαν ἀλλήλων ἤδη,
 καὶ αἱ ναυαρχίδες ἐκ τῶν σημείων ἐφαίνοντο καὶ ἀλ-
 λήλαις προσέπλεον· καὶ τῶν ῥαβδούχων ὁ ἡγούμενος
 Ἀντωνίῳ, κατὰ τὴν πρῶραν, ὥσπερ ἔθος ἐστίν, ἐστῶς,
 εἴτ' ἐκλαθόμενος, ὅτι ἀμφίβολος ἀνὴρ καὶ στρατοῦ
 κἀκείνος ἡγούμενος ἰδίου προσπλέοι, εἴτε ἀπὸ εὐγενε-

⁴³ This is a mistake: as Appian himself observed (BCiv

with honor, but kept a discreet watch on him through his
 lieutenants. Antony left Fulvia in need of medical atten-
 tion at Sicyon, and sailed from Corcyra into the Ionian gulf
 with a not very large army, but with two hundred ships
 which he had had built in Asia. When he was informed 231
 that Ahenobarbus was coming to meet him with a fleet
 and a large army, although some regarded Ahenobarbus
 as unreliable, even after the terms exchanged between
 them—for not only was he one of the people condemned
 in court for the murder of Gaius Caesar, but was also
 proscribed after the verdict, and had fought against An-
 tony and Octavian at Philippi⁴³—nevertheless, Antony
 embarked on five of his best ships and sailed on, in order
 to present the appearance of trusting him, and ordered the
 rest to follow at a distance. But when Ahenobarbus was 232
 now observed rowing toward them at full speed with his
 whole army and fleet, Plancus, who was standing beside
 Antony, was frightened, and asked him to heave to and
 send some men ahead to investigate, as you would against
 a man whose intentions were unclear. Antony replied that
 he would rather die as a result of a treaty violation than be
 seen as a coward and live, and he maintained his course.
 They were now close to each other, and the flagships, 233
 which could be recognized by their ensigns, sailed toward
 each other. Antony's chief lictor stood in the prow, as is the
 custom, and either forgetting that sailing toward them was
 a man of uncertain intention who also commanded his
 own army, or adopting an aristocratic attitude, ordered

4.115.479), Ahenobarbus did not fight at Philippi, but was in-
 volved on the day of the battle in a naval engagement with Domi-
 tius Calvinus.

234 οἱ δὲ καθήρουν τε καὶ τὴν ναῦν ἐς τὰ πλάγια τῆς Ἀντωνίου νεῶς περιέστρεφον. ὡς δὲ καὶ συνιδόντες ἀλλήλους ἠσπάσαντο καὶ ὁ στρατὸς ὁ τοῦ Ἀηνοβάρβου τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἡγεμόνα προσεῖπεν, ὁ μὲν Πλάγκος ἀνεθάρρει μόλις, ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος ἐς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ναῦν τὸν Ἀηνόβαρβον ἀναδεξάμενος ἐς Παλόεντα κατέπλευσεν, ἔνθα ἦν Ἀηνοβάρβω καὶ τὸ πεζόν. καὶ ὁ Ἀηνόβαρβος τῆς σκηνῆς ἐξίστατο Ἀντωνίῳ.

235 56. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπὶ Βρεντεσίου διέπλεον, φυλασσομένου πρὸς πέντε Καίσαρος τάξεων, καὶ οἱ Βρεντέσιοι τὰς πύλας ἀπέκλειον, Ἀηνοβάρβω μὲν ὡς ἐκ πολλοῦ

236 πολεμῖω, Ἀντωνίῳ δὲ ὡς πολέμιον ἐπάγοντι. ὁ δὲ ἀγανακτῶν καὶ ἠγούμενος εἶναι τάδε καλλωπίσματα, τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς ἀποκλείεσθαι πρὸς τῶν Καίσαρος φρουρῶν γνώμη Καίσαρος, διατάφρευε τῆς πόλεως τὸν

237 ἰσθμὸν καὶ ἀπετείχιζεν. ἔστι δ' ἡ πόλις χερρόνησος ἐν μηνοειδεί λιμένι, καὶ οὐκ ἦν ἔτι τοῖς ἐξ ἠπείρου προσελθεῖν ἀνάντει λόφῳ, διατετμημένῳ τε καὶ διατετειχισμένῳ. ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος καὶ τὸν λιμένα μέγαν ὄντα φρουρίοις πυκνοῖς περιεφράξατο καὶ τὰς νήσους τὰς

238 οἷς εἶρητο τὰ εὐκαιρα καταλαμβάνειν. ἐκέλευε δὲ καὶ Πομπήιον ἐπιπλεῖν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ δρᾶν, ὅ τι δύναιτο. ὁ δὲ ἄσμενος αὐτίκα Μηνόδωρον σὺν ναυσὶ πολλαῖς καὶ στρατοῦ τέσσαρσι τέλεσιν ἐκπέμψας Σαρδῶν Καίσαρος οὔσαν καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ δύο τέλη περιέσπασε τὴν

them, as if it were subjects or inferior beings he was encountering, to lower their ensign. They did so, and turned 234 their ship to bring it alongside Antony's. When the two commanders saw each other they exchanged greetings, and the army of Ahenobarbus saluted Antony as Imperator. Plancus just about managed to recover his nerve, and Antony received Ahenobarbus on his own ship and sailed to Paloeis, where Ahenobarbus had his infantry, and here he gave up his tent to Antony.

56. From there they sailed to Brundisium, which was 235 garrisoned by five cohorts of Octavian's troops. The citizens closed their gates against Ahenobarbus, because he was an old enemy, and against Antony because he was bringing an enemy against them. Antony was annoyed, 236 and believing that these were just fancy words and that he was in fact being shut out by Octavian's garrison as a result of Octavian's decision, he dug a ditch across the isthmus on which the town was located, and walled it off. The town 237 is situated on a peninsula in a crescent-shaped harbor, and it was no longer possible for those coming from the mainland to get to it up a steep hill that had been cut through and walled off. Antony also set closely spaced guard posts to enclose the harbor, which is large, and the islands in it, and sent men along the coasts of Italy with orders to seize the advantageous positions. He instructed Pompeius too 238 to attack Italy by sea, and do whatever he could. Pompeius was delighted to dispatch Menodorus immediately with numerous ships and four legions of soldiers, and seized Sardinia, which was under Octavian's control, and the two legions there, who were unnerved by his cooperation

- 239 συμφροσύνην Ἀντωνίου καταπλαγέντας. τῆς δὲ Ἰτα-
 λίας Σιποῦντα μὲν τῆς Αὔσονίας οἱ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου
 κατέλαβον, Θουρίους δὲ καὶ Κωνσεντίαν Πομπήιος
 ἐπολιόρκει καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐπενέμετο τοῖς ἰππεύσιν.
- 240 57. Ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ, ὀξείας καὶ πανταχοῦ τῆς ἐπι-
 χειρήσεως γενομένης, ἐς μὲν τὴν Αὔσονίδα ἔπεμπεν
 Ἀγρίππαν ἐπικουρεῖν τοῖς πονουμένοις. καὶ ὁ Ἀγρίπ-
 πας τοὺς ἐν ὁδῷ κληρούχους ἤγεεν, ἐκ διαστήματος
 ἐπομένους ὡς ἐπὶ Πομπήιον ἰόντας· μαθόντες δὲ Ἀν-
 τωνίου γνώμη τὰ γιγνόμενα εἶναι, ἀνέστρεφον αὐτίκα
 διαλανθάνοντες. καὶ τοῦτο μάλιστα κατέπληξε τὸν
- 241 Καῖσαρα. ὁδεύων δ' ὅμως ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον αὐτὸς μεθ'
 ἑτέρου στρατοῦ, τοῖς κληρούχοις αὖθις ἐνετύγχανε
 καὶ μετεδίδασκε καὶ τοὺς ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ συνωκισμένους
 ἤγεεν, αἰδουμένους καὶ γνώμην ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ ποιουμέ-
 νους Ἀντώνιον καὶ Καῖσαρα συναλλάσσειν, εἰ δ' ὁ
- 242 Ἀντώνιος ἀπειθῶν πολεμοίη, Καῖσαρι ἀμύνειν. ὁ δὲ
 Καῖσαρ ἐν μὲν Κανυσίῳ τινὰς ἡμέρας ἐνοσηλεύετο,
 παντὶ δὲ ὦν ἔτι κρείσσων Ἀντωνίου κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος,
 εὔρε τὸ Βρετέσιον ἀποτετειχισμένον καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλ' ἢ
 παρεστρατοπέδευε καὶ τοῖς γιγνόμενοις ἐφήδρευεν.
- 243 58. Ὁ δ' Ἀντώνιος ἐκράτει μὲν τοῖς ὀχυρώμασιν ὡς
 πολὺ μείονας²² ἔχων ἀσφαλῶς ἀπομάχεσθαι, ἐκάλει
 δὲ τὸν στρατὸν ἐκ Μακεδονίας κατὰ σπουδὴν καὶ ἐτέ-

²² μείονας BJ; πλέονας LP

with Antony.⁴⁴ In Italy Antony's men captured the town of 239
 Sipuntum in Ausonia, while Pompeius besieged Thurii
 and Consentia, and used their territory as grazing for his
 cavalry.

57. In response to this fierce and general attack, Octa- 240
 avian sent Agrippa to Ausonia to help those in difficulty.
 Agrippa brought with him the colonists settled along his
 route who followed at a distance in the belief that they
 were marching against Pompeius. But when they learned
 that things were happening on Antony's initiative, they
 immediately turned back without drawing attention to
 themselves. Octavian was particularly alarmed by this.
 Nevertheless, while making his way to Brundisium with 241
 another army, he again fell in with the colonists, got them
 to change their mind, and brought with him the men he
 himself had settled in their colonies. They were ashamed
 and made a secret decision to reconcile Antony and Octa-
 avian, but to support Octavian if Antony could not be per-
 suaded and waged war instead. Octavian was ill for some 242
 days at Canusium, but although he continued to enjoy
 complete numerical superiority over Antony, he found
 Brundisium cut off by defensive walls, and so did nothing
 more than camp opposite it and await events.

58. In spite of having considerably fewer men, Antony 243
 succeeded in using his strongholds to defend himself
 safely, but he urgently summoned his army from Macedo-

⁴⁴ Menodorus, or Menas, was called a pirate by Plutarch (*Ant.*
 1), and it is often surmised that he was captured by Pompey the
 Great in his campaign of 67 and freed by him. Although he
 changed sides many times, he ended up fighting for Octavian and
 died in 35 on the Illyrian campaign (Cass. Dio 49.37.6).

χναζεν ἑσπέρας ἀφανῶς ἀνάγεσθαι ναῦς μακράς τε καὶ στρογγύλας ἰδιωτικοῦ πλήθους, οἱ μεθ' ἡμέραν ἄλλοι μετ' ἄλλους κατέπλεον ὀπλισμένοι καθάπερ ἐκ Μακεδονίας ἐπιόντες, ἐφορῶντος αὐτῶν τὸν ἐπίπλου τοῦ Καίσαρος. ἤδη δ' αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ μηχανήματα γεγένητο, καὶ ἐπιχειρήσειν ἔμελλε τοῖς Βρεντεσίοις, ἀχθομένου τοῦ Καίσαρος, ὅτι μὴ εἶχεν ἐπαμύνειν.

244 περὶ δὲ ἑσπέραν ἑκατέροις ἀγγέλλεται Σιπούντα μὲν Ἀγρίππας ἀναλαβών, Πομπήιος δὲ Θουρίων μὲν ἀπε-
 245 ὠσμένος, Κωνσεντίαν δ' ἔτι περικαθήμενος, ἐφ' οἷς ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐδυσχέραινεν. ὡς δὲ καὶ Σερουίλιος ἀπηγ-
 γέλθη προσιών τῷ Καίσαρι μετὰ χιλίων καὶ πεντα-
 κοσίων ἰππέων, οὐ κατασχὼν τῆς ὀρμῆς ὁ Ἀντώνιος εὐθύς ἀπὸ τοῦ δείπνου, μεθ' ὧν εὗρεν ἐτοίμων φίλων καὶ ἰππέων τετρακοσίων, μάλα θρασέως ἐπειχθεὶς ἐπέπεσε τοῖς χιλίοις καὶ πεντακοσίοις εὐναζομένοις ἔτι περὶ πόλιν Ἰνδριαν καὶ ἐκπλήξας ἀμαχεὶ παρέλαβέ τε καὶ αὐτῆς ἡμέρας ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἐπανήγαγεν. οὕτω τὸν Ἀντώνιον ὡς ἄμαχον ἐκ τῆς ἐν Φιλίπποις δόξης ἔτι κατεπεπλήγεσαν.

246 59. Αἱ τε στρατηγίδες αὐτοῦ τάξεις, ὑπὸ τῆσδε τῆς δόξης ἐπαιρόμεναι, προσεπέλαζον τῷ χάρακι τῷ Καίσαρος κατὰ μέρη καὶ τοὺς συνεστρατευμένους σφίσιν ὠνείδιζον, εἰ πολεμήσουντες ἤκουεν Ἀντωνίῳ τῷ πάν-
 247 τας αὐτοὺς περισώσαντι ἐν Φιλίπποις. τῶν δὲ ἀντεπικαλούντων, ὅτι αὐτοὶ σφίσιν ἤκουσι πολεμήσουντες, λόγοι συνισταμένων ἐγίνοντο, καὶ τὰ ἐγκλήματα ἀλλήλοις πρῶφερων, οἱ μὲν τὴν ἀπόκλεισιν τοῦ

nia, and devised a stratagem of sending out warships and merchantmen filled with civilians in the evening without being seen, who returned the next day, one group after another, in arms as though they were arriving from Macedonia, while Octavian watched them dock. Antony now had siege engines available and was on the point of making an attack on Brundisium much to Octavian's annoyance, since he did not have the means to protect them. But toward evening the news reaches both armies that Agrippa had recaptured Sipuntum and that Pompeius had been pushed back from Thurii, although he was still investing Consentia. Antony was annoyed at this, and when it was reported to him that Servilius was coming to Octavian with one thousand five hundred cavalry, he could not hold his impatience in check and, rising straight from dinner, pressed ahead very daringly with whatever associates he found ready and four hundred cavalry, and fell on the one thousand five hundred who were still asleep near the town of Hyria. Having struck panic into them he won them over without a fight, and brought them back to Brundisium the same day. To such an extent were they still browbeaten by Antony's reputation for invincibility won at Philippi.

59. Antony's praetorian cohorts, confident in this reputation of his, approached Octavian's palisade in groups and criticized their fellow veterans for coming to make war on Antony who had saved them all at Philippi. When they made the counterclaim that Antony's men were coming to make war on them, arguments arose as they stood around and accused each other. The Antonians complained that

Βρεντεσίου καὶ τὴν ἀφαίρεσιν τοῦ Καληνοῦ στρατοῦ,
οἱ δὲ τὴν ἀποτείχισιν τοῦ Βρεντεσίου καὶ πολιορκίαν
καὶ τὴν τῆς Αὔσονίδος καταδρομὴν καὶ τὸ συνθέσθαι
μὲν Ἀηνοβάρβω σφαγῆ Γαίου Καίσαρος, συνθέσθαι
248 δὲ Πομπηίῳ κοινῶ πολεμίῳ. καὶ τέλος οἱ τοῦ Καίσα-
ρος τὴν γνώμην σφῶν τοῖς ἑτέροις ἀνεκάλυπτον, ὅτι
Καίσαρι συνέλθοιεν οὐκ ἀμνημονοῦντες Ἀντωνίου
τῆς ἀρετῆς, ἀλλὰ διαλλαγὰς ἐπινοοῦντες ἀμφοτέροις
ἢ Ἀντώνιον ἀπειθοῦντα καὶ πολεμοῦντα ἀμννούμενοι.
καὶ τάδε καὶ αὐτοὶ προσπελάζοντες τοῖς Ἀντωνίου
249 χαρακώμασι προύλεγον. γιγνομένων δὲ τούτων ἀγ-
γέλλεται Φουλβία τεθνεῶσα, λεγομένη μὲν ἐπὶ ταῖς
Ἀντωνίου μέμψεσιν ἀθυμῆσαι καὶ ἐς τὴν νόσον ἐμπε-
σεῖν, νομιζομένη δὲ καὶ τὴν νόσον ἐκούσα ἐπιτρῦψαι
διὰ τὴν ὀργὴν Ἀντωνίου· νοσοῦσάν τε γὰρ αὐτὴν
250 ἀπολελοίπει καὶ οὐδὲ ἀπολείπων ἐωράκει. ἐδόκει δ'
ἀμφοτέροις ἐς πολλὰ συνοίσειν ὁ θάνατος, γυναιίου
φιλοπράγμονος ἀπηλλαγμένοις, ἢ διὰ τὸν Κλεο-
πάτρας ζῆλον ἐξερρίπισε τοσόνδε πόλεμον. τό γε μὴν
πάθος ἀσθενῶς ἤνεγκεν ὁ Ἀντώνιος, ἡγούμενός τι καὶ
αἴτιος γεγονέναι.

251 60. Λεύκιος δὲ ἦν Κοκκήσιος ἑκατέρῳ φίλος καὶ ὑπὸ
Καίσαρος ἐς Φοινίκην τοῦ προτέρου θέρους πρὸς τὸν
Ἀντώνιον ἀπέσταλτο μετὰ Καικίνα, ἐπανιόντος δὲ τοῦ
252 Καικίνα παρὰ Ἀντωνίῳ κατέμενεν. οὗτος τότε ὁ Κοκ-

⁴⁵ Lucius Cocceius Nerva, presumably an ancestor of the fu-

Brundisium had been closed to them and Calenus' army
taken from them, while Octavian's men cited the invest-
ment and siege of Brundisium, the attack on Ausonia, the
agreement with Ahenobarbus, one of Caesar's murderers,
and the agreement with Pompeius, their common enemy. 248
In the end, Octavian's men revealed their plan to the oth-
ers: they had united with Octavian not because they had
forgotten Antony's courage, but because they intended to
reconcile both parties, or to fight Antony if he refused and
made war. They in their turn approached Antony's pali-
sade and issued the same warning. While these events 249
were happening, the news is announced that Fulvia was
dead. She was said to have become depressed and fallen
ill as a result of Antony's criticisms, and it was believed that
she deliberately aggravated her illness because of Antony's
anger. For even though she was ill, he had left her, and had
not even visited her when he was going away. Both men 250
found her death very much to their advantage, freed as
they were of a meddling woman, who, because of her
jealousy of Cleopatra, had kindled such a great war. All the
same, Antony took the event badly, as he thought he was
partly responsible for it.

60. There was a certain Lucius Cocceius, a friend of 251
both men, who had been sent the previous summer by
Octavian, along with Caecina, to Antony in Phoenicia,
where he had remained with Antony after Caecina's
return.⁴⁵ Not letting the opportunity pass, this Cocceius 252

ture emperor Nerva, was later one of those accompanying Horace
on his famous journey to Brundisium in 38 or 37 (*Sat.* 1.5.29,
where Horace refers to his important role as go-between for Oc-
tavian and Antony).

κήιος, τὸν καιρὸν οὐ μεθείς, ὑπεκρίνατο μεταπεμφθῆ-
 ναι πρὸς Καίσαρος ἀσπασόμενος αὐτόν. συγχωροῦ-
 ντος δ' ἀπιέναι τοῦ Ἀντωνίου πειρώμενος ἤρετο, εἴ τι
 καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐπιστέλλει τῷ Καίσαρι, κεκο-
 253 μισμένος δι' αὐτοῦ Κοκκήϊου γράμματα. καὶ ὁ Ἀν-
 τώνιος, "Νῦν μὲν," ἔφη, "Τί ἂν ἀλλήλοις γράφοιμεν,
 ὄντες ἐχθροί, εἰ μὴ κακῶς ἀγορεύοιμεν ἀλλήλους;
 ἀντέγραψα δὲ τοῖς πάλαι διὰ Καικίνα· καὶ εἰ βούλει,
 254 λάβε τὰ ἀντίγραφα." ὁ μὲν οὕτως ἐπεχλεύασεν, ὁ δὲ
 Κοκκήϊος οὐκ εἶα πω τὸν Καίσαρα καλεῖν ἐχθρόν, ἔς
 τε Δεύκιον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἀντωνίου φίλους τοιόνδε
 255 γεγεννημένον. ὁ δέ, "Ἐκ Βρεντεσίου με," φησὶν, "Ἀπο-
 κλείων καὶ τὰ ἐμὰ ἔθνη καὶ τὸν Καληνοῦ στρατὸν
 ἀφαιρούμενος ἔτι τοῖς φίλοις ἐστὶν εὖνους μόνοις
 οὐδὲ τοὺς φίλους ἐμοὶ περισώζειν ἔοικεν, ἀλλὰ ταῖς
 εὐεργεσίαις ἐχθροποιεῖν." καὶ ὁ Κοκκήϊος, ἃ μὲν ἐπε-
 μέμετο μαθῶν, οὐδὲν δὲ ἔτι ὀξυτέραν φύσιν ἐπερεθί-
 σασ, ὄχητο πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα.
 256 61. Ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν ἰδὼν ἐν θαύματι ἐποιεῖτο, ὅτι μὴ
 θάσσον ἔλθοι. "Οὐ γάρ," ἔφη, "Καὶ τὸν σὸν ἀδελφόν,
 ἵν' ἐχθρὸς ᾗς μοι, περιέσωσα." ὁ δέ, "Πῶς," ἔφη,
 "Τοὺς μὲν ἐχθροὺς φίλους ποιῆ, τοὺς δὲ φίλους
 ἐχθροὺς ἀποκαλεῖς τε καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἀφαιρῆ καὶ τὰ
 257 ἔθνη;" καὶ ὁ Καίσαρ, "Οὐ γάρ," ἔφη, "Καληνοῦ τελευ-
 τήσαντος ἐχρῆν ἐπὶ μεираκίῳ τῷ Καληνοῦ παιδὶ γενέ-
 σθαι τοσαύτας ἀφορμάς, ἀπόντος ἔτι Ἀντωνίου αἰς
 καὶ Δεύκιος ἐπαρθεῖς²³ ἐμάνη, καὶ Ἀσίνιος καὶ Ἀηνό-

²³ ἐπαρθεῖς BJ; ἀνιαθεῖς LP

now pretended that he had been sent for by Octavian to
 pay his respects to him. Antony gave him permission to
 leave, but Cocceius sounded him out by asking if, since he
 had been in receipt of a letter from Octavian through Coc-
 ceius himself, he had any message for Octavian. Antony 253
 replied: "Why would we write to each other in the present
 circumstances when we are enemies, except to exchange
 insults? I replied to his earlier letters through Caecina.
 Take the copies of them, if you like." He was being offhand 254
 in this, but Cocceius would not allow him to call Octavian
 an enemy yet, after his generous behavior toward Lucius
 and Antony's other associates. Antony replied: "He has 255
 shut me out of Brundisium and taken from me my prov-
 inces and the army of Calenus. He is well disposed only to
 my associates, and he is probably not even trying to keep
 them as my friends, but make them my enemies by his
 kindnesses." Having learned what his complaints were,
 Cocceius annoyed him no further, as he was by nature
 rather irritable, but went off to Octavian.

61. On seeing him, Octavian said he was surprised he 256
 had not come more quickly: "For I did not save your
 brother too," he said, "in order for you to be my enemy."⁴⁶
 Cocceius replied, "How is it that you turn your enemies
 into friends, but call your friends enemies and rob them
 of their army and provinces?" "Because it was necessary," 257
 replied Octavian, "that after the death of Calenus such
 great resources should not be left in the hands of Calenus'
 son, a mere boy, while Antony was still away. It was en-
 couraged by these resources that Lucius lost his senses,
 while Asinius and Ahenobarbus, who were in the vicinity,

⁴⁶ His brother was Marcus Cocceius Nerva, governor of Asia
 38-37 and consul in 36.

βαρβος γειτονεύοντες ἐχρῶντο καθ' ἡμῶν. ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ
 Πλάγκου τέλη κατὰ σπουδὴν κατέλαβον, ἵνα μὴ οἴ-
 χοιτο πρὸς Πομπήιον· οἱ γοῦν ἰππέες αὐτῶν διέπλευ-
 258 σαν ἐς Σικελίαν." καὶ ὁ Κοκκήσιος, "Ἐτέρως," ἔφη,
 "Τάδε λογοποιούμενα οὐδὲ Ἀντώνιος ἐπίστευεν, ἕως
 259 ἀπεκλείσθη τοῦ Βρεντεσίου καθάπερ πολέμιος." καὶ ὁ
 Καῖσαρ οὐδὲν μὲν αὐτὸς ἔφη περὶ τοῦδε προστάξαι
 (οὐδὲ γὰρ προμαθεῖν προσπλέοντα οὐδ' ἀφικέσθαι
 μετὰ πολεμίων προσδοκῆσαι), Βρεντεσίους δὲ αὐτοὺς
 καὶ τὸν ὑπολελειμμένον αὐτοῖς διὰ τὰς Ἀηνοβάρβον
 καταδρομὰς ταξίαρχον αὐτοκελεύστους ἀποκλείσαι
 τὸν Ἀντώνιον, "Συνθέμενον μὲν ἐχθρῶ κοινῶ Πομ-
 πηίῳ, ἐπαγαγόντα δὲ Ἀηνόβαρβον φονέα τοῦ ἐμοῦ
 πατρός, ψήφῳ καὶ κρίσει καὶ προγραφῇ κατεγνωσμέ-
 νον καὶ πολιορκήσαντα μὲν τὸ Βρεντέσιον μετὰ Φι-
 λίππους, πολιορκοῦντα δὲ ἔτι τὸν Ἴόνιον ἐν κύκλῳ,
 ἐμπρήσαντα δὲ τὰς ἐμὰς ναῦς καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν λεη-
 λατήσαντα."
 260 62. Ὁ δέ, "Σπένδεσθαι μὲν," ἔφη, "Συνεχωρήσατε
 ἀλλήλοις, πρὸς οὓς ἂν ἐθέλητε· καὶ οὐδενὶ τῶν ἀνδρο-
 φόνων Ἀντώνιος ἐσπείσατο, οὐδὲν ἔλασσον ἢ αὐτὸς
 261 σὺ τὸν σὸν πατέρα τιμῶν. Ἀηνόβαρβος δὲ οὐκ ἔστι
 τῶν ἀνδροφόνων, ἢ δὲ ψήφος αὐτῷ κατ' ὀργὴν ἐπι-
 κται· οὐδὲ γὰρ τῆς βουλῆς πω τότε μετεῖχεν. εἰ δ' ὡς
 φίλῳ Βρούτου μὴ συγγνώμην νομίζοιμεν, οὐκ ἂν φθά-
 262 νοιμεν ὀλίγου δεῖν ἅπασιν χαλεπαίνοντες; Πομπηίῳ δὲ

⁴⁷ Ahenobarbus did not play any part in the Perusine war,

were beginning to use them against us.⁴⁷ That is why I also
 quickly took possession of Plancus' legions, so that they
 would not go over to Pompeius. And indeed their cavalry
 did cross over to Sicily." "Different constructions have
 258 been put on these matters," said Cocceius, "but not even
 Antony believed them until he was shut out of Brundisium
 like an enemy." Octavian responded that he personally
 259 gave no order to that effect, since he did not know before-
 hand that Antony was approaching by sea, and did not
 expect him to arrive in the company of enemies. The
 people of Brundisium themselves and the military tribune
 assigned to them because of the attacks of Ahenobarbus
 made their own decision to shut Antony out, "because he
 had allied himself with our common enemy Pompeius and
 was bringing with him Ahenobarbus, my father's mur-
 derer, who had been condemned by vote, court judgment
 and proscription, who besieged Brundisium after Philippi,
 and is still blockading the whole circuit of the Ionian gulf,
 and who burned my ships and plundered Italy."

62. "But it was agreed between you," said Cocceius, 260
 "that you could come to terms with anyone you liked.
 Antony made no peace with any of the assassins, and he
 holds your father in no less honor than you do. Ahenobar- 261
 bus is not one of the assassins, and the vote was cast against
 him out of personal animosity, for he had no role whatever
 in the plot at that time. If we refuse to pardon him on the
 grounds that he is an associate of Brutus, wouldn't we lead
 the way in quarreling with virtually everybody? Antony 262

above, 32.124–49.207, and it has been suggested that his name might be a mistake for Ventidius, who did operate in that campaign with Asinius.

οὐ συνέθετο μὲν συμμαχήσειν ὁ Ἀντώνιος, πολεμού-
 μενος δ' ὑπὸ σοῦ προσλήψεσθαι σύμμαχον ἢ καὶ σοὶ
 συναλλάξειν, οὐδὲν ἀνήκεστον οὐδ' ἐκείνον εἰργασμέ-
 νον. σὺ δὲ καὶ τῶνδε τὴν αἰτίαν ἔχεις· εἰ γὰρ οὐκ
 ἐπολεμήθη κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν, οὐδ' ἂν οὗτοι πρεσβεύ-
 263 εσθαι ταῦτα πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐθάρρουν." καὶ ὁ Καί-
 σαρ ἔτι ἐπικαλῶν, "Τὴν μὲν Ἰταλίαν," ἔφη, "Κἀμὲ
 σὺν αὐτῇ, Μανίος καὶ Φουλβία καὶ Αεύκιος ἐπο-
 λέμουν· ὁ δὲ Πομπήσιος οὐ πρότερον, ἀλλὰ νῦν
 264 Ἀντωνίῳ θαρρῶν ἐπιβέβηκε τῆς παραλίου." καὶ ὁ
 Κοκκήσιος, "Οὐκ Ἀντωνίῳ θαρρῶν," εἶπεν, "Ἀλλὰ ὑπ'
 Ἀντωνίου πεμφθείς. οὐ γὰρ ἐπικρύψω σε, ὅτι καὶ τὴν
 ἄλλην Ἰταλίαν ἐπιδραμεῖται ναυτικῶ πολλῶ ναυτικὸν
 265 οὐκ ἔχουσαν, εἰ μὴ διαλύσεσθε ὑμεῖς." ὁ δὲ Καίσαρ
 (οὐ γὰρ ἀμελῶς ἤκουσε τοῦ τεχνάσματος) ἐπισχῶν
 ὀλίγον εἶπεν· "Ἄλλ' οὐ χαιρήσει Πομπήσιος, κακὸς κα-
 266 κῶς καὶ νῦν ἐκ Θουρίων ἐξελαθείς." καὶ ὁ Κοκκήσιος
 τὰ ἀμφίλογα πάντα κατιδὼν ἐπῆγε τὸν Φουλβίας θά-
 νατον καὶ τρόπον αὐτοῦ, ὅτι πρὸς τὴν ὀργὴν Ἀντω-
 τίου δυσχεράνασά τε νοσήσειε καὶ τὴν νόσον ἐπιτρί-
 ψειεν ὑπὸ τῆς δυσθυμίας, οὐκ ἰδόντος αὐτὴν οὐδὲ
 νοσοῦσαν Ἀντωνίου, <μεμφόμενος Ἀντώνιον>²⁴ ὡς αἴ-
 τιον τῆ γυναικὶ θανάτου γενόμενον· "Ἐκποδῶν δὲ
 κακείνης γενομένης, οὐδενὸς ὑμῖν ἐνδεῖν ἔτι," ἔφη,
 "Πρὸς ἀλλήλους πλὴν ἀληθεῦσαι, περὶ ὧν ὑπενοή-
 σατε."

²⁴ μεμφόμενος Ἀντώνιον add. Étienne-Duplessis

did not agree to give military assistance to Pompeius, but
 only to take him as an ally if you attacked Antony, or to
 reconcile him to you, since even he has done nothing ir-
 reparable. It is you who are to blame for this situation, for
 if there had been no war in Italy, those men would not
 have dared to make these diplomatic approaches to An-
 263 tony." But Octavian continued his accusations: "It was
 against Italy," he said, "and against me along with Italy, 263
 that Manius, Fulvia, and Lucius made war; and although
 Pompeius did not do so before, he has now made attacks
 on our coast, because he has confidence in Antony." "Not 264
 because he has confidence in Antony," Cocceius replied,
 "but because he was sent by Antony. For I will not hide
 from you the fact that he will use his large fleet to overrun
 the rest of Italy, which has no fleet to defend it, unless you
 two reconcile your differences." Octavian, after a brief 265
 silence (for he listened carefully to this clever suggestion),
 said, "But Pompeius will regret it, a cowardly man even
 now ignominiously driven out of Thurii." Then Cocceius, 266
 having identified all points of dispute, brought up the
 death of Fulvia, and the manner in which it happened:
 namely, how she had taken Antony's anger badly and fallen
 ill, making her illness worse because of depression at the
 fact that Antony had not visited her even when she was ill,
 <accusing Antonius>⁴⁸ of being responsible for his wife's
 death. "Now that she too is out of the way," he continued,
 "it only remains for you to speak frankly with each other
 about the suspicions you have harbored."

⁴⁸ This is added to the text by the Budé editor, as the grammar
 is strained without it.

- 267 63. Οὕτω καθομιλῶν τὸν Καίσαρα ὁ Κοκκήσιος
 ἐκείνην τε τὴν ἡμέραν ἐξενίζετο παρ' αὐτῷ καὶ ἐδέετο
 ἐπιστεῖλαί τι τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ, νεώτερον ὄντα πρεσβυ-
 τέρῳ. ὁ δὲ πολεμοῦντι μὲν ἔτι οὐκ ἔφη γράψαι οὐδὲ
 γὰρ ἐκείνον· μέμψεσθαι δ' αὐτοῦ τῇ μητρί, ὅτι συγ-
 γενῆς οὔσα καὶ προτιμηθεῖσα ἐκ πάντων ὑφ' αὐτοῦ,
 φύγοι τὴν Ἰταλίαν καθάπερ οὐ τευξομένη πάντων ὡς
 268 παρ' υἱοῦ. ὣδε μὲν καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐτέχναζε καὶ ἐπ-
 ἔστελλε τῇ Ἰουλίᾳ. ἐξιώντι δὲ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τῷ
 Κοκκήσιῳ πολλοὶ τῶν ταξiάρχων τὴν γνώμην ἐξέφε-
 ρον τοῦ στρατοῦ. ὁ δὲ καὶ τᾶλλα καὶ τότε αὐτὸ τῷ
 Ἀντωνίῳ μετέφερεν, ἵνα εἰδείη πολεμήσοντας οὐ συν-
 269 τιθεμένῳ. συνεβούλευεν οὖν Πομπήσιον μὲν ἐς Σικε-
 λίαν ἐξ ὧν ἐπόρθει μετακαλεῖν, Ἀηνόβαρβον δὲ ποι-
 270 πέμπειν, ἕως αἱ συνθῆκαι γένοιτο. παρακαλοῦσης δὲ
 καὶ τῆς μητρὸς ἐς ταῦτα τὸν Ἀντώνιον (γένει γὰρ ἦν
 ἐκ τῶν Ἰουλίῳ), ἠσχύνετο Ἀντώνιος, εἰ μὴ γενο-
 μένων τῶν συμβάσεων τὸν Πομπήσιον αὐθις ἐς συμ-
 271 μαχίαν καλοῖη. τῆς δὲ μητρὸς οὐκ ἀπελπίζουσης
 αὐτὰς ἔσεσθαι καὶ Κοκκήσιου ἰσχυριζομένου τε περὶ
 αὐτῶν καὶ ἐλπίζομένου τι πλέον εἰδέναί, ὁ Ἀντώνιος
 ἐνεδίδου καὶ τὸν Πομπήσιον ἀναχωρεῖν ἐκέλευεν ἐς Σι-
 κελίαν, ὡς ἐπιμελησόμενος τῶν συγκειμένων, καὶ Ἀη-
 νόβαρβον ἔπεμπεν ἠγεῖσθαι Βιθυνίας.
- 272 64. Ὡν ὁ στρατὸς ὁ τοῦ Καίσαρος αἰσθανόμενοι
 πρέσβεις εἴλοντο τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐς ἀμφοτέρους, οἱ τὰ
 μὲν ἐγκλήματα αὐτῶν ἐπέσχον ὡς οὐ κρίναι σφίσι,

63. In this way Cocceius reconciled himself to Octavian, and was entertained hospitably by him that day. Although Cocceius asked him to make some written communication, as the younger man, to his senior, Antony, Octavian refused to write to someone who was still waging war; and he said that Antony had not written to him either. He would, however, complain about him to Antony's mother, because in spite of being related to himself and honored by him above all, she had fled from Italy as though she would not have had all her wishes fulfilled by him as by her own son. Such was the strategy Octavian 268 devised as he wrote to Julia. When Cocceius was leaving the camp, many of the military tribunes informed him of the soldiers' attitude, and he communicated this and the other information to Antony, so that he would know they would fight against him if he did not come to an agree- 269 ment. Accordingly, he advised Antony to recall Pompeius to Sicily from the areas he was ravaging, and to send Ahenobarbus somewhere else, until the agreement was in 270 place. When his mother made the same request of him (for by birth she belonged to the Julian family), Antony was ashamed at the idea of asking Pompeius for military 271 assistance again if no agreement took place. But as his mother did not lose hope that this would happen, and with Cocceius both insistent on this score and holding out hope that he knew more than he was saying, Antony relented: he ordered Pompeius to withdraw to Sicily, implying that he himself would take care of their mutual interests, and sent Ahenobarbus to govern Bithynia.
64. On hearing this, Octavian's army chose delegates, 272 the same ones to send to both men; and the delegates put a stop to their mutual accusations, since they had been

ἀλλὰ διαλλάξαι μόνον ἡρημένοι, σφίσι δ' αὐτοῖς προσελόμενοι Κοκκήιον μὲν ὡς κοινὸν ἀμφοῖν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν Ἀντωνίου Πολλίωνα καὶ Μαικήναν ἐκ τῶν Καίσαρος, ἔγνωσαν Καίσαρι καὶ Ἀντωνίῳ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀμνηστίαν εἶναι τῶν γεγονότων καὶ φιλίαν
 273 ἐς τὸ μέλλον. ὑπογύως δὲ Μαρκέλλου τεθνεῶτος, ὃς τὴν ἀδελφὴν Καίσαρος εἶχεν Ὀκταουίαν, ἐδικαίουν οἱ διαλλακταὶ τὴν Ὀκταουίαν Ἀντωνίῳ τὸν Καίσαρα ἐγγυῆσαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν αὐτίκα ἐνηγγύα, καὶ ἡσπάζοντο ἀλλήλους, καὶ βοαὶ παρὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ εὐφημίαι πρὸς ἑκάτερον αὐτῶν ἦσαν ἅπαστοι δι' ὅλης τε τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ ἀνὰ τὴν νύκτα πᾶσαν.

274 65. Ὁ δὲ Καίσαρ καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος τὴν Ῥωμαίων αὐθις ἀρχὴν ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν ἐμερίσαντο ἅπασαν, ὅρον μὲν εἶναι σφίσι Σκόδραν πόλιν τῆς Ἰλλυρίδος, ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ Ἰουίου μυχοῦ μάλιστα δοκοῦσαν εἶναι, ταύτης δ' ἔχειν τὰ μὲν πρὸς ἕω πάντα τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἔθνη τε καὶ νήσους ἕως ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Εὐφράτην ἄνω, τὰ δὲ ἐς δύσιν τὸν Καίσαρα μέχρι ὠκεανοῦ. Λιβύης δὲ Λέ-
 275 πιδον ἄρχειν, καθὰ Καίσαρ ἐδεδώκει. πολεμῆν δὲ Πομπηίῳ μὲν Καίσαρα, εἰ μὴ τι συμβαίνοι, Παρθυαίοις δὲ Ἀντώνιον, ἀμνυόμενον τῆς ἐς Κράσσον παρασπονδήσεως. Ἀηνοβάρβῳ δ' εἶναι πρὸς Καίσαρα συμβάσεις τὰς πρὸς Ἀντώνιον γενομένας. στρατὸν δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας προσκαταλέγειν ἀκω-

⁴⁹ Gaius Claudius Marcellus had been consul in 50 and a de-

chosen not to judge between them, but solely to bring about their reconciliation. The delegates added Cocceius to their number as a friend of both men, together with Pollio from Antony's party and Maecenas from that of Octavian. Their decision was that there should be an amnesty between Antony and Octavian with regard to what had happened in the past, and friendship for the future. Marcellus, who was married to Octavia, the sister of Octavian, had died recently, and the mediators recommended that Octavian should betroth her to Antony.⁴⁹ He did so immediately, both men embraced each other, and cheers and congratulations were offered by the army continuously all day and throughout the night.

65. Octavian and Antony now, on their own authority, made a new division of the whole Roman empire, the boundary between them to be the town of Scodra in Illyria, which was thought to be about midway on the Ionian gulf. Antony was to have all provinces and islands east of this, as far as the river Euphrates, and Octavian everything to the west, as far as the Atlantic. Lepidus would govern Africa, in accordance with the grant Octavian had made. Octavian was to wage war against Pompeius, unless he reached some accommodation with him, and Antony against the Parthians to avenge their treachery toward Crassus. Ahenobarbus would have the same arrangement with Octavian as that agreed with Antony. And both Antony and Octavian would be allowed to recruit equal numbers of additional troops in Italy without hin-

terminated opponent of Julius Caesar, although he did not take part in the civil war between Pompey and Caesar, and Caesar pardoned him. He died in 40.

- 276 λύτως ἴσον ἑκάτερον. αἶδε μὲν ἦσαν αἱ τελευταῖαι Καίσαρι τε καὶ Ἀντωνίῳ γενόμεναι συμβάσεις. καὶ εὐθὺς ἐς τὰ ἐπείγοντα τοὺς φίλους ἑκάτερος αὐτῶν περιέπεμπεν, 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. ἃ μὲν δὴ Λαβιηνός τε καὶ Παρθυαῖοι δράσαντες ἔπαθον, ἡ Παρθυικὴ δηλώσει γραφὴ.
- 277 66. Ἐλενον δὲ στρατηγὸν Καίσαρος, σὺν ὀρμῇ κατασχόντα Σαρδοῦς αὐθις ἐξέβαλε τῆς Σαρδοῦς Μηνόδωρος ὁ Πομπηίου, καὶ τῷδε μάλιστα χαλεπαίνων ὁ Καίσαρ οὐκ ἔδέχετο τὰς πείρας Ἀντωνίου
- 278 συνάγοντος αὐτῷ Πομπηίου. ἐς δὲ Ῥώμην παρελθόντες ἐτέλουν τοὺς γάμους. καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος Μάνιον μὲν ἔκτεινεν ὡς ἐρεθίσαντά τε Φουλβίαν ἐπὶ διαβολῇ Κλεοπάτρας καὶ τοσῶνδε αἴτιον γενόμενον, Καίσαρι δὲ ἐνέφηγε Σαλουιδιηνόν, τὸν ἡγούμενον τῷ Καίσαρι τοῦ περὶ Ῥοδανὸν στρατοῦ, ἀπόστασιν ἰδίᾳ βουλευσάμενος καὶ οἱ περὶ τοῦδε προσπέμψαι περικαθημένῳ τῷ
- 279 Βρεντέσιον. καὶ ὁ μὲν τότε ἐξείπεν οὐ πρὸς πάντων ἐπαινούμενον, εὐφυνῆς ὢν ἄρα καὶ ταχὺς ἐς εὐνοίαν ὁ δὲ Καίσαρ αὐτίκα τὸν Σαλουιδιηνὸν ἐκάλει κατὰ

⁵⁰ Titus Labienus (Tribune of the People 63) was Caesar's legate during his campaigns in Gaul, but he went over to Pompey in the civil war and died in 45 at the battle of Munda. His son, Quintus Labienus, had been sent by Brutus and Cassius in 43 to

drance. These were the final terms agreed between Octavian and Antony. Both of them immediately sent their associates off to deal with pressing matters. Antony dispatched Ventidius to Asia to drive off the Parthians and Labienus, the son of Labienus, who, in company with the Parthians, had raided Syria and territory as far as Ionia in those troubled times.⁵⁰ But of course my Parthian book will show what Labienus and the Parthians did and what happened to them.

66. With regard to Octavian's general, Helenus, who had made a sudden attack and retaken possession of Sardinia, Menodorus, Pompeius' lieutenant, drove him out.⁵¹ Octavian was particularly angry at this and rejected Antony's attempts to reconcile him with Pompeius. But they did go to Rome and celebrate the marriage. Antony had Manius executed because he had provoked Fulvia by his slanders against Cleopatra and been the cause of such enormous consequences. He also revealed to Octavian the fact that Salvidienus, who was in command of Octavian's army on the Rhone, was secretly planning to desert, and had sent him advance notice of this while he was besieging Brundisium. Not everyone approved of Antony speaking out on this matter, but he did so presumably because he was naturally obliging and quick to do a favor. Octavian immediately summoned Salvidienus with urgency, pre-

negotiate an alliance with the king of Parthia and invaded Syria with the king's son, Pacorus. He was defeated and killed by Ventidius in 39.

⁵¹ Gaius Julius Helenus, a freedman of Octavian, was captured by Menodorus but returned to Octavian without ransom (Cass. Dio 48.30.8).

σπουδήν, ὡς ἐπὶ δὴ τι μόνου χρήζων καὶ εὐθύς ἐκπέμφων αὐθις ἐς τὸν στρατόν, καὶ ἐλθόντα ἔκτεινε διελέγξας καὶ τὸν ὑπ' αὐτῷ στρατὸν ὡς ὑποπτον ὄντα ἔχειν ἔδωκεν Ἀντωνίῳ.

- 280 67. Ῥωμαίους δ' ὁ λιμὸς ἐπίεζεν, οὔτε τῶν ἐφῶν ἐμπόρων ἐπιπλεόντων δέει Πομπηίου καὶ Σικελίας, οὔτε τῶν ἐκ δύσεως διὰ Σαρδῶ καὶ Κύρνον ἐχομένας ὑπὸ τῶν Πομπηίου, οὔτ' ἐκ τῆς περαιίας Λιβύης διὰ
281 τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐκατέρωθεν ναυκρατοῦντας. ἐπετίμητο δὴ πάντα, καὶ τῶνδε τὴν αἰτίαν ἐς τὴν ἔριν τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἀναφέροντες ἐβλασφήμουν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐς διαλύσεις πρὸς Πομπήιον ἐπέσπερχον. οὐκ ἐνδιδόντος δὲ τοῦ Καίσαρος οὐδ' ὡς, ὁ Ἀντώνιος αὐτὸν ἡξίου ταχύνειν
282 γε τὸν πόλεμον διὰ τὴν ἀπορίαν. χρημάτων δ' ἐς αὐτὸν οὐκ ὄντων προυτέθη διάγραμμα, εἰσφέρειν ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς θεράπουσι τοὺς κεκτημένους ὑπὲρ ἐκάστου τὸ ἡμισυ τῶν πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι δραχμῶν ὠρισμένων ἐς τὸν πόλεμον τὸν Κασσίου τε καὶ Βρούτου, ἐσφέρειν δὲ καὶ μοῖραν τοὺς ἐκ διαθήκης τι καρπούμενους.
283 τοῦτο τὸ γράμμα σὺν ὀρμῇ μανιώδει καθείλεν ὁ δῆμος ἀγανακτῶν, εἰ τὰ κοινὰ ταμιεῖα κεκενωκότες καὶ τὰ ἔθνη σεσυληκότες καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν αὐτὴν ἐσφοραῖς καὶ τέλεσι καὶ δημεύσεσι καταβαρήσαντες οὐκ ἐς πολέμους²⁵ οὐδ' ἐς ἐπίκτητον ἀρχήν, ἀλλ' ἐς ἰδίου ἐχθροὺς ὑπὲρ οἰκείας δυναστείας, ὑπὲρ ἧς δὴ καὶ προγραφὰς καὶ σφαγὰς καὶ λιμὸν ἐκ τῶνδε πανώδυνον γεγονέναι, ἔτι καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ περιδύοιεν αὐτούς.

²⁵ πολέμους codd.; πολεμίους Mend.

tending that he needed to see him alone about something, and that he would send him straight back to the army. When he arrived, Octavian had him convicted and executed. As he did not trust the army that had been under Salvidienus' orders, he gave it to Antony to command.

67. Famine was now pressing the people of Rome, 280 since neither the eastern merchants would sail to Italy, out of fear of Pompeius and Sicily, nor the merchants from the west, because Sardinia and Corsica were held by Pompeius' men, nor those from Africa on the opposite coast, because the seas on both sides of them were controlled by the same men. The price of all commodities had 281 risen, and the Romans ascribed the cause of this to the quarreling of the leaders whom they cursed and urged to come to terms with Pompeius. Octavian refused to yield, even in these circumstances, and Antony asked him to speed up the war because of the food shortage. As there 282 was no money for this, an edict was published requiring owners to pay a tax on their slaves at a rate per head of half the twenty-five drachmas that had been set for the war against Cassius and Brutus; and those benefiting from wills were to contribute a proportion. The people tore 283 down the edict in a surge of fury. They were indignant that, after exhausting the public treasury, stripping the provinces, burdening Italy itself with contributions, taxes, and confiscations, not for the purpose of fighting foreign wars or extending the empire, but to use against their personal enemies for the benefit of their own dominance—and it was, of course, this that had given rise to the proscriptions, the killings, and now this appalling famine—the triumvirs would deprive them of what was left of their

- 284 συνιστάμενοί τε ἐβόων καὶ τοὺς οὐ συνισταμένους
ἔβαλλον καὶ ἠπέιλουν διαρπάσειν αὐτῶν τὰς οἰκίας
καὶ καταπρήσειν, ἕως τὸ μὲν πλῆθος ἅπαν ἠρέθιστο,
ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ σὺν τοῖς φίλοις καὶ ὀλίγοις ὑπασπι-
σταῖς ἐς μέσους ἦλθεν, ἐντυχεῖν τε βουλόμενος καὶ
τὴν μέμψιν ἐκλογίσασθαι.
- 285 68. Οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν εὐθύς ὀφθέντα ἔβαλλόν τε ἀφειδῶς
πάνυ καὶ οὐδ' ὑπομένοντα καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἐμπαρέχοντα
286 καὶ τιτρωσκόμενον ἠδοῦντο. πυθόμενος δ' ὁ Ἀντώνιος
ἐβοήθει κατὰ σπουδὴν. οἱ δὲ καὶ τόνδε, κατιόντα τὴν
ιεράν ὁδόν, οὐκ ἔβαλλον μὲν ὡς ἔτοιμον ἐς τὰς Πομ-
πηίου διαλύσεις, ἀναχωρεῖν δὲ ἐκέλευον· καὶ οὐ πει-
287 θόμενον, τότε ἔβαλλον. ὁ δὲ ὀπλίτας πλέονας, οἳ ἦσαν
ἔξω τοῦ τείχους, ἐκάλει. καὶ οὐ παριέντων οὐδ' ὡς
αὐτόν, οἱ μὲν ὀπλίται διαιρεθέντες ἐς τὰ πλάγια τῆς
ὁδοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐπεχείρουν ἐκ τῶν στενωπῶν καὶ
τὸν ἐντυχόντα ἀνήρουν· οἱ δ' οὐκέτι εὐμαρῶς οὐδὲ φυ-
γεῖν ἐδύναντο, βεβυσμένοι τε ὑπὸ πλῆθους καὶ δια-
δρομῆν οὐκέτι ἔχοντες, ἀλλὰ φόνος ἦν καὶ τραύματα
288 καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν τεγῶν οἰμωγαὶ καὶ βοαί. καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος
μόλις τε παρήλθε, καὶ τοῦ κινδύνου τὸν Καῖσαρα
περιφανῶς δὴ τότε μάλιστα οὗτος ἐξείλετο καὶ ἐς τὴν
οἰκίαν περιέσωσε. διαφυγόντος δὲ ποτε τοῦ πλῆθους
τὰ νεκρά, ἵνα μὴ ἐνοχλοῖη θεωρούμενα, ἐς τὸν πο-
289 ταμὸν ἀπερριπτέιτο· καὶ ἕτερον πένθος ἦν ὀρωμένων
ἀνὰ τὸ ρεῦμα, καὶ περιδυνόντων αὐτὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν
καὶ ὅσοι μετ' αὐτῶν κακοῦργοι τὰ εὐσχήμονα μάλι-
στα ὡς οἰκεῖα ἔφερον. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἐπαύετο σὺν

possessions. Crowds gathered shouting, and threw stones 284
at those who would not join in, threatening to loot and
burn their houses, until the whole populace was agitated,
and Octavian appeared in public with his associates and a
few bodyguards, wishing to meet with the people and dis-
cuss their complaints.

68. As soon as they saw him, the crowd stoned him with 285
a complete lack of restraint, and showed no shame even
when he stood his ground, put himself in their power, and
was getting hurt. When Antony heard what was going on, 286
he hurried to his assistance. Although they did not stone
him too as he made his way down the Via Sacra in view of
his readiness to make peace with Pompeius, they told him
to go back, but when he refused, that is when they began
to stone him. He called in a larger force of legionaries, 287
who were outside the city walls, but even then the crowd
did not let him pass, and so the soldiers split up on either
side of the street and of the Forum, and made their attack
from the narrow lanes, killing anyone they met. The peo-
ple could no longer even find an easy way to flee, but
hemmed in as they were by the crowd and no longer hav-
ing anywhere to run to, they met with death and injury,
and there was shouting and groaning from the rooftops.
Antony reached the Forum with difficulty, and it was he 288
personally who on this occasion very publicly rescued Oc-
tavian from the danger and brought him safely home.
Once the crowd had made their escape, the bodies of the
dead were thrown into the river so that the sight of them
would not cause annoyance. But it was another grievance 289
when they were seen floating in the stream and being
stripped by the soldiers, and the accompanying criminals
carrying off the well-dressed ones as if they were their own
relations. The affair was brought to an end in an atmo-

φόβω τε καὶ μίσει τῶν ἡγουμένων, ὁ δὲ λιμὸς ἤκμαζε,
καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἔστυνε καὶ ἡσύχαζεν.

290 69. Ὁ δ' Ἀντώνιος ἐδίδασκε τοὺς Λίβωνος οἰκείους
Λίβωνα καλεῖν ἐκ Σικελίας ἐπὶ συνθέσει²⁶ τοῦ κήδους,
ἐργασόμενόν τι καὶ μείζον· τὸ δ' ἀσφαλὲς τῷ Λίβωνι
ἀνεδέχετο αὐτός. οἱ μὲν δὴ ταχέως ἐπέστειλλον, καὶ ὁ
291 Πομπήιος τῷ Λίβωνι συνεχώρει. ἀφικόμενος δὲ ὁ Λί-
βων ἐς νῆσον ὠρμίσθη τὰς Πιθηκούσας, ἣ νῦν ἐστὶν
Αἰναρία. καὶ μαθὼν ὁ δῆμος αὐθις ἠθροίζετο καὶ
παρεκάλει σὺν ὀλοφύρσει τὸν Καίσαρα πέμψαι Λί-
βωνι πίστιν, πρεσβεύειν ἐθέλοντι πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ
εἰρήνης. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἄκων ἔπεμπε, ὁ δὲ δῆμος καὶ
Μουκίαν, τὴν μητέρα τοῦ Πομπηίου, καταπρήσειν
292 ἀπειλοῦντες, ἐξέπεμπον ἐργασομένην διαλύσει. Λί-
βων μὲν δὴ συνεῖς τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐνδιδόντων ἠξίου τοὺς
ἡγεμόνας αὐτοὺς συνελθεῖν ὡς ἀλλήλοις ἐνδώσοντας,
ὅ τι ἂν δοκῆ· βιασαμένου δὲ καὶ ἐς τοῦτο τοῦ δήμου,
ἐξήρσαν ἐς Βαῖας ὁ Καῖσαρ καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος.

293 70. Πομπήιον δὲ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πάντες ὁμαλῶς ἔπει-
θον ἐς τὴν εἰρήνην, Μηνόδωρος δὲ ἀπὸ Σαρδοῦς ἐπ-
έστειλεν ἢ πολεμεῖν ἐγκρατῶς ἢ βραδύνειν ἔτι, ὡς

²⁶ *συνησθήσει* codd.; *συνθέσει* Musgrave

⁵² The text makes it difficult to understand exactly what Appian is saying here. I take it (with Étienne-Duplessis in the Budé edition) to mean that Libo was to come in order to secure the marriage of his sister Scribonia with Octavian, and thus help to achieve the more important objective of a reconciliation between

sphere of fear and loathing of the leaders, but the famine became worse, and the people complained, but remained peaceful.

69. Antony suggested to Libo's family that they sum- 290
mon Libo from Sicily to secure their marriage relation-
ship, and thus achieve something even more important;⁵²
and he himself undertook to guarantee Libo's safety. His
relatives wrote without delay and Pompeius gave Libo his
permission. On his arrival, Libo dropped anchor at the 291
island of Pithecoussai, which is now called Aenaria. When
the people learned this, they gathered again and made a
pathetic plea to Octavian to send a letter of safe-conduct
to Libo, as he wanted to negotiate peace with him. Oc-
tavian reluctantly sent the letter, and after threatening
to burn her out, the people dispatched Mucia, Pom-
peius' mother, to bring about the reconciliation.⁵³ Libo, of 292
course, understood that his enemies were yielding, and
invited the leaders themselves to meet in order to make
whatever concessions to each other they decided. With the
people also forcing them into this course of action, Octa-
vian and Antony left for Baiae.

70. Everyone was united in trying to persuade Pom- 293
peius to make peace, except Menodorus who wrote a let-
ter from Sardinia advising him either to prosecute the war

Octavian and Libo's son-in-law, Sextus Pompeius. Appian has mentioned this plan already (above, 53.222), but not that it had been carried out. ⁵³ Mucia was the daughter of Quintus Mucius Scaevola (consul 95), one of the most famous legal experts of the Republic. She married Pompey the Great in 80 and bore him two sons and a daughter. Pompey divorced her for adultery, allegedly with Julius Caesar.

τοῦ λιμοῦ σφῶν προπολεμοῦντος καὶ τῶν συμβά-
 σεων, εἰ καταδοκοίη, κρεισσόνων ἐσομένων· Μούρκον
 τε τούτοις ἐνιστάμενον ὑποβλέπειν ἐκέλευεν ὡς ἀρχὴν
 294 αὐτῷ περικτώμενον. ὁ δὲ καὶ τέως τὸν Μούρκον διὰ
 τε ἀξίωμα καὶ γνώμην ἐγκρατῆ βαρυνόμενος ἔτι μάλ-
 λον ἐκ τῶνδε ἀπερρίπτει, καὶ οὐδὲν ἦν, ὃ τι Μούρκω
 προσείχεν, ἕως ὃ μὲν Μούρκος ἀχθόμενος ἐς Συρα-
 κούσας ὑπεχώρει καὶ τινὰς ἰδὼν φύλακας ἐπομένους
 ἐκ Πομπηίου, φανερώς αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς φύλαξιν ἐλοι-
 295 δόρει. ὁ δὲ χιλίαρχον καὶ λοχαγὸν αὐτοῦ Μούρκου
 διαφθείρας ἔπεμψεν ἀνελεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ φάσκειν ὑπὸ
 θεραπόντων ἀνηρῆσθαι· ἕς τε πίστιν τῆς ὑποκρίσεως
 296 τοὺς θεράποντας ἐσταύρου. οὐ μὴν ἐλάνθανε δεύτερον
 ἐπὶ Βιθυνικῷ τόδε μύσος ἐργασάμενος, περὶ ἀνδρα
 καὶ τὰ πολέμια λαμπρὸν καὶ τῆς αἰρέσεως ἐγκρατῆ
 φίλον ἀπ' ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐς αὐτὸν Πομπηίου εὐεργέτην τε
 ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ γενόμενον καὶ ἐκόντα ἐλθόντα ἐς Σικελίαν.
 297 71. Μούρκος μὲν δὴ τεθνήκει, τῶν δ' ἄλλων τὸν
 Πομπηίου ἐς τὰς διαλύσεις ἐπειγόντων καὶ τὸν Μη-
 νόδωρον διαβαλλόντων ἐς φιλαρχίαν ὡς οὐκ εὐνοία
 τοῦ δεσπότητος μᾶλλον ἢ ὅπως αὐτὸς ἄρχοι στρατοῦ
 καὶ χώρας ἐνιστάμενον, ἐνδοῦς ὁ Πομπηίος ἐς τὴν
 Αἰναρίαν διέπλει ναυσὶ πολλαῖς ἀρίσταις, ἐξήρους
 298 λαμπρᾶς ἐπιβεβηκώς. καὶ Δικαιάρχειαν μὲν οὕτω σο-

⁵⁴ Aulus Pompeius Bithynicus (no relation of Sextus Pom-
 peius) was governor of Sicily in 44 and 43 and was executed by
 Sextus in 42, according to Dio (48.19.1), for plotting against him.

vigorously or to continue delaying, for the reason that
 famine was fighting on their side, and the terms of agree-
 ment, if he were to wait on events, would be more favor-
 able. Menodorus also urged him to keep an eye on Mur- 294
 cus, who opposed these views, alleging that he was seeking
 power for himself. Pompeius, who even before this had
 been finding it difficult to put up with Murcus because of
 his high rank and opinionated views, kept him at a distance
 even more after this, and consulted him on nothing. Even-
 tually, Murcus indignantly withdrew to Syracuse, where
 on seeing some men sent by Pompeius to watch him, he
 openly abused Pompeius in front of the guards. Then 295
 Pompeius bribed one of Murcus' own military tribunes
 and one of his centurions, and sent them to kill him and
 say that he had been murdered by slaves. To give credibil-
 ity to this sham, he crucified the slaves. But he had already 296
 perpetrated this crime against Bithynicus, and did not suc-
 ceed in concealing it a second time, against a man who had
 been a brilliant warrior, a determined supporter of the
 party from the beginning, and someone who had rendered
 valuable service to Pompeius himself in Iberia, and had
 joined him in Sicily voluntarily.⁵⁴
 71. With Murcus now dead, his other advisers urged 297
 Pompeius to come to terms, and accused Menodorus of
 lust for power, as he was opposing the treaty not out of
 goodwill for his patron, but rather to get command himself
 of an army and province. So Pompeius gave in and sailed
 across to Aenaria with many 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 Di- 298

βαρῶς παρέπλευσε περὶ ἐσπέραν, ἐφορώντων τῶν
 πολεμίων· ἅμα δὲ ἔφ, καταπηχθέντων σταυρῶν ἐξ
 ὀλίγου διαστήματος ἐν τῇ θαλάσση, σανίδες τοῖς
 σταυροῖς ἐπετέθησαν, καὶ διὰ τῶνδε τῶν καταστρο-
 μάτων ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος παρήλθον ἐς τὸ
 πρὸς τῇ γῆ πεποιημένον, ὁ δὲ Πομπήσιος καὶ ὁ Λίβων
 ἐς τὸ πελαγιώτερον, ὀλίγου ρεύματος αὐτοὺς διείργον-
 299 τος μὴ κεκραγότας ἀλλήλων ἀκούειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ μὲν
 Πομπήσιος ἐπὶ κοινωνία τῆς ἀρχῆς ἤκειν ᾧτε ἀντὶ
 Λεπίδου, οἱ δὲ ὡς κάθοδον αὐτῷ δώσουτες μόνην,
 τότε μὲν ἐπ' οὐδενὶ ἔργῳ διεκρίθησαν, διαπομπὰ δὲ
 συχνὰ τῶν φίλων ἦσαν ἐπὶ ποικίλαις ἑκατέρων προ-
 300 κλήσεσιν. ἤτει δ' ὁ Πομπήσιος τῶν προγεγραμμένων
 τε καὶ οἱ συνόντων τοῖς μὲν ἀνδροφόνοις Γαίου Καί-
 σαρος φυγῆν ἄδολον, τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς κάθοδόν τε ἔντι-
 301 μον καὶ τὰς οὐσίας, ἃς ἀναλώκεσαν. ἐπειγόμενοι δὲ
 ἐς τὰς συμβάσεις ὑπὸ τε τοῦ λιμοῦ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ
 δήμου, ἐς τὸ τέταρτον μόλις ἐνεδίδουν ὡς ὠνησόμενοι
 παρὰ τῶν ἐχόντων· καὶ τοῖς προγεγραμμένοις αὐτοῖς
 302 περὶ τούτων ἐπέστελλον, ἐλπίζοντες αὐτοῖς αὐτοὺς
 ἀγαπήσειν. οἱ δὲ ἐδέχοντο πάντα, ἐπεὶ καὶ Πομπήσιον
 αὐτὸν ἐδεδοίκεσαν ἤδη διὰ τὸ Μούρκου μύσος· καὶ
 προσιόντες τῷ Πομπηίῳ συνθέσθαι παρεκάλουν, ὅτε
 καὶ τὴν ἐσθήτα κατερρήξατο ὁ Πομπήσιος ὡς καὶ
 τῶνδε προδιδόντων αὐτόν, ὧν προμάχεται, καὶ θαμνὰ
 τὸν Μηνόδωρον ὡς στρατηγικὸν καὶ μόνον εὖνον
 ἀνεκάλει.
 303 72. Μουκίας δὲ αὐτὸν τῆς μητρὸς καὶ Ἰουλίας τῆς

caearchia with his enemies looking on. At dawn, after piles
 had been driven into the seabed a short distance apart, and
 planks placed upon them, they went separately to these
 platforms, Octavian and Antony to the one constructed
 near the land, Pompeius and Libo to the more seaward
 one. A narrow strip of water separated them so that they
 could hear each without having to shout. But as Pompeius 299
 thought that he had come to get a share of the government
 in place of Lepidus, while the others were going to con-
 cede nothing but his recall from exile, they separated for
 the time being without accomplishing anything, although
 constant negotiations continued to be carried out by their
 associates on detailed proposals from both sides. Pom- 300
 peius demanded for the proscribed who were his followers
 a safe exile for the assassins of Gaius Caesar, and for the
 others recall from exile with the restoration of honors and
 the property they had lost. With the famine, and the peo- 301
 ple exerting pressure to reach an accommodation, Octa-
 vian and Antony reluctantly agreed to buy back up to a
 quarter of this property from the current holders, and
 wrote to this effect to the proscribed themselves, hoping
 that this would satisfy them. The latter accepted all the 302
 terms, for they were now also afraid of Pompeius himself
 on account of his foul crime against Murcus. They ap-
 proached Pompeius begging him to make the agreement,
 and it was at this point that he tore his clothes, accusing
 even those for whom he had fought of betraying him,
 and repeatedly invoking Menodorus as someone with
 the qualities of a general and the only one well disposed
 to him.

72. On the insistence of his mother, Mucia, and of Julia, 303

304 γυναικὸς²⁷ ἐναγουσῶν, αὐθις οἱ τρεῖς συνήλθον ἐς τὸ
 ἀμφίκλυστον Δικαιαρχέων χῶμα, περιορμουσῶν τῶν
 φυλακίδων νεῶν, καὶ συνέβησαν ἐπὶ τοῖσδε· λελύ-
 σθαι μὲν τὸν πόλεμον αὐτοῖς καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ
 θάλασσαν καὶ τὰς ἐμπορίας ἀκωλύτους εἶναι παντα-
 χοῦ, Πομπήιον δὲ τὰς φρουρὰς ἐξαγαγεῖν, ὅσαι κατὰ
 τὴν Ἰταλίαν εἰσὶ, καὶ μηκέτι τοὺς ἀποδιδράσκοντας
 οἰκέτας ὑποδέχεσθαι μηδ' ἐφορμεῖν ναυσὶ τὴν ἀκτὴν
 305 τῆς Ἰταλίας, ἄρχειν δὲ Σαρδοῦς καὶ Σικελίας καὶ
 Κύρνου καὶ ὄσων ἄλλων εἶχεν ἐς τότε νήσων, ἐς ὅσον
 ἄρχοιεν τῶν ἐτέρων Ἀντωνίος τε καὶ Καῖσαρ, πέμ-
 ποντα Ῥωμαίοις τὸν ἐκ πολλοῦ τεταγμένον αὐταῖς
 φέρειν σῖτον, ἐπιλαβεῖν δὲ καὶ Πελοπόννησον ἐπὶ
 ταύταις, ὑπατεῦσαι δ' ἀπόντα, δι' ὅτου κρίνοι τῶν
 φίλων, καὶ τῆς μεγίστης ἱερωσύνης ἐς τοὺς ἱερέας
 306 ἐγγραφῆναι. καὶ τάδε μὲν εἶναι Πομπηίῳ, κάθοδον δὲ
 τοῖς ἔτι φεύγουσι τῶν ἐπιφανῶν, πλὴν εἴ τις ἐπὶ τῷ
 φόνῳ Γαίου Καίσαρος ψήφῳ καὶ κρίσει κατέγνωσται
 καὶ τῆς περιουσίας τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις, ὅσοι κατὰ φόβον
 ἔφευγον καὶ τὰ ὄντα αὐτοῖς ἐκ βίας ἀπωλώλει, τὸ
 ἐντελὲς ἀποδοθῆναι χωρὶς ἐπίπλων, τοῖς δὲ προγε-
 307 γραμμένοις μοῖραν τετάρτην. καὶ τῶν ἐστρατευμένων
 τῷ Πομπηίῳ τοὺς μὲν οἰκέτας ἐλευθέρους εἶναι, τοῖς
 δ' ἐλευθέρους, ὅτε παύσαιντο τῆς στρατείας, τὰ αὐτὰ

²⁷ τῆς Ἀντωνίου καὶ Σκριβωνίας τῆς γυναικὸς prop. Étienne-Duplessis

his wife, the three men met again on the mole at Di-
 caearchia, with the waves washing all round and the guard
 ships anchored nearby, and they came to an agreement on
 the following terms:⁵⁵ the war between them was finished, 304
 and trade was to proceed unhindered everywhere; Pom-
 peius was to remove all the garrisons he had in Italy, and
 no longer take in runaway slaves or blockade the Italian
 coast with his ships; he was to have authority over Sardinia, 305
 Sicily, and Corsica, and any other islands then in his pos-
 session, as long as Antony and Octavian had authority over
 the other territories; he was to send to Rome the grain that
 had long been required of these places to pay in tax; in
 addition he was to have the Peloponnese; he was to hold
 the consulship in absentia through whichever of his associ-
 ates he chose, and be appointed one of the priests of the
 most important priesthood. These were the terms that 306
 applied to Pompeius, while the nobles who were still in
 exile were to be allowed to return, except those who had
 been condemned by vote or court verdict for the murder
 of Gaius Caesar. The entirety of their possessions, except
 for movables, was to be restored to everyone else who had
 fled out of fear and whose property had been seized by
 violence, but only a quarter to the proscribed. Of those 307
 who had served under Pompeius, slaves were to be free,
 and free persons were to receive on discharge the same

⁵⁵ Sextus' wife was in fact Scribonia (aunt of the Scribonia married to Octavian). Julia was the name of Antony's mother, and it is possible that something has fallen out of the text identifying the correct relationships; or Appian may simply have made a mistake.

δοθῆναι γέρα τοῖς ἐστρατευμένοις Καίσαρί τε καὶ Ἄντωνίῳ.

- 308 73. Ἐς ταῦτα συνέβησαν καὶ ταῦτα συνεγράψαντο καὶ ἐσημήναντο καὶ ταῖς ἱεραῖς παρθένοις φυλάσσειν ἔπεμψαν ἐς Ῥώμην. ἐξένιζον δ' ἀλλήλους αὐτίκα, περὶ τῆς τάξεως διαλαχόντες, πρῶτος μὲν ἐπὶ ἐξήρους Πομπήμιος περιωρμισμένης ἐς τὸ χῶμα, ταῖς δὲ ἐξῆς Ἄντωνίος τε καὶ Καίσαρ, σκηνοποιησάμενοι καὶ οἶδε ἐπὶ τοῦ χῶματος, πρόφασιν μὲν ὡς ἅπαντες ἐπὶ ἀκτῆς
309 ἐστιῶντο, τάχα δ' ἐς ἀσφάλειαν ἀνύποπτον. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' ὡς εἶχον ἀμελῶς, ἀλλ' αἱ τε νῆες αὐτοῖς παρῶρ-
310 μουν, καὶ οἱ φύλακες περιειστήκεσαν, καὶ οἱ περὶ τὸ δεῖπνον αὐτὸ ἀφανῶς εἶχον ὑπέζωσμένα ξιφίδια. λέ-
γεται δὲ Μηνόδωρος ἐστιωμένων ἐν τῇ νηὶ τῶν ἀν-
δρῶν πέμψαι Πομπηίῳ, προτρέπων αὐτὸν ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖς ἀνδράσι καὶ τίσασθαι μὲν τῆς ἐς τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀμαρτίας, ἀναλαβεῖν δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν πατρῶαν δι' ὀξυτάτης ἀφορμῆς· ἐπιμελήσεσθαι γὰρ
311 αὐτὸς ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶν ὧν μηδένα διαφυγεῖν. ὁ δ' ἀπο-
κρίνασθαι τοῦ γένους ἅμα καὶ τῆς χρείας ἀξίως, "Εἴθε Μηνόδωρον ἦν ἐργάσασθαι ταῦτα χωρὶς ἐμοῦ"
312 Μηνοδώρῳ γὰρ ἀρμόζειν ἐπιορκεῖν, οὐ Πομπηίῳ. ἤρ-
μοσαν δ' ἐν τῷδε τῷ δείπνῳ τὴν Πομπηίου θυγατέρα, Λίβωνος οὖσαν θυγατριδῆν, Μαρκέλλῳ τῷ προγόνῳ
313 μὲν Ἄντωνίου, ἀδελφιδῷ δὲ Καίσαρος. ἀπέφηναν δὲ τῆς ἐπιούσης ὑπάτους ἐς τετραετὲς Ἄντωνιον μὲν καὶ Λίβωνα πρώτους, ἀντικαθιστάντος ὅμως Ἄντωνίου,

rewards as those who had served under Octavian and Antony.

73. Such were the terms on which they agreed, drew 308 up in writing, signed, and sent to Rome for safekeeping with the Vestal Virgins. They immediately provided hos-
pitality to each other, drawing lots to decide the order. First Pompeius hosted them on his six-banked ship an-
chored at the mole, then on the following days Antony and Octavian, who erected tents also on the mole, supposedly so that everyone might celebrate the feast on shore, but
perhaps really for risk-free security. For even in these 309 circumstances they did not fail to act cautiously, but their ships were moored alongside, guards were stationed on the perimeter, and those attending the banquet itself car-
ried daggers hidden under their clothing. There is a story 310 that while the men were feasting on board, Menodorus sent a message to Pompeius urging him to attack the tri-
umvirs, avenge the wrong done to his father and brother, and take back his father's power by means of the swiftest stroke: for as he was on the ships himself he would take
care that no one escaped. But Pompeius replied, in a man- 311 ner worthy of his family and at the same time in keeping with his dangerous situation, "If only Menodorus could have done this without asking me!" In other words, it was fitting for a Menodorus to break his oath, but not for a
Pompeius. At this banquet the daughter of Pompeius, 312 granddaughter of Libo, was betrothed to Marcellus, the stepson of Antony and nephew of Octavian.⁵⁶ On the fol-
lowing day they designated the consuls for the next four 313 years, first Antony and Libo (with Antony, however, al-

⁵⁶ They were both still young children at this point.

ὄν ἂν βούλοιο, ἐπὶ δ' ἐκείνοις Καίσαρά τε καὶ Πομπήιον, εἶτα Ἀηνόβαρβον καὶ Σόσιον, εἴτ' αὖθις Ἀντώνιον τε καὶ Καίσαρα, τρίτον δὴ τότε μέλλοντας ὑπατεύσειν καὶ ἐλπίζομένους τότε καὶ ἀποδώσειν τῷ δήμῳ τὴν πολιτείαν.

- 314 74. Τάδε μὲν ἔπραξαν, καὶ διακριθέντες ἀλλήλων ὁ μὲν ἐς Σικελίαν ἔπλει, Καίσαρ δὲ καὶ Ἀντώνιος ὤδευον ἐς Ῥώμην. πυθόμεναι δὲ ἦ 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, πῖσαντος αὐτοὺς ἐς ἔσχατον, ὥστε παροδεύουσιν αὐτοῖς οἷα σωτήρσιν ἐγίγνοντο θυσίαι· καὶ τὸ ἄστυ ἔμελλεν ὑποδέξεσθαι περιφανῶς, εἰ μὴ νυκτός, ἐκκλίνοντες τὸ φορτικόν,
- 315 ἔλαθον ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐσελθόντες. μόνοι δὲ ἤχθοντο, ὅσοι τὰ τῶν ἐλευσομένων σὺν Πομπηίῳ χωρία κεκληρουχήκεσαν, ἠγούμενοι σφίσι τοὺς γεωμόρους ἀδιαλλάκτους ἐχθροὺς παροικήσειν καί, εἴ ποτε δυνηθείεν,
- 316 ἐπιθήσεσθαι. οἱ δ' ἀμφὶ τὸν Πομπήιον φηγάδες αὐτίκα, χωρὶς ὀλίγων, οἱ πλείους ἐν τῇ Δικαιαρχείᾳ τὸν Πομπήιον ἀσπασάμενοι κατέπλεον ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην, καὶ ἕτερα τοῦ πλήθους ἦν ἡδονὴ καὶ βοαὶ ποικίλαι, τοσῶνδε οὕτως ἐπιφανῶν ἐξ ἀέλπτου περισσωσμένων.

⁵⁷ This sequence of consuls is correct, but it started in 34, not, as Appian seems to be indicating, in 38. Pompeius did not hold

lowed to substitute whomever he liked); after them, Octavian and Pompeius; then Ahenobarbus and Sosius; and, finally, Antony and Octavian again; and as they would then be about to hold the consulship for the third time, it was also expected that they would at that time restore the constitution to the people.⁵⁷

74. Having finished this business, they went their separate ways, Pompeius to Sicily by sea, while Octavian and Antony traveled by road to Rome. As soon as the people of Rome and Italy heard the news, everyone immediately began to sing their praises as if at the return of peace: for they had won relief from civil war, from the conscription of their sons, the violence of garrisons, the desertion of slaves, the pillaging of fields, the stagnation of agriculture, and, above all, from the famine that had reduced them to the last extremity. So, as the triumvirs proceeded on their way people sacrificed to them as if to savior gods. The city was ready to give them a magnificent reception, if they had not entered Rome unobserved at night to avoid vulgarity. The only aggrieved group were those who had received allocations of land belonging to people about to return from exile with Pompeius: they thought the returnees would settle beside them as uncompromisingly hostile landowners, and would, if they ever could, take aggressive action against them. With a few exceptions, most of the exiles with Pompeius took their leave of him at Dicaearchia, and sailed for Rome. It was a new source of delight and all sorts of shouting for the crowd that so many nobles had been saved in this way.

the consulship with Octavian in 33, as he was dead by then. Gaius Sosius was a loyal supporter of Antony and fought for him at the battle of Actium, but he was pardoned by Octavian.

318 75. Ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ ἐς τὴν Κελτικὴν
 ἐξώρμα ταρασσομένην, ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος ἐπὶ τὸν πόλε-
 μον τῶν Παρθυαίων. καὶ αὐτῷ τῆς βουλῆς ψηφι-
 σαμένης εἶναι κύρια, ὅσα ἔπραξέ τε καὶ πράξει, αὐτῆς
 στρατηγούς πανταχῇ περιέπεμπε καὶ τὰλλα ὡς ἐπε-
 319 νόει πάντα διεκόσμει. ἴσθη δὲ πη καὶ βασιλέας, οὓς
 δοκιμάσειεν, ἐπὶ φόροις ἄρα τεταγμένοις, Πόντου μὲν
 Δαρείου τὸν Φαρνάκου τοῦ Μιθριδάτου, Ἰδουμαίων
 δὲ καὶ Σαμαρέων Ἡρώδην, Ἀμύνταν δὲ Πισιδῶν καὶ
 Πολέμωνα μέρους Κιλικίας καὶ ἑτέροις ἐς ἕτερα ἔθνη.
 320 τὸν δὲ στρατόν, ὅσος ἔμελλεν αὐτῷ συγχειμάσειν,
 περιουσιάσαι τε βουλόμενος καὶ γυμνάσαι, τοὺς μὲν
 αὐτῶν ἐπὶ Παρθηνοὺς ἔπεμπε, Ἰλλυρικὸν ἔθνος Ἐπι-
 δάμνω πάροικον, προθυμοτάτους γενομένους Βρούτῳ,
 τοὺς δ' ἐπὶ Δαρδανέας, ἕτερον Ἰλλυριῶν γένος, αἰεὶ
 Μακεδονίαν ἐπιτρέχοντας· τοὺς δ' ἐν Ἠπείρῳ μένειν
 ἐκέλευεν, ὡς ἂν ἐν κύκλῳ πάντας ἔχη, μέλλων αὐτὸς
 321 ἐν Ἀθήναις χειμάσειν. ἔπεμπε δὲ καὶ Φούρνιον ἐς Λι-
 βύην, τὰ ὑπὸ Σεξστίῳ τέλη τέσσαρα ἄξοντα ἐπὶ Παρ-
 θυαίους· οὐ γάρ πω πέπυστο αὐτὰ Λέπιδον ἀφηρη-
 σθαι Σεξστίου.

⁵⁸ Appian summarizes the reign of Mithridates Eupator's son, Pharnaces, as king of Bosphorus at *Mith.* 120.590–95. It is perhaps strange not to mention the Jews in connection with their famous king, Herod, but at this stage he had not yet taken possession of Judaea. Amyntas had supported Brutus and Cassius at first, but he went over to Antony, who rewarded him with extensive terri-

75. After this, Octavian set out for Gaul, which was in a state of disturbance, and Antony for the war against the Parthians. As the senate had voted to ratify all that Antony had done or would do in the future, he again dispatched his lieutenants in all directions and ordered everything else in accordance with his plans. He established kings of whom he approved in various places, on condition, of course, that they paid a prescribed tribute: in Pontus, Darius, the son of Pharnaces and grandson of Mithridates: in Idumea and Samaria, Herod; in Pisidia, Amyntas; in part of Cilicia, Polemon;⁵⁸ and others in other countries. Wishing to enrich as well as exercise those soldiers who were about to go into winter quarters with him, he sent some of them against the Partheni, an Illyrian people living near Epidamnus, who had been very enthusiastic supporters of Brutus; others against the Dardanians, another Illyrian people, who were constantly making incursions into Macedonia. Others again he ordered to remain in Epirus, in order to have them all in a circle round him, as he intended to pass the winter himself in Athens. He also sent Furnius to Africa to get the four legions under Sextius' command for service against the Parthians, for he had not yet heard that Lepidus had taken them away from Sextius.

tories in Asia Minor. Before the battle of Actium, he deserted to Octavian, who extended his kingdom. He died fighting in 25. Having staunchly resisted the Parthian invasion of 40–39, Polemon, son of the famous rhetorician, Zeno, was rewarded by Antony with Cilicia, and then made king of Pontus. Augustus added Bosphorus in 15. Polemon was killed in 8.

- 322 76. Ταῦτα διαθέμενος ἐχείμαζεν ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις
μετὰ τῆς Ὀκταουίας, καθὰ καὶ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ μετὰ
τῆς Κλεοπάτρας, τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῶν στρατοπέδων ἐπιστελ-
λόμενα ἐφορῶν μόνα, ἀφέλειαν δὲ ἰδιωτικὴν αὐτῆς ἐξ
ἡγεμονίας καὶ σχῆμα τετράγωνον ἔχων καὶ ὑπόδημα
323 Ἀττικὸν καὶ θύρας ἡρεμούσας. ἔξοδοί τε ἦσαν ὁμοίως
ἄνευ σημείων αὐτῷ, σὺν δύο φίλοις καὶ σὺν ἀκο-
λούθοις δύο, ἐς διδασκάλων διατριβὰς ἢ ἀκροάσεις.
καὶ τὸ δείπνον ἦν Ἑλληνικὸν καὶ μεθ' Ἑλλήνων ἢ
γυμνασία πανηγύρεις τε σὺν θυμηδία μετὰ τῆς
Ὀκταουίας· πολὺς γὰρ καὶ ἐς τήνδε ἐρρῦη, ταχὺς ὢν
324 ἐς ἔρωτας γυναικῶν. λήγοντος δὲ τοῦ χειμῶνος,
ὡσπερ ἐτέρῳ γενομένῳ, ἦ τε ἐσθῆς αὐτῆς καὶ μετὰ τῆς
ἐσθῆτος ἢ ὄψις ἐνηλλάσσετο, καὶ πλῆθος ἦν ἀμφὶ
τὰς θύρας αὐτίκα σημείων τε καὶ ἡγεμόνων καὶ δορυ-
φόρων, καὶ φόβου πάντα μεστὰ καὶ καταπλήξεως·
πρεσβεῖαί τ' ἐσεδέχοντο, αἱ τέως ἡρέμουν κεκελευ-
σμένοι, καὶ δίκαι διεκρίνοντο, καὶ νῆες καθείλκοντο,
καὶ ἡ ἄλλη παρασκευὴ πᾶσα συνεκινεῖτο.
- 325 77. Καὶ Ἀντώνιος μὲν ἀμφὶ ταῦτα ἦν, Καίσαρι δὲ
καὶ Πομπηίῳ διελύθησαν αἱ γενόμεναι σπονδαί, κατὰ
μὲν αἰτίας, ὡς ὑπενοεῖτο, ἐτέρας, αἱ δὲ ἐς τὸ φανερὸν
326 ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐκφερόμεναι αἶδε ἦσαν. Πελοπόν-
νησον Ἀντώνιος μὲν ἐδίδου Πομπηίῳ, κελεύων, ὅσα
ἔτι ὄφειλον αὐτῷ Πελοποννήσιοι δόντα ἢ αὐτὸν ἀνα-
δεξάμενον ἀποδώσειν παραλαβεῖν ἢ περιμεῖναι τὴν
327 πρᾶξιν αὐτῶν. ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἐδέχετο μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖσδε τὴν
χώραν, ἡγούμενος αὐτῷ σὺν τοῖς ὀφλήμασι δεδό-

76. Having made these arrangements, Antony spent 322
the winter at Athens with Octavia, just as he had at Alex-
andria with Cleopatra, merely looking over the reports
sent from the armies, once again adopting the simple life
of a private citizen in place of military command, wearing
the square-cut pallium and the Attic shoe, and with no
crowd at his doors. He would go out, in similar manner, 323
without the insignia of his 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, exercised with Greeks, and enjoyed their festivals
in Octavia's company: for he was very much in love with
her too, being quick to fall in love with women. But when 324
winter came to an end, he was a different person: he
changed his clothing again, and with his clothing his whole
appearance. Immediately his door was crowded with stan-
dards and officers and bodyguards, and fear and apprehen-
sion were everywhere. Embassies were received which
had previously been told to wait, and lawsuits were deci-
ded, and ships were launched, and all other preparations
were put in motion.
77. While Antony was occupied in these matters, the 325
agreement reached between Octavian and Pompeius
broke down, for different reasons, it was suspected, but
the ones publicly put forward by Octavian were as follows.
Antony was ceding the Peloponnese to Pompeius, but he 326
stipulated that Pompeius would get it, either after giving
him all the taxes the Peloponnesians still owed Antony, or
having undertaken to pay them personally, or he must wait
until the collection had been made. But Pompeius did not 327
accept the territory on these conditions. He thought that

σθαι χαλεπαίνων δέ, ὡς ὁ Καίσαρ ἔλεγεν, εἴτε ἐπὶ
τούτοις εἴτε κατὰ γνώμην ἄπιστον εἶθ' ὑπὸ ζήλου τῶν
ἐτέρων μεγάλους στρατοὺς ἔχόντων εἴτε Μηνοδώρου
διερεθίζοντος αὐτὸν ἀνοχὰς μᾶλλον ἢ βεβαίους
σπονδὰς εἶναι νομίζειν, ναὺς ἄλλας ἐποιεῖτο καὶ ἐρέ-
328 τας συνέλεγε καὶ τῷ στρατῷ ποτε ἐδημηγόρησε χρή-
ναι παντὸς οὐνεκα παρασκευάζεσθαι. ληστήριά τε
αὐθις ἀφανῆ τὴν θάλασσαν ἠνώχλει, καὶ μικρὸν ἢ
οὐδὲν ἄκος τοῦ λιμοῦ γεγένητο Ῥωμαίοις, ὥστε ἐβόων
οὐκ ἀπαλλαγὴν τῶν κακῶν, ἀλλ' ἐπίληψιν τετάρτου
329 τυράννου κατὰ σπονδὰς γεγονέναι. καὶ ὁ Καίσαρ
τινα ληστήρια συλλαβὼν ἐβασάνιζεν, οἱ Πομπήιον
σφᾶς ἔλεγον ἐπιπέμψαι· καὶ τάδε αὐτὰ ὁ Καίσαρ τῷ
δήμῳ προσέφερε καὶ ἐπέστελλεν αὐτῷ Πομπηίῳ. ὁ δὲ
ἐξελογεῖτο μὲν ὑπὲρ τούτων, ἀντενεκάλει δὲ Πελοπον-
νήσου χάριν.
330 78. Ὅσοι δὲ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἦσαν ἔτι παρὰ τῷ Πομ-
πηίῳ, ὁρῶντες αὐτὸν αἰεὶ πειθόμενον τοῖς ἀπελευ-
θέροις, διέφθειραν ἐνίους τῶν ἀπελευθέρων, εἴτε ἀπὸ
σφῶν αὐτῶν εἴτε ἐς χάριν Καίσαρος, ἐξοτρύνειν ἐπὶ
Μηνοδώρῳ, Κύρνου καὶ Σαρδοῦς ἔτι ἄρχοντι, τὸν
331 δεσπότην. οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ φθόνῳ τῆς Μηνοδώρου δυ-
νάμεως ἐκόντες ἐποίουν. καὶ Πομπήιος μὲν ἐς ἄλ-
λοτρίωσιν ὑπήγετο τοῦ Μηνοδώρου, τῶν δ' αὐτῶν
ἡμερῶν Φιλάδελφος, ὁ Καίσαρος ἀπελεύθερος, πρὸς
τὸν Μηνοδώρον διέπλευσε σίτου κομιδῆς οὐνεκα καὶ
Μικυλίων ὁ πιστότατος τῷ Μηνοδώρῳ πρὸς Καίσαρα
332 περὶ αὐτομολίας τοῦ Μηνοδώρου· ὑπισχνεῖτο δὲ ἐγ-

it had been given to him along with the outstanding ar-
rears. Annoyed, according to Octavian, either for this rea-
son or because he had a suspicious disposition, or out of
jealousy of the others who had large armies, or because
Menodorus was prompting him to think of the agreement
as a truce rather than a lasting peace, he began to build
new ships and recruit rowers, and on one occasion he gave
a speech to his soldiers, telling them they must be pre-
pared for every eventuality. Clandestine pirate bands 328
again disturbed the sea, and the people of Rome had little
or no relief from the famine, with the result that they
began to complain loudly that the treaty had not brought
relief from their troubles, but the addition of a fourth ty-
rant. When Octavian captured some pirate bands and tor- 329
tured them, they said it was Pompeius who had sent them
out to raid. So Octavian reported these facts to the people
and wrote to Pompeius himself, who denied involvement,
and made countercomplaints about the Peloponnese.

78. All the nobles who were still with Pompeius could 330
see that he constantly deferred to the advice of his freed-
men, so either in their own interests or as a favor to Octa-
vian, they bribed some of these freedmen to incite their
master against Menodorus, who was still governing Cor-
sica and Sardinia. The freedmen, for their part, did this 331
willingly, as they were jealous of Menodorus' power. At the
same time as Pompeius was being manipulated into an
estrangement from Menodorus, Philadelphus, a freedman
of Octavian, sailed over to Menodorus to secure the trans-
port of grain, and Micylio, Menodorus' most trusted ad-
viser, made his way to Octavian to discuss the possible
desertion of Menodorus. Menodorus promised to hand 332

χειριεῖν Σαρδῶ καὶ Κύρνον καὶ τρία τέλη στρατοῦ καὶ ψιλῶν πλήθος ἕτερον. καὶ τότε ὃν ἔργον εἶτε Φιλαδέλφου εἶτε τῶν ἐς Μηνόδωρον παρὰ Πομπηίου διαβολῶν, ὁ Καῖσαρ οὐκ εὐθύς μὲν, ἐδέξατο δ' ὅμως, 333 ἡγούμενος ἔργῳ τὴν εἰρήνην λελύσθαι. καὶ Ἀντώνιον ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἐς ἡμέραν ῥητὴν παρεκάλει, συμβουλευσόμενος αὐτῷ περὶ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου· ναῦς τε μακρὰς ἐκ Ῥαβέννης καὶ στρατὸν ἐκ τῆς Κελτικῆς καὶ παρασκευὴν ἄλλην ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον καὶ ἐς Δικαιάρχειαν ὀξέως περιέπεμπεν, ὡς ἐκατέρωθεν ἐπιπλευσούμενος τῇ Σικελίᾳ, ἣν Ἀντωνίῳ συνδοκῆ.

334 79. Ὁ δὲ ἦλθε μὲν ἐς τὴν τεταγμένην ἡμέραν σὺν ὀλίγοις, Καίσαρα δὲ οὐχ εὐρῶν οὐ περιέμευεν, εἶτε τὴν γνώμην τοῦ πολέμου μεμψάμενος ὡς παράσπονδον εἶτε τὴν Καίσαρος παρασκευὴν ἰδὼν πολλὴν οὔσαν (οὐ γάρ ποτε αὐτοὺς ἀνέπαυε φόβων ἢ τῆς μοναρχίας ἐπιθυμία), εἶτε τι σημεῖον δειδισάμενος. τῶν 335 γὰρ περικοιμωμένων αὐτοῦ τῇ σκηνῇ πρὸς θηρίων τις εὐρέθη δεδαπανημένος, ἄνευ τοῦ προσώπου μόνου, καθάπερ ἐς ἐπίδειξιν παραλελειμμένου, οὔτε τι βοήσας οὔτε τινὸς τῶν συναναπαυομένων ἠσθημένου· καὶ λύκον ἔλεγον οἱ Βρεντέσιοι πρὸ ἔω φανῆναι τῶν σκηνωμάτων ἐκθέοντα. ἔγραφέ γε μὴν τῷ Καίσαρι μὴ 336 λύειν τὰ συγκείμενα καὶ ἠπείλει Μηνόδωρον ἀπάξειν ὡς ἑαυτοῦ δραπέτην· γεγένητο γὰρ Πομπηίου Μάγνου, τὴν δὲ τοῦ Μάγνου περιουσίαν ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐώνητο νόμῳ πιπρασκομένην ὡς πολεμίου.

over to him Sardinia, Corsica, three legions of soldiers, and a another large number of light-armed troops. Whether this was the work of Philadelphus, or was a consequence of the accusations against Menodorus made to Pompeius, Octavian accepted the offer, although not immediately, since he considered that the peace had in fact 333 been broken. He invited Antony to come from Athens and meet him at Brundisium on a specified day to consult with him about this war. He quickly sent orders around for warships from Ravenna, an army from Gaul, and other war materiel to be assembled at Brundisium and Dicaearchia, with the intention of sailing against Sicily from both places, if Antony agreed.

79. Antony came on the appointed day with a small 334 escort, but not finding Octavian he did not wait, either because he did not approve of the decision to go to war, regarding it as a violation of the treaty, or because he observed the scale of Octavian's armament (the desire for sole rule never allowed them a respite from fear), or because he had been frightened by an omen. For one of the 335 men sleeping near his tent was found to have been devoured by wild animals, except only for his face, which had been left as if for the purpose of identifying the man; he had not cried out at all and none of those sleeping beside him heard a thing. The people of Brundisium said that a wolf had been seen just before daybreak running away from the tents. Nevertheless, Antony wrote to Octavian 336 telling him not to break their agreement, and he threatened to repossess Menodorus as a runaway slave belonging to himself; for he had been owned by Pompey the Great, whose property Antony had bought when it was put up for sale by law as belonging to a public enemy.

337 80. Ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἔπεμπεν εἰς Σαρδόνα καὶ Κύρνον
 τοὺς παραληψομένους, ἃ Μηνόδωρος ἐνεχείριζεν,
 ἐκρατύνετο δὲ τὰ παράλια τῆς Ἰταλίας φρουρίοις
 338 πολλοῖς, μὴ αὐθις αὐτὰ ὁ Πομπήιος ἐπιδράμοι. τρι-
 ῆρεις δὲ ἑτέρας ἐν Ῥώμῃ καὶ ἐν Ῥαβέννῃ προσέτασσε
 γίγνεσθαι καὶ στρατὸν πολὺν ἐκ τῆς Ἰλλυρίδος μετ-
 ἐπέμπετο. Μηνόδωρόν τε ἐλθόντα ἐλεύθερον εὐθὺς
 ἀπέφηνεν ἐξ ἀπελευθέρου καὶ ὧν αὐτὸς ἤγαγε νεῶν,
 ἐπέτρεπεν ἡγεῖσθαι, ὑποστρατηγοῦντα τῷ ναυάρχῳ
 339 Καλουισίῳ. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ καθιστάμενος ὁ Καῖσαρ
 καὶ παρασκευὴν ἔτι πλέονα συνάγων ἐβράδυνε καὶ
 τὸν Ἀντώνιον οὐ περιμείναντα ἐμέμφετο, τὴν δ' οὖσαν
 ἤδη παρασκευὴν ἐκέλευε Κορνιφίκιον ἐκ Ῥαβέννης
 340 μεταγαγεῖν εἰς Τάραντα. Κορνιφικίῳ μὲν δὴ χειμῶν
 περιπλέοντι ἐπιγίγνεται, καὶ μόνη τῶν νεῶν ἡ ναυαρ-
 χὸς ἢ γενομένη Καίσαρι διεφθάρη· καὶ ἔδοξε τοῦτ' εἰς
 341 τὰ μέλλοντα σημῆναι. ἐπιπολαζούσης δὲ ὑπονοίας
 ἔτι, ὡς παρασπόνδως ὁ πόλεμος ὅδε γίγνοιτο, τὴν
 ὑπόνοιαν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐκλύων ἐπέστελλε τῇ πόλει καὶ
 τὸν στρατὸν αὐτὸς ἐδίδασκεν, ὅτι τὰς σπονδὰς ὁ
 Πομπήιος ληστεύων τὴν θάλασσαν ἀναλύσειε καὶ
 τοῦθ' οἱ λησταὶ κατείποιεν αὐτοῦ, κατείποι δὲ καὶ Μη-
 νόδωρος τὴν ὅλην γνώμην, μάθοι δὲ καὶ Ἀντώνιος καὶ
 διὰ τοῦτο Πελοπόννησον οὐ δοίη.

⁵⁹ Gaius Calvisius Sabinus had tried to protect Julius Caesar from his assassins in 44. Consul in 39, he later governed Spain and celebrated a triumph in 28.

80. Octavian, however, sent officers to Sardinia and 337
 Corsica, to take possession of what Menodorus was turn-
 ing over to him, and reinforced the Italian coastline with
 numerous guard posts in case Pompeius attacked it again.
 He also ordered the building of new triremes at Rome and 338
 Ravenna, and sent for a large army from Illyria. When
 Menodorus came he immediately declared him a freeborn
 man rather than an ex-slave, and put him in command of
 the ships he himself was bringing, as a subordinate of the
 admiral Calvisius.⁵⁹ Having made these arrangements and 339
 collected even more substantial military resources, Octa-
 vian played for time and blamed Antony for not waiting
 for him. He ordered Cornificius to bring with him from
 Ravenna to Tarentum the armament already in place.⁶⁰
 While Cornificius was making the voyage a storm overtook 340
 him, but only the flagship intended for Octavian was de-
 stroyed. This was considered a portent for the future. As 341
 the suspicion still prevailed that this war was a violation of
 the treaty, Octavian, seeking to dispel the suspicion, wrote
 a letter to Rome and told the troops in person that Pom-
 peius was the one who had broken the treaty by commit-
 ting acts of piracy on the sea, and that the pirates had ac-
 cused him of this; furthermore Menodorus had revealed
 the whole plan, and Antony too knew of it, and for that
 reason had refused to give up the Peloponnese.

⁶⁰ Lucius Cornificius was a loyal supporter of Octavian. As tribune in 43 he had prosecuted Brutus for the murder of Julius Caesar. Consul in 35, he then governed Africa and was awarded a triumph in 32.

342 81. Ὡς δὲ αὐτῷ τὰ ἐν χερσὶν ἔτοιμα γεγένητο,
 ἐπέπλει τῇ Σικελίᾳ, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐκ Τάραντος, Καλου-
 ίσιος δὲ Σαβίνος καὶ Μηνόδωρος ἀπὸ Τυρρηνίας·
 περιήει δὲ καὶ τὸ πεζὸν ἐς Ῥήγιον, καὶ μετὰ σπουδῆς
 343 ἔταχύνετο ἅπαντα. ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος τῆς μὲν αὐτομο-
 λίας τοῦ Μηνოდῶρου ἐπιπλέοντος ἤδη Καίσαρος
 ἤσθητο, πρὸς δὲ τὸν ἐκατέρωθεν ἐπίπλου αὐτὸς μὲν
 ὑπέμεινεν ἐν Μεσσήνῃ τὸν Καίσαρα, Καλουσιῶ δὲ
 καὶ Μηνოდῶρ τὸν ἔχθιστον τῷ Μηνოდῶρ μάλιστα
 τῶν ἐξελευθέρων ἑαυτοῦ Μενεκράτη προσετασσε
 344 ἅπαντᾶν ἐπὶ στόλου πολλοῦ. ὅδε οὖν ὁ Μενεκράτης
 ἐπιφαίνεται τοῖς πολεμίοις περὶ δείλην ἐσπέραν πελά-
 γιος. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐς τὸν κόλπον τὸν ὑπὲρ Κύμης συν-
 ἔφυγον καὶ τὴν νύκτα ἀνεπαύοντο, καὶ Μενεκράτης ἐς
 Αἶναρίαν παρήλθεν· ἡοῦς δὲ ἀρχομένης οἱ μὲν τὸν
 κόλπον ἐν χρῶ παρὰ τὴν γῆν αὐτὴν μηνοειδεῖ στόλω
 παρέπλεον, ἵνα μὴ αὐτοὺς διεκπλέοιεν οἱ πολέμοι, ὁ
 δὲ Μενεκράτης αὐτοῖς αὐθις ἐπιφαίνεται τε καὶ εὐθὺς
 ἐπλησίαζεν ὑπὸ ρύμης καὶ τάχους· δρᾶν δὲ οὐκ ἀνα-
 γομένους ἐς τὸ πέλαγος οὐδὲν μέγα ἔχων, ἐς τὴν γῆν
 ἐγχρίμπτων ἐξέωθει. οἱ δὲ ἐξώκελλον τε ὁμοῦ καὶ τὰς
 345 ἐμβολὰς ἀπεμάχοντο. ἦν δὲ τοῖς μὲν ἐς τὸ πέλαγος
 ἀναχώρησις τε καὶ ἐφόρμησις, ὅτε βούλονται, καὶ
 σκαφῶν ἐτέρων ἀλλαγὴ παρὰ μέρος· οἱ δὲ ἔκαμνον ἐκ
 τε τῶν πετρῶν, ἐφ' ἃς ἐπώκελλον, καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἀκινη-
 σίας τῶν νεῶν πεζομαχεῖν γὰρ πρὸς ναυμαχοῦντας
 ἐώκεσαν, οὔτε διώκειν οὔτε ἐκκλίνειν ἔχοντες.
 346 82. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ Μηνόδωρος καὶ Μενεκράτης καθ-

81. When the forces at his disposal were all ready, he 342
 set sail to attack Sicily, he himself leaving from Tarentum,
 Calvisius Sabinus and Menodorus from Etruria. The in-
 fantry too made their way round to Rhegium, and every-
 thing was expedited with urgency. Pompeius learned of 343
 Menodorus' desertion when Octavian was already sailing
 to the attack, and to face this naval assault from both
 fronts, he himself waited for Octavian at Messena and
 ordered Menecrates, who of all his freedmen was by far
 the most hostile to Menodorus, to meet Calvisius and
 Menodorus with a large fleet. This Menecrates then is 344
 sighted by his enemies in the late afternoon on the open
 sea. They took refuge in the bay above Cumae, where they
 passed the night, while Menecrates made his way to Ae-
 naria. At daybreak they sailed along the bay in crescent
 formation hard by the land in order to prevent the enemy
 breaking through their line. Menecrates again comes into
 view, and immediately closed with them furiously and fast,
 but being unable to do them any great harm as long as they
 refused to come out to the open sea, he pressed hard to
 drive them against the shore. They ran aground together 345
 and fought off his attempts to ram them. For one side it
 was possible to withdraw to the open sea and attack again
 whenever they wanted, and bring in fresh boats by turns,
 while the other side was in difficulty from the rocks on
 which they had grounded and from the fact that they could
 not move their ships. They were like land forces fighting
 a battle against sea forces, unable either to pursue or re-
 treat.

82. Meanwhile, Menodorus and Menecrates catch 346

ορῶσιν ἀλλήλους καὶ τὸν ἄλλον πόνον ἀφέντες
 αὐτίκα μετ' ὀργῆς καὶ βοῆς ἀλλήλοις ἐπέπλεον, ἐν
 τῷδε τὴν νίκην καὶ τὸ κεφάλαιον τοῦ πολέμου τιθέμε-
 347 νοι, ἐν ᾧ τις αὐτῶν κρατήσῃν ἔμελλεν. αἱ μὲν δὴ νῆες
 ἀλλήλαις ὑπὸ ῥύμης ἐνέπεσον καὶ συνέτριψαν ἢ μὲν
 τὸν ἔμβολον τῆς Μηνοδώρου νεώς, ἢ δὲ τὸν ταρσὸν
 τῆς Μενεκράτους· ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐταῖς ἐκατέρωθεν χεῖρες
 ἐπεβλήθησαν σιδηραῖ, τῶν μὲν νεῶν οὐδὲν ἔτι ἔργον
 ἦν, συνεστηκυίας ἐκατέρας, οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες ὥσπερ ἐν γῆ
 348 πόνου καὶ ἀρετῆς οὐδὲν ἀπέλειπον. ἀκόντια τε γὰρ ἦν
 ἀθρόα καὶ λίθοι καὶ τοξεύματα ἐπ' ἀλλήλους, καὶ ἐπὶ
 τὰς ναῦς καταρράκτας ἐρρίπτουν ἐς τὸ ἐπιέναι δι'
 αὐτῶν. ὑψηλοτέρας δ' οὔσης τῆς Μηνοδώρου νεώς, οἱ
 τε καταρράκται τοῖς τολμῶσιν ἦσαν εὐεπιβατώτεροι
 349 καὶ τὰ βαλλόμενα ὡς ἀφ' ὑψηλοῦ βιαιότερα. τεθνε-
 ώτων δ' ἤδη πολλῶν καὶ τῶν ὑπολοίπων κατατετρο-
 μένων, ὁ μὲν Μηνόδωρος ὀβελῷ τὸν βραχίονα ἐτρώθη,
 καὶ ὁ ὀβελὸς ἐξηρέθη, ὁ δὲ Μενεκράτης τὸν μηρὸν
 ἀκοντίῳ πολυγλώχινι Ἰβηρικῷ ὀλοσιδήρῳ, καὶ οὐκ
 350 ἦν ἐξελεῖν αὐτὸ σὺν ἐπίξει. ἀχρεῖος οὖν ὁ Μενε-
 κράτης ἐς μάχην γενόμενος ἐπέμενε καὶ ὥς, τοὺς ἄλ-
 λους ἐποτρύνων, μέχρι λαμβανομένης τῆς νεώς ἐς τὸν
 βυθὸν τοῦ πελάγους ἑαυτὸν ἔρριψεν. καὶ τὴν μὲν ναῦν
 ὁ Μηνόδωρος ἀνεδήσατο καὶ ἐς τὴν γῆν ἀπέπλευσεν,
 οὐδὲν ἔτι δρᾶν οὐδὲ ἐκείνος δυνάμενος.

351 83. Καὶ τὸ μὲν λαιὸν τῆς ναυμαχίας οὕτως ἐπεπρά-
 χει. ἐκ δὲ τοῦ δεξιοῦ Καλουίσιος μὲν, διαπλέων ἐς τὸ
 λαιόν, ἀπετέμετό τινὰς τῶν Μενεκράτους νεῶν καὶ

sight of each other, and, ignoring the rest of the fight, im-
 mediately set course against each other, roaring angrily
 and regarding victory and the decisive moment of the war
 as dependent on this encounter, in which one of them
 would be victorious. Their ships collided violently, and 347
 Menodorus' lost its ram, and Menecrates' its oars. When
 grappling irons were thrown by both, the ships were no
 longer of service, stuck together as they were, but the men
 showed no lack of effort or courage, fighting as if they were
 on land. There were volleys of javelins, stones, and arrows 348
 released against each other, and they threw gangways onto
 each ship to use for boarding. As Menodorus' was higher,
 his gangways were easier to use for those who ventured
 onto them, and his missiles had greater impact as they
 were thrown from a height. Many were already dead and 349
 the rest wounded, when Menodorus was wounded in the
 arm by a dart, which was extracted, and Menecrates in
 the thigh by a multibarbed Iberian javelin made of solid
 iron, which was impossible to pull out quickly. Although 350
 Menecrates could no longer take part in the fight, he re-
 mained there all the same, encouraging the others, until
 his ship was captured, and he threw himself into the
 depths of the sea. Menodorus took the ship in tow and
 sailed to shore; not even he could do anything more.

83. Such was the outcome of the sea battle on the left 351
 wing. While sailing from the right wing across to the left,
 Calvisius cut off some of Menecrates' ships and chased

ἐκφυγούσας εἰς τὸ πέλαγος ἐδίωκε, Δημοχάρης δ', ὁ τοῦ Μενεκράτους συνεξελεύθερός τε καὶ ὑποστράτηγος, ταῖς λοιπαῖς τοῦ Καλουσίου συμπεσών, τὰς μὲν εἰς φυγὴν ἐτρέπετο, τὰς δὲ εἰς πέτρας συνήραξε, καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐξαλομένων ἐνεπίμπρα τὰ σκάφη, μέχρι Καλουσίσιος ἐκ τῆς διώξεως ἐπανιῶν τὰς τε φευγούσας τῶν ἰδίων ἐπανήγαγε καὶ τὰς ἐμπιπραμένας εἰλκυσε.²⁸ καὶ νυκτὸς ἐπιλαβούσης ἠϋλίσαντο πάντες, ἔνθα καὶ τῆς προτέρας. ἡ μὲν δὴ ναυμαχία εἰς τοῦτο ἐτελεύτα, καὶ προὔχεν ἐν αὐτῇ τὰ Πομπηίου παρὰ πολὺ· Δημοχάρης δὲ βαρυθυμῶν ἐπὶ τῷ θανάτῳ Μενεκράτους ὡς ἐπὶ ἥττη μεγίστη (δύο γὰρ οἶδε ἦσαν μάλιστα τῷ Πομπηίῳ θαλάσσης ἐργάται, Μενεκράτης τε καὶ Μηνόδωρος), ἅπαντα μεθεῖς ἐκ χειρῶν εὐθύς εἰς Σικελίαν ἔπλει, καθάπερ οὐ τὸ Μενεκράτους σῶμα καὶ ναῦν μίαν, ἀλλὰ τὸν στόλον ὅλον ἀποβαλῶν.

353 84. Ὁ δὲ Καλουσίσιος ἕως μὲν ἐπιπλευσεῖσθαι τὸν Δημοχάρην προσεδόκα, παρέμενε, ἔνθαπερ ὄρμιστο, ναυμαχεῖν οὐ δυνάμενος· αἱ τε γὰρ κράτισται τῶν νεῶν αὐτῷ διωλώλεσαν, καὶ αἱ ἕτεραι πρὸς ναυμαχίαν εἶχον ἀχρείως· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔμαθεν οἰχόμενον εἰς Σικελίαν, ἐπεσκεύαζε τὰς ναῦς καὶ παρέπλει τὴν γῆν, τοὺς κόλπους ἐξελίσσων. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐκ μὲν Τάραντος εἰς τὸ Ῥήγιον διεπεπλεύκει ναυσὶ πολλαῖς καὶ στρατῷ πολλῷ καὶ Πομπηίου περὶ Μεσσήνην κατειλήφει ναῦς ἔχοντα τεσσαράκοντα μόνας, ὥστε αὐτῷ παρήγουν οἱ φίλοι, ὡς ἐν καιρῷ μάλιστα, ἐπιθέσθαι τῷ

them as they made their escape into the open sea, while Demochares, who was a fellow freedman of Menecrates and his lieutenant, fell upon the remainder of Calvisius' squadron. He put some of them to flight, shattered others on the rocks, and set fire to them after the crews had jumped off. Eventually Calvisius returned from his pursuit, brought back those of his own ships that were in flight, and towed the ones that were burning. With the onset of night, all parties camped in the same place as the previous night. That was the end of the sea battle, in which the forces of Pompeius had much the better of it. Demochares, however, was as grief-stricken over the death of Menecrates as if it had been the worst of defeats (for it was these two, Menecrates and Menodorus, who had been Pompeius' special naval experts), and he let everything slip from his hands and sailed straight for Sicily as if he had lost not merely the body of Menecrates and one ship, but his whole fleet.

84. As long as he expected Demochares to attack, Calvisius stayed where he had anchored, being incapable of fighting a battle. For his most powerful ships had been destroyed and the others were unfit for combat. But when he learned that Demochares had left for Sicily, he refitted his ships and sailed along the coast, following the curve of the bays. Octavian had sailed from Tarentum to Rhegium with a large number of ships and soldiers, and near Messena encountered Pompeius, who only had forty ships. So Octavian's associates advised him, in such a favorable situ-

²⁸ ἐκώλυσε codd.; εἰλκυσε Étienne-Duplessis

Πομπηίῳ μετὰ τοσοῦδε στόλου, ναῦς ἔχοντι ὀλίγας,
 355 μέχρι τὸ λοιπὸν ἐκείνῳ ναυτικὸν οὐ πάρεστιν. ὁ δ'
 οὐκ ἐπέειθετο, Καλουίσιον περιμένων καὶ λέγων οὐκ
 εὐβουλον εἶναι τὸ ῥυσοκίνδυνον, ἔνθα συμμαχίαν ἄλ-
 356 λην προσδοκῶη. ὡς δὲ Δημοχάρης ἐς Μεσσήνην
 κατέπλευσεν, ὁ μὲν Πομπηίος αὐτὸν τε Δημοχάρην
 καὶ Ἀπολλοφάνην, καὶ τόνδε ἀπελεύθερον ἑαυτοῦ,
 ναυάρχους ἀπέφηνεν ἀντὶ Μηνοδώρου καὶ Μενεκρά-
 τους.
 357 85. Ὁ δὲ Καίσαρ περὶ τῶν συμβεβηκότων ἀμφὶ τῇ
 Κύμῃ πυθόμενος ἐξέπλει τὸν πορθμὸν, ὑπαντήσων τῷ
 Καλουισίῳ. ἀνύσαντι δ' αὐτῷ τοῦ πόρου τὸ πλεον καὶ
 Στυλίδα ἤδη παραπλέοντι καὶ ἐς τὸ Σκύλλαιον ἐπικά-
 μπουσι, ἐκθορῶν ἐκ τῆς Μεσσήνης ὁ Πομπηίος ἐξή-
 358 πτετο τῶν ὑστάτων καὶ τὰς πρόπλους ἐδίωκε καὶ πά-
 σαις ἐνέβαλλε καὶ ἐς μάχην προκαλείτο. αἱ δὲ
 καίπερ ἐνοχλούμεναι ἐς μὲν ναυμαχίαν οὐκ ἐπέστρε-
 φον, Καίσαρος οὐκ ἐὼντος, εἴτε δείσαντος ἐν στενῷ
 ναυμαχεῖν εἴτ' ἐπιμένοντος οἷς ἀπ' ἀρχῆς διεγνώκει,
 μὴ ναυμαχεῖν δίχα τοῦ Καλουισίου· γνώμη δὲ αὐτοῦ
 παρά τε τὴν γῆν ὑπεχώρουν ἅπασαι καὶ ἐπ' ἀγκυρῶν
 ἐσάλευον καὶ κατὰ πρῶραν ἀπεμάχοντο τοὺς ἐπιό-
 359 ντας. Δημοχάρους δ' ἐπιστήσαντος δύο ναῦς περὶ
 ἑκάστην ἐθορυβοῦντο ἤδη, πρὸς τε τὰς πέτρας ἀρασ-
 σόμεναι καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλας, θαλάσσης τε ἐνεπίμπλα-
 ντο· καὶ διεφθείροντο μετὰ ἀργίας καὶ αἶδε ὥσπερ αἱ

ation, and with such a large fleet, to attack Pompeius and
 his small number of ships, while the rest of the latter's
 naval force was absent. Octavian, however, did not follow 355
 this advice, but waited for Calvisius, saying that it was
 unwise to court danger when he was expecting further
 military assistance. When Demochares arrived at Mes- 356
 sena, Pompeius appointed him and Apollophanes, another
 of his freedmen, admirals in place of Menodorus and
 Menecrates.

85. On hearing of what had happened at Cumae, Oc- 357
 tavian sailed out of the straits to go to meet Calvisius. He
 had completed most of the passage and was already sailing
 past Styliis and turning course for Scyllaeum, when Pom-
 peius darted out of Messena, harassed the rearmost ships,
 chased after the leading ones, attacked the whole fleet and
 challenged them to fight. Although in trouble, Octavian's 358
 ships did not face about for battle, as he would not allow
 it, either because he was afraid to fight in narrow waters,
 or because he was sticking to his original decision not to
 fight without Calvisius. It was his decision that all ships
 withdrew near the land and rode at anchor, fighting off the
 attackers from the prows. But when Demochares set two 359
 of his ships against each one of theirs, they were then
 thrown into confusion, crashing against the rocks and each
 other, and beginning to fill with water. And so these ships
 too, like those at Cumae, were lost without being able to

περὶ Κύμην, ὀρμούσαι τε καὶ ἐμβαλλόμεναι πρὸς ἐχθρῶν ἐπιπλεόντων καὶ ἀναχωρούντων.²⁹

360 86. Ὁ μὲν δὴ Καῖσαρ ἐξήλατο τῆς νεῶς ἐπὶ τὰς πέτρας καὶ τοὺς ἐκνέοντας ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης ἀνελάμβανε καὶ ἐς τὸ ὄρος ἄνω παρέπεμπε· Κορνιφίκιος δὲ καὶ ὄσοι ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ ἦσαν αὐτοῦ, παρακαλέσαντες ἀλλήλους, ἄνευ προστάγματος ἀπέρρηξαν τὰ ἀγκύρια καὶ ἀνήχθησαν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, ὡς δέον τι δρῶντας παθεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ ἐστῶτας ἀμαχεῖ τοῖς
361 ἐπιχειροῦσι προκείσθαι. τόλμη τε παραβόλῳ πρῶτον ὁ Κορνιφίκιος τὴν ναυαρχίδα τοῦ Δημοχάρους κατέσεισε καὶ εἶλε. καὶ Δημοχάρης μὲν ἐς ἑτέραν ἐξήλατο, τοιοῦτου δὲ ὄντος τοῦ πόνου καὶ τοῦ φθόρου ἐπεφαίνοντο ἐκ πόντου προσπλέοντες ἤδη Καλονισίος τε καὶ Μηνόδωρος. καὶ αὐτοὺς οἱ μὲν τοῦ Καίσαρος οὐχ ἐώρων οὔτε ἀπὸ γῆς οὔτε ἐκ θαλάσσης, πελαγιώτεροι δὲ ὄντες οἱ τοῦ Πομπηίου κατείδον καὶ ἰδόντες ἀνεχώρουν· συνεσκόταζε γὰρ ἤδη, καὶ κεκμηκότες ἀκμήσιν οὐκ ἐθάρρουν συμπλέεσθαι.

363 87. Τοῦτο μὲν δὴ συγκύρημα τοῖς ὑπολοίποις ἐκ τοῦ τέως ἀχρείου χρηστὸν ἐπιγίγνεται· νυκτὸς δὲ ἐπιλαβούσης οἱ μὲν ἐκ τῶν νεῶν ἐκπεσόντες ἐς τὰ ὄρη συνέφευγον καὶ πυρὰ πολλὰ ἔκαιον σύμβολα τοῖς ἔτι οὔσιν ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ καὶ διενυκτέρευον οὕτως ἄσιτοι
364 καὶ ἀθεράπευτοι καὶ πάντων ἐνδεεῖς. καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁ

²⁹ ἔμελλ' ἐπεὶ οὐδέπω κακὸν γ' ἀπώλετο (Soph. *Phil.* 446) interp. P; seclisit Schweig.

take action, since they were anchored and facing the attacks of an enemy who could advance and withdraw.⁶¹

86. Octavian jumped from his ship onto the rocks and 360 pulled out of the water those who were swimming to land, and brought them to the high ground above. Cornificius, however, and the other generals present, encouraged each other and, without orders to do so, cut their anchor lines and put to sea against the enemy, thinking that they should die in action rather than stand exposed to their attackers without retaliating. First, with reckless daring, Cornificius 361 rammed the flagship of Demochares and captured it. Demochares jumped onto another vessel, but at this point in the battle and destruction, Calvisius and Menodorus now appeared, making their approach from the seaward side. Octavian's men did not see them, either from the land or 362 the water, but the Pompeian forces, being further out to sea, did spot them and having done so, withdrew. For it was now getting dark, and they were tired, and did not dare to engage with fresh forces.

87. This combination of events served Octavian's surviving men well after their previous helplessness. At nightfall those who had been forced ashore took refuge in the mountains and lit many fires as a signal to those still at sea, and spent the night without food, unattended and lacking everything they needed. Octavian himself was in the same 364

⁶¹ One manuscript has taken into the text what was obviously a marginal comment by an educated reader quoting a line from Sophocles (*Phil.* 446): "For nothing evil is ever destroyed."

Καίσαρ, ὁμοίως ἔχων, παρεκάλει περιθέων ἐς τὴν ἔω
κακοπαθῆσαι. ταλαιπωρουμένῳ δὲ αὐτῷ περὶ ταῦτα
Καλουίσιος μὲν οὐδ' ὡς ἐγγινώσκετο προσπλέων,
οὐδὲ ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν τι χρηστὸν ἐγίγνετο, ἀσχολου-
365 μένων περὶ τὰ ναυάγια· ὑπὸ δὲ ἐτέρου δαίμονος ἀγα-
θοῦ τὸ τρισκαιδέκατον τέλος ἐπλησίαζε διὰ τῶν ὀρῶν
καὶ περὶ τοῦ κακοῦ πυθόμενοι τοὺς κρημνοὺς, τῷ πυρὶ
τῆς ὁδοῦ τεκμαιρόμενοι, διέδραμον καὶ καταλαβόντες
τὸν αὐτοκράτορα σφῶν καὶ τοὺς συμφυγόντας ὧδε
ἔχοντας καμάτου καὶ τροφῶν ἀπορίας ἐθεράπευον,
ἄλλους ἄλλη διαλαβόντες, οἱ δὲ ταξίαρχοι τὸν αὐτο-
κράτορα ἐς αὐτοσχέδιον σκηνην ἐσαγαγόντες, οὐ-
366 δενὸς τῶν οἰκετῶν αὐτῷ θεραπευτήρων παρόντων, ὡς
ἐν νυκτὶ καὶ τοσῶδε ταραχῇ διερριμμένων. περιπέμ-
ψας δ' εὐθὺς πανταχῇ τοὺς ἐξαγγελοῦντας, ὅτι σῶ-
ζοιτο, πυθάνεται Καλουίσιον σὺν ταῖς πρόπλοις
καταπλέοντα καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ δύο χρηστοῖς καὶ ἀδοκῆτοις
ἀνεπαύετο.

367 88. Ἄμα δ' ἡμέρα τὴν θάλασσαν ἐφορῶν ἐθεᾶτο
ναῦς ἐμπεπρησμένας τε καὶ ἡμιφλέκτους ἔτι καὶ ἡμι-
καύστους ἄλλας τε λελυμασμένας ἰστίων τε ὁμοῦ καὶ
πηδαλίων καὶ σκευῶν ἔμπλεων τὸ πέλαγος καὶ τῶν
368 ἔτι σφζομένων τὰ πολλὰ πεπονηκότα. προστησάμε-
νος οὖν τὸν Καλουισίου στόλον, ἐπεσκεύαζε τὰ ἐπεί-
γοντα τῶν σκαφῶν πλαγιάσας, ἡρεμούντων καὶ τῶν
πολεμίων, εἴτε διὰ Καλουίσιον εἴτε αὐθις ἀναγομένοις
369 ἐπιθέσθαι διεγνωκότων. ὧδε δὲ ἐχόντων ἑκατέρων, ἐκ
μέσης ἡμέρας νότος ἐμπεσὼν ἤγειρε κῦμα βίαιον ἐν

situation, and moved around encouraging his men to en-
dure their troubles until dawn. In spite of being in such
difficulties, it was still not known that Calvisius was sailing
in, nor were his own ships of any use at all, busy as they
were with the wrecks. But with the help of another benign 365
divinity, the thirteenth legion was approaching their posi-
tion through the mountains, and on hearing of the disaster,
hurried across the crags using torches to find the route.
They discovered their commander in chief and those who
had escaped with him suffering from fatigue and lack of
food, and took care of them, dividing them up among dif-
ferent groups. The military tribunes brought the com-
mander in chief to an improvised tent, none of his own
slaves being present, because they had been scattered in
the darkness and such great confusion. Octavian immedi- 366
ately sent round messengers everywhere to announce that
he was safe, and then he learns of Calvisius' arrival with
the vanguard of his fleet; and in view of two helpful and
unexpected events, he took some rest.

88. At dawn, when Octavian looked out over the sea, 367
the spectacle that met him was one of ships consumed by
flames, or still half burning, or half reduced to ashes, and
others utterly shattered, and of the sea filled with sails and
rudders and tackle; and most of the ships still being sal-
vaged were seriously damaged. So he positioned Calvisius' 368
fleet in front for protection, and, having put them on their
side, repaired those of his ships in most urgent need, while
the enemy did nothing, either because of Calvisius, or
because they had decided to attack when the ships put to
sea again. Such was the situation on each side when after 369
midday a south wind burst on them, stirring up a violent

ρόώδει καὶ στενῶ χωρίῳ. Πομπήιος μὲν οὖν ἐν Μεσσηνίᾳ λιμένων ἔνδον ἦν, αἱ δὲ τοῦ Καίσαρος νῆες αὐθις περὶ τραχεῖαν ἀκτὴν καὶ δύσορμον ἀρασσόμεναι ταῖς τε πέτραις καὶ ἀλλήλαις ἐπεφέροντο, οὐδὲ τῶν πληρωμάτων σφίσιιν ὥστε διακρατεῖν ἐντελῶν ὄντων.

370 89. Μηνόδωρος μὲν οὖν, ἀρχόμενον τὸ δεινὸν ἐλπίσας πλεονάσειν, ἐς τὸ πελαγιώτερον ἀνήχθη καὶ ἐπ' ἀγκυρῶν διεσάλευεν· ἀσθενέστερον δὲ ἔχων τὸ κύμα διὰ τὸν βυθόν, εἰρεσία ὅμως καὶ πρὸς τόδε ἐνίστατο
371 καρτερᾶ μὴ παραφέρεσθαι, καὶ τινες αὐτὸν ἐμιμοῦντο ἕτεροι. τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν πλήθος, οἰόμενοι ταχέως τὸ πνεῦμα ἐνδώσειν ὡς ἐν ἔαρι, τὰς ναῦς ἐκατέρωθεν ἀγκύραις ἔκ 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 ἢ ἐπ' ἀλλήλας τινασσόμεναι· βοή τε ἦν παμμιγῆς δεδιότων ὁμοῦ καὶ οἰμωζόντων καὶ παρακαλούντων³⁰ ἀλλήλους ἐς ἀνήκοον· οὐ γὰρ ἐφικνοῦντο ἔτι τῶν λεγομένων, οὐδὲ κυβερνήτης ιδιώτου
372 διέφερον οὔτε κατ' ἐπιστήμην οὔτε προστάσσω. ἀλλ' ὁ φθόρος ἦν ὅμοιος ἐν τε ταῖς ναυσὶν αὐταῖς καί, ὅτε τις αὐτῶν ἐκπέσοι κύματι καὶ κλύδωνι καὶ ξύλοις ἀρασσομένων· ἔγεμεν γὰρ ἢ θάλασσα ἰστίων καὶ ξύλων καὶ ἀνδρῶν καὶ νεκρῶν. εἰ δέ τις καὶ τάδε διαφυγῶν ἐκνήχοιτο ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, συνηράσσοντο καὶ οἶδε

sea in the confined space with its powerful currents. Pompeius, at least, was inside the harbor at Messena, but Octavian's ships were again pounded onto a rough shore with poor anchorage, and thrown against the rocks and each other, without even having full crews to hold them steady.

89. Now Menodorus, when the storm began, expected 370 it to get worse, and moved more into the open sea and rode at anchor. Although he faced less violent waves because of the deep water, nevertheless he held his position against them by rowing hard to avoid being carried away. Some of the others followed his example, but the remain- 371 ing majority thought that the wind would soon die down, as it usually does in the spring, and held their ships with anchors from both bow and stern, on the seaward and on the landward side, pushing each other off with poles. But 372 the wind grew stronger and everything was thrown into confusion: the ships were shattered when they broke their anchors and were smashed onto the shore or against each other. Cries of alarm were mixed together from terrified men, lamenting their fate or urging each other on, but they fell on deaf ears. For voices could no longer reach their hearer, and there was nothing to distinguish a helmsman from an ordinary seaman, whether in terms of technical knowledge or in issuing orders. The same death 373 awaited those who stayed on the ships themselves and those who fell overboard, crushed by swell and surf and timber. For the sea was full of sails and pieces of wood and men and corpses. And if anyone avoided these things and managed to swim to shore, they too were pulverized

³⁰ παρακελευόντων codd.; παρακαλούντων Étienne-Duplessis

374 ἐπὶ τὰς πέτρας ὑπὸ τοῦ κύματος. ὡς δὲ καὶ τὸ σπά-
σμα τὴν θάλασσαν ἐλάμβανεν, ὃ συνήθως ἐπιγίγνε-
ται τῷδε τῷ πορθμῷ, τοὺς μὲν ἀήθεις καὶ τόδε ἐξ-
έπλησσε, τὰ δὲ σκάφη τότε μάλιστα περιφερόμενα
συνέπιπτεν ἀλλήλοις. καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα ἐς νύκτα χαλε-
πώτερον ἐγίγνετο, ὥστε μηδὲ κατὰ φῶς ἔτι, ἀλλ' ἐν
σκότῳ διόλλυσθαι.

375 90. Οἰμωγαί τε ἀνὰ τὴν νύκτα πᾶσαν ἦσαν καὶ τῶν
οἰκείων μετακλήσεις ἀνά τε τὴν γῆν διαθεόντων καὶ
τοὺς ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ καλούντων ἐξ ὀνόματος καὶ θρη-
νούντων, ὅτε μὴ ἐπακούσειαν, ὡς ἀπολωλότας· ἐμ-
παλὶν τε ἐτέρων ἀνὰ τὸ πέλαγος ὑπερκυπτόντων τὸ
κῦμα καὶ ἐς βοήθειαν τοὺς ἐν τῇ γῇ παρακαλούντων.

376 ἀμήχανα δὲ πάντα ἦν ἑκατέροις· καὶ οὐχ ἡ θάλασσα
μόνη τοῖς ἐς αὐτὴν ἐσελθοῦσιν καὶ ὅσοι τῶν νεῶν
ἐπεβεβήκεσαν ἔτι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ γῆ τοῦ κλύδωνος οὐχ
ἦσσαν ἦν ἀπορωτέρα, μὴ σφᾶς τὸ κῦμα συναράξειεν

377 ἐπὶ τὰς πέτρας. ἐμόχθουν τε χειμῶνι τῶν πώποτε
μάλιστα καινοτρόπῳ, γῆς ὄντες ἀγχοτάτῳ καὶ τὴν
γῆν δεδιότες καὶ οὔτε ἐκφυγεῖν αὐτὴν ἔχοντες ἐς τὸ
πέλαγος οὔτε ὅσον ἀλλήλων διαστήναι· ἡ γὰρ στε-
νότης ἢ τοῦ χωρίου καὶ τὸ φύσει δυσέξοδον αὐτοῦ καὶ
κλύδων ἐπιπεσῶν καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα, ὑπὸ τῶν περικει-
μένων ὀρῶν ἐς θυέλλας περικλώμενον, καὶ ὁ τοῦ βυ-
θοῦ σπασμὸς ἐπὶ πάντα εἰλούμενος οὔτε μένειν οὔτε
φεύγειν ἐπέτρεπε· τό τε σκότος ἠνώχλει νυκτὸς μάλι-
στα μελαίνης· ὅθεν ἔθνησκον οὐδὲ καθορῶντες ἀλ-
λήλους ἔτι, οἱ μὲν θορυβούμενοι καὶ βοῶντες, οἱ δ'

against the rocks by the waves. When the maelstrom af- 374
fected the sea in the way that was usual in these straits,
this both terrified the men who were not used to it, and
also tossed the ships around then more than ever, and
threw them against each other. With the arrival of night,
the wind became more difficult to withstand, so that de-
struction no longer came in the light, but in the darkness.

90. There was wailing all night long, and the cries of 375
friends and relatives running along the shore as they called
by name to those in the water and grieved for them in the
belief that they had been killed when there was no reply.
Conversely, there were others in the sea who kept their
head above the waves and called for help to those on the
land. But nothing could be done for either group. And it 376
was not just the sea that was unmanageable for those who
went into it or those who were still on board the ships, but
the land too was no less intractable than the deep, for fear
of the waves dashing men on the rocks. They were strug- 377
gling with a storm quite unparalleled up to that time, in
that they were very near the shore but also afraid of it, and
unable to get away from it into the open sea or put enough
distance between each other. For the narrowness of the
place, and the innate difficulty of getting out of it, and the
surge of the waves, and the wind whipped into gusts by
the surrounding mountains, and the maelstrom in the
deep water churning everything up, made it impossible to
stay or escape. And the darkness of a particularly black
night was unnerving. As a result, they died no longer even 378
able to see each other, some confused and shouting out,

ἐφ' ἡσυχίας παριέμενοι καὶ τὸ δεινὸν ἐκδεχόμενοι καὶ
 συνεργοῦντες ἐς αὐτὸ ἔνιοι ὡς ἀπολούμενοι πάντως.
 379 γενόμενον γὰρ τὸ κακὸν κρείσσον ἐπινοίας καὶ τὴν ἐκ
 τῶν παραλόγων αὐτοὺς ἐλπίδα ἀφηρείτο, μέχρι ποτὲ
 ἄφνω τὸ πνεῦμα προσιούσης ἡμέρας διελύετο καὶ
 380 μεθ' ἡλίου ἐπιτολὴν πάμπαν ἐμαραίνετο. καὶ τὸ κύμα
 ὄμως καὶ τότε, τοῦ πνεύματος ἐκλυθέντος, ἐπὶ πολὺ
 ἐτραχύνετο. καὶ τὸ δεινὸν οὐδ' ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγχωρίων
 ποτὲ τηλικούτον ἐμνημονεύετο γενέσθαι· γενόμενον δὲ
 ἔθους τε καὶ νόμου κρείσσον διέφθειρε τῶν Καίσαρος
 νεῶν καὶ ἀνδρῶν τὸ πλεόν.
 381 91. Ὁ δὲ καὶ τῆς προτεραίας ἡμέρας πολλὰ τῷ
 πολέμῳ βλαβεῖς καὶ δύο τοῖσδε συμπτώμασιν ὁμοῦ
 συνενεχθεῖς ἐπὶ τὸ Ἰππώνειον εὐθύς ἦει διὰ τῶν ὀρῶν
 νυκτὸς αὐτῆς ἐκείνης κατὰ σπουδὴν, οὐχ ὑφιστάμε-
 382 νος τὴν συμφορὰν, ἐν ᾧ μηδὲν εἶχεν ἐπικουρεῖν. καὶ
 φίλοις καὶ στρατηγοῖς ἐπέστελλε πᾶσι διὰ χειρὸς
 εἶναι, μή τις αὐτῷ καὶ ἐτέρωθεν ὡς ἐν κακοπραγίᾳ
 γένοιτο ἐπιβουλή. περιέπεμπε δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν ἀκτὴν
 383 ἅπασαν τῆς Ἰταλίας τὰ παρόντα πεζά, μὴ ἐπιτολμή-
 σαιε καὶ τῇ γῇ διὰ τὴν εὐτυχίαν ὁ Πομπήσιος. ὁ δὲ
 οὔτε περὶ τῆς γῆς ἐνενόησεν οὔτε τοῖς λειψάνοις τοῦ
 ναυαγίου παροῦσιν ἢ ἀπιοῦσι καταστάντος τοῦ κλύ-
 δωνος ἐπεχείρησεν, ἀλλ' ὑπερεῖδεν ἐκ τῶν δυνατῶν
 διαζωννυμένους τὰ σκάφη καὶ ἀνέμῳ διαπλέοντας ἐς
 τὸ Ἰππώνειον, εἴτε τὴν συμφορὰν ἀρκεῖν οἱ νομίζων
 εἴτ' ἄπειρος ὢν νίκην ἐπεξελθεῖν εἴθ', ὥσπερ εἴρηται

others yielding and accepting the horror in silence, and
 some even assisting it, convinced that they were totally
 lost. For because the disaster was worse than they could 379
 imagine, it even deprived them of the hope of unexpected
 safety. Eventually, with the approach of day the wind sud-
 dently began to moderate, and when the sun rose it dropped
 completely. Even then, however, the waves continued to 380
 make the sea rough for a long time after the wind died.
 Not even the local inhabitants could remember there ever
 being such a terrible storm. In exceeding what was usual
 and normal, it destroyed most of Octavian's ships and men.

91. Having sustained serious losses in the fighting the 381
 previous day and met with these two disasters at the same
 time, Octavian immediately that very night hurried off
 through the mountains to Hipponium, having been unable
 to deal with the catastrophe at a time when he had no
 source of assistance. He wrote to all his associates and 382
 commanders telling them to be on the alert for any move
 against him that might arise from a different quarter, as
 happens when things go wrong. He also stationed the in-
 fantry he had at his disposal around the whole coast of
 Italy in case Pompeius used his good fortune to venture
 an attack by land as well. But Pompeius had no thoughts 383
 about the mainland, nor did he attack those who survived
 the wreckage, either while they were still present or as
 they departed when the swell subsided. Indeed, he ig-
 nored them while they secured the ships' hulls with ropes
 as best they could and sailed on the wind across to Hip-
 ponium. He did this either because he thought that their
 misfortune was enough for him, or because he did not
 know how to follow up a victory, or, as I have said else-

μοι καὶ ἐτέρωθι, ἐπιχειρεῖν ὅλως μαλακὸς ὢν καὶ μόνον ἐγνωκὼς ἀμύνεσθαι τοὺς ἐπιπλέοντας.

384 92. Καίσαρι δὲ οὐδ' ἐς ἡμισυ τῶν νεῶν περιεσώθη, καὶ τοῦτο σφόδρα πεπονηκός. καταλιπὼν δ' ὅμως αὐτοῦ τινὰς ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, ἐπὶ Καμπανίαν ἦει δυσφορῶν· οὔτε γὰρ ἄλλας ναῦς εἶχεν, δεόμενος πολλῶν, οὔτε χρόνον ἐς ναυπηγίαν, ἐπειγόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ καὶ τοῦ δήμου περὶ συμβάσεων αὐθις ἐνοχλήσαντος καὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἐπιτωθάσαντος ὡς παράσπονδον. χρημάτων τ' ἔχρηζε καὶ ἠπόρει, Ῥωμαίων οὔτε εἰσφερόντων οὔτε τοὺς πόρους ἐόντων, οὓς ἐπινοήσειε.

385 δεινὸς δὲ ὢν αἰεὶ τὸ συμφέρον συνιδεῖν ἔπεμπε Μακκήναν ἐς Ἀντώνιον, μεταδιδάξοντα περὶ ὧν ἔναγχος ἐπεμέμφοντο ἀλλήλοις, καὶ ἐς συμμαχίαν ὑπαξόμενον. εἰ δὲ μὴ πείσειεν, ἐπενόει τοὺς ὀπλίτας ὀλκάσιν ἐπιβήσας ἐς Σικελίαν περαιοῦν καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν

386 μεθεῖς κατὰ γῆν πόλεμον συνίστασθαι. οὕτω δ' ἀθύμως ἔχοντι αὐτῷ ἀγγέλλεται ὁ Ἀντώνιος συνθέμενος συμμαχήσειν καὶ νίκη κατὰ Κελτῶν τῶν Ἀκυιτανῶν ἐπιφανής, ἣν Ἀγρίππας ἄγων,³¹ ἐφάνη. οἳ τε φίλοι καὶ τῶν πόλεων τινες αὐτῷ ναῦς ὑπισχνούντο καὶ ἐποίουν. ὁ μὲν δὴ καὶ τῆς λύπης ἀνίη καὶ λαμπροτέραν τῆς προτέρας παρασκευῆς συνεπήγγυτο.

387 93. Ἀρχομένου δ' ἡρος ὁ μὲν Ἀντώνιος ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ἐς Τάραντα διέπλει ναυσὶ τριακοσίαις, τῷ Καίσαρι

³¹ Post ἄγων lac. indicavit Étienne-Duplessis

where,⁶² because he was completely ineffective at taking the offensive, and had decided only to defend himself against those who attacked by sea.

92. Not even half of Octavian's ships were saved, and 384 these were badly damaged. Nevertheless he left some men in place to take charge of them, and despondently made his way to Campania. For he had no other ships, but needed a great many, and had no time to build them because he was being pressed by the famine and by the people, who were again harassing him about an agreement and showing scorn for the war, as being in breach of the treaty. He also needed money, but did not have enough, since the Romans were neither paying their taxes, nor allowing him to raise the revenues he had planned. But he 385 was always good at seeing where his interests lay, and he sent Maecenas to Antony to change his mind about the issues on which they had recently reproached each other, and to draw him into giving military assistance. If Maecenas could not persuade him, Octavian intended to embark his infantry on merchant vessels, cross over to Sicily, abandon the sea, and wage war on land. While he was in a state 386 of such dejection, news reaches him that Antony had agreed to give military assistance, and a sparkling victory over the Gauls of Aquitania had been reported, won under Agrippa's command. His associates and certain cities also promised him ships, and began to build them. So Octavian recovered from his depression, and set about constructing an armament even more splendid than the previous one.

93. At the beginning of spring, Antony sailed from Athens 387 to Tarentum with three hundred ships to assist Octa-

⁶² See above, 25.101.

388 συμμαχήσων, ὡς ὑπέσχητο, ὁ δ' ἐνήλλακτο τὴν
 γνώμην καὶ ἐς τὰς ἔτι γινομένας αὐτῷ ναῦς ἀνεβάλ-
 389 λετο. καλούμενος δὲ αὐθις ὡς ἐπὶ ἔτοιμα καὶ ἀρκούντα
 τὰ Ἀντωνίου, ἑτέρας ἀσχολίας πρῶφερε καὶ δῆλος
 ἦν ἢ αὐθις ἐπιμεμφόμενός τι τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ ἢ τῆς συμ-
 390 μαχίας διὰ τὴν εὐπορίαν τὴν οἰκείαν ὑπερορῶν. χα-
 λεπαίνων δ' ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐπέμενε ὁμῶς καὶ αὐθις αὐ-
 τὸν ἐκάλει· τῇ τε γὰρ χορηγία τοῦ ναυτικοῦ κάμνων
 καὶ στρατοῦ χρήζων ἐπὶ Παρθυαίουσ Ἰταλοῦ, Καί-
 391 σαρὶ τὰς ναῦς ἐπενόει διαλλάξαι, εἰρημένον μὲν ἐν
 ταῖς συνθήκαις ἑκάτερον ξενολογεῖν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας,
 δυσχερὲς δ' ἐσόμενον αὐτῷ καὶ βαρὺν Καίσαρος τὴν
 392 Ἰταλίαν εἰληφότος.³² Ὀκταουία οὖν ἐχώρει πρὸς Καί-
 σαρα δαιτηήσουσα αὐτοῖς. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐγκαταλείφθαι
 τοῖς κινδύνοις ἔλεγε τοῖς ἐν πορθμῷ καταλαβοῦσιν, ἢ
 391 δὲ ἐκλελῦσθαι τοῦτο διὰ Μαικήνα. ὁ δὲ τὸν Ἀντώνιον
 ἔφη καὶ Καλλίαν ἀπελεύθερον ἐς Λέπιδον ἐκπέμψαι,
 συντιθέμενον τῷ Λεπίδῳ κατὰ Καίσαρος, ἢ δὲ συνει-
 δέναι Καλλίαν περὶ γάμων ἀπεσταλμένον· βουλευθῆ-
 ναι γὰρ Ἀντώνιον πρὸ τῶν Παρθυικῶν ἐκδεδόσθαι
 τὴν θυγατέρα τῷ παιδὶ Λεπίδου, καθάπερ ὠμολόγητο.
 392 καὶ τάδε μὲν ἢ Ὀκταουία, Ἀντώνιος δὲ καὶ τὸν Καλ-
 λίαν ἔπεμπεν, ἐς βάσανον τῷ Καίσαρι διδούς· ὁ δὲ

³² εἰληχότος codd.; εἰληφότος Étienne-Duplessis

⁶³ The manuscripts say that Italy had been "allotted" (*eilechotos*) to Octavian. Other sources do not support this, and a small

388 vian as he had promised, but the latter had changed his
 mind and was putting things off while waiting for the ships
 that were still being built for him. When invited a second 388
 time, Antony's forces being ready and large enough, Octa-
 vian made excuses that he had other business, and it was
 clear that he was either blaming Antony for something
 again, or was not interested in his military assistance be-
 cause of the abundance of his own resources. Antony was 389
 annoyed, but nevertheless he stayed where he was, and
 issued another invitation to Octavian. For he was laboring
 under the expense of maintaining his fleet and needed
 Italian soldiers to use against the Parthians, so he intended
 to exchange ships for men with Octavian, because al-
 though it was permitted in the terms of the treaty that
 either man could recruit in Italy, it was going to be difficult
 and expensive for him to do so when Octavian had taken 390
 possession of Italy.⁶³ Octavia therefore went to Octavian
 to act as mediator between them. He said that he had been
 abandoned while in the middle of the dangers that over-
 took him in the straits, but she replied that this matter had
 been resolved through the intervention of Maecenas. Oc- 391
 tavian then said that Antony also sent a freedman to Lep-
 idus named Callias, who was in the process of making an
 agreement with him against Octavian, but she replied that
 she knew that Callias had been sent to arrange a marriage,
 because Antony wanted his daughter to be betrothed to
 Lepidus' son before the Parthian war, as had been agreed.
 So much for Octavia's role. As for Antony, he sent Callias 392
 with permission for Octavian to question him under tor-

textual change (*eilephotos*) leaves Octavian "taking" Italy—which is what he seems to have done.

οὐκ ἐδέξατο μὲν, ἀφίξεσθαι δὲ ἔφη καὶ συμμίξειν Ἄντωνίῳ μεταξὺ Μεταποντίου καὶ Τάραντος, μέσον ἔχων ποταμὸν τὸν ἐπώνυμον.

393 94. Κατὰ δαίμονα δ' ἀμφοτέρων προσιόντων τῷ
 ρεύματι, Ἀντώνιος ἐκ τῆς ἀπήνης καταθορῶν ἔς τι
 τῶν παρορμούντων σκαφῶν ἐσήλατο μόνος καὶ ἐπέρα
 πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα, πιστεύων ὡς φίλῳ. καὶ ὁ Καίσαρ
 ἰδὼν ἀντεμιμείτο, καὶ ξυμβάλλουσιν ἀλλήλοις κατὰ
 394 τὸ ρεῦμα καὶ διήριζον, ἐκάτερος ἐκβῆναι βουλόμενος
 ἔς τὴν ὄχθην τοῦ ἑτέρου. ἐνίκα δὲ ὁ Καίσαρ, ὡς καὶ
 πρὸς τὴν Ὀκταουίαν ἤξων ἔς Τάραντα, ἐπὶ τε τῆς
 ἀπήνης Ἀντωνίου συνήδρευεν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐν Τάραντι ἔς
 τὴν καταγωγὴν αὐτοῦ παρήλθέ τε ἀφύλακτος καὶ τὴν
 νύκτα ὁμοίως ἀνεπαύετο χωρὶς δορυφόρων παρ' αὐτῷ.
 395 τὰ δ' ὅμοια καὶ παρ' Ἀντωνίου τῆς ἐπιούσης ἐπεδεί-
 κνυτο. οὕτως αὐτοῖς ἦν συνεχῆς ἢ μεταβολή, πρὸς τε
 τὰς ὑπονοίας διὰ φιλαρχίαν καὶ ἔς τὰς πίστεις ὑπὸ
 χρείας.

396 95. Τὸν μὲν οὖν ἐπίπλουν τὸν ἐπὶ Πομπήιον ὁ Καί-
 σαρ ἔς νέωτα ἀνεβάλλετο· ὁ δ' Ἀντώνιος ἐπιμένειν
 διὰ Παρθυαίους οὐ δυνάμενος, ἀντέδοσαν ὅμως ἀλ-
 λήλοις, Καίσαρι μὲν ὁ Ἀντώνιος ναῦς ἑκατὸν εἴκοσιν,
 ἃς αὐτίκα πέμψας εἰς Τάραντα παρέδωκεν, Ἀντωνίῳ
 δὲ ὁ Καίσαρ δισμυρίους Ἰταλοὺς ὀπλίτας, οὓς ἐπι-
 397 πέμψειν ὑπισχνεῖτο· ἔδωρήσατο δὲ καὶ Ὀκταουία τὸν
 ἀδελφόν, αἰτήσασα παρ' Ἀντωνίου, δέκα φασήλοις
 τριηρικτοῖς, ἐπιμίκτοις ἕκ τε φορτίδων νεῶν καὶ μα-

ture. But Octavian refused, and said that he would come and meet with Antony between Metapontum and Tarentum, with the river from which Tarentum gets its name between them.⁶⁴

94. As fate would have it, they both approached the 393
 river at the same time. Antony bounded down from his
 carriage, jumped unaccompanied onto one of the boats
 moored alongside and began to cross over to Octavian,
 trusting him as a friend. When Octavian saw this he copied
 what Antony was doing, and they met on the water and
 argued, as they both wanted to disembark on each other's
 bank. Octavian won the argument, as he said he that in 394
 going to Tarentum he was also going to Octavia. He sat
 beside Antony in the latter's carriage and went to Antony's
 quarters with no guard present and likewise slept the night
 there without bodyguards beside him. Next day there was 395
 a similar display of trust from Antony. And so their behav-
 ior kept changing the whole time, moving from suspicion
 caused by love of power to trust brought about by neces-
 sity.

95. Octavian, accordingly, intended to postpone his 396
 expedition against Pompeius until the following year. Al-
 though Antony could not stay on account of the Parthians,
 nevertheless they made a mutual exchange, Antony giving
 Octavian one hundred and twenty ships which he imme-
 diately sent and handed over at Tarentum, Octavian giving
 Antonius twenty thousand Italian legionaries, whom he
 promised to send on. Octavia also presented her brother 397
 with a gift, which she had begged from Antony, of ten
 trireme-like skiffs, which were a composite of warship and

⁶⁴ The river Taras.

κρῶν, καὶ τὴν Ὀκταουίαν ὁ Καῖσαρ χιλίους λογάσι
 398 σωματοφύλαξιν, οὓς ἐπιλέξαιτο Ἀντώνιος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ
 χρόνος αὐτοῖς ἔληγε τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἣ τοῖς τρισὶν ἐψή-
 φιστο ἀνδράσιν, ἑτέραν ἑαυτοῖς ὄριζον πενταετίαν,
 399 οὐδὲν ἔτι τοῦ δήμου δεηθέντες. οὕτω μὲν οὖν διεκρίθη-
 σαν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος εὐθὺς ἐς τὴν Συρίαν
 ἠπέιγετο, τὴν Ὀκταουίαν παρὰ τῷ ἀδελφῷ καταλιπὼν
 μετὰ θυγατρὸς ἤδη γενομένης αὐτοῖς.

400 96. Μηνόδωρος δέ, εἴτε τις ὦν φύσει παλιμπρο-
 δότης εἴτε δείσας τὴν ποτε ἀπειλὴν Ἀντωνίου, ἀπά-
 ξειν αὐτὸν εἰπόντος ὡς ἀνδράποδον πολεμοποιόν, εἴτε
 ἔλασσόνων ἀξιούσθαι νομίζων παρ' ἃ προσεδόκησεν,
 εἴτε τῶν ἄλλων αὐτὸν ἐξελευθέρων τοῦ Πομπηίου
 συνεχῶς ὀνειδιζόντων ἐς ἀπιστίαν δεσπότης καὶ
 παρακαλούντων ἐπανελθεῖν Μενεκράτους ἀποθανόν-
 τος, πίστιν αἰτήσας καὶ λαβὼν ἠντομόλησε πρὸς
 Πομπήιον σὺν ἑπτὰ ναυσί, Καλονίσιον τὸν ναύαρχον
 τοῦ Καίσαρος διαλαθών. ἐφ' ᾧ τὸν Καλονίσιον ὁ Καῖ-
 σαρ ἀπέλυσε τῆς ναυαρχίας καὶ ἀντικατέστησεν
 401 Ἀγρίππαν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἔτοιμος ἦν ὁ στόλος, ἐκάθαιρεν
 αὐτὸν ὁ Καῖσαρ ὦδε. οἱ μὲν βωμοὶ ψάουσι τῆς
 θαλάσσης, καὶ ἡ πληθὺς αὐτοῦς περιέστηκε κατὰ
 ναῦν μετὰ σιωπῆς βαθυτάτης· οἱ δὲ ἱεουργοὶ θύουσι
 μὲν ἐστῶτες ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάσσει καὶ τρις ἐπὶ σκαφῶν
 περιφέρουσιν ἀνὰ τὸν στόλον τὰ καθάρσια, συμπερι-

merchantman, and Octavian gave her in return one thou-
 sand elite troops as a bodyguard, to be selected by Antony.
 Since the term of the power voted to them as triumvirs 398
 was running out, they designated another five-year period
 for themselves, without asking anything further of the
 people.⁶⁵ And so it was that they went their separate ways, 399
 Antony immediately hurrying off to Syria, leaving Octavia,
 along with the daughter already born to them, with her
 brother.

96. As for Menodorus, either because repeated be- 400
 trayal was part of his nature, or because he was afraid of
 the threat Antony issued on one occasion when he said he
 would bring him to justice as a warmongering slave, or
 because he was less valued than he expected, or because
 Pompeius' other freedmen were constantly rebuking him
 for disloyalty to his master and urging him to come back,
 now that Menecrates was dead, having asked for and been
 granted a personal assurance, he deserted to Pompeius
 with seven ships, without being noticed by Octavian's ad-
 miral, Calvisius. As a result, Octavian relieved the latter of
 his naval command and appointed Agrippa in his place.
 When the fleet was ready, Octavian purified it in the fol- 401
 lowing manner. The altars are adjacent to the water, and
 the crews take up station round about in their ships, in the
 deepest silence. The priests who perform the ceremony
 offer sacrifice while standing at the water's edge, and carry
 the expiatory offerings in skiffs three times round the fleet,

⁶⁵ The first period of triumviral power had run out almost
 certainly on December 31, 38. This renewal, now some time in
 the middle of 37, must have been backdated to the beginning of
 the year, and so would run until December 31, 32.

πλεόντων αὐτοῖς τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ ἐπαρωμένων ἐς
τάδε τὰ καθάρσια, ἀντὶ τοῦ στόλου, τὰ ἀπαίσια τρα-
402 πῆναι. νείμαντες δὲ αὐτά, μέρος ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν
ἀπορρίπτουσι καὶ μέρος ἐς τοὺς βωμοὺς ἐπιθέντες
ἄπτουσι, καὶ ὁ λεὼς ἐπευφημεῖ. οὕτω μὲν Ῥωμαῖοι τὰ
ναυτικὰ καθαίρουσιν.

403 97. Ἐμελλε δ' ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ ἐκ Δικαιαρχείας, ὁ δὲ
Λέπιδος ἐκ Λιβύης, Ταῦρος δ' ἐκ Τάραντος ἐπιπλευ-
σεῖσθαι τῇ Σικελίᾳ, ὡς ἂν αὐτὴν ἐξ ἡοῦς ὁμοῦ καὶ
404 δύσεως καὶ μεσημβρίας περιλάβοιεν. καὶ τῆς ἀναγω-
γῆς τοῦ Καίσαρος ἢ ἡμέρα προεῖρητο πᾶσι, καὶ ἦν
δεκάτη τροπῶν θερινῶν, ἣν τινα Ῥωμαῖοι νομηγνίαν
ἔχουσι τοῦ μηνός, ὃν ἐπὶ τιμῇ τοῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ προ-
τέρου Ἰούλιου ἀντὶ Κυντιλίου καλοῦσι. τήνδε μὲν ὁ
Καῖσαρ ὥρισε τὴν ἡμέραν, αἰσιούμενος ἴσως διὰ τὸν
405 πατέρα νικηφόρον αἰεὶ γεγόμενον· ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος Λε-
πίδῳ μὲν ἀντέταπτε Πλένιον ἐν Λιλυβαίῳ, τέλος ὀπλι-
τῶν ἔχοντα καὶ ἄλλο πλῆθος ἐσκευασμένον κούφως,
τὴν δὲ πρὸς ἔω καὶ δύσιν ἀκτὴν τῆς Σικελίας πᾶσαν
ἐφρούρει, καὶ νήσους μάλιστα Λιπάραν τε καὶ Κοσ-
σύραν, ἵνα μήτε Κοσσύρα Λεπίδῳ μήτε Λιπάρα Καί-
σαρι ἐνορμίσματα ἢ ναύσταθμα γένοιτο εὐκαιρα ἐπὶ
τῇ Σικελίᾳ. τὸ δ' ἄριστον τοῦ ναυτικοῦ ἐν Μεσσήνῃ
συνεῖχεν ἐπεδρεῦον ὅπη δεήσειεν.

⁶⁶ According to Velleius Paterculus (2.127), Titus Statilius Taurus was Augustus' second most important general after

the generals accompanying them as they sail around, and
praying that the bad omens be turned against these vic-
402 tims, not against the fleet. Then, dividing the victims, they
throw part of them into the sea, and place part on the al-
tars and burn them, while the people shout their assent.
This is how the Romans purify their naval forces.

97. The intention was that Octavian would sail against 403
Sicily from Dicaearchia, Lepidus from Africa and Taurus
from Tarentum with the purpose of surrounding it from
east, west and south simultaneously.⁶⁶ The day Octavian 404
was to set sail had been communicated beforehand to ev-
eryone: it was the tenth day after the summer solstice,
which the Romans keep as the kalends of the month they
call July instead of Quintilis, in honor of the first Caesar.
Octavian fixed on this day, perhaps because he considered
it of good omen in view of the fact that his father was al-
ways victorious. Pompeius stationed Plinius at Lilybaeum 405
with one legion of infantry and a considerable number of
light-armed troops, to oppose Lepidus.⁶⁷ He garrisoned
the whole east and west coast of Sicily, and in particular
the islands of Lipara and Cossyra, to prevent them from
becoming convenient anchorages and harbors for an at-
tack on Sicily, Cossyra for Lepidus and Lipara for Octa-
vian. The best part of his naval force he kept together at
Messena to watch for situations where it might be needed.

Agrippa. He was suffect consul in 37 and held a second consul-
ship, with Augustus himself as his colleague, in 26. When Augus-
tus went west in 16, he left Statilius in charge of Rome as *Prae-*
fectus Urbi.

⁶⁷ Lucius Plinius Rufus is known from an inscription to have
been praetor designate in 36.

406 98. Οὕτω μὲν ἐκάτεροι παρασκευῆς εἶχον, γενο-
 μένης δὲ τῆς νουμηνίας ἀνήγοντο πάντες ἅμα ἡοί,
 Λέπιδος μὲν ἐκ Λιβύης χιλίαις ὀλκάσι καὶ μακραῖς
 ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ τέλεσι στρατοῦ δώδεκα καὶ ἰπ-
 πεῦσι Νομάσι πεντακισχιλίοις καὶ ἑτέρα παρασκευῆ
 πολλῇ, Ταῦρος δ' ἐκ Τάραντος ταῖς Ἀντωνίου ναυσὶν
 ἑξ ἑκατὸν καὶ τριάκοντα δύο μόναις καὶ ἑκατόν, ἐπεὶ
 τῶν λοιπῶν οἱ ἐρέται χειμῶνος ἐτεθνήκεσαν, ὁ δὲ
 Καῖσαρ ἐκ Δικαιαρχείας, θύων ἅμα καὶ σπένδων ἀπὸ
 τῆς ναυαρχίδος νεὼς ἐς τὸ πέλαγος ἀνέμοις εὐδαίμοις
 καὶ Ἀσφαλείῳ Ποσειδῶνι καὶ ἀκύμονι θαλάσση,
 συλλήπτορας αὐτῷ κατὰ ἐχθρῶν πατρώων γενέσθαι.
 407 πρόπλοι δ' αὐτῷ τινες τοὺς μυχοὺς τῆς θαλάσσης
 διηρεύων, καὶ Ἄππιος μετὰ πλήθους νεῶν ὀπισθοφυ-
 408 λακῶν εἶπετο. τρίτη δὲ τῆς ἀναγωγῆς ἡμέρα νότος
 ἐμπεσῶν Λεπίδου μὲν ὀλκάδας ἀνέτρεψε πολλάς, ὠρ-
 μίσθη δὲ ὅμως ἐς Σικελίαν καί, Πλένιον ἐν Λιλυβαίῳ
 πολιορκῶν, τινὰς τῶν πόλεων ὑπήγετο καὶ ἑτέρας
 ἐβιάζετο. Ταῦρος δὲ ἀρχομένου τοῦ πνεύματος ἐς
 409 Τάραντα ἐπαλιυδρόμει. Ἀππίου δ' ἄρτι τὸ Ἀθηναῖον
 ἄκρον περιπλέοντος αἱ μὲν συνετρίβοντο τῶν νεῶν
 ἀμφὶ ταῖς πέτραις, αἱ δ' ἐς τέλματα ἐξώκελλον ὑπὸ
 410 ῥύμης, αἱ δὲ καὶ διερρίφησαν οὐκ ἀσινεῖς. ὁ δὲ Καῖ-
 σαρ ἀρχομένου μὲν τοῦ χειμῶνος ἐς τὸν Ἐλεάτην
 κόλπον ἐρυμνὸν ὄντα συμπεφεύγει, χωρὶς ἐξήρους
 μιᾶς, ἣ περὶ τῇ ἄκρᾳ διελύθη. λιβὸς δὲ τὸν νότον
 μεταλαβόντος ὁ κόλπος ἐκυκᾶτο, ἐς τὴν ἐσπέραν
 ἀνεωγμένος, καὶ οὔτε ἐκπλεῦσαι δυνατὸν ἦν ἔτι πρὸς

98. Such were the preparations on each side. When the 406
 day of the kalends arrived, they all set sail at dawn, Lepi-
 dus from Africa with one thousand transports, seventy
 warships, twelve legions of infantry, five thousand Numid-
 ian cavalry and a large additional armament; Taurus from
 Tarentum with only one hundred and two of Antony's one
 hundred and thirty ships because the rowers of the other
 ones had died during the winter; and Octavian from Di-
 caearchia, offering sacrifices and pouring libations from
 his flagship into the sea to Gentle Winds, to Neptune the
 Savior, and to Waveless Sea, in order to secure their as-
 407 sistance for himself against his father's enemies. Some
 ships sailed ahead inspecting the inlets of the sea for him,
 and Appius followed with numerous ships to guard the
 408 rear. On the third day after their departure a south wind
 hit them and capsized many of Lepidus' transports. Nev-
 ertheless, he reached safe anchorage in Sicily, and while
 besieging Plinius in Lilybaeum, won over some towns by
 persuasion and others by force. When the wind began
 to blow, Taurus ran back to Tarentum. Appius was just
 409 rounding the promontory of Minerva, and some of his
 ships were shattered against the rocks, others ran aground
 in the shoals, driven by the force of the wind, and others
 were dispersed, not without being damaged. At the begin-
 410 ning of the storm, Octavian took refuge in the bay of Elea,
 which was sheltered, apart from one six-banked ship,
 which was wrecked on the promontory. When the south
 wind was followed by a southwester, the bay, being open
 to the west, was churned up, and it was no longer possible
 to sail out of it into a headwind blowing straight into the

ἐναντίον τοῦ κόλπου τὸ πνεῦμα, οὔτε κῶπαι κατεῖχον οὔτε ἄγκυραι, ἀλλ' ἐς ἀλλήλας ἢ ἐς τὰς πέτρας ἐνηράσσοντο αἱ νῆες. καὶ νυκτὸς ἦν ἔτι τὸ δεινὸν ἀτοπώτερον.

411 99. Ἐνδόντος δέ ποτε τοῦ κακοῦ τὰ νεκρὰ ἔθαπτεν ὁ Καῖσαρ, καὶ τοὺς τραυματίας ἐθεράπευε, καὶ τοὺς ἐκνέοντας ἐνέδνε, καὶ ὤπλιζεν ἑτέροις ὄπλοις, καὶ τὸν στόλον ἅπαντα ἐκ τῶν ἐνόντων ἀνελάμβανε. διεφθάρατο δ' αὐτῷ νῆες βαρεῖαι μὲν ἕξ, κουφότεραι δὲ ἕξ
412 καὶ εἴκοσι, λιβυρνίδες δὲ ἔτι πλείους. καὶ ἐς τάδε διορθούμενα τριάκοντα ἡμέρας ἀναλώσειν ἔμελλεν, ἤδη τοῦ θέρους προκόπτοντος· ὅθεν ἦν ἄριστον αὐτῷ τὸν
413 πόλεμον ἐς τὸ μέλλον θέρους ἀναβαλέσθαι. ἐνοχλουμένου δὲ τοῦ δήμου ταῖς ἀπορίαις, ἐπεσκεύαζε τὰς ναῦς ἐς τὴν γῆν ἀνέλκων μετὰ ἐπέιξεως καὶ τὰ πληρώματα τῶν διεφθαρμένων ἐς τὰς παρὰ Ταύρω ναῦς κενὰς
414 ἐξέπεμπεν. ὡς δὲ ἐπὶ συμφορᾷ μείζονι, Μαικῆναν μὲν ἐς Ῥώμην ἐξέπεμπε διὰ τοὺς ἐπτοημένους ἔτι πρὸς τὴν μνήμην Πομπηίου Μάγνου· οὐ γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐξέλιπεν ἢ δόξα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τούτου· τοὺς δὲ κληρούχους αὐτὸς ἀνὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπέτρεχε καὶ ἐκ τοῦ φόβου
415 τῶν γεγονότων ἀνελάμβανε. διέδραμε δὲ καὶ ἐς Τάραντα καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν εἶδε τὸ ὑπὸ Ταύρω, καὶ ἐς Ἰππώνειον ἦλθε καὶ τὰ περὶ παρηγόρησε καὶ τὴν τῶν νεῶν ἐπισκευὴν ἐπέσπερχεν. καὶ πλησίον ἦν ἤδη καὶ ὁ δεύτερος ἐς Σικελίαν ἐπίπλους.

416 100. Ὁ δὲ Πομπηῖος οὐδ' ἐπὶ τοιαῦδε εὐκαιρία τοσοῖσδε ναυαγίοις ἐπιχειρεῖν ἠξίου, ἀλλ' ἔθνε μόνον

bay, nor could oars or anchors hold the ships in position with the wind still ahead. They crashed into each other or against the rocks, and at night the horror was even more abnormal.

99. Once the storm subsided, Octavian buried the 411
dead, tended to the wounded, clothed those who had swum to land and equipped them with new weapons, and repaired the whole fleet with his existing resources. Six of his heavy ships, twenty-six lighter ones, and even more Liburnians had been destroyed. To put the situation right 412
was going to take thirty days, and with the end of summer now approaching, it would have been best for him to postpone the war until the following summer. But as the people 413
were suffering from the shortages, he hauled his ships onto land and began repairing them with urgency, and sent the crews of the ships that had been destroyed to the ones that had no crews with Taurus. This being a major 414
disaster, he sent Maecenas to Rome because of the people who were still very excited at the memory of Pompey the Great: for this man's fame had not lost its effect over them. Octavian himself visited the colonists throughout Italy and calmed their fears over what had happened. He also hurried 415
over to Tarentum and inspected the naval force under Taurus, and then proceeded to Hipponium, where he addressed the infantry and hastened the repair of the fleet. The second expedition against Sicily was now at hand.

100. As for Pompeius, he did not think it suitable to 416
take the offensive, even when presented with such a good

θαλάσση καὶ Ποσειδῶνι καὶ υἱὸς αὐτῶν ὑφίστατο κα-
 λείσθαι, πειθόμενος οὐκ ἄνευ θεοῦ δις οὕτω θέρους
 417 πταῖσαι τοὺς πολεμίους. φασὶ δ' αὐτόν, ὑπὸ τῶνδε
 χαυνούμενον, καὶ τὴν συνήθη τοῖς αὐτοκράτορσι
 χλαμύδα ἐκ φοινικῆς ἐς κυανῆν μεταλλάξαι, εἰ-
 418 σποιούμενον ἄρα ἑαυτὸν τῷ Ποσειδῶνι. ἐλπίσας δ'
 ἀναζεύξειν τὸν Καίσαρα, ὡς ἐπύθετο ναυπηγούμενόν
 τε καὶ ἐπιπλευσούμενον αὐθις αὐτοῦ θέρους, ἐξεπλήσ-
 σετο μὲν ὡς ἀμάχῳ γνώμῃ καὶ παρασκευῇ πολεμῶν,
 Μηνόδωρον δὲ μετὰ νεῶν ἑπτὰ ὧν ἤγαγεν ἔπεμπε
 κατασκευόμενον τὰ νεώλκια τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ δρά-
 419 σοντα, ὃ τι καὶ δύναιτο. ὁ δὲ καὶ τέως ἀχθόμενος οὐκ
 ἀποδοθείσης αὐτῷ τῆς ναυαρχίας καὶ τότε αἰσθόμε-
 νος, ὅτι σὺν ὑποψία μόνων ἠξίωτο ὧν ἤγαγε νεῶν,
 ἐπεβούλευεν αὐθις αὐτομολίαν.
 420 101. Ἐπινοῶν δὲ πρότερον, ὡς ἐς πάντα οἱ συνοῖ-
 σον, ἀνδραγαθίσασθαι, διέδωκε τοῖς συμπλέουσιν,
 ὅσον εἶχε χρυσίον, καὶ διέπλευσεν εἰρεσία τρισὶν
 ἡμέραις πεντακοσίους ἐπὶ χιλίοις σταδίου καὶ τοῖς
 προφύλαξι τῶν ναυπηγούμενων Καίσαρι νεῶν οἷα
 σκηπτὸς ἀφανῶς ἐμπίπτων καὶ ἐς ἀφανὲς ἀναχωρῶν
 ἤρει κατὰ δύο καὶ τρεῖς ναῦς τῶν φυλακίδων καὶ τὰς
 ὀλκάδας, αἱ τὸν σῖτον ἔφερον, ὀρμούσας ἢ παραπλε-
 ούσας κατέδυνεν ἢ ἀνεδείτο ἢ ἐνεπίμπρη. θορύβου δὲ
 πάντα μεστὰ διὰ Μηνόδωρον ἦν, Καίσαρος ἀπόντος

opportunity provided by so many shipwrecks. He merely
 offered sacrifice to Sea and to Neptune, and decided to be
 called their son, persuading himself that it was not without
 divine intervention that his enemies had failed twice dur-
 417 ing the summer. They say that these events made him so
 vain that he exchanged the purple cloak customarily worn
 by Roman commanders for a dark blue one, to signify, of
 418 course, that he was the adopted son of Neptune. Having
 expected Octavian to withdraw, when he heard that he was
 having ships built and was going to launch a new expedi-
 tion that very summer, he became alarmed at finding him-
 self at war with such irresistible spirit and military re-
 sources, and sent Menodorus along with the seven ships
 he had brought with him to reconnoiter Octavian's dock-
 yards and do whatever damage he could. Menodorus, 419
 however, who had been annoyed beforehand that he had
 not been compensated with command of the fleet, was
 now aware that he was under suspicion, being regarded as
 suitable to command only the ships he had brought with
 him. So he planned a new desertion.

101. Intending first to perform acts of outstanding in- 420
 dividual courage, as he thought this would be to his advan-
 tage in all circumstances, he distributed all the money he
 had to the men on board with him, and traveled one thou-
 sand five hundred stades in three days of rowing. By falling
 invisibly with the speed of a thunderbolt on the squadron
 guarding the ships Octavian was constructing and retiring
 into invisibility, he captured in twos and threes the ships
 on guard, and sank or towed away or burned the mer-
 chantmen that were carrying the grain as they rode at
 anchor or sailed along the coast. With Octavian and
 Agrippa still away—Agrippa had gone off to collect tim-

421 ἔτι καὶ Ἀγρίππα· καὶ γὰρ οὗτος ἐπὶ ὕλην ἐπεπόρευτο.
γαυρούμενος δὲ ὁ Μηνόδωρος ἐξώκειλέ ποτε τὴν ναῦν
ἐκὼν ἐς ἔρμα γῆς ἀπαλὸν σὺν καταφρονήσει καὶ ὑπε-
κρίνετο αὐτὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ πηλοῦ κατέχεσθαι, μέχρι, τῶν
πολεμίων ἐκ τῶν ὀρῶν καταθορόντων ὡς ἐπὶ Μηνο-
δώρου θήραν ἔτοιμον, ἀνακρουσάμενος ᾤχετο σὺν
γέλῳτι καὶ τὸν στρατὸν τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀνία κατεῖχε
σὺν θαύματι.

422 102. Ὡς δὲ ἰκανῶς ἐπεδέδεικτο, οἷος ἐχθρὸς τε καὶ
φίλος εἶη, Ῥέβιλον μὲν ἐλὼν, ἄνδρα ἀπὸ βουλῆς, με-
θῆκε, μνώμενος ἤδη τὸ μέλλον. Μινδίῳ δὲ Μαρκέλλῳ,
τῶν ἐταίρων τινὶ τῶν Καίσαρος, φίλος ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ
γεγονῶς αὐτομολία, τοῖς μὲν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἔφη τὸν
Μίνδιον βουλεύειν αὐτομολίαν καὶ προδοσίαν, τοῖς δὲ
πολεμίοις προσπελάσας ἠξίου Μίνδιον αὐτῷ συνελ-
423 θεῖν ἕς τινα νησιῶδα ἐπὶ λόγοις συνοίσουσι. καὶ συν-
ελθόντι ἔλεγεν, οὐδενὸς ἀκούοντος ἑτέρου, φυγεῖν μὲν
ἐς Πομπήιον ὑβριζόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ τότε ναυάρχου Κα-
λουισίου, τὴν δὲ ναυαρχίαν Ἀγρίππου μεταλαβόντος
ἐπανελεύσεσθαι πρὸς Καίσαρα οὐδὲν ἀδικοῦντα, εἰ
πίστιν αὐτῷ κομίσειεν ὁ Μίνδιος παρὰ Μεσάλα τοῦ
424 τὴν ἀποδημίαν Ἀγρίππα διοικούντος. ἔφη δ' ἐπανε-
λθὼν μὲν ἰάσεσθαι λαμπροῖς τὸ ἀμάρτημα ἔργοις, μέ-

⁶⁸ Perhaps a son of the consul of 45, Gaius Caninius Rebilus, and probably the same Rebilus that Appian mentions (*BCiv.* 4.48.209) as one of the proscribed, who fled to Sicily.

ber—there was complete confusion because of Meno-
dorus. On one occasion, in a spirit of bravado, Menodorus 421
intentionally and contemptuously ran his ship aground on
a sandbank, and pretended it was stuck in the mud, until
his enemies dashed down from the mountains expecting
him to be easy prey. But Menodorus backed his ship
off and disappeared laughing, while distress mixed with
amazement affected Octavian's men.

102. When he had given sufficient evidence of what 422
sort of enemy or friend he would be, now with a mind to
the future, he released a senator he had taken prisoner,
named Rebilus.⁶⁸ During his previous period of desertion
Menodorus had associated with Mindius Marcellus, one
of the companions of Octavian, and he now told his own
entourage that Mindius was planning to betray and desert
from his side.⁶⁹ Menodorus then approached the enemy
lines and asked Mindius to meet him on a small island with
a view to fruitful discussions. When Mindius arrived at
the meeting, and there was nobody else within earshot,
Menodorus told him that he had fled to Pompeius because 423
he had been insulted by Calvisius, the admiral at the time,
but now that Agrippa had succeeded him in command of
the fleet, he would come back to Octavian, who was in no
way treating him badly, if Mindius would bring him a guar-
antee of immunity from Messalla, who was directing af-
424 fairs in Agrippa's absence.⁷⁰ He said that on his return he
would make amends for his mistake by brilliant exploits,

⁶⁹ An inscription records that Marcus Mindius Marcellus was appointed Prefect of the Fleet by Octavian.

⁷⁰ Appian summarizes the career of Marcus Valerius Messalla Corvinus (consul 31) at *BCiv.* 4.38.159–62.

425 χρι δὲ τῶν πίστεων λυμανεῖσθαι τινα τῶν Καίσαρος
 ὁμοίως ἐς τὸ ἀνύποπτον. καὶ ὁ μὲν αὖθις ἐλυμαίνεται,
 Μεσσάλας δ' ἐνεδοίασε μὲν ὡς ἐπὶ αἰσχρῶ, ἐνέδωκε
 δ' ὅμως, εἴτε πολέμου ταῦτ' εἶναι νομίζων ἀνάγκας
 εἴτε καὶ τῆς Καίσαρος γνώμης τι προμαθῶν ἢ τεκμη-
 426 ράμενος. καὶ Μηνόδωρος μὲν αὖθις ἠὺτομόλει καὶ τὸν
 Καίσαρα ἐλθόντα προσπίπτων ἠξίου συγγνωναί μὴ
 λέγοντι τὰς αἰτίας τῆς φυγῆς· ὁ δὲ ἐς μὲν σωτηρίαν
 αὐτῷ συνεγίνωσκε διὰ τὰς σπονδὰς καὶ ἀφανῶς ἐφυ-
 λάσσετο, τοῦς δὲ τριηράρχους αὐτοῦ μεθίει χωροῦν-
 τας ὅποι θέλοιεν.
 427 103. Ἐτοίμου δὲ τοῦ στόλου γενομένου, αὖθις ὁ
 Καίσαρ ἀνήγετο καὶ ἐς Ἴππώνειον παραπλεύσας δύο
 μὲν τέλη πεζῶν Μεσσάλαν ἔχοντα περᾶν ἐκέλευσεν
 ἐς Σικελίαν ἐπὶ τὸ Λεπίδου στρατόπεδον καὶ σταθ-
 μεύειν ἐς τὸν κόλπον διελθόντα τὸν εὐθὺ Ταυρομενίου,
 428 τρία δ' ἔπεμπεν ἐπὶ Στυλίδα καὶ πορθμὸν ἄκρον ἐφε-
 δρεύειν τοῖς ἐσομένοις· Ταῦρον δ' ἐς τὸ Σκυλάκιον
 ὄρος, ὁ πέραν ἐστὶ Ταυρομενίου, περιπλεῖν ἐκ Τάραν-
 τος ἐκέλευε. καὶ ὁ μὲν περιέπλει διεσκευασμένος ἐς
 μάχην ὁμοῦ καὶ εἰρεσίαν· καὶ τὰ πεζὰ αὐτῷ παρω-
 μάρτει, προερευνώντων τὴν τε γῆν ἰππέων καὶ λιβυρ-
 νίδων τὴν θάλασσαν. καὶ ὁ Καίσαρ ὧδε ἔχοντι ἐξ
 Ἴππωνείου ἐπιδραμῶν ἐπιφαίνεται κατὰ τὸ Σκυλάκιον,
 καὶ τὴν εὐταξίαν ἀποδεξάμενος ἐπανῆλθεν ἐς τὸ Ἴπ-
 429 πώνειον. ὁ δὲ Πομπήσιος, ὡς μοι προείρηται, τὰς τε ἐς
 τὴν νῆσον ἀποβάσεις ἐφύλασσε ἀπάσας καὶ τὰς

but that until the proof of immunity arrived he would
 inflict damage on parts of Octavian's forces as before in
 order to avoid suspicion. While Menodorus resumed his
 425 marauding, Messalla hesitated at such shameful behavior,
 but he gave in all the same, either because he considered
 such things necessary in war, or because he had already
 found out, or guessed, something of Octavian's intentions.
 So Menodorus again deserted, and, when Octavian ar-
 426 rived, threw himself at his feet and begged forgiveness,
 without explaining the reasons for his flight. As far as his
 personal safety was concerned, Octavian forgave him be-
 cause of the agreement reached, but had him secretly
 watched; and he released his ship captains, allowing them
 to go wherever they wanted.

103. When the fleet was ready Octavian again put to
 427 sea and sailed along the coast to Hipponium. He ordered
 Messalla to cross over to Sicily with two legions of infantry
 to join Lepidus' army, and once he had crossed the straits,
 to establish his base on the bay opposite Tauromenium.
 He also sent three legions to Styliis and the head of the
 428 channel to keep an eye on developments. He ordered Tau-
 rus to sail around from Tarentum to Mount Scylacium,
 which lies opposite Tauromenium. Taurus did so, having
 prepared himself for fighting as well as for rowing. His
 infantry kept pace with him, while cavalry reconnoitered
 ahead by land and Liburnians by sea. With Taurus thus
 occupied, Octavian rode over to him from Hipponium
 and made an appearance at Mount Scylacium, and, having
 approved the good order of his forces, returned to Hip-
 429 ponium. Pompeius, as I have already said, was guarding
 all the landing places on the island and keeping his fleet

ναῦς ἐν Μεσσήνῃ συνείχεν ὡς βοηθήσων, ὅποι δεή-
σειεν.

430 104. Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐν τούτῳ παρασκευῆς ἦσαν, Λεπίδῳ
δὲ αὐθις ἐκ Λιβύης ἦγον αἱ ὀλκάδες τὰ λοιπὰ τοῦ
στρατοῦ τέλη τέσσαρα. καὶ αὐταῖς ὑπήντα πελάγιος
ἐκ Πομπηίου Παπίας καὶ διέφθειρεν ὡς φιλίως³³ δε-
431 χομένας· ᾤοντο γὰρ σφίσι τὰς Λεπίδου συναντᾶν. αἱ
δὲ βραδέως τε ὑπὸ τοῦ Λεπίδου καθείλκοντο, καὶ
ἕστερον αὐτὰς προσιούσας αἱ ὀλκάδες ὡς καὶ τάσδε
ἄλλας πολεμίας ἐξέκλιναν, ἕως αἱ μὲν ἐκαύθησαν, αἱ
δ' ἐλήφθησαν, αἱ δ' ἀνετράπησαν, αἱ δ' ἐς Λιβύην
432 ἀνέπλευσαν. τοῦ δὲ στρατοῦ δύο μὲν τέλη διώλετο ἐν
τῇ θαλάσῃ, καί, εἴ τινες αὐτῶν ἐξενήχοντο, καὶ
τούσδε Τισιηνὸς ὁ τοῦ Πομπηίου στρατηγὸς ἐκνέον-
τας ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν διέφθειρεν· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ πρὸς Λέπιδον
κατήχθησαν, οἱ μὲν αὐτίκα, οἱ δ' ἕστερον. καὶ Πα-
πίας ἀπέπλευσε πρὸς Πομπήιον.

433 105. Ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐς μὲν Στρογγύλην, ἣ τῶν πέντε
νήσων ἐστὶ τῶν Αἰόλου, παντὶ τῷ στόλῳ διέπλευσεν
ἐξ Ἴππωνείου, προερευνημένης αὐτῷ τῆς θαλάσσης·
στρατὸν δὲ ἐπὶ μετώπου τῆς Σικελίας πλέονα ἰδὼν ἐν
τε Πελωριάδι καὶ Μύλαις καὶ Τυνδαρίδι, εἵκασεν αὐ-
τὸν παρῆναι Πομπήιον καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐνθάδε Ἀγρίππα
434 διαστρατηγεῖν ἐπέτρεψεν. αὐτὸς δὲ εἰς τὸ Ἴππώνειον
αὐθις ἀπέπλει καὶ ἐς τὸ Ταύρου στρατόπεδον ἐξ Ἴπ-
πωνείου σὺν τρισὶ τέλεσι μετὰ Μεσσάλα διετρόχα-

³³ φιλίως Étienne-Duplessis; φίλιους LBJ; φιλίας P

at Messena, in order to send help wherever it might be
needed.

104. While they were making these preparations, trans- 430
port ships were coming back from Africa bringing Lepidus
the remaining four legions of his army. Papias went to
confront them out at sea, sent by Pompeius, and destroyed
them, although they received him in friendly fashion.⁷¹
For they thought it was Lepidus' ships meeting them. 431
These had been launched by Lepidus in leisurely fashion,
and when they approached too late, the African transports
steered clear of them in the belief that they too were other
enemy ships. So some of them were burned, some cap-
tured, some capsized, and some sailed back to Africa. Two 432
legions of soldiers died in the sea, and, if there were any
who swam away to safety, these too were killed by Pom-
peius' general, Tisienus, as they made their way out of the
water onto land. The remainder landed at Lepidus' camp,
some immediately, others later. Papias sailed back to Pom-
peius.

105. Octavian sailed across from Hipponium with his 433
whole fleet to Strongyle,⁷² one of the five Aeolian islands,
having made a reconnaissance of the sea beforehand. See-
ing a large army in front of him on the Sicilian shore both
at Pelorus and at Mylae and Tyndaris, he thought it likely
that Pompeius himself was there. So he entrusted the
command here to Agrippa. He himself sailed back to Hip- 434
ponium again, and from there hurried to Taurus' camp
with three legions in the company of Messalla, with the

⁷¹ Papias is generally taken to be the same person as Demo-
chares in paragraphs 105-6 below. Dio 49.8 only mentions De-
mochares. ⁷² Present-day Stromboli.

ζεν, ὡς Ταυρομένιον αἰρήσων ἀπόντος ἔτι τοῦ Πομπηίου καὶ τὰς ἐμβολὰς αὐτῷ διχόθεν παρέξων.
 435 Ἀγρίππας μὲν οὖν ἀπὸ Στρογγύλης εἰς Ἱερὰν διέπλει
 καὶ τῶν Πομπηίου φρουρῶν αὐτὸν οὐχ ὑποστάντων
 εἶλε τὴν Ἱερὰν καὶ τῆς ἐπιούσης ἔμελλεν ἐπιχειρή-
 σειν ἐς Μύλας Δημοχάρει τῷ Πομπηίου, τεσσαρά-
 436 κοντα ναῦς ἔχοντι· ὁ δὲ Πομπηίος, τὸ βίαιον ὑφορώ-
 μενος τοῦ Ἀγρίππα, ἔπεμπε τῷ Δημοχάρει ναῦς
 ἄλλας πέντε καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἀπὸ Μεσσήνης ἐξ-
 ελεύθερον ἄγοντα Ἀπολλοφάνη, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐφείπετο
 ἄλλαις ἑβδομήκοντα.
 437 106. Ἀγρίππας δ' ἔτι νυκτὸς ἐξ Ἱερᾶς ἀνήγετο ταῖς
 ἡμίσεσι τῶν νεῶν ὡς Παπία μόνω ναυμαχήσων. ἐπεὶ
 δὲ καὶ τὰς Ἀπολλοφάνους εἶδε καὶ τὰς ἑβδομήκοντα
 ἐτέρωθι, Καίσαρι μὲν αὐτίκα ἐδήλου Πομπηίον ἐπὶ
 τῶν Μυλῶν εἶναι σὺν τῷ πλέονι ναυτικῷ, τὰς δὲ βα-
 ρείας αὐτὸς ἦγε κατὰ μέσον καὶ τὸν ἄλλον στόλον ἐξ
 438 Ἱερᾶς ἐκάλει κατὰ σπουδὴν· ἐσκεύαστο δ' ἀμφοτέροις
 πάντα λαμπρῶς, καὶ πύργους ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν εἶχον
 κατὰ τε πρῶραν καὶ κατὰ πρύμναν. ὡς δὲ αὐτοῖς αἱ
 τε παρακελεύσεις, οἷας εἰκὸς ἦν, ἐγεγένητο καὶ τὰ
 σημεῖα κατὰ ναῦν ἦρτο, ἐξώρμων ἐπ' ἀλλήλους, οἱ
 μὲν κατὰ μέτωπον, οἱ δ' ἐς περικύκλωσιν, σὺν τε βοῇ
 439 καὶ ῥοθίῳ νεῶν καὶ καταπλήξει ποικίλῃ. ἦν δὲ καὶ τὰ
 σκάφη Πομπηίῳ μὲν βραχύτερα καὶ κοῦφα καὶ ὀξέα
 ἐς τὰς ἐφορμήσεις τε καὶ περίπλους, Καίσαρι δὲ
 μείζω καὶ βαρύτερα καὶ παρ' αὐτὸ καὶ βραδύτερα,
 βιαιότερα δὲ ὅμως ἐμπεσεῖν καὶ τρωθῆναι δυσπαθέ-

intention of capturing Tauromenium while Pompeius was
 still absent, and making inroads against him from two
 directions. Agrippa, therefore, sailed from Strongyle to 435
 Hiera, which he captured when Pompeius' garrison put up
 no resistance to him. Next day he was intending to make
 an attack at Mylae on the Pompeian commander, Demo-
 chares, who had forty ships. But Pompeius suspected 436
 Agrippa's violent intention and sent his freedman Apol-
 lophanes to Demochares with another forty-five ships, and
 followed in person with a further seventy.

106. While it was still dark, Agrippa set sail from Hiera 437
 with half his fleet, intending to engage Papias on his
 own in a battle. When he saw Apollophanes' ships too,
 and the seventy on the other side of him, he immediately
 sent word to Octavian that Pompeius was at Mylae with
 the greater part of his naval forces. Then he personally
 led his heavy ships into the center, and urgently sum-
 moned the remainder of his fleet from Hiera. Both sides 438
 were magnificently equipped in all respects, and had tow-
 ers on their ships both on prow and stern. When the cus-
 tomary exhortations had been made and the flags raised
 on each ship, they rushed at each other, some head on,
 others making a flank attack, and all accompanied by
 shouting and spray from the ships and widespread anxiety. 439
 The Pompeian vessels were smaller, light, and quick for
 attacking and outflanking maneuvers. Those of Octavian
 were larger and heavier, and consequently also slower,
 yet more powerful in attack and not so easily damaged.

440 στερα. τῶν τε ἀνδρῶν οἱ μὲν ναυτικώτεροι τῶν Καί-
 441 σαρος ἦσαν, οἱ δὲ σθεναρώτεροι καὶ κατὰ λόγον οἱ
 μὲν οὐκ ἐμβολαῖς, ἀλλὰ μόναις περιόδοις ἐπλεονέ-
 κτουν, καὶ ταρσοὺς τῶν μειζόνων ἢ πηδάλια ἀνέκλων
 ἢ κώπας ἀνέκοπτον ἢ ἀπεχώριζον ὅλως τὰ σκάφη καὶ
 442 ἔβλαπτον ἐμβολῆς οὐχ ἦσσαν· οἱ δὲ τοῦ Καίσαρος
 αὐτὰς ἐμβολαῖς ὡς βραχυτέρας ἀνέκοπτον ἢ κατ-
 έσειον ἢ διερρήγνυον καί, ὅτε συμπλακεῖεν, ἔβαλλόν
 τε ὡς ταπεινότερας ἀφ' ὑψηλοῦ καὶ κόρακας ἢ χεῖρας
 σιδηρᾶς εὐκολώτερον ἐπερρίπτουν. οἱ δὲ ὅτε βια-
 σθεῖεν, ἐξήλλοντο ἐς τὸ πέλαγος, καὶ τούσδε μὲν τὰ
 ὑπηρετικὰ τοῦ Πομπηίου περιπλέοντα ἀνελάμβανεν.
 443 107. Ὁ δὲ Ἀγρίππας ἴετο μάλιστα εὐθὺ τοῦ Παπίου
 καὶ αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν ἐπωτίδα ἐμπεσὼν κατέσεισε τὴν
 ναῦν καὶ ἐς τὰ κοῖλα ἀνέρρηξεν· ἡ δὲ τούς τε ἐν τοῖς
 πύργοις ἀπεσείσατο καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἀθρόως ἐδέ-
 χετο, καὶ τῶν ἐρετῶν οἱ μὲν θαλαμίαι πάντες ἀπελή-
 φθησαν, οἱ δ' ἕτεροι τὸ κατάστρωμα ἀναρρήξαντες
 ἐξενήχοντο. Παπίας δὲ ἐς τὴν παρορμοῦσαν ἀναλη-
 444 φθεῖς αὐθις ἐπήγει τοῖς πολεμίοις. καὶ ὁ Πομπήμιος ἐξ
 ὄρους ἐφορῶν τὰς μὲν ἰδίας μικρὰ ἐπωφελούσας καὶ
 ψιλουμένας τῶν ἐπιβατῶν, ὅτε συμπλακεῖεν, Ἀγρίππα
 δὲ τὸν ἕτερον στόλον ἐξ Ἱερᾶς προσπλέοντα, ἀναχω-
 ρεῖν ἐσήμηνε σὺν κόσμῳ. καὶ ἀνεχώρουν ἐπιόντες τε
 445 καὶ ἀναστρέφοντες αἰεὶ κατ' ὀλίγον. Ἀγρίππα δ' ἐπι-
 βαρήσαντος αὐτοῖς ἔφευγον, οὐκ ἐς τοὺς αἰγιαλούς,

The Pompeian crews were better sailors than Octavian's, 440
 but the latter were stronger. Accordingly, the Pompeian
 ships had the advantage not in ramming, but only in ma-
 neuverability, and they broke the oar blades and rudders
 of the bigger ships, cut off oar handles, or isolated the
 enemy's ships entirely, doing them no less harm than if 441
 they had rammed them. Octavian's ships, on the other
 hand, used their rams to check the smaller enemy vessels
 or shatter them or break them apart; and when they came
 to close quarters, they threw missiles down on the enemy
 from above, as they were lower, and could more easily
 throw the "ravens"⁷³ and grappling irons on them. When-
 ever the Pompeians were being overpowered, they jumped
 into the sea, and Pompeius' tenders sailed round and
 picked them up.

107. Agrippa bore straight down on Papias and struck 442
 his ship under the catheads, shattering it and breaking into
 the hold. The vessel shook off the men in the towers and
 took on water everywhere: all the oarsmen on the lower
 benches were cut off, but the others broke through the
 deck and swam to safety. Papias was transferred onto the
 ship moored alongside and resumed his attack on the en-
 443 emy. Pompeius was looking down from a hill and could see
 that his own ships were having little effect, and that when-
 ever they came to close quarters with the enemy they were
 being denuded of their marines, while on the other side
 the rest of Agrippa's fleet was sailing to his assistance from
 Hiera. So he gave the signal to withdraw in good order,
 and they retired by advancing and constantly pulling back
 444 little by little. When Agrippa pressed them hard, they fled

⁷³ A plank with a spike, for grappling.

ἀλλ' ὅσα τῆς θαλάσσης οἱ ποταμοὶ τεναγώδη πεποιήκεσαν.

445 108. Καὶ Ἀγρίππας, κωλύοντων αὐτὸν τῶν κυβερνητῶν μεγάλαις ναυσὶν ἐς ὀλίγον ὕδωρ ἐπιπλεῖν, πελάγιος ἐπ' ἀγκυρῶν ἐσάλευεν ὡς ἐφορμιούμενος
446 τοῖς πολεμίοις καὶ νυκτομαχήσων, εἰ δέοι. τῶν φίλων δ' αὐτῷ παραινούτων μὴ ἀλόγῳ θυμῷ συμφέρεσθαι μηδὲ τὸν στρατὸν ἐκτρύχειν ἀγρυπνία καὶ πόνῳ
447 ἀνεξεύγυνε. καὶ οἱ Πομπηϊανοὶ ἐς τοὺς λιμένας παρέπλεον, τριάκοντα μὲν τῶν σφετέρων νεῶν ἀποβαλόντες, πέντε δὲ καταδύσαντες τῶν πολεμίων καὶ βλάψαντες ἄλλα ἱκανὰ καὶ βλαβέντες ὅμοια. καὶ αὐτοὺς
448 ὁ Πομπήϊος ἐπαινῶν, ὅτι τηλικαύταις ναυσὶν ἀντέσχον, τειχομαχήσαι μᾶλλον ἔφασκεν ἢ ναυμαχήσαι καὶ ὡς νενικηκότας ἐδωρεῖτο, καὶ ἐπήλπιζεν ἐν τῷ πορθμῷ διὰ τὸν ῥοῦν κουφοτέρους ὄντας περιέσεσθαι καὶ αὐτὸς ἔφη τι προσθήσειν ἐς τὸ τῶν νεῶν ὕψος.

449 109. Τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τῆς ναυμαχίας τέλος ἦν τῆς περὶ Μύλας Ἀγρίππα καὶ Παπία γενομένης· τὸν δὲ Καίσαρα ὁ Πομπήϊος, ὥσπερ ἦν, ὑπολαβὼν ἐς τὸ Ταύρου στρατόπεδον οἴχεσθαι καὶ ἐπιχειρήσειν τῷ Ταυρομενίῳ, μετὰ δεῖπνον εὐθὺς ἐς Μεσσήνην περιέπλει, μέρος ἐν ταῖς Μύλαις ὑπολιπὼν, ἵνα αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀγρίππας ἔτι παρῆναι νομίζοι. Ἀγρίππας μὲν δὴ διαναπαύσας τὸν στρατὸν, ἐς ὅσον ἤπειγεν, ἐς Τυνδαρίδα ἐνδιδομένην ἔπλει καὶ παρήλθε μὲν εἴσω, μαχομένων δὲ λαμπρῶς τῶν φρουρῶν ἐξεώσθη. προσεχώρησαν

not to the beaches, but to the places where the rivers had created shoals in the sea.

108. Agrippa's helmsmen stopped him from sailing into shallow water with his big ships, so he rode at anchor out to sea, intending to blockade the enemy and fight a night engagement, if necessary. But his associates advised him not to be carried away by senseless enthusiasm, nor to wear out his soldiers with work and lack of sleep, nor to trust such a storm-prone sea. So in the evening he reluctantly withdrew. The Pompeians sailed along the coast to their harbors, having lost thirty of their own ships, and sunk five of the enemy's, having inflicted considerable other damage and suffered similar damage in return. Pompeius praised his men for holding off such big ships, saying they had fought a siege against walls rather than a battle against ships; and he rewarded them as though they had been victorious. He encouraged them to believe that, as they were lighter, they would prevail in the straits on account of the current. He also said that he himself would make some addition to the height of his ships.

109. Such was the outcome of the naval battle at Mylae between Agrippa and Papias. Pompeius assumed, correctly, that Octavian had gone to the camp of Taurus and was going to attack Tauromenium. So, directly after supper, he sailed around to Messena, leaving a part of his forces at Mylae in order to make Agrippa think that he was still there. Agrippa, having rested his army to the extent that the urgency of the situation allowed, set sail for Tyn-daris, which was in the process of giving up its resistance. Although he got into the town, the garrison fought bril-

451 δ' ἕτεραι πόλεις αὐτῷ καὶ φρουρὰς ἐδέξαντο· καὶ
 αὐτὸς ἐπανήλθεν ἐς Ἱεράν. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἤδη μὲν ἐς
 Λευκόπετραν ἐκ τοῦ Σκυλακίου διεπεπλεύκει, μαθὼν
 ἔτι ἀκριβέστερον, ὅτι ὁ Πομπήιος ἐκ Μεσσήνης ἐς
 Μύλας οἴχοιτο δι' Ἀγρίππαν· ἐκ δὲ Λευκοπέτρας
 452 ἔμελλε νυκτὸς περᾶν ὑπὲρ τὸν πορθμὸν ἐς τὸ Ταυρο-
 μένιον. πυθόμενος δὲ περὶ τῆς ναυμαχίας μετέγνω μὴ
 κλέπτειν ἔτι τὸν διάπλου νενικηκῶς, ἀλλὰ κατὰ φῶς
 θαρροῦντι τῷ στρατῷ περαιουῖσθαι· καὶ γὰρ ἔτι πάν-
 453 τως ἠγείτο Πομπήιον Ἀγρίππα παραμένειν. κατασκε-
 ψάμενος οὖν ἡμέρας τὸ πέλαγος ἐκ τῶν ὄρων, ἐπεὶ
 καθαρὸν ἔγνω πολεμίων, ἔπλει στρατὸν ἔχων, ὅσον αἱ
 νῆες ἐδέχοντο, Μεσσάλαν ἐπὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ καταλιπών,
 454 ἕως ἐπ' αὐτὸν αἱ νῆες ἐπανέλθοιεν. ἐλθὼν δ' ἐπὶ τὸ
 Ταυρομένιον προσέπεμψε μὲν ὡς ὑπαξόμενος αὐτό, οὐ
 δεξαμένων δὲ τῶν φρουρῶν παρέπλει τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν
 ὄνομα Ἀμβολον³⁴ καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ Ἀφροδίσιον καὶ ὠρ-
 μίσατο ἐς τὸν Ἀρχηγέτην, Ναξίων τὸν θεόν, ὡς χά-
 ρακα θησόμενος ἐνταῦθα καὶ ἀποπειράσων τοῦ Ταυ-
 455 ρομενίου. ὁ δὲ Ἀρχηγέτης Ἀπόλλωνος ἀγαλμάτιόν
 ἔστιν, ὃ πρῶτον ἐστήσαντο Ναξίων οἱ εἰς Σικελίαν
 ἀπωκισμένοι.

456 110. Ἐνταῦθα τῆς νεῶς ἐκβαίνων ὁ Καῖσαρ ὤλισθε

³⁴ τὸν Ὀνοβάλαν codd.; τὸν ὄνομα Ἀμβολον Étienne-Duplessis

liantly and he was pushed out. Other towns came over to
 his side and accepted garrisons. He himself returned to
 Hiera. In the meantime, Octavian had sailed from Scyla- 451
 cium to Leucopetra, having heard even more reliable in-
 formation that Pompeius had left Messena for Mylae be-
 cause of Agrippa. He was intending to cross the straits
 from Leucopetra to Tauromenium by night. But when told 452
 about the sea battle, he changed his mind: as victor, he
 would no longer keep his crossing secret, but would make
 the passage in daylight with a confident army. For he was
 still completely convinced that Pompeius was waiting for
 Agrippa. Accordingly, looking down from the hills on the 453
 sea at daybreak and finding that it was clear of enemies,
 Octavian set sail with as many troops as the ships could
 carry, leaving Messalla in command of the rest until the 454
 fleet returned to him. Arriving at Tauromenium, he sent
 messengers to announce that he was taking over the town,
 but when the garrison refused, he sailed on past the outlet
 of the river Ambolus⁷⁴ and the sanctuary of Aphrodite, and
 anchored at the Archegetes, the god of the Naxians, in-
 tending to establish his camp there and make an attempt
 on Tauromenium. The Archegetes is a small statue of 455
 Apollo, the first to be erected by those Naxians who settled
 in Sicily.

110. It was here that when he was disembarking Octa- 456

⁷⁴ The manuscripts all record an unknown river called the Onobalas. The emendation of the Budé editor gives us the river Ambolus, mentioned by Plutarch as the site of a victory won by the famous fourth-century BC figure Timoleon (*Tim.* 34.1). This is to be identified with the modern Alcantara, which flows to the sea just south of Taormina, ancient Tauromenium.

καὶ ἔπεσε καὶ ἀνέδραμε δι' αὐτοῦ. καὶ αὐτῷ καθιστα-
 μένω ἔτι τὸ στρατόπεδον Πομπήιος ἐπέπλει στόλῳ
 πολλῷ, θαῦμα ἀδόκητον· ὤετο γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐκπεπο-
 457 λεμῆσθαι πρὸς Ἀγρίππα. παρήλαυνε δὲ τῷ Πομπηίῳ
 καὶ ἡ ἵππος, ἐς τάχος διερίζουσα τῷ ναυτικῷ, καὶ τὰ
 περὶ ἑτέρωθεν ἐφαίνετο, ὥστε δεῖσαι μὲν ἅπαντας, ἐν
 μέσῳ τριῶν στρατῶν πολεμίων γενομένους, δεῖσαι δὲ
 τὸν Καίσαρα, Μεσσάλαν οὐκ ἔχοντα μεταπέμψασθαι.
 458 οἱ μὲν οὖν ἱππέες εὐθὺς ἠνώχλουν οἱ Πομπηίου χα-
 ρακοποιουμένους ἔτι τοὺς τοῦ Καίσαρος· εἰ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς
 ἱππεύσιν οἱ πεζοὶ καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν ἐφώρμησε, τάχα ἂν
 459 τι μείζον ἐξήνυστο τῷ Πομπηίῳ. νῦν 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 ὠρμίσαντο, οἱ πεζοὶ δ'
 οὐκ ἀξιοῦντες ἀγχοῦ τῶν πολεμίων στρατοπεδεύειν ἐς
 460 Φοίνικα πόλιν ἀνεχώρουν. καὶ νυκτὸς οἱ μὲν ἀνεπαύ-
 οντο, οἱ δὲ τοῦ Καίσαρος τὸν μὲν χάρακα ἐτέλουν,
 ὑπὸ δὲ κόπου καὶ ἀγρυπνίας ἐς τὴν μάχην ἐβλά-
 461 πτοντο. τέλη δ' ἦν αὐτῷ τρία καὶ ἱππέες χωρὶς ἵππων
 πεντακόσιοι καὶ κοῦφοι χίλιοι καὶ κληροῦχοι σύμμα-
 χοι χωρὶς καταλόγου δισχίλιοι καὶ ναυτικὴ δύναμις
 ἐπὶ τούτοις.
 462 111. Τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ πάντα Κορνιφικίῳ παραδοὺς
 ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐκέλευσε τοὺς κατὰ τὴν γῆν πολεμίους
 ἀπομάχεσθαι καὶ πράσσειν, ὅ τι ἐπείγοι· αὐτὸς δὲ
 ταῖς ναυσὶν ἔτι πρὸ ἡμέρας ἀνήγετο ἐς τὸ πέλαγος,
 μὴ καὶ τοῦδε αὐτὸν ἀποκλείσαιεν οἱ πολέμιοι.

vian slipped and fell, but quickly got up without assistance.
 While he was still establishing his camp, Pompeius sailed
 in with a large fleet, an unexpected sight, since Octavian
 believed that he had been drawn into battle by Agrippa.
 Pompeius' cavalry also rode along beside him, striving to 457
 keep pace with the fleet, and his infantry appeared on the
 other side, with the result that all Octavian's men were
 apprehensive at finding themselves caught in the middle
 of three enemy forces; and Octavian too was alarmed, as
 he could not call up Messalla. So Pompeius' cavalry im- 458
 mediately began to harass Octavian's men who were still
 working on the construction of the palisade. If his infantry
 and fleet had joined the cavalry in the attack, perhaps
 a more substantial result would have been achieved by
 Pompeius. But in fact, because his men were inexperi- 459
 enced in war and unaware of the confusion among the
 troops of Octavian, and were hesitant about beginning a
 battle late in the afternoon, some of his force anchored at
 the promontory of Coccynus, while the infantry, thinking
 it unwise to camp near the enemy, withdrew to the town 460
 of Phoenix. During the night they rested, while Octavian's
 men finished their palisade, but were rendered less effec-
 tive for battle by work and lack of sleep. Octavian had 461
 three legions, five hundred cavalry without their horses,
 one thousand light-armed men, two thousand colonists
 giving military assistance as volunteers, and besides them
 his naval force.

111. He therefore put all of his infantry under the com- 462
 mand of Cornificius, and ordered him to fight off the en-
 emy by land and take whatever action was urgent. He
 himself put to sea with his ships just before daybreak, to
 prevent the enemy from cutting him off in this place too.

- 463 καὶ τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν ἐπέτρεπε Τιτινίῳ, τὸ δὲ λαιὸν Κα-
 ρισίῳ, λιβυρνίδος δὲ αὐτὸς ἐπέβαινε καὶ περιέπλει
 πάντας παρακαλῶν· ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ παρακλήσει τὰ στρα-
 τηγικὰ σημεῖα, ὡς ἐν κινδύνῳ μάλιστα ὄν, ἀπέθετο.
 464 ἐπαναχθέντος δὲ τοῦ Πομπηίου δις μὲν ἐπεχείρησαν
 ἀλλήλοις, καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἐς νύκτα ἐτελεύτησεν. ἀλίσκο-
 μένων δὲ καὶ πιμπραμένων τῶν Καίσαρος νεῶν, αἱ
 μὲν ἀράμεναι τὰ βραχέα τῶν ἰστιῶν ἀπέπλεον ἐς τὴν
 Ἰταλίαν, τῶν παραγγελμάτων καταφρονούσαι· καὶ
 αὐτὰς ἐπ' ὀλίγον οἱ τοῦ Πομπηίου διώξαντες ἐπὶ τὰς
 ὑπολοίπους ἀνέστρεψαν, καὶ τῶνδε τὰς μὲν ἤρουν
 465 ὁμοίως, τὰς δὲ ἐνεπίμπρασαν. ὅσοι δ' ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐς τὴν
 γῆν ἐσενήχοντο, τοὺς μὲν οἱ ἰππέες οἱ τοῦ Πομπηίου
 διέφθειρον ἢ συνελάμβανον, οἱ δ' ἐς τὸ τοῦ Κορνιφι-
 κίου στρατόπεδον ἀνεπήδων, καὶ αὐτοῖς ὁ Κορνι-
 φίκιος ἐπιθέουσιν ἐπεκούρει,³⁵ τοὺς κούφους ἐκπέμπων
 μόνους· οὐ γὰρ εὐκαιρὸν ἐδόκει κινεῖν φάλαγγα δύσ-
 θυμον ἀντικαθημένων πεζῶν μεγαλοφρονουμένων, ὡς
 εἰκὸς ἦν, ἐπὶ νίκῃ.
 466 112. Καίσαρα δ' ἐν τοῖς ὑπηρετικοῖς ἐς πολὺ τῆς
 νυκτὸς ἀνακωχεύοντα καὶ βουλευόμενον, εἴτε ἐς Κορ-
 νιφίκιον ἐπανέλθοι διὰ μέσων τοσῶνδε ναυαγίων εἴτε
 ἐς Μεσσάλαν διαφύγοι, θεὸς ἐς τὸν Ἀβάλαν³⁶ λιμένα
 παρήνευκε μεθ' ἐνὸς ὀπλοφόρου, χωρὶς φίλων τε καὶ

³⁵ ἐπεχείρει codd.; ἐπεκούρει Schweig.

³⁶ Ἀβάλαν codd.; Βαλαρὸν Nissen

He assigned the right wing to Titinius and the left to 463
 Carisius, and embarking himself on a Liburnian, sailed
 around the whole fleet, encouraging everyone.⁷⁵ Having
 completed the task of encouragement, he took down his
 commander's ensign, regarding himself as being in par-
 ticular danger. When Pompeius set sail against him, they 464
 fought two encounters with each other, the battle ending
 with the arrival of night. Among Octavian's ships facing
 capture or being set on fire, some raised their short sails
 and made for the Italian coast, disregarding their orders.
 Pompeius' fleet pursued them for a short distance and
 then turned back against the remainder, capturing some
 of them, as before, and burning others. Of those crews 465
 from the ships who swam ashore, Pompeius' cavalry killed
 or captured some, while others clambered up to Cornifi-
 cius' camp. Cornificius did help them as they ran toward
 him, but only sent out his light-armed troops. For he did
 not think it was an opportune moment to disturb his
 dispirited heavy infantry, when they were facing troops
 buoyed up, as was natural, by victory.

112. Octavian spent most of the night anchored among 466
 his service vessels, deliberating whether to return to Cor-
 nificius through the middle of so many wrecks, or to take
 refuge with Messalla. A god brought him to the harbor of
 Abala with a single batman and without any associates,

⁷⁵ Titinius is otherwise unknown. Carisius is usually identified
 with the mint master of 46, Titus Carisius, although there was a
 Publius Carisius, legate of Octavian in Spain in the 20s.

- 467 ὑπασπιστῶν καὶ θεραπόντων. καὶ τινες ἐκ τῶν ὄρων
 ἐς πύστιν τῶν γεγονότων καταθέοντες εὗρον αὐτὸν τό
 τε σῶμα καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἐσταλμένον, καὶ ἐς ἀκάτιον
 ἐξ ἀκατίου μεταφέροντες, ἵνα διαλάβοι, μετεκόμισαν
 468 ἐς Μεσσάλαν οὐ μακρὰν ὄντα. ὁ δ' εὐθύς, ἔτι ἀθερά-
 πευτος, ἐς τε Κορνηφίκιον ἔστειλε λιβυρνίδα καὶ παν-
 ταχοῦ διὰ τῶν ὄρων περιέπεμπε, ὅτι σώζοιτο, Κορ-
 νηφικίῳ τε πάντας ἐπικουρεῖν ἐκέλευε καὶ αὐτὸς
 469 ἔγραφεν αὐτίκα πέμψειν βοήθειαν. θεραπεύσας δὲ τὸ
 σῶμα καὶ ἀναπαυσάμενος ὀλίγον ἐς Στυλίδα νυκτὸς
 ἐξῆι, 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 Κορνηφικίῳ πέμπειν Λαρόνιον
 470 μετὰ στρατιᾶς ὀξέως. Μαικήναν δ' αὖθις ἐς Ῥώμην
 ἔπεμπε διὰ τοὺς νεωτερίζοντας· καὶ τινες παρακινουῦ-
 ντες ἐκολάσθησαν. καὶ Μεσσάλαν ἐς Δικαιάρχειαν
 ἔπεμπε, ἄγειν τὸ πρῶτον καλούμενον τέλος ἐς Ἰππώ-
 νειον.
 471 113. Μεσσάλας δὲ οὗτος ἦν, ὃν οἱ τρεῖς ἐπὶ θανάτῳ
 προγεγράφεσαν ἐν Ῥώμῃ, καὶ χρήματα τῷ κτείναντι
 καὶ ἐλευθερίαν ἐπικεκηρύχισαν· ὁ δὲ πρὸς Κάσσιον
 καὶ Βρούτον φυγῶν, ἀποθανόντων ἐκείνων, τὸν στόλον
 472 ἐπὶ σπονδαῖς Ἀντωνίῳ παραδεδώκει. καὶ μοι τοῦτο

⁷⁶ The manuscripts all name the harbor as Abala, not other-

bodyguards or servants.⁷⁶ Certain people who had hurried 467
 down from the mountains to hear what had happened,
 found him physically and mentally exhausted, and by
 transferring him from one skiff to another in order to avoid
 detection, brought him to Messalla, who was not far away.
 Immediately, and before receiving attention, he dis- 468
 patched a Liburnian to Cornificius, and spread the word
 all around the mountains that he was safe. He ordered
 everyone to assist Cornificius and wrote informing him
 that he himself would send help straight away. After at- 469
 tending to his own person and taking a little rest, he set
 out by night, accompanied by Messalla, for Styliis, where
 Carrinas had three legions ready to embark, and ordered
 him to sail across to the other side, to the place where he
 himself was about to make the crossing. He then wrote to
 Agrippa asking him to send Laronius quickly with an army
 to Cornificius because he was in danger. He sent Maece- 470
 nas again to Rome on account of the political agitators;
 and some of these, who were stirring up trouble, were
 punished. He also sent Messalla to Dicaearchia to bring
 what was called "the First" legion to Hipponium.

113. This was the same Messalla whom the triumvirs 471
 had condemned to death on the proscription lists at Rome,
 publicly proclaiming money and freedom for the man who
 killed him. He had fled to Cassius and Brutus, and, when
 they died, had delivered his fleet to Antony in accordance
 with their agreement. I have decided to mention this here 472

wise attested. The emendation to Balarus, a place Appian men-
 tioned at *BCiv.* 4.85.361, has merit, although Balarus seems to
 have been on the Sicilian side of the straits of Messina, and Oc-
 tavian is on the Italian mainland.

ἀναμνήσαι νῦν ἔδοξεν ἐς ζήλωμα τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρε-
 τῆς, ὅπου Μεσσάλας, μόνον ἔχων ἐν τοσῆδε συμ-
 473 φορᾷ τὸν προγράψαντα, ἐθεράπευεν ὡς αὐτοκράτορα
 τοῦ χάρακος εὐμαρῶς εἶχε τοὺς πολεμίους, κινδυ-
 νεύων δ' ἐξ ἀπορίας ἐς μάχην ἐξέτασσε καὶ προυκα-
 474 λείτο. Πομπηίου δὲ οὐ συμπλεκομένου μὲν ἀνδράσιν
 ἐν μόνῃ τῇ μάχῃ τὴν ἐλπίδα ἔχουσιν, παραστήσε-
 σθαι δ' αὐτοὺς τῷ λιμῷ προσδοκῶντος, ὤδευεν ὁ Κορ-
 νιφίκιος, ἐν μέσῳ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν διαφυγόντας
 ἀνόπλους ἔχων βαλλόμενός τε καὶ χαλεπῶς, ἐν μὲν
 τοῖς πεδινοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν ἰππέων, ἐν δὲ τοῖς τραχέσιν ὑπὸ
 τῶν ψιλῶν τε καὶ κούφων, οἱ Νομάδες Λίβυες ὄντες
 ἠκόντιζόν τε ἐπὶ πλείστον καὶ τοὺς ἐπεκθέοντας ὑπ-
 ἐφευγον.

475 114. Τετάρτη δ' ἡμέρα μόλις ἐπὶ τὴν ἄνυδρον γῆν
 ἀφίκοντο, ἦν ρύακα πυρὸς λέγουσι, ποτὲ μέχρι
 θαλάσσης κατιόντα,³⁷ ἐπικλύσαι καὶ σβέσαι τὰ ἐν
 αὐτῇ νάματα. καὶ αὐτὴν οἱ μὲν ἐπιχώριοι μόνῃς ὀδεύ-
 οῦσι νυκτός, πνιγώδη τε οὔσαν ἀπ' ἐκείνου καὶ κοι-
 ορτοῦ σποδῶδους γέμουσαν, οἱ δ' ἀμφὶ τὸν Κορνι-
 φίκιον οὔτε νυκτός ἐθάρρουν, ἐν ἀσελήνῳ μάλιστα,
 ἰέναι διὰ ἀπειρίαν ὁδῶν καὶ ἐνέδρας, οὔτε ἡμέρας ὑπ-
 476 ἐμενον, ἀλλ' ἀπεπνίγοντο καὶ τὰς βάσεις ὡς ἐν θέρει
 καὶ καύματι ὑπεκαίοντο, μάλιστα οἱ γυμνοί. βραδύ-
 νειν τε οὐ δυνάμενοι διὰ τὴν δίψαν ἐνοχλοῦσαν, οὐ-

³⁷ κατιοῦσαν BJ; κατιόντα Schweig.

as an exemplar of Roman virtue, because, when Messalla
 had in his power, on his own and in such a disastrous situ-
 ation, the man who proscribed him, he looked after him
 as his commanding officer and saved his life. Cornificius 473
 was easily able to repel the enemy from his palisade, but,
 being dangerously short of supplies, he arrayed his army
 for battle and offered combat. But Pompeius would not 474
 engage with men whose sole hope lay in fighting, and ex-
 pected to reduce them by hunger. So Cornificius, having
 placed in the center the unarmed men who had escaped
 from the ships, took to the road, under heavy fire from the
 cavalry when they were on flat ground, and on rough ter-
 rain from the light armed, unencumbered troops; the lat-
 ter were Numidians from Africa who threw their javelins
 a great distance and evaded those who ran out against
 them.

114. On the fourth day, Cornificius managed, with dif- 475
 ficulty, to reach the waterless region which they say that a
 stream of lava, running down to the sea, once covered and
 dried up the springs in the area.⁷⁷ Since then it has been
 stifling and filled with ash-like dust, and the inhabitants of
 the country travel on it only at night. Cornificius and his
 men, however, did not have the confidence to go at night,
 especially when there was no moon, because they did not
 know the roads and were afraid of being ambushed; nor
 could they tolerate it during the day, but found it suffocat-
 ing, and the soles of their feet were burned (especially
 those who had no shoes), as they were now in the heat of
 summer. Unable to go slowly because of the thirst tor- 476

⁷⁷ The text is uncertain in this sentence.

δένα ἔτι τῶν βαλλόντων αὐτοὺς ἐπεξήεσαν, ἀλλ' ἔτι
 477 τρώσκοντο ἀφυλάκτως. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐξόδους τῆς
 διακεκαυμένης ἕτεροι κατεῖχον πολέμιοι, ἀμελήσαν-
 τες τῶν ἀσθενεστέρων τε καὶ γυμνῶν ἀνεπήδων ἐς
 τοὺς αὐχένας οἱ δυνάμενοι τόλμη παραβόλῳ καὶ
 ἐβιάζοντο τοὺς πολεμίους, ἐς ὅσον εἶχον δυνάμεως.
 478 κατεχομένων δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐξῆς αὐχένων ἀπεγίνωσκον
 αὐτῶν ἤδη καὶ μεθεῖντο ὑπὸ δίψης καὶ θέρους καὶ
 κόπου. προτρέποντος δὲ αὐτοὺς τοῦ Κορνιφικίου καὶ
 πηγῆν πλησίον οὔσαν ἐπιδεικνύοντος, οἱ μὲν αὖθις
 ἐβιάζοντο, πολλοὺς ἀπὸ σφῶν ἀπολλύντες, ἕτεροι δὲ
 τὴν πηγῆν κατεῖχον πολέμιοι, καὶ παντελῆς ἤδη τοὺς
 τοῦ Κορνιφικίου κατεῖχον ἀθυμία, καὶ παρίεντο.

479 115. Ὡδε δὲ αὐτοῖς ἔχουσι Λαρώνιος ἐπιφαίνεται
 μακρόθεν, ὑπὸ Ἀγρίππου σὺν τρισὶ τέλεσι πεμφθείς,
 οὐπω μὲν ἔνδηλος ὢν, ὅτι φίλος εἶη· ὑπὸ δὲ ἐλπίδος
 αἰεὶ τοιοῦτον ἔσεσθαι προσδοκῶντες ἀνέφερον αὖθις
 480 αὐτῶν.³⁸ ὥς δὲ καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους εἶδον τὸ ὕδωρ ἀπο-
 λιπόντας, ἵνα μὴ γένοιτο ἐχθρῶν ἐν μέσῳ, ἀνέκρα-
 γον μὲν ὑπὸ ἡδονῆς, ὅσον ἔσθενον, ἀντιβοήσαντος δ'
 αὐτοῖς τοῦ Λαρωνίου δρόμῳ τὴν πηγῆν κατέλαβον.
 καὶ ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἐκωλύοντο πίνειν ἀθρόως·
 ὅσοι δὲ ἡμέλησαν, ἔπινον ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀπέθνησκον.

481 116. Οὕτω μὲν ἐξ ἀέλπτου Κορνιφίκιος καὶ τοῦ
 στρατοῦ τὸ φθάσαν μέρος περισώθη πρὸς Ἀγρίπ-

³⁸ αὐτῶν codd.; συντόμως Étienne-Duplessis

menting them, they stopped making sorties against any
 of those throwing missiles at them, and began to suffer
 wounds without protecting themselves. Since other en- 477
 enemy troops were in possession of the exits from the
 scorched land, those who were able abandoned the weaker
 and the barefoot and charged up into the gorges with reck-
 less daring and overpowered the enemy with their remain-
 ing strength. But with the following defiles also occupied 478
 by hostile forces, they now began to despair and succumb
 to thirst and heat and exhaustion. When Cornificius urged
 them on, however, and pointed out that there was a spring
 nearby, they again tried to force the issue, taking heavy
 losses in the process. But because more enemy troops
 were holding the spring, complete dejection did now take
 hold of Cornificius' men, and they started to give up.

115. It was while they were in this state that Laronius 479
 makes his appearance in the distance, having been sent by
 Agrippa with three legions. Although it was not yet clear
 that he was a friend, they were led by hope into the firm
 expectation that he would turn out to be one, and once
 more recovered their spirits. When they saw the enemy 480
 abandon the water to avoid finding themselves between
 two hostile forces, they shouted for joy with all their
 strength; and when the troops of Laronius shouted in re-
 turn, they ran and seized the spring. They were ordered
 by their officers not quench their thirst all in one go; those
 who ignored the order died while they drank.

116. This was how Cornificius and the surviving part of 481
 his army unexpectedly made their way to safety with

παν ἐς Μύλας· ἄρτι δὲ ὁ Ἀγρίππας Τυνδαρίδα εἰλή-
 φει, τροφῶν μεστὸν χωρίον καὶ εὐφυῶς ἐς πόλεμον ἐκ
 τῆς θαλάσσης ἔχον, καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐς αὐτὸ τὰ περὶ
 καὶ τοὺς ἰππέας διεβίβαζεν. ἐγένοντό τε αὐτῷ πάντες
 ἐν Σικελία ὀπλιτῶν μὲν ἐς εἴκοσι καὶ ἐν τέλος, ἰππέες
 δὲ δισμύριοι καὶ κοῦφοι πλείους τῶν πεντακισχιλίων.
 482 Μύλας δ' ἔτι καὶ τὰ ἐκ Μυλῶν ἐπὶ τε Ναυλόχους καὶ
 Πελωριάδα καὶ τὰ παράλια πάντα φρουραὶ Πομπηίου
 κατεῖχον, αἱ φόβῳ μάλιστα Ἀγρίππου πῦρ διηλεκῆς
 483 ἔκαιον ὡς ἐμπρήσοντες τοὺς ἐπιπλέοντας. ἐκράτει
 δὲ καὶ τῶν στενῶν ἑκατέρων ὁ Πομπήιος. ἀμφὶ δὲ
 τὸ Ταυρομένιον καὶ περὶ Μύλας τὰς περιόδους τῶν
 ὄρων ἀπετείχιζε καὶ τὸν Καῖσαρα ἐκ Τυνδαρίδος
 ἐς τὸ πρόσθεν ἴοντα ἠνώχλει, μὴ συμπλεκόμενον.
 484 Ἀγρίππου δὲ νομισθέντος ἐπιπλεῖν ἐς Πελωριάδα
 μετεπήδησεν, ἐκλιπὼν τὰ στενὰ περὶ Μύλας· καὶ ὁ
 Καῖσαρ αὐτῶν τε κατέσχε καὶ Μυλῶν καὶ Ἀρτεμι-
 σίου, πολίχνης βραχυτάτης, ἐν ἧ φασὶ τὰς Ἥλιου
 βούς γενέσθαι καὶ τὸν ὕπνον Ὀδυσσεῖ.
 485 117. Ψευδοῦς δὲ τῆς Ἀγρίππου δόξης φανείσης, ὁ
 Πομπήιος ἤσθητο³⁹ τῶν στενῶν ἀφηρημένος καὶ Τισι-
 ηνὸν ἐκάλει μετὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ. Τισιηνῶ δ' ὁ Καῖσαρ
 ὑπήντα καὶ διημάρτανε τῆς ὁδοῦ περὶ ὄρος τὸ Μυ-
 κόνιον, ἔνθα ἄσκητος ἐνυκτέρευσε· ὄμβρου τε πολ-
 λοῦ καταρραγέντος, οἷος ἐν φθινοπώρῳ γίγνεται, τῶν

³⁹ ἤσθητο Étienne-Duplessis; ἤχθητο Schweig.; ἤσθηθαι codd.

Agrippa at Mylae.⁷⁸ Agrippa had recently captured Tyn-
 daris, a stronghold full of provisions and well situated
 against attack from the sea, and Octavian transported his
 infantry and cavalry there. He had in Sicily a total of
 twenty-one legions of infantry, twenty thousand cavalry,
 and more than five thousand light-armed troops. Pom- 482
 peius' garrisons still held Mylae and the whole coast from
 Mylae to Naulochus and Cape Pelorus. They were par-
 ticularly afraid of Agrippa, and kept fires burning continu-
 ally to torch any vessels attacking them. Pompeius also 483
 controlled both passes. Around Tauromenium and near
 Mylae he fortified the routes around the mountains, and
 harassed Octavian as he advanced from Tyndaris, but
 without engaging him in battle. When it was thought that 484
 Agrippa was sailing against him, Pompeius moved his po-
 sition to Pelorus, abandoning the defiles around Mylae.
 Octavian occupied them along with Mylae and Artemis-
 ium, a very small town, where the cattle of the Sun were
 to be found and the place where Odysseus fell asleep.⁷⁹

117. When the report about Agrippa turned out to be 485
 false, Pompeius was informed⁸⁰ that he had lost the de-
 files, and he called up Tisienus with his army. Octavian
 went to confront Tisienus, but lost his way near Mount
 Myconium, where he spent the night without tents. A
 heavy rainstorm burst over them, the sort that occurs in

⁷⁸ As Appian notes himself in this chapter, Mylae was held by Pompeius. The mistake could have been made by a scribe, or, given his geographical weaknesses, by Appian himself.

⁷⁹ The famous story in Homer's *Odyssey* (Book 12).

⁸⁰ Or perhaps "annoyed" (*echtheto*). The manuscripts mistakenly say "pleased" (*hestheto*).

486 ὄπλοφόρων τινὲς τὴν νύκτα πᾶσαν ἀσπίδα Κελτικὴν
 ὑπερέσχον αὐτοῦ. ἐγένοντο δὲ καὶ βρόμοι τῆς Αἴτνης
 σκληροὶ καὶ μυκήματα μακρὰ καὶ σέλα περιλάμ-
 ποντα τὴν στρατιάν, ὥστε τοὺς μὲν Γερμανοὺς ἐξ
 εὐνίων ἀναπηδᾶν ὑπὸ δέους, τοὺς δέ, ἀκοῇ τῶν περι-
 487 τῆς Αἴτνης λεγομένων, οὐκ ἀπιστεῖν ἐν τοσοῖσδε
 παραδόξοις ἐμπεσεῖσθαι σφίσι καὶ τὸν ῥύακα. μετὰ
 δὲ τοῦτο τὴν πάλαι Λαιστρυγόνων⁴⁰ γῆν ἔκειρε, καὶ
 Λέπιδος αὐτῷ συνήντητο σιτολογῶν, καὶ Μεσσήνη
 παρεστρατοπέδευον ἀμφότεροι.
 488 118. Γιγνομένων δ' ἀν' ὅλην τὴν Σικελίαν ἀψιμα-
 χιῶν πολλῶν, ἔργου δὲ μείζονος οὐδενός, Ταῦρον ὁ
 Καῖσαρ ἔπεμψε τὰς ἀγορὰς τοῦ Πομπηίου περικό-
 πτειν καὶ τὰς πόλεις τὰς χορηγούσας προκαταλαμ-
 489 βάνειν. καὶ τῷδε μάλιστα κάμνων ὁ Πομπήιος ἔκρινε
 μάχη μείζονι κριθῆναι περὶ ἀπάντων. τὰ μὲν δὴ περὶ
 τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐδεδίει, ταῖς δὲ ναυσὶν ἐπαιρόμενος
 ἤρετο πέμπων, εἰ δέχοιτο ναυμαχία κριθῆναι. ὁ δὲ
 ὠρρώδει μὲν τὰ ἐνάλια πάντα, οὐ σὺν τύχῃ μέχρι
 δεῦρο κεχρημένος αὐτοῖς, αἰσχρὸν δὲ νομίσας ἀντει-
 490 πεῖν ἐδέχετο. καὶ ὠρίζετο αὐτοῖς ἡμέρα, ἐς ἣν τριακό-
 σιαι νῆες ἑκατέρων ἰδίᾳ παρεσκευάζοντο, βέλη τε
 παντοῖα φέρουσαι καὶ πύργους καὶ μηχανάς, ὅσας

⁴⁰ πάλαι Λαιστρυγόνων Étienne-Duplessis; Παλαιστηνῶν codd.

late autumn, and some of his bodyguard held a Gallic shield over his head the whole night. Harsh cracks came 486
 from Etna, and long rumblings and flashes that lit up the
 army, with the result that the Germans leaped from their
 sleeping places in fear, while the others, who had heard
 the stories about Etna, were convinced that in such ex-
 traordinary circumstances the lava too would swamp
 them. After this Octavian ravaged the territory once be- 487
 longing to the Laestrygonians,⁸¹ where Lepidus, who was
 foraging, met him, and they both encamped at Messena.

118. As many skirmishes were taking place all over 488
 Sicily, but no major engagement, Octavian sent Taurus to
 cut off Pompeius' food supplies by first capturing the
 towns that were provisioning him. This tactic caused Pom- 489
 peius particular difficulties, and he decided to stake every-
 thing on a major battle. Since he feared Octavian's infan-
 try, but had confidence in his own ships, he sent a message
 to Octavian inquiring if he would agree to let things be
 settled by a naval battle. Octavian, although he dreaded
 all naval operations, which up to this point he had con-
 ducted without success, accepted because he thought it
 cowardly to refuse. They fixed a day, for which each side 490
 independently prepared three hundred ships, carrying
 missiles of all kinds, and towers and whatever machines

⁸¹ The manuscripts all have "the territory of the Palestinians." There was an ancient town of Palaeste in Epirus on the east coast of Greece, but none was known in northern Sicily, where the action of the narrative is taking place. As Appian has just made a reference to Homer's *Odyssey*, and Greek tradition located the Laestrygonians in Sicily around Mount Etna, I have adopted the reading of the Budé editor.

491 ἐπενόουν. ἐπενόει δὲ καὶ τὸν καλούμενον ἄρπαγα ὁ
 Ἀγρίππας, ξύλον πεντάπηχον σιδήρῳ περιβεβλημέ-
 νον, κρίκους ἔχον περὶ κεραίας ἐκατέρας· τῶν δὲ
 κρίκων εἶχετο τοῦ μὲν ὁ ἄρπαξ, σιδήριον καμπύλον,
 τοῦ δὲ καλώδια πολλά, μηχαναῖς ἐπισπώμενα τὸν ἄρ-
 παγα, ὅτε τῆς πολεμίας νεὼς ἐκ καταπέλτου λάβοιτο.
 492 119. Ἐλθούσης δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας πρῶτα μὲν ἦν ἐρετῶν
 ἄμιλλα καὶ βοή, καὶ βέλη τὰ μὲν ἐκ μηχανῆς, τὰ δ'
 ἀπὸ χειρῶν, ὅσα λίθοι καὶ πυρφόρα καὶ τοξεύματα.
 493 μετὰ δὲ αἱ νῆες αὐταὶ συνερρήγνυντο ἀλλήλαις, αἱ
 μὲν εἰς τὰ πλάγια, αἱ δὲ κατ' ἐπωτίδας, αἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς
 ἐμβόλους, ἔνθα μάλιστα εἰσιν αἱ πληγαὶ βίαιοι τινά-
 ξαι τε τοὺς ἐπιβάτας καὶ τὴν ναῦν ἀργότεραν ἐργά-
 494 σασθαι. ἄλλαι δὲ ἀλλήλας διεξέπλεον βάλλουσαί τε
 καὶ ἀκοντίζουσαι καὶ τὰ ὑπηρητικὰ τοὺς ἐκπίπτοντας
 ἀνελάμβανεν. ἔργα τε χειρῶν ἦν καὶ βία ναυτῶν καὶ
 τέχνη κυβερνητῶν καὶ βοαὶ καὶ στρατηγῶν παρακε-
 495 λεύσεις καὶ μηχανήματα πάντα. εὐδοκίμει δὲ μάλι-
 στα ὁ ἄρπαξ, ἔκ τε πολλοῦ ταῖς ναυσὶ διὰ κουφότητα
 ἐμπίπτων καὶ ἐμπηγνύμενος, ὅτε μάλιστα ὑπὸ τῶν
 καλωδίων ἐφέλκοιτο ὀπίσω· κοπήναί τε ὑπὸ τῶν
 βλαπτομένων οὐκ ἦν εὖπορος διὰ σίδηρον τὸν περι-
 ἔχοντα, καὶ τὸ μῆκος αὐτοῦ δυσεφικτότατα τοῖς
 κόπτουσι τὰ καλώδια ἐποίει· οὐδὲ τὸ μηχανήμα
 496 πω προέγνωστο, ὡς δρέπανα δόρασι περιθέσθαι· ἐν
 δ' ἐπενόουν ὡς ἐν ἀδοκῆτῳ, τὴν ναῦν κρούοντες ἐπὶ
 πρύμναν ἀντισπᾶν. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ ποιούντων καὶ τῶν πο-

they could devise. Agrippa devised one called the "grab," 491
 a piece of wood five cubits long encased in iron and having
 rings at each end. To one of these rings was attached the
 grab itself, a curved piece of iron, to the other numerous
 ropes, which pulled in the grab by machine after it had
 been fired from a catapult and had hooked an enemy ship.

119. When the day arrived, first there was the rivalry 492
 and shouting of the rowers, and the missiles, such as
 stones, fireballs, and arrows, some fired by artillery, others
 thrown by hand.⁸² Next, the ships themselves rammed 493
 each other, some amidships, others on the prow, others at
 the ram, where the especially violent impact shakes the
 marines off and reduces the ship's effectiveness. Others 494
 rowed through the opposing line while shooting missiles
 and throwing javelins, and service vessels picked up the
 men who fell overboard. On display were the combat of
 arms and the strength of sailors and the skill of helmsmen
 and the shouting of generals, and all types of war machine.
 But the "grab" won special recognition. Because it was 495
 light it could land on ships from a distance and embed
 itself, particularly when it was pulled back by its ropes. As
 it was encased in iron, it could not easily be cut by those
 who had been hit, and its length made it very difficult to
 get at the ropes for anyone trying to cut them. The device
 was unknown until then, with the result that they had not
 attached sickles to poles. In this unexpected situation, they 496
 could only think of one solution, to pull the ship away by
 rowing backward. But as the enemy too did the same, the

⁸² The battle of Naulochus took place on September 3, 36.

λεμίων ἴση μὲν ἦν ἡ βία τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ὁ δὲ ἄρπαξ ἐποίει τὸ ἴδιον.

497 120. Ὅτε μὲν οὖν προσπελάσειαν αἱ νῆες, ἐμάχοντο παντοίως καὶ ἐς ἀλλήλους μεθήλλοντο. καὶ διαγνῶναι τὸν πολέμιον οὐκ ἦν ἔτι ὁμοίως εὐπορον· ὄπλοις τε γὰρ ὡς τὰ πολλὰ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐχρῶντο καὶ φωνῇ σχεδὸν ἅπαντες Ἰταλῆ, τά τε συνθήματα μιγνυμένων ἐς ἀμφοτέρους ἐξενήνεκτο, καὶ ἐκ τοῦδε μάλιστα ἐνέδραι 498
πολλαὶ καὶ ποικίλαι παρὰ ἀμφοῖν, καὶ ἀπιστία πρὸς τοὺς λέγοντας αὐτὰ ἐπεγίγνετο, ἀγνωσία τε πάντας ἀλλήλων ἐπέιχεν ὡς ἐν πολέμῳ καὶ θαλάσῃ γε-
498 μούσῃ φόνων τε καὶ ὄπλων καὶ ναυαγίων. οὐ γάρ τινα πείραν ἔλιπον, ὅτι μὴ μόνον τὸ πῦρ· τούτου δὲ μετὰ τοὺς πρώτους ἐπίπλους ἐφείσαντο διὰ τὰς συμπλο-
499 κάς. ὁ δὲ πεζὸς ἐκατέρων 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, οὐδ' ἐδύναντο, καὶ μάλιστα περισκοποῦντες, οἷα νεῶν ἑξακοσίων ἐπὶ μήκιστον ἐκτεταγμένων καὶ τῆς οἰμωγῆς ἐναλλασσομένης ἀνὰ μέρος ἐκατέρωθεν.

500 121. Μόλις δέ ποτε ταῖς χροιαῖς τῶν πύργων, αἷς δὴ μόναις διέφερον ἀλλήλων, ὁ Ἀγρίππας συνεῖς πλέονας ἀπολωλέναι τοῦ Πομπηίου ναῦς ἐθάρρυνε τοὺς συνόντας ὡς ἤδη κατορθοῦντας· καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις αὐθις ἐμπεσῶν ἐπέκειτο ἀπαύστως, μέχρι βιασθέντες, ὅσοι μάλιστα κατ' αὐτὸν ἦσαν, τοὺς τε πύργους κατέρριψαν καὶ τὰς ναῦς ἐπιστρέψαντες ἐς

force exerted by the men was equal, and the grab did its work.

120. Accordingly, when the ships grappled with each other, all sorts of fighting took place, and the crews 497
boarded each other's vessels. It was no longer as easy to identify the enemy, because, on the whole, both sides used the same weapons and almost all of them spoke Latin, and in the mêlée the watchwords of each side were revealed. As a result, both sides set an unusual number and variety of traps, and there was a lack of trust in those delivering the watchwords. Amid the fighting and the sea filled with corpses, weapons, and the wreckage of ships, everyone was affected by the inability to recognize anyone else. For 498
there was nothing they left untried, with the sole exception of fire. This they avoided, after the first attacks, because the ships were locked together. The infantry of both 499
armies looked out to sea from the land with fear and a keen interest, as it was on this battle that they too based their hope of safety. They did not really make out any details, and could not do so, no matter how hard they looked, given that nearly six hundred ships were arrayed over a very great distance, and the groaning alternated in turn from either side.

121. Using the color of their towers, which was the only 500
thing to differentiate the ships from each other, Agrippa eventually came to realize, with some difficulty, that more of Pompeius' ships had been destroyed, and he began to encourage the men with him, by conveying the message that they were already winning. Falling on the enemy again, he pressed them relentlessly, until those directly confronting him, having yielded to force, tore down their towers, turned their ships, and fled for the straits. Seven-

501 τὸν πορθμὸν ἔφευγον. καὶ ἔφθασαν ἐσδραμεῖν ἑπτα-
 καίδεκα νῆες. αἱ δὲ λοιπαί, διακλείσαντος αὐτὰς τοῦ
 Ἀγρίππου, αἱ μὲν ἐξώκελλον ἐς τὴν γῆν διωκόμεναι,
 καὶ συνεξώκελλον αὐταῖς ὑπὸ ὀρμῆς οἱ διώκοντες ἢ
 ὀρμιζόμενας ἀπέσπων ἢ ἐνεπίμπρασαν· ὅσαι δὲ ἔτι
 κατὰ τὸ πέλαγος ἐμάχοντο, τὰ περὶ αὐτὰς γιγνόμενα
 502 κατιδοῦσαι παρεδίδοσαν ἑαυτὰς τοῖς πολεμίοις. καὶ ὁ
 τοῦ Καίσαρος στρατὸς ἐπινίκιον ἠλάλαξεν ἐν τῇ
 θαλάσῃ, καὶ ὁ πεζὸς ἀντεβόησεν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. οἱ
 Πομπηίου δ' ἀνώμωξαν, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκ τῶν Ναυλόχων
 ἀναθορῶν ἐς τὴν Μεσσήνην ἠπέιγετο, οὐδὲν ὑπὸ ἐκ-
 503 πλήξεως περὶ τῶν πεζῶν οὐδ' ἐπισκῆψας· ὅθεν καὶ
 τούσδε ὁ Καίσαρ Τισιηνοῦ παραδιδόντος ὑποσπόν-
 δους ἐδέχετο καὶ τοὺς ἰππέας ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, τῶν ἰππάρ-
 χων παραδιδόντων. κατέδυσαν δὲ ἐν τῷ πόνῳ νῆες
 Καίσαρος μὲν τρεῖς, Πομπηίου δὲ ὀκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσι,
 καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ κατεφλέχθησαν ἢ ἐλήφθησαν ἢ ἐς τὴν
 γῆν ὀκέλλουσαι συνετρίβησαν· αἱ δὲ ἑπτακαίδεκα
 504 μόναι διέφυγον.
 122. Καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος ἐν ὁδῷ περὶ τῆς μεταγνώμης
 τοῦ πεζοῦ πυθόμενος τὴν τε ἐσθῆτα ἠλλαξεν ἐς ἰδιώ-
 505 τήν ἀπ' αὐτοκράτορος καὶ προύπεμψεν ἐς Μεσσήνην
 ἐς τὰς ναῦς ἐντίθεσθαι τὰ δυνατά· παρεσκευάστο δὲ
 ἅπαντα ἐκ πολλοῦ. Πλένιον τε ἐκ Λιλυβαίου, μεθ' ὧν
 εἶχεν ὀκτὼ τελῶν, ἐκάλει κατὰ σπουδὴν ὡς μετὰ
 τῶνδε φευξόμενος. καὶ Πλένιος μὲν ἠπέιγετο πρὸς αὐ-
 τόν, αὐτομολούντων δὲ ἐτέρων, φίλων τε καὶ φρουρίων
 καὶ στρατῶν, καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἐς τὸν πορθμὸν

501 teen of them successfully made their run there first, but
 of the remainder which Agrippa cut off, some were chased
 to land and ran aground, and their pursuers in their rush
 ran aground with them, or dragged them off as they rode
 at anchor, or set fire to them; while all those who were still
 fighting on the open sea surrendered to the enemy when
 they saw what was happening around them. At this, Octa-
 502 vian's men on the water raised a chant of victory, and his
 infantry shouted out in reply on the land. Pompeius'
 forces, on the other hand, groaned aloud in disappoint-
 ment, and Pompeius himself scurried away from Naulo-
 chus and hurried to Messena, without even leaving orders
 for his infantry, such was his shock. As a result, Tisienus
 surrendered and Octavian received these men too on
 503 agreed terms, as well as the cavalry in addition when their
 officers surrendered. Three of Octavian's ships were sunk
 in the battle, twenty-eight of Pompeius'; the rest of Pom-
 peius' fleet were consumed by fire, captured, or shattered
 as they ran aground. Only the seventeen escaped.

504 122. Pompeius learned of his infantry's defection while
 he was on the road, and he changed out of his commander
 in chief's uniform into the clothes of a private person,
 sending ahead to Messena instructions to load everything
 possible on the ships, all arrangements having been made
 long before. He sent an urgent summons for Plinius to
 505 come from Lilybaeum with the eight legions he com-
 manded, intending to flee with them. Plinius hurried to
 join him, but, when others, associates and garrisons and
 soldiers, began to desert, and the enemy were sailing into

ἐσπλέοντων, οὐκ ἀναμείνας οὐδὲ Πλένιον ὁ Πομπήιος
 ἐν πόλει καλῶς τετειχισμένη, ἔφευγεν ἐκ τῆς Μεσ-
 σήνης ἐπὶ τῶν ἑπτακαίδεκα νεῶν ἐς Ἀντώνιον, ὡς ἐξ
 506 ὁμοίων αὐτῷ τὴν μητέρα περισεσωκώς. καὶ ὁ Πλένιος
 αὐτὸν οὐ καταλαβὼν ἐς τὴν Μεσσήνην παρῆλθε καὶ
 κατείχε τῆς πόλεως. ὁ δὲ Καίσαρ αὐτὸς μὲν ἔμεινεν
 ἐν τῷ περὶ Ναυλόχους στρατοπέδῳ, Ἀγρίππαν δ'
 ἐκέλευσε τῇ Μεσσήνῃ παρακαθέζεσθαι καὶ παρ-
 507 ἐκάθητο σὺν Λεπίδῳ. Πλενίου δὲ πρεσβευομένου περὶ
 σπουδῶν Ἀγρίππας μὲν ἠξίου περιμένειν Καίσαρα ἐς
 ἔω, Λέπιδος δὲ ἐδίδου τὰς σπουδὰς καὶ τὸν τοῦ
 Πλενίου στρατὸν οἰκειούμενος ἑαυτῷ συνεχώρει διαρ-
 508 πᾶσαι τὴν πόλιν μετὰ τοῦ ἄλλου στρατοῦ. καὶ οἱ μὲν
 ἐπὶ τῇ σωτηρίᾳ, περὶ ἧς δὴ καὶ μόνῃς παρεκάλουν,
 κέρδος ἀδόκητον εὐρόμενοι, τὴν Μεσσήνην ὅλη τῇ
 νυκτὶ μετὰ τῶν Λεπίδου διήρπαζον καὶ μετεστρατεύ-
 οντο τῷ Λεπίδῳ.
 509 123. Ὁ δὲ σὺν τούτοις ἔχων δύο καὶ εἴκοσι τέλη
 πεζῶν καὶ ἰππέας πολλοὺς ἐπῆρτο καὶ κρατήσκειν
 ἐδόκει Σικελίας, πρόφασιν ἔχων, ὅτι πρῶτος ἐπιβαίη
 τῆς νήσου καὶ πλέονας πόλεις ἐπαγάγοιτο· ἐς τε τὰ
 φρούρια αὐτίκα περιέπεμπε τοὺς παρὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος
 ἐλευσομένους μὴ προσίεσθαι καὶ τὰ στενὰ πάντα
 510 ἐκρατύνετο. ὁ δὲ Καίσαρ ἦλθε μὲν τῆς ἐπιούσης καὶ
 ἐμέμφετο τῷ Λεπίδῳ διὰ τῶν φίλων, οἱ σύμμαχον
 αὐτὸν ἔφασκον ἐλθεῖν Καίσαρι ἐς Σικελίαν, οὐχ
 ἑαυτῷ κατακτησόμενον αὐτὴν· ὁ δὲ ἀντενεκάλει τῆς
 προτέρας τάξεως ἀφηρῆσθαι καὶ μόνον ἔχειν αὐτὴν

the straits, Pompeius did not even wait for Plinius in what
 was a well fortified town, but fled from Messena on his
 seventeen ships to Antony, whose mother, so he reasoned,
 he had saved in similar circumstances. Although failing to 506
 overtake Pompeius, Plinius entered Messena and occu-
 pied the town. Octavian himself remained in his camp at
 Naulochus, and ordered Agrippa to take up position at
 Messena, which he did in conjunction with Lepidus.
 When Plinius sent representatives to negotiate a truce, 507
 Agrippa's opinion was to wait till morning for the arrival
 of Octavian, but Lepidus granted terms, and in order to
 win over Plinius' men for himself, he gave them permis-
 sion to join the rest of his army in plundering the town.
 So, having obtained an unexpected bonus, in addition to 508
 the personal safety which was all they had actually peti-
 tioned for, Plinius' men joined those of Lepidus in plun-
 dering Messena the whole night, and then put themselves
 under the command of Lepidus.

123. Including these men, Lepidus commanded 509
 twenty-two legions of infantry and a large body of cavalry.
 This boosted his confidence and he decided to make him-
 self master of Sicily, advancing the pretext that he was the
 first to have disembarked on the island and had brought
 over a considerable number of towns. He immediately
 circulated orders to the garrisons that they should refuse
 entry to anyone coming from Octavian, and he seized all
 the defiles. Octavian arrived the following day, and criti- 510
 cized Lepidus through his associates, who reminded him
 that he had come to Sicily as an ally of Octavian, not to
 acquire it for himself. Lepidus countered by claiming that
 he had been deprived of his former position, now in the

Καίσαρα βουλομένω τε νῦν ἀντιδιδόναι Λιβύην καὶ
 511 Σικελίαν ὑπὲρ ἐκείνης. χαλεπαίνων δ' ὁ Καίσαρ ἦλθε
 μὲν καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπὸ ὀργῆς, ὄνειδιῶν τὸν Λέπιδον ἐς
 χαριστίαν, διαπειλησάμενοι δὲ ἀλλήλοις διέστησαν,
 καὶ αὐτίκα αἱ τε φυλακαὶ διεκρίθησαν καὶ αἱ νῆες
 ὤρμουν ἐπ' ἀγκυρῶν· ἐλέχθη γὰρ αὐτὰς ἐπινοεῖν ὁ
 Λέπιδος ἐμπρῆσαι.
 512 124. Ὁ δὲ στρατὸς ἤχθητο, εἰ πολεμήσουσιν αὐθις
 ἐμφύλιον πόλεμον ἕτερον καὶ οὐ ποτε σφᾶς ἐπιλεί-
 ψουσιν αἱ στάσεις. οὐ μὴν ἐν ὁμοίῳ Καίσαρα καὶ
 Λέπιδον ἐτίθεντο, οὐδὲ οἱ τῷ Λεπίδῳ στρατευόμενοι,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς τὸν Καίσαρα ἐθαύμαζον καὶ τὴν
 ἀργίαν συνήδεσαν Λεπίδῳ, καὶ τῆς ἀρπαγῆς αὐτὸν
 ἐπεμέμφοντο αὐτῆς, ἐς τὸ ἴσον τοῖς ἡσσημένοις κατα-
 513 στάντες. ὧν ὁ Καίσαρ πυνθανόμενος περιέπεμπε τοὺς
 τὰ συμφέροντα παραινέσοντας κρύφα ἐκάστοις. ὡς δὲ
 αὐτῷ διεφθάρατο πολλοί, καὶ μάλιστα οἱ γενόμενοι
 τοῦ Πομπηίου διὰ δέος τοῦ μήπω τὰς σπονδὰς βε-
 βαίους σφίσι, εἰ μὴ συνθοῖτο ὁ Καίσαρ, εἶναι, ἀγνο-
 οῦντος ἔτι ταῦτα τοῦ Λεπίδου δι' ἀπραξίαν ὁ Καίσαρ
 ἐπῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτοῦ σὺν ἱππεῦσι
 πολλοῖς, οὓς πρὸ τοῦ χάρακος καταλιπὼν ἐσῆει μετ'
 514 πόλεμον καθίστασθαι. ἀσπαζομένων δὲ αὐτὸν ὡς αὐ-
 τοκράτορα τῶν ὀρώντων, οἱ Πομπηϊανοὶ πρῶτοι συν-

⁸³ After the Battle of Philippi in 42, Octavian and Antony had

sole possession of Octavian, and, if he wished, he would
 give him Africa and Sicily in exchange for it.⁸³ Octavian 511
 was furious, so angry that he came in person to accuse
 Lepidus of ingratitude. After issuing threats against each
 other, they parted, and immediately not only did the
 guards separate themselves out, but Octavian's ships also
 moved to ride at anchor, because it was said that Lepidus
 was intending to set fire to them.

124. The soldiers were upset at the prospect of fighting 512
 yet another civil war and of political unrest never leaving
 them in peace. They did not, however, regard Octavian
 and Lepidus in the same light, not even those serving with
 Lepidus, but they admired Octavian's courage and were
 well aware of Lepidus' indolence; they also blamed Lepi-
 dus over the sack of Messena, when they were given equal
 status to those who had been defeated. On being told of 513
 this, Octavian secretly sent agents round to all individuals
 to advise them of their best interests. Having subverted
 many of them, especially the former Pompeians, who were
 afraid that the terms of their agreement would not be se-
 cure unless he ratified them, and while Lepidus, due to
 inaction, was still unaware of the situation, Octavian ar-
 rived at his camp with a large force of cavalry, which he
 left at the palisade, and entered with just a few men. As
 he went around, he called each man to witness that he was
 making arrangements for war against his will. As the men 514
 who saw him greeted him as commander in chief, those

removed from Lepidus' control the two provinces of Spain, and
 Gallia Narbonensis, the command that had been conferred on
 him as part of the deal forming the Second Triumvirate (see *BCiv.*
 4.2.7, and above, 3.12–13).

έθειον, ὅσοι διεφθάρατο, καὶ συγγνώμην σφίσι παρεκάλουν. ὁ δ' ἔλεγε θαυμάζειν, εἰ συγγνώμην αἰτοῦντες οὐ πράσσουσιν οὐπω τὰ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς συνοίοντα. οἱ δὲ συνέντες αὐτίκα ἤρπαζον τὰ σημεῖα καὶ ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα μετέφερον, καὶ σκηναὶς ἔλυον ἕτεροι.

515 125. Καὶ τοῦ θορύβου Λέπιδος αἰσθόμενος ἐξέθορε τῆς σκηνῆς ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα. βολαί τε ἦσαν ἤδη, καὶ τῶν ὀπλοφόρων τις τῶν Καίσαρος ἐπιπτε, καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Καίσαρ ἐς τὸν θώρακα ἐβλήθη· τὸ δὲ βέλος οὐκ ἐξίκετο ἐπὶ τὸν χρῶτα, ἀλλὰ δρόμῳ διέφυγεν ἐπὶ τοὺς
516 ἰππέας. Λεπίδου δέ τι φρουρίον ἐπετώθασε τῷ δρόμῳ· καὶ οὐκ ἀνέσχευεν ὁ Καίσαρ ὑπὸ ὀργῆς, πρὶν ἐξελεῖν
517 αὐτὸ σὺν τοῖς ἰππεῦσι καὶ καθελεῖν. ἑτέρων δ' αὖ φρουρίων ἡγεμόνες, οἱ μὲν αὐτίκα, οἱ δὲ νυκτός, μετετίθεντο ἐκ Λεπίδου πρὸς Καίσαρα, οἱ μὲν ἄνευ τινὸς πείρας, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐς ὑπόκρισιν ὑπὸ ἰππέων μικρὰ ἐνοχληθέντες.
518 εἰσὶ δ' οἱ τὰς προσβολὰς ἔτι ὑπέμενον καὶ ἀπεκρούοντο· καὶ γὰρ ὁ Λέπιδος περιέπεμπεν ἐς πάντα ἐπικούρους· καὶ αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν ἐπικούρων μεθισταμένων ἢ λοιπῆ τοῦ Λεπίδου στρατιά, καὶ εἴ τις
519 εὖνους ἔτι ἦν, ἐτρέπετο τῇ γνώμῃ. καὶ πρῶτοι μὲν αὖθις οἱ Πομπηϊανοί, ὅσοι ἔτι ἦσαν παρ' αὐτῷ, μετεπήδων κατὰ μέρη· Λεπίδου δὲ ἐς κώλυσιν αὐτοῖς τοὺς ἑτέρους ἐφοπλίσαντος, οἱ ἐπὶ κώλυμα τῶν ἄλλων ὀπλισάμενοι τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἐπήγοντο σημεῖα καὶ σὺν τοῖς
520 ἑτέροις ἐχώρουν πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα. Λέπιδος δ' αὐτοῖς ἀπιούσιν ἠπείλει καὶ ἐδέϊτο καὶ τῶν σημείων εἶχετο

Pompeians whose loyalty had been compromised were the first to run over to him and beg him to forgive them. He said that he was astonished that people asking for forgiveness were not yet doing what was in their own best interests. Understanding his meaning, they immediately seized their standards and transferred them to Octavian, while others took down tents.

125. When Lepidus heard the disturbance, he rushed 515 out of his tent to take up arms. There was already some throwing of weapons, and one of Octavian's bodyguards had been killed, and Octavian himself hit in the breastplate, although it did not penetrate to his skin, and he made his escape by running over to the cavalry. One of 516 Lepidus' guard posts jeered him as he ran away, and Octavian could not restrain his anger until he had captured the post with his cavalry and destroyed it. The officers of 517 other guard posts began to transfer their allegiance from Lepidus to Octavian, some immediately, others during the night; some without any attempt being made on them, others, for the sake of appearance, having been mildly harassed by the cavalry. There were some who still re- 518 sisted the attacks and beat them off, for Lepidus was sending reinforcements everywhere. But when the reinforcements themselves defected, the rest of Lepidus' army, even those still well disposed to him, began to change their mind. Again the first to jump ship, unit by 519 unit, were those Pompeians still with him; and when Lepidus armed his other troops to prevent this, those who had been given arms to stop the others took their own standards and joined the rest in going over to Octavian. As they 520 were leaving, Lepidus threatened and begged them and grabbed hold of their standards saying he would not let go,

καὶ οὐ μεθήσειν ἔλεγε, μέχρι τῶν φερόντων αὐτά τις εἶπε μεθήσειν ἀποθανόντα καὶ δείσας μεθήκεν.

521 126. Οἱ δὲ ἰππῆες τελευταῖοι χωροῦντες ἔπεμφάν
τινα πεισόμενοι τοῦ Καίσαρος, εἰ κτείνωσι Λέπιδον,
522 οὐκέτι ὄντα αὐτοκράτορα· ὁ δὲ ἀπεῖπεν. οὕτω Λέπιδος,
ἀδοκῆτῳ πάντων ἀπιστία συμπεσών, ἔρημος ἐκ τύ-
χης τοσῆσδε καὶ στρατοῦ τοσοῦδε ἐγίγνετο ἐν βρα-
χεῖ. καὶ τὸ σχῆμα ἀλλάξας ἔθει πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα
523 δρόμῳ, συντρεχόντων ὡς ἐπὶ θεᾶ τῶν ὁρώντων. ὁ δὲ
Καίσαρ ὑπανέστη τε αὐτῷ προσθέοντι καὶ προσπε-
σεῖν ἐθέλοντα κωλύσας ἔπεμψεν ἐς Ῥώμην, ἐφ' οὐπερ
ἦν σχήματος, ιδιώτην ἀπ' αὐτοκράτορος, οὐδὲν ἔτι
524 πλὴν ἱερέα ἧς εἶχεν ἱερωσύνης. ὁ μὲν δὴ καὶ αὐτο-
κράτωρ πολλάκις καὶ τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν γενόμενος
ἄρχοντάς τε ἀποφήνας καὶ προγράψας ἐπὶ θανάτῳ
τοσοῦσδε ὁμοτίμους, ιδιωτεύων καὶ ἐνίοις τῶν προ-
γραφέντων ἄρχουσιν ὕστερον παριστάμενος διεβί-
ωσε.

525 127. Πομπήιον δὲ ὁ μὲν Καίσαρ οὐκ ἐδίωκεν οὐδ'
ἐτέροις ἐπέτρεπε διώκειν, εἴτε ὡς ἐς ἀλλοτρίαν ἀρχὴν
τὴν Ἀντωνίου φυλασσόμενος ἐμβαλεῖν, εἴτε καταδο-
κῶν τὸ μέλλον καὶ τὰ ἐς αὐτὸν ἐσόμενα ἐξ Ἀντωνίου
καὶ πρόφασιν ἕξων διαφορᾶς, εἰ μὴ δίκαια γίγνοιτο
(οὐ γὰρ ἀνύποπτοί γε ἦσαν ἐκ πολλοῦ διὰ φιλαρχίαν,
ὅτε τοὺς ἄλλους ἐξέλοιεν, ἀλλήλοις διερίσειν), εἴθ' ὡς
αὐτὸς ἔλεγε ὕστερον ὁ Καίσαρ, ὅτι μὴ γένοιτο τοῦ
526 πατρὸς ἀνδροφόνος ὁ Πομπήιος. τὴν δὲ στρατιὰν

until one of the standard bearers said he would let go when he was dead. He was frightened by this, and let go.

126. The last to leave were the cavalry, who sent some- 521
one to ask Octavian if they should kill Lepidus, as he was
no longer commander in chief. He told them not to. Thus 522
Lepidus, unexpectedly encountering total disobedience,
found himself in a short time deprived of such great good
fortune and such a mighty army. He changed his clothes
and sprinted to Octavian, spectators running along beside
him as if they were going at a show. Octavian stood up as 523
Lepidus hurried toward him, prevented him from throw-
ing himself at his feet, although he wanted to, and sent
him to Rome in the clothes he was wearing, a private
person rather than the commander in chief he had been,
of no standing apart from the priesthood he continued to
hold. And so this man, who had often commanded armies 524
and as a member of the triumvirate had appointed magis-
trates and condemned to death so many men of his own
rank on the proscription lists, lived the rest of his life as a
private citizen, deferring to some of the proscribed who
later became magistrates.

127. As for Pompeius, Octavian neither pursued him 525
nor ordered others to do so. This may have been because
he was taking care not to encroach on someone else's ju-
risdiction, that of Antony; or else he was waiting to see
what would happen and how Antony would behave toward
Pompeius, in order to have an excuse for a dispute if this
proved unlawful (for it had long been suspected that be-
cause of their love of power Octavian and Antony would
quarrel with each other once they had removed the oth-
ers); or, as Octavian himself said later, it was because Pom-
peius was not one of his father's murderers. When he 526

συνήγε, καὶ ἐγένετο αὐτῷ τέλη μὲν ὀπλιτῶν πέντε καὶ
 τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἰππέες δισμύριοι καὶ πεντακισ-
 χίλιοι, κοῦφοι δὲ τῶν ἰππέων ὑπὲρ ἡμιολίους μακραί
 τε νῆες ἑξακόσiai τὸ δὲ τῶν φορτίδων πλήθος, καί-
 527 περ ὃν ἄπειρον, τοῖς δεσπόταις διέπεμπε. καὶ τὸν
 στρατὸν ἐπινικίοις ἐδωρεῖτο, τὰ μὲν ἤδη διδούς, τὰ δὲ
 ὑπισχνούμενος, στεφάνους τε καὶ τιμὰς ἅπασιν ἔνε-
 μεν καὶ συγγνώμην τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν ἐδίδου τοῦ Πομ-
 πηίου.

528 128. Ζήλου δὲ αὐτῷ γέμοντι ἐπὶ τούτοις τὸ δαι-
 μόνιον ἐνεμέσθησε τοῦ ζήλου, καὶ ὁ στρατὸς ἐστασία-
 σεν, ὁ οἰκείος αὐτοῦ μάλιστα, ἀπολυθῆναί τε τῆς
 στρατείας ἐπειγόμενοι καὶ γέρα λαβεῖν ὅμοια τοῖς ἐν
 529 Φιλίπποις ἀγωνισαμένοις. ὁ δὲ ἤδει μὲν οὐχ ὅμοιον
 ἐκείνῳ τόνδε τὸν ἀγῶνα, ὑπισχνεῖτο δ' ὅμως τὰ ἄξια
 δώσειν σὺν τοῖς ὑπ' Ἀντωνίῳ στρατενομένοις, ὅτε
 κἀκείνος ἀφίκηται. περὶ δὲ τῆς ἀστρατείας ὑπεμίμνη-
 σκε σὺν ἀπειλῇ τῶν πατρίων νόμων τε καὶ ὄρκων καὶ
 530 κολάσεων. οὐκ εὐπειθῶς δὲ ἀκροωμένων ὑφήκε τῆς
 ἀπειλῆς, ἵνα μή τις ἐκ τῶν νεολήπτων στρατῶν ἐπι-
 γένοιτο θόρυβος, καὶ ἔλεγεν ἐν καιρῷ τε ἀπολύσειν
 σὺν Ἀντωνίῳ, καὶ ἄξειν νῦν οὐκ ἐπ' ἐμφύλια ἔτι, πε-
 παυμένα σὺν τύχῃ χρηστῇ, ἐπὶ δ' Ἰλλυριοὺς καὶ
 531 ἕτερα ἔθνη βάρβαρα, σαλεύοντα τὴν μόλις κτηθείσαν
 εἰρήνην, ὅθεν καταπλουτιεῖν αὐτούς. οἱ δ' οὐκ ἔφασαν
 αὐθις στρατεύσεσθαι, πρὶν τῶν προτέρων λαβεῖν
 γέρα τε καὶ τιμὰς. ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἔφη τὰς τιμὰς οὐδὲ νῦν
 ἀνατίθεσθαι, πολλὰς δὲ δούς προστιθέσθαι στεφάνους

brought his army together, Octavian had forty-five legions
 of infantry, twenty five thousand cavalry, half as many
 more light-armed troops than cavalry, and six hundred
 warships; and although he had a vast number of merchant
 vessels, he sent them back to their owners. To the soldiers
 527 he awarded payment for their victory, giving some of it
 now, and promising the rest. He distributed crowns and
 honors to everyone, and pardoned Pompeius' officers.

128. When he became full of pride at these events, the
 528 divinity resented his pride, and his soldiers mutinied, es-
 pecially his own troops, who demanded to be discharged
 from service and receive the same privileges as those who
 fought at Philippi. While Octavian knew that the present
 529 war was not like that one, nevertheless he promised to give
 them what they deserved, along with those serving under
 Antony, when he too arrived. As for their refusal to serve,
 he reminded them, in a threatening tone, of their ancestral
 laws and oaths and punishments. Since they did not listen
 530 in a submissive manner, he abandoned his threatening
 tone to avoid any trouble from the troops he had recently
 taken over, and said that he would discharge them at the
 proper time in conjunction with Antony. For the time be-
 ing, he would lead them not into more civil wars, which
 had, happily, come to an end, but against the Illyrians and
 other foreign peoples, who were disturbing the hard-won
 531 peace; this would enable him to make the men rich. But
 they said that they would not serve again until they had
 received the prizes and honors due from their previous
 service. Octavian denied that he was postponing the award
 of honors, even at this moment, but having given many
 already, said that he would add still more crowns for the

ἔτι τοῖς τέλεσιν ἄλλους καὶ λοχαγοῖς καὶ χιλιάρχους
 περιπορφύρους ἐσθήτας καὶ βουλευτικὴν ἐν ταῖς πα-
 532 τρίσιν ἀξίωσιν. ἔτι δὲ αὐτοῦ τοιάδε προστιθέντος
 ἕτερα, ὑπεφώνησε χιλίαρχος Ὀφίλλιος στεφάνους
 μὲν καὶ πορφύραν εἶναι παισὶν ἀθύρματα, στρατοῦ δὲ
 γέρα χωρία καὶ χρήματα· καὶ τοῦ πλήθους ἐπιβοή-
 σαντος, ὅτι ὀρθῶς λέγοι, ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ ἀπέστη τοῦ
 βήματος δυσχεραίνων. οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸν χιλίαρχον
 ἦσαν ἐπαινοῦντές τε καὶ τοῖς οὐ συνισταμένοις αὐτῷ
 533 λαιδορούμενοι. ὁ δ' ἔφη καὶ μόνος ἀρκέσειν ἐπὶ οὕτω
 δικαίοις. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν τότε εἰπὼν ἐς τὴν ἐπιούσαν
 ἀφανῆς ἦν, καὶ οὐδ', ὅ τι γένοιτο, ἐγινώσκετο.
 534 129. Ὁ δὲ στρατὸς οὐκέτι μὲν, ὑπὸ δέους, οὐδεὶς
 καθ' ἓνα ἐφθέγγετο, κοινῇ δ' ἐβόων, ἀνὰ μέρη συν-
 ιστάμενοι, ἀφεθῆναι τῶν στρατειῶν. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ
 αὐτῶν τοὺς μὲν ἄρχοντας ἐξωμίλει ποικίλως, τῶν δ'
 ἐν Φιλίπποις καὶ Μουτίνῃ στρατευσαμένων, ὡς χρο-
 νιωτέρων ἄρα ὄντων, ἐδίδου τοῖς θέλουσιν ἀποστρα-
 535 τεύεσθαι. καὶ γενομένους ἐς δισμυρίους εὐθὺς ἀπέλυε
 καὶ ἐξέπεμπε τῆς νήσου, μὴ διαφθείραιεν ἑτέρους,
 τοσόνδε τοῖς ἐκ Μουτίνης μόνοις ἐπειπὼν, ὅτι σφίσι
 ἀποδώσει τὰ τότε ὑπεσχημένα καίπερ οὕτως ἀπολυ-
 536 θείσιν. ἐς δὲ τὸ ἄλλο πλήθος ἐπελθὼν τοὺς μὲν ἀπο-
 στάντας ἐμαρτύρητο τῆς ἐπιουρκίας, οὐ κατὰ γνώμην
 τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος τῆς στρατείας ἀπολυθέντας, τοὺς

⁸⁴ Togas of Roman senators had a broad purple stripe, those of the equestrian order a narrow one. It seems that Octavian was

legions, and for centurions and military tribunes purple-
 bordered togas and the rank of senator in their native
 towns.⁸⁴ While he was still distributing other awards of this
 532 kind, a military tribune named Ofellius called out in reply
 that crowns and purple were toys for children, but the
 privileges due to soldiers were lands and money. The
 crowd shouted out that what Ofellius said was right, and
 Octavian angrily stepped down from the tribunal. The
 men gathered round the tribune, praising him and abusing
 those who would not stand with him. Ofellius said that he
 533 alone would be enough to defend so just a cause, but hav-
 ing made the speech, next day he disappeared, and it was
 not known what happened.

129. Because they were afraid, the soldiers no longer
 534 spoke out individually, but joining together in groups they
 collectively called for their discharge. Octavian concili-
 ated their leaders in various ways. To those who had served
 at Philippi and Mutina he granted discharge, for any who
 wanted it, on the grounds that they had indeed served
 more than their time. These numbered about two thou-
 535 sand, and he immediately discharged them and sent them
 off the island, so that they would not subvert the others.
 He also told only those who were at Mutina that he would
 give them what had been promised at the time of the
 campaign, even though they were now being discharged
 in this way. He then went before the rest of the army and
 536 called on them to bear witness that the mutineers had
 broken their oaths by being discharged from service

offering equestrian status to these officers but without giving them the money (400,000 sesterces) required to automatically qualify for membership of the order.

δὲ παρόντας ἐπήγει καὶ ἐπήλπιζεν ἀπολύσειν μὲν τα-
 χέως, ὡς μηδενὶ μετανοήσειν,⁴¹ καταπλουτιεῖν δὲ ἀπο-
 λύων καὶ νῦν ἐπιδιδόναι δραχμὰς πεντακοσίας ἐκά-
 537 στῶ. τοιάδε εἰπὼν Σικελία μὲν ἐπέβαλλεν ἐσφορὰν
 χίλια τάλαντα καὶ ἑξακόσια, στρατηγούς δ' ἀπέφαινε
 Λιβύης καὶ Σικελίας καὶ στρατὸν ἐς ἑκατέραν διήρει
 καὶ τὰς ναῦς τὰς Ἀντωνίου διέπεμπεν ἐς Τάραντα καὶ
 τοῦ λοιποῦ στρατοῦ τὸν μὲν προύπεμπεν ἐς τὴν Ἰτα-
 λίαν ἐπὶ νεῶν, τὸν δ' ἐπαγόμενος αὐτὸς ἐκ τῆς νήσου
 διεπέρα.

538 130. Ἐρχομένῳ δ' ἢ τε βουλὴ τιμὰς ἐψηφίσατο
 ἀμέτρους, ὧν αὐτὸν ἐποίουν κριτὴν, ἢ πάσας λαβεῖν
 ἢ ὅσας δοκιμάσειε· καὶ ὑπήντων ὅτι πορρωτάτῳ καὶ
 αὐτοῖ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐστεφανωμένοι ἐς τε τὰ ἱερά καὶ ἐκ
 539 τῶν ἱερῶν ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν ἀπιόντα παρέπεμπον. τῆς δ'
 ἐπιούσης αὐτὸς ἐβουληγόρησέ τε καὶ ἐδημηγόρησε,
 τὰ ἔργα καὶ τὴν πολιτείαν ἑαυτοῦ τὴν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἐς
 τότε καταλέγων· καὶ τὰ εἰρημένα συγγράψας τὸ βι-
 540 βλίον ἐξέδωκε. κατήγγελλέ τε εἰρήνην καὶ εὐθυμίαν,
 ἐς τέλος τῶν ἐμφυλίων ἀνηρημένων, καὶ τῶν εἰσφορῶν
 τοὺς ἔτι ὀφείλοντας ἀπέλυε καὶ φόρων τελώνας τε καὶ
 541 τοὺς τὰ μισθώματα ἔχοντας ὧν ἔτι ὀφείλοιν. ἐκ δὲ
 τῶν ἐψηφισμένων τιμῶν ἐδέχετο πομπήν, ἐτήσιόν τε
 ἱερομηνίαν εἶναι, καθ' ἃς ἡμέρας ἐνίκα, καὶ ἐπὶ κίονος

⁴¹ ὡς μηδενὶ μετανοήσειν Viereck; ὅτε μηδενὶ μετανοήσει
 codd.

against the orders of their commander in chief. He praised
 those who remained with him, and, to avoid the prospect
 of anyone changing their mind,⁸⁵ encouraged them to
 hope that he would discharge them soon, saying that when
 he did so, he would make them rich; for the moment he
 was giving each man an additional five hundred drachmas.
 After delivering this speech, Octavian imposed a levy on 537
 Sicily of one thousand six hundred talents, appointed gov-
 ernors of Africa and Sicily, allocating troops to each of
 them, and dispatched Antony's ships to Tarentum. Of his
 remaining forces, part he embarked on ships and sent
 ahead to Italy, part he took command of himself and
 crossed over from the island.

130. While he was on his way to Rome, the senate voted 538
 him unlimited honors, leaving him to decide whether to
 accept them all or just those of which he approved. Wear-
 ing garlands, the senators and people went out to meet
 him at a great distance from the city, and escorted him to
 the temples and from the temples as he withdrew to his
 own house. Next day he addressed both the senate and the 539
 people, giving a detailed account of his achievements and
 administration from the beginning to the present time. He
 wrote down the speeches he had delivered and published
 them in a pamphlet. He proclaimed Peace and Content- 540
 ment, now that the civil wars had finally been brought to
 an end, and remitted special taxes for those who still owed
 them, and regular taxes still not paid by the tax collectors
 and those holding the public contracts. Of the honors 541
 voted to him, he accepted an ovation, and annual festival
 on the anniversary of his victory, and the erection on a

⁸⁵ The text is uncertain at this point.

ἐν ἀγορᾷ χρύσεος ἐστάναι μετὰ σχήματος οὐπερ
 ἔχων εἰσῆλθε, περικειμένων τῷ κίονι νεῶν ἐμβόλων.
 542 καὶ ἔστηκεν ἡ εἰκὼν, ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχουσα, ὅτι "Τὴν
 εἰρήνην ἐστασιασμένην ἐκ πολλοῦ συνέστησε κατὰ
 τε γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν."

543 131. Τοῦ δὲ δήμου τὴν μεγίστην ἱερωσύνην ἐς
 αὐτὸν ἐκ Λεπίδου μεταφέροντος, ἦν ἕνα ἔχειν νενόμι-
 σται μέχρι θανάτου, οὐκ ἐδέχετο καὶ κτείνειν τὸν Λέ-
 544 πιδον ὡς πολέμιον κελευόντων οὐκ ἠνείχετο. ἐς δὲ τὰ
 στρατόπεδα πάντα σεσημασμένας ἔπεμψεν ἐπιστο-
 λὰς, ἐντελλόμενος ἡμέρα μιᾷ πάντα ἀνειλήσαντας
 αὐτὰς ἐπιχειρεῖν τοῖς κεκελευσμένοις. καὶ ἦν τὰ ἐπ-
 εσταλμένα περὶ τῶν θεραπόντων, ὅσοι παρὰ τὴν στά-
 σιν ἀποδράντες ἐστρατεύοντο, καὶ αὐτοῖς τὴν ἐλευ-
 545 θερίαν ἠτήκει Πομπήιος, καὶ ἡ βουλὴ καὶ αἱ συνθήκαι
 δεδώκεσαν. οἱ δὲ μιᾷς ἡμέρας συνελαμβάνοντο, καὶ
 ἀχθέντας αὐτοὺς ἐς Ῥώμην ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀπέδωκεν αὐ-
 τῶν τε Ῥωμαίων καὶ Ἰταλῶν τοῖς δεσπόταις ἢ διαδό-
 χοις αὐτῶν, ἀπέδωκε δὲ καὶ Σικελιώταις. ὅσους δ' οὐκ
 ἦν ὁ ληψόμενος, ἔκτεινε παρὰ ταῖς πόλεσιν αὐταῖς, ὧν
 ἀπέδρασεν.

546 132. Τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τῶν τότε στάσεων ἐδόκει τέλος
 εἶναι. καὶ ἦν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐτῶν ἐς τότε ὀκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσι,
 καὶ αὐτὸν αἱ πόλεις τοῖς σφετέροις θεοῖς συνίδρουν.
 547 ληστευομένης δὲ κατὰ συστάσεις τῆς τε Ῥώμης αὐ-
 τῆς καὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας⁴² περιφανῶς καὶ τῶν γιγνομένων
 ἀρπαγῇ μετὰ τόλμης ἢ ληστεία λανθανούσῃ μᾶλλον
 ἐοικότων, Σαβίνος ὑπὸ Καίσαρος αἵρεθεὶς εἰς διόρθω-

column in the Forum of a gilded statue of him in the
 clothes he wore when he entered the city, with the rams 542
 of ships positioned around the column. And the statue was
 put up, bearing the inscription: "Peace long disturbed by
 civil discord he restored both on land and sea."

131. When the people wanted to transfer from Lepidus 543
 to himself the office of Pontifex Maximus, which it is cus-
 tomary for one person to hold for life, he refused it, and
 he would not countenance the request to execute Lepidus
 as a public enemy. He sent sealed letters to all the armies, 544
 with instructions that everyone was to open them all on
 the same day and carry out the orders. These directives
 related to those slaves who had run away during the civil
 disorder and joined up as soldiers. Pompeius had asked
 that they be given their freedom, which both the senate
 and the terms of the treaty had granted. But they were all 545
 arrested on the same day and brought to Rome, where
 Octavian returned them to their Roman and Italian mas-
 ters, or their heirs. He also gave back those belonging to
 Sicilian masters. All those with no one to claim them he
 executed in the very towns from which they had run away.

132. This seemed, indeed, to mark the end of the civil 546
 disturbances of that time, and the towns established a
 place among their own gods for Octavian, who was now
 twenty-eight years of age. Since both Rome itself and Italy 547
 were being openly raided by groups of bandits, events
 having the appearance more of brazen pillaging than
 stealthy burglary, Sabinus was chosen by Octavian to put

⁴² Ἰταλίας Schweig.; Σικελίας codd.

σιν πολὺν μὲν εἰργάσατο φθόρον τῶν ἀλισκομένων,
 ἐνιαυτῷ δ' ὅμως εἰς εἰρήνην ἀφύλακτον ἅπαντα περι-
 ἤγαγε. καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνου φασὶ παραμεῖναι τὸ τῆς στρα-
 548 τιάς τῶν νυκτοφυλάκων ἔθος τε καὶ εἶδος. θαυμαζόμε-
 νος δὲ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ τῷδε ὀξέως οὕτως ἐξ ἀδοκῆτου
 διωρθωμένῳ πολλὰ τῆς πολιτείας ἐφίει τοῖς ἑτησίοις
 ἄρχουσι διοικεῖν κατὰ τὰ πάτρια, καὶ γραμματεῖα,
 ὅσα τῆς στάσεως σύμβολα, ἔκαιε, καὶ τὴν ἐντελῆ πο-
 λιτείαν ἔλεγεν ἀποδώσειν, εἰ παραγένοιτο ἐκ Παρθυ-
 αίων Ἀντώνιος· πείθεσθαι γὰρ κἀκεῖνον ἐθέλειν ἀπο-
 θέσθαι τὴν ἀρχήν, τῶν ἐμφυλίων καταπεπαυμένων.
 ἐφ' οἷς αὐτὸν εὐφημοῦντες εἶλοντο δήμαρχον ἐς αἰί,
 διηνεκεῖ ἄρα ἀρχῇ προτρέποντες τῆς προτέρας ἀπο-
 549 στῆναι. ὁ δὲ ἐδέξατο μὲν καὶ τήνδε, Ἀντωνίῳ δὲ ἐφ'
 ἑαυτοῦ περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπέστελλεν. ὁ δὲ καὶ Βύβλον
 ἀπιόντα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐντυχεῖν ἐδίδασκεν· ἐς δὲ τὰ ἔθνη
 τοὺς ἡγεμόνας αὐτὸς ὁμοίως ἔπεμπε καὶ ἐς Ἰλλυριοὺς
 ἐπενόει συστρατεύειν.

550 133. Πομπήιος δ' ἐκ μὲν Σικελίας ἄκρα Λακινία
 προσέσχε καὶ τὸ ἱερόν τῆς Ἥρας πλουτοῦν ἀναθήμα-
 σιν ἐσύλησε, φεύγων ἐς Ἀντώνιον· ἐς δὲ Μιτυλήνην
 καταχθεὶς διέτριβεν, ἔνθα αὐτὸν ἔτι παῖδα μετὰ τῆς

⁸⁶ This is probably Gaius Calvisius Calvinus, one of the consuls of 39. ⁸⁷ The *vigiles* (the watchmen) were officially instituted by Augustus in AD 6. They were primarily concerned with fire protection but also functioned as a sort of police force.

⁸⁸ It is generally thought more likely that, as Dio says

the situation right.⁸⁶ Sabinus inflicted extensive slaughter on those he captured, but nevertheless in the space of a year brought secure peace to all parts. It is from this time, they say, that the custom of maintaining a corps of night watchmen, and the form it takes, has persisted.⁸⁷ Admired 548 for restoring order so quickly and unexpectedly, Octavian delegated much of the government business to the annual magistrates for them to administer in the traditional manner. He also began to burn all written evidence of the civil discord, and said that he would give up control of the entire governance of the state, when Antony got back from Parthia. For he was convinced that Antony, too, would be willing to lay down his office, now that the civil wars were at an end. The people applauded him for this and chose him tribune for life, no doubt to encourage him with a permanent magistracy to give up his previous one.⁸⁸ But 549 he took this one in addition, and wrote himself to Antony about their magistracy. Antony gave instructions to Bibulus, who was leaving him to meet with Octavian, and, like Octavian, he also personally sent out governors to the provinces, while intending to join the campaign against the Illyrians.⁸⁹

133. On leaving Sicily in his flight to Antony, Pompeius 550 landed at the Lacinian promontory and robbed the sanctuary of Hera, which was rich in dedications. He put in at Mytilene and spent some time there: it was here that when

(49.15.5–6), Octavian was given the inviolability (*sacrosanctitas*) rather than the full powers of the tribune at this point.

⁸⁹ Appian has already identified Lucius Calpurnius Bibulus, son of Julius Caesar's colleague as consul in 59, as a frequent intermediary between Octavian and Antony: see *BCiv.* 4.38.162.

μητρὸς ὑπεξέθετο ὁ πατήρ, Γαῖω Καίσαρι πολεμῶν,
 551 καὶ ἠττηθεὶς ἀνέλαβεν. Ἀντωνίου δὲ πολεμοῦντος ἐν
 Μηδία Μηδοῖς τε καὶ Παρθηναίοις, γνώμην ὁ Πομ-
 πῆιος ἐποιεῖτο ἑαυτὸν ἐπανελθόντι ἐπιτρέψαι. ἐπεὶ δ'
 ἐπύθετο ἠσσησθαι Ἀντώνιον καὶ τὸ συμβὰν ἢ φήμη
 μειζόνως μετέφερεν, αὐθις ἦν ἐν ἐλπίσιν ὡς ἢ διαδε-
 ξόμενος Ἀντώνιον, εἰ τέθνηκεν, ἢ μεριούμενος ἐπανελ-
 θόντι ἐνθύμιός τε οἱ συνεχὲς ἦν Λαβιηνὸς οὐ πρὸ
 552 πολλοῦ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐπιδραμών. ὧδε δὲ ἔχοντι ἀγγέλ-
 λεται Ἀντώνιος εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἐπανελθών. καὶ τε-
 χνάζων ἔτι ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα διεπρεσβεύετο πρὸς ᾠ
 Ἀντώ-
 νιον», αὐτόν⁴³ ἐπιτρέπων ἐκείνῳ καὶ φίλον εἶναι διδοὺς
 καὶ σύμμαχον, ἔργῳ δὲ τὰ Ἀντωνίου κατασκευπτόμε-
 553 νος. ἔς τε Θράκην καὶ ἔς τὸν Πόντον ἔπεμπεν ἑτέρους
 κρύφα πρὸς τοὺς ἐκατέρων δυνάστας ἐπινοῶν, εἰ μὴ
 κρατεῖ τῶν ἐνθυμουμένων, διὰ τοῦ Πόντου φυγεῖν ἐς
 554 Ἀρμενίαν. ἔπεμπε δὲ καὶ ἐς Παρθηναίους, ἐλπίσας ἐς
 τὰ λοιπὰ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς Ἀντώνιον αὐτοὺς δέ-
 ξεσθαι προθύμως στρατηγὸν Ῥωμαῖόν τε καὶ παῖδα
 Μάγνου μάλιστα. τὰς τε ναῦς ἐπεσκεύαζε καὶ τὸν ἐν
 αὐταῖς στρατὸν ἐγύμναζεν, ὑποκρινόμενος ἢ δεδιέναι
 Καίσαρα ἢ Ἀντωνίῳ τάδε παρασκευάζειν.

555 134. Ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος πυθόμενος μὲν εὐθὺς ἀμφὶ
 τοῦ Πομπηίου, στρατηγὸν ἐπ' αὐτῷ Τίτιον ἤρητο καὶ

⁴³ πρὸς Ἀντώνιον, αὐτόν Étienne-Duplessis; πρὸς αὐτόν
 codd.

he was still a boy, his father, while at war with Gaius Cae-
 sar, had left him for safety with his mother, and had col-
 lected him after being defeated.⁹⁰ As Antony was waging 551
 war in Media against the Medes and the Parthians, Pom-
 peius decided to hand himself over to him on his return.
 But when he heard that Antony had been defeated—and
 rumor exaggerated what had happened—his hopes once
 more revived, either of succeeding Antony, if he was dead,
 or of sharing power with him when he returned; and La-
 bienus, who had overrun Asia not long before, was con-
 stantly on his mind.⁹¹ Such was his state of mind when he 552
 is given the news that Antony had returned to Alexandria.
 Continuing to entertain both schemes, he sent a deputa-
 tion to Antony, handing himself over and giving the im-
 pression that he was a friend and ally, when in reality he
 was spying on Antony's affairs. He sent other envoys se- 553
 cretly to Thrace and Pontus, to the rulers of both coun-
 tries, with the intention of escaping to Armenia through
 Pontus, if he failed to achieve his plans. He also sent a 554
 mission to the Parthians, in the hope that for the rest of
 their war against Antony they would enthusiastically wel-
 come a Roman general, especially a son of Pompey the
 Great. He refitted his ships and drilled the soldiers on
 board, pretending either to be afraid of Octavian, or to be
 making these preparations for Antony.

134. Immediately on hearing the news about Pom- 555
 peius, Antony appointed Titius as general to oppose him,

⁹⁰ Plutarch (*Pomp.* 74.1) and other sources indicate that it was
 his stepmother, Cornelia, not his mother, Mucia, who was with
 the young Pompeius in Mytilene.

⁹¹ On Quintus Labienus, see above, 65.276 with note 50.

ναῦς καὶ στρατὸν ἐκ Συρίας λαβόντα ἐκέλευε πολε-
 μούντι μὲν τῷ Πομπηίῳ πολεμεῖν κατὰ κράτος, ἐπι-
 556 τρέποντα δὲ αὐτὸν Ἀντωνίῳ μετὰ τιμῆς ἄγειν. ἐλ-
 θούσι δὲ τοῖς πρέσβεσιν ἐχρημάτιζεν, ἀγγέλλουσιν
 οὕτως: “Ἡμᾶς Πομπήιος ἔπεμψεν οὐκ ἀπορῶν μὲν ἐς
 Ἰβηρίαν, εἰ πολεμεῖν ἐγνώκει, διαπλευσαι, φίλην οὐ-
 σαν αὐτῷ πατρόθεν καὶ συλλαβοῦσαν ἔτι ὄντι νεω-
 τέρῳ καὶ καλοῦσαν ἐπὶ ταῦτα καὶ νῦν, αἰρούμενος δὲ
 εἰρηνεύειν τε σὺν σοὶ καὶ πολεμεῖν, εἰ δεήσειεν, ὑπὸ
 557 σοί. καὶ τάδε οὐ νῦν πρῶτον, ἀλλ’ ἔτι κρατῶν Σι-
 κελίας καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν πορθῶν, ὅτε σοι τὴν σὴν μη-
 558 τέρα περισώσας ἔπεμπε, προύτεινε. καὶ εἰ ἐδέξω, οὐτ’
 ἂν ὁ Πομπήιος ἐξέπεσε Σικελίας (οὐ γὰρ ἂν Καίσαρι
 τὰς ναῦς κατ’ αὐτοῦ παρέσχες), οὐτ’ ἂν σὺ ἤττησο ἐν
 Παρθυαίοις, Καίσαρός σοι τὸν στρατὸν οὐ πέμψαν-
 τος, ὃν συνέθετο· ἐκράτεις δ’ ἂν ἤδη πρὸς οἷς εἶχες
 559 καὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας. οὐ δεξάμενον δέ σε ταῦτα, ἐν καιρῷ
 τότε μάλιστ’ ἂν σοι γενόμενα, ἀξιοῖ καὶ νῦν μὴ πολ-
 λάκις ὑπὸ Καίσαρος ἐνεδρευθῆναι λόγοις τε καὶ τῷ
 γενομένῳ κήδει, μνημονεύοντα, ὅτι Πομπηίῳ τε κη-
 δεύων μετὰ συνθήκας ἐπολέμησεν ἄνευ προφάσεως,
 καὶ Λέπιδον κοινωνὸν ὄντα τῆς ἀρχῆς τὸ μέρος
 ἀφείλετο καὶ οὐδέτερα αὐτῶν ἐνείματό σοι.

⁹² Marcus Titius (suffect consul 31) had a long career, first as a supporter of Marc Antony, whom he abandoned before the battle of Actium, and then with Octavian/Augustus. He gave the order for the execution of Sextus Pompeius (although perhaps on Antony’s instructions).

and ordered him to get ships and troops from Syria, and to make war with all his might if Pompeius made war, and to treat him with honor if Pompeius surrendered himself to Antony.⁹² When a delegation arrived from Pompeius, 556 Antony gave them an audience at which they deliver the following message: “Pompeius sent us at a time when, if he had decided to wage war, he was not lacking the opportunity to sail to Iberia, which is well disposed to him in memory of his father, assisted him when he was still young, and even now extends the invitation to go there. He prefers, however, to be at peace with you, or, if it should prove necessary, wage war under your command. The present 557 occasion is not the first time he has made this proposition. He did so when he was still in control of Sicily and ravaging Italy, and sent your mother to you after saving her life. If you had accepted, Pompeius would not have been 558 driven out of Sicily (for you would not have provided Octavian with the ships to use against him), nor would you have been defeated in Parthia as a result of Octavian failing to send you the troops as agreed; and you would now be master of Italy in addition to what you already held. Although you did not accept this offer, made at what 559 would have been a particularly opportune moment for you, Pompeius now asks you not to be repeatedly trapped by Octavian’s words and by the marriage connection you made with him, but to remember that, in spite of being connected to Pompeius by marriage and of having an agreement with him, Octavian attacked him without pretext, and also deprived Lepidus, who was his partner, of his share of power, and divided the benefits of neither action with you.

560 135. "Λοιπὸς δ' ἐς τὴν περιπόθητον αὐτῷ μοναρχίαν σὺ νῦν ὑπολείπη· ἤδη γάρ σοι καὶ ἐν χερσὶν ἦν,
 561 εἰ μὴ Πομπήιος ἔτι ἦν ἐν μέσῳ. καὶ τάδε εἰκὸς μὲν
 καὶ σὲ προορᾶν ἐπὶ σεαυτοῦ, προφέρει δέ σοι καὶ
 Πομπήιος ὑπὸ εὐνοίας, αἰρούμενος ἄνδρα ἄκακον καὶ
 562 μεγαλόφρονα ἀντὶ ὑπούλου τε καὶ δολεροῦ καὶ φιλο-
 τέχνου. οὐδὲ ἐπιμέμφεταιί σοι τῆς δόσεως τῶν νεῶν,
 ἃς ἐπ' αὐτὸν Καίσαρι ἔδωκας ὑπ' ἀνάγκης, ἀντιλα-
 βεῖν στρατὸν ἐς Παρθυαίους δεόμενος, ἀλλ' ὑπο-
 μιμνήσκει, τὸν οὐ πεμφθέντα στρατὸν προφέρων.
 563 συνελόντι δὲ εἰπεῖν, Πομπήιος ἑαυτὸν ἐπιτρέπει σοι
 μετὰ τῶν νεῶν, ἃς ἔτι ἔχει, καὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ, πιστο-
 τάτου γε ὄντος αὐτῷ καὶ οὐδ' ἐν τῇ φυγῇ καταλιπόν-
 τος, εἰρηνεύοντι μὲν μέγα κλέος, εἰ τὸν Μάγνου παῖδα
 περισώζεις, πολεμοῦντι δὲ μοῖραν ἱκανὴν ἐς τὸν ἐσό-
 μενον πόλεμον, ὅσον οὐπω παρόντα."

564 136. Τοιαῦτα τῶν πρέσβεων εἰπόντων, ὁ Ἀντώνιος
 τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῖς ἐξέφερεν, ἃς ἐντείλαιτο Τιτίῳ· καὶ
 εἰ τῷ ὄντι ταῦτα φρονοίη Πομπήιος, ἤξειν αὐτὸν ἔφα-
 565 σκεν παραπεμπόμενον ὑπὸ Τιτίου. ἅμα δὲ ταῦτα ἐγί-
 γνετο, καὶ οἱ πεμφθέντες ἐς Παρθυαίους ὑπὸ τοῦ Πομ-
 πηίου ἐλήφθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀντωνίου στρατηγῶν καὶ
 ἐς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἤχθησαν. καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἕκαστα
 μαθὼν ἐκάλει τοὺς τοῦ Πομπηίου πρέσβεις καὶ τοὺς
 566 ληφθέντας αὐτοῖς ὑπεδείκνυεν. οἱ δὲ καὶ ὡς παρη-
 τοῦντο νέον ἄνδρα ἐν συμφοραῖς ἐσχάταις ὑπὸ δέους,
 εἰ ἄρα μὴ προσοῖτο φιλίως αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀντώνιος, ἀναγ-
 κασθέντα καὶ τῶν ἀεὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἐχθίστων ἀποπειρᾶ-

135 "You are now the only one left standing between 560
 him and the monarchy he so ardently desires: indeed he
 would already have been at blows with you, if Pompeius
 were not still in the way. You can probably foresee these 561
 things for yourself, but Pompeius also draws them to your
 attention out of goodwill, because he prefers a guileless
 and magnanimous man to an insincere and treacherous
 and scheming one. Nor does he blame you for the gift of 562
 the ships to be used against Pompeius which you made to
 Octavian under force of necessity because you needed to
 exchange them for troops to attack the Parthians, but he
 mentions it to highlight the fact that the troops were not
 sent. To summarize, Pompeius is entrusting himself to you 563
 along with the ships still in his possession and with his
 army, which is totally loyal to him and did not abandon
 him even in his flight. If you keep the peace, you will get
 great credit for saving the son of Pompey the Great; and
 if you wage war, you will acquire a substantial resource for
 the coming war, which has all but started."

136. When the ambassadors had finished this speech, 564
 Antony disclosed to them the orders he had given to Ti-
 titus, and said that if these were really Pompeius' inten-
 tions, he would come in person escorted by Titius. While 565
 this was happening, the messengers sent by Pompeius to
 the Parthians were captured by Antony's commanders and
 brought to Alexandria. After he had heard everything,
 Antony summoned Pompeius' envoys and showed them
 the captured men. Even in this situation, they begged 566
 forgiveness for a young man in a desperate crisis, forced
 by fear that Antony would not treat him in a friendly fash-
 ion into making approaches even to those who had always
 been Rome's deadliest enemies. They said that as soon as

σαι δηλώσειν τ' αὐτὸν αὐτίκα, ὅτε μάθοι τὰ Ἀντωνίου, μηδὲν ἔτι πείρας ἢ μηχανῆς δεόμενον. οἷς ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐπίστευσεν, ὧν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα αἰεὶ τὸ φρόνημα ἀπλοῦς καὶ μέγας καὶ ἄκακος.

- 567 137. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Φούρνιος, ὁ τῆς Ἀσίας ἡγούμενος Ἀντωνίῳ, τὸν Πομπήιον ἐλθόντα μὲν καὶ ἀτρεμοῦντα ἐδέχετο, οὔτε κωλύειν ἀξιόμαχος ὧν οὔτε πω τὴν γνώμην εἰδὼς τὴν Ἀντωνίου· γυμνάζοντα δὲ τὸν στρατὸν ὁρῶν κατέλεγέ τινας ἐκ τῶν ὑπηκόων καὶ Ἀηνόβαρβον ἄρχοντα γείτονος στρατοῦ καὶ Ἀμύνταν ἐτέρωθεν
568 ἐκάλει κατὰ σπουδὴν. συνελθόντων δ' ὀξέως, ὁ Πομπήιος ἐμέμφετο, εἰ πολέμιον ἡγούνται τὸν πρέσβεις ἐς Ἀντώνιον ἀπεσταλκότα καὶ τὰ παρ' ἐκείνου περιμένοντα. καὶ ταῦτα λέγων Ἀηνόβαρβον ὅμως ἐπενόει συλλαβεῖν ἐκ προδοσίας Κουρίου τινὸς τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀηνόβαρβον, ἐλπίζων ἐς ἀντίδοσιν αὐτοῦ μεγάλην
569 ἕξειν μοῖραν Ἀηνόβαρβον. γνωσθείσης δ' οὖν τῆς προδοσίας, Κούριος μὲν ἐν τοῖς παροῦσι Ῥωμαίων ἐλεγχθεὶς ἀπέθανε, Πομπήιος δὲ Θεόδωρον ἐξελεύθερον, ὃς μόνος οἱ συνήδει τὸ βούλευμα, ὡς ἐξειπόντα
570 ἔκτεινεν. οὐκέτι δὲ τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Φούρνιον λήσειν ἐλπίσας, Λάμψακον ἐκ προδοσίας κατέλαβεν, ἢ πολλοὺς εἶχεν Ἴταλοὺς ἐξ ἐποικίσεως Γαίου Καίσαρος, καὶ μισθοῖς μεγάλοις εὐθὺς ἐστράτενε τοὺς Ἴταλοὺς.
571 ἤδη δὲ ἔχων ἱππέας τε διακοσίους καὶ πεζοὺς τρία

⁹³ For Gaius Furnius, see above, 30.116 with note 28.

⁹⁴ Gnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus (consul 32) was governor

he learned Antony's intentions, he would demonstrate that he had no further need of trial or stratagem. Antony believed them, since he was at all times and in all respects a man of uncomplicated and magnanimous and guileless character.

137. In the meantime, Furnius, who was governing the province of Asia for Antony, received Pompeius, as he caused no trouble when he arrived, and Furnius neither had sufficient strength to keep him out, nor yet knew what Antony had decided.⁹³ But when he saw Pompeius drilling his troops, he enrolled some of his provincial subjects, and urgently summoned Ahenobarbus, who commanded a neighboring army, and from the other direction, Amyntas.⁹⁴ They came quickly, but Pompeius complained that they were treating him as an enemy, although he had sent a mission to Antony and was waiting to hear back from him. Even as he was saying this, he was planning to grab Ahenobarbus through the treachery of a certain Curius, one of Ahenobarbus' entourage, in the hope that Ahenobarbus would prove a valuable asset in exchange for himself. In fact, the treachery was discovered, and Curius was convicted before the Romans present and put to death, while Pompeius executed his freedman, Theodorus, for revealing the plan, to which he alone was privy. No longer expecting to keep his intentions secret from Furnius and his staff, Pompeius captured Lampsacus by treachery. The town contained many Italians since the time of Gaius Caesar's colonial settlement, and he immediately enlisted these Italians on high wages. As he now had two hundred
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of Pontus and Bithynia; for Amyntas, king of the region that on his death became the province of Galatia, see above, note 58.

τέλη, ἐπεχείρησε Κυζίκῳ κατὰ τε γῆν καὶ διὰ θαλάσσης. οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐκατέρωθεν ἀπεκρούσαντο· καὶ γάρ τις ἦν ἐν τῇ Κυζίκῳ στρατὸς οὐ πολὺς Ἀντωνίῳ, φύλακες τῶν ἐκεῖ τρεφομένων αὐτῷ μονομάχων. ἐς δὲ τὸν Ἀχαιῶν λιμένα ἐπανελθὼν ἐσιτολόγει.

572 138. Φουρνίου δὲ οὐκ ἄρχοντος μὲν χειρῶν, αἰεὶ δ' αὐτῷ παραστρατοπεδεύοντος σὺν ἵππευσι πολλοῖς καὶ σιτολογεῖν οὐκ ἔωντος οὐδὲ προσποιεῖσθαι τὰς πόλεις, ὁ Πομπήιος ἵππείας οὐκ ἔχων ἐπεχείρησε τῷ τοῦ Φουρνίου στρατοπέδῳ κατὰ μέτωπον καὶ κατόπιν
573 ἐκ περιόδου λαθῶν. ὅθεν ὁ Φούρνιος ἐς τὸν Πομπήιον ἐπεστραμμένος ὑπὸ τῶν ὀπισθεν ἐξεβλήθη τοῦ στρατοπέδου. καὶ φεύγοντας αὐτοὺς διὰ τοῦ Σκαμανδρίου πεδίου διώκων ὁ Πομπήιος ἔκτεινε πολλούς· καὶ γὰρ
574 ἦν τὸ πεδίον ὑγρὸν ἐξ ὄμβρων. οἱ δὲ περισωθέντες τότε μὲν ὑπεχώρουν, οὐκ ὄντες ἀξιόμαχοι. προσδεχομένων < . . . >⁴⁴ δὲ ἀπὸ τε Μυσίας καὶ τῆς Προποντίδος καὶ ἐτέρωθεν, οἱ πενόμενοι διὰ τὰς συνεχεῖς εἰσφορὰς ἐμισθοφόρουν ἀσμένως τῷ Πομπηίῳ κατὰ δόξαν
575 μάλιστα τῆς ἐν Ἀχαιῶν λιμένι γενομένης νίκης. ἱππικοῦ δ' ἀπορῶν ὁ Πομπήιος, καὶ παρ' αὐτὸ βλαπτόμενος ἐν ταῖς προνομαῖς, ἐπέυθετο ἴλην ἵππέων Ἰταλικὴν ἐς Ἀντώνιον χωρεῖν, ὑπὸ Ὀκταουίας χειμεριζούσης ἐν Ἀθήναις ἀπεσταλμένην· καὶ εὐθὺς ἔπεμπέ τινας ἐς διαφθορὰν τῆς ἴλης μετὰ χρυσίου. ἀλλὰ τούσδε μὲν

⁴⁴ Lacunam indicavi; alii alia prop.

cavalry and three legions of infantry, he attacked Cyzicus by land and sea, but the inhabitants repulsed him on both fronts, because Antony had a small force in Cyzicus guarding the gladiators who were being looked after there for him. Pompeius retired to the Harbor of the Achaeans and collected provisions.⁹⁵

138. Furnius refused to initiate combat, but by continually stationing a large body of cavalry beside Pompeius, he prevented him from foraging or winning the towns to his cause. Pompeius had no cavalry, so he made a frontal assault on the camp of Furnius, and a secret one from the rear after circling around. As a result, Furnius, who was facing Pompeius, was driven out of his camp by those attacking from the rear. Pompeius pursued his men, and killed many of them, as they fled across the plain of the Scamander, which was waterlogged after rain. The survivors withdrew for the time being, as they were not combat fit. Although <help?> was expected⁹⁶ from Mysia, the Propontis, and elsewhere, the inhabitants, impoverished by the constant exactions, gladly signed up with Pompeius as mercenaries, particularly because of the reputation he gained for the victory achieved at the Harbor of the Achaeans. But in lacking cavalry Pompeius was consequently hampered in foraging. So, when he heard that a troop of Italian horse was making its way to Antony, dispatched by Octavia who was spending the winter in Athens, he immediately sent some men with gold to bribe

⁹⁵ The Harbor of the Achaeans was named from the Homeric story of the Greek siege of Troy. Its exact location near Troy is not known.

⁹⁶ The text is unsatisfactory at this point, and the meaning is not clear. It is tempting to think that something is missing.

ὁ τῆς Μακεδονίας ἡγούμενος Ἀντωνίῳ συνέλαβε καὶ τὸ χρυσίον τοῖς ἰππεύσι διένειμεν.

576 139. Ὁ δὲ Πομπήσιος Νίκαιάν τε καὶ Νικομήδειαν
καταλαβὼν ἐχρηματίζετο λαμπρῶς, καὶ ἐς μεγάλα
577 ταχέως αὐτῷ πάντα ἠϋξέτο παρ' ἐλπίδα. Φουρνίῳ δὲ
οὐ μακρὰν παραστρατοπεδεύοντι πρῶται μὲν ἦκον ἐκ
Σικελίας, ἦρος ἀρχομένου, νῆες ἑβδομήκοντα, ὅσαι
περισώθησαν ἐξ ὧν Ἀντώνιος ἐκεχρήκει κατὰ Πομ-
πηίου Καίσαρι (μετὰ γὰρ τὸ Σικελικὸν ἔργον αὐτὰς
ὁ Καίσαρ ἀπέλυσεν), ἦκεν δὲ καὶ ἐκ Συρίας Τίτιος
ἐτέραις ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι ναυσὶ καὶ στρατῷ πολλῷ, καὶ
578 κατῆραν ἅπαντες ἐς Προκόννησον. δείσας οὖν ὁ Πομ-
πήσιος τὰς ναῦς ἐνέπρησε καὶ τοὺς ἐρέτας ὥπλισεν, ὡς
579 ἄμεινον ὁμοῦ πᾶσι κατὰ τὴν γῆν συνοισόμενος. Κάσ-
σιος δὲ ὁ Παρμήσιος καὶ Νασιίδιος καὶ Σατορνίνος
καὶ Θέρμος καὶ Ἀντίστιος ὅσοι τε ἄλλοι τῶν ἀξιολό-
γων ἔτι τῷ Πομπηίῳ παρήσαν φίλοι, καὶ ὁ τιμιώτα-
τος αὐτῷ Φάννιος καὶ ὁ κηδεστῆς αὐτοῦ Πομπηίου
Λίβων ὡς εἶδον αὐτὸν οὐδὲ Τιτίου παρόντος, ὅτῳ τὰ
περὶ αὐτὸν Ἀντώνιος ἐπιτρέπει, πανόμενον τοῦ πρὸς
τὸν ἀμείνονα πολέμου, ἀπέγνωσαν αὐτοῦ καὶ πράξαν-
τες ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν πίστιν ἐς Ἀντώνιον μετήλθον.

⁹⁷ For Cassius of Parma, see above, 2.4 with note 1. Coins establish that Quintus Nasidius held a naval command for Sextus Pompeius. For Saturninus and Libo, see above, 52.217 with note 40. Quintus Minucius Thermus, an honest man according to Cicero (*Att.* 11.1.2, 2.3), was governor of Asia in 51/50, sided with Pompey against Julius Caesar, was reconciled with him after

the squadron. But Antony's governor of Macedonia caught these men and divided up their gold among the horsemen.

139. Having captured Nicea and Nicomedia, however, 576
Pompeius got dazzling amounts of money, and contrary to
expectations, his whole situation improved greatly and
fast. But for the benefit of Furnius, who was camped not 577
far away, first there arrived from Sicily at the beginning of
spring the seventy ships that had been saved from the ones
Antony had lent Octavian to use against Pompeius (for
after the war in Sicily Octavian had released them); then
Titius arrived from Syria with one hundred and twenty
additional ships and a large army; and they all landed at
Proconnesus. Alarmed at this, Pompeius burned his ships 578
and armed his rowers, in the belief that it would turn out
better if they were all together on land. Cassius of Parma 579
and Nasidius and Saturninus and Thermus and Antistius
and all the other distinguished men who still supported
Pompeius, including his most valued associate, Fannius,
and Pompeius' father-in-law, Libo, when they saw that,
even after the arrival of Titius, to whom Antony entrusts
the job of dealing with Pompeius, he did not desist from
fighting against superior forces, they despaired of him,
and, after arranging a guarantee for themselves, went over
to Antony's side.⁹⁷

Pharsalus, but was proscribed in 43. A certain Gaius Antistius Reginus served as one of Julius Caesar's legates in Gaul in 53, and Appian (*BCiv.* 4.40.168) mentions a Reginus among the proscribed: it is not clear whether they are all the same man. Gaius Fannius (praetor before 54) supported Pompey against Julius Caesar, governed Asia, and took refuge with Sextus Pompeius in 43 (*BCiv.* 4.84.354).

- 580 140. Ὁ δ' ἔρημος ὦν ἤδη φίλων ἐς τὰ μεσόγαια
τῆς Βιθυνίας ἀνεχώρει, λεγόμενος ἐς Ἀρμενίους ἐπεί-
γασθαι. καὶ αὐτόν, νυκτὸς ἀναζεύξαντα ἀφανῶς, ἐδίω-
κεν ὃ τε Φούρνιος καὶ ὁ Τίτιος, καὶ ἐπ' ἐκείνους Ἀμύν-
581 τας. συντόνω δὲ δρόμῳ περὶ ἑσπέραν καταλαβόντες
ἑστρατοπέδευσαν ἕκαστος ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ περὶ λόφῳ τινί,
ἄνευ τάφρου καὶ χάρακος, ὡς ἐν ἑσπέρα καὶ κόπῳ.
582 ὧδε δὲ αὐτοῖς ἔχουσιν ὁ Πομπήσιος νυκτὸς ἐπέθετο
πελτασταῖς τρισχιλίους καὶ πολλοὺς ἔκτεινεν εὐναζο-
μένους ἔτι καὶ ἀναπηδῶντας· οἱ δὲ καὶ γυμνοὶ πάμπαν
583 αἰσχρῶς ἔφευγον. καὶ δοκεῖ τότε ὁ Πομπήσιος ἅπαντι
τῷ στρατῷ νυκτὸς ἐπελθὼν ἢ τῆς γε τροπῆς γενο-
μένης ἐπαγαγὼν τάχ' ἂν αὐτῶν ἐντελῶς ἐπικρατῆσαι.
νῦν δ' ὁ μὲν καὶ ταῦτα θεοῦ βλάπτουτος ὑπερέϊδε καὶ
οὐδὲν ἐπ' ἔργῳ τοιῷδε πλεόν ἢ αὐθις ἐς τὸ μεσόγαιον
584 ἐχώρει· οἱ δ' ἀλισθέντες εἶποντο καὶ σιτολογοῦντα
ἠνώχλουν, ἕως κινδυνεύων ὑπὸ τῆς ἀπορίας ἠξίωσεν
ἐς λόγους ἐλθεῖν Φουρνίῳ, φίλῳ τε Μάγνου γεγενο-
μένῳ καὶ ἀξιῶσει προύχοντι τῶν ἄλλων καὶ βεβαιο-
τέρῳ τὸν τρόπον.
- 585 141. Ποταμὸν δ' ἐν μέσῳ λαβὼν ἔλεγε μὲν, ὅτι
πρεσβεύσαιτο πρὸς Ἀντώνιον, ἐπετίθει δ', ὅτι τροφῶν
ἐν τοσοῦτῳ δεόμενος καὶ ἀμελούμενος ὑπὸ αὐτῶν,
586 τάδε ἐργάσαιτο. "Ἐμεῖς δὲ εἰ μὲν Ἀντωνίου γνώμη
πολεμεῖτέ μοι, κακῶς ὁ Ἀντώνιος ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ βου-
λεύεται, τὸν ἐπιόντα πόλεμον οὐ προορῶν· εἰ δὲ τὴν
Ἀντωνίου γνώμην φθάνετε, μαρτύρομαι καὶ παρακαλῶ

140. Now without supporters, Pompeius withdrew into 580
the interior of Bithynia, and was said to be pressing on for
Armenia. He broke camp at night without being seen, but
Furnius and Titius set off in pursuit, and Amyntas as well.
Toward evening they caught up with him after an unre- 581
lenting chase, and encamped near a hill, each on his own,
without ditch or palisade, because it was evening and they
were exhausted. While they were in this state, Pompeius 582
made a night attack on them with three thousand light-
armed troops, and killed many who were still asleep or
jumping up from their sleeping place. Others even ran
away, in a completely disgraceful manner, without their
weapons. And it seems that, if on this occasion Pompeius 583
had made a night attack with his whole army, or had at
least followed up the rout that took place, he would per-
haps have been completely victorious over them. But as it
was, a divinity led him astray, and he scorned this oppor-
tunity too, achieving nothing more from such a success
than a resumption of his advance into the interior. His 584
enemies, having regrouped, followed him and harried his
foraging expeditions, until, under threat from lack of sup-
plies, he asked to enter discussions with Furnius, who had
been an associate of Pompey the Great, and was of higher
rank and more reliable character than the others.
141. Taking up position with a river between them, 585
Pompeius said that he had sent an embassy to Antony,
adding that, because he needed provisions in the mean-
time, and was receiving no help from them, he had acted
in the way he had. "If you are fighting me in accordance 586
with the decision of Antony, then in failing to foresee the
coming war, Antony is making a poor job of consulting his
own interests. If, on the other hand, you are anticipating

περιμείναι τὴν πρεσβείαν μου τὴν ἐς Ἀντώνιον ἀπ-
 εσταλμένην ἢ λαβόντας ἄγειν ἤδη πρὸς αὐτόν. ἐπι-
 τρέψω δ' ἑμαυτὸν ἐγὼ σοὶ μόνω, Φούρνιε, τοσοῦτον
 ἐς πίστιν αἰτήσας, ὅτι με σῶον ἄξεις ἐς Ἀντώνιον."
 587 ὁ μὲν οὕτως εἶπεν, Ἀντωνίω τε θαρρῶν ὡς ἀγαθῶ τὴν
 φύσιν καὶ μόνα τὰ ἐν μέσῳ δεδιώς· ὁ δὲ Φούρνιος
 αὐτὸν οὕτως ἠμείψατο· "Ἐπιτρέποντος μὲν ἦν ἑαυτὸν
 Ἀντωνίω χωρεῖν ἐς αὐτὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἢ περιμένειν ἀτρε-
 μοῦντα ἐν Μιτυλήνῃ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις, πολεμοῦντος δέ,
 ἃ πεποίηκας ἅπαντα· τί γὰρ αὐτὰ δεῖ πρὸς εἰδότα
 588 λέγειν; εἰ δὲ νῦν μετέγνωκας, μὴ συγκρούειν μὲν ἡμᾶς
 τοὺς στρατηγούς ἐς ἀλλήλους, Τιτίω δὲ σαυτὸν
 ἐπιτρέπειν· Τιτίω γὰρ ἐπιτέτραπται τὰ περὶ σὲ ὑπὸ
 Ἀντωνίου· καὶ πίστιν, ἣν αἰτεῖς παρ' ἡμῶν, ἐνι σοι
 καὶ Τίτιον αἰτεῖν· κεκέλευσται δ' ὑπὸ Ἀντωνίου πολε-
 μοῦντα μὲν σε κατακαυεῖν, ἐγχειρίζοντα δὲ πέμπειν
 ἐς αὐτὸν ἐντίμως."
 589 142. Ὁ δὲ Πομπήσιος Τιτίω μὲν ἀχαριστίας ὠργί-
 ζετο, τὸν πόλεμον τόνδε ὑποδεξαμέμῳ πολεμήσειν
 πρὸς αὐτόν· ἀλόντα γὰρ αὐτὸν αἰχμάλωτον περισε-
 590 σῶκει. ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ ὀργῇ καὶ ἠδόξει, Πομπήσιος ὢν, ἐπὶ
 Τιτίω γενέσθαι, οὐκ ἐπιφανεῖ πάνυ ἀνδρὶ, καὶ ὑπώ-
 πτευεν αὐτὸν ὡς οὐ βέβαιον ἔς τε τὸν τρόπον ὑπο-
 νοῶν καὶ τινα συγγινώσκων ἐς αὐτὸν ὕβριν παλαιὰν
 591 πρὸ τῆς εὐεργεσίας. Φουρνίω δ' αὐθις ἑαυτὸν ἐπέτρεπε
 καὶ δέξασθαι παρεκάλει. ὡς δ' οὐκ ἔπειθεν, ὁ δὲ καὶ
 Ἀμύντα ἔλεγεν ἑαυτὸν ἐπιτρέφειν. τοῦ Φουρνίου δὲ
 φήσαντος οὐδ' Ἀμύνταν ἂν δέξασθαι τόδε ὕβριν ἔχον

Antony's decision, then I protest and implore you to wait
 for the embassy I sent to Antony; or apprehend me and
 bring me to him now. I will surrender myself to you alone,
 Furnius, asking only for your assurance that you will con-
 duct me to Antony in safety." Pompeius spoke in these 587
 terms because he had confidence in Antony as a man of
 good nature, and he was afraid only of what would happen
 in the meantime. Furnius replied to him as follows: "A
 man intending to hand himself over to Antony would have
 gone to him at the very beginning, or waited calmly in
 Mytilene for his answer; a man intending to make war
 would have done exactly what you have done. Why do you
 find it necessary to tell me what I already know? But if you 588
 have now changed your mind, don't set us generals against
 each other, just surrender to Titius. For he was the one
 given the task of dealing with you by Antony. And the as-
 surance you ask of me, you can also ask of Titius. His or-
 ders from Antony were to kill you if you made war, but if
 you place yourself in his hands to send you to him with
 honor."

142. Pompeius was angry with Titius for his ingratitude 589
 in undertaking to fight this war against him, for he had
 saved his life when he had been taken prisoner. As well as 590
 being angry, he considered it beneath his dignity that a
 Pompeius should be in the power of Titius, who was not a
 man of distinction at all. He was also suspicious that Titius
 was unreliable, both distrusting his character and being
 aware of an old offense he had committed against him
 before the service he had rendered. So he tried a second 591
 time to surrender to Furnius, and begged that he would
 receive him. When Furnius refused, he said that he would
 even hand himself over to Amyntas. But Furnius said that
 not even Amyntas would accept such an insult against the

592 ἐς τὸν ἐξ Ἄντωνίου τὸ πᾶν ἐπιτετραμμένον, διελύθη-
 σαν. καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν Φούρνιον δόξα ἦν, ὅτι ὁ
 Πομπήιος ἐξ ἀπορίας τῶν παρόντων ἑαυτὸν ἐς τὴν
 ἐπιούσαν ἡμέραν ἐκδώσει τῷ Τιτίῳ· ὁ δὲ νυκτὸς τὰ
 συνήθη πυρὰ καίεσθαι καταλιπὼν καὶ τοὺς σαλ-
 πιγκτὰς σημαίνειν τὰ διαστήματα τῆς νυκτός, ὥσπερ
 ἦν ἔθος, ἔλαθε μετὰ τῶν εὐζώνων ὑπεξελθὼν τοῦ
 στρατοπέδου, οἷς οὐδὲ αὐτοῖς προεῖπεν, οἱ χωρήσειν
 593 ἔμελλεν. ἐπενόει δ' ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ἐλθὼν ἐμπρῆσαι τὸ
 τοῦ Τιτίου ναυτικόν. καὶ τάχα ἂν ἔδρασεν, εἰ μὴ
 Σκαῦρος αὐτομολήσας ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὴν μὲν ἔξοδον ἐμή-
 νυσε καὶ τὴν ὁδόν, ἣν ἐφέρετο, τὴν δ' ἐπίνοιαν οὐκ
 594 ἤδει. τότε δὴ χιλίοις καὶ πεντακοσίοις ἰππεῦσιν
 Ἀμύντας ἐδίωκε τὸν Πομπήιον ἰππέας οὐκ ἔχοντα. καὶ
 ἐς τὸν Ἀμύνταν οἱ τοῦ Πομπηίου πλησιάσαντα μετ-
 εχώρουν, οἱ μὲν ἀποδιδράσκοντες, οἱ δὲ καὶ φανερώς.
 595 μονούμενος οὖν ὁ Πομπήιος καὶ δεδιὼς ἤδη τὰ οἰκεία,
 ἑαυτὸν ἄνευ σπονδῶν ἐνεχείρισεν Ἀμύντα, ὁ Τιτίῳ
 μετὰ σπονδῶν ἀδοξήσας.
 596 143. Οὕτω μὲν ἐάλω Πομπήιος Σέξστος, ὁ λοιπὸς
 ἔτι παῖς Πομπηίου Μάγνου, νεώτερος μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ
 πατρὸς ἀπολειφθεὶς καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ μεираκιον
 ἤδη, λαθὼν δ' ἐπ' ἐκείνοις ἐς πολὺ καὶ κρύφα λη-
 στεύων ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ, μέχρι, πολλῶν συνδραμόντων ἐς
 αὐτὸν ἐπιγνωσθέντα εἶναι Πομπηίου παῖδα, ἐλθήστενέ
 τε φανερώτερον, καὶ μετὰ Γάιον Καίσαρα ἐπολέμησεν

man appointed by Antony to deal with the whole matter,
 and they went their separate ways. It was the opinion of 592
 Furnius' staff that, because of his current lack of supplies,
 Pompeius would hand himself over to Titius the next day.
 But when it was dark, Pompeius left the customary fires
 burning, and the trumpets sounding the watches of the
 night as usual, while he slipped out of the camp unnoticed
 with his light-armed troops, without telling even them
 where he was intending to go. He had in mind to make for 593
 the coast and set fire to Titius' naval force. He might have
 succeeded if Scaurus had not deserted from him and given
 information on his departure and the route he was taking,
 although he did not know Pompeius' plan.⁹⁸ Then Amyntas 594
 with one thousand five hundred cavalry, pursued Pom-
 peius, who had no cavalry. When Amyntas approached,
 Pompeius' men went over to him, some escaping unobtru-
 sively, others openly. So Pompeius, deserted and already 595
 afraid of his own troops, the man who had thought it un-
 worthy to surrender to Titius with conditions, surrendered
 to Amyntas unconditionally.

143. This was how Sextus Pompeius was captured, the 596
 last living son of Pompey the Great. He had lost his father
 when he was a boy, and his brother while still an adoles-
 cent. After that he lay low for a long time and secretly
 operated as a bandit in Iberia, until many rushed to join
 him when he was recognized as a son of Pompey, and he
 more openly carried out bandit raids. After the death of
 Gaius Caesar, he waged war energetically: he collected a

⁹⁸ Marcus Aemilius Scaurus was son of the Scaurus defended
 (unsuccessfully) by Cicero in 53. His mother was Mucia, who had
 been married to Pompey the Great. He was, therefore, a half
 brother of Sextus Pompeius.

ἐγκρατῶς καὶ στρατὸν ἤγειρε πολὺν καὶ ναῦς καὶ
 χρήματα, καὶ νήσους εἶλε, καὶ θαλασσοκράτωρ τῆς
 ἀμφὶ τὰς δύσεις θαλάσσης ἐγένετο, καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν
 περιήνεγκεν ἐς λιμὸν καὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐς συμβάσεις,
 597 ἃς ἤθελε. τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, ἐπίκουρος ἐν ταῖς προγρα-
 φαῖς τῇ πόλει πανώλεθρα πασχούσῃ γενόμενος περι-
 ἔσωσεν ἄνδρας ἀρίστους τε καὶ πολλούς, οἳ τότε δι'
 αὐτὸν ἦσαν ἐν τῇ πατρίδι. ὑπὸ δὲ θεοβλαβείας αὐτὸς
 οὐ ποτε ἐπεχείρησε τοῖς πολεμίοις, πολλὰ τῆς τύχης
 εὐκαιρα παρεχούσης, ἀλλ' ἠμύνετο μόνον.

598 144. Καὶ Πομπήιος μὲν τοιόσδε γενόμενος ἐαλώκει,
 Τίτιος δὲ τὸν μὲν στρατὸν αὐτοῦ μετεστράτευσεν
 Ἀντωνίῳ, αὐτὸν δὲ Πομπήιον, τεσσαρακοστὸν ἔτος
 βιοῦντα, ἐν Μιλήτῳ κατέκαεν, εἴτε δι' αὐτοῦ, μηνίων
 ἄρα τῆς ποτὲ ὕβρεως καὶ ἀχάριστος ἐς τὴν ἔπειτα
 εὐεργεσίαν γενόμενος, εἴτε καὶ ἐπιστείλαντος Ἀντω-
 599 νίου. εἰσὶ δ' οἱ Πλάγκον, οὐκ Ἀντώνιον λέγοντες ἐπι-
 στεῖλαι, καὶ νομίζουσιν ἄρχοντα Συρίας, καὶ ταῖς
 ἐπιστολαῖς ἐπιτετραμμένον ἐς τὰ ἐπείγοντα ἐπιγρά-
 600 φειν τὸν Ἀντώνιον καὶ τῇ σφραγίδι χρῆσθαι. καὶ
 Πλάγκον δὲ γράψαι νομίζουσιν οἳ μὲν συνειδότες
 Ἀντωνίου καὶ αἰδουμένου γράψαι διὰ ὄνομα τοῦ Πομ-
 πηίου καὶ διὰ Κλεοπάτραν, εὖνως ἔχουσιν τῷ Πομ-
 πηίῳ διὰ τὸν πατέρα Μάγνον, οἳ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ
 Πλάγκον, τάδε αὐτὰ συνιδόντα καὶ φυλαξάμενον, μὴ
 τὴν αἰσίαν⁴⁵ Ἀντωνίου καὶ Καίσαρος ἐς ἀλλήλους
 αἰδῶ Πομπήιος καὶ Κλεοπάτρα Πομπηίῳ συνεργούσα
 ἀνατρέψαιεν.

large army and ships and money, and captured islands, and
 became master of the western sea, and reduced Italy to
 starvation, and forced his enemies to come to terms of his
 choosing. Most important, he brought assistance to Rome 597
 during the proscriptions when it was suffering complete
 destruction, and saved the lives of many nobles who at the
 time of his surrender were living in their native land be-
 cause of him. But afflicted by some divine madness, he
 never personally took the offensive against his enemies,
 although fate provided many good opportunities; and he
 remained solely on the defensive.

144. So Pompeius was captured after such a career. 598
 Titius transferred his army to Antony, and had Pompeius
 himself executed at Miletus in the fortieth year of his life,
 either on his own authority, because he was angry, I sup-
 pose, at the old insult and ungrateful for his subsequent
 service, or because Antony gave the order. There are even 599
 those who say that it was not Antony but Plancus who is-
 sued the order: they believe that as governor of Syria he
 had been given permission, in cases of urgency, to sign
 letters in Antony's name and use his seal. Of those who 600
 think that Plancus wrote the order, some believe that
 Antony was complicit, but was ashamed to write it himself
 because of Pompeius' name and because of Cleopatra,
 who was well disposed to Pompeius on account of his fa-
 ther, Pompey the Great; others think that Plancus acted
 on his own, conscious of these very things, to make sure
 that Pompeius and Cleopatra working with him, did not
 disturb the proper respect that Antony and Octavian had
 for each other.

⁴⁵ αἰτίαν codd.; αἰσίαν Viereck

601 145. Ἀλλὰ Πομπήιος μὲν ἐτεθνήκει, Ἀντώνιος δὲ
 αὐθις ἐς Ἀρμενίαν ἐστράτευε, καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ Ἰλ-
 λυριούς, οἱ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐλήστευον, οἱ μὲν οὐχ ὑπ-
 ακούσαντές πο Ῥωμαίων, οἱ δ' ἐν τοῖς ἐμφυλίοις ἀπο-
 602 στάντες. καὶ μοι ἔδοξε τὰ Ἰλλυρικά, οὔτε ἀκριβῶς
 γενόμενά μοι γνώριμα οὔτε συντελοῦντα μῆκος ἰδίας
 συγγραφῆς οὔτε χώραν ἔχοντα ἐτέρωθι λεχθῆναι,⁴⁶
 τοῦ χρόνου, καθ' ὃν ἐλήφθησαν, συνάγοντος αὐτὰ ἐς
 τέλος, προαναγράψαι καὶ ὑποθεῖναι αὐτὰ τῇ ὁμόρῳ
 Μακεδονικῇ.

⁴⁶ Lacunam post λεχθῆναι indic. Étienne-Duplessis

145. After the death of Pompeius, Antony conducted a 601
 second campaign against Armenia, and Octavian attacked
 the Illyrians, who were plundering Italy, some of whom
 had never been subject to Rome, while others had re-
 volted during the civil wars. Because Illyrian affairs are 602
 not familiar to me in detail, and are not of sufficient length
 to require their own book, and there is no other place for
 them to be recounted, I decided to write them up in an
 earlier book, the period when they were conquered bring-
 ing the account to an end, and to append them to the
 history of neighboring Macedonia.⁹⁹

⁹⁹ The text of this last sentence is far from certain, and there
 may well be something missing. The meaning is reasonably clear.

FRAGMENTA HISTORIAE
ROMANAE

1 *Bas. 1a. Excerpta anonymi Byzantini* Treu 1880 pp. 36.10–37.29. See Appian vol. 1 (LCL 2), pp. 32–37.

2 ἀνεζεύγιν· ἀνέστρεφεν· Ἀππιανός· ὁ δὲ μετὰ πολλῆς λείας ἀνεζεύγιν. (*Suda*, α 2225)

3 Ἐγχρόνων· οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ χρόνου συντεθεισῶν· Ἀππιανός· κατεφρόνου τῶν σπονδῶν ἔτι ἐγχρόνων οὐσῶν. (*Suda*, ε 190)

4 Ἐδοκίμαζεν· ἔκρινε . . . καὶ Ἀππιανός· ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκίας χωρῶν συνελάμβανεν, ὅσους ἐδοκίμαζεν· ἀντὶ τοῦ ἔκρινεν ἐτάσεως εἶναι ἀξίους. (*Suda*, ε 245)

5 Ἐπαφρόδιτος· ἐπίχαρις, ἡδύς· Ἀππιανός· καὶ τὴν ἐν πᾶσιν ἐπαφροδισίαν ὑπεραίρων ἐσεμνολόγει περὶ ἑαυτοῦ. (*Suda*, ε 2003)

FRAGMENTS OF THE
ROMAN HISTORY

1 *Bas. 1a. Excerpta anonymi Byzantini* Treu 1880 pp. 36.10–37.29. See Appian vol. 1 (LCL 2), pp. 32–37.

2 He withdrew: [meaning] “he retired.” Appian [writes]: He withdrew with a great quantity of booty. (*Suda*, α 2225)

3 Recent: [meaning] “made not long before.” Appian [writes]: They were contemptuous of the peace terms although they were still recent. (*Suda*, ε 190)

4 He saw fit: [meaning] “he made a judgment” . . . Also Appian [writes]: Making his way to their houses, he arrested all those he wanted to examine. Meaning, “those he decided deserved to be put on trial.” (*Suda*, ε 245)

5 Charming: [meaning] “pleasant, sweet.” Appian [writes]: And exaggerating his charm in all matters, he spoke pompously about himself. (*Suda*, ε 2003)

APPIAN

6 Θησαυρούς. Ἀππιανός· ὄπλα τε πολλὰ καὶ σίτον ἡτοιμάζετο καὶ θησαυροὺς ἐποίει. καὶ Θησαυροφυλάκιον. (*Suda*, θ 362)

7 Ἰλαρός· εὐχαρίς, ἀστείος, ἠδύς. Ἀππιανός· σὺν βοῇ ἰλαρᾷ καὶ θορύβῳ χρηστῷ παρέπεμπον αὐτὸν καὶ θαρρεῖν ἐκέλευον. ἐπέπρεπε δὲ αὐτῷ μάλιστα τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἰλαρόν. (*Suda*, ι 294)

8 Οἱ· περισπωμένως ἀντὶ τοῦ ἑαυτῷ, ὀξύτόνως δὲ τὸ οὔτοι. Ἀππιανός· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦν οἱ τὸ κακὸν τέχνης κρείττον καὶ μέντοι καὶ ἐπικουρίας τῆς ἐκ θνητῶν συμμάχων δυνατώτερον. (*Suda*, οι 3)

9 Οἰστρεῖ· ἐρεθίζει, ἐκμαίνει. Ἀππιανός· τῷ ὄντι πᾶσιν οἰστρώδης ἐνέπιπτεν ὄρμη καὶ προθυμία κατὰ τῶν βαρβάρων. (*Suda*, οι 178)

10 Πιθανούς· τοὺς εὐπειθεῖς. Ἀππιανός· ἓνα δ' αὐτῶν πιστὸν καὶ πιθανὸν εἰς τὸ ἔργον, ἐντυχόντα τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ, πίστιν αἰτήσαι. (*Suda*, π 1574)

11 Πρόσριζα· σὺν ταῖς ρίζαις. Ἀππιανός· τὰ δένδρα ἔκοπτε πρόσριζα, τοῦ μὴ πάλιν φῦναι. (*Suda*, π 2800)

FRAGMENTS

6 Treasuries. Appian [writes]: He made ready a large supply of arms, and grain, and constructed treasuries. Also [attested], "treasury guard post." (*Suda*, θ 362)

7 Joyous: [meaning] "charming, witty, sweet." Appian [writes]: With a joyous shout and the applause of well-wishers, they provided an escort for him and urged him to be of good spirit. What was particularly conspicuous about him was the sweetness of his soul.¹ (*Suda*, ι 294)

8 For him: meaning, with a circumflex accent, "for oneself," but with an acute accent "these." Appian [writes]: Since his misfortune was too strong for his skill, and in fact more powerful even than the help of mortal allies. (*Suda*, οι 3)

9 It stings: [meaning] "it rouses, maddens." Appian [writes]: In fact, everyone experienced a stinging urge and eagerness to take on the barbarians. (*Suda*, οι 178)

10 Obedient: [meaning] "ready to obey." Appian [writes]: One of them who was reliable and prepared to do the job met the consuls in secret and asked for an assurance. (*Suda*, π 1574)

11 By the roots: [meaning] "roots and all." Appian [writes]: He was cutting the trees at the roots, to prevent them growing again. (*Suda*, π 2800)

¹ It is not known from which author the last sentence comes.

APPIAN

12 Ὡσατο ἑαυτὸν· κατέβαλεν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου. Ἀππιανὸς· οὐ μὴν ἔφθασε τρῶσαι, συναρπασάντων αὐτὸν τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν. ἢ παρενέβαλεν εἰς κίνδυνον ἑαυτὸν. (*Suda*, ω 218)

13 χρηματίζειν· ὁ αὐτὸς (i.e., Ἀππιανὸς) δευτέρῳ Αἰγυπτιακῶν· πρεσβείαις ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐχρημάτισεν. (*Anecd. Bekker* p. 179.21 = *Περὶ Συντάξεων* No. 34 Gaillard)

14 ἐπισκῆπτω· Ἀππιανὸς τρίτῳ Αἰγυπτιακῶν· ἐπισκῆπτω σε τῆς ἀξιώσεως. (*Anecd. Bekker* p. 139.29 = *Περὶ Συντάξεων* No. 6 Gaillard)

15 χρῶμαι· τὸ κατὰ χρῆσιν τι λαβεῖν, αἰτιατικῇ. Ἀππιανὸς σ'.¹ ἄς δὲ ἐχρησάμην παρὰ Ἀντωνίου ναῦς. (*Anecd. Bekker* p. 179.19 = *Περὶ Συντάξεων* No. 33 Gaillard)

¹ Ἀππιανὸς σ' recte Gaillard; Ἀππιανὸς κ' Schweig.

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12 He pushed himself away: [meaning] "he threw himself down off his horse." Appian [writes]: He did not even have time to inflict a wound, before the hypaspists seized him.² Or, "he put himself in danger." (*Suda*, ω 218)

13 To conduct business: the same author (i.e., Appian) [writes] in the second book of his *Egyptian History*: Caesar busied himself with embassies. (*Anecd. Bekker* p. 179.21 = *On Syntax* No. 34 Gaillard)

14 I call on: Appian [writes] in the third book of his *Egyptian History*: I call on you for the sake of your dignity. (*Anecd. Bekker* p. 139.29 = *On Syntax* No. 6 Gaillard)

15 I borrow: [meaning] "to take something on loan," with the accusative. Appian [writes] in Book 6:³ But the ships I borrowed from Antony. (*Anecd. Bekker* p. 179.19 = *On Syntax* No. 33 Gaillard)

² The quotation from Appian does not contain the words being explained.

³ Appian's sixth book is the Iberian book, but the citation clearly refers to the ships Octavian borrowed from Antony in 37 (App. *BCiv.* 5.95.396). As Gaillard 2002, l-li, has shown, the manuscript does cite Book 6 of Appian, and not Book 20, as Schweighäuser suggested; and Appian can only be referring to the sixth book in the *Civil War* sequence, that is, the first book of his *Egyptian History*.

APPIAN

16 *συνηδόμενοι γενικῇ. Ἀππιανὸς τετάρτῳ Αἰγυπτιακῶν· συνηδόμενοι τῶν γεγονότων.* (*Anecd.* Bekker p. 174.14 = *Περὶ Συντάξεων* No. 30 Gaillard)

17 *τούτου δὲ τοῦ χρησμοῦ μέμνηται καὶ Ἀππιανὸς ἐν τῷ εἰκοστῷ δευτέρῳ λόγῳ τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς ἱστορίας αὐτοῦ.* (*Zonar.* 11.16 T3 p. 50.15 Dindorf)

18 (*Τραϊανὸς*) *ἐστράτευσε μέντοι ἐπὶ Δάκας, ἣ Δακοὺς κατὰ Ἴωνας, ὡς ὁ Ἀππιανὸς ἐν τῷ εἰκοστῷ τρίτῳ λόγῳ τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς ἱστορίας φησί.* (*Zonar.* 11.21 T3 p. 65.27 Dindorf)

19 *περὶ Ἀράβων μαντείας. Ἀππιανὸς φησι τῷ τέλει τοῦ κδ' βιβλίου. φεύγοντί μοί ποτε τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἀνὰ τὸν πόλεμον τὸν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ γενόμενον καὶ ἰόντι διὰ τῆς Πετραίας Ἀραβίας ἐπὶ ποταμόν, ἔνθα με σκάφος περιμένον ἔμελλε διοίσειν ἐς Πηλούσιον, Ἄραψ ἀνὴρ δ' ἠγείτό μοι τῆς ὁδοῦ νυκτός, οἰομένῳ πλησίον εἶναι τοῦ σκάφους κρωζούσης ἄρτι πρὸς ἔω κορώνης ἔφη συνταραχθεῖς· "Πεπλανήμεθα." καὶ κρωζούσης αὖθις εἶπεν· "Ἄγαν πεπλανήμεθα." θορυβουμένῳ δέ μοι καὶ σκοποῦντι, εἴ τις ὁδοιπόρος ὀφθήσεται, καὶ οὐδένα ὀρῶντι ὡς ἐν ὄρθρῳ ἔτι πολλῶ καὶ γῆ πολεμουμένη, τὸ τρίτον ὁ Ἄραψ τοῦ ὀρνέου*

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16 Delighted with: with the genitive. Appian [writes] in his fourth book of *Egyptian History*: Delighted with events. (*Anecd.* Bekker p. 174.14 = *On Syntax* No. 30 Gaillard)

17 Appian too mentions this oracle in the twenty-second book of his *Roman History*. (*Zonar.* 11.16 T3 p. 50.15 Dindorf)

18 (Trajan), however, campaigned against the Dacians, or Daci, according to the Ionians, as Appian says in his twenty-third book of *Roman History*. (*Zonar.* 11.21 T3 p. 65.27 Dindorf)

19 Concerning Arab divination. Appian says at the end of his 24th book: Once, when I was fleeing from the Jews during the war that took place in Egypt,⁴ and traveling through Arabia Petraea to a river, where a waiting boat was due to take me across to Pelusium, an Arab man was my guide on the road one night. I thought we were near the boat, when a crow cawed just as dawn was breaking, and my guide was confused, and said, "We are lost." When the crow cawed again, he said, "We are completely lost." I was worried and checked if anyone was to be seen on the road, but I saw nobody, as was to be expected when it was still very early and we were in a war zone. But when the Arab heard the bird for a third time, he was pleased and said,

⁴ Appian is referring to the Jewish revolt of AD 115 to 117, which spread from Cyrene into Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Judaea.

3 πυθόμενος εἶπεν ἡσθείς, “Ἐπὶ συμφέροντι πεπλανή-
 μεθα καὶ ἐχόμεθα τῆς ὁδοῦ.” ἐγὼ δὲ ἐγέλων μὲν, εἰ
 καὶ νῦν ἐξόμεθα τῆς πλανώσης, καὶ ἀπεγίνωσκον
 ἔμαντοῦ, πάντων πολεμίων ὄντων, οὐκ ὄν μοι δυνατὸν
 οὐδ’ ἀναστρέψαι διὰ τοὺς ὀπισθεν, οὓς δὴ καὶ φεύγων
 ἤρχομένην, ὑπὸ δ’ ἀπορίας εἰπόμην ἐκδοὺς ἔμαντὸν τῷ
 4 μαντεύματι. οὕτω δὲ ἔχοντί μοι παρὰ δόξαν ἕτερος
 ποταμὸς ἐκφαίνεται, ὃ ἀγχοτάτω μάλιστα τοῦ Πηλου-
 σίου, καὶ τριήρης ἐς τὸ Πηλούσιον παραπλεύουσα, ἧς
 ἐπιβὰς διεσωζόμεν· τὸ σκάφος δέ, ὃ με ἐν τῷ ἐτέρῳ
 ποταμῷ ὑπέμεινεν, ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων ἐλήφθη. τοσοῦτον
 ὠνάμην τῆς τύχης καὶ τοσοῦτον ἐθαύμασα τοῦ μαν-
 5 τεύματος. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν εἰσι θρησκευτικοί, μαντικοί,
 γεωργοί, φαρμάκων ἐπιστήμονες, οὓς εἰκὸς ἐν Αἰ-
 γύπτῳ γῆν εὐρόντας ἀγαθὴν οἶα γεωργοὺς καὶ ἔθνος
 ὁμοίως θεοσεβές τε καὶ μαντικὸν καὶ φαρμάκων οὐκ
 ἄπειρον οὐδ’ ἄστρον ἐμμεῖναι χαίροντας ὡς παρ’
 ὁμοίοις. (Codex Paris. Suppl. Gr. 607A)

20 ἄρχω. γενικῇ . . . Ἀππιανός δὲ δοτικῇ διεχρήσατο
 Νέρων, ὅτε ἦρχε Ῥωμαίοις. (*Anecd.* Bekker p. 120.24 =
Περὶ Συντάξεων No. 2 Gaillard)

21 ἀμελητέα. γενικῇ τὸ πρᾶγμα, τὸ δὲ πρόσωπον
 δοτικῇ . . . καὶ Ἀππιανός· ἀλλήλων ἡμέλουν. (*Anecd.*
 Bekker p. 129.26 = *Περὶ Συντάξεων* No. 4 Gaillard)

“It was to our advantage that we got lost and we are now 3
 on the right road.” As for me, I could only laugh at the
 prospect of remaining lost, and despaired of my life, since
 I was surrounded by enemies and could not even go back,
 considering those in our rear from whom I had, of course,
 set out to escape. Not knowing what to do, I surrendered
 myself to the prophecy and followed my guide. Such was 4
 my state of mind when, unexpectedly, another river ap-
 pears, very close to Pelusium, and a trireme sailing past
 on its way to Pelusium, which I boarded and was thus
 rescued. On the other hand, the boat which was waiting
 for me on the other river, was captured by the Jews. That
 is how much fate helped me and how much I admired the
 prophecy. These Arabs are, in general, pious prophets and 5
 farmers, skilled in medicines, and it is fitting that having
 found in Egypt a good land, being as they are farmers
 and a people likewise both god-fearing and prophetic and
 with considerable expertise in medicines and stars, they
 live there happily, finding themselves among likeminded
 people. (Codex Paris. Suppl. Gr. 607A)

20 I rule. With the genitive . . . But Appian uses it with
 the dative: Nero was killed (?) when he was ruler of the
 Romans. (*Anecd.* Bekker p. 120.24 = *On Syntax* No. 2
 Gaillard)

21 Things to be ignored. With the genitive of the thing,
 and dative of the person . . . And Appian [writes]: They
 ignored each other. (*Anecd.* Bekker p. 129.26 = *On Syntax*
 No. 4 Gaillard)

APPIAN

22 ἐξέδραμεν. γενικῇ. Ἀππιανός· ἐξέδραμε τοῦ δανειστοῦ. (*Anecd.* Bekker p. 146.5 = *Περὶ Συντάξεων* No. 11 Gaillard)

23 κουφίζω καὶ ἐπικουφίζω. γενικῇ. Ἀππιανός· ὅσα δὲ ὅμως ἐπικουφιῖ τῆς ἀνίας, αἰτεῖτε καὶ λαμβάνετε προσιόντες. (*Anecd.* Bekker p. 154.17 = *Περὶ Συντάξεων* No. 18 Gaillard)

24 συμπλεκόμενος. δοτικῇ. ὁ αὐτός (i.e., Ἀππιανός)· συμπλεκόμενος αὐτῇ. (*Anecd.* Bekker p. 174.9 = *Περὶ Συντάξεων* No. 28 Gaillard)

25 Παρὰ Ἀππιανοῦ Φρόντωνι. οὐδὲ σήμερον ἐδυνήθην σε ἰδεῖν, διὰ τὴν γαστέρα νυκτὸς ἐνοχλοῦσαν ἕως ἄρτι κοιμηθείς. ἃ δὲ ἀγρυπνῶν ἠπόρουν, οὐ κατέσχον οὐδ' ἀνεβαλόμην, ἀλλ' ἐκ πολλῶν ὀλίγα σοι γέγραφα. σὺ δέ, εἰ μὲν δίκαιά ἐστιν, ὡς δικαίοις, εἰ δὲ σχολαστικά, ὡς ἀπλοῖς, εἰ δὲ μή, ἀλλ' ἔμοιγε ὡς λυπομένῳ καὶ παρακαλοῦντι πείσθητι καὶ εἶξον. εἰκὸς ἔπεσθαι τοῖς κοινοῖς τὰ ἰδιωτικά· εὐθύνομεν γοῦν τὰ ἴδια πρὸς ἐκείνα, καὶ ὁ νόμος οὕτω κελεύει. πῶς οὖν αἱ μὲν πόλεις οὐκ ὀκνοῦσι λαμβάνουσαι παρὰ τῶν διδόντων ἀναθήματά τε καὶ χρήματα καὶ ἀργύριον

⁵ The subject of this letter is a gift of two slaves Appian has sent to Fronto, who has returned them. Appian is now sending them again, with a letter providing arguments why Fronto should

FRAGMENTS

22 He escaped. With the genitive. Appian [writes]: he escaped his creditor. (*Anecd.* Bekker p. 146.5 = *On Syntax* No. 11 Gaillard)

23 I lighten, and, I relieve. With the genitive. Appian [writes]: Nevertheless, whatever will relieve you of your sorrow, just ask for it, and come and get it. (*Anecd.* Bekker p. 154.17 = *On Syntax* No. 18 Gaillard)

24 Becoming involved with. With the dative. The same author (i.e., Appian) [writes]: Becoming involved with her. (*Anecd.* Bekker p. 174.9 = *On Syntax* No. 28 Gaillard)

25 From Appian to Fronto.⁵ I could not see you today either, as owing to stomach problems during the night, I stayed in bed until just now. What I was puzzling over while lying awake I am not holding back or putting off, but have written you a few out of my many thoughts. As for you, if they are right, let yourself be persuaded to yield to them as right; if they are pedantic treat them as honest; otherwise, at least let yourself be persuaded to yield to me, as I have a grievance and come to you with a request. It is fitting that personal matters follow the way of public affairs. At any rate, we direct our private affairs according to public ones, and the law requires us to do this. How is it, then, that states do not hesitate to accept dedications and property and gold itself from both citizens and strang-

accept them. For the most recent text of this letter, see Van den Hout 1988, 142–43.

αὐτὸ² πολιτῶν τε καὶ ξένων, ἤδη δέ τινες καὶ αὐτοὺς
 πως ὑποδιδόντας, φίλος δὲ δῆ³ παρὰ φίλου λαβεῖν
 3 ὀκνεῖ παρακαλοῦντος; καὶ οἱ θεοὶ δὲ τῷ νόμῳ τῶν
 πόλεων προσίενται⁴ ταῦτα παρὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν, καὶ
 δεικνύουσιν οἱ θησαυροὶ τῶν θεῶν. καὶ οἱ φίλοι δὲ ἐκ
 4 τῶν διαθηκῶν λαμβάνειν οὐκ ὀκνοῦσιν. καὶ διὰ τί οὖν
 ἐκ μὲν διαθήκης ἂν τις λάβοι, παρὰ δὲ τῶν περιόντων
 οὐ λάβοι, ὅποτε καὶ μείζον ταῦτ' ἔχει τὸ δεῖγμα τῆς
 προθυμίας; οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλον ἄλλου προτιθέασιν, οἱ
 δὲ περιόντες ἑαυτῶν τοὺς φίλους προτιθέασιν. καὶ
 ἥδιον παρὰ τοῦ περιόντος λαβεῖν, ὅτι προτιθέασιν.
 5 καὶ ἥδιον παρὰ τοῦ περιόντος λαβεῖν, ὅτι καὶ μαρτυ-
 ρῆσαι περιόντι δυνατόν ἐστι καὶ ἀμείψασθαι. πάλιν
 ξένιον μὲν οὔτε θεοῖς οὔτε πόλει πέμπεται, τὰ σεμνό-
 τερα δ' αἰεὶ τοῖς σεμνοτέροις. ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰσὶ ταῦτα
 βαρύτερα λαμβάνειν; τί γάρ ἐστι φιλίας καὶ τιμῆς
 βαρύτερον, ὧν οὐδ' ἴσως γ' ἄρειον οὐδέν ἐστιν; τί δὲ
 6 καὶ βαρὺ ἦν ὅλως ἢ τί ἂν ἐγὼ βαρὺ ἔχοιμι; οὐδ' ἂν
 μὲν ἐργασαίμην οὐδέν οὐδὲ πριαίμην οὐδέποτε, † δέον
 τινὰ μισθὸν ἴσον †⁵ ἐξ οἴκου, φασίν, ἐς οἶκον μετελ-
 θεῖν.⁶ ἐννόησον δὲ κακέينو, ὅση μὲν ἡδονὴ τῷ πέμψαντι
 ληφθέντων, ὅση δὲ λύπη μὴ ληφθέντων ἐπιγίγνεται.⁷
 εἰ τὸ καθαρὸν < . . . > καὶ μετὰ πολὺ⁸ προσιέναι σοι.
 πιστεύοις δὲ δίκαιον εἶναι τὸν νόμον τῶν τε πόλεων
 καὶ θεῶν καὶ φίλων < . . . > φίλων δὲ οὐ τοσοῦτον

² αὐτοπολιτῶν Van den Hout

³ δῆ om. Van den Hout

ers, and now in some cases a sort of gift of themselves, but
 a friend shrinks from accepting a gift from a friend when
 he requests it? Even the Gods follow the law of states and 3
 accept these gifts from men, as the treasuries of the Gods
 testify. And friends too do not hesitate to accept bequests.
 So, why should a person accept a bequest, but not accept 4
 something from the living, when the latter is an even
 greater proof of affection? For in the first case people are
 prioritizing one person over another, but the living are
 prioritizing their friends over themselves. And it is more 5
 pleasant to receive a gift from a living person, because it
 is possible both to acknowledge it to a living person and
 to give in return. No minor gift is exchanged with Gods or
 cities, but nobler things are always for more noble beings.
 But are these latter more onerous to accept? For what can
 be more onerous than friendship and honor, than which
 there is perhaps nothing finer? And what was there here
 that was onerous at all, or what should I count as onerous?
 I could not do anything nor ever buy anything, that neces- 6
 sitated an equivalent return, passing, as they say, from
 house to house. Consider this point too, what pleasure
 acceptance gives the sender, and what pain results from
 nonacceptance. If the pure < . . . > even after a long time
 come to you. Please believe that the law of Gods and cities
 and friends is a just one < . . . > but as friends do not parade

⁴ προστίθενται Van den Hout

⁵ τι ἅμα μισθὸν ἔχον Van den Hout

⁶ μετατεθέν Van den Hout

⁷ εἰσγίγνεται, Van den Hout

⁸ πο< . . . > Van den Hout

APPIAN

ἐπιδεικνύντων θράσος εὐνοίας, ἀλλὰ κρυπτόντων⁹ ὑπὸ
δέους, ἔπεμψα τὸ¹⁰ πρὶν ἐπιτρέψης. σὺ δὲ μὴ δεύτερον
ἀποπέμψης,¹¹ ᾧ γε ἔδει μὴδ' ἅπαξ. (Viereck-Roos 537-
38)

⁹ καὶ τούτων Van den Hout

¹⁰ εἴ επέμψα τώ Van den Hout

¹¹ μὴ δευτερώσης Van den Hout

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such a boldness of goodwill, but from diffidence conceal
it, I have sent my gift before you gave permission. Do not
send back my gift a second time, as you ought not to have
done even the first time.

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Praef. = Preface; *Bas.* = The Book of Kings; *Ital.* = The Italian Book; *Sam.* = The Samnite Book; *Celt.* = The Celtic Book; *Sic.* = The Sicilian and Island Book; *Ib.* = The Iberian Book; *Hann.* = The Hannibalic Book; *Lib.* = The African Book; *Num.* = The Numidian Book; *Mac.* = The Macedonian Book; *Ill.* = The Illyrian Book; *Syr.* = The Syrian Book; *Mith.* = The Mithridatic War; *BCiv.* 1, *BCiv.* 2, etc. = *Civil Wars* 1, 2, etc.; *Frag.* = Fragments.

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