

BOOK XLIV

Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ τετρακοστῷ τετάρτῳ τῶν Δίωνος Ῥωμαϊκῶν

- α. Περὶ τῶν τῷ Καίσαρι ψηφισθέντων.
 β. Περὶ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς τῆς ἐπ' αὐτὸν συστάσης.
 γ. Ὡς Καίσαρ ἐσφάγη.
 δ. Ὡς δόγμα ἐγένετο μὴ μνησικακεῖν αὐτοὺς ἀλλήλοις.
 ε. Περὶ τῆς τοῦ Καίσαρος ταφῆς καὶ τοῦ λεχθέντος ἐπ' αὐτῷ λόγου.

Χρόνου πλῆθος μέρος τι¹ τῆς Ἰουλίου Καίσαρος δικτατορίας τὸ ἐ' μετὰ Αἰμίλιου Λεπίδου ἱπάρχου καὶ ὑπατείας τὸ ἐ' μετὰ Μάρκου Ἀντωνίου.

Ὁ μὲν οὖν Καίσαρ ταῦθ' οὕτως ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς Πάρθους στρατεύσων ἔπραξεν, οἷστρος δέ τισιν ἀλιτηριώδης φθόνῳ τε τοῦ προήκοντος² καὶ μίσει τοῦ προτετιμημένου σφῶν προσπεσῶν ἐκείνῳ τε ἀνόμως ἀπέκτεινε, καινὸν ἀνοσίῳ δόξης ὄνομα προσλαβῶν, καὶ τὰ ψηφισθέντα διεσκέδασε, ²στάσεις τε αἰθίς ἐξ ὁμοιῶς καὶ πολέμους ἐμφυλίου τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις παρεσκεύασεν· ἔλεγον μὲν γὰρ καθαιρέται τε τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ ἐλευθερωταὶ τοῦ δήμου γεγονέναι, τὸ δὲ ἀληθὲς ἐκείνῳ τε ἀσεβῶς ἐπεβούλευσαν καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὀρθῶς

¹ μέρος τι Bs., μέχρι L.

² προήκοντος Leuncl., προσήκοντος L.

BOOK XLIV

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

- About the decrees passed in honour of Caesar (chaps. 1–11).
 About the conspiracy formed against him (chaps. 12–18).
 How Caesar was murdered (chaps. 19–22).
 How a decree was passed that the people should not bear malice against one another (chaps. 23–34).
 About the burial of Caesar and the oration delivered over him (chaps. 35–53).

B.C.

- 44 Duration of time, a part of the fifth dictatorship of Julius Caesar, held in company with Aemilius Lepidus as master of the horse, and of his fifth consulship, held with Mark Antony.

ALL this Caesar did as a preliminary step to his campaign against the Parthians; but a baleful frenzy which fell upon certain men through jealousy of his advancement and hatred of his preferment to themselves caused his death unlawfully, while it added a new name to the annals of infamy; it scattered the decrees to the winds and brought upon the Romans seditions and civil wars once more after a state of harmony. His slayers, to be sure, declared that they had shown themselves at once destroyers of Caesar and liberators of the people: but in reality they impiously plotted against him, and they threw the city into disorder when at last it

B.C. 44

2 ἤδη πολιτενομένην ἐστασίασαν. δημοκρατία γὰρ ὄνομα μὲν εὖσχημον ἔχει καὶ τινα καὶ ἰσομοιρίαν πᾶσιν ἐκ τῆς ἰσονομίας φέρειν δοκεῖ, ἐν δὲ δὴ τοῖς ἔργοις ἐλέγχεται μηδὲν ὁμολογούσα τῷ προσρήματι· καὶ τούναντίον ἡ μοναρχία δυσχερὲς μὲν ἀκούσαι, χρησιμώτατον δὲ ἐμπολιτεύσασθαι ἐστί. βῆθόν τε γὰρ ἓνα τινα χρηστὸν ἢ πολλοὺς

2 εὐρέειν· ἂν τε¹ καὶ τοῦτο χαλεπὸν τισιν εἶναι δοκῇ, πᾶσα ἀνάγκη² ἐκεῖνό γε ἀδύνατον ὁμολογηθῆναι εἶναι· οὐ γὰρ προσήκει τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀρετὴν κτᾶσθαι. εἰ δ' οὖν καὶ φαῦλός τις αὐταρχήσειεν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ γε³ πλήθους τῶν ὁμοίων αἰρετώτερός ἐστιν, ὥσπερ πού καὶ τὰ ἔργα τὰ τε τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ τὰ τῶν βαρβάρων, τῶν τε Ῥωμαίων αὐτῶν.

3 τεκμηριοῖ. τὰ τε γὰρ ἀμείνω πολὺ μείζω καὶ πλείω καὶ πόλεσι καὶ ἰδιώταις ἐκ βασιλέων ἢ δῆμων ἀεὶ ποτε ἐγένετο, καὶ τὰ δυσχερέστερα ἐν ταῖς μοναρχίαις ἢ ταῖς ὀχλοκρατίαις συμβαίνει.⁴ εἰ γὰρ πού καὶ δημοκρατία τις ἦνθησεν, ἀλλ' ἐν γε βραχεῖ χρόνῳ ἤκμασεν, μέχρις οὐ μήτε μέγεθος μήτ' ἰσχὺν ἔσχον ὥστε ἢ ὑβρεῖς σφίσιν ἐξ εὐπραγίας ἢ φθόνους ἐκ φιλοτιμίας ἐγγενέσθαι.

4 πόλιν δὲ⁵ αὐτὴν τε τηλικαύτην οὖσαν καὶ τοῦ τε καλλίστου τοῦ τε πλείστου τῆς ἐμφανοῦς οἰκουμένης ἄρχουσαν, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἀνθρώπων ἤθη καὶ διάφορα κεκτημένην πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ μεγάλους πλούτους ἔχουσαν, ταῖς τε πράξεσι καὶ ταῖς

¹ τε Bk., γε L.

² πᾶσα ἀνάγκη R. Steph., πᾶσι ἀνάγκη L.

³ γε H. Steph., τε L.

⁴ One or more words with the meaning "fewer" or "more rarely" have evidently been lost from the text.

⁵ δε Rk., τε L.

possessed a stable government. Democracy, indeed, B.C. 34 has a fair-appearing name and conveys the impression of bringing equal rights to all through equal laws, but its results are seen not to agree at all with its title. Monarchy, on the contrary, has an unpleasant sound, but is a most practical form of government to live under. For it is easier to find a single excellent man than many of them, and if even this seems to some a difficult feat, it is quite inevitable that the other alternative should be acknowledged to be impossible; for it does not belong to the majority of men to acquire virtue. And again, even though a base man should obtain supreme power, yet he is preferable to the masses of like character, as the history of the Greeks and barbarians and of the Romans themselves proves. For successes have always been greater and more frequent in the case both of cities and of individuals under kings than under popular rule, and disasters do [not] happen [so frequently] under monarchies as under mob-rule. Indeed, if ever there has been a prosperous democracy, it has in any case been at its best for only a brief period, so long, that is, as the people had neither the numbers nor the strength sufficient to cause insolence to spring up among them as the result of good fortune or jealousy as the result of ambition. But for a city, not only so large in itself, but also ruling the finest and the greatest part of the known world, holding sway over men of many and diverse natures, possessing many men of great wealth, occupied with every imaginable pursuit, enjoying every imaginable fortune, both

- τύχαις παντοδαπαῖς καὶ ἰδίᾳ καὶ δημοσίᾳ χρω-
 μένην, ἀδύνατον μὲν ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ σωφρονήσαι,
 ἀδυνατώτερον δὲ μὴ σωφρονοῦσαν ὁμοιοῦσαι.
- 5 ὥστ' εἴπερ ταῦτα οὕτως ὁ τε Βρούτος ὁ Μάρκος
 καὶ ὁ Κάσσιος ὁ Γάιος ἐξελογίσαντο, οὐκ ἂν ποτε
 τὸν τε προστάτην καὶ τὸν κηδεμόνα αὐτῆς ἀπέ-
 κτειναν, οὐδ' ἂν μυρίων αἴτιοι κακῶν καὶ ἐαυτοῖς
 καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς τότε ἀνθρώποις ἐγένοντο.
- 3 Ἔσχε δὲ ὧδε, καὶ αἰτίαν τήνδε ὁ θάνατος αὐτοῦ
 ἔλαβεν· οὐ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἀναίτιον πάντη τὸ ἐπί-
 φθονον ἐκτίησάτο, πλὴν καθ' ὅσον αὐτοὶ οἱ
 βουλευταὶ ταῖς τε καινότησι καὶ ταῖς ὑπερβολαῖς
 τῶν τιμῶν ἐξάραντές τε αὐτὸν καὶ φυσήσαντες
 ἔπειτα ἐπ' αὐταῖς ἐκείναις καὶ ἐμέμφοντο καὶ
 διέβαλλον ὡς ἡδέως τέ σφας λαμβάνοντα καὶ
- 2 ὀγκηρότερον ἀπ' αὐτῶν ζῶντα. ἔστι μὲν γὰρ ὅτε
 καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἤμαρτε, δεξάμενός τέ τινα τῶν
 ψηφισθέντων οἱ καὶ πιστεύσας ὄντως αὐτῶν
 ἀξιοῦσθαι, πλεῖστον δὲ ὅμως ἐκείνοι, οἵτινες
 ἀρξάμενοι τιμᾶν αὐτὸν ὡς καὶ ἄξιον, προήγαγον
- 3 ἐς αἰτίαν οἷς ἐψηφίζοντο. οὔτε¹ γὰρ διωθεῖσθαι
 πάντα αὐτὰ ἐτόλμα, μὴ καὶ ὑπερφρονεῖν νο-
 μισθεῖν, οὔτ' αὖ λαμβάνων ἀσφαλῆς εἶναι
 ἐδύνατο·² τὸ γὰρ ὑπερβάλλον τῶν τε τιμῶν καὶ
 τῶν ἐπαίνων χαυνοτέρους πως καὶ τοὺς πάνυ σώ-
 φρονας, ἄλλως τε³ κὰν ἀληθῶς γίγνεσθαι δοκῶσι,
 ποιεῖ.
- 4 Ἐγένετο δὲ τὰ δοθέντα αὐτῷ μετ' ἐκείνα ὅσα
 εἴρηται τοσαύδε καὶ τοιαύδε· καθ' ἐν γὰρ, εἰ καὶ
 μὴ πάντα ἅμα μήτε ἐσηνέχθη μήτε ἐκυρώθη,
- ¹ οὔτε Bk., οὐ L. ² ἐδύνατο St., ἡδύνατο L.
³ ἄλλως τε Rk., ὥστε L.

individually and collectively,—for such a city, I say, B.C. 44
 to practise moderation under a democracy is im-
 possible, and still more is it impossible for the
 people, unless moderation prevails, to be harmonious.
 Therefore, if Marcus Brutus and Gaius Cassius had
 only reflected upon these things, they would never
 have killed the city's head and protector nor have
 made themselves the cause of countless ills both
 to themselves and to all the rest of mankind then
 living.

It happened as follows, and his death was due to
 the cause now to be given. He had aroused dislike
 that was not altogether unjustified, except in so far
 as it was the senators themselves who had by their
 novel and excessive honours encouraged him and
 puffed him up, only to find fault with him on this
 very account and to spread slanderous reports how
 glad he was to accept them and how he behaved
 more haughtily as a result of them. It is true that
 Caesar did now and then err by accepting some of
 the honours voted him and believing that he really
 deserved them; yet those were most blameworthy
 who, after beginning to honour him as he deserved,
 led him on and brought blame upon him for the
 measures they had passed. He neither dared, of
 course, to thrust them all aside, for fear of being
 thought contemptuous, nor, again, could he be safe
 in accepting them; for excessive honour and praise
 render even the most modest men conceited, especi-
 ally if they seem to be bestowed with sincerity.

The privileges that were granted him, in addition
 to all those mentioned, were as follows in number
 and nature; for I shall name them all together,
 even if they were not all proposed or passed at one

2 λελέξεται. τὰ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτα φέρεσθαι τε αὐτὸν αἰεὶ καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει τὴν στολὴν τὴν ἐπι-
νίκιον ἐνδεδυκότα, καὶ καθέζεσθαι ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀρχικοῦ
δίφρου πανταχῇ πλήν ἐν ταῖς πανηγύρεσιν,
ἐψηφίσαντο· τότε γὰρ ἐπὶ τε τοῦ δημαρχικοῦ
βάθρου καὶ μετὰ τῶν αἰεὶ δημαρχούντων θεᾶσθαι¹
3 ἔλαβε. σκῦλά τε τινα ὀπίμα ἐς τὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ
Φερετρίου νεῶν ἀναθεῖναι οἱ ὥσπερ τινα πολέμιοι
αὐτοσπράτηγον αὐτοχειρία πεφουεκότι,² καὶ τοῖς
ῥαβδούχοις δαφνηφοροῦσιν αἰεὶ χρῆσθαι, μετὰ τε
τὰς ἀνοχὰς τὰς Λατίνας ἐπὶ κέλῃτος³ ἐς τὴν πόλιν
4 ἐκ τοῦ Ἄλβανου ἐσελαύνειν ἔδοσαν. πρὸς τε τού-
τοις τοιούτοις οἷσι πατέρα τε αὐτὸν τῆς πατρίδος
ἐπωνόμασαν καὶ ἐς τὰ νομίσματα ἐνεχάραξαν, τὰ
τε γενέθλια αὐτοῦ δημοσίᾳ θύειν ἐψηφίσαντο, καὶ
ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι τοῖς τε ναοῖς τοῖς ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ
5 πᾶσιν ἀνδριάντα τινα αὐτοῦ εἶναι ἐκέλευσαν, καὶ
ἐπὶ γε τοῦ βήματος δύο, τὸν μὲν ὡς τοὺς πολίτας
σεσωκότος τὸν δὲ ὡς τὴν πόλιν ἐκ πολιορκίας
ἐξηρημένον, μετὰ τῶν στεφάνων τῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς
τοιούτοις νενομισμένων ἰδρῦσαντο. νεῶν τε
Ῥομοιῶν καινῆς, ὡς καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ⁴ εἰρηνοῦντες,
οἰκοδομήσαι, καὶ πανήγυριν αὐτῇ⁵ ἐτήσιαν ἄγειν
6 ἔγνωσαν. ὡς δὲ⁶ ταῦτα ἐδέξατο, τὰ τε ἔλη οἱ τὰ
Πομπτῖνα⁷ χῶσαι καὶ τὸν ἰσθμὸν τὸν τῆς Πελο-
ποννήσου διορύξαι βουλευτήριόν τε τι καινὸν
ποιῆσαι προσέταξαν, ἐπειδὴ τὸ Ὀστίλιον καίπερ
2 ἀνοικοδομηθὲν καθήρεθη, πρόφασιν μὲν τοῦ ναοῦ

¹ θεᾶσθαι Rk., θεάσασθαι L.

² πεφουεκότι Bk., ποὶ πεφουεκότι L.

³ κέλῃτος Reim., κέλῃτα L.

⁴ αὐτοῦ R. Steph., αὐτῶν L. ⁵ αὐτῇ Leuncl., αὐτῆν L.

⁶ ὡς δὲ Bk., ὥστε L. ⁷ Πομπτῖνα R. Steph., πομπτῖνα L.

time. First, then, they voted that he should always
ride, even in the city itself, wearing the triumphal
dress, and should sit in his chair of state every-
where except at the games; for at those he re-
ceived the privilege of watching the contests from
the tribunes' benches in company with those who
were tribunes at the time. And they gave him
the right to offer *spolia opima*, as they are
called, at the temple of Jupiter Feretrius, as if he
had slain some hostile general with his own hand,
and to have lictors who always carried laurel, and
after the *Feriae Latinae* to ride from the Alban
Mount into the city on horseback. In addition to
these remarkable privileges they named him father
of his country, stamped this title on the coinage,
voted to celebrate his birthday by public sacrifice,
ordered that he should have a statue in the cities
and in all the temples of Rome, and they set up two
also on the rostra, one representing him as the
saviour of the citizens and the other as the deliverer
of the city from siege, and wearing the crowns
customary for such achievements. They also re-
solved to build a temple of *Concordia Nova*, on the
ground that it was through his efforts that they en-
joyed peace, and to celebrate an annual festival in her
honour. When he had accepted these, they assigned
to him the charge of filling the Pontine marshes,
cutting a canal through the Peloponnesian isthmus,
and constructing a new senate-house, since that of
Hostilius, although repaired, had been demolished.
The reason assigned for its destruction was that a

Εὐτυχίας ἐνταῦθ' οἰκοδομηθῆναι, ὃν καὶ ὁ Λέπιδος ἰππαρχήσας ἐξεποίησεν, ἔργῳ δὲ ὅπως μήτε ἐν ἐκείνῳ τὸ τοῦ Σύλλου ὄνομα σώζοιτο καὶ ἕτερον ἐκ καινῆς κατασκευασθὲν Ἰούλιον ὀνομασθεῖν, ὡσπερ πον καὶ τόν τε μήνα ἐν ᾧ ἐγεγέννητο¹ Ἰούλιον κακ τῶν φυλῶν μίαν τὴν κλήρω λα-
 3 χούσαν Ἰουλίαν ἐπεκάλεσαν. καὶ αὐτὸν μὲν τιμητὴν καὶ μόνον καὶ διὰ βίου εἶναι, τὰ τε τοῖς δημάρχοις δεδομένα καρποῦσθαι, ὅπως, ἂν τις ἢ ἔργῳ ἢ καὶ λόγῳ αὐτὸν ὑβρίσῃ,² ἱερός τε ἢ³ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἄγει ἐνέχηται, τὸν δὲ δὴ υἱόν, ἂν τινα γεννήσῃ ἢ καὶ ἐσποιήσῃται,⁴ ἀρχιερέα ἀποδειχ-
 6 θῆναι ἐψηφίσαντο. ὡς δὲ καὶ τούτοις ἔχαιρε, δίφρος τέ οἱ ἐπίχρυσος, καὶ στολή ἢ ποτε οἱ βασιλῆς ἐκέχρητον, φρουρά τε ἐκ τῶν ἰππέων καὶ ἐκ τῶν βουλευτῶν ἐδόθη καὶ προσέτι καὶ εὔχεσθαι ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ δημοσίᾳ κατ' ἔτος ἕκαστον, τὴν τε τύχην αὐτοῦ ὀμνύναι, καὶ τὰ πραχ-
 2 θησόμενα αὐτῷ πάντα κύρια ἔξειν ἐνόμισαν. κακ τούτου καὶ πενταετηρίδα οἱ ὡς ἦρωι, ἱεροποιούς τε ἐς τὰς τοῦ Πανὸς γυμνοπαιδίας, τρίτην τινὰ ἐταιρίαν ἦν Ἰουλίαν ὀνόμασαν,⁵ κὰν ταῖς ὀπλομαχίαις μίαν τινὰ αἰὲ ἡμέραν καὶ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ
 3 καὶ ἐν τῇ ἄλλῃ Ἰταλίᾳ ἀνέθεσαν. καὶ ἐπειδὴ καὶ τούτοις ἠρέσκετο, οὕτω δὲ ἐς τε τὰ θέατρα τὸν τε δίφρον αὐτοῦ τὸν ἐπίχρυσον καὶ τὸν στέφανον τὸν διάλιθον καὶ διάχρυσον, ἐξ ἴσου τοῖς τῶν θεῶν, ἐσκομίζεσθαι κὰν ταῖς ἰπποδρομίαις ὀχόν⁶ ἐσάγεο-

¹ ἐγεγέννητο R. Steph., ἐγεγένητο L.

² ὑβρίσῃ R. Steph., ὑβρίσαι L. ³ ἢ Reim., ἢ L.

⁴ ἐσποιήσῃται Reim., ἐκποιήσῃται L.

⁵ ὀνόμασαν R. Steph., ὀνομάσαντες L.

⁶ ὀχόν Casaub., ὄχλον L.

temple of Felicitas was to be built there, which B.C. 44
 Lepidus, indeed, brought to completion while master of the horse; but their real purpose was that the name of Sulla should not be preserved on it, and that another senate-house, newly constructed, might be named the Julian, even as they had called the month in which he was born July, and one of the tribes, selected by lot, the Julian. And they voted that Caesar should be sole censor for life and should enjoy the immunities granted to the tribunes, so that if any one insulted him by deed or word, that man should be an outlaw and accursed, and further that Caesar's son, should he beget or even adopt one, should be appointed high priest. As he seemed to like all this, a gilded chair was granted him, and a garb that the kings had once used, and a body-guard of knights and senators; furthermore they decided that prayers should be offered for him publicly every year, that they should swear by Caesar's Fortune, and should regard as valid all his future acts. Next they bestowed upon him a quadrennial festival, as to a hero, and a third priestly college, which they called the Julian, as overseers of the Lupercalia, and one special day of his own each time in connection with all gladiatorial combats both in Rome and the rest of Italy. When he showed himself pleased with these honours also, they accordingly voted that his golden chair and his crown set with precious gems and overlaid with gold should be carried into the theatres in the same manner as those of the gods, and that on the occasion of the games in the Circus his chariot should be brought in.

4 θαι ἐψηφίσαντο. καὶ τέλος Δία τε αὐτὸν ἀντικρυς Ἰούλιον προσηγόρευσαν, καὶ ναὸν αὐτῷ τῇ τ¹ Ἐπιεικείᾳ αὐτοῦ τεμενισθῆναι ἔγνωσαν, ἱερέα σφίσι τὸν Ἀντώνιον ὡσπερ τιῶν Διάλιον προχειρισάμενοι.

7 Καὶ ἃ γε μάλιστα τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν ἐξέφηνεν, ἅμα τε ταῦτα ἐψηφίζοντο καὶ τάφον αὐτῷ ἐντὸς τοῦ πωμηρίου ποιήσασθαι ἔδοσαν· τὰ τε δόγματα τὰ περὶ τούτων γιγνόμενα ἐς μὲν στήλας ἀργυρᾶς χρυσοῖς γράμμασιν ἐνέγραψαν, ὑπὸ δὲ δὴ τοὺς πόδας τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Καπιτωλίου ὑπέθεσαν, δηλοῦντές οἱ καὶ μάλα ἐναργῶς ὅτι ἄνθρωπος εἴη.

2 ἤρξαντο μὲν γὰρ τιμᾶν αὐτὸν ὡς καὶ μετριάσονται· προχωροῦντες δέ, ἐπειδὴ χαίροντα τοῖς ψηφίζομένοις ἑώρων (πλὴν γὰρ ὀλίγων τινῶν πάντα αὐτὰ ἐδέξατο), αἰεὶ² τι μείζον ἄλλος ἄλλο καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ἐσέφερον, οἱ μὲν ὑπερκολακεύοντες αὐτὸν οἱ

3 δὲ καὶ διασκώπτουτες. ἀμέλει καὶ γυναῖξιν ὅσαις ἂν ἐθελήσῃ³ συνείναι οἱ ἐτόλμησάν τινες ἐπιτρέψαι, ὅτι πολλαῖς καὶ τότε ἔτι, καίπερ πεντηκοντούτης ὢν, ἐχρήτο. ἕτεροι δέ, καὶ οἳ γε πλείους, ἔς τε τὸ ἐπίφθονον καὶ ἐς τὸ νεμεσητὸν προάγειν αὐτὸν ὅτι τάχιστα βουλόμενοι τούτ' ἐποίουν, ἵνα

4 θᾶσσον ἀπόληται. ὅπερ που ἐγένετο, καίτοι τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ δι' αὐτὰ ταῦτα θαρσήσαντος ὡς οὐκ ἂν ποτε οὐθ' ὑπ' ἐκείνων τοιαυτὰ γε ψηφίζομένων οὐθ' ὑπ' ἄλλου τινὸς δι' αὐτοὺς ἐπιβουλευθησομένου, κακ' τούτου οὐδὲ⁴ σωματοφύλαξιν ἔτι χρησαμένον· τῷ γὰρ δὴ λόγῳ τὸ⁵ πρὸς τε τῶν

¹ τ' supplied by Reim. ² αἰεὶ R. Steph., ἀλλ' εἰ L.

³ ἐθελήσῃ Bk., θελήσῃ L. ⁴ οὐδὲ Bk., δὲ L.

⁵ τὸ Leuncl., τῶι L.

And finally they addressed him outright as Jupiter B.C. 44 Julius and ordered a temple to be consecrated to him and to his Clemency, electing Antony as their priest like some *flamen Dialis*.

At the same time with these measures they passed another which most clearly indicated their disposition: it gave him the right to place his tomb within the pomerium; and the decrees regarding this matter they inscribed in golden letters on silver tablets and deposited beneath the feet of Jupiter Capitolinus, thus pointing out to him very clearly that he was a mortal. When they had begun to honour him, it was with the idea, of course, that he would be reasonable; but as they went on and saw that he was delighted with what they voted,—indeed he accepted all but a very few of their decrees,—different men at different times kept proposing various extravagant honours, some in a spirit of exaggerated flattery and others by way of ridicule. At any rate, some actually ventured to suggest permitting him to have intercourse with as many women as he pleased, because even at this time, though fifty years old, he still had numerous mistresses. Others, and they were the majority, followed this course because they wished to make him envied and hated as quickly as possible, that he might the sooner perish. And this is precisely what happened, though Caesar was encouraged by these very measures to believe that he should never be plotted against by the men who had voted him such honours, nor, through fear of them, by any one else; and consequently he even dispensed henceforth with a body-guard. For nominally he accepted the privilege of being watched over

βουλευτῶν καὶ πρὸς τῶν ἱππέων τηρεῖσθαι προσέ-
 8 μενος,¹ καὶ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ πρὶν φρουρὰν προσκατέλυ-
 σεν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐν μιᾷ ποτε ἡμέρᾳ τὰ τε πλείω
 καὶ τὰ μείζω σφῶν ψηφισάμενοι (πλὴν γὰρ τοῦ
 Κασσίου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, οἱ περιβόητοι ἐπὶ
 τούτῳ ἐγένοντο, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἔπαθόν τι, ἐξ οὐπερ
 καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἢ ἐπιείκεια αὐτοῦ διεφάνη, τοῖς
 γε ἄλλοις ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἐγνώσθη) προσῆλθον αὐτῷ
 ἐν τῷ τοῦ Ἀφροδισίου προνάῳ καθημένῳ ὡς καὶ
 πάντες ἅμα τὰ δεδογμένα σφίσιν ἀπαγγελοῦντες
 2 (ἀπόντος γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὰ τοιαῦτα, τοῦ μὴ δοκεῖν
 ἀναγκαστοὶ ἀλλ' ἐβελονταὶ αὐτὰ ποιεῖν, ἐχρη-
 μάτιζον), καθημένο² σφας, εἴτ' οὖν θεοβλαβείᾳ
 τινὶ εἴτε καὶ περιχαρείᾳ, προσεδέξατο, καὶ ὄργην
 ἐκ τούτου πᾶσιν, οὐχ ὅτι τοῖς βουλευταῖς ἀλλὰ
 καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, τοσαύτην ἐπέβαλεν ὥστε ἐν τοῖς
 3 μάλιστα πρόφασιν τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς τοῖς ἀποκτεί-
 νασιν αὐτὸν παρασχέιν. ἔλεγον μὲν γὰρ ἀπο-
 λογούμενοί τινες ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ μετὰ ταῦτα ὅτι τῆς
 τε κοιλίας ἀκρατῆς ὑπὸ διαρροίας ἐγεγόνει, καὶ
 διὰ τοῦτο, ἵνα μὴ ἐξιδίση, κατέμεινεν· οὐ μέντοι
 καὶ πείθειν τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐδύναντο διὰ τὸ μετ' οὐ
 πολὺ ἐξεγερθέντα αὐτὸν αὐτοποδία οἴκαδε κομισ-
 4 θῆναι, ἀλλ' ὑπετόπουν τε³ αὐτὸν ὑπεραυχεῖν,
 καὶ δὴ ἐμίσουν⁴ ὡς ὑπερήφανον ὃν αὐτοὶ ταῖς
 ὑπερβολαῖς τῶν τιμῶν ὑπέρφρονα ἐπεποιήκεσαν.
 τούτου δὲ δὴ τοιοῦτου γενομένου προσεπηύξησε
 τὴν ὑποψίαν ὅτι καὶ δικτάτωρ διὰ βίου μετὰ
 ταῦτα ἀποδειχθεὶς ἠέσχετο.

¹ προσέμενος Bs., προέμενος L.

² καθήμενος Xiph., καθήμενοι L.

³ τε Pflugk, γε L. ⁴ δὴ ἐμίσουν Rk., διεμίσουν L.

by the senators and knights, and so dismissed the B.C. 44
 guard he had previously had. Indeed, when once they
 had voted to him on a single day an unusually large
 number of these honours of especial importance,—
 which had been granted unanimsly by all except
 Cassius and a few others, who became famous for
 this action, yet suffered no harm, whereby Caesar's
 clemency was conspicuously revealed,—they then
 approached him as he was sitting in the vestibule of
 the temple of Venus in order to announce to him
 in a body their decisions; for they transacted such
 business in his absence, in order to have the appear-
 ance of doing it, not under compulsion, but volun-
 tarily. And either by some heaven-sent fatuity or
 even through excess of joy he received them sitting,
 which aroused so great indignation among them
 all, not only the senators but all the rest, that it
 afforded his slayers one of their chief excuses for
 their plot against him. Some who subsequently tried
 to defend him claimed, it is true, that owing to an
 attack of diarrhoea he could not control the move-
 ment of his bowels and so had remained where he
 was in order to avoid a flux. They were not able,
 however, to convince the majority, since not long
 afterwards he rose up and went home on foot; hence
 most men suspected him of being inflated with pride
 and hated him for his haughtiness, when it was they
 themselves who had made him disdainful by the
 exaggerated character of their honours. After this
 occurrence, striking as it was, he increased the sus-
 picion by permitting himself somewhat later to be
 chosen dictator for life.

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