

BOOK LIII

Τάδε ἔρεσιν ἐν τῷ πεντηκοστῷ τρίτῳ τῶν Δίονος Ῥωμαϊκῶν

- α. Ὡς ὁ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ναὸς ἐν τῷ Παλατίῳ καθιερώθη.
 β. Ὡς Καῖσαρ ἐδημηγόρησεν ἐν τῇ γερουσίᾳ ὡς τῆς μοναρχίας ἀφιστάμενος καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὰ ἔθνη πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐνείματο.
 γ. Περὶ τῆς καταστάσεως τῶν ἀρχόντων τῶν ἐς τὰ ἔθνη πεμπομένων.
 δ. Ὡς Καῖσαρ Αὐγουστος ἐπεκλήθη.
 ε. Περὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων ὧν οἱ αὐτοκράτορες λαμβάνουσιν.
 ζ. Ὡς τὰ σέπτα καθιερώθη.
 η. Ὡς Καῖσαρ Ἀστυρσι καὶ Καντάβροι ἐπολέμησεν.
 θ. Ὡς Γαλατία ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἄρχεσθαι ἤρξατο.
 ι. Ὡς ἡ στοὰ ἢ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος καὶ τὸ βαλανεῖον τοῦ Ἀγρίππου καθιερώθη.
 κ. Ὡς τὸ Πάνθειον καθιερώθη.
 λ. Ὡς Αὐγουστος ἀφείθη τῆς ἀνάγκης τοῦ τοῖς νόμοις πειθεσθαι.
 μ. Ὡς ἐπ' Ἀραβίαν τὴν εὐδαίμονα στρατεία ἐγένετο.

Χρόνου πλήθος ἕτη ἕξ, ἐν οἷς ἄρχοντες οἱ ἀριθμούμενοι οἶδε ἐγένοντο

- Καῖσαρ τὸ 5'
 Μ. Οὐψάνιος Λ. υἱ. Ἀγρίππας τὸ β'¹ ὕπ.
 Καῖσαρ τὸ ζ'
 Μ. Οὐψάνιος Λ. υἱ. Ἀγρίππας τὸ γ' ὕπ.
 Καῖσαρ Αὐγουστος τὸ η'
 Τ. Στατίλιος Τ. υἱ.² Ταῦρος τὸ β' ὕπ.
 Αὐγουστος τὸ θ'
 Μ. Ἰούνιος Μ. υἱ. Σιλανός ὕπ.
 Αὐγουστος τὸ ι'³
 Γ. Νορβανός Γ. υἱ. Γ. ἕγγ. Φλάκκος ὕπ.⁴
 Αὐγουστος τὸ ια'
 Γν. Καλπούρνιος⁵ Γν. υἱ. Γν. ἕγγ. Πίσων⁶ ὕπ.⁴

Τότε μὲν ταῦτ' ἐγένετο, τῷ δὲ ἐξῆς ἔτει ἕκτον οἱ Καῖσαρ ἤρξε, καὶ τὰ τε ἄλλα κατὰ τὸ νομιζό-

¹ τὸ β' Xyl., τὸ γ' VM. ² Τ. υἱ. supplied by Bs.
³ Μ. Ἰούνιος Σιλανός Αὐγουστος τὸ ι' supplied by Xyl., Μ. υἱ. added by Bs. ⁴ ὕπ. supplied by Bs.

BOOK LIII

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

- How the temple of Apollo on the Palatine was dedicated (chap. 1).
 How Caesar delivered a speech in the senate, as if he were retiring from the sole rulership, and afterwards assigned to that body its provinces (chaps. 2-12).
 About the appointment of the governors sent to the provinces (chaps. 13-15).
 How Caesar was given the title of Augustus (chap. 16).
 About the names which the emperors receive (chaps. 17, 18).
 How the Saepta were dedicated (chap. 23).
 How Caesar fought against the Astures and Cantabri (chap. 25).
 How Galatia began to be governed by Romans (chap. 26).
 How the Basilica of Neptune and the Baths of Agrippa were dedicated (chap. 27).
 How the Pantheon was dedicated (chap. 27).
 How Augustus was freed from the obligation of obeying the laws (chap. 28).
 How an expedition was made against Arabia Felix (chap. 29).

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

- B.C.
 28 Caesar (VI), M. Vipsanius L. F. Agrippa (II).
 27 Caesar (VII), M. Vipsanius L. F. Agrippa (III).
 26 Caesar Augustus (VIII), T. Statilius T. F. Taurus (II).
 25 Augustus (IX), M. Junius M. F. Silanus.
 24 Augustus (X), C. Norbanus C. F. C. N. Flaccus.
 23 Augustus (XI), Cn. Calpurnius Cn. F. Cn. N. Piso.

THESE were the occurrences at that time. The following year Caesar held office for the sixth time and conformed in all other respects to the usages

⁵ Καλπούρνιος Xyl., καλπούρνιος VM.
⁶ Πίσων Dindl., πείσων VM.

μενον ἀπὸ τοῦ πάνυ ἀρχαίου ἐποίησε, καὶ τοὺς φακέλους τῶν ῥάβδων τῷ Ἀγρίππᾳ συνάρχοντί οἱ κατὰ τὸ ἐπιβάλλον παρέδωκεν, αὐτὸς τε ταῖς ἐτέραις ἐχρήσατο, καὶ διάρξας τὸν ὄρκον κατὰ 2 τὰ πάτρια ἐπήγαγε. καὶ εἰ μὲν καὶ αὐθις ταύτ' ἐποίησεν, οὐκ οἶδα τὸν γὰρ Ἀγρίππαν ἐς ὑπερβολὴν ἐτίμα· ἀμέλει τὴν τε ἀδελφιδὴν¹ αὐτῷ συνώκισε, καὶ σκηνήν, ὅποτε συστρατεύοιτο, ὁμοίαν τῇ ἑαυτοῦ παρεῖχε, τό τε σύνθημα παρ' 3 ἀμφοτέρων σφῶν ἐδίδοδο. ἐν δ' οὖν τῷ τότε παρόντι τά τε ἄλλα ὥσπερ εἶθιστο ἔπραξε, καὶ τὰς ἀπογραφὰς ἐξετέλεσε, καὶ ἐν αὐταῖς πρόκριτος τῆς γερουσίας ἐπεκλήθη, ὥσπερ ἐν τῇ Ἄκριβει δημοκρατία ἐνενόμιστο. τό τε Ἀπολλώνιον² τὸ³ ἐν τῷ Παλατίῳ καὶ τὸ τεμένισμα 4 ἐξεποίησε καὶ καθιέρωσε. καὶ τὴν πανήγυριν τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ τῇ πρὸς τῷ Ἀκτίῳ γενομένη ψηφισθεῖσαν ἤγαγε μετὰ τοῦ Ἀγρίππου, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τὴν ἵπποδρομίαν διὰ τε τῶν παίδων 5 καὶ διὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν εὐγενῶν ἐποίησε. καὶ αὕτη μὲν διὰ πέντε ἀεὶ ἐτῶν μέχρι τοῦ⁴ ἐγγινετο, ταῖς τέσσαρσιν ἱερωσύναις ἐκ περιτροπῆς μέλουσα,⁵ λέγω δὲ τοὺς τε ποντίφικας καὶ τοὺς οἰωνιστὰς τοὺς τε ἑπτὰ καὶ τοὺς πεντεκαίδεκα ἀνδρας καλουμένους· τότε δὲ καὶ γυμνικὸς ἀγων

¹ ἀδελφιδὴν M (ἀδελφιδήν), ἀδελφὴν V Xiph. Zon.

² Ἀπολλώνιον St., ἀπολλώνιον VM. ³ τὸ Bk., τό τε VM.

⁴ μέχρι τοῦ v. Herw., μέχρις οὗ VM.

⁵ μέλουσα R. Steph., μέλλουσα VM.

handed down from the earliest times, and, in particular, he delivered to Agrippa, his colleague, the bundles of rods as it was incumbent upon him to do, while he himself used the other set,¹ and on completing his term of office he took the oath according to ancestral custom.² Whether he ever did this again, I do not know, for he always paid exceptional honour to Agrippa; thus he gave him his niece in marriage, and provided him with a tent similar to his own whenever they were campaigning together, and the watchword was given out by both of them. At this particular time, now, besides attending to his other duties as usual, he completed the taking of the census, in connection with which his title was *princeps senatus*, as had been the practice when Rome was truly a republic. Moreover, he completed and dedicated the temple of Apollo on the Palatine, the precinct surrounding it, and the libraries. He also celebrated in company with Agrippa the festival which had been voted in honour of the victory won at Actium; and during this celebration he caused the boys and men of the nobility to take part in the Circensian games. This festival was held for a time every four years and was in charge of the four priesthoods in succession—I mean the pontifices, the augurs, and the septemviri and quindecimviri, as they were called. On the present occasion, moreover, a gymnastic contest

¹ Augustus seems to have used twenty-four lictors until 29 B.C., and thereafter twelve, first as consul (until 23), then as proconsul (until 19), and later on all occasions. Cf. liv. 10, 5.

² The customary oath taken by the consuls at the close of their term of office to the effect that they had done nothing contrary to the laws and had acted for the highest interests of the state. Cf. xxxvii. 38, 2, and xxxviii. 12, 3.

σταδίου τινὸς ἐν τῷ Ἀρείῳ πεδίῳ ξυλίνου κατασκευασθέντος ἐποιήθη, ὄπλομαχία τε ἐκ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἐγένετο. καὶ ταῦτα καὶ¹ ἐπὶ πλείους ἡμέρας ἐπράχθη, οὐδὲ διέλιπε καίτοι νοσήσαντος τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς ὁ Ἀγρίππας καὶ τὸ ἐκείνου μέρος ἀνεπλήρου.

2 Ὁ δ' οὖν Καίσαρ ἔς τε τὰς θεωρίας ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων δῆθεν ἀνήλισκε, καὶ ἐπειδὴ χρημάτων τῷ δημοσίῳ ἐδέησεν, ἐδανείσατό τινα καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ, πρὸς τε τὴν διοίκησίν σφον δύο κατ' ἔτος ἐκ τῶν ἐστρατηγηκότων αἰρεῖσθαι ἐκέλευσε. καὶ τῷ πλήθει τετραπλάσιον τὸν σίτον ἔνειμε, βουλευταῖς τέ τισι χρήματα ἐχαρίσατο· οὕτω γὰρ δὴ πολλοὶ σφον πένθητος ἐγεγόνεσαν ὥστε μὴ ἀγορανομήσαι τινα διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν ἀναλωμάτων ἐβελήσαι, ἀλλὰ τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ τὰ δικαστήρια τὰ τῇ ἀγορανομίᾳ προσήκοντα τοῖς στρατηγοῖς, καθάπερ εἶθιστο, τὰ μὲν μείζω τῷ ἀστυνόμῳ τὰ δὲ ἕτερα τῷ ξενικῷ προσταχθῆναι.

3 πρὸς δὲ δὴ τούτοις τὸν ἀστυνόμον αὐτὸς ἀπέδειξεν· ὃ καὶ αὐθις πολλάκις ἐποίησε. καὶ τὰς ἐγγύνας τὰς πρὸς τὸ δημόσιον πρὸ τῆς πρὸς τῷ Ἀκτίῳ μάχης γενομένης, πλὴν τῶν περὶ τὰ οἰκονομήματα, ἀπήλλαξε, τὰ τε παλαιὰ συμβόλαια

4 τῶν τῷ κοινῷ τι ὀφειλόντων ἔκαυσε. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἱερὰ τὰ Αἰγύπτια οὐκ ἐσεδέξατο εἰσῶ τοῦ πωμηρίου, τῶν δὲ δὴ ναῶν πρόνοιαν ἐποίησατο· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ὑπ' ἰδιωτῶν τινῶν γεγενημένους τοῖς τε παισὶν αὐτῶν καὶ τοῖς ἐκγόνοις, εἴγε τινὲς περιήσαν, ἐπισκευάσαι ἐκέλευσε, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς αὐτὸς ἀνε-

¹ καὶ M, om. V.

was held, a wooden stadium having been constructed in the Campus Martius, and there was a gladiatorial combat between captives. These events continued for several days and were not interrupted even when Caesar fell ill; but Agrippa went on with them even so, discharging Caesar's duties as well as his own.

Now Caesar allowed it to be understood that he was spending his private means upon these festivals, and when money was needed for the public treasury, he borrowed some and supplied the want; and for the management of the funds he ordered two annual magistrates to be chosen from among the ex-praetors. To the populace he distributed a quadruple allowance of grain and to some of the senators he made presents of money. For so many of them had become impoverished that none was willing to hold even the office of aedile because of the magnitude of the expenditures involved; indeed, the functions which belonged to that office, and particularly the judicial functions, were assigned to the praetors, as had been the custom, the more important to the praetor urbanus and the rest to the praetor peregrinus. In addition to all this, Caesar himself appointed the praetor urbanus, as, indeed, he often did subsequently. He cancelled all obligations which had been given to the public treasury previous to the battle of Actium, except those secured by buildings, and he burned the old notes of those who were indebted to the state. As for religious matters, he did not allow the Egyptian rites to be celebrated inside the pomerium, but made provision for the temples; those which had been built by private individuals he ordered their sons and descendants, if any survived, to repair, and the rest

- 5 κτήσατο. οὐ μέντοι καὶ τὴν δόξαν τῆς οἰκοδομῆ-
σεώς σφῶν ἐσφητερίσατο, ἀλλ' ἀπέδωκεν αὐτοῖς
τοῖς κατασκευάσασιν αὐτούς. ἐπειδὴ τε πολλὰ
πάνυ κατὰ τε τὰς στάσεις κὰν τοῖς πολέμοις,
ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐν τῇ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου τοῦ τε Λεπίδου
συναρχία, καὶ ἀνόμως καὶ ἀδίκως ἐτετάχει, πάντα
αὐτὰ δι' ἑνὸς προγράμματος κατέλυσε, ὅρον τὴν
6 ἕκτην αὐτοῦ ὑπατεῖαν προθεῖς.¹ εὐδοκιμῶν τε
οὖν ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ ἐπαινούμενος ἐπεθύμησε καὶ
ἑτέραν τινὰ μεγαλοψυχίαν διαδείξασθαι, ὅπως
καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τοιούτου μᾶλλον τιμηθεῖη, καὶ παρ'
ἐκόντων δὴ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὴν μοναρχίαν βε-
βαιώσασθαι τοῦ² μὴ δοκεῖν ἄκοντας αὐτοῦς βε-
7 βιάσθαι. κάκ τούτου τοὺς μάλιστα ἐπιτηδείους
οἱ τῶν βουλευτῶν παρασκευάσας ἔς τε τὴν
γεροσύαν ἐσήλθεν ἕβδομον ὑπατεύων, καὶ ἀνέγνω
τοιαύδε·
3 "Ἄπιστα μὲν εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι δόξω τισὶν ὑμῶν,³
ὦ πατέρες, προηρήσθαι· ἃ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἕκαστος τῶν
ἀκουόντων οὐκ ἂν ἐθελήσειε ποιῆσαι, ταῦτ' οὐδὲ
ἑτέρου λέγοντος πιστεύειν βούλεται, καὶ μάλιστα'
ὅτι πᾶς παντὶ τῷ ὑπερέχοντι φθονῶν ἐτοιμότερον
2 ἀπιστεῖ τοῖς ὑπὲρ ἑαυτὸν λεγομένοις. καὶ προσέτι
καὶ γιγνώσκω τοῦθ', ὅτι οἱ τὰ μὴ πιστὰ δοκοῦντα
εἶναι λέγοντες οὐχ ὅσον οὐ πείθουσί τινας, ἀλλὰ
καὶ κόβαλοι δοκοῦσιν εἶναι. οὐ μὲν ἄλλ' εἰ μὲν
τι τοιοῦτον ἐπηγγελόμεν ἢ μὴ παραχρήμα ποιή-
σειν ἔμελλον, σφόδρα ἂν ἀπώκησα αὐτὸ ἐκφῆναι,
μὴ καὶ αἰτίαν τινὰ μοχθηρὰν ἀντὶ χάριτος λάβω·

¹ προθεῖς Rk., προσθεῖς VM.

² τοῦ R. Steph., τὸ VM.

³ ὑμῶν M, ὑμῖν V.

he restored himself. He did not, however, appropriate to himself the credit for their erection, but allowed it to go as before to the original builders. And inasmuch as he had put into effect very many illegal and unjust regulations during the factional strife and the wars, especially in the period of his joint rule with Antony and Lepidus, he abolished them all by a single decree, setting the end of his sixth consulship as the time for their expiration. When, now, he obtained approbation and praise for this act, he desired to exhibit another instance of magnanimity, that by such a policy he might be honoured all the more and might have his sovereignty voluntarily confirmed by the people, so as to avoid the appearance of having forced them against their will. Therefore, having first primed his most intimate friends among the senators, he entered the senate in his seventh consulship and read the following address:

"I am sure that I shall seem to some of you, Conscript Fathers, to have made an incredible choice. For what each one of my hearers would not wish to do himself, he does not like to believe, either, when another claims to have done it, especially as everyone is jealous of anybody who is superior to him and so is more prone to disbelieve any utterance that is above his own standard. Besides, I know this, that those who say what appears to be incredible not only fail to persuade others but also appear to be impostors. And indeed, if it were a question of my promising something that I was not intending to put into effect immediately, I should have been exceedingly loath to proclaim it, for fear of gaining, instead of gratitude, some grievous im-

B.C. 28

B.C. 27

3 νῦν δ' ὁπότε εὐθὺς καὶ τήμερον ἐπακολουθήσει τὸ ἔργον αὐτῷ, πάννυ θαρσούντως ἔχω μὴ μόνον μηδεμίαν αἰσχύνην ψευδολογίας ὀφλήσειν, ἀλλὰ
 4 καὶ πάντας ἀνθρώπους εὐδοξία νικήσειν. ὅτι μὲν γὰρ πάρεστί μοι διὰ παντός ὑμῶν ἄρχειν, καὶ αὐτοὶ ὁράτε· τό τε γὰρ στασιάσαν πᾶν ἦτοι δικαιοθὲν πέπανται ἢ καὶ ἐλεηθὲν σεσωφρόνισται,¹ καὶ τὸ συναράμενόν μοι τῇ τε ἀμοιβῇ τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν ὀκείωται καὶ τῇ κοινωνίᾳ τῶν πρα-
 2 γμάτων ὠχύρωται, ὥστε μήτε ἐπιθυμήσαι τινα νεωτέρων ἔργων, κὰν ἄρα τι καὶ τοιοῦτο γένηται, τὸ γοῦν βοθηήσον ἡμῖν ἔτοιμον ἔτι καὶ μάλλον εἶναι. τά τε στρατιωτικὰ ἀκμάζει μοι καὶ εὐνοία καὶ βῶμῃ, καὶ χρήματα ἔστι καὶ σύμμαχοι, καὶ τὸ μέγιστον, οὕτω καὶ ὑμεῖς καὶ ὁ δῆμος διάκεισθε πρὸς με ὥστε καὶ πάννυ ἀνπροστατεῖσθαι.²
 3 ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ἐθελήσαι. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπὶ πλείον ὑμᾶς ἐξηγήσομαι, οὐδὲ ἐρεῖ τις ὡς ἐγὼ τῆς αὐταρχίας ἕνεκα πάντα τὰ προκατειργασμένα ἔπραξα· ἀλλὰ ἀφίημι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἅπασαν καὶ ἀποδίδωμι ὑμῖν πάντα ἀπλῶς, τὰ ὄπλα τοὺς νόμους τὰ ἔθνη, οὐχ ὅπως ἐκεῖνα ὅσα μοι ὑμεῖς
 4 ἐπετρέψατε, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσα αὐτὸς μετὰ ταυθ' ὑμῖν προσεκησάμην, ἵνα καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων καταμάθητε τοῦθ', ὅτι οὐδ' ἀπ' ἀρχῆς δυναστείας τινὸς ἐπεθύμησα, ἀλλ' ὄντως τῷ τε πατρὶ δεινῶς σφαγῆντι τιμωρήσαι καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐκ μεγάλων καὶ ἐπαλλήλων κακῶν ἐξελέσθαι ἠθέ-
 5 λησα. ὄφελον μὲν γὰρ μηδὲ ἐπιστηναί ποτε οὕτω τοῖς πράγμασι· τοῦτ' ἔστιν, ὄφελον μὴ

¹ ἐλεηθὲν σεσωφρόνισται M, ἐλεηθέντες σωφρόνισται V.

² προστατεῖσθαι M, προστατεῖσθε V.

putation. But as it is, when the performance will follow the promise this very day, I feel quite confident, not only that I shall incur no reproach of falsehood, but that I shall surpass all mankind in good repute. You see for yourselves, of course, that it is in my power to rule over you for life; for every factious element has either been put down through the application of justice or brought to its senses by receiving mercy, while those who were on my side have been made devoted by my reciprocating their friendly services and bound fast by having a share in the government. Therefore none of them desires a revolution, and if anything of the sort should take place, at least the party which will stand by me is even more ready than it was before. My military is in the finest condition as regards both loyalty and strength; there is money and there are allies; and, most important of all, you and the people are so disposed toward me that you would distinctly wish to have me at your head. However, I shall lead you no longer, and no one will be able to say that it was to win absolute power that I did whatever has hitherto been done. Nay, I give up my office completely, and restore to you absolutely everything,—the army, the laws, and the provinces,—not only those which you committed to me, but also those which I myself later acquired for you. Thus my very deeds also will prove to you that even at the outset I desired no position of power, but in very truth wished to avenge my father, cruelly murdered, and to extricate the city from great evils that came on unceasingly. Indeed, I would that I had not gone so far as to assume charge of affairs as I did; that is, I would that the city had not

B.C. 27

δεδεησθαί μου πρὸς τοιοῦτό τι τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλ' ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ ὁμοιοῖα, καθάπερ ποτὲ καὶ οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν, καὶ ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἐν τῇδε τῇ ἡλικίᾳ
 2 ἀπ' ἀρχῆς βεβιωκέναί. ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰμαρμένη τις, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐς τοῦτο προήγαγεν ὑμᾶς ὥστε καὶ ἐμοῦ, καίπερ νέου ἔτι τότε ὄντος, καὶ χρεῖαν σχεῖν καὶ πείραν λαβεῖν, μέχρι μὲν οὐ¹ τὰ πράγματα τῆς παρ' ἐμοῦ ἐπικουρίας ἔχρηξε, πάντα τε προθύμως καὶ ὑπὲρ τὴν ἡλικίαν ἐποίησα καὶ πάντα εὐτυχῶς καὶ ὑπὲρ τὴν δύναμιν κατέπραξα·
 3 καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὅ τι τῶν πάντων ἀπέτρεψέ με κινδυνεύουσιν ὑμῖν ἐπικουρῆσαι, οὐ πόνος, οὐ φόβος, οὐκ ἐχθρῶν ἀπειλαί, οὐ φίλων δεήσεις, οὐ τὸ πλήθος τῶν συνεστηκότων, οὐχ ἡ ἀπόνοια τῶν ἀντιτεταγμένων, ἀλλ' ἐπέδωκα ἀφειδῶς ὑμῖν ἐμαυτὸν ἐς πάντα τὰ περιεστηκότα, καὶ ἔπραξα
 4 καὶ ἔπαθον ἄπερ ἴστε. ἐξ ὧν αὐτὸς μὲν οὐδὲν κεκέρδαγκα πλὴν τοῦ τὴν πατρίδα περιπεποιῆσθαι, ὑμεῖς δὲ καὶ σώζεσθε καὶ σωφρονεῖτε. ἐπειδὴ δὲ καλῶς ποιούσα ἡ τύχη καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ἄδολον καὶ τὴν ὁμόνοια ἀστασίαστον δι' ἐμοῦ ὑμῖν ἀποδέδωκεν, ἀπολάβετε καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν, κομίσασθε καὶ τὰ ὄπλα καὶ τὰ ἔθνη τὰ ὑπήκοα, καὶ πολιτεύεσθε ὡσπερ εἴθετε.

6 “Καὶ μήτε² θαυμάσητε εἰ ταῦθ' οὕτω φρονῶ, τὴν τε ἄλλην ἐπιείκειάν μου καὶ πραότητα καὶ ἀπραγμοσύνην ὀρώντες, καὶ προσεκλογιζόμενοι ὅτι οὐδὲν πάποτε οὐθ' ὑπερογκον οὐθ' ὑπὲρ τοὺς πολλούς, καίπερ πολλὰ πολλάκις ψηφισαμένων
 2 ὑμῶν, ἐδεξάμην· μήτ' αὖ μωρίαν μου καταγνώτε,

¹ οὐ Bk., που VM. ² μήτε Bk., μήτοι VM.

required me for any such task, but that we of this generation also might have lived from the beginning B.C. 27 in peace and harmony, as our fathers lived of yore. But since some destiny, as it appears, brought you to a position where you had need even of me, young as I still was at the time, and put me to the test, I did everything with a zeal even beyond my years and accomplished everything with a good fortune even beyond my powers, so long as the situation demanded my help. And nothing in the world could deter me from aiding you when you were in danger, —neither toil, nor fear, nor threats of foes, nor prayers of friends, nor the multitude of the conspirators, nor the desperation of our adversaries; nay, I gave myself to you unstintingly for any and all the exigencies which have arisen, and what I did and suffered, you know. From all this I have derived no gain for myself except that I have kept my country from perishing; but as for you, you are enjoying both safety and tranquillity. Since, then, Fortune, by using me, has graciously restored to you peace without treachery and harmony without faction, receive back also your liberty and the republic; take over the army and the subject provinces, and govern yourselves as has been your wont.

“You should not be surprised at this purpose of mine, when you see my reasonableness in other respects, my mildness, and my love of quiet, and when you reflect, moreover, that I have never accepted any extraordinary privilege nor anything beyond what the many might gain, though you have often voted many of them to me. Do not, on the

ὅτι ἐξόν μοι καὶ ὑμῶν ἄρχειν καὶ τηλικαύτην ἡγεμονίαν τοσαύτης οἰκουμένης ἔχειν οὐ βούλομαι. ἐγὼ γάρ, ἂν τε τὸ δίκαιόν τις ἐξετάξῃ, δικαιοτάτου εἶναι νομίζω τὸ τὰ ὑμέτερα ὑμᾶς διέπειν, ἂν τε καὶ τὸ συμφέρον, συμφωρότατον ἡγοῦμαι καὶ ἐμοὶ τὸ μήτε πράγματα ἔχειν μήτε φθονεῖσθαι μήτε ἐπιβουλεύεσθαι καὶ ὑμῖν τὸ μετ' ἐλευθερίας καὶ σωφρόνως καὶ φιλικῶς πολιτεύεσθαι· ἂν τε καὶ τὸ εὐκλεές, οὐπερ ἔνεκα πολλοὶ καὶ πολεμεῖν καὶ κινδυνεύειν πολλάκις αἰροῦνται, πῶς μὲν οὐκ εὐδοξοτάτον μοι ἔσται τηλικαύτης ἀρχῆς ἀφέσθαι, πῶς δ' οὐκ εὐκλεέστατον ἐκ τοσούτου ἡγεμονίας ὄγκου ἐθελοντὶ ἰδιοτεύσαι; ὥστ' εἴ τις ὑμῶν ἀπιστεῖ ταῦτ' ὄντως τινὰ ἄλλον καὶ φρονῆσαι ἐπ' ἀληθείας καὶ εἰπεῖν δύνασθαι,

4 ἔμοιγε πιστευσάτω. πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ μεγάλα καταλέξαι ἔχων ὅσα καὶ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρός μου εὐηργέτησθε, ἐφ' οἷς εἰκότως ἂν ἡμᾶς ὑπὲρ πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους καὶ φιλοῖητε καὶ τιμῆητε, οὐδὲν ἂν ἄλλο τούτου μᾶλλον εἴποιμι, οὐδ' ἂν ἐπ' ἄλλῳ τινὶ μᾶλλον σεμνυναίμην, ὅτι τὴν μοναρχίαν μήτε ἐκεῖνος καίτοι διδόντων ὑμῶν λαβεῖν ἠθέλησε καὶ ἐγὼ ἔχων ἀφίημι.

7 “Τί γὰρ ἂν τις καὶ παρεξετάσειεν αὐτῷ; τὴν Γαλατίας ἄλωσιν ἢ τὴν Παννονίας δούλωσιν ἢ τὴν Μυσίας χεῖρωσιν ἢ τὴν Αἰγύπτου καταστροφῆν; ἀλλὰ τὸν Φαρνάκην τὸν Ἰούβαν τὸν Φραάτην, τὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς Βρεττανοὺς στρατείαν,

other hand, condemn me as foolish because, when it is in my power to rule over you and to hold so great a sovereignty over this vast world, I do not wish it. For, if one looks into the merits of the case from the point of view of justice, I regard it as most just for you to manage your own affairs; if from the point of view of expediency, I consider it most expedient, both that I should be free from trouble and not be the object of jealousy and intrigue, and that you should have a government based upon liberty and conducted with moderation and friendly feeling; and if, finally, from the point of view of glory, to win which many men are often found ready to choose war and personal risk, will it not add most to my renown to resign so great an empire, will it not add most to my glory to leave so exalted a sovereignty and voluntarily become a private citizen? Therefore, if there is any one of you who believes that no man except me can really and sincerely hold to such ideals and give them utterance, at least let him believe it of me. For, though I could recite many great benefits conferred upon you both by me and by my father, for which we beyond all other men could reasonably claim your affection and your honour, I could single out no other act in preference to this, nor could I feel a greater pride in any other thing than in this,—that he refused the monarchy although you offered it to him, and that I, when I hold it, lay it aside.

“What achievement, indeed, could one compare with these acts of ours? The conquest of Gaul, the enslavement of Pannonia, the subjugation of Moesia, the overthrow of Egypt? Or Pharnaces, or Juba, or Phraates, or the campaign against the Britons, or

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