EPITOME OF BOOK LXXIV

LXXIV Pertinax δὲ ἦν μὲν τῶν καλῶν κἀγαθῶν, ἢρξει 1,1 δὲ πάνω βραχὺν τινα χρόνου, εἶτα πρὸς τῶν στρατιώτων ἀνηρέθη. λαυθάνουτος γὰρ ἐτὶ τοῦ γεγενημένου περὶ τὸν Κόμιδον ἠλθὼν πρὸς αὐτὸν οἱ περὶ τῶν Ἐκλεκτον καὶ Δαίτων, καὶ τὸ πραχθὲν ἐμήρυσαν.1 διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν γὰρ καὶ τὸ ἀξίωμα αὐτοῦ ἡδέως αὐτὸν ἐπελέξαντο. ἵδικον δὲ αὐτοῦς ἐκεῖνος, καὶ ἄκουσας ὧν ἐλεγον, ἐπεμήχνη τὸν πιστύτατον τῶν ἑταίρων τὸ σῶμα τὸ τοῦ Κομ-μοῦδον ὑψόμενον. ὡς δὲ τὸ πραχθὲν ἐβεβαιώσατο, οὗτος δὴ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον κρύφα ἐσκεκομίσθη, καὶ ἐκπλησσόμεν μὲν τοῖς στρατιώταις παρέσχε, τῇ δὲ παρουσίᾳ τῶν περὶ τὸν Δαίτων, καὶ εἰς ὧν ὑπέσχετο (τρισάχλια γὰρ αὐτοῖς δραχμὰς κατ’ ἀνάρα δώσειν ἐπηγγεῖλατο 2), προσπεποίησά τοι αὐτοὺς. καὶ πάνω ἡσύχασα, εἰ μὴ τελευτῶν τῶν λόγων 3 οὐκ ὑπεστῆ ἡσύχασα, ἔδει πως εἶπε, “πολλὰ μὲν, ὁ ἄνδρας αὐστρατιῶται, καὶ δυσχερὰ τῶν παρόντων ἑταῖρι, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα αὐτῆς σὺν ύπίμ 4 ἐπανορθώ-σεται.” ἀκούσαντες γὰρ τοῦτο ὑπετόπησαν πάντα τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ὑπὸ τὸν Κομμόδου παρὰ τὸ καθεστηκὸς δεδομένα καταλυθῆσθαι, καὶ ἔδυσκόλαναν μὲν, ἡσύχασαν δὲ ὃμοι ἐπικρύπτοντες τὴν ὀργήν. 4 ἐξελθόν δὲ ἐκ τοῦ τείχους πρὸς τὸ συνεδρίου

1 ἐμήρυσαν Η. Steph., ἐγάμισαν VC.
2 ἐπηγγεῖλατο Βκ., ἐψηφίσατο VC.
3 τελευτῶν τῶν λόγων Βκ., τελευτήν τῶν λόγων VC.

PERTINAX was an excellent and upright man, but he ruled only a very short time, and was then put out of the way by the soldiers. While the fate of Commodus still remained a secret, the followers of Laetus and Eclectus came to him and informed him what had been done; for because of his excellence and his rank they were glad to choose him. And he, after seeing them and hearing their story, sent his most trustworthy companion to view the body of Commodus. When this man had confirmed the report of the deed, Pertinax then betook himself secretly to the camp. At first his arrival caused the soldiers alarm; but thanks to the presence of Laetus' adherents and to the offers that Pertinax made (he promised to give them twelve thousand sesterces apiece), he won them over. Indeed, they would have remained perfectly quiet, had he not in closing his speech made some such remark as this: “There are many distressing circumstances, fellow-soldiers, in the present situation; but the rest with your help shall be set right again.” On hearing this, they suspected that all the privileges granted them by Commodus in violation of precedent would be abolished, and they were displeased; nevertheless, they remained quiet, concealing their anger. On leaving the camp, he came to the senate-house while

4 ὤμιν R. Steph., ἰμιν VC.
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νυκτὸς ἦταν ὑπήρξει ἀφίκετο, καὶ ἀπεπαραμένον ἡμᾶς ὅπως τίς, οίᾳ ἐν ὁμίλῳ καὶ ἐν ὁδικῷ τοσοῦτῳ, προσελθεὶς αὐτῷ ἡμῶν, ἔπειτα ἐκ τοῦ αὐτο- σχέδου εἰπὼν ὅτι "οὐνόμασί μεν ὑπὸ τῶν στρα- τιωτῶν αὐτοκράτωρ, οὐδεὶς μέντοι τῆς ἄρχης δέομαι, ἀλλὰ έξισταμαι ἡδὴ καὶ τίμερον αὐτὴς διὰ τὴν ἔμαυτόν ἡλικίαν καὶ ἄρρωστιαν καὶ διὰ τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων δυσχέρειαν," λεγόμενον δὲ καὶ ἐπηράσατο αὐτὸν ἤμων γνώμης καὶ ἡ ἰλήθης ἡρομένη: τὴν τε γὰρ ψυχὴν ἄριστος ἦν καὶ τὸ σώματι έρροτο, πλὴν καθ' ὅσον βραχύ τι υπὸ τῶν ποδῶν ενεποδίκετο.

2 Καὶ οὕτως ὁ τε Πεπτίνας αὐτοκράτωρ καὶ ὁ Κόμμοδος πολέμιος ἀπεδείχθη, τολλὰ γε ἐν αὐτὸν καὶ δεινό καὶ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δόμου συμβοηθῶντων. ἤθελεν γὰρ καὶ τὸ σώμα αὐτοῦ σύραι καὶ διαπέσαι ὁσπερ καὶ τὰς εἰκόνας, εἰτόντος δὲ τοῦ Πεπτίνακος τῇ γῇ ἡδὴν τῶν νεκρῶν κεκρύθη, τὸν μὲν σώματος ἀπέσχοντο, τῶν δ' ἀλλων ἐνεφοροῦτο, οὐδὲν ὁ τε οὐκ ἐπηλέγωντες. Κόμμοδον μὲν γὰρ οὐδεὶς οὐδ' αὐτοκράτορα αὐτῶν ἐνομίσας, ἀληθῶς δὲ τῶν καὶ τύραννον ἀποκαλούντες προσετίθεσαν ἐπισκόπωντος τῶν μονομάχων, τῶν ἀρματηλήντων,

3 τῶν ἀριστερῶν, τῶν κηλήτων. τοῖς τε βουλευταῖς, ὅσοις καὶ μάλλαντα1 ἐκ τοῦ Κομμόδου φόβος ἐπήρητο.2 οὖ δὲ χλόες ἔπελεγεν "ἐδέχετε εὕρη,3 ἐσώθησι, ἐνίκητας." ὅσα τε εἰδέθεσαν ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Κομμόδου θεραπείᾳ εὐράσμώς ποιεῖ ξέδοιαν, ταῦτα τότε μεταφεραμέναν,

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1 καὶ μάλλαντα Sylh., μάλλαντα καὶ Β. C.
2 ἐπήρημον Kuiper, ἐπήρητο Β. C.

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it was still night, and after greeting us, so far as it was A.D. 193 possible for anyone to approach him in the midst of such a jostling throng, he said off-hand: "I have been named emperor by the soldiers; however, I do not want the office and shall resign it at once, this very day, because of my age and feeble health, and because of the distressing state of affairs." This was no sooner said than we gave him our genuine approbation and chose him in very truth; for he was not only most noble in spirit but also strong in body, except that he suffered from a slight impediment in walking by reason of his feet.

In this way was Pertinax declared emperor and Commodus a public enemy, after both the senate and the populace had joined in shouting many bitter words against the latter. They wanted to drag off his body and tear it limb from limb, as they did do, in fact, with his statues; but when Pertinax informed them that the corpse had already been interred, they spared his remains, but glutted their rage against him in other ways, calling him all sorts of names. For no one called him Commodus or emperor; instead they referred to him as an accursed wretch and a tyrant, adding in jest such terms as "the gladiator," "the charioteer," "the left-handed," "the ruptured." To those senators on whom the fear of Commodus had rested most heavily, the crowd called out: "Huzza! Huzza! You are saved; you have won." Indeed, all the shouts that they had been accustomed to utter with a kind of rhythmic swing in the amphitheatres, by way of paying court to Commodus, they now chanted with

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3 εὐράσμώς εὐράσμως Casaubon, ἐνίκητας Β. C.

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4 ξοντες ἐς το γελοϊτατον ἐξεζου. το μὲν γὰρ ἀπηλλαγμένον, τὸν δὲ οὐδὲτο φοβούμενον, τὸ τε διὰ μέσου αὐτῶν ὡς ἐλεύθεροι ἐκατοπτύστο, καὶ ἀξίωμα παροικίας ἐν τῷ ἀδειν αὐτῶν ἐλάμβανον· οὐ γὰρ ἔξηκει σφίσι τῷ μηκέτι φοβεθεῖσαί, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ βαρύσυντι καὶ ἐξυπέρχειν ἤθελον.—Xiph. 282, 15—283, 20 R. St.

3 Ἡν δὲ ὁ Περτίναξ Ἁγιος 1 ἐς Ἀλβης Πομπηίας, πατρὸς οὐκ εὐγενοῦς, γράμματα δὴν ἀποτέθην ἐς αὐτῶν ἰσικιμένος. καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο καὶ τῷ Πομπηιανῷ τῷ Κλαύδιῳ συνεργάνει, καὶ δὲ αὐτῶν 2 ἐν τοῖς ἵππεσιν χειραρχήσας ἐς τούτῳ προεχώρησεν ὡστε καὶ ἐκείνου αὐτοῦ 2 αὐταρχήσας, καὶ ἐγιόσε τότε ἐπὶ τοῦ Περτίνακος καὶ πρῶτον καὶ ἐσχάτων ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ τοῦ Πομπηιανοῦ ἐπὶ ἐν γὰρ τοῖς ἀγροῖς τα πλεῖστα διὰ τὸν Κόρμοδον δήγη, καὶ ἐς τὸ αὕτη ἐλάχιστα κατέβαινε, τὸ τε γήρας καὶ τὸ τῶν ὅθουλων νόσημα προβαλλόμενος, οὗδὲ ἐστιν ὅτε πρότερον ἐμὸν παρόντος ἐς τὴν γερον-

3 σιὰν ἐσῆθη. καὶ μέντοι καὶ μετὰ τοῦ Περτίνακα πάλιν ἐσόσει ἐπὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνον καὶ ἔβλεπον καὶ ἔρρωτο 3 καὶ ἔβουλευε, καὶ αὐτῶν ὁ Περτίναξ πάς τε ἅλα ἰαχυρός ἐτίμα καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ βαθρου ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ παρεκαθίζειν, καὶ τούτῳ καὶ τῶν Γαλαζίων τοῖς Ἀκίλλου ἐποίει καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνος ἐς τότε καὶ ἤκουεν καὶ ἔβλεπε. τούτους μὲν ὅσον

1 Ἁγιος Xyl., Ἁγιος VC.
2 δὲ αὐτῶν Bk., κατὰ τοῦτο VC.
3 ἔρρωτο Rk., ἐφάρ Peir. (ἐπὶ γὰρ — ἐβουλευε om. VC).

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For now that they had got rid of one ruler and as yet had nothing to fear from his successor, they were making the most of their freedom in the interval, and were gaining a reputation for boldness of speech in the security of the moment. For they were not satisfied merely to be relieved of further terror, but in their confidence they also wished to indulge in wanton insolence.

Pertinax was a Ligurian from Alba Pompeia; his father was not of noble birth, and he himself had received just enough education to enable him to gain a livelihood. This had brought him into association with Claudius Pompeianus, through whose influence he had become a tribune in the cavalry, and had reached such a height that he now was actually the emperor of his former patron. And it was at this time, under Pertinax, that I myself saw Pompeianus present in the senate for both the first and the last time. For he had been wont to spend most of his time in the country because of Commodus, and very rarely came down to the City, alleging his age and an ailment of the eyes as an excuse; and he had never before, when I was present, entered the senate. Furthermore, after the reign of Pertinax he was once more ailing; whereas under this emperor he had both his sight and good health, and used to take part in the deliberations of the senate. Pertinax showed him great honour in every way; and, in particular, he made him sit beside him on his bench in the senate. He also granted the same privilege to Acilius Glabrio; for this man, too, could both hear and see at that period. In addition to showing unusual honour to these men, he also
conducted himself in a very democratic manner A.D. 193 toward us [senators]; for he was easy of access, listened readily to anyone’s requests, and in answer gave his own opinion in a kindly way. Again, he used to give us banquets marked by moderation; and whenever he did not do this, he would send round various dishes, even the most inexpensive, to different ones of us. For this the wealthy and vain-glorious made great sport of him; but the rest of us, who valued virtue above licentiousness, approved his course.

So different was the opinion of everybody regarding Pertinax as contrasted with Commodus, that when people heard what had happened, they suspected that the story of his assassination had been put forth by Commodus to test them, and in consequence many of the governors in the provinces imprisoned the men who brought the news. It was not that they did not wish the report to be true, but that they were more afraid of appearing to have desired the death of Commodus than they were of failing to attach themselves to Pertinax. For of the latter no one, even if he committed an error so serious as this, was afraid, but of the former, every one, even if innocent of wrong-doing.

While Pertinax was still in Britain, after that great revolt which he quelled, and was being accounted worthy of praise on all sides, a horse named Pertinax won a race at Rome. It belonged to the Greens and was favoured by Commodus. So, when its partisans raised a great shout, crying, “It
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αὐτὸν τούτον, “Περτίναξ ἔστιν,” οἱ ἔτεροι οἱ ἀντιστασιωταὶ οὐκ ὁδοι, οἷα που ἀκρομήνοι τῷ Κομμῳδοῖ, προσεπεύξαντο, ἐπιτόντες οὐ πρὸς τὸν ἱππὸν ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα, “ἐί γὰρ ὄφειλεν εἶναι.” ὡστερον δὲ τοῦ αὐτοῦ τοῦτον ἱππὸν ἀπαλλαγέντα τε τῶν δρόμων ὑπὸ τοῦ γόρρος καὶ ἐν ἄγρῳ ὡστα μεσεπέπιπα τὸ Κομμῳδός καὶ ἑσθήγαγεν ἐν τῶν ἱπποδρόμων τάς τε ὀπλάς αὐτοῦ καταχρυσώσας καὶ τὰ νῶτα 3 δέρματι ἐπιχρύσῳ κοσμήσας καὶ αὐτοῦ οἱ ἀνθρωποὶ ἐξαπίνης ἰδόντες ἀνεβόησαν αὕτης “Περτίναξ ἐστί.” καὶ ἦν μὲν τοῦ μαντικῶν αὐτὸ καθ’ ἕαυτό τὸ λέγοντες, ἐπειδὴ τῇ ἐσχάτῃ ἐν τῷ ἔτει ἐκείνῳ ἱπποδρόμημα ἐγένετο, καὶ εὕρης ἐπ’ αὐτή τοῦ κράτος ἐς τὸν Περτίνακα περιῆλθεν ἐλογοσαίδη δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ῥοτάλου τὰ ὁμοία, ἐπειδὴ τῷ Περτίνακι αὐτῷ ὁ Κομμῳδός μονομαχῆσειν τῇ τελευταῖᾳ ἡμέρᾳ μέλλων ἐσώκεν.

5. Οὖτοι μὲν ἐς τὴν ἄρχην ὁ Περτίναξ κατέστης, καὶ ἔλαβε τὰς ἄλλας ἐπικλήσεις τὰς προσηκούσας καὶ ἔτέραν ἐπὶ τῷ δημοτικῷ εἶναι βούλευσα: πρόκριτος γὰρ τῆς γεροντίας κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐπονομάσθη. καὶ εὕρης ἐς κόσμον, ὡσα πρὶν πλημμέλους εἰχὲ καὶ ἀτάκτος, καθάστατο.

2 φιλανθρωπία τε ὡς καὶ χρηστότης καὶ ὀἰκονομία βελτίστητα καὶ πρόνοια τοῦ κοινοῦ ἐπιμελεστάτη περὶ τῶν αὐτοκράτορα διεδείκνυτο, τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα, ὡσα ἄν ἀγαθὸς αὐτοκράτωρ, ἐπρατέν ὁ Περτίναξ, καὶ τὴν ἀτίμαν ἀφείλε τῶν ἀδίκων περιπεμεμένων, καὶ προσετί καὶ ἐπώμοσε

3 μηδέποτε τοιαύτην δίκην προσδέξεσθαι. 4 καὶ

1 αὐτό Ῥειμ., αὐτὸ VC.

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is Pertinax!” the others, their opponents, in disgust A.D. 193 at Commodus, likewise prayed,—with reference to the man rather than to the horse,—“Would that it were so!” Later, when this same horse had left the race-track because of age and was in the country, it was sent for by Commodus, who brought it into the Circus after gilding its hoofs and adorning its back with a gilded skin. And the people, suddenly seeing it, cried out again: “It is Pertinax!” This very expression was doubtless an omen in itself, occurring, as it did, at the last horse-race that year; and immediately afterward the throne passed to Pertinax. Similar views were expressed also concerning the incident of the club; for Commodus when about to contend on the final day had given it to Pertinax.

It was in this manner that Pertinax came into power. And he obtained all the customary titles pertaining to the office, and also a new one to indicate his wish to be democratic; for he was styled Chief of the Senate in accordance with the ancient practice. He at once reduced to order everything that had previously been irregular and confused; for he showed not only humaneness and integrity in the imperial administration, but also the most economical management and the most careful consideration for the public welfare. Besides doing everything else that a good emperor should do, he removed the stigma attaching to those who had been unjustly put to death, and he furthermore took oath that he would never sanction such a penalty. And immediately some bewailed

2 ἀντιστασιωταί Dind., ἀντιστασιωταί VC.
3 νὰτα Salmasius, ἀντατα VC.
4 προσδέξεσθαι R. Steph., προσδέξασθαι VC.
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their relatives and others their friends with mingled tears and joy, even these exhibitions of emotion not having been permitted formerly. After this they exhumed the bodies, some of which were found intact and some in fragments, according to the manner of death or the lapse of time in each case; and after duly arranging them, they deposited them in their ancestral tombs.

At this time, then, there was such a dearth of funds in the imperial treasury that only a million sesterces could be found. Pertinax therefore raised money as best he could from the statues, the arms, the horses, the furniture, and the favourites of Commodus, and gave to the Pretorians all that he had promised and to the populace a hundred denarii per man. Indeed, all the articles that Commodus had collected, whether as luxuries or for gladiatorial combats or for chariot-driving, were exposed in the auction-room, primarily, of course, to be sold, yet with the further purpose of showing up the late emperor's deeds and practices, and also of finding out who their purchasers would be.

Lactus kept speaking well of Pertinax and abusing Commodus. For instance, he sent after some barbarians who had received a large sum of gold from Commodus for making peace (they were still on their way), and demanded its return, telling them to inform their people at home that Pertinax was ruler; for the barbarians knew his name only too well because of the reverses they had suffered

1 Cf. Exc. Val.: “Lactus kept showing up all the evil deeds of Commodus.”

when he made a campaign against them with Marcus. \addition{\textit{A.D.}}193
And here is another similar act of his intended to discredit Commodus. Discovering that some filthy clowns and buffoons, disgusting in appearance and with still more disgusting nicknames and habits, had been made extremely wealthy by Commodus on account of their wantonness and licentiousness, he made public their nicknames and the sums they had received. The former caused laughter and the latter wrath and grief, for there were some of them that possessed amounts such as Commodus had actually slain many senators to obtain. Laetus, however, did not remain permanently loyal to Pertinax, or, I might better say, he was never faithful even for a moment; for when he did not get what he wanted, he proceeded to incite the soldiers against him, as will be related.

Pertinax appointed as prefect of the city his father-in-law, Flavius Sulpicianus, a man in every way worthy of the office. Yet he was unwilling to make his wife Augusta or his son Caesar, though we granted him permission. In fact, he emphatically rejected both proposals, either because he had not yet firmly rooted his own power or because he did not choose either to let his unchaste consort sully the name of Augusta or to permit his son, who was still a boy, to be spoiled by the glamour and the prospects involved in the title of Caesar before he had received his education. Indeed, he would not even bring him up in the palace, but on the very first day he set aside everything that had belonged to his mother.
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