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HISTORY

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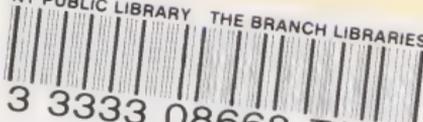
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APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

IV

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
HORACE WHITE, M.A., LL.D.

IN FOUR VOLUMES

IV



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THE CIVIL WARS

ΑΠΠΙΑΝΟΥ ΡΩΜΑΙΚΑ

ΡΩΜΑΙΚΩΝ ΕΜΦΥΛΙΩΝ

Γ'

IV

CAP.
IV

27. Ὁ δ' Ἀντώνιος ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν τὸν στρατὸν ἐκ τῆς Μακεδονίας διενεγκεῖν ἐπευόει, καὶ προφάσεως ἄλλης ἐς τοῦτο ἀπορῶν ἠξίου τὴν βουλὴν ἀντὶ τῆς Μακεδονίας ἐναλλάξαι οἱ τὴν ἐντὸς Ἀλπεων Κελτικὴν, ἣς ἠγεῖτο Δέκμος Βρούτος Ἀλβῖνος, εἰδὼς μὲν, ὅτι καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐκ τῆσδε τῆς Κελτικῆς ὀρμώμενος ἐκράτησε Πομπηίου, ὡς δὲ τὸν στρατὸν δόξων οὐκ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ἀλλ' ἐς τὴν Κελτικὴν μετακαλεῖν. ἡ δὲ βουλὴ τήνδε τὴν Κελτικὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἐπὶ σφίσιν ἠγουμένη ἐδυσχέραινε τε καὶ τῆς ἐνέδρας τότε πρῶτον ἤσθοντο καὶ τὴν Μακεδονίαν δόντες αὐτῷ μετενόουν. ἰδίᾳ τε αὐτῶν οἱ δυνατοὶ ἐπέστελλον τῷ Δέκμῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐγκρατῶς ἔχεσθαι καὶ στρατὸν ἄλλον καὶ χρήματα ἀγείρειν, εἰ πρὸς Ἀντωνίου βιάζοιτο· οὕτως ἐδεδοίκεσάν τε καὶ ἐν ὀργῇ τὸν Ἀντώνιον εἶχον. ὁ δὲ ἀντὶ μὲν τῆς βουλῆς ἐπευόει τὸν

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

THE CIVIL WARS

BOOK III.—*continued*

IV

27. ANTONY conceived the idea of bringing his army from Macedonia to Italy; and being in want of any other pretext for this step he asked the Senate to let him exchange the province of Macedonia for that of Cisalpine Gaul, which was under the command of Decimus Brutus Albinus. He remembered that Caesar had marched from the latter province when he overthrew Pompey and he thought that he should appear to be transferring his army to Gaul and not to Italy. The Senate, which looked upon Cisalpine Gaul as its own fortress, was angry, and now, for the first time perceived the stratagem and repented having given him Macedonia. The principal members sent word privately to Decimus to keep a strong hold on his province, and to raise additional troops and money in case Antony should resort to violence, so much did they fear and hate the latter. Antony then bethought him to ask the people, instead of the Senate, for this province by a law

CHAP.

IV

B. C. 44

Antony
brings the
Macedonian
army to
Italy

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

^{CAPIV} δῆμον αἰτῆσαι νόμῳ τὴν Κελτικὴν, ᾧ τρόπῳ καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ αὐτὴν πρότερον εἰλήφει καὶ Συρίαν Δολοβέλλας ὑπογύως, ἐς δὲ φόβον τῆς βουλῆς τὴν στρατιὰν ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἐκέλευε Γαίῳ τὸν Ἰόνιον περᾶν αὐτίκα.

28. Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἔμελλε ποιήσειν, ὡς προσετέτακτο· θέαι δ' ἦσαν, ἃς Κριτώνιος ἀγορανομῶν ἔμελλε τελέσειν· καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐς τὰς θέας τῷ πατρὶ τὸν τε χρύσειον θρόνον καὶ στέφανον παρεσκεύαζεν, ἅπερ αὐτῷ κατὰ πάσας θέας ἐψηφίσαντο προτίθεσθαι. τοῦ Κριτωνίου δὲ εἰπόντος οὐκ ἀνέξεσθαι τιμωμένου Καίσαρος ἐν ταῖς αὐτοῦ δαπάναις, ὁ Καῖσαρ αὐτὸν ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἤγεν ὡς ὕπατον. Ἀντωνίου δὲ εἰπόντος ἐς τὴν βουλήν ἐπανοίσειν, χαλεπήνας ὁ Καῖσαρ, “ἀνάφερε,” εἶπεν, “ἐγὼ δὲ τὸν θρόνον, ἕως ἂν ἦ τὸ δόγμα, προθήσω.” καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος χαλεπήνας ἐκόλυσε. ἐκόλυσε δὲ καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἐξῆς θέαις ἔτι παραλογώτερον, ἃς αὐτὸς ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐτέλει, ἀνακειμένας ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς Ἀφροδίτῃ Γενετείρα, ὅτε περ αὐτῇ καὶ τὸν νεὼν ὁ πατὴρ τὸν ἐν ἀγορᾷ ἅμα αὐτῇ ἀγορᾷ ἀνετίθει. τότε δὴ καὶ μάλιστα μῖσος ἤδη σαφὲς ἐκ πάντων ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐγίγνετο, ὡς οὐκ ἐς τὸν νῦν Καίσαρα φιλονικοῦντα μᾶλλον ἢ ἐς τὸν πρότερον ὑβρίζοντα ἀχαρίστως.

Αὐτὸς τε ὁ Καῖσαρ μετὰ πλήθους οἶα φρουρᾶς τὸν δῆμον καὶ τοὺς εὐ τι παθόντας ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοὺς ἐκείνῳ στρατευσαμένους περιθέων ἐπιφθόνως ἰκέτευεν οὐ μὲν αὐτοῦ τοιάδε καὶ τοσάδε

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

in the same manner that Caesar had obtained it at a former time, and Dolabella had recently obtained Syria. In order to intimidate the Senate he ordered his brother, Gaius, to bring his army across the Adriatic to Brundisium.

28. Gaius proceeded to do as ordered. Meanwhile there had arrived the time for the games which the aedile Critonius was about to exhibit, and Octavian made preparations to display his father's gilded throne and garland, which the Senate had voted should be placed in front for him at all games. When Critonius said that he could not allow Caesar to be honoured in this way at games given at his expense, Octavian brought him before Antony as consul. Antony said he would refer the matter to the Senate. Octavian was vexed and said, "Refer it; I will place the throne there as long as the decree is in force." Antony became angry and prohibited it. He prohibited it still more unreasonably in the next games given by Octavian himself, which had been instituted by his father in honour of Venus Genetrix when he dedicated a temple to her in a forum, together with the forum itself. Then at last it became evident that universal hatred of Antony was already growing out of this affair, since he seemed to be moved not so much by a feeling of rivalry toward the younger Caesar as by an ungrateful purpose to insult the memory of the elder one.

Octavian himself, with a crowd of people like a body-guard, moved about among the plebeians and those who had received benefits from his father, or had served under him in war, stirring their anger and beseeching them to pay no attention to

CHAP.
IV

Growing
rivalry
between
Octavian
and Antony

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP.
IV. *πάσχοντος ὑπερορᾶν καὶ ἀμελεῖν ἐκόντος, Καίσαρι δὲ τῷ σφῶν αὐτοκράτορι καὶ εὐεργέτη ἀμύνειν, ἀτιμουμένῳ πρὸς Ἄντωνίου· ἀμυνεῖν δὲ καὶ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς, οὐδὲν ἔξουσι βέβαιον ὧν εἰλήφασι παρὰ Καίσαρος, εἰ μὴδὲ αὐτῷ Καίσαρι μενεῖ τὰ ἐψηφισμένα βέβαια. Ἄντωνίου τε πανταχοῦ τῆς πόλεως ἐς τὰ ὑψηλὰ ἀναπηδῶν κατεβόα· “Καίσαρι μὲν δι’ ἐμὲ μήτε ὀργίζεσθαι μήτε ἐνυβρίζειν, εὐεργέτη σοῦ μάλιστα, ὧ Ἄντώνιε, ἐς τὰ μάλιστα γεγενημένῳ· ἐμοὶ δὲ τῶν μὲν ὕβρεων, ἐς ὅσον θέλεις, ἐμφορεῖσθαι, τὴν δὲ τῆς οὐσίας ἀρπαγὴν ἐπισχεῖν, μέχρι τοὺς πολίτας κομίσασθαι τὴν διανέμησιν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα ἔχειν· ἀρκέσειν γὰρ ἐμοὶ πενομένῳ τὴν τε τοῦ πατρὸς δόξαν, ἂν διαμένη, καὶ τὴν τοῦ δήμου διανέμησιν, ἐὰν ἐάσης δοθῆναι.”*

29. Ἐφ’ οἷς ἤδη παρὰ πάντων συνεχεῖς ἐγίγνοντο καὶ φανεραὶ κατὰ τοῦ Ἄντωνίου βοαί. ἀπειλησαμένου δὲ αὐτοῦ τῷ Καίσαρι πικρότερον καὶ τῆς ἀπειλῆς ἐξενεχθείσης ἐς τὸ φανερόν, ἔτι μᾶλλον ἅπαντες ὄρμηντο· καὶ οἱ τῆς φρουρᾶς Ἄντωνίου ταξίάρχοι, ἐστρατευμένοι τε Καίσαρι τῷ προτέρῳ καὶ ἐς τὰ μέγιστα ὑπ’ Ἄντωνίου τότε προτιμώμεοι, τὴν ὕβριν αὐτὸν ἐπισχεῖν ἠξίουσαν καὶ διὰ σφᾶς καὶ δι’ ἑαυτὸν, ὑπὸ Καίσαρι στρατευσάμενον καὶ τῶνδε τῶν οἱ παρόντων ἀγαθῶν παρ’ ἐκείνου τυχόντα. συγγιγνώσκων οὖν ὁ Ἄντώνιος ἀληθέσιν οὖσις τούτοις καὶ τοὺς προφέροντας αὐτὰ αἰδούμενος, ἤδη δέ τι καὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος αὐτοῦ διὰ τὸν δῆμον ἐς τὴν ἀλλαγὴν τῆς Κελτικῆς δεόμενος, ὠμολόγει τοῖς λεγομένοις καὶ ἐπώμνυεν αὐτὰ καὶ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

himself, though the victim of so many and so great outrages, and to ignore him, by his own request, but to defend Caesar, their commander and benefactor, against the insults of Antony; to defend themselves too, because they would never be secure in what they had received from Caesar unless the decrees passed in his honour should remain in full force. He exclaimed against Antony everywhere throughout the city, leaping up on to any elevated spot, saying, "O Antony, do not be angry with Caesar on my account. Do not insult one who has been the greatest benefactor to you. On me heap indignities to your heart's content. Cease plundering his property until the legacy to the citizens is paid; then take all the rest. However poor I may be, my father's glory, if that remains, and the distribution to the people, if you will allow it to be made, will be all-sufficient for me."

29. Henceforth there were open and repeated outcries against Antony on all sides. The latter indulged in more bitter threats against Octavian, and when they became known the people were still more incensed against him. The tribunes of Antony's guard, who had served under the elder Caesar, and who were then in the highest favour with Antony, urged him to refrain from insult, both on their account and on his own, as he had served under Caesar and had obtained his present good fortune at Caesar's hands. Antony, recognizing the truth of these words, and feeling a sense of shame before those who uttered them and needing some help from Octavian himself with the people, to procure the exchange of provinces, agreed with what they said and swore

CHAP.
IV

The
military
tribunes
intervene

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP.
IV. οἱ πάνυ ἀβούλητα εἶναι, τῆς δὲ γνώμης τοῦ νεανίσκου ἔνεκεν μετατίθεσθαι, ἐπηρμένον τε ἐπαχθῶς ἔτι τηλικούδε ὄντος καὶ οὐδὲν ἔχοντος αἰδέσιμον ἢ τίμιον ἐς πρεσβυτέρους τε καὶ ἐς ἄρχοντας· ἅπερ αὐτοῦ μὲν χάριν τοῦ νεανίσκου χρήζειν ἔτι νουθεσίας, σφῶν δὲ τῶν ταῦτα ἀξιούτων ἔνεκα αὐτὸς καθέξειν τῆς ὀργῆς καὶ ἐς τὴν προτέραν ἑαυτοῦ φύσιν τε καὶ γνώμην ἐπανήξειν, ἣν κίκεῖνος ἀπέχρηται τῆς ἀμετρίας.

30. Ταῦτα οἱ ταξίαρχοι ἀσπασάμενοι συνήγουν ἀμφοτέρους. οἱ δὲ ἐπεμέμφοντο ἀλλήλοις καὶ συνέβαινον ἐς φιλίαν. ὃ τε νόμος ὁ περὶ τῆς Κελτικῆς προυγρίφετο αὐτίκα, ὀρρωδούσης πάνυ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ ἐπινοούσης, εἰ μὲν ὁ Ἀντώνιος αὐτὸν προβουλεύοι, κωλύειν προβουλεύομενον, εἰ δὲ ἀπροβούλευτον ἐς τὸν δῆμον ἐσφέρει, τοὺς δημάρχους ἐς κόλυσιν ἐπιπέμπειν. ἦσαν δ' οἱ καὶ τὸ ἔθνος ὄλως ἐλευθεροῦν ἡγεμονίας ἠξίου· οὕτως ἐδεδοίκεσαν ἀγχοῦ τὴν Κελτικὴν οὖσαν. ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος αὐτοῖς ἀντενεκάλει, εἰ Δέκμῳ μὲν αὐτὴν πιστεύουσιν, ὅτι Καίσαρα ἀπέκτεινεν, αὐτῷ δ' ἀπιστοῦσιν, ὅτι οὐκ ἀπέκτεινε τὸν καταστρεψάμενον αὐτὴν καὶ κλίναντα ἐς γόνυ, ἀπορρίπτων ἤδη ταῦτα φανερώς ἐς ἅπαντας ὡς ἐφηδομένους τοῖς γεγονόσιν. ἐλθούσης δὲ τῆς κυρίας ἡμέρας ἡ μὲν βουλή τὴν λοχίτιν ἐνόμιζεν ἐκκλησίαν συλλεγῆσεσθαι, οἱ δὲ νυκτὸς ἔτι τὴν ἀγορὰν περισχοι-