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The Embassy to Gaius

Philo · Josephus · Plutarch

ΠΕΡΙ ΑΡΕΤΩΝ
ΚΑΙ ΠΡΕΣΒΕΙΑΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΓΑΙΟΝ

The Embassy to Gaius

With Against Flaccus, Josephus on the Death of Gaius,
and Plutarch's Galba and Otho

---

with a word-for-word interlinear English translation

preserving the original word order



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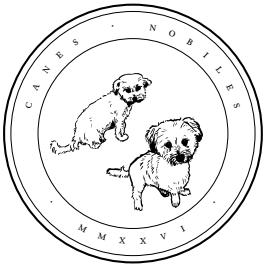

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The Greek text follows Cohn and Reiter's Philo (1915), Niese's Josephus (1890), and Perrin's Loeb Plutarch (1926). Two phrases of the Embassy, one of Josephus, and one of the Galba are omitted; [...] marks them.

Set from the First Thousand Years of Greek
and the Perseus Digital Library, with corrections

Translated and composed with AI, edited by Christopher Hench
Artwork by Esther Steves

Words the editors seclude are not printed; words
they supply are printed without their brackets.

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PHILO

ΠΕΡΙ ΑΡΕΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΡΕΣΒΕΙΑΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΓΑΙΟΝ

The Embassy to Gaius

Old men still judge like children, by the senses and not by reason; but the present crisis proves that God cares for the race called Israel, the one that sees God, and his punishing powers are among his benefits. When Gaius succeeds Tiberius he inherits a peaceful empire, treasure, and armies, and the whole world rejoices for seven months as never before. In the eighth, having traded the simpler life he led under Tiberius for wine and gluttony, he falls gravely ill, and every land grieves, fearing the evils of anarchy, until his recovery is announced and the rejoicing begins again.

Ἄχρι τίνος ἡμεῖς οἱ γέροντες ἔτι παῖδές ἐσμεν, τὰ 1
until what we the old-men still children are the
μὲν σώματα χρόνου μήκει πολιοί, τὰς δὲ ψυχὰς
indeed bodies by-time's length gray the but souls
ὑπ᾽ ἀναισθησίας κομιδῇ νήπιοι, νομίζοντες τὸ μὲν
through insensibility altogether infants thinking the indeed
ἀσταθμητότατον, τὴν τύχην, ἀκλινέστατον, τὸ δὲ
most-unstable the fortune most-unswerving the but
παγιώτατον, τὴν φύσιν, ἀβεβαιότατον; ὑπαλλαττόμεθα
most-fixed the nature most-insecure we-exchange
γὰρ καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς πεττείαις τὰς πράξεις μετατιθέντες,
for as in the checkers-games the actions transposing
οἰόμενοι τὰ μὲν τυχηρὰ μονιμώτερα εἶναι τῶν φύσει,
thinking the indeed things-of-fortune more-lasting to-be than-the by-nature
τὰ δὲ κατὰ φύσιν ἀβεβαιότερα τῶν τυχηρῶν.
the but according-to nature more-insecure than-the things-of-fortune
αἴτιον δὲ τὸ τὰ παρόντα βραβεύειν ἀπροοράτως τῶν 2
cause and the the present to-judge without-foresight of-the
μελλόντων ἔχοντας, αἰσθήσει πεπλανημένῃ χρωμένους πρὸ
future being sense deceived using before
διανοίας ἀπλανοῦς· ὀφθαλμοῖς μὲν γὰρ τὰ ἐν φανερῷ
thought undeceived by-eyes indeed for the in sight

καὶ ἐν χερσὶ καταλαμβάνεται, λογισμὸς δὲ φθάνει καὶ
and at hand is-grasped reasoning but reaches-beforehand even
πρὸς τὰ ἀόρατα καὶ μέλλοντα, οὗ τὴν ὄψιν ὀξυωπεστέραν
to the unseen and future whose the vision keener
οὖσαν τῆς δι᾽ ὀμμάτων σώματος ἀμαυροῦμεν, οἱ
being than-the through eyes of-body we-dim the(-ones)
μὲν ἀκράτῳ καὶ πλησμοναῖς ὑποσυγχέοντες, οἱ
indeed with-unmixed-wine and surfeits confounding the(-others)
δὲ τῷ μεγίστῳ τῶν κακῶν, ἀμαθίᾳ.
and with-the greatest of-the evils ignorance

3 πλὴν ὁ παρὼν καιρὸς καὶ αἱ κατ᾽ αὐτὸν κριθεῖσαι πολλαὶ
however the present occasion and the in it judged many
καὶ μεγάλαι ὑποθέσεις, κἂν εἰ ἄπιστοι γεγόνασί τινες
and great cases even if unbelieving have-become some
τοῦ προνοεῖν τὸ θεῖον ἀνθρώπων, καὶ μάλιστα τοῦ
of-the to-take-forethought the divine for-men and most of-the
ἱκετικοῦ γένους, ὃ τῷ πατρὶ καὶ βασιλεῖ τῶν ὅλων
suppliant race which to-the father and king of-the whole
καὶ πάντων αἰτίῳ προσκεκλήρωται, ἱκαναὶ πεῖσαι αὐτούς.
and of-all cause has-been-allotted sufficient to-persuade them

4 τοῦτο δὲ τὸ γένος Χαλδαϊστὶ μὲν Ἰσραὴλ καλεῖται,
this and the race in-Chaldean indeed Israel is-called
Ἑλληνιστὶ δὲ ἑρμηνευθέντος τοῦ ὀνόματος "ὁρῶν θεόν",
in-Greek but interpreted the name seeing god
ὅ μοι δοκεῖ πάντων χρημάτων ἰδίων τε καὶ κοινῶν
which to-me seems of-all things private both and common
εἶναι τιμιώτατον.
to-be most-precious

5 εἰ γὰρ πρεσβυτέρων ἢ ὑφηγητῶν ἢ ἀρχόντων ἢ γονέων
if for of-elders or of-guides or of-rulers or of-parents
ὄψις κινεῖ τοὺς βλέποντας πρὸς αἰδῶ καὶ εὐκοσμίαν καὶ
sight moves those seeing to reverence and orderliness and

σώφρονος βίου ζῆλον, πόσον τι νομίζομεν ἀρετῆς
of-temperate life emulation how-great something do-we-think of-virtue
ἔρμα καὶ καλοκαγαθίας ἀνευρήσειν ἐν ψυχαῖς, αἳ τὸ
ballast and of-nobility to-be-going-to-find in souls which the
γενητὸν πᾶν ὑπερκύψασαι τὸ ἀγένητον καὶ θεῖον ὁρᾶν
created all having-peered-beyond the uncreated and divine to-see
πεπαίδευνται, τὸ πρῶτον ἀγαθὸν καὶ καλὸν καὶ εὔδαιμον
have-been-trained the first good and beautiful and happy
καὶ μακάριον, εἰ δὲ δεῖ τἀληθὲς εἰπεῖν, τὸ κρεῖττον
and blessed if but it-is-needful the-truth to-say the(-thing) better
μὲν ἀγαθοῦ, κάλλιον δὲ καλοῦ, καὶ μακαριότητος
indeed than-good more-beautiful and than-beautiful and than-blessedness
μὲν μακαριώτερον, εὐδαιμονίας δὲ αὐτῆς εὐδαιμονέστερον,
indeed more-blessed than-happiness but itself happier
καὶ εἰ δή τι τῶν εἰρημένων τελειότερον.
and if indeed anything of-the said more-perfect
οὐ γὰρ φθάνει προσαναβαίνειν ὁ λόγος ἐπὶ τὸν ἄψαυστον 6
not for reaches to-climb-up the speech to the untouchable
καὶ ἀναφῆ πάντῃ θεόν, ἀλλ᾽ ὑπονοστεῖ καὶ ὑπορρεῖ κυρίοις
and intangible altogether god but sinks-back and slips-down with-proper
ὀνόμασιν ἀδυνατῶν ἐπιβάθρᾳ χρῆσθαι πρὸς δήλωσιν, οὐ
names unable as-step to-use for declaration not
λέγω τοῦ ὄντος — οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁ σύμπας οὐρανὸς ἔναρθρος
I-mean of-the being nor for the whole heaven articulate
φωνὴ γενόμενος εὐθυβόλων καὶ εὐσκόπων εἰς τοῦτο ἂν
voice having-become with-apt and well-aimed for this —
εὐποροίη ῥημάτων — ἀλλὰ τῶν δορυφόρων αὐτοῦ
would-be-supplied words but of-the bodyguard his
δυνάμεων, κοσμοποιητικῆς τε καὶ βασιλικῆς καὶ προνοητικῆς
powers cosmos-making both and royal and providential
καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσαι εὐεργέτιδές τε καὶ κολαστήριοι,
and of-the others as-many-as beneficent both and punitive

7 εἰ καὶ τὰς κολαστηρίους ἐν εὐεργέτισι τακτέον, οὐ μόνον
if even the punitive among beneficent one-must-rank not only
ἐπειδὴ νόμων καὶ θεσμῶν εἰσι μοῖραι — νόμος γὰρ ἐκ
since of-laws and ordinances they-are portions law for from
δυοῖν συμπληροῦσθαι πέφυκε, τιμῆς ἀγαθῶν καὶ πονηρῶν
two to-be-completed is-wont honor of-good and of-wicked
κολάσεως—, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ ἡ κόλασις νουθετεῖ καὶ
punishment but because also the punishment admonishes and
σωφρονίζει πολλάκις μὲν καὶ τοὺς ἁμαρτάνοντας, εἰ δὲ μή,
chastens often indeed even those erring if but not
πάντως γοῦν τοὺς πλησιάζοντας· αἱ γὰρ ἑτέρων τιμωρίαι
certainly at-least those near the for of-others punishments
βελτιοῦσι τοὺς πολλοὺς φόβῳ τοῦ μὴ παραπλήσια παθεῖν.
improve the many through-fear of-the not similar-things to-suffer

8 Τίς γὰρ ἰδὼν Γάιον μετὰ τὴν Τιβερίου Καίσαρος
who for having-seen Gaius after the of-Tiberius Caesar
τελευτὴν παρειληφότα τὴν ἡγεμονίαν πάσης γῆς καὶ
death having-taken-over the empire of-all land and
θαλάσσης ἀστασίαστον καὶ εὔνομον καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς
sea unrent-by-faction and well-ordered and in-all the
μέρεσιν ἡρμοσμένην εἰς τὸ σύμφωνον, ἑῴοις, ἑσπερίοις,
parts fitted into the harmony eastern western
μεσημβρινοῖς, ἀρκτικοῖς — τοῦ μὲν βαρβαρικοῦ γένους
southern northern the indeed barbarian race
τῷ Ἑλληνικῷ, τοῦ δ' Ἑλληνικοῦ τῷ βαρβαρικῷ, καὶ
with-the Greek the and Greek with-the barbarian and
τοῦ μὲν στρατιωτικοῦ τῷ κατὰ πόλεις, τοῦ δὲ πολιτικοῦ
the indeed military with-the in cities the and civil
τῷ στρατευομένῳ συμφρονήσαντος εἰς μετουσίαν καὶ
with-the soldiering having-agreed for sharing and

ἀπόλαυσιν εἰρήνης — οὐκ ἐθαύμασε καὶ κατεπλάγη τῆς
enjoyment of-peace not marveled and was-amazed at-the
ὑπερφυοῦς καὶ παντὸς λόγου κρείττονος εὐπραγίας,
extraordinary and than-every word greater good-fortune
ἐξ ἑτοίμου τἀγαθὰ ἀθρόα σωρηδὸν κεκληρονομηκότα, 9
from ready the-goods all-together in-heaps having-inherited
παμπληθεῖς θησαυροὺς χρημάτων, ἄργυρον καὶ χρυσόν,
vast treasures of-money silver and gold
τὸν μὲν ὡς ὕλην, τὸν δὲ ὡς νόμισμα, τὸν δὲ ὡς
the indeed as material the and as coin the and as
προκόσμημα δι᾽ ἐκπωμάτων καί τινων ἑτέρων ἃ
ornament through drinking-cups and some others which
πρὸς ἐπίδειξιν τεχνιτεύεται, παμπληθεῖς δυνάμεις, πεζάς,
for display are-crafted vast forces infantry
ἱππικάς, ναυτικάς, προσόδους ὥσπερ ἐκ πηγῶν ἀενάῳ
cavalry naval revenues as from springs by-ever-flowing
τινὶ φορᾷ χορηγουμένας,
some current supplied
ἀρχὴν οὐχὶ τῶν πλείστων καὶ ἀναγκαιοτάτων μερῶν τῆς 10
empire not of-the most and most-necessary parts of-the
οἰκουμένης, ἃ δὴ καὶ κυρίως ἄν τις οἰκουμένην εἴποι,
inhabited-world which indeed also properly — anyone inhabited-world would-call
δυσὶ ποταμοῖς ὁριζομένην, Εὐφράτῃ τε καὶ Ῥήνῳ, τῷ
by-two rivers bounded Euphrates both and Rhine the
μὲν ἀποτεμνομένῳ Γερμανίαν καὶ ὅσα θηριωδέστερα
indeed cutting-off Germany and as-many-as more-savage
ἔθνη, Εὐφράτῃ δὲ Παρθυηνὴν καὶ τὰ Σαρματῶν γένη καὶ
nations Euphrates but Parthia and the of-Sarmatians races and
Σκυθῶν, ἅπερ οὐχ ἧττον ἐξηγρίωται τῶν Γερμανικῶν,
of-Scythians which no less have-grown-savage than-the Germanic
ἀλλ᾽, ὡς εἶπον ἤδη, τὴν ἀφ᾽ ἡλίου ἀνιόντος ἄχρι δυομένου
but as I-said already the from sun rising to setting

τήν τε ἐντὸς ὠκεανοῦ καὶ ὑπερωκεάνιον; ἐφ' οἷς ὅ τε
the both within ocean and beyond-ocean at which the both
Ῥωμαίων δῆμος ἐγεγήθει καὶ πᾶσα Ἰταλία τά τε Ἀσιανὰ
of-Romans people rejoiced and all Italy the both Asian
καὶ Εὐρωπαῖα ἔθνη.
and European nations

11 ὡς γὰρ ἐπ' οὐδενὶ τῶν πώποτε γενομένων αὐτοκρατόρων
as for at none of-the ever having-been emperors
ἅπαντες ἠγάσθησαν, κτῆσιν καὶ χρῆσιν ἰδίων τε καὶ
all admired possession and use of-private both and
κοινῶν ἀγαθῶν οὐκ ἐλπίζοντες ἕξειν, ἀλλ' ἔχειν
common goods not hoping to-be-going-to-have but to-have
ἤδη νομίζοντες πλήρωμά τινος εὐτυχίας, ἐφεδρευούσης
already thinking fullness of-some good-fortune awaiting
εὐδαιμονίας.
happiness

12 οὐδὲν γοῦν ἦν ἰδεῖν ἕτερον κατὰ πόλεις ἢ βωμούς,
nothing at-least it-was-possible to-see other in cities than altars
ἱερεῖα, θυσίας, λευχειμονοῦντας, ἐστεφανωμένους, φαιδρούς,
victims sacrifices people-dressed-in-white crowned bright
εὐμένειαν ἐξ ἱλαρᾶς τῆς ὄψεως προφαίνοντας, ἑορτάς,
goodwill from cheerful the face showing-forth feasts
πανηγύρεις, μουσικοὺς ἀγῶνας, ἱπποδρομίας, κώμους,
festivals musical contests horse-races revels
παννυχίδας μετ' αὐλῶν καὶ κιθάρας, τέρψεις, ἀνέσεις,
all-night-festivals with flutes and lyre delights relaxations
ἐκεχειρίας, παντοίας ἡδονὰς διὰ πάσης αἰσθήσεως.
truces of-every-kind pleasures through every sense

13 τότε οὐ πλούσιοι πενήτων προύφερον, οὐκ ἔνδοξοι ἀδόξων,
then not rich than-poor excelled not famous than-obscure
οὐ δανεισταὶ χρεωστῶν, οὐ δεσπόται δούλων περιῆσαν,
not lenders than-debtors not masters than-slaves prevailed

ἰσονομίαν τοῦ καιροῦ διδόντος, ὡς τὸν παρὰ ποιηταῖς
equality the occasion giving so-that the among poets
ἀναγραφέντα Κρονικὸν βίον μηκέτι νομίζεσθαι πλάσμα
recorded of-Cronus life no-longer to-be-thought fiction
μύθου διά τε τὴν εὐθηνίαν καὶ εὐετηρίαν τό τε ἄλυπον
of-myth through both the plenty and good-year the both painlessness
καὶ ἄφοβον καὶ τὰς πανοικίας ὁμοῦ καὶ πανδήμους μεθ'
and fearlessness and the household-wide at-once and nation-wide by
ἡμέραν τε καὶ νύκτωρ εὐφροσύνας, αἳ μέχρι μηνῶν
day both and by-night merriments which up-to months
ἑπτὰ τῶν πρώτων ἄπαυστοι καὶ συνεχεῖς ἐγένοντο.
seven the first unceasing and continuous were
τῷ δὲ ὀγδόῳ κατασκήπτει βαρεῖα νόσος τῷ Γαΐῳ τὴν 14
in-the but eighth falls-upon severe disease — Gaius the
πρὸ μικροῦ δίαιταν, ὅτε ἔζη Τιβέριος, εὐκολωτέραν καὶ διὰ
before little way-of-life when lived Tiberius simpler and for
τοῦτο ὑγιεινοτέραν οὖσαν εἰς πολυτέλειαν μεθαρμοσαμένῳ.
this healthier being into extravagance having-changed
πολὺς γὰρ ἄκρατος καὶ ὀψοφαγίαι καὶ ἐπὶ πλήρεσι
much for unmixed-wine and gourmandizings and on full
τοῖς ὄγκοις ἀπλήρωτοι ἐπιθυμίαι θερμολουσίαι τε ἄκαιροι
the masses insatiable desires hot-baths both untimely
καὶ ἔμετοι καὶ εὐθὺς πάλιν οἰνοφλυγίαι καὶ ἔφεδροι
and vomitings and at-once again drunkenness and lurking
γαστριμαργίαι, […] καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα καθαιρετικὰ ψυχῆς
gluttonies (omitted) and as-many-as other destructive of-soul
καὶ σώματος καὶ τῶν ἐν ἑκατέρῳ δεσμῶν συνεπέθετο. τὰ
and body and of-the in each bonds attacked the
δὲ ἐπίχειρα ἐγκρατείας μὲν ὑγεία καὶ ἰσχύς, ἀκρασίας
and wages of-self-control indeed health and strength of-incontinence
δὲ ἀσθένεια καὶ νόσος γειτνιῶσα θανάτῳ.
but weakness and disease neighboring death

15 Διαγγελείσης οὖν τῆς ὅτι νοσεῖ φήμης, ἔτι πλοΐμων
having-been-spread then the that he-is-ill report still sailing-season
ὄντων — ἀρχὴ γὰρ ἦν μετοπώρου, τελευταῖος πλοῦς
being beginning for it-was of-late-autumn last voyage
τοῖς θαλαττεύουσιν, ἀπὸ τῶν πανταχόθεν ἐμπορίων εἰς
for-those seafaring from the everywhere trading-posts to
τοὺς οἰκείους λιμένας καὶ ὑποδρόμους ἐπανιοῦσι, καὶ
the own harbors and anchorages returning and
μάλιστα οἷς πρόνοια τοῦ μὴ διαχειμάζειν ἐπὶ ξένης
most for-whom forethought of-the not to-winter on foreign-land
ἐστί — μεθέμενοι τὸν ἁβροδίαιτον βίον ἐσκυθρώπαζον,
is having-put-off the luxurious life they-were-gloomy
συννοίας τε καὶ κατηφείας πᾶσα οἰκία καὶ πόλις γεγένητο
of-anxiety both and dejection every house and city had-become
μεστή, ἰσορρόπῳ λύπῃ τῆς πρὸ μικροῦ χαρᾶς ἀμφικλινοῦς
full with-equal grief the before little joy turned-the-scale
γενομένης.
having-become

16 τὰ γὰρ μέρη πάντα τῆς οἰκουμένης αὐτῷ συνενόσησε,
the for parts all of-the inhabited-world with-him fell-sick
βαρυτέρᾳ νόσῳ χρησάμενα τῆς κατασχούσης Γάιον·
with-heavier disease having-suffered than-the having-seized Gaius
ἐκείνη μὲν γὰρ σώματος ἦν αὐτὸ μόνον, ἡ δὲ τῶν
that indeed for of-body was itself only the but of-the
πανταχοῦ πάντων, ψυχικῆς εὐσθενείας, εἰρήνης, ἐλπίδων,
everywhere all of-soul's vigor of-peace of-hopes
μετουσίας καὶ ἀπολαύσεως ἀγαθῶν.
of-sharing and enjoyment of-goods

17 ἀνεπόλουν γὰρ ὅσα καὶ ἡλίκα κακὰ ἐξ ἀναρχίας
they-reflected for how-many and how-great evils from anarchy
φύεται· λιμόν, πόλεμον, δενδροτομίας, δῃώσεις χωρίων,
grow famine war tree-cutting ravagings of-lands

στερήσεις χρημάτων, ἀπαγωγάς, τοὺς περὶ δουλείας καὶ
deprivations of-money abductions the about slavery and
θανάτου φόβους ἀνηκέστους, ὧν ἰατρὸς ἦν οὐδείς, μίαν
death fears incurable of-which doctor was none one
ἐχόντων θεραπείαν τὸ ῥωσθῆναι Γάιον.
having remedy the to-recover Gaius
ὅτε γοῦν ἤρξατο λωφᾶν ἡ νόσος, ἐν βραχεῖ καὶ οἱ μέχρι 18
when at-least began to-abate the disease in short-time even those as-far-as
περάτων συνήσθοντο — φήμης γὰρ οὐδὲν ὠκύτερον—,
the-ends perceived-it than-rumor for nothing swifter
καὶ μετέωρος πᾶσα πόλις ἦν ἀκοῆς ἀεὶ διψῶσα
and in-suspense every city was for-hearing always thirsting
βελτίονος, ἕως διὰ τῶν ἐπιφοιτώντων παντελὴς ῥῶσις
better until through those arriving complete recovery
εὐηγγελίσθη, δι᾽ ἣν πάλιν ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς ἐπὶ τὰς αὐτὰς
was-announced through which again from beginning to the same
ἐτρέποντο θυμηδίας, ἰδίαν ἑαυτῶν νομίζουσαι σωτηρίαν
they-turned rejoicings own their thinking safety
πᾶσαι μὲν ἤπειροι πᾶσαι δὲ νῆσοι.
all indeed mainlands all and islands

II · THE DEATH OF TIBERIUS' GRANDSON

No one remembers such joy as follows his recovery, the world believing it has passed from a savage life into a settled one. But the mind is blind to its own good: Gaius soon turns on his cousin, Tiberius' grandson and co-heir, alleging a plot. He adopts him before the leading men, calling himself father and the boy son, and then forces him to kill himself; the youth, never taught to handle a sword, has to ask where to strike. Next he turns on Macro, who had shielded him from Tiberius' suspicions and vouched for his loyalty, urged on daily by his own wife, who for an unspoken reason favored the young man.

19 μέμνηται γὰρ οὐδεὶς τοσαύτην μιᾶς χώρας ἢ ἑνὸς
remembers for no-one so-great of-one country or of-one
ἔθνους γενέσθαι χαρὰν ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ καὶ καταστάσει
nation to-have-been joy at safety and establishment
ἡγεμόνος, ὅσην ἐπὶ Γαΐῳ συμπάσης τῆς οἰκουμένης καὶ
of-ruler as-great-as at Gaius of-all the inhabited-world both
παραλαβόντι τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ῥωσθέντι ἐκ τῆς ἀσθενείας.
having-taken-over the rule and having-recovered from the sickness
20 ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐκ νομάδος βίου καὶ θηριώδους νῦν πρῶτον
as for from nomadic life and bestial now first
ἀρχόμενοι μεταβάλλειν πρὸς τὸ σύννομον καὶ ὁμοδίαιτον
beginning to-change to the communal and shared-living
καὶ ἐξ ἐρημίας καὶ σηκῶν καὶ ὑπωρειῶν εἰσοικίζεσθαι
and from wilderness and folds and foothills to-be-settled
πόλεσι τειχήρεσι καὶ ἐξ ἀνεπιτροπεύτου ζωῆς ὑπὸ
in-cities walled and from unsupervised life under
ἐπιτρόπῳ τάττεσθαι νομεῖ τινι καὶ ἀγελάρχῃ τῆς
overseer to-be-placed shepherd some and herd-leader of-the
ἡμερωτέρας ἀγέλης ἐγεγήθεσαν ἀγνοίᾳ τῆς ἀληθείας·
tamer herd they-rejoiced in-ignorance of-the truth

τυφλώττει γὰρ ὁ ἀνθρώπινος νοῦς πρὸς τὴν τοῦ 21
is-blind for the human mind toward the of-the
συμφέροντος ὄντως αἴσθησιν εἰκασίᾳ καὶ στοχασμῷ
advantageous truly perception with-conjecture and guesswork
μᾶλλον ἢ ἐπιστήμῃ χρῆσθαι δυνάμενος.
rather than with-knowledge to-use being-able
Εὐθὺς γοῦν οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ὁ σωτὴρ καὶ εὐεργέτης εἶναι 22
at-once at-least not after long the savior and benefactor to-be
νομισθεὶς καί τινας ἀγαθῶν πηγὰς νέας ἐπομβρήσειν
thought and some of-goods springs new to-be-going-to-rain-on
Ἀσίᾳ τε καὶ Εὐρώπῃ πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν ἀκαθαίρετον,
Asia both and Europe for happiness indestructible
ἰδίᾳ τε ἑκάστῳ καὶ πᾶσι κοινῇ, τὸ λεγόμενον δὴ
privately both to-each and to-all in-common the saying indeed
τοῦτο "ἀφ' ἱερᾶς" ἤρξατο μεταβαλὼν πρὸς τὸ ἀτίθασον,
this from sacred-line began having-changed to the savage
μᾶλλον δὲ ἦν συνεσκίαζεν ἀγριότητα τῷ πλάσματι
rather but which he-overshadowed savagery with-the fiction
τῆς ὑποκρίσεως ἀναφήνας.
of-the pretense having-revealed
τὸν γὰρ ἀνεψιὸν καὶ κοινωνὸν ἀπολειφθέντα τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ 23
the for cousin and partner left of-the rule and
οἰκειότερον αὐτοῦ διάδοχον — ὁ μὲν γὰρ θέσει υἱωνὸς
more-akin than-he successor the(-one) indeed for by-adoption grandson
ἦν, ὁ δὲ φύσει Τιβερίου — κτείνει προφασισάμενος
was the(-other) and by-nature of-Tiberius he-kills having-alleged
ἐπιβουλήν, μηδὲ τῆς ἡλικίας χωρούσης ἔγκλημα τοιοῦτον·
plot not-even the age admitting charge such
ἄρτι γὰρ ἐκ παίδων εἰς μειράκιον ὁ δύστηνος μετῄει.
just for from boyhood to youth the wretched was-passing

24 καὶ ὥς γέ φασί τινες, εἰ βραχὺν ἐπεβίω χρόνον
and as at-least say some if short had-survived time
Τιβέριος, ὁ μὲν ἂν ἐκποδὼν ἐγεγένητο Γάιος, δι'
Tiberius — indeed — out-of-the-way would-have-been Gaius through
ὑποψιῶν κεχωρηκὼς ἀνηκέστων, ὁ δὲ γνήσιος υἱωνὸς
suspicions having-gone incurable the and true grandson
μόνος ἀπεδέδεικτο ἡγεμὼν καὶ κληρονόμος τῆς
alone would-have-been-appointed ruler and heir of-the
παππώας ἀρχῆς.
grandfather's rule

25 ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς εἱμαρμένης ἔφθη συναρπασθείς,
but the(-one) indeed by the fate was-beforehand snatched-away
πρὶν ἐπὶ τέλος ἀγαγεῖν τὰ βουλεύματα· Γάιος δὲ τὴν ἐκ
before to end to-bring the plans Gaius but the from
τοῦ παραβαίνειν τὰ πρὸς τὸν κοινωνὸν δίκαια διαβολὴν
the to-transgress the toward the partner rights slander
ἐνόμιζεν ἀποδράσεσθαι καταστρατηγῶν.
thought to-be-going-to-escape outgeneraling

26 τὸ δὲ σόφισμα τοιοῦτον ἦν· συναγαγὼν τοὺς ἐν τέλει
the and trick such was having-gathered those in office
"βούλομαι μὲν" ἔφη "τὸν γένει μὲν ἀνεψιὸν εὐνοίᾳ δὲ
I-wish indeed he-said the by-birth indeed cousin by-goodwill and
ἀδελφόν, ἑπόμενος καὶ τῇ τοῦ τετελευτηκότος Τιβερίου
brother following also the of-the having-died Tiberius
γνώμῃ, κοινοπραγεῖν τῆς αὐτοκρατοῦς ἐξουσίας· ὁρᾶτε
judgment to-share of-the absolute power you-see
δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ νήπιον ἔτι ὄντα κομιδῇ καὶ χρῄζοντα
but also yourselves infant still being quite and needing
ἐπιτρόπων καὶ διδασκάλων καὶ παιδαγωγῶν.
guardians and teachers and tutors

ἐπεὶ τί ἂν ἦν μεῖζον ἀγαθὸν ἢ τὰ τοσαῦτα βάρη τῆς 27
since what — would-be greater good than the so-great burdens of-the
ἡγεμονίας μὴ μίαν ψυχὴν ἢ σῶμα ἓν ἐπηχθίσθαι, ἀλλ᾽
empire not one soul or body one to-have-been-burdened but
ἔχειν τὸν δυνησόμενον ἐπελαφρίζειν καὶ συνεπικουφίζειν;
to-have the(-one) going-to-be-able to-lighten and to-help-relieve
ἐγὼ δὲ᾽᾽ ἔφη ᾽᾽παιδαγωγοὺς καὶ διδασκάλους καὶ
I but he-said tutors and teachers and
ἐπιτρόπους ὑπερβαλὼν ἐμαυτὸν μὲν ἤδη γράφω πατέρα,
guardians surpassing myself indeed already I-write father
υἱὸν δὲ ἐκεῖνον.᾽᾽
son and him
τούτοις καὶ τοὺς παρόντας ἀπατήσας καὶ τὸ μειράκιον — 28
with-these both those present having-deceived and the youth
δέλεαρ γὰρ ἦν ἡ θέσις οὐκ ἐλπιζομένης ἡγεμονίας,
bait for was the adoption not of-hoped-for empire
ἀλλ᾽ ἀφαιρέσεως ἧς εἶχεν ἤδη — τῷ συγκληρονόμῳ
but of-removal of-which he-had already to-the co-heir
καὶ κοινωνῷ δικαίῳ μετὰ πολλῆς ἀδείας οὐδενὸς ἔτι
and partner rightful with much impunity of-nothing further
πεφροντικὼς ἐπεβούλευεν. ἡ γὰρ υἱοῦ παντελὴς ἐξουσία
having-cared he-plotted the for of-son complete authority
κατὰ τοὺς τῶν Ῥωμαίων νόμους ἀνάκειται πατρί,
according-to the of-the Romans laws is-assigned to-father
δίχα τοῦ καὶ ἀνυπεύθυνον ἀρχὴν εἶναι τὴν αὐτοκράτορα,
apart-from the also unaccountable rule to-be the imperial
μηδενὸς ἐπὶ τοῖς ὁπωσοῦν πεπραγμένοις λόγον ἀπαιτεῖν
no-one for the howsoever done-things account to-demand
τολμῶντος ἢ δυναμένου.
daring or being-able

29 τοῦτον μὲν δὴ καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσιν ἔφεδρον
this-one indeed indeed as in the contests reserve
ὑπολαβὼν εἶναι καταπαλαίει, μήτε συντροφίας μήτε
having-supposed to-be he-throws not of-upbringing nor
οἰκειότητος μήτε ἡλικίας οἶκτον λαβών, δύστηνον,
of-kinship nor of-age pity having-taken wretched
ὠκύμορον, συνάρχοντα, συγκληρονόμον, τὸν ἐλπισθέντα
short-lived co-ruler co-heir the(-one) hoped
ποτὲ καὶ μόνον αὐτοκράτορα διὰ τὴν πρὸς Τιβέριον
once even sole emperor because-of the toward Tiberius
ἐγγυτάτω συγγένειαν· υἱωνοὶ γὰρ πατέρων ἀποθανόντων
nearest kinship grandsons for fathers having-died
ἐν υἱῶν τάξει παρὰ πάπποις καταριθμοῦνται.
in sons' rank with grandfathers are-counted

30 λέγεται δὲ ὅτι καὶ κελευσθεὶς αὐτοχειρίᾳ κτείνειν
it-is-said and that also having-been-bidden with-his-own-hand to-kill
ἑαυτόν, ἐφεστώτων ἑκατοντάρχου καὶ χιλιάρχου, οἷς
himself standing-by centurion and tribune to-whom
εἴρητο μὴ συνεφάψασθαι τοῦ ἄγους, ὡς οὐκ ἐξὸν
had-been-said not to-take-part of-the pollution as not permitted
αὐτοκρατόρων ἀπογόνους πρὸς ἑτέρων ἀναιρεῖσθαι —
of-emperors descendants by others to-be-killed
νόμων γὰρ ἐν ἀνομίαις καὶ ὁσιότητος ἐν ἀνοσιουργίαις
of-laws for amid lawlessness and of-holiness amid impieties
ἐμέμνητο κατειρωνευόμενος τὴν φύσιν τῆς ἀληθείας—,
he-made-mention mocking the nature of-the truth
ἀπείρως ἔχων — οὐδὲ γὰρ ἕτερόν τινα κτεινόμενον
inexperienced being nor for other anyone being-killed
εἶδεν οὐδὲ ἤσκητό πω ταῖς ὁπλομαχίαις, αἷ μελέται
had-he-seen nor had-been-trained yet in-the arms-exercises which practices
καὶ προγυμνάσματα παίδων ἐφ' ἡγεμονίᾳ τρεφομένων εἰσὶ
and preliminary-exercises of-boys for empire reared are

διὰ τοὺς ἐνισταμένους πολέμους — τὸ μὲν πρῶτον
because-of the impending wars the indeed first
τοὺς ἥκοντας παρεκάλει τὸν αὐχένα προτείνας ἀνελεῖν.
those having-come he-called-on the neck having-stretched-out to-kill-him
ὡς δ' οὐχ ὑπέμενον, αὐτὸς λαβὼν τὸ ξίφος ἐπυνθάνετο 31
when but not they-endured himself having-taken the sword he-asked-about
τὸν καιριώτατον τόπον ὑπ' ἀγνοίας καὶ ἀηθείας, ἵνα
the most-fatal place through ignorance and inexperience so-that
εὐσκόπῳ πληγῇ τὴν ἀθλίαν ζωὴν ἀπορρήξῃ. καὶ οἱ
with-well-aimed blow the wretched life he-might-break-off and they
μὲν οἷα διδάσκαλοι κακοδαιμονίας ὑφηγοῦντό τε καὶ
indeed as teachers of-misery guided both and
ἐδείκνυσαν τὸ μέρος, ᾧ χρὴ τὸ ξίφος ἐπενεγκεῖν· ὁ
showed the part where one-must the sword to-bring-against he
δὲ πρώτην καὶ ὑστάτην μάθησιν ἀναδιδαχθεὶς ἀνδροφόνος
and first and last lesson having-been-taught murderer
αὐτὸς αὑτοῦ γίνεται βιασθείς, ὁ δύστηνος.
himself of-himself becomes forced the wretched
Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ πρῶτος καὶ μέγιστος ἆθλος οὗτος Γαΐῳ 32
when and the first and greatest feat this by-Gaius
κατείργαστο, μηδενὸς ἔτι λειπομένου κοινωνοῦ τῆς
had-been-accomplished no-one still left partner of-the
ἡγεμονίας πρὸς ὃν ἀποκλινοῦσί τινες τῶν ἐθελοκακούντων
empire toward whom will-incline some of-those willfully-disaffected
καὶ ἐν ὑποψίαις ὄντων, ἐπὶ δεύτερον εὐθὺς ἐκονίετο
and in suspicions being to second at-once he-dusted-himself-for
τὸν Μάκρωνος, ἀνδρὸς εἰς πάντα αὐτῷ συναγωνισαμένου
the of-Macro man in all-things with-him having-striven-along
τὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς, οὐ μόνον ἀποδειχθέντι ἡγεμόνι —
the-things of-the rule not only appointed ruler

κολακείας γὰρ ἴδιον τὰς εὐπραγίας θεραπεύειν — ἀλλὰ
of-flattery for peculiar the prosperities to-court but
καὶ πρότερον εἰς τὸ τυχεῖν τῆς ἡγεμονίας.
also before for the to-obtain the empire

33 ὁ γὰρ Τιβέριος φρονήσει βαθείᾳ χρώμενος καὶ τῶν
— for Tiberius wisdom deep using and of-the
κατ᾽ αὐτὸν ἁπάντων δεινότατος ὢν ἀφανὲς ἀνθρώπου
in his-time all cleverest being hidden of-man
βούλημα συνιδεῖν καὶ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον συνέσει διενεγκών, ἐφ᾽
intention to-perceive and to so-much in-intelligence having-excelled to
ὅσον καὶ εὐτυχίᾳ, πολλάκις ὑπεβλέπετο τὸν Γάιον ὡς
as-much also in-good-fortune often looked-askance-at — Gaius as
κακόνουν μὲν ἅπαντι τῷ Κλαυδίων οἴκῳ, προσκείμενον
ill-disposed indeed to-all the of-Claudii house attached
δὲ μόνῳ τῷ μητρῴῳ γένει — καὶ ἐδεδίει περὶ τοῦ
but only to-the mother's family and feared for the
υἱωνοῦ, μὴ νέος ἀπολειφθεὶς παραπόληται—,
grandson lest young left-behind he-perish

34 πρὸς δὲ ἀρχὴν καὶ τοσαύτην ἀνεπιτηδείως ἔχοντα διά
for and rule even so-great unfitly being through
τε τὸ τῆς φύσεως ἄμικτον καὶ ἀκοινώνητον καὶ τὴν
both the of-the nature unsociable and unfriendly and the
τῶν ἠθῶν ἀνωμαλίαν· ἀλλόκοτα γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ ἐπιμανῆ
of-the character inconsistency strange for in-him and frenzied-things
κατεφαίνετο, μηδεμιᾶς σῳζομένης ἀκολουθίας, μήτε ἐν
appeared no being-preserved consistency neither in
λόγοις μήτε ἐν ἔργοις.
words nor in deeds

35 ἃ παντὶ σθένει κατὰ τὸ παρεῖκον ὁ Μάκρων ἐθεράπευε,
which with-all strength as-far-as the possible — Macro tended
τὰς μὲν ὑπονοίας τοῦ Τιβερίου καὶ ἐν οἷς μάλιστ᾽ ἐδόκει

τὴν διάνοιαν ἑλκοῦσθαι διὰ τὸν ἄληκτον ἐπὶ τῷ υἱωνῷ
the mind to-be-ulcerated because-of the incessant for the grandson
φόβον ἐξιώμενος.
fear curing

εὔνουν γὰρ καὶ πειθαρχικὸν ἀπέφαινε τὸν Γάιον καὶ 36
well-disposed for and obedient he-showed — Gaius and
σφόδρα ἡττημένον τοῦ ἀνεψιοῦ, ὡς ἕνεκα φιλοστοργίας
very overcome by-the cousin as for-the-sake of-affection
καὶ μόνῳ ἂν ἐθελῆσαι τῆς ἀρχῆς ὑπεκστῆναι· τὴν δὲ
also for-him-alone — to-wish of-the rule to-withdraw the and
αἰδῶ μὴ λυσιτελῆσαι πολλοῖς, ὑφ' ἧς καὶ Γάιον ἁπλοῦν
modesty not to-have-profited many by which also Gaius simple
ὄντα ποικίλον νομίζεσθαι.
being cunning to-be-thought

καὶ ὁπότε μὴ πείθοι τὰ εἰκότα διεξιών, τὴν ἀπὸ 37
and whenever not he-persuaded the likely-things going-through the from
συνθηκῶν πίστιν ἐπέφερεν, "ἐγγυῶμαι" λέγων, "ἀξιόχρεώς
compacts pledge he-added I-guarantee saying trustworthy
εἰμι πρὸς πίστιν· ἱκανὰς ἀποδείξεις δέδωκα τοῦ φιλόκαισαρ
I-am for trust sufficient proofs I-have-given of-the Caesar-loving
ἰδίως καὶ φιλοτιβέριος εἶναι, τὴν ἐπίθεσιν καὶ καθαίρεσιν
especially and Tiberius-loving to-be the attack and overthrow
ἐγχειρισθεὶς Σηιανοῦ."
having-been-entrusted-with of-Sejanus

καὶ συνόλως δὲ ἱκανὸς ἦν ἐν τοῖς εἰς Γάιον ἐπαίνοις, 38
also altogether and able he-was in the toward Gaius praises
εἰ δεῖ καλεῖν ἀξίως ἐπαίνους τὰς ἀπολογίας, αἳ
if it-is-needful to-call worthily praises the defenses which
πρὸς τὰς ἐξ ὑπονοιῶν αἰτίας καὶ κατηγορίας ἀδήλους
against the from suspicions charges and accusations obscure
καὶ ἀσαφεῖς ἐγίνοντο· συνόλως γὰρ ὅσα περὶ ἀδελφῶν
and unclear arose altogether for as-many-as about brothers

εἴποι τις ἂν ἢ υἱῶν γνησίων ἐγκώμια, τοσαῦτα καὶ
would-say anyone — or sons true encomia so-many and
ἔτι πλείω Μάκρων ὑπὲρ Γαΐου διεξῄει πρὸς Τιβέριον.
still more Macro for Gaius went-through to Tiberius
39 αἴτιον δέ, ὡς ὁ τῶν πολλῶν λόγος, οὐ μόνον τὸ
cause but as the of-the many account not only the
ἀντιθεραπεύεσθαι πρὸς αὐτοῦ τὸν Μάκρωνα, πλεῖστον ἢ καὶ
to-be-courted-in-return by him — Macro most or even
σύμπαν ἐν τῇ ἡγεμονίᾳ δυνάμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ Μάκρωνος
all in the empire being-able but also the of-Macro
γυνὴ διὰ σιωπωμένην αἰτίαν, ἣ καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν
wife through unspoken cause who on each day
ἤλειφε καὶ συνεκρότει τὸν ἄνδρα μηδὲν ἀνιέναι σπουδῆς
spurred and urged-on the husband in-nothing to-slacken of-zeal
καὶ βοηθείας τῆς ὑπὲρ τοῦ νεανίσκου. δεινὸν δὲ γυνὴ
and help the for the young-man terrible and woman
γνώμην ἀνδρὸς παραλῦσαι καὶ παραγαγεῖν, καὶ μάλιστα
judgment of-husband to-loosen and to-lead-astray and most
μαχλάς· ἕνεκα γὰρ τοῦ συνειδότος κολακικωτέρα γίνεται.
a-lewd-one because-of for of-the guilty-knowledge more-flattering she-becomes

Macro, unaware of his own household's corruption, keeps counseling Gaius frankly: waking him at banquets, whispering that the ruler of land and sea should not be mastered by songs, dances, and jests, and urging that the art of ruling is the greatest of all, since the ruler steers the ship of state. Gaius, contentious and quarrelsome, mocks him to his companions as the tutor of a man no longer a boy, boasting that he was born to rule. He begins to estrange himself, spreading plausible lies that Macro claims to have made him emperor, and in the end Macro is forced to kill himself, and his wife shares his fate.

ὁ δὲ τὴν διαφθορὰν μὲν τοῦ γάμου καὶ τῆς οἰκίας 40
he but the corruption indeed of-the marriage and of-the house
ἀγνοῶν, τὴν δὲ κολακείαν εὔνοιαν ἀκραιφνεστάτην εἶναι
not-knowing the but flattery goodwill purest to-be
νομίζων, ἀπατᾶται καὶ λανθάνει τοῖς στρατηγήμασι τοὺς
thinking is-deceived and fails-to-notice by-the stratagems the
ἐχθίστους ὡς φιλτάτους προσιέμενος.
most-hateful as dearest admitting
Εἰδὼς οὖν, ὅτι παρὰ μικρὸν ἐλθόντα μυριάκις αὐτὸν 41
knowing then that by little having-come ten-thousand-times him
ἀπολέσθαι διέσωσεν, ἀνυπούλοις καὶ πεπαρρησιασμέναις
to-perish he-saved unguarded and frank
ἐχρῆτο ταῖς νουθεσίαις· ἐβούλετο γάρ, ὡς ἀγαθὸς
he-used the admonitions he-wished for as good
δημιουργός, ἀκαθαίρετον διαμεῖναι τὸ οἰκεῖον ἔργον, μήτε
craftsman indestructible to-remain the own work neither
ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ διαλυθὲν μήτε ὑφ᾽ ἑτέρου.
by himself dissolved nor by another
ὁπότε οὖν ἢ καταδαρθόντα ἐν συμποσίῳ θεάσαιτο, 42
whenever then either having-fallen-asleep at banquet he-saw-him
περιανίστη στοχαζόμενος ἅμα μὲν τοῦ πρέποντος
he-roused-him aiming at-once indeed at-the fitting

ἅμα δὲ καὶ τῆς ἀσφαλείας — εὐεπιβούλευτον γὰρ ὁ
at-once and also at-the safety easy-to-plot-against for the
κοιμώμενος—, ἤ τινας ἐκμανῶς ὀρχηστὰς ὁρῶντα ἢ ἔστιν
sleeping or some frenziedly dancers watching or it-is
ὅτε συνορχούμενον ἢ ἐπὶ μίμοις αἰσχρῶν καὶ σκωμμάτων
when dancing-with-them or at mimes of-shameful-things and jests
μὴ ὑπομειδιῶντα σεμνότερον ἀλλὰ μειρακιωδέστερον
not smiling more-solemnly but more-boyishly
καγχάζοντα ἢ κιθαρῳδῶν ἢ χορῶν τῆς ἐμμελείας
guffawing or of-lyre-singers or of-choruses by-the melody
ἡττώμενον, ἔστιν ὅπου καὶ συνᾴδοντα, ἔνυττε πλησίον
overcome it-is where even singing-along he-nudged-him near
καθεζόμενος ἢ κατακεκλιμένος καὶ ἐπέχειν ἐπειρᾶτο.
sitting or reclining and to-restrain-him tried
43 πολλάκις δὲ καὶ ἐπικλίνας πρὸς οὖς, ἵνα μὴ κατακούοι
often and also having-leaned to ear so-that not might-overhear
τις ἕτερος, ἡσυχῇ καὶ πράως ἐνουθέτει φάσκων· "οὐδενὶ
any other quietly and gently he-admonished saying to-none
τῶν παρόντων ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων ὅμοιον
of-those present but not-even of-the other men like
εἶναί σε δεῖ, οὔτε ἐν θεάμασιν οὔτε ἐν ἀκούσμασιν
to-be you it-is-needful neither in sights nor in things-heard
οὔτε ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ὅσα κατὰ τὰς αἰσθήσεις,
nor in the other all as-many-as through the senses
ἀλλὰ προφέρειν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐν ἑκάστῳ τῶν περὶ
but to-excel to so-much in each of-the-things about
τὸν βίον, ἐφ' ὅσον καὶ ταῖς εὐτυχίαις διενήνοχας.
the life to as-much also in-the good-fortunes you-have-excelled
44 ἄτοπον γὰρ τὸν ἡγεμόνα γῆς καὶ θαλάττης νικᾶσθαι
absurd for the ruler of-land and sea to-be-overcome
πρὸς ᾠδῆς ἢ ὀρχήσεως ἢ χλευαστικοῦ σκώμματος ἤ τινος
by song or dance or mocking jest or some

τῶν ὁμοιοτρόπων, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀεὶ καὶ πανταχοῦ μεμνῆσθαι
of-the like-things but not always and everywhere to-remember
τῆς ἡγεμονίας, καθάπερ ποιμένα τινὰ καὶ ἐπιστάτην
the empire like shepherd some and overseer
ἀγέλης, τὰ πρὸς βελτίωσιν ἀπὸ παντὸς οὑτινοσοῦν
of-herd the-things for improvement from every whatever
ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν ἕλκοντα καὶ λόγου καὶ πράγματος."
to himself drawing both word and deed
εἶτα ἔφασκεν· "ὅταν παρατυγχάνῃς σκηνικοῖς ἀγῶσιν ἢ 45
then he-said whenever you-are-present-at stage contests or
γυμνικοῖς ἢ τοῖς κατὰ τὰς ἱπποδρομίας, μὴ σκόπει τὰ
athletic or the at the horse-races not consider the
ἐπιτηδεύματα, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐν τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασι κατόρθωσιν,
pursuits but the in the pursuits success
καὶ λάμβανε τὸν τοιοῦτον λογισμόν·
and take the such reckoning
εἰ τὰ μηδὲν ὠφελοῦντα τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον, τέρψιν 46
if the-things in-nothing benefiting the human life delight
δὲ καὶ ἡδονὴν αὐτὸ μόνον παρέχοντα θεαταῖς, ἐκπονοῦσιν
but and pleasure itself only providing to-spectators labor-at
οὕτω τινές, ὡς ἐπαινεῖσθαί τε καὶ θαυμάζεσθαι καὶ γέρα
so some as to-be-praised both and to-be-admired and prizes
καὶ τιμὰς καὶ στεφάνους μετὰ κηρυγμάτων λαμβάνειν,
and honors and crowns with proclamations to-receive
τί χρὴ πράττειν τὸν τῆς ἀνωτάτω καὶ μεγίστης
what is-it-needful to-do the(-one) of-the highest and greatest
τέχνης ἐπιστήμονα;
art knowing
μεγίστη δὲ καὶ ἀρίστη τέχνη πασῶν ἐστιν ἡ ἡγεμονία, 47
greatest and and best art of-all is the empire
δι' ἧς πᾶσα μὲν ἡ ἀγαθὴ καὶ βαθεῖα πεδιάς τε
through which all indeed the good and deep plain both

καὶ ὀρεινὴ γεωργεῖται, πᾶσα δὲ θάλαττα φορτηγοῖς
and mountainous is-farmed all and sea by-cargo
ὁλκάσιν ἀκινδύνως διαπλεῖται κατὰ τὰς ἀντιδόσεις
merchantmen safely is-sailed-through according-to the exchanges
ὧν ἀλλήλαις ἀγαθῶν ἀντεκτίνουσιν αἱ χῶραι κοινωνίας
of-which to-one-another goods pay-back the countries of-fellowship
ἱμέρῳ, τὰ μὲν ἐνδέοντα λαμβάνουσαι, ὧν δ'
by-longing the(-things) indeed lacking receiving of-which and
ἄγουσι περιουσίαν ἀντιπέμπουσαι.
they-bring surplus sending-back

48 φθόνος γὰρ οὐδέποτε πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐκράτησεν,
envy for never all the inhabited-world mastered
ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὰς μεγάλας αὐτῆς ἀποτομάς, ὅλην Εὐρώπην
but not-even the great its portions whole Europe
ἢ ὅλην Ἀσίαν· ἀλλ' ἰοβόλου τρόπον ἑρπετοῦ φωλεύει
or whole Asia but of-venomous like reptile it-lurks
βραχέσιν εἰσερπύσας χωρίοις ἀνδρὶ ἑνὶ ἢ οἴκῳ ἑνὶ ἤ, εἴ
into-small having-crept places man one or house one or if
ποτε πολὺς ἄγαν πνέοι, πόλει μιᾷ· πρὸς δὲ μείζονα
ever strong exceedingly it-blows city one to but greater
κύκλον ἔθνους ἢ χώρας οὐ πρόσεισι, καὶ μάλιστα ἀφ'
circle of-nation or of-country not it-approaches and most from
οὗ τὸ ὑμέτερον γένος τὸ Σεβαστὸν ὄντως ἤρξατο
which the your house the Augustan truly began
πρυτανεύειν τῶν πανταχοῦ πάντων.
to-preside-over of-the everywhere all

49 ὅσα μὲν γὰρ εὐημέρει τῶν βλαβερῶν καὶ ἐν μέσοις
as-many-as indeed for flourished of-the harmful and in middle
ἐξητάζετο, πρὸς ἐσχατιὰς ὑπερόρια καὶ Ταρτάρου
were-found to extremities beyond-the-borders and of-Tartarus
μυχοὺς ἤλασε, τὰ δὲ τρόπον τινὰ φυγαδευθέντα τῶν
recesses it-drove the but in-a-way some exiled of-the

λυσιτελῶν καὶ ὠφελίμων κατήγαγεν ἀπὸ περάτων γῆς
profitable and useful it-brought-back from ends of-land
καὶ θαλάττης εἰς τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς οἰκουμένην· ἃ
and sea into the according-to us inhabited-world which
πάντα μιᾷ χειρὶ σῇ κυβερνᾶν ἐπιτέτραπται.
all by-one hand your to-steer has-been-entrusted
παραπεμφθεὶς γοῦν ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως ἐπὶ πρύμναν ἀνωτάτω 50
having-been-sent at-least by the nature to stern highest
καὶ τοὺς οἴακας ἐγχειρισθεὶς πηδαλιούχει τὸ κοινὸν
and the tillers having-been-entrusted-with steer the common
ἀνθρώπων σκάφος σωτηρίως, ἐπὶ μηδενὶ μᾶλλον χαίρων
of-men vessel safely at nothing more rejoicing
καὶ τερπόμενος ἢ τῷ τοὺς ὑπηκόους εὐεργετεῖν.
and delighting than in-the the subjects to-benefit
ἄλλοι μὲν γὰρ ἄλλων ἔρανοι, οὓς ἀναγκαίως εἰσφέρουσιν 51
others indeed for of-others contributions which necessarily contribute
ἰδιῶται κατὰ πόλεις· ἄρχοντι δὲ οἰκειότατος ἔρανος, βουλὰς
private-men in cities for-ruler but most-proper contribution counsels
ἀγαθὰς εἰσηγεῖσθαι περὶ τῶν ὑποτεταγμένων καὶ πράττειν
good to-propose about those subject and to-do
τὰ βουλευθέντα ὀρθῶς καὶ ἀταμίευτα προφέρειν τὰ
the-things resolved rightly and unstinted to-offer the
ἀγαθὰ πλουσίᾳ χειρὶ καὶ γνώμῃ, πλὴν ὅσα κατὰ πρόνοιαν
goods with-rich hand and mind except as-many-as for forethought
τῆς εἰς τὸ μέλλον ἀδηλότητος ἄξιον παραφυλάττειν."
of-the toward the future uncertainty worth to-guard
Τοιούτοις κατεπῇδεν ὁ δυστυχής, ὥστε βελτιῶσαι τὸν 52
with-such-things charmed the unfortunate so-as to-improve —
Γάιον. ὁ δὲ φίλερις καὶ φιλόνεικος ὢν ἐπὶ τἀναντία τὴν
Gaius he but contentious and quarrelsome being to the-opposite the
διάνοιαν ἔτρεπεν, ὥσπερ εἰς ἐκεῖνα παρακληθείς, καὶ τὸν
mind turned as-if to those having-been-exhorted and the

σωφρονιστὴν ἄντικρυς ἀπεθάρρει δυσωπεῖν, ἔστι
chastener openly he-dared to-put-out-of-countenance it-is
δὲ ὅτε καὶ πόρρωθεν ἀφικνούμενον ὁρῶν πρὸς τοὺς
and when also from-afar arriving seeing-him to those
πλησίον ταυτὶ διελάλει·
near these-things he-chattered

53 "πάρεστιν ὁ διδάσκαλος τοῦ μηκέτι μανθάνειν
is-present the teacher of-the(-one) no-longer to-learn
ὀφείλοντος, ὁ παιδαγωγὸς τοῦ μηκέτι παιδὸς ὄντος, ὁ
owing the tutor of-the(-one) no-longer child being the
νουθετητὴς τοῦ φρονιμωτέρου, ὁ τὸν αὐτοκράτορα
admonisher of-the(-one) wiser the(-one) the emperor
τῷ ὑπηκόῳ πειθαρχεῖν ἀξιῶν, ἐθάδα τῆς ἡγεμονικῆς
to-the subject to-obey deeming habituated of-the imperial
ἐπιστήμης καὶ παιδευτὴν ἑαυτὸν γράφει, παρὰ τίνι
knowledge and educator himself he-writes from whom
μαθὼν τὰ ἀρχικὰ ἔγωγε οὐκ οἶδα.
having-learned the arts-of-rule I-at-least not know

54 ἐμοὶ μὲν γὰρ ἐξ ἔτι σπαργάνων μυρίοι διδάσκαλοι
for-me indeed for from still swaddling-clothes countless teachers
γεγόνασι, πατέρες, ἀδελφοί, θεῖοι, ἀνεψιοί, πάπποι,
have-been fathers brothers uncles cousins grandfathers
πρόγονοι μέχρι τῶν ἀρχηγετῶν, οἱ ἀφ' αἵματος πάντες
ancestors up-to the founders those from blood all
καθ' ἑκάτερον γένος τό τε πατρῷον καὶ μητρῷον,
on each side the both paternal and maternal
αὐτοκρατεῖς ἐξουσίας περιποιησάμενοι, χωρὶς τοῦ κἂν
absolute powers having-acquired apart-from the also-in
ταῖς πρώταις τῶν σπερμάτων καταβολαῖς εἶναί τινας
the first of-the seeds sowings to-be some
δυνάμεις βασιλικὰς τῶν ἡγεμονικῶν.
powers kingly of-the ruling

ὡς γὰρ αἱ τοῦ σώματος καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ὁμοιότητες κατά 55
as for the of-the body and of-the soul likenesses in
τε τὴν μορφὴν καὶ σχέσεις καὶ κινήσεις βουλάς τε καὶ
both the shape and postures and movements counsels both and
πράξεις ἐν τοῖς σπερματικοῖς σῴζονται λόγοις, οὕτως
actions in the seminal are-preserved principles so
εἰκὸς ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ὑπογράφεσθαι τυπωδέστερον καὶ τὴν
likely in the same to-be-outlined more-in-outline also the
πρὸς ἡγεμονίαν ἐμφέρειαν.
toward empire resemblance
εἶτα ἐμὲ τὸν καὶ πρὸ τῆς γενέσεως ἔτι κατὰ γαστρὸς 56
then me the(-one) even before the birth still in womb
ἐν τῷ τῆς φύσεως ἐργαστηρίῳ διαπλασθέντα αὐτοκράτορα
in the of-the nature workshop molded emperor
τολμᾷ τις διδάσκειν, ἀνεπιστήμων ἐπιστήμονα; ποῦ γὰρ
dares anyone to-teach unknowing knowing where for
τοῖς ἰδιώταις πρὸ μικροῦ θέμις εἰς ἡγεμονικῆς ψυχῆς
to-the private-men before little lawful into of-imperial soul
παρακύψαι βουλεύματα; τολμῶσι δὲ ὑπ᾽ ἀναισχύντου
to-peep counsels they-dare but through shameless
θράσους ἱεροφαντεῖν καὶ τελεῖν τὰ ἡγεμονικὰ μόλις ἂν
boldness to-be-hierophant and to-initiate the imperial-things hardly —
ἐν μύσταις ἀναγραφέντες.”
among initiates having-been-enrolled
ἐκ δὲ τοῦ κατ᾽ ὀλίγον μελετῶν ἀλλοτριοῦσθαι τοῦ 57
from and the by little practicing to-be-estranged —
Μάκρωνος ἤρχετο καὶ ψευδεῖς μὲν πιθανὰς δὲ καὶ
from-Macro he-began and false indeed plausible but and
εὐπαραγώγους κατ᾽ αὐτοῦ πλάττειν αἰτίας· δειναὶ γὰρ
easily-misleading against him to-fabricate charges clever for
αἱ εὔθικτοι καὶ μεγάλαι φύσεις εἰκοτολογῆσαι.
the quick and great natures to-argue-from-likelihood

58 τοιαῦται δὲ ἦσαν αἱ προφάσεις· "ἐμόν ἐστι τοῦ Μάκρωνος
such and were the pretexts mine is — of-Macro
ἔργον Γάιος· μᾶλλον αὐτὸν ἢ οὐχ ἧττον τῶν γονέων
work Gaius more him or not less than-the parents
γεγέννηκα· τρίς, οὐχ ἅπαξ, ἀνήρπαστο ἂν
I-have-begotten thrice not once he-would-have-been-snatched-away —
ἐπ' αὐτῷ Τιβερίου φονῶντος, εἰ μὴ δι' ἐμὲ καὶ
on-account-of him Tiberius bent-on-murder if not through me and
τὰς ἐμὰς παρηγορίας· ἀλλὰ καὶ τελευτήσαντος ἔχων
the my consolations but also having-died having
ὑπηκόους τὰς στρατιωτικὰς δυνάμεις εὐθὺς εἰς τὴν ἐκείνου
subject the military forces at-once into the his
παρέπεμψα τάξιν, ἀναδιδάσκων ὅτι ἀνδρὸς ἑνὸς γέγονεν
I-conducted rank teaching that of-man one has-been
ἔνδεια· μένει δὲ ἄρτιος καὶ πλήρης ἡ ἡγεμονία."
lack remains but complete and full the empire

59 τούτοις συνεπείθοντό τινες ὡς ἀψευδέσιν ἀγνοοῦντες
with-these were-persuaded some as unlying not-knowing
τὸν φένακα τρόπον τοῦ λέγοντος· οὔπω γὰρ ἦν τὸ
the deceitful character of-the speaker not-yet for was the
πεπλασμένον αὐτοῦ καὶ ποικίλον τῶν ἠθῶν ἐμφανές.
fabricated his and cunning of-the character evident
ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐ πολλαῖς ὕστερον ἡμέραις ἐκποδὼν ὁ
but for not many later days out-of-the-way the
κακοδαίμων γίνεται σὺν τῇ γυναικί, τῆς περιττῆς εὐνοίας
wretched becomes with the wife of-the excessive goodwill
ἀμοιβὰς τὰς ἀνωτάτω τιμωρίας ἀντιλαβών.
returns the highest punishments having-received

60 τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν ἡ εἰς τοὺς ἀχαρίστους χάρις· ἀντὶ
such is the toward the ungrateful favor instead-of
γὰρ ὧν ὠφελήθησαν, παρέχουσι τὰς μεγίστας ζημίας
for what they-were-benefited they-give the greatest damages

τοῖς εὐεργετήσασιν. ὁ γοῦν Μάκρων πάντα ἐπ᾽
to-those having-benefited — at-least Macro all-things in
ἀληθείας πραγματευσάμενος μετ᾽ ἐκτενεστάτης σπουδῆς
truth having-done with most-strenuous zeal
καὶ φιλοτιμίας, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὑπὲρ τοῦ σῶσαι Γάιον,
and ambition the indeed first for the to-save Gaius
ἔπειτα δὲ ὑπὲρ τοῦ μόνον τὴν ἡγεμονίαν διαδέξασθαι,
then and for the alone the empire to-succeed-to
τοιαῦτα εὕρατο τὰ ἐπίχειρα.
such found the wages
λέγεται γάρ, ὅτι ἠναγκάσθη ὁ δείλαιος αὐτοχειρίᾳ 61
it-is-said for that was-compelled the wretched with-his-own-hand
κτεῖναι ἑαυτὸν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἀνεδέξατο συμφορὰν ἡ
to-kill himself and the same received misfortune the
γυνή, καίτοι ποτὲ νομισθεῖσα διὰ συνηθείας αὐτῷ
wife and-yet once thought through intimacy with-him
γενέσθαι· βέβαιον δὲ οὐδέν φασι τῶν ἐν ἔρωτι φίλτρων
to-have-been firm but nothing they-say of-the in love charms
εἶναι διὰ τὸ τοῦ πάθους ἀψίκορον.
to-be because-of the of-the passion quickly-sated

IV · SILANUS, AND THE FLATTERERS' EXCUSES

With Macro's house destroyed, Gaius turns on his father-in-law Marcus Silanus, whose advice he takes as insolence, and has him treacherously killed. The murders of the first men become notorious, and the fickle crowd invents excuses: rule cannot be shared, so Tiberius' grandson was rightly removed; Macro had forgotten the Delphic "know thyself"; Silanus foolishly thought a father-in-law had power over a son-in-law. Having thus overcome the senate, the knights, and his own family, Gaius begins to think himself more than a man, likening himself first to the demigods Dionysus, Heracles, and the Dioscuri and putting on their emblems by turns, as if in a theater.

62 Ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ ὁ Μάκρων πανοίκιος ἱέρευτο,
when and also — Macro with-all-his-household had-been-sacrificed
τρίτῳ ἐπαπεδύετο δόλῳ βαρυτέρῳ. πενθερὸς ἐγεγένητο
to-a-third he-stripped-for trick heavier father-in-law had-become
αὐτῷ Μάρκος Σιλανός, μεστὸς φρονήματος ἀνὴρ καὶ γένει
to-him Marcus Silanus full of-spirit man and in-birth
λαμπρός. οὗτος ὠκυμόρου τῆς θυγατρὸς ἀποθανούσης ἔτι
brilliant he short-lived the daughter having-died still
περιεῖπε τὸν Γάιον, εὔνοιαν προσφερόμενος οὐ πενθεροῦ
attended-to — Gaius goodwill bringing not of-father-in-law
μᾶλλον ἢ γνησίου πατρός, ἧς ἐνόμιζεν ἀντιλήψεσθαι
rather than of-true father which he-thought to-be-going-to-receive-in-return
κατὰ νόμον ἰσότητος μεθαρμοσάμενος τὸν γαμβρὸν εἰς
by law of-equality having-changed the son-in-law into
υἱόν. ἐλελήθει δὲ ἄρα ψευδοδοξῶν καὶ ἀπατώμενος.
son he-had-failed-to-notice but then holding-false-opinion and being-deceived
63 ὁ μὲν γὰρ τοὺς τοῦ κηδεμόνος λόγους ἀεὶ διεξῄει
he indeed for the of-the guardian words always went-through
μηδὲν ἐπικρυπτόμενος τῶν εἰς βελτίωσιν καὶ ὠφέλειαν
in-nothing concealing of-the-things for improvement and benefit

ἠθῶν καὶ βίου καὶ ἡγεμονίας, ἔχων εἰς παρρησίαν καὶ
of-character and of-life and of-empire having for frankness also
μεγάλας ἀφορμὰς ὑπερβάλλουσάν τε εὐγένειαν καὶ τὴν
great grounds surpassing both nobility and the
κατ᾽ ἐπιγαμίαν οἰκειότητα· καὶ γὰρ ἡ θυγάτηρ οὐ πρὸ
by marriage kinship and for the daughter not before
πολλῶν ἐτεθνήκει χρόνων, ὡς ἀμαυρωθῆναι τὰ δίκαια
many had-died times so-that to-be-dimmed the rights
τῶν κηδεστῶν, ἀλλὰ μόνον οὐκ ἤσπαιρεν, ἔτι λειψάνων
of-the in-laws but only not it-gasped still of-remnants
τινῶν ὑστάτων τοῦ ψυχικοῦ πνεύματος ἐνυπαρχόντων καὶ
some last of-the soul's breath being-present and
ἐγκατειλημμένων τῷ σώματι.
caught-in the body
ὁ δὲ πρὸς ὕβρεως τὰς νουθεσίας λαμβάνων τῷ 64
he but as insolence the admonitions taking by-the
πάντων οἴεσθαι φρονιμώτατος καὶ σωφρονέστατος ἔτι δὲ
of-all to-think most-sensible and most-temperate still and
ἀνδρειότατος εἶναι καὶ δικαιότατος ἤχθαιρε μᾶλλον τῶν
bravest to-be and most-just hated more than-the
ὁμολογουμένων πολεμίων τοὺς διδάσκοντας.
acknowledged enemies those teaching-him
ὑπολαβὼν οὖν καὶ τοῦτον εἶναι παρενόχλημα, τὴν πολλὴν 65
having-supposed then also this-one to-be nuisance the great
αὐτοῦ ῥύμην τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν ἐφέξοντα, πολλὰ χαίρειν
his rush of-the desires going-to-check many farewells
φράσας τοῖς δαίμοσι τῆς ἀποθανούσης γυναικός, εἰ
having-bidden to-the spirits of-the dead wife if
πατέρα μὲν ἐκείνης ἑαυτοῦ δὲ γενόμενον πενθερὸν
father indeed of-her his-own and having-become father-in-law
μεταστήσεται, δολοφονεῖ.
he-should-remove he-murders

66 Καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἤδη περιβόητον τοῖς ἐπαλλήλοις τῶν
and the thing already notorious by-the successive of-the
πρώτων ἀνδρῶν φόνοις ἐγεγένητο, ὡς διὰ παντὸς
first men murders had-become so-that through every
στόματος δυσκάθαρτα ἄγη συνηχεῖσθαι, φανερῶς μὲν
mouth hard-to-purge pollutions to-be-echoed openly indeed
οὐ διὰ δέος, ἠρεμαιοτέρᾳ δὲ τῇ φωνῇ.
not through fear quieter but with-the voice

67 κἄπειτα ἐκ μεταβολῆς — ὄχλος γὰρ ἀνίδρυτον ἐν ἅπασι,
and-then from change crowd for unsettled in all
καὶ βουλαῖς καὶ λόγοις καὶ πράγμασιν — ἀπιστοῦντες, εἰ
both counsels and words and deeds disbelieving if
οὕτως ἀθρόαν ἐνδέδεκται τροπὴν ὁ πρὸ μικροῦ χρηστὸς
so sudden had-taken-in turn the(-one) before little good
καὶ φιλάνθρωπος ἴσος τε καὶ κοινωνικὸς εἶναι νομισθεὶς
and humane fair both and sociable to-be thought
Γάιος, ἀπολογίας ἐσκόπουν καὶ διερευνῶντες εὕρισκον, ἐπὶ
Gaius defenses they-looked-for and searching they-found for
μὲν τῷ ἀνεψιῷ καὶ συγκληρονόμῳ τοιαῦτα φάσκοντες·
indeed the cousin and co-heir such-things saying

68 "ἀκοινώνητον ἀρχή, θεσμὸς φύσεως ἀκίνητος. οὗτος ἃ
unshareable rule law of-nature unchangeable this-one what
παθεῖν ἐμέλλησεν ἂν ὑπ' ἀδυνατωτέρου προδιέθηκεν
to-suffer would-have-been-going — from weaker he-anticipated
ἰσχυρότερος ὤν· ἄμυνα τοῦτ' ἔστιν, οὐκ ἀνδροφονία.
stronger being self-defense this is not murder
τάχα δὲ καὶ προνοητικῶς ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ τοῦ σύμπαντος
perhaps and also providentially for benefit of-the whole
ἀνθρώπων γένους τὸ μειράκιον ἐκποδὼν γεγένηται, τῶν
of-men race the youth out-of-the-way has-been of-those
μὲν τούτῳ τῶν δὲ ἐκείνῳ προσκληρουμένων, ἐξ ὧν
indeed to-this-one of-those and to-that-one attaching-themselves from which

ταραχαὶ ἐμφύλιοί τε καὶ ξενικοὶ πόλεμοι συνίστανται.
disturbances civil both and foreign wars arise
τί δὲ ἄμεινον εἰρήνης; εἰρήνη δὲ ἐξ ἡγεμονίας ὀρθῆς
what but better than-peace peace and from rule right
φύεται· ἡγεμονία δὲ ἀφιλόνεικος καὶ ἀνερίθευτος ὀρθὴ
grows rule and uncontested and unrivaled right
μόνη, δι' ἧς καὶ τἄλλα πάντα κατορθοῦται."
alone through which also the-other all-things are-set-right
ἐπὶ δὲ Μάκρωνι· "πλέον ἐφυσήθη τοῦ μετρίου· 69
for and Macro more he-was-puffed-up than-the moderate
τὸ Δελφικὸν γράμμα οὐ διανέγνω, τὸ 'γνῶθι σαυτόν'·
the Delphic inscription not he-read the know yourself
φασὶ δὲ τὴν μὲν ἐπιστήμην εὐδαιμονίας τὴν δὲ ἄγνοιαν
they-say but the indeed knowledge of-happiness the but ignorance
κακοδαιμονίας αἰτίαν εἶναι. τί παθὼν ὑπηλλάττετο καὶ
of-misery cause to-be what having-suffered did-he-exchange and
μετετίθει τὸν μὲν ὑπήκοον αὐτὸν εἰς τάξιν ἄρχοντος, τὸν
transpose the indeed subject himself into rank of-ruler the
δὲ αὐτοκράτορα Γάιον εἰς ὑπηκόου χώραν; οἰκειότατον
and emperor Gaius into subject's place most-proper
ἡγεμόνι μὲν τὸ προστάττειν, ὅπερ ἐποίει Μάκρων, ὑπηκόῳ
for-ruler indeed the to-command which did Macro for-subject
δὲ τὸ πειθαρχεῖν, ὅπερ ὑπομένειν ἠξίου Γάιον."
but the to-obey which to-endure he-deemed-right Gaius
ἐκάλουν γὰρ οἱ ἀνεξέταστοι τὴν παραίνεσιν πρόσταξιν 70
they-called for the unexamining the exhortation command
καὶ τὸν σύμβουλον ἄρχοντα, ἤτοι μὴ συνιέντες ὑπ'
and the adviser ruler either not understanding through
ἀναισθησίας ἢ διὰ κολακείαν τὰς φύσεις τῶν ὀνομάτων
insensibility or through flattery the natures of-the names
ὁμοῦ καὶ πραγμάτων μεταχαράττοντες.
together and things restamping

71 ἐπὶ δὲ Σιλανῷ· "χλεύης ἄξιον ὁ Σιλανὸς ἔπαθεν,
for but Silanus of-mockery worthy — Silanus suffered
οἰηθεὶς πενθερὸν τοσοῦτον παρὰ γαμβρῷ δύνασθαι,
having-thought father-in-law so-much with son-in-law to-have-power
ὅσον πατέρα γνήσιον παρ' υἱῷ. καίτοι πατέρες
as-much-as father true with son and-yet fathers
ἰδιῶται γενομένων ἐν ἀρχαῖς μεγάλαις καὶ ἐξουσίαις
private-men having-become in offices great and powers
υἱῶν ὑποστέλλουσιν, ἀγαπητῶς φερόμενοι δευτερεῖα. ὁ δὲ
of-sons withdraw contentedly carrying-off second-prizes he but
ἠλίθιος, οὐδὲ πενθερὸς ὢν ἔτι, τὰ μὴ καθ' ἑαυτὸν
fool not-even father-in-law being still the-things not befitting himself
προσπεριειργάζετο μὴ συνιείς, ὅτι θανάτῳ τῆς θυγατρὸς
meddled-in not understanding that by-death of-the daughter
συνετεθνήκει καὶ ἡ κατ' ἐπιγαμίαν οἰκειότης·
had-died-with also the by marriage kinship
72 δεσμὸς γὰρ οἴκων ὀθνείων αἱ ἐπιγαμίαι τὴν ἀλλοτριότητα
bond for of-houses foreign the marriages the alienness
εἰς οἰκειότητα συνάγων, οὗ λυθέντος λέλυται καὶ
into kinship drawing which having-been-loosed are-loosed also
τὰ τῆς κοινωνίας, καὶ μάλιστα ὅταν ἀνεπανορθώτῳ
the-things of-the fellowship and most when by-irreparable
πράγματι λυθῇ, τελευτῇ τῆς εἰς ἀλλότριον οἶκον
thing it-is-loosed by-death of-the(-one) into another's house
δεδομένης ἐπὶ γάμῳ."
given in marriage
73 τοιαῦτα ἐν ἅπασι τοῖς συλλόγοις ἐθρύλουν πλεῖστον
such-things in all the gatherings they-babbled most
διδόντες μέρος τῷ μὴ βούλεσθαι δοκεῖν ὠμὸν εἶναι τὸν
giving share to-the not to-wish to-seem cruel to-be the
αὐτοκράτορα· χρηστότητα γὰρ καὶ φιλανθρωπίαν ἐλπίσαντες
emperor goodness for and humanity having-hoped

ὅσην παρ᾽ οὐδενὶ τῶν προτέρων ἐνιδρύσθαι τῇ
as-much-as in none of-the earlier to-have-been-established in-the
Γαΐου ψυχῇ σφόδρα ἄπιστον ἐνόμιζον, εἰ τοσαύτην καὶ
of-Gaius soul very unbelievable they-thought if so-great and
οὕτως ἀθρόαν ἐνδέδεκται μεταβολὴν πρὸς τἀναντία.
so sudden he-had-taken-in change to the-opposite
Κατεργασάμενος οὖν τρεῖς τοὺς εἰρημένους ἄθλους ἐκ 74
having-accomplished then three the said feats from
τριῶν τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων μερῶν, δυοῖν μὲν ἐκ τῆς
three of-the most-necessary parts two indeed from the
πατρίδος τοῦ τε βουλευτικοῦ καὶ τοῦ τῆς ἱππικῆς
fatherland the both senatorial and the of-the equestrian
τάξεως, τρίτου δὲ τοῦ συγγενικοῦ, καὶ ὑπολαβὼν
order third and the kindred and having-supposed
τῶν ἰσχυροτάτων καὶ δυνατωτάτων περιγεγενημένος
over-the strongest and most-powerful having-prevailed
καταπληκτικώτατον δέος ἐνειργάσθαι τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασι,
most-terrifying fear to-have-produced in-the others all
διὰ μὲν τῆς Σιλανοῦ σφαγῆς τοῖς βουλευταῖς — ἦν 75
through indeed the of-Silanus slaughter in-the senators was
γὰρ οὐδενὸς τῶν ἐν συγκλήτῳ δεύτερος—, διὰ δὲ τῆς
for to-none of-those in senate second through and the
Μάκρωνος τοῖς ἱππικοῖς — οἷα γὰρ χοροῦ τινος ἡγεμὼν
of-Macro in-the knights as for of-chorus some leader
ἐγεγένητο φερόμενος τὰ πρωτεῖα τιμῆς καὶ εὐδοξίας—, διὰ
he-had-become carrying-off the first-prizes of-honor and good-repute through
δὲ τῆς τοῦ ἀνεψιοῦ καὶ συγκληρονόμου τοῖς ἀφ᾽ αἵματος
and the of-the cousin and co-heir in-those from blood
ἅπασιν, οὐκέτι ἠξίου μένειν ἐν τοῖς τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης
all no-longer he-deemed-right to-remain in the of-the human
φύσεως ὅροις, ἀλλ᾽ ὑπερέκυπτε σπουδάζων θεὸς νομίζεσθαι.
nature bounds but he-peered-over being-eager god to-be-thought

76 καὶ ἐν ἀρχῇ ταύτης τῆς παραπληξίας φασὶν αὐτὸν
and in beginning of-this the madness they-say him
χρήσασθαι τοιούτῳ λογισμῷ· καθάπερ γὰρ οἱ τῶν
to-have-used such reasoning as for the of-the
ἄλλων ζῴων ἀγελάρχαι, βουκόλοι καὶ αἰπόλοι καὶ νομεῖς,
other animals herd-leaders cowherds and goatherds and shepherds
οὔτε βόες εἰσὶν οὔτε αἶγες οὔτε ἄρνες, ἀλλ' ἄνθρωποι
neither oxen are nor goats nor lambs but men
κρείττονος μοίρας καὶ κατασκευῆς ἐπιλαχόντες, τὸν αὐτὸν
of-better lot and constitution having-obtained in-the same
τρόπον ἀγελαρχοῦντα κἀμὲ τῆς ἀρίστης ἀνθρώπων γένους
way herd-leading also-me of-the best of-men race
ἀγέλης νομιστέον διαφέρειν καὶ μὴ κατ' ἄνθρωπον
herd one-must-think to-differ and not according-to man
εἶναι, μείζονος δὲ καὶ θειοτέρας μοίρας τετυχηκέναι.
to-be greater but and more-divine lot to-have-obtained
77 ταύτην τὴν ὑπόληψιν ἐνσφραγισάμενος τῇ διανοίᾳ
this the supposition having-stamped on-the mind
περιέφερεν ὁ ἠλίθιος ἐν ἑαυτῷ μυθικὸν πλάσμα ὡς
carried-about the fool in himself mythical fiction as
ἀψευδεστάτην ἀλήθειαν. καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἅπαξ ἐθρασύνατο καὶ
most-unlying truth and when once he-grew-bold and
ἀπετόλμησεν εἰς τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐξενεγκεῖν τὴν ἀθεωτάτην
dared to the many to-bring-out the most-godless
ἐκθέωσιν αὑτοῦ, τὰ ἀκόλουθα καὶ συνῳδὰ πράττειν
deification of-himself the-things consequent and consonant to-do
ἐπεχείρει καὶ οἷα δι' ἀναβαθμῶν ἐκ τοῦ κατ' ὀλίγον εἰς
he-attempted and as by steps from the by little to
τὸ ἄνω προῄει.
the up advanced

ἤρχετο γὰρ ἐξομοιοῦν τὸ πρῶτον τοῖς λεγομένοις 78
he-began for to-liken the first to-the so-called
ἡμιθέοις ἑαυτόν, Διονύσῳ καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ καὶ Διοσκούροις,
demigods himself to-Dionysus and Heracles and Dioscuri
Τροφώνιον καὶ Ἀμφιάραον καὶ Ἀμφίλοχον καὶ τοὺς
Trophonius and Amphiaraus and Amphilochus and the
ὁμοίους χρηστηρίοις αὐτοῖς καὶ ὀργίοις χλεύην τιθέμενος
like with-oracles themselves and rites mockery making
κατὰ σύγκρισιν τῆς ἰδίας δυνάμεως.
by comparison of-the own power
εἶθ' ὥσπερ ἐν θεάτρῳ σκευὴν ἄλλοτε ἀλλοίαν ἀνελάμβανε, 79
then as in theater costume at-one-time another took-up
τοτὲ μὲν λεοντῆν καὶ ῥόπαλον, ἀμφότερα ἐπίχρυσα,
at-times indeed lion-skin and club both gilded
διακοσμούμενος εἰς Ἡρακλέα, τοτὲ δὲ πίλους ἐπὶ τῆς
adorning-himself into Heracles at-times and caps on the
κεφαλῆς, ὁπότε ἀσκοῖτο εἰς Διοσκούρους· ἔστι δὲ ὅτε
head whenever he-was-dressed into Dioscuri it-is and when
κιττῷ καὶ θύρσῳ καὶ νεβρίσιν εἰς Διόνυσον ἠσκεῖτο·
with-ivy and thyrsus and fawnskins into Dionysus he-was-dressed
καὶ ταύτῃ διαφέρειν ἀξιῶν, ὅτι ἐκείνων μὲν ἕκαστος ἰδίας 80
and in-this to-differ deeming that of-those indeed each own
ἔχων τιμὰς οὐ μετεποιεῖτο ὧν ἐκοινώνουν ἕτεροι, ὁ δὲ
having honors not laid-claim-to of-what shared others he but
τὰς πάντων ἀθρόων ἐσφετερίζετο φθόνῳ καὶ πλεονεξίᾳ,
the of-all all-together appropriated through-envy and greed
μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους, οὐκ εἰς Γηρυόνην τὸν
rather but also themselves those not into Geryones the
τρισώματον μεταβαλών, ἵνα τῷ πλήθει παραγάγῃ
three-bodied changing so-that by-the number he-might-mislead
τοὺς ὁρῶντας, ἀλλ', ὃ δὴ παραδοξότατον ἦν, ἑνὸς
those seeing but what indeed most-paradoxical was of-one

σώματος οὐσίαν μετασχηματίζων καὶ μεταχαράττων εἰς
body substance transforming and restamping into
πολυτρόπους μορφάς, Αἰγυπτίου τρόπον Πρωτέως, ὃν
many-turned shapes Egyptian like Proteus whom
εἰσήγαγεν Ὅμηρος μεταβολὰς παντοίας ἐνδεχόμενον εἴς
introduced Homer changes of-all-kinds admitting into
τε τὰ στοιχεῖα καὶ τὰ ἐκ τούτων ζῷα καὶ φυτά.
both the elements and the from these animals and plants
81 καίτοι τί παρασήμων ἔδει σοι, Γάιε, οἷς ἔθος
and-yet what of-insignia it-was-needful for-you Gaius with-which custom
ἀσκεῖσθαι τὰ τῶν εἰρημένων ἀφιδρύματα; ἐχρῆν γὰρ
to-be-adorned the of-the said images it-was-needful for
ζηλοῦν τὰς ἐκείνων ἀρετάς. Ἡρακλῆς ἐκάθηρε γῆν καὶ
to-emulate the their virtues Heracles purified land and
θάλατταν ἄθλους ἀναγκαιοτάτους καὶ ὠφελιμωτάτους
sea labors most-necessary and most-useful
ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις ὑποστὰς ἕνεκα τοῦ τὰ βλαβερὰ
for-all men having-undertaken for-the-sake of-the the harmful
καὶ κακωτικὰ φύσεως ἑκατέρας ἀνελεῖν.
and noxious of-nature each to-destroy

Philo sets the demigods' benefits against Gaius' deeds. Dionysus gave the vine and the Dioscuri shared immortality out of brotherly love, while Heracles' toils filled lands and islands with order and plenty; Gaius killed his brother and co-heir, exiled his sisters, invented new arts of destruction, and filled the cities with tumult. He then dresses as Hermes with staff, sandals, and cloak, as Apollo with a crown of rays while choirs sing him paeans, and as Ares amid a band of murderers. Philo asks what Hermes' winged sandals and staff of truces mean on a man of evil news and war, and Apollo's rays on one whose deeds belong to darkness.

Διόνυσος ἡμερώσας ἄμπελον καὶ ποτὸν ἐξ αὐτῆς 82
Dionysus having-tamed vine and drink from it
ἀναχέας ἥδιστον ὁμοῦ καὶ ὠφελιμώτατον ψυχαῖς τε
having-poured-out sweetest at-once and most-beneficial for-souls both
καὶ σώμασι τὰς μὲν ἄγει πρὸς εὐθυμίαν, κακῶν
and bodies the(-ones) indeed leads to cheerfulness of-evils
λήθην καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἐλπίδας ἐνεργαζόμενος, τὰ δὲ σώματα
forgetfulness and of-goods hopes producing the and bodies
ὑγιεινότερα καὶ κραταιότερα καὶ εὐκινητότερα παρασκευάζει·
healthier and stronger and more-nimble makes
καὶ ἰδίᾳ τε ἕκαστον ἀνθρώπων βελτίονα ποιεῖ καὶ 83
and privately both each of-men better makes and
πολυανθρώπους οἰκίας καὶ συγγενείας ἐξ αὐχμηροῦ
populous houses and kindreds from squalid
καὶ ἐπιπόνου βίου μεθαρμόζεται πρὸς ἀνειμένης σχῆμα
and toilsome life changes to of-relaxed form
καὶ ἱλαρᾶς διαίτης καὶ πάσαις πόλεσιν Ἑλληνικαῖς τε
and cheerful way-of-life and to-all cities Greek both
καὶ βαρβαρικαῖς εὐωχίας, εὐφροσύνας, θαλίας, ἑορτὰς
and barbarian feasts merriments festivities feasts
ἐπαλλήλους παρέχει· πάντων γὰρ τῶν λεχθέντων αἴτιος
successive provides of-all for the said cause

ἄκρατος. πάλιν Διοσκούρους λόγος ἔχει κοινώσασθαι τὴν
unmixed-wine again Dioscuri report holds to-have-shared the
ἀθανασίαν.
immortality

84 ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ὁ μὲν θνητὸς ὁ δὲ ἀθάνατος ἦν,
since for the(-one) indeed mortal the(-other) and immortal was
οὐκ ἐδικαίωσεν ὁ τῆς κρείττονος μοίρας ἀξιωθεὶς
not thought-it-just the(-one) of-the better lot deemed-worthy
φιλαυτῆσαι μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν εὔνοιαν
to-love-himself rather than toward the brother goodwill
ἐπιδείξασθαι.
to-show

85 φαντασιωθεὶς γὰρ τὸν ἄπειρον αἰῶνα καὶ λογισάμενος,
having-imagined for the infinite eternity and having-reckoned
ὅτι αὐτὸς μὲν ἀεὶ βιώσεται, ὁ δὲ ἀδελφὸς ἀεὶ
that himself indeed always will-live the and brother always
τεθνήξεται, καὶ μετὰ τῆς ἀθανασίας ἀθάνατον τὸ ἐπ᾽
will-be-dead and with the immortality immortal the for
ἐκείνῳ πένθος ἀναδέξεται, θαυμαστὴν ἐμεγαλούργησεν
him grief will-take-on marvelous he-wrought
ἀντίδοσιν ἀνακερασάμενος αὑτῷ μὲν τὸ θνητόν, τῷ δὲ
exchange having-mixed for-himself indeed the mortal for-the and
ἀδελφῷ τὸ ἄφθαρτον, καὶ ἀνισότητα, τὴν ἀδικίας ἀρχήν,
brother the incorruptible and inequality the of-injustice beginning
ἐνηφάνισεν ἰσότητι, ἥτις ἐστὶ πηγὴ δικαιοσύνης.
he-abolished by-equality which is source of-justice

86 οὗτοι πάντες, ὦ Γάιε, διὰ τὰς ὑπηργμένας εὐεργεσίας
these all O Gaius because-of the having-been-done benefactions
ἐθαυμάσθησαν καὶ ἔτι νῦν θαυμάζονται καὶ σεβασμοῦ τε
were-admired and still now are-admired and of-reverence both

καὶ τῶν ἀνωτάτω τιμῶν ἠξιώθησαν. εἰπὲ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς
and of-the highest honors were-deemed-worthy tell indeed also yourself
ἡμῖν, ἐπὶ τίνι γαυριᾷς καὶ πεφύσησαι τῶν παραπλησίων;
to-us at what do-you-exult and are-you-puffed-up of-the similar-things
ἐμιμήσω τοὺς Διοσκούρους εἰς φιλαδελφίαν; ἵνα ἐντεῦθεν 87
did-you-imitate the Dioscuri in brotherly-love so-that from-here
ἄρξωμαι. τὸν μὲν ἀδελφὸν καὶ συγκληρονόμον ἐν ἀκμῇ
I-may-begin the indeed brother and co-heir in prime
τῆς πρώτης ἡλικίας, ὦ σιδήρειε καὶ ἀνηλεέστατε, ὠμῶς
of-the first age O iron-hearted and most-pitiless cruelly
ἀπέσφαξας, τὰς δ᾽ ἀδελφὰς ὕστερον ἐφυγάδευσας· μὴ
you-slaughtered the and sisters later you-exiled lest
καὶ αὗται τὸν περὶ ἀφαιρέσεως ἀρχῆς φόβον εἰργάζοντό
also these the about removal of-rule fear were-producing
σοι; ἐμιμήσω Διόνυσον;
for-you did-you-imitate Dionysus
εὑρετὴς καινῶν γέγονας χαρίτων ὡς ἐκεῖνος; εὐφροσύνης 88
discoverer of-new have-you-become graces as he of-merriment
κατέπλησας τὴν οἰκουμένην; Ἀσία καὶ Εὐρώπη τὰς ἐκ
did-you-fill the inhabited-world Asia and Europe the from
σοῦ γεγενημένας δωρεὰς οὐ χωρεῖ;
you having-come gifts not does-contain
καινὰς μὲν οὖν τέχνας καὶ ἐπιστήμας ἀνεῦρες ὡς κοινὸς 89
new indeed then arts and sciences you-found as common
λυμεὼν καὶ παλαμναῖος, αἷς μεταβάλλεις τὰ ἡδέα καὶ
destroyer and blood-guilty-one by-which you-change the sweet and
χαρτὰ πρὸς ἀηδίας καὶ λύπας καὶ ἀβίωτον βίον
gladdening-things into disgusts and griefs and unlivable life
τοῖς πανταχοῦ πᾶσι, τὰ μὲν παρ᾽ ἑτέροις ἀγαθὰ καὶ
for-those everywhere all the indeed among others good and
καλὰ πάντα σφετεριζόμενος ἀπλήστοις καὶ ἀκορέστοις
fine-things all appropriating with-insatiable and unsated

ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις, τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν ἑῴων, τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν
the desires the-things from the eastern-parts the-things from the
ἑσπερίων, τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων τοῦ παντὸς κλιμάτων, εἴ
western-parts the-things from the other of-the universe regions if
τινα ἢ κατὰ μεσημβρίαν ἦν ἢ πρὸς ἄρκτον, τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ
any either toward south was or toward north the-things and from
τῆς σαυτοῦ πικρίας καὶ ὅσα ταῖς ἐπαράτοις καὶ ἰοβόλοις
the your-own bitterness and as-many-as for-the accursed and venomous
ψυχαῖς γεννᾶν ἔθος βλαβερὰ καὶ ἐπιζήμια ἀντιδιδοὺς καὶ
souls to-beget is-wont harmful and damaging giving-in-return and
ἀντιπέμπων· διὰ ταῦτα ὁ νέος Διόνυσος ἡμῖν ἀνεφάνης;
sending-in-return for these-things the new Dionysus to-us did-you-appear
90 ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἡρακλέα ἐζήλωσας τοῖς ἀκαμάτοις σαυτοῦ
but also Heracles did-you-emulate with-the untiring your
πόνοις καὶ ταῖς ἀτρύτοις ἀνδραγαθίαις, εὐνομίας καὶ εὐδικίας
toils and the unwearied brave-deeds of-good-order and of-good-justice
εὐθηνίας τε καὶ εὐετηρίας καὶ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων ἀγαθῶν
of-plenty both and of-good-harvest and of-the of-the other goods
ἀφθονίας, ὧν ἡ βαθεῖα εἰρήνη δημιουργός, ἀναπλήσας
abundance of-which the deep peace craftsman having-filled
ἠπείρους τε καὶ νήσους, ὁ ἀγεννέστατος, ὁ δειλίας μεστός,
mainlands both and islands the most-ignoble the of-cowardice full
ὁ τῶν μὲν εἰς εὐστάθειαν καὶ εὐδαιμονίαν ἁπάντων
the(-one) of-the-things indeed for stability and happiness all
κενώσας τὰς πόλεις, μεστὰς δὲ τῶν εἰς ταραχὰς καὶ
having-emptied the cities full but of-the-things for disturbances and
θορύβους καὶ τὴν ἀνωτάτω βαρυδαιμονίαν ἀναφήνας;
tumults and the highest misery having-shown-them
91 ἐπὶ δὲ ταῖς τοσαύταις φοραῖς, ἃς ἤνεγκας ἐπ᾽ ὀλέθρῳ,
for and the so-great harvests which you-brought for destruction
εἰπέ μοι, Γάιε, ζητεῖς ἀθανασίας μεταλαχεῖν, ἵνα μὴ
tell me Gaius do-you-seek of-immortality to-get-a-share so-that not

ὀλιγοχρονίους καὶ ἐφημέρους ἀλλὰ ἀθανάτους ἀπεργάσῃ
short-lived and ephemeral but immortal you-may-make
συμφοράς; ἐγὼ δὲ νομίζω τοὐναντίον, εἰ καί τις ἔδοξας
misfortunes I but think the-opposite if even some you-seemed
γεγενῆσθαι θεός, πάντως ἄν σε μεταβαλεῖν ἕνεκα
to-have-become god altogether — you to-change for-the-sake
τῶν πονηρῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων εἰς θνητὴν φύσιν· εἰ γὰρ
of-the wicked practices into mortal nature if for
ἀθανατίζουσιν ἀρεταί, πάντως φθείρουσι κακίαι.
immortalize virtues altogether destroy vices
μήτε οὖν ἐν Διοσκούροις γράφου τοῖς φιλαδελφοτάτοις, ὁ 92
neither then among Dioscuri be-enrolled the most-brother-loving the
σφαγεὺς καὶ λυμεὼν τῶν ἀδελφῶν γεγονώς, μήτε Ἡρακλέους
slaughterer and destroyer of-the brothers having-become nor of-Heracles
ἢ Διονύσου τιμῆς κοινοπράγει τῶν τὸν βίον ὀνησάντων,
or of-Dionysus honor share of-those the life having-benefited
ὁ κακωτὴς καὶ διαφθορεὺς ὧν ἔδρασαν ἐκεῖνοι.
the ravager and corrupter of-what did they
Τοσαύτη δέ τις περὶ αὐτὸν ἦν λύττα καὶ παράφορος καὶ 93
so-great but some about him was rage and frenzied and
παράκοπος μανία, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς ἡμιθέους ὑπερβὰς
deranged madness that even the demigods having-passed-over
ἐπανήει καὶ ἐπαπεδύετο τοῖς τῶν μειζόνων καὶ ἀμφιθαλῶν
he-went-up and stripped-for the of-the greater and of-both-parents-living
εἶναι δοκούντων σεβασμοῖς Ἑρμοῦ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ
to-be seeming reverences of-Hermes and Apollo and
Ἄρεως.
Ares

94 Ἑρμοῦ τὸ πρῶτον, κηρυκείοις καὶ πεδίλοις καὶ χλαμύσιν
of-Hermes the first with-heralds'-staffs and sandals and cloaks
ἐνσκευαζόμενος τάξιν τε ἐν ἀταξίᾳ καὶ τὸ ἀκόλουθον ἐν
equipping-himself order both in disorder and the consequence in
συγχύσει καὶ λογισμὸν ἐν φρενοβλαβείᾳ παρεπιδεικνύμενος·
confusion and reason in derangement displaying
95 εἶτα, ὁπότε δόξειεν αὐτῷ, τὰ μὲν ἀπετίθετο, εἰς δὲ
then whenever it-seemed-good to-him these indeed he-put-off into but
Ἀπόλλωνα μετεμορφοῦτο καὶ μετεσκευάζετο, στεφάνοις
Apollo he-transformed-himself and changed-costume with-crowns
μὲν ἀκτινοειδέσι τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀναδούμενος, τόξον δὲ τῇ
indeed rayed the head binding bow and in-the
εὐωνύμῳ καὶ βέλη κρατῶν χειρί, Χάριτας δὲ τῇ δεξιᾷ
left and arrows holding hand Graces and with-the right
προτείνων, ὡς δέον τὰ μὲν ἀγαθὰ ὀρέγειν ἐξ ἑτοίμου
holding-out as needful the indeed goods to-hold-out from ready
καὶ τετάχθαι τὴν βελτίονα τάξιν τὴν ἐπὶ δεξιά, τὰς
and to-have-been-ranked the better rank the on right the
δὲ κολάσεις ὑποστέλλειν καὶ τὴν καταδεεστέραν χώραν
but punishments to-hold-back and the inferior place
κεκληρῶσθαι τὴν ἐπ' εὐώνυμα.
to-have-been-allotted the on left
96 χοροί τε εὐθὺς εἱστήκεσαν συγκεκροτημένοι, παιᾶνας εἰς
choruses both at-once stood drilled paeans to
αὐτὸν ᾄδοντες, οἱ πρὸ μικροῦ Βάκχον καὶ Εὐήιον καὶ
him singing those before little Bacchus and Euius and
Λυαῖον ὀνομάζοντες καὶ ὕμνοις γεραίροντες, ἡνίκα τὴν
Lyaeus naming-him and with-hymns honoring when the
Διονυσιακὴν ἀνελάμβανε σκευήν.
Dionysiac he-took-up costume

πολλάκις δὲ καὶ θώρακα ἐνδυόμενος ξιφήρης προῄει 97
often and also breastplate putting-on sword-in-hand he-went-forth
μετὰ κράνους καὶ ἀσπίδος, Ἄρης ἀνακαλούμενος· καὶ παρ᾽
with helmet and shield Ares being-hailed and on
ἑκάτερα οἱ Ἄρεως τοῦ καινοῦ θεραπευταὶ συμπροῄεσαν,
each-side the of-Ares the new attendants went-forth-with
ἀνδροφόνων καὶ δημοκοίνων θίασος, ὑπηρετήσοντες κακὰς
of-murderers and executioners band going-to-render evil
ὑπηρεσίας φονῶντι καὶ διψῶντι ἀνθρωπείου αἵματος.
services to-one-lusting-for-slaughter and thirsting of-human blood
εἶτα τοῖς ταῦτα ὁρῶσι κατάπληξις ἦν ἐπὶ τῷ παραλόγῳ, 98
then for-those these-things seeing amazement was at the absurdity
καὶ ἐθαύμαζον, πῶς ὁ τἀναντία δρῶν οἷς ἰσότιμος
and they-wondered how the(-one) the-opposite doing to-those equal-in-honor
εἶναι προαιρεῖται τὰς μὲν ἀρετὰς αὐτῶν ἐπιτηδεύειν
to-be chooses the indeed virtues their to-practice
οὐκ ἀξιοῖ, τοῖς δὲ παρασήμοις εἰς ἕκαστον σκευάζεται.
not deems-fit with-the but insignia for each is-dressed
καίτοι τὰ περίαπτα ταῦτα καὶ προκοσμήματα ξοάνοις
and-yet the amulets these and ornaments to-wooden-images
καὶ ἀγάλμασι προσκαθίδρυται, διὰ συμβόλων μηνύοντα
and statues are-set-beside through symbols indicating
τὰς ὠφελείας, ἃς παρέχονται τῷ γένει τῶν ἀνθρώπων
the benefits which provide to-the race of-the men
οἱ τιμώμενοι. πέδιλα Ἑρμῆς ὑποδεῖται πτερῶν ταρσοὺς
those honored sandals Hermes wears of-wings pinions
ἔχοντα· διὰ τί;
having for what
ἆρα οὐχ ὅτι προσήκει τὸν ἑρμηνέα καὶ προφήτην 99
is-it not because it-befits the interpreter and prophet
τῶν θείων, ἀφ᾽ οὗ καὶ Ἑρμῆς ὠνόμασται, τὰ ἀγαθὰ
of-the divine-things from which also Hermes is-named the goods

διαγγέλλοντα — κακοῦ γὰρ οὐχ ὅτι θεὸς ἀλλ' οὐδὲ
announcing of-evil for not that god but not-even
σοφὸς ἀνὴρ γίνεται μηνυτής — ποδωκέστατόν τε εἶναι
wise man becomes informer swiftest both to-be
καὶ μόνον οὐ πτηνὸν φέρεσθαι διὰ σπουδὴν ἀνυπέρθετον;
and only not winged to-be-carried through haste admitting-no-delay
ἐπειδὴ τὰ λυσιτελῆ φθάνοντας εὐαγγελίζεσθαι προσήκει,
since the profitable-things anticipating to-bring-good-news it-befits
καθάπερ τὰ παλίμφημα μέλλοντας, εἰ μὴ ἐπιτρέποι τις
as the ill-omened-things delaying if not should-allow anyone
αὐτὰ ἡσυχάζεσθαι.
them to-be-kept-quiet

100 πάλιν κηρύκειον ἀναλαμβάνει δεῖγμα συμβατηρίων
again herald's-staff he-takes-up sign of-reconciling
σπονδῶν· πόλεμοι γὰρ ἀνοχὰς καὶ διαλύσεις λαμβάνουσι
truces wars for armistices and settlements take
διὰ κηρύκων εἰρήνην καθισταμένων· οἱ δὲ ἀκήρυκτοι
through heralds peace establishing those but without-heralds
συμφορὰς ἀτελευτήτους ἀπεργάζονται καὶ τοῖς ἐπιφέρουσι
misfortunes endless produce both for-those attacking
καὶ τοῖς ἀμυνομένοις.
and for-those defending

101 Γάιος δὲ πρὸς τίνα χρείαν πέδιλα ἀνελάμβανεν; ἢ ἵνα τὰ
Gaius but for what use sandals did-he-take-up or so-that the
δύσφημα καὶ δυσώνυμα, δέον ἡσυχάζεσθαι, βοηδρομῆται
ill-omened and ill-named-things needing to-be-kept-quiet be-shouted-abroad
τάχει συντόνῳ πάντῃ συνηχοῦντα; καίτοι τί κινήσεως
with-speed intense everywhere resounding and-yet what of-movement
ἐπεσπευσμένης ἔδει; μένων γὰρ κακὰ ἐπὶ κακοῖς
hastened it-was-needful staying for evils upon evils

ἀμύθητα ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀενάων πηγῶν εἰς ἅπαντα τὰ μέρη
untold as from ever-flowing springs into all the parts
τῆς οἰκουμένης ὤμβρει.
of-the inhabited-world he-rained
τί δὲ δεῖ κηρυκείου τῷ μηδὲν εἰρηναῖόν ποτε 102
what and it-is-needful of-herald's-staff for-the(-one) nothing peaceful ever
μήτε εἰπόντι μήτε δράσαντι, πᾶσαν δὲ οἰκίαν καὶ πόλιν
neither having-said nor having-done every but house and city
ἐμφυλίων ἀναπλήσαντι πολέμων κατά τε τὴν Ἑλλάδα
with-civil having-filled wars in both the Greek-world
καὶ βάρβαρον; ἀποθέσθω δὴ τὸν Ἑρμῆν, ἀφοσιωσάμενος
and barbarian let-him-put-off indeed — Hermes having-renounced
τὴν ἀνοίκειον κλῆσιν, ὁ ψευδώνυμος.
the unfitting name the falsely-named
τί δὲ τῶν Ἀπολλωνιακῶν ἐμφερές ἐστι παρ᾽ αὐτῷ; 103
what and of-the Apollonian-things like is in him
στέφανον ἀκτινωτὸν φορεῖ, εὖ πως ἀπομαξαμένου τὰς
crown rayed he-wears well somehow having-imitated the
ἡλιακὰς ἀκτῖνας τοῦ τεχνίτου. ἐκείνῳ δὲ ἥλιος ἢ φῶς
solar rays the artist for-that-one but sun or light
συνόλως ἀσπαστόν ἐστιν, ἀλλ᾽ οὐχὶ νὺξ καὶ σκότος καὶ
altogether welcome is but not night and darkness and
εἴ τι σκότους ἀφεγγέστερον εἰς τὴν τῶν ἐκνόμων
if anything than-darkness more-lightless for the of-the lawless
ἔργων διάθεσιν; ἐπειδὴ τὰ μὲν καλὰ περιαυγείας
deeds performance since the indeed fine-things of-brightness
μεσημβρινῆς δεῖται πρὸς ἐπίδειξιν, τὰ δὲ αἰσχρά φασιν
midday need for display the but shameful-things they-say
ἐσχατιᾶς Ταρτάρου, εἰς ὃν ἄξιον συνωθεῖσθαι δεόντως
of-farthest-depth of-Tartarus into which worthy to-be-thrust duly
ἐπικρυφθησόμενα.
going-to-be-hidden

Gaius should hold the arrows in his right hand, since he shoots down whole cities, and cast away the Graces, whose beauty he shamed by seizing estates; Apollo heals and prophesies good, while Gaius brings disease, maiming, and deadly oracles of poverty and exile, and is in body and soul the reverse of Ares, the helper. Only the Jews will not join the world in deifying him, being taught from infancy that there is one God and ready to die for their laws. An undeclared war is therefore prepared against them, and the Alexandrian mob, sensing its moment, drives them from their houses, plunders their goods openly, and leaves them homeless under the sky.

104 μεταθέτω καὶ τὰ ἐν ἑκατέρᾳ χειρὶ καὶ μὴ κιβδηλευέτω
let-him-transpose also the-things in each hand and not let-him-falsify
τὴν τάξιν. τὰ μὲν βέλη καὶ τόξα τῇ δεξιᾷ προφερέτω·
the order the indeed arrows and bows in-the right let-him-hold-forth
βάλλειν γὰρ καὶ τοξεύειν εὐσκόπως οἶδεν ἄνδρας, γυναῖκας,
to-shoot for and to-shoot-arrows well-aimed he-knows men women
συγγενείας ὅλας, εὐανδρούσας πόλεις, ἐπ᾽ ὀλέθρῳ παντελεῖ.
kindreds whole populous cities for destruction complete
105 τὰς δὲ Χάριτας ἢ ῥιψάτω θᾶττον ἢ τῇ
the but Graces either let-him-throw-away quicker or with-the
εὐωνύμῳ συσκιαζέτω· τὸ γὰρ κάλλος ᾔσχυνεν αὐτῶν,
left let-him-overshadow the for beauty he-shamed their
προσοφθαλμιῶν καὶ προσκεχηνὼς ταῖς μεγάλαις οὐσίαις
casting-eyes-on and gaping at-the great estates
εἰς ἁρπαγὰς ἀδίκους, αἷς ἐπικατεσφάττοντο οἱ δεσπόται
for seizures unjust by-which were-slaughtered-besides the masters
τῆς εὐτυχίας ἕνεκα κακοδαιμονοῦντες.
of-the good-fortune for-the-sake made-miserable
106 ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἰατρικὴν Ἀπόλλωνος εὖ πως μετεχάραξεν.
but also the medicine of-Apollo well somehow he-restamped
ὁ μὲν γὰρ σωτηρίων φαρμάκων εὑρετὴς ἐγένετο
he indeed for of-saving drugs discoverer became

πρὸς ὑγείαν ἀνθρώπων, ἀξιῶν καὶ τὰς ὑφ᾽ ἑτέρων
for health of-men deeming also the by others
ἐγγινομένας νόσους αὐτὸς ἰᾶσθαι διὰ τὴν ἐκ φύσεως
arising diseases himself to-heal because-of the from nature
καὶ ἐπιτηδεύσεως ὑπερβάλλουσαν ἡμερότητα.
and practice surpassing gentleness
ὁ δὲ ἔμπαλιν νόσους μὲν τοῖς ὑγιαίνουσι, πηρώσεις 107
he but conversely diseases indeed on-the healthy maimings
δὲ τοῖς ὁλοκλήροις, καὶ συνόλως θανάτους τοῖς ζῶσι
and on-the whole and altogether deaths on-the living
χειροποιήτους πρὸ τοῦ μοιριδίου χαλεποὺς ἐπέφερε, πάντα
hand-made before the fated harsh brought all
τὰ φθοροποιὰ χορηγίαις ἀφθόνοις παρεσκευασμένος, οἷς,
the destructive-things with-supplies abundant prepared with-which
εἰ μὴ ἔφθασε προαναιρεθεὶς ὑπὸ τῆς δίκης, κἂν
if not he-had-been-beforehand destroyed-first by the justice even
τὸ ἐν ἑκάστῃ πόλει δοκιμώτατον ἤδη διέφθαρτο.
the in each city most-approved already would-have-been-destroyed
πρὸς τοὺς γὰρ ἐν τέλει καὶ πλουσίους εὐτρεπεῖς ἦσαν αἱ 108
against those for in office and rich ready were the
παρασκευαί, καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς ἐν Ῥώμῃ καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ Ἰταλίᾳ,
preparations and most those in Rome and the other Italy
παρ᾽ οἷς ἄργυρος καὶ χρυσὸς τεθησαύρισται τοσοῦτος,
among whom silver and gold has-been-treasured so-much
ὥστε, εἰ σύμπας ὁ ἐξ ἁπάσης τῆς ἄλλης οἰκουμένης ἀπὸ
that if all the from all the other inhabited-world from
περάτων αὐτῶν συνενεχθείη, πολλῷ καταδεέστερος
ends themselves should-be-brought-together much inferior
ἂν εὑρεθῆναι. διὰ τοῦτο ἀπὸ τῆς πατρίδος ὥσπερ ἀφ᾽
— to-be-found for this from the fatherland as from

ἱερᾶς ἤρχετο τὰ σπέρματα τῆς εἰρήνης ἀπορρίπτειν, ὁ
sacred-line he-began the seeds of-the peace to-cast-away the
μισόπολις, ὁ δημοβόρος, ἡ λύμη, τὸ φθοροποιὸν κακόν.
city-hater the people-devourer the bane the destructive evil
109 λέγεται μὴ μόνον ἰατρὸς ἀλλὰ καὶ μάντις ἀγαθὸς Ἀπόλλων
it-is-said not only doctor but also prophet good Apollo
εἶναι, χρησμοῖς προλέγων τὰ μέλλοντα πρὸς ὠφέλειαν
to-be by-oracles foretelling the future for benefit
ἀνθρώπων, ἵνα μή τις ἐπισκιασθεὶς αὐτῶν περὶ τὸ
of-men so-that not anyone overshadowed of-them about the
ἄδηλον ἀπροοράτως καθάπερ τυφλὸς τοῖς ἀβουλήτοις ὡς
unclear without-foresight like blind-man on-the unwished-for-things as
λυσιτελεστάτοις ἐπιτρέχων ἐπεμπίπτῃ, προμαθὼν
most-profitable running-at may-fall-upon-them having-learned-beforehand
δὲ τὸ μέλλον ὡς ἤδη παρὸν καὶ βλέπων αὐτὸ τῇ
but the future as already present and seeing it with-the
διανοίᾳ οὐχ ἧττον ἢ τὰ ἐν χερσὶν ὀφθαλμοῖς σώματος
mind not less than the-things at hand with-eyes of-body
φυλάττηται, προνοούμενος τοῦ μηδὲν ἀνήκεστον παθεῖν.
he-may-be-on-guard taking-forethought of-the nothing incurable to-suffer
110 ἆρα ἄξιον τούτοις ἀντιθεῖναι τὰ παλίμφημα Γαΐου λόγια,
is-it worth to-these to-set-against the ill-omened of-Gaius oracles
δι᾽ ὧν πενίαι καὶ ἀτιμίαι καὶ φυγαὶ καὶ θάνατοι
through which poverties and dishonors and exiles and deaths
προεμηνύοντο τοῖς πανταχοῦ τῶν ἐν τέλει καὶ δυνατῶν;
were-foretold to-those everywhere of-those in office and powerful
τίς οὖν κοινωνία πρὸς Ἀπόλλωνα τῷ μηδὲν οἰκεῖον
what then fellowship with Apollo for-the(-one) nothing proper
ἢ συγγενὲς ἐπιτετηδευκότι; πεπαύσθω καὶ ὁ ψευδώνυμος
or akin having-practiced let-him-cease also the falsely-named

Παιὰν τὸν ἀληθῆ Παιᾶνα μιμούμενος· οὐ γὰρ ὥσπερ τὸ
Paean the true Paean imitating not for as the
νόμισμα παράκομμα καὶ θεοῦ μορφὴ γίνεται.
coin counterfeit also god's form becomes
πάντα γε μὴν ἐλπίσειεν ἄν τις μᾶλλον ἢ τοιοῦτον 111
all-things at-least indeed would-hope — anyone rather than such
σῶμα καὶ ψυχήν, ἄμφω μαλακὰ καὶ κατεαγότα, τῇ
body and soul both soft and broken in-the
περὶ ἑκάτερον Ἄρεως ἀλκῇ δυνηθῆναί ποτε ἐξομοιωθῆναι·
about each of-Ares prowess to-be-able ever to-be-likened
ὁ δὲ ὥσπερ ἐπὶ σκηνῆς ἐναλλάττων πολυειδῆ προσωπεῖα
he but as on stage changing many-formed masks
φαντασίαις ψευδέσιν ἠπάτα τοὺς ὁρῶντας.
with-appearances false deceived those seeing
φέρε δ' οὖν, μηδὲν τῶν περὶ σῶμα καὶ ψυχὴν 112
come but then nothing of-the-things about body and soul
ἐξεταζέσθω διὰ τὴν ἐν πάσαις σχέσεσι καὶ κινήσεσιν
let-be-examined because-of the in all postures and movements
ἀλλοτριότητα πρὸς τὸν εἰρημένον δαίμονα· τὴν Ἄρεως
alienness to the said deity the of-Ares
οὖν, οὐχὶ τοῦ μεμυθευμένου, τοῦ δὲ ἐν τῇ φύσει λόγου,
then not of-the mythical of-the but in the nature reason
ὃν ἀνδρεία κεκλήρωται, δύναμιν οὐκ ἴσμεν ἀλεξίκακον
which courage has-been-allotted power do-we-not know averter-of-evil
οὖσαν καὶ βοηθὸν καὶ παραστάτιν ἀδικουμένων, ὡς καὶ
being and helper and defender of-the-wronged as even
αὐτό που δηλοῖ τοὔνομα;
itself surely shows the-name
παρὰ γὰρ τὸ ἀρήγειν, ὅπερ βοηθεῖν ἐστι, κατὰ γλῶτταν 113
from for the to-succor which to-help is in dialect
Ἄρης ὠνομάσθαι μοι δοκεῖ, καθαιρετικὸς πολέμων,
Ares to-have-been-named to-me seems destroyer of-wars

δημιουργὸς εἰρήνης, ἧς ἐχθρὸς μὲν ἦν ἕτερος, ἑταῖρος
craftsman of-peace of-which enemy indeed was the-other comrade
δὲ πολέμων, τὴν εὐστάθειαν εἰς ταραχὰς καὶ στάσεις
but of-wars the stability into disturbances and factions
μεθαρμοζόμενος.
changing

114 Ἆρά γε ἤδη μεμαθήκαμεν ἐκ τούτων, ὅτι οὐδενὶ θεῶν
is-it indeed already have-we-learned from these that to-none of-gods
ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἡμιθέων ἐξομοιοῦσθαι δεῖ Γάιον, μήτε φύσεως
but not-even of-demigods to-be-likened it-is-needful Gaius neither nature
μήτε οὐσίας ἀλλὰ μηδὲ προαιρέσεως τετυχηκότα τῆς
nor substance but not-even choice having-obtained the
αὐτῆς; τυφλὸν δέ, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἡ ἐπιθυμία, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅταν
same blind but as it-seems the desire and most when
προσλάβῃ κενοδοξίαν ὁμοῦ καὶ φιλονεικίαν μετὰ τῆς μεγίστης
it-takes-on vainglory at-once and contentiousness with the greatest
ἐξουσίας, ὑφ' ἧς ἡμεῖς οἱ πρότερον εὐτυχεῖς ἐπορθούμεθα.
power by which we the formerly fortunate were-ravaged
115 μόνους γὰρ Ἰουδαίους ὑπεβλέπετο, ὡς δὴ μόνους τἀναντία
alone for Jews he-eyed-askance as indeed alone the-opposite
προῃρημένους καὶ δεδιδαγμένους ἐξ αὐτῶν τρόπον τινὰ
having-chosen and having-been-taught from very in-a-way some
σπαργάνων ὑπὸ γονέων καὶ παιδαγωγῶν καὶ ὑφηγητῶν
swaddling-clothes by parents and tutors and guides
καὶ πολὺ πρότερον τῶν ἱερῶν νόμων καὶ ἔτι τῶν ἀγράφων
and much earlier the sacred laws and still the unwritten
ἐθῶν ἕνα νομίζειν τὸν πατέρα καὶ ποιητὴν τοῦ κόσμου θεόν.
customs one to-believe the father and maker of-the cosmos god
116 οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι πάντες, ἄνδρες, γυναῖκες, πόλεις,
the indeed for others all men women cities
ἔθνη, χῶραι, κλίματα γῆς, ὀλίγου δέω φάναι πᾶσα ἡ
nations countries regions of-earth little I-lack to-say all the

οἰκουμένη, καίτοι στένοντες ἐπὶ τοῖς γινομένοις, οὐδὲν
inhabited-world and-yet groaning at the-things happening no
ἧττον ἐκολάκευον αὐτὸν ἀποσεμνύνοντες πλέον τοῦ
less flattered him exalting-him more than-the
μετρίου καὶ τὸν τῦφον συναύξοντες. ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ τὸ
moderate and the vanity helping-increase some and even the
βαρβαρικὸν ἔθος εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἤγαγον, τὴν προσκύνησιν,
barbarian custom into Italy brought the prostration
τὸ εὐγενὲς τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς ἐλευθερίας παραχαράττοντες.
the nobility of-the Roman freedom debasing
ἓν δὲ μόνον ἔθνος ἐξαίρετον τῶν Ἰουδαίων ὕποπτον 117
one but only nation exceptional of-the Jews suspect
ἦν ἀντιπράξειν, εἰωθὸς ἑκουσίους ἀναδέχεσθαι θανάτους
was going-to-oppose accustomed willing to-accept deaths
ὥσπερ ἀθανασίαν, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδὲν τῶν πατρίων περιιδεῖν
as immortality for the nothing of-the ancestral to-overlook
ἀναιρούμενον, εἰ καὶ βραχύτατον εἴη, διὰ τὸ καθάπερ
being-destroyed if even smallest it-be because-of the as
ἐπὶ τῶν οἰκοδομημάτων ὑφαιρέσει ἑνὸς καὶ τὰ ἔτι
in-the-case-of the buildings by-removal of-one even the-things still
παγίως ἑστάναι δοκοῦντα συμπίπτειν πρὸς τὸ κενωθὲν
firmly to-stand seeming to-collapse toward the emptied-place
χαλώμενα καὶ καταρρέοντα.
slackening and falling-down
μικρὸν δὲ οὐκ ἦν τὸ κινούμενον, ἀλλὰ τὸ μέγιστον τῶν 118
small and not was the(-thing) being-moved but the greatest of-the
ὄντων, ἀνθρώπου γενητὴν καὶ φθαρτὴν φύσιν εἰς ἀγένητον
things-that-are of-man created and perishable nature into uncreated
καὶ ἄφθαρτον ὅσα τῷ δοκεῖν θεοπλαστῆσαι, ὅπερ
and incorruptible as-far-as by-the seeming to-make-a-god which
ἀσεβημάτων ἔκρινεν εἶναι χαλεπώτατον — θᾶττον γὰρ ἂν
of-impieties it-judged to-be hardest sooner for —

εἰς ἄνθρωπον θεὸν ἢ εἰς θεὸν ἄνθρωπον μεταβαλεῖν—,
into man god than into god man to-change
δίχα τοῦ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας τὰς ἀνωτάτω κακίας
apart-from the also the other the highest vices
ἀναδέξασθαι, ἀπιστίαν ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀχαριστίαν πρὸς τὸν τοῦ
to-take-on unbelief at-once and ingratitude toward the of-the
κόσμου παντὸς εὐεργέτην, ὃς τῇ αὑτοῦ δυνάμει τοῖς μέρεσι
cosmos whole benefactor who by-the his-own power to-the parts
πᾶσι τοῦ παντὸς ἀφθόνους περιουσίας ἀγαθῶν ἐκδίδωσιν.
all of-the universe abundant supplies of-goods gives-out
119 Μέγιστος οὖν καὶ ἀκήρυκτος πόλεμος ἐπὶ τῷ ἔθνει
greatest then and undeclared war against the nation
συνεκροτεῖτο. τί γὰρ ἂν εἴη δούλῳ βαρύτερον
was-being-hammered-together what for — would-be for-slave heavier
κακὸν ἢ δεσπότης ἐχθρός; δοῦλοι δὲ αὐτοκράτορος οἱ
evil than master hostile slaves and of-emperor the
ὑπήκοοι, καὶ εἰ μηδενὸς ἑτέρου τῶν προτέρων διὰ τὸ
subjects even if of-none other of-the earlier because-of the
σὺν ἐπιεικείᾳ καὶ μετὰ νόμων ἄρχειν, ἀλλά τοι Γαΐου
with fairness and with laws to-rule but indeed of-Gaius
πᾶσαν ἐκτετμημένου τῆς ψυχῆς ἡμερότητα καὶ παρανομίαν
all having-cut-out of-the soul gentleness and lawlessness
ἐζηλωκότος — νόμον γὰρ ἡγούμενος ἑαυτὸν τοὺς τῶν
having-emulated law for thinking himself the(-laws) of-the
ἑκασταχοῦ νομοθετῶν ὡς κενὰς ῥήσεις ἔλυεν—· ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐ
everywhere lawgivers as empty sayings he-dissolved we but not
μόνον ἐν δούλοις ἀλλὰ καὶ δούλων τοῖς ἀτιμοτάτοις
only among slaves but also of-slaves among-the most-dishonored
ἐγραφόμεθα τοῦ ἄρχοντος τρέποντος εἰς δεσπότην.
were-enrolled the ruler turning into master

ὅπερ συναισθόμενος ὁ Ἀλεξανδρέων μιγὰς καὶ πεφορημένος 120
which having-perceived the of-Alexandrians mixed and jumbled
ὄχλος ἐπέθετο ἡμῖν, καιρὸν ἐπιτηδειότατον παραπεπτωκέναι
crowd attacked us occasion most-suitable to-have-fallen-out
ὑπολαβών, καὶ τὸ τυφόμενον ἐκ μακρῶν χρόνων μῖσος
having-supposed and the smoldering from long times hatred
ἀνέφηνε πάντα κυκῶν καὶ συνταράττων.
revealed all-things stirring-up and throwing-into-confusion
ὡς γὰρ ἐκδοθέντας εἰς ὁμολογουμένας καὶ τὰς ἀνωτάτω 121
as for handed-over to acknowledged and the highest
συμφορὰς ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἢ πολέμῳ κατακρατηθέντας
misfortunes by the emperor or in-war overpowered
ἐκμανέσι καὶ θηριωδεστάταις ὀργαῖς κατειργάζοντο, ταῖς
with-frenzied and most-bestial angers they-worked-against-us at-the
οἰκίαις ἐπιτρέχοντες, τοὺς δεσπότας αὐταῖς γυναιξὶ καὶ
houses running the masters with-very wives and
τέκνοις ἐλαύνοντες, ὡς κενὰς οἰκητόρων ἀποφῆναι.
children driving-out so-as empty of-inhabitants to-render-them
ἔπιπλα καὶ κειμήλια οὐκέτι ὡς λῃσταὶ νύκτα καὶ σκότος 122
furniture and treasures no-longer like robbers night and darkness
ἐπιτηροῦντες διὰ φόβον ἁλώσεως ἔκλεπτον, ἀλλὰ φανερῶς
watching-for through fear of-capture they-stole but openly
μεθ᾽ ἡμέραν ἐξεφόρουν ἐπιδεικνύμενοι τοῖς ἀπαντῶσιν,
by day they-carried-out displaying-them to-those meeting-them
ὥσπερ οἱ κεκληρονομηκότες ἢ πριάμενοι παρὰ τῶν κυρίων.
as those having-inherited or having-bought from the owners
εἰ δὲ καὶ πλείους συνέθεντο κοινοπραγῆσαι τῶν ἁρπαγῶν,
if and even several agreed to-share of-the seizures
τὴν λείαν ἐν ἀγορᾷ μέσῃ διενέμοντο, πολλάκις ἐν ὄψεσι
the plunder in market-place middle they-divided often in sight
τῶν δεσποτῶν, κατακερτομοῦντες καὶ ἐπιχλευάζοντες.
of-the masters jeering and mocking

123 δεινὰ μὲν οὖν καθ᾽ ἑαυτὰ καὶ ταῦτα· πῶς γὰρ οὔ;
terrible indeed then by themselves also these-things how for not
πένητας ἐκ πλουσίων καὶ ἀπόρους ἐξ εὐπόρων γεγενῆσθαι
poor from rich and destitute from well-off to-have-become
μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντας ἐξαίφνης καὶ ἀνοίκους καὶ ἀνεστίους,
in-nothing doing-wrong suddenly and houseless and hearthless
ἐξεωσμένους καὶ πεφυγαδευμένους τῶν ἰδίων οἰκιῶν, ἵνα
thrust-out and banished from-the own houses so-that
μεθ᾽ ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτωρ ὕπαιθροι διατελοῦντες ἢ ταῖς ἀφ᾽
by day and by-night under-the-sky continuing either by-the from
ἡλίου φλογώσεσιν ἢ νυκτεριναῖς περιψύξεσι διαφθαρῶσι.
sun burnings or by-nocturnal chills they-might-perish

VII · THE POGROM AT ALEXANDRIA

Worse follows: the Jews are herded into one narrow quarter to die of hunger, crowding, and heat, and when they pour out to the shore and the tombs, those caught elsewhere or watched for as they come out are stoned, beaten, and killed. Others are robbed at the harbors and burned with their own ships' timbers, or burned in the city, or dragged by the ankles until their bodies are torn apart. The governor, who could end the mob's rule in an hour, looks on. The mob then wrecks and burns the prayer-houses and sets up images of Gaius in them, even an old chariot statue, hoping for praise; yet the Ptolemies were never honored so there, though Egyptians who deify dogs and wolves would readily deify men. Perhaps, they will say, the emperors deserve more than the Ptolemies did.

124 κουφότερα δὲ τῶν μελλόντων λέγεσθαι ταῦτα·
lighter but than-the-things going to-be-said these-things
συνελάσαντες γὰρ τοσαύτας μυριάδας ἀνδρῶν ὁμοῦ καὶ
having-driven-together for so-many tens-of-thousands of-men together and
γυναικῶν καὶ τέκνων καθάπερ βοσκήματα καὶ θρέμματα
women and children like cattle and flocks

ἐξ ἁπάσης τῆς πόλεως εἰς μοῖραν ἐλαχίστην οἷά τινα
from all the city into portion smallest as some
σηκόν, ὠήθησαν ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις σωροὺς ἀθρόων νεκρῶν
fold they-thought in-few days heaps of-crowded corpses
ἐφευρήσειν ἢ λιμῷ διαφθαρέντων διὰ σπάνιν τῶν
to-be-going-to-find either by-famine destroyed through scarcity of-the
ἀναγκαίων, οὐ προευτρεπισμένων τὰ ἐπιτήδεια κατὰ
necessities not having-prepared-beforehand the provisions by
μαντείαν τῶν ἐξαπιναίων κακοπραγιῶν,
divination of-the sudden misfortunes
ἢ δι᾽ ὠθισμὸν καὶ πνῖγος, μηδεμιᾶς εὐρυχωρίας 125
or through crowding and stifling no room
προσφερομένης, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ πέριξ ἀέρος κακωθέντος
being-offered but also the surrounding air having-been-corrupted
καὶ ὅσον ἦν ἐν αὐτῷ ζωτικὸν ταῖς ἀναπνοαῖς, εἰ
and as-much-as was in it life-giving for-the breathings if
δὲ δεῖ τὸ ἀληθὲς εἰπεῖν, τοῖς ἐκπνεόντων ἄσθμασιν
but it-is-needful the truth to-say by-the of-the-dying gasps
ὑποβαλόντος, ὑφ᾽ ὧν φλεγόμενος καὶ τρόπον τινὰ
having-submitted by which inflamed and in-a-way some
καταβολῇ πυρετοῦ πιεσθεὶς θερμὸν καὶ ἄτοπον πνεῦμα
by-attack of-fever oppressed hot and strange breath
διὰ μυκτήρων καὶ στόματος εἰσέπεμπε, τὸ λεγόμενον
through nostrils and mouth it-sent-in the saying
κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν πῦρ ἐπιφέρων πυρί.
according-to the proverb fire bringing to-fire
τῶν γὰρ ἐντὸς σπλάγχνων ἡ δύναμις ἐκ φύσεως 126
of-the for inside entrails the power from nature
φλογωδεστάτη καθέστηκεν, ἣν ὅταν μὲν αἱ θύραθεν αὖραι
most-fiery is-constituted which when indeed the outside breezes
μετρίως ψυχραὶ καταπνέωσιν, εὐοδεῖ τὰ τῆς ἀναπνοῆς
moderately cool blow-down go-well the of-the breathing

ὄργανα ταῖς εὐκρασίαις, ὅταν δὲ μεταβάλωσι πρὸς τὸ
organs by-the good-temperings when but they-change to the
θερμότερον, ἀνάγκη δυσοδεῖν πυρὸς ἐπεισρέοντος πυρί.
hotter necessity to-go-badly fire flowing-in on-fire
127 μηκέτι οὖν ὑπομένειν τὴν δυσχωρίαν οἷοί τε ὄντες
no-longer then to-endure the confinement able — being
ἐξεχέοντο εἰς ἐρημίας καὶ αἰγιαλοὺς καὶ μνήματα,
they-poured-out into deserts and beaches and tombs
γλιχόμενοι σπάσαι καθαροῦ καὶ ἀβλαβοῦς ἀέρος. εἰ
longing to-draw-in of-pure and harmless air if
δέ τινες ἢ προκατελήφθησαν ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις μέρεσι
but some either were-caught-beforehand in the other parts
τῆς πόλεως ἢ ἀγνοίᾳ τῶν κατασκηψάντων κακῶν
of-the city or in-ignorance of-the having-fallen evils
ἀγρόθεν παρεγένοντο, πολυτρόπων ἀπέλαυον συμφορῶν,
from-the-country arrived various reaped misfortunes
ἢ καταλευόμενοι ἢ κεράμῳ τιτρωσκόμενοι ἢ πρίνου
either being-stoned or with-tile being-wounded or with-holm-oak
κλάδοις καὶ δρυὸς τὰ καιριώτατα μέρη τοῦ σώματος καὶ
branches and oak the most-vital parts of-the body and
μάλιστα κεφαλὴν ἄχρι θανάτου καταγνύμενοι.
most head to death being-broken
128 περικαθήμενοι δὲ ἐν κύκλῳ τινὲς τῶν ἀργεῖν καὶ
sitting-around and in circle some of-those to-be-idle and
σχολάζειν εἰωθότων τοὺς συνεληλαμένους καὶ συνεωσμένους
to-have-leisure accustomed those driven-together and crushed-together
εἰς ἐσχατιᾶς βραχύ τι μέρος, ὡς ἔφην, καθάπερ τοὺς
into of-farthest small some part as I-said as those
τειχήρεις γεγονότας ἐπετήρουν, μή τις ὑπεξέλθῃ λαθών.
walled-in having-become they-watched lest anyone slip-out unnoticed
ἔμελλον δὲ ἄρα οὐκ ὀλίγοι διὰ σπάνιν τῶν ἀναγκαίων
were-going but then not few through scarcity of-the necessities

ἀλογήσαντες τῆς ἰδίας ἀσφαλείας ἐξιέναι, δέει τοῦ
having-disregarded the own safety to-go-out through-fear of-the
μὴ λιμῷ πανοίκιοι παραπολέσθαι. τούτων τὰς
not by-famine with-all-their-household to-perish of-these the
διαλύσεις καραδοκοῦντες ἐπετήρουν καὶ τοὺς συλληφθέντας
dispersals awaiting they-watched and those caught
εὐθὺς διέφθειρον αἰκιζόμενοι πάσαις αἰκίαις.
at-once they-destroyed torturing-them with-all tortures
ἕτερος δὲ λόχος ἦν ἐφεδρεύων τοῖς τοῦ ποταμοῦ λιμέσι 129
another and band was lying-in-wait at-the of-the river harbors
πρὸς ἁρπαγὴν τῶν καταγομένων Ἰουδαίων καὶ ὧν
for seizure of-the putting-in Jews and of-what
κατ᾽ ἐμπορίαν ἐκόμιζον· ἐπεισβαίνοντες γὰρ ταῖς ναυσὶ
for trade they-brought boarding for the ships
τὸν φόρτον ἐν ὄψεσι τῶν κυρίων ἐξεφόρουν καὶ αὐτοὺς
the cargo in sight of-the owners they-carried-out and them
ἐξαγκωνίζοντες ἐνεπίμπρασαν, ὕλῃ χρώμενοι πηδαλίοις,
binding-their-arms they-burned as-material using rudders
οἴαξι, κοντοῖς καὶ ταῖς ἐπὶ τῶν καταστρωμάτων σανίσι.
tillers poles and the on the decks planks
τοῖς δὲ ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλει κατακαιομένοις οἰκτρότατος 130
for-those but in middle the city being-burned most-pitiable
ἦν ὄλεθρος· σπάνει γὰρ ἔστιν ὅτε ξύλων φρύγανα
was destruction through-scarcity for it-is when of-wood brushwood
συνεφόρουν καὶ ταῦτα ἀνάψαντες ἐπερρίπτουν τοῖς ἀθλίοις·
they-gathered and these having-kindled threw on-the wretched
οἱ δὲ ἡμίφλεκτοι καπνῷ τὸ πλέον ἢ πυρὶ διεφθείροντο,
they and half-burned by-smoke the more than by-fire were-destroyed
τῆς φρυγανώδους ὕλης πῦρ μὲν ἀμενηνὸν καὶ καπνῶδες
the brushy material fire indeed feeble and smoky

ἐξαπτούσης καὶ αὐτίκα σβεννυμένης, ἀνθρακοῦσθαι δὲ
kindling and at-once being-quenched to-turn-to-coal but
διὰ κουφότητα μὴ δυναμένης.
through lightness not being-able

131 πολλοὺς δὲ ἔτι ζῶντας ἱμάσι καὶ βρόχοις περιβαλόντες
many and still living with-thongs and nooses having-thrown-around
καὶ ἐπισφίγξαντες τὰ σφυρὰ διὰ μέσης κατέσυρον
and having-bound the ankles through middle they-dragged
ἀγορᾶς ἐναλλόμενοι καὶ μηδὲ νεκρῶν ἀπεχόμενοι τῶν
market-place leaping-on-them and not-even from-dead abstaining the
σωμάτων· διαρτῶντες γὰρ αὐτὰ κατὰ μέλη καὶ μέρη καὶ
bodies dismembering for them by limbs and parts and
πατοῦντες οἱ καὶ τῶν ἀτιθάσων θηρίων ὠμότεροι καὶ
trampling they even than-the untamed beasts crueler and
ἀγριώτεροι πᾶσαν ἰδέαν ἐξανήλισκον, ὡς μηδὲ λείψανον
wilder every form destroyed so-that not-even remnant
γοῦν ὃ δυνήσεται ταφῆς ἐπιλαχεῖν ὑπολιπέσθαι.
at-least which will-be-able of-burial to-obtain to-be-left

132 Τοῦ δὲ ἐπιτρόπου τῆς χώρας, ὃς μόνος ἐδύνατο βουληθεὶς
the and governor of-the country who alone could having-wished
ὥρᾳ μιᾷ τὴν ὀχλοκρατίαν καθελεῖν, προσποιουμένου
in-hour one the mob-rule to-destroy pretending
ἅ τε ἑώρα μὴ ὁρᾶν καὶ ὧν ἤκουε μὴ ἐπακούειν,
the-things both he-saw not to-see and what he-heard not to-hear
ἀλλ᾽ ἀνέδην ἐφιέντος πολεμοποιεῖν καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην
but freely allowing to-make-war and the peace
συγχέοντος, ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐξοτρυνόμενοι πρὸς ἀναισχύντους
confounding still more being-spurred-on to shameless
καὶ θρασυτέρας ὥρμησαν ἐπιβουλὰς καὶ συνταξάμενοι
and bolder they-rushed plots and having-formed
στίφη πολυανθρωπότατα τὰς προσευχάς — πολλαὶ δέ
bands most-populous the prayer-houses many and

εἰσι καθ' ἕκαστον τμῆμα τῆς πόλεως — τὰς μὲν
are in each quarter of-the city the(-ones) indeed
ἐδενδροτόμησαν τὰς δὲ αὐτοῖς θεμελίοις κατέσκαψαν,
they-cut-down-the-trees-of the(-others) and with-very foundations razed
εἰς ἃς δὲ καὶ πῦρ ἐμβαλόντες ἐνέπρησαν, ὑπὸ λύττης
into which and also fire having-thrown they-burned through rage
καὶ μανίας ἔκφρονος ἀλογήσαντες καὶ τῶν πλησίον οἰκιῶν·
and madness senseless having-disregarded also the near houses
πυρὸς γάρ, ὁπότε λάβοιτο ὕλης, οὐδὲν ὠκύτερον.
than-fire for whenever it-takes-hold of-material nothing swifter
καὶ σιωπῶ τὰς συγκαθαιρεθείσας καὶ συμπρησθείσας τῶν 133
and I-pass-over the destroyed-together and burned-together of-the
αὐτοκρατόρων τιμὰς ἀσπίδων καὶ στεφάνων ἐπιχρύσων
emperors honors of-shields and crowns gilded
καὶ στηλῶν καὶ ἐπιγραφῶν, δι' ἃ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
and pillars and inscriptions on-account-of which also from-the others
ὤφειλον ἀνέχειν· ἀλλ' ἐθάρρουν ἅτε τὴν ἐκ Γαΐου τίσιν
they-ought to-refrain but they-were-bold as the from Gaius punishment
οὐ δεδιότες, ὃν εὖ ἠπίσταντο μῖσος ἄλεκτον ἔχοντα πρὸς
not fearing whom well they-knew hatred unspeakable having toward
Ἰουδαίους, ὡς ὑπονοεῖν, ὅτι οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν αὐτῷ χαρίζοιτο
Jews so-as to-suspect that no-one anything to-him could-do-a-favor
μεῖζον ἢ πάσας κακῶν ἰδέας ἐπιφέρων τῷ ἔθνει.
greater than all of-evils forms bringing on-the nation
βουλόμενοι δὲ καινοτέραις κολακείαις ὑπελθόντες αὐτὸν 134
wishing and with-newer flatteries having-crept-upon him
ἀνυπευθύνοις χρῆσθαι κατὰ τὸ παντελὲς ταῖς εἰς ἡμᾶς
unaccountable to-use in the complete the toward us
ἐπηρείαις τί ποιοῦσι; προσευχὰς ὅσας μὴ ἐδυνήθησαν
insults what do-they-do prayer-houses as-many-as not they-could
ἐμπρήσεσι καὶ κατασκαφαῖς ἀφανίσαι διὰ τὸ πολλοὺς
by-burnings and razings to-make-vanish because-of the many

καὶ ἀθρόους πλησίον οἰκεῖν Ἰουδαίους ἕτερον τρόπον
and in-throngs near to-dwell Jews in-another way
ἐλυμήναντο μετὰ τῆς τῶν νόμων καὶ ἐθῶν ἀνατροπῆς·
they-outraged with the of-the laws and customs overthrow
εἰκόνας γὰρ ἐν ἁπάσαις μὲν ἱδρύοντο Γαΐου, ἐν δὲ
images for in all indeed they-set-up of-Gaius in but
τῇ μεγίστῃ καὶ περισημοτάτῃ καὶ ἀνδριάντα χαλκοῦν
the greatest and most-famous also statue bronze
ἐποχούμενον τεθρίππῳ.
mounted-on four-horse-chariot
135 καὶ τοσοῦτον ἦν τὸ τάχος καὶ τὸ σύντονον τῆς
and so-great was the speed and the intensity of-the
σπουδῆς, ὥστε οὐκ ἔχοντες ἐν ἑτοίμῳ καινὸν τέθριππον
zeal that not having at hand new four-horse-chariot
ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου παλαιότατον ἐκόμιζον ἰοῦ γέμον,
from the gymnasium most-ancient they-brought with-rust full
ἠκρωτηριασμένον ὦτα καὶ οὐρὰς καὶ βάσεις καὶ ἕτερα οὐκ
mutilated ears and tails and feet and others not
ὀλίγα, ὡς δέ φασί τινες καὶ ὑπὲρ γυναικὸς ἀνατεθὲν τῆς
few as and they-say some even for woman dedicated of-the
ἀρχαίας Κλεοπάτρας, ἥτις ἦν προμάμμη τῆς τελευταίας.
ancient Cleopatra who was great-grandmother of-the last
136 ἡλίκην μὲν οὖν καθ᾽ αὑτὸ τοῦτο τοῖς ἀναθεῖσιν ἐπέφερε
how-great indeed then by itself this on-those having-dedicated brought
κατηγορίαν, παντί τῳ δῆλον. τί γάρ, εἰ καὶ καινὸν γυναικός;
charge to-every one clear what for if even new of-woman
τί δέ, εἰ παλαιὸν ἀνδρός; τί δέ, εἰ συνόλως ἐπιφημισθὲν
what and if old of-man what and if altogether dedicated
ἑτέρῳ; τοὺς τοιοῦτον ἀνατιθέντας ὑπὲρ αὐτοκράτορος οὐκ
to-another those such dedicating for emperor not

εἰκὸς ἦν εὐλαβηθῆναι, μή τις γένηται μήνυσις τῷ
likely was to-take-care lest any be information to-the(-one)
πάντα σεμνοποιοῦντι τὰ καθ' αὑτὸν διαφερόντως;
all-things exalting the-things concerning himself exceedingly
οἱ δέ γε ἐκ πολλοῦ τοῦ περιόντος ἤλπιζον ἐπαινεθήσεσθαι 137
they but at-least from much the excess hoped to-be-going-to-be-praised
καὶ μειζόνων καὶ λαμπροτέρων ἀπολαύσειν ἀγαθῶν ἕνεκα
and greater and more-brilliant to-be-going-to-enjoy goods for-the-sake
τοῦ καινὰ τεμένη προσαναθεῖναι Γαΐῳ τὰς προσευχάς,
of-the new precincts to-dedicate-besides to-Gaius the prayer-houses
οὐχ ἕνεκα τιμῆς τῆς εἰς ἐκεῖνον, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ πάντα
not for-the-sake of-honor the toward him but for the every
τρόπον ἐμφορεῖσθαι τῶν ἐπὶ τῷ ἔθνει κακοπραγιῶν.
way to-glut-themselves of-the against the nation misfortunes
ἐναργεῖς δὲ πίστεις λαβεῖν ἔστι· πρῶτον μὲν ἀπὸ 138
clear and proofs to-take it-is-possible first indeed from
τῶν βασιλέων· δέκα που σχεδὸν ἢ καὶ πλειόνων ἐν
the kings ten somewhere nearly or even more in
τριακοσίοις ἔτεσιν ἑξῆς γενομένων, ἀνάθεσιν εἰκόνων
three-hundred years in-succession having-been dedication of-images
ἢ ἀνδριάντων ἐν προσευχαῖς οὐδεμίαν ἐποιήσαντο, καίτοι
or of-statues in prayer-houses none they-made and-yet
γε οἰκείων ὄντων καὶ συγγενῶν, οὓς θεοὺς καὶ ἐνόμιζον
indeed their-own being and kin whom gods both they-thought
καὶ ἔγραφον καὶ ἐκάλουν.
and wrote and called
τί δὲ οὐκ ἔμελλον ἀνθρώπους γε ὄντας οἱ 139
why and not were-they-going men at-least being they-who
κύνας καὶ λύκους καὶ λέοντας καὶ κροκοδείλους καὶ
dogs and wolves and lions and crocodiles and
ἄλλα πλείονα θηρία καὶ ἔνυδρα καὶ χερσαῖα καὶ πτηνὰ
other more beasts both aquatic and land and winged

θεοπλαστοῦντες, ὑπὲρ ὧν βωμοὶ καὶ ἱερὰ καὶ ναοὶ καὶ
deifying for which altars and shrines and temples and
τεμένη κατὰ πᾶσαν Αἴγυπτον ἵδρυνται;
precincts through all Egypt have-been-set-up
140 τάχα που νῦν φήσουσι τότε οὐκ ἂν εἰπόντες — τὰς γὰρ
perhaps somewhere now they-will-say then not — having-said the for
τῶν ἀρχόντων εὐπραγίας μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς ἄρχοντας αὐτοὺς
of-the rulers prosperities rather than the rulers themselves
εἰώθασι θεραπεύειν—, ὅτι μείζους μὲν οἱ αὐτοκράτορες
they-are-wont to-court that greater indeed the emperors
τὰ ἀξιώματα καὶ τὰς τύχας τῶν Πτολεμαίων εἰσί,
in-the dignities and the fortunes than-the Ptolemies are
μειζόνων δὲ καὶ τιμῶν τυγχάνειν ὀφείλουσιν.
of-greater and also honors to-obtain they-ought

VIII · AUGUSTUS AND THE JEWS

Why, then, was Tiberius, Gaius' predecessor, never so honored? Tiberius, noble, learned, and called an old man in his youth, was passed over, and so was Augustus, who calmed the storms of war, cleared the sea of pirates, freed the cities, and brought order and peace. Though honored everywhere, above all in Alexandria's Sebasteum, he received no image in the prayer-houses in his forty-three years, and never wished to be called a god. He let the Jews beyond the Tiber keep their prayer-houses and send first-fruits to Jerusalem, endowed daily sacrifices in the Temple, and, when the monthly dole fell on a Sabbath, had their share kept for the next day; and Tiberius knew, once Sejanus died, that the charges against the Jews of Rome were Sejanus' fictions.

141 εἶτα, ὦ πάντων ἀνθρώπων, ἵνα μηδὲν ἀναγκασθῶ
then O of-all men so-that nothing I-be-compelled
βλάσφημον εἰπεῖν, εὐηθέστατοι, διὰ τί τὸν πρὸ Γαΐου
blasphemous to-say most-simple-minded for what the before Gaius

Τιβέριον, ὃς κἀκείνῳ τῆς ἡγεμονίας αἴτιος γέγονε, τρία πρὸς
Tiberius who also-for-him of-the empire cause has-been three besides
τοῖς εἴκοσιν ἔτη γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης ἀναψάμενον τὸ κράτος
the twenty years of-land and sea having-fastened-on the power
καὶ μηδὲ σπέρμα πολέμου μήτε κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα μήτε
and not-even seed of-war either throughout the Greek-world or
κατὰ τὴν βάρβαρον ὑποτυφόμενον ἐάσαντα, τὴν δὲ εἰρήνην
throughout the barbarian smoldering having-allowed the but peace
καὶ τὰ τῆς εἰρήνης ἀγαθὰ παρασχόμενον ἄχρι τῆς τοῦ
and the-things of-the peace goods having-provided until the of-the
βίου τελευτῆς ἀφθόνῳ καὶ πλουσίᾳ χειρὶ καὶ γνώμῃ, τῆς
life end with-abundant and rich hand and mind of-the
ὁμοίας τιμῆς οὐκ ἠξιώσατε; τὸ γένος ἦν ἐλάττων;
like honor not did-you-deem-worthy the birth was-he inferior
ἀλλ᾽ εὐγενέστατος κατ᾽ ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς γονεῖς. ἀλλὰ τὴν 142
but most-noble on both the parents but the
παιδείαν; καὶ τίς ἦν φρονιμώτερος ἢ λογιώτερος ἐκείνου
education and who was wiser or more-learned than-him
τῶν κατ᾽ αὐτὸν ἀκμασάντων; ἀλλὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν; καὶ
of-those in his-time having-flourished but the age and
ποῖος μᾶλλον ἢ βασιλέων ἢ αὐτοκρατόρων εὐγήρως;
what-sort rather either of-kings or of-emperors in-happy-old-age
οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔτι νέος ὢν ὁ πρεσβύτης ἐλέγετο
not indeed but even still young being the old-man he-was-called
δι᾽ αἰδῶ τὴν περὶ τὴν ἀγχίνοιαν. οὗτος οὖν ὁ τοιοῦτος
through respect the for the shrewdness this-one then the such
καὶ τοσοῦτος ὑμῖν παρώφθη καὶ παρεσύρη. τί δέ;
and so-great by-you was-overlooked and was-swept-aside what and
ὁ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν ὑπερβαλὼν ἐν ἁπάσαις ταῖς 143
the(-one) the human nature having-surpassed in all the
ἀρεταῖς, ὁ διὰ μέγεθος ἡγεμονίας αὐτοκρατοῦς ὁμοῦ
virtues the(-one) through greatness of-rule absolute at-once

καὶ καλοκαγαθίας πρῶτος ὀνομασθεὶς Σεβαστός, οὐ
and of-nobility first having-been-named Augustus not
διαδοχῇ γένους ὥσπερ τι κλήρου μέρος τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν
by-succession of-family as some of-inheritance part the title
λαβών, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς γενόμενος ἀρχὴ σεβασμοῦ καὶ
having-received but himself having-become beginning of-reverence also
τοῖς ἔπειτα; ὁ τοῖς μὲν πράγμασι τεταραγμένοις
for-those after the(-one) the indeed affairs disordered
καὶ συγκεχυμένοις ἐπιστάς, ὅτε εὐθὺς παρῆλθεν ἐπὶ
and confounded having-taken-charge-of when at-once he-came-forward to
τὴν τῶν κοινῶν ἐπιμέλειαν;
the of-the public-things care

144 νῆσοι γὰρ πρὸς ἠπείρους καὶ ἤπειροι πρὸς νήσους
islands for against mainlands and mainlands against islands
περὶ πρωτείων ἀντεφιλονείκουν ἡγεμόνας ἔχουσαι καὶ
about first-place contended as-leaders having and
προαγωνιστὰς Ῥωμαίων τοὺς ἐν τέλει δοκιμωτάτους·
champions of-Romans those in office most-approved
καὶ αὖθις τὰ μεγάλα τμήματα τῆς οἰκουμένης, Ἀσία
and again the great divisions of-the inhabited-world Asia
πρὸς Εὐρώπην καὶ Εὐρώπη πρὸς Ἀσίαν, ἠμιλλῶντο
against Europe and Europe against Asia strove
περὶ κράτους ἀρχῆς, τῶν Εὐρωπαίων καὶ Ἀσιανῶν
about power of-rule of-the European and Asian
ἐθνῶν ἀπὸ ἐσχάτων γῆς ἀναστάντων καὶ βαρεῖς
nations from ends of-earth having-risen-up and heavy
πολέμους ἀντεπιφερόντων διὰ πάσης γῆς καὶ θαλάττης
wars bringing-against-each-other through all land and sea
πεζομαχίαις καὶ ναυμαχίαις, ὡς μικροῦ σύμπαν τὸ
by-land-battles and sea-battles so-that nearly whole the
ἀνθρώπων γένος ἀναλωθὲν ταῖς ἀλληλοκτονίαις εἰς τὸ
of-men race consumed by-the mutual-slaughters into the

παντελὲς ἀφανισθῆναι, εἰ μὴ δι᾽ ἕνα ἄνδρα καὶ ἡγεμόνα,
complete to-be-annihilated if not through one man and leader
τὸν Σεβαστόν, ὃν ἄξιον καλεῖν ἀλεξίκακον.
— Augustus whom worthy to-call averter-of-evil
οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ Καῖσαρ, ὁ τοὺς καταρράξαντας 145
this-one is — Caesar the(-one) the having-burst-forth
πανταχόθι χειμῶνας εὐδιάσας, ὁ τὰς κοινὰς νόσους
everywhere storms having-calmed the(-one) the common diseases
Ἑλλήνων καὶ βαρβάρων ἰασάμενος, αἳ κατέβησαν μὲν
of-Greeks and barbarians having-healed which came-down indeed
ἀπὸ τῶν μεσημβρινῶν καὶ ἑῴων, ἔδραμον δὲ καὶ μέχρι
from the southern and eastern-parts ran but even as-far-as
δύσεως καὶ πρὸς ἄρκτον, τὰ μεθόρια χωρία καὶ πελάγη
west and to north the border lands and seas
κατασπείρασαι τῶν ἀβουλήτων·
having-sown of-the unwished-for-things
οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τὰ δεσμά, οἷς κατέζευκτο καὶ 146
this-one is the(-one) the bonds with-which had-been-yoked and
ἐπεπίεστο ἡ οἰκουμένη, παραλύσας, οὐ μόνον ἀνείς·
pressed the inhabited-world having-loosed not only having-slackened
οὗτος ὁ καὶ τοὺς φανεροὺς καὶ ἀφανεῖς πολέμους
this-one the(-one) also the open and hidden wars
διὰ τὰς ἐκ λῃστῶν ἐπιθέσεις ἀνελών· οὗτος ὁ
because-of the from robbers attacks having-destroyed this-one the(-one)
τὴν θάλατταν πειρατικῶν μὲν σκαφῶν κενὴν ἐργασάμενος,
the sea of-pirate indeed vessels empty having-made
φορτίδων δὲ πληρώσας·
with-merchantmen but having-filled
οὗτος ὁ τὰς πόλεις ἁπάσας εἰς ἐλευθερίαν ἐξελόμενος, 147
this-one the(-one) the cities all into freedom having-delivered
ὁ τὴν ἀταξίαν εἰς τάξιν ἀγαγών, ὁ τὰ ἄμικτα
the(-one) the disorder into order having-brought the(-one) the unsociable

ἔθνη καὶ θηριώδη πάντα ἡμερώσας καὶ ἁρμοσάμενος,
nations and bestial all having-tamed and having-harmonized
ὁ τὴν μὲν Ἑλλάδα Ἕλλάσι πολλαῖς παραυξήσας,
the(-one) — indeed Greece with-Greeces many having-enlarged
τὴν δὲ βάρβαρον ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαιοτάτοις τμήμασιν
the but barbarian-world in the most-necessary divisions
ἀφελληνίσας, ὁ εἰρηνοφύλαξ, ὁ διανομεὺς τῶν
having-Hellenized the peace-guardian the distributor of-the-things
ἐπιβαλλόντων ἑκάστοις, ὁ τὰς χάριτας ἀταμιεύτους
falling to-each the(-one) the favors unstinted
εἰς μέσον προθείς, ὁ μηδὲν ἀποκρυψάμενος ἀγαθὸν
into middle having-set-forth the(-one) nothing having-hidden good
ἢ καλὸν ἐν ἅπαντι τῷ ἑαυτοῦ βίῳ.
or noble in all the his-own life

148 τοῦτον οὖν τὸν τοσοῦτον εὐεργέτην ἐν τρισὶ καὶ
this-one then the so-great benefactor in three and
τεσσαράκοντα ἐνιαυτοῖς, οὓς ἐπεκράτησεν Αἰγύπτου,
forty years in-which he-ruled Egypt
παρεκαλύψαντο, μηδὲν ἐν προσευχαῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, μὴ
they-neglected nothing in prayer-houses for him neither
ἄγαλμα, μὴ ξόανον, μὴ γραφὴν ἱδρυσάμενοι.
statue nor wooden-image nor painting having-set-up

149 καὶ μὴν εἴ τινι καινὰς καὶ ἐξαιρέτους ἔδει ψηφίζεσθαι
and indeed if to-anyone new and exceptional it-was-needful to-vote
τιμάς, ἐκείνῳ προσῆκον ἦν, οὐ μόνον ὅτι τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ
honors to-him fitting it-was not only because of-the Augustan
γένους ἀρχή τις ἐγένετο καὶ πηγή, οὐδὲ ὅτι πρῶτος
house beginning some he-became and source nor because first
καὶ μέγιστος καὶ κοινὸς εὐεργέτης, ἀντὶ πολυαρχίας
and greatest and common benefactor instead-of rule-of-many
ἑνὶ κυβερνήτῃ παραδοὺς τὸ κοινὸν σκάφος οἰακονομεῖν
to-one pilot having-handed-over the common vessel to-steer

ἑαυτῷ, θαυμασίῳ τὴν ἡγεμονικὴν ἐπιστήμην — τὸ γὰρ
to-himself marvelous in-the governing science the for
"οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανίη" λέλεκται δεόντως, ἐπειδὴ
not good rule-of-many has-been-said fittingly since
πολυτρόπων αἴτιαι κακῶν αἱ πολυψηφίαι—, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ
of-various causes evils the many-votes but because also
πᾶσα ἡ οἰκουμένη τὰς ἰσολυμπίους αὐτῷ τιμὰς ἐψηφίσαντο.
all the inhabited-world the equal-to-Olympian to-him honors voted
καὶ μαρτυροῦσι ναοί, προπύλαια, προτεμενίσματα, στοαί, 150
and bear-witness temples gateways forecourts porticoes
ὡς ὅσαι τῶν πόλεων, ἢ νέα ἢ παλαιά, ἔργα
so-that as-many-as of-the cities either new or old works
φέρουσι μεγαλοπρεπῆ, τῷ κάλλει καὶ μεγέθει τῶν
bear magnificent by-the beauty and size of-the
Καισαρείων παρευημερεῖσθαι, καὶ μάλιστα κατὰ τὴν
Caesar-temples to-be-outshone and most in the
ἡμετέραν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν.
our Alexandria
οὐδὲν γὰρ τοιοῦτόν ἐστι τέμενος, οἷον τὸ λεγόμενον 151
nothing for such is precinct as the so-called
Σεβαστεῖον, ἐπιβατηρίου Καίσαρος νεώς, ὃς ἀντικρὺ
Sebasteum of-embarking Caesar temple which opposite
τῶν εὐορμοτάτων λιμένων μετέωρος ἵδρυται μέγιστος
the best-anchored harbors on-high is-set-up greatest
καὶ ἐπιφανέστατος καὶ οἷος οὐχ ἑτέρωθι κατάπλεως
and most-conspicuous and such-as not elsewhere full
ἀναθημάτων, γραφαῖς καὶ ἀνδριάσι καὶ ἀργύρῳ καὶ
of-dedications with-paintings and statues and silver and
χρυσῷ περιβεβλημένος ἐν κύκλῳ, τέμενος εὐρύτατον
gold surrounded in a-circle precinct broadest
στοαῖς, βιβλιοθήκαις, ἀνδρῶσιν, ἄλσεσι, προπυλαίοις,
with-porticoes libraries men's-halls groves gateways

εὐρυχωρίαις, ὑπαίθροις, ἅπασι τοῖς εἰς πολυτελέστατον
open-spaces open-air all the-things for most-costly
κόσμον ἠσκημένον, ἐλπὶς καὶ ἀναγομένοις καὶ καταπλέουσι
adornment adorned hope both for-those-putting-out and for-those-putting-in
σωτήριος.
saving

152 ἔχοντες οὖν τοιαύτας ἀφορμὰς καὶ τοὺς πανταχοῦ πάντας
having then such resources and those everywhere all
ὁμογνώμονας οὔτε περὶ τὰς προσευχὰς ἐνεωτέρισαν καὶ καθ᾽
like-minded neither about the prayer-houses did-they-innovate and in
ἕκαστον τὸ νόμιμον ἐφύλαξαν· ἤ τινα σεβασμὸν παρέλιπον
each-thing the lawful they-kept or any reverence omitted
τῶν ὀφειλομένων Καίσαρι; καὶ τίς ἂν εὖ φρονῶν εἴποι;
of-the owed to-Caesar and who — well thinking would-say
διὰ τί οὖν ἐστέρησαν; ἐγὼ φράσω μηδὲν ὑποστειλάμενος.
for what then did-they-deprive I will-tell nothing having-held-back

153 ᾔδεσαν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ ὅτι τοσαύτην ποιεῖται
they-knew his the care and that so-great he-makes
τῆς βεβαιώσεως τῶν παρ᾽ ἑκάστοις πατρίων, ὅσην
of-the confirmation of-the among each ancestral-things as-great-as
καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν, καὶ ὅτι δέχεται τὰς τιμὰς οὐκ ἐπὶ
also of-the Roman and that he-accepts the honors not for
καθαιρέσει τῶν παρ᾽ ἐνίοις νομίμων τυφοπλαστῶν ἑαυτόν,
destruction of-the among some customs puffing-up himself
ἀλλὰ τῷ μεγέθει τῆς τοσαύτης ἡγεμονίας ἑπόμενος, ἣ
but the greatness of-the so-great empire following which
διὰ τῶν τοιούτων πέφυκε σεμνοποιεῖσθαι.
through the such-things is-wont to-be-made-august

154 τοῦ δὲ μὴ ταῖς ὑπερόγκοις τιμαῖς δεθῆναι καὶ φυσηθῆναί
of-the and not by-the excessive honors to-be-bound and to-be-puffed-up
ποτε πίστις ἐναργεστάτη τὸ μηδέποτε θεὸν ἑαυτὸν
ever proof clearest the never god himself

ἐθελῆσαι προσειπεῖν, ἀλλὰ κἂν εἰ λέγοι τις δυσχεραίνειν,
to-have-wished to-call but even if should-say anyone to-be-annoyed
καὶ τὸ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἀποδέχεσθαι, οὓς ἀκριβῶς ᾔδει
and the the Jews to-accept whom precisely he-knew
πάντα ἀφοσιουμένους τὰ τοιαῦτα.
all-things renouncing the such-things
πῶς οὖν ἀπεδέχετο τὴν πέραν τοῦ Τιβέρεως ποταμοῦ 155
how then did-he-accept the beyond — Tiber river
μεγάλην τῆς Ῥώμης ἀποτομήν, ἣν οὐκ ἠγνόει
great — of-Rome division which not he-was-ignorant-of
κατεχομένην καὶ οἰκουμένην πρὸς Ἰουδαίων; Ῥωμαῖοι
occupied and inhabited by Jews Romans
δὲ ἦσαν οἱ πλείους ἀπελευθερωθέντες· αἰχμάλωτοι
and were the most freed captives
γὰρ ἀχθέντες εἰς Ἰταλίαν ὑπὸ τῶν κτησαμένων
for having-been-brought into Italy by those having-acquired-them
ἠλευθερώθησαν, οὐδὲν τῶν πατρίων παραχαράξαι
were-freed nothing of-the ancestral-things to-debase
βιασθέντες.
forced
ἠπίστατο οὖν καὶ προσευχὰς ἔχοντας καὶ συνιόντας εἰς 156
he-knew then also prayer-houses having and gathering into
αὐτάς, καὶ μάλιστα ταῖς ἱεραῖς ἑβδόμαις, ὅτε δημοσίᾳ τὴν
them and most on-the sacred sevenths when publicly the
πάτριον παιδεύονται φιλοσοφίαν. ἠπίστατο καὶ χρήματα
ancestral are-taught philosophy he-knew also money
συνάγοντας ἀπὸ τῶν ἀπαρχῶν ἱερὰ καὶ πέμποντας εἰς
collecting from the first-fruits sacred and sending to
Ἱεροσόλυμα διὰ τῶν τὰς θυσίας ἀναξόντων.
Jerusalem through those the sacrifices going-to-offer

157 ἀλλ᾽ ὅμως οὔτε ἐξῴκισε τῆς Ῥώμης ἐκείνους οὔτε
but nevertheless neither did-be-expel — from-Rome them nor
τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν αὐτῶν ἀφείλετο πολιτείαν, ὅτι καὶ τῆς
the Roman their took-away citizenship because also of-the
Ἰουδαϊκῆς ἐφρόντιζον, οὔτε ἐνεωτέρισεν εἰς τὰς προσευχὰς
Jewish they-took-thought nor innovated against the prayer-houses
οὔτε ἐκώλυσε συνάγεσθαι πρὸς τὰς τῶν νόμων ὑφηγήσεις
nor prevented to-gather for the of-the laws expositions
οὔτε ἠναντιώθη τοῖς ἀπαρχομένοις, ἀλλ᾽ οὕτως ὡσίωτο
nor opposed those offering-first-fruits but so he-had-been-reverent
περὶ τὰ ἡμέτερα, ὥστε μόνον οὐ πανοίκιος ἀναθημάτων
about the our-things that only not with-all-his-household of-dedications
πολυτελείαις τὸ ἱερὸν ἡμῶν ἐκόσμησε, προστάξας καὶ
with-costlinesses the temple our he-adorned having-ordered also
διαιωνίους ἀνάγεσθαι θυσίας ἐντελεχεῖς ὁλοκαύτους καθ᾽
perpetual to-be-offered sacrifices continual whole-burnt-offerings on
ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων προσόδων ἀπαρχὴν τῷ
each day from the own revenues first-fruit to-the
ὑψίστῳ θεῷ, αἳ καὶ μέχρι νῦν ἐπιτελοῦνται καὶ εἰς ἅπαν
highest god which even until now are-performed and for all-time
ἐπιτελεσθήσονται, μήνυμα τρόπων ὄντως αὐτοκρατορικῶν.
will-be-performed sign of-character truly imperial
158 οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ κἀν ταῖς μηνιαίοις τῆς πατρίδος διανομαῖς,
not indeed but also-in the monthly of-the fatherland distributions
ἀργύριον ἢ σῖτον ἐν μέρει παντὸς τοῦ δήμου λαμβάνοντος,
money or grain in turn all the people receiving
οὐδέποτε τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἠλάττωσε τῆς χάριτος, ἀλλ᾽ εἰ
never the Jews did-be-diminish of-the bounty but if
καὶ συνέβη τῆς ἱερᾶς ἑβδόμης ἐνεστώσης γενέσθαι τὴν
even it-happened the sacred seventh being-present to-take-place the
διανομήν, ὅτε οὔτε λαμβάνειν οὔτε διδόναι ἢ συνόλως τι
distribution when neither to-receive nor to-give or altogether anything

πράττειν τῶν κατὰ βίον καὶ μάλιστα τὸν πριστὴν
to-do of-the-things in life and most the money-making
ἐφεῖται, προσετέτακτο τοῖς διανέμουσι ταμιεύειν τοῖς
it-is-permitted it-had-been-ordered for-those distributing to-reserve for-the
Ἰουδαίοις εἰς τὴν ὑστεραίαν τὴν κοινὴν φιλανθρωπίαν.
Jews for the next-day the common humanity
Τοιγαροῦν οἱ πανταχοῦ πάντες, εἰ καὶ φύσει διέκειντο 159
therefore those everywhere all if even by-nature were-disposed
πρὸς Ἰουδαίους οὐκ εὐμενῶς, εὐλαβῶς εἶχον ἐπὶ καθαιρέσει
toward Jews not favorably cautiously were for destruction
τινὸς τῶν Ἰουδαϊκῶν νομίμων προσάψασθαι· καὶ ἐπὶ
of-any of-the Jewish customs to-lay-hand and in-the-time-of
Τιβερίου μέντοι τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, καίτοι τῶν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ
Tiberius however in-the same way and-yet of-the in Italy
παρακινηθέντων, ἡνίκα Σηιανὸς ἐσκευώρει τὴν ἐπίθεσιν.
having-been-stirred-up when Sejanus contrived the attack
ἔγνω γάρ, εὐθέως ἔγνω μετὰ τὴν ἐκείνου τελευτήν, 160
he-knew for at-once he-knew after the his death
ὅτι τὰ κατηγορηθέντα τῶν ᾠκηκότων τὴν Ῥώμην
that the-things charged against-the having-lived-in — Rome
Ἰουδαίων ψευδεῖς ἦσαν διαβολαί, πλάσματα Σηιανοῦ τὸ
Jews false were slanders fictions of-Sejanus the
ἔθνος ἀναρπάσαι θέλοντος, ὅπερ ἢ μόνον ἢ μάλιστα
nation to-snatch-away wishing which either alone or most
ᾔδει βουλαῖς ἀνοσίοις καὶ πράξεσιν ἀντιβησόμενον ὑπὲρ
he-knew with-counsels unholy and deeds going-to-oppose for
τοῦ παρασπονδηθῆναι κινδυνεύσαντος αὐτοκράτορος.
the to-be-betrayed having-been-in-danger emperor

Tiberius likewise ordered his governors everywhere to reassure the Jews of the cities and to disturb none of their customs. Gaius, however, swells with the belief that he is a god, and the Alexandrians, who give that name even to ibises and asps, flatter him in it, so that he thinks himself truly worshiped there. Chief among the inciters is Helicon, an Egyptian slave, a scurrilous jester who rises to be Gaius' constant companion at ball, bath, and table, and who is said to be paid by the Alexandrian envoys to mix slanders of the Jews into his jokes. The Jewish envoys, unable to win him, resolve to hand Gaius a memorial summarizing their sufferings and requests.

161 καὶ τοῖς πανταχόσε χειροτονουμένοις ὑπάρχοις ἐπέσκηψε
and to-the everywhere being-appointed governors he-enjoined
παρηγορῆσαι μὲν τοὺς κατὰ πόλεις τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔθνους,
to-reassure indeed those in cities of-those from the nation
ὡς οὐκ εἰς πάντας προβάσης τῆς ἐπεξελεύσεως, ἀλλ'
that not to all having-advanced the prosecution but
ἐπὶ μόνους τοὺς αἰτίους — ὀλίγοι δὲ ἦσαν—, κινῆσαι
against only the guilty few and were to-disturb
δὲ μηδὲν τῶν ἐξ ἔθους, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρακαταθήκην ἔχειν
but nothing of-the from custom but even as-deposit to-hold
τούς τε ἄνδρας ὡς εἰρηνικοὺς τὰς φύσεις καὶ τὰ νόμιμα
the both men as peaceful the natures and the customs
ὡς ἀλείφοντα πρὸς εὐστάθειαν.
as inciting toward stability

162 Ὁ δὲ Γάιος ἑαυτὸν ἐξετύφωσεν, οὐ λέγων μόνον ἀλλὰ
— but Gaius himself puffed-up not saying only but
καὶ οἰόμενος εἶναι θεός. εἶτα οὐδένας εὗρεν οὔτε Ἑλλήνων
also thinking to-be god then none he-found either of-Greeks
οὔτε βαρβάρων ἐπιτηδειοτέρους Ἀλεξανδρέων εἰς τὴν
or of-barbarians more-suitable than-Alexandrians for the
τῆς ἀμέτρου καὶ ὑπὲρ φύσιν ἀνθρωπίνην ἐπιθυμίας
of-the immoderate and beyond nature human desire

βεβαίωσιν· δεινοὶ γάρ εἰσι τὰς κολακείας καὶ γοητείας
confirmation clever for they-are at-the flatteries and enchantments
καὶ ὑποκρίσεις, παρεσκευασμένοι μὲν θῶπας λόγους,
and pretenses prepared indeed fawning words
ἀνειμένοις δὲ στόμασι καὶ ἀχαλίνοις πάντα φύροντες.
with-relaxed but mouths and unbridled all-things confounding
θεοῦ κλῆσις οὕτως ἐστὶ σεμνὸν παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς, ὥστε καὶ ἴβεσι 163
of-god name so is august among them that even to-ibises
καὶ ἰοβόλοις ἀσπίσι ταῖς ἐγχωρίοις καὶ πολλοῖς ἑτέροις τῶν
and venomous asps the native and many others of-the
ἐξηγριωμένων αὐτῆς θηρίων μεταδεδώκασιν· ὥστε εἰκότως
having-grown-savage its beasts they-have-given-a-share so-that fittingly
ἀταμιεύτοις χρώμενοι ταῖς εἰς θεὸν τεινούσαις προσηγορίαις
unstinted using the toward god tending titles
ἀπατῶσι μὲν τοὺς ὀλιγόφρονας καὶ ἀπείρους τῆς
they-deceive indeed the small-minded and inexperienced of-the
Αἰγυπτιακῆς ἀθεότητος, ἁλίσκονται δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπισταμένων
Egyptian godlessness they-are-caught but by those knowing
τὴν πολλὴν αὐτῶν ἠλιθιότητα, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀσέβειαν.
the great their stupidity rather but impiety
ἧς ἄπειρος ὢν Γάιος ὑπελάμβανε τῷ ὄντι νομίζεσθαι 164
of-which inexperienced being Gaius supposed in-the being to-be-thought
παρ᾽ Ἀλεξανδρεῦσι θεός, ἐπειδήπερ οὐ πλαγίως ἀλλ᾽
among Alexandrians god since not obliquely but
ἄντικρυς ἅπασιν ἐχρῶντο κατακόρως τοῖς ὀνόμασιν,
openly all they-used to-excess the names
ὅσα τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔθος ἐπιφημίζεσθαι θεοῖς.
as-many-as to-the other customary to-be-applied gods
εἶτα καὶ τὴν περὶ τὰς προσευχὰς νεωτεροποιίαν ἀπὸ καθαροῦ 165
then also the about the prayer-houses innovation from pure
τοῦ συνειδότος καὶ τῆς εἰς αὐτὸν ἀκραιφνοῦς τιμῆς ᾤετο
the conscience and the toward himself unmixed honor he-thought

γεγενῆσθαι, τῇ μὲν ταῖς ὑπομνηματικαῖς ἐφημερίσιν, ἃς
to-have-been-done partly indeed to-the memorandum journals which
ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας διεπέμποντό τινες, προσέχων —
from — Alexandria sent some attending
ἥδιστον γὰρ ἦν ἀνάγνωσμα τοῦτο αὐτῷ, ὡς καὶ τὰ
most-pleasant for was reading this for-him so-that even the(-works)
τῶν ἄλλων συγγραφέων καὶ ποιητῶν ἀηδέστατα συγκρίσει
of-the other prose-writers and poets most-unpleasant by-comparison-with
τῆς ἐν τούτοις χάριτος νομίζεσθαι—, τῇ δὲ καὶ δι᾽ ἐνίους
the in these charm to-be-thought partly and also through some
οἰκέτας τοὺς τωθάζοντας ἀεὶ καὶ χλευάζοντας σὺν αὐτῷ.
servants those jesting always and mocking with him
166 Τούτων ἦσαν οἱ πλείους Αἰγύπτιοι, πονηρὰ σπέρματα,
of-these were the most Egyptians wicked seeds
κροκοδείλων καὶ ἀσπίδων τῶν ἐγχωρίων ἀναμεμαγμένοι
of-crocodiles and asps the native having-taken-the-imprint-of
τὸν ἰὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ θυμὸν ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς. ἡγεμὼν δὲ οἷά
the venom together and temper in the souls leader and as
τις ἦν χοροῦ τοῦ Αἰγυπτιακοῦ θιάσου παντὸς Ἑλικών,
some was of-chorus of-the Egyptian troupe whole Helicon
ἐπάρατον καὶ ἐξάγιστον ἀνδράποδον παρεισφθαρὲν εἰς τὴν
accursed and abominable slave having-crept-corruptly into the
αὐτοκρατορικὴν οἰκίαν· ἀπεγεύσατο γὰρ τῶν ἐγκυκλίων
imperial household he-had-tasted for of-the general-studies
κατὰ φιλοτιμίαν τοῦ προτέρου δεσπότου, ὃς αὐτὸν
through ambition of-the former master who him
ἐδωρήσατο Τιβερίῳ Καίσαρι.
gave to-Tiberius Caesar
167 τότε μὲν οὖν οὐδεμιᾶς ἐτύγχανε προνομίας, ὅσα
then indeed then of-no he-obtained privilege as-many-as
μειρακιώδη χαριεντίσματα Τιβερίου διαμεμισηκότος, ἐπειδὴ
boyish witticisms Tiberius having-thoroughly-hated since

πρὸς τὸ σεμνότερόν τε καὶ αὐστηρότερον σχεδὸν ἐκ
toward the more-solemn both and more-austere nearly from
πρώτης ἡλικίας ἐπικλινῶς εἶχεν.
first age inclined he-was
ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ μὲν ἐτελεύτησε, Γάιος δὲ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν 168
when and he indeed died Gaius and the empire
διεδέξατο, νέῳ δεσπότῃ παρεπόμενος εἰς ἀνέσεις καὶ τρυφὴν
succeeded to-new master attending-on for relaxations and luxury
τὴν διὰ πάσης αἰσθήσεως ἐπιχαλῶντι "σός" εἶπε "νῦν ὁ
the through every sense slackening yours he-said now the
καιρός ἐστιν, Ἑλικών, ἐπέγειρε σαυτόν· ἔχεις πρὸς ἐπίδειξιν
occasion is Helicon rouse yourself you-have for display
ἀκροατὴν καὶ θεατὴν τὸν πάντων ἄριστον· εὔθικτος εἶ
hearer and spectator the of-all best quick you-are
τὴν φύσιν· σκώπτειν καὶ χαριεντίζεσθαι δύνασαι μᾶλλον
in-the nature to-jest and to-be-witty you-can more
ἑτέρων· ἀθύρματα καὶ παιδιὰς ληρώδεις καὶ παρασεσυρμένας
than-others toys and games silly and swept-away
οἶδας· τῶν ἐγκυκλίων οὐχ ἧττον πεπαίδευσαι τὰ
you-know of-the general-studies not less you-have-been-educated the
ἀχόρευτα· πρόσεστί σοι καὶ τὸ στωμύλον οὐκ ἀτερπές.
vulgar-graces belongs to-you and the glibness not unpleasant
ἐὰν ἔτι κέντρον ἐγκαταμίξῃς τοῖς τωθασμοῖς ὑποκακόηθες, 169
if still sting you-mix-in with-the jests somewhat-malicious
ὡς μὴ γέλωτα κινεῖν μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ πικρίαν ἐκ
so-as not laughter to-move only but also bitterness from
τοῦ καχυπόνου, τὸν δεσπότην ὅλον ἥρπακας εὐφυῶς
the suspicious the master whole you-have-seized naturally
διακείμενον πρὸς ἀκρόασιν τῶν μετὰ χλεύης ἐγκλημάτων·
disposed for hearing of-the with mockery charges
ἀναπέπταται γὰρ αὐτοῦ, ὡς οἶδας, τὰ ὦτα καὶ
have-been-opened for his as you-know the ears and

ἀνωρθίασται πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιτετηδευκότας συνυφαίνειν τὸ
pricked-up to those having-practiced to-weave-together the
βλασφημεῖν τῷ συκοφαντεῖν.
to-slander with-the to-inform-falsely

170 ὕλας δὲ μὴ ζήτει περιττοτέρας· ἔχεις τὰς κατὰ Ἰουδαίων
materials but not seek more-superfluous you-have the against Jews
καὶ τῶν Ἰουδαϊκῶν ἐθῶν διαβολάς, αἷς ἐνετράφης· ἐξ
and the Jewish customs slanders in-which you-were-reared from
ἔτι σπαργάνων ἀνεδιδάχθης αὐτάς, οὐ παρ᾽ ἑνὸς ἀνδρὸς
still swaddling-clothes you-were-taught them not from one man
ἀλλὰ τοῦ γλωσσαργοτάτου μέρους τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων
but the most-garrulous part of-the of-Alexandrians
πόλεως· ἐπίδειξαι τὰ μαθήματα.”
city display the lessons

171 τούτοις τοῖς παραλόγοις καὶ ἐπαράτοις λογισμοῖς ἐπάρας
with-these the absurd and accursed reasonings having-roused
καὶ συγκροτήσας ἑαυτὸν συνεῖχε καὶ περιεῖπε τὸν Γάιον,
and having-worked-up himself he-kept-close and attended — Gaius
οὐ νύκτωρ, οὐ μεθ᾽ ἡμέραν ἀφιστάμενος, ἀλλὰ πανταχοῦ
not by-night not by day withdrawing but everywhere
συμπαρών, ἵνα ταῖς ἐρημίαις καὶ ἀναπαύλαις αὐτοῦ
being-present so-that the solitudes and rests his
καταχρῆται πρὸς τὰς κατὰ τοῦ ἔθνους αἰτίας, ἡδονὰς
he-might-abuse for the against the nation charges pleasures
κινῶν τὰς διὰ σκωμμάτων ὁ πανουργότατος, ἵνα
stirring the through jests the most-villainous so-that
τιτρώσκωσιν αἱ διαβολαί· τὸν γὰρ ἐπ᾽ εὐθείας κατήγορον
might-wound the slanders the for on straight accuser
οὔτε ὡμολόγει οὔτε ὁμολογεῖν ἐδύνατο, πλαγιάζων δὲ
neither he-admitted-being nor to-admit was-able going-obliquely but

καὶ τεχνιτεύων χαλεπώτερος καὶ βαρύτερος ἦν ἐχθρὸς
and artful harsher and heavier was enemy
τῶν ἐπιγεγραμμένων ἄντικρυς τὴν δυσμένειαν.
than-those having-inscribed openly the hostility
φασὶ δὲ ὅτι καὶ τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων οἱ πρέσβεις εὖ τοῦτο 172
they-say and that also of-the Alexandrians the envoys well this
εἰδότες ἀφανῶς ἐμεμίσθωντο αὐτὸν μεγάλοις μισθοῖς, οὐ
knowing secretly had-hired him with-great wages not
διὰ χρημάτων μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τιμαῖς ἐλπίδων,
through money only but also of-the for honors hopes
ἃς ὑπέσπειραν αὐτῷ παρέξειν οὐκ εἰς μακράν,
which they-sowed for-him to-be-going-to-provide not after long
ἐπειδὰν ἀφίκηται Γάιος εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν.
when arrives Gaius at Alexandria
ὁ δὲ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκεῖνον ὀνειροπολῶν, ἐν ᾧ παρόντος τοῦ 173
he and the occasion that dreaming-of in which present the
δεσπότου καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ σχεδόν τι τῆς οἰκουμένης —
master and with him nearly somewhat of-the inhabited-world
οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἄδηλον, ὅτι κατὰ θεραπείαν Γαΐῳ συνεισβαλεῖ
not for was unclear that for attendance with-Gaius will-invade-with
τὸ δοκιμώτατον καὶ ὅσον τῶν πόλεων ὄψις ἐστὶν
the most-approved and as-much-as of-the cities sight is
ἀναστὰν ἀπὸ περάτων αὐτῶν — ὑπὸ τῆς μεγίστης καὶ
having-risen from ends themselves by the greatest and
ἐνδοξοτάτης πόλεως τιμηθήσεται, πάντα ὑπισχνεῖτο.
most-famous city he-will-be-honored all-things he-promised
μέχρι μὲν οὖν τινος τὸν ἐμφωλεύοντα ἔνδον πολέμιον 174
until indeed then some-time the lurking within enemy
ἀγνοοῦντες ἐφυλαττόμεθα τοὺς ἔξω μόνους· ἐπεὶ δὲ
not-knowing we-guarded-against those outside alone when but
ᾐσθόμεθα, διηρευνῶμεν περιβλεπόμενοι πάσας ὁδούς, εἴ
we-perceived we-searched looking-around all ways if

πως δυνησόμεθα μαλθάξαι καὶ τιθασεῦσαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον
somehow we-shall-be-able to-soften and to-tame the man
ἐξ ἅπαντος τρόπου καὶ τόπου βάλλοντα καὶ τοξεύοντα
from every manner and place shooting and shooting-arrows
ἡμᾶς εὐσκόπως.
us well-aimed
175 καὶ συνεσφαίριζε γὰρ καὶ συνεγυμνάζετο καὶ συνελούετο
and he-played-ball-with for and exercised-with and bathed-with
καὶ συνηρίστα καὶ μέλλοντι κοιμᾶσθαι παρῆν Γαΐῳ, τὴν
and lunched-with and about to-sleep was-present to-Gaius the
τοῦ κατακοιμιστοῦ καὶ κατ᾽ οἰκίαν ἀρχισωματοφύλακος
of-the chamberlain and in house chief-bodyguard
τεταγμένος τάξιν, ὅση μηδενὶ προσῆν ἄλλῳ, ὡς μόνος
assigned rank such-as to-no-one belonged other so-that alone
ἔχειν εὐκαιρούσας καὶ σχολαζούσας ἀκοὰς αὐτοκράτορος
to-have at-leisure and free ears of-emperor
τῶν ἔξω διαφειμένας θορύβων εἰς ἀκρόασιν ὧν
from-the outside released noises for hearing of-what
μάλιστα ἐπόθει.
most he-longed-for
176 διασυρμοὶ δὲ ἦσαν ἀνακεκραμένοι κατηγορίαις, ἵνα
mockeries and were mixed with-accusations so-that
τοῖς μὲν ἡδονὰς κινῇ, ἡμᾶς δὲ τὰ μέγιστα
to-the(-ones) indeed pleasures he-might-stir us but the greatest-things
βλάπτῃ· τὸ μὲν γὰρ προηγούμενον ἔργον εἶναι δοκοῦν,
might-harm the indeed for principal work to-be seeming
ὁ διασυρμός, πάρεργον ἦν αὐτῷ, τὸ δὲ φαινόμενον
the mockery by-work was for-him the but appearing
πάρεργον, αἱ κατηγορίαι, μόνον καὶ πρῶτον ἔργον.
by-work the accusations only and first work

πάντα δὴ κάλων ἀνασείων, ὡς οἱ πνεῦμα δεξιὸν κατ' 177
every indeed rope shaking-out as the wind favorable on
οἰάκων ἔχοντες, ἐφέρετο πλησίστιος οὐριοδρομῶν,
tillers having he-was-carried full-sail running-before-the-wind
ἄλλας ἐπ' ἄλλαις συντιθεὶς καὶ συνείρων αἰτίας. τοῦ
others upon others putting-together and stringing charges of-him
δὲ ἐνετυποῦτο ἡ διάνοια παγιώτερον, ὡς ἄληστον εἶναι
and was-imprinted the mind more-firmly so-that unforgettable to-be
τὴν τῶν ἐγκλημάτων μνήμην.
the of-the charges memory
Ἐν ἀπόροις δὲ καὶ ἐν ἀμηχάνοις ὄντες, ἐπειδὴ πάντα 178
in difficulties and and in helplessness being since every
λίθον κινοῦντες ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὸν Ἑλικῶνα ἐξευμενίσασθαι
stone moving for the — Helicon to-propitiate
πάροδον οὐδεμίαν ἀνευρίσκομεν, μηδενὸς μήτε εἰπεῖν
access none we-found no-one either to-speak
μήτε προσελθεῖν τολμῶντος ἕνεκα τῆς ἀλαζονείας καὶ
or to-approach daring because-of the arrogance and
βαρύτητος, ᾗ πρὸς πάντας ἐκέχρητο, καὶ ἅμα διὰ
heaviness which toward all he-used and at-once because-of
τὸ ἀγνοεῖν, εἴ τίς ἐστιν αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ Ἰουδαίων γένος
the to-be-ignorant whether any is in-him toward the of-Jews race
ἀλλοτρίωσις ἀλείφοντι τὸν δεσπότην ἀεὶ καὶ συγκροτοῦντι
estrangement inciting the master always and urging
κατὰ τοῦ ἔθνους, τὸ μὲν ἔτι πονεῖσθαι περὶ τοῦτο
against the nation the indeed still to-toil about this
τὸ μέρος εἰάσαμεν, τοῦ δὲ ἀναγκαιοτέρου περιειχόμεθα·
the part we-let-be the and more-necessary we-held-to
γραμματεῖον γὰρ ἔδοξεν ἀναδοῦναι Γαΐῳ κεφαλαιώδη
memorial for it-seemed-good to-hand to-Gaius summary
τύπον περιέχον ὧν τε ἐπάθομεν καὶ ὧν τυχεῖν ἠξιοῦμεν.
outline containing what both we-suffered and what to-obtain we-asked

179 ἦν δὲ σχεδὸν τοῦτο ἐπιτομή τις ἱκετείας μακροτέρας, ἣν
was and nearly this abridgment some of-petition longer which
ἐπεπόμφειμεν πρὸ ὀλίγου δι᾽ Ἀγρίππα τοῦ βασιλέως·
we-had-sent before little through Agrippa the king
ἐκ τύχης γὰρ ἐπεδήμησε τῇ πόλει μέλλων εἰς Συρίαν
by chance for he-was-visiting the city being-about to Syria
κατὰ τὴν δοθεῖσαν αὐτῷ βασιλείαν ἀπαίρειν.
to the given to-him kingdom to-depart
180 *** ἐλελήθειμεν δὲ ἄρα ἔτι ἀπατῶντες ἑαυτούς· καὶ
(lacuna) we-had-failed-to-notice and then still deceiving ourselves and
γὰρ πρότερον, ὅτε εὐθὺς ἠρξάμεθα πλεῖν οἰόμενοι πρὸς
for earlier when at-once we-began to-sail thinking to
κριτὴν ἀφίξεσθαι τευξόμενοι τῶν δικαίων. ὁ δὲ ἦν
judge to-be-going-to-come going-to-obtain the just-things he but was
ἐχθρὸς ἄσπονδος, δελεάζων ὅσα τῷ δοκεῖν φαιδρῷ
enemy implacable luring as-much-as by-the seeming with-bright
τῷ βλέμματι καὶ ἱλαρωτέραις ταῖς προσρήσεσι.
the glance and with-more-cheerful the greetings

X · THE AUDIENCE AND THE TERRIBLE NEWS

Gaius first greets the envoys in the plain by the Tiber, coming out of his mother's gardens, and promises a hearing, but Philo, older and more cautious, mistrusts his favor. At Dicaearchia, waiting to be called, they are met by a man in great distress who tells them that Gaius has ordered a colossal statue of Zeus, bearing his own name, set up in the Temple. The envoys shut themselves in and lament: how can they plead for their prayer-houses before the destroyer of the Temple, when the whole nation is imperiled? They learn that Capito, the tax-collector of Judea, found his pretext at Jamnia, a mixed city where the foreigners build a makeshift altar of clay bricks to provoke the Jews, who pull it down, and wrote to Gaius magnifying the affair; and Gaius, with Helicon and the tragic actor Apelles as counselors, both later punished, ordered a gilded colossus for the Temple in place of the altar.

δεξιωσάμενος γὰρ ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ πρὸς Τιβέρει πεδίῳ 181
having-greeted for us in the by Tiber plain
τὸ πρῶτον — ἔτυχε δὲ ἐκ τῶν μητρῴων ἐξιὼν
the first he-happened and from the maternal coming-out
κήπων — ἀντιπροσηγόρευσε καὶ τὴν δεξιὰν χεῖρα κατέσεισεν
gardens he-greeted-in-return and the right hand waved
αἰνιττόμενος εὐμένειαν καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν πρεσβειῶν,
hinting goodwill and the(-one) over the embassies
Ὅμιλον ὄνομα, προσπέμψας "αὐτὸς" ἔφη "τῆς ὑμετέρας
Homilus by-name having-sent himself he-said the your
ὑποθέσεως ἀκούσομαι προσευκαιρήσας", ὥστε τοὺς ἐν
case I-will-hear having-found-leisure so-that those in
κύκλῳ πάντας συνήδεσθαι καθάπερ ἤδη νενικηκόσι καὶ τῶν
circle all to-rejoice-with-us as already having-won and of-the
ἡμετέρων ὅσοι ταῖς ἐπιπολαίοις παράγονται φαντασίαις.
ours as-many-as by-the superficial are-misled appearances

182 ἐγὼ δὲ φρονεῖν τι δοκῶν περιττότερον καὶ δι᾽
I but to-think something seeming more-than-ordinary and through
ἡλικίαν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην παιδείαν εὐλαβέστερος ἤμην ἐφ᾽
age and the other education more-cautious was at
οἷς ἔχαιρον οἱ ἄλλοι. “διὰ τί γάρ” ἔφασκον ἀνακινῶν
what rejoiced the others for what for I-said stirring-up
τὸν ἐμαυτοῦ λογισμόν, “τοσούτων ὄντων πρεσβευτῶν
the my-own reasoning so-many being envoys
σχεδὸν ἀπὸ πάσης γῆς ἀφιγμένων, ἡμῶν εἶπε τότε μόνων
nearly from all earth having-come us he-said then alone
ἀκούσεσθαι; τί βουλόμενος; οὐ γὰρ ἠγνόει γε
to-be-going-to-hear what wishing not for he-was-ignorant at-least
ὄντας Ἰουδαίους, οἷς ἀγαπητὸν τὸ μὴ ἐλαττοῦσθαι.
being Jews for-whom content the not to-be-worsted
183 τὸ δὲ δὴ καὶ προνομίας οἴεσθαι τυγχάνειν παρ᾽ ἀλλοεθνεῖ
the and indeed also privilege to-think to-obtain from foreign
καὶ νέῳ καὶ αὐτεξουσίῳ δεσπότῃ μὴ καὶ μανίας
and young and absolute master perhaps even to-madness
ἐγγύς ἐστιν; ἀλλ᾽ ἔοικε τῇ τῶν ἄλλων Ἀλεξανδρέων
near is-it but he-seems to-the of-the other Alexandrians
μερίδι προσκεῖσθαι, ᾗ διδοὺς προνομίαν θᾶττον
party to-be-attached to-which giving privilege sooner
ὑπέσχετο δικάσειν, ἐὰν ἄρα μὴ τὸν ἴσον καὶ κοινὸν
he-promised to-be-going-to-judge if then not the impartial and common
ἀκροατὴν ὑπερβὰς ἀντὶ δικαστοῦ γένηται τῶν
hearer having-overstepped instead-of judge he-become of-the(-ones)
μὲν συναγωνιστής, ἡμῶν δὲ ἀντίπαλος.”
indeed co-advocate of-us but opponent
184 Ταῦτα λογιζόμενος ἐσφάδαζον καὶ οὔτε μεθ᾽ ἡμέραν
these-things reckoning I-was-agitated and neither by day
οὔτε νύκτωρ ἠρέμουν. ἀθυμοῦντος δέ μου καὶ τὴν ἀνίαν
nor by-night I-was-at-rest being-despondent and of-me and the grief

στέγοντος — οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀνενεγκεῖν ἀσφαλὲς ἦν—, ἕτερον
concealing nor for to-bring-up safe was another
κατασκήπτει βαρύτατον ἐξαπιναίως ἀπροσδόκητον κακόν,
falls-upon heaviest suddenly unexpected evil
οὐχ ἑνὶ μέρει τοῦ Ἰουδαϊκοῦ τὸν κίνδυνον ἐπάγον, ἀλλὰ
not on-one part of-the Jewish the danger bringing but
συλλήβδην ἅπαντι τῷ ἔθνει.
altogether on-all the nation
ἀφίγμεθα μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ Ῥώμης εἰς Δικαιάρχειαν 185
we-had-come indeed for from Rome to Dicaearchia
ἐπακολουθοῦντες Γαΐῳ· κατεληλύθει δὲ ἐπὶ θάλατταν καὶ
following Gaius he-had-gone-down and to sea and
διέτριβε περὶ τὸν κόλπον, ἀμείβων τὰς ἰδίας ἐπαύλεις
was-staying about the bay exchanging the own villas
πολλὰς καὶ πολυτελῶς ἠσκημένας.
many and expensively furnished
φροντίζουσι δὲ ἡμῖν τῆς ὑποθέσεως — ἀεὶ γὰρ 186
being-anxious and to-us about-the case always for
κληθήσεσθαι προσεδοκῶμεν — προσέρχεταί τις
to-be-going-to-be-called we-expected comes-up someone
ὕφαιμόν τι καὶ ταραχῶδες ὑποβλεπόμενος, ἄσθματος
bloodshot something and agitated glancing of-panting
μεστός, καὶ μικρὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπαγαγών — πλησίον
full and little from the others having-led-away near
γὰρ ἦσάν τινες — "ἠκούσατε" ἔφη "τὰ καινά;" καὶ μέλλων
for were some have-you-heard he-said the news and being-about
ἀπαγγέλλειν ἐπεσχέθη, δακρύων ἀθρόας φορᾶς ἐνεχθείσης.
to-report was-checked of-tears all-together flood having-been-carried
καὶ πάλιν ἀρξάμενος δεύτερον ἐπεσχέθη καὶ τρίτον. ἅπερ 187
and again having-begun a-second-time was-checked and a-third-time which
ὁρῶντες ἡμεῖς ἐπτοήμεθα καὶ παρεκαλοῦμεν μηνῦσαι τὸ
seeing we were-terrified and urged to-disclose the

πρᾶγμα, οὗ χάριν ἐλθεῖν ἔφασκεν· "οὐ γὰρ ἕνεκα
matter for-whose sake to-have-come he-said not for for-the-sake-of
τοῦ διὰ μαρτύρων κλαίειν· εἰ δὲ ἄξια δακρύων ἐστί,
the before witnesses to-weep if but worthy of-tears they-are
μὴ μόνος ἀπόλαυε τῆς λύπης· ἐθάδες γεγόναμεν ἤδη
not alone enjoy the grief accustomed we-have-become already
κακοπραγιῶν."
to-misfortunes

188 ὁ δὲ μόλις μὲν ἀναλύζων δὲ ὅμως κεκομμένῳ τῷ
he and hardly indeed sobbing but nevertheless with-broken the
πνεύματί φησιν· "οἴχεται ἡμῶν τὸ ἱερόν· ἀνδριάντα
breath says is-gone our the temple statue
κολοσσιαῖον ἐσωτάτω τῶν ἀδύτων ἀνατεθῆναι Γάιος
colossal innermost of-the sanctuaries to-be-set-up Gaius
προσέταξε Διὸς ἐπίκλησιν αὐτοῦ."
has-ordered of-Zeus with-title his-own

189 θαυμασάντων δὲ τὸ λεχθὲν καὶ πεπηγότων ὑπ'
having-marveled and at-the said and frozen through
ἐκπλήξεως καὶ μηδὲ προελθεῖν ἔτι δυναμένων — ἀχανεῖς
amazement and not-even to-go-forward still being-able gaping
γὰρ εἱστήκειμεν ὀλιγοδρανοῦντες καὶ καταρρέοντες περὶ
for we-stood fainting and collapsing about
αὑτοῖς, τῶν σωματικῶν τόνων ἐκνενευρισμένων—, ἕτεροι
ourselves the bodily tensions having-been-unstrung others
παρῆσαν τὰς αὐτὰς φέροντες ὠδῖνας.
were-present the same bringing pangs

190 ἔπειτα συγκλεισάμενοι πάντες ἀθρόοι ἰδίας ὁμοῦ καὶ κοινὰς
then having-shut-ourselves-in all together private at-once and common
τύχας ἐθρηνοῦμεν καὶ οἷα ὑπέβαλλεν ὁ νοῦς διεξῇμεν —
fortunes we-lamented and such-as suggested the mind we-went-through
λαλίστατον γὰρ ἄνθρωπος ἀτυχῶν—· ἀγωνιάσωμεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ
most-talkative for man unfortunate let-us-struggle for the

μὴ εἰς ἅπαν ταῖς ἀνιάτοις παρανομίαις ἀφεθῆναι. χειμῶνος
not into the-whole to-the incurable lawlessnesses to-be-abandoned in-winter
μέσου διεπλεύσαμεν ἀγνοοῦντες, ὅσος χειμὼν ἔφεδρός ἐστιν
mid we-sailed-across not-knowing how-great storm lying-in-wait is
ὁ κατὰ γῆν ἀργαλεώτερος πολλῷ τοῦ κατὰ θάλατταν·
the on land more-grievous much than-the on sea
τοῦ μὲν γὰρ ἡ φύσις αἰτία διακρίνουσα τοὺς ἐτησίους
of-the(-one) indeed for the nature cause distinguishing the yearly
καιρούς, φύσις δὲ σωτήριον· ἐκείνου δὲ ἄνθρωπος οὐδὲν
seasons nature but saving of-that but man nothing
φρονῶν ἀνθρώπινον, νέος καὶ νεωτεροποιὸς ἀνημμένος
thinking human young and innovating having-fastened-on
τὴν ἐφ᾽ ἅπασιν ἀνυπεύθυνον ἀρχήν· νεότης δὲ μετ᾽ ἐξουσίας
the over all unaccountable rule youth and with power
αὐτοκρατοῦς ὁρμαῖς ἀκαθέκτοις χρωμένη κακὸν δύσμαχον.
absolute with-impulses unrestrainable using evil hard-to-fight
ἐξέσται δὲ προσελθεῖν ἢ διᾶραι τὸ στόμα περὶ 191
will-it-be-possible and to-approach or to-open the mouth about
προσευχῶν τῷ λυμεῶνι τοῦ πανιέρου; δῆλον γὰρ ὡς οὐ
prayer-houses to-the destroyer of-the all-holy clear for that not
φροντιεῖ τῶν ἀφανεστέρων καὶ τιμῆς ἐλάττονος ἠξιωμένων
he-will-care for-the more-obscure and of-honor less deemed-worthy
ὁ τὸν περισημότατον καὶ ἐπιφανέστατον νεών, εἰς
the(-one) the most-famous and most-conspicuous temple to
ὃν ἀνατολαὶ καὶ δύσεις ἀποβλέπουσιν ἡλίου τρόπον
which risings and settings look of-sun like
πανταχόσε λάμποντα, καθυβρίζων.
everywhere shining outraging
εἰ δὲ καὶ γένοιτό τις ἄδεια προσόδου, τί χρὴ 192
if and even should-come-about any freedom of-access what it-is-needful
προσδοκᾶν ἢ θάνατον ἀπαραίτητον; ἀλλ᾽ ἔστω,
to-expect than death inexorable but let-it-be

τεθνηξόμεθα· ζωὴ γάρ τίς ἐστιν ὁ ὑπὲρ φυλακῆς νόμων
we-will-die life for some is the for guarding of-laws
εὐκλεέστατος θάνατος. εἰ δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἡμετέρας τελευτῆς
most-glorious death if but from the our end
γενήσεται μηδὲν ὄφελος, οὐ μανία παραπολέσθαι, καὶ
will-come no benefit not madness to-perish-besides and
ταῦτα πρεσβεύειν δοκοῦντας, ὡς τῶν πεμψάντων μᾶλλον
this to-be-envoys seeming as of-those having-sent rather
ἢ τῶν ὑπομενόντων εἶναι τὴν συμφοράν;
than of-those enduring to-be the misfortune

193 οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσοι τὰς φύσεις μισοπονηρότατοι
not indeed but also as-many-as the natures most-hating-wickedness
τῶν ὁμοφύλων ἀσέβειαν ἡμῶν κατηγορήσουσιν ὡς, ἐν
of-the kinsmen impiety us will-accuse as in
ἐσχάτῳ κινδύνῳ τῶν ὅλων σαλευόντων, ἐπιμνησθέντων
extreme danger the whole tossing having-made-mention
ὑπὸ φιλαυτίας ἰδίου τινός· τοῖς γὰρ μεγάλοις τὰ
through self-love of-private something to-the for great the
βραχέα καὶ τοῖς κοινοῖς τὰ ἴδια ὑποστέλλειν ἀναγκαῖον,
small and to-the common the private to-subordinate necessary
ὧν οἰχομένων ἔρρει καὶ ἡ πολιτεία.
which having-gone is-gone also the citizenship

194 ποῦ γὰρ ὅσιον ἢ θεμιτὸν ἄλλως ἀγωνίζεσθαι, δεικνύντας
where for holy or lawful otherwise to-contend showing
ὡς ἐσμὲν Ἀλεξανδρεῖς, οἷς ὁ περὶ τῆς καθολικωτέρας
that we-are Alexandrians over-whom the about the more-universal
πολιτείας ἐπικρέμαται κίνδυνος τῆς Ἰουδαίων; ἅμα γὰρ
citizenship hangs danger the of-Jews at-once for
τῇ τοῦ ἱεροῦ καταλύσει δέος, μὴ καὶ τὸ κοινὸν τοῦ
with-the of-the temple destruction fear lest also the common of-the

ἔθνους ὄνομα συναφανισθῆναι κελεύσῃ ὁ νεωτεροποιὸς
nation name to-be-obliterated-with he-may-order the innovating
καὶ μεγαλουργὸς ἄνθρωπος.
and grandiose man
ἀμφοτέρων οὖν τῶν ὑποθέσεων δι' ἃς ἐστάλημεν οἰχομένων, 195
both then the cases for which we-were-sent being-gone
ἴσως φήσει τις· τι οὖν, οὐκ ᾔδεσαν πραγματεύεσθαι
perhaps will-say someone what then not did-they-know to-work-for
τὴν μετὰ ἀσφαλείας ἐπάνοδον; πρὸς ὃν εἴποιμι ἄν· ἢ
the with safety return to whom I-would-say — either
οὐκ ἔχεις ἀνδρὸς εὐγενοῦς πάθος γνήσιον ἢ οὐκ ἐνετράφης
not you-have of-man noble feeling genuine or not you-were-reared
οὐδὲ ἐνησκήθης τοῖς ἱεροῖς γράμμασιν. ἐλπίδων εἰσὶ
nor were-trained in-the sacred writings of-hopes are
πλήρεις οἱ ὄντως εὐγενεῖς, καὶ οἱ νόμοι τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι
full the truly noble and the laws to-those reading-them
μὴ χείλεσιν ἄκροις ἐλπίδας ἀγαθὰς δημιουργοῦσιν.
not with-lips' tips hopes good create
ἴσως ἀπόπειρα ταῦτα τῆς καθεστώσης γενεᾶς ἐστι, πῶς 196
perhaps trial these-things of-the present generation is how
ἔχει πρὸς ἀρετὴν καὶ εἰ πεπαίδευται φέρειν τὰ δεινὰ
it-is toward virtue and if it-has-been-trained to-bear the terrible-things
λογισμοῖς ἰσχυρογνώμοσιν οὐ προκαταπίπτουσα. τὰ μὲν οὖν
with-reasonings strong-minded not collapsing-beforehand the indeed then
ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἅπαντα καὶ ἔρρει καὶ ἐρρέτω· μενέτω δὲ ἐν
from men all-things both are-gone and let-them-go let-remain but in
ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἀκαθαίρετος ἡ ἐπὶ τὸν σωτῆρα θεὸν ἐλπίς, ὃς
the souls indestructible the in the savior god hope who
πολλάκις ἐξ ἀμηχάνων καὶ ἀπόρων περιέσωσε τὸ ἔθνος.
often from impossible and desperate-straits saved the nation

197 Ταῦτα ἅμα μὲν ὀλοφυρόμενοι τὰς ἀπροσδοκήτους
these-things at-once indeed lamenting the unexpected
ἀτυχίας ἅμα δὲ καὶ παρηγοροῦντες ἑαυτοὺς ἐλπίδι
misfortunes at-once and also consoling ourselves with-hope
μεταβολῆς γαληνοτέρας διεξῆμεν. μικρὸν δὲ ἐπισχόντες
of-change calmer we-went-through little and having-paused
πρὸς τοὺς ἀπαγγείλαντας "τί καθ' ἡσυχίαν" εἴπομεν
to those having-reported why at leisure we-said
"κάθησθε, σπινθῆρας αὐτὸ μόνον τοῖς ὠσὶν ἡμῶν ἐνιέντες,
do-you-sit sparks itself only into-the ears our throwing
ὑφ' ὧν καιόμεθα καὶ πυρπολούμεθα, δέον προσεξηγεῖσθαι
by which we-are-burned and set-on-fire needing to-explain-besides
καὶ τὰ κεκινηκότα τὸν Γάιον;"
also the(-things) having-moved — Gaius
198 οἱ δέ· "τὴν μὲν ἀνωτάτω καὶ πρώτην αἰτίαν ἴστε, ἣν
they and the indeed highest and first cause you-know which
καὶ πάντες ἴσασιν ἄνθρωποι· θεὸς βούλεται νομίζεσθαι,
also all know men god he-wishes to-be-thought
ὑπείληφε δὲ μόνους Ἰουδαίους μὴ πείσεσθαι, οἷς μεῖζον
he-has-supposed and alone Jews not to-be-going-to-obey on-whom greater
οὐδὲν ἂν προστρίψαιτο κακὸν ἢ λυμηνάμενος τὴν τοῦ
no — he-could-inflict evil than having-outraged the of-the
ἱεροῦ σεμνότητα. κατήχηται δέ, ὅτι καὶ πάντων ἱερῶν τῶν
temple majesty he-has-been-told and that also of-all temples those
πανταχοῦ κάλλιστόν ἐστιν ἐξ ἀπείρων χρόνων ἀπαύστοις
everywhere most-beautiful it-is from infinite times by-unceasing
καὶ ἀφειδέσι δαπάναις ἀεὶ προσκοσμούμενον· δύσεριs δὲ καὶ
and lavish expenditures always being-adorned quarrelsome and and
φιλόνεικος ὢν σφετερίσασθαι τοῦτο εἰς ἑαυτὸν διανοεῖται.
contentious being to-appropriate this to himself he-intends

παρατέθηκται δὲ νῦν μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον ἐξ ἐπιστολῆς, 199
he-has-been-sharpened and now more than before from letter
ἣν ἔπεμψε Καπίτων. φόρων ἐκλογεὺς ὁ Καπίτων ἐστὶ τῶν
which sent Capito of-taxes collector — Capito is of-the
τῆς Ἰουδαίας, ἔχει δέ πως πρὸς τοὺς ἐγχωρίους ἐγκότως·
— of-Judea is and somehow toward the natives rancorously
πένης γὰρ ἀφιγμένος καὶ ἐξ ὧν νοσφίζεται καὶ παρεκλέγει
poor for having-come and from what he-embezzles and extorts
ποικίλον τινὰ καὶ πολὺν πλοῦτον ἠθροικώς, εἶτα εὐλαβηθείς,
varied some and great wealth having-amassed then having-taken-care
μή τις αὐτοῦ γένηται κατηγορία, τέχνην ἐπενόησεν,
lest any against-him be accusation contrivance he-devised
ᾗ διαβολαῖς τῶν ἀδικηθέντων διακρούσεται τὰς αἰτίας.
by-which with-slanders of-the wronged he-will-fend-off the charges
ἀφορμὴν δὲ αὐτῷ δίδωσιν εἰς ὅπερ ἐβούλετο συντυχία τις 200
occasion and to-him gives for which he-wished coincidence some
τοιαύτη. τὴν Ἰάμνειαν — πόλις δέ ἐστι τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐν
such — Jamnia city and is — of-Judea among
τοῖς μάλιστα πολυάνθρωπος — μιγάδες οἰκοῦσιν, οἱ πλείους
the most populous mixed dwell the most
μὲν Ἰουδαῖοι, ἕτεροι δέ τινες ἀλλόφυλοι παρεισφθαρέντες
indeed Jews others and some foreigners having-crept-in
ἀπὸ τῶν πλησιοχώρων, οἳ τοῖς τρόπον τινὰ αὐθιγενέσιν
from the neighboring-parts who to-those in-a-way some native
ὄντες μέτοικοι κακὰ καὶ πράγματα παρέχουσιν, ἀεί
being sojourners evils and troubles provide always
τι παραλύοντες τῶν πατρίων Ἰουδαίοις.
something dissolving of-the ancestral-things for-Jews
οὗτοι παρὰ τῶν ἐπιφοιτώντων ἀκούοντες, ὅσῃ 201
these from those visiting hearing with-how-much
σπουδῇ κέχρηται Γάιος περὶ τὴν ἰδίαν ἐκθέωσιν καὶ
zeal has-used Gaius about the own deification and

ὡς ἀλλοτριώτατα διάκειται πρὸς ἅπαν τὸ Ἰουδαϊκὸν
how most-hostilely he-is-disposed toward all the Jewish
γένος, καιρὸν ἐπιτήδειον εἰς ἐπίθεσιν παραπεπτωκέναι
race occasion suitable for attack to-have-fallen-out
νομίζοντες αὐτοσχέδιον ἀνιστᾶσι βωμὸν εἰκαιοτάτης ὕλης,
thinking improvised they-set-up altar of-most-worthless material
πηλὸν σχηματίσαντες εἰς πλίνθους, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μόνον
clay having-shaped into bricks for the only
ἐπιβουλεύειν τοῖς συνοικοῦσιν· ᾔδεσαν γὰρ οὐκ ἀνεξομένους
to-plot-against those dwelling-with-them they-knew for not going-to-endure
καταλυομένων τῶν ἐθῶν, ὅπερ καὶ ἐγένετο.
being-dissolved the customs which also happened
202 θεασάμενοι γὰρ καὶ δυσανασχετήσαντες ἐπὶ τῷ τῆς
having-beheld for and having-been-indignant at the of-the
ἱερᾶς χώρας τὸ ἱεροπρεπὲς ὄντως ἀφανίζεσθαι καθαιροῦσι
sacred land the sanctity truly to-be-obliterated they-pull-down
συνελθόντες· οἱ δὲ εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὸν Καπίτωνα ἦκον, ὃς
having-come-together they and at-once to — Capito went who
ἦν τοῦ δράματος ὅλου δημιουργός. ἔρμαιον δὲ εὑρηκέναι
was of-the drama whole craftsman windfall and to-have-found
νομίσας, ὅπερ ἐκ πολλῶν χρόνων ἀνεζήτει, γράφει Γαΐῳ
thinking which from many times he-sought he-writes to-Gaius
διαίρων τὰ πράγματα καὶ μετεωρίζων.
exaggerating the affairs and inflating-them
203 ὁ δὲ διαναγνοὺς πλουσιώτερον καὶ μεγαλοφρονέστερόν
he and having-read-through richer and more-magnificent
τι ἀντὶ τοῦ πλινθίνου βωμοῦ τοῦ κατ᾽ ἐπήρειαν
something instead-of the of-brick altar the in insult
ἀνασταθέντος ἐν Ἰαμνείᾳ κελεύει κολοσσιαῖον ἀνδριάντα
set-up in Jamnia he-orders colossal statue
ἐπίχρυσον ἐν τῷ τῆς μητροπόλεως ἱερῷ καθιδρυθῆναι,
gilded in the of-the mother-city temple to-be-set-up

συμβούλοις χρησάμενος τοῖς ἀρίστοις καὶ σοφωτάτοις,
as-counselors having-used the best and wisest
Ἑλικῶνι τῷ εὐπατρίδῃ δούλῳ, σπερμολόγῳ, περιτρίμματι,
Helicon the nobly-born slave babbling worn-out-scrap
καὶ Ἀπελλῇ τινι τραγῳδῷ, ὃς […] ἔξωρος δὲ
and Apelles some tragic-actor who (omitted) past-his-prime and
γενόμενος ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν παρῆλθεν.
having-become onto the stage came
ὅσοι δὲ σκηνοβατοῦσιν ἐμπορευόμενοι θεαταῖς καὶ 204
as-many-as and tread-the-stage trafficking in-spectators and
θεάτροις, αἰδοῦς εἰσι καὶ σωφροσύνης ἀλλ' οὐκ
theaters of-modesty are-they and of-temperance but not
ἀναισχυντίας καὶ ἀκοσμίας ἐρασταὶ τῆς ἀνωτάτω; διὰ
of-shamelessness and indecency lovers of-the highest because-of
ταῦτα εἰς τὴν τοῦ συμβούλου τάξιν ὁ Ἀπελλῆς παρῆλθεν,
these-things into the of-the counselor rank — Apelles came
ἵνα βουλεύσηται Γάιος μεθ' οὗ μὲν ὡς σκωπτέον, μεθ' οὗ
so-that may-deliberate Gaius with whom indeed how one-must-jest with whom
δὲ ὡς ᾀστέον, ὑπερβὰς τὰς περὶ τῶν ὅλων σκέψεις,
and how one-must-sing having-passed-over the about the whole considerations
ὡς εἰρηνεύεσθαι καὶ ἠρεμεῖσθαι τὰ πανταχοῦ πάντα.
as-though to-be-at-peace and to-be-at-rest the-things everywhere all
ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἑλικών, σκορπιῶδες ἀνδράποδον, τὸν 205
— indeed then Helicon scorpion-like slave the
Αἰγυπτιακὸν ἰὸν εἰς Ἰουδαίους ἤφιεν, ὁ δὲ Ἀπελλῆς
Egyptian venom at Jews shot — and Apelles
τὸν ἀπὸ Ἀσκάλωνος· ἦν γὰρ ἐκεῖθεν· Ἀσκαλωνίταις
the from Ascalon he-was for from-there for-Ascalonites
δὲ ἀσύμβατός τις καὶ ἀκατάλλακτος δυσμένεια πρὸς
and irreconcilable some and implacable hostility toward
τοὺς τῆς ἱερᾶς χώρας οἰκήτορας Ἰουδαίους ἐστὶν οὖσιν
the of-the sacred land inhabitants Jews is being

ὁμόροις.” ταῦτα ἀκούοντες ἐφ’ ἑκάστου ῥήματος καὶ
neighbors these-things hearing at each word and
ὀνόματος ἐτιτρωσκόμεθα τὰς ψυχάς.
name we-were-wounded the souls
206 ἀλλ’ οἱ μὲν καλῶν πράξεων καλοὶ σύμβουλοι μικρὸν
but the indeed of-fine deeds fine counselors little
ὕστερον τὰ ἐπίχειρα εὗρον τῆς ἀσεβείας, ὁ μὲν
later the wages found of-the impiety the(-one) indeed
ὑπὸ Γαΐου σιδήρῳ δεθεὶς ἐφ’ ἑτέραις αἰτίαις καὶ
by Gaius with-iron bound for other charges and
στρεβλούμενος καὶ τροχιζόμενος ἐκ περιτροπῆς, ὥσπερ ἐν
racked and broken-on-the-wheel in rotation as in
ταῖς περιοδιζούσαις νόσοις, ὁ δὲ Ἑλικὼν ὑπὸ Κλαυδίου
the intermittent diseases — and Helicon by Claudius
Γερμανικοῦ Καίσαρος ἀναιρεθείς, ἐφ’ οἷς ἄλλοις ὁ
Germanicus Caesar having-been-killed for what other-things the
φρενοβλαβὴς ἠδίκησεν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὕστερον ἐγένετο.
deranged did-wrong but these-things indeed later happened

Gaius' letter orders Petronius, governor of all Syria, to lead half the army of the Euphrates into Judea as the statue's escort, not to honor the dedication but so that anyone who resists may die at once; Gaius, Philo says, foresaw the resistance and meant the image to be consecrated with slaughter. Petronius is at a loss: he knows the Jews will die ten thousand deaths rather than let the forbidden be done, holding their laws to be oracles of God and the Temple dearest of all. He fears their numbers in every land, in Judea, and beyond the Euphrates, yet to defy his young master is certain death.

Ἡ δὲ περὶ τῆς ἀναθέσεως τοῦ ἀνδριάντος ἐπιστολὴ 207
the and about the setting-up of-the statue letter
γράφεται, καὶ οὐχ ἁπλῶς ἀλλ' ὡς οἷόν τε ἦν
is-written and not simply but as possible — it-was
περιεσκεμμένως εἰς ἀσφάλειαν. κελεύει γὰρ Πετρωνίῳ
circumspectly for safety he-orders for Petronius
τῷ τῆς Συρίας ἁπάσης ὑπάρχῳ, πρὸς ὃν καὶ τὴν
the — of-Syria all governor to whom also the
ἐπιστολὴν ἐγεγράφει, τῆς παρ' Εὐφράτῃ στρατιᾶς, ἣ
letter he-had-written of-the at Euphrates army which
τὴν διάβασιν τῶν ἑῴων βασιλέων καὶ ἐθνῶν παρεφύλαττε,
the crossing of-the eastern kings and nations watched-against
τὴν ἡμίσειαν ἄγειν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίας τὸν ἀνδριάντα
the half to-lead to — Judea the statue
παραπέμψουσαν, οὐχ ἵνα σεμνοποιήσῃ τὴν ἀνάθεσιν,
going-to-escort not so-that it-may-make-august the dedication
ἀλλ' ἵνα, εἰ διακωλύοι τις, εὐθὺς ἀπόληται.
but so-that if should-hinder anyone at-once he-may-perish
τί λέγεις, ὦ δέσποτα; προειληφὼς οὐκ ἀνεξομένους, 208
what do-you-say O master having-anticipated not going-to-endure
ἀλλ' ὑπερασπιοῦντας τοῦ νόμου καὶ προαποθανουμένους
but going-to-defend the law and going-to-die-first

τῶν πατρίων πολεμοποιεῖς; οὐ γὰρ ἔοικας δι᾽ ἄγνοιαν
for-the ancestral-things do-you-make-war not for you-seem through ignorance
ὧν εἰκὸς ἦν ἀποβήσεσθαι τοῦ περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἅψασθαι
of-what likely was to-be-going-to-result the about the temple to-have-touched
νεωτερισμοῦ, προμαθὼν δὲ ἀκριβῶς τὰ μέλλοντα
innovation having-learned-beforehand but precisely the future
ὡς ἤδη παρόντα καὶ τὰ γενησόμενα ὡς χειριζόμενα
as already present and the-things going-to-happen as being-handled
τὴν στρατιὰν εἰσάγειν προσέταξας, ἵνα θυσίαις ἐναγέσι
the army to-lead-in you-ordered so-that with-sacrifices accursed
πρώταις καθιερωθῇ τὸ ἀφίδρυμα, σφαγαῖς ἀθλίων
first may-be-consecrated the image with-slaughters of-wretched
ἀνδρῶν ὁμοῦ καὶ γυναικῶν.
men together and women

209 ὁ μὲν οὖν Πετρώνιος τὰ ἐπισταλέντα διαναγνοὺς ἐν
— *indeed then Petronius the-things written having-read-through in*
ἀμηχάνοις ἦν, οὔτε ἐναντιοῦσθαι δυνάμενος διὰ φόβον —
helplessness was neither to-oppose being-able through fear
ᾔδει γὰρ ἀφόρητον οὐ μόνον κατὰ τῶν τὰ κελευσθέντα
he-knew for unbearable not only against those the-things bidden
μὴ πραξάντων, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τῶν μὴ εὐθύς — οὔτε
not having-done but also against those not at-once nor
ἐγχειρεῖν εὐμαρῶς· ᾔδει γὰρ ἀνθ᾽ ἑνὸς θανάτου μυρίους
to-undertake easily he-knew for instead-of one death ten-thousand
ἄν, εἴπερ δυνατὸν ἦν, ἐθελήσοντας ὑπομεῖναι μᾶλλον
— if-indeed possible it-were going-to-be-willing to-endure rather
ἢ περιιδεῖν τι τῶν ἀπειρημένων δρώμενον.
than to-overlook anything of-the forbidden being-done

210 ἅπαντες γὰρ ἄνθρωποι φυλακτικοὶ τῶν ἰδίων ἐθῶν εἰσι,
all for men guardians of-the own customs are
διαφερόντως δὲ τὸ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος· θεόχρηστα γὰρ
especially and the of-Jews nation god-given for

λόγια τοὺς νόμους εἶναι ὑπολαμβάνοντες καὶ τοῦτο ἐκ
oracles the laws to-be supposing and this from
πρώτης ἡλικίας τὸ μάθημα παιδευθέντες ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς
first age the lesson having-been-taught in the souls
ἀγαλματοφοροῦσι τὰς τῶν διατεταγμένων εἰκόνας·
they-carry-as-images the of-the ordained images
εἶτα ἐναργεῖς τύπους καὶ μορφὰς αὐτῶν καθορῶντες 211
then clear outlines and shapes of-them beholding
ἀεὶ τοῖς λογισμοῖς αὑτῶν τεθήπασι· καὶ τοὺς μὲν
always in-the reasonings their they-are-amazed and those indeed
τιμητικῶς ἔχοντας ἀλλοφύλους αὐτῶν οὐχ ἧττον τῶν
honorably disposed foreigners toward-them no less than-the
ἰδίων ἀποδέχονται πολιτῶν, τοῖς δὲ ἢ καθαιροῦσιν ἢ
own receive citizens those but either destroying or
χλευάζουσιν ὡς πολεμιωτάτοις ἀπέχθονται· καὶ πεφρίκασι
mocking as most-hostile they-hate and they-shudder-at
μὲν ἕκαστον τῶν διηγορευμένων οὕτως, ὡς ἅπασαν
indeed each of-the-things declared so that all
τὴν παρ᾽ ἀνθρώποις εἴτε εὐτυχίαν εἴτε εὐδαιμονίαν
the among men whether good-fortune or happiness
χρὴ καλεῖν μηδέποτ᾽ ἂν ὑπὲρ παραβάσεως καὶ τοῦ
it-is-needful to-call never — for transgression even of-the
τυχόντος ἂν ὑπαλλάξασθαι.
chance-thing — to-exchange
περιττοτέρα δὲ καὶ ἐξαίρετός ἐστιν αὐτοῖς ἅπασιν ἡ 212
more-abundant and and exceptional is for-them all the
περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν σπουδή. τεκμήριον δὲ μέγιστον· θάνατος
about the temple zeal proof and greatest death
ἀπαραίτητος ὥρισται κατὰ τῶν εἰς τοὺς ἐντὸς περιβόλους
inexorable has-been-fixed against those into the inner enclosures

παρελθόντων — δέχονται γὰρ εἰς τοὺς ἐξωτέρω τοὺς
having-entered they-receive for into the outer those
πανταχόθεν πάντας — τῶν οὐχ ὁμοεθνῶν.
from-everywhere all of-the not same-nation
213 εἰς δὴ ταῦτα ἀφορῶν ὁ Πετρώνιος βραδὺς ἦν
at indeed these-things looking — Petronius slow was
ἐγχειρητής, ὅσον τόλμημα μεγαλουργεῖται σκεπτόμενος,
executor how-great daring is-being-wrought considering
καὶ συγκαλέσας ὡς ἐν συνεδρίῳ τοὺς τῆς ψυχῆς ἅπαντας
and having-convened as in council the of-the soul all
λογισμοὺς τὴν ἑκάστου γνώμην διηρεύνα καὶ πάντας
reasonings the of-each judgment he-searched and all
εὕρισκεν ὁμογνωμονοῦντας περὶ τοῦ μηδὲν κινεῖν τῶν
he-found agreeing about the nothing to-move of-the-things
ἐξ ἀρχῆς καθωσιωμένων, πρῶτον διὰ τὸ φύσει δίκαιον
from beginning consecrated first because-of the by-nature just
καὶ εὐσεβές, ἔπειτα διὰ τὸν ἐπικρεμάμενον κίνδυνον,
and pious then because-of the impending danger
οὐκ ἐκ θεοῦ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐπηρεαζομένων.
not from god only but also from-those being-insulted
214 ἔννοιά τε αὐτὸν εἰσῄει τοῦ ἔθνους, ὅσον ἐστὶν ἐν
thought both him entered of-the nation how-great it-is in
πολυανθρωπίᾳ, ὅπερ οὐκ ἐδέξατο καθάπερ τῶν ἄλλων
populousness which not received as of-the others
ἕκαστον μιᾶς χώρας τῆς ἀποκεκληρωμένης αὐτῷ μόνῳ
each of-one country the allotted to-it alone
περίβολος, ἀλλ᾽ ὀλίγου δέω φάναι πᾶσα ἡ οἰκουμένη·
circuit but little I-lack to-say all the inhabited-world
κέχυται γὰρ ἀνά τε τὰς ἠπείρους καὶ νήσους ἁπάσας,
it-is-spread for through both the mainlands and islands all
ὡς τῶν αὐθιγενῶν μὴ πολλῷ τινι δοκεῖν ἐλαττοῦσθαι.
so-that than-the natives not by-much some to-seem to-be-inferior

τοσαύτας μυριάδας ἐφέλκεσθαι πολεμίων ἆρ᾽ οὐ 215
so-many tens-of-thousands to-draw-on of-enemies is-it not
σφαλερώτατον; ἀλλὰ μήποτε γένοιτο συμφρονήσαντας
most-perilous but never may-it-happen having-agreed
τοὺς ἑκασταχοῦ πρὸς ἄμυναν ἐλθεῖν· ἄμαχόν τι
those everywhere for defense to-come irresistible something
συμβήσεται χρῆμα· δίχα τοῦ καὶ τοὺς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν
will-result thing apart-from the also those — Judea
κατοικοῦντας ἀπείρους τε εἶναι τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τὰ
inhabiting countless both to-be in-the multitude and in-the
σώματα γενναιοτάτους καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς εὐτολμοτάτους
bodies most-noble and in-the souls most-daring
καὶ προαποθνήσκειν αἱρουμένους τῶν πατρίων ὑπὸ
and to-die-first choosing for-the ancestral-things through
φρονήματος, ὡς μὲν ἔνιοι τῶν διαβαλλόντων εἴποιεν ἄν,
spirit as indeed some of-the slanderers would-say —
βαρβαρικοῦ, ὡς δὲ ἔχει τἀληθές, ἐλευθερίου καὶ εὐγενοῦς.
barbarian as but holds the-truth free and noble
ἐφόβουν δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ αἱ πέραν Εὐφράτου δυνάμεις· 216
frightened and him also the beyond Euphrates forces
ᾔδει γὰρ Βαβυλῶνα καὶ πολλὰς ἄλλας τῶν σατραπειῶν
he-knew for Babylon and many other of-the satrapies
ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων κατεχομένας, οὐκ ἀκοῇ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ
by Jews occupied not by-hearsay only but also
πείρᾳ· καθ᾽ ἕκαστον γὰρ ἐνιαυτὸν ἱεροπομποὶ στέλλονται
by-experience in each for year sacred-envoys are-sent
χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον πλεῖστον κομίζοντες εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τὸν
gold and silver very-much bringing to the temple the
ἀθροισθέντα ἐκ τῶν ἀπαρχῶν, δυσβάτους καὶ ἀτριβεῖς
collected from the first-fruits impassable and untrodden

καὶ ἀνηνύτους ὁδοὺς περαιούμενοι, ἃς λεωφόρους εἶναι
and endless roads crossing which highways to-be
νομίζουσιν, ὅτι πρὸς εὐσέβειαν ἄγειν δοκοῦσι.
they-think because to piety to-lead they-seem
217 περιδεὴς οὖν ὡς εἰκὸς ἦν, μὴ πυθόμενοι τὴν καινουργουμένην
very-afraid then as likely was lest having-learned-of the being-innovated
ἀνάθεσιν ἐπιφοιτήσωσιν ἐξαίφνης καὶ περίσχωσιν, οἱ μὲν
dedication they-come suddenly and surround the(-ones) indeed
ἔνθεν οἱ δὲ ἔνθεν, κύκλος γενόμενοι, καὶ συνάψαντες
from-here the(-others) and from-there circle having-become and having-joined
ἀλλήλοις τοὺς ἐναποληφθέντας μέσους δεινὰ
to-one-another those cut-off in-the-middle terrible-things
ἐργάσωνται. τοιούτοις μὲν λογισμοῖς χρώμενος ἀπώκνει.
they-do with-such indeed reasonings using he-hesitated
218 πάλιν δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐναντίων ἀνθείλκετο, "δεσπότου" λέγων
again and by the opposite he-was-drawn-back of-master saying
"ἡ πρόσταξίς ἐστι καὶ νέου καὶ ὅ τι ἂν βουληθῇ τοῦτο
the order is and young and what ever — he-wish this
συμφέρον κρίνοντος καὶ τὸ γνωσθὲν ἅπαξ ἐπιτελεσθῆναι,
advantageous judging and the decided once to-be-accomplished
κἂν ἀλυσιτελέστατον ᾖ καὶ φιλονεικίας καὶ ἀλαζονείας
even-if most-unprofitable it-be and of-contentiousness and of-arrogance
γέμον, ὅς γε καὶ ὑπερπηδήσας τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐν θεοῖς
full who at-least even having-leapt-over the man among gods
ἤδη γράφει ἑαυτόν. ἐπικρέμαται δή μοι κίνδυνος ὁ περὶ
already writes himself hangs indeed over-me danger the about
ψυχῆς καὶ ἐναντιωθέντι καὶ εἴξαντι, ἀλλ' εἴξαντι μὲν μετὰ
life both having-opposed and having-yielded but having-yielded indeed with
πολέμου καὶ τάχα ἀμφίβολος καὶ οὐ πάντως ἀποβησόμενος,
war and perhaps doubtful and not altogether going-to-happen
ἐναντιωθέντι δὲ ἀπαραίτητος καὶ ὁμολογούμενος ἐκ Γαΐου."
having-opposed but inexorable and acknowledged from Gaius

Many of his Roman colleagues agree with his caution, and Petronius gains time by having the statue made in Phoenicia. He summons the Jewish leaders to persuade them, but they lament, and when the people of Jerusalem and the country hear, they come out in a vast crowd, men, women, and children, and fall before him. The elders say that they are unarmed, that they were the first in Syria to celebrate Gaius' accession and sacrificed for him, and ask only that nothing new be done in the Temple; otherwise they would sooner kill their own families and themselves than see it defiled. Their last plea is for time to send an embassy to Gaius.

συνελάμβανον δὲ τῇ γνώμῃ ταύτῃ πολλοὶ τῶν συνδιεπόντων 219
supported and the judgment this many of-those administering-with
τὰ κατὰ Συρίαν αὐτῷ Ῥωμαίων, εἰδότες ὅτι καὶ ἐπ'
the-things in Syria with-him of-Romans knowing that also against
αὐτοὺς πρώτους αἱ ἀπὸ Γαΐου χωρήσουσιν ὀργαὶ καὶ
them first the from Gaius will-go angers and
τιμωρίαι ὡς συναιτίους τοῦ τὸ κελευσθὲν μὴ γενέσθαι.
punishments as accomplices of-the the bidden not to-happen
παρέσχε δὲ εἰς ἀκριβεστέραν σκέψιν ἀναχώρησιν ἡ 220
provided and for more-exact consideration respite the
κατασκευὴ τοῦ ἀνδριάντος· οὔτε γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥώμης
construction of-the statue neither for from — Rome
διεπέμψατο — θεοῦ μοι προνοίᾳ δοκῶ τὴν χεῖρα τῶν
he-sent-it of-god to-me by-providence I-think the hand of-the
ἀδικουμένων ἀφανῶς ὑπερέχοντος — οὔτε τῶν κατὰ
wronged invisibly holding-over nor of-the-things in
Συρίαν ὅστις ἂν ἄριστος εἶναι δοκιμασθῇ μετακομίζειν
Syria whatever — best to-be be-approved to-bring
προσέταξεν, ἐπεὶ κἂν τῷ τάχει τῆς παρανομίας ταχὺς
he-ordered since even by-the speed of-the lawlessness quickly
ἐξήφθη ὁ πόλεμος.
would-have-been-kindled the war

221 καιρὸν οὖν σχὼν εἰς τὴν τοῦ συμφέροντος διάσκεψιν —
time then having for the of-the advantageous consideration
τὰ γὰρ αἰφνίδια καὶ μεγάλα, ὅταν ἀθρόα προσπέσῃ,
the for sudden and great-things when all-together they-fall-on
κατακλᾷ τὸν λογισμόν — προστάττει τὴν κατασκευὴν ἔν
breaks the reasoning he-orders the construction in
τινι τῶν ὁμόρων ποιεῖσθαι.
some of-the neighboring-places to-be-made

222 μεταπεμψάμενος οὖν ὁ Πετρώνιος δημιουργοὺς τῶν ἐν
having-sent-for then — Petronius craftsmen of-those in
Φοινίκῃ τοὺς φρονιμωτάτους δίδωσι τὴν ὕλην· οἱ δὲ ἐν
Phoenicia the most-skilled gives the material they and in
Σιδῶνι εἰργάζοντο. μεταπέμπεται δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐν τέλει τῶν
Sidon worked he-sends-for and also those in office of-the
Ἰουδαίων ἱερεῖς τε καὶ ἄρχοντας, ἅμα μὲν δηλώσων
Jews priests both and rulers at-once indeed going-to-declare
τὰ ἀπὸ Γαΐου, ἅμα δὲ καὶ συμβουλεύσων ἀνέχεσθαι
the-things from Gaius at-once and also going-to-advise to-endure
τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ δεσπότου προσταττομένων καὶ τὰ δεινὰ
the-things by the master being-ordered and the terrible-things
πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν λαμβάνειν· εὐτρεπεῖς γὰρ εἶναι τῶν κατὰ
before eyes to-take ready for to-be of-the in
Συρίαν στρατιωτικῶν δυνάμεων τὰς μαχιμωτέρας, αἳ
Syria military forces the more-warlike which
πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν καταστορέσουσι νεκρῶν.
all the country will-strew with-corpses

223 ᾤετο γάρ, εἰ προμαλάξειε τούτους, δυνήσεσθαι
he-thought for if he-should-soften-beforehand these to-be-going-to-be-able
δι᾽ αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην πληθὺν ἅπασαν ἀναδιδάξαι
through them also the other multitude all to-teach
μὴ ἐναντιοῦσθαι· γνώμης δέ, ὡς εἰκός, διημάρτανε.
not to-oppose of-judgment but as likely he-erred

πληχθέντας γάρ φασιν ὑπὸ τῶν πρώτων ῥημάτων εὐθὺς
struck for they-say by the first words at-once
αὐτοὺς ἀήθους κακοῦ διηγήσει καταπαγῆναι καὶ ἀχανεῖς
them of-unaccustomed evil by-the-telling to-have-been-frozen and gaping
γενομένους φοράν τινα δακρύων ὥσπερ ἀπὸ πηγῶν
having-become flood some of-tears as from springs
ἀθρόαν ἐκχεῖν, τὰ γένεια καὶ τὰς τρίχας τῆς κεφαλῆς
all-together to-pour-out the beards and the hairs of-the head
τίλλοντας καὶ τοιαῦτα ἐπιλέγοντας·
plucking and such-things adding
"πολλὰ εἰσηνέγκαμεν εἰς εὐγήρω βίον οἱ λίαν εὐτυχεῖς, 224
much we-contributed for happy-in-old-age life the too fortunate
ἵνα ὃ μηδεὶς πώποτε εἶδε τῶν προγόνων ἡμεῖς θεασώμεθα·
so-that what no-one ever saw of-the ancestors we may-behold
τίσιν ὀφθαλμοῖς; ἐκκοπήσονται πρότερον μετὰ τῆς
with-what eyes they-will-be-gouged-out sooner with the
ἀθλίας ψυχῆς καὶ τῆς ἐπωδύνου ζωῆς ἢ τοιοῦτον ὄψονται
wretched soul and the painful life than such they-will-see
κακόν, ἀθέατον θέαν, ἣν οὔτε ἀκοῦσαι θέμις οὔτε νοῆσαι."
evil unseeable sight which neither to-hear lawful nor to-think
Καὶ οἱ μὲν τοιαῦτα ὠλοφύροντο. πυθόμενοι δὲ οἱ κατὰ 225
and they indeed such-things lamented having-learned and those in
τὴν ἱερόπολιν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην χώραν τὸ κινούμενον, ὥσπερ
the holy-city and the other country the being-moved as
ἀφ' ἑνὸς συνθήματος συνταξάμενοι, τοῦ κοινοῦ πάθους τὸ
from one signal having-formed-ranks the common suffering the
σύνθημα δόντος, ἐξεληλύθεσαν ἀθρόοι καὶ κενὰς τὰς πόλεις
signal having-given had-come-out in-throngs and empty the cities
καὶ κώμας καὶ οἰκίας ἀπολιπόντες μιᾷ ῥύμῃ συνέτεινον
and villages and houses leaving with-one rush they-hastened
εἰς Φοινίκην· ἐκεῖ γὰρ ὢν ἐτύγχανεν ὁ Πετρώνιος.
to Phoenicia there for being happened — Petronius

226 ἰδόντες δὲ τῶν Πετρωνίου τινὲς ὄχλον ἀμύθητον φερόμενον
having-seen and of-the of-Petronius some crowd untold being-carried
ἐβοηδρόμουν ἀπαγγέλλοντες, ἵνα φυλάττηται, πόλεμον
ran-to-help reporting so-that he-might-be-on-guard war
προσδοκήσαντες. ἔτι δὲ διηγουμένων, ὁ μὲν ἀφρούρητος
having-expected still and them-telling he indeed unguarded
ἦν, ἡ δὲ τῶν Ἰουδαίων πληθὺς ἐξαπιναίως ὥσπερ νέφος
was the but of-the Jews multitude suddenly like cloud
ἐπιστᾶσα πᾶσαν Φοινίκην ἐπέσχε, κατάπληξιν τοῖς οὐκ
having-stood-over all Phoenicia covered amazement in-those not
εἰδόσι τὴν τοῦ ἔθνους πολυανθρωπίαν ἐργασαμένη.
knowing the of-the nation populousness having-caused
227 καὶ βοὴ μὲν τοσαύτη τὸ πρῶτον ἤρθη μετὰ κλαυθμῶν
and shout indeed so-great the first was-raised with weepings
καὶ στερνοτυπιῶν, ὡς ἂν μηδὲ τὰς ἀκοὰς τῶν παρόντων
and breast-beatings as — not-even the ears of-those present
χωρεῖν τὸ μέγεθος· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπαύσατο πανσαμένων, ἀλλ᾽
to-hold the size nor for it-ceased them-having-ceased but
ἡσυχασάντων ἔτι συνήχει. ἔπειτα πρόσοδοι καὶ δεήσεις,
having-been-quiet still it-resounded then approaches and entreaties
οἵας ὁ καιρὸς ὑπέβαλλε· διδάσκαλοι γὰρ τοῦ παρόντος
such-as the occasion suggested teachers for of-the present
αὐταὶ αἱ συμφοραί. εἰς τάξεις δὲ ἓξ διενεμήθησαν,
the-very the misfortunes into ranks and six they-were-divided
πρεσβυτῶν, νέων, παίδων, πάλιν ἐν μέρει πρεσβυτίδων,
of-old-men of-young of-boys again in turn of-old-women
γυναικῶν τῶν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ, παρθένων.
of-women of-those in age of-maidens
228 ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Πετρώνιος ἐξ ἀπόπτου κατεφάνη, πᾶσαι
when and — Petronius from far-off came-into-view all
αἱ τάξεις καθάπερ κελευσθεῖσαι προσπίπτουσιν εἰς
the ranks as-if having-been-bidden fall to

ἔδαφος ὀλολυγὴν θρηνώδη τινὰ μεθ᾽ ἱκετηριῶν ἀφιεῖσαι.
ground wail mournful some with supplications sending-forth
παραινέσαντος δὲ ἀνίστασθαι καὶ προσελθεῖν ἐγγυτέρω,
having-urged and to-rise and to-approach nearer
μόλις ἀνίσταντο καὶ καταχεάμενοι πολλὴν κόνιν καὶ
hardly they-rose and having-poured-on-themselves much dust and
ῥεόμενοι δακρύοις, τὰς χεῖρας ἀμφοτέρας εἰς τοὐπίσω
streaming with-tears the hands both to behind
περιαγαγόντες τρόπον ἐξηγκωνισμένων, προσήεσαν.
having-brought-round like bound-men they-approached
εἶτα ἡ γερουσία καταστᾶσα τοιάδε ἔλεξεν· "ἄοπλοι μέν 229
then the council-of-elders having-stood such-things said unarmed indeed
ἐσμεν, ὡς ὁρᾷς, παραγενομένους δὲ αἰτιῶνταί τινες ὡς
we-are as you-see having-come but accuse some as
πολεμίους. ἃ δὲ ἡ φύσις ἑκάστῳ προσένειμεν ἀμυντήρια
enemies which but the nature to-each assigned defensive
μέρη, χεῖρας, ἀπεστρόφαμεν, ἔνθα μηδὲν ἐργάσασθαι
parts hands we-have-turned-away where nothing to-do
δύνανται, παρέχοντες αὑτῶν τὰ σώματα πρὸς εὐσκόπους
they-can offering our the bodies for well-aimed
τοῖς θέλουσιν ἀποκτεῖναι βολάς.
to-those wishing to-kill throws
γυναῖκας καὶ τέκνα καὶ γενεὰς ἐπηγαγόμεθά σοι καὶ 230
wives and children and families we-have-brought to-you and
διὰ σοῦ προσεπέσομεν Γαΐῳ μηδένα οἴκοι καταλιπόντες,
through you we-have-fallen-before Gaius no-one at-home having-left
ἵνα ἢ περισώσητε πάντας ἢ πάντας πανωλεθρίᾳ
so-that either you-may-save all or all in-utter-destruction
διαφθείρητε. Πετρώνιε, καὶ τὰς φύσεις ἐσμὲν εἰρηνικοὶ
destroy Petronius both in-the natures we-are peaceful

καὶ τὴν προαίρεσιν, καὶ αἱ διὰ παιδοτροφίαν φιλεργίαι
and in-the choice and the through child-rearing industries
τοῦτο ἡμᾶς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐπαίδευσαν τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα.
this us from beginning taught the practice
231 Γαΐῳ παραλαβόντι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν πρῶτοι τῶν κατὰ
with-Gaius having-taken-over the empire first of-those in
Συρίαν ἁπάντων ἡμεῖς συνήσθημεν, Οὐιτελλίου τότε, παρ᾽
Syria all we rejoiced-with-him Vitellius then from
οὗ διεδέξω τὴν ἐπιτροπήν, ἐν τῇ πόλει διατρίβοντος, ᾧ
whom you-succeeded the governorship in the city staying to-whom
τὰ περὶ τούτων ἐκομίσθη γράμματα, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἡμετέρας
the about these-things were-brought letters and from the our
πόλεως εὐαγγελιουμένη πρὸς τὰς ἄλλας ἔδραμεν ἡ φήμη.
city to-bring-good-news to the others ran the report
232 πρῶτον τὸ ἡμέτερον ἱερὸν ἐδέξατο τὰς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀρχῆς
first the our temple received the for the rule
Γαΐου θυσίας, ἵνα πρῶτον ἢ καὶ μόνον ἀφαιρεθῇ
of-Gaius sacrifices so-that first or even alone be-taken-away
τῆς θρησκείας τὸ πάτριον; ἐξιστάμεθα τῶν πόλεων,
of-the worship the ancestral we-withdraw from-the cities
παραχωροῦμεν τῶν οἰκιῶν καὶ κτημάτων, ἔπιπλα καὶ
we-give-up the houses and possessions furniture and
χρήματα καὶ κειμήλια καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἅπασαν λείαν
money and treasures and the other all plunder
εἰσοίσομεν ἑκόντες· λαμβάνειν, οὐ διδόναι, ταῦτα νομιοῦμεν.
we-will-bring willingly to-receive not to-give these-things we-shall-think
233 ἓν ἀντὶ πάντων αἰτούμεθα, μηδὲν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ γενέσθαι
one instead-of all we-ask nothing in the temple to-happen
νεώτερον, ἀλλὰ φυλαχθῆναι τοιοῦτον, οἷον παρὰ τῶν
new but to-be-preserved such as from the
πάππων καὶ προγόνων παρελάβομεν. εἰ δὲ μὴ πείθομεν,
grandfathers and ancestors we-received if but not we-persuade

παραδίδομεν ἑαυτοὺς εἰς ἀπώλειαν, ἵνα μὴ ζῶντες
we-hand-over ourselves to destruction so-that not living
ἐπίδωμεν θανάτου χεῖρον κακόν. πυνθανόμεθα πεζὰς
we-may-see-besides than-death worse evil we-learn infantry
καὶ ἱππικὰς δυνάμεις εὐτρεπίσθαι καθ' ἡμῶν, εἰ
and cavalry forces to-have-been-made-ready against us if
πρὸς τὴν ἀνάθεσιν ἀντιβαίημεν. οὐδεὶς οὕτως μέμηνεν,
against the dedication we-should-oppose no-one so is-mad
ὡς δοῦλος ὢν ἐναντιοῦσθαι δεσπότῃ· παρέχομεν ἐν
as slave being to-oppose master we-offer in
ἑτοίμῳ τὰς σφαγὰς ἄσμενοι, κτεινέτωσαν, ἱερευέτωσαν,
readiness the throats gladly let-them-kill let-them-sacrifice
κρεανομείτωσαν ἀμαχεὶ καὶ ἀναιμωτί, πάντα ὅσα
let-them-distribute-the-flesh without-fight and without-bloodshed all as-many-as
κεκρατηκότων ἔργα δράτωσαν. τίς δὲ χρεία στρατιᾶς;
of-conquerors works let-them-do what but need of-army
αὐτοὶ κατάρξομεν τῶν θυμάτων οἱ καλοὶ ἱερεῖς, 234
ourselves we-will-begin the victims the fine priests
παραστησόμενοι τῷ ἱερῷ γυναῖκας οἱ γυναικοκτόνοι,
going-to-bring to-the temple wives the wife-killers
ἀδελφοὺς καὶ ἀδελφὰς οἱ ἀδελφοκτόνοι, κούρους καὶ κόρας,
brothers and sisters the brother-killers boys and girls
τὴν ἄκακον ἡλικίαν, οἱ παιδοφόνται· τραγικῶν γὰρ ὀνομάτων
the innocent age the child-slayers tragic for of-names
δεῖ τοῖς τὰς τραγικὰς συμφορὰς ὑπομένουσιν.
it-is-needful for-those the tragic misfortunes enduring
εἶτ' ἐν μέσοις στάντες καὶ λουσάμενοι τῷ συγγενικῷ 235
then in middle having-stood and having-bathed in-the kindred
αἵματι — τοιαῦτα γὰρ τὰ λουτρὰ τοῖς εἰς ᾅδου
blood such for the baths for-those to Hades

φαιδρυνομένοις — ἀνακερασόμεθα τὸ ἴδιον ἐπικατασφάξαντες
being-made-bright we-will-mix-in the own having-slaughtered-besides
αὐτούς.
ourselves
236 ἀποθανόντων τὸ ἐπίταγμα γενέσθω· μέμψαιτ' ἂν οὐδὲ
having-died the command let-be-done would-blame — not-even
θεὸς ἡμᾶς ἀμφοτέρων στοχαζομένους, καὶ τῆς πρὸς τὸν
god us both aiming-at both the toward the
αὐτοκράτορα εὐλαβείας καὶ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς καθωσιωμένους
emperor caution and the toward the consecrated
νόμους ἀποδοχῆς· γενήσεται δὲ τοῦτο, ἐὰν ὑπεκστῶμεν
laws acceptance will-happen and this if we-depart-from
ἀβιώτου βίου καταφρονήσαντες.
unlivable life having-despised
237 ἀκοὴν ἐδεξάμεθα παλαιτάτην ὑπὸ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα
report we-have-received most-ancient by the in the Greek-world
λογίων παραδοθεῖσαν, οἳ τὴν τῆς Γοργόνος κεφαλὴν
learned-men handed-down who the — of-Gorgon head
τοσαύτην ἔχειν δύναμιν ὡμολόγουν, ὥστε τοὺς προσιδόντας
so-great to-have power agreed that those having-looked-at
εὐθὺς λίθους καὶ πέτρους γίνεσθαι. τοῦτο μύθου μὲν
at-once stones and rocks to-become this of-myth indeed
πλάσμα ἔοικεν εἶναι, τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς αἱ μεγάλαι καὶ ἀβούλητοι
fiction seems to-be the but truth the great and unwished-for
καὶ ἀνήκεστοι συντυχίαι ἐπιφέρουσιν. ὀργαὶ δεσπότου
and incurable chances bring angers of-master
θάνατον ἀπεργάζονται ἢ παραπλήσιόν τι θανάτῳ.
death produce or similar something to-death
238 νομίζεις, ὃ μήποτε γένοιτο, παραπεμπόμενον εἰ θεάσαιντό
do-you-think which never may-it-happen being-escorted if should-see
τινες τῶν ἡμετέρων εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τὸν ἀνδριάντα, οὐκ ἂν εἰς
some of-the ours into the temple the statue not — into

πέτρους μεταβαλεῖν, παγέντων μὲν αὐτοῖς τῶν ἄρθρων,
rocks to-change frozen indeed for-them the joints
παγέντων δὲ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν, ὡς μηδὲ κινηθῆναι δύνασθαι,
frozen and the eyes so-that not-even to-be-moved to-be-able
ὅλου δὲ τοῦ σώματος τὰς φυσικὰς κινήσεις μεταβαλόντος
whole but the body the natural movements having-changed
καθ' ἕκαστον τῶν ἐν τῇ κοινωνίᾳ μερῶν αὐτοῦ;
in each of-the in the fellowship parts its
τελευταίαν δέησιν, ὦ Πετρώνιε, ποιησόμεθα δικαιοτάτην· 239
last entreaty O Petronius we-will-make most-just
οὔ φαμεν μὴ δεῖν τὰ κελευσθέντα δρᾶν, ἀλλ'
not we-say not to-be-needful the-things bidden to-do but
ἀναχώρησιν αἰτούμεθα προσικετεύοντες, ἵνα πρεσβείαν
respite we-ask supplicating so-that embassy
ἑλόμενοι πέμψωμεν τὴν ἐντευξομένην τῷ δεσπότῃ.
having-chosen we-may-send the(-one) going-to-meet the master
τάχα που πρεσβευσάμενοι πείσομεν, ἢ περὶ θεοῦ τιμῆς 240
perhaps somehow having-gone-on-embassy we-shall-persuade either about of-god honor
πως διεξελθόντες ἢ περὶ νομίμων ἀκαθαιρέτων φυλακῆς
somehow having-gone-through or about of-customs indestructible guarding
ἢ περὶ τοῦ μὴ πάντων καὶ τῶν ἐν ἐσχατιαῖς ἐθνῶν,
or about the not than-all even the in remotest-parts nations
οἷς τετήρηται τὰ πάτρια, ἔλαττον ἐνέγκασθαι
for-whom have-been-preserved the ancestral-things less to-receive
ἢ περὶ ὧν ὁ πάππος αὐτοῦ καὶ πρόπαππος ἔγνωσαν
or about what the grandfather his and great-grandfather decided
ἐπισφραγιζόμενοι τὰ ἡμέτερα ἔθη μετὰ πάσης ἐπιμελείας.
confirming the our customs with all care
ἴσως ταῦτα ἀκούων ἔσται μαλακώτερος· οὐκ ἐν ὁμοίῳ 241
perhaps these-things hearing he-will-be softer not in like-state
μένουσιν αἱ γνῶμαι τῶν μεγάλων, αἱ δὲ σὺν ὀργῇ καὶ
remain the judgments of-the great the and with anger also

τάχιστα κάμνουσι. διαβεβλήμεθα, τὰς διαβολὰς ἐπίτρεψον
most-quickly tire we-have-been-slandered the slanders allow
ἰάσασθαι· ἀκρίτους καταγνωσθῆναι χαλεπόν.
to-heal unjudged to-be-condemned hard
242 ἐὰν δὲ μὴ πείσωμεν, τί λοιπὸν ἐμποδών ἐστιν ταῦτα
if but not we-persuade what remaining in-the-way is these-things
ἃ καὶ νῦν διανοῇ πράττειν; ἕως οὗ πεπρεσβεύμεθα, μὴ
which also now you-intend to-do until when we-have-gone-on-embassy not
ἀποκόψῃς τὰς ἀμείνους ἐλπίδας μυριάδων τοσούτων,
cut-off the better hopes of-tens-of-thousands so-many
αἷς οὐχ ὑπὲρ κέρδους ἀλλ᾽ ὑπὲρ εὐσεβείας ἐστὶν ἡ
to-whom not for gain but for piety is the
σπουδή. καίτοι γε ἡμάρτομεν τοῦτο εἰπόντες· τί γὰρ
zeal and-yet indeed we-erred this having-said what for
ἂν εἴη κέρδος λυσιτελέστερον ὁσιότητος ἀνθρώποις;"
— would-be gain more-profitable than-holiness for-men

XIII · PETRONIUS DELAYS

Petronius, moved and touched with some sympathy for the Jewish religion, resolves with his council not to hurry the artists, not to allow the embassy, and to give the people neither yes nor no, and writes to Gaius without accusing the Jews: the harvest is ripe and might be burned in despair, and Syria must provision his expected journey to Alexandria. Gaius reads the letter swelling with anger at Petronius' care for the Jews, but answers with praise for his foresight, hiding his rage, and orders the statue set up at once, since the harvest can now be in.

243 Ταῦτα δὲ διεξήεσαν ὑπ᾽ ἀγωνίας καὶ περιπαθήσεως
these-things and they-went-through through agony and deep-emotion
ἄσθματι πολλῷ, κεκομμένῳ τῷ πνεύματι, ῥεόμενοι κατὰ
with-panting much broken the breath streaming down

τῶν μελῶν ἁπάντων ἱδρῶτι, μετὰ φορᾶς ἀπαύστων
the limbs all with-sweat with flood of-unceasing
δακρύων, ὡς ἤδη συναλγεῖν τοὺς ἀκούοντας καὶ τὸν
tears so-that already to-grieve-with-them those hearing and —
Πετρώνιον — ἦν γὰρ καὶ τὴν φύσιν εὐμενὴς καὶ ἥμερος —
Petronius was for also in-the nature kindly and gentle
ὑπὸ τῶν λεχθέντων καὶ ὁρωμένων συνηρπάσθαι·
by the-things said and seen to-have-been-carried-away
ἐδόκει γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ λεγόμενα εἶναι δικαιότατα
it-seemed for to-him both the-things said to-be most-just
καὶ οἰκτρά τις ἡ τῶν ὁρωμένων περιπάθησις.
and piteous some the of-the seen emotion
ἐπεξαναστὰς δὲ μετὰ τῶν συνέδρων ἐβουλεύετο τὰ 244
having-risen and with the councilors he-deliberated the-things
πρακτέα καὶ ἑώρα τοὺς μὲν πρὸ μικροῦ παντάπασιν
to-be-done and he-saw those indeed before little altogether
ἐναντιουμένους ἐπαμφοτερίζοντας, τοὺς δὲ ἐνδοιαστὰς
opposing wavering those and doubtful
ἐπιρρέποντας ἤδη τῷ πλείονι μέρει πρὸς ἔλεον· ἐφ᾽
inclining already with-the greater part to pity at
οἷς ἥδετο, καίτοι τὴν φύσιν εἰδὼς τοῦ προεστῶτος
which he-was-pleased and-yet the nature knowing of-the presiding-one
καὶ ὡς ἔστιν ἀπαραίτητος ὀργήν.
and that he-is implacable in-anger
ἀλλ᾽ εἶχέ τινα καὶ αὐτός, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐναύσματα τῆς 245
but he-had some also himself as it-seems sparks of-the
Ἰουδαϊκῆς φιλοσοφίας ἅμα καὶ εὐσεβείας, εἴτε καὶ πάλαι
Jewish philosophy at-once and piety whether also long-ago
προμαθὼν ἕνεκα τῆς περὶ παιδείαν σπουδῆς εἴτε καὶ
having-learned for-the-sake of-the about education zeal or also
ἀφ᾽ οὗ τῶν χώρων ἐπετρόπευσεν, ἐν οἷς Ἰουδαῖοι καθ᾽
from when the regions he-governed in which Jews in

ἑκάστην πόλιν εἰσὶ παμπληθεῖς, Ἀσίας τε καὶ Συρίας, εἴτε
each city are very-numerous of-Asia both and Syria or
καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν οὕτω διατεθεὶς αὐτηκόῳ καὶ αὐτοκελεύστῳ
also the soul so disposed by-self-listening and self-moved
καὶ αὐτομαθεῖ τινι πρὸς τὰ σπουδῆς ἄξια φύσει. τοῖς
and self-taught some toward the-things of-zeal worthy nature to-the
δὲ ἀγαθοῖς ἀγαθὰς ὑπηχεῖν ἔοικε γνώμας ὁ θεός, δι'
but good good to-suggest seems judgments the god through
ὧν ὠφελοῦντες ὠφεληθήσονται· ὅπερ κἀκείνῳ συνέβη.
which benefiting they-will-be-benefited which also-to-him happened
τίνες οὖν ἦσαν αἱ γνῶμαι;
what then were the judgments
246 μὴ κατεπείγειν τοὺς δημιουργούς, ἀλλ' ἀναπείθειν
not to-hurry the craftsmen but to-persuade
εὖ τετεχνιτευμένον ἀπεργάσασθαι τὸν ἀνδριάντα,
well wrought to-complete the statue
στοχαζομένους καθ' ὅσον ἂν οἷόν τε ᾖ μὴ ἀπολειφθῆναι
aiming as-far as — possible — be not to-fall-short
τῶν διωνομασμένων ἀρχετύπων εἰς πλείονος χρόνου μῆκος,
of-the famous archetypes for of-more time length
ἐπειδὴ τὰ μὲν αὐτοσχέδια φιλεῖ πως ἐπιτέμνεσθαι, τὰ
since the indeed improvised-things are-wont somehow to-be-cut-short the
δὲ σὺν πόνῳ καὶ ἐπιστήμῃ μῆκος χρόνων ἐπιζητεῖν.
but with labor and skill length of-times to-require
247 ἣν ᾐτήσαντο πρεσβείαν, οὐκ ἐπιτρέπειν· ἀσφαλὲς γὰρ
which they-asked embassy not to-allow safe for
οὐκ εἶναι. τοῖς βουλομένοις ἐπὶ τὸν πάντων ἡγεμόνα
not to-be for-those wishing to the of-all ruler
καὶ δεσπότην ἐκκαλεῖσθαι τὰ πράγματα μὴ ἐναντιοῦσθαι.
and master to-refer the affairs not to-oppose
τῷ πλήθει μήτε ὁμολογεῖν μήτε ἀρνεῖσθαι·
to-the multitude neither to-agree nor to-deny

ἑκάτερον γὰρ φέρειν κίνδυνον. ἐπιστέλλειν Γαΐῳ μηδὲν μὲν 248
each for to-bear danger to-write to-Gaius nothing indeed
τῶν Ἰουδαίων κατηγοροῦντα, μὴ δηλοῦντα δὲ ἐπ᾽ ἀληθείας
the Jews accusing not declaring but in truth
τὰς ἱκετείας καὶ ἀντιβολίας αὐτῶν, καὶ τῆς περὶ τὴν ἀνάθεσιν
the supplications and entreaties their and of-the about the dedication
βραδυτῆτος αἰτιᾶσθαι τὸ μέν τι τὴν κατασκευὴν
slowness to-blame partly indeed somewhat the construction
χρόνου μεμετρημένου δεομένην, τὸ δέ τι καὶ τὸν καιρὸν
time measured needing the(-other) and some also the season
διδόντα μεγάλας ἀφορμὰς εἰς ἀναβολὴν εὐλόγους, αἷς
giving great grounds for delay reasonable to-which
συναινέσειν οὐκ ἴσως ἀλλ᾽ ἀναγκαίως καὶ αὐτὸν Γάιον.
to-be-going-to-assent not perhaps but necessarily also himself Gaius
ἐν ἀκμῇ μὲν γὰρ τὸν τοῦ σίτου καρπὸν εἶναι καὶ τῶν 249
in prime indeed for the of-the grain crop to-be and of-the
ἄλλων ὅσα σπαρτά, δεδιέναι δὲ μὴ κατ᾽ ἀπόγνωσιν
others as-many-as sown to-fear but lest in despair
τῶν πατρίων ἄνθρωποι καὶ τοῦ ζῆν καταφρονοῦντες
of-the ancestral-things men also the to-live despising
ἢ δῃώσωσι τὰς ἀρούρας ἢ ἐμπρήσωσι τὴν σταχυηφόρον
either they-ravage the fields or burn the grain-bearing
ὀρεινὴν καὶ πεδιάδα, φυλακῆς δὲ χρῄζειν εἰς ἐπιμελεστέραν
mountain and plain of-guarding but to-need for more-careful
τῶν καρπῶν συγκομιδήν, οὐ μόνον τῶν σπειρομένων
of-the crops gathering not only of-the sown
ἀλλὰ καὶ ὧν ἡ δενδροφόρος παρέχει.
but also of-what the tree-bearing provides
διεγνώκει μὲν γάρ, ὡς λόγος, πλεῖν εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν τὴν 250
he-had-decided indeed for as report to-sail to Alexandria the
πρὸς Αἰγύπτῳ, πελάγει δὲ οὐκ ἀξιώσει τοσοῦτος ἡγεμὼν
by Egypt by-open-sea but not will-deign so-great ruler

διά τε τοὺς κινδύνους καὶ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ
because-of both the dangers and because-of the size of-the
παραπέμποντος στόλου καὶ ἅμα διὰ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν
escorting fleet and at-once because-of the care
τοῦ σώματος, ἃ δὴ πάντα γίνεται ῥᾳδίως τὸν δι'
of-the body which indeed all comes-about easily the through
Ἀσίας καὶ Συρίας κύκλον περαιουμένῳ·
Asia and Syria circuit traversing
251 δυνήσεται γὰρ καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν καὶ πλεῖν καὶ
he-will-be-able for on each day both to-sail and
ἀποβαίνειν, καὶ μάλιστα τὰς πλείστας ναῦς ἐπαγόμενος
to-disembark and most the most ships bringing
μακράς, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὁλκάδας, αἷς ὁ παρὰ γῆν πλοῦς
long but not merchantmen for-which the along land voyage
ἀνυσιμώτερος, ὡς ταῖς φορτίσι διὰ πελάγους ἐστίν.
more-practicable as for-the cargo-ships through open-sea is
252 ἀναγκαῖον οὖν καὶ χιλὸν κτήνεσι καὶ τροφὰς ἀφθόνους
necessary then both fodder for-beasts and foods abundant
ἐν ἁπάσαις ταῖς Συριακαῖς πόλεσιν εὐτρεπίσθαι, καὶ
in all the Syrian cities to-have-been-made-ready and
μάλιστα ταῖς παράλοις.
most the coastal
253 ἀφίξεται γὰρ παμπληθὴς ὄχλος καὶ διὰ γῆς καὶ διὰ
will-arrive for vast crowd both by land and by
θαλάττης, οὐ μόνον ἀπ' αὐτῆς Ῥώμης καὶ Ἰταλίας
sea not only from very Rome and Italy
ἀναστάς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἑξῆς ἄχρι Συρίας ἐπικρατειῶν
having-set-out but also from the next as-far-as Syria provinces
ἐπηκολουθηκώς, ὁ μὲν τῶν ἐν τέλει, ὁ δὲ
having-followed the(-one) indeed of-those in office the(-other) and
στρατιωτικός, ἱππέων, πεζῶν, τῶν ἐν ταῖς ναυσίν, ὁ
military of-horsemen of-foot-soldiers of-those in the ships the(-other)

δὲ οἰκετικὸς οὐκ ἀποδέων τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ. δεῖ δὲ
and servile not falling-short of-the military it-is-needful and
χορηγιῶν οὐ πρὸς τὰ ἀναγκαῖα συμμεμετρημένων αὐτὸ
of-supplies not to the necessary measured itself
μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς περιττὴν δαψίλειαν, ἣν ἐπιζητεῖ
only but also to excessive abundance which seeks
Γάιος. τούτοις ἐὰν ἐντύχῃ τοῖς γράμμασιν, ἴσως πρὸς
Gaius these if he-meets the letters perhaps besides
τῷ μὴ δυσχεραῖναι καὶ τῆς προνοίας ἡμᾶς ἀποδέξεται
the not to-be-displeased also for-the forethought us he-will-approve
ὡς ποιησαμένους τὴν ὑπέρθεσιν, οὐ χάριτι τῇ τῶν
as having-made the postponement not for-the-favor the of-the
Ἰουδαίων, ἀλλ' ἕνεκα τῆς τῶν καρπῶν συγκομιδῆς.
Jews but for-the-sake of-the of-the crops gathering
Ἀποδεξαμένων δὲ τὴν ἐπίνοιαν τῶν συνέδρων, κελεύει 254
having-approved and the plan the councilors he-orders
γράφεσθαι τὰς ἐπιστολὰς καὶ ἐχειροτόνει τοὺς διακομιοῦντας
to-be-written the letters and appointed those going-to-carry-them
ἄνδρας εὐζώνους, ἐθάδας δὲ καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὰς ὁδοιπορίας
men well-girt accustomed and also to-the on the journeys
ἐπιτομῶν.
short-cuts
καὶ οἱ μὲν ἥκοντες ἀνέδοσαν τὰς ἐπιστολάς, ὁ δ' 255
and they indeed having-arrived handed-over the letters he but
ἔτι μὲν ἀναγινώσκων διῴδει καὶ μεστὸς ἦν ὀργῆς ἐφ'
still indeed reading swelled and full was of-anger at
ἑκάστῳ σημειούμενος· ὡς δὲ ἐπαύσατο, συνεκρότει τὰς
each marking when but he-stopped he-clapped the
χεῖρας "εὖ, Πετρώνιε", φάσκων "οὐκ ἔμαθες ἀκούειν
hands well Petronius saying not you-learned to-obey
αὐτοκράτορος· αἱ ἐπάλληλοί σε ἀρχαὶ πεφυσήκασιν· ἄχρι
emperor the successive you offices have-puffed-up until

τοῦ παρόντος οὐδὲ ἀκοῇ γνωρίζειν μοι δοκεῖς Γάιον,
the present not-even by-hearsay to-know to-me you-seem Gaius
οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν αὐτοῦ πεῖραν ἕξεις.
not after long of-him experience you-will-have
256 μέλει μὲν γάρ σοι τῶν Ἰουδαϊκῶν νομίμων, ἐχθίστου
it-is-a-care indeed for to-you for-the Jewish customs of-most-hated
μοι ἔθνους, ἀλογεῖς δὲ τῶν ἄρχοντος ἡγεμονικῶν
to-me nation you-disregard but the of-ruler imperial
προστάξεων.
commands
257 ἐφοβήθης τὸ πλῆθος· εἶτα οὐ παρῆσαν αἱ στρατιωτικαὶ
you-feared the multitude then not were-present the military
δυνάμεις, ἃς δέδιεν ἔθνη τὰ ἑῷα καὶ ἡγεμόνες αὐτῶν
forces which fear nations the eastern and leaders their
Παρθυαῖοι; ἀλλ᾽ ἠλέησας· εἶτα οἴκτῳ μᾶλλον ἐνέδωκας ἢ
Parthians but you-pitied then to-pity rather did-you-yield than
Γαΐῳ; προφασίζου νῦν ἄμητον, τὸν ἀπροφάσιστον οὐκ εἰς
to-Gaius plead now harvest the without-pretext not after
μακρὰν ἐνδεξόμενος αὐτὸς τῇ κεφαλῇ· συγκομιδὴν αἰτιῶ
long going-to-receive yourself on-the head gathering allege
καρπῶν καὶ τὰς εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν ἄφιξιν παρασκευάς·
of-crops and the for the our arrival preparations
εἰ γὰρ ἀφορία παντελὴς ἐπέσχε τὴν Ἰουδαίαν, οὐκ ἦσαν
if for barrenness total held — Judea not were
αἱ πλησιόχωροι τοσαῦται καὶ οὕτως εὐδαίμονες ἱκαναὶ
the neighboring-lands so-many and so prosperous sufficient
χορηγεῖν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια καὶ τὴν μιᾶς ἔνδειαν ἀναπληρῶσαι;
to-supply the necessities and the of-one want to-fill-up
258 ἀλλὰ τί προανίσταμαι τῶν χειρῶν; τί δέ μου τῆς
but why do-I-rise-before the hands why and my the
γνώμης προαισθάνονταί τινες; ὁ μέλλων τὰ ἐπίχειρα
judgment do-perceive-beforehand some the(-one) about-to the wages

καρποῦσθαι γινωσκέτω πρῶτος ἐξ ὧν ἂν πάθῃ. παύομαι
to-reap let-him-know first from what — he-suffers I-stop
λέγων, φρονῶν δὲ οὐ παύσομαι.”
speaking thinking but not I-will-stop
καὶ μικρὸν ὅσον ἐπισχών τινι τῶν πρὸς ταῖς 259
and little as-much-as having-paused to-one of-those at the
ἐπιστολαῖς ὑπέβαλε τὰς πρὸς Πετρώνιον ἀποκρίσεις,
letters he-dictated the to Petronius replies
ἐπαινῶν αὐτὸν ὅσα τῷ δοκεῖν εἰς τὸ προμηθὲς καὶ
praising him as-much-as by-the seeming for the forethought and
τὴν τοῦ μέλλοντος ἀκριβῆ περίσκεψιν· σφόδρα γὰρ τοὺς
the of-the future exact consideration greatly for those
ἐν ἡγεμονίαις εὐλαβεῖτο τὰς πρὸς νεωτεροποιίαν ἀφορμὰς
in commands he-was-wary-of the toward revolution resources
ὁρῶν ἔχοντας ἐν ἑτοίμῳ, καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς ἐν ταῖς
seeing having in readiness and most those in the
μεγάλαις καὶ μεγάλοις ἐπιτάττοντας στρατοπέδοις, ἡλίκα
great and great commanding armies how-great
τὰ πρὸς Εὐφράτῃ κατὰ Συρίαν ἐστίν.
those by Euphrates in Syria are
θεραπεύων οὖν τοῖς ὀνόμασι καὶ γράμμασιν ἄχρι καιροῦ 260
courting then with-the words and letters until occasion
τὸ ἔγκοτον ἐπεσκίαζε βαρύμηνις ὤν. εἶτα ἐπὶ πᾶσι
the rancor he-overshadowed bitter-in-wrath being then at all
γράφει κελεύων μηδενὸς οὕτω φροντίζειν ἢ τοῦ θᾶττον
writes bidding of-nothing so to-take-thought than of-the sooner
ἀνατεθῆναι τὸν ἀνδριάντα· καὶ γὰρ ἤδη τὰ θέρη, τὴν εἴτε
to-be-set-up the statue and for already the summers the whether
πιθανὴν εἴτε ἀληθῆ πρόφασιν, συγκεκομίσθαι δύνασθαι.
plausible or true pretext to-have-been-gathered to-be-able

Agrippa comes, as is his custom, to pay his respects, knowing nothing of Petronius' letter. Gaius, seeing his alarm, tells him that his good citizens, alone of mankind, refuse to acknowledge him as a god and have marched out of city and country against his order for the statue. Agrippa changes color, trembles, and would have fallen had bystanders not caught him, and is carried home insensible; Gaius grows angrier still, reasoning that if Agrippa so feels for the customs, the other Jews will resist the more. When Agrippa comes round he takes a fuller regimen only to help the nation, eats unwillingly, drinks only water, and writes a letter: he is a Jew, his fatherland Jerusalem, his ancestors kings and high priests, and he pleads for the nation, the city, and the Temple.

261 Μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ μέντοι παρῆν Ἀγρίππας ὁ βασιλεὺς κατὰ
after not long however was-present Agrippa the king according-to
τὸ εἰωθὸς ἀσπασόμενος Γάιον. ᾔδει δὲ ἁπλῶς οὐδὲν οὔτε
the custom going-to-greet Gaius he-knew but simply nothing neither
ὧν ἐπεστάλκει ὁ Πετρώνιος οὔτε ὧν ὁ Γάιος ἢ
of-what had-written — Petronius nor of-what — Gaius either
πρότερον ἢ ὕστερον· ἐτεκμαίρετο μέντοι διὰ τῆς οὐκ ἐν
before or after he-guessed however through the not in
τάξει κινήσεως καὶ τῆς τῶν ὀμμάτων ταραχῆς ὑποτυφομένην
order movement and the of-the eyes disturbance smoldering
ὀργὴν καὶ ἀνεσκόπει καὶ διηρεύνα ἑαυτὸν πάντῃ καὶ
anger and he-examined and searched himself everywhere and
πρὸς πάντα μικρά τε αὖ καὶ μεγάλα τὸν λογισμὸν
to all-things small both in-turn and great the reasoning
ἀποτείνων, μή τι δέδρακεν ἢ εἶπεν ὧν οὐ χρή.
stretching lest anything he-had-done or said of-what not it-is-needful
262 ὡς δὲ συνόλως οὐδὲν εὕρισκεν, ἐτόπασεν, ὅπερ ἦν εἰκός,
when and altogether nothing he-found he-conjectured as was likely
ἑτέροις τισὶ πικραίνεσθαι. πάλιν δὲ ὅτε ὑποβλεπόμενον
at-others some to-be-embittered again but when looking-askance

εἶδε καὶ τετακότα τὰς ὄψεις πρὸς μηδένα τῶν
he-saw-him and having-fixed the eyes on no-one of-those
παρόντων ἢ μόνον ἐπ᾽ αὐτόν, ἐδεδίει καὶ πολλάκις ἐρέσθαι
present than only on him he-feared and often to-ask
διανοηθεὶς ἐπέσχε, τοιοῦτον λαμβάνων λογισμόν· “ἴσως
having-intended he-checked-himself such taking reasoning perhaps
τὴν ἀπειλὴν πρὸς ἑτέρους οὖσαν αὐτὸς ἕλξω περιεργίας
the threat against others being myself I-shall-draw of-meddlesomeness
ὁμοῦ καὶ προπετείας καὶ θράσους ὑπόληψιν ἐξενεγκάμενος.”
at-once and rashness and boldness suspicion having-incurred
ἐπτοημένον δ᾽ οὖν καὶ ἀποροῦντα θεασάμενος αὐτὸν 263
terrified but then and at-a-loss having-beheld him
Γάιος — ἦν γὰρ δεινὸς ἐκ τῆς φανερᾶς ὄψεως ἀφανὲς
Gaius he-was for clever from the visible face hidden
ἀνθρώπου βούλημα καὶ πάθος συνιδεῖν — “ἀπορεῖς”,
of-man intention and feeling to-perceive you-are-at-a-loss
εἶπεν “Ἀγρίππα; παύσω σε τῆς ἀπορίας.
he-said Agrippa I-will-stop you of-the perplexity
ἐπὶ τοσοῦτόν μοι χρόνον συνδιατρίψας ἠγνόησας, ὅτι 264
for so-long with-me time having-spent-time did-you-not-know that
οὐ τῇ φωνῇ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ὄμμασι φθέγγομαι
not with-the voice only but also with-the eyes I-speak
μᾶλλον ἢ οὐχ ἧττον ἕκαστα διασημαίνων;
more or not less each-thing signifying
οἱ καλοί σου καὶ ἀγαθοὶ πολῖται, παρ᾽ οἷς μόνοις 265
the fine your and good citizens with whom alone
ἐξ ἅπαντος ἀνθρώπων γένους θεὸς οὐ νομίζεται Γάιος,
from all of-men race god not is-thought Gaius
ἤδη μοι δοκοῦσι καὶ θανατᾶν ἀφνιάζοντες· ἐμοῦ
already to-me seem even to-court-death rebelling me
κελεύσαντος ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ Διὸς ἀνδριάντα ἀνατεθῆναι,
having-ordered in the temple of-Zeus statue to-be-set-up

πανδημεὶ συνταξάμενοι τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῆς χώρας
all-together having-formed-ranks from-the city and the country
ὑπεξῆλθον, πρόφασιν ἱκετεύσοντες, τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς ἐναντία
went-out as-pretext going-to-supplicate in-the but truth contrary
τοῖς προστεταγμένοις ἐργασόμενοι."
to-the-things ordered going-to-do
266 μέλλοντος δὲ προσεπιφέρειν ἕτερα, ὑπ' ἀγωνίας
being-about and to-add other-things through agony
παντοδαπὰς χρόας ἐνήλλαττεν ἐν ταὐτῷ γινόμενος
all-kinds colors he-changed in the-same-time becoming
αἱμωπός, ὠχρός, πελιδνός.
blood-red pale livid
267 ἤδη δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ κεφαλῆς ἄκρας ἄχρι ποδῶν φρίκῃ
already and also from head top to feet with-shuddering
κατέσχητο, τρόμος τε καὶ σεισμὸς πάντα αὐτοῦ τὰ μέρη
he-was-seized trembling both and shaking all his the parts
καὶ τὰ μέλη συνεκύκα, χαλωμένων τε καὶ ἀνιεμένων τῶν
and the limbs confounded loosened both and relaxed the
σωματικῶν τόνων περὶ ἑαυτῷ κατέρρει καὶ τὰ τελευταῖα
bodily tensions about himself he-collapsed and the last
παρεθεὶς μικροῦ κατέπεσεν, εἰ μὴ τῶν παρεστώτων
having-been-paralyzed nearly fell if not of-those standing-by
τινὲς ὑπέλαβον αὐτόν· καὶ κελευσθέντες φοράδην οἴκαδε
some caught him and having-been-bidden carried home
κομίζουσιν οὐδενὸς συναισθανόμενον ὑπὸ κάρου τῶν
bring-him nothing perceiving through stupor of-the
ἀθρόων κατασκηψάντων κακῶν.
all-together having-fallen evils
268 ὁ μὲν οὖν Γάιος ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐξετραχύνθη τὸ κατὰ τοῦ
— indeed then Gaius still more was-exasperated the against the
ἔθνους μῖσος ἐπιτείνων· "εἰ γὰρ Ἀγρίππας" ἔφασκεν "ὁ
nation hatred intensifying if for Agrippa he-said the

συνηθέστατος καὶ φίλτατος καὶ τοσαύταις ἐνδεδεμένος
most-intimate and dearest and by-so-many bound
εὐεργεσίαις ἥττηται τῶν ἐθῶν, ὡς μηδὲ ἀκοὴν
benefactions has-been-overcome by-the customs so-as not-even report
ἀνέχεσθαι τὴν κατ᾽ αὐτῶν, ἀλλ᾽ ὑπ᾽ ἐκλύσεως μικροῦ
to-endure the against them but through collapse nearly
καὶ τελευτῆσαι, τί χρὴ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων προσδοκᾶν,
also to-die what is-it-needful about the others to-expect
οἷς μηδεμία πρόσεστιν ὁλκὸς δύναμις εἰς τοὐναντίον;"
to-whom no is-present drawing power to the-opposite
ὁ δὲ Ἀγρίππας τὴν μὲν πρώτην ἡμέραν καὶ τὸ πλεῖστον 269
— and Agrippa the indeed first day and the greatest
μέρος τῆς ὑστεραίας ὑπὸ κάρου πιεσθεὶς βαθέος οὐδὲν
part of-the next by stupor oppressed deep nothing
ἐγνώριζε τῶν ὄντων, περὶ δὲ δείλην ἑσπέραν μικρὸν
recognized of-the things-that-were about but late evening little
ὅσον τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐπάρας καὶ βεβαρημένους τοὺς
as-much-as the head having-raised and weighed-down the
ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐπὶ βραχὺ μόλις διοίξας ἀμαυραῖς καὶ
eyes for short-time hardly having-opened with-dim and
ἀχλυώδεσι ταῖς ὄψεσι τοὺς ἐν κύκλῳ παρεθεᾶτο, μήπω
misty the eyes those in circle looked-at not-yet
γνωρίζειν δυνάμενος ἐπ᾽ ἀκριβὲς τὰς ἑκάστων ἰδέας.
to-recognize being-able to exactness the of-each forms
πάλιν δὲ ὑπενεχθεὶς εἰς ὕπνον ἠρέμει τῆς προτέρας 270
again and having-sunk into sleep he-rested than-the earlier
ὑγιεινοτέρᾳ καταστάσει χρώμενος, ὡς ἐνῆν ἔκ τε τῆς
healthier condition enjoying as it-was-possible from both the
ἀναπνοῆς καὶ ἐκ τῆς περὶ τὸ σῶμα σχέσεως τεκμήρασθαι.
breathing and from the about the body state to-judge
περιαναστὰς δὲ ὕστερον ἐπυνθάνετο· "ποῦ τὰ νῦν εἰμι;
having-risen-up and later he-asked where the now am-I

271 μήτι παρὰ Γαΐῳ; μὴ καὶ αὐτὸς πάρεστιν ὁ
perhaps with Gaius can-it-be-that also himself is-present the
δεσπότης;" ἀποκριναμένων δέ· "θάρρει, παρὰ σαυτῷ
master having-answered and take-courage with yourself
διατρίβεις, Γάιος οὐ πάρεστιν·
you-are-staying Gaius not is-present
272 ἱκανῶς ἠρέμησας ὑπενεχθεὶς εἰς ὕπνον· ἀλλ' ἐπιστραφεὶς
sufficiently you-have-rested having-sunk into sleep but having-turned
καὶ μετεωρίσας σαυτὸν τὸν ἀγκῶνα πῆξον, γνώρισον τοὺς
and having-raised yourself the elbow fix recognize those
παρόντας· ἴδιοι πάντες εἰσί, φίλων καὶ ἀπελευθέρων καὶ
present your-own all are of-friends and freedmen and
οἰκετῶν οἱ μάλιστα τιμῶντες καὶ ἀντιτιμώμενοι" —
servants those most honoring and honored-in-return
273 ὁ δὲ — νήφειν γὰρ ἤρχετο — καθεώρα τὸ παρ' ἑκάστῳ
he and to-be-sober for he-began beheld the in each
συμπαθές· καὶ κελευσάντων τοὺς πολλοὺς μεταστῆναι τῶν
sympathy and having-bidden the many to-withdraw the
ἰατρῶν, ἵνα δι' ἀλειμμάτων καὶ τροφῆς καιρίου τὸ
doctors so-that through anointings and food timely the
σωμάτιον ἀνακτήσωνται, "πάνυ γὰρ" εἶπε "φροντιστέον
poor-body they-might-restore very for he-said must-take-thought
ὑμῖν ἐπιμελεστέρας τῆς εἰς ἐμὲ διαίτης;
by-you of-more-careful the toward me regimen
274 οὐ γὰρ ἐξαρκεῖ μοι τῷ βαρυδαίμονι λιμὸν ἀκέσασθαι
not for suffices for-me the ill-starred hunger to-cure
διὰ ψιλῆς καὶ εἰς εὐτέλειαν ἀπηκριβωμένης τῆς τῶν
through bare and to frugality exactly-measured the of-the
ἀναγκαίων χρήσεως; οὐδ' αὐτὰ δὴ ταῦτα προσηκάμην
necessities use nor very indeed these would-I-have-admitted

ἄν, εἰ μὴ ἕνεκα τελευταίας βοηθείας, ἣν ὀνειροπολεῖ
— *if not for-the-sake of-last help which dreams-of*
μου ἡ διάνοια τῷ ταλαιπώρῳ ἔθνει παρασχεῖν."
my the mind to-the wretched nation to-provide
καὶ ὁ μὲν δεδακρυμένος καὶ ἀναγκοφαγῶν δίχα 275
and he indeed tearful and eating-under-compulsion without
προσοψήματος οὐδὲ κράματος προσενεχθέντος ἠνέσχετο,
relish nor mixed-wine offered did-he-endure
ἀλλ' ὕδατος ἀπογευσάμενος "ἐπέχει μὲν" εἶπεν "ἡ τάλαινα
but water having-tasted holds indeed he-said the wretched
γαστὴρ ὃ ἀπήτει δάνειον· ἐμοὶ δὲ τί προσήκει ποιεῖν
belly what it-demanded loan for-me but what befits to-do
ἢ δεῖσθαι Γαΐου περὶ τῶν ἐνεστώτων;"
than to-entreat Gaius about the present-things
καὶ δέλτον λαβὼν ταῦτα ἐπιστέλλει· "τὴν μὲν κατ' 276
and tablet having-taken these-things he-writes the indeed by
ὄψιν ἔντευξιν, ὦ δέσποτα, φόβος με καὶ αἰδὼς ἀφείλαντο,
face meeting O master fear me and shame have-taken-away
ὁ μὲν ἀπειλὴν ἐκτρεπόμενος, ἡ δὲ τῷ μεγέθει
the(-one) indeed threat avoiding the(-other) and by-the greatness
τοῦ περὶ σὲ ἀξιώματος καταπλήττουσα·
of-the about you dignity striking-with-awe
γραφὴ δὲ μηνύσει μου τὴν δέησιν, ἣν ἀνθ' ἱκετηρίας 277
writing and will-make-known my the entreaty which in-place-of suppliant's-branch
προτείνω. πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, αὐτοκράτορ, ἐμπέφυκεν ἔρως
I-hold-out in-all men emperor is-implanted love
μὲν τῆς πατρίδος, τῶν δὲ οἰκείων νόμων ἀποδοχή· καὶ περὶ
indeed of-the fatherland of-the and own laws acceptance and about
τούτων οὐδεμιᾶς ἐστί σοι χρεία διδασκαλίας, ἐκθύμως μὲν
these no is to-you need of-teaching ardently indeed
στέργοντι τὴν πατρίδα, ἐκθύμως δὲ τὰ πάτρια τιμῶντι.
loving the fatherland ardently and the ancestral-things honoring

278 καλὰ δὲ ἑκάστοις, εἰ καὶ μὴ πρὸς ἀλήθειάν ἐστι, διαφαίνεται
fine and to-each if even not in truth it-is appear
τὰ οἰκεῖα· κρίνουσι γὰρ αὐτὰ οὐ λογισμῷ μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ
the own-things they-judge for them not by-reasoning more than by-the
τῆς εὐνοίας πάθει. γεγέννημαι μέν, ὡς οἶδας, Ἰουδαῖος·
of-the goodwill feeling I-was-born indeed as you-know Jew
ἔστι δέ μοι Ἱεροσόλυμα πατρίς, ἐν ᾗ ὁ τοῦ ὑψίστου
is and to-me Jerusalem fatherland in which the of-the highest
θεοῦ νεὼς ἅγιος ἵδρυται· πάππων δὲ καὶ προγόνων
god temple holy is-set of-grandfathers and and ancestors
βασιλέων ἔλαχον, ὧν οἱ πλείους ἐλέγοντο ἀρχιερεῖς,
kings I-obtained-the-lot of-whom the most were-called high-priests
τὴν βασιλείαν τῆς ἱερωσύνης ἐν δευτέρᾳ τάξει τιθέμενοι
the kingship than-the priesthood in second rank placing
καὶ νομίζοντες, ὅσῳ θεὸς ἀνθρώπων διαφέρει κατὰ τὸ
and thinking by-as-much-as god than-men differs in the
κρεῖττον, τοσούτῳ καὶ βασιλείας ἀρχιερωσύνην· τὴν μὲν
better by-so-much also than-kingship high-priesthood the(-one) indeed
γὰρ εἶναι θεοῦ θεραπείαν, τὴν δὲ ἐπιμέλειαν ἀνθρώπων.
for to-be of-god service the(-other) and care of-men
279 ἔθνει δὴ τοιούτῳ προσκεκληρωμένος καὶ πατρίδι καὶ ἱερῷ
nation indeed such allotted-to and fatherland and temple
δέομαι ὑπὲρ ἁπάντων· τοῦ μὲν ἔθνους, ἵνα μὴ τὴν ἐναντίαν
I-entreat for all of-the indeed nation so-that not the contrary
δόξαν ἐνέγκηται τῆς ἀληθείας, εὐσεβέστατα καὶ ὁσιώτατα
reputation it-receive to-the truth most-piously and most-holily
διακείμενον ἐξ ἀρχῆς πρὸς ἅπαντα τὸν ὑμέτερον οἶκον·
disposed from beginning toward all the your house
280 ἐν οἷς γὰρ ἐφεῖται καὶ ἔξεστι μετὰ νόμων εὐσεβεῖν,
in which-things for it-is-permitted and possible with laws to-be-pious
οὐδενὸς οὔτε τῶν Ἀσιανῶν οὔτε τῶν ἐν Εὐρώπῃ λείπεται
of-none neither of-the Asian nor of-those in Europe falls-short

τὸ παράπαν, εὐχαῖς, ἀναθημάτων κατασκευαῖς, πλήθει
the altogether in-prayers of-dedications in-furnishings in-number
θυσιῶν, οὐ μόνον ἐν ταῖς κατὰ τὰς δημοτελεῖς ἑορτὰς
of-sacrifices not only in those at the public feasts
ἀναγομέναις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν ταῖς καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν
offered but also in those on each day
ἐντελεχέσιν· ἐξ ὧν οὐ στόματι καὶ γλώσσῃ μηνύουσι
continual from which not by-mouth and tongue they-show
τὸ εὐσεβὲς μᾶλλον ἢ ψυχῆς ἀφανοῦς βουλεύμασιν οἱ
the piety rather than of-soul hidden by-counsels who
μὴ λέγοντες, ὅτι φιλοκαίσαρές εἰσιν, ἀλλ' ὄντες ὄντως.
not saying that Caesar-loving they-are but being really
περὶ δὲ τῆς ἱεροπόλεως τὰ προσήκοντά μοι λεκτέον· 281
about and the holy-city the fitting-things by-me must-be-said
αὕτη, καθάπερ ἔφην, ἐμὴ μέν ἐστι πατρίς, μητρόπολις
this as I-said mine indeed is fatherland mother-city
δὲ οὐ μιᾶς χώρας Ἰουδαίας ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν πλείστων,
but not of-one country Judea but also of-the most
διὰ τὰς ἀποικίας ἃς ἐξέπεμψεν ἐπὶ καιρῶν εἰς
because-of the colonies which it-sent-out at times to
μὲν τὰς ὁμόρους, Αἴγυπτον, Φοινίκην, Συρίαν τήν τε
indeed the neighboring Egypt Phoenicia Syria the both
ἄλλην καὶ τὴν Κοίλην προσαγορευομένην, εἰς δὲ τὰς
other and the Hollow so-called to but the
πόρρω διῳκισμένας, Παμφυλίαν, Κιλικίαν, τὰ πολλὰ τῆς
far-off settled Pamphylia Cilicia the many —
Ἀσίας ἄχρι Βιθυνίας καὶ τῶν τοῦ Πόντου μυχῶν, τὸν
of-Asia as-far-as Bithynia and the — of-Pontus recesses in-the
αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ εἰς Εὐρώπην, Θετταλίαν, Βοιωτίαν,
same way also to Europe Thessaly Boeotia

Μακεδονίαν, Αἰτωλίαν, τὴν Ἀττικήν, Ἄργος, Κόρινθον,
Macedonia Aetolia — Attica Argos Corinth
τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ ἄριστα Πελοποννήσου.
the most and best of-Peloponnese

XV · AGRIPPA'S LETTER: THE CITY AND THE TEMPLE

Jerusalem, Agrippa writes, is the mother city of colonies in every land and island, so that a kindness to it would benefit the whole world; Gaius has given Roman citizenship to whole towns of his friends, and Jerusalem was the first to hear of his succession. The Temple from the beginning admitted no hand-made form, and no enemy ever set one up there. Augustus honored it, and Gaius' grandfather Marcus Agrippa visited it in Herod's reign and adorned it with gifts; Tiberius too kept its worship untouched. When Pilate set up gilded shields in Herod's palace, the people, led by the king's four sons, threatened an embassy, which Pilate feared would expose his misrule.

282 καὶ οὐ μόνον αἱ ἤπειροι μεσταὶ τῶν Ἰουδαϊκῶν ἀποικιῶν
and not only the mainlands full of-the Jewish colonies
εἰσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ νήσων αἱ δοκιμώταται, Εὔβοια, Κύπρος,
are but also of-islands the most-esteemed Euboea Cyprus
Κρήτη. καὶ σιωπῶ τὰς πέραν Εὐφράτου· πᾶσαι γὰρ ἔξω
Crete and I-pass-over the beyond Euphrates all for except
μέρους βραχέος, Βαβυλὼν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων σατραπειῶν
part small Babylon and of-the other satrapies
αἱ ἀρετῶσαν ἔχουσαι τὴν ἐκ κύκλῳ γῆν Ἰουδαίους
those fertile having the from circle land Jews
ἔχουσιν οἰκήτορας.
have as-inhabitants

283 ὥστ' ἐὰν μεταλάβῃ σου τῆς εὐμενείας ἡ ἐμὴ πατρίς, οὐ
so-that if should-share your the goodwill the my fatherland not
μία πόλις ἀλλὰ καὶ μυρίαι τῶν ἄλλων εὐεργετοῦνται καθ'
one city but also countless of-the others are-benefited in

ἕκαστον κλίμα τῆς οἰκουμένης ἱδρυθεῖσαι, τὸ Εὐρωπαῖον,
each region of-the inhabited-world founded the European
τὸ Ἀσιανόν, τὸ Λιβυκόν, τὸ ἐν ἠπείροις, τὸ ἐν νήσοις,
the Asian the Libyan the in mainlands the in islands
πάραλόν τε καὶ μεσόγειον.
coastal both and inland
ἁρμόττει δέ σου τῷ μεγέθει τῆς τοσαύτης τύχης διὰ τῶν 284
it-befits and your the greatness of-the so-great fortune through the
εἰς μίαν πόλιν εὐεργεσιῶν μυρίας ἄλλας συνευεργετεῖν,
toward one city benefactions countless others to-benefit-together
ὅπως διὰ πάντων τῶν τῆς οἰκουμένης μερῶν ᾄδηταί
so-that through all the of-the inhabited-world parts be-sung
σου τὸ κλέος καὶ οἱ μετ᾽ εὐχαριστίας ἔπαινοι συνηχῶνται.
your the fame and the with thanksgiving praises resound-together
φίλων ἐνίων πατρίδας ὅλας τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς ἠξίωσας 285
of-friends some fatherlands whole of-the Roman you-deemed-worthy
πολιτείας, καὶ γεγόνασιν οἱ πρὸ μικροῦ δοῦλοι δεσπόται
citizenship and have-become those before little slaves masters
ἑτέρων· καὶ τῶν ἀπολελαυκότων τῆς χάριτος μᾶλλον
of-others and than-those having-enjoyed the favor more
ἢ οὐχ ἧττον οἱ δι᾽ οὓς γέγονεν ἥδονται.
or not less those because-of whom it-has-been rejoice
κἀγώ τίς εἰμι τῶν εἰδότων μὲν ὅτι δεσπότην ἔχω 286
and-I someone am of-those knowing indeed that master I-have
καὶ κύριον, κεκριμένων δὲ ἐν τῇ τάξει τῶν ἑταίρων,
and lord judged but in the rank of-the companions
ἀξιώματος μὲν ἕνεκα οὐ πολλῶν ὕστερος, εὐνοίας δὲ
of-dignity indeed for-the-sake not than-many behind of-goodwill but
οὐδενὸς δεύτερος, ἵνα μὴ λέγω πρῶτος.
to-none second so-that not I-say first

287 διά τε οὖν τὸ πεφυκέναι καὶ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν
through both then the to-be-by-nature and because-of the number of-the
εὐεργεσιῶν, αἷς με κατεπλούτισας, θαρρήσας ἂν
benefactions with-which me you-enriched having-been-confident —
ἴσως αἰτήσασθαι τῇ πατρίδι καὶ αὐτός, εἰ καὶ μὴ
perhaps to-ask for-the fatherland also myself if even not
τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν πολιτείαν, ἐλευθερίαν γοῦν ἢ φόρων
the Roman citizenship freedom at-least or of-tributes
ἄφεσιν, οὐδὲν ἀπετόλμησα τοιοῦτον αἰτήσασθαι, τὸ δὲ
remission nothing I-dared such to-ask the but
φορητότατον, χάριν σοὶ μὲν ἀζήμιον δοῦναι, τῇ
most-bearable favor for-you indeed costless to-give for-the
δὲ πατρίδι λαβεῖν ὠφελιμωτάτην· τί γὰρ ἂν γένοιτο
but fatherland to-receive most-beneficial what for — would-be
εὐμενείας ἡγεμόνος ὑπηκόοις ἄμεινον ἀγαθόν;
than-goodwill of-ruler for-subjects better good
288 ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις πρῶτον, αὐτοκράτορ, ἠγγέλη σου ἡ
in Jerusalem first emperor was-announced your the
εὐκταία διαδοχή, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἱεροπόλεως ἐπὶ τὰς παρ᾽
prayed-for succession and from the holy-city to the on
ἑκάτερα ἠπείρους ἐχώρησεν ἡ φήμη· προνομίας καὶ διὰ
each-side mainlands went the report of-privilege and for
τοῦτο τυγχάνειν ἐστὶν ἀξία παρὰ σοί.
this to-obtain it-is worthy from you
289 καθάπερ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς συγγενείαις οἱ πρεσβύτατοι παῖδες
as for in the kindreds the eldest children
τυγχάνουσι πρεσβείων, ὅτι πρῶτοι τὸ πατρὸς καὶ τὸ
obtain birthrights because first the of-father and the
μητρὸς ὄνομα τοῖς γονεῦσιν ἐφήμισαν, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον,
of-mother name on-the parents they-bestowed in-the same way
ἐπειδὴ τῶν ἀνατολικῶν πρώτη πόλις αὕτη σε προσεῖπεν
since of-the eastern first city this you addressed

αὐτοκράτορα, δικαία τυγχάνειν πλειόνων ἐστὶν ἀγαθῶν,
emperor just to-obtain of-more it-is goods
εἰ δὲ μή, τῶν γοῦν ἴσων.
if but not of-the at-least equal
τοσαῦτα δικαιολογηθεὶς καὶ δεηθεὶς ἅμα περὶ τῆς 290
so-much having-pleaded-justly and having-entreated at-once about the
πατρίδος εἶμι τὸ τελευταῖον ἐπὶ τὴν περὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ δέησιν.
fatherland I-come the last to the about the temple entreaty
τοῦτο, Γάιε δέσποτα, τὸ ἱερὸν χειρόκμητον οὐδεμίαν ἐξ
this Gaius master the temple hand-made no from
ἀρχῆς μορφὴν παρεδέξατο διὰ τὸ ἕδος τοῦ ἀληθοῦς
beginning form admitted because-of the seat of-the true
εἶναι θεοῦ· γραφέων μὲν γὰρ καὶ πλαστῶν ἔργα μιμήματα
to-be god of-painters indeed for and sculptors works imitations
τῶν αἰσθητῶν θεῶν εἰσιν· τὸν δὲ ἀόρατον εἰκονογραφεῖν ἢ
of-the perceptible gods are the but invisible to-portray or
διαπλάττειν οὐχ ὅσιον ἐνομίσθη τοῖς ἡμετέροις προγόνοις.
to-mold not holy was-thought by-the our ancestors
Ἀγρίππας ἐτίμησε τὸ ἱερὸν ἐλθών, ὁ πάππος σου, καὶ 291
Agrippa honored the temple having-come the grandfather your and
ὁ Σεβαστὸς διὰ τοῦ κελεῦσαι τὰς πανταχόθεν ἀπαρχὰς
— Augustus through the to-order the from-everywhere first-fruits
ἐπιστολαῖς πέμπειν ἐκεῖσε καὶ διὰ τῆς ἐντελεχοῦς θυσίας·
by-letters to-send there and through the continual sacrifice
καὶ ἡ προμάμμη σου ∗∗∗ ὅθεν οὐδείς, οὐχ Ἕλλην, 292
and the great-grandmother your (lacuna) whence no-one not Greek
οὐ βάρβαρος, οὐ σατράπης, οὐ βασιλεύς, οὐκ ἐχθρὸς
not barbarian not satrap not king not enemy
ἄσπονδος, οὐ στάσις, οὐ πόλεμος, οὐχ ἅλωσις, οὐ
implacable not faction not war not capture not
πόρθησις, οὐκ ἄλλο τι τῶν ὄντων οὐδὲν ἐνεωτέρισέ
sack not other anything of-the things-that-are nothing innovated

ποτε οὕτως εἰς τὸν νεών, ὡς ἄγαλμα ἢ ξόανον ἤ
ever so against the temple so-as image or wooden-image or
τι τῶν χειροκμήτων ἱδρύσασθαι.
anything of-the hand-made to-set-up
293 καὶ γὰρ εἰ τοῖς οἰκήτορσι τῆς χώρας ἀπήχθοντο δυσμενεῖς
and for if to-the inhabitants of-the country they-were-hateful hostile
ὄντες, ἀλλ' αἰδώς γέ τις ἢ φόβος εἰσῄει παραλῦσαί
being but shame at-least some or fear entered to-dissolve
τι τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς νενομισμένων ἐπὶ τιμῇ τοῦ
anything of-the-things from beginning customary for honor of-the
ποιητοῦ τῶν ὅλων καὶ πατρός· ᾔδεσαν γὰρ ἐκ τούτων
maker of-the whole and father they-knew for from these
καὶ τῶν ὁμοιοτρόπων τὰς τῶν θεηλάτων κακῶν φυομένας
and the like-things the of-the god-sent evils growing
ἀνηκέστους συμφοράς. ἧς χάριν αἰτίας ἀσεβὲς σπέρμα
incurable misfortunes of-which for-the-sake reason impious seed
σπείρειν εὐλαβοῦντο δεδιότες, μὴ θερίζειν ἀναγκασθῶσι
to-sow they-were-wary fearing lest to-reap they-be-compelled
τοὺς ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ παντελεῖ καρπούς.
the for destruction complete fruits
294 ἀλλὰ τί μοι ξένους καλεῖν μάρτυρας ἔχοντι πολλοὺς τῶν
but why for-me strangers to-call-as witnesses having many of-the
οἰκειοτάτων σοι παραστῆσαι; Μάρκος Ἀγρίππας εὐθέως,
most-akin to-you to-present Marcus Agrippa at-once
ὁ πρὸς μητρός σου πάππος, ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ γενόμενος,
the on mother's-side your grandfather in Judea having-been
ἡνίκα Ἡρῴδης ὁ ἐμὸς πάππος ἐβασίλευε τῆς χώρας,
when Herod the my grandfather reigned-over the country
ἀναβῆναι μὲν ἀπὸ θαλάττης εἰς τὴν μητρόπολιν ἐν
to-go-up indeed from sea to the mother-city in
μεσογείῳ κειμένην ἠξίωσε·
inland lying he-deemed-worthy

θεασάμενος δὲ τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ τὸν τῶν ἱερέων κόσμον καὶ τὴν 295
having-beheld and the temple and the of-the priests adornment and the
τῶν ἐγχωρίων ἁγιστείαν, ἠγάσθη χρῆμα νομίσας ὑπέρσεμνόν
of-the natives sanctity he-admired thing thinking very-august
τι καὶ παντὸς λόγου μεῖζον ἑωρακέναι, καὶ διήγημα οὐδὲν
some and than-every word greater to-have-seen and narrative none
ἦν ἕτερον αὐτῷ πρὸς τοὺς συνόντας τότε τῶν ἑταίρων
was other for-him to those being-with-him then of-the companions
ἢ ὁ τοῦ νεὼ καὶ τῶν κατ᾽ αὐτὸν ἁπάντων ἔπαινος.
than the of-the temple and of-the-things in it all praise
ὅσας γοῦν ἡμέρας διέτριψεν ἐν τῇ πόλει κατὰ χάριν 296
as-many-as at-least days he-spent in the city as favor
τὴν πρὸς Ἡρῴδην, ἐφοίτησεν εἰς τὸ τέμενος τερπόμενος
the toward Herod he-went to the precinct delighting
τῇ θέᾳ καὶ τῆς κατασκευῆς καὶ τῶν θυσιῶν καὶ τῆς
in-the sight both of-the structure and of-the sacrifices and of-the
περὶ τὰ ἱερουργούμενα λειτουργίας καὶ τάξεως καὶ τῆς
about the sacred-rites ministry and order and of-the
περὶ τὸν ἀρχιερέα σεμνότητος, ὁπότε ἀσκηθείη τῇ
about the high-priest majesty whenever he-was-adorned with-the
ἱερᾷ στολῇ καὶ κατάρχοι τῶν ἱερῶν.
sacred robe and began the rites
ἀναθήμασι δὲ κοσμήσας ὅσοις ἐξῆν τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ τοὺς 297
with-dedications and having-adorned as-many-as was-possible the temple and the
οἰκήτορας εὐεργετήσας ὅσα μὴ βλάψει χαριζόμενος,
inhabitants having-benefited as-many-as not will-harm granting
Ἡρῴδην εὐφημήσας πολλὰ καὶ εὐφημηθεὶς μυρία,
Herod having-praised much and having-been-praised countless-times
παρεπέμφθη μέχρι λιμένων, οὐχ ὑπὸ μιᾶς πόλεως, ἀλλ᾽ ὑπὸ
he-was-escorted as-far-as harbors not by one city but by

τῆς χώρας ἁπάσης, φυλλοβολούμενός τε καὶ θαυμαζόμενος
the country all showered-with-leaves both and admired
ἐπ᾽ εὐσεβείᾳ. τί δὲ ὁ ἕτερός σου πάππος Τιβέριος Καῖσαρ;
for piety what and the other your grandfather Tiberius Caesar
298 οὐχὶ ταὐτὰ φαίνεται προῃρημένος; ἐν γοῦν τρισὶ καὶ
not the-same-things appears having-chosen in at-least three and
εἴκοσιν ἔτεσιν οἷς αὐτοκράτωρ ἐγένετο τὴν κατὰ τὸ
twenty years in-which emperor he-was the in the
ἱερὸν ἐκ μηκίστων χρόνων παραδεδομένην θρησκείαν
temple from longest times handed-down worship
ἐτήρησεν, οὐδὲν αὐτῆς παραλύσας ἢ παρακινήσας μέρος.
he-kept nothing of-it having-dissolved or having-disturbed part
299 ἔχω δέ τι καὶ φιλοτίμημα αὐτοῦ προσδιηγήσασθαι,
I-have and something also ambitious-act his to-relate-besides
καίτοι μυρίων ἀπολελαυκὼς ὅτε ἔζη κακῶν· ἀλλὰ
and-yet countless having-enjoyed when he-lived evils but
τἀληθὲς φίλον καὶ σοὶ τίμιον. Πιλᾶτος ἦν τῶν ὑπάρχων
the-truth dear and to-you precious Pilate was of-the prefects
ἐπίτροπος ἀποδεδειγμένος τῆς Ἰουδαίας· οὗτος οὐκ ἐπὶ
governor appointed — of-Judea this-one not for
τιμῇ Τιβερίου μᾶλλον ἢ ἕνεκα τοῦ λυπῆσαι τὸ
honor of-Tiberius rather than for-the-sake of-the to-grieve the
πλῆθος ἀνατίθησιν ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τὴν ἱερόπολιν Ἡρῴδου
multitude dedicates in the in the holy-city of-Herod
βασιλείοις ἐπιχρύσους ἀσπίδας μήτε μορφὴν ἐχούσας μήτε
palace gilded shields neither form having nor
ἄλλο τι τῶν ἀπηγορευμένων, ἔξω τινὸς ἐπιγραφῆς
other anything of-the forbidden-things except some inscription
ἀναγκαίας, ἣ δύο ταῦτα ἐμήνυε, τόν τε ἀναθέντα
necessary which two these-things showed the(-one) both having-dedicated
καὶ ὑπὲρ οὗ ἡ ἀνάθεσις.
and for whom the dedication

ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤσθοντο οἱ πολλοί — καὶ περιβόητον ἦν ἤδη 300
when and perceived the many and notorious was already
τὸ πρᾶγμα—, προστησάμενοι τούς τε βασιλέως υἱεῖς
the matter having-put-forward the both of-king sons
τέτταρας οὐκ ἀποδέοντας τό τε ἀξίωμα καὶ τὰς τύχας
four not falling-short in-the both dignity and the fortunes
βασιλέων καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀπογόνους καὶ τῶν παρ᾽
of-kings and the other descendants and of-those among
αὐτοῖς τοὺς ἐν τέλει παρεκάλουν τὸ νεωτερισθὲν περὶ
them those in office they-entreated the innovated about
τὰς ἀσπίδας εἰς ἐπανόρθωσιν ἀγαγεῖν καὶ μὴ κινεῖν ἔθη
the shields to correction to-bring and not to-move customs
πάτρια τὸν πρὸ τοῦ πάντα αἰῶνα διαφυλαχθέντα καὶ
ancestral the before the all age preserved and
πρὸς βασιλέων καὶ πρὸς αὐτοκρατόρων ἀκίνητα.
by kings and by emperors unmoved
στερρῶς δὲ ἀντιλέγοντος — ἦν γὰρ τὴν φύσιν ἀκαμπὴς 301
firmly and him-refusing he-was for in-the nature unbending
καὶ μετὰ τοῦ αὐθάδους ἀμείλικτος—, ἀνεβόησαν· “μὴ
and with the self-will relentless they-cried-out not
στασίαζε, μὴ πολεμοποίει, μὴ κατάλυε τὴν εἰρήνην· οὐκ
make-faction not make-war not destroy the peace not
ἔστιν ἀτιμία νόμων ἀρχαίων αὐτοκράτορος τιμή. μὴ
is dishonor of-laws ancient of-emperor honor not
πρόφασις τῆς εἰς τὸ ἔθνος ἐπηρείας ἔστω σοι Τιβέριος·
pretext of-the against the nation insult let-be for-you Tiberius
οὐδὲν ἐθέλει τῶν ἡμετέρων καταλύεσθαι. εἰ δὲ φῄς, αὐτὸς
nothing wishes of-the ours to-be-dissolved if but you-say yourself
ἐπίδειξον ἢ διάταγμα ἢ ἐπιστολὴν ἤ τι ὁμοιότροπον,
show either edict or letter or anything similar

ἵνα παυσάμενοι τοῦ σοὶ διενοχλεῖν πρέσβεις ἑλόμενοι
so-that having-stopped of-the you to-trouble envoys having-chosen
δεώμεθα τοῦ δεσπότου."
we-may-entreat the master

302 τὸ τελευταῖον τοῦτο μάλιστα αὐτὸν ἐξετράχυνε καταδείσαντα,
the last this most him exasperated having-been-terrified
μὴ τῷ ὄντι πρεσβευσάμενοι καὶ τῆς ἄλλης αὐτὸν ἐπιτροπῆς
lest in-the being having-gone-on-embassy also of-the other him administration
ἐξελέγξωσι τὰς δωροδοκίας, τὰς ὕβρεις, τὰς ἁρπαγάς, τὰς
they-expose the bribe-takings the insults the robberies the
αἰκίας, τὰς ἐπηρείας, τοὺς ἀκρίτους καὶ ἐπαλλήλους φόνους,
outrages the abuses the untried and successive murders
τὴν ἀνήνυτον καὶ ἀργαλεωτάτην ὠμότητα διεξελθόντες.
the endless and most-grievous cruelty having-gone-through

XVI · AGRIPPA'S LETTER: THE PRECEDENT OF AUGUSTUS

Petitioned by the Jewish leaders, Tiberius writes angrily to Pilate and has the shields moved to the temple of Augustus at Caesarea; they bore no image, whereas this is a colossal statue for a sanctuary the high priest enters once a year, where the priests would slay their families and themselves sooner than see it brought in. Augustus confirmed the Jews' right to gather and send their sacred money, as Norbanus Flaccus' letter to Ephesus shows, and ordered daily whole burnt offerings at his own expense to the Most High God; Julia Augusta adorned the Temple with gifts. With such precedents the emperors plead with Gaius for the laws, and Agrippa recalls that Gaius freed him from his iron bonds.

303 οἷα οὖν ἐγκότως ἔχων καὶ βαρύμηνις ὢν ἄνθρωπος ἐν
as then rancorously being and bitter-in-wrath being man in
ἀμηχάνοις ἦν, μήτε καθελεῖν τὰ ἅπαξ ἀνατεθέντα
helplessness he-was neither to-take-down the-things once dedicated
θαρρῶν μήτε βουλόμενός τι τῶν πρὸς ἡδονὴν
daring nor wishing anything of-the-things for pleasure

τοῖς ὑπηκόοις ἐργάσασθαι, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐν τούτοις
to-the subjects to-do at-once and also the in these
σταθερότητα Τιβερίου μὴ ἀγνοῶν· ἅπερ ὁρῶντες οἱ
firmness of-Tiberius not not-knowing which seeing those
ἐν τέλει καὶ συνιέντες, ὅτι μετανοεῖ μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς
in office and understanding that he-repents indeed at the-things
πεπραγμένοις, δοκεῖν δὲ οὐ βούλεται,
done to-seem but not he-wishes
γράφουσι Τιβερίῳ δεητικωτάτας ἐπιστολάς. ὁ δὲ 304
write to-Tiberius most-supplicatory letters he and
διαναγνοὺς οἷα μὲν εἶπε Πιλᾶτον, οἷα δὲ
having-read-through what-sort indeed he-said-of Pilate what-sort and
ἠπείλησεν· ὡς δὲ ὠργίσθη, καίτοι οὐκ εὔληπτος ὢν
he-threatened how and he-was-angered and-yet not easily-caught being
ὀργῇ, περιττόν ἐστι διηγεῖσθαι, τοῦ πράγματος ἐξ αὑτοῦ
by-anger superfluous it-is to-narrate the thing from itself
φωνὴν ἀφιέντος.
voice uttering
εὐθέως γὰρ οὐδὲ εἰς τὴν ὑστεραίαν ὑπερθέμενος ἐπιστέλλει, 305
at-once for not-even to the next-day having-put-off he-writes
μυρία μὲν τοῦ καινουργηθέντος τολμήματος ὀνειδίζων καὶ
countless indeed for-the innovated daring reproaching and
ἐπιπλήττων, κελεύων δὲ αὐτίκα καθελεῖν τὰς ἀσπίδας
rebuking bidding and immediately to-take-down the shields
καὶ μετακομισθῆναι ἐκ τῆς μητροπόλεως εἰς τὴν ἐπὶ
and to-be-transferred from the mother-city to the on
θαλάττῃ Καισάρειαν, ἐπώνυμον τοῦ προπάππου Σεβαστήν,
sea Caesarea named-after the great-grandfather Augusta
ἵνα ἀνατεθεῖεν ἐν τῷ Σεβαστείῳ· καὶ ἀνετέθησαν.
so-that they-might-be-set-up in — Sebasteum and they-were-set-up

οὕτως ἀμφότερα ἐφυλάχθη, καὶ ἡ τιμὴ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος,
so both were-preserved both the honor of-the emperor
καὶ ἡ περὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀρχαία συνήθεια.
and the about the city ancient custom
306 τότε μὲν οὖν ἀσπίδες ἦσαν, αἷς οὐδὲν ἀνεζωγράφητο
then indeed then shields were on-which nothing had-been-painted
μίμημα· νυνὶ δὲ κολοσσιαῖος ἀνδριάς. καὶ τότε μὲν ἡ
image now but colossal statue and then indeed the
ἀνάθεσις ἐν οἰκίᾳ τῶν ἐπιτρόπων ἦν· τὴν δὲ μέλλουσάν
dedication in house of-the governors was the but going-to-be
φασιν ἐσωτάτω τοῦ ἱεροῦ κατ᾽ αὐτὰ τὰ ἄδυτα γίνεσθαι,
they-say innermost of-the temple in very the sanctuaries to-happen
εἰς ἃ ἅπαξ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ὁ μέγας ἱερεὺς εἰσέρχεται
into which once of-the year the great priest enters
τῇ νηστείᾳ λεγομένῃ μόνον ἐπιθυμιάσων καὶ κατὰ
on-the fast so-called only going-to-burn-incense and according-to
τὰ πάτρια εὐξόμενος φορὰν ἀγαθῶν εὐετηρίαν τε
the ancestral-customs going-to-pray-for flood of-goods good-harvest both
καὶ εἰρήνην ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις.
and peace for-all men
307 κἂν ἄρα τίς που, οὐ λέγω τῶν ἄλλων Ἰουδαίων,
and-if then anyone somewhere not I-mean of-the other Jews
ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἱερέων, οὐχὶ τῶν ὑστάτων, ἀλλὰ τῶν τὴν
but also of-the priests not of-the last but of-those the
εὐθὺς μετὰ τὸν πρῶτον τάξιν εἰληχότων, ἢ καθ᾽ αὑτὸν
next after the first rank having-obtained either by himself
ἢ καὶ μετ᾽ ἐκείνου συνεισέλθῃ, μᾶλλον δὲ κἂν αὐτὸς ὁ
or also with him should-enter-with rather but even-if himself the
ἀρχιερεὺς δυσὶν ἡμέραις τοῦ ἔτους ἢ καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ τρὶς
high-priest on-two days of-the year or also on-the same thrice
ἢ καὶ τετράκις εἰσφοιτήσῃ,
or also four-times should-go-in

θάνατον ἀπαραίτητον ὑπομένει. τοσαύτη τίς ἐστιν ἡ περὶ 308
death inexorable he-undergoes so-great some is the about
τὰ ἄδυτα φυλακὴ τοῦ νομοθέτου μόνα ἐκ πάντων ἄβατα
the sanctuaries guarding of-the lawgiver alone of all inaccessible
καὶ ἄψαυστα βουληθέντος αὐτὰ διατηρεῖσθαι. πόσους ἂν
and untouchable having-wished them to-be-kept how-many —
οὖν οἴει θανάτους ἑκουσίως ὑπομένειν τοὺς περὶ ταῦτα
then do-you-think deaths willingly to-undergo those about these-things
ὡσιωμένους, εἰ θεάσαιντο τὸν ἀνδριάντα εἰσκομιζόμενον;
consecrated if they-should-see the statue being-brought-in
ἐμοὶ μὲν δοκοῦσι γενεὰς ὅλας αὐταῖς γυναιξὶ καὶ τέκνοις
to-me indeed they-seem families whole with-very wives and children
ἀποσφάξαντες ἐπὶ τοῖς τῶν οἰκείων πτώμασιν ἑαυτοὺς
having-slaughtered upon the of-the own corpses themselves
τελευταῖον καθιερεύσειν. ταῦτα μὲν Τιβέριος ἔγνω.
last to-be-going-to-sacrifice these-things indeed Tiberius knew
τί δὲ ὁ σὸς πρόπαππος, ὁ τῶν πώποτε γενομένων 309
what and the your great-grandfather the of-the ever having-been
αὐτοκρατόρων ἄριστος, ὁ πρῶτος ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ τύχης
emperors best the first of-virtue for-the-sake and of-fortune
Σεβαστὸς ὀνομασθείς, ὁ τὴν εἰρήνην διαχέας πάντῃ
Augustus named the(-one) the peace having-spread everywhere
διὰ γῆς καὶ θαλάττης ἄχρι τῶν τοῦ κόσμου περάτων;
through land and sea as-far-as the of-the cosmos ends
οὐκ ἀκοῇ πυνθανόμενος τὰ περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ ὅτι οὐδέν 310
not by-hearsay learning the-things about the temple and that no
ἐστιν ἀφίδρυμα ἐν αὐτῷ χειρόκμητον, ὁρατὸν ἀοράτου
is image in it hand-made visible of-invisible
μίμημα φύσεως, ἐθαύμαζε καὶ προσεκύνει, φιλοσοφίας οὐκ
imitation nature did-he-wonder and do-obeisance of-philosophy not
ἄκροις χείλεσι γευσάμενος ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πλέον ἑστιαθεὶς καὶ
with-tip-of lips having-tasted but at greater-length having-feasted and

σχεδόν τι καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἑστιώμενος, τὰ μὲν
nearly somewhat on each day feasting partly indeed
μνήμαις ὧν ἡ διάνοια προμαθοῦσα τὰ φιλοσοφίας
by-memories of-which the mind having-learned-beforehand the-things of-philosophy
ἀνεπόλει, τὰ δὲ καὶ ταῖς τῶν συνόντων ἀεὶ λογίων
recalled partly and also by-the of-the being-with-him always learned-men
συνδιαιτήσεσι; κατὰ γὰρ τὰς ἐν δείπνῳ συνουσίας ὁ
companionships at for the at dinner gatherings the
πλεῖστος χρόνος ἀπενέμετο τοῖς ἀπὸ παιδείας, ἵνα μὴ
most time was-assigned to-the-things from education so-that not
τὸ σῶμα μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ τοῖς οἰκείοις ἀνατρέφοιτο.
the body only but also the soul with-the own might-be-nourished
311 τεκμηρίοις δὲ ἀφθόνοις πιστώσασθαι δυνάμενος τὸ βούλημα
with-proofs and abundant to-confirm being-able the intention
τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ προπάππου σου δυσὶν ἀρκεσθήσομαι. τὸ
— of-Augustus great-grandfather your with-two I-will-be-content the
μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον ἐπέστειλε τοῖς ἐπιτρόποις τῶν κατὰ
indeed for first he-wrote to-the governors of-the in
τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐπικρατειῶν, πυθόμενος ὀλιγωρεῖσθαι τὰς ἱερὰς
— Asia provinces having-learned to-be-slighted the sacred
ἀπαρχάς, ἵνα ἐπιτρέπωσι τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις μόνοις εἰς τὰ
first-fruits so-that they-might-allow the Jews alone into the
συναγώγια συνέρχεσθαι·
synagogues to-come-together
312 μὴ γὰρ εἶναι ταῦτα συνόδους ἐκ μέθης καὶ παροινίας
not for to-be these meetings from drunkenness and drunken-violence
ἐπισυστάσας, ὡς λυμαίνεσθαι τὰ τῆς εἰρήνης,
having-combined so-as to-outrage the-things of-the peace
ἀλλὰ διδασκαλεῖα σωφροσύνης καὶ δικαιοσύνης ἀνδρῶν
but schools of-temperance and of-justice of-men
ἐπιτηδευόντων μὲν ἀρετήν, ἀπαρχὰς δὲ ἐτησίους
practicing indeed virtue first-fruits and yearly

συμφερόντων, ἐξ ὧν ἀνάγουσι θυσίας στέλλοντες
contributing from which they-offer sacrifices sending
ἱεροπομποὺς εἰς τὸ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἱερόν.
sacred-envoys to the in Jerusalem temple
εἶτα κελεύει μηδένα ἐμποδὼν ἵστασθαι τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις 313
then he-bids no-one in-the-way to-stand to-the Jews
μήτε συνιοῦσι μήτε συνεισφέρουσι μήτε διαπεμπομένοις
neither coming-together nor contributing nor sending
κατὰ τὰ πάτρια εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα· ταῦτα γὰρ εἰ
according-to the ancestral-customs to Jerusalem these-things for if
καὶ μὴ τοῖς ῥήμασι, τοῖς γοῦν πράγμασιν ἐπέσταλται.
even not in-the words in-the at-least deeds has-been-enjoined
μίαν δὲ ἐπιστολὴν ὑποτέταχα πρὸς τὴν σὴν τοῦ δεσπότου 314
one and letter I-have-subjoined for the your of-the master
πειθώ, ἣν Γάιος Νορβανὸς Φλάκκος ἐπιστέλλει δηλῶν
persuasion which Gaius Norbanus Flaccus writes declaring
τὰ ὑπὸ Καίσαρος αὐτῷ γραφέντα.
the-things by Caesar to-him written
ἔστι δὲ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς τὸ ἀντίγραφον τόδε· Γάιος 315
is and of-the letter the copy this Gaius
Νορβανὸς Φλάκκος ἀνθύπατος Ἐφεσίων ἄρχουσι
Norbanus Flaccus proconsul of-Ephesians to-the-magistrates
χαίρειν. Καῖσάρ μοι ἔγραψεν, Ἰουδαίους, οὗ ἂν ὦσιν,
greeting Caesar to-me wrote Jews where-ever — they-be
ἰδίῳ ἀρχαίῳ ἐθισμῷ νομίζειν συναγομένους χρήματα
by-own ancient custom to-be-accustomed gathering money
φέρειν, ἃ πέμπουσιν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα· τούτους οὐκ
to-bring which they-send to Jerusalem these not
ἠθέλησε κωλύεσθαι τοῦτο ποιεῖν. ἔγραψα οὖν ὑμῖν, ἵν’
he-wished to-be-prevented this to-do I-wrote then to-you so-that
εἰδῆτε, ὡς ταῦτα οὕτως γίνεσθαι κελεύει.’
you-may-know that these-things so to-happen he-bids

316 ἆρ᾽ οὐκ ἐναργὴς πίστις ἐστίν, αὐτοκράτορ, τῆς Καίσαρος
is-it not clear proof is emperor of-the of-Caesar
προαιρέσεως, ᾗ περὶ τὴν τοῦ ἡμετέρου ἱεροῦ τιμὴν
choice which about the of-the our temple honor
ἐκέχρητο, μὴ βουληθεὶς τῷ κοινῷ τύπῳ τῶν συνόδων
he-had-used not having-wished by-the common stamp of-the associations
ἀναιρεθῆναι τὰς τῶν Ἰουδαίων εἰς ταὐτὸ συμφοιτήσεις,
to-be-abolished the of-the Jews into the-same comings-together
ἃς ἀπαρχῶν ἕνεκα ποιοῦνται καὶ τῆς ἄλλης εὐσεβείας;
which of-first-fruits for-the-sake they-make and of-the other piety
317 ἕτερον δέ ἐστιν οὐκ ἀποδέον τούτου δεῖγμα σαφέστατον
another and is not falling-short than-this proof clearest
τῆς βουλήσεως τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ· διετάξατο γὰρ ἐκ τῶν
of-the will — of-Augustus he-ordained for from the
ἰδίων προσόδων ἀνάγεσθαι θυσίας ἐντελεχεῖς ὁλοκαύτους
own revenues to-be-offered sacrifices continual whole-burnt-offerings
τῷ ὑψίστῳ θεῷ καθ᾽ ἑκάστην ἡμέραν, αἳ καὶ μέχρι
to-the highest god on each day which even until
νῦν ἐπιτελοῦνται· ἄρνες εἰσὶ δύο καὶ ταῦρος τὰ ἱερεῖα,
now are-performed lambs are two and bull the victims
οἷς Καῖσαρ ἐφαίδρυνε τὸν βωμὸν ἐπιστάμενος σαφῶς,
with-which Caesar brightened the altar knowing clearly
ὅτι οὐδέν ἐστιν ἀφίδρυμα οὔτε φανερὸν οὔτε ἀφανές·
that no is image neither visible nor invisible
318 ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὁ τοσοῦτος ἡγεμὼν καὶ φιλόσοφος οὐδενὸς
but for the so-great ruler and philosopher to-none
δεύτερος ἐλογίσατο παρ᾽ ἑαυτῷ, ὅτι ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστιν ἐν
second reckoned with himself that necessary it-is among
τοῖς περιγείοις ἐξαίρετον ἀπονενεμῆσθαι τόπον ἱερὸν τῷ
the earthly-things exceptional to-have-been-assigned place sacred to-the

ἀοράτῳ θεῷ μηδὲν ὁρατὸν ἀπεικόνισμα περιέξοντα πρὸς
invisible god no visible likeness going-to-contain for
μετουσίαν ἐλπίδων χρηστῶν καὶ ἀπόλαυσιν ἀγαθῶν τελείων.
sharing of-hopes good and enjoyment of-goods perfect
ὑφηγητῇ τοιούτῳ τῆς εὐσεβείας χρησαμένη καὶ ἡ 319
guide such of-the piety having-used also the
προμάμμη σου Ἰουλία Σεβαστὴ κατεκόσμησε τὸν νεὼν
great-grandmother your Julia Augusta adorned the temple
χρυσαῖς φιάλαις καὶ σπονδείοις καὶ ἄλλων ἀναθημάτων
with-golden bowls and libation-cups and of-other dedications
πολυτελεστάτων πλήθει· τί παθοῦσα καὶ αὕτη,
most-costly with-a-multitude what having-experienced also she
μηδενὸς ἔνδον ὄντος ἀφιδρύματος; ἀσθενέστεραι γάρ πώς
no inside being image weaker for somehow
εἰσιν αἱ γνῶμαι τῶν γυναικῶν ἔξω τῶν αἰσθητῶν
are the judgments of-the women apart-from the perceptible-things
μηδὲν ἰσχύουσαι νοητὸν καταλαβεῖν.
nothing being-able intelligible to-grasp
ἡ δέ γε καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅλον τὸ γένος 320
she but at-least as in the other-things whole the sex
κἀν τούτῳ διήνεγκεν, ὑπὸ παιδείας ἀκράτου φύσει καὶ
also-in this excelled by education unmixed by-nature and
μελέτῃ περιγεγενημένη, ἀρρενωθεῖσα τὸν λογισμόν, ὃς
practice having-prevailed having-been-made-manly in-the reasoning which
οὕτως ὀξυδερκὴς ἐγεγένητο, ὡς μᾶλλον τὰ νοητὰ
so sharp-sighted had-become so-as rather the intelligible-things
καταλαμβάνειν τῶν αἰσθητῶν καὶ ταῦτα νομίζειν
to-grasp than-the perceptible and these-things to-think
ἐκείνων εἶναι σκιάς.
of-those to-be shadows

321 ἔχων οὖν, δέσποτα, τῆς ἡμερωτέρας προαιρέσεως τοιαῦτα
having then master of-the gentler choice such
παραδείγματα, πάντα οἰκειότατα καὶ συγγενέστατα ἀφ᾽
examples all most-akin and most-kindred from
ὧν ἐσπάρης καὶ ἀνέβλαστες καὶ τοσοῦτον ηὐξήθης,
whom you-were-sown and sprang-up and so-greatly grew
διατήρησον ἃ κἀκείνων ἕκαστος.
preserve what also-of-those each
322 παρακλητεύουσι τοῖς νόμοις αὐτοκράτορες πρὸς
plead-as-advocates for-the laws emperors to
αὐτοκράτορα, Σεβαστοὶ πρὸς Σεβαστόν, πάπποι καὶ
emperor Augusti to Augustus grandfathers and
πρόγονοι πρὸς ἔκγονον, πλείους πρὸς ἕνα, μονονουχὶ
ancestors to descendant more to one almost
φάσκοντες· ἐν ταῖς ἡμετέραις βουλήσεσιν ἃ μέχρι καὶ
saying in the our wills what until even
τήμερον ἐφυλάχθη νόμιμα μὴ καθέλῃς· καὶ γὰρ εἰ μηδὲν
today has-been-preserved customs not destroy and for if nothing
ἐκ τῆς καταλύσεως αὐτῶν ἀπαντηθείη παλίμφημον, ἀλλ᾽ ἥ
from the dissolution their should-result ill-omened but the
γε τοῦ μέλλοντος ἀδηλότης καὶ τοῖς θαρραλεωτάτοις, εἰ μὴ
at-least of-the future uncertainty even to-the most-daring if not
καταφρονηταὶ τῶν θείων εἰσίν, οὐ παντελῶς ἐστιν ἄφοβος.
despisers of-the divine-things they-are not altogether is fearless
323 ἐὰν καταλέγωμαι τὰς εἰς ἐμαυτὸν ἐκ σοῦ γενομένας
if I-enumerate the toward myself from you having-come
εὐεργεσίας, ἐπιλείψει με ἡ ἡμέρα, πρὸς τῷ μηδὲ ἁρμόττον
benefactions will-fail me the day besides the not-even fitting
εἶναι προηγούμενον ἔργον πάρεργον ἑτέρου ποιεῖσθαι
to-be principal work by-work of-another to-make

λόγου· κἂν ἡσυχάζω μέντοι, τὰ πράγματα αὐτὰ βοᾷ καὶ
speech even-if I-keep-quiet however the things themselves cry and
φωνὴν ἀφίησιν. ἔλυσάς με σιδήρῳ δεδεμένον· τίς οὐκ οἶδεν;
voice utter you-freed me with-iron bound who not knows

XVII · GAIUS RELENTS, AND REPENTS

Agrippa ends by offering to give up all his honors and his kingdom for the one favor that the Temple be left untouched, or else asking to be put out of life. Gaius reads the letter angry and yet moved, blaming Agrippa's partiality for his people while praising his candor, and he writes to Petronius that nothing should be changed in the Temple. But he mixes fear into the favor, ordering that no one outside Jerusalem be hindered from setting up altars or shrines to him, and he soon repents, planning another statue made at Rome. His whole nature is faithless: he frees prisoners and binds them again, and makes his gifts a trap.

ἀλλὰ μὴ χαλεπωτέροις δεσμοῖς, αὐτοκράτορ, ἐπισφίγξῃς· 324
but not with-harsher bonds emperor bind-fast
οἱ μὲν γὰρ λυθέντες μέρει περιβέβληντο τοῦ σώματος,
the indeed for loosed on-part were-put-around of-the body
οἱ δὲ νῦν προσδοκώμενοι ψυχῆς εἰσιν, ὅλην αὐτὴν δι'
the but now expected of-soul are whole it through
ὅλων μέλλοντες πιέζειν.
wholly being-about to-press
τὸν ἐπικρεμάμενον ἀεὶ τοῦ θανάτου φόβον ἀπώσω καὶ 325
the hanging always of-the death fear you-thrust-away and
τεθνεῶτα τῷ δέει ζωπυρήσας καθάπερ ἐκ παλιγγενεσίας
dead through-the fear having-rekindled as from rebirth
ἀνήγειρας· διατήρησον τὴν χάριν, αὐτοκράτορ, ἵνα μὴ ὁ
you-raised preserve the favor emperor so-that not —
σὸς Ἀγρίππας ἀποτάξηται τῷ βίῳ· δόξω γὰρ οὐ τοῦ
your Agrippa bid-farewell to-the life I-shall-seem for not of-the

σωθῆναι χάριν ἀφεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ βαρυτέρας
to-be-saved for-the-sake to-have-been-released rather than of-the heavier
ἐνδεξάμενος συμφορὰς ἐπισημότερον τελευτῆσαι.
having-received misfortunes more-conspicuously to-die
326 τὸν μέγιστον καὶ εὐτυχέστατον ἐν ἀνθρώποις κλῆρον
the greatest and most-fortunate among men lot
ἐχαρίσω μοι, βασιλείαν, πάλαι μὲν μιᾶς χώρας, αὖθις
you-granted me kingdom long-ago indeed of-one country again
δὲ καὶ ἑτέρας μείζονος, τὴν Τραχωνῖτιν λεγομένην καὶ
and also of-another greater — Trachonitis so-called and
τὴν Γαλιλαίαν συνάψας· μὴ τὰ πρὸς περιουσίαν μοι
— Galilee having-joined not the-things for abundance to-me
χαρισάμενος, ὦ δέσποτα, τὰ ἀναγκαῖα ἀφέλῃς μηδὲ εἰς
having-granted O master the necessities take-away nor into
φῶς ἀναγαγὼν τηλαυγέστατον ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς εἰς βαθύτατον
light having-brought most-far-shining from beginning into deepest
σκότος ῥίψῃς.
darkness hurl
327 ἐξίσταμαι τῶν λαμπρῶν ἐκείνων, τὴν πρὸ μικροῦ τύχην οὐ
I-renounce the brilliant those the before little fortune not
παραιτοῦμαι, πάντα ὑπαλλάττομαι ἑνός, τοῦ μὴ κινηθῆναι
I-decline all-things I-exchange for-one the not to-be-moved
τὰ πάτρια. τίς γὰρ ἄν μου γένοιτο λόγος ἢ παρὰ τοῖς
the ancestral-things what for — of-me would-be account either among the
ὁμοφύλοις ἢ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις; ἀνάγκη
kinsmen or among the other all men necessity
γὰρ δυοῖν θάτερον ἢ προδότην τῶν ἰδίων ἢ σοὶ μηκέτι
for of-two the-one either traitor of-the own or to-you no-longer
ὁμοίως φίλον νομισθῆναι· ὧν τί ἂν εἴη μεῖζον κακόν;
alike friend to-be-thought of-which what — would-be greater evil

εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῇ τάξει τῶν ἑταίρων ἔτι καταριθμοῦμαι, 328
if indeed for in the rank of-the companions still I-am-counted
προδοσίας ἐξοίσομαι δόξαν, ἐὰν μήτε ἡ πατρὶς ἀπαθὴς
of-treason I-shall-incur reputation if neither the fatherland unharmed
παντὸς κακοῦ διαφυλαχθῇ μήτε τὸ ἱερὸν ἄψαυστον· τὰ γὰρ
of-every evil be-preserved nor the temple untouched the for
τῶν ἑταίρων καὶ προσπεφευγότων ταῖς αὐτοκρατορικαῖς
of-the companions and having-fled to-the imperial
ἐπιφανείαις ὑμεῖς οἱ μεγάλοι διασῴζετε.
eminences you the great preserve
εἰ δὲ ὑποικουρεῖ τί σου τὴν διάνοιαν ἔχθος, μὴ δήσῃς 329
if but smolders some your the mind enmity not bind
ὡς Τιβέριος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν τοῦ δεθῆναί ποτε αὖθις ἐλπίδα
as Tiberius but also the of-the to-be-bound ever again hope
συνανελὼν κέλευσον ἐκποδὼν αὐτίκα γενέσθαι· τί
having-taken-away-with bid out-of-the-way at-once to-become what
γὰρ ἐμοὶ ζῆν καλόν, ᾧ μία σωτηρίας ἐλπὶς ἦν τὸ
for to-me to-live fine to-whom one of-safety hope was the
σὸν εὐμενές;"
your kindness
Ταῦτα γράψας καὶ σφραγισάμενος πέμπει Γαΐῳ καὶ 330
these-things having-written and having-sealed be-sends to-Gaius and
συγκλεισάμενος οἴκοι κατέμενεν, ἀγωνιῶν καὶ συγκεχυμένος
having-shut-himself at-home remained agonizing and confounded
καὶ πῶς ἐντύχοι μάλιστα φροντίζων· οὐ γὰρ βραχὺς
and how it-might-meet most taking-thought not for small
ἐπέρριπτο κίνδυνος, ἀλλ' ὁ περὶ ἀναστάσεως καὶ
had-been-thrown danger but the about expulsion and
ἀνδραποδισμοῦ καὶ παντελοῦς πορθήσεως, οὐ μόνον τοῖς
enslavement and complete sacking not only for-those

τὴν ἱερὰν χώραν κατοικοῦσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς πανταχοῦ
the sacred land inhabiting but also for-those everywhere
τῆς οἰκουμένης Ἰουδαίοις.
of-the inhabited-world Jews
331 λαβὼν δὲ καὶ διαναγινώσκων ἐφ᾽ ἑκάστῳ τῶν νοημάτων
having-received and and reading-through at each of-the thoughts
ἅμα μὲν ᾤδει, μὴ κατορθουμένου τοῦ βουλήματος, ἅμα
at-once indeed he-swelled not succeeding the intention at-once
δὲ καὶ ἐπεκλᾶτο ταῖς δικαιολογίαις ὁμοῦ καὶ δεήσεσι,
and also he-was-softened by-the pleas together and entreaties
καὶ τὸν Ἀγρίππαν τῇ μὲν ἐπῄνει, τῇ δὲ ἐμέμφετο·
and — Agrippa partly indeed praised partly and blamed
332 ᾐτιᾶτο μὲν τῆς εἰς τοὺς ὁμοφύλους ἄγαν ἀρεσκείας
he-accused indeed for-the toward the kinsmen excessive complaisance
μόνους ἀνθρώπων ἀφηνιάζοντας καὶ ἐκτρεπομένους αὐτοῦ
alone of-men rebelling and turning-from his
τὴν ἐκθέωσιν, ἐπῄνει δὲ τὸ μηδὲν ἐν ἑαυτῷ συσκιάζειν καὶ
the deification he-praised but the nothing in himself to-overshadow and
ἐπικρύπτειν, ἅπερ ἔλεγεν εἶναι δείγματα ἐλευθεριωτάτων
to-conceal which he-said to-be proofs of-most-liberal
καὶ εὐγενεστάτων ἠθῶν.
and most-noble characters
333 ἡμερωθεὶς οὖν ὅσα τῷ δοκεῖν ἀποκρίσεων
having-been-softened then as-much-as by-the seeming of-replies
χρηστοτέρων Ἀγρίππαν ἠξίωσε, τὸ ἀνωτάτω καὶ
kinder Agrippa he-deemed-worthy the highest and
μέγιστον δωρούμενος, τὸ μηκέτι γενέσθαι τὴν ἀνάθεσιν·
greatest bestowing the no-longer to-happen the dedication
καὶ Ποπλίῳ Πετρωνίῳ, τῷ τῆς Συρίας ἐπιτρόπῳ, κελεύει
and to-Publius Petronius the — of-Syria governor he-orders

γραφῆναι μηδὲν ἐπὶ τῷ ἱερῷ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔτι νεώτερον
to-be-written nothing at the temple of-the Jews still new
κινεῖν.
to-move
ὅμως μέντοι καὶ τὴν χάριν διδοὺς ἔδωκεν οὐκ ἀκέραιον, 334
nevertheless however even the favor giving he-gave not pure
ἀλλ' ἀναμίξας αὐτῇ δέος ἀργαλεώτατον· προσγράφει γάρ·
but having-mixed in-it fear most-grievous he-adds for
"ἐὰν δέ τινες ἐν ταῖς ὁμόροις ἔξω μιᾶς τῆς μητροπόλεως
if but some in the neighboring-places except one the mother-city
ἐθέλοντες βωμοὺς ἢ ἱερὰ ἤ τινας εἰκόνας ἢ ἀνδριάντας
wishing altars or shrines or some images or statues
ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐμῶν ἱδρύεσθαι κωλύωνται, τοὺς
for me and the mine to-set-up be-prevented those
εἴργοντας ἢ παραχρῆμα κολάζειν ἢ εἰς αὐτὸν ἀνάγειν."
hindering either immediately to-punish or to him to-bring-up
τοῦτο δὲ οὐδὲν ἦν ἕτερον ἢ στάσεων καὶ ἐμφυλίων 335
this but nothing was other than of-factions and civil
πολέμων ἀρχὴ καὶ τῆς δωρεᾶς, ἣν ἐπ' εὐθείας ἐδόκει
wars beginning and of-the gift which on straight he-seemed
παρασχεῖν, πλάγιός τις ἀναίρεσις· ἔμελλον γὰρ οἱ μὲν
to-grant oblique some annulment were-going for the(-ones) indeed
κατὰ τὴν πρὸς Ἰουδαίους φιλονεικίαν μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ πρὸς
through the toward Jews contentiousness rather than the toward
Γάιον εὐσεβὲς καταπλήσειν τὴν χώραν ἅπασαν ἀναθημάτων,
Gaius piety to-fill the country all with-dedications
οἱ δὲ ἐν ὄψεσι ταῖς αὑτῶν τὴν τῶν πατρίων ὁρῶντες
the(-others) and in sight the their-own the of-the ancestral-things seeing
κατάλυσιν, εἰ καὶ πάντων ἦσαν πραοπαθέστατοι, μὴ
dissolution if even of-all they-were the-mildest not

ἀνέχεσθαι, Γάιος δὲ τοὺς παρακινηθέντας τιμωρίᾳ κρίνων
to-endure Gaius and those provoked by-punishment judging
μεγίστῃ ἀνατεθῆναι πάλιν κελεύειν τὸν ἀνδριάντα ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ.
greatest to-be-set-up again to-order the statue in the temple
336 προνοίᾳ δέ τινι καὶ ἐπιμελείᾳ τοῦ πάντα ἐφορῶντος καὶ
by-providence and some and care of-the all-things overseeing and
σὺν δίκῃ πρυτανεύοντος θεοῦ τῶν ὁμόρων παρεκίνησεν
with justice presiding god of-the neighbors stirred
οὐδὲν οὐδὲ εἷς, ὡς μὴ χρείαν τινὰ γενέσθαι, ᾗ πρὸ
nothing not-even one so-that not need some to-arise by-which instead-of
μετριωτέρας μέμψεως ἀπαραίτητος ἔμελλεν ἀπαντᾶσθαι
more-moderate blame inexorable was-going to-be-met
συμφορά.
misfortune
337 τί δὲ ὄφελος; εἴποι τις ἄν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἠρεμούντων
what but benefit would-say anyone — nor for being-quiet
ὁ Γάιος ἠρέμει, μετανοῶν ἐπὶ τῇ χάριτι ἤδη καὶ τὴν
— Gaius was-quiet repenting at the favor already and the
πρὸ μικροῦ ζωπυρῶν ἐπιθυμίαν· προστάττει γὰρ ἕτερον
before little rekindling desire he-orders for another
ἀνδριάντα δημιουργεῖσθαι κολοσσιαῖον χαλκοῦν ἐπίχρυσον
statue to-be-made colossal bronze gilded
ἐν Ῥώμῃ, μηκέτι τὸν ἐν Σιδῶνι κινῶν, ἵνα μὴ τῇ
in Rome no-longer the in Sidon moving so-that not by-the
κινήσει διαταράξῃ τὸ πλῆθος, ἀλλ᾽ ἠρεμοῦντος καὶ τῆς
moving he-might-disturb the multitude but being-quiet and from-the
ὑπονοίας ἀπηλλαγμένου κατὰ πολλὴν ἡσυχίαν ἀφανῶς
suspicion released in much quietness unseen
ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶ κομισθέντα λαθὼν τοὺς πολλοὺς
in the ships having-been-brought escaping-the-notice-of the many
ἐξαίφνης ἱδρύσηται.
suddenly he-might-set-it-up

Τοῦτο δὲ πράξειν ἔμελλεν ἐν παράπλῳ κατὰ τὴν 338
this and to-do he-was-going in coasting-voyage during the
εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀποδημίαν. ἄλεκτος γάρ τις αὐτὸν ἔρως
to Egypt journey unspeakable for some him love
κατεῖχε τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας, εἰς ἣν ἐπόθει σπουδῇ
held — of-Alexandria to which he-longed with-zeal
πάσῃ παραγενέσθαι καὶ ἀφικόμενος πλεῖστον χρόνον
all to-arrive and having-arrived very-long time
ἐνδιαιτηθῆναι, νομίζων τὴν ἐκθέωσιν, ἣν ὠνειροπόλει,
to-stay thinking the deification which he-dreamed-of
μίαν ταύτην πόλιν καὶ γεγεννηκέναι καὶ συναυξήσειν
one this city both to-have-begotten and to-be-going-to-help-increase
καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις παράδειγμα γεγενῆσθαι τοῦ σεβασμοῦ,
and to-the others example to-have-become of-the reverence
μεγίστην τε οὖσαν καὶ ἐν καλῷ τῆς οἰκουμένης·
greatest both being and in good-position of-the inhabited-world
τὰ γὰρ τῶν μεγάλων εἴτε ἀνδρῶν εἴτε πόλεων τοὺς
the for of-the great whether men or cities the
καταδεεστέρους ἄνδρας τε καὶ δήμους ζηλοῦν ἐπιχειρεῖν.
inferior men both and peoples to-emulate to-try
ἦν μέντοι καὶ πρὸς τἆλλα πάντα τὴν φύσιν ἄπιστος, 339
he-was however also toward the-rest all in-the nature untrustworthy
ὡς, εἰ καί τι χρηστὸν ἐργάσαιτο, μετανοεῖν εὐθὺς
so-that if even anything good he-did to-repent at-once
καὶ τρόπον τινὰ δι᾽ οὗ καὶ ταυτὶ λυθήσεται ζητεῖν
and way some through which also these-things will-be-undone to-seek
μετὰ μείζονος ἀνίας καὶ βλάβης.
with greater grief and harm

340 οἷον δή τι λέγω· δεσμώτας ἔλυσεν ἐνίους ἐπ᾽
as indeed something I-mean prisoners he-freed some for
οὐδεμιᾷ προφάσει, πάλιν ἔδησε βαρυτέραν τῆς προτέρας
no pretext again he-bound heavier than-the earlier
ἐπαγαγὼν συμφοράν, τὴν ἐκ δυσελπιστίας.
bringing-on misfortune the from despair
341 πάλιν κατέγνω φυγὴν ἑτέρων θάνατον προσδοκησάντων,
again he-condemned to-exile others death having-expected
οὐκ ἐπειδὴ συνῄδεσαν αὑτοῖς ἄξια θανάτου πεπραχόσιν
not since they-were-conscious to-themselves worthy of-death having-done
ἢ συνόλως βραχυτέρας ἡστινοσοῦν τιμωρίας, ἀλλὰ
or altogether of-shorter any-whatever punishment but
διὰ τὴν ὑπερβάλλουσαν ὠμότητα τοῦ δικαστοῦ μὴ
because-of the surpassing cruelty of-the judge not
προσδοκῶντες ἀποφεύξεσθαι. τούτοις ἕρμαιον ἦν ἡ φυγὴ
expecting to-be-going-to-escape to-these windfall was the exile
καὶ ἰσότιμος καθόδῳ τὸν περὶ ψυχῆς ἀνωτάτω κίνδυνον
and equal-in-value to-a-return the about life highest danger
ἀποδεδρακέναι νομίζουσιν.
to-have-escaped thinking
342 ἀλλ᾽ οὐ μακρὸς διῆλθε χρόνος, καὶ τῶν στρατευομένων
but not long passed time and of-the soldiers
ἐπιπέμψας τινάς, μηδενὸς καινοτέρου προσπεσόντος, τοὺς
having-sent some no newer having-happened the
ἀρίστους καὶ εὐγενεστάτους ἤδη ζῶντας ὡς ἐν πατρίσι
best and noblest already living as in fatherlands
ταῖς νήσοις καὶ τὴν ἀτυχίαν εὐτυχέστατα φέροντας
the islands and the misfortune most-fortunately bearing
ἀθρόους ἀνῄρει, πένθος οἰκτρότατον καὶ ἀπροσδόκητον
all-together he-killed grief most-pitiable and unexpected
οἴκοις τῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ μεγάλων προσβαλών.
on-houses of-the in Rome great having-brought

εἰ δέ τισι καὶ δωρεὰν ἔδωκεν ἀργύριον, οὐχ ὡς δάνειον 343
if and to-some also as-gift he-gave money not as loan
ἀνέπραττε τόκους προσεκλέγων καὶ ἐπιτοκίας, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς
he-exacted interest collecting-besides and compound-interest but as
φώριον μετὰ μεγίστης τῶν λαβόντων ζημίας· οὐ γὰρ
stolen-goods with greatest of-those having-received loss not for
ἐξήρκει τὰ δοθέντα τοῖς ἀθλίοις ἀποτιννύειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ
sufficed the given to-the wretched to-pay-back but also
τὰς οὐσίας ὅλας προσεισέφερον, ἃς ἢ παρὰ γονέων ἢ
the estates whole they-contributed-besides which either from parents or
παρ᾽ οἰκείων ἢ φίλων ἐκληρονόμουν ἢ ποριστὴν ἑλόμενοι
from kinsmen or friends they-inherited or money-making having-chosen
βίον ἐκτήσαντο αὐτοὶ δι᾽ ἑαυτῶν.
life acquired themselves through themselves
οἱ δ᾽ εὐπάρυφοι καὶ σφόδρ᾽ εὐδοκιμεῖν οἰόμενοι τρόπον 344
the and purple-bordered and very to-be-esteemed thinking in-way
ἕτερον τὸν σὺν ἡδονῇ μετὰ προσποιήσεως φιλικῆς
another the with pleasure with pretense friendly
ἐβλάπτοντο, πάμπολλα μὲν εἰς τὰς ἀκρίτους καὶ ἀτάκτους
were-harmed very-much indeed on the untried and disorderly
καὶ ἐξαπιναίους ἀποδημίας ἀναλίσκοντες, πάμπολλα δὲ
and sudden journeys spending very-much and
εἰς τὰς ἑστιάσεις· ὅλας γὰρ οὐσίας ἐξανάλουν εἰς ἑνὸς
on the feasts whole for estates they-used-up on one
δείπνου παρασκευήν, ὡς καὶ δανείζεσθαι· τοσαύτη τις
dinner preparation so-that even to-borrow so-great some
ἦν ἡ πολυτέλεια.
was the extravagance

345 τοιγαροῦν ἀπηύχοντό τινες ἤδη τὰς δεδομένας ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ
therefore deprecated some already the given by him
χάριτας, ὑπολαμβάνοντες οὐκ ὠφέλειαν ἀλλὰ δέλεαρ εἶναι
favors supposing not benefit but bait to-be
καὶ ἐνέδραν ἀφορήτου ζημίας.
and ambush of-unbearable loss

XVIII · THE AUDIENCE IN THE GARDENS

Gaius fills the prayer-houses, beginning at Alexandria, with his images and means to make the Temple his own, styled that of Zeus Manifest, the New Gaius. At the audience Gaius receives the envoys in the gardens of Maecenas and Lamia while inspecting the buildings, greeting them as god-haters who will not call him a god. When Isidorus charges that they alone refused to sacrifice for his safety, they protest that they sacrificed for him, and he replies that it was to another on his behalf. He hurries through the rooms with the envoys running after him, mocked by their opponents, asks why they do not eat pork, and cuts short their plea on the citizenship. At last he dismisses them as more unfortunate than wicked, and Philo closes by promising the palinode.

346 τοσαύτη μὲν οὖν τις ἡ περὶ τὸ ἦθος ἦν ἀνωμαλία
so-great indeed then some the about the character was inconsistency
πρὸς ἅπαντας, διαφερόντως δὲ πρὸς τὸ Ἰουδαίων γένος,
toward all especially and toward the of-Jews race
ᾧ χαλεπῶς ἀπεχθανόμενος τὰς μὲν ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις
with-which harshly being-at-enmity the indeed in the other
πόλεσι προσευχὰς ἀπὸ τῶν κατ᾽ Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἀρξάμενος
cities prayer-houses from those in Alexandria having-begun
σφετερίζεται, καταπλήσας εἰκόνων καὶ ἀνδριάντων τῆς
he-appropriates having-filled-them with-images and statues of-the
ἰδίας μορφῆς — ὁ γὰρ ἑτέρων ἀνατιθέντων ἐφεὶς
own form the(-one) for others setting-up having-permitted

αὐτὸς ἱδρύετο δυνάμει—, τὸν δὲ ἐν τῇ ἱεροπόλει νεών,
himself set-up in-effect the but in the holy-city temple
ὃς λοιπὸς ἦν ἄψαυστος ἀσυλίας ἠξιωμένος τῆς πάσης,
which remaining was untouched of-sanctuary deemed-worthy the whole
μεθηρμόζετο καὶ μετεσχημάτιζεν εἰς οἰκεῖον ἱερόν, ἵνα
he-changed and transformed into own temple so-that
Διὸς Ἐπιφανοῦς Νέου χρηματίζῃ Γαΐου. τί φῄς;
of-Zeus Manifest New it-be-styled of-Gaius what do-you-say
σὺ μὲν ἄνθρωπος ὢν αἰθέρα καὶ οὐρανὸν ζητεῖς προσλαβεῖν, 347
you indeed man being ether and heaven seek to-take-in-addition
οὐκ ἀρκεσθεὶς τῷ πλήθει τῶν τοσούτων ἠπείρων, νήσων,
not content with-the multitude of-the so-many mainlands islands
ἐθνῶν, κλιμάτων, ὧν ἀνήψω τὴν ἀρχήν; τὸν δὲ θεὸν
nations regions of-which you-fastened-on the rule the but god
οὐδενὸς τῶν ἐνταῦθα καὶ παρ᾽ ἡμῖν ἀξιοῖς, οὐ
of-nothing of-the-things here and among us you-deem-worthy not
χώρας, οὐ πόλεως, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν βραχὺν οὕτως περίβολον
of-country not of-city but even the short so precinct
αὐτῷ καθιερωθέντα καὶ καθοσιωθέντα χρησμοῖς καὶ λογίοις
to-him consecrated and hallowed by-oracles and sayings
θεσφάτοις ἀφελέσθαι διανοῇ, ἵν᾽ ἐν τῷ τῆς τοσαύτης
divine to-take-away you-intend so-that in the of-the so-great
γῆς περιβόλῳ μηδὲν ἴχνος μηδὲ ὑπόμνημα καταλειφθῇ
earth circuit no trace nor memorial be-left
τιμῆς καὶ εὐσεβείας τῆς εἰς τὸν ὄντως ὄντα ἀληθῆ θεόν;
of-honor and of-piety the toward the truly being true god
καλὰς ὑπογράφεις τῷ γένει τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐλπίδας· 348
fine you-sketch for-the race of-the men hopes
ἀγνοεῖς ὅτι πηγὰς ἀνατέμνεις ἀθρόων κακῶν, καινουργῶν
you-are-ignorant that springs you-open-up of-crowded evils innovating

καὶ μεγαλουργῶν ἃ μήτε δρᾶν μήτε λογίζεσθαι θέμις;
and doing-great-things which neither to-do nor to-reckon lawful

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(lacuna)

349 Ἄξιον δὲ ἐπιμνησθῆναι καὶ ὧν εἴδομέν τε καὶ ἠκούσαμεν
worth and to-mention also what we-saw both and heard
μεταπεμφθέντες ἀγωνίσασθαι τὸν περὶ τῆς πολιτείας
having-been-summoned to-contend the about the citizenship
ἀγῶνα. εἰσελθόντες γὰρ εὐθὺς ἔγνωμεν ἀπὸ τοῦ βλέμματος
contest having-entered for at-once we-knew from the look
καὶ τῆς κινήσεως, ὅτι οὐ πρὸς δικαστὴν ἀλλὰ κατήγορον
and the movement that not to judge but accuser
ἀφίγμεθα, τῶν ἀντιτεταγμένων μᾶλλον ἐχθρόν.
we-had-come than-those opposed-to-us more enemy
350 δικαστοῦ μὲν γὰρ ἔργα ταῦτα ἦν· καθίσαι μετὰ συνέδρων
of-judge indeed for works these-things were to-sit with assessors
ἀριστίνδην ἐπιλελεγμένων, ἐξεταζομένης ὑποθέσεως μεγίστης
by-merit selected being-examined case greatest
ἐν τετρακοσίοις ἔτεσιν ἡσυχασθείσης καὶ νῦν πρῶτον
in four-hundred years kept-quiet and now first
εἰσαγομένης ἐπὶ μυριάσι πολλαῖς τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων
being-brought-in for tens-of-thousands many of-the Alexandrian
Ἰουδαίων, ἑκατέρωθεν στῆναι τοὺς ἀντιδίκους μετὰ τῶν
Jews on-each-side to-stand the opponents with those
συναγορευσόντων, ἐν μέρει μὲν ἀκοῦσαι τῆς κατηγορίας, ἐν
going-to-plead-with-them in turn indeed to-hear the accusation in
μέρει δὲ τῆς ἀπολογίας πρὸς μεμετρημένον ὕδωρ, ἀναστάντα
turn and the defense by measured water having-risen
βουλεύσασθαι μετὰ τῶν συνέδρων, τί χρὴ φανερῶς
to-deliberate with the assessors what it-is-needful openly

ἀποφήνασθαι γνώμῃ τῇ δικαιοτάτῃ· τυράννου δὲ ἀμειλίκτου
to-declare by-judgment the most-just of-tyrant but implacable
δεσποτικὴν ὀφρὺν ἐπανατειναμένου τὰ πραχθέντα.
masterly brow raising the-things done
χωρὶς γὰρ τοῦ μηδὲν ὧν ἀρτίως εἶπον ἐργάσασθαι, 351
apart-from for the nothing of-what just-now I-said to-do
μεταπεμψάμενος τοὺς δυεῖν κήπων ἐπιτρόπους τοῦ τε
having-sent-for the of-two gardens overseers — both
Μαικήνα καὶ Λαμία — πλησίον δέ εἰσιν ἀλλήλων τε
Maecenas and Lamia near and they-are to-one-another both
καὶ τῆς πόλεως, ἐν οἷς ἐκ τριῶν ἢ τεττάρων ἡμερῶν
and to-the city in which from three or four days
διέτριβε· κεῖθι γὰρ ἐπὶ παροῦσιν ἡμῖν ἡ κατὰ παντὸς
he-was-staying there for at present us the against all
τοῦ ἔθνους ἔμελλε σκηνοβατεῖσθαι δραματοποιία — κελεύει
the nation was-going to-be-staged drama-making he-orders
τὰς ἐπαύλεις αὐτῷ πάσας περιανοιχθῆναι·
the villas for-himself all to-be-opened-round
βούλεσθαι γὰρ μετὰ ἀκριβείας ἑκάστην ἰδεῖν. ἡμεῖς δὲ ὡς 352
to-wish for with exactness each to-see we and to
αὐτὸν εἰσαχθέντες ἅμα τῷ θεάσασθαι μετ᾽ αἰδοῦς καὶ
him having-been-led-in at-once with-the to-behold with reverence and
εὐλαβείας τῆς ἁπάσης νεύοντες εἰς τοὔδαφος ἐδεξιούμεθα,
caution the whole bowing to the-ground greeted
Σεβαστὸν Αὐτοκράτορα προσειπόντες· ὁ δὲ οὕτως ἐπιεικῶς
Augustus Emperor having-addressed-him he but so fairly
καὶ φιλανθρώπως ἀντιπροσηγόρευσεν, ὡς μὴ μόνον τὴν
and humanely greeted-in-return so-that not only the
ὑπόθεσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ζῆν ἀπογνῶναι.
case but also the to-live to-despair-of

353 σαρκάζων γὰρ ἅμα καὶ σεσηρὼς "ὑμεῖς" εἶπεν "ἐστὲ
sneering for at-once and grinning you he-said are
οἱ θεομισεῖς, οἱ θεὸν μὴ νομίζοντες εἶναί με, τὸν ἤδη
the god-haters those god not thinking to-be me the already
παρὰ πᾶσι τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνωμολογημένον, ἀλλὰ τὸν
among all the others acknowledged but the
ἀκατονόμαστον ὑμῖν;" καὶ ἀνατείνας τὰς χεῖρας εἰς τὸν
unnamable by-you and having-raised the hands to the
οὐρανὸν ἐπεφήμιζε πρόσρησιν, ἣν οὐδὲ ἀκούειν θεμιτόν,
heaven he-applied title which not-even to-hear lawful
οὐχ ὅτι διερμηνεύειν αὐτολεξεί.
not that to-interpret word-for-word
354 πόσης εὐθὺς ἀνεπλήσθησαν ἡδονῆς οἱ τῆς ἐναντίας μερίδος
of-how-much at-once were-filled pleasure the of-the opposite party
πρέσβεις, ἤδη κατωρθωκέναι διὰ τῆς πρώτης ἀναφθέγξεως
envoys already to-have-succeeded through the first utterance
Γαΐου τὴν πρεσβείαν νομίζοντες· ἐπεχειρονόμουν,
of-Gaius the embassy thinking they-gesticulated
ἀνωρχοῦντο, τὰς θεῶν ἁπάντων ἐπωνυμίας ἐπεφήμιζον αὐτῷ.
they-danced the of-gods all titles applied to-him
355 γανύμενον δὲ ταῖς ὑπὲρ ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν προσρήσεσι
exulting and in-the beyond human nature addresses
θεασάμενος ὁ πικρὸς συκοφάντης Ἰσίδωρος "ἔτι μᾶλλον"
having-seen-him the bitter informer Isidorus still more
ἔφη, "δέσποτα, μισήσεις τοὺς παρόντας καὶ τοὺς ὧν
he-said master you-will-hate those present and those of-whom
εἰσιν ὁμόφυλοι, ἐὰν γνῷς τὴν εἰς σὲ κακόνοιαν αὐτῶν
they-are kinsmen if you-know the toward you ill-will their
καὶ ἀσέβειαν· ἁπάντων γὰρ ἀνθρώπων ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας
and impiety of-all for men for safety
τῆς σῆς θυσίας ἀναγόντων εὐχαριστηρίους, οὐχ ὑπέμειναν
the your sacrifices offering of-thanksgiving not endured

οὗτοι μόνοι θύειν· ὅταν δὲ οὗτοι λέγω, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους
these alone to-sacrifice when but these I-say also the other
Ἰουδαίους συμπαραλαμβάνω."
Jews I-include
ἀναβοησάντων δὲ ἡμῶν ὁμοθυμαδὸν "κύριε Γάιε, 356
having-cried-out but we with-one-accord lord Gaius
συκοφαντούμεθα· καὶ γὰρ ἐθύσαμεν καὶ ἑκατόμβας
we-are-slandered and for we-sacrificed and hecatombs
ἐθύσαμεν, οὐ τὸ μὲν αἷμα τῷ βωμῷ περισπείσαντες τὰ
we-sacrificed not the indeed blood on-the altar having-poured-around the
δὲ κρέα εἰς θοίνην καὶ εὐωχίαν οἴκαδε κομίσαντες, ὡς
but meat for feast and banquet home having-carried as
ἔθος ἐνίοις ποιεῖν, ἀλλ' ὁλόκαυτα τὰ ἱερεῖα παραδόντες
custom for-some to-do but whole-burnt the victims having-handed-over
τῇ ἱερᾷ φλογί, καὶ τρίς, οὐχ ἅπαξ, ἤδη· πρῶτον μὲν
to-the sacred flame and thrice not once already first indeed
ὅτε διεδέξω τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, δεύτερον δὲ ὅτε τὴν βαρεῖαν
when you-succeeded-to the empire second and when the heavy
νόσον ἐκείνην ἣν πᾶσα ἡ οἰκουμένη συνενόσησεν ἐξέφυγες,
disease that which all the inhabited-world fell-sick-with you-escaped
τρίτον δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς Γερμανικῆς νίκης," "ἔστω"
third and in the hope of-the German victory let-it-be
φησί "ταῦτα ἀληθῆ, τεθύκατε, ἀλλ' ἑτέρῳ, κἂν ὑπὲρ 357
he-says these-things true you-have-sacrificed but to-another even-if for
ἐμοῦ· τί οὖν ὄφελος; οὐ γὰρ ἐμοὶ τεθύκατε." φρίκη
me what then benefit not for to-me you-have-sacrificed shudder
βύθιος εὐθὺς κατέσχεν ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ τῷ προτέρῳ καὶ τοῦτο
deep at-once seized us at the first also this
ἀκούσαντας, ἣ καὶ μέχρι τῆς ἐπιφανείας ἀνεχύθη.
having-heard which even up-to the surface poured-out

358 καὶ ταῦθ᾽ ἅμα λέγων ἐπῄει τὰς ἐπαύλεις, ἀνδρῶνας
and these-things at-once saying he-went-through the villas men's-halls
κατανοῶν, γυναικωνίτιδας, τὰ ἐν ἐπιπέδῳ, τὰ ὑπερῷα,
inspecting women's-quarters the-things on ground-floor the upper-stories
ἅπαντα, αἰτιώμενος ἐνίας ὡς ἐλλιπεῖς κατασκευάς, ἑτέρας
all blaming some as defective constructions others
ἐπινοῶν καὶ προσδιατάττων πολυτελεστέρας αὐτός.
devising and ordering-besides more-costly himself
359 εἶτα ἡμεῖς ἐλαυνόμενοι παρηκολουθοῦμεν ἄνω κάτω,
then we being-driven followed up down
χλευαζόμενοι καὶ κατακερτομούμενοι πρὸς τῶν ἀντιπάλων
mocked and jeered by the opponents
ὡς ἐν θεατρικοῖς μίμοις· καὶ γὰρ τὸ πρᾶγμα μιμεία τις
as in theatrical mimes and for the thing a-mime some
ἦν· ὁ μὲν δικαστὴς ἀνειλήφει σχῆμα κατηγόρου, οἱ δὲ
was the indeed judge had-assumed role of-accuser the and
κατήγοροι φαύλου δικαστοῦ πρὸς ἔχθραν ἀποβλέποντος,
accusers of-bad judge to enmity looking
ἀλλ᾽ οὐ τὴν φύσιν τῆς ἀληθείας.
but not the nature of-the truth
360 ὅταν δὲ αἰτιᾶται κρινόμενον δικαστὴς καὶ τοσοῦτος,
when and accuses the-one-on-trial judge and so-great
ἀνάγκη σιωπᾶν· ἔστι γάρ πως καὶ δι᾽ ἡσυχίας
necessity to-be-silent it-is-possible for somehow even through quiet
ἀπολογεῖσθαι, καὶ μάλιστα πρὸς οὐδὲν ὧν ἐπεζήτει καὶ
to-make-defense and most to nothing of-what he-sought and
ἐπεπόθει δυναμένους ἀποκρίνασθαι, τῶν ἐθῶν καὶ νομίμων
longed-for being-able to-answer the customs and laws
τὴν γλῶτταν ἐπεχόντων καὶ τὸ στόμα κλειόντων καὶ
the tongue restraining and the mouth shutting and
ἀπορραπτόντων.
sewing-up

ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔνια τῶν περὶ τὰς οἰκοδομὰς διετάξατο, 361
when and some of-the-things about the buildings he-had-ordered
μέγιστον καὶ σεμνὸν ἐρώτημα ἠρώτα· "διὰ τί χοιρείων
greatest and solemn question he-asked for what from-pig's
κρεῶν ἀπέχεσθε;" πάλιν πρὸς τὴν πεῦσιν γέλως ἐκ τῶν
meat do-you-abstain again at the inquiry laughter from the
ἀντιδίκων κατερράγη τοσοῦτος, τῇ μὲν ἡδομένων τῇ
opponents burst-out so-great partly indeed enjoying partly
δὲ καὶ ἐπιτηδευόντων ἕνεκα κολακείας ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὸ
and also affecting for-the-sake of-flattery for the the
λεχθὲν δοκεῖν σὺν εὐτραπελίᾳ καὶ χάριτι εἰρῆσθαι, ὥς
said to-seem with wit and grace to-have-been-said so-that
τινα τῶν ἑπομένων αὐτῷ θεραπόντων ἀγανακτεῖν ἐπὶ
some of-the following him attendants to-be-vexed at
τῷ καταφρονητικῶς ἔχειν αὐτοκράτορος, ἐφ' οὗ καὶ τὸ
the contemptuously to-hold of-emperor before whom even the
μετρίως μειδιάσαι τοῖς μὴ πάνυ συνήθεσιν οὐκ ἀσφαλές.
moderately to-smile for-those not very intimate not safe
ἀποκριναμένων δὲ ἡμῶν, ὅτι "νόμιμα παρ' ἑτέροις ἕτερα 362
having-answered and we that customs among others others
καὶ χρῆσις ἐνίων ὡς ἡμῖν καὶ τοῖς ἀντιδίκοις ἀπείρηται",
and use of-some as for-us also for-the opponents is-forbidden
καὶ φαμένου τινὸς "ὡς πολλοί γε καὶ τὰ προχειρότατα
and having-said someone that many at-least even the most-ready
ἀρνία οὐ προσφέρονται", γελάσας "εὖ γε" εἶπεν, "ἔστι
lambs not eat having-laughed well indeed he-said they-are
γὰρ οὐχ ἡδέα."
for not pleasant

363 τοιαῦτα φλυαρηθέντες καὶ κατακερτομηθέντες ἐν ἀμηχάνοις
such-things having-been-babbled-at and jeered in helplessness
ἦμεν. εἶτα ὀψέ ποτε παρασεσυρμένως "βουλόμεθα μαθεῖν"
we-were then late ever offhandedly we-wish to-learn
ἔφη, "τίσι χρῆσθε περὶ τῆς πολιτείας δικαίοις."
he-said what you-use about the citizenship rights
364 ἀρξαμένων δὲ λέγειν καὶ διδάσκειν, ἀπογευσάμενος τῆς
having-begun and to-speak and to-teach having-tasted of-the
δικαιολογίας καὶ συνεὶς ὡς οὐκ ἔστιν εὐκαταφρόνητος,
plea and having-perceived that not it-is easily-despised
πρὶν ἐπενεγκεῖν τὰ ἐχυρώτερα, συγκόψας καὶ τὰ πρότερα
before to-bring-forward the stronger-points having-cut-short even the earlier-points
δρομαῖος εἰς τὸν μέγαν οἶκον εἰσεπήδησε καὶ περιελθὼν
at-a-run into the great house he-leapt and having-gone-round
προστάττει τὰς ἐν κύκλῳ θυρίδας ἀναληφθῆναι τοῖς ὑάλῳ
he-orders the in circle windows to-be-filled with-the to-glass
λευκῇ παραπλησίως διαφανέσι λίθοις, οἳ τὸ μὲν φῶς οὐκ
white similarly transparent stones which the indeed light not
ἐμποδίζουσιν, ἄνεμον δὲ εἴργουσι καὶ τὸν ἀφ' ἡλίου φλογμόν.
hinder wind but keep-out and the from sun blaze
365 εἶτα προελθὼν ἄνευ σπουδῆς μετριώτερον ἀνηρώτα· "τί
then having-come-out without haste more-moderately asked what
λέγετε;" συνείρειν δὲ ἀρξαμένων τὰ ἀκόλουθα, εἰστρέχει
do-you-say to-string-together and having-begun the consequent-points he-runs-in
πάλιν εἰς ἕτερον οἶκον, ἐν ᾧ γραφὰς ἀρχετύπους
again into another house in which paintings original
ἀνατεθῆναι προσέταττεν.
to-be-set-up he-ordered
366 οὕτω τῶν ἡμετέρων σπαραττομένων καὶ διαρτωμένων
so the our being-torn and dismembered
καὶ μόνον οὐ συγκοπτομένων καὶ συντριβομένων δικαίων,
and only not being-cut-up and crushed rights

ἀπειρηκότες καὶ μηδὲν ἔτι σθένοντες, ἀεὶ δὲ οὐδὲν ἕτερον
having-given-up and nothing still being-strong always but nothing other
ἢ θάνατον προσδοκῶντες, οὐκέτι τὰς ψυχὰς ἐν αὑτοῖς
than death expecting no-longer the souls in ourselves
εἴχομεν, ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀγωνίας ἔξω προεληλύθεσαν ἱκετεύειν τὸν
we-had but through agony out they-had-gone to-supplicate the
ἀληθινὸν θεόν, ἵνα τοῦ ψευδωνύμου τὰς ὀργὰς ἐπίσχῃ.
true god so-that of-the falsely-named the angers he-might-check
ὁ δὲ λαβὼν οἶκτον ἡμῶν τρέπει τὸν θυμὸν αὐτοῦ πρὸς 367
he and having-taken pity on-us turns the wrath his to
ἔλεον· καὶ ἀνεθεὶς πρὸς τὸ μαλακώτερον, τοσοῦτον εἰπὼν
mercy and having-relaxed to the softer so-much having-said
"οὐ πονηροὶ μᾶλλον ἢ δυστυχεῖς εἶναί μοι δοκοῦσιν
not wicked rather than unfortunate to-be to-me seem
ἄνθρωποι καὶ ἀνόητοι μὴ πιστεύοντες, ὅτι θεοῦ κεκλήρωμαι
men and senseless not believing that of-god I-have-been-allotted
φύσιν", ἀπαλλάττεται προστάξας καὶ ἡμῖν ἀπέρχεσθαι.
nature departs having-ordered also us to-go-away
Τοιοῦτον ἀντὶ δικαστηρίου θέατρον ὁμοῦ καὶ δεσμωτήριον 368
such instead-of court theater at-once and prison
ἐκφυγόντες — ὡς μὲν γὰρ ἐν θεάτρῳ κλωσμὸς
having-escaped as indeed for in theater clucking
συριττόντων, καταμωκωμένων, ἄμετρα χλευαζόντων, ὡς
of-hissers mocking immoderately jeering as
δὲ ἐν εἱρκτῇ πληγαὶ κατὰ τῶν σπλάγχνων φερόμεναι,
but in prison blows against the bowels borne
βάσανοι, κατατάσεις τῆς ὅλης ψυχῆς διά τε τῶν εἰς
tortures rackings of-the whole soul through both the toward
τὸ θεῖον βλασφημιῶν καὶ διὰ τῶν ἐπανατάσεων, ἃς
the divine blasphemies and through the threats which
τοσοῦτος αὐτοκράτωρ ἐπανετείνετο, μνησικακῶν οὐ περὶ
so-great emperor threatened bearing-grudges not about

ἑτέρου, ῥᾳδίως γὰρ ἂν μετέβαλεν, ἀλλὰ περὶ ἑαυτοῦ
another easily for — he-would-have-changed but about himself
καὶ τῆς εἰς τὴν ἐκθέωσιν ἐπιθυμίας, ᾗ μόνους
and the toward the deification desire in-which alone
ὑπελάμβανε μήτε συναινεῖν Ἰουδαίους μήτε δύνασθαι
he-supposed neither to-assent Jews nor to-be-able
συνυπογράψασθαι — μόλις ἀνεπνεύσαμεν, οὐκ ἐπειδὴ
to-subscribe hardly we-breathed-again not because
φιλοζωοῦντες θάνατον κατεπτήχειμεν,
loving-life death we-had-cowered-at
369 ὃν ἄσμενοι καθάπερ ἀθανασίαν εἱλόμεθα ἄν, εἰ
which gladly as immortality we-would-have-chosen — if
δή τι τῶν νομίμων ἔμελλεν ἐπανόρθωσιν ἕξειν, ἀλλ᾽
indeed anything of-the customs was-going correction to-have but
εἰδότες ἐπ᾽ οὐδενὶ λυσιτελεῖ παρανάλωμα γενησόμενοι μετὰ
knowing for nothing profitable waste going-to-become with
πολλῆς δυσκλείας· ἃ γὰρ ἂν πρέσβεις ὑπομένωσιν, ἐπὶ
much disgrace what for — envoys endure upon
τοὺς πέμψαντας λαμβάνει τὴν ἀναφοράν.
those having-sent takes the reference
370 τούτων μὲν δὴ χάριν ἐπὶ ποσὸν ἐδυνήθημεν ἀνακύψαι,
of-these indeed indeed for-the-sake to some-extent we-could to-lift-our-heads
τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἡμᾶς ἐφόβει διεπτοημένους καὶ ἀποροῦντας,
the but other-things us frightened terrified and at-a-loss
τί γνώσεται, τί ἀποφανεῖται, ποταπὴ γένοιτ᾽ ἂν ἡ
what he-will-decide what he-will-declare of-what-kind would-be — the
κρίσις· ἤκουσε γὰρ τῆς ὑποθέσεως, ὃς πραγμάτων ἐνίων
judgment did-he-hear for the case who of-matters some
παρήκουσεν; ἐν ἡμῖν δὲ πέντε πρεσβευταῖς σαλεύειν τὰ
failed-to-hear in us but five envoys to-be-shaken the-things
τῶν πανταχοῦ πάντων Ἰουδαίων οὐ χαλεπόν;
of-the everywhere all Jews not hard

εἰ γὰρ χαρίσαιτο τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἐχθροῖς, τίς ἑτέρα 371
if for be-should-favor the our enemies what other
πόλις ἠρεμήσει; τίς οὐκ ἐπιθήσεται τοῖς συνοικοῦσι; τίς
city will-be-quiet what not will-attack those dwelling-with-them what
ἀπαθὴς καταλειφθήσεται προσευχή; ποῖον πολιτικὸν οὐκ
unharmed will-be-left prayer-house what-sort civic not
ἀνατραπήσεται δίκαιον τοῖς κοσμουμένοις κατὰ τὰ
will-be-overturned right for-those ordered according-to the
πάτρια τῶν Ἰουδαίων; ἀνατετράψεται, ναναγήσει, κατὰ
ancestral-ways of-the Jews will-be-overturned will-be-wrecked to
βυθοῦ χωρήσει καὶ τὰ ἐξαίρετα νόμιμα καὶ τὰ κοινὰ
depth will-go both the exceptional customs and the common
πρὸς ἑκάστας τῶν πόλεων αὐτοῖς δίκαια.
toward each of-the cities for-them rights
τοιούτοις ὑπέραντλοι γενόμενοι λογισμοῖς ὑπεσυρόμεθα 372
with-such overwhelmed having-become reasonings we-were-swept-down
καταποντούμενοι· καὶ γὰρ οἱ τέως συμπράττειν ἡμῖν
being-sunk and for those till-then to-work-with us
δοκοῦντες ἀπειρήκεσαν· καλουμένων γοῦν, ἔνδον ὄντες οὐχ
seeming had-given-up being-called at-least inside being not
ὑπέμειναν, ἀλλ᾽ ὑπεξῆλθον διὰ φόβον ἀκριβῶς ἐπιστάμενοι
they-endured but slipped-out through fear precisely knowing
τὸν ἵμερον, ᾧ κέχρητο πρὸς τὸ νομίζεσθαι θεός.
the longing which he-had-felt toward the to-be-thought god
εἴρηται μὲν οὖν κεφαλαιωδέστερον ἡ αἰτία τῆς πρὸς 373
has-been-said indeed then more-summarily the cause of-the toward
ἅπαν τὸ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος ἀπεχθείας Γαΐου· λεκτέον δὲ
all the of-Jews nation hatred of-Gaius one-must-tell and
καὶ τὴν παλινῳδίαν.
also the palinode

PHILO

ΕΙΣ ΦΛΑΚΚΟΝ

Against Flaccus

I · FLACCUS BEFORE HIS FALL

Second after Sejanus, Avillius Flaccus takes up the plot against the Jews. Appointed prefect of Egypt by Tiberius, he quickly masters its affairs, judges the great cases with the officials, curbs the factions, and keeps the country in good order for five years; Philo praises him so that his later wickedness may show the more. When Tiberius dies and Gaius succeeds, Flaccus loses heart, whether from grief, ill will to the heir, or fear as one who had joined the attack on Gaius' mother; Tiberius' grandson is put to death, and his hopes with him, and then Macro, his remaining hope, who had protected Gaius from Tiberius, is destroyed too. Despairing, he loses his grip, distrusts his friends, and makes his old enemies his counselors, who only feign friendship.

Δεύτερος μετὰ Σηιανὸν Φλάκκος Ἀουίλλιος διαδέχεται τὴν 1
second after Sejanus Flaccus Avillius succeeds-to the
κατὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐπιβουλήν, σύμπαν μὲν ἀδικῆσαι τὸ
against the Jews plot all indeed to-wrong the
ἔθνος ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνος ἄντικρυς οὐ δυνηθείς — ἐλάττους
nation as he outright not having-been-able fewer
γὰρ εἶχε τὰς εἰς τοῦτ' ἀφορμάς—, ἐφ' ὅσους δ'
for he-had the for this resources on as-many-as but
ἔφθανεν, ἀθρόους ἀνηκέστοις περιέπειρε κακοῖς. οὐ μὴν
he-reached in-throngs with-incurable he-pierced evils not indeed
ἀλλὰ καὶ μέρει δόξας ἐπιτίθεσθαι τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν ἐξέτεινεν
but even in-part seeming to-attack the plot he-extended
ἐπιὼν τοὺς πανταχοῦ πάντας διὰ τέχνης τὸ πλέον ἢ
going-against those everywhere all through craft the more than
δυνάμεως· οἷς γὰρ ἰσχὺς οὐ πρόσεστι τῶν τὰς φύσεις
power to-whom for strength not belongs of-those the natures
τυραννικῶν, πανουργίαις τὰς ἐπιβουλὰς κατορθοῦσιν.
tyrannical by-villainies the plots they-accomplish

2 ὁ Φλάκκος οὖν οὗτος ἐν τοῖς ἑταίροις κριθεὶς
— Flaccus then this among the companions judged
παρὰ Τιβερίῳ Καίσαρι μετὰ τὴν Ἰβήρου τελευτήν, ὃς
by Tiberius Caesar after the of-Hiberus death who
ἐπετέτραπτο Αἴγυπτον, καθίσταται τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας
had-been-entrusted-with Egypt is-appointed — of-Alexandria
καὶ τῆς χώρας ἐπίτροπος, ἄνθρωπος ἐν ἀρχῇ μυρία
and of-the country governor man in beginning countless
καλοκαγαθίας ὅσα τῷ δοκεῖν ἐξενεγκὼν δείγματα·
of-nobility as-many-as by-the seeming having-displayed proofs
πυκνός τε γὰρ ἦν καὶ συνεχὴς καὶ ὀξὺς νοῆσαι καὶ
shrewd both for he-was and assiduous and sharp to-think and
τὰ βουλευθέντα πρᾶξαι καὶ προχειρότατος εἰπεῖν καὶ
the-things resolved to-do and most-ready to-speak and
πρὸ τοῦ λεγομένου τὸ ἡσυχαζόμενον αἰσθέσθαι.
before the(-thing) spoken the(-thing) kept-silent to-perceive
3 παντάπασιν οὖν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον
altogether then in-little time of-the in — Egypt
πραγματειῶν ἐθὰς γίνεται· πολύτροποι δ' εἰσὶ καὶ
businesses accustomed becomes many-sided and are and
ποικίλαι, μόλις τοῖς ἐκ πρώτης ἡλικίας τὸ ἔργον
varied hardly by-those from first age the work
ἐπιτήδευμα πεποιημένοις γνωριζόμεναι. περιττὸς ὄχλος
practice having-made being-known superfluous crowd
ἦσαν οἱ γραμματεῖς, ἤδη πρὸς πάντα μικρὰ καὶ
were the clerks already toward all-things small and
μεγάλα φθάνοντος αὐτοῦ ταῖς ἐμπειρίαις, ὡς μὴ μόνον
great being-ahead him with-the experiences so-that not only
ὑπερβαλεῖν ἀλλὰ χάριν ἀκριβείας ἀντὶ γνωρίμου
to-surpass but for-the-sake-of precision instead-of pupil
διδάσκαλον γεγενῆσθαι τῶν τέως ὑφηγητῶν.
teacher to-have-become of-those till-then guides

καὶ ὅσα μὲν περὶ λογισμοὺς καὶ τὴν τῶν προσοδευομένων 4
and as-many-as indeed about accounts and the of-the revenue-producing
κατώρθου διοίκησιν, εἰ καὶ μεγάλα καὶ ἀναγκαῖα ἦν,
he-accomplished administration if even great and necessary they-were
ἀλλ' οὐδέν γε δεῖγμα ψυχῆς ὑπέφαινεν ἡγεμονικῆς, ἃ
but no at-least proof of-soul they-showed ruling which
δὲ λαμπροτέραν καὶ βασιλικὴν ἐδήλου φύσιν, μετὰ πλείονος
but more-brilliant and kingly showed nature with more
παρρησίας ἐπεδείκνυτο· οἷον σεμνότερον ἦγεν αὑτόν —
frankness he-displayed for-instance more-majestically he-bore himself
ἄρχοντι δὲ λυσιτελέστατον ὁ τῦφος—, ἐδίκαζε τὰ μεγάλα
for-ruler and most-profitable the pride he-judged the great-things
μετὰ τῶν ἐν τέλει, τοὺς ὑπεραύχους καθῄρει, μιγάδων
with those in office the over-proud he-brought-down of-mixed
καὶ συγκλύδων ἀνθρώπων ὄχλον ἐκώλυεν ἐπισυνίστασθαι·
and rabble men crowd he-prevented to-combine
τάς τε ἑταιρείας καὶ συνόδους, αἳ ἀεὶ ἐπὶ προφάσει
the both clubs and associations which always on pretext
θυσιῶν εἱστιῶντο τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐμπαροινοῦσαι, διέλυε
of-sacrifices feasted to-the affairs behaving-drunkenly he-dissolved
τοῖς ἀφηνιάζουσιν ἐμβριθῶς καὶ εὐτόνως προσφερόμενος.
toward-the unruly severely and vigorously bearing-himself
εἶτ' ἐπειδὴ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν ἀνέπλησεν εὐνομίας, 5
then when the city and the country he-had-filled-with good-order
ἐν μέρει πάλιν ταῖς στρατιωτικαῖς δυνάμεσιν ἐφήδρευεν
in turn again the military forces he-watched
ἐκτάττων, συγκροτῶν, γυμνάζων πεζούς, ἱππεῖς, τοὺς τῆς
marshaling drilling exercising infantry cavalry those of-the
κούφης ὁπλίσεως, τοὺς ἡγεμόνας, ἵνα μὴ τὰς μισθοφορὰς
light armor the commanders so-that not the pay
τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀφαιρούμενοι πρὸς λῃστείας καὶ ἁρπαγὰς
of-the soldiers taking-away to robberies and plunderings

αὐτοὺς ἀλείφωσι, πάλιν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἕκαστον, ἵνα
them they-incite again of-the soldiers each so-that
μηδὲν ἔξω τῶν κατὰ τὴν στρατείαν περιεργάζηται
nothing outside of-the-things in the service he-meddle
μεμνημένος, ὅτι τέτακται καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην διαφυλάττειν.
remembering that he-has-been-appointed also the peace to-guard

6 Ἴσως δ' ἄν τις εἴποι· "σὺ δ', ὦ οὗτος, ἐγνωκὼς
perhaps but — anyone would-say you but O fellow having-decided
ἀνθρώπου κατηγορεῖν ἔγκλημα μὲν οὐδὲν διεξῆλθες,
man to-accuse charge indeed none you-have-gone-through
μακροὺς δ' ἐπαίνους συνείρεις· μὴ ἄρα παραπαίεις
long but praises you-string-together surely-not then you-are-deranged
καὶ μέμηνας;" — οὐ μέμηνα, ὦ οὗτος, οὐδ' ἠλίθιός τίς
and are-you-mad not I-am-mad O fellow nor fool some
εἰμι, ὡς μὴ δύνασθαι πράγματος ἀκολουθίαν ἰδεῖν.
I-am so-as not to-be-able of-matter sequence to-see

7 ἐπαινῶ τὸν Φλάκκον, οὐκ ἐπειδὴ προσῆκεν ἐχθρὸν
I-praise — Flaccus not because it-befitted enemy
ἐγκωμιάζειν, ἀλλ' ἵν' αὐτοῦ τὴν μοχθηρίαν ἀριδηλοτέραν
to-eulogize but so-that his the wickedness more-conspicuous
παραστήσω· τῷ μὲν γὰρ ἀγνοίᾳ τοῦ κρείττονος
I-may-exhibit to-the(-one) indeed for through-ignorance of-the better
διαμαρτάνοντι συγγνώμη δίδοται, ὁ δ' ἐξ ἐπιστήμης
erring pardon is-given he but from knowledge
ἀδικῶν ἀπολογίαν οὐκ ἔχει προεαλωκὼς ἐν τῷ
doing-wrong defense not has having-been-convicted-beforehand in the
τοῦ συνειδότος δικαστηρίῳ.
of-the conscience court

8 ἑξαετίαν γὰρ τὴν ἐπικράτειαν λαβὼν πέντε μὲν ἔτη
six-years for the rule having-received five indeed years
τὰ πρῶτα, ζῶντος Τιβερίου Καίσαρος, τήν τε εἰρήνην
the first living Tiberius Caesar the both peace

διεφύλαξε καὶ οὕτως εὐτόνως καὶ ἐρρωμένως ἀφηγήσατο,
he-preserved and so vigorously and strongly led
ὡς τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ πάντας ὑπερβαλεῖν.
so-as those before him all to-surpass
τῷ δ' ὑστάτῳ, Τιβερίου μὲν τελευτήσαντος, Γαΐου δ' 9
in-the but last Tiberius indeed having-died Gaius but
ἀποδειχθέντος αὐτοκράτορος, ὑφιέναι καὶ χαλᾶν ἤρξατο τὰ
having-been-appointed emperor to-slacken and to-relax he-began the
πάντα εἴτε διὰ τὸ ἐπὶ Τιβερίῳ βαρύτατον πένθος —
all-things whether because-of the for Tiberius heaviest grief
δῆλος γὰρ ἦν ὡς ἐπ' οἰκειοτάτῳ περιπαθῶν ἔκ τε τῆς
clear for he-was that for most-intimate grieving from both the
συνεχοῦς κατηφείας καὶ τῆς τῶν δακρύων φορᾶς, ἃ
continual dejection and the of-the tears flood which
καθάπερ ἀπὸ πηγῆς ἀπαύστως ἐξεχεῖτο — εἴτε καὶ κακόνους
as from spring unceasingly poured-out or also ill-disposed
ὢν τῷ διαδόχῳ διὰ τὸ τὴν τῶν γνησίων πρὸ τῆς τῶν
being to-the successor because-of the the of-the true before the of-the
θετῶν τεθεραπευκέναι μερίδα εἴτε καὶ τῶν συνεπιθεμένων
adopted to-have-courted party or also of-those having-attacked
τῇ Γαΐου μητρί, καθ' ὃν χρόνον εἶχε τὰς αἰτίας ἐφ' αἷς
the of-Gaius mother at which time she-had the charges on which
ἀνῃρέθη, γεγονὼς καὶ διὰ φόβον ἁλώσεως ἐπιλελησμένος.
she-was-killed having-been and through fear of-conviction having-forgotten-himself
καὶ μέχρι μέν τινος ἔτ' ἀντεῖχε μὴ κατὰ τὸ παντελὲς 10
and until indeed some-time still he-held-out not in the complete
μεθιέμενος τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων ἀντίληψιν. ὡς δ' ἤκουσε
letting-go the of-the affairs grasp when but he-heard
τὸν Τιβερίου μὲν υἱωνὸν κοινωνὸν δὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς
the of-Tiberius indeed grandson partner and of-the rule
ἀναιρεθέντα Γαΐου κελεύσαντος, ἀλέκτῳ πληγεὶς συμφορᾷ
killed Gaius having-ordered by-unspeakable struck misfortune

καταβαλὼν ἑαυτὸν ἀχανὴς ἔκειτο, τῆς διανοίας πολὺ
having-thrown-down himself speechless he-lay the mind much
πρότερον ἀπειρηκυίας καὶ παρειμένης αὐτῷ.
earlier having-given-up and having-been-paralyzed in-him
11 ζῶντος μὲν γὰρ τοῦ μειρακίου τὰ ζώπυρα τῆς ἰδίας
living indeed for the youth the embers of-the own
σωτηρίας οὐκ ἀπεγίνωσκεν, ἀποθανόντος δὲ συντεθνάναι
safety not he-despaired-of having-died but to-have-died-with
καὶ τὰς οἰκείας ἐλπίδας ἔδοξεν, εἰ καὶ μικρά τις
also the own hopes he-thought if even small some
ἀπελείπετο αὔρα βοηθείας, ἡ πρὸς Μάκρωνα φιλία
was-left breeze of-help the toward Macro friendship
τὰ σύμπαντα παρὰ Γαΐῳ κατ᾽ ἀρχὰς δυνηθέντα καὶ
the all-things with Gaius at beginnings having-been-able and
πλείστην μοῖραν ὡς λόγος εἰσενεγκάμενον αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ
greatest share as report having-contributed to-him for the
τυχεῖν τῆς ἡγεμονίας καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον πρὸς τὸ σωθῆναι,
to-obtain the empire and still more for the to-be-saved
12 πολλάκις μὲν ἐκποδὼν ποιήσασθαι τὸν Γάιον διανοηθέντος
often indeed out-of-the-way to-make — Gaius having-intended
Τιβερίου ὡς κακοήθη καὶ οὐ πεφυκότα πρὸς ἀρχήν, καὶ
Tiberius as malicious and not fitted for rule and
ἅμα διὰ τὸν ἐπὶ τῷ υἱωνῷ φόβον — ἐδεδίει γάρ, μὴ
at-once because-of the for the grandson fear he-feared for lest
παρανάλωμα γένηται τελευτήσαντος αὐτοῦ—, πολλάκις δὲ
by-product he-become having-died him often but
τοῦ Μάκρωνος τὰς ὑπονοίας ὑπεξαιρουμένου καὶ τὸν Γάιον
— Macro the suspicions removing and — Gaius
ἐπαινοῦντος ὡς ἁπλοῦν καὶ ἀπόνηρον καὶ κοινωνικὸν καὶ τοῦ
praising as simple and guileless and sociable and to-the

ἀνεψιοῦ μάλιστα ἡττημένον, ὡς ἢ μόνῳ ἂν ἐθελῆσαι
cousin most yielding so-that either to-him-alone — he-would-wish
παραχωρῆσαι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἢ πάντως τὰ πρωτεῖα.
to-yield the empire or altogether the first-place
ὑφ' ὧν ἀπατηθεὶς ἔλαθεν ἄσπονδον ἐχθρὸν ἑαυτῷ 13
by which deceived he-failed-to-notice implacable enemy for-himself
καὶ υἱωνῷ καὶ γένει καὶ παρακλήτῳ Μάκρωνι καὶ
and for-grandson and for-family and for-advocate Macro and
πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις καταλιπών.
for-all men leaving-behind
ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ὁ Μάκρων ὁρῶν αὐτὸν ἐκδιαιτώμενον καὶ 14
when for — Macro seeing him departing-from-his-way and
ἀχαλίνοις ταῖς ὁρμαῖς, ἐφ' ἃ ἂν τύχῃ καὶ ὡς ἂν
with-unbridled the impulses at whatever — it-chanced and however —
τύχῃ, χρώμενον ἐνουθέτει καὶ παρηγόρει νομίζων ἐκεῖνον
it-chanced using he-admonished and exhorted thinking him
εἶναι Γάιον τόν, ἡνίκ' ἔτ' ἔζη Τιβέριος, ἐπιεικῆ καὶ
to-be Gaius the(-one) when still lived Tiberius reasonable and
πειθαρχικόν, ὁ κακοδαίμων εὐνοίας περιττῆς ἔδωκε τὰς
obedient the wretched for-goodwill excessive paid the
ἀνωτάτω δίκας πανοίκιος αὐτῇ γυναικὶ καὶ τέκνοις
highest penalties with-all-his-household along-with wife and children
συναναιρεθεὶς ὡς περιττὸν ἄχθος καὶ παρενόχλημα.
killed-together as superfluous burden and nuisance
καὶ γὰρ ὁπότε πόρρωθεν αὐτὸν ἀφικνούμενον ἴδοι, τοιαῦτα 15
and for whenever from-afar him arriving he-saw such-things
πρὸς τοὺς συνόντας διεξῄει· "μὴ μειδιῶμεν, κατηφῶμεν· ὁ
to those with-him he-went-through not let-us-smile let-us-look-glum the
νουθετητὴς παραγίνεται, ὁ αὐθέκαστος, ὁ ἀνδρὸς τελείου
admonisher is-coming the blunt-one the(-one) of-man perfect

καὶ αὐτοκράτορος ἀρξάμενος νῦν εἶναι παιδαγωγός, ὅτε καὶ
and emperor having-begun now to-be tutor when even
τοὺς ἐκ πρώτης ἡλικίας ὁ καιρὸς ἀπήλασε καὶ διέζευξεν."
those from first age the time drove-off and separated

16 Ἐπεὶ δ' οὖν καὶ τοῦτον ἔγνω προσανῃρημένον ὁ Φλάκκος,
when and then also this-one knew killed-besides — Flaccus
τὴν λοιπὴν ἐλπίδα κατὰ τὸ παντελὲς ἀπεγνώκει καὶ
the remaining hope in the complete he-had-despaired-of and
οὐκέθ' ὁμοίως ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι τῶν πραγμάτων οἷός τε
no-longer alike to-take-hold of-the affairs able —
ἦν ἐξασθενῶν καὶ διαρρέων τὴν γνώμην.
he-was growing-weak and dissolving the judgment

17 ὅταν δ' ὁ ἄρχων ἀπογνῷ τὸ δύνασθαι κρατεῖν, ἀνάγκη
when and the ruler despairs-of the being-able to-rule necessity
τοὺς ὑπηκόους εὐθὺς ἀφηνιάζειν καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς ἐκ
the subjects at-once to-rebel and most those from
μικρῶν καὶ τῶν τυχόντων πεφυκότας ἀνερεθίζεσθαι· ἐν
small and the chance-things being-by-nature to-be-provoked among
οἷς τὸ Αἰγυπτιακὸν τὰ πρωτεῖα φέρεται διὰ βραχυτάτου
whom the Egyptian-element the first-prizes carries-off through smallest
σπινθῆρος εἰωθὸς ἐκφυσᾶν στάσεις μεγάλας.
spark accustomed to-blow-up factions great

18 ἐν ἀμηχάνοις δὲ καὶ ἀπόροις γεγονὼς ἐσφάδαζε καὶ
in helplessness and and desperate-straits having-become he-was-agitated and
τὰ πρὸ μικροῦ πάντα ἤλλαξεν ἅμα τῇ τοῦ λογισμοῦ
the-things before little all he-changed together-with the of-the reasoning
πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον μεταβολῇ ποιησάμενος τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ τῶν
toward the worse change having-made the beginning from the
συνηθεστάτων· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ εὔνους καὶ μάλιστα φίλους
most-intimate the indeed for well-disposed and most friends

ὑφωρᾶτο καὶ διωθεῖτο, τοῖς δ' ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀνομολογηθεῖσιν
he-suspected and thrust-away with-the but from beginning acknowledged
ἐχθροῖς ἐσπένδετο καὶ συμβούλοις περὶ πάντων ἐχρῆτο.
enemies he-made-truce and as-counselors about all-things used
οἱ δ' — ἐγκότως γὰρ εἶχον — τὸ κατηλλάχθαι δοκεῖν λόγῳ 19
they but rancorously for they-were the to-have-been-reconciled to-seem in-word
μόνον ἐπιμορφάσαντες, ἔργοις δὲ κατὰ διάνοιαν ἀσύμβατα
only having-feigned in-deeds but in mind irreconcilably
μνησικακοῦντες καὶ ὥσπερ ἐν θεάτρῳ καθυποκρινόμενοι
bearing-grudges and as in theater playing-the-part-of
γνησίαν φιλίαν ὅλον αὐτὸν συναρπάζουσι· καὶ γίνεται ὁ μὲν
genuine friendship whole him carry-off and becomes the indeed
ἄρχων ὑπήκοος, οἱ δ' ὑπήκοοι ἡγεμόνες, εἰσηγούμενοι μὲν
ruler subject the and subjects leaders proposing indeed
ἀλυσιτελεστάτας γνώμας, εὐθὺς δὲ ταύτας ἐπισφραγιζόμενοι.
most-unprofitable judgments at-once and these sealing

Isidorus, Dionysius, and Lampo become the authors of all his decisions and propose a most grievous plan: since the boy Tiberius Nero and Macro are gone, Flaccus needs an advocate with Gaius, and the city of Alexandria will be one if he gives up the Jews. He agrees. Then Agrippa, newly made king, sails from Dicaearchia to Alexandria on Gaius' advice and tries to pass unnoticed, but the envious Alexandrians, allowed by Flaccus, jeer at him in the gymnasium and stage a mockery: they crown a harmless lunatic named Carabas with a papyrus leaf, robe him in a rug, and hail him as Marin, lord, while Flaccus pretends not to see.

20 βεβαιωταὶ γὰρ ὧν ἐβουλεύσαντο πάντων ἐγίνοντο
confirmers for of-what they-counseled of-all they-became
κωφὸν ὡς ἐπὶ σκηνῆς προσωπεῖον ἕνεκα προσχήματος
mute as on stage mask for-the-sake of-show
αὐτὸ μόνον παραλαμβάνοντες ἐπιγεγραμμένον ὄνομα
itself only taking-on inscribed name
ἀρχῆς, Διονύσιοι δημοκόποι, Λάμπωνες γραμματοκύφωνες,
of-office Dionysiuses demagogues Lampos scribe-hunchbacks
Ἰσίδωροι στασιάρχαι, φιλοπράγμονες, κακῶν εὑρεταί,
Isidoruses faction-leaders busybodies of-evils inventors
ταραξιπόλιδες· τοῦτο γὰρ κεκράτηκέ πως τοὔνομα.
city-disturbers this for has-prevailed somehow the-name
21 συνταξάμενοι πάντες οὗτοι βούλευμα βουλεύουσι κατὰ τῶν
having-joined-together all these plan they-plan against the
Ἰουδαίων ἀργαλεώτατον καὶ τῷ Φλάκκῳ προσελθόντες
Jews most-grievous and — to-Flaccus having-approached
ἰδίᾳ φασίν·
privately say
22 "ἔρρει μέν σοι τὰ ἀπὸ Τιβερίου Νέρωνος τοῦ
is-gone indeed for-you the-things from Tiberius Nero the
παιδός, ἔρρει δὲ καὶ ἡ μετ' ἐκεῖνον ἐλπίς, ὁ ἑταῖρός
boy is-gone and also the after him hope the companion

σου Μάκρων, αἴσια δ' οὐκ ἔστι σοι τὰ ἀπὸ
your Macro favorable but not are for-you the-things from
τοῦ κρατοῦντος· δεῖ δὴ παράκλητον ἡμᾶς εὑρεῖν
the ruler it-is-needful indeed advocate us to-find
δυνατώτατον, ὑφ' οὗ Γάιος ἐξευμενισθήσεται.
most-powerful by whom Gaius will-be-propitiated
ὁ δὲ παράκλητος ἡ πόλις Ἀλεξανδρέων ἐστίν, ἣν τετίμηκε 23
the and advocate the city of-Alexandrians is which has-honored
μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἅπας ὁ Σεβαστὸς οἶκος, διαφερόντως
indeed from beginning all the Augustan house especially
δ' ὁ νῦν ἡμῶν δεσπότης. παρακλητεύσει δὲ τυχοῦσά
and the now our master it-will-plead and having-obtained
τινος παρὰ σοῦ δωρεᾶς· μεῖζον δ' ἀγαθὸν οὐδὲν αὐτῇ
some from you gift greater and good none to-it
παρέξεις ἢ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἐκδοὺς καὶ προέμενος."
you-will-provide than the Jews handing-over and abandoning
ἐπὶ τούτοις ὀφείλων ἀπώσασθαι καὶ δυσχεραῖναι τοὺς 24
at these owing to-thrust-away and to-be-vexed-with those
λέγοντας ὡς νεωτεροποιοὺς καὶ κοινοὺς πολεμίους
speaking as revolutionaries and common enemies
συνεπιγράφεται τοῖς λεχθεῖσι. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον
he-subscribes to-the-things said and the indeed first
ἀδηλοτέρας ἐποιεῖτο τὰς ἐπιβουλὰς μήτ' ἴσον παρέχων
more-obscure he-made the plots neither impartial providing
καὶ κοινὸν ἀκροατὴν ἑαυτὸν τοῖς τὰς ἀμφισβητήσεις
and common hearer himself to-those the disputes
ἔχουσιν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς θάτερον ἀποκλίνων μέρος, μήτ' ἐν
having but to the-one inclining part nor in
τοῖς ἄλλοις ἰσηγορίαν διδούς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁπότε προσίοι
the other-things equal-speech giving but even whenever approached
τις τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ἀποστρεφόμενος καὶ τὸ δυσέντευκτον
any of-the Jews turning-away and the hard-of-access

ἐπιτηδεύων ἐπὶ μόνων τούτων· αὖθις δὲ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ
affecting toward only these again and also from the
φανεροῦ τὴν δυσμένειαν ἐπεδείξατο.
open the hostility he-displayed

25 Προσεπέρρωσε δ' αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐκ μαθήσεως τὸ πλέον ἢ
strengthened-further and his the from learning the more than
φύσεως ἐπιτετηδευμένην ἀπόνοιαν καὶ συντυχία τις τοιαύτη.
nature practiced madness also coincidence some such
Γάιος Καῖσαρ Ἀγρίππᾳ τῷ Ἡρῴδου βασιλέως υἱωνῷ
Gaius Caesar to-Agrippa the of-Herod king grandson
δίδωσι βασιλείαν τῆς παππῴας λήξεως τρίτην μοῖραν, ἣν
gives kingdom of-the grandfather's portion third part which
Φίλιππος τετράρχης θεῖος ὢν αὐτῷ πρὸς πατρὸς ἐκαρποῦτο.
Philip tetrarch uncle being to-him on father's-side enjoyed

26 μέλλοντι δ' ἀπαίρειν συνεβούλευσεν ὁ Γάιος τὸν μὲν
to-him-about and to-depart advised — Gaius the indeed
ἀπὸ Βρεντεσίου μέχρι Συρίας πλοῦν μακρὸν ὄντα
from Brundisium as-far-as Syria voyage long being
καὶ καματηρὸν παραιτήσασθαι, χρῆσθαι δ' ἐπιτόμῳ
and toilsome to-decline to-use and short-cut
τοὺς ἐτησίας ἀναμείναντι τῷ διὰ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας·
the etesians having-waited-for the through — Alexandria
τάς τε γὰρ ἐκεῖθεν ὁλκάδας ταχυναυτεῖν ἔφασκε καὶ
the both for from-there merchantmen to-sail-fast he-said and
ἐμπειροτάτους εἶναι κυβερνήτας, οἳ καθάπερ ἀθλητὰς
most-experienced to-be pilots who like athletic
ἵππους ἡνιοχοῦσιν ἀπλανῆ παρέχοντες τὸν ἐπ' εὐθείας
horses drive-them unwandering providing the on straight
δρόμον. ὁ δὲ πειθαρχεῖ ὡς δεσπότῃ τε ἅμα καὶ τὰ
course he and obeys as master both at-once and the-things
δοκοῦντα συμφέρειν παραγγέλλοντι.
seeming to-be-advantageous enjoining

καταβὰς δ' εἰς Δικαιάρχειαν καὶ ναῦς ὑφόρμους 27
having-gone-down and to Dicaearchia and ships at-anchor
Ἀλεξανδρίδας ἰδὼν εὐτρεπεῖς πρὸς ἀναγωγήν, ἐπιβὰς
Alexandrian having-seen ready for putting-to-sea having-embarked
μετὰ τῶν ἰδίων, εὐπλοίᾳ χρησάμενος, ὀλίγαις ὕστερον
with the own good-voyage having-had few later
ἡμέραις ἀνεπιφάτως καὶ ἀφωράτως κατάγεται, κελεύσας
days unannounced and unobserved puts-in having-bidden
τοῖς κυβερνήταις — περὶ γὰρ δείλην ὥραν ὁ Φάρος
the pilots about for late hour — Pharos
ἀναφαίνεται — τὰ μὲν ἱστία συνάγειν, ἔξω δὲ περὶ αὐτὸν
comes-into-view the indeed sails to-take-in outside but about it
μὴ μακρὰν ἀφισταμένους θαλαττεύειν ἄχρι τοῦ βαθεῖαν
not far standing-off to-keep-at-sea until the late
ἑσπέραν ἐπιγενέσθαι καὶ νυκτὸς τοῖς λιμέσι προσσχεῖν,
evening to-come-on and by-night to-the harbors to-put-in
ἵν' ἀποβὰς ἤδη τετραμμένων ἁπάντων πρὸς ὕπνον,
so-that having-landed already turned all to sleep
μηδενὸς ὁρῶντος, ἀφίκηται πρὸς τὸν ξενοδόχον.
no-one seeing he-might-arrive at the host
ὁ μὲν δὴ μετὰ τοσαύτης αἰδοῦς ἐπεδήμησε βουλόμενος, 28
he indeed indeed with so-great modesty visited wishing
εἴ πως οἷόν τε ἦν, ἅπαντας τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει λαθὼν
if somehow possible — it-was all those in the city escaping-notice
ὑπεξελθεῖν· οὐ γὰρ κατὰ θέαν ἀφῖκτο τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας
to-slip-away not for for sightseeing he-had-come — of-Alexandria
ἐπιδεδημηκὼς αὐτῇ πρότερον, ἡνίκα τὸν ἐπὶ Ῥώμης πλοῦν
having-visited it before when the to Rome voyage
ἐστέλλετο πρὸς Τιβέριον, ἀλλ' ὁδῷ χρησόμενος ἐπιτόμῳ
he-was-making to Tiberius but road going-to-use short-cut
τῆς οἴκαδε ἀφίξεως.
of-the homeward arrival

29 οἱ δ' ὑπὸ φθόνου ῥηγνύμενοι — βάσκανον γὰρ φύσει τὸ
they but by envy bursting envious for by-nature the
Αἰγυπτιακόν — καὶ τὰς ἑτέρων εὐτυχίας ἰδίας ὑπελάμβανον
Egyptian-element and the of-others good-fortunes own supposed
εἶναι κακοπραγίας καὶ ἅμα διὰ τὴν παλαιὰν καὶ τρόπον
to-be misfortunes and at-once because-of the ancient and in-a-way
τινὰ φύσει γεγενημένην πρὸς Ἰουδαίους ἀπέχθειαν ἤσχαλλον
some by-nature having-arisen toward Jews hatred were-vexed
ἐπὶ τῷ γεγενῆσθαί τινα βασιλέα Ἰουδαῖον οὐχ ἧττον, ἢ
at the to-have-become some king Jew no less than
εἰ αὐτός τις ἕκαστος βασιλείαν προγονικὴν ἀφῄρητο.
if himself some each kingdom ancestral had-been-deprived-of
30 καὶ τὸν ἄθλιον Φλάκκον πάλιν οἱ συνόντες ἀνηρέθιζον
and the wretched Flaccus again those with-him provoked
εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν ἐνάγοντες καὶ προκαλούμενοι φθόνον, "σὴ
to the same leading and challenging envy your
κατάλυσίς ἐστι" φάσκοντες "ἡ ἐπιδημία τούτου· μείζονα
undoing is saying the visit of-this-one greater
τιμῆς καὶ εὐδοξίας ὄγκον ἢ σὺ περιβέβληται· πάντας
of-honor and of-good-repute mass than you he-has-put-on all
εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἐπιστρέφει τὴν δορυφόρον τῶν σωματοφυλάκων
to himself turns the spear-bearing of-the bodyguards
στρατιὰν ὁρῶντας ἐπαργύροις καὶ ἐπιχρύσοις ὅπλοις
troop seeing with-silver and with-gold arms
διακεκοσμημένην.
adorned
31 ἔδει γὰρ ἥκειν εἰς ἐπικράτειαν ἑτέρου δυνάμενον πλῷ
it-was-needful for to-come into province of-another being-able by-voyage
χρησάμενον εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ἀσφαλῶς παραπεμφθῆναι; καὶ
having-used to the own safely to-be-escorted and
γὰρ εἰ Γάιος ἐπέτρεπε, μᾶλλον δ' ἠνάγκαζεν, ἐχρῆν
for if Gaius allowed rather but compelled it-was-needful

ἐκλιπαρήσαντα παραιτήσασθαι τὴν ἐνθάδε ἄφιξιν, ἵνα μὴ
having-entreated to-decline the here arrival so-that not
παρευημερηθεὶς ὁ τῆς χώρας ἡγεμὼν ἀδοξῇ."
having-been-outshone the of-the country governor be-in-disrepute
ταῦτα ἀκούων ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον ᾤδει καὶ ἐν μὲν 32
these-things hearing still more than before he-swelled and in indeed
τῷ φανερῷ τὸν ἑταῖρον καὶ φίλον καθυπεκρίνετο διὰ
the open the companion and friend he-played-the-part-of because-of
τὸν ἐκ τοῦ πέμψαντος φόβον, ἰδίᾳ δὲ ἐζηλοτύπει καὶ
the from the(-one) having-sent fear privately but he-envied and
ἐξελάλει τὸ μῖσος καὶ πλαγίως αὐτὸν ὕβριζεν, ἐπειδήπερ
blabbed the hatred and obliquely him insulted since
ἄντικρυς οὐκ ἐθάρρει.
openly not he-dared
τῷ γὰρ ἀργοῦντι καὶ σχολάζοντι τῆς πόλεως ὄχλῳ — 33
to-the for idle and at-leisure of-the city crowd
πλῆθος δ' ἐστὶν ἐπιτετηδευκὸς γλωσσαλγίαν καὶ
multitude and is practiced-in tongue-wagging and
ἐνευκαιροῦν διαβολαῖς καὶ βλασφημίαις — ἐπιτρέπει
spending-time-on slanders and blasphemies he-allows
κακηγορεῖν τὸν βασιλέα εἴτε ἀρξάμενος δι' ἑαυτοῦ
to-revile the king whether having-begun through himself
τῶν λοιδοριῶν εἴτε προτρεψάμενος καὶ ἐναγαγὼν αὐτὸς
the abuses or having-urged and having-led-on himself
διὰ τῶν ὑπηρετεῖν τὰ τοιαῦτα εἰωθότων.
through those to-serve the such-things accustomed
οἱ δ' ἀφορμῆς λαβόμενοι διημέρευον ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ 34
they and occasion having-seized spent-the-day in the gymnasium
χλευάζοντες τὸν βασιλέα καὶ σκώμματα συνείροντες· πῇ
mocking the king and jests stringing-together partly
δὲ καὶ ποιηταῖς μίμων καὶ γελοίων διδασκάλοις χρώμενοι
and also poets of-mimes and of-jokes teachers using

τὴν ἐν τοῖς αἰσχροῖς εὐφυΐαν ἐπεδείκνυντο, βραδεῖς μὲν
the in the shameful-things talent they-displayed slow indeed
ὄντες τὰ καλὰ παιδεύεσθαι, τὰ δ' ἐναντία μανθάνειν
being the fine-things to-be-taught the but contrary to-learn
ὀξύτατοι καὶ προχειρότατοι.
sharpest and readiest

35 διὰ τί γὰρ οὐκ ἠγανάκτησεν, οὐκ ἀπήγαγεν, οὐκ ἐπέπληξε
for what for not was-he-indignant not did-he-arrest not did-he-rebuke
τῆς αὐθάδους βλασφημίας; εἰ δὲ μὴ βασιλεὺς ἦν, ἀλλά
for-the arrogant blasphemy if but not king he-was but
τις τῶν ἐκ τῆς Καίσαρος οἰκίας, οὐκ ὤφειλε προνομίαν
someone of-those from the of-Caesar house not ought-he privilege
τινὰ καὶ τιμὴν ἔχειν; ἀλλὰ ταῦτ' εἰσὶ πίστεις ἐναργεῖς
some and honor to-have but these-things are proofs clear
τοῦ συναίτιον γεγενῆσθαι τῶν βλασφημιῶν Φλάκκον· ὁ
of-the accomplice to-have-become of-the blasphemies Flaccus the(-one)
γὰρ ἐπιπλήττειν ἢ τὸ πανύστατον ἐπέχειν ἂν δυνηθεὶς
for to-rebuke or the very-last to-restrain — being-able
εἰ μὴ κεκώλυκε, δῆλος ἦν ἐφιεὶς καὶ ἐπιτρέπων αὐτός.
if not he-has-prevented clear was permitting and allowing himself
πρὸς ὅ τι δ' ἂν ὄχλος ἀσύντακτος ἀφορμὴν λάβῃ
to what ever and — crowd disorderly occasion takes
τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων, οὐχ ἵσταται, μέτεισι δ' ἀφ' ἑτέρων
of-the misdeeds not it-stops goes but from some
εἰς ἕτερα προσεπεξεργαζόμενος ἀεί τι νεώτερον.
to others working-out-besides always something newer

36 Ἦν τις μεμηνὼς ὄνομα Καραβᾶς οὐ τὴν ἀγρίαν καὶ
was some madman by-name Carabas not the savage and
θηριώδη μανίαν — ἄσκηπτος γὰρ αὕτη γε καὶ τοῖς
bestial madness unmanageable for this at-least both for-those
ἔχουσι καὶ τοῖς πλησιάζουσιν—, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀνειμένην καὶ
having and those approaching but the relaxed and

μαλακωτέραν. οὗτος διημέρευε καὶ διενυκτέρευε γυμνὸς
softer this-one spent-the-day and spent-the-night naked
ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς οὔτε θάλπος οὔτε κρυμὸν ἐκτρεπόμενος,
in the streets neither heat nor frost avoiding
ἄθυρμα νηπίων καὶ μειρακίων σχολαζόντων.
plaything of-infants and youths idling
συνελάσαντες τὸν ἄθλιον ἄχρι τοῦ γυμνασίου καὶ 37
having-driven-together the wretch as-far-as the gymnasium and
στήσαντες μετέωρον, ἵνα καθορῷτο πρὸς πάντων,
having-stood-him aloft so-that he-might-be-seen by all
βύβλον μὲν εὐρύναντες ἀντὶ διαδήματος ἐπιτιθέασιν
papyrus-leaf indeed having-flattened instead-of diadem they-put
αὐτοῦ τῇ κεφαλῇ, χαμαιστρώτῳ δὲ τὸ ἄλλο σῶμα
on-his the head with-rug and the other body
περιβάλλουσιν ἀντὶ χλαμύδος, ἀντὶ δὲ σκήπτρου βραχύ
they-wrap instead-of cloak instead-of and scepter short
τι παπύρου τμῆμα τῆς ἐγχωρίου καθ' ὁδὸν ἐρριμμένον
some of-papyrus piece of-the native along road thrown
ἰδών τις ἀναδίδωσιν.
having-seen someone hands-up
ἐπεὶ δὲ ὡς ἐν θεατρικοῖς μίμοις τὰ παράσημα τῆς βασιλείας 38
when and as in theatrical mimes the insignia of-the kingship
ἀνειλήφει καὶ διεκεκόσμητο εἰς βασιλέα, νεανίαι ῥάβδους
he-had-taken-on and had-been-adorned into king young-men rods
ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων φέροντες ἀντὶ λογχοφόρων ἑκατέρωθεν
on the shoulders carrying instead-of spearmen on-each-side
εἱστήκεσαν μιμούμενοι δορυφόρους. εἶθ' ἕτεροι προσῄεσαν,
stood imitating bodyguards then others approached
οἱ μὲν ὡς ἀσπασόμενοι, οἱ δὲ ὡς δικασόμενοι,
the(-ones) indeed as going-to-greet the(-others) and as going-to-plead
οἱ δ' ὡς ἐντευξόμενοι περὶ κοινῶν πραγμάτων.
the(-others) and as going-to-petition about public affairs

39 εἶτ᾽ ἐκ τοῦ περιεστῶτος ἐν κύκλῳ πλήθους ἐξήχει βοή
then from the standing-around in circle multitude rang-out shout
τις ἄτοπος Μάριν ἀποκαλούντων — οὕτως δέ φασι τὸν
some strange Marin of-those-calling so and they-say the
κύριον ὀνομάζεσθαι παρὰ Σύροις—· ᾔδεσαν γὰρ Ἀγρίππαν
lord to-be-named among Syrians they-knew for Agrippa
καὶ γένει Σύρον καὶ Συρίας μεγάλην ἀποτομὴν ἔχοντα, ἧς
both by-birth Syrian and of-Syria great portion having which
ἐβασίλευε. ταῦτα δὲ ἀκούων, μᾶλλον δὲ ὁρῶν ὁ Φλάκκος,
he-ruled these-things and hearing rather and seeing — Flaccus
40 δεόντως ἂν καὶ τὸν μεμηνότα συλλαβὼν καὶ καθείρξας,
rightly — also the madman having-arrested and having-shut-up
ἵνα μὴ παρέχῃ τοῖς κατακερτομοῦσιν ἀφορμὴν εἰς ὕβριν
so-that not he-provide to-those jeering occasion for insult
τῶν βελτιόνων, καὶ τοὺς ἐνσκευάσαντας τιμωρησάμενος, ὅτι
of-the better and those having-dressed-him having-punished that
γε βασιλέα καὶ φίλον Καίσαρος καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς Ῥωμαίων
at-least king and friend of-Caesar and by the of-Romans
βουλῆς τετιμημένον στρατηγικαῖς τιμαῖς ἐτόλμησαν καὶ
senate honored with-praetorian honors they-dared both
ἔργοις καὶ λόγοις καὶ φανερῶς καὶ πλαγίως ὑβρίζειν, οὐ
by-deeds and by-words both openly and obliquely to-insult not
μόνον οὐκ ἐπέπληξεν, ἀλλ᾽ οὐδ᾽ ἐπισχεῖν ἠξίωσεν ἄδειαν
only not he-rebuked but not-even to-restrain deemed-fit impunity
καὶ ἐκεχειρίαν διδοὺς τοῖς ἐθελοκακοῦσι καὶ ἐθελέχθρως
and truce giving to-those wishing-evil and with-willful-enmity
ἔχουσι, προσποιούμενος ἅ τε ἑώρα μὴ ὁρᾶν καὶ ὧν
disposed pretending the-things both he-saw not to-see and what
ἤκουε μὴ ἀκούειν.
he-heard not to-hear

Seeing Flaccus' connivance, the mob crowds into the theater shouting for images to be set up in the prayer-houses, a novelty that Flaccus permits and that sets a precedent dangerous to Jews everywhere, since they live in many cities of Europe and Asia. The plotters use Caesar's name as a screen, though the prayer-houses are where the Jews honor the Augustan house. When the prayer-houses have been seized Flaccus turns to their citizenship. A few days later he declares the Jews foreigners and aliens, condemning them unheard; the mob drives them out of four quarters of the city's five into a narrow part of one, plunders their houses and shops, and their trade is ruined.

ὅπερ συναισθόμενος ὁ ὄχλος — οὐχ ὁ καθεστὼς καὶ 41
which having-perceived the crowd not the settled and
δημοτικός, ἀλλ' ὁ πάντα θορύβου καὶ ταραχῆς
popular but the(-one) all-things with-uproar and confusion
εἰωθὼς ἀναπιμπλάναι διὰ φιλοπραγμοσύνην καὶ ζῆλον
accustomed to-fill through busybodying and zeal
ἀβιώτου βίου καὶ τὴν ἐξ ἔθους ἀργίαν καὶ σχολήν,
of-unlivable life and the from habit idleness and leisure
πρᾶγμα ἐπίβουλον — συρρυέντες εἰς τὸ θέατρον ἐξ
thing treacherous having-flocked into the theater from
ἑωθινοῦ Φλάκκον ἤδη τιμῶν ἀθλίων ἐωνημένοι, ἃς
dawn Flaccus already with-honors wretched having-bought which
ὁ δοξομανὴς καὶ παλίμπρατος ἐλάμβανεν οὐ καθ' αὑτοῦ
the glory-mad and twice-sold-one received not against himself
μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς κοινῆς ἀσφαλείας, ἀνεβόησαν ἀφ'
only but also the common safety they-cried-out from
ἑνὸς συνθήματος εἰκόνας ἐν ταῖς προσευχαῖς ἀνατιθέναι,
one signal images in the prayer-houses to-set-up
καινότατον καὶ μηδέπω πραχθὲν εἰσηγούμενοι παρανόμημα.
newest and never-yet done proposing lawless-act

42 καὶ τοῦτ᾽ εἰδότες — ὀξύτατοι γὰρ τὴν μοχθηρίαν
and this knowing sharpest for in-the wickedness
εἰσί — κατασοφίζονται τὸ Καίσαρος ὄνομα προκάλυμμα
they-are they-act-craftily the of-Caesar name screen
ποιησάμενοι, ᾧ προσάπτειν τι τῶν ἐπαιτίων οὐ
having-made to-which to-attach anything of-the blameworthy not
θεμιτόν.
lawful

43 τί οὖν ὁ τῆς χώρας ἐπίτροπος; ἐπιστάμενος, ὅτι καὶ ἡ
what then the of-the country governor knowing that both the
πόλις οἰκήτορας ἔχει διττούς, ἡμᾶς τε καὶ τούτους, καὶ πᾶσα
city inhabitants has twofold us both and these and all
Αἴγυπτος, καὶ ὅτι οὐκ ἀποδέουσι μυριάδων ἑκατὸν οἱ
Egypt and that not fall-short of-ten-thousands hundred the(-ones)
τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν καὶ τὴν χώραν Ἰουδαῖοι κατοικοῦντες
— Alexandria and the country Jews inhabiting
ἀπὸ τοῦ πρὸς Λιβύην καταβαθμοῦ μέχρι τῶν ὁρίων
from the toward Libya descent as-far-as the borders
Αἰθιοπίας, καὶ ὡς ἡ πεῖρα κατὰ πάντων ἐστὶ καὶ ὡς οὐ
of-Ethiopia and that the attempt against all is and that not
λυσιτελὲς ἔθη πάτρια κινεῖν, ἀμελήσας ἁπάντων ἐπιτρέπει
profitable customs ancestral to-move having-neglected all-things allows
ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἀνάθεσιν, μυρία καὶ πάντα προνοητικὰ
to-make the dedication countless and all-things provident
δυνάμενος ἢ ὡς ἄρχων κελεύειν ἢ συμβουλεύειν ὡς φίλος.
being-able either as ruler to-order or to-advise as friend

44 ὁ δὲ — συνεχειρούργει γὰρ ἕκαστα τῶν
he but took-part-with for in-each of-the-things
ἁμαρτανομένων — καὶ ἀπὸ μείζονος ἐξουσίας ἀναρριπίζειν
being-committed and from greater power to-fan
καινοτέραις ἀεὶ κακῶν προσθήκαις τὴν στάσιν ἠξίου
with-newer always of-evils additions the faction he-deemed-fit

καὶ τό γ' ἐφ' αὑτὸν ἦκον μέρος ἅπασαν ὀλίγου
and the at-least to himself having-come part all little
δεῖν φάναι τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐμφυλίων πολέμων ἐπλήρωσεν.
to-lack to-say the inhabited-world with-civil wars he-filled
οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἄδηλον, ὅτι ἡ περὶ τὴν κατάλυσιν τῶν 45
not for was unclear that the about the destruction of-the
προσευχῶν φήμη λαβοῦσα τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας
prayer-houses report having-taken the beginning from — Alexandria
διαδοθήσεται μὲν εὐθὺς εἰς τοὺς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ νομούς,
will-be-spread indeed at-once into the in Egypt nomes
δραμεῖται δ' ἀπὸ μὲν Αἰγύπτου πρὸς ἀνατολὰς καὶ ἔθνη
will-run and from indeed Egypt to east and nations
τὰ ἑῷα, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ὑποταινίου καὶ Μαρείας, αἳ Λιβύης
the eastern from but — Hypotaenia and Mareia which of-Libya
εἰσὶν ἀρχαί, πρὸς δυσμὰς καὶ ἔθνη τὰ ἑσπέρια· Ἰουδαίους
are beginnings to west and nations the western Jews
γὰρ χώρα μία διὰ πολυανθρωπίαν οὐ χωρεῖ.
for country one through populousness not holds
ἧς αἰτίας ἕνεκα τὰς πλείστας καὶ εὐδαιμονεστάτας 46
of-which reason for-the-sake the most and most-prosperous
τῶν ἐν Εὐρώπῃ καὶ Ἀσίᾳ κατά τε νήσους καὶ ἠπείρους
of-the in Europe and Asia in both islands and mainlands
ἐκνέμονται μητρόπολιν μὲν τὴν ἱερόπολιν ἡγούμενοι, καθ'
they-inhabit mother-city indeed the holy-city thinking in
ἣν ἵδρυται ὁ τοῦ ὑψίστου θεοῦ νεὼς ἅγιος, ἃς δ' ἔλαχον
which is-set the of-the highest god temple holy which but they-obtained
ἐκ πατέρων καὶ πάππων καὶ προπάππων καὶ τῶν ἔτι
from fathers and grandfathers and great-grandfathers and the still
ἄνω προγόνων οἰκεῖν ἕκαστοι πατρίδας νομίζοντες, ἐν αἷς
above ancestors to-inhabit each fatherlands thinking in which

ἐγεννήθησαν καὶ ἐτράφησαν· εἰς ἐνίας δὲ καὶ κτιζομένας
they-were-born and were-reared into some and also being-founded
εὐθὺς ἦλθον ἀποικίαν στειλάμενοι, τοῖς κτίσταις χαριζόμενοι.
at-once they-came colony having-sent to-the founders gratifying
47 καὶ δέος ἦν, μὴ οἱ πανταχοῦ τὴν ἀφορμὴν ἐκεῖθεν
and fear was lest those everywhere the occasion from-there
λαβόντες ἐπηρεάζωσι τοῖς πολίταις αὐτῶν Ἰουδαίοις εἰς
having-taken insult the fellow-citizens their Jews in
τὰς προσευχὰς καὶ τὰ πάτρια νεωτερίζοντες.
the prayer-houses and the ancestral-things innovating
48 οἱ δέ — οὐ γὰρ ἔμελλον ἄχρι παντὸς ἡσυχάζειν καίτοι
they but not for they-were-going until all to-keep-quiet and-yet
πεφυκότες εὖ πρὸς εἰρήνην, οὐ μόνον ὅτι παρὰ πᾶσιν
being-by-nature well for peace not only because among all
ἀνθρώποις οἱ περὶ τῶν ἐθῶν ἀγῶνες καὶ τοὺς περὶ ψυχῆς
men the about the customs struggles even the about life
κινδύνους ὑπερβάλλουσιν, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ μόνοι τῶν ὑφ'
dangers surpass but because also alone of-those under
ἥλιον ἅμα ταῖς προσευχαῖς ἀπεστεροῦντο τὴν εἰς τοὺς
sun together-with the prayer-houses they-were-deprived-of the toward the
εὐεργέτας εὐσέβειαν, ἣ μυρίων θανάτων ἐτετίμηντο
benefactors piety which at-ten-thousand deaths they-would-have-valued
ἄν — οὐκ ἔχοντες ἱεροὺς περιβόλους, οἷς ἐνδιαθήσονται
— not having sacred enclosures in-which they-will-deposit
τὸ εὐχάριστον, καὶ τοῖς ἐναντιουμένοις εἶπον ἄν·
the gratitude and to-those opposing they-would-say —
49 "λελήθατε ἑαυτοὺς οὐ προστιθέντες τοῖς κυρίοις τιμήν,
you-have-failed-to-notice yourselves not adding to-the lords honor
ἀλλ' ἀφαιρούμενοι, οὐκ εἰδότες ὡς τοῖς πανταχόθι τῆς
but taking-away not knowing that for-the everywhere of-the
οἰκουμένης Ἰουδαίοις ὁρμητήρια τῆς εἰς τὸν Σεβαστὸν
inhabited-world Jews bases of-the toward the Augustan

οἶκον ὁσιότητός εἰσιν αἱ προσευχαὶ ἐπιδήλως, ὧν ἡμῖν
house piety are the prayer-houses manifestly which from-us
ἀναιρεθεισῶν τίς ἕτερος ἀπολείπεται τόπος ἢ τρόπος τιμῆς;
taken-away what other is-left place or manner of-honor
εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐφιέντων τῶν ἐθῶν ὀλιγωροῦμεν, τῆς ἀνωτάτω 50
if indeed for permitting the customs we-neglect of-the highest
τιμωρίας δίκαιοι τυγχάνειν ἐσμὲν μὴ παρέχοντες ἀρτίους
punishment just to-obtain we-are not providing complete
καὶ πλήρεις τὰς ἀμοιβάς. εἰ δ' οὐκ ἐξὸν τοῖς
and full the returns if but not being-permitted by-the
ἰδίοις ὑποστέλλομεν νομίμοις, ἃ καὶ τῷ Σεβαστῷ φίλον
own we-hold-back customs which even — to-Augustus dear
βεβαιοῦν, τί μικρὸν ἢ μέγα πλημμελοῦμεν οὐκ οἶδα· πλὴν εἰ
to-confirm what small or great we-offend not I-know except if
μὴ ψέγειν τις ἐθελήσειε τὸ μὴ γνώμῃ ἑκουσίῳ παρανομεῖν
not to-blame anyone should-wish the not by-judgment willing to-transgress
τὰς ἐκδιαιτήσεις τῶν ἐθῶν οὐ φυλαξαμένους, αἵ, κἂν ἀφ'
the departures of-the customs not having-guarded-against which even-if from
ἑτέρων ἄρξωνται, τελευτῶσι πολλάκις εἰς τοὺς αἰτίους."
others they-begin end often upon the guilty
ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Φλάκκος τά τε λεκτέα ἡσυχάζων καὶ 51
but — indeed Flaccus the-things both to-be-said keeping-silent and
τὰ ἡσυχαστέα λέγων οὕτως εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐξημάρτανεν.
the-things to-be-kept-silent saying thus against us erred
ἐκεῖνοι δ', οἷς ἐχαρίζετο, τίνα γνώμην εἶχον; ἆρά γε
they but to-whom he-did-favors what judgment had-they is-it at-least
τὴν τῶν τιμᾶν ἐθελόντων; εἶτα σπάνις ἦν ἱερῶν
the of-those to-honor wishing then scarcity was-there of-shrines
κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, ἧς τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ ἀναγκαιότατα
in the city of-which the most and most-necessary
μέρη τετεμένισται, πρὸς ἀνάθεσιν ὧν ἐβούλοντο;
parts have-been-made-precincts for dedication of-what they-wished

52 τὴν μὲν οὖν τῶν φιλαπεχθημόνων καὶ μετὰ τέχνης
the indeed then of-the hatred-loving and with craft
ἐπιβουλευόντων ὁρμὴν ἔφαμεν, δι᾽ ἣν οἱ μὲν
plotting impulse we-said through which the(-ones) indeed
ἐπηρεάζοντες οὐ δόξουσιν ἀδικεῖν, τοῖς δ᾽ ἐπηρεαζομένοις
insulting not will-seem to-do-wrong for-the but insulted
οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς ἐναντιοῦσθαι. οὐ γάρ ἐστιν, ὦ γενναῖοι, τιμὴ
not safe to-oppose not for is O noble-sirs honor
καταλύειν νόμους, ἔθη πάτρια κινεῖν, ἐπηρεάζειν τοῖς
to-dissolve laws customs ancestral to-move to-insult those
συνοικοῦσι, διδάσκειν καὶ τοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσιν
dwelling-with-them to-teach also those in the other cities
ὁμοφροσύνης ἀλογεῖν.
of-concord to-disregard

53 Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἡ κατὰ τῶν νόμων πεῖρα εὐοδεῖν ἔδοξεν
when then the against the laws attempt to-go-well seemed
αὐτῷ τὰς προσευχὰς ἁρπάσαντι καὶ μηδὲ τοὔνομα
to-him the prayer-houses having-seized and not-even the-name
ὑπολιπομένῳ, πάλιν ἐφ᾽ ἕτερον ἐτρέπετο, τὴν τῆς
having-left again to another he-turned the of-the
ἡμετέρας πολιτείας ἀναίρεσιν, ἵν᾽ ἀποκοπέντων οἷς
our citizenship abolition so-that cut-off on-which
μόνοις ἐφώρμει ὁ ἡμέτερος βίος ἐθῶν τε πατρίων καὶ
alone rested the our life customs both ancestral and
μετουσίας πολιτικῶν δικαίων τὰς ἐσχάτας ὑπομένωμεν
of-sharing civil rights the last we-may-endure
συμφορὰς οὐδενὸς ἐπειλημμένοι πείσματος εἰς ἀσφάλειαν.
misfortunes on-no having-taken-hold cable for safety

54 ὀλίγαις γὰρ ὕστερον ἡμέραις τίθησι πρόγραμμα, δι᾽
few for later days he-posts edict through
οὗ ξένους καὶ ἐπήλυδας ἡμᾶς ἀπεκάλει μηδὲ λόγου
which foreigners and aliens us he-called not-even of-speech

μεταδούς, ἀλλ᾽ ἀκρίτως καταδικάζων. οὗ τί ἂν εἴη
giving-a-share but untried condemning than-which what — would-be
τυραννίδος ἐπάγγελμα μεῖζον; αὐτὸς γενόμενος τὰ
of-tyranny profession greater himself having-become all-things
πάντα, κατήγορος, ἐχθρός, μάρτυς, δικαστής, κολαστής,
accuser enemy witness judge punisher then
εἶτα δυσὶ τοῖς προτέροις καὶ τρίτον προσέθηκεν ἐφεὶς
to-the two the former also third he-added having-permitted
ὡς ἐν ἁλώσει τοῖς ἐθέλουσι πορθεῖν Ἰουδαίους. οἱ δὲ
as in capture to-those wishing to-sack Jews they and
λαβόντες ἄδειαν τί πράττουσι;
having-received impunity what do-they-do
πέντε μοῖραι τῆς πόλεώς εἰσιν, ἐπώνυμοι τῶν πρώτων 55
five quarters of-the city are named-after the first
στοιχείων τῆς ἐγγραμμάτου φωνῆς· τούτων δύο Ἰουδαϊκαὶ
letters of-the written speech of-these two Jewish
λέγονται διὰ τὸ πλείστους Ἰουδαίους ἐν ταύταις κατοικεῖν·
are-called because-of the most Jews in these to-dwell
οἰκοῦσι δὲ καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις οὐκ ὀλίγοι σποράδες. τί
dwell and also in the others not few scattered what
οὖν ἐποίησαν; ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων γραμμάτων ἐξώκισαν
then did-they-do from the four letters they-expelled
τοὺς Ἰουδαίους καὶ συνήλασαν εἰς ἑνὸς μοῖραν βραχυτάτην.
the Jews and drove-together into of-one quarter smallest
οἱ δὲ ἐξεχέοντο διὰ τὸ πλῆθος εἰς αἰγιαλοὺς καὶ κοπρίας 56
they and poured-out because-of the multitude onto beaches and dunghills
καὶ μνήματα πάντων στερόμενοι τῶν ἰδίων. ἐκεῖνοι δὲ τὰς
and tombs of-all deprived of-the own they but the
οἰκίας ἐρήμους καταδραμόντες ἐφ᾽ ἁρπαγὴν ἐτράποντο καὶ
houses empty having-overrun to plunder turned and
ὡς ἐκ πολέμου λείαν διενέμοντο, μηδενὸς δὲ κωλύοντος
as from war booty divided no-one and preventing

καὶ τὰ ἐργαστήρια τῶν Ἰουδαίων συγκεκλεισμένα διὰ
also the workshops of-the Jews shut because-of
τὸ ἐπὶ Δρουσίλλῃ πένθος ἀναρρήξαντες ὅσα εὗρον —
the for Drusilla mourning having-broken-open as-much-as they-found
πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ταῦτ' ἦν — ἐξεφόρησαν καὶ διὰ μέσης
much and also these were they-carried-out and through middle
ἀγορᾶς ἐκόμιζον ὡς οἰκείοις τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις καταχρώμενοι.
market-place brought as with-own the others'-things using
57 τῆς δ' ἁρπαγῆς ἡ ἀπραξία κακὸν ἦν βαρύτερον,
than-the and plunder the lack-of-work evil was heavier
τὰς μὲν ἐνθήκας ἀπολωλεκότων τῶν πριστῶν, μηδενὸς
the indeed stocks having-lost the providers no-one
δὲ ἐωμένου, μὴ γεωργοῦ, μὴ ναυκλήρου, μὴ ἐμπόρου,
and allowed not farmer not shipowner not merchant
μὴ τεχνίτου, τὰ συνήθη πραγματεύεσθαι, ὡς διχόθεν
not craftsman the accustomed to-transact so-that from-two-sides
κατεσκευάσθαι πενίαν, ἔκ τε τῆς ἁρπαγῆς, ἐξουσίων μιᾷ
to-have-been-produced poverty from both the plunder destitute in-one
ἡμέρᾳ γενομένων καὶ περισεσυλημένων τὰ ἴδια, κἀκ τοῦ
day having-become and stripped-of the own and-from the
μὴ δεδυνῆσθαι πορίζειν ἐκ τῶν συνήθων ἐπιτηδευμάτων.
not to-have-been-able to-earn from the accustomed occupations
58 Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν εἰ καὶ ἀφόρητα, ἀλλ' οὖν τοῖς αὖθις
and these-things indeed if even unbearable but then to-the afterward
πεπραγμένοις συγκρινόμενα οἰστά. πενία γὰρ χαλεπὸν μέν,
done compared bearable poverty for hard indeed
καὶ μάλισθ' ὅταν κατασκευάζηται πρὸς ἐχθρῶν, ἔλαττον
and most when it-is-produced by enemies less
δὲ τῆς εἰς τὰ σώματα ὕβρεως, κἂν ᾖ βραχυτάτη.
but than-the against the bodies outrage even-if it-be smallest

τοὺς δ' ἡμετέρους διὰ τὰς ὑπερβολὰς ὧν ἔπαθον 59
the and ours because-of the excesses of-what they-suffered
οὐδ' ἂν εἴποι τις ὕβριν ἢ αἰκίαν ἐνδεδέχθαι κυρίοις
not-even — would-say anyone outrage or torture to-have-received proper
χρώμενος τοῖς ὀνόμασιν, ἀλλά μοι δοκεῖ προσρήσεων
using the names but to-me it-seems of-designations
οἰκείων ἂν ἀπορῆσαι διὰ μέγεθος κεκαινουργημένης
fitting — to-be-at-a-loss through greatness of-innovated
ὠμότητος, ὡς τὰ τῶν πολέμῳ μὲν κρατησάντων, ἐκ
cruelty so-that the-things of-those in-war indeed having-conquered by
φύσεως δ' ἀσπόνδων εἰς τοὺς ἑαλωκότας, συγκρινόμενα
nature but implacable toward the captured compared
τοῖς τούτων ἡμερώτατα ἂν εἶναι δόξαι.
to-those of-these gentlest — to-be would-seem

IV · MURDER, AND THE SCOURGING OF THE ELDERS

Plunderers in war risk defeat, but these take their spoils in peace. Cramped and starving amid a plentiful country, Jews who go out to buy food are murdered, burned alive with whole families, or dragged by the feet through the city until their bodies are torn apart; the killers mimic their victims like actors in a mime, and kinsmen who mourn are flogged and crucified. Then Flaccus has thirty-eight members of the Jewish council, set up by Augustus, arrested, stripped, and flogged in the theater before their enemies, though he knows three have been impoverished by the plunder; and he denies them even the flat-blade flogging given to Alexandrians.

χρήματα ἁρπάζουσιν ἐκεῖνοι καὶ πλῆθος αἰχμαλώτων 60
money seize they and multitude of-captive
σωμάτων, ἀλλὰ κινδυνεύσαντες, εἴπερ ἡττήθησαν,
bodies but having-run-the-risk if-indeed they-were-defeated
ἀποβαλεῖν τὰ οἰκεῖα. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ μυρίους, ὧν
to-lose the own not indeed but also countless for-whom

λύτρα κατατιθέασι συγγενεῖς ἢ φίλοι, μεθίενται τῶν
ransoms pay kinsmen or friends they-release of-the
δορυαλώτων, ἴσως μὲν ἀκαμπεῖς ὄντες πρὸς ἔλεον,
spear-won perhaps indeed unbending being toward pity
ἡττώμενοι δὲ φιλαργυρίας. ἀλλὰ τί τοῦτο; φαίη τις ἄν·
overcome but by-love-of-money but what this would-say anyone —
τοῖς γὰρ εὖ πάσχουσιν ἀδιαφορεῖ τῆς σωτηρίας ὁ τρόπος.
for-those for well faring is-indifferent of-the safety the manner
61 ἤδη δὲ καὶ τοὺς πεσόντας ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τῶν ἐχθρῶν
already and also those fallen in the war of-the enemies
ταφῆς ἀξιοῦσιν οἱ μὲν ἐπιεικεῖς καὶ φιλάνθρωποι ταῖς
of-burial they-deem-worthy those indeed fair and humane at-the
οἴκοθεν δαπάναις, οἱ δὲ τὴν ἔχθραν καὶ πρὸς νεκροὺς
from-home expenses those but the enmity even to corpses
ἀποτείνοντες ὑπόσπονδα τὰ σώματα διδόντες ὑπὲρ τοῦ
extending under-truce the bodies giving for the
μὴ τῆς τελευταίας χάριτος ἀμοιρῆσαι τῶν νομιζομένων.
not of-the last favor to-be-without-share of-the customary-rites
62 ἐν πολέμῳ μὲν οἱ δυσμενεῖς ταῦτα· ἐν εἰρήνῃ δ' οἱ
in war indeed the hostile these-things in peace but those
πρὸ μικροῦ φίλοι θεασώμεθα ὁποῖα. μετὰ γὰρ τὰς
before little friends let-us-behold what-sort after for the
ἁρπαγὰς καὶ τοὺς ἀνοικισμοὺς καὶ τὰς ἐκ τῶν πλείστων
plunderings and the expulsions and the from the most
μερῶν τῆς πόλεως βιαίους ἐλάσεις καθάπερ τειχήρεις
parts of-the city violent drivings as walled-in
ἐν κύκλῳ περικαθημένων ἐχθρῶν γεγονότες, ἀπορίᾳ καὶ
in circle sitting-around enemies having-become by-want and
σπάνει δεινῇ τῶν ἀναγκαίων πιεζόμενοι καὶ γύναια καὶ
scarcity terrible of-the necessities pressed and wives and

τέκνα νήπια ὁρῶντες ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς παραπολλύμενα λιμῷ
children infant seeing in eyes perishing by-famine
χειροποιήτῳ —
man-made
πάντα γὰρ τἄλλα εὐθηνίας καὶ εὐετηρίας μεστὰ ἦν, τοῦ 63
all for else of-plenty and good-harvest full was the
μὲν ποταμοῦ ταῖς πλημμύραις τὰς ἀρούρας πλουσίως
indeed river by-the floods the fields richly
λιμνάσαντος, τῆς δὲ πεδιάδος, ὅση πυροφόρος,
having-flooded the but plain as-much-as wheat-bearing
ἀφθονώτατον ὑπ' εὐγονίας τὸν τοῦ σίτου καρπὸν
most-abundant through fertility the of-the grain crop
ἀναγούσης—,
bringing-up
μηκέτι στέγειν δυνάμενοι τὰς ἐνδείας, οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ 64
no-longer to-endure being-able the wants the(-ones) indeed to
συγγενῶν καὶ φίλων, πρότερον οὐκ εἰωθότες, οἰκίας
of-kinsmen and friends before not accustomed houses
ἦλθον ἔρανον αὐτὰ τὰ ἀναγκαῖα αἰτήσοντες, οἱ
went contribution the-very the necessities going-to-ask the(-others)
δ' ἀπὸ φρονήματος εὐγενοῦς τὴν μεταιτῶν τύχην ὡς
but from spirit noble the of-beggars lot as
δουλοπρεπῆ καὶ ἀνελεύθερον ἐκτρεπόμενοι προῆλθον εἰς
slavish and illiberal avoiding went-forward into
ἀγορὰν οὐδενὸς ἑτέρου χάριν ἢ τοῦ πρίασθαι τοῖς
market-place for-nothing other for-the-sake than the to-buy for-the
τε οἰκείοις καὶ ἑαυτοῖς τροφάς, οἱ δυστυχεῖς.
both own and themselves foods the wretched
εὐθὺς γὰρ συναρπασθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν τὴν ὀχλοκρατίαν 65
at-once for seized by those the mob-rule
ἐπιτειχισάντων δολοφονοῦνται καὶ συρόμενοι καὶ πατούμενοι
having-fortified are-murdered and being-dragged and trampled

διὰ τῆς πόλεως ἁπάσης ἐξαναλώθησαν, οὐδενὸς
through the city whole were-destroyed no
ὑπολειφθέντος μέρους, ὃ δυνήσεται κοινωνῆσαι ταφῆς.
being-left part which will-be-able to-share burial
66 μυρίους μέντοι καὶ ἄλλους πολυτρόποις κακῶν ἰδέαις
countless however also others by-various of-evils forms
ἐπιτετηδευμέναις εἰς χαλεπὴν ὠμότητα κατειργάσαντο καὶ
devised for harsh cruelty they-made-away-with and
διέφθειραν οἱ λελυττηκότες ὑπ᾽ ἀγριότητος εἰς θηρίων
destroyed those having-gone-mad through savagery into of-beasts
φύσιν· τοὺς γὰρ ὅπῃ τύχοι φανέντας τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἢ
nature those for wherever chanced appearing of-the Jews either
κατέλευον ἢ ξύλοις κατέκοπτον οὐκ εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὰ καιριώτατα
they-stoned or with-clubs beat not at-once on the most-vital
μέρη τὰς πληγὰς φέροντες, ἵνα μὴ θᾶττον τελευτήσαντες
parts the blows bringing so-that not sooner having-died
θᾶττον καὶ τὴν τῶν ὀδυνηρῶν ἀντίληψιν ἀπόθωνται.
sooner also the of-the painful-things perception they-put-off
67 τῇ δὲ τῶν συμφορῶν ἀδείᾳ καὶ ἐκεχειρίᾳ τινὲς
in-the and of-the misfortunes impunity and truce some
ἐπινεανιευόμενοι, τῶν ἀμβλυτέρων ὅπλων ἀλογήσαντες,
growing-insolent the blunter weapons having-disregarded
ἀνελάμβανον τὰ πάντων ἀνυσιμώτατα, πῦρ καὶ σίδηρον,
took-up the of-all most-effective fire and iron
καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ξίφεσιν ἀνεῖλον, οὐκ ὀλίγους δὲ πυρὶ
and many indeed with-swords they-killed not few and with-fire
διέφθειραν.
destroyed
68 ἤδη δὲ καὶ γενεὰς ὅλας, ἄνδρας μετὰ γυναικῶν, τέκνα
already and also families whole men with women children
νήπια μετὰ γονέων, ἐνέπρησαν οἱ πάντων ἀνηλεέστατοι
infant with parents burned the of-all most-pitiless

κατὰ μέσην τὴν πόλιν, μὴ γῆρας, μὴ νεότητα, μὴ παίδων
in middle the city not old-age not youth not of-children
ἄκακον ἡλικίαν οἰκτισάμενοι· καὶ ὁπότε ξύλων ὕλης
innocent age having-pitied and whenever of-wood material
ἀπορήσειαν, φρύγανα συλλέγοντες καπνῷ τὸ πλέον ἢ
they-lacked brushwood collecting by-smoke the more than
πυρὶ διέφθειρον, οἰκτρότερον καὶ ἐπιμηκέστερον ὄλεθρον
by-fire they-destroyed more-pitiable and longer destruction
τοῖς δειλαίοις τεχνάζοντες, ὧν τὰ σώματα ἡμίφλεκτα
for-the wretched contriving whose the bodies half-burned
ἀναμὶξ ἔκειτο, χαλεπὴ καὶ ὀδυνηροτάτη θέα.
mixed lay harsh and most-painful sight
εἰ δὲ καὶ οἱ παραληφθέντες ἐπὶ φρυγανισμὸν ἐβράδυνον, 69
if and even those having-been-taken for brushwood-gathering were-slow
ἐπὶ τῶν ἰδίων σκευῶν τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἁρπαγῆς ἐνεπίμπρασαν
on the own goods those from the plunder they-burned
τοὺς δεσπότας τὰ μὲν πολυτελῆ νοσφιζόμενοι, τὰ δὲ
the masters the indeed costly appropriating the but
μὴ πάνυ χρήσιμα συγκαταφλέγοντες, οἷς ἀντὶ ξύλων
not very useful burning-with-them which instead-of wood
εἰκαίων ἐχρῶντο.
common they-used
πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ζῶντας τοῖν ποδοῖν τὸν ἕτερον ἐκδήσαντες 70
many and also living of-the two-feet the one having-bound
κατὰ τὸ σφυρὸν εἷλκον ἅμα καὶ κατηλόων ἐναλλόμενοι
at the ankle dragged at-once and crushed leaping-on
θάνατον ὠμότατον ἐπινοήσαντες·
death cruelest having-devised
καὶ τελευτησάντων, οὐδὲν ἧττον ἀτελεύτητα μηνιῶντες 71
and having-died no less unendingly raging
βαρυτέρας αἰκίας τοῖς σώμασιν ἐπέφερον, διὰ πάντων
heavier outrages on-the bodies brought through all

ὀλίγου δέω φάναι τῶν τῆς πόλεως στενωπῶν κατασύροντες,
little I-lack to-say the of-the city lanes dragging
ἕως ὁ νεκρὸς δοράς, σάρκας, ἶνας ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν ἐδάφων
until the corpse skin flesh sinews by the of-the grounds
ἀνωμαλίας καὶ τραχύτητος περιθρυφθείς, καὶ τῶν ἡνωμένων
unevenness and roughness crushed-around and of-the united
μερῶν τῆς συμφυίας διαστάντων καὶ διασπαρέντων
parts of-the combination having-separated and scattered
ἀλλαχόσε ἄλλων, ἐδαπανήθη.
elsewhere others was-consumed

72 καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτα δρῶντες ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς θεατρικοῖς
and those indeed these-things doing as in the theatrical
μίμοις καθυπεκρίνοντο τοὺς πάσχοντας· τῶν δ' ὡς
mimes played-the-part-of the sufferers of-the but as
ἀληθῶς πεπονθότων φίλοι καὶ συγγενεῖς, ὅτι μόνον ταῖς
truly having-suffered friends and kinsmen because only with-the
τῶν προσηκόντων συμφοραῖς συνήλγησαν, ἀπήγοντο,
of-those belonging misfortunes they-grieved were-arrested
ἐμαστιγοῦντο, ἐτροχίζοντο, καὶ μετὰ πάσας τὰς αἰκίας,
were-whipped were-broken-on-the-wheel and after all the outrages
ὅσας ἐδύνατο χωρῆσαι τὰ σώματα αὐτοῖς, ἡ τελευταία
as-many-as could hold the bodies for-them the last
καὶ ἔφεδρος τιμωρία σταυρὸς ἦν.
and lying-in-wait punishment cross was

73 Πάντα δὲ διορύξας καὶ τοιχωρυχήσας ὁ Φλάκκος
all-things and having-dug-through and having-broken-through-walls — Flaccus
καὶ μηδὲν μέρος τῶν Ἰουδαϊκῶν ἀμέτοχον ἐπιβουλῆς
and no part of-the Jewish without-share of-plot
τῆς ἀνωτάτω καταλιπὼν ἐπενόησεν ἔκτοπόν τινα καὶ
the highest having-left devised strange some and

παρηλλαγμένην ἐπίθεσιν, ὁ μεγαλουργός, ὁ καινῶν
unusual attack the doer-of-great-things the of-new
ἀδικημάτων εὑρετής.
wrongs inventor
τῆς γὰρ ἡμετέρας γερουσίας, ἣν ὁ σωτὴρ καὶ εὐεργέτης 74
of-the for our council-of-elders which the savior and benefactor
Σεβαστὸς ἐπιμελησομένην τῶν Ἰουδαϊκῶν εἵλετο μετὰ
Augustus going-to-care-for the Jewish-affairs chose after
τὴν τοῦ γενάρχου τελευτὴν διὰ τῶν πρὸς Μάγιον
the of-the ethnarch death through the to Magius
Μάξιμον ἐντολῶν μέλλοντα πάλιν Ἀλεξανδρείας καὶ τῆς
Maximus instructions being-about again Alexandria and the
χώρας ἐπιτροπεύειν, ὀκτὼ καὶ τριάκοντα συλλαβὼν τοὺς
country to-govern eight and thirty having-arrested those
εὑρεθέντας ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις εὐθὺς μὲν δῆσαι κελεύει, καὶ
found in the houses at-once indeed to-bind he-orders and
στείλας καλὴν πομπὴν διὰ μέσης ἀγορᾶς πρεσβύτας
having-marshaled fine procession through middle market-place old-men
δεσμίους ἐξηγκωνισμένους, τοὺς μὲν ἱμάσι, τοὺς
bound with-arms-pinioned the(-ones) indeed with-thongs the(-others)
δὲ σιδηραῖς ἁλύσεσιν, εἰς τὸ θέατρον εἰσάγει — θέαν
and with-iron chains into the theater brings-in sight
οἰκτίστην καὶ ἀλλοτριωτάτην τῷ καιρῷ —
most-pitiable and most-alien to-the occasion
καὶ στάντας ἀντικρὺ ἐχθρῶν καθεζομένων πρὸς ἐπίδειξιν 75
and standing opposite enemies seated for display
αἰσχύνης προστάττει πάντας περιδυθέντας αἰκισθῆναι
of-shame he-orders all stripped to-be-tortured
μάστιξιν, αἷς ἔθος τοὺς κακούργων πονηροτάτους
with-scourges with-which custom the of-evildoers most-wicked
προπηλακίζεσθαι, ὡς ἐκ τῶν πληγῶν τοὺς μὲν φοράδην
to-be-maltreated so-that from the blows the(-ones) indeed on-a-litter

ἐκκομισθέντας αὐτίκα τελευτῆσαι, τοὺς δὲ νοσήσαντας
carried-out immediately to-die the(-others) and having-fallen-sick
ἐπὶ πλεῖστον χρόνον εἰς ἀπόγνωσιν σωτηρίας ἐλθεῖν.
for longest time into despair of-safety to-come
76 ἧς ἐπιβουλῆς τὸ μέγεθος ἐξελήλεγκται μὲν καὶ δι᾽
of-which plot the greatness has-been-proved indeed also through
ἑτέρων, οὐχ ἧττον δὲ καὶ διὰ τοῦ μέλλοντος λέγεσθαι
others no less but also through the(-thing) going to-be-said
σαφέστερον ἐπιδειχθήσεται. τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς γερουσίας τρεῖς
more-clearly will-be-shown of-those from the council-of-elders three
ἄνδρες, Εὔοδος καὶ Τρύφων καὶ Ἄνδρων, ἐγεγένηντο
men Euodus and Tryphon and Andron had-become
ἐξούσιοι, πάνθ᾽ ὅσα εἶχον ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις διαρπασθέντες
destitute all as-many-as they-had in the houses plundered
ἐφόδῳ μιᾷ, οὓς οὐκ ἠγνόησε ταῦτα πεπονθότας·
in-attack one whom not he-was-ignorant these-things having-suffered
ἐδηλώθη γὰρ αὐτῷ μεταπεμψαμένῳ πρότερον τοὺς
it-had-been-made-clear for to-him having-summoned before the
ἡμετέρους ἄρχοντας ὅσα τῷ δοκεῖν ἐπὶ καταλλαγαῖς
our rulers as-much-as by-the seeming for reconciliations
ταῖς πρὸς τὴν ἄλλην πόλιν.
the with the other city
77 καὶ ὅμως εἰδὼς ἀκριβῶς τούτους στερομένους τῶν ἰδίων ἐν
and nevertheless knowing precisely these deprived of-the own in
ὄψεσι τῶν ἁρπασάντων ἔτυπτεν, ἵν᾽ οἱ μὲν ὑπομένωσι
sight of-those having-plundered he-beat so-that the(-ones) indeed may-endure
διττὰς συμφοράς, πενίαν ὁμοῦ καὶ τὴν ἐν τοῖς σώμασιν ὕβριν,
double misfortunes poverty together and the in the bodies outrage
οἱ δὲ διττὴν ἡδονήν, ἀλλότριόν τε καρπούμενοι πλοῦτον
the(-others) and double pleasure another's both reaping wealth
καὶ τῆς τῶν ἀφαιρεθέντων ἀτιμίας εἰς κόρον ἀπολαύοντες.
and of-the of-the robbed dishonor to satiety enjoying

ἔχων τι τῶν τότε πεπραγμένων εἰπεῖν ἐπαμφοτερίζω, 78
having something of-the-things then done to-say I-waver
μὴ ἄρα εὐτελὲς εἶναι νομισθὲν ἐκλύσῃ τὰ μεγέθη τῶν
lest then trivial being thought it-weaken the greatnesses of-the
τοσούτων· ἔστι δ' εἰ καὶ μικρόν, ἀλλ' οὐ μικρᾶς δεῖγμα
so-great it-is but if even small but not of-small proof
κακονοίας. τῶν μαστίγων εἰσὶ διαφοραὶ διακεκριμέναι
of-malice of-the scourges are differences distinguished
κατὰ τὴν πόλιν πρὸς τὰ τῶν τύπτεσθαι μελλόντων
in the city according-to the of-those to-be-beaten going
ἀξιώματα· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ Αἰγυπτίους ἑτέραις μαστίζεσθαι
ranks the indeed for Egyptians with-other to-be-scourged
συμβέβηκε καὶ πρὸς ἑτέρων, τοὺς δὲ Ἀλεξανδρέας
it-has-happened and by others the but Alexandrians
σπάθαις καὶ ὑπὸ σπαθηφόρων Ἀλεξανδρέων.
with-flat-blades and by blade-bearing Alexandrians
τὸ ἔθος τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων διετήρησαν 79
the custom this also in-the-case-of the ours kept
οἱ πρὸ Φλάκκου καὶ Φλάκκος αὐτὸς τοὺς πρώτους
those before Flaccus and Flaccus himself the first
χρόνους. ἔστι γάρ, ἔστι καὶ ἐν ἀτιμίᾳ βραχύ τι
times it-is for it-is even in dishonor small something
τῶν εἰς ἐπιτιμίαν εὑρεῖν καὶ ἐν ὕβρει παραφερόμενόν
of-the-things for honor to-find and in outrage borne-along
τι τῶν εἰς τὸ ἀνύβριστον, ὅταν τις αὐτὰς ἐφ'
something of-the-things for the not-outraged when one them by
ἑαυτῶν ἐᾷ τὰς φύσεις τῶν πραγμάτων ἐξετάζεσθαι, μὴ
themselves allows the natures of-the things to-be-examined not
προστιθεὶς οἴκοθεν ἐπίβουλον πάθος, ὃ πάνθ' ὅσα
adding from-home treacherous passion which all-things as-many-as
παραμέμικται τῆς ἐπιεικεστέρας ἰδέας ὑφαιρεῖ καὶ διοικίζει.
are-mixed-in of-the more-reasonable form removes and separates

80 πῶς οὖν οὐ παγχάλεπον, τῶν ἰδιωτῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων
how then not very-hard of-the private Alexandrian
Ἰουδαίων ταῖς ἐλευθεριωτέραις καὶ πολιτικωτέραις μάστιξι
Jews with-the more-liberal and more-civil scourges
τετυπτημένων, εἴ ποτε ἔδοξαν πληγῶν ἄξια ἐργάσασθαι,
having-been-beaten if ever they-seemed of-blows worthy to-have-done
τοὺς ἄρχοντας, τὴν γερουσίαν, οἳ καὶ γήρως καὶ
the rulers the council-of-elders who both of-old-age and
τιμῆς εἰσιν ἐπώνυμοι, κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος ἔλαττον
of-honor are named-after in this the part less
τῶν ὑπηκόων ἐνέγκασθαι, καθάπερ Αἰγυπτίων τοὺς
than-the subjects to-receive as of-Egyptians the
ἀφανεστάτους καὶ ἐνόχους τοῖς μεγίστοις ἀδικήμασιν;
most-obscure and liable to-the greatest wrongs

V · CRUCIFIXIONS, AND THE SEARCH FOR ARMS

Even had the Jews done wrong, Flaccus should have postponed punishment during the emperor's birthday festival, when good rulers spare the condemned and the crucified are taken down for burial; instead he crucifies the living after flogging and torturing them in the theater, as the morning's show before the dancers and mimes. He then invents a charge that the Jews keep arms in their houses, and sends the centurion Castus to search them; women never seen by strangers are exposed, and nothing is found, not even enough knives for the cooks. Women are seized and forced to eat pork, and those who refuse are tortured. Flaccus also keeps back the decree of honors the Jews voted Gaius, so that they alone should seem his enemies.

81 ἐῶ λέγειν ὅτι, εἰ καὶ μυρία ἦσαν ἡμαρτηκότες, ὤφειλε
I-forbear to-say that if even countless-things they-had erred he-ought
τὸν καιρὸν αἰδεσθεὶς τὰς τιμωρίας ὑπερθέσθαι· τοῖς γὰρ
the season respecting the punishments to-postpone for-the for
ὀρθῶς πολιτευομένοις τῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ μὴ προσποιουμένοις
rightly governing of-the rulers and not pretending

τιμᾶν ἀλλ᾽ ὄντως τιμῶσι τοὺς εὐεργέτας ἔθος ἐστὶ μηδένα
to-honor but truly honoring the benefactors custom it-is no-one
κολάζειν τῶν κατακρίτων, ἄχρις ἂν αἱ ἐπιφανεῖς γενέθλιοι
to-punish of-the condemned until — the illustrious birthdays
καὶ πανηγύρεις αὗται τῶν ἐπιφανῶν Σεβαστῶν διεξέλθωσιν.
and festivals these of-the illustrious Augusti pass-through
ὁ δ᾽ ἐν αὐταῖς παρηνόμει καὶ ἐτιμωρεῖτο τοὺς μηδὲν 82
he but in them transgressed and punished those in-nothing
ἀδικοῦντας, οὓς ἐνῆν αὖθις, εἴπερ ἐβούλετο, κολάζειν.
doing-wrong whom it-was-possible later if-indeed he-wished to-punish
ἀλλ᾽ ἔσπευδε καὶ κατήπειγεν ἕνεκα τῆς πρὸς τὸν
but he-hastened and pressed for-the-sake of-the toward the
ἐναντίον ὄχλον ἀρεσκείας, ταύτῃ νομίζων ἐξοικειώσασθαι
opposing crowd complaisance in-this-way thinking to-win-over
μᾶλλον αὐτὸν εἰς ἅπερ διενοεῖτο.
more it to which-very he-intended
ἤδη τινὰς οἶδα τῶν ἀνεσκολοπισμένων μελλούσης 83
already some I-know of-those impaled coming
ἐνίστασθαι τοιαύτης ἐκεχειρίας καθαιρεθέντας καὶ τοῖς
to-begin such truce taken-down and to-the
συγγενέσιν ἐπὶ τῷ ταφῆς ἀξιωθῆναι καὶ τυχεῖν τῶν
kinsmen for the of-burial to-be-deemed-worthy and to-obtain the
νενομισμένων ἀποδοθέντας· ἔδει γὰρ καὶ νεκροὺς
customary-rites given-back it-was-fitting for also corpses
ἀπολαῦσαί τινος χρηστοῦ γενεθλιακαῖς αὐτοκράτορος καὶ
to-enjoy some good on-birthdays of-emperor and
ἅμα τὸ ἱεροπρεπὲς τῆς πανηγύρεως φυλαχθῆναι.
at-once the sanctity of-the festival to-be-preserved
ὁ δ᾽ οὐ τετελευτηκότας ἐπὶ σταυρῶν καθαιρεῖν, ζῶντας 84
he but not having-died on crosses to-take-down living
δ᾽ ἀνασκολοπίζεσθαι προσέταττεν, οἷς ἀμνηστίαν ἐπ᾽
but to-be-impaled ordered to-whom amnesty for

ὀλίγον, οὐ τὴν εἰς ἅπαν, ὁ καιρὸς ἐδίδου πρὸς ὑπέρθεσιν
little not the for all-time the season gave for postponement
τιμωρίας, οὐκ ἄφεσιν παντελῆ. καὶ ταῦτ᾽ εἰργάζετο μετὰ
of-punishment not release complete and these-things he-did after
τὸ πληγαῖς αἰκίσασθαι ἐν μέσῳ τῷ θεάτρῳ καὶ πυρὶ
the with-blows to-torture in middle the theater and with-fire
καὶ σιδήρῳ βασανίσαι.
and iron to-rack

85 καὶ ἡ θέα διενενέμητο· τὰ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτα τῶν θεαμάτων
and the spectacle had-been-divided the indeed for first of-the shows
ἄχρι τρίτης ἢ τετάρτης ὥρας ἐξ ἑωθινοῦ ταῦτα ἦν· Ἰουδαῖοι
until third or fourth hour from dawn these were Jews
μαστιγούμενοι, κρεμάμενοι, τροχιζόμενοι, καταικιζόμενοι,
being-whipped being-hung being-broken-on-the-wheel being-maltreated
διὰ μέσης τῆς ὀρχήστρας ἀπαγόμενοι τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ·
through middle of-the orchestra being-led-off the to death
τὰ δὲ μετὰ τὴν καλὴν ταύτην ἐπίδειξιν ὀρχησταὶ καὶ μῖμοι
the but after the fine this display dancers and mimes
καὶ αὐληταὶ καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα σκηνικῶν ἀθύρματα ἀγώνων.
and flute-players and as-many-as other of-stage playthings contests

86 Καὶ τί ταῦτα μηκύνω; δευτέρα γὰρ ἐπινοεῖται πόρθησις,
and why these-things do-I-prolong second for is-devised sack
βουλομένου καὶ τὸ στρατευόμενον πλῆθος ἡμῖν ἐπιτειχίσαι
he-wishing also the soldiering multitude against-us to-set-up-as-fortress
ξένου συκοφαντήματος εὑρέσει. τὸ δὲ συκοφάντημα ἦν,
by-strange calumny's invention the and calumny was
ὡς τῶν Ἰουδαίων πανοπλίας ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις ἐχόντων.
that the Jews full-armor in the houses having
μεταπεμψάμενος οὖν ἑκατόνταρχον ᾧ μάλιστ᾽ ἐπίστευε,
having-sent-for then centurion whom most he-trusted
Κάστον ὄνομα, κελεύει παραλαβόντα τῆς ὑπηκόου τάξεως
Castus by-name he-orders having-taken of-the subject rank

ἑαυτῷ τοὺς εὐτολμοτάτους στρατιώτας ἐπισπεύδειν καὶ
to-himself the most-daring soldiers to-hasten and
ἄνευ προρρήσεως ἐπεισιόντα ταῖς τῶν Ἰουδαίων οἰκίαις
without warning entering the of-the Jews houses
ἐρευνᾶν, μή τις ὅπλων ἐναπόκειται παρασκευή. καὶ ὁ
to-search whether any of-arms is-stored preparation and he
μὲν συντείνας ἔθει τὸ προσταχθὲν ἐργασόμενος.
indeed having-hastened ran the(-thing) ordered going-to-do
οἱ δὲ τὴν ἐπίνοιαν οὐκ εἰδότες ἀχανεῖς τὸ πρῶτον εἱστήκεσαν 87
they but the design not knowing gaping the first stood
ὑπ᾽ ἐκπλήξεως, γυναίων καὶ τέκνων αὐτοῖς ἐμπλεκομένων
through amazement wives and children to-them clinging
καὶ ῥεομένων δάκρυσι διὰ τὸν ἐπ᾽ αἰχμαλώτοις φόβον·
and streaming with-tears because-of the as captives fear
ὃ γὰρ λοιπὸν τῆς πορθήσεως, τοῦτ᾽ ἀεὶ προσεδόκων.
which for remaining of-the sack this always they-expected
ὡς δ᾽ ἤκουσαν παρά τινος τῶν ἐρευνώντων· “ποῦ 88
when but they-heard from someone of-the searchers where
ταμιεύεσθε τὰ ὅπλα;” μικρὸν ἀνέπνευσαν καὶ πάντα καὶ
do-you-store the arms little they-breathed-again and all-things even
τὰ ἐν μυχοῖς ἀναπετάσαντες ἐπεδείκνυντο, τῇ μὲν
the-things in recesses having-opened-up displayed partly indeed
ἡδόμενοι, τῇ δὲ στένοντες,
rejoicing partly and groaning
ἡδόμενοι μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ διελεγχθήσεσθαι τὸ συκοφάντημα ἐξ 89
rejoicing indeed at the to-be-going-to-be-refuted the calumny from
ἑαυτοῦ, δυσχεραίνοντες δέ, ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν αἱ τηλικαῦται
itself vexed but that first indeed the so-great
διαβολαὶ κατ᾽ αὐτῶν προπιστεύονται συντιθέμεναι πρὸς
slanders against them are-believed-beforehand composed by
ἐχθρῶν, ἔπειτα δ᾽, ὅτι γύναια κατάκλειστα μηδὲ τὴν
enemies then and that wives shut-in not-even the

αὔλειον προερχόμενα καὶ θαλαμευόμεναι παρθένοι, δι᾽
courtyard-door going-out and kept-in-chambers maidens because-of
αἰδῶ τὰς ἀνδρῶν ὄψεις καὶ τῶν οἰκειοτάτων ἐκτρεπόμεναι,
modesty the of-men sight and of-the closest-kin avoiding
τότε οὐ μόνον ἀσυνήθεσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ στρατιωτικὸν δέος
then not only to-strangers but also soldierly fear
ἐπανατεινομένοις ἐμφανεῖς ἐγένοντο.
holding-over visible became

90 γενομένης δ᾽ ὅμως ἀκριβοῦς ἐρεύνης ὅσον πλῆθος
having-been and nevertheless exact search how-great multitude
ἀμυντηρίων ὅπλων εὑρέθη; κράνη, θώρακες, ἀσπίδες,
of-defensive arms was-found helmets breastplates shields
ἐγχειρίδια, κοντοί, παντευχίαι σωρηδὸν προεκομίζοντο; καὶ
daggers lances full-armors in-heaps were-brought-forth and
ἐν μέρει τὰ ἑκηβόλα, παλτοί, σφενδόναι, τόξα, βέλη;
in turn the far-shooting javelins slings bows arrows
τούτων ἁπλῶς οὐδέν· ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ τὰ πρὸς τὴν καθ᾽
of-these simply nothing but not-even the-things for the by
ἡμέραν δίαιταν ὀψαρτυτῶν αὐτάρκη μαχαιρίδια.
day living of-cooks sufficient knives

91 ἐξ οὗ καὶ ἡ περὶ τὸν βίον εὐθὺς εὐκολία διεφαίνετο
from which also the about the life at-once frugality appeared
πολυτέλειαν καὶ τὸ ἁβροδίαιτον μὴ προσιεμένων, ἃ
extravagance and the luxurious-living not admitting which
πέφυκε γεννᾶν κόρον· κόρου δ᾽ ὕβρις ἔκγονον, ἡ πάντων
are-wont to-beget surfeit of-surfeit and insolence offspring the of-all
κακῶν ἀρχή.
evils beginning

92 καίτοι γ᾽ οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ τῶν κατὰ τὴν χώραν Αἰγυπτίων
and-yet at-least not before long of-the in the country Egyptians
ὁπλολογηθέντων ὑπὸ Βάσσου τινός, ᾧ προσέταξεν ὁ
disarmed by Bassus a-certain to-whom ordered —

Φλάκκος τουτὶ τὸ ἔργον, ἦν τότε ἰδεῖν στόλον μὲν
Flaccus this the work it-was-possible then to-see fleet indeed
πολὺν νεῶν καταπεπλευκότα καὶ ἐνορμοῦντα τοῖς τοῦ
great of-ships having-sailed-down and anchored in-the of-the
ποταμοῦ λιμέσι, γέμοντα παντοίων ὅπλων, ἀχθοφόρα δ'
river harbors full of-every-kind arms burden-bearing and
ὑποζύγια παμπληθῆ συνδεδεμένων δοράτων φορμηδὸν ἀφ'
beasts very-many of-bound spears in-bundles from
ἑκατέρας πλευρᾶς εἰς τὸ ἰσόρροπον, τὰς δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ
each side for the balance the and from the
στρατοπέδου πάσας σχεδὸν ἁρμαμάξας μεστὰς πανοπλιῶν,
camp all nearly wagons full of-full-armors
αἳ στοιχηδὸν ὑπὸ μίαν ὄψιν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν σύνταξιν ἐν
which in-rows under one view and the same formation in
κόσμῳ προήεσαν· τὸ δὲ μεταξὺ τῶν λιμένων καὶ τῆς ἐν
order advanced the and between of-the harbors and of-the in
τοῖς βασιλείοις ὁπλοθήκης, εἰς ἣν ἔδει κατατεθῆναι
the palace armory into which it-was-needful to-be-deposited
τὰ ὅπλα, δέκα σταδίων που διάστημα σύμπαν ἔχον.
the arms ten stades about distance all having
τὰς τῶν ταῦτα παρασκευασαμένων οἰκίας ἄξιον ἦν 93
the of-those these-things having-prepared houses worth it-was
ἐρευνᾶσθαι· πρὸς γὰρ νεωτερισμὸν ὕποπτοι πολλάκις
to-be-searched toward for revolution suspect often
ἀποστάντες ἦσαν, καὶ ἔδει κατὰ μίμησιν τῶν ἱερῶν
having-revolted they-were and it-was-needful in imitation of-the sacred
ἀγώνων τριετηρίδας ἄγειν καινὰς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ συγκομιδῆς
games triennial-festivals to-hold new in Egypt of-collection
ὅπλων τοὺς προεστῶτας, ἵν' ἢ μὴ κατασκευάζεσθαι
of-arms those presiding so-that either not to-make

φθάνωσιν ἢ ἀντὶ πολλῶν ὀλίγα, καιρὸν οὐκ ἔχοντες
they-anticipate or instead-of many few time not having
εἰς ἀναχώρησιν.
for retirement

94 ἡμᾶς δὲ τί τοιοῦτον ἔδει παθεῖν; πότε γὰρ εἰς
us but what such it-was-needful to-suffer when for for
ἀπόστασιν ὑπωπτεύθημεν; πότε δ' οὐκ εἰρηνικοὶ πᾶσιν
revolt were-we-suspected when and not peaceful to-all
ἐνομίσθημεν; τὰ δ' ἐπιτηδεύματα, οἷς καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν
were-we-thought the and practices which on each day
χρώμεθα, οὐκ ἀνεπίληπτα, οὐ συντείνοντα πρὸς εὐνομίαν
we-use not irreproachable not tending to good-order
πόλεως καὶ εὐστάθειαν; εἴ γε μὴν εἶχον ὅπλα Ἰουδαῖοι
of-city and stability if at-least indeed had arms Jews
παρ' αὑτοῖς, ὑπὲρ τετρακοσίας ἀφῃρέθησαν ἂν
with themselves over four-hundred would-they-have-been-deprived-of —
οἰκίας, ἐξ ὧν μετανάσται ἐγένοντο, φυγαδευθέντες πρὸς
houses from which emigrants they-became banished by
τῶν τὰς οὐσίας ἁρπασάντων; διὰ τί οὖν οὐχὶ καὶ τὰ
those the estates having-seized for what then not also the-things
παρὰ τούτοις ἠρεύνησέ τις, τοῖς εἰ καὶ μὴ ἴδια ὅπλα,
among these searched anyone the(-ones) if even not own arms
ὅσα γοῦν ἥρπασαν, ἔχουσιν;
as-many-as at-least they-seized having

95 ἀλλ' ἦν, ὡς ἔφην, ὅλον τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐπιβουλὴ τῆς
but it-was as I-said whole the thing plot of-the
ἀποτομίας Φλάκκου καὶ τῶν ὄχλων, ὧν ἀπέλαυσαν καὶ
severity of-Flaccus and of-the mobs which enjoyed also
γυναῖκες. οὐκ ἐν ἀγορᾷ γὰρ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν μέσῳ
women not in market-place for only but also in middle
τῷ θεάτρῳ καθάπερ αἰχμάλωτοι συνηρπάζοντο καὶ ἐπὶ
the theater like captives were-seized and onto

τὴν σκηνὴν ἐφ᾽ ὅτῳ δήποτε συκοφαντούμεναι παρήγοντο
the stage on what ever accused were-brought-forward
μετά τινος ἀφορήτου καὶ ἀργαλεωτάτης ὕβρεως·
with some unbearable and most-grievous outrage
εἶτ᾽ ἐπειδὴ μὲν ἐγνωρίσθησαν ἑτέρου γένους, ἀπελύοντο — 96
then when indeed they-were-recognized of-another race they-were-released
πολλὰς γὰρ ὡς Ἰουδαίας ἀκριβῆ μὴ ποιούμενοι τῆς
many for as Jewesses exact not making of-the
ἀληθείας τὴν ἔρευναν συνελάμβανον—, εἰ δ᾽ ἐφάνησαν
truth the search they-arrested if but they-appeared
ἡμέτεραι, προσέταττον οἱ ἀντὶ θεατῶν τύραννοι καὶ
ours ordered those instead-of spectators tyrants and
δεσπόται γεγονότες κρέα χοίρεια διδόναι κομίζοντας. ὅσαι
masters having-become meat pig's to-give bringing as-many-as
μὲν οὖν φόβῳ κολάσεως ἀπεγεύσαντο, μηδὲν ἔτι
indeed then through-fear of-punishment tasted nothing further
δεινὸν προσυπομείνασαι ἀπελύοντο· αἱ δ᾽ ἐγκρατέστεραι
terrible having-endured-besides were-released the but more-self-controlled
βασανισταῖς παρεδίδοντο πρὸς αἰκίας ἀνηκέστους, ὅπερ
to-torturers were-handed-over for outrages incurable which
τοῦ μηδὲν ἀδικεῖν αὐτὰς σαφεστάτη πίστις ἐστί.
of-the in-nothing to-do-wrong them clearest proof is
Πρὸς τοῖς εἰρημένοις οὐ δι᾽ ἑαυτοῦ μόνον ἀλλ᾽ ἤδη καὶ 97
besides the said-things not through himself only but already also
διὰ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἐζήτει καὶ ἐπενόει κακοῦν ἡμᾶς.
through the emperor he-sought and devised to-harm us
τιμὰς γάρ, ὅσας οἷόν τε ἦν καὶ ἐπέτρεπον οἱ νόμοι,
honors for as-many-as possible — it-was and allowed the laws
πάσας Γαΐῳ ψηφισάμενοι καὶ ἐπιτελέσαντες ἔργοις ἀνέδομεν
all for-Gaius having-voted and having-performed in-deeds we-handed-up

τὸ ψήφισμα αὐτῷ, δεηθέντες, ἐπειδὴ πρεσβείαν αἰτησαμένοις
the decree to-him having-asked since embassy to-us-asking
οὐκ ἂν ἐπέτρεψεν, ἵνα διαπέμψηται δι' αὑτοῦ.
not — he-would-have-allowed so-that he-might-send-it through himself
98 ἀναγνοὺς δὲ καὶ ἑκάστῳ τῶν ἐν τῷ ψηφίσματι πολλάκις
having-read and and at-each of-the-things in the decree often
τῇ κεφαλῇ συνεπινεύσας, ὑπομειδιῶν καὶ γεγανωμένος
with-the head nodding-assent smiling-slightly and pleased
ἢ προσποιούμενος τὸν ἡδόμενον, "ἀποδέχομαι πάντας
or pretending the(-one) delighting I-accept all
ὑμᾶς" ἔφη "τῆς εὐσεβείας καὶ πέμψω, καθάπερ αἰτεῖσθε,
you he-said for-the piety and I-will-send as you-ask
ἢ πρεσβευτοῦ τάξιν ἐκπλήσω, ἵν' αἴσθηται Γάιος τῆς
or of-envoy rank I-will-fill so-that may-perceive Gaius the
ὑμετέρας εὐχαριστίας.
your thankfulness
99 μαρτυρήσω δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὅσα σύνοιδα τῷ πλήθει
I-will-testify and also myself as-much-as I-know-with to-the multitude
τῶν εἰς κοσμιότητα καὶ εἰς εὐπείθειαν προστιθεὶς
of-the-things for orderliness and for obedience adding
οὐδέν· ἡ γὰρ ἀλήθεια αὐταρκέστατος ἔπαινος". ἐπὶ
nothing the for truth most-self-sufficient praise at
ταύταις ταῖς ὑποσχέσεσι γεγηθότες εὐχαριστοῦμεν, ὡς
these the promises having-rejoiced we-give-thanks as
ἤδη ταῖς ἐλπίσι παρανεγνωσμένου Γαΐῳ τοῦ ψηφίσματος.
already in-the hopes having-been-read-to Gaius the decree
100 καὶ γὰρ ἦν εἰκός, ἐπειδὴ πάνθ' ὅσα διὰ τῶν
and for it-was likely since all-things as-many-as through the
ὑπάρχων πέμπεται μετὰ σπουδῆς ἀνυπέρθετον ἔχει τὴν
prefects are-sent with zeal undelayed have the
παρ' ἡγεμόνι διάγνωσιν. ὁ δὲ πολλὰ χαίρειν φράσας
with ruler examination he but many farewells having-bidden

οἷς διενοήθημεν, οἷς εἶπεν, οἷς ὡμολόγησε, τὸ
to-what we-intended to-what he-said to-what he-agreed the
ψήφισμα παρ᾽ ἑαυτῷ παρακατέσχεν, ἵνα μόνοι τῶν ὑφ᾽
decree with himself kept-back so-that alone of-the under
ἥλιον ἀνθρώπων ἐχθροὶ νομισθῶμεν.
sun men enemies we-might-be-thought

VI · JUSTICE OVERTAKES FLACCUS

This is a plot long laid, not a sudden folly; but God takes pity on the Jews, and King Agrippa, hearing their story, forwards their decree to Gaius. Then justice begins to fight against Flaccus. Unlike earlier governors called to account after their term, he is caught while still in office: Gaius sends the centurion Bassus with his soldiers, who sail into Alexandria at nightfall, find Flaccus dining at the house of Stephanio, a freedman of Tiberius, and arrest him at the table. It is the Feast of Tabernacles, which the Jews have been unable to keep, and when they hear the news they give thanks to God.

ταῦτ᾽ οὐ διηγρυπνηκότος ἦν ἐκ πολλοῦ καὶ 101
these-things not of-one-having-lain-awake were from long and
περιεσκεμμένου τὴν καθ᾽ ἡμῶν ἐπιβουλήν, ἀλλὰ μὴ κατ᾽
having-considered the against us plot but not in
ἀπόνοιαν αὐτοσχεδιάζοντος ἀκαίρῳ φορᾷ καὶ παραγωγῇ
madness improvising with-untimely rush and derangement
τινὶ λογισμοῦ;
some of-reasoning
θεὸς δ᾽ ὡς ἔοικεν, ᾧ μέλει τῶν ἀνθρωπείων 102
god but as it-seems to-whom is-a-care the human
πραγμάτων, τοὺς θῶπας αὐτοῦ λόγους καὶ κεκομψευμένους
affairs the fawning his words and refined
ἐπὶ φενακισμῷ καὶ τὸ τῆς ἐκνόμου διανοίας βουλευτήριον,
for deceit and the of-the lawless mind council-chamber

ἐν ᾧ κατεστρατήγει, προβαλλόμενος, λαβὼν οἶκτον
in which he-outgeneraled putting-forward having-taken pity
ἡμῶν, ἀφορμὴν οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ἐμπαρέσχε τοῦ μὴ
on-us occasion not after long provided of-the not
ψευσθῆναι τῆς ἐλπίδος.
to-be-cheated of-the hope

103 Ἀγρίππας γὰρ ἐπιδημήσας ὁ βασιλεὺς διηγησαμένοις
Agrippa for having-visited the king having-narrated
ἡμῖν τὴν ἐκ Φλάκκου γενομένην ἐπιβουλὴν ἐπανορθοῦται
to-us the from Flaccus having-happened plot sets-right
τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ ὑποσχόμενος τὸ ψήφισμα διαπέμψεσθαι
the matter and having-promised the decree to-be-going-to-send
λαβὼν ὡς ἀκούομεν ἔπεμψεν, ἀπολογησάμενος καὶ περὶ
having-received as we-hear sent having-apologized also about
τοῦ χρόνου, ὡς οὐκ ὀψὲ μαθόντων εὐσεβεῖν εἰς τὸν
the time as not late having-learned to-be-pious toward the
εὐεργέτην οἶκον, ἀλλ᾽ ἐξ ἀρχῆς μὲν σπουδασάντων, ἐπηρείᾳ
benefactor house but from beginning indeed having-been-eager by-insult
δὲ τοῦ προεστῶτος τὴν καίριον ἐπίδειξιν ἀφαιρεθέντων.
but of-the presiding-one the timely display having-been-deprived-of

104 ἐπὶ δὴ τούτοις ἤρξατο κονίεσθαι κατ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἡ
upon indeed these-things began to-dust-herself against him the
ὑπέρμαχος μὲν καὶ παραστάτις ἀδικουμένων τιμωρὸς δ᾽
champion indeed and defender of-the-wronged avenger but
ἀνοσίων καὶ ἔργων καὶ ἀνθρώπων δίκη. πρῶτον μὲν
of-unholy both deeds and men justice first indeed
γὰρ καινοτάτην ὑπέμεινεν ὕβριν καὶ συμφορὰν οὐδενὶ τῶν
for newest he-endured outrage and misfortune to-none of-the
πάλαι γενομένην ὑπάρχων, ἀφ᾽ οὗ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ὁ
formerly having-been prefects from when the empire the
Σεβαστὸς οἶκος ἀνήψατο γῆς καὶ θαλάττης.
Augustan house fastened-on of-land and sea

ἔνιοι γὰρ καὶ ἐπὶ Τιβερίου καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ πατρὸς 105
some for both under Tiberius and under the father
αὐτοῦ Καίσαρος τῶν διεπόντων τὰς ἐπικρατείας,
his Caesar of-those administering the provinces
τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ προστασίαν εἰς δυναστείαν καὶ
the care and protection into domination and
τυραννίδα μεθαρμοσάμενοι, τὰς χώρας ἐνέπλησαν κακῶν
tyranny having-changed the countries filled with-evils
ἀνηκέστων δωροδοκίαις, ἁρπαγαῖς, καταδίκαις, τῶν μηδὲν
incurable with-bribe-takings plunderings condemnations of-those nothing
ἡμαρτηκότων ἐλάσεσι καὶ φυγαῖς, τῶν δυνατῶν ἀκρίτοις
having-erred expulsions and exiles of-the powerful untried
ἀναιρέσεσιν· οὓς μετὰ τὸν ὁρισθέντα χρόνον τῆς ἀρχῆς
killings whom after the fixed time of-the office
ἐπανελθόντας εἰς Ῥώμην οἱ αὐτοκράτορες λόγον καὶ
having-returned to Rome the emperors account and
εὐθύνας τῶν πεπραγμένων ᾔτουν, καὶ μάλισθ' ὁπότε
audits of-the-things done demanded and most whenever
πρεσβεύσαιντο αἱ ἀδικηθεῖσαι πόλεις.
sent-embassies the wronged cities
τότε γὰρ κοινοὺς παρέχοντες ἑαυτοὺς δικαστάς, ἐξ ἴσου 106
then for common providing themselves judges from equal
καὶ τῶν κατηγόρων καὶ τῶν ἀπολογουμένων ἀκροώμενοι,
both the accusers and the defendants hearing
μηδενὸς ἀκρίτου προκαταγινώσκειν ἀξιοῦντες, ἐβράβευον
no-one untried to-condemn-beforehand deeming-fit they-decided
οὔτε πρὸς ἔχθραν οὔτε πρὸς χάριν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὴν φύσιν
neither for enmity nor for favor but for the nature
τῆς ἀληθείας τὰ δόξαντα εἶναι δίκαια.
of-the truth the-things seeming to-be just

107 Φλάκκῳ δ' οὐ μετὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀλλ' ἐμπροθέσμως
Flaccus but not after the office but within-the-term
προϋπήντησεν ἡ μισοπόνηρος δίκη ταῖς ἀμέτροις
met-beforehand the wickedness-hating justice at-the immoderate
ὑπερβολαῖς ὧν ἠδίκει καὶ παρηνόμει δυσχεράνασα.
excesses of-what he-wronged and transgressed vexed
108 Γίνεται δ' ὁ τρόπος αὐτῷ τῆς συλλήψεως τοιόσδε.
happens and the manner to-him of-the arrest such
ὑπέλαβεν ἤδη τὸν Γάιον περὶ ὧν ὕποπτος ἦν
he-supposed already — Gaius about what suspect he-was
ἐξευμενίσθαι, τὰ μὲν ἐπιστολιμαίοις γράμμασιν, ἃ
to-have-been-propitiated partly indeed by-epistolary letters which
κολακείας ἦν ὑπέρμεστα, τὰ δὲ ἐν οἷς δημηγορῶν
of-flattery were full partly and in which haranguing
πολλάκις ἐθεράπευε λόγους θῶπας καὶ μακρὰς ῥήσεις
often he-courted words fawning and long speeches
πεπλασμένων ἐγκωμίων συνείρων, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ
of-fabricated encomia stringing-together partly and also from the
σφόδρα εὐδοκιμεῖν παρὰ τῷ πλείστῳ μέρει τῆς πόλεως.
very to-be-well-regarded with the greatest part of-the city
109 ἔλαθε δ' αὑτὸν ἀπατῶν· ἀβέβαιοι γὰρ αἱ τῶν
he-failed-to-notice and himself deceiving unstable for the of-the
πονηρῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐλπίδες, εἰκαζόντων μὲν τὰ
wicked men hopes guessing indeed the
χρηστότερα, τὰ δὲ παλίμφημα καὶ ὧν ἄξιοι τυγχάνειν
better-things the but ill-omened and what worthy to-obtain
εἰσὶ πασχόντων. πέμπεται μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας
they-are suffering is-sent indeed for from — Italy
Βάσσος ἑκατοντάρχης ὑπὸ Γαΐου χειροτονηθεὶς μετὰ τῆς
Bassus centurion by Gaius appointed with the
τάξεως τῶν στρατιωτῶν, ἧς ἀφηγεῖτο.
company of-the soldiers which he-led

σκάφους δ' ἐπιβὰς τῶν μάλιστα ταχυναυτούντων 110
vessel and having-boarded of-the most fast-sailing
ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις πρὸς τοῖς λιμέσι γίνεται τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας
in-few days at the harbors arrives — of-Alexandria
κατὰ τὴν Φάρον νῆσον περὶ δείλην ἑσπέραν καὶ κελεύει
by — Pharos island about late evening and orders
τῷ κυβερνήτῃ μέχρις ἡλίου καταδύσεως ἔξω θαλαττεύειν,
the pilot until of-sun setting outside to-keep-at-sea
τεχνάζων τὸ ἀνεπίφαντον ἕνεκα τοῦ μὴ προαισθόμενον
contriving the unseen-arrival for-the-sake of-the not having-perceived-beforehand
Φλάκκον καὶ βουλευσάμενόν τι νεώτερον ἄπρακτον
Flaccus and having-planned something new ineffective
αὐτῷ τὴν ὑπηρεσίαν ἐργάσασθαι.
for-him the service to-make
γενομένης δ' ἑσπέρας, ἡ μὲν ναῦς προσέσχεν, ὁ δὲ 111
having-come and evening the indeed ship put-in — and
Βάσσος μετὰ τῶν ἰδίων ἀποβὰς προῆει, μήτε γνωρίζων
Bassus with the own having-landed went-forward neither recognizing
τινὰ μήτε γνωριζόμενος ὑπό του, στρατιώτην δέ τινα
anyone nor recognized by anyone soldier and some
τῶν ἐν τοῖς τετραδίοις φυλάκων καθ' ὁδὸν εὑρὼν
of-those in the quaternions guards on road having-found
κελεύει δεικνύναι τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ στρατάρχου· τούτῳ γὰρ
orders to-show the house of-the commander to-this-one for
ἐβούλετο τὸ ἀπόρρητον ἀνενεγκεῖν, ἵνα, κἂν δέῃ
he-wished the secret to-report so-that even-if there-be-need
πολυχειρίας, ἔχῃ τὸν συναγωνιούμενον.
of-many-hands he-may-have the(-one) going-to-help
πυθόμενος δ' αὐτὸν ἑστιᾶσθαι παρά τινι σὺν 112
having-learned and him to-be-feasting with someone together-with
Φλάκκῳ, μηδὲν τάχους ἀνιεὶς συνέτεινεν ἄχρι τῆς
Flaccus nothing of-speed slackening he-hastened as-far-as the

τοῦ κεκληκότος οἰκίας — Στεφανίων ἦν τῶν τοῦ
of-the having-invited house Stephanio he-was of-the —
Τιβερίου Καίσαρος ἀπελευθέρων, παρ' ᾧ κατήγοντο —
of-Tiberius Caesar freedmen with whom they-lodged
καὶ μικρὸν ἄποθεν ὑποστείλας ἐκπέμπει τινὰ τῶν ἰδίων
and little away having-withdrawn sends-out one of-the own
κατασκεψόμενον εἰς ἀκόλουθον ἀσκήσας, σόφισμα τοῦ
going-to-spy into attendant having-dressed trick of-the
μηδένα συναισθέσθαι. παρελθὼν δὲ εἰς τὸ συμπόσιον ὡς
no-one to-perceive having-gone-in and into the banquet as
ἑνός τινος τῶν παρατυγχανόντων οἰκέτης, ἅπαντα μετ'
of-one some of-those happening-to-be-present slave all-things with
ἀκριβείας περιαθρήσας, ἐπανελθὼν ἐμήνυσε τῷ Βάσσῳ.
exactness having-looked-round having-returned reported — to-Bassus
113 γνοὺς δὲ τὸ περὶ τὰς εἰσόδους ἀφύλακτον καὶ τὴν
having-learned and the about the entrances unguarded and the
περὶ τὸν Φλάκκον ὀλιγότητα — μόλις γὰρ δέκα ἢ
about — Flaccus fewness hardly for ten or
πεντεκαίδεκα τῶν διακονικῶν ἀνδραπόδων ἐπηκολουθήκει —
fifteen of-the serving slaves had-followed
σύνθημα δοὺς τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν εἰσέδραμεν ἐξαίφνης,
signal having-given to-those about him ran-in suddenly
καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν οἱ μὲν παρὰ τὸ συμπόσιον
and of-the soldiers the(-ones) indeed at the banquet
ἐπιστάντες ὑπεζωσμένοι τὰ ξίφη κυκλοῦσιν αὐτὸν οὐ
having-stood-over girt-with the swords surround him not
προϊδόμενον· ἐτύγχανε γὰρ καὶ πρόποσίν τινι διδοὺς
foreseeing he-happened for also toast to-someone giving
καὶ φιλοφρονούμενος τοὺς παρόντας.
and treating-kindly those present

εἰς μέσον δὲ τοῦ Βάσσου παρελθόντος, ἰδὼν εὐθὺς 114
into middle and — Bassus having-come having-seen-him at-once
ὑπ᾽ ἐκπλήξεως ἀχανὴς γίνεται καὶ βουλόμενος ἀναστῆναι,
through amazement speechless becomes and wishing to-rise
τὴν ἐν κύκλῳ φρουρὰν θεασάμενος, ἔγνω καὶ πρὶν ἀκοῦσαι,
the in circle guard having-beheld he-knew even before to-hear
τί βούλεται Γάιος ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ καὶ τί προστέτακται τοῖς
what wishes Gaius about him and what has-been-ordered to-those
ἥκουσι καὶ τί παραυτίκα μελλήσει ὑπομένειν· δεινὸς
having-come and what immediately he-will-be-going to-endure clever
γὰρ ὁ νοῦς τὰ κατὰ μέρος ἐν χρόνῳ μακρῷ γινόμενα
for the mind the-things in part in time long happening
πάνθ᾽ ἅμα ἰδεῖν καὶ πάντων ἀθρόων ἀκοῦσαι.
all at-once to-see and of-all together to-hear
τῶν μὲν οὖν συνδειπνούντων ἕκαστος ἀναστὰς ὑπὸ 115
of-the indeed then dining-with-him each having-risen through
δέους ἐπεφρίκει καὶ ἐπεπήγει, μή τις ὥρισται καὶ τοῦ
fear shuddered and froze lest any has-been-fixed also for-the
συνεστιαθῆναι δίκη· φεύγειν γὰρ οὔτ᾽ ἀσφαλὲς ἦν οὔτ᾽ ἄλλως
to-have-dined-with penalty to-flee for neither safe was nor otherwise
ἐνεδέχετο, προκατεχομένων τῶν εἰσόδων. ὁ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν
was-possible occupied-beforehand the entrances he but by the
στρατιωτῶν τοῦ Βάσσου κελεύσαντος ἀπάγεται, τελευταίαν
soldiers — Bassus having-ordered is-led-away last
ταύτην ἀνάλυσιν ἐκ συμποσίου ποιησάμενος· ἔδει γὰρ
this departure from banquet having-made it-was-fitting for
ἀφ᾽ ἑστίας ἄρξασθαι τὴν δίκην κατὰ τοῦ μυρίους ἀνεστίους
from hearth to-begin the justice against the(-one) countless hearthless
οἴκους οὐδὲν ἠδικηκότων ἀνθρώπων ἐργασαμένου.
houses in-nothing of-having-done-wrong men having-made

116 Τοῦτο καινότατον ὑπέμεινε Φλάκκος ἐν χώρᾳ, ἧς
this newest-thing endured Flaccus in country which
ἀφηγεῖτο, πολεμίου τρόπον ζωγρηθεὶς ἕνεκά μοι δοκῶ
he-ruled enemy like taken-alive for-the-sake to-me I-think
τῶν Ἰουδαίων, οὓς ἄρδην ἀφανίσαι διεγνώκει λιμοδοξῶν.
of-the Jews whom utterly to-annihilate he-had-decided hungry-for-glory
ἐναργὴς δὲ πίστις καὶ ὁ χρόνος τῆς συλλήψεως· ἑορτὴ μὲν
clear and proof also the time of-the arrest feast indeed
γὰρ ἦν πάνδημος τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις κατὰ τὴν μετοπωρινὴν
for was nation-wide for-the Jews at the autumn
ἰσημερίαν, ἐν ᾗ διάγειν Ἰουδαίοις ἔθος ἐν σκηναῖς.
equinox in which to-pass-time for-Jews custom in booths
117 οὐδὲν δὲ τῶν ἐν ἑορτῇ συνόλως ἀπετελεῖτο, τῶν μὲν
nothing and of-the-things at feast at-all was-performed the indeed
ἀρχόντων ἔτι καθειργμένων μετὰ τὰς ἀνηκέστους καὶ
rulers still being-shut-up after the incurable and
ἀφορήτους αἰκίας καὶ ὕβρεις, τῶν δὲ ἰδιωτῶν τάς τε
unbearable outrages and insults the but private-men the both
ἐκείνων συμφορὰς ἅπαντος τοῦ ἔθνους κοινὰς νομιζόντων
their misfortunes of-all the nation common thinking
καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐξαιρέτοις, ἃς ἰδίᾳ ἕκαστος ὑπέμεινεν, οὐ
and at the exceptional which privately each endured not
μετρίως κατηφούντων.
moderately being-dejected
118 τὰ γὰρ ἀνιαρὰ διπλασιάζεσθαι φιλεῖ μάλιστα ἐν ἑορταῖς
the for painful-things to-be-doubled are-wont most at feasts
τοῖς μὴ δυναμένοις ἑορτάζειν, στερήσει τε ἱλαρᾶς
for-those not being-able to-keep-feast by-deprivation both of-cheerful
εὐθυμίας, ἣν πανήγυρις ἐπιζητεῖ, καὶ μετουσίᾳ λύπης,
gladness which festival seeks and by-sharing of-grief

ὑφ᾽ ἧς ἐξετραχηλίζοντο, μηδὲν ἄκος τῶν τοσούτων
by which they-were-thrown-headlong no remedy of-the so-many
κακοπραγιῶν ἀνευρεῖν δυνάμενοι.
misfortunes to-find being-able
σφόδρα δ᾽ ἔχουσιν ὀδυνηρῶς καὶ πεπιεσμένοις ἄχθει 119
very and to-(them)-being painfully and pressed by-burden
βαρυτάτῳ — συνείληντο δ᾽ ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις, ἅτε νυκτὸς
heaviest were-crowded and in the houses as night
ἐπεχούσης — ἦκόν τινες ἀπαγγέλλοντες τὴν γενομένην
prevailing came some reporting the having-happened
σύλληψιν. οἱ δ᾽ ἀπόπειραν εἶναι νομίσαντες, οὐκ ἀλήθειαν,
arrest they and test to-be thinking not truth
ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τῷ κατακερτομεῖσθαι καὶ ἐνεδρεύεσθαι
still more at the to-be-jeered and to-be-ensnared
δοκεῖν ὠδυνῶντο.
to-seem were-pained
θορύβου δ᾽ ὄντος κατὰ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τῶν νυκτοφυλάκων 120
of-uproar and being in the city and of-the night-watchmen
ἄνω κάτω διαθεόντων καί τινων ἱππέων εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον
up down running-about and some of-horsemen into the camp
καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τάχει συντόνῳ μετὰ σπουδῆς
and from the camp with-speed intense with haste
ἀντεξελαυνόντων, τῷ τοῦ πράγματος ἀήθει
riding-out-in-turn by-the of-the thing unaccustomedness
κινηθέντες τινὲς προῆλθον ἐκ τῶν οἰκιῶν κατὰ πύστιν
moved some came-out from the houses for inquiry
τοῦ συμβεβηκότος· ἐφαίνετο γὰρ εἶναί τι νεώτερον.
of-the having-happened it-appeared for to-be something new
ὡς δ᾽ ᾔσθοντο τὴν ἀπαγωγὴν καὶ τὸν Φλάκκον ἐντὸς 121
when but they-perceived the leading-away and — Flaccus within
ἀρκύων ἤδη γεγενημένον, προτείνοντες τὰς χεῖρας εἰς
nets already having-come holding-out the hands to

οὐρανὸν ὕμνουν καὶ παιᾶνας ἐξῆρχον εἰς τὸν ἔφορον
heaven they-hymned and paeans began to the overseer
θεὸν τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων πραγμάτων, "οὐκ ἐφηδόμεθα",
god of-the human affairs not we-rejoice
λέγοντες "ὦ δέσποτα, τιμωρίαις ἐχθροῦ, δεδιδαγμένοι
saying O master at-punishments of-enemy having-been-taught
πρὸς τῶν ἱερῶν νόμων ἀνθρωποπαθεῖν· ἀλλὰ σοὶ δικαίως
by the sacred laws to-feel-humanly but to-you justly
εὐχαριστοῦμεν οἶκτον καὶ ἔλεον ἡμῶν λαβόντι καὶ τὰς
we-give-thanks pity and mercy on-us having-taken and the
συνεχεῖς καὶ ἐπαλλήλους κακώσεις ἐπικουφίσαντι."
continual and successive ills having-lightened

VII · THE ACCUSERS ISIDORUS AND LAMPO

The Jews spend the night in hymns and at dawn gather on the shore, their prayer-houses having been taken, to thank God, praying for further deliverance. Flaccus sails in winter, suffering the terrors of the sea, and on reaching Italy finds his chief enemies, Isidorus and Lampo, ready as his accusers, and the master of human affairs, who will only play the judge, has already condemned him. Lampo had been tried for impiety against Tiberius and dragged through two years of delays, and as clerk to the governors had falsified the court records for bribes; Isidorus is a demagogue who leads the city's drinking-clubs and once paid a hired mob in the gymnasium to accuse Flaccus, until some of them, arrested, confessed the bribe, and the whole city gathered to hear his paymasters exposed.

122 πάννυχοι δὲ διατελέσαντες ἐν ὕμνοις καὶ ᾠδαῖς καὶ
all-night and having-continued in hymns and songs and
ἅμα τῇ ἕῳ διὰ πυλῶν ἐκχυθέντες ἐπὶ τοὺς
at-once with-the dawn through gates having-poured-out to the
πλησίον αἰγιαλοὺς ἀφικνοῦνται — τὰς γὰρ προσευχὰς
near beaches they-arrive the for prayer-houses

ἀφῄρηντο — κἀν τῷ καθαρωτάτῳ στάντες ἀνεβόησαν
they-had-been-deprived-of and-in the purest-place having-stood they-cried-out
ὁμοθυμαδόν·
with-one-accord
"γῆν καὶ θάλατταν, ἀέρα τε καὶ οὐρανόν, τὰ μέρη τοῦ 123
land and sea air both and heaven the parts of-the
παντὸς καὶ σύμπαντα τὸν κόσμον, ὦ μέγιστε βασιλεῦ
universe and whole the cosmos O greatest king
θνητῶν καὶ ἀθανάτων, παρακαλέσοντες εἰς εὐχαριστίαν
of-mortals and immortals going-to-call-to for thanksgiving
τὴν σὴν ἥκομεν, οἷς μόνοις ἐνδιαιτώμεθα, τῶν ἄλλων
the your we-have-come in-which alone we-dwell of-the others
ὅσα δημιουργεῖται πρὸς ἀνθρώπων ἐληλαμένοι
as-many-as are-made by men having-been-driven-out
καὶ στερόμενοι πόλεως καὶ τῶν ἐν πόλει δημοσίων καὶ
and deprived of-city and of-the in city public and
ἰδιωτικῶν περιβόλων, ἀπόλιδες καὶ ἀνέστιοι μόνοι τῶν
private enclosures cityless and hearthless alone of-those
ὑφ' ἥλιον ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς ἄρχοντος γενόμενοι.
under sun through plot of-ruler having-become
χρηστὰς ὑπογράφεις ἡμῖν ἐλπίδας καὶ περὶ τῆς τῶν 124
good you-sketch for-us hopes also about the of-the
λειπομένων ἐπανορθώσεως, ἤδη ταῖς ἡμετέραις λιταῖς
remaining-things correction already to-the our prayers
ἀρξάμενος συνεπινεύειν, εἴ γε τὸν κοινὸν ἐχθρὸν τοῦ
having-begun to-nod-assent if at-least the common enemy of-the
ἔθνους καὶ τῶν ἐπ' αὐτῷ συμφορῶν ὑφηγητὴν καὶ
nation and of-the upon it misfortunes guide and
διδάσκαλον μέγα πνέοντα καὶ οἰηθέντα διὰ ταῦτα
teacher great breathing and having-thought because-of these-things
εὐδοκιμήσειν ἐξαίφνης καθεῖλες, οὐ πορρωτάτω
to-be-going-to-be-esteemed suddenly you-brought-down not farthest-off

γενόμενον, ἵν' αἰσθόμενοι δι' ἀκοῆς οἱ κακῶς
having-become so-that perceiving through hearsay those badly
πεπονθότες ἀμβλύτερον ἡσθῶσιν, ἀλλ' ἐγγὺς οὑτωσί, μόνον
having-suffered more-dully may-rejoice but near thus only
οὐκ ἐν ὄψει τῶν ἠδικημένων, πρὸς τρανοτέραν φαντασίαν
not in sight of-the wronged for clearer appearance
τῆς ἐν βραχεῖ καὶ παρ' ἐλπίδας ἐπεξόδου."
of-the in short and beyond hopes visitation

125 Τρίτον δ' ἔτι πρὸς τοῖς εἰρημένοις κἀκεῖνό μοι δοκεῖ θείᾳ
third and still besides the said that-too to-me seems by-divine
προνοίᾳ συμβῆναι. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἀναχθεὶς ἀρχομένου
providence to-have-happened when for having-put-to-sea beginning
χειμῶνος — ἔδει γὰρ αὐτὸν καὶ τῶν ἐν θαλάττῃ
winter it-was-fitting for him also of-the at sea
φοβερῶν ἀπολαῦσαι τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ παντὸς ἀσεβημάτων
terrors to-enjoy the elements of-the universe with-impieties
ἀναπλήσαντα — μυρία πονηθεὶς μόλις ἦλθεν εἰς
having-filled countless-things having-toiled hardly he-came to
Ἰταλίαν, εὐθὺς ἐκδέχονται τὰς ἐπ' αὐτῷ κατηγορίας δύο
Italy at-once take-up the against him accusations two
τῶν ἐχθίστων, Ἰσίδωρός τε καὶ Λάμπων,
of-the bitterest-enemies Isidorus both and Lampo

126 οἳ πρὸ μικροῦ μὲν τάξιν εἶχον ὑπηκόων δεσπότην καὶ
who before little indeed rank had of-subjects master and
εὐεργέτην καὶ σωτῆρα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀνακαλοῦντες, νυνὶ
benefactor and savior and the such-things calling-him now
δ' ἀντιδίκων οὐκ ἰσόρροπον ἀλλὰ δυνατωτέραν ἰσχὺν ἐκ
but of-opponents not equal but more-powerful strength from
πολλοῦ τοῦ περιόντος ἐπιδεικνυμένων, οὐ μόνον ἕνεκα
much the surplus displaying not only for-the-sake
τοῦ θαρρεῖν τοῖς δικαίοις, ἀλλ', ὃ δὴ μέγιστον
of-the to-be-confident in-the justice but what indeed greatest

ἦν, ὅτι τὸν πρύτανιν τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων πραγμάτων
was that the president of-the human affairs
ἐχθρὸν ἑώρων ἄσπονδον αὐτῷ, μέλλοντα σχῆμα μὲν
enemy they-saw implacable to-him going figure indeed
ὑποδύεσθαι δικαστοῦ, προνοίᾳ τοῦ μὴ δοκεῖν ἀκρίτου τινὸς
to-assume of-judge by-forethought of-the not to-seem untried anyone
προκαταγινώσκειν, ἔργον δ' ἐπιδείκνυσθαι δυσμενοῦς, πρὸ
to-condemn-beforehand deed but to-display of-hostile-one before
κατηγορίας καὶ ἀπολογίας ἤδη τῇ ψυχῇ κατεγνωκότος
accusation and defense already in-the soul having-condemned
καὶ τὰς ἀνωτάτω τιμωρίας ὡρικότος ἐπ' αὐτῷ.
and the highest punishments having-fixed for him
χαλεπὸν δ' οὐδὲν οὕτως, ὡς ὑπ' ἐλαττόνων κρείττους καὶ 127
hard but nothing so as by inferiors the-stronger and
πρὸς ὑπηκόων ἄρχοντάς ποτε γενομένους κατηγορεῖσθαι,
by subjects rulers ever having-been to-be-accused
ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ καὶ δεσπότας ὑπ' οἰκοτρίβων ἢ ἀργυρωνήτων.
as — if even masters by house-born-slaves or bought
Ἀλλ' ἦν, ὡς ἔοικε, τοῦτο κουφότερον κακὸν συγκρινόμενον 128
but it-was as it-seems this lighter evil compared
ἑτέρῳ μείζονι. οὐ γὰρ ἁπλῆν τινα τάξιν ἔχοντες ὑπηκόων
with-another greater not for simple some rank having of-subjects
αἰφνίδιον ἐπέθεντο ταῖς κατηγορίαις ἐπαποδυσάμενοι καὶ
suddenly they-attacked in-the accusations having-stripped-for-it and
συμφρονήσαντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν πλεῖστον χρόνον τῆς
having-conspired but also the most time of-the
ἐπιτροπῆς ἣν ἐπετρόπευσε τῆς χώρας ἐκ πάντων οὗτοι
governorship which he-governed of-the country of all these
μάλιστ' αὐτῷ δι' ἀπεχθείας ἐγεγένηντο· Λάμπων μὲν
most to-him in hatred had-been Lampo indeed

ἀσεβείας τῆς εἰς Τιβέριον Καίσαρα δίκην σχὼν καὶ
of-impiety the toward Tiberius Caesar trial having-had and
ἐπὶ διετίαν τριβομένου τοῦ πράγματος ἀπειρηκώς.
for two-years being-dragged-out the matter having-given-up
129 ὑπερθέσεις γὰρ καὶ ἀναβολὰς ὁ δικαστὴς ἐθελοκακῶν
postponements for and delays the judge playing-false-willfully
ἐσκήπτετο βουλόμενος, κἂν ἀποφύγῃ τὸ ἔγκλημα, τὸν γοῦν
alleged wishing even-if he-escape the charge the at-least
περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἀδήλου φόβον πρὸς μήκιστον χρόνον
about the future uncertain fear for longest time
ἐπικρεμάσας αὐτῷ ζωὴν ὀδυνηροτέραν θανάτου παρασχεῖν.
having-hung-over him life more-painful than-death to-provide
130 εἶθ' ὕστερον καὶ ὅτε νικᾶν ἔδοξεν, εἰς τὴν οὐσίαν
then later even when to-win he-seemed in the estate
ἐπηρεασθῆναι ἔφασκεν — ἠναγκάσθη γὰρ γυμνασιαρχεῖν—,
to-have-been-abused he-said he-was-compelled for to-be-gymnasiarch
ἤτοι τῷ γλίσχρος καὶ ἀνελεύθερος εἶναι περὶ τὰς δαπάνας,
either by-the stingy and illiberal to-be about the expenses
προφασιζόμενος τὸ μὴ κεκτῆσθαι πρὸς τοσαύτην ἀφθονίαν
pretending the not to-have-acquired for so-great abundance
ἀναλωμάτων ἱκανὴν οὐσίαν, ἢ τῷ ὄντι μὴ κεκτημένος,
of-expenditures sufficient estate or in-the being not having-acquired
ἀλλὰ πρὶν μὲν εἰς ἀπόπειραν ἐλθεῖν ἐπιφάσκων τὸν
but before indeed to trial to-come professing-to-be the
πάνυ πλούσιον, ἐν δὲ τῇ δοκιμασίᾳ μὴ φανεὶς ἄγαν
very rich-man in but the scrutiny not having-appeared very
πολυχρήματος ἄνθρωπος, ὅσα ἐκτήσατο σχεδὸν ἅπαντα
wealthy man as-much-as he-acquired nearly all
ἐξ ἀδικημάτων περιποιησάμενος·
from wrongs having-gained

προσεστὼς γὰρ τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν, ὁπότε δικάζοιεν, 131
standing-by for the governors whenever they-judged
ὑπεμνηματίζετο τὰς δίκας εἰσάγων ὡς ἔχων τάξιν, εἶτα
he-recorded the cases introducing as having rank then
τὰ μὲν ἀπήλειφεν ἢ παρήει ἑκών, τὰ δ' οὐ
the(-things) indeed he-erased or passed-over willingly the(-things) but not
λεχθέντα προσενέταττεν, ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ ὑπηλλάττετο
said he-inserted it-is and when also he-substituted
μεταποιῶν καὶ μετατιθεὶς καὶ στρέφων ἄνω κάτω τὰ
altering and transposing and turning up down the
γράμματα, κατὰ συλλαβήν, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ κεραίαν
writings by syllable rather and also stroke
ἑκάστην ἀργυρολογῶν ὁ γραμματοκύφων·
each making-money the scribe-hunchback
ὃν πολλάκις ὁ δῆμος ἅπας ὁμοθυμαδὸν εὐθυβόλως καὶ 132
whom often the people all with-one-accord aptly and
εὐσκόπως καλαμοσφάκτην ἐξεκήρυξεν, οἷς ἔγραφε μυρίους
well-aimed pen-murderer proclaimed by-what he-wrote countless
ἀνελόντα καὶ ζῶντας ἀθλιωτέρους τῶν ἀποθανόντων
having-killed and living more-wretched than-the dead
ἀπεργασάμενον, οἳ δυνάμενοι νικᾶν καὶ περιουσιάζειν
having-made who being-able to-win and to-be-wealthy
ἧττων καὶ πενίαν ἀδικωτάτην ὑπέμειναν, ὠνησαμένων
defeat and poverty most-unjust endured having-bought
ἀμφότερα τῶν ἐχθρῶν παρὰ τοῦ τὰς ἀλλοτρίας οὐσίας
both the enemies from the(-one) the others' estates
ἐπευωνίζοντος καὶ πιπράσκοντος.
cheapening and selling
ἀμήχανον μὲν γὰρ ἦν τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τοσαύτης χώρας 133
impossible indeed for it-was the governors so-great country
ἐπιτροπεύοντας, ἀεὶ καινοτέρων ἐπεισρεόντων ἰδιωτικῶν
administering always newer flowing-in private

τε καὶ δημοσίων πραγμάτων, ἁπάντων μεμνῆσθαι, καὶ
both and public affairs all to-remember and
ταῦτα οὐ δικάζοντας μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ λογισμοὺς τῶν
these not judging only but also accounts of-the
προσόδων καὶ δασμῶν λαμβάνοντας, ὧν ἡ ἐξέτασις
revenues and tributes receiving of-which the examination
τὸν πλείονα τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ χρόνον ἀνήλισκεν.
the greater of-the year time used-up

134 ὁ δὲ φυλάττειν ἐπιτραπεὶς τὴν ἀναγκαιοτάτην
he but to-guard entrusted the most-necessary
παρακαταθήκην, τὰ δίκαια καὶ τὰς ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς ὁσιωτάτας
deposit the just-things and the upon them most-holy
γνώμας, ἐνεπορεύετο τὴν λήθην τῶν δικαστῶν, τοὺς
judgments trafficked-in the forgetfulness of-the judges those
μὲν νικᾶν ὀφείλοντας γράφων ἐν ἡττημένοις, τοὺς δ᾽
indeed to-win owing writing among defeated those and
ἡττᾶσθαι μετὰ τὸν ἐπάρατον μισθὸν ἢ κυριώτερον εἰπεῖν
to-be-defeated after the accursed wage or more-properly to-say
τὸ μίσθωμα ἐν νενικηκόσιν.
the hire among victors

135 Ὁ μὲν δὴ Λάμπων τοιοῦτος ὢν ἐφειστήκει κατήγορος,
— indeed indeed Lampo such being stood-forth accuser
ὁ δ᾽ Ἰσίδωρος οὐκ ἀποδέων τὴν μοχθηρίαν, ἄνθρωπος
— but Isidorus not falling-short in-the wickedness man
ὀχλικός, δημοκόπος, ταράττειν καὶ συγχέειν πράγματα
of-the-mob demagogue to-disturb and to-confound affairs
μεμελετηκώς, ἐχθρὸς εἰρήνῃ καὶ εὐσταθείᾳ, στάσεις καὶ
practiced enemy to-peace and stability factions and
θορύβους κατασκευάσαι μὲν οὐκ ὄντας, γενομένους δὲ
tumults to-contrive indeed not being having-happened but
συγκροτῆσαι καὶ συναυξῆσαι δεινός, ὄχλον ἀσύντακτον
to-whip-up and to-increase clever crowd disorderly

καὶ πεφορημένον ἐκ μιγάδων καὶ συγκλύδων ἡρμοσμένον
and jumbled from mixed and refuse fitted-together
περὶ αὑτὸν ἔχειν ἐσπουδακώς, ὃς εἰς μοίρας καθάπερ
about himself to-have having-been-eager which into parts like
τινὰς συμμορίας διανενέμηται.
some companies has-been-divided
θίασοι κατὰ τὴν πόλιν εἰσὶ πολυάνθρωποι, ὧν κατάρχει 136
clubs in the city are populous of-which begins
τῆς κοινωνίας οὐδὲν ὑγιές, ἀλλ᾽ ἄκρατος καὶ μέθη
the fellowship nothing sound but unmixed-wine and drunkenness
καὶ παροινίαι καὶ ἡ τούτων ἔκγονος ὕβρις· σύνοδοι καὶ
and drunken-violences and the of-these offspring insolence synods and
κλῖναι προσονομάζονται ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγχωρίων.
couches they-are-named by the natives
ἐν ἅπασι τοῖς θιάσοις ἢ τοῖς πλείστοις ὁ Ἰσίδωρος 137
in all the clubs or the most — Isidorus
τὰ πρωτεῖα φέρεται καὶ λέγεται ὁ συμποσίαρχος, ὁ
the first-prizes carries and is-called the symposiarch the
κλινάρχης, ὁ ταραξίπολις. εἶτα ὅταν τι βουληθῇ
couch-master the city-disturber then when anything he-wishes
διαπράξασθαι τῶν ἀλυσιτελῶν, ἀφ᾽ ἑνὸς συνθήματος
to-accomplish of-the unprofitable-things from one signal
ἀθρόως συνέρχονται καὶ τὸ κελευσθὲν λέγουσι καὶ
in-throngs they-come-together and the(-thing) bidden say and
δρῶσι. καί ποτε τῷ Φλάκκῳ δυσχεράνας,
do and once — with-Flaccus being-vexed
ὅτι δόξας παρ᾽ αὐτῷ τις εἶναι κατ᾽ ἀρχὰς οὐκέθ᾽ 138
because seeming with him someone to-be at beginnings no-longer
ὁμοίως αὖθις ἐσπουδάζετο, μισθοδοτήσας τοὺς ἀλειφοβίους
alike later was-courted having-paid those living-by-the-oil
καὶ φωνασκεῖν εἰωθότας, οἳ τὰς καταβοήσεις ὥσπερ ἐπ᾽
and to-shout accustomed who the outcries as at

ἀγορᾶς πιπράσκουσι τοῖς ἔχουσιν ὠνητικῶς, παρακελεύει
market sell to-those being-disposed to-buy bids
συνελθεῖν εἰς τὸ γυμνάσιον.
to-come-together into the gymnasium
139 οἱ δὲ πληρώσαντες αὐτὸ τοῦ Φλάκκου ἀπ᾽ οὐδεμιᾶς
they and having-filled it — Flaccus from no
προφάσεως κατηγόρουν, ἀγένητα πλάττοντες
pretext accused not-having-happened fabricating
ἐγκλήματα καὶ ψευδεῖς ῥήσεις δι᾽ ἀναπαίστων καὶ μακρὰς
charges and false speeches in anapaests also long
συνείροντες, ὡς καταπεπλῆχθαι μὴ μόνον Φλάκκον
stringing-together so-that to-have-been-amazed not only Flaccus
ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπὶ τῷ παραλόγῳ καί, ὅπερ ἦν,
but also the others at the absurdity and which was
συμβαλεῖν, ὅτι πάντως ἐστί τις ᾧ χαρίζονται, μήτ᾽
to-infer that certainly is someone to-whom they-do-favors neither
αὐτοί τι πεπονθότες ἀνήκεστον μήτε τὴν ἄλλην πόλιν
themselves anything having-suffered incurable nor the other city
εὖ εἰδότες πλημμεληθεῖσαν.
well knowing wronged
140 ἔπειτα βουλευομένοις ἔδοξε συλλαβεῖν τινας καὶ τὴν
then to-them-deliberating it-seemed-good to-arrest some and the
αἰτίαν τῆς ἀκρίτου καὶ αἰφνιδίου μανίας καὶ λύττης
cause of-the senseless and sudden madness and rage
πυνθάνεσθαι. οἱ δὲ συλληφθέντες ἄνευ βασάνων ὁμολογοῦσι
to-learn they and arrested without tortures confess
τἀληθές, ἅμα καὶ τὰς διὰ τῶν ἔργων πίστεις ἐφαρμόζοντες,
the-truth at-once also the through the deeds proofs fitting
τὸν διομολογηθέντα μισθόν, τὸν ἤδη δεδομένον, τὸν
the agreed wage the already given the
καθ᾽ ὑποσχέσεις ὕστερον δοθησόμενον, τοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν
according-to promises later going-to-be-given those for the

διανομὴν αἱρεθέντας ὡς ἂν ἡγεμόνας τῆς στάσεως, τὸν
distribution chosen as — leaders of-the faction the
τόπον, τὸν καιρόν, ἐν ᾧ γέγονεν ἡ δωροδοκία.
place the time in which happened the bribery
πάντων δ', ὡς εἰκός, ἀγανακτούντων καὶ τῆς πόλεως 141
all and as likely being-indignant and the city
χαλεπῶς φερούσης ἐπὶ τῷ τὴν ἐνίων ἀγνωμοσύνην
hard taking-it at the the of-some ungratefulness
προσαναμάττεσθαι τοὔνομ' αὐτῆς, ἔδοξε τὸ καθαρώτατον
to-be-stamped-on the-name its it-seemed-good the purest
τοῦ δήμου μεταπεμψαμένῳ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ παραγαγεῖν τοὺς
of-the people to-him-having-summoned on-the next-day to-bring-forward those
τὸν μισθὸν ἐπινείμαντας, ἵνα καὶ τὸν Ἰσίδωρον ἀπελέγξῃ
the wage having-distributed so-that both — Isidorus he-might-refute
καὶ ἀπολογήσηται περὶ τῆς αὑτοῦ πολιτείας ὡς ἀδίκως
and defend-himself about the his-own administration as unjustly
διαβληθείς. αἰσθόμενοι δὲ τῆς παραγγελίας οὐχ οἱ ἐν
slandered having-perceived and the summons not those in
τέλει μόνον ἦκον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ σύμπασα πόλις, ἔξω τοῦ
office only came but also the whole city except the
μέλλοντος ἀπελέγχεσθαι μέρους ἐπὶ τῷ μεμισθοδοτῆσθαι.
going to-be-refuted part on the to-have-been-paid

The hired men publicly convict Isidorus, who flees; then Flaccus is condemned, and his whole estate, rich in furnishings and slaves, is confiscated to the emperor. He is sentenced to exile on Gyara, the bleakest island of the Aegean, but Lepidus has it changed to Andros. He travels again the road to Brundisium he took as a new governor, a spectacle in every city, crosses the Isthmus, and after storms reaches Andros by way of the islands. Seeing it from afar, he weeps and laments his fall from Rome and the friendship of Tiberius to such an island, and once ashore, alone, he raves like a madman, crying out that he is Flaccus, once governor of Egypt, whose former good fortune now seems a dream.

142 καὶ οἱ μὲν ὑπηρετήσαντες τὴν καλὴν ταύτην ὑπηρεσίαν
and those indeed having-served the fine this service
ἀναβιβασθέντες, ἵνα μετέωροι καὶ ἐμφανεῖς εἶεν
having-been-made-to-mount so-that raised and visible they-might-be
καὶ γνωρίζοιντο πρὸς ἁπάντων, ἤλεγχον τὸν Ἰσίδωρον
and be-recognized by all convicted — Isidorus
ὡς αἴτιον τῶν θορύβων καὶ τῶν βλασφημιῶν τῶν εἰς
as cause of-the tumults and of-the blasphemies of-the against
Φλάκκον γενομένων, οὐκ ὀλίγῳ πλήθει παρασχόντα καὶ
Flaccus having-happened to-not small multitude having-provided both
ἀργύριον καὶ οἶνον δι' αὐτόν.
money and wine because-of him

143 "ἐπεὶ πόθεν" ἔφασκον "ἡμῖν ἀφθονία τοσαύτη; πένητές
since whence they-said to-us abundance so-great poor
ἐσμεν καὶ μόλις τοὐφήμερον εἰς αὐτὰ τὰ ἀναγκαῖα
we-are and hardly the-day's-need for the-very the necessities
πορίζειν δυνάμεθα. τί δὲ καὶ δεινὸν ἐπεπόνθειμεν ὑπὸ
to-provide we-can what and also terrible had-we-suffered by
τοῦ ἡγεμόνος, ὡς βιασθῆναι μνησικακεῖν; ἀλλ' ὁ πάντων
the governor so-as to-be-forced to-bear-grudges but the of-all

αἴτιος καὶ δημιουργὸς ἐκεῖνος, ἀεὶ τοῖς εὖ πράττουσι
cause and craftsman that-one always to-those well faring
βασκαίνων καὶ εὐνόμῳ καταστάσει πολέμιος."
envying and to-well-ordered condition hostile
ἃ γνωρίζοντες οἱ παρατυγχάνοντες — τύποι γάρ τινες 144
which recognizing those present marks for some
ἦσαν ἀρίδηλοι καὶ χαρακτῆρες τὰ λεγόμενα τῆς τοῦ
were very-clear and stamps the-things said of-the of-the
κατηγορουμένου προαιρέσεως — ἀνεβόων, οἱ μὲν
accused choice cried-out the(-ones) indeed
ἀτιμοῦν, οἱ δὲ φυγαδεύειν, οἱ δ' αἴρειν· πλείους
to-disfranchise the(-others) and to-banish the(-others) and to-kill-off more
δ' ἦσαν οὗτοι· πρὸς οὓς καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι μετεβάλλοντο, ὡς
and were these to whom also the others changed so-that
ἅπαντας ὁμοθυμαδὸν μιᾷ φωνῇ κεκραγέναι, κτείνειν τὸν
all with-one-accord with-one voice to-have-shouted to-kill the
κοινὸν λυμεῶνα, τὸν ἀφ' οὗ παρῆλθε καὶ διέκυψεν
common destroyer the(-one) from when he-came-forward and peered
ἐπὶ τὰ κοινά, μηδὲν μέρος τῆς πόλεως ἄνοσον ἐάσαντα.
into the public-affairs no part of-the city unsick having-left
καὶ ὁ μὲν ἕνεκα τοῦ συνειδότος ἀπεδίδρασκε σύλληψιν 145
and he indeed for-the-sake-of the guilty-conscience ran-away arrest
εὐλαβηθείς· ὁ δὲ Φλάκκος οὐδὲν ἐπ' αὐτῷ περιειργάζετο,
having-feared — and Flaccus nothing about him busied-himself
νομίσας ἐκποδὼν ἑκουσίῳ γνώμῃ γεγονότος ἀστασίαστα
having-thought out-of-the-way by-willing judgment having-gone free-of-faction
καὶ ἀνερίθευτα τὰ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἔσεσθαι.
and free-of-intrigue the-things in the city to-be-going-to-be
Ταῦτ' ἐμήκυνα, οὐχ ὑπὲρ τοῦ παλαιῶν ἀπομνημονεύειν 146
these-things I-have-lengthened not for the old to-recall
ἀδικημάτων, ἀλλὰ τεθαυμακὼς τὴν ἔφορον τῶν ἀνθρωπείων
wrongs but having-marveled-at the overseeing of-the human-things

δίκην, ὅτι οἱ ἐξ ἀρχῆς γενόμενοι δυσμενεῖς αὐτῷ καὶ
justice that those from beginning having-been hostile to-him and
οἷς ἐκ πάντων ἀπηχθάνετο καὶ ἐκληρώσαντο τὴν ἐπ᾽
with-whom of all he-was-hated also obtained-by-lot the against
αὐτῷ κατηγορίαν εἰς ἀνίας ὑπερβολήν· οὐ γὰρ οὕτως ἐστὶ
him accusation for of-grief excess not for so is
δεινὸν τὸ ἐγκαλεῖσθαι ὡς τὸ πρὸς ὁμολογουμένων ἐχθρῶν.
terrible the to-be-accused as the by acknowledged enemies
147 ὁ δ᾽ οὐ κατηγορήθη μόνον, ἄρχων πρὸς ὑπηκόων καὶ ὑπὸ
he but not was-accused only ruler by subjects and by
δυσμενῶν ἀεὶ γενομένων ὁ πρὸ μικροῦ κύριος ὢν τῆς
hostile always having-been the(-one) before little lord being of-the
ἑκατέρου ζωῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνὰ κράτος ἡλίσκετο, διπλοῦν
of-each life but also at full-strength was-convicted double
ἐκδεχόμενος κακόν, τὸ μεθ᾽ ἥττης γελᾶσθαι πρὸς ἐχθρῶν
receiving evil the with defeat to-be-laughed-at by enemies
ἐφηδομένων, ὃ καὶ θανάτου χεῖρόν ἐστι τοῖς εὖ φρονοῦσιν.
rejoicing which even than-death worse is for-those well thinking
148 εἶτά τις εὐφορία γίνεται κακοπραγιῶν αὐτῷ· τῆς τε γὰρ
then some fertility becomes of-misfortunes for-him of-the both for
οὐσίας ἁπάσης εὐθὺς ἐξίσταται, ἥν τε παρὰ γονέων
estate whole at-once he-is-stripped which both from parents
ἐκληρονόμησε καὶ ἣν αὐτὸς ἐκτήσατο, φιλόκοσμος ἐν
he-inherited and which himself acquired fond-of-finery among
τοῖς μάλιστα γεγονώς. οὐ γὰρ ὡς ἐνίων πολυχρημάτων
the most having-been not for as of-some wealthy-men
ὁ πλοῦτος ἀργὸς ἦν ὕλη, πάντα δ᾽ ἐξητασμένα πρὸς τὸ
the wealth idle was material all-things but examined for the
περίεργον, ἐκπώματα, ἐσθῆτες, στρωμναί, ἔπιπλα, τἄλλα
elaborate drinking-cups garments bedding furniture the-rest
ὅσα οἰκίας κόσμος, ἔκλογα πάντα·
as-many-as of-house adornment choice all-things

καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἡ οἰκετικὴ θεραπεία, ἀριστίνδην 149
and besides these the household staff by-merit
ἐπικριθεῖσα κατά τε τὰς τῶν σωμάτων εὐμορφίας ὁμοῦ
picked by both the of-the bodies comeliness at-once
καὶ εὐεξίας καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἄπταιστον ἐν τῷ χρειώδει
and good-condition and by the unfailing in the usefulness
τῶν ὑπηρεσιῶν· ἐφ' ὧν γὰρ ἦσαν ἕκαστοι τεταγμένοι,
of-the services in which for were each appointed
διέφερον, ὡς ἢ πρῶτοι νομίζεσθαι τῶν τὰ αὐτὰ
they-excelled so-that either first to-be-thought of-those the same
ἐπιτηδευόντων ἢ μηδενὸς δεύτεροι τὸ παράπαν.
pursuing or to-none second the altogether
ἐναργὴς δὲ πίστις τὸ μυρίων δημοπράτων γενομένων 150
clear and proof the countless sold-publicly having-been
οὐσιῶν, αἳ τῶν κατακρίτων ἦσαν, μόνην τὴν τοῦ
estates which of-the condemned were alone the —
Φλάκκου ταμιευθῆναι τῷ αὐτοκράτορι, δίχα τινῶν
of-Flaccus to-have-been-reserved for-the emperor apart-from some
ὀλίγων, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ παραβιβασθῆναι τὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς οὕτως
few for the not to-be-transgressed the for those so
ἑαλωκόσι τεθέντα νόμον.
convicted laid-down law
μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀφαίρεσιν τῆς οὐσίας κατέγνωστο αὐτοῦ 151
after and the removal of-the estate had-been-decreed his
φυγή, καὶ ἐξ ἁπάσης μὲν ἠλαύνετο τῆς ἠπείρου — τὸ
exile and from all indeed he-was-driven the mainland the
δ' ἐστὶ μεῖζον καὶ ἄμεινον τμῆμα τῆς οἰκουμένης—, ἐξ
and is greater and better portion of-the inhabited-world from
ἁπάσης δὲ νήσου τῶν εὐδαιμόνων. ἐμέλλησε γὰρ εἰς
all and island of-the prosperous was-going for into
τὴν λυπροτάτην τῶν ἐν Αἰγαίῳ — Γύαρα καλεῖται —
the most-wretched of-those in Aegean Gyara it-is-called

διώκεσθαι, μὴ παρακλήτῳ χρησάμενος Λεπίδῳ, δι' ὃν
to-be-sent not as-advocate having-had Lepidus through whom
ἀνθυπηλλάξατο Γυάρων Ἄνδρον ἐγγυτάτω κειμένην.
he-got-in-exchange-for Gyara Andros nearest lying
152 εἶτ' ἐστέλλετο τὴν ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ἄχρι Βρεντεσίου πάλιν
then he-traveled the from Rome as-far-as Brundisium again
ὁδόν, ἣν καὶ πρὸ ὀλίγων ἐτῶν ἐστείλατο, καθ' ὃν
road which also before few years he-traveled at what
καιρὸν κεχειροτόνητο τῆς Αἰγύπτου καὶ τῆς ὁμόρου
time he-had-been-appointed — of-Egypt and of-the neighboring
Λιβύης ἐπίτροπος, ἵν' αἱ τότε θεασάμεναι πόλεις αὐτὸν
Libya governor so-that the then having-beheld cities him
μέγα πνέοντα καὶ τὸν ὄγκον τῆς εὐτυχίας ἐπιδεικνύμενον
great breathing and the pomp of-the good-fortune displaying
πάλιν θεάσωνται μεστὸν ἀτιμίας.
again might-behold full of-dishonor
153 ὁ δὲ δακτυλοδεικτούμενος καὶ ὀνειδιζόμενος τῆς ἀθρόας
he and being-pointed-at and reproached for-the sudden
μεταβολῆς πιέζεται βαρυτέραις ἀνίαις, ἀεὶ καινουμένης
change is-pressed by-heavier griefs always being-renewed
καὶ ζωπυρουμένης αὐτῷ τῆς συμφορᾶς νεωτέρων κακῶν
and rekindled for-him of-the misfortune of-newer evils
προσθήκαις, ἃ καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς νόσοις ὑποτροπιάζειν
by-additions which as in the diseases to-relapse
ἀναγκάζει καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀρχαίων κακοπραγιῶν ὑπομνήσεις,
compel also the of-the ancient misfortunes reminders
αἳ τέως ἔδοξαν ἠμαυρῶσθαι.
which till-then seemed to-have-been-dimmed
154 Περαιωσάμενος δὲ τὸν Ἰόνιον κόλπον ἔπλει τὴν ἄχρι
having-crossed and the Ionian gulf he-sailed the as-far-as
Κορίνθου θάλατταν, ταῖς παράλοις τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ
Corinth sea to-the coastal of-the in Peloponnese

πόλεων θέα γινόμενος κατὰ πύστιν τῆς αἰφνιδίου
cities spectacle becoming according-to news of-the sudden
μεταβολῆς· ὁπότε γὰρ ἀποβαίη τῆς νεώς, συνέθεον
change whenever for he-disembarked from-the ship ran-together
οἱ μὲν μοχθηροὶ τὰς φύσεις ἐθελοκακοῦντες, οἱ
the(-ones) indeed wicked in-the natures wishing-evil the(-others)
δ' ἄλλοι συναλγήσοντες, οἷς ἔθος ταῖς ἑτέρων τύχαις
and others going-to-grieve-with-him for-whom custom by-the of-others fortunes
σωφρονίζεσθαι.
to-be-sobered
διελθὼν δ' ἀπὸ Λεχαίου τὸν Ἰσθμὸν εἰς τὴν ἀντιπέραν 155
having-passed and from Lechaeum — Isthmus to the opposite
θάλατταν καὶ καταβὰς εἰς Κεγχρεάς, τὸ Κορίνθιον
sea and having-gone-down to Cenchreae the Corinthian
ἐπίνειον, ἀναγκάζεται πρὸς τῶν φυλάκων ἀναχώρησιν οὐδ'
port he-is-compelled by the guards respite not-even
ἡντιναοῦν ἐνδιδόντων εὐθὺς ἐπιβὰς βραχείας ὁλκάδος
any-whatever granting at-once having-boarded small merchantman
ἀνάγεσθαι καὶ πνεύματος ἐναντίου καταρραγέντος μυρία
to-put-out and wind contrary having-burst-forth countless-things
ταλαιπωρηθεὶς μόλις ἄχρι τοῦ Πειραιῶς κατασύρεται.
having-suffered hardly as-far-as — Piraeus is-swept
λήξαντος δὲ τοῦ χειμῶνος, παραμειψάμενος τὴν Ἀττικὴν 156
having-ceased and the storm having-passed — Attica
ἄχρι τῆς Σουνιάδος ἄκρας τὰς ἑξῆς λοιπὸν ἐπεραιοῦτο
as-far-as the Sunian headland the next thereafter he-crossed
νήσους, τὴν Ἑλένην, τὴν Κίαν, τὴν Κύθνον, τὰς ἄλλας
islands — Helene — Cea — Cythnus the others
ὅσαι κεῖνται στοιχηδὸν ἑξῆς μέχρι τῆς ἐφ' ἣν
as-many-as lie in-a-row next as-far-as the to which
τελευταίαν ἐλθεῖν ἔδει, τὴν Ἀνδρίων.
last to-come it-was-needful the of-Andrians

157 ἣν πόρρωθεν ἰδὼν ὁ κακοδαίμων δακρύων τινὰ φορὰν
which from-afar having-seen the wretched of-tears some flood
ὥσπερ ἀπὸ πηγῆς ἐξέχει κατὰ τῶν παρειῶν καὶ τὰ
as from spring pours-out down the cheeks and the
στέρνα πλήξας, πικρότατα ἀνοιμώξας, "ἄνδρες" εἶπεν,
breast having-struck most-bitterly having-wailed men he-said
"οἱ φύλακές μου καὶ προπομποί, καλήν γε χώραν
the guards my and escorts fine indeed country
Ἄνδρον, οὐκ εὐτυχῆ νῆσον, τῆς εὐδαίμονος Ἰταλίας
Andros not fortunate island for-the prosperous Italy
ἀνθυπαλλάττομαι, Φλάκκος, ὁ γεννηθεὶς μὲν καὶ
I-receive-in-exchange Flaccus the(-one) born indeed and
τραφεὶς καὶ παιδευθεὶς ἐν τῇ ἡγεμονίδι Ῥώμῃ,
reared and educated in the sovereign Rome
158 συμφοιτητὴς δὲ καὶ συμβιωτὴς γενόμενος τῶν θυγατριδῶν
schoolfellow and and companion having-become of-the grandsons
τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ, κριθεὶς δὲ τῶν πρώτων φίλων παρὰ Τιβερίῳ
— of-Augustus judged and of-the first friends by Tiberius
Καίσαρι καὶ τὸ μέγιστον αὐτοῦ τῶν κτημάτων, Αἴγυπτον,
Caesar and the greatest his of-the possessions Egypt
ἐπὶ ἑξαετίαν ἐπιτραπείς. τίς ἡ τοσαύτη μεταβολή;
for six-years entrusted-with what the so-great change
159 νὺξ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ, καθάπερ ἐκλείψεως γενομένης, τὸν ἐμὸν
night in day as of-eclipse having-happened the my
ἐπέσχηκε βίον. τὴν νησίδα ταύτην τί φῶ; πότερον
has-overtaken life the islet this what shall-I-call whether
φυγαδευτήριον ἐμὸν ἢ πατρίδα καινήν, ὑπόδρομον καὶ
place-of-exile mine or fatherland new haven and
καταφυγὴν ἀτυχῆ; τάφος ἂν εἴη τὸ κυριώτατον αὐτῆς
refuge unfortunate tomb — would-be the most-proper its
ὄνομα. στέλλομαι γὰρ ὁ κακοδαίμων ἐγὼ τρόπον τινὰ
name I-am-sent for the wretched I in-a-way some

νεκροφορῶν ἐμαυτὸν ὥσπερ εἰς ἠρίον· ἢ γὰρ ταῖς
carrying-my-own-corpse myself as into tomb either for by-the
ἀνίαις τὴν ἀθλίαν ζωὴν ἀπορρήξω ἤ, κἂν ἐπιβιῶναι
griefs the wretched life I-shall-break-off or even-if to-survive
δυνηθῶ, τὸν μακρὸν καὶ σὺν αἰσθήσει θάνατον ἐκδέξομαι."
I-be-able the long and with perception death I-shall-await
καὶ ὁ μὲν τοιαῦτα ἀπωδύρετο.
and he indeed such-things lamented
τῆς δὲ νεὼς τῷ λιμένι προσσχούσης, ἀπέβαινε πᾶς 160
of-the and ship to-the harbor having-put-in he-disembarked all
εἰς τοὔδαφος νεύων, ὥσπερ οἱ θλιβόμενοι πρὸς ἄχθους
to the-ground bending like those pressed by burden
βαρυτάτου, τὸν αὐχένα ταῖς συμφοραῖς πιεζόμενος, οὐδ'
heaviest the neck by-the misfortunes being-weighed-down not-even
ὅσον ἀνακύψαι σθένων ἢ μὴ τολμῶν διὰ τοὺς
as-much-as to-look-up having-strength or not daring because-of those
συναντῶντας καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ θέαν ἥκοντας, οἳ παρ' ἑκάτερα
meeting and those for spectacle having-come who on each-side
τῆς ὁδοῦ προειστήκεσαν.
of-the road stood-forward
οἱ δὲ παραπέμψαντες αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον ἀγαγόντες 161
they and having-escorted him to the people having-led
τῶν Ἀνδρίων ἐπεδείξαντο πᾶσι, μάρτυρας ποιούμενοι τῆς
of-the Andrians showed to-all witnesses making-them of-the
εἰς τὴν νῆσον ἀφίξεως τοῦ φυγάδος.
to the island arrival of-the exile
καὶ οἱ μὲν τὴν διακονίαν ἐκπλήσαντες ἀπῄεσαν· τῷ δὲ 162
and they indeed the service having-fulfilled went-away — but
Φλάκκῳ μηδεμίαν ὄψιν οἰκείαν ἔτι θεωμένῳ τὸ πάθος
to-Flaccus no face familiar still seeing the suffering
ἐκαινοῦτο τρανότερον φαντασίαις ἐναργεστέραις· καὶ τὴν
was-renewed more-clearly with-imaginations more-vivid and the

ἐν κύκλῳ κατανοοῦντι πολλὴν ἐρημίαν, ἧς μέσος
in circle observing great solitude of-which in-middle
ἀπείληπτο, κουφότερον ἐδόκει κακὸν ἡ ἐν τῇ πατρίδι
he-had-been-cut-off lighter seemed evil the in the fatherland
βίαιος ἀναίρεσις, μᾶλλον δὲ συγκρίσει τῶν παρόντων
violent killing rather but by-comparison of-the present
ἀσπαστὸν ἀγαθόν. οὕτως ἐσφάδαζεν, ὡς μηδὲν τῶν
welcome good so he-was-agitated so-as in-nothing from-the
μεμηνότων διαφέρειν· ἐπήδα πολλάκις ἄνω κάτω διαθέων,
mad to-differ he-leaped often up down running-about
τὰς χεῖρας συνεκρότει, τοὺς μηροὺς ἔπαιε, κατέβαλεν εἰς
the hands he-clapped the thighs he-struck he-threw to
τοὔδαφος ἑαυτόν, ἐξεφώνει πολλάκις·
the-ground himself he-cried-out often
163 "ἐγὼ Φλάκκος εἰμί, ὁ πρὸ μικροῦ τῆς μεγαλοπόλεως
I Flaccus am the before little of-the great-city
ἢ πολυπόλεως Ἀλεξανδρείας ἡγεμών, ὁ τῆς
or many-city Alexandria governor the(-one) of-the
εὐδαιμονεστάτης χώρας ἐπίτροπος Αἰγύπτου, εἰς ὃν
most-prosperous country governor Egypt to whom
ἐπέστρεφον αἱ τοσαῦται μυριάδες τῶν οἰκητόρων, ὁ
turned the so-many tens-of-thousands of-the inhabitants the(-one)
δυνάμεις πολλὰς πεζὰς καὶ ἱππικὰς καὶ ναυτικὰς οὐκ
forces many infantry and cavalry and naval not
ἀριθμὸν ἄλλως ἀλλ' ὅσον δοκιμώτατον ἐν ὑπηκόοις
number idly but as-much-as most-approved among subjects
ἔχων, ὁ καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἐν ταῖς ἐξόδοις ὑπὸ
having the(-one) on each day in the goings-out by
μυρίων ὅσων παραπεμπόμενος.
countless how-many escorted

ἀλλὰ μὴ φάσμα ταῦτ᾽ ἦν, οὐκ ἀλήθεια; καὶ κοιμώμενος
but not phantom these-things were not truth and sleeping
ὄναρ εἶδον τὴν τότ᾽ εὐθυμίαν, εἴδωλα κατὰ κενοῦ
dream I-saw the then gladness images on empty
βαίνοντα, πλάσματα ψυχῆς ἴσως ἀναγραφούσης τὰ μὴ
treading fabrications of-soul perhaps recording the-things not
ὑπάρχοντα ὡς ὄντα; διηπάτημαι·
existing as being I-have-been-deceived
σκιὰ πραγμάτων ἄρ᾽ ἦσαν, οὐ πράγματα, μίμησις
shadow of-things then they-were not things imitation
ἐναργείας, οὐκ ἐνάργεια τρανοῦσα τὸ ψεῦδος. ὡς γὰρ
of-clearness not clearness exposing the falsehood as for
τῶν ἐν τοῖς ὀνείροις φανέντων οὐδὲν περιαναστάντες
of-the-things in the dreams having-appeared nothing having-got-up
εὑρίσκομεν, ἀλλ᾽ οἴχεται πάντα ἀθρόα διαπτάντα, οὕτως
we-find but are-gone all-things together having-flown-away so
καὶ τὰ λαμπρὰ ἐκεῖνα, οἷς ποτε ἐνωμίλησα, ἐσβέσθη
also the brilliant those with-which once I-consorted were-quenched
βραχυτάτῃ καιροῦ ῥοπῇ."
by-briefest of-time turn

Wrestling with such thoughts, he shuns company, wanders alone outside the walls, and cannot sleep for terror, and once, at midnight, looking up at heaven and the stars, he cries out that the king of gods and men does care for the Jews, confessing each wrong he did them and suffered in return. Gaius, insatiable in punishment, hates him the more, regrets sentencing him to exile and not death, and orders the most eminent exiles killed, Flaccus first. Seeing the killers from afar, Flaccus flees across the rough ground, is overtaken, and, struggling, is cut to pieces, his wounds as many as the Jews lawlessly killed, a proof that the Jewish nation is not deprived of God's help.

166 Τοιούτοις ἀεὶ κατεπαλαίετο λογισμοῖς καὶ τρόπον
by-such always he-was-wrestled-down reasonings and in-a-way
τινὰ ἐξετραχηλίζετο· τὰς δὲ τῶν πολλῶν συνόδους
some was-thrown-headlong the and of-the many gatherings
ἀποδιδράσκων διὰ τὴν παρακολουθοῦσαν αἰσχύνην οὔτ'
running-from because-of the attending shame neither
εἰς λιμένα κατήει οὔτ' εἰς ἀγορὰν προελθεῖν ὑπέμενεν,
to harbor went-down nor to market-place to-go-forward endured
ἀλλ' οἴκοι συγκλεισάμενος ἐφώλευε, μηδὲ τὴν αὔλειον
but at-home having-shut-himself-up lurked-in-his-den not-even the courtyard-door
ὑπερβαίνειν θαρρῶν.
to-cross daring

167 ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ περὶ βαθὺν ὄρθρον, ἔτι τῶν ἄλλων ἐν
it-is and when also about deep dawn still the others in
εὐναῖς ὄντων, μηδενὶ φανεὶς τὸ παράπαν ἔξω τείχους
beds being to-no-one appearing the altogether outside wall
προῄει καὶ διημέρευεν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐρημίας, ἐκτρεπόμενος
he-went-forward and spent-the-day in the solitude turning-aside
εἴ πού τις ὑπαντήσειν ἔμελλε, καὶ ταῖς ἐναύλοις
if anywhere anyone to-meet was-going and by-the fresh

μνήμαις τῶν κακοπραγιῶν διακναιόμενος καὶ διεσθιόμενος
memories of-the misfortunes being-worn-away and being-eaten-through
τὴν ψυχήν, ὁ δείλαιος, νυκτὸς εἰσῄει βαθείας, εὐχόμενος
the soul the wretched by-night entered deep praying
διὰ τὰς ἀμέτρους καὶ ἀτελευτήτους ἀδημονίας ἑσπέραν
because-of the immoderate and endless distresses evening
μὲν πρωΐαν γενέσθαι, πεφρικὼς τὸ σκότος καὶ τὰς
indeed morning to-become shuddering-at the darkness and the
ἀλλοκότους φαντασίας, ὁπότε τύχοι καταδαρθών, ἅμα
strange imaginations whenever he-happened having-fallen-asleep at-once
δὲ τῇ ἕῳ πάλιν ἑσπέραν· ὁ γὰρ περὶ αὐτὸν ζόφος
but with-the dawn again evening the for about him gloom
ἠναντιοῦτο τοῖς φαιδροῖς ἅπασιν.
was-opposed to-the bright-things all
ὀλίγοις δ' ὕστερον μησὶ βραχύ τι γῄδιον πριάμενος 168
by-few and later months small some plot-of-land having-bought
ἐν αὐτῷ πολλὰ διέτριβε μονούμενος καὶ τὸν οἰκεῖον
in it much passed-time being-alone and the own
ἐπιστένων καὶ κατακλαίων δαίμονα.
groaning-over and weeping-for fate
λέγεται δέ ποτε καὶ περὶ μέσας νύκτας ὥσπερ οἱ 169
it-is-said and once also about middle nights like the(-ones)
κορυβαντιῶντες ἔνθους γενόμενος, ἐκ τῆς ἐπαύλεως ἔξω
Corybant-frenzied possessed having-become from the farmhouse outside
προελθὼν καὶ τὴν ὄψιν ἀνατείνας εἰς οὐρανὸν καὶ τοὺς
having-gone-forth and the sight having-lifted to heaven and the
ἀστέρας, τὸν ἐν κόσμῳ κόσμον ὄντως ἰδών, ἀναβοῆσαι·
stars the in cosmos cosmos truly having-seen to-cry-out
"βασιλεῦ θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων, οὐκ ἄρα τοῦ τῶν Ἰουδαίων 170
king of-gods and men not then the of-the Jews
ἔθνους ἀμελῶς ἔχεις, οὐδ' ἐπιψεύδονται τὴν ἐκ σοῦ
nation carelessly you-are nor do-they-falsely-claim the from you

πρόνοιαν, ἀλλ᾽ ὅσοι φασὶν αὐτοὺς μὴ προαγωνιστῇ
providence but as-many-as say them not as-champion
σοι καὶ ὑπερμάχῳ χρῆσθαι, δόξης ὑγιοῦς διαμαρτάνουσι.
you and defender to-have of-opinion sound fail
σαφὴς δ᾽ ἐγὼ πίστις· ὅσα γὰρ κατεμάνην τῶν
clear and I proof as-many-as for I-raved-against the
Ἰουδαίων, αὐτὸς πέπονθα.
Jews myself I-have-suffered
171 τὰς οὐσίας ἁρπαζομένων περιεῖδον ἐκεχειρίαν τοῖς
the estates of-(them)-being-plundered I-overlooked truce to-the
λεηλατοῦσι διδούς· ἀφῃρέθην διὰ τοῦτο τὰ πατρῷα
plunderers giving I-was-deprived because-of this the paternal
καὶ μητρῷα καὶ ὅσα ἐν μέρει χάριτος καὶ δωρεᾶς
and maternal and as-many-as in part of-favor and gift
ἔλαβον ἢ ὅσα ἄλλα καθ᾽ ἑτέρας ἰδέας ἐκτησάμην.
I-received or as-many-as other by other kinds I-acquired
172 ὠνείδισά ποτε ἀτιμίαν καὶ ξενιτείαν αὐτοῖς ἐπιτίμοις οὖσι
I-reproached once dishonor and foreignness them enfranchised being
κατοίκοις, ἵν᾽ ἡσθῶσιν οἱ ἀντίπαλοι, πλῆθος ἀσύντακτον
settlers so-that might-rejoice the opponents multitude disorderly
καὶ πεφορημένον, ὑφ᾽ οὗ κολακευόμενος ὁ δυστυχὴς
and jumbled by whom being-flattered the unfortunate
ἠπατώμην· διὰ τοῦτο ἠτίμωμαι καὶ φυγὰς ἐξ
I-was-deceived because-of this I-have-been-dishonored and exile from
ἁπάσης ἐληλαμένος τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐνταυθοῖ συγκέκλεισμαι.
all having-been-driven the inhabited-world here I-have-been-shut-up
173 παράγων εἰς τὸ θέατρον ἐνίους ἐν ὄψεσι τῶν ἐχθίστων
bringing into the theater some in sight of-the most-hateful
αἰκίζεσθαι προσέταττον ἀδίκως· τοιγαροῦν ἐγὼ δικαίως
to-be-tortured I-ordered unjustly therefore I justly
οὐκ εἰς θέατρον ἓν ἢ μίαν πόλιν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐσχάταις ὕβρεσι
not into theater one or one city to the utmost outrages

παρήχθην αἰκισθεὶς πρὸ τοῦ σώματος τὴν ἀθλίαν ψυχήν,
was-brought tortured before the body the wretched soul
ἀλλ' ἐπόμπευσα διὰ μὲν πάσης Ἰταλίας ἄχρι Βρεντεσίου,
but I-was-paraded through indeed all Italy as-far-as Brundisium
διὰ δὲ πάσης Πελοποννήσου μέχρι Κορίνθου, διὰ δὲ τῆς
through and all Peloponnese as-far-as Corinth through and —
Ἀττικῆς καὶ τῶν νήσων ἄχρις Ἄνδρου, τῆς ἐμῆς εἱρκτῆς.
Attica and the islands as-far-as Andros the my prison
καὶ πέπεισμαι σαφῶς, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ὅρος οὗτος τῶν ἐμῶν 174
and I-am-persuaded clearly that not is limit this of-the my
κακοπραγιῶν, ἀλλ' ἐφεδρεύουσιν ἕτεραι πρὸς ἐκπλήρωσιν
misfortunes but lie-in-wait others for fulfillment
ἀντίρροπον ὧν εἰργασάμην. ἀνεῖλόν τινας καὶ ἀναιρεθεῖσι
counterbalancing of-what I-did I-killed some and for-(those)-killed
πρὸς ἑτέρων οὐκ ἐπεξῆλθον· κατελεύσθησάν τινες καὶ
by others not I-prosecuted were-stoned some and
ζῶντες οἱ μὲν ἐνεπρήσθησαν, οἱ δὲ διὰ μέσης
living the(-ones) indeed were-burned the(-others) and through middle
κατεσύρησαν ἀγορᾶς, ἕως ὅλα τὰ σώματα αὐτοῖς ἐδαπανήθη.
were-dragged market-place until whole the bodies for-them were-consumed
τούτων οἶδ' ὅτι ἀναμένουσί με αἱ Ποιναί, καὶ οἱ ἀλάστορες 175
for-these I-know that await me the Penalties and the avengers
ὥσπερ ἐπὶ βαλβῖσιν ἑστᾶσιν ἤδη καὶ φονῶντες ἔγκεινται,
as at starting-posts stand already and murderous press-on
καὶ καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν, μᾶλλον δὲ ὥραν, προαποθνήσκω
and on each day rather and hour I-die-beforehand
πολλοὺς θανάτους ὑπομένων ἀνθ' ἑνὸς τοῦ τελευταίου."
many deaths enduring instead-of one the last
πολλάκις δὲ ἐδειματοῦτο καὶ διεπτόητο καὶ φρίκῃ 176
often and he-was-terrified and was-scared and with-shuddering
μὲν τὰ μέλη καὶ μέρη τοῦ σώματος κατεσείετο, φόβῳ
indeed the limbs and parts of-the body were-shaken with-fear

δ᾽ ὑπότρομον εἶχε τὴν ψυχὴν ἄσθματι καὶ παλμῷ
and trembling he-had the soul by-gasping and throbbing
τινασσομένην, ἅτε τοῦ μόνου παρηγορεῖν τὸν ἀνθρώπινον
being-shaken as of-the only to-console the human
βίον ἐκ φύσεως δυναμένου στερόμενος, χρηστῆς ἐλπίδος.
life by nature being-able deprived good hope
177 ὄρνις αἴσιος οὐδεὶς αὐτῷ προυφαίνετο· πάντες δυσοιώνιστοι,
bird auspicious no to-him appeared all ill-omened
κληδόνες παλίμφημοι, ἐπίπονος ἐγρήγορσις, περιδεὴς ὕπνος,
utterances ill-boding toilsome waking very-fearful sleep
ἡ μόνωσις θηριώδης. ἀλλ᾽ ἥδιστον αὐτῷ τὸ ἀγελαῖον;
the solitude beast-like but sweetest to-him the herd-life
ἀηδέστατον αἱ κατὰ πόλιν διατριβαί· ἀσφαλὲς ὄνειδος ἡ
most-unpleasant the in city stays safe disgrace the
κατ᾽ ἀγρὸν ἐρημία; σφαλερόν, ἀδυσώπητον· ὁ ἠρέμα
in country solitude perilous shameless the(-one) quietly
προσιὼν ὕποπτος.
approaching suspect
178 "βουλεύεταί τι" φησί "κατ᾽ ἐμοῦ ὁ θᾶττον βαδίζων·
plots something he-says against me the(-one) faster walking
οὐ πρὸς ἕτερόν τι σπεύδων ἔοικεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐμὲ διώκει· ὁ
not to other anything hastening he-seems but me pursues the
ἡδὺς ἐνεδρεύει, ὁ παρρησιαστὴς καταφρονεῖ· σιτία μοι
pleasant lies-in-wait the outspoken despises food to-me
καὶ ποτὰ καθάπερ τοῖς θρέμμασιν ἐπὶ σφαγὴν δίδοται.
and drinks as to-the beasts for slaughter is-given
179 μέχρι τίνος ὁ σιδηροῦς πρὸς τοσαύτας ἀντέχω συμφοράς;
until what the iron against so-many do-I-hold-out misfortunes
οἶδ᾽ ὅτι μαλακίζομαι πρὸς θάνατον, ἐξ ἐπηρείας
I-know that I-am-faint toward death through spite
δαίμονος οὐκ ἐπιτρέποντός μοι τὴν ἀθλίαν ζωὴν συντόμως
of-fate not allowing me the wretched life quickly

ἀπορρῆξαι διά τινας ὑπερβολὰς ἀνηκέστων κακῶν, ἃ
to-break-off because-of some excesses of-incurable evils which
κατ᾽ ἐμοῦ θησαυριζόμενος χαρίζεται τοῖς δολοφονηθεῖσι.᾽᾽
against me storing-up it-gratifies to-the treacherously-murdered
τοιαῦτα ἀναπολῶν καὶ σφαδάζων ἐκαραδόκει τῆς 180
such-things pondering and struggling he-awaited of-the
εἱμαρμένης τὸ πέρας· καὶ τοῦ μὲν αἱ συνεχεῖς ὀδύναι
destiny the end and his indeed the continual pains
τὴν ψυχὴν ἀνεκύκων καὶ ἀνέστρεφον. Γάιος δὲ τὴν φύσιν
the soul stirred-up and overturned Gaius and the nature
ὠμόθυμος ὢν καὶ ἀκόρεστος ἐν ταῖς τιμωρίαις οὐχ ὥσπερ
savage-hearted being and insatiable in the punishments not like
ἔνιοι μεθίετο τοὺς ἅπαξ κολασθέντας, ἀλλ᾽ ἀτελεύτητα
some released those once punished but endlessly
μηνιῶν ἀεί τινα καινὴν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἐμεγαλούργει συμφοράν·
raging always some new upon them he-wrought misfortune
τὸν δὲ Φλάκκον καὶ διαφερόντως ἤχθαιρεν, ὡς καὶ τοὺς
— and Flaccus also especially he-hated so-as even those
ὁμωνύμους ἀλλοτριώσει τῆς κλήσεως ὑποβλέπεσθαι.
of-the-same-name by-estrangement of-the name to-be-eyed-askance
καὶ πολλάκις αὐτὸν μετάνοια εἰσῄει, διότι κατέγνω φυγήν, 181
and often him repentance entered because he-decreed exile
ἀλλ᾽ οὐχὶ θάνατον, καὶ τὸν παράκλητον αἰδούμενος ὅμως
but not death and the advocate respecting nevertheless
ᾐτιᾶτο Λέπιδον, ὥστ᾽ ἐκεῖνος ἀπηγόρευσε φόβῳ τῆς καθ᾽
he-blamed Lepidus so-that that-one gave-up through-fear of-the against
αὑτοῦ τιμωρίας· ἐδεδίει γάρ, ὡς εἰκός, μὴ παραίτιος ἄλλῳ
himself punishment he-feared for as likely lest accessory to-another
γενόμενος κουφοτέρας δίκης βαρυτέραν αὐτὸς ἐνδέξηται.
having-become of-lighter penalty heavier himself he-receive

182 μηδενὸς οὖν ἔτι τι τῶν εἰς παραίτησιν λέγειν
no-one then still anything of-the-things for intercession to-say
θαρροῦντος, ἀμειλίκτοις καὶ ἀφέτοις ἐχρῆτο ταῖς ὀργαῖς,
daring with-implacable and unchecked he-used the angers
αἵ, χρόνῳ δέον ἀμαυροῦσθαι, παρεθήγοντο μᾶλλον
which with-time it-being-needful to-be-dimmed were-whetted more
καθάπερ αἱ ἐν τοῖς σώμασιν ὑποτροπιάζουσαι νόσοι· τῶν
like the in the bodies relapsing diseases than-the
γὰρ προτέρων εἰσὶν ἀργαλεώτεραι.
for former are more-grievous

183 φασὶν οὖν, ὅτι νύκτωρ ποτὲ διαγρυπνῶν εἰς ἔννοιαν ἦλθε
they-say then that by-night once lying-awake into thought he-came
τῶν ἐν τέλει φυγάδων, ὀνόματι μὲν ὑποπτευομένων
of-those in office exiles in-name indeed suspected
ἀτυχεῖν, βίον δ' ἀπράγμονα καὶ ἡσυχάζοντα καὶ
to-be-unfortunate life but untroubled and quiet and
ἐλεύθερον ὄντως περιπεποιημένων.
free truly having-secured

184 μετετίθει δὲ καὶ τὴν κλῆσιν ἀποδημίαν προσαγορεύων·
he-changed and also the name sojourn calling-it
"ἀποδημία γάρ τίς ἐστιν" ἔφασκεν "ἡ τῶν τοιούτων ἔλασις
sojourn for some is he-said the of-the such expulsion
ἐχόντων ἄφθονα τὰ ἐπιτήδεια καὶ σὺν ἀπραγμοσύνῃ καὶ
having abundant the necessities and with freedom-from-affairs and
εὐσταθείᾳ ζῆν δυναμένων· οὓς ἄτοπον εἶναι τρυφᾶν
stability to-live being-able whom absurd to-be to-live-luxuriously
ἀπολαύοντας εἰρήνης, βίον καρπουμένους φιλόσοφον."
enjoying peace life reaping philosophic

185 εἶτα προστάττει τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους καὶ ὧν πλεῖστος
then he-orders the most-notable and of-whom greatest
ὁ λόγος ἀναιρεθῆναι, γραφὴν δοὺς ὀνομάτων, ἧς
the account to-be-killed list having-given of-names of-which

ἡγεῖτο Φλάκκος. ἐπεὶ δ' ἦκον εἰς Ἄνδρον οἷς
led Flaccus when and came to Andros those-to-whom
κτείνειν διείρητο, Φλάκκος μὲν ἐτύγχανεν ἀγρόθεν εἰς
to-kill had-been-ordered Flaccus indeed happened from-the-country to
ἄστυ παραγινόμενος, οἱ δ' ἐκ τοῦ λιμένος ὑπηντίαζον,
town arriving they and from the harbor came-to-meet
καὶ πόρρωθεν ἀντιπροεῖδον ἀλλήλους.
and from-afar saw-beforehand each-other
ὅθεν συναισθόμενος ἐφ' ὃ σπεύδουσι — μαντικώτατον γὰρ 186
whence perceiving for what they-hasten most-prophetic for
ἡ ἑκάστου ψυχή, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν ἐν κακοπραγίαις —
the of-each soul and most of-those in misfortunes
ἐκτραπόμενος τῆς ὁδοῦ διὰ τραχείας ἔθει φεύγων,
having-turned-aside from-the road through rough he-ran fleeing
ἐπιλελησμένος ἴσως, ὅτι νῆσος ἀλλ' οὐκ ἤπειρός ἐστιν, ἐν ᾗ
having-forgotten perhaps that island but not mainland it-is in which
τί ὄφελος ὠκύτητος, περικλειούσης θαλάττης; ἀνάγκη γὰρ
what benefit of-swiftness enclosing sea necessity for
δυοῖν θάτερον, ἢ προσωτέρω χοροῦντα κατὰ τοῦ πελάγους
of-two the-other either farther going down the sea
ἐνεχθῆναι ἢ συλληφθῆναι πρὸς αὐτὸ τὸ πέρας ἥκοντα.
to-be-borne or to-be-caught at the-very the end having-come
βέλτιον ἄρ' ἐν συγκρίσει κακῶν ἡ κατὰ γῆν τῆς ἐν πελάγει 187
better then in comparison of-evils the on land than-the in sea
φθορά, ἐπειδήπερ ἀνθρώποις καὶ πᾶσι χερσαίοις οἰκειότατον
destruction since for-men and all land-creatures most-proper
ἡ φύσις χωρίον ἀπένειμε γῆν, οὐ μόνον ζῶσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ
the nature place assigned land not only living but also
ἀποθανοῦσιν, ἵν' ἡ αὐτὴ καὶ τὴν πρώτην ὑποδέχηται
having-died so-that the same both the first may-receive
γένεσιν καὶ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ βίου τελευταίαν ἀνάλυσιν.
birth and the from the life last dissolution

188 οἱ δ᾽ ἀπνευστὶ διώκοντες καταλαμβάνουσι· καὶ οἱ
they and breathlessly pursuing overtake and the(-ones)
μὲν εὐθὺς ὄρυττον βόθρον, οἱ δὲ πρὸς βίαν εἷλκον
indeed at-once dug pit the(-others) and by force dragged
ἀφηνιάζοντα καὶ κεκραγότα καὶ διαπαλαίοντα· ὧν
resisting and shouting and struggling for-which
χάριν καὶ σύμπαν κατετρώθη τὸ σῶμα καθάπερ τὰ θηρία
reason also whole was-wounded the body like the beasts
ταῖς πληγαῖς ἐπιτρέχων.
at-the blows running-upon
189 ἐμπλεκόμενος γὰρ καὶ τῶν κτεινόντων ἐλλαμβανόμενος, νῦν
entangling for and of-the killers grabbing now
μὲν ἐπιφέρειν τὰ ξίφη κωλυομένων, ἐγκαρσίους δὲ πληγὰς
indeed to-bring-down the swords being-hindered crosswise but blows
καταφερόντων, αἴτιος ἐγένετο βαρυτέρων ἑαυτῷ συμφορῶν·
bringing-down cause he-became of-heavier to-himself misfortunes
διατμηθεὶς δὲ καὶ διακοπεὶς χεῖρας, βάσεις, κεφαλήν, στέρνα,
cut-through and also hacked-apart hands feet head breast
πλευράς, ὡς ἱερείου τρόπον κρεουργηθῆναι, ἔκειτο, τῆς δίκης
sides so-as of-victim like to-be-butchered he-lay of-the justice
σφαγὰς ἰσαρίθμους τοῖς φόνοις τῶν ἐκνόμως ἀναιρεθέντων
slaughters equal-in-number to-the murders of-the lawlessly killed
Ἰουδαίων ἑνὶ σώματι βουληθείσης ἐργάσασθαι.
Jews on-one body having-wished to-work
190 καὶ ὁ μὲν τόπος ἅπας αἵματι κατερρεῖτο διὰ πλειόνων
and the indeed place all with-blood was-streamed-over through many
φλεβῶν, αἳ κατὰ μέρος διεκόπησαν, κρουνηδὸν ἐκχεομένῳ·
veins which one-by one were-cut in-streams pouring-out
συρομένου δ᾽ εἰς τὸν ὀρωρυγμένον βόθρον τοῦ νεκροῦ
being-dragged and into the dug pit of-the corpse

τὰ πλεῖστα μέρη διελύετο, τῶν νεύρων κατεσχισμένων,
the most parts were-dissolved of-the sinews torn
οἷς ἡ κοινωνία συνεδεῖτο πᾶσα τοῦ σώματος.
by-which the fellowship was-bound all of-the body
τοιαῦτα καὶ Φλάκκος ἔπαθε γενόμενος ἀψευδεστάτη πίστις 191
such-things also Flaccus suffered having-become most-unerring proof
τοῦ μὴ ἀπεστερῆσθαι τὸ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος ἐπικουρίας τῆς
of-the not to-have-been-deprived the of-Jews nation of-help the
ἐκ θεοῦ.
from god

JOSEPHUS

ΙΟΥΔΑΪΚΗΣ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΑΣ ΙΘ

Jewish Antiquities XIX

Gaius' madness reaches beyond the Jews to every land and sea under Rome, and above all to Rome itself, whose senators and knights he plunders and kills. He deifies himself, calls the Capitoline Zeus his brother, drives a chariot over a bridge from Dicaearchia to Misenum, strips the Greek temples, and orders Phidias' Olympian Zeus brought to Rome, until Memmius Regulus, warned it would be ruined, puts the removal off. He sets his newborn daughter on the god's knees and lets slaves accuse their masters, even Claudius. Three conspiracies form, under Aemilius Regulus, Cassius Chaerea, and Annius Minucianus, each with its grievance, and when the crowd at the races begs for tax relief, Gaius has the shouters killed.

Γάιος δὲ οὐκ εἰς μόνους Ἰουδαίους τοὺς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις 1
Gaius and not against alone Jews those in Jerusalem
καὶ τοὺς ὁπόσοι τῇδε οἰκοῦσιν ἐπεδείκνυτο τῆς ὕβρεως
and those as-many-as here dwell displayed of-the insolence
τὴν μανίαν, ἀλλὰ διὰ πάσης ἐσομένην γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης
the madness but through all going-to-be land and sea
ἔστελλεν αὐτήν, ὁπόση Ῥωμαίοις ὑπακούει, μυρίων τε
he-sent it as-much-as to-Romans is-subject countless both
ἀνέπλησεν αὐτὴν κακῶν ὁπόσα μὴ ἱστόρητο πρότερον.
filled it with-evils as-many-as not had-been-recorded before
μάλιστα δὲ ᾐσθάνετο τοῦ δεινοῦ τῶν πρασσομένων 2
most and felt the terror of-the-things done
ἡ Ῥώμη κατ' οὐδὲν αὐτὴν τιμιωτέραν τῶν λοιπῶν
— Rome in nothing it more-honored than-the remaining
πόλεων ἡγουμένου, ἀλλὰ τούς τε ἄλλους ἄγοντος καὶ
cities he-considering but the both others plundering and
φέροντος καὶ μάλιστα τὴν σύγκλητον καὶ ὁπόσοι τούτων
carrying-off and most the senate and as-many-as of-these
εὐπατρίδαι καὶ προγόνων ἐπιφανείαις τιμώμενοι.
patricians and of-ancestors by-distinctions honored

3 μυρία τε εὑρίσκετο καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἱππέων μὲν καλουμένων,
countless both he-devised also against the knights indeed so-called
ἀξιώματι δὲ καὶ δυνάμει χρημάτων ὅμοια τοῖς συγκλητικοῖς
in-rank but and power of-money alike to-the senators
ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀγομένων διὰ τὸ ἐκ τούτων εἰς
by the city regarded because-of the from these into
τὴν βουλὴν εἶναι κατακλήσεις· ὧν ἀτίμωσις ἦν καὶ
the council to-be enrollments of-whom disfranchisement was and
μετανάστασις κτεινομένων τε καὶ τὰ χρήματα συλωμένων
banishment being-killed both and the money being-stripped
διὰ τὸ καὶ τὰς σφαγὰς ὡς τὸ πολὺ ἐπ᾽ ἀφαιρέσει
because-of the also the slaughters as the much for removal
τῶν χρημάτων αὐτοῖς συντυγχάνειν.
of-the money for-them to-happen

4 ἐξεθείαζέν τε ἑαυτὸν καὶ τὰς τιμὰς οὐκέτ᾽ ἀνθρωπίνως
deified both himself and the honors no-longer humanly
ἠξίου γίνεσθαι παρὰ τῶν ὑπηκόων αὐτῷ· εἵς τε τοῦ
he-deemed-fit to-come from the subjects to-him into both —
Διὸς φοιτῶν τὸ ἱερόν, ὃ Καπετώλιον μὲν καλοῦσιν
of-Zeus going the temple which Capitol indeed they-call
τιμιώτατον δ᾽ ἄρα αὐτοῖς ἐστιν ἱερῶν, ἀδελφὸν ἐτόλμησε
most-honored and then for-them is of-temples brother dared
προσαγορεύειν τὸν Δία·
to-address — Zeus

5 καὶ τἆλλα ἔπρασσεν μανίας οὐδὲν ἀπολελειμμένα,
and the-other-things did of-madness in-nothing falling-short
ἐπεὶ καὶ ἀπὸ Δικαιαρχείας τῆς πόλεως ἐν Καμπανίᾳ
since also from Dicaearchia the city in Campania
κειμένης εἰς Μισηνοὺς ἑτέραν πόλιν ἐπιθαλάσσιον, καὶ
lying to Misenum another city by-the-sea also
τὴν διάβασιν δεινὸν ἡγούμενος τριήρει περατοῦν,
the crossing terrible considering by-trireme to-cross

καὶ ἄλλως ἐπιβάλλειν ἡγούμενος αὐτῷ δεσπότῃ ὄντι τῆς 6
and otherwise to-befit considering to-him master being of-the
θαλάσσης ταῦτα καὶ ὁποῖα καὶ παρὰ γῆς ἀπαιτεῖν,
sea these-things also such-as also from land to-demand
ἀπ᾽ ἄκρων ἐπ᾽ ἄκρα σταδίους τριάκοντα μέτρον τῆς
from headland to headland stades thirty measure of-the
θαλάσσης καὶ εἴσω τὸν κόλπον ἀπολαβὼν πάντα ἤλαυνεν
sea and inside the gulf having-cut-off all-the-way he-drove
ἐπὶ τῇ γεφύρᾳ τὸ ἅρμα· θεῷ γὰρ ὄντι τοιαύτας ποιεῖσθαι
upon the bridge the chariot for-god for being such to-make
καλῶς ἔχειν τὰς ὁδούς.
well to-be the roads
τῶν τε ἱερῶν τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν οὐδὲν ἔτι ἀσύλητον 7
of-the both temples the Greek nothing still unplundered
κατέλιπεν, ὁπόσα γραφῆς ἢ γλυφῆς ἐχόμενα καὶ τὰς
he-left as-many-as of-painting or of-sculpture pertaining and the
λοιπὰς κατασκευὰς ἀνδριάντων καὶ ἀναθημάτων ἄγεσθαι
remaining furnishings of-statues and of-offerings to-be-brought
κελεύσας παρ᾽ αὐτόν· οὐ γὰρ ἐν ἑτέρῳ τὰ καλὰ
having-ordered to him not for in other the beautiful-things
κεῖσθαι καλῶς ἔχειν ἢ ἐν τῷ καλλίστῳ, τυγχάνειν δὲ
to-lie well to-be than in the most-beautiful to-happen and
τοῦτο οὖσαν τὴν Ῥωμαίων πόλιν.
this being the of-Romans city
ἐκόσμει τε τοῖς ἐνθένδε ἀγομένοις τήν τε οἰκίαν 8
he-adorned both with-the-things from-there brought the both house
καὶ τοὺς κήπους ὁπόσαι τε αὐτῷ καταγωγαὶ διὰ γῆς
and the gardens as-many-as both for-him lodgings through land
τῆς τῶν Ἰταλῶν. ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸν Ὀλύμπιον τιμώμενον Δία
the of-the Italians since even the Olympian honored Zeus
ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ οὕτως ὠνομασμένον Ὀλύμπιον
by the Greeks and so named Olympian

Φειδίου τοῦ Ἀθηναίου πεποιηκότος ἐτόλμησε κελεῦσαι εἰς
Phidias the Athenian having-made he-dared to-order to
τὴν Ῥώμην μεταφέρειν.
— Rome to-transfer

9 οὐ μὴν ἔπραξέν γε τῶν ἀρχιτεκτόνων φαμένων
not indeed he-did indeed the architects saying
πρὸς Μέμμιον Ῥῆγλον, ὃς ἐπετέτακτο τῇ κινήσει
to Memmius Regulus who had-been-charged with-the moving
τοῦ Διός, ἀπολεῖσθαι τοὔργον κινήσεως αὐτοῦ
— of-Zeus to-be-going-to-be-ruined the-work moving of-it
γενομένης. λέγεται δὲ Μέμμιον διὰ ταῦτα καὶ σημείων
having-happened it-is-said and Memmius because-of these-things and signs
μειζόνων γενομένων, ἢ ὡς ἄν τινα μὴ πιστὰ ἡγεῖσθαι,
greater having-happened than as — anyone not credible to-consider
ὑπερβαλέσθαι τὴν ἀναίρεσιν.
to-postpone the removal

10 καὶ γράφει τάδε πρὸς τὸν Γάιον ἐπ᾽ ἀπολογίᾳ τοῦ
and he-writes these-things to — Gaius in defense of-the
ἐκλιπεῖν ἀδιακόνητον τὴν ἐπιστολήν, ἀπολέσθαι τε ἐκ
to-have-left undone the order to-perish both from
τούτων αὐτῷ κινδύνου γενομένου σώζεται φθάνοντος ἤδη
these for-him danger having-arisen he-is-saved anticipating already
Γαΐου τελευτῆσαι.
Gaius to-die

11 Εἰς τοῦτο δὲ προύβη τὸ μανικὸν αὐτῷ, ὥστε δὴ καὶ
to this and advanced the madness for-him so-that indeed also
θυγατρὸς αὐτῷ γενομένης ἀνακομίσας ἐπὶ τὸ Καπετώλιον
daughter to-him having-been-born having-carried-up to — Capitol
ἐπὶ τοῖς γόνασι κατατίθεται τοῦ ἀγάλματος, κοινὸν αὐτῷ
on the knees he-places of-the statue common to-him
τε καὶ τῷ Διὶ γεγονέναι τὸ τέκνον καὶ δύο χειροτονεῖν
both and — to-Zeus to-have-become the child and two to-appoint

αὐτῆς πατέρας, ὁπότερον μείζονα φάμενος ἐν μέσῳ τε
her fathers which-of-the-two greater saying in middle both
καταλιμπάνειν.
to-leave
καὶ τάδε ἠνείχοντο πράσσοντα αὐτὸν οἱ ἄνθρωποι. 12
and these-things endured doing him the men
ἐπεχείρησε δὲ καὶ τοῖς οἰκέταις κατηγορίας ποιεῖσθαι τῶν
he-attempted and also to-the slaves accusations to-make of-the
δεσποτῶν ἐφ᾽ οἷστισιν ἐθελήσειαν ἐγκλήμασιν· δεινὰ γὰρ
masters on whatever they-wished charges terrible for
πάντα ἦν, ὁπόσα μέλλοι λέγεσθαι, διὰ τὸ χάριτί τε
all-things were as-many-as might to-be-said because-of the by-favor both
καὶ ὑπαγορεύσει τῇ ἐκείνου τὰ πολλὰ γίνεσθαι,
and prompting the his the many-things to-happen
ὥστε ἤδη καὶ Κλαυδίου ἐτόλμα ποιήσασθαι Πολυδεύκης ὁ 13
so-that already even of-Claudius dared to-make Polydeuces the
δοῦλος κατηγορίαν, καὶ Γάιος ἠνείχετο κατὰ πατρῴου τοῦ
slave accusation and Gaius endured against uncle the
αὐτοῦ δίκης θανάτου λεγομένης ἐπ᾽ ἀκροάσει συνελθεῖν
his trial of-death spoken for hearing to-come-together
ἐλπίδι τοῦ παραλαβεῖν δύναμιν ἀνελεῖν αὐτόν.
in-hope of-the to-get power to-kill him
οὐ μὴν ἐξεγένετό γε αὐτῷ. ἀναπεπληρωκότι δὲ αὐτῷ 14
not indeed it-succeeded indeed for-him having-filled but him
συκοφαντιῶν καὶ κακῶν πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην, ἧς
with-calumnies and evils all the inhabited-world which
ἐπῆρχεν, καὶ πολλὴν τὴν δουλοκρατίαν ἐπῃρμένου τοῖς
he-ruled and great the slave-rule having-raised over-the
δεσπόταις ἐπιβουλαὶ τὰ πολλὰ ἤδη συνίσταντο, τῶν
masters plots the many already were-formed the(-ones)
μὲν ἐπ᾽ ἀμύνῃ ὧν πάθοιεν ὀργὴν ποιουμένων, τῶν
indeed for revenge of-what they-suffered anger making the(-others)

δὲ πρὶν ἐμπεσόντες κακῶν τυχεῖν μεγάλων τιθεμένων τὸ
and before having-fallen-in evils to-obtain great thinking the
μεταχειρίσασθαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον.
to-take-in-hand the man

15 ὅθεν, ἐπειδὴ τοῖς τε ἁπάντων νόμοις καὶ τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ
whence since to-the both of-all laws and to-the safety
μεγάλην συνήνεγκεν εὐδαιμονίας ῥοπὴν ὁ θάνατος αὐτοῦ
great brought of-happiness turn the death his
ἔθνει τε τῷ ἡμετέρῳ οὐδὲ εἰς ὀλίγον ἐξεγεγόνει μὴ οὐκ
to-nation both the our not-even for little had-it-been-possible not not
ἀπολωλέναι μὴ ταχείας αὐτῷ τελευτῆς παραγενομένης,
to-have-perished if-not swift to-him end having-come
βούλομαι δι᾽ ἀκριβείας τὸν πάντα περὶ αὐτοῦ λόγον διελθεῖν,
I-wish with exactness the whole about him account to-go-through

16 ἄλλως τε ἐπειδὴ καὶ πολλὴν ἔχει πίστιν τοῦ θεοῦ τῆς
especially both since also great it-holds proof of-the god of-the
δυνάμεως καὶ παραμυθίαν τοῖς ἐν τύχαις κειμένοις καὶ
power and consolation to-those in fortunes lying and
σωφρονισμὸν τοῖς οἰομένοις ἀίδιον τὴν εὐτυχίαν, ἀλλὰ
sobering to-those thinking eternal the good-fortune but
μὴ ἐπιμεταφέρειν κακῶς ἀρετῆς αὐτῇ μὴ παραγενομένης.
not to-shift badly virtue to-it not being-present

17 Ὁδοὺς μὲν δὴ τρεῖς ὁ θάνατος αὐτοῦ παρεσκευάζετο
roads indeed indeed three the death his was-prepared
καὶ τούτων ἑκάστης ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν εἶχον.
and of-these each men good the leadership had
Αἰμίλιός τε γὰρ Ῥῆγλος ἐκ Κορδύβης τῆς ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ
Aemilius both for Regulus from Corduba the in Iberia
γένος συνεῖχέν τινας ἢ δι᾽ ἐκείνων ἢ δι᾽ αὐτοῦ
by-race held-together some either through them or through himself
πρόθυμος ὢν ἄρασθαι Γάιον.
eager being to-remove Gaius

ἑτέρα δὲ αὐτοῖς συνεκροτεῖτο, ἧς Χαιρέας Κάσσιος 18
another and by-them was-organized of-which Chaerea Cassius
χιλίαρχος ἡγεμὼν ἦν. Μινουκιανὸς δὲ Ἄννιος οὐκ ὀλίγη
tribune leader was Minucianus and Annius not small
μοῖρα τῶν ἐπὶ τὴν τυραννίδα παρεσκευασμένων ἦν.
part of-those against the tyranny prepared was
αἰτία δ' αὐτοῖς μίσους τοῦ πρὸς Γάιον συνελθεῖν, Ῥήγλῳ 19
cause and for-them of-hatred of-the toward Gaius to-come-together for-Regulus
μὲν τὸ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ὀργίλον καὶ μίσει χρώμενον πρὸς
indeed the at all-things wrathful and with-hatred dealing toward
τὰ μετ' ἀδικίας ἐξαγόμενα· καὶ γὰρ ἔχει τι θυμοειδὲς
the-things with injustice carried-out and for he-has something spirited
ἐν τῇ διανοίᾳ καὶ ἐλευθέριον, ὑφ' οὗ μηδὲ στέγειν
in the mind and free by which not-even to-keep-secret
προστίθεσθαι τῶν βουλευμάτων· πολλοῖς γοῦν ἀνεκοινώσατο
to-be-inclined of-the plans to-many at-least he-communicated-it
καὶ φίλοις καὶ ἄλλοις δοκοῦσιν αὐτῷ δραστηρίοις.
both friends and others seeming to-him active
Μινουκιανὸς δὲ τὰ μὲν Λεπίδου τε ἐκδικία, φίλον γὰρ 20
Minucianus and partly indeed of-Lepidus both by-vengeance friend for
αὐτῷ τὰ μάλιστα ὄντα τοῦτον καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν σὺν
to-him the most being this-one and of-the citizens with
ὀλίγοις ἀναιρεῖ Γάιος, καὶ ἄλλως φοβηθεὶς τὰ περὶ
few kills Gaius and otherwise having-feared the-things about
αὐτὸν διὰ τὸ πᾶσιν ὁμοίως τὸν Γάιον ἐπὶ θάνατον
himself because-of the to-all alike — Gaius for death
ἀνακειμένην ἐπαφιέναι τὴν ὀργὴν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐγχείρησιν ἐλθεῖν.
bent to-let-loose the anger to the attempt to-come
Χαιρέαν δὲ αἰσχύνην φέροντα ὀνείδη τε εἰς τὴν ἀνανδρίαν 21
Chaerea and disgrace bearing reproaches both for the cowardice
ὑπὸ τοῦ Γαΐου προφερομένου, καὶ ἄλλως τὸ ἐφ' ἡμέρᾳ
by — Gaius being-cast and otherwise the by day

κινδυνεύειν φιλίᾳ καὶ θεραπείᾳ τὴν Γαΐου τελευτὴν οὐ
to-be-in-danger by-friendship and service the of-Gaius death not
πάντ᾽ ἐλεύθερον ὑπολαμβάνων.
wholly free supposing

22 οἱ δὲ καὶ πᾶσι κοινῇ προτεθῆναι τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ πράγματι
they and also to-all in-common to-be-proposed the about the matter
σκέψιν τήν τε ὕβριν θεωμένοις καὶ ἐπιθυμοῦσιν ἀκμὴν ἐπ᾽
consideration the both outrage seeing and desiring prime upon
ἀλλήλων ἀκμάζουσαν διαφυγεῖν ἀραμένοις τὸν Γάιον· ἴσως
each-other flourishing to-escape having-removed — Gaius perhaps
μὲν γὰρ ἂν κατορθῶσαι, καλῶς δὲ κατορθοῦσι τηλικούτων
indeed for — to-succeed well and succeeding of-so-great
ἀγαθῶν σχεῖν ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τῆς τε πόλεως καὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας
goods to-have for safety of-the both city and of-the empire
πονοῦσι καὶ μετὰ ὀλέθρου ἅπτεσθαι τοῦ πράγματος.
toiling and with destruction to-touch the matter

23 παρὰ πάντα δὲ Χαιρέαν ἐπείγεσθαι ὀνόματός τε ἐπιθυμίᾳ
beyond all-things and Chaerea to-be-urged of-name both by-desire
μείζονος καὶ ἄλλως ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀδεέστερον προσιέναι τῷ Γαΐῳ
greater and otherwise by the more-fearlessly to-approach — to-Gaius
διὰ τὴν χιλιαρχίαν ῥᾳστώνης αὐτῷ κτείνειν ἐσομένης.
because-of the tribunate of-ease for-him to-kill going-to-be

24 Ἐν τούτῳ δ᾽ ἱπποδρομίαι ἦσαν· καὶ σπουδάζεται γὰρ
in this and horse-races were and is-zealously-pursued for
Ῥωμαίοις ἥδε ἡ θεωρία δεινῶς, συνίασίν τε προθύμως
by-Romans this the spectacle terribly they-come-together both eagerly
εἰς τὸν ἱππόδρομον καὶ ἐφ᾽ οἷς χρήζοιεν δέονται
into the hippodrome and for what they-may-need ask
τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων κατὰ πλῆθος συνελθόντες, οἱ δὲ
of-the emperors in multitude having-come-together they and
ἀναντιλέκτους τὰς δεήσεις κρίνοντες οὐδαμῶς ἀχαριστοῦσιν.
unanswerable the requests judging in-no-way are-ungracious

ἐκέλευον δὴ καὶ τὸν Γάιον ἐκθύμῳ τῇ ἱκετείᾳ χρώμενοι 25
they-bade indeed also — Gaius with-passionate the supplication using
τῶν τε τελῶν ἐπανιέναι καὶ τῶν φόρων ἐπικουφίζειν τι
of-the both dues to-relax and of-the tributes to-lighten some
τοῦ ἐπαχθοῦς. ὁ δ' οὐκ ἠνείχετο, καὶ πλέον τι τῇ βοῇ
of-the burden he but not endured and more something with-the shout
χρωμένων ἄλλους ἄλλῃ διαπέμψας κελεύει τοὺς βοῶντας
using others elsewhere having-sent orders those shouting
λαβεῖν τε καὶ μηδὲν εἰς ἀναβολὰς ἀνελεῖν προαγαγόντας.
to-seize both and nothing for delays to-kill having-led-forth

II · THE GRIEVANCES OF CHAEREA

Gaius' men kill the shouters at the races, and the people fall silent. Chaerea, an old soldier set to collect taxes, is slow and merciful, and Gaius mocks him as effeminate, giving him obscene watchwords that make him a laughingstock. When the actress Quintilia, called as a witness against the senator Pompedius, refuses to testify falsely, Chaerea is ordered to torture her; she bears it without betraying anyone, and Gaius, moved by her mangled body, releases her with a gift. Stung, Chaerea tells the prefect Clemens and the tribune Papinius that they are Gaius' executioners, and Clemens, though he praises the design, urges silence. Chaerea then approaches Cornelius Sabinus.

καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐκέλευε ταῦτα καὶ οἷς προσετέτακτο 26
and he indeed ordered these-things and those-to-whom it-had-been-assigned
ἔπρασσον, πλεῖστοί τε ἦσαν οἱ ἐπὶ τοιούτοις ἀποθανόντες.
did very-many both were those for such-things having-died
καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἑώρα μέν, ἠνείχετο δὲ παυσάμενος τῆς
and the people saw indeed endured but having-ceased from-the
βοῆς, ἐν ὀλίγῳ ἕνεκα τῶν χρημάτων ὀφθαλμοῖς ὁρῶντες
shout in little for-the-sake of-the money with-eyes seeing
τὴν ἐπὶ τοιούτοις παραίτησιν εἰς θάνατον αὐτοῖς φέρουσαν.
the for such-things begging-off to death for-them bringing

27 ταῦτα Χαιρέαν ἐνήγαγεν μειζόνως ἅπτεσθαί τε τῆς
these-things Chaerea induced more-greatly to-take-hold both of-the
ἐπιβουλῆς καὶ παύειν κατὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐξηγριωκότα
plot and to-stop against the men having-grown-savage
τὸν Γάιον, καὶ πολλάκις μὲν καὶ παρὰ τὰς ἑστιάσεις
— Gaius and often indeed even at the banquets
ἐμέλλησεν ἐπιχειρεῖν, οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐπείχετο λογισμῷ, τὸ
he-was-about to-attempt not indeed but he-was-held-back by-reasoning the
μὲν κτείνειν οὐκέτ' ἐνδοιαστὸν κεκρικώς, τὸν δὲ καιρὸν
indeed to-kill no-longer doubtful having-judged the but occasion
περισκοπῶν, ὅπως μὴ εἰς κενόν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ καταπράξει
looking-around-for how not in vain but for accomplishment
τῶν βεβουλευμένων ταῖς χερσὶ χρῷτο.
of-the-things planned the hands he-might-use
28 Ἐστρατεύετο δὲ πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον οὐχ ἡδονῇ φέρων
he-had-served and long already time not with-pleasure bearing
Γαΐου τὴν ἀναστροφήν. ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτὸν ἵσταται Γάιος
of-Gaius the conduct when and him appoints Gaius
εἰσπραξόμενον τούς τε φόρους καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα
going-to-exact the both tributes and as-many-as other-things
καταβαλλόμενα εἰς τὸν Καίσαρος θησαυρὸν ἐφυστερήκει
paid into the of-Caesar treasury had-fallen-behind
τοῖς καιροῖς διὰ τὸ ἐπιδιπλασιάζεσθαι τὴν δύναμιν
the seasons because-of the to-be-doubled the amount
αὐτῶν, χρόνον ἐκεῖ ποιεῖται τῇ εἰσπράξει τρόπῳ τῷ
of-them time there makes in-the exaction manner the
αὐτοῦ χρώμενος μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ Γαΐου προστάξει,
his-own using rather than the of-Gaius order
29 διὰ τὸ φειδοῖ χρῆσθαι τὰς τύχας οἴκτῳ λαμβάνων
because-of the with-sparing to-deal the fortunes with-pity taking
τῶν ὑπὸ τὴν εἴσπραξιν εἰς ὀργὴν προυκαλεῖτο τὸν Γάιον
of-those under the exaction to anger he-provoked — Gaius

μαλακίαν ἐπικαλοῦντα αὐτῷ τοῦ σχολῇ συνάγεσθαι αὐτῷ
softness charging him of-the slowly to-be-collected for-him
τὰ χρήματα. καὶ δὴ τά τε ἄλλα ὕβριζεν εἰς αὐτὸν
the money and indeed the both other-things he-insulted against him
καὶ ὁπότε τὸ σημεῖον αὐτῷ τὸ τῆς ἡμέρας καθηκούσης
and whenever the watchword to-him the of-the day falling
εἰς αὐτόν, θήλεά τε ἐδίδου τὰ ὀνόματα,
to him female both he-gave the names
καὶ ταῦτα αἰσχύνης ἀνάπλεα καὶ ταῦτα ἔπρασσεν αὐτὸς 30
and these-things of-shame full and these-things did himself
οὐκ ἀπηλλαγμένος ἔν τινων τελεταῖς μυστηρίων, ἃς
not free in of-some rites of-mysteries which
αὐτὸς συνίστατο, στολάς τε ἐνδυόμενος γυναικείους καί
himself established robes both putting-on women's and
τινων περιθέσεις πλοκαμίδων ἐπινοῶν ἄλλα τε ὁπόσα
of-some puttings-on of-wigs devising others both as-many-as
ἐπικαταψεύσασθαι θηλύτητα τῆς ὄψεως ἔμελλεν, αὐτὸς
to-counterfeit effeminacy of-the appearance were-going himself
τὴν ἐπὶ τοιούτοις αἰσχύνην ἐτόλμα Χαιρέᾳ προσκαλεῖν.
the for such-things shame dared to-Chaerea to-impute
Χαιρέᾳ δὲ καὶ ὁπότε μὲν παραλαμβάνοι τὸ σημεῖον ὀργὴ 31
to-Chaerea and also whenever indeed he-received the watchword anger
παρίστατο, μειζόνως δ' ὁπότε παραδιδοίη, γελώμενος
came more-greatly but whenever he-handed-it-on laughed-at
ὑπὸ τῶν παραλαμβανόντων, ὥστε καὶ οἱ συγχιλίαρχοι
by those receiving so-that even the fellow-tribunes
παιδιὰν ἐποιοῦντο αὐτόν· ὁπότε γὰρ αὐτὸς μέλλοι τὸ
sport made him whenever for he was-going the
σημεῖον παρ' αὐτοῦ Καίσαρος κομίζειν, προύλεγόν τινα
watchword from himself Caesar to-bring they-foretold some
τῶν εἰωθότων φέρειν εἰς παιδιάν.
of-the usual to-bring for sport

διὰ ταῦτα δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ θάρσος παρίστατο κοινωνούς
because-of these-things and to-him also courage came partners
τινας παραλαμβάνειν, ὡς οὐκ ἐπ᾽ ὀλίγοις ὀργῇ χρώμενος.
some to-take-on as not over few anger feeling
καὶ ἦν γὰρ Πομπήδιος συγκλητικὸς μέν, τὰς ἀρχὰς δὲ
and was for Pompedius senator indeed the offices but
διεληλυθὼς σχεδὸν ἁπάσας, Ἐπικούρειος δ᾽ ἄλλως καὶ
having-gone-through nearly all Epicurean but otherwise and
δι᾽ αὐτὸ ἀπράγμονος ἐπιτηδευτὴς βίου.
through it of-untroubled practitioner life

33 τοῦτον ἐνδείκνυσιν Τιμίδιος ἐχθρὸς ὢν ὡς λοιδορίᾳ
this-one informs-on Timidius enemy being as abuse
χρησάμενον ἀπρεπεῖ κατὰ τοῦ Γαΐου μάρτυρα
having-used unseemly against — Gaius witness
παραλαμβάνων Κυιντιλίαν γυναῖκα τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς
taking Quintilia woman of-those on the stage
ἐπιφανείᾳ τοῦ ὡραίου περισπούδαστον πολλοῖς τε οὖσαν
for-distinction of-the beauty much-sought-after by-many both being
καὶ τῷ Πομπηδίῳ.
and — by-Pompedius

34 καὶ τῆς ἀνθρώπου, ψεῦδος γὰρ ἦν, δεινὸν ἡγουμένης
and the woman false for it-was terrible thinking
μαρτυρίαν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ τοῦ ἐραστοῦ παρασχεῖν, βασάνων
testimony for death of-the lover to-provide of-tortures
ἔχρῃζεν ὁ Τιμίδιος, καὶ Γάιος παρωξυμμένος κελεύει τὸν
had-need — Timidius and Gaius exasperated orders —
Χαιρέαν μηδὲν εἰς ἀναβολὰς ἀλλ᾽ εὐθέως βασανίζειν τὴν
Chaerea nothing for delays but at-once to-torture —
Κυιντιλίαν, χρώμενος τῷ Χαιρέᾳ πρός τε τὰ φονικὰ
Quintilia using — Chaerea for both the murderous-things

καὶ ὁπόσα στρεβλώσεως δέοιτο ὑπὸ τοῦ νομίζειν ὠμότερον
and as-many-as of-racking might-need by the to-think more-savagely
διακονήσεσθαι τὴν λοιδορίαν φεύγοντα τῆς μαλακίας.
to-be-going-to-serve the reproach escaping of-the softness
Κυιντιλία δ' ἐπὶ τὴν βάσανον ἀγομένη τῶν συνιστόρων τινὸς 35
Quintilia but to the torture being-led of-the fellow-conspirators someone
ἐπιβαίνει τῷ ποδὶ ἀποσημαίνουσα θαρσεῖν καὶ μὴ τὰς
treads-on with-the foot signaling to-be-bold and not the
βασάνους αὐτῆς δεδιέναι· διοίσειν γὰρ μετ' ἀνδραγαθίας.
tortures her to-fear she-would-bear-it for with bravery
βασανίζει δ' αὐτὴν ὠμῶς ὁ Χαιρέας, ἄκων μέν, κατ'
tortures and her savagely — Chaerea unwilling indeed by
ἀνάγκας δὲ τὰς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, καὶ μηδὲν ἐνδοῦσαν ἦγεν εἰς
necessities but the for himself and nothing having-yielded he-led into
τὴν ὄψιν τὴν Γαΐου διακειμένην οὐκ ἐν ἡδονῇ τοῖς θεωροῦσι.
the sight the of-Gaius being-disposed not in pleasure to-those seeing
καὶ ὁ Γάιος παθών τι πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν τῆς Κυιντιλίας 36
and — Gaius having-felt something at the sight — of-Quintilia
δεινῶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀλγηδόνων διακειμένης τοῦ τε ἐγκλήματος
terribly by the pains disposed of-the both charge
ἠφίει καὶ αὐτὴν καὶ τὸν Πομπήδιον, ἐκείνην δὲ καὶ
released both her and — Pompedius her and also
χρημάτων δόσει τιμᾷ παραμυθίας ἐσομένων λώβης τε
of-money with-gift honors consolation going-to-be of-maiming both
ἣν ἐλελώβητο εἰς τὴν εὐπρέπειαν τοῦ ἀφορήτου τῶν
which she-had-been-maimed in the comeliness of-the unbearableness of-the
ἀλγηδόνων.
pains
Ταῦτα δεινῶς ἠνίασεν τὸν Χαιρέαν ὡς αἴτιον ἀνθρώποις 37
these-things terribly grieved — Chaerea as cause to-men
καὶ ὑπὸ Γαΐου παρηγορίας ἀξίοις ἐν αἰτίᾳ κακῶν τὸ
even by Gaius of-consolation worthy in charge of-evils the

ὅσον ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς γεγενημένοις, φησίν τε πρὸς Κλήμεντά
as-much-as in them having-become he-says both to Clemens
τε καὶ Παπίνιον, ὧν Κλήμης μὲν ἦν ἐπὶ τῶν
both and Papinius of-whom Clemens indeed was over the
στρατοπέδων, Παπίνιος δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν χιλιαρχῶν,
camps Papinius and also himself was being-tribune
38 "ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ φυλακῇ γε, ὦ Κλήμης, τὰ πάντα τοῦ
but in guarding indeed O Clemens the all-things of-the
αὐτοκράτορος ἡμῖν πράσσειν οὐκ ἐλλέλειπται· τῶν γὰρ
emperor for-us to-do not has-been-left-undone of-the for
συνομωμοκότων αὐτοῦ κατὰ τῆς ἡγεμονίας προνοίᾳ καὶ
having-conspired his against the empire by-forethought and
πόνοις τοὺς μὲν ἀπεκτείναμεν, τοὺς δὲ ἐστρεβλώσαμεν
toils the(-ones) indeed we-killed the(-others) and we-racked
ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον, ὡς ἐλεεινοὺς κἀκείνῳ γενέσθαι, μετὰ
to such-a-degree as pitiable even-to-that-one to-become with
πόσης τε ἀρετῆς ἡμῖν ἐξάγεται τῶν στρατιῶν;"
how-much both virtue by-us is-carried-out of-the armies
39 σιγήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Κλήμεντος καὶ τὸ μὲν αἰσχύνῃ φέρειν
having-been-silent and — Clemens and the indeed with-shame to-bear
τὰ προστασσόμενα καὶ τῷ βλέμματι καὶ τῷ
the-things ordered both with-the look and with-the
ἐρυθήματι παριστάντος, λόγῳ δὲ αὐτοῖς τὴν μανίαν τοῦ
blush showing in-word but to-them the madness of-the
αὐτοκράτορος προσκαλεῖν ἄδικον ἡγουμένου προνοίᾳ τοῦ
emperor to-impute unjust thinking by-forethought of-the
ἀσφαλοῦς,
safe
40 Χαιρέας ἤδη θάρσει χρώμενος ἐν λόγοις ἦν κινδύνων
Chaerea already with-courage dealing in words was from-dangers
ἀνειμένοις πρὸς αὐτὸν τὰ κατέχοντα δεινὰ τὴν πόλιν καὶ
released to him the prevailing terrors the city and

τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπεξιών, καὶ ὅτι λόγῳ μὲν εἴη Γάιος ὁ
the empire going-through and that in-word indeed was Gaius the(-one)
τὴν ἐπὶ τοιούτοις αἰτίαν προτιθέμενος,
the for such-things blame setting-forth
τοῖς δὲ τἀληθὲς ἐξετάζειν πειρωμένοις ἐγώ τε, ὦ Κλήμης, 41
to-those but the-truth to-examine trying I both O Clemens
καὶ οὑτοσὶ ὁ Παπίνιος καὶ πρὸ ἡμῶν σύ, ταύτας
and this-here — Papinius and before us you these
Ῥωμαίοις τε καὶ τῷ παντὶ ἀνθρωπείῳ τὰς στρέβλας
on-Romans both and on-the all human-kind the rackings
προσφερόμενοι, οὐκ ἐπιτάγμασιν τοῖς Γαΐου διακονούμενοι,
bringing not to-orders the of-Gaius ministering
γνώμῃ δὲ τῇ αὐτῶν,
by-judgment but the our-own
εἰ παρὸν παῦσαι τοσαύτῃ ἤδη χρώμενον ὕβρει εἴς τε 42
if being-possible to-stop so-great already using insolence toward both
τοὺς πολίτας καὶ τοὺς ὑπηκόους διακονούμεθα, δορυφόροι
the citizens and the subjects we-minister bodyguards
καὶ δήμιοι καθεστηκότες ἀντὶ στρατιωτῶν καὶ τὰ
and executioners having-been-made instead-of soldiers and the
ὅπλα ταυτὶ φέροντες οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας οὐδ' ἀρχῆς τῶν
arms these bearing not for freedom nor empire of-the
Ῥωμαίων, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τοῦ δουλουμένου τά τε
Romans but for safety of-the(-one) enslaving the both
σώματα αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ φρονήματα, μιαινόμενοι τῷ καθ'
bodies of-them and the minds being-defiled with-the by
ἡμέραν αἵματι σφαγῆς καὶ βασάνου τῆς ἐκείνων, μέχρι
day blood of-slaughter and of-torture the of-theirs until
δή τις καὶ καθ' ἡμῶν διακονήσεται τοιαῦτα Γαΐῳ.
indeed someone also against us will-minister such-things for-Gaius

43 οὐ γὰρ εὐνοίᾳ γε πολιτεύσει διὰ τάδε πρὸς ἡμᾶς,
not for with-goodwill at-least he-will-behave because-of these-things toward us
δι᾽ ὑφοράσεως δὲ μᾶλλον καὶ ἄλλως τοῦ πολλοῦ τῶν
through suspicion but rather and otherwise of-the most of-those
ἀπολλυμένων ἀποδεδωκότος· οὐ γὰρ δὴ στήσεταί ποτε
perishing having-paid not for indeed will-stand ever
Γαΐῳ τὰ τῆς ὀργῆς διὰ τὸ μὴ δίκην ἀλλ᾽ ἡδονὴν
for-Gaius the-things of-the anger because-of the not justice but pleasure
πέρας αὐτῆς τυγχάνειν· σκοποὶ δὲ προσκεισόμεθα καὐτοί,
end of-it to-be marks but we-shall-be-set-up also-ourselves
δέον καὶ τοῖς πᾶσιν τὸ ἀνεπιβούλευτόν τε καὶ ἐλεύθερον
it-being-needful also to-the all the free-from-plots both and free
βεβαιοῦν καὶ ἡμῖν κινδύνων ἀπαλλαγὰς ψηφίσασθαι.
to-secure and for-us of-dangers releases to-vote
44 Κλήμης δὲ τὴν μὲν διάνοιαν τὴν Χαιρέου φανερὸς
Clemens and the indeed intention the of-Chaerea plain
ἦν ἐπαινῶν, σιγᾶν δ᾽ ἐκέλευε, μὴ καὶ φοιτῶντος εἰς
was praising to-be-silent but he-bade lest also spreading to
πλείονας τοῦ λόγου καὶ διαχεομένων ὁπόσα κρύπτεσθαι
more the word and divulged as-many-as to-be-hidden
καλῶς ἔχοι πρὶν τυχεῖν πράξαντας ἐκπύστου τοῦ
well might-be before to-succeed having-done disclosed the
ἐπιβουλεύματος γενομένου κολασθεῖεν, χρόνῳ δὲ τῷ αὖθις
plot having-become they-be-punished to-time but the later
καὶ τῇ ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἐλπίδι παραδιδόναι τὰ πάντα ὡς
and to-the from it hope to-hand-over the all-things as
παραγενησομένης τινὸς αὐτοῖς ἐπικουρίας τυχαίου·
going-to-come some to-them help chance
45 "αὐτὸν μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ γήρως ἀφῃρῆσθαι τὴν ἐπὶ
himself indeed for by old-age to-have-been-deprived-of the for
τοιοῖσδε τόλμαν, τῶν μέντοι γε ὑπὸ σοῦ, Χαιρέα,
such-things daring of-the however indeed by you Chaerea

συντεθέντων τε καὶ ῥηθέντων ἀσφαλέστερα μὲν ἴσως ἂν
composed both and said safer indeed perhaps —
ὑποθοίμην, εὐπρεπέστερα δὲ πῶς ἄν τις καὶ δύναιτο;"
I-might-suggest more-seemly but how — anyone even could
καὶ Κλήμης μὲν ὡς αὑτὸν ἀναλύει διὰ λογισμῶν τῶν 46
and Clemens indeed to himself goes-back through reasonings of-the-things
τε ἀκροαθέντων καὶ ὁπόσων αὐτὸς εἰρήκει περιφερόμενος.
both heard and of-as-many-as himself had-said being-carried-around
Χαιρέας δὲ δείσας ὡς Κορνήλιον Σαβῖνον ἠπείγετο
Chaerea and having-feared to Cornelius Sabinus hastened
καὶ αὐτὸν μὲν χιλίαρχον ὄντα, ἀξιόλογον δ' ἄλλως
and him indeed tribune being notable and otherwise
ἐξεπιστάμενος αὐτὸν καὶ τοῦ ἐλευθέρου ἐραστὴν καὶ δι'
knowing-well him also of-the freedom lover and because-of
αὐτὸ τῇ καταστάσει τῶν πραγμάτων πολεμίως διακείμενον,
it to-the condition of-the affairs hostilely disposed
χρήζων ἐκ τοῦ ὀξέος ἔχεσθαι τῶν ἐγνωσμένων τῆς 47
needing at the sharp to-hold-to of-the-things decided of-the
ἐγχειρήσεως ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καλὰ νομίσας εἶναι προσθέσθαι
attempt by him good having-thought to-be to-add
καὶ δέει, μὴ ὑπὸ Κλήμεντος ἐκφοίτησις γένοιτο αὐτῶν,
and by-fear lest by Clemens divulging might-happen of-them
ἄλλως τε τὰς μελλήσεις καὶ τῶν καιρῶν τὰς ὑπερβολὰς
especially both the delays and of-the seasons the postponements
πρὸς τῶν ὑπερβαλλομένων τιθέμενος.
for those putting-off reckoning

Sabinus agrees at once, and the two go to Minucianus, whose friend Lepidus had been killed by Gaius. Minucianus asks Chaerea what watchword he received that day; Chaerea, delighted, says that Minucianus gives him the watchword of freedom and that one sword will serve them both. Entering the senate house, Chaerea hears a voice from the crowd urging him on. Many senators, knights, and soldiers join, and Callistus, Gaius' powerful freedman, secretly courts Claudius. Chaerea chafes at every delay, seeing chances at the Capitol, at the basilica, and at the mysteries, but the others urge him to wait for the Palatine games held in honor of the Caesar who first took the rule from the people for himself, when the crowded theater will make the deed easy.

48 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀσμένῳ καὶ τῷ Σαβίνῳ τὰ πάντα ἦν, ἅτε
when and welcome also — to-Sabinus the all-things were since
καὶ αὐτῷ γνώμης μὲν οὐχ ὑστεροῦντι τῆς ἴσης, ἀπορίᾳ
also to-him of-judgment indeed not falling-short of-the equal by-perplexity
δὲ πρὸς ὅντινα εἰπὼν ἀσφαλὴς εἴη τὰ πρὸς
but as-to whom having-spoken safe he-might-be the-things to
ἐκείνους σιγῇ παραδιδόντος, ἐπεί τε ἀνδρὸς ηὐπόρητο
them in-silence handing-over since both of-man he-had-found
οὐ μόνον στέγειν ὧν πύθοιτο προσθησομένου, ἀλλὰ καὶ
not only to-keep-secret what he-might-learn going-to-assent but also
γνώμην φανεροῦντος τὴν αὐτοῦ, πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἦρτο,
judgment declaring the his-own much more he-was-raised
καὶ μηδὲν εἰς ἀναβολὰς ἐδεῖτο τοῦ Χαιρέου.
and nothing for delays he-needed — of-Chaerea

49 τρέπονταί τε ὡς Μινουκιανόν, αὐτοῖς μὲν ἐπιτηδεύσει
they-turn both to Minucianus to-them indeed in-pursuit
ἀρετῆς καὶ τῷ ὁμοζήλῳ τοῦ μεγαλόφρονος συγγενῇ,
of-virtue and in-the emulation of-the high-mindedness kin
Γαΐῳ δ' ὕποπτον τῆς Λεπίδου τελευτῆς, πάνυ γὰρ δὴ
to-Gaius but suspect of-the of-Lepidus death very for indeed

φίλοι ἐγένοντο Μινουκιανός τε καὶ Λέπιδος, καὶ δείματι
friends had-become Minucianus both and Lepidus and by-fear
κινδύνων τῶν καθ᾽ αὑτόν.
of-dangers of-the against himself
πᾶσι γὰρ τοῖς ἐν τέλει φοβερὸς ἦν Γάιος, ὡς ἐπ᾽ 50
to-all for those in office fearsome was Gaius as against
αὐτὸν ἕκαστον καὶ πρὸς οὕστινας τῇ μανίᾳ χρῆσθαι μὴ
him each and toward whomever the madness to-use not
ἀφησόμενος,
going-to-desist
φανεροί τε ἀλλήλοις ἦσαν τῆς ἐπὶ πράγμασιν ἀχθηδόνος, 51
plain both to-each-other they-were of-the at affairs vexation
διασαφεῖν μὲν ἀλλήλοις ἄντικρυς τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ μῖσος
to-declare indeed to-each-other openly the intention and hatred
τὸ πρὸς Γάιον φόβῳ τε κινδύνων ἀφέμενοι ἄλλως τε
the toward Gaius by-fear both of-dangers refraining otherwise both
αἰσθανόμενοι τοῦ ἀλλήλων μίσους πρὸς τὸν Γάιον καὶ
perceiving of-the each-other's hatred toward — Gaius and
δι᾽ αὐτὸ εὐνοίᾳ χρῆσθαι τὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους μὴ
because-of it with-goodwill to-deal the-things toward each-other not
ἀπηλλαγμένοι.
freed
Γενομένων δ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἀξιώσεων ἐπείπερ συνέβαλον, 52
having-happened and to-them of-greetings since they-met
εἰωθότες καὶ πρότερον ὁπότε συνέλθοιεν τίμιον ἡγεῖσθαι
accustomed also before whenever they-came-together honored to-think
τὸν Μινουκιανὸν ὑπεροχῇ τε ἀξιώματος, γενναιότατος
— Minucianus by-eminence both of-rank noblest
γὰρ ἦν τῶν πολιτῶν, καὶ τῷ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἐπαινουμένῳ,
for he-was of-the citizens and by-the in all-things being-praised

53 μᾶλλον ὡς ἅπτοιτό τινος λόγου φθάσαι κἀκεῖνος εἴ
rather that he-might-touch some word to-anticipate and-he if
ποτε Χαιρέαν, ὅ τι καὶ παραλάβοι σημεῖον τῆς ἡμέρας
ever Chaerea what ever also he-received watchword of-the day
ἐκείνης· ἀοίδιμος γὰρ διὰ τῆς πόλεως ἦν ἡ εἰς τὸν
that famous for through the city was the toward —
Χαιρέαν διὰ τῶν σημείων τῆς δόσεως πρασσομένη ὕβρις.
Chaerea through the watchwords of-the giving done outrage
54 ὁ δὲ χάρματι τοῦ λόγου μηδὲν μελλήσας ἠμείβετο
he and with-joy at-the word not-at-all having-delayed answered
τοῦ Μινουκιανοῦ τὸ ἐπὶ τοιοῖσδε πιστεῦσαν ὁμιλίᾳ
— of-Minucianus the in such-things having-trusted with-converse
χρήσασθαι πρὸς αὐτόν, καί "σύ μοι δίδως," εἶπεν,
to-use to him and you to-me give he-said
"σημεῖον ἐλευθερίας, χάρις δέ σοι τοῦ ἀνεγείραντός με
watchword of-freedom thanks and to-you for-the having-roused me
μειζόνως ἤπερ εἴωθα ἐμαυτὸν ὁρμᾶν,
more-greatly than I-am-wont myself to-urge
55 οὐδέν μοι χρεία πλειόνων ἔτι λόγων, οἵ με θαρσοῖεν,
nothing to-me need of-more still words which me might-embolden
εἰ δὴ καὶ σοὶ ταῦτα δοκεῖ, γνώμης τε τῆς αὐτῆς
if indeed also to-you these-things seem of-judgment both the same
κοινωνοὶ καὶ πρότερον ἢ συνελθεῖν γεγόναμεν. καὶ ἓν
partners even before than to-meet we-have-become and one
μὲν ὑπέζωμαι ξίφος, ἀμφοῖν δ' ἂν ἀρκέσειεν.
indeed I-have-girded-on sword for-both and — it-would-suffice
56 ὥστε ἴθι καὶ ἔργων ἐχώμεθα, ἡγεμών τ' ἴσθι, ᾗ
so come and to-deeds let-us-hold leader and be where
βούλοιο αὐτὸς κελεύων με χωρεῖν, ᾗ καὶ προσοίσομαι,
you-might-wish yourself ordering me to-go where also I-shall-apply-myself
ἐπικουρίᾳ τῇ σῇ συμπράσσοντος τε πίσυνος. οὐδὲ ἀπορία
in-help the yours cooperating both trusting nor lack

σιδήρου τοῖς τὴν ψυχὴν εἰς τὰ ἔργα προσφερομένοις,
of-iron for-those the soul to the deeds bringing
δι᾽ ἣν καὶ ὁ σίδηρος δραστήριος εἴωθεν εἶναι.
because-of which also the iron effective is-wont to-be
ὥρμηκά τε εἰς τὴν πρᾶξιν οὐχ ὧν ἂν αὐτὸς πάθοιμι 57
I-have-set-out both for the action not of-what — myself I-might-suffer
ἐλπίδι περιφερόμενος· οὐ γὰρ σχολὴ κινδύνους μοι κατανοεῖν
by-hope being-carried-about not for leisure dangers for-me to-consider
τοὺς ἐμαυτοῦ δουλώσει τε πατρίδος ἐλευθερωτάτης
the my-own at-the-enslavement both of-fatherland most-free
ἐπαλγοῦντι τῶν νόμων τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀφῃρημένης τούς τε
grieving of-the laws of-the virtue having-been-deprived the both
πάντας ἀνθρώπους ὀλέθρου διὰ Γάιον κατειληφότος.
all men destruction because-of Gaius having-seized
ἄξιος δ᾽ ἂν εἴην παρὰ σοὶ δικαστῇ πίστεως ἐπὶ 58
worthy and — I-would-be with you judge of-trust in
τοιούτοις τυγχάνειν ὑπὸ τοῦ ὅμοια φρονεῖν αὐτοῖς καὶ σὲ
such-things to-obtain by the alike to-think to-them and you
μὴ ἀπηλλάχθαι.”
not to-have-been-freed
Μινουκιανὸς δὲ τὴν ὁρμὴν τῶν λόγων θεασάμενος ἠσπάζετό 59
Minucianus and the impulse of-the words having-beheld embraced
τε ἀσμένως καὶ προσπαρίστατο τὴν τόλμαν αὐτοῦ ἐπαινέσας
both gladly and stood-by-him the daring his having-praised
τε καὶ ἀσπασάμενος μετ᾽ εὐχῶν καὶ ἱκετείας ἀπελύοντο.
both and having-embraced with prayers and supplication they-parted
καὶ ἰσχυρίζοντό τινες ὡς βεβαιοῦν τὰ εἰρημένα εἰσιόντος 60
and affirmed some as to-confirm the-things said entering
γὰρ εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον Χαιρέου φωνὴν ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους
for into the senate-house Chaerea voice from the multitude

γενέσθαι τινὸς ἐπ᾽ ἐξορμήσει κελεύοντος περαίνειν μὲν
to-have-come of-someone for urging bidding to-accomplish indeed
δὴ τὸ πρακτέον καὶ προσλαμβάνειν τὸ δαιμόνιον.
indeed the-thing to-be-done and to-take-on the divinity
61 καὶ τὸν Χαιρέαν τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὑπιδέσθαι, μὴ καί τινος
and — Chaerea the indeed first to-suspect lest also some
τῶν συνωμοτῶν προδότου γεγονότος ἁλίσκοιτο, καὶ τέλος
of-the conspirators traitor having-become he-be-caught and finally
συνέντα ἐπὶ προτροπῇ φέρειν πρῶτον εἴτε παραινέσει
having-understood for exhortation to-take-it first whether by-encouragement
τῶν συνεγνωκότων ἀντισημαίνοντός τινος, εἴτε δὴ καὶ
of-those privy signaling-back someone or indeed also
τοῦ θεοῦ, ὃς ἐφορᾷ τὰ ἀνθρώπινα, αἴροντος αὐτόν.
of-the god who oversees the human-things raising him
62 διεληλύθει δὲ διὰ πολλῶν τὸ ἐπιβούλευμα καὶ πάντες ἐν
had-spread and through many the plot and all in
ὅπλοις παρῆσαν, οἱ μὲν τῶν βουλευτῶν ὄντες οἱ δὲ
arms were-present the(-ones) indeed of-the senators being the(-others) and
ἱππεῖς καὶ ὁπόσοι τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ συνῄδεσαν· οὐδεὶς γὰρ
knights and as-many-as of-the military were-privy no-one for
ἦν, ὃς μὴ ἐν εὐδαιμονίᾳ ἂν ἠρίθμει τὴν Γαΐου μετάστασιν·
was who not in happiness — would-count the of-Gaius removal
63 καὶ δι᾽ αὐτὸ πάντες ἠπείγοντο ὁποίῳ δύναιτό τις
and because-of it all hastened in-what could anyone
τρόπῳ μηδὲ ἑκὼν εἶναι τῆς ἐπὶ τοιούτοις ἀρετῆς
way not-even willingly to-be of-the in such-things virtue
ὑστερεῖν, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς ἔχοι προθυμίας ἢ δυνάμεως καὶ
to-fall-short but as he-might-have of-zeal or of-power both
λόγοις καὶ δι᾽ ἔργων ἤρτο ἐπὶ τῇ τυραννοκτονίᾳ,
in-words and through deeds he-was-roused for the tyrannicide

ἐπεὶ καὶ Κάλλιστος, ἀπελεύθερος δ' ἦν Γαΐου πλεῖστά 64
since also Callistus freedman and was of-Gaius most
τε ἀνὴρ εἷς οὗτος ἐπὶ μέγιστον δυνάμεως ἀφίκετο καὶ
both man one this-one to greatest of-power arrived and
οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ ἰσοτύραννον εἶχε τὴν δύναμιν φόβῳ τε
nothing other than equal-to-tyrant had the power by-fear both
τῶν πάντων καὶ μεγέθει χρημάτων, ἅπερ ἐγένετο αὐτῷ·
of-the all and by-greatness of-money which came to-him
δωροδοκώτατος γὰρ ἦν καὶ ὑβριστότατος παρ' ὁντινοῦν 65
most-bribe-taking for he-was and most-insolent beyond anyone-whatever
γίνεται, ἐξουσίᾳ χρησάμενος παρὰ τὸ εἰκός· καὶ ἄλλως
becomes power having-used beyond the reasonable and especially
τε τοῦ Γαΐου τὴν φύσιν ἐξεπιστάμενος ἀνήκεστον οὖσαν
both — of-Gaius the nature knowing-well implacable being
καὶ ἐφ' οἱστισι κρίνειεν οὐδαμῶς ἀντισπάσματι χρωμένην,
and on whatever he-judged in-no-way counter-pull using
αὐτῷ τε πολλὰς μὲν καὶ ἄλλας αἰτίας τοῦ κινδυνεύειν,
for-himself both many indeed and other causes of-the to-be-in-danger
οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν χρημάτων·
not least and the greatness of-the money
ὥστε δὴ καὶ Κλαύδιον ἐθεράπευε κρυπτῶς μετακαθίζων 66
so-that indeed also Claudius he-courted secretly changing-sides
πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλπίδι τοῦ κἂν εἰς ἐκεῖνον ἥξειν τὴν
to him in-hope of-the even to that-one to-be-going-to-come the
ἡγεμονίαν Γαΐου μεταστάντος, αὐτῷ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν τῆς
empire Gaius removed for-himself the foundation of-the
τιμῆς τὴν ἐφ' ὁμοίοις ἰσχὺν προκαταθέμενος χάριν καὶ
honor the on like-things strength having-laid-down-beforehand favor and
φιλανθρωπίας λόγον.
of-kindness account

67 ἐτόλμησεν γοῦν εἰπεῖν, ὡς κελευσθεὶς διαχρήσασθαι
he-dared at-least to-say that ordered to-destroy
φαρμάκῳ τὸν Κλαύδιον μυρίας εὕροιτο τοῦ χρήματος
by-poison — Claudius countless he-had-found of-the matter
τὰς ὑπερβολάς.
the postponements

68 δοκεῖν δὲ προσεποιεῖτο Κάλλιστος ἐπὶ θήρᾳ τῇ Κλαυδίου τὸν
to-seem and pretended Callistus for hunting the of-Claudius the
λόγον τοῦτον, ἔπειτα οὔτε Γάιος ὡρμηκὼς μεταχειρίσασθαι
word this then neither Gaius having-set-out to-take-in-hand
Κλαύδιον ἠνείχετο τῶν Καλλίστου προφάσεων οὔτε
Claudius would-have-endured the of-Callistus pretexts nor
Κάλλιστος κελευσθείς που τὴν πρᾶξιν εὐκτὸν ὑπελάμβανεν
Callistus ordered perhaps the deed desirable supposed
ἢ κακουργῶν εἰς τοῦ δεσπότου τὰς ἐπιστολὰς οὐκ ἂν
or doing-wrong against the of-master the instructions not —
ἐκ τοῦ παραχρῆμα τὸν μισθὸν ἐκομίζετο.
from the instant the wage would-have-received

69 ἀλλὰ δὴ Κλαυδίῳ μὲν ἔκ τινος θείας δυνάμεως
but indeed by-Claudius indeed from some divine power
χρήσασθαι μανιῶν τῶν Γαΐου, Κάλλιστος προσποιήσασθαι
to-have-experienced madnesses the of-Gaius Callistus to-pretend
χάριτος κατάθεσιν μηδαμῶς ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ γενομένης.
of-favor deposit in-no-way by him having-happened

70 Τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Χαιρέαν ὑπερβολαὶ τὸ καθ᾽ ἡμέραν ἦσαν
to-those about — Chaerea postponements the by day were
ὀκνούντων πολλῶν οὐ γὰρ Χαιρέας ἔσται ἑκὼν εἶναι
hesitating many not for Chaerea will-be willingly to-be
τοῦ πράσσειν ἀναβολὴν ἐποιεῖτο, πάντα καιρὸν ἐπιτήδειον
of-the to-act delay made every occasion suitable
τῇ πράξει νομίζων.
for-the action thinking

καὶ γὰρ εἰς τὸ Καπετώλιον ἀνιόντα καὶ τὰς θυσίας ὑπὲρ 71
and for into — Capitol going-up and the sacrifices for
τῆς θυγατρὸς ἐπιτελουμένας ὑπὸ τοῦ Γαΐου παρῆν πολλάκις
the daughter being-performed by — Gaius there-was often
καιρός, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς βασιλικῆς ἱστάμενον καὶ τῷ δήμῳ
occasion and over the basilica standing and to-the people
χρυσίου καὶ ἀργυρίου χρήματα διαρριπτοῦντα ὧσαι κατὰ
of-gold and of-silver money scattering to-push down
κεφαλῆς, ὑψηλὸν δ' ἐστὶ τὸ τέγος εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν φέρον,
headlong high and is the roof to the forum leading
ἐπί τε τῶν μυστηρίων ταῖς ποιήσεσιν ἃ συνίστατο·
at both of-the mysteries the performances which he-established
πάντων γὰρ αὐτὸν ἀπερίοπτον εἶναι προνοίᾳ τοῦ ἐν 72
of-all for him unregardful to-be by-forethought of-the in
αὐτοῖς εὐπρεπῶς ἀναστραφησομένου καὶ ἀπογνώσει τοῦ
them seemly going-to-behave and by-despair of-the
ἐν ἐπιχειρήσει τινὶ γενέσθαι πιστεύοντα εἰ δὲ μηδὲν τίμιον
in attempt any to-be believing if and nothing honored
ὡς τῶν θεῶν αὐτῷ δύναμιν τοῦ θανάτου παρατυγχάνειν,
as from-the gods to-him power of-the death to-happen
αὐτῷ δ' ἂν ἰσχὺν ἐγγενέσθαι καὶ μὴ σιδηροφορουμένῳ 73
to-himself and — strength to-be-present even not carrying-iron
διαχρήσασθαι τότε Γάιον. οὕτως εὐχῆς εἶχε τοὺς συνωμότας
to-destroy then Gaius thus in-prayer had the conspirators
ὁ Χαιρέας δεδιὼς τοὺς καιροὺς μὴ διαρρυεῖεν.
— Chaerea fearing the occasions lest they-slip-away
οἱ δὲ ἑώρων μὲν νομίμων τε χρῄζοντα καὶ ἐπ' ἀγαθοῖς 74
they and saw indeed lawful-things both needing and for goods
τοῖς αὐτῶν ἐπειγόμενον, οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἠξίουν εἰς ὀλίγον
the their hastening not indeed but deemed-fit for little
γοῦν ὑπερβολῇ χρήσασθαι, μὴ καί πῃ σφάλματος τῇ
at-least postponement to-use lest also somehow of-slip to-the

ἐπιχειρήσει συνελθόντος ταράξαιεν τὴν πόλιν ζητήσεων
attempt having-come they-might-disturb the city inquiries
τῶν συνεγνωκότων τὴν πρᾶξιν γινομένων καὶ τοῖς
of-those privy-to the deed happening and to-those
αὐτοῖς μελλήσουσιν ἐπιχειρεῖν ἄπορον τὴν ἀνδραγαθίαν
same going-to to-attempt impossible the bravery
φραξαμένου Γαΐου πρὸς αὐτοὺς μειζόνως.
having-fenced Gaius against them more-greatly
75 καλῶς οὖν ἔχειν θεωριῶν ἐν τῷ Παλατίῳ ἐπιτελουμένων
well then to-be of-spectacles in — Palatium being-performed
ἅπτεσθαι τοῦ χρήματος· ἄγονται δὲ ἐπὶ τιμῇ τοῦ πρώτου
to-take-hold of-the matter they-are-held and in honor of-the first
μεταστησαμένου τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ δήμου Καίσαρος εἰς
having-transferred the rule from-the people Caesar to
αὐτὸν μικρόν τε πρὸ τοῦ βασιλείου καλύβης πηκτοῦ
himself little both before the palace but fixed
γενομένης, καὶ Ῥωμαίων τε οἱ εὐπατρίδαι θεωροῦσιν
having-been-made and of-Romans both the patricians watch
ὁμοῦ παισὶν καὶ γυναιξὶν καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ·
together with-children and women and — Caesar
76 ῥᾳστώνην τε αὐτοῖς ἔσεσθαι πολλῶν μυριάδων ἀνθρώπων
ease both for-them going-to-be of-many tens-of-thousands of-men
εἰς ὀλίγον χωρίον καθειργνυμένων ὥστε εἰσιόντι τὴν
into small space being-shut-up so-that for-him-entering the
ἐπιχείρησιν ποιήσασθαι δυνάμεως τοῖς ὑπασπισταῖς, εἰ καί
attempt to-make force to-the shield-bearers if even
τινες προθυμοῖντο, μὴ παρατευξομένης αὐτῷ βοηθεῖν.
some were-eager not going-to-be-at-hand for-him to-help

The games run three days without the deed, and on the last Chaerea rebukes the conspirators: Gaius will sail for Egypt, and it would be shameful if an Egyptian killed him first. At the Palatine Gaius sacrifices to Augustus, and a victim's blood splashes the senator Asprenas, an omen; Gaius is unusually affable. In the theater Cluvius answers Bathybius' question about news with a line of Homer, bidding him be silent; a mime shows a crucifixion, and a dancer the Cinyras, with much stage blood. Minucianus rises to join Chaerea, is held back a moment by Gaius, and goes out; Chaerea, eager to strike Gaius in his seat, holds back for fear of slaughtering the senators. Urged by Ambronas to bathe and lunch, Gaius at last rises, and Claudius, Vinicius, and Valerius Asiaticus go out before him.

Εἶχετο δὲ Χαιρέας, καὶ τῶν θεωριῶν ἐπελθουσῶν τῇ πρώτῃ 77
held-to and Chaerea also of-the spectacles having-come on-the first
δεδογμένον ἅπτεσθαι τῆς πράξεως ἰσχυρότερον ἦν τοῦ
having-been-decided to-take-hold of-the action stronger was than-the
κατ' ἐκείνους προβεβουλευκότος τὸ τῆς τύχης συγχωροῦν
among them having-planned the of-the fortune granting
ὑπερβολάς, καὶ τὰς τρεῖς ὑπερβαλλομένου ταῖς νομίμοις
postponements and the three putting-off on-the lawful
ἡμέραις μόλις κατὰ τὴν τελευταίαν αὐτοῖς ἐπράχθη τὸ ἔργον.
days hardly on the last by-them was-done the deed
Χαιρέας δὲ συγκαλέσας τοὺς συνωμότας "πολὺς μέν," 78
Chaerea and having-called-together the conspirators much indeed
εἶπεν, "καὶ ὁ παρεληλυθὼς χρόνος ὀνειδίσαι τὸ ἐπιμέλλον
he-said also the past time to-reproach the delaying
ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς οὕτω βουλευθεῖσιν μετ' ἀρετῆς, δεινὸν δέ,
our in the so planned with virtue terrible but
εἰ καὶ μηνύματος γενομένου διαπεσεῖται ἡ πρᾶξις καὶ
if even disclosure having-happened will-fail the action and
Γάιος ὑβριεῖ μειζόνως.
Gaius will-outrage more-greatly

79 ἢ οὐχ ὁρῶμεν, ὡς τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀφαιροῦμεν ὁπόσας
or not do-we-see that from-the freedom we-take-away as-many-as
τῶν ἡμερῶν προσθήκην τῇ Γαΐου τυραννίδι χαριζόμεθα,
of-the days addition to-the of-Gaius tyranny we-grant
δέον αὐτούς τ' ἀδεεῖς τὸ λοιπὸν εἶναι καὶ τοῖς
it-being-needful ourselves both fearless the remaining to-be and to-the
ἄλλοις αἰτίαν τοῦ εὐδαίμονος παρασχόντας δι' αἰῶνος
others cause of-the happiness having-provided through age
τοῦ ἅπαντος τοῖς αὖθις ἐν θαύματι μεγάλῳ καὶ τιμῇ
the all to-those hereafter in wonder great and honor
καταστῆναι;"
to-be-established

80 τῶν δὲ οὔτε ἀντειπεῖν ὡς οὐ πάνυ καλοῖς δυναμένων οὔτε
they and neither to-gainsay as not altogether fine-things being-able nor
τὴν πρᾶξιν ἄντικρυς δεχομένων σιγῇ δὲ καταπεπληγότων
the action outright accepting in-silence but struck-dumb
"τί," φησίν, "ὦ γενναῖοι, διαμέλλομεν; ἢ οὐχ ὁρᾶτε τὴν
why he-says O noble-ones do-we-delay or not do-you-see the
σήμερον τῶν θεωριῶν ἡμέραν ὑστάτην οὖσαν καὶ Γάιον
today of-the spectacles day last being and Gaius
ἐκπλευσούμενον;"
going-to-sail-out

81 ἐπὶ γὰρ Ἀλεξανδρείας παρεσκεύαστο πλεῖν κατὰ θεωρίαν
to for Alexandria he-had-prepared to-sail for sightseeing
τῆς Αἰγύπτου. "καλὸν δὲ ἡμῖν προέσθαι τῶν χειρῶν
— of-Egypt fine and for-us to-let-go from-the hands
τὸ ὄνειδος τῇ Ῥωμαίων μεγαλαυχίᾳ πομπεῦσον διά
the disgrace to-the of-Romans boasting going-to-parade through
τε γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης.
both land and sea

πῶς δ᾽ οὐκ ἂν δικαίως κρίνοιμεν αὐτοὺς αἰσχύνῃ τῶν 82
how and not — justly might-we-judge ourselves in-shame for-the-things
γενησομένων, εἴ τις αὐτὸν Αἰγύπτιος κτείνειεν τὴν ὕβριν
going-to-happen if some him Egyptian should-kill the outrage
οὐχ ἡγησάμενος ἀνασχετὸν τοῖς ἐλευθέροις γεγονόσιν;
not thinking bearable for-those free born
ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν οὐκέτι εἰς πλείονα ἀνέξομαι τὰς σκήψεις ὑμῶν, 83
I indeed then no-longer for more will-endure the excuses your
χωρήσω δὲ τοῖς κινδύνοις ὁμοῦ σήμερον ἡδονῇ φέρων
I-will-go and to-the dangers together today with-pleasure bearing
πᾶν ὅ τι καὶ γένοιτο ἐξ αὐτῶν, οὐδ᾽ ἂν ὑπερβαλλοίμην
all what ever also might-happen from them nor — would-I-put-it-off
εἴπερ εἴη· τί γὰρ δὴ καὶ γένοιτ᾽ ἂν ἀνδρὶ φρόνημα
if-indeed it-should-be what for indeed also could-happen — to-man spirit
ἔχοντι τούτου σχετλιώτερον, ἕτερον Γάιον ἀναιρεῖν ἐμοῦ
having than-this more-wretched other Gaius to-kill me
ζῶντος ἐμὲ τὴν ἐπὶ τῷδε ἀρετὴν ἀφῃρημένον;"
living me of-the for this virtue having-been-deprived
Καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα εἰπὼν αὐτός τε ὡρμήκει πράξων 84
and he indeed these-things having-said himself both had-set-out going-to-do
τὸ ἔργον καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἐνεποίησε θάρσος πᾶσίν τε ἦν
the deed and in-the rest inspired courage to-all both was
ἔρως ἅπτεσθαι τοῦ ἐγχειρήματος μηδὲν ὑπερβαλλομένοις,
desire to-take-hold of-the attempt in-nothing putting-off
ἕωθέν τε ἐπὶ τοῦ Παλατίου εἰώθει τὸ ξίφος ὑπεζωσμένος 85
at-dawn both to — Palatium he-was-wont the sword having-girded-on
τῶν ἱππικῶν· ἔθος γὰρ δὴ τοῖς χιλιάρχοις τοῦτο
of-the equestrian custom for indeed for-the tribunes this
ἐζωσμένοις αἰτεῖν παρὰ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος τὸ σημεῖον, ἦν τε
girded to-ask from the emperor the watchword was both
ἡ ἡμέρα καθήκουσα εἰς αὐτὸν τῆς παραλήψεως τοῦ σημείου.
the day falling to him of-the receiving of-the watchword

86 ἄρτι τε συνήει πληθὺς εἰς τὸ Παλάτιον ἐπὶ προκαταλήψει
just-then both came-together multitude into — Palatium for seizing-beforehand
θέας πολλῷ θορύβῳ καὶ ὠθισμῷ, χαρᾷ φέροντος
of-spectacle with-much uproar and jostling with-joy bearing
Γαΐου τὴν ἐπὶ τοιοῖσδε τῶν πολλῶν σπουδήν, παρὸ καὶ
Gaius the for such-things of-the many zeal wherefore also
διακέκριτο οὐδὲν οὔτε τῇ συγκλήτῳ χωρίον οὔτε τοῖς
had-been-set-apart no neither for-the senate place nor for-the
ἱππεῦσιν, φύρδην δὲ ἔζοντο καὶ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ὁμοῦ αἱ
knights pell-mell and sat both with-the men together the
γυναῖκες καὶ τῷ δούλῳ ἀναμεμιγμένον τὸ ἐλεύθερον.
women and with-the slave mixed the free

87 Γάιος δὲ προόδων αὐτῷ γενομένων ἔθυσε τῷ Σεβαστῷ
Gaius and processions for-him having-happened sacrificed — to-Augustus
Καίσαρι, ᾧ δὴ καὶ τὰ τῆς θεωρίας ἤγετο, καὶ
Caesar to-whom indeed also the-things of-the spectacle were-held and
πίπτοντος τῶν ἱερείων τινὸς συνέβη αἵματι τὴν Ἀσπρήνα
falling of-the victims one it-happened with-blood the of-Asprenas
στολὴν ἑνὸς τῶν συγκλητικῶν ἀνάπλεων γενέσθαι. τοῦτο
robe of-one of-the senators full to-become this
Γαΐῳ γέλωτα μὲν παρέσχεν, ἦν δ' ἄρα εἰς οἰωνὸν τῷ
to-Gaius laughter indeed provided it-was but then for omen —
Ἀσπρήνᾳ φανερόν· ἐπικατασφάζεται γὰρ τῷ Γαΐῳ.
to-Asprenas plain he-is-slaughtered-besides for — with-Gaius

88 Γάιον δ' ἱστορεῖται παρὰ φύσιν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ
Gaius and it-is-recorded beyond nature the his-own
εὐπροσηγορώτατον γενέσθαι κατ' ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν
most-affable to-have-become on that the day
καὶ δεξιότητι χρώμενον ὁμιλίας πάνθ' ὁντινοῦν ἐκπλῆξαι
and with-dexterity using of-converse all anyone-whatever to-astonish
τῶν παρατυγχανόντων.
of-those present

μετὰ δὲ τὴν θυσίαν ἐπὶ τὴν θεωρίαν τραπεὶς ἐκαθέζετο 89
after and the sacrifice to the spectacle having-turned he-sat
καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν τῶν ἑταίρων οἱ ἀξιολογώτατοι.
and about him of-the companions the most-notable
κατεσκεύαστο δὲ τὸ θέατρον, πηκτὸν δὲ ἐγίνετο 90
had-been-built and the theater fixed and it-was-made
κατὰ ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτόν, τοιόνδε τρόπον· θύρας ἔχει δύο
in each year in-such manner doors it-has two
φερούσας τὴν μὲν εἰς αἴθριον, τὴν δ' εἰς στοὰν
leading the(-one) indeed into open-court the(-other) and into colonnade
εἰσόδοις καὶ ἀποχωρήσεσιν, ὅπως μὴ ταράσσοιντο οἱ
for-entrances and withdrawals so-that not might-be-disturbed those
ἔνδον ἀπειλημμένοι, ἐκ δ' αὐτῆς τῆς καλύβης ἐνδοτέρω
inside shut-in from and itself the hut more-inward
διαφράγμασιν ἑτέραν ἀπειληφυίαις ἐπ' ἀναστροφῇ τοῖς
with-partitions another having-cut-off for turning-back for-the
ἀνταγωνισταῖς καὶ ὁπόσα ἀκροάματα.
competitors and as-many-as performers
συγκαθημένης δὲ τῆς πληθύος καὶ τοῦ Χαιρέου σὺν τοῖς 91
sitting-together and the multitude and — Chaerea with the
χιλιάρχοις οὐκ ἄπωθεν τοῦ Γαΐου, δεξιὸν δὲ τοῦ θεάτρου
tribunes not far — of-Gaius right and of-the theater
κέρας ὁ Καῖσαρ εἶχεν, Βαθύβιός τις τῶν συγκλητικῶν
wing — Caesar held Bathybius one of-the senators
ἀνὴρ ἐστρατηγηκὼς ἤρετο Κλούιον παρακαθεζόμενον
man having-been-praetor asked Cluvius sitting-beside
αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦτον ὑπατικόν, εἰ δή τις αὐτῷ νεωτέρων
him and this-one consular if indeed any to-him of-newer
πραγμάτων πέρι ἀφίκοιτο πύστις, προμηθὴς γενόμενος
affairs about had-come news careful having-become
τοῦ μὴ ἐξάκουστος εἶναι τάδε λέγων.
of-the not overheard to-be these-things saying

92 τοῦ δὲ φαμένου μηδὲν πεπύσθαι σημεῖον "τοιγαροῦν, ὦ
he and saying nothing to-have-learned watchword therefore O
Κλούιε, τυραννοκτονίας ἀγὼν πρόκειται." καὶ ὁ Κλούιος
Cluvius of-tyrannicide contest is-set-forth and — Cluvius
"ὦ γενναῖε," φησίν, "σίγα, μή τίς τ' ἄλλος Ἀχαιῶν
O noble he-says be-silent lest anyone and other of-the-Achaeans
μῦθον ἀκούσῃ."
word should-hear

93 πολλῆς δ' ὀπώρας ἐπιχεομένης τοῖς θεωροῖς καὶ πολλῶν
much and fruit being-poured-over on-the spectators and many
ὀρνέων ὁπόσα τῷ σπανίῳ τίμια τοῖς κτωμένοις, ὁ
birds as-many-as by-the rarity precious to-those acquiring —
Γάιος ἡδονῇ τὰς περὶ αὐτοῖς ἐθεώρει μάχας καὶ
Gaius with-pleasure the over them watched fights and
διαρπαγὰς οἰκειουμένων αὐτὰ τῶν θεωρῶν.
snatchings appropriating them of-the spectators

94 ἔνθα δὲ καὶ σημεῖα μανθάνει δύο γενέσθαι· καὶ γὰρ μῖμος
there and also signs he-learns two to-have-happened and for mime
εἰσάγεται, καθ' ὃν σταυροῦται ληφθεὶς ἡγεμών, ὅ τε
is-brought-on in which is-crucified caught leader the both
ὀρχηστὴς δρᾶμα εἰσάγει Κινύραν, ἐν ᾧ αὐτός τε ἐκτείνετο
dancer drama brings-on Cinyras in which himself both was-killed
καὶ ἡ θυγάτηρ Μύρρα, αἱμά τε ἦν τεχνητὸν πολὺ καὶ περὶ
and the daughter Myrrha blood both was artificial much both about
τὸν σταυρωθέντα ἐκκεχυμένον καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν Κινύραν.
the crucified poured-out and of-those about — Cinyras

95 ὁμολογεῖται δὲ καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην γενέσθαι, ἐν
it-is-agreed and also the day that to-have-been in
ᾗ Φίλιππον τὸν Ἀμύντου Μακεδόνων βασιλέα κτείνει
which Philip the of-Amyntas of-Macedonians king kills
Παυσανίας εἷς τῶν ἑταίρων εἰς τὸ θέατρον εἰσιόντα.
Pausanias one of-the companions into the theater entering

Γαΐου δ᾽ ἐνδοιάζοντος, εἴτε παραμείνειεν εἰς τέλος τῇ 96
Gaius and doubting whether he-should-remain to end at-the
θεωρίᾳ διὰ τὸ τελευταίαν εἶναι τὴν ἡμέραν εἴτε λουτρῷ
spectacle because-of the last to-be the day or bath
χρησάμενος καὶ σίτῳ εἶτα ἐπανίοι καθὰ καὶ οἱ πρότερον,
having-used and food then should-return as also the former-times
Μινουκιανὸς ὑπὲρ τοῦ Γαΐου καθεζόμενος καὶ δεδιώς, μὴ
Minucianus above — Gaius sitting and fearing lest
διαλυθείη τὰ τῶν καιρῶν εἰς κενόν, ἐξαναστὰς ἐπειδὴ
be-dissolved the-things of-the occasions in vain having-risen since
καὶ Χαιρέαν ἑώρα προεξεληλυθότα, ἠπείγετο θαρσύνειν
also Chaerea he-saw having-gone-out-before hastened to-encourage
αὐτὸν προελθών.
him having-gone-forward

λαμβάνεται δ᾽ αὐτοῦ τῆς στολῆς Γάιος κατὰ φιλοφροσύνην 97
takes-hold and his of-the robe Gaius in friendliness
δῆθεν καί "ποῖ δή," φησίν, "ὦ μακάριε;" καὶ ὁ μὲν
supposedly and where indeed he-says O blessed-one and he indeed
αἰδοῖ δοκεῖν τοῦ Καίσαρος καθίζει, κρείσσων δ᾽ ὁ φόβος
by-respect to-seem — of-Caesar sits-down stronger but the fear
ἦν ὀλίγον τε διαλιπὼν εἶτα διανίσταται.
was little both having-waited then gets-up

καὶ ὁ Γάιος οὐδὲν ἐμποδὼν ἦν ἐξιόντι δοκῶν ἐπί τινι 98
and — Gaius not-at-all in-the-way was to-him-going-out seeming for some
τῶν ἀναγκαίων ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἔξοδον. Ἀμβρώνας δὲ καὶ
of-the necessities to-make the going-out Ambronas and also
αὐτὸς παρῄνει τῷ Γαΐῳ καθὸ πρότερον ὑπεξελθόντι
himself urged — to-Gaius as before having-gone-out-quietly
πρός τε λουτρῷ καὶ ἀρίστῳ γενέσθαι καὶ ἔπειτα δὲ
at both bath and lunch to-be and then and
εἰσελθεῖν, χρήζων ἐπὶ πέρας ἀχθῆναι τὰ ἐγνωσμένα.
to-come-in needing to end to-be-brought the-things decided

99 Καὶ οἱ περὶ τὸν Χαιρέαν ἔτασσον μὲν ἀλλήλους ᾗ
and those about — Chaerea posted indeed each-other where
καιρός τε καὶ ἐχρῆν ἕκαστον στάντα ᾗ προσταχθείη
occasion both and it-was-needful each standing where he-was-assigned
μὴ ἀπολιμπάνεσθαι ἐπιπονοῦντες. ἤχθοντο δὲ τῇ διατριβῇ
not to-fall-away toiling were-vexed but at-the delay
καὶ τῷ μέλλεσθαι τὰ ἐν χερσίν, ἐπεὶ καὶ περὶ ἐνάτην
and at-the to-be-put-off the-things in hands since also about ninth
ὥραν ἤδη τὰ τῆς ἡμέρας ἦν.
hour already the-things of-the day were
100 καὶ Χαιρέας βραδύνοντος Γαΐου πρόθυμος ἦν ἐπεισελθεῖν
and Chaerea delaying Gaius eager was to-go-in
ἐν τῇ καθέδρᾳ προσπεσὼν μέντοι προῄδει τοῦτο σὺν
in the seat having-fallen-on however he-foresaw this with
πολλῷ φόνῳ τῶν τε βουλευτῶν καὶ ὁπόσοι τῶν ἱππέων
much slaughter of-the both senators and as-many-as of-the knights
παρῆσαν καίπερ δεδιὼς πρόθυμος ἦν, καλῶς ἔχειν
were-present although fearing eager he-was well to-be
ἡγούμενος πᾶσιν ἀσφάλειαν καὶ ἐλευθερίαν ὠνούμενος ἐν
thinking for-all safety and freedom buying in
ὀλίγῳ τίθεσθαι τὰ κατὰ τοὺς ἀπολουμένους.
little to-reckon the-things about those going-to-perish
101 καὶ δὴ τετραμμένων εἰς τὸ θέατρον εἰσόδῳ σημαίνεται
and indeed having-turned to the theater for-entrance is-signaled
Γάιος ἐξαναστὰς καὶ θόρυβος ἦν, ἀνέστρεφον δὲ καὶ
Gaius having-risen and uproar there-was turned-back and also
οἱ συνωμόται καὶ ἀνεωθοῦντο τὴν πληθύν, λόγῳ μὲν
the conspirators and pushed-back the multitude in-word indeed
διὰ τὸ δυσχεραίνειν τὸν Γάιον, ἔργῳ δὲ ἐπ᾽ ἀδείας
because-of the to-be-vexed — Gaius in-deed but in safety

βουλόμενοι ἐν ἐρημίᾳ τῶν ἀμυνουμένων καταστήσαντες
wishing in solitude of-those going-to-defend having-placed
αὐτὸν ἅπτεσθαι τῆς σφαγῆς.
him to-take-hold of-the slaughter
προεξήεσαν δὲ Κλαύδιος μὲν ὁ πάτρως αὐτοῦ καὶ Μᾶρκος 102
went-out-before and Claudius indeed the uncle his and Marcus
Βινίκιος ὁ τῆς ἀδελφῆς ἀνὴρ ἔτι δὲ Οὐαλέριος Ἀσιατικός,
Vinicius the of-the sister husband still and Valerius Asiaticus
οὓς οὐδὲ βουλομένοις διακλεῖσαι δύναμις ἦν αἰδοῖ
whom not-even wishing to-shut-out power there-was by-respect
τῆς ἀξιώσεως, εἵπετο δ' αὐτὸς σὺν Παύλῳ Ἀρουντίῳ.
of-the rank followed and himself with Paulus Arruntius

V · THE MURDER

Inside the palace Gaius leaves the main way for a narrow passage toward the baths, to see boys arrived from Asia to perform. Chaerea meets him, asks for the watchword, and when Gaius gives a mocking one, strikes him between shoulder and neck; Josephus rejects the story that he meant to prolong the death. Gaius, dazed, flees forward, and Sabinus forces him to his knees while the others hack at him, until Aquila strikes the last blow, though Josephus credits the deed above all to Chaerea. The conspirators escape through the house of Germanicus. Gaius' German bodyguards run through the palace killing Asprenas, the noble Norbanus, and the senator Anteius. In the theater the news is met with disbelief.

ἐπεὶ δ' ἐντὸς ἦν τοῦ βασιλείου, τὰς μὲν ἐπ' εὐθείας 103
when and inside he-was the palace the indeed in straight
ὁδοὺς λείπει, καθ' ἃς διεστήκεσαν τῶν δούλων οἱ
roads he-leaves along which stood of-the slaves those
θεραπεύοντες αὐτὸν καὶ προῄεσαν οἱ περὶ τὸν Κλαύδιον·
attending him and went-ahead those about — Claudius

104 τρέπεται δὲ κατὰ στενωπὸν ἠρεμηκότα καὶ ἐπὶ τόπον
he-turns and along alley quiet and to place
πρὸς λουτροῖς γενησόμενος ἅμα καὶ παῖδας οἳ ἥκεσαν
near baths going-to-be at-once and boys who had-come
ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας κατανοήσων, πομπῆς αὐτῶν ἐκεῖθεν
from — Asia going-to-look-over procession of-them from-there
γενομένης ἐπὶ ὕμνοις μυστηρίων ἃ ἐπετέλει, ἔνιοι δὲ
having-happened for hymns of-mysteries which he-performed some and
κατὰ πυρριχισμούς, οἳ ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις ἔσοιντο.
for war-dances which in the theaters would-be
105 ὑπαντιάζει δ' αὐτὸν Χαιρέας καὶ ᾔτησεν σημεῖον. τοῦ δὲ
meets and him Chaerea and asked watchword he and
τῶν εἰς χλεύην ἀνακειμένων εἰπόντος οὐδὲν ἐνδοιάσας
of-the-things for mockery set-up having-said not-at-all hesitating
λοιδορίαις τε ἐχρᾶτο κατὰ τοῦ Γαΐου καὶ σπασάμενος τὸ
with-abuse both he-dealt against — Gaius and having-drawn the
ξίφος ἐπάγει πληγὴν σφοδράν· οὐ μήν γε ἦν καίριος.
sword brings-on blow violent not indeed indeed it-was mortal
106 καίτοι γέ φασίν τινες προνοίᾳ τοῦ Χαιρέου γενέσθαι
and-yet indeed say some by-forethought — of-Chaerea to-have-happened
τοῦ μὴ μιᾷ πληγῇ διεργάσασθαι τὸν Γάιον, ἀλλὰ
of-the not with-one blow to-finish-off — Gaius but
τιμωρεῖσθαι μειζόνως πλήθει τραυμάτων.
to-punish-him more-greatly by-multitude of-wounds
107 οὐ μὴν ἐμοὶ πιθανὸς οὗτος ὁ λόγος διὰ τὸ μὴ
not indeed to-me persuasive this the account because-of the not
ἐπιχωρεῖν ἐν ταῖσδε ταῖς πράξεσιν λογισμῷ χρῆσθαι τὸν
to-allow in these the actions reasoning to-use the
φόβον, Χαιρέαν δέ, εἴπερ οὕτως ἐφρόνει, πάντων ἥγημαι
fear Chaerea but if-indeed so he-thought of-all I-consider
μωρίᾳ διαφέρειν ἡδονὴν τῇ ὀργῇ χαριζόμενον μᾶλλον ἢ
in-folly to-differ pleasure to-the anger granting rather than

ἐκ τοῦ ὀξέος ἀπαλλαγὴν αὑτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς συνωμόταις
at the sharp release to-himself both and to-the conspirators
κινδύνων χαριζόμενον, διὰ τὸ πολλὰς ἂν μηχανὰς
of-dangers granting because-of the many — devices
ἔτι γενέσθαι βοηθειῶν Γαΐῳ μὴ φθάντι τὴν ψυχὴν
still to-happen of-helps to-Gaius not having-anticipated the soul
ἀφεῖναι κἀνταῦθα Χαιρέᾳ λόγον ἂν γενέσθαι οὐ περὶ τῆς
to-let-go and-there for-Chaerea account — to-be not about the
Γαΐου τιμωρίας, ἀλλὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν φίλων,
of-Gaius punishment but of-the his-own and of-the friends
ὅπου γε καὶ πράξαντι καλῶς ἂν εἶχε σιγῇ χρωμένῳ 108
where indeed even having-done-it well — it-would-be in-silence using
διαδιδράσκειν τὰς ὀργὰς τῶν ἀμυνομένων, οὐχ ὅπως
to-escape the angers of-those avenging not how
ἄδηλον εἰ τύχοι κατορθῶν ἐπ᾽ ἀλόγοις χρήζειν
uncertain if he-might-happen succeeding on irrational-grounds to-want
αὐτόν τε ἀπολέσαι καὶ τὸν καιρόν. καὶ τάδε μὲν
himself both to-destroy and the occasion and these-things indeed
εἰκάζειν παρέστω τοῖς βουλομένοις ᾗ καὶ θέλοιεν.
to-guess let-it-be-open to-those wishing as also they-might-wish
ὁ δὲ Γάιος ἀλγηδόνι τῆς πληγῆς περιφερόμενος, μεσηγὺς 109
— and Gaius by-pain of-the blow being-carried-about between
γὰρ τοῦ τε ὤμου καὶ τοῦ τραχήλου φερόμενον τὸ ξίφος
for of-the both shoulder and of-the neck carried the sword
ἐπέσχεν ἡ κλεὶς προσωτέρω χωρεῖν, οὔτε ἀνεβόησεν
held-back the collarbone farther to-go neither cried-out
ὑπ᾽ ἐκπλήξεως οὔτε ἐπεκαλέσατό τινας τῶν φίλων εἴτε
through amazement nor called-on any of-the friends whether
ἀπιστίᾳ εἴτε καὶ ἄλλως ἀφρονήσει, στόνῳ δὲ χρησάμενος
by-distrust or also otherwise by-senselessness with-groan but using
πρὸς τῆς ἀλγηδόνος τὸ περιὸν εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν ἵετο φυγῇ.
from the pain the remainder into the front rushed in-flight

110 καὶ δεξάμενος αὐτὸν Κορνήλιος Σαβῖνος τὴν διάνοιαν ἤδη
and having-received him Cornelius Sabinus the mind already
προκατειργασμένον ὠθεῖ καὶ κλιθέντα ἐπὶ γόνυ πολλοὶ
having-worked-out-beforehand pushes and bent on knee many
περιστάντες ἀφ' ἑνὸς ἐγκελεύσματος ἔκοπτον τοῖς ξίφεσιν,
standing-round from one signal cut with-the swords
παρακελευσμός τε τὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ πρὸς ἔριν
exhortation both the-things to one-another and toward rivalry
αὐτοῖς ἦν. τελευταῖα δὲ Ἀκύλας, ὁμολογεῖται δὲ ὑπὸ
to-them there-was last and Aquila it-is-agreed and by
πάντων πληγὴν ἐπαγαγών, μεθίστησιν αὐτὸν ἀκριβῶς.
all blow having-brought-on removes him exactly
111 ἀναθείη δ' ἄν τις τὴν πρᾶξιν Χαιρέᾳ· καὶ γὰρ εἰ
would-attribute and — anyone the deed to-Chaerea and for if
σὺν πολλοῖς ἐπράχθη τὸ ἔργον αὐτῷ, ἀλλ' οὖν πρῶτός
with many was-done the work by-him but then first
τε ἐνεθυμήθη εἶναι μέντοι αὐτῷ ὃς προλαβὼν πολὺ
both he-conceived to-be however to-him who having-anticipated much
τῶν ἁπάντων,
of-the all
112 καὶ πρῶτος μὲν τολμηρῶς ἐξεῖπεν τοῖς λοιποῖς, δεχομένων
and first indeed daringly he-spoke-out to-the rest accepting
δὲ τὸν ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ λόγον σποράδας τε ἤθροισεν καὶ τὰ
and the about the murder word scattered-ones both he-gathered and the
πάντα φρονίμως συγκροτήσας ἔνθα γνωμῶν εἰσηγήσεως
all-things prudently having-organized where of-judgments proposing
ἐχρῆν πολὺ κρείσσων ἐγίγνετο καὶ λόγοις καθωμίλησεν
it-was-needful much better he-became and with-words he-talked-over
χρηστοῖς ὡς οὐ τολμῶντας ἠνάγκασέν τε τοὺς ἅπαντας,
useful as not daring he-compelled both the all

ἐπεί τε καιρὸς ἐλάμβανεν χειρὶ χρήσασθαι, φαίνεται 113
when both occasion took with-hand to-deal he-appears
κἀνταῦθα πρῶτός τε ὁρμήσας καὶ ἁψάμενος ἀρετῇ
there-too first both having-rushed and having-touched with-virtue
τοῦ φόνου καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις εὐεπίβατον παρασχὼν καὶ
of-the murder and to-the others easy-to-attack having-provided and
προτεθνεῶτα Γάιον, ὥστ' ἂν δικαίως καὶ ὁπόσα τοῖς
previously-dead Gaius so-that — justly also as-many-as by-the
λοιποῖς εἴη πεπραγμένα τῇ Χαιρέου γνώμῃ τε καὶ
rest might-be done to-the of-Chaerea judgment both and
ἀρετῇ προστίθεσθαι καὶ πόνῳ τῶν χειρῶν.
virtue to-be-added and by-toil of-the hands
Καὶ Γάιος μὲν τοιούτῳ τρόπῳ χρησάμενος τῆς τελευτῆς 114
and Gaius indeed such manner having-met of-the end
ὑπὸ τοῦ πολλοῦ τῶν τραυμάτων ἀποψυχθεὶς ἔκειτο.
by the multitude of-the wounds having-breathed-out lay
οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Χαιρέαν ἐπειδὴ κατείργαστο αὐτοῖς ἤδη 115
those and about — Chaerea since had-been-accomplished by-them already
Γάιος, ὁδοὺς μὲν τὰς αὐτὰς ἰόντες σώζειν αὑτοὺς ἀμήχανον
Gaius by-roads indeed the same going to-save themselves impossible
ἑώρων, ὄκνῳ τε τῶν γεγονότων, οὐ γὰρ μικρὸν
they-saw in-hesitancy both at-the-things having-happened not for small
ἦν τὸν αὐτοκράτορα ἀνῃρηκόσι τὸ κινδύνευμα ὑπό τε
was the emperor for-those-having-killed the danger by both
ἀνοίας τοῦ δήμου τιμώμενον καὶ ὄντα προσφιλῆ καὶ τῶν
folly of-the people honored and being dear and the
στρατιωτῶν μὴ ἀναιμωτὶ ποιησομένων τὴν ζήτησιν αὐτοῦ,
soldiers not bloodlessly going-to-make the search for-him
ἄλλως τε στενῶν οὐσῶν τῶν ὁδῶν, καθ' ἃς ἔπραξαν 116
especially both narrow being the roads along which they-did
τὸ ἔργον, καὶ μεγάλου πλήθους ἐμφράξαντος αὐτὰς τῆς
the deed and great multitude having-blocked them of-the

τε θεραπείας καὶ ὁπόσοι τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐπὶ φυλακῇ
both attendance and as-many-as of-the soldiers for guarding
τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἐκείνην παρῆσαν τὴν ἡμέραν,
of-the emperor that were-present the day
117 ὁδούς τε ἑτέρας χωροῦντες παρῆσαν εἰς τὴν Γερμανικοῦ μὲν
by-roads both other going they-arrived into the of-Germanicus indeed
οἰκίαν τοῦ Γαΐου πατρός, ὃν τότε ἀνῃρήκεσαν, συνημμένη
house of-the of-Gaius father whom then they-had-killed joined
δὲ ἐκείνη, διὰ τὸ ἓν τὸ βασίλειον ὂν ἐπ᾽ οἰκοδομίαις
and that-one because-of the one the palace being in buildings
ἑκάστου τῶν ἐν τῇ ἡγεμονίᾳ γεγονότων ἀσκηθὲν ἀπὸ
of-each of-those in the empire having-been made-up from
μέρους ὀνόματι τῶν οἰκοδομηθησομένων ἢ καί τι τῶν
part by-name of-those going-to-be-built or even some of-the
ἡμερῶν οἰκήσεις ἀρξάντων τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν παρασχέσθαι.
days dwellings having-begun the name to-have-provided
118 καὶ διεκπεσόμενοι ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους τὴν ἔφοδον ἐν ἀδείᾳ
and having-escaped from the multitude the attack in safety
τὸ παρὸν ἦσαν λανθάνοντος ἀκμὴν κακοῦ τοῦ τὸν
for-the present they-were escaping-notice still evil of-the the
αὐτοκράτορα παρειληφότος.
emperor having-overtaken
119 πρώτους δὲ εἰς τοὺς Γερμανοὺς ἡ αἴσθησις ἀφίκετο τῆς
first and to the Germans the perception came of-the
Γαΐου τελευτῆς. δορυφόροι δ᾽ ἦσαν οὗτοι ὁμώνυμοι τῷ
of-Gaius death bodyguards and were these same-named with-the
ἔθνει ἀφ᾽ οὗ κατειλέχατο Κελτικοῦ τάγμα παρεχόμενοι
nation from which they-had-been-levied Celtic corps providing
τὸ αὐτῶν.
the their-own

θυμῷ δὲ χρῆσθαι πάτριόν ἐστιν αὐτοῖς, ὥσπερ σπάνιον 120
with-passion and to-deal ancestral is for-them as rarely
εἴ τισιν ἑτέροις βαρβάρων διὰ τὸ ἠσσόνως λογισμὸν
if for-any others of-barbarians because-of the less reasoning
ἐπιδέχεσθαι τῶν ποιουμένων, ῥωμαλέοι τε τοῖς σώμασι
to-admit of-the-things done mighty both in-the bodies
καὶ τῇ πρώτῃ ὁρμῇ συνιόντες τοῖς πολεμίοις, οὓς ἂν
and at-the first onset meeting the enemies whom —
νομίσωσι, μεγάλα κατορθοῦντες.
they-think great-things succeeding
οὗτοι οὖν πυθόμενοι τοῦ Γαΐου τὴν σφαγὴν καὶ 121
these then having-learned — of-Gaius the slaughter and
περιαλγήσαντες διὰ τὸ μὴ ἀρετῇ κρίνειν ἐπὶ τοῖς ὅλοις,
grieved-deeply because-of the not by-virtue to-judge on the whole
ἀλλὰ συμφέροντι τῷ αὐτῶν, μάλιστα δὲ αὐτοῖς προσφιλὴς
but by-the-advantage the their-own most and to-them dear
ἦν Γάιος δόσεσι χρημάτων τὸ εὔνουν αὑτῷ κτώμενος,
was Gaius with-gifts of-money the goodwill for-himself acquiring
σπασάμενοι τὰ ξίφη, προειστήκει δ' αὐτῶν Σαβῖνος 122
having-drawn the swords stood-at-the-head and of-them Sabinus
χιλιαρχῶν οὐ δι' ἀρετὴν καὶ γενναιότητα προγόνων,
being-tribune not through virtue and nobility of-ancestors
μονομάχος γὰρ ἦν, ἰσχύι δὲ σώματος τὴν ἐπὶ τοιούτοις
gladiator for he-was by-strength and of-body the over such-men
κτησάμενος ἄθροισιν ἀρετήν, διεξῄεσαν τῆς οἰκίας
having-acquired gathering virtue they-went-through the house
ἀνερευνώμενοι τοὺς σφαγέας τοῦ Καίσαρος.
searching-out the slayers — of-Caesar
Ἀσπρήναν τε κρεουργήσασιν αὐτοῖς διὰ τὸ πρώτῳ 123
Asprenas both having-butchered by-them because-of the first
περιπεσεῖν, οὗ τὴν στολὴν μιᾶναν τὸ αἷμα τῶν θυμάτων,
to-fall-in-with whose the robe defiling the blood of-the victims

ὥς μοι λέλεκται πρότερον, οὐκ ἐπ᾽ ἀγαθῷ τὴν συντυχίαν
as by-me has-been-said before not for good the coincidence
ἀπεσήμαινε τοῦ γεγονότος δεύτερος, Νωρβανὸς ὑπηντίαζεν
signified of-the having-happened second Norbanus met
ἐν τοῖς γενναιοτάτοις τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ πολλοὺς
among the noblest of-the citizens also many
αὐτοκράτορας παρεχόμενος τῶν προπατόρων.
emperors providing of-the forefathers
124 καὶ μηδὲν αἰδουμένων αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀξίωσιν ἰσχύι
and in-nothing respecting his the rank in-strength
προύχων ἀφαιρεῖται τὸ ξίφος τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν
excelling takes-away the sword from-the first of-those
ἐπιόντων συμπλακεὶς φανερός τε ἦν οὐκ ἀπραγμόνως
attacking having-grappled plain both he-was not tamely
τεθνηξόμενος, μέχρι δὴ περισχεθεὶς πολλοῖς τῶν
going-to-die until indeed surrounded by-many of-those
ἐπιφερομένων ἔπεσεν ὑπὸ πλήθους τραυμάτων.
rushing-on he-fell under multitude of-wounds
125 τρίτος δὲ Ἀντήιος τῶν ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς σὺν ὀλίγοις, οὐ
third and Anteius of-those from the council with few not
τυχαίως τοῖς Γερμανοῖς καθάπερ οἱ πρότερον περιπεσών,
by-chance the Germans like those before having-fallen-in-with
ὑπὸ δὲ φιλοθεαμοσύνης καὶ ἡδονῆς τοῦ αὐτόπτης γενόμενος
by and love-of-spectacle and pleasure of-the eyewitness having-become
Γαΐου κειμένου μῖσος εὐφρᾶναι τὸ πρὸς αὐτόν· τὸν γὰρ
of-Gaius lying hatred to-gladden the toward him the for
πατέρα τοῦ Ἀντηίου καὶ ὁμώνυμον φυγάδα ἐλάσας καὶ
father — of-Anteius and same-named exile having-driven and
μὴ ἀρκεσθεὶς κτείνει στρατιώτας ἀποπέμψας.
not having-been-content kills soldiers having-sent

καὶ παρῆν μὲν διὰ τάδε εὐφρανούμενος θεωρίᾳ 126
and he-was-present indeed because-of these-things going-to-be-gladdened by-sight
τοῦ νεκροῦ, θορυβουμένης δὲ τῆς οἰκίας κρύπτειν αὑτὸν
of-the corpse being-in-uproar and the house to-hide himself
ἐνθυμησάμενος οὐ διαφυγγάνει τῶν Γερμανῶν τό τε εἰς τὴν
having-thought not escapes of-the Germans the both for the
ἔρευναν ἀκριβὲς καὶπὶ τοῖς φόνοις ὁμοίως τῶν τε αἰτίων
search exactness and-at the murders alike of-the both guilty
καὶ μὴ ἐξαγριωσάντων. καὶ οἵδε μὲν ταύτῃ τεθνήκεσαν.
and not having-raged and these indeed in-this-way had-died
Εἰς δὲ τὸ θέατρον ἐπεὶ ἀφίκετο ὁ λόγος περὶ τῆς Γαΐου 127
into and the theater when came the word about the of-Gaius
τελευτῆς, ἔκπληξίς τε καὶ ἀπιστία ἦν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ
death amazement both and disbelief there-was the(-ones) indeed for
καὶ πάνυ ἡδονῇ δεχόμενοι τὸν ὄλεθρον αὐτοῦ κἂν πρὸ
even very with-pleasure receiving the destruction his even before
πολλοῦ ἡγησάμενοι σφίσιν ἀγαθὸν συνελθεῖν ὑπὸ
long having-thought to-them good to-have-come-together through
δέους ἐν ἀπιστίᾳ ἦσαν.
fear in disbelief were
εἰσὶ δ' οἷς καὶ πάνυ ἀπ' ἐλπίδων ἦν διὰ τὸ 128
there-are and to-whom also altogether from hopes it-was because-of the
μὴ ἐθέλειν τι τοιόνδε περὶ τῷ Γαΐῳ γεγονέναι μηδὲ
not to-wish anything such about — Gaius to-have-happened nor
ἀληθείᾳ προστίθεσθαι διὰ τὸ μὴ οἷόν τε ἀνθρώπῳ
to-truth to-assent because-of the not possible — to-man
εἶναι τοιᾷδε ἀρετῇ χρῆσθαι.
to-be such virtue to-use

Women, children, slaves, and the soldiers who shared his tyranny refuse to believe Gaius dead; the nobles hide their joy, fearing an informer, or punishment if the report proves false, while rumors say he is alive and being treated. The Germans surround the theater with drawn swords and set the heads of Asprenas and the others on the altar, and the spectators beg for their lives. Then Euarestus Arruntius, a crier and rich man who hated Gaius, appears in mourning to announce his death, and Stellas and the tribunes recall the Germans, who give up their fury. Chaerea searches anxiously for Minucianus, who is brought before Clemens and released, Clemens praising the deed and blaming Gaius' own conduct for his fate.

129 γύναια δ' ἦν ταῦτα καὶ παῖδες ὁπόσοι τε δοῦλοι καί
women and were these and children as-many-as both slaves and
τινες τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ, οἱ μὲν διὰ τὸ μισθοφορεῖν
some of-the military the(-ones) indeed because-of the to-draw-pay
καὶ οὐδὲν ἀλλ' ἢ συντυραννοῦντες καὶ διακονίᾳ τῆς
and nothing but than sharing-the-tyranny and by-service of-the
κατ' ἐκεῖνον ὕβρεως ἐπανασειόμενοι τοῖς κρατίστοις τῶν
under him outrage threatening the strongest of-the
πολιτῶν τιμῆς τε ἅμα καὶ ὠφελειῶν τυγχάνειν,
citizens honor both at-once and benefits to-obtain
130 ἡ δὲ αὖ γυναικωνῖτις καὶ τὸ νεώτερον, ὅπερ ὄχλος
the and again women's-quarters and the younger-part which crowd
φιλεῖ, θεωρίαις τε καὶ μονομαχιῶν δόσεσιν καί τινων
is-wont by-spectacles both and of-gladiatorial-shows by-gifts and of-some
κρεανομιῶν ἡδοναῖς ἀνειλημμένοι, ἃ ἐπράσσετο λόγῳ
meat-distributions by-pleasures taken-up which were-done in-word
μὲν ἐπὶ θεραπείᾳ τῆς πληθύος, τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς ἐκπιμπλάντα
indeed for courting of-the multitude the but true filling-up
τῆς μανίας Γαΐου τὴν ὠμότητα·
of-the madness of-Gaius the savagery

οἱ δὲ δοῦλοι διὰ τὸ ἐν προσηγορίᾳ τε εἶναι καὶ 131
the and slaves because-of the in familiarity both to-be and
καταφρονήματι τῶν δεσποτῶν, ἀποστροφῆς τῷ ὑβρίζοντι
contempt of-the masters resort for-the one-outraging
αὐτὴν οὔσης τῆς κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνον ἐπικουρίας· ῥᾴδιον γὰρ
it being of-the under him help easy for
ψευσαμένοις τε κατὰ τῶν κυρίων πεπιστεῦσθαι καὶ τὰ
having-lied both against the masters to-be-believed and the
χρήματα ἐνδείξασιν αὐτῶν ἅμα ἐλευθέροις τε εἶναι καὶ
money having-informed-on of-them at-once free both to-be and
πλουσίοις μισθῷ τῶν κατηγοριῶν διὰ τὸ ἆθλα αὐτοῖς
rich as-wage of-the accusations because-of the prizes to-them
προκεῖσθαι τὰς ὀγδόας τῶν οὐσιῶν.
to-be-set-out the eighths of-the estates
τῶν δὲ εὐπατριδῶν εἰ καί τισιν πιστὸς ὁ λόγος φανείη, 132
of-the and patricians if even to-some trustworthy the report should-appear
τοῖς μὲν ἐκ τοῦ προειδέναι τὴν ἐπιβουλήν, τοῖς
to-the(-ones) indeed from the to-know-beforehand the plot to-the(-others)
δ᾽ ὑπὸ τοῦ θέλειν εὐκτὸν ἡγουμένοις, σιγῇ παρεδίδοτο
and by the to-wish desirable thinking-it in-silence was-handed-over
οὐ μόνον ἡ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἠγγελμένοις χαρά, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ
not only the at the-things announced joy but also the
δόξα τῆς ἀκροάσεως,
opinion of-the hearing
οἱ μὲν δεδιότες, μὴ καὶ ψευσθεῖσιν ἐλπίδος τιμωρίᾳ 133
the(-ones) indeed fearing lest also being-cheated of-hope into-punishment
συνέλθοιεν ὡς προεξορμήσασιν ἀποφήνασθαι τὴν διάνοιαν
they-might-come as having-rushed-ahead to-declare the intention
ἑαυτῶν, οἱ δ᾽ ἐξεπιστάμενοι διὰ τὸ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς
of-themselves the(-others) and knowing-well because-of the in-the plot
μετασχεῖν μειζόνως ἔκρυπτον ἀλλήλων ἀγνοίᾳ καὶ δεδιότες,
to-share more-greatly hid of-each-other in-ignorance and fearing

μὴ πρός τινα εἰπόντες, οἷς ἡ τυραννὶς ἑστῶσα ὠφέλιμος
lest to someone having-spoken to-whom the tyranny standing beneficial
ἦν, ζῶντος Γαΐου κολασθεῖεν ἐνδείξεως γενομένης.
was living Gaius they-might-be-punished information having-happened
134 ἐπεὶ καὶ ἕτερος ἐπεφοιτήκει λόγος ὡμιληκέναι μὲν
since also another had-spread report to-have-met indeed
τραύμασιν, οὐ μὴν ἀποθανεῖν, ἀλλὰ ζῶντα ἐν θεραπείαις
with-wounds not indeed to-have-died but living in treatments
ὑπὸ τῶν ἰατρῶν εἶναι.
by the physicians to-be
135 ἦν τε πιστὸς οὐθεὶς οὐδενί, ᾧ κἂν θαρσήσας
there-was both trustworthy no-one to-none to-whom even having-been-bold
γνώμην ἀποφαίνοιτο τὴν αὐτοῦ· ἢ γὰρ φίλος ὢν
judgment he-might-declare the his-own either for friend being
ὕποπτος ἐγίνετο εὐνοίᾳ τῆς τυραννίδος ἢ καὶ μίσει
suspect he-became by-goodwill of-the tyranny or also with-hatred
πρὸς ἐκεῖνον χρώμενος τῷ πρὸς αὐτὸν οὐδαμόθεν εὐνοίᾳ
toward him dealing to-the toward him in-no-way with-goodwill
χρωμένῳ διαφθείρειν τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς λεγομένοις πίστιν.
dealing to-ruin the in the-things said trust
136 ἐλέγετο δὲ ὑπό τινων, οἳ καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς εὐπατρίδαις
it-was-said and by some who also most for-the patricians
ἠφάνιζον τὸ εὐθυμοῦν τῆς ἐλπίδος, ἐν ἀμελείᾳ κινδύνων
wiped-out the cheerfulness of-the hope in neglect of-dangers
γεγονότα καὶ ἄφροντιν κομιδῇ τῶν τραυμάτων, ὥσπερ
having-become and careless altogether of-the wounds as
εἶχεν ᾑματωμένον ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς διεκπεσεῖν κἀν
he-was bloodied to the forum to-have-escaped and-in
δημηγορίαις εἶναι.
harangues to-be

καὶ τάδε μὲν εἰκάζετο βουλήσει τῇ ἀλογίστῳ 137
and these-things indeed were-conjectured by-the-will the unreasoning
τῶν θροεῖν προθεμένων καὶ ἐπ᾽ ἀμφότερα δόξῃ τῶν
of-those to-rumor having-proposed and to both-sides by-opinion of-the
ἀκουόντων λαμβανόμενα· οὐ μὴν τήν γ᾽ ἐνέδραν
hearers taken not indeed the indeed seat
ἐξέλιπον δεδιότες τὴν ἐπενεχθησομένην προεξιοῦσιν
they-left fearing the going-to-be-brought to-those-going-out-first
αἰτίαν· οὐ γὰρ ἐφ᾽ ἧς ἀξιοῖεν διανοίας γενήσεσθαι
charge not for on what they-might-deem-fit intention to-be-going-to-be
περὶ αὐτοῖς τὴν κρίσιν, ἀλλ᾽ ἀφ᾽ ἧς εἰκάζειν ἐθελήσειαν
about them the judgment but from what to-conjecture might-wish
τούς τε κατηγορήσοντας καὶ τοὺς δικάζοντας.
those both going-to-accuse and those judging
Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ πλῆθος τῶν Γερμανῶν περιέσχε τὸ θέατρον 138
when and also multitude of-the Germans surrounded the theater
ἐσπασμένων τὰ ξίφη, πᾶσι τοῖς θεωροῖς ἐλπὶς ἦν
having-drawn the swords to-all the spectators expectation there-was
ἀπολεῖσθαι, καὶ πρὸς πᾶσαν οὖτινος εἴσοδον πτοία εἶχεν
to-be-going-to-perish and at every of-anyone entrance terror held
αὐτούς, ὡς αὐτίκα μάλα συγκοπήσοιντο, ἐν ἀμηχάνοις τε
them as at-once very they-would-be-cut-down in helplessness both
ἦσαν οὔτ᾽ ἀπιέναι θάρσος εἰσφερόμενοι οὔτε ἀκίνδυνον
they-were neither to-go-away courage bringing nor without-danger
τὴν διατριβὴν τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ θεάτρου πεπιστευκότες.
the staying the at the theater having-trusted
εἰσπιπτόντων τε ἤδη βοὴ τοῦ θεάτρου ῥήγνυται 139
rushing-in both already shout of-the theater breaks-out
καθ᾽ ἱκετείαν τρεπομένου τῶν στρατιωτῶν, ὡς πάντων
in supplication turning of-the soldiers as of-all
ἀγνοίας αὐτῇ γενομένης καὶ τῶν βουλευθέντων τοῖς
ignorance to-it having-happened both of-the-things planned by-those

ἐπαναστᾶσιν, εἰ δή τις καὶ γέγονεν ἐπανάστασις, καὶ
having-risen-up if indeed any also has-been rising and
τῶν γεγονότων.
of-the-things having-happened
140 φείδεσθαι οὖν καὶ μὴ τόλμης ἀλλοτρίας παρὰ τῶν οὐδ᾽
to-spare then and not of-daring others' from those not-even
ἐν αἰτίᾳ γενομένων ἀπολαμβάνειν τιμωρίαν, παρέντας
in charge having-been to-take punishment having-let-go
ἐρεύνην τῶν πεπραχότων ὅ τι καὶ πεπραγμένον εἴη
search of-those having-done what ever also done might-be
καταστῆναι.
to-be-established
141 καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτά τε καὶ περαιτέρω μετὰ δακρύων καὶ
and they indeed these-things both and further with tears and
τύψεως προσώπων ἐπιθειάζοντες καὶ ποτνιώμενοι ὁπόσα
beating of-faces invoking-the-gods and crying-out as-many-as
ἀνεδίδασκεν αὐτοὺς ὁ κίνδυνος ἑστὼς πλησίον, καὶ ὡς ἄν
taught them the danger standing near and as —
τις ἀγωνιζόμενος περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς εἴποι τι, ἔλεγον.
anyone contending for the life might-say something they-said
142 θραύεται δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν πρὸς ταῦτα ἡ ὀργὴ καὶ
is-broken and of-the soldiers at these-things the anger and
μεταμελῆσαν αὐτοῖς τοῦ ἐπὶ τοῖς θεωροῖς βουλεύματος,
having-repented to-them of-the about the spectators plan
ὠμόν τε γὰρ ἦν τοῦτο καὶ ἐκείνοις καίπερ ἐξηγριωκόσιν
savage both for was this even to-them although having-grown-savage
ἐδόκει, τὰς κεφαλὰς τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀσπρήναν ἐπὶ τὸν
it-seemed the heads of-those about — Asprenas on the
βωμὸν ἀπερεισαμένοις.
altar having-set

πρὸς ἃς μειζόνως ἔπαθον οἱ θεωροὶ λογισμῷ τε 143
at which more-greatly suffered the spectators by-reckoning both
ἀξιώσεως τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ ἐλέῳ τοῦ πάθους, ὥστε
of-rank of-the men and by-pity of-the suffering so-that
παρ᾽ ὀλίγον καὶ αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν ἐλλιπεστέρως τὰ τῶν
within little also to-them in-nothing more-deficiently the-things of-the
κινδύνων ὁμιλήσαντα ἐπανασεσεῖσθαι, ὧν ἄδηλον εἶναι
dangers having-met to-have-been-shaken-up of-which uncertain to-be
τὴν συμφορὰν εἴπερ εἰς τέλος φευχθῆναι δύναιτ᾽ ἄν.
the misfortune if-indeed to end to-be-escaped could —
ὥστε κἂν εἴ τινες τῶν προθύμως μισούντων καὶ μετὰ δίκης 144
so-that even if some of-those eagerly hating and with justice
τὸν Γάιον ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τῶν ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ εὐφροσυνῶν τῆς χώρας,
— Gaius to-be-deprived of-the at him joys of-the place
διὰ τὸ ἐν ῥοπῇ μὲν τοῦ συναπολουμένου γεγονέναι, τὸ
because-of the in the-balance indeed of-the going-to-perish-together to-have-been the
δὲ πιστὸν τοῦ περιεῖναι μηδέπω καὶ τότε ἐχέγγυον συνελθεῖν.
but trust of-the to-survive not-yet even then secure to-come-together
Ἦν δὲ Εὐάρεστος Ἀρούντιος τῶν κηρυσσόντων τὰ 145
was and Euarestus Arruntius of-those proclaiming the-things
πωλούμενα καὶ δι᾽ αὐτὸ φωνῆς τε μεγέθει χρώμενος
sold and because-of it of-voice both with-greatness using
καὶ χρήματα περιβεβλημένος ὅμοια τοῖς Ῥωμαίων
and money having-amassed like to-the of-Romans
πλουσιωτάτοις, δύναμίς τε αὐτῷ ἦν ἐφ᾽ οἷς ἐθελήσειε
richest power both to-him was for what he-might-wish
πράσσειν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἔν τε τῷ τότε κἀν τοῖς ὕστερον.
to-do in the city in both the then and-in the later-times
οὗτος διαθεὶς αὑτὸν ὡς ἐνῆν πενθιμώτατον, καίτοι 146
this-one having-arranged himself as it-was-possible most-mournfully and-yet
μίσει καὶ παρ᾽ ὁντινοῦν ἐχρῆτο πρὸς Γάιον, ἀλλὰ μὴν
hatred even beyond anyone-whatever he-used toward Gaius but indeed

κρείσσων ἡ διδασκαλία τοῦ φόβου καὶ στρατηγία περὶ τοῦ
stronger the teaching of-the fear and generalship about the
κερδησομένου τὴν σωτηρίαν τῆς εἰς τὸ παρὸν ἡδονῆς,
going-to-be-gained the safety than-the for the present pleasure
147 πάντα κόσμον ἐπιτηδεύσας ὡς ἄν τις ἐπὶ τοῖς
all apparel having-assumed as — anyone for the
τιμιωτάτοις παρεσκεύαστο ἀπολωλόσιν, ἀποσημαίνει τοῦ
most-honored had-prepared having-perished announces —
Γαΐου τὸν θάνατον ἐπὶ τὸ θέατρον παρελθὼν καὶ ἔπαυσεν
of-Gaius the death to the theater having-come and stopped
τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐπὶ πλέον ἀγνοίᾳ συμπεριφέρεσθαι τοῦ
the men for more in-ignorance to-be-carried-about of-the
γεγονότος.
having-happened
148 ἤδη δὲ καὶ Στήλας Ἀρούντιος παρῆν ἀνακαλῶν
already and also Stellas Arruntius was-present recalling
τοὺς Γερμανοὺς καὶ οἱ χιλίαρχοι σὺν αὐτῷ κελεύοντες
the Germans and the tribunes with him bidding
κατατίθεσθαι τὸν σίδηρον καὶ διασαφοῦντες Γαΐου τὴν
to-lay-down the iron and declaring of-Gaius the
τελευτήν.
death
149 τοῦτο καὶ σαφέστατα ἔσωσεν τοὺς ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ
this also most-clearly saved those in the theater
συνειλεγμένους καὶ πάντας, οἳ καὶ ὁπωσοῦν τοῖς
gathered and all who also in-any-way the
Γερμανοῖς περιτύχοιεν· ἐλπίδος γὰρ αὐτοῖς παραγενομένης
Germans might-meet of-hope for to-them having-come
ἔμπνουν κεῖσθαι τὸν Γάιον οὐκ ἔσθ' οὕτινος κακῶν ἂν
alive to-lie — Gaius not it-is of-what evils —
ἀπέσχοντο.
they-would-have-abstained

τοσόνδε ἐπερίσσευσεν αὐτοῖς εὐνοίας τῆς πρὸς αὐτόν, ὡς κἂν 150
so-much was-in-excess for-them of-goodwill of-the toward him as even
μετὰ τοῦ καθ' αὑτοὺς ἀπολουμένου τῆς ψυχῆς κτήσασθαι
with the in themselves going-to-perish of-the life to-acquire
τὸ ἀνεπιβούλευτον αὐτῷ καὶ τοσαύτῃ δυστυχίᾳ συνεσόμενον.
the freedom-from-plots for-him also so-great misfortune going-to-be-with
παύονται δὲ τοῦ ὠργηκότος εἰς τὴν τιμωρίαν μαθήσεως 151
they-cease and from-the having-raged for the punishment of-learning
σαφοῦς παραγενομένης αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τῇ τελευτῇ, διά τε
clear having-come to-them at the death because-of both
τὸ εἰς ἀχρεῖον ἐπιδείξεσθαι τὸ πρόθυμον τῆς εὐνοίας,
the in vain to-be-going-to-display the eagerness of-the goodwill
ὃς ἀμείψαιτο αὐτοὺς ἀπολωλότος, καὶ δέει, μὴ καὶ
who might-requite them having-perished and by-fear lest also
περαιτέρω τῇ ὕβρει χρωμένων ἐπιστροφὴ γένοιτο ὑπὸ
further the outrage using punishment might-come by
τῆς βουλῆς, εἴπερ εἰς ἐκείνην περισταίη τὸ κράτος,
the council if-indeed to that-one should-come-round the power
ἢ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπικαταστάντος ἄρχοντος.
or by the having-succeeded ruler
καὶ Γερμανοὶ εἰ καὶ μόλις, ἀλλ' οὖν ἐπαύσαντο λύσσης 152
and Germans if even hardly but then ceased from-frenzy
τῆς ἐπὶ Γαΐου τῷ θανάτῳ καταλαμβανομένης αὐτούς.
the at of-Gaius the death seizing them
Χαιρέας δέ, σφόδρα γὰρ περὶ Μινουκιανῷ ἔδεισε, μὴ 153
Chaerea and greatly for about Minucianus feared lest
διαφθαρείη μανίᾳ τῶν Γερμανῶν περιπεσών, ἕκαστόν
he-might-be-destroyed by-madness of-the Germans having-fallen-in-with each
τε τῶν στρατιωτῶν μετῄει προμηθεῖσθαι τῆς σωτηρίας
both of-the soldiers he-went-after to-take-forethought for-the safety

αὐτοῦ δεόμενος καὶ μὴ ἀπολώλοι πολλὴν ἐξέτασιν
his asking and lest he-had-perished much examination
ποιούμενος.
making

154 καὶ Μινουκιανὸν μὲν Κλήμης, ἀνάγεται γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῦτον,
and Minucianus indeed Clemens is-brought-up for to this-one
μεθίησιν πολλῶν μετ᾽ ἄλλων συγκλητικῶν δικαιοσύνην
releases of-many with others senators justice
τῇ πράξει συμμαρτυρῶν καὶ ἀρετὴν τοῖς ἐντεθυμημένοις
to-the deed bearing-witness and virtue to-those having-conceived
καὶ πράσσειν μὴ ἀποδεδειλιακόσι·
and to-do not having-turned-coward

155 τυραννίδα γὰρ εἰς ὀλίγον μὲν ἐλθεῖν ἡδονῇ τοῦ ὑβρίζειν
tyranny for for little indeed to-come by-pleasure of-the to-outrage
ἐπαρθεῖσαν, εὐτυχεῖς δὲ οὐκ ἄρα ποιεῖσθαι τὰς ἀπαλλαγὰς
elated fortunate but not then to-make the releases
τοῦ βίου μίσει τῆς ἀρετῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν χρωμένης,
from-the life with-hatred of-the virtue toward him dealing

156 ἀλλὰ μετὰ τοιαύτης δυστυχίας, ὁποίᾳ δὴ Γάιον συνελθεῖν
but with such misfortune with-which indeed Gaius to-have-come
πρὸ τῶν ἐπαναστάντων καὶ συνθέντων τὴν ἐπίθεσιν
before of-those having-risen-up and having-composed the attack
αὐτὸν ἐπίβουλον αὐτῷ γενόμενον καὶ διδάξαντα οἷς
himself plotter against-himself having-become and having-taught by-what
ὑβρίζων ἀφόρητος ἦν ἀφανίζων τοῦ νόμου τὴν πρόνοιαν
outraging unbearable he-was effacing of-the law the providence
πολέμῳ πρὸς αὐτὸν χρῆσθαι τοὺς φιλτάτους, καὶ νῦν
with-war toward him to-deal the dearest and now
λόγῳ μὲν εἶναι τούτους οἳ ἀνῃρήκασι Γάιον, ἔργῳ δὲ
in-word indeed to-be these who have-killed Gaius in-deed but
αὐτὸν ὑφ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ κεῖσθαι διολωλότα.
himself by himself to-lie destroyed

The physician Alcyon smuggles some spectators out. The senate and people assemble; the people seek the murderers angrily, and the senate only in appearance. When the crowd demands who did it, the consular Valerius Asiaticus says he wishes he had. The consuls issue an edict condemning Gaius. Meanwhile soldiers seize Claudius from his house, deciding that democracy cannot govern so vast an empire and that he, Gaius' uncle, will reward them. Sentius Saturninus rises in the senate and speaks for freedom, recovered after so long, and against the tyranny that has ruined Rome since Julius Caesar, and urges honors for the tyrant's slayers, above all Chaerea, who has freed them more truly than Cassius and Brutus.

Ἤδη δὲ καὶ τὸ θέατρον ἐξανίστατο τῶν φυλακῶν αἳ 157
already and also the theater was-rising-out-of the guards which
τὸ κατ' ἀρχὰς πάνυ πικραὶ ἐγένοντο ὑπανίσως. αἰτία
the at beginnings very harsh had-become slackening cause
δ' ἦν τοῦ προθύμως καὶ διαφευξομένου τῶν θεωρῶν
and was of-the eagerly also going-to-escape of-the spectators
Ἀλκύων ὁ ἰατρός, συναρπασθεὶς μὲν ὡς ἐπὶ θεραπείᾳ
Alcyon the physician snatched-up indeed as for treatment
τινῶν τραυματιῶν, ἐκπέμψας δὲ τοὺς συνόντας λόγῳ
of-some wounded having-sent-out but those with-him in-word
μὲν ὡς καὶ μετελευσομένους ὁπόσα εἰς τὴν ἴασιν τοῖς
indeed as also going-to-fetch as-many-as for the cure for-the
τραυματίαις πρόσφορα, τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς ὡς πείσοιντο
wounded useful the but true so-that they-might-escape
κινδύνου τοῦ κατειληφότος.
of-danger the having-seized
ἐν τούτῳ δὲ βουλῆς τε γίνεται σύνοδος καὶ ὁ δῆμος 158
in this and of-council both happens meeting and the people
ἥπερ καὶ εἰώθασιν ἐκκλησιάζειν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς καταστάς
where also they-are-wont to-assemble in the forum having-stood

ἐν ζητήσει τῶν σφαγέων τῶν Γαΐου ἦσαν, ὁ μὲν δῆμος
in search of-the slayers of-the of-Gaius they-were the indeed people
καὶ πάνυ ἐκθύμως, δοκεῖν δὲ καὶ ἡ βουλή.
also very passionately to-seem and also the council
159 καὶ ἦν γὰρ Ἀσιατικὸς Οὐαλέριος ὑπατικὸς ἀνήρ, οὗτος ἐπὶ
and was for Asiaticus Valerius consular man this-one before
τὸν δῆμον καταστάς, θορυβούντων καὶ δεινὸν τιθεμένων
the people having-stood them-clamoring and terrible considering
τὸ ἔτι λανθάνον τῶν τὸν αὐτοκράτορα ἀπεκτονότων,
the still escaping-notice of-those the emperor having-killed
ἐπεὶ προθύμως πάντες αὐτὸν ἤροντο, τίς ὁ πράξας
when eagerly all him asked who the(-one) having-done
τυγχάνει, "εἴθε γὰρ ἔγωγε" φησί.
happens if-only for I he-says
160 καὶ προύθεσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ ὕπατοι διάγραμμα Γαΐου μὲν
and set-out and also the consuls edict of-Gaius indeed
κατηγορίας ποιούμενοι, κελεύοντες δὲ τῷ τε δήμῳ καὶ
accusations making bidding but to-the both people and
τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐπὶ τὰ αὐτῶν ἀπιέναι, τῷ μὲν δήμῳ
the soldiers to the their-own to-go-away to-the indeed people
πολλὴν ἀνέσεως ἐπαγγελλόμενοι ἐλπίδα, τῷ στρατιωτικῷ
much of-relief promising hope to-the military
δὲ τιμῶν, εἰ ἐν κόσμῳ μείνειαν τῷ εἰωθότι μηδὲν
and of-honors if in order they-should-remain the usual in-nothing
ὑβρίζειν ἐξαγόμενοι· δέος γὰρ ἦν, μὴ ἐξαγριωσάντων
to-outrage being-led-on fear for there-was lest having-grown-savage
ἀπολαύσειεν τοῦ κακοῦ ἡ πόλις καθ' ἁρπαγὰς αὐτῶν
should-enjoy of-the evil the city at plunderings they
καὶ συλήσεις τῶν ἱερῶν τρεπομένων.
and robberies of-the temples turning

ἐφθάκει δὲ ἤδη τῶν βουλευτῶν τὸ πᾶν πλῆθος 161
had-been-first and already of-the senators the whole multitude
συνειλεγμένον καὶ μάλιστα οἱ εἰς τοῦ Γαΐου συνελθόντες
gathered and most those for the of-Gaius having-come-together
τὸν φόνον θράσει τε ἤδη χρώμενοι κἀν καταφρονήματι
the murder with-boldness both already using and-in contempt
μεγάλῳ ὄντες ὡς εἰς αὐτοὺς ἀνακειμένων δὴ τῶν
great being as on them resting indeed the
πραγμάτων.
affairs
Ἐν τούτῳ δὴ ὄντων τῶν πραγμάτων αἰφνίδιον ἁρπάζεται 162
in this indeed being the affairs suddenly is-seized
Κλαύδιος ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας· οἱ γὰρ στρατιῶται συνόδου
Claudius from the house the for soldiers meeting
γενομένης αὐτοῖς, ἀλλήλοις καὶ αὑτοῖς λόγον δόντες
having-happened to-them with-each-other and to-themselves account having-given
περὶ τοῖς ποιητέοις ἑώρων δημοκρατίαν ἀδύνατόν τε ὂν
about the-things to-be-done saw democracy impossible both being
ἐν κράτει τοσῶνδε ἄν ποτε γενέσθαι πραγμάτων ἐξικομένην
in control of-so-great — ever to-come affairs having-come
τε οὐκ ἐπ᾽ ἀγαθῷ τῷ αὐτῶν κτήσασθαι τὴν ἀρχήν,
both not for good the their-own to-acquire the rule
εἴ τέ τις τῶν κατὰ ἕνα σχήσοι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, εἰς 163
if and any of-those as one should-hold the empire in
πάντα λυπηρὸν αὐτοῖς εἶναι μὴ οὐ συνεργοῖς τῆς ἀρχῆς
all-things grievous to-them to-be not not as-helpers of-the rule
καταστᾶσιν.
having-been-established
καλῶς οὖν ἔχειν ἀκρίτων ἔτι ὄντων τῶν πραγμάτων 164
well then to-be undecided still being the affairs
ἡγεμόνα αἱρεῖσθαι Κλαύδιον, πάτρωά τε ὄντα τοῦ
leader to-choose Claudius uncle both being of-the

τεθνεῶτος καὶ τῶν εἰς τὴν βουλὴν συλλεγομένων οὐδενὸς
dead-man and of-those into the council gathering of-no-one
οὕτινος οὐκ ἀξιολογώτερον προγόνων τε ἀρετῇ καὶ τῷ
whom not more-notable of-ancestors both in-virtue and in-the
κατ᾽ αὐτὸν παιδείαν μεμελετηκότι,
as-to himself learning having-practiced
165 καὶ σταθέντα αὐτοκράτορα τιμήσειν τε τὰ εἰκότα
and established emperor to-be-going-to-honor both with-the fitting
καὶ ἀμείψεσθαι δωρεαῖς. ταῦτα διανοοῦνταί τε καὶ
and to-be-going-to-requite with-gifts these-things they-intend both and
ἔπραξαν ἐκ τοῦ παραχρῆμα.
did from the instant
166 ἥρπαστο μὲν δὴ Κλαύδιος ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ. Ναῖος
had-been-seized indeed indeed Claudius by the military Gnaeus
δὲ Σέντιος Σατορνῖνος καίτοι πεπυσμένος τὴν Κλαυδίου
but Sentius Saturninus and-yet having-learned the of-Claudius
ἁρπαγήν, καὶ ὡς ἐπιδικάζοιτο τῆς ἀρχῆς ἄκων μὲν δοκεῖν,
seizure and that he-was-claiming of-the rule unwilling indeed to-seem
τὸ δὲ ἀληθὲς καὶ βουλήσει τῇ αὐτοῦ, καταστὰς ἐπὶ τῆς
the but truth also by-will the his-own having-stood before the
συγκλήτου καὶ μηδὲν ἐκπλαγεὶς ἐλευθέροις τε καὶ γενναίοις
senate and not-at-all dismayed to-free both and noble
ἀνδράσι πρεπόντως ποιεῖται παραίνεσιν τάδε λέγων.
men fittingly makes exhortation these-things saying
167 “Εἰ καὶ ἄπιστον, ὦ Ῥωμαῖοι, διὰ τὸ χρόνῳ πολλῷ ἥκειν
if even incredible O Romans because-of the in-time long to-come
ἀνέλπιστον οὖσαν ἡμῖν, ἀλλ᾽ οὖν ἔχομεν τοῦ ἐλευθέρου τὴν
unhoped-for being for-us but then we-have of-the freedom the
ἀξίωσιν, ἄδηλον μὲν ἐφ᾽ ὁπόσον παρατείνουσαν καὶ γνώμῃ

θεῶν οἳ ἐχαρίσαντο αὐτὴν κειμένην, εὐφραίνειν δὲ ἀρκοῦσαν
of-gods who granted it lying to-gladden but sufficing
καὶ εἴπερ ἀφαιρεθείημεν αὐτῆς εὐδαιμονίᾳ συνάγουσαν·
and if-indeed we-should-be-deprived of-it to-happiness bringing-together
ἱκανὴ γὰρ καὶ μία ὥρα τοῖς ἀρετῆς αἰσθανομένοις καὶ 168
sufficient for even one hour for-those of-virtue perceiving also
μετ᾽ αὐτοτελοῦς τῆς διανοίας ἐν αὐτοδίκῳ τῇ πατρίδι καὶ
with independent the mind in self-governing the fatherland and
μετὰ νόμων, οἷς ποτε ἤνθησε, διαιτωμένῃ βιωθεῖσα.
with laws by-which once it-flourished governed lived
ἐμοὶ δὲ τῆς μὲν πρότερον ἐλευθερίας ἀμνημονεῖν ἔστι 169
for-me and of-the indeed former freedom to-be-unmindful it-is
διὰ τὸ κατόπιν αὐτῆς γεγονέναι, τῆς δὲ νῦν
because-of the after it to-have-been-born of-the but present
ἀπλήστως πιμπλαμένῳ μακαριστούς τε ἡγεῖσθαι τοὺς
insatiably being-filled most-blessed both to-consider those
ἐγγενηθέντας καὶ ἐντραφέντας αὐτῇ καὶ τῶν θεῶν οὐδὲν
born and reared in-it and than-the gods in-nothing
μειόνως ἀξίους τιμῆς τούσδε τοὺς ἄνδρας, οἳ ὀψὲ γοῦν
less worthy of-honor these the men who late at-least
κἀν τούτῳ τῆς ἡλικίας ἡμᾶς γεύσαντας αὐτῆς.
even-in this of-the age us having-given-a-taste of-it
καὶ εἴη μὲν εἰς πᾶν τοῦ αἰῶνος τὸ ἐπιὸν παραμεῖναι 170
and may-it-be indeed for all of-the age the coming to-remain
τὴν ἄδειαν αὐτῆς, ἀρκοῦσα δ᾽ ἂν γένοιτο καὶ ἥδε ἡ
the security of-it sufficient but — would-be even this the
ἡμέρα τοῖς τε νεωτέροις ἡμῶν καὶ ὅσοι γεγηράκαμεν
day for-the both younger of-us and as-many-as have-grown-old
αἰὼν ὑπείληπται, τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις δόντων ἀγαθῶν αὐτῆς
an-age is-reckoned to-the older giving goods of-it
ἐν ὁμιλίᾳ γεγονότες μετασταῖεν, τοῖς δὲ
in fellowship having-been they-might-depart to-the and

171 νεωτέροις παίδευμα ἀρετῆς καταστάσεως ἀγαθὸν ἀνδράσι
younger lesson of-virtue of-condition good to-men
τοῖσδε ἀφ᾽ ὧν γεγόναμεν, νῦν δὲ ἤδη καὶ ἡμῖν διὰ
these from whom we-have-come now and already also for-us because-of
τὴν ἄρτι ὥραν οὐδὲν προυργιαίτερον εἴη τοῦ ζῆν μετὰ
the present hour nothing more-important might-be than-the to-live with
ἀρετῆς, ἣ μόνη ἐκφροντίζει τῷ ἀνθρωπείῳ τὸ ἐλεύθερον·
virtue which alone devises for-the human-race the freedom
172 ἐγὼ γὰρ τὰ παλαιὰ οἶδα ἀκοῇ παραλαβών, οἷς
I for the old-things know by-hearing having-received with-which
δὲ ὄψει ὁμιλήσας ᾐσθόμην, οἵων κακῶν τὰς πολιτείας
and by-sight having-met I-perceived with-what evils the states
ἀναπιμπλᾶσιν αἱ τυραννίδες, κωλύουσαι μὲν πᾶσαν
fill the tyrannies hindering indeed all
ἀρετὴν καὶ τοῦ μεγαλόφρονος ἀφαιρούμεναι τὸ ἐλεύθερον,
virtue and of-the high-mindedness taking-away the freedom
κολακείας δὲ καὶ φόβου διδάσκαλοι καθιστάμεναι διὰ
of-flattery but and of-fear teachers set-up because-of
τὸ μὴ ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ τῶν νόμων, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ τῇ ὀργῇ τῶν
the not to wisdom of-the laws but to the anger of-those
ἐφεστηκότων καταλιπεῖν τὰ πράγματα.
presiding to-leave the affairs
173 ἀφ᾽ οὗ γὰρ Ἰούλιος Καῖσαρ φρονήσας ἐπὶ καταλύσει
from when for Julius Caesar having-set-his-mind on dissolution
τῆς δημοκρατίας καὶ διαβιασάμενος τὸν κόσμον τῶν
of-the democracy and having-violated the order of-the
νόμων τὴν πολιτείαν συνετάραξεν, κρείσσων μὲν τοῦ
laws the state threw-into-confusion stronger indeed than-the
δικαίου γενόμενος, ἥσσων δὲ τοῦ κατ᾽ ἰδίαν ἡδονὴν αὐτῷ
just having-become weaker but than-the for private pleasure to-him

κομιοῦντος, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅ τι τῶν κακῶν οὐ διέτριψεν
going-to-bring not it-is what ever of-the evils not wore-down
τὴν πόλιν,
the city
φιλοτιμηθέντων πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἁπάντων, οἳ ἐκείνῳ 174
having-vied with each-other all who to-that-one
διάδοχοι τῆς ἀρχῆς κατέστησαν, ἐπ᾽ ἀφανισμῷ τοῦ πατρίου
successors of-the rule were-established for effacing of-the ancestral
καὶ ὡς ἂν μάλιστα τῶν πολιτῶν ἐρημίαν τοῦ γενναίου
and as — most of-the citizens dearth of-the noble
καταλείποιεν, διὰ τὸ οἴεσθαι πρὸς ἀσφαλείας εἶναι τῆς
they-might-leave because-of the to-think for safety to-be the
αὐτῶν τὸ κιβδήλοις ἀνδράσιν ὁμιλεῖν καὶ τῶν ἀρετῇ
their-own the with-base men to-associate and of-those in-virtue
προύχειν πεπιστευμένων οὐ μόνον ὑφαιρεῖν τι τοῦ
to-excel believed not only to-take-away anything of-the
αὐχήματος, ἀλλ᾽ εἰς τὸ πᾶν ἐπιφημίζειν αὐτῷ τοῖς ὀλέθροις
boast but to the all to-proclaim it to-the destructions
τῶν ἁπάντων ἀριθμῷ τε πολλῶν ὄντων καὶ βαρύτητα 175
the all in-number both many being and heaviness
ἀνύποιστον ἐπιδειξαμένων καθ᾽ ἃ ἕκαστος ἦρξεν εἷς ὢν
unbearable having-displayed in what each ruled one being
ὁ Γάιος ὁ σήμερον τεθνεὼς πλέω τε τῶν πάντων
— Gaius the today dead more both than-the all
δεινὰ ἀπεδείξατο οὐ μόνον εἰς τοὺς συμπολίτας, ἀλλὰ
terrible-things displayed not only toward the fellow-citizens but
καὶ εἰς τοὺς συγγενεῖς καὶ φίλους ἀπαίδευτον τὴν ὀργὴν
also toward the kinsmen and friends untaught the anger
ἐπαφιείς, ὁμοίως τοῖς ἅπασι καὶ μείζω κακὰ ἐντριβόμενος
letting-loose alike on-the all and greater evils inflicting

ἀδίκως τὴν τιμωρίαν εἰσπράσσεσθαι, ὠργικότων
unjustly the punishment to-exact of-those-who-had-been-angry
ὁμοίως εἴς τε ἀνθρώπους ἐξαγριώσας καὶ τοὺς θεούς.
alike toward both men having-grown-savage and the gods
176 τυραννίδι γὰρ οὐ κερδαίνεται τὸ ἡδὺ οὐδὲ μεθ' ὕβρεως
by-tyranny for not is-gained the pleasant nor with insolence
ἀποχρῆται, οὐκ εἰς τὰ χρήματα λελυπῆσθαι καὶ γαμετάς,
it-is-content not as-to the money to-have-injured and wives
ἀλλὰ τὸ πᾶν κέρδος ἐκ τοῦ πανοικεσίᾳ διοχλουμένου
but the all gain from the with-whole-household being-harassed
τῶν ἐχθρῶν.
of-the enemies
177 ἐχθρὸν δὲ τυραννίδι πᾶν τὸ ἐλεύθερον, εἰς εὔνοιάν τε
hostile and to-tyranny all the free to goodwill both
ἐκκαλεῖσθαι αὐτὴν καὶ τοῖς ἐν ὀλίγῳ τιθεμένοις ὁπόσα
to-call-forth it and for-those in little reckoning as-many-as
πεπόνθοιεν οὐκ ἔστιν. ἐξεπιστάμενοι γὰρ ὧν ἀναπλήσειαν
they-had-suffered not it-is knowing-well for of-what they-filled
κακῶν ἔστιν οὓς κἀκεῖνοι μεγαλοφρόνως καταφρονημάτων
evils there-are whom also-those high-mindedly of-contempts
τε πρὸς τὴν τύχην, αὐτοὶ λανθάνειν αὐτοὺς ὧν πράξειαν
both toward the fortune themselves to-escape-notice them of-what they-did
μὴ δυνάμενοι μόνως πιστεύουσιν κτήσεσθαι τοῦ ὑπόπτου
not being-able only they-believe to-be-going-to-acquire of-the suspect
τὸ ἀδεές, εἰ παντελὲς αἱρεῖσθαι δυνηθεῖεν αὐτούς.
the security if completely to-remove they-could them
178 τοιούτων δὴ κακῶν ἀπογεγονότες καὶ ὑποτελεῖς ἀλλήλοις
of-such indeed evils having-been-freed and accountable to-each-other
καταστάντες, αἴπερ πολιτειῶν ἐχεγγυώταται πρός τε
having-been-established which-very of-states most-secure for both
τὸ παρὸν εὔνουν καὶ τὸ αὖθις ἀνεπιβούλευτον καὶ τὸ
the present goodwill and the hereafter freedom-from-plots and the

δόξαν οἰκείαν τῷ ὀρθουμένῳ τῆς πόλεως δικαιοί
having-seemed-good proper to-the being-set-right of-the city just
τε προνοῆσαι διὰ τὸ εἰς κοινὸν αὐτοῦ τὴν ὠφέλειαν
both to-take-forethought because-of the to common of-it the benefit
ἀπαντᾶν καὶ ἀνταποφήνασθαι γνώμην,
to-come and to-declare-in-reply judgment
οἷς μὴ ἀρέσκοιτο τὰ προεισηγημένα, οὐδαμῶς 179
to-whom not might-be-pleasing the-things proposed-beforehand in-no-way
εἰς κίνδυνον φέρον, διὰ τὸ μὴ δεσπότην εἶναι τὸν
to danger bearing because-of the not master to-be the
ἐφεστηκότα, ᾧ ἀνεύθυνόν τε βλάπτοντι τὴν πόλιν
presiding-one to-whom unaccountable both harming the city
καὶ αὐτοκράτορι μεταστήσασθαι τοὺς εἰρηκότας.
and absolute to-remove those having-spoken
καὶ τέτροφε τὴν τυραννίδα οὐδὲν νεώτερον πλὴν ἥ 180
and has-nourished the tyranny nothing newer except the
τε ἀργία καὶ τὸ πρὸς οὐδὲν τῶν ἐκείνῃ θελομένων
both idleness and the to nothing of-the-things by-it wished
ἀντιλογίᾳ χρώμενον·
contradiction using
τῆς γὰρ εἰρήνης τοῦ τερπνοῦ ἡσσώμενοι καὶ μεμαθηκότες 181
of-the for peace by-the delight being-overcome and having-learned
ἀνδραπόδων ἐν τρόπῳ ζῆν ὁπόσοι τε ἐπαΐομεν συμφορὰς
of-slaves in manner to-live as-many-as both we-hear-of misfortunes
ἀνηκέστους κακοῖς τε τοῖς πέλας ἐπείδομεν φόβῳ
incurable evils both the of-neighbors we-looked-on by-fear
τοῦ μετ᾽ ἀρετῆς τελευτᾶν μετὰ αἰσχύνης τῆς ὑστάτης
of-the with virtue to-die with shame the last
ὑπομένοντες τὰς τελευτάς.
enduring the deaths

182 πρῶτον δὲ τοῖς ἀραμένοις τὸν τύραννον τιμὰς αἵτινες
first and to-those having-removed the tyrant honors whichever
μέγισται ταύτας εἰσενεγκεῖν, μάλιστα δὲ Χαιρέᾳ τῷ
greatest these to-bring-in most and to-Chaerea —
Κασσίῳ· σὺν γὰρ τοῖς θεοῖς εἷς ἀνὴρ οὗτος ποριστὴς
Cassius with for the gods one man this-one provider
ἡμῖν καὶ γνώμῃ καὶ χερσὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας πέφηνεν.
to-us both by-judgment and by-hands of-the freedom has-appeared
183 οὗ καλὸν μὴ ἀμνημονεῖν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ τῆς τυραννίδος ὑπὲρ
of-whom fine not to-be-unmindful but under the tyranny for
ἐλευθερίας τῆς ἡμετέρας προβεβουλευκότος τε ἅμα καὶ
freedom the our having-planned-beforehand both at-once and
προκεκινδυνευκότος, ἐπὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ψηφίσασθαι τὰς
having-run-danger-beforehand under the freedom to-vote the
τιμὰς πρώτόν τε ἀνεπιτάκτους τοῦτο ἂν ἀποφήνασθαι.
honors first both unbidden this — to-declare
184 ἔργον δὲ κάλλιστον καὶ ἐλευθέροις ἀνδράσι πρέπον
deed and finest and for-free men fitting
ἀμείβεσθαι τοὺς εὐεργέτας, οἷος δὴ καὶ ἀνὴρ οὗτος περὶ
to-requite the benefactors such indeed also man this-one toward
ἡμᾶς πάντας γέγονεν οὐδὲν παραπλήσιος Κασσίῳ καὶ
us all has-become in-nothing like Cassius and
Βρούτῳ τοῖς Γάιον Ἰούλιον ἀνῃρηκόσιν, ἐπεί γε οἱ μὲν
Brutus those Gaius Julius having-killed since indeed they indeed
στάσεως καὶ πολέμων ἐμφυλίων ἀρχὰς ἐπανερρίπισαν
of-faction and of-wars civil beginnings fanned-up
τῇ πόλει, οὗτος δὲ μετὰ τῆς τυραννοκτονίας καὶ τῶν
for-the city this-one but with the tyrannicide also from-the
ἐντεῦθεν δεινῶν ἀπήλλαξεν τὴν πόλιν."
from-there terrors freed the city

Trebellius Maximus pulls from Sentius' finger a ring carved with Gaius' image, which Sentius in his zeal had forgotten. When Chaerea asks the consuls for the watchword, they give Liberty, the first such handing over in a hundred years. Chaerea then sends the tribune Lupus to kill Gaius' wife Caesonia, whom some blame for maddening him with a drug, and their daughter. Lupus finds her beside the body, reproaching Gaius for not heeding her; she bares her throat, and both are killed. Josephus sums up Gaius' cruelty and vices.

Σέντιος μὲν τοιούτοις ἐχρῆτο τοῖς λόγοις καὶ τῶν 185
Sentius indeed such used the words and the
βουλευτῶν ἡδονῇ δεχομένων καὶ ὁπόσοι τῶν ἱππέων
senators with-pleasure receiving and as-many-as of-the knights
παρῆσαν. ἀναπηδήσας δέ τις Τρεβέλλιος Μάξιμος
were-present having-leaped-up and one Trebellius Maximus
περιαιρεῖται τὸν δακτύλιον τοῦ Σεντίου, λίθος δὲ εἰκόνα
takes-off the ring — of-Sentius stone and image
Γαΐου ἐγγεγλυμμένος ἐδεσμεύετο αὐτῷ, καὶ σπουδῇ τῶν
of-Gaius engraved-with was-bound to-it also by-zeal of-the-things
λεγομένων καὶ ὧν ἐπενόει πράξειν, ὅπερ ᾤετο, ἐν
said and of-what he-intended to-do which he-thought in
λήθῃ γεγονότι καὶ ἡ μὲν γλυφὴ κατάγνυται.
forgetfulness having-been and the indeed carving is-broken
προεληλύθει δὲ ἡ νὺξ ἐπὶ μέγα, καὶ Χαιρέας δὲ 186
had-advanced and the night to great-extent and Chaerea and
σημεῖον ᾔτει τοὺς ὑπάτους, οἱ δὲ ἐλευθερίαν ἔδοσαν. ἐν
watchword asked the consuls they and freedom gave in
θαύματι δὲ ἦν αὐτοῖς καὶ ὅμοια ἀπιστίᾳ τὰ δρώμενα·
wonder and was to-them and like to-disbelief the-things done

187 ἔτει γὰρ ἑκατοστῷ, μεθ' ὃ τὴν δημοκρατίαν τὸ πρῶτον
in-year for hundredth after which the democracy the first
ἀφῃρέθησαν, ἐπὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους σημείου ἡ παράδοσις·
they-were-deprived-of to the consuls of-watchword the handing-over
οὗτοι γὰρ πρότερον ἢ τυραννηθῆναι τὴν πόλιν κύριοι
these for before than to-be-tyrannized the city lords
τῶν στρατιωτικῶν ἦσαν.
of-the military-things were

188 Χαιρέας δὲ τὸ σημεῖον λαβὼν παρεδίδου τῶν
Chaerea and the watchword having-received handed-it-on of-the
στρατιωτῶν τοῖς πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον συνεστηκόσιν.
soldiers to-those with the senate having-stood
ἦσαν δὲ εἰς σπείρας τέσσαρας, οἷς τὸ ἀβασίλευτον
they-were and into cohorts four to-whom the kingless
τιμιώτερον τῆς τυραννίδος προύκειτο.
more-honored than-the tyranny was-set-forth

189 καὶ οἵδε μὲν ἀπῄεσαν μετὰ τῶν χιλιάρχων, ἀνεχώρει δὲ
and these indeed went-away with the tribunes withdrew and
ἤδη καὶ ὁ δῆμος περιχαρὴς καὶ ἐλπίδος καὶ φρονήματος
already also the people overjoyed and of-hope and of-spirit
ἐπὶ τῷ κτησαμένῳ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν αὐτοῖς, οὐκέτι ἐπὶ τῷ
at the having-acquired the leadership for-them no-longer at the
ἐφεστηκότι. καὶ τὰ πάντα ἦν ὁ Χαιρέας αὐτοῖς.
presiding-one and the all-things was — Chaerea to-them

190 Χαιρέας δὲ ἐν δεινῷ τιθέμενος περιεῖναι τὴν θυγατέρα
Chaerea and in terrible reckoning to-survive the daughter
Γαΐου καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα, ἀλλὰ μὴ πανοικὶ τὸν ὄλεθρον
of-Gaius and the wife but not with-whole-house the destruction
αὐτῷ συντυχεῖν, ἐπεὶ καὶ πᾶν ὅ τι ὑπολείποιτο αὐτῶν
him to-befall since also all what ever might-be-left of-them
ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ τῆς πόλεως λειφθήσεσθαι καὶ τῶν νόμων,
for destruction of-the city to-be-going-to-be-left and of-the laws

ἄλλως τε πρόθεσιν ἐσπουδακὼς τελειώσασθαι τὴν αὐτοῦ
especially both purpose having-been-eager to-complete the his-own
καὶ πάνυ εὐφρᾶναι μῖσος τὸ πρὸς Γάιον, Ἰούλιον ἐκπέμπει
and very to-gratify hatred the toward Gaius Julius sends-out
Λοῦππον ἕνα τῶν χιλιάρχων κτενοῦντα τήν τε γυναῖκα
Lupus one of-the tribunes going-to-kill the both wife
Γαΐου καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα.
of-Gaius and the daughter
Κλήμεντος δ' ὄντι συγγενεῖ τῷ Λούππῳ τὴν ἐπὶ τοιοῖσδε 191
of-Clemens and being kinsman — to-Lupus the for such-things
προύθεσαν λειτουργίαν, ὅπως μετασχὼν κἂν ἐπὶ τοιούτοις
they-assigned service so-that having-shared even-if in such-things
τῆς τυραννοκτονίας ἀγάλλοιτο ἀρετῇ πρὸς τῶν
of-the tyrannicide he-might-glory with-virtue in-the-eyes-of the
πολιτικῶν, ὡς καὶ τοῦ παντὸς ἐπιβουλεύματος δόξειε
citizens as also of-the whole plot he-might-seem
κοινωνεῖν τὸ πρῶτον συνθεμένων.
to-share the first of-those-having-composed-it
ἐνίοις δὲ τῶν συνωμοτῶν καὶ ὠμὸν ἐδόκει τὸ ἐπὶ τῇ 192
to-some and of-the conspirators also savage it-seemed the against the
γυναικὶ θράσει χρησόμενον αὐτῷ διὰ τὸ Γάιον φύσει τῇ
woman boldness going-to-use it because-of the Gaius by-nature the
αὐτοῦ χρώμενον ἢ συμβουλῇ τῇ ἐκείνης τὰ πάντα πρᾶξαι,
his-own using than by-counsel the her the all-things to-have-done
ἐξ ὧν ἥ τε πόλις ἀπηγορεύκει τοῖς κατειληφόσι
from which the both city had-given-up under-the having-seized
κακοῖς καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν ὅ τι καὶ ἄνθος ἦν ἀπώλετο.
evils and of-the citizens what ever also flower was perished
οἱ δὲ καὶ τῶν μὲν ἐπὶ τοιούτοις ἐνεκάλουν αὐτῇ 193
they but also of-the indeed in such-things charged against-her
γνώμην τὸ δὲ πᾶν καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ Γαΐου πεπραγμένων
judgment the but whole also of-the by Gaius done

κακῶν ἐκείνῃ τὴν αἰτίαν ἐπέφερον φάρμακον τῷ Γαΐῳ
evils to-her the cause attributed drug — to-Gaius
δοῦσαν ἐννοιῶν δούλωσιν καὶ ἐρώτων ἐπαγωγὰς αὐτῇ
having-given of-thoughts enslavement and of-loves inducements to-her
ψηφιούμενον, εἰς μανίαν μεταστάντος τὰ πάντα αὐτὴν
going-to-procure into madness changed the all-things her
εἶναι τὴν νεναυπηγημένην ἐπὶ ταῖς Ῥωμαίων τύχαις
to-be the(-one) having-built for the of-Romans fortunes
καὶ τῆς ὑποτελούσης αὐτοῖς οἰκουμένης.
and of-the subject to-them inhabited-world
194 καὶ πέρας κυρωθὲν ὥστε αὐτὴν τελευτᾶν, οὐδὲν γὰρ
and end having-been-ratified so-that her to-die nothing for
οἱ ἀποσπεύδοντες οἷοί τε ὠφελεῖν ἦσαν, ἐστέλλετο ὁ
those dissuading able — to-help were was-sent —
Λοῦππος· ἐβραδύνετο δὲ οὐδὲν μελλήσει τῇ κατ' αὐτόν,
Lupus was-delayed and in-nothing by-delay the as-to him
ὥστε μὴ οὐκ εἰς καιρὸν δεδιακονῆσθαι τοῖς ἀπεσταλκόσιν,
so-that not not in season to-have-served for-those having-sent
θέλων ἐπ' οὐδαμοῖς μεμπτὸς εἶναι τῶν ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ
wishing in nothing blameworthy to-be of-the-things for benefit
τοῦ δήμου πεποιημένων.
of-the people done
195 παρελθὼν δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ βασιλείου λαμβάνει τὴν Καισωνίαν,
having-come and to the palace takes — Caesonia
γυνὴ δ' ἦν τοῦ Γαΐου, παρακατακειμένην τῷ σώματι τοῦ
wife and she-was — of-Gaius lying-beside the body of-the
ἀνδρὸς χαμαιπετεῖ καὶ πάντων ἐν ἀτυχίᾳ ὧν χαρίζοιτ'
husband fallen-on-the-ground and of-all in want of-what would-grant
ἂν ὁ νόμος τοῖς μεταστᾶσιν, αἵματί τε ἀναπεφυρμένην ἐκ
— the law to-those departed with-blood both bespattered from
τῶν τραυμάτων καὶ πολλῇ τῇ ταλαιπωρίᾳ συμφερομένην
the wounds and with-much the misery being-overwhelmed

τῆς θυγατρὸς παρερριμμένης· ἠκούετό τε ἐν τοῖς τοιοῖσδε
the daughter thrown-beside was-heard both in the such-things
οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἢ κατάμεμψις τοῦ Γαΐου, ὡς πιθανὴν οὐ
nothing other than reproach — of-Gaius as persuasive not
σχόντος πολλάκις προηγορευκυῖαν αὐτήν.
having-had often having-forewarned her
ἐπ᾽ ἀμφότερα δὲ οὗτος ὁ λόγος καὶ τότε εἰκάζετο καὶ νῦν 196
on both-sides and this the word both then was-conjectured and now
ἐφ᾽ ὁμοίοις πρόκειται τῇ διανοίᾳ τῶν ἀκροατῶν πρὸς ὅ
on like-terms is-set-forth to-the mind of-the hearers to what
τι θελήσειαν ῥοπὰς τὰς αὐτοῦ προστιθέμενοι. οἱ μὲν
ever they-might-wish inclinations the their-own adding the(-ones) indeed
γὰρ ἀποσημαίνειν ἔφασαν τὸν λόγον, ὡς συμβουλευομένης
for to-signify said the word as of-her-advising
ἀποστάντα μανιῶν καὶ τοῦ εἰς τοὺς πολίτας ὠμοῦ
having-left madnesses and the toward the citizens savagery
μετρίως καὶ μετ᾽ ἀρετῆς ἐξηγεῖσθαι τῶν πραγμάτων, καὶ
moderately and with virtue to-lead the affairs and
παρ᾽ αὐτὸν ἀπολέσθαι τρόπῳ τῷ αὐτοῦ χρώμενον.
beside himself to-have-perished manner the his-own using
οἱ δέ, ὡς λόγου τοῦ περὶ τῶν συνωμοτῶν 197
the(-others) but as of-word the about the conspirators
ἐπιφοιτήσαντος Γαΐῳ κελεύσειεν μηδὲν εἰς ἀναβολὰς
having-come to-Gaius she-would-have-bidden nothing for delays
ἀλλ᾽ ἐκ τοῦ ὀξέος πάντας μεταχειρισάμενον αὐτούς, κἂν
but at the sharp all having-taken-in-hand them even
εἰ μηδὲν ἀδικοῖεν, ἐν ἀδεεῖ κινδύνων καταστῆναι, καὶ
if in-nothing they-did-wrong in fearlessness of-dangers to-be-established and
τοῦτ᾽ εἶναι τὸ ἐπονειδιζόμενον, ὡς προηγορευκυίας
this to-be the-thing reproached as her-having-forewarned
διαπράξασθαι μαλακῷ γεγονότι.
to-accomplish soft having-become

198 καὶ τὰ μὲν λεχθέντα ὑπὸ τῆς Καισωνίας καὶ
and the-things indeed said by — Caesonia and
ὁποῖα οἱ ἄνθρωποι περὶ αὐτῆς ἐφρόνουν ταῦτα ἦν.
what-sort-of-things the men about her thought these were
ἡ δὲ ἐπεὶ θεᾶται τὴν πρόσοδον τοῦ Λούππου τό τε
she and when she-sees the approach — of-Lupus the both
σῶμα τοῦ Γαΐου προυδείκνυεν καὶ ἂσσον ἰέναι παρεκάλει
body — of-Gaius showed-forth and nearer to-come she-urged
μετ᾽ ὀλοφυρμοῦ καὶ δακρύων.
with lamentation and tears
199 ἐπεὶ δὲ τῇ διανοίᾳ συνεστηκότα ἑώρα τὸν Λοῦππον, καὶ
when and in-the mind standing-firm she-saw — Lupus and
μηδὲν προσιόντα ὡς ἐπὶ πρᾶξιν οὐκ αὐτῷ κεχαρισμένην,
in-nothing approaching as for deed not to-him pleasing
γνωρίσασα ἐφ᾽ ὅ τι ἐχώρει τήν τε σφαγὴν ἐγύμνου καὶ
having-recognized for what ever he-came the both throat bared and
πάνυ προθύμως ποτνιωμένη ὁποῖα εἰκὸς τοὺς οὕτω σαφῶς
very eagerly crying-out as likely those so clearly
ἐν ἀπογνώσει τοῦ ζῆν γεγονότας καὶ κελεύουσα μὴ μέλλειν
in despair of-the to-live having-become and bidding not to-delay
ἐπὶ τελειώσει τοῦ δράματος οὗ ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς συνέθεσαν.
for completion of-the drama which for them they-composed
200 καὶ ἥδε μὲν εὐψύχως ταύτῃ τελευτᾷ ὑπὸ τοῦ Λούππου
and she indeed bravely in-this-way dies by — Lupus
καὶ ἐπ᾽ αὐτῇ τὸ θυγάτριον. καὶ Λοῦππος ταῦτα
and after her the little-daughter and Lupus these-things
προαπαγγέλλων ἔσπευδεν τοῖς περὶ τὸν Χαιρέαν.
reporting-ahead hastened to-those about — Chaerea
201 Γάιος μὲν δὴ τέταρτον ἐνιαυτὸν ἡγεμονεύσας Ῥωμαίων
Gaius indeed indeed fourth year having-ruled of-Romans
λείποντα τεσσάρων μηνῶν οὕτως τελευτᾷ, ἀνὴρ καὶ
lacking four months thus dies man even

πρότερον ἢ τῇ ἀρχῇ συνῆλθεν σκαιός τε καὶ
before than with-the rule he-came-together perverse both and
κακοτροπίας εἰς τὸ ἄκρον ἀφιγμένος, ἡδονῇ τε ἡσσώμενος
of-bad-character to the height having-come by-pleasure both being-overcome
καὶ φίλος διαβολῇ, καὶ τὰ μὲν φοβερὰ καταπεπληγμένος
and friend to-slander and the indeed fearful-things struck-with-terror
καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐφ᾽ οἷς θαρσήσειε φονικώτατος, τῆς
and because-of this on what he-might-be-bold most-murderous of-the
τε ἐξουσίας ἐφ᾽ ἑνὶ μόνῳ πιμπλάμενος τῷ ὑβρίζειν, εἰς
both power for one only being-filled the to-outrage against
οὓς ἥκιστα ἐχρῆν ἀλόγῳ μεγαλοψυχίᾳ χρώμενος
whom least it-was-needful with-irrational magnificence using
καὶ πορισταὶς ἐκ τοῦ κτείνειν καὶ παρανομεῖν.
and providers from the to-kill and to-break-law
καὶ τοῦ μὲν θείου καὶ νομίμου μείζων ἐσπουδακὼς 202
and than-the indeed divine and lawful greater having-been-eager
εἶναί τε καὶ δοκεῖν, ἡσσώμενος δὲ ἐπαίνων τῆς πληθύος
to-be both and to-seem being-overcome but by-praises of-the multitude
καὶ πάντα, ὁπόσα αἰσχρὰ κρίνας ὁ νόμος ἐπιτιμᾷ
and all-things as-many-as shameful having-judged the law censures
τιμωρίαν, ἐνόμισεν ἀρετῆς.
punishment he-considered of-virtue
καὶ φιλίας ἀμνήμων, εἰ καὶ πλείστη τε καὶ διὰ 203
and of-friendship unmindful if even greatest both and through
μεγίστων γένοιτο, οἷς τότε ὀργισθείη ἐκπλήξει
greatest-things it-should-be with-whom then he-was-angered with-terror
κολάσεως καὶ ἐλαχίσταις, πολέμιον δὲ ἡγούμενος πᾶν
of-punishment even for-least-things hostile and considering all
τὸ ἀρετῇ συνερχόμενον, ἀναντίλεκτον ἐπὶ πᾶσιν οἷς
the with-virtue coming-together unquestionable in all-things which
κελεύσειε τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν λαμβάνων·
he-might-bid the desire taking

204 ὅθεν καὶ ἀδελφῇ γνησίᾳ συνῆν, ἐξ οὗ καὶ μάλιστα αὐτῷ
whence also with-sister true-born he-consorted from which also most for-him
φύεσθαι παρὰ τοῖς πολίταις ἤρξατο σφοδρότερον τὸ μῖσος
to-grow among the citizens began more-vehemently the hatred
διὰ τὸ πολλοῦ χρόνου μὴ ἱστορημένον εἴς τε ἀπιστίαν
because-of the for-long time not recorded to both disbelief
καὶ ἔχθραν τὴν πρὸς τὸν πράξαντα παρακαλεῖν.
and hatred the toward the(-one) having-done to-rouse

IX · THE FINDING OF CLAUDIUS

Josephus judges Gaius: he did nothing great but begin a harbor at Rhegium for the Egyptian grain ships, and though an able orator in Greek and Latin and well educated, his learning could not withstand his power. Claudius, cut off when Gaius is killed, hides in a dark corner of the palace, where a soldier named Gratus finds him, recognizes him as Germanicus, and hails him as leader. The soldiers carry him to the camp, eager to make him emperor for love of Germanicus; the people welcome it as a curb on the senate.

205 ἔργον δὲ μέγα ἢ βασίλειον οὐδὲν αὐτῷ πεπραγμένον εἴποι
deed and great or royal none by-him done might-say
ἄν τις ἢ ἐπ᾽ ὠφελείᾳ τῶν συνόντων καὶ αὖθις ἀνθρώπων
— anyone or for benefit of-those with-him and hereafter men
ἐσομένων, πλήν γε τοῦ περὶ Ῥήγιον καὶ Σικελίαν
going-to-be except indeed the-thing at Rhegium and Sicily
ἐπινοηθέντος ἐν ὑποδοχῇ τῶν ἀπ᾽ Αἰγύπτου σιτηγῶν πλοίων·
devised for reception of-the from Egypt grain-carrying ships

τοῦτο δὲ ὁμολογουμένως μέγιστόν τε καὶ ὠφελιμώτατον 206
this and admittedly greatest both and most-useful
τοῖς πλέουσιν· οὐ μὴν ἐπὶ τέλος γε ἀφίκετο, ἀλλ᾽
for-those sailing not indeed to end indeed it-arrived but
ἡμίεργον ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀμβλυτέρως αὐτῷ ἐπιπονεῖν κατελείφθη.
half-finished by the more-dully for-him to-toil was-left
αἴτιον δ᾽ ἦν ἡ περὶ τὰ ἀχρεῖα σπουδὴ καὶ τὸ δαπανῶντα 207
cause and was the about the useless-things zeal and the spending
εἰς ἡδονάς, αἳ καταμόνας ἔμελλον ὠφελεῖν, αὐτῷ ὑφαιρεῖν
on pleasures which alone were-going to-benefit himself to-take-away
τῆς ἐπὶ τοῖς κρείσσοσιν ἀνωμολογημένοις φιλοτιμίας.
from-the for the better acknowledged ambition
ἄλλως δὲ ῥήτωρ τε ἄριστος καὶ γλώσσῃ τῇ Ἑλλάδι καὶ 208
otherwise and orator both best and in-tongue the Greek and
τῇ Ῥωμαίοις πατρίῳ σφόδρα ἠσκημένος συνίει τ᾽ ἐκ
the to-Romans ancestral very trained he-understood both from
τοῦ παραχρῆμα καὶ τοῖς ὑφ᾽ ἑτέρων συντεθεῖσίν τε
the instant and to-the-things by others composed both
καὶ ἐκ πλείονος προσυγκειμένοις ἀντειπὼν ἐκ τοῦ
and from more-time prearranged having-spoken-against at the
ὀξέος φανῆναι πιθανώτερος ἐν μεγίστῳ πράγματι παρ᾽
sharp to-appear more-persuasive in greatest matter beyond
ὁντινοῦν γενόμενος, εὐκολίᾳ τε εἰς αὐτὸ τῆς φύσεως καὶ
anyone-whatever having-become by-facility both for it of-the nature and
τῷ εἰς ἰσχὺν αὐτῇ προσλαβεῖν μελέτην τοῦ ἐπιπονεῖν.
by-the for strength to-it to-take-in-addition practice of-the to-toil
ἀδελφοῦ γὰρ παιδὸς υἱεῖ γεγονότι Τιβερίου, οὗ καὶ 209
of-brother for of-son to-son having-been of-Tiberius of-whom also
διάδοχος γίνεται, μέγα ἀνάγκασμα παιδείας ἀντέχεσθαι
successor he-becomes great compulsion of-learning to-cling
διὰ τὸ καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς τὰ πρῶτα ἐν αὐτῇ κατορθῶν
because-of the also himself to the first in it succeeding

διαπρέπειν, καὶ συνεφιλοκάλει Γάιος συγγενοῦς τε ἀνδρὸς
to-excel and loved-the-fine-along-with Gaius of-kinsman both man
καὶ ἡγεμόνος εἴκων ἐπιστολαῖς ἐπρώτευσέν τε τῶν κατ᾽
and leader yielding to-letters he-was-first both of-the as-to
αὐτὸν πολιτῶν.
him citizens

210 οὐ μὴν ἀντισχεῖν οἷά τε ἐγένετο αὐτῷ τὰ ἐκ τῆς
not indeed to-hold-out able — became for-him the-things from the
παιδείας συλλεγέντα ἀγαθὰ πρὸς τὸν ἐπελθόντα ὄλεθρον
learning collected goods against the having-come destruction
αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τῆς ἐξουσίας· οὕτως ἄρα δυσπόριστον ἡ ἀρετὴ
to-him from the power so then hard-to-provide the virtue
τοῦ σωφρονεῖν, οἷς ἀνυπεύθυνον τὸ πράσσειν ῥᾳστώνῃ
of-the to-be-temperate for-whom unaccountable the to-act with-ease
πάρεστιν.
is-present

211 φίλοις μὲν κεχρῆσθαι καὶ πάντα ἀξιολόγοις
friends indeed to-have-had and in-all-things notable
ὑποσπουδασθεὶς τὸ κατ᾽ ἀρχὰς ὑπό τε παιδείας καὶ
courted the at beginnings by both learning and
δόξης ζήλου τῶν κρειττόνων, μέχρι δὴ τῷ περιόντι
glory of-emulation of-the better-ones until indeed by-the excess
τοῦ ὑβρίζειν ἀπαμφίασις εὐνοίᾳ τῇ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐχρήσαντο
of-the to-outrage stripping-off to-the-goodwill the toward him they-used
μίσους ὑποφυέντος ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐπιβουλευθεὶς τελευτᾷ.
hatred having-grown-up by them plotted-against he-dies

212 Κλαύδιος δέ, καθάπερ ἀνώτερον ἔφην, ἀπορρήξεως αὐτῷ τῶν
Claudius and as above I-said breaking-off for-him of-the
Γαΐου ὁδῶν γενομένης καὶ τοῦ οἴκου θορυβηθέντος
of-Gaius roads having-happened and the house having-been-thrown-into-uproar
πάθει τῆς Καίσαρος τελευτῆς, ἐν ἀμηχάνοις ὢν περὶ τῆς
by-the-suffering of-the Caesar's death in helplessness being about the

σωτηρίας ἔν τινι στενωπῷ κατειλημμένος ἔκρυπτεν ἑαυτὸν
safety in some alley overtaken hid himself
οὐδεμίαν κινδύνων αἰτίαν πλὴν τῆς γενναιότητος ὑφορώμενος·
no of-dangers cause except the nobility suspecting
μέτριον γὰρ ἰδιώτης ὢν ἦγεν αὑτὸν καὶ τοῖς 213
moderate for private-man being he-conducted himself and with-the
πᾶσιν ἀρκῶν ἦν, παιδείᾳ τε συνιὼν καὶ μάλιστα
all-things content he-was with-learning both consorting and most
τῇ Ἑλληνίδι καὶ παντὸς τοῦ εἰς θόρυβον ἀνακειμένου
with-the Greek and from-all the toward uproar tending
παντοίως ἀπαλλάσσων αὑτόν.
in-every-way freeing himself
τότε δὲ πτοίας κατειληφυίας τὸν ὄχλον καὶ τοῦ βασιλείου 214
then and terror having-seized the crowd and the palace
παντὸς στρατιωτικῆς μανίας ἀνάπλεω γεγονότος καὶ δειλίας
all of-soldierly madness full having-become and cowardice
καὶ ἀταξίας ἰδιωτῶν οἷον ἀπειληφότων σωματοφυλάκων,
and disorder of-private-men such-as having-cut-off of-bodyguards
οἱ περὶ τὸ στρατηγικὸν καλούμενον, ὅπερ ἐστὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς
those about the praetorian-guard called which is of-the army
καθαρώτατον, ἐν βουλῇ περὶ τοῖς πρακτέοις ἦσαν, ὅσοι
purest in council about the-things to-be-done were as-many-as
δὲ καὶ παρετύγχανον, τὴν μὲν Γαΐου τιμωρίαν ἐν ὀλίγῳ
and also happened-to-be-present the indeed of-Gaius punishment in little
τιθέμενοι διὰ τὸ κατὰ δίκην αὐτῷ τὰς τύχας συνελθεῖν,
reckoning because-of the according-to justice to-him the fortunes to-have-come
τὰ δὲ περὶ αὐτοὺς ἀνεσκοποῦντο μᾶλλον ὃν τρόπον 215
the-things and about themselves considered rather in-what manner
σχήσοι καλῶς καὶ τῶν Γερμανῶν τε ἐν τιμωρίαις τῶν
it-would-be well and the Germans both in punishments of-the

σφαγέων ὄντων ὠμότητος χάριτι τῆς ἑαυτῶν μᾶλλον
slayers being of-savagery for-the-sake the their-own rather
ἢ τοῦ συμφέροντος τοῖς πᾶσιν.
than of-the advantage for-the all
216 ὑφ' ὧν ἁπάντων ὁ Κλαύδιος ἐθορυβεῖτο δεδιὼς περὶ τῆς
by which all — Claudius was-disturbed fearing for the
σωτηρίας, ἄλλως τ' ἐπειδὴ καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀσπρήναν
safety especially both since also of-those about — Asprenas
ἐτεθέατο τὰς κεφαλὰς παραφερομένας· εἱστήκει δὲ κατά
he-had-seen the heads being-carried-past he-stood and at
τι προσβατὸν ὀλίγαις βαθμῖσι χωρίον ὑπεσταλκὼς τῷ
some approachable by-few steps place having-withdrawn into-the
κατ' αὐτὸ σκότῳ.
at it darkness
217 καὶ Γρᾶτος τῶν περὶ τὸ βασίλειόν τις στρατιωτῶν
and Gratus of-those about the palace one of-soldiers
θεασάμενος καὶ τοῦ μὲν ἀκριβωσομένου τὴν ὄψιν ἀμαθὴς ὢν
having-beheld and of-the indeed going-to-distinguish the face ignorant being
διὰ τὸν σκότον, τοῦ δὲ ἄνθρωπον εἶναι τὸν ὑπολοχῶντα
because-of the darkness of-the but man to-be the one-lurking
κριτὴς εἶναι μὴ ἀπηλλαγμένος, προσῄει τε ἐγγύτερον καὶ
judge to-be not freed approached both nearer and
ὑποχωρεῖν ἠξιωκότος ἐπέκειτο καὶ καταλαβὼν ἐπιγνωρίζει
to-withdraw him-having-asked pressed-on and having-caught recognizes
"Γερμανικὸς μὲν οὗτος," φησὶν πρὸς τοὺς ἑπομένους,
Germanicus indeed this-is he-says to those following
"καὶ στησώμεθα τοῦτον ἡγεμόνα φερόμενοι."
and let-us-set-up this-one leader carrying-him
218 Κλαύδιος δὲ ἐφ' ἁρπαγῇ παρεσκευασμένους ὁρῶν καὶ
Claudius and for seizure prepared seeing and
δείσας, μὴ κατὰ φωνὴν ἀποθάνοι τὴν Γαΐου, φειδὼ
having-feared lest for the-voice he-should-die the of-Gaius sparing

σχεῖν ἠξίου τοῦ κατ᾽ αὐτὸν ἀνεπαχθοῦς ἀνάμνησιν αὐτοῖς
to-have he-asked of-the as-to himself inoffensiveness remembrance to-them
ὑποτιθεὶς καὶ τοῦ ἀπρομηθοῦς τῶν γεγονότων.
suggesting and of-the unforeseeingness of-the-things having-happened
καὶ ὁ Γρᾶτος μειδιάσας ἐπισπᾶται τῆς δεξιᾶς, καί 219
and — Gratus having-smiled draws-to-him by-the right and
"παῦσαι," φησίν, "μικρολογούμενος περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας
stop he-says being-petty about the safety
δέον σε μεγαλοφρονεῖσθαι περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας, ἣν
it-being-needful you to-be-high-minded about the empire which
οἱ θεοὶ Γάιον ἀφῃρημένοι τῇ σῇ συνεχώρησαν ἀρετῇ
the gods Gaius having-deprived to-the your granted virtue
πρόνοιαν τῆς οἰκουμένης λαβόντες. ἀλλ᾽ ἴθι καὶ τῶν
forethought of-the inhabited-world having-taken but come and of-the
προγόνων ἀπολάμβανε τὸν θρόνον."
ancestors take-up the throne
ἀνεβάσταζέν τε αὐτὸν οὐ πάνυ τοῖς ποσὶ βαίνειν 220
lifted-up both him not at-all with-the feet to-walk
δυνάμενον ὑπό τε φόβου καὶ χάρματος τῶν εἰρημένων.
being-able by both fear and joy at-the-things said
Συνεστρέφοντο δὲ περὶ τὸν Γρᾶτον ἤδη καὶ πλείους τῶν 221
gathered and about — Gratus already also more of-the
σωματοφυλάκων καὶ θεωροῦντες τὸν Κλαύδιον ἀγόμενον
bodyguards and seeing — Claudius being-led
δόξῃ τοῦ ἐπὶ κόλασιν ἕλκεσθαι τῶν ἐπὶ τοιοῖσδε ζημιῶν
in-opinion of-the for punishment to-be-dragged of-the for such-things penalties
ὡς ἄνδρα ἀπράγμονα διὰ βίου τοῦ παντὸς καὶ κινδύνοις
as man untroubled through life the all and dangers
οὔτι μετρίως ἐπὶ τῆς Γαΐου ἀρχῆς ὡμιληκότα, τινὲς δὲ καὶ
not moderately under the of-Gaius rule having-met some and also
αὐτῶν τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἐντρέπειν κρίσιν ἠξίουν τὴν περὶ αὐτόν.
of-them to-the consuls to-turn judgment deemed-fit the about him

222 καὶ πλειόνων τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ συστρεφομένων φυγαί τε
and more of-the military gathering flights both
ἦσαν τοῦ ὁμίλου καὶ προόδων ἀπορία τῷ Κλαυδίῳ
there-were of-the throng and of-going-forward helplessness — for-Claudius
δι᾽ ἀσθένειαν τοῦ σώματος, ἐπεὶ καὶ οἱ τὸ φορεῖον
through weakness of-the body since also those the litter
αὐτοῦ φέροντες περὶ τὴν ἁρπαγὴν αὐτοῦ παραγενομένης
his carrying at the seizure of-him having-happened
φυγῆς ἔσωζον αὑτοὺς ἀπ᾽ ἐλπίδος θέμενοι τὴν σωτηρίαν
flight saved themselves from hope having-placed the safety
τοῦ δεσπότου.
of-the master

223 ἐν εὐρυχωρίᾳ δὲ τοῦ Παλατίου γενομένοις, πρῶτον δὲ
in open-space and — of-Palatium having-come first and
οἰκηθῆναι τῆς Ῥωμαίων πόλεως τοῦτο παραδίδωσιν ὁ περὶ
to-be-inhabited of-the of-Romans city this hands-down the about
αὐτῆς λόγος, καὶ ἤδη τοῦ δημοσίου ἀντιλαμβανομένοις
it account and already of-the public-treasury taking-hold
πολὺ πλείων ἡ ἐπιφοίτησις ἦν τῶν στρατιωτῶν χαρᾷ
much greater the influx was of-the soldiers with-joy
τὴν ὄψιν δεχομένοις τοῦ Κλαυδίου, περὶ πλείστου τε ἦν
the sight receiving — of-Claudius about most both it-was
αὐτοῖς αὐτοκράτορα στήσασθαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον εὐνοίᾳ τε
to-them emperor to-set-up the man by-goodwill both
τῇ Γερμανικοῦ, ἀδελφὸς δὲ ἦν αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ μέγα πᾶσιν
the of-Germanicus brother and he-was his for great to-all
τοῖς ὡμιληκόσιν καταλελοιπὼς κλέος τὸ αὐτοῦ.
those having-met having-left glory the his-own

ἀναλογισμός τε αὐτοὺς εἰσῄει τῆς τε πλεονεξίας τῶν ἐν 224
reckoning both them entered of-the both greed of-those in
τῇ συγκλήτῳ δυναστευόντων καὶ ὁπόσα ἐπὶ τῆς πρὶν
the senate holding-power and as-many-as under the former
ἀρχῆς ἡμάρτητο αὐτῇ.
rule had-been-erred by-it
πρὸς δὲ καὶ τὸ ἀμήχανον τοῦ πράγματος κατενόουν, καὶ 225
besides and also the impossibility of-the matter they-perceived and
πάλιν εἰς ἑνὸς ἀρχὴν μεθισταμένων τῶν ὅλων κινδύνους
again into of-one rule being-transferred of-the whole dangers
αὐτοῖς φέρειν δι᾽ ἑνὸς κτησαμένου τὴν ἀρχὴν παρ᾽ ὃν
to-them to-bring through one having-acquired the rule beside whom
ἐπιχωρήσει καὶ εὐνοίᾳ τῇ αὐτῶν λαβόντα Κλαύδιον
he-will-allow and by-goodwill the their-own having-received Claudius
μνημονεύσεις τε χάριτος αὐτοῖς ἀποδιδόντα τιμήν, ἣ
remembrances both of-favor to-them repaying honor which
ἐπὶ τοιούτοις γένοιτ᾽ ἂν ἀρκοῦσα.
for such-things would-be — sufficient
Ταῦτα πρός τε ἀλλήλους καὶ δι᾽ ἑαυτοὺς διεξήεσαν καὶ 226
these-things to both each-other and because-of themselves they-went-through and
τοῖς ἀεὶ προσπίπτουσιν διηγοῦντο. οἱ δὲ πυνθανόμενοι
to-those ever falling-in they-narrated the(-ones) and learning
προθύμως ἐδέχοντο τὴν πρόκλησιν, συμφράξαντές τε
eagerly received the summons having-closed-ranks both
καὶ περικλάσαντες ἦγον ἐπὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου φοράδην
and having-wheeled-around they-led to the camp carried
ἀναβαστάσαντες, ὡς μὴ ἐμποδίζοιτο αὐτοῖς ἡ ἔπειξις.
having-lifted-up so-that not might-be-hindered for-them the haste
διειστήκεσαν δὲ αἱ γνῶμαι τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῶν ἐκ τῆς 227
had-been-divided and the judgments of-the people and of-those from the
βουλῆς· οἱ μὲν ἀξιώματός τε τοῦ πρότερον ὀρεγόμενοι
council the(-ones) indeed of-dignity both of-the former reaching-for

καὶ δουλείαν ἔπακτον αὐτοῖς ὕβρει τῶν τυράννων
and slavery imposed on-them by-insolence of-the tyrants
γενομένην φιλοτιμούμενοι διαδιδράσκειν χρόνῳ παρασχόν,
having-become being-ambitious to-escape with-time having-allowed
228 ὁ δὲ δῆμος φθόνῳ τε πρὸς ἐκείνην καθιστάμενος καὶ τῶν
the and people with-envy both toward that-one being-set and of-the
πλεονεξιῶν αὐτῆς ἐπιστόμισμα τοὺς αὐτοκράτορας εἰδὼς καὶ
greed its curb the emperors knowing and
αὐτοῦ καταφυγὴν ἔχαιρεν Κλαυδίου τῇ ἁρπαγῇ στάσιν τε
its-own refuge rejoiced at-Claudius' the seizure faction both
ἔμφυλον, ὁποία καὶ ἐπὶ Πομπηίου γένοιτο, ἀπαλλάξειν
civil such-as also under Pompey might-have-happened to-be-going-to-rid
αὐτῶν ὑπελάμβανον τοῦτον αὐτοκράτορα καθισταμένου.
from-them they-supposed this-one emperor being-established

X · AGRIPPA BETWEEN CLAUDIUS AND THE SENATE

The senate, wanting back its old dignity and freedom, sends the tribunes Veranius and Brocchus to urge Claudius to yield to it, but he is emboldened by the soldiers and by King Agrippa, who has laid out Gaius' body and urges him not to let the empire slip. Agrippa then goes to the senate as if from a banquet, warns that its rabble cannot face Claudius' veterans, and is sent as envoy, but privately tells Claudius of the senate's confusion and teaches him to answer firmly. Claudius answers the envoys mildly and gives the guards a donative. When barely a hundred senators meet, the soldiers shout for a single ruler; Minucianus and others aspire to the throne, and Chaerea scorns an emperor whose watchword comes from the charioteer Eutychus.

229 γνοῦσα δ' ἡ βουλὴ τὸν Κλαύδιον ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν
having-learned and the council — Claudius by the soldiers
ἀφιγμένον εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον πέμπει πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἄνδρας
having-arrived into the camp sends to that-one men

ἀρετῇ τοὺς ἐξ αὐτῶν, οἳ διδάξειαν μὴ δεῖν ἐπὶ
in-virtue the from them who might-teach not to-be-needful for
καθέξει τῆς ἀρχῆς βιάζεσθαι,
holding of-the rule to-use-force
παραχωρεῖν δὲ τῇ συγκλήτῳ τοσῶνδε ἀνδρῶν ἕνα ὄντα 230
to-yield but to-the senate of-so-many men one being
ἡσσώμενον καὶ τῷ νόμῳ παραχωροῦντα τοῦ ἐπὶ τοῖς
being-overcome and to-the law yielding of-the for the
κοινοῖς κόσμου τὴν πρόνοιαν, μνημονεύοντα ὧν οἱ
public-things order the forethought remembering of-what the
πρότεροι τύραννοι κακώσειαν τὴν πόλιν καὶ ὧν ὑπὸ
former tyrants harmed the city and in-what by
Γαΐου καὶ αὐτὸς κινδυνεύσειεν σὺν αὐτοῖς, μηδὲ μισήσαντα
Gaius also himself was-in-danger with them nor having-hated
τὴν βαρύτητα τῆς τυραννίδος ὑφ᾽ ἑτέρων πρασσομένης
the heaviness of-the tyranny by others being-practiced
τῆς ὕβρεως αὐτὸν ἐθελουσίως ἐπὶ παροινίᾳ θαρσεῖν τῆς
of-the insolence himself willingly for drunken-violence to-be-bold of-the
πατρίδος.
fatherland
καὶ πειθομένῳ μὲν τοῦ πρότερον ἀπράγμονος τὴν ἀρετὴν 231
and to-him-obeying indeed of-the formerly untroubled the virtue
ἐπιδεικνυμένῳ βέβαιον τιμάς τε ὑπάρξειν, αἳ ὑπὸ
displaying secure honors both to-be-going-to-be which by
ἐλευθέρων ψηφισθεῖεν τῶν πολιτῶν, καὶ ἐπιχωρήσει τοῦ
free might-be-voted the citizens and by-yielding of-the
νόμου τὸ μέρος ἄρχοντά τε καὶ ἀρχόμενον κερδανεῖν
law the part ruling both and being-ruled to-be-going-to-gain
ἔπαινον ἀρετῆς.
praise of-virtue

232 εἰ δὲ ἀπονοοῖτο μηδὲν ἐκ τῆς Γαΐου τελευτῆς
if but he-should-be-mad in-nothing from the of-Gaius death
σωφρονιζόμενος οὔτι γε αὐτοὶ ἐπιτρέψειν τῆς τε
sobered not-at-all indeed they to-be-going-to-allow of-the both
γὰρ στρατιᾶς πολὺ εἶναι τὸ συνεστηκὸς αὐτοῖς ὅπλων
for army much to-be the standing-together with-them of-arms
τε εὐπορίαν καὶ πληθὺν οἰκετῶν, οἳ χρήσαιντο αὐτοῖς.
both abundance and multitude of-slaves who might-use them
233 μέγα δὲ μέρος τήν τε ἐλπίδα εἶναι καὶ τὴν τύχην, τούς
great and part the both hope to-be and the fortune the
τε θεοὺς οὐκ ἄλλοις συμμαχεῖν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μετ᾽ ἀρετῆς
both gods not others to-ally-with but those with virtue
καὶ τοῦ καλοῦ τοὺς ἀγῶνας ποιουμένοις. εἶναι δὲ τούτους,
and the fine the contests making to-be and these
οἳ ἂν περὶ ἐλευθερίας μάχωνται τῆς πατρίδος.
who — for freedom may-fight of-the fatherland
234 Καὶ οἱ μὲν πρεσβευταὶ Οὐηράνιός τε καὶ Βρόγχος,
and the indeed envoys Veranius both and Brocchus
δήμαρχοι δὲ ἦσαν ἀμφότεροι, τοῖσδε ἐχρῶντο τοῖς
tribunes-of-the-people and were both these used the
λόγοις καὶ καθικέτευον τοῖς γόνασιν αὐτοῦ προσπεσόντες
words and supplicated at-the knees his having-fallen-before
μηδαμῶς πολέμοις καὶ κακοῖς ἐμβαλεῖν τὴν πόλιν,
in-no-way into-wars and evils to-throw the city
θεωροῦντες στρατιᾶς πληθύι τὸν Κλαύδιον πεφραγμένον
seeing of-army with-multitude — Claudius fenced
καὶ τὸ μηδὲν τοὺς ὑπάτους ὄντας συγκρίσει τῇ πρὸς αὐτόν.
and the nothing the consuls being in-comparison the to him
235 εἴ τε τῆς ἀρχῆς ὀρέγοιτο, παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς δέχεσθαι
if both the rule he-should-reach-for from the council to-receive
διδομένην· αἰσιώτερον γὰρ καὶ εὐδαιμονέστερον χρῆσθαι
it-given more-auspiciously for and more-happily to-use

τὸν μὴ μετὰ ὕβρεως ἀλλ᾽ εὐνοίᾳ τῶν διδόντων
the(-one) not with insolence but by-goodwill of-those giving
παραλαμβάνοντα.
receiving
Κλαύδιος δέ, ἠπίστατο γὰρ μεθ᾽ οἵας αὐθαδείας 236
Claudius and he-knew for with what-kind-of arrogance
ἀποσταλεῖεν, καὶ πρὸς τὸ παρὸν γνώμῃ τῇ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ
they-had-been-sent and for the present in-judgment the their-own to the
μετριώτερον τρεπόμενος, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ περὶ αὐτοὺς
more-moderate turning not indeed but also by-the for them
φόβῳ διαναστὰς ἅμα μὲν θάρσει τῶν στρατιωτῶν
fear having-roused-himself at-once indeed by-courage of-the soldiers
ἅμα δὲ Ἀγρίππου τοῦ βασιλέως κελεύοντος μὴ προέσθαι
at-once and Agrippa the king bidding not to-let-go
τῶν χειρῶν τηλικαύτην ἀρχὴν ἥκουσαν αὐτόματον.
from-the hands so-great rule having-come of-itself
πράξας μὲν καὶ περὶ Γάιον οἷον εἰκὸς ἄνδρα ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ 237
having-done indeed also for Gaius such-as likely man by him
διὰ τιμῆς ἠγμένον, καὶ γὰρ τὸν νεκρὸν περιέσπεν τοῦ
through honor led and for the corpse tended —
Γαΐου καὶ ἀναθέμενος ἐπὶ κλίνης καὶ περιστείλας ἐκ
of-Gaius and having-laid-it on couch and having-wrapped from
τῶν ἐνδεχομένων εἰς τοὺς σωματοφύλακας ὑπεχώρει,
the-things possible to the bodyguards he-withdrew
ζῆν μὲν τὸν Γάιον ἀπαγγέλλων κακοπαθοῦντί γε ὑπὸ
to-live indeed — Gaius announcing to-him-suffering at-least from
τραυμάτων ἰατροὺς μετέσεσθαι λέγων·
wounds physicians to-be-going-to-be-with saying
πυθόμενος δὲ τοῦ Κλαυδίου τὴν ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν 238
having-learned and — of-Claudius the by the soldiers
ἁρπαγὴν ὠθεῖτο πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ καταλαβὼν τεταραγμένον
seizure he-pushed to him and having-found disturbed

καὶ οἷόν τε ἐκχωρεῖν τῇ συγκλήτῳ ἀνήγειρεν
and ready — to-yield to-the senate roused-him
ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι κελεύων τῆς ἡγεμονίας.
to-take-hold bidding of-the empire
239 ταῦτα δὲ πρὸς τὸν Κλαύδιον εἰπὼν προσεχώρει πρὸς
these-things and to — Claudius having-said he-went-over to
αὐτόν, καὶ μετακαλούσης αὐτὸν τῆς βουλῆς χρισάμενος
him and summoning him the council having-anointed
μύροις τὴν κεφαλὴν ὡς ἀπὸ συνουσίας γινομένης
with-perfumes the head as from party happening
ἀναλύσεως αὐτῷ παρῆν καὶ ἤρετο τοὺς βουλευτάς, τί
departure to-him he-was-present and asked the senators what
πέπραχε Κλαύδιος.
has-done Claudius
240 τῶν δὲ τὰ ὄντα φαμένων καὶ προσανερομένων, ἥντινα
they and the-things being saying and asking-further what
γνώμην ἔχοι περὶ τοῖς ὅλοις, τελευτᾶν μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ
judgment he-might-have about the whole to-die indeed for the
κατ᾽ ἐκείνην εὐκλεοῦς ἕτοιμος ἦν τοῖς λόγοις, σκοπεῖν
in it glory ready he-was in-the words to-consider
δὲ ἐκέλευε περὶ τῷ συμφέροντι πᾶν ὅ τι καὶ εἰς
but he-bade about the advantage all what ever also to
ἡδονὴν φέροι ὑπεξελομένους·
pleasure might-tend setting-aside
241 χρείαν γὰρ εἶναι τοῖς ἀρχῆς μεταποιουμένοις καὶ ὅπλων
need for to-be for-those rule claiming both of-arms
καὶ στρατιωτῶν, οἳ φράξαιντο αὐτοῖς, μὴ καὶ ἀπαράσκευοι
and of-soldiers who might-fence for-them lest also unprepared
καταστάντες εἰς τάδε σφαλεῖεν.
having-come into these-things they-should-fail

ἀποκριναμένης δὲ τῆς βουλῆς ὅπλων τε εὐπορίαν καὶ 242
having-answered and the council of-arms both abundance and
χρήματα εἰσοίσειν, καὶ στρατιᾶς τὸ μέν τι αὐτοῖς
money to-be-going-to-contribute and of-army the indeed some to-them
εἶναι συνεστηκός, τὸ δὲ συγκροτήσειν ἐλευθερώσεως
to-be standing-together the(-other) and to-be-going-to-organize freeing
δούλων γενομένης. "εἴη μέν, ὦ βουλή," φησὶν ὁ Ἀγρίππας
of-slaves having-happened may-it-be indeed O council says — Agrippa
ὑποτυχών, "πράσσειν ὁπόσα θυμὸς ὑμῖν, λεκτέον δὲ οὐδὲν
having-replied to-do as-many-as spirit to-you one-must-say but nothing
ἐνδοιάσαντί μοι διὰ τὸ ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ φέρειν τὸν λόγον.
having-hesitated to-me because-of the for safety to-bear the word
ἴστε μὴν στρατόν, ὃς ὑπὲρ Κλαυδίου μαχεῖται, πλήθει 243
know indeed army which for Claudius will-fight by-length
χρόνου ὁπλιτεύειν μεμελετηκότα, τὰ δ' ἡμέτερα,
of-time to-serve-under-arms having-practiced the-things and ours
συγκλύδων ἀνθρώπων πλῆθος δ' ἔσται καὶ τῶν παρὰ
of-rabble men multitude and will-be and of-those beyond
δόξαν τῆς δουλείας ἀπηλλαγμένων, δυσκράτητα. πρὸς
expectation from-the slavery freed hard-to-control against
δὲ τεχνίτας μαχούμεθα προαγαγόντες ἄνδρας μηδ' ὅπως
and experts we-shall-fight having-brought-forward men not-even how
σπάσαι τὰ ξίφη εἰδότας.
to-draw the swords knowing
ὥστε μοι δοκεῖ πέμπειν ὡς Κλαύδιον πείσοντας 244
so-that to-me it-seems-good to-send to Claudius going-to-persuade
κατατίθεσθαι τὴν ἀρχήν, πρεσβεύειν τε ἕτοιμός εἰμι."
to-lay-down the rule to-be-envoy both ready I-am
Καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα εἶπεν, καὶ συγκαταθεμένων πεμφθεὶς 245
and he indeed these-things said and they-assenting sent
σὺν ἑτέροις τήν τε ταραχὴν τῆς βουλῆς διηγεῖται
with others the both confusion of-the council he-narrates

καταμόνας πρὸς τὸν Κλαύδιον ἐδίδασκέν τε ἡγεμονικώτερον
alone to — Claudius taught both more-imperiously
ἀποκρίνασθαι καὶ τῷ ἀξιώματι τῆς ἐξουσίας χρώμενον.
to-answer and with-the dignity of-the power dealing
246 ἔλεγεν οὖν Κλαύδιος, οὐ θαυμάζειν τὴν βουλὴν ἡδονῇ
said then Claudius not to-wonder the council with-pleasure
μὴ φέρουσαν ἄρχεσθαι διὰ τὸ ὠμότητι τετρῦσθαι
not bearing to-be-ruled because-of the by-savagery to-have-been-worn-out
τῶν πρότερον ἐπὶ τὸ ἡγεμονεύειν καταστάντων,
of-those formerly to the to-rule having-been-established
γεύσειν τε αὐτοὺς ἐπιεικείᾳ τῇ καθ' αὑτὸν
to-be-going-to-give-a-taste both them by-reasonableness the as-to himself
μετρίων καιρῶν, ὀνόματι μὲν μόνῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐσομένης,
of-moderate times in-name indeed only of-the rule going-to-be
ἔργῳ δὲ κοινῆς πᾶσι προκεισομένης εἰς μέσον. διὰ
in-deed but common to-all going-to-be-set-forth into middle through
πολλῶν δὲ καὶ ποικίλων ὠδευκότι πραγμάτων ἐν ὄψει
many and also various having-traveled affairs in sight
τῇ ἐκείνων καλῶς ἔχειν μὴ ἀπιστεῖν.
the their well to-be not to-distrust
247 καὶ οἱ μὲν πρέσβεις τοιούτων ἀκροάσει λόγων
and the indeed envoys of-such by-hearing of-words
καθομιληθέντες ἐξεπέμποντο. Κλαύδιος δὲ τῷ στρατῷ
won-over were-sent-out Claudius and to-the army
συλλεχθέντι διελέγετο ὅρκους λαμβάνων ἢ μὴν
gathered conversed oaths taking surely indeed
ἐμμενεῖν πίστει τῇ πρὸς αὐτόν, δωρεῖται τοὺς
to-be-going-to-abide by-the-faith the toward him he-presents the
σωματοφύλακας πεντακισχιλίαις δραχμαῖς κατὰ ἕκαστον
bodyguards with-five-thousand drachmas by each

ἄνδρα, τοῖς τε ἡγεμόσιν αὐτῶν ἀνάλογον τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ
man to-the both leaders of-them in-proportion to-the number
καὶ τοῖς ὅποι ποτὲ στρατοπέδοις ὑπισχνεῖτο τὰ ὅμοια.
and to-the wherever ever camps he-promised the like
Συνεκάλουν δὲ οἱ ὕπατοι τὴν βουλὴν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ 248
called-together and the consuls the council into the temple of-the
νικηφόρου Διός· ἔτι δὲ νὺξ ἦν. τῶν δὲ οἱ μὲν
victory-bearing Zeus still and night it-was of-them and the(-ones) indeed
ἐν τῇ πόλει κλέπτοντες ἑαυτοὺς ἐνεδοίαζον πρὸς τὴν
in the city hiding themselves hesitated at the
ἀκρόασιν, τοῖς δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ἰδίων ἀγρῶν ἐγεγόνεισαν
hearing to-the(-others) and to the own estates had-happened
ἔξοδοι προορωμένοις ᾗ χωρήσει τὸ πᾶν ἐν ἀπογνώσει
departures foreseeing where will-go the whole in despair
τοῦ ἐλευθέρου γεγονότος, καὶ πολὺ κρεῖττον ἐν ἀκινδύνῳ
of-the freedom having-become and much better in safety
τοῦ δουλεύειν ὑπειληφότες διαβιοῦν ἀργίᾳ τοῦ πονεῖν
of-the to-be-slaves having-supposed to-live-through in-idleness of-the to-toil
ἢ κτώμενοι τὸ ἀξίωμα τῶν πατέρων περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας
than acquiring the dignity of-the fathers about the safety
ἀμφίβολοι καταστῆναι.
doubtful to-become
συνελέγησαν δ' ὅμως ἑκατὸν οὐ πλείους, καὶ 249
were-gathered and nevertheless hundred not more and
διαβουλευομένων περὶ τῶν ἐν χερσὶν αἰφνίδιον αἴρεται
deliberating about the-things in hands suddenly is-raised
βοὴ τοῦ συνεστηκότος αὐτοῖς στρατιωτικοῦ στρατηγὸν
shout of-the standing-with them military commander
αὐτοκράτορα κελευόντων τὴν βουλὴν ἑλέσθαι καὶ μὴ
emperor bidding the council to-choose and not
φθείρειν πολυαρχίᾳ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν.
to-ruin by-rule-of-many the empire

250 καὶ τὸ μὲν καθ᾽ ἑαυτοὺς ἀπεφαίνοντο περὶ τοῦ μὴ
and the indeed as-to themselves they-declared about the not
πᾶσιν, ἀλλ᾽ ἑνὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐφέσιμον εἶναι, ὁρᾶν δὲ
to-all but to-one the rule entrusted to-be to-see but
ἐκείνοις ἐπιτρέπειν, ὅστις τοσαύτης προστασίας ἄξιος.
to-them to-leave who of-so-great presidency worthy
ὥστε ἐν ἀνίᾳ τὰ τῶν συγκλητικῶν ἦν πολὺ πλέον
so-that in distress the-things of-the senators were much more
δι᾽ ἁμαρτίαν μὲν τοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν αὐχήματος,
because-of failure indeed of-the in the freedom boast
φόβῳ δὲ τοῦ Κλαυδίου.
through-fear and — of-Claudius

251 οὐ μὴν ἀλλ᾽ ἦσαν οἱ ἐφιέμενοι γένους τε ἀξιώματι καὶ
not indeed but there-were those aspiring of-family both by-dignity and
οἰκειότησιν γάμου· καὶ γὰρ Μινουκιανὸς Μᾶρκον καὶ τὸ
by-connections of-marriage and for Minucianus Marcus both the
καθ᾽ αὑτὸν γενναιότητι ἀξιόλογον ὄντα καὶ δὴ ἀδελφὴν
as-to himself in-nobility notable being and indeed sister
Γαΐου γεγαμηκότα Ἰουλίαν, πρόθυμός τε ἦν ἀντιποιεῖσθαι
of-Gaius having-married Julia eager both was to-lay-claim-to
τῶν πραγμάτων, κατεῖχον δὲ οἱ ὕπατοι πρόφασιν ἐκ
the affairs restrained and the consuls pretext from
προφάσεως ἀναρτῶντες.
pretext hanging-on

252 Οὐαλέριον δὲ Ἀσιατικὸν Μινουκιανὸς ἐκ τῶν Γαΐου σφαγέων
Valerius and Asiaticus Minucianus from the of-Gaius slayers
ἀνεῖχε τοιούτων διανοιῶν. ἐγεγόνει δ᾽ ἂν φόνος οὔ τινος
held-back from-such intentions would-have-happened and — slaughter not of-any
ἐλάσσων ἐπιχωρηθέντων τῶν ἐπιθυμούντων τῆς ἡγεμονίας,
less having-been-allowed those desiring the empire
ὥστε ἀντιτάξασθαι Κλαυδίῳ, ἄλλως τε καὶ οἱ μονομάχοι,
so-that to-be-arrayed against-Claudius especially both also the gladiators

πλῆθος δ' ἦν αὐτῶν ἀξιόλογον, καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν 253
multitude and was of-them notable and of-the soldiers
οἱ νυκτοφυλακοῦντες ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως ἐρέται τε ὁπόσοι
those keeping-night-watch over the city rowers both as-many-as
συνέρρεον εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον, ὥστε τῶν μετιόντων τὴν
flowed-together into the camp so-that of-those pursuing the
ἀρχὴν οἱ μὲν φειδοῖ τῆς πόλεως, οἱ δὲ καὶ
rule the(-ones) indeed by-sparing of-the city the(-others) and also
φόβῳ τῷ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀπέστησαν.
by-fear the for themselves stood-aside
Ὑπὸ δὲ πρώτην ἀρχὴν τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ Χαιρέας καὶ οἱ 254
at and first beginning of-the day both Chaerea and those
σὺν αὐτῷ παρελθόντες ἐν ἐπιχειρήσει λόγων ἦσαν πρὸς
with him having-come-forward in attempt of-words were toward
τοὺς στρατιώτας. τῶν δὲ τὸ πλῆθος ὡς ὁρᾷ παύοντας
the soldiers of-them and the multitude as he-sees stopping
αὐτοὺς ταῖς χερσὶ καὶ τοῦ εἰπεῖν οἵους τε ἄρχεσθαι,
them with-the hands and of-the to-speak able — to-begin
ἀνεθορύβησεν μὴ ἐφιέναι ὥστε εἰπεῖν διὰ τὸ ὡρμῆσθαι
raised-an-uproar not to-allow so-as to-speak because-of the to-have-set-out
πάντας ἐπὶ τῷ μοναρχεῖσθαι, τὸν δὲ ἡγησόμενον ἐκάλουν
all for the to-be-ruled-by-one the and going-to-lead they-called-for
ὡς οὐκ ἀνεξόμενοι τὰς τριβάς.
as not going-to-endure the delays
τῇ συγκλήτῳ δὲ ἀπορία ἄρχειν τε καὶ ὧν ἀρχθεῖεν 255
for-the senate and perplexity to-rule both and in-what they-might-be-ruled
ἂν τρόπον οὔτε δεχομένων αὐτοὺς τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ τῶν
— manner neither receiving them the soldiers and the
Γαΐου σφαγέων συγχωρεῖν τοῖς στρατιώταις οὐκ ἐφιέντων.
of-Gaius slayers to-yield to-the soldiers not allowing

256 ἐν τοιούτοις δὲ ὄντων Χαιρέας τὴν ὀργὴν οὐκ ἀνασχόμενος
in such and being Chaerea the anger not having-restrained
πρὸς τὴν αἴτησιν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος δώσειν ἐπηγγέλλετο
at the demand of-the emperor to-be-going-to-give promised
στρατηγόν, εἴ τις αὐτῷ σημεῖον παρὰ Εὐτύχου κομίσειεν.
commander if anyone to-him watchword from Eutychus should-bring
257 ἦν δὲ ὁ Εὔτυχος οὗτος ἡνίοχος τοῦ καλουμένου πρασίνου
was and — Eutychus this charioteer of-the called green
περισπούδαστος Γαΐῳ, καὶ περὶ τὰς οἰκοδομὰς τῶν
much-courted by-Gaius and about the buildings of-the
στάσεων τοῦ περὶ ἐκεῖνον ἱππικοῦ τὸ στρατιωτικὸν
stables of-the about him horse-establishment the military
ἐτρίβετο ἀτίμοις ἐργασίαις ἐπικείμενον.
was-worn-out at-dishonorable labors set
258 εἰς ἅπερ ὁ Χαιρέας ὠνείδιζεν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἕτερα πολλὰ
for which — Chaerea reproached them and other many
τοιαῦτα, τήν τε κεφαλὴν κομιεῖν τοῦ Κλαυδίου· δεινὸν
such-things the both head to-be-going-to-bring — of-Claudius terrible
γάρ, εἰ μετὰ μανίαν παραφροσύνῃ δώσουσι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν.
for if after madness to-derangement they-will-give the empire

The soldiers leave the senate for Claudius, and the senators follow, some of them roughly handled, until Agrippa persuades Claudius to treat them gently. Claudius has Chaerea and Lupus executed; Chaerea dies bravely, Lupus less so, and Sabinus, though pardoned, kills himself out of loyalty to his fellow conspirators. Claudius confirms Agrippa's kingdom and adds Judaea and Samaria, giving Chalcis to Agrippa's brother Herod. At Alexandria the Jews, humbled under Gaius, take up arms, and Claudius sends an edict confirming their rights as citizens there and their freedom to keep their ancestral customs.

οὐ μὴν διετράπησάν γε ὑπὸ τῶν λόγων, ἀλλὰ 259
not indeed were-turned indeed by the words but
σπασάμενοι τὰς μαχαίρας καὶ τὰ σημεῖα ἀράμενοι ᾤχοντο
having-drawn the swords and the standards having-raised went
ὡς τὸν Κλαύδιον κοινωνήσοντες τοῖς ὀμνύουσιν αὐτῷ.
to — Claudius going-to-join with-those swearing to-him
κατελείπετο δὲ ἥ τε σύγκλητος ἐπ᾽ ἐρημίας τῶν
was-left and the both senate in solitude of-those
ἀμυνούντων καὶ οἱ ὕπατοι μηδὲν ἰδιωτῶν διαφέροντες.
going-to-defend and the consuls in-nothing from-private-men differing
ἔκπληξίς τε καὶ κατήφεια ἦν, οὐδ᾽ ὅτι χρήσαιντο 260
consternation both and dejection there-was nor what they-might-do
αὐτοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰδότων διὰ τὸ ἀνηρεθίσθαι
with-themselves of-the men knowing because-of the to-have-been-provoked
τὸν Κλαύδιον ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς, ἀλλήλοις τε ἐλοιδοροῦντο, καὶ
— Claudius against them each-other both they-abused and
μετάμελος ἦν αὐτοῖς.
regret there-was to-them
καὶ Σαβῖνος εἷς τῶν Γαΐου σφαγέων σφάζειν πρότερον 261
and Sabinus one of-the of-Gaius slayers to-slay first
αὐτὸν ἠπείλει παρελθὼν εἰς μέσους ἢ Κλαύδιον
himself threatened having-come-forward into middle than Claudius

ἄρχοντα στήσεσθαι καὶ δουλοκρατίαν ἐπόψεσθαι
ruler to-be-going-to-be-set-up and slave-rule to-be-going-to-look-upon
καταλαβοῦσαν, τόν τε Χαιρέαν εἰς φιλοψυχίαν ἐπέπλησσεν,
having-seized — both Chaerea for love-of-life rebuked
εἰ καταφρονήσας Γαΐου πρῶτος ἀγαθὸν ὑπολαμβάνοι τὸ
if having-despised Gaius first good he-should-suppose the
ζῆν τῆς ἐλευθερίας οὐδ' οὕτως ἀποδοθῆναι δυναμένης
to-live of-the freedom not-even so to-be-restored being-able
τῇ πατρίδι.
to-the fatherland

262 Χαιρέας δὲ περὶ μὲν τοῦ θνήσκειν ἐνδοιαστὸν οὐδὲν
Chaerea and about indeed the to-die doubtful nothing
φρονεῖν ἔλεγεν, βούλεσθαι μέντοι διακωδωνίζειν διάνοιαν
to-think he-said to-wish however to-sound-out mind
τὴν Κλαυδίου.
the of-Claudius

263 Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐν τοῖσδε ἦσαν. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ στρατοπέδου
and they indeed in these-things were at and the camp
πανταχόθεν ὠθεῖτο κατὰ θεραπείαν. καὶ τῶν ὑπάτων
from-all-sides there-was-thronging for court and of-the consuls
ὁ ἕτερος Κόιντος Πομπώνιος δι' αἰτίας ἦν τῷ
the other Quintus Pomponius in blame was with-the
στρατιωτικῷ μᾶλλον ὡς ἐπ' ἐλευθερίᾳ τὴν σύγκλητον
military more as to freedom the senate
παρακαλῶν, ὥρμησάν τε σπασάμενοι τὰ ξίφη, κἂν
exhorting they-rushed both having-drawn the swords and-would
ἐπέπρακτο αὐτοῖς μὴ Κλαυδίου διακεκωλυκότος.
had-been-done by-them if-not Claudius having-prevented

264 παρακαθίζεται δὲ αὐτῷ τὸν ὕπατον ἐξαρπάσας τοῦ
makes-sit-beside and himself the consul having-snatched from-the
κινδύνου, τῶν δὲ συγκλητικῶν ὅσον ἦν σὺν τῷ Κοΐντῳ
danger of-the and senators as-much-as was with — Quintus

οὐ μεθ᾽ ὁμοίας ἐδέχετο τιμῆς· τινὲς δὲ καὶ πληγὰς ἔλαβον
not with like received honor some and also blows received
αὐτῶν ἀνωθούμενοι τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐντεύξεως, Ἀπώνιος δὲ
of-them being-pushed-back from-the to him audience Aponius and
τραυματίας ἀνεχώρει, ἦν τε κίνδυνος περὶ πάντας αὐτούς.
wounded withdrew there-was both danger about all them
καὶ Ἀγρίππας ὁ βασιλεὺς προσελθὼν τῷ Κλαυδίῳ 265
and Agrippa the king having-approached — Claudius
ἀξιοῖ τοῖς συγκλητικοῖς ἠπιώτερον καταστῆναι· γενομένου
deems-fit to-the senators more-gently to-be-disposed having-happened
γάρ τινος κακοῦ περὶ τὴν βουλὴν οὐχ ἕξειν ὧν
for some evil about the council not to-be-going-to-have whom
ἄρξειεν ἑτέρων.
he-might-rule others
πείθεται δὲ Κλαύδιος καὶ συγκαλεῖ τὴν βουλὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ 266
is-persuaded and Claudius and calls-together the council on —
Παλατίου διὰ τῆς πόλεως φερόμενος παραπέμποντος αὐτὸν
Palatium through the city being-carried escorting him
τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ σὺν πολλῇ πάνυ κακώσει τῆς πληθύος.
the military with much very maltreatment of-the multitude
προεξῆεσαν δὲ τῶν Γαΐου σφαγέων εἰς τὸ φανερώτερον 267
went-forth-first and of-the of-Gaius slayers into the more-open
Χαιρέας καὶ Σαβῖνος εἰργόμενοι προόδων κατ᾽
Chaerea and Sabinus being-barred from-going-forward by
ἐπιστολὰς Πολλίωνος, ὃν μικρῷ πρότερον Κλαύδιος
letters of-Pollio whom shortly before Claudius
στρατηγὸν ᾑρητο τῶν σωματοφυλάκων.
commander had-chosen of-the bodyguards
Κλαύδιος δέ, ἐπείπερ εἰς τὸ Παλάτιον ἀφικνεῖται συναγαγὼν 268
Claudius and when into — Palatium arrives having-gathered
τοὺς ἑταίρους ψῆφον ἀνεδίδου περὶ Χαιρέου. τοῖς δὲ
the companions vote put-forward about Chaerea to-them and

τὸ μὲν ἔργον λαμπρὸν ἐδόκει, ἀπιστίαν δ' ἐπεκάλουν
the indeed deed brilliant seemed faithlessness but they-charged
τῷ πεπραχότι καὶ αὐτῷ τιμωρίαν ἐπιβάλλειν δίκαιον
to-the(-one) having-done and on-him punishment to-impose just
ἡγοῦντο ἐπ' ἀποτροπῇ τοῦ μέλλοντος χρόνου.
they-thought for deterrence of-the coming time
269 ἀπήγετο οὖν τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ Λοῦππός τε
was-led-away then the to death and with him Lupus both
καὶ Ῥωμαίων πλείους. λέγεται δὲ Χαιρέας μεγαλοφρόνως
and of-Romans more it-is-said and Chaerea high-mindedly
ἐνεγκεῖν τὴν συμφορὰν οὐ μόνον τῷ κατ' αὐτὸν
to-have-borne the misfortune not only by-the as-to him
ἀμεταπτώτῳ τοῦ σχήματος, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἷς ὀνειδίσειεν
unchangeableness of-the bearing but also by-what he-reproached
Λοῦππον εἰς δάκρυα ἐκτετραμμένον.
Lupus into tears having-turned
270 ἀποτιθεμένου γέ τοι τὴν στολὴν τοῦ Λούππου καὶ
putting-off indeed you-know the robe — of-Lupus and
τὸ ῥῖγος αἰτιωμένου φησίν, ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἐναντία τοῦ
the cold blaming he-says that not — contrary —
Λούππου ποιήσαιτο πώποτε ῥῖγος. πλήθους τε ἀνθρώπων
to-Lupus would-make ever cold multitude both of-men
ἑπομένου κατὰ θέαν, ὡς ἧκεν ἐπὶ τὸ χωρίον, ἤρετο
following for spectacle when he-came to the place he-asked
τὸν στρατιώτην, εἰ διὰ μελέτης αὐτῷ γεγόνοιεν αἱ
the soldier whether through practice to-him had-been the
σφαγαὶ ἢ εἰ πρῶτον ἔχοι τὸ ξίφος ἐκέλευε κομίζειν
slaughters or whether first he-had the sword he-bade to-bring
ᾧ Γάιον μεταχειρίσαιτο αὐτός·
with-which Gaius he-had-dispatched himself

θνήσκει δὲ εὐδαιμόνως μιᾶς πληγῆς αὐτῷ γενομένης. 271
dies and happily one blow to-him having-happened
Λοῦππος δὲ οὐ πάνυ δεξιῶς ὑπεξῆλθεν ἀθυμίᾳ καὶ
Lupus but not very adroitly departed by-despondency and
πληγῶν πλειόνων γενομένων διὰ τὸ μαλακῶς τὸν
blows more having-happened because-of the softly the
τράχηλον παρασχεῖν.
neck to-have-offered
Ὀλίγαις δὲ ὕστερον ἡμέραις ἐναγισμῶν ἐνεστηκότων 272
few and later days offerings-to-the-dead having-come
Ῥωμαίων τὸ πλῆθος τοῖς αὐτῶν ἐπιφέροντες καὶ Χαιρέαν
of-Romans the multitude to-the their-own bringing even Chaerea
μοίραις ἐτίμησαν εἰς τὸ πῦρ τιθεμέναις, ἵλεων καὶ
with-portions honored into the fire placed propitious and
ἄμηνιν εἶναι τῆς εἰς αὐτὸν ἀχαριστίας παρακαλοῦντες.
unwrathful to-be for-the toward him ingratitude calling-on
καὶ Χαιρέᾳ μὲν τοιαύτη τελευτὴ τοῦ βίου συνέτυχεν.
and to-Chaerea indeed such end of-the life befell
Σαβῖνος δὲ Κλαυδίου μὴ μόνον τῆς αἰτίας παραλύοντος 273
Sabinus and Claudius not only from-the charge releasing
αὐτὸν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἣν εἶχεν ἐφιέντος, ἄδικον
him but also the command which he-had allowing unjust
ἡγεῖτο τὴν ἐκλειπίαν τῆς πρὸς τοὺς συνωμότας πίστεως,
considered the failure of-the toward the conspirators faith
σφάζει ἑαυτὸν περιπεσὼν τῷ ξίφει μέχρι δὴ καὶ τὴν
slays himself having-fallen-on the sword until indeed also the
κώπην τῷ τραύματι συνελθεῖν.
hilt with-the wound to-come-together
Κλαύδιος δὲ τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ πᾶν ὅ τι ἦν ὕποπτον 274
Claudius and of-the military all what ever was suspect
ἐκ τοῦ ὀξέος ἀποσκευασάμενος διάγραμμα προυτίθει τήν
at the sharp having-gotten-rid-of edict set-forth the

τε ἀρχὴν Ἀγρίππα βεβαιῶν, ἣν ὁ Γάιος παρέσχε, καὶ
both rule for-Agrippa confirming which — Gaius had-given and
δι᾽ ἐγκωμίων ἄγων τὸν βασιλέα. προσθήκην τε αὐτῷ
through encomia praising the king addition both to-him
ποιεῖται πᾶσαν τὴν ὑπὸ Ἡρώδου βασιλευθεῖσαν, ὃς ἦν
makes all the by Herod ruled who was
πάππος αὐτοῦ, Ἰουδαίαν καὶ Σαμάρειαν.
grandfather his Judaea and Samaria
275 καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὡς ὀφειλόμενα τῇ οἰκειότητι τοῦ γένους
and these-things indeed as owed to-the kinship of-the family
ἀπεδίδου· Ἄβιλαν δὲ τὴν Λυσανίου καὶ ὁπόσα ἐν τῷ
he-gave-back Abila but the (realm)-of-Lysanias and as-many-as in —
Λιβάνῳ ὄρει ἐκ τῶν αὐτοῦ προσετίθει, ὅρκιά τε αὐτῷ
Lebanon mountain from the his-own he-added oaths both by-him
τέμνεται πρὸς τὸν Ἀγρίππαν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς μέσης ἐν
are-cut with — Agrippa in the forum middle in
τῇ Ῥωμαίων πόλει.
the of-Romans city
276 Ἀντίοχον δὲ ἣν εἶχεν βασιλείαν ἀφελόμενος Κιλικίας μέρει
Antiochus and which he-had kingdom having-taken-away of-Cilicia with-part
τινὶ καὶ Κομμαγηνῇ δωρεῖται. λύει δὲ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν
some and with-Commagene he-presents releases and also Alexander the
ἀλαβάρχην φίλον ἀρχαῖον αὐτῷ γεγονότα καὶ Ἀντωνίαν
alabarch friend old to-him having-been and Antonia
αὐτοῦ ἐπιτροπεύσαντα τὴν μητέρα ὀργῇ τῇ Γαΐου δεδεμένον,
his having-been-steward-of the mother by-anger the of-Gaius bound
καὶ αὐτοῦ υἱὸς Βερενίκην τὴν Ἀγρίππου γαμεῖ θυγατέρα.
and his son Berenice the of-Agrippa marries daughter
277 καὶ ταύτην μέν, τελευτᾷ γὰρ Μᾶρκος ὁ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου
and her indeed dies for Marcus the — of-Alexander
υἱὸς παρθένον λαβών, ἀδελφῷ τῷ αὐτοῦ Ἀγρίππας
son maiden having-taken to-brother the his-own Agrippa

Ἡρώδῃ δίδωσιν Χαλκίδος αὐτῷ τὴν βασιλείαν εἶναι
Herod gives of-Chalcis for-him the kingdom to-be
αἰτησάμενος παρὰ Κλαυδίου.
having-asked from Claudius
Στασιάζεται δὲ κατ᾽ αὐτὸν τὸν χρόνον Ἰουδαίων τὰ 278
is-in-faction and at the-very the time of-Jews the-things
πρὸς Ἕλληνας ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων πόλεως. τελευτήσαντος
toward Greeks in the of-Alexandrians city having-died
γὰρ τοῦ Γαΐου τὸ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος ἐπὶ ἀρχῆς τῆς ἐκείνου
for — Gaius the of-Jews nation under rule the his
τεταπεινωμένον καὶ δεινῶς ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων
humbled and terribly by the Alexandrians
ὑβρισμένον ἀνεθάρσησέ τε καὶ ἐν ὅπλοις εὐθέως ἦν.
outraged took-courage-again both and in arms at-once was
καὶ Κλαύδιος ἐπιστέλλει τῷ ἐπαρχοῦντι κατὰ τὴν 279
and Claudius writes to-the prefect in —
Αἴγυπτον ὥστε τὴν στάσιν καταστεῖλαι, πέμπει δὲ καὶ
Egypt so-as the faction to-put-down sends and also
διάγραμμα παρακεκληκότων αὐτὸν Ἀγρίππου τε καὶ
edict having-entreated him Agrippa both and
Ἡρώδου τῶν βασιλέων εἴς τε τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν καὶ
Herod the kings to both — Alexandria and
Συρίαν γεγραμμένον τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον·
Syria written in-this the manner
“Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Καῖσαρ Σεβαστὸς Γερμανικὸς 280
Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus
δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας λέγει.
of-tribunician power says
ἐπιγνοὺς ἀνέκαθεν τοὺς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ Ἰουδαίους 281
having-recognized from-of-old the in Alexandria Jews
Ἀλεξανδρεῖς λεγομένους συγκατοικισθέντας τοῖς πρώτοις
Alexandrians called settled-together in-the first

εὐθὺ καιροῖς Ἀλεξανδρεῦσι καὶ ἴσης πολιτείας παρὰ τῶν
at-once times with-Alexandrians and equal citizenship from the
βασιλέων τετευχότας, καθὼς φανερὸν ἐγένετο ἐκ τῶν
kings having-obtained as plain became from the
γραμμάτων τῶν παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς καὶ τῶν διαταγμάτων,
letters the among them and of-the edicts
282 καὶ μετὰ τὸ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ ἡγεμονίᾳ Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ὑπὸ τοῦ
and after the to-the our empire Alexandria by —
Σεβαστοῦ ὑποταχθῆναι πεφυλάχθαι αὐτοῖς τὰ δίκαια
Augustus to-have-been-subjected to-have-been-preserved for-them the rights
ὑπὸ τῶν πεμφθέντων ἐπάρχων κατὰ διαφόρους χρόνους
by the sent prefects at different times
μηδεμίαν τε ἀμφισβήτησιν περὶ τούτων γενομένην τῶν
no both dispute about these having-happened of-the
δικαίων αὐτοῖς,
rights for-them
283 ἅμα καὶ καθ᾽ ὃν καιρὸν Ἀκύλας ἦν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ
at-once also at what time Aquila was in Alexandria
τελευτήσαντος τοῦ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐθνάρχου τὸν Σεβαστὸν
having-died the of-the Jews ethnarch — Augustus
μὴ κεκωλυκέναι ἐθνάρχας γίγνεσθαι βουλόμενον ὑποτετάχθαι
not to-have-prevented ethnarchs to-be wishing to-be-subject
ἑκάστους ἐμμένοντας τοῖς ἰδίοις ἔθεσιν καὶ μὴ παραβαίνειν
each abiding by-the own customs and not to-transgress
ἀναγκαζομένους τὴν πάτριον θρησκείαν,
being-compelled the ancestral worship
284 Ἀλεξανδρεῖς δὲ ἐπαρθῆναι κατὰ τῶν παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς Ἰουδαίων
Alexandrians and to-have-been-raised against the among them Jews
ἐπὶ τῶν Γαΐου Καίσαρος χρόνων τοῦ διὰ τὴν
in the of-Gaius Caesar times of-the(-one) because-of the
πολλὴν ἀπόνοιαν καὶ παραφροσύνην, ὅτι μὴ παραβῆναι
great madness and derangement because not to-transgress

ἠθέλησεν τὸ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος τὴν πάτριον θρησκείαν καὶ
wished the of-Jews nation the ancestral worship and
θεὸν προσαγορεύειν αὐτόν, ταπεινώσαντος αὐτούς·
god to-address him having-humbled them
βούλομαι μηδὲν διὰ τὴν Γαΐου παραφροσύνην τῶν 285
I-wish nothing because-of the of-Gaius derangement of-the
δικαίων τῷ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνει παραπεπτωκέναι, φυλάσσεσθαι
rights to-the of-Jews nation to-have-lapsed to-be-preserved
δ᾽ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ πρότερον δικαιώματα ἐμμένουσι τοῖς
and for-them also the former ordinances abiding by-the
ἰδίοις ἔθεσιν, ἀμφοτέροις τε διακελεύομαι τοῖς μέρεσι
own customs to-both both I-order the parts
πλείστην ποιήσασθαι πρόνοιαν, ὅπως μηδεμία ταραχὴ
greatest to-make forethought so-that no disturbance
γένηται μετὰ τὸ προτεθῆναί μου τὸ διάταγμα.”
may-happen after the to-be-set-forth my the edict

A second edict confirms the same rights for the Jews throughout the empire, bidding them not to scorn other peoples' religions. Agrippa returns to Jerusalem with honors, offers sacrifices, and hangs in the Temple the golden chain Gaius gave him, equal in weight to his iron one, as a reminder of fortune's changes. He makes Simon Cantheras high priest and Silas commander of his army. When young men of Dora set up a statue of Caesar in the synagogue, Agrippa denounces them to Petronius, the governor of Syria, who writes sternly to the city's magistrates, ordering the guilty sent to him. Agrippa then offers the high priesthood to Jonathan, who declines it in favor of his brother Matthias.

286 Τὸ μὲν οὖν εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἰουδαίων διάταγμα
the indeed then to Alexandria for the Jews edict
τοῦτον ἦν τὸν τρόπον γεγραμμένον· τὸ δ' εἰς τὴν ἄλλην
in-this was the manner written the but to the other
οἰκουμένην εἶχεν οὕτως·
inhabited-world held thus

287 "Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Καῖσαρ Σεβαστὸς Γερμανικὸς ἀρχιερεὺς
Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus high-priest
μέγιστος δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας ὕπατος χειροτονηθεὶς τὸ
greatest of-tribunician power consul elected the
δεύτερον λέγει.
second-time says

288 αἰτησαμένων με βασιλέως Ἀγρίππα καὶ Ἡρώδου τῶν
having-asked me king Agrippa and Herod the
φιλτάτων μοι, ὅπως συγχωρήσαιμι τὰ αὐτὰ δίκαια καὶ τοῖς
dearest to-me that I-might-grant the same rights also to-the
ἐν πάσῃ τῇ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις ἡγεμονίᾳ Ἰουδαίοις φυλάσσεσθαι,
in all the under Romans empire Jews to-be-preserved

καθὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ, ἥδιστα συνεχώρησα οὐ
as also to-those in Alexandria most-gladly I-granted not
μόνον τοῦτο τοῖς αἰτησαμένοις με χαριζόμενος,
only this to-those having-asked me gratifying
ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ ὧν παρεκλήθην ἀξίους κρίνας 289
but also them for whom I-was-entreated worthy having-judged
διὰ τὴν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πίστιν καὶ φιλίαν, μάλιστα
because-of the toward Romans faith and friendship most
δὲ δίκαιον κρίνων μηδεμίαν μηδὲ Ἑλληνίδα πόλιν τῶν
and just judging no even Greek city of-the
δικαίων τούτων ἀποτυγχάνειν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ θείου
rights these to-fail-of since also under the divine
Σεβαστοῦ αὐταῖς ἦν τετηρημένα.
Augustus for-them they-were preserved
καλῶς οὖν ἔχειν καὶ Ἰουδαίους τοὺς ἐν παντὶ τῷ ὑφ᾽ ἡμᾶς 290
well then to-be also Jews those in all the under us
κόσμῳ τὰ πάτρια ἔθη ἀνεπικωλύτως φυλάσσειν, οἷς καὶ
world the ancestral customs unhindered to-keep to-whom also
αὐτοῖς ἤδη νῦν παραγγέλλω μου ταύτῃ τῇ φιλανθρωπίᾳ
themselves already now I-charge my this the kindness
ἐπιεικέστερον χρῆσθαι καὶ μὴ τὰς τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν
more-reasonably to-use and not the of-the other nations
δεισιδαιμονίας ἐξουθενίζειν, τοὺς ἰδίους δὲ νόμους φυλάσσειν.
superstitions to-scorn the own but laws to-keep
τοῦτό μου τὸ διάταγμα τοὺς ἄρχοντας τῶν πόλεων καὶ 291
this my the edict the magistrates of-the cities and
τῶν κολωνιῶν καὶ μουνικιπίων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ
of-the colonies and municipalities of-those in — Italy and
τῶν ἐκτός, βασιλεῖς τε καὶ δυνάστας διὰ τῶν ἰδίων
of-those outside kings both and dynasts through the own
πρεσβευτῶν ἐγγράψασθαι βούλομαι ἐκκείμενόν τε ἔχειν
envoys to-inscribe I-wish exposed both to-have

οὐκ ἔλαττον ἡμερῶν τριάκοντα ὅθεν ἐξ ἐπιπέδου καλῶς
not less of-days thirty whence from ground well
ἀναγνωσθῆναι δύναται."
to-be-read it-can

292 Τούτοις μὲν δὴ τοῖς διατάγμασιν εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειάν τε
by-these indeed indeed the edicts to Alexandria both
καὶ τὴν οἰκουμένην πᾶσαν ἀποσταλεῖσιν ἐδήλωσεν ἣν
and the inhabited-world all sent declared what
περὶ Ἰουδαίων ἔχοι γνώμην Κλαύδιος Καῖσαρ· αὐτίκα
about Jews he-had judgment Claudius Caesar at-once
δὲ Ἀγρίππαν κομιούμενον τὴν βασιλείαν ἐπὶ τιμαῖς
and Agrippa going-to-take-up the kingdom with honors
λαμπροτέραις ἐξέπεμψε τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν ἡγεμόσιν
more-brilliant sent-out to-the over the provinces governors
καὶ τοῖς ἐπιτρόποις διὰ γραμμάτων ἐπιστείλας ἐράσμιον
and to-the procurators through letters having-enjoined beloved
ἄγειν αὐτόν.
to-treat him

293 ὁ δ', ὡς εἰκὸς ἦν τὸν ἐπὶ κρείττοσιν τύχαις ἀνερχόμενον,
he and as likely was the(-one) to better fortunes returning
μετὰ τάχους ὑπέστρεψεν, εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα δ' ἐλθὼν
with speed returned to Jerusalem and having-come
χαριστηρίους ἐξεπλήρωσε θυσίας οὐδὲν τῶν κατὰ
thank-offering fulfilled sacrifices nothing of-the-things according-to
νόμον παραλιπών.
law having-omitted

294 διὸ καὶ ναζιραίων ξυρᾶσθαι διέταξε μάλα συχνούς,
wherefore also of-nazirites to-be-shaved he-ordered very many
τὴν δὲ χρυσῆν ἅλυσιν τὴν δοθεῖσαν αὐτῷ ὑπὸ Γαΐου
the and golden chain the given to-him by Gaius
ἰσόσταθμον τῇ σιδηρᾷ, ᾗ τὰς ἡγεμονίδας χεῖρας
equal-in-weight to-the iron with-which the royal hands

ἐδέθη, τῆς στυγνῆς εἶναι τύχης ὑπόμνημα καὶ τῆς
he-had-been-bound of-the gloomy to-be fortune reminder and of-the
ἐπὶ τὰ κρείττω μαρτυρίαν μεταβολῆς τῶν ἱερῶν ἐντὸς
to the better witness change of-the temple within
ἀνεκρέμασεν περιβόλων ὑπὲρ τὸ γαζοφυλάκιον, ἵν'
he-hung-up precincts over the treasury so-that
ᾖ δεῖγμα καὶ τοῦ τὰ μεγάλα δύνασθαί ποτε πεσεῖν
it-might-be proof both of-the the great-things to-be-able sometime to-fall
καὶ τοῦ τὸν θεὸν ἐγείρειν τὰ πεπτωκότα·
and of-the the god to-raise the fallen-things
πᾶσι γὰρ τοῦτ' ἐνεφάνιζεν ἡ τῆς ἁλύσεως ἀνάθεσις, 295
to-all for this showed the of-the chain dedication
ὅτι βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππας ἀπὸ μικρᾶς αἰτίας εἰς δεσμώτην
that king Agrippa from small cause into prisoner
ἀπέδυ τὸ πρὶν ἀξίωμα καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον τῆς πέδης
stripped-off the former dignity and after little from-the fetter
ἐκβὰς εἰς βασιλέα τοῦ πάλαι λαμπρότερον ἠγέρθη.
having-stepped-out into king than-the former more-brilliant was-raised
διὰ τοῦτ' οὖν ἐννοεῖσθαι, ὅτι τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως 296
through this then to-consider that of-the human nature
καὶ ὀλισθάνειν τὰ μεγέθη καὶ τὰ κλιθέντα δύναται
both to-slip the greatnesses and the-things bowed-down can
περιφανὲς λαβεῖν πάλιν ὕψος.
conspicuous to-take again height
Ἐντελῶς δ' οὖν θρησκεύσας τὸν θεὸν Ἀγρίππας Θεόφιλον 297
perfectly and then having-worshiped the god Agrippa Theophilus
μὲν τὸν Ἀνάνου τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης μετέστησεν, τῷ
indeed the of-Ananus from-the high-priesthood removed to-the
δὲ Βοηθοῦ Σίμωνι, τούτῳ Κανθηρᾶς ἐπίκλησις ἦν, τὴν
and of-Boethus Simon to-this-one Cantheras surname was the
ἐκείνου προσένειμε τιμήν. δύο δ' ἦσαν ἀδελφοὶ τῷ Σίμωνι
his he-assigned honor two and were brothers — to-Simon

καὶ πατὴρ Βοηθός, οὗ τῇ θυγατρὶ βασιλεὺς συνῴκησεν
and father Boethus whose with-the daughter king married
Ἡρώδης, ὡς ἀνωτέρω δεδήλωται.
Herod as above has-been-shown
298 σὺν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς οὖν τὴν ἱερωσύνην ἔσχεν ὁ Σίμων καὶ
with the brothers then the priesthood held — Simon and
σὺν τῷ πατρί, καθὰ καὶ πρότερον ἔσχον οἱ Σίμωνος τοῦ
with the father as also before held the of-Simon the
Ὀνία παῖδες τρεῖς ὄντες ἐπὶ τῆς τῶν Μακεδόνων
(son)-of-Onias sons three being under the of-the Macedonians
ἀρχῆς, ὅπερ ἐν ταῖς προαγούσαις γραφαῖς παρέδομεν.
rule which in the preceding writings we-handed-down
299 Καταστησάμενος δὲ τὰ περὶ τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς οὕτως ὁ
having-settled and the-things about the high-priests thus the
βασιλεὺς τοὺς Ἱεροσολυμίτας ἠμείψατο τῆς εἰς αὐτὸν
king the Jerusalemites requited for-the toward him
εὐνοίας· ἀνῆκε γοῦν αὐτοῖς τὰ ὑπὲρ ἑκάστης οἰκίας,
goodwill he-remitted at-least to-them the-things for each house
ἐν καλῷ τιθέμενος ἀντιδοῦναι τοῖς ἠγαπηκόσιν στοργήν.
in fine reckoning to-return to-those having-loved affection
ἔπαρχον δὲ ἀπέδειξεν παντὸς τοῦ στρατεύματος Σίλαν
prefect and appointed of-all the army Silas
ἄνδρα πολλῶν αὐτῷ πόνων συμμετασχόντα.
man many with-him toils having-shared
300 παντάπασιν δὲ ὀλίγου χρόνου διελθόντος Δωρῖται νεανίσκοι
altogether and little time having-passed Doran youths
τῆς ὁσιότητος προτιθέμενοι τόλμαν καὶ πεφυκότες εἶναι
than-the holiness preferring daring and being-by-nature to-be
παραβόλως θρασεῖς Καίσαρος ἀνδριάντα κομίσαντες εἰς
recklessly bold of-Caesar statue having-brought into
τὴν τῶν Ἰουδαίων συναγωγὴν ἀνέστησαν.
the of-the Jews synagogue set-up

σφόδρα τοῦτο Ἀγρίππαν παρώξυνεν· κατάλυσιν γὰρ 301
greatly this Agrippa provoked overthrow for
τῶν πατρίων αὐτοῦ νόμων ἐδύνατο. ἀμελλητὶ δὲ πρὸς
of-the ancestral his laws it-amounted-to without-delay and to
Πούπλιον Πετρώνιον, ἡγεμὼν δὲ τῆς Συρίας οὗτος ἦν,
Publius Petronius governor and — of-Syria this-one was
παραγίνεται καὶ καταλέγει τῶν Δωριτῶν.
he-comes and denounces of-the Dorans
ὁ δ' οὐχ ἧττον ἐπὶ τῷ πραχθέντι χαλεπήνας, καὶ 302
he and not less at the deed having-been-angered and
γὰρ αὐτὸς ἔκρινεν ἀσέβειαν τὴν τῶν ἐννόμων παράβασιν,
for himself judged impiety the of-the lawful-things transgression
τοῖς ἀποστᾶσι τῶν Δωριτῶν σὺν ὀργῇ ταῦτ' ἔγραψεν·
to-those having-revolted of-the Dorans with anger these-things wrote
"Πούπλιος Πετρώνιος πρεσβευτὴς Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου 303
Publius Petronius legate of-Tiberius Claudius
Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Δωριέων τοῖς πρώτοις
Caesar Augustus Germanicus of-the-Dorians to-the first-men
λέγει.
says
ἐπειδὴ τοσαύτῃ τόλμῃ ἀπονοίας τινὲς ἐχρήσαντο ἐξ ὑμῶν, 304
since with-so-great daring of-madness some used from you
ὥστε μηδὲ διὰ τὸ προτεθῆναι διάταγμα Κλαυδίου
so-that not-even because-of the to-have-been-set-forth edict of-Claudius
Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ περὶ τοῦ ἐφίεσθαι
Caesar Augustus Germanicus about the to-be-permitted
Ἰουδαίους φυλάσσειν τὰ πάτρια πεισθῆναι ὑμᾶς αὐτῷ,
Jews to-keep the ancestral-things to-have-been-persuaded you by-it
τἀναντία δὲ πάντα πρᾶξαι, συναγωγὴν Ἰουδαίων κωλύοντας 305
the-opposite but all-things to-do synagogue of-Jews hindering
εἶναι διὰ τὸ μεταθεῖναι ἐν αὐτῇ τὸν Καίσαρος ἀνδριάντα,
to-be because-of the to-have-placed in it the of-Caesar statue

παρανομοῦντας οὐκ εἰς μόνους Ἰουδαίους, ἀλλὰ καὶ
transgressing not against only Jews but also
εἰς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα, οὗ ὁ ἀνδριὰς βέλτιον ἐν τῷ
against the emperor whose the statue better in the
ἰδίῳ ναῷ ἢ ἐν ἀλλοτρίῳ ἐτίθετο καὶ ταῦτα ἐν τῷ τῆς
own temple than in another's was-placed and these-things in the of-the
συναγωγῆς τόπῳ, τοῦ φύσει δικαιοῦντος ἕνα ἕκαστον
synagogue place of-the by-nature deeming-right one each
τῶν ἰδίων τόπων κυριεύειν κατὰ τὸ Καίσαρος ἐπίκριμα·
of-the own places to-be-master according-to the of-Caesar decision
306 τοῦ γὰρ ἐμοῦ ἐπικρίματος μιμνήσκεσθαι γελοῖόν ἐστιν
the for my decision to-mention laughable is
μετὰ τὸ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος διάταγμα τοῦ ἐπιτρέψαντος
after the of-the emperor edict of-the(-one) having-permitted
Ἰουδαίοις τοῖς ἰδίοις ἔθεσι χρῆσθαι, ἔτι μέντοι γε καὶ
to-Jews the own customs to-use still however indeed also
συμπολιτεύεσθαι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν κεκελευκότος·
to-share-citizenship with-the Greeks having-bidden
307 τοὺς μὲν παρὰ τὸ διάταγμα τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ τοιαῦτα
those indeed contrary-to the edict — of-Augustus such-things
τετολμηκότας, ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἠγανάκτησαν οἱ
having-dared at which also themselves were-indignant those
δοκοῦντες αὐτῶν ἐξέχειν οὐ τῇ ἰδίᾳ προαιρέσει γεγενῆσθαι
seeming of-them to-excel not by-the own choice to-have-happened
λέγοντες ἀλλὰ τῇ τοῦ πλήθους ὁρμῇ, ὑπὸ ἑκατοντάρχου
saying but by-the of-the multitude impulse by centurion
Πρόκλου Οὐιτελλίου ἐκέλευσα ἐπ' ἐμὲ ἀναχθῆναι τῶν
Proculus Vitellius I-ordered to me to-be-brought-up of-the-things
πεπραγμένων λόγον ἀποδώσοντας,
done account going-to-render

τοῖς δὲ πρώτοις ἄρχουσι παραινῶ, εἰ μὴ βούλονται δοκεῖν 308
to-the and first magistrates I-advise if not they-wish to-seem
κατὰ τὴν αὐτῶν προαίρεσιν γεγενῆσθαι τὸ ἀδίκημα,
according-to the their-own choice to-have-happened the wrong
ἐπιδεῖξαι τοὺς αἰτίους τῷ ἑκατοντάρχῃ μηδεμιᾶς στάσεως
to-point-out the guilty to-the centurion of-no faction
μηδὲ μάχης ἐῶντας ἀφορμὴν γενέσθαι, ἥνπερ δοκοῦσίν
nor of-fight allowing occasion to-happen which-very they-seem
μοι θηρεύεσθαι διὰ τῶν τοιούτων ἔργων,
to-me to-hunt through the such deeds
κἀμοῦ καὶ τοῦ τιμιωτάτου μοι βασιλέως Ἀγρίππου 309
and-I and the most-honored to-me king Agrippa
οὐδενὸς μᾶλλον προνοουμένων, ἢ ἵνα μὴ ἀφορμῆς
for-nothing more taking-forethought than that not occasion
δραξάμενοι τὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος ὑπὸ τῆς ἀμύνης
having-grasped the of-the Jews nation under of-the defense
προφάσει συναθροισθὲν εἰς ἀπόνοιαν χωρῇ.
pretext gathered-together into madness may-go
ἵνα δὲ γνωριμώτερον ᾖ, τί καὶ ὁ Σεβαστὸς περὶ 310
so-that and better-known may-be what also — Augustus about
ὅλου τοῦ πράγματος ἐφρόνησε, τὰ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ αὐτοῦ
whole the matter thought the in Alexandria his
διατάγματα προτεθέντα προσέθηκα, ἅπερ εἰ καὶ γνώριμα
edicts set-forth I-have-added which if even known
πᾶσιν εἶναι δοκεῖ, τότε καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος ἀνέγνω
to-all to-be seems then also on the tribunal read
ὁ τιμιώτατός μοι βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππας δικαιολογησάμενος
the most-honored to-me king Agrippa having-pleaded
περὶ τοῦ μὴ δεῖν αὐτοὺς ἀφαιρεθῆναι τῆς τοῦ
about the not to-be-needful them to-be-deprived of-the —
Σεβαστοῦ δωρεᾶς.
of-Augustus gift

311 εἵς τε οὖν τὸ λοιπὸν παραγγέλλω μηδεμίαν πρόφασιν
for both then the remaining I-charge no pretext
στάσεως μηδὲ ταραχῆς ζητεῖν, ἀλλ' ἑκάστους τὰ ἴδια
of-faction nor of-disturbance to-seek but each the own
ἔθη θρησκεύειν."
customs to-practice

312 Πετρώνιος μὲν οὖν οὕτω προυνόησε διορθώσεως μὲν
Petronius indeed then thus took-forethought of-correction indeed
τὸ παρανομηθὲν ἤδη τυχεῖν, γενέσθαι δὲ παραπλήσιον
the-thing transgressed already to-obtain to-happen and like
μηδὲν εἰς αὐτούς.
nothing against them

313 Ἀγρίππας δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀφείλετο μὲν τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην
Agrippa and the king took-away indeed the high-priesthood
τὸν Κανθηρᾶν Σίμωνα, Ἰωνάθην δὲ πάλιν ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἤγεν
— from-Cantheras Simon Jonathan and again to it brought
τὸν Ἀνάνου τοῦτον ἀξιώτερον τῆς τιμῆς ὁμολογῶν εἶναι.
the of-Ananus this-one more-worthy of-the honor acknowledging to-be
τῷ δὲ οὐκ ἀσμενιστὸν ἐφάνη τὴν τοσαύτην ἀπολαβεῖν
to-him but not welcome it-appeared the so-great to-receive-back
τιμήν, παρῃτεῖτο δ' οὖν ταῦτα λέγων·
honor he-declined and then these-things saying

314 "σοὶ μέν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, τετιμημένος χαίρω διὰ ψυχῆς
by-you indeed O king honored I-rejoice through soul
ἔχων τοῦθ' ὅ μοι γέρας δίδωσιν ἡ σὴ βουλή, καὶ
having this which to-me gift gives the your will and
πρὸς οὐδέν με τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης ἄξιον ἔκρινεν ὁ θεός.
for nothing me of-the high-priesthood worthy judged the god
ἅπαξ δ' ἐνδὺς στολισμὸν ἱερὸν ἀρκοῦμαι· τότε γὰρ
once and having-put-on robe sacred I-am-content then for
αὐτὸν ἠμφιασάμην ὁσιώτερον ἢ νῦν ἀπολήψομαι.
it I-clothed-myself more-holily than now I-shall-receive(-it)-back

σὺ δ', εἰ βούλει τὸν ἀξιώτερον ἐμοῦ νῦν τὸ γέρας λαβεῖν, 315
you but if you-wish the more-worthy than-me now the gift to-receive
διδάχθητι· πάσης καὶ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἁμαρτίας καὶ πρὸς
be-taught of-all both toward the god sin and toward
σέ, βασιλεῦ, καθαρὸς ἀδελφὸς ἔστι μοι· πρέποντα τῇ
you O-king pure brother is to-me fitting for-the
τιμῇ τοῦτον συνίστημι."
honor this-one I-recommend

XIII · AGRIPPA'S REIGN

Agrippa gives the office to Matthias, and Marsus succeeds Petronius in Syria. Silas, presuming on his services, reminds Agrippa too often of his former hardships, and Agrippa imprisons him, later recalls him, and imprisons him again when he refuses to be reconciled. Agrippa begins to fortify Jerusalem's walls until Claudius forbids it. Unlike Herod, he is gentle and generous to his own people and lives purely by the law; he pardons Simon, who called him unclean. At Berytus he builds a theater, amphitheater, and baths, and stages a battle of condemned men. Marsus, suspecting a gathering of kings at Tiberias, sends them home.

τούτοις ὁ βασιλεὺς ἡσθεὶς τοῖς λόγοις τὸν Ἰωνάθην 316
at-these the king pleased the words — Jonathan
μὲν ἠγάσατο τῆς γνώμης, τἀδελφῷ δὲ αὐτοῦ Ματθίᾳ
indeed admired for-the judgment to-the-brother and his Matthias
τὴν ἱερωσύνην ἔδωκε. καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ Πετρώνιον μὲν
the priesthood gave and after not long Petronius indeed
Μάρσος διεδέξατο καὶ διεῖπε Συρίαν.
Marsus succeeded and governed Syria
Σίλας δ' ὁ τοῦ βασιλέως ἔπαρχος ἐπεὶ διὰ πάσης αὐτῷ 317
Silas and the of-the king prefect since through all for-him
τύχης ἐγεγόνει πιστὸς οὐδένα κίνδυνόν ποτε κοινωνεῖν
fortune he-had-been faithful no danger ever to-share

ἀνηνάμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς σφαλερωτάτους ὑποδὺς
having-refused but also the most-perilous having-undergone
πολλάκις πόνους, πεποιθήσεως ἦν ἀνάπλεως, προσήκειν
often toils of-confidence was full to-befit
ὑπολαμβάνων ἰσοτιμίαν βεβαιότητι φιλίας.
supposing equality-of-honor to-steadfastness of-friendship
318 οὐδαμῆ τοίνυν ὑποκατεκλίνετο βασιλεῖ, παρρησίαν δὲ διὰ
in-no-way then he-yielded-place to-the-king frankness but through
πάσης ὁμιλίας ἦγεν, κἀν ταῖς φιλοφρονήσεσιν ἐγίνετο
all converse he-used and-in the friendly-dealings became
φορτικὸς σεμνύνων ἑαυτὸν ἀμέτρως καὶ πολλάκις τῷ
burdensome exalting himself immoderately and often to-the
βασιλεῖ τὰ στυγνὰ τῆς τύχης ἄγων εἰς ἀνάμνησιν, ἵνα
king the gloomy-things of-the fortune bringing to remembrance so-that
τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τότε σπουδὴν παραδεικνύῃ, συνεχῶς δ' ἦν,
the his-own then zeal he-might-display continually and he-was
ὡς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ κάμοι, πολλὰ διεξιών.
how for him he-toiled many-things going-through
319 τούτων οὖν τὸ πλεονάζον ὀνειδισμὸς ἐδόκει· διὸ
of-these then the excess reproach seemed wherefore
προσάντως ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐδέχετο τὴν ἀταμίευτον παρρησίαν
resentfully the king received the unsparing frankness
τἀνδρός· οὐχ ἡδεῖαι γὰρ αἱ τῶν ἀδόξων χρόνων ἀναμνήσεις,
of-the-man not pleasant for the of-the inglorious times remembrances
εὐήθης δὲ ὁ διηνεκῶς ἅ ποτε ὠφέλησεν προφέρων.
simple and the(-one) continually what once he-benefited bringing-up
320 τέλος γοῦν ἀνηρέθισε σφόδρα ὁ Σίλας τοῦ βασιλέως
finally at-least provoked greatly — Silas of-the king
τὸν θυμὸν κἀκεῖνος ὀργῇ πλέον ἢ λογισμῷ διδοὺς οὐ
the anger and-he to-anger more than to-reasoning giving not

τῆς ἐπαρχίας μόνον μετέστησε τὸν Σίλαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ
from-the prefecture only removed — Silas but also
παρέδωκεν δεθησόμενον εἰς τὴν ἐκείνου πατρίδα πέμψας.
handed-him-over going-to-be-bound to the his fatherland having-sent
χρόνῳ δὲ τὸν θυμὸν ἠμβλύνθη καὶ λογισμοῖς εἰλικρινέσι 321
in-time and in-the anger he-was-dulled and to-reasonings pure
τὴν περὶ τἀνδρὸς κρίσιν ἐφῆκεν ἐν νῷ λαμβάνων
the about the-man judgment he-submitted in mind taking
ὅσους ὑπὲρ ἐκείνου πόνους ἐκεῖνος ἀνέτλη. ἡμέραν οὖν
how-many for that-one toils that-one endured day then
ἑορτάζων αὐτοῦ γενέθλιον, ὅτε πᾶσιν ὧν ἦρχεν εὐφροσύνη
celebrating his birthday when for-all whom he-ruled gladness
ἦ καθίσταντο θαλίαι, τὸν Σίλαν ἀνεκάλει παραυτίκα
in-which were-appointed festivities — Silas he-recalled at-once
συνέστιον αὐτῷ γενησόμενον.
fellow-diner to-him going-to-be
τῷ δέ, τρόπος γὰρ ἐλευθέριος ἦν, ἐδόκει προσειληφέναι 322
to-him but manner for free was seemed to-have-received
δικαίαν αἰτίαν ὀργῆς, ἣν οὐκ ἀπεκρύπτετο πρὸς τοὺς
just cause of-anger which not he-hid toward those
μετιόντας αὐτὸν λέγων·
going-after him saying
“ἐπὶ ποίαν ὁ βασιλεὺς τιμὴν ἀνακαλεῖ με τὴν μετὰ 323
to what-kind-of the king honor recalls me the after
μικρὸν ἀπολουμένην; οὐδὲ γὰρ τὰ πρῶτά μοι γέρα τῆς
little going-to-perish not-even for the first to-me gifts of-the
εἰς αὐτὸν εὐνοίας ἐτήρησεν, ἀπεσύλησεν δ’ ὑβρίσας.
toward him goodwill he-kept he-stripped-off and having-outraged
ἢ πεπαῦσθαι νενόμικέ με τῆς παρρησίας, ἣν ἀπὸ 324
or to-have-ceased has-he-thought me from-the frankness which from
ποίου συνειδότος ἔχων βοήσομαι μᾶλλον, ὅσων
what-sort-of conscience having I-shall-cry-out more from-how-many

αὐτὸν ἐξελυσάμην δεινῶν, ὅσους ἤνεγκα πόνους ἐκείνῳ
him I-released terrors how-many I-bore toils for-that-one
ποριζόμενος σωτηρίαν τε καὶ τιμήν, ὧν γέρας ἠνεγκάμην
providing safety both and honor of-which reward I-carried-off
δεσμὰ καὶ σκότιον εἱρκτήν.
bonds and dark prison
325 οὐκ ἐγώ ποτε τούτων λήσομαι· τάχα μοι τὴν τῆς ἀριστείας
not I ever these-things shall-forget perhaps to-me the of-the valor
συνεποίσεται μνήμην καὶ μεταστᾶσα τῆς σαρκὸς ἡ
will-carry-along memory even having-departed from-the flesh the
ψυχή." ταῦτα ἀνεβόα καὶ διετάττετο τῷ βασιλεῖ λέγειν. ὁ
soul these-things he-shouted and charged to-the king to-say he
δ' ὡς ἀνιάτως ἑώρα διακείμενον, πάλιν εἴασεν ἐν φρουρᾷ.
and when incurably he-saw disposed again left-him in guard
326 Τὰ δὲ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων τείχη τὰ πρὸς τὴν καινὴν
the and — of-Jerusalem walls those toward the new
νεύοντα πόλιν δημοσίαις ὠχύρου δαπάναις, τῇ μὲν
facing city with-public he-fortified expenses partly indeed
εὐρύνων εἰς πλάτος τῇ δὲ εἰς ὕψος ἐξαίρων, κἂν
widening to breadth partly and to height raising and-would
ἐξειργάσατο ταῦτα πάσης ἀνθρωπίνης κρείττονα βίας,
he-had-completed these-things than-all human stronger force
εἰ μὴ Μάρσος ὁ τῆς Συρίας ἡγεμὼν Κλαυδίῳ Καίσαρι
if not Marsus the — of-Syria governor to-Claudius Caesar
διὰ γραμμάτων ἐδήλωσε τὸ πραττόμενον.
through letters showed the-thing being-done
327 καὶ νεωτερισμόν τινα Κλαύδιος ὑποπτεύσας ἐπέστειλεν
and revolution some Claudius having-suspected wrote
Ἀγρίππᾳ μετὰ σπουδῆς παύσασθαι τῆς τῶν τειχῶν
to-Agrippa with haste to-cease from-the of-the walls
ἐξοικοδομήσεως· ὁ δ' ἀπειθεῖν οὐκ ἔκρινεν.
building he and to-disobey not judged

Ἐπεφύκει δ᾽ ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος εὐεργετικὸς εἶναι ἐν δωρεαῖς 328
was-by-nature and the king this beneficent to-be in gifts
καὶ μεγαλοφρονῆσαι ἔθνη φιλότιμος καὶ πολλοῖς ἀθρόως
and to-show-magnificence nations ambitious and by-many at-once
δαπανήμασιν ἀνιστὰς αὑτὸν εἰς ἐπιφάνειαν ἡδόμενος τῷ
expenditures raising himself to distinction delighting in-the
χαρίζεσθαι καὶ τῷ βιοῦν ἐν εὐφημίᾳ χαίρων, κατ᾽ οὐδὲν
to-do-favors and in-the to-live in good-repute rejoicing in nothing
Ἡρώδῃ τῷ πρὸ ἑαυτοῦ βασιλεῖ τὸν τρόπον συμφερόμενος·
with-Herod the before himself king the manner agreeing
ἐκείνῳ γὰρ πονηρὸν ἦν ἦθος ἐπὶ τιμωρίαν ἀπότομον καὶ 329
to-that-one for wicked was character to punishment harsh and
κατὰ τῶν ἀπηχθημένων ἀταμίευτον, Ἕλλησι πλέον ἢ
against the hated unsparing to-Greeks more than
Ἰουδαίοις οἰκείως ἔχειν ὁμολογούμενος· ἀλλοφύλων γέ
to-Jews intimately to-be-disposed acknowledged of-foreigners indeed
τοι πόλεις ἐσέμνυνεν δόσει χρημάτων βαλανείων θεάτρων
you-know cities he-glorified by-gift of-money of-baths of-theaters
τε ἄλλοτε κατασκευαῖς, ἔστιν αἷς ναοὺς ἀνέστησε,
both at-other-times by-constructions there-are to-which temples he-raised
στοὰς ἄλλαις, ἀλλὰ Ἰουδαίων οὐδεμίαν πόλιν οὐδ᾽ ὀλίγης
colonnades to-others but of-Jews no city not-even of-small
ἐπισκευῆς ἠξίωσεν οὐδὲ δόσεως ἀξίας μνημονευθῆναι.
repair he-deemed-worthy nor gift worthy to-be-remembered
πραΰς δ᾽ ὁ τρόπος Ἀγρίππᾳ καὶ πρὸς πάντας τὸ 330
gentle and the manner for-Agrippa and toward all the
εὐεργετικὸν ὅμοιον. τοῖς ἀλλοεθνέσιν ἦν φιλάνθρωπος
beneficence alike to-the foreigners he-was kindly
κἀκείνοις ἐνδεικνύμενος τὸ φιλόδωρον τοῖς ὁμοφύλοις
also-to-them showing the generosity to-the fellow-tribesmen
ἀναλόγως χρηστὸς καὶ συμπαθὴς μᾶλλον.
proportionately kind and sympathetic more

331 ἡδεῖα γοῦν αὐτῷ δίαιτα καὶ συνεχὴς ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις
pleasant at-least to-him living and continual in — Jerusalem
ἦν καὶ τὰ πάτρια καθαρῶς ἐτήρει. διὰ πάσης γοῦν
was and the ancestral-things purely he-kept through all at-least
αὐτὸν ἦγεν ἁγνείας οὐδ' ἡμέρα τις παρώδευεν αὐτῷ
himself he-conducted purity nor day any passed-by for-him
τὰ νόμιμα χηρεύουσα θυσίας.
the lawful-things bereft of-sacrifice

332 Καὶ δή τις ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ἀνὴρ ἐπιχώριος
and indeed someone in — Jerusalem man native
ἐξακριβάζειν δοκῶν τὰ νόμιμα, Σίμων ἦν ὄνομα τούτῳ,
to-be-exact seeming the lawful-things Simon was name to-this-one
πλῆθος εἰς ἐκκλησίαν ἁλίσας τηνικάδε τοῦ βασιλέως
multitude into assembly having-gathered at-that-time the king
εἰς Καισάρειαν ἐκδεδημηκότος ἐτόλμησεν αὐτοῦ κατειπεῖν,
to Caesarea having-gone-abroad dared him to-denounce
ὡς οὐχ ὅσιος εἴη, δικαίως δ' ἂν εἴργοιτο τοῦ
as not holy he-might-be justly and — he-might-be-barred of-the
ναοῦ τῆς εἰσόδου προσηκούσης τοῖς ἐγγενέσιν.
temple from-the entrance belonging to-the native-born

333 δηλοῦται μὲν δὴ διὰ γραμμάτων ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ
is-shown indeed indeed through letters by the commander
τῆς πόλεως τῷ βασιλεῖ δημηγορήσας Σίμων ταῦτα,
of-the city to-the king having-harangued Simon these-things
μεταπέμπεται δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς καί, καθέζετο γὰρ
sends-for and him the king and he-sat for
ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ τότε, καθεσθῆναι παρ' αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσεν.
in the theater then to-sit beside him he-bade
ἠρέμα τε καὶ πράως "εἰπέ μοι," φησίν, "τί τῶν
quietly both and gently tell me he-says what of-the-things
ἐνθάδε γινομένων ἐστὶ παράνομον;"
here happening is lawless

ὁ δὲ εἰπεῖν ἔχων οὐδὲν τυχεῖν ἐδεῖτο συγγνώμης. ἀλλὰ 334
he but to-say having nothing to-obtain asked pardon but
ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῷ ἢ προσεδόκησέν τις διηλλάττετο
the king to-him than expected anyone was-reconciled
τὴν πρᾳότητα κρίνων βασιλικωτέραν ὀργῆς καὶ πρέπειν
the gentleness judging more-royal than-anger and to-befit
εἰδὼς τοῖς μεγέθεσι θυμοῦ πλέον ἐπιείκειαν. τὸν Σίμωνα
knowing the greatnesses than-passion more reasonableness — Simon
γοῦν καὶ δωρεᾶς τινος ἀξιώσας ἀπεπέμπετο.
at-least even of-gift some having-deemed-worthy he-dismissed
Πολλοῖς δὲ κατασκευάσας πολλὰ Βηρυτίους ἐξαιρέτως 335
for-many and having-built many-things Berytians especially
ἐτίμησεν· θέατρον γὰρ αὐτοῖς κατεσκεύασε πολυτελείᾳ
he-honored theater for for-them he-built in-costliness
τε καὶ κάλλει πολλῶν διαφέρον ἀμφιθέατρόν τε πολλῶν
both and beauty from-many differing amphitheater both of-many
ἀναλωμάτων βαλανεῖα πρὸς τούτοις καὶ στοάς, ἐν οὐδενὶ
expenses baths besides these and colonnades in none
τῶν ἔργων στενότητι δαπανημάτων ἢ τὸ κάλλος
of-the works by-narrowness of-expenditures either the beauty
ἀδικήσας ἢ τὸ μέγεθος.
having-wronged or the greatness
ἐπεδαψιλεύσατο δ' αὐτῶν τὴν καθιέρωσιν μεγαλοπρεπῶς, 336
he-was-lavish and of-them the dedication magnificently
ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ μὲν θεωρίας ἐπιτελῶν πάνθ' ὅσα
in the theater indeed spectacles performing all as-many-as
μουσικῆς ἔργα παράγων καὶ ποικίλης ποιητικὰ τέρψεως,
of-music works bringing-on and of-varied productive delight
ἐν δὲ τῷ ἀμφιθεάτρῳ πλήθει μονομάχων τὴν αὐτοῦ
in but the amphitheater with-multitude of-gladiators the his-own
δεικνὺς μεγαλόνοιαν.
showing magnanimity

337 ἔνθα καὶ τὴν κατὰ πλῆθος ἀντίταξιν βουληθεὶς γενέσθαι
there also the in multitude engagement having-wished to-be
τῶν θεωμένων τέρψιν ἑπτακοσίους ἄνδρας ἑπτακοσίοις
of-those watching delight seven-hundred men against-seven-hundred
μαχησομένους εἰσέπεμψεν κακούργους ὅσους εἶχεν
going-to-fight he-sent-in criminals as-many-as he-had
ἀποτάξας εἰς τήνδε τὴν πρᾶξιν, ἵν' οἱ μὲν
having-assigned for this the deed so-that the(-ones) indeed
κολασθῶσιν, τὸ πολέμου δ' ἔργον γένηται τέρψις εἰρήνης.
may-be-punished the of-war but work may-become delight of-peace
τούτους μὲν οὖν πασσυδὶ διέφθειρεν.
these indeed then all-together he-destroyed

338 Ἐν Βηρυτῷ δὲ τελέσας τὰ προειρημένα μετῆλθεν εἰς
in Berytus and having-completed the-things aforesaid he-went to
Τιβεριάδα πόλιν τῆς Γαλιλαίας. ἦν δὲ ἄρα τοῖς ἄλλοις
Tiberias city — of-Galilee he-was and then to-the other
βασιλεῦσιν περίβλεπτος. ἥκε γοῦν παρ' αὐτὸν Κομμαγηνῆς
kings admired came at-least to him of-Commagene
μὲν βασιλεὺς Ἀντίοχος, Ἐμεσῶν δὲ Σαμψιγέραμος καὶ
indeed king Antiochus of-Emesenes and Sampsigeramus and
Κότυς, τῆς μικρᾶς Ἀρμενίας οὗτος ἐβασίλευσεν, καὶ
Cotys of-the Lesser Armenia this-one was-king and
Πολέμων τὴν Πόντου κεκτημένος δυναστείαν Ἡρώδης τε·
Polemo the of-Pontus having-acquired dominion Herod both
οὗτος ἀδελφὸς ἦν αὐτοῦ, ἦρχεν δὲ τῆς Χαλκίδος.
this-one brother was his ruled and — of-Chalcis

339 ὡμίλησε δὲ πᾶσιν κατά τε τὰς ὑποδοχὰς καὶ
he-conversed and with-all in both the receptions and
φιλοφρονήσεις ὡς μάλιστα διαδείξας φρονήσεως ὕψος
kindnesses as most having-displayed of-mind loftiness

καὶ διὰ τοῦτό γε δοκεῖν δικαίως τῇ τοῦ βασιλέως
and because-of this indeed to-seem justly by-the of-the king
παρουσίᾳ τετιμῆσθαι.
presence to-have-been-honored
ἀλλὰ γὰρ τούτων διατριβόντων ἔτι παρ᾽ αὐτῷ Μάρσος 340
but for these staying still with him Marsus
ὁ τῆς Συρίας ἡγεμὼν παρεγένετο. πρὸς Ῥωμαίους οὖν
the — of-Syria governor arrived toward Romans then
τιμητικὸν τηρῶν ὑπαντησόμενος αὐτῷ τῆς πόλεως
honor keeping going-to-meet him from-the city
ἀπωτέρω σταδίους ἑπτὰ προῆλθεν ὁ βασιλεύς.
farther stades seven went-forth the king
τοῦτο δὲ ἄρα ἔμελλεν τῆς πρὸς Μάρσον ἀρχὴ γενήσεσθαι 341
this and then was-going of-the with Marsus beginning to-become
διαφορᾶς· συγκαθεζόμενος γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀπήνης ἐπήγετο
quarrel sitting-together for on the carriage he-brought-along
τοὺς ἄλλους βασιλέας, Μάρσῳ δ᾽ ἡ τούτων ὁμόνοια
the other kings to-Marsus and the of-these concord
καὶ μέχρι τοσοῦδε φιλία πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὑπωπτεύθη
and up-to so-great friendship toward each-other was-suspected
συμφέρειν οὐχ ὑπολαμβάνοντι Ῥωμαίοις δυναστῶν
to-benefit not supposing for-Romans of-dynasts
τοσούτων συμφρόνησιν. εὐθὺς οὖν ἑκάστῳ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων
so-many unanimity at-once then to-each of-the friends
τινὰς πέμπων ἐπέστελλεν ἐπὶ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ δίχα μελλήσεως
some sending he-sent-word to the his-own without delay
ἀπέρχεσθαι.
to-depart

At odds with Marsus, Agrippa deposes the high priest Matthias. In the third year of his reign over all Judaea he holds games at Caesarea for Caesar; on the second day he enters the theater at dawn in a robe of silver that blazes in the sun, and his flatterers hail him as a god. He does not rebuke them, and soon, seeing an owl above his head, he knows it for a messenger of evil. Seized by pains in his belly, he dies after five days, in his fifty-fourth year, leaving a son, Agrippa, and three daughters, and Herod of Chalcis and Helcias have Silas killed as if at the king's order. Caesarea and Sebaste revile his memory; Claudius, dissuaded from sending the young Agrippa, sends Cuspius Fadus, and the local troops he means to move stay and become a seed of the war under Florus.

342 ταῦτα Ἀγρίππας ἀνιαρῶς ἐξεδέχετο· καὶ Μάρσῳ μὲν ἐκ
these-things Agrippa grievously received and with-Marsus indeed from
τούτου διαφόρως ἔσχεν, τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην δὲ Ματθίαν
this at-variance he-was the high-priesthood and Matthias
ἀφελόμενος ἀντ᾽ αὐτοῦ κατέστησεν ἀρχιερέα Ἐλιωναῖον
having-taken-from instead-of him appointed high-priest Elionaeus
τὸν τοῦ Κιθαίρου παῖδα.
the — of-Cithaerus son

343 Τρίτον δὲ ἔτος αὐτῷ βασιλεύοντι τῆς ὅλης Ἰουδαίας
third and year for-him reigning of-the whole Judaea
πεπλήρωτο, καὶ παρῆν εἰς πόλιν Καισάρειαν, ἣ
had-been-completed and he-came to city Caesarea which
τὸ πρότερον Στράτωνος πύργος ἐκαλεῖτο. συνετέλει
the formerly of-Strato tower was-called he-held
δ᾽ ἐνταῦθα θεωρίας εἰς τὴν Καίσαρος τιμὴν
and there spectacles for the of-Caesar honor
ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκείνου σωτηρίας ἑορτήν τινα ταύτην
for the his safety festival some this
ἐπιστάμενος, καὶ παρ᾽ αὐτὴν ἤθροιστο τῶν κατὰ
knowing and at it had-been-gathered of-those in

τὴν ἐπαρχίαν ἐν τέλει καὶ προβεβηκότων εἰς ἀξίαν
the province in office and advanced to rank
πλῆθος.
multitude
δευτέρᾳ δὴ τῶν θεωριῶν ἡμέρᾳ στολὴν ἐνδὺς 344
on-the-second indeed of-the spectacles day robe having-put-on
ἐξ ἀργύρου πεποιημένην πᾶσαν, ὡς θαυμάσιον
from silver made all so-as wonderful
ὑφὴν εἶναι, παρῆλθεν εἰς τὸ θέατρον ἀρχομένης
weave to-be he-came into the theater beginning
ἡμέρας. ἔνθα ταῖς πρώταις τῶν ἡλιακῶν ἀκτίνων
day there at-the first of-the solar rays
ἐπιβολαῖς ὁ ἄργυρος καταυγασθεὶς θαυμασίως ἀπέστιλβε
strikings the silver illuminated wonderfully shone-forth
μαρμαίρων τι φοβερὸν καὶ τοῖς εἰς αὐτὸν ἀτενίζουσι
flashing something fearful and to-those at him gazing
φρικῶδες.
awe-inspiring
εὐθὺς δὲ οἱ κόλακες τὰς οὐδὲ ἐκείνῳ πρὸς ἀγαθοῦ 345
at-once and the flatterers the not-even for-that-one for good
ἄλλος ἄλλοθεν φωνὰς ἀνεβόων, θεὸν προσαγορεύοντες
one from-another-place voices cried-out god addressing-him
εὐμενής τε εἴης ἐπιλέγοντες, “εἰ καὶ μέχρι νῦν ὡς
gracious both may-you-be adding if even until now as
ἄνθρωπον ἐφοβήθημεν,
man we-feared
ἀλλὰ τοὐντεῦθεν κρείττονά σε θνητῆς φύσεως ὁμολογοῦμεν.” 346
but henceforth superior you than-mortal nature we-acknowledge
οὐκ ἐπέπληξεν τούτοις ὁ βασιλεὺς οὐδὲ τὴν κολακείαν
not rebuked these the king nor the flattery
ἀσεβοῦσαν ἀπετρίψατο. ἀνακύψας δ’ οὖν μετ’ ὀλίγον
impious rejected having-looked-up and then after little

τὸν βουβῶνα τῆς ἑαυτοῦ κεφαλῆς ὑπερκαθιζόμενον
the owl of-the his-own head sitting-above
εἶδεν ἐπὶ σχοινίου τινός. ἄγγελον τοῦτον εὐθὺς
he-saw on rope some messenger this-one at-once
ἐνόησεν κακῶν εἶναι τὸν καί ποτε τῶν ἀγαθῶν
he-perceived of-evils to-be the(-one) also once of-the goods
γενόμενον, καὶ διακάρδιον ἔσχεν ὀδύνην, ἄθρουν δ᾽
having-been and heart-piercing he-had pain sudden and
αὐτῷ τῆς κοιλίας προσέφυσεν ἄλγημα μετὰ σφοδρότητος
to-him of-the belly arose pain with violence
ἀρξάμενον.
having-begun
347 ἀναθορὼν οὖν πρὸς τοὺς φίλους, "ὁ θεὸς ὑμῖν
having-leaped-up then to the friends the god to-you
ἐγώ," φησίν, "ἤδη καταστρέφειν ἐπιτάττομαι τὸν
I he-says already to-end am-ordered the
βίον, παραχρῆμα τῆς εἱμαρμένης τὰς ἄρτι μου
life at-once the destiny the just-now about-me
κατεψευσμένας φωνὰς ἐλεγχούσης· ὁ κληθεὶς
falsely-spoken words refuting the(-one) called
ἀθάνατος ὑφ᾽ ὑμῶν ἤδη θανεῖν ἀπάγομαι. δεκτέον
immortal by you already to-die am-led-away one-must-accept
δὲ τὴν πεπρωμένην, ᾗ θεὸς βεβούληται· καὶ γὰρ
and the destiny as god has-willed and for
βεβιώκαμεν οὐδαμῇ φαύλως, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ τῆς μακαριζομένης
we-have-lived in-no-way meanly but in the deemed-blessed
λαμπρότητος."
splendor
348 ταῦθ᾽ ἅμα λέγων ἐπιτάσει τῆς ὀδύνης κατεπονεῖτο·
these-things at-once saying by-intensification of-the pain he-was-worn-down
μετὰ σπουδῆς οὖν εἰς τὸ βασίλειον ἐκομίσθη καὶ διῆξε
with haste then into the palace he-was-carried and ran-through

λόγος εἰς πάντας, ὡς ἔχοι τοῦ τεθνάναι παντάπασι
word to all that he-was-near of-the to-have-died altogether
μετ᾽ ὀλίγον.
after little
ἡ πληθὺς δ᾽ αὐτίκα σὺν γυναιξὶν καὶ παισὶν 349
the multitude and at-once with women and children
ἐπὶ σάκκων καθεσθεῖσα τῷ πατρίῳ νόμῳ τὸν
on sackcloths having-sat by-the ancestral law the
θεὸν ἱκέτευεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ βασιλέως, οἰμωγῆς δὲ
god supplicated for the king of-wailing and
πάντ᾽ ἦν ἀνάπλεα καὶ θρήνων. ἐν ὑψηλῷ δ᾽ ὁ
all-things were full and of-laments on high and the
βασιλεὺς δωματίῳ κατακείμενος καὶ κάτω βλέπων
king room lying and down looking
αὐτοὺς πρηνεῖς καταπίπτοντας ἄδακρυς οὐδ᾽ αὐτὸς
them prone falling-down tearless not-even himself
διέμενεν.
remained
συνεχεῖς δ᾽ ἐφ᾽ ἡμέρας πέντε τῷ τῆς γαστρὸς ἀλγήματι 350
continuous and for days five by-the of-the belly pain
διεργασθεὶς τὸν βίον κατέστρεψεν, ἀπὸ γενέσεως ἄγων
worn-out the life he-ended from birth leading
πεντηκοστὸν ἔτος καὶ τέταρτον, τῆς βασιλείας δ᾽
fiftieth year and fourth of-the reign and
ἕβδομον.
seventh
τέτταρας μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ Γαΐου Καίσαρος ἐβασίλευσεν 351
four indeed then under Gaius Caesar he-reigned
ἐνιαυτοὺς τῆς Φιλίππου μὲν τετραρχίας εἰς τριετίαν
years of-the of-Philip indeed tetrarchy for three-years
ἄρξας, τῷ τετάρτῳ δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἡρώδου προσειληφώς,
having-ruled in-the fourth and also the of-Herod having-taken-in-addition

τρεῖς δ' ἐπιλαβὼν τῆς Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος αὐτοκρατορίας,
three and having-added of-the of-Claudius Caesar sovereignty
ἐν οἷς τῶν τε προειρημένων ἐβασίλευσεν καὶ
in which the both aforesaid he-reigned-over and
τὴν Ἰουδαίαν προσέλαβεν Σαμάρειάν τε καὶ
— Judaea he-took-in-addition Samaria both and
Καισάρειαν.
Caesarea

352 προσωδεύσατο δ' ὅτι πλείστας αὐτῶν προσφορὰς
he-drew-revenue and as most from-them revenues
διακοσίας ἐπὶ χιλίαις μυριάδας, πολλὰ μέντοι
two-hundred over thousand ten-thousands many-things however
προσεδανείσατο· τῷ γὰρ φιλόδωρος εἶναι δαψιλέστερα
he-borrowed-besides by-the for generous to-be more-lavishly
τῶν προσιόντων ἀνήλισκεν, ἦν δὲ ἀφειδὲς αὐτοῦ τὸ
than-the incomings he-spent was and unsparing his the
φιλότιμον.
ambition

353 Ἀγνοουμένης γε μὴν τοῖς πλήθεσιν τῆς ἐκπνοῆς αὐτοῦ
being-unknown indeed indeed to-the multitudes the death his
συμφρονήσαντες Ἡρώδης τε ὁ τῆς Χαλκίδος δυναστεύων
having-plotted-together Herod both the — of-Chalcis ruling
καὶ Ἑλκίας ὁ ἔπαρχος καὶ φίλος τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀρίστωνα
and Helcias the prefect and friend of-the king Ariston
ἔπεμψαν τῶν ὑπηρετῶν τὸν ἐπιτήδειον καὶ Σίλαν, ἐχθρὸς
sent of-the attendants the suitable and Silas enemy
γὰρ ἦν αὐτοῖς, ἀπέσφαξαν ὡς δὴ τοῦ βασιλέως
for he-was to-them they-slew as indeed the king
κελεύσαντος.
having-ordered

Ἀγρίππας μὲν οὖν ὁ βασιλεὺς τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ 354
Agrippa indeed then the king in-manner such
κατέστρεψεν τὸν βίον, γένει δὲ αὐτῷ κατελέλειπτο
ended the life by-family and to-him had-been-left
υἱὸς μὲν Ἀγρίππας ἄγων ἔτος ἑπτακαιδέκατον, τρεῖς
son indeed Agrippa leading year seventeenth three
δὲ θυγατέρες, ὧν ἡ μὲν Ἡρώδῃ τοῦ πατρὸς
and daughters of-whom the(-one) indeed to-Herod of-the father
ἀδελφῷ γεγάμητο Βερενίκη τὸ ἑκκαιδέκατον ἔτος
brother had-been-married Berenice the sixteenth year
γεγονυῖα, παρθένοι δ' ἦσαν αἱ δύο Μαριάμμη τε
having-become maidens and were the two Mariamne both
καὶ Δρούσιλλα, δεκαετὴς μὲν ἡ ἑτέρα, ἑξαετὴς δὲ
and Drusilla ten-years-old indeed the one six-years-old and
Δρούσιλλα·
Drusilla
καθωμολόγηντο δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς πρὸς γάμον Ἰουλίῳ 355
had-been-betrothed and by the father for marriage to-Julius
μὲν Ἀρχελάῳ τοῦ Χελκίου παιδὶ Μαριάμμη, Δρούσιλλα
indeed Archelaus the of-Helcias son Mariamne Drusilla
δὲ Ἐπιφανεῖ, τοῦ δὲ τῆς Κομμαγηνῆς βασιλέως Ἀντιόχου
and to-Epiphanes of-the and — of-Commagene king Antiochus
υἱὸς ἦν οὗτος.
son was this-one
ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὅτε ἐγνώσθη τὸν βίον ἐκλιπὼν Ἀγρίππας, 356
but for when it-was-known the life having-left Agrippa
Καισαρεῖς καὶ Σεβαστηνοὶ τῶν εὐποιῶν αὐτοῦ λαθόμενοι
Caesareans and Sebastenes of-the benefactions his having-forgotten
τὰ τῶν δυσμενεστάτων ἐποίησαν·
the-things of-the most-hostile did

357 βλασφημίας τε γὰρ ἀπερρίπτουν εἰς τὸν κατοιχόμενον
blasphemies both for they-threw at the departed
ἀπρεπεῖς λέγεσθαι καὶ ὅσοι στρατευόμενοι
unseemly to-be-spoken and as-many-as soldiering
τότε ἔτυχον, συχνοὶ δ' ἦσαν, οἴκαδε ἀπῆλθον
then happened numerous and they-were home went-away
[…]
(omitted)
358 ἐπί τε τοῖς δημοσίοις κατακλινόμενοι τόποις
on both the public reclining places
πανδήμους ἑστιάσεις ἐπετέλουν στεφανούμενοι
public feasts held being-crowned
καὶ μυριζόμενοι καὶ σπένδοντες τῷ Χάρωνι
and anointing-themselves and pouring-libations — to-Charon
προπόσεις τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως ἐκπνοῆς ἀλλήλοις
toasts of-the of-the king death to-each-other
ἀνταποδιδόντες.
returning
359 ἀμνήμονες δ' ἦσαν οὐκ Ἀγρίππα μόνον χρησαμένου
unmindful and they-were not of-Agrippa only having-shown
πολλαῖς εἰς αὐτοὺς φιλοτιμίαις, καὶ τοῦ πάππου
many toward them munificences and of-the grandfather
δὲ Ἡρώδου· τὰς πόλεις ἐκεῖνος αὐτοῖς ἔκτισεν
and Herod the cities that-one for-them founded
λιμένας τε καὶ ναοὺς κατεσκεύασεν λαμπροῖς
harbors both and temples he-built with-brilliant
δαπανήμασιν.
expenditures

Ὁ δὲ τοῦ τεθνεῶτος υἱὸς Ἀγρίππας ἐπὶ Ῥώμης 360
the and of-the dead son Agrippa at Rome
ἦν ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ τρεφόμενος παρὰ Κλαυδίῳ
was in the time this being-reared with Claudius
Καίσαρι.
Caesar
πυθόμενός γε μὴν Καῖσαρ, ὅτι τέθνηκεν Ἀγρίππας, 361
having-learned indeed indeed Caesar that has-died Agrippa
Σεβαστηνοὶ δὲ καὶ Καισαρεῖς ὑβρίκασιν εἰς αὐτόν,
Sebastenes and and Caesareans have-outraged against him
ἐπ᾽ ἐκείνῳ μὲν ἤλγησεν, ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς ἀχαριστήσαντας
at that-one indeed he-grieved at but the ungrateful-ones
ὠργίσθη.
he-was-angered
πέμπειν οὖν εὐθέως ὥρμητο τὸν νεώτερον Ἀγρίππαν 362
to-send then at-once he-was-set the younger Agrippa
τὴν βασιλείαν διαδεξόμενον ἅμα βουλόμενος ἐμπεδοῦν
the kingdom going-to-succeed-to at-once wishing to-confirm
τοὺς ὀμωμοσμένους ὅρκους, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐξελευθέρων
the sworn oaths but of-the freedmen
καὶ φίλων οἱ πολὺ παρ᾽ αὐτῷ δυνάμενοι ἀπέτρεψαν,
and friends those much with him having-power turned-him-away
σφαλερὸν εἶναι λέγοντες κομιδῇ νέῳ μηδὲ τοὺς παιδὸς
perilous to-be saying for-quite young not-even the of-boy
ἐκβεβηκότι χρόνους ἐπιτρέπειν βασιλείας τηλικοῦτον
having-passed-beyond times to-entrust of-kingdom so-great
μέγεθος, ᾧ μὴ δυνατὸν τὰς τῆς διοικήσεως φροντίδας
greatness to-whom not possible the of-the administration cares
ἐνεγκεῖν, καὶ τελείῳ δ᾽ οὖν εἶναι βαρὺ βάσταγμα
to-bear even for-full-grown and then to-be heavy burden
βασιλείαν.
kingdom

363 ἔδοξεν οὖν αὐτοὺς εἰκότα λέγειν ὁ Καῖσαρ.
he-thought then them reasonable-things to-say — Caesar
ἔπαρχον οὖν τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ τῆς ἁπάσης βασιλείας
prefect then — of-Judaea and of-the whole kingdom
ἀπέστειλεν Κούσπιον Φᾶδον τῷ κατοιχομένῳ διδοὺς
he-sent Cuspius Fadus to-the departed giving
τιμὴν τὸ μὴ Μάρσον ἐπαγαγεῖν εἰς βασιλείαν αὐτῷ
honor the not Marsus to-bring-in into kingdom to-him
διάφορον.
at-variance

364 ἐγνώκει δὲ πρὸ πάντων ἐπιστεῖλαι τῷ Φάδῳ
he-had-decided and before all-things to-enjoin — to-Fadus
Καισαρεῦσιν καὶ Σεβαστηνοῖς ἐπιπλῆξαι τῆς εἰς τὸν
Caesareans and Sebastenes to-rebuke for-the toward the
κατοιχόμενον ὕβρεως καὶ παροινίας εἰς τὰς ἔτι
departed outrage and drunken-violence toward the still
ζώσας,
living

365 τὴν ἴλην δὲ τῶν Καισαρέων καὶ τῶν Σεβαστηνῶν
the squadron and of-the Caesareans and of-the Sebastenes
καὶ τὰς πέντε σπείρας εἰς Πόντον μεταγαγεῖν, ἵν' ἐκεῖ
and the five cohorts into Pontus to-transfer so-that there
στρατεύοιντο, τῶν δ' ἐν Συρίᾳ Ῥωμαϊκῶν ταγμάτων
they-might-serve of-the and in Syria Roman legions
ἐπιλέξαι στρατιώτας κατ' ἀριθμοὺς καὶ τὸν ἐκείνων
to-select soldiers by numbers and the their
ἀναπληρῶσαι τόπον.
to-fill-up place

366 οὐ μὴν οἱ κελευσθέντες μετέστησαν· πρεσβευσάμενοι
not indeed those ordered moved having-sent-embassies
γὰρ Κλαύδιον ἀπεμειλίξαντο καὶ μένειν ἐπὶ τῆς
for Claudius they-appeased and to-remain in —

Ἰουδαίας ἐπέτυχον, οἳ καὶ τοῖς ἐπιοῦσι χρόνοις τῶν
Judaea obtained who also in-the coming times of-the
μεγίστων Ἰουδαίοις ἐγένοντο συμφορῶν ἀρχὴ τοῦ κατὰ
greatest for-Jews became misfortunes beginning of-the under
Φλῶρον πολέμου σπέρματα βαλόντες. ὅθεν Οὐεσπασιανὸς
Florus war seeds having-cast whence Vespasian
κρατήσας, ὡς μετ᾽ ὀλίγον ἐροῦμεν, ἐξήγαγεν αὐτοὺς τῆς
having-prevailed as after little we-shall-tell led-out them from-the
ἐπαρχίας.
province

PLUTARCH

ΓΑΛΒΑΣ

Galba

I · GALBA IS PROCLAIMED

An army led by untaught passions is the most fearful thing in an empire, as Rome learns after Nero's death, when four emperors pass through the Palatium in less time than a tyrant of Pherae ruled. Nymphidius Sabinus, prefect of the guard, first teaches the soldiers to sell their loyalty, promising each a vast gift for proclaiming Galba. Galba, a rich and noble man, governs Spain mildly under Nero. When Vindex rises in Gaul and urges him to take the empire, Titus Vinius presses him to accept, and he declares himself general of the senate and people. The senate votes him an enemy; Verginius Rufus, commanding the German army in Gaul, refuses the empire, and when his legions crush Vindex against their leaders' will, Galba withdraws to Clunia in fear.

Ὁ μὲν Ἀθηναῖος Ἰφικράτης τὸν μισθοφόρον ἠξίου 1
the indeed Athenian Iphicrates the mercenary deemed-fit
στρατιώτην καὶ φιλόπλουτον εἶναι καὶ φιλήδονον,
soldier both money-loving to-be and pleasure-loving
ὅπως ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις χορηγίαν ἐπιζητῶν ἀγωνίζηται
so-that for-the desires supply seeking he-may-fight
παραβολώτερον, οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι, καθάπερ ἐρρωμένον σῶμα,
more-recklessly the but most like strong body
τὸ στρατιωτικὸν ἀξιοῦσιν ἰδίᾳ μηδέποτε χρώμενον ὁρμῇ
the military deem-fit own never using impulse
συγκινεῖσθαι τῇ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ.
to-be-moved-together-with the of-the general
διὸ καὶ Παῦλον Αἰμίλιον λέγουσι τὴν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ
wherefore also Paulus Aemilius they-say the in Macedonia
δύναμιν παραλαβόντα λαλιᾶς καὶ περιεργίας, οἷον
force having-taken-over of-chatter and of-meddling as-it-were
διαστρατηγοῦσαν, ἀνάπλεων, παρεγγυῆσαι τὴν χεῖρα ποιεῖν
playing-the-general full to-have-ordered the hand to-make

ἑτοίμην καὶ τὴν μάχαιραν ὀξεῖαν ἕκαστον, αὐτῷ δὲ
ready and the sword sharp each for-himself and
τῶν ἄλλων μελήσειν.
of-the others to-be-going-to-be-a-care
ὁ δὲ Πλάτων οὐδὲν ἔργον ὁρῶν ἄρχοντος ἀγαθοῦ καὶ
— and Plato no work seeing of-ruler good and
στρατηγοῦ στρατιᾶς μὴ σωφρονούσης μηδὲ ὁμοπαθούσης,
general of-army not being-temperate nor sharing-feeling
ἀλλὰ τὴν πειθαρχικὴν ἀρετὴν ὁμοίως τῇ βασιλικῇ
but the obedient virtue alike to-the royal
νομίζων φύσεως γενναίας καὶ τροφῆς φιλοσόφου δεῖσθαι,
thinking of-nature noble and of-nurture philosophic to-need
μάλιστα τῷ πράῳ καὶ φιλανθρώπῳ τὸ θυμοειδὲς καὶ
most with-the gentle and humane the spirited and
δραστήριον ἐμμελῶς ἀνακεραννυμένης, ἄλλα τε πάθη
active harmoniously mixing other both sufferings
πολλὰ καὶ τὰ Ῥωμαίοις συμπεσόντα μετὰ τὴν Νέρωνος
many and the-things to-Romans having-befallen after the of-Nero
τελευτὴν ἔχει μαρτύρια καὶ παραδείγματα τοῦ μηδὲν εἶναι
end has testimonies and examples of-the nothing to-be
φοβερώτερον ἀπαιδεύτοις χρωμένης καὶ ἀλόγοις ὁρμαῖς
more-fearful with-untaught dealing and irrational impulses
ἐν ἡγεμονίᾳ στρατιωτικῆς δυνάμεως.
in empire than-military force
Δημάδης μὲν γὰρ Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτήσαντος εἴκαζε τὴν
Demades indeed for Alexander having-died likened the
Μακεδόνων στρατιὰν ἐκτετυφλωμένῳ τῷ Κύκλωπι, πολλὰς
of-Macedonians army to-the-blinded — Cyclops many
κινουμένην ὁρῶν κινήσεις ἀτάκτους καὶ παραφόρους· τὴν
moving seeing motions disorderly and frenzied the
δὲ Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίαν ὅμοια τοῖς λεγομένοις Τιτανικοῖς
and of-Romans empire like to-the so-called Titanic

πάθεσι καὶ κινήμασι κατελάμβανεν, εἰς πολλὰ διασπωμένην
sufferings and convulsions seized into many being-torn-apart
ἅμα καὶ πολλαχόθεν αὖθις ἑαυτῇ συμπίπτουσαν, οὐχ
at-once and from-many-sides again with-itself colliding not
οὕτως ὑπὸ φιλαρχίας τῶν ἀναγορευομένων αὐτοκρατόρων,
so by love-of-rule of-those proclaimed emperors
ὡς φιλοπλουτίας καὶ ἀκολασίας τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ δι᾽
as by-love-of-money and licentiousness the of-the-military through
ἀλλήλων ὥσπερ ἥλους τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἐκκρούοντος.
each-other like nails the leaders knocking-out
καίτοι Διονύσιος Φεραῖον ἄρξαντα Θετταλῶν δέκα
and-yet Dionysius Pheraean having-ruled Thessalians ten
μῆνας, εἶτα εὐθὺς ἀναιρεθέντα, τὸν τραγικὸν ἀνεκάλει
months then at-once killed the tragic called
τύραννον, ἐπισκώπτων τὸ τάχος τῆς μεταβολῆς, ἡ δὲ τῶν
tyrant mocking the speed of-the change the and of-the
Καισάρων ἑστία, τὸ Παλάτιον, ἐν ἐλάσσονι χρόνῳ τέσσαρας
Caesars hearth — Palatium in less time four
αὐτοκράτορας ὑπεδέξατο, τὸν μὲν εἰσαγόντων ὥσπερ διὰ
emperors received the(-one) indeed bringing-in as through
σκηνῆς, τὸν δ᾽ ἐξαγόντων. ἀλλ᾽ ἦν γε παραμυθία
stage the(-other) and bringing-out but there-was indeed consolation
τοῖς κακῶς πάσχουσι μία τὸ μὴ δεηθῆναι δίκης ἑτέρας ἐπὶ
to-those badly suffering one the not to-need of-justice other upon
τοὺς αἰτίους, ἀλλ᾽ ὁρᾶν αὐτοὺς ὑφ᾽ ἑαυτῶν φονευομένους,
the guilty but to-see them by themselves being-murdered
πρῶτον δὲ καὶ δικαιότατα πάντων τὸν δελεάσαντα
first and also most-justly of-all the(-one) having-baited
καὶ διδάξαντα τοσοῦτον ἐλπίζειν ἐπὶ μεταβολῇ Καίσαρος
and having-taught so-much to-hope from change of-Caesar

ὅσον αὐτὸς ὑπέσχετο, κάλλιστον ἔργον διαβαλὼν τῷ
as-much-as he-himself promised finest deed having-slandered by-the
μισθῷ, τὴν ἀπὸ Νέρωνος ἀποστασίαν προδοσίαν γενομένην.
pay the from Nero revolt treason having-become
2 Νυμφίδιος γὰρ Σαβῖνος ὢν ἔπαρχος, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, μετὰ
Nymphidius for Sabinus being prefect as has-been-said with
Τιγελλίνου τῆς αὐλῆς, ἐπεὶ τὰ Νέρωνος ἀπέγνωστο
Tigellinus of-the court when the-things of-Nero had-been-despaired-of
παντάπασι καὶ δῆλος ἦν ἀποδρασόμενος εἰς Αἴγυπτον,
altogether and plain he-was going-to-run-away to Egypt
ἔπεισε τὸ στρατιωτικόν, ὡς μηκέτι παρόντος, ἀλλ' ἤδη
persuaded the military as no-longer present but already
πεφευγότος, αὐτοκράτορα Γάλβαν ἀναγορεῦσαι,
having-fled emperor Galba to-proclaim
καὶ δωρεὰν ὑπέσχετο κατ' ἄνδρα τοῖς αὐλικοῖς καὶ
and gift promised per man to-the court and
στρατηγικοῖς προσαγορευομένοις δραχμὰς ἑπτακισχιλίας
praetorian so-called drachmas seven-thousand
πεντακοσίας, τοῖς δὲ ἐκτὸς στρατευομένοις πεντήκοντα καὶ
five-hundred to-the and outside serving fifty and
διακοσίας ἐπὶ χιλίαις, ὅσον ἀμήχανον ἦν συναγαγεῖν μὴ
two-hundred over thousand as-much-as impossible was to-collect not
πλείονα μυριάκις κακὰ παρασχόντα πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις
more ten-thousand-fold evils having-provided to-all men
ὧν Νέρων παρέσχε.
than Nero provided
τοῦτο γὰρ εὐθὺς μὲν ἀπώλεσε Νέρωνα, μετ' ὀλίγον
this for at-once indeed destroyed Nero after little
δὲ Γάλβαν τὸν μὲν γὰρ ὡς ληψόμενοι προήκαντο,
but Galba the(-one) indeed for as going-to-receive they-abandoned
τὸν δὲ μὴ λαμβάνοντες ἀπέκτειναν. εἶτα τὸν
the(-other) but not receiving they-killed then the(-one)

τοσοῦτον δώσοντα ζητοῦντες ἔφθησαν ἐν ταῖς ἀποστάσεσι
so-much going-to-give seeking they-anticipated in the revolts
καὶ προδοσίαις ἀναλώσαντες αὑτοὺς ἢ τυχόντες ὧν
and treasons having-spent themselves or having-obtained what
ἤλπισαν. τὰ μὲν οὖν καθ' ἕκαστα τῶν γενομένων
they-hoped the-things indeed then in detail of-the-things having-happened
ἀπαγγέλλειν ἀκριβῶς τῆς πραγματικῆς ἱστορίας ἐστίν,
to-report exactly of-the pragmatic history is
ὅσα δὲ ἄξια λόγου τοῖς τῶν Καισάρων ἔργοις καὶ
as-many-as but worthy of-account to-the of-the Caesars deeds and
πάθεσι συμπέπτωκεν, οὐδὲ ἐμοὶ προσήκει παρελθεῖν.
sufferings has-happened not-even for-me befits to-pass-by
Γάλβας Σουλπίκιος ὅτι μὲν ἰδιώτης πλουσιώτατος 3
Galba Sulpicius that indeed private-man richest
ἁπάντων εἰς τὸν Καισάρων παρῆλθεν οἶκον, ὁμολογεῖται
of-all into the of-Caesars came house is-agreed
μέγα δὲ ἔχων εὐγενείας ἀξίωμα τὸν Σερουΐων οἶκον, αὐτὸς
great and having of-noble-birth dignity the of-the-Servii house himself
ἐφρόνει μεῖζον ἐπὶ τῇ Κάτλου συγγενείᾳ, πρωτεύσαντος
was-proud more on the of-Catulus kinship having-been-first
ἀνδρὸς ἀρετῇ καὶ δόξῃ τῶν καθ' ἑαυτόν, εἰ καὶ τὸ
man in-virtue and repute of-those in his-time if even the
δύνασθαι μᾶλλον ἑκὼν ἑτέροις παρῆκεν.
to-be-powerful rather willingly to-others he-yielded
ἦν δέ τι καὶ Λιβίᾳ τῇ Καίσαρος γυναικὶ κατὰ γένος
was and somewhat also to-Livia the of-Caesar wife by family
προσήκων ὁ Γάλβας, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Λιβίας παρασχούσης
related — Galba and because-of this Livia having-provided
ὕπατος ἐκ Παλατίου προῆλθε. λέγεται δὲ καὶ στρατεύματος
consul from Palatium he-went-forth it-is-said and also army
ἐν Γερμανίᾳ καλῶς ἄρξαι καὶ Λιβύης ἀνθύπατος
in Germany well to-have-commanded and of-Libya proconsul

γενόμενος σὺν ὀλίγοις ἐπαινεθῆναι. τὸ δὲ εὔκολον αὐτοῦ
having-become with few to-have-been-praised the and easiness his
τῆς διαίτης καὶ φειδωλὸν ἐν δαπάναις καὶ ἀπέριττον
of-the living and thrifty in expenditures and plain
αἰτίαν ἔσχεν αὐτοκράτορος γενομένου μικρολογίας, ἣν
charge had emperor having-become of-stinginess which
ἕωλόν τινα δόξαν εὐταξίας ἔφερε καὶ σωφροσύνης.
stale some reputation of-orderliness bore and of-temperance
ἐπέμφθη δὲ ὑπὸ Νέρωνος Ἰβηρίας ἄρχων, οὔπω
he-was-sent and by Nero of-Iberia ruler not-yet
δεδιδαγμένου φοβεῖσθαι τοὺς ἐν ἀξιώμασι μεγάλους τῶν
having-been-taught to-fear those in dignities great of-the
πολιτῶν. ἐκείνῳ δὲ καὶ φύσει δοκοῦντι πρᾴῳ γεγονέναι
citizens to-that-one and also by-nature seeming gentle to-have-been
προσετίθει πίστιν εὐλαβείας τὸ γῆρας.
added trust of-caution the old-age

4 Ἐπεὶ δέ, τῶν ἀλιτηρίων ἐπιτρόπων ὠμῶς καὶ ἀγρίως
when and the accursed procurators savagely and cruelly
τὰς ἐπαρχίας ἐκείνῳ διαφορούντων, ἄλλο μὲν εἶχεν
the provinces under-that-one plundering other indeed he-had
οὐδὲν βοηθεῖν, αὐτῷ δὲ τῷ φανερὸς εἶναι συναλγῶν
nothing to-help by-the-very but the plain to-be grieving-with
καὶ συναδικούμενος ἁμῶς γέ πως ἀναπνοήν τινα
and being-wronged-with somehow indeed somehow breathing-space some
καὶ παραμυθίαν τοῖς καταδικαζομένοις καὶ πωλουμένοις
and consolation to-those being-condemned and being-sold
παρέσχε· καὶ ποιημάτων εἰς Νέρωνα γινομένων καὶ
provided and of-poems against Nero being-made and
πολλαχοῦ περιφερομένων καὶ ᾀδομένων, οὐκ ἐκώλυεν
in-many-places carried-around and sung not he-hindered

οὐδὲ συνηγανάκτει τοῖς ἐπιτρόποις· ἐφ᾽ οἷς ἔτι μᾶλλον
nor was-indignant-with the procurators at which still more
ἠγαπᾶτο ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων.
he-was-loved by the men
καὶ γὰρ ἦν ἤδη συνήθης, ἔτος ὄγδοον ἐκεῖνο τὴν ἀρχὴν
and for he-was already familiar year eighth that the rule
ἔχων ἐν ᾧ Ἰούνιος Οὐίνδιξ ἐπανέστη Νέρωνι, Γαλατίας
having in which Junius Vindex rose-against Nero of-Gaul
ὢν στρατηγός. λέγεται μὲν οὖν καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἐμφανοῦς
being general it-is-said indeed then also before the open
ἀποστάσεως γράμματα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφικέσθαι παρὰ τοῦ
revolt letters to him to-have-come from —
Οὐίνδικος, οἷς μήτε πιστεῦσαι μήτε μηνῦσαι καὶ κατειπεῖν,
Vindex to-which neither to-trust nor to-inform and to-denounce
ὡς ἕτεροι τῶν ἡγεμονικῶν ἐπιστολὰς αὐτοῖς γραφείσας
as others of-the governors letters to-them written
ἔπεμψαν πρὸς Νέρωνα καὶ διέφθειραν ὅσον ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς
sent to Nero and ruined as-much-as on them
τὴν πρᾶξιν, ἧς ὕστερον μετασχόντες ὡμολόγησαν
the undertaking in-which later having-shared they-acknowledged
αὑτῶν οὐδὲν ἧττον ἢ ἐκείνου προδόται γεγονέναι.
themselves nothing less than of-that-one traitors to-have-become
ἀλλ᾽ ἐπειδὴ λαμπρῶς τὸν πόλεμον ἐκφήνας ὁ Οὐίνδιξ
but when brilliantly the war having-declared — Vindex
ἔγραψε τῷ Γάλβᾳ παρακαλῶν ἀναδέξασθαι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν
wrote — to-Galba urging to-take-up the empire
καὶ παρασχεῖν ἑαυτὸν ἰσχυρῷ σώματι ζητοῦντι κεφαλήν,
and to-offer himself to-strong body seeking head
ταῖς Γαλατίαις δέκα μυριάδας ἀνδρῶν ὡπλισμένων
to-the Gauls ten ten-thousands of-men armed
ἐχούσαις ἄλλας τε πλείονας ὁπλίσαι δυναμέναις, προὔθηκε
having others both more to-arm being-able he-set-before

βουλὴν τοῖς φίλοις. ὧν οἱ μὲν ἠξίουν περιμένειν
counsel to-the friends of-whom the(-ones) indeed deemed-fit to-wait
καραδοκοῦντα τίνα κίνησιν ἡ Ῥώμη καὶ φορὰν ἕξει
watching what movement — Rome and tendency will-have
πρὸς τὸν νεωτερισμόν·
toward the revolution
Τίτος δὲ Οὐίνιος ὁ τοῦ στρατηγικοῦ τάγματος ἡγεμὼν
Titus and Vinius the of-the praetorian cohort commander
αὐτοῖς εἶπεν· "ὦ Γάλβα, τίνα τρόπον βουλεύεσθε; τὸ γὰρ
to-them said O Galba what manner do-you-deliberate the for
ζητεῖν Νέρωνι εἰ πιστοὶ μενοῦμεν, οὐκ ἤδη μενόντων
to-inquire for-Nero if faithful we-shall-remain not already of-those-remaining
ἐστίν, ὡς οὖν ὑπάρχοντος ἐχθροῦ Νέρωνος οὐ δὴ
is as then being enemy Nero not indeed
προετέον τὴν τοῦ Οὐίνδικος φιλίαν, ἢ καὶ κατηγορητέον
one-must-forsake the — of-Vindex friendship or also one-must-accuse
εὐθὺς αὐτοῦ καὶ πολεμητέον, ὅτι σὲ βούλεται Ῥωμαίους
at-once him and one-must-make-war because you he-wishes Romans
ἔχειν ἄρχοντα μᾶλλον ἢ Νέρωνα τύραννον."
to-have ruler rather than Nero tyrant
5 Ἐκ τούτου προγράμματι μὲν ἐδήλωσεν ὁ Γάλβας ἡμέραν
from this by-proclamation indeed declared — Galba day
ἐν ᾗ τὰς κατὰ μέρος ἐλευθερώσεις ἀποδώσει τοῖς
on which the by part manumissions he-will-give to-those
δεομένοις, λαλιὰ δὲ καὶ φήμη προεκπεσοῦσα πλῆθος
asking chatter and and rumor having-spread-ahead multitude
ἀνθρώπων ἤθροισε προθύμων ἐπὶ τὸν νεωτερισμόν. οὐκ
of-men gathered eager for the revolution not
ἔφθη γοῦν φανερὸς ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος γενόμενος, καὶ
anticipated at-least plain on the tribunal having-become and
πάντες αὐτὸν ὁμοφώνως αὐτοκράτορα προσεῖπον.
all him with-one-voice emperor hailed

ὁ δὲ ταύτην μὲν εὐθὺς οὐ προσεδέξατο τὴν προσηγορίαν,
he and this indeed at-once not accepted the title
κατηγορήσας δὲ τοῦ Νέρωνος, καὶ τῶν ἀνῃρημένων
having-accused but — Nero and the killed
ἀνδρῶν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους ὀλοφυράμενος,
men by him the most-illustrious having-lamented
ὡμολόγησεν ἐπιδώσειν τῇ πατρίδι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πρόνοιαν,
he-agreed to-be-going-to-give to-the fatherland the his-own forethought
οὔτε Καῖσαρ οὔτε αὐτοκράτωρ, στρατηγὸς δὲ συγκλήτου
neither Caesar nor emperor general but of-senate
καὶ δήμου Ῥωμαίων ὀνομαζόμενος.
and people of-Romans being-named
ὅτι δ᾽ ὀρθῶς ὁ Οὐίνδιξ καὶ λελογισμένως ἐξεκαλεῖτο
that and rightly — Vindex and calculatedly called-forth
τὸν Γάλβαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, ἐπιστώσατο μάρτυρι τῷ
— Galba to the empire he-confirmed with-witness —
Νέρωνι. προσποιούμενος γὰρ ἐκείνου καταφρονεῖν καὶ
Nero pretending for of-that-one to-despise and
παρ᾽ οὐδὲν ἡγεῖσθαι τὰ Γαλατῶν, ἅμα τῷ πυθέσθαι
as nothing to-consider the-things of-Gauls at-once with-the to-learn
τὰ περὶ Γάλβαν ἔτυχε δὲ λελουμένος καὶ ἀριστῶν
the-things about Galba he-happened and having-bathed and lunching
ἀνέτρεψε τὴν τράπεζαν.
he-overturned the table
οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ συγκλήτου ψηφισαμένης πολέμιον τὸν Γάλβαν
not indeed but the-senate having-voted enemy — Galba
αὐτός τε παίζειν καὶ θρασύνεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς φίλους
himself both to-jest and to-be-bold toward the friends
βουλόμενος, οὐ φαύλην ἔφη πρόρρησιν ἐμπεπτωκέναι
wishing not bad he-said proclamation to-have-fallen
λογισμοῦ δεομένῳ χρημάτων αὐτῷ· καὶ τὰ μὲν
of-calculation needing of-money to-him and the-things indeed

Γαλατῶν, ὅταν ὑποχείριοι γένωνται, λαφυραγωγήσεσθαι,
of-Gauls when subject they-become to-be-going-to-plunder
ἡ δὲ Γάλβα πάρεστιν οὐσία χρῆσθαι καὶ πωλεῖν ἤδη
the and of-Galba is-at-hand estate to-use and to-sell already
πολεμίου πεφηνότος.
enemy having-appeared
οὗτός τε δὴ τὰ Γάλβα πιπράσκειν ἐκέλευε, καὶ
this-one both indeed the-things of-Galba to-sell ordered and
Γάλβας ἀκούσας, ὅσα Νέρωνος ἦν ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ
Galba having-heard as-many-as of-Nero were in Iberia
κηρύττων εὕρισκε πολλοὺς προθυμοτέρους ὠνητάς.
putting-up-for-auction found many more-eager buyers
6 Ἀφισταμένων δὲ πολλῶν τοῦ Νέρωνος καὶ πάντων
revolting and many — from-Nero and all
ἐπιεικῶς τῷ Γάλβᾳ προστιθεμένων, μόνος Κλώδιος
fairly — to-Galba attaching-themselves alone Clodius
Μάκρος ἐν Λιβύῃ καὶ Οὐεργίνιος Ῥοῦφος ἐν Γαλατίᾳ τοῦ
Macer in Libya and Verginius Rufus in Gaul of-the
Γερμανικοῦ στρατεύματος ἡγούμενος αὐτοὶ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς
German army leading themselves by themselves
ἔπραττον, οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν αἵρεσιν ἔχοντες.
acted not the same choice having
ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Κλώδιος, ἐν ἁρπαγαῖς πραγμάτων γεγονὼς
but — indeed Clodius in plunderings of-affairs having-been
καὶ φόνοις ἀνδρῶν δι' ὠμότητα καὶ πλεονεξίαν,
and murders of-men through savagery and greed
δῆλος ἦν ἐν τῷ μήτε κατέχειν μήτε ἀφιέναι τὴν
plain was in the neither to-hold nor to-let-go the
ἀρχὴν δύνασθαι περιφερόμενος, Οὐεργίνιος δὲ ταγμάτων
rule to-be-able being-carried-about Verginius and of-legions
ἐπιστατῶν δυνατωτάτων πολλάκις αὐτὸν ἀναγορευόντων
presiding most-powerful often him proclaiming

αὐτοκράτορα καὶ βιαζομένων οὔτε αὐτὸς ἔφη λήψεσθαι
emperor and forcing neither himself he-said to-be-going-to-take
τὴν ἡγεμονίαν οὔτε ἄλλῳ περιόψεσθαι διδομένην, ὃν
the empire nor to-another to-be-going-to-allow being-given whom
ἂν μὴ ἡ σύγκλητος ἕληται.
— not the senate may-choose
ταῦτα τὸν Γάλβαν οὐ μετρίως ἐθορύβει τὸ πρῶτον· ἐπεὶ
these-things — Galba not moderately disturbed the first when
δὲ τὰ Οὐεργινίου καὶ Οὐίνδικος στρατεύματα τρόπον τινὰ
and the of-Verginius and of-Vindex armies in-manner some
βίᾳ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας, ὥσπερ ἡνιόχους κρατῆσαι χαλινῶν
by-force the leaders like charioteers to-control the-reins
μὴ δυνηθέντας, εἰς μάχην ἐξενεγκόντα μεγάλην συνέρραξαν,
not having-been-able into battle having-carried great clashed
καὶ Οὐίνδικος ἑαυτὸν ἀνελόντος ἐπὶ δισμυρίοις Γαλατῶν
and Vindex himself having-killed over twenty-thousand of-Gauls
πεσοῦσι, διῆλθε λόγος ὡς βουλομένων πάντων ἐπὶ νίκῃ
having-fallen went-through report that wishing all at victory
τοσαύτῃ τὸν Οὐεργίνιον ἀναδέξασθαι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἢ
so-great — Verginius to-take-up the empire or
πάλιν μεταβαλουμένων πρὸς Νέρωνα,
again going-to-change toward Nero
τότε δὴ παντάπασι περίφοβος γενόμενος ὁ Γάλβας
then indeed altogether very-fearful having-become — Galba
ἔγραψε τῷ Οὐεργινίῳ, παρακαλῶν κοινοπραγεῖν καὶ
wrote — to-Verginius urging to-act-in-common and
διαφυλάσσειν ἅμα τὴν ἡγεμονίαν καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν
to-preserve at-once the empire and the freedom
Ῥωμαίοις· αὖθις δὲ μετὰ τῶν φίλων εἰς Κλουνίαν, Ἰβηρικὴν
for-Romans again and with the friends to Clunia Iberian
πόλιν, ἀναχωρήσας ἐν τῷ μετανοεῖν περὶ τῶν γεγονότων
city having-withdrawn in the to-repent about the-things having-happened

καὶ ποθεῖν τὴν συνήθη καὶ σύντροφον ἀπραγμοσύνην
and to-long-for the accustomed and familiar untroubled-life
μᾶλλον ἢ πράττειν τι τῶν ἀναγκαίων διέτριβεν.
rather than to-do anything of-the necessary-things he-spent-time

II · THE NEWS FROM ROME

The freedman Icelus rides from Rome in seven days to tell Galba that the soldiers, the people, and the senate have proclaimed him and that Nero is dead; Vinius soon confirms it. At Rome Nymphidius gathers power to himself, orders Tigellinus to lay down his sword, courts the consulars, lets the people kill Nero's minions, and claims to be the son of Gaius Caesar, plotting for the succession. Verginius, though his legions press the empire on him, leaves the choice to the senate and swears his troops to Galba. Galba receives the senate's envoys at Narbo graciously, but Vinius, greedy and dissolute, soon leads him into Nero's extravagance.

7 Ἦν δὲ θέρος ἤδη, καὶ βραχὺ πρὸ δείλης ἧκεν ἀπὸ Ῥώμης
was and summer already and shortly before evening came from Rome
Ἴκελος ἀνὴρ ἀπελεύθερος ἑβδομαῖος. πυθόμενος δὲ τὸν
Icelus man freedman on-the-seventh-day having-learned and —
Γάλβαν ἀναπαύεσθαι καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἐβάδιζε συντόνως ἐπὶ τὸ
Galba to-be-resting by himself he-walked intently to the
δωμάτιον αὐτοῦ, καὶ βίᾳ τῶν θαλαμηπόλων ἀνοίξας καὶ
chamber his and by-force of-the chamberlains having-opened and
παρελθὼν ἀπήγγειλεν ὅτι καὶ ζῶντος ἔτι τοῦ Νέρωνος,
having-come-in reported that both living still — Nero
οὐκ ὄντος δὲ φανεροῦ, τὸ στράτευμα πρῶτον, εἶτα
not being but visible the army first then
ὁ δῆμος καὶ ἡ σύγκλητος αὐτοκράτορα τὸν Γάλβαν
the people and the senate emperor — Galba
ἀναγορεύσειεν, ὀλίγον δὲ ὕστερον ἀπαγγελθείη τεθνηκὼς
had-proclaimed little and later it-had-been-reported dead

ἐκεῖνος· οὐ μὴν αὐτός γε πιστεύσας ἔφη τοῖς
that-one not indeed himself indeed having-believed he-said to-those
ἀπαγγέλλουσιν, ἀλλὰ ἐπελθὼν τῷ νεκρῷ καὶ κείμενον
reporting but having-come-upon the corpse and lying
θεασάμενος, οὕτως ἐξελθεῖν.
having-beheld thus to-have-come-out
ταῦτα ἀπαγγελλόμενα λαμπρὸν ἦρε τὸν Γάλβαν, καὶ
these-things reported brilliant raised — Galba and
συνέδραμε πλῆθος ἀνδρῶν ἐπὶ θύρας ἐκτεθαρρηκότων ὑπ᾽
ran-together multitude of-men to doors having-taken-courage by
αὐτοῦ βεβαίως, καίτοι τὸ τάχος ἦν ἄπιστον. ἀλλὰ καὶ
him firmly and-yet the speed was incredible but also
δυσὶν ἡμέραις ὕστερον Οὐίνιος Τίτος ἀπὸ στρατοπέδου
two days later Vinius Titus from camp
μεθ᾽ ἑτέρων ἀφίκετο τὰ δόξαντα τῇ συγκλήτῳ
with others arrived the-things having-seemed-good to-the senate
καθ᾽ ἕκαστον ἀπαγγέλλων. οὗτος μὲν οὖν εἰς τάξιν
in detail reporting this-one indeed then into rank
ἔντιμον προήχθη· τῷ δ᾽ ἀπελευθέρῳ δακτυλίους τε
honored was-advanced to-the and freedman rings both
χρυσοῦς ἔδωκε καὶ Μαρκιανὸς ὁ Ἴκελος ἤδη καλούμενος
golden he-gave and Marcianus — Icelus already being-called
εἶχε τὴν πρώτην ἐν τοῖς ἀπελευθέροις δύναμιν.
had the first among the freedmen power
Ἐν δὲ Ῥώμῃ Νυμφίδιος Σαβῖνος, οὐκ ἠρέμα καὶ κατὰ 8
in and Rome Nymphidius Sabinus not quietly and by
μικρόν, ἀλλὰ συλλήβδην ὁμοῦ, πάντα πράγματα φέρων
little but all-together at-once all affairs carrying
περιήνεγκεν εἰς ἑαυτόν, ὡς Γάλβαν μὲν ὄντα πρεσβύτην καὶ
brought-round to himself as Galba indeed being old-man and
μόλις εἰς Ῥώμην ἐξαρκέσοντα φοράδην κομισθῆναι διὰ
hardly to Rome going-to-hold-out carried-in-a-litter to-be-brought through

γῆρας ἦν γὰρ ἐτῶν τριῶν καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα· τὰ δὲ αὐτόθι
old-age he-was for of-years three and seventy the and there
στρατεύματα, καὶ πάλαι πρὸς αὐτὸν εὐνόως ἔχοντα καὶ
armies also long toward him well-disposed being and
νῦν ἑνὸς ἐξηρτημένα μόνου, διὰ τὸ τῆς δωρεᾶς μέγεθος
now on-one depending alone because-of the of-the gift greatness
εὐεργέτην ἐκεῖνον ἡγεῖσθαι, Γάλβαν δὲ χρεωφειλέτην.
benefactor him to-consider Galba but debtor
εὐθὺς οὖν Τιγελλίνῳ μὲν τῷ συνάρχοντι προσέταξεν
at-once then to-Tigellinus indeed the colleague he-ordered
ἀποθέσθαι τὸ ξίφος, ὑποδοχὰς δὲ ποιούμενος ἐδείπνιζε τοὺς
to-lay-down the sword receptions and making he-dined the
ὑπατικοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμονικούς, ἔτι τὸ Γάλβα προστιθεὶς
consulars and the governors still the of-Galba adding
ὄνομα ταῖς κλήσεσιν, ἔν τε τῷ στρατοπέδῳ πολλοὺς
name to-the invitations in both the camp many
παρεσκεύασε λέγειν ὡς πεμπτέον ἐστὶ πρὸς Γάλβαν
he-prepared to-say that one-must-send it-is to Galba
αἰτουμένους ἔπαρχον εἰσαεὶ Νυμφίδιον ἄνευ συνάρχοντος.
asking-for prefect forever Nymphidius without colleague
ἃ δὲ ἡ σύγκλητος εἰς τιμὴν ἔπραττεν αὐτοῦ καὶ δύναμιν,
what and the senate for honor did his and power
ἀνακαλοῦσα εὐεργέτην καὶ συντρέχουσα καθ' ἡμέραν ἐπὶ
calling-him benefactor and running-together by day to
θύρας καὶ παντὸς ἐξάρχειν δόγματος ἀξιοῦσα καὶ
doors and of-every to-initiate decree deeming-him-worthy and
βεβαιοῦν, ἔτι περαιτέρω τόλμης ἀνῆγεν αὐτόν, ὥστε
to-confirm still further of-daring raised him so-that
ὀλίγου χρόνου τοῖς θεραπεύουσι μὴ μόνον ἐπίφθονον,
in-little time to-those courting-him not only envied
ἀλλὰ καὶ φοβερὸν εἶναι.
but also fearful to-be

τῶν δ᾽ ὑπάτων οἰκέτας δημοσίους προχειρισαμένων τὰ
of-the and consuls slaves public having-appointed the
δόγματα κομίζοντας τῷ αὐτοκράτορι, καὶ τὰ καλούμενα
decrees bringing to-the emperor and the called
διπλώματα σεσημασμένα δόντων, ἃ γνωρίζοντες οἱ
diplomas sealed having-given which recognizing the
κατὰ πόλιν ἄρχοντες ἐν ταῖς τῶν ὀχημάτων ἀμοιβαῖς
in city magistrates in the of-the vehicles changes
ἐπιταχύνουσι τὰς προπομπὰς τῶν γραμματηφόρων, οὐ
hasten the escorts of-the letter-carriers not
μετρίως ἠγανάκτησεν ὅτι μὴ παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ καὶ σφραγῖδα
moderately he-was-indignant that not from him both seal
καὶ στρατιώτας λαβόντες ἀνέπεμψαν, ἀλλὰ λέγεται
and soldiers having-taken they-sent but it-is-said
καὶ βουλεύσασθαι περὶ τῶν ὑπάτων, εἶτα τὴν ὀργὴν
also to-have-deliberated about the consuls then the anger
ἀπολογησαμένοις καὶ δεηθεῖσιν ἀνῆκε.
to-them-having-apologized and having-entreated he-let-go
τῷ δὲ δήμῳ χαριζόμενος οὐκ ἐκώλυε τὸν παραπίπτοντα
to-the and people gratifying not he-hindered the(-one) falling-in-with
τῶν Νέρωνος ἀποτυμπανίζειν. Σπῖκλον μὲν οὖν τὸν
of-the of-Nero-men to-cudgel-to-death Spiculus indeed then the
μονομάχον ἀνδριάσι Νέρωνος ἑλκομένοις ὑποβαλόντες ἐν
gladiator under-statues of-Nero being-dragged having-thrown in
ἀγορᾷ διέφθειραν, Ἀπόνιον δέ τινα τῶν κατηγορικῶν
forum they-destroyed Aponius and one of-the informers
ἀνατρέψαντες ἁμάξας λιθοφόρους ἐπήγαγον, ἄλλους δὲ
having-overturned wagons stone-carrying they-brought-on others and
διέσπασαν πολλούς, ἐνίους μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντας, ὥστε καὶ
they-tore-apart many some nothing doing-wrong so-that even
Μαύρικον, ἄνδρα τῶν ἀρίστων καὶ ὄντα καὶ δοκοῦντα,
Mauricus man of-the best both being and seeming

πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον εἰπεῖν ὅτι φοβεῖται μὴ ταχὺ Νέρωνα
to the senate to-say that he-fears lest soon Nero
ζητήσωσιν.
they-may-seek

9 Οὕτω δὲ προσάγων ὁ Νυμφίδιος ἐγγυτέρω ταῖς ἐλπίσιν
thus and bringing — Nymphidius nearer to-the hopes
οὐκ ἔφευγε Γαΐου Καίσαρος υἱὸς λέγεσθαι τοῦ μετὰ
not he-shunned of-Gaius Caesar son to-be-called of-the after
Τιβέριον ἄρξαντος. ἐγνώκει γὰρ ὁ Γάϊος, ὡς ἔοικε, τὴν
Tiberius having-ruled had-known for — Gaius as it-seems the
τεκοῦσαν αὐτὸν ἔτι μειράκιον ὢν οὐκ ἀειδῆ τὴν
woman-having-borne him still youth being not ill-favored in-the
ὄψιν οὖσαν, ἐκ δ' ἀκεστρίας ἐπιμισθίου Καλλίστῳ,
looks being from and seamstress hired to-Callistus
Καίσαρος ἀπελευθέρῳ, γεγενημένην.
of-Caesar freedman born
ἀλλ' ἦν ἡ πρὸς Γάϊον ἔντευξις αὐτῆς, ὡς ἔοικε, νεωτέρα
but was the with Gaius intercourse her as it-seems later
τῆς Νυμφιδίου γενέσεως, αἰτίαν δὲ ἔσχεν ἐκ Μαρτιανοῦ
than-the of-Nymphidius birth report and he-had from Martianus
τοῦ μονομάχου γεγονέναι, τῆς Νυμφιδίας ἐρασθείσης
the gladiator to-have-been-born — Nymphidia having-fallen-in-love
διὰ δόξαν αὐτοῦ, καὶ μᾶλλον ἐδόκει καθ' ὁμοιότητα τῆς
through fame his and more he-seemed by likeness of-the
ἰδέας ἐκείνῳ προσήκειν.
form to-that-one to-be-related
ἀλλ' ὁμολογῶν γε Νυμφιδίας εἶναι μητρὸς ἔργον μὲν
but acknowledging indeed of-Nymphidia to-be mother deed indeed
αὐτοῦ μόνου τὴν Νέρωνος ἐποιεῖτο κατάλυσιν, ἆθλα δὲ
of-himself alone the of-Nero made overthrow prizes and

αὐτῆς οὐ νομίζων ἱκανὰ καρποῦσθαι τὰς τιμὰς καὶ τὰ
of-it not thinking sufficient to-reap the honors and the
χρήματα [...] ἐπὶ τὴν διαδοχὴν παρεδύετο τῆς ἡγεμονίας.
money (omitted) to the succession he-was-slipping of-the empire
καὶ τὰ μὲν αὐτὸς ἐν Ῥώμῃ διὰ τῶν φίλων
and the-things indeed himself in Rome through the friends
ὑπειργάζετο, καὶ γυναικῶν τινων αὐτῷ καὶ συγκλητικῶν
was-working-at and of-women some with-him and of-senatorial
ἀνδρῶν κρύφα συλλαμβανομένων, ἕνα δὲ τῶν φίλων,
men secretly joining one and of-the friends
Γελλιανόν, εἰς Ἰβηρίαν ἔπεμψεν κατασκεψόμενον.
Gellianus to Iberia he-sent going-to-spy
Τῷ δὲ Γάλβᾳ μετὰ τὴν Νέρωνος τελευτὴν ἐχώρει
— and to-Galba after the of-Nero end went
πάντα. Οὐεργίνιος δὲ Ῥοῦφος ἀμφίβολος ὢν ἔτι φροντίδα
all-things Verginius but Rufus doubtful being still anxiety
παρεῖχε, μὴ τῷ δυνάμεως πολλῆς καὶ μαχιμωτάτης
provided lest to-the of-force great and most-warlike
ἄρχειν προσειληφὼς τὸ νενικηκέναι Οὐίνδικα καὶ
to-rule having-added the to-have-conquered Vindex and
κεχειρῶσθαι μέγα μέρος τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίας, ἐν σάλῳ
to-have-subdued great part of-the of-Romans empire in tossing
γενομένην ἀποστατικῷ Γαλατίαν ἅπασαν, ὑπακούσαι
having-been rebellious Gaul all he-should-hearken
τοῖς παρακαλοῦσιν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχήν.
to-those calling him to the rule
οὐδενὸς γὰρ ἦν ὄνομα μεῖζον, οὐδὲ εἶχε δόξαν οὐδεὶς
of-no-one for was name greater nor had repute anyone
ὅσην ὁ Οὐεργίνιος, ὡς μεγίστη ῥοπὴ τοῖς Ῥωμαίων
as-much-as — Verginius as greatest turn to-the of-Romans
πράγμασι τυραννίδος ὁμοῦ χαλεπῆς καὶ Γαλατικῶν πολέμων
affairs of-tyranny at-once grievous and of-Gallic wars

ἀπαλλαγῇ γενόμενος, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος τότε τοῖς ἐξ ἀρχῆς
by-release having-become but that-one then to-the from beginning
ἐμμένων λογισμοῖς ἐφύλαττε τῇ συγκλήτῳ τὴν αἵρεσιν τοῦ
abiding reasonings kept for-the senate the choice of-the
αὐτοκράτορος. καίτοι φανερᾶς γε τῆς Νέρωνος τελευτῆς
emperor and-yet plain indeed the of-Nero end
γενομένης τό τε πλῆθος ἐνέκειτο τῷ Οὐεργινίῳ πάλιν, καὶ
having-become the both multitude pressed-on — Verginius again and
τῶν χιλιάρχων τις τῶν ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ σπασάμενος τὸ ξίφος
of-the tribunes one of-those in the tent having-drawn the sword
ἐκέλευε τὸν Οὐεργίνιον δέχεσθαι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἢ τὸν σίδηρον.
bade — Verginius to-receive the empire or the iron
ἐπεὶ δὲ Φάβιος Οὐάλης ἄρχων ἑνὸς τάγματος
when and Fabius Valens commanding one legion
ὥρκωσε πρῶτος εἰς Γάλβαν, καὶ γράμματα ἦκεν ἀπὸ
administered-the-oath first to Galba and letters came from
Ῥώμης περὶ ὧν ἡ σύγκλητος ἐψηφίσατο, χαλεπῶς μὲν
Rome about what the senate voted with-difficulty indeed
καὶ μόλις, ἔπεισε δ' οὖν τοὺς στρατιώτας αὐτοκράτορα
and hardly he-persuaded but then the soldiers emperor
τὸν Γάλβαν ἀνειπεῖν καὶ πέμψαντος αὐτοῦ διάδοχον
— Galba to-proclaim and having-sent him successor
Φλάκκον Ὁρδεώνιον ἐδέξατο. καὶ παραδοὺς ἐκείνῳ τὴν
Flaccus Hordeonius he-received and having-handed-over to-that-one the
δύναμιν αὐτὸς ἀπήντησε τῷ Γάλβᾳ πρόσω χωροῦντι, καὶ
force himself met — Galba forward advancing and
συνανέστρεφεν, οὔτε ὀργῆς οὔτε τιμῆς ἐπιδήλου τυγχάνων.
kept-company-with-him neither anger nor honor manifest obtaining
αἴτιος δὲ τοῦ μὲν αὐτὸς ὁ Γάλβας αἰδούμενος
cause and of-the(-one) indeed himself — Galba respecting
τὸν ἄνδρα, τοῦ δὲ οἱ φίλοι καὶ μάλιστα Οὐίνιος
the man of-the(-other) and the friends and most Vinius

Τίτος, ὑπὸ φθόνου τὸν Οὐεργίνιον οἰόμενος μὲν κολούειν,
Titus through envy — Verginius thinking indeed to-dock
ἠγνόει δὲ ἄρα τῷ Οὐεργινίου χρηστῷ δαίμονι συνεργῶν,
was-ignorant but then to-the of-Verginius good genius helping
ἤδη τὸν ἄνδρα πολέμων καὶ κακῶν, ὅσα τοὺς ἄλλους
already the man of-wars and evils as-many-as the other
ἡγεμόνας κατέσχεν, ἐκτὸς εἰς βίον ἀκύμονα καὶ γῆρας
leaders held outside into life waveless and old-age
εἰρήνης καὶ ἡσυχίας μεστὸν ὑπεκτιθεμένῳ.
of-peace and quiet full withdrawing
Γάλβαν δὲ περὶ Νάρβωνα, πόλιν Γαλατικήν, οἱ παρὰ 11
Galba and near Narbo city Gallic the from
τῆς συγκλήτου πρέσβεις ἐντυχόντες ἠσπάζοντο, καὶ
the senate envoys having-met greeted and
παρεκάλουν ἐπιφανῆναι τῷ δήμῳ ποθοῦντι ταχέως, ὁ δὲ
urged to-show-himself to-the people longing quickly he and
τάς τε ἄλλας παρεῖχεν ἐντεύξεις καὶ συνουσίας αὐτοῖς
the both other provided audiences and gatherings to-them
φιλανθρώπους καὶ δημοτικάς, πρός τε τὰς ἑστιάσεις
kind and popular for both the banquets
πολλῆς κατασκευῆς καὶ θεραπείας βασιλικῆς παρούσης, ἣν
much furniture and service royal being-at-hand which
ἐκ τῶν Νέρωνος ὁ Νυμφίδιος αὐτῷ προσέπεμψεν, οὐδενὶ
from the of-Nero — Nymphidius to-him sent-on using
χρώμενος ἐκείνων, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ πᾶσιν, εὐδοκίμει,
none of-those but the his-own all-things he-was-esteemed
μεγαλόφρων ἀνὴρ καὶ κρείττων ἀπειροκαλίας φαινόμενος.
high-minded man and above vulgarity appearing
ταχὺ μέντοι τὰ γενναῖα ταῦτα καὶ ἄτυφα καὶ πολιτικὰ
quickly however the noble these-things and unassuming and civil
δημαγωγίαν Οὐίνιος ἀποφαίνων καὶ κομψότητα μεγάλων
demagoguery Vinius declaring and refinement of-great-things

ἀπαξιοῦσαν αὑτήν, ἔπεισε χρήμασί τε χρῆσθαι τοῖς
disdaining itself persuaded with-money both to-use the
Νέρωνος καὶ περὶ τὰς ὑποδοχὰς μὴ φείδεσθαι τῆς
of-Nero and about the receptions not to-spare the
βασιλικῆς πολυτελείας, καὶ ὅλως αἴσθησιν αὑτοῦ κατὰ
royal costliness and wholly perception of-himself by
μικρὸν ὑπὸ τῷ Οὐινίῳ γενησομένου παρεῖχεν ὁ πρεσβύτης.
little under — Vinius going-to-be provided the old-man
12 Ἦν δὲ Οὐίνιος ἀργυρίου μὲν ἐσχάτως καὶ παρ᾽ ὁντινοῦν
was and Vinius by-money indeed extremely and beyond anyone-whatever
ἥττων, ἔνοχος δὲ καὶ τοῖς περὶ γυναῖκας ἁμαρτήμασιν. ἔτι
overcome liable and also to-the about women faults still
γὰρ ὢν νέος καὶ στρατευόμενος ὑπὸ Καλβισίῳ Σαβίνῳ
for being young and serving under Calvisius Sabinus
τὴν πρώτην στρατείαν ἀκόλαστον οὖσαν τὴν γυναῖκα
the first campaign licentious being the wife
τοῦ ἡγεμόνος παρεισήγαγε νύκτωρ εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον
of-the commander brought-in by-night into the camp
ἐν ἐσθῆτι στρατιωτικῇ καὶ διέφθειρεν ἐν τοῖς ἀρχείοις,
in dress soldier's and seduced-her in the headquarters
ἃ πριγκίπια καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι.
which principia call Romans
ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ Γάϊος Καῖσαρ ἔδησεν αὐτὸν ἐκείνου δὲ
for this and Gaius Caesar bound him that-one and
ἀποθανόντος εὐτυχίᾳ χρησάμενος ἀπελύθη, δειπνῶν
having-died with-good-fortune having-met he-was-released dining
δὲ παρὰ Κλαυδίῳ Καίσαρι ποτήριον ἀργυροῦν ὑφείλετο
and with Claudius Caesar cup silver he-stole
πυθόμενος δὲ ὁ Καῖσαρ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ πάλιν αὐτὸν
having-learned and — Caesar on-the next-day again him
ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἐκάλεσεν, ἐλθόντι δὲ ἐκέλευσεν ἐκείνῳ
to dinner called having-come and he-bade to-that-one

μηδὲν ἀργυροῦν, ἀλλὰ κεράμεα πάντα προσφέρειν καὶ
nothing silver but earthen all-things to-bring and
παρατιθέναι τοὺς ὑπηρέτας.
to-set-beside the servants
τοῦτο μὲν οὖν διὰ τὴν Καίσαρος μετριότητα
this indeed then because-of the of-Caesar moderation
κωμικωτέραν γενομένην γέλωτος, οὐκ ὀργῆς ἄξιον ἔδοξεν ἃ
more-comic having-become of-laughter not of-anger worthy seemed what
δὲ τὸν Γάλβαν ἔχων ὑφ᾽ αὑτῷ καὶ δυνάμενος μέγιστον ἐπὶ
but — Galba having under himself and being-able greatest for
χρήμασιν, ἔπραττε, τραγικῶν παθῶν καὶ συμφορῶν μεγάλων
money he-did of-tragic sufferings and misfortunes great
τοῖς μὲν αἰτίαν, τοῖς δὲ πρόφασιν παρέσχεν.
to-the(-ones) indeed cause to-the(-others) and pretext provided

III · NYMPHIDIUS FALLS, AND GALBA ENTERS ROME

Finding Laco made prefect and Vinius all-powerful, Nymphidius tries to frighten Galba with letters and then resolves to have himself proclaimed in the camp. The tribune Antonius Honoratus turns the soldiers back to their oath, and when Nymphidius comes at night to address them, they let him in with a few and kill him. Galba puts his accomplices to death without trial, and Turpilianus too, and as he approaches Rome the rowers Nero made a legion block his way demanding standards and quarters; he sends the cavalry against them and enters the city through slaughter. He is stingy with gifts, while Vinius sells everything and protects Tigellinus for a bribe.

Ὁ γὰρ Νυμφίδιος εὐθὺς ἐπανελθόντος τοῦ Γελλιανοῦ πρὸς 13
— for Nymphidius at-once having-returned — Gellianus to
αὐτόν, ὃν ἔπεμψε τοῦ Γάλβα τρόπον τινὰ κατάσκοπον,
him whom he-sent — of-Galba in-manner some spy
ἀκούσας τῆς μὲν αὐλῆς καὶ τῶν δορυφόρων ἔπαρχον
having-heard of-the indeed court and of-the bodyguards prefect

ἀποδεδεῖχθαι Κορνήλιον Λάκωνα, τὸ δὲ σύμπαν εἶναι
to-have-been-appointed Cornelius Laco the and whole to-be
τοῦ Οὐινίου κράτος, αὐτῷ δὲ μηδέποτε τοῦ Γάλβα
— of-Vinius power for-himself and never — of-Galba
στῆναι πλησίον ἐγγεγονέναι μηδὲ ἐντυχεῖν ἰδίᾳ, πάντων
to-stand near to-have-been-possible nor to-meet privately all
αὐτὸν ὑφορωμένων καὶ διαφυλαττόντων, ἐθορυβήθη·
him suspecting and watching he-was-disturbed
καὶ συναγαγὼν τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τοῦ στρατεύματος ἔφη
and having-gathered the officers of-the army he-said
Γάλβαν μὲν αὐτὸν εἶναι πρεσβύτην ἐπιεικῆ καὶ μέτριον,
Galba indeed himself to-be old-man reasonable and moderate
ἐλάχιστα δὲ τοῖς αὑτοῦ χρώμενον λογισμοῖς ὑπὸ Οὐινίου
least but the his-own using reasonings by Vinius
καὶ Λάκωνος οὐκ εὖ διοικεῖσθαι. πρὶν οὖν λαθεῖν αὐτοὺς
and Laco not well to-be-managed before then to-escape-notice them
ἣν ἔσχε Τιγελλῖνος ἰσχὺν ἐν τοῖς πράγμασι κτησαμένους,
what had Tigellinus power in the affairs acquiring
πεμπτέον εἶναι πρὸς τὸν ἡγεμόνα πρέσβεις ἀπὸ στρατοπέδου
one-must-send to-be to the emperor envoys from camp
τοὺς διδάξοντας ὅτι τῶν φίλων δύο μόνους τούτους
the(-ones) to-be-going-to-teach that of-the friends two only these
ἀποσκευασάμενος ἡδίων παρέσται πᾶσι καὶ ποθεινότερος.
having-put-away more-pleasant he-will-be to-all and more-longed-for
ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα λέγων οὐκ ἔπειθεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἄτοπον ἐδόκει
when and these-things saying not he-persuaded but absurd seemed
καὶ ἀλλόκοτον ἡγεμόνα πρεσβύτην, ὥσπερ ἄρτι γευόμενον
and strange emperor old-man like just-now tasting
ἐξουσίας μειράκιον, οἷς χρήσεται φίλοις ἢ μή, ῥυθμίζειν,
of-power youth what he-will-use friends or not to-regulate
ἑτέραν ὁδὸν τραπόμενος ἔγραφε τῷ Γάλβᾳ δεδιττόμενος, νῦν
another way having-turned he-wrote — to-Galba frightening now

μὲν ὡς ὕπουλα καὶ μετέωρα πολλὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐχούσης,
indeed as festering and unsettled many-things the city having
νῦν δὲ Κλώδιον Μάκρον ἐν Λιβύῃ τὰ σιτηγὰ κατέχειν,
now and Clodius Macer in Libya the grain-ships to-hold-back
αὖθις δὲ παρακινεῖν τὰ Γερμανικὰ τάγματα, καὶ περὶ
again and to-stir the German legions and about
τῶν ἐν Συρίᾳ καὶ Ἰουδαίᾳ δυνάμεων ὅμοια πυνθάνεσθαι.
the in Syria and Judaea forces like-things to-learn
τοῦ δὲ Γάλβα μὴ πάνυ τὸν νοῦν προσέχοντος αὐτῷ
— and Galba not very the mind paying to-him
μηδὲ πιστεύοντος ἔγνω προεπιχειρεῖν καίτοι Κλώδιος
nor believing he-decided to-attack-first and-yet Clodius
Κέλσος Ἀντιοχεύς, ἀνὴρ ἔμφρων, εὔνους δὲ ἐκείνῳ καὶ
Celsus Antiochene man sensible well-disposed and to-that-one and
πιστός, ἀπηγόρευε, λέγων οὐκ ἂν οἴεσθαι μίαν ἐν Ῥώμῃ
faithful was-dissuading saying not — to-think one in Rome
συνοικίαν Καίσαρα προσειπεῖν Νυμφίδιον. ἀλλὰ πολλοὶ
house Caesar to-address Nymphidius but many
κατεγέλων, καὶ Μιθριδάτης ὁ Ποντικὸς ἐπισκώπτων τὴν
laughed and Mithridates the Pontic mocking the
φαλακρότητα καὶ ῥυσσότητα τοῦ Γάλβα νῦν ἔφη τινὰ
baldness and wrinkledness — of-Galba now he-said someone
δοκεῖν εἶναι Ῥωμαίοις, ὀφθέντα δὲ φανεῖσθαι τῶν
to-seem to-be to-Romans seen but to-be-going-to-appear of-the
ἡμερῶν τούτων ἃς καλεῖται Καῖσαρ, ὄνειδος.
days these which he-is-called Caesar reproach
Ἔδοξεν οὖν περὶ μέσας νύκτας εἰς τὴν παρεμβολὴν 14
it-seemed then about middle nights into the camp
παραγαγόντας ἀναδεικνύειν αὐτοκράτορα τὸν Νυμφίδιον.
having-brought to-proclaim emperor — Nymphidius
πρῶτος δὲ τῶν χιλιάρχων Ἀντώνιος Ὀνωράτος ἑσπέρας
first and of-the tribunes Antonius Honoratus evening

γενομένης τοὺς ὑφ᾽ ἑαυτῷ στρατιώτας συναγαγὼν ἐκάκιζε
having-come the under himself soldiers having-gathered reproached
μὲν αὑτόν, ἐκάκιζε δὲ ἐκείνους ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ τροπὰς
indeed himself reproached and them in little time turnings
τοσαύτας τρεπομένους κατ᾽ οὐδένα λογισμὸν οὐδὲ αἵρεσιν
so-many turning by no reasoning nor choice
ἀμεινόνων, ἀλλὰ δαίμονός τινος αὐτοὺς ἐκ προδοσίας εἰς
of-better but of-fate some them from treason to
προδοσίαν ἐλαύνοντος.
treason driving
καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα προφάσεις ἔχειν τὰ Νέρωνος ἐγκλήματα·
and the indeed first pretexts to-have the of-Nero charges
νῦν δὲ Γάλβαν προδιδόναι, τίνα φόνον μητρὸς ἐγκαλοῦντας
now but Galba to-betray what murder of-mother charging
ἢ σφαγὴν γυναικός, ἢ ποίαν αἰδουμένους θυμέλην ἢ
or slaughter of-wife or what-kind-of being-ashamed-of stage or
τραγῳδίαν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος; “ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνον ἐπὶ
tragedy of-the emperor but not-even that-one for
τούτοις ὑπεμείναμεν ἐγκαταλιπεῖν, ἀλλὰ Νυμφιδίῳ πεισθέντες
these-things we-endured to-abandon but by-Nymphidius persuaded
ὅτι πρῶτος ἡμᾶς ἐγκατέλιπε καὶ πέφευγεν εἰς Αἴγυπτον.
that first us he-abandoned and has-fled to Egypt
πότερον οὖν Νέρωνι Γάλβαν ἐπιθυσώμεθα, καὶ τὸν ἐκ
whether then to-Nero Galba shall-we-sacrifice-besides and the from
Νυμφιδίας ἑλόμενοι Καίσαρα τὸν ἐκ Λιβίας ἀνέλωμεν,
Nymphidia having-chosen Caesar the from Livia shall-we-kill
ὡς τὸν ἐξ Ἀγριππίνης ἀνείλομεν; ἢ τούτῳ δίκην
as the from Agrippina we-killed or on-this-one penalty
ἐπιθέντες ὧν δέδρακε, τιμωροὶ μὲν Νέρωνος, Γάλβα
having-imposed for-what he-has-done avengers indeed of-Nero of-Galba
δὲ φύλακες ἀγαθοὶ καὶ πιστοὶ φανῶμεν;” ταῦτα λέγοντι
and guards good and faithful shall-we-appear these-things saying

τῷ χιλιάρχῳ προσέθεντο πάντες οἱ στρατιῶται, καὶ τοὺς
to-the tribune assented all the soldiers and the
ἄλλους προσιόντες ἐμμένειν παρεκάλουν τῇ πρὸς τὸν
others approaching to-abide urged in-the toward the
αὐτοκράτορα πίστει· καὶ τοὺς πλείους μετέστησαν.
emperor faith and the most they-changed
ἀρθείσης δὲ βοῆς, εἴτε πεισθεὶς ὁ Νυμφίδιος, ὥς
having-been-raised and shout whether persuaded — Nymphidius as
φασιν ἔνιοι, καλεῖν αὐτὸν ἤδη τοὺς στρατιώτας, εἴτε
say some to-call him already the soldiers or
προλαβεῖν σπεύδων τὸ θορυβοῦν ἔτι καὶ διστάζον, ὑπὸ
to-anticipate hastening the disorderly still and wavering under
φωτὶ πολλῷ προῄει, λόγον τινὰ κομίζων ἐν βιβλίῳ
light much he-went-forward speech some bringing in book
γεγραμμένον ὑπὸ Κιγγωνίου Βάρρωνος, ὃν ἐκμεμελετήκει
written by Cingonius Varro which he-had-practiced
πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας εἰπεῖν.
to the soldiers to-say
ἰδὼν δὲ κεκλεισμένας τοῦ στρατοπέδου τὰς πύλας καὶ
having-seen and shut of-the camp the gates and
περὶ τὰ τείχη πολλοὺς ὡπλισμένους ἔδεισε· καὶ προσιὼν
about the walls many armed he-feared and approaching
ἠρώτα τί βούλονται καί τινος κελεύσαντος ἐν ὅπλοις
asked what they-wish and of-whom having-ordered in arms
γεγόνασιν. ἀπαντώσης δ' αὐτῷ παρὰ πάντων μιᾶς
they-have-become meeting and him from all one
φωνῆς, Γάλβαν αὐτοκράτορα γινώσκειν, κἀκεῖνος ὁμόσε
voice Galba emperor to-recognize and-he to-the-same
χωρῶν ἐπευφήμει καὶ τοὺς ἑπομένους ἐκέλευε.
going cheered and those following he-bade

τῶν δὲ παρὰ τὰς πύλας παρέντων αὐτὸν εἰσελθεῖν μετ'
of-those and at the gates having-let him to-enter with
ὀλίγων αὐτὸς ἀκοντίζεται λόγχῃ· καὶ ταύτην μὲν ἐδέξατο
few himself is-struck-at with-spear and this indeed received
πρὸ αὐτοῦ θυρεῷ Σεπτίμιος, ἄλλων δὲ γυμνοῖς ξίφεσιν
before him with-shield Septimius others and with-naked swords
ἐπιφερομένων φυγὼν καὶ διωχθεὶς ἐν οἰκήματι στρατιώτου
rushing-on having-fled and pursued in room of-soldier
σφάττεται. καὶ τὸν νεκρὸν εἰς μέσον ἑλκύσαντες καὶ
he-is-slain and the corpse into middle having-dragged and
περιβαλόντες κιγκλίδα θέαμα τοῖς βουλομένοις μεθ'
having-put-round railing spectacle to-those wishing after
ἡμέραν παρέσχον.
day they-provided

15 Οὕτω δὲ τοῦ Νυμφιδίου καταστρέψαντος ὁ Γάλβας
thus and — Nymphidius having-ended — Galba
πυθόμενος, καὶ τῶν συνωμοτῶν αὐτοῦ κελεύσας ἀποθανεῖν
having-learned and of-the conspirators his having-ordered to-die
ὅσοι μὴ δι' αὑτῶν εὐθὺς ἀπέθανον, ἐν οἷς ἦν
as-many-as not through themselves at-once died among whom was
καὶ Κιγγώνιος ὁ τὸν λόγον γράψας καὶ Μιθριδάτης
also Cingonius the(-one) the speech having-written and Mithridates
ὁ Ποντικός, ἔδοξε μὴ νομίμως, εἰ καὶ δικαίως, μηδὲ
the Pontic he-seemed not lawfully if even justly nor
δημοτικῶς ἀνῃρηκέναι πρὸ κρίσεως ἄνδρας οὐκ ἀσήμους,
democratically to-have-killed before trial men not obscure
ἕτερον γὰρ ἡγεμονίας σχῆμα προσεδέχοντο πάντες,
another for of-rule form expected all
ἐξαπατώμενοι συνήθως ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν ἀρχῇ λεγομένων.
being-deceived customarily by the-things at beginning said

ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον ἠνίασεν αὐτοὺς ἀνὴρ ὑπατικὸς καὶ Νέρωνι
still and more grieved them man consular and to-Nero
πιστὸς ἀποθανεῖν κελευσθείς, Πετρώνιος Τουρπιλιανός.
faithful to-die having-been-ordered Petronius Turpilianus
Μάκρον γὰρ ἐν Λιβύῃ διὰ Τρεβωνίου καὶ Φοντήϊον
Macer for in Libya through Trebonius and Fonteius
ἐν Γερμανίᾳ διὰ Οὐάλεντος ἀνελὼν πρόφασιν εἶχεν ἐν
in Germany through Valens having-killed pretext he-had in
ὅπλοις καὶ στρατοπέδοις ὄντας φοβηθῆναι. Τουρπιλιανὸν
arms and camps being to-have-feared Turpilianus
δέ, γέροντα γυμνὸν καὶ ἄνοπλον, λόγου μεταλαβεῖν
but old-man naked and unarmed of-speech to-partake
οὐδὲν ἐκώλυεν, εἴ τις ἦν ἐπαγγέλλεται μετριότητα τοῖς
nothing hindered if anyone which he-professes moderation in-the
πράγμασιν ἔργῳ φυλάξειν ἔμελλε.
affairs by-deed to-keep was-going
ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τοιαύτας ἔχει μέμψεις. ἐπεὶ δὲ προσιὼν
these-things indeed then such has blames when and approaching
ἀπεῖχε τῆς πόλεως περὶ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι σταδίους,
he-was-distant from-the city about five and twenty stades
ἐνετύγχανεν ἀκοσμίᾳ καὶ θορύβῳ τῶν ἐρετῶν τὴν ὁδὸν
he-met with-disorder and tumult of-the rowers the road
προκατεχόντων καὶ περικεχυμένων πανταχόθεν, οὗτοι δὲ
occupying-beforehand and poured-around from-all-sides these and
ἦσαν οὓς εἰς ἓν τάγμα ὁ Νέρων συλλοχίσας ἀπέφηνε
were whom into one legion — Nero having-enrolled declared
στρατιώτας·
soldiers
καὶ τότε παρόντες ἐκβεβαιώσασθαι τὴν στρατείαν οὔτ'
and then being-present to-confirm the service neither
ὀφθῆναι τοῖς ἀπαντῶσιν οὔτ' ἀκουσθῆναι παρίεσαν τὸν
to-be-seen by-those meeting nor to-be-heard did-they-allow the

αὐτοκράτορα, ἀλλ' ἐθορύβουν βοῇ σημεῖα τῷ τάγματι καὶ
emperor but clamored with-shout standards for-the legion and
χώραν αἰτοῦντες, ἐκείνου δὲ ὑπερτιθεμένου καὶ πάλιν εἰπεῖν
quarters asking that-one and postponing and again to-speak
κελεύσαντος, ἀρνήσεως σχῆμα τὴν ἀναβολὴν εἶναι φάσκοντες
having-bidden of-refusal form the delay to-be saying
ἠγανάκτουν καὶ παρείποντο μὴ φειδόμενοι βοῆς. ἐνίων δὲ καὶ
were-indignant and followed not sparing shout of-some and also
τὰς μαχαίρας σπασαμένων, ἐκέλευσε τοὺς ἱππεῖς ἐμβαλεῖν
the swords having-drawn bade the horsemen to-charge
αὐτοῖς ὁ Γάλβας. ὑπέστη δὲ οὐδεὶς ἐκείνων, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν
them — Galba withstood and none of-them but the(-ones) indeed
εὐθὺς ἀνατραπέντες, οἱ δὲ φεύγοντες διεφθάρησαν, οὐ
at-once overturned the(-others) and fleeing were-destroyed not
χρηστὸν οὐδὲ αἴσιον ποιοῦντες τῷ Γάλβᾳ τὸν οἰωνὸν εἰσιόντι
good nor auspicious making — for-Galba the omen entering
διὰ πολλοῦ φόνου καὶ νεκρῶν τοσούτων εἰς τὴν πόλιν. ἀλλ'
through much slaughter and corpses so-many into the city but
εἰ καί τις αὐτοῦ κατεφρόνει πρότερον ἀσθενοῦς καὶ γέροντος
if even anyone him despised before weak and old-man
ὁρωμένου, τότε πᾶσι φρικώδης καὶ φοβερὸς ἐγένετο.
seen then to-all awful and fearful he-became

16 Βουλόμενος δὲ τῆς περὶ τὰς δωρεὰς ἀμετρίας καὶ
wishing and from-the about the gifts immoderateness and
πολυτελείας τοῦ Νέρωνος ἀποδεικνύναι μεγάλην μεταβολήν,
extravagance — of-Nero to-display great change
ἀστοχεῖν ἐδόκει τοῦ πρέποντος. Κάνου γὰρ αὐλήσαντος
to-miss he-seemed the fitting Canus for having-played-the-flute
αὐτῷ παρὰ δεῖπνον ἀκρόαμα δὲ ἦν ὁ Κάνος εὐδοκιμούμενον
for-him at dinner performer and was — Canus well-esteemed
ἐπαινέσας καὶ ἀποδεξάμενος ἐκέλευσεν αὐτῷ κομισθῆναι τὸ
having-praised and having-approved he-bade to-him to-be-brought the

γλωσσόκομον· καὶ λαβὼν χρυσοῦς τινας ἐπέδωκε τῷ Κάνῳ,
purse and having-taken gold-pieces some gave — to-Canus
φήσας ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων, οὐκ ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων χαρίζεσθαι.
having-said from the own not from the public to-be-giving
τὰς δὲ δωρεὰς ἃς Νέρων ἔδωκε τοῖς περὶ σκηνὴν καὶ
the and gifts which Nero gave to-those about stage and
παλαίστραν, ἀπαιτεῖσθαι συντόνως κελεύσας πλὴν τοῦ
wrestling-school to-be-demanded-back rigorously having-ordered except the
δεκάτου μέρους, εἶτα μικρὰ καὶ γλίσχρα κομιζόμενος
tenth part then small-things and mean recovering
ἀνηλώκεσαν γὰρ οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν λαβόντων, ἐφήμεροι καὶ
had-spent for the most of-those having-received day-to-day and
σατυρικοὶ τοῖς βίοις ἄνθρωποι τοὺς πριαμένους παρ' αὐτῶν ἢ
satyric in-the lives men those having-bought from them or
λαβόντας ὁτιοῦν ἀνεζήτει καὶ παρ' ἐκείνων ἐξέπραττε.
having-received anything-whatever he-searched-out and from them exacted
τοῦ δὲ πράγματος ὅρον οὐκ ἔχοντος, ἀλλὰ πόρρω νεμομένου
the and matter limit not having but far spreading
καὶ προϊόντος ἐπὶ πολλούς, αὐτὸς μὲν ἠδόξει, φθόνον
and proceeding to many himself indeed was-ill-reputed envy
δὲ καὶ μῖσος εἶχεν Οὐίνιος, ὡς τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ἅπασιν
but and hatred had Vinius as to-the indeed others all
ἀνελεύθερον παρέχων τὸν ἡγεμόνα καὶ μικρολόγον, αὐτὸς
illiberal presenting the emperor and petty himself
δὲ χρώμενος ἀσώτως καὶ λαμβάνων πάντα καὶ πιπράσκων.
and using prodigally and taking all-things and selling
ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ἡσίοδος ἀρχομένου τε πίθου καὶ λήγοντος
— indeed for Hesiod beginning both cask and ending
κορέσασθαι φησὶ δεῖν, ὁ δὲ Οὐίνιος ὁρῶν ἀσθενῆ καὶ
to-take-one's-fill says to-be-needful — and Vinius seeing weak and

γέροντα τὸν Γάλβαν ἐνεπίμπλατο τῆς τύχης, ὡς ἅμα
old-man — Galba filled-himself of-the fortune as at-once
μὲν ἀρχομένης, ἅμα δὲ φθινούσης.
indeed beginning at-once and waning

17 Ὁ δὲ πρεσβύτης ἠδικεῖτο τὰ μὲν πρῶτα τοῦ Οὐινίου
the and old-man was-wronged the-things indeed first — Vinius
κακῶς διοικοῦντος, ἃ δὲ αὐτὸς ὀρθῶς προῃρεῖτο
badly managing the-things and he-himself rightly preferred
διαβάλλοντος ἢ κωλύοντος· οἷον ἦν τὸ περὶ τὰς
slandering or hindering such-as was the-matter about the
κολάσεις τῶν Νερωνιανῶν.
punishments of-the Neronians
ἀπέκτεινε γὰρ τοὺς πονηρούς, ἐν οἷς ἦν ὁ Ἥλιος
he-killed for the wicked among whom was — Helius
καὶ Πολύκλειτος καὶ Πετῖνος καὶ Πατρόβιος. ὁ δὲ
and Polyclitus and Petinus and Patrobius the and
δῆμος ἐκρότει, καὶ δι' ἀγορᾶς αὐτῶν ἀγομένων ἐβόα
people applauded and through forum them being-led shouted
καλὴν μὲν εἶναι καὶ θεοφιλῆ πομπήν, ἀπαιτεῖν δὲ καὶ
fine indeed to-be and god-beloved procession to-demand but both
θεοὺς καὶ ἀνθρώπους τὸν διδάσκαλον καὶ παιδαγωγὸν
gods and men the teacher and tutor
τῆς τυραννίδος Τιγελλῖνον. ἐφθάκει δὲ ὁ γενναῖος
of-the tyranny Tigellinus had-anticipated and the noble-man
προειληφὼς ἀρραβῶσι μεγάλοις τὸν Οὐίνιον.
having-secured-beforehand with-pledges great — Vinius
εἶτα Τουρπιλιανὸς μέν, ὅτι μὴ προεδίδου μηδὲ ἐμίσει
then Turpilianus indeed because not he-betrayed nor hated
τὸν ἡγεμόνα τοιοῦτον ὄντα μισούμενος, ἄλλο δὲ μηδὲ ἓν
the emperor such being hated other but not-even one
μέγα συναδικήσας, ἀπέθανεν ὁ δὲ καὶ ποιήσας ἄξιον
great having-joined-in-wronging died he but also having-made worthy

θανάτου Νέρωνα καὶ γενόμενον τοιοῦτον ἐγκαταλιπὼν
of-death Nero and having-become such having-abandoned
καὶ προδοὺς περιῆν, μέγα δίδαγμα τοῦ μηδὲν ἄπρακτον
and having-betrayed survived great lesson of-the nothing impossible
εἶναι παρὰ Οὐινίῳ μηδὲ ἀνέλπιστον τοῖς διδοῦσιν.
to-be with Vinius nor unhoped-for for-those giving
οὐδενὸς γὰρ οὕτω θεάματος ἐρασθεὶς ὁ Ῥωμαίων δῆμος
of-no for so spectacle having-fallen-in-love the of-Romans people
ὡς τοῦ Τιγελλῖνον ἰδεῖν ἀπαγόμενον, οὐδὲ παυσάμενος ἐν
as of-the Tigellinus to-see led-away nor having-ceased in
πᾶσι θεάτροις καὶ σταδίοις αἰτούμενος ἐκεῖνον, ἐπεπλήχθη
all theaters and stadiums demanding that-one was-rebuked
διαγράμματι τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος Τιγελλῖνον μὲν οὐ πολὺν
by-edict of-the emperor Tigellinus indeed not long
ἔτι βιώσεσθαι φάσκοντος χρόνον ὑπὸ φθινάδος νόσου
still to-be-going-to-live saying time by wasting disease
δαπανώμενον, ἐκείνους δὲ παραιτουμένου μὴ διαγριαίνειν
being-consumed them but begging not to-be-savage
μηδὲ τυραννικὴν ποιεῖν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν.
nor tyrannical to-make the empire
ἀχθομένου δὲ τοῦ δήμου καταγελῶντες ὁ μὲν Τιγελλῖνος
being-vexed and the people laughing — indeed Tigellinus
ἔθυσε σωτήρια καὶ παρεσκεύασε λαμπρὰν ἑστίασιν,
sacrificed thank-offerings-for-safety and prepared brilliant feast
ὁ δὲ Οὐίνιος ἀναστὰς παρὰ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος μετὰ
— and Vinius having-risen from the emperor after
δεῖπνον ἐκώμασεν ὡς ἐκεῖνον, ἄγων τὴν θυγατέρα χήραν
dinner went-reveling to that-one bringing the daughter widow
οὖσαν. καὶ προὔπιεν ὁ Τιγελλῖνος αὐτῇ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι
being and pledged — Tigellinus to-her five and twenty
μυριάδας ἀργυρίου, καὶ τῶν παλλακίδων τὴν ἀγελαρχοῦσαν
ten-thousands of-silver and of-the concubines the herd-leader

ἐκέλευσε τὸν περιδέραιον κόσμον ἀφελομένην ἐκείνῃ
he-bade the of-the-neck ornament having-taken-off on-her
περιάψαι, πεντεκαίδεκα μυριάδων εἶναι λεγόμενον.
to-fasten fifteen ten-thousands to-be said

IV · DISCONTENT, AND THE RISE OF OTHO

Galba's measures are resented, and when the soldiers complain of the unpaid gift he says he is used to levying soldiers, not buying them. The legions in Germany, unrewarded for their victory over Vindex, despise their commander Flaccus and cheer Galba only if he is worthy. Galba resolves to adopt a successor. Otho, of good family, shared Nero's pleasures, married Poppaea, whom Nero loved, and was sent to govern Lusitania; he joined Galba first and won the guards with gifts, and Vinius urges him for his daughter's sake, but Galba, knowing his debts, puts off the choice. Meanwhile the German legions tear down Galba's images and hail Vitellius emperor.

18 Ἐκ δὲ τούτου καὶ τὰ μετρίως πραττόμενα διαβολὴν
from and this even the-things moderately done slander
εἶχεν, ὡς τὰ πρὸς τοὺς Γαλάτας Οὐΐνδικι συναραμένους.
had as the-things toward the Gauls with-Vindex having-joined-in-the-war
ἐδόκουν γὰρ οὐ φιλανθρωπίᾳ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος, ἀλλὰ
they-seemed for not by-kindness of-the emperor but
ὠνούμενοι παρὰ Οὐινίου τυγχάνειν ἀνέσεώς τε δασμῶν
buying from Vinius to-obtain remission both of-tributes
καὶ πολιτείας.
and citizenship
οἱ μὲν οὖν πολλοὶ διὰ ταῦτα πρὸς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν
the indeed then many because-of these-things toward the rule
ἀπηχθάνοντο, τοὺς δὲ στρατιώτας τὴν δωρεὰν μὴ
were-hostile the but soldiers the gift not
κομιζομένους ἐν ἀρχῇ μὲν ἐλπὶς παρῆγεν ὡς, εἰ καὶ μὴ
receiving at beginning indeed hope led-on as if even not

τοσοῦτον, ἀλλ' ὅσον Νέρων ἔδωκεν, ἀποδώσοντος. ἐπεὶ
so-much but as-much-as Nero gave going-to-pay when
δὲ μεμφομένους ἀκούσας ἀφῆκε φωνὴν ἡγεμόνι μεγάλῳ
but them-complaining having-heard he-let-go saying to-emperor great
πρέπουσαν, εἰπὼν εἰωθέναι καταλέγειν στρατιώτας, οὐκ
fitting having-said to-be-wont to-enlist soldiers not
ἀγοράζειν, πυθομένοις τοῦτο δεινὸν εἰσῆλθε μῖσος καὶ
to-buy to-those-having-learned this terrible entered hatred and
ἄγριον πρὸς αὐτόν, ἐδόκει γὰρ οὐκ αὐτὸς ἀποστερεῖν μόνος,
savage toward him he-seemed for not himself to-defraud alone
ἀλλὰ νομοθετεῖν καὶ διδάσκειν τοὺς μεθ' αὑτὸν αὐτοκράτορας.
but to-legislate and to-teach the after himself emperors
ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ἐν Ῥώμῃ τυφλὸν ἦν ἔτι κίνημα, καί τις
but the indeed in Rome blind was still movement and some
αἰδὼς ἅμα πρὸς παρόντα τὸν Γάλβαν ἀμβλύτητα καὶ
respect at-once toward present — Galba dullness and
μέλλησιν ἐνεποίει τῷ νεωτερισμῷ, καὶ τὸ μηδεμίαν ἀρχὴν
delay produced in-the revolution and the no beginning
ἐμφανῆ μεταβολῆς ὁρᾶσθαι συνέστελλε καὶ συνέκρυπτεν
manifest of-change to-be-seen restrained and helped-conceal
ἁμῶς γέ πως τὴν δυσμένειαν αὐτῶν, οἱ δὲ πρότερον
somehow at-least somehow the hostility their those but formerly
ὑπὸ Οὐεργινίῳ γενόμενοι, τότε δὲ ὄντες ὑπὸ Φλάκκῳ
under Verginius having-been then and being under Flaccus
περὶ Γερμανίαν, μεγάλων μὲν ἀξιοῦντες αὑτοὺς διὰ
about Germany great-things indeed deeming-worthy themselves because-of
τὴν μάχην ἣν ἐμαχέσαντο πρὸς Οὐΐνδικα, μηδενὸς δὲ
the battle which they-fought against Vindex nothing but
τυγχάνοντες, ἀπαρηγόρητοι τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἦσαν.
obtaining unappeasable toward-the commanders were

αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν Φλάκκον ὑπὸ συντόνου ποδάγρας ἀδύνατον
himself and — Flaccus by violent gout powerless
ὄντα τῷ σώματι καὶ πραγμάτων ἄπειρον ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ
being in-the body and of-affairs inexperienced in no account
τὸ παράπαν ἐποιοῦντο. καί ποτε θέας οὔσης, καὶ τῶν
the altogether they-made and once spectacle being and the
χιλιάρχων καὶ λοχαγῶν τὸ Ῥωμαίοις σύνηθες εὐτυχίαν
tribunes and captains the to-Romans customary good-fortune
ἐπευχομένων τῷ αὐτοκράτορι Γάλβᾳ, διεθορύβησαν οἱ
praying for-the emperor Galba raised-a-tumult the
πολλοὶ τὸ πρῶτον, εἶτα ταῖς εὐχαῖς ἐπιμενόντων ἐκείνων
many the first then in-the prayers persisting those
ἀντεφώνουν "εἰ ἄξιος."
they-cried-in-answer if worthy

19 Τοιαῦτα δὲ ἕτερα καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ Τιγελλίνῳ ταγμάτων
such and other also of-the under Tigellinus legions
ὑβριζόντων πολλάκις, ἐπέμπετο γράμματα τῷ Γάλβᾳ
outraging often were-sent letters — to-Galba
παρὰ τῶν ἐπιτρόπων ὁ δὲ φοβηθεὶς ὡς μὴ μόνον διὰ
from the procurators he and having-feared as not only because-of
τὸ γῆρας, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὴν ἀπαιδίαν καταφρονούμενος,
the old-age but also because-of the childlessness despised
ἐβουλεύετο παῖδα θέσθαι τῶν ἐπιφανῶν τινα νεανίσκον
deliberated son to-adopt of-the illustrious some young-man
καὶ διάδοχον ἀποδεῖξαι τῆς ἀρχῆς.
and successor to-declare of-the rule
ἦν δὲ Μάρκος Ὄθων, ἀνὴρ γένει μὲν οὐκ ἀφανής,
was and Marcus Otho man in-family indeed not obscure
τρυφῇ δὲ καὶ φιληδονίαις εὐθὺς ἐκ παίδων ἐν ὀλίγοις
by-luxury but and pleasures at-once from boyhood among few
Ῥωμαίων διεφθαρμένος, ὡς δὲ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον Ὅμηρος
of-Romans corrupted as and — Alexander Homer

“Ἑλένης πόσιν ἠϋκόμοιο,” μηδὲν ἔχοντα πρὸς δόξαν ἄλλο
of-Helen husband lovely-haired nothing having for glory other
σεμνύνων ἀπὸ τῆς γυναικός, ὀνομάζει πολλάκις, οὕτως
dignifying from the wife names often so
γεγονὼς περιβόητος ἐν Ῥώμῃ διὰ τὸν Ποππαίας
having-become notorious in Rome because-of the of-Poppaea
γάμον, ἣς ἦρα μὲν ὁ Νέρων Κρισπίνῳ συνούσης,
marriage whom loved indeed — Nero to-Crispinus being-married
ἔτι δ’ αἰδούμενος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα καὶ τὴν μητέρα
still and respecting the his-own wife and the mother
φοβούμενος ὑφῆκε τὸν Ὄθωνα πειρῶντα τὴν Ποππαίαν.
fearing he-put-up — Otho tempting — Poppaea
φίλῳ δὲ τῷ Ὄθωνι καὶ συμβιωτῇ διὰ τὴν ἀσωτίαν
as-friend and — Otho and companion because-of the prodigality
ἐχρῆτο, καὶ σκωπτόμενος ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ πολλάκις εἰς
he-used and being-mocked by him often for
μικρολογίαν καὶ ἀνελευθερίαν ἔχαιρε, λέγεται δέ ποτε
pettiness and illiberality he-rejoiced it-is-said and once
μύρῳ τῶν πολυτελῶν χρισαμένου τοῦ Νέρωνος
with-perfume of-the costly having-anointed-himself — Nero
καὶ τὸν Ὄθωνα καταβρέξαντος, ἐκεῖνος πάλιν τῇ
and — Otho having-drenched that-one again on-the
ὑστεραίᾳ δεχόμενος αὐτὸν ἅμα πολλαχόθεν ἀργυροῦς καὶ
next-day receiving him at-once from-many-places silver and
χρυσοῦς προβαλεῖν ἄφνω σωλῆνας, ὥσπερ ὕδωρ τὸ μύρον
golden to-put-forward suddenly pipes like water the perfume
ἐκχέοντας καὶ κατακλύζοντας,
pouring-out and flooding
ἀλλὰ τήν γε Ποππαίαν προμοιχεύσας τῷ Νέρωνι, καὶ
but — at-least Poppaea having-seduced-beforehand — for-Nero and
διαφθείρας ταῖς εἰς ἐκεῖνον ἐλπίσιν, ἔπεισεν ἀποστῆναι
having-corrupted with-the toward that-one hopes he-persuaded to-leave

τοῦ ἀνδρός. ἐλθούσης δὲ παρ᾽ αὐτὸν ὡς γαμετῆς οὐκ
the husband having-come and to him as wife not
ἠγάπα μετέχων, ἀλλ᾽ ἤσχαλλε μεταδιδούς, οὐδὲ αὐτῆς
he-was-content sharing but was-vexed giving-a-share nor herself
ἀχθομένης, ὥς φασι, τῇ ζηλοτυπίᾳ τῆς Ποππαίας.
being-vexed as they-say at-the jealousy — Poppaea
καὶ γὰρ ἀποκλεῖσαι τὸν Νέρωνα λέγεται μὴ παρόντος
and for to-have-shut-out — Nero it-is-said not present
τοῦ Ὄθωνος, εἴτε τῆς ἡδονῆς ἀφαιροῦσα τὸ πλήσμιον,
— Otho whether of-the pleasure taking-away the satiety
εἴτε, ὥς φασιν ἔνιοι, βαρυνομένη τὸν Καίσαρος γάμον,
or as say some being-burdened-with the of-Caesar marriage
ἐραστῇ δὲ μὴ φεύγουσα χρῆσθαι διὰ τὸ φιλακόλαστον.
lover but not shunning to-use because-of the love-of-licentiousness
ἐκινδύνευσεν οὖν ὁ Ὄθων ἀποθανεῖν· καὶ παράλογον
was-in-danger then — Otho to-die and unaccountable
ἦν ὅτι τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ ἀδελφὴν ἀποκτείνας διὰ τὸν
it-was that the wife and sister having-killed because-of the
Ποππαίας γάμον ἐφείσατο τοῦ Ὄθωνος.
of-Poppaea marriage he-spared — Otho
20 Σενέκαν δὲ εἶχεν εὔνουν κἀκείνου τὸν Νέρωνα πείσαντος
Seneca and he-had well-disposed and-that-one — Nero having-persuaded
καὶ παραινέσαντος ἐξεπέμφθη Λυσιτανῶν στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ
and having-advised he-was-sent-out of-Lusitanians governor to
τὸν Ὠκεανόν. καὶ παρέσχεν ἑαυτὸν οὐκ ἄχαριν οὐδὲ
the Ocean and he-showed himself not ungracious nor
ἐπαχθῆ τοῖς ὑπηκόοις, εἰδὼς φυγῆς ὑποκόρισμα καὶ
burdensome to-the subjects knowing of-exile pet-name and
παρακάλυμμα τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῷ δεδομένην.
cover the office to-him given

ἀποστάντος δὲ Γάλβα πρῶτος αὐτῷ προσεχώρησε τῶν
having-revolted and Galba first to-him went-over of-the
ἡγεμόνων, καὶ φέρων ὅσον εἶχεν ἐν ἐκπώμασι καὶ
governors and bringing as-much-as he-had in cups and
τραπέζαις ἄργυρον καὶ χρυσὸν ἔδωκε κατακόψαι ποιουμένῳ
tables silver and gold gave to-cut-up to-him-making
νόμισμα, καὶ τῶν οἰκετῶν ἐδωρήσατο τοὺς εἰθισμένους
coinage and of-the servants presented those accustomed
περὶ δίαιταν ἡγεμόνι ἐμμελῶς ὑπουργεῖν. καὶ τὰ ἄλλα
about way-of-life to-ruler skillfully to-serve and in-the other-things
πιστὸς ἦν αὐτῷ, καὶ διδοὺς πεῖραν οὐδενὸς ἧττον ἐδόκει
faithful he-was to-him and giving proof than-none less he-seemed
πραγμάτων ἔμπειρος εἶναι· καὶ βαδίζοντι τὴν ὁδὸν
of-affairs experienced to-be and with-him-traveling the road
ἅπασαν ἐφ᾽ ἡμέρας πολλὰς συνοχούμενος διετέλεσεν.
all for days many riding-together he-continued
ἐν δὲ τῇ συνοδίᾳ καὶ τῇ συνηθείᾳ τὸν Οὐίνιον ἐξεθεράπευσεν
in and the journey and the intimacy — Vinius he-courted-thoroughly
ὁμιλίᾳ καὶ δώροις, μάλιστα δὲ τῶν πρωτείων ὑφιέμενος
with-converse and gifts most and of-the first-place yielding
αὐτῷ τό γε μετ᾽ ἐκεῖνον δύνασθαι δι᾽ ἐκεῖνον εἶχε
to-him the at-least after that-one to-have-power through that-one he-had
βεβαίως, τῷ δὲ ἀνεπιφθόνῳ περιῆν, προῖκα συμπράττων
securely by-the and freedom-from-envy he-excelled gratis helping
πάντα τοῖς δεομένοις, καὶ παρέχων ἑαυτὸν εὐπροσήγορον
all-things to-those needing and offering himself affable
καὶ φιλάνθρωπον ἅπασι. πλεῖστα δὲ τοῖς στρατιωτικοῖς
and kindly to-all most and to-the military
συνελάμβανε καὶ προῆγε πολλοὺς ἐφ᾽ ἡγεμονίας, τὰ
he-helped and advanced many to commands the-things
μὲν αἰτούμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος,
indeed asking from the emperor

τὰ δὲ τὸν Οὐίνιον καὶ τοὺς ἀπελευθέρους παρακαλῶν
the-things and — Vinius and the freedmen calling-on
Ἴκελον καὶ Ἀσιατικὸν οὗτοι γὰρ ἦσαν ἐν δυνάμει μάλιστα
Icelus and Asiaticus these for were in power most
τῶν περὶ τὴν αὐλήν. ὁσάκις δὲ τὸν Γάλβαν εἱστία, τὴν
of-those about the court as-often-as and — Galba he-entertained the
παραφυλάττουσαν ἀεὶ σπεῖραν ἐδέκαζε χρυσοῦν ἑκάστῳ
guarding always cohort he-bribed gold-piece to-each
διανέμων, οἷς τιμᾶν αὐτὸν ἐδόκει καταπολιτευόμενος
distributing by-which to-honor him he-seemed undermining
καὶ δημαγωγῶν τὸ στρατιωτικόν.
and courting the military

21 Ἀλλ᾽ οὖν βουλευομένου γε τοῦ Γάλβα περὶ διαδόχου τὸν
but then deliberating indeed — Galba about successor —
Ὄθωνα παρεισῆγεν ὁ Οὐίνιος, οὐδὲ τοῦτο προῖκα πράσσων,
Otho brought-in — Vinius not-even this gratis doing
ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ γάμῳ τῆς θυγατρός, ὁμολογίας γενομένης
but for marriage of-the daughter agreement having-been-made
γαμεῖν αὐτὴν τὸν Ὄθωνα παῖδα τοῦ Γάλβα καὶ διάδοχον
to-marry her — Otho son — of-Galba and successor
ἀποδειχθέντα τῆς ἡγεμονίας, ὁ δὲ Γάλβας ἀεὶ μὲν ἦν δῆλος
having-been-declared of-the empire — but Galba always indeed was plain
πρὸ τοῦ ἰδίου τὸ κοινὸν τιθέμενος καὶ ζητῶν οὐχ αὑτῷ
before the private the public placing and seeking not for-himself
θέσθαι τὸν ἥδιστον, ἀλλὰ Ῥωμαίοις τὸν ὠφελιμώτατον.
to-adopt the most-pleasant but for-Romans the most-useful
δοκεῖ δὲ μηδ᾽ ἂν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἰδίοις χρήμασι μόνον ἑλέσθαι
he-seems and not-even — for the own money only to-have-chosen
τὸν Ὄθωνα κληρονόμον, ἀκόλαστον εἰδὼς καὶ πολυτελῆ
— Otho heir licentious knowing-him and extravagant
καὶ πεντακισχιλίων μυριάδων ὀφλήμασι βεβαπτισμένον.
and of-five-thousand ten-thousands in-debts sunk

ὅθεν ἀκούσας τοῦ Οὐινίου σιωπῇ καὶ πρᾴως ὑπερέθετο
whence having-heard — Vinius in-silence and gently he-postponed
τὴν διάθεσιν. ἀποδείξας δ' αὐτὸν ὕπατον καὶ συνάρχοντα
the disposition having-declared but himself consul and colleague
τὸν Οὐίνιον ἐπίδοξος ἦν ἔτους ἀρχῇ τὸν διάδοχον
— Vinius expected he-was at-year's beginning the successor
ἀναγορεύσειν καὶ τὸ στρατιωτικὸν ἡδέως εἶχε τὸν
to-be-going-to-proclaim and the military gladly was-disposed —
Ὄθωνα παρ' ὁντινοῦν ἄλλον ἀναγορευθῆναι.
Otho beyond anyone-whatever other to-be-proclaimed
Καταλαμβάνει δ' αὐτὸν ἔτι μέλλοντα καὶ βουλευόμενον 22
overtakes and him still delaying and deliberating
ἐκραγέντα τὰ Γερμανικά, κοινῇ γὰρ ἅπαντες οἱ
having-broken-out the German-things in-common for all those
στρατευόμενοι τὸν Γάλβαν ἐμίσουν οὐκ ἀποδιδόντα τὴν
serving — Galba hated not paying the
δωρεάν, ἰδίας δὲ ἐκεῖνοι προφάσεις ἐποιοῦντο Οὐεργινίόν
gift own and those pretexts made Verginius
τε Ῥοῦφον ἀπερριμμένον ἀτίμως καὶ Γαλατῶν τοὺς
both Rufus cast-aside dishonorably and of-Gauls those
πολεμήσαντας αὐτοῖς δωρεῶν τυγχάνοντας,
having-made-war with-them gifts obtaining
ὅσοι δὲ μὴ προσέθεντο Οὐίνδικι κολαζομένους, ᾧ
as-many-as and not sided with-Vindex being-punished to-whom
μόνῳ τὸν Γάλβαν χάριν εἰδέναι καὶ τιμᾶν τεθνηκότα καὶ
alone — Galba thanks to-owe and to-honor dead and
γεραίρειν δημοσίοις ἐναγισμοῖς, ὡς ὑπ' ἐκείνου Ῥωμαίων
to-reward with-public offerings-to-the-dead as by that-one of-Romans
ἀποδεδειγμένον αὐτοκράτορα.
declared emperor

τοιούτων ἀναφανδὸν ἤδη λόγων ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ
such openly already words in the camp
περιφερομένων ἐπῆλθεν ἡ νουμηνία τοῦ πρώτου μηνός,
being-carried-about came the new-moon of-the first month
ἣν καλάνδας Ἰανουαρίας καλοῦσι· τοῦ δὲ Φλάκκου
which kalends of-January they-call — and Flaccus
συναγαγόντος αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὸν ὅρκον ὃν ἔθος ἐστὶν
having-gathered them for the oath which custom is
ὀμνύειν ὑπὲρ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος, τὰς μὲν εἰκόνας τοῦ
to-swear for the emperor the indeed images —
Γάλβα προσελθόντες ἀνέτρεψαν καὶ κατέσπασαν, αὐτοὶ δὲ
of-Galba having-approached they-overturned and pulled-down themselves and
ὀμόσαντες ὑπὲρ συγκλήτου καὶ δήμου Ῥωμαίων διελύθησαν.
having-sworn for senate and people of-Romans they-dispersed
εἶτα τοῖς ἡγεμονικοῖς παρίστατο δεδοικέναι τὴν ἀναρχίαν
then to-the officers it-occurred to-fear the anarchy
ὡς ἀπόστασιν. λέγει δέ τις ἐν αὐτοῖς· "τί πάσχομεν,
as revolt says and someone among them what do-we-suffer
ὦ συστρατιῶται, μήτ' ἄλλον ἡγεμόνα ποιούμενοι μήτε
O fellow-soldiers neither other leader making nor
τὸν νῦν ὄντα φυλάττοντες, ὥσπερ οὐ Γάλβαν, ἀλλ' ὅλως
the now being guarding as not Galba but wholly
ἄρχοντα καὶ τὸ ἄρχεσθαι φεύγοντες;
ruler and the to-be-ruled fleeing
Φλάκκον μὲν οὖν Ὁρδεώνιον οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ σκιὰν
Flaccus indeed then Hordeonius nothing other than shadow
ὄντα Γάλβα καὶ εἴδωλον ἑαυτόν, ἡμέρας δὲ μιᾶς ὁδὸν
being of-Galba and phantom one-must-let-be of-day and one road
ἀφέστηκεν ἡμῶν Οὐϊτέλλιος, ὁ τῆς ἑτέρας Γερμανίας
stands-off from-us Vitellius the of-the other Germany
ἡγούμενος, πατρός τε τιμητοῦ καὶ τρὶς ὑπάτου γενομένου
commanding of-father both censor and thrice consul having-been

καὶ Κλαυδίῳ Καίσαρι τρόπον τινὰ συνάρξαντος, αὐτός
and with-Claudius Caesar in-manner some having-been-colleague himself
τε τὴν λοιδορουμένην ὑπ᾽ ἐνίων πενίαν δεῖγμα λαμπρὸν
both the abused by some poverty proof brilliant
ἔχων χρηστότητος καὶ μεγαλοφροσύνης, φέρε, τοῦτον
having of-goodness and magnanimity come this-one
ἑλόμενοι δείξωμεν ἀνθρώποις πᾶσιν ὡς Ἰβήρων καὶ
having-chosen let-us-show to-men all that than-Iberians and
Λυσιτανῶν ἀμείνους ἐσμὲν αὐτοκράτορα αἱρεῖσθαι.”
Lusitanians better we-are emperor to-choose
ταῦτα τῶν μὲν ἤδη προσιεμένων, τῶν δ᾽ οὐ
these-things the(-ones) indeed already admitting the(-others) but not
προσιεμένων, εἷς ὑπεξελθὼν σημαιοφόρος ἀπήγγειλε τῷ
admitting one having-slipped-out standard-bearer reported —
Οὐϊτελλίῳ νυκτός, ἑστιωμένων πολλῶν παρ᾽ αὐτῷ. τοῦ δὲ
to-Vitellius by-night feasting many with him the and
λόγου διαπεσόντος εἰς τὰ στρατεύματα πρῶτος Φάβιος
word having-spread to the armies first Fabius
Οὐάλης, ἡγεμὼν ἑνὸς τάγματος, τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ μετὰ ἱππέων
Valens commander of-one legion on-the next-day with horsemen
συχνῶν ἐλάσας αὐτοκράτορα τὸν Οὐϊτέλλιον προσεῖπεν.
many having-ridden emperor — Vitellius hailed
ὁ δὲ τὰς μὲν ἔμπροσθεν ἡμέρας ἐδόκει διωθεῖσθαι καὶ
he and the indeed former days seemed to-push-away and
ἀναδύεσθαι, τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ἀρχῆς φοβούμενος, τότε δέ
to-shrink-from the greatness of-the rule fearing then and
φασιν οἴνου διάπλεων καὶ τροφῆς ὄντα μεσημβρινῆς
they-say with-wine full and food being midday
προελθεῖν καὶ ὑπακοῦσαι Γερμανικὸν ὄνομα θεμένων
to-have-come-forth and to-have-hearkened German name having-given
αὐτῷ, τὸ δὲ Καίσαρος οὐ προσδεξάμενον.
to-him the but of-Caesar not having-accepted

εὐθὺς δὲ καὶ τὸ μετὰ Φλάκκου στράτευμα τοὺς καλοὺς
at-once and also the with Flaccus army the fine
ἐκείνους καὶ δημοκρατικοὺς εἰς σύγκλητον ὅρκους ἀφέντες
those and democratic to senate oaths having-let-go
ὤμοσαν Οὐϊτελλίῳ τῷ αὐτοκράτορι ποιήσειν τὸ
swore to-Vitellius the emperor to-be-going-to-do the-thing
προστασσόμενον.
commanded

V · THE MURDER OF GALBA

Galba adopts Piso, a young man of austere character, amid thunder and storm, and Otho goes away bitter, egged on by his astrologers. His freedman Onomastus corrupts the guard, and on the day of the deed the seer Umbricius warns Galba of treachery while Otho stands behind him. Otho is proclaimed in the forum by twenty-three soldiers and carried to the camp. Galba, deceived by a false report of Otho's death, goes into the forum, where the cavalry and infantry cut him down by the Curtian pool, Sempronius Densus alone defending him. Piso, Vinius, and Laco are killed, their heads carried to Otho. Plutarch sums up Galba's virtues and failings.

23 Οὕτω μὲν ἀνηγορεύθη Οὐϊτέλλιος αὐτοκράτωρ ἐν Γερμανίᾳ.
thus indeed was-proclaimed Vitellius emperor in Germany
πυθόμενος δὲ τὸν ἐκεῖ νεωτερισμὸν ὁ Γάλβας οὐκέτι τὴν
having-learned and the there revolution — Galba no-longer the
εἰσποίησιν ἀνεβάλλετο. γινώσκων δὲ τῶν φίλων ἐνίους
adoption put-off knowing and of-the friends some
μὲν ὑπὲρ Δολοβέλλα, τοὺς δὲ πλείστους ὑπὲρ Ὄθωνος
indeed for Dolabella the but most for Otho
ἀρχαιρεσιάζοντας, ὧν οὐδέτερον ἐδοκίμαζεν αὐτός, ἄφνω
canvassing of-whom neither approved himself suddenly

μηδὲν προειπὼν μετεπέμψατο Πείσωνα, Κράσσου καὶ
nothing having-said-beforehand he-sent-for Piso of-Crassus and
Σκριβωνίας ἔκγονον, οὓς Νέρων ἀνῄρήκει,
Scribonia offspring whom Nero had-killed
νεανίαν ἐν τῇ πρὸς πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν εὐφυΐᾳ τὸ κόσμιον
young-man in the for all virtue good-disposition the orderly
καὶ αὐστηρὸν ἐμφανέστατα ἔχοντα· καὶ κατέβαινεν
and austere most-manifestly having and he-went-down
εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐκεῖνον ἀποδείξων Καίσαρα καὶ
into the camp that-one going-to-declare Caesar and
διάδοχον. καίτοι μεγάλαι μὲν εὐθὺς ἐξιόντι διοσημίαι
successor and-yet great indeed at-once to-him-going-out signs-from-Zeus
παρηκολούθουν, ἀρξαμένου δὲ τὰ μὲν λέγειν ἐν
followed having-begun and the-things indeed to-say in
τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, τὰ δὲ ἀναγινώσκειν, τοσαυτάκις
the camp the-things and to-read so-often
ἐβρόντησε καὶ κατήστραψε, καὶ τοσοῦτος ὄμβρος καὶ
it-thundered and it-lightened and so-great rain and
ζόφος ἐξεχύθη εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ τὴν πόλιν,
gloom was-poured into the camp and the city
ὡς κατάδηλον εἶναι μὴ προσιέμενον μηδὲ ἐπαινοῦν τὸ
so-that plain to-be not admitting nor approving the
δαιμόνιον γινομένην οὐκ ἐπ᾽ ἀγαθῷ τὴν εἰσποίησιν.
divinity happening not for good the adoption
ἦν δὲ καὶ τὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὕπουλα καὶ σκυθρωπὰ
were and also the-things of-the soldiers festering and sullen
μηδὲ τότε δωρεᾶς αὐτοῖς δοθείσης. τοῦ δὲ Πείσωνος
not-even then gift to-them having-been-given — and of-Piso
οἱ παρόντες ἐθαύμασαν τῇ τε φωνῇ τεκμαιρόμενοι καὶ
those present wondered-at by-the both voice judging and
τῷ προσώπῳ τὸ τηλικαύτην χάριν ἀνεμπλήκτως, οὐ μὴν
by-the face the so-great favor unexcitedly not indeed

ἀναισθήτως δεχόμενον, ὥσπερ αὖ τοῦ Ὄθωνος
insensibly receiving as on-the-other-hand — of-Otho
ἐπεφαίνετο πολλὰ σημεῖα τῇ μορφῇ πικρῶς καὶ σὺν
appeared many signs in-the form bitterly and with
ὀργῇ τῆς ἐλπίδος τὴν ἀπότευξιν φέροντος, ἧς πρῶτος
anger of-the hope the failure bearing of-which first
ἀξιωθεὶς καὶ τοῦ τυχεῖν ἐγγυτάτω γενόμενος τὸ
having-been-deemed-worthy and of-the to-obtain nearest having-come the
μὴ τυχεῖν ἐποιεῖτο σημεῖον ἔχθους ἅμα καὶ κακονοίας
not to-obtain he-made sign of-hatred at-once and of-ill-will
τοῦ Γάλβα πρὸς αὐτόν.
— of-Galba toward him
ὅθεν οὐδὲ ἄφοβος ἦν περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος, ἀλλὰ καὶ
whence not-even fearless he-was about the future but both
τὸν Πείσωνα δεδιὼς καὶ τὸν Γάλβαν προβαλλόμενος
— Piso fearing and — Galba blaming
καὶ τῷ Οὐινίῳ χαλεπαίνων ἀπῄει πολλῶν παθῶν
and — with-Vinius being-angry he-went-away of-many passions
πλήρης, οὐδὲ γὰρ τὸ ἐλπίζον ἐκλιπεῖν οὐδὲ ἀπαγορεῦσαι
full not-even for the hoping to-give-up nor to-despair
παντάπασιν εἴων οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν ὄντες ἀεὶ μάντεις
altogether did-they-allow those about him being always seers
καὶ Χαλδαῖοι, εἰς τὰ μάλιστα δὲ Πτολεμαῖος ἰσχυριζόμενος
and Chaldaeans to the most and Ptolemy insisting
τῷ προειπεῖν πολλάκις ὡς οὐκ ἀποκτενεῖ Νέρων αὐτόν,
on-the to-have-foretold often that not will-kill Nero him
ἀλλὰ τεθνήξεται πρότερος, αὐτὸς δὲ περιέσται καὶ ἄρξει
but will-die first himself and will-survive and will-rule
Ῥωμαίων ἐκεῖνο γὰρ ἀληθὲς ἀποδείξας ἠξίου μηδὲ
Romans that for true having-shown he-deemed-fit not-even
ταῦτα ἀπελπίζειν· οὐχ ἥκιστα δ' οἱ συναχθόμενοι
these-things to-despair-of not least and those vexed-with-him

κρύφα καὶ συνεπιστένοντες ὡς ἀχάριστα πεπονθότι.
secretly and groaning-with-him as ungrateful-things to-him-having-suffered
πλεῖστοι δὲ τῶν περὶ Τιγελλῖνον καὶ Νυμφίδιον ἐν τιμῇ
most and of-those about Tigellinus and Nymphidius in honor
γεγονότων ἀπερριμμένοι τότε καὶ ταπεινὰ πράττοντες
having-been cast-aside then and humble-things faring
ἐφθείροντο πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ συνηγανάκτουν καὶ παρώξυνον.
went-over to him and were-indignant-with and goaded
Ἐν δὲ τούτοις Οὐετούριος καὶ Βάρβιος, ὁ μὲν 24
among and these Veturius and Barbius the(-one) indeed
ὀπτίων, ὁ δὲ τεσσεράριος· οὕτω γὰρ καλοῦνται οἱ
optio the(-other) and tesserarius so for are-called those
διαγγέλων καὶ διοπτήρων ὑπηρεσίας τελοῦντες. μεθ' ὧν
of-messengers and of-scouts services performing with whom
Ὄθωνος ἀπελεύθερος Ὀνόμαστος ἐπιφοιτῶν τοὺς μὲν
of-Otho freedman Onomastus going-round the(-ones) indeed
ἀργυρίῳ, τοὺς δὲ ἐλπίσι διέφθειρεν ἤδη σαθροὺς ὄντας
with-silver the(-others) and with-hopes corrupted already rotten being
καὶ δεομένους προφάσεως. οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἡμερῶν τεσσάρων
and needing pretext not for was of-days four
ἔργον ὑγιαίνοντος στρατοπέδου μεταστῆσαι πίστιν, ὅσαι
work of-healthy camp to-change faith as-many-as
μεταξὺ τῆς εἰσποιήσεως ἐγένοντο καὶ τῆς σφαγῆς, ἕκτῃ
between the adoption came and the slaughter on-sixth
γὰρ ἀνῃρέθησαν, ἣν ἄγουσι Ῥωμαῖοι πρὸ δεκαοκτὼ
for they-were-killed which hold Romans before eighteen
καλανδῶν Φεβρουαρίων.
kalends of-February
ἐκείνῃ γὰρ ἕωθεν εὐθὺς ὁ μὲν Γάλβας ἔθυεν ἐν Παλατίῳ
on-that for at-dawn at-once — indeed Galba sacrificed in Palatium
τῶν φίλων παρόντων, ὁ δὲ θύτης Ὀμβρίκιος ἅμα τῷ
the friends being-present the and sacrificer Umbricius at-once with-the

λαβεῖν εἰς τὰς χεῖρας τοῦ ἱερείου τὰ σπλάγχνα καὶ
to-take into the hands of-the victim the entrails and
προσιδεῖν οὐ δι᾽ αἰνιγμῶν, ἀλλ᾽ ἄντικρυς ἔφη σημεῖα
to-look-at not in riddles but outright said signs
μεγάλης ταραχῆς, καὶ μετὰ δόλου κίνδυνον ἐκ κεφαλῆς
of-great disturbance and with treachery danger from head
ἐπικείμενον τῷ αὐτοκράτορι, μονονουχὶ τὸν Ὄθωνα τοῦ
impending for-the emperor all-but — Otho the
θεοῦ χειρὶ ληπτὸν παραδιδόντος.
god by-hand to-be-taken handing-over
παρῆν γὰρ ὄπισθεν τοῦ Γάλβα, καὶ προσεῖχε
he-was-present for behind — Galba and attended
τοῖς λεγομένοις καὶ δεικνυμένοις ὑπὸ τοῦ Ὀμβρικίου.
to-the-things said and shown by — Umbricius
θορυβουμένῳ δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ χρόας ἀμείβοντι παντοδαπὰς
being-disturbed and him and colors changing of-every-kind
ὑπὸ δέους παραστὰς Ὀνόμαστος ἀπελεύθερος ἥκειν
through fear having-stood-by Onomastus freedman to-have-come
ἔφη καὶ περιμένειν αὐτὸν οἴκοι τοὺς ἀρχιτέκτονας, ἦν
he-said and to-be-waiting-for him at-home the architects it-was
δὲ σύμβολον καιροῦ, πρὸς ὃν ἔδει ἀπαντῆσαι
and signal of-the-moment at which it-was-needful to-meet
τὸν Ὄθωνα τοῖς στρατιώταις.
— Otho the soldiers
εἰπὼν οὖν, ὅτι παλαιὰν ἐωνημένος οἰκίαν βούλεται
having-said then that old having-bought house he-wishes
τὰ ὕποπτα δεῖξαι τοῖς πωληταῖς, ἀπῆλθε, καὶ διὰ
the suspect-parts to-show to-the sellers he-went-away and through
τῆς Τιβερίου καλουμένης οἰκίας καταβὰς ἐβάδιζεν εἰς
the of-Tiberius called house having-gone-down walked to

ἀγοράν, οὗ χρυσοῦς εἱστήκει κίων, εἰς ὃν αἱ τετμημέναι
forum where golden stood column at which the cut
τῆς Ἰταλίας ὁδοὶ πᾶσαι τελευτῶσιν.
— of-Italy roads all end
Ἐνταῦθα τοὺς πρώτους ἐκδεξαμένους αὐτὸν καὶ 25
there those first having-received him and
προσειπόντας αὐτοκράτορά φασι μὴ πλείους τριῶν καὶ
having-hailed emperor they-say not more than-three and
εἴκοσι γενέσθαι, διό, καίπερ οὐ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ σώματος
twenty to-have-been wherefore although not according-to the of-the body
μαλακίαν καὶ θηλύτητα τῇ ψυχῇ διατεθρυμμένος, ἀλλὰ
softness and effeminacy in-the soul enervated but
ἰταμὸς ὢν πρὸς τὰ δεινὰ καὶ ἄτρεπτος, ἀπεδειλίασεν.
bold being toward the dangers and unflinching he-turned-coward
οἱ δὲ παρόντες οὐκ εἴων, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ξίφεσι
those but present not allowed but with-the swords
γυμνοῖς περιϊόντες αὐτοῦ τὸ φορεῖον ἐκέλευον αἴρεσθαι,
naked going-round his the litter bade to-be-lifted
παραφθεγγομένου πολλάκις ἀπολωλέναι καὶ τοὺς
him-muttering often to-be-lost and the
φορειαφόρους ἐπιταχύνοντος. ἐξήκουον γὰρ ἔνιοι
litter-bearers hurrying they-overheard for some
θαυμάζοντες μᾶλλον ἢ ταραττόμενοι διὰ τὴν
wondering rather than being-disturbed because-of the
ὀλιγότητα τῶν ἀποτετολμημένων, φερομένῳ δὲ οὕτω
fewness of-those having-dared to-him-being-carried and thus
δι᾽ ἀγορᾶς ἀπήντησαν ἕτεροι τοσοῦτοι, καὶ πάλιν κατὰ
through forum met others as-many and again by
τρεῖς καὶ τέτταρας ἄλλοι προσεπέλαζον.
three and four others approached

εἶτα συνανέστρεφον ἅπαντες ἀνακαλούμενοι Καίσαρα καὶ
then all-together-returned all calling Caesar and
γυμνὰ τὰ ξίφη προϊσχόμενοι. τῶν δὲ χιλιάρχων ὁ
naked the swords holding-forth of-the and tribunes the(-one)
τὴν φυλακὴν ἔχων τοῦ στρατοπέδου Μαρτίαλις, ὥς φασι,
the guard having of-the camp Martialis as they-say
μὴ συνειδώς, ἐκπλαγεὶς δὲ τῷ ἀπροσδοκήτῳ καὶ φοβηθεὶς
not privy struck but at-the unexpected and having-feared
ἐφῆκεν εἰσελθεῖν. γενομένῳ δὲ ἐντὸς οὐδεὶς ἀντέπεσεν.
let to-enter having-come and inside no-one opposed
οἱ γὰρ ἀγνοοῦντες τὰ πραττόμενα τοῖς εἰδόσι καὶ
those for not-knowing the-things being-done by-those knowing and
συνεστῶσιν ἐκ παρασκευῆς ἐμπεριεχόμενοι καθ' ἕνα καὶ
standing-together by preparation being-surrounded by one and
δύο σποράδες, ὑπὸ δέους τὸ πρῶτον, εἶτα πεισθέντες
two scattered through fear the first then persuaded
ἐπηκολούθησαν.
followed
εἰς δὲ τὸ Παλάτιον εὐθὺς μὲν ἀπηγγέλη τῷ Γάλβᾳ
into and — Palatium at-once indeed it-was-reported — to-Galba
παρόντος ἔτι τοῦ θύτου καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐν χερσὶν ὄντων,
being-present still the sacrificer and the victims in hands being
ὥστε καὶ τοὺς πάνυ πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα δυσπειθῶς καὶ
so-that even those very toward the such-things unpersuadably and
ἀτενῶς ἔχοντας ἐκπλήττεσθαι καὶ θαυμάζειν τὸ θεῖον
stiffly disposed to-be-astonished and to-wonder-at the divine
ὄχλου δὲ παντοδαποῦ συρρέοντος ἐξ ἀγορᾶς, αὐτῷ μὲν
of-crowd and of-every-kind flowing-together from forum by-him indeed
Οὐίνιος καὶ Λάκων καὶ τῶν ἀπελευθέρων ἔνιοι γυμνὰ τὰ
Vinius and Laco and of-the freedmen some naked the

ξίφη προϊσχόμενοι παρέστησαν, ὁ δὲ Πείσων προελθὼν
swords holding-forth stood-by — but Piso having-gone-forth
τοῖς φυλάττουσι τὴν αὐλὴν δορυφόροις ἐνετύγχανε.
the guarding the court bodyguards met
τοῦ δ' Ἰλλυρικοῦ τάγματος ἐν τῇ καλουμένῃ παστάδι
the and Illyrian legion in the called colonnade
Βιψανίᾳ στρατοπεδεύοντος ἀπεστάλη Μάριος Κέλσος, ἀνὴρ
Vipsanian encamping was-sent Marius Celsus man
ἀγαθός, προκαταληψόμενος.
good going-to-secure-beforehand
Βουλευομένου δὲ τοῦ Γάλβα προελθεῖν, καὶ Οὐινίου μὲν 26
deliberating and — Galba to-go-forth and Vinius indeed
οὐκ ἐῶντος, Κέλσου δὲ καὶ Λάκωνος παρορμώντων καὶ
not allowing Celsus but and Laco urging and
σφοδρότερον τοῦ Οὐινίου καθαπτομένων, θροῦς διῆλθε
more-vehemently — Vinius attacking rumor went-through
πολὺς ὡς ἀνῃρημένου τοῦ Ὄθωνος ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ·
much as killed — Otho in the camp
καὶ μετὰ μικρὸν ὤφθη Ἰούλιος Ἄττικος τῶν οὐκ
and after little was-seen Julius Atticus of-those not
ἀσήμων ἐν τοῖς δορυφόροις στρατευόμενος γυμνῷ τῷ
obscure among the bodyguards serving with-naked the
ξίφει προσφερόμενος καὶ βοῶν ἀνῃρηκέναι τὸν Καίσαρος
sword rushing-up and shouting to-have-killed the of-Caesar
πολέμιον ὠσάμενος δὲ διὰ τῶν προεστώτων ἔδειξε τῷ
enemy having-pushed and through those standing-before he-showed —
Γάλβᾳ τὸ ξίφος ᾑμαγμένον.
to-Galba the sword bloodied
ὁ δὲ βλέψας πρὸς αὐτόν, "τίς σε," εἶπεν, "ἐκέλευσε;"
he and having-looked at him who you he-said ordered
τοῦ δὲ ἀνθρώπου τὴν πίστιν εἰπόντος καὶ τὸν ὅρκον
the and man the faith having-said and the oath

ὃν ὤμοσε, καὶ τοῦ πλήθους ἐπιβοῶντος ὡς εὖ, καὶ
which he-swore and the multitude shouting-out as well and
κροτοῦντος, ἐμβὰς εἰς τὸ φορεῖον ἐκομίζετο τῷ τε Διῒ
applauding having-stepped into the litter he-was-carried — both to-Zeus
θῦσαι καὶ φανῆναι τοῖς πολίταις βουλόμενος. ἐμβαλόντος
to-sacrifice and to-appear to-the citizens wishing having-burst-in
δὲ εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν, ὥσπερ τροπαία πνεύματος, ἀπήντησε
and into the forum like turning of-wind met-him
φήμη κρατεῖν τὸν Ὄθωνα τοῦ στρατεύματος.
report to-prevail — Otho of-the army
οἷα δὲ ἐν πλήθει τοσούτῳ, τῶν μὲν ἀναστρέφειν,
as and in multitude so-great the(-ones) indeed to-turn-back
τῶν δὲ προϊέναι, τῶν δὲ θαρρεῖν, τῶν δὲ
the(-others) and to-go-forward the(-others) and to-be-bold the(-others) and
ἀπιστεῖν βοώντων, καὶ τοῦ φορείου, καθάπερ ἐν κλύδωνι,
to-distrust shouting and the litter as in surge
δεῦρο κἀκεῖ διαφερομένου καὶ πυκνὸν ἀπονεύοντος,
hither and-thither being-carried and frequently tilting
ἐφαίνοντο πρῶτον ἱππεῖς, εἶτα ὁπλῖται διὰ τῆς Παύλου
appeared first horsemen then hoplites through the of-Paulus
βασιλικῆς προσφερόμενοι, μιᾷ φωνῇ μέγα βοῶντες
basilica rushing with-one voice greatly shouting
ἐκποδὼν ἵστασθαι τὸν ἰδιώτην.
out-of-the-way to-stand the private-man
τῶν μὲν οὖν πολλῶν δρόμος ἦν, οὐ φυγῇ σκιδναμένων,
of-the indeed then many running there-was not in-flight scattering
ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ τὰς στοὰς καὶ τὰ μετέωρα τῆς ἀγορᾶς, ὥσπερ
but to the colonnades and the high-places of-the forum as
θέαν καταλαμβανόντων. Ἀτιλλίου δὲ Βεργελίωνος εἰκόνα
spectacle seizing Atilius and Vergilio image
Γάλβα προσουδίσαντος, ἀρχὴν τοῦ πολέμου ποιησάμενοι
of-Galba having-dashed-to-the-ground beginning of-the war having-made

περιηκόντισαν τὸ φορεῖον ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἔτυχον αὐτοῦ,
they-hurled-javelins-round the litter when and not they-hit him
προσῆγον ἐσπασμένοις τοῖς ξίφεσιν. ἤμυνε δὲ οὐδεὶς οὐδὲ
they-advanced with-drawn the swords defended and no-one nor
ὑπέστη πλὴν ἑνὸς ἀνδρός, ὃν μόνον ἥλιος ἐπεῖδεν ἐν
withstood except one man whom alone sun looked-upon among
μυριάσι τοσαύταις ἄξιον τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίας·
tens-of-thousands so-many worthy of-the of-Romans empire
Σεμπρώνιος ἦν Δῆνσος ἑκατοντάρχης, οὐδὲν ἰδίᾳ χρηστὸν
Sempronius was Densus centurion nothing privately good
ὑπὸ Γάλβα πεπονθώς, τῷ δὲ καλῷ καὶ τῷ νόμῳ
from Galba having-received the but fine and the law
βοηθῶν προέστη τοῦ φορείου, καὶ τὸ κλῆμα πρῶτον,
helping stood-before the litter and the vine-staff first
ᾧ κολάζουσιν ἑκατοντάρχαι τοὺς πληγῶν δεομένους,
with-which punish centurions those blows needing
ἐπαράμενος τοῖς ἐπιφερομένοις ἐβόα καὶ διεκελεύετο
having-raised against-those rushing-on he-shouted and exhorted
φείδεσθαι τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος. ἔπειτα συμπλεκομένων αὐτῷ
to-spare the emperor then grappling with-him
σπασάμενος τὸ ξίφος ἠμύνατο πολὺν χρόνον, ἕως τυφθεὶς
having-drawn the sword he-fought-back long time until struck
τὰς ἰγνύας ἔπεσε.
the hams he-fell
Τὸν δὲ Γάλβαν, ἀποκλιθέντος τοῦ φορείου περὶ τὸν 27
— and Galba having-been-tilted the litter by the
Κουρτίου καλούμενον λάκκον, ἐκκυλισθέντα τεθωρακισμένον
of-Curtius called pool rolled-out wearing-breastplate
ἔτυπτον ἐπιδραμόντες. ὁ δὲ τὴν σφαγὴν προτείνας,
they-struck having-run-at he and the throat having-stretched-out
“δρᾶτε,” εἶπεν, “εἰ τοῦτο τῷ δήμῳ Ῥωμαίων ἄμεινόν ἐστι.”
do-it he-said if this to-the people of-Romans better is

πολλὰς μὲν οὖν ἔλαβε πληγὰς εἴς τε τὰ σκέλη καὶ τοὺς
many indeed then he-received blows on both the legs and the
βραχίονας, ἀπέσφαξε δὲ αὐτόν, ὡς οἱ πλεῖστοι λέγουσι,
arms slew and him as the most say
Καμούριός τις ἐκ τοῦ πεντεκαιδεκάτου τάγματος, ἔνιοι
Camurius one from the fifteenth legion some
δὲ Τερέντιον, οἱ δὲ Λεκάνιον ἱστοροῦσιν, οἱ
but Terentius the(-others) and Lecanius record the(-others)
δὲ Φάβιον Φάβουλον, ὃν καί φασιν ἀποκόψαντα τὴν
and Fabius Fabulus who also they-say having-cut-off the
κεφαλὴν κομίζειν τῷ ἱματίῳ συλλαβόντα, διὰ τὴν
head to-carry-it in-the cloak having-gathered because-of the
ψιλότητα δυσπερίληπτον οὖσαν·
baldness hard-to-grasp being
ἔπειτα τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ κρύπτειν οὐκ ἐώντων, ἀλλ' ἐκφανῆ
then those with him to-hide not allowing but plain
πᾶσι ποιεῖν τὴν ἀνδραγαθίαν, περιπείραντα περὶ λόγχην
to-all to-make the bravery having-spitted-it on spear
καὶ ἀναπήλαντα πρεσβύτου πρόσωπον, ἄρχοντός τε
and having-swung-up of-old-man face of-ruler both
κοσμίου καὶ ἀρχιερέως καὶ ὑπάτου, δρόμῳ χωρεῖν, ὥσπερ
orderly and high-priest and consul in-running to-go like
αἱ βάκχαι, πολλάκις μεταστρεφόμενον, καὶ κραδαίνοντα τὴν
the bacchants often turning-round and brandishing the
λόγχην αἵματι καταρρεομένην. τὸν δ' Ὄθωνα, τῆς κεφαλῆς
spear with-blood running-down — and Otho the head
κομισθείσης, ἀνακραγεῖν λέγουσιν "οὐδέν ἐστι τοῦτο, ὦ
having-been-brought to-have-cried-out they-say nothing is this O
συστρατιῶται, τὴν Πείσωνός μοι κεφαλὴν δείξατε."
fellow-soldiers the of-Piso to-me head show

μετ᾽ ὀλίγον δὲ ἦκε κομιζομένη τρωθεὶς γὰρ ἔφευγεν ὁ
after little and it-came being-brought wounded for fled the
νεανίσκος, καὶ καταδιωχθεὶς ὑπὸ Μούρκου τινὸς ἀπεσφάγη
young-man and pursued by Murcus someone was-slain
πρὸς τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Ἑστίας, ἀπεσφάττετο δὲ καὶ Οὐίνιος
at the temple — of-Vesta was-slain and also Vinius
ὁμολογῶν κοινωνὸς γεγονέναι τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν Γάλβαν
acknowledging partner to-have-been of-the against — Galba
συνωμοσίας· ἐβόα γὰρ ἀποθνήσκειν παρὰ τὴν Ὄθωνος
conspiracy he-shouted for to-die contrary-to the of-Otho
γνώμην. ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ τούτου τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτεμόντες
will but for also of-this-one the head having-cut-off
καὶ Λάκωνος ἐκόμισαν πρὸς τὸν Ὄθωνα δωρεὰς αἰτοῦντες.
and of-Laco they-brought to — Otho gifts asking
ὡς δέ φησιν Ἀρχίλοχος,
as and says Archilochus

ἑπτὰ γὰρ νεκρῶν πεσόντων, οὓς ἐμάρψαμεν ποσίν,
seven for of-dead having-fallen whom we-overtook with-feet
χίλιοι φονῆες ἐσμέν,
thousand slayers we-are

οὕτως τότε πολλοὶ τοῦ φόνου μὴ συνεφαψάμενοι, χεῖρας
so then many in-the murder not having-taken-part hands
δὲ καὶ ξίφη καθαιμάσσοντες ἐπεδείκνυντο καὶ δωρεὰς
but and swords bloodying displayed and gifts
ᾔτουν βιβλία διδόντες τῷ Ὄθωνι. εἴκοσι γοῦν καὶ ἑκατὸν
asked petitions giving — to-Otho twenty at-least and hundred
εὑρέθησαν ὕστερον ἐκ τῶν γραμματίων, οὓς ὁ Οὐϊτέλλιος
were-found later from the documents whom — Vitellius
ἀναζητήσας ἅπαντας ἀπέκτεινεν.
having-searched-out all killed

ἦκε δὲ καὶ Μάριος Κέλσος εἰς τὴν παρεμβολήν. καὶ
came and also Marius Celsus into the camp and
πολλῶν αὐτοῦ κατηγορούντων ὅτι τοὺς στρατιώτας
many him accusing that the soldiers
ἔπειθε τῷ Γάλβᾳ βοηθεῖν, καί τοῦ πλήθους ἀποκτιννύειν
he-persuaded — Galba to-help and the multitude to-kill
βοῶντος, Ὄθων οὐκ ἐβούλετο· φοβούμενος δὲ ἀντιλέγειν
shouting Otho not wished fearing but to-gainsay
οὐχ οὕτως ἔφη ταχέως ἀποκτενεῖν αὐτόν· εἶναι γὰρ
not so he-said quickly to-be-going-to-kill him to-be for
ἃ δεῖ πρότερον ἐκπυθέσθαι παρὰ τοῦ ἀνδρός,
things-which it-is-needful first to-learn from the man
ἐκέλευσεν οὖν δήσαντας φυλάττειν, καὶ παρέδωκε τοῖς
he-ordered then having-bound to-guard and handed-over to-those
μάλιστα πιστευομένοις.
most trusted

28 Εὐθὺς δὲ βουλὴ συνεκαλεῖτο. καὶ καθάπερ ἄλλοι γεγονότες
at-once and senate was-called-together and as others having-become
ἢ θεῶν ἄλλων γεγονότων συνελθόντες ὤμνυον ὅρκον ὑπὲρ
or of-gods other having-become coming-together they-swore oath for
τοῦ Ὄθωνος, ὃν αὐτὸς ὀμόσας οὐκ ἐτήρησε· καὶ Καίσαρα
— Otho which himself having-sworn not he-kept and Caesar
καὶ Σεβαστὸν ἀνηγόρευον, ἔτι τῶν νεκρῶν ἀκεφάλων ἐν
and Augustus they-proclaimed still the corpses headless in
ταῖς ὑπατικαῖς ἐσθῆσιν ἐρριμμένων ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς.
the consular garments thrown in the forum
ταῖς δὲ κεφαλαῖς ὡς οὐδὲν εἶχον ἔτι χρῆσθαι, τὴν
the and heads as nothing they-had still to-use the
μὲν Οὐινίου τῇ θυγατρὶ δισχιλίων καὶ πεντακοσίων
indeed of-Vinius to-the daughter for-two-thousand and five-hundred
δραχμῶν ἀπέδοντο, τὴν δὲ Πείσωνος ἡ γυνὴ ἔλαβεν
drachmas they-sold the and of-Piso the wife took

Οὐερανία δεηθεῖσα, τὴν δὲ Γάλβα τοῖς Πατροβίου
Verania having-entreated the and of-Galba to-the of-Patrobius
δούλοις ἐδωρήσαντο.
slaves they-presented
λαβόντες δὲ ἐκεῖνοι καὶ πάντα τρόπον αἰκισάμενοι καὶ
having-received and they and in-every manner having-outraged and
καθυβρίσαντες ἔρριψαν ᾗ τοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν Καισάρων
having-insulted threw-it where those by the Caesars
κολαζομένους θανατοῦσιν ὁ δὲ τόπος Σεσσώριον καλεῖται,
punished they-put-to-death the and place Sessorium is-called
τὸ δὲ σῶμα τοῦ Γάλβα Πρίσκος Ἑλβίδιος ἀνείλετο, τοῦ
the and body — of-Galba Priscus Helvidius took-up —
Ὄθωνος ἐπιτρέψαντος ἔθαψε δὲ νυκτὸς Ἀργεῖος ἀπελεύθερος.
Otho having-permitted buried and by-night Argius freedman
Τοιαῦτα τὰ κατὰ τὸν Γάλβαν, ἄνδρα μήτε γένει μήτε 29
such the-things about — Galba man neither in-family nor
πλούτῳ πολλῶν ἀπολειφθέντα Ῥωμαίων, ὁμοῦ δὲ πλούτῳ
in-wealth by-many surpassed of-Romans at-once but in-wealth
καὶ γένει πρωτεύσαντα πάντων τῶν καθ' αὑτόν, πέντε
and family having-been-first of-all those in his-time five
αὐτοκρατόρων ἡγεμονίαις ἐμβιώσαντα μετὰ τιμῆς καὶ δόξης,
of-emperors in-reigns having-lived with honor and glory
ὥστε τῇ δόξῃ μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ δυνάμει καθελεῖν Νέρωνα.
so-that by-the glory rather than by-the power to-bring-down Nero
τῶν γὰρ συνεπιτιθεμένων τότε τοὺς μὲν οὐδεὶς
of-those for attacking-together then the(-ones) indeed no-one
ἠξίωσε τῆς ἡγεμονίας, οἱ δὲ ἑαυτοὺς ἀπηξίωσαν,
deemed-worthy of-the empire the(-others) and themselves deemed-unworthy
Γάλβας δὲ καὶ κληθεὶς καὶ ὑπακούσας αὐτοκράτωρ καὶ
Galba and both called and having-hearkened emperor and
τῇ Οὐΐνδικος ἐμπαρασχὼν ὄνομα τόλμῃ, κίνημα καὶ
to-the of-Vindex having-lent name daring movement and

νεωτερισμὸν αὐτοῦ λεγομένην τὴν ἀπόστασιν ἐποίησε
revolution his called the revolt he-made
πόλεμον ἐμφύλιον, ἀνδρὸς ἡγεμονικοῦ τυχοῦσαν.
war civil of-man fit-to-rule having-obtained
ὅθεν οὐχ ἑαυτῷ τὰ πράγματα λαμβάνειν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον
whence not for-himself the affairs to-take but rather
ἑαυτὸν οἰόμενος διδόναι τοῖς πράγμασιν, ἄρχειν ἠξίου τῶν
himself thinking to-give to-the affairs to-rule he-deemed-fit those
ὑπὸ Τιγελλίνου καὶ Νυμφιδίου τετιθασευμένων ὡς Σκηπίων
by Tigellinus and Nymphidius tamed as Scipio
ἦρχε καὶ Φαβρίκιος καὶ Κάμιλλος τῶν τότε Ῥωμαίων.
ruled and Fabricius and Camillus the then Romans
ὑπερειπόμενος δὲ τῷ γήρᾳ, ἄχρι τῶν ὅπλων καὶ τῶν
being-worn-down and by-the old-age as-far-as the arms and the
στρατευμάτων ἄκρατος ἦν καὶ ἀρχαῖος αὐτοκράτωρ,
armies unmixed he-was and ancient emperor
Οὐινίῳ δὲ καὶ Λάκωνι καὶ τοῖς ἀπελευθέροις πάντα
to-Vinius but and Laco and the freedmen all
τὰ πράγματα πωλοῦσι παρέχων ἑαυτόν, οἷον Νέρων
the affairs selling offering himself as Nero
παρεῖχε τοῖς ἀπληστοτάτοις, οὐδένα ποθοῦντα τὴν ἀρχήν,
offered to-the most-insatiable no-one longing-for the rule
οἰκτείραντας δὲ τοὺς πολλοὺς τὸν θάνατον ἀπέλιπεν.
having-pitied but the many the death he-left

PLUTARCH

ΟΘΩΝ

Otho

Otho begins mildly: he spares Marius Celsus, shares his consulship with Verginius, restores exiles' property, and pleases the people by forcing Tigellinus to cut his own throat. He does not refuse the name Nero from the crowd. When Crispinus comes to move the seventeenth cohort from Ostia, its soldiers suspect a plot, kill him and two centurions, and burst into the palace while Otho dines with eighty senators; he sends his guests away by other doors and calms the soldiers with tears and a gift. Vitellius is now emperor in Germany, and the two exchange letters, first civil, then abusive, while omens multiply and the Tiber floods Rome.

Ὁ δὲ νεώτερος αὐτοκράτωρ ἅμ᾽ ἡμέρᾳ προελθὼν εἰς τὸ 1
the and newer emperor at daybreak having-gone-forth to —
Καπιτώλιον ἔθυσε· καὶ κελεύσας Μάριον Κέλσον ἀχθῆναι
Capitol sacrificed and having-ordered Marius Celsus to-be-brought
πρὸς αὑτὸν ἠσπάσατο καὶ διελέχθη φιλανθρώπως, καὶ
to himself greeted and conversed kindly and
παρεκάλεσε τῆς αἰτίας ἐπιλαθέσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς ἀφέσεως
urged the charge to-forget rather than the release
μνημονεύειν. τοῦ δὲ Κέλσου μήτε ἀγεννῶς ἀποκριναμένου
to-remember — and Celsus neither ignobly having-answered
μήτ᾽ ἀναισθήτως, ἀλλὰ φήσαντος αὐτὸ τοῦ τρόπου διδόναι
nor insensibly but having-said itself of-the character to-give
τὸ ἔγκλημα πίστιν, ἐγκεκλῆσθαι γὰρ ὅτι Γάλβᾳ βέβαιον
the charge faith to-have-been-charged for that to-Galba steadfast
ἑαυτὸν παρέσχεν, ᾧ χάριν οὐδεμίαν ὤφειλεν, ἠγάσθησαν
himself he-showed to-whom thanks none he-owed admired
οἱ παρόντες ἀμφοτέρων καὶ τὸ στρατιωτικὸν ἐπῄνεσεν.
those present both and the military praised
ἐν δὲ συγκλήτῳ πολλὰ δημοτικὰ καὶ φιλάνθρωπα διαλεχθείς,
in and senate many popular and kindly-things having-discoursed
ὧν μὲν αὐτὸς ὑπατεύειν χρόνον ἤμελλε, τούτου μέρος
which indeed himself to-be-consul time was-going of-this part

ἔνειμεν Οὐεργινίῳ Ῥούφῳ, τοῖς δὲ ἀποδεδειγμένοις ὑπὸ
he-assigned to-Verginius Rufus to-the and appointed by
Νέρωνος ἢ Γάλβα πᾶσιν ἐτήρησε τὰς ὑπατείας. ἱερωσύναις
Nero or Galba all he-kept the consulships with-priesthoods
δὲ τοὺς καθ' ἡλικίαν προήκοντας ἢ δόξαν ἐκόσμησε.
and those by age excelling or reputation he-adorned
τοῖς δὲ ἐπὶ Νέρωνος φυγοῦσι καὶ κατελθοῦσιν
to-the and under Nero having-been-exiled and having-returned
ἐπὶ Γάλβα συγκλητικοῖς πᾶσιν ἀπέδωκεν ὅσα μὴ
under Galba senators all he-restored as-many-as not
πεπραμένα τῶν κτημάτων ἑκάστου ἐξεύρισκεν. ὅθεν οἱ
sold of-the possessions of-each he-found whence the
πρῶτοι καὶ κράτιστοι πεφρικότες πρότερον ὡς οὐκ
first and most-powerful having-shuddered before as not
ἀνδρός, ἀλλά τινος ἢ Ποινῆς ἢ παλαμναίου δαίμονος
of-man but of-some either Fury or avenging spirit
ἄφνω τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐπιπεπτωκότος, ἡδίους ἐγένοντο
suddenly on-the affairs having-fallen more-pleased became
ταῖς ἐλπίσι πρὸς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ὥσπερ διαμειδιῶσαν.
in-the hopes toward the rule as smiling

2 Ὁμοῦ δὲ Ῥωμαίους πάντας οὐδὲν εὖφρανεν οὕτως οὐδὲ
at-once and Romans all nothing gladdened so nor
ᾠκειώσατο πρὸς αὐτὸν ὡς τὰ περὶ Τιγελλῖνον.
won to him as the-things about Tigellinus
ἐλελήθει μὲν γὰρ ἤδη κολαζόμενος αὐτῷ τῷ φόβῳ
he-had-escaped-notice indeed for already being-punished by-very the fear
τῆς κολάσεως ἣν ὡς χρέος ἀπῄτει δημόσιον ἡ πόλις,
of-the punishment which as debt demanded public the city
καὶ νοσήμασιν ἀνηκέστοις σώματος, αὐτάς τε τὰς ἀνοσίους
and with-diseases incurable of-body very both the unholy
καὶ ἀρρήτους ἐν γυναιξὶ πόρναις καὶ ἀκαθάρτοις
and unspeakable among women harlots and impure

ἐγκυλινδήσεις, αἷς ἔτι προσέσπαιρε δυσθανατοῦντος
wallowings to-which still was-gasping dying-hard
αὐτοῦ τὸ ἀκόλαστον ἐπιδραττόμενον, ἐσχάτην τιμωρίαν
of-him the licentiousness grasping utmost punishment
ἐποιοῦντο καὶ πολλῶν ἀντάξια θανάτων οἱ σωφρονοῦντες.
made and of-many worthy deaths those being-temperate
ἠνία δὲ τοὺς πολλοὺς ὅμως τὸν ἥλιον ὁρῶν μετὰ
he-grieved but the many nevertheless the sun seeing after
τοσούτους καὶ τοιούτους δι᾽ αὐτὸν οὐχ ὁρῶντας.
so-many and such because-of him not seeing
ἔπεμψεν οὖν ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν ὁ Ὄθων εἰς τοὺς περὶ Σινόεσσαν
sent then for him — Otho to the about Sinuessa
ἀγρούς· ἐκεῖ γὰρ διῃτᾶτο, πλοίων παρορμούντων, ὡς
estates there for he-lived ships lying-at-anchor as
φευξόμενος ἀπωτέρω. καὶ τόν γε πεμφθέντα χρυσίῳ
going-to-flee farther and the(-one) indeed sent with-gold
πολλῷ πείθειν ἐπεχείρησε παρεῖναι· μὴ πεισθέντι δὲ
much to-persuade he-attempted to-let-him-go not being-persuaded but
δῶρα μὲν ἔδωκεν οὐδὲν ἧττον, ἐδεήθη δὲ ὑπομεῖναι ἕως
gifts indeed he-gave nothing less asked and to-wait until
ἂν ἀποξύρηται τὸ γένειον· καὶ λαβὼν αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν
— he-should-shave the beard and having-taken he-himself himself
ἐλαιμοτόμησεν.
cut-the-throat
Οὕτω δὲ τῷ δήμῳ τὴν δικαιοτάτην ἡδονὴν ἀποδοὺς 3
thus and to-the people the most-just pleasure having-rendered
ὁ Καῖσαρ, αὐτὸς ἰδίας ἔχθρας οὐδενὶ τοπαράπαν
— Caesar himself of-own enmity to-no-one at-all
ἐμνησικάκησε, τοῖς δὲ πολλοῖς χαριζόμενος οὐκ ἔφευγε τὸ
bore-a-grudge to-the and many gratifying not he-shunned the

πρῶτον ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις Νέρων προσαγορεύεσθαι· καί τινων
first in the theaters Nero to-be-addressed and of-some
εἰκόνας Νέρωνος εἰς τοὐμφανὲς προθεμένων οὐκ ἐκώλυσε.
images of-Nero into the-open having-set-forth not he-hindered
Κλούβιος δὲ Ῥοῦφος εἰς Ἰβηρίαν φησὶ κομισθῆναι
Cluvius and Rufus to Iberia says to-have-been-brought
διπλώματα, οἷς ἐκπέμπουσι τοὺς γραμματηφόρους, τὸ
diplomas with-which they-send-out the letter-carriers the
τοῦ Νέρωνος θετὸν ὄνομα προσγεγραμμένον ἔχοντα τῷ
— of-Nero adopted name added having to-the
τοῦ Ὄθωνος. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τοὺς πρώτους καὶ κρατίστους
— of-Otho not indeed but the first and most-powerful
αἰσθόμενος ἐπὶ τούτῳ δυσχεραίνοντας ἐπαύσατο. τοιαύτην
having-perceived at this being-vexed he-ceased such
δὲ τῆς ἡγεμονίας κατάστασιν αὐτῷ λαμβανούσης,
and of-the empire settlement for-him taking
οἱ μισθοφόροι χαλεποὺς παρεῖχον ἑαυτούς, ἀπιστεῖν
the mercenaries harsh showed themselves to-distrust
παρακελευόμενοι καὶ φυλάττεσθαι καὶ κολούειν τοὺς
urging and to-be-on-guard and to-dock the
ἀξιολόγους, εἴτ' ἀληθῶς φοβούμενοι δι' εὔνοιαν, εἴτε
notable-men whether truly fearing through goodwill or
προφάσει χρώμενοι ταύτῃ τοῦ ταράττειν καὶ πολεμοποιεῖν.
as-pretext using this of-the to-disturb and to-make-war
Κρισπῖνον δὲ πέμψαντος αὐτοῦ τὴν ἑπτακαιδεκάτην σπεῖραν
Crispinus and having-sent he the seventeenth cohort
Ὠστίας ἀπάξοντα, κἀκείνου νυκτὸς ἔτι συσκευαζομένου
from-Ostia going-to-bring-away and-that-one by-night still packing-up
καὶ τὰ ὅπλα ταῖς ἁμάξαις ἐπιτιθέντος, οἱ θρασύτατοι πάντες
and the arms on-the wagons putting the most-insolent all
ἐβόων οὐδὲν ὑγιὲς τὸν Κρισπῖνον ἥκειν διανοούμενον,
shouted nothing sound — Crispinus to-have-come intending

ἀλλὰ τὴν σύγκλητον ἐπιχειρεῖν πράγμασι νεωτέροις, καὶ
but the senate to-attempt affairs newer and
τὰ ὅπλα κατὰ Καίσαρος, οὐ Καίσαρι παρακομίζεσθαι.
the arms against Caesar not for-Caesar to-be-conveyed
τοῦ δὲ λόγου πολλῶν ἁπτομένου καὶ παροξύνοντος,
the and word many seizing and provoking
οἱ μὲν ἐπελαμβάνοντο τῶν ἁμαξῶν, οἱ δὲ τοὺς
the(-ones) indeed laid-hold of-the wagons the(-others) and the
ἐνισταμένους ἑκατοντάρχας δύο καὶ τὸν Κρισπῖνον αὐτὸν
opposing centurions two and — Crispinus himself
ἀπέκτειναν, πάντες δὲ διασκευασάμενοι καὶ παρακαλέσαντες
killed all and having-equipped-themselves and having-urged
ἀλλήλους Καίσαρι βοηθεῖν ἤλαυνον εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην καὶ
each-other Caesar to-help they-drove to — Rome and
πυθόμενοι παρ᾽ αὐτῷ δειπνεῖν ὀγδοήκοντα συγκλητικούς,
having-learned with him to-be-dining eighty senators
ἐφέροντο πρὸς τὰ βασίλεια, νῦν καιρὸν εἶναι λέγοντες
they-rushed to the palace now occasion to-be saying
ἐν ταὐτῷ πάντας ἀνελεῖν τοὺς Καίσαρος πολεμίους.
in the-same all to-kill the of-Caesar enemies
ἡ μὲν οὖν πόλις ὡς αὐτίκα διαρπαγησομένη θόρυβον εἶχε
the indeed then city as at-once going-to-be-plundered uproar had
πολύν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς βασιλείοις ἦσαν διαδρομαί, καὶ τὸν
much in and the palace there-were runnings-about and —
Ὄθωνα δεινὴ κατελάμβανεν ἀπορία. φοβούμενος γὰρ ὑπὲρ
Otho terrible seized perplexity fearing for for
τῶν ἀνδρῶν αὐτὸς ἦν φοβερὸς ἐκείνοις, καὶ πρὸς αὑτὸν
the men himself was fearsome to-them and on himself
ἀνηρτημένους ἑώρα ταῖς ὄψεσιν ἀναύδους καὶ περιδεεῖς,
hanging he-saw with-the eyes speechless and very-frightened
ἐνίους καὶ μετὰ γυναικῶν ἥκοντας ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον.
some even with wives having-come to the dinner

ἅμα δὲ τοὺς ἐπάρχους ἀπέστελλε τοῖς στρατιώταις
at-once and the prefects he-sent to-the soldiers
διαλέγεσθαι καὶ πραΰνειν κελεύσας, ἅμα δὲ τοὺς
to-talk and to-calm having-ordered at-once and the
κεκλημένους ἄνδρας ἀναστήσας καθ' ἑτέρας θύρας ἀφῆκε·
invited men having-raised by other doors he-let-go
καὶ μικρὸν ἔφθησαν ὑπεκφυγόντες, διὰ τῶν μισθοφόρων
and little they-anticipated having-escaped through the mercenaries
ὠθουμένων εἰς τὸν ἀνδρῶνα καὶ πυνθανομένων τί
pushing into the men's-hall and asking what
γεγόνασιν οἱ Καίσαρος πολέμιοι.
have-become the of-Caesar enemies
τότε μὲν οὖν ὀρθὸς ἀπὸ τῆς κλίνης πολλὰ παρηγορήσας
then indeed then upright from the couch much having-consoled
καὶ δεηθεὶς καὶ μηδὲ δακρύων φεισάμενος μόλις
and having-entreated and not-even tears having-spared hardly
ἀπέπεμψεν αὐτούς· τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ δωρησάμενος ἅπαντας
he-sent-away them on-the and next-day having-presented all
κατ' ἄνδρα χιλίαις καὶ διακοσίαις καὶ πεντήκοντα
per man with-thousand and two-hundred and fifty
δραχμαῖς εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον,
drachmas he-entered into the camp
καὶ τὸ μὲν πλῆθος ἐπῄνεσεν, ὡς πρὸς αὐτὸν εὔνουν
and the indeed multitude he-praised as toward him well-disposed
καὶ πρόθυμον, ὀλίγους δέ τινας οὐκ ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ φήσας
and eager few but some not for good having-said
ὑποικουρεῖν, διαβάλλοντας αὐτοῦ τὴν μετριότητα καὶ τὴν
to-be-lurking slandering his the moderation and the
ἐκείνων εὐστάθειαν, ἠξίου συναγανακτεῖν καὶ συγκολάζειν.
their steadiness he-asked to-share-indignation and to-join-in-punishing
ἐπαινούντων δὲ πάντων καὶ κελευόντων, δύο μόνους
praising and all and bidding two only

παραλαβών, οἷς οὐδεὶς ἔμελλεν ἄχθεσθαι κολασθεῖσιν,
having-taken at-whom no-one was-going to-be-vexed punished
ἀπηλλάγη.
he-departed
Ταῦτα οἱ μὲν ἀγαπῶντες ἤδη καὶ πιστεύοντες ἐθαύμαζον 4
these-things those indeed loving already and trusting wondered-at
τὴν μεταβολήν, οἱ δ' ἀναγκαῖα πολιτεύματα πρὸς τὸν
the change the(-others) but necessary policies for the
καιρὸν ἡγοῦντο, δημαγωγοῦντος αὐτοῦ διὰ τὸν πόλεμον.
occasion considered courting-the-people him because-of the war
ἤδη γὰρ ἠγγέλλετο βεβαίως Οὐϊτέλλιος ἀξίωμα καὶ
already for was-reported firmly Vitellius dignity and
δύναμιν αὐτοκράτορος ἀνειληφώς· καὶ πτεροφόροι συνεχῶς
power of-emperor having-taken-up and feather-bearers continually
ἐφοίτων ἀεί τι προσχωρεῖν ἐκείνῳ φράζοντες, ἕτεροι
came always something to-come-over to-that-one telling others
δὲ τὰ Παννονικὰ καὶ τὰ Δαλματικὰ καὶ τὰ περὶ Μυσίαν
and the Pannonian and the Dalmatian and the about Moesia
στρατεύματα δηλοῦντες ᾑρῆσθαι μετὰ τῶν ἡγεμόνων
armies showing to-have-chosen with the commanders
Ὄθωνα.
Otho
ταχὺ δὲ ἀφίκετο καὶ παρὰ Μουκιανοῦ γράμματα καὶ
quickly and arrived also from Mucianus letters and
παρὰ Οὐεσπεσιανοῦ φίλια, τοῦ μὲν ἐν Συρίᾳ, τοῦ
from Vespasian friendly the(-one) indeed in Syria the(-other)
δὲ ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ μεγάλας δυνάμεις ἐχόντων, ὑφ' ὧν
and in Judaea great forces having by which
ἐπαιρόμενος ἔγραψεν Οὐϊτελλίῳ παραινῶν στρατιωτικὰ
elated he-wrote to-Vitellius advising soldierly-things

φρονεῖν, ὡς χρήματα πολλὰ δώσοντος αὐτοῦ καὶ πόλιν,
to-think as money much going-to-give he and city
ἐν ᾗ βιώσεται ῥᾷστον καὶ ἥδιστον βίον μεθ' ἡσυχίας.
in which he-will-live easiest and most-pleasant life with quiet
ἀντέγραψε δὲ κἀκεῖνος αὐτῷ κατειρωνευόμενος ἡσυχῇ
wrote-back and also-that-one to-him mocking quietly
πρῶτον ἐκ δὲ τούτου διερεθιζόμενοι πολλὰ βλάσφημα καὶ
first from and this being-provoked many abusive and
ἀσελγῆ χλευάζοντες ἀλλήλοις ἔγραφον, οὐ ψευδῶς μέν,
wanton-things scoffing to-each-other wrote not falsely indeed
ἀνοήτως δὲ καὶ γελοίως θατέρου τὸν ἕτερον ἃ προσῆν
foolishly but and ridiculously of-the-one the other what attached
ἀμφοτέροις ὀνείδη λοιδοροῦντος. ἀσωτίας γὰρ καὶ μαλακίας
to-both reproaches reviling of-prodigality for and of-softness
καὶ ἀπειρίας πολέμων καὶ τῶν πρόσθεν ἐπὶ πενίᾳ χρεῶν
and of-inexperience of-wars and of-the formerly in poverty of-debts
πλήθους ἔργον ἦν εἰπεῖν ὁποτέρῳ μεῖον αὐτῶν μέτεστι.
of-multitude task it-was to-say to-which-of-the-two less of-them belongs
σημείων δὲ καὶ φαντασμάτων πολλῶν λεγομένων, τὰ
of-signs and and apparitions many being-told the
μὲν ἄλλα φήμας ἀδεσπότους καὶ ἀμφιβόλους εἶχεν, ἐν δὲ
indeed others rumors ownerless and doubtful had in and
Καπιτωλίῳ Νίκης ἐφεστώσης ἅρματι τὰς ἡνίας πάντες
Capitol of-Victory standing-on chariot the reins all
εἶδον ἀφειμένας ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν, ὥσπερ κρατεῖν μὴ
saw let-go from the hands as to-hold not
δυναμένης, καὶ τὸν ἐν μεσοποταμίᾳ νήσῳ Γαΐου Καίσαρος
being-able and the in middle-of-the-river island of-Gaius Caesar
ἀνδριάντα μήτε σεισμοῦ γεγονότος μήτε πνεύματος ἀφ'
statue neither earthquake having-happened nor wind from
ἑσπέρας μεταστραφέντα πρὸς τὰς ἀνατολάς·
west turned toward the east

ὅ φασι συμβῆναι περὶ τὰς ἡμέρας ἐκείνας ἐν αἷς
which they-say to-have-happened about the days those in which
οἱ περὶ Οὐεσπεσιανὸν ἐμφανῶς ἤδη τῶν πραγμάτων
those about Vespasian openly already of-the affairs
ἀντελαμβάνοντο. καὶ τὸ περὶ τὸν Θύμβριν δὲ σύμπτωμα
took-hold and the about — Tiber and mishap
σημεῖον ἐποιοῦντο οἱ πολλοὶ μοχθηρόν. ἦν μὲν γὰρ
sign made the many evil it-was indeed for
ὥρα περὶ ἣν μάλιστα οἱ ποταμοὶ πλήθουσιν, ἀλλ᾽ οὔπω
season about which most the rivers swell but not-yet
τοσοῦτος ἤρθη πρότερον, οὐδὲ ἀπώλεσε τοσαῦτα καὶ
so-much it-rose before nor destroyed so-many-things and
διέφθειρεν, ὑπερχυθεὶς καὶ κατακλύσας πολὺ μέρος τῆς
ruined overflowing and flooding much part of-the
πόλεως, πλεῖστον δὲ ἐν ᾧ τὸν ἐπὶ πράσει διαπωλοῦσι
city most and in which the for sale they-sell-off
σῖτον, ὡς δεινὴν ἀπορίαν ἡμερῶν συχνῶν κατασχεῖν.
grain so-that terrible scarcity of-days many to-hold

As Caecina and Valens cross the Alps for Vitellius, Otho sends Dolabella away and takes Vitellius' brother Lucius with him, caring for Vitellius' mother and wife. His generals Celsus, Paulinus, Gallus, and Spurinna cannot command their insolent troops. At Placentia Spurinna's men, stung by the enemy's taunts that they are dancers and spectators, beat off Caecina's assault. Caecina fails again near Cremona, where Celsus turns his ambush; Paulinus is blamed for caution. Otho sends his brother Titianus and the prefect Proculus to command, and at Bedriacum Paulinus and Celsus urge delay, while Proculus and Titianus press for battle and prevail.

5 Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰς Ἄλπεις κατέχοντες ἤδη προσηγγέλλοντο
when and the Alps holding already were-reported
Κεκίνας καὶ Οὐάλης Οὐϊτελλίῳ στρατηγοῦντες, ἐν Ῥώμῃ
Caecina and Valens for-Vitellius being-generals in Rome
Δολοβέλλας, εὐπατρίδης ἀνήρ, ὑποψίαν παρεῖχε τοῖς
Dolabella patrician man suspicion provided to-the
μισθοφόροις νεώτερα φρονεῖν. ἐκεῖνον μὲν οὖν, εἴτε
mercenaries newer-things to-be-minded that-one indeed then whether
αὐτὸν εἴτε ἄλλον δεδοικώς, εἰς πόλιν Ἀκύνιον παρέπεμψε
him or other fearing to city Aquinum he-sent
παραθαρρύνας. καταλέγων δὲ τῶν ἐν τέλει συνεκδήμους
having-encouraged choosing and of-those in office fellow-travelers
ἔταξεν ἐν τούτοις καὶ Λεύκιον τὸν Οὐϊτελλίου ἀδελφόν,
he-appointed among these also Lucius the of-Vitellius brother
οὔτε προσθεὶς οὐδὲν οὔτε ἀφελὼν ἧς εἶχε τιμῆς.
neither having-added anything nor having-taken-away of-which he-had honor
ἰσχυρῶς δὲ καὶ τῆς μητρὸς ἐπεμελήθη τοῦ Οὐϊτελλίου
strongly and also of-the mother he-took-care — of-Vitellius
καὶ τῆς γυναικός, ὅπως μηδὲν φοβήσονται περὶ αὑτῶν,
and of-the wife so-that nothing they-will-fear about themselves

τῆς δὲ Ῥώμης φύλακα Φλαούιον Σαβῖνον, ἀδελφὸν
— *and of-Rome guardian Flavius Sabinus brother*
Οὐεσπεσιανοῦ, κατέστησεν, εἴτε καὶ τοῦτο πράξας ἐπὶ
of-Vespasian he-appointed whether also this having-done for
τιμῇ Νέρωνος παρ᾽ ἐκείνου γὰρ εἰλήφει τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ
honor of-Nero from that-one for had-received the office —
Σαβῖνος, ἀφείλετο δὲ Γάλβας αὐτόν, εἴτε μᾶλλον εὔνοιαν
Sabinus took-away and Galba him or rather goodwill
ἐνεδείκνυτο Οὐεσπεσιανῷ καὶ πίστιν αὔξων Σαβῖνον.
he-displayed to-Vespasian and faith increasing Sabinus
αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν ἐν Βριξίλλῳ, πόλει τῆς Ἰταλίας περὶ τὸν
himself indeed then in Brixillum city — of-Italy about —
Ἠριδανὸν ἀπελείφθη, στρατηγοὺς δὲ τῶν δυνάμεων ἐξέπεμψε
Eridanus was-left generals and of-the forces he-sent-out
Μάριόν τε Κέλσον καὶ Σουητώνιον Παυλῖνον ἔτι τε
Marius both Celsus and Suetonius Paulinus still both
Γάλλον καὶ Σπουρίναν, ἄνδρας ἐνδόξους, χρήσασθαι δὲ μὴ
Gallus and Spurinna men renowned to-use but not
δυνηθέντας ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ὡς προῃροῦντο τοῖς ἑαυτῶν
being-able in the affairs as they-preferred with-the their-own
λογισμοῖς δι᾽ ἀταξίαν καὶ θρασύτητα τῶν στρατιωτῶν.
reasonings because-of disorder and insolence of-the soldiers
οὐ γὰρ ἠξίουν ἑτέρων ἀκούειν, ὡς παρ᾽ αὐτῶν τοῦ
not for they-deemed-fit others to-hear as from themselves the
αὐτοκράτορος τὸ ἄρχειν ἔχοντος. ἦν μὲν οὖν οὐδὲ
emperor the to-rule having it-was indeed then not-even
τὰ τῶν πολεμίων ὑγιαίνοντα παντάπασιν οὐδὲ χειροήθη
the-things of-the enemies sound altogether nor tractable
τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν, ἀλλ᾽ ἔμπληκτα καὶ σοβαρὰ διὰ τὴν
to-the commanders but frenzied and haughty because-of the

αὐτὴν αἰτίαν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐκείνοις ἐμπειρία γε παρῆν
same cause not indeed but to-them experience indeed was-present
τοῦ μάχεσθαι καὶ τὸ κάμνειν ἐθάδες ὄντες οὐκ ἔφευγον,
of-the to-fight and the to-toil accustomed being not they-shunned
οὗτοι δὲ μαλακοὶ μὲν ἦσαν ὑπὸ σχολῆς καὶ διαίτης
these but soft indeed were by leisure and way-of-life
ἀπολέμου, πλεῖστον χρόνον ἐν θεάτροις καὶ πανηγύρεσι
unwarlike most time in theaters and festivals
καὶ παρὰ σκηνὴν βεβιωκότες, ὕβρει δὲ καὶ κόμπῳ
and beside stage having-lived by-insolence and and boasting
ἐπαμπέχειν ἐβούλοντο, προσποιήσασθαι τὰς λειτουργίας
to-cloak they-wished to-take-on the duties
ὡς κρείττονες ἀπαξιοῦντες, οὐχ ὡς ἀδύνατοι φέρειν. ὁ
as superior disdaining not as unable to-bear —
δὲ Σπουρίνας προσβιαζόμενος αὐτοὺς ἐκινδύνευσε μικρὸν
and Spurinna constraining them was-in-danger little
ἐλθόντας ἀνελεῖν αὐτόν.
having-come to-kill him
ὕβρεως δὲ καὶ βλασφημίας οὐδεμιᾶς ἐφείσαντο, προδότην
of-insolence and and abuse none they-spared traitor
καὶ λυμεῶνα τῶν Καίσαρος καιρῶν καὶ πραγμάτων
and destroyer of-the of-Caesar opportunities and affairs
λέγοντες, ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ μεθυσθέντες ἤδη νυκτὸς ἦλθον
calling-him some and also drunk already by-night came
ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν ἐφόδιον αἰτοῦντες· εἶναι γὰρ αὐτοῖς πρὸς
to the tent travel-money asking to-be for for-them to
Καίσαρα βαδιστέον, ὅπως ἐκείνου κατηγορήσωσιν.
Caesar one-must-go so-that that-one they-may-accuse
6 Ὤνησε δὲ τὰ πράγματα καὶ Σπουρίναν ἐν τῷ παραυτίκα
helped and the affairs and Spurinna in the instant
λοιδορία περὶ Πλακεντίαν γενομένη τῶν στρατιωτῶν,
abuse at Placentia having-happened of-the soldiers

οἱ γὰρ Οὐϊτελλίου τοῖς τείχεσι προσβάλλοντες ἐχλεύαζον
those for of-Vitellius the walls attacking mocked
τοὺς Ὄθωνος ἑστῶτας παρὰ τὰς ἐπάλξεις, σκηνικοὺς καὶ
those of-Otho standing at the battlements actors and
πυρριχιστὰς καὶ Πυθίων καὶ Ὀλυμπίων θεωρούς, πολέμου
war-dancers and of-Pythian and Olympic spectators of-war
δὲ καὶ στρατείας ἀπείρους καὶ ἀθεάτους ἀποκαλοῦντες,
but and campaign inexperienced and having-never-seen calling-them
καὶ μέγα φρονοῦντας ἐπὶ τῷ γέροντος ἀνόπλου κεφαλὴν
and greatly priding-themselves on the of-old-man unarmed head
ἀποτεμεῖν, τὸν Γάλβαν λέγοντες, εἰς δὲ ἀγῶνα καὶ μάχην
to-have-cut-off — Galba saying into but contest and battle
ἀνδρῶν οὐκ ἂν ἐκφανῶς καταβάντας.
of-men not — openly would-have-gone-down
οὕτω γὰρ ἐταράχθησαν ὑπὸ τούτων τῶν ὀνειδῶν καὶ
so for they-were-disturbed by these the reproaches and
διεκάησαν ὥστε προσπεσεῖν τῷ Σπουρίνᾳ, δεόμενοι
were-inflamed so-that to-fall-before — Spurinna asking
χρῆσθαι καὶ προστάττειν αὐτοῖς, οὐδένα κίνδυνον οὐδὲ
to-use and to-command them no danger nor
πόνον ἀπολεγομένοις. ἰσχυρᾶς δὲ συστάσης τειχομαχίας
toil refusing strong and having-arisen wall-fighting
καὶ μηχανημάτων πολλῶν προσαχθέντων ἐκράτησαν
and engines many having-been-brought-up prevailed
οἱ τοῦ Σπουρίνα, καὶ φόνῳ πολλῷ τοὺς ἐναντίους
those — of-Spurinna and with-slaughter much the opponents
ἀποκρουσάμενοι διετήρησαν ἔνδοξον πόλιν καὶ τῶν Ἰταλῶν
having-beaten-off preserved renowned city and of-the Italians
οὐδεμιᾶς ἧττον ἀνθοῦσαν.
none less flourishing

ἦσαν δὲ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τῶν Οὐϊτελλίου στρατηγῶν οἱ
were and also in-the other-things than-the of-Vitellius generals those
Ὄθωνος ἐντυχεῖν ἀλυπότεροι καὶ πόλεσι καὶ ἰδιώταις
of-Otho to-deal-with less-painful both to-cities and to-private-men
ἐκείνων δὲ Κεκίνας μὲν οὔτε φωνὴν οὔτε σχῆμα
of-them and Caecina indeed neither in-voice nor in-bearing
δημοτικός, ἀλλ' ἐπαχθὴς καὶ ἀλλόκοτος, σώματος μεγάλου,
popular but offensive and strange of-body great
Γαλατικῶς ἀναξυρίσι καὶ χειρῖσιν ἐνεσκευασμένος, σημείοις
in-Gallic-fashion with-trousers and sleeves equipped to-standards
καὶ ἄρχουσι Ῥωμαϊκοῖς διαλεγόμενος.
and to-officers Roman conversing
καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα παρέπεμπον αὐτῷ λογάδην ἱππεῖς
and the wife escorted for-him picked horsemen
ὀχουμένην ἵππῳ κεκοσμημένην ἐπιφανῶς. Φάβιον δὲ
riding on-horse adorned conspicuously Fabius and
Οὐάλεντα τὸν ἕτερον στρατηγὸν οὔτε ἁρπαγαὶ πολεμίων
Valens the other general neither plunderings of-enemies
οὔτε κλοπαὶ καὶ δωροδοκίαι παρὰ συμμάχων ἐνεπίμπλασαν
nor thefts and bribe-takings from allies filled
χρηματιζόμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐδόκει διὰ τοῦτο βραδέως
making-money but also he-seemed because-of this slowly
ὁδεύων ὑστερῆσαι τῆς προτέρας μάχης.
marching to-have-come-too-late for-the former battle
οἱ δὲ τὸν Κεκίναν αἰτιῶνται, σπεύδοντα τὴν νίκην
they and — Caecina blame hastening the victory
ἑαυτοῦ γενέσθαι πρὶν ἐκεῖνον ἐλθεῖν, ἄλλοις τε μικροτέροις
his-own to-be before that-one to-come other both lesser
περιπεσεῖν ἁμαρτήμασι καὶ μάχην οὐ κατὰ καιρὸν
to-fall-into errors and battle not in season

οὐδὲ γενναίως συνάψαι, μικροῦ πάντα τὰ πράγματα
nor nobly to-join little all the affairs
διαφθείρασαν αὐτοῖς.
having-ruined for-them
Ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἀποκρουσθεὶς τῆς Πλακεντίας ὁ Κεκίνας 7
when for having-been-beaten-off — from-Placentia — Caecina
ἐπὶ Κρεμώνην ὥρμησεν, ἑτέραν πόλιν εὐδαίμονα καὶ
against Cremona rushed other city prosperous and
μεγάλην, πρῶτος μὲν Ἄννιος Γάλλος πρὸς Πλακεντίαν
great first indeed Annius Gallus to Placentia
Σπουρίνᾳ βοηθῶν, ὡς ἤκουσε καθ' ὁδὸν τοὺς Πλακεντίνους
to-Spurinna helping when he-heard on road the Placentines
περιγεγονέναι, κινδυνεύειν δὲ τοὺς ἐν Κρεμώνῃ, μετήγαγεν
to-have-prevailed to-be-in-danger but those in Cremona led-over
ἐκεῖ τὸ στράτευμα καὶ κατεστρατοπέδευσε πλησίον τῶν
there the army and encamped near the
πολεμίων ἔπειτα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἕκαστος ἐβοήθει τῷ
enemies then also of-the others each helped the
στρατηγῷ.
general
τοῦ δὲ Κεκίνα λοχίσαντος εἰς λάσια χωρία καὶ ὑλώδη
— and Caecina having-placed-in-ambush in thick places and wooded
πολλοὺς ὁπλίτας, ἱππεῖς δὲ προεξελάσαι κελεύσαντος,
many hoplites horsemen and to-ride-forward having-ordered
κἂν συνάψωσιν οἱ πολέμιοι κατὰ μικρὸν ἀναχωρεῖν καὶ
and-if engage the enemies by little to-retire and
ἀναφεύγειν, ἄχρι ἂν ὑπάγοντες οὕτως ἐμβάλωσιν αὐτοὺς
to-flee-back until — drawing-them-on thus they-may-throw them
εἰς τὴν ἐνέδραν, ἐξήγγειλαν αὐτόμολοι τῷ Κέλσῳ. καὶ οὗτος
into the ambush reported deserters — to-Celsus and this-one
μὲν ἱππεῦσιν ἀγαθοῖς ἀντεξελάσας, πεφυλαγμένως δὲ
indeed with-horsemen good having-ridden-out-against guardedly but

χρώμενος τῇ διώξει καὶ τὴν ἐνέδραν περισχὼν καὶ
using the pursuit and the ambush having-surrounded and
συνταράξας, ἐκάλει τοὺς ὁπλίτας ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου.
having-thrown-into-confusion called the hoplites from the camp
καὶ δοκοῦσιν ἂν ἐπελθόντες ἐν καιρῷ μηδένα λιπεῖν τῶν
and they-seem — having-come-up in season no-one to-leave of-the
πολεμίων, ἀλλὰ πᾶν τὸ μετὰ Κεκίνα στράτευμα συντρῖψαι
enemies but all the with Caecina army to-crush
καὶ ἀνελεῖν ἐπισπόμενοι τοῖς ἱππεῦσι· νυνὶ δὲ ὁ Παυλῖνος
and to-destroy following the horsemen now but — Paulinus
ὀψὲ καὶ σχολῇ προσβοηθήσας αἰτίαν ἔσχεν ἐνδεέστερον
late and slowly having-come-to-help charge had more-deficiently
τῆς δόξης στρατηγῆσαι δι' εὐλάβειαν.
than-the reputation to-have-commanded through caution
οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ προδοσίαν ἐνεκάλουν
the and many of-the soldiers also treason charged
αὐτῷ, καὶ παρώξυνον τὸν Ὄθωνα, μεγαληγοροῦντες
against-him and goaded — Otho boasting
ὡς νενικηκότων αὐτῶν, τῆς δὲ νίκης οὐκ ἐπὶ πᾶν
as having-conquered they the and victory not to all
προελθούσης κακίᾳ τῶν στρατηγῶν. ὁ δὲ Ὄθων οὐχ
having-gone-forward by-the-badness of-the generals — and Otho not
οὕτως ἐπίστευεν αὐτοῖς ὡς ἐβούλετο μὴ δοκεῖν ἀπιστεῖν.
so believed them as wished not to-seem to-distrust
ἔπεμψεν οὖν Τιτιανὸν ἐπὶ τὰ στρατεύματα τὸν ἀδελφὸν
he-sent then Titianus to the armies the brother
καὶ Πρόκλον τὸν ἔπαρχον, ὃς εἶχεν ἔργῳ τὴν πᾶσαν
and Proculus the prefect who had in-fact the whole
ἀρχήν, πρόσχημα δὲ ἦν ὁ Τιτιανός.
command screen and was — Titianus

οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Κέλσον καὶ Παυλῖνον ἄλλως ἐφείλκοντο
those and about — Celsus and Paulinus idly drew-along
συμβούλων ὄνομα καὶ φίλων, ἐξουσίαν καὶ δύναμιν ἐν
of-counselors name and of-friends authority and power in
τοῖς πράγμασι μηδεμίαν ἔχοντες, ἦν δὲ θορυβώδη καὶ
the affairs none having were and tumultuous also
τὰ παρὰ τοῖς πολεμίοις, μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς ὑπὸ τῷ
the-things among the enemies most and among-those under —
Οὐάλεντι· καὶ τῆς περὶ τὴν ἐνέδραν μάχης ἀπαγγελθείσης
Valens and of-the about the ambush battle having-been-reported
ἐχαλέπαινον ὅτι μὴ παρεγένοντο μηδὲ ἤμυναν ἀνδρῶν
they-were-angry that not they-were-present nor helped men
τοσούτων ἀποθανόντων, μόλις δὲ πείσας καὶ
so-many having-died hardly and having-persuaded and
παραιτησάμενος ὡρμημένους αὐτοὺς βάλλειν ἀνέζευξε καὶ
having-begged-off rushing them to-pelt he-broke-camp and
συνῆψε τοῖς περὶ Κεκίναν.
joined with-those about Caecina
Ὁ δὲ Ὄθων παραγενόμενος εἰς Βητριακὸν εἰς τὸ 8
— and Otho having-arrived at Bedriacum to the
στρατόπεδον ἔστι δὲ πολίχνη πλησίον Κρεμώνης τὸ
camp is and small-town near Cremona —
Βητριακὸν ἐβουλεύετο περὶ τῆς μάχης, καὶ Πρόκλῳ μὲν
Bedriacum deliberated about the battle and to-Proculus indeed
ἐδόκει καὶ Τιτιανῷ, τῶν στρατευμάτων ὄντων προθύμων
it-seemed and to-Titianus the armies being eager
καὶ προσφάτου τῆς νίκης, διαγωνίσασθαι καὶ μὴ καθῆσθαι
and fresh the victory to-fight-it-out and not to-sit
τὴν ἀκμὴν ἀμβλύνοντα τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ περιμένοντα
the prime blunting of-the force and waiting-for
Οὐϊτέλλιον αὐτὸν ἐκ Γαλατίας ἐπελθεῖν·
Vitellius himself from Gaul to-come

Παυλῖνος δὲ τοῖς μὲν πολεμίοις ἔφη πάντα μεθ' ὧν
Paulinus and to-the indeed enemies he-said all-things with which
μαχοῦνται παρεῖναι, καὶ μηδὲν ἐνδεῖν, Ὄθωνι δὲ τῆς
they-will-fight to-be-at-hand and nothing to-be-lacking for-Otho but than-the
ἤδη παρούσης οὐκ ἐλάττονα προσδόκιμον εἶναι δύναμιν
already present not less expected to-be force
ἐκ Μυσίας καὶ Παννονίας, ἂν τὸν αὑτοῦ περιμένῃ καιρόν,
from Moesia and Pannonia if the his-own he-wait-for occasion
ἀλλὰ μὴ στρατηγῇ πρὸς τὸν τῶν πολεμίων.
but not he-command against the of-the enemies
οὐ γὰρ ἀμβλυτέροις γε χρήσεσθαι τότε τοῖς νῦν
not for duller at-least to-be-going-to-find then those now
θαρροῦσιν ἀπ' ἐλαττόνων, ἂν πλείονας τοὺς ἀγωνιζομένους
confident from fewer if more the fighters
προσλάβωσιν, ἀλλ' ἐκ περιουσίας ἀγωνιεῖσθαι· καὶ
they-take-on but from abundance to-be-going-to-fight and
χωρὶς δὲ τούτου τὴν διατριβὴν εἶναι πρὸς αὐτῶν ἐν
apart and of-this the delay to-be for them in
ἀφθόνοις πᾶσιν ὄντων, ἐκείνοις δὲ τὸν χρόνον ἀπορίαν
abundant all-things being to-them but the time perplexity
παρέξειν τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐν πολεμίᾳ καθεζομένοις.
to-be-going-to-provide of-the necessities in hostile-land sitting
ταῦτα λέγοντι Παυλίνῳ Μάριος Κέλσος ἐγένετο σύμψηφος.
these-things saying to-Paulinus Marius Celsus became of-the-same-vote
Ἄννιος δὲ Γάλλος οὐ παρῆν μέν, ἀλλ' ἐθεραπεύετο
Annius but Gallus not was-present indeed but was-being-treated
πεπτωκὼς ἀφ' ἵππου, γράψαντος δὲ Ὄθωνος αὐτῷ
having-fallen from horse having-written but Otho to-him
συνεβούλευσε μὴ σπεύδειν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐκ Μυσίας περιμένειν
he-advised not to-hasten but the from Moesia to-await

δύναμιν ἤδη καθ᾽ ὁδὸν οὖσαν. οὐ μὴν ἐπείθετο τούτοις,
force already on road being not indeed he-was-persuaded by-these
ἀλλὰ ἐκράτησαν οἱ πρὸς τὴν μάχην παρορμῶντες.
but prevailed those to the battle urging

III · THE BATTLE OF BEDRIACUM

The guards long to fight and Otho cannot bear suspense; some say the armies thought of agreeing on an emperor themselves. Otho withdraws to Brixillum, taking his best troops with him. Proculus encamps badly, and over Paulinus' objection a letter from Otho sends the army against the enemy; the advance guard, believing a rumor that Vitellius' generals will change sides, is rebuffed and thrown into confusion. Only two legions fight in order; Otho's gladiators are routed by the Batavians, and the guards flee most shamefully. Celsus urges the officers to make peace rather than squander more lives, and the army swears allegiance to Vitellius.

Αἰτίαι δὲ πλείονες ἄλλαι ὑπ᾽ ἄλλων λέγονται· προδήλως δὲ οἱ 9
causes and more other by other are-told manifestly but the
στρατηγικοὶ προσαγορευόμενοι καὶ τάξιν ἔχοντες δορυφόρων,
praetorians so-called and rank having of-bodyguards
τότε μᾶλλον ἀληθινῆς γευόμενοι στρατείας καὶ τὰς ἐν
then more of-true tasting campaigning and the in
Ῥώμῃ διατριβὰς καὶ διαίτας ἀπολέμους καὶ πανηγυρικὰς
Rome pastimes and ways-of-life unwarlike and festive
ποθοῦντες, οὐκ ἦσαν καθεκτοὶ σπεύδοντες ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην,
longing-for not were restrainable hastening to the battle
ὡς εὐθὺς ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς ἀναρπασόμενοι τοὺς ἐναντίους.
as at-once from onset going-to-snatch-up the opponents
δοκεῖ δὲ μηδὲ αὐτὸς Ὄθων ἐξαναφέρειν ἔτι πρὸς τὴν
he-seems and not-even himself Otho to-bear-up still toward the
ἀδηλότητα μηδὲ ὑπομένειν ἀηθείᾳ καὶ μαλακότητι
uncertainty nor to-endure through-unfamiliarity and softness

τοὺς περὶ τῶν δεινῶν λογισμούς, ἐκπονούμενος δὲ ταῖς
the about the dangers reasonings being-worn-out and by-the
φροντίσι σπεύδειν ἐγκαλυψάμενος, ὥσπερ ἀπὸ κρημνοῦ,
anxieties to-hasten having-covered-his-face as from cliff
μεθεῖναι τὰ πράγματα πρὸς τὸ συντυχόν.
to-let-go the affairs to the chance
καὶ τοῦτο μὲν διηγεῖτο Σεκοῦνδος ὁ ῥήτωρ ἐπὶ τῶν
and this indeed related Secundus the rhetor over the
ἐπιστολῶν γενόμενος τοῦ Ὄθωνος. ἑτέρων δὲ ἦν
letters having-been — of-Otho from-others and it-was-possible
ἀκούειν ὅτι τοῖς στρατεύμασιν ἀμφοτέροις παρίσταντο
to-hear that to-the armies both occurred
ὁρμαὶ πολλαὶ ὡς εἰς ταὐτὸ συνελθεῖν καὶ μάλιστα μὲν
impulses many so-as into the-same to-come-together and most indeed
αὐτοὺς ὁμοφρονήσαντας ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἡγεμονικῶν
themselves having-agreed from the present commanders
ἑλέσθαι τὸν ἄριστον, εἰ δὲ μή, τὴν σύγκλητον ὁμοῦ
to-choose the best if but not the senate together
καθίσαντας ἐφεῖναι τὴν αἵρεσιν ἐκείνῃ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος.
having-seated to-leave the choice to-it of-the emperor
καὶ οὐκ ἀπεικός ἐστι, μηδετέρου τότε τῶν προσαγορευομένων
and not unlikely it-is neither then of-the so-called
αὐτοκρατόρων εὐδοκιμοῦντος, ἐπιπίπτειν τοιούτους
emperors being-esteemed to-fall-upon such
διαλογισμοὺς τοῖς γνησίοις καὶ διαπόνοις καὶ σωφρονοῦσι
reasonings the genuine and hardworking and temperate
τῶν στρατιωτῶν, ὡς ἔχθιστον εἴη καὶ δεινόν, ἃ
of-the soldiers as most-hateful it-would-be and terrible what
πάλαι διὰ Σύλλαν καὶ Μάριον, εἶτα Καίσαρα καὶ
long-ago because-of Sulla and Marius then Caesar and
Πομπήϊον ᾠκτείροντο δρῶντες ἀλλήλους καὶ πάσχοντες οἱ
Pompey lamented doing to-each-other and suffering the

πολῖται, ταῦτα νῦν ὑπομένειν ἢ Οὐϊτελλίῳ λαιμαργίας
citizens these-things now to-endure either for-Vitellius of-gluttony
καὶ οἰνοφλυγίας ἢ τρυφῆς καὶ ἀκολασίας Ὄθωνι τὴν
and drunkenness or of-luxury and licentiousness for-Otho the
ἡγεμονίαν χορήγημα προθεμένους.
empire supply having-set-forth
ταῦτ᾽ οὖν ὑπονοοῦσι τούς τε περὶ τὸν Κέλσον
these-things then they-suspect those both about — Celsus
αἰσθανομένους ἐμβαλεῖν διατριβήν, ἐλπίζοντας ἄνευ μάχης
perceiving to-throw-in delay hoping without battle
καὶ πόνων κριθήσεσθαι τὰ πράγματα, καὶ τοὺς περὶ
and toils to-be-going-to-be-decided the affairs and those about
τὸν Ὄθωνα φοβουμένους ἐπιταχῦναι τὴν μάχην.
— Otho fearing to-hasten the battle
Αὐτὸς δὲ πάλιν εἰς Βρίξιλλον ἀνεχώρησε, καὶ τοῦτο 10
himself and again to Brixillum withdrew and this
προσεξαμαρτών, οὐχ ὅτι μόνον τὴν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτοῦ
having-erred-besides not that only the in eyes of-him
παρόντος αἰδῶ καὶ φιλοτιμίαν ἀφεῖλε τῶν ἀγωνιζομένων,
being-present shame and ambition he-took-away from-those fighting
ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐρρωμενεστάτους καὶ προθυμοτάτους δι᾽
but also the strongest and most-eager for
αὐτὸν ἱππεῖς καὶ πεζοὺς ἀπαγαγὼν φυλακὴν τοῦ σώματος
him horsemen and foot having-led-away as-guard of-the body
ὡσπερεὶ στόμωμα τῆς δυνάμεως ἀπέκοψε.
as-it-were steel-edge of-the force he-cut-off
συνέβη δὲ ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις καὶ περὶ τὸν Ἠριδανὸν
it-happened and in-the days those also about — Eridanus
ἀγῶνα γενέσθαι, τοῦ μὲν Κεκίνα ζευγνύντος τὴν διάβασιν,
contest to-happen — indeed of-Caecina bridging the crossing
τῶν δὲ Ὄθωνος εἰργόντων καὶ προσμαχομένων. ὡς δὲ
of-those and of-Otho preventing and fighting-against when and

οὐδὲν ἐπέραινον, ἐνθεμένων εἰς τὰ πλοῖα δᾷδα θείου καὶ
nothing they-accomplished having-put into the boats torch of-sulfur and
πίττης ἀνάπλεων, διὰ τοῦ πόρου πνεῦμα προσπεσὸν ἄφνω
pitch full through the passage wind having-fallen-on suddenly
τὴν παρεσκευασμένην ὕλην ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐξερρίπιζε.
the prepared material against the enemies fanned-out
καπνοῦ δὲ πρῶτον, εἶτα λαμπρᾶς φλογὸς ἐκπεσούσης,
of-smoke and first then of-brilliant flame having-burst-forth
ταραττόμενοι καὶ ἀποπηδῶντες εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν τάς
being-disturbed and leaping-off into the river the
τε ναῦς ἀνέτρεπον καὶ τὰ σώματα τοῖς πολεμίοις
both ships they-overturned and the bodies to-the enemies
μετὰ γέλωτος παρεῖχον. οἱ δὲ Γερμανοὶ τοῖς Ὄθωνος
with laughter provided the and Germans with-the of-Otho
μονομάχοις περὶ νησῖδα τοῦ ποταμοῦ προσμίξαντες
gladiators about islet of-the river having-engaged
ἐκράτησαν καὶ διέφθειραν αὐτῶν οὐκ ὀλίγους.
prevailed and destroyed of-them not few

11 Γενομένων δὲ τούτων, καὶ τῶν ἐν Βητριακῷ στρατιωτῶν
having-happened and these-things and of-the at Bedriacum soldiers
τοῦ Ὄθωνος ἐκφερομένων μετ᾽ ὀργῆς ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην,
— of-Otho being-carried-away with anger to the battle
προήγαγεν αὐτοὺς ὁ Πρόκλος ἐκ τοῦ Βητριακοῦ, καὶ
led-forth them — Proculus from — Bedriacum and
κατεστρατοπέδευσεν ἀπὸ πεντήκοντα σταδίων οὕτως
encamped at fifty stades so
ἀπείρως καὶ καταγελάστως ὥστε, τῆς μὲν ὥρας ἐαρινῆς
inexperiencedly and ridiculously that the indeed season spring
οὔσης, τῶν δὲ κύκλῳ πεδίων πολλὰ νάματα καὶ ποταμοὺς
being the and around plains many streams and rivers
ἀενάους ἐχόντων, ὕδατος σπάνει πιέζεσθαι.
ever-flowing having by-water's scarcity to-be-pressed

τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ βουλόμενον προάγειν ἐπὶ τοὺς
on-the and next-day him-wishing to-lead-forward against the
πολεμίους ὁδὸν οὐκ ἐλάττονα σταδίων ἑκατὸν οἱ περὶ
enemies road not less of-stades hundred those about
τὸν Παυλῖνον οὐκ εἴων, ἀλλ᾽ ᾤοντο δεῖν περιμένειν
— Paulinus not allowed but thought to-be-needful to-wait
καὶ μὴ προπονεῖν ἑαυτούς, μηδὲ εὐθὺς ἐκ πορείας μάχην
and not to-tire-beforehand themselves nor at-once from march battle
τίθεσθαι πρὸς ἄνδρας ὡπλισμένους καὶ παρατεταγμένους
to-join against men armed and drawn-up
καθ᾽ ἡσυχίαν, ἐν ὅσῳ χρόνῳ προΐασιν αὐτοὶ τοσαύτην
at leisure in as-much time they-advance themselves so-great
ὁδὸν ἀναμεμιγμένων ὑποζυγίων καὶ ἀκολούθων.
road mixed of-beasts-of-burden and of-followers
οὔσης δὲ περὶ τούτων ἀντιλογίας ἐν τοῖς στρατηγοῖς
being and about these-things dispute among the generals
ἦλθε παρ᾽ Ὄθωνος ἱππεὺς τῶν καλουμένων Νομάδων
came from Otho horseman of-the called Numidians
γράμματα κομίζων κελεύοντα μὴ μένειν μηδὲ διατρίβειν,
letters bringing bidding not to-remain nor to-delay
ἀλλ᾽ ἄγειν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὖν
but to-lead at-once against the enemies they indeed then
ἄραντες ἐχώρουν, ὁ δὲ Κεκίνας πυθόμενος τὴν ἔφοδον
having-set-out went — and Caecina having-learned the approach
αὐτῶν ἐθορυβήθη, καὶ κατὰ σπουδὴν ἀπολιπὼν τὰ ἔργα
their was-disturbed and in haste having-left the works
καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἦκεν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον.
and the river came to the camp
ὡπλισμένων δὲ ἤδη τῶν πολλῶν, καὶ τὸ σύνθημα
armed and already the many and the watchword
παραλαμβανόντων παρὰ τοῦ Οὐάλεντος, ἐν ὅσῳ
receiving from — Valens in as-much-time-as

τὴν τάξιν διελάγχανε τὰ τάγματα, τοὺς ἀρίστους τῶν
the rank obtained-by-lot the legions the best of-the
ἱππέων προεξέπεμψαν.
horsemen they-sent-forward

12 Ἐμπίπτει δὲ τοῖς προτεταγμένοις τῶν Ὄθωνος ἐκ δή
falls and upon-the stationed-in-front of-those of-Otho from indeed
τινος αἰτίας δόξα καὶ λόγος ὡς μεταβαλουμένων τῶν
some cause belief and report as going-to-change-sides the
Οὐϊτελλίου στρατηγῶν πρὸς αὐτούς, ὡς οὖν ἐγγὺς ἦσαν,
of-Vitellius generals to them when then near they-were
ἠσπάσαντο φιλίως συστρατιώτας προσαγορεύσαντες.
they-greeted in-friendly-fashion fellow-soldiers having-addressed-them
ἐκείνων δὲ τὴν προσαγόρευσιν οὐκ εὐμενῶς, ἀλλὰ μετὰ
those but the greeting not kindly but with
θυμοῦ καὶ φωνῆς πολεμικῆς ἀμειψαμένων, τοῖς μὲν
anger and voice warlike having-returned to-those indeed
ἀσπασαμένοις ἀθυμία, τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς ὑπόνοια κατὰ τῶν
having-greeted despondency to-the and rest suspicion against those
ἀσπασαμένων ὡς προδιδόντων παρέστη.
having-greeted as betraying came
καὶ τοῦτο πρῶτον αὐτοὺς ἐτάραξεν ἤδη τῶν πολεμίων
and this first them disturbed already the enemies
ἐν χερσὶν ὄντων, εἶτα τῶν ἄλλων οὐδὲν ἦν κόσμῳ
in hands being then of-the other-things nothing was in-order
γινόμενον, ἀλλὰ πολλὴν μὲν ἀταξίαν τὰ σκευοφόρα τοῖς
happening but great indeed disorder the baggage-trains with-the
μαχομένοις ἐμπλαζόμενα παρεῖχε, πολλοὺς δὲ τὰ χωρία
fighters entangled provided many and the places
διασπασμοὺς ἐποίει τάφρων ὄντα μεστὰ καὶ ὀρυγμάτων,
separations made of-ditches being full and of-trenches

ἃ φοβούμενοι καὶ περιϊόντες ἠναγκάζοντο φύρδην καὶ
which fearing and going-round they-were-compelled pell-mell and
κατὰ μέρη πολλὰ συμπλέκεσθαι τοῖς ἐναντίοις.
in parts many to-engage with-the opponents
μόναι δὲ δύο λεγεῶνες οὕτω γὰρ τὰ τάγματα Ῥωμαῖοι
alone and two legions so for the legions Romans
καλοῦσιν, ἐπίκλησιν ἡ μὲν Οὐϊτελλίου Ἅρπαξ,
call by-surname the(-one) indeed of-Vitellius Rapax
ἡ δὲ Ὄθωνος Βοηθός, εἰς πεδίον ἐξελίξασαι ψιλὸν
the(-other) and of-Otho Adiutrix into plain having-deployed bare
καὶ ἀναπεπταμένον, νόμιμόν τινα μάχην, συμπεσοῦσαι
and open regular some battle having-met
φαλαγγηδόν, ἐμάχοντο πολὺν χρόνον. οἱ μὲν οὖν Ὄθωνος
in-phalanx fought long time those indeed then of-Otho
ἄνδρες ἦσαν εὔρωστοι καὶ ἀγαθοί, πολέμου δὲ καὶ μάχης
men were robust and good of-war but and battle
τότε πρῶτον πεῖραν λαμβάνοντες· οἱ δὲ Οὐϊτελλίου πολλῶν
then first trial taking those but of-Vitellius of-many
ἀγώνων ἐθάδες, ἤδη δὲ γηραιοὶ καὶ παρακμάζοντες.
contests accustomed already but old and past-their-prime
ὁρμήσαντες οὖν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς οἱ Ὄθωνος ἐώσαντο καὶ τὸν
having-rushed then at them those of-Otho pushed and the
ἀετὸν ἀφείλοντο, πάντας ὁμοῦ τι τοὺς προμάχους
eagle took-away all nearly somewhat the front-fighters
ἀποκτείναντες· οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ αἰσχύνης καὶ ὀργῆς ἐμπεσόντες
having-killed they and by shame and anger having-fallen-upon
αὐτοῖς τόν τε πρεσβευτὴν τοῦ τάγματος Ὀρφίδιον ἔκτειναν
them the both legate of-the legion Orfidius killed
καὶ πολλὰ τῶν σημείων ἥρπασαν. τοῖς δὲ μονομάχοις
and many of-the standards seized against-the and gladiators

ἐμπειρίαν τε καὶ θάρσος ἔχειν πρὸς τὰς συμπλοκὰς δοκοῦσιν
experience both and courage to-have for the close-combats seeming
ἐπήγαγεν Οὔαρος Ἀλφῆνος τοὺς καλουμένους Βατάβους.
brought Varus Alfenus the called Batavians
εἰσὶ δὲ Γερμανῶν ἱππεῖς ἄριστοι, νῆσον οἰκοῦντες ὑπὸ τοῦ
they-are and of-Germans horsemen best island inhabiting by —
Ῥήνου περιρρεομένην. τούτους ὀλίγοι μὲν τῶν μονομάχων
Rhine flowed-round these few indeed of-the gladiators
ὑπέστησαν, οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι φεύγοντες ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν
withstood the but most fleeing to the river
ἐμπίπτουσιν εἰς σπείρας τῶν πολεμίων αὐτόθι τεταγμένας,
fall into cohorts of-the enemies there posted
ὑφ' ὧν ἀμυνόμενοι πάντες ὁμαλῶς διεφθάρησαν.
by whom defending-themselves all equally were-destroyed
αἴσχιστα δὲ ἠγωνίσαντο πάντων οἱ στρατηγικοί, μηδὲ
most-shamefully and fought of-all the praetorians not-even
ὅσον ἐν χερσὶ γενέσθαι τοὺς ἐναντίους ὑπομείναντες,
as-much-as in hands to-come the opponents having-awaited
ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἀηττήτους ἔτι φόβου καὶ ταραχῆς
but also the unbeaten still with-fear and confusion
ἀνεπίμπλασαν φεύγοντες δι' αὐτῶν, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ
filled fleeing through them not indeed but
πολλοί γε τῶν Ὄθωνος νενικηκότες τοὺς καθ' αὑτοὺς
many indeed of-those of-Otho having-conquered those opposite themselves
ἐβιάσαντο καὶ διεξέπεσον διὰ τῶν πολεμίων κρατούντων
forced and broke-through through the enemies prevailing
εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον.
to the camp

13 Τῶν δὲ στρατηγῶν οὔτε Πρόκλος οὔτε Παυλῖνος συνεισελθεῖν
of-the and generals neither Proculus nor Paulinus to-enter-with
ἐτόλμησαν, ἀλλ' ἐξέκλιναν φοβούμενοι τοὺς στρατιώτας
dared but turned-aside fearing the soldiers

ἤδη τὴν αἰτίαν ἐπὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τρέποντας. Ἄννιος
already the blame upon the generals turning Annius
δὲ Γάλλος ἀνελάμβανεν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ παρεμυθεῖτο τοὺς
and Gallus took-up in the city and consoled those
ἐκ τῆς μάχης συλλεγομένους, ὡς ἀγχωμάλου γεγενημένης
from the battle gathering as nearly-equal having-been
καὶ πολλοῖς κεκρατηκότας μέρεσι τῶν πολεμίων.
and in-many having-prevailed parts of-the enemies
Μάριος δὲ Κέλσος τοὺς ἐν τέλει συναγαγὼν ἐκέλευσε
Marius and Celsus those in office having-gathered bade
σκοπεῖν τὸ κοινόν, ὡς ἐπὶ συμφορᾷ τηλικαύτῃ καὶ φόνῳ
to-consider the common-good as at misfortune so-great and slaughter
τοσούτῳ πολιτῶν μηδὲ Ὄθωνος, εἴπερ ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός
so-great of-citizens not-even Otho if-indeed man good
ἐστιν, ἐθελήσοντος ἔτι πειρᾶσθαι τῆς τύχης, ὅπου καὶ
he-is going-to-wish still to-try the fortune where even
Κάτων καὶ Σκηπίων, Καίσαρι κρατοῦντι μετὰ Φάρσαλον
Cato and Scipio to-Caesar prevailing after Pharsalus
εἶξαι μὴ θελήσαντες, αἰτίαν ἔχουσιν ὡς πολλοὺς καὶ
to-yield not having-wished blame have as many and
ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας ἐν Λιβύῃ παραναλώσαντες οὐκ ἀναγκαίως,
good men in Libya having-squandered not necessarily
καίπερ ἀγωνιζόμενοι περὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐλευθερίας.
although contending for the of-Romans freedom
τὰ γὰρ ἄλλα κοινὴν ἡ τύχη παρέχουσα πᾶσιν ἑαυτὴν
the for other-things common the fortune providing to-all itself
ἓν οὐκ ἀφαιρεῖται τῶν ἀγαθῶν, τὸ κἂν πταίσωσιν
one-thing not takes-away of-the goods the even-if they-stumble
εὐλογιστεῖν πρὸς τὰ συντυγχάνοντα. ταῦτα λέγων
to-reason-well about the-things happening these-things saying
ἔπειθε τοὺς ἡγεμονικούς, ἐπεὶ δὲ πειρώμενοι τοὺς
he-persuaded the commanders when and trying the

στρατιώτας ἑώρων εἰρήνης δεομένους καὶ Τιτιανὸς ἐκέλευε
soldiers they-saw peace desiring and Titianus bade
πρεσβεύειν ὑπὲρ ὁμονοίας, ἔδοξε Κέλσῳ καὶ Γάλλῳ
to-send-envoys for concord it-seemed-good to-Celsus and Gallus
βαδίζειν καὶ διαλέγεσθαι τοῖς περὶ τὸν Κεκίναν καὶ
to-go and to-converse with-those about — Caecina and
Οὐάλεντα.
Valens
βαδίζουσι δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀπήντησαν ἑκατοντάρχαι τὴν μὲν
going and to-them met centurions the indeed
δύναμιν ἤδη κεκινημένην λέγοντες ἐρχομένην ἐπὶ τὸ
force already set-in-motion saying coming to —
Βητριακόν, αὐτοὶ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἀπεστάλθαι
Bedriacum themselves and by the generals to-have-been-sent
περὶ ὁμονοίας, ἐπαινέσαντες οὖν οἱ περὶ τὸν Κέλσον
about concord having-praised then those about — Celsus
ἐκέλευσαν αὐτοὺς ἀναστρέψαντας πάλιν ἀπαντᾶν μετ᾽
bade them having-turned-back again to-meet with
αὐτῶν τοῖς περὶ τὸν Κεκίναν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγγὺς ἦσαν,
them those about — Caecina when and near they-were
ἐκινδύνευσεν ὁ Κέλσος. ἔτυχον γὰρ οἱ περὶ τὴν ἐνέδραν
was-in-danger — Celsus happened for those about the ambush
ἡττημένοι πρότερον ἱππεῖς προεξελαύνοντες.
defeated formerly horsemen riding-ahead
ὡς οὖν προσιόντα τὸν Κέλσον κατεῖδον, εὐθὺς βοήσαντες
when then approaching — Celsus they-saw at-once having-shouted
ὥρμησαν ἐπ᾽ αὐτόν, οἱ δὲ ἑκατοντάρχαι προέστησαν
they-rushed at him the and centurions stood-before
ἀνείργοντες· καὶ τῶν ἄλλων λοχαγῶν φείδεσθαι βοώντων οἱ
keeping-off and the other captains to-spare shouting those
περὶ τὸν Κεκίναν πυθόμενοι καὶ προσελάσαντες τὴν ἀκοσμίαν
about — Caecina having-learned and having-ridden-up the disorderliness

ταχὺ τῶν ἱππέων ἔπαυσαν, τὸν δὲ Κέλσον ἀσπασάμενοι
quickly of-the horsemen stopped — and Celsus having-greeted
φιλοφρόνως ἐβάδιζον μετ᾽ αὐτῶν εἰς τὸ Βητριακόν.
kindly they-went with them to — Bedriacum
ἐν δὲ τούτῳ μετάνοια Τιτιανὸν ἔσχεν ἐκπέμψαντα τοὺς
in and this repentance Titianus seized having-sent-out the
πρέσβεις· καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τοὺς θρασυνομένους αὖθις
envoys and of-the soldiers those being-bold again
ἀνεβίβαζεν ἐπὶ τὰ τείχη καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους παρεκάλει βοηθεῖν.
he-made-mount upon the walls and the others he-urged to-help
τοῦ δὲ Κεκίνα προσελάσαντος τῷ ἵππῳ καὶ τὴν δεξιὰν
— and Caecina having-ridden-up on-the horse and the right-hand
ὀρέγοντος οὐδεὶς ἀντέσχεν, ἀλλ᾽ οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν
stretching-out no-one held-out but the(-ones) indeed from the
τειχῶν ἠσπάζοντο τοὺς στρατιώτας, οἱ δὲ τὰς πύλας
walls greeted the soldiers the(-others) and the gates
ἀνοίξαντες ἐξῄεσαν καὶ ἀνεμίγνυντο τοῖς προσήκουσιν.
having-opened went-out and mingled with-those related
ἠδίκει δὲ οὐδείς, ἀλλὰ καὶ φιλοφροσύναι καὶ δεξιώσεις
wronged and no-one but both kindnesses and greetings
ἦσαν, ὤμοσαν δὲ πάντες περὶ τοῦ Οὐϊτελλίου καὶ
there-were swore and all for — Vitellius and
προσεχώρησαν.
came-over

As Plutarch later travels over the plain, Mestrius Florus shows him an old temple heaped with corpses to its pediments. When the defeat is reported, the soldiers will not desert Otho, but beg him to fight on, and one kills himself before him. Otho, calm and bright, tells them that he would rather die well than rule at the cost of civil war. He sends away his friends and the senators, consoles his young nephew Cocceius, and sternly drives off the soldiers threatening the departing senators. That night he sleeps soundly, and at dawn he falls on his sword; his soldiers mourn him, and some kill themselves at his pyre. His tomb at Brixillum is modest; he dies at thirty-seven after three months' rule, having lived no better than Nero but died more nobly. Told to swear to Vitellius, the soldiers press Verginius to rule or to plead for them, and when he slips away they swear and join Caecina.

14 Οὕτω μὲν οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν παραγενομένων ἀπαγγέλλουσι
thus indeed the most of-those present report
γενέσθαι τὴν μάχην, οὐδὲ αὐτοὶ σαφῶς ὁμολογοῦντες
to-have-happened the battle not-even themselves clearly acknowledging
εἰδέναι τὰ καθ' ἕκαστα διὰ τὴν ἀταξίαν καὶ τὴν
to-know the-things in detail because-of the disorder and the
ἀνωμαλίαν. ἐμοὶ δὲ ὕστερον ὁδεύοντι διὰ τοῦ πεδίου
unevenness to-me and later traveling through the plain
Μέστριος Φλῶρος, ἀνὴρ ὑπατικὸς τῶν τότε μὴ κατὰ
Mestrius Florus man consular of-those then not by
γνώμην, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκῃ μετὰ τοῦ Ὄθωνος γενομένων,
choice but by-necessity with — Otho having-been
νεὼν ὄντα παλαιὸν ἐπιδείξας διηγεῖτο μετὰ τὴν μάχην
temple being old having-shown related after the battle
ἐπελθὼν ἰδεῖν νεκρῶν σωρὸν τηλικοῦτον ὥστε τοὺς
having-come-up to-see of-corpses heap so-great that those
ἐπιπολῆς ἅπτεσθαι τῶν ἀετῶν.
on-top to-touch the pediments

καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν ἔφη ζητῶν οὔτε αὐτὸς εὑρεῖν οὔτε παρ'
and the cause he-said seeking neither himself to-find nor from
ἄλλου του πυθέσθαι. θνήσκειν μὲν γὰρ παρὰ τοὺς
other anyone to-learn to-die indeed for in the
ἐμφυλίους πολέμους, ὅταν τροπὴ γένηται, πλείονας εἰκός
civil wars whenever rout happens more likely
ἐστι, τῷ μηδένα ζωγρεῖν, χρῆσθαι γὰρ οὐκ ἔστι τοῖς
it-is by-the no-one to-take-alive to-use for not it-is-possible the
ἁλισκομένοις, ἡ δ' ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο σωρεία καὶ συμφόρησις
captured the but to so-great heaping and piling-together
οὐκ ἔχει τὴν αἰτίαν εὐσυλλόγιστον.
not has the cause easy-to-reckon
Τῷ δὲ Ὄθωνι πρῶτον μὲν ἀσαφής, ὥσπερ εἴωθε περὶ 15
— and to-Otho first indeed unclear as it-is-wont about
τῶν τηλικούτων, προσέπεσε λόγος· ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τετρωμένοι
of-the so-great-things fell report when and also wounded
τινὲς ἦκον ἐκ τῆς μάχης ἀπαγγέλλοντες, τοὺς μὲν φίλους
some came from the battle reporting the indeed friends
ἧττον ἄν τις ἐθαύμασεν οὐκ ἐῶντας ἀπαγορεύειν,
less — anyone would-have-wondered-at not allowing to-despair
ἀλλὰ θαρρεῖν παρακελευομένους, τὸ δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν
but to-be-bold urging the but of-the soldiers
πάθος ἅπασαν ὑπερέβαλε πίστιν. ὡς οὐδεὶς ἀπῆλθεν,
feeling all surpassed belief as no-one went-away
οὐδὲ μετέστη πρὸς τοὺς κρατοῦντας, οὐδ' ὤφθη τὸ
nor changed-over to the prevailing nor was-seen the
καθ' αὑτὸν ζητῶν ἀπεγνωσμένου τοῦ ἡγεμόνος, πάντες
as-to himself seeking having-been-despaired-of the leader all
δ' ὁμαλῶς ἐπὶ θύρας ἦλθον, ἐκάλουν αὐτοκράτορα,
and alike to doors came they-called emperor
προελθόντος ἐγίνοντο προστρόπαιοι, μετὰ βοῆς καὶ
him-having-come-forth they-became suppliants with shout and

ἱκεσίας χειρῶν ἥπτοντο, προσέπιπτον, ἐδάκρυον, ἐδέοντο
supplication hands they-touched fell-before wept begged
μὴ σφᾶς ἐγκαταλιπεῖν, μὴ προδοῦναι τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἀλλὰ
not them to-abandon not to-betray to-the enemies but
χρῆσθαι μέχρι ἂν ἐμπνέωσι καὶ ψυχαῖς καὶ σώμασιν ὑπὲρ
to-use until — they-breathe both souls and bodies for
αὐτοῦ, ταῦτα ὁμοῦ πάντες ἱκέτευον.
himself these-things together all supplicated
εἷς δὲ τῶν ἀφανεστέρων ἀνατείνας τὸ ξίφος καὶ
one and of-the more-obscure having-raised the sword and
εἰπών, "ἴσθι, Καῖσαρ, οὕτως ὑπὲρ σοῦ παρατεταγμένους
having-said know Caesar thus for you drawn-up
ἅπαντας," ἀπέσφαξεν ἑαυτόν. ἀλλὰ τούτων οὐδὲν ἐπέκλασε
all slew himself but of-these nothing bent
τὸν Ὄθωνα, φαιδρῷ δὲ καὶ καθεστῶτι προσώπῳ
— Otho with-bright and and settled face
πανταχόσε τὰς ὄψεις περιαγαγών, "ταύτην," εἶπεν, "ὦ
everywhere the eyes having-led-round this he-said O
συστρατιῶται, τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνης, ἐν ᾗ με πρῶτον
fellow-soldiers the day than-that in which me first
ἐποιήσατε αὐτοκράτορα, μακαριωτέραν ἡγοῦμαι, τοιούτους
you-made emperor more-blessed I-consider such
ὁρῶν ὑμᾶς καὶ τηλικούτων ἀξιούμενος.
seeing you and of-so-great-things being-deemed-worthy
ἀλλὰ μὴ μείζονος ἀποστερεῖτε, τοῦ καλῶς ἀποθανεῖν
but not of-greater deprive of-the well to-die
ὑπὲρ τοσούτων καὶ τοιούτων πολιτῶν, εἰ τῆς Ῥωμαίων
for so-many and such citizens if of-the of-Romans
ἡγεμονίας ἄξιος γέγονα, δεῖ με τῆς ἐμῆς ψυχῆς ὑπὲρ
empire worthy I-have-become it-is-needful me of-the my life for
τῆς πατρίδος ἀφειδεῖν. οἶδα τὴν νίκην τοῖς ἐναντίοις
the fatherland to-be-unsparing I-know the victory to-the opponents

οὔτε βεβαίαν οὔτε ἰσχυρὰν οὖσαν. ἀπαγγέλλουσι τὴν ἐκ
neither secure nor strong being they-report the from
Μυσίας ἡμῶν δύναμιν οὐ πολλῶν ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν ἀπέχειν,
Moesia our force not of-many days road to-be-distant
ἤδη καταβαίνουσαν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀδρίαν.
already coming-down to — Adriatic
Ἀσία καὶ Συρία καὶ Αἴγυπτος καὶ τὰ πολεμοῦντα
Asia and Syria and Egypt and the warring
Ἰουδαίοις στρατεύματα μεθ' ἡμῶν, ἥ τε σύγκλητος παρ'
with-Jews armies with us the both senate with
ἡμῖν καὶ τέκνα τῶν ἐναντίων καὶ γυναῖκες, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστι
us and children of-the opponents and wives but not it-is
πρὸς Ἀννίβαν οὐδὲ Πύρρον οὐδὲ Κίμβρους ὁ πόλεμος
against Hannibal nor Pyrrhus nor Cimbri the war
ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἰταλίας, ἀλλὰ Ῥωμαίοις πολεμοῦντες ἀμφότεροι
for — Italy but with-Romans warring both
τὴν πατρίδα καὶ νικῶντες ἀδικοῦμεν καὶ νικώμενοι. καὶ
the fatherland both conquering we-wrong and being-conquered and
γὰρ τὸ ἀγαθὸν τοῦ κρατοῦντος ἐκείνῃ κακόν ἐστι.
for the good of-the prevailing to-it evil is
πιστεύσατε πολλάκις ὅτι δύναμαι κάλλιον ἀποθανεῖν ἢ
believe often that I-can more-nobly to-die than
ἄρχειν. οὐ γὰρ ὁρῶ τί τηλικοῦτον Ῥωμαίοις ὄφελος
to-rule not for I-see what so-great to-Romans benefit
ἔσομαι κρατήσας, ἡλίκον ἐπιδοὺς ἐμαυτὸν ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης
I-shall-be having-prevailed as-great-as having-given myself for peace
καὶ ὁμονοίας, καὶ τοῦ μὴ πάλιν ἡμέραν τοιαύτην ἐπιδεῖν
and concord and the not again day such to-look-upon
τὴν Ἰταλίαν."
— Italy

16 Τοιαῦτα διαλεχθείς, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐνίστασθαι καὶ παρακαλεῖν
such-things having-discoursed and against those to-oppose and to-entreat
ἐπιχειροῦντας ἀπισχυρισάμενος, τούς τε φίλους ἐκέλευεν
attempting having-held-firm the both friends he-bade
ἀπαλλάττεσθαι καὶ τῶν συγκλητικῶν τοὺς παρόντας· τοῖς
to-depart and of-the senators those present to-the
δὲ μὴ παροῦσιν ἐπέστελλε καὶ γράμματα πρὸς τὰς
and not present he-sent-instructions and letters to the
πόλεις, ὅπως παρακομισθῶσιν ἐντίμως καὶ μετὰ ἀσφαλείας.
cities so-that they-may-be-escorted honorably and with safety
προσαγόμενος δὲ τὸν ἀδελφιδοῦν Κοκκήϊον, ἔτι μειράκιον
bringing-to-him and the nephew Cocceius still youth
ὄντα, θαρρεῖν παρεκάλει καὶ μὴ δεδιέναι Οὐϊτέλλιον,
being to-be-bold he-urged and not to-fear Vitellius
οὗ καὶ μητέρα καὶ γενεὰν καὶ γυναῖκα αὐτός, ὥσπερ
of-whom both mother and family and wife himself as
οἰκείων κηδόμενος, διαφυλάξαι. διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ οὐδὲ
own-kin caring-for to-have-protected because-of this for not-even
θέσθαι παῖδα βουλόμενος αὐτόν, ἀλλ' ἀναβαλέσθαι τὴν
to-adopt as-son wishing him but to-postpone the
εἰσποίησιν, ὅπως συνάρχοι κρατήσαντος αὐτοῦ, μὴ
adoption so-that he-might-share-the-rule having-prevailed him not
προσαπόλοιτο πταίσαντος· "ἐκεῖνο δέ," εἶπεν, "ὦ παῖ,
might-perish-besides having-stumbled that but he-said O boy
παρεγγυῶμαί σοι τελευταῖον, μήτε ἐπιλαθέσθαι παντάπασι
I-charge you last neither to-forget altogether
μήτε ἄγαν μνημονεύειν ὅτι Καίσαρα θεῖον ἔσχες."
nor too-much to-remember that Caesar uncle you-had
γενόμενος δὲ ἀπὸ τούτων μετὰ μικρὸν ἤκουσε θορύβου
having-got-clear and from these-things after little he-heard uproar
καὶ βοῆς ἐπὶ θύραις, οἱ γὰρ στρατιῶται τῶν συγκλητικῶν
and shout at doors the for soldiers of-the senators

τοῖς ἀπιοῦσι διηπείλουν ἀποσφάξειν, εἰ μὴ παραμενοῦσιν,
to-those going-away threatened to-be-going-to-slay if not they-will-remain
ἀλλὰ οἰχήσονται τὸν αὐτοκράτορα καταλιπόντες. πάλιν οὖν
but will-go-off the emperor having-abandoned again then
προῆλθεν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀνδρῶν φοβηθείς, καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας,
he-came-forth for the men having-feared and the soldiers
οὐκέτι δεητικὸς οὐδὲ πρᾷος, ἀλλὰ τραχὺς ὀφθείς, καὶ
no-longer beseeching nor gentle but harsh seen and
μετ᾽ ὀργῆς εἰς τὸ θορυβοῦν μάλιστα διαβλέψας, ἀπελθεῖν
with anger at the uproaring most having-looked-hard to-depart
ἐποίησεν εἴξαντας καὶ διατρέσαντας.
he-made having-yielded and having-trembled

Ἤδη δὲ ἑσπέρας οὔσης ἐδίψησε, καὶ πιὼν ὀλίγον 17
already and evening being he-thirsted and having-drunk little
ὕδατος, δυεῖν ὄντων αὐτῷ ξιφῶν, ἑκατέρου κατεμάνθανε τὸ
of-water two being to-him swords of-each examined the
σπάσμα πολὺν χρόνον, καὶ τὸ ἕτερον ἀπέδωκε, θάτερον δὲ
edge long time and the one he-gave-back the-other and
εἰς τὰς ἀγκάλας ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς οἰκέτας προσεκαλεῖτο. καὶ
into the arms having-taken-up the servants he-called and
φιλοφρονούμενος διένεμε τῶν χρημάτων τῷ μὲν πλέον,
treating-kindly distributed of-the money to-the(-one) indeed more
τῷ δὲ ἔλαττον, οὐχ ὥσπερ ἀλλοτρίων ἀφειδῶν,
to-the(-other) and less not as of-others' being-unsparing
ἀλλὰ τὸ κατ᾽ ἀξίαν καὶ τὸ μέτριον ἐπιμελῶς φυλάττων.
but the according-to worth and the moderate carefully keeping
ἀποπέμψας δὲ τούτους ἤδη τὸ λοιπὸν ἀνεπαύετο τῆς
having-dismissed and these already the rest rested of-the
νυκτός, ὥστε τοὺς κατευναστὰς αἰσθάνεσθαι βαθέως
night so-that the chamberlains to-perceive deeply
αὐτοῦ καθεύδοντος. ὄρθρου δὲ καλέσας ἀπελεύθερον
him sleeping at-dawn and having-called freedman

ᾧ συνδιῴκησε τὰ περὶ τοὺς συγκλητικούς, μαθεῖν
with-whom he-had-managed the-things about the senators to-learn
προσέταξε καὶ πυθόμενος γεγονέναι τοῖς ἀπερχομένοις
he-ordered and having-learned to-have-been for-those going-away
ὧν ἕκαστος ἔχρῃζεν, "ἴθι τοίνυν," ἔφη, "σύ, καὶ ποίει
what each needed go then he-said you and make
τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐμφανῆ σεαυτόν, εἰ μὴ θέλεις κακῶς
to-the soldiers visible yourself if not you-wish badly
ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν ἀποθανεῖν ὡς ἐμοὶ συμπράξας τὸν θάνατον."
by them to-die as to-me having-helped-in the death
ἐξελθόντος δὲ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τὸ ξίφος ὑποστήσας ὀρθὸν
having-gone-out and the man the sword having-set-under upright
ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς χερσί, καὶ περιπεσὼν ἄνωθεν, ὅσον ἅπαξ
with-both the hands and having-fallen-on from-above as-much-as once
στενάξαι μόνον ᾔσθετο τοῦ πόνου καὶ τοῖς ἐκτὸς αἴσθησιν
to-groan only he-perceived of-the pain and to-those outside perception
παρέσχεν. ἀραμένων δὲ τῶν παίδων οἰμωγὴν εὐθὺς ἅπαν τὸ
provided having-raised and the slaves wailing at-once all the
στρατόπεδον καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐπεῖχε κλαυθμός· καὶ μετὰ βοῆς
camp and the city held weeping and with shout
οἱ στρατιῶται εἰσέπεσον ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας καὶ ὠλοφύροντο,
the soldiers rushed to the doors and lamented
περιπαθοῦντες καὶ λοιδοροῦντες ἑαυτοὺς μὴ φυλάξαντας
feeling-deeply and reviling themselves not having-guarded
τὸν αὐτοκράτορα μηδὲ κωλύσαντας ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν.
the emperor nor having-prevented to-die for them
ἀπέστη δὲ οὐδεὶς τῶν κατ᾽ αὐτόν, ἐγγὺς ὄντων τῶν
departed and no-one of-those with him near being the
πολεμίων, ἀλλὰ κοσμήσαντες τὸ σῶμα καὶ πυρὰν
enemies but having-adorned the body and pyre
κατασκευάσαντες ἐξεκόμιζον ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις οἱ φθάσαντες
having-prepared they-carried-out in the arms those having-anticipated

ὑποδῦναι καὶ βαστάσαι τὸ λέχος ἐπιγαυρούμενοι. τῶν
to-go-under and to-carry the bier exulting of-the
δὲ ἄλλων οἱ μὲν τὸ τραῦμα τοῦ νεκροῦ κατεφίλουν
and others the(-ones) indeed the wound of-the corpse kissed
προσπίπτοντες, οἱ δὲ ἥπτοντο τῶν χειρῶν, οἱ
falling-forward the(-others) and touched the hands the(-others)
δὲ προσεκύνουν πόρρωθεν. ἔνιοι δὲ τῇ πυρᾷ λαμπάδας
and did-obeisance from-afar some and to-the pyre torches
ὑφέντες ἑαυτοὺς ἀπέσφαξαν, οὐδὲν ἐκδήλως οὔτε
having-put-under themselves slew nothing manifestly neither
πεπονθότες χρηστὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ τεθνηκότος οὔτε πείσεσθαι
having-received good from the dead nor going-to-suffer
δεινὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ κρατοῦντος δεδιότες.
terrible from the prevailing fearing
ἀλλ᾽ ἔοικε μηδενὶ τῶν πώποτε τυράννων ἢ βασιλέων
but it-seems to-none of-the ever tyrants or kings
δεινὸς οὕτως ἔρως ἐγγενέσθαι καὶ περιμανὴς τοῦ ἄρχειν,
terrible so desire to-have-arisen and frenzied of-the to-rule
ὡς ἐκεῖνοι τοῦ ἄρχεσθαι καὶ ὑπακούειν Ὄθωνος ἠράσθησαν
as they of-the to-be-ruled and to-obey Otho loved
οὕς γε μηδ᾽ ἀποθανόντος ὁ πόθος προὔλιπεν, ἀλλὰ
whom indeed not-even him-having-died the longing left but
παρέμεινεν εἰς ἀνήκεστον ἔχθος Οὐϊτελλίῳ τελευτήσας.
remained into incurable hatred to-Vitellius having-ended
Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα καιρὸν οἰκεῖον ἔχει λεχθῆναι· 18
the-things indeed then other occasion own has to-be-told
κρύψαντες δὲ τῇ γῇ τὰ λείψανα τοῦ Ὄθωνος οὔτε
having-hidden and in-the earth the remains — of-Otho neither
μεγέθει σήματος οὔτ᾽ ἐπιγραφῆς ὄγκῳ τὸν τάφον
by-greatness of-monument nor of-inscription by-pomp the tomb
ἐποίησαν ἐπίφθονον. εἶδον δὲ ἐν Βριξίλλῳ γενόμενος καὶ
they-made envied I-saw and in Brixillum having-been both

μνῆμα μέτριον καὶ τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν οὕτως ἔχουσαν, εἰ
memorial moderate and the inscription thus holding if
μεταφρασθείη· "δηλώσει Μάρκου Ὄθωνος."
it-should-be-translated to-the-memory of-Marcus Otho
ἀπέθανε δὲ Ὄθων ἔτη μὲν ἑπτὰ καὶ τριάκοντα βιώσας,
died and Otho years indeed seven and thirty having-lived
ἄρξας δὲ τρεῖς μῆνας, ἀπολιπὼν δὲ μὴ χείρονας
having-ruled and three months having-left and not worse
μηδ' ἐλάττους τῶν τὸν βίον αὐτοῦ ψεγόντων τοὺς
nor fewer than-those the life his blaming those
ἐπαινοῦντας τὸν θάνατον, βιώσας γὰρ οὐδὲν ἐπιεικέστερον
praising the death having-lived for in-nothing more-decently
Νέρωνος ἀπέθανεν εὐγενέστερον.
than-Nero he-died more-nobly
οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται Πολλίωνος τοῦ ἑτέρου τῶν ἐπάρχων
the and soldiers Pollio the other of-the prefects
ὀμνύειν εὐθὺς εἰς τὸν Οὐϊτέλλιον κελεύσαντος ἐδυσχέραινον·
to-swear at-once to — Vitellius having-bidden were-vexed
καὶ πυθόμενοι τῶν συγκλητικῶν ἐνίους ἔτι παρεῖναι τοὺς μὲν
and having-learned of-the senators some still to-be-present the indeed
ἄλλους ἀφῆκαν, Οὐεργινίῳ δὲ Ῥούφῳ πράγματα παρεῖχον
others they-let-go to-Verginius but Rufus troubles provided
ἅμα τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐλθόντες ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν καὶ κατακαλοῦντες
at-once with-the arms having-come to the house and calling-him-down
αὖθις καὶ κελεύοντες ἄρχειν ἢ πρεσβεύειν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν.
again and bidding to-rule or to-be-envoy for them
ὁ δὲ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἡττωμένων παραλαβεῖν, νενικηκότων
he and the empire of-the-defeated to-take-up of-the-victors
πρότερον μὴ θελήσας, μανικὸν ἡγεῖτο πρεσβεύειν δὲ
before not having-wished mad considered to-be-envoy and
πρὸς τοὺς Γερμανοὺς δεδιώς, πολλὰ βεβιάσθαι παρὰ
to the Germans fearing many-things to-have-been-forced against

γνώμην ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ δοκοῦντας, ἔλαθε δι᾽ ἑτέρων θυρῶν
judgment by him seeming escaped through other doors
ἐκποδὼν ποιήσας ἑαυτόν. ὡς δὲ τοῦτο ἔγνωσαν οἱ
out-of-the-way having-made himself when and this knew the
στρατιῶται, τούς τε ὅρκους ἐδέξαντο καὶ τοῖς περὶ τὸν
soldiers the both oaths they-accepted and to-those about —
Κεκίναν προσέθεντο συγγνώμης τυχόντες.
Caecina attached-themselves pardon having-obtained