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PLUTARCH  
LIFE OF ANTONY

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CAMBRIDGE  
UNIVERSITY PRESS

PUBLISHED BY THE PRESS SYNDICATE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE  
The Pitt Building, Trumpington Street, Cambridge, United Kingdom

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS  
The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 2RU, UK  
40 West 20th Street, New York, NY 10011-4211, USA  
10 Stamford Road, Oakleigh, Melbourne 3166, Australia  
Ruiz de Alarcón 13, 28014 Madrid, Spain

[www.cambridge.org](http://www.cambridge.org)

Information on this title: [www.cambridge.org/9780521240666](http://www.cambridge.org/9780521240666)

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First published 1988  
Reprinted 1994, 1999

*British Library Cataloguing in Publication data*

Plutarch  
Life of Antony.—  
(Cambridge Greek and Latin classics).  
1. Mark Antony  
2. Statesmen – Rome – Biography  
3. Generals – Rome – Biography  
I. Title II. Pelling, C. B. R.  
937'.05'0924 DG260.A6

*Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication data*

Plutarch.  
Life of Antony.  
(Cambridge Greek and Latin classics)  
Text in Greek; introduction and commentary in English.  
Includes indexes.  
1. Antonius, Marcus, 83?-30 B.C.  
2. Statesmen – Rome – Biography.  
3. Generals – Rome – Biography.  
4. Rome – History – Republic, 265-30 B.C.  
I. Pelling, C. B. R. II. Title. III. Series.  
PA4369.A73L5 1988 937'.05'0924[B] 87-3004

ISBN-13 978-0-521-24066-6 hardback  
ISBN-10 0-521-24066-2 hardback

ISBN-13 978-0-521-28418-9 paperback  
ISBN-10 0-521-28418-X paperback

Transferred to digital printing 2005

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## PREFACE

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*Antony* is Plutarch's finest *Life*; it is also one of his longest, and this causes a commentator particular problems. I am grateful to the Cambridge University Press for their indulgence in allowing this commentary to reach unusual length, but of course I have sacrificed material to keep it within reasonable bounds. For instance, there is no *apparatus criticus*: this is perhaps regrettable, but information on manuscript variants is easily available in Ziegler's Teubner edition, and in important cases where the reading is doubtful I have recorded and discussed the variants in the commentary. I have also been very selective in referring to modern books and articles. Again, this is a pity; readers do use commentaries as a guide to relevant modern literature, particularly when a text is the principal source for a period (as with much of the second half of *Antony*). But this is compensated by the recent works of Scardigli and Scuderi, both with very full and helpful bibliographies, and perhaps also by my own forthcoming chapter on 'The Triumviral Period' in the revised *Cambridge Ancient History*. But I am still uneasily aware of referring only briefly, or in criticism, to works from which I have learnt a great deal: this is particularly true of the scant citations from the rich critical literature on Shakespeare. The procedure is curmudgeonly. The only excuse is one of necessity.

Classicists should by now have outgrown the division between 'literary' and 'historical' approaches, but sadly they have not, and some readers will be surprised by what will seem a 'literary' emphasis. I make no apology for concentrating on Plutarch's own technique, even where this leaves less space for discussing the history of the period; and, if his moral insights are more profound and his characterisation more compassionate than is sometimes realised, he deserves our critical admiration. At the same time, in the commentary I have tried not to shy from the simple question, 'Is it *true*?' Plutarch's way of reaching or inferring truth may not be quite the same as ours; there may be times when he sacrifices precise historical truth for other purposes, either to tell a better story or to point a more interesting moral; but that process does have limits, and an important aspect of his moralism is the demonstration that human nature can produce *people like this*. If anyone had persuaded Plutarch that Antony and Cleopatra were not like this

at all, he would not simply have given a Hellenic shrug. He would have cared.

The general editors of this series, Professor Easterling and Professor Kenney, have been characteristically patient, helpful, and encouraging, and I owe many improvements to their vigilance. John Moles and Frederick Brenk have read the entire commentary in typescript, and made many new and stimulating suggestions: these I have shamelessly plagiarised. I am most grateful, too, to Ewen Bowie, Philip Stadter, and Arnd Kerkhecker for reading and improving individual sections; to Brian Bosworth, Owen Watkins, David Stockton, Andrew Lintott, Simon Swain, and Pauline Inness for help with particular points; to Stephen Oakley and Judith Mossman for reading the proofs and suggesting many helpful improvements; to Rachel Woodrow for transforming a disgusting manuscript into an elegant typescript; to the subeditor Susan Moore; to the Craven Committee for financing a visit to Actium; and to several of my college colleagues for specialised advice – George Cawkwell, David Bell, Mark Smith, David Langslow, Nick Rawlins, and especially Helen Cooper, who has been a patient guide in Shakespearian matters. I owe more general debts to Donald Russell and to two scholars who died tragically within weeks of one another, Colin Macleod and Robert Ogilvie, for showing me what criticism of a moral and historical text ought to be.

After 2000 years Antony is still disruptive of peaceful domesticity, and my greatest debt is to Margaret, Charles, and Sally.

Oxford, 1986

#### NOTE TO THE 1994 REPRINT

Reprinting offers the opportunity to correct some misprints and errors in the first impression; I am grateful to friends and generous reviewers, especially Robin Seager in *CR* 39 (1989) 201–2, for help in identifying these. It would not be feasible to bring the bibliography up to date, but many valuable contributions are included in the Plutarch volume (II.33.6, 1992) of *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*. Particularly relevant are F. B. Titchener's bibliographical survey of recent work on the Roman *Lives* (pp. 4128–53, covering *Antony* at 4151–3) and F. E. Brenk's illuminating and detailed study of *Antony* (pp. 4348–4469, 4895–4915).

## ABBREVIATIONS

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'P.' is Plutarch, 'A.' Antony, 'Cl.' Cleopatra, 'C.' Julius Caesar, 'Cic.' Cicero, 'O.' Octavian, and 'Sh.' Shakespeare: except where stated, references to his work are to *Antony and Cleopatra*. References to ancient authors and their standard English commentaries should be self-explanatory: but *Dem.* is Plutarch's *Demosthenes*, *Dtr.* his *Demetrius*. References to Plutarch's *Moralia* are generally in the form '743d', with no introductory 'Mor.'; spurious works in the corpus are referred to as '[Mor.]'. 'App.', with no specification of book-title, refers to Appian's *Bellum Ciuile*, 'Nic. Dam.' to Nicolaus of Damascus' *Vita Caesaris* (FGrH 90 frs. 125-30).

Alexiou	M. Alexiou, <i>The Ritual Lament in Greek Tradition</i> (Cambridge 1974).
ANRW	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt</i> , ed. H. Temporini and W. Haase (Berlin/New York 1972- ).
B.-D.	F. Blass-E. Debrunner, <i>Grammatik der neutestamentlichen Griechisch</i> <sup>15</sup> (Göttingen 1979).
Becher	I. Becher, <i>Das Bild der Kleopatra in der griechischen und lateinischen Literatur</i> (Berlin 1966).
Bosworth	A. B. Bosworth, 'Asinius Pollio and Augustus', <i>Hist.</i> 21 (1972) 441-73.
Bowersock	G. W. Bowersock, <i>Augustus and the Greek World</i> (Oxford 1965).
Braund	D. C. Braund, <i>Rome and the Friendly King</i> (London 1984).
Brenk	F. E. Brenk, <i>In Mist Apparelled</i> (Leiden 1977).
Brunt	P. A. Brunt, <i>Italian Manpower</i> (Oxford 1971).
Buchheim	H. Buchheim, <i>Die Orientpolitik des Triumvirn M. Antonius</i> (Heidelberg 1960).
Carter	J. M. Carter, <i>The Battle of Actium</i> (London 1970).
Casson	L. Casson, <i>Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World</i> (Princeton 1971).
Chambray	See Flacelière.

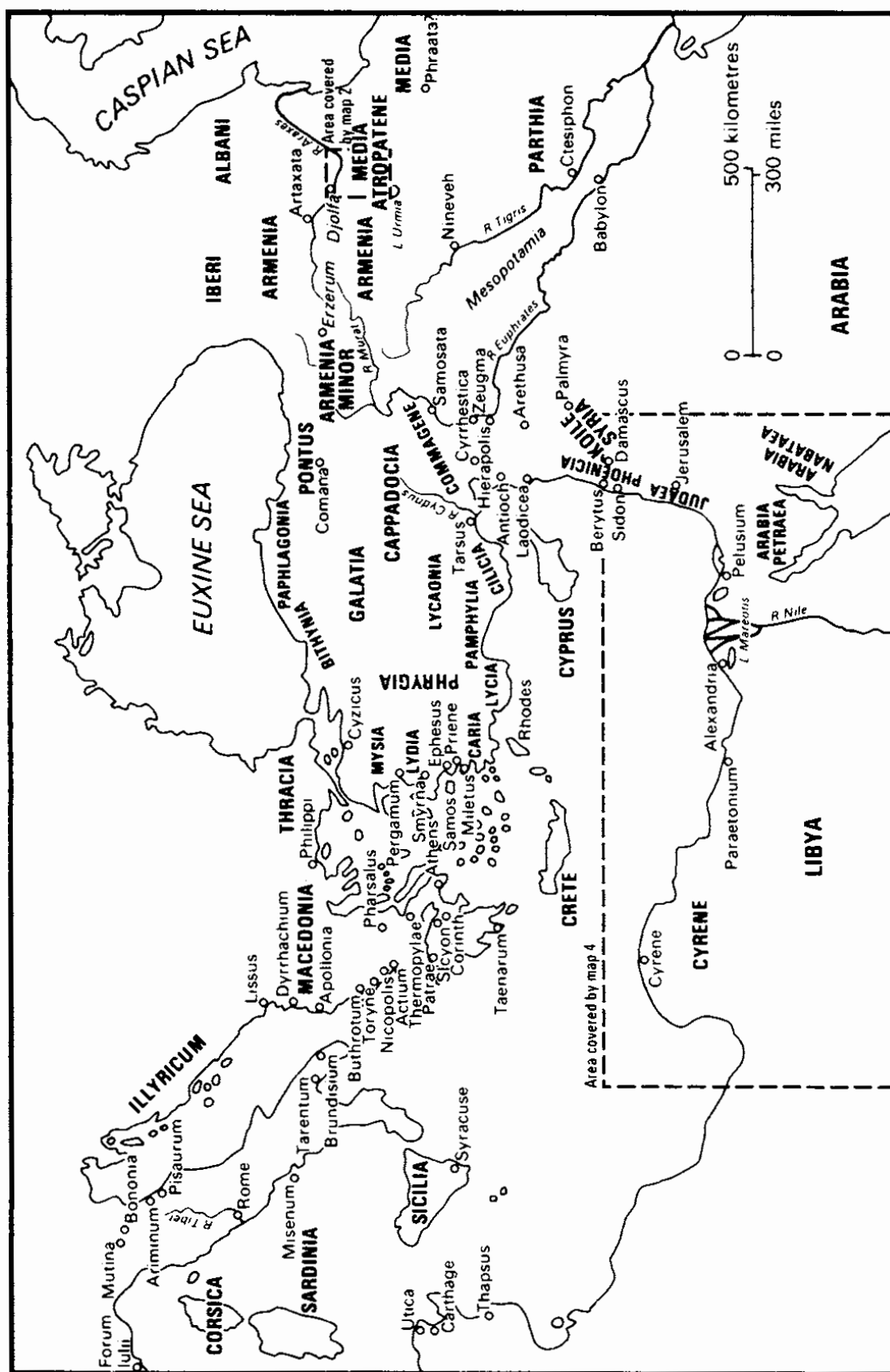
- CIL* *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (Berlin 1863– ).
- Denniston J. D. Denniston, *The Greek Particles*<sup>2</sup> (Oxford 1954).
- EJ V. Ehrenberg and A. H. M. Jones, *Documents illustrating the Reigns of Augustus and Tiberius*<sup>2</sup> (Oxford 1955).
- ESAR* T. Frank and others, *Economic Survey of Ancient Rome* (Baltimore 1933–40).
- Fadinger V. Fadinger, *Die Begründung des Prinzipats* (Berlin 1969).
- FGrH* F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* (Berlin/Leiden 1923– ).
- Flacelière R. Flacelière (text and commentary) and E. Chambry (translation), *Plutarque, Démétrios–Antoine* (Budé edition, Paris 1977).
- Fraser P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* (Oxford 1972).
- Gabba E. Gabba, *Appiano e la storia delle guerre civili* (Florence 1956).
- Gelzer M. Gelzer, *Caesar*, tr. P. Needham (Oxford 1969).
- GG* W. W. Goodwin, *A Greek Grammar* (London 1879).
- Grant M. Grant, *Cleopatra* (St Albans 1974).
- Griffin J. Griffin, 'Propertius and Antony', *JRS* 67 (1977) 17–26, reprinted in *Latin Poets and Roman Life* (London 1985) 32–47.
- Grisé Y. Grisé, *Le Suicide dans la Rome antique* (Paris 1982).
- Hamilton J. R. Hamilton, *Plutarch, Alexander: a Commentary* (Oxford 1969).
- Huzar E. G. Huzar, *Mark Antony: a Biography* (Minneapolis 1978).
- IG* *Inscriptiones Graecae* (Berlin 1873– ).
- IGR* R. Cagnat, *Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes* (Paris 1906–27).
- ILLRP* A. Degrassi, *Inscriptiones Latinae liberae rei publicae* (Florence 1963–5).

- Jones C. P. Jones, *Plutarch and Rome* (Oxford 1971).
- Jones, *Dio* C. P. Jones, *The Roman World of Dio Chrysostom* (Cambridge, Mass./London 1978).
- A. H. M. Jones A. H. M. Jones, *The Herods of Judaea* (Oxford 1938).
- Keppie L. J. F. Keppie, *Colonisation and Veteran Settlement in Italy, 47-14 B.C.* (London 1983).
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- Levick B. M. Levick, *Roman Colonies in Southern Asia Minor* (Oxford 1967).
- Lintott A. W. Lintott, *Violence in Republican Rome* (Oxford 1968).
- MacCallum M. W. MacCallum, *Shakespeare's Roman Plays and their Background*<sup>2</sup> (London/Melbourne 1967).
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- Magie D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor* (Princeton 1950).
- Manuwald B. Manuwald, *Cassius Dio und Augustus* (Wiesbaden 1979).
- Mason H. J. Mason, *Greek Terms for Roman Institutions* (Toronto 1974).
- Millar F. Millar, 'Triumvirate and principate', *JRS* 63 (1973) 50-67.
- MRR* T. R. S. Broughton, *Magistrates of the Roman Republic* (New York 1951-60). Except where stated, references are to Vol. II.
- MT* W. W. Goodwin, *Syntax of the Moods and Tenses of the Greek Verb* (New York 1875).
- Nock A. D. Nock, *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World* (Oxford 1972).
- OGIS* W. Dittenberger, *Orientis Graecae inscriptiones selectae* (Leipzig 1903-5).
- Pelling (1) C. B. R. Pelling, 'Plutarch's method of work in the Roman Lives', *JHS* 99 (1979) 74-96\*.

- Pelling (2) C. B. R. Pelling, 'Plutarch's adaptation of his source-material', *JHS* 100 (1980) 127-40\*.
- Pelling (3) C. B. R. Pelling, 'Plutarch and Roman politics', in *Past Perspectives: Studies in Greek and Roman Historical Writing*, ed. I. Moxon, J. D. Smart and A. J. Woodman (Cambridge 1986)\*.
- Perrin B. Perrin, *Plutarch's Lives* vol. ix (Loeb edition, Cambridge, Mass./London 1920).
- Pickard-Cambridge A. W. Pickard-Cambridge, *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens*<sup>2</sup> (Oxford 1968).
- PIR*<sup>2</sup> E. Groag-A. Stein-L. Petersen, *Prosopographia Imperii Romani*<sup>2</sup> (Berlin/Leipzig 1933- ).
- RDGE* R. K. Sherck, *Roman Documents from the Greek East* (Baltimore 1969).
- R-E* G. Wissowa and others, *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (Stuttgart 1894- ).
- Reynolds J. Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome* (London 1982).
- Rice E. E. Rice, *The Grand Procession of Ptolemy Philadelphus* (Oxford 1983).
- RRC* M. H. Crawford, *Roman Republican Coinage* (Cambridge 1974).
- Russell D. A. Russell, *Plutarch* (London 1973).
- Scardigli B. Scardigli, *Die Römerbiographien Plutarchs* (Munich 1979).
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- Scott-Kilvert I. Scott-Kilvert, *Plutarch: Makers of Rome* (Harmondsworth 1965).
- Scuderi R. Scuderi, *Commento a Plutarcho, 'Vita di Antonio'* (Florence 1984).
- SEG* *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* (Leiden 1923- ).

Sherwin-White	A. N. Sherwin-White, <i>Roman Foreign Policy in the East, 168 B.C. to A.D. 1</i> (London 1984).
Smallwood	E. M. Smallwood, <i>The Jews under Roman Rule: from Pompey to Diocletian</i> (Leiden 1976).
<i>Syll.</i> <sup>3</sup>	W. Dittenberger, <i>Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> <sup>3</sup> (Leipzig 1915–24).
Syme	R. Syme, <i>The Roman Revolution</i> (Oxford 1939).
Tarn	W. W. Tarn, 'The Battle of Actium', <i>JRS</i> 21 (1931) 173–99.
Toynbee	J. M. C. Toynbee, <i>Roman Historical Portraits</i> (London 1978).
Treggiari	S. Treggiari, <i>Roman Freedmen during the Late Republic</i> (Oxford 1969).
Wardman	A. E. Wardman, <i>Plutarch's Lives</i> (London 1974).
Weinstock	S. Weinstock, <i>Divus Julius</i> (Oxford 1971).
Yavetz	Z. Yavetz, <i>Plebs and Princeps</i> (Oxford 1969).
Ziegler	K. Ziegler, <i>Plutarchus von Chaironeia</i> (Stuttgart 1964), reprinted from <i>R-E</i> xxi (1949) 636–92.

\* Now reprinted in *Essays on Plutarch's Lives*, ed. B. Scardigli (Oxford 1994).



Map 1 Italy and the Eastern Mediterranean

# INTRODUCTION

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## I PLUTARCH AND ROME

Actium was one of those battles which mattered. It mattered much more than Pharsalus or Philippi, perhaps as much as Salamis, Plataea, or the victories of Alexander. A. might well have won it. If he had, he would have been remembered very differently: great Antonian poets would have ensured that, with epics perhaps of Hercules and Anton, not Aeneas and Iulus, and lyrical celebration of the great dynastic marriage which at last had linked east and west. More important, the Roman empire would have shifted its centre of gravity eastwards four hundred years earlier than it did, as Rome would in some way have shared power with Alexandria. It would certainly have made a great difference to Greece, geographically between the two: no wonder A.'s story mattered to P., writing in Greece 150 years later.

But the *way* it mattered to him is also important, and itself symptomatic both of the man and his age. P. does not reflect on the battle as a turning-point in world history, but as the catastrophe of a man and a woman. Not wholly a private catastrophe, of course: the sufferings they caused the world, especially Greece, are an important theme.<sup>1</sup> But he does not try very hard to set this against its political background or to trace its consequences. This is not the way we, or Thucydides, or P.'s contemporary Tacitus, would write serious history. And this itself reflects his age and milieu, where a thoughtful, nostalgic, and gifted Greek writer might readily find biography a more natural medium to describe the past than narrative history.

P. was born about A.D. 45.<sup>2</sup> His lifelong home was the small Boeotian town of Chaeronea. His family was well off,<sup>3</sup> and he could travel widely, to Asia and, most relevantly for *Ant.*, to Rome and Italy (several times) and to Alexandria.<sup>4</sup> The family gave him a fine

<sup>1</sup> 21.1-5, 23.2-4, 24, 56.8, 58.2-3, 62.1, 68.6-8 nn.

<sup>2</sup> For P.'s life cf. esp. Jones 1-64, with a rather different emphasis from that presented here; Ziegler 4-60. Birth: Jones 13, Ziegler 4-5.

<sup>3</sup> Jones 8-9.

<sup>4</sup> Jones 14-16, 21-5, Ziegler 17-21.

education, and his philosophical teacher, the Egyptian Ammonius, was doubtless a further source of Egyptian lore and reminiscence.<sup>5</sup> It was also a close family, and his descriptions of his grandfather, father, and brothers are engagingly warm.<sup>6</sup> He was fortunate, too, in his wife Timoxena, and he was clearly devoted to her and their children.<sup>7</sup> Some of the most moving passages in the *Lives*, including *Ant.*, concern family affection and mourning, the impact of a hero's triumph or disaster on those closest to him: that suggests something of P.'s own personality and experience.<sup>8</sup>

Life in Chaeronea inevitably brought public burdens, the round of municipal offices, supervision of public works, embassies to proconsuls and sometimes further afield. His visits to Rome and Italy were clearly of this nature, at least in part.<sup>9</sup> In *Advice on Public Life* he advises a young man from Sardis not to go out of his way to seek municipal office, but to accept it if he is asked.<sup>10</sup> He practised what he preached: he tells of his acquaintances' amusement when they saw him supervising minor building projects.<sup>11</sup> Nothing suggests that this political activity absorbed great amounts of his enthusiasm or energy, and his heart was always in literature and culture. An office he perhaps assumed with more relish was the priesthood at Delphi.<sup>12</sup> His knowledge of Delphic antiquities was immense, as his essays *On the Pythia's Prophecies*, *On the Delphic E*, and *On the Decline of Oracles* make clear. He served the shrine for 'many Pythiads' (792f), at a time of revival under several emperors. But the first love was Chaeronea. One reason for staying there was his desire that the small town should not become even smaller (*Dem.* 2.2). As he grew old, it became known for his 'school', the young disciples who came to admire and to learn:<sup>13</sup> for by now his scholarship had won

<sup>5</sup> Jones 9, 13, 16–18 and *HSCP* 71 (1966) 205–13.

<sup>6</sup> Jones 9–10, Ziegler 6–11, cf. 28.3, 68.7 nn.

<sup>7</sup> This is esp. clear in the *Consolation to his Wife* (608a–612a), written on the death of their daughter. They had at least five children; at least three died young.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. 84.4–7n., Russell 5–6; esp. telling are *C. Mai.* 20.4–7 and *C. Min.* 7.3.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. *Dem.* 2.2, Jones 20–1. 816c–d describes an embassy to a proconsul: cf. Jones 15–16, 115 n. 43.

<sup>10</sup> 813c–d, cf. 811a–c and *Should an Old Man take Part in Public Life?* 793c–d, 794b.

<sup>11</sup> 811b–c.

<sup>12</sup> Jones 26–7, 31–4, Ziegler 23–6.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. esp. Russell 13–15; Ziegler 26–30.

international acclaim. Several imperial honours came his way: the *ornamenta consularia*, so it seems, a mark of academic renown reserved for the most eminent (Quintilian had been similarly honoured); and in 119 the procuratorship of Achaëa, doubtless a purely honorary post in the case of one so old.<sup>14</sup> He died before 125.

He wrote prolifically. Only about half of his works survive, and they fill 27 Loeb Volumes. The range of his miscellaneous essays, which we loosely group together as *Moralia*, is extraordinary: political essays, antiquarianism, philosophy and religion, declamation, criticism of literature, 'Table Talk', and a wide variety of ethical reflections. Dating his works is difficult, but it seems clear that a disproportionate number were written in the last twenty-five years or so, after the death of the emperor Domitian in 96. Perhaps he was then less busy with public affairs,<sup>15</sup> but one doubts it; the activity in Delphi was then probably at its greatest. But he doubtless shared in the sense of renaissance under Domitian's successors, Nerva, Trajan, and Hadrian;<sup>16</sup> and the school at Chaeronea may itself have provided the stimulus of an eager and responsive young audience. The *Parallel Lives* belong to this late, productive phase, and he was probably at work on them through most of these final years. They were not P.'s first biographical enterprise: the *Lives of the Caesars*, from Augustus to Vitellius, are earlier, probably written before 96. Only *Galba* and *Otho* survive, doubtless not the sample P. would himself have chosen (we would think much less well of Suetonius if we had only his *Lives* of those two emperors) – but they have none of the richness of the *Parallel Lives*. 22 of those pairs survive, one of them the double pair *Agis, Cleomenes, and the Gracchi*; we also have two more 'unpaired' Lives, *Aratus* and *Artaxerxes*. We can tell a little of the order in which they were written. The lost pair *Epaminondas and Scipio* seems to have come first, and P. himself tells us that *Dem.-Cic.* was the fifth pair, *Per.-Fab.* the tenth, and *Dion-Brut.* the twelfth; and there are a few further indications, difficult to evaluate and exploit.<sup>17</sup> It seems likely that *Ant.* was one of

<sup>14</sup> Jones 29, 34, 56, and *JRS* 56 (1966) 63–6.

<sup>15</sup> Jones 20, 28, and for the chronology of the works esp. *JRS* 56 (1966) 61–74.

<sup>16</sup> *Nunc demum redit animus*, Tac. *Agr.* 3.1, with Ogilvie–Richmond ad loc.; cf. Tac. *Hist.* 1.1.4, Pliny *Ep.* 1.10.1, 13.1, 3.18.5.

<sup>17</sup> Jones, *JRS* 56 (1966) 66–70, criticised in detail by Pelling (1) 80–1.

six Roman *Lives* which P. researched and prepared as a single project – *Pomp.*, *Caes.*, *Crass.*, *C. Min.*, *Brut.*, and *Ant.*<sup>18</sup> If so, he then presumably wrote the final versions of these *Lives* and published them, with their pairs, in fairly quick succession. As *Brut.* was one of the twelfth pair, the other five should not be far away: in other words, somewhere in or a little after the middle of the sequence of the *Lives*. *Ant.* 34.9(n.) anyway suggests that this *Life* was written before 115, and a date somewhere between 110 and 115 seems likely. It may well belong to the period when Trajan was planning a great Parthian War (cf. 34.9n.), and this conceivably helps to explain why *Ant.*, like *Crass.*, treats Parthia on so lavish a scale (37–52).<sup>19</sup> But it is probably wrong to make much of this. P. had other good reasons to allow Parthia a large canvas (37–52n.), and such direct relevance to contemporary themes is not in his manner (4.2n.).

The *Parallel Lives*, like the *Table Talk* and the *On Progress in Virtue*, are dedicated to Q. Sosius Senecio, twice consul (99 and 107) and perhaps himself of eastern origin.<sup>20</sup> He is one of several prominent Romans of P.'s acquaintance – for instance, L. Mestrius Florus, consul under Vespasian, in whose company P. visited the battlefield of Bedriacum (*Otho* 14.1), and to whom he apparently owed the Roman citizenship; C. Minicius Fundanus, the consul of 107; Arulenus Rusticus, consul in 92 and executed by Domitian a year or so later; and the brothers T. Avidius Quietus and C. Avidius Nigrinus, probably both proconsuls of Achaëa.<sup>21</sup> The Greek and Roman worlds were now more politically unified than they had ever been, at least for the upper classes. Increasingly, well-born young men from Greece and Asia Minor were entering the imperial service and even the Roman senate; two of the first Greek senators were friends of P., C. Iulius Eurycles Herculanus of Sparta and King Philopappus of Commagene.<sup>22</sup> By 130 Arrian from Bithynia was to reach the suffect consulship, and in 143 the Athenian

<sup>18</sup> Pelling (1) 75–83.

<sup>19</sup> Scuderi on 34.9, 37.1; cf. 34.9n.

<sup>20</sup> Jones 54–7 and *JRS* 60 (1970) 98–104; but cf. H. Halfmann, *Die Senatoren aus dem östlichen Teil des Imperium Romanum bis zum Ende des 2. Jh. n. Chr.* (Göttingen 1979) 211.

<sup>21</sup> Ziegler 51–60 and esp. Jones 22–3, 48–64, though he perhaps exaggerates P.'s closeness to these 'friends'; cf. Russell 10–11.

<sup>22</sup> Jones 41, 46, 59, cf. 67.2n.; Jones 59; cf. Halfmann (n. 20) 125–7, 131–3, and esp. 71–81 on the increase of new eastern senators under Trajan.

Herodes Atticus would be *consul ordinarius*.<sup>23</sup> Pliny's letters depict a society in which the presence of Greek philosophers in one's entourage – at least, if their social status was sufficiently high – was a mark of culture and grace: one of them might even marry the daughter of a Roman philosopher and knight, Musonius Rufus.<sup>24</sup> Dio of Prusa could refer to Nerva as an 'old friend', and lecture Trajan on kingship; he had also probably been close to the Flavians.<sup>25</sup> The *Table Talk* shows a society where dinner guests may be P.'s family or well-born Greeks – or may be Roman grandees like Sosius Senecio or Mestrius Florus. It is tempting to think of P. as actively involved in a unified Greco-Roman world, a Greek writing about Rome from the inside in a way which would have been impossible 150 years before.

There is something in this: of course, P.'s Roman connexions must have influenced his perspective; certainly, he is not hostile to Rome. Yet it is easy to overstate the unity of the Greek and Roman worlds. Politically, even socially, the links were strong: the cultural position is harder to define. *Some* Romans were certainly at home with Greek culture – men like the Epicurean Maximus whom Trajan tactfully chose to regulate the Greek cities;<sup>26</sup> or Vestricius Spurinna and Arrius Antoninus, who composed Greek verses;<sup>27</sup> or P.'s friends Sosius Senecio and Mestrius Florus. In a typical scene of the *Table Talk* Sosius has just been reading Theophrastus, and can quote Pindar and Sophocles (622c–623f); elsewhere Mestrius is shown as an expert on Aristotle (650a–e, 734c–f), and he too is ready with literary quotations (e.g. 680d, 699a). Philhellenism had already been fashionable under Titus and Domitian, and men like Sosius and Minicius Fundanus did well under Trajan; the tendency was to reach its height under Hadrian.<sup>28</sup> Yet this fashion could provoke resentment as well as imitation, and what Hellenism there was could easily be shallow. A story was told of Trajan's remark to Dio of Prusa: 'What you are saying I do not know, but I love you as myself.'<sup>29</sup> It is suggestive that the best Roman

<sup>23</sup> M. Aurelius 1.9.

<sup>24</sup> Pliny *Ep.* 1.10 (Euphrates), 3.11 (Artemidorus, son-in-law of Musonius Rufus); cf. E.L. Bowie, *JCS* 27 (1982) 42–3 for earlier examples.

<sup>25</sup> Dio Prus. 1–4 and 45.2; Jones, *Dio* 15.

<sup>26</sup> Pliny *Ep.* 8.24, Arr. *Diss. Epic.* 3.7, cf. F. Millar, *JRS* 55 (1965) 142, 145.

<sup>27</sup> Pliny *Ep.* 3.1, 4.3, cf. A. Wallace-Hadrill, *Suetonius* (London 1983) 26–9.

<sup>28</sup> R. Syme, *Tacitus* (Oxford 1958) 504–11.

<sup>29</sup> Phil. *V.S.* 1.7, Jones, *Dio* 11, 116; doubted by Bowie (n. 24) 44 n. 49.

literature of the age is *more* distinctively Roman than it had been a century before, and Greek influence is usually slight. Tacitus is interested in the Greeks as a people, but noticeably hostile;<sup>30</sup> and, unlike the less perceptive Sallust, he shows no sign of knowing Thucydides – despite, arguably, an intellectual affinity. He prefers to take Sallust himself as his principal historical model. Horace's knowledge of Greek ethics was extensive; Juvenal's was not, and he too derided vulnerable Greek targets. The fashionable Pliny was not hostile to Greeks, and he would applaud the philosophers (*Ep.* 1.10) or the orator Isaeus (*Ep.* 2.3): but his letters really show much less familiarity with Hellenism than Cicero's or Seneca's. Even a generation earlier Statius, Quintilian, and the elder Pliny showed their Greek learning; a generation later, Fronto and Gellius would do the same; but now, Suetonius was the only major Roman author who could count as a Hellenist.

P. was interested in Roman antiquity, but he knew Latin literature no better than contemporary Roman authors knew Greek. He had not perfected his Latin in his youth, though (he tells us) it improved while he was at work on the *Lives*, helped because he was already familiar with the events his Latin sources described (*Dem.* 2.2–4). That is a common experience for many scholars reading unfamiliar languages, and P. clearly *did* read Latin historical sources. But it does not appear that he read Latin for pleasure. For instance, he does not seem to know the great Latin poets. In *Ant.* he does not exploit Virgil, Horace, or Propertius to illuminate the triumviral period, whereas his Greek *Lives* are constantly enriched by literary allusions and stray information from his general reading.<sup>31</sup> In the *Lives* one can trace the process whereby in old age he deepened his familiarity with the great events of Roman history: *Cic.*, early in the series, is conspicuously less well informed about the period than the later group of *Lives*, *Caes.*, *Pomp.*, *Ant.*, and the rest.<sup>32</sup> P. had clearly not immersed himself in Roman culture from his youth.

His spiritual home remained Greece, and he shows the fierce attachment to the classical past which is typical of his age.<sup>33</sup> Such

<sup>30</sup> Syme, *Tacitus* (n. 28) 511–19.

<sup>31</sup> Pelling (1) 74–5, Ziegler 289–90.

<sup>32</sup> Pelling (1) 75–80.

<sup>33</sup> E.L. Bowie, *Past and Present* 46 (1970) 3–41.

nostalgia does not imply hostility to Rome: many Greek writers, then and during the next hundred years, combined an attachment to Greece's past with acquiescence in Roman rule – even if the acquiescence was sometimes tinged with wistfulness.<sup>34</sup> But there is often a *detachment* in the way P. approaches Rome. He appreciated the blessings of peace which Rome had brought the world, especially Greece.<sup>35</sup> He could still be cool about the distinctive Roman values which had brought this peace: their incessant expansion, their glorification of war.<sup>36</sup> “Did not Rome make her great advances through warfare?” That is a question requiring a lengthy answer for men who define “advance” in terms of wealth, luxury, and empire rather than safety, restraint, and an honest independence’ (*Numa* 26(4).12–13). And the detachment is particularly clear when anything cultural is in point. Roman figures are sometimes criticised for their lack of Hellenic education: this explains the immoderate behaviour of Coriolanus and Marius (*Cor.* 1, *Mar.* 2, cf. 2.4–8n., *Numa* 26(4).11). He has no doubt about the Roman lack of taste. Roman craftsmen spoilt the proportions of some columns which were beautiful when awaiting transport at Athens (*Popl.* 15.4); all the buildings of the Roman Republic could not rival those of Pericles (*Fab.* 30(3).7).<sup>37</sup> The elder Cato was wrong to prophesy doom if Rome ever imbibed Greek culture, ‘for the time in which Rome reached its greatest success was the time when it welcomed Greek studies and education’ (*C. Mai.* 23.3). One notices the past tenses.

His attitude to political questions of his own day is similarly detached. His advice to young Greeks who were thinking of a Roman public career is discouraging: excessive ambition can destroy one's peace of mind, and they should be content to stay in Bithynia or Galatia (*On Quiet of Mind* 470c–d). The point recurs in *Advice on Public Life* (814d–e). In that essay the political life P. envisages is *municipal* life in the cities of Greece; the Romans emerge as the people who impose

<sup>34</sup> G.W. Bowersock, *Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire* (Oxford 1969) esp. 15–16; Bowie (n. 33), esp. 40–1.

<sup>35</sup> This is particularly clear from *On the Fortune of the Romans*, esp. 317c; cf. 408b, 413f, 469e, 784f, 824c; J. Palm, *Rom, Römertum und Imperium in der griechischen Literatur der Kaiserzeit* (Lund 1959) esp. 31–2.

<sup>36</sup> Pelling (3) 185–6, cf. Jones 107.

<sup>37</sup> For P.'s opinion of Roman culture cf. R. Flacelière, *LAC* 32 (1963) 28–47.

the constraints on this form of public life, the authorities whose ultimate power the politician should always recall, and whose friendship he should exploit for the good of his state (esp. 813d–814a, 824d–e, cf. 80.1n.); the cities should behave with order and restraint, and thus avoid the indignity of constant Roman intervention (814e–815c). He is himself proud of his loyalty to Chaeronea (*Dem.* 2.2): indeed, after his visits to Rome and Italy in his prime, there is no indication that he returned there when writing the *Parallel Lives*. He retained his Roman friends, but in important ways he still approached Roman history, politics, and culture as a conscious outsider.

Despite the dedication to Senecio, he clearly had in mind a primarily Greek audience for the *Lives*, regularly explaining Roman institutions, practices, and words:<sup>38</sup> the sort of readers, in fact, whom he elsewhere encouraged to concentrate their political ambitions on their own cities rather than Rome. P. had thought hard about how history should be written, criticising Herodotus on clearly elaborated historical principles, and writing a work on ‘how to discover historical truth’.<sup>39</sup> But he preferred to write biography: it suited that audience better, and it suited him. In the ancient world those who wrote narrative history usually wrote from political experience, and usually claimed to have a practical purpose. They envisaged an audience who might themselves be involved in similar politics, and they wanted to provide historical analysis which would be useful. Perhaps they could help their readers to *understand* the play of human nature, like Thucydides; more usually, they aspired to help them avoid the past’s mistakes, like Polybius. Such justifications presuppose that readers may have important political roles to play – more important than P. would assume. In P.’s own day, the consular Tacitus found it natural to justify his writing in such terms: just as Republican politicians needed to understand the nature of senate and people, so he would help his audience to understand the essence of the principate (*Ann.* 4.33): and he genuinely tried to isolate recurrent features of the imperial system and explain their origin. A generation later the Syrian Lucian would assume that history should

<sup>38</sup> Cf. 4.7, 5.2, 8.5, 12.2, 32.4, 59.8 nn., and the index to the Teubner *Lives* (Leipzig 1980) 200–3; Wardman 37–48.

<sup>39</sup> *On the Malice of Herodotus*, esp. 855a–856d for the principles; ‘How we are to judge historical truth’, Lamprias cat. no. 124.

be written as Thucydides had written it,<sup>40</sup> and during the next century the Greek world would produce several thoughtful historians – Appian, Arrian, Cassius Dio. All were more active in Roman public life than P., all turned more naturally to historiography; and Appian and Dio tended to draw a different type of lesson from Roman history. P.'s moral points centre on individual virtue and vice, wisdom and moderation, lessons which would be useful in any sort of public or private life.<sup>41</sup> He is much less interested than Tacitus, Appian, or Dio in analysing the way politics in a great nation really work. That sort of point is more suited to narrative history than to biography, and he leaves it for a different type of writer and audience.<sup>42</sup>

The relationship of Greece and Rome, especially Greek and Roman culture, had shifted during P.'s own lifetime. The first emperor he would really remember was Nero, the emperor who could say that 'only the Greeks appreciate me', and who was sometimes recalled with affection in Greece.<sup>43</sup> His philhellenism was real: at Corinth in 67 he proclaimed the freedom of Greece, and meant it. P. may have been there when the proclamation was made.<sup>44</sup> Nero's culture was genuine too. Monstrous though his outrages were, his reign also saw a remarkable aesthetic renaissance: Persius, Seneca, in his way Lucan, and especially Petronius were strikingly original writers, and all except Lucan were heavily influenced by Greek thought.<sup>45</sup> Nero provided another reason why P. might find A.'s life particularly thought-provoking. A., like Nero, was a philhellène: his love of Athens in particular was intense.<sup>46</sup> Yet A., like Nero, was an easy prey to corrupt

<sup>40</sup> Lucian, *How to write history*, esp. 34–42.

<sup>41</sup> Cf esp. 814a–c, where he discusses the moral lessons which history can usefully teach contemporary politicians.

<sup>42</sup> For the popularity of various forms of historical literature other than political narrative, cf. Bowie (n. 33), esp. 16–17 on other biographies; 457d ff.

<sup>43</sup> For the sequence of 'false Neros' cf. P.A. Gallivan, *Hist.* 22 (1973) 364–5; M.T. Griffin, *Nero: the End of a Dynasty* (London 1984) 214–15; Dio Prus. 21.10, 'even now all long for him to be alive, and most think he is alive...' For the philhellenism, Griffin 208–20; but we should not overstate his popularity in Greece, cf. P.A. Brunt, *Lat.* 18 (1959) 558 n. 3.

<sup>44</sup> Jones 16–17.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. Griffin (n. 43) 143–63, though she perhaps underestimates the importance of Greek models.

<sup>46</sup> 23.2–4, 33.7, 72.1 nn.

flatterers:<sup>47</sup> and his rule, like Nero's, was catastrophic – private immorality and luxury, neglect of public affairs, the world shaking as the great man played. And the land which suffered worst from A. was Greece itself.<sup>48</sup> Nero was A.'s descendant, as the last sentence of the *Life* suggestively points out: heredity might seem poignantly clear.<sup>49</sup>

P. could hardly avoid ambivalence when he wrote of Nero.<sup>50</sup> He stressed the outrages: they endangered the empire, and his removal was a blessed deliverance (87.9). Yet the description of the proclamation of freedom is charged with emotion (*Flam.* 12). At the end of *God's Slowness to Punish* P. is describing the sufferings of the wicked in Hell, and Nero is among them: he has already been pierced by incandescent rivets, and is about to be gnawed by a viper crawling from his mother's womb:

'But at this moment a great light suddenly shone forth, and a voice spoke from out of the light, bidding them change him into a gentler species, fashioning a singing creature of marsh and pool; for he paid the penalty for his crimes, and moreover the gods owed him a favour, because he had liberated Greece, the best and most god-favoured nation among his subjects.' (567e, trans. Russell)

If P. shows something of the same ambivalence when he writes of A., it will be no surprise.

## 2 THE *LIFE OF ANTONY*

P.'s theory of biographical writing is clear and consistent. His readers should not necessarily expect a full narrative of well-known historical events,

'for it is not histories we are writing, but Lives. Nor is it always the most famous actions which reveal a man's good or bad

<sup>47</sup> 24.9–12n., cf. 56e, 60d.

<sup>48</sup> 23.2–4, 62.1, 68.6–8 nn.

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<sup>50</sup> For P.'s view of Nero cf. esp. F.E. Brenk, *Atti delle Giornate Filologiche Genovesi* (1986). Philostratus and Pausanias were similarly ambivalent: Griffin (n. 43) 211.

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qualities: a clearer insight into a man's character is often given by a small matter, a word or a jest, than by engagements where thousands die, or by the greatest of pitched battles, or by the sieges of cities.' (*Alex.* 1.1-2)

And he therefore feels no need to give a continuous history of events, which readers can find elsewhere (*Galba* 2.5, *Fab.* 16.6). His interest is *character*. In *Nic.* 1 he explains that he will not try to rival Thucydides: he has merely tried to gather some less familiar material, 'not collecting the sort of historical information which is useless, but conveying that which helps one to understand a man's nature and character'.<sup>51</sup> The reason for this interest in character is a moral one, for he hopes that his audience may be led by examples of virtue to be better men themselves (*Per.* 1-2, *Aem.* 1). He has tried to improve himself by his biographical studies, 'using history like a mirror, and somehow improving and moulding my own life in imitation of their virtues' (*Aem.* 1.1). As he explains in the introduction to *Dtr.-Ant.* (*Dtr.* 1), negative moral examples can also be helpful:

'The most consummate arts, self-control, justice, and wisdom, involve judgements not only of what is good, just, and useful, but also of what is harmful, disgraceful, and wrong . . . Perhaps, then, it is no bad thing to include in our examples of Lives one or two pairs of those who have behaved recklessly or have become conspicuous for evil in positions of power or in great affairs. Of course, this is not to vary my writing for reasons of pleasure, or to divert my readers; it is more in the manner of Ismenias the Theban, who would show his pupils both good and bad flute-players, and say "*That is how you should play*", and "*That is how you should not*" . . . So it seems to me that we will be more enthusiastic in our admiration and imitation of good lives if we examine bad and blameworthy lives as well. This book will tell of Demetrius Poliorcetes and the commander A., men who showed with particular clarity the truth of Plato's remark that great natures produce great vices as well as virtues.' (*Dtr.* 1.4-7.)

Thus biography will often concentrate on personal details, abbrevi-

<sup>51</sup> Cf. Wardman 154-7 and *CQ* 21 (1971) 257-61. For the interest in character cf. esp. *Pomp.* 8.6-7, *Dem.* 11.7, and *C. Min.* 37.10.

ating its historical narrative: its concern will be character, and its ultimate purpose will be protreptic and moral.

Some *Lives* fit this programme better than others – *C. Min.*, for instance, is indeed personal, moralistic, and not very historical, whereas *Caes.* shows a surprising interest in political analysis.<sup>52</sup> P.'s biography admits works of very different patterns. But in many ways *Ant.* seems close to P.'s programme. There is certainly little interest in the history, and the struggle of A. and O. is not related to any wider background: many historical points are presented so allusively that they bewilder an uninformed reader.<sup>53</sup> It is a very personal *Life*, with the narrative often stopping for characterising surveys – not just of A., but also of Cl., Fulvia, Octavia, even the incidental Timon of Athens.<sup>54</sup> A fund of anecdotes illustrates A.'s character, 'bombastic and blustering, full of empty rodomontade and inconsistent pretension' (2.8). His luxurious private life is a dominant motif, and 'small matters' figure as prominently as the programme suggests they will.<sup>55</sup> The *Life* is also at times extremely direct in its moral commentary, as the introduction to *Dtr.-Ant.* leads us to expect. A.'s statesmanship earns warm praise (14.4n.), and so does his resilience in adversity (17.3–6n.); but his excesses (esp. 9.5–9), his autocratic behaviour (6.6–7, 15.4–5, 24.5–10, 21.1–5), and particularly the proscriptions (19–21.1) are fiercely stigmatised. The final *Comparison* is heavy with 'crude and prudish' moralism;<sup>56</sup> and a distinguished critic characterises the whole *Life* as 'basically . . . a simple cautionary tale'.<sup>57</sup>

Yet the later parts of the *Life*, at least, are not so simple. Most of these instances have been drawn from the first third, before the entrance of Cl. (25.1). Cl. herself is introduced as A.'s 'final evil' – but the narrative is seized by a new vigour, and P.'s moralism becomes rather different. It is characteristic of P., as of many ancient authors, to begin by stating points in a generalised and unsubtle way, then

<sup>52</sup> Pelling (2) 135–9. Some of the argument of that article is repeated here.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. esp. 14–22, 25.2, 35.7, 53–5, 55, 62.1 nn.

<sup>54</sup> 4, 10.5–10, 24.9–12, 27.3–5, 31.2–4, 43.3–6, 54.3–4, 70 nn.

<sup>55</sup> E.g. dress and demeanour, 4.1–5; detail of excesses, 9.5–9; comment on Megarian council-chamber, 23.3; detail of the feasts, 28; other Alexandrian anecdotes, 29; dice and fighting cocks, 33.

<sup>56</sup> Russell 142; cf. below, p. 19.

<sup>57</sup> Russell 135.

gradually to refine them as he proceeds. In *Alc.*, for instance, P. begins by talking generally of 'Alcibiades' desire for honour and to be first in the state' (2.1). That is hardly distinctive, indeed it is 'one of the commonest passions in P.'s repertoire'.<sup>58</sup> But as the *Life* proceeds he qualifies and complements this picture, and Alcibiades' flair emerges in a more individual way: the later comparison with a chameleon (23) strikes a deeper note. Similarly, *Ant.* begins by characterising A. strongly but unsubtly: the submissiveness, the excesses, the dashing leadership, the bluff soldierliness, the generosity to both friends and enemies (esp. 1-4, 9.5-9 nn.). Good qualities and bad are both painted in the firmest lines: both are indeed exaggerated to sharpen the contrast, a crude *chiaroscuro* technique.<sup>59</sup> Then P. gradually deepens the portrait, as we see how the same qualities both build and destroy A.'s greatness. His simplicity and warmth are important elements in his rapport with ordinary soldiers, but they leave him vulnerable to Cl.'s flattery (21.1-5, 24.9-12n.); his excesses win the army's affection, but are fatal when he comes to share them with Cl. (4n.). His generosity is endearing, but not when he bestows Rome's dominions on a foreign queen (1, 36.3-4, 54.4-9 nn.). His philhellenism is attractive, especially to P., but his lower eastern tastes will expose him to the disastrous charge of hating Rome (23.2-5, 54.5-9 nn.).

The psychological interest too grows deeper. Just before Cl.'s entrance, P. explains A.'s excesses more thoughtfully than before. A. had such *simplicity*, he was so vulnerable to flatterers, he was ignorant of many of the outrages committed in his name and horrified if he discovered them – not at all the impression given earlier (24.9-12n.). Cl. will be the most artful flatterer of them all. But even after he has met her he at first shakes off his affections lightly, rather like a hangover (30.4n.): it is after the introduction of Octavia (whom P. greatly elaborates, 31.2n.) that A.'s mental torment gradually becomes clear. He finally chooses Cl., with a heavy heart (53.5-9n.). P. is careful not to trivialise the choice. Like Appian 5.76, he might have represented A. as torn between his love for two women, an agonising but everyday dilemma (33.6-34.1n.). But he does not. Octavia is remarkable, but it does not appear likely that A. may love her too.

<sup>58</sup> Russell, *PCPS* 12 (1966) 38.

<sup>59</sup> 14-22, 15.5, 19.2, 22.6-8 nn.; cf. also 50.6-7n.

When he is torn, it is between Cl. and the world of Roman values and duty which Octavia represents (33.6–34.1n.).

A.'s excesses have always compromised his political career (6.7, 9–13, 14–22 nn.); in Parthia, for the first time, they hinder him as a commander. He prepares the campaign magnificently (37.3–6, cf. 37–52n.), but begins it in the wrong season, eager to spend the winter with Cl. (37.5–38.1n.). But his best qualities have always been clear in adversity (17.3–6n.), and in Cl.'s absence he can still assert himself: here the final emphasis rests on the brilliance which extricates the army (37–52, 43.3–6 nn.) – but also on the infatuation which then immediately returns (51). Actium in many ways re-enacts Parthia (37–52, 56–69 nn.). Again A. begins well (58.1–3, 65–6 nn.), but again his infatuation is disastrous: he helplessly yields to Cl.'s pressure to fight at sea (62, 63, 64.2–4n.), and when she flees he can only follow. This time, defeat is total. After the catastrophe the psychological interest is again strong, and as they sail away he sits inconsolable at the prow, head in hands (67.1). A.'s solitariness has been prepared during the description of the campaign (56–69n.): one can understand why he now turns to the life of Timon (69.6–71.2 nn.). As the hopelessness becomes apparent he adopts a final magnificent bravado instead (71). Intermittently we sense and can understand a lack of balance (71–87n.), but at the end he dies nobly and *like a Roman* (77.7, cf. 76.5–11, 84.6 nn.): finally, he asserts those values which in his life he has regretfully abandoned.

With so much psychological involvement it would be hard to maintain the initial strident moralism, and P.'s technique and moral interest become rather different. There are no more intrusive moral remarks, no strong denunciations of the actions he describes. A. and Cl. vie with each other in their extravagance (26–8); P. mildly rebukes A. for time-wasting (28.1, cf. 30.1). He carefully develops the contrast of Alexandria and Rome, each with their distinctive styles (esp. 28–9nn., p. 39 below): Alexandria may be trivial and playful, but it is described with a warmth denied to the seriousness of Rome. Similarly, the two lovers are more immediately engaging than the scheming O. (e.g. 16.5–8, 53.1, 71–87 nn.), who emerges from the propaganda exchanges as more dislikable than his foes (55, 58.4–59.1, 78.3 nn.). At Actium Cl. and A. 'betray' the devoted army (68.5, cf. 4n., 4.4n.): P. is more concerned to understand A.'s agony than to denounce him (67n., ctr.

his remarks on Pompey at Pharsalus, *Pomp.* 67.7-10). By the end of the narrative, the interests of writer and audience are far from crude denunciation. It is indeed a surprise, when we come to the *Comparison*, to discover that P. disapproved of the manner of A.'s death (93(6).4).<sup>60</sup> In the narrative there is no debate on how he *should* confront his fate (75.4-5n.); but he is given fine dying words, reflecting on his life in a way which we know P. must have applauded (77.7n.).

Praise and blame are not very relevant to this narrative. Just as P.'s characterisation has deepened, so has the nature of his moralism. By now he is less concerned with *protreptic* moralism – the sort he illustrated at *Dtr.* 1 from Ismenias the flute-player, 'This is the way you should play' and 'This is the way you should not' – than with *descriptive* moralism, pointing an ethical truth about human nature. That too he suggested in the introduction to the pair: Demetrius and A. illustrate Plato's remark that great natures produce great vices as well as virtues.<sup>61</sup> But that formulation is hardly profound, and the moral insight again deepens as the *Life* progresses. We are gradually shown a noble and brilliant nature, a man torn by psychological struggle and cruelly undone by his flaws: by his weakness of will, by his susceptibility, by his sad and conscious submission to his own lowest traits. This awareness of the fragility of a great man, and of his vulnerability to the exploitation of his own warmest qualities, suggests something about humanity. If A. is vulnerable in this way, so might we all be; such infatuation might be the lot of anyone (26n.). Such descriptive moralism is indeed typical of P. In *Pomp.*, for instance, he similarly presents a fragile great man, whose military qualities leave him open to exploitation by his political allies and opponents; in *Cim.* he comments that he includes some of his subject's bad qualities as well as the good, 'as if in shame at human nature, if it produces no character who is purely good or of unqualified virtue' (2.5); the point recurs at *Ag.-Cl.* 37(16).8. In each case we notice the desire to point a truth of human nature as well as to provide moral examples for imitation: we are some way from the ethical colouring of a *Life* like *C. Min.* or indeed the early chapters of *Ant.* itself, with their crude and explicit praise and censure. It is not that censure is necessarily wrong or misplaced; but in

<sup>60</sup> Below, pp. 19-20.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. *Cor.* 1.3, *Them.* 2.7, *Nic.* 9.1 – a favourite reflection.

the later stages of *Ant.* we may take that for granted, and move on to a more sympathetic, and to us more profound, insight into human frailty.

A further point is important. A. disappears from the narrative at 78.1, and the closing chapters are Cl.'s. P. often continues a *Life's* narrative beyond its subject's death (87n.), but never so elaborately as this: he could have dismissed her death much more quickly. But by now this is not really a biography at all. We have two heroes whose fates have become one.<sup>62</sup> And Cl. too is treated with considerable sympathy and involvement: remarkably, for one who had been so reviled in the tradition.<sup>63</sup> Other authors stress her beauty and her wantonness: P. does not make A. susceptible to anything so obvious, and instead depicts her charm and personality with peculiar finesse (27.3-5n., cf. 25.6, 26.6-27.2, 57.4, 83.3 nn.). She too deepens as the *Life* progresses. At first she is a superb but stereotyped flatterer (24.9-12, 27.2, 29.1, 29.7 nn.), and her psychology too remains unexplored - there is no interest, for instance, in her reactions to A.'s marriage with Octavia (36.1n.). She then *pretends* to be captivated, no more (53.5n.). But by the end of the *Life* her love is manifestly real, and she is accorded much more sympathy, loyal to A. (71-87n.), desperately concerned for her children (72.1, 78.6, 82.4-5), magnificent in her death. Perhaps there is some unease here, for P. does not clearly trace the process whereby her pretended love became genuine. Some scholars therefore assume that the sympathy of the final chapters is owed to a different source,<sup>64</sup> but P. need not be so much at his sources' mercy: even earlier he saw her point of view with a striking earnestness (53.9-10n.); and, once he had decided to treat her death so lavishly, it is hard to see how a successful portrayal could fail to be compassionate.<sup>65</sup> Indeed, such sympathy is partly consequent on the move into her different world: she can be both faithless in battle *and* magnificent in

<sup>62</sup> Cf. *Brut.*, where he freely divides his attention between Brutus and Cassius: Wardman 174.

<sup>63</sup> Becher, esp. 69-80 (on P.) and 12-69 (on his predecessors): 27.2, 55, 58.4-59.1, 60.1, 83 nn.

<sup>64</sup> E.g. Kromayer 4-6, Tarn 196; cf. Scardigli 149-50, Scuderi 19. P. may indeed have several new sources for this section (below, pp. 28-9), but that does not explain the sympathy.

<sup>65</sup> Dio's account is less sympathetic (72.1, 73.2-4, 74.2-3, 76.1-3, 76.4, 78.1, 78.6, 83 nn.), and is much poorer.

love. But P.'s imaginative sensibility is still startling, especially in her remarkable lament at A.'s tomb (84.4-7). When O. granted permission for the two lovers to lie together in death he perhaps intended it to discredit their shamelessness (71-87, 86.7 nn.). That is not how it appears in P., and the *Liebestod* is the romantic culmination of a love which he does not applaud, but has never trivialised.

Comparison with Virgil's *Aeneid* is interesting. Virgil's Dido owes much to the historical Cl.:<sup>66</sup> this is one of several ways in which Aeneas' experiences anticipate the great events and dangers of Rome's history. It is thus not surprising that, for instance, P.'s account of the banquets in Cilicia is close to the feasting at Carthage at the end of *Aen.* 1 (26.6-7n.), or that Cl.'s 'marriage' to A. is as uncertain as Dido's to Aeneas (36.5n.): in those cases P.'s narrative truthfully reflects the historical facts to which Virgil is delicately alluding. It is more striking that the approach and emphases of the two authors should be so similar. P., like Virgil, develops elements of *similarity* in his two characters – in P.'s case, their grandeur, their braggadocio, and their tastes (24.4-7, 26 nn.); in Virgil's, their experiences and duties (26.6-7n.). P., like Virgil, brings out how susceptible the general would be to the peculiar qualities of the queen (23-36n.). Like Virgil he brings out the pressures of public life and reputation (59.1-2n.); like Virgil he stresses the hero's dilemma as he strives to tear himself back to his Roman duties; and like Virgil he sees the queen's viewpoint with unusual insight (53.9-10n.). This cannot be a question of *influence*, for P. shows no signs of knowing Virgil's poetry.<sup>67</sup> It must simply be the way in which the two writers independently chose to recount their tales, both developing the same themes and sympathies. We are accustomed to recognising Virgil's humanity, the compassion which he affords to both Aeneas and Dido. If Aeneas falters in Carthage, it is because he is human, and human sensibility is as important to Rome's greatness as heroism; and Dido dies a pathetic victim to Rome's destiny. Such compassion is itself remarkable, given the hints of Cl.: the war was still so recent when Virgil wrote. P. was more distant from the passion and the propaganda, but he did have to contend with a literary tradition which was almost uniformly hostile. *M. Antonium, magnum uirum et ingeni nobilis*,

<sup>66</sup> Cf. esp. J. Griffin, *Latin Poets and Roman Life* (London 1985) 183-97. Livy's Sophoniba (30.12-15) is similarly influenced by Cl.

<sup>67</sup> Above, p. 6.

*quae alia res perdidit et in externos mores ac vitia non Romana traiecit quam ebrietas nec minor uino Cleopatrae amor?* (Sen. *Ep.* 83.25). That was the standard view of A., the view with which P. had always lived.<sup>68</sup> Historians, before and after P., similarly dwelt on the infatuation, but with no similar psychological empathy. 'A. was dominated by the woman, and it seemed that he obeyed her every wish not only because of the charm of her company but also because of the influence of drugs' (Jos. *A.J.* 15.93, cf. 25.6n.); 'when he saw her his understanding was numbed, and he was as captivated as an adolescent despite his forty years . . . all his vigilance was blunted' (App. 5.8-9, cf. 30.3n.); 'as soon as he saw Cl. in Cilicia he fell in love, and no longer took any thought for honour but became the Egyptian woman's slave, devoting his time to his passion for her . . .' (Dio 48.24.2, cf. 27.2n.).<sup>69</sup> If P. developed that tradition to present a portrait of greater humanity, he too deserves credit for such imaginative compassion.

### 3 COMPARISON: DEMETRIUS AND ANTONY

P. pairs A. with Demetrius of Macedon (336-283), whose father Antigonus won a considerable empire in Asia and Greece: this was lost at the battle of Ipsus in 301, but Demetrius showed extraordinary resilience, re-establishing and then losing again an empire in Greece and Macedonia. There were signs of a further revival, but he was trapped by Seleucus in 285, and in a hospitable captivity drank himself to death.

As he often does, P. begins the pair by explaining his choice. After justifying the inclusion of negative moral examples (above, p. 11), he goes on:

'Both had similar qualities: they liked love and drink, they were

<sup>68</sup> Below, p. 26; 14.1, 20.4, 21.1, 24.9-12, 30.3, 37.5-38.1 nn.; cf. esp. Strabo 13.595, 17.797, Pliny *N.H.* 14.147-8, Sen. *Suas.* 6-7, Sen. *Ben.* 5.16.6, *Brev. Vit.* 4.6, and historians cited in n. 69. P.'s own earlier remarks on A. are unequivocally hostile: 56f, 61a-b (with 53.5-9n.), 319f.

<sup>69</sup> Cf. esp. Livy *Per.* 117 (15.5n.), 130 (37.5-38.1n.), 131-2; Vell. 2.61.1, 63.1, 66-7, 82, 85.1; Jos. *A.J.* 14.324, 15.88, *B.J.* 1.243, 359, *C. Ap.* 2.58; Flor. 2.21; App. 4.38, 5.1, 76 (33.6-34.1n.); Dio 48.24.6, 27.1 (30.3n.), 49.33-4 (53.7n.), 50.5.1, 51.10.5, 51.15.

soldierly, generous, extravagant, and hybristic (ἐρωτικοὶ ποτατικοὶ στρατιωτικοὶ μεγαλόδωροι πολυτελεῖς ὕβρισται). Their fortunes showed corresponding similarities. All through their lives both experienced great successes and great failures, conquered and lost great tracts, unexpectedly failed and recovered beyond their hopes, and then one died in his enemies' hands, the other very close to this.' (*Dtr.* 1.8)

Those are the similarities; he ends the pair, as usual, with a full *Comparison* setting out the differences. Space precludes its reproduction here, but it is worth consulting (it is perhaps most accessible in Perrin's Loeb edition). P. elaborately sets out such points as the contrast of the two men's fathers (88(1), cf. 1n.); their generosity, in which Demetrius scores more highly (89(2)); Demetrius' greater ability to keep his excesses from hindering his campaigns (90(3)); the differing *consequences* of their excesses – 'Demetrius' harmed others, A.'s himself' (91(4)); the culpability of particular outrages – A.'s proscriptions were unforgivable, but his treatment of Artavasdes (50.3–7n.) was justifiable, perhaps more so than Demetrius' killing of the Macedonian regent Alexander (*Dtr.* 36); and the differing circumstances of their deaths, with Demetrius' even less creditable than A.'s (93(6)).

Such comparative epilogues (*Synkriseis*) can be very weak, and much of this is disappointing. Its level is uncomfortably trivial after the grandeur of the closing narrative: the moralism is crude, and it seems to us childish to be preoccupied with *ordering* the two men in each category – though admittedly most generations have found such direct moralism less embarrassing and alien than our own. But it is disturbing that important themes remain untouched. There is nothing, for instance, on the two men's *response* to their fluctuating fortunes (cf. below, p. 23); flattery, too, is crucial in both *Lives* – in *Ant.* the flatterers are Cl. and her court (esp. 24.9–12n.), while Demetrius was corrupted by the excessive honours voted him by Athens (esp. 10–13, 23.4–6, 24.9–12, 26). Demetrius' fortunes are indeed closely reflected in his relations with the Athenians, who receive his favour with enthusiasm but come to suffer terribly (8–13, 17–18, 22–4, 27.1–3, 30, 33–4, 40.7–8, 42.2): that theme too recurs in *Ant.*, in a more muted way (23.2–4n.; cf. *Sulla* 43(5).5, where Athens is important in another comparison). The epilogue also shows considerable discord with the

narrative. For instance, Demetrius' killing of Alexander (92(5)) was treated very differently at *Dtr.* 36: there P. had implied that Alexander was himself plotting to murder Demetrius, who was therefore acting in self-defence (esp. 36.12); but here the charge seems to be 'false', fabricated by Demetrius to give a dishonest justification for the murder. The stress on Demetrius' greater generosity is largely inspired by his nobility to enemy dead, but it comes as a surprise after A.'s notorious donations of Alexandria (54). The formulation 'Demetrius' excesses harmed others, A.'s himself' is striking and in some ways illuminating; but *Ant.* has in fact stressed the sufferings which A.'s extravagance brought the world (21.1-5, 24, 56.8 nn., 58.2-3, 62.1, 68.6-8). Similar points could be made about the *Synkriseis* of other pairs; P. frequently seems to be improvising in these epilogues, making new points which had not been firmly in his mind when he constructed the narrative. Stories are often given an unexpected new slant, like Alexander's murder here;<sup>70</sup> and this is not the only time when we are surprised to find disapproval of a man's way of death.<sup>71</sup> Elsewhere he even includes whole items which 'he had forgotten to include in the narrative'.<sup>72</sup> This epilogue does not have anything so blatant, but it still seems too much of an afterthought.

Comparison is however not confined to the prologues and epilogues,<sup>73</sup> and in some pairs P.'s technique goes deeper. One can even understand why the epilogues are sometimes so disappointing, for in them P. likes to make his points simply, switching swiftly from one hero to the other; yet in a successful pairing the implications of the comparison may resist formulation in such simple terms. In the epilogues, too, he generally dwells on the differences, as he does here. Yet the *similarities* are often the more striking points, and he tends to let these emerge implicitly from the narrative.<sup>74</sup> He usually outlines the

<sup>70</sup> Cf. esp. *Cor.* 26.2 and *Alc.* 41(2).4, with Russell, *JRS* 53 (1963) 21; *Phil.* 16 and *Flam.* 22(1).6.

<sup>71</sup> Cf. above, p. 15; also *Eum.* 21(2).6-8, ctr. 16-19; *Crass.* 38(5).4, ctr. esp. *Nic.* 27.6; *Flam.* 22(1).7, ctr. *Phil.* 18.6.

<sup>72</sup> *Crass.* 35(4).4, cf. *Flam.* 23(2).6, *Cic.* 53(4).4, *Sulla* 40(2).7, 41(3).5, *Numa* 23(1).10-11, *Marc.* 31(1).7-8. H. Erbse, *Hermes* 84 (1956) 416-19 suggests that P. deliberately omitted all these stories from his narratives, but this is not convincing in every case.

<sup>73</sup> Cf. esp. Erbse (n. 72) 398-424, and P.A. Stadter, *GRBS* 16 (1975) 77-85.

<sup>74</sup> Cf. Erbse (n. 72), esp. 401-2.

points of contact in the prologue: thus Demetrius and A. 'liked love and drink, they were soldierly, generous, extravagant, and hybristic. . .' But, just as he often introduces a hero's traits crudely and refines them as he goes on,<sup>75</sup> so he is reluctant to enumerate all a pair's similarities at the outset, again preferring to deepen the suggestions as he proceeds. It would have been ponderous to dwell on the importance of Athens or of flatterers in the prologue, where he is eager to move on to the story; yet the themes are so basic that it would be difficult to formulate sharp differences at the end. The points are clear enough not to need articulation.

P.'s imagery helps to bring out the continuity of the two Lives. A recurrent feature of both is imagery of the theatre. The flatterer Aristodemus hailed Antigonus as 'king', setting a fashion which corrupted the rulers 'as if they were tragic actors', changing their manner with their dress (*Dtr.* 18.5); Lysimachus remarked of Lamia, Demetrius' famous courtesan, that he had never before seen a whore on the tragic stage (25.9); we return from Lamia to the campaign of Ipsus 'as if from a comedy to a tragedy' (28.1); Demetrius pardons the Athenians in a speech in the theatre, entering like a tragic actor (34.4); the Macedonians commented that Pyrrhus alone was a worthy successor to Alexander, while Demetrius and the rest were only actors imitating the man's pomp and majesty (41.5) – 'and indeed there *was* a genuine tragedy of Demetrius' in his theatrical dress, especially a cloak carrying an image of the universe (41.6–8), which he later put aside 'like an actor, no longer a king' (44.9). His funeral finally was 'tragic and theatrical' (53.1); and 'now that the Macedonian drama is complete, it is time to bring on that of Rome' (53.10, cf. 1n.).<sup>76</sup> The primary reference of much of this is to Demetrius' 'theatricality' (54.5n.), the glamorous dress, spectacle, and pretension; but the air of 'tragedy' is also important, for such display portends the final catastrophe. The 'Roman drama' of A. less insistently continues the theme. A. wears his tragic mask for Rome, his comic for Alexandria (29.4n.); on campaign a crucial tactic 'looks theatrical' (oddly, 45.4n.); the Alexandrian donations appear 'tragic, arrogant, full of hatred for Rome' (54.5n.); and finally he 'takes himself off' (the last words of the

<sup>75</sup> Above, pp. 12–13.

<sup>76</sup> On the theatrical imagery of *Dtr.* cf. P. de Lacy, *AJP* 73 (1952) 371.

pair, 93(6).4). *Dtr.* has established the pattern, we know that such glamour presages disaster; the Roman drama plays itself to a similar conclusion.

Another feature is the *Lives'* sequence of maritime tableaux. Demetrius' immense warships are lavishly described (43.5-7); his fleet is a marvellous sight even to his enemies (20.7-8, cf. 33.7-8); the *Life* ends with the slow homeward procession of his funeral barge (53). His ships had reflected and contributed to his greatness, and such a display is an appropriate final ceremony. A.'s ship-tableaux are more suggestive. Under C. he wins a spectacular naval success (7nn.). The finest display is Cl.'s barge, with all its magnificence (26n.): yet there are some echoes of Demetrius' *funeral* barge (26.1n.), and one already senses what catastrophe Cl. may bring. Another naval banquet, again elaborately described, seals A.'s share of the world – but with Octavia as his bride (32); when a rift threatens, the fleets gather once more, 'a remarkable sight' (35.5n.) – and Octavia deflects the danger. It is finally by sea that A. blindly insists on fighting (62, 63, 64.2-4 nn.); after defeat he can only sit alone at the prow (67.1); at Alexandria the last naval scene is a fiasco (76.1-2). The ship-scenes mark crises which at first end in glamour and success, but finally bear catastrophe: and Cl. is as central to A.'s disgrace as to his splendour. Once again the two *Lives* show a continuous technique. *Dtr.* establishes such naval tableaux as an index of greatness and failure, *Ant.* exploits that index elaborately.

The comparison also explains some of P.'s choice of material. In *Dtr.* he emphasises that Demetrius' excesses never compromised his military efficiency (2.3, 19.4-10), and the point recurs in the epilogue (90(3)). P. is presumably preparing the contrast with A., but the emphasis sits uneasily with the narrative itself: at 9.5-7 Demetrius secretly meets the beautiful Cratesipolis, and makes an undignified escape when surprised by his enemies; at 44.8 the Macedonians refuse to toil any longer to keep him in luxury. *Ant.* is then unusually full on A.'s father (1n.), presumably influenced by the large role played by Antigonus in *Dtr.*; and P. can introduce the notion of 'contending for C.'s succession' more casually because of our familiarity with the struggles of the Diadochi of Alexander (16.3n.). But he does not overdo the technique. In *Dtr.*, for instance, both the courtesan Lamia and Demetrius' principal wife Phila are prominent, but P. does not develop and

contrast the characters as he does with Cl. and Octavia; nor is divine imitation treated similarly in the two *Lives* (cf. 4.1–3n.). He certainly has no time for the trivial, coincidental similarity. For instance, Lamia's banquet (*Dtr.* 27.3) could have been elaborated as parallel to Cl.'s (26.6–7); Seleucus' entertainment (*Dtr.* 32.1–3) shares features with the dinners of A., O., and Sextus (31–2); Demetrius' army (*Dtr.* 46–47.1), like A.'s (50), suffers great losses in a Median campaign. It is not clear whether P. intends us to notice such casual parallels, but he certainly does not emphasise them.

There are nevertheless times when memories of *Dtr.* genuinely enrich the narrative. After Mutina P. writes of A.'s resilience to changes of fortune:

'He was naturally at his best in adversity, and it was then that he came closest to being a good man. When men are brought down by an overpowering catastrophe, it is common enough for them to recognise what virtue really is: but it is indeed rare for people in adversity to live up to their ideals and avoid behaviour they would condemn. Many are so weakened that they give in to their accustomed ways all the more, and their resolve is shattered.' (17.4)

The mutability of fortune is much more familiar from *Dtr.* than from *Ant.* itself, particularly at that point of the *Life*, where we have seen much of A.'s veering character but little of his veering fortunes. *Dtr.* has also accustomed us to a great man's resilience in such adversity – but he hardly 'recognised what virtue really is', as became clear when he collapsed to his 'accustomed ways' in his disgraceful alcoholic death (*Dtr.* 52, where P.'s disapproval is strong). A. can be set against that pattern (17.3–6, 56–69 nn.). At Mutina and again in Parthia he *will* assert himself nobly in adversity, and show a virtue far superior to Demetrius'. But at Actium he too will collapse, and his 'accustomed ways' will fatally assert themselves – in his case, love for Cl. In A.'s case there is more interest in his mental struggle: he indeed always 'recognises what virtue really is', and at the end he will know his shame. But, try though he may, the pattern established by *Dtr.* and recalled in this passage will be inescapable, and A. too will fall.

This technique recurs in several pairs. All P.'s heroes are naturally individuals, but still the first *Life* often reflects an important *normal*

pattern, the second exploits it with an interesting variation. *Aem.* points the familiar moral that Fortune may strike a man at the height of his prosperity, and this is reinforced by the cases of Perseus in *Aem.* and Dionysius near the beginning of its pair *Tim.* (13–15). That points the singularity of Timoleon's own good fortune in his final years, which P. describes in peculiarly lyrical language.<sup>77</sup> *Sert.* displays the way in which hardship can readily corrupt a man's character (10.6, cf. 25.6); Eumenes then appears all the more admirable for his constancy and dignity during a more complex career (cf. *Eum.* 9.2). In both those pairs, as in *Cor.–Alc.*,<sup>78</sup> it was probably this 'norm and variation' technique which led P. to treat the Roman before the Greek; but even when the Greek as usual comes first, a similar technique can sometimes be seen. *Per.* illustrates the ways of demagogues and the fickleness of the people: that clarifies the dangers Fabius runs by exercising his dictatorship as he does. Agis and Cleomenes are more straightforward radical idealists than the Gracchi, whose motives are complicated by their ambition (*philotimia*, cf. esp. *Ag.–Cl.* 2.7–11, *Gracch.* 45(5).5); but *Ag.–Cl.* provides a straightforward model of the opposition which such radical programmes will inspire, and the extreme measures to which the idealist is forced: in *Gracch.* we see a subtler version of the same sequence. Brutus is a more remarkable tyrannicide than Dion;<sup>79</sup> Aristides' fairness is less complex and qualified than the elder Cato's; and so on.

*Dtr.*, then, establishes the pattern of mutability of fortune. *Tyche*, *eutychia*, and *metabole* are key words,<sup>80</sup> and P. digresses elaborately on Fortune at *Dtr.* 35. His narrative technique makes the point more subtly, for several times he epitomises the fluctuation by deliberately rapid movement from one startling vicissitude to the next (33, 39, 43, 48). Fortune raises Demetrius and Fortune casts him down: there is little interest in his character as a causal force.<sup>81</sup> He is a spectacular man *to whom things happen*. It is fundamentally military disaster which brings

<sup>77</sup> Cf. J. Geiger, *Hermes* 109 (1981) 104.

<sup>78</sup> Below, p. 25. The *Cor.–Alc.* ordering is not just a question of chronology (Russell, *PCPS* 12 (1966) 38 n. 3).

<sup>79</sup> Erbse (n. 72) 416.

<sup>80</sup> 5.6, 19.4, 25.5, 28.1, 31.6, 32.7, 37.3, 38.1, 38.8, 41.8, 45, 47.3–6, 48.4, 49.5, 50.1, 50.6, 51.1, 52.1.

<sup>81</sup> P. might have related the Athenians' desertion of Demetrius (30) much more closely to his outrages (23–4, 27.1–3).

him down, and as we have seen P. tries to bring out that his excesses did not affect his campaigns. Still, it is not coincidence that P. juxtaposes his most elaborate description of Demetrius' outrages (23-7) with the disaster of Ipsus (28-9), even if the outrages do not cause such disaster. We know that a man with such flaws and 'tragic' ostentation will suffer catastrophe, rather as in tragedy we often know that a hybriatic character will fall, whether or not the *hybris* causes his fate. Men with such vices do not prosper: the pattern is simple and familiar.

Demetrius is really a comparatively straightforward figure. He does not particularly struggle against his vices: and indeed, until his alcoholic final days (52), there is little psychological interest in him at all. A. is deeper, just as Cl. is more subtle than the Athenian flatterers. (The moralism of *Dtr.* is correspondingly cruder and more insistent than that of *Ant.*: P. can simply *denounce* Demetrius (esp. 42.8-11, 52) in a way which his intense involvement with A. would make inappropriate.) A. does try to tear himself away and assert himself as a general, and he intermittently succeeds. There is no simple *decline* in A. as there was in Demetrius, and unlike Demetrius he retains almost to the last his capacity to lead and inspire his men. He preserves a nobility and a stature which Demetrius lacks; he struggles against his fate, and we feel for his mental torment. Eventually he succumbs, and this time the downfall is clearly owed to his own character: in *Ant.*, the role played by Fortune is slight.<sup>82</sup>

Even in the traits which link the men closely, differences are therefore felt – differences which resisted formulation in the simple terms appropriate to the epilogue. *Dtr.* establishes a simple and familiar paradigm of what happens to a brilliant but corrupted hero. On a much larger scale, we again have an initial crude presentation (*Dtr.*) which is then developed and refined (*Ant.*). In rather the same way *Cor.* paints an unsophisticated soldier who, when he becomes a renegade, ultimately destroys himself; *Alc.* then presents a complex man with much more flair, charm, and education, who nevertheless falls into a tellingly similar pattern. Alcibiades' relationship with the Athenian *demos* is distinctly warmer and more complicated than Coriolanus' – but eventually he cannot manage them any better than Coriolanus could. In *Ant.* we see the tension in the man himself,

<sup>82</sup> Brenk 160-1, contrasting *Ant.* 36 with 319f (33.2-4n.).

struggling to break away from the familiar pattern. It is a large part of his tragedy that he fails as completely as Demetrius, and his frailty eventually presages catastrophe as surely as Demetrius' more straightforward vice.

#### 4 SOURCES AND METHODS<sup>83</sup>

##### (1) *The sources*

The most important sources for *Ant.* appear to have been the following.

(1) Augustus' *Autobiography* was probably published some ten years after Actium, and in thirteen books narrated Augustus' life up to the Spanish War of 23 B.C.<sup>84</sup> It was naturally ungenerous to A. (cf. esp. fr. 16 M, 58.4–59.1n.), and presented carefully retouched versions of events which might otherwise be to Augustus' discredit, explaining for instance his absence from Philippi (fr. 10 M, 22.2–4n.), setting out the dangers which threatened him when he turned to Cic. in 43 (fr. 9 M = Cic. 45.6. cf. 17.1–2n.), and presumably deflecting blame for the proscriptions on to A. (21.1n.). P. seems to have used the work for Cic. and quotes it here at 22.2 and 68.2, but it does not seem to have left much impact on the *Life*: indeed, the quotation at 22.2 seems to be drawn from an intermediate source, while 68.2 is possibly a misunderstanding (nn.). It may be that he had consulted it when preparing his earlier *Augustus* or when reading Latin sources for Cic.,<sup>85</sup> but did not look at it again for *Ant.*, relying instead on his memory, on notes, or on secondary quotations in other authors.

(2) Cic. *Phil.* 2 seems to be the source for several passages early in the *Life*: cf. 2.2, 2.4–8, 6.1 (where it is quoted), 9.2, 9.5–9, 10.2–3, 10.5, 10.7–10, 11.3, 12, 13, 14.4, 21.1–5 nn. It is virtually certain that P.

<sup>83</sup> This section draws heavily on the view of P.'s working methods developed in Pelling (1), (2), and *Hermes* 113 (1985) 311–29: fuller argument and illustration may be found in those papers.

<sup>84</sup> Cf. esp. Z. Yavetz in *Caesar Augustus* (ed. F. Millar and E. Segal, Oxford 1984) 1–8; for the suitability of 23 as an ending-point cf. Carter on Suet. *Aug.* 85.1.

<sup>85</sup> Below, p. 30. *Dem.*–Cic. was the fifth pair, distinctly earlier than *Dtr.*–*Ant.*: above, p. 3.

knew the speech at first hand.<sup>86</sup> He adapts the material considerably (below, pp. 33–4), but the echoes are very close: if he had read the speech for *Cic.*, it in this case seems likely that he had primed his memory by recent rereading.

(3) C. Asinius Pollio (9.1–2n.), an Antonian till perhaps 40 B.C. and some sort of neutral in the war of Actium,<sup>87</sup> wrote an influential history of the Civil Wars, beginning in 60 B.C. and probably continuing to the end of the thirties.<sup>88</sup> It seems that P. had only recently read Pollio's history. Two *Lives* of the period, *Luc.* and *Cic.*, were written some time before the group of six which he prepared together,<sup>89</sup> *Crass.*, *Pomp.*, *Caes.*, *C. Min.*, *Brut.*, and *Ant.* These later *Lives* show distinctly more historical knowledge than the earlier (19.3(n.) gives a clear instance of this, cf. 20.2–3nn.); the improvement is especially clear in the years after 60 B.C., precisely the period which Pollio had treated. This is presumably because P. was now exploiting this narrative, and it is easiest to assume that he knew Pollio directly, though it is conceivable that he found his account transmitted in a secondary source.<sup>90</sup> Pollio also seems to be a principal source of App., and perhaps (directly or indirectly) of Dio. His narrative was colourful: it was he who told the story of C. at the Rubicon (*Caes.* 32), he clearly gave a dramatic narrative of Pharsalus and its sequel, and P.'s fine version of Pompey's death may also be owed to him (*Pomp.* 78–80).<sup>91</sup> His account was detailed, analytical, and probably less hostile to A. than most versions.<sup>92</sup> But it seems that his generosity to A. lay in a readiness to grant

<sup>86</sup> Pelling (1) 89–90.

<sup>87</sup> Exactly what sort of neutral is unclear: his political attachments after 40 are disputed. Cf. esp. Bosworth, and Woodman on Vell. 2.78.2, 86.3.

<sup>88</sup> Gabba 242–3 (though cf. Bosworth 446 n. 34), Scardigli 202 n. 779, Pelling (1) 84 n. 73, and esp. B. Haller, *C. Asinius Pollio als Politiker und zeitkritischer Historiker* (Münster 1967) 96–105.

<sup>89</sup> Pelling (1) 75–83.

<sup>90</sup> The likelihood that P. knew Pollio at first hand is, I think, sufficient to justify talking of 'Pollio' throughout; strictly, we should perhaps say 'the Pollio-source', leaving open the possibility that P. used a secondary source which followed Pollio closely.

<sup>91</sup> Pollio's narrative flair has been less stressed than his political acuteness, but cf. W. Syndikus, *Lucans Gedicht vom Bürgerkrieg* (Munich 1958) 1–12; Nisbet-Hubbard on Hor. *Odes* 2.1; J.L. Moles, *CW* 76 (1983) 287–8.

<sup>92</sup> Cf. esp. Haller (n. 88) and Gabba, though he often exaggerates this 'Antonian tendency'. On Pollio's political analyses, 5.1, 16.5–8, 17.1–2, 19.1 nn., and Pelling (3) 163–5.

him political acuteness (cf. 14.4, 15.5, 16.5–8 nn.), a theme which P. leaves unstressed. Nothing suggests that Pollio was generous about the affair with Cl., whom Vell. 2.86.3 suggests he disliked; he may indeed be the source of Dio's unfriendly version of her death. Much of the political detail of *Ant.* is probably owed to him, but he appears to provide less information for this *Life* than for *Caes.*, *Pomp.*, and the others. P. is here uninterested in the political background, and Pollio was probably less concerned to give (for instance) a full account of the Parthian War.

(4) The work of Q. Dellius (25.3n.) supplemented Pollio very well. He certainly wrote of the Parthian War (Strabo 11.523, 37–52n.), and probably covered much more of the period;<sup>93</sup> 59.6–8(nn.) suggests that he also described his own desertion to O., probably in the history. In 41 he had arranged the meeting of A. and Cl. at Tarsus (25.3), and his account may lie behind 26–7 – it would be no surprise if Cl.'s barge had the same source as the Parthian campaign, itself so rich in narrative colour (37–52n.). He is also probably the source for Ventidius' campaigns (34.4, 34.9 nn.). Criticism of A. and especially Cl. can sometimes be detected (37–52n.), understandably enough if he wrote after his defection. A second work of his was in circulation, intriguingly entitled *Epistulae ad Cleopatram lasciuae* (Sen. *Suas.* 1.7). These letters presumably figured in the propaganda war of the late thirties (55n.), possibly fabricated by O.'s supporters, possibly published by Dellius himself after his defection. If the latter, they were probably open letters with a good deal of salacious material.

(5) As often with P.'s finest scenes,<sup>94</sup> the closing chapters are unusually rich in material which is not found elsewhere and does not appear to come from mainstream historical sources (71–87n.). Much of it suggests an eyewitness (78.5–79.6n.), indeed at 77.3 he quotes 'those who were present' (n.); then at 82.4 he cites Cl.'s doctor Olympus, 'who published a narrative of these events'. This memoir may lie behind much of the death-scenes, but other literary men were there too, and several versions were perhaps in circulation (71–87n.). Such 'Alexandrian sources' might be sympathetic to Cl.,<sup>95</sup> but if they published under Augustus they probably kept their feelings under

<sup>93</sup> Pelling (1) 87–8 and n. 101, Scardigli 147.

<sup>94</sup> Pelling (1) 87.

<sup>95</sup> Above, p. 16 and n. 64.

control, and P.'s own 'sympathy' in these chapters has a different explanation (above, p. 16).

(6) P. was apparently preparing six *Lives* together, and we can group together other material, particularly memoirs and biographies of other heroes, which he read as part of this general project. It was primarily for *Brut.*, for instance, that he seems to have read the memoirs of Brutus' stepson Bibulus, Empylus of Rhodes, Messala Corvinus, and P. Volumnius:<sup>96</sup> from these he probably drew the 'lean and hungry' story (11.6n.), and some details of Philippi (22.3n.). These writers, and biographers of C. such as C. Oppius, would also have told of the Lupercalia incident (12). When reading for *Caes.* P. formulated the view that C.'s downfall was owed to his friends' irresponsibility: that seems P.'s own inference from a number of accounts, Pollio and Oppius among them. He takes it over here (6.7n.) and at *Brut.* 35.4. We can also see a similar process in reverse: he reread *Phil.* 2 primarily for *Ant.*, but he exploits it also at *Caes.* 51.2 and *Pomp.* 58.6.

(7) Oral sources are also important. At *Dem.* 2.1 P. lists the advantages to a historian of living in a great city: not merely an abundance of books, but also access to 'those stories which the written sources have passed over, but which are still recalled in the popular memory'. Sometimes there are hints of Alexandrian local traditions (71-87, 71.6-8 nn.), but the clearest examples relate to Greece. Two substantial items, the sumptuous Alexandrian banquets and the hardships of Greece after Actium, were stories told within P.'s own family (28.3-12, 68.6-8 nn.). Greece is indeed especially prominent in the *Life*, both its initial welcome of A.'s philhellenism and its final agonies (above, pp. 1, 9-10, cf. also 2.8, 64.9-11 nn.). Little of this Hellenic emphasis emerges in other accounts: the development of the theme seems to be P.'s own, with its material drawn from surviving oral traditions.

(8) A last category resists closer definition, the stories which P. had known for years: for instance, the tales of the wagers (33.2-4) and of Cl.'s wiles (53.5-9), both of which he had used in earlier essays (nn.). It is impossible to tell whether they originally came from oral tradition or from P.'s general reading.

<sup>96</sup> Pelling (1) 86-7.

This list has some noticeable absences.

(1) P. does not seem to have known any *biography* of A., at least one written by a well-informed contemporary of the events. Where he has no such biographical source, a *Life's* opening chapters usually make it clear: P. likes to use material about early years when he can (for instance in *Dtr.*, *Them.*, *Phil.*, *C. Min.*, and *Alex.*), and it usually has the flavour of a biographical source. When *Lives* such as *Fab.*, *Phoc.*, *Flam.*, or *Cam.* find virtually nothing to say about their subject's youth, presumably P. has no such source. *Ant.* belongs to this second group. Any contemporary biographer would have said something about the early years, but what youthful material P. has is largely drawn from *Phil.* 2 (2.4–8n.). This tells against the suggestion<sup>97</sup> that P. knew a life of A. by Nepos, who would probably have been as full on A.'s youth as he is on Atticus' (*Att.* 1–2).

(2) Except for *Phil.* 2, P. does not seem to draw on non-narrative primary sources, even though he appears to have used such material for the earlier *Cic.*: for that he probably read several of Cic.'s own works, Brutus' letters, some writings of Cic.'s secretary Tiro, and perhaps even A.'s reply to *Phil.* 2 (cf. *Cic.* 41.6).<sup>98</sup> But he does not seem to have conducted any further research of this kind for the later group of *Lives*. A.'s *De Ebrietate sua* (55n.) might have been hard to find, but his letters were available:<sup>99</sup> P. did not use them. He does not even seem to have reread A.'s reply to *Phil.* 2 for this *Life*: the 'quotations' from the speech at 2.2 and 10.3 are both taken over from remarks in *Phil.* 2 itself (nn.), and the description of A.'s style at 2.8(n.) does not suggest close knowledge of his work. The reason is presumably that for *Cic.* P. had no satisfactory narrative source, and was forced to use first-hand sources; when he later read Pollio, he excused himself from any further primary research.

(3) There were several other full historical narratives. Livy wrote an account which was favourable to O. (19.1, 37.5–38.1 nn.). The same is true of Strabo, who wrote a History as well as his extant Geography, and of Nicolaus of Damascus. But there are only a few traces of these

<sup>97</sup> J. Geiger, *Hermes* 109 (1981) 97–8, and *Cornelius Nepos and Ancient Political Biography* (Stuttgart 1985) 117–20.

<sup>98</sup> Pelling (1) 88–9.

<sup>99</sup> For A.'s literary works and their survival cf. E. Huzar, *ANRW* II 30.1 (1982) 639–57.

authors' influence in other *Lives* (so few that they are perhaps owed to a slave or freedman assistant, not P.'s own reading);<sup>100</sup> and none of any substance in this.<sup>101</sup>

(ii) *The methods*

In the ancient world it was no easy matter to write history. A modern scholar's study is usually a mess, papers on the floor, books open on the desk, reference works close at hand. If he is writing narrative history, it is an easy matter to bring together material from different sources, all open before his eyes for constant reference: if a more arcane item needs checking, it takes only a moment. (It is finding the papers on the floor which takes the time.) But the ancient historian's texts were hefty and unmanageable papyrus rolls, and indexing, chapter-headings, and even line and column-numbering were rudimentary or non-existent. It was not difficult to read a roll continuously: but reading required both hands to keep the two sides of the roll apart, and it would be hard to have more than one roll under one's eyes during composition itself. Even if P. himself used a book-rest or a slave to hold a second roll, comparing versions would still be awkward. If two accounts did not deal with events in the same sequence – if, for instance, one ordered events chronologically and one thematically – it would be cumbersome to roll back and forth to find the parallel account. There were probably no chapter-headings to help. And non-chronological writings, such as speeches and letters, would be the most difficult to exploit. The relevant material might be found anywhere in the roll, and one would hardly expect an author always to check his references.

Our modern historian brings together items from many sources and produces a narrative which is an independent pastiche, owing no more to one source than another; P. often seems to base most of a section on a single source. These difficulties help to explain why. The easiest method for P. was to read as extensively as he wished, but *at an early stage*, when he could simply read through each roll from beginning to

<sup>100</sup> Pelling (1) 88, 95; cf. below, p. 33.

<sup>101</sup> There are possible hints of Livy at 22.3 and Strabo at 36.4, but in both cases other sources are more likely (nn.).

end.<sup>102</sup> This preliminary reading would guide his choice of a principal source for each section. Once he had chosen it, he could proceed with his composition, normally with only that one source before his eyes. He would not be wholly dependent on it: he would remember items from the earlier stage and weld them into the narrative, as for instance in 13(n.) he welds a story from *Phil.* 2 into a narrative framework derived from Pollio. But probably he would rely on his memory for such additions, and the basic narrative articulation would be drawn from the single source.

In *Ant.* that source would probably be Pollio for the early sections (at least 3–22 and 30–35),<sup>103</sup> and Dellius for much of the later (at least 37–52, probably 25–29, and perhaps more, especially the eastern narrative). It is difficult to know which of them he would have preferred for the Actium campaign, presuming that both described it. For the death-scenes he may have preferred Olympus or another Alexandrian account: but even there we have traces of a historical narrative which shows contact with Dio (71–87n., 83n., perhaps Dellius), and it may have been hard to decide which was the right account to have before him. Into the ‘single source’ framework he could always insert extraneous material from memory: Pollio could be supplemented from *Phil.* 2, from his reading for *Brut.*, from his memories from *Cic.*, or indeed from Dellius (cf. 59.6, unless Dellius is there the main source); in the sections where P. preferred Dellius, items could be added from oral sources and a second narrative (37–52, 46 nn., possibly Pollio).

Even at this stage, P. would hardly be composing his final version. The usual method of writing seems to be that described by Lucian (*How to Write History* 47–8): the historian should first collect his material from the most reliable sources,

‘and when he has gathered everything or almost everything, he should first weave together a draft (*hypomnema*), a version which so far has no beauty or articulation: then he should impose

<sup>102</sup> Being human, he doubtless skipped the sections of little interest: he probably did not dwell long on Pollio’s account of the Mutina or Perusia campaigns, for instance, which were apparently extensive. For *Ant.* the first was worth only a fraction of a page (17.1–2), the second just two passing references (28.1, 30.1).

<sup>103</sup> Cf. Scardigli 144–6.

order, give the work its beauty, add colour to the diction, and give form and rhythm.'

If P. was preparing six *Lives* together, this *hypomnema* might be important. It would hardly make sense to compose six separate drafts, and P. might naturally collect the material for all six *Lives* in a single *hypomnema* – almost a draft history, in fact, though one peculiarly rich in biographical diversions. It is anyway symptomatic that so much attention is given to the literary texture, this final stage where the writer adds articulation, order, beauty, stylistic colour, form, and rhythm. Such matters are so important that they require a distinct stage of composition.

P. would not be on his own as he composed: he would have his slave and freedman assistants. The elder Pliny, we know, used such help extensively. A *lector* would read to him when he was bathing or taking a walk, and a *notarius* would be at hand for dictation (Pliny *Ep.* 3.5). Such a *lector* perhaps read aloud to P. during the first stage, the preliminary reading – a less time-wasting procedure than it might seem, for we cannot be sure that P. himself read silently. That *hypomnema* would probably be dictated to a secretary: that would make sense if P. had Pollio or Dellius open before him, for reading a roll required both hands. Even the final version might be dictated. Slaves, or more likely freedmen, might even be used as research assistants, to consult the more *recherché* material and produce epitomes, though in this *Life* there are few signs of that.

(iii) *Truth, fiction, and imaginative reconstruction.*

P. had plenty of material, but it did not always give him what he wanted. The problem might be simply a gap, notably the gap of A.'s youth. More often the material might not suit the portrait of A. which he was developing. How much freedom did he allow himself to improve his sources' material?

His adaptation of *Phil.* 2 is illuminating. Whole episodes are reshaped. When Cic. described A.'s friendship with Curio he made the two men equally depraved (*Phil.* 2.44–7): P. prefers to make A. into Curio's dupe, just as he will later be susceptible to others' more damaging wiles (2.4–8n.). Detail of the excesses can be moved around:

several different instances are brought together at 9.5-9(n.), and some of the *Phil.* 2 material is delayed until after Cic.'s death (21.1-5n., exploiting *Phil.* 2.67-9). No other account suggests that the excesses were especially prominent at that moment, but P. wishes to juxtapose these themes with A.'s brilliant and noble behaviour at Philippi (22). Private excess and yet brilliant ability: the contrast is programmatic, and it is useful to have it stated so clearly just before the entry of Cl. Circumstantial detail can also be added. A. vomiting on the tribunal (9.6), his unexpected night-time return to Fulvia (10.8-9), the squabbles with Dolabella (11.3) – all are elaborated with narrative detail (nn.) which P. has surely made up. Trebonius' sounding of A. at Narbo (13n.) is an especially clear case. A. now shares a tent with Trebonius, who broaches the subject 'delicately and cautiously'; A. neither joins the plot nor reveals it to C. None of this is in Cic., and it is surely P.'s imaginative inference. Indeed, its whole context is suspect. It is just before the Ides, and the conspirators are wondering whether to approach A.: Trebonius tells them the story to dissuade them. That is fiction, and highly implausible: it is a poor piece of narrative, too, but the best peg P. could find to include the Narbo story (13n.). He makes up the detail to 'fabricate a context'<sup>104</sup> to include A.'s foreknowledge of the plot.

P.'s readiness to manipulate his source-material can be seen elsewhere. Stories can be moved to a different context,<sup>105</sup> and even transferred from one person to another (5.6-7n.); complex detail is readily simplified<sup>106</sup> – for instance, several events may be conflated into one (3.2, 10.7-10, 12.7, 72 nn.); A.'s role may be exaggerated (3, 5.10, 8.2, 14.1-4 nn.), as may Octavia's (31.2n.). Embarrassing facts may be ignored: for instance, P. suppresses his knowledge that A. had fought in the last stages of the Gallic War, for he wants to pretend that Curio led over his susceptible friend to C.'s side (5-8n.).<sup>107</sup> Exaggeration can sharpen contrasts to a crude *chiaroscuro*.<sup>108</sup> Details can be fabricated: the precise nature of A.'s excesses, for instance (9.5-9, 21.3 nn.), or the

<sup>104</sup> Pelling (2) 130, cf. 9.2, 33.2-4, 53.5, 53.77 nn.

<sup>105</sup> 6.6, 12.6, 14.1-4, 15.1, 16.6, 24.7, 28-9, 33.1, 52.3, 71.6-8 nn.

<sup>106</sup> 3.2, 14-22, 14.1-4, 16.5-8, 17.1-2, 30.1-2, 32.3, 52, 52.3, 53.5-9 nn.

<sup>107</sup> Further suppression of awkward facts at 7.3, 8.4, 13.3, 33.6-34.1, 43.4-6, 69.3-5, 71-87 nn.

<sup>108</sup> 10.5, 14-22, 15.5, 19.2, 22.6-8, 50.6-7 nn.; cf. above, p. 13.

methods of the flatterers (24.9-12n.), or the course of a battle (65-6n.) or a campaign – he even seems to make up a major river (48.6, 49.2 nn.) and a range of hills (76.1-3n.) which do not exist. He often borrows characteristics from familiar stereotypes. In historiography and rhetoric the good leader naturally leads charges himself, shows both foresight and daring, shares his men's hardships, shows his personal concern, and finds the right things to say; so does A. (3, 4.4, 17.5, 18.5, 43.2, 43.3-6, 44.3-5, 47.7 nn.), though there is often an individual tinge to such passages (esp. 4.4, 43.2, 44.3-5 nn.). In New Comedy the *miles gloriosus* is boastful, lecherous, extravagant, and gullible: so is A., though again he is distinctly deeper (4.2, 4.4, 24.9-12 nn.). Flatterers have their methods, using a timely frankness to win credibility, demeaning themselves when appropriate, adapting themselves to their victim's tastes: that is just how Cl. and her court behave (24.9-12, 27.2, 29.1, 29.7, 53.6-7, 56.5, 83 nn.).<sup>109</sup> Not much of this will have appeared in P.'s sources.

What did P. think he was doing when he rewrote his source-material in this way? Would he have freely admitted that he was sacrificing the truth? Or would he have felt that he was *reconstructing* reality, arriving intuitively at a picture which simply *must* have been true?<sup>110</sup> It is probably a little of both.

Certainly, there are times when P. could genuinely say 'it must have been true'. He knew about invective<sup>111</sup> – of course, Cic. would claim that A. was just as debauched as Curio: still, A. must have been the susceptible one, for his whole life shows his passivity. How would Trebonius broach such a delicate subject as assassinating C.? Of course, 'delicately and cautiously', and of course A. must have kept the secret (he obviously did not warn C.). At leisure in Rome, A. must of course have returned to his earlier excesses, and the rest of his life suggests what they must have been like. Cl.'s flatterers were the best, and the best flatterers would of course be masters of the typical skills. Octavia would of course be a worthy rival to Cl., beautiful (31.4n.) as

<sup>109</sup> A common derivation from New Comedy may explain why some themes recur as commonplaces in Roman elegy: cf. esp. Griffin, and 10.5, 27.2, 51.2, 53.6-7, 58.4-59.1, 84.4-7 nn. But lovers, soldiers, and flatterers are genuinely often like that.

<sup>110</sup> Cf. T.P. Wiseman, *History* 66 (1981) 389.

<sup>111</sup> Cf. e.g. *Alc.* 3.2, *Flam.* 18.10.

well as dignified. A. was a good general: of course he did the things that good generals do. And, when he managed to dissuade his men from drinking salty water, he must have told them that there was another river near at hand (47.7n.) – and it must have been true, because they did not all die. Very often, telling a story in the best way is the same as telling it with the most plausible detail: this is creative reconstruction, ‘it must have been true’.

But did P. really think that A. could not have been with C. in Gaul, whatever the sources said, because it ‘must’ have been Curio who brought him over? Or that the conspirators must have considered bringing A. into the plot? Or that A. must have taken the role in Jan. 49 that his sources ascribed to Curio? Of course he did not, and in several cases he tells the stories differently in other *Lives*. The senate-meetings of Dec. 50 and Jan. 49 are described more accurately at *Pomp.* 58–9 (5.6n.): controversial events such as the Lupercalia (12n.) or the final events of Philippi (22.2–4nn.) are tailored to the principal themes of each *Life* where they are told. Elsewhere too we see different *Lives*, prepared at the same time, presenting contradictory interpretations of the same events.<sup>112</sup> P. cannot have thought them all true. In such cases he was improving on the truth, and he knew it.

At the same time, such fabrication has its limits. Interpretations can vary; but total fabrication of fictional *detail*, though it exists, is comparatively limited. He does not, for instance, make up stories about A.’s youth, helpful though they would have been; encomium and invective often fabricated youthful stories, but P. feels it inappropriate. Nor does he attempt to paper over similar gaps in other *Lives*. He is desperately short of material on Phocion, Cimon, Fabius, and Publicola to make them weighty enough matches for their pairs, but he does not make it up. When he fabricates detail, he is generally reconstructing, not sacrificing, the truth; he can usually, though not always, say – ‘It must have been true’.

<sup>112</sup> Pelling (2) 131–5.

## 5 PLUTARCH AND SHAKESPEARE: *ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA*

Sh. wrote *A. & C.* in 1606 or 1607, shortly after *King Lear* (1605) and *Macbeth* (1606) and probably before *Cor.* (1607–8): at about the same time he seems to have drafted *Timon of Athens*, though he may well have abandoned it before completion (70n.). For *A. & C.* he took P. as his main and almost only source: the occasional supplementary material seems to be drawn from App.<sup>113</sup> and particularly relates to Sextus, dismissed very rapidly in P. (32.1n.). Sh. did not know P. in the Greek, but relied on North's translation, which in its turn was based on Amyot's French translation of 1559.<sup>114</sup> There are times when these translators' ambiguity or their choice of text has considerable consequences for Sh.'s treatment, most remarkably in inspiring the entire episode of Enobarbus' repentance (iv.vi, ix, 63.4n., cf. also 75.1n.).<sup>115</sup> But in this play the *verbal* echoes of North are more restricted than in *J.C.* or *Cor.*, or even in the relevant parts of *Timon of Athens* (70nn.).<sup>116</sup> The borrowings of material, emphasis, and characterisation are much closer. Of course Sh. transforms his source in countless ways, but still the concerns of the two writers are often closely similar: so similar, indeed, that comparison with Sh. continually illuminates P.'s own narrative and dramatic techniques. The contact is best analysed scene by scene in the commentary, and only a few general points will be made here. Sh.'s adaptation is discussed in detail in the following nn.:

On 4.1–3 (divine pretensions), 10.5, 30.4 (Fulvia), 12 (Lupercalia in *J.C.*), 14.1–4 and 14.7 (funeral speech in *J.C.*), 26 (Cl.'s barge), 28–9 (Rome and Alexandria, and the placing of stories of the lovers' frolicking), 28.2 ('Inimitable Livers' and 'we stand up peerless'), 30.4 (beginning the play in 40 B.C.), 31.2, 33.5, 35.3, (Octavia), 32.5–8 (the dinner on Sextus' galley), 33.2–4 (displacing of the soothsayer's warning), 36.1 (the inter-

<sup>113</sup> G. Bullough, *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare* v (London/New York 1964) 338–41; MacCallum 648–52; K. Muir, *The Sources of Shakespeare's Plays* (London 1977) 224–5.

<sup>114</sup> For a fine stylistic comparison of these translations cf. Russell 150–8, taking *Ant.* 29 as his example.

<sup>115</sup> But at 26.1 and 76.8 (nn.) peculiarities of the translation have less impact on Sh. than might be expected.

<sup>116</sup> MacCallum 318–27.

explained it – she feared for her children's lives, 82.5n. – but Sh. leaves that theme unstressed.<sup>129</sup> P. played down suggestions of Cl.'s faithlessness to A. after Actium (71–87n.), doubtless feeling that this would combine uneasily with her loyalty in death: Sh.'s Cl. is distinctly more compromised in the Thidias scene (III.xiii, cf. 73.2–4n.). Earlier, his version of her erotic artfulness is cruder than P.'s: 'If you find him sad, Say I am dancing; if in mirth, report That I am sudden sick' (I.iii.3–5) – that has none of the sophistication of P.'s portrait (53.5–7n., cf. e.g. 24.9–12n.). Nor is it intended to. The very crudity of her techniques, like the bewildering swiftness of her changes of mood, is itself vital to her enigmatic charm. Her methods are highly unsophisticated and highly effective: their triteness itself contributes to her individuality, for only a Cl. could carry them off, and indeed her histrionics later in the scene show infinitely more flair. In the same way only a Cl. would react to A.'s final despairing wrath with that 'babyish line',<sup>130</sup> 'Why is my lord enraged against his love?', IV.xii.31. Throughout the play Cl. has been described in paradoxical language<sup>131</sup> and been utterly paradoxical herself: in such a bewildering figure that final transformation does not seem unnatural. P.'s figure is sometimes enigmatic (71–87n.), but far less so than Sh.'s: in a quite different way from P.'s figure, one can understand why she captivated a hero of A.'s stature. Heine once recalled reading P. at school:<sup>132</sup>

'The master impressed on us that A. for this woman spoiled his public career, involved himself in domestic unpleasantness, and at last plunged himself in ruin. In truth my old master was right, and it is extremely dangerous to establish intimate relations with a person like Cl. It may be the destruction of a hero; but only of a hero. Here as everywhere there is no danger for worthy mediocrity'

– a reassuring thought. But worthy mediocrity has more to fear from P.'s queen than from Sh.'s. In P. it is precisely A.'s simplicity that leaves

<sup>129</sup> III.xii.18, V.ii.19, 127–33 – all very understated. Cf. MacCallum 338, Bradley (n. 126) 301.

<sup>130</sup> Granville-Barker (n. 119) 1398.

<sup>131</sup> Cf. esp. B.T. Spencer, *Sh. Q.* 9 (1958) 373–8.

<sup>132</sup> *Sämtliche Werke* III (Hamburg 1876) 227–8; cf. MacCallum 441.

him vulnerable to so accomplished a performer (24.9–12n.). It is Sh.'s Cl. who demands a victim of the grandest measure.

There is no danger of minimising Sh.'s transformation of his source, and his Cl. is a fine instance of this. But it is also noticeable how often his transformation can be seen as a dramatic turning or equivalent of a Plutarchan idea, or a different response to a similar dramatic problem; and how often it is the *distinctive* Plutarchan touches which Sh. selects to elaborate (cf. esp. 32.5–8n.). What came first for Sh. was a peculiarly sensitive and thoughtful reading of the *Life*. What he did with P. was remarkable: but scarcely less remarkable was what he learned from P. about his story's dramatic potential, and the frequency with which he decided that P.'s own leading themes and ideas, when turned in his own way, would do very well.

## 6 THE TEXT

For critical apparatus and a description of the manuscripts the reader is referred to Ziegler's revised Teubner edition (1971), and for a full discussion of the tradition to his *Überlieferungsgeschichte der vergleichenden Lebensbeschreibungen Plutarchs* (Leipzig 1907). Apart from minor variations in punctuation and paragraphing, I have adopted different readings from Ziegler at the following places (an asterisk indicates that the reasons for my preference are stated or implicit in the commentary):

Pelling	Ziegler <sup>2</sup>
10.6* γυναικοκρατίας (Dindorf)	γυναικοκρασίας (codd.)
11.5* ἀνηγόρευσε (du Soul)	ἀναγορεῦσαι (codd.)
23.4* πρὸς δὲ (codd.)	[πρὸς δὲ] (Sintenis)
24.9 τούτῳ (codd.)	τοῦτο (Anon.)
24.12 τῷ φρονεῖν (Π Phot.)	τὸ φρονεῖν (KL).
25.5 τῷ φρονεῖν (ΠΚ)	τὸ φρονεῖν (L)
27.4* Τρωγοδύταις (Pelling)	Τρωγλοδύταις (codd.)
33.4 Ἀντώνιος (RKL)	ὁ Ἀντώνιος (ps.–App.P)
34.2* τὸν βασιλέως (ps.–App.ΠL)	τὸν τοῦ βασιλέως (Ziegler)
34.7 τραπομένων (codd.)	τρεπομένων (ps.–App.)

37.6	γινόμενον (codd.)	γενόμενον (ps.-App.)
39.2	οϊόμενος (codd.)	ἡγούμενος (ps.-App.)
39.7	κτείνουσιν (codd.)	κτενοῦσιν (Ziegler)
41.1	ὑποβαλεῖν (codd.)	ὑποβάλλειν (L'ps.-App.)
41.7*	διδόντες . . . λαμβάνοντες (codd.)	δόντες . . . λαβόντες (ps.- App.)
41.8*	ὑπὸ δέους μαχησομένους (Pelling)	† ὑπόδειγμα γενομένους (codd.)
42.1	γεγονέναι (codd.)	γενέσθαι (ps.-App.)
43.4	τιμὴν τε καὶ χάριν (codd.)	τιμὴν καὶ χάριν (ps.-App.)
43.5	ἢ περὶ . . . (codd.)	ἢ τε περὶ . . . (ps.-App.)
44.5	διδόναι (codd.)	δοῦναι (ps.-App.)
45.3	θυρεαφόροι (ΠΚps.-App.)	θυρεοφόροι (L)
45.7	. . . βραχὺν διὰ μάχης (codd.)	βραχὺν καὶ διὰ μάχης (ps.- App.)
47.5	τὸ δίψος ἐπέτεινεν (codd.)	τὸ δίψος δ' ἐπέτεινεν (ps.- App.)
48.5	ἓνα καλέσας (codd.)	καλέσας ἓνα (ps.-App.)
50.4	τοὺς μαχομένους . . . τοὺς φεύγοντας (codd.)	μαχομένους . . . φεύγοντας (ps.-App.)
53.7*	δάκρυον (Flacelière)	δακρῦον (Ziegler)
56.4*	πάλιν διαλύσεις (Pelling)	πάλιν αὐτοῦ διαλύσεις (codd.)
57.3	Ἀθηναίων (codd.)	Ἀθηναῖος (Vulcobijs)
60.2	κληρουχία, πόλις (Empirius)	πόλις κληρουχία (codd.)
61.2*	Βόγος (Pelling)	Βόκχος (codd.)
66.3*	<καὶ> (Koraes) πρὸς ἄλληλα δεδεμένων (Richards)	πρὸς ἄλληλα † δεδεμένοις (codd.)
66.8	μετεμβὰς (Π)	μεταβὰς (KLZon.)
66.8	τὴν ἀπολωλεκυῖαν (codd.)	τὴν ἐαυτὴν ἀπολωλεκυῖαν (Ziegler)
67.6	ἐπεισαν (codd.)	ἀνέπεισαν (Zon.)
69.3	κομισθεῖς (codd.)	ἀνακομισθεῖς (Zon.)
73.2*	ὑπὲρ ἡγεμόνος νεοῦ (Pelling)	ἀφ' ἡγεμόνος νεοῦ (codd.)
76.8*	ἀποστρέψας (ΠL)	ἀποστρεψάντος (K)
79.2	αὐτὰς (Reiske)	αὐτοῦ codd., del. Ziegler
83.4	αὐτοῦ (codd.)	αὐτῆς (Ziegler)

84.2	εἰς τρίτην ἡμέραν (codd.)	εἰς <Ψώμην μετὰ> τρίτην ἡμέραν (Ziegler)
86.9	χίλια (PKL)	δισχίλια (G)
87.8*	ἐπιμανῶς (du Soul)	ἐπιφανῶς (codd.)



## ΑΝΤΩΝΙΟΣ

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1. Ἀντωνίου πάππος μὲν ἦν ὁ ῥήτωρ Ἀντώνιος, ὃν τῆς Σύλλα γενόμενον στάσεως Μάριος ἀπέκτεινε, πατήρ δ' ὁ Κρητικὸς ἐπικληθεὶς Ἀντώνιος, οὐχ οὕτω μὲν εὐδόκιμος ἐν τοῖς πολιτικοῖς ἀνὴρ οὐδὲ λαμπρός, εὐγνώμων δὲ καὶ χρηστός ἄλλως τε καὶ πρὸς τὰς μεταδόσεις ἐλευθέριος, ὥς ἂφ' ἐνὸς ἂν τις ἔργου
- 2 καταμάθοι. κεκτημένος γὰρ οὐ πολλὰ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τῇ
- 916 φιλανθρωπίαι χρῆσθαι κωλυόμενος ὑπὸ τῆς γυναικός, ἐπεὶ τις ἀφίκετο τῶν συνήθων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀργυρίου δεόμενος, ἀργύριον μὲν οὐκ εἶχε, παιδαρίω δὲ προσέταξεν εἰς ἀργυροῦν σκύφον ὕδωρ ἐμβαλόντι κομίσαι· καὶ κομίσαντος ὥς ξύρεσθαι μέλλων
- 3 κατέβρεχε τὰ γένεια. τοῦ δὲ παιδαρίου καθ' ἑτέραν πρόφασιν ἐκποδῶν γενομένου, τὸν μὲν σκύφον ἔδωκε τῷ φίλῳ χρῆσθαι κελεύσας, ζητήσεως δὲ πολλῆς ἐν τοῖς οἰκέταις οὔσης, ὁρῶν χαλεπαίνουσιν τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ βουλομένην καθ' ἕκαστον ἐξετάζειν, ὡμολόγησε συγγνώμην ἔχειν δεηθείς.
2. Ἦν δ' αὐτῷ γυνὴ Ἰουλία τοῦ Καيسάρων οἴκου, ταῖς ἀρίσταις τότε καὶ σωφρονεστάταις ἐνάμιλλος. ὑπὸ ταύτης ὁ υἱὸς Ἀντώνιος ἐτράφη, μετὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς τελευτὴν Κορνηλίῳ Λέντλῳ γαμηθείσης, ὃν Κικέρων ἀπέκτεινε τῶν Κατιλίνα
- 2 συνωμοτῶν γενόμενον. αὕτη δοκεῖ τῆς σφοδρᾶς ἔχθρας Ἀντωνίῳ πρὸς Κικέρωνα πρόφασις καὶ ἀρχὴ γενέσθαι. φησὶ γοῦν Ἀντώνιος οὐδὲ τὸν νεκρὸν αὐτοῖς ἀποδοθῆναι τοῦ Λέντλου πρότερον ἢ τῆς γυναικὸς τοῦ Κικέρωνος τὴν μητέρα δεηθῆναι.
- 3 τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ὁμολογουμένως ψεῦδός ἐστιν· οὐδεὶς γὰρ εἵρχθη ταφῆς τῶν τότε κολασθέντων ὑπὸ τοῦ Κικέρωνος.
- 4 Ἀντωνίῳ δὲ λαμπρῶι καθ' ὥραν γενομένῳ τὴν Κουρίωνος φιλίαν καὶ συνήθειαν ὥσπερ τινὰ κῆρα προσπεσεῖν λέγουσιν, αὐτοῦ τε περὶ τὰς ἡδονὰς ἀπαιδεύτου γενομένου, καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ὥς μᾶλλον εἶη χειροήθης εἰς πότους καὶ γύναια καὶ
- 5 δαπάνας πολυτελεῖς καὶ ἀκολάστους ἐμβαλόντος. ἐξ ὧν ὄφλημα βαρὺ καὶ παρ' ἡλικίαν αὐτῷ συνήχθη πεντήκοντα καὶ

διακοσίων ταλάντων. τοῦτο πᾶν ἐγγυησαμένου τοῦ Κουρίωνος,  
 6 ὁ πατήρ αἰσθόμενος ἐξήλασε τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας. ὁ δὲ  
 βραχὺν μὲν τινα χρόνον τῇ Κλωδίου τοῦ θρασυτάτου καὶ  
 βδελυρωτάτου τῶν τότε δημαγωγῶν φορᾷ πάντα τὰ πράγ-  
 7 ματα ταραττούσῃ προσέμειξεν ἑαυτόν· ταχὺ δὲ τῆς ἐκείνου  
 μανίας μεστὸς γενόμενος καὶ φοβηθεὶς τοὺς συνισταμένους ἐπὶ τὸν  
 Κλώδιον, ἀπῆρεν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ διέτριβε τό-  
 τε σῶμα γυμνάζων πρὸς τοὺς στρατιωτικούς ἀγῶνας καὶ λέγειν  
 8 μελετῶν. ἐχρήτο δὲ τῷ καλουμένῳ μὲν Ἀσιανῶι ζήλῳ τῶν  
 λόγων, ἀνθοῦντι μάλιστα κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον, ἔχοντι δὲ  
 πολλὴν ὁμοιότητα πρὸς τὸν βίον αὐτοῦ, κομπῶδη καὶ φρυαγ-  
 ματίαν ὄντα καὶ κενοῦ γαυριάματος καὶ φιλοτιμίας ἀνωμάλου  
 μεστόν.

3. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Γαβίνιος ἀνὴρ ὑπατικός εἰς Συρίαν πλέων  
 ἀνέπειθεν αὐτὸν ὀρμῆσαι πρὸς τὴν στρατείαν, ἰδιώτης μὲν οὐκ ἂν  
 ἔφη συνεξελθεῖν, ἀποδειχθεὶς δὲ τῶν ἱππέων ἄρχων συνεστράτ-  
 2 ευε. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἐπ' Ἀριστόβουλον Ἰουδαίους ἀφιστάντα  
 πεμφθεὶς, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπέβη τοῦ μεγίστου τῶν ἔρυμάτων πρῶτος,  
 3 ἐκείνον δὲ πάντων ἐξήλασεν· εἷτα μάχην συνάψας καὶ τρεψάμενος  
 ὀλίγοις τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ τοὺς ἐκείνου πολλαπλασίους ὄντας,  
 ἀπέκτεινε πλὴν ὀλίγων ἅπαντας· αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τοῦ παιδὸς  
 4 Ἀριστόβουλος ἦλω. μετὰ ταῦτα Γαβίνιον ἐπὶ μυρίοις ταλάντοις  
 Πτολεμαίου πείθοντος εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἅμα συνεμβάλεῖν αὐτῷ καὶ  
 τὴν βασιλείαν ἀναλαβεῖν, οἱ μὲν πλεῖστοι τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἦναν-  
 τιοῦντο, καὶ Γαβίνιον δ' ὄκνος τις εἶχε τοῦ πολέμου, καίπερ  
 5 ἐξηνδραποδισμένον κοιμηθῇ τοῖς μυρίοις ταλάντοις, Ἀντώνιος δὲ  
 καὶ πράξεων μεγάλων ἐφιέμενος καὶ τῷ Πτολεμαίῳ χαριζόμενος  
 δεομένῳ, συνέπεισε μὲν καὶ συνεξώρμησεν ἐπὶ τὴν στρατείαν τὸν  
 6 Γαβίνιον· ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦ πολέμου μᾶλλον ἐφοβοῦντο τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ  
 917 Πηλούσιον ὁδόν, ἅτε δὴ διὰ ψάμμου βαθείας καὶ ἀνύδρου παρὰ  
 τὸ Ἑκρηγμα καὶ τὰ τῆς Σερβωνίδος ἔλη γινομένης αὐτοῖς τῆς  
 πορείας, ὃς Τυφῶνος μὲν ἐκπνοᾶς Αἰγύπτιοι καλοῦσι, τῆς δ'  
 Ἐρυθρᾶς θαλάσσης ὑπονόστησις εἶναι δοκεῖ καὶ διήθησις, ἥ  
 7 βραχυτάτῳ διορίζεται πρὸς τὴν ἐντὸς θάλασσαν ἰσθμῶι, πεμ-  
 φθεὶς μετὰ τῶν ἱππέων ὁ Ἀντώνιος οὐ μόνον τὰ στενὰ κατέσχευε,

ἀλλὰ καὶ Πηλούσιον ἑλών, πόλιν μεγάλην, καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ  
 φρουρῶν κρατήσας, ἅμα καὶ τὴν ὁδὸν ἀσφαλῆ τῷ στρατεύματι  
 καὶ τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς νίκης ἐποίησε τῷ στρατηγῷ βέβαιον.  
 8 ἀπέλαυσαν δὲ τῆς φιλοτιμίας αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι· Πτολεμαίου  
 γὰρ ἅμα τῷ παρελθεῖν εἰς τὸ Πηλούσιον ὑπ' ὀργῆς καὶ μίσους  
 9 ὠρμημένου φονεύειν τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους, ἐνέστη καὶ διεκώλυσεν. ἐν  
 δὲ ταῖς μάχαις καὶ τοῖς ἀγῶσι μεγάλοις καὶ συχνοῖς γενομένοις  
 πολλὰ καὶ τόλμης ἔργα καὶ προνοίας ἡγεμονικῆς ἀποδειξάμενος,  
 ἐμφανέστατα δὲ τῷ κυκλώσασθαι καὶ περιβαλεῖν κατόπιν τοὺς  
 πολεμίους τὴν νίκην τοῖς κατὰ στόμα παρασχών, ἀριστεῖα καὶ  
 10 τιμὰς ἔλαβε πρεπούσας. οὐ διέλαθε δὲ τοὺς πολλοὺς οὐδ' ἡ πρὸς  
 Ἀρχέλαον αὐτοῦ τεθηγκότα φιλανθρωπία· γεγονώς γὰρ αὐτῷ  
 συνήθης καὶ ξένος, ἐπολέμει μὲν ἀναγκαίως ζῶντι, τὸ δὲ σῶμα  
 11 πεσόντος ἐξευρών καὶ κοσμήσας βασιλικῶς ἐκήδευσεν. ἐπὶ  
 τούτοις Ἀλεξανδρεῦσί τε πλεῖστον αὐτοῦ λόγον κατέλιπε, καὶ  
 Ῥωμαίων τοῖς στρατευομένοις ἀνὴρ ἔδοξε λαμπρότατος εἶναι.

4. Προσῆν δὲ καὶ μορφῆς ἐλευθέριον ἀξίωμα, καὶ πῶγων τις  
 οὐκ ἀγεννῆς καὶ πλάτος μετώπου καὶ γρυπότης μυκτῆρος ἐδόκει  
 τοῖς γραφομένοις καὶ πλαττομένοις Ἡρακλέους προσώποις  
 2 ἐμπερὲς ἔχειν τὸ ἀρρενωπόν. ἦν δὲ καὶ λόγος παλαιὸς  
 Ἡρακλείδας εἶναι τοὺς Ἀντωνίους, ἀπ' Ἀντωνος παιδὸς  
 3 Ἡρακλέους γεγονότας. καὶ τοῦτον ὥιετο τὸν λόγον τῇ τε  
 μορφῇ τοῦ σώματος ὥσπερ εἴρηται καὶ τῇ στολῇ βεβαιοῦν· αἰ  
 γὰρ ὅτε μέλλοι πλείοσιν ὁρᾶσθαι, χιτῶνα εἰς μηρὸν ἔζωστο, καὶ  
 μάχαιρα μεγάλη παρήρτητο, καὶ σάγος περιέκειτο τῶν στερεῶν.  
 4 οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις φορτικὰ δοκοῦντα, μεγαλαυχία  
 καὶ σκῶμμα καὶ κώθων ἐμφανῆς καὶ καθίσαι παρὰ τὸν ἐσθίοντα  
 καὶ φαγεῖν ἐπιστάντα τραπέζῃ στρατιωτικῇ, θαυμαστὸν ὅσον  
 5 εὐνοίας καὶ πόθου πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐνεποίει τοῖς στρατιώταις. ἦν δέ  
 που καὶ τὸ ἔρωτικόν οὐκ ἀναφρόδιτον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτῳ πολλοὺς  
 ἔδημαγῶγει, συμπράττων τε τοῖς ἑρῶσι καὶ σκωπτόμενος οὐκ  
 6 ἀηδῶς εἰς τοὺς ἰδίους ἔρωτας. ἡ δ' ἐλευθεριότης καὶ τὸ μηδὲν  
 ὀλίγῃ χειρὶ μηδὲ φειδομένῃ χαρίζεσθαι στρατιώταις καὶ φίλοις  
 ἀρχὴν τε λαμπρὰν ἐπὶ τὸ ἰσχύειν αὐτῷ παρέσχε, καὶ μεγάλου  
 γενομένου τὴν δύναμιν ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἐπῆρεν, ἐκ μυρίων ἄλλων

7 ἁμαρτημάτων ἀνατρεπομένην. ἐν δέ τι τοῦ μεγαλοδώρου  
 παράδειγμα διηγήσομαι. τῶν φίλων τινὶ μυριάδας ἐκέλευσε  
 8 πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι δοθῆναι· τοῦτο Ῥωμαῖοι δεκίης καλοῦσι. τοῦ δ'  
 ἐπιτρόπου θαυμάσαντος, καὶ ἵνα δείξει τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῷ  
 καταβαλόντος ἐν μέσῳ τὸ ἀργύριον, ἠρώτησε παριῶν ὃ τι δὴ  
 9 τοῦτ' εἴη. τοῦ δ' ἐπιτρόπου φήσαντος ὥς ὃ κελεύσειε δοθῆναι,  
 συμβαλὼν αὐτοῦ τὴν κακοήθειαν ὁ Ἀντώνιος “ἐγὼ πλεῖον  
 ὦιμην” ἔφη “τὸ δεκίης εἶναι· τοῦτο δὲ μικρὸν ἐστίν· ὥστ' ἄλλο  
 πρόσθε αὐτῷ τοσοῦτον”.

5. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὕστερον. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ Ῥωμαίων πράγματα  
 διέστη, τῶν μὲν ἀριστοκρατικῶν Πομπηίῳ παρόντι προσ-  
 θεμένων, τῶν δὲ δημοτικῶν Καίσαρα καλούντων ἐκ Γαλατίας ἐν  
 2 τοῖς ὅπλοις ὄντα, Κουρίων ὁ Ἀντωνίου φίλος ἐκ μεταβολῆς  
 θεραπεύων τὰ Καίσαρος Ἀντώνιον προσηγάγετο, καὶ μεγάλην  
 μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ λέγειν ἐν τοῖς πολλοῖς ἔχων ἰσχύν, χρώμενος δὲ καὶ  
 δαπάναις ἀφειδῶς ἀφ' ὧν Καῖσαρ ἐχορήγει, δήμαρχον ἀπέδειξε  
 τὸν Ἀντώνιον, εἶτα τῶν ἐπ' οἰωνοῖς ἱερέων οὓς Αὐγούρας  
 3 καλοῦσιν. ὁ δ' εὐθύς εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν παρελθὼν οὐ μικρὸν ἦν ὄφελος  
 4 τοῖς πολιτευομένοις ὑπὲρ Καίσαρος. ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν Μαρ-  
**918** κέλλου τοῦ ὑπάτου Πομπηίῳ τοὺς τε συνειλεγμένους ἤδη  
 στρατιώτας παρεγγυῶντος καὶ καταλέγειν ἑτέρους διδόντος,  
 ἐμποδὼν ἔσται διάταγμα γράψας ὅπως ἡ μὲν ἡθροισμένη δύναμις  
 εἰς Συρίαν πλέη καὶ Βύβλωι βοηθῇ πολεμοῦντι Πάρθοις, οὓς δὲ  
 5 Πομπήιος καταλέγει, μὴ προσέχωσιν αὐτῷ· δεύτερον δὲ τὰς  
 Καίσαρος ἐπιστολάς οὐ προσιεμένων οὐδ' ἐόντων ἀνα-  
 γινώσκεσθαι τῶν συγκλητικῶν, αὐτὸς ἰσχύων διὰ τὸ ἀρχειν  
 ἀνέγνω, καὶ πολλοὺς μετέστησε τῇ γνώμῃ, δίκαια καὶ μέτρια  
 6 Καίσαρος ἀξιοῦν ἀφ' ὧν ἔγραψε δόξαντος. τέλος δὲ δευεῖν ἐρωτή-  
 σεων ἐν τῇ βουλῇ γενομένων, τῆς μὲν εἰ δοκεῖ Πομπήιον ἀφεῖναι  
 τὰ στρατεύματα, τῆς δ' εἰ Καίσαρα, καὶ Πομπήιον μὲν ὀλίγων  
 τὰ ὅπλα καταθέσθαι, Καίσαρα δὲ πάντων παρ' ὀλίγους  
 κελευόντων, ἀναστὰς Ἀντώνιος ἠρώτησεν εἰ δοκεῖ καὶ Πομπήιον  
 ὁμοῦ καὶ Καίσαρα τὰ ὅπλα καταθέσθαι καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις ἀφεῖναι.  
 7 ταύτην ἐδέξαντο λαμπρῶς τὴν γνώμην ἅπαντες, καὶ μετὰ βοῆς  
 8 ἐπαινοῦντες τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἡξίου ἐπιψηφίζεσθαι. μὴ βουλ-

ομένων δὲ τῶν ὑπάτων, αὐθις ἑτέρας οἱ Καίσαρος φίλοι προὔ-  
τειναν ἐπιεικεῖς εἶναι δοκούσας ἀξιώσεις, αἷς ὁ τε Κάτων  
ἀντέπιπτε, καὶ Λέντλος ὑπατεύων ἐξέβαλε τῆς βουλῆς τὸν  
9 Ἀντώνιον. ὁ δὲ πολλὰ μὲν αὐτοῖς ἐξιὼν ἐπηράσατο, λαβὼν δὲ  
θεράποντος ἐσθῆτα καὶ μισθωσάμενος μετὰ Κασσίου Κοίντου  
10 ζεύγος ἐξώρμησε πρὸς Καίσαρα· καὶ κατεβόων εὐθὺς ὀφθέντες ὥς  
οὐδένα κόσμον ἔτι τῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ πραγμάτων ἔχόντων, ὅτε μηδὲ  
δημάρχους παρρησίας μέτεστιν, ἀλλ' ἐλαύνεται καὶ κινδυνεύει  
πᾶς ὁ φθεγξάμενος ὑπὲρ τῶν δικαίων.

6. Ἐκ τούτου λαβὼν τὴν στρατιάν ὁ Καῖσαρ εἰς Ἰταλίαν  
ἐνέβαλε. διὸ καὶ Κικέρων ἐν τοῖς Φιλιππικοῖς ἔγραψε τοῦ μὲν  
Τρωικοῦ πολέμου τὴν Ἑλένην, τοῦ δ' ἐμφυλίου τὸν Ἀντώνιον  
2 ἀρχὴν γενέσθαι, περιφανῶς ψευδόμενος. οὐ γὰρ οὕτως εὐχερὴς  
ἦν οὐδὲ ῥαίδιος ὑπ' ὀργῆς ἐκπεσεῖν τῶν λογισμῶν Γάιος Καῖσαρ,  
ὥστ' εἰ μὴ ταῦτα πάλαι διέγνωστο πράττειν, οὕτως ἂν ἐπὶ  
καιροῦ τὸν κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος ἐξενεγκεῖν πόλεμον, ὅτι φαύλως  
ἡμφιεσμένον εἶδεν Ἀντώνιον καὶ Κάσσιον ἐπὶ ζεύγους μισθίου  
πεφευγότας πρὸς αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ ταῦτα πάλαι δεομένωι προ-  
3 φάσεως σχῆμα καὶ λόγον εὐπρεπῆ τοῦ πολέμου παρέσχεν. ἦγε  
δ' αὐτὸν ἐπὶ πάντας ἀνθρώπους, ἃ καὶ πρότερον Ἀλέξανδρον  
καὶ πάλαι Κῦρον, ἔρωσ ἀπαρηγόρητος ἀρχῆς καὶ περιμανῆς  
ἐπιθυμία τοῦ πρῶτον εἶναι καὶ μέγιστον· ὧν τυχεῖν οὐκ ἦν μὴ  
4 Πομπηίου καταλυθέντος. ὥς δ' οὖν ἐπελθὼν ἐκράτησε τῆς  
Ῥώμης καὶ Πομπήιον ἐξήλασε τῆς Ἰταλίας, καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἐν  
Ἰβηρίαι Πομπηίου δυνάμεις ἐπιστρέφειν ἔγνω πρότερον, εἴθ'  
οὕτως παρασκευασάμενος στόλον ἐπὶ Πομπήιον διαβαίνειν,  
Λεπίδωι μὲν στρατηγοῦντι τὴν Ῥώμην, Ἀντωνίωι δὲ δημαρ-  
5 χοῦντι τὰ στρατεύματα καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπέτρεψεν. ὁ δὲ τοῖς μὲν  
στρατιώταις εὐθὺς προσφιλὴς ἦν, συγγυμναζόμενος καὶ  
συνδιαιτώμενος τὰ πολλὰ καὶ δωρούμενος ἐκ τῶν παρόντων,  
6 τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις ἐπαχθὴς. καὶ γὰρ ἀδικουμένων ὑπὸ ῥαιθυμίας  
ὠλιγῶρει, καὶ πρὸς ὀργὴν ἠκροᾶτο τῶν ἐντυγχανόντων, καὶ  
7 κακῶς ἐπὶ γυναιξὶν ἀλλοτρίαις ἤκουε. καὶ ὅλως τὴν Καίσαρος  
ἀρχὴν, πάντα μᾶλλον ἢ τυραννίδα δι' αὐτὸν ἐκείνον φανεῖσαν,

οἱ φίλοι διέβαλλον, ὧν Ἀντώνιος ἀπ' ἐξουσίας μεγίστης ἁμαρτάνειν μέγιστα δόξας τὴν πλείστην αἰτίαν ἔλαβεν.

- 7.** Οὐ μὴν ἄλλ' ἐπανελθὼν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐκ τῆς Ἰβηρίας τὰ μὲν  
**919** ἐγκλήματα παρεῖδεν αὐτοῦ, πρὸς δὲ τὸν πόλεμον ὡς ἐνεργῶι καὶ  
 2 ἀνδρείῳ καὶ ἡγεμονικῶι χρώμενος οὐδαμῇ διήμαρτεν. αὐτὸς μὲν  
 οὖν μετ' ὀλίγων ἀπὸ Βρεντεσίου διαπεράσας τὸν Ἰόνιον, ἔπεμ-  
 ψεν ὀπίσω τὰ πλοῖα Γαβινίῳ καὶ Ἀντωνίῳ, τὰς δυνάμεις  
 ἐμβιβάζειν καὶ περαιοῦν κατὰ τάχος εἰς Μακεδονίαν ἐπιστείλας.  
 3 Γαβινίου δὲ πρὸς τὸν πλοῦν χαλεπὸν ὄντα χειμῶνος ὥραι  
 καταδειλιάσαντος καὶ πεζῇ μακρὰν ὁδὸν περιάγοντος τὸν  
 στρατόν, Ἀντώνιος ὑπὲρ Καίσαρος ἐν πολλοῖς ἀπειλημένου  
 πολεμίῳι φοβηθεὶς, Λίβωνα μὲν ἐφορμοῦντα τῶι στόματι τοῦ  
 λιμένος ἀπεκρούσατο, πολλὰ τῶν λεπτῶν ἀκατίων ταῖς  
 τριήρεσιν αὐτοῦ περιστήσας, ἐμβιβάσας δὲ ταῖς ναυσὶν ἵππεις  
 4 ὀκτακοσίους καὶ δισμυρίους ὀπλίτας ἀνήχθη. καὶ γενόμενος  
 καταφανὴς τοῖς πολεμίῳι καὶ διωκόμενος, τὸν μὲν ἐκ τούτων  
 κίνδυνον διέφυγε, λαμπροῦ νότου κῦμα μέγα καὶ κοίλην θάλατ-  
 ταν ταῖς τριήρεσιν αὐτῶν περιστήσαντος, ἐκφερόμενος δὲ ταῖς  
 ναυσὶ πρὸς κρηνοὺς καὶ φάραγγας ἀγχιβαθεῖς, οὐδεμίαν  
 5 ἐλπίδα σωτηρίας εἶχεν. ἄφνω δὲ τοῦ κόλπου πολὺν ἐκπνεύσαν-  
 τος λίβρα καὶ τοῦ κλύδωνος ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς εἰς τὸ πέλαγος δια-  
 χεομένου, μεταβαλόμενος ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς καὶ πλέων σοβαρῶς ὁρᾷ  
 6 ναυαγίων περίπλεων τὸν αἰγιαλόν. ἐνταῦθα γὰρ ἐξέβαλε τὸ  
 πνεῦμα τὰς διωκούσας αὐτὸν τριήρεις, καὶ διεφθάρησαν οὐκ  
 ὀλίγαι· καὶ σωμάτων πολλῶν καὶ χρημάτων ἐκράτησεν  
 Ἀντώνιος, καὶ Λίσσον εἶλε, καὶ μέγα Καίσαρι παρέσχε θάρσος, ἐν  
 καιρῶι μετὰ τηλικαύτης ἀφικόμενος δυνάμεως.

- 8.** Πολλῶν δὲ γινομένων καὶ συνεχῶν ἀγώνων, ἐν πᾶσι μὲν ἦν  
 διαπρεπής, δις δὲ φεύγοντας προτροπάδην τοὺς Καίσαρος  
 ἀπαντήσας ἀνέστρεψε, καὶ στῆναι καὶ συμβαλεῖν αὐθις τοῖς  
 2 διώκουσιν ἀναγκάσας ἐνίκησεν. ἦν οὖν αὐτοῦ μετὰ Καίσαρα  
 πλεῖστος ἐν τῶι στρατοπέδῳ λόγος. ἐδήλωσε δὲ Καῖσαρ ἦν ἔχοι  
 3 περὶ αὐτοῦ δόξαν. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἔμελλε τὴν τελευταίαν καὶ τὰ ὅλα  
 κρίνασαν ἐν Φαρσάλῳ μάχην μάχεσθαι, τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν αὐτὸς εἶχε

κέρας, τοῦ δ' εὐωνύμου τὴν ἡγεμονίαν Ἀντωνίῳ παρέδωκεν ὡς πολεμικωτάτῳ τῶν ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ.

4 Μετὰ δὲ τὴν νίκην δικτάτωρ ἀναγορευθεὶς, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐδίωκε Πομπήιον, Ἀντώνιον δ' ἵππαρχον ἐλόμενος εἰς Ῥώμην ἔπεμψεν.

5 ἔστι δ' ἡ ἀρχὴ δευτέρα τοῦ δικτάτορος παρόντος· ἂν δὲ μὴ παρῇ, πρώτη καὶ μόνη σχεδόν· ἡ γὰρ δημαρχία διαμένει, τὰς δ' ἄλλας καταλύουσι πάσας δικτάτορος αἰρεθέντος.

9. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τότε δημαρχῶν Δολοβέλλας, νέος ἀνὴρ καὶ νέων πραγμάτων ὀρεγόμενος, εἰσηγεῖτο χρεῶν ἀποκοπὰς, καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον αὐτῷ τε φίλον ὄντα καὶ βουλόμενον ἀεὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀρέσκειν ἔπειθε συμπράττειν καὶ κοινωνεῖν τοῦ  
2 πολιτεύματος. Ἀσινίου δὲ καὶ Τρεβελλίου τάναντία παρακαλούντων, ὑπόνοια δεινὴ κατὰ τύχην τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ προσέπεσεν ὡς ἀδικουμένῳ περὶ τὸν γάμον ὑπὸ τοῦ Δολοβέλλα.  
3 καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα βαρέως ἐνεγκών, τὴν τε γυναῖκα τῆς οἰκίας ἐξήλασεν ἀνεψιὰν οὖσαν αὐτοῦ (θυγάτηρ γὰρ ἦν Γαίου Ἀντωνίου τοῦ Κικέρωνι συνυπατεύσαντος) καὶ τοὺς περὶ  
4 Ἀσίνιον δεξάμενος ἐπολέμει τῷ Δολοβέλλαι. κατέλαβε γὰρ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐκεῖνος ὡς βίαι κυρώσων τὸν νόμον. Ἀντώνιος δέ, καὶ τῆς βουλῆς ψηφισαμένης ὀπλων δεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν Δολοβέλλαν, ἐπελθὼν καὶ μάχην συνάψας ἀπέκτεινέ τε τινὰς τῶν ἐκείνου καὶ  
5 τῶν ἰδίων ἀπέβαλε. τοῖς μὲν οὖν πολλοῖς ἐκ τούτων ἀπτηχθάνετο, τοῖς δὲ χρηστοῖς καὶ σώφροσι διὰ τὸν ἄλλον βίον οὐκ ἦν ἄρεστός, ὡς Κικέρων φησὶν, ἀλλ' ἐμισεῖτο, βδελυττομένων αὐτοῦ μέθας  
920 ἁώρους καὶ δαπάνας ἐπαχθεῖς καὶ κυλινθήσεις ἐν γυναικίσι, καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν μὲν ὕπνους καὶ περιπάτους ἀλύοντος καὶ κραιπαλῶντος, νύκτωρ δὲ κώμους καὶ θεάτρα καὶ διατριβὰς ἐν  
6 γάμοις μίμων καὶ γελωτοποιῶν. λέγεται γοῦν ὡς Ἱππίου ποτὲ τοῦ μίμου γάμους ἐστιαθεὶς καὶ πιὼν διὰ νυκτός, εἶτα πρῶι τοῦ δήμου καλοῦντος εἰς ἀγορὰν προελθὼν ἔτι τροφῆς μεστὸς ἐμέσειε,  
7 τῶν φίλων τινὸς ὑποσχόντος τὸ ἱμάτιον. ἦν δὲ καὶ Σέργιος ὁ μῖμος τῶν μέγιστον παρ' αὐτῷ δυναμένων, καὶ Κυθηρὶς ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς παλαιίστρας γύναιον ἀγαπώμενον, ὃ δὴ καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἐπιὼν ἐν φορείῳ περιήγετο, καὶ τὸ φορεῖον οὐκ ἐλάττους ἢ τὸ  
8 τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ περιέποντες ἠκολούθουν. ἐλύπουν δὲ καὶ

χρυσῶν ἐκπωμάτων ὥσπερ ἐν πομπαῖς ταῖς ἀποδημίαις δια-  
 φερομένων ὄψεις, καὶ στάσεις ἐνόδιοι σκηνῶν καὶ πρὸς ἄλλεσι καὶ  
 ποταμοῖς ἀρίστων πολυτελῶν διαθέσεις, καὶ λέοντες ἄρμασιν  
 ὑπεζευγμένοι, καὶ σωφρόνων ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν οἰκίαι  
 9 χαμαιτύπαις καὶ σαμβυκιστρίαις ἐπισταθμευόμεναι. δεινὸν γὰρ  
 ἐποιοῦντο Καίσαρα μὲν αὐτὸν ἔξω τῆς Ἰταλίας θυραυλεῖν, τὰ  
 περιόντα τοῦ πολέμου μεγάλοις πόνοις καὶ κινδύνοις ἀνακαθαιρ-  
 ὸμενον, ἑτέρους δὲ δι' ἐκείνον τρυφᾶν τοῖς πολίταις ἐνυβρίζοντας.

10. Ταῦτα καὶ τὴν στάσιν αὐξήσαι δοκεῖ καὶ τὸ  
 2 στρατιωτικὸν εἰς ὕβρεις δεινὰς καὶ πλεονεξίας ἀνεῖναι. διὸ καὶ  
 Καῖσαρ ἐπανελθὼν Δολοβέλλαι τε συγγνώμην ἔδωκε, καὶ τὸ  
 3 συνάρχοντα. τὴν δὲ Πομπηίου πωλουμένην οἰκίαν ὦνήσατο μὲν  
 Ἀντώνιος, ἀπαιτούμενος δὲ τὴν τιμὴν ἡγανάκτει· καὶ φησιν  
 αὐτὸς διὰ τοῦτο μὴ μετασχεῖν Καίσαρι τῆς εἰς Λιβύην στρατείας,  
 ἐπὶ τοῖς προτέροις κατορθώμασιν οὐ τυχὼν ἀμοιβῆς.

4 Ἔοικε μέντοι τὸ πολὺ τῆς ἀβελτερίας αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀσωτίας  
 ἀφελεῖν ὁ Καῖσαρ, οὐκ ἀναισθητῶς τὰ πλημμελήματα δεξάμενος.  
 5 ἀπαλλαγείς γὰρ ἐκείνου τοῦ βίου γάμῳ προσέσχε, Φουλβίαν  
 ἀγαγόμενος τὴν Κλωδίῳ τῷ δημαγωγῷ συνοικήσασαν, οὐ  
 ταλασίαν οὐδ' οἰκουρίαν φρονοῦν γύναιον οὐδ' ἀνδρὸς ἰδιώτου  
 κρατεῖν ἀξιοῦν, ἀλλ' ἄρχοντος ἄρχειν καὶ στρατηγοῦντος  
 6 στρατηγεῖν βουλόμενον, ὥστε Κλεοπάτραν διδασκάλια  
 Φουλβίαι τῆς Ἀντωνίου γυναικοκρατίας ὀφείλειν, πάνυ χειρο-  
 ῆθη καὶ πεπαιδαγωγημένον ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἀκροᾶσθαι γυναικῶν  
 7 παραλαβοῦσαν αὐτόν. οὐ μὲν ἀλλὰ κάκεινὴν ἐπειράτο προσ-  
 παίζων καὶ μεираκιευόμενος ἱλαρωτέραν ποιεῖν ὁ Ἀντώνιος·  
 οἷον ὅτε Καίσαρι πολλῶν ἀπαντῶντων μετὰ τὴν ἐν Ἰβηρίαι  
 νίκην, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐξῆλθεν· εἴτ' ἄφνω φήμης εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν  
 ἐμπεσούσης ὥς ἐπίασιν οἱ πολέμιοι Καίσαρος τεθνηκός,  
 8 ἀνέστρεψεν εἰς Ῥώμην. λαβὼν δὲ θεράποντος ἐσθῆτα νύκτωρ ἐπὶ  
 τὴν οἰκίαν ἦλθε, καὶ φήσας ἐπιστολὴν Φουλβίαι παρ' Ἀντωνίου  
 9 κομίζειν εἰσῆχθη πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐγκεκαλυμμένος. εἴθ' ἡ μὲν ἐκπαθῆς  
 οὔσα, πρὶν ἢ τὰ γράμματα λαβεῖν ἠρώτησεν εἰ ζῇ Ἀντώνιος· ὁ  
 δὲ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν σιωπῇ προτείνας, ἀρξαμένην λύειν καὶ ἀνα-

10 γινώσκειν περιβαλὼν κατεφίλησε. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὀλίγα πολλῶν ὄντων ἕνεκα δείγματος ἐξενηνόχαμεν.

11. Ἐκ δ' Ἰβηρίας ἐπανιόντι Καίσαρι πάντες μὲν οἱ πρῶτοι πολλῶν ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν ἀπήντων, ἐτιμήθη δ' Ἀντώνιος ἐκπρεπῶς  
 2 ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. κομιζόμενος γὰρ ἐπὶ ζεύγους διὰ τῆς Ἰταλίας Ἀντώνιον εἶχε μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ συνοχούμενον, ὅπισθεν δὲ Βρούτον Ἀλβῖνον καὶ τὸν τῆς ἀδελφῆς υἱὸν Ὀκταουιανόν, ὃς μετὰ ταῦτα  
 3 Καῖσαρ ὠνομάσθη καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἤρξε πλεῖστον χρόνον. ἐπεὶ δὲ  
 921 τὸ πέμπτον ἀπεδείχθη Καῖσαρ ὑπάτος, προσείλετο μὲν εὐθύς συνάρχοντα τὸν Ἀντώνιον, ἐβούλετο δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπειπάμενος Δολοβέλλαι παρεγγυῆσαι· καὶ τοῦτο πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον  
 4 ἐξήνεγκεν. Ἀντωνίου δὲ τραχέως ἀντιπεσόντος καὶ πολλὰ μὲν εἰπόντος κακὰ Δολοβέλλαν, οὐκ ἐλάττονα δ' ἀκούσαντος, τότε  
 5 μὲν αἰσχυνθεὶς τὴν ἀκοσμίαν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀπηλλάγη. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα προελθὼν ἀνηγόρευσε τὸν Δολοβέλλαν, Ἀντωνίου δὲ τοὺς οἰωνοὺς ἐναντιοῦσθαι βῶντος εἶξε καὶ προήκατο Δολοβέλλαν  
 6 ἀχθόμενον. ἐδόκει δὲ κάκεῖνον οὐδὲν ἦττον τοῦ Ἀντωνίου βδελύττεσθαι· λέγεται γὰρ ὥς, ἀμφοτέρους τινὸς ὁμοῦ διαβάλλοντος πρὸς αὐτόν, εἴποι μὴ δεδιέναι τοὺς παχεῖς τούτους καὶ κομήτας ἀλλὰ τοὺς ὥχρους καὶ λεπτοὺς ἐκείνους, Βρούτον λέγων καὶ Κάσσιον, ὅφ' ὧν ἔμελλεν ἐπιβουλευθεὶς ἀναίρεῖσθαι.

12. Κάκεῖνοις δὲ τὴν εὐπρεπεστάτην πρόφασιν ἄκων παρέσχε· Ἀντώνιος. ἦν μὲν γὰρ ἡ τῶν Λυκαίων ἑορτὴ Ῥωμαίοις ἦν Λουπερκάλια καλοῦσι, Καῖσαρ δὲ κεκοσμημένος ἐσθῆτι θριαμβικῇ καὶ καθήμενος ὑπὲρ βήματος ἐν ἀγορᾷ τοὺς διαθέοντας  
 2 ἐθεᾶτο· διαθέουσι δὲ τῶν εὐγενῶν νέοι πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων ἀλληλιμμένοι λίπα, σκύτεσι λασίοις καθικνούμενοι μετὰ παιδιᾶς  
 3 τῶν ἐντυγχανόντων. ἐν τούτοις ὁ Ἀντώνιος διαθέων τὰ μὲν πάτρια χαίρειν εἶασε, διάδημα δὲ δάφνης στεφάνῳ περιελίξας προσέδραμε τῷ βήματι, καὶ συνεξαρθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν συνθεόντων ἐπέθηκε τῇ κεφαλῇ τοῦ Καίσαρος, ὥς δὴ βασιλεύειν αὐτῷ  
 4 προσῆκον. ἐκείνου δὲ θρυπτομένου καὶ διακλίνοντος, ἦσθεις ὁ δῆμος ἀνεκρότησε· καὶ πάλιν ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐπῆγε, καὶ πάλιν  
 5 ἐκεῖνος ἀπετρίβετο. καὶ πολὺν χρόνον οὕτω διαμαχομένων, Ἀντωνίῳ μὲν ὀλίγοι τῶν φίλων βιαζομένῳ, Καίσαρι δ'

ἀρνούμενῳ πᾶς ὁ δῆμος ἐπεκρότει μετὰ βοῆς· ὃ καὶ θαυμαστὸν ἦν, ὅτι τοῖς ἔργοις τὰ τῶν βασιλευμένων ὑπομένοντες τοῦνομα  
 6 τοῦ βασιλέως ὥς κατάλυσιν τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἔφευγον. ἀνέστη μὲν οὖν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀχθεσθεὶς ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος, καὶ τὸ ἱμάτιον ἀπάγων ἀπὸ τοῦ τραχήλου τῷ βουλομένῳ παρέχειν τὴν  
 7 σφαγὴν ἐβόα. τὸν δὲ στέφανον ἐνὶ τῶν ἀνδριάντων αὐτοῦ περιτεθέντα δῆμαρχοὶ τινες κατέσπασαν, οὓς ὁ δῆμος εὐφημῶν μετὰ κρότου παρείπετο, Καῖσαρ δὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπέστησεν.

**13.** Ταῦτα τοὺς περὶ Βροῦτον καὶ Κάσσιον ἐπέρρωσε· καὶ τῶν φίλων τοὺς πιστοὺς καταλέγοντες ἐπὶ τὴν πρᾶξιν, ἐσκέπτοντο  
 2 περὶ Ἀντωνίου. τῶν δ' ἄλλων προσιεμένων τὸν ἄνδρα, Τρεβώνιος ἀντεῖπεν· ἔφη γὰρ ὑφ' ὃν χρόνον ἀπῆντων ἐξ Ἰβηρίας ἐπανιόντι Καίσαρι, τοῦ Ἀντωνίου συσκηνοῦντος αὐτῷ καὶ συνοδεύοντος, ἄψασθαι τῆς γνώμης ἀτρέμα πῶς καὶ μετ' εὐλαβείας, τὸν δὲ νοῆσαι μὲν, οὐ δέξασθαι δὲ τὴν πείραν, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ πρὸς Καίσαρα κατειπεῖν, ἀλλὰ πιστῶς κατασιωπῆσαι τὸν  
 3 λόγον. ἐκ τούτου πάλιν ἐβουλεύοντο Καίσαρα κτείναντες ἐπισφάττειν Ἀντώνιον· ἐκώλυσε δὲ Βροῦτος, ἀξιῶν τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν νόμων καὶ τῶν δικαίων τολμωμένην πρᾶξιν εἰλικρινῇ καὶ καθ-  
 4 ἀρὰν ἀδικίας εἶναι. φοβούμενοι δὲ τὴν τε ῥώμην τοῦ Ἀντωνίου καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀξίωμα, τάττουσιν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐνίους τῶν ἐκ τῆς συνωμοσίας, ὅπως ὅταν εἰσὶν Καῖσαρ εἰς τὴν βουλὴν καὶ μέλλῃ δρᾶσθαι τὸ ἔργον, ἔξω διαλεγόμενοί τι καὶ σπουδάζοντες κατ-  
 5 ἔχωσιν αὐτόν.

**14.** Τούτων δὲ πραττομένων ὥς συνετέθη, καὶ πεσόντος ἐν τῇ βουλῇ τοῦ Καίσαρος, εὐθύς μὲν ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐσθῆτα  
 2 θεράποντος μεταλαβὼν ἔκρυπεν αὐτόν. ὥς δ' ἔγνω τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐπιχειροῦντας μὲν οὐδενί, συνηθροισμένους δ' εἰς τὸ Καπιτώλιον, ἔπεισε καταβῆναι λαβόντας ὄμηρον παρ' αὐτοῦ τὸν υἱόν· καὶ  
 3 Κάσσιον μὲν αὐτὸς ἐδείπνισε, Βροῦτον δὲ Λέπιδος. συναγαγὼν  
 922 δὲ βουλὴν, αὐτὸς μὲν ὑπὲρ ἀμνηστίας εἶπε καὶ διανομῆς ἐπαρχιῶν τοῖς περὶ Κάσσιον καὶ Βροῦτον, ἣ δὲ σύγκλητος ἐκύρωσε ταῦτα, καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ Καίσαρος γεγονότων ἐψηφίσαντο μηδὲν  
 4 ἀλλάττειν. ἐξήκει δὲ τῆς βουλῆς λαμπρότατος ἀνθρώπων ὁ Ἀντώνιος, ἀνηιρηκέναι δοκῶν ἐμφύλιον πόλεμον καὶ πράγμασι

5 δυσκολίας ἔχουσι καὶ ταραχὰς οὐ τὰς τυχούσας ἐμφρονέστατα  
 6 κεχρηῆσθαι καὶ πολιτικώτατα. τούτων μέντοι ταχὺ τῶν  
 λογισμῶν ἐξέσεισεν αὐτὸν ἢ παρὰ τῶν ὀχλῶν δόξα, πρῶτον  
 7 ἐλπίσαντα βεβαίως ἔσεσθαι Βρούτου καταλυθέντος. ἔτυχε μὲν  
 οὖν ἐκκομιζομένου Καίσαρος ὥσπερ ἔθος ἦν ἐν ἀγοραῖ διεξιῶν  
 8 ἐγκώμιον· ὁρῶν δὲ τὸν δῆμον ὑπερφυῶς ἀγόμενον καὶ  
 κηλούμενον, ἐνέμειξε τοῖς ἐπαίνοις οἶκτον ἅμα καὶ δείνωσιν ἐπὶ  
 τῷ πάθει, καὶ τῷ λόγῳ τελευτῶντι τοὺς χιτωνίσκους τοῦ  
 τεθνηκότος ἡμαγμένους καὶ διακεκομμένους τοῖς ξίφεσιν  
 ἀνασείων καὶ τοὺς εἰργασμένους ταῦτα καλῶν παλαμναίους καὶ  
 8 ἀνδροφόνους, τοσοῦτον ὀργῆς ἐνέβαλε τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ὥστε τὸ  
 μὲν σῶμα τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐν ἀγοραῖ καθαγίσαι συνενεγκαμένους  
 τὰ βάρη καὶ τὰς τραπέζας, ἀρπάζοντας δὲ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς πυρᾶς  
 δαλοὺς ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκίας θεῖν τῶν ἀπεκτονότων καὶ προσμάχεσθαι.

15. Διὰ ταῦτα τῶν περὶ Βρούτον ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἀπελθόντων,  
 οἱ τε φίλοι τοῦ Καίσαρος συνίσταντο πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον, ἡ τε  
 γυνὴ Καλπουνρία πιστεύσασα τῶν χρημάτων τὰ πλεῖστα  
 κατέθετο πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας, εἰς λόγον τὰ σύμπαντα  
 2 τετρακισχιλίων ταλάντων. ἔλαβε δὲ καὶ τὰ βιβλία τοῦ Καίσαρος,  
 ἐν οἷς ὑπομνήματα τῶν κεκριμένων καὶ δεδογμένων ἦν ἀνα-  
 3 γεγραμμένα· καὶ τούτοις παρεγγράφων οὓς ἐβούλετο, πολλοὺς  
 μὲν ἄρχοντας ἀπεδείκνυε, πολλοὺς δὲ βουλευτάς, ἐνίους δὲ καὶ  
 κατῆγε πεφυγαδευμένους καὶ καθειργμένους ἔλυσεν, ὥς δὴ ταῦτα  
 4 τῷ Καίσαρι δόξαντα. διὸ τούτους ἅπαντας ἐπισκώπτοντες οἱ  
 Ῥωμαῖοι Χαρωνίτας ἐκάλουν· ἐλεγχόμενοι γὰρ εἰς τοὺς τοῦ  
 5 νεκροῦ κατέφευγον ὑπομνηματισμούς. καὶ τᾶλλα δ' ἐπραττεν  
 αὐτοκρατορικῶς ὁ Ἀντώνιος, αὐτὸς μὲν ὑπατεύων, τοὺς δ'  
 ἀδελφοὺς ἔχων συνάρχοντας, Γάιον μὲν στρατηγόν, Λεύκιον δὲ  
 δήμαρχον.

16. Ἐνταῦθα δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων ὄντων, ὁ νέος ἀφικνεῖται  
 Καῖσαρ εἰς Ῥώμην, ἀδελφῆς μὲν ὦν τοῦ τεθνηκότος υἱὸς ὥς  
 εἴρηται, κληρονόμος δὲ τῆς οὐσίας ἀπολελειμμένος, ἐν Ἀπολ-  
 2 λωνίαι δὲ διατρίβων ὑφ' ὃν χρόνον ἀνηρεῖτο Καῖσαρ. οὗτος  
 εὐθύς Ἀντώνιον ὥς δὴ πατρῷον φίλον ἀσπασάμενος, τῶν  
 παρακαταθηκῶν ἐμέμνητο· καὶ γὰρ ὤφειλε Ῥωμαίων ἐκάστωι

δραχμάς ἑβδομήκοντα πέντε δοῦναι, Καίσαρος ἐν ταῖς διαθήκαις  
 3 γράψαντος. Ἀντώνιος δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὡς μεираκίου κατα-  
 φρονῶν ἔλεγεν οὐχ ὑγιαίνειν αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ φρενῶν ἀγαθῶν  
 καὶ φίλων ἔρημον ὄντα φορτίον ἀβάστακτον αἵρεσθαι τὴν  
 4 Καίσαρος διαδοχὴν· μὴ πειθομένου δὲ τούτοις ἀλλ' ἀπαιτοῦντος  
 τὰ χρήματα, πολλὰ καὶ λέγων πρὸς ὕβριν αὐτοῦ καὶ πράττων  
 5 διετέλει. δημαρχίαν τε γὰρ ἐνέστη μετιόντι, καὶ δίφρον χρυσοῦν  
 τοῦ πατρὸς ὥσπερ ἐψήφιστο τιθέντος ἠπείλησεν εἰς φυλακὴν  
 6 ἀπάξειν εἰ μὴ παύσαιτο δημαγωγῶν. ἐπεὶ μέντοι Κικέρωνι δούς  
 ἑαυτὸν ὁ νεανίας καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅσοι τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐμίσουν, δι'  
 ἐκείνων μὲν ὠικειοῦτο τὴν βουλήν, αὐτὸς δὲ τὸν δῆμον ἀνελάμ-  
 βανε καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀπὸ τῶν κατοικιῶν συνῆγε, δείσας ὁ  
 Ἀντώνιος εἰς λόγους αὐτῷ συνῆλθεν ἐν Καπιτωλίῳ, καὶ διηλ-  
 7 λάγησαν. εἴτα κοιμώμενος ἐκείνης τῆς νυκτὸς ὄψιν εἶδεν ἄτοπον  
 ὁ Ἀντώνιος· ἐδόκει γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὴν δεξιὰν χεῖρα βεβλήσθαι  
 κεραυνῷ. καὶ μεθ' ἡμέρας ὀλίγας ἐνέπεσε λόγος ὡς ἐπιβουλεύοι  
 8 Καῖσαρ αὐτῷ. Καῖσαρ δ' ἀπελογεῖτο μὲν, οὐκ ἔπειθε δέ· καὶ  
 923 πάλιν ἦν ἐνεργὸς ἢ ἔχθρα, καὶ περιθέοντες ἀμφοτέροι τὴν  
 Ἰταλίαν, τὸ μὲν ἰδρυμένον ἐν ταῖς κατοικίαις ἤδη τοῦ  
 στρατιωτικοῦ μεγάλους ἀνίστασαν μισθοῖς, τὸ δ' ἐν ὅπλοις ἐπι-  
 τεταγμένον ὑποφθάνοντες ἀλλήλους προσήγοντο.

17. Τῶν δ' ἐν τῇ πόλει Κικέρων μέγιστον δυνάμενος καὶ  
 παροξύνων ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους, τέλος ἔπεισε  
 τὴν βουλήν ἐκείνον μὲν πολέμιον ψηφίσασθαι, Καίσαρι δὲ ῥαβ-  
 δουχίαν πέμψαι καὶ στρατηγικὰ κόσμια, Πάνσαν δὲ καὶ  
 2 Ἴρτιον ἀποστέλλειν ἐξελῶντας Ἀντώνιον ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας. οὗτοι  
 δ' ἦσαν ὕπατοι τότε· καὶ συμβαλόντες Ἀντωνίῳ περὶ πόλιν  
 Μυτίνην, Καίσαρος παρόντος καὶ συμμαχομένου, τοὺς μὲν  
 πολεμίους ἐνίκων, αὐτοὶ δ' ἀπέθανον.

3 Φεύγοντι δ' Ἀντωνίῳ πολλὰ συνέπιπτε τῶν ἀπόρων, ὁ δὲ  
 4 λιμὸς ἀπορώτατον. ἀλλὰ φύσει παρὰ τὰς κακοπραγίας ἐγένετο  
 βέλτιστος ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ δυστυχῶν ὁμοιότατος ἦν ἀγαθῷ, κοινοῦ  
 μὲν ὄντος τοῦ αἰσθάνεσθαι τῆς ἀρετῆς τοῖς δι' ἀπορίαν τινὰ  
 σφαλλομένοις, οὐ μὴν ἀπάντων ἃ ζηλοῦσι μιμεῖσθαι καὶ φεύγειν  
 ἃ δυσχεραίνουσιν ἐρρωμένων ἐν ταῖς μεταβολαῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ

μᾶλλον ἐνίων τοῖς ἔθεσιν ἐνδιδόντων ὑπ' ἀσθενείας καὶ  
 5 θραυομένων τὸν λογισμόν. ὁ δ' οὖν Ἀντώνιος τότε θαυμαστὸν  
 ἦν παράδειγμα τοῖς στρατιώταις, ἀπὸ τρυφῆς τοσαύτης καὶ  
 πολυτελείας ὕδωρ τε πίνων διεφθαρμένον εὐκόλως καὶ καρπούς  
 6 ἀγρίους καὶ ῥίζας προσφερόμενος. ἐβρώθη δὲ καὶ φλοιὸς ὡς  
 λέγεται, καὶ ζώων ἀγεύστων πρότερον ἤψαντο τὰς Ἀλπεῖς  
 ὑπερβάλλοντες.

18. Ἦν δ' ὁρμή τοῖς ἐπέκεινα στρατεύμασιν ἐντυχεῖν, ὧν  
 Λέπιδος ἦρχε, φίλος εἶναι δοκῶν Ἀντωνίου καὶ πολλὰ τῆς  
 2 Καίσαρος φιλίας ἀπολελαυκέναι δι' αὐτόν. ἐλθὼν δὲ καὶ  
 παραστρατοπεδεύσας πλησίον, ὡς οὐθὲν ἀπήντα φιλάνθρωπον,  
 ἔγνω παραβαλέσθαι. καὶ κόμη μὲν ἀττημελῆς καὶ βαθὺς πώγων  
 μετὰ τὴν ἡτταν εὐθύς ἦν αὐτῷ καθειμένος, λαβὼν δὲ φαιὸν  
 ἱμάτιον ἐγγὺς προσῆγε τῷ χάρακι τοῦ Λεπίδου καὶ λέγειν  
 3 ἤρξατο. πολλῶν δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν ἐπικλωμένων καὶ τοῖς  
 λόγοις ἀγομένων, δείσας ὁ Λέπιδος τὰς σάλπιγγας ἐκέλευσε  
 4 συνηχούσας ἀφελέσθαι τὸ κατακούεσθαι τὸν Ἀντώνιον. οἱ δὲ  
 στρατιῶται μᾶλλον ὠικτιραν καὶ διελέγοντο κρύφα, Λαίλιον καὶ  
 Κλώδιον ἀποστείλαντες πρὸς αὐτόν ἐσθῆτας λαβόντας ἐταιρ-  
 ευομένων γυναικῶν, οἱ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐκέλευον ἐπιχειρεῖν  
 θαρροῦντα τῷ χάρακι· πολλοὺς γάρ εἶναι τοὺς δεξομένους καὶ  
 5 τὸν Λέπιδον εἰ βούλοιτο κτενοῦντας. Ἀντώνιος δὲ Λεπίδου μὲν  
 οὐκ εἶασεν ἄψασθαι, μεθ' ἡμέραν δὲ τὸν στρατὸν ἔχων  
 ἀπεπειρᾶτο τοῦ ποταμοῦ. καὶ πρῶτος αὐτὸς ἐμβὰς ἐπορεύετο  
 πρὸς τὴν ἀντιπέραν ὄχθην, ὁρῶν ἤδη πολλοὺς τῶν Λεπίδου  
 στρατιωτῶν τὰς τε χεῖρας ὀρέγοντας αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν χάρακα  
 6 διασπῶντας. εἰσελθὼν δὲ καὶ κρατήσας ἀπάντων, ἡμερώτατα  
 Λεπίδῳ προσηνέχθη· πατέρα γὰρ προσηγόρευσεν αὐτόν  
 ἀσπασάμενος, καὶ τῷ μὲν ἔργῳ πάντων αὐτὸς ἦν κύριος,  
 ἐκείνῳ δ' ὄνομα καὶ τιμὴν αὐτοκράτορος διετέλει φυλάττων.  
 7 τοῦτο καὶ Πλάγκον αὐτῷ Μουνάτιον ἐποίησε προσθέσθαι,  
 8 καθήμενον οὐ πρόσω μετὰ συχνῆς δυνάμεως. οὕτω δὲ μέγας  
 ἄρθεις αὐθις ὑπερέβαλε τὰς Ἀλπεῖς, εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἄγων  
 ἑπτακαίδεκα τέλη πεζῶν σὺν αὐτῷ καὶ μυρίους ἵππεῖς· χωρὶς δὲ

φρουράν Γαλατίας ἐξ τάγματα λελοίπει μετὰ Οὐαρίου τινὸς τῶν συνήθων καὶ συμποτῶν, ὃν Κοτύλωνα προσηγόρευον.

- 924 19.** Καῖσαρ δὲ Κικέρωνι μὲν οὐκέτι προσεῖχε, τῆς ἐλευθερίας ὁρῶν περιεχόμενον, Ἀντώνιον δὲ προῦκαλεῖτο διὰ τῶν φίλων εἰς διαλύσεις. καὶ συνελθόντες οἱ τρεῖς εἰς νησιῖδα ποταμῶι περιρ-  
 2 ρεομένην ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας συνήδρευσαν. καὶ τᾶλλα μὲν ἐπιεικῶς ὠμολογεῖτο, καὶ διενείμαντο τὴν σύμπασαν ἀρχὴν ὥσπερ οὐσίαν πατρώϊαν ἐν ἀλλήλοις, ἥ δὲ περὶ τῶν ἀπολουμένων ἀνδρῶν ἀμφισβήτησις αὐτοῖς πλεῖστα πράγματα παρέσχε, τοὺς μὲν ἐχθροὺς ἀνελεῖν ἐκάστου, σῶσαι δὲ τοὺς προσήκοντας  
 3 ἀξιοῦντος. τέλος δὲ τῇι πρὸς τοὺς μισουμένους ὀργῇ καὶ συγγενῶν τιμὴν καὶ φίλων εὖνοιαν προέμενοι, Κικέρωνος μὲν Ἀντωνίῳ Καῖσαρ ἐξέστη, τούτῳ δ' Ἀντώνιος Λευκίου Καίσαρος, ὃς ἦν θεῖος αὐτῶι πρὸς μητρός· ἐδόθη δὲ καὶ Λεπίδῳ Παῦλον ἀνελεῖν τὸν ἀδελφόν· οἱ δὲ φασιν ἐκοτῆναι τοῦ Παύλου  
 4 τὸν Λέπιδον ἐκείνοις, ἀποθανεῖν αὐτὸν αἰτησαμένοις. οὐδὲν ὠμότερον οὐδ' ὀγριώτερον τῆς διαμείψεως ταύτης δοκῶ γενέσθαι· φόνων γὰρ ἀντικαταλλασσόμενοι φόνους, ὁμοίως μὲν οἷς ἐλάμβανον ἀνήιρουν οὕς ἐδίδοσαν, ἀδικώτεροι δὲ περὶ τοὺς φίλους ἦσαν οὕς ἀπεκτίννυσαν μηδὲ μισοῦντες.

- 20.** Ἐπὶ δ' οὖν ταῖς διαλλαγαῖς ταύταις οἱ στρατιῶται περιστάντες ἡξίουσαν καὶ γάμῳ τινὶ τὴν φιλίαν συνάψαι Καίσαρα, λαβόντα τὴν Φουλβίας τῆς Ἀντωνίου γυναικὸς θυγατέρα  
 2 Κλωδίαν. ὁμολογηθέντος δὲ καὶ τούτου, τριακόσιοι μὲν ἐκ προ-  
 3 γραφῆς ἐθανατώθησαν ὑπ' αὐτῶν. Κικέρωνος δὲ σφαγέντος ἐκέλευσεν Ἀντώνιος τὴν τε κεφαλὴν ἀποκοπῆναι καὶ τὴν χεῖρα  
 4 τὴν δεξιάν, ἥι τοὺς κατ' αὐτοῦ λόγους ἔγραψε. καὶ κομισθέντων ἐθεῶτο γεγηθῶς καὶ ἀνακαγχάζων ὑπὸ χαρᾶς πολλάκις· εἴτ' ἐμπλησθεὶς ἐκέλευσεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ βήματος ἐν ἀγορᾷ τεθῆναι, καθάπερ εἰς τὸν νεκρὸν ὑβρίζων, οὐχ αὐτὸν ἐνυβρίζοντα τῇι  
 5 τύχῃ καὶ καταισχύνοντα τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἐπιδεικνύμενος. ὁ δὲ θεῖος αὐτοῦ Καῖσαρ ζητούμενος καὶ διωκόμενος κατέφυγε πρὸς τὴν ἀδελφὴν. ἥ δέ, τῶν σφαγέων ἐπιστάντων καὶ βιαζομένων εἰς τὸ δωμάτιον αὐτῆς, ἐν ταῖς θύραις στᾶσα καὶ διασχοῦσα τὰς χεῖρας ἐβόα πολλάκις· “οὐκ ἀποκτενεῖτε Καίσαρα Λεύκιον, ἐὰν μὴ

πρότερον ἐμὲ ἀποκτείνητε τὴν τὸν αὐτοκράτορα τεκοῦσαν”.

6 ἐκείνη μὲν οὖν τοιαύτη γενομένη διέκλεψε καὶ διέσωσε τὸν ἀδελφόν.

21. Ἦν δὲ καὶ τὰ πολλὰ Ῥωμαίοις ἐπαχθὴς ἡ τῶν τριῶν ἀρχή, καὶ τὸ πλεῖστον ὁ Ἀντώνιος τῆς αἰτίας εἶχε, πρεσβύτερος μὲν ὢν Καίσαρος, Λεπίδου δὲ δυνατώτερος, εἰς δὲ τὸν βίον ἐκείνον αὐθις τὸν ἡδυπαθῆ καὶ ἀκόλαστον, ὥς πρῶτον ἀνεχαίτισε τῶν 2 πραγμάτων, ἐκκεχυμένος. προσῆν δὲ τῇ κοινῇ κακοδοξίᾳ τὸ διὰ τὴν οἰκίαν οὐ μικρὸν μῖσος ἦν ὥκει, Πομπηίου τοῦ Μεγάλου γενομένην, ἀνδρὸς οὐχ ἥττον ἐπὶ σωφροσύνῃ καὶ τῷ τεταγμένως καὶ δημοτικῶς διαιτᾶσθαι θαυμασθέντος ἢ διὰ τοὺς τρεῖς 3 θριάμβους. ἤχθοντο γὰρ ὁρῶντες αὐτὴν τὰ πολλὰ κεκλεισμένην μὲν ἡγεμόσι καὶ στρατηγοῖς καὶ πρέσβεσιν, ὠθουμένοις πρὸς ὕβριν ἀπὸ τῶν θυρῶν, μεστήν δὲ μίμων καὶ θαυματοποιῶν καὶ κολάκων κραιπαλώντων, εἰς οὓς τὰ πλεῖστα κατανηλίσκετο τῶν χρημάτων, τῷ βιαιοτάτῳ καὶ χαλεπωτάτῳ τρόπῳ πορίζ- 4 ομένων. οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἐπώλουν οὐσίας τῶν φονευομένων, ἐπισυκοφαντοῦντες οἰκείους καὶ γυναῖκας αὐτῶν, οὐδὲ τελῶν πᾶν ἐκίνησαν γένος, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ ταῖς Ἑστιάσι πυθόμενοι παρθένους παρακαταθήκας τινὰς κεῖσθαι καὶ ξένων καὶ πολιτῶν, 5 ἔλαβον ἐπελθόντες. ὥς δ’ οὐδὲν ἦν ἱκανὸν Ἀντωνίῳ, Καῖσαρ ἠξίωσε νεύμασθαι τὰ χρήματα πρὸς αὐτόν. ἐνείμαντο δὲ καὶ τὸν 925 στρατόν, ἐπὶ Βρούτον καὶ Κάσσιον εἰς Μακεδονίαν στρατεύοντες ἀμφότεροι, Λεπίδῳ δὲ τὴν Ῥώμην ἐπέτρεψαν.

22. Ὡς μέντοι διαβάντες ἤψαντο πολέμου καὶ παρεστρατοπέδευσαν τοῖς πολεμίοις, Ἀντωνίου μὲν ἀντιτεταγμένου Κασσίῳ, Βρούτῳ δὲ Καίσαρος, οὐθὲν ἔργον ἐφάνη μέγα τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἀλλ’ Ἀντώνιος ἦν ὁ νικῶν πάντα καὶ κατορθῶν. 2 τῇ μὲν γε προτέρᾳ μάχῃ Καῖσαρ ὑπὸ Βρούτου κατὰ κράτος ἡττηθεὶς, ἀπέβαλε τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ μικρὸν ἔφθη τοὺς διώκοντας ὑπεκφυγών· ὥς δ’ αὐτὸς ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασι γέγραφε, τῶν 3 φίλων τινὸς ὄναρ ἰδόντος ἀνεχώρησε πρὸ τῆς μάχης. Ἀντώνιος δὲ Κάσσιον ἐνίκησε· καίτοι γεγράφασιν ἔνιοι μὴ παραγενέσθαι τῇ μάχῃ τὸν Ἀντώνιον, ἀλλὰ προσγενέσθαι μετὰ τὴν μάχην 4 ἤδη διώκουσι. Κάσσιον δὲ Πίνδαρος τῶν πιστῶν τις ἀπ-

ελευθέρων αὐτοῦ δεομένου καὶ κελεύοντος ἔσφαξεν· οὐ γὰρ  
 5 ἔγνω νενικηκότα Βροῦτον. ὀλίγων δ' ἡμερῶν διαγενομένων  
 πάλιν ἐμαχέσαντο· καὶ Βροῦτος μὲν ἠττηθεὶς ἑαυτὸν ἀνείλεν,  
 Ἀντώνιος δὲ τῆς νίκης ἠνέγκαστο τῇ δόξῃ τὸ πλεῖστον, ὅτε δὴ  
 6 καὶ νοσοῦντος τοῦ Καίσαρος. ἐπιστάς δὲ τῷ Βρούτου νεκρῷ,  
 μικρὰ μὲν ὠνειδισεν ὑπὲρ τῆς Γαίου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τελευτῆς  
 (ἀνηιρήκει γὰρ ἐκείνον ὁ Βροῦτος ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ Κικέρωνι  
 τιμωρῶν), φήσας δὲ μᾶλλον Ὀρτήσιον ἢ Βροῦτον αἰτιᾶσθαι τῆς  
 τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σφαγῆς, Ὀρτήσιον μὲν ἐκέλευσεν ἐπισφάξαι τῷ  
 7 μνήματι, Βρούτῳ δὲ τὴν αὐτοῦ φοινικίδα πολλῶν χρημάτων  
 ἀξίαν οὔσαν ἐπέρριψε, καὶ τῶν ἀπελευθέρων τινὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ  
 8 προσέταξε τῆς ταφῆς ἐπιμεληθῆναι. τοῦτον ὕστερον γνοὺς οὐ  
 συγκατακαύσαντα τὴν φοινικίδα τῷ νεκρῷ καὶ πολλὰ τῆς εἰς  
 τὴν ταφὴν δαπάνης ὑφηρημένον ἀπέκτεινεν.

**23.** Ἐκ τούτου Καῖσαρ μὲν εἰς Ῥώμην ἐκομίζετο, δοκῶν οὐ  
 περιέσεσθαι πολὺν χρόνον ἐκ τῆς ἀρρωστίας, Ἀντώνιος δὲ τὰς  
 πρὸς ἑω πάσας ἐπαρχίας ἀργυρολογήσων διέβαινεν εἰς τὴν  
 Ἑλλάδα, πολλὴν στρατιὰν ἄγων· ὑπεσχημένοι γὰρ ἐκάστωι  
 στρατιώτῃ δραχμὰς πεντακισχιλίας, ἐδέοντο συντονωτέρου  
 2 χρηματισμοῦ καὶ δασμολογίας. τοῖς μὲν οὖν Ἕλλησιν οὐκ  
 ἄτοπος οὐδὲ φορτικὸς συνηνέχθη τό γε πρῶτον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ  
 παῖζον αὐτοῦ πρὸς ἀκροάσεις φιλολόγων καὶ θεᾶς ἀγώνων καὶ  
 μῦσαις ἔτρεπε, καὶ περὶ τὰς κρίσεις ἦν ἐπιεικής, καὶ φιλέλλην  
 ἀκούων ἔχαιρεν, ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον φιλαθήναιος προσαγορευόμενος,  
 3 καὶ τῇ πόλει πλείστας δωρεὰς ἔδωκε. βουλομένων δέ τι καὶ  
 Μεγαρέων καλὸν ἀντεπιδείξασθαι ταῖς Ἀθήναις καὶ τὸ βουλ-  
 ευτήριον ἰδεῖν αὐτὸν ἀξιωσάντων, ἀναβὰς καὶ θεασάμενος, ὥς  
 4 ἐπυνθάνοντο τί δοκοίη, “μικρὸν μὲν” ἔφη “σαπρὸν δέ.” πρὸς δὲ  
 καὶ τὸν τοῦ Πυθίου νεῶν κατεμέτρησεν ὥς συντελέσων· τοῦτο  
 γὰρ ὑπέσχετο πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον.

**24.** Ἐπεὶ δὲ Λεύκιον Κηνσωρίνον ἐπὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος  
 καταλιπὼν εἰς Ἀσίαν διέβη καὶ τῶν ἐκεῖ πλούτων ἠψατο, καὶ  
 βασιλεῖς ἐπὶ θύρας ἐφοίτων καὶ βασιλέων γυναικες ἀμιλλώμεναι  
 δωρεαῖς πρὸς ἀλλήλας καὶ κάλλεσιν ἐφθείροντο πρὸς αὐτόν, ἐν  
 Ῥώμῃ δὲ Καῖσαρος στάσεσι καὶ πολέμοις ἀποτρυχομένου,

2 πολλήν αὐτὸς ἄγων σχολήν καὶ εἰρήνην ἀνεκυκλεῖτο τοῖς  
 πάθεσιν εἰς τὸν συνήθη βίον, Ἀναξήνορες δὲ κιθαρωῖδοι καὶ  
 Εὐῶθοι χοραῦλαι καὶ Μητρόδωρός τις ὀρχηστὴς καὶ τοιοῦτος  
 ἄλλος Ἀσιανῶν ἀκροαμάτων θίασος, ὑπερβαλλομένων λαμυρίαι  
 καὶ βωμολοχίαι τὰς ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας κῆρας, εἰσερρύη καὶ διώκει  
 3 τὴν αὐλήν, οὐδὲν ἦν ἀνεκτόν, εἰς ταῦτα φορουμένων ἀπάντων. ἡ  
 926 γὰρ Ἀσία πᾶσα, καθάπερ ἡ Σοφόκλειος ἐκείνη πόλις, ὁμοῦ μὲν  
 θυμιαμάτων ἔγεμεν,

ὁμοῦ δὲ παιάνων τε καὶ στεναγμάτων·

4 εἰς γοῦν Ἐφεσον εἰσιόντος αὐτοῦ, γυναῖκες μὲν εἰς Βάκχας, ἄνδρες  
 δὲ καὶ παῖδες εἰς Σατύρους καὶ Πᾶνας ἡγοῦντο διεσκευασμένοι,  
 κιττοῦ δὲ καὶ θύρσων καὶ ψαλτηρίων καὶ συρίγγων καὶ αὐλῶν ἡ  
 πόλις ἦν πλέα, Διόνυσον αὐτὸν ἀνακαλουμένων Χαριδότην καὶ  
 5 Μειλίχιον. ἦν γὰρ ἀμέλει τοιοῦτος ἐνίοις, τοῖς δὲ πολλοῖς  
 Ὠμηστὴς καὶ Ἀγριώνιος. ἀφηριεῖτο γὰρ εὐγενεῖς ἀνθρώπους τὰ  
 6 ὄντα, μαστιγίαις καὶ κόλαξι χαριζόμενος. πολλῶν δὲ καὶ ζώντων  
 ὡς τεθνηκότων αἰτησάμενοί τινες οὐσίας ἔλαβον. ἀνδρὸς δὲ  
 Μάγνητος οἶκον ἔδωρῆσατο μαγείρῳ· περὶ ἔν ὡς λέγεται  
 7 δεῖπνον εὐδοκιμήσαντι. τέλος δὲ ταῖς πόλεσι δεύτερον ἐπιβάλ-  
 λοντος φόρον, ἐτόλμησεν Ὑβρέας ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἀσίας λέγων εἰπεῖν  
 ἀγοραίως μὲν ἐκεῖνα καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἀντωνίου ζῆλον οὐκ ἀηδῶς·  
 “εἰ δύνασαι δις λαβεῖν ἐνὸς ἐνιαυτοῦ φόρον, δύνασαι καὶ δις ἡμῖν  
 8 ποιήσασθαι θέρος καὶ δις ὁπώραν;” πρακτικῶς δὲ καὶ  
 παραβόλως συναγαγὼν, ὅτι μυριάδας εἴκοσι ταλάντων ἡ Ἀσία  
 δέδωκε, “ταῦτα” εἶπεν “εἰ μὲν οὐκ εἴληφας, ἀπαίτει παρὰ τῶν  
 9 λαβόντων· εἰ δὲ λαβὼν οὐκ ἔχεις, ἀπολώλαμεν”. ἐτρέψατο  
 τούτῳ δεινῶς τὸν Ἀντώνιον· ἡγνόει γὰρ τὰ πολλὰ τῶν  
 γιγνομένων, οὐχ οὕτω ῥαίθυμος ὢν ὡς δι’ ἀπλότητα πιστεύων  
 10 τοῖς περὶ αὐτόν. ἐνῆν γὰρ ἀπλότης τῷ ἦθει καὶ βραδεῖα μὲν  
 αἰσθησις, αἰσθανομένῳ δὲ τῶν ἁμαρτανομένων ἰσχυρὰ μετάνοια  
 καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐξομολόγησις τοὺς ἀγνωμονηθέντας, μέγεθος δὲ  
 καὶ περὶ τὰς ἀμοιβὰς καὶ περὶ τὰς τιμωρίας· μᾶλλον γε μὴν ἐδόκει  
 11 χαριζόμενος ἢ κολάζων ὑπερβάλλειν τὸ μέτριον. ἡ δὲ περὶ τὰς  
 παιδιὰς καὶ τὰς ἐπισκώψεις ὕβρις ἐν αὐτῇ τὸ φάρμακον εἶχεν·

ἀντισκῶψαι γὰρ ἐξῆν καὶ ἀνθυβρίσαι, καὶ γελῶμενος οὐχ ἥττον  
 12 ἢ γελῶν ἔχαιρε. καὶ τοῦτο διελυμήνατο τὰ πολλὰ τῶν πραγ-  
 μάτων. τοὺς γὰρ ἐν τῷ παίζειν παρρησιαζόμενους οὐκ ἂν οἴηθεις  
 σπουδάζοντας κολακεύειν αὐτόν, ἠλίσκετο ῥαιδίως ὑπὸ τῶν  
 ἐπαίνων, ἀγνοῶν ὅτι τὴν παρρησίαν τινὲς ὡς ὑποστῦφον  
 ἥδυσμα τῇ κολακείᾳ παραμειγνύντες ἀφήιρουν τὸ πλήσμιον,  
 τῇ παρὰ τὴν κύλικα θρασύτητι καὶ λαλιᾷ διαμηχανώμενοι τὴν  
 ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ὕφεσιν καὶ συγκατάθεσιν μὴ πρὸς χάριν  
 ὁμιλούντων, ἀλλὰ τῷ φρονεῖν ἡττωμένων φαίνεσθαι.

**25.** Τοιούτῳ δ' οὖν ὄντι τὴν φύσιν Ἀντωνίῳ τελευτάϊον  
 κακὸν ὁ Κλεοπάτρας ἔρως ἐπιγενόμενος καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἐπι-  
 κρυπτομένων ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ ἀτρεμοῦντων παθῶν ἐγείρας καὶ  
 ἀναβακχεύσας, εἴ τι χρηστὸν ἢ σωτήριον ὁμῶς ἀντεῖχεν, ἠφάνισε  
 2 καὶ προσδιέφθειρεν. ἠλίσκεται δὲ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον. ἀπτόμενος  
 τοῦ Παρθικοῦ πολέμου, ἔπεμψε πρὸς αὐτὴν κελεύων εἰς Κιλικίαν  
 ἀπαντῆσαι, λόγον ὑφέξουσιν ὧν ἐνεκαλεῖτο τοῖς περὶ Κάσσιον  
 3 δοῦναι πολλὰ καὶ συμβαλέσθαι πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον. ὁ δὲ πεμφθεὶς  
 Δέλλιος ὡς εἶδε τὴν ὄψιν καὶ κατέμαθε τὴν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις  
 δεινότητα καὶ πανουργίαν, εὐθύς αἰσθόμενος ὅτι κακὸν μὲν οὐδὲ  
 μελλήσει τι ποιεῖν γυναῖκα τοιαύτην Ἀντώνιος, ἔσται δὲ μεγίστη  
 παρ' αὐτῷ, τρέπεται πρὸς τὸ θεραπεύειν καὶ προτρέπεσθαι τὴν  
 Αἰγυπτίαν, τοῦτο δὴ τὸ Ὀμηρικόν, “ἐλθεῖν εἰς Κιλικίαν εὖ  
 ἐντύνασαν ἔαυτήν”, καὶ μὴ φοβεῖσθαι τὸν Ἀντώνιον, ἡδιστον  
 4 ἡγεμόνων ὄντα καὶ φιλανθρωπότατον. ἢ δὲ καὶ Δελλίῳ  
 πεισθεῖσα καὶ τοῖς πρὸς Καίσαρα καὶ Γναῖον τὸν Πομπηίου  
 παῖδα πρότερον αὐτῇ γενομένοις ἀφ' ὥρας συμβολαίοις τεκ-  
 5 μαιρομένη, ῥᾷον ἤλπιζεν ὑπάξεσθαι τὸν Ἀντώνιον. ἐκεῖνοι μὲν  
 927 γὰρ αὐτὴν ἐτι κόρην καὶ πραγμάτων ἄπειρον ἔγνωσαν, πρὸς δὲ  
 τοῦτον ἔμελλε φοιτήσιν ἐν ᾧ μάλιστα καιροῦ γυναῖκες ὥραν τε  
 6 λαμπροτάτην ἔχουσι καὶ τῷ φρονεῖν ἀκμάζουσι. διὸ πολλὰ μὲν  
 συνεσκευάσατο δῶρα καὶ χρήματα καὶ κόσμον, οἷον εἰκὸς ἦν ἀπὸ  
 πραγμάτων μεγάλων καὶ βασιλείας εὐδαίμονος κομίζειν, τὰς δὲ  
 πλείστας ἐν ἑαυτῇ καὶ τοῖς περὶ αὐτὴν μαγγανεύμασι καὶ  
 φίλτροις ἐλπίδας θεμένη παρεγένετο.

**26.** Πολλὰ δὲ καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ παρὰ τῶν φίλων δεχομένη  
 γράμματα καλούντων, οὕτως κατεφρόνησε καὶ κατεγέλασε τοῦ  
 ἀνδρός, ὥστε πλεῖν ἀνὰ τὸν Κύδνον ποταμὸν ἐν πορθμείῳ  
 χρυσοπρύμνῳ, τῶν μὲν ἱστίων ἀλουργῶν ἐκπεπετασμένων, τῆς  
 δ' εἰρεσίας ἀργυραῖς κώπαις ἀναφερομένης πρὸς αὐλὸν ἅμα  
 2 σύριγξι καὶ κιθάραις συνηρμοσμένον. αὕτῃ δὲ κατέκειτο μὲν ὑπὸ  
 σκιάδι χρυσοπάστῳ, κεκοσμημένη γραφικῶς ὥσπερ Ἀφροδίτῃ,  
 παῖδες δὲ τοῖς γραφικοῖς Ἔρωσιν εἰκασμένοι παρ' ἑκάτερον  
 3 ἐστῶτες ἐρρίπιζον. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ θεραπαινίδες αἱ καλλιστεύουσαι  
 Νηρηίδων ἔχουσαι καὶ Χαρίτων στολὰς, αἱ μὲν πρὸς οἴαξιν, αἱ δὲ  
 πρὸς κάλοις ἦσαν. ὁδμαὶ δὲ θαυμασταὶ τὰς ὄχθας ἀπὸ  
 4 θυμιαμάτων πολλῶν κατεῖχον. τῶν δ' ἀνθρώπων οἱ μὲν εὐθύς  
 ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ παρωμάρτουν ἑκατέρωθεν, οἱ δ' ἀπὸ τῆς  
 πόλεως κατέβαινον ἐπὶ τὴν θέαν. ἐκχεομένου δὲ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν  
 ἀγορὰν ὄχλου, τέλος αὐτὸς ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐπὶ βήματος καθεζόμενος  
 5 ἀπελείφθη μόνος. καὶ τις λόγος ἐχώρει διὰ πάντων, ὥς ἡ  
 Ἀφροδίτῃ κωμάζοι πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον ἐπ' ἀγαθῶι τῆς Ἀσίας.  
 6 Ἐπεμψε μὲν οὖν καλῶν αὐτὴν ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον· ἡ δὲ μᾶλλον  
 ἐκείνον ἡξίου πρὸς ἑαυτὴν ἦκειν. εὐθύς οὖν τινα βουλόμενος  
 εὐκολίαν ἐπιδείκνυσθαι καὶ φιλοφροσύνην, ὑπήκουσε καὶ ἦλθεν.  
 ἐντυχὼν δὲ παρασκευῇ λόγου κρείττονι, μάλιστα τῶν φώτων  
 7 τὸ πλῆθος ἐξεπλάγη. τοσαῦτα γὰρ λέγεται καθίεσθαι καὶ ἀνα-  
 φαίνεσθαι πανταχόθεν ἅμα, καὶ τοιαύταις πρὸς ἄλληλα κλίσεσι  
 καὶ θέσεσι διακεκοσμημένα καὶ συντεταγμένα πλαισίῳ καὶ περι-  
 φερῶν τρόπῳ, ὥστε τῶν ἐν ὀλίγοις ἀξιοθεάτων καὶ καλῶν  
 ἐκείνην γενέσθαι τὴν ὄψιν.

**27.** Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ πάλιν ἀνθεστιῶν αὐτὴν, ἐφιλοτιμήθη μὲν  
 ὑπερβαλέσθαι τὴν λαμπρότητα καὶ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν, ἀμφοῖν δὲ  
 λειπόμενος καὶ κρατούμενος ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις, πρῶτος ἔσκωπτεν  
 2 εἰς αὐχμὸν καὶ ἀγροικίαν τὰ παρ' αὐτῶι. πολὺ δ' ἡ Κλεοπάτρα  
 καὶ τοῖς σκώμμασι τοῦ Ἀντωνίου τὸ στρατιωτικὸν ἐνορῶσα καὶ  
 βάνανυσον, ἐχρῆτο καὶ τούτῳ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀνειμένως ἤδη καὶ  
 3 κατατεθαρρηκότως. καὶ γὰρ ἦν ὥς λέγουσιν αὐτὸ μὲν καθ' αὐτὸ  
 τὸ κάλλος αὐτῆς οὐ πάνυ δυσπαράβλητον οὐδ' οἷον ἐκπλήξαι  
 τοὺς ἰδόντας, ἀφὴν δ' εἶχεν ἡ συνδιαίτησις ἀφυκτον, ἡ τε μορφή

μετὰ τῆς τῶι διαλέγεσθαι πιθανότητος καὶ τοῦ περιθέοντος ἅμα  
 4 πῶς περὶ τὴν ὁμιλίαν ἦθους ἀνέφερε τι κέντρον. ἡδονὴ δὲ καὶ  
 φθεγγομένης ἐπὶ τῶι ἤχῳ· καὶ τὴν γλῶτταν ὥσπερ ὄργανόν  
 τι πολύχορδον εὐπετῶς τρέπουσα καθ' ἣν βούλοιτο διάλεκτον,  
 ὀλίγοις παντάπασι δι' ἑρμηνέως ἐνετύγχανε βαρβάροις, τοῖς δὲ  
 πλείστοις αὐτὴ δι' αὐτῆς ἀπεδίδου τὰς ἀποκρίσεις, οἷον Αἰθίοφι  
 Τρωγοδύταις Ἑβραίοις Ἀραψι Σύροις Μήδοις Παρθυαίοις.  
 5 πολλῶν δὲ λέγεται καὶ ἄλλων ἐκμαθεῖν γλώττας, τῶν πρὸ αὐτῆς  
 βασιλέων οὐδὲ τὴν Αἰγυπτίαν ἀνασχομένων παραλαβεῖν διά-  
 λεκτον, ἐνίων δὲ καὶ τὸ μακεδονίζειν ἐκλιπόντων.

28. Οὕτω δ' οὖν τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἥρπασεν, ὥστε πολемоῦσης  
 μὲν ἐν Ῥώμῃ Καίσαρι Φουλβίας τῆς γυναικὸς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐκείνου  
 πραγμάτων, αἰωρουμένης δὲ Παρθικῆς στρατιᾶς περὶ τὴν  
 Μεσοποταμίαν, ἥς Λαβιηνὸν οἱ βασιλέως στρατηγοὶ Παρθικὸν  
 928 ἀναγορεύσαντες αὐτοκράτορα Συρίας ἐπιβατεύσειν ἔμελλον, οἵ-  
 χεσθαι φερόμενον ὑπ' αὐτῆς εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, ἐκεῖ δὲ μεираκίου  
 σχολὴν ἄγοντος διατριβαῖς καὶ παιδίαῖς χρώμενον, ἀναλίσκειν  
 καὶ καθηδυπαθεῖν τὸ πολυτελέστατον ὥς Ἀντιφῶν εἶπεν  
 2 ἀνάλωμα, τὸν χρόνον. ἦν γὰρ τις αὐτοῖς σύνοδος Ἀμιμητοβίων  
 λεγομένη, καὶ καθ' ἡμέραν εἰστίων ἀλλήλους, ἄπιστόν τινα ποι-  
 3 ούμενοι τῶν ἀναλισκομένων ἀμετρίαν. διηγεῖτο γοῦν ἡμῶν τῶι  
 πάππῳ Λαμπρίαί Φιλώτας ὁ Ἀμφισσεὺς ἰατρός, εἶναι μὲν ἐν  
 Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ τότε μανθάνων τὴν τέχνην, γενόμενος δὲ τινι τῶν  
 βασιλικῶν ὀψοποιῶν συνήθης, ἀναπεισθῆναι νέος ὢν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ  
 τὴν πολυτέλειαν καὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν τοῦ δείπνου θεάσασθαι.  
 4 παρειαχθεὶς οὖν εἰς τοῦπτανεῖον, ὥς τὰ τ' ἄλλα πάμπολλα  
 ἑώρα καὶ σὺς ἀγρίους ὀπτωμένους ὀκτῶ, θαυμάσαι τὸ πλῆθος  
 5 τῶν δειπνούντων. τὸν δ' ὀψοποιὸν γελάσαι καὶ εἰπεῖν, ὅτι  
 πολλοὶ μὲν οὐκ εἰσὶν οἱ δειπνοῦντες, ἀλλὰ περὶ δώδεκα· δεῖ δ'  
 ἄκμην ἔχειν τῶν παρατιθεμένων ἕκαστον, ἣν ἀκαρὲς ὥρας  
 6 μαραίνει. καὶ γὰρ αὐτίκα γένοιτ' ἂν Ἀντώνιον δείπνου δεηθῆναι  
 καὶ μετὰ μικρόν, ἂν δ' οὕτω τύχηι παραγαγεῖν αἰτήσαντα  
 ποτήριον ἢ λόγου τινὸς ἐμπεσόντος. ὅθεν οὐχ ἔν, ἀλλὰ πολλά,  
 7 φάναι, δεῖπνα συντέτακται· δυσστόχαστος γὰρ ὁ καιρός. ταῦτ'  
 οὖν ὁ Φιλώτας ἔλεγε, καὶ χρόνου προϊόντος ἐν τοῖς θεραπεύουσι

γενέσθαι τὸν πρεσβύτατον τῶν Ἀντωνίου παίδων ὃν ἐκ  
 Φουλβίας εἶχε, καὶ συνδειπνεῖν παρ' αὐτῷ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων  
 8 ἑταίρων ἐπιεικῶς, ὅποτε μὴ δειπνοίῃ μετὰ τοῦ πατρός. Ἰατρὸν  
 οὖν ποτε θρασυόμενον καὶ πράγματα πολλὰ παρέχοντα  
 δειπνοῦσιν αὐτοῖς ἐπιστομίσαι τοιούτῳ σοφίσματι· “ τῷ πως  
 9 πυρέττοντι δοτέον ψυχρόν· πᾶς δ' ὁ πυρέττων πως πυρέττει·  
 παντὶ ἄρα πυρέττοντι δοτέον ψυχρόν ”. πληγέντος δὲ τοῦ  
 ἀνθρώπου καὶ σιωπήσαντος, ἡσθέντα τὸν παῖδα γελάσαι καὶ  
 εἰπεῖν “ ταῦτ' ὦ Φιλῶτα χαρίζομαι πάντα σοι ”, δείξαντα  
 πολλῶν τινων καὶ μεγάλων ἐκπωμάτων μεστήν τράπεζαν.  
 10 αὐτοῦ δὲ τὴν προθυμίαν ἀποδεξαμένου, πόρρω δ' ὄντος τοῦ  
 νομίζειν ἐξουσίαν εἶναι παιδὶ τηλικούτῳ δωρεῖσθαι τοσαῦτα,  
 μετὰ μικρὸν ῥαψάμενόν τινα τῶν παίδων ἐν ἀγγεῖῳ τὰ  
 11 ἐκπώματα προσφέρειν καὶ σημῆνασθαι κελεύειν. ἀφοσιουμένου δ'  
 αὐτοῦ καὶ δεδοικότος λαβεῖν, “ τί ὦ πόνηρε ” φάναι τὸν  
 ἀνθρώπον “ ὁκνεῖς; οὐκ οἶδας ὡς ὁ διδούς Ἀντωνίου παῖς ἐστίν,  
 ὦι τοσαῦτα πάρεστι χρυσᾶ χαρίσασθαι; ἐμοὶ μέντοι πειθόμενος  
 πάντα διάμειψαι πρὸς ἀργύριον ἡμῖν· ἴσως γὰρ ἂν καὶ ποθήσειεν  
 ὁ πατήρ ἕνι, τῶν παλαιῶν ὄντα καὶ σπουδαζομένων κατὰ τὴν  
 12 τέχνην ἔργων ”. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἡμῖν ἔλεγεν ὁ πάππος ἐκάστοτε  
 διηγείσθαι τὸν Φιλῶταν.

**29.** Ἡ δὲ Κλεοπάτρα τὴν κολακείαν οὐχ ὥσπερ ὁ Πλάτων  
 φησὶ τετραχῇ, πολλαχῇ δὲ διελοῦσα, καὶ σπουδῆς ἀπτομένῳ  
 καὶ παιδιᾷς ἀεί τινα καινὴν ἡδονὴν ἐπιφέρουσα καὶ χάριν,  
 διεπαιδαγωγεῖ τὸν Ἀντώνιον οὔτε νυκτὸς οὔθ' ἡμέρας ἀνιῖσα.  
 2 καὶ γὰρ συνεκύβευε καὶ συνέπινε καὶ συνεθήρευε καὶ  
 γυμναζόμενον ἐν ὅπλοις ἐθεᾶτο, καὶ νύκτωρ προσισταμένῳ  
 θύραις καὶ θυρίσι δημοτῶν καὶ σκώπτοντι τοὺς ἔνδον  
 συνεπλανᾶτο καὶ συνήλυε, θεραπαινιδίου στολὴν λαμβάνουσα·  
 3 καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος οὕτως ἐπειρᾶτο σκευάζειν ἑαυτόν. ὅθεν αἰ  
 σκωμμάτων, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ πληγῶν ἀπολαύσας ἐπανήρχετο·  
 4 τοῖς δὲ πλείστοις ἦν δι' ὑπονοίας. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ προσέχαιρον  
 αὐτοῦ τῇ βωμολοχίᾳ καὶ συνέπαιζον οὐκ ἄρρύθμως οὐδ'  
 ἀμούσως οἱ Ἀλεξανδρεῖς, ἀγαπῶντες καὶ λέγοντες ὡς τῷ τραγ-  
 ικῷ πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους χρῆται προσώπῳ, τῷ δὲ κωμικῷ

5 πρὸς αὐτούς. τὰ μὲν οὖν πολλὰ τῶν τόθ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ παιζομένων  
**929** διηγεῖσθαι πολὺς ἂν εἴη φλύαρος· ἐπεὶ δ' ἄλιεύων ποτὲ καὶ  
 δυσαγρῶν ἤχθετο παρούσης τῆς Κλεοπάτρας, ἐκέλευσε τοὺς  
 ἄλιεῖς ὑπονηξαμένους κρύφα τῷ ἀγκίστρῳ περικαθάπτειν ἰχθῦς  
 τῶν προεαλωκότων, καὶ δις ἢ τρίς ἀνασπάσας οὐκ ἔλαθε τὴν  
 6 Αἰγυπτίαν. προσποιουμένη δὲ θαυμάζειν τοῖς φίλοις διηγεῖτο,  
 καὶ παρεκάλει τῇ ὕστεραίαι γενέσθαι θεατὰς. ἐμβάντων δὲ  
 πολλῶν εἰς τὰς ἀλιάδας καὶ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου τὴν ὁρμιὰν καθέντος,  
 ἐκέλευσέ τινα τῶν αὐτῆς ὑποφθάσαντα καὶ προσνηξάμενον τῷ  
 7 ἀγκίστρῳ περιπεῖραι Ποντικὸν τάριχος. ὥς δ' ἔχειν πεισθεὶς ὁ  
 Ἀντώνιος ἀνεῖλκε, γέλωτος οἷον εἰκὸς γενομένου, “παράδος  
 ἡμῖν” ἔφη “τὸν κάλαμον αὐτόκρατορ τοῖς Φαρίταις καὶ  
 Κανωβίταις βασιλεῦσιν· ἡ δὲ σὴ θήρα πόλεις εἰσὶ καὶ βασιλεῖαι  
 καὶ ἡπειροί”.

**30.** Τοιαῦτα ληροῦντα καὶ μεираκιευόμενον τὸν Ἀντώνιον  
 ἀγγελίαι δύο καταλαμβάνουσιν, ἡ μὲν ἀπὸ Ῥώμης, Λεύκιον τὸν  
 ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ Φουλβίαν τὴν γυναῖκα πρῶτον ἀλλήλοις  
 στασιάσαντας, εἶτα Καίσαρι πολεμήσαντας, ἀποβεβληκέναι τὰ  
 2 πράγματα καὶ φεύγειν ἐξ Ἰταλίας, ἑτέρα δὲ ταύτης οὐδὲν ἐπι-  
 εικεστέρα, Λαβιηνὸν ἐπάγοντα Πάρθους τὴν ἀπ' Εὐφράτου καὶ  
 3 Συρίας ἄχρι Λυδίας καὶ Ἰωνίας Ἀσίαν καταστρέφεσθαι. μόλις οὖν  
 ὥσπερ ἐξυπνισθεὶς καὶ ἀποκραιπαλήσας, ὥρμησε μὲν Πάρθοις  
 ἐνίστασθαι καὶ μέχρι Φοινίκης προῆλθε, Φουλβίας δὲ γράμματα  
 θρήνων μεστὰ πεμπούσης ἐπέστρεφεν εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἄγων ναῦς  
 4 διακοσίας. ἀναλαβὼν δὲ κατὰ πλοῦν τῶν φίλων τοὺς πεφευ-  
 γότας, ἐπυνθάνετο τοῦ πολέμου τὴν Φουλβίαν αἰτίαν γεγονέναι,  
 φύσει μὲν οὔσαν πολυπράγμονα καὶ θρασεῖαν, ἐλπίζουσαν δὲ τῆς  
 Κλεοπάτρας ἀπάξειν τὸν Ἀντώνιον, εἴ τι γένοιτο κίνημα περὶ  
 5 τὴν Ἰταλίαν. συμβαίνει δ' ἀπὸ τύχης καὶ Φουλβίαν πλέουσιν  
 πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐν Σικυῶνι νόσῳ τελευτῆσαι· διὸ καὶ μᾶλλον αἱ πρὸς  
 6 Καίσαρα διαλλαγαὶ καιρὸν ἔσχον. ὥς γὰρ προσέμειξε τῇ  
 Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ Καῖσαρ ἦν φανερός ἐκείνῳ μὲν οὐθὲν ἐγκαλῶν, αὐτὸς  
 δ' ὦν ἐνεκαλεῖτο τὰς αἰτίας τῇ Φουλβίᾳ προστριβόμενος, οὐκ  
 εἰὼν ἐξελέγχειν οἱ φίλοι τὴν πρόφασιν, ἀλλὰ διέλυον ἀμφοτέρους  
 καὶ διήιρουν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, ὅρον ποιούμενοι τὸν Ἰόνιον, καὶ τὰ

μὲν ἑῷα νέμοντες Ἀντωνίῳ, τὰ δ' ἐσπέρια Καίσαρι, Λέπιδον δὲ Λιβύην ἔχειν ἑῶντες, ὑπατεύειν δὲ τάξαντες, ὅτε μὴ δόξειεν αὐτοῖς, φίλους ἑκατέρων παρὰ μέρος.

**31.** Ταῦτ' ἔχειν καλῶς δοκοῦντα πίστεως ἔδεῖτο σφοδρ-  
 οτέρας, ἣν ἡ τύχη παρέσχεν. Ὀκταουία γὰρ ἦν ἀδελφὴ  
 πρεσβυτέρα μὲν, οὐχ ὁμομητρία δὲ Καίσαρι· ἐγεγόνει γὰρ ἐξ  
 2 Ἀγχαρίας, ὃ δ' ὕστερον ἐξ Ἀτίας. ἔστεργε δ' ὑπερφυῶς τὴν  
 ἀδελφὴν, χρῆμα θαυμαστὸν ὥς λέγεται γυναικὸς γενομένην.  
 αὕτη, Γαίου Μαρκέλλου τοῦ γήμαντος αὐτὴν οὐ πάλαι τε-  
 3 θνηκός, ἐχέρειεν. ἐδόκει δὲ καὶ Φουλβίας ἀποικομένης χηρεύειν  
 Ἀντώνιος, ἔχειν μὲν οὐκ ἄρνούμενος Κλεοπάτραν, γάμῳ δ' οὐχ  
 ὁμολογῶν ἀλλ' ἔτι τῷ λόγῳ περί γε τούτου πρὸς τὸν ἔρωτα  
 4 τῆς Αἰγυπτίας μαχόμενος. τοῦτον ἅπαντες εἰσηγοῦντο τὸν  
 γάμον, ἐλπίζοντες τὴν Ὀκταουίαν, ἐπὶ κάλλει τοσοῦτῳ  
 σεμνότητι καὶ νοῦν ἔχουσαν, εἰς ταῦτόν τῳ Ἀντωνίῳ παρα-  
 γενομένην καὶ στερχθεῖσαν ὥς εἰκὸς τοιαύτην γυναῖκα, πάντων  
 5 πραγμάτων αὐτοῖς σωτηρίαν ἔσεσθαι καὶ σύγκρασιν. ὥς οὖν  
 ἔδοξεν ἀμφοτέροις, ἀναβάντες εἰς Ῥώμην ἐπετέλουν τὸν  
 Ὀκταουίας γάμον, οὐκ ἑῶντος μὲν νόμου πρὸ δέκα μηνῶν ἀνδρὸς  
 930 τελευτήσαντος γαμείσθαι, τῆς δὲ συγκλήτου δόγματι τὸν  
 χρόνον ἐκείνοις ἀνείσης.

**32.** Σέξτου δὲ Πομπηίου Σικελίαν μὲν ἔχοντος, Ἰταλίαν δὲ  
 πορθοῦντος, ληιστρίσι δὲ ναυσὶ πολλαῖς, ὧν Μηνᾶς ὁ πειρατὴς  
 καὶ Μενεκράτης ἦρχον, ἅπλουν τὴν θάλασσαν πεπονηκός,  
 Ἀντωνίῳ δὲ κεχρησθαι δοκοῦντος φιланθρώπως (ὑπεδέξατο  
 γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὴν μητέρα τῇ Φουλβίᾳ συνεκπεσοῦσαν), ἔδοξε καὶ  
 2 πρὸς τοῦτον διαλυθῆναι. καὶ συνῆλθον εἰς ταῦτόν κατὰ τὴν ἐν  
 Μισσηνοῖς ἄκραν καὶ τὸ χῶμα, Πομπηίῳ μὲν τοῦ στόλου παρορ-  
 μοῦντος, Ἀντωνίῳ δὲ καὶ Καίσαρι τῶν πεζῶν παρακεκριμένων.  
 3 ἐπεὶ δὲ συνέθεντο Πομπηίον ἔχοντα Σαρδόνα καὶ Σικελίαν καθ-  
 αράν τε ληιστηρίων παρέχειν τὴν θάλατταν καὶ σίτου τι τεταγ-  
 μένον ἀποστέλλειν εἰς Ῥώμην, ἐκάλουν ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἀλλήλους.  
 κληρουμένων δὲ πρῶτος ἐστιᾶν αὐτοὺς ἔλαχε Πομπήιος.  
 4 ἐρομένου δ' αὐτὸν Ἀντωνίου ποῦ δειπνήσουσιν, “ ἐνταῦθα ” ἔφη  
 δείξας τὴν στρατηγίδα ναῦν οὔσαν ἐξήρη, “ πατρῷος γὰρ οἶκος

αὕτη Πομπηίῳ λέλειπται”. ταῦτα δ’ εἰς τὸν Ἀντώνιον  
 5 οἰκίαν ἐκεῖνος εἶχεν. ὁρμίσας δὲ τὴν ναῦν ἐπ’ ἀγκυρῶν καὶ  
 διάβασίν τινα γεφυρώσας ἀπὸ τῆς ἄκρας, ἀνελάμβανεν αὐτοὺς  
 6 προθύμως. ἀκμαζούσης δὲ τῆς συνουσίας καὶ τῶν εἰς  
 Κλεοπάτραν καὶ Ἀντώνιον ἀνθούντων σκωμμάτων, Μηνᾶς ὁ  
 πειρατῆς τῷ Πομπηίῳ προσελθὼν, ὥς μὴ κατακούειν ἐκείνους  
 “βούλει” φησί “τὰς ἀγκύρας τῆς νεὸς ὑποτέμω καὶ ποιήσω σε  
 7 ἡγεμονίας;” ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος ἀκούσας καὶ πρὸς αὐτῷ γενόμενος  
 βραχὺν χρόνον, “ἔδει σε” φησὶν “ὦ Μηνᾶ τοῦτ’ ἐμοὶ μὴ  
 προειπόντα ποιῆσαι· νυνὶ δὲ τὰ παρόντα στέργωμεν· ἐπιорκεῖν  
 8 γὰρ οὐκ ἐμόν”. οὗτος μὲν οὖν πάλιν ἀνθεστιαθεὶς ὑπ’ ἀμφοτέρων  
 εἰς τὴν Σικελίαν ἀπέπλευσεν.

**33.** Ἀντώνιος δὲ μετὰ τὰς διαλύσεις Οὐεντίδιον μὲν εἰς Ἀσίαν  
 προὔπεμπε, Πάρθοις ἐμποδῶν ἐσόμενον τοῦ πρόσω χωρεῖν,  
 αὐτὸς δὲ Καίσαρι χαριζόμενος ἱερεὺς ἀπεδείχθη τοῦ προτέρου  
 Καίσαρος καὶ τᾶλλα κοινῶς καὶ φιλικῶς ἐν τοῖς πολιτικοῖς καὶ  
 2 μεγίστοις ἐπραττον. αἱ δὲ περὶ τὰς παιδιὰς ἄμιλλαι τὸν  
 Ἀντώνιον ἐλύπουν, αἰ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἔλαττον φερόμενον. ἦν  
 γὰρ τις ἀνὴρ σὺν αὐτῷ μαντικὸς ἀπ’ Αἰγύπτου τῶν τὰς γενέσεις  
 ἐπισκοποούντων, ὃς εἴτε Κλεοπάτραι χαριζόμενος εἴτε χρώμενος  
 ἀληθείαι πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐπαρρησιάζετο, λέγων τὴν τύχην  
 αὐτοῦ λαμπροτάτην οὔσαν καὶ μεγίστην ὑπὸ τῆς Καίσαρος  
 ἁμαυροῦσθαι, καὶ συνεβούλευε πορρωτάτῳ τοῦ νεανίσκου ποιεῖν  
 3 ἑαυτόν. “ὁ γὰρ σός” ἔφη “δαίμων τὸν τούτου φοβεῖται· καὶ  
 γαῦρος ὢν καὶ ὑψηλὸς ὅταν ᾗ καθ’ ἑαυτόν, ὑπ’ ἐκείνου γίνεται  
 4 ταπεινότερος ἐγγίσαντος καὶ ἀγεννέστερος”. καὶ μέντοι τὰ  
 γινόμενα τῷ Αἰγυπτίῳ μαρτυρεῖν ἐδόκει. λέγεται γὰρ ὅτι  
 κληρουμένων μετὰ παιδιᾶς ἐφ’ ὅτῳ τύχοιεν ἐκάστοτε καὶ  
 κυβευόντων ἔλαττον ἔχων Ἀντώνιος ἀπῆι· πολλάκις δὲ συμ-  
 βαλόντων ἀλεκτρυόνας, πολλάκις δὲ μαχίμους ὀρτυγας, ἐνίκων  
 5 οἱ Καίσαρος. ἐφ’ οἷς ἀνιῶμενος ἀδήλως ὁ Ἀντώνιος καὶ μᾶλλον τι  
 τῷ Αἰγυπτίῳ προσέχων, ἀπῆρεν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας, ἐγχειρίσας  
 Καίσαρι τὰ οἰκεῖα· τὴν δ’ Ὀκταουίαν ἄχρι τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐπήγετο

6 θυγατρίου γεγονότος αὐτοῖς. διαχειμάζοντι δ' αὐτῷι περὶ  
 Ἀθήνας ἀπαγγέλλεται τὰ πρῶτα τῶν Οὐεντιδίου κατορ-  
 θωμάτων, ὅτι μάχη τοὺς Πάρθους κρατήσας Λαβιηνὸν ἀπεκ-  
 τόνοι καὶ Φρανιπάτην, ἡγεμονικώτατον τῶν Ὀρώδου βασι-  
 7 λέως στρατηγῶν. ἐπὶ τούτοις εἰστία τοὺς Ἑλληνας,  
 931 ἐγυμνασιάρχει δ' Ἀθηναίοις, καὶ τὰ τῆς ἡγεμονίας παράσημα  
 καταλιπὼν οἴκοι, μετὰ τῶν γυμνασιαρχικῶν ῥάβδων ἐν ἱματίῳ  
 καὶ φαικασίοις προήει, καὶ διαλαμβάνων τοὺς νεανίσκους ἐτραχ-  
 ῆλιζεν.

**34.** Ἐξιέναι δὲ μέλλων ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον, ἀπὸ τῆς ἱερᾶς ἐλαίας  
 στέφανον ἔλαβε, καὶ κατὰ τι λόγιον ἀπὸ τῆς Κλεψύδρας ὕδατος  
 2 ἐμπλησάμενος ἀγγεῖον ἐκόμιζεν. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Πάκορον τὸν  
 βασιλέως παῖδα μεγάλῳ στρατῷ Πάρθων αὖθις ἐπὶ Συρίαν  
 ἐλαύνοντα συμπεσὼν Οὐεντίδιος ἐν τῇ Κυρρηστικῇ τρέπεται  
 καὶ διαφθείρει παμπόλλους, ἐν πρώτοις Πακόρου πεσόντος.  
 3 τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον ἐν τοῖς ἀοιδιμωτάτοις γενόμενον Ῥωμαίοις τε  
 τῶν κατὰ Κράσσον ἀτυχημάτων ἔκπλεω ποινὴν παρέσχε, καὶ  
 Πάρθους αὖθις εἴσω Μηδίας καὶ Μεσοποταμίας συνέστειλε, τρισὶ  
 4 μάχαις ἐφεξῆς κατὰ κράτος ἡττημένους. Οὐεντίδιος δὲ Πάρθους  
 μὲν προσωτέρῳ διώκειν ἀπέγνω, φθόνον Ἀντωνίου δέισας, τοὺς  
 δ' ἀφεστῶτας ἐπιὼν κατεστρέφετο καὶ τὸν Κομμαγηνὸν Ἀντί-  
 5 οχον ἐν πόλει Σαμοσάτοις ἐπολιόρκει. δεομένου δὲ χίλια τάλαντα  
 δοῦναι καὶ ποιεῖν Ἀντωνίῳ τὸ προσταττόμενον, ἐκέλευε  
 6 πέμπειν πρὸς Ἀντώνιον. ἤδη γὰρ ἐγγὺς ἦν ἐπιὼν, καὶ τὸν  
 Οὐεντίδιον οὐκ εἶα σπένδεσθαι τῷ Ἀντιόχῳ, βουλόμενος ἐν γε  
 τοῦτο τῶν ἔργων ἐπώνυμον αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι καὶ μὴ πάντα διὰ  
 7 Οὐεντιδίου κατορθοῦσθαι. τῆς δὲ πολιορκίας μῆκος λαμ-  
 βανούσης, καὶ τῶν ἑνδον ὡς ἀπέγνωσαν τὰς διαλύσεις πρὸς  
 ἀλκὴν τραπομένων, πράττων μὲν οὐδέν, ἐν αἰσχύνῃ δὲ καὶ  
 μεταγνώσει γενόμενος, ἀγαπητῶς ἐπὶ τριακοσίοις σπένδεται  
 8 τάλαντοις πρὸς τὸν Ἀντίοχον. καὶ μικρὰ τῶν ἐν Συρίαι  
 καταστησάμενος εἰς Ἀθήνας ἐπανῆλθε, καὶ τὸν Οὐεντίδιον  
 9 οἷς ἔπρεπε τιμήσας ἔπεμψεν ἐπὶ τὸν θρίαμβον. οὗτος ἀπὸ  
 Πάρθων ἄχρι δεῦρο τεθριάμβευκε μόνος, ἀνὴρ γένει μὲν ἀφανής,  
 ἀπολαύσας δὲ τῆς Ἀντωνίου φιλίας τὸ λαβεῖν ἀφορμὰς πράξεων

μεγάλων, αἷς κάλλιστα χρησάμενος ἐβεβαίωσε τὸν περὶ Ἀντωνίου λεγόμενον καὶ Καίσαρος λόγον, ὥς εὐτυχέστεροι δι' 10 ἑτέρων ἦσαν ἢ δι' αὐτῶν στρατηγεῖν. καὶ γὰρ Σόσσιος Ἀντωνίου στρατηγὸς ἐν Συρίαι πολλὰ διεπράττετο, καὶ Κανίδιος ἀπολειφθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ περὶ Ἀρμενίαν, τούτους τε νικῶν καὶ τοὺς Ἰβήρων καὶ Ἀλβανῶν βασιλέας ἄχρι τοῦ Καυκάσου προῆλθεν. ἀφ' ὧν ἐν τοῖς βαρβάροις ὄνομα καὶ κλέος ἠϋξέτο τῆς Ἀντωνίου δυνάμεως.

**35.** Αὐτὸς δὲ πάλιν ἐκ τινων διαβολῶν παροξυνθεὶς πρὸς Καίσαρα, ναυσὶ τριακοσίαις ἔπλει πρὸς τὴν Ἰταλίαν· οὐ δεξαμένων δὲ τῶν Βρεντεσινῶν τὸν στόλον εἰς Τάραντα 2 περιώρμισεν. ἐνταῦθα τὴν Ὀκταουίαν (συνέπλει γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος αὐτῷ) δεηθεῖσαν ἀποπέμπει πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφόν, ἔγκυον μὲν οὖσαν, ἤδη δὲ καὶ δεύτερον ἐξ αὐτοῦ θυγάτριον 3 ἔχουσαν. ἡ δ' ἀπαντήσασα καθ' ὁδὸν Καίσαρι καὶ παραλαβοῦσα τῶν ἐκείνου φίλων Ἀγρίππαν καὶ Μαϊκήναν, ἐνετύγχανε πολλὰ ποτνωμένη καὶ πολλὰ δεομένη μὴ περιδεῖν αὐτὴν ἐκ 4 μακαριωτάτης γυναικὸς ἀθλιωτάτην γενομένην. νῦν μὲν γὰρ ἀπαντας ἀνθρώπους εἰς αὐτὴν ἀποβλέπειν, αὐτοκρατόρων δυεῖν τοῦ μὲν γυναικῆ τοῦ δ' ἀδελφῆν οὖσαν· “εἰ δὲ τὰ χεῖρω κρατήσκειν” ἔφη “καὶ γένοιτο πόλεμος, ὑμῶν μὲν ἄδηλον ὅτωι κρατεῖν ἢ κρατεῖσθαι πέπρωται, τὰ ἑμὰ δ' ἄμφοτέρως ἄθλια”. 5 τούτοις ἐπικλασθεὶς ὁ Καῖσαρ ἤκεν εἰρηνικῶς εἰς Τάραντα, καὶ θέαμα κάλλιστον οἱ παρόντες ἐθεῶντο, πολὺν μὲν ἐκ γῆς στρατὸν ἡσυχάζοντα, πολλὰς δὲ ναῦς ἀτρέμα πρὸς τοῖς αἰγιαλοῖς ἐχούσας, αὐτῶν δὲ καὶ φίλων ἀπαντήσεις καὶ φιλοφροσύνας. 6 εἰστία δ' Ἀντώνιος πρότερος, καὶ τοῦτο τῇ ἀδελφῇ Καίσαρος 7 δόντος. ἐπεὶ δ' ὠμολόγητο Καίσαρα μὲν Ἀντωνίῳ δοῦναι δύο **932** τάγματα πρὸς τὸν Παρθικὸν πόλεμον, Ἀντώνιον δὲ Καίσαρι χαλκεμβόλους ἑκατόν, Ὀκταουία τῶν ὠμολογημένων χωρὶς ἡιτήσατο τῷ μὲν ἀδελφῷ παρὰ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς εἴκοσι μυοπάρωνας, 8 τῷ δ' ἀνδρὶ παρὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ στρατιώτας χιλίους. οὕτω δ' ἀλλήλων διακριθέντες, ὁ μὲν εὐθύς εἶχετο τοῦ πρὸς Πομπήιον πολέμου Σικελίας ἐφιέμενος, Ἀντώνιος δ' Ὀκταουίαν μετὰ τῶν ἐξ

ἐκείνης καὶ τοὺς ἐκ Φουλβίας παῖδας αὐτῷ παρακαταθέμενος, εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀπεπέρασεν.

**36.** Εὐδουσα δ' ἡ δεινὴ συμφορὰ χρόνον πολὺν, ὃ Κλεοπάτρας ἔρως, δοκῶν κατευνάσθαι καὶ κατακεκληῆσθαι τοῖς βελτίοσι λογισμοῖς, αὖθις ἀνέλαμπε καὶ ἀνεθάρρει Συρίαι  
 2 πλησιάζοντος αὐτοῦ. καὶ τέλος, ὥσπερ φησὶν ὁ Πλάτων τὸ δυσπειθές καὶ ἀκόλαστον τῆς ψυχῆς ὑποζύγιον, ἀπολακτίσας τὰ καλὰ καὶ σωτήρια πάντα, Καπίτωνα Φοντήιον ἔπεμψεν ἄξοντα  
 3 Κλεοπάτραν εἰς Συρίαν. ἔλθούσῃ δὲ χαρίζεται καὶ προστίθῃσι μικρὸν οὐδὲν οὐδ' ὀλίγον, ἀλλὰ Φοινίκην, Κοίλην Συρίαν, Κύπρον, Κιλικίας πολλήν· ἔτι δὲ τῆς τ' Ἰουδαίων τὴν τὸ  
 4 βάλσαμον φέρουσιν καὶ τῆς Ναβαταίων Ἀραβίας ὅση πρὸς τὴν ἑκτὸς ἀποκλίνει θάλασσαν. αὗται μάλιστα Ῥωμαίους ἠνίασαν αἰ  
 δωρεαί. καίτοι πολλοῖς ἐχαρίζετο τετραρχίας καὶ βασιλείας ἔθνων μεγάλων ἰδιώταις οὖσι, πολλοὺς δ' ἀφηρεῖτο βασιλείας  
 ὡς Ἀντίγονον τὸν Ἰουδαῖον, ὃν καὶ προαγαγὼν ἐπελέκισεν, οὐδενὸς πρότερον ἑτέρου βασιλέως οὕτω κολασθέντος. ἀλλὰ τὸ  
 5 αἰσχρὸν ἦν τῶν Κλεοπάτρας τιμῶν ἀνιαρότατον. ἠϋξῆσε δὲ τὴν διαβολὴν παῖδας ἐξ αὐτῆς διδύμους ἀνελόμενος, καὶ προσ-  
 αγορεύσας τὸν μὲν Ἀλέξανδρον, τὴν δὲ Κλεοπάτραν, ἐπὶ κλησιν  
 6 δὲ τὸν μὲν Ἥλιον, τὴν δὲ Σελήνην. οὐ μὴν ἄλλ' ἀγαθὸς ὢν ἐγκαλλωπίσασθαι τοῖς αἰσχροῖς, ἔλεγε τῆς μὲν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίας οὐ δι' ὧν λαμβάνουσιν, ἀλλ' ἐν οἷς χαρίζονται  
 φαίνεσθαι τὸ μέγεθος· διαδοχαῖς δὲ καὶ τεκνώσεσι πολλῶν  
 7 βασιλέων πλατύνεσθαι τὰς εὐγενείας. οὕτω γοῦν ἡ Ἡρακλέους τεκνωθῆναι τὸν αὐτοῦ πρόγονον, οὐκ ἐν μιᾷ γαστρὶ θεμένου τὴν διαδοχὴν οὐδὲ νόμους Σολωνείους καὶ κυήσεως εὐθύνας  
 δεδοικότος, ἀλλὰ τῇ φύσει πολλὰς γενῶν ἀρχὰς καὶ καταβολὰς ἀπολιπεῖν ἐφίεντος.

**37.** Ἐπεὶ δὲ Φράατου κτείναντος Ὀρώδην τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν κατασχόντος, ἄλλοι τε Πάρθων ἀπεδίδρασκον οὐκ ὀλίγοι καὶ Μοναίσσης ἀνὴρ ἐπιφανὴς καὶ δυνατὸς ἦκε φεύγων πρὸς Ἀντώνιον, τὰς μὲν ἐκείνου τύχας ταῖς Θεμιστοκλέους εἰκάσας, περιουσίαν δὲ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ μεγαλοφροσύνην τοῖς Περσῶν βασιλεῦσι παραβαλὼν, ἐδωρήσατο τρεῖς πόλεις αὐτῷ,

Λάρισσαν καὶ Ἀρέθουσαν καὶ Ἱερὰν πόλιν ἣν Βαμβύκην πρό-  
 2 τερον ἐκάλουν. τοῦ δὲ Πάρθων βασιλέως τῷ Μοναίση δεξιὰν  
 καταπέμψαντος, ἄσμενος αὐτὸν ἀπέστειλεν ὁ Ἀντώνιος,  
 ἑξαπατᾶν μὲν ἐγνωκῶς τὸν Φραάτην ὡς εἰρήνης ἐσομένης, ἀξιῶν  
 δὲ τὰς ἀλούσας ἐπὶ Κράσσου σημαίας καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀπολαβεῖν  
 3 τοὺς περιόντας. αὐτὸς δὲ Κλεοπάτραν εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀποπέμψας,  
 ἐχώρει δι' Ἀραβίας καὶ Ἀρμενίας, ὅπου συνελθούσης αὐτῷ τῆς  
 δυνάμεως καὶ τῶν συμμάχων βασιλέων (πάμπολλοι δ' ἦσαν  
 οὗτοι, μέγιστος δὲ πάντων ὁ τῆς Ἀρμενίας Ἀρταουάσδης,  
 ἑξακισχιλίους ἵππεῖς καὶ πεζοὺς ἑπτακισχιλίους παρέχων)  
 4 ἐξήτασε τὸν στρατόν. ἦσαν δὲ Ῥωμαίων μὲν αὐτῶν ἑξακισμύριοι  
 πεζοί, καὶ τὸ Ῥωμαίοις συντεταγμένον ἱππικὸν Ἰβήρων καὶ  
 Κελτῶν μύριοι, τῶν δ' ἄλλων ἐθνῶν ἐγένοντο τρεῖς μυριάδες σὺν  
 5 ἱππεῦσιν ὁμοῦ καὶ ψιλοῖς. τοσαύτην μέντοι παρασκευὴν καὶ  
 δύναμιν, ἥ καὶ τοὺς πέραν Βάκτρων Ἰνδοὺς ἐφόβησε καὶ πᾶσαν  
**933** ἐκράδανε τὴν Ἀσίαν, ἀνόνητον αὐτῷ διὰ Κλεοπάτραν γενέσθαι  
 6 λέγουσι. σπεύδοντα γὰρ ἐκείνηι συνδιαχειμάσαι, τὸν πόλεμον  
 ἐξενεγκεῖν πρὸ καιροῦ καὶ πᾶσι χρήσασθαι τεταραγμένως, οὐκ  
 ὄντα τῶν ἑαυτοῦ λογισμῶν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ φαρμάκων τινῶν ἢ  
 γοητείας παπταίνοντα πρὸς ἐκείνην αἰεὶ, καὶ πρὸς τὸ τάχιον  
 ἐπανελθεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς τὸ κρατῆσαι τῶν πολεμίων γινόμενον.

**38.** Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν αὐτοῦ δέον ἐν Ἀρμενίᾳ διαχειμάσαι  
 καὶ διαναπαῦσαι τὸν στρατόν, ὀκτακισχιλίων σταδίων  
 ἀποτετρυμένον πορεῖαι, καὶ πρὶν ἢ κινεῖν ἐκ τῶν χειμαδίων  
 Πάρθους ἕαρος ἀρχῇ Μηδίαν καταλαβεῖν, οὐκ ἠνέσχετο τὸν  
 χρόνον, ἀλλ' εὐθύς ἦγεν ἐν ἀριστεραῖ λαβὼν Ἀρμενίαν, καὶ τῆς  
 2 Ἀτροπατηνῆς ἀψάμενος ἐπόρθει τὴν χώραν. ἔπειτα μηχανη-  
 μάτων αὐτῷ πρὸς πολιορκίαν ἀναγκαίων τριακοσίαις ἀμάξαις  
 παραπεμπτομένων, ἐν οἷς καὶ κριὸς ἦν ὀγδοήκοντα ποδῶν μῆκος,  
 ὧν οὐδὲν ἐνεχώρει διαφθαρὲν ἐπὶ καιροῦ πάλιν γενέσθαι διὰ τὸ  
 τὴν ἄνω χώραν πᾶν ξύλον ἀγεννὲς εἰς μῆκος καὶ μαλθακὸν  
 3 ἐκφέρειν, ἐπειγόμενος ὥς ἐμπόδια τοῦ ταχύνειν ἀπέλιπε, φυλακὴν  
 τινὰ καὶ Στατιανὸν ἡγεμόνα τῶν ἀμαξῶν ἐπιστήσας, αὐτὸς δὲ  
 Φραάτα μεγάλην πόλιν, ἐν ἣ καὶ τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκες ἦσαν τοῦ  
 4 τῆς Μηδίας βασιλέως, ἐπολιόρκει. τῆς δὲ χρείας εὐθύς ὅσον

ἤμαρτε τὰς μηχανὰς ἀπολιπὼν ἐξελεγχούσης, ὁμόσε χωρῶν  
ἔχου πρὸς τὴν πόλιν χῶμα σχολῇ καὶ πολυπόνως ἀνιστάμενον.

5 ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καταβαίνων στρατιᾷ μεγάλῃ Φραάτης, ὡς ἤκουσε  
τὴν ἀπόλειψιν τῶν μηχανοφόρων ἀμαξῶν, ἔπεμψε τῶν ἱππέων  
πολλοὺς ἐπ' αὐτάς, ὑφ' ὧν περιληφθεὶς ὁ Στατιανὸς ἀποθνήσκει  
6 μὲν αὐτός, ἀποθνήσκουσι δὲ μύριοι τῶν μετ' αὐτοῦ. τὰς δὲ  
μηχανὰς ἐλόντες οἱ βάρβαροι διέφθειραν. εἶλον δὲ παμπόλλους,  
ἐν οἷς καὶ Πολέμων ἦν ὁ βασιλεὺς.

39. Τοῦτο πάντας μὲν ὡς εἰκὸς ἠνίασε τοὺς περὶ Ἀντώνιον,  
ἀνελπίστως ἐν ἀρχῇ πληγέντας· ὁ δ' Ἀρμένιος Ἀρταουάσδης  
ἀπογνοὺς τὰ Ῥωμαίων ὤιχετο τὴν αὐτοῦ στρατιὰν ἀναλαβών,  
καίπερ αἰτιώτατος τοῦ πολέμου γενόμενος. ἐπιφανέντων δὲ  
λαμπρῶς τοῖς πολιορκοῦσι τῶν Πάρθων καὶ χρωμένων ἀπειλαῖς  
2 πρὸς ὕβριν, οὐ βουλόμενος Ἀντώνιος ἡσυχάζοντι τῷ στρατῷ  
τὸ δυσθυμοῦν καὶ καταπεπληγμένον ἐμμένειν καὶ αὔξεσθαι, δέκα  
τάγματα λαβὼν καὶ τρεῖς στρατηγίδας σπείρας ὀπλιτῶν, τοὺς  
δ' ἱππεῖς ἅπαντας, ἐξήγαγε πρὸς σιτολογίαν, οἰόμενος οὕτως ἂν  
ἐπισπασθέντων μάλιστα τῶν πολεμίων ἐκ παρατάξεως μάχην  
3 γενέσθαι. προελθὼν δὲ μιᾶς ὁδὸν ἡμέρας, ὡς ἑώρα τοὺς Πάρθους  
κύκλῳ περιχεομένους καὶ προσπεσεῖν καθ' ὁδὸν αὐτῷ ζητοῦν-  
τας, ἐξέθηκε μὲν τὸ τῆς μάχης σύμβολον ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ,  
καθελὼν δὲ τὰς σκηνὰς ὡς οὐ μαχησόμενος ἀλλ' ἀπάξων,  
παρημείβετο τῶν βαρβάρων τὴν τάξιν οὔσαν μηνοειδῇ,  
κελεύσας, ὅταν οἱ πρῶτοι τοῖς ὀπλίταις ἐν ἐφικτῷ δοκῶσιν εἶναι,  
4 τοὺς ἱππεῖς ἐναντίους εἰσελαύνειν. τοῖς δὲ Πάρθοις παρα-  
κεκριμένοις λόγου κρείττων ἢ τάξις ἐφαίνετο τῶν Ῥωμαίων, καὶ  
κατεθεῶντο παρεξιόντας ἐν διαστήμασιν ἴσοις ἀθορύβως καὶ  
5 σιωπῇ τοὺς ὕσσοις κραδαίνοντας. ὡς δὲ τὸ σημεῖον ἦρθη καὶ  
προσεφέροντο μετὰ κραυγῆς ἐπιστρέψαντες οἱ ἱππεῖς, τούτους  
μὲν ἡμύνοντο δεξάμενοι, καίπερ εὐθὺς ἐντὸς τοξεύματος  
γενομένους, τῶν δ' ὀπλιτῶν συναπτόντων ἅμα βοῇ καὶ  
πατάγῳ τῶν ὅπλων, οἱ θ' ἵπποι τοῖς Πάρθοις ἐξίσταντο  
6 ταρβοῦντες, καὶ αὐτοὶ πρὶν εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν ἔφευγον. ὁ δ'  
Ἀντώνιος ἐνέκειτο τῇ διώξει καὶ μεγάλας εἶχεν ἐλπίδας, ὡς τοῦ  
πολέμου τὸ σύμπαν ἢ τὸ πλεῖστον ἐκείνῃ τῇ μάχῃ διαπεπραγ-

- 7 μένος. ἐπεὶ δὲ τῆς διώξεως γενομένης τοῖς μὲν πεζοῖς ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα στάδια, τοῖς δ' ἵππευσιν ἐπὶ τρεῖς τοσαῦτα, τοὺς πεπτωκότας τῶν πολεμίων καὶ τοὺς ἡλωκότας ἐπισκοποῦντες εὗρον αἰχμαλώτους μὲν τριάκοντα, νεκροὺς δ' ὀγδοήκοντα μόνους, ἀπορία καὶ δυσθυμία πᾶσι παρέστη, δεινὸν εἶναι λογιζομένοις, εἰ νικῶντες μὲν οὕτως ὀλίγους κτείνουσιν, ἡττώμενοι δὲ στερήσονται τοσούτων ὅσους ἀπέβαλον περὶ ταῖς
- 8 ἀμάξαις. τῇ δ' ὕστεραίαι συσκευασάμενοι τὴν ἐπὶ Φραάτων καὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου προῆγον. ἐντυχόντες δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν πρῶτον μὲν ὀλίγοις τῶν πολεμίων, ἔπειτα πλείοσι, τέλος δὲ πᾶσιν ὥσπερ ἀηττήτοις καὶ νεαλέσι προκαλουμένοις καὶ προσβάλλουσι πανταχόθεν, μοχθηρῶς καὶ πολυπόνως ἀπεσώθησαν
- 9 εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον. τῶν δὲ Μήδων ἐκδρομὴν τινα ποιησαμένων ἐπὶ τὸ χῶμα καὶ τοὺς προμαχομένους φοβησάντων, ὀργισθεῖς ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐχρήσατο τῇ λεγομένῃ δεκατεῖαι πρὸς τοὺς ἀποδειλιάσαντας· διελὼν γὰρ εἰς δεκάδας τὸ πλῆθος, ἀφ' ἑκάστης ἓνα τὸν λαχόντα κλήρωι διέφθειρε, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις ἀντὶ πυρῶν ἐκέλευε κριθὰς μετρεῖσθαι.

40. Χαλεπὸς δ' ἀμφοτέροις ἦν ὁ πόλεμος, καὶ τὸ μέλλον αὐτοῦ φοβερώτερον, Ἀντωνίῳ μὲν προσδοκῶντι λιμὸν· οὐκ ἐτι γὰρ ἦν ἄνευ τραυμάτων καὶ νεκρῶν πολλῶν ἐπισιτίσασθαι·
- 2 Φραάτης δὲ τοὺς Πάρθους ἐπιστάμενος πάντα μᾶλλον ἢ χειμῶνος ἕξω προσταλαιπωρεῖν καὶ θυραυλεῖν δυναμένους, ἐφοβεῖτο μὴ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐγκαρτερούντων καὶ παραμενόντων ἀπολίπωσιν αὐτόν, ἤδη τοῦ ἀέρος συνισταμένου μετὰ
- 3 φθινοπωρινὴν ἰσημερίαν. δόλον οὖν συντίθησι τοιόνδε. Πάρθων οἱ γνωριμώτατοι περὶ τὰς σιτολογίας καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀπαντήσεις μαλακώτερον τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις προσεφέροντο, λαμβάνειν τε παριέντες αὐτοῖς ἓνια καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐπαινοῦντες, ὥς πολεμικωτάτων ἀνδρῶν καὶ θαυμαζομένων ὑπὸ τοῦ σφετέρου
- 4 βασιλέως δικαίως. ἐκ δὲ τούτου προσελαύνοντες ἐγγυτέρω καὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἀτρέμα παραβάλλοντες, ἐλοιδόρουν τὸν Ἀντώνιον, ὅτι βουλομένῳ Φραάτῃ διαλλαγῆναι καὶ φείσασθαι τοιούτων ἀνδρῶν καὶ τοσούτων ἀφορμῆν οὐ δίδωσιν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς χαλεποὺς καὶ μεγάλους κάθηται πολεμίους ἀναμένων, λιμὸν καὶ χειμῶνα,

δι' ὧν ἔργον ἐστὶ καὶ προπεμπομένους ὑπὸ Πάρθων ἀποφεύγειν.  
 5 πολλῶν δὲ ταῦτα πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀναφερόντων, μαλασσόμενος ὑπὸ τῆς ἐλπίδος, ὅμως οὐ πρότερον ἐπεκηρυκέυστο πρὸς τὸν Πάρθον ἢ πυθέσθαι τῶν φιλοφρονουμένων ἐκείνων βαρβάρων, εἰ τοῦ βασιλέως ταῦτα φρονούντος διαλέγοντο.  
 6 φασκόντων δὲ καὶ παρακαλούντων μὴ δεδιέναι μηδ' ἀπιστεῖν, ἔπεμψε τινὰς τῶν ἐταίρων, πάλιν τὰς σημαίας ἀξιῶν ἀπολαβεῖν καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους, ὥς δὴ μὴ παντάπασιν ἀγαπᾶν τὸ  
 7 σωθῆναι καὶ διαφυγεῖν νομισθεῖη. τοῦ δὲ Πάρθου ταῦτα μὲν ἔαν κεύλλοντος, ἀπρόντι δ' εὐθύς εἰρήνην καὶ ἀσφάλειαν εἶναι φήσαντος, ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις συσκευασάμενος ἀνεζεύγνυεν. ὧν δὲ καὶ  
 8 δῆμῳ πιθανὸς ἐντυχεῖν καὶ στρατὸν ἄγειν διὰ λόγου παρ' ὄντινόν τῶν τότε πεφυκώς, ἐξέλιπεν αὐτὸς αἰσχύνῃ καὶ κατηφείαι τὸ παραθαρρῦναι τὸ πλῆθος, Δομίτιον δ' Ἀηνόβαρβον  
 9 ἐκέλευε τοῦτο ποιῆσαι. καὶ τινες μὲν ἡγανάκτησαν ὥς ὑπερορώμενοι, τὸ δὲ πλεῖστον ἐπεκλάσθη καὶ συνεφρόνησε τὴν αἰτίαν· διὸ καὶ μᾶλλον ὤιοντο δεῖν ἀνταιδεῖσθαι καὶ πείθεσθαι τῷ στρατηγῷ.

41. Μέλλοντος δ' αὐτοῦ τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδὸν ἄγειν ὀπίσω πεδινὴν καὶ ἄδενδρον οὖσαν, ἀνὴρ τῷ γένει Μάρδος, πολλὰ τοῖς  
 935 Πάρθων ἡθεσιν ἐνωμιληκώς, ἥδη δὲ Ῥωμαίοις πιστὸς ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τῇ περὶ τὰς μηχανὰς γεγονώς, Ἀντωνίῳ προσελθὼν ἐκέλευε φεύγειν ἐν δεξιᾷ τῶν ὁρῶν ἐπιλαβόμενον, καὶ μὴ στρατὸν ὀπλίτην καὶ βαρὺν ἐν δρόμοις γυμνοῖς καὶ ἀναπεπταμένοις ὑποβαλεῖν ἵππῳ τοσαύτῃ καὶ τοξεύμασιν, ὃ δὴ τεχνώμενον τὸν Φραάτην ἀναστῆσαι τῆς πολιορκίας αὐτὸν ὁμολογίαις  
 2 φιланθρώποις· ἔσεσθαι δ' αὐτὸς ἡγεμὼν ὁδοῦ βραχυτέρας καὶ  
 3 μᾶλλον εὐπορίαν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐχούσης. ταῦτ' ἀκούσας ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐβουλεύετο, καὶ Πάρθοις μὲν οὐκ ἐβούλετο δοκεῖν ἀπιστεῖν μετὰ σπονδάς, τὴν δὲ συντομίαν τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ τὸ παρὰ  
 4 κώμας οἰκουμένας ἔσεσθαι τὴν πορείαν ἐπαινῶν, πίστιν ἦιτει τὸν  
 5 Μάρδον. ὃ δὲ δῆσαι παρείχεν αὐτὸν ἄχρι οὗ καταστήσαι τὸν στρατὸν εἰς Ἀρμενίαν, καὶ δεθεὶς ἡγεῖτο δύο ἡμέρας καθ' ἡσυχίαν. τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ παντάπασιν τοὺς Πάρθους ἀπεγνωκότος Ἀντωνίου καὶ βαδίζοντος ἀνειμένως διὰ τὸ θαρρεῖν, ἰδὼν ὃ

Μάρδος ἀπόχωσιν ἐμβολῆς ποταμοῦ νεωστὶ διεσπασμένην καὶ τὸ ῥεῦμα πολὺ πρὸς τὴν ὁδὸν ἧι πορευτέον ἦν ἐκχεόμενον, συνῆκεν ὅτι τῶν Πάρθων ἔργον εἴη τοῦτο, δυσκολίας ἕνεκα καὶ διατριβῆς ἐμποδῶν αὐτοῖς τὸν ποταμὸν τιθεμένων, καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ὁρᾶν ἐκέλευε καὶ προσέχειν, ὥς τῶν πολεμίων ἐγγὺς  
 6 ὄντων. ἄρτι δ' αὐτοῦ καθιστάντος εἰς τάξιν τὰ ὄπλα καὶ δι' αὐτῶν τοῖς ἀκοντισταῖς καὶ σφενδονήταις ἐκδρομὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους παρασκευάζοντος, ἐπεφάνησαν οἱ Πάρθοι καὶ περιήλαντον, ὥς κυκλωσόμενοι καὶ συνταράζοντες πανταχόθεν  
 7 τὸν στρατόν. ἐκδραμόντων δὲ τῶν ψιλῶν ἐπ' αὐτούς, πολλὰς μὲν δίδόντες ἀπὸ τόξων, οὐκ ἐλάττονας δὲ ταῖς μολυβδίσι καὶ τοῖς  
 8 ἀκοντίοις πληγὰς λαμβάνοντες, ἀνεχώρουν. εἴτ' ἐπῆγον αὖθις, ἄχρι οὗ συστρέψαντες οἱ Κελτοὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἐνέβαλον καὶ διεσκέδασαν αὐτούς, οὐκέτι τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης ὑπὸ δέους μαχησομένους.

**42.** Ἐκ τούτου μαθὼν ὁ Ἀντώνιος ὁ ποιεῖν ἔδει, πολλοῖς ἀκοντισταῖς καὶ σφενδονήταις οὐ μόνον τὴν οὐραγίαν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς πλευράς ἑκατέρας στομώσας, ἐν πλαισίῳ τὸν στρατὸν ἦγε, καὶ τοῖς ἱππόταις εἶρητο προσβάλλοντας τρέπεσθαι, τρεψαμένους δὲ μὴ πόρρω διώκειν, ὥστε τοὺς Πάρθους τὰς ἐφεξῆς τέσσαρας ἡμέρας οὐθὲν πλεόν δράσαντας ἢ παθόντας ἀμβλυτέρους γεγονέναι καὶ τὸν χειμῶνα ποιουμένους πρόφασιν ἀπιέναι διανοεῖσθαι.

2 Τῇι δὲ πέμπτῃ Φλαούιος Γάλλος, ἀνὴρ πολεμικὸς καὶ δραστήριος ἐφ' ἡγεμονίας τεταγμένος, ἡγήτησεν Ἀντώνιον προσελθὼν πλείονας ψιλοὺς ἀπ' οὐρᾶς καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος  
 3 ἱππέων τινάς, ὥς μέγα κατόρθωμα ποιήσων. δόντος δέ, προσβάλλοντας ἀνέκοπτε τοὺς πολεμίους, οὐχ ὥς πρότερον ὑπάγων ἅμα πρὸς τοὺς ὀπλίτας καὶ ἀναχωρῶν, ἀλλ' ὑφιστάμενος καὶ  
 4 συμπλεκόμενος παραβολώτερον. ὁρῶντες δ' αὐτὸν οἱ τῆς οὐραγίας ἡγεμόνες ἀπορρηγνύμενον, ἐκάλουν πέμποντες· ὁ δ' οὐκ ἐπείθετο. Τίτιον δὲ φασὶ τὸν ταμίαν καὶ τῶν σημαίων ἐπιλαβόμενον στρέφειν ὀπίσω καὶ λοιδορεῖν τὸν Γάλλον ὥς ἀπολύντα πολλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς ἀνδρας. ἀντιλοιδοροῦντος δ' ἐκείνου  
 5 καὶ διακελευομένου τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν μένειν, ὁ μὲν Τίτιος ἀπεχώρει·

τὸν δὲ Γάλλον ὠθούμενον εἰς τοὺς κατὰ στόμα λανθάνουσι  
 6 πολλοὶ περισχόντες ἐκ τῶν ὀπισθεν. βαλλόμενος δὲ πανταχόθεν  
 ἐκάλει πέμπων ἄρωγὴν. οἱ δὲ τοὺς ὀπλίτας ἄγοντες, ὧν καὶ  
 Κανίδιος ἦν, ἀνὴρ παρ' Ἀντωνίῳ δυνάμενος μέγιστον, οὐ μικρὰ  
 7 δοκοῦσι διαμαρτεῖν. δέον γὰρ ἀθρόαν ἐπιστρέψαι τὴν φάλαγγα,  
 936 πέμποντες κατ' ὀλίγους ἐπιβοηθοῦντας, καὶ πάλιν ἠττωμένων  
 τούτων ἑτέρους ἀποστέλλοντες, ἔλαθον ὀλίγου δεῖν ἡττης καὶ  
 8 φυγῆς ὅλον ἀναπλήσαντες τὸ στρατόπεδον, εἰ μὴ ταχὺ μὲν  
 αὐτὸς Ἀντώνιος μετὰ τῶν ὀπλῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος ἦγεν  
 ὑπαντιάζων, ταχὺ δὲ τὸ τρίτον τάγμα διὰ τῶν φευγόντων ἐπὶ  
 τοὺς πολεμίους ὥσάμενον ἔσχε τοῦ πρόσω διώκειν.

43. Ἀπέθανον δὲ τρισχιλίων οὐκ ἐλάττους, ἐκομίσθησαν δ'  
 ἐπὶ σκηναῖς τραυματίαι πεντακισχίλιοι· καὶ Γάλλος ἦν ἐν τούτοις,  
 2 τέτταρσιν ἐναντίοις διαπεπαρμένος τοξεύμασιν. ἀλλ' οὗτος μὲν  
 ἐκ τῶν τραυμάτων οὐκ ἀνῆνεγκε, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους περιῶν ὁ  
 Ἀντώνιος ἐπεσκόπει καὶ παρεθάρρυνε δεδακρυμένος καὶ  
 περιπαθῶν. οἱ δὲ φαιδροὶ τῆς δεξιᾶς αὐτοῦ λαμβανόμενοι,  
 παρεκάλουν ἀπιόντα θεραπεύειν αὐτὸν καὶ μὴ κακοπαθεῖν,  
 αὐτοκράτορα καλοῦντες καὶ σῶιζεσθαι λέγοντες, ὅν ἐκεῖνος  
 ὑγιαίνει.

3 Καθόλου μὲν γὰρ οὐτ' ἄλκαῖς οὐθ' ὑπομοναῖς οὐθ' ἡλικίας  
 λαμπρότερον ἄλλος αὐτοκράτωρ στρατὸν ἐκείνου δοκεῖ συναγα-  
 4 γεῖν ἐν τοῖς τότε χρόνοις· ἡ δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν αἰδῶς τὸν ἡγεμόνα καὶ  
 πειθαρχία μετ' εὐνοίας, καὶ τὸ πάντας ὁμαλῶς, ἐνδόξους  
 ἀδόξους, ἄρχοντας ἰδιώτας, τὴν παρ' Ἀντωνίῳ τιμὴν τε καὶ  
 χάριν μᾶλλον αἰρεῖσθαι τῆς σωτηρίας καὶ τῆς ἀσφαλείας, οὐδὲ  
 5 τοῖς πάλαι Ῥωμαίοις ἀπέλιπεν ὑπερβολήν. τούτου δ' αἰτίαι  
 πλείονες ἦσαν, ὥς προειρήκαμεν· εὐγένεια, λόγου δύναμις,  
 ἀπλότης, τὸ φιλόδωρον καὶ μεγαλόδωρον, ἡ περὶ τὰς παιδιὰς  
 6 καὶ τὰς ὁμιλίας εὐτραπελία. τότε δὲ καὶ συμπονῶν καὶ συναλγῶν  
 τοῖς κακοπαθοῦσι καὶ μεταδιδούς οὗ τις δεηθείη, προθυμοτέρους  
 τῶν ἐρρωμένων τοὺς νοσοῦντας καὶ τετρωμένους ἐποίησε.

44. Τοὺς μέντοι πολεμίους ἀπαγορεύοντας ἤδη καὶ κάμνον-  
 τας οὕτως ἐπῆρεν ἡ νίκη, καὶ τοσοῦτον τῶν Ῥωμαίων κατεφρόν-  
 ησαν, ὥστε καὶ νυκτὸς ἐπαυλίσασθαι τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, προσ-

δοκῶντες αὐτίκα μάλα σκηναὺς ἐρήμους καὶ χρήματα διαρπάσειν  
 2 ἀποδιδρασκόντων. ἅμα δ' ἡμέραι πολὺ πλείονες ἐπηθροίζοντο,  
 καὶ λέγονται τετρακισμυρίων οὐκ ἐλάττονες ἵπποται γενέσθαι,  
 βασιλέως καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν αἰεὶ τεταγμένους ὥς ἐπὶ σαφεῖ καὶ  
 3 παρέτυχεν. Ἀντώνιος δὲ βουλόμενος προσαγορεῦσαι τοὺς  
 στρατιώτας ἤιτησε φαιὸν ἱμάτιον, ὥς οἰκτρότερος ὀφθεῖν. τῶν δὲ  
 φίλων ἐναντιωθέντων, ἐν τῇ στρατηγικῇ φοινικίδι προελθὼν  
 ἐδημηγόρησε, τοὺς μὲν νενικηκότας ἐπαινῶν, ὄνειδίζων δὲ τοὺς  
 4 φυγόντας. τῶν δ' οἱ μὲν παρεκελεύοντο θαρρεῖν, οἱ δ' ἀπολογ-  
 ούμενοι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς παρῆχον, εἴτε βούλοιτο δεκατεύειν εἴτ'  
 ἄλλωι τρόπῳι κολάζειν· μόνον παύσασθαι δυσφοροῦντα καὶ  
 5 λυπούμενον ἐδέοντο. πρὸς ταῦτα τὰς χεῖρας ἀνατείνας ἐπεύξατο  
 τοῖς θεοῖς, εἴ τις ἄρα νέμεσις τὰς πρόσθεν εὐτυχίας αὐτοῦ μέτεισιν,  
 εἰς αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν, τῷ δ' ἄλλωι στρατῷ σωτηρίαν δίδοναι καὶ  
 νίκην.

**45.** Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ φραζάμενοι βέλτιον προῆγον, καὶ τοῖς  
 2 Πάρθοις ἐπιχειροῦσι πολὺς ἀπήντα παράλογος. οἰόμενοι γὰρ ἐφ'  
 ἄρπαγὴν καὶ λεηλασίαν, οὐ μάχην, ἐλαύνειν, εἴτα πολλοῖς  
 βέλεσιν ἐντυγχάνοντες, ἐρρωμένους δὲ καὶ νεαλεῖς ταῖς προ-  
 3 θυμίαις ὀρῶντες, αὖθις ἐξέκαμνον. ἐπεὶ δὲ καταβαίνουσιν αὐτοῖς  
 ἀπὸ λόφων τινῶν ἐπικλινῶν ἐπέθεντο καὶ βραδέως ὑπεξάγοντας  
 ἐβαλλον, ἐπιστρέψαντες οἱ θυρεαφόροι συνέκλεισαν εἰσω τῶν  
 ὀπλων τοὺς ψιλοὺς, αὐτοὶ δὲ καθέντες εἰς γόνυ προὔβαλοντο  
 τοὺς θυρεοὺς· οἱ δ' ὀπισθεν ὑπερέσχον αὐτῶν τὰ ὄπλα, κἀκείνων  
 4 ὁμοίως ἕτεροι. τὸ δὲ σχῆμα παραπλήσιον ἐρέψει γινόμενον ὅψιν  
**937** τε θεατρικὴν παρέχει, καὶ τῶν προβλημάτων στεγανώτατόν  
 5 ἐστὶ πρὸς τοὺς ὀιστοὺς ἀπολισθάνοντας. οἱ μέντοι Πάρθοι τὴν εἰς  
 γόνυ κλίσιν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀπαγόρευσιν ἡγούμενοι καὶ κάματον  
 εἶναι, τὰ μὲν τόξα κατέθεντο, τοὺς δὲ κοντοὺς διαλαβόντες ἐγγὺς  
 6 προσέμειξαν. οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι συναλαλάξαντες ἐξαίφνης ἀνέθορον,  
 καὶ τοῖς ὕσσοις παίοντες ἐκ χειρὸς ἔκτεινάν τε τοὺς πρώτους καὶ  
 7 τροπὴν ἔθεντο τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων. ἐγίνετο δὲ ταῦτα καὶ ταῖς  
 ἄλλαις ἡμέραις, ἐπὶ μικρὸν ἀνυόντων τῆς ὁδοῦ. καὶ λιμὸς ἥπτετο  
 τοῦ στρατοῦ, σῆτόν τε βραχὺν διὰ μάχης ποριζομένου καὶ τῶν

πρὸς ἄλετόν σκευῶν οὐκ εὐποροῦντος. τὰ γὰρ πολλὰ κατελείπετο, τῶν μὲν ἀποθνησκόντων ὑποζυγίων, τῶν δὲ τοὺς  
 8 νοσοῦντας καὶ τραυματίας φερόντων. λέγεται δὲ χοῖνιξ Ἀττική πυρῶν πεντήκοντα δραχμῶν ὧνιος γενέσθαι, τοὺς δὲ κριθίνους  
 9 ἄρτους πρὸς ἀργύριον ἰστάντες ἀπεδίδοντο. τραπόμενοι δὲ πρὸς λάχανα καὶ ῥίζας, ὀλίγοις μὲν ἐνετύγχανον τῶν συνήθων, ἀναγκάζομενοι δὲ πειρᾶσθαι καὶ τῶν ἀγεύστων πρότερον, ἥψαντό  
 10 τινος πράας ἐπὶ θάνατον διὰ μανίας ἀγούσης. ὁ γὰρ φαγὼν οὐδὲν ἐμέμνητο τῶν ἄλλων οὐδ' ἐγίνωσκεν, ἐν δ' ἔργον εἶχε κινεῖν καὶ στρέφειν πάντα λίθον, ὥς τι μεγάλης σπουδῆς ἄξιον διαπρατ-  
 11 τόμενος. ἦν δὲ μεστὸν τὸ πεδίον κεκυφότων χαμᾶζε καὶ τοὺς λίθους περιορυττόντων καὶ μεθιστάντων· τέλος δὲ χολὴν ἐμοῦν-  
 12 τες ἔθνησκον, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ μόνον ἀντιπαθές, οἶνος, ἐξέλιπε. φθειρομένων δὲ πολλῶν καὶ τῶν Πάρθων οὐκ ἀφισταμένων, πολλάκις ἀναφθέγξασθαι τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἱστοροῦσιν “ὦ μύριοι”, θαυμάζοντα τοὺς μετὰ Ξενοφῶντος, ὅτι καὶ πλείονα καταβαίνοντες ὁδὸν ἐκ τῆς Βαβυλωνίας καὶ πολλαπλασίοις μαχόμενοι πολεμίοις ἀπεσώθησαν.

**46.** Οἱ δὲ Πάρθοι διαπλέξαι μὲν οὐ δυνάμενοι τὸν στρατὸν οὐδὲ διασπᾶσαι τὴν τάξιν, ἤδη δὲ πολλάκις ἡττημένοι καὶ πεφευγότες, αὖθις εἰρηνικῶς ἀνεμείγνυντο τοῖς ἐπὶ χιλὸν ἢ σῖτον  
 2 προερχομένοις, καὶ τῶν τόξων τὰς νευρὰς ἐπιδεικνύντες ἀνειμένας ἔλεγον, ὥς αὐτοὶ μὲν ἀπίασιν ὀπίσω καὶ τοῦτο ποιοῦνται πέρας ἀμύνης, ὀλίγοι δὲ Μήδων ἀκολουθήσουσιν ἔτι μιᾶς ἢ δευτέρας ὁδὸν ἡμέρας, οὐδὲν παρενοχλοῦντες, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἀπωτέρω κώμας  
 3 φυλάττοντες. τούτοις τοῖς λόγοις ἀσπασμοί τε καὶ φιλοφροσύνη προσῆσαν, ὥστε πάλιν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους εὐθαρσεῖς γενέσθαι, καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀκούσαντα τῶν πεδίων ἐφίεσθαι μᾶλλον, ἀνύδρου  
 4 λεγομένης εἶναι τῆς διὰ τῶν ὁρῶν. οὕτω δὲ ποιεῖν μέλλοντος, ἦκεν ἀνὴρ ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων ὄνομα Μιθριδάτης, ἀνεπιὸς Μοναίσου τοῦ παρ' Ἀντωνίῳ γενομένου καὶ τὰς τρεῖς πόλεις δωρεὰν λαβόντος. ἡξίου δ' αὐτῷ προσελθεῖν  
 5 τινὰ τῶν Παρθιστὶ διαλεχθῆναι δυναμένων ἢ Συριστί. καὶ προσελθόντος Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Ἀντιοχέως, ὃς ἦν Ἀντωνίῳ συνήθης, ὑπειπὼν ὃς εἶη, καὶ Μοναίσῃ τὴν χάριν ἀνάπτων, ἠρώτησε τὸν

Ἀλέξανδρον, εἰ λόφους συνεχεῖς καὶ ὑψηλοὺς ὁρᾷ πρόσωθεν.  
 6 φήσαντος δ' ὁρᾶν, “ ὑπ' ἐκείνοις ” ἔφη “ πανστρατιᾷ Πάρθοι  
 λοχῶσιν ὑμᾶς. τὰ γὰρ μεγάλα πεδία τῶν λόφων τούτων  
 ἐξήρτηται, καὶ προσδοκῶσιν ὑμᾶς ἐξηπατημένους ὑπ' αὐτῶν  
 7 ἐνταῦθα τρέψεσθαι, τὴν διὰ τῶν ὁρῶν ἀπολιπόντας. ἐκείνη μὲν  
 οὖν ἔχει δίψος καὶ πόνον ὑμῖν συνήθη, ταύτη δὲ χωρῶν  
 Ἀντώνιος ἴστω τὰς Κράσσου τύχας αὐτὸν ἐκδεχομένης. ”

**47.** Ὁ μὲν οὕτω φράσας ἀπῆλθεν· Ἀντώνιος δ' ἀκούσας καὶ  
 διαταραχθεὶς συνεκάλει τοὺς φίλους καὶ τὸν ἡγεμόνα τῆς ὁδοῦ  
 2 Μάρδον, οὐδ' αὐτὸν ἄλλως φρονοῦντα. καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἄνευ  
**938** πολεμίων ἐγίνωσκε τὰς διὰ τῶν πεδίων ἀνοδίας καὶ πλάνας  
 χαλεπὰς καὶ δυστεκμάρτους οὔσας, τὴν δὲ τραχεῖαν ἀπέφαινε  
 3 οὐδὲν ἄλλο δυσχερὲς ἢ μιᾶς ἡμέρας ἀνδρίαν ἔχουσαν. οὕτω δὲ  
 τραπόμενος ταύτην ἦγε νυκτός, ὕδωρ ἐπιφέρεισθαι κελεύσας.  
 ἀγγείων δ' ἦν ἀπορία τοῖς πολλοῖς· διὸ καὶ τὰ κράνη πιμπλάντες  
 4 ὕδατος ἐκόμιζον, οἱ δὲ διφθέραις ὑπολαμβάνοντες. ἤδη δὲ  
 προχωρῶν ἀγγέλλεται τοῖς Πάρθοις· καὶ παρὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς ἔτι  
 νυκτός ἐδίωκον. ἡλίου δ' ἀνίσχοντος ἤπτοντο τῶν ἐσχάτων,  
 5 ἀγρυπνίαι καὶ πόνωι κακῶς διακειμένων· τεσσαράκοντα γὰρ καὶ  
 διακοσίους ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ σταδίους κατηνύκεισαν· καὶ τὸ μὴ  
 προσδοκῶσιν οὕτω ταχέως ἐπελθεῖν τοὺς πολεμίους ἀθυμίαν  
 παρεῖχε, καὶ τὸ δίψος ἐπέτεινεν ὁ ἀγών· ἀμυνόμενοι γὰρ ἅμα  
 6 προῆγον. οἱ δὲ πρῶτοι βαδίζοντες ἐντυγχάνουσι ποταμῶι,  
 ψυχρόν μὲν ἔχοντι καὶ διαυγές, ἄλμυρόν δὲ καὶ φαρμακῶδες  
 ὕδωρ, ὃ ποθὲν εὐθύς ὀδύνas ἐλκομένης τῆς κοιλίας καὶ τοῦ δίψους  
 7 ἀναφλεγομένου παρεῖχε. καὶ ταῦτα τοῦ Μάρδου προλέγοντος,  
 οὐδὲν ἤττον ἐκβιαζόμενοι τοὺς ἀνείργοντας ἔπινον. Ἀντώνιος δὲ  
 περιῶν ἐδεῖτο βραχὺν ἐγκαρτερῆσαι χρόνον· ἕτερον γὰρ οὐ  
 πόρρω ποταμὸν εἶναι πότιμον, εἴτα τὴν λοιπὴν ἀφιππον καὶ  
 τραχεῖαν, ὥστε παντάπασιν ἀποστρέψεσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους.  
 8 ἅμα δὲ καὶ τοὺς μαχομένους ἀνεκαλεῖτο καὶ κατὰζευξιν ἐσήμεινεν,  
 ὥς σκιᾶς γοῦν μετελάβοιεν οἱ στρατιῶται.

**48.** Πηγνυμένων οὖν τῶν σκηνῶν καὶ τῶν Πάρθων εὐθύς  
 ὥσπερ εἰώθεισαν ἀπαλλαττομένων, ἦκεν αὖθις ὁ Μιθριδάτης, καὶ  
 τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου προελθόντος παρήνει μικρὸν ἡσυχάσαντα τὸν

στρατὸν ἀνιστάναι καὶ σπεύδειν ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμόν, ὥς οὐ διαβησ-  
 2 ομένων Πάρθων, ἄχρι δ' ἐκείνου διωξόντων. ταῦτ' ἀπαγγεῖλας  
 πρὸς Ἀντώνιον ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐκφέρει παρ' αὐτοῦ χρυσᾶ ποτή-  
 ρια πάμπολλα καὶ φιάλας, ὧν ἐκεῖνος ὅσα τῇ ἐσθῇτι κατακρύψαι  
 3 δυνατὸς ἦν λαβὼν ἀπήλαυνεν. ἔτι δ' ἡμέρας οὔσης ἀναζεύξαντες  
 ἐπορεύοντο, τῶν πολεμίων οὐ παρενοχλούντων, αὐτοὶ δ'  
 ἑαυτοῖς νύκτα χαλεπωτάτην πασῶν ἐκείνην καὶ φοβερωτάτην  
 4 ἀπεργασάμενοι. τοὺς γὰρ ἔχοντας ἀργύριον ἢ χρυσίον ἀποκτιν-  
 νύντες ἐσύλων, καὶ τὰ χρήματα τῶν ὑποζυγίων ἀφήρπαζον·  
 τέλος δὲ τοῖς Ἀντωνίου σκευοφόροις ἐπιχειρήσαντες, ἐκπώματα  
 5 καὶ τραπέζας πολυτελεῖς κατέκοπτον καὶ διενέμοντο. θορύβου δὲ  
 πολλοῦ καὶ πλάνου τὸ στράτευμα πᾶν ἐπέχοντος (ῥῶιοντο γὰρ  
 ἐπιπεπτωκότων τῶν πολεμίων τροπὴν γεγονέναι καὶ δια-  
 σπασμόν) Ἀντώνιος ἕνα καλέσας τῶν δορυφορούντων αὐτὸν  
 ἀπελευθέρων ὄνομα Ῥάμμον, ὥρκωσεν ὅταν κελεύσῃ τὸ ξίφος  
 αὐτοῦ διεῖναι καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτεμεῖν, ὥς μήθ' ἁλώσῃ ζῶν  
 6 ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων μήτε γνωσθεῖη τεθνηκώς. ἐκδακρυσάντων δὲ  
 τῶν φίλων, ὁ Μάρδος ἐθάρρυνε τὸν Ἀντώνιον, ὥς ἐγγὺς ὄντος  
 τοῦ ποταμοῦ· καὶ γὰρ αὖρα τις ἀπορρέουσα νοτερὰ καὶ ψυχ-  
 ρότερος ἀῆρ ἀπαντῶν ἡδίω τὴν ἀναπνοὴν ἐποίει, καὶ τὸν  
 χρόνον ἔφη τῆς πορείας οὕτω συμπεραίνειν τὸ μέτρον· οὐκέτι  
 7 γὰρ ἦν πολὺ τὸ λειπόμενον τῆς νυκτός. ἅμα δ' ἀπήγγελλον  
 ἕτεροι τὸν θόρυβον ἐκ τῆς πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀδικίας καὶ πλεονεξίας  
 εἶναι. διὸ καὶ καταστῆσαι τὸ πλῆθος εἰς τάξιν ἐκ τῆς πλάνης καὶ  
 τοῦ διασπασμοῦ βουλόμενος, ἐκέλευσε σημαίνειν καταζευξιν.

**49.** Ἦδη δ' ὑπέλαμπεν ἡμέρα, καὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ κόσμον  
 ἀρχομένου τινὰ λαμβάνειν καὶ ἡσυχίαν, προσέπιπτε τοῖς  
 939 τοῖς ψιλοῖς. οἱ δ' ὀπλῖται πάλιν ὁμοίως κατερέψαντες ἀλλήλους  
 τοῖς θυρεοῖς, ὑπέμενον τοὺς βάλλοντας, ἐγγὺς οὐ τολμώντας  
 2 συνελθεῖν. ὑπαγόντων δὲ κατὰ μικρὸν οὕτως τῶν πρώτων, ὁ  
 ποταμὸς ἐφάνη, καὶ τοὺς ἵππεῖς ἐπ' αὐτῷ παρατάξας Ἀντώνιος  
 ἐναντίους τοῖς πολεμίοις, διεβίβαζε τοὺς ἀσθενεῖς πρώτους. ἤδη  
 3 δὲ καὶ τοῖς μαχομένοις ἄδεια καὶ ῥαιστώνη τοῦ πιεῖν ἦν. ὥς γὰρ  
 εἶδον οἱ Πάρθοι τὸν ποταμόν, τὰς τε νευρὰς ἀνῆκαν καὶ θαρροῦν-

τας ἐκέλευον διαπερᾶν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, πολλὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτῶν ἐγκωμιάζοντες. διαβάντες οὖν καθ' ἡσυχίαν αὐτοὺς ἀνελάμβανον, εἴθ' ὥδευον οὐ πᾶν τι τοῖς Πάρθοις πιστεύοντες.

- 4 Ἐκτῇ δ' ἡμέρᾳ μετὰ τὴν τελευταίαν μάχην ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀράξην ποταμὸν ἦκον, ὀρίζοντα Μηδίαν καὶ Ἀρμενίαν. ἐφάνη δὲ καὶ βάθει καὶ τραχύτητι χαλεπός, καὶ λόγος διῆλθεν ἐνεδρεύοντας  
5 αὐτόθι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπιθήσεσθαι διαβαίνουσιν αὐτοῖς. ἐπεὶ δ' ἀσφαλῶς διαπεράσαντες ἐπέβησαν τῆς Ἀρμενίας, ὥσπερ ἄρτι γῆν ἐκείνην ἰδόντες ἐκ πελάγους, προσεκύνουν καὶ πρὸς δάκρυα  
6 καὶ περιβολὰς ἀλλήλων ὑπὸ χαρᾶς ἐτρέποντο. προιόντες δὲ διὰ χώρας εὐδαίμονος καὶ χρώμενοι πᾶσιν ἀνέδην ἐκ πολλῆς ἀπορίας, ὑδερικοῖς καὶ κοιλιακοῖς περιέπιπτον ἀρρωσθήμασιν.

50. Ἐνταῦθα ποιησάμενος ἐξέτασιν αὐτῶν Ἀντώνιος εὗρε δισμυρίους πεζοὺς καὶ τετρακισχιλίους ἵππεῖς ἀπολωλότας, οὐ πάντας ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ἡμίσεις νοσήσαντας.  
2 ὥδευσαν μὲν οὖν ἀπὸ Φραάτων ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ καὶ εἴκοσι, μάχαις δ' ὀκτὼ καὶ δέκα Πάρθους ἐνίκησαν, αἱ δὲ νῖκαι κράτος οὐκ εἶχον  
3 οὐδὲ βεβαιότητα, μικρὰς ποιουμένων καὶ ἀτελεῖς τὰς διώξεις. ὧι καὶ μάλιστα κατὰδηλος ἦν Ἀρταουάσδης ὁ Ἀρμένιος Ἀντώνιον  
4 ἐκείνου τοῦ πολέμου τὸ τέλος ἀφελόμενος. εἰ γὰρ οὓς ἀπήγαγεν ἐκ Μηδίας ἵππεῖς ἑξακισχίλιοι καὶ μύριοι παρῆσαν, ἐσκευασμένοι παραπλησίως Πάρθοις καὶ συνήθεις μάχεσθαι πρὸς αὐτούς, Ῥωμαίων μὲν τοὺς μαχομένους τρεπομένων, ἐκείνων δὲ τοὺς φεύγοντας αἰρούντων, οὐκ ἂν ὑπῆρξεν αὐτοῖς ἡττωμένοις ἀνα-  
5 φέρειν καὶ ἀνατολμᾶν τοσαυτάκις. ἅπαντες οὖν ὀργῇ παρώξυνον ἐπὶ τὴν τιμωρίαν τοῦ Ἀρμενίου τὸν Ἀντώνιον. ὁ δὲ λογισμῶι χρησάμενος, οὐτ' ἐμέμψατο τὴν προδοσίαν οὐτ' ἀφεῖλε τῆς συνήθους φιλοφροσύνης καὶ τιμῆς πρὸς αὐτόν, ἀσθενὴς τῷ στρατῷ καὶ ἄπορος γεγονώς.

- 6 Ὑστερον μέντοι πάλιν ἐμβαλὼν εἰς Ἀρμενίαν καὶ πολλὰς ὑποσχέσεσι καὶ προκλήσεσι πείσας αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν εἰς χεῖρας, συνέλαβε καὶ δέσμιον καταγαγὼν εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἐθριάμβευσεν. ὧι μάλιστα Ῥωμαίους ἐλύπησεν, ὥς τὰ καλὰ καὶ σεμνὰ τῆς πατρίδος Αἰγυπτίοις διὰ Κλεοπάτραν χαριζόμενος. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὕστερον ἐπράχθη.

**51.** Τότε δὲ διὰ πολλοῦ χειμῶνος ἤδη καὶ νιφετῶν ἀπαύστων  
 2 ἐπειγόμενος, ὀκτακισχιλίους ἀπέβαλε καθ' ὁδόν. αὐτὸς δὲ  
 καταβάς ὀλιγοστός ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, ἐν χωρίῳ τινὶ μεταξὺ  
 Βηρυτοῦ κειμένῳ καὶ Σιδῶνος (Λευκὴ κώμη καλεῖται)  
 3 Κλεοπάτραν περιέμενε· καὶ βραδυνούσης ἀδημονῶν ἤλυε, ταχὺ  
 μὲν εἰς τὸ πίνειν καὶ μεθύσκεσθαι διδούς ἑαυτόν, οὐ καρτερῶν δὲ  
 κατακείμενος, ἀλλὰ μεταξὺ πινόντων ἀνιστάμενος καὶ ἀναπηδῶν  
 4 πολλὰκις ἐπὶ σκοπὴν, ἕως ἐκείνη κατέπλευσεν ἐσθῆτα πολλὴν καὶ  
 χρήματα κομίζουσα τοῖς στρατιώταις. εἰσὶ δ' οἱ λέγοντες ὅτι τὴν  
 μὲν ἐσθῆτα παρ' ἐκείνης λαβὼν, τὸ δ' ἄργύριον ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων  
 διένειμεν ὥς ἐκείνης διδούσης.

**52.** Τῷ δὲ βασιλεῖ τῶν Μήδων γίνεται διαφορὰ πρὸς  
 940 Φραάτην τὸν Πάρθον, ἀρξαμένη μὲν ὥς φασιν ὑπὲρ τῶν  
 Ῥωμαικῶν λαφύρων, ὑπόνοιαν δὲ τῷ Μήδῳ καὶ φόβον ἀφαιρ-  
 2 ἔσεως τῆς ἀρχῆς παρασχοῦσα. διὸ καὶ πέμπων ἐκάλει τὸν  
 Ἀντώνιον, ἐπαγγελλόμενος συμπολεμήσειν μετὰ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ  
 3 δυνάμεως. γενόμενος οὖν ἐπ' ἐλπίδος μεγάλης ὁ Ἀντώνιος (ὧι  
 γὰρ ἐδόκει μόνῳ τοῦ κατεργάσασθαι Πάρθους ἀπολιπεῖν,  
 ἵππέων πολλῶν καὶ τοξοτῶν ἐνδεῆς ἐλθόν, τοῦθ' ἑώρα προσ-  
 γινόμενον αὐτῷ χαριζομένῳ μᾶλλον ἢ δεομένῳ) παρ-  
 εσκευάζετο δι' Ἀρμενίας αὐθις ἀναβαίνειν καὶ συγγενόμενος  
 τῷ Μήδῳ περὶ ποταμὸν Ἀράξην οὕτω κινεῖν τὸν πόλεμον.

**53.** Ἐν δὲ Ῥώμῃ βουλομένης Ὀκταουίας πλεῦσαι πρὸς  
 Ἀντώνιον, ἐπέτρεψε Καῖσαρ, ὥς οἱ πλείους λέγουσιν οὐκ ἐκείνῃ  
 χαριζόμενος, ἀλλ' ὅπως περιυβρισθεῖσα καὶ καταμεληθεῖσα πρὸς  
 2 τὸν πόλεμον αἰτίαν εὐπρεπῇ παράσχοι. γενομένη δ' ἐν Ἀθήναις  
 ἐδέξατο γράμματα παρ' Ἀντωνίου, κελεύοντος αὐτόθι προσ-  
 μένειν καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν ἀνάβασιν δηλοῦντος. ἡ δέ, καίπερ  
 ἀχθομένη καὶ νοοῦσα τὴν πρόφασιν, ὅμως ἔγραψε πυνθανομένη  
 3 ποῦ κελεύει πεμφθῆναι τὰ κομιζόμενα πρὸς αὐτόν. ἐκόμιζε δὲ  
 πολλὴν μὲν ἐσθῆτα στρατιωτικὴν, πολλὰ δ' ὑποζύγια καὶ  
 χρήματα καὶ δῶρα τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν ἡγεμόσι καὶ φίλοις· ἐκτὸς δὲ  
 τούτων στρατιώτας ἐπιλέκτους δισχιλίους, εἰς στρατηγικὰς  
 4 σπείρας κεκοσμημένους ἐκπρεπέσι πανοπλίαις. ταῦτα Νίγρος τις  
 Ἀντωνίου φίλος ἀποσταλεὶς παρ' αὐτῆς ἔφραζε, καὶ προσετίθει

- 5 τοὺς ἀξιόους καὶ πρέποντας ἐπαίνους. αἰσθομένη δ' ἡ Κλεοπάτρα  
τὴν Ὀκταουίαν ὁμόσε χωροῦσαν αὐτῇ, καὶ φοβηθεῖσα μὴ τοῦ  
τρόπου τῇ σεμνότητι καὶ τῇ Καίσαρος δυνάμει προσκτησαμένη  
τὸ καθ' ἡδονὴν ὁμιλεῖν καὶ θεραπεύειν Ἀντώνιον, ἅμαχος γέν-  
ηται καὶ κρατήσῃ παντάπασι τοῦ ἀνδρός, ἔρᾶν αὐτῇ προσ-  
εποιεῖτο τοῦ Ἀντωνίου, καὶ τὸ σῶμα λεπταῖς καθήρει διαίταις·  
6 τὸ δὲ βλέμμα προσιόντος ἐκπεπληγμένον, ἀπερχομένου δὲ  
7 τηκόμενον καὶ ταπεινούμενον ὑπεφαίνετο. πραγματευομένη δὲ  
πολλάκις ὀφθῆναι δακρύουσα, ταχὺ τὸ δάκρυον ἀφήρει καὶ  
ἀπέκρυπτεν, ὥς δὴ βουλομένη λανθάνειν ἐκεῖνον. ἐπράττετο δὲ  
ταῦτα μέλλοντος τοῦ ἀνδρός ἐκ Συρίας ἀναβαίνειν πρὸς τὸν  
8 Μῆδον. οἱ δὲ κόλακες σπουδάζοντες ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἐλοιδόρουν τὸν  
Ἀντώνιον ὥς σκληρὸν καὶ ἀπαθῆ καὶ παραπολλύντα γύναιον εἰς  
9 ἓνα καὶ μόνον ἐκεῖνον ἀνηρτημένον. Ὀκταουίαν μὲν γὰρ πραγ-  
μάτων ἕνεκα διὰ τὸν ἀδελφὸν συνελθεῖν καὶ τὸ τῆς γαμετῆς  
10 ὄνομα καρποῦσθαι· Κλεοπάτραν δὲ τοσούτων ἀνθρώπων  
βασιλεύουσιν ἔρωμένην Ἀντωνίου καλεῖσθαι, καὶ τοῦνομα  
τοῦτο μὴ φεύγειν μηδ' ἀπαξιοῦν, ἕως ὅρᾶν ἐκεῖνον ἔξεστι καὶ  
11 συζῆν· ἀπελαινομένην δὲ τούτου μὴ περιβιώσεσθαι. τέλος δ' οὖν  
οὕτω τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐξέτηξαν καὶ ἀπεθήλυναν, ὥστε δείσαντα  
μὴ Κλεοπάτρα πρόηται τὸν βίον, εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἐπανελθεῖν,  
τὸν δὲ Μῆδον εἰς ὥραν ἔτους ἀναβαλέσθαι, καίπερ ἐν στάσει τῶν  
12 Παρθικῶν εἶναι λεγομένων. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τοῦτον μὲν ἀναβάς αὐτῆς  
εἰς φιλίαν προσηγάγετο, καὶ λαβὼν ἐνὶ τῶν ἐκ Κλεοπάτρας υἱῶν  
γυναῖκα μίαν αὐτοῦ τῶν θυγατέρων ἔτι μικρὰν οὔσαν ἐπαν-  
ῆλθεν, ἥδη πρὸς τὸν ἐμφύλιον πόλεμον τετραμμένος.

- 54.** Ὀκταουίαν δὲ Καῖσαρ ὑβρίσθαι δοκοῦσαν, ὥς ἐπανῆλθεν  
2 ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν, ἐκέλευσε καθ' ἑαυτὴν οἰκεῖν. ἡ δ' οὐκ ἔφη τὸν οἶκον  
ἀπολείψειν τοῦ ἀνδρός, ἀλλὰ κάκεῖνον αὐτόν, εἰ μὴ δι' ἑτέρας  
αἰτίας ἔγνωκε πολεμεῖν Ἀντωνίῳ, παρεκάλει τὰ καθ' ἑαυτὴν  
ἔᾶν, ὥς οὐδ' ἀκοῦσαι καλόν, εἰ τῶν μεγίστων αὐτοκρατόρων ὁ  
μὲν δι' ἔρωτα γυναικός, ὁ δὲ διὰ ζηλοτυπίαν εἰς ἐμφύλιον  
3 πόλεμον Ῥωμαίους κατέστησε. ταῦτα δὲ λέγουσα μᾶλλον  
**941** ἐβεβαίου δι' ἔργων. καὶ γὰρ ὦικε τὴν οἰκίαν ὥσπερ αὐτοῦ  
παρόντος ἐκείνου, καὶ τῶν τέκνων οὐ μόνον τῶν ἐξ ἑαυτῆς, ἀλλὰ

καὶ τῶν ἐκ Φουλβίας γεγονότων καλῶς καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῶς  
 4 ἐπεμελεῖτο· καὶ τοὺς πεμπομένους ἐπ' ἀρχάς τινας ἢ πράγματα  
 τῶν Ἀντωνίου φίλων ὑποδεχομένη, συνέπραττεν ὧν παρὰ  
 5 Καίσαρος δεηθεῖεν. ἄκουσα δ' ἔβλαπτε διὰ τούτων Ἀντώνιον·  
 ἐμισήθη γὰρ ἀδικῶν γυναικὰ τοιαύτην. ἐμισήθη δὲ καὶ διὰ τὴν  
 διανέμησιν ἣν ἐποίησατο τοῖς τέκνοις ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ, τραγικὴν  
 6 καὶ ὑπερήφανον καὶ μισορρώμιον φανεῖσαν. ἐμπλήσας γὰρ  
 ὄχλου τὸ γυμνάσιον, καὶ θέμενος ἐπὶ βήματος ἀργυροῦ δύο  
 θρόνους χρυσοῦς, τὸν μὲν ἑαυτῷ, τὸν δὲ Κλεοπάτρᾳ, καὶ τοῖς  
 παισὶν ἑτέρους ταπεινότερους, πρῶτον μὲν ἀπέφηνε Κλεοπάτραν  
 βασίλισσαν Αἰγύπτου καὶ Κύπρου καὶ Λιβύης καὶ Κοίλης Συρίας,  
 συμβασιλεύοντος αὐτῇ Καισαρίωνος, ὃς ἐκ Καίσαρος ἐδόκει τοῦ  
 προτέρου γεγονέναι, Κλεοπάτραν ἔγκυον καταλιπόντος·  
 7 δεύτερον δὲ τοὺς ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ Κλεοπάτρας υἱοὺς βασιλεῖς  
 βασιλέων ἀναγορεύσας, Ἀλεξάνδρῳ μὲν Ἀρμενίαν ἀπένειμε καὶ  
 Μηδίαν καὶ τὰ Πάρθων ὅταν ὑπαγάγηται, Πτολεμαῖῳ δὲ  
 8 Φοινίκην καὶ Συρίαν καὶ Κιλικίαν. ἅμα δὲ καὶ προήγαγε τῶν  
 παίδων Ἀλέξανδρον μὲν ἐσθῆτι Μηδικῇ τιάραν καὶ κίταριν  
 ὀρθὴν ἐχούσῃ, Πτολεμαῖον δὲ κρηπίσι καὶ χλαμύδι καὶ καυσίαι  
 διαδηματοφόρῳ κεκοσμημένον· αὕτη γὰρ ἦν σκευὴ τῶν ἀπ'  
 Ἀλεξάνδρου βασιλέων, ἐκείνη δὲ Μήδων καὶ Ἀρμενίων.  
 9 ἀσπασαμένων δὲ τῶν παίδων τοὺς γονεῖς, τὸν μὲν Ἀρμενίων  
 φυλακὴν περιίστατο, τὸν δὲ Μακεδόνων. Κλεοπάτρα μὲν γὰρ καὶ  
 τότε καὶ τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον εἰς πλήθος ἐξιοῦσα στολὴν ἱερὰν  
 Ἰσιδος ἐλάμβανε καὶ νέα Ἴσις ἐχρημάτιζε.

**55.** Ταῦτα δ' εἰς σύγκλητον ἐκφέρων Καῖσαρ καὶ πολλάκις ἐν  
 τῷ δήμῳ κατηγορῶν, παρώξυνε τὸ πλῆθος ἐπ' Ἀντώνιον.  
 2 ἔπεμπε δὲ καὶ Ἀντώνιος ἀντεγκαλῶν ἐκείνῳ. μέγιστα δ' ἦν ὧν  
 ἐνεκάλει, πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι Πομπηίου Σικελίαν ἀφελόμενος οὐκ  
 ἔνειμε μέρος αὐτῷ τῆς νήσου· δεύτερον ὅτι χρησάμενος ναῦς  
 3 παρ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἀπεστέρησε· τρίτον ὅτι τὸν  
 συνάρχοντα Λέπιδον ἐκβαλὼν τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ ποιήσας ἄτιμον,  
 αὐτὸς ἔχει στρατὸν καὶ χώραν καὶ προσόδους τὰς ἐκείνῳ  
 προσνεμηθείσας· ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ὅτι τοῖς αὐτοῦ στρατιώταις ἄπασαν  
 ὀλίγου δεῖν Ἰταλίαν κατακεκληρούχηκε, μηδὲν λιπὼν τοῖς

4 ἐκείνου. πρὸς ταῦτα Καῖσαρ ἀπελογεῖτο, Λέπιδον μὲν ὑβρίζοντα καταπαῦσαι τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἃ δ' ἔσχηκε πολεμήσας, νεμήσεσθαι πρὸς Ἀντώνιον, ὅταν κακεῖνος Ἀρμενίαν πρὸς αὐτόν· τοῖς δὲ στρατιώταις Ἰταλίας μὴ μετεῖναι· Μηδίαν γὰρ ἔχειν καὶ Παρθίαν αὐτούς, ἃς προσεκτῆσαντο Ῥωμαίοις καλῶς ἀγωνισάμενοι μετὰ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος.

56. Ταῦτ' ἐν Ἀρμενίᾳ διατρίβων Ἀντώνιος ἤκουσε· καὶ Κανίδιον εὐθύς ἐκέλευσεν ἐκκαίδεκα τέλη λαβόντα καταβαίνειν ἐπὶ 2 θάλατταν. αὐτὸς δὲ Κλεοπάτραν ἀναλαβὼν εἰς Ἑφεσον ἦκε. καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν ἐκεῖ συνήiei πανταχόθεν, ὀκτακόσiai σὺν ὀλκάσι νῆες, ὧν Κλεοπάτρα παρεῖχε διακοσίας καὶ τάλαντα δισμύρια καὶ 3 τροφήν τῷ στρατῷ παντὶ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον. Ἀντώνιος δὲ πεισθεὶς ὑπὸ Δομιτίου καὶ τινων ἄλλων ἐκέλευε Κλεοπάτραν 4 πλεῖν ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου κακεῖ διακαραδοκεῖν τὸν πόλεμον. ἡ δὲ φοβουμένη τὰς δι' Ὀκταουρίας πάλιν διαλύσεις ἔπεισε πολλοῖς Κανίδιον χρήμασιν Ἀντωνίῳ διαλεχθῆναι περὶ αὐτῆς, ὥς οὔτε δίκαιον ἀπελάνεσθαι τοῦ πολέμου. γυναικὰ συμβολὰς 942 τηλικαύτας διδοῦσαν, οὔτε συμφέρον ἀθυμοτέρους ποιεῖν τοὺς 5 Αἰγυπτίους, μέγα μέρος τῆς ναυτικῆς δυνάμεως ὄντας· ἄλλως δὲ μηδ' ὄραν οὔτινος τῶν συστρατευόντων βασιλέων ἀπολείποιτο τὸ φρονεῖν Κλεοπάτρα, πολὺν μὲν χρόνον δι' αὐτῆς κυβερνῶσα βασιλείαν τοσαύτην, πολὺν δ' ἐκείνῳ συνοῦσα καὶ μανθάνουσα 6 χρῆσθαι πράγμασι· μεγάλοις. ταῦτ'—ἔδει γὰρ εἰς Καίσαρα πάντα περιελθεῖν—ἐνίκα· καὶ συνιουσῶν τῶν δυνάμεων 7 πλεύσαντες εἰς Σάμον ἐν εὐπαθείαις ἦσαν. ὥσπερ γὰρ βασιλεῦσι καὶ δυνάσταις καὶ τετράρχαις ἔθνεσί τε καὶ πόλεσι πάσαις ταῖς μεταξὺ Συρίας καὶ Μαιώτιδος καὶ Ἀρμενίας καὶ Ἰλλυριῶν προ- εἶρητο πέμπειν καὶ κομίζειν τὰς εἰς τὸν πόλεμον παρασκευάς, οὔτω πᾶσι τοῖς περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνίταις ἐπάναναγκες ἦν εἰς 8 Σάμον ἀπαντᾶν· καὶ τῆς ἐν κύκλῳ σχεδὸν ἀπάσης οἰκουμένης περιθρηνουμένης καὶ περιστεναζομένης, μία νῆσος ἐφ' ἡμέρας πολλὰς κατηυλεῖτο καὶ κατεψάλλετο, πληρουμένων θεάτρων καὶ 9 χορῶν ἀγωνιζομένων. συνέθυε δὲ καὶ πόλις πᾶσα βοῦν πέμπουσα, καὶ βασιλεῖς διημιλλῶντο ταῖς ὑποδοχαῖς καὶ δωρεαῖς 10 πρὸς ἀλλήλους. ὥστε καὶ λόγος διήiei, τίνες ἔσονται κρατήσ-

αντες ἐν τοῖς ἐπινικίοις οἱ τοῦ πολέμου τὰς παρασκευὰς οὕτω πολυτελῶς ἐορτάζοντες.

57. Γενόμενος δ' ἀπὸ τούτων, τοῖς μὲν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνίταις Πριήνην ἔδωκεν οἰκητήριον, αὐτὸς δὲ πλεύσας εἰς 2 Ἀθήνας πάλιν ἐν παιδιαῖς ἦν καὶ θεάτροις. ζηλοτυποῦσα δὲ Κλεοπάτρα τὰς Ὀκταουίας ἐν τῇ πόλει τιμὰς (ἡγαπήθη γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἢ Ὀκταουία μάλιστα) πολλαῖς ἀνελάμβανε 3 φιλοτιμίαις τὸν δῆμον. οἱ δὲ τιμὰς αὐτῇ ψηφισάμενοι πρέσβεις ἔπεμψαν ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν τὸ ψήφισμα κομίζοντας, ὧν εἷς ἦν Ἀντώνιος ὡς δὴ πολίτης Ἀθηναίων· καὶ δὴ καταστὰς ἐπ' αὐτῆς 4 λόγον ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως διεσχῆλθεν. εἰς δὲ Ῥώμην ἔπεμψε τοὺς Ὀκταουίαν ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας ἐκβαλοῦντας. ἀπελθεῖν δὲ φασιν αὐτὴν τὰ μὲν τέκνα πάντα τὰ Ἀντωνίου μεθ' ἑαυτῆς ἔχουσιν ἄνευ τοῦ πρεσβυτάτου τῶν ἐκ Φουλβίας (ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ἦν παρὰ τῷ πατρί), κλαίουσαν δὲ καὶ δυσφοροῦσαν, εἰ δόξει μία τῶν αἰτιῶν 5 τοῦ πολέμου καὶ αὕτη γεγονέναι. Ῥωμαῖοι δ' ὥικτιρον οὐκ ἐκείνην ἀλλ' Ἀντώνιον, καὶ μᾶλλον οἱ Κλεοπάτραν ἑωρακότες οὔτε κάλλει τῆς Ὀκταουίας οὐθ' ὥραι διαφέρουσιν.

58. Καῖσαρ δὲ τὸ τάχος καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς παρασκευῆς ἀκούσας ἐθορυβήθη, μὴ τοῦ θέρους ἐκείνου διαπολεμεῖν ἀναγκασθῇ. καὶ γὰρ ἐνέδει πολλά, καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐλύπουν αἱ 2 τῶν χρημάτων εἰσπράξεις· ἀναγκαζόμενοι γὰρ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι τὰ τέταρτα τῶν καρπῶν, οἱ δ' ἐξελευθερικοὶ τῶν κτημάτων αὐτῶν τὰς ὀγδόας ἀποφέρειν, κατεβόων αὐτοῦ, καὶ ταραχαὶ κατεῖχον 3 ἐκ τούτων ἅπασαν τὴν Ἰταλίαν. ὅθεν ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις ἀμαρτήμασιν Ἀντωνίου τὴν ἀναβολὴν τοῦ πολέμου τίθενται. καὶ γὰρ παρασκευάσασθαι χρόνον ἔδωκε Καῖσαρι, καὶ τὰς ταραχὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐξέλυσε. πραττόμενοι γὰρ ἡγριαίνοντο, πραχθέντες 4 δὲ καὶ δόντες ἡσύχαζον. Τίτιος δὲ καὶ Πλάγκος, Ἀντωνίου φίλοι τῶν ὑπατικῶν, ὑπὸ Κλεοπάτρας προπηλάκιζόμενοι (πλεῖστα γὰρ ἠναντιώθησαν αὐτῇ περὶ τοῦ συστρατεύειν) ἀποδράντες ὤιχοντο πρὸς Καῖσαρα καὶ περὶ τῶν Ἀντωνίου διαθηκῶν 5 ἐγίνοντο μηνυταί, τὰ γεγραμμένα συνειδότες. ἀπέκειντο δ' αὗται παρὰ ταῖς Ἑστιάσι παρθένοις, καὶ Καῖσαρος αἰτοῦντος οὐκ 6 ἔδωκαν· εἰ δὲ βούλοιτο λαμβάνειν, ἐλθεῖν αὐτὸν ἐκέλευον. ἔλαβεν

- οὖν ἔλθων, καὶ πρῶτον μὲν αὐτὸς ἰδίαι τὰ γεγραμμένα διῆλθε,  
**943** καὶ παρεσημήνατο τόπους τινὰς εὐκατηγορήτους, ἔπειτα τὴν  
 βουλὴν ἀθροίσας ἀνεγίνωσκε, τῶν πλείστων ἀηδῶς ἔχόντων.  
 7 ἄλλόκοτον γὰρ ἔδοξεν εἶναι καὶ δεινόν, εὐθύνας τινὰ διδόναι  
 8 ζῶντα περὶ ὧν ἐβουλήθη γενέσθαι μετὰ τὴν τελευτήν. ἐπεφύετο  
 δὲ τῶν γεγραμμένων μάλιστα τῷ περὶ τῆς ταφῆς. ἐκέλευε γὰρ  
 αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα, κἄν ἐν Ῥώμῃ τελευτήσῃ, δι' ἀγορᾶς  
 πομπευθὲν εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ὡς Κλεοπάτραν ἀποσταλῆναι.  
 9 Καλούσιος δὲ Καίσαρος ἐταῖρος ἔτι καὶ ταῦτα τῶν εἰς  
 Κλεοπάτραν ἐγκλημάτων Ἀντωνίῳ προὔφερε· χαρίσασθαι μὲν  
 αὐτῇ τὰς ἐκ Περγάμου βιβλιοθήκας, ἐν αἷς εἴκοσι μυριάδες  
 10 βυβλίων ἀπλῶν ἦσαν· ἐν δὲ συνδείπνῳ πολλῶν παρόντων  
 ἀναστάντα τρίβειν αὐτῆς τοὺς πόδας ἐκ τινος ὀρισμοῦ καὶ  
 11 συνθήκης γενομένης· Ἐφεσίους δ' ἀνασχέσθαι παρόντος αὐτοῦ  
 κυρίαν τὴν Κλεοπάτραν ἀσπασαμένους· δικάζοντα δὲ πολλάκις  
 τετράρχαις καὶ βασιλεῦσιν ἐπὶ βήματος, δελτάρια τῶν ἐρωτικῶν  
 ὀνύχινᾳ καὶ κρυστάλλινᾳ δέχεσθαι παρ' αὐτῆς καὶ ἀναγινώσκειν·  
 Φουρνίου δὲ λέγοντος, ὅς ἦν ἀξιώματος μεγάλου καὶ δεινότατος  
 εἰπεῖν Ῥωμαίων, τὴν μὲν Κλεοπάτραν ἐν φορείῳ διὰ τῆς ἀγορᾶς  
 κομίζεσθαι, τὸν δ' Ἀντώνιον ὡς εἶδεν ἀναπηδήσαντα τὴν μὲν  
 δίκην ἀπολιπεῖν, ἐκκρεμαννύμενον δὲ τοῦ φορείου παραπέμπειν  
 ἐκείνην.

**59.** Ἀλλὰ τούτων μὲν ἔδοκει τὰ πλεῖστα καταψεύδεσθαι  
 Καλούσιος.

- 2 Οἱ δὲ φίλοι τοῦ Ἀντωνίου περιόντες ἐν Ῥώμῃ τὸν δῆμον  
 ἰκέτευον, ἕνα δ' ἐξ αὐτῶν ἔπεμψαν Γεμίνιον, δεόμενοι τοῦ  
 Ἀντωνίου μὴ περιδεῖν αὐτὸν ἀποψηφισθέντα τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ  
 3 πολέμιον Ῥωμαίων ἀναγορευθέντα. Γεμίνιος δὲ πλεύσας εἰς τὴν  
 Ἑλλάδα Κλεοπάτραι μὲν ἦν ὑποπτος ὡς ὑπὲρ Ὀκταουίας  
 πράττων, σκωπτόμενος δὲ παρὰ δεῖπνον αἰεὶ καὶ κλισίαις ἀτίμοις  
 προπηλακιζόμενος, ἠνείχετο καιρὸν ἐντεύξεως ἀναμένων·  
 4 κελευσθεὶς δὲ λέγειν ἐφ' οἷς ἦκει παρὰ τὸ δεῖπνον, τὴν μὲν ἄλλην  
 ἔφη νήφοντος εἶναι διάλεξιν, ἐν δὲ καὶ νήφων ἐπίστασθαι καὶ  
 μεθύων, ὅτι καλῶς ἔξει πάντα Κλεοπάτρας εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀπαλ-  
 5 λαγείσης. πρὸς τοῦτο τοῦ Ἀντωνίου χαλεπήναντος, ἡ

Κλεοπάτρα “καλῶς” ἔφη “πεποίηκας, ὦ Γεμίνιε, τὴν ἀλήθειαν  
 ἄνευ βασάνων ἐξομολογησάμενος”. Γεμίνιος μὲν οὖν μετ’ ὀλίγας  
 6 ἡμέρας ἀποδρὰς εἰς Ῥώμην ὤιχετο. πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων  
 φίλων οἱ Κλεοπάτρας κόλακες ἐξέβαλον, τὰς παροινίας καὶ  
 βωμολοχίας οὐχ ὑπομένοντας, ὧν καὶ Μᾶρκος ἦν Σιλανὸς καὶ  
 7 Δέλλιος ὁ ἱστορικός. οὗτος δὲ καὶ δεῖσαί φησιν ἐπιβουλήν ἐκ  
 8 Κλεοπάτρας, Γλαύκου τοῦ ἱατροῦ φράσαντος αὐτῷ. προσ-  
 ἔκρουσε δὲ Κλεοπάτραι παρὰ δεῖπνον εἰπὼν αὐτοῖς μὲν ὀξίνην  
 ἐγγεῖσθαι, Σάρμεντον δὲ πίνειν ἐν Ῥώμῃ Φαλερῖνον· ὁ δὲ Σάρμεν-  
 τος ἦν τῶν Καίσαρος παιγνίων παιδάριον, ἃ δηλίκια Ῥωμαῖοι  
 καλοῦσιν.

**60.** Ἐπεὶ δὲ παρεσκεύαστο Καῖσαρ ἱκανῶς, ψηφίζεται  
 Κλεοπάτραι πολεμεῖν, ἀφελέσθαι δὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς Ἀντώνιον ἧς  
 ἐξέστη γυναικί· καὶ προσεπείπε Καῖσαρ ὥς Ἀντώνιος μὲν ὑπὸ  
 φαρμάκων οὐδ’ αὐτοῦ κρατοίη, πολεμοῦσι δ’ αὐτοῖς Μαρδίων ὁ  
 εὐνοῦχος καὶ Ποθεινὸς καὶ Εἰρὰς ἡ Κλεοπάτρας κουρεύτρια καὶ  
 Χάρμιον, ὑφ’ ὧν τὰ μέγιστα διοικεῖται τῆς ἡγεμονίας.

2 Σημεῖα δὲ πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου τάδε γενέσθαι λέγεται. Πείσαυρα  
 μὲν, Ἀντωνίου κληρουχία, πόλις ὠικισμένη παρὰ τὸν Ἀδρίαν,  
 3 χασμάτων ὑπορραγέντων κατεπόθη. τῶν δὲ περὶ Ἀλβαν  
 Ἀντωνίου λιθίνων ἀνδριάντων ἑνὸς ἰδρῶς ἀνεπίδυνεν ἡμέρας  
 4 πολλὰς, ἀποματτόντων τινῶν οὐ παυόμενος. ἐν δὲ Πάτραις  
 944 διατρίβοντος αὐτοῦ, κεραυνοῖς ἐνεπρήσθη τὸ Ἡράκλειον· καὶ τῆς  
 Ἀθήνησι γιγαντομαχίας ὑπὸ πνευμάτων ὁ Διόνυσος ἐκσεισθεὶς  
 5 εἰς τὸ θέατρον κατηνέχθη· προσωικείου δ’ ἑαυτὸν Ἀντώνιος  
 Ἡρακλεῖ κατὰ γένος καὶ Διονύσῳ κατὰ τὸν τοῦ βίου ζῆλον  
 6 ὥσπερ εἴρηται, Διόνυσος νέος προσαγορευόμενος. ἡ δ’ αὐτὴ  
 θύελλα καὶ τοὺς Εὐμένους καὶ Ἀττάλου κολοσσοὺς ἐπιγεγραμ-  
 μένους Ἀντωνιεύς Ἀθήνησιν ἐμπεσοῦσα μόνους ἐκ πολλῶν  
 7 ἀνέτρεψε. ἡ δὲ Κλεοπάτρας ναυαρχὴς ἐκαλεῖτο μὲν Ἀντωνιάς,  
 σημεῖον δὲ περὶ αὐτὴν δεινὸν ἐφάνη· χελιδόνες γὰρ ὑπὸ τὴν  
 πρύμναν ἐνεόττευσαν, ἕτεραι δ’ ἐπελθοῦσαι καὶ ταύτας ἐξήλασαν  
 καὶ τὰ νεόττια διέφθειραν.

**61.** Συνιόντων δὲ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, Ἀντωνίῳ μὲν ἦσαν αἱ  
 μάχιμοι νῆες οὐκ ἐλάττους πεντακοσίων, ἐν αἷς ὀκτῆρεις πολλαὶ

καὶ δεκῆρεις, κεκοσμημένοι σοβαρῶς καὶ πανηγυρικῶς, στρατοῦ  
 2 δὲ μυριάδες δέκα, δισχίλιοι δ' ἵππεῖς ἐπὶ μυρίοις. βασιλεῖς δ'  
 ὑπήκοοι συνεμάχουν Βόγος ὁ Λιβύων καὶ Ταρκόνδημος ὁ τῆς  
 ἄνω Κιλικίας, καὶ Καππαδοκίας μὲν Ἀρχέλαος, Παφλαγονίας δὲ  
 Φιλάδελφος, Κομμαγενῆς δὲ Μιθριδάτης, Σαδάλας δὲ Θράκης.  
 3 οὗτοι μὲν αὐτῷ παρῆσαν, ἐκ δὲ Πόντου Πολέμων στρατὸν  
 ἔπεμπε, καὶ Μάλχος ἐξ Ἀραβίας καὶ Ἡρώδης ὁ Ἰουδαῖος, ἔτι δ'  
 Ἀμύντας ὁ Λυκαόνων καὶ Γαλατῶν βασιλεύς· ἦν δὲ καὶ παρὰ τοῦ  
 4 Μήδων βασιλέως ἀπεσταλμένη βοήθεια. Καῖσαρι δὲ νῆες ἦσαν  
 πρὸς ἅλκην πεντήκοντα καὶ διακόσιαι, στρατοῦ δ' ὀκτῶ  
 μυριάδες, ἵππεῖς δὲ παραπλήσιοι τὸ πλῆθος τοῖς πολεμίοις.  
 5 ἦρχον δ' Ἀντώνιος μὲν τῆς ἀπ' Εὐφράτου καὶ Ἀρμενίας μέχρι  
 πρὸς τὸν Ἰόνιον καὶ Ἰλλυριούς, Καῖσαρ δ' ἀπ' Ἰλλυριῶν τῆς ἐπὶ  
 τὸν ἑσπέριον ὠκεανὸν καθηκούσης καὶ τῆς ἀπ' ὠκεανοῦ πάλιν  
 6 ἐπὶ τὸ Τυρρηνικὸν καὶ Σικελικὸν πέλαγος. Λιβύης δὲ τὴν Ἰταλίαν  
 καὶ Γαλατίαν καὶ Ἰβηρίαν μέχρι στηλῶν Ἡρακλείων ἀντι-  
 παρήκουσαν εἶχε Καῖσαρ· τὰ δ' ἀπὸ Κυρήνης μέχρι Αἰθιοπίας  
 Ἀντώνιος.

**62.** Οὕτω δ' ἄρα προσθήκη τῆς γυναικὸς ἦν ὥστε τῷ πεζῷ  
 πολὺ διαφέρων ἐβούλετο τοῦ ναυτικοῦ τὸ κράτος εἶναι διὰ  
 Κλεοπάτραν, καὶ ταῦτα πληρωμάτων ἀπορίαι συναρ-  
 παζομένους ὁρῶν ὑπὸ τῶν τριηραρχῶν ἐκ τῆς “πολλὰ δὴ  
 τλάσης” Ἑλλάδος ὁδοιπόρους ὀνηλάτας θεριστὰς ἐφήβους, καὶ  
 οὐδ' οὕτω πληρουμένας τὰς ναῦς, ἀλλὰ τὰς πλείστας ἀποδεεῖς  
 2 καὶ μοχθηρῶς πλεούσας. Καῖσαρ δ' οὐ πρὸς ὕψος οὐδ' ὄγκον  
 ἐπιδεικτικῶς πεπηγυῖαις ναυσίν, εὐστρόφοις δὲ καὶ ταχείαις καὶ  
 πεπληρωμέναις ἀκριβῶς ἐξηρτυμένον ἐν Τάραντι καὶ Βρεντεσίῳ  
 συνέχων ναυτικόν, ἔπεμπε πρὸς Ἀντώνιον ἀξιῶν μὴ διατρίβειν  
 3 τὸν χρόνον, ἀλλ' ἔρχεσθαι μετὰ τῶν δυνάμεων· αὐτὸς δὲ τῷ μὲν  
 στόλῳ παρέξειν ὅρμους ἀκωλύτους καὶ λιμένας, ὑποχωρήσειν δὲ  
 τῷ πεζῷ τῆς παραλίας ἵππου δρόμον ἀπὸ θαλάσσης, μέχρι  
 4 ἂν ἀσφαλῶς ἀποβῇ καὶ στρατοπεδεύσῃται. τούτοις ἀντι-  
 κομπάζων Ἀντώνιος αὐτὸν μὲν εἰς μονομαχίαν προῦκαλεῖτο  
 καίπερ ὢν πρεσβύτερος, εἰ δὲ φεύγοι τοῦτο, περὶ Φάρσαλον  
 ἡξίου τοῖς στρατεύμασιν ὥς πάλαι Καῖσαρ καὶ Πομπήιος

5 διαγωνίσασθαι. φθάνει δὲ Καῖσαρ, Ἀντωνίου περὶ τὸ Ἄκτιον  
 ὁρμοῦντος, ἐν ᾧ τόπῳ νῦν ἡ Νικόπολις ἱδρύται, διαβαλὼν τὸν  
 Ἴόνιον καὶ τῆς Ἠπείρου χωρίον ὃ Τορύνη καλεῖται κατασχών·  
 6 θορυβουμένων δὲ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον (ὕστερὶ γὰρ ὁ πεζὸς  
 αὐτοῖς) ἡ μὲν Κλεοπάτρα σκώπτουσα “ τί δεινόν ” ἔλεγεν “ εἰ  
 Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ τῇ τορύνῃ κάθηται; ”

**63.** Ἀντώνιος δ' ἅμ' ἡμέραι τῶν πολεμίων ἐπιπλεόντων,  
 φοβηθεὶς μὴ τῶν ἐπιβατῶν ἐρήμους ἔλωσι τὰς ναῦς, τοὺς μὲν  
 ἐρέτας ὀπλίσας ἐπὶ τῶν καταστρωμάτων παρέταξεν ὅψεως  
**945** ἕνεκα, τοὺς δὲ ταρσοὺς τῶν νεῶν ἐγείρας καὶ πτερῶσας  
 ἐκατέρωθεν, ἐν τῷ στόματι περὶ τὸ Ἄκτιον ἀντιπρώιρους  
 2 συνείχεν, ὥς ἐνήρεις καὶ παρεσκευασμένους ἀμύνεσθαι. καὶ Καῖσαρ  
 μὲν οὕτω καταστρατηγηθεὶς ἀπεχώρησεν· ἔδοξε δὲ καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ  
 εὐμηχάνως ἐρύμασί τισιν ἐμπεριλαβὼν ἀφελέσθαι τοὺς  
 πολεμίους, τῶν ἐν κύκλῳ χωρίων ὀλίγον καὶ πονηρὸν ἔχόντων.  
 3 εὐγνωμόνως δὲ καὶ Δομιτίῳ προσηνέχθη παρὰ τὴν Κλεοπάτρας  
 γνώμην. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ἤδη πυρέττων εἰς μικρὸν ἐμβὰς ἀκάτιον  
 πρὸς Καίσαρα μετέστη, βαρέως ἐνεγκὼν ὁ Ἀντώνιος ὁμῶς  
 πᾶσαν αὐτῷ τὴν ἀποσκευὴν μετὰ τῶν φίλων καὶ τῶν  
 4 θεραπόντων ἀπέπεμψε. καὶ Δομίτιος μὲν, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ  
 λαθεῖν τὴν ἀπιστίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ προδοσίαν, μεταβαλλόμενος εὐθύς  
 5 ἐτελεύτησεν. ἐγένοντο δὲ καὶ βασιλέων ἀποστάσεις Ἀμύντου καὶ  
 Δηιοτάρου πρὸς Καίσαρα. τὸ δὲ ναυτικὸν ἐν παντὶ δυσπραγοῦν  
 καὶ πρὸς ἅπασαν ὑστερίζον βοήθειαν, αὐθις ἠνάγκαζε τῷ πεζῷ  
 6 προσέχειν τὸν Ἀντώνιον. ἔσχε δὲ καὶ Κανίδιον τὸν ἄρχοντα τοῦ  
 πεζοῦ μεταβολὴ γνώμης παρὰ τὰ δεινὰ, καὶ συνεβούλευε  
 Κλεοπάτραν μὲν ἀποπέμπειν, ἀναχωρήσαντα δ' εἰς Θράικην ἢ  
 7 Μακεδονίαν πεζομαχίαι κρίναι. καὶ γὰρ Δικόμης ὁ Γετῶν  
 βασιλεὺς ὑπισχνεῖτο πολλῇι στρατιᾷ βοηθήσειν· οὐκ εἶναι δ'  
 αἰσχρὸν, εἰ Καίσαρι γεγυμνασμένῳ περὶ τὸν Σικελικὸν πόλεμον  
 ἐκστήσονται τῆς θαλάσσης, ἀλλὰ δεινόν, εἰ τῶν πεζῶν ἀγώνων  
 ἐμπειρότατος ὢν Ἀντώνιος οὐ χρήσεται ῥώμῃ καὶ παρασκευῇ  
 8 τοσούτων ὀπλιτῶν, εἰς ναῦς διανέμων καὶ καταναλίσκων τὴν  
 δύναμιν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐξενίκησε Κλεοπάτρα διὰ τῶν νεῶν  
 κριθῆναι τὸν πόλεμον, ἥδη πρὸς φυγὴν ὁρῶσα καὶ τιθεμένη τὰ

καθ' ἑαυτὴν οὐχ ὅπου πρὸς τὸ νικᾶν ἔσται χρήσιμος, ἀλλ' ὅθεν ἅππεισι ῥᾷστα τῶν πραγμάτων ἀπολλυμένων.

- 9 Ἦν δὲ μακρὰ σκέλη κατατείνοντα πρὸς τὸν ναύσταθμον τῆς  
στρατοπεδείας, δι' ὧν ὁ Ἀντώνιος εἰώθει παριέναι μηδὲν  
10 ὑφορώμενος. οἰκέτου δὲ Καίσαρι φράσαντος, ὥς δυνατὸν εἶη  
κατιόντα διὰ τῶν σκελῶν συλλαβεῖν αὐτόν, ἔπεμψε τοὺς  
11 ἐνεδρεύσοντας. οἱ δὲ παρὰ τοσοῦτον ἦλθον ὥστε συναρπάσαι  
τὸν προηγούμενον αὐτοῦ προεξαναστάντες· αὐτὸς δὲ δρόμῳ  
μόλις ὑπεξέφυγεν.

- 64.** Ὡς δὲ ναυμαχεῖν ἐδέδοκτο, τὰς μὲν ἄλλας ἐνέπρησε ναῦς  
πλήν ἐξήκοντα τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, τὰς δ' ἀρίστας καὶ μεγίστας ἀπὸ  
τριήρους μέχρι δεκήρους ἐπλήρου, δισμυρίους ἐμβιβάζων  
2 ὀπλίτας καὶ δισχιλίους τοξότας. ἔνθα πεζομάχον ἄνδρα τῶν  
ταξιαρχῶν λέγουσι, παμπόλλους ἡγωνισμένον ἀγῶνας  
Ἀντωνίῳ καὶ κατατετριμμένον τὸ σῶμα, τοῦ Ἀντωνίου  
3 παριόντος ἀνακλαύσασθαι καὶ εἰπεῖν· “ὦ αὐτόκρατορ, τί τῶν  
τραυμάτων τούτων ἢ τοῦ ξίφους καταγνοὺς ἐν ξύλοις πονηροῖς  
ἔχεις τὰς ἐλπίδας; Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ Φοίνικες ἐν θαλάσσῃ μαχέσθω-  
σαν, ἡμῖν δὲ γῆν δὸς ἐφ' ἧς εἰώθαμεν ἐστῶτες ἀποθνήσκειν ἢ  
4 νικᾶν τοὺς πολεμίους”. πρὸς ταῦτα μηδὲν ἀποκρινάμενος, ἀλλὰ  
τῇ χειρὶ καὶ τῷ προσώπῳ μόνον οἷον ἐγκελευσάμενος τὸν  
ἄνδρα θαρρεῖν παρῆλθεν, οὐ χρηστάς ἔχων ἐλπίδας, ὅς γε καὶ  
τοὺς κυβερνήτας τὰ ἱστία βουλομένους ἀπολιπεῖν ἠνάγκασεν  
ἐμβαλέσθαι καὶ κομίζειν, λέγων ὅτι δεῖ μηδένα φεύγοντα τῶν  
πολεμίων διαφυγεῖν.

- 65.** Ἐκείνῃ μὲν οὖν τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ τρεῖς τὰς ἐφεξῆς μεγάλῳ  
πνεύματι κυμανθὲν τὸ πέλαγος τὴν μάχην ἐπέσχε, πέμπτῃ δὲ  
νηνεμίας καὶ γαλήνης ἀκλύστου γενομένης συνήιεσαν, Ἀντώνιος  
μὲν τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας ἔχων καὶ Ποπλικόλας, Κοίλιος δὲ τὸ  
εὐώνυμον, ἐν μέσῳ δὲ Μᾶρκος Ὀκτάβιος καὶ Μᾶρκος Ἰνστήιος.  
2 Καῖσαρ δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐωνύμου τάξας Ἀγρίππαν, αὐτῷ τὸ δεξιὸν  
3 κατέλιπε. τῶν δὲ πεζῶν τὸν μὲν Ἀντωνίου Κανίδιος, τὸν δὲ  
**946** Καίσαρος Ταῦρος ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης παρατάξαντες ἡσύχαζον.  
4 αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν ἡγεμόνων Ἀντώνιος μὲν ἐπεφοίτα πανταχόσε  
κωπήρει, τοὺς στρατιώτας παρακαλῶν ὑπὸ βρίθους τῶν νεῶν

ὥσπερ ἐκ γῆς ἐδραίους μάχεσθαι, τοῖς δὲ κυβερνήταις διακελευόμενος ὥσπερ ὀρμούσαις ἀτρέμα ταῖς ναυσὶ δέχεσθαι τὰς ἐμβολὰς τῶν πολεμίων, τὴν περὶ τὸ στόμα δυσχωρίαν φυλάττοντας.

- 5 Καίσαρι δὲ λέγεται μὲν ἔτι σκότους ἀπὸ τῆς σκηνῆς κύκλῳ περιιόντι πρὸς τὰς ναῦς ἄνθρωπος ἐλαύνων ὄνον ἀπαντῆσαι, πυθομένῳ δὲ τοῦνομα γνωρίσας αὐτὸν εἶπεῖν· “ἐμοὶ μὲν Εὐτυχὸς ὄνομα, τῷ δ’ ὄνῳ Νίκων”. διὸ καὶ τοῖς ἐμβόλοις τὸν τόπον κοσμῶν ὕστερον, ἔστησε χαλκοῦν ὄνον καὶ ἄνθρωπον.
- 6 ἐπιδὼν δὲ τὴν ἄλλην παράταξιν ἐν πλοίῳ πρὸς τὸ δεξιὸν κομισθεὶς, ἐθαύμασεν ἀτρεμοῦντας ἐν τοῖς στενοῖς τοὺς πολεμίους· ἡ γὰρ ὄψις ἦν τῶν νεῶν ἐπ’ ἀγκύραις ὀρμουσῶν. καὶ τοῦτο μέχρι πολλοῦ πεπεισμένος, ἀνεῖχε τὰς ἑαυτοῦ περὶ ὀκτὼ στάδια τῶν
- 7 ἐναντίων ἀφεστῶσας. ἕκτη δ’ ἦν ὥρα, καὶ πνεύματος αἰρομένου πελαγίου δυσανασχετοῦντες οἱ Ἀντωνίου πρὸς τὴν διατριβήν, καὶ τοῖς ὕψεσι καὶ μεγέθεσι τῶν οἰκείων νεῶν πεπορθότες ὥς
- 8 ἀπροσμάχοις, τὸ εὐώνυμον ἐκίνησαν. ἰδὼν δὲ Καῖσαρ ἦσθη καὶ πρύμναν ἐκρούσατο τῷ δεξιῷ, βουλόμενος ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐκ τοῦ κόλπου καὶ τῶν στενῶν ἔξω τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπισπᾶσθαι, καὶ περιπλέων εὐήρεσι σκάφεσι τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ συμπλέεσθαι πρὸς ναῦς ὑπ’ ὄγκου καὶ πληρωμάτων ὀλιγότητος ἀργὰς καὶ βραδείας.

- 66.** Ἀρχομένου δὲ τοῦ ἀγῶνος ἐν χερσὶν εἶναι, ἐμβολαὶ μὲν οὐκ ἦσαν οὐδ’ ἀναρρήξεις νεῶν, τῶν μὲν Ἀντωνίου διὰ βάρος ῥύμην οὐκ ἔχουσῶν, ἡ μάλιστα ποιεῖ τὰς τῶν ἐμβόλων πληγὰς ἐνεργούς, τῶν δὲ Καίσαρος οὐ μόνον ἀντιπρώρων συμφέρεσθαι πρὸς χαλκώματα στερεὰ καὶ τραχέα φυλασσομένων, ἀλλὰ
- 2 μὴδὲ κατὰ πλευρὰν ἐμβολὰς διδόναι θαρρούντων. ἀπεθραύοντο γὰρ τὰ ἐμβολὰ ῥαιδίως ἢ προσπέσοιεν σκάφεσι τετραγώνων ξύλων μεγάλων σιδήρῳι συντηρμοσμένων καὶ πρὸς ἄλληλα
- 3 δεδεμένων. ἦν οὖν πεζομαχίαι προσφερῆς ὁ ἀγών, τὸ δ’ ἀληθέστερον εἶπεῖν, τειχομαχίαι. τρεῖς γὰρ ἅμα καὶ τέσσαρες περὶ μίαν τῶν Ἀντωνίου συνέιχοντο, γέροισι καὶ δόρασι καὶ κοντοῖς χρωμένων καὶ πυροβόλοις· οἱ δ’ Ἀντωνίου καὶ
- 4 καταπέλταις ἀπὸ ξυλίνων πύργων ἔβαλλον· Ἀγρίππου δὲ θάτερον κέρας εἰς κύκλωσιν ἐκτείνοντος, ἀντανάγειν Ποπλικόλας
- 5 ἀναγκαζόμενος ἀπερρήγνυτο τῶν μέσων. θορυβουμένων δὲ

τούτων καὶ συμπλεκομένων τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἀρρούντιον, ἀκρίτου δὲ καὶ κοινῆς ἔτι τῆς ναυμαχίας συνεστώσης, αἰφνίδιον αἱ Κλεοπάτρας ἐξήκοντα νῆες ὤφθησαν αἰρόμεναι πρὸς ἀπόπλουν τὰ ἱστία καὶ διὰ μέσου φεύγουσαι τῶν μαχομένων· ἦσαν γὰρ ὀπίσω τεταγμένοι τῶν μεγάλων καὶ διεκπίπτουσai ταραχὴν 6 ἐποιοῦν. οἱ δ' ἐναντίοι θαυμάζοντες ἐθεῶντο, τῷ πνεύματι 7 χρωμένας ὁρῶντες ἐπεχούσας πρὸς τὴν Πελοπόννησον. ἔνθα δὴ φανερόν αὐτὸν Ἀντώνιος ἐποίησεν οὗτ' ἄρχοντος οὗτ' ἀνδρὸς οὗθ' ὅλως ἰδίοις λογισμοῖς διοικούμενον, ἀλλ' — ὅπερ τις παίζων εἶπε, τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ ἐρῶντος ἐν ἄλλοτρίῳ σώματι ζῆν — ἐλκόμενος ὑπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς ὥσπερ συμπεφυκώς καὶ συμ- 8 μεταφερόμενος. οὐ γὰρ ἔφθη τὴν ἐκείνης ἰδὼν ναῦν ἀποπλέουσai, καὶ πάντων ἐκλαθόμενος, καὶ προδοὺς καὶ ἀποδράς τοὺς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ μαχομένους καὶ θνήσκοντας, εἰς 947 πεντῆρη μετεμβάς, Ἀλεξᾶ τοῦ Σύρου καὶ Σκελλίου μόνων αὐτῷ συνεμβάντων, ἐδίωκε τὴν ἀπολωλεκυῖαν ἤδη καὶ προσ- ἀπολοῦσαν αὐτόν.

67. Ἐκείνη δὲ γνωρίσασα σημεῖον ἀπὸ τῆς νεῶς ἀνέσχε, καὶ προσενεχθεῖς οὕτω καὶ ἀναληφθεῖς, ἐκείνην μὲν οὗτ' εἶδεν οὗτ' ὤφθη, παρελθὼν δὲ μόνος εἰς πρῶιραν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ καθῆστο 2 σιωπῇ, ταῖς χερσὶν ἀμφοτέραις ἐχόμενος τῆς κεφαλῆς. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ λιβυρνίδες ὤφθησαν διώκουσαι παρὰ Καίσαρος· ὁ δ' ἀντί- πρῳιρον ἐπιστρέφειν τὴν ναῦν κελεύσας, τὰς μὲν ἄλλας ἀνέστειλεν, Εὐρυκλῆς δ' ὁ Λάκων ἐνέκειτο σοβαρῶς, λόγχην τινὰ κραδαίνων ἀπὸ τοῦ καταστρώματος ὡς ἀφήσων ἐπ' αὐτόν. 3 ἐπιστάντος δὲ τῇι πρῶιραι τοῦ Ἀντωνίου καὶ “τίς οὗτος” εἰπόντος “ὁ διώκων Ἀντώνιον;” “ἐγώ” εἶπεν “Εὐρυκλῆς ὁ Λαχάρους, τῇι Καίσαρος τύχηι τὸν τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκδικῶν θάνατον”. ὁ δὲ Λαχάρης ὑπ' Ἀντωνίου ληιστείας αἰτίαι 4 περιπεσὼν ἐπελεκίσθη. πλὴν οὐκ ἐνέβαλεν ὁ Εὐρυκλῆς εἰς τὴν Ἀντωνίου ναῦν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐτέραν τῶν ναυαρχίδων (δύο γὰρ ἦσαν) τῷ χαλκώματι πατάξας περιερρόμβησε, καὶ ταύτην τε πλαγίαν περιπεσοῦσαν εἶλε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων μίαν, ἐν ἣι 5 πολυτελεῖς σκευαὶ τῶν περὶ δίκαιαν ἦσαν. ἀπαλλαγέντος δὲ τούτου, πάλιν ὁ Ἀντώνιος εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ σχῆμα καθεῖς ἑαυτόν

- ἡσυχίαν ἦγε· καὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἐν πρῶιραι δισαυθίαις, εἴθ' ὑπ' ὀργῆς εἴτ' αἰδούμενος ἐκείνην, Ταινάρῳ προσέσχευεν.
- 6 ἐνταῦθα δ' αὐτοὺς αἱ συνήθεις γυναικες πρῶτον μὲν εἰς λόγους ἀλλήλοις συνήγαγον, εἶτα συνδειπνεῖν καὶ συγκαθεύδειν ἔπεισαν.
- 7 Ἦδη δὲ καὶ τῶν στρογγύλων πλοίων οὐκ ὀλίγα καὶ τῶν φίλων τινὲς ἐκ τῆς τροπῆς ἠθροίζοντο πρὸς αὐτούς, ἀγγέλλοντες ἀπολωλέναι τὸ ναυτικόν, οἷσθαι δὲ τὸ πεζὸν συνεστάναι.
- 8 Ἀντώνιος δὲ πρὸς μὲν Κανίδιον ἀγγέλους ἔπεμπεν, ἀναχωρεῖν διὰ Μακεδονίας εἰς Ἀσίαν τῷ στρατῷ κατὰ τάχος κελεύων, αὐτὸς δὲ μέλλων ἀπὸ Ταινάρου πρὸς τὴν Λιβύην διαίρειν, ὁλκάδα μίαν πολὺ μὲν νόμισμα, πολλοῦ δ' ἀξίας ἐν ἀργύρῳ καὶ χρυσῷ κατασκευὰς τῶν βασιλικῶν κομίζουσιν ἐξελόμενος τοῖς φίλοις ἐπέδωκε κοινῇ, νείμασθαι καὶ σώζειν ἑαυτοὺς κελεύσας.
- 9 ἀρνούμενους δὲ καὶ κλαίοντας εὐμενῶς πάνυ καὶ φιλοφρόνως παραμυθησάμενος καὶ δεηθεὶς ἀπέστειλε, γράψας πρὸς Θεόφιλον τὸν ἐν Κορίνθῳ διοικητὴν ὅπως ἀσφάλειαν ἐκπορίσῃ καὶ ἀποκρύψῃ τοὺς ἄνδρας, ἄχρι ἂν ἰλάσασθαι Καίσαρα δυνηθῶ-
- 10 σιν. οὗτος ἦν Θεόφιλος Ἱππάρχου πατήρ τοῦ πλείστον παρ' Ἀντωνίῳ δυνηθέντος, πρῶτον δὲ πρὸς Καίσαρα τῶν ἀπελευθέρων μεταβαλομένου καὶ κατοικήσαντος ὕστερον ἐν Κορίνθῳ.
68. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τὰ κατ' Ἀντώνιον. ἐν Ἀκτίῳ δὲ πολὺν ὁ στόλος ἀντισχῶν Καίσαρι χρόνον, καὶ μέγιστον βλάβεις ὑπὸ τοῦ κλύδωνος ὑψηλοῦ κατὰ πρῶιραν ἵσταμένου, μόλις ὥρας δεκάτης
- 2 ἀπείπε. καὶ νεκροὶ μὲν οὐ πλείους ἐγένοντο πεντακισχιλίων, ἐάλωσαν δὲ τριακόσιναι νῆες, ὥς αὐτὸς ἀνέγραψε Καῖσαρ.
- 3 ἦισθοντο δ' οὐ πολλοὶ πεφευγότος Ἀντωνίου, καὶ τοῖς πυθομένοις τὸ πρῶτον ἄπιστος ἦν ὁ λόγος, εἰ δέκα καὶ ἐννέα τάγματα πεζῶν ἀηττήτων καὶ δισχιλίους ἐπὶ μυρίοις ἵππεῖς ἀπολιπὼν οἷχεται, καθάπερ οὐ πολλάκις ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρω τῇ τύχῃ κεχρημένος, οὐδὲ μυρίων ἀγώνων καὶ πολέμων μεταβολαῖς
- 4 ἐγγεγυμνασμένος. οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται καὶ πόθον τινὰ καὶ προσδοκίαν εἶχον ὥς αὐτίκα ποθὲν ἐπιφανησομένου, καὶ τοσαύτην ἐπεδείξαντο πίστιν καὶ ἀρετὴν, ὥστε καὶ τῆς φυγῆς αὐτοῦ

φανερᾶς γενομένης ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ συμμεῖναι, περιορῶντες ἐπι-  
 5 πρεσβευόμενον αὐτοῖς Καῖσαρα. τέλος δὲ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ  
**948** Κανιδίου νύκτωρ ἀποδράντος καὶ καταλιπόντος τὸ  
 στρατόπεδον, γενόμενοι πάντων ἔρημοι καὶ προδοθέντες ὑπὸ  
 τῶν ἀρχόντων, τῶι κρατοῦντι προσεχώρησάν.

6 Ἐκ τούτου Καῖσαρ μὲν ἐπ' Ἀθήνας ἔπλευσε, καὶ διαλλαγὴς  
 τοῖς Ἑλλήσι τὸν περιόντα σῆτον ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου διένειμε ταῖς  
 πόλεσι, πραττούσαις ἀθλίως καὶ περικεκομμέναις χρημάτων  
 7 ἀνδραπόδων ὑποζυγίων. ὁ γοῦν πρόπαππος ἡμῶν Νίκαρχος  
 διηγεῖτο τοὺς πολίτας ἀπαντας ἀναγκάζεσθαι τοῖς ὤμοις κατα-  
 φέρειν μέτρημα πυρῶν τεταγμένον ἐπὶ τὴν πρὸς Ἀντίκυραν  
 8 θάλασσαν, ὑπὸ μαστίγων ἐπιταχυνομένους· καὶ μίαν μὲν οὕτω  
 φορὰν ἐνεγκεῖν, τὴν δὲ δευτέραν ἤδη μεμετρημένοις καὶ μέλλουσιν  
 αἶρεσθαι νενικημένον Ἀντώνιον ἀγγελῆναι, καὶ τοῦτο διασῶσαι  
 τὴν πόλιν· εὐθύς γὰρ τῶν Ἀντωνίου διοικητῶν καὶ στρατιωτῶν  
 φυγόντων, διανείμασθαι τὸν σῆτον αὐτοῦς.

**69.** Ἀντώνιος δὲ Λιβύης ἀψάμενος, καὶ Κλεοπάτραν εἰς  
 Αἴγυπτον ἐκ Παραιτονίου προπέμψας, αὐτὸς ἀπέλαυνεν ἐρημίας  
 ἀφθόνου, σὺν δυσὶ φίλοις ἀλύων καὶ πλανώμενος, Ἑλληνι μὲν  
 Ἀριστοκράτει ῥήτορι, Ῥωμαίῳ δὲ Λουκιλίῳ, περὶ οὗ δι' ἐτέρων  
 2 γεγράφαμεν, ὡς ἐν Φιλίπποις ὑπὲρ τοῦ διαφυγεῖν Βροῦτον αὐτὸς  
 αὐτὸν ὡς δὴ Βροῦτος ὢν ἐνεχείρισε τοῖς διώκουσι, καὶ διασωθεὶς  
 ὑπ' Ἀντωνίου, διὰ τοῦτο πιστὸς αὐτῷ καὶ βέβαιος ἄχρι τῶν  
 3 ἐσχάτων καιρῶν παρέμεινεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐν Λιβύῃ δύναμιν ὁ  
 πεπιστευμένος ἀπέστησεν, ὁρμήσας ἑαυτὸν ἀνελεῖν, καὶ  
 διακωλυθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων καὶ κομισθεὶς εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, εὔρε  
 Κλεοπάτραν ἐπιτολμῶσαν ἔργῳ παραβόλῳ καὶ μεγάλῳ.  
 4 τοῦ γὰρ εἵργοντος ἰσθμοῦ τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν ἀπὸ τῆς κατ' Αἴγυπτον  
 θαλάσσης καὶ δοκοῦντος Ἀσίαν καὶ Λιβύην ὀρίζειν, ἥι σφίγγεται  
 μάλιστα τοῖς πελάγεσι καὶ βραχύτατος εὐρὸς ἐστὶ, τριακοσίων  
 σταδίων ὄντων, ἐνεχείρησεν ἄρασα τὸν στόλον ὑπερνεωλκῆσαι,  
 καὶ καθεῖσα τὰς ναῦς εἰς τὸν Ἀραβικὸν κόλπον μετὰ χρημάτων  
 πολλῶν καὶ δυνάμεως ἔξω κατοικεῖν, ἀποφυγοῦσα δουλείαν καὶ  
 5 πόλεμον. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰς πρώτας ἀνελκομένας τῶν νεῶν οἱ περὶ τὴν  
 Πέτραν Ἀραβες κατέκαυσαν, ἔτι δ' Ἀντώνιος τὸν ἐν Ἀκτίῳ

στρατὸν ὤιετο συμμένειν, ἐπαύσατο καὶ τὰς ἐμβολὰς ἐφύλαττεν.

- 6 Ἀντώνιος δὲ τὴν πόλιν ἐκλιπὼν καὶ τὰς μετὰ τῶν φίλων  
διατριβάς, οἴκησιν ἑναλον κατεσκεύαζεν αὐτῷ περὶ τὴν Φάρον,  
7 εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν χῶμα προβαλὼν· καὶ διῆγεν αὐτόθι φυγὰς  
ἀνθρώπων, καὶ τὸν Τίμωνος ἀγαπᾶν καὶ ζηλοῦν βίον ἔφασκεν,  
ὥς δὴ πεπονθὼς ὅμοια· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἀδικηθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων  
καὶ ἀχαριστηθεὶς, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἀπιστεῖν καὶ  
δυσχεραίνειν.

70. Ὁ δὲ Τίμων ἦν Ἀθηναῖος καὶ γέγονεν ἡλικίαί μάλιστα  
κατὰ τὸν Πελοποννησιακὸν πόλεμον, ὥς ἐκ τῶν Ἀριστοφάνους  
2 καὶ Πλάτωνος δραμάτων λαβεῖν ἔστι· κωμωιδεῖται γὰρ ἐν ἐκείνοις  
ὥς δυσμενὴς καὶ μισάνθρωπος. ἐκκλίνων δὲ καὶ διωθόμενος  
ἅπασαν ἔντευξιν, Ἀλκιβιάδην νέον ὄντα καὶ θρασὺν ἠσπάζετο  
καὶ κατεφίλει προθύμως. Ἀπημάντου δὲ θαυμάσαντος καὶ  
πυθομένου τὴν αἰτίαν, φιλεῖν ἔφη τὸν νεανίσκον εἰδὼς ὅτι  
3 πολλῶν Ἀθηναίους κακῶν αἴτιος ἔσοιτο. τὸν δ' Ἀπήμαντον  
μόνον ὥς ὅμοιον αὐτῷ καὶ ζηλοῦντα τὴν δίκαιαν ἔστιν ὅτε  
προσέετο· καὶ ποτε τῆς τῶν Χοῶν οὔσης ἑορτῆς εἰστιῶντο καθ'  
αὐτοὺς οἱ δύο. τοῦ δ' Ἀπημάντου φήσαντος “ὥς καλὸν ὦ Τίμων  
4 τὸ συμπόσιον ἡμῶν” “εἶγε σύ” ἔφη “μὴ παρῆς”. λέγεται δ'  
Ἀθηναίων ἐκκλησιαζόντων ἀναβάς ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα ποιῆσαι  
5 σιωπὴν καὶ προσδοκίαν μεγάλην διὰ τὸ παράδοξον, εἴτ' εἰπεῖν  
949 “ἔστι μοι μικρὸν οἰκόπεδον ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ συκῇ τις ἐν  
αὐτῷ πέφυκεν, ἐξ ἧς ἤδη συχνοὶ τῶν πολιτῶν ἀπήγξαντο.  
μέλλων οὖν οἰκοδομεῖν τὸν τόπον, ἐβουλήθην δημοσίαι  
προειπεῖν, ἴν', ἂν ἄρα τινὲς ἐθέλωσιν ὑμῶν, πρὶν ἐκκοπῆναι τὴν  
6 συκὴν ἀπάγξωνται”. τελευτήσαντος δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ταφέντος  
Ἀλῆσι παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν, ὦλισθε τὰ προὔχοντα τοῦ  
αἰγιαλοῦ, καὶ τὸ κύμα περιελθὼν ἄβατον καὶ ἀπροσπέλαστον  
7 ἀνθρώπῳ πεποίηκε τὸν τάφον. ἦν δ' ἐπιγεγραμμένον·

ἐνθάδ' ἀπορρήξας ψυχὴν βαρυδαίμονα κεῖμαι.

τοῦνομα δ' οὐ πεύσεσθε, κακοὶ δὲ κακῶς ἀπόλοισθε.

- 8 καὶ τοῦτο μὲν αὐτὸν ἔτι ζῶντα πεποιηκέναι λέγουσι, τὸ δὲ  
περιφερόμενον Καλλιμάχειόν ἐστι·

Τίμων μισάνθρωπος ἐνοικέω. ἀλλὰ πάρελθε,  
οἰμώζειν εἶπας πολλά, πάρελθε μόνον.

**71.** Ταῦτα μὲν περὶ Τίμωνος ἀπὸ πολλῶν ὀλίγα.

Τῷ δ' Ἀντωνίῳ Κανιδίῳ τε τῆς ἀποβολῆς τῶν ἐν Ἀκτίῳ  
δυνάμεων αὐτάγγελος ἦλθε, καὶ τὸν Ἰουδαῖον Ἡρώδην ἔχοντά  
τινα τάγματα καὶ σπείρας ἤκουσε Καίσαρι προσκεχωρηκέναι,  
καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ὁμοίως δυνάστας ἀφίστασθαι καὶ μηδὲν ἔτι  
2 συμμένειν τῶν ἐκτός. οὐ μὴν διετάραξέ τι τούτων αὐτόν, ἀλλ'  
ὥσπερ ἄσμενος τὸ ἐλπίζειν ἀποτεθειμένος ἵνα καὶ τὸ φροντίζειν,  
τὴν μὲν ἑναλον ἐκείνην δίκαιαν ἦν Τιμώνειον ὠνόμαζεν ἐξέλιπεν,  
3 ἀναληφθεὶς δ' ὑπὸ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας εἰς τὰ βασίλεια, πρὸς δεῖπνα  
καὶ πότους καὶ διανομὰς ἔτρεψε τὴν πόλιν, ἐγγράφων μὲν εἰς  
ἐφήβους τὸν Κλεοπάτρας παῖδα καὶ Καίσαρος, τὸ δ' ἀπόρφυρον  
καὶ τέλειον ἱμάτιον Ἀντύλλῳ τῷ ἐκ Φουλβίας περιτιθείς, ἐφ' οἷς  
ἡμέρας πολλὰς συμπόσια καὶ κῶμοι καὶ θαλῖαι τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν  
4 κατεῖχον. αὐτοὶ δὲ τὴν μὲν τῶν Ἀμιμητοβίων ἐκείνην σύνοδον  
κατέλυσαν, ἑτέραν δὲ συνέταξαν οὐδὲν τι λειπομένην ἐκείνης  
ἄβρότητι καὶ τρυφαῖς καὶ πολυτελείαις, ἣν Συναποθανουμένων  
5 ἐκάλουν. ἀπεγράφοντο γὰρ οἱ φίλοι συναποθανουμένους  
ἑαυτούς, καὶ διῆγον εὐπαθοῦντες ἐν δεῖπνων περιόδοις.  
6 Κλεοπάτρα δὲ φαρμάκων θανασίμων συνῆγε παντοδαπὰς  
δυνάμεις, ὧν ἑκάστης τὸ ἀνώδυνον ἐλέγχουσα, προὔβαλλε τοῖς  
7 ἐπὶ θανάτῳ φρουρουμένοις. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐώρα τὰς μὲν ὠκυμόρους τὴν  
ὀξύτητα τοῦ θανάτου δι' ὀδύνης ἐπιφερούσας, τὰς δὲ πραοτέρας  
τάχος οὐκ ἔχούσας, τῶν θηρίων ἀπεπειρᾶτο, θεωμένης αὐτῆς  
8 ἕτερον ἑτέρῳ προσφερόντων. ἐποίει δὲ τοῦτο καθ' ἡμέραν· καὶ  
σχεδὸν ἐν πᾶσι μόνον εὑρίσκει τὸ δῆγμα τῆς ἀσπίδος ἄνευ  
σπασμοῦ καὶ στεναγμοῦ κάρον ὑπνώδη καὶ καταφορὰν  
ἐφελκόμενον, ἰδρῶτι μαλακῶι τοῦ προσώπου καὶ τῶν  
αἰσθητηρίων ἀμαυρώσει παραλυομένων ῥαιδίως καὶ δυσ-  
χεραινόντων πρὸς τὰς ἐξεγέρσεις καὶ ἀνακλήσεις ὥσπερ οἱ  
βαθέως καθεύδοντες.

**72.** Ἀμα δὲ καὶ πρὸς Καίσαρα πρέσβεις ἐπέμπεον εἰς Ἀσίαν, ἡ  
μὲν αἰτουμένη τὴν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ τοῖς παισὶν ἀρχήν, ὁ δ' ἀξιῶν  
Ἀθήνησιν, εἰ μὴ δοκοίη περὶ Αἰγυπτίον, ἰδιώτης καταβιῶναι.

2 φίλων δ' ἀπορίαι καὶ ἀπιστίαι διὰ τὰς αὐτομολίας ὁ τῶν παίδων  
 3 διδάσκαλος ἐπέμφθη πρεσβεύων Εὐφρόνιος. καὶ γὰρ Ἀλεξᾶς ὁ  
 Λαοδικεύς, γνωρισθεὶς μὲν ἐν Ῥώμῃ διὰ Τιμαγένους καὶ πλεῖστον  
 Ἑλλήνων δυνηθεὶς, γενόμενος δὲ τῶν Κλεοπάτρας ἐπ' Ἀντώνιον  
 ὀργάνων τὸ βιαιότατον καὶ τῶν ὑπὲρ Ὀκταουίας ἱσταμένων ἐν  
 950 αὐτῷ λογισμῶν ἀνατροπεύς, ἐπέμφθη μὲν Ἡρώδην τὸν βασιλέα  
 τῆς μεταβολῆς ἐφέξων, αὐτοῦ δὲ καταμείνας καὶ προδοὺς  
 Ἀντώνιον, ἐτόλμησεν εἰς ὄψιν ἔλθεῖν Καίσαρος, Ἡρώδῃ  
 4 πεποιθώς. ὦνησε δ' αὐτὸν οὐδὲν Ἡρώδης, ἀλλ' εὐθύς εἰρχθεὶς καὶ  
 κομισθεὶς εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδα δέσμιος, ἐκεῖ Καίσαρος  
 κελεύσαντος ἀνηιρέθη. τοιαύτην μὲν Ἀλεξᾶς ἔτι ζῶντι δίκην  
 Ἀντωνίῳ τῆς ἀπιστίας ἐξέτεισε.

73. Καίσαρ δὲ τοὺς μὲν ὑπὲρ Ἀντωνίου λόγους οὐκ ἠνέσχετο,  
 Κλεοπάτραν δ' ἀπεκρίνατο μηδενὸς ἀμαρτήσεσθαι τῶν ἐπιεικῶν,  
 2 ἀνελοῦσαν Ἀντώνιον ἢ ἐκβαλοῦσαν. συνέπεμψε δὲ καὶ παρ'  
 αὐτοῦ τινα τῶν ἀπελευθέρων Θύρσον, οὐκ ἀνόητον ἄνθρωπον  
 οὐδ' ἀπιθάνως ἂν ὑπὲρ ἡγεμόνος νέου διαλεχθέντα πρὸς γυναῖκα  
 3 σοβαρὰν καὶ θαυμαστὸν ὅσον ἐπὶ κάλλει φρονοῦσαν. οὗτος  
 ἐντυγχάνων αὐτῇ μακρότερα τῶν ἄλλων καὶ τιμώμενος δια-  
 φερόντως, ὑπόνοιαν τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ παρέσχε, καὶ συλλαβὼν  
 αὐτὸν ἐμαστίγωσεν, εἴτ' ἀφῆκε πρὸς Καίσαρα, γράψας ὥς  
 ἐντροφῶν καὶ περιφρονῶν παροξύνειεν αὐτόν, εὐπαρόξυντον  
 4 ὑπὸ κακῶν ὄντα. “σὺ δ' εἰ μὴ φέρεις τὸ πρᾶγμα” ἔφη “μετρίως,  
 ἔχεις ἐμὸν ἀπελεύθερον Ἱππαρχον. τοῦτον κρεμάσας μαστίγω-  
 5 σον, ἵν' ἴσον ἔχωμεν”. ἐκ τούτου Κλεοπάτρα μὲν ἀπολυομένη  
 τὰς αἰτίας καὶ ὑπονοίας ἐθεράπευεν αὐτὸν περιττῶς· καὶ τὴν  
 ἑαυτῆς γενέθλιον ταπεινῶς διαγαγοῦσα καὶ ταῖς τύχαις πρε-  
 πόντως, τὴν ἐκείνου πᾶσαν ὑπερβαλλομένη λαμπρότητα καὶ  
 πολυτέλειαν ἐώρτασεν, ὥστε πολλοὺς τῶν κεκλημένων ἐπὶ τὸ  
 6 δεῖπνον πένητας ἐλθόντας ἀπελθεῖν πλουσίους. Καίσαρα δ'  
 Ἀγρίππας ἀνεκαλεῖτο πολλάκις ἀπὸ Ῥώμης γράφων, ὥς τῶν  
 ἐκεῖ πραγμάτων τὴν παρουσίαν αὐτοῦ ποθοῦντων.

74. Ἔσχεν οὖν ἀναβολὴν ὁ πόλεμος τότε τοῦ δὲ χειμῶνος  
 παρελθόντος αὐθις ἐπτήιει διὰ Συρίας, οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ διὰ  
 Λιβύης. ἀλόντος δὲ Πηλουσίου, λόγος ἦν ἐνδοῦναι Σέλευκον οὐκ

- 2 ἀκούσης τῆς Κλεοπάτρας. ἡ δ' ἐκείνου μὲν γυναῖκα καὶ παῖδας  
 Ἀντωνίῳ κτεῖναι παρεῖχεν, αὐτὴ δὲ θήκας ἔχουσα καὶ μνήματα  
 κατεσκευασμένα περιττῶς εἰς τε κάλλος καὶ ὕψος, ἃ προσ-  
 ωικοδόμησε τῷ ναῷ τῆς Ἰσιδος, ἐνταῦθα τῶν βασιλικῶν συνε-  
 φόρει τὰ πλείστης ἄξια σπουδῆς, χρυσὸν ἄργυρον σμάραγ-  
 3 δον μαργαρίτην ἔβενον ἐλέφαντα κινάμωμον, ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ δαῖδα  
 πολλὴν καὶ στυππεῖον, ὥστε δέισαντα περὶ τῶν χρημάτων  
 Καίσαρα, μὴ τραπομένη πρὸς ἀπόγνωσιν ἢ γυνὴ διαφθείρῃ καὶ  
 καταφλέξῃ τὸν πλοῦτον, αἰετίνας ἐλπίδας αὐτῇ φιλανθρώπους  
 προσπέμπειν, ἅμα τῷ στρατῷ πορευόμενον ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν.  
 4 ἰδρυθέντος δ' αὐτοῦ περὶ τὸν ἵπποδρομον, Ἀντώνιος ἐπεξελθὼν  
 ἡγωνίσαστο λαμπρῶς καὶ τροπὴν τῶν Καίσαρος ἵππέων  
 5 ἐποίησε, καὶ κατεδίωξεν ἄχρι τοῦ στρατοπέδου. μεγαλυνόμενος  
 δὲ τῇ νίκῃ παρῆλθεν εἰς τὰ βασίλεια, καὶ τὴν Κλεοπάτραν  
 κατεφίλησεν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις, καὶ τὸν ἡγωνισμένον προθυμότατα  
 6 τῶν στρατιωτῶν συνέστησεν. ἡ δ' ἀριστεῖον αὐτῷ θώρακα  
 χρυσοῦν καὶ κράνος ἔδωκεν· ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὖν ὁ ἄνθρωπος λαβὼν  
 ταῦτα διὰ νυκτὸς ἡύτομόλησεν ὡς Καίσαρα.

- 75.** Πάλιν δ' Ἀντώνιος ἔπεμπε Καίσαρα μονομαχῆσαι προ-  
 καλούμενος. ἀποκρινάμενον δ' ἐκείνου πολλὰς ὁδοὺς Ἀντωνίῳ  
 παρεῖναι θανάτου, συμφρονήσας ὅτι τοῦ διὰ μάχης οὐκ ἔστιν  
 αὐτῷ βελτίων θάνατος, ἔγνω καὶ κατὰ γῆν ἅμα καὶ θάλατταν  
 2 ἐπιχειρεῖν. καὶ παρὰ δεῖπνον ὡς λέγεται τοὺς οἰκέτας ἐκέλευεν  
 ἐπεγχεῖν καὶ προθυμότερον εὐωχεῖν αὐτόν· ἄδηλον γὰρ εἰ τοῦτο  
 ποιήσουσιν αὖριον ἢ δεσπόταις ἑτέροις ὑπηρετήσουσιν, αὐτὸς  
 3 δὲ κείσεται σκελετὸς καὶ τὸ μηδὲν γενόμενος. τοὺς δὲ φίλους ἐπὶ  
 τούτοις δακρύοντας ὁρῶν, ἔφη μὴ προάξειν ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην, ἐξ ἧς  
 4 αὐτῷ θάνατον εὐκλεᾶ μᾶλλον ἢ σωτηρίαν ζητεῖν καὶ νίκην. ἐν  
**951** ταύτῃ τῇ νυκτὶ λέγεται μεσοῦσθι σχεδόν, ἐν ἡσυχίαι καὶ  
 κατηφεῖαι τῆς πόλεως διὰ φόβον καὶ προσδοκίαν τοῦ μέλλοντος  
 οὔσης, αἰφνίδιον ὀργάνων τε παντοδαπῶν ἐμμελεῖς φωνὰς  
 ἀκουσθῆναι καὶ βοὴν ὄχλου μετ' εὐασμῶν καὶ πηδήσεων  
 5 σατυρικῶν, ὥσπερ θιάσου τινὸς οὐκ ἄθορύβως ἐξελαύνοντος·  
 εἶναι δὲ τὴν ὁρμὴν ὁμοῦ τι διὰ τῆς πόλεως μέσης ἐπὶ τὴν πύλιν  
 ἔξω τὴν τετραμμένην πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ ταύτῃ τὸν

6 θόρυβον ἐκπεσεῖν πλεῖστον γενόμενον. ἐδόκει δὲ τοῖς ἀνα-  
 λογιζομένοις τὸ σημεῖον ἀπολείπειν ὁ θεὸς Ἀντώνιον, ὧι  
 μάλιστα συνεξομοιῶν καὶ συνοικειῶν ἑαυτὸν διετέλεσεν.

76. Ἄμα δ' ἡμέραι τὸν πεζὸν αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τῶν πρὸ τῆς πόλεως  
 λόφων ἰδρύσας, ἔθεᾶτο τὰς ναῦς ἀνηγμένας καὶ ταῖς τῶν  
 πολεμίων προσφερομένας, καὶ περιμένων ἔργον τι παρ' ἐκείνων  
 2 ἰδεῖν ἡσύχαζεν. οἱ δ' ὥς ἐγγὺς ἐγένοντο, ταῖς κώπαις ἡσπάσαντο  
 τοὺς Καίσαρος, ἐκείνων τ' ἀντασπασαμένων μετεβάλλοντο, καὶ  
 πάσαις ἅμα ταῖς ναυσὶν ὁ στόλος εἰς γενόμενος ἐπέπλει πρὸς τὴν  
 3 πόλιν ἀντίπρωιρος. τοῦτ' Ἀντώνιος ἰδὼν ἀπελείφθη μὲν εὐθὺς  
 ὑπὸ τῶν ἱππέων μεταβαλομένων, ἡττηθεὶς δὲ τοῖς πεζοῖς ἀν-  
 εχώρησεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ὑπὸ Κλεοπάτρας προδεδόσθαι βοῶν οἷς  
 4 δι' ἐκείνην ἐπολέμησεν. ἡ δὲ τὴν ὀργὴν αὐτοῦ φοβηθεῖσα καὶ τὴν  
 ἀπόνειαν, εἰς τὸν τάφον κατέφυγε καὶ τοὺς καταρράκτας ἀφῆκε  
 κλείθροις καὶ μοχλοῖς καρτεροὺς ὄντας· πρὸς δ' Ἀντώνιον ἔπεμψε  
 5 τοὺς ἀπαγγελοῦντας ὅτι τέθνηκε. πιστεύσας δ' ἐκεῖνος καὶ εἰπὼν  
 πρὸς αὐτόν “τί ἔτι μέλλεις Ἀντώνιε; τὴν μόνην ἢ τύχην καὶ  
 λοιπὴν ἀφήρισκε τοῦ φιλοψυχεῖν πρόφασιν”, εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸ  
 6 δωμάτιον· καὶ τὸν θώρακα παραλύων καὶ διαστέλλων, “ὦ  
 Κλεοπάτρα” εἶπεν “οὐκ ἄχθομαί σου στερόμενος, αὐτίκα γὰρ  
 εἰς ταῦτόν ἀφίξομαι, ἀλλ' ὅτι γυναικὸς ὁ τηλικούτος αὐτο-  
 7 κράτωρ εὐψυχία πεφώραμαι λειπόμενος.” ἦν δὲ τις οἰκέτης  
 αὐτῷ πιστὸς Ἔρως ὄνομα. τοῦτον ἐκ πολλοῦ παρακεκληκῶς εἰ  
 8 δεήσειεν ἀνελεῖν αὐτόν, ἀπήντει τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν. ὁ δὲ σπασάμενος  
 τὸ ξίφος, ἀνέσχε μὲν ὥς παίσων ἐκεῖνον, ἀποστρέψας δὲ τὸ  
 9 πρόσωπον, ἑαυτὸν ἀπέκτεινε. πεσόντος δ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς τοὺς  
 πόδας, ὁ Ἀντώνιος “εὖγε” εἶπεν “ὦ Ἔρως, ὅτι μὴ δυνηθεὶς  
 αὐτὸς ἐμὲ ποιεῖν ὃ δεῖ διδάσκεις”. καὶ παίσας διὰ τῆς κοιλίας  
 10 ἑαυτὸν ἀφῆκεν εἰς τὸ κλινίδιον. ἦν δ' οὐκ εὐθυθάνατος ἡ πληγὴ.  
 διὸ καὶ τῆς φορᾶς τοῦ αἵματος ἐπεὶ κατεκλίθη παυσαμένης,  
 11 ἀναλαβὼν ἐδεῖτο τῶν παρόντων ἐπισφάττειν αὐτόν. οἱ δ'  
 ἔφευγον ἐκ τοῦ δωματίου βοῶντος καὶ σφαδάζοντος, ἄχρι οὗ  
 παρὰ Κλεοπάτρας ἦκε Διομήδης ὁ γραμματεὺς, κομίζειν αὐτόν  
 ὥς ἐκείνην εἰς τὸν τάφον κελευσθεὶς.

**77.** Γνούς οὖν ὅτι ζῇ, προθύμως ἐκέλευσεν ἄρασθαι τοῖς  
 ὑπηρέταις τὸ σῶμα, καὶ διὰ χειρῶν προσεκομίσθη ταῖς θύραις  
 2 τοῦ οἴκηματος. ἡ δὲ Κλεοπάτρα τὰς μὲν θύρας οὐκ ἀνέωixεν, ἐκ δὲ  
 θυρίδων τινῶν φανεῖσα σειρὰς καὶ καλώδια καθίει, καὶ τούτοις  
 ἐναψάντων τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀνείλκεν αὐτὴ καὶ δύο γυναῖκες, ἃς  
 3 μόνας ἐδέξατο μεθ' αὐτῆς εἰς τὸν τάφον. οὐδὲν ἐκείνου λέγουσιν  
 οἰκτρότερόν γενέσθαι οἱ παραγενόμενοι θέαμα. πεφυρμένος γὰρ  
 αἵματι καὶ δυσθανατῶν εἴλκετο, τὰς χεῖρας ὀρέγων εἰς ἐκείνην καὶ  
 4 παραιωρούμενος· οὐ γὰρ ἦν γυναικὶ ῥαίδιον τὸ ἔργον, ἀλλὰ  
 μόλις ἡ Κλεοπάτρα ταῖν χεροῖν ἐμπεφυκυῖα καὶ κατατεινομένη  
 τῷ προσώπῳ τὸν δεσμὸν ἀνελάμβανεν, ἐπικελευομένων τῶν  
 5 κάτωθεν αὐτῇ καὶ συναγωνιῶντων. δεξαμένη δ' αὐτὸν οὕτως  
 καὶ κατακλίνασα, περιερρήξατό τε τοὺς πέπλους ἐπ' αὐτῷ, καὶ  
**952** τὰ στέρνα τυπτομένη καὶ σπαράττουσα ταῖς χερσί, καὶ τῷ  
 προσώπῳ τοῦ αἵματος ἀναματτομένη, δεσπότην ἐκάλει καὶ  
 ἄνδρα καὶ αὐτοκράτορα· καὶ μικροῦ δεῖν ἐπιλέληστο τῶν αὐτῆς  
 6 κακῶν οἴκτῳ τῶν ἐκείνου. καταπαύσας δὲ τὸν θρήνον αὐτῆς  
 Ἀντώνιος ἤιτησε πιεῖν οἶνον, εἴτε διψῶν εἴτε συντομώτερον  
 7 ἐλπίζων ἀπολυθῆσεσθαι. πιὼν δὲ παρήνευσεν αὐτῇ, τὰ μὲν  
 ἑαυτῆς ἂν ἦι μὴ μετ' αἰσχύνῃς σωτήρια τίθεσθαι, μάλιστα τῶν  
 Καίσαρος ἐταίρων Προκλήϊω πιστεύουσιν, αὐτὸν δὲ μὴ θρηνεῖν  
 ἐπὶ ταῖς ὑστάταις μεταβολαῖς, ἀλλὰ μακαρίζειν ὧν ἔτυχε καλῶν,  
 ἐπιφανέστατος ἀνθρώπων γενόμενος καὶ πλεῖστον ἰσχύσας, καὶ  
 νῦν οὐκ ἀγεννῶς Ῥωμαῖος ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίου κρατηθεῖς.

**78.** Ὅσον οὕτω δ' ἐκλιπόντος αὐτοῦ, Προκλήϊος ἦκε παρὰ  
 Καίσαρος. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἑαυτὸν πατάξας ὁ Ἀντώνιος ὤιχετο πρὸς  
 Κλεοπάτραν κομιζόμενος, Δερκεταῖός τις τῶν δορυφόρων λαβὼν  
 τὸ ἐγχειρίδιον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀποκρύψας ὑπεξῆλθε, καὶ δραμὼν πρὸς  
 Καίσαρα πρῶτος ἠγγειλε τὴν Ἀντωνίου τελευτὴν καὶ τὸ ξίφος  
 2 ἔδειξεν ἡμαγμένον. ὁ δ' ὥς ἤκουσεν, ἐνδοτέρω τῆς σκηνῆς  
 ὑποστὰς ἀπεδάκρυσεν ἄνδρα κηδεστὴν γενόμενον καὶ συνάρ-  
 3 χοντα καὶ πολλῶν ἀγώνων καὶ πραγμάτων κοινωνόν. εἴτα τὰς  
 ἐπιστολάς λαβὼν καὶ τοὺς φίλους καλέσας ἀνεγίνωσκεν, ὥς  
 εὐγνώμονα γράφοντος αὐτοῦ καὶ δίκαια φορτικὸς ἦν καὶ  
 4 ὑπερήφανος αἰεὶ περὶ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις ἐκείνος. ἐκ δὲ τούτου

τὸν Προκλήιον ἔπεμψε, κελεύσας ἥν δύνηται μάλιστα τῆς Κλεοπάτρας ζώσης κρατῆσαι· καὶ γὰρ ἐφοβεῖτο περὶ τῶν χρημάτων, καὶ μέγα πρὸς δόξαν ἠγάετο τοῦ θριάμβου καταγα-  
 5 γεῖν ἐκείνην. εἰς μὲν οὖν χεῖρας τῷ Προκλήϊω συνελθεῖν οὐκ ἠθέλησεν· ἐγίνοντο δὲ λόγοι τῷ οἰκήματι προσελθόντος ἔξωθεν αὐτοῦ κατὰ θύρας ἐπιπέδους, ἀποκεκλειμένους μὲν ὀχυρῶς, φωνῇ  
 6 δὲ διέξοδον ἔχουσας. καὶ διελέχθησαν, ἡ μὲν αἰτουμένη τοῖς παισὶ τὴν βασιλείαν, ὁ δὲ θαρρεῖν καὶ πάντα πιστεύειν Καίσαρι κελεύων.

**79.** Ὡς δὲ κατιδὼν τὸν τόπον ἀπήγγειλε Καίσαρι, Γάλλος μὲν ἐπέμφθη πάλιν ἐντευξόμενος αὐτῇ, καὶ πρὸς τὰς θύρας ἔλθων  
 2 ἐπίτηδες ἐμήκυνε τὸν λόγον. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Προκλήιος κλίμακος προστεθείσης διὰ τῆς θυρίδος εἰσῆλθεν, ἥι τὸν Ἀντώνιον αἱ γυναῖκες ἐδέξαντο, καὶ πρὸς τὰς θύρας αὐτὰς εὐθύς, αἷς ἡ Κλεοπάτρα παρειστήκει προσέχουσα τῷ Γάλλῳ, κατέβαινε  
 3 ὑπηρέτας ἔχων δύο μεθ' αὐτοῦ. τῶν δὲ συγκαθειργμένων τῇ Κλεοπάτρῃ γυναικῶν τῆς ἑτέρας ἀνακραγούσης “τάλαινα Κλεοπάτρα, ζῶγρει”, μεταστραφεῖσα καὶ θεασαμένη τὸν Προκλήιον, ὥρμησε μὲν αὐτὴν πατάξαι· παρεζωσμένη γὰρ ἐτύγχανέ  
 4 τι τῶν ληιστρικῶν ξιφιδίων. προσδραμὼν δὲ ταχὺ καὶ περισχὼν αὐτὴν ταῖς χερσὶν ἀμφοτέραις ὁ Προκλήιος “ἀδικεῖς” εἶπεν “ὦ Κλεοπάτρα καὶ σεαυτὴν καὶ Καίσαρα, μεγάλην ἀφαιρουμένη χρηστότητος ἐπίδειξιν αὐτοῦ καὶ διαβάλλουσα τὸν πραότατον  
 5 ἡγεμόνων ὥς ἄπιστον καὶ ἀδιάλλακτον”. ἅμα δὲ καὶ τὸ ξίφος αὐτῆς παρείλετο καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτ' αὐτῆς μὴ κρύπτοι τι φάρμακον  
 6 ἐξέσεισεν. ἐπέμφθη δὲ καὶ παρὰ Καίσαρος τῶν ἀπελευθέρων Ἐπαφρόδιτος, ᾧ προσετέτακτο ζῶσαν αὐτὴν φυλάττειν ἰσχυρῶς ἐπιμελόμενον, τᾶλλα δὲ πρὸς τὸ ῥᾶιστον ἐνδιδόναι καὶ ἡδιστον.

**80.** Αὐτὸς δὲ Καῖσαρ εἰσήλauen εἰς τὴν πόλιν, Ἀρείῳ τῷ φιλοσόφῳ προσδιαλεγόμενος καὶ τὴν δεξιὰν ἐνδεδωκώς, ἰν' εὐθύς ἐν τοῖς πολίταις περίβλεπτος εἶη καὶ θαυμάζοιτο τιμώμενος  
 2 ὑπ' αὐτοῦ διαπρεπῶς. εἰς δὲ τὸ γυμνάσιον εἰσελθὼν καὶ ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ βῆμά τι πεποιημένον, ἐκπεπληγμένων ὑπὸ δέους τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ προσπιπτόντων, ἀναστῆναι κελεύσας ἔφη πάσης

αίτίας τὸν δῆμον ἀφιέναι, πρῶτον μὲν διὰ τὸν κτίστην Ἀλέξαν-  
 953 δρον, δεύτερον δὲ τῆς πόλεως θαυμάζων τὸ κάλλος καὶ τὸ  
 3 μέγεθος, τρίτον δ' Ἀρείῳ τῷ ἐταίρῳ χαριζόμενος. ταύτης δὲ  
 τῆς τιμῆς ἔτυχε παρὰ Καίσαρος Ἀρειος, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐξηιτήσ-  
 ατο συχνούς· ὧν ἦν καὶ Φιλόστρατος, ἀνὴρ εἰπεῖν μὲν ἐξ  
 ἐπιδρομῆς τῶν τότε σοφιστῶν ἱκανώτατος, εἰσποιῶν δὲ μὴ  
 προσηκόντως ἑαυτὸν τῇ Ἀκαδημείᾳ· διὸ καὶ Καῖσαρ αὐτοῦ  
 4 βδελυττόμενος τὸν τρόπον οὐ προσίετο τὰς δεήσεις. ὁ δὲ  
 πώγωνα πολλὸν καθεῖς καὶ φαῖον ἱμάτιον περιβαλόμενος,  
 ἐξόπισθεν Ἀρείῳ παρηκολούθει, τοῦτον αἰετὸν τὸν στίχον ἀνα-  
 φθεγγόμενος·

σοφοὶ σοφοὺς σώζουσιν, ἂν ὦσιν σοφοί.

5 πυθόμενος δὲ Καῖσαρ, καὶ τοῦ φθόνου μᾶλλον Ἀρειὸν ἢ τοῦ δέους  
 Φιλόστρατον ἀπαλλάξαι βουλόμενος, διῆκε.

81. Τῶν δ' Ἀντωνίου παίδων ὁ μὲν ἐκ Φουλβίας Ἀντυλλος  
 2 ὑπὸ Θεοδώρου τοῦ παιδαγωγοῦ παραδοθεὶς ἀπέθανε· καὶ τὴν  
 κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀποτεμνόντων, ὁ παιδαγωγὸς  
 ἀφελὼν ὃν ἐφόρει περὶ τῷ τραχήλῳ πολυτιμότατον λίθον εἰς  
 τὴν ζώνην κατέρραψεν· ἀρνησάμενος δὲ καὶ φωραθεὶς  
 3 ἀνεσταυρώθη. τὰ δὲ Κλεοπάτρας παιδία φρουρούμενα μετὰ τῶν  
 4 τρεφόντων ἐλευθέριον εἶχε δίαιταν. Καισαρίωνα δὲ τὸν ἐκ  
 Καίσαρος γεγονέναι λεγόμενον ἢ μὲν μήτηρ ἐξέπεμψε μετὰ  
 χρημάτων πολλῶν εἰς τὴν Ἰνδικὴν δι' Αἰθιοπίας, ἕτερος δὲ  
 παιδαγωγὸς ὁμοίως Θεοδώρῳ Ῥόδων ἀνέπεισεν ἐπανελθεῖν, ὥς  
 5 Καίσαρος αὐτὸν ἐπὶ βασιλείαν καλοῦντος. βουλευομένου δὲ  
 Καίσαρος, Ἀρειὸν εἰπεῖν λέγουσιν·

οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκαισαρίη.

82. Τοῦτον μὲν οὖν ὕστερον ἀπέκτεινε μετὰ τὴν Κλεοπάτρας  
 τελευτήν.

2 Ἀντώνιον δὲ πολλῶν αἰτουμένων θάψαι καὶ βασιλέων καὶ  
 στρατηγῶν, οὐκ ἀφείλετο Κλεοπάτρας τὸ σῶμα Καίσαρ, ὅλλ'  
 ἐθάπτετο ταῖς ἐκείνης χερσὶ πολυτελῶς καὶ βασιλικῶς, πᾶσιν ὥς  
 3 ἐβούλετο χρῆσθαι λαβούσης. ἐκ δὲ λύπης ἅμα τοσαύτης καὶ

ὀδύνης — ἀνεφλέγμηνε γάρ αὐτῆς τὰ στέρνα τυπτομένης καὶ ἦλκωτο — πυρετῶν ἐπιλαβόντων, ἠγάπησε τὴν πρόφασιν, ὥς ἀφεξομένη τροφῆς διὰ τοῦτο καὶ παραλύσουσα τοῦ ζῆν  
 4 ἀκωλύτως ἑαυτήν. ἦν δ' ἰατρός αὐτῇ συνήθης Ὀλυμπος, ᾧ φράσασα τ' ἀληθὲς ἐχρῆτο συμβούλῳ καὶ συνεργῶι τῆς καθαιρέσεως, ὥς αὐτὸς ὁ Ὀλυμπος εἶρηκεν, ἱστορίαν τινὰ τῶν πραγ-  
 5 μάτων τούτων ἐκδεδωκώς. ὑπονοήσας δὲ Καῖσαρ ἀπειλὰς μὲν τινὰς αὐτῇ καὶ φόβους περὶ τῶν τέκνων προσέβαλλεν, οἷς ἐκείνη καθάπερ μηχανήμασιν ὑπηρείπετο, καὶ παρεδίδου τὸ σῶμα θεραπεύειν καὶ τρέφειν τοῖς χρήζουσιν.

83. Ἦκε δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἡμέρας ὀλίγας διαλιπὼν ἐντευξόμενος αὐτῇ καὶ παρηγορήσων. ἡ δ' ἔτυχε μὲν ἐν στιβάδι κατακειμένη ταπεινῶς, εἰσιόντι δ' αὐτῷ μονοχίτων ἀναπηδήσασα προσπίπτει, δεινῶς μὲν ἐξηγριωμένη κεφαλὴν καὶ πρόσωπον, ὑπότρομος  
 2 δὲ τῇ φωνῇ καὶ συντετηκυῖα ταῖς ὀψεσιν. ἦν δὲ πολλὰ καὶ τῆς περὶ τὸ στέρνον αἰκίας καταφανῆ, καὶ ὅλως οὐθὲν ἐδόκει τὸ σῶμα  
 3 τῆς ψυχῆς ἔχειν βέλτιον. ἡ μὲνται χάρις ἐκείνη καὶ τὸ τῆς ὥρας ἱταμόν οὐ κατέσβεστο παντάπασιν, ἀλλὰ καίπερ οὕτως διακειμένης ἔνδοθεν ποθεν ἐξέλαμπε καὶ συνεπεφαίνετο τοῖς κιν-  
 4 ἡμασι τοῦ προσώπου. κελεύσαντος δὲ τοῦ Καίσαρος αὐτὴν κατακλιθῆναι καὶ πλησίον αὐτοῦ καθίσαντος, ἤψατο μὲν τινος δικαιολογίας, εἰς ἀνάγκην καὶ φόβον Ἀντωνίου τὰ πεπραγμένα τρεπούσης· ἐνισταμένου δὲ πρὸς ἕκαστον αὐτῇ τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἐξελεγχομένη ταχὺ πρὸς οἶκτον μεθηρμόσατο καὶ δέησιν, ὥς δὴ  
 5 τις ἂν μάλιστα τοῦ ζῆν περιεχομένη. τέλος δὲ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν χρημάτων ἀναγραφὴν ἔχουσα προσέδωκεν αὐτῷ· Σελεύκου δὲ τινος τῶν ἐπιτρόπων ἐλέγχοντος ὥς ἔνια κρύπτουσιν καὶ διακλέπτουσιν, ἀναπηδήσασα καὶ τῶν τριχῶν αὐτοῦ λαβομένη  
 6 πολλὰς ἐνεφόρει τῷ προσώπῳ πληγὰς. τοῦ δὲ Καίσαρος  
 954 μειδιῶντος καὶ καταπαύοντος αὐτήν, “ ἄλλ' οὐ δεινόν ” εἶπεν “ ὦ Καῖσαρ, εἰ σὺ μὲν ἡξίωσας ἀφικέσθαι πρὸς ἐμὲ καὶ προσειπεῖν οὕτω πράττουσαν, οἱ δὲ δοῦλοί μου κατηγοροῦσιν, εἴ τι τῶν γυναικείων ἀπεθέμην, οὐκ ἑμαντῇ δήπουθεν, ἢ τάλαινα, κόσμον, ἀλλ' ὅπως Ὀκταοῦλῳ καὶ Λιβίῳ τῇ σῇ μικρὰ δοῦσα, δι' ἐκείνων  
 7 Ἰλεῶ σου τύχοιμι καὶ πραστέρου; ” τούτοις ὁ Καῖσαρ ἤδετο,

παντάπασιν αὐτὴν φιλοψυχεῖν οἰόμενος. εἰπὼν οὖν ὅτι καὶ ταῦτα ἐπιτρέπει καὶ τᾶλλα πάσης ἐλπίδος αὐτῇ χρήσεται λαμπρότερον, ὥιχετο ἀπιὼν, ἐξηπατηκέναι μὲν οἰόμενος, ἐξηπατημένος δὲ μᾶλλον.

- 84.** Ἦν δὲ Κορνήλιος Δολοβέλλας ἐπιφανὴς νεανίσκος ἐν τοῖς  
 2 Καίσαρος ἐταίροις. οὗτος εἶχε πρὸς τὴν Κλεοπάτραν οὐκ ἀηδῶς·  
 καὶ τότε χαριζόμενος αὐτῇ δεηθείσῃ κρύφα πέμψας ἐξήγγειλεν,  
 ὥς αὐτὸς μὲν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀναζεύγνυσι πεζῇ διὰ Συρίας, ἐκείνην δὲ  
 3 μετὰ τῶν τέκνων ἀποστέλλειν εἰς τρίτην ἡμέραν ἔγνωκεν. ἡ δ'  
 ἀκούσασα ταῦτα πρῶτον μὲν ἐδεήθη Καίσαρος, ὅπως αὐτὴν  
 ἐάσῃ χοᾶς ἐπενεγκεῖν Ἀντωνίῳ· καὶ συγχωρήσαντος, ἐπὶ τὸν  
 τάφον κομισθεῖσα καὶ περιπεσοῦσα τῇ σορῶι μετὰ τῶν συνήθων  
 4 γυναικῶν “ὦ φίλ’ Ἀντώνιε” εἶπεν “ἔθαπτον μὲν σε πρῶτην ἔτι  
 χερσὶν ἐλευθέραις, σπένδω δὲ νῦν αἰχμάλωτος οὔσα καὶ  
 φρουρουμένη μήτε κοπετοῖς μήτε θρήνοις αἰκίσασθαι τὸ δοῦλον  
 5 τοῦτο σῶμα καὶ τηρούμενον ἐπὶ τοὺς κατὰ σοῦ θριάμβους. ἄλλας  
 δὲ μὴ προσδέχου τιμᾶς ἢ χοᾶς· ἀλλ’ αὐταῖ σοι τελευταῖαι  
 6 Κλεοπάτρας ἀγομένης. ζῶντας μὲν γὰρ ἡμᾶς οὐθὲν ἀλλήλων  
 διέστησε, κινδυνεύομεν δὲ τῶι θανάτῳ διαμείψασθαι τοὺς  
 τόπους, σὺ μὲν ὁ Ῥωμαῖος ἐνταῦθα κείμενος, ἐγὼ δ’ ἡ δύστηνος  
 7 ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ, τοσοῦτο τῆς σῆς μεταλαβοῦσα χώρας μόνον. ἀλλ’ εἰ  
 δὴ τις τῶν ἐκεῖ θεῶν ἀλκή καὶ δύναμις — οἱ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα προὔ-  
 δωκαν ἡμᾶς — μὴ πρόηι ζῶσαν τὴν σεαυτοῦ γυναῖκα, μηδ’ ἐν  
 ἐμοὶ περιίδηις θριαμβευόμενον σεαυτόν, ἀλλ’ ἐνταῦθά με κρύψον  
 μετὰ σεαυτοῦ καὶ σύνθαψον, ὥς ἐμοὶ μυρίων κακῶν ὄντων οὐδὲν  
 οὕτω μέγα καὶ δεινὸν ἔστιν, ὥς ὁ βραχὺς οὗτος χρόνος ὃν σοῦ  
 χωρὶς ἔζηκα.”

- 85.** Τοιαῦτ’ ὀλοφυραμένη καὶ στέψασα καὶ κατασπασαμένη  
 τὴν σορόν, ἐκέλευσεν αὐτῇ λουτρόν γενέσθαι. λουσαμένη δὲ καὶ  
 2 κατακλιθεῖσα, λαμπρὸν ἄριστον ἤριστα. καὶ τις ἦκεν ἀπ’ ἀγροῦ  
 κίστην τινὰ κομίζων· τῶν δὲ φυλάκων ὃ τι φέροι πυνθανομένων,  
 ἀνοίξας καὶ ἀφελὼν τὰ θρῖα σύκων ἐπίπλεων τὸ ἀγγεῖον ἔδειξε.  
 3 θαυμασάντων δὲ τὸ κάλλος καὶ τὸ μέγεθος, μειδιάσας παρεκάλει  
 4 λαβεῖν· οἱ δὲ πιστεύσαντες ἐκέλευον εἰσενεγκεῖν. μετὰ δὲ τὸ  
 ἄριστον ἡ Κλεοπάτρα δέλτον ἔχουσα γεγραμμένην καὶ

κατασσεσημασμένην ἀπέστειλε πρὸς Καίσαρα, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους  
 ἐκποδῶν ποιησάμενη πλήν τῶν θυεῖν ἐκείνων γυναικῶν, τὰς  
 5 θύρας ἔκλεισε. Καῖσαρ δὲ λύσας τὴν δέλτον, ὥς ἐνέτυχε λιταῖς καὶ  
 ὀλοφυρμοῖς δεομένης αὐτὴν σὺν Ἀντωνίῳ θάψαι, ταχὺ συνῆκε  
 τὸ πεπραγμένον. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν αὐτὸς ὤρμησε βοηθεῖν, ἔπειτα  
 6 δρόμῳ γὰρ ἔλθόντες, καὶ τοὺς μὲν φυλάττοντας οὐδὲν  
 ἡισθημένους καταλαβόντες, τὰς δὲ θύρας ἀνοίξαντες, εὔρον  
 αὐτὴν τεθνηκυῖαν ἐν χρυσῇ κατακειμένην κλίνηι κεκοσμημένην  
 7 βασιλικῶς. τῶν δὲ γυναικῶν ἡ μὲν Εἰράς λεγομένη πρὸς τοῖς  
 ποσὶν ἀπέθνησκεν, ἡ δὲ Χάρμιον ἥδη σφαλλομένη καὶ  
 καρηβαροῦσα κατεκόσμει τὸ διάδημα τὸ περὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν  
 8 αὐτῆς. εἰπόντος δὲ τινος ὀργῇ· “καλὰ ταῦτα Χάρμιον;” “κάλ-  
 λιστα μὲν οὖν” ἔφη “καὶ πρέποντα τῇι τοσοῦτων ἀπογόνῳ  
 βασιλέων”. πλέον δ’ οὐδὲν εἶπεν, ἀλλ’ αὐτοῦ παρὰ τὴν κλίνην  
 ἔπεσε.

**86.** Λέγεται δὲ τὴν ἀσπίδα κομισθῆναι σὺν τοῖς σύκοις  
 955 ἐκείνοις καὶ τοῖς θρίοις ἄνωθεν ἐπικαλυφθεῖσαν (οὕτω γὰρ τὴν  
 Κλεοπάτραν κελεῦσαι) μηδ’ αὐτῆς ἐπισταμένης τῷ σώματι  
 2 προσπεσεῖν τὸ θηρίον ὥς δ’ ἀφαιροῦσα τῶν σύκων εἶδεν, εἰπεῖν·  
 “ἐνταῦθ’ ἦν ἄρα τοῦτο”, καὶ τὸν βραχίονα παρασχεῖν τῷ  
 3 δῆγματι γυμνώσασαν. οἱ δὲ τηρεῖσθαι μὲν ἐν ὑδρίαι τὴν ἀσπίδα  
 καθειργμένην φάσκουσιν, ἡλακᾶττι δὲ τινι χρυσῇ τῆς  
 Κλεοπάτρας ἐκκαλουμένης αὐτὴν καὶ διαγραινούσης, ὀρμή-  
 4 σασαν ἐμφῦναι τῷ βραχίονι. τὸ δ’ ἄληθές οὐδεὶς οἶδεν· ἐπεὶ καὶ  
 φάρμακον αὐτὴν ἐλέχθη φορεῖν ἐν κνηστίδι κοίλῃ, τὴν δὲ  
 κνηστίδα κρύπτειν τῇι κόμῃ· πλήν οὔτε κηλὶς ἐξήνθησε τοῦ  
 5 σώματος οὔτ’ ἄλλο φαρμάκου σημεῖον. οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ τὸ θηρίον  
 ἐντὸς ὥφθη, συρμούς δὲ τινὰς αὐτοῦ παρὰ θάλασσαν, ἥι τὸ  
 δωμάτιον ἀφεώρα καὶ θυρίδες ἦσαν, ἰδεῖν ἔφασκον· ἐνιοὶ δὲ καὶ  
 τὸν βραχίονα τῆς Κλεοπάτρας ὀφθῆναι δύο νυγμᾶς ἔχοντα  
 6 λεπτὰς καὶ ἀμυδράς. οἷς ἔοικε πιστεῦσαι καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ· ἐν γὰρ τῷ  
 θριάμβῳ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας αὐτῆς εἰδωλον ἐκομίζετο καὶ τῆς  
 ἀσπίδος ἐμπεφυκυίας. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν οὕτω λέγεται γενέσθαι.  
 7 Καῖσαρ δέ, καίπερ ὀχθεσθεὶς ἐπὶ τῇι τελευτῇ τῆς γυναικός,

ἐθαύμασε τὴν εὐγένειαν αὐτῆς, καὶ ταφῆναι τὸ σῶμα σὺν Ἀντωνίῳ λαμπρῶς καὶ βασιλικῶς ἐκέλευσεν. ἐντίμου δὲ καὶ τὰ γύναια κηδείας ἔτυχεν αὐτοῦ προστάξαντος.

- 8 Ἐτελεύτησε δὲ Κλεοπάτρα μὲν ἑνὸς δέοντα τεσσαράκοντα ἔτη βιώσασα, καὶ τούτων δύο καὶ εἴκοσι βασιλεύσασα, συνάρξασα δ' Ἀντωνίῳ πλείω τῶν δεκατεσσάρων. Ἀντώνιον δ' οἱ μὲν ἕξ, οἱ  
9 δὲ τρισὶ τὰ πεντήκοντα ὑπερβαλεῖν φασιν. αἱ μὲν οὖν Ἀντωνίου καθηιρέθησαν εἰκόνες, αἱ δὲ Κλεοπάτρας κατὰ χώραν ἔμειναν, Ἀρχιβίου τινὸς τῶν φίλων αὐτῆς χίλια τάλαντα Καίσαρι δόντος, ἵνα μὴ τὸ αὐτὸ ταῖς Ἀντωνίου πάθωσιν.

87. Ἀντωνίου δὲ γενεὰν ἀπολιπόντος ἐκ τριῶν γυναικῶν ἑπτὰ παῖδας, ὁ πρεσβύτατος Ἀντυλλος ὑπὸ Καίσαρος ἀνηιρέθη μόνος· τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς Ὀκταουία παραλαβοῦσα μετὰ τῶν ἕξ  
2 ἑαυτῆς ἔθρεψε. καὶ Κλεοπάτραν μὲν τὴν ἐκ Κλεοπάτρας Ἰόβαι τῷ χαριεστάτῳ βασιλέων συνώικισεν, Ἀντώνιον δὲ τὸν ἐκ Φουλβίας οὕτω μέγαν ἐποίησεν, ὥστε τὴν πρώτην παρὰ Καίσαρι τιμὴν Ἀγρίππου, τὴν δὲ δευτέραν τῶν Λιβίας παίδων  
3 ἔχόντων, τρίτον εἶναι καὶ δοκεῖν Ἀντώνιον. ἐκ δὲ Μαρκέλλου δυεῖν αὐτῇ θυγατέρων οὐσῶν, ἑνὸς δ' υἱοῦ Μαρκέλλου, τοῦτον μὲν ἅμα παῖδα καὶ γαμβρὸν ἐποίησατο Καῖσαρ, τῶν δὲ  
4 θυγατέρων Ἀγρίππαι τὴν ἑτέραν ἔδωκεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ Μάρκελλος ἐτελεύτησε κομιδῇ νεόγαμος, καὶ Καίσαρι γαμβρὸν ἔχοντα πίστιν οὐκ εὐπορον ἦν ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων φίλων ἐλέσθαι, λόγον ἢ Ὀκταουία προσήνεγκεν ὥς χρή τὴν Καίσαρος θυγατέρα λαβεῖν  
5 Ἀγρίππαν, ἀφέντα τὴν ἑαυτῆς. πεισθέντος δὲ Καίσαρος πρῶτον, εἴτ' Ἀγρίππου, τὴν μὲν αὐτῆς ἀπολαβοῦσα συνώικισεν Ἀντωνίῳ, τὴν δὲ Καίσαρος Ἀγρίππας ἔγημεν.  
6 ἀπολειπομένων δὲ τῶν Ἀντωνίου καὶ Ὀκταουίας δυεῖν θυγατέρων τὴν μὲν Δομίτιος Ἀηνόβαρβος ἔλαβε, τὴν δὲ σωφροσύνη καὶ κάλλει περιβόητον Ἀντωνίαν Δροῦσος, ὁ  
7 Λιβίας υἱός, πρόγονος δὲ Καίσαρος. ἐκ τούτων ἐγένετο Γερμανικὸς καὶ Κλαύδιος· ὧν Κλαύδιος μὲν ὕστερον ἦρξε· τῶν δὲ Γερμανικοῦ παίδων Γάιος μὲν ἄρξας ἐπιμανῶς οὐ πολὺν χρόνον ἀνηιρέθη μετὰ τέκνου καὶ γυναικός, Ἀγριππῖνα δ' υἱὸν ἕξ Ἀηνοβάρβου Λεύκιον Δομίτιον ἔχουσα, Κλαυδίῳ Καίσαρι συνώικησε· καὶ

θέμενος τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς Κλαύδιος Νέρωνα Γερμανικὸν προσω-  
9 νόμασεν. οὗτος ἄρξας ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἀπέκτεινε τὴν μητέρα καὶ μικρὸν  
ἐδέησεν ὑπ' ἐμπληξίας καὶ παραφροσύνης ἀνατρέψαι τὴν  
Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίαν, πέμπτος ἀπ' Ἀντωνίου κατ' ἀριθμὸν  
διαδοχῆς γενόμενος.



## COMMENTARY

### 1.1–2.3 Antony's parents

P. deals with his subject's γένος even when there is little to say, but this treatment is unusually leisurely, like *Gracch.* 1 and *Cor.* 4. There are two reasons for the emphasis here. (1) The comparison with *Dtr.*, where Antigonus plays an important role (Intr., 22). (2) Antonius introduces themes which will be important to A. himself, generosity and loyalty to friends (esp. 4.6–9, 36–37.1, 43.5–6, 63.3, 67.8, 73.5, 74.6). A.'s own son will show the same liberality at 28.7–12, and inherited similarities are again relevant in 87(n.). Cf. Intr., 10, Russell 136. Antonius' submissiveness to Julia may also prefigure A.'s own later behaviour.

Διηγωνισμένου δὲ τοῦ Μακεδονικοῦ δράματος, ὥρα τὸ Ῥωμαϊκὸν ἐπεισογγαγεῖν. Thus concludes *Dtr.* (53.10), with the theatrical imagery important to both *Lives* (Intr., 21–2, cf. 29.4n.). P. conceived his pairs as unities, and it is arbitrary whether we count that sentence as part of *Dtr.* or of *Ant.*

1.1 **M. Antonius**, cos. 99: cf. *OCD*<sup>2</sup> and, for his death, *Mar.* 44. τῆς Σύλλα γενόμενον στάσεως 'who belonged to Sulla's faction'. **M. Antonius Creticus** (cf. *OCD*<sup>2</sup>) was spectacularly defeated by the Cretan pirates in 72 or 71, and died soon afterwards. The *cognomen* 'Creticus' was probably an honour intended to gloss over his failure. εὐγνώμων δὲ καὶ . . . ἐλευθέριος: P.'s sympathetic portrayal is isolated, and presumably influenced by his desire to link father and son. Sall. described the same traits more trenchantly: *perdundae pecuniae genitus et uacuis a curis nisi instantibus*, *Hist.* 3.3 M. And even by Roman standards his treatment of provincials was avaricious: cf. Cic. *Verr.* 2.3.213–17. ἀφ' ἐνὸς ἄν τις ἔργου καταμάθοι: cf. 4.7, 10.10, and e.g. *Brut.* 33.1 for similar phraseology and technique.

3 ἐξετάζειν 'examine', presumably under torture.

2.1 **Julia** was daughter of L. Caesar (cos. 90) and Fulvia, sister of L. Caesar (cos. 64). At 20.5–6 she protects her brother with dignity, but P. thereafter makes little of her, although his source apparently stressed her role during 41–39 B.C.: cf. 32.1n. ταῖς . . . ἐνάμιλλος 'who could match the best and wisest women of her day'. **P. Cornelius Lentulus Sura**: cf. *OCD*<sup>2</sup> 'Lentulus' (4), and for his problematic role

in the conspiracy *Cic.* 17-22 and texts cited at *MRR* 166; R. Seager, *Hist.* 22 (1973) 240-8. P. catalogues some of his misdeeds at *Cic.* 17.

**2 πρόφασις καὶ ἀρχή** 'cause and origin'. φησὶ γοῦν Ἀντώνιος... For γοῦν cf. 24.4n. The present tense marks a quotation (cf. 10.3, 59.7), but P. is unlikely to have first-hand knowledge of A.'s words. The other reference to A.'s speeches (10.3n.) is drawn from *Cic. Phil.* 2, which it seems that P. had recently reread (Intr., 26-7). This case appears similar: *Cic. Phil.* 2.17, quoting an earlier speech of A., says *ad sepulturam corpus uirici sui negat a me datam*. But *Cic.* does not mention Julia's intercession, nor say that all the victims were granted burial. P.'s rereading of the *Philippic* possibly triggered a recollection from earlier researches, perhaps from the time when he was preparing *Cic.*

**3 τοῦτο μὲν . . . ἔστιν**: for such source-criticism cf. 6.1, 59.1, and e.g. *Crass.* 13.3-4, *Caes.* 8.3-4 (discussed at *Hermes* 113 (1985) 316-17).

## 2.4-8 Antony's youth

P. is here very brief. He is unusual among ancient biographers in often treating his subjects' boyhood at length (e.g. *Dtr.* 2-4); he is especially interested in their education (e.g. *Cor.* 1, *Mar.* 2, *Fab.* 1), particularly where his subjects have important flaws (e.g. *Cor.*, *Mar.*). Despite A.'s flaws, *Ant.* does not fit this pattern, presumably because P. lacked a satisfactory source: Intr., 30. (We are no better off: the first twenty-five years of A.'s life are very obscure.)

The associations with Curio and Clodius are reshaped from *Cic. Phil.* 2.44-8. *Cic.* had stressed the *erotic* relationship with Curio, likening A. to a male prostitute: P., restrained and perhaps sceptical, omits this. *Cic.* had given no hint that Curio was the leading partner: for him, A. had been as naturally debauched as Curio. P. makes Curio a corrupting influence, subtly tempting A. into submissiveness (ὥς μᾶλλον εἶη χειροῦθης). A. will often be seen as brilliant but passive, the susceptible victim of others' wiles: first Fulvia (10.5-6, especially 10.6, χειροῦθη καὶ πεπαιδαγωγημένον), then Cl. and her κόλοαες. Cf. Intr., 33, 35-6.

**4 ὥσπερ τινὰ κῆρα**: the image recurs at 24.2(n.). In classical Greek κῆρ is sinister and powerful, 'doom' or 'ruin': cf. Fraenkel on Aesch. *Ag.*

206. In later prose the word's force is sometimes (e.g. *Cim.* 2.5, 784a) but not always deadened: here P. uses its suggestions of a corrupting and destructive force to introduce an important theme; cf. *Lys.* 17.2, Sparta's introduction to silver and gold; *Crass.* 6.6; *Cic.* 24.3. ἀπαιδεύτου: P. believed strongly in the civilising and restraining power of education (*Cor.* 1.4-5, *Numa* 26(4).10-12); a lack of παιδεία is characteristically associated with ἀκολασία and irrational passions (*Sol.* 21.2, *Galba* 1.4, 37e). γύναια: dismissive, 'girls' (or even 'tarts') rather than 'women': cf. 10.5, 10.7.

5 πεντήκοντα καὶ διακοσίων ταλάντων: the drachma was conventionally equated with the Roman denarius. One talent = 6000 dr./den. = 24,000 sesterces. P. therefore correctly reproduces Cic.'s figure of six million sesterces (*Phil.* 2.45).

6 Κλωδίου: according to Cic. *Phil.* 2.48, A. was involved with Clodius during his tribunate (58 B.C.). Pace Huzar 25-6, the association was surely short-lived (otherwise Cic. would have made more of it). θρασύτατου καὶ βδελυρωτάτου: θρασύτης and βδελυρία are often linked, particularly when P. speaks of Clodius: *Caes.* 9.2, *Pomp.* 46.8, *Nic.* 2.2-3, *Dtr.* 11.2, 5. Both qualities form part of the classic stereotype of the demagogue: cf. Ar. *Knights* 134, 303-4, 637, etc.; Dem. 8.68-9, 19.208. τῇι ... φορᾷ ... προσέμειξεν ἑαυτόν: lit. 'involved himself with the momentum' of Clodius, a very striking phrase.

7 τῆς ἐκείνου μανίας κτλ.: Cic. *Phil.* 2.48 gives no reason for A.'s departure from Clodius, and this seems to be P.'s guesswork. Nor does Cic. mention the journey to Greece, which P. may know from oral sources (Intr., 29). If he has placed the journey in the right context, it should presumably be dated to 58.

8 τῷ καλουμένῳ μὲν Ἀσιανῷ ζήλῳ ('style', cf. Russell on [Longin.] 7.4) τῶν λόγων: for A.'s literary works cf. E. Huzar, *ANRW* II 30.1 (1982) 639-57; Suet. *Aug.* 86.2-3, O. (a follower of the plain style) called him a madman for writing to be admired rather than understood, mocked his *malum et inconstans* [cf. ἄνωμάλου here] in *eligendo genere dicendi iudicium*, and associated A. with the *Asiaticorum oratorum inanis sententiis uerborum uolubilitas*. But this 'Asianism' did not represent a recognised school or established style at Rome. It was a mere abusive slogan, applied to florid orators, and probably no Roman would have accepted it as a fair description of his style. P. likes

to use his subjects' rhetorical style to illuminate their characters. Cf. esp. *Fab.* 1.7-8, *C. Mai.* 7.1-3, *Gracch.* 2.3-5. It does not follow that he knew Antony's speeches at first hand (Intr., 30). *φρυαγματίαν* ... *γαυριάματος*: striking language, for both words convey images borrowed from horses: cf. 21.1, 36.1nn. The onomatopoeic *φρύαγμα* is 'snorting' or 'whinnying' (cf. 150a, 754a, and the extended metaphor at 754c), *γαυρίαμα* is 'prancing' (cf. 33.3n., Xen. *Eq.* 10.16). For the combination of ideas, cf. *Lyc.* 22.1, *Aem.* 27.5; Meleager 90 (*A.P.* 12.33) *μή γαῦρα φρυάσσου.*

### 3 The campaign with Gabinus (57-55 B.C.)

P. is fond of such *stipendia prima* (e.g. *Dtr.* 5-6, *Mar.* 3, *Cor.* 3), but this treatment is unusually lavish. A.'s *φιλοτιμία* and brilliance on campaign contrast programmatically with his private excesses and weakness of will (2). He shows many elements of the stereotyped good soldier (Intr., 35-6): the ambition, the valour (esp. *πρῶτος*, §2), the conquest of natural obstacles, the *τόλμη* and *πρόνοια*, the humanity towards defeated enemies (nn.). P. omits a suggestive item: A. was said to have met Cl. during this campaign, and been enchanted by her (App. 5.8).

**3.1 A. Gabinus**, cos. 58: cf. *OCD*<sup>2</sup>, 7.2-3n. His father had served under A.'s grandfather (*MRR* 1 572, 573 n. 3), and this may have influenced his choice of A. now (Huzar 27). *ἀνέπειθεν* 'was urging', imperfect: cf. 9.1n. *ιδιώτης μὲν οὐκ ἂν ἔφη συνεξελθεῖν*: the o.o. equivalent of o.r. *ιδιώτης μὲν* (= εἰ μὲν ιδιώτης εἶην) *οὐκ ἂν συνεξέλθοιμι*.

**2 Aristobulus** had become king and high priest of Judaea in 69 or 67, after a war with his brother Hyrcanus. In 63 Pompey conquered Judaea, captured Aristobulus, and reinstated Hyrcanus as high priest. Aristobulus was taken to Rome, but escaped and returned to Judaea in 57 or 56. Jos. (*A.J.* 14.82-97, *B.J.* 1.160-74) confirms A.'s gallantry, but shows that P. has conflated two stages of the revolt (a typical technique, Intr., 34). The first uprising was led by Aristobulus' elder son Alexander: this culminated in a battle near Jerusalem and the

reduction of the fort of Alexandreion (the μέγιστον τῶν ἐρυμάτων of §2). Only then did Aristobulus arrive and rekindle the fighting: this led to the μάχη of §3. P. also exaggerates the Jews' numerical superiority (cf. Jos. *A.J.* 14.92-3, *B.J.* 1.171-2) and the role of A.'s detachment (A. was only one of three commanders against Aristobulus). For all these events cf. A. H. M. Jones 14-26, Smallwood 21-35. **πρῶτος**: the stereotyped good soldier leads from the front: cf. 18.5, and e.g. *Pyrrh.* 16.11, 22.9, Livy 21.4.8, Tac. *Ag.* 18.2 with Ogilvie-Richmond ad loc. The first Roman soldier on a wall won the *corona muralis*.

**3 αὐτὸς δὲ . . . ἦλω**: Aristobulus and his younger son Antigonos were sent back to Rome, though Antigonos was then allowed to return to Judaea. Alexander led a further unsuccessful rebellion in 55.

**4 Ptolemy XII** was Cl.'s father. In 58 his subjects drove him into exile, replacing him with his daughter Berenice. He went to Rome and sought assistance to regain his throne, but without success until 55, when Gabinius restored the king on his own authority, doubtless counting on Pompey's support. Ptolemy killed many of his opponents, including Berenice, and continued to reign until his death in 51. When Gabinius returned to Rome in 54, he was prosecuted on several counts, convicted of extortion, and forced into exile. (Cf. E. Fantham, *Hist.* 24 (1975) 425-43.) The charge of the '10,000 talents' goes back to contemporary polemic (Cic. *Rab. Post.* 21, 30-1): cf. Braund 26, 59-60. **πείθοντος** 'urging'. οἱ μὲν πλείστοι . . . καὶ Γαβίνιον δ' ὄκνος . . . 'Αντώνιος δέ: οἱ μὲν . . . is answered by 'Αντώνιος δέ . . . ; καὶ Γαβίνιον δέ . . . (cf. Denniston 199-203 for the combination of particles) merely adds an extra component to the μὲν-clause. **ἐξηνδραποδισμένον**: 'slavery' images with δοῦλος and δουλόω are by now greatly deadened (e.g. *Numa* 8.4, *Brut.* 39.6). The metaphorical use of ἀνδράποδον cognates is rarer and more powerful: cf. *Cor.* 14.4.

**6 ἐπεὶ δὲ . . . ὁδόν**: the conquest of spectacular natural obstacles marks out the great general: cf. e.g. *Caes.* 22.3, Arr. *Anab.* 6.21-6, Livy 21.32-8 (with 17.5n.), Vell. 2.105.3 (with Woodman's n.), and Xen. *Anab. passim*. **Pelusium**: 74.1n. The **Serbonian lake** is the modern Sabkhat el-Bardawil, the salt-lake stretching east of Port Said and divided from the Mediterranean by a narrow land-bar: see Map 4. It draws its water from the Mediterranean by a suction process via the bar. The **Ἐρηγμα** was a dried-up channel connecting the lake to the sea (Strabo 16.760). It was a spectacular region, with sulphurous

springs, quicksands, and memories of tidal waves: part of a Persian army was said to have disappeared here in 342. **Τυφῶνος . . . ἔκπνοάς** (a sort of *figura etymologica*): the sulphurous springs. Typhon, equated with the Egyptian Seth, was associated with several volcanic regions: cf. M. L. West on Hes. *Th.* 820-80. **τῆς δ' Ἐρυθρᾶς θαλάσσης**: 69.4n. **ὑπονόστησις . . . καὶ διήθησις**: P. clearly argues that the lake's waters have a double origin: (1) residual waters of the Red Sea (cf. Strabo 1.50, 18.809); (2) subterranean infiltration (διήθησις, cf. Hdt. 2.93.5). But here P.'s language is ambiguous. Either (a) 'infiltration from the Red Sea, at the point where the isthmus dividing it [the Red Sea] from the Mediterranean is at its narrowest': this takes διήθησις as well as ὑπονόστησις with τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς θαλάσσης. Or (b) 'infiltration [from the Mediterranean], where a very narrow isthmus divides it [the lake] from the Mediterranean'. If (a), the isthmus is, as at 69.4, the neck of land between the Mediterranean and the Gulf of Suez, with the Gulf regarded as an extension of the Red Sea: this 'isthmus' is about eighty miles wide. If (b), the isthmus is the tenuous land-bar between the lake and the Mediterranean. All translators except Perrin favour (a), which is easier Greek but absurd geology; (b) is close to the geological truth, and likely to be what P. meant.

**8 Πτολεμαίου**: we might expect a dative after ἐνέστη, but cf. 53.1n.

**9 καὶ τόλμης ἔργα καὶ προνοίας ἡγεμονικῆς**: the combination typifies the good general, cf. e.g. *C. Mai.* 27.5, 29(2).3, *Alc.* 35.3, *Vell.* 2.79.1 with Woodman's n., *Plb.* 3.47.7, *Livy* 21.4.5.

**10 ἡ πρὸς Ἀρχέλαον . . . φιλανθρωπία**: cf. his later treatment of the dead Brutus (22.6-8), with 82.1n. Archelaus, son of Mithridates' general Archelaus (*OCD*<sup>2</sup>), became high priest at Pontic Comana in 63; in 56 he joined Gabinius, but soon left to marry Berenice and be crowned king of Egypt. His reign lasted only six months.

**11 Ἀλεξανδρεῦσι**: the Alexandrians in particular, not the Egyptians in general: A.'s career thus begins with glory, in the very city where it will end in defeat and disgrace. Cf. 29.4 for A.'s popularity at Alexandria. **ἀνὴρ ἔδοξε λαμπρότατος εἶναι**: intensifying 2.4, λαμπρῶι γενομένῳ: the ring-composition marks the end of the discussion of A.'s early career.

#### 4 Antony and his soldiers

2 has stressed A.'s excesses, 3 his military brilliance, with 3.10-11 pointing his popularity with the troops. 4 brings the themes together, suggesting that this popularity was partly the result of the excesses, braggadocio, and extravagance. This passage introduces important themes: cf. esp. 6.5-6, 17.5, 27.2, 43 for A.'s behaviour; 8.2, 40.8, 43.2-4, 44.4, 64, 68.3-5 for his soldiers' loyalty. A. eventually betrays his men (66.8, 68.3-5) before his men betray him.

P. often uses characterising digressions to introduce a critical stage of a *Life*: e.g. *Alc.* 16 and 23 (with Russell 108), *Mar.* 7 and 28, *Caes.* 15-17, *Pomp.* 45, *Dem.* 13-14, *Dtr.* 19-20. Thus at 24.9-12 and 27.3-5 (nn.) the digressions on A. and Cl. point the emergence of A.'s τελευταῖον κακόν (25.1); 70, on Timon, separates Actium and Alexandria. Here, the passage marks off A.'s youth (1-3) from his entry into politics (5). P. consequently stresses political as well as military aspects: he is generous to 'friends' as well as soldiers, his behaviour 'built a splendid foundation for' his authority – but 'countless failings destroyed it'. And many of those 'failings' spring from the same qualities, which both build and destroy A.'s greatness. When he finally betrays his men, it is because his braggadocio, geniality, and excesses are shared not with them, but with Cl.

**4.1-3** P. often describes physical appearance, which usually matches character (*Sulla* 2, *Mar.* 2, *Arat.* 3) but sometimes belies it (*Ages.* 2, *Phoc.* 5, *Phil.* 2); see A. E. Wardman, *CQ* 17 (1967) 414-20. Here the *effects* of physical form are stressed, just as Pompey's appearance helped to win political support (*Pomp.* 2). A.'s looks not merely enhance his popularity, they also aid his imitation of Hercules – an important theme, for A. later mimics Dionysus, not merely Hercules, while Cl. emulates both Aphrodite and Isis. Cf. 24.4-5, 26.2, 26.5, 36.7, 54.9, 60.3-5 (nn.). P.'s stress on these divine pretensions is unusual: *Caes.*, for instance, ignores Cl.'s descent from Venus, and *Pomp.* Pompey's link with Hercules. But the pretensions of A. and Cl. were more important and striking, and P.'s stress is natural. Sh. exploits them differently, with more insistence on the specifically Herculean motifs, i.iii.84, iv.iii.16-17, xii.43-7: cf. 75.4-5n., *Intr.*, 40, and E. M. Waith, *The Herculean Hero in Marlowe, Chapman, Shakespeare and Dryden* (London

1962) 113-21. Hercules is more appropriate to A.'s soldierliness in Sh., and Bacchus would have more undignified associations for Sh.'s audience than Dionysus for P.'s. Demetrius' appearance also showed an ἡρωικὴ . . . ἐπιφανεῖα καὶ βασιλικὴ σεμνότης, and he too μάλιστα τῶν θεῶν ἐξηλοῦ τὸν Διόνυσον (*Dtr.* 2): but what is muted in *Dtr.* becomes pervasive in *Ant.*, Intr., 23. μορφῆς ἐλευθέριον ἀξίωμα 'a gentlemanly dignity of appearance'. P.'s description is supported by A.'s coin-portraits: cf. Toynbee 41-6; M. Bieber, *ANRW* 1 4 (1973) 882-5. P. perhaps based his description on statues of A., whether or not they were rightly identified: cf. e.g. *Mar.* 2, *Arat.* 3, *Sulla* 2, with A. E. Wardman, *CQ* 17 (1967) 414-20. Such statues may have been heroically stylised in the manner of the traditional Hercules, and this may help to explain P.'s stress on A.'s Herculean behaviour (§3). πλάτος . . . μυκτῆρος 'his broad forehead and his aquiline nose'.

2 Ἡρακλείδας εἶναι τοὺς Ἀντωνίους: this descent from Hercules was taken seriously. An Antonian moneyer issued types portraying Hercules (or, less likely, Anton), just as C. and O. had their types of Venus and Aeneas: Crawford, *RRC* 1.502-11 (no. 494/2a-b). But A.'s Herculean behaviour – the tunic girt to the thigh, the sword, the cloak – is harder to believe. It would deeply have offended Roman sentiment (though P., the Greek, does not sense this), yet neither Cic. nor other writers, however hostile to A., mention it. Perhaps P., emphasising A.'s braggadocio, is imaginatively exaggerating. The description may be influenced by the comic *miles gloriosus*: cf. Pyrgopolynices, explaining that he is *nepos Veneris* (Plaut. *Mil.* 1265) or Stratophanes, announcing himself as Mars (Plaut. *Truc.* 515).

In P.'s own day Trajan was similarly stressing an association with Hercules: cf. Jones, *Dio* 116-19. But for Trajan the suggestions of Hercules were toil and beneficence to humanity: *this* sort of bluntness was very different. P. could not have sensed any contemporary relevance, for the allusion would be unbelievably tactless.

3 σάγος . . . τῶν στερεῶν: lit. 'a cloak, one of the coarse ones': presumably as a modern-day equivalent of Hercules' lion-skin, as the sword represents his club.

4 A.'s camaraderie. Much of this description is stock. One commonplace is the general who wins popularity by sharing his men's everyday activities and hardships (6.5-6, 17.5, 43.6): cf. e.g. Xen. *Cyr.* 1.6.25, Cic. *Mur.* 38, Plin. *Pan.* 15, Vell. 2.114 with Woodman's nn.,

and esp. *Mar.* 7.3-6. Another stereotype is the leader who develops terms of personal familiarity with his men: Sall. *B.J.* 96 (Sulla), Suet. *Iul.* 67 (Caesar), Tac. *Hist.* 1.23 (Otho), 1.52 (Vitellius). Both stereotypes are often, as here, combined with munificence, usually with a hint that the familiarity is a pose adopted by self-seekers. But P. sees no such calculation in the straightforward A., and the boastfulness, shared excesses, jocularities, and love-affairs have no parallel in the historiographic stereotypes; nor do other writers connect A.'s licentiousness with his military leadership. Here P. imposes his own view of A.'s character, again borrowing from the comic *miles gloriosus*.

The style is suitably heightened. §4 has strong vocabulary and a rapid accumulation of ideas, with each element in the list bearing more stylistic weight; §5 (n.) introduces an important motif with a striking phrase; then §6 has longer, more complicated cola, with its cumbersome abstractions building to the heavy vocabulary of ἐκ μυρίων ἄλλων ἀμαρτημάτων ἀνατρεπομένην. As at 1.2-3 (cf. 84.4-7n.) an anecdote finally focuses the μεγαλόδωρος theme, with simpler sentence-construction and swift cola; A.'s *o.r.* vividly points the conclusion. He is indeed like his father (1n.), and the repetition of the 'one example' formula (4.7, cf. 1.1n.) perhaps reinforces the point. κώθων: basically 'drinking-cup', the word can readily be extended to 'carousals'. πόθου: a powerful word, 'longing' or 'yearning' for something absent (cf. Plato *Crat.* 420a), often of sexual love (e.g. *Pomp.* 53.2). When P. uses it elsewhere of affection for a national hero, that hero is generally absent (e.g. *Pomp.* 57.7) or dead (e.g. *Per.* 39.3): cf. esp. *Gracch.* 4.6 πολλήν δὲ καὶ παρὼν εὖνοιαν εἶχεν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ καὶ πόθον ἀπαλλαττόμενος αὐτοῦ κατέλιπε. \*πόθος is therefore a suggestive word for the army's affection for a man who will so often be absent from them: cf. 68.4, their πόθος for A. after his flight from Actium.

5 ἦν δέ που καὶ τὸ ἐρωτικὸν οὐκ ἀναφρόδιτον: a paradoxical phrase: Eros and Aphrodite embodied rather different sorts of 'love'. οὐκ ἀναφρόδιτον is 'not unbeloved of', 'not inappropriate to' Aphrodite, i.e. showing charm and grace, not just lust: a rare usage, apparently confined to P. (cf. 751d, 972d) and perhaps influenced by the Latin *uenustus*. ἐδημαγώγει 'captivated', 'won over' by such popular behaviour: the word need not be confined to 'demagogy'. Cf. *Fab.* 26.1 δημαγωγῶν ἐλπίσι τοὺς νέους, *Lucull.* 23.1, and esp.

*Pomp.* 2.1, where physical attractiveness again aids δημουργία. σκωπτόμενος οὐκ ἀηδῶς . . . : cf. 24.11. Most of these jokes eventually concern Cl.: 26.1, 27.2, 29.5–7, 32.6.

7 δακίης: one million sesterces (= 250,000 dr./den., 2.5n.). Cf. *Intr.*, 8 for the explanation of the Roman term.

### 5–8 The Civil War

4 masks a five-year gap, and 5.1 brings us to 50 B.C. There are deliberate omissions here. In 54 A. joined C. in Gaul. In late 53 he returned to Rome to stand for the quaestorship (*Cic. Phil.* 2.49, *Mil.* 40), also hoping for a vacant augurship (*Cic. Phil.* 2.4). In April 52 he spoke against Milo at his trial; in the summer he was elected quaestor for 51. He then immediately returned to Gaul, where he was unspectacularly involved in several campaigns. From *Cic. Phil.* 2.48–50, and perhaps from his knowledge of the Gallic War (*Caes.* 15–27), P. knew some of this. But it was unexciting; and P. had a further reason to omit these events. By discarding the detail of the years 54–50, he can pretend that Curio brought A. over to C. (5.2n.), and so portray A. as passive and susceptible. Cf. *Intr.*, 34, 36.

A. now began to play a part in general history, and P.'s narrative becomes richer, allowing new points to emerge. Most of this material seems to come from Pollio (*Intr.*, 27–8). A. becomes politically astute and effective, as he will be in a later crisis (5.3–10, cf. 14); yet his aimlessness contrasts with C.'s crisp ambition (6.1n.), and, now that he is a public figure, his recklessness brings political catastrophe (6.7). 7–8 then reintroduce the earlier contrast (3n.), A. as the inspiring military leader, so different (as C. saw, 7.1) from the sluggish man at peace (6.5–7).

5 presents complicated historical problems, particularly the account of the senate's discussions in early Jan. (§§6–8). Cf. Pelling (2) 139–40, arguing that P. transposes events from the 1st Dec. 50 sitting of the senate to 1st Jan. 49, and that this involves transferring actions from Curio (trib. until 9th Dec.) to A. (trib. from 10th Dec. onwards). P.'s account of the 1st Dec. sitting at *Pomp.* 58 is more truthful.

5.1 ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὕστερον: cf. 50.7 and e.g. *Caes.* 4.9, *Pomp.* 2.12, and *Pyrrh.* 3.9 for such apologetic formulas. ἐπεὶ δὲ . . . διέστη 'when Roman politics came to the point of division', i.e. 'as civil war approached'. τῶν μὲν ἀριστοκρατικῶν . . . τῶν δὲ δημοτικῶν: as usual, P. crudely assumes the existence of two parties at Rome (Pelling (3) 166-75). But his attempt to set the war against any historical background is perfunctory: ctr. *Caes.* 28-9, *Pomp.* 56-8, Pelling (3) 164.

2 For **Curio**, trib. 50, cf. 2.4n., *OCD*<sup>2</sup>, W. K. Lacey, *Hist.* 10 (1961) 318-29, E. S. Gruen, *Last Generation of the Roman Republic* (Berkeley 1974) 470-97. He suddenly came over to C.'s side in Feb. 50, proposing various popular bills (*MRR* 249), and he continued to support him until the end of his tribunate: on 1st Dec. he elicited the important senatorial vote that C. and Pompey should both disarm (§§6-7nn.). He left office and joined C. at Ravenna in Dec., returning to Rome in early Jan. (§§5-9nn.). θεραπεύων 'taking care of', 'attending to' C.'s interests: cf. LSJ II.3. The word need not be pejorative (cf. 816b, *Sulla* 6.17, *Dtr.* 4.1, *Pomp.* 19.8). Extant contemporary sources do not suggest that he was bribed to come over to C., but that tradition seems to derive from Pollio and should be taken seriously: P. elsewhere says that C. purchased Curio by settling his debts, and that A. also did well out of C.'s funds (*Pomp.* 58.2, cf. *Caes.* 29.3). Here P. omits all suggestion of this bribery, stressing instead Curio's lavish *expenditure* from C.'s gold. That motif suits the *Life*'s stress on generous giving (1n.), and the political strength it won (4.6). ἀπὸ τοῦ λέγειν: for Curio's eloquence cf. esp. Cic. *Brut.* 280-2. δήμαρχον . . . καλοῦσιν: P. speaks loosely, meaning only that Curio's help was decisive in gaining these successes: cf. Cic. *Phil.* 2.4. In 50 the tribunician and consular elections were held in late July or early Aug., and the augurate election apparently about the same time (Cic. *Att.* 122(6.8).2 and Cael. *Fam.* 97(8.14).2, with Shackleton Bailey's nn.). P. is probably right in saying that A. was elected first tribune, then augur. P. carefully explains *augur* for his Greek readers: cf. Intr., 8.

3 εἰς τὴν ἀρχήν: i.e. as tribune. His term began on 10th Dec. 49.

4 **C. Claudius Marcellus** (cf. 31.1-2n.), the consul of 50, was a fierce opponent of C. For the genitive, where we might have expected dative with ἐμποδῶν ἔσται, cf. 53.1n. τοὺς τε συνειλεγμένους ἤδη στρατιώτας: these troops had been withdrawn from C. in Gaul (*Caes.* 29, *Pomp.* 57). Since 53 the eastern provinces had been threatened by

the Parthians, and there was a substantial Parthian invasion of Syria in 51 (cf. 28.11n.). In spring or early summer 50 it was decided to withdraw one legion each from C. and Pompey, and send them to **M. Calpurnius Bibulus**, proconsul of Syria. Pompey designated a legion which he had earlier lent to C., who was thus effectively deprived of two legions. In 50 the Parthian danger receded: despite πολεμοῦντι here, Bibulus did little fighting, and the enemy withdrew from Syria in June. The two legions were consequently retained in Italy. On 2nd Dec. the consul Marcellus presented Pompey with a symbolic sword, gave him command of the two legions and empowered him to recruit more (καταλέγειν ἑτέρους): cf. esp. *Pomp.* 58.10-59.2. ἐμποδὼν ἔσται διάταγμα γράψας: P. clearly means that A. issued a tribunician 'edict' (cf. esp. *Marc.* 24.13), but he may have misunderstood his source. Other attested tribunician edicts are much more limited in their demands (e.g. summoning a senate, *Cic. Fam.* 356(12.6a).1), and do not exceed a tribune's normal constitutional rights: cf. H. Kloft, *Hist.* 29 (1980) 319. A. could hardly insist that the forces 'should sail to Syria'; it is not even clear how far he could constitutionally interfere with a levy outside the city *pomerium* (Brunt 391-2, 397, 643). If A. issued an edict, it probably expressed disapproval, no more: cf. *Cic.* 2 *Verr.* 2.100, *Dio* 37.43.4, 44.10.2. He was apparently continuing the policy of Curio, who 'called upon the consuls to announce [i.e. issue an edict] that no-one should yet obey Pompey's levy' (App. 2.31, cf. *Dio* 40.66.4, clearly from Pollio). P. may have misunderstood this demand. It is also possible, but unlikely, that P. has transferred this entire item from Curio to A., as at §§6-7. μὴ προσέχωσιν αὐτῷ: i.e. they 'should not respond to the levy'.

5 τὰς Καίσαρος ἐπιστολάς: cf. *Caes.* 30.3 and esp. *Pomp.* 59.2-3, giving the letter's contents: C. proposed 'that both he and Pompey should give up their provinces and armies, put themselves in the power of the people, and submit to a public examination of their past actions'. (In *Ant.* P. does not mention these proposals: he here wishes to represent simultaneous disarmament as A.'s own suggestion, §6.) This may be the assembly of 21st Dec. (cf. *Cic. Att.* 131(7.8).5). On 1st Jan. 49 Curio delivered a very similar letter of C. to the senate, and A. again insisted that it should be read (App. 2.32, etc.): P. has perhaps conflated or confused the two occasions. But the idea of simultaneous disarmament had been in the air since spring or summer, and much

had been made of it in the senate on 1st Dec.: there may genuinely have been several similar letters. **δίκαια καὶ μέτρια Καίσαρος ἀξιοῦν . . . δόξαντος**: cf. *Caes.* 30.1, 'C.'s claims certainly had the appearance of being fair and reasonable'; *Caes.* 31.1, 33.4; §8 below. For all his enthusiasm for republican causes (especially clear in *C. Min.* and *Brutus*), P. appreciates the issues' moral complexity, and has little sympathy for the optimate extremists.

**6 τέλος δὲ дуεῖν ἐρωτήσεων . . .**: cf. *Caes.* 30.4-6, which shows that P. refers to the sitting of 1st Jan. 49. But the detail – the double vote, then A.'s suggestion of simultaneous disarmament – seems to be borrowed from the sitting of 1st Dec. 50, when Curio made this proposal and secured an overwhelming vote (370-22) in its favour. Cf. *Pomp.* 58; in *Caes.* and *Ant.* P. transfers this to the new year and to A., the new year's tribune (Pelling (2) 139-40). In fact, the main business on 1st Jan. was (a) the reading of C.'s letter (§5n.), then (b) a general debate, centring on Q. Metellus Scipio's proposal that C. should give up his army by a specified date. This was vetoed by A. and Cassius (§8n.). Cf. *Caes. B.C.* 1.1-6, Gelzer 190-4.

**7 ἡξίουں ἐπιψηφίζεσθαι**: on 1st Dec. Curio *did* secure a vote (above). The thrust of the present narrative requires that the conciliatory move should fail.

**8 μὴ βουλομένων**: in classical Greek we should expect οὐ. But even classical authors occasionally use μή with a participle giving a *cause* for the action described in the main clause (LSJ μή B.6). Later this use is extended: in P. and e.g. Lucian οὐ and μή are used interchangeably with participles of cause, time, or attendant circumstance. Cf. 56.5, 71.1 nn. **τῶν ὑπάτων**: the anti-Caesarian consuls of 49 who entered office on 1st Jan., C. Claudius Marcellus (the homonymous cousin of the consul of 50, §4n.) and L. Cornelius Lentulus Crus. **αὐθις ἑτέρας . . . ἀξιῶσεις**: P. wrongly implies that this happened at the same meeting. C.'s new proposals in fact became known a few days later, and were perhaps debated on 5th or 6th Jan. C. now offered to give up Transalpine Gaul and eight legions, and retain only Illyricum, Cisalpine Gaul, and two legions, until he could assume a second consulship. Cic., mediating, persuaded the Caesarians into further concessions: C. would now be content with Illyricum and a single legion. Pompey was tempted by this, but the optimate intransigents forced the issue. **ἀντέπιπτε** is rare in this forceful sense, 'vehemently

resisted': cf. 11.4, *Galba* 25.5, *Plb.* 3.19.5. P. gives more detail at *C. Min.* 51.7 and *Pomp.* 59.6; cf. *Vell.* 2.49.3. ἐξέβαλε τῆς βουλῆς τὸν Ἀντώνιον: on 7th Jan. the senate voted to supersede C. in Gaul and to abrogate his right to stand for a second consulship *in absentia*. A. and Cassius vetoed the decree. Lentulus warned them to leave the senate and Rome at once: they fled to C.; and the so-called *senatus consultum ultimum* was passed. At *Caes.* 31 P. strongly criticises Lentulus for playing into C.'s hands. In this debate the tribunes were an effective obstacle because of their veto, as on 1st Jan. when they had vetoed Scipio's proposal. P. does not seem to appreciate this, and at §10 consequently stresses the infringement of the tribunes' free speech rather than the overriding of their veto. He rarely mentions the veto in other *Lives*, and he explains it incorrectly at *Gracch.* 10.3 and *C. Min.* 20.8, speaking as if a tribune could only impede the actions of his fellow-tribunes. The veto was of negligible importance by P.'s own day, and his mistakes are natural: App. 3.50 seems to misunderstand similarly. Cf. Pelling (3) 177.

9 Κασσίου Κολίντου: Q. Cassius Longinus, A.'s Caesarian colleague in the tribunate of 49. Note the inverted order of the names. P.'s practice is sometimes random (e.g. at 18.7, 36.2 and probably here), sometimes more pointed: thus at 20.5 it is a *Caesar* who is threatened, and at *Caes.* 4.2 P. means *Marcus* Lucullus, not his brother. P., like Dio and App., readily inverts *praenomen* and *nomen gentilicium* or *cognomen*; in this they differ from Latin writers, who often invert *nomen* and *cognomen*, rarely – perhaps never – invert *praenomen* and either. Greek writers generally used *praenomina* more than Romans (J. G. F. Powell, *CQ* 34 (1984) 238–9).

10 κατεβόων: P. again exaggerates A.'s own role: at *Caes.* 31.3 C. himself delivers this harangue, and this was the version of P.'s source Pollio (Cf. App. 2.33, Pelling (2) 129). C. gives his own version of his speech at *B.C.* 1.7, stressing the overriding of the veto.

6.1 Ἐκ τούτου: P.'s order is probably wrong, even though it derives from the eyewitness Pollio (cf. *Caes.* 32.7, App. 2.33–5). C. met his tribunes at Ariminum *after* crossing the Rubicon (*Caes. B.C.* 1.8.10); despite the tendentious reordering at *B.C.* 1.7, C.'s harangue and his display of the tribunes are probably to be put at Ariminum (Gelzer 193 n.3). He probably crossed the Rubicon on the night of 10th Jan. 49: P.

tells the dramatic tale at *Caes.* 32. ἐν τοῖς Φιλιππικοῖς: 2.55, *ut Helena Troianis, sic iste huic rei publicae belli causa, causa pestis atque exiti fuit*. P. knows the passage at first hand: *Intr.*, 26-7. P. is oddly insistent on defending A. here: the *Life* will often stress the catastrophic consequences of A.'s recklessness (cf. §§6-7 below), and Cic.'s charge might have introduced the theme. But P. wishes to develop C. as a foil to A. himself. Like O. later, C. is coolly ambitious: his ἔρως is for power. A. is rash and neglectful, and his private excesses are already bringing political disaster (§§6-7). This use of C. to offset the aimless A. may be inspired by Cic. *Phil.* 2.116-17.

2 εὐχερής 'readily influenced'. πάλαι διέγνωστο πράττειν: the MSS πάλαι ἔγνωστο (cf. e.g. 161b) gives harsh hiatus. P.'s practice here is strict, admitting hiatus only with proper names, καί, ἦ, μή, and the definite article. Ziegler's <δι>ἔγνωστο is the obvious remedy: cf. *Dtr.* 38.10, where the compound verb again avoids hiatus. This view of C.'s long-term, calculated plans recurs in other *Lives*, particularly *Caes.* itself: he had sought tyranny all his life, he had long decided to destroy Pompey, and by the late fifties was looking for pretexts (cf. esp. *Caes.* 28, 69.1, *Pomp.* 51.1-3). Modern critics usually prefer to see him as reacting to events, prepared to fight to defend his *dignitas*, but with no particular desire for war or ambition for tyranny. But other ancient writers (especially Dio) tend to agree with P. The interpretation goes back to C.'s own day (P.'s own analysis probably owes much to Pollio), and was clearly the subject of contemporary debate: cf. Cic. *Phil.* 2.53, 116, *Att.* 161(8.11).2, 171(9.5).3, *de Off.* 3.82-3, and the discussion at Suet. *Iul.* 30. ἐπὶ καιροῦ 'on the spur of the moment'. σχῆμα 'pretext'.

3 ἃ καὶ πρότερον Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ πάλαι Κῦρον: P. pairs *Alexander* with *Caesar*, and the comparison of the two was obvious and traditional (cf. Hamilton xxxiv n.1). **Cyrus II**, the Great, was the founder of the Achaemenid Persian Empire. Sall. *B.C.* 2.2, stressing his *lubido dominandi*, is close to the emphasis here, but Cyrus was more often remembered for his wisdom and moderation (e.g. 858d, Cic. *de Rep.* 1.43, *iustissimus . . . sapientissimusque rex*), a view coloured by Xen. *Cyr.* ἔρως . . . μέγιστον: cf. *Otho* 17.11, kings and tyrants display a δεινὸς . . . ἔρως . . . καὶ περιμανῆς τοῦ ἄρχειν. P. clearly disapproves. He dislikes φιλαρχία (*Dtr.* 28.3, *C. Min.* 54.11, 793de, 813c, etc.); he thinks the quest for world conquest demented (*Pyrrh.* 14, the dialogue of Pyrrhus

and Cineas); and C.'s ambition amounted to a desire for tyranny, which P. detested. But P. admitted C.'s energy and ability and the equity of his eventual rule (§7n.): cf. Wardman 112-13, Pelling (2) 136-7.

**4 C.'s conquest of Rome and Italy.** He swiftly advanced south: Pompey decided to abandon Rome and Italy, and sailed from Brundisium on 17th March. C. needed time to prepare a fleet to pursue him; meanwhile he returned to Rome and then moved to Spain. In a brilliant campaign he outmanoeuvred Pompey's legates Afranius and Petreius, accepting their surrender in Aug. Cf. Gelzer 195-218; P. gives more detail at *Caes.* 33-6, *Pomp.* 60-3. τὰς ἐν Ἰβηρίαι Πομπηίου δυνάμεις: Pompey had been proconsul of Spain since 54 but had remained in Italy, governing the province through *legati*. In 49 these *legati* were L. Afranius, M. Petreius, and the antiquarian Varro. After C. had defeated Afranius and Petreius, Varro's forces came over. οὕτως: i.e. by exploiting the period of delay: a fleet was gathered in C.'s absence (*B.C.* 1.29-30). **Lepidus** is the future triumvir. Ἀντωνίῳ δὲ δημαρχοῦντι: C. in fact appointed A. *propraetor* as well as *tribune*, and he exercised the present command as *propraetor*: *MRR* 260.

**5 τοῖς μὲν στρατιώταις εὐθὺς προσφιλὴς ἦν:** 4.4-6n. No other source attests A.'s military camaraderie at this time, and P. may be imposing his own preconception.

**6 καὶ γὰρ ἀδικομένωνν κτλ.:** for P.'s interest in his subjects as administrators, cf. Pelling (3) 178-9. He may have good information here, for Cic. *Att.* 205(10.13).1 tells of A.'s arrogant treatment of a municipal embassy. P. knew from Cic. *Phil.* 2 of some further outrages at this time, but he preferred to delay this to 9.5-9(n.).

**7 πάντα μᾶλλον ἢ τυραννίδα δι' αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον φανείσαν:** cf. *Caes.* 57.4-8 and especially *Brut.* 55(2).2; §3n. οἱ φίλοι διέβαλλον: this analysis is developed in *Caes.*, esp. 51. Similar ideas are found in other authors (e.g. Cic. *Fam.* 205(12.18).2, 231(4.9).3, Dio 56.38.4), but the emphasis is individual to P., and recurs here and at *Brut.* 35.4 (cf. Pelling (1) 78, 83), *Intr.*, 29.

**7.1-2 C. returned to Rome** in early Dec. 49, then left for Brundisium eleven days later (*Caes.* 37, cf. Gelzer 220-3). He crossed with seven legions to Epirus on 4th Jan. 48, and sent back his ships immediately.

On the return voyage they were harried by a Pompeian fleet under Bibulus, and thirty were lost; Bibulus and Libo then blockaded Brundisium, and A. could not break out till spring. The delay, as P. knew, caused C. much anxiety: at *Caes.* 38 and at 319b-d P. tells of his vain attempt to sail back to Italy in a small skiff. οὐ μὲν ἄλλ' 'in spite of this', 9.1n.

2-3 C. recalled **Gabinus** (3.1, 3.4nn.) from exile in 49. P. is confused here: Gabinus did not march to Illyria until 48-47, *after* Pharsalus. He then suffered a defeat, and fell ill and died a few months later. The chronological dislocation goes back to a source, perhaps Pollio (cf. App. 2.59, *Ill.* 12, Dio 42.11).

3 Ἀντώνιος ὑπὲρ Καίσαρος ἐν πολλοῖς ἀπειλημένου πολεμίοις φοβηθείς: P. omits what he probably knew, that C. felt that A. had missed some good chances to sail, and finally sent him a stern rebuke (*seuerius scripsit*): *Caes. B.C.* 3.25. P.'s account (§§3-6) is ultimately derived from *Caes. B.C.* 3.24-8, probably transmitted by Pollio (cf. App. 2.59 and Dio 41.48). **L. Scribonius Libo** (cf. *OCD*<sup>2</sup>) had recently defeated A.'s brother C. Antonius off the Dalmatian coast. He later played an important role in politics, supporting his son-in-law Sextus (32.1n.), but P. does not mention him again in the *Life*. πολλὰ . . . περιστήσας: cf. *Caes. B.C.* 3.24, P.'s ultimate source: with about 60 light boats A. lured five enemy quadriremes into the harbour (τριήρεσιν is imprecise, but 'trireme' is often a general word for 'galley'), took one ship, and forced the rest to withdraw. P. omits an important but less spectacular fact: A. cut off Libo from fresh water, and this forced him to abandon the blockade.

4-5 φάραγγας ἀγκιβαθεῖς 'craggs with deep water beneath them'. P. simplifies, for A.'s ships quickly made the small harbour of Nymphaeum. τοῦ κόλπου πολὺν ἐκπνεύσαντος λίβα: lit. 'the bay blew forth a great S.W. wind', an odd expression for 'a great wind blew from the bay' (cf. 48.6, *Thuc.* 2.84.2). The wind changed to the S.W. (λίψ = *Africus*, *Caes. B.C.* 3.26.5) as they entered the harbour, and they could anchor safely. μεταβαλόμενος ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς: a mistake, for A. stayed in the safety of the harbour. The error seems to arise from a misunderstanding of the stylistic figure of *Caes. B.C.* 3.27.1, *hic subitam commutationem fortunae uidere licuit* . . . σοβαρῶς combines the ideas of 'speed' and 'vigour' (LSJ I, cf. *Sert.* 17.10) with those of 'haughtiness', 'pride', and 'magnificence' (LSJ II). Cf. *Lys.* 5.1, of Lysander sailing noisily and

σοβαρῶς past the harbour where he was moored; *Sulla* 28.11; *Caes.* 45.1. A., even so soon after escaping such peril, deliberately put on a fine display with ships under full sail.

6 καὶ διεφθάρησαν οὐκ ὀλίγαι: all sixteen enemy ships were wrecked. καὶ . . . καὶ . . . καὶ . . . καὶ . . .: the accumulation of brief co-ordinate clauses conveys the rapid sequence of successes (cf. e.g. *Pomp.* 12.8, *Dtr.* 34.5): a swift release from the perils which P. has described with heavier vocabulary and more complex constructions (§§3-5). Λίσσον: the modern Lezhë, formerly Alessio, about 35 miles N. of Dyrrhachium. Lissus voluntarily came over to A., and Pompey could not stop C. from uniting with his new forces. ἐν καιρῷ . . . ἀφικόμενος: just as the good commander tends to do, cf. e.g. *Caes.* 26.3, *Phil.* 15.4, *Pomp.* 17.2, and Woodman on *Vell.* 2.75.1.

**8.1-3 the battles in Greece.** The two armies now moved to Dyrrhachium. C., though numerically inferior, sought to surround his enemy with elaborate fortifications; but Pompey forced C. to widen his circle by building his own contravallation. So long a line strained C.'s resources, and, as P. says, a series of minor engagements were fought. Pompey broke through in mid-July. C. by now faced critical problems of provision; he withdrew to Thessaly, where he won decisively at Pharsalus (9th Aug.). P. gives more detail at *Caes.* 39-46 and *Pomp.* 65-72: most ultimately derives from *Caes. B.C.* 3.41-99, probably transmitted and expanded by Pollio (cf. esp. *Caes.* 46.2). εἰς δὲ . . . ἀνέστρεψε: probably the instances of *Caes. B.C.* 3.46 and 65, both at Dyrrhachium (A. rallied the ninth Legion as it was being pursued and checked a danger by bringing reinforcements). P.'s elaboration - A.'s distinction in 'every' engagement, his reputation in the camp - is doubtless his own.

3 τὰ ὅλα 'the whole issue', *summa res*: cf. LSJ s.v. ὅλος II.2. τοῦ δ' εὐωνόμου . . . παρέδωκεν: *Caes. B.C.* 3.89.3. The battle was decided on the right wing, and A.'s role was apparently small.

4 δικτάτωρ . . . ἱππαρχον: C. was nominated dictator when the news of Pharsalus reached Rome (? Sept.). A., it seems, was named *magister equitum* (ἱππαρχος) at the same time (*Dio* 42.21.1): C. had doubtless made his wishes known by letter. At *Phil.* 2.62 Cic. denies that A. was C.'s own choice as *mag. eq.* (*Caesare ignaro*). P. knew but rejected this version: his point is precisely C.'s trust in A. (8.2), in whom he was so

soon disappointed (10.2). A. returned to Italy in Oct.–Nov. 48, and was issuing edicts as *mag. eq.* by Dec. αὐτὸς μὲν ἐδίωκε Πομπήιον . . . : C. followed Pompey to Egypt, arriving at Alexandria just after his murder (28th Sept., 48). He then became entangled in the Alexandrian War, and did not leave Egypt until June 47. This was the period of C.'s affair with Cl. (*Caes.* 48–9, cf. 25.1n., 54.6n.). After a brief spell in Asia, C. returned to Rome in Oct. 47. The Republican forces were meanwhile gathering in Africa (10.3n.).

5 ἔστι δ' ἡ ἀρχὴ . . . τὰς δ' ἄλλας καταλύουσι πάσας: P. again (cf. 5.2n, Intr., 8) explains a Roman institution. At *Cam.* 5.1, *Fab.* 9.2, 283b, and here, he insists that the dictatorship put magistracies other than the tribunate into suspension. This seems to be a mistake, shared by other Greek authors (e.g. *Plb.* 3.87.8, with Walbank's n., App. *Hann.* 12, D.H. *A.R.* 5.70.1): all magistracies regularly continued under a dictatorship. But in 47 no magistrates except tribunes were elected until C.'s return, presumably because he was not present as dictator to conduct the elections, and A. was as powerful as P. says.

### 9–13 Caesar's dictatorship

The strengths and dangers of A.'s character are traced in his relations with C. After his distinguished service C. places him in control of Italy (8); but his private life (including his marriage, 9.2n.) makes this a political catastrophe. C. reacts sternly and perceptively, dropping him from favour (10.1–3). A new marriage transforms A.'s public behaviour, and this time the effect is good (10.4–10); but once restored to C.'s favour he reverts to violence and recklessness (11–12). The Lupercalia episode is recast to emphasise A.'s responsibility for its consequences (12n.). By then we are increasingly sensing C.'s enemies. At first the menace is vague – 'people thought' A. was behaving unforgivably, his behaviour 'widened political divisions' (9.9–10.1) – but it soon becomes more precise. Brutus and Cassius are named (rather awkwardly) at 11.5–6, and A.'s behaviour soon 'gives them their fairest pretext' (12.1, cf. 13.1); 13 traces their plans. Men had once contrasted C.'s energy with A.'s vice (9.9, cf. 6.1n.), but now C. falls victim to his friends' excesses (6.7), particularly that irrespon-

sibility of A. which he had tried to curb. A. destroys C., as he will destroy himself.

**9.1 οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ:** for this conjunction of particles, a favourite of P., cf. Denniston 28-30: it denotes the 'surmounting of an obstacle recognised as considerable'. Here the force seems to be '(despite this concentration of power in A.'s hands, with only the tribunate remaining) there *was*, nevertheless, a tribune who intervened in politics . . .' For **Dolabella**, Cic.'s debauched son-in-law and tribune in 47, cf. *OCD*<sup>2</sup>, 11.3-5n. Cic. *Phil.* 2 is generous to him, omitting his tribunate. **νέος ἀνὴρ καὶ νέων πραγμάτων ὀρεγόμενος:** Dolabella's age is uncertain (R. Syme, *Hist.* 29 (1980) 432-3): probably about thirty or thirty-five. **νέα πράγματα** is an extremely rare phrase, equivalent to *nouae res*, 'revolution': **νέωτερα πράγματα**, **νεωτερισμός**, and **καινοτομία** are regular in this sense, and **καινὰ πράγματα** is also found (Cic. 14.6, [*Mor.*] 212c). P. here prefers the simple **νέα** (for which cf. Dio 45.11.3, 731b) to give the elegant play with **νέος ἀνὴρ**: cf. Philo, *Leg. ad Gaium* 190, **ἄνθρωπος οὐδὲν φρονῶν ἀνθρώπινον, νέος καὶ νεωτεροποιός**; id., *de Sobr.* 6. **χρεῶν ἀποκοπὰς:** a cancellation of debts, *nouae tabulae*. Dolabella also proposed a remission of house-rents (Dio 42.32.2): both bills continued the programme violently begun by M. Caelius Rufus the previous year (*MRR* 473). Cancellation of debts belonged to the conventional Greek stereotype of a revolutionary programme: cf. Plato *Leg.* 3.684d-e, Isoc. *Panath.* 259, *Ag.-Cl.* 8.1, 12.1, 38.5, etc. Dolabella hardly intended 'revolution' in any real sense, but, as often, P. assumes that a popular politician has revolutionary aims: cf. Pelling (3) 176. **βουλόμενον αἰεὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀρέσκειν:** the notion of A. as a *popularis* is interesting, but P. leaves it largely undeveloped in the *Life*: even here, his political line is swiftly reversed as a result of private scandal. **ἔπειθε:** imperfect, 'urged', 'tried to persuade'.

**2 Pollio**, the historian (Intr., 27-8), doubtless described these events in his work; **L. Trebellius Fides** later became a close supporter of A. in 44-43, when he himself urged a programme of *nouae tabulae*. Trebellius was certainly, and Pollio possibly, tribune in 47. **ὑπόνοια δεινὴ . . . ὥς ἀδικουμένῳ περὶ τὸν γάμον:** P. writes delicately: ctr. Cic.'s *stuprum* (below). Dio 42.31.2 gives A. a straightforward political motive: he saw that Dolabella was gaining all the popularity, while he himself was forfeiting the senate's goodwill. P. draws his version from

Cic. *Phil.* 2.99, . . . *hanc tibi esse cum Dolabella causam odi dicere ausus es quod ab eo sorori* ['cousin'] *et uxori tuae stuprum esse oblatum comperisses*. But Cic. does not date the affair or the divorce, or give them any context; P. need have no authority for placing them here, nor for saying that this was A.'s motive. The story was too good to miss, and this was the neatest setting. (He 'fabricates a context', Intr., 34.) It also suggests that A.'s private life, especially his γέμοι, are already compromising a political programme. Fulvia will shortly introduce the marriage-theme more emphatically (10.5-6).

**3 C. Antonius Hybrida** as consul played an ambiguous and sinister role in the events of 63. A.'s marriage to this Antonia was perhaps his second: Cic. several times alleges that Fadia, daughter of a freedman, bore him children (e.g. *Phil.* 2.3, *Att.* 420(16.11).1). But this may have been only a careless affair, if indeed it is not Ciceronian fantasy. Antonia bore A. a daughter, 87.1n., Bowersock 8 n. 4. τοὺς περὶ 'Ἀσίνιον': in later Greek οἱ περὶ X. can simply mean 'X.' (cf. Hamilton on *Alex.* 41.5, Holden on *Them.* 7.6, S. L. Radt, *ZPE* 38 (1980) 47-56), but here P. presumably does mean 'Asinius and his supporters': cf. 13.1, 25.2n., etc.

**3-4 ἐπολέμει . . . ἀπέβαλε**. Dio 42.29-32 gives more detail. The senate had resolved that the proposals should not be debated until C.'s return, and had empowered A. to enforce order in the city. But the troubles dragged on: Dolabella's supporters occupied the forum, but A. led in a large force, destroyed the tablets on which Dolabella's bills were inscribed, and put some ringleaders to death. The unrest lasted until C.'s return in October. Cf. Lintott 152-3.

**5-9 ὥς Κικέρων φησὶν . . .**: a powerful pastiche of several passages in *Phil.* 2. Some details have been delayed from A.'s tribunate in 49 (§§7-8nn., cf. 6.6n.), while others are advanced from the description of the outrages in Pompey's house (§§5 and 8 nn., cf. 10.3, 21.2-3 nn.). The resulting catalogue of vice is more effective for being concentrated in a single passage. P. takes Cic.'s exaggeration further: the γέμοι μίμων καὶ γελωτοποιῶν of §5 are built on the single description of Hippias' wedding (§6n.); and the golden vessels and luxurious picnics (§8) have no equivalent in the *Philippic*. P. has perhaps supplemented Cic. from a second source, but extravagance and feasting are central to P.'s conception of A., and he has probably added these details from his imagination. The style of 9.1-4 was restrained (much more could have

been made of §4); the present description is contrastingly elaborate, with bold direct vocabulary (nn.) and careful sentence-structure. Except in the self-contained anecdote of §6 there is little subordination, and the outrages are presented in cumulative lists. §5 is carefully symmetrical (cf. 71.3n.), with two pairs of complementary nouns and participles (ὑπνους καὶ περιπτότους, ἀλύοντος καὶ κραιπαλῶντος) flanked by two elaborate triads (... μέθας ... δαπάνας ... κυλινδήσεις ..., κώμους ... θέατρα ... διατριβὰς ...); then we have the controlled periodic anecdote of §6; then two less balanced sentences (§§7-8), as the shocking impressions build to the violent and crude climax of χαμαιτύπαις καὶ σαμβυκιστρίαις ἐπισταθμεύμεναι. The closing section is more solemn and balanced, with crisp military vocabulary (ἀνακαθαιρόμενον) reinforcing the contrast of C. and A. (6.1n.). P. typically 'characterises by reaction' (Intr., 40-1), assuming that Cic.'s disgust is shared by all οἱ χρηστοὶ καὶ σώφρονες (§5, cf. §9): C. follows their lead at 10.2. βδελυττομένων: an expressive word. Like Engl. 'disgust' it embraces both physical loathing for a food (LSJ 1) and distaste for others' faults and excesses: cf. 11.5, 80.3; *Nic.* 11.2, *Alc.* 16.2, 40(1).3, of reactions to the life-style of Alcibiades. μέθας ἁώρους καὶ δαπάνας ἐπαχθεῖς: from *Phil.* 2.66-7, of the dissipation in Pompey's house (10.3n.). κυλινδήσεις: a strong metaphor (like Latin *uoluto*), lit. 'rollings'. Cf. [*Mor.*] 184f, in his youth Themistocles ἐν πότοις ἐκυλινδεῖτο καὶ γυναίξιν; *Pomp.* 46.8, Plato *Polit.* 309a, Ael. Arist. 33.31 K. The word's suggestions seem general - aimless and undignified behaviour, 'cavorting' with girls - rather than specific (the erotic embraces themselves). γυναίξαις: 2.4n. ἀλύειν suggests dazed, distraught, or listless wandering: cf. 51.3, 69.1, and Holden on *Gracch.* 21.6. κραιπαλῶν denotes behaviour influenced by drink (opp. νήφειν), sometimes the revelry (e.g. 21.3), more often the next morning's hangover (as here, cf. Alexis 286, ἐχθὲς ὑπέπινες, εἴτα νυνὶ κραιπαλῆς), sometimes the drunken sleep which separates the two (Herodian 2.1.1).

6 λέγεται γοῦν . . . : from *Phil.* 2.63, but τῶν φίλων τινὸς ὑποσχόντος τὸ ἱμάτιον seems P.'s own, rather unpleasant, addition. γάμους ἐστιαθεῖς 'was guest at a wedding feast', cf. LSJ ἐστιάω II. γάμους is internal acc., as with the active γάμους ἐστιᾶν 'give a wedding feast' (*Alex.* 70.3, *Eur. Her.* 483, etc.).

7 **Sergius:** Cic. *Phil.* 2.62. **Cytheris**, with its suggestions of

Aphrodite, was the stage-name of the freedwoman Volumnia, A.'s notorious mistress. A late tradition (Serv. *Ecl.* 10.1, *de Vir. Ill.* 82.2) made her the Lycoris to whom Cornelius Gallus wrote his elegies: this is generally (perhaps too readily) accepted as true. Cf. R. G. M. Nisbet, *JRS* 69 (1979) 151-5. ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς παλαίστρας: lit. 'from the same wrestling-school'. Another striking metaphor, which is natural enough when applied to male comrades or rivals (cf. *Dtr.* 5.3, *Dion* 1.2, Plato *Gorg.* 493d5 with Dodds's n.), but sounds more coarse and dismissive when applied to a woman. ὃ δὲ καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἐπιὼν . . . ἡκολούθουν: from Cic.'s description of A.'s behaviour in 49, *Phil.* 2.58; cf. *Att.* 201(10.10).5, 208(10.16).5. (Volumnia made a similar tour in 47 (*Phil.* 2.62), but the details are drawn from the earlier passage.) καὶ τὸ φορεῖον . . . ἡκολούθουν is inexact, and P. has perhaps mistranslated Cic.'s *reiecta mater amicam impuri filii tamquam nurum sequebatur*. The name 'Cytheris' is not explicit in Cic.'s account, but P. adds it from his general knowledge.

ὃ ἐλύπουν . . . διαθέσεις: perhaps imaginary, cf. §§5-8n. στάσεις . . . διαθέσεις 'the pavilions which were set up on his journeys, . . . the lavish meals which were spread in groves or on the banks of rivers' (Scott-Kilvert). λέοντες ἄρμασιν ὑπεζευγμένοι: from Cic. *Phil.* 2.58 (§7n.). Pliny *N.H.* 8.55 comments that A. was the first man to introduce chariot-drawing lions to Rome, in the period after Pharsalus: he too mentions Cytheris as A.'s companion. Lions are oddly recurrent in A.'s career. In 49 Cic. obscurely warns Atticus to 'beware of A.'s lions' (*Att.* 205(10.13).1); A.'s coins bear lion-types in 43-2 and 38 (*RRC* nos. 489/5-6 and 533/1); and the later Sibylline oracles refer to him as a λέων (11.290). See Crawford's discussion, *RRC* II 740 n. 1. Lions were associated with both Heracles and Dionysus. σωφρόνων ἀνδρῶν . . . ἐπισταθμεύμεναι: brought forward in time and generalised from Cic.'s account of the debauches in Pompey's house, *Phil.* 2.66-9. ἐπισταθμεύμεναι: a technical term for 'billeting'; cf. *Dtr.* 23.5 for the metaphorical use. A χαμαιτύπη is a low sort of prostitute, lit. 'one who hits the ground' (rather than a bed) as she performs. A σαμβύκη was a triangular instrument with four strings: it struck shrill and improper notes (Arist. *Pol.* 1341b1, Athen. 633f) and was played by shrill and improper girls (*Ag.-Cl.* 56.3, Athen. 129a, etc.).

9 ἀνακαθαίρομενον: lit. 'clearing up' or 'out': Luc. *Alex.* 1 uses it of the cleansing of the Augean stables. For its military use, 'clear, sweep

away', cf. *Alex.* 17.5, Plato *Menex.* 241d. It sounds like the brisk slang of the barrack-room, like Engl. 'mop up'. P. bends the truth here. It was indeed a hazardous war: but, in P.'s own view, C. was spending most of his nights not in the open air (θυραυλεῖν) but in Cl.'s bed: cf. *Caes.* 48.4. But P. prefers to delay Cl. for later, and make C.'s energy the foil for A.'s excesses: cf. 6.1n. and p. 135.

**10.1 καὶ τὸ στρατιωτικὸν . . . ἀνεῖναι:** P. again stresses A.'s indulgence to his troops, cf. 4, 4.4-6 nn. Here he probably has good information from a historical source: cf. Dio 42.27.2-3.

**2 τὸ τρίτον αἰρεθεὶς ὕπατος:** for 46 (*MRR* 293). Later in 46 C. was also named dictator, with Lepidus as *mag. eq.* A. indeed fades into obscurity between 47 and 45, and (*pace* Syme 104) C. seems to have dropped him after his failure to impose order on Italy (9.3-4n.). P.'s account may here be suggested by Cic. *Phil.* 2.71.

**3 τὴν δὲ Πομπηίου πωλουμένην οἰκίαν . . .:** from Cic. *Phil.* 2.64 and esp. 71-2; at 2.66-9 Cic. dwells on A.'s excesses in his new house, but P. transfers these to 9.5-8 and 21.2-3 (nn.). **καὶ φησιν αὐτὸς . . .:** cf. 2.2n. Once again, P. need not have consulted A.'s speech at first hand. At *Phil.* 2.72 Cic. asks *quid fuit causae cur in Africam Caesarem non sequerere . . .?*, mentions C.'s demand for the money, and then puts a (doubtless imaginary) reply in A.'s own mouth: *primo respondisti plane ferociter et . . . prope modum aequa et iusta dicebas: 'A me C. Caesar pecuniam? cur potius quam ego ab illo? an sine me ille uicit? . . .'* P. seems to have taken *respondisti* and *dicebas* literally. **τῆς εἰς Λιβύην στρατείας:** while C. was in Egypt and Asia, the Republican forces had gathered in Africa: the commander was Metellus Scipio, the figurehead Cato. C. sailed for Africa in Dec. 47. The campaign was decided at Thapsus (Apr. 46); soon afterwards Cato killed himself as Utica fell, and Scipio died after a sea-skirmish. C. returned to Rome in July 46, but a new threat was now gathering in Spain, where Pompey's sons collected a sizeable force. C. set out at the end of the year, and won conclusively at Munda in March 45. He was back in N. Italy by July 45, but did not return to Rome until his triumph in Oct.

**4 ἀβελτερίας:** a relatively mild word, 'folly': P. several times contrasts it with true πανουργία, and cf. 557e, ἀβελτερίαν μὲν ἔχει μόνον, οὐδὲν δὲ δεινὸν οὐδ' ἀνήκεστον. **ἄσωτίας** 'extravagance'. **πλημμελήματα:** lit. 'wrong notes' in music, but extended metaphori-

cally to 'errors' and 'offences' of varying magnitudes. οὐκ ἀναισθήτως ... δεξάμενος: lit. 'reacting with some perception to A.'s offences'. This seems to mean only that C. 'showed that he had noticed' A.'s behaviour: cf. *Sol.* 20.1, *Galba* 23.5.

5 ἀπαλλαγείς γὰρ ἐκείνου τοῦ βίου: P. here sharpens the contrast between the excesses (9) and A.'s new self-control: (a) he transfers the excesses in Pompey's house (46 B.C.) to a year earlier (9.5–9n.); (b) he neglects a hint at Cic. *Phil.* 2.77 that the affair with Cytheris went on after the marriage to Fulvia; (c) he omits a striking story from Cic. *Phil.* 2.74 (cf. Cic. *Marc.* 21), A.'s alleged part in an attempt on C.'s life in 46. (Here he was also perhaps reluctant to duplicate the story of 13.2.) **Fulvia** (*OCD*<sup>2</sup>) married first Clodius, then Curio (5.2n.), then, at some time between 47 and 45, A.; P. makes her imperious and energetic (cf. 30.4, φύσει μὲν οὖσαν πολυπράγμονα καὶ θρασύϊαν), and she dominates the submissive A., a genuine precursor of Cl.; but Fulvia's domination here regenerates A. as a public figure, while Cl.'s later destroys him. This portrayal suits the emphases of the *Life* (2.4–8, 9.2nn., Intr., 33), but is rather individual to P. Other sources, doubtless following contemporary propaganda, stress rather Fulvia's cruelty and greed (e.g. App. 4.29, Dio 47.8, cf. 20.4n. and 21.1n.; Cic. *Phil.* 13.18, *non modo auarissimae sed etiam crudelissimae uxoris*). P. omits those traits as irrelevant, and leaves us with a character who is powerful but rather flat. Sh.'s brief strokes give her more substance ('shrill-tongued Fulvia', 1.1.32) and warmth (11.11.65–8). Cf. 30.4n., Intr., 42. **ταλασίαν** 'spinning'. Wool-spinning and weaving had suggested a dutiful wife from the *Iliad* onwards; but the idea took special root at Rome (cf. Ogilvie on Livy 1.57.9), and P.'s language may owe something to a Roman source or at least to Roman ideas. **γύναιον**: dismissive, cf. 2.4n. – Fulvia was no little woman. **ἄρχοντος ἄρχειν καὶ στρατηγούντος στρατηγεῖν**: powerful language, but the idea is familiar. The elder Cato, commenting on γυναικοκρατία, is made to remark that 'all men rule their wives – but we Romans rule all men, and our wives rule us' (*C. Mai.* 8.4–5); cf. *Them.* 18.7, *Per.* 24. Fulvia is also a politically more alert equivalent of the *domina* of Latin elegy, and A.'s unexpected return in §§7–9 is 'precisely in the ethos of elegy' (Griffin 22): cf. Intr., 35.

6 διδασκάλια 'teacher's fee', a sense of the word apparently confined to P. The metaphor is continued by πεπαιδαγωγημένον, and it recurs with Cl. (διεπαιδαγώγει τὸν Ἀντώνιον, 29.1). **γυναικοκρατίας**:

Dindorf's emendation for γυναικοκρασίας (codd.). γυναικοκρασία, 'female temper' (κράσις), seems the right reading at 20a, dealing with soft luxury; but here and at *Ag.-Cl.* 54.1 (cf. 58.12) we need a reference to female *domination* of men, and for this γυναικοκρατία is the *mot juste* (cf. e.g. *C. Mai.* 8.4, cited above; Dio 60.2.4, Claudius ἐδουλοκρατήθη καὶ ἐγυναικοκρατήθη). Ἀντωνίου is therefore obj. gen., 'female domination of A.'

**7–10 A.'s unexpected return**, mainly drawn from Cic. *Phil.* 2.76–8. P. again adds imaginative detail: πρὶν ἢ τὰ γράμματα . . . ἀναγινώσκειν . . . has no authority in Cic., nor does the 'rumour that C. was dead'. The detail elaborates the contrast between the foolery and the sombre political context, and Fulvia's deep concern. This trait – playfulness at a critical time – will also reappear with Cl.: cf. esp. 28.1–2, 29.1–30.2. οἷον ὅτε . . . 'for instance . . .' as at §10, P. implies that he knows of other pranks (cf. 1.11n.); but *Phil.* 2 has no similar cases, and P.'s knowledge of Fulvia from elsewhere was probably limited. μετὰ τὴν ἐν Ἰβηρίαι νύκην: P. misdates: the episode belongs to early March 45, before Munda (Cic. *Phil.* 2.78, *Att.* 256(12.18a).1). A. was on his way to Spain, but got no further than Narbo, then returned suddenly to Rome, where he was needed (according to Cic.) to prevent his property being sold up. P. confuses or conflates this with the journey later in the year (11.1–2): cf. Denniston on Cic. *Phil.* 2.34.

**11.1 Ἐκ δ' Ἰβηρίας ἐπανίοντι**: in summer 45 A. journeyed to Narbo to meet C. (13nn.). Cic. *Phil.* 2.78 mentions A.'s journey and his reconciliation with C., but not the details of the seating (§2). These sound authentic (cf. Vell. 2.59.3) and presumably come from a historical source. For the carefully staged *adventus* cf. 8on.

**2 D. Iunius Brutus Albinus** (*OCD*<sup>s</sup> 'Brutus' (6)) had recently put down a revolt in n. Gaul. P. specifies Ἀλβῖνον to distinguish him from M. Brutus. τὸν τῆς ἀδελφῆς υἱόν: O. was in fact C.'s *great-nephew*, son of his niece Atia. Here and at 16.1 ἀδελφῆς might be emended to ἀδελφιδῆς (niece) or υἱὸν to υἱόνον (grandson), but it is more likely that P. has made a mistake. He gets it right at *Brut.* 22.1 (ἀδελφιδῆς). ὃς μετὰ ταῦτα Καῖσαρ ὠνομάσθη: born 'C. Octavius', he technically became 'C. Iulius Caesar Octavianus' when adopted by C. in his will. He preferred to be known simply as 'Caesar', and from 44 to 27 B.C.

contemporaries generally knew him by that name. P. follows them in the  *Lives*.

3 τὸ πέμπτον ἀπεδείχθη Καῖσαρ ὑπατος: for 44 (*MRR* 135). He also continued as dictator, with Lepidus as *mag. eq.* ἐβούλετο δὲ . . . παρεγγυῆσαι: C. was on the point of leaving on his Parthian expedition when he was murdered; he had wished Dolabella to replace him as consul on his departure. P. draws most of his information on the quarrels of A. and Dolabella from Cic. *Phil.* 2.79-84 but adds some circumstantial detail.

4 Ἀντωνίου δὲ τραχέως ἀντιπεσόντος: in the senate on 1st Jan. 44.

5 ἀνηγόρευσε: du Soul's easy correction of the MSS ἀναγορεῦσαι, which would be an inf. of purpose, 'went forward to announce': that construction is very rare after verbs of motion in classical prose (*MT* 772, K.-G. II.2 16-17), and, though more frequent in post-Hellenistic writing (B.-D. §390), is still rare in P. With ἀναγορεῦσαι the sentence is anyway clumsy: δέ after Ἀντωνίου, connecting the two participial clauses, is especially awkward; but with ἀνηγόρευσε the δέ naturally links the two halves of the co-ordinate sentence. This episode took place at the *comitia* for Dolabella's election as consul in early 44. P. speaks as if the appointment was in C.'s gift, an excusable simplification: C.'s *commendatio* would normally have decided the issue, with the election a formality. εἶξε καὶ προήκατο: a mistake: it seems that the election was carried through, though its validity remained in question. C. was due to speak on this in the senate on the Ides of March. Dolabella afterwards secured the assent of both A. and the Liberators to his succession.

6 ἐδόκει δὲ κάκεινον οὐδὲν ἥττον τοῦ Ἀντωνίου βδελύττεσθαι . . . : P. is eager to move his emphasis to the Liberators (above, p. 135), and naturally wishes to include C.'s 'lean and hungry' judgement. This was the least unsuitable context, but the transition remains forced: C.'s words show not that he 'loathed' Dolabella and A. (βδελύττεσθαι, 9.5n.) but that he did not regard them as threats. μὴ δεδιέναι τοὺς παχεῖς τούτους καὶ κομήτας . . . : παχεῖς suggests slow wits (*LSJ* III) as well as stoutness, while long hair was typical of dissolute, wealthy youths who took care of their appearance (*Pherecrates* 14; *Dover* on *Ar. Clouds* 14). ὠχροὺς καὶ λεπτοὺς by contrast suggests not only austerity but also the weakness thought typical of the studious intellectual (*Dover* on *Ar. Clouds* 103). P. tells this story three times (cf.

*Caes.* 62.10, *Brut.* 8.2), and probably draws it from his reading for *Brut.*: cf. Intr., 29, Pelling (1) 86-7. Βροῦτον <λέγων> καὶ Κάσσιον 'meaning Brutus and Cassius . . .' Ziegler's supplement <λέγων> (cf. *Brut.* 8.2, *Caes.* 62.10) improves the sentence's flow and makes it clear that C. merely 'meant' Brutus and Cassius; the MSS reading would suggest that he *named* them.

**12 The Lupercalia.** On 26th Jan. 44, when returning to Rome from a festival on the Alban Mount, C. was acclaimed king by the people; he replied that he was a Caesar, not a Rex. At about the same time his statue on the Rostra was decorated by a laurel wreath and diadem (§7n.). On 15th Feb. came this incident at the Lupercalia. Finally it was rumoured that the senate would be asked to declare him king of Rome's Eastern territories.

P. found a detailed account of the Lupercalia episode at Cic. *Phil.* 2.84-7; App. 2.109 and Dio 44.11 suggest that Pollio also told the story. Nic. Dam. 71-5 gives a rather different account, but his detail looks like a crude attempt to blacken C.'s enemies. P. gives another version at *Caes.* 61. The incident's interpretation has been controversial since antiquity - various guesses are recorded by Dio 44.11.3, 46.17-19 and Nic. Dam. 73-4 - and the debate still continues (bibliography in H. Gesche, *Caesar* (Darmstadt 1976) 154-61; cf. esp. Weinstock 331-40). (1) Perhaps A. acted on his own initiative. If so, he may (a) genuinely have wished C. to take the title of king, or to force his hand; or (b) have hoped to gratify C. with a welcome gesture; or (c) have wished to discredit or embarrass him. (2) But it is more reasonable to assume that A. would not have risked this gesture without C.'s prior encouragement. If so, C. may (a) have aimed for kingship, and intended to accept the diadem if the people reacted favourably; or (b) have wished to make a public gesture of his *refusal* to become king; or (c) have intended this as a test of public opinion, if he was himself unsure. P.'s own view emerges more clearly in *Caes.*: C. wanted the title of king (*Caes.* 60.1); the Lupercalia incident was an 'experiment' (πείρα) which was seen to fail (61.7); the applause for A. was preconcerted (61.5). But the episode's main significance was C.'s outrageous treatment of the tribunes (61.1: P. was in fact wrong to associate this with the Lupercalia, §7n.). C. himself was therefore to blame for his consequent unpopularity (62.1). *Ant.* alters the emphasis.

There are still hints that C. wanted to accept the diadem (§§4, 6 nn.); but there is no prearrangement, and A. seems to be acting independently. It is therefore A. who now causes C.'s unpopularity (§1), and C.'s dismissal of the tribunes is narrated only perfunctorily (§7). P. here follows Cic. in *Phil.* 2, who puts all the blame on A. But P.'s treatment also suits his own themes: A. again imperils C. (cf. 6.7n., 9.9n., 10.1), and his irresponsibility again has shattering consequences.

In *J.C.* 1.ii Sh. exploits the Lupercalia (which he combines with C.'s triumph over Pompey) for a different purpose, the contrast of C.'s superhuman position and his mortal frailty. C. finally collapses in an epileptic fit (244ff.); cf. the earlier mentions of his fever (120) and his deafness (210). This was perhaps suggested by an incidental point at *Caes.* 60.6-7, just before the Lupercalia account, when C. mentions his epilepsy to excuse his failure to rise from his seat (§6n.): a striking example of Shakespearian transformation.

**2 The Lupercalia** (*OCD*<sup>2</sup>) took place on 15th Feb.: P. again explains the Roman term (*Intr.*, 8), cf. *Rom.* 21.4 τοῦνομα δὲ τῆς ἑορτῆς ἑλληνιστὶ σημαίνει Λύκαια. To the two ancient colleges of *luperci* (the *Fabiani* and *Quinctiales*) had recently been added a third, the *luperci Iulii*, in C.'s honour; A. was their captain. P. knew a fair amount about this festival (cf. *Rom.* 21, *Caes.* 61.2-3, 280b-c). Its origins are obscure (cf. Ogilvie on Livy 1.5.1-2), but it was usually associated in some way with Romulus. C. was certainly representing himself as Romulus' heir in other ways, for instance in having his own statue erected in the temple of Quirinus, and this perhaps seemed an appropriate festival for the offer of kingship (cf. Dio 46.19.6). κεκοσμημένος ἐσθῆτι θριαμβικῇ καὶ καθήμενος ὑπὲρ βήματος: cf. *Caes.* 61.4. P.'s ἐσθῆτι θριαμβικῇ seems a mistake. C. had indeed been granted the right to wear triumphal dress, but had also been allowed 'the dress which the kings once wore' (Dio 43.43.1, 44.4.2, 44.6.1; Weinstock 107-9, 271). As Dio's description of the Lupercalia suggests (ἐσθῆτι τῇ βασιλικῇ κεκοσμημένος, 44.11.2), C. was wearing this 'regal', rather than triumphal, dress. The triumphal toga was a *toga picta* of purple embroidered with gold, but C. was wearing a *toga purpurea* (Cic. *Phil.* 2.85, Nic. Dam. 71) - an unembroidered, less flamboyant purple cloak, of the type associated with the early kings (*Rom.* 14.5, 26.2). C. also wore a *corona* (Cic.) of gold (Dio), presumably the crown visible on his coin-portraits, which is better seen as a version of the jewelled *corona aurea* of

the triumphator than as part of the ancient regal insignia: cf. Crawford, *RRC* 1488 n. 1. The 'golden throne' (cf. 16.5n.) mentioned in *Caes.* and elsewhere was a further honour granted in early 44; it is possibly depicted on coins of 43 (*RRC* no. 491). This was not among the triumphal insignia, and may be an emblem of kingship or divinity (Weinstock 272-3, 281-4). It clearly caused offence (Suet. *Iul.* 76.1).

Some of these insignia suggest the ancient kings, some the triumphator, some Hellenistic monarchy or divinity: C. drew from each tradition what he found attractive. But they did not imply that C. was *already* 'king'. The Roman people were not antiquarians or theorists: they may not have known quite what to make of C.'s insignia, but in their eyes the diadem could still be offered and refused as signifying a *regnum* which he did not yet possess. ὑπὲρ βήματος: C. sat on the Rostra – the orators' platform between the Comitium and the Forum, decorated with the beaks of ships captured in 338: *OCD*<sup>s</sup> s.v. One sits 'on' a platform, not 'over' it, and we should perhaps read ἐπὶ for ὑπὲρ. But P. may unthinkingly have carried over ὑπὲρ from his formulation at *Caes.* 61.4, where ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἐμβόλων = 'above the Rostra'. The beaks decorated the front of the platform, and C. genuinely sat 'above' them. διαθέοντας 'running to and fro'. εὐγενῶν 'patricians': cf. *Sulla* 1.1, Pelling (3) 178 n. 81. λασίῳς 'shaggy', is the right word for goatskin (e.g. Theocr. *Id.* 7.15, *Ep.* 4.17).

3 διάδημα δὲ δάφνης στεφάνῳ περιελίξας: the 'diadem', a simple headband, usually white, had become a symbol of royalty among Hellenistic kings. It was familiar at Rome: first-century coins represent the old Roman kings with a diadem (*RRC* nos. 425, 446), and Ti. Gracchus and Pompey were accused of 'aiming for a diadem'. Cf. E. Rawson, *JRS* 65 (1975) 156-7; Weinstock 333-40 suggests that A.'s offer of the diadem reproduced an Eastern coronation ritual. *Caes.* 61.5 and Nic. Dam. 71 agree that a laurel crown was wound around the diadem. Yet C. was already wearing a *golden* crown, and we might expect A. to offer a diadem alone. There may be a confusion with the occasion a few weeks earlier (§7n.), when C.'s statue was crowned by a laurel wreath and diadem; or the laurel may simply have been used to conceal the diadem until it was offered.

4 θρυπτομένου 'putting on a show of refusal'. The word can simply mean 'ostentatiously deny' (*Lucull.* 41.6, *Sulla* 6.14), but in that use it almost always implies a disingenuous refusal, soon to be withdrawn.

Cf. Plato *Phdr.* 228c, 236c, . . . ἐπεθύμει μὲν λέγειν, ἔθρύπτετο δέ. Here too P. seems to hint that C. really wanted the diadem, despite his show of reluctance.

5 τὰ τῶν βασιλευμένων 'the state of those who are ruled by a king', cf. *Numa* 2.6, 3.1, *Popl.* 1.2. An interesting generalisation: the Romans' 'readiness to be ruled' has wider significance for the *Life* (cf. e.g. 15.5). For the idea cf. App. *proem.* 6-7, Dio 53.17.2. κατάλυσιν: the word regularly denotes the 'destruction' of a constitution or a powerful man (14.5); cf. Hamilton on *Alex.* 1.1.

6 ἀνέστη . . . : C. also ordered an entry to be made in the *fasti*: C. *Caesari, dictatori perpetuo, M. Antonium consulem populi iussu* [!] *regnum detulisse; Caesarem uti noluisse* (Cic. *Phil.* 2.87). ἀχθεσθείς: the context, especially C.'s baring of his throat, suggests that in P.'s view C. was vexed by the popular reaction, not by A.'s offer of the diadem. τὸ ἱμάτιον ἀπάγων . . . : at *Caes.* 60.6 P. places this earlier: C. did not rise to greet the magistrates and senate as they approached to offer him honours; but then he sensed their displeasure, and as he left he bared his neck, crying that anyone was free to strike. P. has probably deliberately displaced the story in *Ant.*

7 τὸν δὲ στέφανον ἐνὶ τῶν ἀνδριάντων αὐτοῦ περιτεθέντα: an error, shared with Nic. Dam. 75. C. in fact sent the diadem to the temple of Capitoline Jupiter, 'the only king in Rome' (*Caes.* 61.8, Dio 44.11.3, etc.). P. or his source has conflated this with the episode several weeks earlier, when C.'s statue was found decorated with a laurel wreath and diadem: the tribunes C. Epidius Marullus and L. Caesetius Flavus removed the diadem, found the culprit, and put him in prison. C. deprived the tribunes of office and they fled from Rome: cf. Weinstock 319-20, G. Dobesch, *Festschrift Kraus* (Wien 1972) 78-92, H. Kloft, *Hist.* 29 (1980) 315-34. εὐφημῶν μετὰ κρότου 'shouting their approval'.

13 **The conspiracy.** More detail at *Caes.* 62-6 and especially *Brut.* 10-17, cf. Pelling (1) 77-9, 86-7; Gelzer 324-9. This clumsy narrative illuminates P.'s methods (Intr., 34-5). (a) Trebonius' earlier sounding of A. (§2) is drawn from Cic. *Phil.* 2.34, addressing A., *quem et Narbone hoc consilium* [killing C.] *cum C. Trebonio cepisse notissimum est et ob eius consili societatem cum interficeretur Caesar, tum te a Trebonio uidimus seuocari*. P. adds imaginary detail. A. now shares a tent with Trebonius, who

broaches the subject 'delicately and cautiously'; and P. stresses (an easy inference) that A. neither joined the plot nor revealed it to C. (b) The story of Trebonius fits uneasily into this context. The suggestion that A. might be approached comes awkwardly after his subservient antics at the Lupercalia; little is made of the astonishing item of A.'s knowledge of the plot; the proposal to kill A. (§3) is introduced inconsequentially – his 'faithful silence' hardly gives a reason for killing him; and Trebonius is oddly not named in the final sentence (§4n.). The awkwardness presumably arises from the blending of two sources, Cic. and Pollio (cf. App. 2.113-14, *Brut.* 10-12, 18.3-5, etc.). (c) The insertion apparently involved further fabrication. Cic. mentions only the Narbo conversation and Trebonius' distraction of A. on the Ides of March. Neither Cic. nor any other source confirms that the conspirators *now* considered approaching A., or that Trebonius told his colleagues of his earlier conversation.

1 καταλέγοντες 'enlisting', an official-sounding word. Suet. *Iul.* 80.4 implausibly says that there were more than sixty conspirators, Nic. Dam. 59 (unless corrupt) more than eighty. About twenty are known by name: cf. Syme 57-9, 95.

2 προσιεμένων 'were eager to admit' or 'welcome' A.: cf. e.g. 48f, 96d, *Alex.* 71.7. For C. Trebonius, trib. 55 and cos. 45, cf. *OCD*<sup>2</sup>, 15.1n.

2 ὅφ' ὃν χρόνον 'at the time when . . .': LSJ ὑπό III.1. ἀπήντων: P. speaks as if both A. and Trebonius 'went to meet' C. in 45 (cf. I I.1). In fact Trebonius went to Spain to fight, not just to meet C. (cf. Cic. *Fam.* 207(15.21), 208(15.20).3 with Shackleton Bailey's nn.). A. probably met him at Narbo on his return in summer 45. P. is elaborating the version of Cic. *Phil.* 2.34 (quoted above), and misinterprets that passage. συσκηνοῦντος: probably P.'s elaboration. Officers in fact did not normally share tents (*C. Min.* 9.2), and P. may have been misled by his knowledge of the Latin term *contubernalis*: it need not follow that the word stood in a source. ἄψασθαι τῆς γνώμης: lit. 'touched on (A.'s) opinion' concerning a plot against C., i.e. sounded his views.

3 ἐχώλυσε δὲ Βροῦτος: *Brut.* 18.4-5 is very similar, but adds that Brutus hoped that A., 'an accomplished and ambitious man who was passionate for honour, might join his country in its quest for liberty, once C. was dead'. Cf. also Cic. 43.1, where Cic. knows that 'A. was on good terms with Brutus'; *Brut.* 29.10. In *Ant.* itself P. omits this aspect.

A. is shown as having honourable traits, and he can indeed be stimulated towards nobility: but this potential for *political* Republicanism would be discordant. Here he will rather play his part in guiding Rome towards monarchy (cf. 12.5).

4 ἐνίους τῶν ἐκ τῆς συνωμοσίας: curiously imprecise. As P. knew from both Cic. *Phil.* 2.34 and Pollio (cf. App. 2.117, Dio 44.19.1), Trebonius himself delayed A. outside the senate; we should expect P. to name him. *Brut.* 17.2 does name Trebonius in this context, but, oddly, at *Caes.* 66.4 it is D. Brutus who distracts A. That is probably a simple slip (Pelling (1) 79), but ἐνίους here looks like deliberate fudging: P. is perhaps conscious of the inconsistency between his other two versions.

#### 14-22 From the Ides of March to Philippi

An important, tightly-written, section, in which A. responds to intense challenges, and P. traces his strengths and weaknesses in a series of sharp contrasts. He first points A.'s statesmanship after Cl.'s murder with a powerful vignette as 'he left the senate the most glorious man alive' (14.4n.): this is the height of his glory and power. But the glory soon vanishes, as he yields to impulse and Rome is disgusted by his despotism (15.5); then he loses the power as well, for his bluster is no match for O.'s shrewdness (16.5-8n.). At Mutina he is crushed (17.1-2), and the contrast with the brilliant figure of 14.4 is complete. In adversity he again reveals his strengths (17.3-6), and Lepidus' troops find him irresistible (18); by 18.8 he is once more formidable, and returns to take vengeance. In Rome he commits terrible outrages (19-21.1), and his private debauchery makes matters worse (21.1-5). He turns to war again, and at Philippi (22) he is again a finer man. The contrast is pointed by his generosity towards Brutus' corpse (22.6-8), so different from his mockery of the dead Cic. (20.4). Away from Rome, in the battlefield's clear air, such pettiness is behind him.

The contrasts are simple and P. draws them in the firmest lines. His moral commentary is unusually direct, both in praise (14.4, 17.4-6) and in blame (15.5, 19.4, 20.4). (Though he confines the moralism to A. himself: there is no criticism of *Octavian's* demagoguery (ctr. *Brut.* 22.3),

nor of the troops' venality (ctr. *Brut.* 23.1); no wistfulness for the death of freedom at Philippi (ctr. 89(2).2-3, *Brut.* 29.9, App. 4.138, Dio 47.39.) P. has to distort considerably to keep his contrasts sharp. A. showed political astuteness through most of this period, not just in the days after the murder (15.5, 16.5-8 nn.). There was more to his wooing of Lepidus' army than his irresistible rapport with ordinary troops (18.2-6n.). His excesses were not particularly prominent at the time of the proscriptions, and P. displaces material from earlier (21.1-5n.). And A. hardly left his excesses behind him at Rome; at *Brut.* 45.6-9 P. makes capital of his 'mime-actors and jesters' at Philippi (cf. 24.2n.). No mention of them here.

In concentrating so sharply on A., P. leaves much of the narrative background obscure. Many complexities are left untouched (e.g. 14.5, 16.5-8, 16.8, 19.1 nn.), and several details are given so allusively that they bewilder an uninformed reader (16.1, 19.1, 21.5, 22.6 nn.). In particular, P. limits most of the narrative to Italy, and omits the startling gains of the Liberators in the East: Brutus and Cassius disappear between 15.1 (April 44) and 21.5 (autumn 42). (Combining the two simultaneous sequences was admittedly an intractable narrative problem: Vell. 2.68, Dio 47.20-36, and to an extent Livy *Per.* 121 all proceed similarly.) P. consequently ignores the impact of these successes on Italian politics, especially the pressure they imposed on the Caesarians to unite (19.1n., 21.5). Cf. Intr., 12.

**14.1-4** C. was killed at about 11 a.m. on 15 March, 44: cf. esp. N. Horsfall, *GR* 21 (1974) 191-9. The events of the next two days are confused and controversial: the most likely sequence is this. In the tumult which followed the murder, the Liberators marched gloriously to the Capitol. Later that day they returned to the forum to test public opinion: Brutus was heard in respectful silence, but there was an angry reaction to the praetor Cinna, and they returned to the Capitol. On that evening they opened negotiations with A. and Lepidus; during the night Lepidus' troops occupied the forum, while A. secured C.'s papers from his widow Calpurnia. Next day there were consultations among the Caesarian leaders, with Lepidus and Balbus (we are told) favouring the use of arms against the Liberators, while Hirtius and A. spoke for conciliation (Nic. Dam. 106). The senate met on the morning of the 17th. A. again urged compromise, while Cic. and Munatius Plancus

also supported an amnesty. The senate agreed that C.'s *acta* should be ratified, but the assassins themselves should be spared; C. should be given a public funeral, and his will should be read. After this sitting the Liberators, encouraged by the popular reaction to another speech of Brutus on the Capitol, agreed to accept the sons of A. and Lepidus as hostages and return to the forum.

P. found a full narrative in Pollio. Here he gives a very simplified version; he has more detail, not all of it accurate, at *Cic.* 42, *Caes.* 67-8, and esp. *Brut.* 18-20. Here, in particular: (a) he puts the offer of A.'s son as hostage *before* the vital meeting in the senate: *ctr. Brut.* 19.2, *App.* 2.142. This leaves A.'s glorious departure from the senate (§4) as the climax of this conciliatory phase: a very effective stroke. (b) He concentrates sharply on A. Elsewhere he makes more of Lepidus, Plancus, and Cic. (*Caes.* 67.2, *Cic.* 42.3, *Brut.* 19.1). (c) At *Brut.* 19.3-5 he describes a second meeting of the senate, apparently on 18th March, and says that the provinces were assigned at that sitting. Therefore he has either conflated two sittings in *Ant.* or, more probably (§3n.), fabricated a second sitting in *Brut.* (d) At *Brut.* 20.1-2 it is A. who insists that C.'s will should be read, and that he should be buried publicly. Here there is no mention of this. A.'s inflammatory funeral speech here seems to be given on a momentary impulse (§7). Had his pressure for the public funeral been included, his behaviour might have seemed more calculated. (In *Brut.* the point is rather the unworldliness of Brutus, who does not foresee the dangers of such a display; Cassius is more acute, 20.1.) ἐσθῆτα θεράποντος μεταλαβών: 'part of the stock-in-trade of escape stories' (R. G. M. Nisbet on *Cic. Pis.* 92, cf. Woodman on *Vell.* 2.41.2, T.E.V. Pearce, *CQ* 20 (1970) 319-20), and hard to believe. ἔκρυψεν αὐτόν: he returned to his house (*Cic. Phil.* 2.88) and barricaded himself inside (*App.* 2.118). Nearly all our sources emphasise A.'s fearfulness (esp. *Dio* 44.22.2) - an example of the hostile tendency of the tradition. Cf. 15.1n.

2 δμηρον . . . τὸν υἱόν: the Liberators doubtless found their hostage a handful: he was not more than two years old (28.7n.). Lepidus' son, a rather older boy, also went as hostage to the Capitol. Κάσσιον μὲν αὐτὸς ἐδείπνισε: according to *Dio* 44.34.7, A. casually asked Cassius at dinner if he was still carrying a dagger. 'Yes,' he replied, 'a big one - in case you want to play the tyrant yourself.'

3 συναγαγὼν δὲ βουλὴν: in the temple of Tellus, on 17th March.

διανομῆς ἐπαρχιῶν. P. is confused about these provinces. (a) At *Brut.* 19.4-5 he says that Crete was assigned to M. Brutus, 'Libya' (Cyrenaica, cf. 61.2n.) to Cassius, Asia to Trebonius, Bithynia to Tillius Cimber, and Cisalpine Gaul to D. Brutus. That list confuses two distinct groups. Trebonius, Cimber, and D. Brutus had probably been assigned their provinces for 44 by C., and the senate now confirmed these: all three duly departed within a few weeks (15.1n.). But M. Brutus and Cassius were praetors in 44, and would not normally take provinces until 43. The praetorian provinces for 43 had not been assigned when C. died. P.'s error perhaps derives from an error or ambiguity in Pollio: cf. App. 3.2 *al.*, Dio 47.20.2, 47.21.1. (b) Only the provinces of Trebonius, Cimber, and D. Brutus could therefore have been assigned or confirmed in the days after C.'s death, and this was naturally a sensitive question. Here P. speaks as if the provinces were included in the principal debate on 17th March, but in *Brut.* he says that they were discussed on the following day. That is probably a further mistake (Pelling (1) 86 n. 90): the senate does not seem to have met on that day, and the provinces were probably included in the discussion of 17th March. Despite the question's importance, possibly no special decree was passed: the confirmation of C.'s *acta* would naturally embrace his allocation of provinces for 44.

4 ἐξήκει δὲ τῆς βουλῆς λαμπρότατος ἀνθρώπων: a fine visual tableau, leaving a memorable portrait of A. in his greatest hour: for the technique, cf. e.g. 26, 26.6-7, 77.2, 85 nn., *Cic.* 22.5-8, *Pomp.* 57.2-4, *Dion* 28.3, *Mar.* 27.8-9. P.'s enthusiasm for this settlement is again clear at *Brut.* 19.4 and esp. *Caes.* 67.9: 'all thought that the crisis had been settled, and the best possible compromise had been imposed' (σύγκρασις ἀπειληθέναι τὴν ἀρίστην, perhaps an echo of Thuc. 8.97.2). This praise is striking. A.'s actions soon became clouded in propaganda: Nic. Dam. 101-6 has some unfriendly touches, and hostility is also visible in Dio. But App. 2.118-48 is generally fair to A. (cf. Gabba 147-50, though he exaggerates this 'philo-Antonian' tendency): that was probably the tenor of Pollio's narrative, and it has influenced P. Cic. too stresses that the 17th marked the climax of A.'s statesmanship, and like P. contrasts this with the later outrages: cf. *Phil.* 1.2, 1.31, and esp. 2.90. P. knew at least the last passage, and may have been influenced by it. ἀνηρημέναι δοκῶν ἐμφύλιον πόλεμον: giving the impression that he had 'removed' or 'eliminated' civil war: the first of

several striking phrases. *πράγμασι δυσκολίας ἔχουσι καὶ ταραχὰς οὐ τὰς τυχούσας*: lit. 'events which carried difficulties and disturbances to an unusual degree' – an echo of Dem. 5.1, ὁρῶ μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὰ παρόντα πράγματα πολλὴν δυσκολίαν ἔχοντα καὶ ταραχήν . . .

5 ἐξέσεισεν 'shook him out of' these moderate counsels, another forceful phrase: cf. 78b and esp. Arr. *Diss. Epic.* 4.9.10. ἡ παρὰ τῶν ὅχλων δόξα: P. characteristically stresses *popular* acclaim (cf. e.g. 9.1 and Pelling (3)), and is insensitive to other factors, particularly military and paramilitary forces. (a) D. Brutus' gladiators played a part on the day of the murder, protecting the assassins as they went to the Capitol. P. does mention them at *Brut.* 12.5, but fleetingly. (b) Then troops became important: on Lepidus' orders a legion occupied the forum on the night of 15th March, and during the debate of the 17th the senate was surrounded. (c) C.'s veterans were a vital factor. Believing their land-allotments threatened, they exacted a specific senatorial decree to guarantee these, and Brutus too gave them some early assurances (App. 2.135, 140-1). App. and Nic. Dam. are more sensitive to these political realities. Cf. Pelling (3) 180-1. καταλυθέντος 'destroyed', 12.5n.

**6-8 The funeral speech.** The elaborate period of §§7-8 collects the ways in which A. spoke and acted to unleash so much emotion and violence: it contrasts with the more clipped style of §§1-6, especially the description of the restrained measures of §§1-3.

C. was buried probably on 20th March, the day after the reading of his will (16.1n.). The nature and motives of A.'s speech are controversial. Cic.'s remarks at the time suggest an emotional performance, and he blames A. for the ensuing violence (*Phil.* 2.91, cf. *Att.* 346(14.10).1). App. 2.144-7 gives an elaborate and circumstantial version: A. begins by reciting the senate's decrees in C.'s honour, interspersing some passionate comments; he then leads the crowd in a frenzied dirge; finally he brings them to a climax of rage by waving C.'s blood-spattered toga. A wax-image of C. and his wounds is then displayed, and the crowd rush to action. P.'s version here and at *Brut.* 20.4 looks like an abbreviation of App.'s material, and both authors probably derive from Pollio. Dio 44.36-49 gives an evidently fictitious version. But Suet. *Iul.* 84.2 differs substantially from App. and P.: a herald recites the honorific decree and the oath which all had sworn for C.'s safety, and A. adds only a few words. Perceptive scholars follow Suet.

and believe that A.'s speech was restrained: so e.g. Syme 98 n. 1, Gabba 150-1, Yavetz 68-9, A. Alföldi, *Studien über Caesars Monarchie* (Lund 1953) 55-8, 64-6. But if App. and P. derive from Pollio their version deserves respect, and Suet.'s version may itself be a trivialisation of the first part of App.'s account; most, though not all, of App.'s detail is plausible in ritual terms (Weinstock 346-55); and A., even though conciliatory, would still gain from a demonstration of popular fury, for he alone looked able to control it.

Sh. knew of Brutus' 'Laconic' style from *Brut.* 2.5-8 and A.'s 'Asianism' from *Ant.* 2.8: he elaborated P.'s remarks here and at *Brut.* 20 into the famous speeches in *J.C.* III.ii. In many ways Sh.'s speech is 'the speech which A. might well have wished to make' (R. A. G. Carson, *History Today* 7 (1955) 146), and fits the historical setting as Sh. knew it from P. But the premeditated finesse with which Sh.'s A. plays on the popular feelings is alien to P.'s more simple character, who reacts impulsively to the people's mood.

6 ὥσπερ ἔθος ἦν ἐν ἀγοραῖ διέξιὼν ἐγκώμιον: for the *laudatio funebris* see *OCD* s.v., M. Durry, *Éloge funèbre d'une matrone romaine* (Paris 1950) xi-xxii. ἐν ἀγοραῖ 'in the forum': the regular place, at least for members of the nobler families.

7 ἀγόμενον καὶ κηλούμενον 'stirred and spellbound', cf. *Cor.* 18.1. Speakers have 'charmed' or 'beguiled' their audiences since Homer (e.g. *Od.* 17.521, θέλγειν, with Macleod 7-8). οἶκτον ἅμα καὶ δείνωσιν ἐπὶ τῷ πάθει: in rhetorical criticism οἶκτος is not merely the audience's 'pity' but also the passages which arouse it (Latin *commiseratio*); δείνωσις is 'intensification' of a feeling of outrage, *rebus indignis asperis invidiosis addens uim oratio* (Quint. 6.2.24). Cf. esp. D.H. *Lys.* 19. παλαμναίους καὶ ἀνδροφόνους: ἀνδροφόνος is simply 'murderer'; παλαμναῖος is more sinister, 'one polluted by blood-guilt', one with blood on his palm (παλάμη). A tragic word, it is rare in prose, but P. uses it in menacing contexts: *Otho* 1.5, *Pomp.* 80.7, *Cor.* 13.1; cf. Philo, *Leg. ad Gaium* 89.

8 καθαγίσαι 'burn', esp. 'burn ceremonially and ritually'. P. describes the violence with more detail and feeling at *Caes.* 68 and *Brut.* 20. Pollio clearly gave a vivid account (cf. App. 2.147-8, Dio 44.50, Suet. *Iul.* 84-5). Ignoring the pyre prepared in the Campus Martius, the mob first bore C.'s body to the Capitol, but were turned back by the priests and rapidly built this pyre in the forum. The 'benches and

tables' came from tribunals, courts and nearby workshops. Flute-players and actors threw in their costumes, legionaries their garlands and decorations, mothers their children's tunics. All then rushed to violence, which culminated in the murder of the tribune 'Cinna the poet'. P. tells the famous story in *Brut.* and *Caes.*, and Sh. based *J.C.* III.iii on those descriptions. The account here is very restrained: P. reserves the climax of his indignation for A.'s own outrages (15).

**15.1 The Liberators leave the city**, thus disappearing from the narrative until 21.5: above, p. 150. P.'s language suggests that they left almost immediately: so also *Brut.* 21.1 and App. 2.148 (therefore Pollio?), though *Caes.* 68.7 says that they left 'not many days later'. The leaders in fact remained at Rome until early April. Trebonius, Cimber, and D. Brutus went to their provinces, while Cassius and M. Brutus remained in Latium. **Antony secures C.'s papers**, in fact on the night of 15th (or, less likely, 16th) March: App. 2.125. P. delays it until here (a) because this swift action would not sit comfortably at 14.1-2, where he stresses A.'s initial fearfulness; and (b) because A.'s abuse of these papers (§§3-4) does belong here (late March and April). εἰς λόγον τὰ σύμπαντα τετρακισχιλίων ταλάντων 'it amounted to 4000 talents', i.e. 24 million dr./den. = 96 million HS (2.5n.): probably a rounding of 25 million dr. = 100 million HS, the figure at *Cic.* 43.8; cf. also App. 3.17. A. did take C.'s papers and some costly works of art, but it is doubtful whether he took appreciable sums of coined money, despite P. and App. *Cic.* in the *Philippics* makes no clear reference to any such money. Pollio may have confused these transfers and the alleged embezzlements from the temple of Ops,\*cf. §5n.

2 βιβλία 'papers', 'documents'. When ratifying C.'s *acta* the senate had expressly included measures which he had planned but not published. The scope for forgery and suspicion was immense.

3 παρεγγράφων 'interpolating'. πολλοὺς μὲν ἄρχοντας ... *Cic.* makes great play with these 'forgeries' at *Phil.* 2.93-100, cf. *Att.* 366(14.12).1, *Fam.* 327(12.1).1, etc.; but the similarity of P.'s account to App. 3.5 and Dio 44.53.2-3 suggests that he is primarily drawing on Pollio. The extent of these forgeries is debatable: suspicion was inevitable, but we know of few *specific* charges (cf. Syme 107-8). *Cic.* also stresses the influence of Fulvia in these 'forgeries', *Phil.* 2.95, 5.11, *Att.* 366(14.12).1. P. again misses a chance to fill out her character

(10.5n.). ὥς δὴ: ironic, cf. Denniston 229-31, 57.4n.

4 **Χαρωνίτας**: Charon was the ferryman of the dead. P. thus renders the Latin *Orcini* or *Orcini*: cf. Suet. *Aug.* 35.1. *Orcini* was normally the word for slaves liberated in their masters' wills (Gk. *χαρωνιανοί*), an aspect of the joke P. misses.

5 **τᾶλλα δ' ἔπραττεν αὐτοκρατορικῶς**: P. oddly does not mention A.'s alleged embezzlement of 700 million HS from the temple of Ops. Cic. stresses this at *Phil.* 2.35, 93 and elsewhere, and P. probably knew of it; but he here draws particularly from Pollio (§§1, 3 nn.), and, to judge from App., Pollio made little or nothing of this particular 'embezzlement'. αὐτοκρατορικῶς is strikingly unsympathetic: cf. *Brut.* 21.3, Cic. 43.1, Pelling (3) 176. The charge of 'tyranny', a commonplace of political abuse, goes back to contemporary polemic (cf. *R.G.* 1.1, Cic. *Phil.* 3.9 etc., Nic. Dam. 118, Vell. 2.61.1 with Woodman's n.), and this too is probably drawn from Pollio: cf. App. 3.7, Dio 44.53.5. But Pollio seems also to have stressed A.'s attempts to conciliate the senate (App. 3.2-4). P. simplifies, accentuating A.'s decline to sharpen the contrast with the 'glorious 14.4: a typical chiaroscuro effect (Intr., 13). The shifting political realities are traced more carefully in *Brut.* For A.'s strong but generally moderate leadership during March and April cf. esp. Syme 97-111, Yavetz 69-73. He strengthened his own position by securing a strong province for 43, Macedonia. (He later exchanged this for Cisalpine and Further Gaul, 16.5-8n.) He left Rome for Campania in late April, where he stayed for a month, busy settling C.'s veterans: cf. Keppie 52-3. For **Gaius**' and **Lucius**' magistracies cf. *MRR* 319, 323; Dio 45.9 (close to P., and both perhaps derive from Pollio).

16.1 **The arrival of O.** By early April O. had crossed to S. Italy, heard of his adoption and inheritance, and announced his acceptance. He arrived at Rome in early May. ἀδελφῆς . . . ὥς εἴρηται: 11.2 (n.). κληρονόμος δὲ τῆς οὐσίας ἀπολελειμμένος: C. in fact left him *three-quarters* of his estate; he also, as P. stresses at *Brut.* 22.1, adopted him as his son. P. realised the political importance of this adoption, which brought O. the name of Caesar: cf. *Brut.* 22.3 and esp. 57(4).4. It is odd that he omits the theme here, leaving τοῦ πατρὸς (§5) and πατρῷον φίλον (§2) unexplained. Perhaps he thought he had said more at 11.2 than he in fact had: for similar cases cf. Pelling (1) 95-6. **Apollonia**:

the modern Valona, on the Adriatic shore of Albania. ὅφ' ὅν χρόνον 'when', 13.2n.

2-3 This interview presumably took place in late May, when A. returned from Campania (15.5n.). App. 3.14-20 gives fictional speeches to O. and A., and a shared source (perhaps Pollio, or, less likely, Augustus' *Autobiography*) probably gave an elaborate version. A. apparently claimed that he did not possess any large 'deposit'. O. then ostentatiously sold property (App. 3.21-3) and paid the legacies himself (*Brut.* 22.3, etc.) – another important step which P. here omits. The people responded enthusiastically, especially at O.'s *ludi Victoriae Caesaris* in late July. τῶν παρακαταθηκῶν: i.e. the money 'deposited' with A. by Calpurnia (15.1). Καίσαρος ἐν ταῖς διαθήκαις γράψαντος: C. left 75 dr./den. (= 300 HS, 2.5n.) to 'each Roman', but it is unclear how many recipients he envisaged. He probably intended 150,000, the number entitled to free corn-distributions, but at *R.G.* 15.1 Augustus claims that at least 250,000 received the legacy. App. 3.17 perhaps suggests a figure of over 300,000 (cf. 15.1n.). O. probably increased the number of recipients on his own account.

3 καὶ φρενῶν . . . διαδοχὴν: powerful language. 'Bereft both of good sense and of friends' is practically a syllepsis, combining two very different sorts of ἔρημια: while φίλων ἔρημος is natural Greek, φρενῶν ἀγαθῶν ἔρημος is a bold expression for one whose wits have deserted him. (No exact parallel is found, though e.g. *Soph. Ant.* 754, ὧν φρενῶν αὐτὸς κενός, provides an analogy; cf. *Jos. B.J.* 7.77, German nature is λογισμῶν ἔρημος ἀγαθῶν; *Liban. Decl.* 23.28, orators are ἔρημοι νοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων λογισμῶν.) 'Lifting an unbearable burden' is a more unusual metaphor in Greek than in Engl., and ἀβάστακτος is a very rare word, not found elsewhere in literature until the fourth century A.D. τὴν Καίσαρος διαδοχὴν introduces an important idea into the *Life* and the pair, the notion that there might be a 'succession' to C. as Antigonus, Demetrius, and others were the διάδοχοι of Alexander. (Not just 'to accept the inheritance and act as C.'s executor', Scott-Kilvert.) It is this 'succession' for which A. and O. will contend: cf. 88(1).1-2, *Intr.*, 22, *Dio* 45.41.3, App. 3.15, 3.18 *al.*

4 μὴ πειθομένου rather than οὐ: 5.8n.

5-8 This detail is selective and the chronology imprecise (nn.), as P. abbreviates the complex history of May-Nov. 44: see Syme 112-34. In particular, P. ignores Brutus and Cassius, whose presence in Italy

complicated the early exchanges of O. and A. The emergence of O., drawing on vast funds, supported by troops and people, and shrewdly helped by several of C.'s friends, induced A. to protect his position by several measures. On 2nd June he passed through the people a bill giving him Cisalpine and Further Gaul for five years; a few days later an agrarian bill provided for extensive settlements of veterans (cf. esp. Keppie 52). The presence of Brutus and Cassius in Italy was embarrassing to A., for Caesarian supporters resented his conciliation after the murder; on 5th June the senate, on A.'s instigation, appointed them to supervise the corn-supply in Asia and Sicily. At first uncertain whether to accept, they remained for a time in Italy. In late July there were signs of a renewed understanding between them and A., but relations worsened after his 'reconciliation' with O. (§6n.). When the senate voted them Crete and Cyrene, Brutus decided to leave Italy (Aug.); Cassius followed, probably a few days later. This simplified politics, and the struggle for the Caesarian leadership resumed. By Oct. both A. and O. were raising troops (§8n.); by Nov. O. was pestering Cic. to assist him in the senate, and Cic. began to campaign on his behalf in Dec. (17.1-2n.). P. probably had the necessary information to bring out the awkwardness of A.'s position and the shrewdness with which he played his hand. But the scale of P.'s work left little room for detail, and shrewdness was alien to his view of A. Quite incorrectly, he portrays him as initially insensitive to the danger (§3), then collapsing from brashness to fearfulness as O. rapidly marshals his support (§§6-7). The contrast between A.'s bluster and O.'s calculation will often recur. *δημαρχίαν τε γὰρ ἐνέστη μετιόντι*: an obscure episode, cf. Carter on Suet. *Aug.* 10.1-4, Yavetz 74. If historical, it probably belongs in June or July. *δίφρον χρυσοῦν τοῦ πατρὸς ὥσπερ ἐψηφίστο τιθέντος*: for the 'needless' genitive absolute cf. 53.1n.: *τιθέντα* would give hiatus. In his lifetime C. had been voted the use of a golden throne (12.2n.), and also the honour of an empty throne placed in the theatre with a golden crown: Weinstock 281-4. O. apparently made two attempts to display this throne and crown, the first in May, the second at the *ludi Victoriae Caesaris* in July. The first attempt was thwarted by some tribunes, the second by A.

6 *Κικέρωνι δοὺς ἑαυτὸν . . .*: a very misleading section. (a) O. had treated Cic. with respect in May (*Att.* 365(14.11).2, 366(14.12).2), but Cic. did not return to Rome until 31st Aug. and only began to

campaign for O. in Dec. (17.1n.). (b) O. cultivated popular support from May onwards, but the 'collection of soldiers from the colonies' seems to refer to Oct. and Nov. (§8n.). (c) Yet the 'reconciliation' on the Capitol took place in late July or early Aug., and was evidently not caused by these later events. P. is falsifying the chronology and imposing his own causal pattern to give coherence to the narrative: O. rapidly organises his support, and A.'s bluster collapses. *ἀνελάμβανε* 'cultivated' the people with feasts, games, gifts, etc.: cf. e.g. 57.2. *εἰς λόγους αὐτῷ συνῆλθεν ἐν Καπιτωλίῳ*: apparently in late July or early Aug. Both men were under pressure from their officers and legionaries to be reconciled.

7 *ἔδόκει* 'he imagined'. No other author mentions this; for P.'s interest in such dreams cf. Brenk 214-35. *ἐνέπεσε λόγος ὡς ἐπιβουλεύοι Καῖσαρ αὐτῷ*: in early Oct., and *μεθ' ἡμέρας ὀλίγας* is another chronological compression. A. arrested some of his bodyguard, claiming that they had been bribed by O. to kill him. This was probably a crude propaganda ploy of A. himself; Cic. *Fam.* 347(12.23).2 says that 'good and sound men' thought there was some truth in A.'s allegation, but the ordinary people thought it was false. Cf. Scott 8-10.

8 *περιθέοντες ἀμφοτέροι τὴν Ἰταλίαν*: App. 3.43-4 more plausibly makes A. offer rewards to his men after O. had successfully raised support by these methods among the veteran colonies of Campania: he knew that O.'s agents were also at work among his own troops. That was perhaps Pollio's version. C.'s legions and veterans had been important from the beginning. O. was perhaps offered support by the Macedonian legions in March, and received promises from troops in Italy during April and May; A. had been concerned in May and June to take care of the veterans' interests, and had equipped himself with a large veteran 'bodyguard' of perhaps 6000 men; and indeed troops had been present in Rome throughout the summer. (P. might have made this clearer; App. and Nic. Dam. are again more sensitive to reality, cf. 14.5n.) But Oct. did see a new phase, with both men recruiting intensely, and in Nov. two of A.'s legions went over to O.: cf. Syme 123-6, Keppie 53-4. After returning to Rome A. denounced O., and set out for the north to face D. Brutus. *μεγάλῳις . . . μισθοῖς*: O. offered 500 den. to each recruit, more than twice a legionary's annual pay, and A. was soon forced to match the figure. Both men also promised vast rewards in case of victory, O. as much as 5000 den.

**17.1-2 Cic.'s feud with A.** had broken out in earnest during Sept. 44; by Nov. he had written *Phil.* 2, a pamphlet in response to A.'s invective of 19th Sept.; by Dec. he had probably published it. He began to campaign for O. in the senate on 20th Dec. This alliance of O. and Cic., the strong supporter of C.'s assassins, was always uneasy. P. probably had little idea of Cic.'s motives: at *Cic.* 45.1 he explains in terms of 'Cic.'s hatred for A. and his susceptibility to O.'s flattery'; cf. *Brut.* 22.4-6. In contrast, App. (with some incredible detail) gives an unfriendly but fair analysis of the scheme of Cic. and his supporters to use O. to gain troops, then discard him once A. was defeated (e.g. 3.48, 64, 75). If that was Pollio's analysis, it has left no impact on P.'s versions.

Attention now concentrated on Mutina (Modena, near Bologna), where D. Brutus was besieged by A.'s troops. For the campaign see Syme 133-75. P. gives a simplified version: he even omits D. Brutus himself, as usual silent about the Liberators (above, p. 150). But he is at least right to stress the influence of Cic. in rallying the senate against A. By April the troops of Hirtius and O. were encamped near Mutina, and Pansa was approaching with a further force. A. attacked Pansa, but after inflicting heavy losses was defeated by Hirtius' relieving troops (*Forum Gallorum*, 14th Apr. 43). A week later he was again defeated at Mutina and the siege was lifted. Hirtius fell in the second battle, and Pansa died of wounds received in the first. A. marshalled his defeated army and set off to join Lepidus in Narbonese Gaul (18.1n.). ἐκείνον μὲν πολέμιον ψηφίσασθαι: misleading. Cic. had indeed pressed since Dec. for A. to be declared a public enemy, but the senate did this only after hearing of his defeat (26th April). ῥαβδουχίαν . . . καὶ στρατηγικά κόσμη 'the fasces and praetorian insignia'. The fasces (*OCD*<sup>2</sup>) were themselves part of these insignia, but the phrase is natural: we might speak of 'a mayor's chain and insignia of office'. O. held six fasces as propraetor. **Pansa** and **Hirtius**, the consuls of 43, were old partisans of C.: cf. *OCD*<sup>2</sup>. ἐξελῶντας: future participle expressing purpose, 'send them to drive A. out of Italy'. ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας: Mutina was in Cisalpine Gaul, but that was regarded as *geographically* part of Italy: cf. *Plb.* 2.14, *Cato Orig.* fr. 85 P., *Cic. Phil.* 3.13. 'To drive A. out of Italy' remains misleading. There was no plan to force him into Gaul, where Lepidus was expected to support him (18.1n.). The senate

initially demanded that he should withdraw from Cisalpine Gaul *into* Italy proper.

**3-6 The flight from Mutina.** The theme of μεταβολαὶ τύχης is familiar from *Dtr.* (Intr., 23), and this downfall is felt more strongly because of A.'s recent splendour (14.4n.). P. labours the moral point (for which cf. *Sert.* 10.6-7, *Eum.* 9.2; C. J. Gill, *CQ* 33 (1983) 480-1). For his reasons, cf. Intr., 23-6.

**4 Φεύγοντι:** A. set out west along the Via Aemilia on 22nd Apr.; two days later D. Brutus set out in ineffective pursuit. (P. again omits his role.) By 3rd May A. had crossed the western Appennines and reached Vada Sabatia, about 30 miles S.W. of Genoa, where he was reinforced by three legions under Ventidius (33.1n.). A feint N.W. deceived D. Brutus, and A.'s troops reached Narbonensis unhindered. His vanguard reached Forum Iulii (Fréjus) on 15th May, and came up against Lepidus' army shortly afterwards at Forum Voconii, twenty-four miles west. βέλτιστος ἑαυτοῦ 'at his best', LSJ ἑαυτοῦ 1. ὁμοιότατος . . . ἀγαθῶι: P. primly reminds us that, even at his best, A. still had faults which excluded an unqualified description of him as ἀγαθός. θραυομένων: a strong word, 'broken' or 'shattered': cf. *Caes.* 19.6 and esp. *Mar.* 45.5.

**5 The rigours of the march.** P. need not have authority for these details: descriptions of the torments of hunger during sieges and marches were a commonplace of historiography, as were accounts of the strange foods to which the sufferers were driven. Cf. 45.7-12 and e.g. Hdt. 3.25 (Cambyses), 8.115 (Xerxes); Plb. 16.24 (Philip V); *Caes. B.C.* 3.48, 58 (Dyrrhachium); Lucan 6.109-17. Since Hannibal, crossings of the Alps had particularly exercised the imagination: cf. Plb.'s remonstrance, 3.47-8, and Woodman on Vell. 2.105.3. For the good general, sharing his men's hardships (4.4-6n.) and inspiring them by example, cf. esp. Tac. *Ann.* 14.24 (Corbulo). δ' οὖν 'at any rate', resumptive.

**6 φλοιός 'tree-bark':** cf. Hdt. 8.115, Livy 23.30.3, *Caes. B.C.* 3.49.1, and the O.T. Book of Job 30.3-4 for this as a food for the desperate. τὰς Ἀλπεὶς ὑπερβάλλοντες: the most arduous part of the journey was the crossing of the *Appennines* S. of Dertona; A. then marched along the coast (§4n.). He still had climbing to do, but 'crossing the Alps' is an exaggeration. Still, A. himself used the phrase (*D. Brut. Fam.*

388(11.13).3), and it was part of the tradition before P. (Vell. 2.63.1, cf. App. 3.83).

**18.1 τοῖς ἐπέκεινα στρατεύμασιν:** i.e. those on the other side of the Alps, in Narbonese Gaul. During the Mutina campaign the attitude of the governors of the western provinces – Pollio in Further Spain, Plancus in Further Gaul, and Lepidus, governing Narbonensis and Nearer Spain – had been uncertain. There were fears that all three would support A., who was in communication with Lepidus and Plancus, and probably with Pollio as well; he also appealed directly to the troops of Pollio and Plancus. Lepidus and Plancus pleaded for peace in letters received by the senate in March, but Lepidus publicly proclaimed his sympathy with A. (Poll. *Fam.* 368(10.31).4), and his praetorian cohorts even fought at Forum Gallorum (Galba *Fam.* 378(10.30).1); A.'s decision to flee to him was natural. Plancus and Pollio came out more firmly for the senate in mid-March, and Plancus was approaching Italy with troops when Mutina was relieved. Cf. Syme 165-6, 173-81, Bosworth 452-8. **φίλος . . . δι' αὐτόν:** so App. 3.83, and therefore perhaps from Pollio. A. and Lepidus had co-operated closely after C.'s death, and Lepidus' son had been betrothed to A.'s daughter; but it is implausible that Lepidus owed any advancement to A. in C.'s lifetime (πολλὰ . . . δι' αὐτόν).

**2-6 The union of the two armies.** On about 18th May the armies of A. and Lepidus met at Forum Voconii; their camps were separated only by the River Argenteus. A.'s lieutenant Ventidius immediately encamped on the other side of Lepidus. A. ostentatiously refrained from fortifying his camp, and the troops fraternised as P. describes; the two armies united on 29th May, and immediately marched on Plancus, forty miles N. (§7n.): cf. Syme 178-9. In his despatch to the senate (*Fam.* 408(10.35)) Lepidus claimed that his troops left him no choice, and P., App. 3.83-4, and Vell. 2.63 likewise represent Lepidus as compelled by his troops. That is plausible: armies at this period several times enforced their loyalties on hesitant commanders, and A. had perhaps made appeals to Lepidus' army during the Mutina campaign (as he did to the troops of Pollio and Plancus, §1n.); in late April Plancus had seen that A. had two hopes, the first Lepidus, the second his army (*Fam.* 382(10.11).2). Even before A. had made good his escape from D. Brutus, Lepidus' men had declared for him: Planc. *Fam.*

391 (10.21).4. But Lepidus certainly made no great effort to oppose his men. Recent history made the dangers of fraternisation clear: cf. two instances in 49-8, *Caes. B.C.* 1.74 and 3.19. Lepidus was surely play-acting, partly to deceive Plancus into a nearer approach (§7n.), partly to impress opinion at Rome. No one was deceived, and Lepidus was declared a public enemy on 30th June.

For P., this is not a matter of politics or hypocrisy: the army is won over by A.'s rapport with ordinary soldiers, and Lepidus cannot compete. This emphasis is P.'s own, but he seems to draw his detail closely from his source: cf. *Vell.* 2.63, evidently from the same version, and perhaps *App.* 3.83-4. *Dio* 46.50-1 is rather different. οὐθέν = οὐδέν. βαθὺς πώγων ... καθειμένος 'he had let his beard grow long'. A. had begun to wear a short beard in mourning after C.'s death; he abandoned it after Philippi when vengeance was complete. Cf. 4.1n. φαιδὸν ἱμάτιον: a regular sign of ostentatious humility: cf. 44.3, 80.4, *Dtr.* 44.9.

3 ἐπικλωμένων: 40.9n. ἀφελέσθαι ... Ἀντώνιον 'prevent A. from being heard'.

4 **Laelius** and **Clodius** are not otherwise known.

5 τοῦ ποταμοῦ: the Argenteus. P.'s narrative is unclear; there was no mention of the river when A. 'approached the palisade' at §2. According to *App.* 3.83 Lepidus' men had made a bridge of boats. πρῶτος αὐτός: stereotyped, 3.2n.

6 πατέρα γὰρ προσηγόρευσεν: perhaps authentic, but the gesture seems excessive, and P. may have borrowed it from the famous scene of *Fab.* 13. In 217 M. Minucius Rufus, repenting of his rashness in independent command, had entered the camp of Fabius Maximus, addressed him as father, and insisted that Fabius should resume overall command and that their armies should reunite. αὐτοκράτορος: exactly = *imperatoris*, here in the general sense of 'commander' (Mason 117-18).

7 Πλάγκον ... Μουνάτιον: for the inversion, 5.9n.; for Plancus, *OCD*<sup>2</sup>. In March 43 he came out for the senate (§1n.), and he was moving towards Mutina when he heard of A.'s defeat; he withdrew W. In early May Lepidus first asked him to join him, then to wait, then again to join him; on 18th May he set off S., and on about 24th May cautiously encamped some 40 miles N. of A. and Lepidus. When they united and moved on him, he withdrew to Cularo (Grenoble), where

he was joined by D. Brutus on about 9th June. A few weeks later Pollio arrived from Spain, joined A. and Lepidus, and then succeeded in reconciling Plancus with the other two: D. Brutus fled, and was soon killed by a Gallic chieftain on A.'s orders. Cf. Syme 179-80, Bosworth 458-62, D. van Berchem, *Mélanges Carcopino* (Paris 1966) 941-53.

**8 ὑπρέβαλε τὰς ἑπτακαίδεκα τέλη πεζῶν . . . ἔξ τάγματα:** A. initially entered Narbonensis with 4 legions and a large number of unarmed men, whom he apparently reorganised as 3 further legions (Brunt 484-5). Lepidus joined him with 7 legions, Pollio 2, and Plancus 3; D. Brutus' 4 veteran legions also came over. This agrees with P.'s total of 23. Plancus had also apparently left 2 more legions in Further Gaul, Pollio one in Further Spain. 'The larger and better part' of this force invaded Italy (Dio 46.54.1): it was presumably the newly recruited legions who were left in Gaul. In Italy O. waited, himself in command of 17 legions. **Οὐαρίου τινὸς τῶν συνήθων καὶ συμποτῶν:** L. Varius Cotyla (or Cotylo: D. R. Shackleton Bailey, *Two Studies in Latin Nomenclature* (Pennsylvania 1976) 73), mentioned several times in the *Philippics* as a disreputable aide of A.; cf. *MRR* 351. His introduction here seems gratuitous, but it enables P. to remind us of A.'s alcoholic excesses: he has had little opportunity to stress the theme since 9-10, but it will soon re-emerge (21.1-5 (n.)). **Κοτύλωνα:** from the Greek liquid measure κοτύλη, nearly half a pint (LSJ 3a).

**19.1 Καῖσαρ δὲ . . . περιεχόμενον:** for politics between April and Aug. 43 see Syme 176-86. The alliance of O. and the senate crumbled after Mutina. Despite his youth O. aspired to one of the vacant consulships: he eventually marched on Rome and was elected unopposed on 19th Aug. P. gives a trivial summary of this, and makes no serious attempt to explain O.'s motives for uniting with A. and Lepidus (he is more incisive at *Brut.* 27.2). P. here implies that O. suddenly awakened to Cic.'s true plans: contrast the trenchant analysis of App. (perhaps from Pollio), where O. has for some time thoroughly understood the motives of Cic. and his followers, and realised that his community of interests with them will be brief (3.48, 51, 64, cf. 17.1-2n.). And in neglecting the Liberators (p. 150) P. again obscures an important factor, for their growing strength and the senate's pressure on them to return to Italy in arms (Cic. *ad Brut.* 17(1.10).1) encouraged the

Caesarians to unite. P. stresses this at *Brut.* 27.2, but here leaves Cic.'s 'attachment to liberty' curiously vague.

P.'s O. has no sympathy for 'liberty'. Yet Augustus himself claimed to be *LIBERTATIS P.R. VINDEX* (EJ 18, a coin of 28 B.C.), and began *R.G.* by representing the Mutina campaign as a fight for liberty: *rem publicam a dominatione factionis oppressam in libertatem vindicaui*. But even the contemporary Nic. Dam. admitted O.'s ambition for universal rule (54, etc.), and when P. wrote the principate had been firmly established for over a hundred years: there was nothing shaming in the admission that O. was its founder. Like Dio a century later (e.g. 45.11.2, 46.34.4, 47.18.1), P. readily conceded that O.'s ambitions were fundamentally opposed to liberty. P. leaves the theme unstressed; his contemporary Tac. is more trenchant, giving O.'s critics devastating remarks about his youthful *cupido dominandi* (*Ann.* 1.10.1). Cf. Jones 101-2. *προὔκαλεῖτο . . . εἰς διαλύσεις*: O. was probably in touch with A. and Lepidus soon after Mutina, and certainly before he seized the consulship. Once consul, he arranged for the declarations of outlawry against A. and Lepidus to be revoked; then, probably in Oct., he marched N. to meet them. οἱ τρεῖς 'the three', i.e. (as at 21.1 and often) the famous three of the triumvirate, O., A., and Lepidus. The last sentence has linked O., A., and Cic. (not Lepidus): Stegmann, followed by Flacelière, added <καὶ Λέπιδον> after Ἀντώνιον δέ: but P. himself is more probably at fault. For similar instances of careless composition cf. Pelling (1) 95-6. *εἰς νησίδα ποταμῷ περιρρεομένην*: near Bononia (Bologna), in late Oct. or early Nov., 43.

**19.2-20.6 The triumvirate and the proscriptions.** P. shows no interest in the formal details. The three were to hold power for five years as *tresviri rei publicae constituendae*. They were to have consular *imperium*, but also to receive certain additional powers – notably, the authority to make or annul laws without consulting senate or people, to exercise jurisdiction without any right of appeal, and to nominate magistrates. O. was to resign his consulship and be replaced by A.'s aide Ventidius; consuls for the next few years were designated (for 42, Lepidus and Plancus); A. was to hold Cisalpine and Further Gaul, Lepidus Narbonensis and Nearer and Further Spain, and O. Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica – as Syme 189 says, a 'modest portion' which reflects O.'s position as the weakest of the bargainers. The triumvirate

was duly established by the *Lex Titia* of 27th Nov.

2 καὶ τὰλλα μὲν ἐπιεικῶς ὡμολογεῖτο 'everything else was fairly readily agreed'. P. would normally inveigh against 'sharing out the whole empire as if it was their father's estate' – cf. e.g. *Pyrrh.* 12.3-5. But this is a chiaroscuro effect (Intr., 13, 34), where the readiness with which they reached general agreement offsets the horrid bickering of the proscriptions.

3 Κικέρωνος: at *Cic.* 46.3-5 P. says that O. struggled for two days to save Cic., then capitulated on the final day: that version, evidently generous to O., may go back to his own memoirs. **L. Caesar** (cos. 64, 2.1n.), and **L. Aemilius Paullus** (cos. 50) had been the first to propose declaring A. and Lepidus public enemies: it was evidently felt appropriate that close relatives should move such proposals, demonstrating the solidarity of the senate. Both Caesar (20.5-6) and Paullus (App. 4.37) in fact survived. οἱ δὲ φασιν ἐκστῆναι τοῦ Παύλου τὸν Λέπιδον ἐκείνοις . . . : this version is given without qualification at *Cic.* 46.5. Since writing *Cic.* P. had discovered the other version (probably in Pollio), and decided that it was more plausible: cf. Intr., 27 and Pelling (1) 76, 84-5.

4 οὐδὲν ὁμότερον . . . : the asyndeton introduces unusually strong and direct moralism (above, p. 149). The use of the first person in δοκῶ is rare and striking; διάμειψις is elsewhere used of literal 'barter' or 'exchanges' (e.g. *Pyrrh.* 17.2, *Fab.* 7.6), and its starkness suits the businesslike inhumanity; ἀντικαταλλάσσεσθαι is also powerful (cf. e.g. *Caes.* 5.8); and the heavy vocabulary and compressed syntax of ὁμοίως . . . μὴδὲ μισοῦντες strongly express the concluding paradox. Cf. *Cic.* 46.6, of the same murders. ὁμοίως μὲν . . . ἐδίδουσαν 'they were as responsible for the deaths of those they demanded as of those they abandoned'. μὴδὲ μισοῦντες, rather than οὐδέ: 5.8n.

20.1 γάμῳ τινί: the juxtaposition of killing and marriage is chilling: cf. *Caes.* 14.10. **Clodia** (or Claudia) was the young daughter of Fulvia and P. Clodius (10.5n.). O. therefore abandoned his current fiancée, the daughter of P. Servilius Isauricus. The marriage with Clodia was never consummated, and O. dismissed her in 41 following a quarrel (*simultas*, Suet. *Aug.* 62.1) with Fulvia: rather an understatement, it seems, for the circumstances of the Perusine War (30.1n.).

2 τριακόσιοι: at *Cic.* 46.2 P. says 'more than 200' were killed, at *Brut.*

27.6 '200'. App. 4.5 (cf. 4.7) gives 300 senators and 2000 knights; Livy probably gave 132 senators (so Oros. 6.18.10, who usually derives from Livy; *Per.* 120 gives '130', but that, like '140' at Flor. 2.16, is probably a rounding) and 'a great number' of knights (*Per.* 120). P. seems only to be interested in, or to remember, the number of senators. His '300' here is probably Pollio's figure, as it is shared with App.; the '200' at *Brut.* 27.6 is likely to be a vague recollection of the figure he gave in *Cic.*, written before he read Pollio. Cf. Intr., 27, and Pelling (1) 93-4. The proscriptions were remembered in gruesome detail at Rome: App. 4.16 speaks of the 'many books' devoted to them, and himself gives a lavish account (4.5-51); cf. Dio 47.3-13. The theme also became a favourite of the declaimers: cf. 20.4n. and Woodman on Vell. 2.67.2. P. is relatively restrained, confining himself to a few scenes, and giving no *general* picture of the bloodshed: ctr. App. 4.13-16, Dio 47.3-9, and *Sulla* 31.9 on the Sullan proscriptions - 'no god's temple was free of killing . . . men were slaughtered beside their wives, children beside their mothers . . .'. But here P. develops the scenes which are particularly degrading for A. himself, the escape of his uncle and especially Cic.'s murder. On the proscriptions see Syme 187-201. Despite P.'s ἐθονστώθησαν, many, like L. Caesar and Paullus, escaped. Some joined Brutus and Cassius in the East, many made their way to Sextus in Sicily (32.1n.). Cic. too might have fled, had he chosen, or shown more decision.

3 Κικέρωνος δὲ σφαγέντος: 7th Dec. 43. Cf. *Cic.* 47.8: he first tried to escape, but was torn and hesitant; he was finally betrayed by a boy whom he was himself educating. When the assassins overtook him, he stroked his chin with a characteristic gesture, then bent forward for the sword. (Cf. also Livy's version, quoted by Sen. *Suas.* 6.17.) τὴν χεῖρα τὴν δεξιάν: so too App. 4.20, Dio 47.8, and others (Sen. *Suas.* 6.19, *Cont.* 7.2.1, 9, 14), and this was probably Pollio's version. But at *Cic.* 48.6 *both* hands are cut off, the version of Livy and others (Sen. *Suas.* 5.17, 21, 26). The discrepancy between *Cic.* and *Ant.* is perhaps carelessness, but it is possible that, as at 19.3(n.), P. here prefers a version found in his more recent reading.

4 ἐθεῶτο γεγηθῶς καὶ ἀνακαγχάζων ('guffawing') ὑπὸ χαρᾶς πολλάκις: pure melodrama, and hard to believe: cf. *Cic. Phil.* 11.8 (surely Ciceronian fantasy), where Dolabella similarly feasts his eyes on the dead Trebonius, and e.g. Val. Max. 9.22 (Marius), Tac. *Ann.*

14.57.4 (Nero), N.T. Matt. 14 (John the Baptist); Stith Thompson, *Motif Index of Folk-literature*<sup>2</sup> (Copenhagen 1955) v 307-8. But Cic.'s death had become a favourite subject for Roman declaimers (cf. Sen. *Cont.* 7.2, *Suas.* 6 and 7; Vell. 2.66-7, with Woodman's n.). A.'s reactions were naturally embellished. Others go further than P.: A. ordered the head to be displayed over dinner (App. 4.20), Fulvia tore out the tongue and pierced it with her hairpin (Dio 47.8); cf. also Sen. *Suas.* 6.7, Sen. *Epist.* 83.25. ἐκέλευσεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ βήματος ἐν ἀγορᾷ τεθῆναι: this at least is historical, confirmed by many allusions in Sen. *Suas.* 6 (esp. Livy, quoted by Sen. at 6.17), App. 4.20, and Dio 47.8. καθάπερ . . . ἐπιδεικνύμενος: the moralism is again unusually direct. Cf. Cic. 49.2, 'men shuddered, for they seemed not to be seeing the face of Cic. but the image of A.'s soul'; and the indignant outburst of Vell. 2.66.3-5. A.'s treatment of the dead Brutus is more noble, 22.6-8n. ἐνυβρίζοντα τῇ τύχῃ 'insulting his good fortune', a bold phrase: cf. *Pomp.* 10.4, *Ag.-Cl.* 51.1.

5 τὴν ἀδελφήν: A.'s mother Julia, 2.1n. For **L. Caesar** cf. 2.1, 19.3 nn.; for the inversion of names, 5.9n.

6 διέκλεψε καὶ διέσωσε: the *o.r.* of §5 is the climax; P. does not weaken his effect by finishing the story in detail. When the murderers forced Julia to release Caesar, she rushed to A. in the forum, admitted concealing her brother, and claimed the right to be executed at his side. The discomfited A. secured a decree restoring Caesar to citizenship and safety (App. 4.37).

21.1 Ῥωμαίοις ἐπαχθής 'characterisation by reaction' (Intr., 40-1). The technique is continued for most of the chapter. καὶ τὸ πλείστον . . . τῆς αἰτίας: A. conventionally took most of the blame: cf. Pliny *N.H.* 7.147 and esp. Dio 47.7-8. Historians of the early empire were eager to exonerate O. (cf. 19.3n.), who doubtless gave them a lead in his *Autobiography* (Intr., 26): cf. Vell. 2.66.1 and Flor. 2.16.6 (perhaps following Livy). The declaimers' indignation at Cic.'s fate strengthened the tradition (20.3n.), and horrific stories naturally attached themselves to A. rather than O. or the unmemorable Lepidus (e.g. App. 4.29, 40, Pliny *N.H.* 34.6). Suet. *Aug.* 27.1 suggests that the truth was more complex and O. less blameless: [O.] *restitit quidem aliquando collegis ne qua fieret proscrip̄tio, sed inceptam utroque acerbius exercuit*. But P. is here

pointing A.'s disgraces firmly (above, p. 149), and welcomes the simpler version. Cf. Scott 19-20.

21.1-5 εἰς δὲ τὸν βίον ἐκεῖνον αὐθις τὸν ἡδυπαθῆ καὶ ἀκόλαστον . . . ἐκκεχυμένος, κτλ.: a remarkable passage, revealing the freedom with which P. adapts his material. No other account suggests that A.'s excesses were particularly prominent in the months before Philippi; nor, presumably, did P.'s sources. But P. reviews A.'s important traits as he prepares for the entry of Cl.: A. will be peculiarly vulnerable to her (25.1, cf. 24.9-12n.), and his ἡδυπάθεια (cf. 25.4n.) are important to this vulnerability. Cl. will entice him with new 'pleasures and delights' (29.1): together they will κοθηδυναθεῖν their time (28.1), and join in marvellous εὐπάθεια (56.6, 71.5, etc., cf. 90(3).2). Cl. exploits a weakness deep in A.'s character, which P. has had little opportunity to stress since 9-10 (though cf. 18.8n.). The outrages in Pompey's house (§§2-3) provide a splendid illustration. P. has not fabricated these, for the material is again drawn from *Phil.* 2 (66-9), but he has displaced them: they belong several years earlier, and he has already referred vaguely to them at 9.5 and 8 (nn.). P. also adds imaginary detail. In *Phil.* 2 Cic. claims that A. is diverting state money, but this refers to money accruing to A. in 44, particularly the treasure embezzled from the temple of Ops (15.5n.). P. transfers the theme to A.'s gains from the proscriptions in late 43 and 42, money which in fact was used to support the campaign against Brutus and Cassius. So P. stresses the sufferings which A. imposes on ordinary folk to pay for his luxuries: as Italy suffers now, so shortly will Asia Minor (24), Greece (62.1, 68.6), and the world (56.8). Cf. Intr., 1. ἐνεχαίτισε: another metaphor from horses (cf. 2.8, 36.1 nn.), lit. 'threw back his mane (χάιτη)', 'reared up'; cf. LSJ, and esp. *Dtr.* 34.7 (of a restive δῆμος), Jos. *B. J.* 2.370 and 5.389 (of rebellious subjects). Such 'rearing up' involves the attempt to escape from a constraint which may be specified by a gen. of separation, here τῶν πραγμάτων: 'he reared up and threw off' his troubles. But the construction is rare (cf. LSJ 1.3), and the effect is of forceful compression. πραγμάτων: probably 'his troubles' (LSJ III.5), i.e. the hardships and perils (17.3-6). Less likely, 'business' or 'public affairs' (LSJ III.4), but §§3-4 show that he was still involved in these, at least in the exactions. ἐκκεχυμένος: another strong metaphor, lit. 'poured

himself in', without any restraint; cf. Plb. 31.25.4. P. is undeterred by the mix of metaphors with ἀνεχαίτισε.

2 τὴν οἰκίαν: 10.3n. ἀνδρὸς οὐχ ἥττον ἐπὶ σωφροσύνηι . . . τοὺς τρεῖς θριάμβους: inspired by Cic. *Phil.* 2.69. P. introduces *Pomp.* by stressing his popularity, and includes among the causes his σωφροσύνη περὶ δίκαιαν (1.4, cf. 2.11, 40.9). For his three triumphs from different continents cf. *Pomp.* 14, 22, and esp. 45.

3 μεστήν δὲ . . . κραιπαλώντων: cf. 9.5-8nn. From Cic. *Phil.* 2.67. The triad μίμων καὶ θαυματοποιῶν καὶ κολάκων κραιπαλώντων balances the dignified ἡγεμόσι καὶ στρατηγοῖς καὶ πρέσβεσιν who are excluded. θαυματοποιοί are 'performers of tricks', 'illusionists': sword-swallowers (*Lyc.* 19.4), or conjurors who can make fire burn spontaneously (*Athen.* 1.19e), or even puppeteers (*Plato Rpb.* 7.514b). For their unrespectable character cf. *Ag.-Cl.* 33.4, *Dem.* 2.19. P. perhaps mistranslated Cic.'s *aleatoribus* ('gamesters' or 'dicers'), but he is probably adding an imaginary detail. κραιπαλώντων: 9.5n.

4 ἐπισυκοφαντοῦντες 'bringing trumped-up accusations' (cf. LSJ συκοφαντέω I.1) against wives and relatives 'as well as' (ἐπί) proscribing the men themselves. This seems a confusion: 'proscription' was equivalent to declaring a man a public enemy who could be legally killed, and *whose property would be forfeit to the state*. The family would anyway lose a right of inheritance, and there was no need to bring accusations against them. Cf. Dio 47.14.1. τελῶν πᾶν ἐκίνησαν γένος: cf. Syme 195-6, Brunt 122-3, 326-7 for these irregular levies. παρὰ ταῖς Ἑστιάσι . . . ἔλαβον ἐπελθόντες: not mentioned elsewhere, but credible.

5 Καῖσαρ ἡξίωσε νείμασθαι τὰ χρήματα πρὸς αὐτόν: odd, because it is unlikely that A.'s excesses in fact produced any disagreement about money in 43-2 (cf. §§1-5n.); perhaps a recollection of O.'s demands in 44 (16.2), perhaps a reflection of the fact that the army was divided (next n.), and therefore the supporting funds needed to be divided as well. ἐνείμαντο δὲ καὶ τὸν στρατόν: the triumvirs controlled 43 legions; cf. 18.8n.: the 17 there led by A. and Lepidus, the 6 left with Cotyla, the 3 left by Plancus and Pollio in their provinces, and the 17 commanded by O. At Bononia the triumvirs agreed that A. and O. should take 20 legions apiece, leaving 3 with Lepidus in Italy. In fact only 21 or 22 legions seem to have taken part in the campaign, and 19 of these fought at Philippi: Brunt 484-5. **Brutus and Cassius** are

here mentioned for the first time since April 44 (15.1): cf. p. 150. P. does not mention, far less explain, their startling successes in the East (cf. 19.1, 22.6 nn.). He gives a full account at *Brut.* 24-37, where his admiration for their achievement is clear (cf. esp. *Brut.* 28.7). For details cf. Syme 171-2, 183-4, 203. Brutus and Cassius marched westwards in summer 42 with (probably) 19 legions. They crossed the Hellespont in Aug., and arrived before Philippi a few weeks later.

**22.1** Ὡς μέντοι διαβάντες ἤψαντο πολέμου καὶ παρεστρατοπέδευσαν τοῖς πολεμίοις: cf. Syme 202-4. First a preliminary force was despatched under C. Norbanus and L. Decidius Saxa; A. and O., delayed and harassed by Republican fleets, finally forced their passage in summer 42. Brutus and Cassius reached Philippi in early Sept. Within a few days A. came up and boldly camped a mile distant in a weaker position; O., delayed by sickness (§5n.), joined him ten days later. Despite their strong position the Republicans at first tried to avoid a battle. They controlled the sea, and A. and O. would find it hard to maintain their supplies during a long campaign. But A.'s deft operations and earthworks soon began to threaten their left flank, and they were forced to fight. Ἀντωνίου μὲν ἀντιτεταγμένου Κασσίου, Βρούτου δὲ Καίσαρος (a notable chiasmus): A. occupied the Caesarian right, facing Cassius; O. the left, facing Brutus. The battle thus followed a characteristic pattern, with both right wings forcing their enemies back.

**2-4 The first battle of Philippi** (beginning of Oct. 42). For good accounts see T. Rice Holmes, *The Architect of the Roman Empire* I (Oxford 1928) 80-9, or J. F. C. Fuller, *The Decisive Battles of the Western World* I (London 1954) 207-16. P. gives a vivid (though not very clear) narrative at *Brut.* 41-4, but there the emphasis is different: he stresses how near Brutus and Cassius came to victory (42.5, 44.6, cf. 47.6-9), and how tragically random were the factors which destroyed them - the misdirection of Brutus' charge (41.6, 44.6), the premature elation of Titinius (43.6, cf. §4n.), Cassius' poor eyesight (43.4). It is thus ill luck, not A.'s generalship, which prevails, and in *Brut.* P. does not suggest that A. took particular credit: indeed he is absent from the main fighting (43.3, cf. §3n.). ὥς δ' αὐτὸς ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασι γέγραφε: fr. 10 P (12 M): Intr., 26. P. quotes the *Autobiography* again for the same item at *Brut.* 41.7, and so does App. 4.110. Both

presumably draw the quotation at second hand from a shared source. (Cf. *Caes.* 22.2-4 = App. *Celt. fr.* 18; *Caes.* 44.8 = App. 2.79; *Pomp.* 72.4 = App. 2.82.) Here the quotation seems to provide a variant: *either* O. escaped in the nick of time, *or* he had been led by the dream to depart before the battle. At *Brut.* 41.7 he combines the two variants, and the dream induces O. to leave in the nick of time. O. in fact hid in the marshes for three days (Pliny *N.H.* 7.148). τῶν φίλων τινός: his doctor, M. Artorius Asclepiades. He dreamt that Minerva warned that O. should depart (Val. Max. 1.7.1).

3 καίτοι γεγράφασιν ἔνιοι μὴ (rather than οὐ, 56.5n.) παραγενέσθαι τῇ μάχῃ τὸν Ἀντώνιον . . . : here P. seems to reject this version, which sits uneasily with his stress on A.'s decisive leadership (§1). At *Brut.* 42.3 he seems to accept it. This malicious and incredible version is shared by Flor. 2.17.10, and perhaps derives from Livy or Messalla (Intr., 29-30). The slander is of a familiar type (cf. e.g. *Caes.* 18.2 and 53.5-6), and App. 4.110-12 shows that A. was extremely active. He indeed forced his way into Cassius' camp while vigorous fighting continued outside, and this temporary detachment from his main force perhaps provided the starting-point for the story.

4 **Pindarus**, like Antony's slave Eros (76.7), had been prepared and trained to kill his master when the time came (*Brut.* 43.7). αὐτοῦ . . . κελεύοντος: cf. 53.1n. for the needless gen. absolute. οὐ γὰρ ἔγνω νενικηκότα Βροῦτον: as *Brut.* 43 makes clear, Cassius knew of Brutus' triumphant charge but was dismayed by the troops' indiscipline. After his own camp had fallen, he sent a centurion Titinius to identify some approaching cavalry. They were Brutus' men, and they told Titinius of the victory: all embraced in joy. The short-sighted Cassius wrongly thought that Titinius was being captured by enemy horsemen, and ordered Pindarus to strike.

5 ὀλίγων δ' ἡμερῶν διαγενομένων: twenty days (*Brut.* 47.5). **The second battle of Philippi**, 23rd Oct. (EJ p. 54). Cf. *Brut.* 49, where the emphasis again differs: P. stresses the Republican demoralisation after their first defeat, and again gives no suggestion that A. took any particular credit. But there is no doubt that he did: cf. App. 4.129, 5.14, 53, 59. After the first battle Brutus feared desertions, and, with his supplies threatened, he felt forced to accept a second battle. His own wing may again have won some success (*Brut.* 49), but eventually all his lines broke. The carnage was very great. ἑαυτὸν ἀνεΐλεν: the suicide is

memorably described at *Brut.* 51-2. ἄτε δὴ καὶ νοσοῦντος τοῦ Καίσαρος: O. had been weak from the beginning of the campaign, and at the time of the first battle he could barely stand (Dio 47.41.3-4), apparently suffering from dropsy (Pliny *N.H.* 7.148). He was stronger by the second battle, but still had to retire before the end (App. 4.128-30).

**6-7 A.'s respect for the dead Brutus:** for the theme of nobility to the body of an enemy, cf. 82.1, 86.7nn.; A. might have had Alexander's treatment of Darius in mind (82.1n., cf. *Alex.* 43.5, Woodman on Vell. 2.82.4). O. too later paid tribute to Brutus' memory (*Brut.* 58(5)), though he may have been pettier at the time (Suet. *Aug.* 13.1). Contrast A.'s jibes at the dead Cic. (20.4, cf. p. 149): A. is a finer man on the battlefield. It is odd that P. omits A.'s equally noble treatment of Lucilius, for he later alludes to this elaborately at 69.2: a devoted Republican, Lucilius protected his general by persuading A.'s troops that he himself was Brutus. When brought before A. he proudly declared his identity. A. spared him, saying that he wished for such men as friends, not enemies (*Brut.* 50, the basis of Sh. *J.C.* v.iv; cf. App. 4.129). P. perhaps omitted the story through carelessness, but it is difficult to tell briefly, and P. conceivably felt it would unbalance his narrative and blur the contrast with Cic.'s death; it contributes more tellingly at 69.2 (n.). **C. Antonius** had been captured in March 43. Brutus kept him alive for some time, but eventually sent orders to Q. Hortensius, governor of Macedonia, to kill him. If P. rightly, here and at *Brut.* 28.1, represents it as vengeance for Cic., the date was early 42. P.'s narrative is again allusive (cf. 19.1, 21.5n.) and he leaves Hortensius' role unexplained. ἐπισφάξαι τῷ μνήματι 'gave orders to kill' him 'over the tomb': the construction with the active inf. is normal and classical.

**7 τὴν αὐτοῦ φοινικίδα ... ἐπέρριψε:** a particularly dignified instance of A.'s generosity (cf. 1.1-2.3n.). He also returned Brutus' ashes to his mother Servilia (*Brut.* 53.4), cf. 82.1n. For the story of §§7-8, cf. 48.2, 81.2 (nn.).

Thus died the Republican cause. P. moralises on the subject at 89(2).2-3 and *Brut.* 29.9, but here it is simply treated as an event in A.'s life, not a turning-point in Roman history. Cf. 56-69n., Intr., 1.

**23-36 From 41 to 37: Antony, Cleopatra, and Octavia**

A. now turns to the East. Immediately he shows his familiar capacity to veer from nobility (23) to outrageous behaviour (24): but he is now a greater man, the East affords new delights, and both his greatness and his flaws are now on the grandest scale. At Athens (23, 33.6-34.1) he is unpretentious, sensitive, and popular, but Asia (24) offers the pleasures of a 'court' (24.2n.). He has always had his flatterers and his artistic friends, his flamboyant women, his costly revels (9, 21, etc.); but in Asia all is much grander. The expense rises accordingly, and Asia's sufferings outdo even those of Italy (21).

With A.'s tastes whetted, Cl. comes at his call. She and he are similar creatures, magnificent, pleasure-seeking, rumbustious: A.'s cavalcade at Ephesus is mirrored, but also far surpassed, by Cl.'s arrival at Tarsus (24.4, 26 nn.). She is wily where he is simple, persuasive where he is credulous, charming where he is most easily flattered (24.9-12n.). The lovers move to Alexandria, and P. dwells on their first winter (28-9). A. is as extravagant and boisterous as ever, but the Alexandrians love it. This is a different world from Rome, careless, joyful, far removed from the dangers to which he must return (30.1, cf. 28.1).

There is another 'marvel of a woman' too: Octavia, the ideal of Roman womankind, is set against her rival. The focus shifts swiftly from one to the other. Cl. is flamboyant (28-9), Octavia grave (31). Octavia majestically reconciles her menfolk, bringing peace to Rome (35); and immediately A. flees to reward Cl., bestowing Rome's possessions on her as if they were trinkets (36). P. subtly expands and emphasises his material on Octavia (31.2n.); tales which could distract – for instance about A.'s mother Julia or Sextus Pompey (32.1nn.) – tend to be ignored. The matron and the queen contend for A.'s love, and bring him torment; and Cl.'s victory brings the world to war.

**23.1 The compact of Philippi.** The triumvirs now controlled the wealthy eastern provinces, and needed to revise the arrangement of Bononia (19.2n.). The redistribution reflected A.'s strength and the weakness of the absent Lepidus. A.'s task would be the organisation of the East, which would therefore fall under his control; he was also to retain Further Gaul and take Narbonensis from Lepidus; he would lose only the Cisalpina, which was to become part of Italy. O. was to settle

the veterans in Italy (30.1n.); he retained Sardinia, and he too gained at Lepidus' expense, depriving him of Spain. Lepidus himself was allowed only Africa. Cf. Syme 206-7, P. Wallmann, *SO* 51 (1976) 121-9. P. again (cf. 19.2n.) shows no interest in the details. ἐκομίζετο 'was carried' in a litter, because of his illness. This was aggravated by the journey, and after landing at Brundisium it was some time before he was fit enough to continue to Rome. His death was widely expected. πολλήν στρατιάν: eight legions (App. 5.3), cf. Brunt 488-9. ὑπεσχημένοι γὰρ . . . πεντακισχιλίας: besides the 5000 dr./den. to each legionary, the triumvirs had also promised 25,000 dr./den. to each centurion and 50,000 to each military tribune (App. 4.120). Promises of this order had become normal since O. had set the trend in late 44 (16.8n., cf. Keppie 38-43). Something like 150,000 talents would be needed to pay all the promised rewards. Any such sum was beyond even the East's resources, particularly after the exactions of Brutus and Cassius. A. eventually demanded nine years' tribute from Asia, to be paid over two years (App. 5.6, 24.4n.). Asia's normal tribute was probably less than 2000 talents a year: even allowing for extra sums from client kings and free cities (App. 5.6) and the contributions of the other eastern provinces, A. could scarcely hope for more than 20,000 talents, the amount exacted by Sulla in a similar levy after his defeat of Mithridates. And not all could be spent on rewarding troops. There were the running costs of A.'s army and staff, and preparations to be made for the expected invasion of Parthia (28.1, 30.3 nn.). Troops were still clamouring for their rewards a year later (Dio 48.30.2).

**2-4 A. in Greece:** cf. Intr., 1, 9-10. Greece sees him at his best. He still seeks pleasures, but worthy ones; he is still open-handed, but he spends (or promises to spend) on excellent causes - Athens and the temple at Delphi. This liberality contrasted with the exactions in Asia Minor (24, cf. on μὲν οὖν below). His affection for Greece, particularly Athens, soon recurs (33.7). But τό γε πρῶτον is ominous here, and the eventual sufferings of Greece - τῆς πολλὰ δὴ τλᾶσης Ἑλλάδος, 62.1 - will be correspondingly emphasised in 62 and 68. A.'s own love of Athens will remain unshaken (72.1); but by then his tragedy has encompassed the world, and the land which suffers worst is the land he loves. This stress on Greece is individual to P. Much of its material is doubtless drawn from surviving Greek oral tradition, especially at Delphi (§4n.): cf. 28.3, 68.6, and Intr., 29. τοῖς μὲν οὖν Ἑλλήσιν: μὲν is

picked up by δέ at the beginning of 24.1, and οὖν simply emphasises the μέν: Denniston 473–4. P. strongly contrasts A.'s behaviour in Greece and in Asia Minor. συνηνέχθη 'behaved in a friendly way towards', 'got on well with'. τὸ παῖζον αὐτοῦ 'the pleasure-seeking element in his character'. μῦθσεις 'initiations' into religious rites, especially (one supposes) the Eleusinian mysteries: cf. *Dtr.* 26. τὰς κρίσεις: for such personal jurisdiction cf. 58.11, Millar 61. τῇ πόλει πλείστας δωρεὰς ἔδωκε: cf. App. 5.7, E. J. Owens, *Lat.* 35 (1976) 723–6: A. gave Athens control of several islands, notably Aegina.

3 τὸ βουλευτήριον: Paus. 1.42.4 places this on the city's W. acropolis: that suits ἀναβὰς here, A. 'went up' to see it. The ancient *Aesymnion*, a shrine below the acropolis, had apparently been Megara's original βουλευτήριον (cf. Paus. 1.43.3).

4 πρὸς δέ: wrongly deleted by Sintenis and Ziegler, leaving the connexion of the sentence very bare. For this absolute adverbial use of πρὸς, 'in addition', cf. LSJ D, and e.g. Dio 45.14.2, 59.2.1, D.H. *comp. verb.* 16. τὸν τοῦ Πυθίου νεών: the temple of Pythian Apollo at Delphi, damaged by fire c. 85–4 B.C. when the Illyrians and Thracians sacked the town. A.'s promises came to nothing, and the temple was not restored for another hundred years. P. knew Delphi extremely well (Intr., 2), and this item is particularly likely to be owed to oral tradition. Flacelière suggests that P. refers to the sanctuary of Pythian Apollo in Athens, between the Ilissus and the Olympieion, and that A. made his promise to the local Athenian senate, not the senate in Rome; but (a) 'the temple of Pythian Apollo' naturally refers to the famous temple at Delphi; (b) it seems that there was no Athenian 'temple' of Pythian Apollo at this time, only a shrine and a cult (R. E. Wycherley, *GRBS* 4 (1963) 166–7); (c) σύγκλητος would be an unparalleled way of referring to a local senate in Greece (Mason 88, 121–3). The final point also tells against C. P. Jones's suggestion that a temple in Megara is meant (*JRS* 56 (1966) 65): A. would hardly have made so unexciting a promise to the Roman senate.

**24.1–8 The outrages in Asia Minor**, so much grander than those in Italy (21): cf. p. 174. As in the previous catalogues of vice, 9.5–9 and 21 (nn.), the vocabulary and imagery are forceful (nn.) and the sentence-structure carefully controlled. First an intricate and balanced period, §§1–2, enumerates the reasons for the main clause's simple conclusion,

οὐδὲν ἦν ἀνακτόν. All the reasons depend on the initial ἐπεί, but P. separates them into four groups of increasing length and colour: first, A.'s arrival in Asia; secondly, the new temptations; thirdly – the new start is marked by the adversative δέ – the contrast with O.; finally, again with δέ, the glamorous aides. The solemn quotation (§3n.) deftly moves the emphasis to the divine honours, again set out in a strong balanced period. The chilling reference to 'the Dionysus of Savagery and Wildness' reverts to the sufferings A. caused, and each outrage is allowed its separate weight in sharp, simple sentences. The climax is characteristically (84.4-7n.) marked by *oratio recta*, Hybreas' succinct denunciations: these allow the transition to the thoughtful analysis of A.'s character, with heavier structure and style (§§9-12nn.).

**1 L. Marcius Censorinus** usefully served A. as praetor in 43, proconsul of Macedonia and Achaëa from late 42 until 40, then cos. 39. εἰς Ἀσίαν διέβη: in spring 41, after spending the winter in Greece, presumably at Athens. He probably visited Bithynia before returning to the Aegean coast (Jos. A.J. 14.301-4). πλούτων 'riches'. The plural was introduced to elevated prose contexts by Plato, e.g. *Rpb.* 10.618b and 619a. P., like other post-classical writers, exploits it to heighten his narrative, e.g. *Cic.* 10.5, *Caes.* 25.3. βασιλέων γυναῖκες: A.'s tastes are whetted for Cl.; P. probably generalises from the single case of Glaphyra, wife (rather than *hetaira*, as Dio 49.32.3 has it) of Archelaus of Cappadocia, and daughter-in-law of the Archelaus of 3.10(n.). There was certainly gossip about A. and Glaphyra at this time; O. wrote some peculiarly obscene elegiacs about the affair (Martial 11.20 quotes them; cf. J. P. Hallett, *AJAH* 2 (1977) 151-71). In 36 A. imposed her son Archelaus as king of Cappadocia, where he ruled for fifty years (36.3-4n.). ἀμιλλώμεναι 'vying', 'contending'. A natural but powerful metaphor: P. reserves its use for coloured contexts, e.g. 56.9, *Pel.* 34.3, *Per.* 13.1. Καίσαρος στάσει καὶ πολέμοις ἀποτρυχόμενου (a rare equivalent of ἀποτρίψιν, 'to wear out'): cf. 30.1, and the comparison with C. at 9.9(n.).

**2 ἀνεκυκλεῖτο** 'came back in a cycle'. The idea of such a 'cycle' of nobility and excess is interesting. Ἀναξήνορες ... Ξουθοὶ ... Μητρόδωρός τις 'men like Anaxenor ... men like Xouthos ... a certain Metrodorus'. Strabo 14.648 mentions Anaxenor as a citizen of Magnesia: A. trusted him to raise tribute from four cities, and Magnesia honoured him with a priesthood and several inscribed

statues. One of these inscriptions survives (*Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 766). Xouthos and Metrodorus are otherwise unknown. We need not doubt that A.'s staff proved a financial burden to the province (there was nothing unusual in that), nor that A. openly indulged his artistic tastes. It was probably now, but possibly in 33-32 (cf. 57.1n.), that he granted various privileges to 'the worldwide association of victors in the festival games' (EJ 300, *RDGE* 57, cf. Millar 55 and *The Emperor in the Roman World* (London 1977) 456): an association which may have included poets, artists, and musicians as well as athletes (Sherk on *RDGE* 57). It was in some ways like the 'artists of Dionysus' (56.7n.). 'There was nothing wrong with artistic friends' (Bowersock 10), but it depended on the friend: Strabo 14.674 tells of the poet Boethus of Tarsus who 'plundered the city' after A. had trusted him with its finances. Ἀσιανῶν ἀκροαμάτων θίασος 'a troop of Asiatic players', cf. LSJ ἀκρόαμα π. θίασος already suggests A.'s role as Dionysus (§4). λαμυρία: not 'wantonness' (LSJ), but perhaps 'forwardness', a provocative and stylish charm, often verging on the flirt or the coquette: Cat. 10 gives a good idea of the sort of girl. It is precisely the word for Cl.'s charm (cf. *Caes.* 49.3, of her arrival in the carpet): A. already finds it hard to resist. τὰς ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας κῆρας: the 'plagues' or 'pests' from Italy (κῆρ is a strong word, 2.4n.): presumably the same as the μῦμοι and γελωτοποιοί who accompanied A. at Philippi (*Brut.* 45.6-9, p. 150 above). τὴν αὐλήν 'the court', elsewhere used of kings (e.g. *Them.* 29.5, *Alex.* 70.4) and emperors (*Galba* 20.6, 25.8).

3 καθάπερ ἡ Σοφόκλειος ἐκείνη πόλις P. draws from Oedipus' opening speech in *O.T.*, πόλις δ' ὁμοῦ μὲν θυμιαμάτων γέμει | ὁμοῦ δὲ παιάνων τε καὶ στεναγμάτων (4-5). As usual (cf. 25.3, 28.1, 29.1, 36.2, 62.1), the literary allusion marks an important moment. It also allows P. to move deftly from Asia's agonies to the divine honours: the 'groans' come from its suffering, but 'incense' and 'paean' belong to the gods. At §5 P. exploits the dual nature of Dionysus, both gracious and savage – itself a suggestive theme – to revert to the suffering. As is the way with favourite quotations, P. seems to have misunderstood (or at least adapted) this passage's meaning. When he quotes it elsewhere (95c, 169d, 445d, 623c) his point is the *paradox* of combining 'paean' and 'groans': he evidently interprets 'paean' as hymns of joy. (So, apparently, did Athen. 10.420f.) This sense of 'paean' cannot be what Soph. intended; there is no joy in his Thebes, the gods are invoked to

end its plague, and 'paean' must simply be a hymn to Apollo for healing and deliverance (so Dawe ad loc.). But P.'s interpretation suits the present context, preparing for the joy with which Ephesus offered A. worship, and the agony of Asia's disappointment.

**4 Antony's divine worship at Ephesus.** A.'s association with Dionysus later became important, and P. gives it appropriate weight: cf. 26.5, 60.3-5, 75.4-6 (nn.). But P. is the only ancient author who dates this association as early as 41. Our other sources suggest that it commenced in 39, when A. clearly took steps to encourage such worship: see 33.6-34.1n.

The account of A. at Ephesus is soon mirrored by Cl.'s arrival at Tarsus (26). The two cavalcades are similar in their magnificence; they both exploit every sense – sound (Cl. too has 'flutes, pipes, and lyres', 26.1) and smell (Cl. too has incense, 26.3, like 'all Asia' now) as well as sight; Cl.'s boys and girls pose as Cupids, Nereids, and Graces, A.'s as Satyrs, Pans, and Bacchants. The links between the two passages are reflected in the jubilation of 26.5(n.): 'Aphrodite comes in revelry to Dionysus, for the good of Asia.' P.'s point is clear. A. and Cl. are complementary characters, they share a similar temper and magnificence and excite a similar devotion; but, magnificent though A. may be, he is outdone by Cl. P. has probably elaborated the details of A.'s reception to make his points, for no other account has any hint of this treatment.

But Ephesus may well have offered A. *some* divine honours in 41. The eastern provinces had a long tradition of worshipping their kings: divine honours had often been paid to Roman proconsuls (cf. esp. *Flam.* 16.5-7), and previous conquerors, especially Pompey, had been hailed as gods with great adulation: see e.g. S.R.F. Price, *Rituals and Power* (Cambridge 1984) 42-6. Ephesus, effectively capital of Asia, naturally led the way. P. may also be right in saying that he was already hailed as *Dionysus*: many Hellenistic kings (including recently Mithridates, *Cic. Flacc.* 60) had similarly compared and identified themselves with Dionysus, and had read back this association to Alexander himself. But for the present A. does not seem to have pressed the identification very far, and may not even have encouraged it himself. Two years later, things had changed. In 41 A. did not need to pay much attention to such matters: he surely did not see his future as lying in the East. He naturally hoped for riches and prestige from these

provinces, but doubtless expected a swift return (as Sulla and Pompey had returned) to new authority at home. But after the pact of Brundisium in 40 (30.6–31.5n.) he had to think of a distinctively eastern future. A coherent religious policy became advisable, and on returning to Greece in 39 he began to insist more emphatically on his identification with Dionysus (33.6–34.1n.). After 37 this became even more of a political necessity, for as Cl.'s consort he naturally filled the role of Dionysus–Osiris: Ptolemaic kings had come to identify themselves with the god, just as their queens were regarded as Isis. O. naturally fastened on this (K. Scott, *CP* 24 (1929) 133–41). But, for the moment, all that is far in the future.

P. himself disapproved of such divine imitation and worship: cf. esp. Price 116–17; K. Scott, *TAPA* 60 (1929) 117–35, corrected in part by G. W. Bowersock, *Entretiens . . . Hardt* 19 (1972) 187–90. But the *Life* is already passing beyond crude praise or censure, and P. prefers to allow these divine associations to underline the magnificence of A. and Cl.; they also give a further dimension to their catastrophic fall. Cf. esp. 75.4–5(n.), where A. is deserted by his Dionysus.

4 εἰς γοῦν Ἐφεσον: the 'part proof' use of γοῦν: cf. e.g. 2.2, 9.6, 36.7, Denniston 451–3: events at Ephesus go some way to demonstrating the previous generalisation, the mix of 'paean and groans'. Translate 'certainly, . . .' A. arrived at Ephesus to address a congress of the states of Asia (App. 5.4). He announced his demands here (23.2n.), nine years' tribute within 24 months. κίττω . . . θύρων . . . φαλτηρίων . . . συρίγγων . . . αὐλῶν: entries to cities were often staged carefully (8on.), but these are the distinctive features of Dionysus' cult. The description has many parallels in the grand procession of Ptolemy II in worship of Dionysus, when men dressed as Satyrs and Sileni and women as Nymphs (Athen. 197c–203c, with Rice *passim*). Cf. also Alexander's journey through Carmania, *Alex.* 67.2. ἀνακαλουμένων: cf. 26.5n. Χαριδότην καὶ Μειλίχιον . . . Ὠμηστής καὶ Ἀγριώνιος: the complex character of Dionysus – gracious and liberating to those who welcome him as a vital force, yet devastating to those who resist – is familiar from Eur. *Bacch.* Such a god is naturally πολυώνυμος (Soph. *Ant.* 1115), welcomed and dreaded under many titles. P. selects titles to stress extreme graciousness and savagery. Cf. esp. 613d (men like Socrates happily welcomed Dionysus as χαριδότην καὶ μελίχιον); *Them.* 13.3 *al.*, the human sacrifice to Dionysus Ὠμηστής before

Salamis; and 291a *al.*, the festival of *Agriōnia* at which in P.'s own day a woman had been killed.

7 The orator **Hybreas** rose from humble birth to rule his city, Mylasa in Caria. During Labienus' Parthian invasion (28.1, 30.2 nn.) he kept Mylasa faithful to Rome: he was rewarded with Roman citizenship, and later became a high priest of Augustus. Cf. Bowersock 5-6. The present anecdote is suspect. Asia could not have paid 200,000 talents (23.2n.), and in 41 A. did not 'impose a second tribute', he demanded ninefold tribute over two years. P. has probably displaced the story, perhaps from A.'s second stay at Ephesus in 33 (56.1): so Buchheim 12-13. By then Hybreas, renowned for his loyalty, could speak frankly. ἀγοραῖως: lit. 'in the way which goes down well in open court': usually pejorative, cf. e.g. *Fab.* 1.8. 'Rhetorically', in its unfriendly modern sense, is a reasonable translation. πρὸς τὸν Ἀντωνίου ζῆλον οὐκ ἀηδῶς 'in a way which appealed to A.'s own taste', which was 'Asiatic' (2.8n.). Hybreas' epigrammatic style with its pointed antitheses (Strabo 14.659-60 quotes another example) is reminiscent of the *sententiae* of first-century A.D. Latin authors.

8 πρακτικῶς δὲ καὶ παραβόλως συναγαγὼν 'summing up effectively and boldly': παραβόλως suggests the risks of such frankness.

9-12 **Antony's simplicity.** As at 4(n.) the characterising digression marks a critical point. Cf. 27.3-5 for the complementary description of Cl. P. develops a traditional view of A., cf. App. 5.136 αἰεὶ τὸ φρόνημα ἀπλοῦς καὶ μέγας καὶ ἄκακος.

We already know that he is easily led (2.4-8n., 10.5-6), is no match for subtle adversaries (16.5-8n.), and is easily distracted by his excesses, with disastrous consequences for his public career. P. now brings these themes together, showing more precisely *how* his public mistakes flow from his passivity, straightforwardness, and licentious tastes. The important point is now the κολακεία of his drinking-partners: they lead him astray, their subtlety defeats his wits. This again (cf. §§1-8n.) prepares for Cl.: 'such was A.'s nature when his passion for Cl. fell upon him, the last of his evils . . .' (25.1). She is the supreme κόλαξ (29.1), everything to which A. is vulnerable. Where he is ἀπλοῦς (§10n.), she is πανοῦργος (25.3n.); where he is easily persuaded, she is a master of words (25.3, 27.3-5); where he is plodding, she swiftly measures her victim (27.2); where he enjoys being laughed at, she jokes brilliantly at his expense (29.5-7, cf. 26.1, κατεγέλασε, and 27.2). P. stresses this

vulnerability even though the new analysis sits uneasily with the previous narrative, for until now A. has not seemed ignorant of the outrages committed in his name. Cf. 9.5–10.1, 21.3–5, and especially 6.6, . . . καὶ γὰρ ἀδικουμένων ὑπὸ ῥαθυμίας ὀλιγώρει: contrast οὐχ οὕτω ῥαίθυμος ὢν here.

A.'s susceptibility to flattery again (cf. 4.2n.) recalls the comic *miles gloriosus*, but P.'s analysis introduces deeper elements: A.'s warmth, his readiness to admit error, his willingness to take a joke, the flatterers' subtle touches of frankness. But in fact P. probably knew little of A.'s κόλακες, who do not reappear: we hear of *genuine* friends' advice (56.3, 59.2–5, 69.4), but the only flatterers are the tools of Cl., and their role is to dissuade A. from noble actions, not just lend their assent (53.8, 72.3, cf. 33.2–3, 59.6). P. probably has no firm evidence for the behaviour of the flatterers here. He is partly transposing to them his view of Cl. herself, whose partnership in foolery is seen as peculiarly effective (29); but he also has his own preconceptions of the way κόλακες behave. Cf. *How to Tell a Flatterer* 51c–d:

'The flatterer's craftiest (πανουργότατον) trick is this. He notices that frankness is said and thought to be the true voice of friendship (just as each sort of animal has his own natural cry), and that people who lack such frankness are ignoble and friendless: so he imitates this as well. Just as skilful chefs use bitter sauces and astringent flavourings to prevent sweet things from cloying the appetite [cf. §12n. here, the same simile], so flatterers practise their own variety of frankness – a false, spurious sort, which (as it were) winks as it frowns and merely titillates.' (Cf. 59b–61d.)

A.'s flatterers, P. assumes, simply *must have* practised such techniques. Cf. Intr., 35, and Russell 137.

9 ἀπλότητα 'simplicity', 'straightforwardness', not pejorative (it is not 'simple-mindedness'): cf. 43.5, Xen. *Cyr.* 1.4.1, and e.g. *Brut.* 1.4. But the ἀπλοῦς man sees only one aspect of a matter, or can only behave in one way, true to himself. He can naturally be contrasted with one who is πανούργος, someone 'who will do anything': here Cl. (25.3). Thus the 'simple and noble' Callicratidas contrasts with the πανούργος καὶ σοφιστής Lysander (*Lys.* 7.5, cf. *Alc.* 41(2).1). The typical flatterer, who οὐχ ἀπλοῦς οὐδ' εἰς ἄλλα παντοδαπός ἐστι καὶ

ποικίλος (52b), is naturally πανούργος (51c above, 63b).

10 μάλλον γε μὴν ἐδόκει χαριζόμενος ἢ κολάζων ὑπερβάλλειν τὸ μέτριον: for A.'s generosity to friends cf. 1n.; as P. says, vindictiveness is less prominent, but cf. 20.3–4, 50.3–6 (with 92(5).3), 73.3–4, 74.2. Dio 51.12.2 is less generous: 'he pitied many men without cause, and punished even more without justice'.

11 ἀντισκῶψαι γὰρ ἐξῆν καὶ ἀνθυβρίσαι: cf. 4.5n.

12 διελυμήνατο 'harmed seriously', almost 'wrecked'. οὐκ ἂν οἰηθείς . . . : i.e. he thought that 'people who speak frankly in jest οὐκ ἂν σπουδάζοντες κολακεύοιεν . . .' ἀγνοῶν ὅτι τὴν παρρησίαν . . . ἀφήρουν τὸ πλήσμιον 'not realising that some people were mixing candour as an astringent seasoning with their sycophancy to avoid surfeiting him'. Cf. 51d (quoted above) and 856d, in each case the same simile making the same point. *How to Tell a Flatterer* cannot be firmly dated, but the culinary imagery is a sustained feature of that essay (cf. 49f, 55a, 61c, 67e, 68b), and it is most likely that P. wrote 51d first, then took over his formulation here and at 856d. Cf. 53.5–9n. τῇ παρὰ τὴν κύλικα θρασύτητι . . . τῷ φρονεῖν ἡττωμένων φαίνεσθαι 'ensuring by their boldness and chatter over the wine-cups that their docile readiness to assent in serious matters did not seem the mark of men who were trying to please, but of those who were genuinely outdone in wisdom'. Ponderous vocabulary and syntax, as P. emphasises his conclusion: cf. 63.8n. ὕφεις seems to be 'giving in', 'making concessions' (cf. 808c); συγκατάθεσις is simply 'assent'.

25.1 τελευταῖον κακόν: thus App. 5.9, for A. this passion ἀρχὴ καὶ τέλος τῶν ἐπειτὰ κακῶν ἐγένετο. **Cleopatra:** queen of Egypt since early 51, when she was eighteen: she possibly shared her father's throne during his final months (Grant 29, cf. 3.4, 86.8 nn.). By Ptolemaic custom she could not reign alone, and could not marry outside the royal house: her father's will accordingly required her to share the throne with her ten-year-old brother, Ptolemy XIII, and in due course to marry him. In 49 Pompey's elder son Gnaeus visited Egypt, raising money and forces for his father (§4). The son and daughter of Ptolemy XII, who owed so much to Pompey (3.4n.), could hardly refuse, and they sent a squadron of ships. Soon however Cl. and Ptolemy were fighting their own civil war. Relations had always been tense. In the early months of their reign Cl. had apparently excluded her brother

from effective power (his name is absent from official documents), but by 48 she was expelled from her country and perhaps deposed. She was about to invade in force, when matters were complicated by the arrival first of Pompey (who was promptly killed, 8.4n.); then, momentarily, of C.

Legend told how Cl. stole back to Alexandria by night; how, hidden in a carpet, she was borne to C.; how C. was immediately captivated; and how he fought a scandalous war to regain Cl.'s realm, while she was bearing his son (*Caes.* 48-9; 9.9, 54.6 nn.). The truth was doubtless more drab. But the war certainly established Cl. as queen, and her brother drowned in the Nile. In 47 she married a new, even younger brother-husband, Ptolemy XIV, and C. returned to Rome. Difficulties remained. It seems that she was unpopular with her nobility (*Dio* 51.5.4), and in summer 46 she moved to Rome, where she dwelt for eighteen months in regal grandeur. After C.'s death she hastened back to Egypt (April 44). A few months later Ptolemy XIV died – a suspicious convenience – and Cl. elevated her three-year-old son Caesarion to share her rule (54.6n.). A new Roman civil war now threatened, and in 43 Brutus and Cassius were pressing the eastern nations for support (21.5n.). Cl. naturally aligned herself with C.'s avengers, and money and four Roman legions were despatched to Dolabella in Syria (cf. 21.5n.). But the legions' commander A. Allienus led them over to Cassius, and Serapion, her admiral in Cyprus, also gave his fleet for Cassius' use. Cl. herself continued to prevaricate, and Cassius prepared to march on Alexandria; but news arrived that A. and O. were approaching, and Cassius had to abandon the attack. Cl. promptly put to sea with all her fleet, to help the triumvirs – or so she later said. But nothing came of it. She ran into a storm, she conveniently fell ill, and the fleet returned lamely to Alexandria.

A. could reasonably feel suspicious about that, and summon Cl. to explain. But she had a reasonable case. She had done what she could to avoid helping Brutus and Cassius, and A. did not have to be in love to find her defence persuasive. *πολλὰ τῶν ἔτι κρυπτομένων ... ἀναβαλχεύσας*: elegantly put. The language is at first clinically precise (*κρύπτεσθαι* and *ἄτρεμειν* are both normal medical language for 'dormant' or 'stable', cf. e.g. *Caes.* 60.7); then the furious *ἀναβαλχεύσας* captures the frenzy of these forces when released. Emphasis is imparted by the accumulation of close synonyms, with the second word in each

case more forceful than the first: κρυπτομένων-ἀτρεμούντων, ἐγείρας-ἀναβακχεύσας, χρηστόν-σωτήριον, ἠφάνισε-προσδιέφθειρεν. The whole period contrasts with the simplicity of what follows: 'this is how he was captured'.

**2 ἀπτόμενος τοῦ Παρθικοῦ πολέμου:** 28.1n. P. is again allusive, for he has not told us that an invasion of Parthia was planned. A. naturally wished to ensure the loyalty of the powerful nations which would lie to his rear. εἰς Κιλικίαν ἀπαντῆσαι: after leaving Ephesus A. toured the eastern provinces and reorganised their administration, rewarding and punishing cities for their parts in the war. He imposed new kings on several client states and new tyrants on several cities. Now as later his appointments showed deftness and insight: cf. Bowersock 42-61. Cl. was summoned to meet him at Tarsus, the capital of Cilicia. By now it was probably late summer, 41. λόγον ὑφάξουσιν . . . πόλεμον 'to give an explanation for the many gifts and many contributions for the war she was accused of having given to Cassius' (or 'to Cassius' forces', 9.3n.).

**3 Q. Dellius,** Δέλλιος ὁ ἱστορικός (59.6), wrote a history which P. knew and used: Intr., 28. This may well be P.'s source for the narrative here: App. and Dio, who both draw on more mainstream historical sources, have no detail of this first meeting. He was an accomplished survivor: for his life cf. *OCD*<sup>2</sup>, Nisbet-Hubbard on Hor. *Odes* 2.3. After serving with Dolabella, he had switched his allegiance to Cassius, then A., whom he did not desert till 31 (59.6-7n.). He later rose to high favour with Augustus. Messalla Corvinus nicely called him the 'circus-jumper of the civil wars' (*desultorem bellorum civilium*) - a man who knew exactly when to jump from one mount to another. \*τὴν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις δεινότητα καὶ πανουργίαν: cf. 24.9n.: A.'s ἀπλότης leaves him defenceless. πανουργία is often used of ingenious speakers who will 'do anything': it suggests both the 'resourcefulness' of their style and their 'lack of principle' in applying their skills. Cf. *Lys.* 30.5, 26a, 27f. 'Cunning' has the right undertone of unease. δεινότης is less menacing, perhaps 'power' or 'brilliance': cf. 716b, on those who foolishly mistake false opinion for wisdom and πανουργία for δεινότης. τρέπεται πρὸς τὸ θεραπεύειν . . . : he too becomes a κόλαξ. Such is the way of the East. τὴν Αἰγυπτίαν: P. describes her as such when her glamour and style are in point (as here and at 29.5), or simply the scandal of A.'s outlandish affair (31.3, cf. Virg. *Aen.* 8.688, Flor. 2.21.2). τοῦτο δὲ τὸ

**Ὀμηρικόν:** again (24.3n.) the allusion points an important moment. At *Il.* 14.162 Hera has decided to set about deceiving Zeus, and resolves ἐλθεῖν εἰς Ἴδην εὖ ἐντύνασσαν ἑ αὐτήν. In a paradoxical 'arming-scene' she decks herself in finery (166-84), and when she arrives on Ida her seduction distracts him from his purpose of aiding the Trojans; he sleeps, and they suffer terribly. κολακεία, deceit, love, and distraction, all among the *real* gods, and consequent human suffering: the allusion is richly suggestive. **ἡδιστον:** and their ἡδυπαθεῖαι duly become a crucial theme, 21.1-5n.

**4 τοῖς πρὸς Καίσαρα καὶ Γναῖον . . . συμβολαίοις:** συμβόλαιον is any 'association' (Hamilton on *Alex.* 30.9), here evidently love-affairs. P. alone suggests that Gnaeus and Cl. were lovers: not very likely. **ὑπάξεσθαι** 'conquer', a strong word (cf. 54.7). It fits well with ἀλίσκεται above.

**5 ἔτι κόρην καὶ πραγμάτων ἄπειρον:** 'My salad days, When I was green in judgement, cold in blood' (Sh. *i.v.* 73-4). **ἐν ᾧ μάλιστα καιροῦ:** P. puts the height of beauty encouragingly late and the height of intellectual power depressingly early: Cl. was 28.

**6 τοῖς περὶ αὐτὴν μαγγανεύμασι καὶ φίλτροις** 'the magical arts and charms of her person'. As περὶ αὐτὴν shows, P. does not mean these μαγγανεύματα καὶ φίλτρα literally: they are the spells and charms 'which surround her', exercised by her personality. Cf. 90(3).4. Thus at *Pomp.* 55.2 P. speaks of the πολλὰ φίλτρα of Cornelia, her education, culture, and character; Achilles Tatius talks of women's kisses which μαγγανεύει τοῖς χεῖλεσι . . . ἀπατήν (2.38). But the metaphorical use of both words is rare and powerful. The language prepares for the charge that she genuinely used magic to bewitch A. (60.1; cf. Jos. *A.J.* 15.93 (Intr., 18)), a suggestion which P. does not wholly reject (37.6n.).

**26 The arrival of Cleopatra**, which should be compared in detail with Enobarbus' speech at A. & C. *ii.ii.* 195-223. In Sh. the marriage with Octavia has just been arranged, and we, like Enobarbus, now know it is hopeless. Sh.'s detail is closely based on North's Plutarch. P. relies more heavily than Sh. on the visual impact of the detail itself rather than on verbal conceit or bold imagery, but his language too is extremely sensuous both in content - hearing and smell are engaged as well as vision, the flutes, pipes, and lyres, then the wondrous perfumes - and in sound. The sentence on the perfumes has the languorous vowel

sounds of θυμιαμάτων at its core; the slow rhythm of ὥστε πλεῖν . . . συνηρμοσμένον is powerful, as heavy words – χρυσοπρύμνῳ, ὀλουργῶν, ἐκπεπετασμένων, συνηρμοσμένον – all contribute important suggestions; then the lingering words describing the maidens – καλλιστεύουσai, Νηρηίδων, Χαρίτων – give way to the speed and prosiness of the short words of their mundane tasks, αἱ μὲν πρὸς οἶαξι, αἱ δὲ πρὸς κάλοις ἦσαν. (Sh.'s technique is here similar: 'That yarely frame the office' is blunt after the sensuous 'the silken tackle swell' and 'those flower-soft hands'.) There is no crude 'assimilation of sound to sense' here (nor is there in Sh., cf. F. R. Leavis, *Scrutiny* 5 (1936) 162): none of this *imitates* the sound of pipes or the beat of oars. P. is subtler than that.

P. favours the visual register for crucial moments (14.4, 26.6–7, 77.3, 85 nn.), and here Cl. is κεκοσμημένη γραφικῶς, her boys are like γραφικοὶ Ἔρωτες, and the effect is very much one of a painting. Cf. Aeschylus' Iphigeneia, who stands before the altar, πρέπουσά θ' ὥς ἐν γραφοῖς (*Agam.* 242). In each case the pictorial analogy freezes the scene to a static tableau, which the audience will retain as a vivid memory; and this is in fact the first of a series of such maritime scenes – 32, 35, 65–6, 67, 76 – whose connexions are extraordinarily suggestive: cf. *Intr.*, 22.

The spectacle also corresponds to A.'s Dionysiac cavalcade at Ephesus (24.4n.). 'Aphrodite comes in revelry to Dionysus', people cry (§5); 'for the good of Asia', they add, in tragic delusion. The suggestions of a *marriage* ceremony are not far to seek – a ἱερὸς γάμος of two deities which should bestow prosperity on a nation, but here will destroy it. A. and Cl. are clearly similar beings, yet A.'s grandeur is nothing to hers; and we know he will find such splendour irresistible. But, if we are literal, A. himself does not even see this captivating vision (§4). *All men* acclaim her; when A. is spellbound, that might be the lot of any man. Cf. *Intr.*, 15. Similarly Sh. gives the description of the queen's arrival to the rugged Enobarbus, and makes him too enthralled.

Pleasingly, most of P.'s account may be true. Cl. would naturally come to Cilicia by sea, and this is precisely the sort of ship she would use. The Ptolemies travelled in sumptuous θαλαμηγοί ('cabin-carriers') of extraordinary beauty and size (Casson 341–2). The most famous was the monstrous 300-foot vessel of Ptolemy IV (*Athen.*

5.204e-206d, cf. Rice 144-8). Cl.'s ship would be smaller, but no less luxurious. Her 'gilded poop' is credible: Ptolemy's ship was gloriously decorated in gold and silver, and Ptolemy II was said to have eight hundred such *thalamegoi*, with gilded poops and bows (App. *Praef.* 10, citing a documentary source, though the number is hard to believe). The 'purple sails' were a mark of a royal vessel (cf. *Aem.* 39-1), and are again attested for Cl.'s flagship at Actium (Pliny *N.H.* 19.22, cf. Casson 234-5 n. 45). Such a ship could stage lavish banquets: Ptolemy's vessel had several saloons, the largest with twenty couches. And it could manage the coastal voyage from Egypt to Cilicia. *Thalamegoi* bore the kings of Egypt into naval battles (App. *Praef.* 10), and so could obviously face the open sea: a similar ship set out on a much longer voyage to do battle near Troy (it admittedly foundered, Maximus of Tyre 30.3). The Cydnus is today a murky trickle, but it was larger in antiquity, 200 feet wide at Tarsus (Xen. *Anab.* 1.2.23). It would be navigable to a Nile-boat.

Cl.'s display is harder to gauge. Egyptian queens had identified themselves with Aphrodite for 200 years (Fraser I 197, 238-40); Egyptian processions had sometimes been similarly spectacular (especially the famous πομπή of Ptolemy II, 24.4n.); and such divine acclamations as that of §5(n.) were features of real ceremonies. It may be that features of such an Alexandrian ceremony have been inaccurately transferred to this more romantic setting. But with a queen of Cl.'s sureness and pride, intent on displaying her own majesty to a new, peremptory, Roman dynast, one cannot be sure. Cf. Buchheim 22-4.

1 κατεγέλασε: lit. 'laughed at'. This oddly strong word has its point, for A. γελώμενος οὐχ ἦπτον ἢ γελῶν ἔχαιρεν (24.11). The **River Cydnus** (mod. Tarsus İrmâğı), famous for its cool and sparkling waters, rose in the Taurus range and flowed through Tarsus to the sea. πορθμείω: the word for river- or ferry-craft; Sh.'s and North's 'barge' is right. (North captured the sense by accident; Amyot has merely 'bateau'.) A *thalamegos* was designed for the Nile. τῆς δ' εἰρεσίας ... συνηρμοσμένον 'the rowers pulled back their silver oars (lit. 'brought back their strokes with their silver oars', LSJ ἀναφέρω II.1) to the music of flutes, accompanied by pipes and lyres' (LSJ συναρμόζω 1.3). Demetrius' funeral was similarly described, ... καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο [τὸ μέλος] τῆς εἰρεσίας ἀναφερομένης μετὰ ῥυθμοῦ τινὸς ... (*Dtr.* 53.5), and we may recall that here: cf. *Intr.*, 22.

2 χρυσοπάστωι 'embroidered with gold'. Such displays had again typified Demetrius (*Dtr.* 41.6): Intr., 22. γραφικῶς . . . γραφικοῖς . . .: P. need not have any specific picture in mind, for Aphrodite and the Erotes were favourite subjects. Cf. e.g. the 'Venus Marina' from the House of Venus at Pompeii, where a reclining Venus floats on a large sea-shell, attended by Cupids.

3 Νηρηίδων 'which are the mermaides of the waters', North explains (whence Sh.'s 'so many mermaids'), though the Nereids in fact had a wholly human form. κάλοις: from the noun κάλως, the 'ropes' or 'tackle' of the sails.

4 εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ παρωμάρτουν ἐκατέρωθεν 'escorted her on both sides, [starting] directly from the river'; that is, they escorted her along the river, then from the river into the town. Translators, e.g. Scott-Kilvert, here go astray. P. delicately suggests, without describing, Cl.'s departure from the barge and regal progress into the town. A description of the movement would break up the visual impact of her pose on the barge. She is next seen against the background of the lights at her banquet (§7), another powerful tableau.

5 ὥς ἡ Ἀφροδίτῃ κωμάζοι πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον ἐπ' ἀγαθῶι τῆς Ἀσίας: in certain ceremonies even less exalted mortals might be likened to deities, for instance the beautiful Anthia whom the Ephesians hail as Artemis in Xenophon of Ephesus (1.2.2): they then greet her future lover Habrocomes similarly in an ephebic procession (1.2.8) – a mirroring effect similar to P.'s here. Cf. W. R. Connor in *JHS* 107 (1987) 40–50. πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον: 24.4n. Again, nothing suggests that A. at this stage encouraged this identification with Dionysus.

**26.6–27.2 The feasting in Cilicia.** Cf. the more detailed account of Socrates of Rhodes (*FGrH* 192 fr. 1), who dwells on the luxury – the jewelled vessels, the purple and gold tapestries, the roses which covered the floor – and the generosity with which Cl. gave all this away to A. and his captains. Most of that is too fantastic to believe (cf. Becher 143–5), and some of it is inconsistent with P.: Socrates gives the second day's dinner to Cl., not A. (ctr. 27.1). More important is the different emphasis. For P., the extravagance is just the starting-point: it is more important to see how A. joked at his own expense, how Cl. gauged the right way to talk to him, and how her charm proved irresistible.

Socrates dwells on the externals, P. on the personalities and their reactions. Cf. also Lucan's account of Cl.'s banquet for *Caesar* (10.107–71): that too stresses the externals. ἡ δὲ μᾶλλον ἐκεῖνον ἡξίου πρὸς αὐτὴν ἤκειν: it was a mark of status to give the first entertainment, as 35.6 shows; at 32.3 the casting of lots saves embarrassment. εὐκολίαν 'readiness to accept' a demand, Latin *facilitas*.

6–7 μάλιστα τῶν φώτων τὸ πλῆθος ἐξεπλάγη . . . : the visual register again (26n.). Virgil similarly describes the lighting for Dido's banquet: *dependent lychni laquearibus aureis | incensi et noctem flammis funalia uincunt* (*Aen.* 1.726–7). The two scenes correspond closely. Godlike Dido (like Diana, 1.498–502) and godlike Aeneas (*deo similis*, 1.589, cf. 4.143–9) meet in a setting of extraordinary beauty, and an atmosphere in which the godlike may well fall in love. As they feast they discover how much they share, though in the *Aeneid* it is similar duties and experiences rather than magnificence and temperament. Cf. Intr., 17. τοιαύταις . . . τρόπῳ 'ordered and arranged in such intricate interrelations (lit. 'angles to one another', πρὸς ἄλληλα κλίσει) and patterns (lit. 'layouts', θέσει), some in squares, some in circles . . .' (lit. 'in the manner of squares' or 'rectangles', πλαισίων, 'and circles', περιφερῶν, from περιφερής).

27.1 πρῶτος ἔσκαωπτεν . . . : A. is again ready to take a joke (24.11): cf. 4.5, 24.9–12 nn. αὐχμόν: the 'squalid' fare: a strong word, lit. 'drought'.

2 πολὺ . . . τὸ στρατιωτικόν . . . καὶ βάναισον: so Ziegler for the manuscripts' πολὺν . . . τὸν στρατιώτην . . . καὶ βάναισον, which would in itself be bold but possible: Cl. saw 'a lot of the coarse soldier' in A.'s humour. But Cl. ἐχρήτο καὶ τούτῳ, she adroitly used 'this' herself, and 'this' must be clearly formulated as A.'s soldierly and coarse *manner*: that requires τὸ στρατιωτικόν, not τὸν στρατιώτην. ἐχρήτο καὶ τούτῳ: she is immediately the supreme κόλαξ, adapting herself to the style of her victim: cf. *How to Tell a Flatterer* 51d–e, and the advice of the *lena* at Prop. 4.5.45–6, *in mores te uerte uiri: si cantica iactat, | i comes et uoces ebria iunge tuas*.

3–5 **The description of Cleopatra**, corresponding to the study of A. at 24.9–12 (nn.). This is 'the most critical and objective description of Cl. in ancient literature' (Becher 72). Cf. Dio 42.34.3–5 on her attractiveness to C.: he agrees on her charm but more predictably

makes her περικαλλεστώτη γυναικῶν. She soon became stereotyped in legend as a great beauty; cf. Lucan 10.60-2; *de Vir. Ill.* 86.2; 'she was fair as is the rose in May', Chaucer, *The Legend of Good Women* 613. The many coin-portraits, though heavily stylised, still support P.'s more measured description. She had a high brow, with large and deep-set eyes, and a determined chin and expression; the mouth is a little broad, and that famous nose – the nose on which Pascal mused,\* the *très joli nez* of *Astérix et Cléopâtre* – is in fact a little downturned, and a little too long. Several surviving busts and statues may represent Cl., but in every case the attribution is disputed. Cf. Toynbee 86-8, and, with good illustrations, G. M. A. Richter, *Portraits of the Greeks* II (London 1965) 269 and figs. 1857-64. τοῦ περιθέοντος ἄμα πῶς περὶ τὴν ὁμίαν ἦθους: striking language. Lit. 'the character which surrounded (as a wall 'surrounds', 705a) her whole manner in company ...'

**4-5 Cleopatra's mastery of foreign languages.** Had A. enumerated Cl.'s charms, one doubts if he would in fact have dwelt on her flair for languages. But P. wanted to include this item, and the mention of her 'voice' provided the least unsuitable context (cf. 13n.). He also needed to fill out his description, for a bare sentence was hardly enough: he had been much fuller on A. (24.9-12). Cl. may well have had intellectual tastes: Philostratus comments on her φιλολογία (*V.S.* 1.5), and she perhaps formed a circle of intellectuals at her court (cf. Fraser 1312, 361-3, 806-7; Grant 181). But this range of languages is suspiciously conventional. Mithridates was said to know 22 separate languages, so that he could address every one of his subject tribes without an interpreter (Val. Max. 8.7.16). Still, it is likely enough that Cl. learnt Egyptian, and this was unusual: an earlier king had used interpreters to address his troops (Plb. 5.83.7, cf. W. Peremans, *Festschrift Oertel* [Bonn 1964] 49-60).

**4 Τρωγοδύταις** (rather than Τρωγλοδύταις [MSS]: these are nothing to do with 'cave-dwellers'): a tribe of most peculiar habits, dwelling on the E. coast of Egypt and extending south from Suez to Abyssinia. Cf. *OCD*<sup>2</sup>.

**5 ἐνίων δὲ καὶ τὸ μακεδονίζειν ἐκλιπόντων:** they spoke the universal (κοινή) form of Greek. The Ptolemies were Macedonian by

\* *Le nez de Cléopâtre: s'il eût été plus court, toute la face de la terre aurait changé* (*Pensées* II.162).

descent, the first Ptolemy being Alexander's general who succeeded to this part of the empire.

**28–9 Antony in Alexandria, 41–40 B.C.** A fine collection of stories, beautifully told: particularly delicate is the humour at 28.11 ('Of course A.'s son can make such a gift if he chooses – but perhaps you *would* be wise to take the cash instead . . .'); and the charm with which Cl. turns A.'s discomfiture into a majestic compliment at 29.7. The stories of 28.3–12 are explicitly owed to an oral source, and those of 29 may be similar (Intr., 29). It is unlikely that they were tied explicitly to the winter of 41–40: P. has presumably displaced some of the items from a later context (this is clear at 28.7–11, καὶ χρόνου προϊόντος . . ., cf. 28.7n.), or at least chosen to anchor undated stories here. He rarely interrupts his narrative for so extensive a collection of anecdotes (though cf. *Per.* 24, *Cic.* 24–5, *Caes.* 16–17), but the technique is similar to that of 4(n.), 24.9–12, 27.3–5 and 70, where P. uses a characterising digression to mark an important moment. These stories give us a clearer impression of Cl., supplementing 27.3–5; they also suggest the distinctive atmosphere of Alexandria (Intr., 39). 'The Alexandrians liked this clowning . . . the word went round that A. played his tragic roles in Rome, but his comic ones here' (29.4). At the beginning and end (28.1, 30.1–2) P. sets this playful world against the bloody realities which await A. when he leaves: only here can he be a lad (μειράκιον) in love. P. omits awkward and gruesome facts, for Cl. used A. to settle old scores. Her sister Arsinoe was dragged from sanctuary in Ephesus and killed; Tyre was forced to surrender Serapion, the disloyal admiral (25.1n.); Arados had to give up a pretender to the throne. App. 5.9 and Jos. *A.J.* 15.88–93 use such material to show the depth of Antony's infatuation; P. prefers to leave his contrast of the different worlds unblurred.

As often, Sh. took P.'s hint, and *A. & C.* elaborates the differing styles of Alexandria and Rome: scenic form enabled him to transpose this contrast into different registers (Intr., 39). But he preferred to use these stories differently, delaying two of them to the point when A. is agreeing to marry Octavia (II.ii.183–6, v.15–18). These retrospects of Alexandria, like that of Tarsus (II.ii.195–223, cf. 26n.), now serve a different function, persuading us of the hopelessness of that marriage: cf. Intr., 42.

P. does not rush the stories. He marks their importance with literary allusions (28.1, 29.1) and suggestive images: Cl. and A. as teacher and pupil, 29.1, and A. as an actor, 29.4(nn.). The elaborate period at 28.1, building to the Antiphon quotation, gives way to a lighter style and sentence-structure for the stories. Cf. in 29 the elaborate style for Cl. herself (29.1), then a much greater simplicity.

**28.1 ἥρπασεν** 'ravished', a strong word, almost always denoting real violence. This rare metaphorical use is perhaps influenced by Lat. *rapio*. The application of military imagery to erotic contexts is of course common (cf. esp. Ov. *Am.* 1.9), but here it is given added piquancy by a juxtaposition with *real* warfaring (cf. e.g. Prop. 1.6, 3.4-5): so also with οἰχεσθαι φερόμενον later in the sentence (n.). **πολεμούσης . . . Μεσοποταμίαν**: cf. 24.1 and esp. 30.1-2, where both the Perusine War and the Parthian invasion are reintroduced. 28.1 and 30.1-2 therefore frame the treatment of Alexandria: as the menaces become insistent, they are presented with more detail. Cf. 9-13n. **πολεμούσης μὲν ἐν Ῥώμῃ Καίσαρι Φουλβίας**: the Perusine War, 30.1n. **αἰωρουμένης** 'hover', an expressive word which P. used of menacing armies (*Phil.* 16.2, *Cic.* 15.5) and fleets (*Alc.* 28.5, *Pomp.* 10.1). The use seems unparalleled in other authors. **αἰωρουμένης δὲ . . . Μεσοποταμίαν**: a war with Parthia had been in the air for years (N. C. Debevoise, *A Political History of Parthia* (Chicago 1938) 70-108). There was some fighting in the mid-sixties; Crassus' invasion ended in disaster at Carrhae in 53; the Parthians then invaded Syria and Cilicia in 52-51 (5.4n.). In the Roman civil war the Republicans changed their tune, and Pompey sought to form an alliance with the Parthian king Orodes (Dio 41.55.3-4). This came to nothing, but Orodes was clearly sympathetic: Pompey thought of fleeing to his court after Pharsalus (*Pomp.* 76.6); and a few years later the Parthians helped Q. Caecilius Bassus against the Caesarian forces in Syria (*MRR* 308). C. was planning a great Parthian expedition when he was assassinated in 44. Some Parthian contingents then fought with Brutus and Cassius (App. 4.59, 63, 88, 99). Throughout 41 A. had been preparing an invasion (ἀπτόμενος τοῦ Παρθικοῦ πολέμου, 25.2), building a large fleet (30.3n.), and securing a firm base in Egypt and the eastern provinces (25.2n.). In late summer 41 he began hostilities, taking Palmyra in Syria (App. 5.9). Parthia naturally responded by gathering this force in

Mesopotamia, but the plan of using it for a pre-emptive *Parthian* invasion only seems to have taken shape after the end of the campaigning season: see next n. **Q. Labienus** (*OCD*<sup>2</sup>), sent by Brutus and Cassius to ask Orodes for aid, was still at his court when news of Philippi arrived: he wisely stayed there. At the end of 41 – after A.’s departure to Alexandria for the winter, according to Dio 48.24.7 – Labienus persuaded Orodes to invade Roman Asia Minor. This was not necessarily treachery, for he was simply continuing the Republicans’ policy of exploiting Parthian help. The campaign began, it seems, in early spring, 40: cf. 30.2n. βασιλέως: regularly used without the article to refer to the king of Persia or Parthia, ‘the Great King’: cf. LSJ III.1; 34.2, 44.2 below. Παρθικὸν ἀναγορεύσαντες αὐτοκράτορα: coins survive with Labienus’ head and the inscription Q. LABIENUS PARTHICUS IMP.: the reverse shows a Parthian horse and bow-case (EJ 8, *RRC* no. 524). Strabo 14.660 says that Hybreas of Mylasa (24.7n.), on hearing that Labienus was styling himself Παρθικὸς αὐτοκράτωρ, retorted that in that case he would be Καρικὸς αὐτοκράτωρ. Strabo and P. take Παρθικὸς αὐτοκράτωρ (= *Parthicus imperator*) together, ‘the commander of the Parthians’; Strabo implies that Hybreas took it that way too. But Dio 48.26.5, ‘he called himself both *imperator* [αὐτοκράτωρ] and *Parthicus*’, implies that he *both* had himself acclaimed ‘imperator’ and assumed the cognomen *Parthicus*. Dio is probably right (cf. Crawford, *RRC* I 529): when it was important to win over Roman garrisons (30.2n.), Labienus might well take the traditional title of *imperator* and a cognomen, but would hardly stress that he was now a ‘Parthian commander’. Hybreas’ misunderstanding was doubtless malicious, and misled Strabo: if P. knew the story, he was perhaps misled similarly. οἵχεσθαι φερόμενον ὑπ’ αὐτῆς εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ‘carried off by her to Alexandria’, as a slave or captive would be ‘carried off’ in a real war: cf. §1n. This was probably late autumn 41, for A.’s attack on Palmyra (above) was presumably at the end of the campaigning season: he would otherwise have pressed his attack further. μαιρακίου ‘a young lad’: cf. μαιρακιεύοντος, 30.1, and 29.3n. P. tends to use the word of boys about twenty years old (cf. Porter on *Arat.* 4.1). He perhaps took the idea from a source: cf. App. 5.8, ‘A.’s reason was shattered by the sight (of Cl. at Tarsus); he was captivated μαιρακιωδῶς, for all his forty years ...’ (Intr., 18). καθηδυναθεῖν ‘waste in luxury’ (21.1–5n.), another powerful and unusual word. Cf.

Xen. *Anab.* 1.3.3, and especially Luc. *dial. mort.* 12.6 of a negligent general, ἑταίραις συνὼν καὶ τοὺς τοῦ πολέμου καίρους ὁ θαυμάσιος καθηδυπαθῶν. **Antiphon** was a common name, and it has been disputed since antiquity whether the politician Antiphon of Rhamnus was the same as Antiphon the Sophist (cf. *OCD*<sup>2</sup>). If they are different, our passage doubtless comes from the Sophist: so Diels-Kranz (87 fr. 77). It is of a piece with, and perhaps from the same context as, e.g. his fr. 52, 'you can't take back your life like a move in draughts'; cf. 50, 53a.

2 **σύνδοτος Ἀμμητοβίων**: the inspiration of 'we stand up peerless' (Sh. *Li.* 40). At 71.4 this club is disbanded and replaced by the 'Partners in Death'. The 'Inimitable Livers' possibly bore a serious religious significance as a sort of Dionysiac θίασος (cf. J. Tondriau, *Chr. d'Ég.* 41 (1946) 160-7), particularly if P. is here advancing material from several years later (28-9n.), when the Dionysiac note was more insistent (24.4n.). The word σύνδοτος, though frequent (esp. in Egypt) for many sorts of 'guilds' and 'clubs', was particularly appropriate for a religious association: cf. esp. Philo *Flacc.* 136, 'there are crowded θίασοι in Alexandria, where wine, drunkenness, and violence reign supreme: they are called σύνδοτοι καὶ κλῖναι by the natives'. On 28th Dec. 34 one 'Parasitus' set up an inscription honouring as 'his god and benefactor' Ἀντώνιον μέγαν ἀμίμητον ἀφροδισίοις (*OGIS* 195, republished by P. M. Fraser, *JRS* 47 (1957) 71-3). That is presumably an allusion to the 'Inimitable Livers', though A. is now 'inimitable in τὰ ἀφροδίσια' - perhaps a 'public joke at his expense' (Fraser), perhaps a serious association with Aphrodite as well as Dionysus.

3 **διηγείτο γοῦν ἡμῶν τῷ πάμπωι Λαμπρίαϊ Φιλώτας ὁ Ἀμφισσεὺς ἱατρός . . .**: a reminder of how much information may rest on such 'oral sources': Intr., 29. P. remembers with affection his grandfather Lamprias, 'at his most inventive and talkative when in his cups' (622f), and gives him several roles in the *Table Talk*. Philotas of Amphissa is mentioned in a Delphic inscription (*SEG* 1.181) as Φιλώτας Νίκωνος Ἀμφισσεὺς, ἱατρός, ἐπιδημῶν πλείονα χρόνον ἐν τῇ πόλει ἡμῶν: it was presumably at Delphi that he came to know Lamprias, perhaps fifty years his junior, and doubtless told him the stories many times (cf. ἐκάστοτε, §12n.). Cf. W. A. Oldfather, *CP* 19 (1924) 177; Jones 10.

7 **τὸν πρεσβύτατον τῶν Ἀντωνίου παίδων ὃν ἐκ Φουλβίας εἶχε**:

M. Antonius Antyllus, born late 47 or 46, the infant hostage of 44 (14.2n.). This anecdote evidently relates to some period between 37 and 31. He died in 30 (81.1n.). ἐπιεικῶς 'generally' or 'often', a post-classical use (LSJ III.4): cf. *Pel.* 18.1, *Tim.* 26.2 (with Holden's n.).

8 ἐπιστομίσαι 'stopped his mouth', rare outside P. in this metaphorical use: the nearest parallel comes from a famous passage in Plato *Gorgias* (482e). *Gorg.* is in P.'s mind (29.1n.), and the language may be influenced by that passage.

9-11 The story is similar to the one told of A.'s father in 1. Generosity is plainly a hereditary trait, 1n.

10 σημῆνασθαι κελεύειν 'told him to put his seal on it'.

11 ἀφροσιουμένου: a favourite word of P., 'refuse' or 'wave away', often because of religious dread but sometimes (as here) for other reasons: cf. *Sulla* 22.6 (with Holden's n.), *Alex.* 2.6, etc.

12 ἐκάστοτε 'on every occasion', whenever he got the chance: the splendid touch reminds us that the gathering of oral traditions could have its longueurs.

29.1 οὐχ ὥσπερ ὁ Πλάτων φησὶ τετραχῆι: P. refers to the artificial 'division' (διείρεσις) developed at *Gorg.* 462c-466a. Plato there distinguishes four genuine arts which attend to the health of the soul and the body: they each have spurious equivalents, which are forms of κολακεία. The genuine arts of the soul are law-giving and justice, those of the body medicine and gymnastics. The spurious equivalents are respectively sophistic, rhetoric, pastry-cooking (ὀψοποιική), and cosmetics. Plato's principal concern is to denigrate rhetoric, and its inclusion among the spurious arts is pointed and paradoxical. Of the other forms of κολακεία Plato stresses ὀψοποιική: cf. esp. 462de, 464d, and his reversion to the idea at 521e. Here P. too has just been talking about elaborate cookery, and stressing the story of the pastry-cook (28.3-6). Probably the story of the ὀψοποιός started P.'s mind running on *Gorg.* (perhaps already at 28.8(n.)); the allusion now makes the link explicit. Cf. *Dir.* 11.1-12.1: the demagogue Stratocles reminded P. of Cleon (11.2), and at 12.1 he alludes to Ar. *Knights*, a play greatly concerned with Cleon. ἀεί τινα καινὴν ἡδονὴν ἐπιφέρειν καὶ χάριν: as the supreme κόλαξ would. Cf. *How to Tell a Flatterer*, esp. 55a, 'this is the task and purpose of the flatterer, always to be cooking up and seasoning (ὀψοποιεῖν καὶ καρυκεύειν) some fresh amusement or activity

or conversation which is pleasurable and aimed at pleasure'. *διεπαιδαγώγει* 'trained'. P. revives the ideas of 10.6(n.), where the process of training (there *πεπαιδαγωγημένον*) was begun by Fulvia: Cl. owed her a 'teacher's fee' (*διδασκάλια*).

2 *νόκτωρ . . . λαμβάνουσα*: these stories of A. may be coloured by the behaviour of the young Nero, who 'wandered through the city's streets, brothels, and taverns, disguised in slave's clothing; he had companions who would seize the goods displayed for sale outside shops, and would set about anyone who met them . . . But it soon became known that it was really the emperor . . .' (Tac. *Ann.* 13.25, cf. Suet. *Nero* 26). But others too behaved similarly: the young Otho tossed passers-by in a blanket (Suet. *Otho* 2), L. Verus liked breaking windows (S.H.A. *Ver.* 4.6-7). Augustine too was distinctly unsaintly as a youth, specialising in turning people on to their heads (*Conf.* 3.3). Cf. W. B. McDaniel, *AJP* 35 (1914) 52-66. These excesses of the young and privileged are not especially surprising; but A. was no longer young. At 30.1 *μειρακιενόμενον* delicately makes the point.

4 *οὐκ ἄρρύθμως οὐδ' ἀμούσως* 'with good timing and good taste'. *οὐκ ἄρρύθμως* might simply mean 'in due measure' (LSJ *ἄρρυθμος*, cf. LSJ *ῥυθμός* π-π), but probably the musical metaphor is felt more strongly; the Alexandrians 'accompanied' A. as he played, 'kept time with him'. *τῷ τραγικῷ . . . αὐτούς*: the theatrical imagery is important, cf. Intr., 21-2. Alexandria was renowned for its sense of humour: cf. Dio Prus. 32.1, 32.99, with Jones, *Dio* 37.

5 *τὴν Αἰγυπτίαν*: 25.3n.

7 *γέλωτος οἶον εἰκὸς γενομένου*: and A. *γελώμενος οὐχ ἥττον ἢ γέλῳ ἔχαιρε* (24.11). *παράδος . . . βασιλεῦσιν*: for Pharos and Canopus see Map 4. The skilful *κόλαξ* always claims supremacy for himself in anything *φαῦλον* (54b-d, 57d-e), and Cl. knows when it is wise to denigrate 'the kings of Egypt'.

30.1 *ἀγγελίαι δύο καταλαμβάνουσιν*: we return in greater detail to the two menaces sketched at 28.1(n.). P. misleadingly implies (a) that now, in early 40, was the first time A. heard of the Perusine War and Labienus' invasion, and (b) that both conflicts were already completed or nearly completed. But (a) A. must have known for some time about the war in Italy, at least about such early stages as Fulvia's disagreement with L. Antonius (*στασιάσαντος*, cf. next n.). From mid-41

onwards O. and others made sure A. knew what was going on (App. 5.21, 52, 60). Dio 48.27.1 is clear that A. was aware of Italian events (§3n.), and P. too probably knew the truth. (b) Though this probably was the first time A. heard of Labienus' invasion, it was still in its early stages, and Labienus did not reach 'Lydia and Ionia' till later in the year (§2n.). The two mis-statements aid concision, for P. thereby collects all the details of Perugia and Labienus together; the concentration also accentuates the sudden desperate crisis. **Λεύκιον . . . καὶ Φουλβίαν . . . ἐξ Ἰταλίας**. For the Perusine war cf. Syme 207-12; E. Gabba, *HSCP* 75 (1971) 139-51; W. V. Harris, *Rome in Etruria and Umbria* (Oxford 1971) 299-303. Before Philippi eighteen cities had been marked down to provide land for the triumvirs' veterans, and it then fell to O. to organise the settlement (23.1n.). It was a hateful task, involving widespread expropriation and intense misery for the dispossessed: had P. known Latin literature better, he might have adduced Virg. *Ecl.*, esp. 1 and 9, to illuminate this distress. There were violent protests, and the veterans themselves, anxious at the slow pace of the settlements, soon added to the clamour. L. Antonius, consul in 41, rallied the discontented. Fulvia may initially have opposed him (App. 5.19, cf. **πρῶτον ἀλλήλοις στασιάζοντας** here) but she soon gave unqualified support. In the East, A. knew what was going on, but thought it best to send no clear instructions. His supporters in Italy were bewildered. L. Antonius occupied Rome with an army, then marched north: in autumn 41 he was forced into Perugia and besieged. Perugia fell in early spring 40. L. Antonius himself was received honourably by O. and indeed sent to govern Spain (for him, P.'s **φεύγειν ἐξ Ἰταλίας** is misleading); Fulvia fled to Brundisium, then sailed for Greece.

2 **Λαβινηνὸν . . . καταστρέφεσθαι**: the decision to invade had probably been taken in late 41 (28.1n.), and the campaign began in spring 40. For its course cf. esp. Dio 48.25-7; Syme 223, 259; Magie 430-1, 1280-1. Labienus easily conquered Syria; A. arrived at Tyre to discover that Syria had already fallen, and then the news from Italy anyway induced him to sail west (§3). While Orodes' son Pacorus took Palestine, Labienus swept through Cilicia and on to the Ionian coast; many Romans in Asia joined him (Strabo 14.660, cf. Dio 48.39.3). Caria suffered very badly; Lydia too was probably overrun, as P. says. P. wrongly implies that all this happened before A. moved from

Alexandria: he certainly arrived at Tyre too late to save Syria, but most of the Parthian successes were clearly later than that. Labienus met no effective resistance till early 39 (33.1n.), and these conquests presumably occupied the whole of 40. Cf. App. 5.65, §§1, 3 nn.

3 ἀποκραιπαλήσας: cf. 9.5n. So too Dio 48.27.1, in similar terms and probably from the same source: 'A. knew of all this' (Labienus' successes) 'as he doubtless knew of everything that was happening in Italy: nothing at all escaped him; but he did not meet either threat in time. Besotted by love and by drink, he gave no thought either to his allies or his foes'. App. 5.9 speaks generally of 'A.'s vigilance being blunted' by his passion for Cl. Cf. Intr., 18. But his lack of reaction to the Italian crisis was clearly conscious policy, and he was not slow to react to Labienus' attack: he was too late to save Syria, but Syria fell very quickly (§2n.). This whole picture of A.'s captivation in 41-40 is overstated. True, his exchanges with Cl. were already more than diplomatic: their twins were born in 40 (36.5n.), and cf. Suet. *Aug.* 69.2 (55n.). But he left her in the spring, and did not see her again for nearly four years. Cf. Syme 214. μέχρι Φοινίκης προῆλθε: to Tyre. ἄγων ναῦς διακοσίας: the fleet built in 41 for the Parthian War (App. 5.55, cf. 23.3, 28.1 nn.).

4 τοῦ πολέμου τὴν Φουλβίαν αἰτίαν . . . : P. again makes Fulvia Cl.'s precursor (cf. 10.6n.): just as she now uses warfare to draw A. back from Cl., so later Cl. provokes a war to keep A. from Octavia (53.5-12). But blame of Fulvia for the war was already in the tradition: cf. App. 5.19, 59, 66, Dio 48.28.3. It is unfair. A. met Cl. at Tarsus in late summer 41, and scandal could not have reached Italy by spring or early summer, when Fulvia and Antonius first\*resorted to arms. If Fulvia had any reason for jealousy then, it was probably A.'s affair with Glaphyra (24.1n.): O.'s obscene elegiacs (24.1n.) fastened on that, not on Cl. The whole theme of Fulvia's jealousy is probably propagandist fantasy, of a piece with the general hostility of the tradition (cf. 10.4, 20.4 nn.; Dio 48.4, 10, etc.). Once A. and O. had come to terms, it was in everyone's interests to blame Fulvia for the war (cf. Dio 48.28.3).

App. 5.59 adds that A. was genuinely saddened by Fulvia's death, feeling that he was responsible – an interesting notion which P. suppresses. That is in keeping with his generally flat portrayal of Fulvia (10.4n.), and also reflects how little interest P. here generates in A.'s

psychology. His infatuation is like a hangover or a debauch: with difficulty, A. can simply cast it off. As yet, there is little interest in his torment: cf. Intr., 13.

Sh. begins *A. & C.* at Alexandria in 40, with the receipt of the news of Perusia and Labienus: but his A. is *already* racked by torment (Intr., 42). Sh. adapts his treatment of Fulvia accordingly. At this stage he ignores the theme of her 'responsibility for the war': that comes later, as one of A.'s powerfully sweeping justifications at Brundisium (II.ii.98-9). He does exploit the notion of Fulvia as Cl.'s precursor, but differently. The idea is given to Cl. herself as one of her infuriating pieces of provocation, bewildering A. even as he draws himself away. 'Now I see, I see, In Fulvia's death, how mine received shall be' (I.iii.65-6, a prophecy proved cruelly false at IV.xiv). The adaptation is made possible by advancing the news of Fulvia's death so that A. receives it while still with Cl. (I.ii.118); that news indeed adds emotional intensity to their parting in I.iii. It is in keeping with A.'s stature that for all his bewilderment he *can* outface Cl., and that his respect for Fulvia is strongly felt (I.ii.123-8, contrast Enobarbus' 'light answers' at 162-77: cf. II.ii.65-8, 10.5n., and Intr., 42).

5 πλέουσιν πρὸς αὐτόν: not quite. A. met her in Athens as he sailed west (App. 5.52): their conversation was no doubt heated. He was already in Italy when he heard of her death.

6 ὥς γὰρ προσέμειξε τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ: he arrived in strength. Sextus Pompey, powerful at sea (32.1nn.), had sent to offer him an alliance, and Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus also united his large fleet with A.'s. Brundisium would not admit them, and was besieged; Sextus occupied Sardinia and harassed the S. Italian coast in support. O.'s troops were uneasy and reluctant, and A.'s force came off better in some skirmishes. Καῖσαρ ἦν φανερός . . . προστριβόμενος: μέν and δέ regularly stand second in their respective word-groups, so that the first word of the μέν-group is here ἐκείνῳ. Everything preceding the first word of the μέν-group must be taken as qualifying both the μέν-group and the δέ-group; cf. Denniston 371. Here therefore Καῖσαρ ἦν φανερός must be taken both with ἐκείνῳ μέν . . . ἐγκαλῶν and with αὐτὸς δ' . . . προστριβόμενος, and it follows that this αὐτὸς δ' is O. himself: 'O. was evidently (a) accusing A. of nothing, and (b) blaming Fulvia for everything of which he himself was accused'. Perrin and Scott-Kilvert

both mistranslate, taking αὐτὸς δ' as A. O. is again cool and sensible: cf. 16.5–8, 53.1 nn., and Intr., 14.

**30.6–31.5 The treaty of Brundisium** (Sept. 40). O. and others take the initiative: A. is passive. P. speaks vaguely of 'the friends' (οἱ φίλοι, 30.6) or 'everyone' (ἅπαντες, 31.4) pressing for agreement. As is his custom (Pelling (3) 180–1), he obscures the importance of the legions and their officers here. Deputations from each side urged compromise, and it was not clear that they would agree to fight (cf. App. 5.57, 59, 63–4). It was only after the legions' wishes became clear that the 'friends' – Pollio negotiating for A., Maecenas for O., L. Cocceius Nerva as a neutral – played their part; Julia too urged A. to compromise (32.1n.).

The agreement closely duplicated the compact of Philippi (23.1n.), but there was one portentous change. A.'s man Q. Fufius Calenus, governor of Gaul, had suddenly died in May or June. O. had taken over the province and its eleven legions, much to A.'s fury. The new treaty recognised this, transferring Gaul to O.; he also took Illyricum. The division of the world was correspondingly neater, as P. implies. A. was master of the East, O. of the West;\* Lepidus retained Africa. A. was to 'avenge Crassus' by carrying through the Parthian War, O. to claim Sardinia and Sicily by expelling Sextus – unless (an interesting proviso) Sextus came to some agreement. That agreement was duly reached at Misenum (32.3n.). This division of West and East had momentous consequences. First, A. faced a more exclusively eastern future: cf. 24.4n. Secondly, O.'s position in Italy was a priceless asset. Italy was now supposed to be open to both men for their own recruiting – but O. was there, A. was not. It proved steadily more possible for O. to pose as the defender of Italian traditions against the degenerate and oriental A. This control of Italy, initially a sign of O.'s weakness (23.1, 30.1 nn.), became an important element in his success.

**31.1 Octavia**, O.'s elder sister, was born about 70, and married C.

\* This 'division' must be understood roughly. Eastern states as well as western addressed petitions to O., who felt himself entitled to answer them with authority: cf. his correspondence with Rhosos (EJ 301, *RDGE* 58), and with Ephesus, Samos, and Aphrodisias (Reynolds docs. 10, 12, 13 and pp. 39–40). He could even send ἐντολαί (= *mandata*, a 'commission') to A. to restore loot to Ephesus (Reynolds doc. 12).

Marcellus (5.4n.) before 54; they had three children (87.3-4). Dio 48.31.3 says that she was still pregnant by Marcellus when she married A., possibly rightly (though if so she probably miscarried, for she was pregnant by A. very quickly, 33.5). If P. knew this detail, he presumably suppressed it as out of keeping with Octavia's propriety. οὐχ ὁμομητρία δὲ . . . Ἀτίας: wrong: Octavia was Atia's daughter, and O.'s full sister. P. confuses her with their half-sister Octavia *maior* (OCD<sup>s</sup>).

2 χρῆμα θαυμαστόν ὥς λέγεται γυναικὸς γενομένην 'who was, they say, a marvel of a woman'. Not 'as the saying goes' (Perrin, Scott-Kilvert): we know of no such saying. The classical use of χρῆμα + gen. is colloquial (e.g. Ar. *Clouds* 2, *Frogs* 1278), and is forceful in dignified prose (e.g. Plato *Rpb.* 8.567e, *Tht.* 209e). It becomes more frequent in post-classical Greek, but retains its power, and usually expresses wonder: e.g. Chariton 1.1.1 (θαυμαστόν τι χρῆμα παρθένου); L. Bergson, *Eranos* 65 (1967) 92-6. As often (35.2-4, 53, 54.1-5, 57, 83.6, 87 nn.), P. gives a fuller portrait of Octavia than our other accounts: App. 5.64 and Dio 48.32.3 barely mention her. P. probably had little evidence for her 'marvellous' qualities, except the events which he will recount. He develops her as the foil to Cl., all that is best in Roman women: the two marvels of womankind will contend for A., and bring him torment. P.'s development of Octavia is taken over by Sh., but his Octavia, 'of a holy, cold, and still conversation' (n.vi.120-1), is a paler version, for he is more concerned than P. to stress that A. will inevitably prefer Cl. Cf. Intr., 42, 28-9, 33.5, 35.3 nn.

3 γάμῳ δ' οὐχ ὁμολογῶν: 36.5n. ἔτι τῷ λόγῳ . . . μαχόμενος: lit. 'but still, in this [matter of] description, about this at least struggling against his love for the Egyptian woman' (cf. 25.3n.). Translators wrongly take τῷ λόγῳ as 'with his reason'.

4 ἐπὶ κάλλει τοσούτῳ σεμνότητι καὶ νοῦν ἔχουσιν: P. could infer Octavia's dignity and wisdom from her conduct: cf. 35, 53.2-5, 54.2-5, 57.4-5, 87.1-5. For her beauty cf. 57.5. Several coin-portraits survive, variously stylised but suggesting a kindly, rather round, face (Sh. guessed well, m.iii.29-30); 'beauty' is an over-statement. Cf. Toynbee 48-50. This may be P.'s imaginative reconstruction: any serious rival to Cl. must be beautiful: cf. Intr., 35. But P. may be inferring from a generous representation on a surviving statue of Octavia. σωτηρίαν . . . καὶ σύγκρασιν 'salvation and harmony', σύγκρασιν suggesting the

element which ‘mixed together’ the conflicting interests: cf. *Caes.* 67.9 (quoted at 14.4n.), LSJ 1.a. Italian joy at the Treaty is clear. On 12th Oct. 40 the magistrates of Casinum erected a celebratory monument (*signum Concordiae*), *ILLRP* 562a. Coins too were struck, *RRC* nos. 527–9: note esp. 529.4a, a head of *Concordia* and two hands around a *caduceus* (a symbol of concord) with the inscription M. ANTON. C. CAESAR. IMP. Both A. and O. celebrated *ouationes* on entering Rome a few weeks later.

5 οὐκ ἔωντος μὲν νόμου . . . : traditionally a law of Numa (*Numa* 12.3, cf. *Cor.* 39.10–11). Widowers were under no such restriction, and so the short interval since Fulvia’s death was not a problem.

**32.1 Sextus Pompey**, younger son of Pompey the Great, had been an important factor in politics for years: P. has so far simplified by omitting all mention of him. For his early career cf. *OCD*<sup>2</sup>. In 43 O. secured a decree to outlaw him, and he was later proscribed. Since then he had afforded a rallying-point for the disaffected and destitute of all classes. His fleet was now formidable, perhaps 200–250 vessels. He had occupied Sicily, then raided and blockaded Italy, though he always avoided any extensive conflict on the mainland; finally he repulsed O.’s general Salvidienus in 42. As relations between O. and A. worsened during 41–40 both thought of wooing Sextus: O. married Scribonia, sister of Sextus’ colleague and father-in-law L. Scribonius Libo (7.3n.). But Sextus preferred Antony, welcoming his mother, offering him an alliance (see on ὑπεδέξατο . . . τὴν μητέρα below), and occupying Sardinia and raiding the Italian coast in his support (30.6n.). In the Brundisium agreement Sextus’ position was left unclear (30.6–31.5n.). Sextus wisely maintained his pressure, and by Nov. 40 Rome was reduced to famine: A. and O. confronted violent popular riots, and they moved swiftly to make peace. Some of Sextus’ supporters, including Menas, were eager for the war to continue (App. 5.70), but Sextus himself was always realistic about his chances in a full-scale war, and did not demur for long.

Sextus was later remembered as colourful, bold, and boastful; yet he never achieved the successes to match his ostentation; and he was finally vanquished by O. in a great sea-battle (35.8n.). In fact, his character and destiny tellingly resembled A.’s own, and P. could have expanded his treatment most effectively to presage important themes.

But this part of *Ant.* is very tightly written, and P. has only just introduced Octavia (31); Cl. too is fresh in our minds. Another major character would overload the narrative, and P. preferred to limit Sextus to this single scene. **Menas** (cf. Treggiari 188-9, 265-6) is several times called by App. 'Menodorus', probably the more correct form. He and Menecrates disliked one another. They are often described as 'Sextus' freedmen', but Menas had been the slave of Pompey the Great (App. 5.79, 96), and Vell. 2.73.3 describes both Menas and Menecrates as '*paterni liberti*', i.e. freedmen of Pompey whom Sextus had inherited. After Pompey's campaign against the pirates in 67, he had founded several townships to settle his defeated foe. Such settlers would retain an obligation to Pompey as *patronus*: Menas and Menecrates were possibly settled in this way and later freed, perhaps for service in one of Pompey's later naval campaigns, his *cura annonae* in 56 or the Civil War in 49-48. **Antony's mother Julia** (2.1 n.) had confidently fled to Sextus immediately after Perusia's fall: it may be that Sextus and A. were already negotiating, and she knew that Sextus would welcome her. He then sent a prestigious escort to accompany her to A., and took the opportunity to offer him an alliance (early summer 40). A. replied encouragingly, and their understanding was sufficiently strong for Sextus to operate in A.'s support later in the summer. Julia was politically active around this time, urging reconciliation at Brundisium (App. 5.63, 30.6-31.5 n.) and probably again at Misenum (App. 5.72, with Gabba's n.). After 2.1-3 and 20.5-6 P. might have made more of her, but he has just introduced Octavia and sharply contrasted her with Cl. (31.2 n.): another dominant female might be too much. Cf. on Sextus, above.

2 συνῆλθον εἰς ταῦτόν . . . : there was a preliminary meeting of negotiators at Aenaria in spring 39. O., Sextus, and A. then met at Cape Misenum near Puteoli in full summer, perhaps August (Reynolds 70-1).

3 συνέθεντο . . . : P. is hurrying to the shipboard dinner (§§4-7), and simplifies the preliminaries by omitting details both of the negotiations and of the terms they reached. Sextus was to gain the Peloponnese and retain Corsica, Sicily, and Sardinia, and he was promised the consulship for 33. In return he would raise his blockade of Italy, suspend ship-building, guarantee Rome's corn-supply, and 'keep the sea free of

pirates'. An amnesty allowed his supporters to return to Italy. *κληρουμένων*: to avoid embarrassment, 26.6n.

4 ἐξήρη: cf. 61.1n. for these 'polyremes'. 'πατρῷος γὰρ οἶκος αὐτῇ Πομπηίῳ λέλειπται': P. simplifies the joke for his Greek audience (Intr., 8): Sextus said that 'he was giving the dinner in his *Carinae*' (Dio 48.38.2, Vell. 2.77.1). *Carinae*, 'ship's keels', was also the name of Rome's Mayfair district, the site of Pompey's house. The joke should not be pressed to suggest any very great antagonism between Sextus and A.; he evidently preferred an alliance with A. to one with O. in the summer of 40. Πομπηίου τοῦ πατρὸς 'Pompey the father', i.e. 'the elder Pompey'. Cf. 10.3, 21.2-3 nn. for A.'s purchase of Pompey's house.

**5-8 The dinner on Sextus' flagship.** Another powerful scene at sea, suggestively reminiscent of the dinners with Cl.: cf. 26n. and Intr., 22. The famous story is also told by App. 5.73 and (briefly) by Dio 48.38.2, but with far less flair. Notice P.'s distinctive touches: the jokes flying 'against A. and Cl.'; the dramatic *whisper* of Menas (in App. he lamely 'sends a message'); the melodrama of 'shall I cut the cable . . .' (in App. he roughly advises that the men should be killed); the tense silence before Sextus replies.

Sh. elaborates the story at II.vi-vii, and it is P.'s individual touches which offer the richest dramatic possibilities. The 'jokes against A. and Cl.' are refined into a series of fascinated questions asked by Sextus, Menas, and Lepidus. These questions concern not merely the queen, but also A.'s marriage to Octavia and the strange ways of the East. As in P., the preoccupation with Cl. gives the exchange a soldierly roughness; as in P., there is a sense of unease that, so soon after the marriage to Octavia, such remarks should still be made; but there is also a feeling (esp. in II.vii) of the East's strangeness to an unimaginative Roman, an interesting development of the notion of the two worlds (28-9n., Intr., 39). With his greater canvas Sh. also develops other themes. Menas and Enobarbus talk together, and speak the same language (II.vi.83-132): when Menas is rebuffed by Sextus, he knows he can no longer follow a man who wastes such a moment - just as Enobarbus will later know that he must desert the mindless A. (III.xiii.194-200, cf. II.vii.80-3). This is the sort of foreshadowing effect which P. perhaps considered but rejected (cf. on Sextus, §1n.). And Sh., starting his play in 40, has so far had no chance to introduce any of A.'s

more flamboyant excesses. The drunkenness of this party makes up for it.

**6 ἀνθούντων**: a common metaphor, but one normally used of things which can more naturally ‘bloom’ or ‘be florid’: physical beauty, a man’s reputation, a rhetorical style, etc. (cf. LSJ). It is odder and more powerful of ‘jests’, and combines well with ἀκμαζούσης. Trans. ‘were flying’. βούλει . . . ὑποτέμω: lit. ‘do you wish that I should cut off’ (subj., cf. GG §1358) ‘the anchors of the ship?’

**33.1 Ἀντώνιος . . . εἰς Ἀσίαν προὔπεμπε**: Dio 48.39.2 agrees that A. despatched Ventidius after the Misenum conference, probably incorrectly: App. 5.65 more plausibly puts Ventidius’ departure immediately after the *Brundisium* agreement, i.e. in late 40. Ventidius’ successes (§6) must have occupied most of the campaigning season of 39, and he was presumably in Asia by the beginning of that year. P. was perhaps reluctant to disturb the transition from Brundisium to Misenum by inserting this item at 31.5, where it chronologically belongs. **P. Ventidius’** rise from relatively humble origins made him one of the great *exempla* of fortune’s vicissitudes: cf. 34.9 below, and e.g. Val. Max. 6.9.9, Vell. 2.65.3, Dio 49.21.3. For his career cf. *OCD*<sup>2</sup>, E. Gabba, *The Army and the Allies* (tr. P. J. Cuff, Oxford 1976) 193 n. 119. **ἱερεὺς ἐπεδείχθη τοῦ προτέρου Καίσαρος**: A. was apparently selected to be C.’s *flamen* before his death in 44, but delayed his inauguration until now: cf. Weinstock 305–8, 399. P. suggests that he did this ‘as a favour to O.’ for he is emphasising this transient goodwill (cf. κοινῶς καὶ φιλικῶς): he need not be relying on a source.

**2–4 αἱ δὲ περὶ τὰς παιδίας ἀμιλλαι . . .**: just as the bond between the men is secured, the games uneasily portend their conflict and A.’s defeat; ctr. A.’s games with Cl. (29), where he is also discomfited (29.7), but in a way which brings out the emotional *closeness* of the lovers at play.

P. is unlikely to have found this material in his main narrative sources: no other ancient account mentions it. He seems to be recalling a story that he had known for years (Intr., 29), for he tells it in the *de Fortuna Romanorum* (319f–320a), which is certainly earlier than the *Lives*. (Cf. 53.5–9n., Intr., 29). It is unlikely that it was firmly dated to 39. If P. was to use it he had to find a context, and this alone would fit: at other times A.’s relations with O. were too tense for such tom-

foolery. But, despite the suggestiveness of the themes, the undignified triviality still sits uneasily with P.'s portrayal of O. elsewhere.

The language of the two passages is close, and P. perhaps looked again at the *de Fort. Rom.* version before composing this. But the contrast in style makes clear the different demands of rhetoric and biography. In particular, the astrologer is more exuberant in *de Fort. Rom.*

'What business, sir, have you with this young man? Flee from him. You are the more glorious; you rule over more subjects; you have contested wars; you have greater experience of life. But your *daimon* fears his; your fortune is itself great, but pays court to his; if you do not go far away, it will desert you, and go to him.' (320a)

In *Ant.* the imagery of §3 is powerful, but has a restraint lacking in the earlier version. More subtly, P. here describes A.'s *daimon* in phrases appropriate to A. himself. It is γούρος, lit. 'prancing' (P. had used the word of A.'s rhetoric at 2.8(n.)), and lofty; it grows humble and, more suggestively, *ignoble* when O. draws near. Cf. Brenk 149-50.

The story conceivably originated in the propaganda war of 33-32 (cf. Carter 184). O.'s passion for gambling was notorious (cf. Suet. *Aug.* 70-1, Scott 14-15, 32), and A. doubtless attacked him for it: this story would make a good rejoinder. Sh. displaces it to π.iii, just after the arrangement of the marriage with Octavia: yet another indication that the marriage must fail (Intr., 42; 26, 28-9 nn.).

2 ἦν γὰρ τις ἀνὴρ 'there was a man ...', the classic roundabout device of storytellers to introduce a special tale. Cf. e.g. Ogilvie on Livy 2.33.5, A. Bloch, *MH* 1 (1944) 242ff. ἀνὴρ ... ἐπισκοπούντων: lit. 'a prophet from Egypt, one of those who examine birth-days' or 'nativities' - i.e. an 'astrologer'. At 319f he was simply 'one of A.'s companions who was proud of his prophetic powers'. Egypt was famous for its astrology, and this elaboration is plausible: it also enables P. to suggest that he might be serving Cl.'s interest, presaging the later κόλοκες (cf. 53.8, 72.3, 24.9-12n.). But P. may well have no evidence for his nationality. Cf. Intr., 35, Brenk 150.

3 'ὁ γὰρ σὸς ... δαίμων τὸν τούτου φοβεῖται': P. is interested in *daimones*, but it is unclear how far his views can be reduced to consistency, and how far he believed in their literal existence. (Cf.

Brenk chs. iv-viii; Y. Vernière, *Symboles et mythes dans la pensée de Plutarque* (Paris 1977) 249-62; and, briefly, Russell 75-8.) Sometimes 'the' (or 'a') *daimon* seems an all-powerful divine force; sometimes *daimones* are a third class of being, neither god nor human but intermediate; sometimes they are human souls, either incarnate or disembodied; sometimes they represent human intellect, *voûs*; sometimes they are monstrous spirits, who can be saviours or protectors, but more often impose sufferings on men before or after death; sometimes a *daimon* is simply a man's guardian spirit, as at e.g. *C. Min.* 54.10, *Alex.* 50.2, and, clearly, here.

5 ἐφ' οἷς ἀνιῶμενος . . . Ἰταλίας: A. left Italy in autumn 39: he was still apparently in Rome on 2nd Oct. (Reynolds doc. 8 l. 26 with her comm.). P. doubtless had no authority for explaining his departure by this 'secret annoyance', but that follows naturally from the decision to include the games in this context (§§2-4n.). A. in fact had better reasons to leave quickly for the East. Extensive reorganisation was necessary before the Parthian campaign: App. 5.75 gives some details. Cf. Magie 432-6, 1282-7. θυγατρὶου: Antonia *maior*, who grew up to marry L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, 87.6n. For Octavia's later children cf. 35.2, 35.8, 87.1 nn. Sh. suppresses an important aspect of her personality by saying nothing of these children - by forsaking her A. has 'forborne the getting of a lawful race, and by a gem of women', iii.xiii.106-8 - or her care of Fulvia's (35.8, 54.3, 57.4, 87.1 nn.).

6 μάχη τοὺς Πάρθους κρατήσας . . . : Dio 48.39-41 gives more details. Ventidius first routed Labienus at the Cilician Gates, and later defeated and killed Phranipates, satrap of the newly conquered Syria, at Mt Amanus.

**33.6-34.1 Antony at Athens, 39-8.** The themes of 23.2-4(n.) recur, and A. shows a fine unpretentious philhellenism. The difference between this and the magnificence of Alexandria (28-9) is strongly felt.

App. gives a similar account, doubtless from the same source, but with interesting differences of emphasis. App. dwells on the presence of Octavia: A. enjoyed the Greek festivals in her presence, and indeed he poured devotion upon her - he was always swift to fall in love. But P. deliberately chose *not* to suggest that A. was genuinely attracted by Octavia, remarkable though she was. This is largely because P. is not

yet developing A.'s mental struggle (30.4n., Intr., 13–14): that will come later. Cf. Intr., 42.

It was now that A. began to encourage his identification with Dionysus (cf. 24.4n.). He made his wishes clear to the cities of Greece (Dio 48.39.2): in Athens he was duly celebrated as Θεὸς Νέος Διόνυσος in 39/8 (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1043 ll. 22–3), and he and Octavia were both hailed as Θεοὶ Εὐεργετοί (A. E. Raubitschek, *TAPA* 77 (1946) 146–50). There may even have been talk of a divine marriage between Antony–Dionysus and the city's goddess Athena: that seems to emerge from Dio 48.39.2 and Sen. *Suas.* 1.6–7, even if one allows for rhetorical improvement of the story. He also issued *cistophori* showing himself as Dionysus (where Dionysiac types were admittedly standard, Crawford, *RRC* II 743 n. 4). Considerable detail of A.'s magnificent Dionysiac display is given by Socrates of Rhodes (cf. 26.6–27.2n.), *FGrH* 192 fr. 2.

P. must have known of this: A.'s Dionysiac display was mentioned in the narrative tradition (Dio 48.39.2), and P. is anyway well informed about Greece (Intr., 29). But now, at Athens, A. is depicted as wondrously simple. Such magnificence is left to Alexandria and Cl.

7 ἔγυμνασιάρχει δ' Ἀθηναίοις: A. was 'master of the gymnasium', a prestigious local office found in many states of the Greek world. Its connexion with athletics was still evidently felt. The Athenians apparently chose to rename the Panathenaic Games in his honour, clumsily calling them the 'Panathenaia Antonieia' (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1043 ll. 22–3: the reading is not quite certain). τῶν γυμνασιαρχικῶν ῥάβδων: these 'sticks' (sometimes visible on vase-paintings) were a relic of the days when a gymnasiarch had been a genuine trainer. They were intended for the backs of youths who slacked. φαικασίοις: distinctive white sandals. διαλαμβάνων τοὺς νεανίσκους ἐτραχήλιζεν: probably 'grabbing the youths by their waists' (διαλαμβάνων: less likely, 'parting' them as umpire) 'he would twist their necks (ἐτραχήλιζεν)'. A good trick if one can do it: P. uses the technical terms with a certain looseness.

34.1 Ἐξιέναι δὲ μέλλων ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον: in spring 38. He first rapidly visited Brundisium, where O. had invited him for talks (cf. 35.1n.). O. did not arrive, and A. crossly sailed back. This distraction must have delayed A.'s departure to the East (that may even in part have been O.'s intention); but he still reached Syria, with an army, by mid-

summer. τῆς ἱερᾶς ἐλαίας: Athena's sacred olive on the Acropolis. Κλεψύδρας: the ebbing well below the N.W. cliff of the Acropolis.

2 Πάκορον τὸν βασιλέως (cf. 28.1n.) παῖδα . . . ἐλαύνοντα: Ventidius' victories (33.6n.) had forced the Parthians to retire beyond the Euphrates, and Ventidius spent the winter of 39-38 in consolidation. He briefly appeared in Palestine, where Herod was fighting his rival Antigonus; Rome and A. were supposed to be supporting Herod, but Ventidius decided not to become too involved, and he wintered in Syria. Pacorus (cf. 30.2n.) attacked in the spring, and was defeated by Ventidius at Gindarus, N.E. of Antioch in the Cyrrhestica region of Syria. Dio 49.19-20 gives more details.

3 ἐν τοῖς ἀοιδιμωτάτοις 'among the most glorious'. ἀοιδίμος, 'worthy of song', comes to be used generally of any 'famed', 'celebrated', or 'glorious' deed: Alexander's conquest of Asia (*Alex.* 14.9), the battle of Pharsalus (App. 2.82), cf. e.g. *Ag.-Cl.* 49.6. P. does not use this powerful word lightly: he has not given much space to Ventidius' victories, but he wants us to remember them. A.'s own Parthian campaign will be very different. Ventidius' successes indeed offered an attractive theme. Sallust wrote a speech for Ventidius to deliver at his triumph (Fronto *ad Ver.* 2.1.7, cf. A. La Penna, *Maia* 24 (1972) 349-52), the Sardinian sophist Polyaeus (*FGrH* 196) wrote three books on 'the Parthian triumph', and Dellius probably included this campaign in his history: Intr., 28. O. Hirschfeld, *Mél. Boissier* (Paris 1903) 293-5, thought that P.'s account derived from Sallust; but P. seems to show contact with Dio 48.39-41 and 49.19-22, exactly as he does for A.'s own campaign. Both authors are probably drawing on the same source as later, i.e. Dellius. Ῥωμαίοις τε . . . παρέσχε: *Crass.* 17-33 tells of Crassus' expedition and its catastrophic end at Carrhae (53); cf. 28.1n. It was natural to speak of Ventidius 'avenging Crassus': cf. e.g. Dio 49.21.2, Val. Max. 6.9.9, Tac. *Germ.* 37.4, and the idea probably goes back to the time of the events, for it was claimed that Ventidius' final victory fell on the anniversary of Carrhae (i.e. 9th June 38). That suggestive tradition is probably contemporary. At Rome, the notion was doubtless welcome to O. In the 40 agreement A. had been given the task of 'avenging Crassus' (App. 5.65, cf. 30.6-31.5n.): after Ventidius, A.'s own campaign might seem unnecessary. A. himself began his expedition by demanding the return of Crassus' lost eagles and the surviving captives (37.2, cf. Dio 49.24.5), a firm statement that

vengeance was not yet exacted. *εἰσω Μηδίας καὶ Μεσοποταμίας*: i.e., beyond the Euphrates.

4 *Πάρθους μὲν προσωτέρω διώκειν ἀπέγνω*: but it would have been absurd for Ventidius to pursue the Parthians beyond the Euphrates. That would require a firmer base and a larger force, which A. was bringing; and such a campaign should ideally begin at the start of a season, not in mid-summer. His immediate task was to pacify Syria. *φθόνον Ἀντωνίου δείσας*: cf. §6. This strikes a jarring note. On campaign A. is normally the model general (esp. 43.4, cf. Intr., 35-6); and even here P. does not develop A.'s envy, for at §8 A. gives Ventidius all appropriate honour. The envy theme clearly derives from a source, for Dio 49.22 makes similar charges: P. makes less of them than Dio, but clearly does not find them implausible. He knows that Roman generals *were* often extremely concerned with their own *gloria*, even to the extent of compromising their campaigns: cf. esp. *Flam.* 7.2, 13.2, with Pelling (3) 177. If A. botches a campaign for such reasons, P. does not find it surprising. What would be foreign to his A. is a petty *personal* grudge. He therefore suppresses Dio's story of A.'s humiliation of Ventidius, deposing him and then pointedly ignoring him; P. insists that A. paid him the honour he had earned (§8). *τοὺς δ' ἀφεστῶτας ἐπιὼν κατεστρέφετο*: Ventidius effectively cowed disaffected cities by sending around Pacorus' head on a stake. The two most difficult regions were (a) Palestine, which P. does not mention: Ventidius sent two legions to support Herod; and (b) Commagene, the northernmost part of Syria, strategically important for its crossings of the Euphrates. Its king Antiochus was wealthy and recalcitrant, refusing to surrender Parthian survivors. He took up his position in the strongly fortified city of Samosata on the Euphrates.

5-7 **The siege of Samosata.** P. derives from the same source as Dio 49.20-22 (briefer). There may be some truth in his story. Ventidius would naturally not make terms himself if A. were so close, and A. might well initially prefer to defeat and replace the unreliable Antiochus, and refuse terms – then later abandon an unexpectedly troublesome siege. Samosata passed to the Romans at the end of the siege, perhaps on terms. *δεομένου* (rather than the expected *δεόμενον*, cf. 53.11n.): sc. Ἀντιόχου, 'when Antiochus asked permission to' (i.e. 'offered').

6 *βουλούμενος . . . γενέσθαι* 'wishing that this one achievement, at

least, would be known by his name . . . ' A bold use of ἐπώνυμος, normally used more literally of cities, institutions, or people who 'take their names' from great events or great men, or of those events or men themselves (cf. LSJ). But a wider use (though not precisely analogous to this passage) is clear from such coloured passages as *Them.* 10.3, *Flam.* 21.1, *Nic.* 9.8.

7 πρὸς ἀλκὴν τραπομένων: they had 'turned to fight valiantly', 'rallied': since Hdt. (4.125.5, 9.102.3, *al.*) and Thuc. (2.84.3) a historian's cliché for desperate resistance. It is always used of the underdog.

8 εἰς Ἀθήνας ἐπανῆλθε: where he spent the winter of 38-37. ἐπὶ τὸν θρίαμβον: Ventidius celebrated this on 27th Nov. 38. When he died (probably soon afterwards) he was given a state funeral.

9 ἄχρι δεῦρο τεθριάμβευκε μόνος: Pliny *N.H.* 7.135 and Dio 49.21.3 make similar remarks. Ventidius' record did not last much longer. A few years after P. wrote *Ant.*, Trajan invaded Parthia (cf. *Intr.*, 4), and in 115 the senate voted him the right to as many triumphs as he wished. He died before he returned to Rome, but a triumph was posthumously celebrated in 117/18. Cf. Jones 33 n. 38 and *JRS* 56 (1966) 68-9. ἀνὴρ γένει μὲν ἀφανής . . .: for Ventidius as a rags-to-riches type cf. 33.1 n. τὸν περὶ Ἀντωνίου λεγόμενον καὶ Καίσαρος λόγον . . .: cf. 88(1).3, 92(5).5. This remark may well have been 'often made', but P. certainly finds it useful, preparing for A.'s own contrasting Parthian campaign. P.'s source (Dellius?) evidently told of Sosius and Canidius immediately after Ventidius' campaign (Dio 49.22-4): P. gives new point to this arrangement. εὐτυχέστεροι . . . στρατηγεῖν: 'explanatory' inf. with the adj., 'more fortunate in their generalship . . .' This use of the inf. is more frequent in later than in classical Greek (B.-D. §394).

10 C. Sosius, cos. 32: cf. *OCD*<sup>2</sup>. A. made him governor of Syria and Cilicia when Ventidius departed, and gave him Ventidius' army. He first subdued the Aradians, then proceeded to Palestine to help Herod. In summer 37 he captured Jerusalem and put Herod on the throne. P. Canidius Crassus, suffect cos. in 40: cf. *OCD*<sup>2</sup>. This campaign was in early 36, just before the Parthian expedition: cf. Sherwin-White 307-8. The Iberians and Albanians (cf. *Pomp.* 34) lay between the Black Sea and the Caspian, just south of the Caucasus: after brief campaigns Canidius brought them into an alliance (Dio 49.24.1). This was presumably (*pace* Sherwin-White) to protect A.'s rear and northern

flank as he marched against Parthia. Canidius rejoined A. for the expedition itself (42.6). *τούτους τε νικῶν*: this victory must have been nominal: had the Armenians resisted strongly Canidius would hardly have been able to move so quickly against the Iberians and Albanians. The Armenian king Artavasdes presumably submitted quickly, content to allow Canidius to pass on to the more northerly tribes. Cf. Sherwin-White 307. *κλέος*, normally a poetic word, is strong and colourful in prose: cf. *Caes.* 15.3 with *CB* 60 (1984) 101 n. 19, and e.g. *Plato Smp.* 208c (though that may be a verse quotation), *Thuc.* 2.45.2. It fittingly concludes the warm treatment of Ventidius.

**35 The conference of Tarentum (37 B.C.).** *ἐκ τινων διαβολῶν παροξυνθείς πρὸς Καίσαρα* 'inflamed with anger against O. as a result of some slanderous reports'. P. leaves these 'slanders' deliberately vague: the friction in fact arose from O.'s dealings with Sextus, about whom P. has decided to say little (32.1n.). The pact of Misenum was fragile. A., now on wary good terms with both partners, might perhaps have preserved it – but he was soon far away in the East. There were signs of a rift between O. and Sextus as early as autumn 39, when O. divorced Scribonia (cf. 32.1n.). A. too was prevaricating about his surrender of the Peloponnese to Sextus (cf. 32.3n.). During the winter of 39–38 Menas (32.1n.) went over from Sextus to O., giving him control of Sardinia and Corsica, three legions, and sixty ships. War followed between O. and Sextus, and in spring 38 Sextus won great sea-battles off the coast of Cumae and in the straits of Messina. A. would not be too dismayed to see Sextus and O. weakening one another, but at any moment either might win, and an undisputed master of the West was a worrying prospect. Early in 38 he hurried to Brundisium for talks: O. was not there (34.1n.). A. issued a letter criticising O., and returned to the East. After O.'s defeats in the spring, Maecenas came to A. seeking a pledge of support. A. perhaps gave the pledge O. wanted (so *App.* 5.92), but doubtless with conditions: relations were strained (cf. *παροξυνθείς*) when the two men met at Tarentum.

*App.* 5.93–5 gives a different impression, suggesting that A.'s 300 ships were coming to *help* O.; P. implies that A. was hostile. *App.* accordingly does not mention the suspicions felt by the men of Brundisium, and their refusal to admit A.'s fleet: for him the meeting was peaceable, and it seems that it was always *planned* for Tarentum.

Still, App. leaves no doubt that the atmosphere was difficult; and both he and P. perhaps have something of the truth. A. probably did proclaim that he was coming to help O., even if war was likely; he would naturally sail to Brundisium, where any meeting would probably be planned; but the townsmen might still choose to exclude his huge fleet. Unsure of O.'s intentions, they probably hoped he would applaud them. Cf. Dio 48.54.

Hor. *Sat.* 1.5 describes the poet's journey to Brundisium in the company of Maecenas, Virgil, Varius, and others. The journey should perhaps be connected with this conference or its preliminaries: in that case they journeyed to Brundisium because the town's refusal to admit A.'s fleet was not yet known. But the journey may belong a year earlier, when O. was due to meet A. at Brundisium (34.1n.). Cf. N. Rudd, *The Satires of Horace* (Cambridge 1966) 280-1.

**1** ἐπλεῖ πρὸς τὴν Ἰταλίαν: spring 37. Negotiations took a large part of the summer. The treaty itself is generally put in Sept. or Oct.; late July or Aug. is more likely. εἰς Τάραντα περιώρμισεν 'he sailed on to Tarentum and anchored there'.

**2** Octavia was traditionally given the credit for the treaty: cf. App. 5.93-5 and, briefly, Dio 48.54.3, but neither leaves so majestic an impression as P. ἔγκυον . . . θυγάτριον ἔχουσιν: cf. 33.5 for the birth of the first daughter in 39. There may be a mistake here. The second daughter was apparently Antonia *minor* (87.6n.), born 31st Jan. 36: Octavia was therefore pregnant *with* this child, not pregnant again after her birth. But it may be that a further daughter had been born and died in infancy.

**3** ἀπαντήσασα καθ' ὁδὸν Καίσαρι: O. was marching towards Tarentum from the west; Agrippa and Maecenas were presumably with him, and Octavia 'took them with her' in the sense that she asked them to be present when she talked to O. If Maecenas had earlier travelled to Brundisium with Horace (cf. §1n.), he presumably doubled back to join O.'s main retinue. ποτνιωμένη: a strong word for 'lament' in later Greek (cf. LSJ), favoured by P. in powerful contexts, especially for women desperately concerned for their loved ones (cf. 84.4-7n.): cf. e.g. *Caes.* 63.9, *C. Min.* 27.2, *Ag.-Cl.* 18.1. Octavia speaks with passion, but also with dignity and control (cf. 54.2n.): the style is carefully balanced (πολλὰ ποτνιωμένη καὶ πολλὰ δεομένη, μακαριωτάτης . . . ἀθλιωτάτην, νῦν μὲν . . . εἰ δὲ . . . , τοῦ μὲν γυναῖκα τοῦ δ' ἀδελφὴν, ὁμῶν

μὲν . . . τὰ ἑμὰ δ' . . . , κρατεῖν ἢ κρατεῖσθαι). This is quite different from such unrestrained outbursts as *C. Min.* 23.1-2 or *Pomp.* 74.5-6, but closer to the gravity of a Porcia (*Brut.* 13.7-10) or a Volumnia (*Cor.* 35) or a Chilonis (*Ag.-Cl.* 17); Octavia also recalls Sophoclean women (Tecmessa in *Aj.*, Deianira in *Trach.*) who lament the fate they are left by their proud and inconsiderate men.

Sh. has a brief scene in which Octavia sets off to appease her brother (iii.iv). She is again (cf. 31.2, 33.5 nn.) less imposing than in P.: her prayer – 'The Jove of power make me, most weak, most weak, Your reconciler' (29-30) – strikes a humbler, more desperate note.

5 ἐπικλασθεῖς: 40.9n. ἦκεν εἰρηνικῶς εἰς Τάραντα 'he came in peace to Tarentum'. He agreed to meet A. at the *river* Taras, west of the city. The armies drew up on the banks, and App. 5.94 tells how both men showed their trust by hurrying to cross the river first, so that their boats met in mid-stream: a rather undignified story which P. suppressed. They then went on to Tarentum. θέαμα κάλλιστον οἱ παρόντες ἐθεῶντο: P. again freezes the action for a powerful sea-borne tableau (Intr., 22), recalling Cl. (26) and Sextus (32, esp. the picture of the army and fleet at 32.2). If we are reminded of Cl., we feel the contrast of the women. One brings the men to peace, but more surely the other will lead them to war.

6 εἰστία δ' Ἀντώνιος πρότερος, . . . : cf. again Cl. (26.6n.) and Sextus (32.3). App. 5.94 says that O. gave the first dinner, A. the second.

7 Καίσαρα μὲν Ἀντωνίῳ δοῦναι δύο τάγματα ('legions'): App. 5.95 says 20,000 men. Cf. Brunt 502. χαλκευβόλους ἑκατὸν '100 bronze-rammed ships' (cf. Casson 85), evidently men-of-war; App. says 120 ships. εἵκοσι μυοπάρωνας (a swift brig, often used by pirates: Casson 132): App. says 'ten three-banked brigs, a cross between men-of-war and merchant vessels'. στρατιώτας χιλίους: App. agrees, adding that they were élite troops. In all this there is no secure way of judging between the two authors' figures, but App. has more circumstantial detail and is likely to be right. His '120 ships' is especially plausible, as 60 ships was a regular size for a squadron.

A. was keener than O. to agree to this exchange, as App. makes clear. He now needed experienced troops rather than his large fleet, and was glad to transfer the expense of the crews' upkeep to O. But

there was a drawback. He left the ships there and then; O. merely promised the troops. They never came.

As usual (19.2, 23.1, 30.6-31.5, 32.3 nn.) P. omits important features of the agreement. The triumvirate was renewed for a further five years: it had formally expired at the end of 38, leaving the triumvirs' constitutional position uncomfortably vague, though not unsupportable. Sextus was deprived of his priesthood and his promised consulship (32.3 n.), and a few dynastic marriages were planned (Dio 48.54.4). Cf. Syme 225.

8 εὐθὺς εἶχετο τοῦ πρὸς Πομπήιον πολέμου: he in fact delayed the campaign until the following year. P.'s language is allusive, for when we last heard of Sextus he was still O.'s ally (32.8). Nor does P. tell the end of Sextus' story: this is the last we hear of him. O. took two years to recover from the defeats of 38 (§1n.). Agrippa took charge of the preparations. In summer 36, reinforced by Lepidus from Africa, they launched a three-pronged attack on Sicily. First Agrippa, then Sextus, won victories: then the decisive battle of Naulochus was a complete victory for Agrippa (3rd Sept. 36). Sextus fled to the East, hoping for a new alliance with A.; when he heard of the Parthian disaster, he started to intrigue against him instead. This came to nothing, and he met his death the following year. Cf. Syme 231-2. Ὀκταουίαν . . . αὐτῷ παρακαταθέμενος 'deposited' her and the children with O. for safekeeping: Dio 48.54.5 says that A. sent her back from Corcyra, saying that she should not share the dangers of the Parthian campaign. By now she was heavily pregnant, and there may be nothing sinister in this. τοὺς ἐκ Φουλβίας παῖδας: Antonius Antyllus and Iullus Antonius (28.7, 87.1-2 nn.). Octavia's care of the children continued for years: cf. 54.3, 57.4, 87.1-2 nn. εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀπεπέρασεν: in the autumn of 37. With so many ships and men in the West, A. could not resume the Parthian War until the following season. This cost him the chance of exploiting the Parthian dynastic crisis (37.1n.).

36.1 Εὐδουσα δ' ἡ δεινὴ συμφορὰ . . . : his love is a 'calamity'; it has been 'sleeping', 'lulled to rest' and 'charmed' by wiser counsels; it now 'flares up' and 'regains its confidence'. All the metaphors are familiar, but their rapid combination is very powerful. **Cleopatra** thus returns to the narrative. P. has not reconstructed her *response* to the marriage

with Octavia (Intr., 16). Ctr. A. & C. II.v, an episode Sh. transposes from a later scene (83.5n.).

2 ὥσπερ φησὶν ὁ Πλάτων: at *Phaedrus* 254a. As usual (24.3n.) the quotation marks an important moment, and its suggestions go beyond its explicit point. Plato is comparing the soul to a chariot-team. At the sight of a lovely boy, the one horse – the higher part of the soul – reacts with self-control and is obedient (εὐπειθής, cf. P.'s δυσπειθές here) to the reins; the other (ὁ ἀκόλαστος, 255e) ignores whips and restraints, fights against his driver and his yokefellow, and hurls himself at the boy for sexual fulfilment. The turbulent effects of ἔρως and the struggle of higher and lower elements are both apposite for A.; so is the recurring horse-imagery (2.8, 21.1, 33.3 nn.). The *Phaedrus* passage was famous, and P. quotes it several times: cf. esp. 125b, 445c, 1008c. **Καπίωνα Φοντήιον** (for the inversion of names, 5.9n.): C. Fonteius Capito: *Antoni non ut magis alter amicus*, says Horace (*Sat.* 1.5.32), with whom he journeyed to Brundisium in 38 or 37 (35.1n.); suff. cos. in 33. The phrasing here is similar to 25.2-3, when Dellius was sent. It is all beginning again.

3-4 **The gift of territory to Cleopatra (37-6)**: see Map 1. P.'s interpretation is clear. A. has always been φιλόδοπος (1n.), but this passes all bounds: captivated, he is tossing away Rome's empire as if it were a trinket. Dio 49.32 gives a similar emphasis, and it doubtless goes back to O.'s propaganda. In fact there was more to it: cf. esp. Syme 260-1, 271-5, Bowersock 42-61. Cl.'s gifts were only a part of the reorganisation of the East, which began to fall into a number of large client kingdoms, each ruled by a reliable prince: Archelaus (24.1n.) in Cappadocia, Amyntas (61.3n.) in a greatly expanded Galatia, Polemo (38.6n.) in Pontus, Herod in Judaea. It was a wise policy, and A. chose his men well. The system, together with most of the individuals, was continued by O. after his fall. Cl., peculiarly able and loyal to A., naturally had her realm increased: some of the expansion may indeed date from a few years earlier, §4n. She may have had a particular task, for Cilicia, Koile Syria, and Cyprus were rich in timber, Phoenicia had its great sea-ports, and she was perhaps to replenish A.'s fleet. Cf. 56.2n. But she did not get all she wanted, for A. repeatedly refused to give her parts of Syria and Judaea which she coveted. **προστίθῃσι μικρὸν οὐδὲν οὐδ' ὀλίγον . . .**: P. possibly conflates several sets of gifts. (a) Cyprus and 'Rough' Cilicia certainly seem

to have been Cl.'s for several years (§4n.). (b) Jos. *A.J.* 15.94-5 appears to place the gifts of parts of Phoenicia, Arabia, and Judaea in 34, when A. was about to attack Armenia (cf. 50.6): but Dio 49.32.3-5 here agrees with P. in placing this last group of grants in 36, and that is probably right. *Φοινίκη*: probably the coastal region between the River Eleutherus and Sidon, excluding the free cities of Sidon and Tyre. *Κοίλην Συρίαν*: this term is used vaguely of various areas of S.W. Syria and N. Palestine: here apparently the area around Chalcis, in the modern Lebanon. Its king Lysanias died in 37-36, and Cl. received the city and its territory: cf. Porphyry, *FGrH* 260 fr. 2.17. **Cyprus** had been given by C. to Cl.'s sister Arsinoe. Possibly Cl. had taken it over on her death (28.9n.) or even before, possibly there was a brief period of direct Roman rule (cf. Dio 48.40.6); anyway, by Nov. 38 there was already an Egyptian στρατηγός of 'Cyprus and Cilicia', as an inscription from Salamis now shows (J. Pouilloux, *Πρακτικὰ τοῦ 1<sup>ου</sup> Διεθνoῦς Κυπρολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου* (1969) 141-50, T. B. Mitford, *ANRW* II 7.2 (1980) 1293-4). A. now confirmed her possession. *Κιλικίας πολλήν*: 'rough' Cilicia, opposite Cyprus: cf. Mitford 1230-61, esp. 1240-3. She had possessed at least some of this for several years, as the Salamis inscription shows. Strabo 14.671, 679 comments on the region's shipbuilding timber, and its suitability for rule by a native prince rather than a Roman governor. Cl. also received Cyrene and part of Crete (M. Grant, *From Imperium to Auctoritas* (Cambridge 1946) 55-8), possibly on this occasion. *τῆς τ' Ἰουδαίων τὴν τὸ βάλσαμον φέρουσιν* 'the part of the land of the Jews which bears balsam', i.e. the rich balsam groves around Jericho. *τῆς Ναβαταίων ... θάλασσαν* 'the part of the Arabia of the Nabataeans which slopes down to the outer sea', i.e. apparently the Red Sea, regarded as part of the Ocean which surrounded the civilised world: cf. 69.4n., *Pomp.* 38.4. The king of this part of Arabia was Malchus. It is not clear how much of his land was included in this grant. Cf. G. W. Bowersock, *Roman Arabia* (Harvard 1983) 40-2. At some point - probably 36, perhaps 34 - Herod agreed to lease back the Jericho groves for the yearly rent of 200 talents; he also went surety for Malchus to rent the Arabian region for the same sum. Malchus was a reluctant payer, and he and Herod fought a desultory war which kept both away from the Actium campaign.

4 αὗται μάλιστα Ῥωμαίους ἠνίασαν αἱ δωρεαί: characterisation by

reaction, Intr., 40-1. A.'s openhandedness, his tendency to shock Roman opinion, and his taste for eastern ways are all familiar: now they are brought together. Roman disgust at A.'s Oriental excesses will be important, esp. at 50.7, 54.5, 58.9-59.1, 60.1. The shock is the greater because Octavia (35) is so fresh in our minds: she has saved A. from war, but he rewards Cl. But in fact nothing confirms that Romans found this eastern settlement shocking: this seems a figment of O.'s propaganda (§§3-4n.). **τετραρχίας καὶ βασιλείας**: 56.7n. **Antigonus** was killed after his defeat in 37 (34.2, 34.10 nn.). A., afraid that he would remain a figurehead for Jewish rebels, had him beheaded (ἐπελέκισεν) at Antioch: Jos. *A.J.* 15.8-10, quoting Strabo's history (*FGH* 91 fr. 18). Strabo's words are very similar to P.'s and to Dio 49.22.6. He may be P.'s and Dio's source, but more probably all three derive from Delliis. Cf. Intr., 28, 30-1, and 34.3n.

**5 παῖδας ἐξ αὐτῆς διδύμους ἀνελόμενος**: he 'acknowledged' them as his own: LSJ ἀναιρέω B.4. They had been born in 40 (30.3n.), and in 36 Cl. bore him another son, Ptolemy Philadelphus (54.7n.). **τὸν μὲν Ἥλιον, τὴν δὲ Σελήνην**: symbolism of sun, moon, and stars was favoured by Hellenistic kings, but sun and moon together sometimes symbolise a new epoch, and here the combination was perhaps intended to suggest a new Golden Age: cf. E. Norden, *Die Geburt des Kindes* (Berlin 1924) 142-4.

Scholars sometimes talk of A. 'marrying' Cl. at this stage. That is misconceived; but he was evidently living with Cl. as if she were his wife. Her subjects might even view them as married according to Egyptian custom, which apparently involved neither a civil nor a religious ceremony, but rather cohabitation and a consensus of the parties involved (cf. P. W. Pestman, *Marriage and Matrimonial Property in Ancient Egypt* (Leiden 1961) 6-52); they might also indeed think in terms of a 'sacred marriage' (ἱερὸς γάμος) of A. as Dionysus-Osiris and Cl. as Isis (cf. 26n., Grant 186-7). If A. had not been married already and if they had been of lower status, then even Romans might have thought of it as a marriage: ceremonial was not necessary to solemnise a 'marriage by consent'. Cf. Braund 179-80. It was natural to berate A. as 'married to two women at once', as P. does at 91(4).2; but it was also possible, now as in 40 (31.3), to deny that he was *really* married to Cl.: cf. 53.9-10, 'Octavia enjoyed the name of A.'s wife while Cl. allowed herself to be called his mistress': otherwise, Octavia would

hardly have visited him in 35 (53.1-3) or gone on living in his house (54.1-5). Cf. Suet. *Aug.* 69.2, where A. implicitly denies a marriage in a letter of 33 (*uxor mea est?*, with Carter's n.: 55n.). In the *Aeneid* Dido is ruined amid dreadful uncertainty about her 'marriage' to Aeneas: for her it is a marriage, but he denies it (*Aen.* 4.172, 338-9, cf. 125-6). As elsewhere, Dido owes something to Cl., whose 'marriage' was equally ambiguous: Intr., 17-18.

6 οὐ μὴν ἄλλ': 9.1n. 'Still, . . . 'ἀγαθὸς ὢν ἐγκαλλωπίσασθαι τοῖς αἰσχροῖς' 'good at putting a glorious face on dishonourable deeds . . . ' Powerful language: cf. *C. Mai.* 31(4).6, *Ag.-Cl.* 4.2, *Alc.* 27.6.

7 γοῦν 'at any rate', the 'part proof' use: 24.4n. ὑφ' Ἡρακλέους τεκνωθῆναι τὸν αὐτοῦ πρόγονον: 4.2n. A. is here at his most blustering, Herculean indeed. τῇ φύσει . . . ἀπολιπεῖν ἐφιέντος 'allowing his nature to leave behind many beginnings and foundations (καταβολάς, cf. LSJ 1.1, 320b, 905e) of races'. P. recalls the terms of fifth- and fourth-century philosophical debate, when superman-figures were idealised and discussed, men who followed their φύσις and ignored artificial human νόμοι (cf. νόμους Σολωνεῖους here).

### 37-52 The Parthian War

A. just had to invade Parthia. In Roman eyes, Parthians existed to be conquered, and a war had been brewing for years (28.1n.); it offered A. the chance to be a new Alexander, always a powerful heroic ideal for Romans (80.2n.); and at any time A. might need this new prestige, for Sextus or O. might emerge as a clear master of the West, while memories of A.'s own military glory were beginning to fade. If he won, of course the administrative problems would be incalculable: but he could think about that later.

The scale of this section is lavish. Ancient writers and audiences liked tales of warfare (cf. the scale of e.g. *Mar.* 11-27, Marius' Cimbrian war), and this campaign certainly offered the opportunity for some exciting narrative. Parthia also serves as a contrast with Actium, described on a similar scale at 56-69; the compression of the intervening narrative (53-5n.) helps us to take the two together. In Parthia, as at Actium, A. begins with strategic blunders caused by his love for Cl. (37.5-38.1 nn.). Disaster follows swiftly, and A. is desolate with shame, just as after Actium (40.9n.). In Parthia he repairs matters with his

inspiring leadership, a theme which dominates the last part of the account (cf. esp. 43.3–6n.) and is still in our minds when the Actium campaign begins. But at Actium A. will let his troops down, to their bewilderment (68.3–5), because Cl. is there.

P. probably draws most of his material from the eyewitness Q. Dellius (Intr., 28), but he may also have a second source (46n.). Dellius seems to lie behind all or most of our other sources for this campaign, Dio 49.25–31, Flor. 2.20, Arr. *Parthica* frs. 25–9 (printed at *FGH* II D pp. 572–3), Livy *Per.* 130, Vell. 2.82, and some passages in Strabo. Dellius tried to defend A. against some charges of treachery (50.3–7n.), but the misconceived criticisms at 37.5–38.1(n.) seem to come from him, and he probably disapproved of Cl. (Intr., 28). The other sources show that he dwelt on the hazards of the retreat, but the stress on A.'s military brilliance is likely to be P.'s own. Dellius' narrative was evidently colourful, but at times P. has embellished it further: cf. esp. 49.2n., and the recurrent hints of Xenophon's *Anabasis* are also likely to be P.'s addition, esp. 37.2, 41.3, 45.12, 49.5 (nn.). Dellius also had a taste for figures, many of which P. welcomed (37.3–4, 38.1, 38.3, 50.1–2, 51.1 with nn.).

On the campaign, cf. Sherwin-White 307–21; H. Bengtson, *SBAW* (1974) 1.1–48.

**37.1 Orodes** abdicated in late 38 or 37, desolate (it was said) at Pacorus' death (34.2n.). Of his 30 sons, he selected **Phraates** as successor, who promptly killed his father, all his brothers, and his son. The Parthian nobility revolted. ἄλλοι τε Πάρθων . . . καὶ Μοναίσσης: cf. Dio 49.23–4, who adds that Monaeses promised to 'bring over most of Parthia without trouble'. Such hopes were reasonable: cf. 37.5–38.1n. Monaeses came from a powerful family, and his name became famous: Hor. *Odes* 3.6.9–12 links him with Pacorus as authors of Roman defeats. Pacorus defeated a Roman army in 40 (30.1n.): if Monaeses won a similar victory, it was presumably in this 36 campaign – perhaps the battle of 38.5–6. If Monaeses had fled from Phraates, it is puzzling that he now accepted his conciliatory overtures (§2), and that Phraates immediately gave him an important command (as Hor. suggests). Perhaps Monaeses was playing a double game, using his desertion to impress on Phraates the need to restore him to authority. Rightly or wrongly, A. apparently continued to trust him: cf. 46.4–5(n.). τὰς μὲν . . . εἰκόσας: exiled from Athens and accused of treason, Themistocles

defected to the King of Persia, who rewarded him with three cities (Thuc. 1.136-8). P. effectively applies this favourite story (Them. 26-30, cf. Alc. 37.7-8, 328e, 665e-f) to his characterisation of A. as boastful and openhanded, but there may be some fiction here: the grant of three cities is historical (Dio 49.24.3), but that was perhaps enough to encourage P. to invent A.'s comparison of himself to Themistocles. **Larissa, Arethusa, and Hierapolis** were all in Syria. Bambyke had been renamed by Seleucus I.

2 δεξιάν καταπέμψαντος: δεξιό can = 'pledge' (LSJ 2): one can 'give and accept' δεξιός (Xen. Anab. 7.3.1) and even 'send', 'carry', or 'despatch' them (Xen. Anab. 2.4.1, Ages. 3.4, Cyr. 4.2.7, and cf. Goodyear on Tac. Ann. 2.58.2). But the usage is confined to Xen. in classical Greek, and, as elsewhere in this account (cf. p. 221), the hint of his style is probably intentional. ἐξαπατᾶν μὲν ἐγνωκώς τὸν Φραάτην ὡς εἰρήνης ἐσομένης: so also Dio 49.24.5, and the notion of 'deceit' may come from Delliis. It is implausible, for A. certainly knew that Phraates could not afford the indignity of restoring the standards and prisoners. This looks like propaganda aimed at the Roman public (cf. 34.3n.): Crassus was still unavenged, and a campaign was needed. τὰς . . . σημαίας καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν . . . τοὺς περιόντας: Crass. 31.8 states that 10,000 were taken alive – doubtless an exaggeration, but the numbers were clearly large. Many settled in the East, to Horace's indignation (Odes 3.5.5-12). The standards were finally regained by negotiation in 20 B.C.

3 Κλεοπάτραν εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀποπέμψας, where she belongs (28-9n.). The language is brisk (cf. 63.6): A. has pulled himself together. A military campaign again (cf. 3, 7-8, 17-18, 22) brings out the best in him. But at §§5-6 he is again (cf. 9, 14.5-15.5, 19-21, 24.5-8) easily distracted after this creditable self-assertion. ἐχώρει δι' Ἀραβίας καὶ Ἀρμενίας: but A. had wintered in Antioch, and so was already north of Arabia. He gathered his Syrian army at Zeugma, then marched north along the Euphrates into Armenia. Eastern geography was not P.'s strength, and we should not emend the text. In 53 Crassus had advanced into the plains of Mesopotamia, and fallen an easy prey to the Parthian cavalry. In 44, C. had planned to take the northern, hilly, route, advancing through Armenia and possibly Media Atropatene: the Parthian cavalry could not move so easily in hill-country (cf. Crass. 19.2). The muster at Zeugma might suggest that A. was adopting

Crassus' plan, but it is better (*pace* Sherwin-White 307-12) to assume that this was a feint, and A. always intended to follow C.'s strategy. Phraates was apparently guarding Mesopotamia with a large army, like his father in 41 (28.1n.); cf. Dio 49.25.1. If A. could move through Armenia quickly, he might turn the rear of that army: in the sequel he nearly did so (38.3n.). *ἔπου συνελθούσης αὐτῷ τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ τῶν συμμάχων βασιλέων*: Armenia – perhaps the plateau of Erzerum, perhaps Artaxata (Sherwin-White 311) – was the natural place for A. to muster his scattered forces, and must have been chosen some time before. In early 36 Canidius was in the north (34.1on.), A. was moving up from the south, and most of the allies would be coming from the west. The muster could hardly have been earlier than mid-summer, perhaps June. *τῶν συμμάχων βασιλέων*: including Polemo, king of Pontus (38.6n.). **Artavasdes** of Armenia (*OCD*<sup>2</sup>) had tried to help Crassus in 54-53, sending 6000 cavalry and promising 10,000 more, then repeatedly advising him to avoid the plains of Mesopotamia (*Crass.* 19, 22.2). After Crassus' defeat Artavasdes made his peace with Orodes, and his sister married Orodes' son Pacorus. According to Dio 49.25.1, he now aided A. because he wanted to exploit his forces against his namesake Artavasdes of Media (38.3n., cf. 52n.). He may also have been alienated by Phraates' murders: his sister may well have been killed. *ἑξακισχίλους ἱππεῖς*: but at 50.3 P. speaks of 16,000, not 6000, cavalry provided by Artavasdes. Possibly both figures are correct. If the muster was in W. Armenia, the greater part of the Armenian contingent may not have joined him until later, as he made his way towards Media.

4 *Ῥωμαίων μὲν αὐτῶν ἑξακισμύριοι πεζοί*: probably sixteen legions, cf. Brunt 503-4, Sherwin-White 311 n. 37. *τὸ Ῥωμαίοις συντεταγμένον ἱππικὸν Ἰβήρων καὶ Κελτῶν*: i.e. *auxilia* (cf. *OCD*<sup>2</sup>). These Ἰβηρες were probably Spaniards, possibly Caucasian Iberians recruited by Canidius (34.1on., Sherwin-White 315).

5 *ἢ . . . πᾶσαν ἐκράδανε τὴν Ἀσίαν*: it was a panegyric commonplace to stress the fears of a potential enemy (cf. Hor. *C.S.* 53-6, Woodman on Vell. 2.94.4). Here Alexander, who conquered Bactria and reached India, is in P.'s mind: cf. p. 220, and *Brut.* 57(4).3, C.'s name would not let the kings of Parthia and India sleep. The language is powerful, especially *ἐκράδανε*, rare and expressive in this metaphorical sense: cf. e.g. *Alc.* 15.1.

**37.5-38.1 The criticism of Antony's timing.** This is apparently drawn from a source, presumably Dellius: cf. Arr. *Parth.* fr. 23 R and Livy *Per.* 130, suggesting that Livy attacked A. both for starting the invasion too late, and for not abandoning it more promptly: *M. Antonius dum cum Cleopatra luxuriatur, tarde Mediam ingressus bellum ... Parthis intulit; ... tempestates quoque infestas ... culpa sua passus est, quia hiemare in Armenia nolebat, dum ad Cleopatram festinat* (cf. σπεύδοντα γὰρ ἐκείνηι συνδιαχειμάσαι here). The criticism, evidently influenced by O.'s propaganda, is misconceived: (a) Livy's *tarde Mediam ingressus* is nonsense. A. invaded Atropatene in or before July – given the long preliminary marches and Canidius' preparatory campaign, remarkably early in the year. (b) It would (*pace* Sherwin-White 316-17) have been folly to delay the invasion till 35, as P. suggests (38.1). A. hoped to turn the flank of the Parthians by moving quickly (37.3n.), and he could reasonably hope for domestic uprisings against Phraates (37.1, 40.2 nn.). P. might have realised this, for he criticised Crassus for *not* pressing on in similar circumstances (*Crass.* 17.8); cf. also 34.4, 53.11. (c) There was only one way to 'spend the winter with' Cl. – to delay the campaign altogether. He could not expect to conquer Parthia in half a season (C. had planned on three years, Dio 43.51.2). A. would naturally expect to winter either in Parthia or, after a temporary withdrawal, in Armenia.

**37.6 σπεύδοντα ... ἐξενεγκεῖν ... χρήσασθαι:** o.o. after λέγουσι, understood from the previous sentence, but this seems to be P.'s own view as well: he develops the analysis in the indicative at 38.1, οὐκ ἠνέσχετο τὸν χρόνον ... οὐκ ὄντα τῶν ἑαυτοῦ λογισμῶν ... γενόμενον: P. intensifies the suggestions of 24.6(n.): there Cl.'s 'magical arts and charms' were those exercised figuratively by her personality, but these 'drugs and witchcraft' seem real. Cf. 60.1. Much of this presages Actium, where Cl. again leads A. into tragic errors (esp. 63.7-8). Again (cf. 24.4n., 26n.) A. and Cl. are in a way similar: at Actium it will be Cl. who thinks *not* of defeating the enemy, but of her own swift departure (63.8); and, as now, A. will rush to her side, 'in no way controlled by his own counsels' (66.6-7, cf. οὐκ ὄντα τῶν ἑαυτοῦ λογισμῶν here). The style is appropriately forceful. παπταίνω, usually a poetic word, is expressive in prose: cf. e.g. *Them.* 12.2. Earlier the vocabulary is ponderous – σπεύδοντα ... συνδιαχειμάσαι, χρήσασθαι

τεταραγμένως; and the syntax of the final phrase is very compressed. There γίγνεσθαι πρὸς = 'devote oneself to', a rare construction with the accusative in Greek of this period; τὸ τάχιον ἐπανελθεῖν = 'to return more quickly' than would otherwise be the case.

**38.1** αὐτοῦ 'there', further defined as 'in Armenia'. ὀκτακισχιλίων σταδίων: about 1000 miles, a march of perhaps three to four months. The figure probably comes from Delliū: cf. Strabo 11.524, who shows that it represented the distance from Zeugma to the border of Media Atropatene. A. himself first needed to march from Antioch to Zeugma, and at least some of his legions perhaps made the much longer journey from Jerusalem (cf. 34.10n.). They would indeed be weary. ἐν ἀριστερᾷ λαβὼν Ἀρμενίαν: an odd phrase. A.'s safest route was to follow the Araxes to the Armenian border, then strike directly into the heart of Atropatene. Perhaps he rejected this in favour of a shorter southern route, across mountains to the river Murat, then back to the Araxes close to the border. This route 'passed on the left' Armenia's heartland, the Araxes valley; but it remained well within Armenian borders, and P.'s language is misleading. Or perhaps A. did follow the Araxes to the border, then marched some way along a route through N. Atropatene S. of the Araxes, but parallel to it (thus 'passing Armenia on his left'): so Sherwin-White 312. But that would be an odd route when speed was essential; and P.'s language, suggesting that he 'passed Armenia' before his assault on Atropatene, is still misleading.

**2** παραπεμπομένων 'transported'. 300 waggon would form a train some five miles long: they were very vulnerable. ὥς ἐμπόδια τοῦ ταχύνειν ἀπέλιπε: here and at §§4-5 P. implies that A. 'left them behind' in careless haste: in fact, he 'told them to follow him' (Dio 49.25.2). They had nearly caught up with the main force when they were attacked (§5n.).

**3** Oppius Statianus was A.'s legate. Phraata (n. pl.) or Phraaspa – the name is variously spelled – was the capital of Media Atropatene. According to Delliū (cit. Strabo 11.523), it was 2400 stades (about 300 miles) from the Armenian border. Its precise location is uncertain. τοῦ τῆς Μηδίας βασιλέως: the other Artavasdes (37.3n.), whom P. avoids naming throughout the account, presumably to avoid confusion. He and his army were with Phraates' forces in Mesopotamia. A. had

successfully deluded the enemy, and penetrated to the heart of an undefended Atropatene.

4 ἔχου (from χέω) πρὸς τὴν πόλιν χῶμα: mobile wooden towers would normally be used, but these were still with Statianus and A. needed to improvise. Cf. Arr. *Parth.* fr. 95 R.

5 καταβαίνων: the word for 'coming down' from Susa to the coast: but in fact his army, and presumably Phraates himself, were hastening E. from Mesopotamia (37.3n.). ἔπεμψε τῶν ἱππέων πολλοὺς ἐπ' αὐτάς: this battle was evidently close to Phraata, for Statianus was near enough to send to A. for help. He hurried to the spot, but was too late (Dio 49.26.1). ἀποθνήσκει μὲν αὐτός, ἀποθνήσκουσι δὲ μύριοι τῶν μετ' αὐτοῦ: emphatic anaphora. Two legions were lost (Vell. 2.82.2, cf. Livy *Per.* 130): '10,000 men' may be P.'s round estimate for that.

6 Polemo had been king of Pontus since the previous year (36.3-4n.). After his capture he was soon ransomed (Dio 49.25.4), and continued to do A. (51n., 61.3) and later Augustus good service.

39.1 'The Armenian Artavasdes' (37.3n.) is so called to distinguish him from the Median Artavasdes mentioned (though not named) at 38.3. ἀπογνοὺς τὰ Ῥωμαίων ὤιχετο τὴν αὐτοῦ στρατιὰν ἀναλαβὼν: cf. 50.3-4, where P. identifies this as the turning-point of the war. Artavasdes may have been even more treacherous than P. suggests: it was said that he might have come to relieve Statianus, but did not (Dio 49.25.5). Dellius apparently denounced him bitterly: cf. Strabo 11.524, 50.3-7n. καίπερ αἰτιώτατος τοῦ πολέμου γενόμενος: P. has carelessly not explained why Artavasdes was 'most responsible' for a war which, P. knew, A. had been planning for years (25.2). According to Dio 49.25.1 Artavasdes incited A. to attack through Media because of his enmity with the Median Artavasdes (cf. 37.3n.).

2 στρατηγίδας σπείρας 'praetorian cohorts' (cf. 53.3, 64.1n.), élite troops forming the general's personal bodyguard: cf. Keppie 33-5, *RRC* no. 544.

3 κύκλῳ περιχεομένους . . . : cf. 41.6. The Parthians were masters of the cavalry tactic described at *Crass.* 24, swarming around an enemy infantry formation with bewildering movements and showering it with arrows. Such a tactic was particularly well-suited to an attack on an encumbered enemy on the march. παρημείβετο . . . : P. seems to mean

that the attack should be delayed until the head of A.'s column reached the end of the enemy's 'crescent', when all the enemy's front rank would have come within the range of his infantry: at that point his cavalry (presumably arrayed along the column's flank) should begin the battle with a charge. A. seems to be confident that the enemy would not attack before then, and in fact they did not (§§4–6). This hardly rings true (*pace* Sherwin-White 317–18). As in 53 (*Crass.* 21.3), the Parthians' interest was to avoid a pitched battle, A.'s to enforce one. It staggers belief that (a) the Parthians should draw up their troops in a crescent, evidently as a preparation for the pitched battle they needed to avoid; and (b) they should demurely let A.'s column – at least five miles long – march unharried before their eyes till it reached its strongest position. This is probably an exaggerated version of a less formal engagement, perhaps an ambush (cf. προσπτεσθῆν καθ' ὁδὸν αὐτῶι ζητοῦντας) which went wrong.

4 παρεξιόντας ἐν διαστήμασιν ἴσοις 'as they marched past, keeping their regular intervals between the ranks . . .' ἀθορύβως καὶ σιωπῇ: since Homer, the mark of a disciplined army (*Il.* 3.1–9).

7 πεντήκοντα στάδια: between six and seven miles. εἰ νικῶντες . . . 'if, now that they had won, they were killing so few men, while if defeated they would lose as many as they had lost at the waggons' (38.5–6). Cf. *Xen. Anab.* 3.1.2.

9 ἐκδρομήν τινα ποιησαμένων ἐπὶ τὸ χῶμα: part of the Roman fortification was fired (*Frontin. Strat.* 4.1.37); cf. *Arr.* fr. 96 R. τῇ λεγομένῃ δεκατείᾳ: decimation, a Roman tradition (*Crass.* 10.4–5, *Plb.* 6.38.2–3 with Walbank's note, Lintott 41–2) which was in fashion: instances were ordered by C. in 49, Domitius Calvinus in 39, and O. in 34. τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις ἀντὶ πυρῶν ἐκέλευε κριθᾶς μετρεῖσθαι: regular practice after a decimation.

40.1 τὸ μέλλον αὐτοῦ 'the part of it which was still to come'.

2 προσταλαιπωρεῖν 'persevere'. Both Greeks and Romans derided the softness of Asiatics: cf. e.g. [*Hipp.*] *Airs, Waters, Places* 12, 'bravery, endurance, perseverance, and courage could never be found in their nature'. Parthians were sometimes credited with greater toughness (*Tac. Ann.* 2.2.3–4), but could readily be painted in the same colours: cf. *Tac. Ann.* 6.34.3, and (of Persians) *Arr. Anab.* 2.7.5 with Bosworth's n., *Livy* 9.17.16–17. In particular they were often, as here, thought to

have no staying power. Cf. Justin 41.2.8 (*nec pugnare diu possunt . . .*), Tac. *Ann.* 11.10.3, 15.4.3. ἐφοβείτο μὴ . . . ἀπολίπωσιν αὐτόν: Phraates was also afraid that A. 'might gain some alliance', says Dio 49.27.3: perhaps a hint that Phraates was still threatened by internal dissent (37.1n.). Cf. 37.5-38.1, 40.5, 42.1, 53.11 nn. ἤδη τοῦ ἀέρος συνισταμένου . . . 'the air was already growing heavier after the autumn equinox'. 'Heavier', not 'sharper' (as most translators take it): as at *Mar.* 21.8, P. refers to increasing moisture in the air, not to a drop in temperature. The weather in Iran generally becomes significantly wetter in late September.

4 ἔργον ἐστὶ 'it is a hard business . . .'

5 εἰ τοῦ βασιλέως ταῦτα φρονοῦντος διαλέγοιντο: an oddly inept way of detecting a trap, for if it were they would hardly say 'no'. Perhaps P. or Dellius is fabricating thoughtlessly; but, if the story has any basis, A. perhaps suspected that the Parthian nobles were seeking to make peace behind Phraates' back. Cf. the other hints of internal Parthian dissension, 40.2n.

6 τὰς σημαίας . . . καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους: cf. 37.2n.

7 τοῦ δὲ Παρθοῦ ταῦτα μὲν ἔαν κελεύοντος: P. cuts away some of Phraates' bluster: 'Phraates gave his audience sitting on a golden throne and twanging his bowstring, and inveighed against them at length' (Dio 49.27.4). Cf. Arr. fr. 27 R: the detail clearly derives from Dellius.

8 ὦν δὲ . . . πεφυκώς 'although he was a persuasive speaker when he addressed the people, and was as gifted as any man of his day in leading' (or possibly 'moving', cf. 14.7n., 18.3) 'an army with words . . .'. ἐντυχεῖν is explanatory infinitive after πιθανός, defining the mode of his persuasion: cf. *C. Min.* 49.6. For δῆμος of 'rank and file' of an army cf. LSJ II.1, *Fab.* 5.5, *Mar.* 7.6, etc. παρ' is 'in comparison with' (LSJ C.1.7), really implying *superiority* to any rival. Thuc. 3.36.6 on Cleon may be in P.'s mind: ὦν καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα βιασιώτατος τῶν πολιτῶν τῷ τε δῆμῳ παρὰ πολὺ ἐν τῷ τότε πιθανώτατος (3.36.6). For A.'s usual eloquence, cf. 2.8n., 14.6-8, 18.3, 43.5; for his powers of leadership, 4.4-6, 43.3-6 nn. ἐξέλιπεν αὐτὸς . . . τὸ πλῆθος 'of his own free will (αὐτός) he abandoned the task of encouraging the men . . .'. κατηφείαι 'dejection', 'melancholy' in his shame: a powerful word, which could be used in parodies of the grand style (Cic. *Att.* 354 (13.42).1). P. still felt its visual connotations: 'κατήφεια is defined as

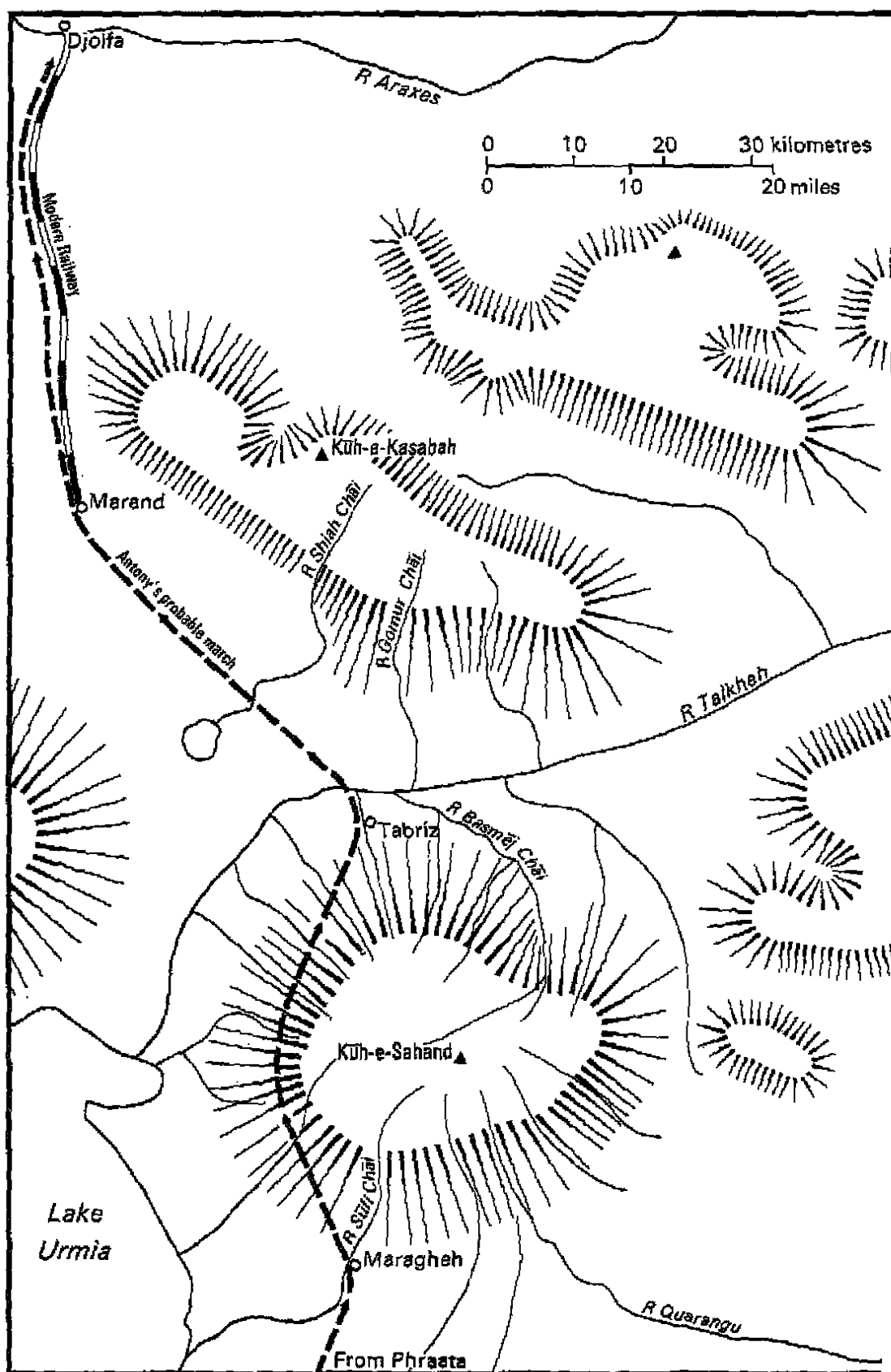
grief which makes one κότω βλέπειν', 528e. He favoured its use in vivid and emotional narrative, as here and at 75.4, *Caes.* 14.12, etc. **Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus**, cos. 32, appears briefly but memorably in P. (56.3 and esp. 63.3–4) and plays a large part in Sh.: cf. *Intr.*, 41–2, *OCD*<sup>2</sup>, 30.6n.

9 τὸ δὲ πλεῖστον ἐπεκλάσθη 'most were moved to pity' or 'broken' by emotion. ἐπικλάω is very strong: cf. 18.3, 35.5. ἀνταιδεῖσθαι: cf. 43.4n.: the army respond (ἀντ-) to A.'s own αἰσχύνη (§8). After Actium A. will again be desolate with shame (67.1–5); then too he will retain his troops' respect (68.4), but undeservedly.

41.1 Μάρδος: several Asiatic tribes bore this name, but P. probably means the warlike Mardi of Southern Armenia. According to *Flor.* 2.20.4 and *Vell.* 2.82.2 this man was not an Asiatic, but a survivor of Crassus' army (cf. 37.2n.). Freinsheim therefore proposed Μάρσος (cf. e.g. *Hor. Odes* 3.5.9) in P.'s text, here and on the other five occasions when he is mentioned: wrongly, for if P. thought of him as an Italian he would hardly have implied that only his service in 'the battle of the waggons' (38.5–6) suggested his loyalty here. But it may be that the man *was* an Italian, and P. has misunderstood a source. Woodman on *Vell.* 2.82.2 wrongly favours Freinsheim on the grounds that P. would not bother to state that Mardians – 'local people' – were familiar with Parthian customs. Armenia is not Parthia; and P.'s point is that he was *both* familiar with Parthian ways *and* trusted by the Romans, a combination which would be rare even in 'local people'. ἐν δεξιᾷ τῶν ὄρων ἐπιλαβόμενον 'keeping close to the mountains on his right', probably the Kūh-e-Sahand range, rising E. of Lake Urmia to 12,172 feet. He was advising A. to keep to the foothills and avoid the plain immediately E. of the lake. See Map 2. ἐν δρόμοις γυμνοῖς καὶ ἀναπεπταμένοις 'in bare and exposed tracts'. δὲ δὴ τεχνώμενον κτλ. 'it was this which Phraates had been scheming when he had induced A. to raise the siege' (lit. 'had raised A. from the siege', cf. *Jos. B.J.* 1.61) 'with his generous promises'.

2 ὁδοῦ βραχυτέρας . . . ἐχούσης: cf. *Xen. Anab.* 2.2.11, when the Ten Thousand decide to strike out on a different route home.

3 κώμας οἰκουμένας: lit. 'inhabited villages', a stylised phrase which P. does not use elsewhere: probably an echo of a favourite phrase of *Xen. Anab.*, πόλεις οἰκουμένη (e.g. 1.2.6; κῶμαι οἰκουμέναι at 6.4.6). The



Map 2 Antony's retreat from Parthia: the final stages

phrase suggests not merely habitation but also order and prosperity: Xen. frequently couples it with εὐδαίμων (cf. 49.6n.).

4 ὁ δὲ δῆσαι παρείχεν αὐτὸν . . . καὶ δεθείς ἡγεῖτο: perhaps slightly odd, particularly if he had already shown himself trustworthy (§1). P. is possibly fabricating on the model of Xen. *Anab.* 4.2.1, where a native guide is bound as he leads the army along a treacherous route. But such things did happen (*Flam.* 4.7 = Livy 32.11.9; cf. also Xen. *Anab.* 4.6.2), and A. was perhaps nervous enough to take the precaution.

5 παντάπασι τοὺς Πάρθους ἀπεγνωκότος 'A. had given up all thought of the Parthians': a rare use of ἀπογινώσκειν, but see Holden on *Gracch.* 5.2. ἀπόχωσιν ἐμβολῆς ποταμοῦ νεωστὶ διεσπασμένην: lit. 'that the damming-up of a river's flow had recently been torn apart'. The Parthians had torn down a dike. The river was perhaps the Sūfi Chāi, on the southern slopes of Sahand: see Map 2.

6 ἄρτι δ' αὐτοῦ καθιστάντος . . . 'just as he was arranging his hoplites' (lit. 'his arms', cf. LSJ ὅπλον 1.4) 'in line of battle, and leaving intervals between them for his javelin-throwers and slingers to make their forays against the enemy . . . ' ὡς κυκλωσόμενοι καὶ συνταράξοντες . . . : the Parthians' distinctive tactic, 39.3n.

7 διδόντες . . . λαμβάνοντες: present rather than aorist, they were inflicting and suffering wounds *as they retreated*: P. implies the distinctive 'Parthian shot' of an archer who turns in the saddle and shoots as he rides away.

8 οἱ Κελτοί: the auxiliary cavalry. οὐκέτι τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης ὑπὸ δέους μαχησομένους: my conjecture for the manuscripts' impossible ὑπόδειγμα γενομένων. 'And, because of their fear, they would not fight again that day.' Cf. Thuc. 7.40.2.

42.1 γεγονέναι: the force of the perfect is often muted in later Greek (B.–D. 340, 343), and this practically = γενέσθαι. ἀπιέναι διανοεῖσθαι: another sign of the discontent and unreliability of Phraates' forces (cf. 37.1, 40.2, 40.5 nn.).

42.2–43.2 **The death of Flavius Gallus** (who is not otherwise known). In §1 A. has 'realised what needed to be done', repulse the attacks but avoid extensive pursuit. Yet here he apparently gives the troops without question, although Flavius wants them for precisely the tactic he has decided to avoid. If this really happened as P. describes, A. bore as much responsibility for this reverse as that of 38.5–6. But P.

leaves that unstressed, and no longer attacks A.'s generalship (ctr. 37.5–38). He is now more concerned with A.'s *good* qualities of leadership: that is the point here (42.8–43.2) and in the general remarks of 43.3–6(n.). Cf. p. 221.

**4 M. Titius**, cos. 31: cf. 58.4, *OCD*<sup>2</sup>. τὸν ταμίαν 'the quaestor'.

**5 τὸν δὲ Γάλλον . . . ὀπισθεν**: a repeat of the tactic used at Carrhae in 53, when P. Crassus' contingent was similarly cut off (*Crass.* 25.4).

**6 Canidius**: 34.10n.

**43.2 ἐπεσκόπει . . .**: the *mot juste* for visiting the sick (cf. LSJ 1.2, *Per.* 38.2). Good generals of course paid personal attention to their wounded troops: cf. e.g. Pliny *Paneg.* 13.3, Tac. *Ann.* 1.69.1 and 1.71.3, Arr. *Anab.* 1.16.5 and 2.12.1. But P. transforms the stereotyped notice into a vivid vignette. It is now A. who is 'in tears' and 'utterly distraught' (περιποθέω is a very strong word, cf. *Dtr.* 4.2, 40.3, etc.); his men respond 'with radiant smiles' (φαιδρός is favoured in such emotional scenes, but normally of the encouraging *commanders*, e.g. *Brut.* 16.4 and 52.4, *Alex.* 19.7). And when they assure him that 'they are safe if only he is well', they (like Ligarius at *Brut.* 11.3) give new earnestness to a cliché generally used in polite and formal salutations: cf. Shackleton Bailey on Cic. *Fam.* 145(14.14).1, *si uos ualetis, nos ualemus*. κακοπαθεῖν is normally used of physical suffering, not mental: cf. §6 and LSJ. That adds to its force here. αὐτοκράτορα καλοῦντες: troops would formally salute their general as *imperator* following a great victory. A. paradoxically wins a similar acclamation through his magnificence in defeat.

**43.3–6 Antony's popularity with his troops.** P. again interrupts his narrative for direct characterisation: cf. 4, 24.10–12, 27.3–5, and 70, all marking off important new narrative phases (4n.). This passage, in the centre of the Parthian account, seems intended rather to redirect the reader's sympathies in A.'s favour. After the strong criticism of his early blunders (37–8), P. now allows his qualities to emerge at their clearest in adversity. This passage sharpens the recent impressions of his troops' respect (40.8–9) and his inspiring leadership (42.2–43.2n.). Actium will be very different: cf. p. 221. In fact, it seems that some men deserted (Dio 49.29.1), but P. naturally suppresses that point. οὐτ' ἄλκαῖς . . . λαμπρότερον 'more outstanding in strength, resilience, or youthful vigour'. The plurals do not suggest different types of 'strength' and

‘resilience’, only that these qualities were present in different individuals.

**4 αἰδῶς** ‘respect’, cf. ἀνταιδεῖσθαι at 40.9(n.). The word is employed sparingly of troops’ regard for their leader. Cf. *Phil.* 11.2, *Ag.–Cl.* 14.3, *Aem.* 11.3. οὐδὲ τοῖς πάλαι Ῥωμαίοις ἀπέλιπεν ὑπερβολήν: P. was conventionally nostalgic about Rome’s moral past: Jones 99–100, Pelling (3) 185.

**5 εὐγένεια**: on A.’s family cf. 1.1–2.3, but P. probably has Heracles in mind (4.2n.). **λόγου δύναμις**: cf. 2.8, 40.8 nn.; the power of his rhetoric (cf. 14.7–8, 18.2–3) will shortly be seen again (44.3–5). **ἀπλότης**: 24.9n. **τὸ φιλόδωρον καὶ μεγαλόδωρον**: 1.1–2.3n., 4.6–8, etc. But A. is now generous in sharing life’s necessities, not its luxuries: §6. **εὐτραπελία**: 4.4–5n.

**6 συμπονῶν καὶ συναλγῶν τοῖς κακοπαθοῦσι**: as a good general should, 4.4–6n.

**44.1 ἀπαγορεύοντας ἤδη καὶ κάμνοντας**: cf. 42.1. ἐπαυλίσασθαι τῷ στρατοπέδῳ: before they had apparently kept their distance, presumably nervous of a surprise night attack. The Persians harassing the Ten Thousand behaved similarly (*Xen. Anab.* 3.4.34–6). Cf. *Crass.* 29.3 for Parthian dislike of night-time warfare.

**2 τοὺς . . . τεταγμένους**: his personal bodyguard.

**3 φαιὸν ἱμάτιον**: 18.3n.

**3–5 Antony’s address to his troops** illustrates the λόγου δύναμις of 43.5, and the men’s devotion is manifest. This speech and its reception may well be fictional: they fit closely a recurrent historiographical pattern, a general’s rebuke of cowardly or recalcitrant troops and the men’s protestations: cf. e.g. *Livy* 5.28.8–9 (with Ogilvie’s n.), 7.40.15–41.2, *Tac. Ann.* 1.44.1. This particular form of the protests – ‘decimate us . . .’ – comes naturally after 39.9, but is also suspiciously similar to two incidents in the Civil War, when C.’s troops responded to their general’s rebuke by offering themselves for decimation (*App.* 2.63, *Suet. Iul.* 68.3; *App.* 2.94). P. again (cf. 43.2n.) transforms a stereotyped pattern: the men’s call on A.’s own feelings is matched by his own prayer that retribution should take only himself.

**4 οἱ μὲν**: the νενικηκότες. **οἱ δ’**: the φυγόντες.

**5 νέμεσις** ‘retribution’: A. responds to his men’s concern for his own welfare, 43.2. It was an old notion that the gods envy a man’s good

fortune, particularly if it leads him into ὕβρις; cf. esp. Hdt. 1.30-34.1, Aesch. *Agam.* 750-5, and, in P., *Mar.* 23.1, 451e. Here the idea underscores A.'s μεταβολαὶ τύχης, his greatness brought low (17.3-6n.). Cf. Camillus, viewing the destruction of Veii: 'if Rome is owed some retribution (νέμεσις) for this present success, I pray that it may visit me, on behalf of the city and its army, and wreak what little evil it may' (*Cam.* 5.8, cf. Livy 5.21.15 with Ogilvie's n.). Aemilius Paullus responds similarly at *Aem.* 36.5-9, cf. 22.9.

**45.1-2 Antony's men rally.** The turning-point in Roman morale is marked by a heightened style. The Parthians 'think they are riding out to plunder and booty, not to battle': cf. *Pyrth.* 26.4. The Romans surprise them as 'strong and fresh in their enthusiasm': cf. 39.8, where the *Parthians shocked the Romans by their 'freshness' (νεαλέσι)*. The tables are now turned.

**3-4 καθέντες εἰς γόνυ κτλ.:** cf. 49.1, Dio 49.29-30, Flor. 2.20.6-7. A Roman speciality was this *testudo* or 'tortoise' of locked shields above the heads, particularly useful for an assault on a defended wall. Here cf. esp. Livy 44.9.6, of the siege of Heracleum in 169: 'they locked their shields above their heads; the first line stood at their full height, the second a little lower and the third and fourth lower still; the final line rested on their knees. This created a tiered *testudo* like the roofs of houses' (cf. Plb. 28.11.2 and παραπλήσιον ἐρέψει here).

**4 ὄψιν τε θεατρικὴν παρέχει:** P.'s description is visually precise, but not obviously 'theatrical': perhaps he is thinking of the appearance of the *audience*. Theatrical imagery is important to the *Life* (29.4n., Intr., 21-2), but P. here strains a little in order to reintroduce the idea.

**7 ἐπὶ μικρὸν ἀνυόντων τῆς ὁδοῦ** 'as they made their way in small stages along their route'. **τῶν μὲν ἀποθνηισκόντων ὑποζυγίων:** Delilius probably gave more detail, which P. tastefully suppresses: a (not certainly attributed) fragment of Arr. tells how 'the deaths of the horses did not distress their riders, for they simply ate them'.

**8 χοῖνιξ ... γενέσθαι:** an Attic χοῖνιξ, about one litre or 1½ lb. weight, was  $\frac{1}{48}$  of a μέδιμνος. The normal price of corn varied greatly according to season and locality, but it seems generally to have been below 1 den./dr. a Roman *modius* (about 8½ litres). 50 dr./den. for a mere χοῖνιξ was therefore about 440 times the normal maximum price.

At *Dtr.* 33.6 a μέδιμνος cost only 300 dr. in a famine, so a χοῖνιξ would even there cost only 6 dr.

9 τραπόμενοι δὲ πρὸς λάχανα καὶ ῥίζας: the usual story (17.5n.). But it doubtless happened. ἤψαντό . . . ἀγούσης: an interesting story, clearly told by Dellius (cf. Arr. *Parth.* fr. 30 R), and in some ways similar to Xen. *Anab.* 4.8.20–21: the Ten Thousand came upon a sort of poisonous honey, which made the men stagger and vomit and drove them mad for twenty-four hours. This ‘poisonous honey’ was famous, and Dellius was possibly here fabricating on Xen.’s model: but there may be an element of truth. The symptoms are close to those of ergotism, an illness which often leads to convulsions, dementia, vomiting, and finally death, and is caused by eating rye or other grasses infected with a poisonous fungus. Its psychoses and hallucinations are close to those produced by LSD, which is itself prepared in a similar way. Or it may be *metallic* poisoning: these districts are geologically bizarre, and there is some evidence that e.g. magnesium poisoning can result from eating plants growing in such soil.\* When water was scarce and befouled, wine (§11) could often help medication: cf. e.g. *Caes.* 41.8, *Alex.* 66.6–67.1.

12 ὃ μύριοι: the parallel with Xen., suggested earlier (37.2, 41.2, 41.3 nn.), becomes explicit. Cf. 49.5–6nn. πλείονα . . . Βαβυλωνίας: A.’s march from Phraata to Armenia was ‘shorter’ (41.2) than ‘2400 stades’ (38.3n.). Xen.’s route was much longer: the *Anab.* MSS give 18,600 stades for the distance from Cunaxa to Cotyora on the Black Sea (*Anab.* 5.5.4), though the men reached safety some time before that. The *Anab.* passage may be an interpolation, but was probably in the text by P.’s day.

**46 Another Parthian trap**, disturbingly similar to the story of 40–1. Once again the Parthians make friendly overtures (46.1 ~ 40.3), A. is deceived, and thinks of marching over the exposed plains (46.3 ~ 41.1) until a trusted native warns him of the trap (46.4 ~ 41.1). P. may here be changing from Dellius to another source and inadvertently including both sources’ versions of the same episode (a ‘doublet’): cf. Intr., 32, Pelling (1) 88 n. 98. P. himself draws attention to the similarity (αὐθις

\* I am grateful to Dr Clive Francis of the Australian State Department of Agriculture and Prof. A. B. Bosworth for pointing out the relevance of ergotism, and to Dr J. D. Bell for observing that of metallic poisoning.

§1, πόλιν §3), and, whatever its origin, it is useful to his portrait: A. is again easily led and deceived; after 40–1, we think, he should know better.

1 διαπλέξαι μὲν . . . οὐδὲ διασπάσαι τὴν τάξιν: the Parthians can neither force the ranks and files in on one another ('tangle them up', a striking use of διαπλέκειν) nor draw them apart (διασπᾶν). ἤδη δὲ πολλάκις ἡττημένοι: cf. 50.2, the eighteen Roman 'victories'. They need not be taken too seriously (cf. 42.1), amounting only to repulses of Parthian attacks.

3 ἀνύδρου: 47.2n.

4 Mithridates is not otherwise known. Cf. 47.1n. **Monaeses** is again (cf. 37.1n.) bewildering: if he had led the Parthians to victory (cf. 37.1n.), A. had no reason to trust him, and he himself was unlikely to want to help the Romans. Perhaps the Parthian nobles were reluctant to see Phraates consolidate his position; or perhaps a faction hoped to exploit A.'s forces to strengthen their own position (cf. Buchheim 78). But this whole story is suspect (cf. 46, 47.1 nn.).

5 Alexander (cf. 48.1–2) is not otherwise known.

6 τὰ γὰρ . . . ἐξήρτηται: lit. 'the great plains hang upon these hills' – a bold expression for (it seems) 'lie connected to'. P. may have Thuc. 6.96.2 in mind, ἐξήρτηται γὰρ τὸ ἄλλο χωρίον . . .: but Thuc.'s sense seems rather different, cf. Dover ad loc.

7 ἐκείνη μὲν οὖν ἔχει . . . 'the one way brings thirst, and the toil which is familiar to you; but, if he goes the other way, A. may be sure that the fate of Crassus awaits him' – that is, annihilation in an open plain as in 53. A grandly portentous conclusion.

47.1 καὶ τὸν ἡγεμόνα τῆς ὁδοῦ Μάρδον: 41.1n. If this story is a 'doublet' of 40–1 (cf. 46n.), this detail is odd, for 'Mithridates' (46.4) and 'the Mardian' will be the same person. In that case P., unconsciously combining two versions of the same event, would presumably be adding extra details from his imagination. He might naturally infer that A. sought confirmation from 'the Mardian' mentioned earlier, the man who knew the country.

2 καὶ ἄνευ πολεμίων . . . 'even if one left the enemy out of account, he realised that the pathless routes over the plains and the wanderings these would involve would be arduous and difficult to trace'. μιᾶς ἡμέρας ἀνυδρίαν: cf. 46.3. This lack of water was possibly stressed by

Dellius: it is mentioned by Dio 49.28.3 and Flor. 2.20.8. It is probably exaggerated, for the northern slopes of Kūh-e-Sahand have many streams (though they may well have been saline). But the theme certainly added drama and credibility to §§6-7, where the parched Romans hurl themselves into the salty waters of the river.

4 παρὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς ἔτι νυκτὸς ἐδίωκον: cf. 44.1n. This is closely similar to Xen. *Anab.* 3.4.34-7, where the Ten Thousand try to break away from the Persians by a surprise night-time march.

5 τεσσαράκοντα γὰρ καὶ διακοσίους . . . σταδίους: about thirty miles, scarcely credible. A normal day-time march for a fit army in open terrain was probably less than 15 miles. In Xen. the army covers only sixty stades during the night (3.4.37).

6 ψυχρὸν μὲν . . . ὕδωρ: probably the Talkheh, whose waters are notoriously saline: see Map 2. But the whole area is rich in gypsum and saline deposits, and one cannot be sure.

7 ἐδεῖτο βραχὺν ἐγκαρτερῆσαι χρόνον: like any good general in extreme hazard or suffering, A. finds the arguments to persuade his troops that their difficulties are nearly over: cf. e.g. Arr. *Anab.* 6.26.1-2 (Alexander), Plb. 3.54.2, Livy 21.35.8 (Hannibal), Tac. *Ann.* 2.14.4 (Germanicus); Intr., 36. ποταμὸν εἶναι πότιμον: an unpleasant jingle (though ancient ears were less offended by such things: cf. e.g. *Dtr.* 20.5, Hollis on Ov. *A.A.* 1.29). This river was perhaps the Shiāh Chāi, cf. 49.2n. and Map 2. But there is something odd about this second river, and it may be fictional (49.2n.). εἶτα τὴν λοιπὴν ἄφιππον καὶ τραχεῖαν: A. glosses over the difficulties. The last stages would indeed be protected, for a narrow defile led the last 30/40 miles to the Araxes: cf. 49.4n. and Map 2. But a considerable exposed plain lay between the Shiāh Chāi (or the Talkheh itself) and the beginning of that defile. Cf. 49.2n.

**48 The Roman panic.** P. follows a natural story-telling pattern, where the dangers are most intense just before sudden deliverance (49.3). Cf. e.g. *Caes.* 25-7, *Alex.* 66.6-7, *Mar.* 20-1, Thuc. 3.49.4, 7.2.4, Xen. *Anab.* 4.7.15-27, Tac. *Ann.* 1.64-8; and the pattern is really as old as the *Odyssey*, where Penelope is on the point of choosing her new husband as Odysseus returns. 'Nights of terror' had long been a favoured theme of historians. Cf. 75.4, *Crass.* 27.4-8, Thuc. 7.80.1-4, Xen. *Anab.* 3.1.3, *Hell.* 2.2.3, Livy 9.3.1-4, Tac. *Ann.* 1.65-6. But as

usual P.'s description is no stereotype. What causes the panic is the men's own indiscipline and greed, inspired by the silver and gold and 'expensive goblets and tables' in A.'s baggage (§4). The 'very many gold drinking-cups' of § 2 presage the theme. A., the great soldier, has brought his men to the brink of safety, but he also has with him the instruments of luxury which set it all at risk.

1 εὐθὺς ὥσπερ εἰώθεισαν ἀπαλλαττομένων: 44.1n. **Mithridates and Alexander:** 46.4-5 nn.

2 ... λαβὼν ἀπῆλυνεν: cf. 74.6(n.).

4 κατέκοπτον 'cut up'. Cf. Flor. 2.20.10.

5 ὤιοντο γὰρ ... διασπασμόν: as Thuc. 7.80.3-4 noted, panics readily occur in a threatened army at night: cf. e.g. *Caes.* 43.6, *Tac. Ann.* 1.66. **Rhamnus:** cf. Flor. 2.20.10. A. later kept a servant specially instructed to kill him when the time came, 76.7(n.). These orders and the grief of his friends interestingly anticipate that death-scene at Alexandria. This time, the danger passes.

6 καὶ γὰρ αὔρα τις ... 'there was moisture in the breeze that was blowing from that direction and the cooler air in their faces made it easier to breathe', Scott-Kilvert. Cf. 49.2n. Such a breeze could hardly blow from the tiny Shiāh Chāi, and this looks like P.'s fabrication. οὕτω συμπεραίνειν τὸ μέτρον 'confirm that estimate', lit. 'complete the measure so that it coincides' with the conclusion drawn from the moist air.

49.1 πάλιν ὁμοίως κατερέψαντες ἀλλήλους: again the *testudo*, 45.3-4n.

2 **The river of the farewell** is normally identified with the Shiāh Chāi, a small stream ten or fifteen miles north of the Talkheh: see Map 2. It too is often saline, but if there had been recent rain (40.4n.) it might well be more drinkable than the Talkheh. But P. implies that this was a considerable waterway (48.6n.), and we should expect the Parthians to have selected a conspicuous landmark to end their pursuit (cf. 48.1). Yet the Shiāh Chāi is a miserable stream, and so are all the other rivers a little N. of the Talkheh. There may well be fiction here, deriving either from P.'s source or, more probably, from P. himself. His source perhaps put the Parthian farewell earlier in the story, either at the crossing of the Talkheh (47.6-7), or even earlier (cf. Flor. 2.20.7, *Dio* 49.31.1). Either way, P. might prefer to delay it to here to give a dramatic conclusion. That meant attaching it to the crossing of a

minor stream, which would in fact be much less hazardous; indeed, the stream was perhaps not mentioned by P.'s source at all, as P. may simply have *inferred* that the parched Romans must soon have found fresh water. διεβίβαζε . . . : another difficulty in identifying this river with the Shīāh Chāi. If the Romans were really under attack, A. had no reason to cross the river at all. He could simply follow its E. bank and make quickly for the mountains. See Map 2.

3 πολλὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτῶν ἐγκωμιάζοντες: Florus' Parthians cry out, *Ite et bene ualete, Romani! merito uos uictores fama gentium loquitur, qui Parthorum tela fugistis* (2.20.7, cf. §2n.). An enemy's respect as he laid down his arms was a conventional theme: cf. e.g. Vell. 2.107 (with Woodman's nn.), Livy 2.15.5-6, 33.33.4-8, Tac. *Ann.* 2.25.4. Diomedes' words at Virg. *Aen.* 11.279-93 are similar.

4 ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀράξην ποταμὸν ἤκον: the last stage of their march lay along a narrow defile from the modern Marand to Djolfā. See Map 2. λόγος διήλθεν . . . διαβαίνουσιν αὐτοῖς: in the pass they were naturally protected, and these fears were reasonable: the Parthians might well delay a final attack until they emerged from the pass to the river.

5 ὥσπερ ἄρτι γῆν ἐκείνην ἰδόντες ἐκ πελάγους: the joy of the voyager sighting land was proverbial: cf. A. Otto, *Die Sprichwörter der Römer* (Leipzig 1890) 345, and e.g. 621d. But P. particularly has in mind the famous inversion at Xen. *Anab.* 4.7.20-7, when the Ten Thousand first glimpse the *sea*. The cry went up, θάλαττα θάλαττα, and 'they embraced one another and their generals and their captains, all in tears'. Here πρὸς δάκρυα καὶ περιβολὰς ἀλλήλων ὑπὸ χαρᾶς ἐτρόποντο is unmistakably similar.

6 χώρας εὐδαίμονος: the adjective is regularly used of 'prosperous' countries or cities (e.g. 25.6, cf. LSJ 2), but is particularly frequent in stylised formulae in Xen. *Anab.* (e.g. 1.2.6, 1.4.1, 1.4.11; of Armenia itself at 3.5.17). Cf. 41.3n.

50.1 δισφυρίους πεζοὺς καὶ τετρακισχιλίους ἵππεῖς ἀπολωλότας: cf. the initial figures at 37.3-4 and another 8000 deaths at 51.1: similar bloody statistics at Vell. 2.82.2-3, Flor. 2.20.10, and Livy *Per.* 130. They probably derive from Delliūs (cf. 37-52n.). P. liked such statistics himself, e.g. *Caes.* 15.5, *Sert.* 12.2, *Pomp.* 45.3, *Sulla* 28.15.

2 ὠδευσαν . . . ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ καὶ εἴκοσι: cf. Livy *Per.* 130, . . . in *Armeniam reuersus est XXI* [ctr. P.'s 'twenty-seven'] *diebus CCC milia fuga*

*emensus*. Despite *in Armeniam*, the 'twenty-one' figure presumably gives the period until the Parthians' farewell (49.3): the Romans reached the Araxes 'on the sixth day' after that (49.4). Cf. Sherwin-White 320 n. 35. μάχαις δ' ὀκτὼ καὶ δέκα: 46.1n.

**3-7 Antony and Artavasdes of Armenia.** Cf. 39.1(n.) on Artavasdes' desertion and 92(5).3. Dio 49.25.5 and Strabo 11.524 are similarly bitter about Artavasdes (cf. 39.1n.), doubtless following Dellius (who was presumably defending A. against the charges of perfidy, §6n.). P. must have realised that A.'s treatment of Artavasdes was questionable, but still accepted Dellius' emphasis: petty treachery was foreign to his notion of A., who is here indeed sensible (λογισμῶι χρησάμενος §5) when his advisers are rash. P. prefers to reserve his moral sting for the end, the triumph in Alexandria (§6n.): he thus uses the story to aid the transition to Cl. (51.2-4) and to reintroduce the dominant theme, the brilliant soldier besotted and destroyed by love.

4 ἑξακισχίλιοι καὶ μύριοι: only '6000' at 37.3, but both figures may be right: see n. ad loc. οὐκ ἂν ὑπῆρξεν . . . τοσαυτάκις 'they would not have been able to recover their spirits and their daring so often after their defeats'. ἀναφέρειν is regular in this sense (LSJ II.7.b), the more precise ἀναπολμῶν is rarer and more striking (cf. *Lucull.* 31.2). P. is quite fond of such historical speculations: cf. e.g. *Dtr.* 28.3, *Caes.* 26.2, *Gracch.* 3, *Flam.* 9.9-11 and 21.10-14. Here as elsewhere the speculation is likely to be his own, although he drew the bitterness against Artavasdes from his source (above).

5 ὁ δὲ λογισμῶι χρησάμενος . . . : cf. Dio 49.31.2-3: 'although he was angry with the Armenian king and eager to take vengeance, he nevertheless flattered and paid court to him, so that he might obtain provisions and money; and finally . . . he fawned on the king and made him many promises, so that he might be persuaded to let the Romans winter where they were' (on this cf. 51.1n.). It was a long way through Armenia and winter was at hand. A. had to gain Artavasdes' goodwill.

6 Ὑστερον μέντοι πάλιν ἐμβαλὼν εἰς Ἀρμενίαν: in 34, after he had planned but abandoned an attack in 35 (52.1n.). A. was not merely being vindictive: a reliable Armenian base would be essential if he were to invade Parthia again. Dio 49.39-40 gives more detail of the 34 campaign, probably from Dellius: cf. also Strabo 12.532, Pliny *N.H.* 33.82-3. A. first negotiated with the Armenian king, even offering Alexander Helios to marry the King's daughter; then he moved

quickly on to Artaxata, arrested Artavasdes, and took over the country, leaving at least 16 legions for the winter (56.1n.). A coin of about 32 celebrates ARMENIA DEVICTA (*RRC* no. 543). In his propaganda 'O. claimed that A.'s treacherous arrest of Artavasdes had brought great discredit on the Roman people' (Dio 50.1.4), and a hostile treatment filtered into the historical tradition (cf. Tac. *Ann.* 2.3.1 with Goodyear's n.). But P.'s emphasis is different (§§3–7n.), and his treatment brief: the narrative is gaining speed with Cl.'s reappearance (53.5n.), and here and in 52 he merely summarises later eastern events before moving to the rift in the West. ἐθριάμβευσεν 'led in triumph', active: cf. 84.7n. The word is misleading: the detail of Vell. 2.82.4 (cf. Woodman's n., Grant 161–2) suggests only a Dionysiac procession, as was fitting for A. as Dionysus–Osiris (24.4n.) and amply preceded at Alexandria (cf. esp. the procession of Ptolemy II, 24.4n. and Rice *passim*). But it would certainly show similarities with a Roman triumph, which itself had many Dionysiac associations (H. Versnel, *Triumphus* (Leiden 1970), esp. 20–38, 235–54, 288–99), and O. could readily claim this as a sacrilegious transfer of the Roman ceremony to Egypt. P. welcomes that emphasis (cf. §§3–7n.). Dio 49.40 gives more detail, including the refusal of Artavasdes and the other captives to pay obeisance to Cl.

7 ὦι μάλιστα Ῥωμαίους ἐλύπησεν: thus reintroducing an important theme, 36.4n.

51.1 Τότε δέ: in 36: P. reverts to the point he left at 50.5. διὰ πολλοῦ χειμῶνος ... ἐπειγόμενος: Dio 49.31.3 (quoted on 50.5) seems to imply that Artavasdes allowed them to winter in Armenia, but that must be wrong: Artavasdes presumably only guaranteed them safe conduct through his country. According to Flor. 2.20.9 they encountered the 'snows' in Cappadocia. It is not clear where the men wintered: perhaps in Cappadocia or Commagene. It must have been Dec. or Jan. before they reached there. ὀκτακισχιλίου: the same figure as at Livy *Per.* 130.

2 Βηρυτοῦ: Beirut. Λευκὴ Κώμη: not certainly identifiable, but perhaps 'Old Berytus', just south of Beirut itself.

3 ἀδημονῶν ἦλυσεν ... : magnificently vivid. For ἦλυσεν, 'he wandered listlessly', cf. 9.5n.; ἀδημονῶν, 'beside himself with anguish', is another powerful word (cf. *exx.* in LSJ), which P. particularly favours when

writing of the anguish of separation: cf. *Cic.* 40.3, *Tim.* 5.4, *Numa* 4.2. At 69.1(n.) A. again wanders restlessly (ἀλύων καὶ πλανώμενος) after sending Cl. home: but the agony will then be different, and greater. ἐπὶ σκοπήν (Ziegler's emendation for the limp ἐπισκοπεῖν): probably σκοπή is abstract and this means 'to look out' (LSJ II) rather than 'to a look-out point' (LSJ I): cf. *Arat.* 12.5. ἐσθῆτα . . . τοῖς στρατιώταις: Octavia will shortly arrive with the same things (53.3): they are rivals indeed. But Octavia's money was real, and there was no suggestion that A. needed to pretend (§ 4 here). According to Dio 49.31.4, some money *did* come from Cl., and A. made up the rest, 'ascribing the credit for the favour' to Cl. Shortly afterwards A. returned with Cl. to Alexandria, where they spent the winter (App. 5.133).

**52 Antony and Artavasdes of Media** (37.3n., 38.3n.), who is still not named (38.3n.). According to P. they make an alliance to fight Parthia: only a part of the truth, as Dio 49.33 and 44 suggests. He agrees that Artavasdes was angry with Phraates because of the spoils, but adds that he was eager to exploit A.'s aid *against Artavasdes of Armenia*. He therefore sent Polemo (38.6n.) to offer A. an alliance in 35. In that year A. consequently set out 'pretending that he was launching another attack on the Parthians', but in fact intending to attack the Armenian king (Dio 49.33.3, cf. 50.6n.): he turned back when he heard of Octavia's arrival (cf. 53.1-2). After the capture of the Armenian king in 34 (cf. 50.6-7), A. and the Median Artavasdes then planned to invade Parthia in 33 (Dio 49.44): they met on the Araxes but the campaign was abandoned (53.12, 56.1 nn.). P. probably knew all this from Delliis, but he has already dealt with Artavasdes of Armenia (50.6-7) and does not wish to reintroduce him here. He prefers, misleadingly, to imply that from the outset A. and the Median king were concerned only with Parthia.

1 ὑπόνοιαν δὲ . . . παρασχοῦσα: Media was perpetually under threat from Parthia, and Phraates had good reason to distrust everyone (cf. 40.2n.). Mutual suspicion was hardly surprising.

3 γενόμενος οὖν ἐπ' ἐλπίδος μεγάλης 'having come to feel great hope', an odd locution which P. favours: cf. *Sol.* 14.4, *Brut.* 47.6, *Pomp.* 27.6, and LSJ ἐπὶ 1.3.c. A. again (cf. 46n.) emerges as credulous, but P. does not labour the point. παρσκευάζετο δι' Ἀρμενίας αὐθις ἀναβαίνειν: P. seems to refer to the plans for the 35 campaign (52n.,

above): if so he probably misleads, for in that year A. apparently intended to attack Armenia, not Parthia. He may have borrowed details from the campaign of 33, which he hurries over at 53.12(n.): then A. and the Median king genuinely planned a Parthian campaign, and met on the Araxes before abandoning it. This Armenian route to the Araxes was similar or identical to the one of 36 (37.3n.), hence αὐθις ἀναβαίνειν 'go up' from the sea.

### 53-5 The years 35-33

P. moves quickly through these years, again concentrating on Octavia and Cl. and imaginatively improving his material (53.5-9, 54.1-5 nn.). His treatment of politics is particularly hurried, and he writes allusively about some unfamiliar events (53.1, 53.12, 55 nn., cf. Intr., 12). His account of eastern events during 35-33 was similarly abbreviated, 50-2 nn. Such compression is natural as Actium approaches: after A. takes his vital decision in 35 (53n.), P. represents events as moving rapidly and inexorably towards war. The narrative is tightened by the stress on the approaching conflict at 53.12, where P. anticipates events of late 33 and therefore already shows A. 'turning towards the civil war'. The compression also enables P. to bring Parthia and Actium into starker comparison (37-52n.). Dio 49.33-44 is also very rapid; Appian perhaps gave more detail in his *Egyptian History* (cf. T. J. Luce, *CP* 59 (1964) 259-62).

**53 The year 35**, in P.'s view the critical time. Octavia arrived in the East, A. had to choose, he could not resist Cl.'s wiles, and Octavia returned to Rome (54.1). War was now certain (cf. 53.11). But much of this is fiction. Cl. was probably not even with A. when he heard of Octavia's arrival, and the description of her wiles is imaginative (§§5-9, §7 nn.). Nor is it clear that A. saw himself as making any final break with O. or the West. He was still intent on an ambitious eastern campaign in Armenia and Parthia (50.6, 52 nn.), and still had a vast army in Armenia in mid-33, 56.1n.: this would be out of the question if he were expecting a war in the West. Octavia could hardly accompany him on such an eastern campaign, and would naturally return to Rome. True, a year before he had advertised his liaison with Cl. (36.5n.), but this had not then seemed to mark a decisive break -

otherwise Octavia would not have joined him now. Still, P.'s instinct is not wholly awry. Whatever A. intended, O. saw the opportunity which the treatment of his sister offered. By the end of the year he was exploiting it in his propaganda (54.1n.); he may also have been negotiating with A.'s enemy Artavasdes of Armenia (Dio 49.41.5); and his legions were fighting in Illyricum, suggestively close to the border with A.'s realm. This was indeed a critical year (though less critical than 36), but because of O.'s decisions, not A.'s. **Ἐν δὲ Πρώμῃ**: P. does not fill in the western background: cf. Syme 227-42. While A. was failing in Parthia, O. was defeating Sextus (3rd Sept. 36, 35.8n.), a suggestive contrast for the Roman public to ponder. Sextus fled to the East and began to intrigue; with some misgivings, A. ordered his death (35.8n.). In Sicily Lepidus and O. meanwhile quarrelled. O. entered Lepidus' camp, as confidently as A. at 18.1-4, and Lepidus' troops soon came over. His life was spared, but he went into exile and disgrace (cf. 55.3). At Rome O. was welcomed with jubilation; soon afterwards he hurried off to commence his campaign in Illyria (35-33).

**53.1 βουλομένης Ὀκταουίας πλεῦσαι πρὸς Ἀντώνιον**: despite his unfriendly treatment of O. (next n.), P. leaves no doubt that Octavia suggested the journey herself. Her motives are noble, unlike her brother's. We might expect βουλομένηι Ὀκταουίᾳ (dative with ἐπέτρεψε), but P. sometimes finds a 'needless' gen. absolute stylistically preferable: here it avoids hiatus. Cf. *Nic.* 16.7, τοῦ δ' Ὀλυμπίου πλησίον ὄντος, ὥρμησαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καταλαβεῖν . . ., where the gen. avoids the jingle . . . Ὀλυμπίῳ πλησίον ὄν; 3.8, 5.4, 16.5, 22.4, 34.5 ηπ. ὥς οἱ πλείους λέγουσιν οὐκ ἐκείνῃ χαρίζομενος . . . : the interpretation is unfavourable to O., and if it really stood in written sources (cf. ὥς οἱ πλείους λέγουσιν), these were authors who wrote with spirit, perhaps Dellius and/or Pollio. But P. may owe the point to oral tradition (λέγουσιν may be a genuine 'say'), or be giving his own view a spurious authority by ascribing it to a tradition: cf. 58.3n., *Intr.*, 40. Whether or not he invented the version, P. clearly accepts it: as he reintroduces O., he wishes to portray him clearly as calculating and shrewd, in contrast to the reckless A.

**2 κελεύοντος αὐτόθι προσμένειν**: but Dio 49.33.4 says 'he ordered her immediately to go home'. P. implies that she remained in the East for some time, and there was a chance she might join A. (§5): she returns to

Rome only at 54.1. Perhaps Dio is simply exaggerating; but P. is elaborating the clash between Cl. and Octavia (§7n.), and possibly distorting here, for if Octavia were already to return home Cl. would have nothing to fear. τὰ περὶ τὴν ἀνάβασιν: 52.3. ποῦ, where in classical Greek we should expect ποῖ: cf. LSJ που sub fin.

3 πολλὴν μὲν ἐσθῆτα στρατιωτικὴν κτλ.: cf. 51.3-4n. στρατιώτας ἐπιλέκτους δισχιλίους: but it seems that O. had promised 20,000 men, not 2000: App. 5.95, cf. 35.7n. 'A. was confronted with damaging alternatives. To accept was to condone O.'s breach of a solemn agreement; to refuse, an insult to Octavia and to Roman sentiment' (Syme 265). He accepted. στρατηγικὰς σπείρας 'praetorian cohorts', 39.2n.

4 Niger is not otherwise known.

**5-9 The wiles of Cleopatra and her flatterers.** At *How to Tell a Flatterer* 61a-b P. discussed the ways in which flatterers encourage disgraceful love-affairs.

'Thus, when A. was aflame with desire for the Egyptian woman, her friends persuaded him that she too was in love with him, and they abused him as heartless and arrogant. "The woman has left a great kingdom and a life of happiness: now she is wasting away as she goes with you on campaign. But 'the heart within your breast cannot be moved' [Hom. *Il.* 14.329], and you allow her to go on in this grief." A. took delight in being shown to be unfair, and these accusers gave him even more pleasure than those who praised him: he was destroyed by the very men who seemed to be giving him advice – and he never realised it.'

The essay is probably earlier than the *Life* (24.12n.), and P. therefore knew the story before he read his historical sources (which in fact probably omitted it: the other ancient narratives have no hint of it): cf. Intr., 29. He has to distort to fit it into his narrative (§7n.).

In the essay this is a straightforward example of spurious frankness (24.12n.): when the flatterer pretends to criticise he is really encouraging his victim in his lowest instincts, and A. duly 'takes delight' in the criticisms. In *Ant.* P. stresses Cl.'s (pretended) mental rather than physical suffering, and he sees her position with unusual sympathy (§§9-10n.). One understands why A. is torn, but also why Cl. fears

Octavia's approach (§5). The flatterers do not find it easy to persuade A., who certainly takes no 'delight' in their advice. Eventually he yields, and misses the remarkable opportunity to repair the Parthian catastrophe (§11): but one senses the heaviness of his heart. Cf. Intr., 13.

5 τοῦ τρόπου τῇ σεμνότητι: 31.4n. ἐρᾶν αὐτὴ προσεποιεῖτο τοῦ Ἀντωνίου: we have so far heard little of Cl.'s feelings for A.: cf. 36.1n., Intr., 16. At first she was playing the κόλαξ (29.1); but it is surprising that this show of passion is *still* mere 'pretence'. That certainly heightens the contrast with Octavia, for Cl.'s arts are still those of the courtesan. But by the end of the *Life* (esp. 84) Cl.'s love is beyond doubt: two lovers, not a lover and a trickster, lie united in death. Cf. Intr., 43. τὸ σῶμα . . . καθήρει 'made her body waste away': cf. καθαίρεσις at 82.4(n.).

6-7 Cleopatra's pretence of love: cf. e.g. the advice given by the *lena* at Ov. *Am.* 1.8.69ff., esp. 83ff.; and the girls of love elegy do sometimes adopt similar tricks (e.g. Prop. 1.15.39-40, 3.25.5-6, Tib. 1.9.37-8 (a boy), Ov. *A.A.* 1.659-62) - though as usual P.'s description shows more subtlety and depth. This Cl. seems more sophisticated than her counterpart in Sh. (1.iii.2-5): Intr., 44. Sh. does not reproduce the present scene, despite his interest in the clash of Cl. and Octavia. He prefers to move even more rapidly than P. to the climax of Actium: A.'s final rejection of Octavia is *reported*, no more (iii.vi.60-98): and even as Octavia herself hears the news, there is little interest in her response. Sh.'s Octavia is more colourless than P.'s, and we always know that his A. will prefer Cl.: the moment of his choice could only be an anticlimax. Cf. 31.2, 35.3 nn., Intr., 42. ὑπεφαίνετο 'just gave a hint of . . .', 'was just visible as . . .': Cl. knows not to overplay her hand.

7 πραγματευομένη 'contriving' or 'managing', a businesslike word. ταχὺ τὸ δάκρυον . . . λανθάνειν ἐκείνον 'quickly tried to wipe away and conceal her tears, as if' (ὥς δὴ, indicating a pretence) 'she wished to hide it from him'. Flacelière's τὸ δάκρυον 'tear' (cf. 442d, 659c, *Marc.* 2.8) is a more likely emendation of τῶν δακρύων (MSS) than Ziegler's τὸ δακρῦον, 'her weeping' (cf. *Alc.* 32.4). μέλλοντος . . . τὸν Μῆδον: cf. 52.3 for the projected campaign with Artavasdes of Media. Dio 49.33 confirms that A. embarked on an eastern campaign in 35, against Artavasdes of Armenia (cf. 52n.): A. turned back when he heard of Octavia's arrival, leaving the campaign for the following year.

Dio's details look like those of §11, and this is presumably the factual basis of P.'s story. In that case P. has greatly expanded the role of Cl. In Dio she plays no part in A.'s decision to abandon the campaign: indeed, A. is already on campaign, and Cl. does not even seem to be in A.'s company when he hears the news of Octavia. (Dio here presumably preserves the version of his source, for he would not himself play down Cl.'s charms: cf. 49.33.4.) The rewriting is probably P.'s own. He apparently knew of the flatterers' wiles some time before he wrote *Ant.* (§§5-9n.), but he had to find a context. This was the obvious moment, the time when A. made his crucial decision to stay with Cl.: but that inevitably required an inflation of Cl.'s role in the decision.

8 οἱ δὲ κόλακες: cf. 24.9-12n. παραπολλύοντα 'destroying', with the hint of 'destroying *pointlessly*': cf. LSJ. ἀνηρημένον 'utterly devoted'.

9-10 Octavia as wife, Cleopatra as lover. The contrast between an *amica* and an *uxor* recurs in Roman elegy, where life with an *amica* is naturally passionate, rewarding, and fragile, while married life is cold and flat. But in love-elegy the contrast normally centres on the woman's dual role – *amica* to one man, *uxor* to another – and the man's consequent torment or thrill. (Cf. esp. Cat. 68.143-8, Ov. *Am.* 1.4, 3.4; Prop. develops the contrast with more variation, cf. 2.6.41-2, 2.21, 4.3.49-50.) That is now reversed, and P. presents us with A.'s two women, his *amica* and his *uxor*, and Cl.'s indignity. Even if there is pretence here (§5n.), P.'s readiness to see her viewpoint is striking, and contrasts with the trivial stereotypes of female psychology often found in ancient authors, and indeed with the *How to Tell a Flatterer* passage (§§5-9n.). Virgil's Dido is again similar (Intr., 17). She too can claim a peculiar debt after sacrificing her majesty for an illicit affair: when Aeneas tries to counter her claims, there are no right words for him to say (*Aen.* 4.333-61). But, unlike A., Aeneas knows he *must* leave, as Rome demands. ἀπελαυνομένην δὲ τούτου μὴ περιβιώσεσθαι: an important new theme. For the moment, this is hyperbole and pretence – but Cl. will come to mean it passionately (cf. esp. 84). In elegy male lovers proclaim their love in similar terms: cf. esp. Prop. 2.1, 2.8, 2.28. When women die for their love, they tend to provide witty *exempla*, no more (cf. Prop. 1.15, a very humorous poem, and Ov. *A.A.* 3.17-22). But Dido is again different, and closer to P.'s Cl.

11 ἐξέτηξαν καὶ ἀπεθήλυναν 'melted and unmanned' him (Scott-Kilvert), almost like Hercules with Omphale (90(3).4): a very bold

phrase. εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἐπανελθεῖν . . . : cf. §7n. καίπερ ἐν στάσει τῶν Παρθικῶν εἶναι λεγομένων: cf. the hints of Parthian unrest during 36 (37.1, 37.5-38.1, 40.2, 40.5, 42.1 nn.). Once again (cf. 37.5), P. sees A. as wasting a great opportunity because of Cl.

12 οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ: 9.1n. Here the force is 'he did not abandon the East completely, but . . .' ἀναβάς αὐθις: cf. 52.3n. It is not clear which 'journey up-country' P. here means: perhaps that of 34, when A. captured the Armenian Artavasdes (50.6-7n.); more likely that of 33, when he started but abandoned his second invasion of Parthia (Dio 49.44, cf. 52n.). According to Dio, the betrothal of Alexander Helios (36.5n.) to Iotape, the daughter of the Median king, was agreed in 34 (49.40.2) and A. 'took' (ἔλαβεν, 49.44.2, cf. λαβών here) the girl in 33: thus the princess presumably accompanied A. to Alexandria in that year. She was still there in 30 (Dio 51.16.2). Cf. G. H. Macurdy, *JRS* 26 (1936) 40-2. ἤδη πρὸς τὸν ἐμφύλιον πόλεμον τετραμμένος: cf. 53-5, 56.1 nn.

54.1-5 **Octavian and Octavia.** P. does not say when Octavia returned from Athens, but implies that she was in the East for some time (53.2n.), perhaps all summer 35. No other source mentions O.'s pressure for a divorce and her refusal, and P. again seems to be making the most of Octavia (cf. 31.2n.): as at 35-6 (cf. 23-36n.) he passes quickly from Octavia to the degenerate extravagance of A. with Cl. (§§5-9n.). The truth of the story is doubtful, but (*pace* Syme 265) it is credible that O. sought to exploit his sister's treatment as early as winter 35-34, when the propaganda war was gathering pace (55n.). He may well have stated publicly that she was entitled to a divorce, even if too noble to seek one. She clearly did continue to live in A.'s house, with the children, until their divorce in 32: cf. 57.4-5. ὑβρίσθαι δοκοῦσαν: just as he had intended (53.1).

2 **Octavia's speech:** as at 35.3(n.), she is grave as well as passionate, and her language is balanced and controlled. ὥς οὐδ' ἀκοῦσαι καλόν: understand ὅν (acc. abs., cf. *GG* §1569). 'For it would be an unspeakable thing . . .' (lit. 'it not being a fair thing even to hear of. . .'). ὁ μὲν δι' ἔρωτα γυναικός, ὁ δὲ διὰ ζηλοτυπίαν. . . : she is determined not to become a Helen (cf. 6.1).

3 τῶν τέκνων. . . : cf. 35.8n.

4 ὑποδεχομένη συνέπραττεν ὧν παρὰ Καίσαρος δεηθεῖεν 'she

received them in her house and helped them to obtain from O. whatever they needed'.

5 ἐμισεῖτο γὰρ ἀδικῶν γυναῖκα τοιαύτην: 'characterisation by reaction', cf. Intr., 40; for the theme of Roman disgust cf. 36.4n. Here it smooths the transition to the outrage of Alexandria (ἐμισήθη δὲ καί. . .).

**54.4-9 The 'donations' of Alexandria.** P., like Dio 49.41, makes a great deal of this. A. was once φιλλέλλην, in a simple and noble way (23.2-4, 33.6-34.1 nn.); but, as he moved from Athens to Alexandria, his eastern tastes became grander. Now he is no longer φιλλέλλην, but μισοπρώμοτος (§5). The contrast between his extravagance and Roman ways is pointed by the juxtaposition of Cl. and Octavia (§§1-5n.), by now embodying the contrast of Rome and the East. P. dwells on the oriental symbolism, the extravagant display and titles, the divine imitation: nothing could be further from the manner of Octavia.

Dio 49.41 is close in detail to P., but their account is certainly exaggerated: as Dio shows, O.'s propaganda fastened on the affair, and this has coloured the tradition. In early 32 A. sought ratification in Rome for his *acta*, but the Antonian consuls Sosius and Domitius still believed they could hush up the affair (Dio 49.41.4) – incredible, if the 'donations' had been as public and spectacular as P. and Dio suggest. But it is likely that there was some public ceremony, probably in late 34 and perhaps, as Dio states, in connexion with the 'triumph' of 50.6(n.). A. probably hoped to create some new blend of Roman and oriental ceremonial: these were Rome's conquests, but the celebration was phrased in the idiom of the East (§§7-9nn.). In any event, the 'donations' made no difference to the actual administration. Most of the territories – Egypt, Cyprus, Koile Syria, Cilicia, and parts of Phoenicia – were Cl.'s already; Alexander Helios' hopes of Media depended on his future as Artavasdes' son-in-law. Parthia was not A.'s to give, and represented only a hope for the future. Syria, which Cl. dearly desired (cf. Jos. *A.J.* 15.88) does seem a new gift – but it continued to have a Roman proconsul (L. Calpurnius Bibulus, *MRR* 411), and local princes were not expropriated (cf. Bowersock 47). Cyrene and Armenia continued to be occupied by Roman generals and legions (56.1, 69.3n.), and Lesser Armenia remained available to be given to Polemo the following year (56.1n.). These 'gifts' were only

gestures – and there was still no mention of Judaea, which Cl. craved (36.3-4n.). A. himself kept a certain distance: he might have a throne (§6), but he was not king of Egypt. It was Cl. and the children who would reign, in Egypt as perhaps elsewhere: the significance as well as the historical truth of the ceremonial is uncertain, but perhaps the children might one day be client kings, in the manner of A.'s earlier settlements (36.3-4n.). But that was far in the future. *τραγικήν*: 'theatrical' or 'spectacular' is here a better translation than 'tragic': cf. e.g. *Dtr.* 44.9 with 41.7, Demetrius' robe (*Intr.*, 21); *Popl.* 10.3, Valerius' house; Plato *Meno* 76e with Bluck's n.; Wardman 170. But the suggestion of tragedy is certainly important. Like Demetrius' robe and Valerius' house, such display portends catastrophe. Cf. 29.4n., *Intr.*, 21-2. *μισορρώμαιον*: the word may well be P.'s own coinage, though *φιλορρώμιος* was frequent (eastern monarchs had adopted it as a title since the first century B.C., cf. Braund 105-7).

6 The **gymnasium**: the city's finest building, according to Strabo 17.795, with colonnades over a stade long: cf. Fraser 1 28-9, and see Map 4. *ἐπὶ βήματος ἀργυροῦ δύο θρόνους χρυσοῦς*: cf. Dio 49.40.3, 41.1. *ἀπέφηνε* is odd: Cl. had been queen of Egypt and Cyprus for years, and of Koile Syria since 36 (36.3-4nn.); Caesarion had shared the throne since 44 (25.1n.). *Αἰβύης*: Cyrene (Dio 49.41.3), cf. 61.2n. Dio more credibly says that this was 'given' to Cleopatra Selene, Alexander's twin (30.3, 36.5 nn.): P. has presumably confused the two Cleopatras. A. had probably controlled Cyrene since 42 or 40. For **Caesarion** cf. *OCD*<sup>2</sup>, 25.1n., 81. He appears as 'Ptolemy Kaisar' or 'Kaisaros' in Egyptian inscriptions; C. apparently authorised the use of his name (Suet. *Iul.* 52.1), which was current in Rome by 44 (Cic. *Att.* 374(14.20).2). His paternity has always been disputed: cf. Suet. *Iul.* 52.2. A. found 'a son of C.' useful to his propaganda, just as O. found it embarrassing to his (cf. Dio 49.41.2). *καταλιπόντος*: when he left Egypt in 47. Cf. *Caes.* 49.10, 'when C. departed for Syria, he left (κατέλιπε) Cl. as queen of Egypt, and shortly afterwards she bore him a son whom the Alexandrians called Caesarion'.

7 *τοὺς ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ Κλεοπάτρας υἱοὺς βασιλεῖς βασιλέων ἀναγορεύσας*: 'king of kings' was a fairly common Oriental title (cf. *Dtr.* 25.6), used e.g. of Persian and Parthian, Armenian, Bosphoran, and Egyptian kings, as well as the Christian God. A.'s 'sons by Cl.' were Alexander Helios, born in 40 (30.3, 36.5n.), and Ptolemy Philadelphus,

born in 36 (36.5n.): P. has not in fact mentioned Ptolemy Philadelphus before. There seems to be an error here: Dio 49.41.1 says that Cl. was to be 'queen of kings' and *Caesarion* 'king of kings', and that seems right. The ARMENIA DEVICTA coin of about 32 B.C. (*RRC* no. 543, 50.6n.) has on its reverse Cl.'s head (remarkably for a Roman coin, Grant 169-70), and the legend CLEOPATRAE REGINAE REGUM FILIORUM REGUM. A Delian inscription, *CIL* 3.7232, seems to refer to *rege[m] regu[m] ... Cleo]patrae f[ilium]*, presumably but not certainly Caesarion. Μηδίων: not to be taken as a threat of conquest. From 35 onwards A. was thinking of peace with Media (52nn.), and Alexander was to marry Iotape, the Median princess (52.3n.). Alexander might have some hope of inheriting Media as the king's son-in-law. τὰ Πάρθων ὅταν ὑπαγάγηται: cf. Dio 49.41.3, 'everything else beyond the Euphrates as far as India'. Φοινίκην καὶ Συρίαν καὶ Κιλικίαν (presumably 'Rough Cilicia', as at 36.3(n.)): Dio more extravagantly says 'Syria and all the region west of the Euphrates as far as the Hellespont'.

8 *τιάραν καὶ κίταριν ὀρθὴν ἐχούση*: the tiara was a fabric turban, generally worn flat, with a beret-like tilt to the front. Only kings could wear it 'upright' (ὀρθή), i.e. raised conically to a point. The *kitaris* originally denoted this 'upright tiara' (e.g. Ctes. *FGrH* 688 fr. 15.50), but by P's time 'tiara' and 'kitaris' were felt as simple synonyms: hence the need to specify that this *kitaris* was ὀρθή (cf. *Artax.* 26.4, 340c, Arr. *Anab.* 6.29.3 with 3.25.3). The head-dress was distinctively Armenian and Median. *κρηπίσι καὶ χλαμύδι καὶ καυσίαι διαδηματοφόρῳ* 'military boots and cloak, and a woollen hat carrying a diadem'. The *kausia* was a simple woollen or goat-hair hat, similar to caps still worn by peasants in Afghanistan (cf. B. M. Kingsley, *AJA* 85 (1981) 39-46). Since Alexander, both the *kausia* and a distinctive style of military cloak (*chlamys*) had particularly been associated with the Macedonians: cf. LSJ and e.g. Ehippus *FGrH* 126 fr. 5, 'almost every day Alexander wore a *chlamys* ... and a *kausia* carrying a diadem'; *Eum.* 8.12; Strabo 15.715; and 200 years later Caracalla wore a *κουσία* and *κρηπίδες* to imitate Alexander (Herodian 4.8.2). For the diadem cf. 12.3n. The combination of *kausia* and diadem is attested for Alexander (Ehippus, cit. above, and Arr. *Anab.* 7.22.2) and other kings (Kingsley, *AJA* 88 (1984) 66-8), though it does not seem to have been very common. αὐτῇ 'the latter'. ἐκείνῃ 'the former'.

9 **Cleopatra and Isis.** Cf. 24.4n. By the time P. wrote *On Isis and*

*Osiris* he knew a great deal about the cult of Isis: that is probably later than *Ant.*, but he was perhaps already aware that Cl.'s divine pretensions were unsurprising (he appears to give them less weight than the 'donations', or A.'s own divine imitation, 4.2, 24.4 nn.). For 250 years Egyptian queens had been associating themselves with Isis, and by the time of Cleopatra III (late second century) they had come to identify themselves completely with the goddess: cf. Fraser I 240-6. The title 'new Isis' seems to originate with Cl. herself (Fraser I 244-5). Cl. is not so called in any surviving document, but P.'s notice is credible: she called herself θεὰ νεωτέρα on coins, and her father Ptolemy XII was 'Neos Dionysos', as was A. himself (33.6-34.1, 60.5 nn.). Cf. Nock I 144-52, Grant 168-9.

**55 The propaganda war.** A. and O. had been exchanging propaganda since 44, with particular ferocity in 44-43 and 40: cf. Scott, *passim*, and e.g. 16.7-8, 30.1-4 nn. Soon after 36 the exchanges began again, with O. pointedly talking of 'restoring the Republic' - if only A. would agree (App. 5.132); A. later responded similarly (Suet. *Aug.* 28.1, Dio 49.41.6, 50.7.1). By winter 35-34 O. was probably making capital of his sister's treatment (54.1-5n.). In 33-2 the propaganda battle was intensified. Some of it centred on A.'s drunkenness (he wrote a tract *de ebrietate sua* in response); and, as earlier with Glaphyra (24.1, 30.4 nn.), much of the material was salacious, with O. lavishing attention on the affair with Cl., and A. replying in kind (Scott 39-40, cf. 58.4-59.1n.). Particularly blunt was A.'s letter of 33 B.C., quoted by Suet. *Aug.* 69.2 (cf. 36.5n.): *quid te mutavit? quod reginam in eo? uxor mea est? nunc coepi, an abhinc annos nouem? tu deinde solam Drusillam inis? . . . an refert, ubi et in qua arrigas?* Cf. also Suet. *Aug.* 63.2 and all 68-71, with Carter's nn.; Grant 185-90. Though P. makes it clear that the affair with Cl. figured prominently, unlike Suet. he has no taste for such indecency. Cf. *Caes.*, where he makes little of the obscenities levelled against C. (Pelling (2) 137 and n.56).

The present exchange (Scott 38-9) took place in 33: cf. 56.1n. Dio 50.1, probably deriving from the same source, gives A. very similar complaints (though cf. §3n.), but his O. makes rather different charges, in particular complaining about the 'donations'. P. makes it clear that these figured in the propaganda (§1), but does not duplicate material by including them in O.'s reply: instead O. develops his heavy irony

concerning A.'s military failures, §4. P.'s emphasis certainly makes O. more dislikable: A.'s men had in truth 'fought magnificently' (cf. καλῶς ἀγωνισάμενοι), and the gibes are outrageous. But they also touch a nerve. A., the great soldier, is particularly sensitive to *this* ridicule, and he responds decisively (56.1).

P. is moving quickly here (above, p. 243). Much of this material has not been mentioned before, and is treated very allusively here: the fates of Sextus and Lepidus, O.'s failure to return the ships, his exclusion of A.'s men from the settlements. Cf. Intr., 12.

1 Ταῦτα δ' εἰς σύγκλητον ἐκφέρων. . . 'making these things public before the senate', 'disclosing' them. O. returned to Rome from Illyricum to assume his second consulship on 1st Jan. 33, but stayed only a few days. He probably did deliver some attack on A. in the senate on 1st Jan., but was not in Rome long enough to attack A. 'often' before the people, and πολλάκις. . . κατηγορῶν must be an exaggeration. παρώξυνε τὸ πλῆθος: P. typically (Pelling (3)) stresses 'the masses'. But O.'s propaganda was aimed just as much at the senate, the legionaries, and the Italian middle classes.

2 For the defeat of **Sextus** cf. 35.8, 53.1 nn. χρησάμενος ναῦς . . . ἀπεστέρησε 'he had borrowed ships from him for the war and not returned them'. For the loan of ships, cf. 35.7n.; O. had returned only 70 (App. 5.139).

3 For the defeat of **Lepidus** cf. 53.1n. τοῖς αὐτοῦ στρατιώταις . . . κατακεκληρούχηκε ('colonised') μηδὲν λιπὼν τοῖς ἐκείνου: Dio 50.1.3 makes A. object that he has not been able to *recruit* in Italy, and demand half of the troops which O. has levied. P. naturally stresses settlement rather than recruitment, for that is the point of O.'s riposte, §4. A. may have made either or both complaints. He had been guaranteed facilities for Italian recruitment in 40 (30.6-31.5n.), but could not enforce this; and, although A.'s veterans had shared in the settlements of 41-40 (Keppie 66-9), O. had recently settled perhaps 20,000 more of his own men (Keppie 69-73). A. could fear that insufficient land was being left for his forces: many of those levied in 43-40 would be expecting settlement soon (Keppie 35-8).

4 For A.'s conquest of **Armenia** cf. 50.6n. O.'s gibe about the 'conquests of Media and Parthia' is of course sarcastic: A.'s men had been some way from 'gaining these for Rome'.

**56-69 The Actium campaign**

P. might easily have underlined the historical importance of Actium. It decided the fate of the Roman world; in particular, it was critical for the fortunes of Greece (Intr., 1). It was celebrated in literature, architecture, and religious ceremonial (cf. Woodman on Vell. 2.84-7), and P. had surely visited Nicopolis (cf. Jones 36, 65.5n.), whose very existence attested its glory. Dio 51.1 and Vell. 2.86.1 included such reflections, and they would not have been alien to P.'s manner (cf. 50.4n. and e.g. *Gracch.* 20.1, 26.4). But for him the importance is simpler. It is A.'s catastrophe, and his fate is recounted with intense humanity (cf. esp. 67n.). All centres on A. and Cl., and other individuals, even O., dwindle in importance. This is the third great reverse of A.'s life, following Mutina and Parthia: the points of similarity with the Parthian campaign are especially close (37-52n., cf. 58.1-3, 61, 65-6, 69.1-2 nn.). But until now A. has been an exception to the general truth that 'men in adversity do not live up to their ideals . . . , but fall back to their accustomed habits, and their resolve is shattered' (17.3-6); and his men have loved him for it. This campaign is different, because for the first time Cl. is there; and A., unthinkable, betrays his own men. They are naturally bewildered (68.4), but continue to show that 'loyalty and virtue' which A. has always shown to them (esp. 64.2-4, 67.8-9, 68.4). This is no ordinary army, indeed, and no ordinary general. He naturally feels his shame intensely, becoming increasingly solitary, in a way which carries psychological conviction (63.9-11, 66.6-8, 67, 69.1): finally he turns to the life of Timon (69.6-7n.). P. doubtless knew the cruder products of Augustan propaganda, representing A. as a monster and his defeat as a joyous salvation. This portrait belongs in a different world: P.'s moralism is not primarily that of approval or disapproval, but rather gives insight into a great man's frailty. Cf. Intr., 15.

*56-60.1 Preparations*

P.'s focus rests firmly on A., and he omits important details concerning O. and the West. The triumvirate's second term (35.7n.) had probably expired at the close of 33: as in 37 (35.7n.), the legal position of O. and A. became unclear, though not necessarily impossible (in 37 they had

continued to exercise triumviral powers for some months before they were legally renewed). The consuls for 32 were the Antonians Sosius and Domitius (34.10, 40.8 nn.). On 1st Feb. (or, less likely, 1st Jan.) Sosius launched a public attack on O., who responded a few weeks later with a show of force in the senate. The consuls, together with a number of senators, fled to A. (56.3n.): he organised them into a 'counter-senate', reflecting his claim that Rome and its constitution were on his side (Dio 50.3.2). During the following months O. continued his propaganda attacks (cf. esp. 58.4-59.1n.), and organised the oath taken by Italy and the western provinces to follow his personal leadership (*R.G.* 25.2, etc, 60.1n.). War was declared on Cl. later in the year (60.1n.). Cf. esp. E.W. Gray, *PACA* 13 (1975) 15-29, P. Wallmann, *Hist.* 25 (1976) 305-12, and Syme 276-93.

**56.1 ἐν Ἀρμενίαι διατρίβων:** in mid-summer 33, when he was meeting the Median Artavasdes at the Araxes (52, 53.12 nn.). For **Canidius** cf. 34.10n. **ἐκαίδεκα τέλη:** A. had left them there the previous year (Dio 49.40.2). This must have been most (not necessarily all, as Brunt 504 assumes) of A.'s army in Asia: even in mid-33, A.'s forces were still concentrated on his E. frontiers. It was only now that he 'turned to the civil war', as P. fairly says (53.12): cf. 53n. He left some troops in the East, though he soon recalled them (Dio 49.44). For the defence of Armenia he relied on the alliance with Media, and on Polemo (38.6n.), to whom he now gave Lesser Armenia. **καταβαίνειν ἐπὶ θάλατταν:** a march of 1400 miles, which would take at least four months. **Κλεοπάτραν ἀναλαβών** 'taking Cl.', whereas he began the Parthian campaign by 'sending her back\* to Egypt' (37.3n.): an ominous beginning.

**2 ὀκτακόσiai σὺν ὀλκάσι νῆες** '800 ships, including merchantmen': these would serve as transports. 61.5 suggests that over 500 were fighting ships. **ὧν Κλεοπάτρα παρείχε διακοσίας:** only sixty fought at Actium (64.1, 66.5 nn.), but perhaps she contributed a particularly large number of transports (64.1n.). Cf. 36.3-4n. for Cl.'s ship-building: she presumably provided crews as well. Her contribution was vital, and the *CLEOPATRAE REGINAE REGUM FILIORUM REGUM COIN* (54.7n.) fittingly shows a ship's prow; cf. 36.3-4n.

**3-4 The dispute over Cl.'s presence.** Cf. 58.4, 59.4. The main lines are credible. Domitius arrived from Rome in late Feb. or March:

with him were a group of Antonian senators (56-69n.), and these may be the 'others' (τινων ἄλλων, §3). Domitius had just been confronting O. in person, and knew the damage being done by his propaganda, particularly the attacks on Cl. Other experienced politicians, including Plancus (58.4n.), took the same view: were she to withdraw, O. could hardly represent the war as fought against her rather than A. (60.1n.). Equally, Canidius, soon to be commander-in-chief of the land force (63.6), would stress the importance of Cl.'s military aid (there is no need to think that he was 'bribed', as P. credulously accepts, §4). Cl. herself clearly wished to be present, and not necessarily because she feared Octavia. Just as O. encouraged Italians to see the war as a crusade against the East, so many easterners clearly saw it as a chance for vengeance on Rome: a Sibylline oracle (*Sib. Or.* 3.350-80), composed about now by an unknown Oriental, looked forward with joy to Roman humiliation and Cl.'s triumph, the triumph of Asia (cf. W.W. Tarn, *JRS* 22 (1932) 135-43, Grant 172-5). Such men would fight for their queen, not for a Roman general; and if victory were won, it would be Cl.'s, not A.'s. *πεισθεῖς ὑπὸ Δομιτίου*: P.'s A. is as easily led as ever (Intr., 33); and it seems natural for Cl. to fear that Octavia, too, might reassert her influence. *διακαταδοκεῖν*: a very rare word, 'to wait till the end of' the war, almost 'to sit it out'. Not 'to expect anxiously' (LSJ).

4 τὰς δι' Ὀκταουίας πάλιν διαλύσεις: the MSS have αὐτοῦ before διαλύσεις, which could only = τοῦ πολέμου, as Perrin takes it; but this would naturally refer to a war already being fought, not merely feared: so at Thuc. 4.19.1 and presumably 826d. ὥς οὔτε δίκαιον...: understand either ὅν (the same construction as at 54.2(n.)) or ἧν (with ὥς = ὅτι, giving in o.o. Canidius' argument). ἀπελαύνεσθαι 'to be driven away', the same strong word as at 53.10.

5 ἄλλως δέ... 'and anyway'. μηδ', instead of the classical οὐδέ: cf. 5.8, 71.1nn. for similar extensions of μή. καὶ μανθάνουσα χρῆσθαι πράγμασι μεγάλοις: the argument is perfect *kolakeia* (cf. 57e-f): Cl. pretends to be no more than A.'s pupil in statecraft. But we know who was usually the pupil and who the teacher. Cf. 29.1(n.), διεπαιδαγώγει, and 10.6n.

6 ἔδει γὰρ εἰς Καίσαρα πάντα περιελθεῖν: P. sometimes speaks as if there were some supernatural force guiding human history towards a predetermined end: sometimes 'god' (e.g. *Brut.* 47.7); sometimes 'the

*daimon*' (cf. 33.3n.), as at *Caes.* 66.1 and esp. *Brut.* 55(2).2); sometimes a more or less providential 'fortune', as at *Phil.* 17.2; cf. also e.g. *Dion* 4.3-4, *Nic.* 17.4. It is unclear whether any coherent religious or philosophical system lies behind such remarks (cf. esp. Brenk 145-83); in any case, P. exploits the ideas dramatically, raising the tone in preparation for particularly momentous happenings. Here the phrase emphasises the tragic predicament of A., who confronts not only mortal opposition but supernatural inevitability. The mannerism is particularly reminiscent of Herodotus (e.g. 1.8.2, χρῆν γὰρ Κανδαύλη γενέσθαι κακῶς), and here περιελθεῖν, 'come around to . . .', is again a favourite Herodotean use (cf. LSJ περιέρχομαι II.1). But many writers found it natural to inject such fatalistic colouring. Cf. e.g. Livy 1.1.4, 1.4.1 (preparing for Rome's foundation), 1.46 (for the overthrow of the kings); Tac. *Ann.* 4.1 (for Sejanus), *Hist.* 2.1 (for Vespasian); Dio 44.18.3 (for C.'s death); Arr. *Anab.* 2.6.7 (for Issus), 7.16.7 (for Alexander's death).

**6-10 The interlude at Samos.** A. has just asserted himself decisively (§1), but now 'falls back to his accustomed ways' (cf. 17.3-6n.), and P. describes the scene in powerful language. This exuberance is given poignancy by the inevitability of A.'s defeat (§6). Men look forward to the *epinikia* (§10) – but we already know there will be no victory. No other source mentions this Samian interlude, and P.'s account may be exaggerated; but it probably has some basis in truth. A. and his staff sailed to Samos in spring 32. The vast army (cf. 61.2-3) would take some time to gather at Ephesus. Then it might take six weeks or more to move in convoy across the Aegean, probably in two separate waves. As usual on campaign, there was time to kill. εὐπαθείαις: cf. 21.1-5n.

7 βασιλεῦσι καὶ δυνάσταις καὶ τετράρχαις. . .: a cliché, cf. Vell. 2.51.1 *regumque et tetrarcharum simulque dynastarum copiis*, Plb. 9.23.5, Cic. *Phil.* 11.31, Sall. *B.C.* 20.7, etc. For A.'s royal supporters cf. 61.2-3(nn.). **Lake Maeotis:** on the N. coast of the Black Sea. **The 'Artists of Dionysus'**, to whom the new Dionysus (60.5n.) showed such favour: cf. Pickard-Cambridge 279-321, F. Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World* (London 1977) 458-62 for these powerful guilds of musicians, actors, and dancers. The most important were the Athenian, the Isthmian-Nemean, and the Ionian-Hellespontine, but we also hear of a guild or guilds in Egypt and Cyprus (Fraser II 870-1, Rice 52-8).

Most of A.'s performers presumably came from the Ionian-Hellespontine guild (cf. 57.1n.), but doubtless the Egyptians and Cypriots were also heavily represented.

**8 περιθρηνουμένης καὶ περιστεναζομένης:** both words are ἀπαξ λεγόμενα and reintroduce the important theme of the sufferings caused by the war: cf. 23.2-4, 24.5-7 nn., 58.2-3, 62.1, and esp. 68.6-8. **κατηυλεῖτο καὶ κατεψάλλετο** 'resounded to flutes and stringed instruments', rare words again (cf. 113e).

**9 διημιλλῶντο.** . . : just as A. and Cl. did in Cilicia, 26-7nn. They set the tone; others followed.

**10 ὥστε καὶ λόγος διήκει:** cf. 26.5 (Cilicia again); for the 'characterisation by reaction', Intr., 40.

**57.1 A.'s gift of Priene to the 'Artists of Dionysus'.** The guilds were not simply unions of the artistic performers in each city, though they did have such local branches. They also operated virtually as cities in their own right, for performers often dwelt together as a community. The Ionian-Hellespontine guild had once been based on Teos, but during the second century had had to move to dismal Lebedos: cf. Magie 80, 899-901, Pickard-Cambridge 294. The gift of territory in Priene was probably not confined to that guild (cf. 56.7n.), but they would find it especially welcome.

It was perhaps now that A. also granted privileges to 'the worldwide association of victors at the festival games': 24.2n.

**57.1-58.2 P. manages his transitions smoothly:** the move to Athens leads to Cl.'s jealousy of Octavia, and that to the divorce and Octavia's reaction: that returns us to Rome and O.'s preparations. **πλεῦσας εἰς Ἀθήνας:** in early summer 32: cf. §4n.

**2-3 Cl. envies Octavia's popularity at Athens.** Cf. 33.6-34.1n. for the honours paid to Octavia in 39-38. The Athenians now set up divine statues of A. and Cl. on the Acropolis (Dio 50.15.2, cf. 60.3-4n.). Not everyone was equally enthusiastic. Sen. *Suas.* 1.6 tells of the wag who scrawled under a statue of A. "Οκταουία καὶ Ἀθηνᾶ Ἀντωνίῳ: res tuas tibi habe' (the normal formula of divorce; cf. 33.6-34.1n. for the talk of a 'divine marriage' of A. and Athena). **πολλάς ἀνελάμβανε φιλοτιμίαις τὸν δῆμον** 'she cultivated' (16.6n.) 'the people with lavish benefactions'. **φιλοτιμία** is often used of the liberality of a demagogue, cf. LSJ 1.4. **ὥς δὴ:** not here suggesting irony (cf.

15.3n., Denniston 229–31), only the paradox of his role. *πολίτης Ἀθηναίων*: he had presumably received this honour in 42–41 (cf. 23.2–3). *ἐπ’ αὐτῆς* ‘in her presence’, LSJ *ἐπὶ* 1.2.e.

**4 The divorce of Octavia**, in May–June 32 (Euseb. *Chron.* 2.140). A. may well have been in Athens at the time, as P. says: the forces were moving across the Aegean in spring and early summer (56.6–10n.), and the staff may have moved to Athens by now. As at 35–6 and 53–4, P. juxtaposes Cl. and Octavia; as at 53, Cl. is pettily jealous, while Octavia’s response is as dignified as ever (cf. 35.3–4, 54.2). P. again exploits his material to the full: ctr. Dio’s brief mention of the divorce, 50.3.2. For the children, cf. 35.8n.; for Antyllus with his father, cf. 28.7–12, with 28.7n. A.’s divorce of Octavia is sometimes thought (e.g. by Huzar 207, Fadinger 230–1, cf. Grant 192) to have been a grave political error. We do not know enough to be sure: A. may have had little choice. It may be that A., expecting a move of Octavia to divorce him (as O. had publicly suggested, 54.1–5n.), judged it less damaging to initiate the matter himself.

**5 Ῥωμαῖοι δ’ ὠκτίρον οὐκ ἐκείνην ἀλλ’ Ἀντώνιον**. . . : more ‘characterisation by reaction’, corresponding to 56.10: there the incredulity at A. and Cl., here the pity for both A. and Octavia. οὕτε κάλλει . . . οὕθ’ ὥραι διαφέρουσιν: Cl. was now 37, Octavia about the same age (31.1n.). For their looks, 27.3–5, 31.4 nn. P. again does not trivialise A.’s love (cf. 33.6–34.1n.): he is not carried away by anything as obvious as youthful beauty (ctr. Dio 42.34.3–5 on C., 27.3–5n.). The appeal of Cl. seems incomprehensible, but it lies in her personality.

**58.1–3** Magnificent preparations wasted by inept timing: it is Parthia over again (cf. 37.3–6, with 37–52n.). But the only way in which A. could have ‘forced’ O. to ‘fight out the war’ (§1) in 32 was to invade Italy; here, and at §3 where P. criticises A.’s delay, he seems to imply that A. was considering such an invasion. Livy *Per.* 132, Vell. 2.82.4, and Dio 50.9.2 also perhaps imply that A. planned an attack. *Pace* Woodman on Vell. 2.82.4, that is unlikely. O. held Tarentum and Brundisium (62.2), the two great S. Italian harbours, and it would be no easy matter to transport troops, probably in several waves, to a hostile coast (cf. 62.3, with 62.2–6n.). But it is likely enough that Italians *feared* such an invasion, and that O. played on those fears: this

may help to explain the oath of allegiance taken during 32 (60.1n.).

**2 The levies in Italy.** Italy had suffered a number of extraordinary taxes during the previous twenty years (cf. 21.4n., C. Nicolet, *Tributum* (Bonn 1976) 87-95). This levy was simpler than most of the others, but doubtless no less severe. Dio 50.10 gives more detail both of the taxes (only freedmen with property worth more than 200,000 HS paid the levy) and of the disturbances. After Actium O. remitted a quarter of the capital levy (Dio 51.3.3). Cf. Yavetz 25-6. τὰ τέταρτα τῶν καρπῶν 'a quarter of their income'. τῶν κτημάτων αὐτῶν τὰς ὀγδόας 'an eighth of the capital itself'.

**3 People regard A.'s delay of the war as one of his greatest errors.** Cf. e.g. 38.1-2, *Brut.* 20.1, *Pomp.* 76.3, 84(4), *Crass.* 17.8 for such preoccupation with identifying crucial mistakes; 53.1 and *Intr.*, 40 for P.'s technique of introducing historical judgements by an unspecified 'people say'. P. is probably giving his own analysis more authority by ascribing it to a tradition (cf. 53.1n.): it is not a sensible judgement, and is unlikely to derive from (say) Pollio or Dellius. A.'s forces could hardly have gathered on the west coast of Greece before August. A. would not have been sensible to invade Italy at any time (1-3n., above), least of all so late in the season. *πραττόμενοι* 'while their money was being exacted...'

**4 For Titius and Plancus** cf. 18.7, 42.4 nn., *OCD*<sup>2</sup> 'Perhaps aspiring to primacy in the party after Antonius' (Syme 267), Plancus had charge of A.'s seal-ring and correspondence in 35 (App. 5.144), and figured spectacularly in the propaganda exchanges. Cf. esp. Vell. 2.83, including a story of his dancing, naked and painted, as a sea-god. Ἀντωνίου φίλοι τῶν ὑπατικῶν: lit. 'friends of A. from among the consulars'. An error: Titius was not consul till 31. ὑπὸ Κλεοπάτρας . . . συστρατεύειν: cf. 56.3-4n. Dio 50.3.2 seems to connect their defection with the divorce of Octavia, adding that they went 'either after a disagreement with A. or in annoyance with Cl.'. The issues were closely connected. Those who emphasised Italian opinion and wished Cl. to go were doubtless those who most regretted the divorce. ἀποδράντες ὥχοντο πρὸς Καίσαρα: P. seems to put their defection at the right point. A Samian inscription mentioning Titius as patron (*IGR* 4.1716, cf. *Ath. Mitt.* 75 (1960) 149d) suggests that he was still with A. at Samos.

**58.4–59.1. A.'s will and Calvisius' attacks.** An interesting section, which P. could have treated very differently.

(a) **The will.** Had P. wanted to blacken A., he could have told this in the same way as Dio 50.3. Dio makes O. so 'violently outraged' by what Titius and Plancus told him that he seized the document; and when they heard the contents the citizens 'did not reproach O. even for this most lawless action'. P.'s O., not especially 'outraged', goes about his business calmly and carefully (§6). Nor does the Roman public react with horror – indeed, their dominant emotion is disapproval of O.'s behaviour. Dio's version is evidently coloured by O.'s propaganda, and P. probably found something similar in his sources; he rejects it, partly because Rome is *already* outraged (57.5), and partly because he wishes to make A. romantically extravagant rather than villainous, and O. shrewd rather than virtuous (cf. 55n.). Dio also gives fuller details of the will's provisions: Caesarion was recognised as C.'s son, and vast gifts were made to A.'s children by Cl. (Suet. *Aug.* 17.1). P. omits these details, which would duplicate 54.5–9. Instead he dwells on the most romantic item, the request for burial with Cl.: that looks forward to the time when they will indeed lie united in death.

(b) **Calvisius' attacks.** P. does not believe all these charges (59.1), and he elsewhere criticises historians who include slanders which they admit to be false (856c): but these charges were too good to miss. Many of them are reminiscent of Roman elegy (cf. Griffin 22–4): the *domina* (§11, κυρία), the *seruitium* (§10n.), the abandoning of public affairs (§11), the gifts, the eager reading of the tablets; though everything is much grander for A. – the massive gift, the decoration of the tablets, the gravity of the affairs he abandons. The choice of material reflects P.'s own preoccupation with A. as a helpless lover. He must have known other, equally damaging, allegations: Dio 50.5 includes the charge that Roman legions had been put at Cl.'s command; that A. planned to move the capital to Alexandria; that Cl. had ambitions of ruling Rome, and that her favourite oath was 'so may I deliver my judgements on the Capitol'. O. included similar material in the *Autobiography* (cf. fr. 16 M), and the themes recur in the Augustan poets (cf. esp. Prop. 3.11.31–50, esp. 46; Hor. *Odes* 1.37.5–12, *Epodes* 9.13–16; Ov. *Met.* 15.826–89). But P. prefers Calvisius' material, precisely because it is less crudely 'political'. It dwells not on the

outlandish ambitions, but on A.'s captivation: that was one important element in the propaganda, but only one.

**6** *ἰδίαι τὰ γεγραμμένα διῆλθε*: O. had a habit of discovering convenient material when alone and unsupervised in temples: cf. Livy 4.20.5-11 (with Ogilvie's *nn.*) for a case a few years later. There doubtless was *some* will there – otherwise any of the Vestals could have revealed the deception – but they would not know its contents, and O. could claim what he wished. At least partial forgery is possible: cf. esp. Syme 282, J.A. Crook, *JRS* 47 (1957) 36-8; *contra*, J.R. Johnson, *LAC* 47 (1978) 494-503. O. was skilful enough to allege provisions which A., eager to retain his eastern support, would find as embarrassing to deny as to admit. *παρεσημήνατο τόπους τινὰς εὐκατηγορήτους* 'put a mark beside some passages which were easy to attack'.

**7** *ἀλλόκοτον*: a strong word, 'extraordinary', often with the suggestion of 'outlandish' or 'outrageous': cf. e.g. *Dtr.* 13.1, *Alc.* 16.2. It was in fact illegal to open a living man's will.

**8** *ἐπεφύετο* 'fastened on', i.e. 'attacked': a rare usage which P. favours (cf. LSJ). For **C. Calvisius Sabinus**, cos. 39, cf. *OCD*<sup>2</sup>.

**9** **The Pergamene library**, founded by Eumenes II, was the nearest rival of the great library at Alexandria. Calvisius' charge had some plausibility, for the Alexandrian library had been depleted by fire in 48 (*Caes.* 49.6, etc; Fraser I 334-5). *εἴκοσι μυριάδες βιβλίων ἀπλῶν*: the stocks of the Alexandrian Palace Library are given as 400,000 *συμμιγεῖς* volumes and 90,000 *ἀμιγεῖς καὶ ἀπλοῖ* (Tzetzes, *CGF* pp. 19, 31), respectively, it seems, rolls with several works and rolls with only one. Here *βιβλίων ἀπλῶν* suggests that the Pergamene library contained the second class of roll, perhaps the more modern type. Cf. Fraser I 329-30, II 485-6.

**10** *τρίβειν αὐτῆς τοὺς πόδας* 'massage her feet to fulfil some wager or compact', probably anointing them as he did so. This was the height of luxury (cf. *Athen.* 12.553a-e), but such tasks were for slaves (cf. e.g. *Cat.* 64.162).

**11** *κυρίαν τὴν Κλεοπάτραν ἀσπασαμένους* 'greeted her as mistress'. According to Dio 50.5.1, A. called her this himself. *δικάζοντα δὲ πολλάκις τετράρχαις καὶ βασιλεῦσιν*: cf. 56.7n.; for A.'s personal jurisdiction, 23.2, Millar 61. **C. Furnius**, pr. 42, had served with Plancus in 43 and Titius in 36-35, but despite these associations stayed

with A. till Actium. Cic. *Fam.* 424(10.26).2 alludes to his skill as a speaker (cf. δεινότητος εἰπεῖν here); cf. Tac. *Dial.* 21.1.

59.1–2 Calvisius was lying, but such lies did great damage: A.'s friends even had to 'supplicate the people' (cf. Cic. 30.6). Dido and Aeneas are again similar. *Fama* spreads unfair reports about their luxurious idleness (4.193–4), which make their position impossible: such is the nature of public life. Cf. *Alc.*, where P. elaborates Alcibiades' military brilliance (as comparison with the parallel narrative in *Lys.* makes clear); but he is destroyed by his dissolute *reputation*.

2 **Geminus**: possibly C. Geminus, attested in a Cos inscription as a senator in 39 (R. Syme, *Roman Papers* 1 (Oxford 1979) 282). ἀποψη-φισθέντα . . . ἀναγορευθέντα: 60.11.

3 ὕποπτος ὡς ὑπὲρ Ὀκταουίας πράττων: P.'s Cl. still sees things in these starkly personal terms.

5 τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἄνευ βασάνων ἐξομολογησάμενος: slaves regularly gave their evidence under torture. Cl. is suggesting either that Geminus is only fit to be a slave, or that he is being servile to O.

6 οἱ Κλεοπάτρας κόλακες: cf. 24.9–12n. In this as in the Geminus story, P.'s A. plays little part himself. Events are happening around him, and he has become sadly passive. For **Silanus** and **Dellius**, both remarkable for their changes of allegiance, cf. *OCD*<sup>2</sup>, 25.3n., Intr., 28. Dellius' defection was in fact later, after the departure of Domitius in 31: with him he took A.'s battle-plans (63n., Dio 50.13, Vell. 2.84.2). P. brings this forward to collect the stories of men who left after quarrelling with Cl.

7 φησιν 'he says' (the present tense is regular in such quotations, cf. 2.2n., 10.3): probably in his historical work, possibly in the *Epistulae ad Cleopatram lasciuas*. Cf. Intr., 28. **Glaucus** is not mentioned elsewhere.

8 αὐτοῖς μὲν ὀξύνην ἐγγεῖσθαι. . .: not everyone would be served 'vinegar' in this luxurious camp. Perhaps Dellius meant that the Romans in the camp, or those opposed to Cl., were being humiliated by such insults over dinner (cf. Geminus, §3); more likely, he meant that all this luxury was vinegar to them, compared to the 'Falernian' – a famous fine wine – of life with O. He doubtless told the story himself: Intr., 28. **Sarmentus**, a freedman of Maecenas, was a notorious beauty, jester, and parasite: cf. Juv. 5.3, and esp. Hor.'s story of his exchange of insults on the way to Brundisium (*Sat.* 1.5.51–5, cf. 35.1n.);

Treggiari 271–2. **τῶν Καίσαρος παιγνίων παιδάριον** ‘one of O.’s little boy-friends’, lit. ‘a young boy from among O.’s darlings’. He was not so young, for he was surely beyond first innocence by the time of Hor.’s journey in 38–37. For the explanation of the Latin *deliciae* cf. 12.2n. and e.g. *Pomp.* 13.7–11, *Cic.* 29.5, *Cor.* 25.3, *Rom.* 1.1–2.

**60.1** Ἐπεὶ δὲ παρεσκεύαστο Καῖσαρ ἱκανῶς: his preparations occupied most of 32. Intent on the East, P. simplifies by omitting the oath of allegiance to O. taken by Italy and the western provinces during 32: cf. esp. Syme 284–93 and Brunt–Moore on *R.G.* 25.2. **ψηφίζεται** (‘carry by vote’, cf. *Pomp.* 67.1) **Κλεοπάτραι πολεμεῖν**: probably in late summer, 32. War was declared on Cl. alone (Dio 50.4.3–4, 6.1), a device which aided O.’s representation of the conflict as one of West against East: when A. refused to leave Cl., he could now be seen as a traitor to Rome. O. played on Roman traditional feeling by reviving (possibly even fabricating) an ancient fetial formula for declaring war: cf. Dio 50.4.4–5, Ogilvie on Livy 1.32.4, T. Wiedemann, *CQ* 36 (1986) 478–90. **ἀφελέσθαι δὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς Ἀντώνιον**: he was also stripped of the consulship he was to hold in 31. But he was not yet declared a public enemy, as his followers had feared (59.2): that, it seems, came later (App. 4.45, cf. 4.38, Suet. *Aug.* 17.2) – perhaps later in 32, rather than after Actium, as Fadinger 245–52 suggests. **τῆς ἀρχῆς**: A.’s legal position was anyway questionable, as it seems that the triumvirate had formally expired at the end of 33 (56–60.1n.). But legalistic considerations mattered little. A. bluntly described himself as ‘consul and triumvir’ on coins of 31 (*RRC* nos. 545–6). **προσεπεῖπε**: a rare and grave word, suiting the solemnity of the moment: cf. *Pomp.* 77.7, *Brut.* 34.4. **ὑπὸ φαρμάκων**: 25.6n. **Mardion, Pothinus, Iras**, and **Charmion** are mentioned only by P.: Iras and Charmion later play memorable roles (85.7n.). O. probably did denounce Cl.’s retinue when war was declared (cf. e.g. Hor. *Epodes* 9.13–14, *Odes* 1.37.9–10), but these names are likely to be P.’s own addition, drawn from his knowledge of the court and the later scenes. One seems a mistake, for ‘Pothinus’ is probably a thoughtless recollection of the great minister who had been killed in 48. **κουρεύτρια** ‘hairstresser’.

60.2-69 *The war*

**60.2-7 Portents before the war.** Prodigy-lists were a feature of Roman historiography: cf. e.g. Ogilvie on Livy 3.5.14, R. Syme, *Tacitus* (Oxford 1958) 521-3, B. MacBain, *Prodigy and Expiation* (Brussels 1982). P. found them a congenial method of marking important episodes or themes: cf. e.g. *Caes.* 43.3-7, 47, 63; Brenk 28-38, 184-213; he indeed thought that they should sometimes be believed (cf. esp. *Crass.* 38(5).3, *Cam.* 6.5-6). Here it seems that he and Dio (50.8, 15) are both selecting from a longer list in a shared source. Dio dwells on those indicating civil carnage; P., characteristically selective (cf. Brenk 213-38), concentrates on those which suggest A.'s defeat, and thus reinforces the impression of hopelessness (cf. 56.6).

Earthquakes, sweating statues, temples struck by lightning, and falling statues were all among the most common types of prodigy, and only the final one is at all unconventional.

**2 Pisaurum** – the modern Pesaro – was probably one of the eighteen cities marked down for the veterans in 43 (30.1n.); the colony (κληρουχία, 55.3n.) was apparently established after Philippi, one of several Antonian settlements in this strategically important region. Cf. Keppie 58-69, 185-6. κατεπόθη 'was swallowed up', surely a picturesque exaggeration.

**3 Alba**, Rome's mother-city, 13 miles to the S.E. Dio 50.8.6 (an Alban statue of A. oozing blood) presumably reflects the same item. P. is normally sceptical of such statue-prodigies (Brenk 28-38), but this one was too suggestive to omit. ἀνεπίδυσεν: from ἀναπιδύω, 'ooze'.

**4 A.** had moved his troops to **Patrae** during the summer of 32 (58.3n.). He spent the winter there. τῆς Ἀθήνησι γιγαντομαχίας: a depiction of the battle of Olympians and Titans, presented by Attalus I of Pergamum and standing at the E. end of the Acropolis' S. wall (Paus. 1.25.2). εἰς τὸ θέατρον: i.e. the theatre of *Dionysus*, the god's own theatre: the point added to the portent's impressiveness.

**5 προσωικείου δ' ἑαυτὸν** 'associated' (or 'linked') 'himself with'. For **Heracles** cf. 4.2n.; for **Dionysus** cf. 24.4, 33.6-34.1, 50.6 nn.; the formulation 'new Dionysus' (cf. 'new Isis', 54.9n.) was also used by Cl.'s father Ptolemy XII.

**6 Εὐμένους καὶ Ἀττάλου:** Eumenes II and Attalus I of Pergamum. It is not clear where their statues stood, but P. perhaps means the

chariot group which originally occupied the plinth where the Monument of Agrippa was later erected, in front of the Propylaea (W. B. Dinsmoor, *AJA* 24 (1920) 83, cf. J. Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens* (London 1971) fig. 622). ἐπιγεγραμμένους Ἀντωνίου suggests that the statues' inscriptions were simply changed to indicate A. rather than the Pergamene kings: this practice was not uncommon, especially at Athens and at this time: cf. Dio Prus. 31 (esp. §§116–25 on Athens), A. E. Wardman, *CQ* 17 (1967) 414–15. Dio 50.15.2 mentions that 'statues of A. and Cl. in the style of gods, set up by the Athenians on the Acropolis, were struck by lightning and cast down into the theatre': hence some have assumed that the Pergamene statues were replaced by new ones, or even that one of the male statues was bizarrely reallocated to Cl. But Dio's statement looks like a garbling of this story with the 'gigantomachy' portent of §4, and should not be taken too seriously.

**7 The swallows portent:** cf. Dio 50.15.2, 'swallows had built their nests around her tent and her flagship'. Swallows were appropriate for barbarians (cf. Aesch. *Agam.* 1050–1 with Fraenkel's n., H. Erbse, *Rh M* 100 (1957) 275–6); they had a special significance for Isis (*On Isis and Osiris* 357c with Griffiths' n.); but they were also suggestive of death (cf. Artemid. 2.20 and the legend of Procne and Philomela), and are frequent on grave-reliefs. P.'s addition – the attack of the other birds and the destruction of the nestlings – makes the omen more explicitly gruesome, and once again stresses the coming defeat.

**61 The catalogue of forces.** Such catalogues had been a feature of battle-narratives since *Iliad* 2: cf. esp. Hdt. 7.61–99, Thuc. 7.57–59.1; here Dio 50.6 suggests that P. found one in a source. P. exploits them rarely, but here welcomes the collection of suggestive detail. A.'s forces are ostentatiously magnificent, and very unroman: P. revels in the outlandish names (§§2–3), like Sh. at *iii.vi.68–75*. The two men rule vast realms, and their antagonism has brought the whole world to war (§§5–6). The precise accumulation of facts contrasts with the more evocative and allusive style of 62.

**1 οὐκ ἐλάττους πεντακοσίων:** 56.2n. ὀκτῆρεις . . . καὶ . . . δεκῆρεις 'eights' and 'tens'. It is not clear what the technical terms mean: perhaps that there were eight or ten men to each oar; perhaps that there were two banks, each with four or five men to the oar. Cf.

32.4, ἐξήρη, and 64.1; Casson 97-107. κεκοσμημέναι σοβαρῶς καὶ πανηγυρικῶς 'fitted out in a magnificent' (cf. 7.4-5n.) 'and festive way': for πανηγυρικῶς cf. *Cam.* 8.5, LSJ π.2. Spectacular ship vignettes have before marked crucial moments of A.'s life (26, 32.5-8 nn., Intr., 22): now they herald his destruction. P. here prepares for 62.2, where O.'s ships are 'not built ostentatiously for height or grandeur, but manoeuvrable, swift, and fully manned', and 65.8. But the ships' bulk was not mindless ostentation. Roman naval tactics generally relied on brawn, and A. knew that the greater bulk of O.'s ships had given him a decisive advantage against Sextus in 36 (App. 5.106, Dio 49.1.2, 49.3.2). στρατοῦ δὲ . . . μυρίοις: P. here makes no distinction between Roman and non-Roman troops, perhaps because he did not know, perhaps because he was stressing the unroman character of the entire force: ctr. 37.4. The '12,000' cavalry (cf. 68.2) probably includes allies (cf. 37.4n.). '100,000 men' may be a rounded equivalent of the '19 legions' of 68.2(n.) on the common basis of 1 legion = 5000 men (Brunt 677-8); but in that case the figure does not include the allied contingents. It is more likely that the figure assumes that the legions were depleted, and includes the allies. In any case, despite his Parthian losses (50.1n.), A. has at least as large a force as in 36 (37.4n.). He presumably concentrated more of his forces for Actium than for Parthia (68.2n., Brunt 503-7), but it is also clear that he recruited some Orientals, both natives and resident Italians. Cf. Brunt 507, Levick 58-60.

**2 Bogud** of Mauretania (*OCD*<sup>2</sup>) was recognised by C. as joint-king with Bocchus (probably his brother). After C.'s death they were rivals for the throne: O. supported Bocchus, and Bogud fled to A. (Dio 48.45.2). For his death cf. 62.2-6n. **Βόγος** is easily confused with the more familiar 'Bocchus', and the MSS have Βόκχος here: the error could be P.'s own, but it is a little more likely to be a copyist's. The text of App. 5.26 shows the same confusion. **'Libya'** is often used loosely to mean 'Africa' (as at §6), or even other parts of Africa, as here apparently Mauretania: cf. 14.3, 54.6 nn. (= Cyrene); *Gracch.* 23.5, *Caes.* 52.1, 55.2 (= Numidia); e.g. *Pomp.* 52.4 (= the Roman province). **Tarcondimotus** (the correct form of the name) ruled a rugged part of inland Cilicia near Mt Amanus. He had been loyal to Rome when the Parthians threatened in 51, to Pompey in the Civil War, and recently to A.: when recognised as king by Rome, he took the

title 'King Tarcondimotos Philantonios'. He had probably been a pirate in his youth, and resettled by Pompey (Lucan 9.222-3, cf. 32.1n.). He naturally commanded naval detachments in 48 (Dio 41.63.1) and again in 31. For his death, 63n. For **Archelaus** cf. 24.1n., 36.3-4n. **Philadelphus**: Deiotarus Philadelphus (63.5n.), king of Paphlagonia since 37-6. **Mithridates** had probably succeeded his father Antiochus of Commagene (34.4n.) in or shortly after 36, though there may have been a short period in which father and son ruled jointly (cf. R. D. Sullivan, *ANRW* II 8 (1977) 775-8). O. may have deposed him after Actium, as Bowersock 57 supposes. **Sadalas**: the dynastic history of Thrace at this period is obscure: cf. Bowersock 152-6, Sullivan, *ANRW* II 7.1 (1979) 189-94. This Sadalas is presumably some relation of an Odrysian prince Sadalas who probably died in 42, leaving an infant son Cotys who later became king (*IGR* 1.775, Bowersock 152).

3 **Polemo** (36.3-4, 38.6 nn.) was not present because he was defending the E. frontier (56.1n.). For **Malchus** and **Herod** cf. 36.3n. **Amyntas** (*OCD*<sup>2</sup>) deserted Brutus and Cassius at Philippi. Like Polemo (38.6n.), he was given a small kingdom in 39 and a larger one in 37-6 (36.3-4n.); O. later rewarded him for his second timely desertion (63.5) by extending it. Cf. Levick 25-8. P.'s list has here become tangled, for Amyntas was present in person (63.5). τοῦ Μήδων βασιλέως: Artavasdes is still not named (38.3n.). For his alliance with A. cf. 52, 53.12 nn.

4 νῆες ἦσαν πρὸς ἄλκην (i.e. 'warships', cf. *Sert.* 7.6) πεντήκοντα καὶ διακόσια: probably an underestimate, though that is unusual in ancient battle-accounts. In late 36 O. had a fleet of about 600 (App. 5.127): not all of these would be warships, he may not have been able to keep them all manned, and he had returned 70 to A. (App. 5.139) – but he should still have had more than 250 for the decisive campaign. Cf. Brunt 508. Flor. 2.21 more plausibly says that 'over 400' fought at Actium, though by then the fleet may have been reinforced by captures. Oros. 6.19.6 says that 230 ships crossed with O., after a large force had been sent ahead with Agrippa: that may be the origin of the error. στρατοῦ δ' ὀκτὼ μυριάδες: credible, cf. Brunt 501. They perhaps formed 16 legions.

5 τῆς ἀπ' Εὐφράτου . . . Σικελικὸν πέλαγος 'O. ruled the land stretching' (in the north) 'from Illyria to the western Ocean and' (in the

south) 'from the Ocean back to the Etruscan and Sicilian sea', i.e. the Mediterranean west of Italy and the Straits of Messina. That apparently excludes Italy, though it might now realistically be counted as part of O.'s realm (cf. 55.3n.).

**62.1 A.'s determination to fight at sea** becomes a leitmotiv: cf. 63.6–8, 64.2–3, and the ironic conclusion at 65.4 and 66.3 – the sea-battle was eventually just like the land-battle which it should have been. The style is heightened as P. stresses important themes – this decision, A.'s captivation, the sufferings of Greece. Cf. 61n.

If A. was really determined to fight at sea, it was indeed a paradox, as P. sees. He and his men were experienced and successful on land (§1n., 63.7), but had never fought a major sea-battle; it would be folly to fight the conquerors of Sextus if there was an alternative (63.7). In fact, A. was not so foolish. He was prepared to fight at sea, but only if it made sense: for instance, he would naturally try to harass O.'s crossing (§§2–6, 58.1–3 nn.). Even after O. had landed, control of the sea was still desirable. Without naval supremacy C. had found it difficult in 48 to maintain his army in N. Greece and, with the country exhausted, it would be even harder now. But A. would not fight such a battle lightly. Cf. 63n.

**προσθήκη**: an 'appendage' to Cl. as principal, a very striking phrase. P. may have in mind Brutus' remark on the 'just punishment of A., who could have been counted among men like Brutus, Cassius, and Cato, but preferred to give himself as a προσθήκη to O.' (*Brut.* 29.10); both passages may be influenced by Dem. 3.31, ὑμεῖς δ' ὁ δῆμος . . . ἐν ὑπηρέτου καὶ προσθήκης μέρει γεγένησθε (to the politicians). τῷ πεζῷ πολὺ διαφέρων sits oddly with 62, where O.'s army seems less heavily outnumbered than his fleet; but P. is thinking of quality as well as numbers, and he has stressed that A. led a great army (cf. esp. 49.3). Here he may well be right to claim their superiority. ἐβούλετο τοῦ ναυτικοῦ τὸ κράτος εἶναι 'wanted the victory to be won by the fleet': cf. LSJ κράτος III. συναρπαζομένους; the *mot juste* for 'seize and carry off', cf. LSJ. P. perhaps had an eyewitness oral source for these press-gangs: cf. 68.6–8(n.). Some 150,000 men would have been needed to man the whole fleet: but A. was said to have exclaimed, 'we shall not lack for oarsmen as long as Greece has men' (*Oros.* 6.19.5). 'πολλὰ δὴ τλάσης': a quotation from Eur. *Her.* 1250, where Theseus chides

Heracles for his decision to kill himself: ὁ πολλὰ δὴ τλᾶς Ἡρακλῆς λέγει τόδε; As usual (24.3n.), the quotation marks an important theme, here the agony of Greece (23.2, 68.6-9 nn.); and, as often (25.3, 29.1, 36.2 nn.), the original context is suggestive. A.'s resolve, too, is unworthy of his heroic past; and A. too has played Heracles, as P. has just reminded us (60.5, cf. 4.2 nn.). ὁδοιπόρους ὀνηλάτας θεριστάς ἐφήβους 'travellers, muleteers, reapers, and young men'. 'Ephebes' sound odd in this list, and P. may be abbreviating some longer pathetic story, perhaps an attack on a procession of youths during some ephebic ceremony. The list of nouns in asyndeton adds stylistic height, as at 68.6 and 74.2 (nn.) and often in classical Greek (J. D. Denniston, *Greek Prose Style* (Oxford 1952) 100-3): cf. esp. the remarkable passage at *Per.* 12.6.

**2-6 The crossing of the Adriatic** was easier for O. than for A. (58.1-3n.). S. Italy has few harbours, and only Brundisium and Tarentum could accommodate a fleet the size of A.'s. O. naturally concentrated his fleet in those two ports (§2). But W. Greece has many good natural harbours, especially Buthrotum, Actium, Leucas, Patrae, Pylos, and Methone: A. had to spread his fleet widely during the winter of 32-31 (Dio 50.9.2-3, 11.2, etc.), and O.'s men readily found stations which were sparsely defended. O. himself had reached Corcyra in late 32, though bad weather had forced him to withdraw; then in early 31 a sizeable advance force under Agrippa successfully attacked Methone, killing Bogud (61.2n.). Agrippa's contingent continued to be effective after the campaign had begun, taking Leucas (63n.), Patrae, and Corinth.

P. shows little interest in the tactics of the campaign. He might at least have mentioned Agrippa's important successes.

ὁ πρὸς ὕψος . . . ἀκριβῶς: 61.1n. O. apparently had no ship larger than a 'six' (Flor. 2.21.6, Casson 99, 141), while A. had his 'tens' (61.1n., 64.1). The contrast of the two fleets swiftly became a commonplace (perhaps as early as Hor. *Epodes* 1.1-2, cf. e.g. Prop. 3.11.44, 4.6.47-50, Vell. 2.84.1 with Woodman's n.), though it is surely exaggerated. O.'s ships were presumably the ones which defeated Sextus in 36, and they too had been remarkable for their bulk: cf. 61.1n.

**2-4 The exchange of offers** may well be historical, and was doubtless not taken seriously. Dio 50.9.5-6 suggests that P. slightly

simplifies: 'O. invited A. to withdraw a day's journey on horseback' (ἵππου δρόμον, as at §3) 'from the coast and allow him to land, on condition that they fought within five days; or *alternatively* to cross over to Italy on the same understanding.' A.'s own offers strike a rather different note, more blustery and heroic than O.'s (§4n.): cf. ἀντικουμπάζων (§4). It is the familiar contrast (53.1n.).

3 ὁρμους ἀκωλύτους καὶ λιμένας: the difficulty of landing troops in S. Italy is very clear. Cf. §§2-6, 58.1-3 nn. ὑποχωρήσειν δὲ τῷ πεζῷ . . .: we might expect τῷ δὲ πεζῷ ὑποχωρήσειν, to give exact symmetry with τῷ μὲν στόλῳ. . ., but P. prefers to avoid hiatus. O. promised 'to withdraw before A.'s army' (rather than 'with his [own] army', as Scott-Kilvert and Perrin take it) 'from the coast for a day's journey on horseback from the sea'.

4 εἰς μονομαχίαν προὔκαλεῖτο: single combat was something of a Roman tradition, especially for junior officers when their country's honour was at stake; but there were only mythical or fantastic precedents for allowing such duels to decide the outcome of a war. Cf. S. P. Oakley, *CQ* 35 (1985) 392-410, esp. 399. Here and at 75.1(n.), A.'s challenge is as unrealistic as Sertorius' at *Sert.* 13.5-6. ὡς πάλαι Καῖσαρ καὶ Πομπήιος: in 48. That war, with its many analogies with the present, was certainly in men's minds; so was the 'sequence of great battles', reflected in the curious way in which Virgil links Pharsalus and Philippi at *Georg.* 1.489-92.

5 φθάνει δὲ Καῖσαρ . . . διαβαλὼν τὸν Ἴόνιον (understand κόλπον): Dio 50.12.1 says that O. first landed his army 'beneath the Ceraunian mountains' (i.e. on the mainland N. of Corcyra), then occupied Corcyra, then stationed his fleet in the 'Fresh Harbour' (at or near the mouth of the Acheron, cf. Gomme on Thuc. 1.46.4), and finally occupied the site of the later Nicopolis. Ἀντωνίου περὶ τὸ Ἀκτιον ὁρμουῖντος: A.'s main force lay in the bay of Actium (Dio 50.12.1), but A. himself wintered at Patrae. **Nicopolis**: founded by O. after his victory; see Map 3. **Torone** (i.e. 'the ladle'): not certainly identified, but generally thought to be the modern Parga, situated on a striking ladle-shaped rock W. of the Acheron mouth. That would be an appropriate place for the army to occupy after the fleet had moored in the 'Fresh Harbour'. It would probably take two further days to march to Actium.

6 εἰ Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ τῇ κορύνῃ κάθηται: 'if O. is sitting on the ladle'.

Obscene (though P. doubtless did not realise it): *τορύνη* seems slang for a penis (J. N. Adams, *The Latin Sexual Vocabulary* (London 1982) 23).

**63 Actium: before the battle.** P., intent on the personalities, gives few details, but most of his items can be fitted into the narrative framework provided by Dio 50.12–15. P. clearly has a good source or sources, and may well have visited the site himself. But he has little understanding of the strategy, and grotesquely simplifies the decision between fighting by sea and by land. As this decision is crucial for his estimate of A.'s psychology and behaviour (62.1n.), we should not readily excuse such simple-mindedness.

A.'s camp was on the S. coast of the bay, probably close to Punta (see Map 3). O. took up a position on the height of Mikalitzí, which commands the area, and built walls linking it with the harbour of Gomaros. A. had not yet concentrated his fleet or his army, and O. tried unsuccessfully to bring him to battle. The defensive naval operation of §§1–2(nn.) belongs here. When A.'s troops arrived, he established a new camp on the N. side of the straits, near Preveza. Only the plain of Nicopolis separated the two armies: and now O., not A., refused a land-battle. In this desolate region water-supply was crucial, as P. realises (§2). O. depended on the river Louros in his rear, together with a few springs in the Nicopolis plain: P. is probably right (§2) in saying that A. built earthworks to try to cut off these supplies, and he also sent his cavalry around the gulf to cut off the Louros; there were clearly skirmishes in the northern plain. But P. says nothing of these, implying that A. at first relied wholly on his fleet (§5n.). O.'s commanders Titius (58.3n.) and Statilius Taurus (65.2n.) won one battle; that apparently led Deiotarus to defect (§5n.). Meanwhile, crucially, Agrippa's fleet had taken Leucas. This afforded O. a safer anchorage than Gomaros, and it also made it difficult for A.'s other scattered ships to reinforce him.

A. was now under virtual blockade, and naturally thought of breaking out to the interior: that was what C. had done in 48, fighting and winning at Pharsalus. The interior of N. Greece was becoming important in other ways, too, for A. now probably needed to transport provisions by land. O. had already sent his own men 'into Greece and Macedonia', while A. sent Dellius and Amyntas 'into Macedonia and Thrace' (Dio 50.13.4, 8). Soon A. himself set out to overtake them.

While he was away Sosius tried to break out at sea, but was beaten by Agrippa, and Tarcondimotus (61.2n.) was killed. On his return A. lost another cavalry battle, and Amyntas defected (§5n.). Provisions were failing, and A. withdrew all his troops to the S. bank.

The break-out to the interior was a serious option (cf. §§6-8 for the debate), but it would have meant abandoning the fleet. And A.'s position was worse than C.'s in 48. Morale was low. A. reasonably suspected widespread treachery (Dio 50.13.7): Dellius soon added to the number of defections (59.6n.), and doubtless there were many more. And disease was rife (64.1n.) – particularly, perhaps, malaria and dysentery, worsened by the shortage of supplies and water. Domitius (§§3-4) was only one of the victims. Even if the army could break out to Thessaly and O. offered battle, the men would barely be able to fight. Only now, in desperation, did A. decide on a naval battle (65-6n.).

On all this cf. esp. Kromayer 9-28; T. Rice Holmes, *The Architect of the Roman Empire* 1 (Oxford 1928) 147-54; Carter 200-14. The tension is well conveyed by Horace's Epode 9, which seems to be a dramatic recreation of the course of the campaign (cf. R. G. M. Nisbet in *Poetry and Politics in the Age of Augustus* (ed. Tony Woodman and David West, Cambridge 1984), 10-16); but Hor.'s language is rarely specific enough to help our reconstruction of events (though cf. 68.1n.).

1 Ἀντώνιος δ' . . . : P. omits A.'s own march to Actium; O. reached there before he did. τῶν ἐπιβατῶν: the legionaries who normally fought on board (64.1n.). Presumably there was just no time to embark them. ὁψέως ἔνεκα: that is, so that the enemy would mistake them for the legionaries; but P. employs a phrase which also suggests ostentation, cf. 61n. τοὺς δὲ τὰ πρὸς . . . ἐκατέρωθεν 'raising the ship's oars like wings on both sides', poised ready to strike the water. Cf. Plb. 1.46.9 and Walbank's n.

2 καταστρατηγηθείς: P. has described the manoeuvre lamely, and does not make it clear why O. was so 'outgeneralled'. What made it effective was a factor he omits, A.'s powerful catapults on both sides of the strait, covering the waters over which O.'s ships would attack. ἔδοξε δέ: sc. Ἀντώνιος.

3-4 Domitius deserts: 'because of some grievance about Cl.', says Dio 50.13.6, which may help to explain her vindictiveness here (παρὰ

τὴν Κλεοπάτρας γνώμην). He had earlier argued that Cl. should return to Egypt (56.3n.).

Sh. makes much less of Actium than P.; with his reduced canvas he could not afford so many climaxes – two great battles, A.'s death, Cl.'s suicide. He prefers to concentrate on the final scenes, stressing Alexandria rather than Actium. He consequently neglects the desertions during the Actium campaign (cf. 58.4, 59.5-8); he makes 'six kings' (cf. §5) go over *after* the battle (III.x.33-4, cf. IV.v.4); most striking, he delays Enobarbus' defection to Alexandria (IV.v-vi). Cf. Intr., 41.

In P. Domitius' *motives* are not especially important: the story's main point is to display A.'s nobility, and so it fittingly concludes a sequence of A.'s *successes* (63.1-3, cf. the connexion . . . δὲ καὶ at §3) – though it also affords the transition to the reverses of §§5-11 (ἐγένοντο δὲ καὶ βασιλέων ἀποστάσεις . . . , §5). As one would expect after Sh.'s earlier development of Domitius, he allows more interest in the defection itself, not merely A.'s response to it, and Domitius' growing disillusion is an index of A.'s disintegration: cf. Intr., 41-2.

εὐγνωμόνως: the word is especially appropriate for generosity to enemies within one's power: cf. e.g. *Ag.-Cl.* 45.8, *Pomp.* 65.3, 75.3, and especially *Dtr.* 5.4, where Ptolemy returns Demetrius his personal baggage after defeating him. πᾶσαν αὐτῷ τὴν ἀποσκευὴν. . .: such gentlemanliness was in fashion. C. had done the same for Labienus in 49 (*Caes.* 34.5); so had D. Brutus for a senator at Mutina (*Dio* 46.38.3-4).

4 μεταβαλλόμενος εὐθὺς ἐτελεύτησεν: most editors have kept the manuscripts' μεταβαλλόμενος, punctuating *after* it: in that case ὥσπερ . . . μεταβαλλόμενος, εὐθὺς ἐτελεύτησεν would mean something like 'as though he gave him to understand that he repented (μεταβαλλόμενος) his open treason, he died immediately'. That is North's translation, which inspired Sh. to write IV.vi and IX, where Domitius indeed repents: 'I have done ill. . .' But P.'s usage elsewhere (e.g. 67.10 and 76.2, cf. *Pomp.* 58.2, *Brut.* 49.3, *Dtr.* 49.4) suggests that μεταβάλλεσθαι should simply mean 'change sides', and Ziegler was probably right to read μεταβαλόμενος and repunctuate. P. is saying that Domitius 'died immediately after his desertion, as if [in shame] at his treachery and disloyalty becoming known'. It is only *as if* in shame: there need be no repentance (there is none at *Dio* 50.13.6).

5 Amyntas (61.3n.) defected soon before the battle, taking his

cavalry. Hor. was cheered: *at huc frementes uerterunt bis mille equos | Galli, canentes Caesarem . . .* (Ep. 9.17-18). **Deiotarns** had gone over earlier (Dio 50.13.6, cf. 63n.). P. does not seem to realise that he is the same as 'Philadelphus' (61.2n.). At some time another king, Rhoemetalcus of Thrace, also went over ([*Mor.*] 207a). τὸ δὲ ναυτικὸν . . . Ἀντώνιον: grossly simplified, cf. 63n. But the fleet genuinely 'fared ill' (δυσπραγέω is a grand word, cf. Aesch. *Agam.* 790, *Lucull.* 33.1, *Sert.* 22.7) 'in everything and was always too late to give any help'. P. or his source is thinking of Agrippa's successes (62.1, 63 nn.).

**6-8 The debate concerning a land-battle.** Cf. 63n. P. phrases Canidius' arguments powerfully, and presumably intends them to carry conviction. He could have given some of them earlier (for instance at 62.1); but he prefers to delay the presentation of the case till here, where it can contrast with Cl.'s shameful reasoning, and where A.'s resolve is decisive and fatal. Κλεοπάτραν μὲν ἀποπέμπειν: cf. §§3-4, 37.3 nn. Canidius had originally urged the opposite view, 56.3n.

**7 Dicomes** is an obscure figure. Dio 51.22.8 mentions certain 'Dacians, possibly Getae or possibly Thracians', whose support for A. was hampered by their internal discord. In any case, the Getae were a long way away. Canidius was clutching at straws. εἰς ναῦς διανέμων καὶ καταναλίσκων τὴν δύναμιν 'dividing and wasting his strength among ships', a strong phrase.

**8 οὐ μὴν ἀλλ':** 9.1n. ἐξενόκησε Κλεοπάτρα: at 62.1 A. wished to fight at sea for Cl.'s sake: the fleet was largely hers, and (apparently) he wanted her to gain the credit for victory. Here P. again connects the decision with Cl., but his Cl. has already despaired of victory, and he has to find another reason for her insistence. He therefore has to regard her 'treachery' (66.6-8n.) as long premeditated. That is even less plausible than Dio's suggestion of a failure of nerve during the battle (Dio 50.33.2, cf. 66.6-8n.). There is also some inconsequentiality: if she really wanted to save herself, why should she not follow Canidius' advice and depart? But the analysis is important to P., and he emphasises it with the strong language and involved syntax which he favours for such psychological studies (cf. e.g. 24.12n.). τιθεμένη τὰ καθ' ἑαυτὴν . . . : translators take this of the battle-dispositions: thus Scott-Kilvert, 'the real purpose of the battle order which she drew up for her forces was not to win a victory but to ensure her escape in event of defeat'. But the battle is still in the future, and it is better to take the

spatial language – τιθεμένη, ὅπου, ὅθεν – figuratively. ‘She did not arrange matters so as to contribute to a victory, but to make her escape as easy as possible in case of defeat.’

**9–11 A. is nearly captured.** The story is not told by other authors, and may be owed to an oral source. A.’s solitary walk already suggests his depression, particularly after Cl.’s defeatism in §8. Cf. 64.4. If historical, it refers to a period some time before the battle, while A. was still encamped on the N. bank (63n.).

**64.1 A. burns the ships,** not to prevent desertions (Scott-Kilvert), but to keep them from falling into enemy hands (cf. Thuc. 7.60.2). As Dio 50.15.4 explains, they were useless to A. because the crews were so depleted (cf. 62.1). This burning perhaps fits the interpretation of the battle as a break-out (65–6n.): A. knew he would have no more use for them. (So Kromayer 34–5.) But it was presumably a sensible precaution in any case. It is not clear if the transports were burnt as well: perhaps not, cf. 67.7, 68.2 nn.

The size of A.’s fleet in the battle is disputed. He had 500 warships at 61.1, but not all were concentrated at Actium, and he may have lost a full third of his crews there even before the campaign (Oros. 6.19.5, cf. Dio 50.11.2, 12.8). These were compensated by recruitment (62.1) and reinforcement by land, but death and desertion went on through the summer. Oros. 6.19.6 credibly says that A. manned 170 ships for the battle, Flor. 2.21.5 ‘less than 200’. This total probably excludes Cl.’s sixty ships. O.’s fleet is given, probably correctly, as ‘over 400’ (Flor. 2.21.5, cf. 61.4n.). Cf. 68.2n.

τὰς μὲν ἄλλας . . . Αἰγυπτίων ‘he burnt the other ships, except for the sixty Egyptian ones,’ (lit. ‘except for sixty, the Egyptian ones,’) ‘and manned the best and biggest [of his own] from triremes to “tens”’ (61.1n.): cf. 66.5, where the Egyptian ships are contrasted with ‘the big ones’. This is preferable to two other possible translations: (a) ‘he burnt all except sixty of the Egyptian ships, and manned the best and biggest . . .’ (Perrin, Scott-Kilvert, Chambry). But A. naturally burnt his non-Egyptian ships as well (cf. Dio 50.15.1); and this anyway gives an untidy contrast between the μὲν and δέ clauses, for ‘manned the best. . .’ refers to the whole fleet (cf. ‘20,000 hoplites’, far too many for sixty ships). (b) ‘He burnt the other ships except for sixty of the Egyptian ones’, implying that there were more and A. selected the best. But the

sentence-structure does not suggest that A. is picking and choosing among these ships as well as his own, and 'sixty' is a credible figure for *all* Cl.'s warships at Actium. She provided 200 ships in all (56.2), but many would be transports, and many scattered around the other ports. *δισμυρίους ἐμβιβάζων ὀπλίτας* . . . : Roman naval tactics depended heavily on boarding (Casson 120-3), and it had become customary to ship legionaries. If A. had 170-200 ships, this would mean just over 100 soldiers on each ship: that is reasonable, cf. Plb. 1.26.7, Brunt 508 n. 7.

**2-4 The wise centurion.** 'Trust not to rotten planks. . .' (Sh. *iii.vii.61-6*). P., like Sh., uses the story to emphasise not merely A.'s stupidity but also his men's devotion: cf. 68.4. (As in the Parthian campaign (43.3-6n.), he avoids mentioning any *desertions* of ordinary soldiers, *ctr.* Dio 50.11.2, 15.4, 27.7-8: only senators, kings, and other grandees lose faith in him.) And P., like Sh., brings out A.'s inability to find an answer to such common sense. Cf. 63.6-8 (nn.), where again good advice was stylistically emphasised: in each case it is overridden, but the defeatism of the principals (there Cl., now A.) is evident. The story is emphasised by the use of *o.r.*, a device which P. employs sparingly (84.4-7n.). Cf. the centurion Crassinius before Pharsalus, who assures C. that 'we will win a great victory - and, dead or alive, I will win your praises today' (*Caes.* 44.9-12). Crassinius goes to his death, but we know that C. will indeed win, with men like this. Here too the outcome is all too predictable. *ταξιαρχῶν* 'centurions', as at *Caes.* 20.7, 29.7 and 44.9: cf. Mason 164.

**3 ὁ αὐτόκρατορ** 'General'. The ὁ gives grandeur, while αὐτοκράτωρ is a very Roman, military, word (*imperator*). *Ἀιγύπτιοι καὶ Φοίνικες ἐν θαλάσῃ μαχέσθωσαν*: compare the angling story of 29.7: 'General (αὐτόκρατορ), surrender the fishing-rod to the kings of Pharos and Canopus. . .' P. probably intends the poignant echo of that different world: such effects are more familiar from Sh., where the death-scenes have many verbal links with the early days in Alexandria, and the angling story is itself recalled in the hoisting of the dying A., 'here's sport indeed' (*iv.xv.32 ~ ii.v.10-18*).

**4 τὰ ἱστία:** P. implies that A. was already thinking of flight, like Cl. at 63.8. This may be partly true, if the battle was really an attempted break-out: but the use of the wind would be vital for any manoeuvring, for A.'s ships would be slower than O.'s under oar but quicker under sail. *φεύγοντα . . . διαφυγεῖν*: a neat example of the difference.

between present and aorist, 'no-one who was fleeing should make good his escape'. Cf. Thuc. 7.70.8, Ar. *Ach.* 177.

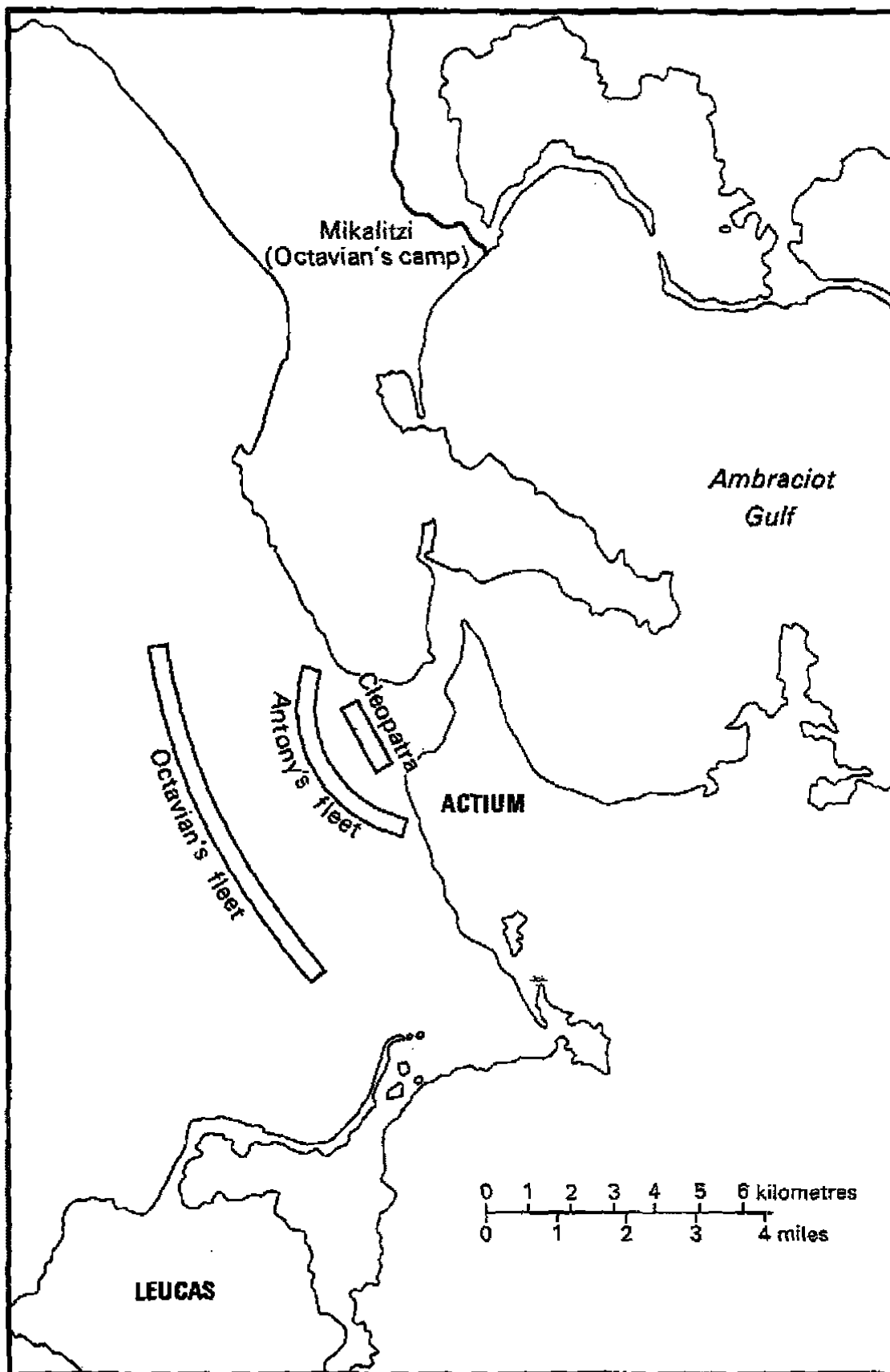
**65–6 The battle of Actium**, 2nd Sept. 31. 'Cl. was herself afraid, and she frightened A. But they did not wish to sail away secretly, or indeed openly as fugitives, but they preferred to make their preparations as for a naval battle, at the same time intending, if they were opposed, to force their way out' (Dio 50.15.3). Dio often guesses at motives, but intelligently: here he anticipates much modern debate.

Kromayer argued that the battle should be seen as an attempt to break out with as many ships and troops as possible; the remaining legions would have to escape on land as best they could (cf. 67.8n.). This would clear Cl. of 'treachery' (cf. 66.6–8): when she could, she naturally hoisted sail for Egypt, just as she and A. had planned. This explains why A. burnt his ships (62.1n.) and took sails on board (62.4n.); and why A. and Cl. shipped their treasure (Dio 50.15.4), which O. therefore captured only at Alexandria. This widely-accepted view is presented in its most sophisticated form by Carter 215–27: he brings out the difficulties of clearing Leucas under sail with prevailing winds from the W. and N.W. A.'s only chance was to join battle as far out to sea as possible, and to delay the battle till the afternoon – just as P. says he did – when the wind typically veers to W.N.W. (65.7n., but see 66.4n.). Tarn, however, argued that A. indeed intended to fight and win a battle. If A. shipped the treasure, that reflects a readiness to flee if matters went against him: but that would be second best. In his view the battle itself was decided by widespread desertion among A.'s fleet.

The battle's course is in fact very obscure. P.'s account certainly has difficulties (nn.), while Dio tends to recast battle-descriptions according to stereotypes, and is apparently doing the same here: cf. 66.1–3n. But Kromayer seems closer to the truth than Tarn, who thought that A. had more than 400 ships – considerably more than seems to be the case (64.1, 68.2 nn.). A.'s chances were therefore sligher than Tarn thinks; and Tarn leaves it obscure why he should have delayed battle till so late in the year, when his crews had been so weakened.

But some qualifications should be made.

(a) Battles, especially at sea, are very unpredictable; O.'s recent struggle with Sextus made that clear. The chances were heavily against A.'s winning a battle, but they were not negligible. A further



Map 3 Actium: fleet positions at the beginning of the battle

uncertainty was contributed by the weather, which had been rough for the past few days (65.1n.), and became rough again later in the day (68.1n.): and A.'s ships might better survive a storm than O.'s. A. knew that he could not break out without fighting. If it went very well, then of course he would try to fight it out to victory. In that sense Tarn is right to posit two alternative plans.

(b) If the fleet could break away, it was difficult to think that the army would struggle to rejoin A., particularly if the fleet was known to be making for Egypt. In the event they did not try very hard: they made terms (68.5). A. therefore probably did not make the 'break-out' plan too explicit: his sea-captains and his land-commanders needed to know, but it need not go much further. In that case, the picture of his men's bewilderment (68.3) need not be so fanciful: only when the fleet hoisted sail would they know the truth.

(c) It is very hard to reconstruct the actual fighting. Discussions often raise the question, for instance, how Cl. could *suddenly* – as P. clearly suggests, 66.5–6 – break through and away from the *mêlée* (cf. Kromayer 45–7, Carter 221–4): but that is to trust P. too naïvely. It is characteristic of his technique to capture a critical moment with a frozen visual tableau (cf. 14.3, 26, 77.3, 85–6 nn.): this dramatic sudden hoisting of sails, with the fleet gazing on bewildered, was too good to miss, and he may have extensively recast his source-material. For other possible pieces of imaginative reconstruction, cf. 65.6–8, 66.1–3 nn.

What we know about the battle can be stated very briefly. At first there was a lull (65.1, 65.6–8 nn.), then some movement of the fleets to seaward (65.6–8nn.) before they came into contact (66.1–3n.); both northern wings moved further north (66.4n.), opening the gap in the centre of A.'s fleet through which Cl. sailed (66.5n.); A. transferred ship and followed (66.7n.); the fighting was not particularly intense, but there was some fire (68.1n.); finally at least one of A.'s squadrons 'backed water to port', presumably as it returned to harbour (68.1n.).

In P.'s picture, A. begins well: he hurries everywhere to encourage his men (65.4), his tactics are sensible (65.4n.), his ships keep order (65.6); O. can do nothing about it. But he has begun well before – in preparing for Parthia, for instance (37), or indeed earlier in this campaign (58.1–2, cf. 63.1–4). Cl. usually brings this great soldier to his ruin: so it is here, and her treachery decides a battle which till then was even (66.5–6).

**65.1** *μεγάλῳ πνεύματι*: Dio 50.31.2 mentions a 'fierce storm and mighty wind' which 'fell only on A.'s ships'. The wind was probably a strong westerly, the so-called 'Tarantata'. *νηνεμίας καὶ γαλήνης ἀκλύστου* 'a windless, waveless calm', an almost lyrical phrase: cf. 101b, 1130c. P. paints the setting with care, preparing for the eery actionless pause of §6. Cf. *Aem.* 15.1. **L. Gellius Publicola** – the Gellius derided by Catullus – had deserted the Liberators in 43 and served A. in Greece in the early 30s; cos. 36. '**Coelius**' is a mistake, for the left was commanded by C. Sosius (Vell. 2.85.2, 86.2, cf. 34.10n.). Sosius and Publicola were the only two consulars still loyal to A. **M. Insteius**, from Pisaurum (60.2n.), was apparently an Antonian as early as 43 (cf. Cic. *Phil.* 13.26), but nothing else is securely known about him or **M. Octavius**. They were surely slighter figures than Sosius and Publicola. It was on the wings that the important action was expected.

**2** Concentrating on A., P. skimps the detail of O.'s dispositions: carelessly, for at 66.5 we need to know that Arruntius commanded the centre. For **T. Statilius Taurus**, 'second only to Agrippa as a soldier and administrator' (Syme 325), cf. *OCD*<sup>2</sup>.

**4** *κωπήρει* 'a rowing boat'. Cf. the story of Pliny *N.H.* 32.3, where his ship (there apparently his flagship) is beset by sea-urchins as he moves to *circumire et exhortari suos*. ὥσπερ ἐκ γῆς . . . μάχεσθαι: ironic, after A. has resisted the pleas for a land-battle. Cf. 62.1, 66.3 nn. *ἑδραίους* ('still', an unusual use) . . . ὥσπερ ὁρμούσαις ἀτρέμα: cf. §6(n.). The wind had clearly dropped, though it returned later in the day (68.1n.). The ships kept very close formation (Dio 50.31.4). The great danger was that they might be surrounded by O.'s more manoeuvrable ships, as indeed later happened (65.8–66.3). But if A.'s ships could keep close order, O.'s ships could scarcely get close enough to do this, and A. could exploit the superior fire-power of his catapults (66.3n.).

**5 The omen of the mule.** P. liked such lucky omens before battle (e.g. *Caes.* 42–3, cf. 61n.); so did O. (cf. the list at Suet. *Aug.* 96, including the present instance). τοῖς ἐμβόλοις τὸν τόπον κοσμῶν ὕστερον: he erected a large monument on the site of his tent on Mikalitz: the prows were divided between this and the new temple of Apollo at Rome. χαλκοῦν ὄνον: P. had probably seen this himself: he had friends at Nicopolis (Jones 36). Several manuscripts have the

marginal gloss 'perhaps this is the bronze mule which was brought from Nicopolis and is now in the hippodrome at Byzantium . . . : it is ridden by the bath-pourer' (λουτροχόος) – presumably a representation of 'Eutuchos'. The statue was destroyed by the French during the fourth Crusade in 1204.

**6-8** Dio 50.31.5 differs from P., making O. break the deadlock, as both his wings moved suddenly to outflank the enemy: A. reluctantly moved to meet the threat. Dio's picture is implausible: at this stage A.'s line left no room for outflanking, and even later it is likely that only O.'s left wing moved (cf. 66.4, Tarn 190 n.2). But P.'s hardly makes more sense, for A. had little reason to advance his left wing and pivot on his right (cf. Carter 219-20). This might certainly make it easier for his left to clear Leucas – but the immediate effect would be to turn A.'s whole line directly into the wind, and leave the left extremely vulnerable. P. may well be reconstructing imaginatively: if any of A.'s force showed indiscipline, it would *of course* be the wing where he was not personally in command. ἐν τοῖς στενοῖς: they were evidently to keep very close to the mouth of the straits (cf. τὴν περὶ τὸ στόμα δυσχωρίον φυλάττοντας, §4); but the sea-bed here slopes very gently, and they would still have to keep some way from the shore to avoid running aground. They must have taken position at least 1 km seaward of the straits. See Map 3. ἡ γὰρ ὄψις ἦν τῶν νεῶν ἐπ' ἀγκύραις ὁρμουσῶν: lit. 'the appearance was one of the ships at anchor'. There is something to be said for Ziegler's <ὥς> ἐπ' . . . , 'as if at anchor', or the deletion of τῶν. περὶ ὀκτὼ στάδια: about one nautical mile.

**7** ἕκτη . . . ὥρα: about midday. πνεύματος αἰρομένου πελαγίου: a gentle sea-wind generally springs up in the afternoon, the so-called 'Imbatto' or 'Mistral': it begins from the west, then gradually veers to W.N.W.

**8** πρύμναν ἐκρούσατο 'backed water'. As P. sees, O.'s natural strategy was to draw A. into the open sea and outmanoeuvre him there. At Salamis in 480 the Greeks wished to attract the Persians into narrow waters, and backed water to delude them into following: that was famous (Hdt. 8.84). P. may well be 'reconstructing' a Salamis in reverse. Dio's picture is different (above); so in detail is that of Serv. *ad Aen.* 8.682, who speaks of Agrippa pretending to *flee*, and A. being taken in.

**66.1-3** Dio 50.32 gives a different picture – less a *τειχομαχία*, more a question of ramming – but his account seems to rest on preconceptions, influenced by Thuc. 7.70.6, about the way in which smaller ships can defeat bigger ships: it is largely untrue to the realities of naval warfare at this period, when boarding and artillery had become more important than ramming. But P. too probably bases some of his account on guesswork. The low casualty figures (68.1n.) suggest that the fighting was not so fierce; and the two sides' ships were not so very different (62.2n.), though A.'s deficiency in crewing probably did affect his manoeuvrability. *ἀναρρήξεις νεών*: lit. 'breakings-up of ships', attempts to smash them: cf. Thuc. 7.36.3, 40.5. *ῥύμην* 'momentum'. *χαλκώματα*: the bronze-reinforced defences on the prow. *θαρρούντων* rather than *θαρρουσών*, *constructio ad sensum* with *τῶν δὲ Καίσαρος*: that originally referred to O.'s ships, but P. by now is thinking of the men.

**2** *ἀπεθραύοντο . . . δεδεμένων* 'they had their rams' (acc. of respect) 'easily broken off wherever they came into contact with the ships, which were made of squared-off beams joined together with iron and lashed to one another'. The text is uncertain: this reading makes *τετραγώνων ξύλων* a descriptive genitive. P. refers to 'a sort of armour-belt of squared timbers shod with iron as a protection against ramming' (L. Casson, *The Ancient Mariners* (New York 1959) 208).

**3** *ἦν οὖν πεζομαχίαι προσφερῆς ὁ ἀγών . . .*: a commonplace of sea-battle narratives, esp. in Thuc.: cf. 1.49.2, 2.89.8, and esp. 4.14.3 (quoted at 347b) and 7.62.2, 4. Here, as in Thuc. (Macleod 143), the point is suggestive, cf. 62.1, 65.4 nn. Other authors use the *topos* less thoughtfully, e.g. Plb. 1.23.7, Diod. 13.10.5, App. 5. 81, Dio 39.43.5. In fact, by now most sea-battles were like this. *τρεῖς . . . καὶ τέσσαρες . . . συνείχοντο*: like Dio 50.32.6, this is influenced by Thuc. 7.70.6. *γέρροις* 'mantlets', often used in genuine *τειχομαχίαι* but not attested elsewhere in sea-battles. *πυροβόλοις*: perhaps firebrands, projected either by bow or by catapult; more likely pots of hot coal or pitch, probably thrown by catapult, cf. Dio 50.32.8, 34.2. P. does not seem well informed, and there may again be some imagination here. We should expect a mention of Agrippa's famous grappling-hooks, which he had used effectively at Naulochus (App. 5.118-9). **Catapults** had been a feature of warship-design since the Hellenistic period: cf. E.W. Marsden, *Greek and Roman Artillery* 1 (Oxford 1969) 169-73, Pelling, *CQ* 36 (1986) 180-1. They needed reinforced platforms, and that may be

what P. means by 'wooden towers' here; but he probably confuses these platforms with the collapsible towers used for archers and javelin-throwers (Casson 122).

**4 Agrippa's outflanking move** drew both sides' northern wings further N.: if the wind was veering to W.N.W. as usual (65.7n.), they may both have been trying to 'get the wind' of each other, whether A. was preparing to attack or to flee. Cf. Tarn 188-90, Carter 218-20. But the weather was unusually fierce (cf. 65.1n.), and the later storm may already have been brewing (68.1n.); and, though Virg. *Aen.* 8.710 does speak of the N.W. wind *Iapyx*, Serv. *ad Aen.* 8.682 writes of *Aquilo*, the N. wind - though it is unclear whether either he or Virgil knew or cared. It is hard to be sure what was going on.

**5 L. Arruntius** seems from this passage to have been O.'s commander in the centre (Vell. 2.85.2 puts him on the left): P. should have mentioned him at 65.2(n.). *κοινῆς*: apparently 'while successes were being shared by both sides', a striking use of the word. **The story of Cl.'s treachery** was first told by Jos. *C. Ap.* 2.59: it does not seem to have been known to the Augustan poets. Even Dio could not escape from the story, despite his awareness of a 'break-out' strategy (50.33.2-3, *ctr.* 50.15.2; 65-6n.). The whole story is unlikely to carry any truth, and the details are probably P.'s own: cf. 65-6n. *διεκπίπτουσαι* 'escaping'.

**6 τῶι πνεύματι χρωμένας**: hard but possible if the wind was from W.N.W.; easier, if from the north (§4n.). *ἔπεχούσας* 'holding a course for ...'

**7 A. follows Cl.** The climactic moment, marked by the heightened style. The ideas are intensified through the triad *ἄρχοντος ... λογισμοῖς* - not worthy of a general, nor even a man, not his own at all; then *διοικούμενον* is ponderous, 'managed' or 'controlled'; then the vocabulary increases in weight through another triad, *ἐλκόμενος ... συμπεφυκῶς ... συμμετοφερόμενος* (with *anacoluthon*: we should strictly expect acc. after *φανερόν αὐτόν ... ἐποίησεν ...*). §8 begins with a sequence of co-ordinates, accumulating the features which made the flight so graceless: 'he forgot everything, and betrayed and fled from those who were fighting and dying for him ...' The conclusion's more periodic structure combines elements to emphasise his solitariness (a rising theme which will dominate the next few chapters, cf. 63.9-11n.), and build to the resonant climax *τὴν ἀπολωλεκυῖαν ἤδη καὶ προσ-*

απολοῦσαν αὐτόν. Ctr. the strained antitheses of Vell. 2.85.3: *Antonius fugientis reginae quam pugnantis militis sui comes esse maluit, et imperator, qui in desertores saevire debuerat, desertor exercitus sui factus est*. οὐθ' ὅλως ἰδίῳ λογισμοῖς: cf. 37.6n. ὅπερ τις παλίων εἶπε . . .: the elder Cato, according to *C. Mai.* 9.8 and 759c (but see P. Boyancé, *REG* 68 (1955) 324-5). P. does not name Cato, partly because it would distract, partly because the intrusion of so distinctive a *Roman* figure would be inappropriate: A. is here as unroman as can be. The intrusion of a jest (παίζων) is surprising but poignant: such frivolity hints at all the other light-hearted moments, when such captivation was engaging and harmless. Cf. 64.3n.

8 πεντήρη: a quinquereme, not an especially fast or small ship, but towards the bottom of A.'s range (64.1). **Alexas** of Laodicea was evidently a trusted friend, 72.3(n.); **Scellius** is otherwise unknown.

**67 The flight from Actium.** P. handles the anticlimax skilfully, with changing pace and mood – though A.'s solitariness has been prepared in the preceding narrative (63.9-11, 66.8 nn.). Cf. the various techniques he uses with anticlimaxes at *Caes.* 46-7, *Cor.* 37-8, *Cic.* 24-7, *Lys.* 16-17; but the closest parallel is *Pomp.* 72-3, after Pharsalus. Pompey too sits silently at first (72.3, cf. e.g. *Mar.* 37.9, *Ag.-Cl.* 17, *Crass.* 27.6; when C.'s men arrive, he too utters a single *cri de coeur* (72.3), then puts on humble clothing and flees. C.'s men (*Pomp.* 72.5-6), like O.'s, find all the apparatus of luxury – the preparations for a banquet, the tables laden with goblets, all now poignantly ironic. Pompey too bids his loyal companions save themselves (74.3, 75.3). When he finds a ship, he too climbs silently on board (73.9), and sails to be reunited with his heartbroken wife Cornelia (74-5). He soon hears that the navy is still intact (76.1-2, cf. §7), and laments that he had fought *on land* (76.2-3) – the very converse of the Actium story.

So close a parallel between the two passages need not surprise. (There is no need, for instance, to assume that either is influenced by the other, or both drawn from a shared original: ctr. A. J. Woodman on a similar problem in Tac., *Creative Imitation in Latin Literature* (ed. Tony Woodman and David West, Cambridge 1979) 143-55.) It is anyway unlikely that so humane a portrait of A. is taken over from a source, and here as in *Pomp.* P. presumably reconstructs much of the sequence from his imagination, in each case finding similar details

appropriate as he evokes the same sympathy for A. as for Pompey. A. is great in defeat, as generous as ever (§8, cf. 1n.), as intensely loved by his men (§9), as solicitous for their safety. But hopelessness is clear, and the conclusion sets the tone for much of what follows: '... Hipparchus, the first of the freedmen to go over to O. ...'

**2 Liburnians** were fast, light, two-banked ships: cf. Casson 141-2. For **Eurycles of Sparta** cf. *OCD*<sup>2</sup>, Bowersock 59-60 and *JRS* 51 (1961) 112-18. His descendant, C. Iulius Eurycles Herculanus, was probably the dedicatee of P.'s *On Self-praise* (539a), and P. may well owe this story to him (cf. Jones 41). Dio 51.1.4 says that O.'s ships did not overtake A. σοβαρῶς: 7.4-5n.

**3** The Spartan **Lachares** was honoured by the *Athenians* with a statue (*Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 786): clearly an influential man. ἐκδικῶν 'avenging'. ληιστείας: P. seems to mean 'piracy', a frequent theme of contemporary propaganda – presumably at sea. But prominent Spartans can seldom have roamed the seas. A. (who had trouble in the Peloponnese, 35n.) may simply have been consolidating his position by eliminating untrustworthy local magnates. Cf. E. G. Owens, *Lat.* 35 (1976) 726.

**4 χαλκῶματι**: 66.1n. περιερρόμβησε 'spun it round like a top', a striking picture and a very rare word. πλαγίαν περιπεσοῦσαν: probably 'fell foul of them, broadside on' (cf. LSJ περιπίπτω π.2, *Popl.* 8.4), thus explaining why Eurycles could not pursue A. but had to content himself with these captures; possibly 'swung round sideways' (Perrin); not 'fell over sideways' (LSJ, Chambry) nor 'fell away from her course' (Scott-Kilvert).

**6 αἱ συνήθειαι γυναῖκες**: Cl.'s maids, later so important, and already mentioned at 60.1(n.). They are not named here: cf. 85.7n.

**7 τῶν στρογγύλων πλοίων οὐκ ὀλίγα**: these transports perhaps came from Actium itself (cf. 64.1, 68.2 nn.), for they evidently knew the news quickly: but it is odd that they could escape. It is also possible that they came from Patrae, carrying news that these friends had brought overland. In that case Agrippa's capture of the port (62.2-6n.) was less than complete: cf. 68.7n.

**8 ἀναχωρεῖν διὰ Μακεδονίας εἰς Ἀσίαν τῷ στρατῷ . . .**: A. might have thought of regrouping at (say) Athens or Corinth, but he would then be cut off for the winter in the exhausted and increasingly hostile Greece. Without naval supremacy that was too big a risk. διαίρειν 'to cross' the Mediterranean.

9 εὐμενῶς πάνυ καὶ φιλοφρόνως παραμυθησάμενος 'comforted them with great kindness and warmth'. Cf. 43.2, but there A. was in tears and his men comforted him: they have now changed roles; cf. 75.2-3. The sympathy of P.'s portrait is clear. A.'s calm resignation is like that of Pompey, comforting Cornelia and telling the Mytileneans to save themselves (*Pomp.* 75.1-3, cf. 67n. above); cf. also *Ag.-Cl.* 20.1, *C. Min.* 68.1, 70.1, *Brut.* 52.4-6; 75.2-3n. **Theophilus**, A.'s procurator (διοικητής, cf. Mason 38, 143), was himself a slave by birth, for otherwise his son would have been born free (§10). Freedmen were commonly used as procurators (agents or stewards) by prominent individuals: cf. Treggiari 150-2. As A.'s agent he would naturally handle public as well as private affairs (Treggiari 190), and interestingly prefigures the emperor's personal procurators, who included both freedmen and equestrians.

10 **Hipparchus** (cf. 73.4) had been close enough to the triumvirs to enrich himself during the proscriptions (Pliny *N.H.* 35.200). He is later attested as *duumvir* in Corinth on two occasions.

68.1 πολλὸν ὁ στόλος ἀντισχῶν Καίσαρι χρόνον: in fact, the fighting was not especially fierce (§2n.): indeed, Hor. *Epodes* 9.19-20 suggests that some of A.'s fleet withdrew to the harbour, ignominiously 'backing water to port' (*navium . . . puppes sinistrorsum citae*) - probably the right wing which Agrippa had drawn N. (66.4), cf. *CQ* 36 (1986) 177-81. Still, some action continued for a few hours: some ships were fired (Hor. *Odes* 1.37.13, Virg. *Aen.* 8.693-4, exaggerated by Dio 50.34); and O. took the ostentatious precaution of spending the night on board ship (Suet. *Aug.* 17.2). Too easy and unspectacular a victory would be inappropriate. τοῦ κλύδωνος ὑψηλοῦ κατὰ πρῶιραν ἰσταμένου: that is, from W. or N.W. The bad weather had clearly returned (65.1, 65-6 nn.). ὥρας δεκάτης: 4 or 5 p.m.

2 νεκροὶ μὲν οὐ πλείους ἐγένοντο πεντακισχιλίων: as P. implies (οὐ πλείους . . .), the number is surprisingly low, and suggests that the fighting was not fierce. Cf. 66.1-3n., and ctr. the emphasis on the number of horrific deaths at Dio 50.34-5. ὥς αὐτὸς ἀνέγραψε Καῖσαρ: in his *Autobiography* (fr. 16 P = 17 M): cf. Intr., 26. But it earlier seemed that A. burnt all his fleet except for 60 Egyptian ships and perhaps 170 of his own (64.1n.); and some of those had now escaped. How could 300 still be captured? This difficulty led Tarn (177-9) to doubt the

story of the ship-burning, and infer that A.'s fleet at Actium was larger, perhaps 400-415 (65-6n.). But O. need not be limiting his figure to warships, and some transports may have remained unburnt (cf. 64.1, 67.7 nn.); or he was perhaps referring to all ships captured during the Actium campaign, and P. misunderstood.

**3-5 The army's bewilderment:** not implausible, cf. 65-6n. P. develops it well, with typical 'characterisation by reaction' (Intr., 40). He again brings out the army's devotion as well as A.'s failure to live up to it (64.2-4n.): here for the first time he has failed to show his best qualities in adversity, unworthy indeed of his own experience of μεταβολαί. Cf. 17.3-6, 56-69 nn., Intr., 23.

**3 δέκα καὶ ἐννέα . . . ἱππεῖς:** '12,000 cavalry' is the same figure as at 61.1(n.), though death and desertion (particularly that of Amyntas, 63n.) must have depleted them. P. or (less likely) his source must be thoughtlessly using the numbers he knew for the *beginning* of the campaign. For the '19 legions' cf. 56.1, 61.1 nn., and Brunt 504-5, plausibly arguing that A. concentrated his entire army at Actium, except for the 4 legions in Cyrenaica (69.3n.). Though these 19 legions were 'undefeated', their numbers too had been considerably depleted, and 20,000 selected men were anyway on board ship (64.1).

**4 πόθον:** the *mot juste* (4.4n.), they 'yearned' for the absent A. Cf. Dio 51.1.4. **περιορῶντες ἐπιπρεσβευόμενον αὐτοῖς Καίσαρα:** more likely, they were negotiating terms, e.g. on their share in any rewards or land-settlements: O. proved not ungenerous (Keppie 79-80).

**5 προδοθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων:** but Canidius stayed loyal to A., 71.1. He presumably 'ran away' because the army was about to come to terms: they were the disloyal ones, not he.

**6-8 Greece's deliverance.** Cf. 23.2-4, 62.1 nn. Once again, P. writes of Greece's agony in heightened language. **τὸν περιόντα σῖτον . . . ταῖς πόλεσι:** some tokens found in the Athenian *agora* bear the name Κοῖσαρ: they were perhaps used for these distributions, cf. Bowersock 85, D.J. Geagan, *ANRW* II 7.1 (1979) 378. **περικεκομμέναις** 'robbed' or 'plundered', a strong word which P. favours in coloured contexts: cf. e.g. *Pomp.* 19.10, *Lucull.* 14.6, 26.3. **χρημάτων ἀνδραπόδων ὑποζυγίων:** the list in asyndeton adds to the stylistic height: cf. 62.1(n.), also of the sufferings of Greece.

**7 Great-grandfather Nicarchus** was presumably Lamprias' father (cf. 28.3n.). P. probably did not hear the story from Nicarchus

himself – if still alive, he was over 80 when P. was born: but Lamprias was doubtless as fond of telling this story as the one about Philotas (28.3n., cf. Intr., 29). τοὺς πολίτας: of Chaeronea. **Anticyra** is the nearest point on the Corinthian gulf, about 30 km away over steep and difficult country. The wheat was presumably to be conveyed by ship, either to Naupactus or to Actium itself: Agrippa's command of the gulf was evidently not total, cf. 67.7n.

8 διοικητῶν 'stewards', 68.9n.

**69.1–2 Paraetonium**: the modern Mersah Matrûh, about 290 km W. of Alexandria. They headed here rather than Alexandria, perhaps to shorten the dangerous voyage, more likely (as Dio 51.5.6 implies) to enable A. to reach Pinarius' troops without delay. σὺν δυσὶ φίλοις . . . : A., solitary once again (63.9–11, 66.6–8, 67 nn.), 'wanders listlessly' (ἀλύων, 9.5n.), just as he did when waiting for Cl. after Parthia: cf. 51.3(n.). The two great disasters end on a similar note, but A.'s agony is even greater now. The picture is hard to believe. It was vital to make sure of Pinarius' troops as soon as possible (§3n.), and, however dispirited, A. must surely have hurried to their station. **Aristocrates** is not otherwise known; for **Lucilius** cf. 22.6n. It is interesting that P. alludes so elaborately to the story here, after omitting it at 22.6(n.). That omission may have been simply careless, but the tale is more effective here: as the ἔσχατοι καιροί draw near, A. has come to be as hopeless as Brutus was then, as A. himself was at the height of his glory; and A., like Brutus, can still inspire loyalty in such men. δι' ἑτέρων: at *Brut.* 50, cf. 22.6n.

3 τὴν ἐν Λιβύῃ (i.e. Cyrene, 61.2n.) δυνάμιν: four legions under L. Pinarius Scarpus (Dio 51.5.6, *MRR* 422). It is noteworthy that A. had left these troops here, when seemingly all his other legions had been concentrated in Greece (68.3n.). Dio 51.5.6 says that they were left to 'guard Egypt' – perhaps from internal disorder, for Cl., it seems, had many domestic critics.

**3–5 Cl.'s plans of escape** are as romantic and grandiose as ever: the flavour is like that of *Sert.* 8.2–9.1, when Sertorius hears of the Isles of the Blessed, and 'conceives a wondrous yearning to dwell in those islands and live at peace, free from tyranny and unceasing conflict' (cf. ἀποφυγοῦσα δουλείαν καὶ πόλεμον here). But he too is soon persuaded to revert to reality. Dio 51.6.3 notes that A. and Cl. had plans of sailing

to Spain and stirring up a revolt there (as Pompey's sons had done after his defeat), 'or even of moving to the Red Sea'; cf. Flor. 2.21.9, *Bell. Act.* (71.6-8n.) frs. 10-12 G, Manuwald 236. P. omits the more unromantic item, the prospect of the Spanish uprising.

P. also suppresses some less glamorous material. According to Dio 51.5, Cl. was nervous of revolt, and so she returned with her prows garlanded as if in victory (a theme which in itself might well have attracted P.); but on reaching safety she murdered many of the foremost men, executed Artavasdes of Armenia (50.3-7nn.), and plundered extensively to gather money for her armies. As at 28-9(n.), such ruthlessness has no place in P.'s view of Cl.'s world.

4 τοῦ γὰρ ἐργοντος ἰσθμοῦ . . . : the neck of land between the Mediterranean and the Gulf of Suez, with the Gulf regarded as an extension of the Red Sea: cf. 3.6n., and see Map 4. This neck is about 150 km (more than twice P.'s '300 stades') across. τὴν Ἐρυθράν: in P.'s day 'Red Sea' sometimes referred to the modern Red Sea, but often denoted the entire Indian Ocean, including both Red Sea and Persian Gulf: cf. K. Meister, *Eranos* 46 (1948) 96-9, Goodyear on Tac. *Ann.* 2.61.2. P. here *could* be talking of the modern Red Sea, but, here and at 36.3(n.) and *Pomp.* 38.4, it is in any case important that this sea is regarded as part of the Indian Ocean: σφίγγεται . . . τοῖς πελάγεσι here refers to the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean, while at *Pomp.* 38.4 Pompey is thrusting forward to reach 'Ocean'. It therefore seems more likely that P.'s 'Red Sea' means the Indian Ocean. In that case τὸν Ἀραβικὸν κόλπον (= *sinus Arabicus*, certainly our 'Red Sea') can carry a different meaning from τὴν Ἐρυθράν (θαλάσσην), as is stylistically desirable. σφίγγεται 'squeezed', an expressive word. Cf. *Phoc.* 13.7.

5 The Arabs around Petra: i.e. the inhabitants of *Arabia Petraea*, here presumably those in the Sinai peninsula. See Map 4. Their king was Malchus, no friend of A. since his realm was reduced (36.3n.). Cf. G.W. Bowersock, *Roman Arabia* (Harvard 1983) 43. Dio 51.7.1 suggests that the fleet was built in the Gulf of Suez, presumably during winter 31-30, not hauled over the neck of land. That is more plausible: ships *were* sometimes hauled across land, but for much shorter distances (e.g. Polyaeus 5.2.6, 20 stades; Thuc. 3.81.1, 4.8.2, Plb. 8.34.12, cf. B.R. MacDonald, *JHS* 106 (1986) 192). If Cl. had really wanted to transport her fleet cross-country, she would have broken up the ships

into sections (cf. e.g. Arr. *Anab.* 7.19.3, Casson 136). τὰς ἐμβολάς 'the approaches' to Egypt.

**6-7 A. as Timon**, the culmination of his solitariness (63.9-11, 66.6-8, 67, 69.1 nn.), and so different from his usual style: but it does not last long (71.2). This tradition is an old one, for Strabo 17.794 describes 'a mole' (χῶμα, as here) which A. built extending into the centre of the harbour. 'There he constructed a dwelling for himself to live as a king' (δίαπαν βασιλικήν), his 'Timoneion', when, *abandoned by his friends* (cf. ἄδικηθεῖς ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων καὶ ἀχαριστηθεῖς here), he reached Alexandria after Actium. On the location see Map 4; Fraser 123-4 and π 66-7. P. naturally avoids the suggestion that this οἰκησις might be a 'regal dwelling': A. is now *giving up* his magnificence. In fact, Antony was perhaps safeguarding himself against assassination attempts: Pompey's fate (8.4n.) was a suggestive warning. **Pharos** was the famous lighthouse: A.'s mole would indeed have been quite close.

**7 φυγὰς ἀνθρώπων**: 'an exile from mankind', a fine phrase (cf. e.g. Curt. 5.12.2, *terrarum orbis exsul*) which introduces a powerful description: as at 25.1 (n.), P. accumulates pairs of synonyms, with the second word more expressive than the first - ἔγκαπῶν καὶ ζηλοῦν, ἄδικηθεῖς . . . ἀχαριστηθεῖς ('ungratefully maltreated', a peculiarly indignant word, cf. *Cam.* 13.2, *Phoc.* 36.5), ἀπιστεῖν καὶ δυσχεραίνειν.

### 70 Timon of Athens

Timon was proverbial by the time of Aristophanes (§1nn., Phrynichus fr. 18 K), and - despite P.'s 'he lived at the time of the Peloponnesian War' (§1n.) - he sounds like a legendary figure. The story was perhaps inspired by the 'Tower of Timon' near the Academy (Paus. 1.30.4).

According to Lucian's *Timon, or the Misanthrope* (Sh.'s principal source for *Timon of Athens*), Timon had vast wealth and gave it freely to his friends, trusting in their good nature; when he lost his wealth, they forsook him, and he took to the woods in his disillusion; as he dug, he chanced on some gold, and his friends flocked back, only for him to drive them off. Had P. shifted his emphasis to Timon's earlier life, Sh. and Lucian suggest other themes which could have linked him more closely with A.: the odious and disloyal flatterers, the reckless munificence, the banquets, the *naïveté*, the humanity contrasted with the shallow coldness of his society. ἄδικηθεῖς ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων καὶ ἀχαρισ-

τηθείς (69.7) suggests that P. knew much of this material about Timon's earlier life,; but he prefers to concentrate on the simple point which links him to A.'s *Timoneion* (69.7, §6n.), his final misanthropy and isolation. P. likes digressions, and he clearly inserts one here in order to separate the climaxes of Actium and Alexandria (4n.): and this is not as irrelevant as, for instance, *Cor.* 32. A.'s solitariness has been carefully prepared, even if it does not last long (69.6-7n.). But P. could still have done more to integrate Timon's story, and it is not good writing.

1 γέγονεν ἡλικίαί μάλιστα κατὰ τὸν Πελοποννησιακὸν πόλεμον 'he lived around the time of the Peloponnesian War': for ἡλικία = 'age' or 'life-span' cf. LSJ III, IV. Lucian too puts Timon in this period, and this is consistent with the story that he knew the philosopher Plato (*Life of Plato* 2.146 W). But P. and Luc. may be independently inferring from the Alcibiades anecdote (§2), or Luc. may be using P.; and the Plato story looks like an inference from the proximity of the 'Tower of Timon' to the Academy. **Aristophanes** mentions Timon at *Birds* 1549 and *Lys.* 809-15. The comic poet **Plato** was Aristophanes' contemporary; this passage (fr. 218 K) is the only evidence that he mentioned Timon. λαβεῖν 'infer'.

2 The **Alcibiades** story is told more fully at *Alc.* 16.9, where it strikes a sinister note just before the Sicilian expedition. **Apemantus** is obscure, except for this association with Timon (cf. *Alciph.* 2.32, 'Timon imitated Apemantus in his infernal loathing'). He too was proverbial by the fourth century (*Diog. Laert.* 1.107, also linking him with Timon), and is probably legendary. πυθομένου τὴν αἰτίαν 'asked him the reason'.

3 προσίετο 'admitted to his company'. The **Choes**: the second and most bibulous day of the Anthesteria, Athens' oldest festival of Dionysus: cf. *Pickard-Cambridge* 10-12. 'εἶγε σύ' ἔφη 'μὴ παρῆς' 'Yes, it would be - if you were not here'.

4-5 **The fig-tree**. This is elegantly turned by Sh. in Timon's final dismissal of the Athenians, *T. of A.* v.i.203-10.

6 τελευτήσαντος: he died, it was said, when he fell from a pear tree, and refused to allow any doctor to treat him (*Neanthes FGTh* 84 fr. 35, who also mentions this site of his grave). **Halae** was a deme on the W. coast of Attica, near the modern Voula. A deserted island lies just off the coast. It would seem appropriate for the burial of a Timon: if there

was a grave with an anonymous epitaph (perhaps that of §7) or no epitaph at all, it might naturally become associated with him. This was indeed similar to A.'s *Timoneion* (69.6–7). ὤλισθε τὰ προὔχοντα τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ 'the part of the shore in front of the grave subsided'.

7–8 *A.P.* 7.313–20 lists eight funerary epigrams on Timon, including these two (313, 320): cf. §8n.

8 τὸ δὲ περιφερόμενον 'the well-known one'. Καλλιμάχειόν ἐστι: probably a mistake. *A.P.* 7.320 gives this as the second distich of a poem of Hegesippus. P. often quotes from memory, and here is presumably confusing this with Callim. *Epig.* 3 Pf. (= *A.P.* 7.318), also on Timon and itself of dubious authenticity:

μὴ χαίρειν εἴπηις με, κακὸν κέαρ, ἀλλὰ πάρελθε·  
ἶσον ἐμοὶ χαίρειν ἐστὶ τὸ μή σε γελᾶν.

Sh. ends his play with P.'s two epigrams, which he combines into one. His language follows North almost *verbatim*:

Here lies a wretched corse, of wretched soul bereft.  
Seek not my name. A plague consume you wicked caitiffs left!  
Here lie I Timon, who alive all living men did hate.  
Pass by and curse thy fill, but pass, and stay not here thy gait.  
(v.iv.70–3).

### 71–87 The end at Alexandria

The final days soon entered legend, doubtless helped by O. The bizarre experiments on the prisoners (71.6–8n.), inflated versions of the fighting (74.1n.), A.'s suicide, and especially Cl.'s proud, magnificently contrived, death (83, 84.2, 85–6 nn.) – all quickly became part of the story. O. played the magnanimous victor, merciful to Alexandria (80.2n.), weeping for his old comrade (78.2n.) and allowing the lovers an honourable burial (82.1, 86.7 nn.): a *Liebestod* may itself have suited his propaganda – this was the end they had always sought, lovers rather than statesmen. P. exploits it all rather differently. O.'s shrewd demeanour is portrayed without warmth (78.2–3, 80 nn.), and he is a mere foil for the lovers. There is little moralism – no reflection, for instance, on how they *should* confront their hopeless future (cf. 75.4–5n.); but their bravado has its own magnificence. We sense A.'s unbalance as the crisis approaches (73.2–4, 74.2, 75.1–3 nn.), but he is

given admirable dying words (77.7n.), at the end indeed 'a Roman, by a Roman Valiantly vanquish'd' (cf. 76.5-11, 84.6 nn.). At 93(6).3-4 P. disapproves of A.'s manner of death, but such moralism is far from the texture of the narrative itself (cf. Intr., 15).

The last ten chapters are Cleopatra's. The *Lives* often continue beyond the moment of death (87n.), but not so elaborately as this: P. could have dealt with her death much more briefly. But it was too splendid; and by now their two fates have become one. Once Cl. was pretending when she preferred death to living without A. (53nn.); now her counterfeit has become real. It would disturb this portrait to accept some traditional stories which suggested that she was disloyal to A. in these final months (72.1, 73.2-4, 74.2-3, 76.1-3, 83 nn.). P. does not suppress the charges, but he does not encourage us to believe them. Cl. is enigmatic, and we can understand A.'s doubts; but she is never clearly faithless.

These events must have been widely described (cf. Griffin 26). Dio 51.5-18 gives a less rich account: at times (esp. 83n.) he is close enough to P. to suggest a common source, but P. has clearly incorporated other, finer, material (cf. Scardigli 149-50). Much of his detail is vivid (77.3, 78.5-79.6, 83.4, 85-6 nn.), perhaps imaginatively so - but he quotes eyewitness accounts at 77.3n., and at 82.4 he mentions the version of Cl.'s doctor Olympus. He probably knew this at first hand, and the close medical observation and terminology may not be coincidental (71.8, 82.3-4, 86.4-6 nn.). P. may well have other sources as well, for many literary men witnessed the events. Russell 140 suggests that Lucilius and 'the orator' Aristocrates (69.1) published their stories; one wonders too about Areius and Philostratus (80), and it is not clear how far Socrates of Rhodes carried his account (26.6-27.2, 33.6-34.1 nn.). Oral sources may also be important. Philotas (28.3n.) had been in Alexandria only a year or so before the war; and P. had visited the city (Intr., 1, 74.2n.), where stories were still being told (71.6-8n.).

**71.1 Canidius** was evidently still loyal, 68.5n. τε . . . καί is rare in P. (K. Fuhr, *RhM* 33 (1878) 565-99), normally marking a very tight connexion: here it adds to the effect of the accumulation of co-ordinate clauses. One dispiriting report arrives after another: cf. 7.6, 66.7 nn. But P. probably knew that not everything went against A. Dio 51.7 tells

of some gladiators who fought their way from Cyzicus to Syria, determined to join him. **Herod** had not fought at Actium (36.3n.). He met O. at Rhodes in spring 30 and secured pardon for his support for A. (Jos. *A.J.* 15.187-96, *B.J.* 1.387-93): he had already helped Q. Didius, O.'s governor of Syria, against A.'s gladiators (last n.). **τάγματα καὶ σπείρας** 'legions and cohorts', the forces he led against Malchus (36.3n.). These were probably native forces organised on the Roman pattern: cf. *B. Alex.* 34.4 (Deiotarus' Galatians), Brunt 474, 504, 506. **τοὺς ἄλλους ὁμοίως δυνάστας ἀφίστασθαι**: for instance, the sons of Tarcondimotus (61.2n.), who like Herod fought against the gladiators (Dio 51.7.4). We do not know whether the greater kings, Archelaus and Polemo (24.1, 36.3-4, 38.6, 61.2-3 nn.), had yet declared for O. - but their interests were anyway clear, and A. could not expect any effective help. **μηδέν** rather than the classical **οὐδέν**: 5.8, 56.5 nn.

**2 ὥσπερ ἄσμενος . . . φροντίζειν** 'as if he had gladly given up hope so that he could give up anxious thought as well': φροντίζειν is especially so used, e.g. 1101e, the soul joyfully gives up λύπας καὶ φόβους καὶ τὸ φροντίζειν; LSJ II.2.a.

**3 Caesarion** was now 16 (54.6n.), **Antyllus** probably 15 (28.7n.). The blend of rituals is interesting (cf. 54.4-9n.), for the ephebic ceremony was Greek, the *toga uirilī* Roman (τὸ δ' ἀπόρφυρον . . . ἱμάτιον: before manhood boys wore the *toga praetexta* with a purple hem). Dio 51.6.1-2, who carelessly says that both were enrolled as ephebes, recognises that there was political point in marking their manhood: this would be essential if they were to be leaders or figureheads in their own right. But for P. it is only an excuse for celebration. His account is stylistically elaborate, with the excesses described in emphatic triads (δεῖπνα καὶ πότους καὶ διανομὰς . . . συμπόσια καὶ κῶμοι καὶ θαλίαι) flanking the balanced notice of the grants: cf. 9.5n. The theme continues in the further triad ἀβρότητι καὶ τρυφαίᾳ καὶ πολυτελείᾳ (§4).

**4 τὴν μὲν τῶν Ἀμιμητοβίων ἐκείνην σύνοδον**: 28.2n. **Συναποθανουμένων**: the title was probably drawn from *Συναποθνήσκοντες*, a play by Diphilus which Plautus adapted as *Commorientes* (Ter. *Ad.* 6-7). But this was a romantic *comedy*, presumably telling of two lovers saved from death in the nick of time. A. and Cl. copy the idea more grimly. Cf. the Celtic king who had a bodyguard of 600 men συζῶντας καὶ

συναποθνήσκοντας, bound by a vow to share his death (Nic. Dam. fr. 80). Here the friends' affection seems as great as ever. But not all will stay loyal; and in any case they will soon melt into the narrative background (Russell 142). The true 'partners in death' will be the two lovers alone, 53.10n.

5 ἀπεγράφοντο 'registered', a businesslike and bureaucratic word. εὐπαθοῦντες: 21.1-5n. ἐν δείπνων περιόδοις 'in rounds of banquets', cf. 980d.

6 προῦβαλλε τοῖς ἐπὶ θανάτῳ φρουρουμένοις: so also Dio 51.11.2, but he makes much less of the story. The so-called *Bellum Actiacum*\* also puts the experiments later than P., after O. had taken Pelusium (74.1n.); Ael. *N.A.* 9.11 sets them 'during O.'s approach'. P. has probably advanced the story to the beginning of the Alexandrian narrative to emphasise the hopelessness: from the outset A., Cl., and their friends all know that this will end in death. Galen 14.235-6 tastelessly claims that Cl. tried the snakes on Iras (whom he calls Nacira) and Charmion, a version that is probably based on Alexandrian local tradition (cf. *Paroem. Gr.* 1.125-6, Becher 160-3). The stories build on a notorious Egyptian tradition of medical experimentation on condemned prisoners, but they are not credible. The version that Cl. was seeking an easy death is itself suspect (§8n.), and the cobra's bite was too familiar to require experimentation.

7 θεωμένης αὐτῆς ἕτερον ἑτέρῳ προσφερόντων: probably 'she watched as her men set one animal upon one prisoner and one upon another'; less likely, '... as they set one animal upon another'.

8 καὶ σχεδὸν ἐν πᾶσι... 'and in nearly every case she found that the bite of the asp brought deep and profound slumber' (both κάπος and καταφορά are used technically by medical writers to describe comatose sleep) 'with no groans or convulsions, as, with a faint perspiration of the brow and dulling of the perceptions, they gently lost their strength and resisted being stirred or roused, like those in a deep sleep'. (This takes παραλυομένων, like δυσχεραινόντων, as gen. abs. describing the victims: cf. esp. *Dtr.* 38.2. Less probably, Scott-Kilvert and apparently

\*A poem written in the early empire, possibly by C. Rabirius (cf. Sen. *Ben.* 6.3.1, 77.7n.); some 60 lines, together with shorter fragments, were found at Herculaneum. Cf. the edition of J. Garuti (Bologna, 1958); H. W. Benario, *ANRW* II 30.3 (1983) 1656-62. It may in fact have described only the Alexandrian campaign.

Ziegler take it with αἰσθητηρίων: ‘the senses were gradually dulled and deprived of their power’.) Finely phrased, with an expressive combination of long, slow words and vowel-sounds. This is indeed like ‘a deep sleep’. The ‘asp’ was an Egyptian cobra, famous for its painless bite (Nicander *Ther.* 187–9): Galen 14.237 attests the speed of its effect from personal observation, and says that it was used as a humane method of executing criminals in Alexandria (so also Athen. 3.84e). But the painlessness is only relative. At first there is no pain, certainly; the venom attacks the central nervous system, and death can be very quick (less than an hour from a deep bite on the head or trunk, though a bite on the arm would take longer, 86.2n.). It is preceded by shivering, respiratory distress, difficulty of speech, muscular incoordination, drowsiness, incontinence, and – despite P.’s ἐννευστασμοῦ – convulsions. Most of the symptoms are finely described by Philumenos 16.3. Cf. 85–6n.

**72.1 The embassies to O.,** late 31: cf. 73. According to Dio 51.6–8 there were three embassies. With A.’s first proposals Cl. included a secret offer of her throne to O., ‘hoping that he might pity her even if he hated A.’ O. made no reply to A. and instructed Cl. to give up her army and kingdom before asking for mercy – but secretly added that she could retain her life and throne if she killed A. (cf. 73.1). In a second embassy Cl. offered vast treasure, and A. ‘reminded him of their friendship and kinship . . . recounting all the youthful pranks they had shared’ (cf. 78.3n.); he offered to take his own life if O. spared Cl. Finally A. sent his son Antyllus with much gold; O. sent him back unharmed, and continued to make ‘both threats and promises’ to Cl. Much of Dio’s narrative is implausible, particularly the Antyllus story; P.’s details of the offers are slightly more credible, though he perhaps does simplify by conflating several missions. He also suppresses the suggestive theme of Cl.’s treachery (cf. 73.2–4, 74.2, 76.1–3 nn.). When O. tries to detach her from A., P. makes it *his* initiative (73.1); A.’s suspicions of her seem natural but unjustified (73.2–4n.). P. is already preparing for her death-scene, and infidelity would be unfitting. εἰς Ἀσίαν: O. moved to Samos and Ephesus soon after Actium, where he was naturally beset by embassies, e.g. from Rhosus and probably Mylasa (*RDGE* 58.iii, 60, cf. Millar 58). He stayed in the East till late in the year (73.6n.). αἰτουμένη τὴν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ τοῖς παῖσιν ἀρχήν: if

Cl. were dethroned, rule by her younger children (hardly Caesarion) was the only real alternative to Roman annexation. According to Dio, O. talked of allowing Cl. to retain the kingdom herself: not very credible. For Cl.'s concern for her children cf. *Intr.*, 43-4. **Ἀθήνησιν**: he is still φιλοαθήναιος, 23.2-4n. This is not mentioned elsewhere, and may be owed to oral tradition (*Intr.*, 29) if it is not fictional.

**2 φίλων δ' ἀπορία καὶ ἀπιστία**: so much for the devotion of the 'partners in death', 71.4n. **Euphronius** is not otherwise known. His role is stressed by Sh., III.xii.4-7.

**3 The desertion of Alexas** (cf. 66.8) is barely relevant to Euphronius' mission: Alexas, whom O. loathed (§4n.), would anyway be an unsuitable ambassador. But P. wished to develop the theme of disloyal friends, and liked this story with its simple moral (§4, cf. e.g. 22.8, 81.2): this was its most convenient peg. **γνωρισθείς** 'became well known' (cf. *C. Mai.* 1.2); not 'became known to A.', as translators take it. For **Timagenes** of Alexandria cf. *OCD*<sup>2</sup>, M. Sordi, *ANRW* II 30.1 (1982) 775-97. **τῶν Κλεοπάτρας . . . ἀνατροπεύς**: powerful language, 'the most violent of Cl.'s tools' (a striking use of ὄργανον, cf. 468c) 'against A., and the destroyer of any thoughts he might formulate in Octavia's favour'; i.e. the greatest of the κόλακες, 53.5-9nn. For **Herod's** desertion cf. 71.1n.

**4 Alexas' punishment** (cf. *Jos. A.* 7. 15.197, *B.* 7. 1.393) seems odd, particularly as the war was still in progress (ἔτι ζῶντι . . . Ἀντωνίῳ): O. had no interest in discouraging such perfidy. Perhaps Alexas' hostility to Octavia was the reason (§3), if that is not P.'s own elaboration. But O. may simply have thought that he would win more support in Syria by having him killed; the fact that he was *sent home* to be executed is suggestive.

**73 O.'s reply.** Dio 51.6.6 makes the offer to Cl. secret (72.1n.). P. leaves the furtiveness for Thyrsus (§§2-4). O. perhaps genuinely tried to detach Cl. from A.

**2-4 The mission of Thyrsus.** Dio 51.8.6-7, 9.5 makes this a consequence of O.'s fears for the treasure (cf. 74.2-3), and P. has probably advanced the item in conflating several embassies (72.1n.). According to Dio Thyrsus told Cl. that O. was in love with her, and Cl. believed him: hence she betrayed A. at Pelusium (74.1). P. clearly knew the version that Cl. was unfaithful. His A. is suspicious (§3), and

Cl. has to allay his fears (§5); 'there was a rumour' that Cl. connived at the surrender of Pelusium (74.1). ὑπὲρ ἡγεμόνος νέου . . . ἐπὶ κόλλει φρονοῦσαν also suggests that something of Dio's 'love-message' story stood in P.'s sources. But P. makes less of this. His Cl. is certainly enigmatic: here it is unclear why she paid Thyrsus such 'special honour' (§3), and she is again mysterious at 74.1-2 and 76.1-4 (nn.). But P. does not give any clear impression of betrayal. Her devotion must remain unimpaired for the death-scene, and, as at 72.1(n.), treachery would be inappropriate. Cf. 71-87n.

Sh. develops 'Thidias' (i.e. Thyrsus) in a delicate scene (iii.xiii). Thidias urges Cl. to leave A. and put herself under O.'s protection, and Cl. seems to encourage him (esp. 56-62, 75-8). Enobarbus certainly thinks she is playing A. false (62-5), and hurries to fetch him: but is he right? Or is Cl. already beginning her grand deception of O. (cf. ll. 56-62 with P.'s version of the deceit, 83.4)? The audience do not know. A. arrives to find Thidias kissing her hand, furiously orders the whipping, then berates Cl.; but a few words reassure him, and the scene ends in great bravado. A.'s lack of balance is clear, and Enobarbus now knows he must leave him (Intr., 41; 63.3-4n.). In P. there is bravado, certainly, and futility; but A.'s judgement is not so warped. ἄν . . . διαλεχθέντα = ὅς ἂν διαλεχθείη 'a man who would speak cogently on a young commander's behalf to . . .' ὑπὲρ ἡγεμόνος: the MSS ἀφ' would have to mean '[sent] from a young commander and speaking [on his behalf]', but this is very strained. γυναῖκα . . . ἐπὶ κόλλει φρονοῦσαν 'a haughty, magnificent woman' (7.5n.) 'who was extraordinarily proud of her beauty' (27.3-5n.): cf. LSJ θαυμαστός 1. εὐπαρόξυντον 'easily provoked', a very rare word.

4 'σὺ δ' εἰ μὴ φέρεις . . .': a mark of the gathering intensity, for P. rarely uses *o.r.* to point such simple anecdotes. Cf. 84.4-7n. **Hipparchus** had been the first of A.'s freedmen to desert to O., 67.10. A. was not betraying an innocent man.

5 τὴν ἑαυτῆς γενέθλιον . . . τὴν ἐκείνου: A.'s birthday fell on January 14th (86.8n.), Cl.'s presumably a little before. Two birthdays would be clodhopping on the stage, and Sh. makes Cl. respond to A.'s spirit (§§2-4n.) by a simple change of plan. 'It is my birthday. I had thought t' have held it poor. But since my lord is Antony again, I will be Cleopatra' (iii.xiii.185-7). πολλοὺς . . . ἀπελθεῖν πλουσιούς: 1n.

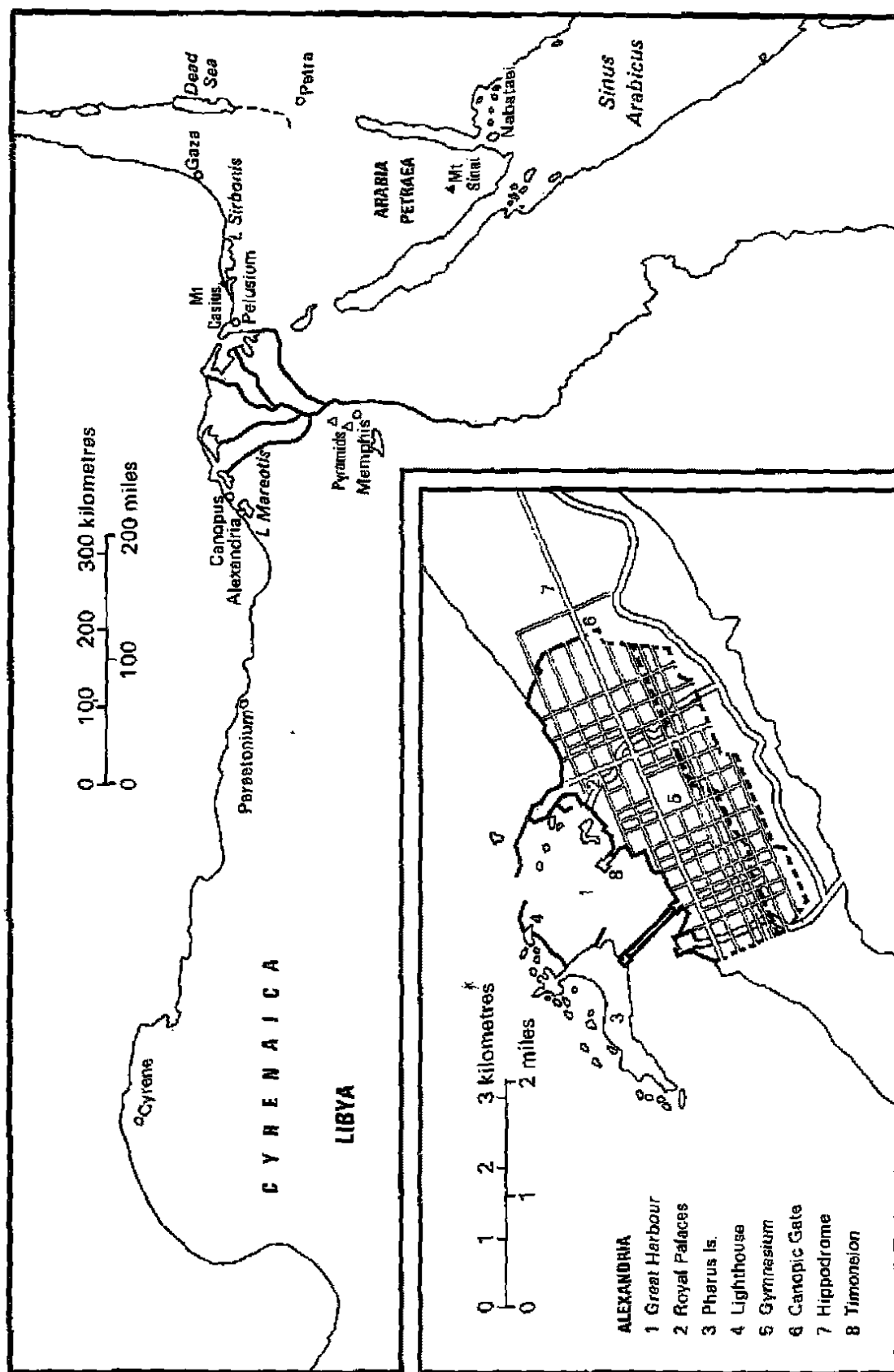
6 **Agrippa** returned to Italy shortly after Actium (Dio 51.3.5);

Maecenas was already there. There were troubles before the end of the year, with veterans clamouring for demobilisation. O. returned to Rome at the end of 31, but stayed only a month before returning to the East. ποθούντων: 4.4n.

74.1 αὐθις ἐπήγει διὰ Συρίας: O.'s army was doubtless large: how large, we do not know. Many men would have to march well over 1000 miles from the Ionian coast, and the army did not arrive before Alexandria until late July, 30. Herod (71.1n.) lavishly entertained O. and provisioned his army as they passed through Judaea. οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ διὰ Λιβύης: Cornelius Gallus took over and doubtless reinforced the four legions of Pinarius Scarpus (69.3n.), and occupied Paraetonium (69.1-2n.). A. moved W. to oppose them, but suffered reverses on land and sea (Dio 51.9, cf. *Bell. Act.* (71.6-8n.) fr. 7). He was apparently still there when the strong defensive position **Pelusium** fell (Map 4, cf. 3.7). The east was A.'s more important front, and it is odd that he did not choose to be there in person. P. typically (e.g. 3.10n.) seems to introduce **Seleucus** – evidently Cl.'s commander at Pelusium – as a familiar figure; but he is otherwise unknown. οὐκ ἀκούσης τῆς Κλεοπάτρας: 73.2-4n. P. is again less clear-cut than Dio, 'O. took Pelusium ostensibly by storm, but really because it was betrayed by Cl.' (51.9.5). Oros. 6.19.14 says that the garrison welcomed O.; *Bell. Act.* 1-19 less plausibly describes a fierce battle below the town's walls (cf. Prop. 3.9.55).

2 Cl. is enigmatic once more (73.2-4n.): P. leaves it unclear whether Cl.'s surrender of Seleucus' family is ruthless hypocrisy or a gesture of innocence. In any case, while A. is again (cf. 73.2-4) concerned with futile vengeance, Cl. clearly behaves more thoughtfully in collecting the treasure. τῷι ναῶι τῆς Ἰσιδος: Alexandria was littered with temples to Isis. P. knew the city (678c, Intr., 1), was interested in the cult (54.9n.), and perhaps knew which one he meant. It was evidently in the Inner Palaces near the shore (86.5, cf. Map 4), but it is difficult to identify more precisely (Fraser II 33-4). The mausoleum was still unfinished (Dio 51.8.6, Suet. *Aug.* 17.4). χρυσόν . . . κινάμωμον: cf. 62.1n. for the list in asyndeton.

3 O. too was clearly finding Cl. enigmatic. ἐλπίδας . . . φιλανθρώπους: P. again leaves it unclear whether Cl. welcomed or encouraged this. But at least O. found it possible to send her private



Map 4 The Egyptian coast and Alexandria

messages – odd, unless she was co-operating. ἅμα τῷ στρατῷ πορευόμενον ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν: Dio 51.9.6 alleges that Cl. secretly prevented the Alexandrians from offering opposition. P. may once more be suppressing an indication of betrayal.

**4** The **hippodrome** lay just E. of the city beyond the Canopic gate (Fraser II 95-6). See Map 4. O.'s final camp must in fact have been a little further E., for the infantry battle (76.3) was fought on the site of the later Nicopolis, 6 km from the city (Dio 51.18.1, Strabo 17.795, Fraser II 92). **A.'s cavalry victory**, 31st July: cf. Dio 51.10, who infers that O.'s forces were still weary from their desert march. Sh. makes much of this (iv.vii-viii).

**5-6** μεγαλυνόμενος δὲ τῇ νίκῃ παρῆλθεν . . . : a splendid scene, cf. Sh. iv.viii. A. first plays Hector to Cl.'s Andromache. (Sh. caught the allusion, iv.viii.8-9.) Then she is herself the great queen, with the handsome reward. There is magnificence and style here; but no hope, as the man's prompt desertion shows. Cf. the effects at 48.2 and 67.10 (67n.). Sh. makes A. allow the soldier to kiss Cl.'s hand – after the Thidias scene (73.2-4n.), a charged gesture. But he does not include his defection. He passes immediately to Enobarbus and his death (63.3-4n., Intr., 41), and a lesser renegade would be anticlimactic. συνέστησεν 'brought before her'.

**75.1 A.'s challenge to single combat.** Cf. 62.4n., before Actium: the bluster was unrealistic even then. Here it seems to be O.'s reply that brings A. to reason (συμφορήσας . . .), predictable though it was. As in Sh. (iv.i-ii, where Enobarbus explains to his bemused master, 63.3-4n.), A. has lost touch with reality. πολλάς ὁδοὺς . . . παρῆναι θανάτου: a commonplace, cf. *Pyrrh.* 31.3-4 and e.g. Ar. *Frogs* 120-34 (with E. Fraenkel, *Phil.* 87 (1932), 470-3). Sh.'s 'I have many other ways to die' (iv.i.5), followed by Dryden (*All for Love* II.122-3), is based on an ambiguity in North. ἐπιχειρεῖν 'attack'.

**2-3 The last dinner.** Cf. 67.9(n.) for A.'s consolation of the grieving friends: here the note is more macabre (κείσεται σκελετὸς καὶ τὸ μηδὲν γινόμενος). Such scenes are frequent in biographies of philosophical martyrs, but there the tone is naturally graver and the consolation more elevating: cf. esp. *C. Min.* 67, *Brut.* 40, Tac. *Ann.* 15.62-3 (Seneca), 16.34 (Thrasea Paetus). A.'s style (in some ways like Petronius', Tac. *Ann.* 16.19) is different. The macabre tone of course

suits the sympotic setting: bibulous evenings tend to go with morbid thoughts. Indeed one Pacuvius ended each dinner with his own mock-funeral (Sen. *Ep.* 12.8, cf. Petr. *Sat.* 78); skeletons were often displayed at banquets (K. Dunbabin, *JDAI* 101 (1986) 185-255, cf. (Egypt) 148b, Luc. *Luct.* 21); and the 'eat, drink, and be merry' motif is frequent in sympotic poetry, especially Horace's *Odes*. Here it is particularly pointed, for tomorrow A. will indeed die. Sh. elaborates the scene at iv.ii, where, as in P., we once again feel A.'s lack of balance: 'Tis one of those odd tricks which sorrow shoots Out of the mind', says Enobarbus (14-15). But even Enobarbus cannot restrain his tears (35-6). In P. and in Sh., A. has always lived with undisguised emotion. His men still love him for it. ἐπερχεῖν . . . εὐωχεῖν αὐτόν 'to fill his cup and to entertain him more sumptuously'. A. speaks as if the men were his hosts, not his servants. τὸ μηδέν 'nothing at all'. The article strengthens the phrase: cf. Barrett on Eur. *Hipp.* 638-9.

3 ζητεῖν: P. might have written ζητεῖ, but subordinate verbs in *o.o.* are readily attracted into the infinitive: cf. GG §1524.

4-5 **Dionysus leaves A.** 'People say that a defeated city is abandoned by its gods' (Aesch. *Sept.* 217-18). The belief was common, at Rome as in other cultures (Frazer on Paus. 3.15.7): cf. e.g. Virg. *Aen.* 2.351-2, Hor. *Odes* 2.1.25-8, *Dtr.* 29.2, *Alex.* 24.6-7, and esp. Tac. *Hist.* 5.13.1, of the fall of Jerusalem, *apertae repente delubri fores et audita maior humana uox, excedere deos; simul ingens motus excedentium* (cf. Jos. B.J. 6.300). At Rome the idea was prominent in the ancient rite of *evocatio*, whereby a general would pray to the gods of an enemy city to accept a new Roman home: cf. 278f and esp. Livy 5.21 (Veii), with Ogilvie's nn. The rite was possibly revived before the fall of Carthage in 146 (though cf. E. Rawson, *JRS* 63 (1973) 168-74); an inscription suggests its use in the routine capture of a Cilician town in 75 B.C. (J. Le Gall, *Mélanges Jacques Heurgon* (Rome 1976) 519-24). O. too, who knew the value of ancient ceremonial to appeal to Roman sentiment (cf. 60.1n., the fetial formula), may well have employed the rite: the Cilician case suggests that it could be used to welcome even outlandish gods. If so, this will be a dim echo. But it is also possible that the story entered the encomiastic tradition later. It was natural to depict the enemy gods as surrendering, just as Virg. *Aen.* 8.698-700 and Prop. 3.11.41 write of the victory of Roman over Egyptian gods at Actium.

P.'s elaboration - Dionysus leaving in a musical θίσσοϛ during this

night of terror (48n.) – is peculiarly moving. The description of the mysterious sounds is slow and evocative, and the phrasing of the conclusion is very grave (§6). Sh. transfers the story to Hercules (iv.iii.15–16), the god he has stressed (4.1–3n.): but this makes the strange *music* less appropriate. P. inspired Cavafy to muse (as P. does not, above p. 293) how A., as he hears the sounds, *should* confront his death:

... As one long prepared, and full of courage,  
say goodbye to her, the Alexandria that is leaving.  
Above all, don't fool yourself, don't say  
it was a dream, your ears deceived you:  
don't degrade yourself with empty hopes like these.  
As one long prepared, and full of courage,  
as is right for you who were given this kind of city,  
go firmly to the window  
and listen with deep emotion,  
but not with the whining, the pleas of a coward:  
listen – your final pleasure – to the voices,  
to the exquisite music of that strange procession,  
and say goodbye to her, to the Alexandria you are losing.  
(‘The god abandons A.’ (1911), tr. E. Keeley and P. Sherrard)

For A.’s earlier imitation of Dionysus cf. 24.4, 33.6–34.1, 50.6, 60.5 nn. *κατηφείαι*: 40.8n. *ὀργάνων* . . . *φωνάς*: ‘harmonious sounds from all sorts of instruments’ (Perrin), cf. LSJ *φωνή* 1.4. *εὐασμῶν* ‘shouts of *euhoe*’, the distinctive Bacchic cry. *θιάσου*: 24.2n. *οὐκ ἀθορύβως ἐξελαύνοντος* ‘leaving in a tumultuous procession’.

5 *ὁμοῦ τι* is similar in meaning to *σχεδόν τι*, ‘approximately’ or ‘almost’ through the city’s centre. *τὴν πύλην* . . . *πολεμίου*: the Canopic gate. See Map 4.

6 *συνεξομοιῶν καὶ συνουκειῶν*: weighty language, ‘imitating and associating himself with’: cf. e.g. *Alc.* 23.4, *Numa* 8.16.

**76.1–3 The fleet deserts.** The last of the naval spectacles is a fiasco; and A. can only look on (*ἔθε᾽ ἄτρο*). Dio 51.10.4 is explicit that Cl. ‘caused the ships to desert’. P. clearly knows this version (cf. *ὑπὸ Κλεοπάτρας προεδόσθαι βοῶν* . . . , §3), but does not commit himself to it: Cl. is once again enigmatic. Cf. 72.1, 73.2–4, 74.2 nn. “*Ἀμα δ’*

**ἡμέραι:** 1st Aug. 30. ἐπὶ τῶν πρὸ τῆς πόλεως λόφων: this cannot be true: there are no such hills. It is imaginative reconstruction (Intr., 35). Hillsides were where good generals drew up their troops (cf. *Caes.* 19.10, where Ariovistus is encamped on 'hills' – likely enough, but not stated in *Caes. B.G.* 1, P.'s ultimate source); and a hill would give A., like Xerxes at Salamis (Hdt. 8.90.4), a fine view of his naval catastrophe. ἔργον τι: some *substantial* achievement, cf. e.g. Thuc. 7.21.2, *Cim.* 13.4.

**2 ταῖς κώπαις ἤσπασαντο:** they raised their oars in salutation.

**3 ἡττηθεὶς δὲ τοῖς πεζοῖς:** at least there *was* an infantry battle. Dio 51.10.2 seems to put this before the naval fiasco.

**4 Cl. flees into the tomb.** Dio makes this a calculated ploy: Cl. hopes that her message will drive A. to kill himself (51.10.6). P.'s Cl. (and Sh.'s, iv.xii–xiii), acting in impulsive fright, is more human and convincing. Cl. was accompanied by her maids (77.2), but P. does not slow the narrative by mentioning it; Dio does, 51.10.7. For **the tomb** cf. 74.2n. καταρράκτας: lit. 'doors' (or 'defences in front of a door') 'which smash down'; a 'portcullis' (LSJ).

**5–11 The fatal wound.** At the end, A. strikes in a manner fitting for a Roman general (τηλικούτος αὐτοκράτωρ, §6n.). *He* has little thought of an easy death (ctr. 71.6–8); he dies by the sword, the suicide appropriate to a Roman soldier – *Romana morte* (Mart. 1.78.7), cf. Grisé 95–9. The stress is on this soldier's courage (εὐψυχία, §6); P. might well have preferred to dwell on the *Liebestod*, as Sh. does: 'Where souls do couch on flowers, we'll hand in hand, And with our sprightly port make the ghosts gaze . . .' (iv.xiv.51–2). P. has only αὐτίκα γὰρ εἰς τοῦτόν ἀφίξομαι: moving as that is, the final assertion of A.'s Roman qualities matters more. The more poignant, then, that he is attended by a slave named Eros, and that the agonies of his death are so pathetic and undignified. As Eros himself makes clear, the affection of his men is as great as ever, but it fails him in the final service he asks of them (§§8, 10). The style is appropriately elaborate, and A.'s three speeches point the intensification of his resolve: as usual, the *o.r.* marks a dramatic climax (84.4–7n.). 'τί ἔτι μέλλεις Ἀντώνιε': as often in poetry, the self-naming is emotional. Cf. Cl. at 84.5. τὴν μόνην . . . καὶ λοιπὴν . . . πρόφασιν: a striking hyperbaton. φιλοψυχεῖν 'clinging to life', usually (but cf. 83.7) a dismissive word: cf. LSJ and e.g. *Brut.* 43.7.

**6 παραλύων καὶ διαστέλλων** 'loosening and unfastening'. The

soldier needs his armour no more. In Sh. (where A.'s armour has been an important symbol since 1.1.7–8) the unbuckling is more stressed and poignant: there it is armour which Cl. helped fasten, iv.iv.11–15. Now 'unarm, Eros, the long day's task is done . . .', iv.xiv.35–43. γυναικὸς . . . λειπόμενος: ironic, after so many Romans had reviled him as the woman's slave (58.10, etc.). She is indeed his mistress – in bravery. πεφώραμαι 'I stand revealed as . . .', a strong phrase: cf. e.g. *Crass.* 34(1).3, *C. Min.* 64.9.

**7 Eros:** Dio 51.10.7 simply describes him as 'one of those present', but the name is suggestive (§§5–11n. above). παρακεκληκώς 'encouraged' (rather than 'instructed'), and Eros had 'promised' (τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν): as at 75.2(n.), the words reflect A.'s closeness to his men. Cassius had similarly prepared his slave Pindarus to strike when the time came (22.4n.); cf. Grisé 99–103.

**8 ἀποστρέψας:** ἀποστρέψαντος K and editors; but ἀποστρέψας, favoured by manuscript authority, gives a finer picture. It is *Eros*, not A., who turns his head away (like Brutus' friend Straton at *Brut.* 52.8): he strikes himself because he cannot bear to kill his master, and the gesture is eloquent. (Sh. admittedly disagreed: North translated Amyot's reading ἀποστρέψας, 'turning his head at one side, he [Eros] thrust his sword into himself' – but Sh. makes A. turn his head, iv.xiv.85–6.) Hadrian's doctor similarly killed himself rather than aid his master's suicide (S.H.A. *Hadr.* 24, Grisé 99–100).

**9 εὖγε** 'well done', colloquial: cf. *Alc.* 16.9. At emotionally intense moments such language gains new earnestness, and can be peculiarly moving (cf. C.W. Macleod on Hom. *Il.* 24 (Cambridge 1982) 46–7 and index 'colloquial phrases'). Here it has particular force, as it is a phrase one might indeed use often to a slave. The effect is similar at 85.7(n.).

**10 εὐθυθάνατος:** the word's only occurrence in Greek. ἐπισφάττειν: apparently 'to strike a second, fatal blow', bold language again.

**11 Diomedes** is not otherwise known. P. does not complicate his narrative by explaining how Cl. heard of A.'s wound, or how she could send out messages from the tomb (cf. 84.2n.): the problem seems to have troubled Dio (cf. 51.10.8–9).

**77.2 τὰς μὲν θύρας οὐκ ἀνέωixεν:** presumably because of her fright. θυρίδων 'windows'. σειρὰς καὶ καλώδια 'ropes and cords'. Dio 51.10.9 notes that these ropes were hanging there to hoist the stone blocks for

the unfinished monument (74.2n.). In that case we should probably think of a crane or pulley-system (cf. on παραιωρούμενος, §3). ἐναψάντων: sc. 'the attendants' of §1. The **two women** are Iras and Charmion, but they are not yet named: cf. 85.7n.

**3 Cl. hoists the dying A.** The scene (θέαμα) is very precisely described: it naturally lent itself to transposition for Sh.'s theatre (iv.xv). Just as P. often captures a man's greatest moment with a visual tableau (14.4n., cf. 26n.), so he often moves into the same visual register when dwelling on his death. Cf. esp. 85-6n., *Cic.* 48.4 (20.3n. above), *Pomp.* 78-80 (with Pelling (2) 132 and n. 24), *Sert.* 26.9-11, *C. Min.* 70.8-10. λέγουσιν . . . οἱ παραγενόμενοι: the present tense marks a quotation from a source (2.2n.), confirming the impression that the vivid detail comes from an eyewitness: perhaps the doctor Olympus, 71-87n. δυσθανατῶν: cf. *C. Min.* 70.8, where Cato's writhings are similarly wretched (δυσθανατῶν ἐξέπεσε τῆς κλίνης). παραιωρούμενος 'suspended alongside', again suggesting a crane or hoist.

**4 γυναίχι** (codd.) is sharper than γυναιξί, which editors (including Flacelière) often read. In §2 Iras and Charmion are certainly helping, but they are already melting into the narrative background (ἀλλὰ μόλις ἡ Κλεοπάτρα . . .); cf. Russell 141-2, though he apparently reads γυναιξί. κατατεινομένη τῷ προσώπῳ 'with her face distorted by the strain'. συναγωνιώντων 'sharing her struggle'. This is influenced by Thuc. 7.71.1, where each land-army shared the combatants' emotions as it watched the great naval battle, πολὺν τὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ ξύστασιν τῆς γνώμης εἶχε: the passage is quoted at 347b (cf. *Nic.* 25.2), and widely imitated elsewhere, e.g. Plb. 3.43.8, Sall. *B.J.* 60.4.

**5 τὰ στέρνα τυπτομένη** . . .: no thought of a painless death now (cf. 71.6-8), and no more hints of perfidy. Cl. shares A.'s agonies as she later shares his death. δεσπότην ἐκάλει καὶ ἄνδρα καὶ αὐτοκράτορα 'her master' - though he had been reviled as her slave; 'her husband' - though she had been content to be a mere ἐρωμένη, 53.10; 'and her general' (64.3n.), for he is indeed the Roman soldier at the last.

**7 A.'s dying words** are doubtless imaginary, and P. credits him with admirable sentiments: cf. esp. *Mar.* 46, strong praise of Plato and Antipater of Tarsus for remembering their *good* fortune as they die; and *Brut.* 52.5, 'Brutus said that he thought himself μακαριώτερος than his conquerors. . .'. A.'s words here have a lapidary quality: cf. R. Latimore, *Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs* (Illinois 1942) 285-90, and

esp. Dido's last words, themselves suggestive of real epitaphs, *uixi et quem dederat cursum Fortuna peregi, | et nunc magna mei sub terras ibit imago. | urbem praeclaram statui, mea moenia uidi...* (*Aen.* 4.653-5). Striking last words suited the taste of P.'s age (cf. e.g. Suet. *Aug.* 99, *Nero* 49.1, Tac. *Ann.* 15.63.3, 16.35, *Art. Diss. Epic.* 4.10.14-17); P. himself perhaps has fewer than we might expect, but cf. also *Per.* 38.4, *Flam.* 20.10-11, *Alex.* 43.4, *Ag.-Cl.* 20.1. A. again dwells on his Roman qualities, not on the consolation of a *Liebestod*: καὶ νῦν οὐκ ἀγεννῶς Ῥωμαῖος ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίου κρᾶτηθεῖς (cf. *Sert.* 13.5), 'a Roman, by a Roman Valiantly vanquish'd' (Sh. *iv.xv.*57-8), but the theme is more exclusively stressed in P. than in Sh. And, when he looks back on his greatness, it is his *public* achievements he recalls: ctr. the poet Rabirius (71.6-8n.), who made him glory in his *generosity* as he faced his death: 'whatever I have given, that I still possess' (*Sen. Ben.* 6.3.1).

P.'s Cl. says nothing in reply. It takes great poetry to avoid anticlimax: 'the odds is gone, And there is nothing left remarkable Beneath the visiting moon' (*iv.xv.*66-8). The response allows Sh. to move the focus to Cl. at the scene's end, and prepare her own death more explicitly: '... then is it sin To rush into the secret house of death, Ere death dare come to us? ... Let's do it after the high Roman fashion, And make death proud to take us' (*iv.xv.*80-8). But P. too hints, less directly, at what is to come. When A. advises her 'to save herself *if she can do so without dishonour*', the qualification is vital, presaging Cl.'s concern to avoid the triumph (84.4, cf. 78.4): we already sense that she *cannot* avoid such disgrace.

On the prominent *eques* **C. Proculeius**, so trusted by O., cf. *OCD*<sup>2</sup>, 79.1n. This story of A.'s confidence in him is surely fictional. If A. knew Proculeius at all, he would have known his closeness to O.; and the ironic reversal at 78.6-79.5, where Proculeius is so disingenuous, is too neat to be true.

**78.1** Ὅσον οὕπω δ' ἐκλιπόντος αὐτοῦ 'when he was on the point of death': on ὅσον οὕπω cf. Holden on *Nic.* 18.11. As at *Per.* 38 after similarly striking last words, P. only indirectly mentions the death itself. **Dercetaeus** is not otherwise known: he is evidently another who is anxious to win O.'s favour. Dio 51.11.1 makes Cl. send the news to O. herself: in Dio she is already plotting for her own safety, in P. she is too distraught. Cf. §6n.

**2 O.'s tears.** Such a display of sensibility was almost *de rigueur*: Eumenes had wept similarly for Craterus (*Eum.* 7.13), Antigonus for Pyrrhus (*Pyrrh.* 34.8), Antiochus for Achaeus (*Plb.* 8.20.9), Caesar for Pompey (*Caes.* 48.2, *Pomp.* 80.7), and most famously Scipio Aemilianus for Carthage (*Plb.* 38.21, *Diod.* 32.24, *App. Lib.* 132). The usual suggestion is an awareness of human fragility: the victor may one day be as vulnerable as the vanquished. Cf. esp. J. Hornblower, *Hieronymus of Cardia* (Oxford 1981) 104-6. But P. does not present O. as so sensitive, and his calculating demeanour leaves little doubt that the tears were crocodile. Ctr. 3.10 and 22.6-7, where A. was genuinely noble in victory to Archelaus and to Brutus. ὑποστᾶς 'withdrew'. ἄνδρα κηδεστήν . . . κοινωνόν: P., his source, or O. perhaps borrowed the motif from one of A.'s missives before the battle, recalling their friendship and kinship and the love-affairs and pranks they had once shared (*Dio* 51.8.1: perhaps not trustworthy, 72.1n.). If so, πολλῶν ἀγώνων καὶ πραγμάτων κοινωνόν naturally raises the tone.

**3 τὰς ἐπιστολάς:** letters such as those of 55, 62.3-4, 72.1-73.1, 73.3-4, 75.1 (nn.). But P.'s narrative has not suggested that A.'s letters were more 'vulgar and arrogant' than O.'s: cf. esp. 55n. C.'s speech of justification on the field of Pharsalus, τοῦτ' ἐβουλήθησαν . . ., is graver and better founded (*Caes.* 46).

**4 τῶν χρημάτων:** 74.2. τοῦ θριάμβου: with δόξαν, 'he thought it would add greatly to the glory of his triumph if she were led in the procession' (Perrin). Cf. 77.7, 84.2 nn.

**78.5-79.6 Cl.'s capture,** once again (cf. 77.3n.) described in precise detail, with a rapid sequence of short sentences and cola, effectively broken by the brief passages of ο.τ. Dio does not seem to know the story at all: he simply makes Cl. grant Proculeius and Epaphroditus an audience, and they seize her (51.11.4). P.'s account is no more implausible, and may again be owed to an eyewitness (cf. 71-87, 77.3 nn.).

**6 αἰτουμένη τοῖς παισὶ τὴν βασιλείαν:** the same claim as before, and the same concern for the children: cf. 72.1n., Intr., 44. Dio's shabbier Cl. is concerned for her own safety (51.11.1). Cf. §1n.

**79.1 κατιδὼν τὸν τόπον:** the real purpose of Proculeius' first visit, it seems. So much for the trust Cl. might place in him (77.7). C. **Cornelius Gallus** is the politician and poet, cf. *OCD*<sup>2</sup>, 74.1n. The two

great *equites* Proculeius and Gallus seem to have been friends; after Gallus' fall Proculeius snubbed his prosecutor Largus (Dio 53.24.2, cf. T. T. Rapke, *LCM* 9 (1984) 21–2).

2 ὑπηρέτας ἔχων δύο: neat, as there are three women to be taken; perhaps too neat, and one suspects imaginative reconstruction.

4 χρηστότης: esp. appropriate (like εὐγνωμόνως, 63.3n.) for a show of magnanimity or mercy to a subject or prisoner. Cf. *Dtr.* 50.1, *Alex.* 30.1, *Lucull.* 32.6. But we know what sort of 'display' O. really has in mind – the triumph, 78.4. ἄπιστον: but after the trickery of her capture, Cl. indeed has little reason to 'trust' either O. or Proculeius.

6 Epaphroditus is also named by Dio, 78.5–79.6n. ὡς προσ-ετέτακτο . . . ἡδιστον 'with injunctions to keep the queen alive by the strictest vigilance, but otherwise to make any concession that would promote her ease and pleasure' (Perrin).

80 O.'s entry into Alexandria. Like Sh., P. might have omitted this as immaterial to Cl., and the Philostratus story of §§3–5 is surprisingly comic. But after the climaxes of 76–9 a less intense sequence is welcome, and P. again develops O. as a foil to the warm-hearted lovers. A great man's *aduentus* to a city was a considerable ceremonial occasion, staged with great care: we often read of the great *concursum* of citizens, their formal escort and procession, and the elaborate speeches on both sides. Cf. 11.1–2, 24.4 (nn.) and *Pomp.* 57.1, all esp. striking; T. E. V. Pearce, *CQ* 20 (1970) 313–16; cf. Woodman on Vell. 2.103–104.1. Here the Alexandrians are naturally numbed: all the staging is on O.'s side, with the calculated display of the entry with Areius (§1n.) and the rounded speech of pardon (§2). O. is not wholly unsympathetic, and is given some creditable motives (§3n., cf. 82.2); but he is very different from his enemies.

1 Areius Didymus is mentioned by Suet. *Aug.* 89.1 as one of O.'s teachers. He was a Stoic, with heavy Platonic leanings (Fraser 1490–1). For the thoughtfully staged *aduentus* cf. 11.1–2. O. is evidently already planning an important role for Areius in Alexandria (iv' εὐθύς ἐν τοῖς πολίταις περίβλεπτος εἶη . . ., cf. §5): after serving as procurator in Sicily, he was in fact later offered, but declined, an important administrative post in Egypt (probably that of *Idios Logos*). Cf. Bowersock 33–4, 39–40. He remained close to the imperial household: cf. Sen. *Marc.* 4–5.

At 814d P. tells the same story in a more moralising way, praising Areius for exploiting his friendship with O. for the good of his state. That tone would be alien here: cf. 81.5(n.).

**2 The gymnasium** was the scene of A.'s own more exuberant display at 54.6(n.). **O.'s speech of pardon** became famous: cf. Themist. or. 8.108b-c, 13.173b-c, Julian *ad Them.* 265c, *Caes.* 21.326b, and *Ep.* 51.433d-434a. Germanicus said similar things to the Alexandrians some 50 years later, perhaps in imitation (*P. Oxy.* 2435): but praises of a city's founder, its beauty, and its inhabitants were regular *topoi* of a rhetorical *epibaterion* (a speech made on arrival). P. omits the fact that O. courteously spoke in Greek (*Dio* 51.16.4), a language in which he was never comfortable (*Suet. Aug.* 89.1): perhaps he owed the Greek translation to Areius (*Bowersock* 33). *Dio* gives a slightly different version: 'first through my respect for the great god Sarapis, secondly for your founder Alexander, and third for my friends Areius': Julian *Ep.* 51.433d-434a seems to conflate the two versions. Alexander was always a potent model for Roman generals, and his own ostentatious leniency to Athens (*Alex.* 13.1-2, *Phoc.* 17.2-8) may have been in O.'s mind.

O. also viewed the body of Alexander, and carefully paid respect (*Suet. Aug.* 18.1). *Dio* 51.16.3 notes that he accidentally broke off a piece of the mummy's nose: a good story, but too undignified for P.

**3 Philostratus** is described by Phil. *V.S.* 1.5 as συμφιλοσοφούντα τῇ βασιλίδι, apparently a sort of court philosopher (*Fraser* I 494, II 711). His exuberant rhetoric excited mockery as aping the queen's own life-style. Later he seems to have fallen into poverty, and died in the wastes of Palestine (*Crinagoras A.P.* 7.645). ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς 'impromptu'. σοφιστῶν: Phil. *V.S.* 1.5 notes that Philostratus was usually regarded as a 'sophist', not a philosopher. For the terms cf. G.W. Bowersock, *Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire* (Oxford 1969) 10-15, Jones, *Dio* 9. 'Sophist' is often derogatory in P. (e.g. 43f, 48d, 999e-f), though it can be neutral or even favourable (*pace* Hamilton on *Alex.* 4.9): cf. e.g. *Caes.* 3.1, *Per.* 4.2. εἰσποιῶν . . . τῇ Ἀκαδημείᾳ 'he improperly represented himself as belonging to the school of the Academy' (*Perrin*): presumably the Athenian Academy, but possibly an Alexandrian Academy founded by Antiochus of Ascalon fifty years earlier (*Fraser* I 90, 485-94; but the evidence for such an 'Academy' is not very secure, cf. J. Glucker, *Antiochus and the Late Academy* (Göttingen

1978) 90–97). διὸ . . . βδελυττόμενος (9.5n.) τὸν τρόπον: P. himself often shows interest in an orator's character as well as his style: cf. *Caes.* 3.1, 800a–801d. He makes Demosthenes admire Callisthenes, Brutus admire Antiochus, and the Romans admire Philo, for similar reasons (*Dem.* 5.4, *Brut.* 2.3, *Cic.* 3.1). Here he extends the same assumptions to O., perhaps too generously. τὰς δεήσεις: presumably his own rather than Areius', despite ἐξηιτήσατο above: the point of §4 seems to be that Areius has not yet interceded for him.

4 πώγωνα πολιόν: like a stage philosopher. καθείς 'letting it grow'. φαιδὸν ἱμάτιον: 18.3n. σοφοὶ σοφούς . . . σοφοί: an unattractive line from an unknown tragedy (*fr. adesp.* 422 N<sup>2</sup>).

**81 The deaths of Antyllus and Caesarion:** pathetic (especially Caesarion with his gullibility) – but P. could have excited more emotion if he had wished (nn.). He prefers to leave the climax for Cl. Dio 51.16.5–6 mentions their murders after Cl.'s death; P. could have done the same (cf. 82.1 μετὰ τὴν Κλεοπάτρας τελευτήν, and 87.1), but knew how anticlimactic that would be. For **Antyllus** cf. 28.7n. and the grand story of 28.7–12: had P. wanted more poignancy, he could have found ways to recall that here, particularly when describing the magnificent jewel (§2). Antyllus had been with his father for some time (57.4, 71.3). The rest of A.'s children by Fulvia were still at Rome with Octavia (57.4, cf. 87.1). **Theodorus** is not otherwise known.

2 τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀποτεμνόντων . . .: it seems that he had sought sanctuary, either at a statue of C. (Suet. *Aug.* 17.5) or in a shrine Cl. had built to A. (Dio 51.15.5). P. probably knew the pathetic story, and could have used it: but he prefers to dwell on the tutor's perfidy. ἀρνησάμενος . . . καὶ φωραθεὶς ἀνεσταυρώθη ('crucified' or 'impaled'): a familiar type of story, cf. 22.8.

3 τὰ δὲ Κλεοπάτρας παιδιά: Alexander Helios, Cleopatra Selene, and Ptolemy Philadelphus (36.5, 54.7 nn.). The grand names could have added to the pathos, had P. so wished.

4 For **Caesarion** cf. 54.6–7, 71.3 nn. εἰς τὴν Ἰνδικὴν δι' Αἰθιοπίας: cf. Cl.'s own hopeless escape plans of 69.4. ὥς Καίσαρος αὐτὸν ἐπὶ βασιλείαν καλοῦντος: Cl. had herself asked for the kingdom for her children (72.1, 78.6), but could hardly have meant Caesarion (72.1n.). The boy is indeed naïve: the more unspeakable, then, his tutor **Rhodon** for exploiting this. He is otherwise unknown.

5 So much for **Areius'** philosophy, 80.1. οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκαισαρίη: as the Greeks flee to the ships at *Il.* 2.204, Odysseus warns the ringleaders that οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανίη· εἰς κοίρανος ἔστω, | εἰς βασιλεύς.

**82.1** Τοῦτον μὲν οὖν ὕστερον ἀπέκτεινε . . .: intent on the royal household, P. omits O.'s other executions. They included Canidius (34.10n.) and Cassius Parmensis, the last survivor of Caesar's assassins (Vell. 2.87.3, Oros. 6.20).

2 πολλῶν αἰτουμένων θάψαι καὶ βασιλέων καὶ στρατηγῶν: incongruous, but P. is presumably fabricating these requests to intensify the next clause, 'he did not take the body away from Cl.' Alexander was probably again (cf. 80.2n.) O.'s model, with his famous generosity to the wife and family of Darius (*Alex.* 21, 30, 43 etc.). Antiochus treated Pyrrhus, Cleomenes Lydiadas, and Hannibal Marcellus with similar honour (*Pyrrh.* 34.9, *Ag.-Cl.* 27.6, *Marc.* 30.2, cf. 78.2n.); A. himself returned Brutus' ashes to his mother (22.7n., *Brut.* 53.4); cf. also 3.10 (Archelaus), *Dtr.* 17.1. But such honour in warfare is as old as Achilles' return of Hector's body in *Iliad* 24. πᾶσιν ὡς ἐβούλετο χρῆσθαι λαβούσης: we might expect πάντα as obj. of λαβούσης, with χρῆσθαι as explanatory infinitive, but P. prefers to avoid hiatus by 'attracting' it into πᾶσιν (dat. with χρῆσθαι).

3 ἀνεφλέγμηνε 'inflamed', a technical medical word: cf. [Hipp.] *Ulc.* 24, 27, *Gal.* 18(1).73. ἤλκωτο 'ulcerated', another medical term. ἀφεξομένη τροφῆς: hardly an easy mode of suicide, but one favoured by invalids, for instance Atticus (*Nep. Att.* 22), Corellius Rufus and Silius Italicus (*Pliny Ep.* 1.12, 3.7), and Tullius Marcellinus (*Sen. Ep.* 77.5–9). Cf. Grisé 118–20.

4 **Olympus** (*FGrH* 198) may be an important source for P., cf. 71–87, 77.3 nn. καθαιρέσεως 'reduction' of the body, another medical term: cf. 53.5.

5 . . . καθάπερ μηχανήμασιν ὑπηρείπετο 'she was undermined by these threats and fears as if they were siege-engines': cf. e.g. *Per.* 38.1, *Brut.* 7.7. Not one of P.'s happiest similes.

**83 O.'s visit to Cl.** naturally captured the imagination, and it seems that fanciful accounts were soon in circulation (see below). P.'s account is subtle and comparatively restrained, but even more tantalising than Sh.'s adaptation, v.ii.112–74. We only gradually, and perhaps incom-

pletely, sense the nature of Cl.'s ploy. At first she is again enigmatic. Her δικαιολογία of §4, blaming all on A., is uncomfortably petty; but we may already wonder if this is not disingenuous, for P.'s language soon suggests a careful theatricality (μεθρημόσατο (cf. n.) . . . ὡς δὴ τις ἄν . . . περὶσχομένη). The Seleucus story is again perplexing. We know that she cannot really be 'saving small gifts for Octavia and Livia' (§6): that may be brilliant improvisation, but in that case why try to save the treasure at all? She can hardly be trying to keep it for herself. Possibly she is stage-managing the whole episode, *including Seleucus' intervention*, to fool O. into believing that she wishes to live. That is how J. Dover Wilson (New Cambridge edition of *A. & C.*, 1950) and M.R. Ridley (Arden edition, London 1954) argued Sh.'s Seleucus scene should be taken, though the interpretation is hard to convey in performance (cf. §5n.). But neither P. nor Sh. really makes the matter clear. We are simply left with a vague impression of skilful deception: that is enough to make us unsurprised when O. leaves ἐξηπατηκέναι μὲν οἰόμενος, ἐξηπατημένος δὲ μᾶλλον. This is certainly supreme κολακεία, and it is the one occasion in the *Life* when O. is out-thought.

Dio 51.12–13 gives a cruder version. His Cl. is hoping to retain her crown (cf. 78.6n.), and herself asks for the interview. She greets O. in the palace with a careful speech, hoping to arouse his passion. He merely promises she will suffer no harm. She then begs to lie with A. in death, but is only playing for pity, and O. again responds coolly. It is only when she realises she is being kept for the triumph that she conceives a genuine wish to die. She then pretends that she is keeping treasure for Livia: this deceives her guards as well as O., and she exploits their negligence and dies.

Some of this may be Dio's elaboration (cf. 73.2–4n.); some seems to rest on the same tradition as P., and may be true (the mention of Livia, §6n., and the emphasis on the triumph, 84.2n.). Most of Dio's story at least seems to be an early tradition, for Flor. 2.21.9–10 is very similar. Once Cl. had become established as the great beauty and wanton (27.3–5n.), the interview was naturally embroidered to stress her love-play: cf. 73.2–4n., and the similar story of an interview with Herod, Jos. *A.J.* 15.97. But the tradition can hardly be true. It may well owe its currency to Livy, who dwelt on Cl.'s last days (84.2n.) and liked such scenes (cf. his *Sophoniba*, 30.12–15). P. probably knew the story, but, as before with tales of her treachery (72.1, 73.2–4, 74.2, 76.1–3

nn.), he prefers a Cl. with more loyalty, determination, and dignity.

1 Ἦκε δὲ καὶ αὐτός: P. does not say where this took place: presumably still in the mausoleum, 74.2, 76.4 nn. According to Dio 51.11.5 she had been allowed to stay in the mausoleum for several days, but by now had been brought back to the palace. Cf. 84.3, 86.5 nn. **Cl.'s lowliness** – lying on a mat, wearing only a tunic – contrasts with her final regal display, τεθνηκυῖαν ἐν χρυσῇ κατακειμένην κλίνῃ κεκοσμημένην βασιλικῶς, 85.6. Dio 51.12.1 is again cruder: she prepared a costly chamber and couch, and wore her mourning clothes with careful and becoming negligence. **μονοχίτων**: often a sign of surrender or humility, cf. Hamilton on *Alex.* 71.7, Holden on *Sulla* 25.1. After the defeat at Issus noble Persian women, 'who . . . never showed any part of their body, rushed from their tents μονοχίτωνες and tearing off their clothes, calling on the gods and falling at the knees of their conquerors' (προσπίπτουσαι, as here), Diod. 17.35.5. **συντετηκυῖα ταῖς ὄψεσιν**: just as weeping wastes the body (e.g. Eur. *I.A.* 398), so its signs are naturally visible in the eyes: P.'s phrase suggests both soreness from tears and the lifelessness which comes from continual grief. Cf. *Ag.-Cl.* 18.1. 'Her eyes were sunken' (Perrin, Scott-Kilvert) captures some but not all of the nuance.

2 τῆς περὶ τὸ στέρνον αἰκίας: it was in itself unseemly that so much of the body could be seen: cf. Diod. 17.35.5, quoted on §1.

3 τὸ τῆς ὥρας ἰταμόν 'the vigour of her beauty'. τοῖς κινήμασι τοῦ προσώπου: P. precisely captures an often unregarded element of beauty. As at 25.3, the depiction of charm is uncommonly fine.

4 κελεύσαντος . . . καθίσαντος: again the visual register: the queen reclines, the commander sits. οἶκτον: 14.7n. μεθηρμόσατο 'adapted herself' (as the κόλαξ will, 27.2n.). The word suggests calculation and skill, cf. e.g. *Phil.* 14.9, *Numa* 24(1).7. ὥς δὲ τις ἂν . . . περιεχομένη 'as a woman would who was as anxious as she could be to live on'.

5 **Seleucus** is otherwise unknown. P. does not explain his presence: we had surely assumed that Cl. and O. were alone, though servants readily melt in and out of the narrative (77.4n.). Sh. makes him enter at Cl.'s call (v.ii.139). In performance, that summons (like her injunction to 'speak the truth, Seleucus', 143) can perhaps be made to suggest that she has planned the whole episode; but the point usually escapes all but the most quick-witted in an audience. ἐπιτρόπων 'stewards'. διακλέπτουσαν 'stealing away', especially used of saving captured

booty or prisoners: cf. *Mar.* 21.4, Holden on *Nic.* 27.7. *πολλὰς ἐνεφόρει τῷ προσώπῳ πληγὰς*: probably the inspiration of Sh.'s earlier scene, where Cl. berates the messenger who tells her of A.'s marriage (II.v, cf. 36.5n.). At v.ii.154-76 she advances similarly on Seleucus, and the audience notice the scenic resemblance; but she does not strike him.

6 *δήπουθεν*: an equivalent of the emphatic *δήπου*, used by P. before vowels. *Ὀκταοῦiai καὶ Λιβίαι τῇ σῇ*: Dio 51.13.2 has only 'for Livia'; P. again elaborates the part of Octavia.

7 *φιλοψυχεῖν*: 76.5n. *ἐξηπατηκέναι . . . ἐξηπατημένος . . .*: cf. 1110a-b, the same figure. O. has now been 'deceived' into thinking that she wishes to live, but it is still not evident exactly what Cl. is planning. 86.1 will make it clearer.

**84.1** For **Cornelius Dolabella** cf. *PIR*<sup>2</sup> II 1345. We hear little of his later career: perhaps he died young, perhaps this episode disgraced him.

2 *δεηθείση*: P. again (cf. 76.11n.) does not explain how Cl. conveyed her request, or Dolabella his message. *ἀποστέλλειν*: to Rome, for the triumph. P. makes this crucial in driving Cl. to suicide. That had always been the acknowledged version, and O. must have authorised it: shortly after the events Hor. made this the climax of *Odes* 1.37 - *saevis Liburnis scilicet inuidens | priuata deduci superbo | non humilis mulier triumpho* (29-32); and Livy described her in captivity as exclaiming *οὐ θριαμβεύσομαι* (fr. 54). Cf. 85-6n. *εἰς τρίτην ἡμέραν* 'on the third day'.

3 *χοὰς ἐπενεγχεῖν Ἀντωνίῳ . . . τὸν τάφον*: 'the tomb' was where such offerings were made (Alexiou 7-10), but P. perhaps has no clear picture of the events he is reconstructing: it seems that A. was buried in the mausoleum (86.7n.), but that does not seem to be the setting here (cf. 83.1n., but now she needs to be 'borne to the tomb'). *τῇ σορῷ* 'the coffin' rather than 'the urn' (Perrin, Scott-Kilvert): there is no suggestion that A. was cremated before burial (82.2, 86.5).

**4-7 Cl.'s lament at the tomb.** No other source has anything like this, and P. is probably fabricating the whole episode. Elsewhere he uses *oratio recta* sparingly, and typically in short passages to point anecdotes (e.g. 4.9, 20.5, 24.1-8, 28.8-11, 29.7, 46.6-7, 59.8, 64.3, 73.4, 76.5-9, 78.5-79.6 nn.). Extended speeches always illustrate

important themes. Sometimes the themes are political or philosophical, as at *Pyrrh.* 19.1-4 (the Roman spirit of resistance), *Ag.-Cl.* 52 (suicide), *Aem.* 31.4-10, *Eum.* 17.6-11, *Caes.* 37.6-7 (the ingratitude of Aemilius' and Eumenes' men and the admiration of Caesar's); but often such speeches illustrate *private* affections and tragedy, particularly (as here) the involvement of a man's family or loved one with the climax of his fate. Thus Porcia insists that she will be Brutus' κοινῶνός μὲν ἀγαθῶν . . . κοινῶνός δ' ἀνιπαῶν (*Brut.* 13.7-10); Cornelia blames herself for her husband's defeat, and is movingly consoled (*Pomp.* 74.5-75.2); and Volumnia speaks of the tragedy Coriolanus has brought to his womenfolk, and her determination to die rather than see him leading, or led in, a triumph (*Cor.* 35, cf. §7n.). Cf. also *Aem.* 36.4-9 (Aemilius), *Ag.-Cl.* 17.5-10 (Chilonis), *Gracch.* 36.3-4 (Licinia). Octavia is similarly involved in her loved ones' fate, 35.3-4, 54.2 (nn.). P.'s heroes are individuals, and public men: but this sensibility to the family, and to private love and grief, is typical of his humanity.

Comparison with the laments of tragedy, which often share the features of real-life laments, is instructive: cf. esp. Alexiou, though she does not discuss this passage. 'There is no example in Greek antiquity of a lament which has lost all traces of refrain', says Alexiou 134: in fact this is one, but the point is striking. Iras and Charmion attend her (§3) and could have echoed her laments, as they would in real life: that might itself have been moving (cf. *Il.* 19.287-302), but less so than Cl.'s solitariness. The invocation of A. (μὴ πρόηι ζῶσαν τὴν σεαυτοῦ γυναικα, §7), evokes tragic scenes, especially Aesch. *Cho.* But here there is no call for *vengeance*, which by now, remarkably, would seem petty: she does not curse O. as Dido curses Aeneas (*Aen.* 4.607-29). Laments usually recall the dead man's qualities (Macleod on *Il.* 24.723-76), and Cl. might certainly have dwelt more on A.'s own greatness. In fact she speaks of herself, and unites her suffering with his. If she lives, they will be united in O.'s triumph, for A. will be 'triumphed over' in Cl.'s person (§7); but how much finer to be together in death! Tragic mourners often wish for death themselves (Alexiou 178) and sometimes even think of sharing the dead one's tomb (e.g. Eur. *Alc.* 365-8); but so sustained and moving a union of the mourner and the mourned is not found. It has something of the ethos of Roman elegy, though there such themes are more self-indulgent: cf. Prop. 2.26.43-58, 2.28.38-41,

4.7.93–4; J. Griffin, *Latin Poets and Roman Life* (London 1985) 45–6, 142–62.

5 Κλεοπάτρας: for the self-naming cf. 76.5n.

6 ὁ Ῥωμαῖος: just as A.'s Roman qualities were emphasised in his death (esp. 77.7). τοσοῦτο τῆς σῆς μεταλαβοῦσα χώρας μόνον: P. recalls Cl.'s notorious ambition to *rule* in Rome, although he has himself made little of this (58.4–59.1n.). He exploits it now rather than earlier, to evoke pathos rather than indignation.

7 οἱ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα προὔδωκαν ἡμᾶς: 75.4–5n. τὴν σεαυτοῦ γυναῖκα: now a wife indeed, no mere mistress: cf. 53.10, 77.5 (ἄνδρα) nn. And it is death which makes her so. There is often an interfusion of wedding and funeral imagery in tragedy, as in real-life rituals (cf. esp. R.A.S. Seaford in *JHS* 107 (1987) 106–30, Alexiou 120–2); often, as in Soph. *Ant.*, we feel a perversion of nature when a victim finds marriage only in death; but there is none of that here. This 'marriage' is not unnatural but triumphant. Cf. 85.1–3n. θριαμβευόμενον 'being triumphed over', cf. 50.6n., Livy fr. 54 οὐ θριαμβεύσομαι (§2n.), and esp. Volumnia at *Cor.* 35.6 (§§4–7n.). ὅν σοῦ χωρὶς ἔζηκα: cf. Camilla, who speaks of the grief of surviving her husband, σοῦ χωρὶς ἔζων ἀνιαρῶς (768d, cf. 257e–258c): but she lives on to exact *vengeance* (cf. §§4–7n.).

**85–6 Cl.'s death**, probably on 10th Aug. (T. C. Skeat, *JRS* 43 (1953) 98–100). The main lines of the tradition are already clear in Hor. *Odes* 1.37. Cl. survived the destruction of her city; her manner was calm (*uultu sereno*, 26), perhaps deceptively so (Nisbet–Hubbard ad loc.): *deliberata morte ferocior* (29), she would not be led in triumph (cf. 84.2n.), and killed herself by the bite of the asp. That tradition remained firm. The method of her suicide was debated (below), but not its fact: had O. been suspected, Tac. would probably have told us so (*Ann.* 1.10). But modern scholars are more sceptical, often suggesting that O. ordered Cl.'s death or at least connived in her suicide: cf. esp. Nisbet–Hubbard on *Odes* 1.37, Grant 224–7, Syme 298–9.

That may be right; it would certainly be a risk to let Cl. live. But why then did O. allow her to live on for nine days after Alexandria fell, and – if P. can be trusted – foil two earlier suicide attempts (79.3–4, 82.4–5)? In the turmoil of the city's capture Cl. might readily have died. It would have been easy to portray it as suicide, doubtless by a barbaric method; and O. could have spoken regretfully of the mercy he

would have shown. The implications of the story we have are less flattering to O.: he was insisting on the triumph and striving to keep her alive, but he was outwitted, and she won her last, magnificent, victory. That might be the best O.'s propaganda could manage, once it was known she had survived for even a few days: it gave her a heroic status which made her a worthier enemy (Syme 299). But it would have been more comfortable if she had died at once. If O. kept her alive at all, it is probable that he genuinely wanted her alive for the triumph, as his supporters wanted (cf. esp. Prop. 4.6.63-6). True, Cl. had so far been dissuaded from suicide by the threats to her children (82.5), and they were still vulnerable; but it is still credible that, however torn, she should now have chosen death rather than the triumph. Cf. also W.R. Johnson, *Arion* 6 (1967) 387-402.

P.'s earlier narrative has prepared for the story of the asp (71.6-8), and 85.2-3 seems to be accepting it: scholarly doubt would impede the flow of the marvellous tale, and is reserved for the collection of variants in 86. There P. is clearly cautious about the tale (e.g. τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς οὐδεὶς οἶδεν): so are Dio 51.14 (τὸ μὲν σαφὲς οὐδεὶς οἶδεν, apparently from the same source, 86.1-6n.) and Suet. *Aug.* 17.4 (*putabatur*). The two versions, snakebite and poison, are as early as Strabo 17.795. But, as P. says (86.6), O. clearly encouraged the tale of the asps by the display at the triumph, and probably earlier (85.8n.): the earliest versions unambiguously accept snakebite, though they suggest two snakes rather than one (86.1-6n.). (Cf. Becher 151-73 for the different versions.) Some parts of the story are evidently suspect. The Egyptian cobra is about two metres long, and hard to conceal in a basket (especially if there were two of them). That looks like a story to explain the guards' negligence. The cobra also usually takes three to four hours to recharge its venom after a fatal bite, and all three victims could hardly have died in this way: Iras and Charmion, or at least one of them, probably took poison. But some of the detail looks more plausible. The cobra bite does look like a set of pin-pricks, usually two or four (cf. 86.5); and, most important, the double cobra (*uraeus*) was a symbol both of Isis and the royal house, rearing up on the front of a king's head-dress to strike his enemies. If Cl. now turned this on herself, it was majestically appropriate. Cf. 71.8n. and esp. J. Gwyn Griffiths, *JEA* 47 (1961) 113-18 and 51 (1965) 209-11; Nisbet-Hubbard on *Odes* 1.37. Poison was less dignified and could be associated with

Oriental witchcraft: that version might better have suited O.'s propaganda, and if he spread the story of the asps, it may well be because it was essentially true.

P. tells it magnificently. No more abstinence from food (82.4), but a fine meal; no more lowliness, no single tunic (83.1n.), but a bath, then the dress and adornment of a queen (85.1-3n.). The figs arrive, as yet unexplained: the servant who brings them has some of his mistress' style and confidence (μειδιόσας παρεκόλει λαβεῖν, §3). Then Cl. sends her letter – important to the narrative technique, for it moves the focus to O. The story of the deaths does not move forward continuously, for we only return to the women when O.'s men reach them: that allows P. to present the deaths in so peculiarly vivid a tableau (§§6-7), which transposed so readily for Sh.'s theatre. P. favours the visual register for deaths (77.3n.), and no scene is finer than this.

**85.1-3** The bathing and robing of the body preceded real funerals, and sometimes in tragedy the motifs are applied to doomed living mortals (esp. in Aesch. *Agam.*, cf. R.A.S. Seaford, *CQ* 34 (1984) 247-54): here, paradoxically, they seem appropriate rather than chilling. Cf. 84.7n., and Phanocles at *Lys.* 13.2. **στέψασα καὶ κατασπασαμένη τὴν σορόν** 'garlanding and embracing the coffin' (84.3n.).

**2 τὰ θρῶα** 'the leaves' covering the basket's contents.

**4 τοὺς ἄλλους ἐκποδῶν ποιησαμένη:** not told very credibly (Dio 51.13.4 is even worse, implying that Epaphroditus was the only guard); but the custody was meant to be civilised as well as vigilant (79.6), and the women could hardly have been watched at every intimate moment.

**5 δεομένης αὐτὴν σὺν Ἀντωνίῳ θάψαι:** so also Dio 51.13.4. **πρῶτον μὲν αὐτὸς ὥρμησε βοηθεῖν:** O. is at last shaken – but even now he swiftly controls himself.

**6 τεθνηκυῖαν . . . κεκοσμημένην βασιλικῶς:** 83.1n. As we do not see her dying, there are no last words (77.7n.), no 'I am again for Cydnus, To meet Mark Antony' (Sh. v.ii.227-8); but she has already said what she had to say, 84.4-7.

**7 Iras and Charmion** have become familiar, but as for instance cf **συνήθεις γυναικες:** 67.6, 77.2, 79.3, 84.3, 85.4. Only now are they named, when their role is most moving. (60.1(n.) is rather different.) Other authors apply similar techniques: cf. e.g. C. F. Russo, *Aristofane*,

*autore di teatro* (Firenze 1962) 57–65. ἀπέθνησκειν: imperfect, ‘was dying’. ἤδη σφαλλομένη καὶ καρηβαρούσα ‘already tottering and scarcely able to hold up her head’, Scott-Kilvert. Such drooping of the head is mentioned by Philumenos 16.3 (71.8n.) as a symptom of cobra-bite. τὸ διάδημα: the final emblem of royalty, 12.3n. ‘καλὰ ταῦτα Χάρμιον’: like εὔγε (76.9n.) the words sound colloquial, as one would often address a slave-girl: but their new earnestness is intensified by Charmion’s majestic reply. Sh.’s ‘What work is here, Charmian? Is this well done?’ (v.ii.324) is dignified in its simplicity, but does not convey quite the same effect. μὲν οὖν: corrective (Denniston 475–6) – not just καλὰ, but κάλλιστα. πρέποντα τῇ τοσοῦτων ἀπογόνῳ βασιλέων: if Cl. died by cobra-bite, the symbolic propriety gives the words particular force; but her dignified death is in any case profoundly regal.

O. immediately sent for the *Psylli*, Libyans famed for curing snakebites (Suet. *Aug.* 17.4, Dio 51.14.4–5) – his first step in spreading the story of the asps, true or false. P. does not disturb his tableau with any such hasty movement: cf. 26.4n.

**86.1–6 Variant versions of her death.** Dio 51.1–4 is similarly doubtful (85–6n.), and apparently draws from the same source: he too has the pricks on the arm, the water-jar, and the poisoned hairpin. But he mentions a basket of *flowers* rather than figs; possibly some misunderstanding, but P.’s figs may come from Olympus’ account (82.4, 71–87n.). τὴν ἀσπίδα: Dio similarly mentions a single snake, but the earliest versions suggest two: Virg. *Aen.* 8.697 (*geminos . . . anguis*), Hor. *Odes* 1.37.27, and Flor. 2.21.11, perhaps from Livy; Prop. 3.11.53, *bracchia spectavi sacris admorsa colubris*, suggests that two snakes were displayed on her portrait at the triumph (§6n.). Cf. B. Baldwin, *JEA* 50 (1964) 181–2. Cl. may indeed have used two snakes, if she could obtain them, for the double snake was a royal emblem (85–6n.) – though that symbolism may itself have been enough to suggest the imagery of the two snakes at the triumph. Sh. has two snakes, but that is for the convenience of his theatre: it would not do to have Cl. fumble with Iras’ body to retrieve the snake.

2 ‘ἐνταῦθ’ ἦν ἅρα τοῦτο’ ‘so here it was all along’, Denniston 36–7. τὸν βραχίονα: the usual version, though some late accounts suggest that she was bitten in the breast (as at Sh. v.ii.308–9): see Nisbet–

Hubbard on Hor. *Odes* 1.37.28. A bite in the breast would in fact kill more quickly (71.8n.).

3 ἐν ὕδρῳ: less implausible than it seems, for cobras can survive for long periods without food or water.

4 φάρμακον: Alexandria was famous for its drugs, and Cl. for her interest in them (Fraser 1 372, II 548, Becher 155-6, 172, cf. 25.6n.). κνηστίδι κοίλῃ 'a hollow hairpin'. ἐξήνθησε 'blistered' or 'ulcerated', a medical term (Thuc. 2.49.5).

5 τὸ δωμάτιον suggests the mausoleum, though P. has not made the setting clear (83.1, 84.3 nn.) Flor. 2.21.11 seems to agree (*iuxta suum se conlocavit Antonium*), as do some later authors (Becher 169). Dio puts the scene in the palace. δύο νυγμάς 'two pricks', a plausible detail (85-6n.).

6 εἰδωλον: such images and portraits were features of a triumph. Two snakes were probably depicted, §1n.

7 ταφῆναι . . . λαμπρῶς καὶ βασιλικῶς ἐκέλευσεν: the regular generosity to a fallen enemy, 82.2n. But here it has special point, for A. and Cl. will lie *together* (cf. 84.4-7n., 85.5). They were presumably buried in the mausoleum: cf. Suet. *Aug.* 17.4, Mart. 4.59, *Anth. Lat.* 417.

8 **The death-notice.** P. is fond of such lapidary summaries, often noting the age and (where appropriate) length of reign: cf. esp. *Artax.* 30.9, *Ages.* 40.3, *Rom.* 29.12; *Mar.* 45.12 is similar. In several cases, as here with A., the summaries are resumptive, after the narrative has continued beyond the death: *C. Min.* 73.1, *Rom.* 29.12, *Caes.* 69.1-2; *Alex.* was probably similar, cf. Pelling, *CQ* 23 (1973) 343-4. But such a *shared* notice is unique. It reflects the lovers' closeness in death, but it also shows how far the focus of the biography has moved: by now this is more than a *Life of Antony*. Cf. Intr., 16, 71-87n. ἐνὸς δέοντα τεσσαράκοντα ἔτη βιώσασα: 25.1n. δύο καὶ εἴκοσι βασιλεύσασα: Cl. became queen in early 51 (her reign is first attested on a *stèle* of 22nd March), some 21½ years before: 25.1n. συνάρξασα δ' Ἀντωνίῳ πλείῳ τῶν δεκατεσσάρων: wrong, for Cl. had met A. at Tarsus in 41 (26.1-5). Numerals are easily corrupted, and we should perhaps read ἑνδεκά: so Ziegler, assuming that  $\overline{\text{IA}}$  was corrupted into  $\overline{\text{ID}}$ . But the error may well be P.'s own, or his sources'. His alternative ages for A. imply that he was either 42 or 45 at Tarsus (App. 5.8 says '40', evidently a rounding); '42' may have been incorrectly combined with

'56' at death. συνάρξασα is anyway venially inexact: A. was never king of Egypt. οἱ μὲν ἕξ, οἱ δὲ τρισὶ τὰ πενήκοντα ὑπερβαλεῖν φασιν: i.e. he was born in 86 or 83. 83 is more likely: it suits his *cursus* better, and coins of 43–42 carry the numerals '40' and '41', apparently his age at the time (*RRC* no. 489 with Crawford's n.). His birth-date was 14th Jan. (EJ p. 45, with W. Suerbaum, *Chiron* 10 (1980) 327–34).

**9 The destruction of A.'s statues** had Republican precedents (though C. was more generous to Pompey's statues, *Caes.* 57.6) and became regular in imperial *damnatio memoriae*. At *Cic.* 49.6 P. says that Cic.'s son was consul when the senate ordered this, and also decreed that no Antonius should in future carry the *praenomen* Marcus. That is an appropriate conclusion to *Cic.* (87n.), but it would have been uncharitable to end *Ant.* on that note: he prefers the more enterprising perspective of 87. Cic.'s son held the consulship in Sept.–Nov. 30, but it in fact seems that these decrees were passed a few months *before* A.'s death, as Dio 51.19 explicitly states. P.'s error, used as he was to posthumous *damnatio memoriae*, is understandable. Cf. C. L. Babcock, *CP* 57 (1962) 30–2, Fadinger 247 n. 2. **Cl.'s statues survive.** They presented a problem, as many will have been cult statues in shrines of Isis and Aphrodite (cf. 26, 54.9 nn., Dio 51.22.3). O. would not have wished to alienate the Egyptians by sacrilege, but the distinction between Isis' statues (stylised as Cl.) and Cl.'s (stylised as Isis) would be impossibly fine. A.'s link with Osiris presented a similar problem, but that might be thought less delicate. The story of the otherwise unknown **Archibius** is evident fiction.

**87 A.'s descendants.** P.'s *Lives* often continue beyond the moment of death, but not so elaborately as this. Sometimes he briefly ties up the loose ends of a narrative (e.g. *Nic.* 29–30, *Ag.–Cl.* 59–60, *Cor.* 39.12–13). Quite often he notes the fates of a man's killers, particularly if they die in a fitting way: e.g. *Pomp.* 80.9, *Dion* 58, *Eum.* 19.2–3, and esp. *Caes.* 69 and *Cic.* 49.4–6 (86.9n.). As J. L. Moles observes, this technique is similar to the 'rehabilitation' which often concludes a tragedy, where a hero is posthumously avenged or compensated (cf. T. C. W. Stinton, *CQ* 25 (1975) 221–54). P. also occasionally carries down the story of a man's descendants, sometimes for curiosity (*Them.* 32, *Marc.* 30.10–11), sometimes more suggestively continuing a *Life's* themes: the poverty of Aristides' family (*Arist.* 27), the sequence of grave Catones

# ANTONY

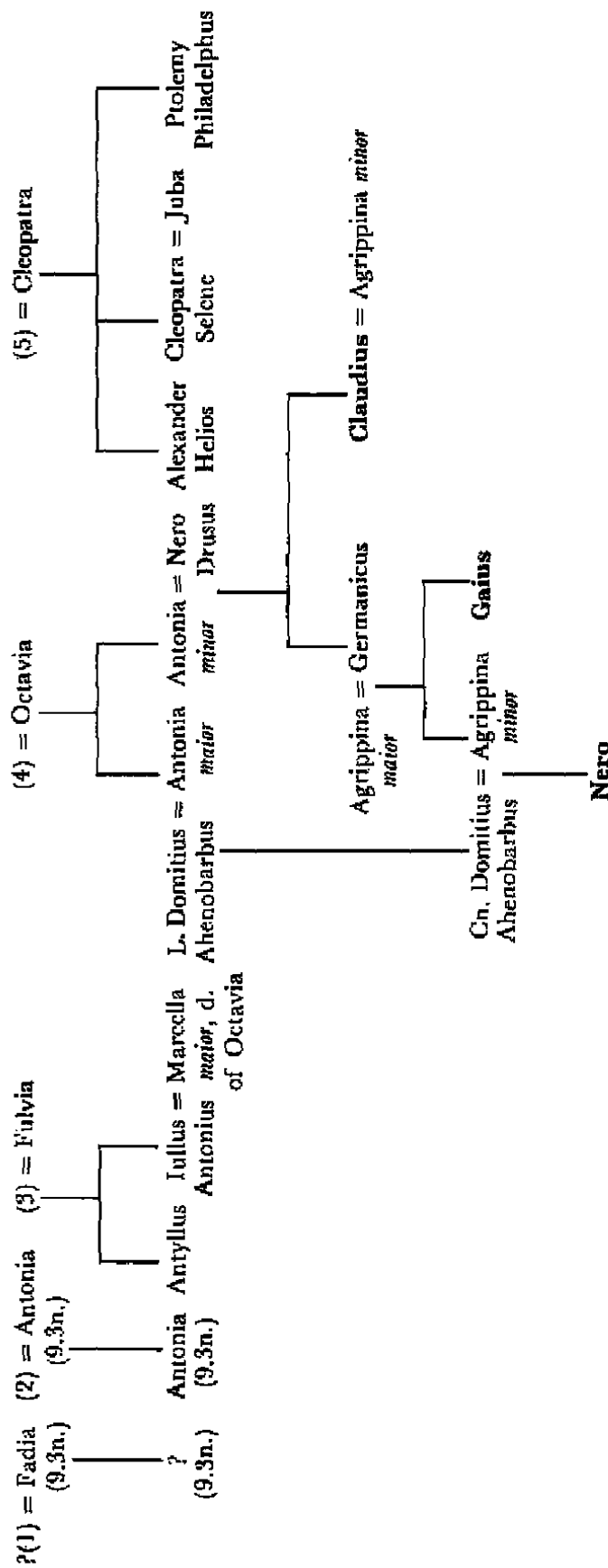


Fig. 1 Antony's descendants. This table is extremely simplified, including only the relationships which Plutarch mentions or should have mentioned in 87. For a fuller table cf. e.g. H. H. Scullard, *From the Gracchi to Nero*<sup>2</sup> (London 1962) 331

(*C. Mai.* 27.7, *C. Min.* 73); the defeat of Macedon's unworthy kings by Rome, aiding the transition to A.'s 'Roman drama' (1n.), *Dtr.* 53.8-9.

This ch. suggests some 'rehabilitation': defeat was not total, A.'s descendants became O.'s successors. But here too P. suggests the continuation of important themes, as those descendants show some hereditary traits – just as the Life began by suggesting A.'s similarity to his father (1n.), and A.'s son is also like himself (28.9-11n.). Drusus' wife Antonia is σωφροσύνη καὶ κάλλει περιβόητος, just like her mother Octavia (§6, cf. 31.4); Nero is closer to A., and endangers the whole empire (§9, cf. *Intr.*, 9-10). But Nero is described with none of the sympathy afforded A. (and indeed elsewhere afforded Nero himself, *Intr.*, 10): he simply continues the 'madness' of Gaius (§8n.). This cruder moralism eases the transition to the *Synkrisis* chapters, where P. will point his ethical truths more bluntly than in the narrative (*Intr.*, 19-20).

P. again makes much of Octavia. Her role in arranging the children's marriages (§2) is not mentioned by our other sources, nor is the part she plays in Marcella's divorce and remarriage to Agrippa (§4n.): it again seems likely that P. is elaborating her role (cf. 31.2n.).

1 γενεάν ἀπολιπόντος ἐκ τριῶν γυναικῶν ἑπτὰ παῖδας: by Fulvia, Antyllus and Iullus Antonius (§2, 28.7nn.); by Octavia, Antonia *maior* (§6, 33.5 nn.) and *minor* (§6, 35.2 nn.: 35.2 seems to suggest a third child, but see n.); by Cl., the twins Alexander Helios and Cleopatra Selene (30.3, 36.5, 54.7 nn.), and Ptolemy Philadelphus (54.7n.). P. has in fact missed some children: cf. 9.3n. (children by Fadia and by Antonia), C. L. Babcock, *AJP* 65 (1965) 13 n. 25. For **Antyllus'** death cf. 81.1-2n.; for **Octavia's** noble care, 35.8, 54.3, 57.4 nn.

2 **Cleopatra Selene** married the learned and loyal **Juba** (*OCD*<sup>2</sup>) before 20/19, thus becoming queen of Mauretania: cf. D. Braund, *CQ* 34 (1984) 175-8. No mention here of her two brothers. Alexander walked with her in the triumph of 29 (Dio 51.21.8), but is not heard of later: 'he was probably suppressed' (Syme 300). Ptolemy probably died even sooner, for he is not mentioned at the triumph. χαριεστάτω: P. alludes to Juba's literary culture, cf. *Caes.* 55.2, *Sert.* 9.10. He probably used him as a source for Roman antiquities. **Iullus Antonius** indeed had an interesting life. After his high marriage (§5) he was cos. in 10 and proconsul of Asia (7/6?), and was then involved in the disgrace of Julia and executed in 2 B.C. Politics and court scandal,

*iterum timenda cum Antonio mulier* (Sen. *Breu. Vitae* 4.6) – these were A.’s traits, indeed (at least as O. portrayed them), and P. might have developed Iullus more fully, had he known the story. Iullus even wrote verses, rather like Nero. Cf. Syme 426–7, *History in Ovid* (Oxford 1978) 193–6. τῶν Λιβίας παίδων: Tiberius, the future emperor, and Nero Drusus (§6).

3 αὐτῇ: Octavia. For her marriage to **Marcellus** cf. 31.1n. ἐνὸς δ’ υἱοῦ **Μαρκέλλου**: born 42, married Julia in 24, and a great future was clear: but he died in 23. Octavia’s grief was lifelong: Sen. *Marc.* 2.4–5 notes that she became particularly jealous of Livia, which hardly suits P.’s picture. Prop. 3.18 laments Marcellus rather tastelessly, Virg. *Aen.* 6.860–86 with great beauty. At *Marc.* 30.10–11 P. notes that Octavia founded a library and Augustus a theatre in his memory. ἅμα παῖδα καὶ γαμβρόν: like Serv. *ad Aen.* 6.861, P. wrongly suggests that Augustus *adopted* Marcellus as well as marrying him to Julia. The error is careless but natural, for adoption soon became the normal method of signalling the succession. τῶν δὲ θυγατέρων Ἀγρίππαι τὴν ἑτέραν ἔδωκεν: the elder Marcella, Syme 378–9, *PIR*<sup>2</sup> II 1102.

4 λόγον ἢ Ὀκταουία προσήνεγκεν: no other source makes this Octavia’s suggestion, and Suet. *Aug.* 63.1 apparently speaks of Augustus ‘winning her over’ to the idea (*exorata sorore*: cf. Carter’s n.). Cf. Syme 389 for Marcellus’ death, the consequent dynastic crisis, and Agrippa’s marriage (21).

6 τὴν μὲν: Antonia *maior*, 33.5n. For the proud and bloodthirsty **L. Domitius Ahenobarbus**, son of this *Life*’s Ahenobarbus (40.8n.), cf. Syme 510, *OCD*<sup>2</sup>. τὴν δέ: Antonia *minor* (35.2n.). For this great lady and the successful general **Nero Drusus** (d. 9 B.C.), cf. *OCD*<sup>2</sup>. πρόγονος ‘stepson’.

7 **Germanicus** (*OCD*<sup>2</sup>) married Augustus’ granddaughter Agrippina; he died in A.D. 19. **Claudius** ruled from 41 to 54.

8 **Gaius** (Caligula) ruled from 37 to 41, and made much of his descent from A. (Dio 59.20, etc.). ἐπιμανῶς (Solanus, Jones 80 n.50) is required; P. could not have thought Gaius ruled ‘nobly’ or ‘conspicuously’ (ἐπιφανῶς, codd.). **The younger Agrippina** (*OCD*<sup>2</sup>) in A.D. 28 married the detestable **Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus** (cos. A.D. 32), son of L. Domitius Ahenobarbus and Antonia *maior* (§6: P. has not made this stage of the descent clear). **Nero**, born in 37, was thus descended from A. on both sides (§9n.). Agrippina married her uncle

Claudius in 49, and he adopted Nero in 50: Nero's full name became *Nero Claudius Drusus Germanicus Caesar*.

9 ἄρξας ἐφ' ἡμῶν: A.D. 54-68. P.'s view of Nero is more ambivalent elsewhere: Intr., 10. ἀπέκτεινε τὴν μητέρα: in 59. ἀνατρέψαι τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίαν 'destroy the Roman empire', *delere imperium* (Cic. *Cat.* 4.7, etc.): cf. *Caes.* 7.6, *Mar.* 32.6. πέμπτος ἀπ' Ἀντωνίου . . .: five generations through his mother, but in fact only four through his father (§8n.).

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Romans are listed under their most familiar names (i.e. normally those used by P. himself). These are sometimes *nomina gentilitia*, sometimes *cognomina*: thus 'Brutus', not 'Iunius', but 'Cassius', not 'Longinus'.

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