History as Fragment. Xiphilinus, Cassius Dio, and the Severan Senate.


Cassius Dio’s Roman History originally comprised of 80 books, covering the city’s mythical origins through to his own career in the late second and early third centuries CE. Only around a third survives in full. For the majority of his imperial books – including almost all of his contemporary history – we are reliant on the epitome written by the eleventh-century monk Xiphilinus. Even so, as a senator who held two consulships, Dio’s surviving eyewitness testimony has shaped modern reconstructions of his lifetime.

Though built around a specific author and historical period, the aims of this paper are primarily methodological. It is shaped around two main strands. The first centres on the idea of the textual fragment, with a focus on epitomisation. Xiphilinus’ methods of constructing a narrative are demonstrated through a comparison with the one exception to the rule of an otherwise lost text. A single manuscript preserves Dio’s account of roughly 216-218 CE: the end of Caracalla; all of Macrinus’ brief reign; and the accession of Elagabalus. In some ways, Xiphilinus is proven to be a reliable epitomator. His adherence to Dio’s text is usually strict; where he chooses to summarise rather than quote, the general meaning of the original is maintained. However, this preservation of text drastically alters the political and constitutional concerns at the heart of Dio’s narrative. Without the surviving manuscript out views of Macrinus in particular would be significantly altered.

The second half of the paper shifts in a more historical direction in the case of the Severan Senate. Much of his account addresses a perceived attack on the Senate, with an apparent fixation on the corruption of social order. Two figures provide case studies: Macrinus, the first equestrian emperor; and Valerius Comazon, praetorian prefect in 218, consul in 220, and urban prefect an unprecedented three consecutive times from 220-222 – all despite, according to Dio, starting off as a common soldier. The same factors of textual epitomisation – selectivity, chronological relevance, and the re-appropriation of an original whole – directly apply to Dio’s presentation of a legitimate senatorial viewpoint that coincides with his own. Treating such an account as fragmentary allows us in this case to question Dio’s account of senatorial despair. More generally, it invites us to treat the gaps in the historical record much more seriously.

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el;” επετα μαθὼν ὅτι Μακεδῶν ἐη, ἐπανήρετο
2 "τίς δὲ ὕπομαχός;” καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἀκούσας ὅτι
Ἀντίγονος, προσεπανήρετο "τίς δὲ σου ὁ πατὴρ
ἐκαλείτο;” ὦς δὲ καὶ οὗτος Φιλίππος ὅπων εὑρέθη,
πάντ' ἐγώ, φησίν, “οὐσα ἦσθεν,” καὶ εἶδοι
τε αὐτόν ταῖς λοιπαῖς στρατείαις ἐσέμυψε, καὶ
μετ' οὓ πολὺ ἐς τοὺς βασιλευτάς τοὺς ἑστρατη-
γού κατέσταξεν. ἔτερον δὲ των τῆς μὲν
Μακεδονία μὴ ἔνεστιν προσήκοντα, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ
dιαφανεῖς ὁποία καὶ διὰ τούτο παρ' αὐτοῦ εἶ
ἐκκλητον 1 δικαι κριώμενον, ἐπειδή Ἀλέξανδρος
tε εκαλείτο καὶ ὁ κατηγορῶν αὐτοῦ ρήματo
συνεχόντα ἐλεγεν "οἱ μιαφόροι Ἀλέξανδρος, ὁ
θεός ἐκθρός Ἀλέξανδρος; ἐστὶ δὲ τοῦ καὶ αὐτὸς
cακῶς ἀκούσαν, καὶ ἐφθανε ἐκεῖνοι σου ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος,
(p. 743 sq.).

9 Οὖν ὁ φιλαλέξανδροτατος Ἀντωνίνος
ἐσὲ μὲν τοὺς στρατιῶτας, οὐς τέκνα πολλοὺς ἁμβ
αὐτὸν εἶχε, προφάσεων ἐκ προφάσεων καὶ πολέ-
μους ἐκ πολέμων σκηπτόμενος, φιλαλεξανδρίνης ἦν,
tοὺς δὲ λαοὺς πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἔργαν εἶχεν
περιδείνειν ἀποσυλλαμένοις, ὡς ἦν κατα τοὺς
2 συγκλητικούς. χωρίς γὰρ τὼν στεφάνων τῶν
χρυσῶν οὐδὲ καὶ πολεμίους τινάς ἡν κοιχὸν πολε-
μίους ὦτε (λέγο τοῦ δὲ οὐκ αὐτὸ τοῦ τοῖς στε-
φάνων ποιήματι, πόσον γὰρ τοῦτο γέ ἐστι; ἄλλη
τὸ τῶν χρυσάμων πληθοῦς τῶν ἢ ἄρτους αὐτοῦ

1 ἐκκλητον Leunel., ἐγκλητον VC.
2 The text of the first sentence of this section is that of
Bokker, obtained by combining Exc. Val. 365 and the
beginning of 366 with Xiph. 330, 21—24. For details see
Boissevain’s edition.

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXVIII

what country are you?” Then, learning that he was a A.D. 213
Macedonian, he asked again: “What is your name?”
And hearing that it was Antigonus, he further in-
quired: “And what was your father’s name?”
When the father’s name was found to be Philip, he
declared: “I have all my desire,” and promptly
advanced him through all the other grades of the
military career, and before long appointed him a
senator with the rank of an ex-praetor. Again, there
is the incident of a certain man who had no con-
nection with Macedonia but had committed many
crimes and for this reason was being tried by the
emperor on an appeal. His name chanced to be
Alexander, and when the orator who was accusing
him kept saying, “the bloodthirsty Alexander, the
god-detested Alexander,” Antoninus became angry,
as if he himself were being called these bad names,
and said: “If you cannot be satisfied with plain
Alexander, you may consider yourself dismissed.”

Now this great admirer of Alexander, Antoninus,
was fond of spending money upon the soldiers, great
numbers of whom he kept in attendance upon him,
alleging one excuse after another and one war
after another; but he made it his business to strip,
despoil, and grind down all the rest of mankind,
and the senators by no means least. In the first
place, there were the gold crowns that he was
repeatedly demanding, on the constant pretext that
he had conquered some enemy or other; and I am
not referring, either, to the actual manufacture of
the crowns—for what does that amount to?—but to
the vast amount of money constantly being given

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didoménon, ois 1 stevanothn ai polyeis tois auton-
3 krátora einadosi, ton te epitipteisson ò pollla
kal pantaxòthe tò mei proóka tò de kai pro-
sagállaskontes éstei prosoomédha, ò 2 panta ekéinous
tois stratístais écharistó ò kai ékatithléven,
kai tois doxokin o kai para tòis idiotów tò
gnousi kai para tòi doimoi prósigtai,
4 ton te telexon ton te állo ton kai auta prós-
kataxeizai kai ton tòis deútr Amazon aúto
3 énu theid tòi ékatoth ò òn kai tòi
eidía ton katalexoménou ton kai klíéra kai
doréa énuphi prose pástis, 3 tás te diadóchás kai tás
5 autokrátas tás òpi toúto ths dedoménes tòis pánu
prosiktous tòi teléuton ton katalúsoi oú
óneka kai ò Romáous pántas ton òn tò
eír aútou, logon mén tìmód, érho dè òstei
aútou ò kai tòi toúto protos 4 òla tòi tòi
ένου tòi pollla aútoi òi suneleiai, autódeidei.)
6 —èxev òi toúton aúton kai oikías aúto
paradoías, épeidh tòis ò Rómēs éfairmosei kai kata-
lútei poluteleis en méssa tòis ódois kai tòis
brakhtítas oikíasin dastanhmasi kataşkeuázein
ýmagkásména, eu aì sth òsoi oúi enkònera poti,
7 all ònumi òfisefi aúton tòi òmeleia, proódei
kai thématra kwnhéstika kai iiπođrámos pantan-
chou, ófonter kai écheimasei òi kai xeadmátos
ýmías, kataşkeuásemen, òhðiai par aúton
lambánthei kai autíka pánta kataşkáphi aúto

under that name by the cities for the customary A.D. 212
"crowning," as it is called, of the emperors. Then
there were the provisions that we were required to
furnish in great quantities on all occasions, and this
without receiving any remuneration and sometimes
actually at additional cost to ourselves—all of
which supplies he either bestowed upon the soldiers
or else peddled out; and there were the gifts which
he demanded from the wealthy citizens and from
the various communities; and the taxes, both the
new ones which he promulgated and the ten per
cent. tax that he instituted in place of the five
per cent. tax applying to the emancipation of slaves,
to bequests, and to all legacies; for he abolished
the right of succession and exemption from taxes
which had been granted in such cases to those who
were closely related to the deceased. This was the
reason why he made all the people in his empire
Roman citizens; nominally he was honouring them,
but his real purpose was to increase his revenues by
this means, inasmuch as aliens did not have to pay
most of these taxes. But apart from all these
burdens, we were also compelled to build at our
own expense all sorts of houses for him whenever
he set out from Rome, and costly lodgings in the
middle of even the very shortest journeys; yet he
not only never lived in them, but in some cases was
not destined even to see them. Moreover, we con-
structed amphitheatres and race-courses wherever
he spent the winter or expected to spend it, all
without receiving any contribution from him; and
they were all promptly demolished, the sole reason

1 ois supplied by Val.
2 ò supplied by Val.
3 òrmosa, évthai pásas Salmasius, òrmosa évthai pásas cod. Feir.
4 προσίρ Bk., προσίρ cod. Peir.

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for their being built in the first place being, A.D. 212 apparently, that we might become impoverished.

The emperor himself kept spending the money upon the soldiers, as we have said, and upon wild beasts and horses; for he was for ever killing vast numbers of animals, both wild and domesticated, forcing us to furnish most of them, though he did buy a little. One day he slew a hundred boars at one time with his own hands. He also used to drive chariots, wearing the Blue costume. In everything he was very hot-headed and very sullen, and he furthermore possessed the craftiness of his mother and the Syrians, to which race she belonged. He would appoint some freedman or other wealthy person to be director of the games in order that the man might spend money in this way also; and he would salute the spectators with his whip from the arena below and beg for gold pieces like a performer of the lowest class. He claimed that he used the Sun-god's method in driving, and plumed himself upon it. To such an extent was the entire world, so far as it owned his sway, devastated throughout his whole reign, that on one occasion the Romans at a horse-race shouted in unison this, among other things: "We shall do the living to death, that we may bury the dead." Indeed, he often used to say: "Nobody in the world should have money but me; and I want it to bestow upon the soldiers." Once when Julia chided him for spending vast sums upon

1 Or, if we adopt Bekker's ἄποδομεν, "We are stripping the living."

365. "Oti πάνω πολλοῖς ἄμφ᾽ αὐτὸν εἶχε, προφάσεις καὶ προφάσεις καὶ πολέμους καὶ πολέμους αὐτοῦ προφτάσεως.

366. "Οτι δευτέραν που και τοτο ἔδωκε δει μή μόνον ἐς τοις στρατιώτασις φιλανωτῆς ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς τὰ ἀλλα πάντα καὶ ξεκινά αὐτῷ ἢ ἐρ᾽ ἐν τούτῳ μόνῳ τοῦ αὐτῷ ἀνθρώπους πάντας περιβάλλειν ἀποστᾶν καὶ ἀκροφύσει, χωρὶς ὑπὸ τῶν στερήσεις τῶν χρυσῶν ὧδε 5 ὡς καὶ πολεμίσμας τινὰς ἵνα πολλὰς πολλὰς ἱτείς (λέγω δὲ οὐκ αὐτῷ τοῦ τῶν στερήσεων πολιμα' πόσον γὰρ τοῦτο γέ ὅτι; ἀλλὰ τὰς χειρακλὲς πλῆκτρα τῶν θυ' ἀνόμως αὐτῶν ἀδικῶν, (ἀνέ) στερηθοῦσιν οἱ πάλιν τοὺς ἀνακρίτης ἐλθόντες), τὸν τοιεύς 3 ἔκειν ἀ πολλα καὶ παντοκράτειν τὰ μν ἐπέκα τὸ δὲ καὶ προσκα 10 ναλόστοιται ἐναπροσάθει, (δ) πάντα ἐκεῖνος τοῖς στρατιώτασις ἐμοίζεται ἡ καὶ ἐκπαλείπεται καὶ τῶν ὀμίλων ἀ καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν τῶν ποιτῶν καὶ παρὰ τῶν δήμων προσφηςε, τὸν το 15 λὸν τὸν τὸ ἄλλου ἀ χαίνα προσκατέλειπεν καὶ τὸν τῆς ἐκατότης ἦν ἀντὶ τῆς εὐκοτίτης ἐπέρ τε τῶν ἀπελευθερωμένων καὶ ἐπέρ 20 τῶν κατατελεσμένων τινὶ κλέαρῳ καὶ δομέραι ἐποίησε πᾶσας, τὰς τε ἀνακόροτας καὶ τὰς ἀκόροτας τὰς ἐπὶ τούτοις τὰς ἐκεῖνος τοῖς πάντας προσφησκοῦν τῶν τελεύτων καταλύσεως (οὗ ἔνακ καὶ ρωμαίον πάντας τὸν ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ αὐτοῦ, λόγῳ μὲν τεκόμω, ἔρχοντο ὡς ἄρητες στρατιῶτας καὶ καὶ τοῖς τοῦ τῶν ἐνεκτήτων ἡ τῶν πολλῶν ἀποσταλικῶν· ἐξω γὰρ τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τοῖς χειμῶνας ἔχοντος ἰκείαις αὐτῶν, ἀκοφυσάμενοι, μηδὲν 25 παρ᾽ αὐτῶν λαβόντες ἡ κατεσκαράθηνεν ἐν ἣ ἡμεῖς ἐκπρεπεῖμεν.

Xiphilinus330.22-32 (R. St.)

οὗτος οὖν ὁ φιλαλεξανδρότατος Ἀντωνίνος εἰς μὲν τοῖς στρατιώτασις φιλανωτῆς ἦν, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἔργον εἶχεν περιβάλλειν ἀποστᾶσιν ἐκπυρίζειν, χωρὶς ἕκατον τοῖς συγκλητικοῖς· ἐξω γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων εἰσοπράξεων καὶ περὶ ἀναριθμητῶν οὐσῶν καὶ οἰκίας αὐτῶν πάντων πανδοκαπάς, ἐπειδὴ τῆς Ἀρμός ἐξωρίζει καὶ καταλύσεως πολυτελείας ἐν μέσαις τοῖς ὀσάκες καὶ τοῖς βραχύτατοις οἰκείοις δοπανήμασιν αὐτοῖς ἐγκατάστημεν, ἐν ἀεὶ ὡς δόσιν ὑπὸ ἴκνησαι ποτὲ, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς ἀνθρώπων πάντων καὶ τοῖς παρακαλοῦν, δυσπέραι 7 καὶ ἐγέμασαν ἡ καὶ ἐχεῖσαν ἡ κατεσκευάζομεν, μηδὲν παρ᾽ αὐτῶν λαβόντες ἡ κατεσκαράθηνεν ἐν ἣ ἡμεῖς ἐκπρεπεῖμεν. (25)

30 (30)
78[77].9.1 Οὕτως οὖν ὁ φιλαλεξανδρότατος Ἀντωνίνος ἐς μὲν τοὺς στρατιώτας, οὗς πάνω πολλοῦς ἁμρ' αὐτῶν εἶχε, προφάσεις ἐκ προφάσεων καὶ πολέμους ἐκ πολέμων σκηπτόμενος, φιλαναλωτής ἦν, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἔργον εἶχε περιδύνειν ἀπουσιαν ἐκτρόγχεαι, οὕχ ἢκιστα τοὺς συγκλητικοὺς. 2 χωρὶς γὰρ τῶν στεφάνων τῶν χρυσῶν οὐς ὡς καὶ πολεμίους τινὰς ἂν νικῶν πολλάκις ὕτει (λέγω δὲ οὐκ αὖτο τοῦτο τὸ τῶν στεφάνων σοῦμα πάσον γὰρ τοῦτο γέ ἐστιν; ἀλλὰ τὸ τῶν χρημάτων πλῆθος τῶν ἐπ' ὑνόματι αὐτοῦ διδομένων, οἷς στεφανοῦν αἱ πόλεις τοὺς αὐτοκράτορας εἰώθασιν), 3 τῶν τε ἐπιτηδεύειν αὶ πολλὰ καὶ πανταχόθεν τὰ μὲν προῖκα τὰ δὲ καὶ προσαναλίσκοντες ἐσεπρασσοῦμεθα, ἡ πάντα ἐκεῖνος τοῖς στρατιώταις ἔχαριζετο ἢ καὶ ἐκαπήλευεν, καὶ τῶν δόρων ἢ καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν τῶν πλουσίων καὶ παρὰ τῶν δήμων προσῆτε, 4 τῶν τε τελῶν τῶν τε ἄλλων ἢ κατὰ προσκατέδειξεν, καὶ τοῦ τῆς δεκάτης ἢν ἀντὶ τῆς ἐκοστῆς ύπὲρ τε τῶν ἀπελευθερουμένων καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν καταλειπομένων τισὶν κλήρων καὶ δωρεὰς ἐποίησεν πάσης, τὰς τε διαδοχὰς καὶ τὰς 5 ἀτελείας τὰς ἐπὶ τοῦτος τὰς δεδομένας τοῖς πάνω προσήκουσι τῶν τελευτῶν καταλύσας (οὔ ἐνεκα καὶ Ἂγαμαίους πάντας τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ αὐτοῦ, λόγῳ μὲν τιμῶν, ἐργῷ δὲ διὸς πλείω αὐτῷ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τοιοῦτο προσῆδρα διὰ τὸ τούς ξένους τὰ πολλὰ αὐτῶν μὴ συντελεῖν, ἀπέδειξεν) — 6 ἦξοι δὲ τοῦτων ἀπάντων καὶ οἰκίας αὐτῶν παντοδιατέκας, ἐκεῖθεν τῆς Ὀμής ἐξώρισεν, καὶ καταλύσεις πολυτελείς ἐν μέσαις ταῖς ὁδοῖς καὶ ταῖς βραχυτάταις οἰκείοις δαπανήσας κατασκευάζαν ἤναγκαζόμεθα, ἐν αἷς ὁγον οὐκ ἐνύξησέ ποτε, 7 ἀλλ' οὐδὲ δύσεθαι αὐτῶν τινὰ διελλέε, προσέτι καὶ θέατρα κυνηγετικὰ καὶ ἰπποδρόμους πανταχοῦ, διόσφερ καὶ ἐγείμασέν ἢ καὶ χειμάσειν ἠλλοις, κατασκεύασαν, μηδὲν παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβόντες, καὶ αὐτίκα πάντα κατεσκάφην οὕτω πως διὰ τοῦτο μόνον ἔγενετο, ἢν ὦμεῖς ἐπιτριβῶμεν.

ὅτι πάντως πολλοὺς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἔχει, προφάσεις ἐκ προφάσεων ἐκ προφάσεων 9 καὶ πολέμους ἐκ πολέμων σχηματόμενος. Exc. Val. 365 (p. 745).

οὕτως οὖν ὁ φιλαλεξανδρός—ὅτι δεινότατον ποικι καὶ τούτος Ἀντωνίνος ἐς μὲν τοὺς τὸ ἐχόντες ὑπὲρ μὴ μονάν ἐς τοὺς

24—p. 382, 5′ — Zon. 12, 12 p. 561, 8—11 B. (p. 111, 24—27 D.)

3. 4 leguntur haec apud Xiphilinum et in exc. Val. 364: ὅτι ὁ αὐτὸς καὶ ἐλέφαντας — τοῦ Διόνυσον γρηγορα ὑπόκειν.


23—p. 382, 5 ex Xiphilineis his et excerpti Valesiani 366 exordio genuinam Dionis manum restituere non queo. cam exc. Val. 365 coniugens haec ita constituit Reim.: οὕτως οὖν ὁ φιλαλεξανδρότατος Ἀντωνίνος πάντως πολλοὺς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν

stratiótas filanálalotís ἦν, stratiótas filanálalotís ἀλλὰ
tou ἔξ ἕυποιν πάντας ἀν-
θρώπους ἔργον εἰσὲ περιθέων
ἐπίσεων ἐκτέχειν, οὐχ ἥκε
2 στά τοῦς συγκλήτικοις· ἔξω γὰρ
tῶν ἄλλων εἰσπραξέων καὶ ποί
ἀναφημήτων οὐσῶν [καὶ οἱ
καὶ οἱ σύν ἄνω παντοδιαφήματι κ. τ. λ.]
§ 6]. Xiph. 330, 21—24 R. St.

ey ἐστὶν; ἄλλα τὸν χρημάτων πλῆθος τῶν ἐν τῇ ὅμωμαι τοῦ
diodómenen, ὡς στεφάνως τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εἰσ-
3 ταῖς ἐπιθεῖσιν, ὡς θαλᾶται καὶ παντοτέρα τὰ μὲν πρῶτα
tὰ δὲ καὶ προσαναθλίκουσας ἐπεισοδόμες ἡ, δὲ καὶ ἐκτέχθησαν, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἔτοιμοι καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἤμων προσωπεῖς.
4 τῶν τὸν τελῶν τὸν τήρων αὐτόν καὶ προσκατεύθεται, καὶ τὸν τούς
δεκάτης ἔξω ἀντὶ τῆς εἰκοστῆς ὑπὲρ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐκτέχθη, καὶ ὡς τῶν καταλείπομένων τῶν ἀθηρών ἔποσιν, τὰς τὰς ἐν παρὰ τῶν ἤμων προσωπεῖς.
5 τοῖς πάνω ἐξεσάχησαν τῶν τελευταίων καταλαμάζαν (οὐκ ἔσχα οὐ καὶ
Ῥωμαίοις πάντας τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἁρχῇ ἄνωθεν, λόγῳ μὲν τιμῶν, ἐξη
δὲ ὡς τῆς τῆς τοῦτος αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τούτου προσόμοις διὰ τὸ τοὺς ἔξω
τούς τὰ πολλὰ ἀντίθετα μὴ συντελεῖν, ἀπέδειξεν) — ἔξω δὲ τοῖς
6 ἐποίησαν καὶ οὐσίας αὐτοῦ παντόσαθι, ἐπειδὴ τῆς Ῥώμης ἐξη-
τῆς, προφανεῖς ἐκ προφανεῖς καὶ πολέμως ἐκ πολέμως συγκλήτικοι.

11 καὶ οἱ αὐτοὶ Ῥκ. 12 ὡς ins. Val. 14 ἐς ins. Val. 19 ὡς
φροίν ἐποῖης πάσης Salm. de modo usw. p. 854 sqq., φροίν ἐποῖης πάσης
cod. Peir., ὡς ἐποῖης, πάσης Val., quod vel propter sequentiam ferri ne-
quitt. ceterum legata tum tamen intelligenda sunt, non dona inter vivos, ad rem
cf. 55, 25, 5; 78, 12, 2 20 ἐκ τούτων ἐκ τούτων Reim. 23 προσόμοι Ῥκ.,
μης, καὶ καταλύσεις πολυτελεῖς ἐν μέσαις ταῖς ὀδοῖς καὶ ταῖς βραχυτάταις ὀθικοῖς δαπανήμασι κατασκευασίαν ἱμαγαζομέθα, ἐν αἷς ὀθῖ ἄθαντε ἐνεχθῆ ποτε, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ὡμογενεῖς αὐτῶν τινὰ ἔμειλε. προσετεὶ καὶ Θεότητα κυνηγεῖαι καὶ ἱπποδρόμους πανταχοῦ, ὅπου ἦσαν 7 περὶ ταῖς χείρισεις καὶ χειμώνης ἡμείς, κατασκευάζομεν, Π 149 μηδὲν παρ᾽ αὐτῶν λαβόντες. καὶ αὐτίκα πάννα κατασκαφῆς ἵππων ποιῶν διὰ τοῦτο μόνον ἐγένετο, ἐν ἡμείς ἐπιτριβῆμεν. Ἐκκ. Βαλ. 366 (p. 745), et (§ 6. 7) Xiph. 330, 24—32 R. St.

αὐτὸς δὲ τὰ χρήματα ἐς τὸ τοὺς στρατιώτας ὡς ἔφημεν, καὶ 10 ἦς θηρία ἑπονοεῖ τε ἐδαπάνα πέμπολλα γὰρ τοῖς καὶ θηρίῳ καὶ βοτα, τὰ μὲν πλεῖστα παρ᾽ ἡμῶν καὶ ἀνάγκη λαμβάνων, ἦδον δὲ ἔνα καὶ ὠνομάζον, ἀντικύψις, καὶ ποτὲ ἕκαστον ἐς ἄμα αὐτοχείρις ἀδραχές, ἀριστοκράτεις τε [ἐν] τῇ οὐνελευθερολάθε κρίματος. ἦν γὰρ 2 εἰς πάντα καὶ θερμώτατος καὶ ουράκτεις, πρὸς δὲ τούτων ἐλέγε καὶ τὸ πανούργον τῆς μυριδός καὶ τῶν Σάτρων, ὥστε ἑκεῖνη ἢν. ἀγανυθησέν δὲ ἦ τῶν ἐξελευθέρων τινὰ ἢ τῶν ἀλλῶν τῶν πλούσιων ἐπάθην, ἐνα καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἐναλληκταί τε προσεκίνηται τε αὐτοὺς κατονθήν ἢ μόστης, καὶ χρυσός ὡστε τε ὧν τετανενοτάτον ἤτει. καὶ 3 ἔλεγε κατὰ τὸν Περικλῆ παρὰ παῦντα τόν τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ χρόνον πάσα ἡ ἀπαρχαῖα αὐτή ἐπορφυρηθῆ ὡστε τοὺς Ρωμαίους ποτέ ἐν ἱπποδρόμῳ συμβοής ἢ ὀμματις ὁ ἡτε ὅνομαρμένη χιλιαρίων, ἢ παρ᾽ εὐθυμίως δαιμονίων τῆς γάρ ἔλεγε πολλάκις ὡς "οὐδένα 4

20—23: Πετρ. Πατρ. ἐκχ. Βαλ. 140 (p. 229 Mai. = p. 212, 31—213, 3 Dimil.): ὅτι Ἀντώνιους οὕτω τὰ πάντα ἐλάμβανεν καὶ χόρον καὶ τελευτώντες, ὡστε τοὺς Ρωμαίους ποτὲ εἰς τὴν ἱπποδρόμον συμβοήσαι ἢ ἐλάττων καὶ ὅτι τοὺς θαυματοποιεῖ ἢ ὀμματις δαιμονίων χιλιαρίων [ία υπνοῖν διεκυρωθέν, ς ἐνδικτές εὐνοῦντον], ἢ σεισμόν τετανενοτάτον ἢ ἐλεγε πολλάκις ὡς "οὐδένα 4

13—15: cf. ad c. 5, 6.

1 ταῖς (prius) om. cod. Peir. 2 κατασκευαζείν ΒΟ, οἰκοδομήσαι μεν. Peir. θραρχαζομέθα ΒΟ, θραρχαζομέν μεν. Peir. 3 ὡρισθαι αὐτών τινα μελλε ΒΟ, εἰδέν αὐτάς. Peir. 4 προσέχει om. cod. Peir. πανταχοῦ om. cod. Peir. 5 καὶ αὐτίκα πάννα ΒΟ, αὐτάς. Peir. 7 μόνον ἐγένετο ΒΟ, γενέμενα μεν. Peir.
10 ὡποιος τε — ἠθρία om. V καὶ βοτά Β, (ῷποιος τε) καὶ βοτά C (sic) 13 τα τοῦ R. St., τα τοῦ VC, forte τ' ἐστιν οὐνελευθεροί R. St., ουνελευθεροί VC
19 Ἡλιον scrispi, ἕλιον R. St. 22 ἀποδόμαν ΒΟ, καλοῦμεν (f) exc. Vat., ἀπεκπολοῦμεν Planudes (cf. vol. 1 p. CXXI), ἀποδόμαν Br. pulchre.