GIFT OF
Mary Taylor
SELECT ORATIONS

of

M. T. CICERO,

&c. &c.
SELECT ORATIONS

OF

M. TULLIUS CICERO,

FROM THE TEXT OF

JO. CASP.ORELLIUS,

WITH

NOTES,

CRITICAL AND EXPLANATORY,

FOR THE USE OF SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES.

BY

THE REV. MAURICE M'KAY, M.A.,
MASTER OF THE KINSALE ENDOWED SCHOOL.

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MDCCCXXXIII.
The want of a useful edition of the Orations of Cicero which are usually read in schools and colleges, has long been felt and acknowledged.

The Delphin edition, the only one available to the generality of students, was, perhaps, of all the Delphin classics, the least deserving of the patronage of the learned. The text was corrupt, the annotations were not drawn from the best sources, and the principal difficulties left unnoticed. When to this it is added, that typographical errors had been permitted to accumulate in the successive editions, so as, in many instances, to render the meaning of passages either unintelligible or exceedingly obscure, it will readily be admitted, that a favourable opportunity was afforded for the publication of a new edition, which should at least attempt to supply the deficiencies, and avoid the glaring errors of its predecessors.

This task has been attempted in the present publication. The text of Orellius has been adopted; whose elaborate edition of the works of Cicero, published at Zurich, 1826,—1830, displays the strictest attention to sound critical principles; avoiding equally an obstinate adherence to ancient but unauthorized readings on the one hand, and reckless innovation on the other.
PREFACE.

The next care of the Editor has been to supply the want of copious explanations of the difficult passages with which these Orations abound. The Editor is aware that some have objected to copiousness of annotation, as tending to prevent research in the student, and have urged the propriety of merely giving references to the proper sources of information; and no doubt such a plan would be highly deserving of adoption, if these sources were always accessible to the student. But as this is not the case, the Editor hopes to be excused for having laboured to make his explanations as full as possible.

Another important subsidiary element in the study of Cicero, is the observing the minute but elegant turns of thought with which he abounds; the amazing force and propriety of the expressions, even where his mind would appear to be carried away with the rapid flow of his eloquence. These never fail to strike an examiner, and require that the attention of the student should be directed to them wherever they occur. This, it is hoped, the Editor has not failed to effect.

Closely connected with this attention to the niceties of the Author, is the careful observation of the mutual dependence of the various arguments, which, being obviously necessary to a comprehensive view of the whole, has been carefully pointed out. Historical Introductions have been prefixed to the Orations, with analyses of the contents. In these, the Editor has adopted the plan, and, in many instances, the matter, of the argumenta, given by Schütz, in his edition of Cicero.

And here, perhaps, the Editor's task should have closed, and all the apparatus of history, antiquities, &c., should be left to be derived from the authors who professedly treat of these subjects; but, aware that very many students are so circumstanced as to be unable to command the perusal of these
authors, the Editor felt bound not to omit brief notices of such points of history, antiquities, &c., as occur. Still, however, he would not have it supposed, that these ought to supersede the perusal of the proper treatises, from which alone, masterly views on these subjects can be obtained.—With this object, and conceiving that there may be some,

"—— quibus arte benigna
Et meliore luto finxit præcordia Titan,"

the Editor has not failed to mark the various references to the works from which his facts and explanations are derived; and he has frequently referred to passages which might confirm or illustrate the view which he has taken; to enable such students as enjoy the requisite facilities, to compare the passages themselves, and form their own opinion.

With regard to the sources from which the annotations have been derived, they are so varied, and the alterations which it was found necessary to make, in adapting the matter which they supplied to the design of the work, so great, that the names have been generally omitted, except where it seemed necessary for the Editor, in confirmation of his own opinion, to avail himself of the argumentum ad auctoritatem. He must not, however, omit to state, that many of the notes of Valpy's edition of the select orations of Cicero, anticipating, as they often did, his own views, have been inserted and duly acknowledged.

The Editor has only to express his hopes that this Edition will be found useful, as well for collegiate purposes, as also in those schools where the Orations of Cicero form a part of the course of study. With this view, principally, the notes have been written in English rather than in Latin, and various explanations of the less obvious words and phrases inserted for the benefit of the junior class of students.

It will be observed, that the Orations against Catiline,
should have followed the Oration for the Manilian law; but to suit the convenience of those students who are obliged to make these and the Philippics the object of study for a particular examination, they have been removed to their present place.
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THE FOLLOWING CONTRACTIONS OF THE NAMES OF COMMENTATORS, ETC., HAVE BEEN USED:

**Orel.** for Orellius.

**Manut.** — Manutius.

**Forcel.** — Forcellinus. (See his Lexicon by Bailey.)

**Sch.** — Schütz.

**Abram.** — Abramius.

**Ern.** — Ernesti.

**Graev.** — Graevius.

**V. E.** — the Valpy Edition or Editor.

**Sylv.** — Sylvius.

**Hottom.** — Hottomanus.

**Delph.** — the edition by the Dauphin editor, Merouille.

&c., &c., &c.

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ERRATUM.

In some copies, p. 100, line 7, supply *ad* after *Lanuvium.*
INTRODUCTION TO THE ORATION

FOR THE

MANILIAN LAW.

1. In the year of Rome 687, Cicero, then elected praetor, pronounced this oration in favour of a law proposed by C. Manilius, tribune of the people, which had for its object the appointment of Pompey to the command of the Mithridatic war. The fortunes of this war, therefore, and the character of Pompey, being the chief subject of the oration, it may be of use to state them more in detail than could be expected from the orator, within the limits of a popular address.

2. Mithridates the great, who succeeded to the throne of Pontus, a. u. 634, was the son of Mithridates, surnamed Evergetes, a monarch of considerable abilities, who, by his services in the war with Aristonicus, * gained the friendship of the Roman people, and a grant of Phrygia Major. The resumption of this territory from the son during his minority, laid the foundation of that hatred to the Romans, which became the ruling principle of his life, and gained him the appellation of a second Hannibal. The first evidence of it appeared in his procuring the assassination of Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, their old ally, and seizing on his kingdom. This violent act demanded the interference of the Romans, who expelled him from Cappadocia, and declared the country free. Finding, however, that the people preferred a

* Aristonicus was the illegitimate brother of Attalus, king of Pergamus, who bequeathed his kingdom to the Roman people. To this kingdom he laid claim, and the senate was obliged to send a consular army under Crassus to support their pretensions. This army was routed by Aristonicus; but Perpenna, the consul for the following year, a. u. 623, retrieved the honour of the Roman arms, and took Aristonicus prisoner.
monarchy,* they appointed Ariobarzanes, a noble of the country, king. But the same intrigues which had effected the murder of the former king, proved no less successful in accomplishing the dethronement of his successor. Accordingly, A. u. 661, we find Sylla employed in restoring Ariobarzanes to his throne.

3. In the mean time, Mithridates, with a view to extend his influence, gave his daughter in marriage to Tigranes, king of Armenia, who, at his instigation, expelled Ariobarzanes a second time. Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, shared a similar fate; and the senate of Rome being appealed to by the monarchs, appointed a commission, at the head of which was M. Aquilius, a man of consular rank, to reinstate them in their respective dominions; a proceeding to which Mithridates offered no opposition.

4. The rapacious spirit of the Romans, and perhaps, the ambition of Mithridates, soon provoked a war. The king was everywhere victorious; he expelled the monarchs once more; and extending his conquests to Asia Minor,† finally captured the Roman leaders, Oppius, Cassius, and Aquilius, of whom Aquilius was put to death, being forced to swallow melted gold as a stigma on the Roman avidity. At the same time he directed, by circular letters, a general massacre of the Italians throughout Asia. He then carried the war into Macedon and Greece, a great part of which he overran with his troops before the arrival of Sylla, (a. u. 666,) the general appointed to oppose him; Murena and Lucullus, who afterwards signalized themselves against Mithridates, being among Sylla's officers. This war, of which Greece was the principal theatre, and in which Athens suffered most, after a series of victories by Sylla, terminated in a peace, by which the monarchs were again restored, and Asia evacuated. This is reckoned by Appian THE FIRST MITHRIDATIC WAR.

5. In the mean time, the Marian faction, during the absence of Sylla, being triumphant at Rome, appointed the consul Valerius as his successor in the province, who, on his arrival in Asia, was killed by his lieutenant, Fimbria, in a mutiny of the troops. Fimbria, whose bravery was equal to his villany, for some time prosecuted the war against Mithridates with vigour; but finding his troops deserting to Sylla, he stabbed himself to avoid falling

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* This choice of the Cappadocians is supposed to be alluded to by Horace.— 'Mancipiis locuples eget æris Cappadocum rex.' Epist. ii. 6. 39.

† Asia Minor, now Anatolia or Anadoli, (from ἀνατολή, the east,) was a name adopted in the middle ages, for the countries lying between the Euxine and Mediterranean seas. At this time it comprised only the countries along the Propontis and Ἀηγεαν, of which Pergamus was the Capital.
INTRODUCTION.

into the hands of his enemy. This army formed the Valerian or Fimbrian legions, whose turbulence afterwards proved the ruin of Lucullus, and which were now intrusted to Murena, on the departure of Sylla for Rome, A. u. 670, whither the exigencies of the state called him. On his arrival there he obtained a triumph.

6. Murena soon found a pretext for renewing the war, to which he was prompted by avaricious views, in the warlike preparations of Mithridates against the Bosporani, a people of the Cimmerian Bosporus; which, after it had continued for three years without any action of importance, terminated by a general engagement, fought on the river Halys, in which both parties claimed the victory. For Sylla, who was now dictator, ordered a cessation of hostilities and a renewal of the peace. He then recalled Murena, and honoured him with a triumph, A. u. 672; and thus ended, according to Appian, the second Mithridatic war.

7. Sylla dying, A. u. 675, before the treaty was ratified, Mithridates, encouraged by the success of Sertorius, and by the disorders which the remaining Marians, under Lepidus, had excited in the state, resolved to renew the war. Tigranes led the way, by invading Cappadocia, and carrying off the inhabitants of twelve Greek cities to people his favourite capital, Tigranocerta. In the mean time the king of Bithynia dying, bequeathed his kingdom to the Roman people, which they proceeded to reduce into the form of a province. To prevent this, Mithridates attacked it by sea and land, and at the same time sent to Sertorius, then in Spain, offers of an alliance, and received in return some experienced officers to command his fleets.

8. The generals sent to oppose him were the consuls of the year, (679,) Lucullus and Cotta. Lucullus had the command of the Fimbrian legions; Cotta, of the fleet. The land forces of the king amounted to 180,000 men; the fleet reckoned 400 ships.—Cotta, who had proceeded to Bithynia, suffered a defeat which obliged him to retreat to Chalcedon, one of its maritime cities, and there sustain a siege. Lucullus forced Mithridates to raise the siege of this city, as also of Cyzicum, a town of the Propontis. Still he was able to despatch a large fleet to Italy, to the assistance of Spartacus; but being met by Lucullus, near Tenedos, it was intercepted and sunk. The king was soon after obliged to evacuate Bithynia, and fall back on Pontus, whither he was pursued by Lucullus: his cities taken, his armies routed, himself driven out of his native kingdom, and Pontus opened to the Roman legions. On this occasion he narrowly escaped falling into the hands of Lucullus's cavalry; who, tempted, however, by the
INTRODUCTION.

booty which the king abandoned to them in his flight, gave up the pursuit.

9. An asylum was now afforded him by Tigranes, whose dominions Lucullus invaded, and invested Tigranocerta. Two splendid victories over the combined forces of the kings, left Armenia at the mercy of the Roman general, who was proceeding to attack Artaxata, the old capital of Armenia, and depository of the treasures of Tigranes, when a spirit of insubordination manifested itself among the legions, especially the Fimbrian. They refused to march, and forced Lucullus to retire to winter quarters at Nisibis in Mesopotamia. The kings returned to their respective dominions, collected their forces, and while Tigranes confined Fan- nius, one of Lucullus's lieutenants, in a castle of Armenia, and collected his forces to invade the province, Mithridates, in Pontus, defeated, in turn, two others, Fabius and Triarius.

To complete the disaster, Glabrio, the consul of the year (686), whom the tribune Gabinius, at Rome, by false representations of the wealth and avarice of Lucullus, had procured to be appointed his successor, arrived in Bithynia; and, by a decree, commanded the soldiers no longer to obey Lucullus, now reduced to the rank of a private citizen.

The decree was obeyed; the Fimbrian veterans received their discharge; and the remaining troops were sent to Glabrio.

10. In the mean time the example of Gabinius was followed at Rome by the tribune Manilius, who, wishing to ingratiate himself with the people by flattering their favourite, Pompey, proposed the law in question. Equally interested were the views of Cicero in supporting it, who hoped for Pompey's patronage in obtaining the consulship to which he now aspired. The law was carried, and Pompey, who was then in Cilicia, extinguishing the remains of the piratical war, immediately assumed the command. Lucullus returned to Rome, and having with difficulty obtained a triumph, retired from public life, and passed the remainder of his days in philosophic ease.

11. Pompey, who had thus, by the influence of turbulent tribunes, (as Cicero himself subsequently owned, Phil. viii. 13,) succeeded to the command of all Asia, was now in his fortieth year. He was the son of Pompeius Strabo, a distinguished general in the Italic war, in whose army, while yet a boy, he learned the military art; and, after his father's death, served for some years under Cinna.* On the return of Sylla from Asia, A. D. 670, Pompey,

* Plut. (Pomp. 5,) says, that the mutiny of Cinna's troops, in which he was killed, arose from a suspicion of his having murdered Pompey.
then about twenty-three years of age, joined him with three
legions, which he had credit to raise in Picenum. Having, on
his march, defeated Brutus, a Marian leader, Sylla rose up at his
approach and saluted him, Imperator.

12. The following year, he defeated two large armies of Carbo,
the successor of Cinna, at Præneste and Clusium; and pursuing
Carbo, himself, who fled to Sicily, he took the island, and put
him to death. He then, in the short space of forty days, reduced
Africa, which was held by Domitius, the son-in-law of Cinna, as-
sisted by Hiarbal, king of Numidia. Being thus conqueror of
Africa at the age of twenty-four, he was recalled to Rome, and, 
according to Plutarch, saluted by Sylla with the title of Magnus,*
and obtained a triumph, being still a Roman knight.

13. Sylla now resigned the dictatorship, and Pompey used his
influence in promoting Lepidus to the consulship, who revived the
Marian cause, and was declared a public enemy. M. Brutus, the
father of the Tyrannicide,† was now in Cisalpine Gaul, and de-
declared for Lepidus. Pompey being sent thither, defeated and
slew him in time to join Catulus, the other consul, in an attack
upon his colleague, Lepidus, who was driven into Sardinia, where
he died of grief. Pompey, contrary to the wishes of Catulus,
delayed disbanding his army till he was commissioned, in prefer-
ance to the consuls of the following year, Junius Brutus and
Mam. Äemilius, to proceed to Spain, against Sertorius, the only
remaining Marian leader, and then opposed by Metellus Pius.

14. Here Pompey found his equal in the great abilities of Ser-
torius; who, after two unsuccessful campaigns, obliged him to
retire into Gaul. The treachery of Perpenna effected what the
arms of Pompey were unequal to. Sertorius was slain at a ban-
quet; and as his talents had long supported, so his death proved
the ruin of the Marian cause. Perpenna was soon defeated by
Pompey and slain. In the mean time, Crassus had just given the
Servile army of Spartacus a final defeat, and a party of the fugi-
tives falling into the hands of Pompey, as he returned from Spain,
afforded him a pretext for claiming the extinction of that war.—
For these achievements he was decreed a second triumph, though
still of equestrian rank.

15. The law which required the consul to be forty-three, was
then dispensed with, in favour of Pompey, now only in his thirty-

* It is uncertain when this title was conferred. Appian makes it after the
Mithridatic war, but Cicero applies it to him, A. v. 690. Agrar. ii. 20. Liv.
xxx. 45, attributes it to the flattery of his friends.
† Cicero uses the Greek word, Fam. xii. 22, 'nōstri τυραννοκτόνων longē
absunt.'
fifth year; and, A. u. 683, he was raised not only to be a senator, but to be president of the senate.

Pompey was busily employed in forwarding such measures as would extend his popularity; particularly the restoration of the tribunes of the people to the privileges of which Sylla had deprived them, up to his appointment, by the Gabinian law, to the command of the piratical war, which he despatched in forty-nine days; not without sullying his fame, by his intrigues with the Cretans, and his mean opposition to Metellus Creticus. The following year, as has been stated, he obtained the command of the Mithridatic war, with large discretionary powers; and it is but justice to add, that, in that difficult commission, he sustained his former high character, and brought it to a speedy and decisive issue.

16. The plan of this oration is extremely simple. The exordium consists in a statement of the orator's reasons for not having hitherto spoken from the Rostra, c. 1. Then follows a triple division of his subject: 1. the kind of the war; 2. its magnitude; 3. the choice of a general. The first is enlarged on, c. 2—7; the second, c. 8. 9; the third, c. 10—17. The orator then addresses himself to the 'refutation;' i.e. to reply to the objections of Q. Hortensius and Q. Catulus. The former is answered, c. 18. 19; the latter, 20—23. He then concludes with an exhortation to C. Manilius, to persevere in his motion, in defiance of threats or violence, promising him his assistance and entire support. c. 24.
PRO LEGE MANILIA

ORATIO.

I. QUAMquam mihi semper frequens^2 conspectus^1 vester, multo jucundissimus; hic autem^3 locus,^4 ad agen-

1. Conspectus] We find in every language the same terms used to express the act and the object of any of the senses: thus we say 'acute vision' (the act); 'the vision of the prophet' (the object). So 'ἀκοή' hearing—report. Hence 'conspectus,' importing the object seen, when that object is a people, may imply, as here, 'an assembly.'

2. Frequens] is, 1. a repetition of time; 2. of number. As the sense of the passage requires the second meaning here, it serves to limit 'conspectus' to the sense given above. Or the phrase may be resolved thus, 'Although the sight of you crowded together, &c.'

3. Autem] 'and though, &c.'; used in continuation, like the Greek particle ὅτι.

4. Locus] Cicero had never before addressed the people from the Rostra. This did not arise from negligence or dislike, for he had always thought it the most delightful and honourable task—but from the high idea which he had formed of the talents and learning requisite for such an undertaking. This is at once complimentary to the people, and serves to constitute the proemium of his speech. It may be here remarked, that at Rome, those only who were Magistrates, or were introduced by Magistrates, had liberty to address the people; whereas, at Athens there was no such restriction, respect being merely had to age. Αἰσχ. in Ctes. 1. Att. iv. 2. 'Cum subito Clodius in concionem ascendit quam Appius ei dedit.' Appius was then prætor. Hence at Rome we at no time find that 'harvest of demagogues,' (φυτά ὅρντων ποιητῶν, Αἰσχ. in Ctes. 86.) which sprang up at Athens, and, no doubt, accelerated its fall.
5. Ad agendum] The commentators here inform us, from A. Gell. xiii. 15. that 'cum populo agere' signifies to address the people, soliciting their votes for or against a certain measure; 'concionem habere,' harrassing them without having that object; which, however true, is here quite irrelevant. For Cicero does not say, 'ad agendum cum populo'—'concionem habere,' but simply 'ad agendum'—'ad dicendum;' and by declaring that he always thought the Rostra the most honourable place for these exercises, he plainly intimates that they were not limited to it alone, but prevailed, though in a lower degree, in the private courts. Besides he often joins the words elsewhere as synonymous. 'Mentem quâ hæc ipse agimus ac dicimus.' Mil. 31. We must therefore translate them generally, 'to conduct business,' 'to harangue.'

6. Amplissimus] 'Amplus' imports 1. wide, capacious; 2. dignified, honourable; which is the meaning here. So Arch. 10. 'ipsis populis de quorum rebus scribitur hæc ampla sunt.' The Delph. incorrectly explains it, 'commodissimus.'

7. Ornatisimus] 'honorificus'—conferring honour. Forcel. Others, 'admitting the highest oratorical embellishment;' which, if the interpretation of 'amplus' be right, must be incorrect, nothing being more common with Cicero than two synonymous epithets.

8. Aditu] the Rostra, the grand entrance to glory and fame at Rome.

9. Optimo cuique] 'every man of merit.' Sall. Cat. 8. 'Optimum quosque facere quam dicere, malebat.'

10. Maxime patuit] He means with the magistrate's permission; or when he became a magistrate; a distinction open 'optimo cuique.' Supr. 4.

11. Mee vita rationes] 'pleading causes.' By 'ineunte ætate' he means the 'dawn of youth,' not 'boyhood.' At the age of twenty-six he pleaded a private cause for Quintius; and a year after a public one for Rose. Amerinus.

12. Prohibuerunt] i.e. though he had been questor, and adile; and therefore duly qualified.

13. Nam, quum, &c.] Three causes deterred him from the Rostra: 1. his plans of life, 2. his modesty, 3. the talents and industry requisite for such an undertaking.

14. Per ætatem] 'youth;' which the Romans extended to forty years. Cicero was now in his forty-first year; and had been pleading causes for nearly twenty.

15. Statuerem] sc. apud animum. De Orat. iii. 22. 'vix statuere apud animum meum possum.'

16. Perfectum ingenio] Ingenium res invent; inventas industria perfect. Manut. Cicero's expression then is not strictly correct.

17. Temporibus] Cicero uses 'tempora' for 'pericula' and 'pericula,' again, for 'lites.' Mil. 36. 'Bona, fortunas meas ac liberorum meorum in communionem tuorum temporum contuli.' And Arch. 2. 'In ejusmodi persona quae minime in ju-
putavi. Ita\textsuperscript{19} neque hic locus vacuus\textsuperscript{20} unquam fuit ab his, qui vestram causam defenderent: et meus labor, in privatorum\textsuperscript{21} periculis caste\textsuperscript{22} integreque versatus, ex vestro judicio fructum\textsuperscript{23} est amplissimum consecutus. Nam quum, propter dilatationem\textsuperscript{24} comitiorum,\textsuperscript{25} ter praetor\textsuperscript{26} primus centuriis cunctis\textsuperscript{27} renunciatus sum, facile intellexi, Quirites, et quid de me judicaretis, et quid alius prescriberetis.\textsuperscript{28} Nunc quum et auctoritatis in me tantum sit, quantum vos honoribus\textsuperscript{29} mandandis\textsuperscript{30} esse voluistis: et ad dicis periculis; tractata est.'

18. Transmittendum] 'to be spent according to the exigencies of my friends.'\textit{Manut.} Rather 'to be devoted to.' Operi transmittere noctes. Stat. Theb. iii. 287.

19. Ita] 'Ita' is not to be referred merely to 'omne meum....putavi,' the words immediately preceding, as Cicero's attention to the concerns of his friends is no reason why the people should have champions of their cause; though it is, why 'meus labor—fructum est amplissimum consecutus.' Refer it also then to the remote clause 'optimo cuique maximè patuit.'


21. Privatorum] which were not brought forward to the Rostra.

22. Caste, &c.] Castus proprié sacerdotis; integer, judicis et patroni, Marcil. Hic, however, they both import 'immunis,' and allude to the Cincian law, A. u. 549, against fees for pleading. Liv. xxxiv. 4.

23. Fructum] the praetorship.

24. Dilatationem] This adjournment was usually caused either by the intercession of the tribunes or the inspection of the magistrates. Phil. ii. 32. Here it arose from the ferment in which the city was kept by the promulgation of the Gabianian, Rosingian, and other laws. The comitia was twice dissolved as informal. In these, as well as the third, Cicero was declared first praetor. This, however, gave him no superiority of rank or jurisdiction, but was merely a testimony of public favour. Hence his boast, Brut. 93, 'et praetor primus et incredibili populi voluntate sum factus.'

25. Comitiorum] sc. 'centuriatorum;' at which the higher magistrates were appointed.

26. Praetor] (from præ ire) any leader, civil or military; but A. u. 399, the name was restricted to the magistrate who presided over the administration of justice. The first praetor was the son of the great Cælius, Liv. vii. 1, and the praetors continued for thirty years to be chosen from the patricians. The praetor peregrinus was appointed A. u. 510, 'qui inter cives Romanos et peregrinos jus dicercet.' Liv. xxii. 35. The number was now eight.

27. Cunctis] qu. 'conjunctis'—all without exception; whereas a majority only was necessary.

28. Quid aliis praescriberetis] sc. de me judicandum. Sylv. Rather, 'what line of conduct you marked out for others to pursue,' namely—to devote their time to the exigencies of their friends.

29. Honoribus] the ædileship and praetorship; for the quastorship was not considered a magistracy or an honour. Hor. Certat tergeminis tollere honoribus. These were the ædileship, praetorship, and consulsiphip.

30 Mandandis] Al: mandandum, to be annexed to, &c. Transl. 'as you wished me to have by conferring your honours upon me;' or,
agendum facultatis tantum, quantum homini vigilantis ex forensi usu prope quotidiana dicendi exercitatio potuit afferrre: certe, et, si quid auctoritatis in me est, ea apud eos utar, qui eam mihi dederunt: et, si quid etiam dicendo conse- qui possum, iis ostendam potissimum, qui ei quoque rei\[^{31}\] fructum suo judicio tribuendum esse censuerunt. Atque illud in primis mihi latandum jure esse video, quod in hac insolita mihi ex hoc loco ratione dicendi, causa talis oblata est, in qua oratio deesse nemini potest. Dicendum est enim de Cn. Pompeii\[^{32}\] singulari eximiaeae virtute: hujus autem orationis difficilis est exitum, quam principium in- venire. Ita mihi non tam copia, quam modus in dicendo quarendus est.

II. Atque, ut inde oratio mea profiscatur, unde hac omnis causa ducitur: bellum grave et periculo sum vestris vectigalibus\[^{1}\] atque sociis\[^{2}\] a duobus potentissimis\[^{3}\] regibus inferri, Mithridate et Tigrane; quorum alter relietus,\[^{4}\] alter laccissit,\[^{5}\] occasionem sibi ad occupandam Asiam\[^{6}\] oblatam

‘by intrusting me with your magis-
tracies.’

31. \textit{Ei rei} sc. ‘quid dicendo consequi possum;’—the attainments of eloquence; not as Hott. ‘dicendi facultati’—ability in speaking; i. e. it was on his industry in pleading the causes of his friends, not on his talents as an orator, that the rewards were bestowed.


\textit{Sec. II.—I. Vectigalibus} ‘Vec-
tigal,’ from ‘veho,’ is 1. a duty on imports and exports; 2. the tax laid by the Romans on the lands and produce of conquered countries. Hence ‘vectigalis,’ one paying this tax, a tributary; op- posed to

2. \textit{sociis} who were joined in alliance with the Romans. Here particularly is meant Ariobarzanes, of whom infr. c. 5. ‘Rex, socius populi Rom., atque amicus.

3. \textit{Potentissimis} Cic. in Lucul. pronounces Mithridates the greatest king after Alexander. Tigranes had obtained considerable victories over the Parthians, and established Greek colonies in Media.

4. \textit{Relietus} Cic. insinuates that Lucullus gave up the pursuit of Mithridates, in quest of plunder; but vid. Introd. 9.

5. \textit{Lacciatus} This word is in-
vidiously chosen, as if Lucullus had wantonly provoked Tigranes to the fight, and then retreated. Introd. 9.

6. \textit{Ad occupandam Asiam} The usual construction is ‘occupanda Asiae.’ Asia was first reduced into the form of a Roman province, A. U. 620, after Attalus had bequeathed his kingdom to the Roman people. The Delph. dates it 137 (it should be 124) years before this period, when Scipio conquered Antiochus; but the coun-
try of which he was deprived, sc. Asia cis Taurum, was not reduced to the form of a province; being partly given to Eumenes and the Rhodians, partly made free. Introd. 4. note c.
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esse arbitratur. Equitibus Romanis, honestissimis viris, afferuntur ex Asia quotidie literae, quorum magne res aguntur, in vestris vectigalibus exercendis occupatae; qui ad me, pro necessitudo, quae mihi est cum illo ordine, causam reipublicae periculoque rerum suarum detulerunt: Bithyniae, qua nunc vestra provincia est, vicos exustos esse complures: regnum Ariobarzani, quod finitimum est vestris vectigalibus, totum esse in hostium potestate: Lucullum, magnis rebus gestis, ab eo bello discedere: huic qui successerit, non satis esse paratum ad tantum bellum administrandum: unum ab omnibus sociis et civibus ad id bellum imperatorem deposci atque expeti: eundem hunc unum ab hostibus metui, praeterea neminem.

Causa que sit, videtis: nunc, quid agendum sit, considerate. Primum mihi videtur de genere belli; deinde de magnitudine; tum de imperatore deligendo esse dicendum.

7. Equitibus Romanis] These had formed themselves into companies (societates) Muren. 33.) which farmed the public revenues—hence called publicani. The auction was held by the censors in March, and the highest contractor was called magister, who had a deputy called pro- magister.

8. Magni res] i.e. opes, facultates.

9. Exercendis] collecting. Inf. aut eos qui exercent atque exigunt. They collected tithes (decumae) from the husbandmen; rents (scriptura) from the pastures, and customs (por- torium) from the ports.


11. Necessitudo] a strong tie of friendship or intimacy. So δρασεῖ in Greek. Pliny, xxxiii. 8, explains it. M. Cicero demum stabilivit equestre nomen in consulatu suo, a x eo se ordine profectum esse celebrans, et ejus vires peculiari popularitate quærens.

12. Causam reip., &c.] He connects the public interest with that of the knights, lest he might seem to sacrifice public duty to private friendship.

13. Bithynia] Introd. 7. It was anciently called Debrycia, and received the name of Bithynia, from the Bithyni or Thyani, a Thracian nation: which settled there.

14. Qua nunc vestra provincia] This is added for the information of the people; an assembly of whom he was now addressing. The senate were, no doubt, aware of the fact. It was now about ten years since its establishment.

15. Regnum Ariob.] sc. Cappado- cia. Introd. 9. It must have been after Lucullus withdrew to Nisibis that Mithridates seized on this kingdom, as up to that time the Roman general was master of every country in his rear.

16. Huic qui successerit] Introd. 9. Al. succurrerit which, according to Hotton., intimates the too great eagerness of Glabrio in seizing on a command for which he was not remarkably adapted; being, in Cicero's opinion, 'socors ipsius natura, negli- gensque.' Brut. 68.

17. Praeterea] praeter hunc.
Genus est bellii ejusmodi, quod maxime vestros animos excitare atque inflammare ad studium persequendi debit: in quo agitur populi Romani gloria, qua vobis a majoribus, quem magna in rebus omnibus, tum summa in re militari tradita est: agitur salus sociorum atque amicorum, pro qua multa maiores vestri magna et gravior bella gesturunt: aguntur certissima populi Romani vectigalia et maxima; quibus amissis, et pacis ornamenta et subsidia bellii requiretis: aguntur bona multorum civium, quibus est a vobis et ipsorum et reipublicae causae consultum.

III. Et quoniam semper appetentes gloriae praefer teteras gentes, atque avidi laudis fuistis, delenda vobis est illa macula, Mithridatico bello superiore suscepta, quae patientia jam insedit, atque inveteravit in populi Romani nomine: quod is, qui uno die, tota Asia, tot in civitatibus, uno nuntio, atque una literarium significatio cives Romanos necados trucidandosque denotavit, non modo adhuc penam nullam suo dignam scelere suscept, sed ab illo tempore annum

18. **Genus est**] Al. Genus est enim. If so, enim is used for transition—as if he said, ' Now the, &c.'

19. **Ad studium persequendi**] Græv. inserts these words, which are omitted in the Delph.

20. **In re militari**] Florus (Prol. Hist.) says, that whoever reads the military history of the Romans must learn not the actions of a single people, but of all mankind.

21. **Certissima**] He must mean in peaceable times. When consul, two years afterwards, the Campanians were, in his opinion, the only sure revenues. Agr. ii. 29.

22. **Et pacis ornamentum, &c.**] So Agr. ii. 29, Pacis ornamentum, subsidia belii, fundamentum vectigalium.


24. **A vobis**] Here a is necessary, otherwise we might have translated 'which must provide for you.' Scheller's Lat. Gram. vol. 2. p. 233 Inf. 8. n. 4.

**Sec. III.—1. Appetentes gloriae**] This is illustrated by the fact, that from the building of Rome to the siege of Veii, nearly 350 years, the Roman soldiers served without pay. Liv. v. 2.

2. **Illa macula**] Introd. 4. The circular was directed to the prefects of Asia, and extended to men, women, and children—freemen and slaves. The property of the slain was divided between the assassins and the treasury. Plutarch, Syll. 24, states the number that perished at 150,000. Val. Max. ix. 2. 3. at 80,000. And Appian remarks, that the strictness with which the command was executed displayed more hatred to the Romans than fear of the king.—Introd. 5.

3. **Bello superiore**] Not the former war; for that was the war of Murena, in which the Romans received no 'stain.' The first war, therefore is meant; and it is probable that Cic. did not separate the war of Murena from that of Sulla; a distinction which it hardly deserves, either from its continuance, its danger, or the abilities of its general. Introd. 6.

Cic. is speaking in 687. The difference, reckoning inclusively, is twenty-three years.


7. Occultare—emergere—lucem] The metaphor here is borrowed from the changes in the heavenly bodies.

8. Asia lucem] An English translator, Duncan, renders this 'The rich and fertile country of Asia.' But Gesner (Thesaur. ling. Lat.) notices a common meaning of 'in luce,' sc. 'in publico civium convictu.' So ad Quint. Frat. i. Ep. i. 2. 'Istam virtutem non latere in tenebris; sed in luce Asie, in oculis clarissimae provincie—esse positam.' And this meaning agrees with Mithridates leaving the dark retreats (latebrae) of Cappadocia, and dwelling in the public view (lucem) of Asia. Vid. Eng. Trans.


10. Insignia victoriae] 'Triumphos,' Hotton. But Manut. objects to this meaning, as not agreeing with 'ab illo reportarent;' and explains it 'signa,' 'indicia.'

11. Quod egerunt] i.e. quantum ad illud attinet quod, &c. Hott; ex eo quod, &c. Manut. Eng. 'for what.'

12. Quod reliquerunt] sc. Mithridatem: quod is here a conj. Matth. V. E. 'If so, we would expect it to be the same before 'egerunt,' which it evidently is not.

13. Sullam] Introd. 5.

14. Murenam Sullam] Introd. 6. Sylla might want his troops in Italy. 'Mithridatem...quem L. Murena patert hujusce vehementissime vigilantissimique vexatum, repressum magna ex parte, non oppressum, reliquit.' Muren. 15.

Sec. IV.—1. Omne reliquum tempus] sc. from the recall of Murena, a. u. 672, to the appointment of Lucullus in 679. Introd. 7. 8.


3. Bosporanis] The Delph. erroneously considers this a Thracian people. Introd. 6. Appian makes these preparations to precede the recall of Murena. Mithr. 64. There may have been preparations on both occasions. Mithr. 67.
ferre simulasset: usuque in Hispaniam⁴ legatos⁵ ac literas⁶ misit ad eos duces,⁷ quibuscum tum bellum gerebamus: ut, quin, duobus in locis disjunctissimis⁸ maximeque diversis, uno consilio, a binis hostium copiis bellum terra marique⁹ gereretur, vos encipiti contentione districti, de imperio dimicarehis. Sed tamen alterius partis periculum,¹⁰ Sertorianæ atque Hispaniensis, quæ multo plus firmamenti ac roboris habebat, Cn. Pompeii divino consilio ac singulari virtute depulsum est: in altera parte ita res a L. Lucullo, summo viro, est administrata, ut initia illa¹¹ gestarum rerum magna atque præclara, non felicitätì ejus, sed virtuti; hæc autem extrema,¹² quæ nuper acciderunt, non culpæ, sed fortunæ tribuenda esse videantur. Sed de Lucullo dicam alio loco,¹³ et ita dicam, Quirites, ut neque vera laus ei detracta actione nostra, neque falsa afficta¹⁴ esse videatur. De vestri¹⁵ imperii dignitate atque gloria, quoniam is est exorsus orationis meæ,¹⁶ videte, quem vobis animum suscipiendum putetis.

V. Majores vestri¹ sape, mercatoribus ac naviculariis injuriosius² tractatis, bella gesserunt: vos tot civium Ro-

4. Usque in Hisp.] to Sertorius. Introd. 7. For the particulars of this embassy, vide App. Mithrid. 68; or Plutarch, in Sert. 23.

5. Legatos] named L. Magius, and L. Fannius; banished Marianis.— App. 68.

6. Ac literas] Usually read Ecbatanis, the name of the capital of Media Major; now, Hamedan, or, according to some, Ispahan. But it is impossible that Mithrid. could have been there at this time; and improbable that he was ever there at all.

7. Eos duces] Sertorius and perhaps Perpenna.

8. Locis disjunctissimis] Spain and Pontus were nearly at the opposite extremities of the Roman empire.


10. Alterius partis periculum] Vid. Introd. 14. where it will appear that the treachery of Perpenna had some share in dispelling this danger. Hooke, viii. 3.


15. De vestri, &c.] Al. Sed pro. In order to see the connexion here, we must consider from ‘Etenim adhuc, &c.’, c. 3., as a digression to the previous management of the war. Cic. now returns to his first argument—(quoniam semper appetentes gloria, &c.)—their thirst for glory, and the stain on their fame, which required to be effaced. This he enforces by showing how their ancestors had acted on less urgent occasions.


Sec. V.—1. Majores vestri] ‘Vestri’ was more complimentary than ‘nostri,’ and therefore used in addressing the people.

2. Injuriosius] i. e. ‘somewhat
manorum millibus\(^2\) uno nuntio atque uno tempore necatis, quo tandem animo esse debetis? Legati\(^4\) quod erat appellati superbius, Corinthum patres vestri,\(^5\) totius Graeciae lumen,\(^6\) extinctum\(^7\) esse voluerunt: vos eum regem inultum esse patiemini, qui legatum populi Romani consulare\(^8\) vinculis ac verberibus, atque omni supplicio excruciatum necavit? Illi libertatem civium Romanorum imminutam non tulerunt: vos vitam ereptam negligetis? Jus legationis verbo violatum\(^9\) illi persecuti sunt: vos legatum, omni supplicio interfectum, relinquetis?\(^10\) Videte, ne, ut illis pulcherrimum fuit, tantam vos bib imperii gloriam relinquere; sic vobis turpissimum sit, id, quod accepistis, tueri et conservare non posse. Quid? quod salus sociorum summum in periculum ac discrimen vocatur? Regno expulsus est Ariobarzanes, rex, socius populi Romani atque amicus,\(^11\) imminent duo reges toti Asiae, non solum vobis wrongfully,' a dimin. of the positive injuriosë; as inf. 'superbius.'

3. Tot—millibus\(]^{2}\) supr. 3, n. 2.
4. Legati\[ The 'legati' were Aurelius, Orestes, and other senators. Their commission was to settle the differences between the Achaean confederacy and Lacedaemon. With regard to the insult, Livy and Asconius say, 'quod pulsati ac violati essent,' and Strabo, 'quod sordes et tectis in eos conjecerint.' But Cic., who wished to lower the provoked as much as possible, omits to state that, after this, Metellus, the proconsul of Macedonia, fought a bloody battle in Locris—and Mummius another, at the Isthmus, before Corinth was destroyed. Nor does it appear, that Mummius acted by the orders of the senate, though his conduct afterwards met their approval. Cic. elsewhere states the real cause of its demolition, namely, 'specie utilitatis.' Off. iii. 11. Agr. ii. 32.
5. Patres vestri\[ 'Majores' is applied to the more ancient; 'patres,' to the more recent. Corinth was destroyed A. v. 607, exactly eighty years before this time.
6. Lumen\[ alluding to Leptines's calling Athens and Corinth 'the eyes of Greece.' Hottom.
7. Exstinctum\[ Al. exstinetam ; for 'Corinthus' is fom.—But it is, no doubt, referred to 'lumen.'
8 Legatum consulare\[ M. Aquilius, consul with Marius A. v. 651. He had been his lieutenant in the Cimbric war, and suppressed the revolt of the slaves in Sicily. It is hard to account for his being a commissioner on this occasion, unless we suppose that he was prompted to undertake it by avaricious views; to which indeed his subsequent punishment gives some countenance. Introd. 4.
9. Verbo violatum\[ supr. n. 4.
10. Relinquetis\[ Delph. inultum relinquetis; but unnecessary. 'Relinquo' opposed to 'persequi' is 'to neglect the wrongs of.' 'Cur injuriarlas tas relinquisti?' Verr. i. 33.
11. Socius—atque amicus\[ the highest title the Romans could bestow. Liv. xxxi. 11. 'Nominis ejus honorem pro magnis erga se regum meritis dare populum Rom. consuesse.' It was usual for the senate to present such kings with a crown of gold, a golden cup, an ivory curule
inimicissimi, sed etiam vestris sociis atque amicis: civitates autem omnes, cuncta Asia atque Graecia\textsuperscript{12} vestrum auxilium exspectare propter periculi magnitudinem coguntur: imperatorem a vobis certum deposecere, quum præsertim vos alium\textsuperscript{13} miseritis, neque audent, neque se id facere summo sine periculo posse arbitrantur. Vident et sentiunt hoc idem, quod vos,\textsuperscript{14} unum virum esse, in quo summa sint omnia, et cum prope esse, (quo etiam carent ægrius:\textsuperscript{15}) cujus adventu ipso atque nomine, tametsi ille ad maritimum bellum\textsuperscript{16} venerit, tamen impetus hostium repressos esse intellegunt ac retardatos. Hi vos, quoniam libere loqui non licet,\textsuperscript{17} tacite rogant, ut se quoque sicut ceterarum provinciarum socios, dignos existimetis, quorum salutem tali viro commendetis: atque hoc etiam magis,\textsuperscript{18} quam ceteros, quod ejusmodi in provinciam homines cum imperio notissimos, ut, etiam si ab hoste defendant, tamen ipsorum adventus in urbes sociorum non multum ab hostili expugnatione different. Hunc audiebant\textsuperscript{19} antea, nunc presentem vident, tanta temperantia,\textsuperscript{50} tanta mansuetudine, tanta humanitate, ut ii beatissimi esse videantur, apud quos ille diutissime commoratur.

chair, an ivory sceptre, an embroidered toga, and a striped tunic.

12. Cuncta—Graecia] In the abl. as 'tota Asia,' supra, 3. Weiske, V.E. But this seems very doubtful; for 'tota Asia' is there followed by 'in civitatis,' here preceded by 'civitates,' with which it is obviously in apposition.

15. Quo etiam carent ægrius] Delph. 'quem magis desiderant cum summa anctoritate.' But, 'quo' refers to 'prope esse,' the want of any good, being more felt the more nearly it is within our reach. Tusc. i. 36. 'Carere' est 'egere eo quod habere velis;' inest enim velle in carendo.
16. Maritimum bel.] This, extending to Cilicia and Mount Amanus, placed Pompey within the reach of the Asiatic states.
17. Quoniam libere loqui non licet] for Glabrio was already there.
18. Atque hoc etiam magis] If the ellipsis is supplied from the preceding words, it will be 'atque rogant—ut se etiam magis dignos existimetis, &c. quam ceteros hoc quod, &c.;' i. e. 'nay, they ask you to think them more deserving, &c., because, &c.' But as this seems too presuming for those silent petitioners, we may supply it thus: 'atque eos etiam magis dignos existimare debemus quam ceteros, &c.;' and we should deem them even more deserving than other provincials, in as much as—
19. Audiebant] while he was waging the Italian, Sicilian, African, and Spanish wars.
20. Temperantia] named first as being most opposed to the capacity of other generals. Manut.
VI. Quare, si propter socios, nulla ipsi injuria laccesit, maiorves vestri cum Antioccho, cum Philippo, cum Aetolios, cum Poenis bella gesserunt: quanto vos studio convenit, injuriiis provocatos, sociorum salutem una cum imperii vestri dignitate defendere; præsertim quum de vestris maximis vectigalibus agatur? Nam ceterarum provinciarum

Sec. VI.—1. Propter socios] According to Polybius ii. 12, the first intercourse between the Greeks and Romans took place on the conclusion of the first Illyrian war, A. v. 525, when the latter sent ambassadors to Corinth and Athens. The Corinthians admitted the Romans to the Isthmian games; the Athenians declared them citizens of Athens. Zon. viii.

2. Antioccho] Antiocchus the Great was descended from Seleucus Nicator, one of the generals of Alexander the Great. He possessed all the countries of Asia, from Media to Aelolis and Ionia, including Cœle-Syria, Phœnicia, and the coast of the Mediterranean, as far as Ægypt. His first appearance in Europe was at Lysimachia, a city of Thrace, which he claimed in right of its founder, Seleucus, and proposed to make the capital of a kingdom for his son. At the same time the Aetolians, dissatisfied at the peace between Philip and the Romans, (v. next note) instigated Nabibis, the tyrant of Lacedæmon, to attack the Achaæans, then headed by the celebrated Philipæmon; and inviting Antiocchus into Greece, constituted him general of the Aetolians. The Romans, of course, were applied to on the part of the confederates, and A. v. 562. sent Ac. Glabrio against Antiocchus, who, having destroyed his whole army at Thermopylæ, obliged himself to retreat to Asia, and the Aetolians to surrender at discretion. The following year his dominions were invaded by Scipio, who forced him to accept of an ignominious peace.

3. Philippo] Philip was descended from Antigonus, one of the captains of Alexander the Great. His power and abilities made him an antagonist worthy of the Romans, to whom he had rendered himself obnoxious during the second Punic war, by making a league with Hannibal. Subsequently he came to an agreement with Sempronius, (who had landed a large army in Greece, A. v. 549,) which was ratified by the senate. But the Athenians, having put to death two Acarnanians for violating the mysteries of Ceres, Philip, A. v. 552, joined the latter in invading Attica. The Athenians, in conjunction with Attalus and the Rhodians, sent deputies to Rome: Philip did the same. The senate decided in favor of the confederates, and the following year sent the consul, P. Sulpicius Galba, into Greece. This general and his successor, Flamininus, obliged Philip, at the end of four years, to accept of a peace, whereby full liberty was secured to the Grecian cities.

4. Aetolis] Vide penult. note. It was the year following, A. v. 564, that Fulvius, the patron of Ennius, (Arch. 11.) reduced them finally, harder terms of peace being imposed upon them than on any of the other states of Greece.

5. Poenis] What Punic war he alludes to is not specified. If we take the first, the allies will be the Mamertines, who had seized on the town of Messina, in Sicily, and invited the Romans to their support. If the second, the allies will be the Saguntines, on whom Hannibal made war.
vectigalia, Quirites, tanta sunt, ut iis ad ipsas provincias tutandas vix contenti esse possimus: Asia veri tam opimam est et fertilis, ut et ubertate agrorum, et varietate fructum, et magnitudine passionis, et multitudo earum rerum, quae exportantur, facile omnibus terris antecellat. Itaque haec vobis provincia, Quirites, si et belli utilitatem et pacis dignitatem sustinere vultis, non modo a calamitate, sed etiam a metu calamitatis est defendenda. Nam ceteris in rebus, quum venit calamitas, tum detrimentum accipitur: at in vectigalibus non solum adventus mali, sed etiam metus ipse affert calamitatem. Nam quum hostium copiae non longe absunt, etiam si irruptio facta nulla sit, tamen pecora relinquentur, agricultura deseritur, mercatorum navigatio conquiescit. Ita neque ex portu, neque ex decumis, neque ex scriptura vectigal conservari potest; quare sæpe totius anni fructus uno rumore periculi, atque uno belli terrore amittitur. Quo tandem animo esse existimati aut eos, qui vectigalia nobis pensitant, aut eos, qui exercent atque exigunt, quem duo reges cum maximis copiis prope adsint? quum una excursio equitatus perbrevi tempore

6. Tanta] so trifling; such and no more. ('Tantus'—tam parvus; vel certe non augens. Foreel.) 'Praesidii tantum est; ut ne murus quidem cingi potest. Cas. B. G. vi. 35. 7. Opima] from 'ops'—and 'ubertas' from 'uber'—ūbāp. 8. Ubertate....exportantur.] Alluding again to the triple produce—decumae—scriptura—portorium. 9. Calamitate] from 'calamus'—the effects of a storm on the stalks of corn. 10. Ceteris in rebus] such as shipwreck, fire, &c. 11. Detrimentum] 1. Loss by friction; from 'detero'; 2. Any loss or damage. 12.—Ex portu] sc. 'vectigal'; i.e. 'portorium,' and the collectors 'portitores.' As this was a highly oppressive tax, the 'portitores' were very unpopular among the provincials. It is they who in Scripture are called τελωναι—publicans, of whom St. Matthew was one. Cic., Verr. ii. 75, speaks of 'portorii vicesima;' which seems to intimate that the customs amounted to one-twentieth, or five per cent. on the capital. 13. Decumis] sc. 'partibus;' i.e. a tenth of the produce. Hence 'decumanus,' the farmer and collector of 'decume;' and as agriculture was the most respectable employment among the Romans, so the 'decumani' were 'principes et quasi senatus publicano- rum.' 14. Scriptura] the revenue arising from the public pastures; so called from the written arrangements entered into by the owners with the farmers, or 'pecuarii.' 'Neque ex scriptura' therefore refers to 'pecora relinquuntur' preceding. 'Scriptura,' it should be observed, at first included the whole three classes of revenue. So. Verr. ii. 70. 'In scriptura Siciliae pro magistro est quidam L. Carpinatus.' The pasture-tax, however, retained the name, when the others acquired distinctive appellations.
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15. *Familias*] 'Familia' means, properly, the slaves belonging to one master; here, the establishment of a single publicanus.

16. *Salinis*] sc. 'fodinis.' This is the reading of all the MSS. Yet it is hard to conceive why the great Families here spoken of, should be so employed, even admitting the existence of salt-pits in Asia, of which there is no proof. V. E. suggests that the manufacture of salt by evaporation would probably employ many hands, and Pliny, xxxi. 7, shows that that process was known to the ancients. But it is in reference to the taxing, not the manufacture, of salt that Cic. speaks, which surely would not require many hands: besides, he appears to keep in view the preceding division of revenues, in which 'in salinis' must answer to 'scriptura' or pastures. Hence, Turneb, Manut., and Hott., suggest *silvis, saliectis, and saltibus*. The first seems the most probable. So Mil. 9. *servi quibus silvas publicas depopulatus erat.* It may be added, that during the time of the kings, salt was sold by license; but on their expulsion this was abolished.

A new tribute was imposed, L. u. 549, by T. Livius, hence called Salinar; but we read of no such tax in Asia. Liv. xxix. 37.

17. *Custoditibus*] Places where the slaves of the 'publicani' kept guard, lest any goods should pass without paying custom. Sometimes it appears to stand for the officers themselves. De prov. con. 5.

Sect. VII.—1. Nam et] This et is answered by 'deinde,' inf.

2. *Honestiss.—ornatiss.*] Primum ad estimationem; alterum ad rem familiarem refertur. *Manut.*

3. *Rationes* 'resources,' 'property'—not 'accounts,' as explained by some.

4. *Contulerunt*] Either 'actually conveyed,' or, (as 'collocate' supra 2.) 'embarked in business.'


6. *Ceteris ex ordinibus*] Sc. the patrician and plebeian. Some of the former might at this time follow the
gnavi et industrii partim ipsi in Asia negotiantur, quibus vos absentibus consulere debetis: partim eorum in ea provincia pecunias magnas collocatas habent. Erit igitur humanitas vestrae, magnum eorum civium numerum calamitate prohibere: sapientiae, videre, multorum civium calamitatem a republica sejunctam esse non posse. Etenim illud primum parvi refert, vos publicanis amissa vectigalia postea victoria recuperare; neque enim iisdem redimendi facultas erit, propter calamitatem, neque alii voluntas, propter timorem. Deinde, quod nos eadem Asia, atque idem iste Mithridates initio belli Asiatici docuit; id quidem certa calamitate docti memoria retinere debemus. Nam tum, quum in Asia res magnas permulti amiserant, scimus, Romae, solutione impedita, fidem concidisse. Non enim possunt una in civitate multi rem atque fortunas amittere, ut non plures secum in eandem calamitatem trahant. A quo periculo prohibite rempublicam; et mihi credite, (id quod ipsis videtis,) hae fides, atque haec ratio pecuniarum, quae Romae, quae in foro versatur, implicita est cum illis pecuniis Asiaticis, et cohæret. Ruere illa non possunt, ut haec non eodem labefactata motu concidant. Quare videte, num dubitandum vobis sit, omni studio ad id bellum incumbere, in quo gloria nominis vestri, salus sociorum, vectigal axime, fortunae plurimorum civium cum republica defendantur.

VIII. Quoniam de genere belli dixi, nunc de magnitudine paucia dicam. Potest enim hoc dici: belli genus esse ita lucrative employment of traffic.

7. Collocatus] This was often done by lending on usury, as we find Brutus did to the Cyprians. Att. vi. 1. 3.

8. Multorum calamitatem, &c.] Off. iii. 15. 'Singulorum facultates et copiae, divitia sunt civilitas.'

9. Parvi refert] It is of little use.

10. Redimendi] Often simply, 'farming;' hence 'redemptores,' undertakers. So 'frequens redemptor.' Hor. Yet the force of re may be well introduced here, sc. 'farming anew.'

11. Belli Asiatici.] i. e. 'Mithridatici.' Vid. Introd.

12. Fidem] public credit; which now failed, from the non-payment of the bills given by the 'publicani' to the Roman bankers.

13. In foro versatur] The bankers had their offices in the forum. Hence Cic. calls it 'circumforaneum aës;' and Liv., xxvi. 11., (Hannibal), tabernas argentarias, quae circa forum Romanum tunc essent, jussit venire.

Sect. VIII.—1. Enim] i. e. For some may admit the necessity of the war, yet deny its danger and importance. Cic., therefore, employs the two following sections in answering this objection; i. e. in pointing out the principal causes of the war being so dangerous; and very properly concludes, c. 10., that it is 'magnitudine periculosum.' Guthrie, however, (whom Duncan follows,) renders
necessarium, ut sit gerendum; non esse ita magnum, ut sit pertimescendum. In quo\(^2\) maxime laborandum est,\(^3\) ne forte ea vobis, quae diligentissime providenda\(^4\) sunt, contemnenda esse videantur. Atque, ut omnes intelligent, me L. Lucullo\(^5\) tantum impertire laudis, quantum forti viro, et sapientissimo homini, et magno imperatori debeatur: dico, ejus adventu\(^6\) maximas Mithridatis copias, omnibus rebus ornatas atque instructas fuisse; urbemque Asiae clarissimam, nobisque amicissimam, Cyzicenorum,\(^7\) obsessam esse ab ipso rege maxima multitudine, et oppugnatam vehementissime; quam L. Lucullus virtute, assiduitate, consilio, summis obstidionis periculis liberavit: ab eodem imperatore classem magnum et ornatum, quae ducibus Sertorianis\(^8\) ad Italiano studio inflamnata raperetur,\(^9\) superatam esse atque depressam: magnas hostium praeterea copias multis praelii esse delatas: patefactumque nostris legionibus esse Pontum, qui ante populo Romano ex omni aditu clausus esset: Sinopen\(^10\) atque Amisum,\(^11\) quibus in oppidis erant domicilia

it: 'and this I will venture to say, that though its nature renders it absolutely necessary, yet its greatness can never render it formidable;' and this he conceives Cic. to urge as a reason why the greatest general ever Rome had then seen, should be sent to conduct it!

2. In quo\(^1\) i. e. in making out which point, sc. the importance of the war.

3. Laborandum est\(^2\) sc. mihi. He wishes to rouse their attention to his statement.

4. Ea—qua providenda\(^3\) These he sums up, inf. c. 9, under five particulars—' quod conjunctum reges potentissimis, &c.' Al. a vobis. But the prep. is unnecessary. Vid. supr. 2. n. 24.

5. Lucullo\(^5\) Cic. conceived that the best introduction to his statement of the dangers of the war would be, an apparent candour in detailing the exploits of Lucullus, the difficulties which he had surmounted, and the causes which had prevented his final success. Vid. Arch. 9.

6. Ejus adventu\(^6\] Introd. 8.

7. Cyzicen.\(^7\] Cyzicum was a small island of the Propontis, which Alexander joined to the continent by two bridges; at which junction is built the town of that name. Its founder, it is said, was Cyzicus, who was killed by Jason, in an engagement with the Argonauts.

8. Sertorianis\(^8\] Introd. 7. 8.

9. Ad Italiano—raperetur\(^9\] That this fleet was destined to invade Italy, is asserted by Cic. also in Mur. 15. The policy of Mithridates, no doubt, was, like Hannibal, to fight the Romans on their own soil. The historians do not notice this, and they place the sea-fight at Lemnos, instead of Tenedos. Arch. 9. But we may suppose with Graev., that the battle at Tenedos was followed by a general engagement at Lemnos, where Marius, the senator of Sertorius, was taken prisoner.

10. Sinopen\(^10\] The capital of Pontus, and birth-place of Diogenes, the Cynic.

11. Amisum\(^11\] Now Samsoun, a
regis, omnibus rebus omnata atque referta; ceterasque urbes Ponti et Capadociae permultas, uno aditu atque adventu esse captas: regem spoliatam regno patrio atque avito, \(^{12}\) ad alios se reges \(^{13}\) atque ad alias gentes supplicem contulisse: atque haec omnia, salvis populi Romani sociis \(^{14}\) atque integris vectigalibus esse gesta. Satis opinor hoc esse laudis; atque ita \(^{15}\) Quirites, ut hoc vos intelligatis, a nullo istorum qui huic obtrectant \(^{16}\) legi atque cause, L. Lucullum similiter ex hoc loco esse laudatum.

**IX.** Requiretur fortasse nunc, quemadmodum, quem haec ita sint, reliquum possit esse magnum bellum. Cognoscite, Quirites; non enim hoc sine causa quæri videtur. Primum ex suo regno sic Mithridates profugit, \(^{1}\) ut ex eodem Ponto Medea illa quondam profugisse dicitur: quam prædicant in fuga, fratris sui \(^{2}\) membra in iis locis, qua \(^{3}\) se parens persequeretur, dissipavisse, ut eorum collectio dispersa, \(^{4}\) moærorque patrius, celeritatem persequendi retardaret. Sic Mithridates fugiens, maximam vim \(^{5}\) auri atque argenti, pulcherrimarumque rerum omnium, quas et a majoribus acceperat, et ipse bello superiore ex tota Asia direptas in suum regnum congerresat, in Ponto omnem reliquit. Haec dum nostri colligunt omnia diligentius, rex ipse e manibus effugit. Ita illum \(^{6}\) in persequendi studio moæror, hos lætitia retardavit. Hunc in illo timore et fuga Tigranes, rex Armenius, except; diffidentemque rebus suis confirmavit; et afflictum eexit, perditumque recreavit. Cujus in reg-

\(^{1}\) Cicer. **Secr. IX.—** 1. Pro fugi i. The proper term for *going into exile.* So *fato profugus,* Virg. *Profugi incertis sedibus vagabantur.* Sall. Cat. 6.

\(^{2}\) Fratris sui called Absyrtus or Αἰγιαλεὺς. He had accompanied Medea as far as Pontus, when a ship being descried from Colchis, Medea, suspecting it to carry her father, fled, and strewed the limbs of Absyrtus in the way. Ovid Trist. iii. 9. 27.

\(^{3}\) Qua] per quæ loca.

\(^{4}\) Eorum collectio dispersa] i. e. dispersorum.

\(^{5}\) Maximam vim, &c.] Introd.

\(^{6}\) Illum] Αἰetes, Medea's father.
PRO LEGE MANILIA, CAP. 9.

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num 7 posteaquam L. Lucullus cum exercitu venit, plures etiam gentes 8 contra imperatorem nostrum concitatæ sunt. Erat enim metus injectus iis nationibus, quas nunquam populus Romanus neque lacesendas bello, neque tentandas 9 putavit. Erat etiam alia gravis atque vehemens opinio, quæ per animos gentium barbararum pervaserat, fani 10 locupletissimi et religiosissimi diripiendi causa in eas oras nostrum exercitum esse adductum. Ita nationes multæ atque magnæ novo quodam terræ ac metu concitabantur. Noster autem exercitus, etsi urbem 11 ex Tigranis regno ceparet, et præliis usus erat secundis, tamen nimia longinquitate locorum ac desiderio 12 suorum commovebatur. Hic jam plura non dicam: fuit enim illud extremum, 13 ut ex iis locis a militibus nostris reditus magis maturus, quam processio longior quæreretur. Mithridates autem et suam manum 14 jam confirmaret, et eorum, qui se ex ejus regno collegerant, et

8. Plures gentes] Arabes, Gordyi, Albani, &c. These were barbarous tribes lying to the north of Armenia and Media.
9. Bello—tentandas] to be menaced with war. ' Tentamini leviter, quo animo libertatis vestrae diminutionem ferre possitis.' Agrar. ii. 7. V. E.
10. Fani] There was a celebrated temple of Bellona at Comana in Cappadocia, containing six thousand attendants, and whose high priest ranked next to the king. This temple was plundered by Murena, in the second Mithrid. war, (App. Mithr. 65,) and therefore can hardly be here intended. Besides Cappadocia was now under the sway of Ariobarzanes, an ally of Rome; but ' eas oras' seems to intimate barbarous tracts about Armenia, where the Roman army then was. This too prevents us from supposing Comana Pontica, the site of another temple of Bellona, to be meant. Cic., therefore, either refers to some temple about which we are not informed, or talks widely on a subject of which he knew the people were ignorant.
11. Urbem] Tigranocerta. It was built on a hill, a little above the Tigris, and was so wealthy that Lucullus (according to Plut,) found in it eight thousand talents of gold:—Some suppose it alluded to by Hor. Epist. ii. 2. 30. Artaxata, the old capital, stood on the Araxes. Plut. Lucul. 26. 29.
12. Nimia longinquitate—desiderio, &c.] He does not mention the disaffection which Gabinius, the creature of Pompey, and Clodius, the unprincipled brother-in-law of Lucullus, had diffused through the army. Harus. R. 20. exercitu Luculli sollicitato, &c.
14. Et suam manum] Graev. suum animum, which is far preferable, as it is not easy to see how ' suam manum,' Mithridates's own army and 'eorum qui.......collegerant,' the forces collected out of his dominions—differ. Hotton, suggests that the former was given him by Tigranes. Neither is it clear whether 'eorum' is governed by 'manum' or 'copis,' though the

C 2
magnis adventitiis multorum regum et nationum\textsuperscript{15} copiis juvabatur. Hoc jam fere\textsuperscript{16} sic fieri solere accepiamus, ut regum afflictæ fortunæ facile multorum opes alliciant ad misericordiam, maximeque eorum, qui aut reges sunt, aut vivunt in regno: quod regale iis nomen magnum et sanc-
tum\textsuperscript{17} esse videatur. Itaque tantum victus efficere potuit, quantum incolumis nunquam est ausus optare. Nam quum se in regnum recepisset suum, non fuit eo contentus, quod ei præter spem acciderat, ut illam, posteaquam pulsat erat, terram unquam attingeret: sed in exercitum vestrum,\textsuperscript{18} clarum atque victorem, impetum fecit. Sinite hoc loco, Qui-
rites, (sicut poëtæ solent, qui res Romanas scribunt,) præ-
terire\textsuperscript{19} me nostram calamitatem: quæ tanta fuit ut eam ad aures L. Luculli non ex prælio nuntius,\textsuperscript{20} sed ex sermone rumor afferret. Hic in ipso illo malo, gravissimaque belli offensione, L. Lucullus, qui tamen aliquà ex parte iis incom-
modis mederi fortasse potuisset, vestro jussu coactus, quod imperii diuturnitati\textsuperscript{21} modum statuendum veteri exempl\textsuperscript{22} putavistis, partem militum, qui jam stipendiis con-
latter is perhaps the better construc-
tion.

15. Regum et nationum\textsuperscript{15} Medes, Adiabenians, Iberians, from the Cas-
pian Sea; Arabsians, from the Per-
sian Gulf, and Nomades, or Tar-
tars, from the Araxes.

sericordia non causam sed fortunam spectat. Vid. also, \textit{Val. Max.} v. 3.3.

17. Sanctum\textsuperscript{17} ‘a sancio,’ i. e. de-
fended by a sanction; though not de-
voct to a god. So ‘sancti legati,’ ‘sanctae leges,’ and, \textit{Arch. 8.} ‘sancti poëtae.’

18. In exercitum vestrum\textsuperscript{18} Introd.

9. This statement was calculated to
mislead. It was not the victorious
army of Lucullus, who was then at
Nisibis, in Mesopotamia, that was
defeated, but the troops which had
been intrusted to Fabius, to garrison
Pontus, and the hasty reinforcements
of Triarius.

19. Præterire\textsuperscript{19} The law of ora-
tory differed from that of history;—
‘ne quid veri dicere non audeat.’ \textit{De}
Or. ii. 15.

20. Non ex prælio nuntius\textsuperscript{20} An
exaggeration. Had not Mithridates
been wounded in the action it would
have been more nearly the fact. The
slain amounted to seven thousand
men. It was fought near Ziela.

21. Diuturnitati\textsuperscript{21} Lucullus had
held the command seven years. The
practice of the Romans, heretofore,
was not uniform in this respect. Thus
Pompey was allowed, by the Ga-
binian law, three years to subdue the
pirates; Verres had Sicily three
years; Cæsar, Gaul ten years; yet
he afterwards limited the pretorian
provinces to one, and the consular to
two years. \textit{Phil. i. 8.}

22. Vetere exemplo\textsuperscript{22} Sc. from the
expulsion of the kings. \textit{Liv. iv.}

24. Maximam ejus (libertatis Rom.)
custodiæ esse, si magna imperia
diuturna non essent; et temporis
modus imponeretur, quibus juris im-
pioni non posset.
fectis erant, dimisit, partem Glabrioni tradidit.—Mutla praetereo consulto: sed ea vos conjectura perspicicit, quantum illud bellum factum putetis, quod conjungant reges potentissimi, renovent agitatae nationes, suspicant integrae gentes, novus imperator vester accipiat, vetere pulso exercitu.

X. Satis mihi multa verba fecisse videor, quare hoc bellum esset genere ipso necessarium, magnitudine periculo: restat, ut de imperatore ad id bellum deligendo ac tantis rebus praeficiendo, dicendum esse videatur.

Utinam, Quirites, virorum fortium atque innocentium copiam tantam haberetis, ut haec vobis deliberatio difficilis esset quemnam potissimum tantis rebus ac tanto bello praeficiendum putaretis! Nunc vero quem sit unus Cn. Pompeius, qui non modo eorum hominum, qui nunc sunt, gloriam, sed etiam antiquitatis memoriae virtute superavit: quae res est quae cujusquam animam in hac causa dubium facere possit? Ego enim sic existimo, in summo imperatore quatuor has res inesse oportere, scientiam rei militaris, virtutem, auctoritatem, felicitatem. Quis igitur hoc homine scientior un-

23. Stipendiis confectis] Every Roman citizen was obliged, between the age of seventeen and forty-five, to make nine campaigns. The Fimbrian legions are here intended.


25. Mutla praetereo] To spare the character of Lucullus.

26. Sed ea vos perspicitis] Al. perspicite. 'Ea' refers generally to the preceding statement, and comprises 'quae diligentissimem provindenda sunt,' (c. 8.); which he sums up in 'quantum, &c.' as if he had said: 'I have intentionally avoided entering fully into the subject; but, by putting together what has been said, (conjectura), you all see clearly these points; sc. how great a war must have resulted from the junction of powerful kings—from the renewal of it by excited hordes—the undertaking of it by fresh tribes—from its command being assumed by a general new to it—at the critical time when your old army had sustained a defeat. All this, to be sure, is but one point, but being so extensive it may well be called ea.

27. Factum] Al. futurum.

28. Novus imperator] Glabrio, and not 'qui ad hoc bellum mitten- dus est,' as the Delph. For this might be Pompey, who surely would not contribute to make the war dangerous. Neither is 'pulso' 'dimisso' as the Delph. explains it, the defeat of Triarius being obviously alluded to.

Sect. X.—1. Restat] Used for transition to the second part of the oration.

2. Esse videatur] Quint. x. 2. says, 'Noveram quosdam qui se pulcrer expressisse genus illud celestis hujus in dicendo viri vidertur, si in clausula possisset 'esse videatur.' Vid. also ix. 4. Forcel. confesses that 'videatur' is here pleonastic, yet 'non sine vi et elegantia.' This force and elegance he has not thought pro-
quam aut fuit, aut esse debuit? qui e ludo atque pueritia
disciplina, bello\(^4\) maximó atque acerrímis hostibus,\(^5\) ad pa-
tris exercitum, atque in militiae disciplinam profectus est:
qui extrema pueritia\(^6\) miles fuit summi imperatoris,\(^6\) ine-
unte adolescentia maximi ipse exercitus imperator;\(^7\) qui
sæpius cum hoste conffixit, quam quisquam cum inimico
concertavit; plura bella gessit, quam ceteri legerunt, plures
provincias confecit,\(^8\) quam alli concupiverunt; cujus ado-
lescencia ad scientiam rei militaris non alienis praecipientis,
sus imperii; non offensionibus belli, sed victorii; non sti-
pendiis, sed triumphis est erudita. Quod denique genus
belli esse potest, in quo illum non exercerit fortuna reipub-
llice? Civile,\(^9\) Africanum, Transalpinum,\(^10\) Hispaniense,
mixtum ex civitatibus\(^11\) atque ex bellicosissimis nationibus,

per to explain. Perhaps the term ex-
presses a doubt as to his own ability
to do justice to the subject, or a
modest deference to the people.

3. E ludo] Cic. omits here that
Pompey pleaded causes for some time
in the forum; but in Brut. 68. he
notices his eloquence.

5. Acerr. hostibus] The Sammites,
&c.

5. Extrema pueritia] Various di-
visions of the age of man prevailed at
Rome. A. Gell. x. 28. notices that
of Ser. Tullius, viz.—‘pueritia,’ up to
seventeen; youth to forty-six; and
then old age. Varro allows fifteen years
for each step: ‘pueritia,’ up to fif-
teen; ‘adolescentia,’ to thirty; ‘ju-
ventus,’ to forty-five; ‘seniores,’ to
sixty; and ‘then senectus;’ and this is
followed by Latin writers in general.

6. Summi imperatoris] Pompeius
Strabo. The Delph. erroneously;
Sylla. Introd. 11.

7. Maximis ipse exercitus] Three
legions. Dio, in the speech on the
passing of the Gabinian law, which
he attributes to Pompey, enumerates
his early achievements; to which may
be added a passage in the Afric. war of
Hirt. where Cato reproaches the
younger Pompey with his father’s
early glories.

8. Confecit] ‘Administravit’—quan-
quam plus quiddam est; nam exitum
rei significat, Manut. And so Forcel.
‘governed more provinces.’ But it
does not appear that Pompey was re-
markable for the number of provinces
which he had governed. Before his
first consulship, a. v. 683, he was
pro-praetor of Cis. Gaul; afterwards
pro-consul of Spain; then city præ-
tor (not a province) the year preced-
ing his consulship, after which we
find no pro-consular office up to the
present time. Neither can it mean
‘subjugavit plures nationes,’ as the
Delph., if new conquests be intended,
for he had made none. Perhaps the
explanation may be had, inf. 11, where
he asks ‘Quam provinciam tenuit
praedonibus liberam?’ All the coun-
tries lying on the Mediterranean, com-
prising numerous provinces, were in
the hands of the pirates; by the con-
quest of whom these provinces were
recovered, and, as it were, received
their completion from Pompey.


10. Transalpinum] vid. infra. n. 11.

11. Mixtum ex civitatibus] i. e.
states in Spain which had Roman in-
servile, navale bellum, varia et diversa genera, et bellorum et hostium, non solum gesta ab hoc uno, sed etiam confecta, nullam rem esse declarant in usu militari positam, quae hujus viri scientiam fugere possit.

XI. Jam vero virtuti\textsuperscript{1} Cn. Pompeii quae potest par oratio inveneri? quid est, quod quisquam ant dignum illo, aut vobis novum, aut cuquam inauditum possit afferrare? Neque enim illae sunt sola\textsuperscript{2} virtutes imperatoriae, quae vulgo existimatur, labor in negotiis, fortitudo in periculis, industria in agendo, celeritas in conficiendo, consilium in providendo: quae tanta sunt in hoc uno, quanta in omnibus reliquis imperatoribus, quos aut vidimus, aut audivimus, non fuerunt. 'Testis est\textsuperscript{3} Italia, quam ille ipse victor, L. Sulla; hujus virtute et subsidio confessus est liberatum. Testis est Sicilia, quam multis undique cinctam periculis, non terrene bellii, sed celeritate consili, explicavit. Testis est Africa, quae magnis oppressa hostia copiis, eorum ipsorum sanguine redundavit. Testis est Gallia,\textsuperscript{4} per quam legionibus nostris in Hispaniam iter,\textsuperscript{5} Gallorum inter necio patefactum est. Testis est Hispania, quae sepissime plurimos hostes ab hoc superatos prostratosque conspexit. Testis est iterum\textsuperscript{6} et sepius Italia, quae, quam servili bello tetro periculosoque premertur, ab

\\textsuperscript{1} testudo
\\textsuperscript{2} Old Testament
\\textsuperscript{3} Testis
\\textsuperscript{4} Gallia
\\textsuperscript{5} Gallum
\\textsuperscript{6} iter

stitutio; opposed to 'nationibus;' warlike tribes. Syl\textsuperscript{a}, followed by the Delph., considers the words 'mixtum, &c.' as referred to 'servile.' 'Civitates,' are then, the Roman cities; and 'nations,' the Gauls and Germans. The accounts, however, which we have of that war render this explanation very improbable.

Sect. XI.—1. \textit{Jam vero virtuti} Having proved, c. 10., the military skill of Pompey, Cic. now proceeds to notice his 'virtue.' This admitted of a two-fold arrangement, 1. military in the proper sense, comprising 'labor in negotiis, fortitudo in periculis, &c.;' 2. moral, namely, 'innocentia, temperantia, fides.' Inf. c. 13.

2. \textit{Neque enim ille sunt sola} This exception is explained, inf. c. 13. 'sed multae sunt artes eximiae, &c.'

3. \textit{Testis est} Sc. that in imperatorial virtues he has no superior.

4. \textit{Testis est Gallia} Introd. 13. Cic. evidently does not mean Cisal. Gaul, where Pompey defeated Lepidus; and the historians supply us with no information about the exploits of Pompey in Transalpine Gaul. During the war of Sertorius he was obliged to retire from Spain into Gaul; on which occasion Hotom. thinks that this slaughter of the Gauls took place. But it appears, from a letter of Pompey to the senate (Sall. Hist. iii.) that it occurred on his way to Spain.—'Hostes in cervicibus Italicae agentes ab Alpius in Hispaniam submovi; per eas iter aluid atque Hannibal nobis opportunius pateuci; recepi Galliam, Pyreneum, &c.'

5. \textit{Iter} Appian says, that it lay between the sources of the Po and Rhone.

6. \textit{Iterum} i.e. in the civil, and then the servile war.
hoc auxillium absente expetitivit: quod bellum exspectatione Pompeii attenuatum atque imminutum est, adventu sublatum ac sepultum. Testes vero jam omnes orae, atque omnes ex- terae gentes ac nationes, denique maria7 omnia, tum universa, tum in singulis omnes sinus atque portus. Quis enim toto mari locus per hos annos aut tam firmum habuit praesidium, ut tutus esset, aut tam fuit abditus ut lateret? Quis navigavit, qui non se aut mortis aut servitutis periculi committeret, quem aut hieme, aut referto8 praedonum mari navigaret? Hoc tantum bellum,9 tam turpe, tam vetus,10 tam late dispersum, quis unquam arbitraretur aut ab omnibus imperatoribus uno anno, aut omnibus annis11 ab uno imperatore confici posse? Quam provinciam tenuistis12 a praedonibus liberam per hocse annos? quod vectigal vobis tutum fuit? quem socium defendistis? cui præsidio classibus vestris fuistis? quam multas existimatis insulas esse desertas? quam multas aut metu relictas, aut a praedonibus captas urbes13 esse sociorum?

XII. Sed quid ego longinquaque14 commemoro? Fuit hoc quondam, fuit proprium populi Romani longe a domo bel- lare, et praepugnaculis15 imperii sociorum fortunas, non sua tecta defendere. Sociis vestris ego mare clausum per hocse annos dicam fuisse, quam exercitus nostri a Brundisio3 nun- quam, nisi summa hieme,4 transmiserint25 Qui ad vos

7. Maria] The Mediter. Sea was variously named, according to the ad- joining coast, Tuscan, Sicilian, Ly- bian, &c., &c., in all which the pirates were defeated.
10. Vetus.] It was of upwards of twenty years standing, from a. v. 666 to 687.
11. Omnibus annis] Through a whole life; yet Pompey despatched it in forty days.
12. Quam provinciam tenuistis.] Hence 'plures provincias confecit,' supra. c. 10. n. 8; where, perhaps, these provinces are more particularly alluded to.
2. Propugnaculis] Colonies planted in conquered countries to maintain the Roman authority and repress the incursions of the barbarians. Ern. Similarly ἐπιτεχνισματα της χώρας. Dem. Phil. i. 5. Hor., Epod. 1., applies it to ships. Ibis Liburnis inter alta navium, Amice, propugnacula. Hence Guthrie's transl. ' floating bulwarks.' But it may be referred generally to all the means of defence which the empire could command.
3. A Brundisio.] This city lay in the usual route to Greece; and armies were now marching to Asia, against Mithridates.
4. Summa hieme] Elegantly for 'bruma.'
5. Transmiserint] i. e. 'miserint se trans maria.' Nat. Deor. ii. 49.
ab exister nationibus venirent, captos querar, quum legati populi Romani redempti\textsuperscript{6} sint? mercatoribus tumult mare non fuisses dicam, quum duodecim secur\textsuperscript{7} in praedonum potestatem pervenerint? Cnidum\textsuperscript{8} aut Colophonem, aut Samum, nobilissimas urbes, innumerables alias, captas esse commemorant, quum vestros portus, atque eos portus,\textsuperscript{9} quibus vitam\textsuperscript{10} et spiritum ducitis, in praedonum fuisses potestate sciatis? An vero ignoratis, portum Caietae celeberrimum\textsuperscript{11} atque plenissimum navium, inspectante praetore,\textsuperscript{12} a praedonis esse direptum? Ex Miseno autem, ejus ipsius liberos,\textsuperscript{13} qui cum praedonis antea ibi bellum gesserant, a praedonis esse sublatos? Nam quid ego Ostiense incommmodum,\textsuperscript{14} atque illam labem atque ignominiam reipublicae quarant, quum, prope inspectantibus vos, classis ea, cui consul populi\textsuperscript{15} Romani praepositus esset, a praedonis capta atque oppressa est? Pro dii immortales!

Grues qua loca calidia petentes maria transmittant, triangulum faciant.

6. Redempti sint It is not known to whom Cic. here alludes.

7. Duodecim secur\textsuperscript{7} i. e. two praetors, sc. Sextilius and Bellinus, who proceeding to their provinces, were, with their lictors, seized by the pirates. Plut. Pomp. 24. The praetor was attended by two lictors in the city; without the city, by six.

8. Cnidum\textsuperscript{8} a city of Caria; C. Colophon of Ionia. Samus, the capital of an island of the same name, which lies off the southern extremity of Ionia. \textit{Æn.} i. 15. It was usual for the city and island to have the same appellation. So Corn. Nepos, in Milt. c. 7, speaks of the island and town of Parus. 

9. Eos portus\textsuperscript{9} Sc. (inf.) Caieta, Misenum, Ostia. It was in them that provision ships from Africa, Sicily, Sardinia, &c. collected. The first derives its name from the nurse of \textit{Æneas: \textquoteleft Tu quoque litoribus nostris, \textit{Æneia, nutrix, \textit{Æternam morniens famam, Caieta, dedisti.\textquoteright The second, from his trumpeter, \textit{Æn.} vi. 162. It was the station of the Roman fleet in the Lower Sea; the third was built by Ancus Martius, at the ostium Tiberis, about twenty miles from Rome.

10. Quibus vitam, &c.\textsuperscript{10} These words, taken out of the figure, import \textquoteleft supplies of corn, &c.\textquoteleft

11. Celeberrimum\textsuperscript{11} thronged, populous. Arch. 3. \textquoteleft urbs celebris;\textquoteright Mil. 24. \textquoteleft in loco celebri\textquotequot. Hor. Serm. i. 17, 28. \textquoteleft Celeberrima per loca vadet.\textquotequot

12. Inspectante praetore\textsuperscript{12} Perhaps Antonius Creticus, the father of the triumvir, who had, before this, been unsuccessful in waging the piratical war, and whose daughter was taken by the pirates. Plut. in Pomp. 24. And this agrees with the following, \textquoteleft ejus liberos qui, &c.\textquotenula

13. Ejus ipsius liberos qui, &c.\textsuperscript{13} i. e. filiam; so Phil. i. 1, \textquoteleft liberus for the son of M. Antony; and Prov. Cons. 14, \textquoteleft ad juvendissimos liberos,\textquotenula i. e. Julia, the daughter of Caesar.

14. Ostiense in commodum\textsuperscript{14} Dio xxvi. relates that the pirates not only took and plundered the harbour, but made it a sort of depository for their spoils.

14. Consul populi\textsuperscript{15} He seems here to have omitted the names of the praetor
tantamne unius hominis incredibilis ac divina virtus tam brevi tempore lucem afferre\textsuperscript{15} reipublicae potuit, ut vos, qui modo ante ostium Tiberinum classem hostium videbatis, ii nunc nullam intra Oceanii\textsuperscript{16} ostium praedonum navem esse audietis? Atque haec, qua celeritate gesta sint, quamquam video-
tis, tamen a me in dicendo praetereunda non sunt. Quis enim unquam, aut obeundi negotii, aut consequendi quaes-
tus\textsuperscript{17} studio, tam brevi tempore, tot loca adire, tantos cur-
sus\textsuperscript{15} conficerre potuit, quam celeriter, Cn. Pompeio duce, belli impetus\textsuperscript{19} navigavit? qui nondum tempestivo ad na-
vigandum mari Siciliam adiit, Africam exploravit: inde Sardiniam cum classe venit, atque haec tria frumentaria\textsuperscript{20} subsidia reipublicae firmissimis praesidiis classibusque nu-
nivit. Inde se quum in Italianam recepisset, duabus Hispani-
\textsuperscript{21}is et Gallia Cisalpina\textsuperscript{22} praesidiis ac navibus confirmata, missis item in oram Illyrici maris,\textsuperscript{23} et in Achaia omnemque

and consul as being notorious, or perhaps through contempt.
15. Lucem affere] φῶς δ' ἵππων ἱδώνει. 11. vi. 6. Phil. i. 2.
16. Oceanii] The Atlantic 'ost-
tium;' sc. the straits of Gibraltar.
17. Obeundi negotio—consequendi quaestus.] By the former are meant 'negotiatores;' persons conducting business for others; by the latter, merchants trading on their own ac-
count. Hotton.
19. Belli impetus.] Cic., to in-
gratiate himself with Pompey, be-
stowed the utmost pains on this
speech; so that speaking, in a letter to Atticus, of Pompey's character, as
herein depicted, he says 'omnia,
a me pictum et exploitum artis colo-
rubus.' Hence he often rises to ex-
pressions far above the range of mere oratory, and highly poetic. Such is 'belli'impetus navigavit,' where 'belli impetus' is not, as Hotton. explains it, 'classis Pompeii,' but (like στὸμα πτολέμω in Homer) put simply for

'bellum.' So Lucret. v. 201....quan-
tum eōl tēgit impetus ingens.' Si-
milarly we might say, 'the thunder of war rolled along.' Gray. 'Sailing with supremedominion, Through the azure depths of air.' Vid. Eng. Trans.
20. Tria frumentaria] i.e. which
supplied 'frumentum;' qu. 'frugi-
mentum,' a generic word for all kinds of
grain. For Sardinia, Egypt is
sometimes substituted.
or Tarraconensis; and Ulterior, or
Bética and Lusitanica; said, but in-
correctly, to be separated by the Ibe-
rus; whereas, a line drawn from Car-
thago Nova, on the Mediterranean to
the mouth of the Durius on the At-
lantic would be the proper boundary.
22. Gallia Cisalpina] sometimes
simply called 'Gallia,' (Phil. xii.
4.); and by Cæsar 'Citerior,' lay
between the Alps and the Rubicon.
So Lucan, i. 214.:

   ———et Gallica certus
Limes ab Ausoniis disternat arva
colonis.
23. Illyrici maris] a part of the
Adriatic washing the coast of Illyri-
cum.
Græciam navibus, Italiae duo maria\textsuperscript{24} maximis classibus firmissimisque præsidiiis adornavit: ipse autem, ut a Brundisio profectus est, undequinquagesimo die totam ad imperium populi Romani Ciliciam adjunxit: omnes, qui ubique praedones fuerunt, partim capti interfectique sunt, partim unius hujus imperio ac potestati se dediderunt. Idem Cre-tensibus,\textsuperscript{25} quum ad eum usque in Pamphyliam\textsuperscript{26} legatos deprecatoresque misissent, spem deditionis non ademit, obsidesque imperavit. Ita tantum bellum, tarn diuturnum, tarn longe lateque dispersum, quo bello omnes gentes ac nationes premebantur, Cn. Pompeius, extrema hieme apparavit, ineunte vere suscepit, media aestate confecit.

XIII. Est hæc divina atque incredbilis virtus imperatoris. Quid? ceteræ, quas paullo ante\textsuperscript{1} commemorare coeperam, quanta; atque quam multae sunt? non enim solum bellandi virtus in summo atque perfecto imperatore quaerenda est: sed multae sunt artes eximiae, bujus administrae comitesque virtutis. Ac primum quanta innocentia\textsuperscript{2} debent esse imperatores? quanta deinde omnibus in rebus temperantia? quanta fide? quanta facilitate\textsuperscript{3} quanto ingenio?\textsuperscript{4} quanta humanitate? Quæ breviter, qualia sint in Cn. Pompeio, consideremus. Summa enim omnia sunt, Quirites: sed ea magis ex aliorum contentione,\textsuperscript{5} quam ipsa per sese cognosci atque intelligi possunt. Quem\textsuperscript{6} enim possimus imperato-

\textsuperscript{24} Duo maria] The Adriatic and Tuscan:
Virg. 'An mare quod supra memorem, quodque alluit infra.'

\textsuperscript{25} Idem Cretensibus] Introd. 15. As Pompey's commission extended to all the maritime provinces, he thought proper to receive certain ambassadors sent by the Cretans, then on the eve of surrendering to Q. Metellus, and by commanding him to raise the siege, appeared disposed to snatch the laurels from his brow. Metellus, however, despising his orders, took their city and punished the citizens, although Octavius, Pompey's lieutenant, lent them assistance. Flor. iii. 7.

\textsuperscript{26} Usque in Pamphyliam] the limit of his commission in the piratical war.
Sect. XIII.—1. Ceteræ, quas paullo ante] sc. c. 11. The second species, or moral qualities.
2. Innocentia] rapacitati atque avaritiae oppositur. \emph{Forcél.} 'disinterestedness.'
4. Ingenio] This is explained infra, c. 14, by 'consilio...et dicendi gravitate et copia.'
5. Aliorum contentione] by comparison with others. 'Si contentio quadam et comparatio fiat.' Off. i. 17. V. E.
6. Quem—imperatorem] Perhaps Lucullus, whom Gabinius and others represented as avaricious: perhaps
rem aliquo in numero7 putare, cujus in exercitu veneant centuriatuś8 atque venierint?9 quid hunc hominem magnum aut amplum de republica cogitare, qui pecuniam,10 ex ærario depromptam ad bellum administrandum, aut prop-
ter cupiditatem provinciæ magistratibus11 divisērit, aut prop-
ter avaritiam Romæ in quæstu12 reliquerit? Vestra
admurmuratio13 facit, Quirites, ut agnosce videamini, qui
hæc fecerint: ego autem neminem nomino; quare irasci
mihî14 nemo poterit, nisi qui ante de se voluerit confiteri.
Itaque, proppter hanc avaritiam imperatorum, quantas cala-
mitates, quocunque ventum sit, nostri exercitus ferant, quis
ignorat? Itinerâ,15 quæ per hosce annos in Italia per agros
atque oppida civium Romanorum nostri imperatores fecerunt,
recordamini: tum facilius statuetis, quid apud externas nati-
ones fieri existimetis. Utrum plures arbitramini per hosce
annos militum vestrorum armis hostium urbes, an hibernis,
sociorum civitates esse deletas? Neque enim16 potest ex-
ercitum is continere imperator, qui se ipsum non continet:

Glabrio, to whose conduct 'veneant'
'are on sale,' seems better to ap-
ply.

7. Aliquo in numero] 'Rank, esti-
mation.' Phil. ii. 29. Post (Caesa-
ris) ex Africa reditum, quo numero
fuisti?

8. Centuriatu.] And yet the re-

gular pay of a centurion, equal in
rank to our captain, was but double
in amount to that of a private. V. E.

9. Veneant—venierint.] The Greek,
præter-perfect, expressing a past con-
tinued to the present, would super-
sede the necessity of two verbs, as
here.

10. Pecuniam] Money voted to the

governor of a province, on his ap-
pointment, and called 'attributa.'
Vid. next note.

11. Magistratibus.] These were, most
probably, the tribunes of the people.
That 'cupiditatem provinciæ' alludes
to the prorogation of a provincial com-
mand, and not the first appointment,
as the Delph. explains it, is obvious
from the grant of the money being
'ad bellum administrandum;' which
implies that the province was already
granted; unless, which seldom oc-
curred, we suppose the war to be in-
dependent of the command of a pro-
vince; in which case the military
supplies might be disposed of as stated
in the text.

12. In quæstu] at interest;—apud
argentarios. Hotton, So Pis. 35.
'Nonne sestertium centes et octo-
gies...ex ærario tibi attributum, Ro-
mae in quæstu reliquisti.'

13. Admurmuratio] These 'whis-
pers' are noticed by Cic. as a justifi-
cation of his animadversions. The
people acknowledged their truth, and
made the proper application.

14. Quare irasci mihi] The Car-
dinal Maury supposes that Cic. had
met with some interruption from the
adherents of Glabrio, or Lucullus;
that he waited till silence was restor-
ed, and then availed himself of the
interruption to hint, that 'the cap
fitted.' V. E.

15. Itinerâ, &c.] Whether of armies
proceeding to the provinces, or against
Spartacus.

16. Neque enim, &c.] If these are
not what rhetoricians call 'common
neque severus esse in judicando,17 qui alios in se severos esse judices non vult. Hic miramur, hunc hominem tantum excellere ceteris, cujus legiones sic in Asian18 pervenerunt, ut non modo manus tanti exercitus, sed ne vestigium quidem cuquam pacato nocuisse dicatur? Jam vero, quemadmodum milites hibernent, quotidian20 sermones ac literae perferrunt. Non modo, ut sumptum faciat in militem, nemini vis affertur: sed ne cupienti quidem cuquam permittitur. Hiemis enim, non avaritia perfugium majores nostri in sociorum atque amicorum tectis esse voluerunt.

XIV. Age vero ceteris in rebus qualis sit temperantia,1 considerate. Unde illam tantam celeritatem, et tam incrédibilem cursum inventum2 putatis? Non enim illum eximius vis remigum, aut ars inaudita quædam gubernandi, aut venti aliqui novi, tam celeriter in ultimas terras3 pertulerunt: sed eæ res, quæ ceteros remorari solent, non retardarunt: non avaritia ab instituto cursu ad prædam aliquam devocavit, non libido ad voluptatem, non amœnitas ad delectationem, non nobilitas urbis4 ad cognitionem, non denique labor ipse ad quietem. Postremo signa, et tabulas,5 ceteraque ornamenta Graecorum oppidorum, quæ ceteri6 tollenda esse arbitran-

places,' they allude to Lucullus and Glabrio.


18. Sic in Asian, &c.] i. e. 'To Cilicia and Pamphylia,' during the late war against the pirates.

19. Quotidie, &c.] Pompey was now in Cilicia, from which he proceeded to assume the command, after the law passed.

Sect. XIV.—1. Qualis sit temperantia] Cicero's distinctions are sometimes too nice. Thus 'temperantia' falls in very much with 'innocentia;' as appears from his opposing both to 'avaritia.' By 'temperantia,' however, he means that virtue which keeps all the passions within the bounds of reason, whereas 'innocentia' is rather limited to abstinence from rapacity and avarice. Supr. c. 13. n. 2.

2. Inventum] Al. initum. Sed


4. Nobilitas urbis] Perhaps Athens is alluded to; on visiting which, according to Plut., Pompey barely stayed to offer sacrifices, and proceeded on his march. Hottom.

5. Signa et tabulas, &c.] Cic. Verr. vii. notices this robbery more particularly, and says that Athens, Pergamus, Cyzicus, Chios, Samos, all Asia, Greece, and Sicily are to be seen in the environs of a few Roman villas. And writing to his brother, 'Præclarum est summum cum imperio fuisset in Asia triennium, sic ut nullum te signum, nulla pictura, nulla vestis, nullum mancipium, nulla forma cujusquam, nulla conditio pecuniaæ ab summa continentia deduxerit.'

6. Ceteri] e. g. Mummius. M.
tur, ea sibi ille ne visenda quidem existimavit. Itaque omnes quidem, nunc in his locis Cn. Pompeium, sicut aliquem non ex hac urbe missum, sed de cælo delapsum,7 intuentur: nunc denique8 incipiant credere, fuisset homines Romanos9 hac quondam abstinentia: quod jam nationibus exteris incredibile ac falso memoriae probitum videbatur. Nunc imperii vestri splendor illis gentibus lucet: nunc intelligent, non sine causa majores suos tum, quam hac temperantia magistратus habebamus, servire populo Romano, quam imperare alii, maluisse. Jam vero ita faciles10 aditus ad eum privatum, ita libera querimonie de aliorum injuriis esse dicuntur, ut is, qui dignitate principibus excellit, facilitate par infinitis esse videatur. Jam quantum consilio,11 quantum dicendi gravitate et copia valeat, in quo ipso12 inest quaedam dignitas imperatoria, vos Quirites, hoc ipso in loco13 sepe cognostis. Fidem vero ejus inter socios quantam existimari putatis, quam hostes omnium gentium14 sanctissimam15 judicarint? Humanitate jam tanta est, ut difficile dictu sit, utrum hostes magis virtutem ejus pugnantes timuerint, mansuetudinem victi dilexerint. Et quisquam dubitabit, quin huic hoc tantum bellum transmittendum16 sit, qui ad omnia nostrae memoriae bella consicienda divino quodam consilio natius esse videatur?

XV. Et, quoniam auctoritas1 multum in bellis quoque2 administrandis atque in imperio militari valet; certe

Scaurus exhibited three thousand statues at his house, as edile.

7. De cælo delapsum] Again, to his brother, 'Graeci sic te intuebuntur...ut etiam e cælo divinum hominem esse in provinciam delapsum putent.'


10. Faciles] C. 13, 'sides' is put before 'facilitas' and 'ingenium,' but is here illustrated after them.

11. Consilio] 'Used for 'ingenio,' as being a high exertion of talent, and therefore more complimentary.

12. In quo ipso] Sc. 'dicendi gravitate, &c.:' not as the translators —'Pompeio.'


14. Gentium] Al. generum, a reading which would lead us to imagine that by 'hostes omnium gentium' some understood 'enemies out of all nations.' But comp. note 9. c. sequent.

15. Sanctissimam judicarint] By unconditional surrenders.


2. In bellis quoque] Not alone in
nemini dubium est, quin ea re idem ille imperator plurimum possit. Vehementer autem pertinere ad bella administranda, quid hostes, quid socii de imperatoribus vestris existimem, quis ignorat, quum sciamus, homines in tantis rebus, ut aut contemnem, aut metuant, aut oderint, aut ament, opinione non minus et fama, quam aliqua certa ratione commoveri? Quod igitur nomen unquam in orbe terrarum clarius fuit? cuius res gestae pares? de quo homine vos, id quod maxime facit auctoritatem, tanta et tam praeclara judicia fecistis? An vero ullam usquam esse oram tam desertam putatis, quo non illius diei fama pervaserit, quum universus populus Romanus, referto foro, repletisque omnibus templis, ex quibus hic locus conspici potest, unum sibi ad commune omnium gentium bellum Cum Pompeium imperatorem depopscit? Itaque, ut plura non dicam, neque aliorum exemplis confirmem, quantum [hujus] auctoritas valeat in bello; ab eodem Cu. Pompeio omnium rerum egregiarum exempla sumantur: qui quo die a vobis maritimo bello praebitus est imperator, tanta repente vilitas annona ex summâ inopia et caritate rei frumentariae consecuta est, unius hominum spe et nomine, quantam vix ex summâ ubertate agrorum diuturna pax efficere potuisset. Jam, accepta in Ponto calamitate, ex eo praelio, de quo vos paullo ante invitus

3. Opinionem fama Al. opinione famæ; i.e. ipsa fama; vel potius existimatio a fama nata. Grut.
4. Certa ratione Any sure rule.
5. Tanta judicia This term implies the honours awarded to merit, as explained, supr. c. 1, ' ex vetro judicio fructum'. Planc. 39. 'Caesaris laudibus quas...amplissimis judicis videam esse celebratas.' Here perhaps the early triumphs and consulate of Pompey are intended, if we do not refer it to his appointment to the Sertorian and piratical wars.
6. Illius diei When the Gabiniarum law was passed.
7. Referpto foro He means the Comitium, which is often confounded with the forum. It was at first an open space near the Curia, but about the time of Hannibal was roofed in.

Liv. xxvii. 36.
8. Omnibus templis The forum was surrounded by temples dedicated to different divinities. Mil. 1. It was also a temple itself. Inf. 24. n. 2.
9. Ad commune omn. gent. bel. For the pirates were the common enemy of all; as c. 14. ' hostes omnium gentium.'
10. Tanta repente vilitas] This is easily conceived. The grain-merchant...qui propriis condidit horreis Quicquid de Lybiciis verrietur' areis—anticipating a large supply from the foreign market, in consequence of the seas being cleared of the pirates, was glad to dispose of his store before its arrival.
admonui, quum socii pertimuissent, hostium opes animique crevissent, satis firmum praeedium provincia\textsuperscript{13} non haberet: amisissetis Asia, Quirites, nisi ipsum id temporis divinitus\textsuperscript{14} Cn. Pompeium ad eas regiones\textsuperscript{15} fortuna populi Romani\textsuperscript{16} attulisset.\textsuperscript{17} Hujus adventus et Mithridatem insolita\textsuperscript{18} inflammatum victoria\textsuperscript{19} continuit,\textsuperscript{20} et Tigranem\textsuperscript{21} magnis copiis munitatem Asiæ retardavit. Et quisquam dubitabit,\textsuperscript{22} quid virtute perfecturus sit, qui tantum auctoritate profecerit? aut quam facile imperio atque exercitu socios et vectigalia conservatus sit, qui ipso nomine ac rumore defendent?

XVI. Age vero,\textsuperscript{1} illa res quantam declarat ejusdem hominis apud hostes populi Romani auctoritatem, quod ex locis tam longinquos,\textsuperscript{2} tamque diversis, tam brevi tempore omnes uni huic se dediderunt? quod Cretensium legati,\textsuperscript{3} quum in eorum insula noster imperator\textsuperscript{4} exercitusque esset, ad Cn. Pompeium in ultimas\textsuperscript{5} prope terras venerunt, eique se omnes Cretensium civitates dedere velle dixerunt? Quid item ipse Mithridates\textsuperscript{6} nonne ad eundem Cn. Pompeium, legatum usque in Hispaniam misit? cum quem Pompeius legatum semper judicavit: ii, quibus\textsuperscript{7} semper erat molestum ad eum potissimum esse missum, speculariorem, quam

13. Provincia] Vid. c. 2. n. 6. He calls it Asia immediately after.
14. Divinitus] θεία τούχρ; for Pompey was sent to the piratical war.
16. Fortuna pop. Rom.] This is not inconsistent with 'divinitus,' because Cic. conceived fortune itself to depend on the divine allotment. Inf. 'divinitus adjuncta fortuna.' So Eschyl. θεόυ δὲ δάρων ἵστριν ἵστρω-χεῖν βοροῦς.
17. Attulisset] He had personified 'fortunes'
18. Insolita] For he had been conquered by Sylla, Murena, and Lucullus.
20. Continuit] This is appropriate to Mithridates, who was near; as 'retardavit' to Tigranes, who was at a distance.
22. Quisquam dubitabit] None; for if the reputation of valour effected so much, what will not valour itself effect?

Sect. XVI. 1. Age vero] He proceeds to prove his 'authority,' by the fact of the Cretans and Mithrid. having sent embassies to him.
2. Tam longinquis, &c.] As the pirates possessed.
3. Cretensium legati.] Introd. 15. and c. 12.
6. Item ipse Mithrid.] We are assured that Mithrid. sent an ambassador into Spain, to Sertorius, while Pompey was there. That he ever sent one to Pompey is so improbable, that we need not wonder people thought him 'a spy,' Al. idem.
7. Il, quibus, &c.] The friends of Metellus, the senior general in Spain.
legatum judicari maluerunt. Potestis igitur jam constituere, Quirites, hanc auctoritatem, multis postea\(^8\) rebus gestis, magnisque vestris judiciis\(^9\) amplificatam, quantum apud illos reges, quantum apud exteris nationes valituram esse existimetis.

Reliquum est, ut de felicitate, (quam praestare de se ipso nemo potest,\(^10\) meminisse et commemorare de altero postsumus,) sicut aequum est homini de postestate deorum, timide et paucu dicamus. Ego enim sic existimo: Maximo,\(^11\) Marcello,\(^12\) Scipioni,\(^13\) Mario,\(^14\) et ceteris magnis imperatoribus, non solum propter virtutem, sed etiam propter fortunam, sæpius imperia mandata, atque exercitus esse commissos. Fuit enim profecto quibusdam summis viris quaedam ad amplitudinem et gloriam, et ad res magnas bene gerendas divinitus adjuncta fortuna: de hujus autem hominis felicitate quo de nunc agimus, hac utatar moderatione dicendi, non ut in illius postestate fortunam positam esse dicam, sed ut praeterita meminisse, reliqua sperare videamur; ne aut invisa diis\(^15\) immortalibus oratio nostra, aut\(^15\) ingrata esse videatur. Itaque non sum prae dicaturus, Quirites, quantas ille res domi militiaque, terra mariae, quantaque felicitate gesserit: ut\(^17\) ejus semper voluntatibus non modo cives assenserint,\(^18\) socii obtemperarint, hostes obiedierint, sed etiam venti tempestates\(^19\) obsecurarint. Hoc brevissime di-

8. Postea] i. e. After the Spanish war.
8. Vestrinis judiciis] c. 15. Among them is, no doubt, the decree of Gabinius.
10. Nemo potest meminisse] Quam autem are understood before 'meminisse';—'but which we may, &c.'
12. Marcellu] He was five times consul; the conqueror of Gaul, of Syracuse, and of Hannibal, at Nola; in an engagement against whom he fell. A. v. 545.
14. Mario] The conqueror of Jugurtha, the Teutones, and Cimbri. He was seven times consul.
15. Invisa diis] Sc. if he said, 'in illius postestate fortunam positam esse.'
16. Ingrata] If he failed, 'praeterita meminisse, reliqua sperare.'
17. Ut ejus, &c.] 'Ut' for quâm. 'How, &c.'
18. Assenserint] More frequently deponent. Yet Sisenna (as Varro testifies) always in the senate said 'Assentio.'
19. Tempestates] If Cic. did not so frequently join together two synonyms, this might be translated 'calms.' Fam. xvi. 1. Et comites et tempestates, et navem idoneam ut habeas, diligenter videbis. The
Quod ut illi proprium ac perpetuum sit, Quirites, quum communis salutis atque imperii, tum ipsius hominis causa, sicuti factis, velle et optare debetis.

Quare quum et bellum ita necessarium sit, ut negligi non possit: ita magnum, ut accuratissime sit administrandum: et quum ei imperatorem præficere possitis, in quo sit eximia belli scientia, singularis virtus, clarissima auctoritas, egregia fortuna: dubitabitis, Quirites, quin hoc tantum boni, quod vobis a diis immortalibus oblatum et datum est, in rempublicam conservandam atque amplificandam conferatis?

XVII. Quod si Romæ Cn. Pompeius privatus esset hoc tempore: tamen ad tantum bellum is erat deligendus atque mittendus. Nunc, quum ad eeteras summam utilitates hac quoque opportunitas adjungatur, ut in iis ipsis locis adsit, ut habat exercitum, ut ab iis, qui habent, accipere statim possit: quid exspectamus? aut cur non, ducibus diis immortalibus, eidem, cui eetera summam cum salute reipublicæ commissa sunt, hoc quoque bellum regium committimus?

At enim vir clarissimus, amantissimus reipublicæ, vestris beneficiis amplissimis affectus, Q. Catulus; itemque summis ornamentis honoris, fortunæ, virtutis, ingenii præditus, Q. Hortensius, ab hac ratione dissentient: quorum ego auctoritatem apud vos multis locis plurimum valuisse, et valere oportere confiteor; sed in hac causa tametsi cognoscitis auctoritates contrarias fortissimorum virorum et clarissimorum, tamen, omissis auctoritatibus, ipsa re et ratione ex-
PRO LEGE MANILIA, CAP. 17.

quirere possimus veritatem: atque hoc facilius, quod ea omnia, quae adhuc a me dicta sunt, idem isti vera esse concedunt, et necessarium bellum esse, et magnum, et in uno Cn. Pompeio summa esse omnia. Quid igitur ait Hortensius? "Si uni omnia tribuenda sint, unum dignissimum esse Pompeium: sed ad unum tamen omnia\textsuperscript{4} deferri non opor-
tere." Obsolevit\textsuperscript{5} jam ista oratio, re multo magis quam verbis refutata. Nam tu idem, Q. Hortensi, multa, pro tua summa copia ac singulari facultate dicendi, et in senatu con-
tra virum fortrem A. Gabinium,\textsuperscript{6} graviter ornateque dixisti, quum is de uno\textsuperscript{7} imperatore contra prædones constituendo legem promulgassem: et ex hoc ipso loco permulta item contra legem eam verba fecisti. Quid? tum, per deos im-
mortales! si plus apud populum Romanum auctoritas tua, quum ipsius populi Romani salus et vera causa valuisse, hodie hanc gloriam atque hoc orbis terræ imperium tenere-
mus? An tibi tum imperium esse hoc videbatur, quum populi Romani legati, prætores, qœstoressque capiebantur? quum ex omnibus provinciis commetteat,\textsuperscript{8} et privato, et pub-
lico, prohibebamur? quum ita clausa erant nobis omnia ma-
ria, ut neque privatam rem transmarinam, neque publicam\textsuperscript{9} jam obire possemus?

XVIII. Quæ civitas antea unquam fuit, non dico Atheniensium,\textsuperscript{1} quæ satis late quondam mare tenuisse dicitur; non

De. i. 5. Non tam auctoritates in dis-
putando quam rationem momenta quaerenda sunt. Hotom,

4. Ad unum omnia] For, not only
the army and province of Lucullus
were to be assigned to him, but also
the naval forces which he had em-
ployed in the piratical war.

5. Obsolevit] Ob—soleo, q.d. 'against
use.' Tr. 'lost its value.' Phil. ii. 41.

6. A. Gabinium] Of this unprin-
5.) says, that if he had not carried his
law he must have turned pirate him-
self. And this accounts for his reso-
lution (virum fortrem) in urging the
law, in defiance of the opposition of
the senate and Trebellius, his col-
league, whom he had nearly deposed
from his office by a vote of the tribes,
before he withdrew his opposition.

7. De uno] For Pompey was not
amed in the law.

8. Commeatu.] This word is from
con and meo, i. e. eo; and imports, 1.
coming and going, free intercourse;
2. annona quæ commeadu compor-
tatur—provisions. Force. But it may
well be taken in the first sense here;
as it was not usual for Rome to get
supplies of corn from all the provinces.
This, therefore, is not to be referred to
'caritate rei frumentariae' supr. c. 15.
as Hotom. and the Delph. think.

9. Publicam] i. e. The magistrates
did not venture to proceed to the pro-
vinces.

Hall. i. 1, informs us, that for
nearly seventy years the Athenians
Carthaginiensium,\textsuperscript{1} qui permultum classe maritimisque rebus valuerunt: non Rhodiorum,\textsuperscript{3} quorum usque ad nostram memoriam disciplina navalis et gloria remansit: quae civitas antea unquam tam tenuis, quae tam parva insula fuit, quae non portus suos, et agros, et aliquam partem regionis atque orae maritimae per se ipsa defenderet? At, hercle, aliquot annos continuos ante legem Gabiniam ille populus Romanus, cujus, usque ad nostram memoriam, nomen invictum in navalibus pugnis\textsuperscript{4} permanserat, magna ac multo maxima parte non modo utilitatis,\textsuperscript{5} sed dignitatis\textsuperscript{6} atque imperii caruit: nos, quorum majores Antiochum regem classe, Persenque\textsuperscript{7} superarunt, omnibusque navalibus pugnis\textsuperscript{8} Carthaginienses, homines in maritimis rebus exercitatisimos paratissimosque vicerunt, ii nullo in loco jam praedonibus pares esse poteramus: nos [quoque], qui antea non modo Italiarum, sed omnibus sociis in ultimis oris auctoritate nostri imperii salvos praestare poteramus; (tum, quum insula Delos,\textsuperscript{9} tam procul a nobis in Ægeo mari posita, quo omnes undique cum mercibus atque oneribus comneabant, referta divitiis, parva, sine muro, nihil timebat;\textsuperscript{10} iidem non modo provinciis, atque oris Italiae maritimis, ac portibus nostris, sed

commanded the maritime coasts, extending even to the Euxine and Pamphylion seas.

2. Carthaginiensium] The naval power of the Carthaginians, which combined the science of Phœnícia with the prowess of Africa, was for a long time unrivalled in the Mediterranean. Of this the islands which they subjugated and colonized are offered by Appian as a proof.

3. Rhodiorum] Strabo, lib. xiv. testifies the excellent discipline and naval prowess of these islands, particularly in checking the pirates.

4. In navalibus pugnis] Particularly the victories of Duilius and Regulus in the first Punic war. and of Livius over the fleet of Antiochus, L. v. 562.

5. Util.] By the loss of its revenues.

6. Dignitatis] By the capture of its prætors, ambassadors, &c.

7. Persenque] We must infer this defeat, which is not directly mentioned by historians, from the naval triumph of Octavius. Liv. xliv. 42; which being `sine captivis, sine spoliis,' we may suppose the victory itself not very splendid.

8. Omnibus navalibus pugnis] `Omnibus' here is only morally universal. Thus, in the first Punic war, Adherbal destroyed nearly 100 ships in one engagement; and soon after a storm and Carthalo, the remainder of the fleet, amounting to 120 ships.

9. Delos] This island possessed an excellent harbour and situation, lying in the route of those who traded between Asia and Greece, or Italy. Strab. lib. x. As usual, the capital of the island was also so called.—Supr. 12. n. 8.

10. Tum—nihil timebat] Being under the protection of Rome. It had, however, been taken by Mithridates.
etiam Appia jan via\textsuperscript{11} carebamus; et his temporibus non pudebat magistratus populi Romani, in hunc ipsum locum ascendere,\textsuperscript{12} quum eum vobis majores vestri exuviis nauticis et classium spoliis ornatum reliquisset.

XIX. Bono te animo tum, Q. Hortensi, populus Romanus, et ceteros, qui erant in eadem sententia, dicere existimavit ea, quae sentiebatis; sed tamen in salute communi idem populus Romanus doli\textsuperscript{1} suo maluit, quam auctoritati vestra obtemperare. Itaque una lex, unus vir, unus annus, non modo nos illa miseria ac turpitudine liberavit: sed etiam efficit, ut aliquando vere videremur omnibus gentibus ac nationibus terra marique imperare. Quo mihi etiam indignius videtur obrectatum esse adhuc—Gabinio\textsuperscript{2} dicam, anne Pompeio, an utrique? (id quod est verius:)—ne legaretur A. Gabinius Cn. Pompeio expetent ac postulanti. Utrum ille, qui postulat legatum ad tantum bellum, quem velit, idoneus non est, qui impetret, quum ceteri ad expilandos socios diripiendaque provincias, quos voluerunt legatos eduxerint: an ipse, cujus lege salus ac dignitas populo Romano atque omnibus gentibus constituta est, expers esse debet gloria ejus imperatoris atque ejus exercitus, qui consilio ipsius atque periculo\textsuperscript{3} est constitutus? An C. Falcidius, Q. Metellus, Q. Cælius Latiniensis, Cn. Lentulus, (quos omnes honoris causa\textsuperscript{4} nomino,) quum tribuni plebis fuissent, anno proximo

\textsuperscript{11} Appia via\textsuperscript{11} Near Terracina, it approached the sea, and therefore was probably infested by the pirates.\textsuperscript{Mil.7.}

\textsuperscript{12} Descendere\textsuperscript{12} For ‘ascendere.’ The Rostra, it should be observed, was twofold, sc. ‘superior et inferior locus.’\textsuperscript{Att. ii. 24.}

Postero autem die, Caesar qui olim, praetor cum esset, Q. Catulum ex inferiori loco jussaret dicere, Vettium in Rostra prodixit; eumque in eo loco constant quod Bibulo consuli, aspirare non liceret. This ‘inferior locus’ Livy (xxxviii. 52.) calls ‘sub rostris,’ from which private men could harangue; whereas the ‘suggestum’ that had been adorned with the beaks of the Antiatian ships, called by Cic. ‘exuviis nauticis.’ Liv. viii. 14., formed the ‘locus superior,’ and from it the magistrates harangued. Hence ‘ascendere.’

\textsuperscript{De Or.iii.6.} Sive ex inferiori loco, sive ex aquo, sive ex superiore...loquitur. By ‘ex aquo’ he means the senate.

\textsuperscript{Sect. XIX.—1. Dolori} \textsuperscript{Agri-tudo ex aliqua injuria concepta. Hot.}

\textsuperscript{2. Indiginius—Gabinio} Supr. 17. n. 6. The return which was made for this uncalled for support of the worthless Gabinius can hardly be regretted. He was consul a. u. 695, the year in which Cic. was banished; for his services in procuring which banishment, he obtained, through Clodius, the province of Syria.

\textsuperscript{3. Periculo} Because if Pompey were unsuccessful, the odium would revert to the person who had promoted his appointment.

\textsuperscript{4. Honoris causa} ‘out of respect,’ ‘with all due respect.’ Cic. generally employs this expression in speaking
legati esse potuerunt: in hoc uno Gabinio sunt tam diligentes, qui in hoc bello, quod lege Gabinia geritur, in hoc imperatore atque exercitu, quem per vos ipse constituit, etiam praecipuo jure esse deberet? de quo legando spero consules ad senatum relatuos: qui si dubitabunt, aut gravabuntur, ego me profiteor relaturum, neque me impediet cujusquam, Quirites, inimicum edictum, quo minus, fretus vobis, vestrum jus beneficiumque defendam: neque, praeter intercessionem, quidquam audiam; de qua, ut arbitror, isti ipsi, qui minantur, etiam atque etiam, quid liceat, considerabant. Mea quidem sententia, Quirites, unus A. Gabinius, belli maritimis rerumque gestarum Cn. Pompeio socius adscribi-

of living characters, regarding whom there might be some suspicion of insult. Thus Antony uses it in speaking of Brutus. Phil. ii. 12.

5. Tam diligentes] In enforcing the law, that tribunes should not be eligible to lieutenancies the year after their magistracy. What this law was is not recorded; perhaps it came in under the Æbutian and Licinian laws, ne ei qui de aliqua curatione ac potestate ferret, collegis, cognatis, affinibus eam potestatem curationemque mandare liceret.

5. Per vos] By your suffrages.

6. Ego me relatum] It would appear that the consuls, Æm. Lepidus and Volciatius Tullus, took part with the senate against Gabinius, whose law was highly displeasing to them. Cic. declares, that if the consuls, whose proper business it was, should not lay the matter before the senate, he would do so himself. This could be done in two ways: 1. by calling a meeting of the senate for that especial purpose; which, as praetor, he was competent to do; and then 'inimicum edictum,' would be an edict of the consuls, forbidding a minor magistrate, sc. a praetor, to hold the senate; and this is Hottoman's explanation. 2. By taking the opportunity, when the senate was met for some other purpose, of bringing forward the affair, which it was competent for any senator to do. 'Inimicum edictum' will then be the edict of the consul, determining the business in debate, and requiring no senator to introduce any extraneous matter, or what was called 'egredi relationem;' and this explanation Ern. prefers.

7. Vestrurn jus beneficiumque] As Hotton. explained 'edictum' to be an edict directed against the authority of the praetor to hold the senate, so he makes 'jus' theright or privilege of the praetorship and 'beneficium' the favour conferred by that office, which were 'vestrum' being derived from the people. But Ern. makes 'jus' the right which the tribunes had of a lieutenancy, and 'beneficium' the honour and rights of the tribuneship itself, which were peculiarly 'vestrum,' the people's. And this seems preferable.

8. Praeter intercessionem] A compliment to the people, to whose tribunes he was ready to defer. The senate had, no doubt, gained over some of the tribunes, like Trebellius, who should interfere if Cicero's motion were pressed. The Delph. quotes from A. Gell. xiv. 7., that a magistrate to intercede must be of equal (or greater) authority with him who held the senate. This is true, but does
tur; propterea quod alter uni9 id bellum suspiciendum vestris suffragiis detulit; alter delatum susceptumque confecit.

XX. Reliquum est, ut de Q. Catuli auctoritate et sententia dicendum esse videatur; qui quem ex vobis quereret, si in uno Cn. Pompeio omnia poneretis, si quid eo factum esse,1 in quo spem essetis habituri; cepit magnum suæ virtutis fructum, ac dignitatis, quem omnes prope una voce, "in [eo] ipso vos spem habituros esse" dixistis. Etenim talis est vir,2 ut nulla res tanta sit ac tam difficultis, quam ille non et consilio regere, et integritate tueri, et virtute conficere possit. Sed in hoc ipso ab eo vehementissime dissentio, quod, quo minus certa est hominum ac minus diuturna vita, hoc magis respublica, dum per deos immortales licet, frui debet summi hominis vita atque virtute. At enim3 nihil novi fiat contra exempla atque instituta majorum. Non dico hoc loco, majores nostros semper in pace consuetudini, in bello utilitati4 paruisse, semper ad novos casus temporum, novorum consiliorum rationes accommodasse: non dicam, duo bella maxima, Punicum et Hispaniense, ab uno imperatore5 esse conlecta: duas urbes potentissimas, quæ huic imperio maxime munitabantur, Carthaginem atque Numantium,6 ab eodem Scipione esse deletas: non commemorabo, nuper ita vobis patribusque vestris esse visum, ut in uno C. Mario spe-
perii poneretur, ut idem cum Jugurtha, idem cum Cimbris,\textsuperscript{7} idem cum Theutonis bellum administraret: in ipso Cn. Pompeio, in quo novi constitui nihil vult Q. Catulus, quam multa sint nova summa Q. Catuli voluntate constituta, recordamini.

\textit{XXI. Quid enim tam novum, quam adolescentulum,\textsuperscript{1} privatum, exercitum difficili reipublicæ temporæ\textsuperscript{2} conficere?—confectum:—hoc praeesse?—praefuit:—rem optime ductu suo gerere?—gessit. Quid tam præter consuetudinem, quam hominum peradolescenti,\textsuperscript{2} cujus ad senatorio gradum\textsuperscript{4} ætatem longæ\textsuperscript{5} abesset, imperium atque exercitum dari? Sicilianum permitti, atque Africam, bellumque in ea administrandum? Fuit in his provinciis singularis innocentia, gravitate, virtute: bellum in Africa maxime conficet, victorem exercitum deportavit. Quid vero tam inauditum, quam equitem Romanum triumphare? At eam quoque rem populus Romanus non modo vidit, sed etiam studio omni visendam et concelebrandam putavit. Quid tam insitutum, quam ut, quum duo consules\textsuperscript{6} clarissimi fortissimique essent, eques Romanus ad bellum maximum\textsuperscript{7} formidolosissimunque pro consule\textsuperscript{8} mitteretur? Missus est. Quo quidem tempore, quum esset non nemo in senatu, qui diceret, 'Non oportere mitti hominem privatum pro consule,' L. Philippus\textsuperscript{9} dixisse dicitur, 'Non se

7. Cimbris\textsuperscript{7} A people of Jutland, and 'Theutones,' of Germany. These nations made an incursion into Gaul, A. D. 640, and conquered and destroyed several Roman armies. Marius, in his absence, was appointed general against them, and in conjunction with Q. Catulus, destroyed the entire army of the barbarians. Cic. seems to separate the wars with these people (idem cum Theutonis) and so does Livy, Epit lxvi., differing in this respect from other historians.

Sect. XXI.—1. Adolescentulum\textsuperscript{1} Introduct. 11. 15. 2. Difficili reip. tempore\textsuperscript{2} The Italic war. 3. Peradolescenti\textsuperscript{2} For 'adolescentissimus,' which is not in use. 4. Senatorio gradu\textsuperscript{4} Thirty-two. 5. Longe\textsuperscript{5} Sc. about eight years. 6. Duo cons.\textsuperscript{6} D. Junius Brutus and M. Æmilius Lepidus, A. D. 676. 7. Bellum maximum\textsuperscript{7} The Spartan or Spanish. 8. Pro consule\textsuperscript{8} The words 'proconsul,' 'promagister,' 'pronpepos, &c. were formed from the regular 'pro consule,' &c.; and the latter form was still in use, with this limitation, that it was never made the subject of the verb. E.g. 'Eques Rom. proconsule missus est' was good Latin; but not 'proconsule decretiæ hæc fieri.' This shows too, that the governor of a province was styled proconsul whether he had been consul or not. Vid. Phil. ii. 38, where Brutus, the pretor, is called proconsul of Crete. Hor. Sat. i. 7. 18. 9. L. Philippus\textsuperscript{9} Who, with Cras-
illum sua sententia pro consule, sed pro consulibus\textsuperscript{10} mittere.' Tanta in eo reipublicae bene gerendae spes constituebat, ut duorum consulum munus unitus adolescentis virtutis committeretur. Quid tam singulare, quam ut ex senatus-consulto legibus\textsuperscript{11} solutus, consul ante fieret, quam ullum alium magistratum\textsuperscript{12} per leges capere licuisset? quid tam incredibile, quam ut iterum\textsuperscript{13} eques Romanus ex senatus-consulto triumpharet? qua in omnibus hominibus nova post hominum memoriam constituata sunt, ea tam multa non sunt, quam hæc, qua in hoc uno homine vidimus. Atque haec tot exempla tanta, ac tam nova, profecta sunt in eundem hominem a Q. Catuli atque a ceterorum ejusdem dignitatis mplissimorum hominum auctoritate.

XXII. Quare videant, ne sit periniquum et non serendum, illorum auctoritatem de Cn. Pompeiæ dignitate a vobis comprobatam\textsuperscript{1} semper esse; vestrum ab illis de eodem homine judicium, populique Romani auctoritatem improbari: præsertim quem jam suo jure\textsuperscript{2} populus Romanus in hoc homine suam auctoritatem vel contra omnes, qui dissentiant, possit defendere; propertia quod, iisdem istis reclamantibus,\textsuperscript{3} vos unum illum ex omnibus delegistis, quem bello praedonum praeponeteris. Hoc si vos temere fecistis, et reipublica

sus and Antony, formed the triumvirate of early orators. De Or. iii. 1.

10. \textit{Pro consulibus} Metellus Pius was then conducting the Sertorian war, with better intentions than success. His regular successor should have been a consul, and sometimes two were sent. Philip had so high an opinion of Pompey's abilities that he thought him worth the two; accordingly he was sent as an assistant to Metellus, who was continued in the command.

11. \textit{Legibus} i.e. Lege, sc. Villiavel Annali. Mil. 9. n. on 'suum annum.'

12. \textit{Ullum alium magistratum} Sc. curule magistracy; for being thirty-five years of age, he was eligible to the questorship. Vid. c. i. n. 29. The legal age for the curule ædile was thirty-seven. Some refer 'antequam,' not to the age of Pompey, but the order of the offices, of which the questorship was first, and had been omitted by Pompey.


\textsc{sext.} XXII.—1. \textit{A vobis comprobâtam} Either by yourselves, or by your tribunes. For the latter used to sit on benches at the door of the senate, and examine the decrees of the senate as they passed. Those approved were subscribed T. i. e. Tribuni; those rejected, V. i. e. veto. Val. Max. ii. 1.

2. \textit{Jam suo jure} i. e. 'nemine impediéntes,' 'cum nemo prohibere possit.' \textit{Jam} seems to intimate that since the decision of the people, in the case of the Gabinian law, against the wishes of the senate, had proved so proper, \textit{a fortiori} they might exert their full authority on this occasion.

3. \textit{Istis reclamantibus} Hortensius, Catulus, and their adherents.
parum consululis; recte isti studia vestra\textsuperscript{4} suis consiliis\textsuperscript{5} re-
gere conantur: sin autem vos plus tum in republica vidis-
tis; vos,\textsuperscript{6} his repugnantibus, per vosmet ipsos dignitatem
huic imperio, salutem orbi terrarum attulistis: aliquando
isti principes, et sibi, et ceteris, populi Romani universi aucto-
ritat pariendum esse fateantur. Atque in hoc bello Asia-
tico et regio, non solum militaris illa virtus, quae est in Cn.
Pompeio singularis, sed alia quoque virtutes animi multae et
magnae requiruntur. Difficile est\textsuperscript{7} in Asia, Cilicia, Syria,
regnisque interiorum\textsuperscript{8} nationum ita versari vestrum impera-
torem, ut nihil aliud, quam de hoste ac de laude, cogit.
Deinde etiam si qui sunt pudore ac temperantia moderati-
ores, tamen eos esse tales, propter multituminem cupidorum
hominum nemo arbitratur. Difficile est dictu, Quirites,
quanto in odio simus apud exterar nationes, propter corum,
quos ad eas per los annos cum imperio misimus, injurias ac
libidines. Quod enim fanum putatis in illis terris nostris
magistratibus religiosum, quam civitatem sanctam, quam do-
mum satis clausam ac munitam fuisses? urbes jam\textsuperscript{9} locuplet-
es ac copiosae requiruntur,\textsuperscript{10} quibus causa belli propter diri-
piendi cupiditatem inferatur. Libenter habe coram cum Q.
Catulo et Q. Hortensio disputarem, summis et clarissimis
viris; noverunt\textsuperscript{11} enim sociorum vulnera: vident eorum
calamitates: querimonias audiant. Pro sociis vos contra
hostes exercitum mittere putatis, an hostium simulatione,
contra socios atque amicos? quae civitas est in Asia, quae non
modo imperatoris, aut legati, sed unius tribuni militum\textsuperscript{12} ani-
mos ac spiritus\textsuperscript{13} capere possit?

XXIII. Quare, etiam si quem habetis, qui, collatis signis,

4. \textit{Studia vestra}\textsuperscript{4} Your views and
wishes.
5. \textit{Consilii}\textsuperscript{5} Just as Cic. was
doing now; for the senators had no
control over the determinations of the
people, but by advice.
6. \textit{Vos}\textsuperscript{6} i. e. \textit{sin vos}; if you, &c.
7. \textit{Difficile est}\textsuperscript{7} Owing to the
wealth and remote situation of those
countries.
8. \textit{Interiorum}\textsuperscript{8} Remote from the
sea.
9. \textit{Jam}\textsuperscript{9} Even.
10. \textit{Requiruntur}\textsuperscript{10} i. e. \textit{diligenter
inquiruntur.} Sall. Cat. 40. Legatos
Allobrogum requirat.
11. \textit{Noverunt enim}\textsuperscript{11} Because they
must have heard the complaints which
were daily brought before the senate
by the provincials.
12. \textit{Unus tribuni militum}\textsuperscript{12} The
number of the ‘tribuni’ in a legion
varied according to the number of
thousands of which it was composed,
which being originally three, (tres,) gave rise to the name. At this time
there were six.
13. \textit{Animos ac spiritus}\textsuperscript{13} Avarice.
exercitus regios superare posse videatur: tamen, nisi erit idem, qui se a pecuniis sociorum, qui ab eorum conjugibus ac liberis, qui ab ornamentis fanorum, qui ab auro gazaque regia, manus, oculos, animum cohibere possit; non erit idoneus qui ad bellum Asiaticum regiunque mittatur. Ecquam putatis civitatem pacatam fuisse, quae locuples sit? ecquam esse locupletem, quae istis pacata esse videatur? Ora maritima, Quirites, Cn. Pompeium non solum propter rei militaris gloriam, sed etiam propter animi continentiam requisivit. Videbat enim populum Romanum non locupletari quotannis pecunia publica, præter pau- cos; neque nos quidquam aliud assequi classium nomine, nisi ut, detrimentis accipiendi, majore affici turpitudine videremur. Nunc, qua cupiditate homines in provincias, quibus jacturis, quibus conditionibus profiscendarum, ignorant videlicet isti, qui ad unum deferenda esse omnia non arbitrantur? Quasi vero Cn. Pompeium non quum suis virtu- tibus, tum etiam alienis vitiiis magnum esse videamus. Quare nolite dubitare, quin huic uni credatis omnia, qui inter annos tot unus inventus sit, quem socii in urbes suas cum exercitu venisse gaudeant. Quod si auctoritatibus hanc causam, Quirites, confirmandam putatis: est vobis auctor, vir bel-

Sect. XXIII.—1. Gaza] A Persian word, signifying 'royal treasure.' Gaza, a city of Palestine, was so called, according to Mela, because Cambyses, when he was invading Egypt, collected thither his royal treasures. Here it may allude to the treasures of Mithridates and Ti- granes.

2. Ecquam—esse videatur] He makes two suppositions and deduces two consequences: 1. Admitting a state to be possessed of wealth, has it in any instance been reduced to a state of tranquillity (pacatam)? No, but goaded into rebellion. 2. If we sup- pose the state to be, in their opinion, tranquillized (pacata), do you conceive it to be wealthy? No; it owes its tranquillity to its having nothing to tempt rapacity. In short, in the eye of the Roman governors, wealth was the worst species of dis- loyalty, and the only security from oppression lay in poverty.

3. Populum Rom.] Al. populus. With the reading in the text 'vide- bat' refers to 'ora maritima,' yet it is not clear why it felt so strongly about the abuses of the Roman government. If we read 'populus' there is no apparent connexion with what precedes.

4. Præter] i.e. 'nisi'—i.e. 'save.' Cass. B. G. iv. 1. Neque vestitus, præter pelles, habeant. So in English, besides is used for except.


6. Ignorunt isti] Sc. Hortensius, &c. ironically; for he had said before, 'noverunt sociorum vulnera.'
lorum omnium maximarumque rerum peritissimus, P. Servilius:7 cujus tanta res gestae terra marique8 exstiterunt, ut, quum de bello deliberateis, auctor vobis gravior esse nemo debet: est C. Curio,9 summis vestris beneficiis, maximisque rebus gestis, summo ingenio et prudentia præditis: est Cn. Lentulus,10 in quo omnes, pro amplissimis vestris honoribus, summam consilium, summam gravitatem esse cognovisti: est C. Cassius,11 integritate, virtute, constantia singulari. Quare videte, num horum auctoritatibus illorum orationi, qui dissentient, respondere posse videamus.

XXIV. Quæ quum ita sint, C. Manili, primum istam tuam et legem, et voluntatem, et sententiam laudo, vehementissimeque comprobo: deinde te hortor, ut, auctore populo Romano, maneas in sententia, neve cuiusquam vim aut minas pertimescas. Primum in te satis esse animi perseverantiaeque arbitror: deinde quum tantam multitudinem cum tanto studio adesse videamus, quantam nunc iterum in eodem homine praeficiendo videmus: quid est, quod aut de re, aut de perficiendi facultate dubitemus? Ego autem, quidquid in me est studii, consilii, laboris; ingenii, quidquid hoc beneficio populi Romani, atque hoc potestate praetoria, fide, constantia possim; id omne ad hanc rem consiciendam, tibi et populo Romano polliceor ac defero. Testorque omnes deos, et eos maxime, qui huic loco temploque2 præsident, qui omnium mentes eorum, qui ad rempublicam adeunt, maxime perspiciunt, me hoc neque rogatu facere cujusquam, neque quo Cn. Pompeii gratiam mihi per hanc causam conciliari putem, neque quo mihi ex cujusquam amplitudine, aut presidia periculis, aut adjumenta honoribus queram: propterca quod pericula facile, ut hominem praestare oportet,3 innocentia tecti repellere: honores autem neque ab uno, neque ex hoc loco, sed eadem

7. P. Servilius] Sc. Isauricus, from his conquest of Isaurum in Cilicia, consul a. u. 674, the year of Sylla’s resignation.
8. Marique] He had been successful in several engagements with the pirates.
9. C. Scribonius Curio] Consul, a. u. 677. He was father of Curio, the friend of Antony, who fell in Africa.
Sect. XXIV.—1. Nunc iterum] The first was in passing the Gabinian law. Al. non.
3. Præstare oportet] Ought to do; sc. ‘pericula repellere.’
PRO LEGE MANILIA, CAP. 24.

nostra illa laboriosissima ratione vitae, si vestra voluntas feret, consequemur. Quamobrem, quidquid in hac causa mihi susceptum est, Quirites, id omne me reipublicae causa suscepisse confirmo: tantumque abest, ut aliquam bonam gratiam mihi quæsisse videar, ut multas etiam simulatas partim obscures,\textsuperscript{4} partim apertas intelligam, mihi non necessarias,\textsuperscript{5} vobis non inutiles,\textsuperscript{6} suscepisse. Sed ego me hoc honore praeditum, tantis vestris beneficiis affectum, statui, Quirites, vestram voluntatem,\textsuperscript{7} et reipublicae dignitatem, et salutem provinciarum atque sociorum, meis omnibus commodis et rationibus praertere oportere.

\textsuperscript{4} Partim obscures\textsuperscript{4} Alluding to the covert opposition of the partisans of Lucullus.
\textsuperscript{5} Mihi non necessarias\textsuperscript{5} A 'litotes,' for 'very injurious;' sc. by alienating Lucullus and his party.
\textsuperscript{6} Non inutiles\textsuperscript{6} Because public good often accrues from the disputes of political opponents, by reason of the watch which they keep on each other's actions.
\textsuperscript{7} Vestram voluntatem\textsuperscript{7} 'Your inclination;' which was wholly in favour of Pompey.
INTRODUCTION TO THE ORATION

FOR THE

POET ARCHIAS.

1. We know little more of Archias than what is contained in the oration of Cicero, pronounced in his defence. This informs us that he was a native of Antioch, and being early distinguished for poetical talent, came to Rome in the consulship of Marius and Catulus, A. u. 651. His first patrons in that city were the Luculli, whose gentile name, Licinius, Archias seems to have adopted, as was usually done by foreigners on receiving the freedom of the city.* About ten years after his arrival at Rome, he accompanied M. Lucullus to Sicily, and this brought him to Heraclea, a city of Magna Graecia, of which he was made a citizen.

2. During his absence from Italy, the famous Italic, or Social war had raged, which began A. u. 662, on the murder of the younger Drusus, (Mil. 6.,) the celebrated tribune who had espoused the interests of the Italic states. It is well known that the senate was obliged to concede, in effect, the demands of the allies. For, by the Julian law, citizenship was conferred on such of the Latin and Italian states as had maintained their allegiance, or chose to lay down their arms; and, in the following year, 664, the law of Carbo and Silvanus was passed, by which all foreigners who were citizens of federate states were entitled to citizenship at Rome, provided they had, at that time, a residence in Italy, and registered their names with the Roman prætor within sixty days from the promulgation of the law. This law, of course, included Archias, who was lately enrolled in Heraclea, and had, for a long time, resided at Rome. Accordingly he registered his name with Metellus Pius, his intimate friend, within the appointed time, and thereby became a Roman citizen.

* Ernesti, however, says ‘civitate donatus a Crasso,’ and we find L. Crassus enumerated among his patrons, c. 3., ‘a L. Crasso colebatur.’ But as the Luculli, as well as the Crassi, belonged to the ‘gens Licinia,’ it seems more probable that Archias was so denominated from his first and constant patrons, than from Crassus.
INTRODUCTION.

3. In the following year he accompanied his patron, L. Lucullus, to Asia; and after following his fortunes for upwards of twenty years, returned with him to Rome, A. u. 688, on his recall from the Mithridatic war. In this very year, C. Papius revived an old law of Petronius 'that all foreigners should be expelled the city, who not being citizens, conducted themselves as such.' About four years after, one Gracchus, or Gratius, arraigned Archias under this law, and required him, in his old age, (for he was now in his 60th year,) to prove his right of citizenship. Cicero, his old pupil, appeared in his defence. It is doubtful who was the presiding prætor, because it is not ascertained whether the action was pleaded A. u. 691 or 692. If in the former, then Q. Cicero, the brother of the orator, is the most probable person; if in the latter, C. Octavius, the father of the Emperor Augustus.

4. This cause is styled by rhetoricians 'judicial,' being pleaded before the prætor, but it is also 'demonstrative,' inasmuch as it embraces the praises of Archias and learning. The exordium is simple, being founded on the gratitude which a pupil owes his instructor in polite literature, c. 1. 3. This is followed by a brief review of the life of Archias, wherein Cicero gives the history of his enfranchisement, and confutes the arguments by which it was sought to be invalidated, c. 3. 6. The remainder of the oration is occupied in the praises of learning and poetry, and in proving the claim which a man of learning and poetical talent, like Archias, had on the favour of the Roman people, inasmuch as on him depended the duration of their fame. The peroration is merely a summary of the preceding arguments.
M. TULLII CICERONIS

PRO

A. LICINIO ARCHIA POETA

ORATIO.

I. Si quid est in me ingenii, judices, quod sentio quam sit exiguum: aut si qua exercitatio dicendi, in qua me non infitior mediocriter esse versatum; aut si hujusce rei ratio aliqua, ab optimarum artium studiis ac disciplina profecta, a qua ego ego nullum consitoeor ætatis meæ tempus abhorruisse: earum rerum omnium vel in primis hic A. Licinius fructum

Sect. I.—1. Si quid, &c.] Cic. here enumerates the three grand requisites for forming an orator; talent, experience in speaking, and theoretical skill. The more natural arrangement would be, talent—theory—practice; and this he adopts, inf. 'facultas ingenii—dicendi ratio—disciplina. These agree nearly with Aristotle's requisites for forming the finished scholar, φύσις, μάθησις, ἀσκησις.

2. In qua—esse] It has been remarked, by Hotton., Muret., and others, that Cic. here falls into a hexameter; and Muret. says, 'Nonne videtur poetam poetece velle defendere?' But as harmonious prose differs from verse, not in rejecting rhythm, but the regular recurrence of the same rhythm; and as there is hardly a sentence in Cic. wherein many of the ordinary poetic rhythms may not be detected, it is surely too much to attribute this instance to art or intention.

3. Hujusce rei] Sc. dicendi, Manil. c. i. n. 32.

4. Vel in primis] Because he had many other early guides.

5. A. Liciniius] Græv., supported by two MSS., would subjoin Archius, but, perhaps in beginning to prove his client a Roman, the omission of his Asiatic name is intentional. With regard to the praenomen Aulus, it is not clear whence it was derived to Archias, as the Luculli were Marc. and Luc., and the prænomen, in which the patron prided himself, was sure to be adopted by the client. — gaudent prænominem molles Auriculae. — Hor. So of freedmen we meet Mar-
a me repetere prope suo jure debet. Nam quod longissime potest mens mea respicere spatium praeferendi temporis, et pu-eritiae memoriam recordari ultimam, inde usque repetens, hunc video mihi principem et ad suscipientiam, et ad ingrediendum rationem horum studiorum existitissae. Quod si haec vox, hujus hortatu praeceptisque conformata, nonnullis aliquando salutis fuit: a quo id accepimus, quo ceteris opitua- lari et alios servare possemus, huic profecto ipsi quantum est situm in nobis, et opem, et salutem ferre debemus. Ac, ne quis a nobis hoc ita dici forte miretur, quod alia quaedam in hoc facultas sit ingenii, neque haec dicendi ratio aut disciplina, ne nos quidem huic cuncti studio penitus unquam dediti fuimus. Etenim omnes artes, quae ad hu-
cus Tullius Tiro, Luc. Corn. Chry- sogonus. Manut. conjectures that by an adoption which took place, of Marcus into the family of Varo, his praenomen, Aulus, might have been changed, but not until it had been first assumed by Archias.


7. Memorium] Tempus quod memoria amplitumur, Sch. V.E.; and 'ultimam,' 'primam, remotissimam.'


9. Ad suscipiend., &c.] The metaphor appears to be borrowed from a traveller who takes up his package and then enters on his journey. 'Ratio' here is nearly allied to 'via.' Hence 'ingredior' is often joined with it. Epist. ii. 'Ingredior ad explicandam rationem sententiae max.'


11. Hortatu] Sc. 'ad suscipiendam'; and 'praeceptis,' 'ad ingrediendum.' Ern.

12. Conformata] The formation or toning of the voice was an important part in the education of an orator at Rome. Vid. de Or. iii. 60. Ad He-
manitatem\textsuperscript{19} pertinent, habent quoddam commune vinculum,\textsuperscript{2} et quasi cognatione quadam inter se continentur.

11. Sed ne cui vestrum mirum esse videatur, me in quâs-tione legitima,\textsuperscript{1} et in judicio publico,\textsuperscript{2} quum res agatur apud praetorem populi Romani, lectissimum\textsuperscript{3} virum, et apud severissimos\textsuperscript{4} judices, tanto conventu\textsuperscript{5} hominum ac frequentia, hoc uti genere dicendi, quod non modo a consuetudine judiciorum, verum etiam\textsuperscript{6} a forensi sermone\textsuperscript{7} abhorreat: quæsa a vobis, ut in hac causa mili detis veniam, accommoda-

the arts which pertain to it must embrace the whole circle of the sciences. This the Greeks called \textit{γένεκλο-παδεία}. Quint. i. 10. The arguments of Cic., however, show that poetry and history were particularly in his mind.

19. \textit{Ad humanitatem} ‘Humanitas,’ from \textit{homo}, imports: 1. The instinctive concern which human beings feel for each other as contradistinguished from the brute creation. 2. Humanity, kindness, &c. 3. Whatever cherishes those feelings and keeps our species most distinct from brutes. Hence learning, polite literature, &c. Ovid. Pont. ii. 9. 47.

‘Scilicet ingenius didicisse fideliter artes
Emollit mores nec sinit esse feros.’

20. \textit{Quoddam vinculum} De Or. iii. 6. ‘Est etiam illa Platonis vera..., vox; omnem doctrinan harum ingenuarum et humanarum artium uno quodam societatis vinculo contineri.’

\textit{Sect. 11. — I. Quæstione legitima} ‘Quæ sub legibus cadit et legibus dirimitur;’ a question of law, merely.

2. \textit{Judicio publico} Cæc. 2. ‘Omnia judicia aut distraheandarum controversiarum, aut puniendorum maleficiorum causa reperta sunt;’ i.e. were private or public; or, as we say, civil or criminal. Under the latter was ranked any question ‘de jure civitatis,’ the least violation of which was considered a ‘maleficium.’ And as the ‘jus civitatis’ belonged to the ‘jus publicum,’ Balb. 28, he here says ‘judi-

cio publico,’ which in its very nature precluded the latitude of expression which might, perhaps, be pardoned in a panegyric on learning.

3. \textit{Lectissimum} (As we say) ‘a picked man;’ a most superior lawyer; who would think it \textit{strange} if Cic. supplied him with declamation instead of legal pleading.

4. \textit{Severissimos} ‘Severus,’ applied to judges, generally means ‘impartial.’ Manil. 13. Here, perhaps, ‘grave,’ ‘serious;’ whom an advocate would not be likely to trouble with any disquisition irrelevant to the case in point. About ten years before this trial took place, Cotta had opened the judicial office to the three orders of the state, (Phil. i. 8,) the senators, knights, and ‘tribuni aerarii,’ out of whom these judges were selected. The senators were usually one more than the equites, who again exceeded the ‘tribuni aerarii’ by the same number; but a vote of each was of equal value. Mil. c. 1. n. 4.

5. \textit{Tanto conventu} i.e. Corona eorum qui circum judicium subsellia stabant. Hott. Mil. 1.

6. \textit{Non modo—verum etiam} A pleader might vary a little from the routine of a trial, but to forget the very phraseology of the bar was very unusual—was \textit{strange}.

7. \textit{Forensi sermone} Cic., de Off. i. 1., contrasts ‘illus forense dicendi, et hoc quietum disputandi, genus.’—Here he means that many phrases belonging to the schools, and to litera-
tare in general, which are new to the forum, will be found in this oration.

8. *Hoc concursu*] 'Hoc' is here emphatic, 'such—as this;' for the high fame both of the defendant and the advocate would naturally attract the *literati* of Rome to hear the trial.


10. *Hoc denique prætore*] *Hoc* as above. This (fourth) closes his reasons for expecting an indulgent hearing; drawn from the character of the defendant, of the audience, the judges, and the praetor.


12. *Otium*] Freedom from business; 'study;' a literary pursuit. Elsewhere he says, 'otium literatum'; 'literary ease.

13. *Tractata*] 'Tractare personam,' signifying in Rosc. Com. 7. 'to represent a character,' *Passer.* refers, 'tractata' to the orator; as if he said, 'and in a character of this description, which I have rarely performed, &c.' So *Hor.* 'partes mi-

14. *Perficiam*] Se. by putting you in possession of the merits of *Archias.*

15. *Segregandum—adsciscendum*] These words are immediately opposed. Of 'scisco' *Manut.* says, 'migravit a foro ad omnes res.'

16. *Informari*] Rough-hew. 'Non absolutam formam sed inchoatom significat.' *Manut.* So *Shakspeare:—* 'Tis the Divinity that shapes our ends, Rough-hew them as we will.'

17. *Scribendi*] 'Scribere' is applied, κατ′ ἐξήντα, to poetical composition. Ter. 'Poeta cum primum animum ad scribendum appulit.—*Hor.* 'Scriberis Vario fortis et hostium Victor, &c.' *Passer.* 'Scribendi recte sapere est et principium et fons.' *Hor.*

3. *Antioehia*] Steph. says that there were twelve cities of this name. This was built on the Orontes, in Syria. It was afterwards the site of a
(nam ibi natus est loco nobili:) celebri quondam urbe et copiosa, atque eruditissimis hominibus liberalissimisque studiis affluenti, celeriter antecellere omnibus ingenii gloria contigit. Post in ceteris Asiae partibus cunctaque Graeciae, sic ejus adventus celebrabantur, ut famam ingenii exspectatio hominis, exspectationem ipsius adventus admiratioque superaret. Erat Italia tunc plena Graecarum artium ac disciplinarum, studiaque haec et in Latio vehementius tum celebantur, quam nunc iisdem in oppidis, et hic Romae, propter tranquillitatem reipublicae, non negligebantur. Itaque hunc et Tarentini, et Rhegini, et Neapolitani, civitate ceterisque præmiis donarunt: et omnes, qui aliquid de ingenii poterant judicare, cognitione atque hos-

Christian Church, and in it the followers of our Saviour were first called Christians. Its modern name is Antikē.

4. Loco nobili] Of a distinguished family. Sall. Cat. 24. 'natus haud obscuro loco.'


7. Famam ingenii] An ascending series. The fame of his talents was great; but, as usual, was exceeded by the curiosity of seeing his personal appearance (hominis); and this again, his actual (ipsius) arrival, and the admiration which succeeded, threw completely into the shade.

8. Exspectatio hominis] Sc. 'visendi,' which is sometimes expressed. Nep. Alc. 6. 'Tanta fuit exspectatio visendi Alcibiadis.'

9. Erat Italia] Cicero states particularly, the progress of Archias. From Asia he came to Greece; thence to Italy; from Italy to Latium; and thence to Rome. It is observable that he bestows on Italy, i.e. on Magna Graecia, greater praise than on Latium, because the Greek schools of philosophy first flourished there; and as they were extended to the Latian towns before they reached the city; in the former, he says, 'colebantur,' in the latter, 'non negligebantur.' And even this slight attention, he hints, was owing to the tranquillity which the state enjoyed before the Social war. It is of the period succeeding the Punic wars that Hor. says, 'Gracia capta ferum victorem cepit et artes Intulit agresti Latio.'


12. Tarentini, &c.} Tarentum, a city of Calabria, on a gulf of that name, was founded by a colony of Spartans, under Phalantus, hence called Phalantum. Rhegium, now Rhoggio, was founded by a colony from Chalcis, in Euboea, near where Sicily was said to have been disjoined from the Continent by an earthquake. Æn. iii. 414. Strab. vi. 258, derives it à ῥιγγῳ. Neapolis, i.e. Newtown, anciently Parthenope, was founded by Cumæans, from Chalcis, in Euboea. It is situate on the Sinus Putelolanus, one of the most beautiful bays in Europe. These were, at this time, federate states of Italy; after the social war they became Roman citizens. Hence Verr. vi. 60. 'Quid arbitramini Rheginos, qui jam cives Rom. sunt, merere velle, &c.' Inf. c. 5, 'in eorum municipiorum, &c.'

13. Civitate—donarunt] A man could be a Freeman of several corporate towns at one and the same time;
pitio dignum existimaran't. Hac tanta celebritate famæ quam esset jam absentibus notus, Romam venit, Mario console et Catulo. 14 Nactus est 15 primum consules eos, quorum alter 16 res ad scribendum maximas, alter 17 quum res gestas, tum etiam studium atque aures 18 adhibere posset. Statim Luculli, 19 quum prætextatus 30 etiam tum Archias esset, eum domum suam receperunt. Sed [etiam] hoc non solum ingenii ac literarum, verum etiam naturæ atque virtutis, ut domus, quæ hujus adolescentiae prima fuerit, eadem esset familiarissima senectuti. 21 Erat temporibus illis jucundus Q. Metello, 22 illi Numidico, et ejus Pio filio. 23 Audiebatur 24 a not so of Rome. Cic. pro Cæc. 34 'Cum ex nostro jure nemo duarum civitatum esse possit, tum amittitur hac civitas, cum hic qui profugit receptus est in aliam civitatem.' Hott. 14. Mario et Catulo] The fourth coss. of Marius, A. u. 651, to which he was appointed with a view to his opposing the Cimbri. 15. Nactus est] Quod fortuna fuit. Manut. 'He happened to find.' Mil. 12. 'si nactus esses.' 16. Alter] Marius, whose principal achievement hitherto was the capture of Jugurtha. Soon after, indeed, he triumphed over the Cimbri, Teutones, and Ambrones. 17. Alter] Catulus. He shared the campaign with Marius; and, if we believe Plutarch, contributed much to the final defeat of the enemy. All the darts by which the Cimbri had fallen were found inscribed with the name of Catulus. Posterity, however, assign Catulus the second place in the rank of honour. 'Nobilis ornatur lauro collega secunda.' Juv. viii. 253. 18. Studium—aures] Qu. 'studiose aures,' a Hendyad.; 'attentive ears.' Ern. refers 'studio' to the verses of Catulus, and 'aures' to the recitations of others, e.g. Archias.—Perhaps they both refer to Archias, 'studio' importing that Catul. read his compositions; 'aures,' that he listened to his recitations: for Catulus understood Greek, which Marius did not. De Or. ii. 7. 'Catulus...cui Graci ipsi solent suæ linguae subtilitatem elegantiamque concedere.' But the Hend. affords the simplest explanation. 19. Luculli] Mar. and Luc. The former, usually called M. Terentius Varro, triumphed over Macedonia, A. u. 682, ten years before this trial; the latter is fully noticed in the Manil. law. 20. Prætextatus] 'Wearing the robe of youth,' i. e. not eighteen; so that his talents and attainments must have been extraordinary to attract, at that age, the notice of the most accomplished men at Rome. Manil. 8. 21. Senectuti] He was now about sixty years of age. 22. Q. Metello] The hero of Salust. He was banished two years after this time, because he refused to swear to the observance of a law of Saturninus, by which the lands of Gaul, seized on by the Cimbri, and then evacuated, should be divided among the people. 23. Pio filio] So called from his pious exertions to procure his father's recall; particularly his entreaty, on his knees, one P. Furius, a tribune, (whom his father, in his censorship, had degraded,) to withdraw his negative from the decree for that purpose. 24. Audiebatur] 'Semper ego au-
M. Æmilio:25 vivebat cum26 Q. Catulo, et patre, et filio:27 a L. Crasso28 colebatur: Lucullos vero, et Drusum,29 et Octavios,30 et Catonem,31 et totam Hortensiorum32 domum, de-
vinctam consuetudine quam teneret, afficiebatur summò ho-
nore: quod eum non solum colebant, qui aliquid percipere
atque audire studebant, verum etiam, si qui forte33 simulab-

IV. Interim1 satis longò2 intervallo, quum esset cum L. 
Lucullo in Siciliam3 protexus, et quum ex ea provincia cum
eodem Lucullo decederet, venit Heracleam.4 Quæ quum
esset civitas äquissimo5 jure ac fœdere, adscribi se in can6 ci-

1. Interim, a period of time. 
2. Satis longo, sufficiently long. 
4. Heracleam, a city. 
5. Äquissimo, exceedingly good. 
6. Can, the Roman calendars.
vitatem voluit: idque, quem ipse per se dignus putaretur, tum auctoritate et gratia Luculli ab Heracleensibus impetravit. Data est civitas\textsuperscript{7} Silvani lege et Carbonis, \textquoteleft Si qui foederatis civitatibus adscripti fuissent: si tum, quem lex ferebatur, in Italia domicilium habuisset\textquoteleft; et, \textquoteleft si sexaginta diebus\textsuperscript{8} apud praetorem essent professi\textquoteleft; Quum hic domicilium Romae multos jam annos\textsuperscript{9} haberet, professus est apud praetorem, Q. Metellum,\textsuperscript{10} familiarissimum suum. Si nihil alius\textsuperscript{11} nisi de civitate\textsuperscript{12} ac lege dicimus, nihil dico amplius: causa dicta\textsuperscript{13} est. Quid enim horum\textsuperscript{14} infirmari, Grati,\textsuperscript{15} potest? Heracleæ esse tum adscriptum negabis? Adest vir summa auctoritate, et religione,\textsuperscript{16} et sibi L. Lucullus, qui se non opini nari, sed scire, non audivisse, sed vidisse,\textsuperscript{17} non interfuisse, sed egisse dicit. Adsunt Heracleenses legati, nobilissimi homines: hujus judicis causa, cum mandatis, et cum publico testimonio venerunt: qui hunc adscriptum Heracleensem\textsuperscript{18} dicunt. Hic tu tabulas desideras Heracleensium publicas, 

\textit{civitate ;} \textquoteleft to be enrolled a citizen.\textquoteleft

7. \textit{Data est civitas} Introd. 2. It was not to the native citizens that this law applied, for by the Lex Julia they were already Roman citizens; at least as many as chose to avail themselves of that law; (Balb. 8.) but to the \textquoteleft peregrini\textquoteright who had been enrolled in the federate states. The construction is \textquoteleft data est iis si qui, &c.\textquoteright

8. \textit{Sexaginta diebus} i.e. Within. Sall. Cat. 18. \textquoteleft intra legitimos dies profiteri.\textquoteright

9. \textit{Multos jam annos} Upwards of twelve.

10. \textit{Q. Metellum} Namely, Pius, who was praetor at Rome, a. u. 664, when Silvanius and Carbo were tribunuses.

11. \textit{Si nihil alius, &c.} i.e. And not press the literary merits of Archias at all. \textit{A fortiori,} if we do press them we shall gain our cause.

12. \textit{De civitate} Sc. of Heraclea, not of Rome; for having proved the enrolment of Archias in Heraclea, which he proceeds to do (Heracleæ esse, &c.) and shown that he had complied with the provisions of Carbo\textquotesingle s law, he concludes against Gratius, that Arch, is not a \textquoteleft peregrinus\textquoteright and therefore is not to be expelled from Rome.

13. \textit{Causa dicta} i. e. Defensa, perorata. 

14. \textit{Quid horum, &c.} There were three points in the defence. I. That Archias was a citizen of Heraclea, which, as the registry office had been destroyed in the Social war, Cic. proves by the testimony of M. Lucullus and certain Heraclean deputies.

15. \textit{Grati} Or Graecæ. Nothing certain is known of him.

16. \textit{Religione} Regard for his oath. Sometimes \textquoteleft jurisjurandi\textquoteright is added.

17. \textit{Non audivisse, sed vidisse} \textquoteleft Segnius irritant animos dimissa per aures Quam quæ sunt oculis subjecta fidibus.\textquoteright Hor. \textit{Ora apvstgrvra φόθαλμων.} Herod. Vid. Mil. 4. for a similar construction, \textquoteleft Est hæc non scripta sed nata lex, &c.\textquoteright

19. Italico] Called otherwise, Social or Marsic.
20. Tabulario] An adj. subintell. loco; ‘archives.’
23. Municipii] Heracleæ. For, by the Julian law, each federate state became a corporate city. Inf. 5.
24. At domicilium] The second point against which the defence is directed.
25. Roma] Al. in Italia, the wording of the law, which suits the argument better. For, if long before the freedom of Heraclea was conferred on him, he had made Rome the seat of his fortunes, a fortiori, he had a residence in Italy at the time of Carbo’s law.
26. At non est professus] The third point; which is disproved by the registration appearing on the books of the most respectable of the prætors, Metellus Pius.
27. Solæ ex illa, &c.] The census on Carbo’s law passing, was, no doubt, very extensive, and would employ all the prætors. Metellus’s was the only registration-list among the whole, and among (or with) the college of prætors, that continued to possess public authority. This he proceeds to prove. ‘Nam, &c.’ ‘Solæ ex,’ as Brut. Ep. 15. ‘Solon—legum scriptor solus ex septem;’ not as Dunc. ‘by,’ which makes the authority of the tables depend upon Archias’s enrolment, and then his enrolment on them!

Sect. V.—1. Appii] Claudii Pulchri, coss. of the year in which Sylla resigned. He was defeated by Spartacus in the Servile war. Ern. conceives him to be either the father or uncle of P. Clodius.
3. Incolumis] Explained by ‘post damnationem.’
6. Resignasset] ‘Resignare’ is, properly, to break a seal. The prætors, it is probable, affixed their seals to the registration. The transition to ‘fides’ is easy.
M. T. CICERONIS ORATIO

Clav.; contrasted with the negligence and 'levity' of his colleagues.

8. L. Lentulum] Praetorem cum P. Gabinius de repetundis esset damnatus. Ern. But when was this? Praetor eo anno quo lex Carbonis et Silvani lata est. Schuts. But this would make Metellus and Lentulus colleagues.—Why then should he go to Lentulus about 'the erasure'? We may conjecture that some time after the law passed, Metellus was called on to give similar testimony to the present in the praetor's (Lentulus's) court, in the case of an individual whose name was erased; or the fact of 'an erasure' appearing on the tables may have been a legitimate subject for the decision of that court.

9. In nomen] For 'in nomine.' Manil. 12, 'in potestatem,' for 'in postestate.' Gell. i. 7, and, xvi. 2.

10. Quae cum ita sint] These three points being established, (vid. supr. n. 14. 24. 26.) why doubt his citizenship, especially as his claim could be established in a similar manner, through several other cities, in which (as I said above, c. 3.) he was enrolled. For it cannot be supposed that those cities would deny to him what they have conceded to other foreigners of the lowest grade. And when, not only after citizenship was granted to foreigners, by the law of Silv. and Carbo (when the novelty of the thing opened the door to imposition,) but even after the Papian law had banished them from Rome, others, nevertheless, pretending to be Rhegini, &c., contrived to get themselves clandestinely enrolled on 'the tables' of those free towns which were kept by the prætors, and thereby to continue in the city; shall Archias, the genuine citizen of those states, though his attachment to Heraclea induced him to rest his plea on it, be expelled?


12. In Graecia] Sc. Magna Graecia. The opposition is not between Greece and the Rhegini, &c. who were not of Greece, but between Magna Graecia in general, and the four cities of which Archias was a citizen. Vid. c. 3.

13. Locrenses] A people of Locri, a town of Bruttii, in the south of Italy. They joined the Romans in the war with Pyrrhus; and though their city was occupied by the Carthaginians in the second Punic war, the feeling of the people was so much in favour of the Romans, that that people afterwards restored them their liberty and laws. Liv. xxix. 16.

14. Summa...gloria] Opposed
During the Census and but obviated, superioribus, cum eodem questore fuisset in Asia: primis, Julio et Crasso, nullam populi partem esse censam. Sed, quoniam census non jus civitatis confirmat, ac tantummodo indicat, eum, qui sit census, [ita] se jam tum gessisset pro cive: iis temporibus, quae tu crinem ne ipsius quidem judicio eum in civium Romanorum jure esse versatum, et testamentum sepe fecisset nostris legibus, et adit hereditates civium Romanorum, et in beneficiis ad aerarium delatus est a L. Lucullo prætore et consule.

to 'gratuito,' supr.

15. Post civitatem.....Papiam] The interval was about twenty-four years. Introd. 3.

16. Census] An additional obj. For if Archias were a Roman citizen since 664, his name would appear on the censor's books; but it did not. Cic. refutes this by showing, either that he was not at Rome when the census was held, or that when he was at Rome, it was neglected.

17. Prov. cens.] The nearest to the present time; sc. Cn. Lentulus Clodianus and L. Gellius, who were censors, a. u. 683, in the consulship of Crass. and Pomp., and of course, during the third Mithrid. war.

18. Superioribus] L. Marcius Philippus, M. Perpenna, a. u. 667, the year of Marius's death, when Lucullus was quaestor of Sylla, in the first Mithrid. war.

19. Primiis] L. Jul. Caesar and P. Licin. Crassus, in 664, the year of Silvanus's and Carbo's law. The census was prevented by the public disturbances; and hence the early appointment of Philip and Perpenna above.

20. Sed quoniam] Gratius argued that the non-enrolment of Archias amounted to a confession of his having no just claim. Cic. shows, that though Arch. does not appear by his 'census,' as claiming to be a Roman citizen, yet he does what is equivalent. He made a will; obtained bequests; was recommended to the treasury, &c.


22. Quæ tu] Al. quæis. Em. would understand divisando. But translate it 'during which.'


25. Adit hered.] Another thing denied to 'peregrini.'

26. In beneficiis] As a foreigner could not serve in the Roman army, Archias, whose services were honourably noticed by his general, could not have been a foreigner. 'Benefica' meant 'the list of persons recommended, by the general, to the treasury for their public services.' In beneficiis, therefore, is not to be rendered 'for favours,' as it does not appear to have conferred any emolument.
VI. Quære argumenta, si qua potes. Nunquam enim hic neque suo, neque amicorum judicio revincetur.

Quæres a nobis, Grati, cur tanto opere hoc homine delectemur. Quia
e suppeditat nobis, ubi et animus ex hoc forensi strepitu reficiatur, et aures convicior defessæ conquiesciant. An tu existimas aut suppetere nobis posse quod quotidie dicamus, in tanta varietate rerum, nisi animos nostros doctrina excolamus, aut ferre animos tantam posse contentionem, nisi eos doctrina cadem relaxemus? Ego vero fateor, me his studiis esse deditum: ceteros pudeat, si qui ita se literis abdiderunt, ut nihil possint ex his neque ad communem afferrre fructum, neque in adspectu. Lucemque proferre. Me autem quid pudeat, qui tot annos ita vivo, judices, ut ab nullius quam me tempore aut commodo, aut otium meum abstraxerit, aut voluptas avocarit, aut denique somnus retarda-rit? Quare quis tandem me reprehendat, aut quis mihi jure succenseat, si, quantum ceteris ad suas res obeundas,

Fam. v. 20.

Sect. VI.—1. Neque suo] For Gratius urged his non-enrolment as a tacit admission of his being a 'peregrinus.'


4. Suppeditat] (Sub. pedibus po- nere) 'supplies;' where ubi imports id quo; and 'conquiescant,' not simply 'enjoy repose,' but 'pleasurable relaxation:' 'non cessatio ab opere sed quies animi, securitas et voluptas significatur.' Forcel. 'Suppedito' is often intransitive. Cat. ii. 11, 'rebus quibus nos suppeditamus, &c.' Off. i. 4. 'Parare quæ suppetident ad cultum.' Perhaps it may be so here: 'Because he is a never failing supply to us, &c.'


pleaded daily.


8. Relaxemus] Phil. ii. 16. 'Ho- mines, si modo homines, interdum animis relaxantur.' It is opposed to 'contentio,' keeping the mind on the stretch.


13. Commodo] Al. commodum, which, as Cic. usually joins synonymous words, is the more probable reading.

14. Succenseat] This meaning is, perhaps, deduced from succensus, sub- intel. ira.
quantum ad festos dies ludorum celebrandos, quantum ad alias voluptates, et ad ipsam requiem animi et corporis conceditur temporum, quantum ali tribunt tempestivis\textsuperscript{15} conviviiis, quantum denique aleæ\textsuperscript{16} quantum pilae; tantum mihi egomet ad hæc studia recolenda\textsuperscript{17} sumpsero? Atque hoc adeo mihi concedendum est magis, quod ex his studiis hæc quoque crescit\textsuperscript{18} oratio et facultas,\textsuperscript{19} quæ, quantacunque est in me, nunquam amicorum periculis defuit. Quæ si cui levior\textsuperscript{20} videtur, illa quidem certe, quæ summa sunt, ex quo fonte hauriam, sentio. Nam, nisi multorum præceptis,\textsuperscript{21} multisque literis\textsuperscript{22} mihi ad adolescence suasissetm nihil esse in vita magnopere expetendum, nisi laudem atque honestatem, in ea autem persequenda omnes cruciatus corporis, omnia pericula mortis atque exsilii, parvi esse ducenda: nunquam me pro salute vestra in tot ac tantas dimicationes, atque in hos profligatorum hominum quotidians impetus objecisset.—Sed pleni omnes sunt libri, plenas sapientium voces, plena exemplorum vetustas; quæ jacerent in tenebris omnia, nisi literarum lumen accederet.\textsuperscript{23} Quam multas nobis imagines, non solum ad intuendum,\textsuperscript{24} verum etiam ad imitandum,\textsuperscript{25} fortissi-

15. Tempestivis\textsuperscript{15} Properly, ‘begun in due time.’ But that varying by fashion from sun-set, when labour was done, to three, or even two o’clock, (Exul ab octava Marius bibit. Juv. i. 49, i.e. from two o’clock,) at length came to be considered the hour of bonis vivis. De Senec. 14. ‘Ego vero propter sermonis delectationem, tempestivis quoque conviviiis delector.’ So that with the wiser part, ‘the feast of reason’ was the motive of these early banquets. The number of those, however, who had not this motive, was quite sufficient to bring them into disrepute. Transl. ‘early.’

16. Aleæ\textsuperscript{16} ‘Alea’ is, 1. a die; 2. any game of chance.

17. Recolenda\textsuperscript{17} Revise. Ex intervallo repetenda; proprie enim intermissa recoluntur. Manut.

18. Crescit\textsuperscript{18} Al. censeetur, i.e. aestimatur. Quint., x. 1., remarks, ‘posterum lectionem oratoribus pluri- num conferre.’

19. Oratio et facultas\textsuperscript{19} A Head, for ‘facultas orationis.’ This is the second cause for his love of learning.

20. Quæ si cui levior\textsuperscript{20} Cicero’s third reason for his love of learning is, that—illæ quæ summa sunt—the patriotism by which he lately saved his country sprang from that source. ‘Quæ si cui, &c.’ then is used merely for transition, as if he said, ‘some may doubt of the value of oratory, and the studies to which it owes its improvement. To them I offer an irrefragable proof of the value of Archias’s pursuits, in the love of glory, the contempt of dangers, exile, and death, which stimulated me lately in my arduous struggle for my country.’

21. Multorum præceptis\textsuperscript{21} Philo- sophic dogmas which he had heard.

22. Multiq. litteris\textsuperscript{22} Poetry, history, &c., which he had read.

23. Accederet\textsuperscript{23} Al. accederet.


25. Ad imitandum\textsuperscript{25} Ut eorum ex-
morum virorum expressas, scriptores et Graeci et Latini reliquerunt! quas ego mihi semper in administranda republica proponens, animum et mentem meam ipsa cogitatione hominum excellentium conformabam.

VII. Quaeret quispiam: "Quid? illi ipsi summī vīri, quorum virtutes literis proditae sunt, istane doctrina, quam tu laudibus effers, eruditi fuerunt?" Difficile est hoc de omnibus confirmare; sed tamen est certum, quid respondam. Ego multos homines excellenti animo ac virtuteuisse, et sine doctrina, nature ipsius habitu prope divino, per se ipsos et moderatos et graves exstítisse fæteor. Etiam illud adjungo, sæpius ad laudem atque virtutem naturam sine doctrina, quam sine natura valuisse doctrinam. Atque idem ego contendo, quum ad naturam eximiam atque illustrem accesserit ratio quaedam conformatioque doctrinæ, tum illud nescio quid præclarum ac singularë solere existère: ex hoc esse hunc numero, quem patres nostri viderunt, divinum hominem, Africanum: ex hoc C. Lælium, L. Furium, mo-

emplo laudabiliter vivamus. Hor. Epist. ii. 1. 248. 'Nec magis expressi, &c.' Manut.

26. Expressas] Prominentes; evivit passus. But this applies well to statues only. Trans. therefore, 'delineated,' 'portrayed.'

27. Cognitione] i.e. By studying the great characters of history he was able to conform his actions to their precepts. Hor. 'Pectus præcceptis format amicus.'

Sect. VII.—1. Quaeret quispiam? But it will be asked, were all great men learned? No, says Cic., not in every instance. Nay, I admit the superiority of genius over mere learning. But let us have both, and mark the result, 'tum illud nescio quid præclarum—solere existere.'—This is his 'certum quid respondam.' Hor. decides similarly.

—Ego nec studium sine divite vena;
Nec rude quid prosit video ingenium,


2. Difficile est] For among great men some were learned; some not. To this is opposed 'certum quid respondam,' as above.

3. Multos] For it was a long time before 'Gracia capta ferum victorem cepit et artes, &c.' M. Cato, the censor, in the second Punic war, was among the first that cultivated letters.

4. Moderatos et graves] Those qualities, Cic. hints, arise from learning. So inf. 'moderatissimos homines et contentissimos.' The former includes all the virtues that command self respect; the latter, the respect of mankind.


6. Africanum] Sc. Minorem. For Cic. says 'quem patres nostri vide- runt.' But the elder began his career a. u. 535, a century and a half before this time; the younger was slain in 624. Cic. says of him, de Off. i. 32. 'Is eloquentia cumulavit bellicam gloriam;' and Hor. 'Virtus Scipiaæ; mitis sapientia Læli.'

7. C. Lælius] was called Sapiens,
deratissimos homines et continentissimos: ex hoc fortissimum virum, et illis temporibus doctissimum, M. Catonem illum senem:9 qui profecto, si nihil ad percipienda colendaque virtute literis adjuvarentur, nuncum se ad earum studium contulissent. Quod si10 non hic tantus fructus osten
deretur, et si ex his studii delectatio sola peteretur, tamen, ut opinor, hanc animi adversionem11 humanissimam ac libe
cratissimam judicaretis.12 Nam ceteræ13 neque temporum14 sunt, neque ætaturn15 omnium, neque locorum:16 hæc studia adolescetiam alunt,17 senectutem oblectant,18 secundas res ornant, adversis perfugium19 ac solatium præbent, delectant domi, non impediant foris, pernoctant nobiscum, peregrinantur.20 rusticantur.

VIII. Quod si ipsi11 hæc neque attingere,2 neque sensu nostro gustare3 posse mus, tamen ea mirari debe
eremus, from his love of philosophy and let-
ters. He was consul a. v. 613, and is celebrated for his knowledge of augury. Phil. ii. 33, and De Amic. 9. L. Furius called 'Philus,' a celebrated Latin scholar, and patron of learned men. Brut. 28. He was consul a. v. 617. 9. Senem] He learned Greek in his old age, (Acad. iv. 2. Cum Grae-
cas litteras M. Catonem in senectute didicisse aceperam) and died at the age of eighty-five. 10. Quod si, &c.] If the study of letters offered no advantages, yet as an agreeable recreation, letters ought to be cultivated; and, of course, Archias patronised.
11. Adversionem] Al. remissi
onem, referring to 'studiis,' preceding.
14. Temporum] E. g. Eloquence is no longer heard in the din of war; and its art again is useless in peace. But Homer was equally the delight of Alexander, and of Pericles.
15. Ætaturn] Hor. de Art. Poet. v. 155.—175.
16. Locorum] For the camp, the senate, the court, have each their pecul
cular pursuits; but poetry gains ac
to them all.
17. Alunt] Al. Agunt, i. e. παι
dαγωγός; [insituit, Lamb. ; or rather, as Ern. 'excitant.' 18. Senectutem oblectant] Επον
τες ίµης μiseri. Passer.
20. Peregrinantur] In opposition to 'remaining in one's native land;' but 'rusticantur,' to 'remaining in the city.'

Sect. VIII.—1. Quodsi ipsi, &c.] i. e. Admitting we cannot all have a taste for poetry, yet ought we to ad
mire that taste in others; similarly to what occurred in the case of Rosc
ius, whom thousands admired that could not imitate his performance; and recollect the superior nature of Archias's acquirements; the differ
cence between the body and the soul, &c.
1. Attingere] 1. To come in con
tact with. 2. Apply the mind to, study slightly. 3. (As inf. 9. and 11.) commence; treat cursorily, and
2. Gustare] To sip, to relish; which we apply, similarly, to a taste
etiam quam in aliis videremus. Quis nostrum tam animo agresti ac duro fuit ut Roscii morte nuper non commoveretur? qui quam esset senex mortuus, tamen, propter excellentem artem ac venustatem, videbatur omnino mori non debuisse. Ergo ille corporis motu tantum amorem sibi conciliarat a nobis omnibus: nos animorum incredibles motus celeritatemque ingeniorum negligemus? Quoties ego hunc Archiam vidi, judices, (utar enim vestra benignitate, quoniam me in hoc novo genere dicendi tam diligenter attenditis,) quoties ego hunc vidi, quum literam scripsisset nullam, magnum numerum optimorum versuum de ipsis rebus, quae tum agerentur, dicere ex tempore! quoties revocatum eandem rem dicere, commutatis verbis atque sententiis! Quae vero accurate cogitataque scripsisset, ea sic vidi probari, ut ad veterum scriptorum laudem pervenirent. Hunc ego non diligam? non admirer? non omni ratione defendendum putem? Atqui sic a summis hominibus eruditissimisque accepimus, ceterarum rerum studia, et doctrina, et

for learning. Cic. joins them, Coel. 12. 'Qui primoribus labris gustasse et extremis digitis attigisset.'

4. Roscii] Q. Roscius, a native of Lanuvium; the Garrick of the Romans. He was the first that wore a mask on the stage; which he did to conceal his personal defects. De Or. iii. 59. He was an instructor of Cic. in pronunciation and gesture, who says of him, De Or. i. 28., 'Eo praestantiae pervenit ut quicumque in aliqua arte excelleret, is in suo genere Roscius' diceretur.' His talents procured him a seat in the senate, and Cic. testified his gratitude to him by defending him in a civil action; a part of which defence is still extant. Vid. pro Q. Rosc. Com.


6. Celeritatem ingeniorum] How swift is a glance of the mind! Coup.

7. Literam nullam] i.e. Had committed nothing to writing.

8. Quae tum agerentur] Consequently his verses could not have been premeditated.


Hanc [dicendi ex tempore] facultatem non in prosa modo multi sunt consecuti, sed etiam in carmine; ut Antipater Sidonius et Licinius Archias. Credendum enim Cic. est; non quia nostris quoque temporibus non et fecerint quidam hoc, et faciant. De Or. iii. 50. Versus hexametros, aliosque variis modis atque numeris fundere ex tempore. The same talent is still found in the modern Improvisatori.

10. Revocatum] Called back to repeat; encored. 'Revocari' dicuntur qui eandem rem altera vice dicunt. Ern.

11. Sententiis] Sententia—pronuntiata quo sensus integer in verbis exprimitur. Forceol.; a thought; a phrase expressing a thought. Arch. clothed the same facts in a different costume.

praecptis, et arte constare: poëtam natura ipsa\textsuperscript{13} valere, et mentis viribus excitari, et quasi divino quodam spiritu in-
flari.\textsuperscript{14} Quare suo jure\textsuperscript{15} noster ille Ennius\textsuperscript{16} sanctos\textsuperscript{17} appellant
poëtas, quod quasi deorum aliquo dono atque munere\textsuperscript{18} com-
mendati nobis esse videantur. Sit igitur, judices, sanctum apud vos, humanissimos homines, hoc poëtæ nomen, quod nulla unquam barbaria\textsuperscript{18} violavit. Saxa et solitudines voci\textsuperscript{19} respondent; bestæ sepe\textsuperscript{20} immanes cantu flectuntur atque consistunt:\textsuperscript{21} nos instituti rebus optimis non poëtarum voce
moveamur? Homerum Colophonii\textsuperscript{22} civem esse dicunt su-
um: Chiisuum vindicant, Salaminii repetunt, Smyrnae vero
suum esse confirmant, itaque etiam delubrum\textsuperscript{23} eis in op-
pido dedicaverunt: permulti alii\textsuperscript{24} præterea pugnant inter se
atque contendunt.\textsuperscript{25}

IX. Ergo illi alienum, quia poëta fuit, post mortem etiam

Hor. 'Damnosa quid non imminuit
dies?' But vid. on the other side of
the question. Hor. Epist. ii. 1. Passer.
13. \textit{Natura ipsa} 'Poëta nascitur.'
Vid., also, Hor. Natura fieret lauda-
bile carmen, an arte. A. P. 408.
Quem tu, Melpomene, &c. Carm. iv. 3.

14. \textit{Div. — spiritu inflari} \textit{tvovuxi-
\xi\eta\theta\alpha}i. Est deus in nobis; agitante

15. \textit{Suo jure} Quod illi licuit;
citra reprehensionem. \textit{Passer}.

16. \textit{Ennius} Was born at Rudiae,
in Calabria, about the beginning of
the sixth century of Rome, and end
of the first Punic war. His patron,
therefore, was Scipio the elder.
He first wrote Latin hexameters. About a
thousand of his verses are yet extant.
Acad. iv. 27.; ad Her. ii. 22.

17. \textit{Sanctos} Quo, 'sancitus'-held
sacred; inviolable. Hor. Silvestres

18. \textit{Dono—munere\textsuperscript{2}} Omitti donum
sine ualla reprehensione, munus omni-
no non potest. \textit{Manut}.

18. \textit{Barbaria} i. e. Barbari, (the
territory for the people,) opposed to
'humanissimos.' With the Greeks
it meant every country but their own.
\textit{P\alpha \mu} \textit{\'E\lambda\nu\nu \beta\alpha\rho\beta\alpha\rho\sigma}; with
the Romans, every country but

Greece and Italy. Fin. ii. 15. A
quo non solum Gracia et Italia, sed
eet omnis Barbaria commota est.

19. \textit{Voci} Sc. of the poet, \textit{su-
\aleph}, i. e. echo, being understood.

20. \textit{Bestæ sepe\textsuperscript{2}} The fables of
Orpheus, Arion, &c., are alluded to.
Hor. Carm. ii. 12. 'Quid mirum, &c.'
and iii. 11. 'Tu potes tigres, &c.'


22. \textit{Colophonii} The distich is,
Smyrna, Chios, Colophon, Salamis,
Rhodos, Argos, Athene, 
Orbis de patria certat Homer tua.

A. Gell. iii. 11.

The testimonies, however, as collect-
ed by Leo Allatius, are in favour of
Chios. So Byron, 'The blind old man
of Scio's rocky isle.' Homer lived
about 168 years after the Trojan war,
and as many before the foundation of
Rome.—Colophon and Smyrna are
cities of Ionia; Salamis, a city of
Cyprus, founded by Teucer. Hor.
Od. i. 3. Chios, now Scio, an island of
the Ægean Sea.

23. \textit{Delubrum} In quo homines
piacula sua deluvii. Th. \textit{\lambda\i\o}\ lavo.

24. \textit{Permuli alii\textsuperscript{2}} Vid. the dis-
tich supr.

25. \textit{Contendunt} Weiske would
supply \textit{de eo}, or the like. \textit{V. E}.

Sect. IX.—1. Attigit] Vid. supra, c. 8. n. 2.
2. Ipsi illi Mario] Sc. the conqueror of the Cimbri.
3. Durior] Vid. Sall. Jug. 85, where Marius thus defends his ignorance of Greek. Neque Graecas litteras didici; parum placebat illas discere, quippe quas ad virtutem doctores nihil profissent. Great then must have been the merit of Arch. to overcome his prejudices.
3. Commendation. For qui vult extrudere merces, (Hor. Ep. ii. 2.) is not usually sparing of praise.
5. Acroama] (ἀκρόαμα) 1. A musical symphony; a concert. 2. A singer; a minstrel. Sext. 54. Ipsi ille maxima ludiis non solum spectator sed acto et acroama; i. e. the flute-player who accompanied the actor in his recitations. Forcel. adopts the second, Manut. the first meaning.
7. L. Plotium] Mentioned by Seut. de Clar. Rhet. Cic. says, that when he was a boy, it was quite the rage to attend his lectures; and that he was very sorry at not being permitted to attend them by his friends, who thought Greek recitations more useful.
8. Mithrid. bellum] He means that part of the third war which was conducted by Lucullus. The whole was lately concluded by Pompey, whose poet was Theophranes. Inf. 10.
10. Manu] Tigranes remarked, that as ambassadors they are too many; as soldiers, too few. Plut. Lucul. 27.
11. Urbem...Cyz.] Manil. c. 8. n. Mur. 15.
ereptam esse atque servatam: nostra semper feretur et prae-
dicabitur, L. Lucullo dimicante, cum interfectis ducibus
depressa hostium classis, et incredibilis apud Tenedum pug-
na illa navalis: nostra sunt tropaea, nostra monumenta, nos-
tri triumphi. Quare, quorum ingenii haec feruntur, ab iis
populi Romani fama celebratur. Carus fuit Africano super-
riori noster Ennius: itaque ctiam in sepulchro Scipionum putatur
esse constitutus e marmore. At iis laudibus certe non solum ipsi, qui laudantur, sed etiam populi Romani
nomen ornatur. In coelum hujus proavus Cato tollitur:
magnus honos populi Romani rebus adjunctorit. Omnes
denique illi Maximi, Marcelli, Fulvii, non sine communi
omnia nostrum laude decorantur.

X. Ergo illum, qui haec fecerat, Rudinum hominem,
majores nostri in civitatem receperunt: nos hunc Hera-

cleensem, multis civitatis expetitum, in hac autem legi-

bus constitutum, de nostra civitate ejiciemus?

12. Nostra] i. e. 'As ours.' It
agrees with 'hostium classis,' and 'pugna illa navalis.'

13. Tenedum] An island of the
Egean, adjoining Sigeum, on the
coast of Troas.

14. Tropaea] (From τροπαιον) A
monument erected where the enemy
was routed; at first of trees, then of
stone. Æn. xi. 5. Metonym. Spoils of
war, victory.

15. Afric. superiori] To distin-
guish him from Africanus the younger,
the friend of Laelius.

(xxxviii. 56.) mentions two sites of the
tomb of the Scipios, Liternum and

Rome. Cic. seems to have the latter
tein view, which is thus noticed:
Rome extraportam Capenam in Scipionum monumento tres statuae sunt;
quarum duas P. et L. Scipionum
dicuntur esse; tertia poetæ Q. Enni.
So Ovid. 'Ennius emeruit, Calabris in montibus ortis, Conti-
guus poni, Scipio Magne tibi.'

17. Constitutus e marmore] Made
or built. So Cat. i. 9. Sacrum constitutione fuit; and Seut. Jul. Cas. 10.
Ædes in foro constitutum geminis fra-
tribus.

18. Hujus] One of the 'judices,'
or 'advocatii.'

40.

20. Maximi, &c.] These great men
flourished in the second Punic war,
and were, therefore, celebrated by
Ennius. He alludes to Q. Fabius
Cunctator, M. Claudius Marcellus,
and Q. Fulvius Flaccus.

Sect. X.—1. Haec fecerat] Ver-
sified the achievements of Scipio,
&c.

c. 8. n. 16. Rudia was, no doubt,
an obscure place, as Cic. here con-
trasts it with the splendour of Hera-

clea, of which Arch. was a citizen.

3. In civitatem] Through M. Ful-
vius Nobilior, who had led out a
colony to Rudiae, and whom Ennius
accompanied in his expedition against
the Ætolians. Inf. 11.

4. Multis civitatibus] Sc. Rhegini,
Locrenses, &c.

5. Legibus] Sc. of Silvanus and
Carbo.
Nam si quis minorem gloriam fructum putat ex Græcis \(^6\) versibus percipi, quam ex Latinis, vehementer errat: prop-
terea, quod Græca leguntur in omnibus fere gentibus,\(^7\) Latini-
ae sunt finibus, exiguis\(^8\) sane, continentur. Quare si res eæ, quas gessimus, orbis terræ regionibus\(^9\) definiuntur, cupere debemus, quo\(^10\) manuum\(^11\) nostrarum tela pervenerint, eodem 
gloriam fanamque penetrare: quod\(^12\) quum ipsius populus, de 
quorum rebus scribitur, haec ampla sunt, tum iis certe, qui 
de vita, gloriam causa, dimicant, hoc maximum et periculo-
rum incitamentum est, et laborum. Quam multos scrip-
tores rerum suarum magnos ille-Alexander secum habuisse\(^13\) 
dicitur! Atque is tamen, quum in Sigeo\(^14\) ad Achillis tumu-
lum\(^15\) adstitisset, 'O fortunate,' inquit, 'adolescens, qui 

6. Ex Græcis] Arch. wrote in Greek. 
7. In omnibus gentibus] We know how the Scriptures were written in Greek, and for the same reason. 
8. Finibus exiguis] Latium only. Liv. xi. 42, mentions the Romans permitting the people of Cumæ to use the Latin language in public, and their auctioneers the privilege of selling in Latin. The Celtic and Etruscan dialects were used in Upper Italy; in Magna Graecia, Greek. 
9. Orbis terra regionibus] i. e. 'Limitibus.' Not strictly. For Spain, on the west, and the Euphrates on the east, bounded the empire; nor were Gaul and Germany as yet conquered. 
10. Quo] Al. quo minus; which reading is defended by Burman, Virg. G. iii. 319, who understands by quo minus, quo non, and thinks that countries beyond the Roman empire are designed. But then eodem should be eo, and there can be nothing beyond the limits of the world (regiones orbis terræ.) Ern. 
12. Quod, &c.] The great talents of Cic. appear in the variety of lights in which he has set this simple pro-
position, 'that individual fame redounds to the national glory.' Vid. c. 9. 'qui libri non modo Lucullum,' &c. 'At iis laudibus certe, &c.' 'In caelo hujus proavus, &c.' The order is, 'quod haec ampla sunt quum, &c....tum hoc est...&c. iis certe, &c.' Haec et hoc mean the same; sc. po-
etic compositions; and ampla is 'magnifica, honorifica.' 
13. Secum habuisse] Sc. Callisthenes, as Trogus testifies; Aristobulus, mentioned by Arrian; and Clitar-
chus, by Pliny. But Cic. rather refers here to the poets, of whom Hor. 
specifies Choerilus. 'Gratus Alexandro regi magnus fuit ille Choerilus inculsus qui versibus, &c.' Alexander was then marching against Darius. 
14. Sigeo] Sigeum is a promontory of Troas, at the mouth of the Scamander, where stood the tomb of 
Achilles; so called, says Servius, from the silence (σιγεὺς) which was observed by Hercules, when he 
marched from thence to Troy. 
15. Ad Achilles tumulum] 'The flocks are grazing on the mound. Of him who felt the Dardan's arrow; That mighty heap of gathered ground Which Ammon's son ran proudly round, 
Is now a lone and nameless bar-
row.' Byron. 

Vid. Plut. Vit. Alex. 15.
tuæ virtutis Homerum praecemen inveneris!" Et vere. Nam, nisi Ilias illa exstitisset, idem tumulus, qui corpus ejus contexerat, nomen etiam obruisset. Quid? noster hic Magnus, qui cum virtute fortunam adaequavit, nonne Theophanem, Mitylenaenum, scriptorem rerum suarum, in concione militiae civitate donavit? et nostri illi fortes viri, sed rustici ac milites, dulcedine quadam gloriarum commoti, quasi participes ejusdem laudis, magnó illud clamóre approbaverunt? Itaque, credo, si civis Romanus Archias legibus non esset, ut ab aliquo imperatore civitate donaretur, pericere non potuit? Sulla, quum Hispanos et Gallos donaret, credo, hunc petentem repudiasset! quem nos in concione vidimus, quum ei libellum malus poëta de populo subjecisset, quod epigrammam in eum fecisset tantummodo alternis versibus longiusculus statim ex is rebus, quas tunc vendebat, jubere ei praemium tribu sub ea conditione, ne quid postea scriberet. Qui sedulitatem mali poëte

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duxerit aliquo tamen præmio dignam, hujus ingenium et virtutem in scribendo et copiam non expetisset? Quid? a Q. Metello Pio, familiarissimo suo, qui civitate multos donavit, neque per se, neque per Lucullos\textsuperscript{37} impetravisset? qui præsertim usque eo de suis rebus scribi superet, ut etiam Cordubæ natibus\textsuperscript{38} poësis, pinque\textsuperscript{39} quiddam sonantibus\textsuperscript{40} atque peregrinum,\textsuperscript{41} tamen aures suas dederet.\textsuperscript{42}

XI. Neque enim est hoc dissimulandum, quod obscurari non potest; sed præ nobis forendum: trahimur in sedum Dederet.\textsuperscript{43}

37. \textit{Per Lucullus}]. They were cousins of Metellus Pius, their mother being sister of Metellus Numidicus.

38. \textit{Cordubæ natibus}]. Now Corruda, a town of Andalusia, on the Guadalquivir.

39. \textit{Pinge}]. besides signifying stupid, doltish, also imports, as here, harsh, turgid; a fault which is discernible even in the pages of Lucan and Seneca.


41. \textit{Peregrinum}]. i. e. in Latin, with a mixture of barbarisms.

42. \textit{Aures suas dederet}]. Sc. when commanding in Spain, against Sertorius. 'Dederet' is not, according to Passer, 'commodaret,' but 'omnino tradere.'

\textit{Sect. XI.}—1. \textit{Trahimur omnes}]

Sed fulgente trahit constrictos gloria curru, Non minus ignotos generosis. Hor. Sat. i. 6. 23.

2. \textit{Nomen suum}]. Tusc. i. 15. Quid nostri philosophi? Nonne in ibis libris quos scribunt de contemnenda gloria sua nomina inscribunt. \textit{Hott}.


4. \textit{D. Brutus}]. Consul a. u. 615, with Scipio Nasica. He was celebrated for his victories over the Spaniards, and for founding Valensia, supposed to be still the capital of the province which bears that name. From his conquests in Gallacia, he was named Gallacius or Calliacus. Val. Max. viii. 15.

5. \textit{Attii}]. 'Nil comis tragici mutat Lucilius Attii.' Hor. Sat. i. 10. 35. He wrote a tragedy, called Brutus, founded on the tragedy of the King-expeller, which was performed with great applause at the Apollinarian games, celebrated by Brutus, A. u. 609, after the death of Caesar. \textit{Phil} i. 15.

6. \textit{Templ. ac monument}.]. These words are synonymous. Monumentorum hic simpliciter pro templo ponitur.
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ille, qui cum Aetolis,\textsuperscript{7} Ennio comite, bellavit, Fulvius, non dubitavit Martis manubias\textsuperscript{8} Musis consecrare. Quare, in qua urbe imperatores prope armati, poëtarum nomen\textsuperscript{9} et Musarum delubra\textsuperscript{10} coluerunt, in ea non debent togati judices a Musarum honore et a poëtarum salute abhorrere.

Atque, ut id libentius faciatis, jam me vobis, judices, indicabo, et de meo quodam amore\textsuperscript{11} gloriae, nimis acri fortasse, verumtamen honesto, vobis confitebor. Nam, quas res\textsuperscript{12} nos in consulatu nostro vobiscum simul pro salute hujus urbis atque imperii, et pro vita civium, proque universa republica gessimus, attigit\textsuperscript{13} hic versibus atque inchoavit: quibus auditis, quod milii magna res et jucunda visa est, hunc ad perficiendum hortatus sum. Nullam enim\textsuperscript{14} virtus aliam mercedem laborum periculorumque desiderat, praeter hanc laudis et gloriae: qua quidem detracta, judices, quid est, quod in hoc tam exiguo vitae curriculo,\textsuperscript{15} et tam brevi, tantis nos in laboribus exerceamus? Certe, si nihil animus præsentiret in posterum,\textsuperscript{16} et, si quibus regionibus vitae spatium circumscriptum est, eisdem omnes cogitationes terminaret suas, nec tantis se laboribus frangoret, neque tot curis vigiliisque\textsuperscript{17} angeretur, neque toties de vita ipsa dimicaret.\textsuperscript{18} Nunc insidet

Ern. They were, probably, built out of the spoils of war.

7. \textit{Aetolis} Manil. 6. Tusc. i. 2. Cato reproaches Fulvius with taking poets to war, in his train; alluding to Ennius.

8. \textit{Manubias} Qu. 'manuvias' from 'manus' and 'vis.' 1. Spoils of war. 2. Money accruing from their sale. 3. That part of this money reserved by the general, for the erection of a monument. Dom. 38. 'In qua porticum post aliquanto Q. Catulus de manubis Cimbricus fecit.'

9. \textit{Nomen} Alluding to Brutus and his inscriptions.

10. \textit{Musarum delubra} Referring to Fulvius, and the spoils which he had devoted to the muses.

11. \textit{Meo quodam amore} Cic. pleads guilty to the charge of loving glory and patronising Archias, in order that his hearers, out of respect for him, might do so too.


15. \textit{Curriculo} ἐφφικος—a small chariot; 2. a chariot-race; 3. course, period, as here.

16. \textit{In posterum} To an hereafter. Cic. is here supposed to intimate the doctrine of the soul's immortality, which he elsewhere questions. Vid. Warburton's Div. Leg. iii. 2. 3. Rabir. perduel. 10. 'Sapientissimi cujusque animus ita presentit in posterum ut nihil nisi sempiternum spectare videatur.' Marcel. 9.

17. Vigiliis.] These necessarily follow cares.

18. Dimicarei] Sc. Animus. A
XXII. An vero tam parvi animi videamur esse omnes, qui in republica, atque in his vitae periculis laboribusque versamur, ut, quum usque ad extremum spatium, nullum tranquillum atque otiosum spiritum duxerimus, nobiscum simul moritura omnia arbitremur? An, quum statuas et imaginis, non animorum simulacra, sed corporum, studiose multi summi homines reliquerint, consiliorum reliquere ac virtutum nostrarum effigiem non multo malle debemus, summis ingeniiis expressam et politam? Ego vero omnia, quae gerebam, jam tum in gerendo spargere me ac disseminare arbi- trabar in orbis terrae memoriam sempiternam. Haec vero sive a meo sensu post mortem absutura est, sive, ut sapientissimis homines putaverunt, ad aliquam [animi] mei partem pertinebit: nunc quidem certe cogitatione quadam, spe- que delector.

Quare conservate, judices, hominem pudore eo, quem amicorum videtis comprobari tum dignitate, tum etiam vetustate: ingenio autem tanto, quantum id convenit existi-

6. Ad aliquam partem] Some of the old philosophers conceived the soul to consist of various parts or functions, among which there was one that had assigned to it the contemplation of the good actions performed in life; which explains the allusion here. Plato admitted three parts; one, by which we learn; another, feel angry; a third, are led to sensual enjoyments. The two latter die with the body. The first, possessing reason, is immortal.—Delph.
7. Pudore eo quem] Of such mo- desty as. 'Quem' does not relate to 'hominem.'
mari, quod summorum hominum ingeniiis expetitum esse videat:

1. of such merits. Meritis ipsius Archia 'negotiis' dixit potius quum 'rebus'; quia majus quiddam in negotis quam re. Manut. Perhaps, however, 'tanta negotia' may refer to the subjects on which Archias employed his pen. Then it would be, 'where deeds of such magnitude are concerned.'

2. His recentibus] The Catilinarian troubles which took place within a year or two.


4. Violatus] For poets were 'sancti.'


8. Qui judicium] Introd. 4.

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8. Vetustate] 'Long standing,' alluding to the Luculli, Catulus, &c. Al. venustate, 'the elegance and politeness, &c.' Al. amicorum studiis, making both 'dignitate' and 'venustate' refer to Archias.


10. Si qua] Si often affirms, and may be rendered 'since.' Cat. i. 3. 'Si neque nox, &c.' Virg. 'Si qua pios respectant numina'; i.e. we often put cases hypothetically, not to intimate any doubt of their certainty, but to set it in a stronger light. Thus here: 'if there ought to be, &c.'—as no doubt there should. 'Si qua pios respectant numina'—as no doubt there do.

11. Humana] From men; 'divina,' from the gods.

12. In tantis negotiis] In the case
INTRODUCTION TO THE ORATION

FOR

T. ANNIIUS MILIO.

1. Though the oration for Milo was pronounced A. u. 701, upwards of ten years after the Catilinarian conspiracy, yet it may be properly connected with the affairs of that period.* For it was the summary punishment of the conspirators that gave Clodius a pretence to procure the banishment of Cicero, which took place A. u. 695; and this again, led to the enmity between Clodius and Milo; the latter being the zealous friend and imitator of Cicero, and, of course, the opponent of his virulent prosecutor. The orator, therefore, being called upon to defend his friend, threw the whole weight of his character and influence into the cause. 'Bona, fortunas meas, in communionem tuorum temporum contuli.' c. 36. This circumstance may serve to account for the extreme pains which were evidently taken in composing this, perhaps the most finished specimen of pleading of all antiquity. A concise account, then, of Clodius and Milo, the principal persons concerned, may be here premised, as a proper introduction to the oration itself.

2. The notices of P. Clodius, which appear in the history of the times, are calculated to give us a very unfavourable impression of his character. So early as A. u. 685, we find him, while serving in the army of Lucullus, during the Mithridatic war, exciting the soldiers to revolt against their general, his own brother-in-law; a revolt which, in our notice of that war, (Introd. Lex. Manil.,) we saw was but too successful. Three years after, he appears in the disgraceful character of a prevaricatore; having, for a bribe, permitted Catiline, whom he had brought to trial for

* The Catilinarian orations which, in the order of time, follow the 'Lex Manilia,' are, for a reason given in the preface, transferred to the second volume.
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his oppressions in Africa, to escape with impunity. Introd. Cat. Orat. Harusp. 20. In 691, (the year after Cicero’s consulship,) that notorious profanation of the mysteries of the Bona Dea by Clodius, so often alluded to by Cic., took place; for which, being brought to trial, Cicero, at the instigation of Terentia, his wife, (who, according to Plutarch, was jealous of the sister of Clodius,) appeared as a witness against him; and thus laid the foundation of that rooted animosity which Clodius ever after manifested against Cicero. For, up to this time, Clodius was a partisan of Cicero’s, and one of the young nobles that guarded his person during his consulship. It was now that the inventive genius of Clodius appeared, in procuring his own adoption into a plebeian family, in order to be qualified to stand for the tribuneship; in right of which office he saw that he could best execute his vengeance on Cicero. This he effected, a. u. 694, and being tribune the following year, he procured the banishment of Cicero, caused his house to be levelled with the ground, and a temple to liberty built on the area. From this period his history becomes involved in that of Milo. The riots during his tribuneship were grounds for Milo’s impeaching him in the following year, 696. This disgrace—for his guilt was notorious—did not prevent him from obtaining the ædileship in 697; and from that period till his death, he persevered in his opposition to Milo and persecution of Cicero.

3. Of Milo, the defendant, we do not know even so much as of Clodius. Like Cicero, and other illustrious Romans, he left his native town, Lanuvium, where he was of the highest rank, being dictator or provost; and came to Rome to contend for the rank and honours of the state. His intimacy with Cicero makes it probable that he enrolled himself under his patronage at Rome as other young men* of rank used to do; and he may have made one of the band of friends that guarded Cicero from the attacks of Catiline. Sull. 18. In the various assaults made by Clodius on Cicero we find Milo active in his defence. In his tribuneship, a. u. 696, he accused Clodius of disturbing the public peace; but finding that the influence of the consul, Metellus, was likely to frustrate the ends of justice, he hired gladiators to oppose those of Clodius; a proceeding which Cicero (de Off. ii. 27) characterizes as highly to his honour. When, in turn, Clodius becoming ædile, accused Milo, he was defended by the first men in the state—Pompey, Crassus, and Cicero. We find him prætor a. u.

* Ex. g. Mark Antony. Phil. ii. 20. Postea custoditus sum a te; tu a me observatus, &c. This custom, followed up, produced the ‘studiosa cohors’ mentioned by Horace: hence the English ‘court.’
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699, and the following year candidate for the consulship with Q. Metellus, Scipio, and Plautius Hypsæus; at which time Clodius was also a competitor for the praetorship. Clodius being naturally anxious to prevent his avowed enemy from becoming consul during his own praetorship, opposed Milo with all his influence, c. 9.; and when the rancour of parties was at its greatest height, there occurred the rencontre which terminated Clodius's career.

4. To the particulars of the affray, as given by Cicero, c. 10.20, it may be added, from Asconius, that Clodius's party consisted of thirty slaves, and three knights—C. Cassinius Schola, P. Pompeonius, and C. Clodius; and that Milo's train was headed by two celebrated gladiators—Eudamus and Birria, the latter of whom was the first to wound Clodius. He relates, too, that Clodius was dragged out of a tavern near Bovillæ, where he had taken refuge, and slain by the orders of Milo; differing, in this particular, from Cicero, who appeals to the situation of the ground, as being 'ante fundum Clodii,' c. 20, and therefore decisive of the question as to which of the parties was the assailant. Perhaps this was a 'retouch' of Cicero.* The dead body of Clodius, abandoned by his slaves, was found by Tedius, a senator, who conveyed it to the city late in the evening; and on the following day the mob, at the instigation of Munatius Plancus and Q. Pompey, carried it to the forum, where a scene took place which may have suggested to M. Antony his successful' appeal to the populace on the death of Cæsar. The body being elevated on the rostra, the wounds were exposed to public view, and the body burned by the infuriated mob; which, headed by Sext. Clodius, a relative of Publius, committed various excesses, of such a character as to produce a reaction in the public feeling, and induce Milo to venture back again into the city, and resume his canvass for the consulship. In this he was assisted by the tribune Cælius, whom Cicero had formerly defended. The tumults continuing for several weeks, and successive interreges being unable to hold the comitia, the senate, to avoid the necessity of creating a dictator, (the last resource in public emergencies,) admitted that anomaly into the constitution, a sole consul. This was Pompey, who, created consul without a colleague, by Ser. Sulpicius, the interrex, immediately entered on the duties of his office, enacted the laws alluded to,

*It is said, that when Cicero sent Milo, then in exile at Marseilles, the corrected copy of his oration, Milo exclaimed: 'si sic egisses, M. Tulli, barbatis pisces Milo Massiliae non ederet.' And Ascon. says that the first copy was extant in his time, and adds: 'scripsit vero hanc, quam legimus, ita perfecte, ut jure prima haberi possit.'
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Mil. c. 6, raised troops to quell the disturbances, and made every preparation for bringing Milo to trial.

5. In the mean time, Milo was arraigned by the Appii, nephews of Clodius, on several minor and collateral charges, and was defended by Hortensius, Cicero, Marcellus, Cato, and others. Q. Pompey, Plancus, and Sallust, the historian, frequently harrangued the mob against Milo and Cicero, but took no part in the prosecution. At length, the day of trial (the 11th April) came, and the Appii, with M. Antony and Valerius Nepos, appeared as accusers before a special commission, whose president was Domitius Ahenobarbus, and among its members, M. Cato. They were heard for two hours, (as the law directed,) and Cicero, who alone replied, for three. Milo was condemned, only thirteen out of fifty-one voting for an acquittal. Among those was Cato, who gave his vote openly, while the others voted by ballot. Milo withdrew from Rome to Massilia in Gaul. When the violence of party and the distraction of the times are considered, the lot of Milo, sequested from public cares, in the most polished provincial city in the empire, might be pronounced to be superior to that of his persecutors, did it not appear that the seeds of ambition were too deeply rooted in his heart for even exile to eradicate. Four years afterwards, he left his retreat, and joined the praetor Coelius in an attempt upon the republic, in which he met a miserable end.

The particulars connected with the constitution of the commission, the analysis of the defence, and the different arguments by which it was supported, will be found in the annotations.
I. Etsi vero, judices, ne turpe sit, pro fortissimo viro dicere incipientem timere, minimeque deceat, quum T. Annius ipse magis de reipublicae salute, quam de sua perturbatione, me ad ejus causam parem animi magnitudinem non posse; tamen haec novi judicii nova forma terret.

Sect. I.—1. Etsi vero, &c.] The exordium of ‘the Milo’ is drawn from the accidental circumstance of the forum being guarded by armed men. This Cic. seizes upon, and while he acknowledges its generally unfavourable influence on the orator, shows that in this case, it was wholly in favour of his client. Vid. Quint. iv. 1, and xi. 3, where that great scholar descants, with all the nicety of a critic, on the articulation of this exordium.

2. Vereor] Expresses a respectful fear, such as Cicero’s present relation to the judges inspired; ‘timere,’ the fear of an approaching danger, such as was menaced by the armed guards. ‘Timor est mutus mali appropinquantis.’ Tuscul. iv. 8.

3. Animi magnitudinem] Cicero also employs, though rarely, ‘magnanimitas.’ Off. i. 43.

4. Novi—forma] Let us inquire here, what the ordinary form of trial was, and contrast it with this ‘nova forma.’ When the praetor heard causes, he was seated in his curule chair, on the tribunal in the forum or comitium, with his assessors beside him, the ‘judices,’ or jury, on benches beneath, and an audience of the people standing around. In this case there was a special judge and jury, and numerous military guards, under the command of Pompey, posted about the forum. Again: in the ordinary trial, the praetors appointed for the year, to hear causes, presided, with the usual assessors and judges, and without any limitation as to time. These causes were called ‘quaestiones perpetuae,’ Brut. 26; but this ‘novum judicium,’ this extraordinary trial, was differently constituted: for Pompey, who had been

II 2
oculos: qui, quocunque inciderunt, veterem consuetudinem fori, et pristinum morem judiciorum requirunt. 5 Non enim corona 7 consessus vester cinctus est, ut solebat: non usitata frequentia stipati sumus. Nam illa præsidia, 8 quæ pro templis 9 omnibus cernitis, etsi contra vim 10 collocata sunt, non afferunt tamen oratôri aliqvmd; 11 ut in foro et in judicio, quantum præsidii salutarius et necessariis 12 septi sumus, tamen

ominated by the senate sole consul, as a sort of minor dictator, (Introd. 4,) enacted a law, de vi; with an ex post facto reference to the death of Clodius. By it there were appointed, (to be chosen by the suffrages of the people,) 1. A consular quaesitor, instead of the ordinary prætor. 2. A bench of 'judices' amounting to three hundred, nominated by Pompey out of the senators, knights, and tribunes of the treasury. 3. An examination of witnesses, for three days, and notes taken of the evidence. 4. On the following day, a selection, by lot, out of the three hundred, of eighty-one, who were immediately to sit; and hear the prosecutors for two, and the defendant for three hours. 5. Before passing sentence, the parties were severally to reject five out of each of the three orders, leaving fifty-one to vote, sc. nineteen senators, eighteen knights, and seventeen tribunes.

5. Requirunt [i. e. 'Desiderant,' which some copies read. Tr. 'find the want of.' Manil. c. 2. n. 23.

6. Non enim] 'Enim' refers to the proximate clause, 'veterem consuetudinem fori, &c.;' and 'Nam,' in the next sentence, to the remote clause, 'haec nova forma terret oculos.'

7. Corona] Sc. of the auditors assembled round the benches of the judges. Lucan, i. 320, describes the same meeting similarly:

—'gladii cum triste minantes, Judicum insolita trepidum cinxere coronam. Pompejana reum clause-runt signa Milonem.'

8. Ila præsidia] Pompey's troops.
9. Pro templis] In front of, &c. There was a variety of temples in the view of the forum, which were opportune for posting guards. Sylv., however, prefers 'in the temples;' as 'pro æde,' 'pro tribunali;' in the temple, &c.

10. Contra vim] As the judges might interpret the armed guards, as placed there by Pompey, to overawe them, Cic. by this and the similar expression 'præsidii salutaribus' intimates that it was against the Clodian mob they were directed; and that consequently the bench had no cause of fear.

11. Non afferunt oratôri aliqvmd] Ern. Nobis afferunt tamen horro ris aliqvmd; which seems a most exceptionable reading. For if Cic. actually felt horroe at the appearance of the armed guards, no persuasion of the protection they might afford could be expected to change that feeling into the indifference expressed by 'non timere, &c.' Again, he objects to 'oratôri' as being too general, and that 'mihi,' or 'nobis,' (which latter he adopts,) would be preferable. But Cic. means, that while to the generality of persons a military guard is a great security, on the public advocate the effect is different, owing, as he said before, to his not being surrounded by the usual gowned multitude. See, also, in the next sentence, 'oratôri locum' opposed to tantam vim armorum.' This point, then, is wholly lost by reading 'nobis.'

12. Necessariis] And therefore
ne non timere quidem sine aliquo timore possimus. Quae si opposita Miloni putarem, cedere temporii, judices, nec inter tantam vim armorum existimarem esse oratori locum. Sed me recreat et reficit Cn. Pompeii, sapientissimi et justissimi viri, consilium; qui profecto nec justitiae sua putaret esse, quem reum sententias judicium tradidisset, eundem telis militiae dedere; nec sapientiae, temeritatem concitatae multitudinis auctoritate publica armare. Quamobrem illa arma, centuriones, cohortes, non periculum nobis, sed præsidium denuntiant; neque solum, ut quieto, sed etiam ut magno animo simus, hortantur; neque auxilium modo defensioni meae, verum etiam silentium policentur. Reliqua vero Pompey was excusable in posting them.

13. Ut—ne non] 'Ut' has two meanings: 1. that, in order that; as inf. 2. 'concione incitati sunt ut, &c.;' were stimulated in order that they might, &c. 2. (illative) 'so that,' as Marcel. 6. 'Quos amissimus cives, eos Martinis vis perculit, non ira victoriae; ut dubitare debet ne, mo, &c.;' so that none ought to doubt, &c. The first sense which some, e.g. Fabrius, have adopted here must be wrong, as it makes Cic. say 'nihil adjumenti oratoris afferunt ut omni metu vacuus esse possit,' thus assigning no force whatever to the negative 'ne quidem.' The illative sense, therefore, must be admitted: 'so that, with all the protecting guards that surround me I cannot be even devoid of fear.'

14. Timere—timora] Cic.'s perturbation is supposed here to have hurried him into a paranomasia which will hardly bear examination. The obvious construction is, 'sine aliquo timore,' sc. relieto; without some degree of fear remaining. But this is inconsistent with 'ne—quidem—non timere.' For that the absence of the usual audience, notwithstanding the protection of the military, prevented the orator from being even devoid of fear, is easily conceivable; but this being the case, where is the necessity of adding that 'some fear remained?' This may have led Manut. to explain it: 'licet optime sciat sibi timendum non esse;' i.e. 'without having any cause of fear. 'Timor' for 'causa timoris' is common. Propert. iii. 5. 40. Et audaci timor esse potes. Ovid. Fast. i. 551; and 'alicuis,' in the sense of 'ullus,' is found in this very sentence, as also, Marcel. i. 'non timore aliquo;' not from any fear. With this explanation too, the succeeding clauses harmonize, 'quia si opposita, &c.;' and 'quamobrem illa arma, &c.' both of which suppose that no real ground of fear existed. Forcet. however explains: 'ne esse quidem sine, &c.,' i.e. he makes 'esse' the substitute for 'non timere.'

15. Cederem temporii] Abram. considers this the political maxim, 'tempori servienda.' Cat. i. 9. Temporibus reip. cedas.


17. Pompeii—virij Cic. wishes to conciliate Pompey by these complimentary expressions.

18. Quieto] For the fear inspired by the 'nova forma' was banished by a proper consideration of the motives of Pompey in posting the
multitudo, quae quidem est civium, tota nostra est: neque eorum quisquam, quos undique intuitentes, unde aliqua pars fori aspici potest, et hujus exitum judicii expectantesvidetis, non quum virtuti Milonis favet, tum de se, de liberis suis, de patria, de fortunis hodierno die decertari putat.

II. Unum genus est adversurn infestumque nobis eorum, quos P. Clodii furor rapinis, incendiis, et omnibus exitis publicis pavit: qui hesterna etiam concionem incitati sunt, ut vobis voce prairent, quid judicaretis. Quorum clamor si qui forte fuerit, admonere vos debeat, ut eum civem retineatis, qui semper genus illud hominum, clamoresque maximos pro vestra salute neglexit. Quamobrem adeste animis, judices, et timorem, si quem habetis, deponite. Nam si unquam de bonis et fortibus viris, si unquam de benemeritis civibus postestas vobis judicandi fuit; si denique unquam locus amplis-guards.

19. Qua quidem est civium] At least as far as it is composed of citizens; 'quidem' for 'certe.' So Acad. iv. 3. Non video causam cur sit, hoc quidem tempore; at least at present. Cic. hints either that the Clodians, who were present, were not citizens, or that slaves formed part of that faction. Inf. 2.

20. Exitum judicii] It is a part of Cicero's art to identify the issue of any cause in which he was engaged with the common safety. The reason is obvious.

Sect. II.—I. Rapinis] The outrages of Clodius are enumerated by Cic. in his several orations. He had plundered the treasury, sold provinces, burned the house of Q. Cicero, and the temple of the nymphs; and, by means of his gladiators, kept up perpetual alarm in the city. Inf. 27. 32.

2. Qui hesterna, &c.] Munat. Plancus Bursa, a tribune of the people, in a speech made the day before this trial, had exhorted the people not to let Milo escape with impunity.—He was afterwards condemned, along with Sext. Clodius, and banished.—Being restored by Caesar, he joined the party of Antony. Phil. xi. 6.—We must not confound him with L. Plancus, consul elect, and colleague of Decimus Brutus, for a long time after Caesar's death the supporter, and, finally, the betrayer of the cause of the senate. Vid. Cicero's correspondence with him; Fam. x., or Hooke x. 14. 15.


4. Genus illud] So Hor. 'Hoc genus omne.' It seems to convey contempt.

5. Semper—neglexit] Sc. in his tribuneship; five years before this time.

6. Adeste animis] i. e. 'Pay attention;' like 'favete linguis.' Hor.—Sull. 11. Adestote omnes animis qui adestis corporibus. 'Animis' is the abl.

7. Nam si unquam, &c.] This argument, drawn from the occasion, is imitated from Dem. Olyn. i. 2. 'O μὲν ἐν παρὼν καιρὸς μονονυχὶ λέγει φωνῆν ἀφιείς, &c. So, also, Olyn. iii. 6. Τίνα γὰρ χρόνον, &c.
simorum ordinarum\textsuperscript{8} delectis viris datus est, ubi sua studia erga fortes et bonos cives, quae vultu et verbis s\ae pee significassent, re et sententiis\textsuperscript{9} declararent: hoc profecto tempore eam postatem omnem vos habetis, ut statuatis,\textsuperscript{10} utrum nos, qui semper vestrae auctoritatis dediti fuimus, semper miser lugaemus, an diu vexati a perditissimis civilibus, aliquando per vos, ac per vestram fidem, virtutem, sapientiamque reecemur. Quid enim nobis duobus,\textsuperscript{11} judices, laboriosius?\textsuperscript{12} quid magis sollicitum, magis exercitum dici aut fingi potest? qui spe amplissimorum praemiorum\textsuperscript{13} ad rempublicam adducit, metu crudelissimorum supliciorum carere non possumus? Equidem\textsuperscript{14} ceteras tempestates et procellas in illis duntaxat\textsuperscript{15} fluc-

\textit{Abram.}

8. \textit{Ampliss. ordinum} Aurelius Cotta, prætor in the first consulship of Pompey, enacted that the ‘judices’ should be selected from the senators, knights, and tribunes of the treasury. This law Pompey, in his second consulship, amended, by adding, that the wealthiest of those orders should be chosen. Pompeius in coss. secundo, promulgavit ut amplissimo ex censu lecti judices æque ex ills tribus ordinibus res judicarent. \textit{Ascon.} What the census (which was defined Phil. i. 8. ‘census praeminiebatur,’) was, does not appear. On this occasion he had selected the judges from the regular orders, and the most respectable of those orders.

9. \textit{Re et sententiis} Namely, by acquitting them. ‘Re’ opposed to ‘vultu,’ and ‘sententiis’ to ‘verbis.’

10. \textit{Ut statuatis, &c.} Cic. seeks to interest the feelings of his judges in the fate of Milo; 1. by putting him on a par with himself, an acknowledged patriot; 2. by testifying his constant deference to their authority; 3. by the modesty of his petition, which only sought encouragement for himself, not vengeance on his enemies. The words, too, are appropriate and complimentary: ‘fidel,’ the honour of a judge; ‘virtutem,’ the firmness necessary to meet the audacity of the Clodians; and ‘sapientiam,’ the wisdom to counteract the rashness of the mob. \textit{Abram.}

11. \textit{Nobis duobus} Abl. depending on ‘magis, &c.’ not the dat. as Dunc.

12. \textit{Laboriosius} Schooled in toil. This word, as also ‘sollicitum’ and ‘exercitum,’ is used here in a passive sense. So \textit{Æn.} ix. 89. Sollicitam timor anxius angit. iii. 182.—nate Iliacis exercite fatis.

13. \textit{Praemiorum} Sc. the offices of the state. Cic. was of consular rank, and Milo a candidate-consul. The contrast between ‘spe ampl. praemiorum,’ and ‘metu crudel. supliciorum,’ while it shows their disappointment, lays claim to a higher degree of pity from the audience.

14. \textit{Equidem} i. e. ‘Ego—qui-dem;’ I, for my part, as far as I am concerned. The few instances where this word is not followed by verbs in the first person, are of so doubtful authority, or so easily explained by supplying ellipses, &c. that they may be disregarded in consideration of the force and emphasis which the above resolution imparts, wherever ‘equidem’ occurs.

15. \textit{Duntaxat} i. e. ‘Dum-taxat;’ or ‘dum-taxet,’ sc. aliquis; provided one considers. Hence it expresses a
tibus concionum semper putavi Miloni esse subeundas, quod semper pro bonis contra improbos senserat: in judicio vero, et in eo consilio, in quo ex cunctis ordiniibus amplissimi viri judicarent, nunquam existimavi spem ullam esse habituros Milonis inimicos, ad ejus non salutem modo existinguendam, sed etiam glorian per tales viros infringendam. Quamquam in hac causa, judices, T. Annii tribunatu, rebusque omnibus pro salute reipublicae gestis, ad hujus criminis defensionem non abutemur, nisi oculis videritis insidias Miloni a Cludio factas: nec deprecaturi sumus, ut crimen hoc nobis multa propter praeclara in rempublicam merita condonetis: nec pressed his surprise at his enemies hoping to foil him before judges, whose authority he had always supported; lest, however, he might seem to rest his cause on this, or admit the inference, that because Milo had saved the city, Milo might therefore slay the citizens with impunity: he corrects himself, and adds that he will not so apply Milo's patriotic actions; at least before he shall have established the fact of Clodius being the aggressor.

19. Abutemur] 'Abutor' is often taken 'in bonam partem' to mean 'the applying a thing to one's own purpose contrary to the natural use or original intention.' Fam. ix. 6.

So here: the public services of Milo were performed with the view of gaining the esteem of his countrymen, not of shielding himself against a criminal charge. Cic., however, ('abutetur') will avail himself of these services in the latter sense provided, &c.

20. Nisi] 'Unless first,' i. e. until. As soon as you shall have been fully convinced that Clodius was the aggressor, I will enter on a statement of Milo's public services, but not till then.' Cic. thus intimates his full confidence in the goodness of his cause, and the certainty of his triumph. Still it may be asked, why enter on that statement at all? Does not Cic. say, inf. c. 11, that the sole question is 'uter utri insidias fecerit?' Why,
postulaturi, ut, si mors P. Clodii salus vestra fuerit, idcirco eam virtuti Milonis potius, quam populi Romani felicitati assignetis. Sed si illius insidiae clariores hac luce fuerint, tum denique obscurabo obtestaborque vos, judices, si cetera amissimus, hoc saltem nobis ut relinquatur, ab inimicorum audacia telisque vitam ut impune liceat defendere.

III. Sed, antequam ad eam orationem venio, quae est propria vestra quaestionis, videntur ea esse refutanda, quae et in senatu ab inimicis saepe jaetata sunt, et in concione ab then, dwell on the public conduct of either party? Cic. was fully aware that the discussion was irrelevant; but, like an able advocate, looking not to what was strictly called for, but what might best serve his client, he here left room for availing himself of the effect which an eloquent statement of the public merits of Milo, and crimes of Clodius, might produce on the judges. His proposition then, is: Clodius was justly slain, whether as being an intended assassin, or as being the scourge and ruin of his country. The former point, which occupies from c. 12. to c. 27, he calls ' de causa; ' the latter, from c. 27. to 34, he calls ' extra causam.' It is worthy of remark, that the 'extra causam' head was, as we learn from Ascon., the principle adopted by M. Brutus, in a defence of Milo, published by him, but which Cic. thought it hazardous to rest his defence on solely, namely ' interfici Clodium pro republica fuisset. Orel. following Garat., Peyron., Heum., &c., begins a new sentence with ' nisi;' but, as nothing is gained by this in clearing the difficulty, the usual punctuation has been retained. ' Nec deprecaturi, &c.—nec postulaturi, &c.,' agreeably to Cicero's manner, are an amplification of, and nearly synonymous with 'Non abutemur—rebus pro salute reip. gestis.'

22. Nec postulaturi] The killing of Clodius being a public benefit, Milo might have urged this as his motive; Cic., while he admits the beneficial result, will not adduce that argument as long as it may be doubted whether the merit of it belongs to the fortune of the Roman people, or the courage of Milo. Phil. ii. 50. Sustulit illum diem fortuna, &c.—This very doubt, it will be observed, is most complimentary to Milo.

23. Pop. Rom. felicitati] This is fully dilated on inf. 30. 33. Sed hujus beneficij gratiam, &c.

24. Sed si illius, &c. i. e. Sed si oculis videritis insidias illius [ab illo factas] tum, &c. Cic. thus varies in the minor the hypothetic statement ' nisi oculis, &c.' supr.; as also the inference, which ought to be: 'then will I have recourse to Milo's services, &c.;' whereas it is: 'then will I implore you to leave untouched the principle of self-defence.' These two inferences comprise the entire defence, both 'de causa' and 'extra causam.' Supr. n. 20.


2. Questionis] 'A public trial,' so called 'a quaerendo,' because the guilt or innocence of the accused was therein inquired into.

3. Ea refutanda] These prejudicia, whose refutation is properly prefixed to the general defence, were
improbis, et paullo ante ab accusatoribus: ut, omni errore sublato, rem plane, quæ venit in judicium, videre possitis. Negant intueri lucem esse fas ei, qui a se hominem occisum esse fateatur. In qua tandem urbe hoc homines stultissimi disputant? Nempe in ea, quæ primum judicium de capite vidit M. Horatii, fortissimis viri; qui, nondum libera civitate, tamen populi Romani comitiss liberatus est, quem sua manu sororem esse interfactam fateretur. An est quassum, qui hoc ignorant, quem de homine occiso quaeratur, aut negari solere omnis esse factum, aut recte ac jure factum esse defendi? Nisi vero existimatis, dementem Africam.

1. Negant intueri—fateatur;' that an avowed homicide was unworthy of life. 2. Sequitur—esse factam, c. 5;' that the senate had already decided the cause against Milo. 3. At enim Cn. Pompei—fuit c. 6;' that Pompey, by his law, declared his belief of Milo's guilt. On the propriety of the orator refuting these prejudicia before he proceeds to the narration, vid. Quint. iv. 2, who remarks, that by preparing the judges for the reception of the case, they virtually constitute an exordium.

4. Paullo ante, &c.] Tum intra horam secundam accusatores cceperunt dicere Appius Major, et M. Antonius et P. Valerius Nepos. Ascon. So ' paullo ante ' is, the preceding two hours. Introd. 5.

5. Negant, &c.] Vid. penult. n.

6. Primum judicium] ' Primum' does not mean that there had not been previous trials, and even capital trials; but these ' the city did not see as a city. They were decided by the kings or their deputies. But this was the first trial for homicide where the people were called on to decide, and they acquitted. Diony. lib. iii.

7. M. Horatii] The story of Horatius, who slew his own sister for mourning over the fate of her lover, one of the Curatii, whom he had just slain, is given by Livy, i. 26.

8. Nondum libera] And, therefore, more unlikely to be influenced by popular feeling in their decision.

9. Comitiss] Sc. curialis. It was held in the Comitium; for the comitia for the election of magistrates did not yet exist; and when it did, was held in the Campus Martius.

10. Nisi vero] Used in the beginning of a sentence for transition. It frequently introduced an indirect proof. Thus, from the true premmiss, that Africanus held the justice of Gracchus's fate; and the opposite of the question, no wise man holds homicide justifiable, he deduces the manifestly false conclusion, 'dementem P. Africannum fuisse.' Therefore wise men do hold homicide justifiable.

13. P. Africanum] Sc. Minorem. He was called ' Emmilianus,' from P. Emilius Macedonicus, by whom he was adopted; and ' Numantinus,' from destroying Numantia, in Spain. The occurrence alluded to by Cicero took place after his return from Spain when Carbo was proposing a law that there should be no restriction on the re-election of tribunes. This Scipio opposed in a speech, wherein he asserted that Tiberius Gracchus, who was his own brother-in-law, deserved his fate. Liv. Epit. lix.
num fuisse, qui, quum a Carbone, tribuno plebis, in concione seditione, censuraretur, quid de Ti. Gracchis morte sentiret, respondit, jure caesium videri. Neque enim posset aut Ahala ille Servilius, aut P. Nasica, aut L. Opimius, aut C. Marius, aut, me consule, senatus non nefarius haberi, si sceleratos cives interfici nefas esset. Itaque hoc, judices, non sine causa etiam fictis fabulis doctissimi hominum memoriae prodiderunt, eum qui patris ulciscendi causa ma-

14. C. Carbone] Cic. adds, 'tribuno plebis,' for he was afterwards consul, a. v. 632; and defended by his eloquence the very Opimius who had slain his friend, C. Gracchus. De Orat. ii. 35. 'C. Carbo, consul nihil de C. Gracchi nece negabat, sed id jure pro salute patris factum esse dicesat.' He soon after poisoned himself, either through remorse, or to avoid the consequences of an accusation brought against him by the celebrated orator L. Crassus. De Orat. ii. 40.

15. Seditiose] Val. Max. vi. 2, informs us, that Carbo, when he was exciting the people to the death of C. Gracchus, hoped to be assisted in attaining this object by the weight and authority of Africanus, the husband of Semponia, the sister of the Gracchi, who he imagined could not avoid speaking in favour of his brother-in-law. He therefore dragged Scipio to the forum, before he had well entered the city, and put to him the interrogation in the text. This account is to be preferred to Livy's (vid. n. 13) as it explains the force of the word 'seditione;' &c. 'with a factious view.'

16. Ti. Gracchi] Livy, Epit. iviiii., says, 'that when Ti. Gracchus, who had excited several seditions during his first tribuneship, wished to obtain a second; at the instigation of P. Nasica, he was slain by the nobles, and his body flung into the Tiber.'

17. Ahala Servilius] Connect with him Sp. Mælius, a. Roman knight, whose largesses of grain to the people, during a famine, raised suspicions of his entertaining tyrannical views; and whom he slew, by the direction of Cincinnatus, the dictator. Liv. iv. 14.

18. P. Nasica] When M. Scevola, the consul, was unwilling to second the views of the senate against Tib. Gracchus, Nasica, then Pontifex Max. called out, 'Qui remp. salvam esse volunt me sequantur; eique voce, says Valerius Max., cunctatione honorum discusse, Gracchum cum scelerata factione, quas merebatur penas persolvere coegit. Lib. iii. 17.


20. C. Marius] With him may be connected Saturninus, another of Cicero's standard precedents for committing murder: Saturninus, however, deserved his fate, being himself an assassin. He was a creature of Marius, by whom he was encouraged to violate the laws, and then surrendered to the fury of his enemies. Vid. Rabir. perdul. reo, where the particulars of his fate are given.

21. Me consule] Lentulus, Cethegus, &c. suffered in Cic.'s consulship.

22. Doctissimi homines] Sc. the poets; who, in the opinion of Plato, were the parents of wisdom. 'Ουτοι γαρ ήμιν οὕσπερ πατέρες τῆς σοφίας ἰσίοι καὶ γεγενότες.' Abram.

23. Eum] Orestes. His story was a copious theme for the Greek
trem necavisset, variatis hominum sententiis, non solum divina, sed etiam sapientissimae Deae sententia liberatum. Quod si duodecim tabulae nocturnum furem, quoquo modo, diurnum autem, si se telo defenderit, interfici impune voluerunt: quis est, qui, quoquo modo quis interfactus sit, puniendum putet, quem videat aliquando gladium nobis ad occidendum hominem ab ipsis porrige legibus?

IV. Atqui si tempus est ullum jure hominis necandi, quae multa sunt; certe illud est non modo justum, verum etiam necessarium, quam vis illata defenditur. Pudicitiam quem eriperet militi tribunus militaris in exercitu C. Marii, propinquus ejus imperatoris, interfactus ab eo est, cui vim afferebat.


24. Variatis hominum sententiis] i. e. 'The votes of the Areopagites being different;' some for, others against. Æschylus, in the Eumenides, informs us, that the votes (which his scholiast makes thirty-one) were rendered equal by the vote of the goddess, the previous numbers being sixteen for condemning, and fifteen for acquitting. The 'Eumenides' accounts also for Orestes, an Argive, being tried before an Athenian tribunal; for, by the advice of Apollo, he was referred from Delphi, where the furies had beset him for the murder of his mother, to the temple of Minerva at Athens; i. e. to the court of Areopagus. Demosthenes, it may be observed, followed a different account; for he makes the gods the judges; of whom six condemned and five acquitted; the accused was saved by the vote of Minerva. Cic. followed Æschylus, as suiting better the drift of his argument. Vid. Potter. G. A. i. 19.


26. Duodecim] Livy iii. 31. 35. relates that, A. v. 299, Manlius, Sulpicius, and Posthumius, were sent to Greece with a commission to collect laws. On their return, the 'decemviri,' out of the laws which had been collected, at first framed ten tables, which received the sanction of the people; and subsequently, two more were added; forming, as he observes, in his time, after all the accumulation of laws upon laws, 'fons omnis publici privatis juris.'—Macrob. Saturn. i., gives the phrase alluded to: 'Si nox furtum factum sit, si im aliquis occisit, jure casus esto. Vid. Hor. Ep. ii. 1. 23, Quint. v. 14.

27. Quoque modo] i. e. 'Whether he defended himself or not;' in opposition to 'si se telo defenderit.' There was no exception in the case of the nightly marauder. 'Quoque modo inf. is 'whether in the right or not.'

28. Puniendum] Used impersonally; 'it must be visited with punishment.'


30. Porrigei] 'Porrigo,' sc. ἄφεναι; I stretch forward.

Sect. IV.—1. Mil.] Called Trebonius by Plut., Caecilius Plotius by Val. Max. 2. Tribunus] C. Lusius, a nephew of Marius. The conduct of Marius on this occasion gained him his third consulate. Plut. in
Facere enim probus\textsuperscript{3} adolescentem periculo,\textsuperscript{4} quam perpetui turpiter maluit. Atque hunc ille summis vir, scelere solutum, periculo liberavit. Insidiatori vero et latroni\textsuperscript{5} quae potest inferri injusta ne\textsuperscript{7}? Quid comitatus nostri, quid gladii volunt?\textsuperscript{6} quos habere certe non liceret, si uti illis nullo pacto liceret. Est enim hae, judices, non scripta, sed nata lex;\textsuperscript{7} quam non didicimus, accepiimus, legimus, verum ex natura ipsa arripuimus, hausimus, expressimur; ad quam non docti, sed facti; non instituti, sed imbuti sumus: ut, si vita nostra in aliquas insidias, si in vin, si in tela aut latronum, aut inimicorum incidisset, omnis honesta ratio esset expediendae salutis. Silent enim leges inter arma,\textsuperscript{8} nec se exspectari jubent, quum ei, qui exspectare velit, ante injusta pena luenda sit, quam justa repetenda. Etsi\textsuperscript{9} persapienter, et quodammodo tacite, dat ipsa lex potestatem defendendi; quae non [modo] hominem occidi, sed esse cum telo hominis occidendi causa vetat: ut, quum causa,\textsuperscript{10} non telum quæreretur, qui sui defendendi causa telo esset usus, non hominis occidendi causa labuisse


5. Latroni] ‘Latro’ being here joined with ‘insidiatori,’ (seems to determine its origin, sc. lateo; not as Varr. latus, (a side) nor as Fest. latus. Vid. inf. 21, and xii. 7. From signifying marauders, it came to stand for mercenary soldiers, a hired bodyguard.

6. Comitatus—gladii volunt] For arms were permitted to be carried during a journey. Marc. Dig. Abram.

7. Non scripta—lex] Soph. Antig. 459. ágraata kásofalí thev Nó-hipia. Dem. de Cor. 83. ἡ φύσις αυτῇ τοῖς ἀγράφοις νομίμοι—έωρα-kev. Vid., also, Or. 49. and Quint. ix. 3, where this passage is quoted, to illustrate some of the niceties of composition.

8. Silent leges inter arma] Vid. Manil. c. 20. n. 4, where this sen-
timent is attributed to Marius; also, Phil. i. 10. ‘Armis gesta nunquam propecto in judicium vocabuntur.’

9. Etsi] A correction; as if he said, ‘Though why say the laws are silent amidst arms, when in their silence they sanction the principle of self-defence; by not barely forbidding homicide (‘non modo, &c.’) which they do as a matter of course, but also to carry arms with a hostile intention: the obvious inference from which was, that they might be carried if that intention did not exist. This Cic. calls ‘dat tacite potestatem defendendi.’ Orel., however, erases modo. A sight of the law in question (lex Cornelia de sicariis) could alone determine which is right.

10. Ut quum causa, &c.] i.e. That the law by questioning the motive, not the fact of carrying arms, decided that whoever had employed his arms in self-defence was justified in so doing. This Cic. expresses negatively, by saying, that he was considered in the eye of the law not to have carried arms with a hostile intention.
TELUM JUDICARETUR. QUAPROPTER HOC MANEAT IN CAUSA, JUDICES; NON ENIM DUBITO, QUIN PROBATURUS SIM VOBIS DEFENSIONEM MEAM, SI ID MEMINERITIS, QUOD OBLIVISCI NON POTESTIT, INSIDIAM JURE INTERFICI POSSE.

V. SEQUITUR ILLUD, QUOD A MILONIS INIMICIS SÆPISSIME DICITUR, CÆDEM, IN QUA P. CLODIUS OCCISUS EST, SENATUM JUDICASSE, CONTRA REMPUBLICAM ESSE FACTAM. ILLAM VERO SENATUS, NON SENTENTIIS SUIS SOLUM, SED ETIAM STUDIIS COMPROBavit.—QUOTIES ENIM EST ILLA CAUSA A NOBIS ACTA IN SENATU! QUIBUS ASSENSIONIBUS UNIVERSI ORDINIS, QUAM NEC TACITIS, NEC OCCULTIS! QUANDO ENIM FREQUENTISSIMO SENATU QUATTUOR, AUT [AD] SUMNUM QUINQUE SUNT INVENTI, QUI MILONIS CAUSAM NON PROBARENT? DECLARANT HUJUS AMBUSTI TRIBUTI PLEBIS ILLÆ INTERMORTUÆ

11. *Hoc maneat* [Cic. conceives that he has now fully established the legality of homicide in self-defence, and thus refuted the first *praeful."

12. *Probaturus sim* [Make good to you, &c.

SECT. V.—1. *Sequitur illud* [The second *praeful."

2. *Quoties enim, &c.* [Inf. 35, he says, 'Centesima lux est hæc ab interitu Clodii, et altera;' a period which admitted of various discussions of the question in the senate. Ern., removing the interrogation, explains it, 'as often as, &c.'

3. *Declarant* [Sc. how fully the senate approved of Milo's conduct.

4. *Ambusti* [Persons scorched with lightning were called 'ambusti,' as Fabius Ambustus. Cic. applies the term to Munat. Plancus, from his being scorched in the conflagration of the senate-house, which took place on the burning of Clodius's body. Ascon. Ern. conjectures an allusion to some trial in which Plancus had with difficulty escaped; others to Fabius Ambustus, to whose character his presented a striking contrast.

5. *Intermortuae* [Interruptæ incendio curiæ. Munat. But as only one harangue of Plancus was so interrupted, whereas, these were pronounced 'quotidie,' it appears better to interpret the word literally,
conciones, quibus quotidie meam potentiam invidiose criminabatur, quem diceret, senatum, non quod sentiret, sed quod ego vellem, decernere. Quae quidem si potentia est appellanda potius quam, aut propter magna in rempublicam merita, mediocris in bonis causis auctoritas, aut, propter hos officiosos labores meos, nonnulla apud bonos gratia; appelletur ita sane, dummodo ea nos utamur pro salute honorum contra amentiam perditorum. Hanc vero questionem, etsi non est iniqua, nunquam tamen senatus constituendam putavit.—Erant enim leges, erant quæstiones, vel de cæde, vel de vi: nec tantum mororem ac lucum tenatui mor P. Clodii afferebat, ut nova quæstio constitueretur. Cujus enim de illo incerto stupro judicium decernendi senatui potestas esset erepta, de ejus interitu, quis potest credere, senatum judici-

'just dying,' (inter mortem,) 'almost past and gone.' They were loud, and loudly praised while Clodius's death was recent, but were now fast sinking into oblivion. So Muren. 7. 'Memoriam prope intermortuam generis sui, virtute renovari; nearly extinct. Others, however, render it 'languid, feeble;' Guthr. 'dark!' 6. Invidiose. For it was holding up Cic. to public odium, to represent him as the tyrant of the senate. 7. Officiosos labores. 'Official labours;' namely, as a patron and an advocate. So Tusc. iii. 8. 'dolor officiosissimus,' i. e. quem ratio officii postulat. Enn. Hor. Ep. i. 7. 46, causisque Philippus agendis Clarus, ab officiis, &c. 8. Leges] E. g. The Cornelian of sicariis, the Lutatian, de vi. Cæl. 1. 9. Quæstiones] Sc. 'perpetuae,' which had each, by Sylla's appointment, their proper judge; whereas, Milo's was a special commission, the very appointment of which operates against him, by giving an undue importance to the affair. Vid. c. i. n. 4. 10. Mororem—luctum] 'Moror' is a bursting sorrow ('agritudo flebilis;' Tusc. iv. 8,) and 'luctus' the expression of it in loud lamentation. Hence they are here fitly joined, as being produced by death (mors afferebat).

11. Cujus enim de illo, incerto, &c.] 'De stupro cujus—de interitu ejus' are opposed. Clodius, in order to carry on an intrigue with Pompeia, the wife of Julius Caesar, had gained admittance, in disguise, to Caesar's house, where the mysteries of the Bona Dea were celebrating. He was detected, however, but in the confusion effected his escape. Cic. calls the intrigue 'inces tus,' as polluting those sacred rites, at which males were forbidden to appear. Harus. 5. 'Ea sacra que viri oculis, ne imprudentis quidem, aspici fas est.' Juvenal goes farther still: 'Ubi velari pictura jubetur, Quæcunque alterius sexus imitata figuram est.' 12. Judicium decernendi] Appointment a trial; not as Dunc. 'passing sentence.' Nor does 'potestas erepta' mean that such force was resorted to, as prevented the senate from any interference in the cause; for Cicero informs us, Att. i. 13, that the affair was, by a decree, referred to the 'pontifices;' and by them declared a sacrilege; and that
the consuls proposed a bill to the people, by which the praetor was empowered to select assessors to try the cause. This bill, it appears, was, by the influence of the Clodian faction, headed by the tribune Fulvius, prevented from passing, and an amended bill substituted; according to which, judges, selected partly by the prosecutors, partly by the accused, were to preside. Out of these Clodiius obtained a majority, and thus defeated the ends of justice. This Cic. calls 'judicium decernendi, &c.—erupta.'

13. Incendium curiae, &c.] These three points Cic. joins together, as being comprised in one decree; because, says the Delph., several decrees might not be made on the same day.

14. Edium M. Lepidi] Two days after the death of Clodius, Lepidus was declared Interrex. The factions of Scipio and Hypseaus, with a view to force on an immediate election, attacked his house, insulted his wife, Cornelia, and even tore her webs out of the looms; but falling in with the rival faction of Milo, they were compelled to desist. Ascon.

15. Est illa] Δικτάκοι—sc. the self-defence which Cic. is maintaining. Al. ulla.

16. Nisi vero] 'Unless indeed, &c.' which it is absurd to assert; the loss of citizens, however abandoned, being still a loss. The usual indirect argument. Supr. c. 3. n. 10.

17. Ti. Gracchus] Supr. c. 3. n. 16; and for Caius and Satur. n. 19 and 20.

18. E republica] For the interest of the republic; κατὰ τὴν πολίν. Phil. iii. 12. 'Senatus consultis bene et e republica factis, reliquas res ad prædam revocavit.'

Sect. VI.—1. Ego ipse decrevi] Ego sic statuo. Graev.;—my own vote was.

2. Rem notavi] Inf. 11. Senatus rem, non hominem notavit.

3. Furiosum] The usual epithet of the tribunes, implying that their occupation was to excite the people to acts of violence. The tribune referred to was M. Plancus.

4. Novam—nullam] What then? 'Quod [senatus] sentiebat,' a trial by the old laws, but out of the usual routine. This was the purport of the second decree, the first having merely
Divisa sententia\(^6\) est, postulante nescio quo; nihil enim necesse est omnium me flagitia proferre. Sic reliqua auctoritas senatus\(^6\) empta intercessiones sublata est. At enim\(^7\) Cn. Pompeius rogatione sua et de re et de causa judicavit. Tu-

 declared, 'caedam factam esse contra remp.'

5. *Divisa sententia* When a motion comprehended two or more particulars, any senator could have them put separately, simply by saying, 'divide.' Ascon. Here the points were: 1. 'ut veteribus legibus quareteretur; 2. 'ut extra ordinem quareteretur.' Fusius, a senator, demanded (postulante nescio quo) that these points be put to the vote separately; thus enabling Plancus, the Clodian tribune, to interpose his negative to the first, and, to his party, the only obnoxious clause—'ut veteribus legibus quareteretur.' For to the second clause, the Clodians had no objection, as it merely expedited the trial of Milo. Why they objected to the first clause does not appear. Perhaps the appointment of 'judices,' which, according to the old laws, were selected by the praetors out of the regular judicial decuries, was conceived to be unfavourable to them; and that they preferred the 'judices edititii,' (Muren. 28, and Planc. 17.) i.e. a jury, in whose appointment the right of challenge by the parties was recognised; and which, on the trial for sacrilege, noticed supr. c. 5. n. 12, it had been found easy to corrupt. Certainly this conjecture is countenanced by the constitution of the tribunal, according to Pompey's law; which allowed of a partial challenge, namely, five out of each of the orders. Vid. supr. c. i. n. 4. Cruq. absurdly conceives 'sententia divisa' to refer to the first law of Pompey's sole consulship, although the very appointment of Pompey to be consul was a consequence of this artifice of Fusius.

6. *Reliqua auctoritas senatus* When a tribune interposed his *veto*, the decree was not completely nullified, but retained a species of authority, intimated by the name, 'S. auctoritas.' Liv. iv. 57. Si quis intercedat S. C\(^\circ\), *auctoritate* se fore contentum. This, however, cannot be admitted as the reason for using 'auctoritas' here, because the 'sententia' is so called before the intercessions of Plancus. Hence we must consider 'S. auctoritas' to import, as it often does, a motion made and passed in the senate, without any reference to the *veto*. Pro dom. 37. It is called 'reliqua' in reference to the unobnoxious part 'ut extra ordinem quareteretur.' As Cic. is alluding to a matter of great notoriety, he is very brief: 'The motion was divided, and a part permitted to pass; the rest of it, however, was thus quashed by a hired veto.' So Phil. i. 1. 'Dictatum sustulit.' De Or. i. 58. 'Veteres leges—sublata.' We must not then translate with Guthr. 'the remaining authority of the senate was abolished.' For it does not appear that any *part* had been abolished already; nor would Cic., who was taunted with an undue control over the senate, and was consequently a great stickler for its authority, admit that a matter of so common occurrence as the interference of a tribune, to prevent the passing of a decree, amounted to the annihilation of that authority, an authority too, which was so soon after exerted in appointing Pompey sole consul.

7. *At enim* The third 'prajudici-um;' sc. that Pompey by his act had condemned Milo.' This Cic. refutes, by showing that Pompey merely enacted an inquiry—that an inquiry, where the fact was acknowledged,
implies an inquiry into the merits of the case—that it will be seen by Pompey's own showing (Jam illud dicet, &c.) that his act is attributable to no predilection for Clodius, but to the emergency of the case—that to act otherwise would be to overthrow the very nature of a law, in the eye of which all men, whether high or low, are equal, (Quid ita, &c. c. 7,) as appears from the instances of Drusus and Africanus, whose untimely and lamented fate called forth no new enactment—that to permit concomitant circumstances to have any weight in determining the amount of guilt, would be to make the atrocity of Clodius's death be heightened, and that of his victim, Papirius, lowered by their occurring on the Appian (i.e. Clodian) way (aut eo mors atrocior, &c. c. 7)—that in adducing an instance of Clodius's guilt, it was unnecessary to go back to Papirius, (quid ego illa commemoro, &c.,) the attempt to assassinate Pompey, (as guilt consists in the intention,) being as bad as any murder; not to mention the repeated attempts on Cicero's own life (Quoties ego ipsae, &c. c. 7). Are we prepared to say, then (asks Cic.) that, while the great and good had their lives taken away, or attempted, and no new law was called into existence by the public sorrow, Clodius's death has excited such general regret that Pompey framed his bill to assure it: No, (Non fuit ea causa, &c. c. 8,) it was merely the fact of a reconciliation having taken place between Pompey and Clodius some time before, and in which Pompey wished to show himself perfectly sincere, that has called forth the law in question, (timuit ne videtur, &c. c. 8;) which, after all, Pompey would not have proposed, were he not aware that whatever severity there might be in his enactment, it would be tempered by the firmness of the judges; the selection of whom, from the most illustrious orders, and particularly the respectability of their president proved, incontestably, that Pompey's sole motive was a regard to justice, &c., &c.

The connexion of the reasoning here will, perhaps, be better seen from this abstract. Cic. now proceeds to the defence itself. c. 9.

3. Appia via] This road, which still remains, was made by Appius Caecus, censor a. u. 442, and extended from Rome to Capua. It was afterwards continued to Brundusium, it is uncertain when, or by whom.

9. Paret] i. e. Apparat, a term of law. Al. patet; and after 'vidit,' al. etiam for 'igitur.'

10. Salutarem—literam—tristem] The initials of 'Absolvo' and 'condemno.' These being given at all, showed that a doubt existed in the praetor's mind as to the guilt of the accused. There was a third tablet, not mentioned here, which was
vos in judicando spectare oporteret. Nam qui non poenam confessioni, sed defensionem dedit, is causam interitus quærrendam, non interitum putavit. Jam illud dicet\textsuperscript{11} ipse profecto quod sua sponte fecit, Publione Clodio tribuendum putarit, an tempor\textsuperscript{12}.

VII. Domi suæ nobilissimus vir, senatus propugnator, atque, illis quidem temporibus, pæne patronus, avunculus hujus nostri judicis,\textsuperscript{1} fortissimi viri, M. Catonis, tribunus plebis M. Drusus\textsuperscript{2} occisus est. Nihil de ejus morte populus consultus, nulla quaestio decreta a senatu est.—Quantum luctum in hac urbe fuisset a nostris patribus accepimus, quam P. Africano,\textsuperscript{3} domi suæ quiescenti, illa nocturna vis esset illata! quis tum non ingemuit? quis non arsit dolore? quem immortalem, si fieri posset, omnes esse cuperent, ejus ne necessariam\textsuperscript{4} quidem expectatam esse mortem! Num igitur ulla quaestio de Africani morte lata est? Certe nulla. Quid ita? quia non alio facinore clari homines, alio obscuri necantur. Intersit inter vitæ dignitatem summorum, atque infimorum: mors quidem illata per scelus iisdem et penis teneatur, et legibus. Nisi forte\textsuperscript{5} magis erit parricida,\textsuperscript{6} si qui consularem patrem, quam si quis humilem necaverit: aut eo mors atrocior erit P. Clodiis, quod is in monumentis\textsuperscript{7} majorum suorum sit interfexus. Hoc enim ssepe

marked N. L., i. e. non liquet;—it is not clear. Cic. attributes, also, to Pompey, as the prime mover of the trial, the distribution of the ballots, which was ordinarily the part of the presiding judge. 'Tam—quam;' as well as.

11. 

12. Tempori [Inf. 8.] Homo sapiens, &c.—multa vidit. 

12. Tempori [Inf. 8. 'Timuit ne videretur infirmior fides reconciliata gratia.' Vid. n. on 'reconciliata.' ] 

Sect. VII.—1. Hujus judicis 

M. Cato Uticensis, whose mother, Livia, was sister of Drusus. 

2. Drusus [M. Livius. Arch. c. 7. n. 24.]

3. P. Africano [Sc. Minori. Arch. c. 7. n. 6.]

4. Necessariam [i. e. Natural.—'Fatum' is similarly used by Virg. iv. 695. Fato merita nec morte perti-

bat; and by Tacitus, An. vi. 10. L. Pontifex, rarum in tanta claritudine, fato obit; i. e. died a natural death. And Cic. expresses the same idea, Phil. i. 4. 'præter naturam præterque fatum,' where, vid. note. Drusus fell in his 56th year.

5. Nisi forte, &c. The usual indirect argument. Supr. c. 3. n. 10. As a stoic, Cic. held all crimes equal; but perhaps he means to assert the equality of all men in the eye of the law, and their right to impartial justice.

6. Parricida] 1. Παρροκτόνος—the slayer of a father; 2. of any relative; 3. (according to a law of Numa) of any Freeman. Hence the formula of Romulus 'omne hominidum, parricideum.'

7. Monumentis [i. e. Which preserved their memory; for the Appia Via, on which the rencontre oc-
ab istis dicitur.\textsuperscript{8} Perinde quasi Appius ille Cæcus viam munierit, non qua populus uteretur, sed ubi impune sui posteri latrocinarentur! Itaque\textsuperscript{9} in eadem ista Appia via, quum ornatissemin equitem Romanum P. Clodius M. Papirium\textsuperscript{10} occidisset, non fuit illud facinus puniendum; homo enim nobilis in suis monumentis\textsuperscript{10} equitem Romanum occiderat: nunc ejusdem Appiae nomen quantas tragedias\textsuperscript{11} excitat! quæ cruentata antea cæde honesti atque innocentis viri silebatur, eadem nunc crebro usurpatur, posteaquam latronis et parricidæ sanguine imbuta est. Sed quid ego illa commemorō? Comprehensus est in templo Castoris\textsuperscript{12} servus P. Clodii, quem ille ad Cn. Pompeium interficiendum colloca-rat; extorta est confitenti sica\textsuperscript{13} de manibus; caruit foro postea Pompeius, caruit senatu, caruit publico;\textsuperscript{14} janua se ac parietibus, non jure legum judiciorumque texit. Num quæ
curred, was made by Appius Cæcus, an ancestor of Clodius. This Ap-pius was censor \textsuperscript{1} a.v. 442, and was struck blind for advising the Potitii to commit to public slaves the performance of the sacrifices to Her-celes. Liv. i. 7, and ix. 29.

8. \textit{Hoc ab istis dicitur} The Clodians, it seems, urged it as an aggravation of Milo's guilt, that he killed Clodius on a road constructed by his ancestors; and, Quint. v. 10, points out the force of this part of the 'Clodian charge.' Nam et Ajax apud Ovidium: 'Ante rates agimus causam et mecum conferunt Ulysses,' et Miloni objectum est 'quod Clodius in monumentis ab eo majorum suorum esset occisus.' On the same principle, M. Manlius could not be convicted while he remained in sight of the capitol. Liv. vi. 20. To this Cic. replies by admitting the aggravation, if his opponents will admit that Appius made the road to afford his posterity an opportunity of plundering there with impunity.

9. \textit{Itaque} Accordingly; i.e. supposing the road made for the above purpose.

10. \textit{Papirium} Pompey had, some time before, brought to Rome the son of Tigranes, king of Armenia, as a hostage, and put him under the care of Flavius, the praetor. The young prince, assisted by Clodius, attempted to escape, but being discovered, a renouncer ensued, between his former guardian, Flavius, and Clodius, in which Papirius was slain. This was the origin of Pompey's enmity to Clodius.

10. \textit{In suis monumentis} i.e. As supr., 'majorum suorum.'


12. \textit{Templo Castoris} One of the temples in view of the forum. Supr. 1. 'pro templis omnibus.' On this occasion the senate was held in Castor's temple. Inf. 'In foro atque vestibulo ipso senatus.' It was built by Posthumius, in honour of Castor and Pollux, for their espousing the cause of the Romans against the Latins, and assisting in defeating them at Regillus, and bringing the news to Rome.

13. \textit{Sica} Qu. 'secica,' a 'sc-e-co,' a 'cutlass; but 'pugio,' a
rogiatio lata? num quae nova quæstio decreta est? Atqui, si res,\textsuperscript{15} si vir, si tempus ullum dignum fuit, certe haec in illa causa summa omnia fuerunt. Insidiator erat in foro collocatus, atque in vestibulo\textsuperscript{13} ipso senatus; ei viro autem mors parabatur, cujus in vita nitebatur salus civitatis; eo porro reipublicae tempore,\textsuperscript{17} quo, si unus ille occidisset, non haec solum civitas, sed gentes omnes concidisset. Nisi vero,\textsuperscript{18} quia perfecta res non est, non fuit punienda: perinde quasi exitus rerum,\textsuperscript{19} non hominum consilia legibus vindicentur. Minus dolendum fuit, re non perfecta; sed puniendum certe nihil minus. Quoties\textsuperscript{20} ego ipse, judices, ex P. Clodii telis et ex cruentis ejus manibus effugi! ex quibus si me non vel mea, vel reipublicae fortuna servasset, quis tandem de interitu meo quaestionem tulisset?

VIII. Sed stulti\textsuperscript{2} sumus, qui Drusum, qui Africanum, Pompeium, nosmetipsos, cum P. Clodio conferre audaciam. Tolerabilia fuerunt illa: P. Clodii mortem æquo animo nemo ferre potest. Luget senatus; moeret equester ordo; tota civitas confecta senio est; squalent\textsuperscript{2} municipia, afflictan-

\textit{‘pungo,’ a poniard.}
\textit{14. Caruit publico] Sc. loco; i.e. lived in privacy. Similarly, we say, to appear in public. Harusp. 23.}
\textit{15. Si res, &c.] ‘Res’ is answered by ‘insidiator erat, &c.;’ ‘vir,’ by ‘ei viro autem, &c.;’ ‘tempus ullum,’ by ‘eo tempore, &c.’}
\textit{18. Vero] Supr. c. 3. n. 10. Al. forte.}
\textit{17. Eo—tempore] About three years since, when Cic. was in exile, and the republic, of course, on the brink of ruin, Pompey had quarrelled with Clodius about Tigranes’s son, and was obliged to shut himself within his house for fear of assassination. Supr. n. 10.}
\textit{19. Quasi exitus rerum] A natural law, fully developed and established by Christianity. Juv. xiii. Nam scelus inter se tacitum qui cogitat ullum Facti crimen habet.}
\textit{20. Quoties] Thrice. Inf. ‘Sica (Clodii) intentata nobis. Hac eadem longo intervallo conversa rursus est in me; nuper quidem me ad Reginam pene confecti.’}

\textit{Sect. VIII.—1. Sed stulti, &c.] This sentence is an instance of elegant and even eloquent irony. The verbs accurately correspond in importance with their subjects, forming together a descending series. Thus ‘luget’ is the loudest grief; senatus the highest order; next ‘moeret—equester ordo,’ and so down to ‘agri—desiderant.’}
\textit{2. Senio.] imports: 1. γυπας, old age, decrepitude; 2. sadness, trouble, &c.; the usual concomitants of that stage of life.}
\textit{2. Squalent] 1. Rough, neglected; 2. in mourning, when dress is usually little attended to.}
tur\textsuperscript{3} coloniae; agri\quad\textsuperscript{4} denique\quad\textsuperscript{5} ipsi\quad\textsuperscript{6} tam\quad\textsuperscript{7} beneficum,\quad\textsuperscript{8} tam\quad\textsuperscript{9} salutar-\textsuperscript{em},\quad\textsuperscript{10} tam\quad\textsuperscript{11} manusuetum\quad\textsuperscript{12} cievem\quad\textsuperscript{13} desiderant.\quad\textsuperscript{14} Non\quad\textsuperscript{15} fuit\quad\textsuperscript{16} ea\quad\textsuperscript{17} causa,\quad\textsuperscript{18} judices,\quad\textsuperscript{19} profecto\quad\textsuperscript{20} non\quad\textsuperscript{21} fuit,\quad\textsuperscript{22} cur\quad\textsuperscript{23} sibi\quad\textsuperscript{24} censeret\quad\textsuperscript{25} Pompeius\quad\textsuperscript{26} quae-\textsuperscript{tionem\quad\textsuperscript{27} ferendam;\quad\textsuperscript{28} sed\quad\textsuperscript{29} homo\quad\textsuperscript{30} sapiens\quad\textsuperscript{31} atque\quad\textsuperscript{32} alta\quad\textsuperscript{33} et\quad\textsuperscript{34} divina\quad\textsuperscript{35} quadam\quad\textsuperscript{36} mente\quad\textsuperscript{37} præditus,\quad\textsuperscript{38} multa\quad\textsuperscript{39} vidit:\quad\textsuperscript{40} fuisse\quad\textsuperscript{41} sibi\quad\textsuperscript{42} illum\quad\textsuperscript{43} ini-\textsuperscript{micum,\quad\textsuperscript{44} familiari\textsuperscript{45} Milonem.\quad\textsuperscript{46} In\quad\textsuperscript{47} communi\quad\textsuperscript{48} omnium\quad\textsuperscript{49} lætitia,\quad\textsuperscript{50} si\quad\textsuperscript{51} etiam\quad\textsuperscript{52} ipse\quad\textsuperscript{53} gauderet,\quad\textsuperscript{54} timuit\quad\textsuperscript{55} ne\quad\textsuperscript{56} videretur\quad\textsuperscript{57} infirmior\quad\textsuperscript{58} fides\quad\textsuperscript{59} reconciliatæ\quad\textsuperscript{60} gratiae.\quad\textsuperscript{61} Multa\quad\textsuperscript{62} etiam\quad\textsuperscript{63} alia\quad\textsuperscript{64} vidit,\quad\textsuperscript{65} sed\quad\textsuperscript{66} illud\quad\textsuperscript{67} maxime:\\quad\textsuperscript{68} quamvis\quad\textsuperscript{69} atroci\textsuperscript{10} ipse\quad\textsuperscript{70} tulisset,\quad\textsuperscript{71} vos\quad\textsuperscript{72} tamen\quad\textsuperscript{73} fortiter\quad\textsuperscript{74} judicatu\textsuperscript{5}.\quad\textsuperscript{75} Itaque\quad\textsuperscript{76} delegat\quad\textsuperscript{77} e\quad\textsuperscript{78} florentissimis\quad\textsuperscript{79} ordinibus\quad\textsuperscript{80} ipsa\quad\textsuperscript{81} lumina:\neque\quad\textsuperscript{82} vero,\quad\textsuperscript{83} quod\quad\textsuperscript{84} nonnulli\quad\textsuperscript{85} dictitant,\quad\textsuperscript{86} secrevit\quad\textsuperscript{12} in\quad\textsuperscript{87} judicibus\quad\textsuperscript{88} legendis\quad\textsuperscript{89} amicos\quad\textsuperscript{90} meos.\quad\textsuperscript{91} Neque\quad\textsuperscript{92} enim\quad\textsuperscript{93} hoc\quad\textsuperscript{94} cogitavit\quad\textsuperscript{95} vir\quad\textsuperscript{96} justissimus,\quad\textsuperscript{97} neque\quad\textsuperscript{98} in\quad\textsuperscript{99} bonis\quad\textsuperscript{100} viris\quad\textsuperscript{101} legendis\quad\textsuperscript{102} id\quad\textsuperscript{103} asseque\quad\textsuperscript{104} pu-\textsuperscript{tuisset,\quad\textsuperscript{105} etiam\quad\textsuperscript{106} cui\quad\textsuperscript{107} pisset.\quad\textsuperscript{108} Non\quad\textsuperscript{109} enim\quad\textsuperscript{110} mea\quad\textsuperscript{111} gratia\quad\textsuperscript{112} familiarita-

3. \textit{Afflictantur} [A frequent. from 'affligo'; 1. dashed to the ground; 2. harassed, grieved.]

4. \textit{Agr\textsuperscript{2} denique[Inf. 9. He says, 'sil\textsuperscript{3} vas\textsuperscript{4} public\textsuperscript{5} as\textsuperscript{6} depopul\textsuperscript{7} atus\textsuperscript{8} erat,\quad\textsuperscript{9} Et-\textsuperscript{10} ruriamque\textsuperscript{11} vexarat,' which may, perhaps, justify the \textit{regret} here noticed.]

5. \textit{Mansuetum} [ 'Manui—assue-\textsuperscript{12} tum;' tamed, quiet, gentle.]

6. \textit{Homo sapiens} [The patience with which Pompey bore this praise excited Cicero's wonder. Fam. iii. 10. Qua ille humanitate tuit meam contentionem pro Milone, adversau-\textsuperscript{13} tem interdum actionibus sui!]

7. \textit{Alta—mente[Polyb. βαθύρας\quad\textsuperscript{14} τῆς\quad\textsuperscript{15} ψυχῆς.\quad\textsuperscript{16} Quint. Profunde\quad\textsuperscript{17} mentioni\textsuperscript{18} s\textsuperscript{19} consistia.\quad\textsuperscript{20} Sall. Altitudinem ingenii. Grav. Al. omit. et divina.]

8. \textit{Reconciliatæ} [Pompey had quarrelled with Clodius on account of his attempt on Tigranes, supr. 7, n. 10, and evinced his enmity by defending Milo, when Clodius accused him, s. v. 697. According to Dio, lib. 39, when Pompey and Cras-\textsuperscript{sus}, contrary to the wishes of the senate, demanded a second consulate, Clodius, whose sinking cause re-\textsuperscript{14} quired the powerful aid of the candi-\textsuperscript{dates, joined their party, and became reconciled to Pompey. They were consuls, the following year. Ma-\textsuperscript{nusat} refers to the reconciliation to an alliance which took place between Pompey's son and Appius Clau-\textsuperscript{dius's daughter. Fam. iii. 4. But these letters were written when Cic. was proconsul of Cilicia, two years after this trial; and there is no evidence of Clodius feeling so interested about the fortunes of his niece. In-\textsuperscript{eed} the ennity of Clodius and Cic. does not seem to have shaken the friendship of Cic. and Appius.—'Reconciliatæ,' q. d. called together again.]

9. \textit{Multa alia[Clc. would have the judges believe that Pompey had weighty reasons—state reasons, no doubt—for the part which he had acted. If he had expected to suc-\textsuperscript{ceed, he should have done more than hint them.]

10. \textit{Atroci\textsuperscript{10} er[From τρόω\textsuperscript{11} comes \textsuperscript{12} ἀρωξ; 1. crude, raw; 2. cruel, harsh. 'Ferre atroci\textsuperscript{10} er,' to enact harshly.]

11. \textit{E florent. ordin.\textsuperscript{13} Supr. 2. Amplissimorum ordinum defectis vi-\textsuperscript{ris; sc. senators, knights, and tri-\textsuperscript{bunes of the treasury.]

12. \textit{Secret\textsuperscript{14} it[Set aside, passed]
tibus continentur, que late patere non possunt, propertea, quod consuetudines victus\textsuperscript{13} non possunt esse cum multis. Sed si quid possamus, ex eo possumus, quod respublica nos con-
junxit cum bonis. Ex quibus ille quem optimos viros lege-
ret, idque maxime ad fidem suam pertinere arbitraretur, non potuit legere non\textsuperscript{14} studiosos mei. Quod vero\textsuperscript{15} te, L. Do-
miti, huic quaestioni præesse maxime voluit, nihil quaesivit
aliud, nisi justitiam,\textsuperscript{16} gravitatem, humanitatem, fidem.—
Tulit, ut consularem necesse esset: credo, quod principum
munus esse ducebat, resistere et levitati multitudinis, et per-
ditorum temeritati. Ex consularibus te creavit\textsuperscript{17} potissimum;
dederas enim,\textsuperscript{18} quam contemneres populares insanas, jam
ab adolescence documenta maxima.

IX. Quamobrem, judices, ut aliquando ad causam cri-
menque veniamus; si neque\textsuperscript{4} omnis confessioni facti est inusi-
tata, neque de causa quidquam nostra aliter, ac nos vellemus,
a senatu judicatum est; et lator ipse legis, quem esset con-
troversia nulla facti, juris tamen disceptationem esse voluit;
et electi judices, isque praepositus quaestioni, qui hæc juste
sapien teraque disceptet: reliquum est, judices, ut nihil jam
aliud quærere debeatis, nisi, uter utri insidias fecerit. Quod
quo facilius argumentis perspicere possitis, rem gestam vobis

over. Seorsum—erno; i. e. κρίνω.
So Att. i. 16. 'Reus—frugalissimum
quemque secernet,' h. e. according
to Forcell. ' seligeret et repudiaret.'
Pompey, in choosing the judges, had
passed by Cicero's intimate friends,
which was adduced, by some, as a
proof of Pompey's hostility to Milo.
He did pass over my intimate ac-
cquaintances (familiares,) says Cic.;
nor is that strange, for they are ne-
necessarily few; but admitting that he
appointed good men, he did not, could
not, pass over my friends and adhe-
rents ('studiosos mei.'

13. Consuetudines victus] This
determines the meaning of 'familia-
res;' sc. those who are in the habit
of meeting in convivial parties.
14. Non patuit—non] Could not
but.
15. Quod vero, &c.] But in that,
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&c.; i. e. Pompey's choosing you
to preside, shows that he was in quest
of no personal enemy of Milo; that
he only wanted, in the president,
justice, &c.

16. Justitiam, &c.] 'Justice' to
acquit the innocent; 'firmness' to
oppose the mob; 'humanity' to par-
don involuntary error; and 'faith'
to judge according to the laws and
his oath. Abram.

17. Creavit] Sc. by proposing it
to the senate, not by his own dic-
tum.

18. Dederas enim] Domitius, in his
prætorship, (A. v. 695,) had opposed
the tribune Manlius, in an attempt to
enfranchise the freedmen. Ascon.—
If this be alluded to, 'adolescentia'
must be taken in its usual extensive
meaning.

Sect. IX.—1. &i neque, &c.] He

K
dum breviter expono,² quæso, diligenter attendite. P. Cloadius, quem statuisset omni scelere in praetura vexare rempublicam, videretque ita tracta esse comitia³ anno superiore, ut non multos menses praeturam gerere posset: qui non honoris gradum spectaret, ut ceteri, sed et L. Paullum⁴ collegam effugere vellet, singulari virtute civem, et annum integrum ad dilacerandam rempublicam⁵ quæreret: subito reliquit annum suum,⁶ seque in annum proximum transtulit, non, ut fit, religione⁷ aliqua, sed ut haberet, quod ipse dicebat, ad præturam gerendum, hoc est, ad evertendam rempublicam plenum annum atque integrum. Occurrebat [ei.] mancam⁶ ac debilem præturam suam futuram, consule Mileone: eum porro summo consensu⁷ populi Romani consulem fieri videbat. Contulit se ad ejus competitores;⁸ sed ita,⁹ to-

recapitulatibus the 'praedicta' supr. 3. n. 3.

3. Tracta esse comitia, &c.] Owing to the bribery and disputes of the candidates, the election of consuls for the year 700 had not taken place when it commenced; and the tribunes, partly from partiality to an interregnum, during which their power was under the least possible control, partly from the wish of having Pompey created dictator, by their cabals, retarded it six months longer. Finally, Domitius Calvinus and Valerius Messala were elected.

4. L. Paullum] Prætor of the previous year, and that wherein Clodius should have been prætor. He was afterwards proscribed by Lepidus, one of the second triumvirates; and is noticed by Sall. (Cat. 31.)
6. Annànum suum] The Lex Villia or Annalis, A. u. 573, was the first which restricted the year for holding the curule offices. By it the edileship was fixed to thirty-seven, the praetorship to forty, and consulship to forty-three. With regard to the quaestorship there is greater uncer-
tainty. Polyb. vi. 17, says, that ten years' service was necessary to qualify for the first magistracy, and allowing the military age to be seventeen, this will give twenty-seven for the quaestorship, and at this age the Gracchi obtained that office. But Cic., who boasts that he obtained every office suo anno, Agr. ii. 2, was quaestor at thirty-one, which age, therefore, appears the most probable. Liv. xxv. 2, and xl. 44. Also, Manut. de legg. c. 6.
7. Non, ut fit, religione] He hints that persons, through religious scruples, resulting from defects in the auspices, occasionally omitted to sue for offices in their proper year. Clodius was not one of these.
8. Mancam] 1. Maimed (properly, in the hand, from 'manus'); 2. imperfect; and 'dèbilem,' (with the first long, being from 'de-hàbilem,') feeble. Lit. un-able 'de' being un, and 'habilis,' able.
9. Summo consensu] Consequently he did not fear his opposition; and, therefore, had no interest in killing him.
11. Sed ita] i. e. Contulit. Com-
tam ut petitionem ipse solus, etiam invitis illis, gubernaret; tota ut comitia suis, ut dictitabant, humeris sustineret. Convocat tribus;\textsuperscript{10} se interponebat;\textsuperscript{11} Collinam\textsuperscript{12} novam delectu perditissimorum civium conscribavit. Quanto ille plura miscebat, tanto hic magis in dies convalesebat. Ubi vidit homo ad omne facinus paratissimus, fortissimum virum, inimicissimum suum, certissimum consulem; idque intelleexit non solum sermonibus, sed etiam suffragiis\textsuperscript{13} populi Romani sæpe esse declaratum: palam agere cœpit, et aperte dicere,\textsuperscript{14} occidentum Milonem. Servos\textsuperscript{15} agrestes et barbaros,\textsuperscript{16} quibus silvas publicas\textsuperscript{17} depopulatus erat, Etruriamque vexaratis ex Apennino deduxerat, quos videbatis. Res erat minime obscura. Etenim palam dictitabant, consulatum Miloni etripi non posse, vitam posse.\textsuperscript{18} Significavit hoc sæpe in se-pare Manil. c. 8. n. 15.

10. Convocat tribus\textsuperscript{10} In early times, when the tribes were few in number, the people were summoned to the comitia centuriata by classes; but when the tribes increased to thirty-five, it was found more convenient to convok the people by tribes, as at the comitia tributa, and then distinguish the tribes into centuries. This accounts for the frequent mention of 'tribes' at the com. centuriata. Vid. Phil. ii. 32.

11. Se interponebat\textsuperscript{11} Either in a general sense, 'became, as it were, a party concerned;' or, as Ern., 'acted as bribing-agent for the candidates.'

12. Collinam\textsuperscript{12} (A collis) relating to a hill, namely, the Quirinal and Viminal, in the vicinity of which lay the 'Collina tribus,' one of the four city tribes. How the formation of a new tribe lay within the compass of a private man like Clodius, or was to influence a public election, does not appear. Perhaps the Colline tribe was conspicuous in the public disturbances, in which respect, if not in voting, the Clodian mob might resemble it. Al. Colo-niam.

13. Suffragiis\textsuperscript{13} The election had been frequently adjourned by the interference of the tribunes, but not till Milo's likelihood of success was manifest. So Cic. 'ter prætor primus renunciatus est.' Manil. 1.

14. Agere—dicere\textsuperscript{14} Manil. c. 1. n. 5.

15. Servos\textsuperscript{15} Clodius had a number of slaves located on his estates in Etruria and in the Appenines, whom he had summoned to Rome from time to time, to assist him in his enterprises. He had, no doubt, been found, too, a troublesome neighbour in the country. The Appenines run the whole length of Italy, from the Alps in Liguria to Leucopetra, a promontory of Rhe-gium. Phil. i. 3.

16. Barbaros\textsuperscript{16} Nullis studiis ad humanitatem expoliti. Abram. Comp. Marcel. 3. 'Gentes immanitate barbaras.'

17. Silvas publicas\textsuperscript{17} Comp. Manil. c. 6. n. 16, whence it would appear, that these were 'pastures farmed by the republic.'

18. Vitam posse\textsuperscript{18} Yet Cic. says, Att. iv. 3. 'Nisi ante [Clodius] occisus erit, fore a Milone puto.'
natus: dixit\(^{19}\) in concione. Quin etiam Favonio,\(^{20}\) fortissimo viro, quaerenti ex eo, qua spe fureret, Milone vivo, respondit, triduo illum, aut\(^{21}\) summum quatriduo, peritum: quam vecem ejus ad hunc M. Catonem statim Favonius detulit.

X. Interim\(^1\) quem sciet Clodius, (neque enim erat difficile scire)\(^2\) iter sollemne,\(^3\) legitimum, necessarium, ante diem\(^4\) xiii. Kalendas Februearias Milone esse Lanuvium

19. *Significavit—dixit* Cic. points out the difference, Or. i. 26. 'Significare' inter se dicuntur, qui sibi innuunt, &c.

20. *Favonio*] This celebrated imitator of Cato, (\(\epsilon\nu\alpha\rho\omega\rho\iota\gamma\iota\ K\alpha\rho\omega\nu\omega\) Plut.,) suffered among the proscribed during the second triumvirate. Suet. Aug. 13.


Sect. X.—I. *Interim*] Inter-im; i.e. inter eam rem. *Im*, the regular accus. termination from is, only used in adverbial forms, e.g. fatim, partim, &c.

2. *Neque enim—scire*] Because the Lanuvians had a community of rites with the Romans. Liv. viii.

14. 'Ut ædes lucusque Sospita Junonis communis Lanuvinis municipibus cum pop. Rom. esset,' Lanuvium was a town in Latium, about one hundred stadia from Rome, now called Citta Indovina.' Muren. 41. Liv. xi. 19. xxii. 1.

3. *Sollemne*] Or 'solemn,' from 'solus,' in the sense of 'anus,' and 'annus;' yearly, as opposed to biennial, triennial, &c. Afterwards more generally, 'at stated times.'

4. *Ante diem, &c.*] 'The twentieth of January.' The Roman calendar agreed with ours in the number of months and days in each month; but differed in the mode of reckoning. For, instead of simply dating from the first of the month, consecutively, they fixed upon three days, pointed out, no doubt, by the ceremonies of their religion, to which all the others were referred. These were the ca-

lends, or first; the ides, or thirteenth; and the nones, or fifth. [In March, May, July and October, whose initials make OMMI, the ides were on the fifteenth, and nones on the seventh. The calends were so called from 'calare,' to proclaim, it being usual for the pontifex, before the calendar was reduced to writing, to proclaim on that day whether the nones were on the fifth or seventh. (Varr. L.L. v. 4.) The ides, from 'iduare,' to divide, nearly halved the month.—So Hor. 'Idus tibi sunt agendas, Qui dies mensem Veneris marinae, Findit Aprilis.' The nones were probably introduced after the ides, by which they were regulated. For reckoning back, inclusively, from the ides, we find 'nono idus' answering to the fifth, (on the months excepted above, to the seventh,) which was hence called 'nonae.' [Horace, however, says, 'octonis referentes idibus Æra;' i.e. falling the eighth day after the nones; so that he did not recognise the ancient form, 'nono idus.' As to the mode of dating, calendæ, nonæ, and idus, were put in the abl., followed by the name of the month, either agreeing as an adj. or governed as a subst. [Adam excepts 'Aprilis' as being always a subst.; but Hor. says, 'Mensem Aprilem;'] Ovid. Fast. iv. 621, 'idus Apriles,' and Cic. (vid. Coop. Thes.) 'calendis Aprilibus.'] The date of the other days was determined by their position in reference to the standard days. Thus, if the given day preceded the nones,
flaminem prodendum,\textsuperscript{5} quod erat dictator\textsuperscript{6} Lanuvii Milo; Roma subito ipse profectus pridie est, ut ante suum fundum\textsuperscript{7} (quod re\textsuperscript{8} intellectum est) Miloni insidias collocaret. Atque ita profectus est, ut concionem\textsuperscript{9} turbulentam, in qua ejus furor desideratus est, quae illo ipso die habita est, relinquaret; quam, nisi obire\textsuperscript{10} facinoris locum tempusque voluisset, nunquam reliquisset. Milo autem\textsuperscript{11} quum in senatu fuisset it was subtracted from the nonal number, increased by one (because they reckoned inclusively,) and the remainder was the day—ante nonas.\textsuperscript{2} Similarly, before the ides; but after the ides, it was subtracted from the number of days in the month, increased by two; one, as reckoning inclusively, and one for the calends of the following month. The remainder was the day—ante calendas mensis sequent. Thus, the 2nd of Jan. is '4\textsuperscript{th} ante nonas; the 6th, is 8\textsuperscript{th} ante idus; and the 14th is 19\textsuperscript{th} (unde vigesimo) ante cal. Febri.

And here note, 1. That the complete form 'tertio (e.g.) die ante cal. non. or idus' is written shortly 'tert. cal. &c.' 2. That by a transposition of ante, 'ante diem tert. cal. &c.' is usual. This transposition is either from 'tertio die ante cal.' with a change of case, as 'paullo post—post paulum;' or from 'tertium die ante cal.,' without any change, the time when being sometimes put in the accus. The transposition itself may be owing to an ambiguity in 'tertio cal.,' which being resolvable either by ante or post, is thus rendered determinate. 3. That 'ante diem' is often preceded by ex or in; in which case 'ante diem, is to be considered a compound phrase equivalent to 'the current or uncompleted day,' and is governed as a substantive. So Att. iii. 17. 'Ex. ante diem non. Jun.' from the 5th of June; Cat. i. 3. 'In ante diem quint. Cal. Nov.' against the 28th of October. 4. 'Secundo Cal. non., &c.' is displaced by 'pridie cal. &c.' [Cic., however, pro Quint. 6, writes 'ante diem secundum Cal. Febr.'].
eo die, quoad senatus dimissus est, domum venit; calceos\textsuperscript{11} et vestimenta\textsuperscript{12} mutavit; paullisper, dum se uxor,\textsuperscript{13} ut fit, comparat, commoratus est; deinde profectus est id temporis,\textsuperscript{14} quum jam Clodius, si quidem eo die Romanum venturus erat, redire potuisset. Obviam fit ei Clodius, expeditus,\textsuperscript{15} in equo, nulla rheda,\textsuperscript{16} nullis impedimentis, nullis Græcis comitibus,\textsuperscript{17} ut solebat; sine uxorore,\textsuperscript{18} quod nunquam fere: quum hic insidiatorem,\textsuperscript{19} qui iter illud ad cædendam apparasset, cum uxor evehet in rheda, pænulatus, magno et impedito,\textsuperscript{20} ac mullebri et delicato\textsuperscript{21} ancillarum\textsuperscript{22} puerorumque comitatu. Fit obviam Clodio ante fundum\textsuperscript{23} ejus, hora fere

11. Calceos, &c.] The shoes of the senator were peculiar. For Cic. Phil. xiii. 13, describing one Asinius becoming a 'volunteer senator,' says, 'calceos mutavit. Pater consec. repente factus est.' According to Rubenus, (de re vest.) the patrician senators, alone, wore the Luna, or letter C, (the initial of 'centum,' the original number of 'patres,') fixed to the front of the shoe, (hence, Juv. vii. 192. 'Adpositam nigrae lunam subexit alutae,' while the others had thongs, or straps of black leather, which braced it up to the calf of the leg. So Hor. Sat. i. 6. 27—'nigris medium impediti crusi Pellibus,' where he takes 'pellibus' to mean merely the thongs noted above, as the shoes were of various colours, and some gilt or embroidered.

12. Vestimenta] Sc. his 'toga' and 'latus clavus.' These and the 'calcei' were always replaced, on travelling, with the 'pænula,' or 'lacerna,' and 'perones,' or 'gallicae. Vid. Phil. ii. 30.

13. Uxor] Fausta, the daughter of Sylla, the dictator.


15. Expeditus] A metaphor. from military affairs. Soldiers unincumbered with baggage, (impedimentum,) equipped for the march or battle, were called 'expediti.'

16. Rheda] A four-wheeled vehicle of Gallic origin, so called, says Voss, from reden or ryden, in Eng. 'to ride.' It differed from the 'cismium,' which was two-wheeled, and from the 'essedum,' which was, properly, a war-chariot. Phil. ii. 24.

17. Græcis comitibus] These were learned foreigners, generally Asiaties, whom the wealthy patronised and maintained in their families; as the Luculli did Archias. Arch. 2. Pis. 28. These were replaced by the 'studiosa cohos' in the Augustan age, and afterwards degenerated into mere flatterers and parasites. Juv. iii. 69. Graculus esuriens, &c. Seut. Aug. 89. Tiber. 56.

18. Sine uxorore.] Fulvia, subsequently wife of Curio and Antony. Phil. ii. 5.


20. Impedito] Al. impedimento, which Orel. objects to have placed in the song.


22. Ancillarum] The female slaves. 'Anculi' were the slaves of the gods, as Ganymede, Hebe, &c. Hence the dimin. 'ancillus.' 'Puerorum,' the male slaves.

23. Fundum ejus] In Albano. Inf.
undecima, aut non multo secus. Statim complures cum telis in hunc faciunt de loco superiore impetum; adversi rhedarium occidunt. Quum autem hic de rheda, rejecta panula, desiluisset, sequae acri animo defenderet; illi, qui erant cum Clodio, gladiis eductis, partim recurrere ad rhedam, ut a tergo Milonem adorirentur; partim, quod hunc jam interfutum putarent, caedere incipiant ejus servos, qui post erant; ex quibus, qui animo fideli in dominum et presenta fuerunt, partim occisi sunt, partim, quum ad rhedam pugnari viderent, et domino succurrere prohiberentur, Milonem occisum et ex ipso Clodio audirent, et re vera putarent; fecerunt id servi Milonis, (dicam enim non derivandi criminis causa, sed ut factum est,) neque imperante, neque sciente, neque presente domino, quod suos quisque servos in tali re facere voluisset.

XI. Hæc, sicut exposui, ita gesta sunt, judices: insidior superatus, vi victa vis, vel potius oppressa virtute audacia diius happened to be, fell in with the attendants of Milo, that were in the rear of the carriage ('qui post erant,' and therefore nearer the Clodian body,) by whom Clodius was killed. 27. Recurrere] The infin. depending upon 'incipiunt' inf.' The historians generally leave it absolute. 28. Presenti] Sc. contra periculum; undaunted. 29. Revera] Al. ita esse. 30. Fecerunt id, &c.] A periphrasis and euphemism. Similarly Dem. in Mid. ὅπερ ἄν ὑμῶν ἑκαστος υπεραπέπειτο πραξεῖ τῷ τε ἀντὸς ἰποῖσα. 31. Derivandi] 'Derivare' is, 1. to draw water down, or away from its natural channel; 2. turn upon another. Tr. 'not with the view of laying the blame elsewhere.' 32. Præsentæ] Hottom. says, 'præsens erat corpore, non animo.' But, vid. supra, n. 27, where it will appear that Milo was engaged with the first party that attacked his driver in front, when Clodius was slain by his slaves in the rear.
est. Nihil dico, quid respublica consecuta sit: nihil, quid vos: nihil, quid omnes boni. Nihil sane id prosit Miloni, qui hoc fato natus est, ut ne se quidem servare potuerit, quin una rempublicam vosque servaret. Si id jure non posset, nihil habeo quod defendam. Sin hoc et ratio docet, et necessitas barbaris, et mos gentibus, et feris natura ipsa praecepsit, ut omnem semper vim, quacunque ope possent, a corpore, a capite, a vita sua propulsarent: non potestis hoc facinus improbum judicare, quin simul judicetis, omnibus, qui in latrones inciderint, aut illorum telis, aut vestris sententii esse pereundum. Quod si ita putasset; certe optabilius Miloni fuit dare jugulum P. Clodio, non semel ab illo, neque tum primum petitum, quam jugulari a vobis, quia se illi non jugulandum tradidisset. Sin hoc nemo vestrum ita sentit; illud jam in judicium venit, non, occisusne sit, quod fatemur; sed jure, an injuria; quod multis in causis sepe quæsitum est. Insidias factas esse constat: et id est, quod senatus contra rempublicam factum judicavit: ab utro factæ sint, incertum est. De hocigitur latum est, ut quæreretur. Ita et senatus rem, non hominem, notavit et Pompeius de jure, non de facto, quæestionem tuli.

Sect. XI.—1. Nihil dico] The ingenuity of Cic. in enumerating, while he professes to omit, the advantages likely to accrue from the death of Clodius, is noticed by Quint., iv. 5. It appears from Asconius's preface that this ground of defence was taken by M. Brutus who wrote, though he did not speak, a speech on the subject. Supr. 2, n. 20.


3. Si id jure] If the principle of self-defence is inadmissible.

4. Ratio, &c.] These fountains of law are appropriately referred. For 'reason' properly belongs to those who have improved their powers; the uncultivated are the slaves of 'necessity': nations are subservient to 'custom,' while the lower animals are directed by 'mere instinct.'

5. Quin simul] Without at the same time deciding.

6. Quod si] i. e. 'If he had imagined there was no alternative between the dagger of Clodius and the sentence of the judges, he would have preferred the former, as less dishonourable to you.'

7. Fuit] Ern. juisset. "In regard of the phrases, 'par, æquum, optabilius est, &c.,' the Latin idiom speaks of the propriety, advantage, &c., as something actual, in the indicative mood, though the circumstances which would have realized it, never took place; the English, in such cases, use a potential." Zumpt's L. Gram. p. 295.


9. Notavit] Notare is, 1. to mark; 2. (in malam partem) to
XII. Numquid igitur aliud in judicium venit, nisi, uter utri insidias fecerit? Profecto nihil; si hic illi,\(^1\) ut ne sit impune; si ille huic, tum nos\(^2\) scelere solvamur. Quonam igitur pacto\(^3\) probari potest, insidias Miloni fecisse Clodium? Satis est quidem in illa tam audaci, tam nefaria bellua docere, magnam ei causam, magnam spem in Milonis morte propositam, magnas utilitatesuisse. Itaque illud Cassianum,\(^4\) cui bono fuerit, in his personis\(^5\) valeat: etsi boni\(^7\) nullo emolumento\(^8\) impelluntur in fraudem, improbis sce- ris nihil facere posset: sed etiam, ut iis consulibus prae tor esset, quibus si non adjuvabantibus, at convinentibus certe, speraret, posse se rempublicam\(^10\) eludere in illis suis cogitationibus: cujus illi\(^11\) conatus, ut ipse ratiocinabatur, nec, si possent, reprimere cuperent, quum tantum benefici\(^12\) ei se debere arbitrarentur; et, si vellent, fortasse vix possent frangere hominis sceleratissimis corroborationem\(^13\) jam vetustate audaciam. An vero, judices,\(^14\) vos soli ignoratis, vos hos censoria. This latter sense was at first proper to the censors; afterwards to any judge, or body of judges, as the senate. Cluent. 42. 47. Supr. 6. Hor. Sat. i. 3. 24. ‘dignusq; notari.’ Also, Sat. i. 4. 5. ‘Si quis, &c.—multa cum libertate notabant.’

Sect. XIX.—1. Si hic illi, &c.] Throughout the whole oration ‘hic’ is applied to Milo; ‘ille’ to Clodius.

2. Tum nos\(^1\) i. e. Ut nos scelere solvamur.

3. Quonam igitur pacto, &c.] His first proof, which occupies this and the following section is, that Clodius would have gained by the death of Milo, and vice versa.

4. Illud Cassianum] L. Cassius was so remarkable for his strictness as a judge, that Val. Max. (iii. 7.) says, ‘Ejus tribunal scopulos reorum diece- batur.’ When appointed, says Ascon., to judge the vestal virgins, of whom L. Metellus had condemned only one, Æmilia, and acquitted Marcia and Licinia; he condemned them also, along with several others.

5. Cui bono] i. e. ‘Cui profuerit;’ the double dative on ‘fuerit.’ This was the usual question of Cassius. Phil. ii. 14.

6. Personis] Arch. 2. n. 10.


10. Remp.] Omitted by Orel.


13. Corroborationem] Metaph. from trees, which are hard in proportion to their age.

14. An vero judices, &c.] A splendid amplification of this plain proposition; ‘Clodius was about to
enact pernicious laws in his prætorship, were Milo dead.' Quint. ix. 2.

15. *Hospites* ετέρος—sojourners. Perhaps it is connected with ἔτος, from ἔτερα; a heath. It differs from 'advena,' and 'peregrinus,' in supposing an acquaintance or intimacy, which they do not.

16. *Peregrinantur aures* These questions imply a charge of ignorance, arising from negligence as to what is passing around us.

17. *Inusturus* Supposing Clodius a tyrant, then he might be said to brand his laws on the Romans, as his slaves. Pis. 13. Lex...*Inusta per servos.*


19. *Librarium*] An adj. with 'loculamentum;' understood; a book-case. To show the quantity of these laws, he desires him to exhibit, not the parchments, but the chest containing them.

19. *Nocturna* For the body of Clodius was brought to Rome late in the evening; and Sextus lost no time in bringing forth from Clodius's house, which was beset with armed crowds collected round the dead body, this trophy of his master's victory over the constitution.

20. *Palladium* This was an image of Pallas, which originally belonged to Troy; from which it was removed by Ulysses or Diomedes.—How it came to Rome does not appear, but it was placed in the temple of Vesta, from the flames of which Metellus had rescued it. Juv. iii. 139. Sextus exhibited equal anxiety about Clodius's laws.

21. *Instrumentum* An apparatus for carrying on a tribuneship; se. a transcript of all such laws as a bad tribune could turn to the destruction of the state.

21. *Atque—reprehensio est* This passage, included in brackets, is restored by Orel. and others, from Quint. ix. 2; and Schol. Ambros. Ad Orat. pro aer. alien. Mil. p. 97. *Ed. Maii.* It refers to Clodius's infamous law about enfranchising the freedmen. Inf. 32. 'Incidebantur domi leges, quæ nos nostris servis adierent.' Also 33. *Lege nova, &c.*


23. *Qui in libert. morar.* i. e. Were libertini.
ne dicam console? De nostrum enim omnium\textsuperscript{24}—non audeo totum dicere. Videte, quid ea vitii lex habitura fuerit, cujus periculosa etiam reprehensio est.] Et adspexit\textsuperscript{25} me illis quidem oculis, quibus tum\textsuperscript{26} solebat, quum omnibus omnia minabatur. Movet me quippe lumen curiae!

XIII. Quid? tu me iratum, Sexte, putas tibi, cujus tu inimicissimum multo crudelius etiam punitus es, quam erat humanitatis meae postulare? Tu P. Clodii cruentum\textsuperscript{1} cader ver ejecisti domo;\textsuperscript{2} tu in publicum abjecisti: tu spoliatus imaginibus,\textsuperscript{3} essequii,\textsuperscript{4} pompa, laudatione, infelicissimis lignis\textsuperscript{5} semustulatum,\textsuperscript{6} nocturnis canibus\textsuperscript{7} dilaniandum reli-

24. \textit{De—omnium—non audeo}] If the MS. here is complete, as it seems, there is an \textit{aposiopesis}, which may be variously supplied. Referring \textit{enim} to \textit{hujus legis}, preceding, it may be, ‘\textit{salute extingueda, \&c., \&c.’—

But I dare not dwell on it fully lest I rouse the vengeance of his party.— Hence he adds ‘cujus periculosa etiam reprehensio.’ Other methods will suggest themselves.

25. \textit{Et asperit me}] Cic., in order to give his address an \textit{extempore} air, turns round to the senate, and remarks, that S. Clodius appears, from his looks, to be displeased. ‘Forsooth, that talented individual, that luminary of the senate, claims my attention; I, therefore, must explain.’

‘Quid? tu me, \&c.’ The commentators notice a ‘jocus in ambiguo’ in ‘lumen curiae’ for Sextus had set on fire the senate-house. Perhaps the ‘jocus’ consists rather in calling the vile tool of a seditious tribune ‘lumen curiae,’ an illustrious senator, the burning of the senate-house being an unlikely subject for Cic. to jest upon. [This note was written before Orellius’s edition was seen, and though it is probable that there is a farther ‘lacuna,’ it did not seem necessary to alter it.]

26. \textit{Tum—cum}] Sc. in the tribunESHIP of P. Clodius, when Sextus was the willing instrument of all the injuries inflicted on Cicero.


2. \textit{Ejecisti domo}] When the corpse of Clodius was brought home, Sextus did not ‘compose’ and then bury it. ‘Ejecisti’ and ‘abjecisti’ are chosen to express the carelessness and contempt with which he treated the corpse of his patron. Against this, Ulpian says, that an action lay: ‘Injuriarium fore actionem adversus eum qui ejectit. Hor. i. 8. Huc prius angustis ejecta cadavera cellis.’

3. \textit{Spoliatum imaginibus}] Which (Plin. xxxv. 2.) were preserved in the halls of noble families, and brought out on such occasions. Juv. Sat. viii.

4. \textit{Essequii}] A following to the grave; funeral procession, which ‘pompa,’ also here signifies, and is therefore, only amplificatory.

5. \textit{Infelicissimis lignis}] ‘Infelices arbores’ are those which are dedicated to the infernals. They are either barren, or bear black fruit.—Macrob. ii. 16. But the wood generally employed in funeral piles was fir, pine, cleft oak, \&c., together with balsam, mummy, and other perfumed woods. The body of Clodius, however, was burned with the benches, tables, \&c. of the senate-house, which he emphatically calls ‘infelicissima.’ So Catul. (Ep. 37.) devotes the writings of a sorry poet, ‘Infelici-
quisi. Quare\(^8\) etsi nefarie\(^9\) fecisti, tamen, quoniam in meo
inimico crudelitatem expromsisti tuam, laudare non possum,
irasci certe non debeo. [Demonstravi,\(^10\) judices, quantum
Clodii interfuerit occidi Milonem; convertite animos nunc
vicissim ad Milonem. Quid Milonis intererat interfici
Clodium? Quid erat, cur Milo, non dicam admitteret, sed
optaret? Obstabat in spe consulatus Miloni Clodiuss. At
eo repugnante\(^11\) fiebat; immo vero, eo fiebat magis, nec me
suffragatore meliore utebatur, quam Clodio. Valebat apud
vos, judices, Milonis erga me remque publicam meritorum
memoria; valebant preces et lacrimae nostrae, quibus ego tum
vos mirifice moveri sentiebam, sed plus multo valebat peri-
culorum impendientium timor. Quis enim erat civium qui
sibi solutam\(^12\) P. Clodii præturan\(^13\) sine maximo rerum no-
varum metu proponeret? Solutam autem] fore videbatis,

bus usulanda dignis,'

6. Semust.] Al. semistulatun.—Phil. ii. 36. So ‘semi’ becomes, in
effect, ‘sem’ before a vowel in Juv.
iv. 27. Qum jam semianimum la-
ceraret Flavius orbem.

7. Nocturnis canibus] From the
times of Homer this has been a cir-
cumstance of aggravation...a

8. Quare] Al. quam rem.

9. Nefarie] Al. necessario, as if
Sext. Clod. could not help abandon-
ing the dead body, owing to the
dangers arising from the burning
senate-house. But, admitting this,
it is evident that an action done
through necessity, is the object nei-
ther of praise nor anger. Gray,
therefore adopted ‘nefarie,’ ‘quia
nefarie credebatur facere qui homi-
nem spoliabat funere ac exequisi.—
But where is the opposition between,
‘although you acted like a villain,’
and ‘yet I cannot praise you’?—
Either then take ‘laudare non pos-
sum’ parenthetically, ‘yet (while I
cannot praise your conduct);’ or

arrange with Enn., ‘quare, etsi, quia
nefarie fecisti, laudare non possum,
tamen quoniam in meo, &c....irasci
certe non debes.’ Wherefore, although
because you acted the villain I can-
not commend you, yet, &c. This
Schutz adopts.

10. Demons.] Sc. Supr. 12. ‘At-
qui, Milone interfecsto, &c.’ This
supplement included in brackets, is
taken from the Taurinian palimpsest
except the words in italics, supplied
by Peyronius and better by Bierius
Auditis, judicis, quantum Clodio pro-
feruit. Those who prefer the usual
text may read after non debeo, (omiti-
ng the bracketed passage,) P. Clodii
præturan non sine maximo rerum no-
varum metu proponi, et solutam, &c.

11. Eo repugnante] Clodio. For
the election had proceeded so far as
that all the tribes were polled. Inf.
35. ‘populi cunctis suffragiis—se
consulem declaratum.’

12. Preturam] He had digressed
from this at ‘An vero, judices, &c.’
above.

13. Solutam] (Explained by ‘con-
stringere’) ‘was likely to break
through every restraint.’
nisi esset is consul, qui cum auderet possetque constrin- 
gere. Eum Milonem unum esse, quem sentiret universus po-
pulus Romanus, quis dubitaret sufragio suo se metu, pericu-
culo rempublicam liberare? At nunc Cludio remoto, 
usitatis jam rebus extitendum est Miloni, ut tueatur digni-
tatem suam. Singularis illa, et huic uni concessa gloria, 
et quae quotidie augebatur frangendis furoribus Clodianis, 
jam Clodii morte cecidit. 

Vos adopti estis, ne quem civem "materiem.' 

1. Is—qui] i.e. 'Talis—qualis.' 
2. At quae] Al. At non. But 
3. Cic. means that hitherto, Milo had a 
4. strong claim on the favour of the 
5. good by his opposing Clod.; now, 
6. however, that being removed, he must 
7. adopt the usual methods of obtaining 
8. popular favour. Therefore he was a 
9. loser by the death of Clodius. 

10. Quint. viii. 6, where he treats 'de 
11. egregiis metaphoris.' 
12. At valuit, &c.] But you will 
13. say, &c. The second argument. 


15. Fontem perennem] Cited by 


18. source, origin ; which is also the 

19. meaning of 'materiem.' Sall. Cat. 

20. Civile] (Opposed to 'hostile,' 

21. 'internecivum') becoming citizens 

22. against citizens; moderate, proper. 

23. Ille, erat] There was reason 

24. that he should hate, &c. Perhaps 

25. illi erat would be a preferable read- 

26. ing. 

27. Defensorem, &c.] Cic. speci- 

28. fies three causes of enmity: 1. Milo, 

29. as tribune, had assisted in the recall 

30. of Cic. from exile; 2. he had op- 

31. posed the Clodian mob in their at- 

32. tacks on the city; 3. he had accused 

33. Clodius. 

34. Lege Plotia] Sc. de vii. M. 

35. Plotius Silvanus was the colleague 

36. of Carbo, noticed Arch. 5. Milo 

37. had charged Clodius with assault- 

38. ing the workmen at Cicero's house, 

39. which was rebuilding at the public 

40. expense.
dius, quoad vixit. Quo tandem animo hoc tyrannum tulisse creditis? quantum odium illius? et in homine injusto, quam etiam justum?

XIV. Reliquum est, ut jam illum natura ipsius consue-tudoque defendet, hunc autem haec eadem coarguunt. Nihil per vim unquam Clodus, omnia per vin Milo. Quid ergo, judices? quum, mæorentibus vobis, urbe cessi, judiciumme timui? non servos, non arma, non vim? Quae fuisset igitur causa justa restituenti mei, nisi fuisset injusta, ejiciendi? Diem mihi, credo, dixerat; multam irrogarat; actionem perduellionis intenderat: et mihi videlicet in causa, aut mala, aut mea, non et praeclarissima et vestra, judicium timendum fuit. Servorum et egentium civium et facinororum armis meos cives, meis consiliis periculisque servatos, pro me objici nolui. Vidi enim, vidi, hunc ipsum Q. Hortensium, lumen et ornamentum reipublicae, pæne interfici servorum manu, quum mihi adesset: qua in turba C. Vibienus, senator, vir optimus, cum hoc quum ex-


26. Et in homine injusto] And notwithstanding the injustice of Clodium, how fair and well-grounded?

Sect. XIV.—1. Reliquum est, &c.] Having argued, 1. from the ‘cui bono’; 2. from personal hatred; he now urges the natural disposition of the parties; and shows that his client was always obedient to the laws; Clodius, always turbulent.—The third argument.

2. Nihil per vim] Ironically.

3. Urbe cessi] The day before Clodium’s act against Cic. passed, he went into voluntary exile. ‘Mæorentibus vobis,’ alludes to the senators having put on mourning; and ‘servos—arma’ to the Clodian mob, who followed Cic. wherever he went, ridiculing his mourning garb.

4. Diem mihi, credo, dixerat, &c.] He had not followed any of the regular processes against Cic. ‘Diem dicere,’ the proper phrase as applied to Clodius, then a tribune.

5. Multam irrogare] Is, when a tribune applies to the people to impose a fine.

6. Perduellionis] ‘Perduellis,’ the old word for ‘hostis’—afterwards restricted to ‘an enemy of the state.’ Hence ‘Perduellio,’ treason; which, in this case, was Cicero’s putting the conspirators to death without trial. ‘Intendere’ is a law term, ‘meaning to bring a charge against.’

7. Aut mala aut mea] Al. aut vestra mala, aut mea nec praeclarissima. The irony is continued: ‘As if, forsooth, in a cause either bad or mine, and not both most excellent and yours, &c.’


9. Q. Hortensium] Manil. 17. n. 2. When Cic. was accused by Clod. it was proposed, by the senate, that the Roman people should go into mourning. This was opposed by the consuls, Gabinius and Piso; and some of the senators on leaving the
set una, ita est muleatus\textsuperscript{10}, ut vitam amiserit. Itaque quando illius postea sica illa, quam a Catilina\textsuperscript{11} acceperat, conquievit? Hæc intentata nobis est; huic ego vos objici pro me non sum passus; hæc insidiata Pompeio\textsuperscript{12} est; hæc istam Appiam [viam,] monumentum sui nominis, nece Papirii\textsuperscript{13} cruentavit; hæc, hæc eadem, longo intervallo,\textsuperscript{14} conversa rursus est in me; nuper quidem, ut scitis, me ad regiam\textsuperscript{15} pene confect. Quid simile Milonis? cujus vis omnis hæc semper fuit, ne P. Clodius, quum in judicium detrahi non posset, vi oppressam civitatem teneret. Quem si interficer voluisset, quantæ, quoties occasiones, quam præclare fuerunt? Potuitne, quum domum ac deos penates\textsuperscript{16} suos, illo oppugnante, defenderet, jure se ulcisci ? potuitne, cive egregio et viro fortissimo, P. Sextio,\textsuperscript{17} collega suo, vulnerato? potuitne, Q. Fabricio\textsuperscript{18} viro optimo, quum de reditu suo legem ferret, pulso, crudeüssima in foro caede facta ? potuitne, L. Caecilli,\textsuperscript{19} justissimi fortissimique praetoris, oppugnata domo? potuitne illo die, quum est lata lex de me?\textsuperscript{20} quum totius Italicæ\textsuperscript{21} concursus, quem mea salus concitarat, facti illius gloriam lubens agnovisset: ut, etiam si id Milo fecisset, cuncta civitas eam laudem pro sua vindicaret? 

*house were abused by the mob, among whom were Hortensius and Vibius. So Plut. Cic. 29; but Cicero, Sext. 11, says that it was its own change of habit the senate decreed. The knights had done so of their own accord.


11. Cat.] Whose early friend he had been. *Introd.* 2.


13. *Papirii* *Supr.* 7. n. 10.

14. *Longo intervallo* Cic. had been exiled in Macedonia, between the attacks.

15. *Ad regiam* *Att.* iv. 3. 'Cum Sacra Via descendere, incestus est me cum suis: clamor, lapides, fustes, gladii, hæc improvisa omnia.'

'Regia,' *sc. domus*, which some suppose the palace of Numa; others, of Ancus Martius; others, of the Pontifex Max., was on the Via Sacra.

16. *Domum ac deos penates* *Att.* iv. 3. This attack was made at eleven o'clock in the day, and defeated by a vigorous sally of Milo's friends under the command of Q. Flaccus.

17. P. *Sextio* He was colleague of Milo in his tribuneship. In Sext. 39, it appears that he received twenty wounds in the affray.

18. Q. *Fabricio* Another colleague of Milo's.

19. L. *Caecilli* *Prator* in the year of Cicero's return. Of this attack on his house, &c., nothing is known. In Sen. p. Red. 9.

20. *Lex de me* *Pis.* 15. De me legem tuit P. Lentulus consul de collegæ Q. Metelli sententia.

21. *Cum totius Italicæ* *Pis.* 22. A Brundisio usque Romam agmen
 XV. At quod erat tempus?¹ Clarissimus et fortissimus consul, inimicus Clodio, P. Lentulus,² ultor sceleris illius, propugnator senatus, defensor vestrae voluntatis, patronus illius publici consensus, restitutor salutis meae; septem praetores,³ octo tribuni⁴ plebis, illius adversarii, defensores mei; Cn. Pompeius⁵ auctor et dux mei reeditus, illius hostis: cujus sententiam senatus omnis de salute mea gravissimam et ornatissimam secutus est; qui populum Romanum est cohortatus;⁶ qui, quum decretum de me Capuae⁷ fecit, ipse cunctæ Italicæ cupienti et ejus fidem imploranti signum⁸ deedit, ut ad me restituendum Romam concurrerent; omnia tum denique in illum odia civium ardebit desiderio mei; quem [si] qui tum interemisset, non de impunitate ejus, sed de premiis cogitaretur. Tamen se Milo continuit, et P. Clodio in judicium bis,⁹ ad vim nunquam vocavit. Quid? privato Milone,¹⁰ et reo ad populum, accusante P. Clodio, quum in Cn. Pompeium pro Milone dicentem impetus factus est: qua tum non modo occasio, sed etiam causa¹¹ illius

perpetuum totius Italicæ viderem.— All these, had Milo slain Clodius, would have claimed the glory of the deed.

Sect. XV.—1. At quod erat temp.] Supply id quo; that in which. Al. Atque erat id temp.  
3. Septem Praetores] There was one exception. Appius Claudius. Pis. 15.  
4. Octo tribuni] There were two on Clodius’s side, Q. Attil. Serranus, and Num. Quintius. Pis. 15. Sext. 33.  
5. Cn. Pompeius] Pis. 15. Pompey had suffered Cic. to be banished as a punishment for his vanity; but finding that Clodius, presuming too much on his popularity, began to think himself a match for the triumvirate, he recalled Cic. in order to keep him in check.  
7. Decretum Capuae] Pompey had been appointed, by the Julian law, one of the Duumviri for governing the new colony at Capua; in right of which office he made this decree. Pis. 11. In Sen. p. Red. 11.  
8. Signum] Properly, the sound of the trumpet; the watch-word. Sall. Cat. 62. Signa canunt. Virg. vii. 637, it bello tessera signum. ‘Signum dedit,’ gave the signal to convene, &c.  
9. Judicium bis] Once, before the return of Cic., which was prevented by the praetor Appius, and tribune Serranus. Sext. 41. A second time, after his return, which was not completed before Clodius’s death. Supr. 13. n. 24.  
10. Privato Milone] As soon as Milo ceased to be tribune, he was accused, in turn, by Clodius, now adile, and defended by Pompey, Crassus, and Cicero. Pompey, notwithstanding the continued clamour and abuse of the Clodian mob, spoke for nearly three hours. Q. Fr. ii. 3. Sext. 44. Introd. 3.  
11. Etiam causa] Sc. to defend
PRAESERTIM, Quum Nuper the a quum qui vosrupisset, loco, luit liberet. dein in didisset, sua tales, irretitam pisset, it fame. with tribe, Cic. llescens tos inspier plentia. Cicero’s librarian num under must only structing dius saeus. 12. occurred 13. XVI. 15. bring 16. Campo 17. 18. invidia^ 19. Nobilissimus] Phil. i. 12. 14. Laqueos—irretitam] Borrowed from hunting. 15. Scalaram tenebras] Tabernae librariae. Phil. ii. 9.; a stair-case. 16. Magnum Miloni] Hor. ‘Magnum fecit,’ a great exploit. We must suppose Antony to be acting under the direction of Milo, who had only to give him the hint, and Clodius would have been slain. 17. Comitii] When he was obstructing the election of Milo, and favouring that of Scipio and Hypsaeus. 18. Septa] These were two en- closures in the Campus Martius, (called, also, Ovilia) one, for the people to assemble in to vote; the other, for the magistrates, and the officers. They were connected by bridges (pontes), by which the electors passed to give their votes. 18. Ad Tiberim] For the Campus Martius was washed by that river. 20. Vota faceretis] So inf. 28. ‘Vota enim faceretis ut, &c.’ 21. Uti virtute] Exert his brave- ry; a euphem. for ‘slay Clodius.’ 22. Pro T. ANNIO MILONE, CAP. 16. 113 opprimendi fuit? Nuper vero quam M. Antonius12 summam spem salutis bonis omnibus attulisset, gravissimamque adolescens nobilissimus13 reipublicae partem fortissime suscepisset, atque illum bellum, judicii laqueos declinantem, jam irretitam14 teneret: qui locus, quod tempus illud, dii immortalis, fuit? Quum se ille fugiens in scalarum tenebras15 abdidisset, magnum Miloni16 fuit conficere illum pestem nulla sua invidia, Antonii vero maxima gloria? Quid ? comitii17 in campo quoties potestas fuit! quam ille [vi] in septa13 irrupisset, gladios distingendos, lapides jaciendos curasset, dein subito, vultu Milonis perterritus, fugeret ad Tiberim,19 vos et omnes boni vota faceretis,20 ut Miloni uti virtute sua21 liberet.

XVI. Quem igitur1 cum omnium gratia noluit, hunc vo- luit cum aliqrum querela? quem jure, quem loco, quem tempore, quem impune non est ausus; hunc injuria, inquo loco, alieno tempore, periculo capitis, non dubitavit occide- re? Præsertim, judices, quam honoris amplissimi2 conten-
M. T. CICERONIS ORATIO

...tio et dies comitiorum subisset; quo quidem tempore (scio enim, quam timida sit ambitio, quantaque et quam sollicita cupiditas consulatus,) omnia non modo, quae reprehendi palam, sed etiam quae obscure cogitari possunt, timemus; rumorem, fabulam\(^5\) factam, levvm perhorrescimus; ora omnium atque oculos intuemur. Nihil enim est tam molle, tam tenerum, tam aut fragile, aut flexibile, quam voluntas erga nos sensusque civium: qui non modo improbitati irascentur candidatorum,\(^4\) sed etiam in recte factis\(^5\) sæpe fastidiunt. Hunc diem igitur campi\(^6\) speratum atque exoptatum sibi proponeos Milo, cruentis manibus seelus et facinum præ se ferens et confitens, ad illa augusta\(^7\) centuriarum auspicia veniebat? quam hoc\(^8\) non credibile in hoc! quam idem in Clodio non dubitandum! qui\(^9\) se, interfeccto Milone, regnaturn putaret. Quid? quod caput audacia est, judices: quis ignorant, maximam illecebram esse peccandi, impunitatis spem.\(^20\) In utro igitur hæc fuit? in Milone? qui etiam nunc reus est facti, aut præclari,\(^11\) aut certe necessarii. An in Clodio? qui ita judicia pœnamque contemptserat, ut eum nihil detectaret, quod aut per naturam\(^12\) fas esset, aut per leges liceret. Sed quid ego argumentor? quid pluræ\(^13\) disputo? te, Q. Petilli, appellò, optimum et fortissimum civem: te, M. Cato, testor: quos mihi divina quædam sors dedit, judices.

3. Fabula\] Hearsay—which may be true or false; limited here by the epithet ‘factam.’ On the contrary, ‘fable’ (contractæ ‘fib,’) is, with us, always applied to fiction. For levem al. falsam.

4. Candidatorum\] The ‘toga’ of the aspirants to office was fulled with chalk or pipe-clay, (hence ‘cretata ambitio’ Pers. v. 177,) to intimate the purity and sincerity of their motives: or, perhaps, to distinguish them from the crowd. This, however, was ancienly forbidden by law. ‘Ne cui album in vestimentum addere, petitionis causa, liceret.’ Liv. iv. 25.

5. Recte factis\] Upright actions. Hor. ‘Recte facta referat, &c.’


7. Augusta\] i. e. ‘Auguriis con-

secrata.’ He means the comitia centuriant, at which the higher magistrates were elected.

8. Quam hoc non\] For Milo was arespecter of religion—Clodius the reverse. Supr. 9. n. 7.

9. Qui se\] Al. quin.

10. Impunitatis spem\] He strengthens his conclusion still further, by showing that the hope of impunity lay all with Clodius. This may be considered the fourth argument.

11. Aut præclari\] As being done to benefit the state; ‘necessarii,’ as being in self-defence.

12. Per naturam\] Clodius had committed incest with his sister; ‘per leges,’ he had violated the laws respecting the mysteries of the Bona Dea.

13. Sed quid plura\] When I can appeal to the personal knowledge of
Vos ex M. Favonio audistis, Clodium sibi dixisse, et audistis, vivo Cludio, periturum Milonem triduo. Post diem tertium gesta res est, quam dixerat. Quum ille non dubitaret aperire, quid cogitaret; vos potestis dubitare, quid fecerit?

XVII. Quemadmodum igitur eum dies non fefellit?—Dixi equidem modo. Dictatoris Lanuvini sta†a sacrificia nosse negotii nihil erat. Vitid, necesse esse Miloni, profisci ci Lanuvium illo ipso, quo profectus est, die. Itaque antvertit: At quodie quo, ut ante dixi, fuit insanissima concio, ab ipsius mercenario tribuno plebis concitata: quem diem ille, quam concionem, quos clamores, nisi ad cogitatum facinus approperaret, nunquam reliquisset. Ergo illi ne causa quidem itineris, etiam causa manendi: Miloni manendi nulla facultas, exequi non causa solum, sed etiam necessitas fuit. Quid? si, ut ille scivit, Milonem fore eo die in via, sic Clodium Milo ne suspicari quidem potuit? Primum quero, qui scire potuerit? quod vos idem in Cludio quaere non potestis. Ut enim neminem alium, nisi T. Pati nam, familiariissimum suum, rogasset, scire potuit, illo ipso die Lanuvii a dictatore Milone prodi flaminem necesse esse. Sed erant permulti alii, ex quibus id facilli scire posset: omnes scilicet Lanuvini. Milo de Clodii reditum unde qua-

some of my judges, that Clodius had resolved to slay Milo.—This evidence of the animus of Clodius, from his denouncing Milo's death within three days, constitutes the fifth argument. 14. Favonio] Supr. 9. n. 20. 15. Vito] And could, therefore, have denied the charge. 16. Post--tert.] i.e. 'Tertio die post quam, &c.' It means 'the next day but one.'

Sect. XVII.—1. Quemadmodum, &c.] It might be objected to the fifth argument, that by specifying days it implied, what had not been proved, that Clodius had a knowledge of Milo's visit to Lanuvium. Cic. shows both how that knowledge could be obtained, and that to act upon it, Clodius had made the greatest personal sacrifice.

2. Modo] Namely, c. 10. 'Quum Clodium sciret, &c.'

3. Sta†a sacrificia] Quæ certis die-

bus fieri debent. Fest.


5. Tribuno] Quintus Pompey.—Introd. 4.


8. Quid? si, &c.] His opponents might retort, that even admitting Clodius to be aware of Milo's journey, there was the same reason to suspect Milo of knowing about Clodius's. Cic. denies that the cases are parallel; and points out various sources whence Clodius might have procured his information; whereas there was none open to Milo.

9. Pati nam] A Lanuvian; and well skilled in the usages of the place.

10. Seilicet) This is to say, 'every
Lanuvian could inform you.' But the words are suspected to be a gloss on 'permulti,' and are bracketed by Garaton, &c.

11. Q. Arrius] Well known for a celebrated entertainment which he gave to the people, in honour of his dead father, by which he hoped to gain their favour in the event of his seeking the consulship. Vat. 12. This occurred in the consulship of Caesar and Bibulus, A. v. 694.—Hence Hor., 'epulum arbitrio Arri.' His suggestion here does not seem to have been the most friendly to Milo.

12. Corruperit] Though Cic. asserts that Milo had no means of knowing the return of Clodius from Aricia, yet, for argument's sake, he admits that he might have bribed a slave of Clodius to inform him. He then produces the testimony of Clodius's own witnesses, to prove that no such information could have been given; his (Clodius's) return to Rome being contrary to his intention, and owing to a circumstance that it was impossible to foresee.

13. Testimonia] These were taken before hand, and ready to be quoted. Supr. 1. n. 4.

14. Interamnæ] A native of Interamnæ. There were several towns of this name in Italy; one on the Nar in Umbria, the birth-place of Tacitus, the historian, now called Terni; another in Picenum, now called Teramo; and a third in Latium, at the confluence of the rivers Liris and Melpis. Phil. ii. 41.—Commentators prefer the first here; and the distance of any one of them is quite enough to make Cassinius's testimony sufficiently improbable.—'Eadem hora' is rhetorical, as Att. ii. 1., he says, 'e Sicilia septimo die Romam, tribus horis Roma Interamnæ.' Dom. 30. 'Cur non juret se Gadibus fuisset, quam tu te fuisses Interamnæ provaveris.'

15. Jampridem] On the occasion of his trial for violating the mysteries of the Bona Dea, when Clodius attempted to prove an alibi by means of this Cassinius. Att. ii. 1. It may appear strange that Cic. should lessen the credit of this witness, at the very time that he is quoting him to make out a point for himself, viz.: that the return of Clodius being accidental, could not have been known by Milo. But it is enough for his present purpose that his opponents admit the truth of the testimonies by which he convicts them of charging himself and Milo falsely. He afterwards shows that the evidence was false, and this remark on Cassinius leads the hearer to expect as much.

16. Albano] Sc. Agro, where Clodius had a villa. It was so called from the ancient city of Alba, founded by Ascanius. Æn. i. 275.

17. Cyprium] Noticed also Q. Fr. ii. 2.
XVIII. Videte, judices, quantae res his testimoniiis sint confectae. Primum certe liberatur Milo, non eo consilio profectus esse, ut insidiaretur in via Clodio: quippe qui obvius ei futurus omnino non erat. Deinde (non enim video, cur non meum quoque agam negotium,) scitis, judices, fuisse, qui in hac rogatione suadenda dicerent, Milonis manu caedem esse factam, consilio vero majoris alicujus. Me videlicet latronem ac sicarium abjecti hortines et perditi describebant. Jacent suis testibus hi, qui Clodium negant eo die Romam, nisi de Cyro audisset fuisset. Respiravi; liberatus sum; non vereor, ne quod ne suspicari quidem potuerim, videar id cogitasse. Nunc sequerar cetera. Nam occurrerit illud: "Igitur ne Clodius quidem de insidiis cogitavit, quoniam fuit in Albano mansuris." Siquidem exiturus ad caedem e villa non fuisset. Video enim illum, qui dicitur de Cyri morte nuntiasse, non id nuntiasse, sed Milonem appropinquare. Nam quid de Cyro nuntiaret, quem Clodius Roma proficiscens reliquerat morientem? Una fui; testamentum simul

18. C. Clodius] The brother of Publius, whose two sons were accusers of Milo. Introd. 5.

Sect. XVIII.—1. Quanta res] 1. That Clodius, whose return was thus proved accidental, could not have been waylaid by Milo; 2. that Cic., (every thing connected with whom was always 'quaunta') could not have instigated such an assault.

2. Liberatur—non profectus esse] An imitation of the Attic idiom which requires μὴ with the infinit. after negative verbs; as ἀπαγορεύωσιν οὐ νόμοι μὴ επηρύττειν. Æsch. 15; also of the common Greek idiom, that the infinit. takes a nom. case when its agent is the same with the preceding verb. The ordinary construction would be 'profectum.'

3. Quippe quae] Orel. quippe [si ille.] But if quippe be retained, surely quae is the proper word to follow it.

4. Hac rogatione] Sc. that an extraordinary trial should be instituted.

5. Jacent] 'They are convicted by, &c.'; sc. by making his return accidental.


7. Vereor ne] i. e. Vereor sed nolo; but—vereor ut; vereor sed volo. So Hor. Sat. ii. 1, 61. O puer, ut sis Vitals, metuo; I am apprehensive that you may not be for this world, however I may wish it.

7. Cetera] We saw, supr. n. 1, how Cic. inferred the innocence of his client and himself, from the testimony of Cassinius. Why then pursue the argument farther (sequerat cetera)? Because their inference remained ('occurrit illud,' this objection meets me,) sc.: that since Clodius was to stay all night in his Alban villa, therefore he did not even think of waylaying Milo. Admitted, says Cic., if he had not been to leave it to execute his bloody task ('Siquidem, &c.') which I find to be the case; for I see the real business of the so-called messenger, about Cyrus, &c. 'Siquidem, &c.,' therefore, is the answer of Cic. to their in-
obsignavi cum Cludio; testamentum autem palam fecerat, et illum heredem et me scripserat. Quem pridie hora tertia animam efflantem reliquist, eum mortuum postridie hora decima denique ei nuntiabatur?

XIX. Age, sit ita factum: quae causa, cur Romam properaret? cur in noctem se conjiceret? Quid afferebat festinationis, quod heres erat? Primum erat nihil, cur prope rato opus est: deinde, si quid esset, quid tandem erat, quod ea nocte consequi posset, amitteret autem, si postridie mane Romam venisset? Atque, ut illi nocturnus ad urbem adventus vitandus potius, quam expetendum fuit: sic Miloni, quum insidiator esset, si illum ad urbem noctu accessurum sciebat, subsidendum atque expectandum fuit. Noctu in-

ference, and is to be separated from it by a full point, as Schutz and Orel. have done.

8. Testamentum obsignavi] So that the legatees were the witnesses. This was not afterwards the case, as Ul pian testificès.

9. Palam] For it was customary to make and keep a will privately, after signing and sealing it in the presence of certain witnesses. Hor. Sat. ii. 5.

10. Iillum heredem] This was thought honorable to the individual, independently of the profit.—Phil. ii. 16. 'Hereditates mihi negasti, &c.'

11. Hora tertia] Nine o'clock; 'decima,' four o'clock, at the equinox; now somewhat earlier. Supr. 10. n. 24.


Sect. XIX.—1. Sit ita factum] 'Admitting that he was informed of Cyrus's death; the remaining part of the 'cetera;' i.e. of Cassinius’s evidence.

2. Festinationis quod] The readings are here various, the sense nearly the same. Ern. causam festi-
sidioso et pleno latronum in loco occidisset; nemo ei neganti non credidisset, quem esse omnes salvum, etiam consistentem, voluit. Sustinuisset hoc crimen primum ipse ille latronum occultator et receptator locus, dum neque muta solutudo indicasset, neque caeca nox ostendisset Milonem; deinde ibi multi ab illo violati, spoliati, bonis expulsi, multi etiam hae timentes in suspicione maderent; tota denique rea citaretur Etruria. Atque die illo certe Aricia rediens devertit Clodius ad se in Albanum. Quod ut sciret Milo, illum Ariciæ fusisse, suspicari tamen debuit, eum, etiam si Romam illo die reverti vellet, ad villam suam, que viam tangeret, deversurum. Cur neque ante occurrit, ne ille in villa resideret; nec eo in loco subsedit, quo ille noctu venturus esset? Video adhuc constare omnia, judices. Miloni etiam utile fusisse Clodium vivere; illi

8. Noctu—occidisset] This clause is not found in many MSS. and early editions, and indeed it might well be spared. The usual translation is: 'he might have slain him, &c.' But taken in connexion with 'subsidentum fuit,' it should rather be, 'he ought to have slain him, &c.; if he had, none would have disbelieved, &c.' Perhaps a better construction is: 'Had he slain him by night, (as I have recommended,) and in a place notorious for plots and robberies, (which it was easy to select,) every one would have believed, &c.; the place would have borne the blame, &c.' 'Insidioso:' al. invidioso, i.e. of ill-repute.

9. Ipse ille—recept.] These words and ibi inf. show that Cic. had a particular spot in view. Ascon, informs us that it was the tomb of one Basilius, on the Appian way, notorious for harbouring robbers and their booty. Refer 'locus' to 'insidioso loco,' and 'caeca nox' to noctu.

10. Etruria] Supr. 9. 'Etruriam vexaverat,' and the injured may be expected to feel the desire of revenge.

11. Atque illo die] The seventh argument. The preceding, sup. n. 5. was that were Milo the aggressor, his attack should have been made 'at night near the city.' This he here varies by supposing his client to be aware that Clodius, whose country-seat lay between Rome and Aricia, was at that town; and by asking, what particular spot an aggressor so informed would choose for his attack? Evidently either between Aricia and the villa, lest he might call there and not leave it; or near the city, where his journey would be in the shades of night. But Milo chose neither, &c.


14. Ad villam suam] His own rather than Pompey's, which lay a short distance from the road, and at which it will be seen (c. 20.) that he made a call.

15. Nec in eo loco] Sc. at the tomb of Basilius, as noted above.

16. Video adhuc] He recapitulates the various arguments from c. 12, (omitting, however, the fourth, (supr.
ad ea, quae concupierat, optatissimum interitum Milonis: odium fuisset illius in hunc acerbissimum; in illum hujus nullum; consuetudinem illius perpetuam in vi inferenda; hujus tantum in repellenda: mortem ab illo denuntiatam Miloni et praedicatum palam; nihil unquam auditum ex Milone: professionis hujus diem illi notum; reditum illius huic ignotum fuisset: hujus iter necessarium; illius etiam potius alienum: hunc prae se tulisse, se illo die Roma exiturum, illum eo die se dissimulasse rediturum: hunc nullius rei mutasse consilium; illum causam mutandi consilii finisset: huic, si insidiaretur, noctem prope urbem exspectandum; illi, etiam si hunc non timeret, tamen accessum ad urbem nocturnum fuisset metuendum.

XX. Videamus nunc id, quod caput est: locus ad insidias ille ipse, ubi congressi sunt, utri tandem fuerit aptior. Id vero, judices, etiam dubitandum et diutius cogitandum est? Ante fundum\(^1\) Clodii, quo in fundo, propter insanas\(^2\) illas substructiones, facile\(^3\) mille hominum versabantur valentium,\(^4\) edito\(^5\) adversarii atque excelso loco superiorem se fore putabat Milo, et ob eam rem eum locum ad pugnam potissimum delegerat? An in eo loco est potius expectatus ab eo, qui ipsius loci spe facere impetum cogitarat? Res loquitur,\(^6\) judices, ipsa; quae semper valet plurimum. Si haec non gesta\(^7\) audiretis, sed picta videretis; tamen appareret, uter esset insidiator, uter nihil cogitaret mali, quum alter

16. n. 10,\(\) and particularizing the several subsidiary points of the fifth,\(\) and then proceeds (videamus nunc) to consider the actual site of the rencontre. He had noticed where he ought to have attacked him if he were the assailant, now he considers where (as was said) he did. The eighth argument.

Secr. XX.—1. Ante Fundum.] Supr. 10. n. 7. 23.

2. Insanas.] Quas insani faciunt. Inf. ' insanis molibus.'

3. Facile] Not less than;—pro certo; and 'mille' here a subst. It may be an adjective as Virg. ' Sub quo mille manus juvenum;' and Manut. would make it so here, 'multitudo' being understood, but it is quite un-

necessary.

4. Valent.] We say 'able-bodied.' Robusti et valentes satellites. Agr. ii. 31. 'Versabatur' usually rendered 'were employed;' but Forcel. says, 'were contained'—'was room for.'

5. Edito adversarii atq; excelsa] Adversarii, i.e. Clodii, is omitted in the Delph. Tr. Did Milo think, in front of Clodius's farm, &c. on the high and lofty ground of his opponent, to come off superior.


7. Si haec gesta, &c.] He now proceeds to argue from the concomitant circumstances, the vehicle, dress, train, &c. This ninth argument, with the explanations arising from it, extends to c. 23.


8. Rheda—uxor] Supra. 10. n. 13. 16.
9. Pænula irretitus] Forthe 'pænula' was a close-fitting overall without sleeves, which confined the arms. It was either made of wool or skin, and was principally used in travelling.
10. Pane constictus] For he had said 'una sederet uxor.'
11. Videte nunc] The connexion here may perhaps be better seen by supplying the phrases understood. Cic. in reference to Clodius's hurrying out of his villa, asks why he did so? The Clodians reply, because it was evening, and he had to hasten to Rome. Cic. demands to know what necessity there was for his travelling in the evening. They reply—that he came late (tarde) to his villa, and could not therefore set out sooner. But why throw himself late in coming there from Aricia, particularly at that season of the year? He could not help it. He had called at Pompey's villa on his way. What business had he there, when he knew Pompey was not at home? &c. &c. This reference of 'tarde' to Clodius's arrival at instead of his setting out from his villa, appears to be the only way to prevent 'tarde' from being a mere repetition of 'vesper'. If again we interpret 'tarde' leisurely, slowly, it will agree neither with the reference to leaving his villa; for it was done 'subito'; nor to coming to it; for calling at Pompey's need not make him travel 'leisurely'.

It may be added, that 'tarde' often signifies 'sero'. Hor. ii. 2. 91. Tar- dius adveniens hospes. Acad. iv. 1. 'Triennio tardius quam debuerat, triumphantavit'. Lamb. expunges 'est tarde' altogether, which is a ready way of solving the difficulty.
12. Alsiensi] Int. Villa vel agro. Alsium was a town of Etruria on the sea coast, near Ostia.
13. Tergiversatio] Al. mora et tergiversationis. It alludes either to his shifting to Pompey's villa as an excuse, or to his sauntering back and forward on the road to meet Milo.

Sect. XXI.—1. Expediti] Opposed to 'impedimentis', and both derived from pes. Supr. 10. n. 15.
3. Graeculi] Used by way of contempt. Juv. Sat. 3. 76. They were perhaps professors of music and the fine arts; perhaps worse.
4. Castra Etrusca] He hints that Clodius was privy to the conspiracy of Catiline, whose army was encamp-ed under Manlius in Etruria.

6. Puerus symphoniacos] Choristers, singing-boys, ἑυμφωνιακοί; from ἑυμφωνία, a harmony of mingled sounds.
7. Exoletos] Propr. 'adult,' hence 'pueri meritori dicuntur adulta jam atatis.' Forceul.
8. Lupas] Intimating a greater degree of immodesty than 'scorta' who at least wore clothes. Hor. 'Cum tibi vestiti facies scorti placet, hæres.'
9. Virum a viro] The Roman soldiers were permitted, when going on a dangerous service, to choose their comrades. Liv. ix. 39.
11. Interesset P. Clodii] i. e. Esset inter rem P. Clodii. For 'Milone interfector, hoc assequebatur, non modo ut prætor esset non eo consule, &c.' Supr. 12.
13. Propositam et pene addictam] The allusion is to a sale, where an object is first set up and then knocked down, assigned to, the highest bidder.
17. Oscitantis] Yawning—sluggish. Ter. Andr. i. 2. 'Sperantes jam amoeto metu interea oscitantes opprimi'; where Donatus: 'Oscitatio' est animi otium et securitas; dictum ab 'ore ciendo.'
18. Qui—reliquisset] Clodius thought everything safe, when Milo had passed him, and was separated from his party, forgetting the famous gladiators, Eudamus and Birrhia, in the rear of Milo's retinue; from the latter of whom, as Ascon relates, Clod. received a dangerous wound in the shoulder. Introd. 4.

XXII. Quod igitur in causa quaerendum est, id agamus hic: quod tormentis invenire vis, id fatemur. Manu vero cur miserit, si id potius queris, quam cur parum amplis affecerit premiis, nescis inimici\(^ {11}\) factum reprehendere. Dixit enim hic idem, qui omnia semper constant et fortiter, M. Cato, dixitque in turbulenta concione, quæ tamen hujus authority placata est,\(^ {2}\) non libertate solum, sed etiam\(^ {3}\) omnibus


20. Cur igitur, &c.] Having admitted the fatal interference of the slaves, Cic. might fairly be asked to submit them to examination, as they must be aware of the facts of the case. He replies that it was useless. These facts were acknowledged—Milo slew Cladius; and farther than this the testimony of slaves could not go. But here it is obvious to remark, that while Milo admitted he had slain Cladius, he urged that he had done so under peculiar circumstances; namely, in self-defence. Now to the existence of these peculiar circumstances it was surely competent for the slaves to depose; but this question of fact Cic. artfully confounds with the question 'jure, an injuria.' Vid. supr. c. 2.n.20.

This reply about the slaves (c. 22.) is introduced between the ninth and last argument.

21. Eceulo] 'Equuleus' is 1. a foal, young horse. Liv. xxiii. 31. Bos equuleum peperit. 2. An instrument of torture made like a horse; 'in qua sonantes distendebantur, et torquebantur.' Forcel. From the expression of Curtius, however, vi. 6. * in equileum impositi,' it would appear that the victim was seated on the machine; whence some have thought that the torture consisted in being obliged to sit upon a sharp pointed seat which was forced by pressure into the body.

Sect. XXII. — 1. Nescis inimici, &c.] Because you fix your censure on that point of his conduct which is deserving of the highest praise; whereas the proper complaint would be a charge of ingratitude for inadequately rewarding conduct so meritorious. And this the assertion of Cato is sufficient to prove (dixit enim—M. Cato).

2. Quae—placata est] Virg. 'Ac veluti magnó in populó cum sæpe coorta est Séditio, &c.' We may suppose that in some of the numerous turbulent assemblies which preceded this trial, the Clodians, wishing to have the authority of Cato on their side, had called on him to censure Milo for manumitting his slaves. His resolute reply, while it frustrated their hopes, had the effect of calming their turbulence.

3. Non libertate solum, sed etiam] Therefore Milo was obnoxious to the charge of illiberality; which his opponents did not see.
praemiiis dignissimos fuisse, qui domini caput defendissent. Quod enim praemium satis magnum est tam benevolis, tam bonis, tam fidelibus servis, propter quos\(^4\) vivit? Etsi id\(^5\) quidem non tanti est, quam quod propter eodem non sanguine et vulneribus suis crudelissimi imimici mentem oculosque sa-
tiavit. Quos nisi manumisisset, tormentis etiam dedendi fuerunt,\(^6\) conservatores domini, ulteros sceleris, defensores ne-
cis. Hic vero nihil habet in his malis, quod minus molestie ferat,\(^7\) quam, etiam si quid ipsi accidat,\(^8\) esse tamen illis meri-
tum praemium persolutum. Sed quæstiones urgent Milonem, 
quæ sunt habita\(^9\) nunc in atrio Libertatis. Quibusnam de 
servis?\(^10\) Rogas? De P. Clodii. Qvis eos postulavit? Appi-
us. Quis produxit? Appius.\(^11\) Unde? Ab Appio.\(^12\) Dii 
boni!\(^13\) quid potest agi severius? De servis nulla leges-
tio est in dominos, nisi de incestu,\(^14\) ut fuit in Clodium.\(^15\) 
Proxime deos accessit\(^16\) Clodius, proprius quam tum, quam ad.

4. Propter quos] By whose instrumentality. ' Propter' here imports the efficient cause, for which 'per' is more common. Inf. 30. 'Lugere eum solum propter quem ceteri letentur.

5. Esti id, &c.] Though a brave man despises death, yet he shuns to gratify his foes by the manner of it.

6. Fuerunt\(^1\) Al. fuisse. - 'With the participle of the future in rurs and passive in dus, the indicative of sum in the past time is much more commonly used than the subj.' Zumpt's L. Gram. p. 296. Supr. 11. n. 7.

7. Minus moleste ferat\(^2\) A 'Litotes' for 'yields more satisfaction.'

8. Si quid ipsi accidat\(^3\) Manil. 20. n. 1.

9. Quae sunt habita?\(^4\) This should mean 'are held;' 'are over;' but it is sometimes in a present sense; 'are [being] held.' So 'Comitia habita' and the like.

10. Quibusnam de servis\(^5\) When Appius could not procure the slaves of Milo for examination, he had recourse to those of P. Clodius. Cic. shews the fairness that may be expected from slaves drilled by the accuser. Inf. Quid hac quœstione dici potest integrius? quid incorruptius?


12. Unde? ab Appio\(^1\) Ulpien. re-
sert, 'ad questionem non provocan-
dos eos, quos accusator de domo sua 
prodixit.'

13. Dii boni, &c.] This exclamation is not ironical. It was a real hardship that the slaves of Clodius should be subjected to the torture ostensibly against their master, but really against Milo; from which they were protected more majorum' as Cic. (Dejot. 1.) says; by a decree of the senate, as Tacitus. Ann. ii. 30.

14. Nisi de incestu\(^1\) The reason of this exception was the impossibility of detecting the crime by the ordinary means. If proved at all, it should be proved by slaves. It would appear that the exception was afterwards done away with. Vid. Abram. note.

15. Ut fuit in Clodium.] The mention of incest, under which was included every species of sacrilege, permits Cic. to return to his favourite charge against Clodius, the violation of the rites of the Bona Dea.

16. Proxime deos accessit\(^1\) Because he is put on a par with them in the mode of examination touching his

XXIII. Quod si nondum satís cernitis, quum res ipsa tot death. The violation of their mysteries demands the inquisition. The death of Clodius has called for the same. This is a nearer approach to divinity than was even his famous adventure at Caesar's house.

17. Cæremoniis Val. Max. (i. 1.) derives this word from Cære, the name of a town in Etruria, to which he says the Romans in the Gallic war confided their sacred rites, and received them again in safety. Rather because the Roman rites were mainly Etrurian, if we do not prefer to take it from cælum, qu, calimonia, as cæruleus, qu. cæluleus.'

18. Sed tamen &c.] Were the slaves of Milo examined against Milo, the truth might easily be elicited; for it was not the difficulty of arriving at the truth, but the indignity of the proceeding that dictated the rejection of such testimony;—but where the slaves of the accuser are questioned against the arraigned, of Appius against Milo, is truth to be expected? He illustrates this by giving a specimen of the mode of examination. ' Age vero, &c.'


20. Clodius—Miloni] Ulpian informs us, that it was especially required in the questioning to make it general, and mention no one by name.

21. Certa crux] To which is opposed ' Sperata libertas;' for crucifixion was the proper punishment of slaves.

22. Subito arrepti, &c.] He contrasts the proceedings in other questions with the present. In them, slaves hurried to the examination without any previous warning, are yet kept apart from the others in solitary confinement, whence they are produced when required. In this case the prosecutor, after a hundred days tampering with them, produces them for examination. ' Subito arrepto is opposed to ' centum dies.'

23. In arcas] Cells in gaols and private houses for the solitary confinement of culprits or slaves. Abram mistakes them for instruments of torture.


25. Penes accusatorem] i. e. In the house of the prosecutor.

Sect. XXIII.—1. Quod si nondum, &c.] The only ground of argument remaining to Cic. after so many being urged, was—' a consequentibus—from the conduct of Milo after
tam claris argumentis signisque luceat; pura mente atque integra Milonem, nullo scelere imbutum, nullo metu perterritum, nulla conscientia examinatum, Romam revertisses. recordamini, per deos immortales! quae fuerit celeritas re- ditus ejus: qui ingressus in forum, ardente curia: quae magnitudo animi, qui vultus, quae oratio. Neque vero se populo solum, sed etiam senatui commisiset: neque senatui modo, sed etiam publicis præsidiis et armis: neque his tantum, verum etiam ejus potestati, cui senatus totam rempublicam, omnem Italiam pubem, cuncta populi Romani arma commiserat: cui nunquam se hic profecto tradidisset, nisi causa sua consideret: præsertim omnia audienti, magna metuienti, multa suspicantes, nonnulla credenti. Magna vis est conscientiae, judices, et magna in utramque partem: ut neque timeant, qui nihil commiserint, et quenam semper ante oculos versari potent, qui peccaret. Neque vero sine ratione certa causa Milonis semper a senatu probata est. Videbant enim sapientissimi homines facti rationem, praesentiam animi, defensionis constantiam. An vero oblitostis, judices, recenti illo nuncio necis Clodianæ, non modo inimicorum Milonis ser-

the fatal recounter, his expeditious return, his lofty bearing and language! These could only result from conscious innocence. c. 23, 24.

2. Romam revertisse] Yet Milo, as Ascon relates, did not return to Rome till late the following day, by which time the Clodians, by their violence in burning the senate house, (ardente curia,) had turned the tide of popular feeling in his favour. Introd. 4.

3. Neque vero se, &c.] This climax is imitated from Dem. de Cor. 55. Onde εἴπων μὲν ταῦτα, ἐκ ἑγαραφα δεδε ἐγαραφα μὲν, ἐκ ἑπρίσβευα δεδε ἑπρίσβευα μὲν, ἐκ ἑπίμωσα δεδε ἑπίμωσα.

4. Publicis præsidiis, &c.] i. e. To Pompey and the levies under his command. But this surrender to the public authorities did not take place immediately; as at least two months intervened before the senate agreed on the appointment of Pompey to be sole consul. During this time Milo was witness to the 'note of preparation' against himself, yet chose to abide the consequences rather than submit to a voluntary exile.

5. Potestati] The sole consulship, with plenary authority from the senate. Introd. 4.

6. Magna vis, &c.] This subject is dilated on by Plut. and Juv. Sat. xiii. 196; the latter of whom thinks it exceeds the torments of hell, 'Nocte dieq. suum gestare in pectore testem.' 'Ne- que;' both—not. So Phil. ii. 42. ne- que desideravit, &c.; both did not want, &c.

7. Timeant, qui, &c.] Abram quotes as in accordance with this, the answer of Bias; who being asked what there was in life devoid of fear, replied 'a good conscience.'

8. Facti rationem] 'The grounds on which he defended his conduct.' This technical use of the phrase is illustrated,'Auct. ad Herenn. i. 16, by the case of Orestes, who, when charged with the murder of his mother 'affert rationem facti'; illa enim, inquit, pa-
mònes et opiniones, sed nonnullorum etiam imperitorum? Negabant eum Romam esse reditum. Sive enim illud animo irato ac percito fecisset, ut incensus odio trucidaret inimicum, arbitrabantur, eum tanti mortem P. Clodii putasse, ut æquo animo patria careret, quam sanguine inimici explessisset odium suum: sive etiam illius morte patriam liberare voluisset, non dubitaturum fortem virum, quin, quin suo periculo salutem reipublicæ attulisset, cederet æquo animo legibus, secum auferret gloriam sempiternam, nobis haec fruenda relinquerat. Multì etiam Catilinam atque illa portenta loquebantur: 'Erumpet, occupabit extitissent, nefariorum interdum cives, optime de republica meritos!' in quibus homines non modo res praeclarissimas obliviscuntur, sed etiam nefarias suspicantur. Ergo illa falsa fuerunt: quæ certe vera extitissent, si Milo admississet aliud, quod non posset honeste vereque defendere.

XXIV. Quid? quæ postea sunt in eum congesta: quæ trem meum occiderat.' In Milo's case the 'ratio facti' was the lawfulness of self-defence.

9. Opiniones] 'Opinio' is often not merely the mental conception, but that conception expressed in words; a rumour, a report; and hence synonymous with 'sermones' preceding. Manil. I. n. 7. Suet. in Ner. 53. Exit opinio, eum descendurum ad Olympia inter athletas.

10. Nonnull. imper.] Who though not the enemies of Milo, were yet ignorant rationis facti.' Al. insert qui before 'negabant.'

11. Arbitrabantur] Sc. the 'imperiti.'


14. Illa portenta] Those monstrous men, ex. g. Lentulus, Cethegus. Delph. But had these been meant, Cic. would have added their names, as, de Prov. Cons. I. Gabinius et Piso, duo reip. portenta. Understand then rather 'those monstrous enormities of which Catiline was guilty.'

15. Erumpet, &c.] This word which properly signifies 'to gush as water out of a fountain,' Cic. had already in some degree appropriated to the hurried departure of Catiline from the city. Cat. ii. l. 'Abiit, 'excessit, evasit, eruptit.' So Sall. Cat. 43. 'Simul cadé et incendio perculsis omnibus, ad Cat. erumperent.' By using it here, the enemies of Milo meant to suggest a parallel between him and that conspirator.

16. Miseros, &c.] The interj. pró, or the like, is here suppressed.

17. Optime de—meritos] Deserving best at the hands of; having best served.

18. Exitissent] Arch. i. n. 10.


2. Quae—conscientia] Not 'by the consciousness of' but 'under the consciousness of,'—'if he were conscious of.' Hence Ern. would insert in before 'conscientia.'


4. Frenorum] Bracketed by Orel. it not being clear why bridles should be enumerated among weapons of war. 'Sparorum,' spears of the smallest description, originally a rustic weapon. Hence Virg. xi. 682. 'agrestisq; manus armat sparatus.'

5. Vicum] (Ab olivac) several houses joined together. It differs from 'pagus,' which is restricted to the country; in the city it means a street, in the country a hamlet. Houses near the city are called 'suburbia,' those surrounded by walls are called 'castella.' Forcell.

6. Angiportum] Qu. 'angustus portus,' a blind alley, a place; for 'portus,' says Festus, signifies any enclosed space where wares are conveyed. Terent. Adelph. iv. 2. 39. Id angiportum non est pervium. Rather from 'angusta porta,' alluding to the gate or entrance into them being narrow.

7. Ocriculanam] Ocriculum was a town of Umbria on the Tiber below the junction of the Nar.

8. Domus] Ern. rightly reads domum—referiam, as the clause depends upon 'dicebant.' But it is vain to expunge every irregular construction.

9. Malleolorum] Malleolus is 1. a small mallet. 2. a vine-shoot of that form, called a mallet-shoot. 3. a species of fire-brand, described by Ammianus as a cane-arrow, which, stuffed with combustible matter and fire, is discharged by a weak bow against houses, &c. We may suppose a slight resemblance in its form to the mallet, to warrant the name. Other species are described by Nonnus and others.

10. Nec ante repudiata, &c.] Sc. a Pompeio. Though totally unworthy of notice, such was the misery of the times, they were not rejected without inquiry. Supr. 23. 'nonulla credenti.'

11. Laudabam] The only excusable part of the transaction, the diligence, he artfully attributes to Pompey; the rest is laid on the nature of the office; as if it could not be helped.

12. Tota] Perhaps to intimate the sole consulship; yet Ern. suspects the word. Inf. tota republica suscepta.
Quin etiam audiendus fuerit\textsuperscript{13} popa\textsuperscript{14} Licinius, nescio quis\textsuperscript{15} de circo maximo,\textsuperscript{16} servos Milonis apud se ebrios factos; sibi confessos esse\textsuperscript{17} de interficiendo\textsuperscript{18} Cn. Pompeio conjurasse; deinde postea se gladio per currsum esse ab uno de illis, ne indicaret. Pompeio in hortos\textsuperscript{19} nuntiavit; aecessor in primis; de amicorum sententia\textsuperscript{20} rem defert ad senatum. Non poteram in illius mei patriaeque custodis tanta suspicione non metu examinari: sed mirabar tamen, credi popae,\textsuperscript{21} confessionem servorum audiri, vulnus in latere, quod acu punctum videretur, pro iuctu gladiatoris probari. Verum tamen, ut intelligo, cavebat magis Pompeius, quam timebat, non ea solum, quae timenda erant, sed omnino omnia, ne aliquid vos timentis. Oppugnata domus C. Caesaris,\textsuperscript{22} clarissimis et fortissimis viri, per multas noctis horas nuntiabatur. Nemo audierat tam celebri loco,\textsuperscript{23} nemo senserat. Tamen audiebatur.\textsuperscript{23}


14. \textit{Popa}] The priest who slew and dressed the victims, from πέπω. His cakes were called \textit{πόπανα}, and the shop where he disposed of his perquisites \textit{popina}. But as wine is a necessary accompaniment of good viands, we find ('servos Milonis apud se ebrios factos') Licinius's a wine-shop too. The transition is easy to \textit{popino} a gormandizer. So \textit{Popa venter} a glutton, Pers. vi. 74.

15. \textit{Nescio quis} \textit{generally} used contemptuously. But vid. Arch. 7. 'nescio quid praclaram.'

16. \textit{Circo maximo}] Ern. omits \textit{maximo}. When \textit{Circus} it put absolutely, the circus maximus is meant. Hor. Fallax Circus. It was constructed by Tarquinii Priscus between the Palatine and Aventine hills, Liv. i. 30; and was also called Apollinaris, being dedicated to the sun. The Delph. erroneously makes the \textit{Circus Apollinaris} distinct from the \textit{Circus Maximus}. The Circus Flaminius and Circus Vaticanus were also celebrated. It is easy to see how such a place would become the resort of \textit{professional} men at Rome.

17. \textit{Confessos esse} \textit{For 'In vino veritas.' So Hor. Quid non ebrietas designat? Operta recludit.}

18. \textit{De interficiendo} \textit{Ern. 'se de interf.' which seems necessary to prevent ambiguity.}

19. \textit{In hortos}] Whither Pompey had retired through fear of Milo. 'Plerumque non domi sua, sed in hortis manebat, idque ipsum in superioribus, circa quos etiam magna manus militum excubabat.' Ascon.

20. \textit{De amic. sent.}] At the suggestion of his friends.

21. \textit{Credi popae}] Who was a man of no character, \textit{nescio quis}. It will be observed that verbs governing a dative in the active voice are used impersonally in the passive. \textit{'Popam credi,' is inadmissible.}

22. C. Caesaris] Why the house of Caesar should be even \textit{reported} to be attacked by Milo and his friends is not clear. Caesar was now in Gaul.

23. Celebri loco] Manil. 12. n. 11. Arch. 3. Caesar's house was situated on the Via sacra, one of the greatest thoroughfares of Rome. Even the poets made this street their promenade. Hor. Ibam forte via Sacra. Suet. in Jul. 46.

23. \textit{Audiebatur}] It was listened to,
Non poteram Cn. Pompeium, praestantissima virtute virum, timidum suspiciari: diligentiam, tota republica susceperat, nimirum nullam putabam. Frequentissimo senatu nuper in Capitolio, senator\textsuperscript{4} inventus est, qui Milonem cum telo\textsuperscript{25} esse diceret. Nudavit se in sanctissimo\textsuperscript{26} templo, quoniam vita\textsuperscript{27} talis et civis et viri fidem non faciebat, ut, eo tante, res ipsa loqueretur.

XXV. Omnia falsa atque insidiose facta comperta sunt. Quod si tamen metuitur etiam nunc\textsuperscript{1} Milo, non hoc jam Clodianum crimen\textsuperscript{2} timemus, sed tuas, Cn. Pompei, (te enim jam appello, et ea voce,\textsuperscript{3} ut me audire possis,) tuas, tuas, inquam, suspicione\textsuperscript{4} perhorrescimus. Si Milonem times,\textsuperscript{5} si hunc de tua vita nefarie aut nunc cogitare, aut molitum aliquando aliquid putas; si Italiae delectus, ut nonnulli con-

24. Senator\textsuperscript{]} Ascon. says P. Cornificius.
25. Cum telo\textsuperscript{]} This phrase is borrowed from the old Latin of the twelve tables. Sall. 27. ‘ipse cum teloesse’.
26. Sanctissimo\textsuperscript{]} The Capitol, a consecrated place.
27. Ut\textsuperscript{]} The reading of Grerv. which Ern. approves, but would insert before quoniam.’ Al. nisi.

Sect. XXV.—1. Etiam nunc\textsuperscript{]} i. e. If, after all the statements (in the preceding sect.) to show that the charges against Milo were mere calumnies, and the suspicions of Pompey unfounded, these suspicions are still harboured; it is these and not the present indictment that Milo has to fear. Cic. then applies himself, c. 25 and 26, to clear these suspicions; which closes the ‘de causa’ proofs.

2. Clodianum crimem\textsuperscript{]} Homicidium Clodiit a Milone perpetratum. Force.
Rather τω αρειιαμ τουντιουντι του Κλο-Διους' death. ‘Crimen,’ qu. cernimen,’ from cerno,’ i. e. κοινω.
3. Ea voce\textsuperscript{]} Pompey was within hearing of the trial, being posted with his guards near the ‘arrarium.’ Cic., therefore, exalts his voice to an unusual pitch, in order to attract his attention.
4. Suspiciones\textsuperscript{]} It appears from Ascon. that Pompey being interrogated by the Clodian leaders as to whether his life had been attempted by Milo, told the story of ‘Popa Licinius,’ and that in addition to the precaution of confining himself to his gardens, supr. 7. n. 14, on his return from raising the levies through Italy, he had refused to admit the visit of Milo, and of none else, and that when the senate was held in the portico of Pompey, to allow of his taking part in the business, Milo was the only man ordered to be searched before he was allowed to enter.

5. Si Milonem times\textsuperscript{]} The construction of this long hypothetic is defective, as the consequent ‘magna in hoc...indicatur’ does not answer well to the first two clauses of the antecedent—‘Si Milonem—putas.’ For where is the force of saying, e. g. ‘if you think that Milo ever entertained wicked designs against your life, Milo is possessed of incredible courage, &c. &c.’ Does it require super-human strength to be a villain? Whereas, all this is the proper answer to, ‘si Italiam delectus, si haec arma, &c.’ Hence some editions refer those clauses to the preceding sentence, and commence this one with ‘Si Italiam delectus, &c.’ As it stands we must suppose two conditions: 1. ‘If you fear Milo, and think that he has now, or
ever had, designs against your life;'
2. 'If the whole forces of the state
are directed against an individual.'—
This latter condition he answers first;
namely, by showing that it is absurd,
as it would imply courage and res-
sources in Milo far above those of any
single man; and, with regard to the
extraordinary levies, by proving that
they are called for by the necessities of
the state without any reference to
Milo. He then applies himself to the
first condition, the answer to which
is implied in the words 'Quodsi
locus, &c., &c.,' as he said:—
'If you fear Milo, it is wholly owing
to misapprehension; for if an oppor-
tunity had been afforded him, he
would have proved to your satisfac-
tion that no man was ever dearer to
another than you to him, &c. And
if he had failed in his proof (quae si
non probaret) he would have gone
into exile; not, however, without
calling on you to testify his inno-
cence, as he now does.'
6. *Conquisitores* We call them
'recruiting officers.'
7. *Excubia* From ex-cubo, is, 1.
a lying abroad all night; 2. watch
and ward, watches either by night or
day. 'Vigilia,' a night-watch.—
Virg. *Æn.* ix. 169, joins them 'Vigilum
excubis obsidere portas.'
8. *Non unius viri*] A Litotes; 'not
of one man but a multitude.' So
Hor. *Carm.* iv. 9. 39. 'Consul non
unius anni;' not yearly, but for life.
9. *Siquidem*] This is to be referred
particularly to 'non unius viri vires,
&c.' of which it is explanatory.
10. *Sed quis non, &c.*] This is the
minor of the hypothetic, (supr. n. 5.)
which taken out of the interrogative
form, is 'but all the forces of the state
are not designed against Milo;' and
he leaves the hearer to conclude:
'Therefore Milo has no extraordinary
power.'
11. *Sanares*] Referred to 'ægras,
as 'confirmare's to 'labantes.'
12. *Quod si—locus*] Had Milo
been granted an audience.
10. where Milo's exertions in fa-
vour of Pompey are noticed.
14. *Consilii tuis*] And, therefore,
though the advantage was mine, yet
the obligation was also yours.
15. *In periculo capitis*] 'Caput' is
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simos sperasse, te tuo17 beneficio, me suo. Quae si non probaret; si tibi ita penitus inhaesisset18 ista suspicio, nullo ut evelli modo posset; si denique Italia a delectu, urbs ab armis, sine Milonis clade nunquam esset conquietura: nē iste haud dubitans cessisset patria, is, qui ita natus19 est, et ita consuevit; te, Magne,20 tamen antestaretur;21 quod nunc etiam facit.

XXVI. Vide, quam1 sit varia vitae commutabilisque ratio,2 quam vaga volubilisque3 fortuna, quantae insidiae et simulacra, in amicis, quam ad tempus aptae simulationes,4 quanta in particular fugae proximorum,5 quantae timiditates! Erit, erit illud profecto tempus, et illucescet aliquando ille dies,6 quum tu, salutaribus,7 ut spero, rebus tuis, sed fortasse motu aliquo communium8 temporum immutatis,9 (qui quam crebro10 acc-

here not life but 'rank.' Exile would have been the punishment had Milo been condemned; and exile was 'diminuio capitis.'

16. [Adijutum] Namely, in canvassing the electors of the city and the country.

17. Te tuo] This is a true, though not an obvious ground of friendship. We all take a lively interest in our own work; e.g. the success of one whom we patronise.

18. Inhæsisset] Like a deep-rooted tree. Hence, 'evelli.'

19. Ita natus] Namely, so as to act the patriot.


21. Antestaretur] A technical word for, 'to call on a person to be witness to an arrest;' which was done by the claimant of the testimony touching the ear. Hor.—Licet antestari? Ego vero Oppono auriculum.—Here simply 'to attest;' 'to call upon as a witness.' Milo would not leave his country without calling on Pompey to witness his innocence; as he does now.

Sect. XXVI.—1. Vide quam] The mention of banishment led Cic. to revolve 'the various turns of fate below;' and this constrained him to break out into the following exclama-

mation. The circumstance, therefore under which it was uttered is a sufficient answer to those who claim for this passage the praise of prophecy. That of beauty and pathos it cannot be denied.

2. Ratio] The course. Arch. 1. n. 9. 'Rationem studiorum.'


4. Ad temp. apte simul.] Time-serving pretences. But 'dissimulation,' is, the disguising of one's real sentiments.

5. Fugae proximorum] Hor. Carm. i. 35. 24.—diffugient—amici Ferre jugum pariter dolosi.

6. Ille dies] It occurred in about four years after.

7. Salutaribus] i. e. salvis.

8. Communium] As if any change which affected Pompey must affect all. 'Moto—temporum,' shock of the public affairs. Hor. Communia laudis, you praise the public.

9. Immutatius] Changed greatly, and generally, for the worse. Sall. Cat. 2. 'Fortuna simul cum moribus immutatur.' Also c.6. 'immutato more,' in which places the context shows that the word is taken 'in malam partem.'

10. Quam crebro] Sylla, Cinna, Catiline, were within the experience of Cic.
cidat, experti debemus scire,) et amicissimi benevolentiam, et gravissimi hominis fidem, et unius post\textsuperscript{11} homines natos fortissimi viri magnitudinem animi desideres.\textsuperscript{12} Quamquam\textsuperscript{13} quis hoc credat, Cn. Pompeium, juris publici, moris majorum, rei denique publicae peritissimum, quum senatus ei commiserit, ut videret, NE QUID\textsuperscript{14} RESPUBLICA DETRIMENTI CAPERET; quo uno versiculo\textsuperscript{15} satis armati semper consules fuerunt, etiam nullis armis datis:\textsuperscript{16} hunc exercitu, hunc delectu dato, judicium exspectaturum fuisse in ejus consilii vindicandis, qui vi judicia ipsa tolleret?\textsuperscript{17} Satis judicatum est a Pompeio, satis,\textsuperscript{18} falsa ista\textsuperscript{19} conferri in Milonem: qui legem\textsuperscript{20} tulit, qua, ut ego sentio, Milonem absolvit a vobis oporteret:\textsuperscript{21} ut omnes confinentur, liceret. Quod vero\textsuperscript{22} in illo loco, atque illis publicorum præsidiorum copiis circumfusus sedet: satis declarat, se non terrorem inferre vobis, (quid enim illo minus dignum,\textsuperscript{23} quam cogere, ut vos eum condemne.

\textsuperscript{11} Unius post, &c.] i. e. From the foundation of the world.
\textsuperscript{12} Desideres] As 'requeritis,' Manil. 2. n. 23;—feel the want of.
\textsuperscript{13} Quamquam] A correction, (supr. 2. n. 18,) as if he said, 'and yet why suppose that Pompey harbours suspicions against Milo which his own acts disprove? Had Milo been disposed (in Pompey's opinion) to abolish trials altogether, would Pompey, clothed with supreme authority, have conceded a trial to Milo? Yet he did; while in the very choice of his position (Quod in illo loco sedet), he fully indicates his anxiety to protect you in the impartial expression of your opinions on this occasion.'
\textsuperscript{14} Ne quid, &c.] Sall. Cat. 29, says that this decree did not levy an army, it gave the consul the power to do so, if requisite; and, 'therefore, it does not contradict the words of Sallust, supr. 14, 'exercitum parare, bellum gerere.'
\textsuperscript{15} Qui vi judicia tolleret] Sc. by taking the law into his own hands, murdering Clodius, and plotting against Pompey. Al. vel.
\textsuperscript{16} Satis] Elegans \textit{πιάνωδος}.—Grut. Al. omit it.
\textsuperscript{17} Ista] The calumnies which were said to have excited the suspicions of Pompey.
\textsuperscript{18} Qui Legem] Supr. 6. n. 7.
\textsuperscript{19} Oporteret] Owing to the justice of his cause; 'liceret,' owing to the liberty of acquittal bestowed by Pompey's law.
\textsuperscript{20} Quod vero] 'But in that, &c.;' i. e. by his taking post in that particular place; sc. the entrance to the treasury, as Ascon. says.
\textsuperscript{21} Minus dignum] The indignity consisted in Pompey's obliging the judges to condemn an innocent person; which he must have done merely to insult them, as he had in himself the full power of punishing them without going through any legal form.
24. Animadvertere ipse] Cat. i.e. 1. n. on 'jussu Consulis.'
25. More majorum] Sall. Cat. 29, says, 'more Romano.'
26. Suo jure] For the act permitted the consul 'coercere omnibus modis—cives.' Sall. Cat. 29.
27. Hesternam concionem] Supr. 2. 'Qui hesterna etiam concione concitatui sunt, ut vobis voce praepresent, qui judicaretis.' T. Munatius Plancus was the speaker.
Sect. XXVII. 1. Clod. crimen] He had contrasted this charge (c. 25.) with the suspicions of Pompey, and cleared away those suspicions. He now addresses himself to prove, that the death of Clodius, being a service to the state, its perpetrator (Milo) had therein performed a glorious act. This is the second principal division of the confutation, called by himself, (inf. c. 34.) extra causam, the use and defect of which is noticed by Quint. (iii. 6. and iv. 5.) Vid. supr. 2. n. 20, where it appears from Ascon. (which Quint. corroborates,) that Cic. imitated a defence of Milo, written and published by Brutus.
2. Demens] He pretends that it were fatuity to doubt of the strong feeling of the judges as to the advantages accruing from the death of Clodius. 'Vestri sensus'—your way of thinking. Att. xv. 7, 'sensus ejus de republica.'
3. Ut diluui] (Δαλόνματ) Sc. by showing that he had waylaid Milo and was, therefore, justly slain. Cic. artfully assumes his case as proved; 'causa dicta est.' Arch. 4.
4. Mentiri] In saying 'occidi,' i.e. per vim et insidias, which he has just disproved. The Delph., however, refers it to the fact of the murder being committed, not by Milo, but his slaves.
5. Gloriosi] Not 'nobly,' as 'splendide mendax,' in Hor. Od. iii. 11. 35; for there was no credit in telling the lie, but (gloriabundus) 'glorying in it,' 'boastfully,' 'proudly.' So ad Div. viii. 15. Quid, jam, inquis, glorioso omnia?
6. Occidi, occidi] Primum indicat; alterum affirmat. Quint. ix. 3.—Manut.
7. Non Sp. Maelium] For that were an ignoble act, in comparison with slaying Clodius. Supr. 3. n. 17.
12. Seditionem] Qu. seorsum—itio, d being inserted, as in 'reditus;'
13. Interfectores.] Servilius Ahala and Scipio Nasica.

14. Adulterinm] Sc. with Pompeia, the wife of Julius Caesar. Supr. 5. n. 11.

15. Pulvinaribus] Couches in temples, whereon the images of the gods were placed on solemn occasions. Here those of the Bona Dea. Harusp. 5. "Cum stuprum Bona Deae pulvinaribus intulisset."

16. Nobilissimae] Vestal virgins and noble matrons who had assembled at Caesar’s house, to perform the rites of the goddess. Caesar was Pontifex Max. Harusp. 3. "Ex domo Pont. Max."

17. Expianandas] Required expiation. Three instances are noticed in the Harusp. 12. 13. : 1. the rites of the Bona Dea; 2. the great games, which, as adile, he conducted, and at which he allowed his slaves to assist and be spectators; 3. his delivering for a bribe the town of Pessinus, in Phrygia, and the magnificent temple of Cybele there, to Birtotarus ‘Gallo Graeco, impuro homini ac nefario.’ Sext. 26.

18. Sorore germana] A full sister; for cousins were also called ‘sorores.’

Phil. ii. 38. Clodia, the youngest of three sisters, was married to L. Lucullus.


20. Questionibus] The slaves of Clodia were put to the torture.


23. Ademit] E. g. from Ptolemy, king of Cyprus. Clodius enacted that Cyprus should be made a province of the empire; that its king and kingly treasures be sold and confiscated; and that Cato be commissioned with praetorian authority to carry the proceeds to Rome. Sext. 26. 29.

24. Orbem terrarum] By the Clodian law, Macedonia was given to Piso, and Syria to Gabinius, in return for their support in procuring the banishment of Cic.

25. Civem] Pompey. This assault arose out of the affair of Trigranes. Supr. 7. n. 10. By ‘foro,’ Ascon. says, is meant the temple of Castor, where Clodius had stationed the slave who was to assassinate Pompey.
domum vi et armis compulit; eum, cui nihil unquam nefas\textsuperscript{26} fuit nec in facinore, nec in libidine; eum qui ædem Nym-
pharum\textsuperscript{27} incendit, ut memoriam publicam recensionis, ta-
bulis publicis impressam, extingueret; eum denique, cui
jam nulla lex erat,\textsuperscript{28} nullum civile jus, nulli possessionum
termini; qui non calumnia litium,\textsuperscript{29} non injustis vindiciis\textsuperscript{30} ac
sacramentis\textsuperscript{31} alienos fundos, sed castris, exercitu, signis in-
ferendis petebat; qui non solum Etruscos,\textsuperscript{32} (eos enim peni-
tus contemptarat,) sed hunc Q. Varium,\textsuperscript{33} virum fortissimum
atque optimum civem, judicem nostrum, pellere possessioni-
bus, armis castrisque conatus est; qui eum architectis\textsuperscript{34} et
decempedis villas multorum hortosque peragratabat; qui Jani-
culo et Alpibus\textsuperscript{35} spem possessionum terminabat suarum;
qui, quem ab equite Romano splendido et forti,\textsuperscript{36} M. Paconio,
non impetrasset, ut insulam in lacu Prelio\textsuperscript{37} venderet, repente
lintribus in eam insulam materiam,\textsuperscript{38} calcem, cæmenta, arma

26. Nihil—nefas] i.e. Which he
would not do; impossible. Od. i.
27. Ædem Nympharum] Sc. of
the fountains, who were worshipped
there that they might be propitious
against fires. Harusp. 27. ‘Earum
templum inflammatit Dearum qua-
rum ope aliis incendis subvenitur.’
In this temple, as being most secure
from fires, were kept the public regis-
ters, at least of the censors. There
seems, afterwards, to have been a
place set apart for this purpose,
called ‘tabularium.’ Virg. Geor. ii.
502. Insanum forum aut populi
tabularia vidit. It is easy to con-
ceive that the notice of Clodius (re-
censionis) was not flattering, and
hence his revenge.
29. Calumnia litium] Unjust
law-suits. ‘Calumnia,’ from ‘cal-
vo,’ I deceive, imports, 1. a cavil or
quirk; 2. a false accusation.
30. Vindiciis] A claim of pos-
session; a litigation to establish that
claim. Th. ‘vindico,’ perhaps from

31. Sacramentis] I. A pledge or
gage to be forfeited by the losing
party; 2. the suit or cause itself, as
here.
32. Etruscos] Supr. 9. ‘Etruriam
vexaverat,’ and 19, ‘Omnis Etruria
rea citaretur.’
33. Q. Varium] Al. Ca. Pom-
peium, erroneously.
34. Architectis] To direct the
buildings which he might raise. It
refers to ‘villas;’ and ‘decempedis’
to ‘hortos.’ So Hor. Od. ii. 15.
14. —— Nulla decempedis
Metata privatis opacem
Porticus excipiebat Arcton.
35. Janiculo—Alpibus] i.e. The
entire of Upper Italy, from Rome
to Gaul.
36. Splendido et forti] The dis-
tinctive epithets of knights.
37. Prelio] Al. Prelio, now Cas-
tilogne, in Tuscany.
38. Materialiam] (As ὑλη) Timber
for building; ‘calcem,’ lime-stone,
lime; ‘cæmenta,’ (qu. ‘cædimenta,’
from ‘cædo,’) stones from the quar-
ry, and ‘arma,’ tools.
convexit; dominoque trans ripam inspectante, non dubitatit aedificium exstruere in alieno; qui huic T. Furfanio, cui viro? dixi immortales! (quid enim ego de muliercula Scan- tia, quid de adolescete Aponio dicam? quorum utrique mortem est minitatus, nisi sibi hortorum possessione cessiset;) sed ausus est Furfanio dicere, si sibi pecuniam, quantum poposcerat, non dedisset, mortuum se in domum ejus illaturum, qua invidia huic esset tali viro confagrandum; qui Appium fratrem, hominem mihi conjunctum sidissima gratia, absentem de possessione fundi dejecit; qui parietem sic per vestibulum sororis instituit ducere, sic agere fundamenta, ut sororem non modo vestibulo privaret, sed omni aditu et limine.

XXVIII. Quamquam haec quidem jam tolerabilia vi-

39. Dominoque—inspectante] This was an aggravating circumstance. So Virg. Æn. i. 118. 1ipsius ante oculos, &c. 'Trans ripam,' from beyond the margin or bank of the lake; i. e. on the mainland. See nec. Benef. v. 16. Trans Alpes accitus hostis;—from beyond the Alps.

40. Exstruere in alieno] Of this, the punishment was, a forfeiture of the building. 'Illius et aedificium cujus et solum est.' Dig. de acquir. verr. dominio.

41. Furfanio] One of the judges; a friend and correspondent of Cic. Fam. vi. 8.

42. Muliercula] A little woman; a poor unprotected creature.

42. Scantia] The name of a wood in Campania, abounding in pastures, (Agr. i. 1; and iii. cap. ult.) and producing revenue to the Roman people. Perhaps this poor woman came from that quarter, and possessed 'a garden,' near the 'Janiculum,' which attracted the covetous eye of Clodius. Atleast a garden in Scantia would be no very great prize.

43. Mortuum] Either to charge him with the murder, or have his property escheated, as being polluted by a corpse.

44. Qua invidia] By the odium consequent on which this honourable man should be overwhelmed.

45. Appium] Cic. adds, 'fratrem' 'absentem,' to heighten the atrocity of the thing. To this Appius, Cic. addresses the third book of his Epist.; yet he supported Clodius against Cic., in the affair of his return. Supr. 15. n. 5.

46. Sororis] Clodius had three sisters; the eldest of whom, called Quadrantaria, from a trick played upon her by one of her lovers, who paid her favours with farthings, was married to Metellus Celer, Plut. Cic. 29; Cat. 14. 26; Terentia, was the wife of Q. Marciius Rex; and Clodia, the wife of Lucillus. It is probable that the first is here referred to, as her house lay contiguous to Cic., and Cicero's, again, to Clodius. Plut. Cic. 29; and Harusp. 15. Mea domus...sacrello parietem tangit.

47. Parietem—ducere] Virg. Pars ducere muros.

Sect. XXVIII.—1. Quamquam] The usual correction, supr. 2. n. 18. The preceding sect. contained a review of Clodius's past enormities, forming a sort of descending series from the profanation of the rites of the Bona Dea to the building a partition across his sister's court-yard.
debantur, etsi æqualiter in rempublicam, in privatos, in longinquos, in propinquos, in alios, in suos irruebat: sed nescio quomodo jam usu obdurerat, et percalluerat civitatis incredibilis patientia. Quæ vero aderant jam et pendebant, quonam modo ea aut depellere potuissetis aut ferre? Imperium ille si nactus esset: omitto socios, extranas nationes, reges, tetrarchas; vota enim faceretis, in cos se potius immitteret, quam in vestras possessiones, vestra tecta, vestras pecunias: pecunias dico? a liberis, a liberis, medius fidius, et a conjugibus vestris nunquam ille effrenatas suas libidines cohibuisset. Fingi haec putatis, quæ patent? quæ nota sunt omnibus? quæ tenentur? servorum exercitus illum in urbe conscripturum fuisset, per quos totam rempublicam resque privatas omnium possideret. Quamobrem, si cruentum gladium tenens clamaret T. Annius: "Adeste, quæso, atque audite, cives: P. Claudium interfecti; ejus furores, quos nullis jam legibus, nullis judiciis frenare poteramus, hoc ferro et hac dextra a cervicebus vestris repuli, per me ut unum jus, æquitas, leges, liber-

In this is sketched his intended crimes, and the praise due to Milo for cutting short his mad career inferred.

2. Hac—tolerabilia] In comparison of the evils which he was likely to inflict on the state.

3. In rempi, &c.] These being opposed in pairs, we find 'propinquos' must here mean 'neighbours.'

4. Percalluerat] Explained by 'obdurerat,' for it also means, 'had thoroughly known.' We say 'case-hardened.'


7. Omitto socios, &c.] For they would have suffered as a matter of course. Supr. 27. n. 17. 25.

8. Tetrarchas] Not only the governor of the fourth part of a kingdom, but the sole ruler of any country which was at any time so divided. So Hirt. B. Alex. 67. 'Dejotarus Tetrarchus Gallogracciae—pene totius;' to which the other Tetrarchs questioned his right.

9. Vota faceretis] A proof of extreme distress; to be glad of safety at the expense of allies and friends.

10. Medius fidius] 1. Varro says, Dius Fidius is, 'Jovis filius,' i.e. Hercules; 2. me, in composition, is governed of juvet; [some say it is the Greek μάδω; but that adverb is restricted to negative assertions.] 3. Fest. notices, 'per diei fidem;' and 'per divi fidem;' i.e. by the God of Honour, or Hercules. The Greek parallel expression, Διος Ισηρος, gives a colour to the last explanation, which, however, should be 'me Deus fidei juvet.'

11. Tenentur] Intelligenter.


15. Frenare—repuli, &c.] There appears to be a confusion of metaphors here. Ut following, is illustrative: 'So that by means of me, alone, justice, &c.' Al. per me unum effectum est ut.

16. Jus] Scriptum; 'æquitas,' qua mens scriptoris inquiritur, non verba
PRO T. ANNIO MILONE, CAP. 29.

17. Pudor, pudicitia] Refer the former to the mind, the latter to the body.

18. Post hom. memoriam] Since men began to record actions. We say, ‘within the memory of man.’


20. Hoc] He foretels that they will attribute every future blessing to the removal of Clodius, and he bids them note that he now said so.

21. Summo viro] Pompey, appointed to be sole consul, (Introd 4,) had passed some salutary laws against bribery and corruption, and attempted to reform the state.

22. Possessionis] ’Possessio’ being merely, per usum, and giving no right of property (mancipium) ’perpetuus’ is added to make it express that idea.

Sect. XXIX.—1. Non timeo] Having now detailed all the enormities of Milo, Cic. apprehensive that the feelings of the Judges did not accompany him in his exaggerations, resolves to give them a palpable proof of their abhorrence for Clodius. This he does by supposing him recalled to life; the bare thought astounded them. Nay he adds Pompey would not recall him. Therefore Clodius was a tyrant and his murder meritorious.

2. Etsi praecipuum] Sc. ’odium meum;’ being banished by Clodius, my brother nearly killed, my family
paene æqualiter versaretur\textsuperscript{3} odium meum. Non potest dici satis, ne cogitari quidem, quantum in illo sceleris, quantum exitii fuerit. Quin sic\textsuperscript{4} attendite, judices: nempe haec est quæstio de interitu P. Clodi. Fingite animis: liberæ enim sunt cogitationes nostræ, et, quæ volunt, sic intuentur, ut ea cerinnus,\textsuperscript{5} quæ videmus; fingite igitur cogitatione imaginem hujus conditionis meæ: si possim efficere, ut Milo- nem absolvatis,\textsuperscript{6} sed ita si P. Clodium revixerit. Quid vult extimuisist? quonam modo\textsuperscript{7} ille vos vivus afficeret, quos mortuós inani cogitatione percussit? Quid? si ipse Cn. Pompeius,\textsuperscript{8} qui ea virtute, ac fortuna est, ut ea potuerit semper, quæ nemo praeter illum: si is, inquam, potuisset, ut quaestionem de morte P. Clodi ferre, sic ipsum ab inferis excitare, utrum putatis potius facturum fuisset? etiamsi prop- ter amicitiam\textsuperscript{9} vellet illum ab inferis revocare, propser rem- publicam non fecisset. Ejus igitur mortis sedetis ultores, cujus vitam si putetis per vos restitui posse, nolis: et de ejus nece lata quaestio est, qui si cadam lege reviviscere posset, lata lex nunquam esset. Hujus ergo intersector si esset, in confitendo ab iisne poenam timeret, quos liberavisset?

persecuted, my property confiscated, my house burned, &c.

3. 

Pane æqual. vers.] Was almost on an equality with; i. e. did not much exceed it.

4. 

Quin sic] As the 'quantum' of Clodius's guilt admitted neither of expression nor conception, he thought the judges might best approximate to the idea of it, by supposing his re- call to life.

5. 

Cernimus] Cerno (κρίνω, from κρίνη, barley) 1. I sct. 2. view separately, discern. Hence it is stronger than 'video.' Tusc. i. 20. Nos enim ne nunc quidem oculis cerinnus ea quæ videmus.

6. 

Ut Milonem absolvatis, &c.] Cíc. artfully connects the acquittal of Mi- lo with the reanimation of Clodium; as well to keep the former idea before the minds of the judges; as to reconcile them to it the more, when they should perceive it to be relieved from such a fearful condition.

7. 

Quonam modo] The mere im- 
gination of Clodium dead affected you; a fortiori would the reality of Clodium living.

8. 

Quid si ipse Cn. Pompeius] Nay Pompey, the best and bravest man alive, would not, if he could, recall Clod. to life. Therefore his death must have been a public be- nefit.

9. 

Amicitiam] Supr. 8. n. 8. 

10. 

Ergo—si esset, &c.] Therefore, were Milo the perpetrator of so glo- rious a deed, he would have confessed it. Hence inf. 'confiteretur, inquam, &c.'; also c. 31, 'Uteretur eadem confessione T. Annius;' and 'Consci- entia sua nitetur;' all which expressions depend upon this first supposition. "Frequently the imperf. subj. is used instead of the pluperf. in both clauses of a hypothet- ic, though the event referred to is completely passed. The English phrase would lead to the pluperf." Zumpt's Lat. G. p. 301.
Græci homines\textsuperscript{11} deoruni honores tribuunt iis viris, qui\textsuperscript{12} tyramos necaverunt. Quæ ego vidi Athenis! quæ alii in urbibus Græciae! quas res divinas talibus institutas viris! quos cantus\textsuperscript{13} quæ carmina! prope ad immortalitatis et religionem et memoriam\textsuperscript{14} conseerantur. Vos tanti conservatorem populi, tanti sceleris ultorem, non modo honoribus nullis afficietis, sed etiam ad supplicium rapi patiemini? Confiteretur,\textsuperscript{15} confiteretur, inquam, si fecisset, et magnó animo, et libenter\textsuperscript{16} se fecisse, libertátis omnium causa; quod esset ei certe non confitendum modo, verum etiam præedicandum.

XXX. Etenim, si id\textsuperscript{11} non negat, ex quo nihil petit, nisi ut ignoscatur, dubitaret id materi, ex quo etiam præmia laudis essent petenda? Nisi vero\textsuperscript{2} gratius putat esse vobis sui se capitis, quam vestri\textsuperscript{3} defensorem fuisset; quum presertim in ea confessione, si grati esse velletis, honores assequeretur amplissimos. Si factum\textsuperscript{4} vobis non probaretur, (quamquam qui poterat salus sua cuique non probarit?) sed tamen si minus fortissimi viri virtus civibus grata cecidisset:\textsuperscript{5} magnō animo constantique cederet ex ingrata civitate. Nam quid esset ingratius, quam laetari

\textsuperscript{11} Græci homines] The mention of 'liberavisset' was enough to lead his mind to Greece, the land of liberators. 'Homes' is added to 'Græci' in opposition to 'deorum' which follows.

\textsuperscript{12} Viris qui, &c.] i. e. Tyrannicides. Abram. adduces Aratus, Timoleon, Pelopidas and Brasidas, for the other cities of Greece; Harmodius and Aristogiton, for Athens.

\textsuperscript{13} Quos cantus] These songs were usual at the public sacrifices and private entertainments. The Schol. on Aristophanes quotes one which began thus: \textit{Φιλάριθῳ Αρμοί} ἐπὶ τίθωμαι. \textit{Νήσιος} δὲ in μακαρων σε φασίν είναι, &c.

\textsuperscript{14} Immort.—memoriam] i. e. To a veneration and fame which shall never die. We say—'The immortal memory.'

\textsuperscript{15} Confiteretur, &c.] Even through this extra causam defence Cic. denies that Milo actually slew Clodius. Hence his supposition here, that had Milo done so, the deed being noble, he would surely have confessed it. But he did not, therefore he was innocent.

\textsuperscript{16} Libenter] Al. libente, to agree with 'animo.' It qualifies 'fecisset.'


2. Nisi vero] 'Unless truly, &c.'—which is absurd. Supr. 3. n. 10.

3. Vestri] Al. insert ordinis; but as the Judices were not taken from any particular 'order' this word is properly omitted by Ern. and 'capitis' understood.

4. Si factum] That Milo slew Clodius, not in self-defence, but in your defence. He reasons on this supposition all through to 'niteretur,' infra.

caeteros, lugere eum solum, propter quem ceteri laetarentur? Quamquam hoc animo semper omnes fuimus in patriae proditionibus opprimendis, ut, quoniam nostra futura esset gloria, periculum quoque et invidiam nostram putaremus. Nam quae mihi ipsi tribuenda laus esset, quam tantum in consulatu meo pro vobis ac liberis vestris ausus essem, si id, quod conabar, sine maximis dimicationibus meis me esse ausurus arbitrarer? quae mulier sceleratum ac perniciosum cievem occidere non auderet, si periculum non timeret? Proposita invidia, morte, poena, qui nihilo sequius rempublicam defendit, is vir vere putandus est. Populi grati est, præmiis afficere bene meritos de republica cives; viri fortis, ne suppliciis quidem moveri, ut fortiter fecisse peniteat. Quamobrem uteretur eadem confessione T. Annius, qua Ahala, qua Nasica, qua Opimius, qua Marius, qua nosmetipsi: et, si grata respublica esset, laetaretur; si ingrata, tamen, in gravi fortuna conscientia sua niteretur.

Sed hujus beneficii gratiam, judices, Fortuna populi Romani, et vestra felicitas, et dii immortales, sibi debieri putant. Nec vero quisquam aliter arbitrari potest, nisi qui nullam vim esse ducit, numenve divinum; quem neque

6. Quamquam] The usual correction. He had supposed (what was hardly possible) that had he slain Milo in its defence his country would not thank him for so doing; he would therefore abandon so ungrateful a country—yes ungrateful to make the author of their joy the only sorrowful, and yet (quamquam &c.) this is what we patriots all expect—danger and odium, without which where in fact would be our merit? Wherefore if Annius had slain a tyrant, he would have frankly confessed it; rejoiced if his country approved; if not rejoiced at the consciousness of having done his duty. Sed—But unhappily for his fame, he did not. The fortune of Rome and the Gods claim all the merit. They had long borne with his enormities, to which Milo (c. 32.) was the only impediment. They therefore inspired him with the idea of attacking Milo in the very place where he had most outraged the laws, (c. 33.) He did so and fell. And this leads to the peroration.


8. Vir vere] 'Vere' refers to 'vir'; not 'putandus est.'


11. Sed] But so far from Milo having any claim, the Fortune, &c.


imperii vestri magnitudo, neque sol ille, nec coeli signorumque motus, nec vicissitudines rerum atque ordines movent, neque, id quod maximum est, majorum nostrorum sapientia; qui sacra, qui caeremonias, qui auspicia et ipsi sanctissime coluerunt, et nobis, suis posteris, proderunt.

XXXI. Est, est profecto illa vis: neque in his corporibus atque in hac imbecillitate nostra inest quiddam, quod vigeat et sentiat, et non inest in hoc tanto naturae tam praeclaro motu. Nisi forte idcirco esse non putant, quia non apparat, nec cernitur: proinde quasi nostram ipsam mentem, qua sapimus, qua providemus, qua haec ipsa agimus ac dicimus, videre, aut plane, qualis, aut ubi sit, sentire possimus. Ea vis, ea est igitur ipsa, quae saepe incredibiles huic urbi felicitates atque opes attulit, illam perniciem extinxit, ac sustulit; cui primum mentem injecit, ut vi irritare ferroque laccessere fortissimum virum auderet, vincereturque ab eo, quem si vicisset, habiturus esset impunitatem et licentiam sempiternam. Non est humano consilio, ne mediocris quidem, judices, deorum immortali cura, res illa perfecta. Religiones, mehercule, ipsae, quae illam belluam cadere viderunt, commossse se

15. Imperii magnitudo] This selection of proofs for the existence of a deity, shews how ill-qualified the noblest uninspired genius was to form rational ideas on this subject.


Sect. XXXI.—1. Imbecillitate] (From in, not, and bacculus, bacillus, a staff) 1. weakness attendant on old age. 2. weakness in general.

2. Neque—et non inest] Nor is there in these mortal frames an active thinking principle without its being in like manner in the system of nature; i.e. if it be in the former, a fortiori it is in the latter.


4. Proinde quasi] The order is proinde quasi possimus videre nostram, &c. aut plane sentire quals, &c.

5. Hae ipsa agimus, &c.] Plead this very cause. Manil. 1. 5.

6. Ea est ipsa] Al. omit est. But it is better retained. 'This then is the providence, this the very providence which, &c.'

7. Felicitates] Some of these are stated by Plutarch in his book ' de Fortuna Rom.'


9. Sempiternam] i.e. All his life. Hor. Servit aeternum qui parvo nesciet uti.

10. Non est humano] Therefore not by Milo's.

11. Religiones] Sc. aedes, ara, caeremonia, or rather the gods which belong to them, and which alone can be said to bestir themselves, &c.'

12. Mehercule] i.e. Hercules me servet; the same as Medius fidius. Supr. 28. n. 10.

videntur, et jus in illo suum retinuisse.\textsuperscript{14} Vos enim jam, Albani\textsuperscript{15} tumuli atque lucii, vos, inquam, imploro, atque ob-testor, vosque Albanorum obtutae arae, sacrorum populi Romani sociæ et æquaules,\textsuperscript{16} quas ille, præceps amentia, cæsis prostratisque sanctissimis lucis, substructionum insanis\textsuperscript{17} molibus oppresserat; vestrae tum, arae, vestrae religiones viguerunt,\textsuperscript{18} vestra vis valuit, quam ille omni scelere polluerat; tuque ex tuo edito monte, Latiaris\textsuperscript{19} sancte Jupiter, cujus ille lacsus,\textsuperscript{20} nemora, finesque sepe omni nefario stupro et sceleri macularat, aliquando ad eum punitendum oculos aperuisti: vobis illæ, vobis vestro in conspectu seræ,\textsuperscript{21} sed justæ tamen et debite poenæ solutæ sunt. Nisi forte\textsuperscript{22} hoc etiam casu factum esse dicemus, ut ante ipsum sacrarium\textsuperscript{23} Bone Deæ,\textsuperscript{24} quod est in fundo T. Sextii Galli, in primis honesti et ornati adolescentis, ante ipsam, inquam, Bonam Deam, quam prœlium commi-

\textsuperscript{14} Retinuisse\textsuperscript{25} Maintained, asserted. They seemed heretofore to have waived it.

\textsuperscript{15} Albani, &c.] Clodius had a villa in the Alban land; and it would appear that in the building of it he had destroyed some old graves and altars, attached to Mons Albanus, where the Latine seræ were celebrated. Mons Albanus was covered with trees; but we may suppose that every little hillock and grove was the site of an altar for these occasions. The Delph, suggests that the 'tumuli' may have been the sepulchres of the old Albans. Quint. xii. 10, notes the sublimity of this address. Also, vii. 2, he gives it as an instance of \textit{αποστροφή}.

\textsuperscript{16} Sociæ et æquaules\textsuperscript{26} For the Latins had by treaty certain sacred rites in common with the Romans, particularly the \textit{Latine Feria}, first appointed by Tarquin for one day. Liv. i. 55. Under the consuls they were extended to four; Liv. vi. 42; by whom they were always celebrated before they set out to their provinces. On these occasions forty-seven Latin cities assembled at Mons Albanus; an ox was sacrificed, and each of them received a part.

\textsuperscript{17} Insania\textsuperscript{27} Quales insani faciunt; vast, huge. 'Substructionum', Supr. 20.

\textsuperscript{18} Viguerunt\textsuperscript{28} Exerted their energy; he had said 'commovisse.'

\textsuperscript{19} Latiaria\textsuperscript{29} Al. Latialis, i. e. who presides over Latium. Yet 'Latiale caput' is perhaps the temple of Jupiter on the Alban mount. Lucan, i. 535.

\textsuperscript{20} Lacus\textsuperscript{30} At the foot of Mons Albanus is the lake of that name, an oval sheet of water about six or seven miles in circumference, Liv. v. 19.

\textsuperscript{21} Seræ\textsuperscript{31} Hor. Od. 10. 2. 31.

\textsuperscript{22} Nisi forte\textsuperscript{32} Supr. 3. n. 10. Cic. thought it absurd to deny a providential interference in the fact of his death happening in the very presence of the goddess whose rites he had profaned. Before he had said it was 'Ante fundum Clodii', &c.

\textsuperscript{23} Sacrarum\textsuperscript{33} The dimin. is 'saccellum', a shrine, chapel.

\textsuperscript{24} Bone Deæ\textsuperscript{34} 'Αγαθῆ Θεᾶ. Hoc nomine terra ipsa culta est a Roma-nis, quia omnium nobis ad victum bonorum causa est. Macrob. Saturn. i. 12.
sisset, primum illud vulnus acciperet, quo teteririmam mortem obiret: ut non absolutus judicio illo nefario videtur, sed ad hanc insignem pœnam reservatus.

XXXII. Nec vero non eadem ira deorum hanc ejus satellitibus injecit amentiam, ut sine imaginibus, sine cantu atque ludis, sine exsequiis, sine lamentis, sine laudationibus, sine funere, obitus cruore et luto, spoliatus illius supremi diei celebritate, cui concedere etiam inimici solent, ambureretur abjectus. Non fuisset credo fas, clarissimorum virorum formas illi teteririmo parricide aliud decoris afférerre, neque ullo in loco potius mortem ejus lacerari, quam in quo vita esset damnata.

Dura mihi, medius fidius, jam Fortuna populi Romani et crudelis videbatur, quæ tot annos illum in hanc rem-

25. Teteririmam] When speaking of this murder as the act of Milo he employed a euphemism; 'Fecerunt id servi Milonis, &c.' c. 10. n. 30; here a studied exaggeration.

26. Illo] Wherein he was tried for the violation of her mysteries. Supr. 5. n. 11.

27. Ut—videretur] So that he seemed, &c.; not 'in order that.' Supr. 1. n. 13.


3. Ludis] Of gladiators which were sometimes exhibited at the funerals of great men. But players and buffoons formed part of the procession, of whom the 'Archimimus' supported the character which the person when alive had borne. Suet. Vesp. 19.

4. Lamentis] 'Sc. of women employed for the occasion called 'prælice,' and by Virg. 'funere.' After singing the funeral dirge in the procession, they raised the 'lament' at the pile. 'Lamentum' qu. lacrymamentum.

5. Laudationibus] At the funerals of illustrious Romans, after the body of the deceased had been exposed for seven or eight days at his house, and duly lamented, it was carried to the forum accompanied by a procession of the leading citizens, where an eulogium was pronounced generally by the nearest relative of the deceased; or if he declined the office, by some man of eloquence. The origin of the custom is attributed by Plut. to Valerius Publicola who honoured his colleague's obsequies with a funeral oration.

6. Funere] A procession with lighted torches, from 'funes accessi,' which accompanied it. Val. Max. iii. 6. 4.

7. Celebrate] i. e. Sollennitate exsequiarum, a crowded funeral procession.


9. Formas] Images. The ancestors of Clodius were most noble.


12. Dura—videbatur] i. e. I did think the goddess of Roman fortune cruel in bearing so long with Clodius; but I now confess my error; she
publicam insulare videret et patetur. Polluerat\textsuperscript{13} stupro sanctissimas religiones; senatus gravissima decreta\textsuperscript{14} perfregerat; pecunia\textsuperscript{15} se palam a judicibus redemerat; vexarat in tribunatu senatum,\textsuperscript{16} omnium ordinum consensu pro salute reipublicae gesta\textsuperscript{17} residerat; me patria\textsuperscript{18} expulerat; bona diripuerat;\textsuperscript{19} domum incenderat; liberos,\textsuperscript{20} conjugem mean vexaverat; Cn. Pompeio\textsuperscript{21} nefarium bellum indixerat; magistratum, privatorumque caedes effecerat; domum\textsuperscript{22} mei fratris incenderat; vastarum Etruriam; multos sedibus ac fortunis ejecerat; instabat, urgetabat; capere ejus amentiam civitas, Italia, provinciae, regna non poterant; incidebantur\textsuperscript{23} jam domi leges, quae\textsuperscript{24} nos nostris servis addicerent;\textsuperscript{25} nihil erat cujusquam, quod quidem ille adamasquet, quod non hoc anno suum fore putaret. Obstandat ejus cogitationibus nemo, praetor Milonem. Ipsum illum,\textsuperscript{26} qui poterat obstare, Cn. knew better the time and agent for punishing him.

13. \textit{Polluerat} He now enumerates the enormities of Clodius, most of which are touched on before. Supr. 27. \&c. Of course the pollution of the mysteries of the Bona Dea stands first.

14. \textit{Senatus decreta} Supr. 5. n. 12. They had ineffectually voted \textit{\'eijus supplicio sollemnes religiones expiandas.}’

15. \textit{Pecunia} Alluding to the trial for sacrilege. Supr. 5. n. 12.

16. \textit{Vexarat—senatum} Principally by inducing the consuls to forbid their mourning for Cic.

17. \textit{Gesta} Cicero’s acts against the conspirators.

18. \textit{Me patria} Introd. 1.


20. \textit{Liberos, \&c.} Dom. 23.

21. Cn. Pompeio Supr. 7. and Sect. 32. This is of course an exaggeration. So is \textit{\'magistratum caedes effecerat.}’

Sect.55. The slaves of Clodius attacked the tribunes Sextius, Fabricius, and Cispian, and much bloodshed was caused; but they escaped. No doubt many \textit{\private} persons suffered, as the piles of dead bodies in the forum equalled the slaughter of Cinna.

22. \textit{Domum} Att. iv. 3.

23. \textit{Incidebantur} This being due only to laws actually ratified, was a proof of the insolence of Clodius. His laws were engraved on brass before he entered on the magistracy in which he was to bring them forward!

24. \textit{Quae \&c.} He here alludes to a law by which freedmen, now a numerous class at Rome, were permitted to vote among the rural instead of the city tribes. Supr. 12. n. 21. These city tribes were four in number, and were first formed by Fabius; the censor, thence called Maximus, who collected into them the mob of the forum, \&c. which heretofore was dispersed among all the tribes, and created disturbance wherever they went. Liv. ix. 46. While the freedmen were limited to these four tribes, they could do little mischief; but Clodius wished to extend their sphere of action to the thirty-one rustic tribes.

25. \textit{Addicerent} Often used in the sense of \textit{\‘to sell.’} Hence, here \textit{\‘should dispose of us to our slaves,’} i. e. make them and us exchange places. Phil. ii. 21. Vendita atque addicta sententia.

Pompeium, novo reditu in gratiam quasi devinctum arbitrabatur; Caesaris potentiam,\textsuperscript{27} suam potentiam dicebat; bonorum animos etiam in meo casu contemperat: Milo unus urgebatur.

XXXIII. Hic dii immortales, ut supra dixi,\textsuperscript{1} mentem illi perditio ac furioso dederunt, ut huic faceret\textsuperscript{2} insidias. Alii perire pestis illa non potuit: nunquam illum respublica suo jure esset ulta. Senatus, credo,\textsuperscript{3} prætorem eum circumscripsisset.\textsuperscript{4} Ne quem solebat\textsuperscript{5} quidem id facere in privato eodem hoc, aliquid profecerat. An consules in prætore coërcendo fortés fuissent? Primum, Milone occiso, habuisset suos\textsuperscript{6} consules. Deinde quis in eo prætore consul fortis esset, per quem tribunum, virtutem consularēm\textsuperscript{7} crudelissime vexatam esse meminisset? Oppressisset omnia, possideret, teneret; lege nova,\textsuperscript{8} quam est inventa apud eum cum reliquis legibus Clodianis, servos nostros, libertos suos fecisset; prostrero, nisi eum dii immortales in eam mentem impulissent, ut homo effeminatus fortissimum virum conatur occidere, hodie república nullam haberetis. An ille prætor, ille vero consul, si modo haec templā\textsuperscript{9} atque ipsa

\textsuperscript{27} Caesaris potentiam] Caesar was now pursuing his victories in Gaul, leaving Pompey to conduct the home department. Crassus the preceding year had lost his life in Parthia.

\textsuperscript{1} Huic faceret] Milo, as before.

\textsuperscript{2} Huic faceret] Milo, as before.

\textsuperscript{3} Credo] Ironical; as usual.

\textsuperscript{4} Circumscripsisset] Restrained him in the exercise of his power. Att. vii. 9. ‘Si tribunus plebis notatus, aut senatusconsulto circumscripstat?’ Phil. xiii. 9. ‘Parata de circumscribendo adolescente (Octavi) sententia consularis.’

\textsuperscript{5} Ne quem solebat] Not even when it used to attempt this in the case of Clodius ranking merely as a private citizen, had it effected any thing. An a fortiori argument. The attempt may refer to the trial for incest, supr. 5. n. 12. wherein Clodius baffled the senate.

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\textsuperscript{6} Suos] Hypsæus and Scipio, his nominees.

\textsuperscript{7} Virtutem consularēm] Cicero’s of course. Al. virum.

\textsuperscript{8} Legē nova] Ern. connects this with the preceding ‘teneret.’ But there is no doubt that the law is referred to by which Clodius gave the libertines the right of suffrage among the rustic tribes. Supr. 32. n. 24. Cic. here exaggerates, by using the word ‘servos’ absolutely; but it is obvious, as well from the nature of the thing, as the words, ‘qui in libertate morarentur’ in the restored passage, c. 13. that freedmen are designed. The claim which Clodius would thereby have on their services may justify the expression, ‘suos libertos.’

\textsuperscript{9} Hec templā] Which surrounded the forum. Supr. 1. n. 9.
moenia stare, eo vivo, tamdiu, et consulatum ejus expectaret potuissent, ille denique vivus mali nihil fecisset, qui mortuus, uno ex suis satellitibus. Sex. Clodio duce, curiam incenderit? Quo quid miserius, quid acerbius, quid luctuosius vidimus? Templum sanctitatis, amplitudinis, mentis, consilii publici, caput urbis, aram sociorum, portum omnium gentium, sedem ab universo populo Romano concessam uni ordini, inflammari, exscindi, funestari neque id fieri a multitudine imperita, quamquam esset miserum id ipsum, sed ab uno? qui quum tantum ausus sit uestor pro mortuo, quid signifer pro vivo non esset ausus? In curiam potissimum abjecit, ut eam mortuus incenderet, quam vivus everterat. Et sunt, qui de via Appia querantur, taceant de curia? et qui ab eo spirante forum putent potuisse defendi, cujus non restiterit cadaveri curia? Excitate, excitate ipsum, si potestis, ab inferis. Frangetis impetum vivi, cujus vix sutsinetis furias inseptuli? nisi vero sustinuistis eos qui cum facibus ad euriam cucurrum cum falcibus ad Castoris, refugium senatus.

10. Satellitibus] Properly the body-guard of a king; but used by the Romans, who hated every thing regal, to signify, bravos, accomplices, aiders and abettors in crime.

11. Templum] Manil. 24. n. 2.; sanctitatis, i. e. where sanctity, or inviolable honour, holds its seat; and amplitudinis, majesty. Manil. 1. n. 6. Cineas, the deputy of Pyrrhus, described the senate as an assemblage of kings.


13. Consilii publici] Græv. says, consilii pub. est ipse senatus; i. e. he takes consilium, to mean council. But as Templum ipsius senatus, (i. e. the Curia) is rather an unmeaning expression, it appears better to explain the words with Abram, in quo ad reip. salutem excubatur, i. e. of deliberation for the public good.

14. Urbis] Al. orbis. And aram, the asylum.


16. Funestari] For a place was considered to be polluted by a dead body.

17. A multitudine] The mob generally act under the excitement of the moment; but Sext. Clodius acted by premeditation, which was worse.

18. Ustor] Al. utor; but neither, according to Ern. is opposed to signiferi, as mortuus is to vivus.

19. Via Appia] On which Clodius was killed. Supr. 7. n. 7. Cic. thought the burning of the senate-house a sufficient set off against the Appian way and ancestral monuments of Clodius.


20. Falcibus] Al. facibus. But falsces were a species of halbert employed in breaking into houses, &c. We may suppose that the temple of Castor was a depot of arms which the mob wished to obtain possession of. Pis. 5. Arma in templo Castoris constituabantur.

XXXIV. Sed jam satis multa de causa: extra causam etiam nimis fortasse multa. Quid restat, nisi ut orem obtestaque vos, judices, ut eam misericordiam tribuatis fortissimo viro, quam ipse non implorat: ego etiam, repugnante hoc, ei imploro, et exposto? Nolite, si in nostro omnium fetu nullam lacrymam adspeEXISTS Milonis; si vultum semper eundem, si vocem, si orationem stabilim ac non mutatam videtis, hoc minus ei parcere! Haud scio, an multo etiam sit adjuvandus magis. Etenim si in gladiatorii pugnis, et in infimi generis hominum conditione atque fortuna timidos et supplices, et, ut vivere liceat, obsecurantes, etiam odisse solemus; fortos, et animosos, et se acriter ip-


22. Disturbari] Driven here and there, dispersed.

23. M. Cælius] When the fate of Clodius was known at Rome, the tribune Cælius, a friend of Milo, collected his adherents, and began to explain the outrages that led to Clodius's death. He was interrupted by the other tribunes, Plancus and Q. Pompey, who, with an armed mob, dispersed the meeting, and slew numbers. Cælius and Milo escaped in the dress of slaves. Ascon.

24. Firmissimus] He even opposed the arrangements of Cn. Pompey regarding this trial; till Pompey threatened to put down his opposition by force. Ascon.

25. In hac, &c.] 'Singulari' qualifies both 'invidia' and 'fortuna.'

Sect. XXXIV.—1. De causa] Se. wherein he proved Clodius the aggressor, c. 12. 27. 'Extra causam,' wherein he proved that Milo's act was praiseworthy, even supposing it intentional, c. 27. 34. Supr. 2. n. 20. The rest is peroration.

2. Quam ipse non implorat] For Milo had not submitted to the usual tricks for mollifying the judges; the tears, the suppliant gesture, and mourning garb. This, which had offended Pompey and the judges, Cic. endeavours to palliate. Quint. vi. 1.

3. Infimi generis] Slaves, of which rank the gladiators at this time generally were. Vid. supr. 2, where the gladiators of Milo are called by Cic. 'servi.' Subsequently the nobles of Rome did not disdain to become gladiators, and exhibit on the stage. Juv. viii. 200.


5. Odisse] i. e. To demand their death from the magistrate. This was done by a well-known signal. — verso pollice vulgi Quem-
sos morti offerentes, servare\textsuperscript{7} cupimus; eorumque nos magis miseret, qui nostram misericordiam non requirunt, quam qui illam efflagitant: quanto hoc magis in fortissimis civibus facere debemus? Me quidem, judices, examinant et interimunt haec voces Milonis, quas audio assidue, et quibus intersum quotidie. \texttextquoteleft Valeant, valeant, inquit, cives mei, valeant; sint incolumes, sint florentes, sint beatì; stet haec urbs praeclara mihiique patria carissima, quoquo modo erit merita de me;\texttextsuperscript{8} tranquilla\textsuperscript{9} republica cives mei, (quoniam mihi cum illis non licet,) sine me ipsi, sed per me tamen, perpetuantur.—Ego cedam, atque abibo. Si mihi republica bona frui non licuerit, at carebo mala. Et quam primam\textsuperscript{10} tetigero bene moratam\textsuperscript{11} et liberam civitatem, in ea conquiescam. O frustra, inquit, suscepísti mei labores! o spes fallaces! o cogitationes inane meae! Ego quum tribunus plebis, republica oppressa, me senatui dedissem, quem extinctum aceperam; equitibus Romanis; quorum vires erant debiles: bonis viris, qui omnem auctoritatem Clodianis armis abjecerant: mihi unquam honorum præsidium defuturum putarem? Ego, quum te (mecum enim sæpissime loquitur) patriæ reddidisset, mihi putarem in patria non futurum locum? Ubi nunc senatus est, quem securi sumus? ubi equites Romanì illi, illi, inquit, tui?\textsuperscript{12} ubi studia municipiorum?\textsuperscript{13} ubi Italiae voces?\textsuperscript{14}

libet occidunt populariter. Juv. iii. 36.


8. Merita de me] Treated me. \texttextquoteleft Mereri de aliquo\textquoteright est conferre in quemquam aliquid boni aut mali.—\textit{Forcell.}

9. Tranquilla] Clodius, the prime mover of every disturbance, being removed.


11. Bene moratam] (From mos) possessed of good institutions and morals; where the turbulence of a Clodius is unknown. The following apostrophe (O frustra, &c.) is noticed by Quint. vi. 1, as an instance of the propriety of putting suitable exclamations in the mouths of the accused, even when prayers are not allowed.

12. Illi, inquit, tui] Cicero's equestrian extraction is not so much alluded to here, as the friendship of the knights, which he had gained, as well by his general attention to their interests, as his exertions in effecting the celebrated junction between them and the senate.


14. Voces] Ferendo de te suffra-
ubri denique tua illa, M. Tulli, quae plurimis fuit auxilio, vox atque defensio? mihine ea soli, qui pro te toties morti me obtuli, nihil potest opitulari?15

XXXV. Nec vero haec,1 judices, ut ego nunc, flens,2 sed hoc eodem loquitur vultu, quo videtis. Negat enim se, negat, ingratissivibus fecisse, quae fecerit: timidis et omnia circumspicientibus pericula, non negat. Plebem4 et infimam multitudinem, quae, P. Clodio duce, fortunis vestris5 imminebat, eam, quo tutor esset vita vestra, [suam]6 se fecisse commemorat, ut non modo virtuto7 flecteret, sed etiam tribus8 suis patrimonii deliniret: nec timet ne, quum plebem muneribus placarit, vos non conciliaret meritis in rempubl
cam singularibus. Senatus erga se benevolentiam temporo
ribus his ipsis sepe esse perspectam; vestras vero, et vestro
rum ordinum9 occurr生肖es,10 studia, sermones, quemcurrently:

15. *Opitulari* 'Ope-m—tulo' (i. e. fero). Verbs which contain a noun in their composition usually govern a
dative. So 'ausculo, credo, &c.'

Sect. XXXV.—1. *Necque vero haec* Wishing to praise the kindness of 'the good' to Milo, Cicero here begins by representing the firm
ness and resignation which he exhi
bited as resulting from their feeling towards him.

2. *Flens* Cic. should have recollected the rebuke of *Æsch.* to De
mos., in Ctes. 71. 'Oντος κλαίει μίν ῥήγεω, ἢ ἄλλοι γελῶσι.

3. *Ingratiss* Displeased at, disapro
oving his conduct. So Graev.; and it seems a good sense to say, 'it is not that they dislike my conduct, but that they are afraid (timidis) to speak out.' However, ingratitude seems to be implied in these words, inf.: 'qui beneficio cives suos vice
runt.'

4. *Plebem, &c.* The construction here is, anacoluthon; there being no

5. *Fortunis vestris* This was the best excuse for the notorious largesses of Milo which Cic. had to offer. He
spent his fortune to save yours from being plundered.

6. *Suam* His friend; favourable to him. Hor. Ep. 9. 'Ventis non
suis.' But Orel. omits it; and then 'ut,' which was before illative—so that, becomes, in order that (supr. 1. n. 3.), and the constr., 'fecisse ut flecteret,' i. e. 'flexisse.' So inf. 38. 'utinam fecissent ut.'

7. *Virtute* Alluding to the firm
ness and bravery which Milo dis
played in curbing the licentiousness of the mob. No doubt, his three
patrimonial possessions had due in
fluence.

8. *Tribus* Sc. those of his father, Papius; of his maternal grandfather, C. Annius, by whom he had been adopted; and of his mother. But it is not clear how the second and third differ. Abram. conjectures that his mother had derived an estate from her mother, independent of her hus
band, which Milo enjoyed.

9. *Vestrorum ordinum* He means
que\textsuperscript{11} cursum fortuna dederit, secum se ablaturum\textsuperscript{12} esse dict. Meminit etiam, sibi vocem praeconis\textsuperscript{13} modo defuisse, quam minime desiderarit; populi vero cunctis suffragis, quod unum cupierit, se consulem declaratum: nunc denique, si haec [arma]\textsuperscript{14} contra se sint futura, sibi facinoris suspicione, non facti crimen\textsuperscript{15} obstare. Addit haec, quae certe vera sunt: Fortes et sapientes viros non tam praemia sequi solere recte factorum, quam ipsa recte facta;\textsuperscript{16} se nihil in vita, nisi praeclarissime fecisse, siquidem nihil sit praestabilitius viro, quam periculos patriam liberare; beatos esse, quibus ea res honoris fuerit a suis civibus; nec tamen eos miseris, qui beneficio cives suos viscerint: sed tamen, ex omnibus praemiis virtutis, si esset habenda ratio praeorniorum, amplissimum esse praemium, gloriam; esse hanc unam, quae brevitatem vitae posteritatis memoria consolaretur; quae efficeret, ut absentes adessemus, mortui viveremus: hanc denique esse, cujas gradibus etiam homines in coelum viderentur adscendere. "De me, inquit, semper populus Romanus, semper omnes gentes loqueatur, nulla unquam obmutescet vetustas. Quin hoc tempore ipso, quum omnes a meis inimicis faces mee\textsuperscript{17} invidiae subjiciantur, tamen omni in hominum coetu, gratii agendis,\textsuperscript{18} et gratulationibus habent-
dis, et omni sermone celebrabrum. Omitto Etruriae festos et actos, et institutos dies: centesima lux est haec ab interitu P. Clodii, et, opinor, altera; qua fines imperii populi Romani sunt, non solum fama jam de illo, sed etiam laetitia peragravit. Quamobrem ubi corpus hoc sit, non, inquit, laboro, quoniam omnibus in terris et jam versatur, et semper habitabit nominis mei gloria."

XXXVI. Hae tu mecum sepe, his absentibus: sed iisdem audientibus, haec ego tecom, Milo. Te quidem, quem isto animo es, sais laudare non possum: sed, quo est ista magis divina virtus, eo majore a te dolore devellor. Nec vero, si mihi eriperis, reliqua est illa tamen ad consolandum querela, ut his irasci possim, a quibus tantum vulner acce-

19. Etruriae festos] 'Actos,' in consequence of the death of their oppressor; 'institutos,' to record the memory of so happy an event. It was usual for a people to institute feasts in honour of a benefactor. So the Syracuseans instituted the 'Marcella,' in honour of M. Claudius Marcellus (Verr. iv. 21. 63.); and the Asiatics, the 'Mucia,' in honour of Q. Mucius. Verr. iv. 21.

20. Centesima lux—et altera] The date of the encounter, as given by Cic. (supr. 10.) was the twentieth of January; and the pleadings, according to Ascon., took place on the 8th of April; the interval is seventy-eight days; and if to this we add, an intercalary month of twenty-three days, inserted between the twenty-third and twenty-fourth of February, the sum is one hundred and one, as in the text. Those who contend that 'alter,' added to numerals, signifies 'duo,' must reckon the twentieth of January, inclusive. There does not, however, appear to be any decided instance where 'alter' must be so taken. Vid. Virg., Ec. viii. 29. Liv. iii. 33. Wherever one or first is either expressed or obviously implied, 'alter,' no doubt, signifies two or second; otherwise, it imports only 'another' added to whatever precedes. Vid. Forcel. If, however, as Scaliger (de emend. temporum ii.) shows, the intercalary month contained, alternately, twenty-two and twenty-three days, and if it were twenty-two this year, we will be obliged to translate 'the hundred and first,' since the remainder of Jan.—12 days, Febr. 28 days, the intercalary month 22, March 31, and 8 days of April, amount only to 101.


22. Omnibus in terris] Opposed to 'ubi,' the place of the body.

Sect. XXXVI.—1. Hae tu] Scotiae. Vulg. from 'Valeant, &c.' supr. 34. But 'haec ego, &c.' is 'Te quidem, &c.' following. 'His absentibus' is added to preserve Milo from the imputation of arrogance; who merely poured his high-minded complaints and resolves into the bosom of a friend; and as this demeanour was ill calculated to excite the commiseration of the judges, Cic. is obliged to illustrate that pity for his own sake which he despairs of obtaining for Milo.'

2. Nec vero si eriperis] Cic. complains that he has not even the poor consolation left of feeling angry at those who inflict the wound. Therefore they ought not to inflict it; but pardon Milo.
pero. Non enim inimici mei te mihi eripient, sed amiciissi-
mi: non male aliquando de me meriti, sed semper optime.
Nullum unquam, judices, mihi tantum dolorem inuretis
(etsi, quis potest esse tantus?) sed ne hunc quidem ipsum,
ut obliviscar, quanti me semper feceritis. Quae si vos ceptit oblivio, aut si in me aliquid offensistis, cur non id
meo capite potius luitur, quam Milonis? Praeclare enim
vixero, si quid mihi acciderit prius, quam hoc tamen mali
videro. Nunc me una consolatio sustentat, quod tibi, T.
Anni, nullum a meo amoris, nullum studii, nullum pietatis
officium defuit. Ego inimicitiis potentium pro te appetivi;
egro meum sepe corpus et vitam objeci armis inimicorum
tuorum temporum contuli; hoc denique ipso die, si qua vis
est parata, si qua dimicatio capitis futura, deposco. Quid
jam restat? quid habeo [quod dicam,] quod faciam pro
tuis in me meritis, nisi ut eam fortunam, quecunque erit
tua, ducam meam? Non recuso, non abnuo: vosque ob-
secro, judices, ut vestra beneficia, quae in me contulistis,
aut in hujus salute augeatis, aut in ejusdem exitio occasura
esse videatis.

4. Inuretis] Properly, 'shall brand;' a forcible expression for
'inflict.' Supr. 12. 'Leges—inus-
turus.' Muren. 4. Cat. ii. 11.
5. Etsi quis, &c.] Though what
(other) pain can be so acute as this
(sc. depriving me of Milo); but,
not even this will you inflict on me
to the degree that I shall forget, &c.
Understand, then, inuretis tantum
before 'ut obliviscar.'
6. Aliquid offensisti] i.e. Quoad
aliquid. 'Offendo' (like σκανδαλιζω
in the Greek Test.) is here, 'I run
foul of, am displeased with.' B.
Civ. ii. 32. At, credo, si Cæsarem
probatis, in me offensisti.

7. Id mee capite] Why is not that
offence rather atoned for by my death.
20. n. 1.

10. Potentium] The party of Clo-
dius, and perhaps Pompey.
n. 17.
12. Dimicatio capitis] Al. dimi-
nutio, which was any loss of liberty
or the rights of citizens. The loss
of the city and family was, 'dimi-
nutio maxima;' loss of the city
'media;' and any change of family,
'minima.' Adam. This is alluded
to by Hor., Carm. 5. 42. 'Capitis
minor;' one degraded.
13. Occasura esse videatis] It often
happens, as here, that the verb pre-
ceding two clauses suits the first only,
and requires to be modified before the
second. Thus it is right to say, 'I
entreat to enhance your favours by my
friend's acquittal;' but not, 'I en-
treat you to see them about to be
cancelled by his condemnation.' The
XXXVII. His lacrymis non movetur Milo. Est quodam incredibili robore animi: exsiliun ibi esse putat, ubi virtuti non sit locus; mortem naturae finem esse, non poenam. Sit hic ea mente, qua natus est. Quid vos, judices, quo tandem animo eritis? Memoriam Milonis retirebitis, ipsum ejicietis? et erit dignior locus in terris ullus, qui hanc virtutem exèciat, quam hic, qui proceravit? Vos, vos appello, fortissimi viri, qui multum pro republica sanguinem effudistis: vos in viri et in civis invicti apollo periculó, centuriones, vosque milites; vobis non modo inspectantibus, sed etiam armatis, et huic judicio præsidentibus, hæc tanta virtus ex hac urbe expelletur? exterminabitur? projicietur? O me miserum! o infeliciem! revocare tu me in patriam, Milo, potuisti per hos: ego te in patria per eosdem retinere non poterò? Quid respondebò liberis meis, qui te parentem alterum putant? quid tibi, Q. frater, qui nunc abes, consorti mecum temporum illorum? me non potuisse Milonis salutem tueri per eosdem, per quos nostram ille servasset? At in qua causa non potuisse? Quæ est grata gentibus. A quibus non potuisse? Ab iis, qui maxime P. Clodii morte acquirerunt. Quo deprecante? Me. Quodnam ego concepi tantum scelus, aut quod in me tantum facinus admisi, judices, quam illa indicia communis exitii indagavi, patefeci, protuli, exstinxì? Omnes in me me-modification may be, ‘I tell you, I warn you that you shall, &c.’

**Sect. XXXVII.**—1. *Natura*] Appointed by nature. Sall. Cat. 53. Mortem ærumnarum requiem, non cruciatum esse, &c.

2. *Hanc virtutem* i. e. ‘Virus virtute praeditum;’ as Hor. Od. iii. 24. 31. ‘Virtutem incoluern odi mus,’ &c. ‘Virtus Scipia dei,’ Sat. ii. 1.

3. *Fortissimi viri*] The guards were in hearing of Cicero.

4. *Viri et civis invicti* i. e. ‘Viri invicti et civis invicti.’

5. *O me miserum!*] Quint., vi. 1, notices the propriety of the advocate undertaking the task of exciting pity, when it would be unbecoming in the defendant. Nani quis ferret, says he, Milonem pro capite suo suppli- fectum, quia id fieri oportuisset, fa- teretur?

6. *Retinere*] Which should be easier than ‘revocare.’

7. *Parentem alterum*] As being the restorer of their first. ‘Liberis,’ of course, Marcus and Tullia.

8. *Qui nunc abes*] Namely, as Caesar’s lieutenant in Gaul.

9. *Grata gentibus*] Supr. 35.—Quò fines imperii populi Rom. sunt, non solum farno de illo, sed etiam lastitia peragravit.

10. *Acquerunt*] We were delighted with.

11. *In me—admisi*] ‘Have I committed,’ Supr. 23. n. i. 19. Hor. Tu nihil admittes in te formidine poenæ.

12. *Indagavi*] Vid. Cat. iii., for a full statement of his detection of the conspiracy.

13. *Exstinxì*] Cicero, carried away
osque redundant ex fonte illo dolores. Quid me reducem esse voluistis? an ut, inspectante me, expellerentur ii, per quos essem restitutus? Nolite, obseco vos, pati, mihi acerbiorem reditum esse, quam fuerit ille ipse discussum. Nam qui posseme putare me restitutum esse, si distrahor ab iis, per quos restitutus sum?

XXXVIII. Utinam dii immortales fecissent: (pace tua, patria, dixerim; metuo enim, ne scelerate dicam in te, quod pro Milone dicam pie:) utinam P. Clodius non modo vive-ret, sed etiam prae tor, consul, dictator esset potius, quam hoc spectaculum viderem! O, dii immortales! fortet et a vobis, judices, conservandum virum! "Minime, minime, inquit. Immo vero pœnas ille debitas luerit: nos subeamus, si ita necesse est, non debitas." Hiccinque vir patriæ natus, usquam nisi in patria, morietur? aut, si forte, pro patria? hujus vos animi monumenta retinebitis, corporis in Italia nullum sepulcrum esse patiemi? hunc sua quisquam sen-

by his eloquence, added this word, which does not apply to 'indicia communis exiiti,' but to 'commune exitium,' understood from that expression.

14. Redund. ex fonte illo] 'Flow from the conspiracy of Catiline,' thus: I suppressed that conspiracy, and thereby excited the hatred of Clodius. This produced my banishment; which, again, engaged Milo in my recall. Hence the odium was transferred to him, and he is now to be banished, which causes my grief. Ergo 'Redundant, &c.' Introd. I.

Sect. XXXVIII.—I. Utinam?

"A difference is to be marked between the pres. and perf.; and imperf. and pluperf. of the subj. with 'utinam.' With the former pair an action is conceived in the mind, which may or may not actually exist; with the latter pair it excludes the idea of actual existence." Zumpt's Lat. G. 75. So 'utinam dii faciant, &c. is,' 'would that the gods may,' 'as they can; 'utinam fecissent'—'would that they had; &c.,' but they did not.

2. Prator] He begins with the first office which Clod. did not hold.

3. Minime, &c.] We may suppose that Milo motioned a negative on Cicero's wish. 'Utinam . . . . dictator esset.' Let him, 'he adds,' meet his deserts, and I care not for personal consequences.'

4. Patriæ natus] Off. i. 7. Non nobis solum nati sumus, ortusq; nostri partem patria vindicat. But 'patriæ natus' intimates that he was famed by nature for the especial purpose of saving his country. So 'natus abdomini suo' is applied to Gal- binius, Pis. 17; 'naturally a gormandizer.'

5. Nisi in patria] Æn. x. 781. Et duces moriens reminiscitur Argos. Hence the poet Waller's wish 'to die, like the stag, where he was roused.'

6. Animis monumenta] Sc. his public services recorded in the history of his country; opposed to 'corporis sepulcrum.'

7. In Italia] The importance attached to a burial in one's native land, may be seen exemplified in the prayer of Hector to Achilles, Iliad, xxi. 254; of Mezentius, Æn. x. 904;
tentia ex hac urbe expellet, quem omnes urbes expulsum a vobis ad se vocabunt? O terram illam beatam, quae hunc virum exceperit: hanc ingratan, si ejecerit: miseram, si amiserit! Sed finis sit: neque enim præ lacrymis jam loqui possum; et hic se lacrymis defendi vetat. Vos oro obtestorque, judices, ut in sententiis ferendis, quod sentietis, id audeatis. Vestram virtutem, justitiam, fidem (mihi credite) is maxime probabit, qui in judicibus legendis, optimum, et sapientissimum, et fortissimum quemque delegit.

8. Sed finis] For my tears prevent my words; as well as the wish of Milo to depend solely on the goodness of his cause.
9. Vos oro, &c.] Having wound up the feelings of the judges to the highest pitch, he now affects to call upon them to attend only to the dictates of justice, &c.
10. Is maxime] Pompey, who being the prime mover of the whole proceeding is here presented, in conclusion, to the minds of the judges, as the friend of justice and of Milo.

The plan, then, of this admirable speech is extremely simple. It contains thirty-eight sections. Of these, the exordium occupies, c. 1. 2; then follows the refutation of the praetudicia, c. 2—8; the narration, c. 9—11; the direct confirmation, consisting of ten arguments, (noticed in order in the notes,) c. 12—26; the indirect confirmation or merit of slaying such a tyrant as Clodius, c. 27—33; and lastly, the peroration, 34—38. The arrangement of the direct proofs is different in different commentaries; that of Melancthon has been nearly followed.
INTRODUCTION TO THE ORATION

FOR

Q. LIGARIUS.

1. In the year of the city 703, Q. Ligarius accompanied C. Considius Longus, who had been appointed pro-prætor of Africa, into his province, as lieutenant, and on that governor retiring from his office, was by him nominated to the command. In the following year the civil war broke out between Cæsar and Pompey; and Ligarius, preferring friends and home to the glitter of a dangerous command, withstood the offers and entreaties of the Roman citizens and provincials who were almost all in Pompey’s interest, to join them, and hold the province for Pompey. In the mean time, P. Atius Varus who had been the predecessor of Considius in that province, and the warm friend of Pompey, coming to Utica, was not, though a private man, backward in accepting the office which Ligarius had rejected. At this juncture L. Ælius Tubero, who had been appointed over the province of Africa by the Senate, arrived there, and found it already in the hands of Varus. (Cæs. B. C. i. 30.) Being prevented from landing in Africa, he proceeded with his son Quintus into Macedonia, and made his complaint to Pompey, who being in the mean time informed by Varus of the defeat of Curio, Cæsar’s general, and of the province being his own, declined to interfere.

2. During the various struggles of the parties, Ligarius continued in Africa, and covertly at least, assisted the Pompeian cause. As Africa persevered in its opposition to the authority of Cæsar long after Pompey was slain, so those who were concerned in maintaining that opposition incurred in a higher degree the resentment of Cæsar. On the capture of Adrumetum however, Ligarius, owing to some mitigating circumstances, had his life granted and permission to remain there in exile.

In the mean time the brothers of Ligarius, who had been ever the firm supporters of Cæsar, his kinsmen and influential friends, particularly C. Pansa and Cicero, ceased not to supplicate Cæsar to restore him to his country. But in the end o
INTRODUCTION.

the year 707, Q. Ælius Tubero, who had never forgiven Ligarius for having, either on his own authority, or that of Varus, prevented him from landing in Africa, brought against him a charge _de vi_, i.e. of assisting the enemies of his country; or, as Cicero extenuatingly states it, 'Q. Ligarium in Africa fuisse.' [Cicero, however, afterwards admits his being a Pompeian, when he says 'qui causam habet meliorem quam tu, aut, ut tu vis, parem.' And indeed without this admission Tubero's charge would be utterly absurd.] Cicero defends Ligarius in the following oration.

3. As Caesar was well aware of the facts of the case, the orator proceeds directly to his defence, and at once admits that Ligarius was in Africa during the war. But here he makes a distinction. For dividing all the time into three parts; 1. the period of his lieutenancy _under_ Considius; 2. of his government _after_ Considius's departure, and 3. that which followed Varus's arrival, he pronounced him free from all blame in the first and second; and acting under compulsion in the third. c. 1. 2. He then compares the cause of Tubero and of himself with that of Ligarius, and concludes that Tubero should not have accused a man infinitely less culpable than himself. c. 3. He then shews that Tubero was ignorant of the tendency of his charge, which, as Ligarius was already in banishment, could only be to take away his life. This cruelty he severely censures, and yet he thinks it is exceeded by the attempt to prevent the pardon of Ligarius from being granted. c. 4. 5. Cicero then defends the cause of Pompey from the charge of 'wickedness,' which Tubero, by predicating it of Ligarius, one of the party, would thereby fix upon it. c. 6. He then enters into a more particular comparison of the causes of Ligarius and Tubero, and proves that of the latter infinitely the worse. c. 7. 9. Lastly he alludes to the peculiar manner of his pleading before Cæsar; how he forgets the technicalities of the advocate and throws himself on his mercy as a parent. c. 10. He adds, however, that Cæsar by granting his request will confer an eternal favour on the Ligarii, his brothers, on the Brocchi, on the Sabines, and on many Roman knights. c. 11. He concludes with an exhortation to Cæsar to follow up the noble example which he had set in lately pardoning Marcellus, since the best foundation of true greatness is clemency to the conquered. c. 12.

4. The effect produced by this oration was the acquittal and pardon of Ligarius. It were to be wished that history had here dropped the curtain; for the name of Q. Ligarius appears among the assassins of Cæsar. App. B. C. ii. 13. But justice overtook
him; for the same historian adds (iv. 22.) that he perished along with his brother in the proscription.

It is worthy of remark that Tuberos’s oration against Ligarius was extant in Quintilian’s time, who thinks (x. 1.) that there is an advantage in comparing it with Cicero’s. Vid. also xi. 1. where he gives a specimen of Tubero’s address. It is in answer to an obvious retort to which he exposed himself,—that he too was in Africa. Quintilian well remarks that no man can with the smallest propriety, reproach another with what he has himself been guilty of, unless there are some points of difference in the cases;—‘persona, ætas, tempus, causa, locus, animus.’ He proceeds: ‘Tubero, juvenem se patri hæsisse, illum a senatu missum non ad bellum, sed ad frumentum coëmendum, ait: Ligarium et perseverasse, et non pro Cn. Pompeio, inter quem et Caesarem dignitatis fuerit contentio, quum salvam uterque rempublicam vellet, sed pro Juba atque Afris inimicissimis populo Romano stetisse.’ It is likely then, that Ligarius was not the passive spectator of the hostile struggle which Cicero represents him to have been.
M. TULLII CICERONIS
PRO
QUINTO LIGARIO,
AD C. CÆSAREM,
ORATIO.

I. Novum criminem,1 C. Cæsar, et ante hunc diem2 inauditum, propinquus meus3 ad te,4 Q. Tubero5 detulit, Q. Ligar-

Sect. I.—1. Novum criminem] Ironically, as if he said, 'A dreadful charge, this, Cæsar, that Ligarius was in Africa! (as if you had not pardoned even your Pharsalian foes before now;) and what is worse still, Pansa, no mean authority, has had the hardihood, trusting, no doubt, to his intimacy with you, (as nothing less could warrant such a communication,) to confess this fact! I am, therefore, completely at a loss, for (as no one could defend) I was prepared to deny the charge—which being so new (i.e. notorious) you, of course, could have no means of learning, either of yourself or from other sources.' Quint. iv. 1, not only notices this irony but explains its use. 'Quid enim agebat aliud ironica illa, quam ut Cæsar minus se in rem quam non novam intenderet?' And again, 'Nisi cui divina illa pro Ligar-

rio ironia dislicet.' Yet Trapezunt. denies that there is any irony here. 'Novum criminem—inauditum,' is, by some, supposed to be taken from the speech of Tubero.

2. Hunc diem] Most likely the last day of November, a. u. 707. For this was the 'year of confusion,' and it was the day preceding the first of the two intercalary months inserted between November and December, that the brothers and friends of Ligarius met to entreat Cæsar, at his house; and Cic., it is supposed, immediately after proceeded to address him in the forum.—Fam. vi. 15.

3. Propinquus meus] Cicero himself explains this matter, inf. c. 7; from which it appears likely that the elder Tubero had married into the 'gens Tullia,' and hence the affinity (post affines) between the parties. He
here refers to it obviously to show that his predilection should be in favour of the accuser; and, therefore, that his confidence must be great in the innocence of Ligarius.

4. Ad te] Who are now the arbiters of all our fates. Therefore it must be something of importance, no doubt.

5. Q. Tubero] The family of Tubero belonged to the 'Ælia gens.'—It was remarkable for frugality, as Val. Max., iv. 3, and vii. 5, testifies. Also Plut. Paul. Æmil. 5. They had often, however, obtained the offices of the state. This Tubero, after failing in his charge against Ligarius, according to Pompon, applied himself to the study of civil law.

6. In Africa fuisse] Quint. ix. 4. notices and commends the placing of this 'initium senarii' in the end of the 'caput,' or period, which he supposed to terminate here.

7. Pansa] This distinguished Cæsarian (Fam. vi. 13.) was consul with Hirtius, A. u. 710, and being wounded in the battle at Mutina, supporting the republic against Mark Antony, died the following day of his wounds at Bologna.

8. Fam., quæ est ei tecum] This was very great; but such a mighty confession required it all.

9. Quum tu neque, &c.] This was very likely, indeed, in Cæsar!


11. Diligentia inimici] It required, forsooth, extraordinary pains to investigate what every body knew. 'Inimici,' Tubero.

12. Meus necessarius] 'Necessarius,' though generally a relation by blood or marriage, often means 'a particular friend.' So Sull. i. 1. L. Torquatus, meus familiaris et amicus.

13. Integrum] i.e. Undecided one way or other; for I can no longer avail myself of 'denial,' i.e. of proving an alibi.

14. Controversia] Debate on a law question, for which Cic. was prepared.

15. Qua plurimi] Sc. the Tuberos and others.

16. Culpa] Voluntary; 'errati,' involuntary; sc. the case of himself and friends.

17. Habes—Tubero] Quint. iv. 1., produces this as an example of the effect of the apostrophe; and adds, 'languescit vis omnis, nobis dicentibus, Habet igitur Tubero, &c.'
tamen ita confitentem, se in ea parte\textsuperscript{18} fuisse, qua te, Tubero, qua virum omni laude dignum, patrem tuum. Itaque prius de vestro\textsuperscript{19} delicto confiteamini necesse est, quam Ligarii ullam culpam\textsuperscript{20} reprehendatis. Q. enim Ligarius, quum esset\textsuperscript{21} adhuc nulla belli suspicio, legatus in Africam\textsuperscript{22} cum C. Considio profectus est: qua in legatione et civibus\textsuperscript{23} et sociis\textsuperscript{24} ita se probavit, ut decedens Considius provincia, satisfacere hominibus non posset, si quemquam alium provinciae praececisset.\textsuperscript{25} Itaque Q. Ligarius,\textsuperscript{26} quum diu recusans nihil profeisset, provinciam acceptit invitus: cui sic praeruit in pace, ut et civibus et sociis gratissima esset ejus integritas et fides. Bellum\textsuperscript{27} subito exarist:\textsuperscript{28} quod, qui erant in Africa, ante audierunt geri, quam parari. Quo audito, partim cupiditate\textsuperscript{29} inconsiderata, partim caeco\textsuperscript{30} quodam timore, primo

18. \textit{Ea parte}] Sc. the party of Pompey.
19. \textit{De vestro}] 'Vestro,' sc. of you and your father.
20. \textit{Delicto—Ligarii culpam}] We saw before, that 'culpa' is heavier than 'delictum.' If Cic. thought so, they must be here used ironically. But such distinctions are not uniformly observed.
21. \textit{Quum esset, &c.] He distinguishes three periods, all without charge against Ligarius, of which the first is, his lieutenantcy. Quint. iv. 2, notices the propriety of the advocate giving a variety to the narration, by introducing arguments, pathos, &c., as Cic. does here. Also xi. 3, he brings this as an instance of a narration requiring 'manum prolata tam, amicum recidenterem, gestum distinctum, &c.'
22. \textit{In Africam}] Sc. the Roman province, composed of the kingdom of Carthage. So Sallust Jug. 13. 'Victus ex praelio confugit in provinciam.'
23. \textit{Et civibus}] Roman citizens who traded in the Province. Sall. Jug. 47. 'Mercari—Italic gens multi.'
24. \textit{Sociis}] Properly, \textit{σύμμαχοι}—whereas the provincials were \textit{υπηρχόν}. Yet the latter, according to \textit{Græv.}, were frequently called 'socii,' by a \textit{euphemism}, and are so here.
25. \textit{Provincie præfectisset}] It was customary for the provincial governor, on his departure, to leave the questor or lieutenant, as vice-governor.—The questor being the more usual choice, Cicero, to prevent the inference that Ligarius had, by unworthy means, procured an office to which he was not entitled, adds that the provincials would have no other.
26. \textit{Itaque Q. Lig.}] The second period; partly peace, partly war.—In both Ligar. was, 'sine crime notus.' Vid. inf. 2. for the third.
27. \textit{Bellum}] The civil war between Caesar and Pompey.
28. \textit{Exarist}] A usual metaphor. Hom. \textit{στέφανος πολίμου δέδης}.—Virg.—'quis Arretis armis. It ceased, however, to be a metaphor, in reference to Caesar, who, without waiting for the Transalp. legions, passed the Rubicon, and, with the rapidity of a flame, overspread the lands of Italy. Plut. Pomp. 60. No wonder, then, that he says, 'qui in Africa ante audierunt geri, quam parari.'
30. \textit{Caeo}] Reddente caecos; i.e. as he calls it in the Marcel. (c. 5.), 'falso et inani.' But they may
have had an indistinct dread of the war reaching Africa, as it had done in the time of Sylla. A. v. 671, when Pompey conquered Domitius. Introd. Manil. 11. To this we may refer their partiality (studii sui) for Pompey, who, on that occasion, had made many friends among the Africans.

31. Quum domum spectans] "When quum stands at the end of a sentence it often implies more than mere contemporaneous existence of events, and serves to direct the reader’s mind to some inference to be drawn from their being so. So here, ‘a war broke out; while Ligarius, all the time, did not allow himself, &c.’—intimating, that this was not the conduct of a determined enemy of Caesar." Zumpt’s Lat. G. c. 75. ‘Domum spectans’—Cæsar considered neutrality innocent; Pompey, criminal. Cicero, therefore, urges the domestic views of Ligarius. Avoiding every public employment, he thought of nothing but to be with his brothers, who had remained at Rome and kept aloof from the civil war, when he might have made himself the leader of the forces in Africa.

32. Varus] This celebrated Pompeian leader, having lost his cohorts at Auximum in Italy, came to Africa in flight. He there seized on the province for Pompey, raised two legions, and assisted by Juba, reduced it all to obedience. But, being defeated by Cæsar, he fled to Spain, and was killed in the battle of Mundæ.

33. Prætor Africam obtinuerat] The governor of Africa was called indifferently prætor, i.e. pro-prætor, or pro-consul. So. Phil. ii. 36. It was the year preceding Considius’s that Varus had been in office. Introd. 1.

34. Uticam] A seaport town of Africa, on the river Bagrada, founded by Phœnicians; and celebrated by the ‘noble death’ of Cato.

35. Ad eum statim] i.e. Because he had been prætor there formerly, and was known to be the friend of Pompey.

36. Imperium] A military command, but here conferred by the provincial mob, unauthorised by either the Roman people or senate, who had appointed Tubero to that command. Infr. 7. Una est prefectus cum iis, &c.’

37. Itaque Lig.] The third period, after the arrival of Varus—Ligarius still clear.

38. Paullum] Not altogether; for he submitted, afterwards, to the command of Varus. This he excuses on the plea of necessity. Inf. ‘necessitatis crimen, est, &c.’
Domo est egressus non modo nullum ad bellum, sed ne ad minimam quidem suspicionem belli: legatus in pace profectus, in provincia pacatissima ita se gessit, ut ei\(^2\) pacem esse expediret. Profectio certe animum tuum non debet offendere. Num igitur remansio? Multo minus. Nam profectio voluntatem habuit non turpem,\(^3\) remansio etiam necessitatem honestam.\(^4\) Ergo haec duo tempora carent crimen: unum quum est legatus profectus; alterum quum efflagitatus\(^5\) a provincia, præpositus Africæ est. Tertium est tempus, quo post adventum Varò in Africa restitit: quod si est criminosum, necessitatis crimen est, non voluntatis. An ille,\(^6\) si potuisset illinc ullo modo evadere, Uticæ potius, quam Romæ,\(^7\) cum P. Atio, cum quam concordissimis fratibus,\(^8\) cum alienis esse, quam cum suis maluisse? Quum ipsa legatio plena desiderii ac sollicitudinis fuisset, propter incredibilem quendam fratrum amorem, hic æquo animo esse potuit, belli discidio\(^9\) distactus a fratibus? Nullum igitur\(^10\) habes, Cæsar, adhuc in Q. Ligario signum alienæ a te voluntatis: cujus ego causam, animadverte, quæso, qua

recapitulation part of the narration; whereas others, e. g. Abram., are disposed to refer it to the confirmation.

2. Ei\] Referred by the commentators to Ligarius, as if the sense were ‘bad men find it their interest to excite war rather than preserve peace; not so Ligarius.’ But the question was not as to the abstract merit or demerit of Ligarius, which Cæsar did not, perhaps, regard, but whether he were chargeable with exciting the provincials to war, i. e. to declare against Cæsar. This Cic. denies, because he conducted himself so as to make it the interest of the province to preserve the profound peace which it enjoyed. Besides, if Ligarius were meant, the grammatical construction would require ‘sibi.’ Schel. v. i. p. 277. To ‘ei,’ therefore, supply ‘provinciae.’ Quint. iv. 2., varies the words thus: ‘sic eum provinciæ praèuisse, ut illi pacem expediret; where ‘illi’ is surely ‘provinciae.’

3. Volunt._—non turpem_\] A ‘Li_totes,’ for, ‘highly to his credit,’ for a provincial command was an object of honourable ambition.

4. Necessitatem honestam_\] ‘Necessity,’ because he could not resist the commands of the pro-consul, backed by the importunity of the province; ‘honourable’ to be so commanded and importuned. Or the latter may mean, ‘such as would influence every honourable mind.’

5. Efflagitatus\. i. e. Flagitando impetru. _Patrie._

6. An ille, \&c.] Probable arguments why Ligarius, not a volunteer in the cause of Pompey, and certainly not very strong ones.

7. Rome_\] Where his brothers remained, if not neutral, attached to Cæsar’s cause.

8. Concordissimis fratibus_\] One of them, T. Ligarius, the questor, urbanus, is mentioned, inf. c. 12.

9. Discidio_\] ‘Discidium’ proprium corporum, a _discindo—_‘dissidium,’ animorum—a _dissideo._ _Forcei._
fide\textsuperscript{11} defendam: prodo\textsuperscript{12} meam. O clementiam admirabillem, atque omni laude,\textsuperscript{12} prædicatione, litteris, monumentisque decorandam! M. Cicero\textsuperscript{13} apud te defendit,\textsuperscript{14} alium in ea voluntate\textsuperscript{15} non fuisset, in qua se ipsum confitetur fuisset, nec tuas tacitas cogitationes extimescit, nec, quid tibi de alio audienti, de seipso occurrat, reformidat.

III. Vide quam non reformidem: vide, quanta lux liberalitatis\textsuperscript{1} et sapientiae tuae mihi apud te dicenti oboriatur\textsuperscript{1} Quantum potero, voce contendam,\textsuperscript{3} ut populus hoc Romanae exaudiat: suscepto bello,\textsuperscript{4} Cæsar, gesto\textsuperscript{5} etiam ex magna parte, nulla vi\textsuperscript{6} coactus, judicio meo ac voluntate ad ea arma profectus sum, quæ erant sumpta contra te. Apud quem\textsuperscript{7} igitur hoc dico? Nempe apud eum, qui, quum hoc sciret,\textsuperscript{8} tamen me, antequam vidit, reipublicæ reddidit; qui

10. *Nullum igitur, &c.* This being the general conclusion of the three periods, shows the meaning of 'culpa,' 'crimen,' &c. preceding; sc. 'alienæ a te (Cæsare) voluntatis.'


12. Laude, &c.] Laus judicio bonorum virorum; praedicationi serмонibus; litteræ historiis; monumenta lapidibus continentur. Abram.

13. 'M. Cicero'] Quint. vi. in fine.


15. Ea voluntate] He does not say 'party,' for in that he was; but 'inclination,' for he was there of necessity.

Sect. III—1. *Liberalitatis* Treatment befitting freemen, generosity, clemency; and lest it might appear rashly exerted, he adds 'sapientiam.' The two words then, may be considered a sort of Hendiad, equivalent to 'considerate generosity.'

2. Lux—oboriatur] Phil. i. 2. 'Lux quasdam oblatâ,' where some read 'oborta;' 'oboriatur' is 'subito oriri, Amat. 12. n. 15.

3. Voce contendam] i.e. 'Voce contenta dicam;' speak at the pitch of my voice. Sometimes 'voce' is suppressed, as orat. pro Flac. 16. 'Vociferarer, et quantum maxime possem contenderem.' Similarly Dem. de Cor. 46. τί διστανόμην ήτως οὐφόρα; Fabr.

4. Suscepto bello] Quint. ix. 2. remarks that in this candid confession Cic. 'non solum ad utilitatem Ligarii respicit, sed magis laudare victoris clementiam non potest.' Fam. vi. ad Cæcinam, Cic. says, 'susceptum bellum quiescente me, depulsam ex Italia manente me.'

5. Gesto etiam] Cæsar passed the Rubicon in the beginning of the year 704; and having in less than two months traversed the entire of Italy, he chased Pompey out of Brundusium. Cic. did not join Pompey till the end of May, after Cæsar had set out to Spain.

6. Nulla vi] Cic. was requested by Cæsar and his friends to remain, but on a principle of gratitude, because Pompey had procured his return from exile, he joined him in Greece. But Ligarius's was 'necessitatis crimem.'

7. Apud quem] This self-interrogation and reply is noticed and approved of by Quint. iv. 2.

8. *Hoc seire*] Cic. amplifies the favour, from the circumstances attending the conferring of it. 1. Of time. 'It was done at once, before he saw
ad me ex Ægypto literas misit,⁹ ut essem idem, qui fuis-
sem; qui quem ipse imperator¹⁰ in toto imperio populi Ro-
mani unus esset, esse me alterum¹¹ passus est; a quo, hoc
ipso¹² C. Pansa mihi nuntium perferente, concessos fasces¹³
laureatos tenui, quoad tenendos¹⁴ putavi; qui mihi tum de-
nique se salutem putavit dare, si eam¹⁵ nullis spoliatam orna-
mentis dedisset. Vide, quæso,¹⁶ Tubero, ut, qui de meo
facto non dubitem dicere, de Ligarii non audeam confiteri!

me. 2. Place—even from Ægypt. 3. Comparison—admitting me his equal
4. Concomitants of rank—the con-
cession of the fasces. 5. The con-
junction of safety and dignity.—
Fabr.

' Reddite mihi jam tandem sunt a
Cæsare literæ satis liberales.' ' Ex
Ægypto,' whither Cæsar pursued
Pompey after the battle of Pharsa-
lia.

10. Imperator] Tiberius id quoque
Blaeso tribuit, ut Imperator legioni-
bus salutaretur; prisco erga duces,
honore, qui, bene gesta repub., gau-
dio et impetu victoris exercitus concla-
mabantur.' Tacit. iii. 74.

11. Alterum] Cicero being obliged to
accept a province, had by lot
Cilicia, where he subdue a band of
robbers which infested mount Ama-
num. For this exploit he was saluted
Imperator by the soldiers, and applied
to the senate to be allowed a triumph
at Rome, which was unanimously
agreed to, but prevented from taking
place by the breaking out of the civil
war. ' Unum—alterum' are not to
be taken, strictly, as if Cæsar and
Cicero were really the only 'Impe-
rares' now existing; but as if Cæsar
had by his glory eclipsed the fame of
all others, and yet permitted Cicero
his title. Manut. says, 'concessis fascius laureatis, insignibus imperii.'
Inf. n. 13. Att. x. 3. Caesar Impe-
rator Ciceroni Imperatorì, salutem.

12. Hoc ipso] The very same Pansa
who ventured to confess that Ligarius
had been in Africa.

13. Fasces] 'Páedóvç. Hence the
lictors are called by Plut. pädévç. The-
yes were at this time six in num-
ber, and had their wands or fasces
wreathed with laurel. Cicero's prov-
ed an annoyance rather than anything
else, as he was unable to move around
Brundisium without them. Att. vii.
9. Fam. ii. 16. ' sed incurrat hac
nostra laurus non solum in oculos sed
etiam in voculas malevolorum.'

A. v. 707, when he had been in com-
mand four years, Att. xi. Ep. ult.Fam.
xiv. 20. Fabr.

15. Si eam, &c.] So Marcel. 11, 'A te
ton conservato solum, sed etiam ornà-
to.' And, Att. ii. 6, he writes that Oppius
and others informed him of Cæsar's
intentions to pardon and honour him;
and Cæsar did at Brundisium alight
from his chariot and converse with
him in the most friendly manner.
Of all this Cicero's well known charac-
ter affords an easy solution. For ' da-
re—dedisset,' al. reddere—redderet.

16. Vide, quæso] i. e. 'See Tubero,
how [probable it is that] I should not
boldly acknowledge Ligarius's fault,
if it existed, who hesitate not to de-
clare my own!' meaning 'not pro-
bable at all.' Quint. v. 10, speaking
of arguments, calls this, 'ex difficili-
ore;' for if Cic. confessed his own
defection he accomplished a more dif-
ficu[n] task than to confess another's.
But as he denies Ligarius's fault, the
inference is that it did not exist.
Atque haec propterea\textsuperscript{17} de me dixi, ut mihi Tubero, quem de se\textsuperscript{19} eadem dicercm, ignosceret: cujus ego industriæ gloriæque faveo,\textsuperscript{19} vel propter propinquant cognitionem,\textsuperscript{20} vel quod ejus ingenio studiisque delector, vel quod laudem adolescentis propinquæ existimo etiam ad meum aliquem fructum redundare.\textsuperscript{21} Sed hoc quaero, quis putet esse crimen, fuisse in Africa Ligarium? Nempe is, qui\textsuperscript{22} et ipse in eadem Africa esse voluit, et prohibitum\textsuperscript{23} se a Ligario queritur, et certe contra ipsum Cæsarem est congressus armatus\textsuperscript{24}. Quid enim, Tubero,\textsuperscript{25} tuus ille districtus in acie Pharsalica\textsuperscript{26} gladius agebat? cujus latus ille mueru petebat?\textsuperscript{27} qui sensus\textsuperscript{28} erat armorum tuorum? quæ tua mens? oculi?\textsuperscript{29} manus? ar dor animi? quid cupiebas? quid optabas? Nimis urgo:

\textsuperscript{17} \textit{Hac propterea}\] Tubero could not object to Cic. as treating him harshly, if he put him on the same footing with himself.

\textsuperscript{18} \textit{De se}\] Sc. ‘Tuberonem,’ Cic. for emphasis uses the reciprocal pron. instead of the demonstr. when no ambiguity arises.

\textsuperscript{19} \textit{Vveo}\] For three reasons: 1. He is my relation. 2. His pursuits are congenial to mine. 3. I expect to reap some advantage from his glory.

\textsuperscript{20} \textit{Cognitionem}\] He had said above ‘propinquus meus,’ and says below ‘necessitudines quæ mihi sunt cum L. Tuberone, &c.’ Manut. wonders that he should confound in these passages, the ordinary distinction of ‘cognatio’ and ‘affinitas.’ But he does not; for ‘affinitas’ applies to the father; and ‘cognatio,’ to the son.

\textsuperscript{21} \textit{Redundare}\] i. e. ‘Referri, pertinere.’ So Cat. i. 12. verendum mihi, ne quid invidia mihi in posteritatem redundaret. Mil. 37.

\textsuperscript{22} \textit{Nempe si qui}\] Quint. xi. 1. mentions that the charge sometimes happens to admit of a retort, as here, &c.

\textsuperscript{23} \textit{Prohibitum}\] Sc. from landing in Africa.

\textsuperscript{24} \textit{Congressus armatus}\] Sc. at Pharsalia. Now Ligarius was merely in Africa, and did not fight there.

\textsuperscript{25} \textit{Quid enim Tubero}\] This paragraph is favoured with reiterated notices by Quint. In viii. 4. it is given as an instance of amplification by synonymous words; viii. 5. of personification; ix. 2. of urgent interrogations and of \textit{Διαπροφη}, and lastly xi. 3. of pronunciation.

\textsuperscript{26} \textit{Acie Pharsalica}\] \textit{Φάρσαλος πόλις Θεσσαλίας, ἀπὸ Φαρσάλε τῆς Ἀκραίας. Steph.}

\textsuperscript{27} \textit{Mucro petebat}\] Nam punctum non cessim, Romani hostes seriebant. \textit{Sylv.}

\textsuperscript{28} \textit{Sensu}\] Armis sensum tribuit popularis. \textit{Manut.} —what thoughts had your arms? ‘quæ tua mens’?

\textsuperscript{29} \textit{Oculi}\] Similarly of Turnus, \textit{Æn. xii. oculis micat acibus ignis.}

\textsuperscript{30} \textit{Commovere adolescentes}\] Cic. attributes to Tubero, the emotions which were excited in Cæsar. Quint. ix. 2. Plut. in Cic. x. too, writes that at this burst of eloquence, Cæsar let fall the papers which were in his hand and even trembled; and contrary to his previous resolution pardoned Ligarius. This story however is very doubtful; and some have explained Cæsar’s emotions by attributing them to an epileptic fit, to which fits he was subject.
commoveri videtur adolescens: ad me revertar. Iisdem in
armis fui.


31. Iisdem in armis] i. e. In the camp of Pompey; for he was not in the battle of Pharsalia. Fam. xviii. 9. Att. xi. 4.

32. Hic potest] Quas opes Caesar habet nos hereremus. Fabrit. Quint. ix. 2. remarks here 'Admirabiliter utriusque partis facit bonam causam.'

33. Quorum, &c.] Sc. the Tuberos. Quint. viii. 5. adduces this as instance of ornamental entymeme. Cic. had already proved the cause of Tubero unjust.


7. Doctrina] The son excelled in jurisprudence, the father in the knowledge of history. Q. Frat. i. 1. 3. Gell. vi. 3.


10. Hac admirabilia] i. e. παράδοξα. Al. insert non modo.

11. Prodigii] Qu. 'prodicium' from 'prodico.' Divin. i. 42. Quae enim ostendunt, portendunt, monstrant, prodicunt, ostenta, portenta, monstra, prodigia, dicuntur. These are attempted to be distinguished. Thus Fronto: in ostento raritas facit admirationem; in monstr. rectus naturae ordo vincitur; in portento differtur eventus; in prodigio detrimentum significatur.

12. Externi sunt mores] He alludes to the Valerian and Porcian laws which rendered the persons of Roman citizens in a manner sacred; whereas the fickle Athenians, e. g. put to death their best citizens, Socrates and Phocian, the Carthaginians commonly crucified their unsuccessful generals, and the Persians were equally cruel. Plut. Artax. 25.
ad sanguinem incitare solent odium aut levia Graecorum, aut immannium barbarorum. Nam quid aliud agis? ut Romane sit? ut domo careat? ne cum optimis fratribus, ne cum hoc T. Broccho avunculo suo, ne cum ejus filio, consobrino suo, ne nobiscum vivat? ne sit in patria? Num est? num potest magis careere his omnibus, quam caret? Italia prohibetur, exsulat. Non tu ergo hunc patria privare, qua caret, sed vita, vis. At istud, ne apud eum quidem dictatorem, qui omnes, quos oderat, morte multatbat, quisquam egit isto modo. Ipse jubebat occidi, nullo postulante; praemiis etiam invitabat. Quae tamen crudelitas ab hoc eodem aliquid aliquot annis post, quem tu nunc crudelem esse vis, vindicata est.

V. "Ego vero istud non postulo," inquses. Ita mehercule existimo, Tubero. Novi enim te, novi patrem, novi domum, nomenque vestrum, studia denique generis, ac presiding judge, to be allowed to prepare his charge, and that a day be named for hearing it. Fam. viii. 6. Sylla did not wait for this tedious process.

23. Præmiis] Namely of two talents, even though a son killed his father, and a slave his master. Plut. Syll. 31.

24. Invitatbat] Sc. to murder; not to accuse.


26. Aliquot annis] About seventeen. For Sylla was dictator a. u. 671, and Cæsar conducted this prosecution, when adile in 690. His plan was to reckon in the number of the 'Sicarii' those who had killed or received money for killing persons proscribed. Among those proscribed was Faustus the son of Sylla. He also restored to the sons of the proscribed the privilege of holding magistracies, which Sylla's law forbade. Suet. Jul. 11.

SECT. V.—1. Istud — inquses] You will tell me you do not want blood.

2. Generis] i. e. gentis, the Ælian; of which the Tuberos were a 'familia,' among the Lamiae, Pæti, Catii, &c.

3. Studia generis—virtutis] The first is the subjective, the second the objective, genitive. Zumpt’s L. gram. c. 70. i. e. ‘The zeal for virtue, learning, &c. belonging to your race and lineage.’ Cat. i. 5.

4. Doctrina] Cic. frequently adludes to the learning and parts of the Aeians. De Or. i. 56. Tuscul. iv. 2. Muren. 36.

4. Res eo spectat] He accuses them of unintentional cruelty; because Ligarius being already in exile any punishment must be worse than that, i.e. must be death. Introd. 2.

5. Hoc multo acerbius] This denial of pardon is harder than death itself. The love of country was strong in the Romans, and hence, the misery of perpetual exile. Vid. the peroration of the Milo.

6. Domi petiimus] For Cic. had lately addressed Cæsar at his house, not to clear Ligarius from Tubero’s charge, but restore him from exile. Supr. i. n. 2.

7. Strati] Al. prostrati, and supr. gravius for durius.


13. Non frustra] Cic. was aware that the appeal made at Cæsar’s house had not been ineffectual. Now if the attempt to nullify that effect at the time that it was produced, were cruel in Tubero, how much more so when it was made in the forum and by a criminal impeachment?


16. Miseria multorum] Pompeians who like Ligarius were in exile from their native country.

17. Per fug. misericordiae] The refuge of mercy; i.e. the refuge which
quod sentio. Si in hac tanta tua fortuna\textsuperscript{18} lenitas tanta non esset, quantam tu per te, per te, inquam, obtines,\textsuperscript{19} (intelligo, quid loquar),\textsuperscript{20} acerbissimo luctu\textsuperscript{21} redundaret ista victoria. Quam multi enim essent de victoribus, qui te crudellem esse vellent, quem etiam de victis\textsuperscript{22} reperiantur! quam multi, qui, quem a te nemini ignosci\textsuperscript{23} vellent, impedirent clementiam tuam, quem etiam ii, quibus ipse ignovisti, nolint te in alios esse misericordem! Quod si probare Caesari possemus, in Africa Ligarium omnino non fuisset; si honesto et misericordi mendacio\textsuperscript{24} saluti civi calamitoso esse vellemus: tamen hominis non esset, in tanto discrimine et periculo civis, refellere et coarguere nostrum mendacium; si esset alicujus, ejus certe non esset, qui in eadem causa et fortuna fuisse. Sed tamen aliud est errare\textsuperscript{25} Caesarem nolle, aliud nolle misereri. Tum diceres:\textsuperscript{26} "Cave, Caesar, credas: fuit in Africa Ligarium: tulit arma contra te." Nunc quid dicis? "Cave ignoscas." Hae nec hominum, nec ad hominem\textsuperscript{27} vox est: qua qui apud te, C. Caesar, utetur, suam citius abjiciet humanitatem, quam extorquebit tuam.

VI. Ac primus aditus\textsuperscript{1} et postulatio\textsuperscript{2} Tuberonis haec, ut opinor, fuit: velle\textsuperscript{3} se de Q. Ligarii scelere dicere. Non

the wretched find in Caesar's clementy.

\textsuperscript{18} Fortuna] Felicitate, eivrixia; and 'lenitas,' clemency. \textit{Fabr.}
\textsuperscript{19} Per te obtines] Possess naturally.
\textsuperscript{20} Intelligo quid loquar] Quint. viii. 6. reckons this as a species of apopisopesis. "Tacit enim illud quod nihilominus accipimus, 'non desesse homines, qui ad crudelitatem eum impellenter.'"
\textsuperscript{21} Lucri] Metaph. for 'crure'; hence 'reundare.'
\textsuperscript{22} De victis] Among whom were the Tuberos. Supply after victis, 'to wish it.'
\textsuperscript{23} Nemini ignosci] 'Ignosci' used imper., as actively it governs the dative. Mil. 24. n. 21.
\textsuperscript{24} Honesto mendacio] 'Splendidè mendax.' Hor. Gloriosè mentiri. Mil. 27. n. 5. and 'saluti esse' servare. Al.
\textsuperscript{25} Errare] Verum ignorare. \textit{Fabr.} Tubero might fairly wish to obviate this ignorance by discovering 'the lie.' But that is quite different from 'nolle misereri.'
\textsuperscript{26} Diceres] i.e. You, Tubero, or any friend of Caesar, might fairly say, &c.
\textsuperscript{27} Nec ad hominem] But to some moerster.

\textit{SeCT. VI.—1. Primus aditus} Supposed to be taken from the speech of Tubero; the terms of which he proceeds to censure.

\textsuperscript{2} Postulatio] Synonym. with 'aditus.' \textit{Vid. c. 4. n. 22. Fam. viii. 6. (Caelius ad Cic.) 'Ilud mihi occurrat quod inter postulationem et nominis delationem, uxor a Dolabella discisset. \textit{Fabr.}}

\textsuperscript{3} Velle se] The usual form of the 'postulatio.'
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quid temorem', 3. contumeliae, temeritatem, cupiditatem, qui pacem scelus, vel dubito, quin admiratus sis, vel quod de nullo alio quisquam, vel quod is, qui in eadem causa fuisset, vel quidnam novi [facinoris] afferret. Scelus tu illud vocas, Tubero? cur? isto enim nomine illa adhuc causa caruit. Alii errorem appellant; alii timorem; qui durius, spem, cupiditatem, odium, pertinaciam; qui gravissime, temeritatem: scelus, preter te, adhuc nemo. Ac mihi quidem, si proprium et verum nomen nostri mali quaeratur, fatalis quaedam calamitas incidisse videtur, et improvidas hominum mentes occupasse: ut nemo mirari debeat, humana consilia divina necessitate esse superata. Liceat esse miserum, quamquam hoc victore esse non possumus. Sed non loquor de nobis, de illis loquor, qui occiderunt. Fuerint\(^{10}\) cupidi, fuerint irati, fuerint pertinaces: sceleris vero crimine, furoris, par ricidii,\(^{11}\) liceat Cn. Pompeio mortuo,\(^{12}\) liceat multis alis carere. Quando\(^{13}\) hoc quisquam ex te, Cæsar, audivit, aut

4. Quin admiratus sis] He imagines three causes of Cæsar's admiration, 1. that against no other Pompeian had the charge of wickedness been made; 2. that it should be made by an associate in guilt; 3. what new atrocity he might adduce.

5. Alii errorem] An ascending series: 'errorem,' in the Pompeians, who acted conscientiously; 'timorem' in those who were really afraid of Cæsar's tyranny; 'spem,' 'cupiditatem,' the feeling of party men who looked no farther than their party; 'odium,' groundless hatred of Cæsar; 'pertinaciam,' downright obstinacy in the cause they had espoused; 'temeritatem,' an inconsiderate eagerness for war. All these had some truth, the charge of wickedness none.

6. Ac mihi quidem] Cic. laid the blame where it could well be borne, on 'fate.' So Marcel. 5. 'Ad illa arma fato sumus nescio quo compulsi.'

7. Divina necessitate] A periphrasis for 'fate.'

8. Liceat esse miseros] Not 'scelestos,' and yet even this with a Cæsar for our judge is impossible. 'Licet' sometimes admits a dative after esse. Mibi negligenti esse non licet. Att. i. 16.


10. Fuerint] Admit they were, &c.

11. Paricidii] Mil. 7. n. 6. Here perhaps the parental relation of our country is alluded to.

12. Liceat Cn. Pompeio mortuo] On the principle of 'nil de mortuis,' it was worse to charge the dead than the living; and worse still a Pompey. He had no hesitation to name Pompey before Cæsar, who as he testifies 'ad Caecinam' Fam. vi. 6, 'nunquam nisi honorificissimissime Pompeium appellat.'

13. Quando, &c.] Cic. here endeavours to enlist Cæsar in his cause. 1. By pointing out his motive in the war, 'contumelas propulsare.' 2. By his anxiety for a peace, 'pacem esse cupiebas,' which he could not have felt had his opponents been 'sceleratos.' 3. By his preservation of Cic. himself. ('Mihi vero, Cæsar, &c.')
tua quid aliud arma voluerunt, nisi a te contumeliam\textsuperscript{14} propulsare?\textsuperscript{15} quid egit tuus ille invictus exercitus, nisi ut suum jus\textsuperscript{16} tueretur, et dignitatem tuam? Quid? tu quem pacem esse cupiebas,\textsuperscript{17} idne agebas, ut tibi cum sceleratis, an ut cum bonis civibus conveniret? Mihi vero, Cæsar,\textsuperscript{18} tua in me maxima merita tanta certe non viderentur, si me, ut sceleratum, a te conservatum putarem. Quomodo autem tu de republica bene meritus esses, si tot sceleratos incolumi dignitate esse voluisses? Secessionem\textsuperscript{19} tu illam existimasti, Cæsar, initio, non bellum: non hostile odium, sed civile dissidium,\textsuperscript{20} utrisque cupientibus rempublicam salvam, sed partim consiliis,\textsuperscript{21} partim studiis a communi utilitate aberrantibus. Principum dignitas erat pæne par;\textsuperscript{22} non par fortasse eorum, qui sequabantur: causam dubia,\textsuperscript{23} quod erat aliquid in utraque parte, quod probari posset; nunc melior certe ea judicanda est, quam etiam di\textsuperscript{24} adjuverunt. Cognita vero clementia tua, quis

\textsuperscript{14} Contumeliam\textsuperscript{14} Sc. in recalling him from Gaul before his command was expired, requiring him to stand in person for the consulship, and instead of voting him a triumph, insisting on his giving an account of his administration.

\textsuperscript{15} A te — propulsare\textsuperscript{15} Not to offer it. So ‘ nisi ut jus suum tueretur’ not ‘ overturn that of others.’ Patric.

\textsuperscript{16} Suum jus\textsuperscript{16} Sc. that of the army; but of the army as composed of citizens whose rights were involved in the treatment of Cæsar. For many of them had voted for admitting Cæsar’s claim to stand for the consulship in his absence, but the law was neglected, and therefore their rights.

\textsuperscript{17} Pacem cupiebas\textsuperscript{17} Cæsar’s anxiety for peace is fully testified by Cic. in his epistle to Tiro (Fam. xvi. 11) and to Caecina, Fam. vi. Vid. also Att. ix. 8. and B. C. iii. 8.

\textsuperscript{18} Mihi vero Cæsar\textsuperscript{18} Supr. n. 13.

\textsuperscript{19} Secessionem\textsuperscript{19} A mild word for defection or revolt; taken from the early secessions of the Romans to Mons Sacer, Janiculum, &c. by adopting which he frees Cæsar from the charge of exciting a civil war.

\textsuperscript{20} Dissidium\textsuperscript{20} Supr. 2. n. 9.

where this is shewn to apply to the mind.

\textsuperscript{21} Partim consiliis\textsuperscript{21} ‘Some through upright views; others again, through party feelings.’ The persons meant by ‘partim, partim,’ are not to be considered as making up the whole ‘utrisque,’ else Cæsar should be included, which cannot be intended.

\textsuperscript{22} Pæne par\textsuperscript{22} Lucan decides differently. Pompey, he says, ‘stat magni nominis umbra,—sed non in Cæsare tantum Nomen erat nec fama Ducis.’ Abrum. And so did Cic. in writing to his friend Att. vii. 11. The reader maycompare Cicero’s account of Pompey’s exploits in the Lex Manil. with Cæsar’s account of Cæsar’s in his Commentaries, and judge for himself.

\textsuperscript{23} Eorum qui sequabantur\textsuperscript{23} For nearly all the ‘optimates’ were in Pompey’s camp. So Velleius ii. 49. Pompeium senatus auctoritas; Cæsarem militum armavit fiducia. Att. vii. 2.

\textsuperscript{24} Causa tum dubia\textsuperscript{24} He did not think so when writing to Atticus, vii. 2. ‘Causam solum illa causa non habet; cæteris rebus abundat.’

\textsuperscript{25} Quam etiam dii, &c.\textsuperscript{25} So. Luc.
non eam victoriam probet,\textsuperscript{26} in qua occiderit nemo, nisi armatus?

VII. Sed, ut omissam communem causam, veniamus ad nostram.\textsuperscript{1} Utrum tandem\textsuperscript{2} existimatas faciliusuisse, Tubero, Ligarium ex Africa exire, an vos in Africam non venire? Poteramusne,\textsuperscript{3} inquies, quem senatus censuisset?\textsuperscript{4} Si me consulis,\textsuperscript{5} nullo modo.\textsuperscript{6} Sed tamen Ligarium senatus idem legaverat.\textsuperscript{7} Atqueille eo tempore\textsuperscript{8} paruit, quem parere senatui necesse erat; vos tum paruistis, quem paruit nemo, qui noluit.\textsuperscript{9} Reprehendo igitur? Minime vero. Neque enim licuit aliter vestro generi,\textsuperscript{10} nominis, familiae, disciplinae. Sed hoc non concedo, ut, quibis rebus gloriemini in vobis, easdem in aliis reprehendatis.\textsuperscript{11} Tuberonis\textsuperscript{12} sors conjec\textsuperscript{13} est ex senatus consulto quem ipse non adset, morbo etiam impediretur: statuerat excusare.\textsuperscript{13} Hæc ego novi propter omnes necessitudines, quæ mihi sunt cum L. Tube-

\begin{itemize}
  \item 1. 128. Victrix causa Deis placuit, sed victa Catoni. Quint. v. 11. admits of the propriety of an appeal to divine authority, and quotes this passage; and Livy, xxi. 10, says 'eventus belli, velut aequus iudex, unde jus stabat, ei victoriam dedit.'
  \item 26. 
  \item 2. 1. Communem — nostram\textsuperscript{1}. Of all the Pompeians. 2. Ligarius's.
  \item 3. Poteramus\textsuperscript{1} Subaudi 'in Africam non venire.' Could we avoid going into Africa?
  \item 4. Sen. censuisset\textsuperscript{1} Sc. Nos venire debere.
  \item 5. Me consulis\textsuperscript{1} Consult me. 'Mihii consulis,' consult for me.
  \item 6. Nullo modo\textsuperscript{1} 'I answer by no means;' for I never opposed the wishes of the senate.
  \item 7. Senatus legaverat\textsuperscript{1} This was an undisputed privilege of the senate.
  \item 8. Eo tempore\textsuperscript{1} A. v. 703, before the civil war commenced.
  \item 9. Qui noluit\textsuperscript{1} For any who did not choose to obey the senate found a refuge with Caesar.
  \item 10. Generi\textsuperscript{1} Nobili; 'nominis,' Æliorum; 'familiae,' Tuberonum.
  \item 11. In aliis reprehendatis\textsuperscript{1} E. g. 'in Ligario.'
  \item 12. Tuberonis, &c.\textsuperscript{1} Of Lucius Tubero the elder. 'Sors conjecta,' i.e. Tabella Tuberonis nomine inscripta in urnam cum aliis missa est. Forcel.; these lots being shaken were drawn by a boy. Tibul. i. 1. 'Ila sacras puere sortes ter sustulit.' They said also 'provinciae vel candidati in sortem conjuci sunt.' Liv. xxx. 1. and Fam. viii. 8. The allotment was preceded by a decree of the senate determining the provinces so to be disposed of. Inf. 'senatus sorteque.'
  \item 13. Statuerat excusare\textsuperscript{1} Sc. 'morbum.' Al. se; 'omnes,' al. communes. But, Sext. 17. M. Crassus quorum mihi erant omnes amicitiae necessitudines.
\end{itemize}
rone. Domi una eruditi, militiæ contubernales, post aﬃnes, in omni denique vita familiares: magnum etiam vinculum, quod iisdem semper studiis usi sumus. Scio igitur Tuberonem domi manere voluisse: sed ita quidam agebant, ita reipublicæ sanctissimum nomen opponebant, ut, etiam si aliter sentiret, verborum tamen ipsorum pondus sustinere non posset. Cessit auctoriti amplissimi viri, vel potius paruit. Una est profectus cum iis, quorum erat una causa; tardius iter fecit, itaque in Africam venit jam occupatam. Hinc in Ligarium crimen oritur, vel ira potius. Nam, si crimem est, prohibere illum voluisse, non minus magnum est, vos Africam, arcem omnium provinciarum, natam ad bellum contra hanc urbem gerendum, obtinere voluisse, quam aliquem se maluisse. Atque is tamen aliquis, with him in political sentiments.

14. Contubernales] i. e. military chums. Theme 'taberna,' a tent-plank. The centuries were divided into decuries, each of which quartered under one tent. Veget. ii. 13. 'Militia' the social, in which Cicero served under Pompeius Strabo.

15. Affines] Tubero's wife was of the 'Tullia gens.' Supr. 1. n. 3; and Att. xiii. 20.

16. Magnum vinculum] Quint. i. 2. arguing for a public education, says 'Mitto amicitias quæ ad senectutem usque firmissimæ durant, religiosa quamdam necessitudine imbuttere. Neque enim est sanctius sacrís iisdem quâ studiis initiari.

17. Voluisse] i. e. 'Wished and might;' for the argument goes to shew that he was free to act as he pleased.


22. Cessit — paruit] 'Cedere voluntatis est; parere' observantia. Manut. Hence 'paruit' is a correction of the former.

23. Iis una causa] i. e. Agreed
Ligarius non fuit. Varus imperium se habere discordat; fasces certe habebat. Sed quoquo modo se illud habet, haec querela vestra, Tubero, quid valet? "Recepti in provinciam non sumus." Quid, si essetis Caesarine eam tradituri fruissetis, an contra Caesarem retenturi?

VIII. Vide, quid licentiae, Caesar, nobis tua liberalitas det, vel potius audaciae. Si responderit Tubero, Africam, quo senatus eum sorsque miserat, tibi patrem suum traditurum fruisse: non dubitabo apud ipsum te, cujus id eum facere interfuit, gravissimis verbis ejus consilium reprehender. Non enim si tibi ea res grata fruisset, esset etiam probata. Sed jam hoc totum omitto: non tam, ut ne offendam tuas patientissimas aures, quam ne Tubero, quod nunquam cogitavit, facturus fruisse videatur. Veniebatis igitur in Africam provinciam, unam ex omnibus huic victoriae maxime infestam; in qua erat rex potentissimus, 

30. *Imperium*] Vid supra. 2. n. 36. It was a usurped command.

31. *Fasces*] He had at least the signs of authority.

32. *Quoquo modo se illud habet*] i.e. Whether Varus or Ligarius held the command. Quint. v. 13. notices the skill of the pleader, who finds apparent contradictions in the charges of his opponent, e. g. Tubero accuses Ligarius of being in Africa at the very time that he complains of being denied admission there himself, i.e. accuses Ligarius of a crime, and then complains that he was prevented by Ligarius from committing the same crime.

33. *Quid si essetis?* His argument assumes a disjunctive form: 'You must, if admitted into the province, have held it either for Caesar or Pompey? If you say for Caesar, even Caesar will not approve of such treachery; and indeed the supposition is monstrous. You must then have held it for Pompey; and that this was your design, your subsequent conduct proves. For as soon as you found yourself excluded, you withdrew to Pompey. Why then complain that you were prevented from fighting against Caesar? Falsely boast then, if you will, that had you been allowed to land, you would have delivered Africa to Caesar; for it only sets your treachery in a stronger light.' This appears to be the drift of the argument in the eighth section.

Sect. VIII.—I. *Senatus eum sorsque* Supr. 7. n. 13. 'Eum,' the elder Tubero, not the 'respondent.'

2. *Cujus — interfuit* Whose interest it was that Tubero should do so.

3. *Non enim si grata — probata* Nam aliud est gratum habere, aliud probare. Abram. For what promotes a man's interest is generally agreeable to him, however his conscience may disapprove of the means employed.

4. *Hoc totum* Sc. the supposed perfidy of Tubero.

5. *Patientissimas aures* For he had said above 'vide quid licentiae, Caesar, nobis tua liberalitas det, vel potius audaciae.' Hence Caesar would listen most patiently to his censures on Tubero's designs; but inasmuch as they were not really Tubero's he will omit their statement.

6. *Veniebatis* Attempted to enter.

7. *Maxime infestam* Owing to its

IX. Sed vide, quæso, C. Cæsar, constantiam¹ ornatissimi viri, L. Tuberonis; quam ego, quamvis ipse² probarem, ut probo, tamen non commemorarem, nisi a te cognovissim impermis eam virtutem solere laudari. Quæ fuit igitur unquam in ullo homine tanta constantia? constantiam dico.²³ nescio, an melius patientiam⁴ possim dicere. Quotus enim

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early connexion with Pompey. Supr. 1. n. 30.
9. Comentus] 'Cum a magistratibus judicii causa populus congregatur.' Fest. But this meaning, answering to our assizes, does not apply here; the import being simply a meeting of Roman citizens attached to Pompey. Ern. makes it the nom. plur., but, as this would require 'alieni' or the like to be understood, Orel. properly refers it to 'voluntas' as the genitive.—'Firmi' ad opes; 'magni' ad multitudinem referit. Manut.
10. Quid feceritis] 'What you did;' sc. joined Pompey.
11. Pedem ponere] He was not even allowed to land his sick son. Cæs. B. C. i. 29.
12. Eum cuius auctoritatem] Cic. intimates that a regard for Pompey was the inducement of Tubero, not the justice of his cause.
13. Etiam si] Although you had been prevented by Varus, yet had you not, that you intended delivering the province to Caesar. Al. nisi.
14. Qui vos tanta laudis] Ironical; their greatest disgrace had been to have so acted.

SECT. IX.—1. Constans.] Better irony—'the levity of a bastard'—as 'patientiam' infr. also implies.
2. Quamvis ipse, &c.] 'Though highly approving of it myself, as I do, yet, &c.' A hero like Caesar could not but approve of firmness of character.
4. Patientiam] The name of this virtue is here taken to express 'passiveness under insult.' It is a continu-
istud quique fecisset, ut, a quibus in dissensione civili non esset receptus, essetque etiam cum crudelitate rejectus, ad eas ipsas rediret? Magni cujusdam animi atque ejus viri est, quem de suscepta causa propositaque sententia nulla contumelia, nulla vis, nullum periculum posset depellere. Ut enim cetera paria Tuberoni cum Varo fuissent, honos, nobilitas, splendor, ingenium, quae nequaquam fuerunt: hoc certe precipuum Tuberonis fuit, quod justo cum imperio ex senatoribus consulto in provinciam suam venerat. Hinc prohibitus, non ad Caesarem, ne iratus; non domum, ne iners; non aliquam in regionem, ne condemnare causam illam, quam secutus esset, videretur: in Macedoniæ ad Cn. Pompeii castra venit, in eam ipsam causam a qua erat rejectus cum injuria. Quid? quum ista res nihil commovisset ejus animum, ad quem veneratis; languidiores, credo, studio in causa fuistis: tantummodo in præsidii eratis; animi vero a causa abhorrebat. An, ut fit in bellis civilibus, nec in vobis magis,

ation of the irony.

5. Quotus—fecisset] 'How seldom had an individual so acted that, &c.' Quotus,' like 'tants,' often used for diminution.

6. A quibus] He means Varus, and 'ad eas ipsas' does not mean that he returned to Varus, but to Pompey, whom Varus supported.


8. Ut enim, &c.] For admitting their equality in the following particulars; which was by no means the case, Tuber having the superiority in them all.

9. Nobilitas] For the 'Ælia gens' was 'vetusto nobilis ab Lamo' (Hor. Od. iii. 17), and had formed alliances with the Scipios; the 'Atia' was rather obscure till ennobled by Augustus Caesar, the son of Atia, the daughter of M. Atius Balbus.

10. Justo] Regular, i.e. appointed by the senate, not as Varus's 'clamore multitudinis imperat.'—Supr. 1. So Phil. i. 2. 'Dictatoris nominem quod saxe justum fuisset.'


12. Aliquam] i.e. 'Aliam quam;' any other country free from war.

13. Ejus] Pompey's, who knew too well the zeal and abilities of Varus to reprove him for holding Africa.

14. Languidiores, credo, studio] Ironical; for Tuber, notwithstanding all the affronts offered him by Pompey, was obstinate in his opposition to Caesar.

15. In præsidii] Presidium is, 1. a body of men, 'qui præsidebant aliquo loco extra castra;' 2. the place where they guarded, a station, a post; 3. the protection afforded by guards. It is here in the second sense, 'the military posts, the camp of Pompey,' which, forsooth, the Tuberos frequented with their body (corpore), while their hearts (animi) were elsewhere.

16. Ut fit, &c.] Cic. asserts, 1. that all coveted victory; 2. that he himself, with all his eagerness for peace, did so too. And this qualified self-accusation permitted him,
quam in reliquis,\textsuperscript{17} omnes vincendi studio tenebamur? Pacis equidem semper auctor\textsuperscript{18} fui: sed tum sero. Erat enim amentis,\textsuperscript{19} quum aciem videres, pacem cogitare. Omnes, omnes, inquam, vincere volebamus: tu certe praecipue, qui in eum locum\textsuperscript{20} venisses, ubi tibi esset pereundum, nisi vicisses. Quamquam,\textsuperscript{21} ut nunc se res habet, non dubito, quin hanc salutem\textsuperscript{22} anteponas illi victoriae.

X. Hæc ego non dicerem, Tubero, si aut vos constantiae vestrae, aut Cæsarem beneficii sui pœniteret. Nunc quæro,\textsuperscript{1} utrum vestras injurias,\textsuperscript{2} an reipublicæ persequamini. Si reipublicæ: quid de vestra in ea causa\textsuperscript{3} perseverantia respondebitis? Si vestras: videte ne erretis, qui Cæsarem vestris inimicis iratum fore putetis, cum ignoveritis suis.

Itaque num\textsuperscript{4} tibi videor, Cæsar, in causa Ligarii occupatus esse? num de ejus facto dicerem? Quidquid dixi, ad unam summam\textsuperscript{5} referri volo vel humanitatis, vel Clementiae, vel

3. to charge Tubero with a more ardent desire for it, because he had shown his partiality to Pompey and hatred towards Cæsar so openly, that if the latter were victorious, he could expect nothing but death at his hands.

17. In reliquis\textsuperscript{] Sc. of our party, not, as Patric., the Cæsarians. Hence the following 'equidem,' i. e. 'ego-quidem.' I, to be sure, was an exception.

18. Auctor\textsuperscript{] Phil. ii. 10. 'Pacis, concordiae, auctor esse non destiti.'

19. Erat amentis\textsuperscript{] This 'folly' was not left untried, as appears from the case of Musonius Rufus, a stoic philosopher, recorded by Tacit. (Hist. iii. 81.) who 'permixtus manipulis, bona pacis, et discrimina belli dissevens, armatos monebat.' The generality laughed at him, many were tired listening, some jostled and trod on him, till, through the threats of some and advice of others, he gave up his ill-timed philosophy.

20. In eum locum\textsuperscript{] Sc. Pompey's camp, where Cæc did not remain during the battle of Pharsalia, having retired to Dyrrachium, with M. Varro and Cato. Divinat. 1. Manut. But it appears better to translate it generally, 'you have come to such a pass that.'

21. Quamquam\textsuperscript{] A correction.—And yet now that Cæsar has granted you pardon.

22. Hanc salutem\textsuperscript{] Safety with him to victory with Pompey. This arose from the extreme clemency and exalted character of Cæsar.

Sect. X.—I. Nunc quæro\textsuperscript{] A dilemma, by which he convicts Tubero either of political profligacy or cruelty of disposition.

2. Vestræ injurias\textsuperscript{] Objectively, the wrongs which you suffered from Ligarius. Zumpt. L. Gram. c. 70.

3. In ea causa\textsuperscript{] The cause of Pompey, and your's as well as Ligarius's.

4. Itaque num, &c.? He now throws himself and his suit on the mercy of Cæsar; and begs to disabuse him if he imagined he was pleading the cause of Ligarius. It was altogether an appeal to his humanity, &c.

5. Summam\textsuperscript{] Κεφάλαιον, caput. Fabr.
misericordiae tuae. Causas, Caesar, egì multas quidem te-
cum,6 dum te in foro7 tenuit ratio honorum tuorum: certe
nunquam hoc modo, "Ignotise, judices, erravit; lapsus
est; non putavit:8 si unquam posthac."9 Ad parentem sic
agi solet:10 ad judices, "Non fecit, non cogitavit, falsi tes-
tes, fictum crimem." Dic, te, Caesar, de facto Ligarii judi-
cem11 esse: quibus in præsidii12 fuerit, quere. Taceo. Ne
hæc quidem colligo,13 quæ fortasse valerent etiam apud ju-
dicem: 'Legatus14 ante bellum profectus, relictus in pace,
bello oppressus, in eo ipso non acerbus, totus15 animo et
studio tuus.' Ad judicem sic agi solet: sed ego ad paren-
tem loquor: 'Erravi, temere feci, penitet; ad elementiam
tuam confugio, delicti veniam peto; ut ignoscas, oro.' Si

6. Causas—multas—tecum] Cæ-
sar’s talents as an orator are testi-
ﬁed by his cotemporaries. According to
Quintilian, (x. 1,) he was the only
man fit to be a rival of Cicero: since
(in his pithy expression) ‘œodem ani-
55. 56. Plut. Cæs. 3.
7. Dum te in foro] In his twenty-
ﬁrst year, he accused Dolabella; and
continued his pleadings till nearly
forty. This is what he calls ‘ratio
honorum,’ the course of your honours.
The praetorship was obtained in the
fortieth year. Mil. 9. n. 6.
Phil. iii. 14, remarks that it is a shame
when a thing has happened, to say,
ríc γέρο ἀν ϕήδη τουτα γενόσθαι; and
it is the proverbial resource of
the fool to say, ‘non putaram.’—
Quint. vi. 13, says that depreciation is
unsuited to regular trials, and is only
to be used before judges who are at
liberty to pronounce sentence just as
they please; e.g. Caesar.
9. Si unquam posthac] Terence,
Phor. i. 2, gives the phrase more
fully. ‘Nunc omite quaso hunc: ceterum Posthac si quicquam, nihil
precor.’ And Plautus, Casina, v. 4,
more fully still: ‘Si unquam post-
hac tale admirero, Nulla causa est
quin—virgis verberes.’

10. Ad parentem sic agi solet] Re-
fer this to ‘certe nunquam hoc modo.’
As an advocate, Cíc. seldom em-
ployed it. Perhaps he hints, too,
that Caesar was ‘parens patriæ.’
11. Dic, te—judicem] He bids Ca-
esar to imagine himself a judge of Li-
garius, and to put to him, as counsel,
the usual questions. Quint., vi. 1,
considers that when the parties con-
cerned in a trial are brought forward
speaking, it constitutes a species of
prosopopœia, which he pronounces
useful in exciting favourable emo-
tions in the hearts of the judges.
12. Quibus in præsidii] In Pom-
pey’s or in Caesar’s? Supr. ix. 15.
13. Colligo] The technical term
for collecting proofs for a trial. Phil.
ii. 17. ‘Hæc ut colligeres, &c.—’
Deiot. 12. ‘At quam acute collecta
crimina.’ It seems, however, in
these cases not merely to intimate
‘collecting,’ but also, ‘drawing in-
fences’—(its proper meaning, à συλ-
λογισμω)—from the charges adduced.
14. Legatus, &c.] Cicero, profess-
ing to be silent, and throw himself
on the sole mercy of Cæsar, nevertheless
contrives to bring forward, in one
view, the most prominent points of
his defence.
‘Animo et studio;’ in heart and af-
nemo impetrvavit, arroganter: si plurimi, tu idem fer opem, qui spem dedisti. An sperandit Ligario causa non sit, quam mihi apud te locus sit etiam pro altero deprecandi? Quamquam neque in hac oratione spes est posita causae, nec in eorum studii, qui a te pro Ligario petunt, tui necessarii.

XI. Vidi enim et cognovi, quid maxime spectares, quum pro alicujus salute multa laborarent: apud te rogantium gratiosiores esse, quam vultus; neque spectare, quam tuus esset necessarius is, qui te oraret, sed quam illius, pro quo laboraret. Itaque tribuis tu quidem tuis ita multa, ut mihi beatiore illi esse videantur interdum, qui tua liberalitate fruuntur, quam tu ipse, qui illis tam multa concedis. Sed video tamen, apud te causas, ut dixi, rogantium valere plus, quam preces, ab iisque te moveri maxime, quorum justissimum dolorem videos in petendo. In Q. Ligario con-

fection, though prevented by circumstances from proving it in deed.

16. An sperandit Quint., v. 10, calls this 'comparatio ex difficileiore;' for it was obviously more difficult for Cicero, who was already indebted to Cesar for his own, to urge the pardon of another, than for that other to hope for a pardon. But this being done, Cesar would hardly forfeit the glory of his clemency, gained in pardoning the one, by refusing the same pardon to the other. Abram. Supr. 3. n. 16.

17. Neque in hac oratione, &c.] Neither in my deprecatory speech, nor the affectionate interference of your personal friends.

18. In eorum studii] Se. 'in Cæsarem,' not 'in Ligarium.'


2. Causas] The reasons which the entreating parties have for pressing their suit. 'Gratiosiores,' of more influence with you. Al. gratiores, and Ern. graviores, who allows, that men are called 'gratiosi,' but not things.

3. Itaque—quidem] Accordingly, you do not, to be sure, deny your own friends any favour, as the preceding remark (neque te spectare quam tuus esset necessarius) might lead a person to suppose—so far from that, you are above measure liberal to them; still I see (sed video tamen) that the causes, &c.'

4. Beatiore] Dives, says Varr. iv. 17, a divo qui, ut deus, nihil indigere videtur; beatus qui multa bona possidet. Cic. does not mean that they were 'happier' than Caesar, but as we say, 'better off'—'wealthier.' Caesar was so generous that he left himself in a worse situation than the recipients of his bounty. This accords with the account of Sall. Cat. c. 61. 'nihil de negare quod dono dignum esset.'

5. In Q. Ligario] And this introduces the case of Ligarius. He here reasons syllogistically. Thus the major (Vidi enim, &c.) is shortly: Just grounds (causas) for interference in the suppliants usually avail with Caesar. The friends of Ligarius have the justest grounds, (minor). Therefore, &c. In establishing the minor he is able to enumerate all the friends of Ligarius who are interested in his fate. Fabr. And this he proceed to do.
servando multis tu'quidem gratum facies\(^6\) necessariis tuis: sed hoc,\(^7\) quæso, considera, quod soles. Possum fortissimos viros, Sabinos,\(^8\) tibi probatissimos,\(^9\) totumque agrum Sabinum, florem Italiam, ac robur reipublicae proponere. Nosti optime homines. Animadverte horum omnium mostitiam et dolorem: hujus T. Brocchi,\(^10\) de quo non dubito, quid existimes, lacrymas squaloremque\(^11\) ipsius et filii vides. Quid de fratribus\(^12\) dicam? Noli, Cæsar, putare, de unius capite\(^13\) nos agere. Aut tres tibi Ligarii in civitate retinendi sunt, aut tres ex civitate exterminandi. Quodvis exsilium his est optatius, quam patria, quam domus, quam díi penates, uno illo exsulante. Si fraterne, si pie, si cum dolore\(^14\) faciunt, moveat pietas, moveat germanitas,\(^15\) valeat tua vox\(^16\) illa, quæ vicit. Te enim dicere audiebamus, nos, omnes\(^17\) adversarios putare, nisi qui nobiscum essent: te omnes, qui contra te non essent, tuos. Videsne\(^18\) igitur hunc splendorem, omnem hanc Brochorum domum, hunc L. Marcium,\(^19\) C. Cæse-

6. Gratum facies] Gratificabere, \(\chi_{\alpha\pi\iota\gamma}\). Fabr.
8. Sabinos] The first in his enumeration: Ligarius was of Sabine origin; and it was usual for the whole people of a district to appear at Rome in defence of a patron or countryman. So the Campanians appeared in favour of Cicero, on his return from banishment.
9. Probatissimos] Plut. writes, that they afforded Cæsar an asylum during the proscription of Sylla, and he may have tried and proved their valour in his legions.
10. Brocchi] Ligarius’s maternal uncle and his sons; the second in his list. Supr. 4. n. 16.
12. Fratribus] Titus, who is mentioned infr., and, it is supposed, Marcus. The third in the list of Ligarius’s friends.
14. Fraterne—pie—cum dolore] These words apply particularly to the third class, but intimate the general conclusion; sc. ‘that the prayers of Ligarius’s friends ought to have weight with you.’ The corresponding words ‘lacrymas—pietas—germanitas,’ are, it is observable, in the reverse order.
15. Germanitas] Brotherhood; from ‘germanus,’ qu. ‘eodem germine prefectus’—Fest.; or ‘eadem genetrix manans,’ Serv.; properly, a full brother; sometimes a half-brother.
16. Valeat tua vox] He strengthens his conclusion by the testimony of Cæsar, and the contrast which Pompey’s conduct exhibited.
18. Videsne] The fourth class of friends in general, comprising also the second. ‘Splendorem’ is the proper epithet of the equestrian order, as, majesty of the people, and authority of the senate.
tium, L. Corfidium, hosce omnes equites Romanos qui ad- sunt veste mutata, non solum notos tibi, verum etiam pro- batos viros? Tecum fuerunt. Atque his iraseebamur, et hos requirebamus, et his nonnulli etiam minabantur. Con- serva igitur tuus suos: ut, quemadmodum cetera quae dicta sunt a te, sic hoc verissimum reperiatur.

XII. Quod si penitus perspicere posses concordiam Li- gariorum, omnes frateres tecum judicares fuisses. An potest quisquam dubitare, quin, si Q. Ligarius in Italia esse potentisset, in eadem sententia futurus fuerit, in qua frateres fue- runt? Quis est, qui horum consensum conspirantem et pene conflatum in hac prope aequalitate fraterna non no- verit? qui hoc non sentiat, quidvis prius futurum fuisset, quam, ut hi frateres diversas sententias fortunasque seque- rentur? Voluntate igitur omnes tecum fuerunt: tempesta* abreptus est unus; qui, si consilio id fecisset, esset eorum similis, quos tu tamen salvos esse voluisti. Sed

20. Casetium] Perhaps the same as was deprived of his tribuneship for tearing the laurel crown from off the statue of Caesar. Suet. Jul. 70.

21. Corfidium] By a 'lapsus memoria' Corfidius was here mentioned, though previously dead. Cic. requests Atticus, (xiii. 44,) to be careful in having the name erased from all the copies; which, however, was not effected.


23. Tecum fuerunt] Al. fuisse. This did not require them to be ac- tually in Caesar's camp. It was enough that they did not join Pomp- eey. 'Te omnes qui contra te non essent tuos.'

24. Iraseebamur] Therefore their deserts towards you are enhanced by their being the objects of the hatred and threats of the Pompeians. Mar- cel. 6.

25. Hos requirebamus] i.e. Missed, felt annoyed at the absence of. So Supr. 5. Patris tui prudentiam re- quiro. Mil. 1. n. 5.

26. Tuis suos] i. e. To those who by their neutrality are proved to be your friends, preserve their own.— 'Hoc,' then, means, your considering all these your friends who did not ap- pear against you.

Sect. XII.—1. Tecum—fuisses] Sc. to have remained at Rome.

2. Consipratam—conflatum] 'Con- cordant, and as it were, moulded into one.' One of the meanings of con- flare is, 'to fuse metals;' which may supply the metaphor here.


5. Consilio] 'Intentionally;' which he did not.
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PRO Q. LIGARIO, CAP. 12.

ierit ad bellum; dissenserit non a te solum, verum etiam a fratribus: hi te orant tui. Equidem, quum tuis omnibus negotiis interessem, memoria teneo, qualis tum T. Ligarius questor urbanus fuerit erga te et dignitatem tuam. Sed parum est, me hoc meminisse: spero etiam te, qui oblivisci nihil soles, nisi injurias, quoiam hoc est animi, quoiam etiam ingenii tui, te, alicud de hujus quae- storis officio cogitantem, etiam de aliis quibusdam questoribus reminiscem recordari. Hic igitur T. Ligarius, qui tum nihil egit aliud, (neque enim haec divinabat) nisi ut tu eum tu studiorem et bonum virum judicares, nunca a te superplex fratri salutem petit. Quam hujus admonitus officio quum utrisque his dederis, tres frates optimos et integerrimos, non solum sibi ipsos, neque his tot ac talibus viris, neque nobis necessariis suis, sed etiam reipublicae condonavers. Fac igitur, quod de homine nobilissimo et clarissimo, M. Marcello, restituto fecisti nuper in curia, nunc idem in foro de optimis et huic omni frequentiae probatissimis fra-

6. *Sed ierit*] But take it in the worst point of view, admit that he did go to the war, that he did, &c.

7. *Equidem*] Cic. testifies to the merits of T. Ligarius, who in his questorship, Lentulus and Philippus, cos., paid Caesar a sum of money voted to him out of the public treasury, to support his army in Gaul. *Fam. i. 7.*

This payment Cic. (Prov. Cons. 11.) strenuously supported. Others refer it, improperly, to his permitting Caesar to plunder the treasury at the beginning of the civil war. But Cic. then took no concern in Caesar’s affairs.

8. *Questor urbanus*] Hi aera- rium curabant, ejusque pecunias expensas et acceptas in publicas tabulas referabant. *Ascon.*

9. *Sed parum est*] He connects Caesar’s memory of it with his own.

10. *Qui oblivisci*] Quint. vi. 4.


12. *Aliis questoribus*] Some of whom may have opposed the grant alluded to, supr. n. 7. Patr. refers it to their preventing him from breaking into the treasury, as mentioned, supr. n. 7.

13. *Nihil egit*] Had no object in view, was quite disinterested; for he had no prophetic vision of your wonderful exaltation. Others make ‘haec’ the present calamity of his brother.

14. *Officio*] Precibus quas pro fratre fundit. *Patric.* To translate ‘admonitus officio,’ admonished by his services, seems to give too arrogant a meaning.

15. *Quod fecisti nuper*] Caesar had lately pardoned M. Marcellus, who had been a strenuous supporter of the Pompeian cause. After the battle of Pharsalia he retired to Mitylene with the intention of spending the remain- der of his life in retirement; but the entreaties of his brother, C. Marcellus, and his numerous friends, procured an unwilling pardon from Caesar. For this act of clemency, Cic. returned Caesar thanks, (Fam. iv. 4.) in a speech, which in the opinion of several eminent scholars has not been transmitted to us. This loss has been attempted to be supplied in the oration ‘pro
tribus. Ut concessisti illum senatui, sic da hunc populo, cujus voluntatem carissimam semper habuisti: et, si ille dies tibi gloriosissimus, populo Romano gratissimus fuit, noli, obsecre, dubitare, C. Cæsar, similem illi gloriae ludem quam sæpissime quaerere. Nihil est enim tam populare, quam bonitas; nulla de virtutibus tuis plurimis nec gratior, nec admirabilior, misericordia est; homines enim ad deos nullam re proprius accedunt, quam salutem hominibus dando. Nihil est nec fortuna tua majus, quam ut possis, nec natura tua melius, quam ut velis servare quamplurimos. Longiorem orationem causa forsitan postulat, tua certe natura breviorem. Quare, quum utilius esse arbitrer te ipsum, quam aut me, aut quemquam, loqui tecum, finem jam faciam: tantum te [ipsum] admonebo, si illi absent salutem dederis, praesentibus his omnibus te daturum.

Marcellus, by some pompous rhetorician of the Augustine age. Vid. Schutz and Orel. Marcellus did not live to reach his native country, being assassinated at Athens by a confidential friend, P. Magius Chilo.

16. Cujus voluntatem, &c.] i. e. Courted popularity. Cat. iv. 5. So Sext. 45, Cic. says, that those whose actions and words were intended to please the people were 'populares;' while those who regulated their plans so as to approve them 'cuique optimo,' were 'optimates.' But then who is meant by 'cuique optimo?' 17. Hominès, enim, &c.] This sentiment is noticed by Strabo, x. 'Εν γάρ ἐρημητεί τέτο, τούς ἀνθρώπους μάλωτα μυμείσθαι τές θεός ὅταν εἰπρητῶσιν. So Plin. ii. 7. Deus est mortali juvare mortalera. Lastly, Shakesp. No ceremony that to great ones 'longs, Not the king's crown nor the deputed sword—Become them half so well as mercy does.

18. Habet nec, &c.] Quint. viii. 5. notices the liveliness of this turn from the third to the second person. 'Ita quæ erant rerum propria, fecit hominis.' The compliment is very elegant. 19. Longiorem Cæsar's clemency, so often noticed already, here affords even a pretext for concluding.

20. Quare] He concludes with leaving the most important consideration impressed on the mind of Cæsar.
INTRODUCTION TO THE ORATION

FOR

KING DEIOTARUS.

Deiotarus was a noble tetrarch of Gallogræcia,* or Galatia, who in the several wars in which the Romans had been engaged in Asia, Cappadocia, Cilicia, and Syria, (inf. c. 13,) had often afforded powerful aid to their generals, and proved himself a zealous and faithful ally. These services did not go unnoticed nor unrewarded. Hence Cicero, Phil. xi. 13, asks, "Quae de illo viro Sulla, quæ Murena, quæ Servilius, quæ Lucullus, quam ornate, quam honorifice, quam graviter sæpe in senatu praedicatorunt? Quid de Cn. Pompeio loquar? qui unum Deiotarum in toto orbe terrarum ex animo amicum, vereque benevolum, unum fidelem populo Romano, judicavit." The latter general, indeed, for his services against Mithridates, presented him with Armenia Minor, (Eutrop. vi. 14,) and had him recognized by the senate as king; the highest honour which the senate could bestow. (Manil. 5. n. 11.) Harusp. 13.

2. When the civil war broke out between Cæsar and Pompey, he adhered to the cause of his benefactor, and not only supplied him with military aid, but was himself in the battle of Pharsalia. (Cæs. B. C. iii. 4.) After the defeat of Pompey, true to his principles of supporting the republic, he immediately sent a supply of men and money to Cæsar to Alexandria. Inf. c. 5. In

* Gallogræcia is a region of Asia, bounded by Phrygia, Bithynia, and Armenia Minor. It was founded by a colony detached from the great Gaulish emigration under Brennus, b. c. 270, which crossed the Hellespont, and mingling with some Græcan colonies, gave the country the name of Gallogræcia, the inhabitants of which continued to speak the Celtick language in the days of St. Jerome, 600 years after their emigration. It was also called Galatia by the Greeks from γαλα, lac, owing to the whiteness of their bodies, as Livy, xxxvi. 21, testifies. So Aen. viii. 660—tum lactea colla Auro innectuntur.
the mean time, Pharnaces, the son of Mithridates, to whom, out of the vast dominions of his father, Pompey had only conceded the Cimmerian Bosphorus, invaded the dominions of Deiotarus and Ariobarzanes, with a view to recover from the former Armenia Minor, and from the latter, Cappadocia. Deiotarus, therefore, applied for protection to Domitius Calvinus (Hist. B. Alex. 33,) whom Cæsar had left as pro-consul of Asia. Domitius, after a useless attempt to bring Pharnaces to terms of peace, assisted by Deiotarus, proceeded to hostilities against that prince, but with so little success that he was obliged to retire with his scattered forces into Asia. Deiotarus having thus, by his zeal in supporting the interests of the Cæsarian party, deserved a pardon (‘meruit veniam,’ Schol.) for his Pharsalian error, as soon as he learned that the Roman general, proceeding against Pharnaces, had arrived in the precincts of Gallogræcia, waited on him in the garb of a suppliant (B. Alex. 67,) and in consideration of his former services, his age, dignity, and the prayers of his friends, received a pardon, and was permitted to resume the ensigns of regal dignity. About certain claims, however, which the neighbouring tetrarchs made on Gallogræcia, Cæsar decided nothing; but taking with him all Deiotarus's cavalry, and a legion trained in the Roman discipline, he proceeded against Pharnaces, whose speedy defeat is recorded in Cæsar's memorable letter to the senate, 'veni, vidi, vici.'

3. Cæsar, after this victory, proceeding to Asia, by the route of Gallogræcia and Bithynia, became the guest of Deiotarus. Of Cæsar's deportment towards his royal host, Cicero, when he was not afraid to tell the truth, thus speaks, Phil. ii. 37: "Compellarat hospitem præsens, computarat, pecuniam imperarat, in ejus tetrachiam ex Gracis comitibus collocarat, Armeniam aboluerat a senatu datam." This 'Graecian attendant,' to whom he gave the tetrarchy of the Trogini, (a part of Gallogræcia,) was Mithridates Pergamenes, whom he had made king of the Bosphorus. To Deiotarus he left the remainder of Gallogræcia with the title of King. (C. 5. "Eum amplissimo regis honore et nomine affereris." ') When Cæsar returned from Spain, l. v. 708, Castor, the grandson of Deiotarus, by a daughter who was married to one Saocondarius, accused his grandfather of a design to murder Cæsar, when he was his guest in Gallogræcia. Castor's conduct and motives are variously represented. * The most pro-

* Ern., in his argument says, 'Graves inimicitiae intercedebant Deiotarum cum Castore, filio Saocondarii.' The Schol. 'Post cum genero, i.e. Saocondario, item habuit.' Ern., 'Abducto ab avo medico Phidippo, Castor misit
bale account is, that his father, hoping to ingratiate himself with Caes-er, and obtain a part of Deiotarus's kingdom, sent his son to Rome, for the purpose of accusing his grandfather; and that while there, he found means to corrupt Phidippus, a physician, sent by his grandfather, as part of the embassy to conduct his defence. This embassy waited on Cicero, who readily undertook the cause of his old* friend, and argued it before Caes-er, within the walls of his own palace.

4. As in the oration for Milo, the fears of the orator, arising from the guards which surrounded the forum, afforded him matter for an exordium, so here a statement of his fears, and their causes, serves a similar purpose. This statement occupies the first and second sections. c. 1. 2. The orator then proceeds to show that the accusers basely grounded the hope of success on their knowledge of the differences which had fallen out between Caes-er and Deiotarus, and implores him to banish from his mind every shadow of grudge, and in the recollection of Deiotaurus's services to himself after, to forget that he was in—the field of Pharsalia. c. 3. 5.

Cicero then addresses himself to the charge itself, sc. that Deiotarus planned the assassination of Caes-er, when he was his guest in Gallogræcia. This he disproves; first, from the well-known probity of Deiotarus, and next, from his consummate wisdom and prudence. His own interests should have deterred him from attempting such a deed; and common sense from using the means assigned. c. 6. 7.

5. It remained to disprove two corroborating circumstances adduced by his opponents: first, that Deiotarus had enrolled a large army against Caes-er; next, that he harboured disloyal thoughts and alienated feelings towards the Roman general.—These he answers, c. 8. 9; not without adding his severe repre-hension of the inhuman and unnatural conduct of Castor. c. 10. 11. As no accusation, however trivial, was beneath the notice of Castor, he lastly charged his grandfather with receiving accounts from Blesamius, one of his deputies, of the unpopularity of Caes-er at Rome, the paucity of plaudits bestowed by the populace, &c. This is refuted, c. 12.

eum cum legato Romam.' The Schol. ‘Gener misit qui Deiotarum accusarent.’ And Cic. himself, inf. 7, says that Deiotarus sent Phidippus along with his legates, and that Castor, who was then at Rome, did there administer the bribe. So much for Ernesti's accuracy.

* When Cic. was pro-consul of Cilicia, A. u. 702, he contracted a warm friendship for Deiotarus, who gave him substantial proof of his regard, in supplying him with troops and money.
INTRODUCTION.

In the peroration he endeavours to effect a thorough reconciliation between Deiotarus and Caesar, by dwelling on the virtues of the king, his services to the republic, his gratitude for the clemency he had experienced; and lastly, by imploring an extension of it now to a royal family in distress. c. 13. 15.

6. This oration was made about the month of October or November, a. u. 708, commonly called the year of confusion.—Caesar had triumphed on the calends of October, after his return from Spain, and appointed Q. Fabius Maximus and C. Trebonius, consuls for the last three months of the year. We saw that the oration for Ligarius was pronounced about the first intercalary calends, and this speech followed soon after.

In December, he sent it, copied out, to Dolabella, accompanied with a letter, in which he mentions it in terms which bespeak unwonted modesty in the writer. "Oratiunculam pro Deiotaro tibi misi, quam velim sic leges ut causam tenuem et inopem, nec scriptione magnopere dignam. Sed ego hospiti veteri et amico munusculum mittere volui levidense, crasso filo, cujusmodi ipsius solent essent munera." Sylvius, forgetting the dissembled vanity of Cicero's exordium for Archias, "Siquid est in me ingenii judices, quod sentio quam sit exiguum," can only account for the epithets 'tenuem et inopem' by the fact that Cicero gained little for his client. But this is not certain. Caesar, indeed, made no immediate decision, but adjourned the cause till he should be able to examine into it fully on the spot. This, itself, was a victory to Deiotarus, and as the time never arrived, the king, on hearing of the death of Caesar, seized upon his dominions, 'suo Marte'; Phil. ii. 37; and subsequently supported the republican party, led on by Brutus and Cassius.

It is worth notice, that Brutus had already defended Deiotarus, before Caesar, at Nice, a city of Liguria, where he met him on his return from Spain; and had spoken in a tone of freedom and vehemence that gave Caesar cause to reflect on the fierce and indomitable temper of Brutus. Att. xiv. 1.
M. TULLII CICERONIS

PRO

REGE DEIOTARO,

AD C. CÆSAREM,

ORATIO.

I. QUUM in omnibus causis gravioribus, C. Cæsar, initio dicendi commoveri soleam¹ vehementius, quam videtur vel usus,² vel ætas mea³ postulare: tum⁴ in hac causa ita me multa perturbant, ut, quantum⁵ mea fides studii mihi affe-

Sect. I.—1. Com. soleam] This is a common complaint of Cic. Caecil. 13, he says, that with all his experience in pleading, when the day of trial comes—'non solum commoveor animo, sed etiam toto corpore perhorresco.' Cluent. 18. 'Semper equidem magno cum metu incipio dice-re;' and he adds, 'that he never pleads without feeling himself as it were on trial for his abilities and integrity—lest he might be chargeable with impudence, for undertaking what he could not perform; or with base-ness or negligence, for not performing what he could.'

2. Vel usus] If we consider that Cicero, five-and-twenty years before this time, said of himself, (Caecil. 13,) 'ejusdem ætatis aut nemo aut pauci plures causas defenderint,' we may have some notion of his experience.


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4. QUUM—soleam—tum] 'The subj. is joined with quum, followed by tum, when the two propositions are not merely distinguished from each other, but when that with quum is given under the form of a cause. So Arch. 4. Idque quum per se dignus putaretur, tum auctoritate et gratia Luculli ab Heracleensibus impetravit. Also, Agr. iii. 3. This causal force of quum seems gradually to have been lost sight of.' Zumpt c. 76. Hence, Manut. enumerates, among the causes of Cicero's fears, his habit of feeling strongly, &c. Inf. n. 7.

5. Quantum, &c.] i.e. 'Quantum studii, &c.' 'As much ardour of mind as a sense of duty [towards a client] inspires me with.' The forcible meaning attached to 'fides' so used, may be inferred from its violation forming one in Virgil's catalogue of crimes, 'Fraus innexa cli-enti.' Æn. vi. 609.
rat\textsuperscript{6} ad salutem regis Deiotari\textsuperscript{7} defendendam, tantum facultatis timor detrahatur. Primum\textsuperscript{7} dico pro capite fortunisque\textsuperscript{8} regis: quod ipsum etsi non iniquum\textsuperscript{9} est in tuo dumtaxat periculo, tamen est ita inusitatum,\textsuperscript{10} regem capitis reum esse, ut ante hoc tempus non sit auditum. Deinde eum regem, quem ornare antea cuncto cum senatu\textsuperscript{11} solebam, pro perpetuis ejus in nostram rempublicam meritis,\textsuperscript{12} nunc contra atrocissimum crimem\textsuperscript{13} cogor defendere. Accedit, ut accusatorum alterius crudelitate,\textsuperscript{14} alterius indignitate\textsuperscript{15} con-

6. Affert\textsuperscript{[]} Volenti, cum significatone benevolentiae; detrahatur, invito cum indicio doloris, dixit. Manut. Marcel. 4. Quantum operibus tuis diuturnitas detrahet, tantum offeret laudibus.

7. Salutem regis Deiot.] Every word is here emphatic. The safety not of a man, but of a king; not of a king, but of a king Deiotarus, whose services to the Roman empire have been so numerous. Manut.

7. Primum] Cie. adduces four causes to account for his fears. 1. His client being a king; 2. the cruelty of one accuser (the son-in-law); and meanness of the other (a slave); 3. the fact of the virtual plaintiff, Caesar, being also judge; 4. the place where the trial was held, sc. the house of Caesar. To which may be prefixed 'his habit of feeling strongly in all important causes' (n. 4).

8. Pro capite fortunisque] Here is no anti-climax; the sentence by which an offender 'capite minuitur,' did not of necessity deprive him also of his fortune. He might be only deprived of civil rights and exiled. Abran. and V. E. But v. 11. n. 2.

9. Quod ipsum—iniquum] And although this procedure is fair enough, at least (dumtaxat) where your danger is concerned.' Cic. feared to offend Caesar, by urging too far the rarity of a royal culprit; which might reflect on his justice in admitting such a prosecution. The charge against Deiotarus affected Caesar's safety. On 'dumtaxat,' vid. Mil.

2. n. 15.

10. Est ita inusitatum] This was too good a precedent not to be followed up. Thus Antony, (Plut. 36,) put to death Antigonus, king of Judaea, and bound Artaxes, king of Armenia with silver chains. Dio lib. 49. So Augustus had Phraates 'minorgenibus;' (Hor. Ep. i. 12. 27,) not to mention Herod and his sons, who were often put on trial before Roman judges. Joseph. xvi. 7. 14.

11. Ornare—cuncto—senatu] So Harusp. 13. 'Hunc Deiotarum sape a senatu regali nomine dignum existimatum, clarissimorum imperatorum testimonii, &c.' Phil. ii. 37. 'De rege Deiotaro, populo Rom. amicissimo.' Introd. i.

12. Perpetuis meritis] Phil. xi. 13. 'Deiotari—cujus benevolentiam in populum Rom. est ipsius equalis etatis; qui non solum socius imperatorum nostrorum in bellis, verum dux copiarum suarum, &c.—Sylla, Murena, Servilius, Lucullus, and Pompey, had expressed in the senate their grateful acknowledgments for the important services of Deiotarus in the Asiatic wars.


14. Alterius crudelitate] The second cause of his fear. The charge of cruelty is usually brought against prosecutors to prejudice the judges against them. So of Tubero (Ligar. 5,) he says 'nonne omnem humanitatem exuisses?' 'Alterius' here is Castor. Hence the emphatic 'cru-
turber. Crudelem Castorem, ne dicam sceleratum et impium \[16\] qui nepos avum in discrimen capitis adduxerit, adolescentiaeque suae terorem\[17\] intulerit ei, cujus senectutem tueri et tegere debebat, commendationemque ineuntis ætatis ab impietae at ab scelere duxerit; avi servum,\[18\] corruptum præmiis, ad accusandum dominum impulerit et a legatorum pedibus abduxerit.\[19\] Fugitivi\[20\] autem, dominum accusantis,\[21\] et dominum absentem, et dominum amicissimum nostre reipublicæ, quem os\[22\] videbam, quem verba audiebam: non tam afflictam regiam conditionem\[23\] dolebam, quam de fortunis communibus\[24\] extimescebam. Nam, quam more majorem de servo\[25\] in dominum ne tormentis quidem\[26\] quæri liceat; in qua quæstione dolor veram vocem elicere\[27\] possit

delis Castor’ following.

15. *Indignitatem*] For Phidippus was a slave; and slaves were not allowed to give evidence against their masters. Mil. 22. n. 13.


16. *Nepos*] His daughter’s son.

17. *Adolescentiam—terrem, &c.*] For young men at Rome found it a ready way of gaining commendation, to accuse the magistrates, to whom, therefore, they were in some sort a terror. Off. ii. 14.

18. *Avi servum*] Phidippus the physician who had been sent to Rome by Deiotarus, on an embassy, to defend him against Castor’s charge.—*Introd. 3.*

19. *Legatorum pedibus abduxerit*] Phidippus was seduced from the feet of the legates, his appropriate position as being a slave.

20. *Fugitivi*] Not only a runaway slave, but a slave that designs as much; a vagabond.

21. *Dominum accusantis*] To accuse a master is unjust; an absent master, more unjust; a master strongly attached to our republic, most unjust. Hence the consummate impudence (os) of Phidippus.

22. *Os*] Impudence. So Verr. iv. 20. ‘Nostis os hominis, nostis audaciam.’ ‘Verba’ goes a step farther in audacity. It was bad enough for the wretch to show his face; but to speak was worse still.

23. *Afflictam—conditionem*] The wretched pass to which royalty is come.

24. *De fortunis communibus*] For who can be safe if slaves are permitted to turn informers? The usual artifice of Cic. to connect the issue of the question in hand with the general interests. Manil. 2. n. 12. Mil. 1. n. 20. Inf. 11. n. 3.

25. *De servo*] Mil. 22. n. 13.

26. *Ne tormentis quidem*] Not even is the involuntary (tormentis) evidence of a slave allowed against his master, much less the voluntary accusation (accuset solutus).

27. *Elicere*] (From ‘lacio,’ I entice.) 1. Entice out; 2. (without the idea of blandishment) extract, elicit.

etiam ab invito: exortus est servus, qui, quem in euleo appellare non posset, eum accusaret solutus.

II. Perturbat me, C. Cæsar, etiam illud interdum: quod tamen, quem te penitus recognovi, timere desino; re enim iniquum est, sed tua sapientia fit æquissimum. Nam dicer apud eum de facinore, contra cujus vitam consilio facinoris inisse arguare, si per se ipsum consideres, grave est; nemo enim fere est, qui sui periculi judex, non sibi se æquiorem, quam reo praebat: sed tua, C. Cæsar, praestans singularisque natura hunc mihi metum minuit. Non enim tam timeo, quid tu de rege Deiotaro, quam intelligi, quid de te ceteros velis judicare. Moveor etiam loci ipsius insolentia, quod tantam causam, quanta nulla unquam in discipitatione versata est, dico intra domesticos pariétès, dico extra conventum et eam frequentiam, in qua oratorum studia nit solent: in tuis oculis, in tuo ore vultuque acquiesco; te quæ perturbes hæc impudentia tua. 29. Appellare] A weak word for 'accusare';—name the name of. So Off. i. 25. Cavendum est, ne majore poena iisdem de causis alii pleciantur, alii ne appellentur quiddam. For 'eceleus,' vid. Mil. 21. n. 21.

30. Accuset] Ern. not observing that 'exortus est' represents the action as just concluded, would read, 'accusaret.'

Sect. II.—1. Illud This circumstance; sc. your being judge in your own case. The third cause of his fear.


3. Iniquum] To be, at once, plaintiff and judge.

4. Arguare i. e. 'Reus arguatur.' The second pers. is used thus, to give a lively, pointed turn to the sentence.

5. Nemo, &c.] This principle of self-love is proverbial. A. Gell. xii.

5. Natura omnium rerum ita nos genuit ut nihil quicquam esset carius nobis quam nosmetipsi,—'Æquiorem' does not mean 'absolutely just,' but 'favourable, kind.'

6. Quid—judicaret] Namely, that you are a friend of justice and humanity. By this praise of Cæsar he hints what Cæsar ought to be; particularly that it was foreign to his clemency to condemn in his own cause. Cæsar's anxiety to be thought mild and forgiving is noticed by Suet. c. 75.

Loci—insolentia] The fourth cause. Quint. iv. 1. Cicero's usual theatre was the forum; here the house of Cæsar, where there was no surrounding band (conventum) by which the orator is inspired to emulation. Mil. i. n. 7.

7. Tantam causam] It concerned the life and fortunes of a king.

8. Disceptatione versata] Came on trial.

9. In qua—niti] The preposition is often omitted. But vid. Mil. 7. 'cujus in vita nitebatur.' Ern.—From signifying 'to depend upon,' it comes to mean 'to derive support and encouragement.' Hom. ii. ix. 441. Od. αγορέων, ινα τ' ἄνδρες ἀφιππεῖες τελέωσι. 10. Acquiesco] Valde quiesco, ob-
unum intuer; ad te unum omnis mea spectat oratio. Quae mihi ad spem obtinendae veritatis gravissima sunt, ad motum animi et ad omnum imperium dicendi contentionemque leviora. Hanc enim, C. Caesar, causam si in foro dicerem, eodem audiente et disceptante te, quantam mihi alacritatem populi Romani concursus afferret! Quis enim civis ei regi non favoret, cujus omnem ætatem in populi Romani bellis consumptam esse meminisset? Spectarem curiam, intuerer forum, cœlum denique testarer ipsum. Sic, quum et deorum immortalium, et populi Romani, et senatus beneficia in regem Deiotarum recordarer, nullo modo mihi deesse posset oratio. Quae quoniam angustiora parietes faciunt, actioque cause maxime debilitatur loco; tuum est, Caesar, qui pro

lector, fruitionem capio. Sylv.—Arch. 6. n. 4. Mil. 37. n. 10.
11. Te unum, &c.] In you, alone, have I my hopes reposed; there being no applauding crowd to look to.
12. Obtinendae veritatis i.e. Probandæ. So Quint. 23. Non ad obtinendum mendacium, sed ad verum probandum auctoritatem adjuvare.—But 'veritas' here is, of course, synonymous with 'causa.'
13. Gravissima sunt] When the passions are excited in judges, they are easily turned from the truth.—Quint. v. 8. Hence at Athens all attempts to rouse the feelings were forbidden. Now, Caesar being sole auditor, there was no hopes of in-flaming his passions: therefore, what was most important in making good the truth, Cic. had; though it was of little weight in rousing the eloquence and ardour of the speaker.
14. Contentionem] Cicero, Off. ii. 14, says that oratory is two-fold, 'sermo et contentio;' and he adds that the latter, as being synonymous with eloquence, is the more efficient in procuring glory and fame.
15. Disceptante te] Disceptator, i.e. rei sententiaeque moderator.—Part. Orat. 3. Abram. V. E.; a president or judge.
17. Curiam] Because it was contiguous to the forum where the cause should be pleaded. This, it would appear, (cœlum testarer,) was 'sub dio,' like the Athenian ἡλιασταί.—Col. 28. Val. Max. viii. 1, who mentions a heavy rain falling on L. Piso, while receiving sentence. Also Plin. xix. 1, 'Marcellus, Augusto xi. consule, velis forum inumbravit, quantum mutatis moribus Catonis censoris, quia ternendum muricibus censuerat.'
17. Deorum—pop. Rom.—senatus] These answer to 'cœlum—forum—curiam,' and, as usual, are in the reverse order. Ligar. 11. n. 14. (Si fraterne, &c.)
20. Quae quoniam] And since the confining walls contract these advantages of the orator.
 multis sepe dixisti, 22 quid nunc mihi animi sit, ad te ipsum referre, 23 quo facilius tum æquitas tua, tum audiendi diligentia minuat hanc perturbationem meam.

Sed antequam 24 de accusatione ipsa dico, de accusatorum 25 spe paуча dicam. Qui quum videantur neque ingenio, 26 neque usu atque exercitatione rerum 27 valere, tamen ad hanc causam non sine aliqua spe et cogitatione venerunt.

III. Irratum te regi 1 Deiotaro fuisset non erant nescii; affectum illum 2 quibusdam incommodos et detrimentis propter offensionem animi 3 tui meminerant; teque quum huic iratum, tum sibi amicum 4 cognoverant; quumque apud ipsum te de tuo periculo dicerent, fore putabant, ut in exulcerato 5 animo facile fictum crimem insideret. 6 Quamobrem hoc nos primum metu, C. Caesar, per fidem et constantiam et Clementiam 7 tuam, libera, ne residere in te ullam partem iracundiae suspicemur. Per dexteram 8 te istam oro, quam regi Deiotaro hos-

23. Ad te ipsum referre] To put yourself in my place, and give me the indulgence which you should then require. 'Ad conciliandum judicis animum valet plurimum, ut animi nostri affectionem ipse suscipiat.' Sylv.
24. Antequam, &c.] He wishes to remove any latent hatred which Caesar might cherish against Deiotarus, as a Pompeian, before he proceeds to the charge itself.
26. Neque ingenio] It is contrary to Cicero's usual practice to lower the character of his opponents; but here he does so to show their audacity in impeaching a king, and that they must rely for success on Caesar's well-known prejudices against Deiotarus.
Sylv.
27. Exercitatione rerum] Sc. foreshow. Schel. V. E.
Sect. III.—1. Irratum te regi] Hence Phil. ii. 37. 'Quis cuiquam amicior quam Deiotaro Caesar? aequae ac huic ordini, &c.'
2. Affectum illum] i. e. 'Illum (Deiotarum) affectum fuisset quibusdam, &c., meminerant.' He does not say 'affectisti illum' as being too harsh. Caesar had deprived him of part of his tetrarchy and also of Armenia Minor, which he owed to Pompey. Divin. ii. 37. Introd. 3.
3. Offensionem animi] Owing to your displeasure.
4. Sibi amicum] Sc. to Castor, not to Phidippus who was a slave. Manut. Perhaps they may be extended to mean Castor and his party, e.g. Sacondivnus.
5. Exulcerato] Ira gravi percibo. Sylv. As Caesar would be called on to negative this supposition, so it is a tacit exhortation to justice.
7. Fidem, constantiam, clementiam] The grand requisites of a judge,— 'Iracundiae,' the former resentment of Caesar against Deiotarus.
8. Dexteram] Numa, according to Livy (i.), instituted sacred rites to Fides; and considered its peculiar seat to be in the right hand. So Plin.
pes hospiti porrexisti;9 istam, inquam, dexteram, non tam in bellis, neque in præliis, quam in promissis et fide firmior-rem.10 Tu illius domum inire, tu vetus hospitium11 renovare voluisti; te ejus dii penates acceperunt; te amicum et placa-tatum Deiotari regis aræ focique12 viderunt. Quam facile exorari, Cæsar, tum semel13 exorari soles. Nemo unquam te placavit inimicus, qui ullas resedisse in te simulatis14 reli-quias sensorit. Quamquam15 cui sunt inaudita cum Deio-taro quercelæ tuae? Nunquam tu illum accusavisti, ut hostem, sed ut amicum officio parum functum, quod propensor in Cn. Pompeii amicitiam fuisset, quam in tuam. Cui tamen ipse rei16 veniam te daturum fuisse dicebas, si, quum aux-ilia Pompeio, vel etiam filium misisset, ipse excusatione atatis usus esset. Ita quum maximis17 eum rebus liberaveas, perparvam amicitiae culpam18 relinquebas. Itaque non so-lum in eum non animadvertisti, sed omni metu liberavisti, hospitem agnovisti, regem19 reliquisti. Neque enim ille

ii. 37. Abram.
9. Porrexisti] When, in proceeding against Pharnaces, from the Alex-

andrian war, you partook of the hos-
pitality of Deiotarus. Introd. 3.
10. Non tam—firmiores] Tam is found in all MSS., and confirmed by

Priscian, iii. p. 79. Supply, there-

fore, with Forcel. ‘firmam’ after
tam. ‘Not so steady in war, as
doubly steady in the performance of
promises.’ Schutz however omits, and Matth. brackets it.
11. Vetus hospitium] Cæsar, not

having served in the East, had never
been the guest of Deiotarus, as Pom-

pey and Cicero were; yet ‘renovare’

forbids us to understand it of the
‘hospitium publicum,’ mentionedSext.
4. There may have been a hospitable
friendship between Cæsar and Deio-
tarus, which Cæsar here voluntarily
renewed.
12. Aræ focique] For the heathens

had their religious rites, and kings
had private altars in their palaces.
Delph.
13. Quum facile—tum semel] Not

only easily induced to forgive, but to

forgive heartily (semel, once for all.)
14. Simultatis] Of grudge or en-

mity.
15. Quamquam, &c.] ‘Though

why dwell on this. For by whom

have your expostulations with Deio-
tarus been unheard? Every one

knows the drift of them. You never

accused him as an enemy, &c.’
16. Cui tamen ipse rei] Cæsar

would have overlooked Deiotarus’s
sending aid to Pompey, or even send-
ing his son to command them, had he,
taking advantage of the pretext of old age (he was then above sixty)
remained at home himself: but
his being found in the field of Par-
salia, Cæsar thought, made the mat-
ter quite personal. [When Crassus,
adv. v. 700, went to Parthia, Deiotarus
was extremely old. Plut. Crass. 17.
17. Maximis] ‘When you ac-

quitted him of any serious crime,’
i.e. in sending his son and auxiliaries
to Pompey.
18. Amicitiae culpam] Deio-
tarus’s was not only a very trifling fault,
but it was the fault of friendship, not
of enmity.
M. T. CICERONIS ORATIO

19. Regem] For Cæsar left him his old kingdom of Gallogræcia, except the tetrarchy of the Trogini, but deprived him of the rest of his dominions.

20. Progressus] For he did not proceed to the war (ad bellum Sylv. through hatred of you, but was led astray by the general error, namely, of thinking that the Roman empire followed the consuls and senate, and was therefore in Pompey's camp.

21. Errore communi] Ligaro. 6.—Alli errorem, alli timorem, alli spem, &c.

22. Rex—appellavisset] Supra. 1. n. 11.


24. Perturbatus] Inf. 4. Maximem vero perturbatus est, ut audivit, consules ex Italia profugisse, &c.—This is the first excuse for Deiotarum's joining Pompey.

25. Longinquus, &c.] For if those who were born and living in the heart of the republic, yet mistook the true state party, a fortiori, might Deiotarum, a foreigner, living at a distance. 'Nati' refers to 'aliigena,' and 'ver-sati' to 'longinquus.' So Mil. 28. 'In longinquos, in propinquos.'—Manil. 9. 'Nimia longinquitate locorum.'

Sect. IV.—1. Nobis] Al. novis. But Cic. had just returned from Cicilia, and in expectation of a triumph, was now at the city, a regular 'imperator.' So ad Div. xvi. 11. 'Posteaquam senatus—nobis qui proconsules sumus negotium dederat ut, &c.'

2. Consulibus—datam] Cæs. B. Civ. i. 4, says that the usual decree, 'Dant operam consules, praetores, tribuni plebis, quique pro consulibus sunt ad urbem, ne quid respublica detrimenti capiat,' was made on the seventh of January, A. U. 705, in the consulship of L. Lentulus and C. Marcellus, which caused the friends of Cæsar to take refuge at Ravenna, where he then was. Vid. ad Div. xvi. 11. Mil. 26. n. 14.

3. Movebatur animo, &c.] i. e. 'Vir amiciss. huic imp. movebatur animo et extimescebat, &c.'

4. Quiescendum] I thought it my duty to remain neutral. Ligaro. i. 'Adventu Vari quievit.' Att. ix. 10.

5. Omnes consulares] Not all, for Cic. Ser. Sulpicius, and others remained. There is a similar exaggeration, Phil. ii. 22, where there is no ('sic enim nuntiabatur,' because
Cunctum senatum, totam Italiam esse effusam. 
Talibus enim nuntiiis et rumoribus patebat ad Orientem via, nec ulli veri subsequebantur. Nihil ille de conditionibus tuis, nihil de studio concordiae et pacis, nihil de consiratione audiebat certorum hominum contra dignitatem tuam. Quae quum ita essent, tamen usque eo se tenuit, quoad a Cn. Pompeio ad eum legati literaque venerunt. Ignosce, ignosce, Caesar, si ejus viri auctoritati rex Deiotarus cessit, quem nos omnes secuti sumus; in quem quum dii atque homines omnia ornamenta congesissent, tum tu ipse plurima et maxima.—Neque enim, si tuae res gestæ ceterorum laudibus obscuritatem attulerunt, idcirco Cn. Pompeii memoriam amisimus.—Quantum nomen ejus fuerit, quantæ opes, quanta in omni genere bellorum gloria, quanti honores populi Romani, quanti senatus, quanti tui, quis ignorat? Tanto ille superiores vicerat gloria, quanto tu omnibus praestitisti. Itaque Cn. Pompeii bella, victorias, triumphos, consulatus, admirantes numerabamus: tuos enumerare non possimus.
V. Ad eum igitur\textsuperscript{1} rex Deiotarum venit, hoc misero fatali-
que\textsuperscript{2} bello, quem antea justis\textsuperscript{3} hostilibusque bellis\textsuperscript{4} adjuverat,
quocum erat non hospitio\textsuperscript{5} solum, verum etiam familiaritate conjunctus : et venit\textsuperscript{6} vel rogatus, ut amicus ; vel arcessitus, ut socius ; vel evocatus,\textsuperscript{7} ut is, qui senatui parere didicisset : postremo venit, ut ad fugientem, non ut ad insequentem,\textsuperscript{8} id est, ad periculi, non ad victoriae societatem. Itaque, Pharsalico proelio facto,\textsuperscript{9} a Pompeio discessit ; spem infinitam\textsuperscript{10} persequi noluit ; vel officio,\textsuperscript{11} si quid debuerat, vel errori, si quid nescierat, satisfactum esse duxit ; domum se contulit ; teque Alexandrinum bellum\textsuperscript{12} gerente, utilitabimus\textsuperscript{13} tuis pa-

\textbf{Sect. V.—1. Ad eum igitur} The third excuse is drawn from antecedent circumstances. He had been the old ally, host, and friend of Pompey.


3. Justis] Decreed by the senate, e.g. the Mithridatic.

4. Hostilibus, bellis] In conflict with a foreign foe, in opposition to civilibus. For ‘hostis’ was anciently ‘peregrinus.’ The assistance alluded to here was afforded to the Mithridatic war, which Pompey terminated.

5. Hospitio] The friendship existing between those who were bound mutually to entertain one another. They were known to each other by the ‘tessera hospitalis,’ and Jupiter Hospitalis was witness of the league. ‘Familiaritas,’ however, was a step higher, being a habit of intimacy between dear friends. Off. ii. 8.—‘Familiaritates—amantium nos amicorum.’ Hom. 11. xvii. 150. 

6. Et venit, &c.] The fourth excuse—from the concomitant circumstances.

7. Evocatus] ‘Veterans, summoned again to take the field.’ They were exempted from standing guard, and from working in the lines, and only fought in the field with the general. Lips. i. 8. Fam. xv. 4; Suet. Aug. 10. As applied to Deiotarus, Abram. thinks that it implies that he attended, not so much to aid, as pay respect to Pompey.

8. Insequentem] i.e. Not to a victorious general but to a retreating friend. For Pompey had fled from Italy. Therefore Deiotarus’s conduct was perfectly disinterested.

9. Pharsalico praelio facto] The fifth excuse—from the subsequent conduct of Deiotarus. He immediately withdrew from the war, and henceforward assisted Caesar. Plut., however, says that he escaped in the same vessel as Pompey. Perhaps he landed at Cyprus, and proceeded thence to Galatia.

10. Speram infinitam] A vague hope of renewing the war.

11. Office] Which he owed to Pompey; ‘errori,’ in thinking that the whole republic was attached to the Pompeian cause.


13. Utilitabimus] These are enumerated inf. His aiding Domitius, sending money (most probably) to Sextus Caesar, frequently auctioning his goods to raise supplies, &c.
rui t. Ille exercitum Cn. Domitii, amplissimi viri, suis tec-tis et copiis sustentavit; ille Ephesum ad eum, quem tu ex tuis fidelissimam et probatissimum omnibus delegisti, pecuniam misit; ille iterum, ille tertio, auctionibus factis, pecuniam dedit, qua ad bellum uterere; ille corpus suum periculo objectit, tecumque in acie contra Pharmacem fuit, tuumque hostem esse duxit suum. Quae quidem a te in eam partem accepta sunt, C. Caesar, ut eum amplissimo re-gis honore et nomine affeceris.

Isigitur, non modo a te periculo liberatus, sed etiam honore amplissimo ornatus, arguitur domi te sue interficere voluisse. Quod tu nisi eum furiosissimum judicas, suspiciari profecto non potes. Ut enim omissum, cujus tanti sceleris fuerit, in conspectu deorum penatium necare hospitem; cujus tanta importunitatis, omnium gentium atque omnis memoriae clarissimum lumen exstinguere; cujus tanta ferocitatis, victorem orbis terrarum non extimescere; cujus tam inhumani et ingrati animi, a quo rex appellatus improbability deduced from the personal character of Deiotarus. It would argue downright madness in the most prudent of men.

21. Ut omissam He enumerates, by pretending to omit, five marks of improbability: the reverence due to the tutelary gods, the dignity of Caesar, his fortune, the favours he had bestowed on Deiotarus, the gratitude of Deiotarus, and lastly, his danger if he had attempted Caesar’s life.


23. Conspectu—penatium Hor. Carm. ii. 13. 6. —penetralia Sparsisse nocturno cruore Hospitis. In season-

24. Importunitatis 1. Unseason-

esset, in eo tyrannum inveniri: ut haec omittam, cujus tanti furoris fuit, omnes reges, quorum multi erant finitimi; omnes liberos populos, omnes socios, omnes provincias, omnia denique omnium arma contra se unum excitare? Quonam ille modo cum regno, cum domo, cum conjuge, cum carissimo filio distractus esset, tanto scelere non modo perfecto, sed etiam cogitato?

VI. At, credo, haec homo inconsideratus et temerarius non videbat.—Quis consideratio illo? Quis tector? Quamquam hoc loco Deiotarum non tam ingenio et prudentia, quam fide et religione vitae defendendum puto. Nota tibi est, C. Caesar, hominis probitas, noti mores, nota constantia. Cui porro, qui modo populi Romani nomen audivit, Deiotari integritas, gravitas, virtus, fides non audita est? Quod igitur facinus nec in hominem imprudentem cadere posset, propter metum praesentis exitii, nec in facinosorum, nisi esset idem amentissimus, id vos et a viro optimo et ab homine minime stultus cogitatum esse coningitis. At

26. Tyrannum inveniri] To be discovered a despot over the man that named you a king.

27. Multi finitimi] Abram, enumerates Sadalus, king of Thrace, Cotys, Rascipolis, Ariobarzanes, Mithridates Pergamens. Many of these were the beneficaries of Caesar, and might reasonably have been expected to avenge his death.

28. Liberos populos] The republican states yet found in the Roman empire.


Sect. VI.—1. Credo] An objection. All that you have mentioned as improbable in Deiotarum, becomes easy if he is a rash and inconsiderate man. But ‘quis consideratio illo?’

2. Quis tector] Al. rectior. Frn. brackets, Weiske omits, these words as spurious; but they are not to be interpreted in an unfavourable sense; perhaps a metaphor taken from the gladiatorial art. Orel.

3. Quamquam] The usual ‘correction,’ (Mil. 2. n. 18.), which shows tector to be the true reading supr. Deiot. was a prudent, wary man; but he was more—he was an honest man.

4. Probitas—mores—constantia] A man may be honest yet rough in his manners; he may possess honesty and courtesy, yet want firmness. Deiot. united them all. Manut.

5. Cui porro] Nay, farther; a correction of the preceding sentence—I said that Deiotarum's virtues were known to you; nay, the whole world has heard of them.

6. Quod igitur] He draws the conclusion from the acknowledged probity and prudence of Deiotarum.

quam non modo non credibiliter, sed ne suspicioso\textsuperscript{8} quidem:
Quum, inquit,\textsuperscript{9} in castellum\textsuperscript{10} Luceium venisses, et domum regis, hospitis tui, devertisse, locus erat quidam, in quo erant ea composita, quibus rex te munerare\textsuperscript{11} constituerat. Huc\textsuperscript{12} te e balneo,\textsuperscript{13} priusquam accumberes, ducere volebat. Erant enim armati, qui te interficerent, in eo ipso loco collocati. En crimen, en causa, eur regem fugitivus, dominum servus accuset. Ego mehercule,\textsuperscript{14} C. Cæsar, initio, quum est ad me\textsuperscript{15} ista causa delata, Phidippum medicum, servum regium, qui cum legatis missus esset, ab isto\textsuperscript{16} adolescentem esse corruptum, suspicione sum percussus: medicum, indicem subornavit;\textsuperscript{17} finget videlicet aliiquid crimen veneni. Etsi a veritate longe, tamen a consuetudine criminandi non multum res abhorrebat. Quid ait medicus?\textsuperscript{18} Nihil de

is visus est, &c.' Manut. Similarly, by a species of litotes, we say, 'he is no fool.'

8. \textit{Suspiciose} i. e. Place the charges on one side, the life of Deiotarus on the other—and, so far from their being in them grounds for probability, there are none even for suspicion. This he proceeds to prove.


10. \textit{Castellum} This diminutive of 'castrum,' is—a fort raised in a territory, to defend it against the incursions of an enemy; or on its borders, to guard the passes; or lastly, it formed a part of the regular encampment itself. As, owing to the security which these 'castella' afforded, towns were often built near them, we need not wonder at so many names of towns in Britain retaining traces of connexion with them.—CheSTER and Chelsea, we may suppose, were \textit{cestrum} and \textit{castellum} of the Romans. In this case, Deiot. had a palace in the vicinity of Luceium, in which Caesar was first entertained. For it appears (c. 7,) that it was not until the following day that Caesar reached this castle, where he was again entertained; yet here Cic. says

'Luceium venisses, et domum regis devertisse.' This can only be cleared by supposing the 'castle' in the neighbourhood of the palace, and Manut. says 'Oppidi pars munitior a Deiotari domo sejuncta.'

11. \textit{Munerare} More frequently deponent. The Roman generals were usually presented with costly gifts from the eastern kings and allies.

12. \textit{Huc} The place where the gifts were displayed. Inf. 'eo ipso loco.'

13. \textit{E balneo} For the bath before dinner was Roman etiquette. Vat. 13. 'Cui de balneis exeunti, toga pulla data est?'

14. \textit{Ego mehercule, &c.] The first circumstance connected with the charge, and which shows its improbability is, that a physician was privy to the secret, yet that the sword preferred to poison. was

15. \textit{Quum est ad me} When Deiotarus's embassy intruded the defence to me.

16. \textit{Ab isto} Castore. 'Isto,' here, intimates contempt.

17. \textit{Subornavit} Al. subornabit.—but he imagines the action past to intimize its greater certainty.

18. \textit{Medicus} Emphatic in op-
veneno. At id fieri potuit primo occultius in potione, vel in cibo: deinde etiam impunius fit, quod, quam est factum, negari potest. Si palam te interemisset, omnium in segentium non solum odia, sed etiam arma convertisset: si veneno; Jovis illius quidem hospitalis numen nunquam celare potuisse, homines fortasse celavisset. Quod igitur et occultius conari, et efficere cautius potuit; id tibi, et medico callido, et servo, ut putabat, fidelis, non credidit: de armis, de ferro, de insidiis celare te noluit? At quam festive crimen contextur! Tua te, inquit, eadem, que semper, fortuna servavit. Negavisti tum te inspicere velle.

VII. Quid postea? an Deiotarum, re illo tempore non perfecta, continuo dimisit exercitum? nullus erat alius insidiandi locus? At eodem te, quam coenaisses, rediturum dixeras: itaque facisti. Horam unam aut duas eodem loco armatos, ut collocati fuerant, retinere magnum fuit? Quum

position to 'veneno.'

19. Primo—deinde] The two advantages of the bowl; 'it is more secret and has more impunity.'
21. Interemisset] Inter often signifies the completion of the action to which it is joined; so 'interimari, interire, interfecer.'
22. Hospitalis] Zew. Xeni. i. 735. 'Jupiter, hospitibus nam te dare jura loquentur.' He was so worshipped for turning Lycaon, who had slain his guests, into a wolf.
23. Id sibi] Phidippus. Very likely, forsooth, that Deiotarus, who was not trusted in the way of his profession—poison, should be privy to arms, swords, and an ambush. Hor. Sat. ii. 1. 52.
24. Celare te noluit] i. e. Did not conceal from you the more difficult and dangerous, yet would not intrust the easier and safer road.
25. At quam festive] Similarly,inf. 'At quam acute collecta crimina!' 'Contexitum,' like the Greek ψαίειν. We say 'trumped up a story or charge.'
27. Fortuna] e. g. The surrender, by Cassius, of eighty ships to Caesar, at the Hellespont.
28. Inspecere] Sc. the gifts prepared for Caesar by the king.

Sect. VII.—1. Re perfecta] Similarly Phil. ii. 11, Rem—confecisset, i. e. 'occidisset.' Abram.
2. Dimisit exercitum] The pompous words of Thraso in Terent. Eun. iv. 6, to his gang of slaves, when dismissing them after an unsuccessful project, here are perhaps imitated, 'jam dimitto exercitum.' It must have produced a ludicrous effect to address a few hired bravos by the dignified appellation of 'exercitus;' and therefore tended to 'dilute' the charge by setting it in a ridiculous point of view.
3. Itaque facisti] i. e. 'Et ita facisti;' and you did return thither after supper.
4. Magnum] A mighty matter. Mil. 15. n. 16. Abram. quotes Hom. II. v. 303. μέγα ἔργον; also xi. 733, and elsewhere. But it does not bear
in convivio comiter\textsuperscript{5} et jucunde fuisses, tum illuc isti,\textsuperscript{6} ut dixeras. Quo in loco Deiotarum talem erga te cognovisti, qualis rex Attalus\textsuperscript{7} in P. Africanum fuit: cui magnificentissim\ae dona, ut scriptum legimus, usque ad Numantiam\textsuperscript{8} misit ex Asia; quae Africanus, inspectante exercitu, accepit. Quod quum præsens Deiotarus, regio\textsuperscript{9} et animo et more, fucisset; tu in cubiculum discissisti. Obscero, Cæsar, repete temporis illius memoriam, pone illum ante oculos diem, vultus\textsuperscript{10} hominum te intuentium\textsuperscript{11} atque admirantium recordare! Num quæ trepidatio? num qui tumultus? num quid, nisi moderate, nisi quiete, nisi ex hominis gravissim\ae et sanctissim\ae disciplina?\textsuperscript{22} Quid igitur causæ excogitari potest, cur te lotum\textsuperscript{13} voluerit, coænatum noluerit occidere? In posterum, inquit, diem\textsuperscript{14} distulit, ut, quum in castellum Luceilum ventum esset, ibi cogitata perinceret. Non video causam loci mutandi:\textsuperscript{15} sed tamen acta res criminose est.

in these passages the ironical sense in which Cic. used it.

5. Comiter\textsuperscript{5} Perhaps, 'acceptus' may be understood; or rather, 'comiter,' for 'comis.' So in Greek τέκει καλῶς. Besides signifying, 'courteously,' 'comiter,' is varied in Livy, xxxviii. 11, (where he introduces a formula, found also Balb. 16,) by 'sine mala dolo.'

6. Illuc isti\textsuperscript{6} You proceeded to the place where the gifts were.

7. Attalus\textsuperscript{7} A lapsus memoriae, for 'Antiochus.' Liv. Epit. 57. 'Scipio amplissima munera, missa sibi ab Antiocho rege Syriae . . . . . . . pro tribunali accepturum se ipse dixit.' This was Africanus Minor. Mil. 3. n. 11.

8. Numantiam\textsuperscript{8} Where Scipio was then commanding; 'in Asia,' where Deiot. reigned. Manil. 20. n. 6.

9. Regio\textsuperscript{9} βασιλείως, i.e. splendidly. When Alexander was asked how Porus should be treated he replied βασιλείως; and affirmed that everything due to him was contained in that single word. Plut. Alex. 60.

10. Vultus\textsuperscript{10} Qui sermo quidam tacitus mentis est. Pis. 1.—Mil. 23, Cic. appeals to the 'looks' of Milo in proof of his innocence; 'qui vul-

11. Intuentium\textsuperscript{11} So Manil. 14. Sic cut aliquem . . . . de coelo delapsum intuentur. These 'gazers' were collected to see Cæsar receiving the presents of Deiotarus.

12. Disciplina\textsuperscript{12} Everything was in keeping with a well regulated family, and none of that hurry and disturbance inseparable from the execution of guilty enterprises.

13. Lotum\textsuperscript{13} i. e. Lavatum vel lautom. Supr. 6. 'E balneo prius quam accumeres.' Att. xiii. ep. ult. speaking of Cæsar: 'Post horam octavam in balneum.'

14. In posterum diem\textsuperscript{14} Supr. 6. n. 10. This proves that the 'castle' and palace were distinct, as supr. 6, it appeared they were contiguous.

15. Locis mutandis\textsuperscript{15} Either, of the supposed conspirators changing the place of their operations, which is the more probable sense, or, as Manut., of Cæsar himself changing his abode. Cic. does not see the reason for such a change, because in fact there was none; but nevertheless the accusers 'made it the subject of the gravest charges.' 'Criminose' is explained by the following words, which con-

16. Vomere] i. e. Ecstasy in agere, as he calls it, Att. xiii. 52. This disgusting practice did not argue Cæsar a drunkard; for Sueton. Jul. 55. says, ' Vini parcissimum ne inimici quidem negaverunt.' It was rather a sort of compliment to Deiot., intimating that he intended to pass the evening cheerfully with him. Seneca, alluding to this custom, says 'they vomit that they may eat, and eat that they may vomit.' (Consol. ad Helv. 9.) Vid. also Sueton. Vitel. 12. and Midd. life of Cic. c. vii.


17. Perduint] The ancient form for 'perdant.' The formula is one of imprecation, and generally bestowed on accusers or witnesses who may have evinced great want of probity. It is often found in the comic poets. Terent. Phorm. iv. 4.

18. Fatuus et amens] Because 'acta res criminose;—it was altogether an improbable charge.

19. Signa aenea] Was it bronze statues, and not armed men, that he had placed in ambush?

20. Habes, &c.] There are the charges for you; and you may judge of their importance!

21. Horum — conscius] Phidippus conceived that evidence of his privity should establish the credit of all that he had said. Cic. denies that Deiot. would in that case have trusted Phidippus to visit Rome, where Ca¬tor his hostile grandson was, and also the much-injured Cæsar.

22. Cui fecisset] i. e. According to their account.

23. Indicare] When he (Phidippus) was the only person who could inform upon him in his absence. 'Absente;' for had Deiot. been at Rome, he might have prevented Phidippus from informing Cæsar. Al. indicare, referring 'is unus esset qui,' to Cæsar.

24. Fratres meos] 'You say that I was the only one who could give information on Deiotarus.' I reply that there were others, e. g. my brothers who have been imprisoned because they were privy to the plot.' Then rejoins Cic., did Deiot. imprison those persons whom he had under his own eye, and send you to Rome unbound, to carry with you the same dangerous secret?'
solutum Romam mittebat, qui eadem scires, quae illos scire dicis?

VIII. Reliqua pars\(^1\) accusationis duplex fuit: una, regem semper in speculis\(^2\) fuisse, quum a te animo esset\(^3\) alieno; altera, exercitum eum contra te magnum comparasse. De exercitu dicam breviter, ut cetera. Nunquam\(^4\) eas copias rex Deiotarus habuit, quibus inferre bellum populo Romano posset; sed quibus fines suos ab excursionibus hostium et latrocinis tueretur, et imperatoribus nostris auxilia mitteret. Atque ante\(^5\) quidem majores copias alere poterat: nunc exiguas\(^6\) vix tueri potest. At misit ad Cecilium\(^7\) nescio quem: sed eos, quos misit, quod ire noluerunt, in vincula conjecit. Non quæro, quam veri simile sit, aut non habuisse regem, quos mitteret, aut eos, quos misisset, non paruisse; aut, qui dicto audientes in tanta

**Sect. VIII.—1. Reliqua pars**] The first part of the charge was the attempted assassination of Caesar; the rest of it argued only disaffection towards him; 1. in attending too much to unfavourable rumours about Caesar; 2. in levying a large army against him. The latter point, (with which he connects the charge of holding a correspondence with one Caecilius a Pompeian, as also of supplying Caesar with inferior cavalry,) he answers first in the remainder of this section.

2. *Speculis*] 'Speculum' in quo specimus imaginem; 'specula' de qua prospicimus. Varr. v. 8. 'Esse in speculis,' to be on the watch, to observe. Varr. ii. 16. Nunc homines in speculis sunt: observant, &c. Cic. explains it fully himself, inf. c. 9. 'Eo tempore mittebat qui rumores Africanos exciperent, et ad se referrent.'

3. *Quum esset*] 'Sum' having no present part. 'quum esset' supplies its place.

4. *Nunquam*] Not even in the zenith of his prosperity before the civil war. 'Eas—quibus,' 'i.e. 'tales—ut.' Hence the subj. 'posset.'

5. *Antea*] Sc. before Caesar depriving him of part of his dominions. When Cic. was proconsul of Cili-
8. *In tanta re* Namely waging war against Caesar.

3. *Utrum, &c.* When Deiot. sent troops to Caecilius, he must either have been ignorant that the Pompeian cause was ruined (causam illam victam,) or have conceived Caecilius an important man; neither of which is at all likely. Therefore he did not send them.

9. *Is qui, &c.* Deiot. who, as possessing an accurate knowledge of every Roman, must despise Caecilius. For if he knows him, he despises his insignificance; if he does not, he despises him for not attracting his notice. Similarly, Phil. ii. 7. ‘O miser, sive illa tibi nota non sunt, sive sunt,’ and c. 22. ‘O miserum si intelligis, miseriorem si nou intelligis.’

10. *Addidit etiam* Namely, the accuser; and ‘misisse’ against Pharmaces.

11. *Veteres* Not ‘veterans,’ but ‘his old ones,’ i.e. the troops which Caesar had had at Alexandria, and which were trained in Roman discipline; still they were nothing in comparison of Caesar’s. So de Orat. ii. 6. ‘nihil ad Persium;’ nothing in comparison of Persius.

12. *Servum* For slaves were not allowed to serve, particularly in cavalry. Cic. did not believe the charge; at least if true it must have arisen from necessity, as in exigencies even slaves were enrolled. The construction is: ‘nescio quem judicatum fuisse servum.’

**Sect. IX.—1. Alieno autem** The former secondary charge, which he now proceeds to answer.

2. *Speravit, credo* Had Deiot. been disaffected towards Caesar, finding him beset with difficulties in Alexandria, he would have neglected to lend him assistance. The reverse was the fact. ‘Credo’ is ironical; ‘he hoped, forsooth, that you should never extricate yourself;’ i.e. he hoped no such thing—as his conduct proved.

3. *Regionis—fluminis* This alludes no doubt to the island of Pharos, opposite to which Alexandria was built on the western channel of the Nile (fluminis.) The difficult nature of the approach to Alexandria is noticed by many authors. Polyhist. c. 45. ‘Alexandria insidiosus accessus aditur, fallacibus vadis, caec mari, &c.’ Similarly Plin. v. 32. Ammianus calls them ‘fallaces et insidiosos accessus.’ Of course the ‘exitus’ would be as difficult. The dangers which Caesar encountered there are noticed by Suet-
PRO REGE DEIOTARO, CAP. 9. 211
dedit,4 exercitum5 aluit; ei, quem Asiae praefecerat, nulla in re defuit; tibi victori,6 non solum ad hospitium, sed ad periculum etiam atque ad aciem præsto fuit. Secutum est bellum Africanum.7 Graves de te rumores8 sparsi, qui etiam furiosum illum Ceclilium9 excitaverunt. Quo tum erga te rex animo fuit?10 qui auctionatus sit, seseque expoliiare maluerit, quam tibi pecuniam non subministrear. At eo, inquit, tempore11 ipso Nicæam12 Ephesumque13 mittebat, qui rumores Africanos exciperent,14 et celeriter ad se referrent. Itaque quum esset ei nuntiatum, Domitium15 naufragio periisse, te in castello16 circumvisideri: de Domitio dixit

As ‘auctionor’ is depon. ‘bona, suppellectilem’ or the like is understood.

11. At eo tempore] Cic. had instanced the sacrifices of Deiot. The accuser shews that these were the effect of fear, because at that very time, Deiot. was collecting every idle rumour to Caesar’s disadvantage. As Cic. could not deny this, he fixed on an improbable circumstance in the charge, and against it directs the shafts of his eloquence.

12. Niceam] Nice was the capital of Bithynia, situated on the lake Ascanius. It was remarkable as being the town where the first general council was held, a. d. 325. Hence the ‘Nicene’ creed.

13. Ephesum] A city of Asia Minor, remarkable for populousness. Plin. v. 25. calls it ‘lumen Asiae.’ It and Nicæa being maritime towns, were likely to have the earliest intelligence from Africa.

14. Qui rumores exciperent] Hence the accusation, supr. 8. ‘regem in speculis fuisse.’

15. Domitium] Sc. Calviniun. After the defeat of Pharmaces, Domitius stayed a short time to arrange the affairs of Asia and then followed Casar to Africa. It was reported that he was lost on the voyage thither.

16. Te in castello] Rather, ‘in his camp,’ at least that was suggested. Hist. B. Afric. 19. &c.

on. Jul. 64, by Florus, Dio, and others.

4. Pecuniam dedit] He had said Supr. 5. ‘Utilitatus tuis paruit.’


6. Victorl] In Egypt. Introd. 2. Deiot. not only entertained Caesar, but accompanied him against Pharmaces, bringing along his ‘Roman’ legion and all his cavalry. B. Alex. 67.

7. Bellum Africanum] Caesar after his speedy conquest of Pontus, delaying only a few days in Italy, proceeded to Africa, where Scipio and Cato, assisted by king Juba, had hoisted the standard of the republic.

8. Graves rumores] The republican forces had gained some slight advantages in Africa, which being exaggerated by their friends into a report that Caesar was killed, gave a colour to Ceclilius and others to renew the war in Syria.


10. Quo—rex animo fuit] A triumphant argument of his friendly feelings towards Caesar. The ‘graves rumores’ had no other effect on Deiot. than to quicken his benevolence. His very furniture was put to the hammer and the proceeds remitted to Caesar.
versum Graecum eadem sententia, qua etiam nos habemus
Latnum:

"Pereant amici," quod Donat. Propone Quid qua Omnès set. tutes ebrium oque meminisset versum singularislege, 0t
coc  
sat is hac quod Am. dari stated Domitio 212 king's to But enemy character tercidat.' hus husband, he he known. inf. be,  

17. Pereant, amici, &c.] 'Επὶ τὴν φιλοκ σὺν ἠχορμ. Plut. De Discr. Am. et Adul. The Latin poet from whom the verse is taken is not known.

18. Quod ille] He shows that Deiotorus's disposition forbade the idea of his repeating so unfeeling a verse. But this is very doubtful, as it is stated by Plutarch that he was cruel to his children—and by Strabo, that he put to death his daughter and her husband, Saocoudarius.

19. Amicus—inimicus] For the king's application of the verse was, 'Pereat Domitius dum una Cæsar intercidat.' Cic. shows that the double character of friend to Domitius and enemy to Cæsar was a contradiction; therefore he could not have uttered the verse.

20. Tibi inimicus] And again, the verse assumed that Cæsar was 'inimicus Deiotoro;' but this could not be, as Deiotorus was the recipient of innumerable favours from Cæsar.


22. Regem et se et filium] Hence inf. c. 14. 'Propone tibi duos reges.'

23. Furcifer] Phidippus, who as being a fugitive slave, was liable to the punishment of carrying on his neck a 'furca,' or species of cross.


25. Nudum saltavisse] Pis. 10. 'quum ipse nudus in convivio saltavit.' Muren. 7. 'Nemo fere saltat sobrius, nisi forte insanit, neque in convivio moderato et honesto.' Hence appears the infamy attached by the Romans to dancing.

26. Quæ crux] 'Crux' is a punishment proper to slaves. Lips. de Cruce, i. 12.

27. Frugalitas] He adds, 'admiranda,' sc. in a king. It here includes temperance, and therefore negatives the charge of ebriety. Tusc. Quast. iii. 16. 'Haud scio an recte ea virtus—σωφροσύνη—appellari possit.' Again, 'Frugalitas, ut opinor, a fruge: qua nihil melius a terra oritur.'

28. Frugi hominem] 'Frugi' is the usual epithet of a slave. Hor. Sat. ii. 7. 'Mancipium domino et frugi.' So Fam. v. 6. Decius li-brarius Sextii, homo frugi? Donat. says, 'frugi, utilis et necessarius, a
habet laudis in rege: fortém, justum, severum, grávem, magnánimum, largum, benefícium, liberálem; hæ sunt regiae laudes: illa privata est. Ut volet, quisque accipiát: ego tamen frugalitatem, id est, modestiam et temperantiam, virtutem esse maximum judicá. Hæc in illo est ab inuente aérate, tum a cuncta Asia, tum a magistratibus legatisque nostris, tum ab equitibus Romanis, qui in Asia negotiati sunt, perspecta et cognita. Multis ille quidem gradibus officiorum erga rempublicam nostram ad hoc regium non men ascendit: sed tamen quidquid a bellis populi Romani vacabat, cum hominibus nostris consuetudines, amicitias, res rationesque jungebát: ut non solum tetrarcha nobilis, sed optimus paterfamilias, et diligentissimus agricola et frugibus, quæ quod hsu fruamur, dictæ sunt.

29. *Fortem, &c.*] ‘Fortem’ in facing dangers; ‘justum’ in giving every man his own; ‘severum’ in being swayed neither by prayers nor bribes from rectitude; ‘gravem’ in maintaining equanimity of temper, neither elated too much by prosperity, nor depressed by adversity; ‘magnánimum’ in looking with disdain on all the petty greatness of common men; ‘largum’ in exhibiting bountiful liberality; ‘benefícium’ in doing good for its own sake, and ‘liberálem’ in bestowing with a noble and generous spirit.

30. *Illa privata*] Frugality is the virtue of the subject; the former ear ἵγκωπος of the king; and to obviate any mistake, he defines it by ‘modestiam, et temperantiam.’ Tusc. iii. 8. Manut. thinks Cicero insincere in this praise, and that he calls the cause ‘tenuem et inopem,’ in allusion to this stinginess. Introduct. 6. 31. *Hæc—ab inuente aetate*] He reasons thus: Deiotarum was engaged, from his youth up, in performing all the public and private duties of a monarch. Such persons are not likely to disgrace their old age by dancing. Therefore, neither did Deiotarus.


33. *Magistratibus*] From the proconsul to the quaestor.

34. *Equitibus Rom.*] Who farmed the public revenues. Also, perhaps, merchants trading on their private account. Manil. 12. n. 17.

35. *Gradibus officiorum*] Similarly Milo, 35. Hanc denique esse, cujus gradibus homines in coelum videantur ascendere.

36. *Quidquid—vacabat*] Whatever leisure he had, he spent in forming connexions, &c. ‘Quidquid’ here refers to time.

37. *Consuet. amicit.*] Refer these words to ‘magistratibus legatisque,’ supr., and ‘res rationesque’ to ‘equitibus Romanis.’

38. *Tetrarcha*] Mil. 28. n. 8.

39. *Paterfamilias*] ‘A master of slaves; the father of a family. This relative differs from ‘pater’ in not necessarily implying the having of children. It often, as here, imports a careful person, an economist.’—Quint. 3.

40. *Agricola*] Among royal ‘farmers,’ Pliny enumerates Hiero, Philometor, Attalus, Archelaus. As long as virtue is respected in a nation, so long will the pursuit of husbandry
pecuarius habetur. Qui igitur adolescents, nondum tanta gloria praeditus, nihil unquam, nisi severissime et gravissime, fecerit; is ea existimatione, eaque ætate saltavit?

X. Imitari potius, Castor, avi tui mores disciplinamque debebas, quam optimo et clarissimo viro fugitivi ore maledicere. Quod si saltatorem avum habuisses, neque eum virum, unde pudoris pudicitiae exempla peterentur, tamen hoc maledictum minime in illam ætatem conveniret. Quibus ille studiis ab ineunte ætate se imbuaret, non saltandi, sed bene ut armis, optime ut equis uteretur; ea tamen illum cuncta jam, ætate exacta, defeecerant. Itaque Deiotarum quum plures in equum sustulissent, quod hærere in eo senex

be so too. Cic. Senect. 59. ‘Nihil tam regale videri quam studium agri colendi.’

41. Pecuarius A grazier; also a farmer of the public pastures. Manil. 6. n. 14. The antiquity and respectability of the ‘shepherd’ is evidenced by the ‘shepherd kings’—by the epithets of πολυμίλος, πολυβώτης, &c., applied by the ancient poets to the most illustrious characters, and by the transference of the very name of shepherd to the highest office known among men—πομίνες λαῶν. Vid. Varr. de Re R. ii. 1. Abram. in loc.

42. Qui igitur, &c.] The conclusion of his argument; in which ‘adolescents’ is opposed to ‘ea ætate,’ i.e. old age; ‘nondum tanta gloria praeditus’ to ‘ea existimatione,’ and ‘severissime, &c. fecerit’ to ‘saltavit;’ where the first and second in each are, it will be observed, in an inverted order, not the third. Ligar. 11. n. 14. Similarly, Fam. xi. 98. An quod adolescents præstiti, quum etiam errare cum excussione possem, id nunc ætate præcipitata commutem, ac me ipse retexam?

Sect. X.—1. Imitari Castor] Cicero, Rabir, Post. 1, says that it is almost a gift of nature, for people to follow up the praise and glory of their family; not so Castor.

2. Fugitivi ore] Phidippus’s.

3. Saltatorem avum] If your grandfather had been a professor of dancing, which he was not, yet ought his years to have exempted him from this railing accusation. For even his laudable pursuits, his military exercise, and horsemanship, are given over; much less is he fitted for dancing.


5. Illam ætatem] Patric. notes that ‘illam’ here does not signify a remote age of Deiotarus, but the age of Deiotarus remote from Rome.

6. Saltandi] i. e. ‘Saltaret’ as ‘uteretur’ following.

7. Equis uteretur] Horsemanship was the first branch of a princely education.

8. Jam, ætate exacta] Tusc. Quest. i. 3. Eorum qui exacta ætate moriuntur, fortuna laudatur. Eight years before, when Deiotarus assisted Crassus, he was an old man, and Dio Cass. calls him ἄνευγερονη, when he aided Brutus. Supr. 13. n. 16.
posset, admirari solebamus.\textsuperscript{10} Hic vero adolescents,\textsuperscript{11} qui me-us in Cilicia miles, in Graecia commilito fuit, quum in illo nostro exercitu equitaret cum suis delictis equitibus, quos una cum eo ad Pompeium pater\textsuperscript{12} miserat, quos concursus\textsuperscript{13} facere solebat! quam se jactare! quam ostentare! quam ne-mini in illa causa\textsuperscript{14} studio et cupiditate concedere! Quum vero, exercitu amisco,\textsuperscript{15} ego, qui pacis auctor\textsuperscript{16} semper, post Pharsalicum autem proelium suasor suissem armorum non deponendorum,\textsuperscript{16} sed abjiciendorum, hunc ad meam auctoritatem\textsuperscript{17} non potui adducere, quod et ipse ardebit studio ipsius belli, et patri satisfaciendum esse arbitrabatur. Felix ista domus,\textsuperscript{18} quae non impunitatem solum adepta sit, sed etiam accusandi licentiam: calamitosus Deiotarus, qui ab eo, qui in iisdem castris fuerit, non modo apud te, sed etiam a suis accusetur!\textsuperscript{19} Vos vestra\textsuperscript{20} secunda fortuna, Castor, non potes-tis sine propinquorum calamitate esse contenti?

9. \textit{Haerere ineo} \textit{Hor. Carm.: iii. 24.} — Necuit equo rudis
Haerere ingenuus puer.
10. \textit{Admirari solebamus.} This, probably, occurred in Pompey's camp before the battle of Pharsalia.
11. \textit{Adolescens} Castor was in Cicero's army in Cilicia, and in Pompey's, in Greece. Therefore his accomplishments were well known to Cic.
12. \textit{Pater} Saccocondarius, whom Cic. keeps before Caesar's mind, as being once as great a foe as Deiotar-us.
13. \textit{Quos concursus} What crowds were collected to look at him! Cic. designedly leaves their motive in collecting dubious, but the following words sufficiently show that it was to ridicule him.
14. \textit{Nemini in illa causa} As Cic. mentioned the father, so he takes care to set forth the acracy of the young Pompeian, of which he had himself been witness.
15. \textit{Exercitu amisco} Pompey had about 15,000 men killed, and 24,000 taken prisoners. Bel. C. iii. 81.
16. \textit{Non deponendorum} For that they should have been before the war; 'abjiciendorum,' without making any terms. The latter shows his ea-gerness to terminate the civil war. He uses the same word in writing to Marcellus.
17. \textit{Ad meam auctoritatem} As Cic. could not prevail on Castor to desist from war, owing to his military ardour, and his wish to satisfy his fa-ther, we may infer that both father and son were determined foes of Cæsar.
18. \textit{Felix ista domus} Cic. compares the fortunes of the two families, in order to excite odium against the one, and pity towards the other. They were both in Pharsalia. Mark the consequence. Castor is not only re-stored to Caesar's favour, but permitted to accuse others. Deiotarus is allowed to be arraigned by one who was in Pharsalia as well as he—who is his own grandson, and before Caes-ar, at once the injured party and the judge.
19. \textit{Qui ab eo—accusetur} Non modo should be transposed and placed after qui. Orel.
20. \textit{Vos vestra} i. e. Castor and his father.
XI. *Sint sane* inimicitiae, que esse non debeat. — Rex enim Deiotarus vestræm familiam abjectam et obscuram e tenebris in lucem evocavit. Quis tuum patrem ante, qui esset, quam cujus gener esset, audivist? Sed quamvis ingrate et impie necessitudinis nomen repudiaritis, tamen inimiciias hominum more gerere poteratis, non ficto crimine insectari, non expetere vitam, non capitis arcessere. Esto: concedatur haec quoque acerbitatis et odii magnitudo. Adeone, ut omnia vitae salutisque communis atque etiam humanitatis jura violentur? Servum sollicitare verbis, spe promissisque corrumpere, abducere domum, contra dominum armare: hoc est, non uni propinquuo, sed omnibus familias nefarium bellum indicere. Nam ista corrupta servi, si non modo impunita fuerit, sed etiam a tanta auctoritate approbata: nulli parietes nostram salutem, nullæ leges, nulla jura custodient. Ubi enim id, quod in-

**Sect. XI.**—1. *Sint sane,* &c. Admit the existence of enmity between the families—which gratitude and piety forbid—still you might have entertained it like human beings, and not be thirsting for blood like savage beasts.  

1. *Rex enim* Refer ‘enim’ to ‘non debeat.’ Deiot. had raised his son-in-law to honour and distinction. A grateful return he met with! ‘Ingrate’ alludes to the favour, ‘impie’ to the tie of relationship.  

2. *Hominum more* i. e. Not to prefer false charges; not to seek to take away the life, &c.  

2. *Capitis* It is not easy to see how Deiotarus’s life could be endangered by any judicial decision of Caesar. Accordingly, ‘pro capite,’ supr. 1, was explained by ‘diminuone capitis,’ and, indeed, ‘causa capitis’ was applied to any civil action, where, beside the loss of fortune, character was at stake. Quint. 9. 13. Off. i. 12. It is easily conceivable, however, that Caesar could teach the man convicted of attempting his life, that it should not be done with impunity.  

3. *Esto* It might be supposed that Cic. having convicted Castor of ingratitude and impiety, should be obliged to stop there, as crimes so heinous, hardly admitted of amplification. But here his art appears in seeming to concede all this as trivial, that he may charge Castor with attempting to shake the foundations of human society, and to declare war against mankind. Similarly, supr. 1, ‘non tam afflictam region conditionem—quum de fortunis communibus extimescebam.’  


5. *Abducere domum* i. e. To entice Phidippus from the legates of Deiotarus to his house. Supr. 1. — *Aen.* 79,—abducere pactas.  


7. *Tanta auctoritate* Sc. Caesar’s. Such is Caesar’s authority, that approbation is implied in impurity being permitted.  

8. *Nulli—nulla* Similar repetitions for emphasis are frequent. Phil. ii. 22. Tu, tu istas faces incendisti, Antoni.
tus⁹ est atque nostrum, impune evolare potest, contraque
nos pugnare; fit in dominatu¹⁰ servitus, in servitute domi-
natus. O tempora,¹¹ O mores! Cu. Domitius¹² ille, quem
nos pueri consulem, censorem, pontificem maximum vidimus,
quum tribunus plebis M. Scaurus,¹³ principem civitatis, in
judicium populi¹⁴ vocasset, Scaurique servus ad eum clam¹⁵
domum venisset, et crimina in dominum delaturum se esse
dixisset: prehendi hominem jusset, ad Scaurumque deduci.
Vide, quid intersit; etsi inique Castorem cum Domitio
comparo;¹⁶ sed tamen ille inimico servum remisit: tu¹⁷ ab
avo abduxisti: ille incorruptum audire noluit; tu corrupti:
ille adjutorem¹⁷ servum contra dominum repudiavit; tu
etiam accusatorem adhibuisti. At semel¹⁸ iste est corruptus

9. Id quod intus] Namely, the
slaves who reside in our families.
10. Fit in dominatu, &c.] It makes
a slave of the master, a master of
the slave.
11. O tempora] How changed!
‘O mores’ how unlike what they
were! He proves both by compar-
ning Domitius and Castor.
12. Cu. Domitius] The father of
L. Domitius Aenobarbus, who fell in
Pharsalia. Phil. ii. 11. Scaurus had
refused to choose him among the au-
gurs. He, therefore, in return, ac-
cussed Scaurus of not duly attending
to the worship of the Penates. Plut.
de Adul. et Am.) reverses the names
in this transaction; but Val. Max.
vi. 5, corroborates Cicero’s statement,
and adds ‘quem populus tum propter
alias virtutes, tum hoc nomine li-
bentius et coss. et censorem et pont. max.
fecit.’ He was consul a. u. 657;
and censor with L. Crassus, the or-
ator. Perhaps he owed his popularity
no less to a law by which he gave
the people a voice in the election of
priests. Agr. ii. 7.
Arch. 3. n. 25. He varies the title of
‘princeps senatus,’ which the censors
had six times conferred on him, by
saying ‘princeps civitatis.’
14. Judicium populi] These trials
were at first held in the Comitia cu-
riata, Mil. 3. n. 9.; afterwards in the
Comitia centurienta and tributa. In
the former, the superior magistrates
were generally the accusers, in the
latter the inferior, among whom the
tribunes ranked; so that Domitius
being now tribune, this cause was
tried before the comitia by tribes.
Hence the account of Ascon. ‘that
Scaurus was acquitted by a majori-
y of nine-and-twenty tribes.’
15. Clam] By night.
16. Etsi inique—comparo] For
Domitius was a man of character and
honour, not so Castor. So Pis. 4,
comparing Metellus Celer and Piso,
he says, ‘facio inimium fortissimo
viro mortuo, qui illum—cum hac
importuna bellua conferam.’
16. Ille—tu] This species of or-
nament from antithesis is common.
Verr. iv. 52. ‘Conferte hanc pacem
cum illo bello; hujus pratoris ad-
ventum cum illius imperatoris vic-
toria; hujus libidinis cum illius con-
tinentia, &c.’ M. Marcellus and Ver-
res are the persons compared. Also,
Dem. de Cor. 80.
17. Ille adjutorem] He rejected the
services of the slave; you not only ac-
cepted them, but made him an accuser.
18. At semel] The MSS. here ap-
pear uniform, but Weiske suspects
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a vobis? Nonne, quom esset productus, et quom tecum futisset, refugit ad legatos? Nonne etiam ad hunc Cn. Domitium venit? Nonne, audiente hoc Ser. Sulpicio, clarissimo viro, qui tum casu apud Domitium coænabat, et hoc T. Torquato, optimo adolescente, se a te corruptum, tuis promissis in fraudem impulsu esse confessus est?

XII. Quæ est ista tam impudens, tam crudelis, tam immoderata inhumanitas? Idcirco in hanc urbem venisti, ut hujus urbis jura et exempla corrumperes, domesticæque immanitate nostre civitatis humanitatem inquinares?

At quam acute collecta crimina! Blesamius, inquit, (ejus enim nomine, viri optimi, nec tibi ignoti, maledictabant tibi,) ad regem scribere solebat, te in invidia esse;

some mistake, and would correct the text. This seems unnecessary. The imputation on Castor is this; that after Phidippus had received his first bribe, and given his testimony, he acknowledged before respectable witnesses that it was false, and that he had been corrupted. But he now persists in the same tale. The inference drawn by Cicero is, that the bribe must have been repeated. V. E. 19. Hunc Cn. Domitiun Caesar, it is probable had an audience of his officers around him, among whom might be Domitius Calvinus, or perhaps the younger Ænobarbus, mentioned Phil. ii. 11, who was afterwards a conspirator.

20. Ser. Sulpicio Whose eloquent forms the subject of the ninth Philippic, which see. He and Torquatus were present, as ‘hoc’ intimates. So infr. 14, ‘hic Blesamio,’ Arch. 9, ‘Hujus proavus Cato,’ and Ligar. 3. ‘hoc C. Pansa.’

21. T. Torquato One of the Manilian family, perhaps the Titus mentioned Planc. 11.


3. Acute collecta] Ironically, for Castor’s charges were rather an invective against the tyranny of Caesar than an injurious accusation of Deiotarus. ‘Collecta,’ composita et conficta ut nihil sit quod pugnet. Sylv. Ligar. 10. n. 13.

4. Blesamius] With Hieras and Antigonus forayed the embassy sent by Deiotarus to plead his cause before Caesar. Inf. 15. Him the accusers pretended to be a spy.

5. Maledictabat] Sc. Phidippus did; by repeating slanders of his own invention as if uttered by Blesamius. The slanders were, 1. That Caesar was disliked by the people and considered a tyrant; 2. that the placing of his statue in the capitol among those of the ancient kings of Rome had given general offence. 3. That he was not applauded at the public games and theatre.

6. Scribere solebat] Namely from Rome; for it would appear that the embassy had reached Rome from the king some time before the trial came on.
tyrannum existimari; statuam inter reges posita animos hominum vehementer offensos; plaudi ubi non solere. Nonne intelligis, Caesar, ex urbanis malevolorum sermunculis hae ab istis esse collecta? Blesamius tyrannum Cæsarem scriberet? Multorum enim civium capita viderat; multos jussu Cæsaris vexatos, verberatos, necatos, multas afflictas et versus donos, armatis militibus refertum forum. Quæ semper in civili victoria sensimus, ea te victore non vidimus. Solus, solus, inquam, es, C. Cæsar, cujus in victoria ceciderit nemo, nisi armatus. Et quem nos liberi, in summa populii Romani libertate nati, non modo non tyrannum, sed etiam clementissimum in victoria ducimus: is Blesamio, qui vivit in regno, tyrannus videri potest? Nam de statua quis queritur, una præsertim, quum tam multas videat? Valde enim invidendum est ejus statuis, cujus tropæis non invidemus! Nam, si locus affert invidiam, nullus locus est, ad statuam quidem, Rostris.

7. Statuam] This statue is noticed by Sueton. Jul. 80, and had in fact given public offence. 'Praegravant cætera facta ...... statuam inter reges, suggestum in orchestra, et ampliora humano fastigio decerni sibi passus est.'

8. Sermunculis] Mere rumours; from 'sermo,' as 'homo, homunculus.'

9. Multorum—capita] Nempe sine corporibus. From this discription of what a tyrant's acts would be we are to infer that Cæsar was not a tyrant. 'Enim' refers to a supposed proposition 'haud mirum' or the like. 'Well may Blesamius write, that Cæsar is a tyrant, for, &c.'

10. Armatis—forum] For Appian, lib. ii., says that Cæsar removed from his person the praetorian cohorts which during the war had attended him as guards, satisfied with the civic attendants; and Vell. Pater. ii. 57. that when warned to guard an empire by arms, which arms had acquired, he replied that he preferred death to living in dread of it.

11. Semper sensimus] Under Ma-
clarior. De plausu 17 autem quid respondeam? qui nec desideratus unquam a te est, et nonnunquam, obstupefactis hominibus, ipsa admiratione compressus est, et fortasse eo praetermissus, quia nihil vulgare te dignum videri potest.

XIII. Nihil a me arbitror 1 praetermissum, sed aliquid ad extremam cause partem 2 reservatum. Id autem aliquid 3 est, te ut plane Deiotaro reconciliet oratio mea. Non enim jam metuo, 4 ne tu illi succenseas: illud vereor, ne tibi illum succensere 5 aliquid suspicere. Quod abest longissime, mihi crede, Cæsar. Quid enim retinect 6 per te, meminit, non quid amiserit; 7 neque se a te multatum ar-

17. Plausu] His answer is three-fold: 1. You never courted popular applause; therefore no wonder if it is not bestowed. 2. Men's minds were so astounded by your exploits that they were incapable of raising their voice. 3. The people omitted it because it was trite and unworthy of you.

Sect. XIII.—1. Nihil a me arbitror] Before so consummate a rhetorician as Cæsar, it was useless to have recourse to the ordinary rules, one of which is to conceal every appearance of art. Cic. therefore affects to make a display of art to conceal it more effectually.

2. Extremam — partem] The peroration, the fittest place for discussing the most important point.

3. Id—aliquid] Ligur. 7. n. 29. Cic. wishing to reconcile the parties has first to shew that there is no cause for resentment on either side. With regard to Cæsar he assumes that what he has urged is enough to allay his angry feelings 'non metuo ne tu illi succenseas'; it remained to shew that he had no grounds to suspect that any such were harboured by Deiotarus. His reasons are: 1. Deiot. is sensible that what he lost he deserved to lose, nay that Cæsar was compelled to make the vanquished assist him in removing his brave associates, and to this no reasonable man could object.

And if Antiochus the Great bore similar treatment with equanimity, much more should a petty sovereign like him. Besides he had the support derivable from the consciousness of suffering for an involuntary error, not so Antiochus. 2. He owed to Cæsar's generosity what he retained, his hereditary dominions, and regal title; which latter was to him every thing.

3. He had two sources of consolation left, of which he could not be deprived. The decrees of the Roman generals and senate in his favour, and the consciousness of his own virtue, (Multa se arbitratur, &c.) [These he illustrates to 'Hac ille reputans.'] 4. He has a letter from Cæsar himself encouraging him to hope for the best, c. 14. by which he was greatly cheered and inspired. All this shews that Deiot. is fully sensible of his obligations to Cæsar, and is therefore deserving of being received into his friendship.


5. Tibi illum succensere] On account of losing so much of his dominions.

6. Quid retinect] His life, name of king, and part of Galatia. Intro. 3.

Pro Rege Deiotaro, Cap. 13.

8. Multis tibi multa, &c.] Sylv. understands this to mean that, many Pompeians were called on to contribute much to Caesar; in which view few will concur. Dio relates that fourteen new praetors, and fifteen quaestors, were appointed, and the senators increased to nine hundred.


10. Antiochus Magnus] Manil. 6. n. 2. Sext. 27.

11. Scipione] L. Scipio Asiaticus, the brother of Africanus Major, who was his lieutenant in this war.

12. Tauro tenus] Sext. 27. ‘Intra montem Taurum,’ i.e. he was deprived of all his dominions on the Roman side of Mount Taurus.


14. Nimis magna procur.] The care of too extensive dominions. Sall. Jug. 14. ‘Regni Numidiae procurationem existimarem meam.’ If Antiochus so consoled himself for such losses, a fortiori may Deiotarus; for the one madly attacked the Roman people at the instigation of Hannibal and the Etolians, the latter followed Pompey, as deeming his cause the better. Deiot. therefore has innocence on his side. Ovid seems to decide differently as to the consolation: ‘Quae venit indigna poena, dolenda veit,’ Ep. v. 8; and so will people in general.

15. Multam sustinuerat] So pro Dom. 38. ‘Eandem (poenam) ego subibo et sustinebo.’

16. Et filio] He is mentioned, Phil. xi. 13. ‘Summa in filio spes, summam ingenii indoles, summam virtus.’

17. Ne forteque quidem] Much harder to contest with, than ‘inimi- ci;’ yet inasmuch as he possesses many things over which she has no control, the decrees of your generals, the votes of the senate, he is able to defy her power.


padocia, Ponto, Cilicia, Syria, bella gesserunt: senatus vero judicia de illo tam multa, tamque honorifica, quae publicis populi Romani literis monumentisque\textsuperscript{21} consignata sunt, quae unquam vetustas obruet, aut quae tanta delebit oblivio? Quid de virtute ejus dicam? quid de magnitudine animi, gravitate, constantia? quae omnes docti\textsuperscript{22} atque sapientes summa, quidam etiam sola bona esse dixerunt, hisque,\textsuperscript{24} non modo ad bene, sed etiam ad beate vivendum, contentam virtutem esse. Hæc ille reputans et dies noctesque cognitans, non modo tibi non succenset, (esse enim non solum ingratus, sed etiam amens,) verum omnem tranquilitatem et quietem senectutis acceptam refert\textsuperscript{25} clementiam tue.

XIV. Quo quidem animo\textsuperscript{1} quum antea fuit, tum non dubito, quin tuis litteris, quorum exemplum legi, quas ad eum Tarraco\textsuperscript{2} huic Blesamio\textsuperscript{3} dedisti, se magis etiam ererexit,\textsuperscript{4} ab omnique sollicitudine abstraxerit. Jubes enim eum bene sperare et bono esse animo: quod scio, te non frustra scribere solere. Memini enim iisdem fere verbis\textsuperscript{3} ad me te scribere, meque tuis litteris bene sperare non frustra esse jussum.

were assisted by him in nearly all these provinces; Murena in Cappadocia, Pontus, and Phrygia; in Syria, Bibulus; in Cilicia, Cicero and Servilius Isauricus.

21. \textit{Litteris monumentisque} \textsuperscript{Ligar.} 2. n. 12. 22. \textit{Vetustas obruet} \textsuperscript{Mil. 35.} 'Nulla unquam obmutteret vetustas.' Tempor is vetustas, hominum oblivio. \textit{Manut.}

23. \textit{Omnes docti} \textsuperscript{Plato, Aristotle, and others, divided good into pleasure, utility, and virtue; and called virtue chief, in comparison of the others; but the Stoics denying that any thing had a right to come into comparison with virtue, declared it the sole good. The Epicureans Plato did not hold to be sapientes.' Marcel. 6. 'Non modo summa bona sed etiam audelo sola dicere.'

24. \textit{Hisque} \textsuperscript{i.e. Who held the sola; or Stoics. 'Non modo ad bene,' for this they all confess; 'sed etiam ad beate' i.e. 'jucunde et feliciter,' and this the Peripatetics deny.—Tusc. quæst. lib. v. \textsuperscript{25} Acceptam refer\textsuperscript{I} Sets down to the account of your clemency.

SECT. XIV.—1. \textit{Quo animo} \textsuperscript{As supr. 13, ' magno et erecto'—a mind fortified by reflecting on what fortune had left as well as taken away, and on its own virtues. 2. \textit{Tarraco} Tarraco, a city of Spain, situate in the Mediterranean, now Taragona. It was the capital of Tarraconensis, and in it Cæsar held all his levées after the subjugation of the Pompeys. 3. \textit{Huic Blesamio} \textsuperscript{Who is now present, waiting the issue of this trial. Cæ. here intends to remind Cæsar of his promise. 4. \textit{Erexitur} \textsuperscript{Supr. 13. 'Magno animo et erecto est.' 4. \textit{Iisdem verbis} This letter was sent from Egypt by Pansa. The words were, 'ut esset idem qui fu-
Laboro equidem regis Deiotari causa, quocum mihi amicitiam respública conciliavit, hospitium voluntas utriusque conjunxit, familiaritatem consuetudo attulit, summam vero necessitudinem magna ejus officia et in me et in exercitum meum effecerunt: sed quum de illo laboro, tum de multis amplissimis viris, quibus semel ignotum a te esse oportet, nec beneficium tuum in dubium vocari, nec hænere in animis hominum sollicitudinem sempiternam, nec accidere, ut quidquam te timere incipiat eorum, qui semel a te sint liberafi timore. Non debeo, C. Cæsar, quod fieri solet in tantis periculis, tentare, quonam modo dicendo misericordiam tuam commovere possim. Nihil opus est. Occurrere ipsa solet supplicibus et calamitosis, nullius oratione evocata. Propone tibi duos reges, et id animo contemplare, quod oculis non potes. Dabis prohibere misericordiam, quod iracundiae denegasti. Multa sunt tuæ elementæ monumenta: sed maxime eorum incolumitates, quibus salutem dedisti. Quæ
dom in this address which we seek in vain in the pro Marcello.
11. Semel] Απαξ, once for all. Supr. 3. 'Quum facile exorari Cæsar, tum semel exorari soles.' So in the Timon of Lucian ἂπαξ—ἐκέκλεισε, once for all, be it decreed. ΑΕν. xii. 418, Procubuit moriens et humum semel ore nomordit.
12. Non debeo] Cicero, affecting to reject any appeal to the clemency of Cæsar, makes a strong appeal.
13. Ipsa solet] Is wont of itself to anticipate the claims of the wretched. 'Ipsa'—ἀυτῷ μεμανία. 'Occurrere,' So Pers. i. 62. 'Postice occurrirte sannæ.'
14. Evocata] Elicited. This word, 'occurrere' and 'commovere' are used metaphorically. Manut.
15. Duos reges] Perhaps Deiotarus, the father and the son: but see inf. 15. V. E. Abram. conjectures that the son may have been better liked by Cæsar, and therefore joined with the father.
16. Incolumitates] 'Incolomes' are those who are uncondemned.— Arch. 5. n. 3. Balb. 11. 'Cives—
si in privatis\textsuperscript{17} gloria sunt, multo magis commemorabuntur in regibus. Semper regium nomen in hac civitate sanctum\textsuperscript{18} fuit: sociorum vero regum et amicorum sanctissimum.\textsuperscript{19}

XV. Quod nomen hi reges no amitterent, te victore, timuerunt: retentum vero et a te confirmatum posteris etiam suis tradituros\textsuperscript{1} esse confido. Corpora\textsuperscript{2} vero sua, pro salute regum suorum, hi legati tibi regli tradunt, Hieras, et Blesamius, et Antigonus, tibi nobisque omnibus jam diu noti, eademque fide et virtute præditus Dorylaus, qui nuper cum Hiera\textsuperscript{3} legatus est ad te missus, tum regum amiciissimi,\textsuperscript{4} tum tibi etiam, ut spero, probati. Exquire de Blesamio,\textsuperscript{5} numquid ad regem contra dignitatem tuam scripserit. Hieras quidem causam omnem suscipit, et crimi-

\textsuperscript{17} In privatis\textsuperscript{17} i. e. Collata in privatos; so of 'in regibus.' Patric.\textsuperscript{18} Sanctum\textsuperscript{18} For kings were thought to be under the protection of the gods. So Cæsar, in a funeral oration over his aunt, says, 'Est ergo in genere sanctitas regum, qui plurimum inter homines pollent, &c.' Sueton. Jul. 6. Manil. 9. n. 16. 17.\textsuperscript{19} Sociorum — regum — sanctissimum\textsuperscript{19} This might be designed by Cicero as hinting to Cæsar, that his present titles might satisfy himself. This oration was delivered late in the year 708. In the following February Mark Antony offered Cæsar the diadem. \textit{Le Clerc. V. E.}\textsuperscript{1}

Sect. XV.—1. Posteris — tradituros\textsuperscript{1} This confidence was disappointed. Amyntas succeeded in Gallograecia, and it was afterwards made a province. Strab. xii.

2. Corpora\textsuperscript{2} Either as sureties, or to suffer any punishment awarded against their master. The Schol. edited by Maius says that those legates came to Rome to defend their master against the charge of disloyalty to Cæsar (alio animo); and when there, were called on to answer this present charge, Phidippus having been in the mean time corrupted. This account agrees very well with this voluntary offer of their persons for their master's safety.

3. Nuper cum Hiera\textsuperscript{3} It is not known why Hieras, who makes one of the envoys, is here said to have come with Dorylaus. Weiske observes that Dorylaus may have been deputed by another petty sovereign who had some favour to solicit from Cæsar. This king may have been Ariobarzanes, the sovereign of Cappadocia; (\textit{V. E.}) and with him Hieras may have found it convenient to come after the other two.

4. Amiciissimi\textsuperscript{4} This word and 'probati' have usually been interpreted in the nom. but there seems no occasion to compliment them a second time, 'regum' may as well be interpreted 'inter reges' as 'erga reges.' \textit{V. E.}; i. e. they were usually referred to 'legati;' but may be referred to 'regis' understood.

5. Exquire de Blesamio\textsuperscript{5} As the weight of the prosecution lay in the testimony of Phidippus, Cic. wished to conclude with impressing on the mind of Cæsar the opposing testimonies of men of integrity. Supr. 12, the charge against Blesamus is given and refuted. 'Exquire,' tormentis ex-torque. \textit{Syte.}
nibus illis pro rege se supponit\(^5\) reum; memoriam tuam implorat, qua vales\(^7\) plurimum; negat unquam se a te in Deiotari tetrarchia pedem discessisse;\(^8\) in primis finibus\(^9\) tibi se præsto fuisse dicit, usque ad ultimos prosecutum; quum e balneo\(^10\) exisses, tecum se fuisse, quum illa munera inspexisses coenatus, quum in cubiculo recubuisse; eandemque assiduitatem tibi se præbuisse postridie.\(^11\) Quamobrem, si quid eorum, quæ objecta sunt, cogitatum\(^12\) sit, non recusat, quin id facinus suum\(^13\) judices. Quocirca, C. Cæsar, velim existimes, hodierno die sententiam tuam, aut cum summo dedecore\(^14\) miserrimam pestem impotaturam\(^15\) esse regibus,\(^16\) aut incolumnem famam cum salute: quorum alterum\(^17\) optare, illorum crudelitatis est; alterum conservare,\(^18\) clementiae\(^19\) tuae.

6. Hieras — se supponit\(^5\) Is willing to suffer for his master.
7. Qua vales\(^7\) Phil. ii. 4. ‘Fuit in illo ingénium, ratio, memoria, literatura.’
8. Pedem discessisse\(^8\) i. e. The length of a foot. We have a similar expression. As Hieras never left you, he is therefore qualified to decide on the truth of the charge. He attended you both during your stay in the palace and the next day at Lucreium. As none of the attempts charged could have been made without his privity, he calls on you to deem them, if any there were, to have been his, and try him accordingly.
9. Finibus\(^9\) Deiot. had waited on Cæsar on the borders of Galatia, and was then accompanied by Hieras. Intro. 2.
10. Balneo\(^10\) Supr. 6. The bath preceded the supper, and so it was intended, should the inspection of the gifts; but Cæsar refusing to go, it was put off till after supper. Hence ‘coenatus.’
11. Postridie\(^11\) The day of the castle and bed-chamber scene. Supr. 6.

12. Cogitatum\(^12\) A Deiotaro.
13. Facinus suum\(^13\) Deem it as bad as if he himself had perpetrated it.
14. Dedecore\(^14\) Of the king’s, not Cæsar’s.
15. Importaturam\(^15\) Generally used in a bad sense, as the numerous examples of Forcet prove. Hor. Ep. i. 13. 4. ‘Odium—importes.’ Off. ii. 5. ‘Si quid incommodi importetur.’ Sext. 69.
16. Regibus\(^16\) Either emphatically for ‘Deiotaros’ or taking in his son.
17. Quorum alterum\(^17\) The former of which it is of a piece with the cruelty of the accusers to wish for; the latter, the part of your clemency to preserve inviolate.
18. Clementiae\(^18\) It was not unadvisedly that Cic. concludes his address with ‘clementiae tuae;’ this being an attribute on which Cæsar prided himself greatly, and to an excess of which, perhaps, he owed his untimely end. It is a rhetorical maxim to insert whatever is striking and important in the beginning of a speech, to make the judges attentive, and in the end to fix it in their memory.
INTRODUCTION TO THE ORATIONS AGAINST LUCIUS CATILINE.

1. Though the pages of Sallust form the best introduction to the Catilinarian orations of Cicero, yet it may be of use to connect with the notices of Catiline which they contain, some of the references to his history, found in other writers, and in the speeches of Cicero himself.

2. Catiline was born about a. u. 645. His high patrician pretensions (Sall. Cat.) are supported by the list of quaestors and praetors supplied to the republic by the Sergian family. His father, however, was poor; which seems to be the only excuse for the son becoming an agent of the atrocities of Sylla; and staining himself with the blood of Q. Cæcilius, his own brother-in-law, and M. Marcius Gratidianus, (Val. Max. ix. 2.) He was quaestor, a. u. 676, and ten years after, praetor; which led to his obtaining the province of Africa, the following year, 687; to which also we are obliged to refer the conspiracy of Piso, Sall. Cat. 18, in which Catiline had a share.* His rapacity in Africa demanded an accusation, which was conducted by Pub. Clodius. Catiline was consoled by the rank of his advocate, the consul Torquatus;† (Sulla, 29.) and escaped by bribing the prosecutor, (de Harusp. 20.) In the mean time his conduct in the proscription of Sylla was not forgotten. He

* Catiline left his province before the end of the year, on pretence of suing for the consulship, as Cic. (in Tog. Cand.) testifies; and was prevented by the African deputies who followed to impeach him. Cic., however, does not explain how Catiline could be a competitor for the consulship, the year after holding the praetorship. Hooke viii. 9. n. w.

† Yet this is the Torquatus whom Catiline this very year conspired to murder. Sall. Cat. 18. Torquatus had indeed heard of the conspiracy, but did not believe it. Sulla, 29.
was arraigned, A. u. 689, of murder by Lucullus * or Luceius, and was nearly ranking Cicero among his advocates. Att. i. 2. 'Hoc tempore, Catilinam, competitor nostro nostrum defendere cogitamus.' The issue is given shortly, Att. i. 16. 'Catilinam bis absolutum esse.'

3. But this was a busy year with Catiline; as besides this trial he canvassed for the consulship against Cicero and others, Att. i. 1. and laid a second plot against his country. This is detailed by Sall. c. 17; who gives Catiline's speech to the conspirators, c. 20, and states that this attempt promoted Cicero's views, who was elected consul, c. 23. Catiline, however, transferred his suit to the following year, and persevered in his designs, Sall. Cat. 26. Through the weak confidence of Curius, Cicero learned the whole plot, but waiting for some overt act of Catiline, he hesitated to interfere. The day of the consular election (21st of Oct.) drew near, and Cicero being informed that Catiline intended to attack him and his friends at the Comitia, had the election deferred to the 28th. In the mean time in a senate held on the 21st, he charged Catiline openly with his designs, who acknowledged himself the willing leader of the mob.† The Senate forthwith issued their high decree, arming Cic. with supreme authority. ‡ The election came; Silanus and Murena were appointed; and this drove Catiline 'extrema omnia experiri.' Sall. Cat. 26. Accordingly he despatched his emissaries into the provinces, and calling a meeting of the leading conspirators at the house of M. Porcius Læca, on the sixth of November he professed his readiness to take the field, if Cicero were killed. This task was undertaken by Cornelius and Vargunteius, who engaged to slay the consul the next morning at his house. Sall. Cat. 27, 28.

Cicero having learned this design by Curius, took the proper measures to defeat it; and convening the senate on the following

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* Ascon. reads Lucullus; but it is probable that Luceius, whose speech against Catiline he afterwards quotes, is meant, especially as he says 'qui postea eundem honorem petit;' but we read of no Lucullus being after this a competitor for the consulship, whereas Luceius was a competitor with Caesar and Bibulus. Att. iv. 6. As to L. Paulus, who, on the authority of Sallust. c. 31., is usually given as the accuser of Catiline on this trial, it appears that it was 'lege Plautia de vi,' not 'lege de sicariis,' that he arraigned Catiline.

† A few days before, he had addressed to Cato the strong expression 'incendium meum ruina restiguum,' which Sallust says was elicited by a speech of Cicero's and the reproaches of the senate. Muren. 25. Sall. Cat. 3.

‡ Sallust places the issuing of this decree after the day of election, whereas Cic. says, Cat. i. 2. that he was then in possession of it twenty days—a round number for eighteen; but exact enough to shew that Sallust is in error.
day, the eighth of November, to the temple of Jupiter Stator, to inform them of this new atrocity; he was surprised to find Catiline in attendance. Roused with indignation at this matchless audacity, he gave vent to his feelings in that speech which is called

**THE FIRST CATILINARIAN ORATION.**

4. In this speech Cicero 'gloriously offends' against the rules of the Rhetoricians; for it is neither 'judicial,' as being made in the senate, nor 'deliberative,' as it supports or opposes no proposition. It is, in short, a violent invective against Catiline, wherein the orator upbraids his audacity, for appearing in the senate, when he knew that his designs were discovered; c. 1—5; advises his departure from the city, where his crimes had made him infamous, c. 6—9; but corrects himself as he finds that Catiline intends to join his followers in Etruria. c. 9—10. Lastly, he defends the expulsion of Catiline from the city when his death would have appeared preferable, on the ground that the latter would have afforded a temporary relief; whereas, the former, by removing the associates of Catiline, would effect a radical cure of the evils of the state. c. 11—13. He concludes with encouraging the senate, and praying to Jupiter to take vengeance on the enemies of the state. c. 13.

5. The effect of this speech on Catiline is stated by Sallust, Cat. 31. He denied the charges of Cicero, boasted of his patrician blood, and upbraided Cicero with the meanness of his birth. He was replied to by a simultaneous shout of 'traitor' from the senators; upon which, he flung himself out of the senate, and, at midnight, set out for the camp of Mallius.—Cicero, on the following day, having convoked an assembly of the people, explained the motives of his conduct in permitting Catiline to depart. This forms

**THE SECOND CATILINARIAN ORATION.**

In this address to the people, Cicero first congratulates them on the departure of Catiline, which alone he thought a victory. c. 1. He then apologizes for permitting so dangerous a man to escape, when he might have apprehended him, and shows that it was not his fault, but that of the times; for, however guilty Catiline might be, that many would be found to disbelieve, many to justify the allegations made against him; while the odium likely to accrue from his punishment, would prevent Cicero from being able to punish his accomplices. c. 2. And so far was he from fearing Catiline as an *extern* enemy, that he felt
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Men and hence were more to be feared. c. 3. Hence he exhorts them either to leave the city or keep themselves quiet: in failure of which, he hints that they may expect condign punishment. c. 5. He then refutes the assertion of those who say that he had forced Catiline into exile, by showing that it was to Mallius he was gone, not to Massilia; nor should he object to bear the odium of having forced him into exile, if it were true—as it was a circumstance rather to be wished than complained of. c. 7. He then proceeds to classify the associates of Catiline who remained at Rome: 1. Men in debt, who had estates sufficient, if sold, to satisfy their creditors. c. 8. 2. Men who are both in debt and ambitious of preferment. 3. Sullanian colonists. c. 9. 4. A motley group of a lower grade, whom idleness and extravagance had plunged into debt. 5. Parricides, assassins, &c. 6. Rakes, gamesters, &c. c. 10. To all these he shows that ample forces can be opposed, and even if there were not, yet is there such an inherent difference in the causes, that the very gods will crown with success the efforts of virtue against vice and profligacy. c. 11. Hence he exhorts the citizens to hope the best, c. 12, and repeats his advice to the associates of Catiline, either to leave the city or keep quiet within it—assuring the people that the public peace will be preserved, and advising them to implore the gods to shield their country from harm. c. 13.

6. Cicero had rightly conjectured that the Mallian camp was the real destination of Catiline; and Sallust informs us, c. 36, that as soon as his arrival there was known at Rome, the senate decreed him and Mallius traitors, and ordered the necessary levies to oppose them and guard the city. In the mean time, the deputies of the Allobrogians, a Gallic state then much oppressed with debt, which they had come to Rome to seek relief from, were invited to join in the conspiracy, through whom Cicero was informed of the particulars of a plan among the associates of Catiline, to set fire to the city, and while the dismay was general, to break out and join Catiline.

Cicero took the necessary measures to defeat this design, but not until the deputies had obtained, from the principal conspirators, letters and an oath to show their countrymen, and which in the hands of Cicero afforded decisive evidence of their guilt.

Cicero then, early on the third of December, summoned the senate to the Temple of Concord, in whose presence he conviats the conspirators by these undeniable proofs. The senate ordered them into custody, and assigns their punishment to Cicero. Late on the same day, in an assembly of the people, the consul made the
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THIRD CATILINARIAN ORATION.

7. In it he first recounts the detection of the conspiracy. c. 1--5. As the decree of the senate had not been transcribed, he next repeats from memory the heads of it to the people, for their information—the thanks to himself, his colleague, and the prætors; the directions for imprisoning the conspirators, and the supplication voted to the gods, c. 6, Sall. c. 47; and he desires the citizens to consider the conspiracy as now completely quashed, c. 7; and proves that it was all owing to the good providence of the gods, c. 8. 9. He advises the citizens duly to perform the supplication decreed to the gods, c. 10; and adds that as for himself, the only reward he sought was the eternal remembrance of that day, c. 11. Finally he conjures them to prevent his patriotic actions from turning to his detriment, and to continue, as before, guarding their homes, c. 12.

8. It remained to decide upon the actual punishment which it would be right to inflict on the conspirators; and on the fifth of December, a senate was convoked to consider this important question.

Two opinions were proposed, one of Silanus, consul elect which recommended the immediate capital punishment of the conspirators, the other of Cæsar, who advocated a perpetual imprisonment throughout the corporate towns of Italy. Before the votes were taken, Cicero rose, and spoke

THE FOURTH CATILINARIAN ORATION.

9. After thanking the fathers for their anxiety about his welfare, he entreats them to think rather of themselves and their country, c. 1. 2. He then shews that the prisoners had been condemned by the decision of the senate, and that their punishment must be fixed before that night, c. 3. He next lays before the fathers the two propositions, not without shewing his leaning towards that of Silanus, c. 4. 6. But lest a doubt as to whether the consul had forces sufficient to carry a severe sentence into execution, might indispuse some minds to vote for such a sentence, he shews that he was quite equal to preserve the peace, and was backed by a wonderful zeal in men of every rank. c. 7. 8. His inference is, that the senate, thus supported, should not be backward in supporting the people. c. 9. Finally he expresses his contempt for any odium to which his patriotic endeavours may expose him, as compared with the glory of saving his country; and exhorts them ever to bear in mind
his consulship, to protect his son, if any mishap should befall himself, and manfully and firmly to decide on the punishment of the arraigned.

We learn from Sallust, (c. 50.) that the proposition of Cato, who followed Cicero, and which was in effect the same as that of Silanus, sc. recommending capital punishment, was adopted, and that Cicero that very night carried it into effect. The fate of Catiline is briefly told. He was slain in battle in the beginning of the following year, a. u. 692, in the Pistorian district, by the troops of the republic, under the command of Petreius, the lieutenant of C. Antonius, the colleague of Cicero.
M. TULLII CICERONIS

IN

LUCIUM CATILINAM,

ORATIO I.

I. QUOUSQUE\(^1\) tandem abutere,\(^2\) Catilina, patientia nostra\(^3\) quamdiu etiam furor iste tuus [nos] eludet?\(^5\) quem ad finem\(^6\) sese effrenata jactabit audacia?\(^7\) nihilne\(^8\) te nocturnum præsidium Palatii,\(^9\) nihil urbis vigilias,\(^10\) nihil timor po-

Sect.[1.—1. Quousque, &c.] Quint. ix. 2. notices the energy which is here imparted by the use of the interrogation, and Muretus finds in the initial iambuses, paeons, &c. 'sublimem quendam et plenum dignitatis sonum.' Major's Hec. 85. πά ρος : πορε denotes extreme impatience, as 'tandem' in Latin. Sall. 20. 'quousque tandem, &c.'

2. Abutere] Misapply—trample upon; sc. by making use of it to confirm, not correct your audacity. Mil. 2. n. 19.

3. Nostra] Of the consuls, more particularly, but also of the senate, who had shewn their patience in the lenity of their decree. Muren. 25. Neque tamen satis severe pro rei indignitatem decrevit.

5. Eludet] 'Eludere,' is 1. to make an end of play.—2. get the better at play, conquer. Hence, as here,—to suit over, to mock.


7. Effrenata jactabit audacia?] Muretus here notices, not without reason, the repetition of the vowel a, as contributing to express the fullness of Cicero's passion; and contrasts it with 'Cupio me esse clementem, &c,' int., where a contrary feeling is exhibited. It might be fairly asked how far such a comparison would support the modern enunciation of that vowel in a neighbouring country.

8. Nihilne, &c.] The repetition of 'nihil' here affords an example of the figure called Epanaphora.

9. Nocturnum præsidium Palatii] Which was only placed there in dangerous times. Palatium, the Palatine hill, so called from Pallantenum, a city of Arcadia, Αἴν. viii. 51, was the most ancient and famous of the hills of Rome; for on it was shewn the cottage of Romulus, and it was the site
of the splendid mansion of Augustus; whence our application of the word 'palace' is taken.

10. \textit{Vigilia} [Sall. Cat. 30.] Item decreverut ut Romae per totam urbem vigiliae habendus, utique minores magistrates preessent. Muret. The Romans under the Republic had no regular police, and only employed sentinels on occasions of alarm from foreign or domestic foes, confabulation, or the like. Liv. iii. 6; who mentions that the Senators performed the duty of city guards. Vid. also \textit{xxxix. 14.}

Augustus appears to have appointed a police to guard the city against fires. Suet. 30. 'Adversus incendia excubias nocturnas vigilesque commentus est.'

11. \textit{Timor populi} [Cic. for one, was so much afraid, that he came to the Campus Martius 'cum illa lata insigniquae loricarum quae tegeret, verum ut omnes boni ... ad praesidium nume concurrerent.' Muren. 26. And this is the 'consensus honorum' which follows, where some read \textit{consensus}, others \textit{conventus}, but Cicero's words are 'boni concurrerent.'


12. \textit{Horum orae} [For the senators, on the entrance of Catiline, quitted the benches to which he came. Inf. 7. Adventu tuo ista subsellia vacue-facta sunt.

13. \textit{Pater — non sentis} [From all these circumstances can you not infer the detection of your schemes?]

14. \textit{Constrictam} [The metaphor is taken from chaining a wild beast, to which he compares the conspiracy.

15. \textit{Proxima — superiore} [So Arch. 5. Proximus censoribus, superiurus, primis? 'Proximus' is 'the nearest to the present', whether future, or past. Thus inf. 6. 'Ruinas fortunorum, impendere tibi proximus idibus sentities.' But here it refers to the past, and 'proxima' is the last, 'superiore' the second last night. We are not informed where Catiline spent the last night, but we know that he spent the night preceding it, in the house of M. Porcius Laca, with the conspirators. Inf. c. 4; and as Cic., Sull. 18. informs us, that that was the night 'quae consequa est posterum diem nonarum Nov.' i. e. the sixth of Nov., we infer that the speech was made on the eighth. For the following day, we may suppose, Cic. spent in detailing how the attempt of Cornelius and Vargunteius was frustrated, (Sall. Cat. 28.) and convening the senate for the following day. This is stated incorrectly in the Delph.

16. \textit{Quos convocaveris} [Muretus has carefully collected the names of those that were said to belong to the conspiracy to the number of forty; but as the principal of them are found in Sallust, it did not appear necessary to transcribe them.

17. \textit{Senatus — videt} [This senarian has noted the sagacity of Muretus, who remarks, from Aristotle, that the Iambus is the proper diction of the multitude, and \textit{Hor.} says of it 'alternis aptum sermonibus.' It is more strange then that so few senarians appear,
mo vero etiam in senatum\textsuperscript{19} venit: fit publici consilií part
cipés: notat et designat\textsuperscript{20} oculus ad cædem unumque
nostrum. Nos autem, viri fortés,\textsuperscript{21} satisfacere reipublicae
videmur, si istius furem ac tela vitemus. Ad mortem te,
Catilina, duci jussu consulís\textsuperscript{22} jampridem oportobat;\textsuperscript{23} in te
conferri pestem istam, quam tu in nos omnes jamdiu ma-
chinarius.\textsuperscript{24} An vero\textsuperscript{25} vir amplissimus, P. Scipio,\textsuperscript{26} pontífex
maximus, Ti. Græchum,\textsuperscript{27} mediocríter labefactantem statum
reipublicæ, privatus interfecit: Catilinam [vero,] orbem ter-
ræ cæde atque incendis vastare cupientem, nos consules
perferemus? Nam illa nimis antiqua praetero, quod Q. Servilius
Ahala\textsuperscript{28} Sp. Mælium, novís rebus studentem,\textsuperscript{29}
manu sua\textsuperscript{30} occidit. Fuit, fuit\textsuperscript{31} ista quondam in hac re-
publica virtús, ut viri fortés acroribus suppliciís civem per-
nicosum, quam aécbíssimum hostem coercerent. Habe-
mus senatusconsultum in te, Catilina, vehemens et grave:
non deest reipublicæ consilium, neque auctoritas hujus or-
dinis:\textsuperscript{32} nos, nos, dico aperte, consules desumus.

than that a solitary one is found. Arch.
1. n. 2.
18. \textit{Hic tamen vivit} Instead of being
condemned by the senate, ap-
prehended by the consul, and capital-
ly punished. Muret.
19. \textit{In senatum} For he was of præ-
torian rank.
20. \textit{Notat et designat} As those
who are about to offer a sacrifice,
mark the victims out of the flock.
Muret.
21. \textit{Viri fortés} Irony. For bra-
very does not consist in caution.
Muret.
22. \textit{Jussu consulís} For Cic. was
armed with supreme authority, which,
more Romano, empowered him to
punish with death. Sall. Cat. 29.
Hence, Cic. Mil. 26. remarks that
Pompey, under the same authority,
in Milonem animadvertēre ipse et
more majorum et suo jure posset.'
23. \textit{Ad mortem — oportobat} This
is his proposition, which he enforces
by the example of others. 'Jampri-
dem,' inf. 2. 'vicēsum jāmdiem,' &c.
24. \textit{Machinaris} Metaphora ab
architectis desumpta. Delph. Would
not 'machinari pestem' then be a
mixed metaphor? Take it then with
Muret. in the proper force of μηχα-
vnāθαι.
25. An vero, &c.] The opposition
here, as Quint. remarks, holds in four
respects: 1. Scipio, a private man,
is contrasted with Cicero, a consul;
2. Græchus with Catilina; 3. a slight
attempt against the constitution with
massacre and confabulation; 4. The
Roman republic with the whole
world.
26. \textit{P. Scipio] Mil. 3. n. 18.}
27. \textit{Ti. Græchum] Mil. 3. n. 16.}
28. \textit{Q. Serv. Ahala] Mil. 3. n. 17.}
29. \textit{Novís rebus studentem] Néo-
terizonta. Muret.
31. Fuit, fuit] Dem. de Cor. 60. εκ
ἔστιν, υπὸ ἡμᾶρτε, 
ἀνθρώπου. Muret.
32. \textit{Hujus ordinis} Neither the
counsel nor authority of this order is
wanting to the republic.
II. Decretit quondam Senatus, ut L. Opimius consul videret, ne quid respublica detrimenti caperet. Nox nulla intercessit: interfecit est propter quasdam seditionum suspiciones C. Gracchus,\(^1\) clarissimo patre, avo, majoribus: occisus est cum liberes M. Fulvius,\(^2\) consularis. Simili senatusconsulto, C. Mario et L. Valerio consultibus permissa est respublica. Num unum diem postea L. Saturninum\(^3\) tribunum plebis, et C. Servilium Praetorem, mors ac [republicae] poena remorata est? At nos vicesimum jam diem\(^4\) patimur hebesere aciem horum auctoritatis.\(^5\) Habemus enim hujusmodi senatusconsultum, verumtamen inclusum in tabulis, tanquam [gladium] in vagina reconditum: quo ex senatusconsulto confestim\(^6\) interfecit te esse, Catilina, convenit. Vivis et vivis non ad deponendum, sed ad confirmandam audaciam. Cupio,\(^7\) Patres conscripti, me esse clementem: cupio in tantis republicae periculis non dissolutum\(^8\) videri: sed jam me ipse inertiae nequitiaeque condemnno. Castra sunt in Italia contra rempublicam in Etruriae faucibus\(^9\) collocata: crescit in dies singulorum hostium numeros: eorum autem imperatorem castrorum ducemque hostium intra mensia atque adeo in senatu videmus, intestinam aliquam quotidie perniciem republicae molientem. Si te jam, Catilina, comprehendi,\(^10\) si interfici jussero, credo,\(^11\) erit verendum mihi, ne non\(^{12}\) hoc potius omnes boni serius a me, quam quisquam crudelius factum esse dicant. Verum ego hoc, quod

 Sect. II.—1. L. Opimius—C. Gracchus\(^1\) Mil. 3. n. 19.
 2. M. Fulvius\(^2\) He was joined in commission with C. Gracchus, to divide the public lands; and, with his sons, was slain by Opimius and the nobles, together with three thousand men, A. V. 631.
 3. Mario—Saturn.] Mil. 3. n. 20.
 4. Vices—diem\(^3\) Introd. 3.
 5. Aciem—uctoritatis\(^4\) A metaphor from a sword, which becomes a simile in 'inclusum in tabulis tanquam, &c.'
 6. Confestim\(^5\) 'Con—fari.' We say, 'no sooner said than done.'
 7. Cupio, &c.] Supr. 1. n. 7.
 8. Dissolutum\(^6\) Too lax or indulgent, as the following words 'inertiae nequitiaeque' show. Dem. calls it ἰαὶ αἰτίαι.
 9. Etruriae faucibus\(^7\) At Fesulae, where the camp of Mallius was.—Sall. Cat. 27.
 11. Credo] Ironiae nota. Muret. But if that means that 'credo' here signifies 'I do not believe,' it evidently contradicts the sense. Explain it then with Manut. 'non dubito.'
 12. Verendum—ne non\(^8\) Ne non with verbs of fearing is equivalent to ut, the negatives cancelling each other. Epis. v. 18. Unum vereor
jampridem factum esse oportuit, certa de causa non dum adducor, ut faciam. Tum denique interficiam te, quem jam nemo tam improbus, tam perditus, tam tui similis inveniri poterit, qui id non jure factum esse fataetur. Quamdiu quisquam erit, qui te defendere audeat, vives: et vives ita, ut nunc vivis, multis meis et firmis præsidiis obsessus, ne commovere te contra rempublicam possis. Multorum te etiam oculi et aures non sentientem, sicut adhuc fecerunt, speculabuntur atque custodient.

III. Etenim quid est, Catilina, quod jam amplius expectes, si neque nox tenebris obscurare cœtus nefarios, nec privata domus parietibus continere voces conjurationis tuae potest? si illustrantur, si erumpunt omnia? Muta jam istam mentem, mihi crede: obliviscere cædis, atque incendiorum. Teneris undique: luce sunt clariora nobis tua consilia omnia: quæ etiam mecum licet recognoscas. Meministine, me ante diem xii Kal. Novembres dicere in senatu, fore in armis certo die, qui dies futurus esset ante diem vi Kal. Novembres, C. Mallium audaciae satellitem atque administrum tuae? Num me sefellit, Catilina, non modo res tanta, tam atrox, tam incredibilis, verum id quod multo magis est admirandum, dies? Dixi ego idem in se-

5. Recognoscas 1. To recognise; 2. (as here) to call to mind. Forcel.
6. Ante diem xii.] Al. in ante diem; for which construction vid. Mil. 10. n. 4. He means the 21st of October, the day appointed originally for holding the comitia. Introd. 3.
8. C. Mallium] Al. Manlius; but the Manlian family was patrician. This Mallius had been a centurion under Sylla, and was one of the military colonists whom he had settled at Fesulae. Cat. ii. 7. 9. Having come to Rome to forward the election of Catiline, he was afterwards dispatched to Fesulae to begin the war. Sall. Cat. 24. 27.
natu, cædem te optimatum contulisse in ante diem v\textsuperscript{9} Kalendas Novembres, tum, quam multi principes civitatis Roma non-tam sui conservandi,\textsuperscript{10} quam tuorum consiliorum reprehendorum causa profugerunt. Num initiari potes, te illo ipso die meis præsidiiis, mea diligentia circumclusum, commovere te contra rempublicam non potuisse, quam tu diessu ceterorum,\textsuperscript{11} nostra tamen, qui remansissemus,\textsuperscript{12} cæde contentum te esse dicebas? Quid? quam tute Praeneste\textsuperscript{13} Kalendis ipsis Novembribus occupaturum, nocturno impetu esse consideres: sensistine, illam coloniam\textsuperscript{14} meo jussu, meis præsidiiis, custodiis, vigiliisque esse munitam? Nihil agis, nihil moliris, nihil cogitas,\textsuperscript{15} quod ego non modo non audiam, sed etiam non videam planeque seniam.

IV. Recognosce tandem mecum noctem illam superiorem:\textsuperscript{1} jam intelliges multo me vigilare acrius ad salutem, quam te ad perniciem reipublicae. Dico te priori nocte venisse inter falcarios\textsuperscript{2} (non agam obscure) in M. Læcae domum: convenisse eodem complures\textsuperscript{3} ejusdem amentiae scelerisque socios. Num negare audes? Quid taces? Convincam, si negas. Video enim esse hic in senatu quosdam, qui tecum una fuerunt. O dii immortales! ubinam gentium

9. In ante diem v.\textsuperscript{1} The 28th of Oct. Introd. 3. The Delph. says, 'in die qui esset ante diem in quem dilata fuerant Comitiae.' But 'in ante diem' is the same as 'ante diem.' Mil. 10. n. 4.

10. Non tam sui conservandi\textsuperscript{i.e.} Those 'principes civitatis' considerably withdrew themselves from the city; not through personal fear, but lest they should be slain along with the consul; and, of course, no body left to oppose Catiline!

11. Discessu ceterorum\textsuperscript{Sc. the 'principes' noted above.}

12. Remansissemus\textsuperscript{So Sall. Cat. 27. 'Seque ad exercitum prefecturam, si Ciceronom oppressissent.'}

13. Praeneste\textsuperscript{Praeneste was a town of Latium, about twenty-four miles from Rome, which we may suppose Catiline to have attempted to seize on and garrison, though it is not noticed by Sallust.}

14. Coloniam\textsuperscript{Supposed by Manut. to have been planted by Sylla, (Agr. ii. 28,) who planted several military colonies. A. Gell., xvi. 13, mentions that the inhabitants petitioned Tiberius to be admitted to the rank of a corporate town instead of a colony.}

15. Nihil agis—moliris—cogitas\textsuperscript{An ascending series; for it was more difficult to ascertain the attempts than the acts of Cat.; but to arrive at his thoughts, more difficult still. Muret.}

Secr. XIV.—1. Superiorem\textsuperscript{Last night but one. We say, 'ere last night'—sc. came. Introd. 3.}

2. Inter falcarios\textsuperscript{ 'Falcarius' is, properly, a scythe-maker. Hence the street where they dwelt was called 'inter falcarios.' Sull. 18.}

3. Complures\textsuperscript{Sall. Cat. 17, names eleven senators who were
sumus? quam rempublicam habemus? in qua urbe vivimus? Hic, hic sunt, in nostro numero, Patres conscripti, in hoc orbis terrae sanctissimo gravissimoque consilio, qui de meo nostrumque omnium interitu, qui de hujus urbis, atque adeo orbis4 terrarum exitio cogitent. Hosce ego video consul, et de republica sententiam rogo! et, quos ferro trucidari opor-tebat, eos nondum voce vulneri! Fuisti igitur apud Læc-am5 illa nocte, Catilina: distribuisti partes Italicae5 statuisti quoque proficisci placeret: delegisti, quos Romae relin-
queres,7 quos tecum educeret: descripsisti urbis partes5 ad in-
cendia: confirmasti, te ipsum jam esse exiturum: dixisti paul-
lulum tibi esse etiam tum morae, quod ego viverem.9, Reperti sunt duo equites Romani,10 qui te ista cura liberarent, et sese illa ipsa nocte paullo ante meo in lectulo interfec-
turos11 policereutur. Hac ego omnia, vix dum etiam12 cætu vestro dimisso, comperi: domum meam majoribus præsidii
munivi atque firmavi: exclusi eos, quos tu mane ad me sa-
lutatum miseras, quam illi ipsi venissent; quos ego jam mul-
tis ac summis viris ad me id venturos temporis esse præ-
dixeram.

V. Quæ cum ita sint,1 Catilina, perge quo cœpisti: egre-
dere aliquando ex urbe: patent portaæ: proficiscere. Ni-
imium diu te imperatorem tua illa Malliana castra deside-
rant. Educ tecum etiam omnes tuos; si minus,2 quamplu-
rimos. Purga urbem. Magno me metu liberabis, dum-

privy to the plot.

4. Hujus urbis—orbis] Παρὶς ἡν τῷ. Muret.; i. e. he thinks there is an attempt at alliteration in these words.

5. Apud Læcam] Sall. Cat. 27.
Sull. 18.

6. Partes Italiae] Sall. Cat. 27.
C. Mallium Fesus, atque in eam partem Etruriae, Septimium quandam Cameretem in agrum Picenum, C. Julium in Apuliam. Introd. 3.


8. Orbis partes] Sall. Cat. 43.—
Statiliius et Gabinii duodecim simul opportuna loca urbis incendenter.

9. Diiixisti—vivere] Sall. Cat. 27.
Eum [Ciceronom] suis consiliis multum officere.'

10. Duo equites Romani] Sallust, Cat. 28, says one—C. Cornelius; and is so far corroborated by Cicero, Sull.
18. But the second, according to Sallust, was L. Vargunteius, a senator. Plutarch and Appian differ still far-
ther from Cicero.

11. Me—interfectu.] Sall. Cat. 28.
De improviso imperatum confodere.

12. 5ix dum etiam] Curius... propere per Fulviam dolum—enun-
ciat. Sall. Cat. 26, where also, 'sicuti salutatum, &c.,' agreeing
with Cicero's account.

SECT. V.—1. Quæ cum ita sint] Cic. sums up his argument by con-
cluding that Catiline should at once leave the city.

2. Siminus] But if not all.
modo inter me atque te murus\textsuperscript{3} intersit. Nobiscum versari jam diutius non potes: non feram, non patiar, non sinam. Magna diis immortalibus habenda est gratia, atque huic ipsi Jovi Statori,\textsuperscript{4} antiquissimo custodi hujus urbis, quod hanc tam tetram, tam horribilem, tamque infestam reipublicae pestem toties jam effugimus. Non est sæpius in uno homine\textsuperscript{5} summa salus periclitanda reipublicae. Quamdiu mihi, consuli designato,\textsuperscript{6} Catilina, insidiat us es, non publico me præsidio, sed privata diligentia defendi. Quum proximis comitiis\textsuperscript{7} consularibus me consulem in campo, et competiores tuos interficere voluisti, compressi tuos nefarios conatus amicorum præsidio\textsuperscript{8} et copiis, nullo tumultu publice concitato: denique, quotiescumque me petisti,\textsuperscript{9} per me tibi obstiti; quamquam videbam, perficiem meam cum magna calamitate reipublicae esse conjunctam. Nunc jam aperte rempublicam universam\textsuperscript{10} petis: templum deorum immortalium, teeta urbis, vitam omnium civium, Italiam denique totam, ad exitium et vastitatem vocas.

Quare, quoniam id, quod primum,\textsuperscript{11} atque hujus imperii\textsuperscript{12} disciplineaque majorum proprium est, facere nondum audeo: faciam id, quod est ad severitate lenius, ad communem salutem utilius. Nam, si te interfici jussero, residebit in republica relicuia conjuratorum manus. Sin tu (quod te jamdum hortor) exieris, exhaurietur ex urbe tuorum comitum magna et perniciosa sentina\textsuperscript{13} reipublicae.\textsuperscript{14} Quid est, Catilina?

3. Murus\textsuperscript{3} A city wall.
4. Diis—atque Jovi Statori\textsuperscript{i.e.} To the gods, and, in particular, to Jupiter Stator. Muret. quotes Τρώας τε καὶ Εκτορά νησοὶ πίλασσε; and Reliquias Danaum atque immitis Achilli, ' Stator,' i.e. 'qui fugam sistit.' Liv. i. 12.
5. In uno homine\textsuperscript{i.e.} Catiline; though some, induced by Cicero's egregious vanity, refer it to himself.
6. Consuli desig.\textsuperscript{i.e.} Introd. 3. The consuls were L. Caesar and C. Figulus.
7. Proximis comitiis\textsuperscript{i.e.} At which Cic. presided, and Silanus and Murrena were designated.
9. Me petisti\textsuperscript{i.e.} A metaphor taken from the gladiators.
10. Rempub. universam, &c.] An amplification by an enumeration of the parts, the whole being first posited. Conversely in Pis. 1, he proceeds from the parts to the whole: 'Oculi, supercilia, frons, vultus denique totus.' Muret.
11. Id quod primum\textsuperscript{Sc. to have you put to death.
12. Hujus imperii\textsuperscript{The consular authority amplified by the decree Ne quid detrimenti, &c.'
13. Sentina\textsuperscript{i.e.} 1. The bottom of a ship, where the bilge-water is; 2. the bilge-water itself. Hence, metaphorically, 'the dregs of society;'}
num dubitas id, me imperante, facere, quod jam tua sponte faciebas? Exire ex urbe jubet consul hostem.15 Interrogas me, num in exsilium? Non jubeo:16 sed si me consulis, suadeo.

VI. Quid est enim,1 Catilina, quod te jam in hac urbe deletare possit? in qua nemo est, extra istam conjurationem perditorum hominem, qui te non metuat; nemo, qui non oderit.2 Quae nota domesticae turpitudinis non inusta3 vitae tuae est? quod privatarum rerum dedecus non haeret infamiae? quae libido ab oculis,4 quod facinus a manibus unquam tuis, quod flagitium a totu corpore absuit? cui tu adolescentulo, quem corruptelarum illecebris irretisses, non aut ad audaciam ferrum, aut ad libidinem facem5 prætulisti? Quid vero? nuper, quam morte superioris uxoris novis nuptiis dominum vacuefisses,6 nonne etiam alio incredibili scelere hoc scelus cumulasti? quod ego praetermitto, et facile patior sli- leri, ne in hac civitate tanti facinoris immanitas aut extistisse, aut non vindicata esse videatur. Praetermitto ruinas fortunarem

which would be cleared out (exhaustatur) by the departure of Catiline. Quint. viii. 6. Cicero recte 'sentinam reip.' dixit, fæditatem hominum significans.

14. 'Reip.' [This word is bracketed by Ern., and 'tuorum comitum' suspected by Heuman. It is to be explained, however, on the principle that a single substantive often governs two genitives, one having generally an active or possessive force, the other a passive; thus Cas. B. G. i. 30, 'Helvetiorum injuria populi Romani; injuries committed by the Helvetii (active) against the Roman people (passive). So here trans. 'the canaille of the republic made up of your companions.' Schell. Lat. Gram. vol. i. p. 364. Sch., however, would take 'reip.' as the dat. on 'perniciosa,' transposing the words.

15. 'Consul—hostem'] These are more emphatic, according to Muret, than 'Cicero—Catilinam.'

16. 'Non jubeo'] For exile was not a punishment by the Roman law; but rather the consequence of the penalty enacted. So 'aqua et igni interdici' was equivalent to banishment.

Sect. VI.—1. Quid enim] He proceeds—'suadere'—to his advice; namely, to leave the city; and he occupies the three following sections in stating his reasons for that advice, which were anything but conciliatory towards Catiline. Introd. 4.

2. 'Metuat—oderit] Hence Phil. i. 14, 'Oderint dum metuant,' those passions being naturally allied.


4. 'Libido ab oculis] Hence such phrases as 'patrantes oculi.' Pers. Sat. i. 18.


6. 'Morte—vacuefisses] Al. vacuam fecisses. The parallel passage in Sallust 'necato filio, vacuum domum scelestis nuptiis fecisse,' would
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lead us to explain Cicero thus: That on the death of his wife, Catil. cleared his house for a new connexion with Aurelia Orestilla, by murdering his son (‘hoc scelus’). Then ‘alio inc-redibili scelere’ will be his marriage with his own daughter. Tog. Cand. ‘Ex eodem stupro tibi et uxorem et filiam invenisti.’ But the more obvious explanation is, that Catil. by the death of his former wife (hoc scelus) prepared his house for a new connexion; and to this added the murder of his son (alio inc-redibili scelere).

7. Proximis Idibus] For the ides was the regular day for the payment of the interest or principal of money lent, Hor. Epod. 2. Sat. i. 6; and Catiline’s creditors were growing importunate. Muret. explains it of the ides of November, on which day Cicero had proposed the ‘Tabulae auctionariae,’ Cat. ii. 8, by which he should be obliged to sell all his estates to satisfy his creditors. But the former seems to be the better interpretation.


9. Summam temp.] Al. reip.—‘Summa resp.’ means the safety of the whole republic.

10. Pridie Kal. Jan.] Introd. Sall. Cat. 18. This is usually called the first conspiracy. It arose from the disappointed ambition of Autonius and Sulla, the consuls elect, who being turned out of office for bribery, joined Catiline, then accused by Clodius, in a plot to murder Cotta and Torquatus, who had been appointed consuls in their room. This took place about the fifth of December, and on the first of January, when the consuls met in the comitium, to make the usual retiring addresses to the people, Catiline attended in arms. According to Suetonius’s most improbable account, (Jul. 9,) the defection of Crassus and Cæsar caused the execution of the plot to be deferred to the fifth of February; and it was finally frustrated by Catiline’s prematurely giving the signal for slaughter.

11. Telo] Mil. 24. n. 25, and for ‘comitium,’ Manil. 15. n. 7.

12. Post commissa] His after offences. Al. non multo postea, which is rather obscure. Cicero gives two reasons for omitting the detail of the first conspiracy. 1. It was well-
parva quadam declinatione, et, ut aiunt, corpore\textsuperscript{13} effugi! Nihil agis, nihil assequeris, [nihil moliris:]\textsuperscript{14} neque tamen conari ac velle desistis. Quoties jam tibi extorta est sica ista de manibus? quoties vero excidit casu aliquo\textsuperscript{15} et elapsa est? [tamen ea carere diutius non potes:] quae quibus abs te initiata sacris\textsuperscript{16} ac devota sit, nescio, quod eam necesse putas consulis in corpore defigere.

VII. Nunc vero, quae tua est ista vita? Sic enim jam tecum loquar, non ut odio permutus esse videar, quod debeat, sed ut misericordia, quae tibi nulla debetur. Venisti paullus ante in senatum.\textsuperscript{1} Quis te ex hac tanta frequentia, tot ex tuis amicis ac necessariis salutavit?\textsuperscript{2} Si hoc post hominum memoriam\textsuperscript{3} contigit nemini, vocis expectas contumeliam, quom sis gravissimo judicio taciturnitatis oppressus? Quid? quod adventu tuo ista subsellia\textsuperscript{4} vacuefacta sunt? quod omnes consulares, qui tibi persuade ad cædem constituì fuerunt, simul atque assestisti, partem istam subselliorum nudam atque inanem reliquerunt? Quo tandem animo hoc tibi ferendum putas? Servi meherecle mei si me isto pacto metuerent, ut te metuunt omnes cives tui, domum\textsuperscript{5} meam relinquendam

known; 2. there was no lack of subsequent crimes: e. g. attempting his (Cicero's) own life. 'Illa' from the preceding sentence is subject to 'sunt.'


14. [Nihil moliris] These words, bracketed by Orel., are not found in all MSS. Al. insert here, quod mihi latere valeat in tempore, which, besides being an unusual construction of 'lateor,' are not found in some MSS. 'In tempore' is \textit{in caerèa}, at the due time.


16. Initiata sacris] The 'sica' was consecrated for the purpose of sacrificing the victim. Cicero insinuates that Catiline's dagger was so dedicated, and his victims the consuls. 'Consulis' then alludes to Cotta and Torquatus as well as Cicero.

Sect. VII.—1. Venisti—in sena-
tum] Sall. Cat. 31.

2. Quis salutavit?] Cat. ii. 6. 'Quis senator eum appellavist ? quis saluta-vit ? quis, &c.'

3. Post hominum memoriam] 'In the memory of man;' i. e. as far back as any records reach. It is often ap-
pied to time in general. Off. ii. 3. 'Cratippus princeps hujus memoriae philosophorum,' of this age. Arch. l. n. 7. Mil. 20. n. 18.

4. Subsellia] ('Sub—sella') so called in contra-distinction to the 'curulis sella;' for, we learn from Ascon. that they were occupied by the minor magistrates. Hence the word is applied to the senatorial benches, which bore a similar relation to the consul's chair.

5. Servi—domum] This is very emphatic, as if he said: 'If my slaves, whose lord I am, and whose fear of me ought to be the most abject,
putarem: tu tibi urbem non arbitraris? et si me meis civibus
injury suspicium tam graviter atque offensum viderem; car-
rire me adspectu civium, quam infestis oculis omnium con-
spici mallem: tu, quum? conscientia scelerum tuorum agnos-
cas odium omnium justum et jam tibi diu debitum, dubitas,
quorum mentes sensusque vulneras, eorum adspectum prae-
sentiamque vitare? Si te parentes? timerent atque odissent
tui, neque eos ulla ratione placare posses; ut opinor, ab
eorum oculis aliquo concederes: nunc te patria, qua com-
munis est omnium nostrum pares, odi ac metuit, et jamdiu
te? nihil judicat, nisi de parricidio suo cogitat. Hujus tu
neque auctoritatem verebere, neque judicium sequare, ne-
que vim pertimesces? [Quae tecum, 11 Catilina, sicagit, 12 et
quodam modo tacita loquitur: "Nullum aliquot jam annis? facinus exstittit, nisi per te: nullum flagitium sine te: tibi
uni multorum civium neces, 14 tibi vexatio directioque socio-
rum? impunita futi ac libera: tu non solum ad negligentias
leges et questiones, verum etiam ad evertendas perfringen-
dasque? valuisti. Superiora illa, quamquam serenda? non
fuerunt, tamen, ut potui, tuli: nunc vero me totam esse in
dreaded me, as your fellow-citizens, who owe you no duty, do you, I
should abandon my house, my home, my undoubted property. Will not
you, then leave the city over which you have no claim, &c., &c.'
7. Tu quum, &c.] A fortiori—
should you, deservedly odious to your
citizens, shun their sight.
9. Si te parentes] Cicero had il-
lustrated the necessity of Catiline's
departure from the city, 1. by the
case of a master and his slaves; 2.
by the instance of unjust resentment
in one's fellow-citizens. Now he
urges the dislike of parents to a child,
which drives the child from under the
paternal roof: so ought the hatred of
our country, the general parent, cause
the exile of Catiline. [Demos., how-
ever, makes our country the child of
all. Phil. iv. 10.]
10. Jamdiu te] i.e. 'Te cogitare
nihil nisi, &c.' Al. de te; which ap-
ppears to be the reading of all MSS.
Lambinus first omitted the preposi-
tion, in which he has been followed
by other editors.
11. Qua? tecum? Proosospiolria,
or personification. Muret. supposes
it imitated from the Crito of Plato,
who there introduces the laws speak-
ing. Inf. 11. Qunt., ix. 2, remarks
of this figure 'Mire quum variant
orationem, tum excitant . . . Urbes
etiam populique vocem accipiunt.'
13. Aliquot jam annis? Perhaps
from his questorship, A, v. 676.
14. Multorum—neces?] In the pro-
scriptions of Sylla. Introd. 2.
15. Sociorum] He means the Afri-
cans. Introd. 2.
16. Negligendas—perfringen.] He
'neglected' the laws by committing
crimes; and 'broke through them,'
by evading their penalty; e. g. by the
prevarication of Clodius. Introd. 2.
17. Quamquam serenda?] Similarly
to Terentia, he writes 'Cetera, quam-
metu propter te unum: quidquid increpuerit, Catilinam timeri: nullum videri contra me consilium iniri posse, quod
a tuo scelere abhorreat; non est ferendum. Quamobrem
discede, atque hunc mihi timorem eripe: si est verus, ne op-
primar; sin falsus, ut tandem aliquando timeri desinam."

VIII. Hec si tecum, ut dixi, patria loquatur, nonne im-
petrare debeat, etiam si vim adlibere non possit? Quid?
quod tu te ipse in custodiad dedisti? quid? quod, vitandae
suspicionis causa, apud M. Lepidum te habitare velle dixisti?
a quo non receptus, etiam ad me venire ausus es, atque, ut
domi meae te asservarem, rogasti. Quum a me quoque id
responsum tulisses, me nullo modo posse iisdem parietibus
tuto esse tecum, qui magnus in periculo esset, quod iisdem
meiuis adhibere contineremur; ad Q. Metellum praetorem venisti.
A quo repudiatus, ad sodalem tuum, virum optimum, M.
Marcellum demigrasti: quem tu videlicet ad custodien-
dum te diligentissimum, et ad suspicandum sagacissimum, et
ad vindicandum fortissimum fore putasti. Sed quam
longe videtur a carcere atque a vinculis absesse debere, qui se
jam dignum custodia judicaret? Quae quum ita sint, Catili-
na, dubitas, si emori aquo animo non potes, abire in aliquas
terras, et vitam istam, multis suppliciis justis debitisque eres-
tam, fugae solitudinique mandare?

quam ferenda non sunt, feramus."

Manut.

18. *Quid. increp.* Quidquid increpuiisset pertimescentem." Pis. 41.
A metaphor taken from timid persons startled by the slightest noise. V. E.

Sect. VIII.—1. *Vim adhibere* Hor. Od. iii. 28. 4.

2. *Custodiad* Sc. *liberam;* into
the keeping of some private person.

3. M. *Lepidum* Consul with Vol-
catius, a. v. 687.

4. Q. *Metellum* Sc. Celerem.—
Sall. Cat. 30. Q. Metellus Celer,
pretor, in agrum Picenum missus est.
He was consul two years after
with L. Afranius.

5. *Virum optimum* Said ironical-
ly. Quint. ix. 2, introduces it to ex-
emplify irony as a trope or figure
of diction; distinct from irony, a
scheme or figure of thought.

6. M. *Marcellum* This Marcus is,
of course, different from the fortis-
simo viro, infr., whom Cic. after-
wards defended. The Delph. thinks
otherwise. He had a son, Caius, a
conspirator, whom Sextius expelled
from Capua. Sext. 4. Both were en-
gaged in the conspiracy. "Sodalem,
a 'boon-companion'; a uni-sede.

7. *Carcer* Qu. 'Co-arcer,' a
'co-arcer.'

8. *Si emori—potes* 'If you can-
not bear to die.' He had shown (c.
6.) that Catiline could no longer
live at Rome (Potestate hae lux, &c.).
The only alternative was death or ex-
ile. And he hints, that if he remained
at Rome, he might prepare for death.
Grave supposes 'self-murder,' but
that was not to be expected from Cat-
line. Ern. prefers morari as better
opposed to abire.

9. *Fuge—mandare* 'Mandare fu-
gae'—profugere; 'mandare solitudini'

y 2

IX. Quamquam quid loquor? te ut ulla res fraudat? tu ut unquam te corriges? tu ut ullam fugam meditere? tu ut ullam exsilium cogites? Utinam tibi istam mentem dii immortales duint! tametsi video, si mea voce perterritus in exsilium animum induxeris, quanta tempestas invidiae no-

fugere hominum societatem. Delph.
10. Refer] For the consul generally proposed the decrees.
11. Ut intelligas] Namely, by their silence. 'Patiuntur; tacent.'
12. Proficiscere] Here Cic. may be supposed to make a pause, waiting to see if Catiline would depart.—V. E.
13. P. Sextio] He was now the quaestor of C. Antonius, Cicero's colleague; and was afterwards defended by Cicero. Vid. Sext.
15. Sed etiam illi equites, &c.] Sc. intimate that they wish you to go into exile.
16. Prosequuntur] It was an ancient custom to convey to the gates or bounds of the country, persons going into exile. Cat. ii. 1. Edgredientem urbe prosecuti sumus. In Greek they said προπέμπειν. Eurip. Hippolyt. 1102. Muret.
Scrr. IX.—1. Quamquam, &c.] A correction. He knew it was a waste of words to expect Catiline to go into exile.
2. Utinam, &c.] For the ancients thought that the gods inspired men with various passions and designs, whether good or bad. Mil. 33. Hic dii mentem cederunt illi perdito ut
bis, si minus in præsens tempus,\textsuperscript{3} recenti memoria scelerum tuorum, at in posteritatem impendeat. Sed est mihi tanti \textsuperscript{4} dummodo ista privatæ sit calamitas, et a reipublicæ periculis sejungatur. Sed tu\textsuperscript{5} ut viitis tuis commoveare, ut legum poenas pertimescas, ut temporibus reipublicæ concessas, non est postulandum. Neque enim is es, Catilina, ut te aut pudor a turpitudine, aut metus a periculo, aut ratio a furore revocari. Quamobrem, ut sæpe jam dixi, proficiscere: ac, si\textsuperscript{6} mihi inimico, ut prædicas, tuo confiare vis invidiam; recta\textsuperscript{7} perge in exsilium: vix feram\textsuperscript{8} sermones hominum, si id feceris: vix molem istius invidiæ, s in exsilium ieris jussu consulis, sustinebo. Sin autem servire meæ laudi et gloriae mavis; egredere cum importuna sceleratorum manu: confer te ad Mallium:\textsuperscript{9} concita perditos cives: secerne te a bonis: infer patriæ bellum; exsulta impio latrocinio,\textsuperscript{10} ut a me non ejectus ad aliosen, sed invitatus ad tuos esse videaris. Quamquam quid ego te invitem, a quo jam sciam esse præmissos, qui tibi ad Forum Aurelium\textsuperscript{12} praestolarentur\textsuperscript{13} arnati? cui sciam pactam et constitutam esse cum Mallio diem? a quo etiam aquilam illam\textsuperscript{14} argenteam, quam tibi ac suis omnibus perniciosam esse confido et funestam futuram, cui domi tuæ

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luic faceret insidias. 'Duint' antique pro dent.

3. \textit{In præsens tempus} For 'præsentí tempore.' So Manil. 12. 'in prædonom potestatem.'

4. \textit{Est mihi tanti} Al. \textit{Est tanti.} 'It is of small importance, &c.' Forcel. But the negative is generally added. Mill. 22. 'Id non est tanti, &c.' V. E. turns it: 'Still your exile will be so far of service.' But this is not so obvious. Hor. A. P. 304.

5. Sed tu, &c.] Refer the three following clauses each to its appropriate source, which Cic. subjoins; sc. 'pudor—metus—ratio.'

6. \textit{Ac si mihi, &c.—Sin autem, &c.} He shows by a dilemma that Catiline ought to go into exile. 'Whether you wish to injure or serve my fame, you ought to go.'


8. \textit{Vix feram} Ironical; and 'sermones,' as Muret. remarks, taken 'in malam partem;' the censorious observations.

9. \textit{Mallium} Supr. c. 3. n. 8.

10. \textit{Latrocinio} Rebellion, 'Impio,' as being against 'patria ejus, communis omnium pares.'

12. \textit{Forum Aurelium} A market-town of Etruria, so called from its founder Aurelius, supposed to be the same who made the Aurelia Via from Rome to Pisa.

13. \textit{Praestolarentur} From 'praesto,' qu. 'praestulo'—to be ready for—wait for; scil. to accompany you to Fesule.

14. \textit{Aquilam illam} As in auguries the flight of the eagle was held the most auspicious, so it became the standard of the Roman legion. It was usually made of silver, with wings expanded, and holding a thunder-bolt in its talons. Of this eagle, Sallust, Cat. 59, says 'quam bello Cimbro C. Marius in exercitu habuisse dice-
sacrarium\textsuperscript{15} scelerum tuorum\textsuperscript{16} constitutum fuit, sciam esse præmissam? Tu ut illa diutius carere possis, quam venerari, ad caedem proficiscens, solebas? a cujus altaribus sepe istam impiam dexteram ad necem civium transtulisti?

X. Ibis tandem aliquando,\textsuperscript{1} quo te jampridem tua ista expiditas effrenata ac furiosa rapiebat.\textsuperscript{2} Neque enim tibi haec res\textsuperscript{3} affert dolorem, sed quandam incredibilem voluptatem. Ad hanc te amentiam natura peperit, voluntas exercuit, fortuna servavit. Nunquam tu non modo\textsuperscript{4} otium, sed ne bellum quidem, nisi nefarium concupisti. Nactus es ex perditis,\textsuperscript{5} atque ab omni non modo fortuna, verum etiam spe derelictur.\textsuperscript{6}

15. Sacrarium\textsuperscript{7} Muret. Here quotes Dio Cassius's description of a species of eagle, with a portable temple as a covering, which the Roman legions sometimes had for their ensign, and applies it to the eagle of Catiline.—But it is evident that the ‘sacrarium’ here meant, was quite distinct from the portable νεος μετρος of Dio; as it contained ‘altaria,’ at which Catiline offered sacrifices to the eagle as a deity. Forcel, quotes this passage under the examples of a metaphorical use of ‘sacrarium.’ But there seems to be no reason for doubting the actual erection of a chapel to the eagle. So Virg. Georg. iv. 542. Quatuor his aras alta ad delubra deorum Constitue.

16. Scelerum tuorum\textsuperscript{7} These words appear harsh, because the ‘sacrarium’ being in honour of the eagle, we should hardly expect it to be anything more; whereas it served the double purpose of a shrine to preserve the eagle, and an altar for Catiline, at which to practise his impieties. To another person, indeed, the ‘sacrarium’ would be one ‘sacrorum,’ not ‘scelerum.’ So, Cat. ii. 11. ‘Scele- lus’ is opposed to ‘pietas.’ ‘Hinc pietas (pugnat); illinc scelus.’ Inf. ii. 6.

\textbf{SECT. X.—1. Tandum aliquando\textsuperscript{8}}\textsuperscript{8}

Et ad tarditatem et ad difficultatem indicandam valet. Muret. We say, ‘at long and last.’ Cat. ii. 1.

2. Tua ista—rapiebat\textsuperscript{9} Vid. supr. 1. n. 7, on the reiteration of a.

3. Haec res\textsuperscript{10} Bellum contra patriam. Manut.

4. Non modo\textsuperscript{11} As usual, for ‘non modo non;’ being followed by ‘ne quidem.’ As non is sometimes expressed, sometimes omitted, Doctor Hunter was led to investigate the principle on which this variety depended, and has laid down the following rules: 1. ‘When the same circumstance is meant to be denied in both clauses, and its name placed after ‘ne quidem,’ non may be omitted.’ Thus here the common circumstance is, as usual, contained in the verb. 2. ‘When both clauses are negative, denying non a common circumstance, but each clause a separate and distinct one, the second negative is necessary.’ Liv. iv. 3.—‘Non modo non patricium sed ne civem quidem Romanum, &c.;’ v. 38. ‘Non modo non tentato certamine, sed ne clamore quidem reddito.’—Zumpt, c. 83, merely says, that if the verb is inserted in the first proposition, the negative will be also. But it often happens there is no verb, e.g. Liv. i. 40. ‘Non modo civicæ, sed ne Italicae quidem stirpis.’ Hunter’s principle is therefore more general. Vid. his notes on Livy.

5. Ex perditis, &c.\textsuperscript{12} The construction is, ‘Conflatam ex perditiis et ex
tis, conflatam improborum manum. Hic tu qua laetitia per-fruere? quibus gaudiiis exsultabis? quanta in voluptate bac-chabere, quum in tanto numero6 tuorum neque audies virum bonum quemquam, neque videbis? Ad hujus vitae7 studium meditati illi sunt,8 qui feruntur,9 labores tui: jaceere humi non modo ad obsidendum stuprum,10 verum etiam ad facinum obe-undum: vigilare non solum insidiantem sommo maritorum,11 verum etiam bonis occisorum. Habes, ubi ostentes illam præclaram tuam patientiam12 famis,13 frigoris, inopiae rerum omnium; quibus14 te brevi tempore conquestum esse senties. Tantum profeci tum, quum te a consulatu repuli,15 ut exsul potius tentare, quam consul vexare rempublicam posses: atque ut id, quod esset a te scelerate susceptum, latrocinium potius, quam bellum16 nominaretur.

XI. Nunc, ut a me, Patres conscripti, quandam prope
derelictis ab omni fortuna——ab om- ni spe.' So Cæs. B. G. iii. 13.—
* Naves ab àstuo derelictæ.' The de-
scription agrees with Sallust's ac-
count, Cat. 21. Quibus mala omnia abunde erant, sed neque res neque spes bona ualla.
6. Quum in tanto numero, &c.] i. e. When you will be completely freed from the presence of a good man, which you ever held the greatest an-
noyance.
7. Ad hujus vitae, &c.] In one MS. the prepos. is omitted, and could well be spared. V. E.
8. Meditati—sunt] The perfect of this verb is often passive, as here.
9. Qui feruntur] Ad gloriam tu-
am narratur. Manut. So Arch. 9.
* Nostra semper feretur et prædicabi-
tur, &c.' Similarly inf. ii. 5. ' Stup-
rorum et secleroru exercitatione as-
suefactus—fortis ab istic prædicaba-
tur.'

10. Obsidendum stuprum] Watch an opportunity to commit. Ov. Amor. i. 9. 25. 'Nempe maritorum som-
nis utuntur amantes.' This was a common practice; but Catiline ex-
tended it from amours to murder and robbery.

11. Insidiantem—maritorum] This answers to 'ad obsidendum stuprum' preceding; and 'insidiantem bonis occisorum' to 'ad facinum obeundum.' Grav. asks, who are the 'occisi,' and prefers 'otiosorum'; i. e. 'of the peaceably disposed.' But Cic. means that 'ad facinum obeundum' was not merely 'insidiari bonis,' but insidiaris eorum quos prius occiderat.' He first murdered, and then robbed his victims.

12. Iliam præclaram tuam patiet-
tiam] Manut. conceives that Cic. in-
timates his extreme contempt for Catiline's patience, by these ter-
minations. So Muren. 9. Operarium harum quotidinarum putat esse con-
sulatum.
13. Famis, &c.] Sall. Cat. 5.—
Corpus inediae patiens, algoris, vigi-
liae, supra quam cuiquam credibile sit. Cat. ii. 5.
14. Quibus] Sc. 'fame, frigore, &c.'
15. A consulatu repuli] This may allude to Catiline's suit along with Cicero, wherein by his orat. in Tog. Cand. he mainly contributed to the defeat of Catiline; or to a subsequent time, when Catiline, during the con-
justam patriae querimoniam detester\(^1\) ac deprecere: percepit, quæso, diligenter, quæ dicam, et ea penitus animis vestris mentibusque mandate. Etenim, si mecum patria, quæ mihi vita mea multo est carior; si cuncta Italia; si omnis respublica loquatur: \(\footnote{2} \) "M. Tulli, quid agis? tune eum, quem esse hostem comperisti, quem ducem bellì futurum vides, quem exspectari imperatorem in castris hostium sentis, auctorem sceleris, principem conjunctionis, evocatorem\(^3\) servorum\(^4\) et civium perditorum, exire patiere, ut abs te non emissus ex urbe, sed inmissus\(^5\) in urbem esse videatur? non hunc in vincula duci, non ad mortem rapi, non summò supplicio mactari\(^6\) imperabis? Quid tandem impedít? te? Mosne majorum? At persepe\(^8\) etiam privati in hac respublica perniciosos cives morte multarunt. An leges,\(^9\) quae de civium Romanorum supplicio rogata sunt? at nunquam in hac urbe ii, qui a republica defecerunt, civium juda teneunterunt. An invidia postératitis times? Pæclaram vero sulate of Cicero, attempted to stand for the consulship. Ern. prefers the latter, as 'repello' is not applicable to a competitor. Sall. Cat. 26. Postquam dies comitiorum venit et Catilinae neque petitio neque insidia quas consuli fecerat, &c. It is easy to conceive how Cic. may, by his authority and influence, have prevented his election. V. E. notices an opinion that a paronomasia is designed in 'exsul—consul.'

16. \textit{Latrocinium—bellum}] Cicero intimates, that if Catiline had been elected consul, his attempt might have been dignified with the appellation of 'bellum.' As it was, it claimed to be no better than 'latrocinium,' or a marauding expedition. A magistrate only could proclaim war.

\textit{Sect. XI.—1. Detester}\(^1\) 1. To invoke; 2. invoke \textit{against}, curse; 3. invoke to depart \textit{from}, to deprecate, as here.
2. \textit{Patria—loquatur} Supr. 7. n. 11.
3. \textit{Evocatorem} We say 'recruiting-officer, enlister.'
4. \textit{Servorum} Yet Catiline afterwards rejected the slaves. Sall. Cat. 63.

5. \textit{Emissus—immissus} Quint. ix. 3. notices this instance of paronomasia.

6. \textit{Mactari]} From 'macte,' an interjection made use of at sacrifices, when the offering was made, and which is found in all cases, came 'mactus,' appeased or honoured.—Hence 'mactare,' to appease with an offering, to sacrifice to. \textit{Æn.} iv. 57. 'Mactant lectas de more bidentes.' Hence 'to honour, augment, &c.'; and when followed by 'supplicio, morte, &c.'—to load with—i. e. to punish. Inf. 13. 'Æternis suppliciis mactabís.' Harusp. 20.

7. \textit{Quid tandem impedít} Cicero, arguing disjunctively, shows that neither precedent, nor laws, nor the dread of future obloquy, forbade the punishment of Catiline.

8. \textit{At persepe, &c.}\(^e\) g. Scipio Nasica, a private man, slew Tib. Gracchus. \textit{A fortiori}, Cic., the consul, may slay Catiline. Supr. 1. n. 26. Pro Dom. 34.

9. \textit{An leges} Sc. the Valerian,
populo Romano refers gratiam, qui te, hominem per te cognitum, nulla commendatione majorum tam mature ad summum imperium per omnes honorum gradus extulit, si propter invidiam, aut alicujus periculi metum, salutem civium tuorum negligis. Sed, si quis est invidiae metus: num est vehementius severitatis ac fortitudinis invidia, quam ertiæ ac nequitiae pertimescenda? An, quum bello vastabitur Italia, vexabantur urbes, tecta ardebunt, tum te non existimas invidiae incendio conflagraturum?”

XII. His ego sanctissimis reipublicae vocibus, et eorum hominum, qui idem sentiunt, mentibus pausa respondebo. Ego, si hoc optimum factum judicarem, Patres conscripti, Catilinam morte multari: unus usuram horæ gladiatori isti ad vivendum non dedissem. Etenim, si summi viri et clarissimi cives, Saturnini, et Gracchorum, et Flacci, et superiorum complurium sanguine non modo se non contaminavunt, sed etiam honestarunt: certe mihi verendum non erat, ne quid, hoc parricida civium interfecit, invidiae mihi in posteritatem redundaret. Quod si ea mihi maxime impediter: tamen hoc animo semper fui, ut invidiam virtute par-

Porcian, Sempronian. Sall. Cat. 53.
For Romanorum many MSS. give rerum.
10. Praeclare—refers gratiam]
You make a fine return.
11. Per te cognitum Sc. a novus homo, or man who was the first in his family to hold a curule magistracy. Sall. Cat. 23. Brut. 25.
14. Sumnum imperium] The consulship; for the dictatorship, as being an extraordinary magistracy, was not reckoned.
16. Sed si quis, &c.] But admitting your fears of your country’s hatred, does not that hatred fall as much on the supine as the severe minister? Therefore do not spare Catiline.

Sect. XII.—1. Pausa respondebo] Cicero’s short reply is this: ‘If I thought it for my country’s good, that Catiline should die, no dread of consequences should prevent me from punishing him with death. But I think it better to let him escape, as this will rid the city of all his ruffian train.

2. Gladiatori] 1. A sword-cutter; 2. a sword-fighter, and, owing to the infamous character of gladiators, 3. it was synonymous with ‘sicarius,’ or assassin. Phil. vi. 7. The emperor Constantine first abolished the use of them, and finally Honorius.
4. Parricida civium] Fraterno parricidio; Cluent. 11. Parricida liberum, Liv. iii. 50. These terms are applied to such crimes, when any special duty is besides violated. Etr. V. E.
tam, gloriam, non invidiam putarem. Quamquam nonnulli sunt in hoc ordine, qui aut ea, quae imminet, non videant, aut ea, quae vident, dissimulat: qui spem Catilina\textsuperscript{6} mollibus sententiis aluerunt; conjurationemque nascentem non credendo corrorboraverunt: \textsuperscript{7} quorum auctoritatem secuti multi, non solum improbi, verum etiam imperiti, si in hunc animadvertissem,\textsuperscript{8} crudeler et regie factum esse dicerent. Nunc intelligo, si iste, quo intendit, in Maligna castra pervenerit, neminem tam stultum fore, qui non videat conjurationem esse factam, neminem tam improbum, qui non fateatur. Hoc autem uno interfecit, intelligo hane reipublicae pestem paullisper reprimi, non in perpetuum comprim\textsuperscript{10} posse. Quod si se ejecerit, secumque suos eduxerit, et codem ceteros undique collectos naufragos\textsuperscript{11} aggregaverit: existinguetur atque delebitur non modo hac tam adulta reipublicae pestis, verum etiam stirps ac semen\textsuperscript{12} malorum omnium.

XIII. Etenim jamdiu,\textsuperscript{1} Patres conscripti, in his periculis conjurationis insidiisque versamur: sed, nescio quo pacto,\textsuperscript{2} omnium scelerum ac veteris furoris et audaciae maturitas in nostri consulatur tempus erupit.\textsuperscript{3} Quod si ex tanto latroci-

11. Invidiam posteritatis times?

6. \textit{Spem Catilinae} The Delph. says, 'de occupando consulatu;' rather 'de occupanda republica.' Sall. Cat. 5. 'Lubido maxima—reip. capienda.'

7. \textit{Aluerunt—nascentem—corrorboraverunt} A metaphor perhaps from rearing the young of animals.


9. \textit{Regie} At Rome synonymous with 'tyrannically.' Phil. ii. 32.—'Quem negant regem,' \textit{i.e.} tyrannum. He is speaking of Caesar.

10. \textit{Reprimi—comprimi} Quint. ix. 3, notices this as an example of an elegant paronomasia, 'quod postum est in distinguendam rei proprietatem;' sc. that 'reprimi' is temporary; 'comprimi' permanent.

11. \textit{Naufragos} 1. Persons having suffered shipwreck; 2 having shipwrecked their property; bankrupts, &c.

12. \textit{Exstinguetur—semen} The metaphors here appear to be mixed.—However, 'exstinguo' importing 'to destroy life,' may well apply to adulta pestis; while 'deleo,' \textit{i.e.} 'de-oleo' (or olesco) is nearly related to 'stirps' and 'semen.' V. E. well remarks: Never was adventured a more unfortunate prediction! Great and immediate evil befell Cicero, himself; the liberties and constitution of his country, in the event, were sacrificed.


2. Nescio quo pacto I know not how it is.

3. \textit{Maturitas—erupit} Mil. 23. n. 15. 'Erumpo' well applies to the bursting forth of a full harvest, Virg. Georg. i. 50, somewhat differently, says—'ruperunt horrea messes.'
nion esto unus tolletur; videbimur fortasse ad breve quoddam tempus cura et metu esse relevati: periculum autem residebit, et erit inclusum penitus in venis atque in visceribus reipublice. Ut saepe homines aegri morbo gravi, quum estu febrice jactantur, si aquam gelidam biberint, primo relevari videntur; deinde multo gravius vehementiusque afflictantur; sic hic morbus, qui est in republica, relevatus istius poena, vehementius, vivis reliquis, ingravescet. Quare, Patres conscripti, secedant improbi, secernant se a bonis, unum in locum conregentem, muro denique, id quod saepe jam dixi, secernantur a nobis, desinant insidiari domi sue consulis, circumstare tribunal praetoris urbani, obsidere cum gladiis curiam, malleolos et faces ad inflammamandam urbem comparare; sit denique inscriptum in fronte uniuscujusque, quid de republica sentiat. Polliceor hac vobis, Patres conscripti, tantam in nobis consulibus fore diligentiam, tantam in vitis auctoritatem, tantam in equitibus Romanis virtute, tantam in omnibus bonis consensionem, ut Catilinae prohibitione omnia patefacta, illustrata, oppressa, vindicata esse videatis.

Hisce ominibus, Catilina, cum summa reipublicae salute et cum tua peste ac pernicie, cumeque eorum exitio, qui se

4. Ex tanto latrocinis] i.e. Latronum cohorte. Sch. Off. ii. 11. 'Is sibi, ne in latrocini quidem, relinquit locum.'

5. Periculum—in venis] The conspiracy is here compared to a fever. The patient is the public; and the punishment of Catiline—the cold water.

6. Consuli] Alluding to the two Roman knights, supr. 4, or as Sallust Cat. 28, C. Cornelius, and L. Vargunteius.

7. Praetoris urbani] L. Valerius Flaccus. Sall. Cat. 45. Flacc. 1. Along with him were in office Q. Pompeius Rufus, Q. Metellus Celer, C. Pompeytius, Lentulus Sura, and some others. 'Circumstare' alludes to the intimidation used to prevent him from condemning the Catilinarian debtors.


9. Sit denique—quid de republica sentiat] The favourers of Catiline, when in danger, will disclose their apprehensions by their countenances; the friends of their country will show opposite emotions. V. E.

10. Hisce ominibus] Cic. usually omits the prep. cum in this expression, which Livy inserts. 'Cum bonis potius ominibus, &c.' Praef. ad Hist. 'Hisce' refers to the preceding sentence, as if he said: 'With these omens of your country's weal and the fate of yourself and party, (deducible from the extraordinary diligence of the consuls, &c., which, I warn you, will end in putting down and punishing your wicked attempt,) go to, &c.' 'Cum summa reip., &c.,' is only a fuller statement of 'hisc omini nibus,' and a superstitious Roman
TECUM OMNI SCLELRE PARRICIDIOQUE JUNXERUNT, PROFICISCERE AD
IMPIUM BELLUM AC NEFARlUM. TUM T U, JUPITER, QUI IIS-
DEM, QUIBUS HAC ERBS, AUSPICIIS A ROMULO ES CONSTITUTUS;
QUEM STATOREM HUJUS URBS ATQUE IMPERII VERE NOMINAMUS:
HUNC ET HUJUS SOCIOS A TUIS ARIS CETERISQVE TEMPLIS, A TECTI
URBS AC MÆNIBUS, A VITA FORTUNISQVE CIVIVS OMNIUM ARCEBIS:
ET OMNES INIMICOS BONORUM, HOSTES PATRIÆ, LATRONES ITALIÆ,
SCCLERUM FÆDERE INTER SE AC NEFARIA SOCIETATE CONJUNCTOS,
ÆTERNIS SUPPLICIIS VIVOS MORTUOSQVE MACTabIS.

WILL DEDUCIL BAD OMEN FROM SUCH WORDS, SO SOLEMNLY PRONOUNCED.

11. Impium—nefarium] Referring to 'sclere parricidioque,' preceding; and 'parricidium' to the filial relation in which Catiline stood to his country.

12. Tum] This particle was used with peculiar emphasis in prayers, oaths, and treaties. Mure.

13. Iisdem, quibus — auspicis] Though Romulus, on founding the city, instituted sacred rites 'Dis aliis Albano ritu; Graeco, Herculi,' yet we have no account of his having built any temple to Jupiter, before the

ONE TO JUPITER FERETRIUS ON HIS GAINING THE 'SPOLIA OPIMA;' WHICH WAS SOON FOLLOWED BY ANOTHER TO JUPITER STATOR, TO WHICH CIC. PERHAPS ALLUDES. ITS DEDICATION WAS SO EARLY THAT HE MAY BE EXCUSED FROM MAKING IT CONTEMPORANEOUS WITH THE FOUNDATION OF THE CITY. LIV. I. 7. 10. 12. SUPR. 5. N. 4.

14. Vere] It was no idle appellation.

15. Aris ceterisque] For 'templum' was the genus comprehending all inaugurated places, whether sacrifices were offered in them or not.

M. TULLII CICERONIS

IN

LUCIUM CATILINAM,

SECUNDA*

AD QUIRITES

ORATIO.

1. Tandem aliquando,¹ Quirites, L. Catilinam, furentem audacia,² scelus anhelantem, pestem patriæ nefarie molientem, vobis atque huic urbi ferrum flammamque minitantem, ex urbe vel ejecimus,³ vel emisimus, vel ipsum egredientem versus prosecuti sumus.⁴ Abiit,⁵ excessit, evasit, erupit. Nulla

* Vid. Introd. 5.

Sect. I.—I. Tandem aliquando] As the most effectual way to con-ciliate the people, Cic. begins his speech with the difficulty which he encoun-tered in effecting the removal of Catil-ine from the city, and the danger from which it was thereby freed. This na-turally led him to a justification of his conduct in letting Cat. escape. In-trod. 5.

2. Furentem audacia] Muret. here remarks, that as audacity produces a species of madness, so madness, by distending the breast and lungs, caus-es a thick breathing or panting.— Hence 'anelantem scelus;' and as this will show itself in acts, he adds, 'pestem—molientem, &c.'

3. Ejecimus] 'Ejicio' is applied to an unwilling departure; for Catiline had first to take off Cic.: 'emitto' to a willing; for the discovery of his plans did not permit him to stay; but in both, the cause is extrinsic. Ano- ther supposition is 'egredi'—that he left the city of his own accord, as wishing to be with Mallius. Muret. Hence 'ipsum' is used, i. e. 'sua sponte,' like αὐτῶς in Greek.

4. Prosecuti sumus] We accom-panied him on his departure with our maledictions, but we made no use of force. 'Verbis' refers to 'hisce ominibus' in the end of the preceding oration.

5. Abiit, &c.] These verbs Doe-ring explains, as allusive to the mode of catching wild animals by means of nets. The first applies to simple es-
jam pernicios a monstro\textsuperscript{6} illo atque prodigio mcnibus\textsuperscript{7} ipsis intra moenia comparabitur. Atque hunc quidem unum hujus belli domestici ducem sine controversia\textsuperscript{8} vicimus. Non enim jam\textsuperscript{9} inter latera\textsuperscript{10} nostra sica illa versabitur: non in campo, non in foro, non in curia, non denique intra domesticos parietes pertimescimus. Loco illo motus\textsuperscript{11} est, quam est ex urbe depulsus. Palam jam cum hoste, nullo impediente, bellum justum\textsuperscript{12} geremus. Sine dubio perdidimus\textsuperscript{13} hominem, magnificeque vicimus, quam illum ex occultis insidiis in apertum latrocinium concejimus. Quod\textsuperscript{14} vero non cruentum murenum, ut voluit, extulit, quod vivis nobis\textsuperscript{15} egressus est, quod ei ferrum de manibus extorrismus, quod incolumes cives, quod stantem urbem reliquit: quanto tandem illum mœrorc afflictum esse et profligatum\textsuperscript{16} putatis? Jacet ille nunc prostratus, Quirites, et se perculsum atque abjectum esse sentit, et retorquet oculos\textsuperscript{17} profecto sepe ad hanc urbem, quam ex suis faucibus ereptam esse luget: quæ

cape: \textit{exessit}, to this, before the nets are set: \textit{evasit}, to the escape of the animal from the net: \textit{erupit}, to his breaking through it. In whatever mode Catiline may be said to have removed himself, is indifferent to the orator. \textit{V. E.} But Scheller properly gives these verbs as an example of oratorical amplification by synonymous terms. \textit{V. ii. p. 314.}

6. \textit{Monstro} \footnote{For an unnatural son was called \textquoteleft a monster;’ but Catiline was such to his parent land.}

7. \textit{Ménibus} \footnote{Domibus, ædificiis.}

Hic igitur mœnia muro complexus est. \textit{Flor. i. 4. Grev.} But why then add \textit{ipsis}? Cic. means to say, that other enemies of the state formed their plans of destruction against the city, without its walls, which were therefore useful as a defence; but Catiline laid his \textit{within} the walls, and thus defeated the very object of having walls at all. This could now no longer take place.

8. \textit{Sine controversia} \footnote{i.e. Sine dubio, \textit{apœktic.}} \textit{Muret.}

9. \textit{Non—jam, &c.} \footnote{To show the magnitude of the danger which was now removed, he briefly reviews the enormities of Catiline. \textit{Muret.}}

10. \textit{Inter latera} \footnote{E. g. when he appeared in the comitium, \textquoteleft cum telo.\textquoteright\ In campo\textsuperscript{12} refers to the election-day of Murena when Cic. appeared, \textquoteleft cum illa insigniæ, loricæ.\textquoteright\ \textit{Muren. 26., Introd. 3. \textquoteright Foro—curia—domesticos parietes\textquoteright are explained, \textit{Or. i. 13. \textquoteright Desinat insidiari domi sua consuli, circumstare tribunal praetoris—obsidere cum gladiis curiam.}}

11. \textit{Loco—murus} \footnote{\textquoteleft Has lost his vantage-ground;’ a metaphor from war.}

12. \textit{Bellum justum} \footnote{A regular war, opposed to \textquoteleft occultis insidiis,\textquoteright \textit{infr. Liv. xxxix. 2. \textquoteleft justo prælio devicit.\textquoteright}}

13. \textit{Perdidimus} \footnote{\textit{Ἀπωλέσαμεν. \textit{Muret. Have undone.}}}

14. \textit{Quod, &c.} \footnote{But in that; with regard to this that.}

15. \textit{Vivis nobis} \footnote{Me vivo. \textit{Muret.} for he adds, \textquoteleft incolumes cives, &c.\textquoteright The same is intimated by \textquoteleft murenum non cruentum.\textquoteright}

16. \textit{Profligatum} \footnote{Properly, \textquoteleft dashed prostrate.\textquoteright Hence \textquoteleft jacet ille, &c.\textquoteright So also \textquoteleft perculsum.\textquoteright}

17. \textit{Rertorquet oculos} \footnote{As the wild
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quidem lætari mihi videtur, quod tantam pestem evomuerit\textsuperscript{18} forasque projecerit.

II. At si quis\textsuperscript{1} est talis, quales esse omnes\textsuperscript{2} oportebat, qui in hoc ipso,\textsuperscript{3} in quo exsultat et triumphat\textsuperscript{4} oratio mea, me vehementer accuset, quod tam capitalem\textsuperscript{5} hostem non comprehenderim potius, quam emiserim: non est ista mea culpa, Quirites, sed temporum.\textsuperscript{6} Interemptum esse L. Catilinam, et gravissimo supplicio affectum jampridem oportebat: idque a me et mos majorum, et hujus imperii\textsuperscript{7} severitas, et respublica postulabat. Sed quam multos\textsuperscript{8} suisse putatis, qui quæ ego deferrem, non crederent? quam multos, qui propter stultitiam non putarent? quam multos, qui etiam defenderent?\textsuperscript{9} quam multos, qui propter improbitatem faverent? Ac si, sublato illo, depelli a vobis omne periculum judicarem: jampridem ego L. Catilinam non modo invidiam,\textsuperscript{10} verum etiam vitae periculo sustulissem. Sed quum viderem, ne vobis quidem omnibus\textsuperscript{11} re etiam tum probata,

beast that wistfully eyes the prey which has been snatched from its jaws. So II. xi. 546.—\textit{Opri iouow, Evro-pa\text{-}\text{'a}li\text{-}\text{'}z\text{-}\text{'}men\text{ow}.}

18. \textit{Evomuerit} The metaphor which Cic. so frequently changes, is here taken from the sick, who are often so relieved.

Sect. II.—1. At si quis, &c.] Cic. proceeds to argue the question, which stands thus: either Catiline conspired or he did not. If he did, he deserved death; if he did not, why banish him? Cic. admits that he deserved death, but justifies his exile as being more for the public good. \textit{Muret.}

2. \textit{Quales esse omnes} For then there would be no hazard in slaying Catiline.

3. \textit{Hoc ipso} Sc. the departure of Catiline.

4. \textit{Triumphat} As if over a fallen foe.

5. \textit{Capitalem} Who persecutes even to death. So Hor. Sat. i. 7. 13. \\

\textit{Ira capitales.}

6. \textit{Sed temporum} Of these wretched times which find even Catiline surrounded with many \textquoteleft qui, quæ ego deferrem, non crederent; qui, &c.	extquoteright; (ut infr.)

7. \textit{Hujus imperii} Sc. the consular. Cic. means when armed with the decree, \textquoteleft Ne quid detrimenti, &c.;\textquoteright; and he informs us, supr. i. 2, that often on the very day it passed, public offenders (e.g. C. Gracchus) suffered. Mil. 26. n. 14.

8. \textit{Quam multos} There were three classes of men who would have exclaimed against Cic. if he had put Catiline to death: 1. those who attributed Cicero’s opposition to political hatred; 2. men of weak judgment, who doubted the existence of any danger to the republic; 3. the partisans of Catiline. Introd. 5.—\textquoteleft Non putarent,’ not duly estimate.

9. \textit{Etiam defenderent} Sc. eum; and to \textquoteleft faverent’ ei. Ern. Weiske, indeed, would supply \textquoteleft quæ ego deferrem;’ but as it cannot be supplied to both propositions, the pronoun seems better.

10. \textit{Invidiae meae} Odium against me. Mil. 35. n. 17.

11. \textit{Ne vobis quidem omnibus} The conspiracy having not even then (after
si illum, ut erat meritus, morte multassem, fore, ut ejus socios invidia oppressus persequi non possem: rem huc deduxi, ut tum palam pugnare possetis, quum hostem aperte videre-tis. Quam quidem ego hostem, Quirites, quam vehemen-ter foris esse timendum putem, licet hinc intelligatis, quod illud etiam moleste fero, quod ex urbe parum comitatus exierit. Utinam ille omnes secum suas copias eduxisset! Tongilium mihi eduxit; quem amare in praetexta [calumnia] cœperat: Publicium et Munatium; quorumæ æs alienum contractum in popinam nullum reipublicæ motum all the discoveries I had made) been proved to the satisfaction even of you all,—much less did the generality believe it.

12. Rem huc deduxi, &c.] No other measure seems to offer itself to the imagination of Cic. but either, on the one hand, putting Catiline to death in an extra-judicial manner, or, on the other, forcing on a civil war. The attempt to punish him by due course of law, might, in Cicero's judgment, perhaps have been in vain—nay, might have led to still greater evils; but he might have stated his reasons, or at least glanced at them, for not resorting to the latter measure. V. E.

13. Quam vehemen] Said ironically. 'How little.'

14. Licet—intel.] i.e. ut intelligatis. The argument is this: A strong proof of my contempt for Catiline, as an open enemy, is supplied by the fact, that I should feel rejoiced at hearing of his army being reinforced. And why? because this would make his accomplices in the city, like himself, open enemies.


16. Mihi] As if he said 'to oblige me, forsooth;' a redundant use of the pronoun, to be found in all languages. Hom. Il. vi. 486. Δαμωνίη, μη μοι τι λιθν ἀκαχίζει θυμό. Juv. Sat. iii. 199—tabulata tibi jam tertia fumant. Shakspeare. 'It mounts me into the brain, &c.'

17. Calumnia] This word, which is found in several MSS. is incapable of any good meaning. In the nom. case, it would be, 'whom calumni (i.e. false accusation) had early made its favourite; i.e. he was fond of false accusations from his youth (in praetexta). In the abl. again, it would be 'by way of pretence,' while he was really the paramour of another. Grev. rejects, and Orel. brackets it. Al. armare, insinuating that such an equipment would not make an opponent very formidable in the field.


19. Quorum] The Delph. understands this to mean 'to whom;' contracted, namely by Catiline.—But the debt here must be contrasted with one that might easily excite disturbance in the state, e.g. that of the noble and powerful, and consequently must mean the personal engagements of Publicius and Munatius, from which, evidently, no danger could arise. Vid. Sall. Cat. 16, where speaking of this period he says, 'Magnum æs alienum in omnibus terris.'

20. ÀEs alienum] As 'æs meum' imported the money belonging to me myself, 'meo sum pauper in ære,' I have not much money of my own; I am poor but not in debt) so 'æs alienum' came to mean 'money belonging to another,' i.e. debt.

afferre poterat: reliquit quos viros! quanto alieno ære! quam valentes! quam nobiles!

III. Itaque ego illum exercitum, et Gallicanis¹ legionibus, et hoc delectu, quem in agro Piceno et Gallico² Q. Metellus³ habuit, et his copiis, quæ a nobis⁴ quotidie comparantur, magno opere contemno, collectum ex senibus desperatis,⁵ ex agresti luxuria,⁶ ex rusticis⁷ decotoribus, ex iis, qui vidimonia deserere,⁸ quam illum exercitum maluerunt: quibus ego non modo si aciem exercitus⁹ nostri, verum etiam si edictum¹⁰

Sect. III.—1. Gallicanis] Lamb. inserts præ, which must be at least understood; or the construction may be absolute; 'I despise that army, there being the Gallican legions, &c.' 'Gallicanis' merely imports, 'stationed in Gaul; not 'composed of Gauls,' as the Delph. explains it, who makes them Transalpine too.—But Cic. calls Piso's grandfather, who had settled at Placentia, on the river Po, 'Gallicanus.' Vid. Pison. Frag.; and, inf. 12, he says, 'agrum Gallicanum' for 'Gallicum.' Vid. next note.

2. Piceno—Gallico] Varr. de R. R. i. 2. says 'Ager Gallicus Romanus vocatur qui viritim cis Ariminum datus est, ultra agrum Picenum.' Brut. 14. This 'Gallicus ager' then, was not in Cisalpine Gaul at all, but in Central Italy, below Ariminum. It was so called from the 'Galli Senones,' who had been expelled from it, and whose name still appears in the modern 'Senigaglia.' Hence we find it so frequently joined with Picenum, another district of Umbria contiguous to it. Vid. Ces. B. C. i. 29, where 'Gallia Picenumq.' occurs.

3. Metellus] Sall. Cat. 30, only mentions 'Picenum,' and Muret., mistaking the meaning of 'Gallico,' accounts for Metellus raising a levy in Gaul, by the transfer which Cic. is known to have made of the province of Macedonia to his colleague, Antonius, in return for Gaul, which had fallen to his lot; and to which he imagines Cic. sent Metellus, instead of going himself. He forgot, however, that it was the year following that in which the consuls held office, that they assumed the command of the consular provinces.

4. Quæ a nobis] For the senate had decreed a levy of soldiers. Sall. Cat. 30.

5. Deseratis] Either 'who are past hope' of bettering their fortunes otherwise than by joining Catiline; or 'of whom, worn out by debauchery, we have nothing to hope or fear.'

6. Agresti luxuria] i. e. 'Ex agrestibus luxuriosis;' the abstract for the concrete.

7. Rusticis] This word and 'agresti' intimate that the profligates and insolvents of the country towns had flocked to the standards of Catiline; 'rusticis' being often used to signify an inhabitant of the colonies and free-towns in opposition to 'urbanus,' a resident at Rome. Arch. 10. Sext. 45. It would appear that Cicero thought even worse of this description of persons than he did of similar characters in the city.

8. Vadimonia deserere] A person's neglecting to attend the courts on the day that he bailed another to attend, or another bailed him; to forfeit one's recognizance.—Such persons were declared infamous, and their property handed over to their creditors.—Muret.

9. Aciem exercitus] Our army in battle array. 'Exercitus' is usually
prætoris ostendero, concident. Hos, quos video volitare in foro,\textsuperscript{11} quos stare ad curiam, quos etiam in senatum venire: qui nitent unguentis, qui fulgent purpura,\textsuperscript{12} mallem secum suos milites eduxisset:\textsuperscript{13} qui si hic permanent, memen-tote, non tam exercitum illum esse nobis, quam hos, qui ex-ercitum deseruerunt, pertimescendos. Atque hoc etiam sunt timendi magis, quod, quid cogitent, me scire sentiant, neque tamen permoventur. Video, cui\textsuperscript{14} Apulia sit attributa, qui habeat Etruriam, qui agrum Picenum, qui Gallicum, qui sibi has urbanas insidias\textsuperscript{15} cædis atque incendiorum depoposcerit. Omnia in superiores\textsuperscript{16} noctis consilia ad me delata esse sentiunt: patefeci in senatu hesterno die: Catilina ipse pertimuit, pro-fugit: hi quid exspectant? Næ\textsuperscript{17} illi vehementer errant, si illum mean præstinam lenitatem\textsuperscript{18} perpetuam sperant fu-turam.

IV. Quod exspectavi, jam sum assecutus, ut vos omnes factam esse aperte conjunctionem contra rempublicam vide-retis. Nisi vero si quis est, qui Catilinae similes cum Cat-
lina sentire¹ non putet. Non est jam lenitati locus: severitate res ipsa flagitat. Unum etiam nunc concedam: ex empti, proficiscantur, ne patiantur desiderio sui² Catilinam miserum tabescere.³ Demonstrabo iter: Aurelia via⁴ profectus est. Si accelerare volent, ad vesperam consequetur. O fortunatam rempublicam, si quidem hanc sentinam⁵ hujus urbis ejecerit! Uno⁶ mehereule Catilina exhausto, relevata mihi et recreata respublica videtur. Quid enim mali⁷ aut sceleris singi aut excogitari potest, quod non illre conceperit! quis tota Italia veneficus,⁸ quis gladiator, quis latro, quis sicarius, quis parricida, quis testamentorum subjector,⁹ quis circumscriptor,¹⁰ quis ganeo,¹¹ quis nepos,¹² quis adulter, quæ mulier infamis, quis corruptor juventutis, quis corruptus, quis perditus inveniri potest, qui se cum Catilina non familiarissime vixisse fateatur? quæ cædes per hosce annos sine illo factura est? quod nefarium stuprum non per illum? Jam vero quæ tanta in ullo unquam homine juventutis illecebra¹³ fuit, quanta in illo, qui alios ipse amabat turpissime, aliorum amori flagitiósissime serviebat, aliis fructum libidinum, aliis mortem parentum, non modo impellendo, verum etiam adjuvando, polliceatur. Nunc vero quam subito, non solum ex urbe, verum etiam ex agris,¹⁴ ingentem numerum

4. Aurelia via] Or. i. 9. n. 12. It led through Etruria. Phil. xii. 3. Tres viæ: a supero mari, Flaminia; ab infero, Aurelia; media, Cassia.
5. Sentinam] Or. i. 5. n. 13. Here too, it signifies not the container, but the thing contained. Hence 'exhausto' following.
6. Uno] A fortiiori, would it be relieved if they were all cleared out.
7. Quid mali] This general head he afterwards amplifies by enumerating the parts. Muret.
9. Subjector] One who substitutes a counterfeit for a genuine will or deed.
10. Circumscriptor] So in Greek, περιγαμαφες. It means one in general who practises deception and fraud, but is often limited to the enslavers of pupils and youth. Juv. 15. 125. 'pupillum ad iura vocantem Circumscriptorem.' Phil. xiv. 3. 'Adolescentulos circumscribunt.'
11. Ganeo] From 'ganea,' which is 1. a subterranean room; 2. a bagnio. A γαια, terra, vel γανος, latitia.
12. Nepos] 1. a grandson; 2. a grandmamma's favourite; a prodigal.
13. Illecebra] In lacio. In composition à becomes either é or é. So gradior, ingrédior; lacio illicio.
14. Ex agris] Hence supr. 3; 'agresti luxuria, rusticis decoctoribus.'
perditorum hominum collegerat? Nemo, non modo\(^{15}\) Romæ, sed nec ullo in angulo totius Italiam oppressus ære alieno fuit, quem non ad hoc incredibile sceleris fædus adsciverit.

V. Atque ut ejus diversa studia in dissimili ratione\(^{4}\) perspicere possisset; nemo est in ludo gladiatorio paullo ad fæcineus audacior, qui se non intimum Catilinæ esse fateatur: nemo in scena levior\(^{2}\) et nequior, qui se non ejusdem prope sodalem fuisses commemoret. Atque idem tamen, stuprorum et scelerum exercitatione assuefactus, frigore, et fama,\(^{3}\) et siti, ac vigiliis perferendis, fortis ab istis prædicabatur, quum industriae subsidia, atque instrumenta virtutis, in libidine audaciaque\(^{4}\) consumeret. Hunc vero si secuti erunt sui comites: si ex urbe exierint desperatorum hominum flagitiros greges: O nos beatos,\(^{5}\) O rempublicam fortunatam, O praeclaram laudem consulatus mei! Non enim jam sunt mediocres hominum\(^{6}\) libidines, non humane\(^{7}\) audaciae, ac tolerandæ: nihil cogitant, nisi caedes, nisi incendia, nisi rapinas: patrimonia sua profuderunt: fortunas suas abligurierunt: res eos jampridem, fides\(^{8}\) deficere nuper cepit: eadem tamen illa, que erat in abundantia, libido permanet. Quod si in

15. Non modo\(^{]}\) i. e. 'Non modo non;' not only not at Rome, where Catiline would have no difficulty in collecting debtors, but not even, &c. The usual ne—quidem is here omitted, probably on account of 'nec ullo,' which follows, being emphatic. 'Non modo—sed nec' is very rare. Vid. Tursel. de Lat. part.; and Or. i. 10. n. 4.

Sect. V.—1. In dissimili ratione\[^{]}\ This does not mean 'to set his varied pursuits in a different point of view,' but 'to show you his varied pursuits in the most opposite course or scenes of life;' e. g. as a gladiator and play actor. Cæl. 5. 'Neque ego unquam fuisse tale monstrum in terris ullum puto, tam ex contrariis, diversisque inter se pugnantibus naturæ studiis, cupiditatibusque conflatum.'

2. Nemo—levior\[^{]}\ No debauched player. As 'gravis' signifies dignified, high-minded, so 'levis' is mean, worthless. Hence synony-
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vino et alea comissationes\textsuperscript{9} solum et scorta quærerent, essent illi quidem desperandi, sed tamen essent forendi. Hoc vero quis ferre possit, inertes homines fortissimis viris insidiari, sultissimos prudentissimos, ebriosos\textsuperscript{10} sobriis, dormientes vigilantibus? qui mihi\textsuperscript{11} accubantes in conviviis, complexi mulieres impudicas, vino languidi, confecti cibo, sertis re- dimiti,\textsuperscript{12} ugentuis obliti, debilitati stupris, eructant\textsuperscript{13} sermo- nibus suis caedem bonorum, atque urbis incendia. Quibus ego confido impedere fatum\textsuperscript{14} aliquod : et poenas jamdiu improbitati, nequitiae, sceleri, libidini debitas, aut instare jam plane, aut certe jam appropinquare. Quos si meus con- suslatus quoniam sanare non potest, sustulerit : non breve nescio quod\textsuperscript{15} tempus, sed multa secula propagari\textsuperscript{16} reipublicae. Nulla est enim natio,\textsuperscript{17} quam pertimescamus: nullus rex, qui bellum populo Romano facere possit. Omnia sunt externa unius\textsuperscript{18} virtute terra marique\textsuperscript{19} pacata : domesticum bellum manet : intus insidiae sunt : intus inclusum periculum est : intus est hostis. Cum luxuria nobis, cum amentia, cum sce- lere certandum est. Huic ego me bello ducem profiteor, Quirites; suscipio inimicitias hominum perditorum. Quæ sanari\textsuperscript{20} poterunt, quaecunque ratione sanabo : quæ resecanda erunt, non patiar ad pernicier civitatis manare.\textsuperscript{21} Proinde

\textsuperscript{9} Comissiones] From κυμος, import revellings after supper; 'convivium,' at supper. Hence 'in vino,' in their cups.

\textsuperscript{10} Ebriosos] Drunkards; 'ebrii,' drunken.

\textsuperscript{11} Miki] Expletive, as supr. c. 2. u. 16. Here, too, it implies contempt on the part of the speaker.

\textsuperscript{12} Redimiti] Qu: 'redimicit,' from 'amicio,' and 'serta,' wreaths, as being plaited.

\textsuperscript{13} Eructant] Inter ructandum meditantur et iactant. Forcel. It refers to 'Vino languidi, confecti cibo.'

\textsuperscript{14} Fatum] Here 'calamity, mis- hap.' Conversely Hor. Carm. S. 27, 'bona fata,' and Juv. Sat. 7. 189. 'Exempla novorum Fatorum transi.' Vid. Phil. ii. 1.

\textsuperscript{15} Nescio quad] To intimate some ruffling period.

\textsuperscript{16} Propagari] 1. To lay a stock in the ground that plants may spring from it; 2. To enlarge or prolong.

\textsuperscript{17} Nulla est natio] It was during Cicero's consulship that Mithridates, betrayed by his son, Phraaces, at Amisus, was killed, at his own desire, by a Gallic soldier. He was the only formidable opponent the Romans then had.

\textsuperscript{18} Unius] Pompey.

\textsuperscript{19} Terra marique] 'By land,' Mithridates; 'by sea,' the pirates.

\textsuperscript{20} Quæ sanari] Ovid. Met. i. 190, 'immedicable vulnus Ense recidendum est, ne pars sincera trabatur.'

\textsuperscript{21} Manare] Al. manere. But the metaphor is not from amputating a limb, but cutting out a corroding ulcer. Hence the propriety of 'manare.'
aut exeat, aut quiescant: aut, si et in urbe, et in eadem mente permanent; ea, quae merentur,\textsuperscript{22} exspectent.

VI. At etiam sunt,\textsuperscript{1} Quirites, qui dicant, a me in exsilium ejectum esse Catilinam. Quod ego si verbo assequi possem, istos ipsos ejicerem, qui haec loquentur. Homo videlicet timidus et permodestus vocem consultis ferre non potuit: simul atque ire in exsilium iussus est, paruit, itivit.\textsuperscript{2} Hesterno die,\textsuperscript{3} quum domi meae pae ne interfactus esset, senatum in aedem Jovis Statoris\textsuperscript{4} convocavi: rem omnem ad patres con scriptos detuli. Quo quum Catilina venisset, quis eum sen ator appellavit? quis salutavit? quis denique ita adspexit, ut perditum civem, ac non potius, ut importunissimum hostem? Quin etiam principes ejus ordinis partem illam sub selliorum, ad quam ille accesserat, nudam atque inanem reliquerunt. Hic ego vehemens ille consul,\textsuperscript{5} qui verbo cives in exsilium ejicio, quasivit\textsuperscript{6} a Catilina, in nocturno conventu apud M. Læcum fuisse, necne. Quum ille, homo audacissimus, conscientia convictus, primo reticuisset: patefeci cetera; quid ea nocte egisset, quid in proximam\textsuperscript{7} constituisse, quemadmodum esset ei ratio totius belli descripta, edocui. Quum hæsitaret, quum teneretur; quasivit, quid dubitaret profisci eo, quo jampridem pararet: quum arma, quum se curae, quum fasces, quum tubas, quum signa militaria, quum aquilam\textsuperscript{8} illam argenteam, cui ille etiam sacarium scelerum

\textsuperscript{22. Qua merentur} Ultimam supplicium. Muret.

\textsuperscript{Sect. VI.}—1. \textit{At etiam sunt} \textsuperscript{1} It was objected to Cic. that he had forced Catiline to go into exile by his threats and invectives. He adduces several reasons to prove the contrary: 1. from Catiline's disposition—\textit{Homo videlicet, &c.}—who was too audacious to listen to a simple advice from him; 2. that he merely asked some questions, \textit{quasivi a Catilina}, regarding his conduct, &c., &c.

2. \textit{Ivit} Al. \textit{quiviet}; al. omit it. Ern. supposes an omission here, and suggests, \textit{sed res sic habit}, as Cicero goes on to explain his defensive line of conduct.

3. \textit{Hesterno die} This is to be taken with \textit{convocavi}. It was not yesterday that Cicero narrowly escaped assassination, but yesterday that he convened the senate. Muret.

4. \textit{Aedem—Statoris} Or. i. 5. n. 4.

5. \textit{Vehemens ille consul} As Catiline's friends call me.

6. \textit{Quasivi} Not with the tone of authority, but merely to gain information. Supr. n. 1.

7. \textit{In proximam} Muret. refers to the future: 'For the next,' namely, that fixed for his departure. So \textit{proximam Idibus.} Or. i. 6.

8. \textit{Fasces} By thus previously preparing the emblems of authority, Catiline disclosed his intentions, though invested with no legal powers, of assuming the command. Sall. 36. \textit{V. E.}

9. \textit{Aquilam—sacarium} Or. i. 9. n. 14. 15.
domi sua fecerat, scirem esse præmissam. In exsilium\textsuperscript{10} ejicièbam, quem jam ingressum esse in bellum videbam? \textit{Etenim, credo, Mallius iste, centurio, qui in agro Fesulano\textsuperscript{11} castra posuit, bellum populo Romano suo nomine indixit: et illa castra nunc non Catilinam ducem exspectant: et ille, ejectus in exsilium, se Massiliam,\textsuperscript{12} ut aiunt, non in hæc castra conferet.}

VII. \textit{O conditionem miseram,\textsuperscript{1} non modo administrandæ, verum etiam conservandæ reipublicæ! Nunc, si L. Catilina, consiliis, laboribus, periculos meis circumclusus ac debilitatus, subito pertimumerit, sententiam mutaverit, desunerit suos, consilium belli faciundi abjecerit, ex hoc cursu sceleris et belli, iter ad fugam atque in exsilium\textsuperscript{2} converterit: non ille a me spoliatus armis audacæ, non obstupefactus ac perterritus mea diligentia, non de spe conatique depulsus, sed indemnatus, innocens, in exsilium ejectus a consule vi et minis esse dicetur: et erunt, qui illum, si hoc fecerit, non improbum, sed miserum: me non diligentissimum consulem, sed crudelissimum tyrannum existimari velint. \textit{Est mihi tanti,\textsuperscript{6} Quirites, hujus invidiæ falsæ atque iniquæ tempestaem subire, dummodo a vobis hujus horribilis belli ac nefarii periculum depellatur. Dicatur sane ejectus esse a me, dummodo eat in exsilium. Sed mihi credite, non est iturus.—Nunquam\textsuperscript{4} ego a diis immortalibus optabo, Quirites, invidiæ meæ levandæ causa, ut L. Catilinam ducere exercitum hostium, atque in armis voluntare audiatis: sed triduo tamen...}

10. \textit{In exsilium} As Cat. had made every preparation for raising the standard of rebellion in Umbria, Cic. could not be said to have expelled him from Rome.

11. \textit{Mallius—Fesulano} Or. i. 35.

12. \textit{Massiliam} In Gallia Narbonensis. So Sall. Cat. 34. \textit{Massiliam in exilium profecerit.} This city was founded B. C. 600, by a colony of Phœceans from Ionia, who being besieged by Harpagus, a general of Cyrus, and on the point of surrendering, formed the design of leaving their city, and having cast into the sea a mass of iron, bound themselves by an oath not to return till it should emerge from the deep. Herod. i. 165.

Hör. Ep. xvi. 17. ‘Phocæorum Velut profugit exercata civitas.’ It was a usual retreat for exiled Romans, as appears by its being the residence of L. Scipio Asiaticus and Milo. Sext. 3.

Sect. VII.—1. \textit{O conditionem miseram} Wherein a statesman’s conduct is so misrepresented. This he illustrates ‘Nunc, si, &c.’

2. \textit{Fugam—exsilium} Amplificatory merely.

3. \textit{Est—tanti} Or. i. 9, n. 4. V. E. This groundless odium I am willing to sustain.

4. \textit{Nunquam, &c.} Cic. wished to set himself right with his fellow-citizens, regarding his predictions about...
audietis: multoque magis illud timeo, ne mihi sit invidiosum aliquando, quod illum emiserim potius, quam quod ejecerim. Sed quum sint homines, qui illum, quum profectus sit, ejectum esse dicant, iidem, si interfactus esset, quid dicerent? Quamquam isti, qui Catilinam Massiliam ire dictitant, non tam hoc queruntur, quam verentur. Nemo est istorum tam misericors, qui illum non ad Mallium, quam ad Massilienses ire malit. Ille autem, si mehercedes hoc, quod agit, nunquam ante cogitasset, tamen latrocinantem se interfici mallet, quam exsulem vivere. Nunc vero, quum ei nihil adhuc præter ipsius voluntatem cogitationemque acciderit, nisi quod vivis nobis Roma profectus est: optemus potius, ut eat in exsilium, quam queramur.

VIII. Sed cur tamdiu de uno hoste loquimur: et de eo hoste, qui jam fatetur se esse hostem, et quem, quia, quod semper volui, murus interest, non timeo: de his, qui dissimulant, qui Romæ remanent, qui nobis cum sunt, nihil dici mus? quos quidem ego, si ullo modo fieri possit, non tam ulisci studeo, quam sanare, et ipsos placare reipublicæ; neque, id quare fieri non possit, si me audire volent, intelligo. Exponam enim vobis, Quirites, ex quibus generibus hominum istæ copiæ comparentur: deinde singulis medicin-
nam consilii atque orationis\(^9\) meae, si quam potero,\(^6\) afferam. Unum genus est eorum, qui, magno in \(\text{a}r\)e alieno, majores etiam possessiones habent, quam amore adducti dissolv\(i\)\(^7\) nullo modo possunt. Horum hominum species est honestissima;\(^3\) sunt enim locupletes: voluntas vero et causa im-pudentissima. Tu agris, tu \(\text{a}d\)ificis, tu argento, tu familia, tu rebus omnibus ornatus et copiosus sis:\(^9\) et dubite de possessione detrahere, acquirere, ad fidem?\(^10\) Quid enim ex-spectas? Bellum? Quid? Ergo in vastatione omnium tuas possessiones sacrosanctas\(^11\) futuras putas? An tabulas novas?\(^12\) Errant, qui istas a Catilina exspectant. Meo beneficio tabulae nova\(^2\)^{13} proferentur: verum auctionariae.\(^14\) Neque enim isti, qui possessiones habent, alia ratione utlla salvi esse possunt. Quod si maturius facere voluisset, neque (id quod stufltissimum est) certare cum usuris frutibus prædiorum;\(^15\) et locupletioribus his et melioribus civibus utere-

his audience.

5. *Medicinam — orationis*] The healing influence of my advice, and of my eloquence, exerted in explaining and enforcing that advice.

6. *Si quam potero*] For, as the Schol. remarks, *tria genera vitiorum cum remedio; tria sine remedio.*— The first, second, and third, as will be observed, stand in the former predicament, the remainder in the latter.

7. *Dissolv\(i\)] Liberari alieno \(\text{a}r\)e. Muret. Ern. conjectures dissolv\(ere\); nam \(\text{a}d\) ipsum, non homo qui debet, dissolv\(i\)\(d\)icetur. Dissolv\(i\), Scheller interprets, *separari:* they cannot endure parting with their possessions: *Sic enim sum complexus otium, ut ab eo divelli non queam.* Att. ii. 6. Orel. rightly says, that *dissolv\(i\)* has a middle force 'to clear their scores so as to get a receipt in full.' For *ad-ducti,* Weiske would read *addicti,* Ern. *adstricti.*

8. *Honestississima*] Of high rank and making a splendid appearance. V. E.


10. *Ad fidem*] i. e. Acquirere atiquid ad fidem; in some degree to improve your credit.

11. *Sacrosanctas*] So that none may violate them. Muret.

12. *Tabulas novas*] A compulsory arrangement by law, compelling the creditor to accept a part of his debt, in full for the whole. This measure Catiline had promised to adopt. Sall. 21. V. E. Muret. strangely supposes it to mean Catiline's burning the books of the money-lenders.

13. *Novae*] He plays on the word. They shall be new tables, but not in their sense.

14. *Auctionariae*] By which their property, or a sufficient portion of it, would be exposed to sale, and their debts paid. V. E. This is his first remedy.

15. *Certare — præriorum*] 'To struggle against the interests of money with the proceeds of their possessions;' i. e. to attempt paying the interest of money by the income of their estates. We may infer that the contest was unequal, from the folly of waging it; i. e. that the income did not cover the accumulated interest—and hence the propriety of
mur. 16 Sed hosce homines minime puto pertimescendos, quod ant deduci de sententia possunt; aut, si permanebunt, magis mihi videntur vota facturi contra rempublicam, quam arma laturi.

IX. Alterum genus est eorum, qui quamquam premunturn ære alieno, dominationem tamen expectant: rerum potiri1 volunt: honores, quos quieta republica desperant, perturbata2 consequi se posse arbitrantur. Quibus hoc praecipium3 videtur, unum scilicet et idem, quod ceteris omnibus, ut desperent, se id, quod conantur,4 consequi posse: primum omnium, me ipsum vigilare, adesse, providere reipublicæ: deinde magnos animos esse in bonis viris, magnum concordiam, maximam multitudinem,5 magnas praeterea copias militiae; deos denique immortales huic invicto populo, clarissimo imperio, pulcherrimae urbi, contra tantam vim sceleris, praesentes6 auxilium esse laturos. Quod si jam sint id, quod cum summo furore cupiunt, adepti: num illi in cinere urbis, et in sanguine7 civium, quæ mente conscelerata ac nefaria concupiertur, consules se ac dictatores, aut etiam reges sperant futuros? Non vident, se cupere id, quod si adepti fuerint, fugitivo alicui, aut gladiatori8 concedi sit necesse? Tertium genus est ætate jam affectum,10 [sed tamen]

selling out a part to save the remainder.

16. Ut eremur] Experimur, like ἔρημος in Greek. Verr. vii. 59.—'Hic vide, quam me sis usurus equo.' How reasonable you will find me.

17. Quod deduci] By showing them that they must pay, or else they will be auctioned out.

Sect. IX.—1. Potiri rerum] To possess supreme power; but 'potiri rebus,' to obtain or enjoy, &c. So Sall. Cat. 48, 'Potiri urbis;' and on the same principle, Hor. Carm. iii. 30, Daunus agrestium Regnavit populorum.

2. Perturbata] Se. 'republica.'


4. Id quod conantur] To overthrow the state.

5. Max. mult.] Some word, Wetz. and Ern. think, is deficient; populi, or eorum. Sch. supposes equitum, cavalry, as opposed to militiae, infantry, following. V. E.


7. Cinere—sanguine] Refer to 'caedes—incendium;' 'ferro flam-maque' which he has so often used. Supr. 1. Or. iii. 1.


9. Fugitivo—gladiatori] For supposing Catiline successful, his followers must be rewarded, and the most daring of these were, or might be, slaves and gladiators.

10. Ætate—affectum] Supr. 3. 'Collectum ex senibus desperatis.' They were chiefly veterans of Sylla,
exercitatione robustum: quo ex genere iste est Mallius,\textsuperscript{11} cui nunc Catilina succedit. Hi sunt homines ex iis coloniis,\textsuperscript{12} quas Sulla constituit: quas ego universas civium esse optimorum, et fortissimorum virorum sentio:\textsuperscript{13} sed tamen hi sunt coloni, qui se in insperatis repentinisque pecuniis sumptuosius insolentiusque jactarunt.\textsuperscript{14} Hi dum ædiscent, tamquam beati:\textsuperscript{15} dum præditi, leceticis, familiiis magnis, conviviis apparatus\textsuperscript{16} delectantur, in tantum æ alienum inciderunt, ut, si salvi esse velint, Sulla sit iis ab inferis excitandus. Qui etiam nonnullos agrestes,\textsuperscript{17} homines tenues\textsuperscript{18} atque egentes, in eandem illam spem rapinarum veterum impulerunt: quos ego utroque, Quirites, in eodem genere predatorm diretorumque pono. Sed eos hoc moneo:\textsuperscript{19} desinant furere ac proscriptiones et dictaturas\textsuperscript{20} cogitare. Tantus enim illorum temporum dolor inustus\textsuperscript{21} est civitati, ut jam ista non modo homines, sed ne pecudes quidem mihi passúæ\textsuperscript{22} esse videantur.

X. Quartum genus est sane varium,\textsuperscript{1} et mixtum, et turbulentum: qui jaipridem premuntur: qui nunquam emer-

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\textsuperscript{1} as he now shews.

\textsuperscript{11} Isti Mallius] Or. i. 3. n. 8. 'Cui succedit,' is gone to join.

\textsuperscript{12} Ex iiis coloniis] Sylla had planted no less than forty-seven military colonies after his victory over the Marians.

\textsuperscript{13} Qua—as-univ.—sen.] 'Which, as a body, I hold to be, &c.'

\textsuperscript{14} In insperatis—jactarunt] The preposition has been here inserted by Ern., avowedly without any authority, and in the opinion of Scheller and Weiske, unnecessarily. Se jactare, without a prep. governing the following noun, are found. Cat. iv. 5. Virg. Ecl. vi. 74. V. E. Vid. Sall. Cat. ii. 16, where the soldiers of Sylla are similarly described.

\textsuperscript{15} Tamquam beati] As if they were really wealthy, whereas they only possessed a temporary supply, derived from plunder.

\textsuperscript{16} Conviviis apparatus] Similarly, Phil. ii. 39. 'Prandiorum apparatus,' and Lucian πολυτρηκὴ δείνα.

\textsuperscript{17} Nonnullos agrestes] 'Ex agres-

\textsuperscript{18} ti luxuria—ex rusticis deectoribus,'

\textsuperscript{19} Homines tenues] Ita eleganter vocantur pauperes. 'Rosc. A. 31. Quid si accedit eodem, ut tenuis ante fueris? Muret.'

\textsuperscript{20} Sed eos hoc moneo] The remedy for the third class. The remainder were past remedy.

\textsuperscript{21} Dolor inustus] Supr. 6. n. 3. Mil. 36. n. 4.

\textsuperscript{22} Pecudes—passure.] This seems strongly figurative. Possibly an allusion is designed to some incident during Sylla's proscription, where great barbarity was practised to animals. 'Weiske. V. E.'

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\textbf{Sect. X.—1. Varium] For they laboured under no single disease of the mind, as ambition or pride, but—'}
gent; quos Cicero quod et qui, sed ne vicini quidem proximi sentiant. Nam illud non intelligo, quamobrem, si vivere honeste non possunt, perire turpiter velint: aut cur minore dolore perituros se cum multis, quam si soli perant, arbitrentur. Quintum genus est parricidearum, sicariorum, denique omnium facinororum: quos ego a Catilina non revoco; nam neque divelli ab eo possunt: et perant sane in latrocinio, quoniam sunt ita multi, ut eos capere carcer non possit. Postremum autem genus est, non solum numero, verum etiam genere ipso atque vita: quod proprium est Catilinæ, de ejus delectu, immo vero de complexu ejus ac sinu; quos pexo capillo, nitidos, aut imber-

2. Emergent] Men of broken fortunes are called 'nausfragi,' the metaphor is here pursued. Pers. Sat. iii. 33.—Et alto Demersus, summa rursus non bullit in unda.

3. Vadim. judic. proscript.] The regular legal order of proceeding against insolvents in Rome, is here observed. They fail in appearing; judgments against them are obtained; their effects are seized, and, after a certain delay, pass to their creditors. Weiske. V. E.

4. Infitiatores lentos] 'Lentos' is opposed to 'acres,' and the sense is, that by denying, they put off their creditors from time to time. But vid. Muret. Var. Lect. iii. 18.


6. Non modo civitas] He had said above 'vaccillant'—they stagger; now he adds 'corruant'—let them tumble down; not indeed as they would wish, so as to shake the republic to its base; but so that not even their nearest neighbour, much less the city, may hear the fall. Lucian Char.—Μόγις καὶ τοῖς γείτοις ἔξακεσθεν-τος τῇ πτώματος. He seems to hint that it would be more respectable to be their own executioners than that their country should put them to death as traitors. Hence Manut. explains: 'Turpiter' civili bello; 'cum multis'—Catilina sociis.

7. Parricidearum] Mill. 7. n. 6

8. Postremum] We here learn that this word admits of two senses. This class was not only the last in point of order, but worst in point of morals.—Supply the ellipsis thus: 'The last kind is so, not only in, &c., but also in, &c.'

9. Complexu, &c.] It is not necessary to urge the meaning of this expression further than 'most intimate,' or the like. Fam. xiv. 4. —'Quid? Cicero meus quid agat?—Iste vero sit in sinu semper et complexu meo?'

bes, aut bene barbatos\textsuperscript{11} videtis: manicatis et talaribus tu-
nicis;\textsuperscript{12} velis amictos,\textsuperscript{13} non togis: quorum omnis indus-
stri\ae{} vita, et vigilandi labor in antelucanis\textsuperscript{14} coenis\textsuperscript{14} expromi-
tur. In his gregibus omnes aleatores, omnes adulteri, omnes
impuri impudicique versantur. Hi pueri tam lepidi ac
delicati,\textsuperscript{15} non solum amare et amari, neque psallere\textsuperscript{16} et salt-
tare, sed etiam sicas vibrare, et spargere venena didicerunt:
qui nisi exiunt, nisi Pereunt, etiam si Catilina perierit, sci-
tote hoc in republica seminarium Catilinarium futurum. Verum-
tamen\textsuperscript{17} quid sibi isti miseri volunt? num suas secum muli-
erculas sunt in castra ductiri? quemadmodum autem illis
care carere poterunt, his præsertim jam noctibus\textsuperscript{218} quo au-
tem pacto illi Apenninum, atque illas pruinâs ac nives\textsuperscript{19} per-
ferent? nisi idcirco se facilius hiemem toleraturas putant,
quo nudi in convivis saltare\textsuperscript{30} didicerunt.

XI. O bellum magnò opere pertimescendum, quum hanc
sit habitur\us{Catilina scortorum\textsuperscript{1} cohortem pretoriam\textsuperscript{1}}
In-
struie nunc, Quirites, contra has tam præclaras Catilinæ

11. Bene barbatos\textsuperscript{11} With large
beards. For if we translate 'spruce'
there is no opposition between it and
'imberbes,' which is evidently in-
tended. 'Bene barbati,' are full-
grown young men; 'imberbes'—
youths, called, Att. i. 14, 'barba-
tuli.' The custom of shaving was
introduced into the city, from Sicily,
by P. Licinius Mea, A. v. 454.
12. Manicatis—tunici\ae{} 'Tunics
furnished with sleeves.' These were
held an unmanly apparel. A. Gell.
vii. 12, Virg. ix. 616. 'Et tunicæ
manicas et habent redimicula mitrae.'
13. Velis amictos\textsuperscript{1} To show the
looseness and thin texture of their
gowns. Men of gravity chose gowns
of opposite qualities. Hor. Ep. i.
19. Exiguæque togæ simulextex
textore Catonen.
14. Antelucanis coenis\textsuperscript{14} Supporters
protracted till the dawn. Arch. 6.
n. 15.
15. Delicati\textsuperscript{1} Mil. 10, n. 21.
16. Psallere\textsuperscript{1} Al. cantari\textsuperscript{1}e; but
Sall. (Cat. 25,) uses 'psallere et
saltare.' As to 'semin. Catilinarium,'
Orel. defends it by Cato 48. 'Po-
marium seminarium atque oleagine-
um.' The remark of Sch. then, that
this would mean 'a seminary instituted
by Catiline,' seems not well-founded.
He reads, however, Catilinarum, and
cites, Phil. xiii. 2. 'Seminarium judi-
cum tertia decreiæ.'
17. Verumtamen, &c.\textsuperscript{17} Non jam
ad pueros dicit sed ad amatores ip-
sorum. Muret. Hence 'mulierculas.'
18. His—jam noctibus\textsuperscript{218} Novem-
ber was then arrived.
19. Apen.—nives\textsuperscript{1} Similarly Virg.
Ecl. x. 47. 'Alpinas, an dura, nives,
et frigorga Rheni, &c.'
20. Nudi—saltare\textsuperscript{1} Deiot. 9, n.
25; to which add Dem. Olyn. ii. 7.—
oiius me\us\vs δε ερχείσαται τούαυτα
οία έγώ νύν ούκν ρός ύμας ονομα-
σαι.

SECT. XI.—1. Scortorum\textsuperscript{1} This
term is sometimes applied to males.
Sext. 17. 'Cum scurrum locupleti-
tum scorto, cum, &c.—quos homi-
nes.' Al. Scortatorum.
2. Cohortem prætorium\textsuperscript{2} As 'pra-
tor' is any leader, civil or military,
'præatoria cohors' is the general's
guard. Festus says that Scipio Afri-
copias vestra praesidia vestrosque exercitus: et primum gladiatori illi confecto et saucio, consules imperatoresque vestrōs opponite: deinde contra illam naufragorum ejectam ac debilitatam manum, florem totius Italiae ac robur educite. Jam vero urbes coloniarum ac municipiorum respondebunt Catilinae tumulis silvestribus. Neque vero ceteras copias, ornamenta, praesidia vestra, cum illius latronis inopia atque egestate debelo conferre. Sed, si, omissis his rebus omnibus, quibus nos suppeditamus, eget ille, senatu, equitibus Romanis, populo, urbe, ærario, vectigalibus, cuncta Italia, provinciis omnibus, exteris nationibus, si, his rebus omissis, ipsas causas, quae inter se confingunt, contendere velimus: ex eo ipso, quam valde illi jaceant, intelligere possumus. Ex hac enim parte pudor pugnat, illine petulantia: hinc pudicitia, illinc stuprum: hinc fides, illinc fraudatio: hinc pietas, illinc scelus: hinc constantia, illinc furor: hinc honestas, illinc turpitudo: hinc continentia, illinc libido: denique æquitas, temperantia, fortitudo, prudentia, virtutes omnes certant cum iniquitate, cum luxuria, cum ignavia, cum temeritate, cum vitius omnibus: postremo copia cum egestate, bona ratio cum perdita, mens sana cum amentia, bona denique spes cum omnium rerum desperatione configit. In hujusmodi certamine ac prelio, nonne, etiam, si hominum canus first formed this corps, and an imitation of it by Augustus, gave rise to the famous praetorian guards, which so frequently disposed of the imperial diadem.

3. Confecto] The technical word for a wounded gladiator. Similarly Hor. Ep. ii. 2. 97. 'Cadimur et totidem plagis consumimus hominem.'

4. Ejectam] Properly applied to 'naufragi.'

5. Urbes] Muret. vires. Al. arcus, which is thought to be supported by Liv. xxvii. 18. 'Nec tumulos nec arcem ne mane quidem armis obstisit se suis, &c.' But 'coloniarum ac municipiorum' may be put for the people who inhabit them, to whom 'urbes' will apply.


8. Tumulis] (A tumeo) a rising ground, a mound, which, covered with woods, (silvestribus,) would be a fitting retreat for Catilina's adherents. Al. cumulius; but 'urbes' requires 'tumulis.' Supr. n. 5.

9. Ornamenta] By these the Delph. would understand 'senatum, equites Rom., ærarium, &c.' but Forcel. 'aliquis apparatus,' equipment, accoutrements.

10. Suppeditamus] Arch. 5. n. 4. Supply 'quibus autem' before 'eget.'

11. Senatu, &c.] This enumeration is worthy of notice as containing Cicero's opinion concerning the relative dignity of the grand constituents of the empire.


13. Pudor—petulantia, &c.] This
IN L. CATILINAM, CAP. 12.

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studia deficiant, dii ipsi immortales cogent ab his praecarissimis virtutibus tot et tanta vita superari?

XII. Quæ quem ita sint, Quirites, vos, quemadmodum jam antea, vestra tecta custodiis vigiliisque defendite: mihi, ut urbi sine vestro motu ac sine ullo tumultu satis est set præsidii, consultum ac provisum est. Colonii omnes municipesque vestri, certiores a me facti de hac nocturna excursione Catilinae, habe urbes suas finesque defendent: gladiatores, quam sibi ille maximam manum et certissimam fœre putavit, quamquam meliorem animo sunt, quam pars patriciorum, potestate tamen nostra continebuntur. Q. Metellus, quem ego, prospiciens hoc, in agrum Gallicanum Picenumque præmisi, aut opprimet hominem, aut omnes ejus motus conatusque prohibebit. Reliquis autem de rebus constituen dis, maturandis, agendis, jam ad senatum referemus, quem vocari videatis.

Nunc illos, qui in urbe remanserunt, atque adeo qui contra urbis salutem omniumque vestrūm in urbe a Catilina Relicti sunt, quamquam sunt hostes, tamen, quia nati sunt cives, monitos eos etiam atque etiam volo. Mea lenitas passage is valuable for determining the precise meaning of several words. E. g. 'sceius' is not merely a breach of morals, but an affront to religion; 'furor,' not only madness, but any conduct opposite to the firm, even tenor of the good citizen's conduct.

Sect. XII.—1. Quæ quem ita sint The peroration. Introd. 5.

2. Jam antea, &c.] Here many MSS. and editors read ante, and introduce dixi, or diximus. As Cic. had not in fact so said, edixi has been proposed. Cat. i. 3. Sall. 30. V. E.

3. Custodiis vigiliisque] By day and night. Or. i. 1. 'Nocturnum praedissimum.' Also n. 10, and Mil. 25. n. 7.

4. Miki—consultum—est] i e. A me; for 'ego consului.'

5. Quamquam meliore] 'Quamquam' is here, as in Phil. ii. 24, a correction: 'And yet, attached as it may be to Catiline, it is better affected to the state than certain patricians I could name. But with all its at-tachment, it shall be kept within the bounds of duty.' Non, therefore, is not required before meliore, as Ern. thought. Sall. Cat. 17, gives a list of senators engaged in the conspiracy.

6. Continebuntur] The gladiators were distributed among different provincial towns. Sall. 30. V. E. Refer 'potestate nostra' to the consular authority.


8. Aut opprimet] To put down the man will be his first aim; if he fails in that, he will next endeavour to render his attempts harmless.

9. Constituend.—agend.] So Sall. Cat. 1, 'Priusquam incipias consulta, et, &c.—mature facto opus est.' Muret.

10. Nati—cives] For the conspirators, he hints, had among them enfranchised slaves, gladiators, &c.—Those that remained in the city, however, were native citizens.

11. Monitos eos] The pronoun is
adhuc si cui solutione visa est, hoc exspectavit, ut id, quod latebat, erumpert. Quod reliquum est, jam non possim oblivisci, meam hanc esse patriam, me horum esse consulem: mihi aut cum his vivendum, aut pro his esse moriendum. Nullus est porta custos, nullus insidiator viæ: si qui exire volunt, consulere sibi possunt; qui vero in urbe se commoverit, cujus ego non modo factum, sed inceptum ullum conatumve contra patriam reprehendero, sentiet in hac urbe esse consules vigilantes, esse egregios magistramus, esse fortem senatum, esse arma, esse carcerem: quem vindicem nefarioarum ac manifestorum scelerum majores nostri esse voluerunt.

XIII. Atque hae omnia sic agentur, Quirites, ut res maximae minimi motu, pericula summa nullo tumultu, bellum intestineum ac domesticum, post hominem memoriam crudelissimun ac maximum, me uno togato duce et imperatore, sedetur. Quod ego sic administrabo, Quirites, ut, si ullo modo fieri poterit, ne improbus quidem quisquam in hac urbe poenam sui sceleris sufferat. Sed si vis manifestae audacie, si impendens patriae periculum me necessario de hac animi lenitate deduxerit: illud profecto persiciam, quod in tanto et tam insidioso bello vix optandum videtur, ut neque bonus quisquam intret, paucorumque poena vos jam omnes

omitted by Ern. and other editors.—

V. E.

12. Solution[ ] Opposed to ‘severior,’ or the like. Mil. 13 n. 13.
13. Erumpere[ ] Mil. 23 n. 15.
14. Quod reliquum est[ ] Sc. ‘quod quod quod, &c.’
15. Se commoverit[ ] Mil. 31 n. 13, where qui is, by accident, omitted before ‘aliquid.’
17. Magistratus[ ] Tribunes. Weiske. V. E.
18. Carcer[ ] Cic. here declares that the intention of the old Romans, in building a prison, was to punish the evil-doer; whereas, Ulpian says, that it was to deter him from committing crimes. But it does not appear how these two objects can be well separated. This was more than a vain threat in Cic. Vid. Sall. Cat. 62.

Sect. XIII.—1. Togato duce[ ] When the consuls set out on any military expedition, they changed their gowns for a military dress. This conspiracy, Cic. promises, shall be quelled whilst he wears the garb of peace. V. E. Hence the boast which cost him so dear: ‘Cedant arma togæ.’

2. Deduxerit[ ] Where many subjects are named, the last being of importance and expressed in several words, the verb is often found in the singular, as sedetur in the preceding sentence. Weiske. Al. deduxerit.—V. E.

3. Quod—vix optandum[ ] People seldom wish impossibilities, at least it is useless to do so. So Manil. 9. ‘Tantum victus efficere potuit, quantum incolpis nunquam est ausus op-
salvi esse possitis. Quæ quidem ego neque mea prudentia, neque humanis consiliis fretus polliceor vobis, Quirites; sed multis, et non dubiiis deorum immortalium significitionibus, quibus ego ducibus in hanc spem sententiamque sum ingressus: qui jam non procul, ut quondam solebant, ab externo hoste atque longinquo; sed hic præsentis suo numine atque auxilio sua templaque atque urbis tecta defendunt: quos vos, Quirites, precari, venerari atque implorare debetis, ut, quam urbem pulcherrimam, florentissimam potentissimamque esse voluerunt, hanc, omnibus hostium copiis terra marique superatis, a perditissimorum civium nefario scelere defendant.

tare. Hence 'vix opt.' is like our expression 'hardly to be thought of,' applied to things unlikely to take place. The note of Manut. is : 'Potius enim optandum videtur ut in tanto, &c., multi improbi morte mutarentur;' i.e. he took 'optandum' in its ordinary sense, but referred it only to 'paucorum poena;' which the structure of the sentence seems to forbid.

4. Significationibus] The verb significo was appropriate to the Aruspices. Tibull. ii. 1. 26. De Div. i. 1. 'Quid sibi significant, trepidantia consulit exta.' Metam. xv. 576. V. E. A bright flame stated by Plut. Cic. 20, to have issued from the altar at Cicero's house, while his wife and the matrons were sacrificing to Bona Dea, is usually given as an instance of these omens.

5. Non jam procul] The vulgar thought that the gods varied their distance from a place according as their assistance was required; but still that they acted so much the better for being near at hand. Hence he says 'praesentes.' The Delph. refers 'procul, &c.' to the occasions in which the Romans were unsuccessful, e.g. the Gallic and second Punic war; but this is unnecessary.

M. TULLII CICERONIS

IN

LUCIUM CATILINAM,

TERTIA*

AD QUIRITES

ORATIO.

I. REMPUBLICAM,1 Quirites, vitamque omnium vestrum, bona,2 fortunas, conjuges, liberosque vestros, atque hoc domicilium clarissimi imperii, fortunatissimam3 pulcherrimamque urbem, hodierno die,4 deorum immortalium summo erga vos amore,5 laboribus, consiliis, periculisque meis,6 ex flamma atque ferro,7 ac paene ex fauciis8 ereptam, et vobis conservatam ac restitutam videtis. Et, si9 non minus nobis jucundi atque illustres sunt ii dies, quibus conservamur,10 quam illi,
quibus nascimur; quod salutis certa laetitia est, nascendi incerta
conditio,\textsuperscript{11} et quod sine sensu nascimur, cum voluptate serva-
mur: profecto, quonium illum, qui hanc urbem condidit, ad
deos immortales\textsuperscript{12} benevolentia famaque sustulimus,\textsuperscript{13} esse
apud vos posterosque vestros in honore debeat is,\textsuperscript{14} qui ean-
dem hanc urbem conditam amplificatamque servavit. Nam
toti urbi,\textsuperscript{15} templis, delubris, tectis ac moenibus subjectos
prope jam ignes circumdatosque restinximus; iidesque gla-
dios in rempublicam dextraeque retidimus, mucronesque eo-
rum a jugulis vestris dejecimus. Quae quonium in senatu
illustrata, patefacta, comperta sunt per me; vobis jam ex-
ponam breviter, Quirites: ut et quanta, et quam manifesta,
et qua ratione investigata et comprehensa sint, vos, qui igno-
ratis, et exspectatis,\textsuperscript{16} scire possitis.

Principio,\textsuperscript{17} ut Catilina paucis\textsuperscript{18} ante diebus erupit ex urbe,
quam sceleris sui socios, hujusce nefarii belli acerrimos
duces Romae reliquisset: semper vigilavi\textsuperscript{19} et providi, Qui-
rites, quemadmodum in tantis et tam absconditis insidiis
salvi esse possemus.

Libero caprum prope funeratus Arbo-
ris ictu.'

11. Nascendi incerta conditio\textsuperscript{]} So
the Trausi, a Thracian tribe, used to
lament over the birth, and rejoice at
the death, of a human being. Herod.
v. 4.

12. Ad deos immortales\textsuperscript{]} The apo-
thesis of Romulus is told Liv. i.
16. Vid. also Aurel. Vict. c. 2.—
Hor. Carm. iii. 3.—' Hac Quirinus
Martis equis Acheronta fugit;' and
Ep. ii. 1. ' Romulus—deorum in
templa recepti.' Numa added a fla-
men, called Quirinalis, and appoint-
ed a feast called Quirinalia, which
was held on the seventeenth of Fe-
bruary.

13. Famaque sustulimus\textsuperscript{ ]} ' Sus-
cept autem vita hominum consuetu-
doque communis, ut beneficiis excell-
lentes viros in coelum, fama ac volun-
tate, tollerent.' De Nat. Deor. ii.
24. Tusc. i. 12. V. E.

14. Dehebit is\textsuperscript{]} Having shown that
Romulus, the founder of the city, was
deified, he hints that its preserver is
no less deserving of immortal renown.

15. Toti urbi\textsuperscript{]} Al. totius urbis;
but it is agreeable to Cicero's manner
to proceed from the whole to its parts.
Supr. n. 1.

16. Exspectatis\textsuperscript{]} The MSS. here
vary. Al. ex actis; from the records
of the senate's proceedings. The
latter reading Weiske adopts, but
suggests a different interpretation and
punctuation; 'you, who have not the
means of knowing the facts by refer-
ence to the senate's recorded pro-
ceedings.' V. E.

17. Principio\textsuperscript{]} Narratio est.—
Muret.

18. Paucis\textsuperscript{]} Twenty-four. On
'erupit,' vid. Mil. 23. n. 15.

19. Semper vigilavi\textsuperscript{]} This modest
exposition of his own diligence is al-
lowable in an orator, where his au-
dience is to be conciliated. The
'vigils' of kings and statesmen are
long on record. Hom. II. Οὗ χρύ
πανινηχίον βυληφόρον ἄνδρα κα-
θεύδειν, &c.
II. Nam tum, quem ex urbe Catilinam ejiciebam, (non enim jam Vereor hujus verbi invidiam, quem illa\textsuperscript{2} magis sit timenda, quod vivus exierit,) sed tum, quem illum extermini\textsuperscript{3} volebam, aut reliquam conjuratorum manum simul excituram, aut eos, qui restitissent, infirmos sine illo ac debiles fore putabam.\textsuperscript{4} Atque\textsuperscript{5} ego, ut vidi, quos maximo furore et scelere esse inflammatos\textsuperscript{6} seiebam, eos nobiscum esse, et Romae remansisse: in eo omnes dies noctesque consumpsi, ut, quid agerent, quid molirentur, sentirem ac viderem: ut quoniam auribus vestrís, propter incredibilem magnitudinem\textsuperscript{7} sceleris, minorem fidem faceret oratio mea, rem ita comprehenderem, ut tum demum animis saluti vestræ provideretis, quem oculis\textsuperscript{8} maleficium ipsum videretis. Itaque ut compéri,\textsuperscript{9} legatos Allobrogum belli Transalpini et tumultus\textsuperscript{10}

Sect. II.—1. Hujus verbi\textsuperscript{1} Sc. 'ejiciebam.' Or. ii. 1.

2. Ilia\textsuperscript{2} Sc. 'invidia'—the odium likely to accrue from his being permitted to depart alive.

3. Exterminari\textsuperscript{3} Ex terminis aegre—\varepsilon\varphiι\zetaινειν—to banish.

4. Nam tum—putabam\textsuperscript{4} In the present sentence the remark may be pardoned, that eighteen words, more than a third of the whole, terminate with the letter m. In Greek, not one word terminating with that letter has been discovered. V. E. [We may conjecture that the letter m was not nearly so marked a sound with the Latin as with us, from the fact of its being lost (at least in verse) before vowels; in which predicament are one half of the m's in this sentence. That the Greek ν, so often represented in Latin by m, was likewise a weak letter, appears from its being often lost in Greek-Latin words, as Πάρνασσς, Plato. The French nasals may give us a notion how this was done.]

5. Atque\textsuperscript{5} Scheller proposes Atqui. These words are frequently confounded by transcribers. V. E.

6. Furore inflammatus\textsuperscript{6} Verr. v. 62. 'Ipse inflammatus scelere et furore, &c.'

7. Propter magnitudinem, &c.\textsuperscript{7} For the more atrocious the acts, the greater the difficulty of giving them credence.

8. Oculis\textsuperscript{8} Pleonastic, but emphatic, being opposed to 'auribus vestris' preceding. So inf. 8. 'ut eos pcene oculis videre possemus.'

9. Comperi\textsuperscript{9} By means of Q. Fabius Sanga, the patron of the Allobrogian state. Sall. Cat. 41. The Allobrogians were a people of Gallia Narbonensis. Their chief town was Vienna, on the Rhodanus (Rhone), below Lugdunum (Lyons). Hor. Epod. xvi. 6. Novisque rebus infidelis Allobro. Their dialect was barbarous. Hence Juv. vii. 144. Rufum, qui toties Ciceronei Allobroga dixit. Introd. 6.

10. Tumultus Gallieï\textsuperscript{10} A war in Italy or Cisalpine Gaul was usually called 'tumultus,' because it alarmed the city. Liv. vii. 9. Cic. Phil. viii. 1, says it was 'gravius quam bellum;' and accuses the senate of ignorance, for calling the war against M. Antony 'tumultus,' as a softer word than 'bellum.' But Livy also must share in this charge, who says of an alarm created by the Sabines, 'tumultus fuit verius quam bellum,' intimating that it did not deserve the name of a war. Besides if it were
Gallici excitandii causa a P. Lentulo esse sollicitatos, eosque in Galliam ad suos cives, eodemque itinere cum litteris mandatisque ad Catilinam esse missos, comitemque iiis adjunctum T. Vulturciunm, atque huic datas esse ad Catilinam literas: facultatem mihi oblatam putavi, ut, quod erat difficillimum, quodque ego semper optabam a diis immortali-bus, tota res non solum a me, sed etiam a senatu et a vobis manifesto deprehenderetur. Itaque hesterno die L. Flaccum et C. Pomptinum, prætores, fortissimos atque amantissimos reipublicae viros, ad me vocavi: rem omnem exposui: quid fieri placeret, ostendi. Illi autem, qui omnia de republica præclara atque egregia sentirent, sine recusatione ac sine ulla mora negotium susceperunt, et, quum advesperascret, occulter ad pontem Mulvium pervenerunt, atque ibi in proximis villis ita bipartito fuerunt, ut Tiberis inter eos et pons interesset. Eodem autem et ipsi sine cujusquam suspicione, multitdens viros eduxerunt, et ego ex praefectura Reatina complures defectos adolescentes, quorum opera in republica assidue utor, praesidio cum gladiis miseram. In-

'gravius,' why object to its application to Antony? The distinction, therefore, as a general one, appears quite unfounded.

11. P. Lentulo Inf. 6. n. 8. 12. Cives] For the whole country was called 'civitas.' Sall. Cat. 41. 'Cujus patrocinio civitas, &c.'


15. Hesterno die] Late in the evening. Flacc. 40. 'O nox illa, qua poene æternas huic urbi tenebras attulisti?'

16. Fortissim. amant.] The former shows the ability, the latter the will, to serve their country. Flaccus after this service was made governor of Asia; and owed his acquittal, on a charge of extortion in that office, to the eloquence of Cicero. Pomptinus was promoted to the government of Gaul; and procured a triumph for reducing these very Allobrogians to subjection.

17. Pontem Mulvium] Now 'Ponte Mollc' about three miles from the Roman forum. At this bridge the Via Flaminia commenced. Att. iii. 33.

18. Villis] Not 'villages' as Duncan, but 'country-houses.' And 'bipartito fuerunt,' were in two parties; i.e. the prætors had each a detachment of soldiers, and took post on opposite sides of the river. 'Eos' then must not be restricted to the prætors alone; and lest it should, Cic. adds 'Eodem autem et ipsi—et ego, &c.' But, lest you may think this strange, both the prætors themselves brought out, &c. and I had sent. This use of 'autem' in supplying a link in a chain of reasoning, is common. Top. 2.

19. Praefectura] So called from the praefects that came annually from Rome to administer justice. Reate was a town of the Sabines, on the
terim tertia fere vigilia exacta,\textsuperscript{20} quum jam pontem Mulvium magno comitatu legati Allobrogum ingredi inciperent, unaque Vulturcius, fit in eos impetus: educuntur et ab illis gladii, et a nostris. Res erat prætoribus nota solis:\textsuperscript{21} ignorabatur a ceteris.

III. Tum, interventu Pomptini atque Flacci, pugna, quæ erat commissa, sedatur. Literæ, quæcunque erant in eo comitatu, integris signis, prætoribus traduntur: ipsis comprehensi, ad me, quum jam dilucesceret,\textsuperscript{1} deducuntur. Atque horum omnium scelerum improbissimum machinatorem Cimbrum\textsuperscript{2} Gabinius statim ad me, nihil dum suspicantem, vocavi. Deinde item, accessitur L. Statilius, et post eum C. Cethegus. Tardissime autem Lentulus venit, credo quod literis dandis, præter consuetudinem,\textsuperscript{3} proxima nocte vigilarat.\textsuperscript{4} Quum vero summis ac clarissimis hujus civitatis viris, qui, auditæ re, frequentes ad me mane convenerant, literas a me prius aperiri, quam ad senatum deferri, placeret: ne, si nihil esset inventum, temere a me tantus tumultus injustus civitati videretur: negavi me esse facturum, ut de periculo publico non ad consilium\textsuperscript{5} publicum rem integrum\textsuperscript{6} deferrem. Etenim, Quirites, si ea, quæ erant ad me delata, reperta non essent:\textsuperscript{7} tamen ego non arbitrabam in tantis reipublicæ periculis mihi esse nimiam diligentiam pertimescendam. Senatum frequentem celeriter, ut vidistis, coëgi.\textsuperscript{8} Atque interea

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Nar, an eastern branch of the Tiber.


21. \textit{Prætoribus—solis} Sallust, however, says that the Allobrogian deputies were also in the secret.—Cat. 41.

\textit{Sect. III.—1. Quum jam diluc.} So that the whole business occupied the fourth watch. Supr. 2. n. 20.

2. \textit{Cimbrum} Sallust (c. 17,) calls him P. Gabinius Capito. Muret. conceives 'Cimber' to be the cognomen, and that he may have had two. He belonged to the equestrian order, as did also Statilius; but Cethegus was of the 'gens Cornelia,' and a senator.

3. \textit{Prætori consuetudinem} Alluding to the slothful disposition of Len-tulus. Hence inf. 7. 'P. Lentuli somnum,' and Sall. Cat. 58. 'So-cordia atque ignavia Lentuli.'

4. \textit{Vigilarat} Had sat up writing letters.

5. \textit{Consilium} This word written with $s$ is repeatedly used to signify 'the senate.' Pro Dom. 28. 'Sum-mum est populi Rom. consilium senatus.'

6. \textit{Integram} Just as it was. Ligar. 1. n. 13. Liv. ii. 5. 'Res integra refertur ad Patres.'

7. \textit{Reperta non essent} Namely, by the letters and confusion of Gabinius, &c.

8. \textit{Senatum—ut vidistis coëgi} In
statim, admonitu Allobrogum, C. Sulpicium, praetorem, fortum virum, misi, qui ex ædibus Cethegi, si quid telorum esset, efferret. Ex quibus ille maximum sicarum numerum, et gladiatorum extulit.

IV. Introduxi Vulturcium sine Gallis: fidem ei publicam, jussu senatus, dedit: hortatus sum, ut ea, quæ sciret, sine timore indicaret. Tum ille, quum vix se ex magnos timores recræasset, [dixit:] a P. Lentulo se habere ad Catilinam mandata et literas, ut servorum præsidio uteretur, et ad urbem quam primum cum exercitu accederet: id autem eo consilio, ut, quum urbem omnibus ex partibus, quemdum descriptum distributumque erat, incendissent, cædemque infinitam civium fecissent, presto esset ille, qui et fugientes exciperet, et se cum his urbanis ducibus conjungeret. Introducti autem Galli, jusjurandum sibi et literas a [P.] Lentulo, Cethego, Statilio ad suam gentem datas esse dixerunt: atque ita sibi ab his et a L. Cassio esse præscriptum, ut equitatum in Italian quam primum mitterent: pedestrès sibi copias non defuturas: Lentulum autem sibi confirmasse ex fatis Sibyllinis haruspicumque responsis, se esse tertium

the temple of concord, erected on rather an elevated spot within view of the forum: V. E.

9. Admonitu Allob.] This shows that they were privy to the conspiracy.


Sect. IV.—1. Sine Gallis] Of course that the parties being examined separately, any collusion might be prevented.

2. Jussu senatus] Which was necessary for the consul to give assurance of impunity (idem dedit).—Rabir. 10. 'Quæ fides, qui potuit sine senatus consulto dati?'

3. Recreasse] Al. recepisset. But Tusc. i. 24. 'Collegit se et recreavit.'


5. Serv. præsidio] Sall. Cat. 63. 'Interea servitia repudiebat, &c.'—This, it appears, displeased Lentulus, who asks, c. 45, 'quo consilio servi-

vitia repudiet?'

6. Omnibus] Sall. (Cat. 43,) says twelve; Plutarch, Cic. 18, one hundred. The aqueducts, too, were to be guarded, that no one should procure water to extinguish the flames.

7. Cædem] The only exception made by Lentulus was, the children of Pompey. Plut. Cic. 18.


10. Urbanis ducibus] Whom Catiline had left to conduct matters in the city.

11. L. Cassio] Inf. 7. 'Nec Cassii adipem.' He had been competitor with Cic. for the consulship.

12. Equitatum] The cavalry of the Gauls was highly celebrated.

13. Fatis Sibyllinis] Sall. Cat. 47, says 'libris Sibyllinis,' and he makes the elevation of Lentulus to de-
illum Cornelium, ad quem regnum hujus urbi, atque imperium pervenire esset necesse: Cinnam ante se et Sullan fuisse: eundemque dixisse, fatalem hunc esse annum ad interitum hujus urbis atque imperii, qui esset decimus annus post Virginum absolutionem, post Capitolii autem incensionem vicesimus. Hanc autem Cethego cum ceteris controversiam fuisse dixerunt: quod Lentulo et alis, cedem Saturnalibus fieri, atque urbem incendi placeret; Cethego nimium id longum videri.

V. Ac, ne longum sit, Quirites, tabellas proferri jussimus, quae a quoque dicebantur datae. Primum ostendimus Cethego signum: cognovit. Nos linum incidimus: legimus.

pend upon their authority, and not on the ‘haruspicum responsis’; to which alone he refers the calamitous ‘twentieth year;’ nor does he mention the ‘acquittal of the vestals’ at all.

14. Tertium Cornelium] In the ‘gens Cornelia’ were the Sylla, Cinnæ, Lentuli, &c. Certain impostors (γόργης Plut.) persuaded the superstitious Lentulus that the tyrannical cruelties of Sylla and Cinna were ‘regna;’ to a third of which he was destined. It is said that the ominous words were ‘tria K. K. K. pessima.’ These the Greeks referred to the Cappadocians, the Cilicians and Cretons; the Romans to three Cornelli. Or. iv. 1. ‘P. Lentulus suum nomen fatale ad pernicem reip. putavit.’

15. Cinnæ—Sulla] These two great men, though of the same patrician family, took opposite sides in politics: Cinna being a partisan of Marius, while Sylla supported the ‘optimates.’ It was during the absence of Sylla, in the Mithridatic war, that Cinna obtained his short-lived power. It is doing the greatest violence to language to apply ‘regnum’ to the detestable tyranny of either one or other.


17. Virginum absolutionem] Their advocate was M. Piso. Brut. 67. Fabia, the sister of Terentia, the wife of Cicero, is usually mentioned as one, but it cannot be shown that her case occurred ten years before. It is alluded to by Cic., Tog. Cand., who says ‘nulla culpa subsisset.’


19. Saturnalibus] We learn from Macrobius, i. 10, that the seventeenth of December was the anniversary of this feast. Hence Hor. Sat. ii. 7. ‘Libertate Decembri.’ It was so called from Saturn, under whose reign there were no slaves. It was at first limited to one day, Liv. ii. 21; but was afterwards extended to five, or according to some, seven. This attack on the city may be alluded to by Virg. ii. 265. ‘Inavaut urbem somno vineque sepulcant.’

20. Cethego] Hence inf. 7. ‘C. Cethegii furiosam temeritatem.’ Sall. too, (Cat. 43,) says ‘Natura ferox, manu promtus, maximum bonum in celeritate putabat.’ Or. iv. 6. ‘Cethegi—furor in vestra caede bacchan- 

Sect. V.—1. Tabellas] i. e. Li-
Erat scriptum ipsius manu 2 Allobrogum senatui et populo, sese, quæ eorum legatis confirmasset, esse facturum: orare, ut item illi facerent, quæ sibi legati eorum recepissent. 3 \textit{Tum Cethegus, qui paullo ante liquid tamen de gladiis ac sicis, quæ apud ipsum erant deprehensæ, respondisset, dixissetque, se semper bonorum ferramentorum studiosum fuisse: recitatis literis debilitatus atque abjectus, conscientia convictus, repente conticuit.}\textsuperscript{5}\hspace{1em} Introductus est Statilius: cognovit et manum suam. Recitatae sunt tabellæ in eandem fere sentiam: confessus est. Tum ostendi tabellias Lentulo, et quasivit, cognosceretne signum. Annumit.—\textsuperscript{6} Est vero, inquam, notum signum,\textsuperscript{6} imago avi tui, clarissimi viri, qui amavit unice\textsuperscript{7} patriam et cives suos: quæ quidem te a tanto scelere etiam muta revocare debuit.”—Leguntur eadem ratione ad senatum Allobrogum populumque literæ. Si quid de his rebus dicere vellet, feci potestatem.\textsuperscript{8}\hspace{1em} Atque ille primo quidem negavit:\textsuperscript{9} post autem aliquanto, toto jam indicio exposito atque edito, surrexit:\textsuperscript{10} quasivit a Gallis, quid sibi esset cum ipsis: quamobrem domum suam venissent; itemque a Vulturcio. Qui quum illi breviter constanterque respon-
dissent, per quem\textsuperscript{11} ad eum, quotiesque venissent, quæsisentque ab eo, nihilne secum esset de fatis Sibyllinis locutus: tum ille subito, scelere demens, quanta conscientiæ vis esset, ostendit. Nam, quum id posset inſitiari, repente praetor opinionem omnium confessus est. Ita eum non modo ingenium illud, et dicendi exercitatio,\textsuperscript{12} qua semper valuit, sed etiam, propter vīm sceleris manifesti atque deprēhensi, impudentia, qua superabat omnem, improbitasque defecit. Vulturcius vero subito proferri literas atque aperiī jussit, quas sibi a Lentulo ad Catilinam datas esse dicebat. Atque ibi vehementissime perturbatus Lentulus, tamen et signum suum et manum cognovit. Erant autem scriptae sine nomine, sed ita: ‘Qui sim,\textsuperscript{13} ex eo, quem ad te misi, scies. Cura, ut vir sis, et quern in locum\textsuperscript{14} sis progressus cogita, et vide, quid jam tibi sit necessē. Cura, ut omnium tibi auxilia adjungas, etiam inſimororum.’ Gabinius deinde introductus, quum primo impudenter respondere coepisset, ad extremum nihil ex iis, quæ Galli insinulabant, negavit. Ac mihi quidem, Quirites, quum illa certissima sunt visa argumenta atque indicia sceleris, tabellæ, signa, manus, denique uniuscujuſque confessio, tum multo illa certiora,\textsuperscript{15} color, oculi, vultus, taciturnitas. Sic enim obstupuerant, sic terram intuebantur, sic furtim nonnumquam inter se adspiciebant, ut non jam ab aliis indicari, sed indicare se ipsi viderentur.

VI. Indiciis expositis atque editis, Quirites, senatum consuli, de summa republica\textsuperscript{1} quid fieri placeret. Dictæ sunt a principibus\textsuperscript{2} acerrimæ ac fortissimæ sententiae, quas

\textsuperscript{11} Per quem] Sc. Umbrenus. He is mentioned in the following section, and Sall. Cat. 40.

\textsuperscript{12} Dicendi exercitatio] Cic., in Brut. 64, reckons him among the orators, the equals of Hortensius.

\textsuperscript{13} Qui sim] The terms of this letter do not exactly agree with Sallust, 44. This in the text probably is the more correct transcript.—V. E.

\textsuperscript{14} Quem in locum] For the senate had decreed him a public enemy.—There was now, therefore, no way of retreat.

\textsuperscript{15} Multa illa certiora] Here are well represented some of the advantages of public examination, compared with written testimony. Blackstone, iii. 23. V. E.

Sect. VI.—1. De summa rep.] Al. reip. The public safety. This was the usual form whenever the motion was not specified.

2. A principibus] Muret. here notices an iambic tetrameter. The opinions and votes of the consuls elect were usually taken first. Sall. Cat. 50; next, of the princeps senatus, then of the consulares, praetorii, &c. in order. It was usual to ask the opinion of the praetors, ædiles, &c.
senatus sine ulla varietate\(^3\) est consecutus. Et quoniam non-
dum est perscriptum senatusconsultum, ex memoria vobis,
Quirites, quid senatum censuerit, exponam. Primum mihi
gratiae verbis amplissimis aguntur,\(^4\) quod virtute, consilio,
provideat mea, respublica periculis sit maximis liberata:
deinde L. Flaccus et C. Pomptinus,\(^5\) praetores, quod eorum
opera forti fidelique usus essem,\(^6\) merito ac jure lauduntur:
atque etiam viro forti, collegae meo,\(^7\) laus imperitit, quod
eos, qui hujus conjurationis participes fuissent, a suis et a
republicae consiliis\(^8\) removisset. Atque ita censuerunt, ut
P. Lentulus\(^9\) quum se prætura abdicasset, tum in custodi-
am\(^10\) traderetur: itemque uti C. Cethegus, L. Statilius, P.
 Gabinius, qui omnes præsentes\(^11\) erant, in custodiam tran-
deretur: atque idem hoc decretum est in L. Cassium, qui
sibi procurationem incendendae urbis depoposcerat: in M. 
Caeparium,\(^12\) cui ad sollicitandos pastores Apulum esse at-
tributam, erat indicatum: in P. Furium,\(^13\) qui est ex iis co-

elect, before the rest of their order.
So Cic., Verr. v. 14, among the pri-
villeges of an acide elect, places 'an-
tiquorum in senatu sententiae dicen-
dae locum.'
3. Sine ulla var.] Without a dis-
senting voice. Al. Sine mora. V. E.
18.
n. 16.
n. 16.
7. Collegae meo] C. Antonius, who
was under strong suspicion of favour-
ing Catiline. Sall. 21. Cic. had se-
cured him to the republic by ceding
to him the province of Macedonia
('pactione provinciae,' Sall. 26,) for
the mal-administration of which he
was afterwards sentenced to perpetual
banishment. Liv. Epit. ciii. He
was afterwards restored, it is sup-
posed by Julius Caesar. Phil. ii. 38.
8. Consiliis] 'Suis,' counsels af-
fecting Antonius in his private capa-
city; 'reip,' as consul. So Brut. 1.
'CESSIT E VITA SUO MAGIS, QUAM CIVIVM
SUORUM TEMPORE.' But as this dis-

tinction is rather forced, Sch. would
omit reipub. or write de repub.
had been consul with Aufidius, a. v.
682, but was, the following year, re-
moved from the senate by the censors,
Gellius and Lentulus. In order to
regain the senatorian dignity, he was
obliged to commence the gradation of
offices anew. This accounts for a
man, 'qui consulare imperium Romæ
hubuerat,' Sall. 55, now holding the
office of prætor. As there was a scru-
ple to imprison a magistrate, this
office he was obliged to lay down. Or.
iv. 3.
10. Custodiæm] Eic ÆDESMON PH-
LAEIIV. Plut. Cic. 19. 'In liberis
custodiis.' Sall. 47.
11. Omnes præsentes] For those
mentioned afterwards had, probably,
not been then apprehended.
12. Caeparium] He was a native of
Tarracina, and was one of those
afterwards strangled in prison. Sall.
55.
13. P. Furium] Being of Fesu-
læ, it is conjectured that he is the
'Fesulanus' who fell in the battle at
Pistoria. Sall. 59.

14. Gallos ad Gabin.] Sall. 40, says that it was to the house of D. Brutus the deputies were taken, and Gabinius sent for there.

15. Novem—pæna] Of these, five were put to death. Sull. 11. ‘Quinque hominibus comprehensis atque confossis.’

16. Supplicatio] This honour is repeated by himself and other writers. Sull. 30. Quint. ii. 17. ‘Suffocationes, qui maximus honor victoribus bello ducibus datur, in toga meruit.’ L. Cotta was the senator who proposed it. Phil. ii. 6.

17. Intersit] Al. interest. Modestius est intersit; τὰ τῶν διαφερῶν ἀν. Ebr. Article is inserted.

18. Factum atq. transactum] Technical phraseology, expressing that all had been in due form completed.—V. E. This important point was the resignation of Lentulus, with a view to his suffering punishment when reduced to the rank of a citizen. For it was considered a matter of conscience not to punish magistrates who had been appointed at the comitia established by auspices. To do so would have been ‘obstrigere populum Rom. religionem.’ Phil. ii. 33. To avoid this, it was usual to oblige the magistrates who were impeached to resign; which we find was the case with Lentulus. Or. iv. 3. ‘P. Lentulum, ut se abdicaret pretura, coegistis.’ And it is with this restriction that the word ‘abdicavit’ must be here understood, as it is absurd to suppose that Lentulus resigned office merely to free his persecutors from the odium attached to the punishment of those who, in the eye of religion, were ‘sacrosancti.’

19. C. Glauciam] A creature of Saturninus, whom he raised to the praetorship, and designed to make
uil nominatim erat decre tum, praetorem occideret, ea nos religionem in privato P. Lentulo puniendo liberarem ur.

VII. Nunc, quoniam, Quirites, sceleratissimi periculo- sismique bellii nefarios duces captos jam et comprehensos tenetis, existimare debetis, omnes Catilinae copias, omnes spes atque opes, his depulsi urbis periculis, concidisse.—Quem quidem ego quem ex urbe pellebam, hoc providebam animo, Quirites, remoto Catilina, nec mihi esse P. Lentuli somnum, nec L. Cassii adipem, nec C. Cethegi furiosam tementatem pertimescendam. Ille erat unus timendus ex his omnibus, sed tamdiu, dum non omnibus urbis continebatur. Omnia norat, omnium aditus tenebat: appellare, tentare, sollicitare poterat, audebat: erat ei consilium ad facinus aptum: consilio autem neque lingua, neque manus deerat.—Jam ad certas res consciendae certos homines deletos ac descriptos habebat. Neque vero, quum aliquid mandaverat, confectum putabat. Nihil erat, quod non ipse obiret, occurreret, vigilaret, laboraret: frigus, sitim, famem ferre poterat. Hunc ego hominem tam acriem, tam paratum, tam audacem, tam callidum, tam in scelere vigilantem, tam in perditis rebus diligentem, nisi ex domesticis insidiis in castrense latrocinium compulsim, (dicam id, quod sentio, Quirites,) non facile hanc tantam molem mali a cervicibus vestris depulsim. Non ille nobis Saturnalia constituisse, neque tanto ante exitii ac dati diem reipublicae denuntiasset, neque commississet, ut signum, ut literae suae testes denique

consul. He was slain by Marius in the capitol, along with his patron. Liv. Epit. 69. Mil. 3. n. 2.

Cic. seems to think the senate, and therefore himself, deserving of great praise, for their piety in respecting those scruples which Marius had disregarded, yet Marius had not the ground for punishing Glauca that they had for punishing Lentulus, Lentulus being named in the decree.

Sect. VII.—1. Nunc quoniam, &c.] Cic. proceeds to encourage the citizens, and point out the importance of Catiline's expulsion from the city which had enabled him so easily to crush his remaining accomplices.

2. Lentuli somnum] Cic. here affects to speak contemptuously of the abilities of Lentulus, but he elsewhere admits his talents as an orator. A long course of vice had, it is probable, impaired his powers. Supr. 3. n. 3.

3. Cassii adipem] Supr. 4. n. 11.


5. Omnium—aditus tenebat] 'Sola viri molles aditus et temporae noras.' æn. iv. 425. V. E.

6. Frigus—ferre] Or. i. 10. 'Patientiam famis, frigoris, &c.'

7. Non ille, &c.] He would not, like the others, have appointed so dis-
manifesti sceleris deprehenderentur. Quæ nunc, illo absenté, sic gesta sunt, ut nullum in privata domo furtum unquam sit tam palam inventum, quam hæc tanta in republica\(^8\) conjuratione manifesto inventa atque deprehensa est. Quod si Catiline in urbe ad hanc diem remanisset: quamquam, quoad fuit, omnibus ejus consiliis occurri atque obstiti, tamen, ut levissime\(^9\) dicam, dimicandum nobis cum illo fuisset, neque nos unquam, dum ille in urbe hostis fuisset, tantis periculis rempublicam, tanta pace, tanto otio, tanto silentio, liberasmus.

VIII. Quamquam\(^1\) hæc omnia, Quirites, ita sunt a me administrata, ut deorum immortalium nutu atque consilio et gesta et provisa esse videantur. Idque quum conjectura consequi possumus, quod vix videtur 'humanis' consiliis tantarum rerum gubernatio esse potuisse; tum vero\(^3\) ita praesent

9. Ut levissime\(^4\) He merely says 'dimicandum,' when he might have presented to their view a picture of the horrors of a civil war.

5. Oppem tulerunt\(^5\) By warning us as they did of the conspiracy and danger that threatened the republic. Inf. 'Hæc, quæ nunc sint, cænere dìi immortales viderentur.' 'Cancere,' prædicere.

6. Oculis\(^6\) Supr. 2. n. 8.

7. Nam ut omittam\(^7\) Cic. himself, de Divinat. i. 11, describes these prodigies, as well as what occurred in the consulship of Cotta and Torquatus.

8. Ab occidente\(^8\) De parte Galliae Schol.

9. Faces ardemque cæli\(^9\) Probably
dicturus, neque praetermittendum, neque relinquirendum est. Nam profecto memoria tenetis, Cotta et Torquato consulibus, complures in Capitolio turres de cælo esse percus-sas, quum et simulacra deorum immortalium depulsa sunt, et statuae veterum hominum dejectæ, et legum æra liquefacta; tactus est etiam ille, qui hanc urbem condidit, Romulus: quem inauratum in Capitolio parvum atque lactentem, uberibus lupinis inhiantem suisse meministis. Quo quidem tempore quum haruspices ex tota Etruria convenissent, cædes atque incendia, et legum interitum, et bel-lum civile ac domesticum, et totius urbis atque imperii occasum approquinare dixerunt, nisi dìi immortales omni ratione placati, suo numine prope fata ipsa flexissent. Itaque illorum responsis tunc et ludi decem per dies facti sunt, neque res uilla, quà ad placandum deos pertineret, praeter-missa est: idemque jussurunt, simulacrum Jovis facere magus, et in excelsa collocare, et contra, atque ante fuerat, ad orientem convertere: ac se sperare dixerunt, si illud signum, quod videtis, solis ortum, et forum, curiamque consipiceret, fore, ut ea consilia, quæ clam essent inita contra salu-tem urbis atque imperii, illustrarentur, ut a senatu populo-

the Aurora borealis. V. E.


12. Turres] Al. res: which Ern. and Sch. adopt. Among the objects afterwards enumerated as struck with lightning, towers are not named. V. E.

13. Legum æra] The brazen tablets on which the laws were engraved. V. E.


15. Lactentem] Æn. viii. 630. 'Mavortis in antro Procubuisse lu-pam geminosque huic ubera circum. &c.'

16. Haruspices] A word of Etruscan origin. 'Arviga,' or 'haruga' is the victim whose entrails were inspected; from 'arvix,' a ram, or 'hara,' a hog-sty.

17. Ex tota Etruria] Thence the Romans borrowed their arts of divina-tion. Div. i. 12. 41. V. E.

18. Nisi dìi—prope fata ipsa flexissent] These are the words of Cic. himself, certainly not of the Harus-pices: by them some specific ceremonies probably would be pointed out, in order to aver the divine ire; in the performance of which, no doubt, due regard would be required to the interests of the learned Haruspices. Cic. employs the qualifying praepro: the theological notions of the Greeks and Romans seem not to invest the Gods with this power. 'Desine fata deum fleeti sperare precando.' Æn. vi. 376. V. E.

19. Et contra atque] 'And contrary to its former position.' 'Atque' is 'than.'
que Romano perspicci possent. Atque illud ita collocandum consules illi\textsuperscript{20} locaverunt:\textsuperscript{21} sed tanta fuit operis tarditas, ut neque a superioribus consulibus, neque a nobis ante hodiernum diem collocaretur.

IX. Hic quis\textsuperscript{3} potest esse, Quirites, tam aversus a vero, tam præceps, tam mente captus,\textsuperscript{9} qui neget, hæc omnia, quæ videmus,\textsuperscript{3} præcipueque hanc urbem, deorum immortalium nutu atque potestate administrari? Etenim quum esset ita responsum, caedes, incendia, interitumque reipublicæ comparari, et ea per cives:\textsuperscript{4} quæ tum propter magnitudinem scelerum nonnullis incredibiliæ videbantur: ea non modo cogitata a nefariis civilibus, verum etiam suscetta esse sensistis. Illud vero nonne ita praesens\textsuperscript{5} est, ut nutu Jovis Optimorum Maximi\textsuperscript{6} factum esse videatur, ut, quum hodierno die mane per forum meo jussu et conjurati, et eorum indices\textsuperscript{7} in ædem Concordiæ\textsuperscript{8} ducerentur, eo ipso tempore signum statueretur?\textsuperscript{9} quo collocato, atque ad vos senatumque converso, omnía et senatus, et vos, quæ erant contra salutem omnia cogitata, illustrata et patefacta vidistis. Quo etiam majore sunt isti odio supplicioquæ digni, qui non solum vestris domiciliis atque tectis, sed etiam deorum templis atque delubris sunt funestos ac nefários ignes inferre conati. Quibus ego si me restitisse dicam, nimum mihi sumam, et non sim ferendus: ille Jupiter restitit: ille Capitolium, ille hæc templæ, ille hanc urbem, ille vos omnes salvos esse voluit. Diis ego immortalibus ducibus hanc mentem, Quirites, voluntatemque suscepi, atque ad hæc tanta indicia perveni. Jam vero illa Allobrogum sollicitatio\textsuperscript{10} sic a Lentulo ceterisque do-

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21. Locaverunt] Contracted to have it so placed. So Phil. ix. 7. ‘Quanti
tique locaverint, &c.’ Pers. Sat. vi. 47.
Sect. IX.—I. Hic quis, &c. Cic. reasons similarly in Mil. 30, 31.
4. Per cives] Al. perditis civilibus, et per cives perditos. Most probably Ci-
cero would adhere to the words of the response; and the latter readings are interpolated. V. E.
6. Optimorum Max.] The highest epi-
   theses of Jupiter.
8. Ædem Concordiæ] Where he was about to hold the senate. This tem-
   ple appears to have been situated on the capitol. Phil. ii. 8.
9. Æ ipso tempore — statueretur] Wonderful coincidence! taking place,
   no doubt, in obedience to the nod of Jupiter Opt. Max. and of Cicero.
V. E.
10. Allobrogum sollicitatio] Sall. 39.
‘Lentulus, quoscumque idoneos cre-
   debat, sollicitabat.’ Among these were the envos of the Allobrogians. c. 40.
Ern. suspects that suspecta or the like
mesticis hostibus, tanta restam dementer credita et ignotis et barbaris, commissaque literae nunquam essent profecto, nisi a diis immortalibus huic tantae audaciae consilium esset ereptum. Quid vero? ut homines Galli ex civitate male pacata,\textsuperscript{11} quae gens\textsuperscript{12} una restat, quae populo Romano bellum facere et posse et non nolle videatur, spem imperii et rerum amplissimarum ultra sibi a patriciis hominibus oblatam negligenter, vestrarque salutem suis opibus anteponerent: id non divinitus\textsuperscript{13} factum esse putatis? præsertim\textsuperscript{14} qui nos non pugnando, sed tacendo superare potnerunt.

X. Quamobrem, Quirites, quoniam ad omnium pulvinaria\textsuperscript{1} supplicatio decreta est, celebratote illos dies\textsuperscript{2} cum conjugi-bus ac liberis vestris. Nam multi sæpe honores diis immortalibus justi habitu sunt ac debiti, sed profecto justiores nunquam. Erepti enim estis ex crudelissimo ac niser-rimo interitu, et erepti sine caede, sine sanguine, sine exercitu, sine dimicatione; togati, me uno togato duce\textsuperscript{3} et imperatore vicistas. Etenim recordamini,\textsuperscript{4} Quirites, omnes civiles dissensiones, neque solum eas, quas\textsuperscript{5} audistis, sed eas,\textsuperscript{6} quas vosmet ipsi meminitis et vidistis: L. Sulla P. Sulpicium\textsuperscript{2} oppressit: ex urbe ejecit C. Marium, custodem\textsuperscript{3} hujusurbis, multosque fortis viros partim ejicit ex civitate, partim intererit.

\textsuperscript{1} Has fallen out after hostibus. As it stands the construction is: 'Now again, that tampering with the Gauls, a matter of such importance, would never have thus been so madly entrusted to those envoyes, at once strangers and barbarians, nor the letters so committed by Lentulus, &c., unless, &c.'

\textsuperscript{2} Male pacata\textsuperscript{1} Half-conquered.

\textsuperscript{3} Quae gens, &c.] This was five years before Caesar began his course of victories in Gaul.

\textsuperscript{4} Divinitus\textsuperscript{1} Manil. 15. n. 14.

\textsuperscript{5} Præsertim\textsuperscript{1} 1. e. Præsertim cum essent homines qui.

\textsuperscript{6} Sect. X.—I. Pulvinaria\textsuperscript{1} Mil. 27. n. 15.

\textsuperscript{7} Illos dies\textsuperscript{1} The females and boys formed processions, and sang hymns in praise of the Gods. How many days the supplication was directed to continue, does not appear. V. E. Hor. Carm. iv. 15. 'Cum prole matronisque nostris, &c.'

3. Togato duce\textsuperscript{1} Hence his boast: 'Cedant arma togae, &c.'

4. Etenim recordamini\textsuperscript{1} He compares this conspiracy with former attempts of a similar nature; and infers from its superior atrocity, that never were divine honours more deserved.

5. Eas qua\textsuperscript{1} E. g. The secessions to Mons Sacer and Aventinvs.

6. Sed eas\textsuperscript{1} Which he is about to mention.

7. P. Sulpicium\textsuperscript{1} An eloquent and powerful tribute of the people, who, a. v. 665, passing several popular laws in an unjustifiable way, was opposed by the consul Sylla, and killed by his own slave. Sylla gave the slave his freedom as a reward, but had him hurled down the Tarpeian rock as a punishment for his treachery. Vell. Paterc. ii. 18. Sulpicius is one of the speakers in the De Oratore.

8. Custodem\textsuperscript{1} This speech being ad-
Cn. Octavius,\(^9\) consul, armis ex urbe collegam suum expulit; omnis hic locus acervis corporum et civium sanguine redunda-
vit. Superavit postea Cinna cum Mario.\(^10\) Tum vero, clarissi-
mis viris interfectis, lumina civitatis extincta sunt. Ultus est
hujus victoriae crudelitatem postea Sulla; ne dici quidem
opus est, quanta deminutione civium, et quanta calamitate
reipublicae. Dissensit M. Lepidus a clarissimo et fortissimo
viro, Q. Catulo.\(^11\) Attulit non tam ipsius\(^12\) interitus reipublicae
luctum, quam ceterorum. Atque illæ dissensiones\(^13\) [erant hu-
jusmodi,\(^14\) Quirites, quæ non ad delendam, sed ad commu-
tandum\(^15\) rempublicam pertinenter:—non illi nullam esse
republicam, sed in ea, quæ esset, se esse principes, neque
hanc urbem conflagrare, sed se in haec urbe florere volue-
runt:—atque illæ tamen omnes dissensiones, quorum nulla
exitium reipublicae quasesvit, ejusmodi fuerunt, ut non
reconciliatione concordiae, sed internecione civium dijudi-
catae sint. In hoc autem uno post hominum memoriam max-
imo crudelissimoque bello, quale bellum nulla unquam bar-
baria cum sua gente\(^16\) gessit, quo in bello lex haec fuit a
Lentulo, Catilina, Cassio, Cethego constituta, ut omnes, qui
dressed to the citizens, Cic. does not
pass over their old favourite, Marius,
without bestowing on him a favoura-
ble epithet. It may allude to his
conduct in the Cimbric war. Manil.
20. n. 7.

9. Cn. Octavius\(^9\) The colleague
of the celebrated Cinna, A. v. 667,
whose attempt to incorporate the ci-
tizens admitted on the conclusion of
the social war, with all the tribes, he
successfully opposed; and according
to Plut., near ten thousand of the
new citizens were slain. The battle
was fought in the forum. Hence ‘ om-
nis hic locus, &c.’

10. Cinna cum Mario\(^10\] The con-
sequence of Octavius’s victory was the
departure of Cinna from Rome. At
Capua he prevailed on a Roman
army to join him, and having, to give
credit to his party, recalled Marius,
whom Sylla, now in Asia, had banish-
ed, entered the city, where as Cic. says,
‘ lumina civitatis extincta sunt.’
Among these were M. Antonius the
orator, Catulus, Crassus, and Octa-
vius. De Orat. iii.

11. Lepidus—Catulo\(^11\] These \(^\text{were consuls A. v. 675, the year in which}
Sylla died. Lepidus revived the Mar-
ian party, and was opposed by Catu-

12. Non tam ipsius\(^12\] For he was a
turbulent citizen. He died, however,
a natural death.

13. Illæ dissensiones\(^13\] 1. Between
Sylla and Sulpicius. 2. Between
Octavius and Cinna. 3. Between
Sylla and the Marians. 4. Be-
tween Lepidus and Catulus. All of
those terminated in the slaughter of
the citizens; not so the present.

14. Erant hujusmodi\(^14\] These words,
probably interpolated, are expunged
by Matth. V. E.

15. Commutandum\(^15\] For it was a
struggle between the optimates and
popular party for supreme command.

16. Barbaria sua gente\(^16\] No barba-
rous nation, with its own people.
Arch, 8. n. 13.
salva urbe\textsuperscript{17} salvi esse possent, in hostium numero duceren-
tur, ita me gessi, Quirites, ut omnes salvi conservaremini: et,
quum hostes vestri tantum civium superfuturum putas-
sest, quantum infinitae cædi restitisset, tantum autem urbis,
quantum flamma obire non potuisset, et urbem et cives\textsuperscript{18}
tegentos incolumentesque servavi:

XI. Quibus pro tantis rebus, Quirites, nullum ego a vobis
præmium virtutis, nullum insigne honoris, nullum monu-
mentum laudis postulo, praeterquam hujus diei memoriam
sempiternam. In animis ego vestris omnes triumphos me-
os,\textsuperscript{1} omnia ornamenta honoris, monumenta gloriae, laudis in-
signia condi et collocari volo. Nihil me mutum\textsuperscript{2} potest de-
lectare, nihil tacitum, nihil denique hujusmodi, quod etiam
minus digni assequi possint. Memoria vestra, Quirites,
nostra res alentur, sermonibus crescent, literarum monu-
mentis inveterascent et corroborabantur;\textsuperscript{5} eandemque diem
intelligo, quam spero æternam fore, et ad salutem urbis, et
ad memoriam consulatus mei propagatam:\textsuperscript{4} unoque tem-
pore in hac republica duos cives\textsuperscript{3} exstitisse, quorum alter fi-
nes vestri imperii non terræ, sed coeli regionibus\textsuperscript{6} termina-
ret, alter ejusdem imperii domicilium sedementque servaret.

17. \textit{Salva urbe} Should the design fail, of burning the city. Weiske.
V. E.

18. \textit{Et urblem et cives} Cic. fre-
quently reverses the order in the se-
cord enumeration, as here.

SECT. XI.—1. \textit{Triumphos meos} He
anticipates the probability of a tri-
umph from the provincial command
which usually followed the consulship.
This honour he never enjoyed, though
the senate would have voted it to him
after the proconsulship of Cilicia, had
the public affairs permitted it. It
was then on the eve of the great civil
war.

2. \textit{Nihil mutum} No mute me-
orial; as for instance, a statue; nor
silent, as for instance, a triumph.
Delph.

3. \textit{Alentur—crescent—corroborav.} A
beautiful gradation. Or. i. 12. n.
7, the metaphor was supposed to be
from rearing young animals. The
rearing of trees, however, is more pro-
bably in view, which agrees with

4. \textit{Eandemque—propagatam} In
this sentence some undetected error
remains. Orel. suggests \textit{eandemque}
diem intelligo atque spero æternam
fore, et ad salutem urbis, et memoriam
consulatus mei propagatam iri, uno
tempore, &c. V. E. As it stands, it
is almost hopeless to attempt giving
it any consistent meaning. Perhaps,
however, ‘eandem diem,’ like \textit{qua}
sc. tempora,’ Arch. 5, may be the
accusative of time; and taking ‘in-
telligo in the sense of ‘judico,’ as
Or. iv. 4, ‘alter intelligit, &c.’ the
translation may run: ‘And (among
these memorabilia,) I think it will be
one, that on the same day, which I
trust, &c…. and at one and the
same time, there have appeared two
citizens, &c.’

5. \textit{Duos cives} Himself and Pom-
pey. V. E.

6. \textit{Cæli regionibus} The horizon
XII. Sed, quoniam carum rerum, quas ego gessi, non est eadem fortuna atque conditio, quae illorum, qui externa bella gesserunt: quod mihi cum his vivendum est, quos vici ac subegi; illi hostes aut interfectos aut oppressos reliquerunt: vestrum est, Quirites, si ceteris sua recte facta prosunt, mihi mea ne quando obsint, providere. Mentem enim hominum audacissimorum sceleratæ ac nefarìæ ne vobis nocere possent, ego providi: ne mihi noceant, vestrum est providere. Quamquam\(^1\) Quirites, mihi quidem ipsi nihil jam ab istis noceri potest. Magnum enim est in bonis præsidium, quod mihi in perpetuum comparatum est: magna\(^2\) in republica dignitas, quæ me semper tacita defendet: magna vis est conscientiae, quam qui negligent, quem me violare volent, se ipsi indicabunt. Est etiam in nobis animus, Quirites, ut non modo nullius audaciae cedamus, sed etiam omnem improbos ultro semper lassesamus.\(^3\) Quod si omnis impetus domesticorum hostium depulsus a vobis, se in me unum converterit: vobis erit providendum, Quirites, qua conditione posthac eos esse velitis, qui se pro salute vestra obtulerint invidiae periculisque omnibus. Mihi quidem ipsi quid est, quod jam ad vitæ fructum possit acquiri, præsertim quem neque in honore vestro,\(^4\) neque in gloria virtutis quidquam videam altius, quo quidem mihi libeat ascendere? Illud perficiam profecto, Quirites, ut ea, quæ gessi in consulatu, privatus tueor atque omem: ut, si qua est invidia\(^5\) in conservanda republica suscepta, ledat invidos, mihi valeat ad glorian. Denique ita me in republica tractabo, ut meminerim semper, quæ gesserim, curemque, ut ea virtute,\(^6\) non casu, gesta esse vide-
Vos, Quirites, quoniam jam nox est, veneramini illum Jovem, custodem hujus urbis ac vestrum, atque in vestra tecta discedite: et ea, quamquam jam periculum est depulsum, tamen æque ac priore nocte fecistis, custodiis vigiliisque defendite. Id ne vobis diutius faciendum sit, atque ut in perpetua pace esse possitis, providebo, Quirites.

7. *Jam nox*] Plut. Cic. 19, testifies that this oration was pronounced near night.
9. *Id ne—diutius*] Cic. hints that he will speedily bring the conspirators to condign punishment.
10. *In perpetua pace—providebo*] A magnificent promise: in its performance he could not but fail. 

Or. i. 5.
M. TULLII CICERONIS

IN

LUCIUM CATILINAM,

QUARTA*

HABITA IN SENATU,

ORATIO.

I. Video, Patres conscripti, in me omnium vestrūm ora atque oculos esse conversos. Video, vos non solum de vestro ac reipublicae, verum etiam, si id depulsum sit, de meo periculo esse sollicitos. Est mihi jucunda in malis, et grata in dolore, vestra erga me voluntas: sed eam, per deos immortales! quaeso, deponite, atque oblieti salutis meae, de vobis ac de liberis vestris cognitate. Mihi [quidem] si hæc conditio consulatus data est, ut omnes acerbitates, omnes dolores cruciatusque perferrem: feram non solum fortiter, sed etiam libenter, dummodo meis laboribus vobis populoque Romano dignitas salusque pariatur. Ego sum ille consul, Patres conscripti, cui non forum, in quo omnis æquitas continentur; non campus, consularibus auspiciis consecratus; non curia, summum auxilium omnium gentium: non domus, commune perfugium; non lectus, ad quietem datus: non denique hæc sedes

* Vid. Introd. 8.
Secr. I.—1. Vides] This speech is of the deliberative kind, there being two opinions to be contrasted.
2. Hæc conditio cons.] If the consulship were granted me on these terms.—‘Data est’—fataliter concessa. Muret.
4. Cui non forum, &c.] The at-
honoris, sella curulis,\textsuperscript{5} unquam vacua mortis periculo atque insidiis fuit. Ego multa tacui,\textsuperscript{6} multa pertuli, multa concessi, multa meo quodam dolore, in vestro timore,\textsuperscript{7} sanavi. Nunc, si hunc exitum\textsuperscript{8} consulatus mei dii immortales esse voluerunt, ut vos, patres conscripti, populumque Romanum ex cæde miserrima, conijuges liberoseque vestros, virginesque Vestales\textsuperscript{9} ex acerbissima vexatione, templæ atque delubra,\textsuperscript{10} hanc pulcherrimam patriam omnium nostrum ex fœdissima flamma, totam Italiam ex bello et vastitate eriperem: quæcunque mihi uni proponetur fortuna, subeatur. Etenim, si\textsuperscript{11} P. Lentulus suum nomen, inducens at vatibus,\textsuperscript{12} fatale\textsuperscript{13} ad perniciem reipublicæ fore putavit: cur ego non læter, meum consulatum ad salutem reipublicæ prope fatalem exstissæ?

II. Quare, Patres conscripti, consulite vobis, prospicite patriæ, conservate vos, conijuges, liberoseque vestras, populi Romani nomen salutemque defendite: mihi parere, ac de me cogitare desinit. Nam primum debeo sperare, omnes deos,\textsuperscript{1} qui huic urbi praesident, pro eo mihi, ac meæ reor, relaturos gratiam\textsuperscript{2} esse; deinde, si quod obtigerit,\textsuperscript{3} 

tacks in the various places here enumerated are noticed, Or. i. 5. 6.

5. Sella curulis\textsuperscript{5} These words, perhaps originally a gloss from the margin, are found in all MSS. They are omitted by Ern., Weiske, and Scheller. V. E. The objection is, that the 'curule chair' is not here intended, but the chief seat in the senate, where the consul sat.

6. Multa tacui\textsuperscript{6} This prudent silence might be dictated by the suspicion, that many besides those discovered, were implicated in the conspiracy. V. E. g. Crassus, Caesar, &c.

7. In vestro timore\textsuperscript{7} Whilst your alarm prevailed. On conjecture some editors give sine vestro. V. E.

8. Exitum\textsuperscript{8} The issue. The Delph. takes it literally—' exitus ejus consulatus imminebat,' for it was now the none of the last month; but that seems unnecessary.

9. Vestales\textsuperscript{9} Who kept the sacred fire of Vesta. Th. õria, focus.


11. Patriam\textsuperscript{11} Sc. urbem; to which alone 'flamma' is applicable. Sall. 58. 'Conjuravere—patriam incendere.'

12. Etenim, si\textsuperscript{12} Contraria hic, tanquam paria, comparantur. Muret.

13. Vatibus\textsuperscript{13} By the Sibylline books, and the interpretations of the Haruspices. Catil. iii. 4. The fatal name was Cornelius. V. E.

14. Fatale\textsuperscript{14} Not 'fatal,' but 'fated.' Marcel. 10. 'fatale bello.' Hor. Ep. ii. 1. 'Notaque fatai portenta labore subegit.' Or. iii. 4. n. 16.

Sect. II.—1. Omnes deos\textsuperscript{1} Cic. does not specify them, because the Romans wished the name of their tutelary God, and the Latin name of the city to be unknown. Macrobi. iii. 9.

2. Mihi—relat. gratiam\textsuperscript{2} Not strictly. For 1st, it was Jupiter, not Cic. who did the service. Hence Or. iii. 9. ' quibus ego si me restitisse dicam, niumum mihi sumam; ille Jupiter restitit.' 2nd, 'Referre' implies a bene-
æquo animo paratoque moriar. Neque enim turpis⁴ morti fortii viro potest accidere, neque immatura⁵ consulari, nec misera⁶ sapienti. Nee tamen ego sum ille⁷ ferreus, qui frateris carissimi⁸ atque amantissimi praesentis mœrore non mover, horumque omnium lacrimas, a quibus me circumsums videtis.⁹ Neque meam mentem non domum sœpe revocat examinata uxor, abjecta metu filia, et parvulus filius, quem mihi videtur amplecti respublica tamquam obsidemⁱ⁰ consulatus mei: neque ille, qui exspectans hujus exitum diei, adstat in conspectu meo gener.¹¹ Moveor his rebus omnibus, sed in eam partem,¹² ut salvi sint vobis omnœ, etiam si vis aliqua me oppresserit, potius, quam et illi, et nos una reipublicæ peste pereamus. Quare, Patres conscripti, incumbite ad reipublicæ salutem: circumspicite omnes procellas, que impendent, nisi providitis. Non Ti. Gracchus,¹³ qui iterum tribunus plebis féri voluit: non C. Gracchus, qui agrarios¹⁴ concitare conatus est: non L. Saturninus, qui

fit received, but the gods are not recipients of favours.

3. Obtigerit] Should I be doomed to fall;—accidentis is the verb usually found in similar phrases; Ern. therefore condemns the use of the verb in the text, and doubts its authenticity. V. E. Manil. 20. n. 1.

4. Turpis] Al. gravis. Quintil, vi. 3.; which Sch. introduces into this text; adding, 'turpe mortem forti viro accidere non posse, non attinebat mouere.' V. E. Why not? 'Turpis' is when a man dies in a cowardly, disgraceful manner.

5. Immatura] For this would imply that the career of glory had not been completed; which did not hold. Phil. ii. 46. 'Etenim si abhinc annos prope viginti, &c.'


8. Fratris cariss. ] Q. Cicero, who, according to Plut. Cic. 20, instigated his brother to put the conspirators to death.

9. A quibus — videtis] 'Videtis' refers to all the senators; and 'a quibus,' to the equites and others who surrounded the chair of Cic. and even the senate-house, by way of affording protection. Phil. ii. 7. 'Quis eques Rom. &c.' Sall. 49. 'Circumsessum' is 'circumdatum.' Ern.

10. Tanquam obsidem] For the childless were considered to have no stake in the country, nor connexion with it. Cicero's son was now in his second year. Att. i. 1.

11. Gener] C. Calpurnius Piso. Tullia's other husbands were Crassipes and Dollabella. Manut. conceives, 'in conspectu,' to mean outside the senate-house, as Piso was only quaesitor in the consulsip of Gabinius and L. Piso a. v. 695, five years after this time.

12. In eam partem] 'In such a direction.' i. e. My solicitudes are so directed as to secure the general safety along with your own.


C. Memmium occidit, in discriminé aliquid, atque in vestrâ severitatis judicium adducitur: tenentur ii, qui ad urbis incendium, ad vestrâm omnium caedium, ad Catilinam accessíum, Româe restiterunt. Tenentur literâe, signa, manus, denique uniuscujusque confessio: sollicitantur Allobroges: servitia excitantur: Catilina arcessitur: id est initium consilii, ut, interfectis omnibus, nemo ne ad deplorandum quidem reipublicae nomen, atque ad lamentandam tanti imperii calamitatem relinquatur.

III. Hæc omnia indices detulerunt, rei confessi sunt; vos multis jam judiciis judicastis: primum, quod mihi gratias egistis singularibus verbis, et mea virtute atque diligentia, perditorum hominum patefactam esse conjurationem decrevistis: deinde quod P. Lentulum, ut se abdiceret præitura, coegistis: turn quod eum, et ceteros, de quibus judicastis, in custodiam dandos censuistis, maximeque, quod meo nomine supplicationem decrevistis, qui honos togati habère ante me est neminì; postremo hesterno die præmia legatis Allobrogum, Titoque Vulturcio deditis amplissima. Quæ sunt omnia ejusmodi, ut ii, qui in custodiam nominatim dati sunt, sine ulla dubitatione a vobis damnati esse videantur.

de.
tem est. Quantum facinus ad vos delatum sit, videtis. Huic si paucos putatis affines esse, vehementer erratis. Latius opinione disseminatum est hoc malum: manavit non solum per Italiam, verum etiam transcendit Alpes, et obscure serpens, multas jam provincias occupavit. Id opprimi sustentando ac prolatando nullo pacto potest. Quaunque ratione placet, celeriter vobis vindicandum est.

IV. Video duas adhuc esse sententias: unam D. Silani, qui censet, eos, qui haec delere conati sunt, morte esse multandos: alteram C. Caesaris, qui mortis poenam removet, ceterorum suppliciorum omnes acerbitates ampletit. Uterque et pro sua dignitate et pro rerum magnitudine in summa severitate versatur. Alter eos, qui nos omnes, qui populum Romanum vita privare conati sunt, qui delere imperium, qui populi Romani nomen exstinguere, punctum temporis frui vita et hoc communi spiritu, non putat oportere: atque hoc genus poenae sæpe in improbos cives in hac republica esse usurpatum recordatur. Alter intelligit,

6. *Ante noctem*] For two reasons: 1st, The risk was greater, of a forcible rescue, or of escape of the persons, by night, than by day. 2nd, No decree was legal, if pronounced before sunrise or after sunset. A. Gell. xiv. 7. Seneca de tranquil. Vit. *Maiores nostri novam relationem post horam decimam in senatu fieri vetabunt.*


*Sect. IV.*—1. *Unam D. Silani*] Silanus was consul elect, and afterwards voted for Tiberius Nero's motion: that (according to Appian) the accused should be imprisoned till Catiline's attempt be put down, and that the matter be then fully investigated. *And Plut. Cic. 21.* says that after Cæsar's speech he rose up and explained "ultimum supplicium" by "incarceration."

2. *C. Caesaris*] Praetor elect. Sall. 51. He was thought by some to have a share in the conspiracy. Cic. did not think so. Sall. 49.

3. *Punctum temporis*] A moment; the acc. of time how long.

4. *Alter eos—non putat oportere*] With all these designs these persons were charged, but Cicero omits to mention that as yet they had not been put on their defence, they had not been heard, they had not been convicted. Some of them were probably more guilty than others; and possibly, some one or more not guilty in any degree. *V. E.*

5. *Hoc genus pæna*] Or. i. 11. "Persaepa etiam privati in hac rep. perniciosos cives morte multarunt." But this must have been before the passing of the Porcian law. Sall. 53.

7. Mortem—non supplicii causa]
9. Necessitatem nature] By which whatever is compounded must be resolved into its original elements.
Muret.
10. Eam sapientes] For knowing death to be the result of a law of nature they willingly obey it.
11. Fortes] E. g. Codrus, Curtius, the Decii, and afterwards Cato.
12. Iniquitatem] Because the city from which a conspirator should escape was to be ranked as an enemy to Rome. Muret. Inf. 'Adjungit gravem poenam municipibus, &c.' But Cic. might at least have tried to redress the 'injustice' and overcome the 'difficulty.'
13. Decernatur] Sc. Caesar's pro-

14. Suscipiam] In me recipiam. Manut. I will take upon me to find.
15. Qui non putent] Persons who will not, &c.
16. Ne quis—levare possit] Sall. 55. The penalty was, the being declared a public enemy.
Αἰ δ’ ἐκπίεσε βόσκεις φυγαδές.
18. Publicari] Under the Emperors they said 'confiscare,' from 'fiscus,' the privy-purse; and we have followed them.
20. Apud inferos—voluerunt] Vid. Warburton, D. Leg. iii. 2. 3, where Cicero's opinions, as here expressed, are discussed. Arch. ii. n. 16.
21. Videlicet] Said ironically. Tusc. i. 5. 6. V. E.
telligebant, his remotis, non esse mortem ipsam pertimescendam.

V. Nunc, Patres conscripti, ego mea, video, quid intersit. Si eritis secuti sententiam C. Caesaris: quoniam hanc is in republica viam, quæ popularis habetur, secutus est, fortasse minus erunt, hoc auctore et cognitore hujusce sententiae, mihi populares impetus pertimescendi: sin illam alteram, nescio, an amplius mihi negotii contrahatur. Sed tamen meorum periculum rationes utilitas reipublicæ vincat. Habemus enim a C. Caesare, sicut ipsius dignitas et majorum ejus amplitudo postulat, sententiam tamen tamquam obsidem perpetuæ in rempublicam voluntatis. Intellecutum est, quid intersit inter levitatem concionatorum, et animum vere populem, saluti populi consulentem. Video de istis, qui se populares haberi volunt, abesse non neminem, ne de capite videlicet civium Romanorum sententiam ferat. Is et nudiustertius in custodiam cives Romanos dedit, et supplicationem mihi decretivit, et indices hesterno die maximis praemii affect. Jam hoc nemini dubium est, qui reo custodiam, quæsitori gratulationem, indici praemium decrevit, quid de tota re et causa judicarit. At vero C. Caesar intelligit, legem Semproniam esse de civibus Romanis constitutam: qui autem reipublicæ sit hostis, eum civem esse nullo modo posse:

Sect. V.—1. Mea—quid intersit] i. e. 'Quoad quid sit inter mea negotia.' In what respects my interests are concerned.

2. Popularis habetur] Att. xvi. 16. Popularis erat, ut nòras. Vid. Sext. 45, for the distinction between 'populares' and 'optimates.'


4. Tamquam obsidem] As it were a pledge of his always pursuing the path of true popularity. Cæl. 32. 'Habet a M. Cælio resp. duas accusationes, vel obsides periculi, vel pignora voluntatis.' Muret. So Corn. N. Phoc. 2. Negavit esse periculum, sequa ejus rei obsidem fore.

5. Levitatem] Al. lenitatem.

6. Concionatorum] Demagogues, whose business was to excite the people against the nobles. 'Concio' also is often taken in a bad sense. Att. iv. 3.

7. Non neminem] To what individual senator Cicero here alludes, is not known. The charge of insubordination, on account of his concurrence in the former votes, and his not being present on this occasion, is by no means evident; not even if that were his motive, which Cicero ascribes to him. V. E.

8. Nudius] i. e. 'Nunc dies;' and 'nudiustertius' is three days ago; or, more strictly, the day before yesterday.


10. Quæsitori] Not strictly. Cic. could only be so named as bringing the accused to trial, not as being their judge.

11. Legem Semproniam] This was
denique ipsum latorem legis Sempronii jussu populi poena reipublicae dependisse. Idem ipsum Lentulum largitorem et prodigum non putat, quum de pernicie populi Romani, et exitio hujus urbis, tam acerbe, tamque crudeler cogitarit, appellari posse popularem. Itaque homo mitissimus atque lenissimus non dubitat P. Lentulum aeternis tenebris vinculisque mandare et sancit in posterum, ne quis hujus supplicio levando se jactare, et in pernicie populi Romani posthac popularis esse possit. Adjungit etiam publicationem bonorum, ut omnes animi cruciatus et corporis, etiam egestas ac mendicitas consequatur.

VI. Quamquam sive hoc statueritis, dederitis mihi comitem ad concionem, populo carum atque jucundum; sive Silani sententiam sequi malueritis, facile me atque vos a crudelitatis vituperatione defendetis; atque obtinebo, eam multo leniorem fuisset. Quantum Pop. Patres conscripti, quae post esse in tanti sceleris immanitate punienda crudelitas? Ego enim de meo sensu judico. Nam ita mihi salva publica vobiscum perfrui liceat, ut ego, quod in hac causa vehementior sum, non atrocius animi moveor, (quis enim est me mitior?) sed singulari quadam humanitate et misericordia Videor enim mihi hanc urbe videre, lucem orbis terrarum atque arcem omnium gentium, subito uno incendio concidentem: cerno animo sepultam patriam, miseros atque in-

a law of C. Gracchus, 'de capite civium,' that no citizen should be condemned to death except by the people. Cic. affects to consider the conspirators as no longer citizens; and therefore, without the pale of this law.

12. Jussu pop.] Without any authority from MSS. or earlier edition, Ern. confidently changes this to in jussu. That any sentence against C. Gracchus was passed or ratified by the people, or that their assent in any form was obtained we have no proof; but Cicero may have inferred that assent from their not interfering to preserve his life, as well as from other circumstances to us unknown. Subsequent editors, Beck, Schutz, Weiske, Matthiae, and Wetzel have not here followed Ern. V. E.


14. Se jactare] We say, 'shew off,' 'affect popularity.'

15. Publicationem] Supr. 4. n. 18.

SECT. VI.—1. Atque obtinebo—leniorem fuisses] Al. leviorem. This sentence Matth. omits, but with insufficient authority. V. E.

2. Quamquam] A correction.—Mil. 2. n. 18.

3. Ita] Is here used to introduce an optative. So Att. v. 15. 'Ita vevam, ut maximos sumtos facio.' Also Verr. v. 14.

4. Arcem] The citadel of the whole world. The Delph. thinks there is an allusion to the 'asylum'
sepultos acervos civium: versatur mihi ante oculos adspectus Cethegi, et furor in vestra caede bacchantis. Quum vero mihi proposui regnamentum Lentulum, sicut ipse se ex fatis sperasse confessus est, purpuratum esse hunc Gabiniunm, cum exercitu venisse Catilinam, tum lamentationem matrum-familias, tum fugam virginum atque puerorum, ac vexatio- nem virginiun Vestalium perhorresco: et, quia mihi vehe- menter haec videntur misera atque miseranda, idecirco in eos, qui ea perficere voluerunt, me severum vehementemque præbeo. Etenim quæro, si quis paterfamilias, liberis suis a servo interficit, uxore occisæ, incenso domo, supplecium de servo non quam acerbissimum sumpserit: utrum is clemens ac misericors, an inhumanus et crudelissimus esse videatur? mihi vero importunus ac ferreus, qui non dolore ac crue- litiat nocentis suum dolorem cruciatumque lenierit. Sic nos in his hominibus, qui nos, qui conjuges, qui liberos nostros tru- cidare voluerunt: qui singulas uniuincijusquæ nostrum do- mos, et hoc universum reipublicæ domicilium delere conati sunt: qui id egerunt, ut gentem Allobrogum in vestigiis hujus urbis atque in cinere deflagrati imperii collocarent: si vehementissimi fuerimus, misericordes habebimur: sin remis- siores esse voluerimus, summae nobis crudelitatis in patrie- civiumque pernicie fama subeunda est. Nisi vero cuitiam L. Cæsar, vir fortissimus et amantissimus reipublicæ, cru-

of Romulus, but improbably.

5. _Adspectus Cethegi_ Or. iii. 4. n. 20. 6. _Regnamentum_ Alluding to the Sibylline verses (ex fatis) by which he was destined to monarchy.

7. _Purpuratum—Gabinium_ As one of the titled attendants in the future royal court of Lentulus. Tusc. Qu. i. 43. V. E.

8. _Matruæfamilias_ 'Familias,' the old gen. of 'familia' is added to 'pater, mater, and filius,' to distin- guish them as forming part of a family establishment; to whom, therefore, any injury done is the more heinous, as affecting private and domestic peace. Sall. Cat. 43.

9. _Vexationem_ Persecution.—These, having the care of the most important religious rites, would be among the first to feel the effects of a sacrilegious fury.

10. _Praebeo_ 'Prae—habeo,' hold forth, show myself.

11. _Non quam_ The non is added from Lactant. de ira i. 17; who so quotes the passage. For an example of the cruelty with which Romans punished the slaves whose master was killed, vid. Tac. xiv. 42.

12. _Miti vero_ Nay to my view he would seem not only inhuman, &c., but also devoid of the least spark of feeling, who, &c.

13. _In vestigiis_ In the vestiges which would remain after the burning of the city. Hence he adds, 'in cinere deflagrati imperii.'

14. _L. Cæsar_ Was the son of _L._ D D 2
delior nudinstertius est visus, quum sororis suæ, fœminæ lectissimæ, virum pretentem et audientem, vita privandum esse dixit, quum avum jussu consulis interf ectum, filiumque ejus impuberem, legitum a patre missum, in carere necatum esse dixit. Quorum quod simile factum? quod initum delendæ reipublicæ consilium? Largitionis voluntas tum in republica versata est, et partium quaedam contentio. Atque illo tempore hujus avus Lentuli, clarissimus vir, armatus Gracchum est persecutus: ille etiam grave tum vulnus accepit, ne quid de summa republica minueretur: hic ad evertenda fundamenta reipublicæ Gallos arcessit, servitia concitat, Catilinam vocat, attribuit nos trucidandos Cethego, ceteros cives interficiendos Gabinio, urbem inflammandam Cassio, totam Italianam vastandam diripiendamque Catilinae. Veremini, censeo, ne in hoc scelere tam imm anni ac nefario nimirum aliud severe statuisse videamini; quum multo magis sit verendum, ne remissione poenæ crudeles in patriam, quam ne severitatem animadversionis nimirum vehementes in acerbissimis hostesuisse videamur.

VII. Sed ea, quæ exaudio, Patres conscripti, dissimulare non possum. Jaciuntur enim voces, quæ perveniunt ad aures meas, eorum, qui vereri videntur, ut habemus satis præsidii ad ea, quæ vos statueritis hodierno die, transigunda. Omnia et provisa, et parata, et constitueta sunt, Patres conscripti, quum mea summa cura atque diligentia, tum multo etiam majore populi Romani ad summum imperium retinen-

Julius Caesar, who had married the daughter of M. Fulvius Flaccus, the unfortunate partner in the enterprize and punishment of C. Gracchus. Vell. Pat. ii. 7. 
15. Sororis—virum] Lentulus.—This Julia was mother of M. Antony, of whom Cic. says, Phil. ii. 24, ‘O miseræ mulieris fecunditatem calamitosam! 
16. Præsentem et audientem] In the senate. 
17. Jussu consulis] Opimius.—Mil. 3. n. 19. 
18. Filiumque] About eighteen years old. His elder brother had fallen fighting by his father's side. 
20. Gallos] The Allobrogians.—This enumeration contains nothing new. 
21. Veremini] Al. vereamini.—'Censeo' is 'credor.' 
Sect. VII.—1. Jaciuntur] Al. jactantur; which Scheller and Weiske defend. 'Rem jactare in senatu.' Liv. iii. 10. xxii. 23.—'Jactare voces.' Liv. i. 46. 'presces,' iv. 42. V. E. Ern. says, 'Jactantur conveniret amicis Catilinae. At hic loquentur viri boni, amici causae Cic., sed timidii.' 
2. Verei—ut] Fear that I have not. Mil. 18. n. 7. Introd. 9.
in L. Catilinam, Cap. 7.


4. Summam] i. e. 'Locum primum inter ordines, et jus de rep. deliberandi ac decernendi.' Ern. But Scheller observes that this use of the word is rare.

5. Ex multorum annorum diss.] About sixty—sc. from the passing of the Sempronian law, by which the 'judices' were chosen out of the 'equites.' These, by the Cornelian law of Sylla, were again confined to the senators; but the Aurelian law had, A. D. 683, about seven years ago, re-admitted the knights. The disputes consequent on these changes, Cic. had laboured to remove; and had so far succeeded as to form what he called 'optima respublica;' i. e. a union of the senators and knights against the plebeians. Being based on self interest, however, this union was of short duration.—Hooke, viii. 9.

6. Ad hujus ordinis societ.] i. e. Conjunctionem in republ. quam communem sibi cum senatu putant.—Ern.

7. Tribunos aerarios] Through them the pay passed to the army. V. E. We say, 'paymasters.'

8. Scribas] An order of citizens to whom was entrusted the transcribing of the public acts, and taking notes of the proceedings of the magistrates. Their order is called by Cic. 'honestus.' Verr. iii. 79.

9. Frequentasset—ab expectatione sortis] They had happened, that day, to be assembled in considerable num-
multitudo, etiam tenuissimorum. Quis est enim, cui non haec tempora, adspectus urbis, possessio libertatis, lux denique haec ipsa, et hoc commune patriae solum quum sit curum, tum vero dulce atque jucundum?

VIII. Opera pretium est, Patres conscripti, libertinorum hominum studia cognosce: qui sua virtute fortunam hujus civitatis consecuti, hanc vere suam patriam esse judicant; quam quidam hinc nati et summo nati loco, non patriam suam, sed urbem hostium esse judicaverunt. Sed quid ego hosce homines ordinesque commemorem, quos privatae fortune, quos communis respublica, quos denique libertas, ea, quae dulcissima est, ad salutem patriae defendendam excitationem? Servus est nemo, qui modo tolerabili conditione sit servitus, qui non audaciam civium perhorrescat; qui non haec stare cupiat: qui non tantum, quantum audet, et quantum potest, conferat ad communem salutem, voluntatis. Quare si quem vestrum forte commovet hoc, quod auditum est, lenonem quendam Lentuli concursare circum tabernas, pretio sperare sollicitari posse animos egentium atque imperitum, est id quidem coeptum atque tentatum: sed nulli sunt inventi tam aut fortuna miseri, aut voluntate perditi, qui non ipsum illum selle atque operis et questus quotidiani locum, qui non cubile ac lectulum suum, qui denique non cursor hume otiosum vitae sua salvum esse velint. Multo vero maxima pars eorum, qui in tabernis sunt, inmo vero (id enim potius est dicendum) genus hoc universal, amantissimum est otii. Etenim omne eorum instrumentum, om-
nus opera ac quæstus frequentia civium sustentatur, alitur
otio: quorum si quæstus, occlusis tabernis, minui solet, quid tandem incensis futurum fuit.

IX. Quæ quum ita sint, Patres conscripti, vobis populi Romani præsidia non desunt: vos ne populo Romano deesse videamini, providete. Habetis consulem ex plurimis periculis et insidiis, atque ex media morte, non ad vitam suam sed ad salutem vestram reservatum: omnes ordines ad conservandum rempublicam mente, voluntate, studio, virtute, voce consentiunt; obsessa facibus et telis impia conjurati-
onis, vobis supplex manus tendit patria communis: vobis se, vobis vitam omnium civium, vobis aream et Capitolium, vobis aras Penatium, vobis illum ignem Vestae perpetuum ac sem-
piternum, vobis omnia templi deorum atque delubra, vobis muros atque urbis tecta commendat. Præterea de vesta vita, de conjugum vestrarum ac liberorum anima, de for-
tunis omnium, de sedibus, de focis vestris, hodierno die vobis judicandum est. Habetis ducem, memorem vestri, oblitum sui, quæ non semper facultas datur: habetis omnes ordines, omnes homines, universum populum Romanum, id quod in civili causa hodierno die primum videmus, unum atque idem sentientem. Cogitate, quantis laboribus funda-
tum imperium, qua virtute stabilitam libertatem, qua deorum benignitate aucta exaggeratasque fortunas una nox quam pene delerit. Id ne unquam posthac non modo con-
cifi, sed ne cogitari quidem possit a civibus, hodierno die providendum est. Atque haec, non ut vos, qui milii studio
talis a Virg. Georg. i. 183, assig-
netur. Delph.

9. Oeclusis] In war, tumult, or public mourning; 'incensus,' if the conspirators had effected their designs. Muret.

10. Futurum fuit] Al. est. In the present tense, the verb indicates that the fire is now about to be set to them. Matth. V. E.

Sect. IX.—1. Quæ quum, &c.] The peroration, wherein Cic. recommends the senate to support the proposition of Silanus. Introd. 9.

2. Ex plurimis periculis, &c.] Introd. 3.

3. Omnes ordines] He had just in-
stanced the knights, tribunes of the treasury, scribes, and libertines. He was addressing the senate.

4. Penatium] Cic. Nat. Deor. 27, derives 'penates' from 'penus,' a gene-
ral name for food; or from 'penitus.' The names of the Roman 'penates' are not well ascertained, some reckoning Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva; others adding Vesta and Mercury; but Var. says, 'nec eorum nomen-
rum, nec nomina sciri.'

5. Hodierne die] To intimate the urgency of the case. Schol.


7. Non modo—ne—quidem] Or. i.
M. T. CICERONIS ORATIO IV.

pæne præcurröris, excitare, locutus sum: sed ut mea vox, quæ debet esse in republica princeps, officio functa consulari videtur.

X. Nunc antequam, Patres conscripti, ad sententiam redeo, de me paуча dicam. Ego, quanta manus est conjuratorum, quam videtis esse permagnum, tantam me inimicorum multitúdinem suscepisse video: sed eam esse judicó turpem et infirmam, contemptam et abjectam. Quod si alíquando alicujus furore et scelere concítata manus ista plus valuerit, quam vestra ac reipublicae dignitas: me tamen memórum factorum atque consiliorum nunquam, Patres conscripti, pœnitebit. Etenim mors, quam illi mihi fortasse mimitantur, omnibus est parata: vita tantam laudem, quanto vos me vestris decrétis honestatis, nemo est assecutus. Ceteris enim semper bene gestæ, mihi uni conservatæ reipublicæ gratulationem decretivístis. Sit Scipio clarus ille, cujus consilio atque virtute Hannibal in African redire atque ex Italia decedere coactus est: ornétur alter eximia laude Africanus, qui duas urbes huic imperio infestissimas Carthaginem Numantiamque delevit: habeatur vir egregius L. Paullus ille, cujus currum rex potentissimus quíondam et nobilissimus, Perses honestavit: sit in æterna gloria Marius, qui bis Italian obsidione et metu servitutis liberavit: anteponatur omnibus Pompeius, cujus res gestae atque virtutes iisdem, quibus solís cursus, regionibus ac terminis continentur. Erit profecto inter horum laudes aliquid loci

10. n. 4.

Sect. X.—1. Ad sententiam Sc. rogandam; to the collecting of the votes.


3. Bene gestæ—conservatae reip. i.e. Ob bene gestam—republicam. 'Quarum gratulationem expectavi.'

Fam. v. 7.—Al. bene gesta—conservata reip. V. E. 'Gratulatio' est supplicatio qua diüs gratias agebant. Phil. xiv. 6. Graev.

4. Sit Scipio] Cic. shows his splendid powers of oratory by the variety of lights in which he has set the five generals, with whom he has chosen to put himself in competition. The first is Scipio Africanus, of whom vid. Manil. 16. n. 13.


6. Alter—Africanus] Manil. 20. n. 5. So Muren. 28. 'Bis consul fuerat P. Africanus, et duo terrores huic imperii, Carthaginæm Numantiamque deleverat.'


9. Anteponatur] Deiot. 4. 'Tanto ille superiores vicerat gloria quanto, &c.'

nóstæ glorìæ: nisi forte majus est patefacere nobis provincias, quo exire possimus, quam curare, ut etiam illi, qui absunt, habeam, quo victores revertantur. Quamquam est uno loco conditio melior externæ victoriae, quam domesticae, quod hostes alienigenæ aut oppressi serviunt, aut receptioni beneficio se obligatos putant: qui autem ex numero civium, dementia aliqua depravati, hostes patriæ semel esse coeperunt, eos, quos a pernicië reipublicæ repuleris, nec vi coercere, nec beneficio placare possis. Quare mihi cum perditis civibus ætérnum bellum susceptionem esse video: quod ego vestro, honorumque omnium auxilio, memoriaque tantorum periculum, quæ non modo in hoc populo, qui servatus est, sed etiam in omnium gentium sermonibus ac membris semper haerēbit, a me atque a meis facile propulsari posse confido. Neque ulla propecto tanta viis reperietur, quæ conjunctionem vestram equitumque Romanorum, et tantam conspirationem honorum omnium perfringere et labefactare possit.

XI. Quæ quum ita sint, Patres conscripti, pro imperio, pro exercitu, pro provincia, quam neglexĭ, pro triumpho, ceterisque laudis insignibus, quæ sunt a me propter urbis vestræque salutis custodiam repudiata, pro clientelis hospitiisque provincialibus, quae tamen urbanis opibus non minore labore tueor, quam comparo: pro his igitur omnibus rebus, et pro meis in vos singularibus studiis, proque hac, quam perspicitis, ad conservandum rempublicam diligentia, nihil aliud a vobis, nisi hujus temporis totiusque mei consulatus memoriarn postulo: quæ dum erit vestris mentibus infixa, firmissimo me muro sæptum esse arbitrabor. Quod si mean

11. Illi qui absunt] Alluding to Pompey, now engaged in the Mithridatic war. Cic., Off. i. 22, introduced Pompey acknowledging 'frustra se triumphum tertium deportaturum fuisset, nisi meo in remp. beneficio, ubi triumpharet, habiturus esset.'

12. Quamquam] A correction.—Mil. 2. n. 18.

13. Uno loco] In one respect.—V. E.

14. Recepti] Sc. 'in amicitiam.'

Received into alliance.

15. Conjunctionem] Alluding to the coalition noticed supr. 7. n. 5.

Sect. XI.—1. Pro imperio—neglexi] These relate to the province, to the government of which Cicero was entitled on the expiration of his consulate, and which he resigned. Had he accepted it, he might have obtained a triumph with the honours attending it, and the benefit of connecting himself with the clients and hospites, which such a command produces. Plut. Cic. 12. V. E. Or. iii. 11. n. 1.

2. Non minore labore tueor, quam comparo] Dem. says similarly, χαλε-
spem vis improborum fefellerit atque superaverit, commendovbis parvum meum filium; cui profecto satis erit præsidii; non solum ad salutem, verum etiam ad dignitatem, si ejus, qui haec omnia suo solius periculo conservaverit, illum esse filium memineritis. Quapropter de summa salute vestra, populique Romani, Patres conscripti, de vestris conjugibus ac libera, de aris ac focis, de fanis ac templis, de totius urbem tectis ac sedibus, de imperio, de libertate, de salute Italice, de que universa republica decernite diligenter, ut instituistis, ac fortiter. Habetis enim eum consulem, qui et parere vestris decretis non dubitet, et ea, quae statueritis, quoad vivet, defendere et per se ipsum præstare9 possit.

3. Per se ipsum præstare] Take on himself and execute, on his own responsibility: quoad is introduced before possit in some MSS.

The opinion of Cicero, confirmed by Cato in a subsequent harangue, prevailed in the senate: the conspirators were strangled the same night, in the prison. V. E. Vid. Hooke, viii. 9, for reasons why this speech was never pronounced.
INTRODUCTION TO THE ORATIONS*

AGAINST

MARCUS ANTONIUS.

1. J. Cæsar and M. Antony were consuls, A. u. 709. Cæsar was also dictator, and Lepidus, master of the horse. The first day of that year was remarkable for the opposition given by M. Antony to his colleague, who, on the prospect of setting out to the Parthian war to revenge the fall of Crassus, was proceeding to nominate Dolabella to succeed him in the consulship, which he intended to resign, when he was opposed by Antony; who, as augur, threatened to interpose his negative, Phil. ii. 32. His persisting in this opposition, and the fact of Cæsar being obliged, about this time, to be strongly guarded in passing Dolabella's house, (Att. xiii. 52,) show clearly the hollow nature of his greatness. No doubt, Cæsar, though he did not withdraw his nomination, (Phil. i. 13,) was obliged to make such concessions to Antony, as offended the impetuous Dolabella. The feast of the Lupercal was held on the fifteenth of February; at which the offer of a crown was made to Cæsar by Antony, and rejected (Phil. ii. 34). This circumstance, however, probably hastened his fate; for, on the Ides of March, he was assassinated.

2. There is no complete list of the conspirators: Cicero says of them, (Phil. ii. 11,) "Partim obscuris, partim adolescentibus,"—but Brutus and Cassius, the leading prætors of the year, were the principal men. Cicero was not among the conspirators, though Antony, to excite odium against him, charged him with being privy to it (Phil. ii. 12). The real reason of his being

* It appears from Plut. (Cic. 48,) that Cic. himself affixed the name of Philippics to these orations: Ἀὐτὸς τε γὰρ ὁ Κικέρων τὸς κατ' Ἀντώνιος λόγος Φιλιππικὸς ἔπειτε.
passed over is given by Plutarch (Cic. 42), namely—his timidity and aged caution. After the deed was done, the conspirators fled to the capitol, and Antony to his house. On the day after the Ides but one, i. e. the seventeenth of March, the senate met in the temple of Tellus, and Cicero, though reluctantly, attended (Phil. ii. 35); for, even then, armed men were surrounding the senate. It was on this occasion that he made his celebrated speech, recommending an amnesty, or general forgiveness of injuries (Phil. i. 1), and the settlement of the republic on its old basis. This speech is not extant except in the pages of Dio Cassius (l. xlv. 63). Antony, who had ventured to summon the senate, spoke also to the same effect, and offered his own son as a hostage of his sincerity. It was decreed that there should be no judicial inquiry concerning Caesar’s death—that his acts and decrees should be ratified, and that he should have a public funeral, the conducting of which was to be intrusted to Antony.—Then it was that the conspirators descended from the capitol, which they had seized, and were entertained by the Cæsarians; Brutus supping with Lepidus, and Cassius with Antony.

3. It was on the following day, or eighteenth, according to Appian, that the provinces of the empire were decreed to the conspirators: Crete, it is said, to Brutus, Africa to Cassius, to Trebonius, Asia, to Cimber, Bithynia, and to D. Brutus, Cisalpine Gaul. Some of these provinces had been previously conferred by Cæsar, who, in anticipation of a protracted stay in Parthia, had nominated the principal magistrates for two (some say five) years in advance.

Then came the funeral, and the erection of the column in the forum, inscribed “Parenti Patræ.” It was the violent conduct of the mob, on this occasion, and their treatment of Helvius Cinna, whom they mistook for Cornelius Cinna, the prætor, who had lauded the conspirators as tyrannicides, that induced Brutus and Cassius to leave the city. For this purpose, Antony readily procured a decree setting aside the restriction on the city prætors, by which a longer absence than ten days was forbidden. Phil. ii. 13. Accordingly, they retired to Lanuvium, about fifteen miles from Rome. But D. Brutus, having endeavoured in vain to obtain, first a guard, and next, an honorary legation for the conspirators, withdrew to his assigned province, Cisalpine Gaul; while Trebonius set out privately to Asia, Cimber to Bithynia, and Cicero to—his villas!

4. Antony had previously made some popular laws, particularly one, by which he abolished the dictatorship (Phil. i. 1), and had inspired the republican party with such confidence, by his punish-
ment of the Pseudo-Marius, that they agreed to a personal inter-
view with him, which he contrived to make satisfactory. The
conduct and fate of this Marius make it credible, that while
Cicero and the conspirators were thus withdrawn from the city,
the greatest confusion reigned there; partly owing to the veterans,
who, enraged at the murder of their general, committed every
excess, partly to those desperate characters, who, like Marius,
hoped to raise their fortunes in times of public anarchy. Still
the conspirators had a considerable body of the people in their
favour, as appears by the plaudits which were bestowed on the
conspirators at the Megalensian games, on the seventh of April
(Att. xiv. 2), and subsequently, in July, at the praetor's shews
(Phil. i. 15).
5. In the mean time, Antony, with all his fair appearances,
was not slow in undermining the republican cause. He had
emissaries in the different towns, buying and storing grain, so
that Cicero (Att. xiv. 3) was unable to procure supplies for his
workmen at Tusculanum. The veterans, too, who were in and
about the city, receiving assignments of lands for their services,
were easily gained by the obvious motives of revenge and plunder
(Phil. i. 2). To render the prospects of the republicans still more
gloomy, it appears from a letter of Cicero (Att. xiv. 5), written
on the eleventh of April, that some of the Gallic legions, remark-
able for their devotion to Caesar, were approaching the city,
already environed by the intended Parthian army and the veter-
ans; while Brutus and Cassius kept within doors! In the mean
time Antony left Rome, on a tour or progress through Italy, with
the intention of engaging the veterans in the different colonies in
his cause. He had previously appointed the first of June for the
meeting of the senate; and left Dolabella, whom he admitted as
his colleague in the consulship, in charge of the city; who, in this
capacity, gained great credit with the senate, by his firmness in
opposing the mob, and overthrowing the pillar which had been
built in the forum (Phil. i. 2). It was in this state of affairs that
Octavius, afterwards Augustus, who was then at Apollonia, in
Greece, waiting to accompany Caesar to Parthia, hearing of his
uncle's death, returned to Italy; and we find him, on the nine-
teenth of April, on a visit to Cicero, at Puteoli, who then hesi-
tated to join him, as he afterwards imprudently did. In this per-
plexity, Cicero first meditated a journey to Greece, and communi-
cated to Atticus (xiv. 12) his doubts and his intentions. In the
mean time Antony, who had returned to Rome, was making every
use of Caesar's papers, which had fallen into his hands, to
INTRODUCTION.

strengthen his interests. For about the end of May, Cicero writes to Cassius (Fam. xii. 1), "ut adhuc quidem actum est, non regno, sed rege liberati videremur. . . . . . . . Tabulæ figuntur; immunitates dantur; pecuniae maximæ describuntur, exsules reducuntur; senatusconsulta falsa referuntur, &c., &c." The first of June, the time appointed for the meeting of the senate, was drawing nigh, and Cicero returned to Rome to be present.—Antony, however, appeared, attended by a military guard, which so intimidated the senators that they fled (Phil. ii. 42). Cicero retired to Tusculanum; thence, on the third of June, he wrote to Atticus (xv. 9), expressing great indignation at a report that a decree was to be passed on the Nones, appointing Brutus com-troller of grain for Asia, and Cassius for Sicily. It was true, however, and the subject of much deliberation among the parties, before it was accepted (Att. xv. 11). This shows that the re-publican ardour was fast cooling in the breasts of the people, and it determined Cicero to withdraw from Italy, till he should see what turn affairs might take. His resolution being to visit Athens, where his son was then studying, and not to return before the first of January, when Hirtius and Pansa entered on their consul-ship; he determined to take the usual route by land to Brundi-sium, and thence to Buthrotum, in Epirus. He was obliged, how-ever, to alter his purpose, owing to the veterans of Cæsar, that were stationed in the south of Italy, and Brundisium (Phil. i. 3). He then resolved on sailing from Puteoli, and proceeding through the straits. He did set sail from Pompeianum about the middle of July (Att. xvi. 3), and proceeding slowly round the coast, he stopped at Velia, and had an interview with Brutus (Phil. i. 4), which proved to be the last.

7. We find in the first Philippic a full account of his move-ments from this time. On the thirty-first of August he arrived at Rome, and, though expressly summoned by Antony, who no doubt, hoped by acting on his fears, to gain his approval of the measures to be proposed, he did not attend the senate. This so provoked Antony, that he gave utterance to those threats against Cicero, which are alluded to in the first Philippic (c. 5), and from which, in a great degree, originated his subsequent oppo-sition to Antony. Plutarch writes that the soldiers of Antony actually visited Cicero's house, and were with difficulty induced to retire on receiving his pledges. But it is likely that he him-self records the worst. Cicero attended the senate the following day, and pronounced the
INTRODUCTION.

FIRST PHILIPPIC ORATION.

8. In this speech Cicero first explained the reasons of his departure from the city, and unexpected return, c. 1—4. After animadverting on Antony's treatment of him, for not being present in the senate, on Piso's motion, c. 5—6, he addresses himself to the question before the house—whether Caesar's acts are to be maintained—and shows that no one is farther from maintaining them than Antony himself; who, to suit his own views, is virtually violating Caesar's most important laws. Of this he gives instances, c. 7—10. After deprecating the resentment at least ungenerous resentment of Antony, c. 11, he directs himself to Dolabella, who was present, and Antony, who was absent, and exhorts them to pursue the true path of glory, which he points out, and defines, c. 12—15. This speech so irritated Antony, that he resolved to keep no measures with him, and commanded his attendance on the twentieth of September. This command, Cicero, by the advice of his friends, declined to obey. The day came, and Antony, who had been studying for seventeen days previous, in the Tiburtine villa of Scipio, (Phil. v. 7,) made a most intemperate speech against Cicero, the general drift of which may be collected from Cicero's reply, which is contained in the

SECOND PHILIPPIC ORATION.

9. This oration is supposed to be made on the same day as Antony's (c. 43), but it was never actually delivered, nor more than handed about in manuscript among Cicero's friends, Att. xv. 13; xvi. 11, at least till Antony was declared a public enemy. Besides a refutation of the charges of Antony, it contains a severe stricture upon his whole life, and is thought to have given rise to that irreconcileable enmity which terminated in his death. Juv. x. 119.

In the exordium a comparison is instituted between Antony, Catiline, Clodius, &c., c. 1. Then follows a reply to various charges of Antony: of violated friendship—of ingratitude to the preserver of his life—of having, during his consulship, filled the capitol with armed men—of refusing burial to Lentulus, his stepfather—of abetting the murder of Clodius—of causing the civil war, by exciting enmity between Caesar and Pompey, and of advising Caesar's assassination, c. 2—14. A severe reprehension of Antony follows, for censuring Cicero's conduct in the camp of Pompey, c. 15, for denying that his friends left him bequests,
c. 16, and this part of the speech concludes by noticing the mea-
gre results of Antony's long study under the tuition of Sext. 
Clodius. c. 17.

10. Then follows the second part of the oration, in which is 
reviewed the life of Antony: his youth, c. 18; his conduct 
under Gabinius, in the affairs of Ptolemy, c. 19; his quaestorship 
under Caesar, c. 20, and his venal tribuneship, c. 21—23. His 
acts, immediately after the battle of Pharsalia, are next reviewed, 
c. 24—25: then his insolent invasion of Pompey's property after 
the return of Caesar from Alexandria, c. 26—28. His courage 
is next called in question, for not accompanying his patron to 
Spain, who allowed him, on his return, to be sued for the price of 
Pompey's estate, c. 29. Then follows the notice of his attempted 
journey into Spain, c. 30, 31, of his servile conduct towards 
Caesar after his return, and his perfidy to Dolabella, c. 32, 33.— 
A description of his offering a diadem to Caesar, at the Lupercal 
games, is given c. 34, his presiding at Caesar's funeral, c. 35, and 
pronouncing his funeral eulogium, c. 36. Various acts of injus-
tice: the sale of immunities, kingdoms, &c., are next dwelt on, and 
his base conduct in the progress through Italy, subsequent to 
Caesar's death, c. 37—41. Cicero then notices his violation of 
Caesar's laws on his return to Rome, and neglecting even the 
rites due to his patron's memory, 42, 43. Lastly, death is held 
out as the necessary consequence of his violation of public liberty, 
c. 44.

In conclusion, he compares the pretensions of Antony and 
Caesar, and infers, that if the Roman people did not endure Caesar, 
much less would they Antony; that therefore Antony should 
abandon his design against the liberty of his country; that, as 
for himself, he was prepared for death; his only wish being, first, 
to leave his country free, and next that every traitor might meet 
his deserts, c. 45, 46.

11. In order to connect with it the ninth philippic (the 
intermediate orations being omitted) it may be briefly observed, 
that on the ninth of October, Antony set out for Brundisium, to 
gain over to his cause four legions which had been sent forward 
into Macedonia by Caesar, but which, on hearing of his death, 
had returned to Italy. With these he succeeded so badly (only 
one, the Alaudæ, declaring for him, Hooke x. 12,) that returning 
hastily to Rome, he soon set out for Gaul, which he claimed as 
his province, and which D. Brutus was holding for the senate.— 
He finally besieged D. Brutus in Mutina, whose cause Cicero as-
sisted at Rome, with those eloquent effusions which compose the 
third, fourth and fifth philippics. He was opposed,
however, by a strong faction of Antony's friends, who, under pre-
tence of recommending peace, prevented Antony from being declar-
ed a public enemy, and obliged Cicero to rest satisfied with an em-
bassy to him, consisting of three senators, Piso, Philip, and Sul-
picius. Cicero, in the mean time, found it necessary, on the de-
parture of the ambassadors, to encourage the minds of his party, 
who were strongly inclining to peace with Antony—and this he 
executes in the sixth and seventh philippics. The 
eighth he pronounced on the return of the embassy with the 
demands of Antony, and after the senate had declared his war a 
tumult. Sulpicius, one of the ambassadors, who left Rome in a 
bad state of health, died when he had nearly reached his desti-
nation; and, on a motion being made in the senate, to honour him 
with a public funeral, it gave Cicero an opportunity of pronounc-
ing that noble eulogium on his character and services, which con-
stitutes the

NINTH PHILIPPIC.

12. This speech does not require a lengthened analysis.—
After praising the patriotism of Ser. Sulpicius, who had hazarded 
his life to serve his country, c. 1, he commends the consul, Pansa, 
for his alacrity in summoning the senate, and replies to an objec-
tion of Servilius—that a statue was only due to him who had died 
by the sword in the service of his country, 2—5. He adds, 
among his reasons, that Sulpicius himself would prefer a brazen 
statue, and concludes with a particular account of its position, 
inscription, &c.
I. Antequam de republica, Patres conscripti, dicam ea, quae dicenda hoc tempore arbitror, exponam vobis breviter consilium et profectionis et reversionis meae. Ego quam sperarem, aliquando ad vestrum consilium auctoritatemque rempublicam esse revocatam, manendum mihi statutebam, quasi in vigilia quadam consulari ac senatoria. Nec vero usquam discedebam, nec a republica dejiciebam oculos, ex eo die, quo in ædem Telluris convocati sumus.

* Vid. Introd. 8.

Sect. I.—I. Antequam] This speech being of the deliberative kind, does not require a regular exordium. Cicero, therefore proceeds at once to the proposition and division of his subject.

2. Reversionis meæ] Reversio is a return occasioned by accidental circumstances; 'reditus,' when it is designed. Att. xvi. 7 Manut. Yet 'reditus' is afterwards used by Cic., to express this very return. Phil. ii. 30.

3. Auctoritatem] For the senate could not be said to have any authority, when Caesar, as perpetual dictator, was directing every measure as he pleased.

4. Consulari ac senatoria] Cicero was both ex-consul and senator. The former, it is implied, demanded greater vigilance than the latter. Cicero exerted both.

5. Usquam discedebam—dejiciebam oculos] The metaphor is here taken from sentinels on duty.


7. Ædem Telluris] This temple,
In quo templo, quantum in me fuit, jeci fundamenta pacis. Atheniensiumque renovavi vetus exemplum, Graecum etiam verbum usurpavi, quo tum in sedandis discordiis usa erat civitas illa, atque omnem memoriam discordiarum oblivione sempiterna delendam censui. Praeclara tum oratio M. Antonii, egregia etiam voluntas; pax denique per eum et per liberos ejus cum praestantissimis civibus confirmata est. Atque his principis reliqua consentiebant. Ad deliberationes eas, quas habebat domi de republica, principes civitatis adhibebat; ad hunc ordinem res optimas defere-

dedicated to Tellus or Ops, stood in the forum not far from the Capitol.—The senate was, of necessity, held in a sacred place; and it is probable that this one was most convenient for the parties. The conspirators were then in the Capitol. Appian, however, says it lay contiguous to Antony’s house, as owing to the gladiators of Decimus Brutus, he did not dare to summon the senate to the Curia, which lay nearer the Capitol.

8. Templo] ‘Ædes,’ a building erected to a deity, without auguries; ‘templum,’ a place, or building, duly consecrated. The temple of Tellus was both.


10. Atheniensium—exemplum] In the last year of the Peloponnesian war, the Athenians were so far reduced, as to make it a question with their enemies, whether the city and very name of Athens should not be destroyed. The Spartans, however, being unwilling, as they expressed it, to put out one of the eyes of Greece, the city was allowed to stand, but its fortifications and fleet were destroyed, and thirty men, the creatures of its oppressors, appointed to govern it.—Their acts of cruelty roused up an avenger in Thrasybulus, who had fled from their tyranny to Phyle, a strong castle in Attica, and who, collecting together a small band of his countrymen, seized on the Piræus, and fortified Munychia. The tyrants, having failed in several attempts to dislodge him, in one of which Critias, their general, was slain, were obliged to yield up the city to Thrasybulus, and go into banishment. They were soon after slain in an attempted invasion of Athens. It was then that Thrasybulus brought forward his famous decree or act of amnesty, by which he not only forbade all impeachments and punishments for what was past, but even the very mention of them. Cicero, after the extinction of Caesar’s despotism, did the same.


12. Oratio M. Antonii] This speech was all about concord and healing measures. Inf. 13. ‘Quae fuit oratio de concordia,’ Phil. ii. 36.

13. Per liberos] Not strictly; for it appears that Antony sent only one son as a hostage. Phil. ii. 36. Inf. 13. ‘Republicae tuus pavillus filius in Capitolium a te missus pacis obses fuit.’ He was the son of Antony, by Septimia, the daughter of Fadius Bamba


15. Principes civitatis] i. e. ‘The leading senators.’ Sext. 45. ‘Defensores optimatum, ipsique optimates

II. Lux quædam videbatur oblata, non modo regno, quod pertuleramus, sed etiam regni timore sublato; magnificentum pignis ab eo reipublicæ datum, se liberam civitatem esse velle, quem dictatoris nomen, quod sæpe just-


16. Deferebat] Ernesti would read referebat, or understand deferebat in that sense. For there is no point in saying that he laid before the senate ‘res optimas,’ unless he did so in quality of consul.


18 Restituti] Sciil. a Cæsare.

19. Unum aiebat] This, it is probable, was Sextus Clodius, a kinsman of P. Clodius, who was banished for exciting public disturbances on the occasion of his death. Antony had married Fulvia, the widow of Clodius, and was therefore called upon to interere in the case of a relative. The Delph. makes him ‘filius P. Clodii,’ but the son of P. Clodius was probably then residing in Antony’s house, who calls him (Att. xiv. 13), ‘in optimo sē puerum repositum.’


21. Post Idus Martias] The day on which Cesar was slain.


23. Dictaturam] Sylla and Cesar had been perpetual dictators.


25. Auctoritate] Equivalent to ‘sententia,’ to which we find it joined elsewhere. Thus Manil. 20, ‘Catuli auctoritas et sententia.’


Sect. II.—1. Lux quædam] ‘A ray of light,’ i.e. safety; ‘lux’ for ‘salus’ is usual in Latin, as φῶς in Greek.

2. Oblata] Al. aborta; but Cicero seems to prefer the compounds of ‘fero,’ so ‘pertuleramus,’ ‘sublato,’ following.


4. Dictatoris] This word, derived by Varro from ‘dico,’ quod a console diceretur, is evidently from ‘dictare.’
The office of dictator, created A. v. 252, had been disused for upwards of a century before Sylla, and ended in Cæsar.

5. Justum] Regularly appointed, legal. 'Quod—fuisset,' though it had been.

6. Perpetuae dicturae] Cæsar's. It does not appear that this magistracy was voted to him for a longer space than ten years. Dio 48. Cic. no doubt thought this equivalent to perpetual.

7. Uncus impactus] This does not determine the punishment of the Pseudo-Marius, as the hook was employed to drag the bodies of criminals either to the pile, the Gemonian Scælæ, or the Tiber. It was stuck in the throat, as Juven. 'fixo gutturä fumant.' The culprit was often stranded in prison, his body dragged to the Gemonian Scælæ, and finally thrown into the Tiber. Hence Juven. 'Sejanus ducitur unco spectandum, &c.,' and 'dum jacet in ripa.' The Gemonian scælæ lay near the entrance to the state prison or Tullianum, on the descent from the capitol to the forum. Hence Val. Max. vi. 11, speaking of Q. Cæpio, 'Corpus ejus—in scalis Gemonios jacens, magnum cum honore totius fori Romani conspectum est.' 'Gemoniae' is derived either from one Gemonius, who was the first exposed to that place, or from 'Gemere.' The Greek writers call it simply ἀναβασμοί.

8. Fugitivo] This man, called variously Chamaces, Hierophilus, Amatius; but who styled himself, (Att. xii. 49.) C. Marius, C. F. C. N., i.e. 'C. Marius, the son of Caius, the grandson of Caius,' had given Cæsar much trouble during his absence in the Spanish war, by his absurd pretensions to relationship with Marius, with Crassus, and even with Cicero, through which he had imposed on many of the towns of Italy. Cæsar had these examined into, and finding him a mere impostor, ordered him to be banished. On hearing of Cæsar's death, he returned, and pretending to be the son of Marius by Julia, the aunt of Cæsar, and therefore related to Cæsar himself, he put himself at the head of the mob, proposed to revenge his death on the conspirators, and built an altar before his pile; said by some to be the 'columna' which Dolabella demolished. Antony, however, put him to death without trial, which the senate took as a good omen of his intentions towards the conspirators and the republic.

9. Colleger—Dolabella] Dolabella was of the Cornelian family, but became a plebeian by adoption, in order to stand for the tribuneship, which he obtained A. v. 796; and about this time, married Tullia, the favourite daughter of Cic. In his tribuneship he committed several illegal acts, which are alluded to infra. c. 12. 'Recordare quæso, Dolabella, &c.' In these he was opposed by Antony, then master of the horse, and the consequent disturbances were only settled by the return of Cæsar from Egypt. He took Dolabella into favour, and raised him to the consulship before he was of competent age, or had been praetor. After Cæsar's death, Antony, who, as Augur, had declared his election informal, withdrew his objection, and
admitted him as his colleague. For some time he acted a patriotic part, but afterwards joined Antony in oppressing the republican party; for setting out for Syria, which province Antony had procured for him, he treacherously put to death Trebonius, the first conspirator who suffered, at Smyrna, in Asia Minor. For this act Cassius, who had previously seized on the province of Syria, took ample vengeance, by obliging him to kill himself in Laodicea, when he had besieged him with a superior force. 10. **Collega abfuisset** During the months of April and May. Introd. 5. 11. **Communia** Yet Phil. ii. 42, Cic. says, that Antony on hearing of Dolabella’s conduct swooned away. 12. **Serperet in urbe** ‘In urbem’ would be ‘into the city.’ But Cic. means that being there, it spread through it. ‘Serpo,’ ἐπισφῶ, βιβισφῶ. 13. **Bustum** Properly a burned pile, ‘locus in quo mortuus est combustus,’ but here a monument or pillar (columna exsecrata) raised by the mob to Caesar on the spot where the burning took place. Hence Phil. ii. 42, ‘bustum in foro evertit.’ We must not confound it with the pillar described by Suet. Jul. 85, as being made of Numidian stone, and inscribed ‘Parenti Patriæ;’ for the mob used it as a sort of altar for a long time (longo tempore); whereas Dola-

bella destroyed the pillar in question about a month from Caesar’s death. Att. xiv. 15. 14. **Insepultam sepult.** Caesar’s funeral was left to Antony to conduct, who, having made a short funeral oration in the forum, (Phil. ii. 36. ‘Tua illa pulchra laudatio, &c.’) was about to proceed with the body to the Campus Martius, where a pile was prepared, when amidst the tumult of grief, some persons set fire to the robes that covered the corpse, and a pile was instantly raised of every thing combustible, till the fire burned the house of L. Bellienuis. Hence the epithet ‘insepulta,’ as Phil. ii. 36, ‘si funus illud fuit.’ Compare γάμος ἀγαμός, &c., of the tragic poets, which Cic. had found imitated in the verse ‘Qua tempestate Paris Helenam innuptis junxit nuptis.’ De Or. iii. 59. Also Lucan. vii. 820, ‘funus inhumatum.’ 15. **Cum audaces servos—tum nefarios liberos** Hence Att. xiv. 15, ‘de saxo in crucem.’ The slaves were crucified; the freeman cast from the Tarpeian rock. 16. **Exsecratae.** Perhaps from the unhallowed rites offered at it; or its being dedicated to a tyrant; or Dolabella might have used a form of exorcism. 17. **Ab illo uno die** On which he had demolished the column, probably in April, and ‘reliquum tem
nia: nihil per senatum, multa et magna per populum, et absente populo et invito. Consules designati negabant se audere in senatum venire; patriæ liberatores urbe carebant ea, cujus a cervicibus jugum servile dejeicerant: quos tamen ipsi consules et in concionibus et in omni sermone laudabant. Veterani qui appellabantur, quibus hic ordo diligentissime caverat, non ad conservationem earum rerum, quas habebant, sed ad spem novarum prœdarum incitabantur. Quæ quum audire mallem, quam videre, haberemque jus legationis liberum, ea mente disessi, ut adsem Kalendis Januarii, quod initium senatus cogendi fore videbat.

pus' extends to the second of Sept., the date of this oration. Ern. would read primo die.

18. Per populum—populo] Antony employed the agency of the populus, but the people were neither present nor consenting.


20. Patricia liberatores] Brutus, Cassius, &c.


22. Veterani qui appellabantur] A1. appellabantur. The name of veterans may be here questioned, on account of the abuses practised in the irregular discharge, and rewarding, under that appellation, of many not entitled to it; or the verb may merely import that they were called up, probably by Antony. V. E. Quint.

20. 'Tribuni igitur appellabantur,' Antony had, in a late progress through Italy, been tampering with the veterans there, and at Rome had many in his pay called by Cic. facetiously 'Antony's advocates.' Inf. 7. Phil. ii. 39.

23. Quibus hic ordo] Various lands in the neighbourhood of Capua and elsewhere were assigned to the veterans by the senate.

24. Jus legationis liberum] Explained by some, 'the right of embassy, free to be accepted by Cicero or not.' But it is the same as 'legationis liberæ,' which is often used by Cicero elsewhere. It was an honorary privilege granted to senators who were going abroad on private, or wished for a pretext to withdraw from public affairs, and secured to them all the respect and attention of public functionaries. It was called 'libera,' either because the holder was not obliged to lay it down on entering the city, as was the case with other offices, or because it was not restricted in point of time or place. Cic., however, who had laboured to remove it as an oppression on the provinces, got it limited to a year, which Caesar, if the passage is rightly understood, afterwards extended to five. (Att. xv. 11.) There was a species of it called 'votiva,' which, though more honourable, Cic. declined on this occasion, as unsuited to the deplorable state of the republic. It is remarkable that Cic. (Att. xv. 11.) says 'Dolabella me sibi legavit ad 4 tum Non. April.' Yet here, in the presence of Dolabella too, 'haberem jus legationis liberum.' Perhaps subsequently to the second of April, he had obtained the latter privilege also, and chose in the senate to mention the more respectable.

25. Cogendi] Simply 'of convening the senate,' without the idea of force. Cicero knew well enough that meetings of the senate would be previously held; but it was of Antony's senate, not the commonwealth's.
III. Exposui, Patres conscripti, profectionis consilium: nunc reversionis, quae plus admirationis habet, breviter exponam. Quum Brundisium, iterque illud, quod tritum in Graeciam est, non sine causa\textsuperscript{1} vitavissem,\textsuperscript{2} Kalendis Sextilibus\textsuperscript{3} veni Syracusas,\textsuperscript{4} quod ab ea urbe transmissio in Graeciam laudabatur: quae tamen urbs mihi conjunctissima, plus una me noce cupiens retinere, non potuit. Veritus sum, ne meus repentinus ad meos necessarios adventus suspicione\textsuperscript{5} afferret, si essent commoratus. Quum autem me ex Sicilia ad Leucopetram,\textsuperscript{6} quod est promontorium agri Rhegini, venti detulissent,\textsuperscript{7} ab eo loco conscendi, ut transmitte-rem; nec ita multum pro rectus, rejectus austro\textsuperscript{8} sum in eum ipsum locum, unde conscenderam. Quumque intempestas nox\textsuperscript{9} esset, mansissemque in villa P. Valerii, comitis\textsuperscript{10} et fa-

\textsuperscript{1} sine causa] Antony's veterans were stationed in or near Brundisium. Att. xvi. 2. 4. 

\textsuperscript{2} Vitavissem] Namely, by sailing from Pompeii round the coast. His object being to visit Athens where his son was then studying, and proceed to Syria, where Dolabella's province lay, he had equipped three galleys for himself and attendants. Att. xv. 20. During this voyage Cic. wrote some of his most admired treatises, particularly his Topics and 'De Gloria.' 

\textsuperscript{3} Sextilibus] From 'sex tus' the sixth month from March, the ancient commencement of the year. It was afterwards named from Augustus. Hence Virg. Ecl. iv. 12. -'incipient magni procedere mensae.' 

\textsuperscript{4} Syracusas] Syracuse was the capital city of Sicily, an island much attached to Cic. on account of his disinterested conduct there during his quaestorship; which they evinced by appointing him their patron at Rome. Hence his advocacy of their cause against Verres. 

\textsuperscript{5} Suspicionis aliquid] It is not easy to see what this suspicion was. Perhaps he means of raising a party in his own favour in that quarter where he was best known and beloved. If so, it is only another proof of the ridiculous vanity which obscures the character of that great man. 

\textsuperscript{6} Leucopetram] i.e. λευκή πήρα, the white rock, in which Strabo says the Appenines terminate. Mil. 9. n. 15. It was fifty stadia to the east of Rhegium. Arch. 3. n. 12. 

\textsuperscript{7} Venti detulissent] Fam. xii. 25. Quum me Etesiae, quasi beni civis reliquintent officium, prosequi noluerunt. And 'conscendi,' a nautical term. Virg. 'Bis Denis. Phrygium conscendi navibus sequor.' 

\textsuperscript{8} Austro.] The usual name for a wind blowing from Epirus, though not strictly a south wind. So Att. vii. 4. 'Brundisium venimus; ita bello nobis flavit ab Epiro lenissimus Austro.' The Etesiae are mentioned as the favourable winds for sailing to Greece. They blew from the north during the months of July and August. Cicero had proceeded three hundred furlongs before he was driven back. 

\textsuperscript{9} Intempestas nox] Properly from bed-time to midnight, 'inter concubiam noctem et medium.' It is, however, often used vaguely. Virg. 'Et lunam in nimbo nox intempesta tene-
miliaris mei, postridieque apud eundem ventum exspectans manerem, municipes Rregini complures ad me venerunt; ex his quidam Roma recentes: a quibus primum accipio M. Antonii concionem; quae mihi ita placuit, ut, ea lecta, de reversione primum ceperim cogitare. Nec ita multo post edictum Bruti afferrut et Cassii, quod quidem mihi, fortasse quod eos plus etiam reipublicae, quam familiaritatis gratia, diligo, plenum æquitatis videbatur. Addeabant praeterea (fit enim plerumque, ut ii, qui boni quid volunt afferrre, affingant aliquid, quo faciant id, quod nuntiant, lætius,) rem conventuram; Kalendis Sextilibus senatum frequentem fore; Antonium, repudiatis malis suasoribus, remissis provinciis Galliis, ad auctoritatem senatus esse rediturum.

bat.' It is not very obvious why Cicero specifies this time. In the parallel passage in his letters, (Att. xvi. 7.) be merely states in general, that the citizens of Regium waited on him while he was staying with Valerius, expecting a fair wind. Perhaps it may be to account for his not hearing the intelligence a day sooner. If it had not been very late, they might have waited on him at Leucopetra, which was eight miles from Regium. As it was, they showed respect by proceeding to the country seat of his friend, the following day.

10. *Publ. Valer. comit.* He was the companion of Cic. on this occasion; and happened to have a house on the southern coast of Italy.

11. *Municipes* 'Cives municipii.'

12. *M. Antonii concionem* Appian says that this speech recommended the recall of Sextus Pompey and his restoration to his paternal property and command. But there is no reason to believe that it was any thing more than a reiteration of the pacific views which hitherto it was his interest to profess.

13. *Edictum Bruti affertur et Cassii* The edict of Brutus and Cassius, noticed by Appian, that no province should be given to any person under twenty years of age, cannot be meant here. Cic. alludes to it briefly, Att. xvi. 7. 'Antonii edictum legi a Bruto; et horum contra; praeclare scriptum.' Also Brutus and Cassius write to Antony: 'Illud vere quodmodo ferendum sit tute cogita; non licere prætoribus concordia et libertatis causa, per edictum, de suo jure decedere quin consul arma minetur.' This letter, written a few days before Cic. received the edict, nearly identifies it.

14. *Famil. gratia* This seems to imply that as far as his friendly intercourse with Brutus and Cassius was concerned, he did not think the decree fair. Perhaps then 'de suo jure decedere,' (vid. prec. n.) meant what Vell. Pat. testifies, (ii. 62.)—the offer (per edictum) of retiring into banishment if the concord of the state were secured. This appeal not suiting Antony's views, was answered by a threat of arms.


16. *Galliis* The Transalpine Gaul had been assigned to L. Munatius Plancus; the Cisalpine to Decimus Brutus. Antony, in order to be near Rome, claimed them both, with
IV. Tum vero tanta sum cupiditate incensus ad reditum, ut mihi nulli neque remi, neque venti satisfacerent: non quo me ad tempus occursurum non putarem, sed ne tardius, quam cuperem, reipublicae gratularer. Atque ego celeriter Veliam\textsuperscript{2} devectus, Brutum vidi;\textsuperscript{3} quanto meo dolore, non dico. Turpe mihi ipsi videbatur, in eam urbem me audere reverti, ex qua Brutus cederet, et ibi velle tuto esse, ubi ille non posset. Neque vero illum similiter, atque ipse eram, commotum esse vidi. Erectus enim maximia ac pulcherrimi facti\textsuperscript{4} sui conscientia, nihil de suo casu, multa de vestro que rebatur. Exque eo primum cognovi, quae Kalendis\textsuperscript{5} Sextilis in senatu fuisset L. Pisonis\textsuperscript{3} oratio: qui quamquam par rum erat, (id enim ipsa a Bruto audieram) a quibus debuerat, adjutus, tamen et Bruti testimonio (quo quid potest esse gravius?) et omnium predicatione, quos postea vidi, magnum mihi videbatur gloriam consequatur. Hunc igitur ut sequerer,\textsuperscript{7} properavi, quem præsent\textsuperscript{8} non sunt securi: non ut proficerem aliquid, (neque enim sperabam id, nec præ-


\textbf{SECT. IV.}—1. \textit{Non quo—non putarem} Al. \textit{non quo putarem} : his haste was not occasioned by any doubt of not being in time to serve his country. Orel. V. E. Without non, 'ad tempus' may mean the first of August. It was the seventh that he heard of Antony's promising conduct.

2. \textit{Veliam} Velia was a sea-port of Lucania, contiguous to which Brutus was lying with his fleet. The name is derived from \textit{velox, lacus}; and is considered by Dionys. Halicar. as digammated.

3. \textit{Brutum vidi} When Brutus left Rome he repaired to Lanuvium, and spent his time for some weeks in visits to Cicero, Lucullus, &c. Introduced. 6. In the mean time he and Cassius collected a considerable fleet, and at this time, (the middle of August,) Brutus was lying off the river Helles, three miles east of Velia. An account of this interview is given. Att. xvi. 7.

4. \textit{Pulcherrimi facti} The slaying of a tyrant.

5. \textit{Kalendis.} The Calends, Nones, and Ides, were the regular days for holding the senate, which Antony convened as usual, though Cicero had not attended for some months.

6. L. Pisonis The father of Calpurnia, Caesar's wife. Phil. v. 7. Against him Cic., whose colouring of a man's character, varied with the medium through which he viewed it, pronounced the violent infective still extant. Thus Caesar, Antony, Dola bella, &c., are alternately the objects of his highest panegyric and most virulent abuse. Piso was against voting divine honours to Caesar.

7. \textit{Ut sequerer} 'To second,' the proper sense of 'sequi,' whose fut. participle is 'sequundus,' i.e. 'se condus.'

8. \textit{Præsent} The senators present.
stare poteram,) sed ut, si quid mihi humanitus accidisset,\(^9\) (multa autem impendere videntur præter naturam etiam, preterque fatum,\(^10\)) hujus tamen diei vocem testem reipublicae reliquerem meæ perpetuae erga se voluntatis.

Quoniam utriusque consilii causam, Patres conscripti, probatam vobis esse confido, priusquam de republica dicere incipio, paucù querar de hesterna M. Antonii injuria:\(^{11}\) cui sum amicus, idque me nonnullo ejus officio\(^{12}\) debere esse, praeme semper tuli.

V. Quid tandem erat cause, cur in senatum hesterno die tam acerbe cogerer? solusne aberam? an non sepe minus frequentes fuistis? an ea res agebatur, ut etiam ægrotos deferri oporteret? Hannibal,\(^1\) credo,\(^2\) erat ad portas, aut de Pyrrhi pace\(^3\) agebatur; ad quam causam etiam Appium illum,\(^4\) et cæcum, et senem, delatum esse memoriae proditum est. De supplicationibus\(^5\) referebatur; quo in genere sena-

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9. *Humanitus accidisset*] To happen in accordance with the lot of humanity—to befall. Manil. 20. n. 1.

10. *Præter nat.—fatum*] An amplification, or hendiadis, to intimated a premature death; as if he said, ‘contrary to the fate or law, of nature.’ Cat. iv. 4. n. 7. Similarly, Dem. de Cor. 59. τὸν τής εἰμαρίμνης καὶ τὸν αὐτόμαστον βανανον, i.e. a natural death, being contrasted with that of the patriot, and Mil. 7, ‘necessarium mortem,’ where, vid. n. 4. Abram, however, takes it to mean a violent death; i.e. a death arising neither from the course of nature, nor from any series of external causes (fatum); e.g. the fall of a horse, fire, shipwreck.

11. *Hesterna—injuria*] His threatening to pull down his house. Inf. 5. n. 8.

12. *Nonnullo ejus officio*] After the battle of Pharsalia, Antony was stationed by Caesar at Brundusium to hinder the Pompeians from landing. Cic., however, was permitted to land and had his life spared. Phil. ii. 3. Antony had also attempted to kill Clodius, Cicero’s great enemy. Mil. 15. n. 12.

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Sect. V.—1. *Hannibal*] After the battle of Cannae, Hannibal, proceeding towards Rome, pitched his camp on the Anio, three miles from the city. Liv. xxvi. 10. Pliny says that he hurl ed a spear within the walls. Hence it became a proverbial expression for any great danger.

2. *Credo*] The context must determine when this word is used ironically, as it appears to be here.

3. *De Pyrrhi pace*] This peace was solicited for Pyrrhus by Cyneas, a celebrated Greek orator, who had instructions to bribe the senators, and even the ladies of Rome. Appius, surnamed Cæcæs, hearing of it, caused himself to be carried to the senate, where he inveighed so bitterly against Pyrrhus, praying that he were deaf as well as blind, that he might not hear the disgrace of his country; that the senate decreed to enter on no terms of peace with Pyrrhus as long as he continued in Italy.

4. *Appium illum*] The great Appius. Mil. 7. n. 7.

5. *Supplicationibus*] ‘Thankings offered to the gods in the temples.’ When couches (pulvinaria) were spread, and the images of the gods
placed on them, it was called ‘lectisternium.’

6. *Non pignoribus*] Thanksgivings, though made to the gods, yet reflected honour on the individual through whom they were made. ‘Pignora’ were not necessary to collect senators on such complimentary occasions, private friendship towards the individual being sufficient. The ‘pignora’ were exacted by the ‘apparitores,’ at the instance of the person who summoned the senate, usually the consul, not only for absence, but for contumacy or other improper conduct. It is likely they consisted of such costly or necessary articles of furniture as it would most inconvenience the owner to want. If a proper apology or excuse were not offered, the consul proceeded ‘cedere pignora,’ which Gesner will have ‘to destroy;’ Forcellini, ‘to sell by auction’ the forfeits. In the latter sense the ‘multa,’ a fixed sum, was paid out of the proceeds. Hence it is always said ‘pignora capere,’ ‘multam dicere.’ Thus Livy (xxxvii. 51.) ‘Et pignora capta et multae dictae.’ Some, however, think that ‘pignora’ and ‘multa’ were two distinct ways of punishing senators. De Or. iii. 1.

7. *Ita*] Either ‘thus,’ i. e. in consequence of this; or, ‘so careless are the consuls on the subject that, &c.’

8. *Publice—edificatam domum*] Cicero’s house had been demolished by Clodius, and a temple to liberty built on its site. It was rebuilt at the public expense; which Cic. often boasts of. De Harusp. 8, he says that there were more decrees of the senate about his house, than about any public work, monument, or temple existing.


Sect. VI.—1. *Parentalia*] As ‘parricidium’ was extended beyond its proper sense to mean any murder, so ‘parentalia,’ the obsequies of a parent, is taken to mean any obsequies. They consisted of victims, libations, garlands, &c.; and were offered at the tomb of the deceased.

2. *Inexpiabiles religiones*] ‘Religiones’ sunt ea ipsa quae metum (deorum) affert. *Forcel*. ‘Inexpiabiles,’ inca-
pable of expiation, impious.

3. Mortuo] Al. mortorum. There is a certain ambiguity in the expressions made use of regarding these supplications. Thus Cat. iii. 1. 6, 'Atque etiam supplicatio diis immortalibus meo nomine decreta est; ' and Sull. 30. ' Cui uni togo supplicationem sententiam exstet, ubi parentetur, ei publice supplicetur. Ego vero eam sententiam dixissem, Patres conscripti, ut me adversus populum Romanum, si qui accidisset gravior reipublicae casus, si bellum, si morbus, si fames, facile possem defendere; quae partim jam sunt, partim timeo ne impendeant. Sed hoc ignoscant dii immortales, velim, et populum Romanum, qui id non probat, et huic ordini, qui decrevit invitum.

4. Fuerit L. Brutus] He opposes the greatest patriot to the greatest tyrant in the annals of his country.

5. Stirpem] Dionysius Halicar. says that Jun. Brutus left neither son nor daughter, and adds, as a proof, that the Junii and Bruti were plebeians, as appears from their always holding plebeian offices. However this may be, the tradition favoured the descent of M. Brutus from the elder Brutus, and that was enough for Cic. At the request of Brutus, his pedigree was prepared by Atticus.

6. In quingen. annum] Tarquin was expelled a. v. 244. This oration was delivered a. v. 709.

7. Nusquam] Al. usquam. The former agrees better with the fact; for the column built over his 'bustum,' was before this demolished; unless we consider the sepulchre of his ancestors to be his own, where it appears from Dio his ashes were deposited. 'Tα γάρ αὐτοῦ οἱ ἔξιλεθροι προανειλοντο, καὶ εἰ τὸ πατρώων μνημεῖον κατεθνεῖο. Trans. 'Shall the man who has not even a grave for obsequies, be sacrificed to, as a deity with a temple?' 'Usquam' means that the fact of his having a grave overthrows his claims to divine honours.

8. Si bellum] The state was then at war with Sextus Pompey.
Quid? de reliquis\textsuperscript{9} reipublicae malis licetne dicere? Mihi vero licet, et semper licebit dignitatem tueri, mortem contemnere. Potestas modo veniendi in hunc locum sit: dicendi periculum non recuso. Atque utinam, Patres conscripti, Kalendis Sextilibus\textsuperscript{10} adesse potuissem! non quo profici potuerit aliquid: sed ne unus modo consularis, quod tum accidit, dignus illo honore, dignus republica inveniretur. Qua quidem ex re magnum accipio dolorem, homines amplissimis populi Romani beneficiis usos,\textsuperscript{11} L. Pisonem, ducem optimae sententiae\textsuperscript{12} non secutos. Idcircone nos populus Romanus consules fecit, ut in altissimo amplissimoque gradu dignitatis locati, rempublicam pro nihil haberemus? Non modo voce nemo L. Pisoni consularis, sed ne vultu quidem assensus est. Quae, malum! est ista voluntaria servitus? Fuerit quaedam\textsuperscript{13} necessaria. Neque ego hoc ab omnibus\textsuperscript{14} iis desidero, qui sententiam consulari loco\textsuperscript{15} dicunt. Alia causa est eorum, quorum silentio ignosco: alia eorum, quorum vocem requiro.\textsuperscript{16} Quos quidem doleo in suspicacionem populou Romano venire, non modo metus, quod ipsum esset turpe, sed alium alia de causa\textsuperscript{17} deesse dignitati sua.

VII. Quare primum maximas gratias et ago et habeo\textsuperscript{1} L.
Pisoni, qui non, quid efficere posset in republica, cogitavit; sed quid facere ipse deberet: deinde a vobis, Patres conscripti, peto, ut, etiam si sequi minus audebitis orationem atque auctoritatem meam, beneigne me tamen, ut adhuc fecistis, audiatis.

Primum igitur acta Cæsaris 3 servanda censeo; non quo probem: 4 (quis enim id quidem potest?) sed quia rationem habendam maxime arbitror pacis atque otii. Vellem adeset Antonius, modo sine advocatis. 5 Sed, ut opinor, licet ei minus valere: 6 quod mihi heri per illum non licuit. Docereet me, vel potius vos, Patres conscripti, quemadmodum ipse Cæsaris acta defenderet. 7 An in commentariolis et chirographis et libellis se uno auctore 8 prolatis, ne prolatis quidem, sed tantummodo dictis, acta Cæsaris firma erunt: que ille in Æs incidit, in quo 9 populi iussa perpetuasque leges esse

2. Auctoritatatem i.e. 'Exemplum.' Cicero joins the two as synonymous. Balb. 31.

3. Acta Cæsaris] After Cæsar's death, while the conspirators were yet in credit, it was proposed in the senate, to rescind the acts of Cæsar. This, Cic. opposed, because it would offend, and perhaps injure so many, as to endanger the public peace. In the mean time, Calpurnia had Cæsar's papers and effects conveyed to Antony's house, as a place of safety; and Antony by gaining over Tiberius, the amanuensis of Cæsar, was enabled to forge whatever acts or decrees he thought proper. Cicero's complaint then was, that the memoranda, which they all knew to be spurious, should be ratified—while his laws, if not actually annulled, were violated by counter-edicts.

4. Non quo probem] For the legislator was a tyrant; or perhaps he means, 'them all,' for some of them, e.g. the law about provinces, as we shall see, he highly approves of.

5. Sine advocatis] The veterans in Antony's pay, who the day before surrounded the senate. He had some time before this obtained from the senate a guard for his person (Inf. 2. Phil. ii. 44, and v. 6.) and for this purpose had employed Ityreans, who may be also alluded to here.—Ascon. says, "Qui defendit alterum in judicio, aut 'patronus' dicitur si orator est, aut 'advocatus' si jus suggert aut praesentiam suam accommodat amico, aut 'procurator,' si negotium suscipit, aut 'cognitor' si præsentis causam novit et sic tuetur ut suam."

6. Licet ei minus valere] Antony was absent on the plea of sickness.

7. Cæsaris acta defenderet] For Antony, in violating Cæsar's laws, a fortiori, violates his acts, and could not therefore defend them.

8. Se uno auctore] Either, he being the sole voucher that they were Cæsar's, as Phil. ii. 39, 'Quo auctore proferuntur?' or 'being, himself, the sole author of them,' as Phil. v. 4. 'Hæc se ex commentariis Cæsaris, quorum ipse auctor erat agere dicebat.' So Phil. ii. 37, 'auctorem odimus, acta defendimus.'

9. In quo] i.e. 'In doing which, sc. engraving them on brass, he showed his wish that they should continue permanent laws, not temporary enactments.' Vid. Manil. 8. n. 4. Some supply, 'ere; but, hav-
voluit, pro nihilò habebuntur? Equidem existimo, nihil tam esse in actis Cæsaris, quam leges Cæsaris. An, si cui quid ille promisit, id erit fixum, quod idem facere non potuit? ut multis multa promissa non fecit. Quæ tamen multo plura illo mortuo reperta sunt, quam a vivo beneficià per omnes annos tributa et data. Sed ea non muto, non moveo; summo etiam studio præclara illius acta defendo. Pecunia utinam ad Opis maneret! cruenta illa quidem, sed his temporibus, quoniam iis, quorum est, non redditur, necessaria. Quamquam ea quoque sit effusa, si ita in actis fuit! Ecquid est, quod tam proprie dici possit actum ejus, qui togatus in republica cum potestate imperioque versatus sit, quam lex? Quæ acta Gracchi: leges Semproniae proferuntur. Quære Sullæ, Corneliae. Quid? Cn. Pompeii

ing said that Caesar engraved them on brass, surely none would doubt his intention that they (or any laws) should continue there.

10. Voluit] Perhaps a sarcasm on the despotism of Caesar. 'Consul rogavit; populus voluit, jussit, &c.'

11. Existimo] This long argument is to prove, that if the acts of Caesar are to be valid, Antony has no colour to annul his laws.

12. Quod idem—non fecit] 'Which promise even he could not perform;' for it appears better to refer 'idem' to Caesar. 'Facere promissum,' to perform a promise. Off. i. 10.

13. Præclara illius acta] i.e. Those which were really for the good of the state. He presently specifies some of them.

14. Pecunia utinam, &c.] Perhaps the connexion here is: 'I said that I am against altering Caesar's acts, however much I might wish it; e.g. considering the necessities of the state, it were to be wished that the money plundered from the Pompeians, and kept by Caesar in the temple of Ops, were still untouched; yet, let it be squandered, if so it be enacted. Now, if I respect such an act of Caesar's as this, may I not expect Antony to regard his laws?'

15. Cruenta] Procured by shedding the blood (cuor) of the Pompeians.

16. His temporibus] The treasury was so exhausted, during these times, that the public shows could not be celebrated for want of money; and the Triumviri levied contributions off the wealthy. Even ladies, if we believe Appian, were taxed. Vide Hooke x. 15.

17. Togatus] From 'toga,' (tego,) because it covered the whole body, is here opposed to 'sagatus'—(sagum)—the civil to the military robe. It was customary for all the citizens to assume the 'sagum' in times of war and danger, whether they actually served or not, as we find they did a short time after this, when Antony was declared a public enemy.

18. Leges Semproniae] Laws were usually named after their proposer, and the 'nomen,' or name of the 'gens,' always preferred. The Gracchi were of the 'gens Sempronia,' &c. Among these was a judiciary law to transfer the right of judging from the senate to the equites.

19. Cornelia] One of these reversed the above law, and restored the judices to the senate.
tertius consulatus in quibus actis constitit? Nempe in legibus. De Cæsare ipso si quereres, quidnam egisset in urbe et in toga: leges multas responderet se et præclaras tulisse; chirographa vero aut mutaret, aut non daret; aut, si dedisset, non istas res in actis suis duceret. Sed haec ipsa concedo; quibusdam etiam in rebus conniveo: in maximis vero rebus, id est, legibus, acta Cæsaris dissolvi ferendum non puto.

VIII. Quæ lex melior, utilior, optima etiam republica sæpius flagitata, quam, ne prætoriæ provinciæ plus quam annum, neve plus quam biennium consulares obtinerentur?—Hac lege sublata, videnturne vobis Cæsaris acta servari? Quid? lege, quæ promulgata est de tertia decuria, nonne omnes judiciariæ leges Cæsaris dissolvuntur? Et vos acta Cæsaris defenditis, qui leges ejus evertitis? Nisi forte, si quid memoriae causa retulit in libellum, id numerabitur in actis, et quamvis iniquum et inutile sit, defendetur: quod ad populum centuriatis comitiis tulit, id in actis Cæsaris non habebitur. At quæ est ista tertia decuria?—Centurionum, inquit.—Quid? isti ordini judicatus lege Julia, etiam ante

22. Si dedisset] And, therefore, could not recall or alter them.

Sect. VIII.—1. Quæ lex] Cæsar had sufficient experience, during the nine years in which he held the province of Gaul, of the dangers likely to result to the government at home, from men of abilities holding offices so long abroad. He therefore enacted this law, which was nullified by a counter-law of two of Antony's creatures, extending the Praetorian provinces to two, and the consular, to six years. Hence, Phil. v. 3. 'Tribuni plebis tulerunt de provinciis, contra acta Cæsaris; ille biennii, iste sexennii.' Hence he uses 'qua sublata,' not adding by whom.

2. Etiam optima] Etiam, perhaps, implies that Cæsar had destroyed the liberties of his country before he enacted this law.

2. De tertia decuria] Cæsar had reduced the order of the judges to two, the senators and equites, having abolished the Tribuni aëarii, an order added by Cotta. This Antony replaced by a decury of centurions, and thus, in effect, annulled Cæsaris's law.

5. At quæ est, &c.] This may be paraphrased: 'But what, says Cíc., is this third decury of yours, Antony? Of Centurions, he replies: What? had not they already a share in the judicial office, by the existing laws? I acknowledge they had; but it was accompanied with a slight limitation about property, which I am for removing. But surely, Antony, the centurions were not the only persons so restricted; you know the knights,
Pompeia, Aurelia\textsuperscript{6} non patebát?—Census præfiniebatur, inquit.—Non centurioni quidem solum, sed equiti etiam Romano. Itaque viri fortissimi atque honestissimi, qui ordinem duxerunt, res et judicant et judicaverunt.—Non quero, inquit, istos. Quicunque ordinem duxit, judicet.—At si fersretis, quicunque equo meruisset, quod est lautius,\textsuperscript{7} nemini probaretis; in judice enim spectari et fortuna debet et dignitas.—Non quero, inquit, ista: addo etiam judices manipulares\textsuperscript{8} ex legione Alaudarum.\textsuperscript{9} Alter enim nostri negant posse se salvos esse.—O contumeliosum honorem iis, quos ad judicandum nec opinantes vocatis! hic enim est legis in-

also, must have a certain property.—And the good effects of this arrangement, in reference to the former, are obvious, a most respectable list of centurions, being duly qualified as knights, have been and are judges.—This does not suit my purpose, replies Antony. I want every centurion, whether qualified or not, to sit on the bench. But let me tell you, that if you were to propose the admission of every knight—which order is more respectable than that of centurion—it would meet the approbation of none. For property and rank are the only tests of respectability in judges.—Away with these, says Antony. I am determined to make the meanest soldiers, of the meanest legion, judges, as nothing else will secure the safety of my party. What an insult to this, their decury! It is as much as to say: 'I want judges who dare not be impartial, and I know where to find them.' But Antony will be disappointed. These insulted men will assert their honour; and, by the uprightness of their decisions, will rescue their characters from this foul calumny, and shew themselves worthy of the highest, not the meanest, order of judges.'

6. Aurelia\textsuperscript{6} The judges, from the earliest times, were chosen from the senators. By the Sempronian law of C. Gracchus, the judicial office was transferred to the knights, but was afterwards, by the Servilian law, opened to both orders, and having undergone several changes, was at last, by Sylla, confirmed to the senators. But this not giving satisfaction, Cotta threw it open to all the orders of the state, by admitting on the bench, senators, knights, and 'tribuni aerarii.' By the Pompeian law, however, which the Julian law confirmed, a certain census was required in the judges.

7. Quod est lautius\textsuperscript{7} By this it would seem, that a private horseman in the Roman service, who indeed might originally have found and kept his horse, was in superior esteem to an officer of infantry, performing the duties which correspond to those of a captain in ours. Al. laudatius.—V. E.

8. Manipulares\textsuperscript{8} 'Rank and file.' They were called 'manipulares,' in contra-distinction to the 'velites,' or light troops, and the name taken, it is well-known, 'ex manipulo vel fasciculo foení perticæ longæ alligato, quem pro signo primum gerebat.' In a complete legion there were 6,000 men; in a cohort, 600; in a maniple, 200.

9. Ex legione Alaudarum\textsuperscript{9} Cæsar enrolled a legion of Gauls at his private expense, and called them Alaudae: it would appear, from a crest which they wore, resembling that of a lark, 'alauda,' in the Celtic lan-
dex,\textsuperscript{10} ut \textit{ii} res in tertia decuria judicent, qui libere judicare non audeant. \textit{In quo} quantus error est, \textit{dii} immortales! eorum, qui istam legem excogitaverunt! \textit{Ut} enim quisque sordidissimus videbitur, \textit{ita} libentissime severitate judicandi sordes suas eluet, laborabitque, \textit{ut} honestis decuris potius dignus videatur, quam in turpem jure conjectus.

IX. Altera promulgata lex est, \textit{ut et de vi}\textsuperscript{1} \textit{et de majestate} damnati ad populum provocent, \textit{si} velint. \textit{Hæc} utrum tandem lex est, \textit{an} legum omnium dissolitio?\textsuperscript{2} \textit{Quis} est \textit{enim} hodie,\textsuperscript{3} cujus intersit istam legem manere? \textit{Nemo} reus est legibus illis: \textit{nemo}, \textit{quem} futurum putemus. \textit{Armis} \textit{enim} gesta, \textit{nunquam} profecto \textit{in} judicium vocabuntur.—\textit{At res} popularis.—\textit{Utiam quidem} aliquid velletis esse populare! \textit{Omnes} \textit{enim} jam cives de reipublice salute una et mente et voce consentiunt. \textit{Quæ} est igitur \textit{ista} cupiditas legis ejus ferendæ, \textit{quæ} turpitudinem summam habeat, gratiamnullam?\textsuperscript{4} \textit{Quid} \textit{enim} turpium, quam qui majestatem

guage, signifying that bird. [Hence alouette.] Heberden, the translator of Cicero’s letters, compares with it, the well-known derivation of \textit{Planta-genet.

10. \textit{Hic—est legis index}] i.e. ‘\textit{Hoc indicat lex.’} We cannot suppose that the \textit{title} or \textit{rubric} of the law ran so, but that such was its general drift.

Sect. IX.—1. \textit{Alterae—lex—de vi] The criminal had always been granted the liberty of appeal to the people, as appears from the instance of the \textit{Horatii} and others in Livy, at least till the time of Sylla; and long after him, we find C. Rabirius appealing from the \textit{Duumvirs} to the people. So Suet. (\textit{Jul.} \textit{i2.},) ‘\textit{ut ad populum provocantilæquē, ac judicis acerbitas profuerit.’ Caesar’s law, therefore, must have taken away this appeal, which it was the object of Antony to restore.

2. \textit{Legum omnium dissolitio] Because, by holding out the hopes of impunity, it offered unbounded license to the turbulent.

3. \textit{Quis est enim hodie] Enim must be referred to an omitted proposition. —There is Antony’s law of appeal; what is it but the abolition of all legal institutions? \textit{And it is quite a gratuitous act;} for who is now concerned in its enactments, who was \textit{at this day} aggrieved by Caesar’s laws? He pretends, forsooth, that it was necessary thus to protect those citizens who had been forward actors in the civil wars. But it is well known, that there neither was, nor is likely to be, any prosecutions for acts done in the heat of civil arms. Why then not have permitted Caesar’s laws to remain, which were doing no harm at present, and would do good hereafter. Antony replies, ‘res est popularis.’ I did it to please the people. Cicero rejoins, that he is mistaken in this, as the people all wish for the safety of their country. He then shews that the real drift of Antony’s law was—not to extend the liberty of the people—but, to screen his flagitious followers by making it useless to bring them to trial, at all.

4. \textit{Gratiam nullam} For it will oblige none. ‘\textit{Nemo} est, &c.’
populi Romani minuerit per vim, eum, damnatum judicio, ad eum ipsam vim\textsuperscript{2} reverti, propter quam sit jure damnatus? Sed quid plura de lege disputo? quasi vero id agatur, ut quisquam provocet. Id agitur, id fertur, ne quis omnino unquam istis legibus reus fiat. Quis enim aut accusator tam amens reperietur, qui, reo condemnato, objici se multitudini conductae velit? aut judex, qui reum damnare audeat, ut ipse ad operas mercenarias statim prostrahatur? Non igitur provocatio ista lege datur: sed duas maxime salutares leges quæstionesque tolluntur. Quid est alius\textsuperscript{6} adhortari adolescentes, ut turbulentii, ut seditiosi, ut perniciosi cives velint esse? Quam autem ad pestem furor tribunicius impelli non poterit, his duabus quæstionibus de vi et de majestate sublatis? Quid? quod obrogatur\textsuperscript{7} legibus Caesaris, quæ jubent, ei, qui de vi, itemque ei, qui majestatis damnatus sit, aqua et igni interdici? quibus quum provocatio datur, nonne acta Caesaris rescinduntur? Quæ quidem ego, Patres conscripti, qui illa nunquam probavi, tamen ita conservanda concordia causa arbitratus sum, ut non modo, quas vivus leges Caesar tulisset, infirmandas hoc tempore non putarem, sed ne illas quidem, quas post mortem Caesaris prolatas esse et fixas visdetis.

X. De exsilio reducti a mortuo; civitas data non solum singulis, sed nationibus\textsuperscript{1} et provinciis universis a mortuo; immunitatibus infinitis\textsuperscript{2} sublata vectigalia a mortuo. Ergo haec, uno, verum optimo, auctore\textsuperscript{3} domo prolata, defendimus: eas leges, quas ipse, vobis inspectantibus, recitavit, prouentiavit, tulit, quibus latis gloriamatur, eisque legibus

5. Ipsam vim\textsuperscript{2} To harass the republic with a new sedition, arising out of his appeal to the mob, from his sentence for the old. For a person appealing to the people, i.e. to an armed mob, may well be said 'ad vim reverti.'

6. Quid est alius\textsuperscript{6} Cic. either omits or inserts nisi after this form. Phil. v. 2.

7. Obrogatur\textsuperscript{7} 'Abrogare,' to annul a law; 'derogare,' to annul it in part; 'subrogare,' to add a part to a law; obrogare, to weaken it by a counter-law. In one sentence, (Att. iii. 23,) we find 'Quod per legem Clodium promulgare, abrogare, derogare, obrogare sine fraude sua non licet.'

Sect. X.–1. Civitas—nationibus\textsuperscript{1} To the Sicilians, for instance. Att. xiv. 12.

2. Immunit. — infinit.] By countless immunities.

3. Uno verum optimo, auctore\textsuperscript{3} 'Antony.' This passage seems to confirm the first sense given to this word, supr. 7. n. 8, else the words uno—optimo lose the irony. 'Domo' should mean Caesar's house.
rempublicam contineri⁴ putabat, de provinciis, de judiciis,⁵ eas, inquam, Caesaris leges, nos, qui defendimus acta Caesaris, evertendas putamus? Ac de ipsis tamen legibus, quae promulgatae sunt, saltem queri possimus: de ipsis, quae jam latae dicuntur, ne illud quidem licuit. Ille enim sine ulla promulgatione latae sunt ante quam scriptae.⁶ Querunt, quid sit, cur aut ego, aut quisquam vestrum, Patres conscripti, bonis tribunis⁷ plebis, leges malas metuat. Paratos habemus, qui intercedant; paratos,⁸ qui rempublicam religione⁹ defendant; vacui metu esse debemus.—Quas tu mihi, inquit, intercessiones, qua religiones?—Eas scilicet, quibus reipublicae salus continetur.¹⁰ Negligimus ista, et nimirum antiqua et stulta ducimus. Forum sepietur; omnes claudentur aditus; armati in præsidii multís locis collocabantur.—Quid tum? Quod ita erit gestum, id lex erit; et in aes incidi jubebitis,¹¹ credo, illa legittima: ‘Consules populum¹² jure rogaverunt,’ (hoccine a majoribus acceperimus jus rogant-

XI. Irasci quidem vos mihi, Dolabella, pro republica dicentis, non oportebat. Quamquam te quidem id facturum non arbitror. Novi faciliteratum tuam. Collegam tuam1 aiunt in hac sua fortuna, quà bona ipsi videtur, mihi, ne gravius quidpiam dicam, avorum et avunculi2 sui consulatum si imitaretur, fortunatiorem videretur: sed eum irae cundum audio esse factum. Video autem, quam sit odiosum habere iratum eundem, et armatum, quam tanta præsertim gladium sit impunitas. Sed proponam jus, ut opinor, æquum, quod M. Antonium non arbitror repudiaturum. Ego, si quid in vitam ejus, aut in mores cum contumelia3 dixerò, quo minus mihi inimicissimus sit, non recusabo. Si consuetudinem meam, quam in republica semper habui, tenuero, id est, si libere, quà sentiam, de republica dixerò: primum deprecor, ne irascatur; deinde, si hoc non impetrum, peto, ut sic irascatur, ut civi. Armis utatur, si ita necesse est, ut dicit, sui defendendi causa:4 iis, qui pro republica, quà ipsis visa erunt,

these very words, 'Tit: Quintius Crisp: Coss: populum jure rogavit; populusque jure scivit.'

13. Hæc dico de futuris] Cicero was, as yet, keeping on terms with Antony; and therefore, to soften the aspersion of his remarks, he adds, that they have wholly a future application. The laws are only promulgated—not enacted; the neglect of the auspices can be corrected, and the armed troops removed. Thus may my speech be best refuted, and my fears proved groundless.

14. Denuntio vim, arma] I predict that violence will be employed. V. E.

Sect. XI.—1. Collegam tuam] These words being subject to no infinitive, make the construction àra-...
dixerint, ista arma ne nocent. Quid hac postulatione\(^5\) duci potest æquius? Quod si, ut mihi a quibusdam ejus familiarius dictum est, omnis eum, quæ habetur contra voluntatem ejus, oratio graviter offendit, etiam si nulla inest contumelia: feremus amici naturam. Sed iidem illi iterum:\(^6\) "Non iadem tibi, adversario Cæsaris,\(^7\) licebit, quod Pisoni socero:" et simul admonent quiddam, quod cavebimus; nec erit justior, Patres conscripti, in senatum non veniendi morbi causa, quam mortis.\(^8\)

XII. Sed per deos immortales! te enim intuens, Dolabella, qui es mihi carissimus, non possum de utriusque vestrum errore reticere. Credo enim vos, nobiles\(^1\) homines, magna quædam spectantes, non pecuniam, ut quidam nimis creduli suspicantur, quæ semper ab amplissimo quoque clarissimoque contempta est, non opes violentas\(^2\) et populó Romano minime ferendam potiam, sed caritatem civium et gloriam concupisse. Ea est autem gloria, laus recte factorum magnorumque in rempublicam fama meritorum, quæ quum optini cujusque, tum etiam multitudinis testimonio comprobatur. Dicerem, Dolabella, qui recte factum fructus esset, nisi te præter ceteros paullisier esse expertum viderem. Quem potes recordari in vita illuxisse tibi diem læ-

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5. *Hac postulatione* Donatus says, 'petimus precario, poscimus imperiose, postulamus jure.'
7. *Adversario Cæsaris*] Cic. had been a Pompeian.
8. *Quod cavebimus—quam mortis*] This is usually explained as if he said, 'The friends of Antony threaten my life; now if he thought my excuse of ill health, a bad one, surely he cannot object to the force of this—that I am in danger of being assassinated.' But Cicero, after his boast, c. 6, would hardly have recourse to so dastardly a plea; besides the words 'nec erit,' in construction, depend upon 'cavebimus;' so that the conjecture of Orel. is worth notice, that 'morti' and 'mortis' have, by the ignorance of transcribers, changed places. Then it will be: ' and warned by the danger, I shall take care that you may not, when I am slain, have it to say, that Cic. has now a fair excuse for not attending the senate.'

Sect. XII.—1. *Nobiles*] They were both plebeians, Antony by birth, Dolabella by adoption. The 'gens Antonia' consisted of two branches—a patrician and plebeian. Mark Antony, the orator, was the first that introduced the consulship into the plebeian branch. That it was plebeian is past a doubt, as M. Antony was tribune of the people without adoption.
2. *Opes violentas*] Alluding, perhaps, to Caesar's tyranny.
3. *Paullisier*] This word is omitted in some MSS.
PHILIPPICA PRIMA, CAP. 13.

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tiorem, quam quorum, expiato foro,\(^4\) dissipato concursu impio-
rum,\(^5\) principibus sceleris poena affectis, urbe incendio et caedis
metu liberata, te domum recepi? Cujus ordinis, cujus
generis, cujus denique fortunae studia tum laudi et gratu-
lationi tuae se non obtulerunt? Quin mihi etiam, quo auc-
tore te in iis rebus uti arbitrabantur, et gratias boni viri age-
bant, et tuo nomine gratulabantur. Recordare, queso,
Dolabella, consensum illum theatri, quum omnes earum
rerum obliti,\(^6\) propter quas fuerant tibi offensi, significarunt,
se beneficio novo memoriam veteris doloris abjecisse. Hanc
tu, P. Dolabella, (magn:o loquor cum dolore,) hanc tu,
inquam, æquo animo potuisti tantam dignitatem deponere?\(^7\)

XIII. Tu autem, M. Antoni, (absentem appello,) unum
illum diem,\(^3\) quo in æde Telluris senatus fuit, non omnibus
iis mensibus,\(^2\) quibus te quidam, multum a me dissentientes,
beatum putant, anteponis? Quæ fuit oratio de concordia!
quanto metu veterani,\(^3\) quanta sollicitudine civitas tum a te
liberata est! Quum collegam tuum depositis inimicitia,
oblitus auspicia\(^4\) a te ipso augure populi Romani nuntiata,
illo primum die collegam tibi esse voluisti, tuus parvulus
filius in Capitolium a te missus pacis obses fuit: quo senatus
die laetior? quo populus Romanus? qui quidem nulla in
concione unquam frequentior fuit. Tum denique\(^6\) liberati
per viros fortissimos videbamus; quia, ut illi voluerunt, li-
bertatem pax sequebatur. Proximo altero, tertio,\(^7\) denique

4. Expiato foro] Alluding to the
demolition of the column. Supr. 2.
5. Impiorum] For bestowing
divine honours on a dead man.
n. 9. Among them was, his propos-
ing 'novæ tabulæ,' after the example
of Catiline.
7. Tantam dignitatem deponere]
Dolabella had, by this time (the 3rd
of September,) given in his adhesion
to Antony.
Sect. XIII.—1. Unum illum
2. Iis mensibus] Since Caesar's
death.
3. Quanto metu veter.] Their
alarm may have proceeded from the
apprehension of losing what they had
received from Caesar's bounty.—
This word is omitted by Sch. and
Wernsdorf. Ern. would read sena-
tus. V. E.
4. Oblitus auspicia] Al. auspicio-
rum, the pretended auspices ridiculed
by Cic. Phil. ii. 33. It did not suit
his purpose to do so here. It appears
that Antony did not give up his op-
opposition to Dolabella's appointment,
till after Caesar's death, i. e. till it
served his own purposes.
5. Tus. parvulus filius] Supr. 1:
n. 13., where 'liberos' is found; but
if he uses the word at all, its plural
form could not be avoided.
7. Prox. altero, &c.] Orel. makes
proximo agree with 'altero'; 'the
reliquis consecutis diebus, non intermittebas quasi donum aliquod quotidie afferre reipublicæ: maximum autem illud, quod dictaturæ nomen sustulisti. Hæc inusta est a te, a te, inquam, mortuo Cæsari nota ad ignominiam sempiternam. Ut enim propter unius M. Manlii\textsuperscript{8} scelus, decreto gentis Manliæ neminem patricium\textsuperscript{9} Marcum Manlium vocari licet: sic tu, propter unius dictatoris odium, nomen dictatoris funditus sustulisti. Num te, quem hæc pro salute reipublicæ tanta gessisses, fortunæ tuae, num amplitudinis, num claritatis, num gloriae pœnitetab? Unde igitur subito tanta ista mutatio? Non possum adduci, ut suspicer, te pecunia captum:\textsuperscript{10} licet, quod cuique libet, loquatur; credere non est neecesses. Nihil enim unquam in te sordidum, nihil humile cognovi. Quamquam solent domesticī\textsuperscript{11} depravare nonnunquam: sed novi firmitatem tuam. Atque utinam, ut cultam, sic etiam suspicione vitare potuisses!

XIV. Illud magis vereor, ne ignorans verum iter gloriae, gloriosum putes, plus te unum posse, quam omnes, et metui a civibus tuis, quam diligis malis. Quod si ita putas, totam ignorantiam gloriae. Carum esse civem, bene de republica mereri, laudari, coli, diligsi, gloriosum est: metui vero, et in odio esse, invidiosum, detestabile, imbecillum, caducum.—Quod videmus etiam in fabulis, ipsi illi,\textsuperscript{1} qui "Oderint, dum metuant," dixerit, perniciosum fuisse. Utinam, Antoni, avum tuum meminisses! de quo tamen audisti multa ex me very next;’ sc. to the seventeenth, on which the senate met in the temple of Tellus. ‘Tertio’ is the nineteenth. Ern., however, reads ‘proximo, altero.’

8. M. Manlii] Liv. vi. 20. After the battle of Actium, the family of M. Antony was subjected to the same ignominy; and what is strange, at the motion of Cicero’s son. Dio Cass. 51.

9. Neminem patricium] For there were plebeians of the name. Ern., however, says there were not at that time, and doubts the word ‘patri-’

10. Pecunia captum] It could only be accounted for by two passions, avarice and ambition. He rejects the first, as being the passion of little minds. And, indeed, considering the lavish disposition of Antony, well he might. Phil. ii. 37.

11. Domestici] He hints here, perhaps, at Fulvia, who had already ruined Clodius and Curio. The translators render it ‘dependents.’—But it is not likely that the word had then this signification. In the Augustan history, it signifies, ‘the prince’s body-guard.’

Sect. XIV.—1. Ipsi illi] Atreus, who was expelled from his kingdom. Seneca, in quoting the expression, adds, ‘Sullano saeculo scias scriptum.’ Hence it is probable that it was used by Attius, a poet of Sylla’s age, in his tragedy of Atreus. This
sæpissime. Putasne illum immortalitatem mereri\(^2\) voluisse, ut propter armorum habendorum\(^3\) licentiam metuere tur?—Illa erat vita, illa secunda fortuna, libertate esse parem ceteris, principem dignitatem. Itaque, ut omittam res avi tui prosperas, acerbissimum ejus supremum diem malum, quam L. Cinna\(^4\) dominatum, a quo ille crudelissime est interfactus.

Sed quid oratione te flectam? Si enim exitus C. Cæsaris efficere non potest, ut malis carus esse, quam metui, nihil cujusquam proficiet, nec valebit oratio. Quem qui beatum fuisset putant, miseri ipsi sunt. Beatus est nemo, qui ea lege vivit, ut non modo impune, sed etiam cum summa interfectoris gloria interfici possit. Quare flecte te, quasi, et majores tuos respice, atque ita gubernam rempublicam, ut natum esse te cives tui gaudeant; sine quo nec beatus, nec clarus esse quisquam potest.

XV. Et populi quidem Romani judicia multa ambo habetis, quibus vos non satis moveri per moleste fero. Quid enim gladiatoribus\(^1\) clamores innumerabilium civium? quid populi versus? quid Pompeii statuae\(^2\) plausus infiniti? quid\(^3\) tribunis plebis, qui vos adversantur? Parumne læc significant incredibilibet consentientem populi Romani universi voluntatem? Quid? Apollinarium ludorum plausus, vel testimonia potius et judicia populi Romani parum magna vobis videbantur? O beatos illos, qui, quem adesse ipsis

monarch was a common subject for tragedy in all ages. Vide Juv. vii. 73.

2. *Immortalitatem mereri* Be willing to take. Verr. vi. 16. 'Quid arbitramini Rheginos merere velle, ut ab iis marmorea Venus illa auferatur?'

3. *Habendorum* This word is omitted by Sch.: al. *metuendorum.*

4. *Lucii Cinae* Cat. iii. 10. n. 10.

5. *A quo—est interf.* In this Cic. differs from Appian, Plutarch, Florus, &c., who attribute the murder of Antony to Marius. Vel. Pater. ii. 22, reconciles them thus: 'jussu Marii Cinaeque confossus est.' Cic. chose to refer it to Cinna, as he was often obliged to notice Marius as a friend to the republic, Cinna never.

Sect. XV.—1. *Gladiatoribus* i. e. At the gladiatorial games. Phil. ix. 7. The Greeks used ἐπὶ τῶν τραγουδιῶν similarly. These games were exhibited by C. Antonius, the praetor, in the name of M. Brutus. Att. xvi. 2.

2. *Versus* The rude verses which the people made in praise of the friends and derision of the enemies of liberty. Al. *concursus.*

2. *Pompeii statuae* The shews were exhibited in Pompey's theatre, where the spectators had an opportunity of shouting at his statue, there in erected. *Statuae* is the dative case.

3. *Quid ii.* i. e. Duobus. Asprenas Nonius and T. Canutius, are
propter vim armorum non licebat, aderant tamen et in medullis populi Romani ac visceribus hae rebant! Nisi forte Accio tum plaudi, et sexagesimo post anno palmam dari, non Bruto, putabatis, qui ludis suis ita caruit, ut in illo apparatissimo spectaculo studium populus Romanus tribuerit absenti, desiderium liberatoris sui perpetuo plausu et clame more leniret.

Equidem is sum, qui istos plausus, quum a popularibus civibus tribuerentur, semper contemptserim: idemque quum a summis, medii, infimi, quem denique ab universis hoc idem fit, quumque ii, qui ante sequi populi consensum solebant, fugiunt; non plausum illum, sed judicium puto. Sin hae leviora vobis videntur, quae sunt gravissima: num etiam hoc contemnitis, quod sensistis, tam caram populo Romano vitam A. Hirtii fuisset? Satis erat enim, probatum illum esse populo Romano, ut est; jucundum amicis, in quo vincit omnes; carum suis, quibus est carissimus: tantam tamen sollicitudinem bonorum, tantum timorem in quo meminimus? Certe in nullo.

Quid igitur? hoc vos, per deos immortales! quale sit, non interpretamini? Quid eos de vestra vita cogitare censeitis, quibus eorum, quos sperant reipublice consulturos, vita tam cara sit? Cepi fructum, Patres conscripti, reversalionis meae:

mentioned by Dio, Appian, &c. as partisans of Augustus, and opponents of Antony. Three tribunes, however, are named, Phil. iii. 9.


5. Adesse non licebat] Brutus was at this time at Nesis, a small island near Puteoli, where Lucullus had a villa. The proclamation of the games being, by accident, dated July, instead of Quintilis, gave Brutus much uneasiness, as it, in some degree, recognized the tyranny of Caesar. To remedy this, he proposed to have the fight of the wild beasts after the Apollinarian games, and a new and properly dated proclamation. Brutus professed himself more obliged to Attius than Antony, for the applause. Att. xvi. 2.

6. Nisi forte Accio] The play of Attius was called Tereus—not Brutus, as Manutius says. Att. xvi. v. 'Tuas jam literas Brutus expectabat, cui quidem ego non novum atuleram de Tereo Attii, ille Brutum putabat.'—No doubt the story of Junius Brutus had been dramatized.

7. Popularibus civibus] Abram. omits the proposition, and understands it, 'to citizens seeking popularity.' Cic. means 'political men,' or demagogues—'qui sequi consensum populi solebant.' So Garat. 'When leading citizens dictate this applause.'


9. Hirtii] He was consul elect: and though he had been an ardent
quoniam et ea dixi, ut, quicunque casus consecutus esset, ex-
starat constantiae meae testimonium, et sum a vobis benigne
ac diligenter auditus. Quæ potestas\textsuperscript{10} si mihi sæpius sine
meo vestroque periculo fiet, utar. Si minus, quantum pote-
ro, non tam mihi me, quam reipublicae reservabo. Mihi
fere satis est, quod vixi,\textsuperscript{11} vel ad ætatem, vel ad gloriem.—
Huc si quid accesserit, non tam mihi, quam vobis reipublicae
accesserit.

supporter of Cæsar, was considered
and proved to be a no less ardent
friend of the commonwealth; in whose
cause he fell at Mutina, a few months
after. It is probable that prayers
were decreed for his health, which
was then bad. Juv. Sat. 283.

10. \textit{Quæ potestas} i. e. If Antony
persists in blockading the senate-
house, I shall not come near it, or
hazard my life, not that I value it for
itself, but that it may be of service to
my country. Sup. 11. n. 9.
M. TULLII CICERONIS

IN

MARCum ANTONIUM,

SECUNDA*

ORATIO.

I. QUONAM meo fato, Patres conscripti, fieri dicam, ut nemo his annis viginti reipublicae fuerit hostis, qui non bellum eodem tempore mihi quoque indixerit? Nec vero necessesse est quemquam a me nominari. Vobiscum ipsi recordamini. Mihi poenarum illi plus, quam optarem, dederunt; te miror, Antoni, quorum facta imitere, eorum exitus non perhorrescere. Atque hoc in alis minus mirabar. Nemo illorum inimicus mihi fuit voluntarius: omnes a me reipublicae causa lacessiti. Tu, ne verbo quidem violatus, ut audacior, quam Catilina; furiosior, quam Clodius, viderere, followed, and then the civil wars.

3. Panarum illi Catiline, Clodius, &c., whose wretched fate is well known.

4. Reipub. causa] Cic. forgets that revenge first induced him to oppose Catiline, and that he was led by the urgency of his wife, to give evidence against Clodius in the affair of Bona Dea. Mil. Introd. 2.

5. Ut audacior, &c.] i. e. 'Me maledictis lacessisti ita ut viderere audacior quam, &c.' 'Ultro,' unpro-

* Vid. Introd. 9.

Sect. 1.—1. Fato] From 'fari,' i. e. 'dictum dei,' here used for 'hap' or 'fatality.' It is taken in a bad or good sense. So Ovid. R. A. 566, 'Uxorem fato credat obesse suo.' Conversely, Cic. 2. Frat. i. 4. 'Uno meo fato, tu, &c., corruistis.'

2. Annis viginti] This time had elapsed since the consulate of Cicero, A. v. 690, which was accompanied by the Catilinarian conspiracy: the disturbances excited by Clodius had
ultro me maledictis lacessisti, tuamque a me alienationem commendationem tibi ad impios cives fore putavisti. Quid putem? contemptumne me? Non video nec in vita, nec in gratia, nec in rebus gestis, nec in hac mea mediocritate ingenii, quid despicere possit Antonius. An in senatu facilimem de me detrahi posse credidit? qui ordo clarissimis civibus bene gestae reipublicae testimonium multis, mihi uni7 conservatæ dedit. An decertare mecum voluit contentione dicendi? Hoc quidem beneficium est. Quid enim plenius, quid uberius, quam mihi et pro me, et contra Antonium dicere? Illud profecto est. Non existimavit, sui similibus probari posse, se esse hostem patriæ, nisi mihi esset inimicus. Cui priusquam de ceteris rebus respondœ, de amicitia, quam a me violatum esse criminatus est, quod ego gravissimum crimen judico, pauca dicas.

II. Contra rem suam1 me, nescio quando, venisse2 questus est. An ego non venirem contra alienum3 pro familiarî et necessario? Non venirem contra gratiam, non virtutis spe, sed ætatis flore4 collectam? Non venirem contra injuriam, quam iste intercessoris iniquissimi beneficio5 obtinuit, non jure prætorio6 Sed hoc idcirco commemoratum a te puto, ut te infimo ordini7 commendares, quum te onnes recorda-

voked by me. Cic. alludes to Antony's reply to his first Philippic. Introd. 8.

6. Gratia] This was shewn particularly in the general mourning for Cicero's banishment, and joy at his return.

7. Mihi uni, &c.] Cat. iii. 6. n. 16. Also Phil. xiv. 8. 'Mihi, consulì, supplicatio, nullis armis sumptis, non ob cædès hostium, sed ob conserva-

tionem civium, novo inauditoque gê-

nere, decreta est.'

Sect. II.—1. Rem suam] Against Antony's interest. The circumstances to which Cicero here alludes are not now known: it has been conjectured that in a suit in which Q. Fadius Bambalio, father of Antony's first wife, was defendant, and a friend of Cicero, not named, was his opponent, some attempt was made to influence a tribune to interpose illegally, and pre-

vent the trial.

2. Venisse] Scil. in judicium; the judicial term for appearing as the party's advocate. Manut. Muren. 4. 'Turpe existimatas, te advocato, illum ipsum, contra quem veneris, causâ cadere.'

3. Alienum] i.e. Fadius, as explained above. Phil. iii. 6. 'Tuae coniugis, bonæ feminæ, locupletis certe, Bambalio quidam pater est, homo nullo numero. Nihil illo con-

temptius, qui propter hæsitantiam linguae, stuporemque cordis cognomem ex contumelia traxit.'


5. Intercessoris—beneficio] Perhaps interposing his negative when he saw the suit likely to terminate in favour of Cicero's friend.

6. Jure prætorio] The various edicts of the prætors formed into a 'corpus juris' was so called.

7. Infimo ordini] The plebeian, whose magistrate was appealed to.
rentur libertini generum, et liberos tuos, nepotes Q. Fadii, libertini hominis, suisse. At enim te in disciplinam meam tradideras: (nam ita dixisti;) domum meam ventitaras.\(^3\) Næ tu, si id fecisses, melius famæ, melius pudicitiae tuae consultuisses. Sed neque fecisti, nec, si cuperes, tibi id per C. Curionem\(^9\) facere licisset. Auguratus petitionem mihi te concessisse dixisti. O incredibilem audaciam! O impudentiam prædicandam! Quo enim tempore\(^10\) me augurem\(^11\) a toto collegio expetitum Cn. Pompeius et Q. Hortensius nominaverunt,\(^12\) (neque enim licebat a pluribus nominari,) tu nec solvendo eras,\(^13\) nec te ullo modo, nisi eversa república, fore incolunem putabas. Poteras autem eo tempore auguratum petere, quum in Italia Curio non esset?\(^14\) aut tum, quum es factus,\(^15\) unam tribum sine Curione ferre potuisses? Cujus etiam familiares de vi condemnati sunt, quod tui nimir studiosi fuissent.

III. At beneficio sum tuo usus. Quo? Quamquam\(^1\) illud ipsum, quod commemoras, semper præ me tuli. Malui

Others understand it of the libertines, who might feel complimented by one of their body—Fadius, being so supported.

8. Domum—ventitaras] Young noblemen on assuming the manly gown, used to put themselves under the direction of some distinguished orator or philosopher. Pers. Sat. v. 30.

9. C. Curionem] Curio's youth was notorious for profligacy, which, however, in manhood gave place to ambition. He became a favourite with the aristocracy and opponent of the Triumvirate. Cæsar had the address to gain him over to his cause, and the courage and firmness which he displayed in supporting it, rendered him no favourite with Cicerō. He fell in Africa, fighting against Sabura, a general of Juba. Inf. 5. n. 6.

10. Quo tempore.] a. u. 700. For he was appointed in place of Crassus, who was slain by the Parthians.

11. Me augurem, &c.] 'Tres fecerunt collegium,' was a proverb at Rome. There were originally three augurs; one for each tribe; but as the tribes increased so did the augurs. There were now fifteen.

12. Nominaverunt] For several ages the colleges of priests nominated their own members. Cn. Domitius, a. u. 649, by a law transferred the appointment to the people. This law was annulled by Sulla, and restored by Labienus. It appears from this passage, that the rule was, for two of the college to nominate, and the people to select out of their nominees. Antony finally restored the right to the college.


14. In Italia Curio non esset] He was then quaestor in Asia. Fam. ii. 5. 6.

15. Tum quum es factus] Sc. a. u. 703. Curio was tribune of the commons the preceding year, and through his influence, backed by Cæsar's authority, Antony obtained both the augurship and tribuneship.
me tibi debere confiteri; quam cuiquam minus prudenti non satis gratus videri. Sed quo beneficio? quod me Brun- disii non occideris? Quem ipse victor, qui tibi, ut tute glo- riaris solebas, detulerat ex latronibus sui principatum, sal- vum esse voluisset, in Italian ire jussisset, eum tu occideres? Fac potuisse. Quod est alius, Patres conscripti, beneficium latronum, nisi ut commemorare possint, iis se dedisse vitam, quibus non ademerint? Quod si esset beneficium, nun- quam qui illum interfecerunt, a quo erant conservati, quos tu ipse clarissimos viros soles appellare, tantam essent glo- riam consecuti. Quale autem beneficium est, quod te ab- stinueris nefario secelere? Qua in re non tam jucundum mihi videri debuit, non interfectum a te, quam miserum, te id impune facere potuisse. Sed sit beneficium, quandoquidem majus accipi a latrone nullum potuit: in quo potes me dicere ingratum? An de interitu reipublicae queri non debui, ne in te ingratus viderer? At in illa querela misera quidem et luctuosa, sed mihi pro hoc gradu, in quo me senatus po- pulusque Romanus collocavit, necessaria, quid est dictum a me cum contumelia? quid non moderate? quid non amice? Quod quidem cujus temperantiae fuit, de M. Antonioque- rentem, abstinere maledicto praesertim quem tu reliquias reipublicae dissipavisses; quem domi tuae turpissimo mer-

2. Quod me Brundisii, &c.] Cicero had been directed by Dolabella, at the instance of Caesar, to repair to Italy immediately; therefore An- tony who commanded there, could not have slain Cic., at least by Caesar’s orders, though certainly the general instructions under which An- tony was acting, might well have warranted him in doing so, if he had been so disposed. Att. xi. n. 7.
3. Ex latronibus] Ex, ‘among,’ not ‘over.’ Arch. 4. n. 27.
4. Ire jussisset] Sc. in the letter of Dolabella, which he had written by Caesar’s direction.
6. Quod si esset, &c.] Cic. argues that it was not a favour to be pre- served by Caesar; for if it were, the assassins of Caesar were ungrateful, and therefore undeserving of glory. But they did obtain glory, therefore, &c.
7. A quo erant conservati] Out of this number are generally excepted Brutus and Cassius; but as the con- spirators were numerous, upwards of sixty, it is probable there were more who never owed their life to Caesar. Among those who did were Rubrius Rex, Q. Ligarius, Servius Galba, &c. &c.
8. De interitu reipublicae] Antony was even a greater tyrant than Caesar, as appeared by his revoking Caesar’s useful laws.
10. De M. Antonio] These words are emphatic.
11. Domi tuae] Inf. 37. ‘In gynaecio;
quat omnia essent venalia; quum leges eas, quæ nunquam promulgate essent, et de te, et a te latas confiterere; quum auspicia augur, intercessionem consul sustulisses; quum esses fœdissime stipatus armatis, quum omnes impuritatis pudica in domo quotidie susciperes, vino lustrisque confectus. At ego, tamquam mihi cum M. Crasso contentio esset, quocum multæ et magnæ fuerunt, non cum uno gladiatori nequissimo, de republica graviter querens, de homine nihil dixi. Itaque hodie persiciam ut intelligat, quantum a me beneficium tum acceperit.

IV. At etiam literas quas me sibi misisse diceret, recitavit, homo et humanitatis expers, et vitae communis ignarus. Quis enim unquam, qui paullulum modo honorum consuetudinem nosset, literas ad se ab amico missas, offensione aliqua interposita, in medium protulit, palamque recitavit? Quid est alid, tollere e vita vitae societatem, tollere amicorum colloquia absentium? quam multa joca solent esse in epistolis, quæ, prolata si sint, inepta videantur! quam multa seria, neque tamen ullo modo divulganda! Sit hoc inhu-

insinuation of Cicero's, that Crassus had a share in the Catilinarian conspiracy; but a reconciliation was at length effected through the good offices of young Crassus, who was a pupil and admirer of Cicero's.

19. Uno gladiatori. 'Unus' is sometimes employed for 'aliquis,' 'quidam;' occasionally, contemptuously. Force, V. E.

Sect. IV.—1. At etiam literas. Antony having procured from Cæsar the recall of S. Clodius from banishment, wrote a polite letter to Cic., apprising him of the fact, and begging his concurrence. Cicero's reply was highly complimentary: 'Ego vero tibi istuc, mi Antoni, remitto; atque ita ut me a te, quum his verbis scripseris, liberalissime et honorificentissime tractatum existimem.' Att. xiv.

13. Antony, in his speech, quoted this to shew Cicero's estimation of him a few months before.

2. Tollere. Al. quam tollere. Trans.

In what else consists the robbing life
manitatis tuæ: stultitiam incredibilem videte. Quid habes, quod mihi opponas, homo diserte, ut Mustelæ Tamisio et Tironi Numisio videris? quiquam hoc ipso tempore stent cum gladiis in conspectu senatus, ego quoque te disertum putabo, si ostenderis, quomodo sis eos inter sicarios defensiones sed quid opponas tandem, si negem, me unquam istas literas ad te misisse? quid me teste convincas? An chirographo? in quo habes scientiam quæstuosam. Qui possis sunt enim librarii manu. Jam invideo magistro tuo, qui te tanta mercede, quantam jam proferam, nihil sapere docuit. Quid est enim minus non dico oratoris, sed hominis, quam id objicere adversario, quod ille si verbo negarat, longius progradi non possit, qui objecerit? At ego non negro: teque in isto ipso convinco non inhumanitatis solum, sed etiam amentiae. Quod enim verbum in istis literis est non plenum humanitatis, officii, benevolentiae? Omne autem crimen tuum est, quod de te in his literis non male existimem; quod scribam tamquam ad civem, tamquam ad bonum virum, non tamquam ad sceleratum et latro nem. At ego tuas literas, etsi jure poteram a te laessitis, tamen non proferam: quibus petis, ut tibi per me liceat quendam de exilio reducere, adjurasse, id te, invito me, non esse facturum, idque a me impetras. Quid enim me interponerem audaciae tuae? quem neque auctoritas hujus ordinis, neque existimatio populi Romani, neque leges ullass posse coercere. Verumtamen quid erat, quod me rogares, si erat is, de quo rogabas, Caesaris lege reductus? Sedvidelicet of its social joys, the robbing it of the converse of absent friends, if not in this?

3. Mustela—Numisio] These were leaders of Antony's gladiators. Phil. v. 6, viii. 9. V. E.

4. Inter sicarios] If accused under the law inflicting punishment on assassins. V. E. 'Sicarius' from 'sica.' Mil. 6. n. 18.

5. Chirographo] A manuscript or signature.


8. Tanta mercede] Inf. 39, and more fully, Phil. iii. 9. 'En, cur magister ejus, ex oratore arator factus, possideat, in agro publico populi Romani, campi Leontini duo millia junge rum immunia; ut hominem stolidum magis etiam infatuet mercede publica.'


11. Caesaris lege reductus] Phil. i. 1. 'Num qui exsules restituti? unum aiebant; praetera neminem.'
meam gratiam\(^1\) voluit esse: in quo ne ipsius quidem ulla esse poterat, lege lata.

V. Sed quum mihi, Patres conscripti, et pro me aliquid,\(^1\) et in M. Antonium multa dicenda sint: alterum peto a vo-
bis, ut me, pro me dicentem, benigne; alterum ipse efficiam, ut, contra illum quum dicam, attente audiatis. Simul illud
oro: si meam quum in omni vita, tum in dicendo moderati-
onem modestiamque cognostis, ne me hodie, quumisti, ut provocavit, respondero, oblitem esse putetis mei. Non trac-
taboo ut consulem: ne ille quidem me ut consularem.\(^2\) Etsi
ille nullo modo consul, vel quod ita vivit, vel quod ita rem-
publicam gerit, vel quod ita factus est:\(^3\) ego sine ulla contro-
versia consularis. Ut igitur\(^4\) intelligeretis, qualem\(^5\) ipse se
consulem profiteretur, objectit mihi consulatum meum. Qui
consulatus, verbo meus, Patres conscripti, re vester fuit.
Quid enim ego constitui, quid gessi, quid eg, nisi ex lujus
ordinis consilio, auctoritate, sententia? Haec tu homo sa-
piens, non solum eloquens, apud eos, quorum consilio sapien-
tiaque gesta sunt, ausus est vituperare? Quis autem, meum
consulatum, praeter P. Clodium, qui vituperaret, inventus
est? Cujus quidem tibi fatum, sicuti C. Curioni, manet:
quonium id domi\(^6\) tuæ est, quod fuit illorum utrique fatale.
Non placet M. Antonio consulatus meus. At placuit P.

12. Meam gratiam\] He wished, forsooth, that I should have the cre-
dit of the thing; whereas on his own shewing, there could be none due even to himself, the law being of Cæsar’s
enactment.

Sect. V.—1. Pro me aliquid\] Opposed to ‘in M. Antonium multa,’ agreeably the remark of Dem. (De
Cor. 2.) ὁ φίλου πάσιν ὑπάρχει—
tōις ἐπαινοῦντις αὐτοῖς ἀξιοθανα.

2. Consulem—consularem\] Cicero intimates that these were relative terms, so that if the consul were
wanting in respect to him, it war-
ranted a similar return to the con-
sul.

3. Factus est\] You are nominated by Cæsar. So inf. 32. ‘Jussus est re-
nunciari consul, et quidem cum ipso.’

4. Ut igitur, &c.\] He is led by the notice of Antony’s consulship, to
state the merits of his own.

5. Qualem\] i. e. A bad one, being the reverse of Cæs. himself.

6. Id domi\] Fulvia, formerly the wife of Clodius, and then of Curio. Curio fell in Africa, fighting on Cæsar’s
side, in a battle with Sabura, the ge-
neral of king Juba. How Fulvia
caused the death of either does not appear. In the case of Antony, however, there is more truth; for after the battle at Philippi, having to repair to the east to arrange
affairs there, he left Fulvia at home.
She soon quarrelled with Augustus, and impelled L. Antonius to take arms, setting the example her-
sel; by wearing a sword. Her hatred to Augustus arose from his repudiating her daughter Clodia; besides, she hoped, by causing a rupture with Au-
gustus, to withdraw Antony from the

VI. Sed quoniam illis, quos nominavi, tot et talibus viris respublica orbata est: veniamus ad vivos, qui duo de consularium numero reliqui sunt. L. Cotta, vir summo ingenio summaque prudentia, rebus iiis gestis, quas tu reprehendis, supplicationem decrevit verbis amplissimis, eique illi ipsi, quos modo nominavi, consulares, senatusque cunctus assensus est; qui honos post conditam hanc urbem habitus est togato ante me nemini. L. Cæsar, avunculus tuus, qua oratione, qua constantia, qua gravitate sententiam dixit in sororis suæ virum, vitricum tuum! Hunc tu quum auctorem et præcep-
At Plautus. 8. nullam dicere, Tu Neminem consul ad former, At Their O nicated i. torem, tiam, of films.' tris.'


VII. Tuus videlicet salutaris consulatus, perniciosus meus. Adeone pudorem cum pudicitia 1 perdidisti, ut hoc in eo templo dicere ausus sis, in quo ego senatum illum, qui quondam florens orbi terrarum præsidebat, consulebam 2 tu homines perditissimos cum gladiis collocavisti? 3 At etiam ausus es (quid autem est, quod tu non audeas?) clivum Capitolinum 4 dicere, me console, plenum servorum armatorum 5 fuisse. Ut illa, credo, nefaria senatusconsulta fient.

iii. 6 n. 9. 'Vitricus' qu. 'vatricus,' i. e. 'paticus;' or, from 'vice patriis.' 4. Alienus] Opposed to 'sororis filius.' 5. Natales audiendi] Are thought of consequence enough to be communicated to us senators. Heusinger. Others interpret, 'are celebrated with so much noise as to reach us here.' V. E.

6. Non descendit] 'The nobles had their mansions situated on hills.' Manut. But Antony was now residing in the house of Pompey, which it appears, was in the Carinae, a very low situation. Valla accounts for it thus: 'Descendo in præstium, descendendo in forum, descendendo in campum dicimus; non quia de loco superiore in inferiorem descendimus, sed quia de loco tuto in locum discriminis, &c.' So Hor. Carm. iii. 1. 'hic generosior descendat in campum petitor.' Græv. thinks that from the specific it came to have a general meaning, and 'descendo' became as 'prodire.'

7. Phormionis—Ballioni] The two former, characters in Terence's comedies; the latter, in the Pseudolus of Plautus. Such are Antony's associates! Their real names Cicero does not give. V. E.

8. Suam rem, &c.] Manut. says that he plays on the word res. 'Cur ad eos referas de republica, qui suam nullam rem habent, &c.'

Sect. VII.—1. Pudor.—pu dic.] Mil. 28. n. 17.


3. In eo templo— collocavisti] Inf. 8. 'Inter subsellia nostra versentur armati.' It was guarded externally, too. Inf. 44. 'cur armatorum corona senatus septus est?' Phil. iii. 12.


5. Servorum armatorum] This was contrary to the Roman laws.
vim afferebam senatui. O miser, sive illa tibi nota non sunt, (nihil enim boni nosti,) sive sunt, qui apud tales viros tam impudenter loquare! Quis enim eques Romanus, quis, præter te, adolescentes nobilis, quis ullius ordinis, qui se civem meminisset, quem senatus in hoc templum esset, in clivo Capitolino non fuit? quis nomen non dedit? Quamquam nec scribæ sufficere, nec tabulæ nomina illorum capere potuerunt. Etenim quem homines nefarii de patriæ parricidio confiterentur, conscientior indiciis, sua manu, voce pæne literarum coacti, se urbem inflammare, cives trucidare, vastare Italian, delere rempublicam consensisse; quis esset, qui ad salutem communem defendendam non excitaretur? præser-tim quem senatus populosque Romanus haberet ducem, quais si qui nunc esset, tibi idem, quod illis accidit, contigisset. Ad sepulturam corpus vitrici sui negat a me datum. Hoc vero ne P. quidem Clodius dixit unquam. Quem, quia jure ei inimicus fui, doleo a te omnibus vitiis eum esse superatum. Qui autem tibi venit in mentem, redigere in memoria nostra, te domi P. Lentuli esse educatum? An verebare, ne non putaremus natura te potuisse tam impro-bum evadere, nisi accessisset etiam disciplina?

VIII. Tam autem eras excors, ut tota in oratione tua tecum ipse pugnares; ut non modo non colhaerentia inter se diceres, sed maxime disjuncta atque contraria; ut non tanta mecum, quanta tecum tibi esset contentio! Vitricum tuum fuisse in tanto scelere fatebare, pœna affectum querebare.—Ita, quod proprie meum est, laudasti: quod totum est senatus, reprehendisti. Nam, comprehensio siontium, mea; animadversio, senatus fuit. Homo disertus non intelligit, eum, quem contra dicit, laudari a se; eos, apud quos dicit, vitu-

6. Quamquam, &c.] A correction. Mil. 2. n. 18. The construction is 'potuerunt sufficere.' Liv. xxxvi. 35. 'Romani quoad sufficere remiges potuerunt, &c.'

7. Etenim quum, &c.] The best construction, perhaps, is: 'Quum nefarii homines, conscientior—coacti, confiterentur de p. par.—nempe se consensisse urbem inflammare, &c.' Ros. A. 41. 'Utrum eam rem recusares, an de maleficio confiterere.'

8. Accidit, contigisset] 'Accidit' is generally said of bad, 'contigit' of good fortune. Again, 'accidit' is said of what happens by mere chance, 'contigit' of what happens from certain, though unforeseen, causes. So Cic. insinuates that what was a mere accident in the case of Catiline, would be a regular consequence of Antony's conduct. Era, however, would erase one of the verbs.

9. Vitrici] Supr. 5. n. 3.
perari. Jam illud cujus est, non dico audaciae,1 (cupit enim se audacem:) sed, quod minime vult, stultitiae, qua vincit omnes, clivi Capitolini mentionem facere, quem inter sub-sellia nostra versetur armati? quem in hac cella Concordiae, dii immortales! in qua, me console, salutares sententiae dic-tae sunt, quibus ad hanc diem viximus, cum gladiis homines collocati stent?2 Accusa senatum; accusa equestrem ordi-nem, qui tum cum senatu copulatus3 fuit; accusa omnes or-dines, omnes civis, dum confiteare, hunc ordinem, hoc ipso tempore, ab Ityraeis4 circumseideri. Hæc tu non propter audaciam dicas tam impudenter, sed, qui tantam rerum re-pugnantiam non videas, nihil profecto sapis. Quid est enim dementius, quam, quam reipublicæ pernicosæ arma ipse celeris,5 objicere alteri salutaria? At etiam quodam loco facetus esse voluisti. Qutam id te, dii boni, non debeat!6 In quo est tua culpa nonnulla. Aliquid enim salis a mima uxore7 trahere potuisti. 'Cedant arma togæ.'8 Quid? tum nomine cesserunt? At postea tuis armis cessit toga. Qua-ramus igitur, utrum melius fuerit, libertati populi Romani

Sect. VIII.—1. Non dico audaciae] Vatin. 8. 'Cogitarisme, in illo tuo intolerabili—non regno, (nam cupis id audire) sed latrocinio, augur fieri in Q. Metelli locum.'
2. Stent] It is remarked that Cic., 'in rebus atrocius,' frequently ends his sentences with a monosyllable. Thus Mil. 4. 'Insidiatorius . . . qua potest afferri injusta nex?' Ligar. 3. 'Ad eaarma praefectus sum quæ erant sumpta contra te?' Vid., also, Ligar. 4. n. 19.
3. Tum copulatus] Cat. iv. 7. n. 5. The knights, two years after this junction, claiming exemption from a public engagement which they had entered into with the republic, and being thwarted by some decrees of the consuls, came to an open rupture with the senate.
4. I tyraeis] The inhabitants of I tyrae, a rough mountainous country on the north-east frontier of Syria and the confines of Arabia. Antony had spent some time in Judæa when he joined Gabinius, and may have at-tached to himself some of this fierce people. Virgil, Georg. ii. 448,celebrates their archery. 'Ityraeos taxi tormentur in arcus.'
5. Arma ipse celeris] Appian says they were granted by the senate to protect him from the mob, who were enraged at his slaying the Pseudo-Marius.
6. Non debeat] Either as being naturally stupid, or, as being in a passion.
7. Mima uxor] Cytheris, who had formerly lived with Volumnius E utrapelus, and with whom Cicero was acquainted. Fam. ix. 26. That An-tony ever married her, as some commentators have thought, is improbable. V. E. Virg. is thought to al-lude to her Ecl. x.:—

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Tua, Galle, Lycoris
Perque nives alium perq; horrida castra secuta est.
8. Cedant arma] The whole verse ran: 'Cedant arma togæ, concedat laurea laudi,' and Cicero merely meant that war was about to give way
sceleratorum arma, an libertatem nostram armis tuis cedere. Nec vero tibi de versibus\(^9\) plura respondebo; tantum dicam breviter: te neque illos, neque ullas omnino literas nosse: me nec reipublicæ, nec amicis unquam defuisse, et tamen omni genere monumentorum meorum perfecisse operis subsecivis,\(^{10}\) ut meæ vigiliæ meæque literæ, et juventuti utilitatis, et nomini Romano laudis aliquid afferrent. Sed hæc non hujus temporis: majora videamus.

IX. P. Clodium meo consilio interfectum esse dixisti. Quidnam homines putarent, si tum occisus esset, quum tu illum in foro, inspectante populo Romano, gladio stricto insecutus es, negotiumque transegisses, nisi se ille in scalas\(^1\) tabernæ\(^2\) librariae conjecisset, iisque oppilatis\(^3\) impetum tuum compressisset? Quod quidem ego favisse me tibi fateor, suasisse ne tu quidem dicis. At Miloni ne favere quidem potui. Prius enim rem transegit, quam quisquam eum facturum id suspicaretur. At ego suasi. Scilicet is animus erat Milonis, ut prodesse reipublicæ sine suasore non posset! At laetus sum. Quid ergo? in tanta laetitia\(^4\) cunctæ civitatis me unum tristem esse oportebat? Quamquam\(^5\) de morte P. Clodii fuit quæstio non satis prudenter illa quidem constituta. Quid enim attinebat nova lege quæri de eo, qui
to peace. Others, however, understood it to mean that the highest military commander, e. g. Pompey, should yield the laurel to Cicero’s civic gown. Pis. 30.

9. Nec—de versibus plura respondebo\] Whether Antony’s wit was directed against particular verses of the composition of Cicero, or against such employment of his time in general, does not exactly appear. Cicero finds it convenient to understand Antony in the latter sense, as reproaching him with the misapplication of his time. V. E. Cic. wrote a poetical work on Caesar’s wars; and at the age of sixty used to compose five hundred verses a day.  

10. Subsecivis\] ‘Sub—seco,’ to cut away. Hence ‘subsecivum tempus,’ time cut off from the day, for recreation; spare time—and ‘sub-seciva opera,’ works performed during that time. It is said to be taken from the division of land, being applied to any surplus which did not fall into the regular measurement.  

Sect. IX.—1. Scalas\] A staircase. We may suppose it an outer structure, under which there was room for concealment and means of defence. Hor. Ep. ii. 2. 15.  

2. Tabernæ\] i. e. ‘Locus clausus tabulis.’ ‘Nulla taberna meos habeat neque pila libellos.’ Hor. Sat. i. 4. 71.  

3. Oppilatis\] ‘Ob—pila,’ a pile. Hence to pile against, to barricade.  

4. In tanta laetitia\] Compare here, Æschines’s charge against Demosthenes, (c. 29), for omitting the due mourning for his daughter; also, Dem. de Cor. 88.  

5. Quamquam, &c.] Mil. 2. n. 18.
hominem occidisset, quum esset legibus\textsuperscript{6} quaestio constituta? Quaesitum est tamen. Quod igitur,\textsuperscript{7} quum res agebatur, nemo in me dixit, id tot annis post tu es inventus qui diceres?

Quod vero dicere ausus es, idque multis verbis, opera mea Pompeium a Caesaris amicitia esse dijunctum, ob eamque causam culpa mea civile bellum esse natum; in eo non tu quidem tota re, sed, quod maximum est, temporibus errasti.

X. Ego M. Bibulo,\textsuperscript{1} praestantissimo civi, consule, nihil praetermisi, quantum facere enitique potui, quin Pompeium a Caesaris conjunctione avocarem. In quo Caesar felicior fuit; ipse enim Pompeium a mea familiaritate dijuxit. Postea vero,\textsuperscript{2} quam se totum Pompeius Caesari tradidit; quid ego illum ab eo distrahere conarer? Stulti erat sperare; sua-dere impudentis. Duo tamen tempora inciderunt, quibus aliquid contra Caesarem Pompeio suaserim. Ea velim reprehendis, si potes: unum, ne quinquennii imperium\textsuperscript{3} Ca-

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The suppressed proposition is—'If all, as you say, rejoiced at the death of Clodius, why was Milo condemned?' It was owing to the special commission appointed, not by the senate, but by Pompey.


7. *Quod, igitur, &c.* Cic. contradicts this, Mill. 16. His words there are 'Seitis, Judices, fuisse, qui in hac rogatione saudanda dicerent, Milonis manu cædem esse factam, consilio vero majoris alicujus.' Perhaps no one expressly named him—perhaps he forgot his former assertion.

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*Sec. X.*—1. *Bibulo* Consul with Caesar, A. v. 694. Being a friend of the 'optimates,' he opposed the popular measures of his colleague, particularly an Agrarian law for distributing the lands of Campania to 20,000 poor citizens, who had each three children or more. Planck. 5. Att. ii. 16—19. Not being able to carry this through the senate, Caesar referred it to the people, but was opposed by Bibulus, who declared every assembly-day 	extit{holy} to the end of the year, and withdrew from all public business for eight months, except the reiteration of his declaration (obnunciatio.) Hence the wits of that time said that the acts were signed 	extit{Julio et Caesare Coss.}, and the verses are well known:

'Non Bibulo quidquam nuper, sed Caesare factum est;
Nam Bibulo fieri consule nil maxim.'

During this time Caesar had the address to secure the neutrality of Pompey.

2. *Postea vero* i. e. When the first triumvirate was fully formed, A. u. 693, and Pompey, on marrying Julia, had made the calls of ambition secondary to those of love.

3. *Quinquennii imperii*] The senate, on the expiration of Caesar's consulship, voted him the charge of the woods and roads as a province. The people, however, on the motion of Vatinius, gave him Cisal. Gaul

and Illyricum for five years; and Transalp. Gaul, having by the death of Metellus Celer, become vacant, it was added by the senate, to prevent a fresh application to the people.

4. Unum—prorogaret] Caesar set out for his province in 695, leaving the command of the city to Pompey and Crassus. In 697 he wintered in Lucca, after three glorious campaigns, and was visited there by Pompey and Crassus, whom he advised to sue for the consulship the following year. They succeeded of course, and Trebonius, a tribune, having promulgated a law, that the consular provinces should be held for five years, with the power of raising what forces the proconsuls should think proper, Pompey further enacted, that Caesar should have five years added to his command in Gaul, though there were then two of the former five remaining. This then is the first time intended by Cic. a. u. 698. Yet Cic. expressly opposed the recall of Caesar in 697. Prov. Cons. 3.

5. Alterum] When the consulship of Crassus and Pompey expired, Syria was assigned to Crassus as his province; to Pompey Spain. Pompey, however, having previously obtained, through means of Cic., a five years' command over the public stores and rents of the empire, remained at Rome, governing Spain by his lieutenants. The public disturbances connected with Milo, caused him to be chosen sole consul, a. u. 701; and to reconcile Caesar to this extraordinary assumption of power, he proposed a law that Caesar should be permitted to stand for the consulship without appearing in person. Yet Cic. Att. viii. 1, writes ut illi hoc liceret adjuvi, rogatus ab ipso Ravennæ de Cælio tribuno plebis. This is the second time.

6. Quam jam, &c.] Namely, from 701, when Pompey, as sole consul, passed the decree in favour of Caesar. Julia was yet living, and perhaps now the sole cement between these ambitious men.

7. Seroquæ] In the year 702, after Julia's death, it was first moved in the senate to recall Caesar, when two years of his command were still remaining. Towards the end of this year, an act was passed to consider the case of the consular provinces in the following March; longer than which, Pompey now first declared, that Caesar should not continue in Gaul. This then appears to be the time here meant by Cicero.
XI. Sed hæc vetera:1 illud vero recens, Cæsarem meo consilio interfectum.2 Jam vereor, Patres conscripti, ne, quod turpissimum est, prævaricatorem3 mihi apposuisse videar, qui me non solum meis laudibus ornaret, sed etiam oneraret alienis. Quis enim meum in istius gloriosissimi facti conscientia4 nomen audivit? Cujus autem, qui in eo numero fuisset, nomen est occultatum? occultatum dico? cujus non statim divulgatum? Citius dixerim, jactasse se alicuos,5 ut fuisse in ea societate viderentur, quum conscribunt non fuissent, quam ut quisquam celati vellet, qui fuisset. Quam veri simile porro est, in tot hominibus, partim obscuris, partim adolescentibus neminem occultantibus, meum nomen latere potuisse? Etenim si auctores ad liberandum patriam desiderarentur illis auctoribus, Brutos ego impelle, quorum uterque L. Bruti imaginem7 quotidie videret, alter8 etiam Ahalæ. Hiigitur his majoribus, ab alienis

Sect. XI. — 1. Hæc vetera] We must suppose Cicero to have followed the order of Antony's objections, else he should have treated of Pompey's camp before—the death of Caesar.

2. Cæsarem meo consilio interfectum] Antony had placed a statue in the Rostra, inscribed 'Parenti optime merenti' ut, as Cicero adds, 'non modo sicarii sed jam etiam parricidæ judicemini."

3. Prævaricatorem] This word, like 'delirius' and some others, is borrowed from husbandry, which was always in great repute at Rome. Thus Pliny, 'Arator nisi incurvus prævaricatur,' 'Prævaricor,' then is 'valde varico, rectam lineam prægredior.' The ploughman goes as it were in two furrows, or from one to the other. The transition is easy, to the lawyer who takes a fee from both the parties. Here it means that Cic. employed Antony as a sham-accuser, to bring charges, which, at the expense of others, would redound to his credit.

4. Quis—conscientia] Al. societate. Who among those who were privy to this noble design. V. E.

5. Jactasse se alicuos] He alludes, among others, to C. Octavius and Lentulus Spinther, who, according to Plutarch, hurried to the capitol among the conspirators, and claimed a share of the glory. Antony and Augustus acknowledged their claim by putting them to death. Spinther, however, (Fam. xii. 14.) asserts his share in it.

6. Conscribunt Al. socii.

7. Imaginem] The 'imago' was generally formed of wax, but it is also taken to stand for the pictures of a family; the 'statua' was of more durable materials, as wood, stone, or brass. The waxen 'imagines,' again, were kept in chests in the 'atrium,' and produced only on the days of public procession or private festivity; the pictures were suspended in the same place, and were always exposed to view. The 'statues' were placed in the vestibule, and were only those of the leading and distinguished men of the family, or its living representative; while the 'imagines' were of all.

8. Alter] Marcus Brutus was the son of Servilia, a descendant of Servilius Ahalæ, who put to death Sp. Mælius.

9. Ahalæ] This shews that women
potius consilium peterent, quam a suis? et foris potius, quam domo? Quid? C. Cassius, in ea familia natus, quae non modo dominatum, sed ne potentiam quidem cujusquam ferre potuit, me auctorem, credo, desideravit: qui etiam sine his clarissimis viris hanc rem in Cilicia ad ostium fluminis Cydni confecisset, si ille ad eam ripam, quam constituerat, non ad contrariam, naves appulisset. Cn. Domitium non patris interitus, clarissimi viri, non avunculi mors, non spoliatio dignitatis, ad recuperandum libertatem, sed mea auctoritas excitavit? An C. Trebonio ego persuasi? cui ne sundere quidem ausus essem. Quo etiam majorem ei respublica gratiam debet, qui libertatem populi Romani unius amicitiae preposuit, depulsorque dominatus quam particeps esse maluit. An L. Tillius Cimber me est auctorem secutus? quem brought "imagines" into the families they married into.

10. C. Cassius] There is nothing in Livy, (ii. 14.) to which the expression of Cic. about Cassius can be supposed to allude. He shews, indeed, that Sp. Cassius became a popular consul, by proposing an Agrarian law and a largess to the people; and that he was condemned for affecting royalty; and to this fact Cic. often alludes. What follows about his father putting him to death, Livy gives as a report, but discredits it. Dionysius Halicarn. (lib. viii.) mentions the same report, but thinks it improbable, because his property was confiscated and his house thrown down, which could not have been the case, if his father had put him to death; the very right by which he took away the life of his son, securing him the command over his property. As it is probable, then, that Cicero does not allude to this dubious account of C. Cassius putting his son to death, perhaps he may refer to the ambitious spirit of S. Cassius, who, in affecting sovereignty, might be said "ne potentiam quidem cujusquam ferre posse." Cat. i. 10. n. 4.

11. Hanc rem—confecisset] Of this design of Cassius, no other trace appears. Suetonius, Jul. 63, and Aprian, ii, state that he surrendered to Caesar after the battle of Pharsalia, and sued for pardon. Possibly a previous design to surprise Caesar may have failed. V. E.

12. Patris interitus] L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, who was slain by Antony at Pharsalia. He had been taken prisoner at Corfinium in the beginning of the war, and released; but he afterwards joined Pompey. Sueton., (Vit. Ner. 3, which emperor was descended from him,) says that he was falsely charged with this conspiracy, in consequence of which he joined Brutus and Cassius, and having obtained the command of the fleet, by surrendering it to Antony, he made his peace with the Triumvirs, and afterwards rose to great honours in the state.

13. Avunculi] Cato of Utica, whose sister was the mother of Domitius Sertilia, the mother of Brutus, was another sister.

14. C. Trebonio] This man was always a distinguished supporter of Caesar. By his law Caesar's command was prorogued for five years, and he served under him, as lieutenant at Massilia. This accounts for Cicero's reasoning. He was treacherously put to death by Dolabella, at
ego magis fecisse illam rem sum admiratus, quam facturum putavi. 15 Admirus sum autem ob eam causam, quod immemor beneficiorum, memor patriae fuisse. Quid duos Servilios? 16 Casces dicam, an Ahala? et hos auctoritate mea censes excitatos potius, quam caritate reipublicae? Longum est persequi ceteros: 17 idque reipublica praeclaram, fuisse tam multis; ipsis gloriosum.

XII. At quemadmodum me coarguerit homo acutus, recordamini. Caesare interfecto, inquit, statim cruentum alte extollens M. Brutus pugionem, 1 Ciceronem nominatim exclamavit, 2 atque ei recuperatam libertatem est gratulatus. Cur mihi potissimum? Quia sciebam? Vide ne illa causa fuerit appellandi mei, quod, quum rem gessisset consimilem rebus iis, quas ipse gesseram, 3 me potissimum testatus est, se aemulum meum quemadmodum exstitisse. Tu autem, omnium stultissime, non intelligis, si id, quod me arguis, voluisse interfici Caesarem, crimen sit; etiam, laetatum esse morte Caesaris, crimen esse? Quid enim interest inter suasorem facti et probatorem? aut quid refert, utrum voluerim fieri an gaudeam factum? Ecquis est igitur, te excepto, et iis, qui illum regnare gaudebant, qui illud aut fieri noluerit, aut factum improbari? Omnes ergo in culpa. Etenim omnes boni, quantum in ipsis fuit, Caesarem occiderunt. Aliis consilium, aliis ani-

Smyrna, in Asia, where he was supporting the republican cause.

15. Quem—putavi] As Cimber was a drunkard, it seemed improbable that Brutus and Cassius would take him into their confidence. Seneca de Ira, 83; or Cicero may refer merely to Cimber’s having been ever previously a staunch adherent of Caesar. V. E.

16. Quid duos Servilios] There were two brothers of the gens Servilia, who had the cognomen of Casca, present at Caesar’s assassination. One of them, according to Plutarch, (Caes. 66,) gave the first blow, and called on his brother to assist. So Shakesp. ‘See what a rent the envious Casca made!’ Cic. thinks that their cognomen should rather be Ahala, from their imitating the example of the old Ahala. Transl. How shall I address the two Servilii? shall I call them Cascae, (their real name,) or Ahala, (the name they deserve.)

17. Ceteros] There were upwards of sixty in all. Sueton. Jul. 80. Supr. 3. n. 7.

Sect. XII.—1. Pugionem] From ‘pungo.’ It was often used metaphorically. Thus, Caligula called his proscription-book ‘pugio.’

2. M. Brutus—exclamavit] Dio says that the whole conspirators joined in the shout. Perhaps their reason for appealing to Cic, was, that he was a consular man, and known to be devoted to the Pompeian cause. Perhaps his own reason is the true one.

3. Rem gessisset consimilem—gesseram] That his conduct in this deed resembled mine during my consulate, when I also deprived of life the con-

XIII. Attendete enim paulisper, cogitationemque sobri hominis punctum temporis suscipe. Ego, qui sum illorum, ut ipse fateor, familiaris; ut a te arguer, socius, nego quidquam esse medium: confiteor vos, nisi liberantes populi Romani conservatoresque reipublicae sint, plus quam siciarios, plus quam homicidas, plus etiam quam parridicas esse; siquidem est atrocius patriae parentem, quam suum occidere. Tu, homo sapiens et considerate, quid dicis? Si parricidea, cur honoris causa a te sunt et in hoc ordine et apud populum Romanum semper appellati? Cur M. Brutus, te referente, legibus est solutus, si ab urbe plus quam decem dies abfuisset? cur ludi Apollinares incredibili M.

spirators against their country. V. E.

4. Stuporem] Cic. here convicts Antony of stupidity: 1. By his language, because he honours Brutus for what he abuses him. 2. By his conduct and opinions, who did not see that there was no mean between patriots and parricides.

5. Honoris causa] A phrase of polite address, which meant no more than 'respectfully' or the like.

6. Crapulam] i. e. Κραυπαλη, qu. πάλλων το κάρα, 'caput tremieere.' Plaut. Rud. ii. 7. 28. ' Abeo hinc, ut edormiscam hanc crapulam.' Ter. Adelph. says 'hoc villi, i. e. vini.'

7. Faces] It appears that these were applied by the Romans to rouse the stupid or lethargic. Delph. ' Indiges baculo vel fuste ut excitetis.'

Sect. XIII.—1. Familiaris] In consuetudine vitae.

2. Legibus est solutus] Introd. 6.

3. Ludi Apollin.] Liv. xxv. 12. These games were established in the second Punic war, on occasion of a victory; and a pestilence occurring, they were made annual, and celebrated the fifth of July. This two-fold origin is noticed by Hor. Carm. i. 24. ' His bellum lacrymosum, hic miseram famem, Pestemque a populo, &c.' Phil. i. 15.

4. **Celebrati** C. Antonius acted for Brutus on this occasion. It appears, from Cicero's letters to Atticus, that Brutus, who was then at Lanuvium, took great pains to supply him with every requisite that could secure their magnificence. He had intended, at one time to attend them in person, and had an address to the people prepared, but Cicero did not advise it. Phil. 1. 15. n. 5.

5. **Cur provinciae Cassio et Bruto datae** To Brutus Macedonia, and to Cassius Syria. The adding of quaestors was a mark of respect and recognition of them as legal governors. So of 'Legatorum numerus auctus.'

6. **Dijunctius** Al. distinctius.—Too widely, or, in too disjunctive a form; for Cicero's argument was stated disjunctively, and Antony was no great logician.

7. **Retexo** It was usual in Greek to say μηθοὺς ὑφαίνειν, and in Latin, 'orationem texere.' Hence retexere, 'to unweave,' in order to make a better web; hence to change a line of argument,' as here.

8. **Ad illos** Brutus and Cassius.

9. **Vereor, ne, &c.** The construction is: 'me celatum [esse] illis non sit honestum; aut [me] invitatum refugisse, mihi sit turpissimum.' Intrad. 12. 'Celari de aliqua re,' to be told nothing about a thing, to be kept in the dark. Fam. v. 2. 'Te maximis de rebus a fratre esse celatum.' Agr. ii. 18: 'Huc delecta virum sortiti corpora furtim Includunt lateri. Or rather from Odys. iv. 272:

"Τιπω ἔνι ξεστο ἔνι ἐνημέθα πάντες ἀριστοὶ Ἄργεων.
This comes up to 'cum principibus.'

11. **Quoque animo facis** Cicero explains this intention. Fam. xii. 2. 'Nullam aliam ob causam, me auctorem fuisse Caesaris interficiendi crimi-
qui locus est aut tam desertus, aut tam inhumanus, quibus illos, quoquo accesserint, non affari atque appetere videatur? qui homines tam agrestes, qui se, quem eos adspexerint, non maximum cepisse vitae fructum putent? quae vero tam immemor posteritas, quam ingratæ litteræ reperientur, quæ eorum gloriæ non immortalitatis memoria prosequantur? Tu vero adscribo me talem in numerum.

XIV. Sed unam rem vereor, ne non probes. Si enim fuisse, non solum regem, sed regnum etiam de republica sustulisse: et, si meus stilus ille fuisse, ut dicitur, mihi crede, non solum unum actum, sed totam fabulum confecisse. Quamquam si interfici Cæsarem voluntasse crinem est, vide, quæso, Antonii, quid tibi futurum sit, quem et Narbone hoc consilium cum C. Trebonio cepisse notissimum est, et ob ejus consilii societatem, quem interfeceret Cæsar, tum te a Trebonio vidimus sevocari. Ego autem (vide quam tecum agam non inimice) quod bene cogitasti aliquando, laudo: quod non indicasti, gratias ago: quod non fecisti, ignosc. Virum res illa quæerebat. Quod si te in judicium natur, nisi ut in me veterani incitentur.

12. Locus—desertus] It is a strong personification, to make a place address and desire the presence of a person. Cic. heightens this, by making the place deserted, without human intercourse, &c.


14. Literæ] Cic. uses the genus, comprising under it, poetry, oratory, and history; all which assist in conferring immortality.

Sect. XIV—1 Non solum regem, &c.] Fam. xii. 1. ‘Non regno, sed rege liberati videmur.’ Att. xiv. 8. ‘O Di! bon! vivit tyrannis: tyrannus occidit.’

2. Stilus] 1. an obelisk or column, στύλος; 2. a sharp-pointed instrument, a dagger, a pen; 3. a style of writing. We cannot preserve the paranomasia of Cicero, having no word that signifies a pen and a poniard. Those who limit the interpretation to either one or other appear to miss the force.

3. Unum actum] Abram. makes the ‘fabula,’ the deliverance of their country; Cic., the poet; ‘stilus,’ the conspiracy; one act, the death of Cæsar; the other four acts, the deaths of Lepidus and the three Antonies.—Manut. supposes the death of Antony the fifth act, but does not specify the preceding four. It is enough to understand it generally. ‘He would have added the last act to the play, by despatching others.’ Marcel. 9. ‘Hic restat actus.’ Fam. x. 28.—‘Quam vellem ad illas pulcherrimas epulas me inviasses! reliquiarmur nihil habemus.’ Here, however, the figure is changed.

4. Confecisse] This verb, in the sense of to despatch, is properly applied to stabbing wild beasts in the amphitheatre.

5. Quamquam si interfici Cæsarem, &c.] Plutarch, Brut. 17, makes it appear that Trebonius, being the military comrade of Antony at Narbo, where Cæsar had halted in his return from Spain, had sounded him on the project of slaying Cæsar; and that
quis adducat, usurpetque illud Cassianum, 6 ‘Cui bono?‘ fuerit; vide, quæso, ne haæras. 8 Quamquam illud quidem fuit, ut tu dicebas, omnibus bono, qui servire nollebant: tibi tamen praecipue, qui non modo non servis, sed etiam regnas; qui maximo te ære alieno ad ædem Opis liberasti: qui per easdem 10 tabulas innumerabili pecuniam dissipavisti; ad quem e domo Cæsaris 11 tam multa delata sunt; cujus domi questuosissima est falsorum commentariorum et chirographorum officina, agrorum, oppidorum, immunitatum, vectigalium flagitiosissimæ nundinæ. 12 Etenim quæ res egestati et eri alieno tuo, præter mortem Cæsaris, subvenire potuisset?—Nescio quid 13 conturbatus esse videris: numquid subtimes, ne ad te hoc crimine pertinere videatur? Liberò te metu: nemo credet unquam; non est tuum de republica bene mereri; habet istius pulcherrimi facti clarissimos viros respublica auctores: ego te tantum gaudere dico, fecisse non arguo. Respondi maximis criminibus: nunc etiam reliquis respondendum est.

Antony, though aware of his drift, yet did not disclose the secret; that, therefore, Trebonius, through gratitude, took him aside that he might not share the fate of Caesar. In another place, however, (Caes. 66,) he says that it was Decimus Brutus who drew Antony aside. But Cic., Fam. x. 28, attributes the act to Trebonius, as here; without, however, charging Antony with being privy to it. Trebonius was, probably, now dead.

8. Ne haæras] Because you had all the advantage—the conspirators all the loss.
9. Ædem opis] This goddess variously named, Ops, Tellus, Cybele, the Great Mother, the Idaean Mother, and the Mother of the Gods, had temples dedicated to her in various parts of the city. The temple here specified is thought to have been in the Capitol, if we are not to understand the temple adjoining the treasury, dedicated to Saturn and Ops. Here the sense requires ‘ad ædem Opis’ to mean ‘tabulis ad ædem Opis;’ for by them he paid his debts. Hence ‘easdem,’ inf. 10. Per easdem, &c.] As ‘tabulas’ had not been mentioned before, ‘easdem’ must refer to ‘ædem opis,’ the depository of the ‘tabulae.’ The money was squandered by Antony’s forging assignments of the different sums to his own creatures. Phil. v. 4. ‘Septies millies falsis perscriptionibus, &c. avertit.’
11. Domæ Caesaris] Vid. Phil. i. 7. n. 3, where the particulars here alluded to are noticed. Calpurnia had conveyed to the house of Antony, for safety, the papers and treasures of Cæsar, which Antony kept possession of and converted to his own purposes.
12. Nundinæ] Qu. ‘novendinae,’ from ‘novem’ and ‘dies,’ properly, the market-day, or day on which the country people flocked to Rome. It occurred every nine days, reckoning inclusively. It is here put for the market or sale itself. Phil. v. 4.
13. Nescio quid] ‘At something or other;’ not ‘somewhat.’
Castra\(^1\) milii Pompeii, atque illud omne tempus objecisti. Quo quidem tempore si, ut dixi,\(^2\) meum consilium auctoritasque valuisse; tu hodie egeres, nos liberis esserem; republica non tot duces\(^3\) et exercitus\(^4\) amisisset. Fateor enim, me, quem ea, quae acciderunt, providerem\(^5\) futura, tanta in meestitia fuisse, quanta ceteri optimi cives, si idem providissent, fuissent. Dolebam,\(^6\) dolebam, Patres conscripti, rempublicam, vestris quondam meisque consiliiis conservatam, brevi tempore esse perituram. Nec vero eram tamindoctus ignarusque rerum, ut frangerer animo propter vitae cupiditatem, quae me manens conficeret angoribus, dimissa molestis omnibus liberaret. Illos ego præstantissimos viros, lumina reipublicæ, vivere volebam, tot consularis, tot pretorios, tot honestissimos senatores, omnem præterea florëm\(^7\) nobilitatis ac juvenitis, tum optimorum civium exercitus: qui si viverent, quamvis iniqua conditione pacis, (mihi enim omnis pac cum civibus belli civili utilior\(^8\) videbatur,) rempublicam hodie teneremus. Quæ sententia si valuisse,\(^9\) ac non ii maxime\(^10\) mihi, quorum ego vitæ consulebam, spe victoriae elati,\(^11\) obstitsissent: ut alia omnim, tu certe num-

Sect. XV.—1. Castra, &c.] The objection of Antony was, not that Cic. was a Pompeian; but that he prevented a reconciliation between the leaders, and conducted himself in a manner unbecoming a consular man. This he here answers.

2. Si, ut dixi Supr. 10. 'Hæc mea, M. Antoni, semper et de Pompeio et de republica consilia fuerunt: quæ, &c.'


4. Exercitus] These are often alluded to. The principal were at Pharsalia, Thapsus, and Munda; and their commanders, Pompey, Scipio, and the sons of Pompey.

5. Providerem] His letters are full of prophecies on this subject, for which some historians give him little credit. Hooke. \(x.\) 1. \(n.\) \(q.\)

6. Dolebam] The ideas are natural here. Cic. had a peculiar regard for the republic, because he had saved it from Catiline. So people are doubly fond of what they have rescued from, or recovered after, some great danger; and he takes care to add, that it was no unmanly love of life that actuated him in his grief.

7. Florem] Because almost all the young patricians followed Pompey, and were in his camp. Hence the story of Caesar's artifice in the battle of Pharsalia, to strike at their faces. Plut. \(Cæs.\) 45.

8. Pax—bello civili utilior]. So Hom. ix. 63: 'Ἀφρίτωρ, ἀθέματος, ἀνίστως ἱστιν ἐκεῖνος. Ὁς παλιῶν ἔραται ἐπιθημίων, ὀκρυ- εντος.'

9. Sententia valuisse] He means his proposition, that Pompey should come into Caesar's terms; which were, that Pompey should proceed to Spain, his province, and both disband their armies. Fam. xvi. 12.


11. Spe victoriae elati] Caesar well
quam\textsuperscript{12} in hoc ordine, vel potius nunquam in hac urbe mansisses. At vero Cn. Pompeii voluntatem a me alienabat oratio\textsuperscript{13} mea. An ille quemquam plus dilexit? cumullo aut sermones, aut consilia contulit saepeius? Quod quidem erat magnum, de summia republica dissentientes in eadem successudine amicitiae permanere. Sed et ego, quid ille, et contra ille, quid ego sentirem et spectarem, videbat. Ego incoluminitatucivium primum, ut postea dignitati possemus; ille praeenti dignitati plus consulebat. Quod autem habebat uterque quid sequeretur, idcirco tolerabilior erat nostra dissenso. Quid vero ille singularis vir ac pæne divinus de me senserit, sciunt, qui\textsuperscript{14} cum de Pharsalia fuga Paphum\textsuperscript{15} persecuti sunt. Nunquam ab eo mentio de me, nisi honorifice, nisi plena amicissimi desiderii, quum me vidisse plus fartheretur, se speravisse meliora. Et ejus viri nomine me insectari audes, cujus me amicum, te sectorem\textsuperscript{16} esse fatere?

XVI. Sed omissatur bellum illud, in quo tu nimium felix fuisti. Ne jocis quidem\textsuperscript{1} respondebo, quibus me in castris usum esse dixisti. Erant quidem illa castra plena curae\textsuperscript{2} veruntamen homines, quamvis in turbidis rebus sint, tamen, si modo homines sunt, interdum animis relaxantur. Quod autem idem modestiitiam\textsuperscript{2} mean reprehendit, idem

says of them (B. C. iiii.) ‘Nec quibus rationibus supereare possunt, sed quemadmodum uti victoria deberent, cogitabatur.’

12. *Tu certe nunquam, &c.* A species of Litotes, by which he intimated that Antony would have suffered death or exile for his crimes.

13. *At vero—oratio*] Macrobius and Plutarch have transmitted to us a few of Cicero’s splenetic remarks on this occasion; but it does not appear necessary to transcribe them.

14. *Sciunt, qui*] He means Favonius, the Lentuli, &c. Plutarch, Pomp. 76, says that he had a few ships and about sixty senators collected to him.

15. *Paphum*] Pompey hastened first to Lesbos, where he met Cornelia, and thence to Paphus.

16. *Sectorem*] *Sectio* is, 1. a purchase; 2. a sale, particularly of proscribed property. It has the first meaning from ‘sequi,’ i.e. ‘a lucro sequendo;’ the second from ‘secare,’ because the ‘sectores’ retailed the property. Perhaps this account may reconcile Ascon. and the commentators about the derivation of this word.

SCT. XVI.—1. *Ne jocis quidem*] These may be found in Plutarch, Middleton, or Hooke.

2. *Castra plena curae* i.e. To Cic. and the thinking men; for, generally speaking, the Pompeians were only solicitious about revenge and booty.

3. *Quod autem idem modestiitiam*] Sc. in the words, Sup. 15. ‘At vero Cn. Pompeii voluntatem a me alienabat oratio mea.’
jocum; magno argumento est, me in utroqueuisse mode-
ratum.\textsuperscript{4}

\textit{Hereditates}\textsuperscript{5} milii negasti venire. Utinam hoc tuum ve-
rum crimen esset! plures amici mei et necessarrii viverent. Sed qui istuc tibi venit in mentem? Ego enim amplius
HS. ducenties\textsuperscript{6} acceptum hereditatibus retuli. Quamquam
in hoc genere fator feliciorem esse te. Me nemo, nisi ami-
cus, fecit heredem, ut cum illo commodo, si quod erat, ani-
mi quidam dolor jungetur: te is, quem tu vidisti nunquam,
L. Rubrius Casinапример. Et quidem vide, quam
te amarit is, qui,\textsuperscript{8} albus aterne\textsuperscript{9} fueris, ignorans, fratris filium
præteriit, Q. Fufi, honestissimi equitis Romani,\textsuperscript{10} suiique

\textsuperscript{4} \textit{Fuisse moderatum} \textsuperscript{4} So Hor.
Epis. i. 18. 'Virtus est medium viti-
orum et utrumque reductum.'

\textsuperscript{5} \textit{Hereditates, &c.} This was con-
sidered a great ignominy among the
Romans. For Nigrinus, in Lucian,
wittily observes, 'that the Romans
uttered only one true word in their
lives—sc. that which is contained in
their wills.' Augustus, who was vain
of being so noticed by his friends, used
to refund the amount of the bequest to
the lawful heirs, to obviate the suspi-
had made the very same charge against
Clodius. Att. i. 15.

\textsuperscript{6} \textit{HS. ducenties} In two instances,
Atticus is acquainted by Cicero of
legacies left him. Att. ii. 20. xi. 2.—
HS. a contraction for L. L. S. i. e.
'libra, libra, semis,' or two pounds
and a half of brass, the fourth of a
denarius. Note 1. With a numeral ad-
verb, HS. is 'sestertium,' 'centena
millia' being understood. A short rule
in translating these adverbs, is to omit
a cipher from the given number, and
call the remainder so many millions
of sesterces. Thus here 200, omit-
ing a cipher, is 20—sc. millions. 'Se-
xagies,' i. e. 60, gives 6 millions.
'Decies,' i. e. 10, one million, and
so on. 2. The amount in English
money is nearly given by inserting
£8,000, instead of the word millions.
Thus 20 millions, (ducenties,) is
20 \times 8000 = £160,000.

\textsuperscript{7} \textit{Casinai} i. e. Of Casinum, a
town of Campania, where the Latin
joins the Appian way. Inf. 41.

\textsuperscript{8} \textit{Te amarit is, qui} As nobody
ever had acted so, he leaves the hearer
to infer that Antony had forged the
will.

\textsuperscript{9} \textit{Albus aterne} An adage, mean-
ing 'to know or care nothing about a
a person.' Catullus says of Caesar,
Epig. 94. 'Non nimium cupio, Caesar, tibi velle
placere,
Nec scire utrum sis albus an ater
homo.'

Hence its application to the character
of Antony.

\textsuperscript{10} \textit{Equitis Romanis} To distin-
guish him from a senator of the
same name, father-in-law of the con-
sul elect.
amantissimi, [;] quem palam heredem semper factitarat: [ne nominat quidem:]11 te, quem nunquam viderat, aut certe nun-
quam salutaverat,12 fecit heredem. Velim mihi dicas, nisi 
molestum hominum, ejectis municipio, quam aliena
sit. Igitur13 fratrex exheredans, te faciebat
heredem. In multas præterea pecunias alienissimorum14 
hominum, ejectis veris heredibus, tamquam heres esset, in-
vat. Quamquam hoc maxime admiratus sum, mentionem te 
ereditatum ausum esse facere, quum ipse hereditatem patris
non adisses.15

XVII. Hæc ut colligeres,1 homo amantissime, tot dies in 
aliena2 villa declarasti? quamquam tu quidem (ut tui familia-
rissimi dictitant) vini exhalandi,3 non ingenii acuendi causa,
declamatas. Et vero adhibes joci causa magistrum, suffragio 
tuo et compotorum tuorum, rhetorem,4 cui concessisti, ut in te,
quæ vellet, diceret, salsum5 omnino hominem: sed materia
facils est in te et in tuos dicta dicere.6 Vide autem, quid

11. Ne nominat quidem] Al. ne 
omen quidem perscrispit. Orel. 
bracket
them, as an interpolation, and 
refers 'quem, &c.' to 'fratris—Q. Fufi.' 
For the brother of Rubrius might have 
been adopted into the 'gens Fufo-
rum.'

to this salutation as out of place. But 
Cic. means: 'Whom he had never 
seen, or (if he had) at least (certe) 
ever had, &c.'

13. Igitur, &c.] It seems harsh 
to make 'igitur' illative here. Perhaps it 
is like the Greek μιν οὖν, 'well 
then,' used after a parenthetic argu-
gument, to carry back the mind to 
the previous statement. So Arch. 5. 'His 
igitur tabulis, &c.' Mil. 29. 'Ejus 
igitur mortis, &c.'

14. Alienissimorum] Opposed to 
relations. Supr. 6. 'Hujus ego alienus 
consiliis consul usur sum.'

15. Non adisses] Because it was all 
squandered.

10. n. 13. As it does not appear how

collecting facts or calumnies against 
Cic. could sharpen the genius of An-
tony; perhaps 'colligo' is here taken 
in the logical sense of 'drawing an 
inference.' So Hor. Sat. ii. 1.—'sic 
colligere cum.' His masterly infe-
rences were, e.g. that Cic. lost Pom-
pey's friendship by splenetic jests, 
that he was a conspirator because Bru-
tus called on him first, &c.

2. Tot dies in aliena] Seventeen; 
which Antony had passed in a villa of 
Q. Metellus Scipio, at Tibur. Phil. 
v. 7.

de Cor. 86. Καὶ έ\u03c9ωγε δοκείς ικ η 
rōtōυν, 'Αρισχίνη, τῶν λόγων ἐπι- 
dείξιν τινα φωμακιας βουλόμενος 
tησαθάς, τούτων προελθαί τόν 
άγωνα, οὗκ αδικήματος οὐδένος λα-
exi, τιμωριαν.

4. Rhetorem] Supr. 4. n. 7.

5. Salsum, &c.] 'Salsus,' savoury, 
from 'salar.' Negatively, 'insipid,' 
insipid. The transition is easy to wit, 
the salt of conversation.
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intersit inter te et avum tuum. Ille sensim\textsuperscript{7} dicebat, quod causae prodesset; tu cursim dicis aliena. At quanta merces rhetori data est! Audite, audite, Patres conscripti, et cognoscite reipublicae vulnera. Duo millia jugerum campi Leontini\textsuperscript{8} Sex. Clodio rhetori assignasti,\textsuperscript{9} et quidem immunia,\textsuperscript{10} ut populii Romani tanta mercede nihil sapere disceres. Num etiam hoc, homo audacissime, ex Caesaris commentariis? Sed dicam alio loco et de Leontino agro et de Campano: quos iste agros ereptos\textsuperscript{11} reipublicae, turpissimis possessoris\textsuperscript{12} inquinavit. Jam enim,\textsuperscript{13} quoniam criminibus ejus satis respondi, de ipso emendatore et correctore nostro quaedam dicenda sunt. Nec enim omnia effundam, ut, si saepius decertandum sit, ut erit, semper novus veniam: quam facultatem mihi multitudo istius vitiorum peccatorumque largitur.

XVIII. Visne igitur te inspiciamus a puero?\textsuperscript{14} Sic opinor.

6. \emph{Dicta dicere} \textemdash; 'Dicta for 'dicteria.' Easy to be witty when you and your friends are the subjects. 'Dico unum ridiculum dictum de dictis melioribus.' Plaut. Capt. iii. 1.; but Ern. doubts the propriety of the expression 'matera facilis dicere,' and thinks it should be 'dicenti' or 'ad dicendum.' Plut. Ant. 24, mentions Antony's fondness for jests even at his own expense.

7. \emph{Sensim} \textemdash; Vid. de Or. ii. 1, and Brut. 36; where the peculiar character of Antonius's oratory is fully developed. It appears that he was a guarded speaker, whose great care was not to injure the cause which he undertook to defend.

8. \emph{Campi Leontini} \textemdash; This plain was near Leontium, in Sicily. Cic. Verr. iii. 18. says of it, 'cujus species hae erat, ut cum obsitum vidisses, annonee caritatem non vererere.' This then being the most fertile part of Sicily, and Sicily being, as Polyb. testifies, the granary of Rome, we may clearly see the wound of the republic.

9. \emph{Assignasti} \textemdash; This word is properly applied to distributing lands to colonists, from 'ad' and 'signum.' When the Romans conquered a country, they usually restored the lands to the inhabitants on the condition of paying \emph{decuma} or tithe. Hence the lands were called 'decumani.' They reserved, however, a part of the most valuable, as a patrimony of the Roman people. Such it appears was the Leontine plain, which Cic. inf. 39, reckons 'in pop. Rom. patrimonio.'

10. \emph{Immunia} \textemdash; They were given to Clodius without any restriction as to rent or tithe.

11. \emph{Ereptos} \textemdash; Because they were the patrimony of the state. Vid. penult. n.

12. \emph{Turpissimis possessoris\textsuperscript{12}} Clodius and companions.

13. \emph{Jam enim} \textemdash; These are particles of transition. He has now done with 'pro me aliquid,' and proceeds to 'multa in Antonium.' Sup. 5.

\textbf{Sect. XVIII.---I. Visne---a puero} \textemdash; This was the usual order observed by orators in their invective speeches. Vid. Dem. de Cor. 79, when he traces Aeschines from sweeping the schoolroom to speaking from the Rostra.
PHILIPPICA SECUNDA, CAP. 18.

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2. Prætextatum] Scil. before you were seventeen, the age for assuming the manly gown. As this, however, was not the fault of Antony, though sufficiently disgraceful to him, the orator rather dwells upon his impudence in sitting, notwithstanding, in the benches appropriated to the knights. The ‘prætexta’ was a white gown with a purple border. It formed the dress of the sons and daughters of the better sort, till they arrived at seventeen, as well as of senators, magistrates, and priests, any of whom, when so arrayed, may be called ‘prætextatus.’

3. Decoxisse] Sc. argentum; for Cic, uses ‘decoctum argentum.’ The transition from ‘decoquo’ to wasting money, becoming a bankrupt, is obvious. Some suppose the metaphor taken from trees wherein the sun has dried up the moisture.

4. Patris] Antonius Creticus, so called, from his unsuccessful war against that island. Vid. Manil. 12. n. 12. He was remarkable as a spendthrift, and is said never to have kept an account.

5. Roscia] Roscius Otho, a tri-

bune, passed this law A. D. 687. It set apart for the Equites by birth or by property, fourteen rows in the theatre, immediately behind where the senators sat, excluding insolvents, to whom a distinct place was assigned; but this Antony did not regard.

6. Virilem—muliebrem togam] Enn. muliebrem stolam. ‘Toga’ was the proper garb of courtesans; ‘stola’ of matrons; as Hor. i. 2.

‘Quid inter—

Est in matrona, ancilla peceesve togata;’

and again,

‘Ad talos stola demissa et circum-data palla.’

7. Stolam] This robe was presented by the husband to the bride, who then laid aside the prætexta.

8. In matrimonio stabili] So Virgil:

‘Conjugio jungam stabili propriamque dicabo.’

Cic., in the selection of his expressions, on a subject where selection was necessary, had in view Dem. de Cor. 40. ‘ἡ μὴ τυχόν οὐς μεθημερινὸς γάμος χρωμίνη, &c.

9. Custodes] These were usually
dicere? Recordare tempus illud, quam pater Curio mortens jacebat in lecto; filius se ad pedes meos prostrernens, lacrimans, te mihi commendabat; orabat, ut te contra suum patrem, si sestertium sexagies peteret, defenderem; tantum enim se pro te intercessisse. Ipse autem amore ardens confirmabat, quod desiderium tui discidii ferre non posset, se in exsilium iturum. Quo tempore ego quanta mala florentissimae familiæ sedavi, vel potius sustuli! Patri persuasi, ut æs alienum filii dissolveret; redimeret adolescentem, summa spe et animi et ingenii præditum, rei familiaris facultatibus; eumque a tua non modo familiaritate, sed etiam congressione, patrio jure et potestate prohiberet. Hæc tu, quem per me acta meminisses: nisi illis, quos videmus, gladiis consideres, maledictis me provocare ausus esses?

XIX. Sed jam stupra et flagitia omittamus: sunt quædam, quæ honeste non possum dicere: tu autem eo liberior, quod ea in te admisisti, quæ a vencendo inimico audire non posses. Sed reliquum vitæ cursum videte: quem quidem celeriter perstringam. Ad hæc enim, quæ in civili bello, in employed by the Romans in guarding the chambers of the women, but Curio was obliged to go further. Sometimes they were chained to the doorposts; sometimes dogs were employed. So Hor. Carm. et vigillum canum Tristes excubie.

11. Intercessisse] i. e. By his intercession he had obtained from the money-lenders a sum to that amount.
12. Discidii] Ligar. 2. n. 9.
13. Florentissimæ familiae] Noticed thus by Pliny. ' Una fæminarum in omnibus avo Lampedo Lacedaemonia perpetur, quæ regis filia, regis uxor, regis mater fuit: una Phærenice, quæ filia, soror, mater Olympionica: una familia Curionum, in quas tres continuas serie oratores existiunt: una Fabiorum, in quæ tres continuae principes senatori.'
14. Sedavi—sustuli] He did the first by persuading the father to pay the debt; the second by advising him to keep his son from the society of Antony.
15. Redimeret] This is to be understood literally, as debtors were by the Roman laws bound and handed over to the creditors as slaves.
17. Patrio jure et potestate] By the former, (jus), the father had power over his son's liberty; by the latter (potestas), over his life.
18. Illis—gladiis] Sc. of the Itureans and other barbarians who were placed by Antony in and near the senate-house. Supr. 8.

Secr. XIX.-1. In te admisisti Mil. 23. n. 19.
2. Reliquum vitæ cursum] This takes in merely the period from his assumption of the manly gown at seventeen, to the end of his tribunate; and this he presently calls 'media,' whereas his conduct in the civil wars is called 'extrema.'
maximis reipublicae miseriis fecit,\(^3\) et ad ea, quae quotidie facit, festinat animus. Quæ peto, ut, quamquam multo notiora vobis quam mihi sunt, tamen, ut facitis, attente audiatis. Debet enim talibus in rebus excitare animos non cognitio solum rerum, sed etiam recordatio. Tametsi incidimus oportet media, ne nimis sero ad extrema veniamus.

Intimus erat in tribunatu\(^4\) Clodio, qui sua erga me beneficia commemorat; ejus omnium incendiorum fax: cujus etiam domi jam tum quiddam molitus est.\(^5\) Quid dicam, ipse optime intelligit. Inde iter\(^6\) Alexandriam contra senatus auctoritatem,\(^7\) contra rempublicam et religiones:\(^8\) sed ha.

3. Quæ in civili bello—fecit] This is what he subsequently calls 'sue partes,' and the words 'quæ—fecit,' make it probable that the metaphor is there taken from the stage.

4. In tribunatu] i. e. 'Intimus Clodio in tribun. Clodii;' for which Clodius had qualified himself by adoption into a plebeian family. His object being to harass Cic. and procure his banishment, in which he succeeded; any man who was his friend must have been Cicero's enemy.

5. Quiddam molitus] This is referred by Manut. to an intrigue with Fulvia, the wife of Clodius, whom he afterwards married. This reference is countenanced by the words 'ipse optime intelligit.' Ern. conjectures to that it may allude to a plot to slay Clodius; Abram. to slay Pompey; and these agree best with the word 'molitus.'

6. Inde iter] When Antony had been separated from Curio, who went abroad, he attached himself to Clodius, then notorious for his persecution of Cic.; but, seeing Clodius's popularity failing, and his enemies daily increasing, Antony thought it prudent to withdraw from Rome. He travelled to Greece, and was applying himself there to the study of learning and eloquence, when he met Gabinius, the consul of the preceding year, who was proceeding to take possession of Syria, the province appointed him by the Clodian law. Under him, Antony accepted of a command, and distinguished himself in the war against Aristobulus. About this time, Ptolemy, king of Egypt, being banished by the Alexandrians, repaired to Rome, where he hoped, through the influence of Pompey, to procure a decree for his restoration by force of arms. In this he was disappointed, as a Sibylline oracle was produced forbidding it. Pompey, however, interfered so far as to recommend him by letter to Gabinius, who, urged by the entreaties of Antony, and tempted by the king's gold, at length acceded to his terms, and contrary to the order of the senate, did restore Ptolemy. This was in the consulship of Pompey and Crassus, A. u. 698.

7. Contra—auctor.] Cic., Q. Fr. ii. 2, says 'De rege Alexandrino factum est S. consultum, eum multitudine reduci periculosum, reip. videri;' so that 'auctoritas' is not used here in its technical sense. Mil. 6. n. 6.

8. Religiiones] Sc. Phil. i. 10. The so-called Sibylline oracle ran as follows: 'Si Ægypti rex auxilio indigens quondam venerit, ejus amic.tiam ne abnueritis; sed illum cum multitudine ne juveritis. Quod si aliter f ac-

XX. Venisti e Gallia ad quaesturam petendam. Aude dicere, te prius ad parentem tuum venisse, quam ad me. Acceperam jam ante Cæsaris literas, ut mihi satisfieri paterem a te: itaque ne loqui quidem sum te passus de gratia. Postea cultus sum a te, tu a me observatus in petitione tum fuerit, labores et pericula habebitis. This forgery Pompey justly despised.

10. Qui—reditus] Another man would have returned home to visit his friends, at least his mother; Antony proceeded at once to Gaul. His affairs, therefore, must have been desperate, and the course of life which made them so, flagitious.

11. In ultimam Galliam] i. e. ‘Remotissimam ab Ægypto.’ Cæsar was in Britain when Gabinius returned from Egypt; but soon after returned to Belgium, to winter-quarters, and was joined by Antony; who, wishing to solicit the quaestorship, procured letters from him to Cic. He easily admitted of his excuses, bowed to the authority of Cæsar, and took the vulgar scortum under his patronage!

12. Suam—tum obitinebat] Meaning that times were changed; for Antony was now in possession of Pompey’s house.

13. Úbi—pedem poneres] i. e. ‘Had possession’—a phrase borrowed from an old custom of litigants proceeding to the ground in dispute, and setting foot on it; then, after a sham scuffle, appealing to the prector.

14. Misenum] Manil. 12. n. 9. Antony had a small estate and villa at the promontory of this name, which had belonged to his grandfather, the orator, (de Or. ii. 14), and was his usual retreat even at the time when this oration was spoken. (Att. xv. 1.) It appears, inf. 29, that he had mortgaged or sold a part of it—‘ex quibus, praeter partem Miseni, nihil erat, quod—posset suum dicere.’ This explains the allusion in the words, ‘cum sociis, tamquam Sisaponem;’ for Antony had partners (socii) in the property of his villa; namely his creditors, just as the lead mines in Sisapo belonged to a joint stock mining company. Plin. Nat. II. iii. 1, testifies that Sisapo was a town of Spain, near Cordova, celebrated for its mines of red lead.

SECT. XX.—I. Ad quaesturam] The first public office held by public men.

2. Parentem tuum] His father had been long dead. Al. tuam, sc. Julia, the sister of L. Cæsar. Charisius maintains that heres, parens, homo, though applied to a woman, remain masc. V. E.

3. Satisfieri paterem] The offence of Antony was, his joining the party of Clodius.

4. Cultus sum] Ern. custoditus sum, which reading must be referred to Antony’s guarding Cicero from the Clodian mob.

5. Observatus] This word, in its secondary sense of ‘venerari,’ was
quaesturae. Quo quidem tempore P. Clodium, approbante populo Romano, in foro es conatus occidere: quumque eam rem tua sponte conarere, non impulu meo; tamen ita prædicabas, te non existimare, nisi illum interfecisses, unquam mihi pro tuis in me injurias satis esse facturum. In quo demior, cur Milonem impulu meo rem illam egisse dicas, quum te, ultro mihi idem illud deferentem, nunquam sim adhortatus. Quamquam si in eo perseverares, ad tuam glorian rem illam referri malebam, quam ad meam gratiam. Quæstor es factus. Deinde continuo sine senatus-consulto, sine sorte, sine lege ad Cæsarem cucurrísti. Id enim unum in terris egestatis, æris alieni, nequitiae, perditis vitae rationibus perfugium esse ducébas. Ibi te quam et illius lariotionibus et tuis rapinis explevisses, (si hoc est explere, quod statim effundas,) advolasti egens ad tribunatum, ut in eo magistratu, si posses, viri tui similis esses.

XXI. Accipite nunc, quæso, non ea, quæ ipse in se, atque in domesticum dedecus impure atque intemperanter, sed quæ in nos fortunamque nostras, id est in universam rempublicam, impie ac nefarie secerit. Ab hujus enim scelere omnium malorum principium natum reperietis. Nam, quum applied to that patronage which was vouchsafed by public men of long standing, to youths setting out in public life. Mil. Introd. 3.

6. Quo quidem tempore] Mil. 15. This attempt occurred after Cicero’s return from banishment.


8. Quamquam] The obliging of me.

9. Sine S. C.—sorte—lege] Quæstors were appointed at the comitia tributa. The particular province of each, however, was usually determined by a decree of the senate, by casting lots, or, on extraordinary occasions, by a law of the people. Antony, however, after his election by the people, without waiting for any particular appointment, set out for Cæsar who had made choice of him as his quæstor, which was sometimes done. Att. vi. 6. ‘Pompeius, eo robore vir, Q. Cassium sine sorte delegit, Cæsar Antonium, ego sorte datum [quaestorem] offende-rem?’

11. Explore, quod] A word seems wanting before ‘quod.’ Sch. supplies ingere; others devorare. Ern. contends that quod should be quum.

12. Ad tribunatum] The next office after the quæstorship, was either the edileship or tribuneship. Antony, whose talents were by this time fully developed to Cæsar, was directed by him to proceed to Rome and sue for the latter, in order to assist in supporting his interest there.


Sect. XXI.—1. Non ea, quæ, &c.] Cic., however, notices these inf. particularly, c. 23. 25.
L. Lentulo, C. Marcello,² consulibus, Kalendis Januarii labantem³ et prope cadentem rempublicam fulcire cuperetis, ipsique C. Cæsari, si sana mente esset, consulere velletis: tum iste venditum atque emancipatum⁴ tribunatum consiliis vestris opposuit,⁵ cervicesque suas ei subjecit securi,⁶ qua multi minoribus⁷ in peccatis occidentur. In te, M. Antoni, id decrevit senatus, et quidem incolumis, nondum tot lumi­nibus extinctis, quod in hostem togatum⁸ decerni est so­litum more majorum. Et tu apud patres conscriptos contra me dicere ausus es, quum ab hoc ordine ego conservator es­sem, tu hostis reipublice judicatus? Commemoratio illius tui sceleris intermissa est, non memoria deleta. Dum genus hominum, dum populi Romani nomen estabat, (quod qui­dem erit, si per te licebit, sempiternum!) tua illa pestifera in­

2. L. Lentulo, C. Marcello] Sc. a. v. 704. There were at this time at Rome, three Marcelli, Marcus, consul in 702, for whose restoration Cic. returned thanks to Cæsar; Caius, his brother, now consul; and Caius, a cousin, the father of the Marcellus of Virgil. They were all distinguished opponents of Cæsar.

3. Labantem] Al. labentem; which reading is found in the Vatican MS. but Scheller prefers the former. 'Ful­cimus domum labantem, non laben­tem.' Garaton. V. E.

4. Emancipatum] Sold, enslaved. 'Mancipium,' or 'res mancipi,' meant real property, which the owner could put out of his hands or alienate at pleasure; and hence, 'emanci­pated.' But this could not be done without the right of possession being ceded to another; hence, 2. 'trans­ferred, enslaved,' as here. Her. Epod. 9. 'Romanus—emancipatus fœmine.' Al. mancipatum, which indeed is generally a different read­ing for 'emancipatum' in this sense. Vid. Forcæl.

5. Tribunatum—opposuit] Cæsar's popularity with the plebeians caused the aristocracy to unite themselves more closely with Pompey, who had already, on the death of Julia, given plain intimations of hostility to Cæsar. Cæsar's interest was zealously supported at Rome by Antony, who, by a decree of the people, had the legions that were raised for Pompey sent into Syria, to Bibulus, who obliged the senate to hear Cæsar's written defence. A motion was made by the consul Marcellus, that either Cæsar or Pompey should resign his command; it was moved and carried, by Antony, that both should resign. This decision, the consuls, of course, opposed. Finally, when Antony had interposed his veto against the various propositions of Cæsar's opponents, and his own, in return, were rejected by them, a vote of the senate was passed, which forced him and his colleague, Cassius, to leave the city in the disguise of slaves, and take re­fuge with Cæsar. Cæs. B. C. 4.

6. Ei—securi] i. e. To the danger resulting from a decree of the senate, by which any one who persisted in impeding its acts, was decided to have acted against the republic.


8. In hostem togatum] i. e. He was judged a public enemy. The
tercessio⁹ nominabitur. Quid cupidī¹⁰ a senatu, quid temere fiebat, quum tu, unus adolescens,¹¹ universum ordinem decernere de salute reipublicae prohibuisti? neque id semel, sed sæpius? neque tu tecum de senatus auctoritate agi passus es? Quid autem agebatur, nisi ne deleri et everti rempublicam funditus velles,¹² quum te neque principes civitatis rogando, neque majores natu monendo, neque frequens senatus agendo, de vendita atque addicta¹³ sententia movere potuit? Tum illud, multis rebus ante tentatis, necessario tibi vulnus¹⁴ inflictum est, quod paucis ante te, quorum incolumis fuit nemo. Tum contra te dedit arma hic ordo consulibus reliquisque imperiis et potestatibus:¹⁵ quae non effugisses, nisi te ad arma Cæsaris contulisses.¹⁶

XXII. Tu, tu, inquam, M. Antoni, princeps C. Cæsari, omnia perturbare cupienti, causam belli contra patriam infereundi dedisti. Quid enim aliud ille dicebat? quam causam

senate sometimes decided to this effect, in the case of refractory citizens. Vid. Pis. 15.

9. Intercessio] Alluding particularly to the decree of the senate, that Cæsár should, by a certain day, dismiss his army. Cæs. B. C. 1.

10. Cupide] Antony had charged the senate with yielding to their passions and predilections against Cæsár; but Cicero is of opinion, that Antony's youth and single veto justified their conduct. Cic. does not here notice Cassius, the colleague of Antony. Fam. xvi. 11.

11. Adolescens] Cic. gives Antony the same appellation fourteen years before. As the Cornelian law required the tribune to be thirty years of age, Cic., perhaps, used it here relatively to the age of the other senators.

12. Velles] As if Antony were the people; whose province it was 'velles,' &c.

13. Vendita—addicta] 'Vendita,' disposed of by private sale; 'addicta,' consigned by auction to the highest bidder. 'Mancipata' required a regular form of law and witnesses.

14. Vulnus] Sc. declaring you a public enemy. The form was: 'Senatus consulibus, prætoribus, tribunis plebis, et ipsis qui proconsules sunt, negotium dedit, ut curarent nequid resp. detrimenti caperet.' Fam. xvi. 11.

15. Imperiis—potestatibus] A magistracy entitling the holder to lictors and fasces, was called 'imperium;' otherwise, as in the case of tribunes, it was named 'potestas.'

16. Contulisses] It is not certain whether Antony was expelled or not. Cic. Fam. 16. 11, says, 'nulla vi expulsi,' whereas Cæsar, B. C. 4, and even Lucan, i. 266, asserts the contrary:

Expulit ancipiti discordes urbe tribunos
Vicio jure minax jactatis Curia Gracchis.

Perhaps he was expelled by force from the senate, but not from the city. That Antony, under the circumstances, should put himself under Cæsar's protection, was so probable, that it was anticipated by Cic. himself. Att. vii. 9.

Sect. XXII.—1. Causam belli]
sui dementissimi consili et facti afferebat, nisi quod intercessio neglecta, jus tribunicium sublatum, circumscriptus a senatu esset Antonius? Omitto, quam haec falsa, quam levia: præsertim quum omnino nulla causa justa cuquam esse possit contra patriam arma capiendi. Sed nihil de Caesar; tibi certe confitendum est, causam perniciosissimis bellii in persona tua constitisse. O miserum te, si intelligis! miseriorem, si non intelligis, hoc literis mandari, hoc memoriae prodii, hujus rei ne posteritatem quidem omnium secularum unquam inmemorem fore, consules ex Italia expulsos, cunque his Cn. Pompeium, qui imperii populorum Romani decus ac lumen fuit, omnes consulares, qui per valetudinem exsequi cladem illum fugamque potuisse

i.e. Ansam belli.

2. Intercessio neglecta] Which Cic., supr. 21, calls 'pestifera.' Sylla, who is usually said to have abolished the tribunitian office, only stripped it of its positive power, allowing the veto to remain. Leg. iii. 10. Cæs. B. C. 4. Caesar pretended to think it hard, that Pompey, under whose control he supposed the senate to be, should deprive the tribunes of a privilege which even Sylla had left unimpaired. Yet Pompey had, in his second consulship, restored the tribunitian rights. Vell. ii. 30. Sall. Cat. 38.

3. Jus tribunicium] By it the persons of the tribunes were sacred; they could not be interrupted when speaking (Sext. 39); they had a certain jurisdiction (Juven. Sat. vii. 228), their proceedings could only be impeded by one of their own body; they alone retained office during the magistracy of a dictator; they could not be sued at law; they were able to convocate the senate and make motions there, even in presence of the consuls, &c., &c.

4. Circumscriptus] Mil. 23. n. 4. Cic. Att. vii. 9, alluding to this very circumstance, enumerates four methods by which the senate coerced a tribune: 'notatus, aut S. Consulto circumscriptus, aut sublatus, aut expulsus.' They had all been used against Antony; but Cic. here limits himself to the second. The S. C. was, no doubt that alluded to supr. 21. n. 14, which was quite sufficient to restrict Antony.

5. False—levia] They were false; for Antony's was a necessary coercion; they were trivial; for what signified the injured feelings or authority of Antony in comparison of a civil war?

6. Sed nihil de Caesar] Sc. dicendum. 'This is not the time to enter into the question of Caesar's guilt; you, at least, &c.,' which is all I want.

7. Miseriorem] Because there is no hope of the man who has not sense to perceive his own infamy.

8. Omnes consulares] As Servilius Isauricus, Serv. Sulpicius, and some others, remained behind, he adds, 'qui per valetudinem, &c.'

9. Exsequi cladem—fugamque 'Cladem' here connected with 'fugam,' partakes of its meaning, and both, by a sort of Hendiad, signify 'disastrous flight.' 'Exsequi,' 'executi sumus.'
praetores, praetorios, tribunos\textsuperscript{10} plebis, magnam partem se-
natus, omnem subolem juventutis, unoque verbo, rempublic-
cam expulsam atque exterminatam suis sedibus! Ut igitur
in seminibus\textsuperscript{11} est causa arborum et stirpium: sic hujus luc-
tuosissimi belli semen tu fuisti. Doletis tres exercitus\textsuperscript{12} po-
puli Romani interfectos: interfectit Antonius. Desideratis
clarissimos cives: eos quoque vobis eripuit Antonius. Auct-
toritas hujus ordinis afflicta est: affligit Antonius. Omnia
denique, quae postea vidimus, (quid autem mali non vidi-
mus?) si recte ratiocinabimus, un accepta referemus Anto-
nio.\textsuperscript{13} Ut Helena Trojanis,\textsuperscript{14} sic iste huic reipublicae causa
belli, causa pestis atque exitii fuit. Reliquae partes tribuna-
tus principiis\textsuperscript{15} similes. Omnia perfectis, quae senatus, salva
republica, ne fieri possent, perfeecerat. Cujus tamen scelus
in scelere\textsuperscript{16} cognoscite.

XXIII. Restituebat multos calamitosos.\textsuperscript{1} In iis patru\textsuperscript{2}
nulla mentio. Si severus, cur non in omnes? Si misericors,
cur non in suos? Sed omitto ceteros. Licinium Lenticu-
lam, de alea condemnatum, collusorem suum, restituuit: qua-
si vero\textsuperscript{3} ludere cum condemnato non liceret! sed ut, quod in
alea perdidaret, beneficiog legis dissipaveret. Quam attulisti

10. Praetores—tribunos] Not strict-
ly. M. Æmilius Lepidus, the prætor,
remained behind, and afterwards nam-
ed Caesar Dictator; while L. Metellus
is mentioned as opposing his tribunii-
tian authority to the seizure of the
public treasures by Caesar.

11. Seminibus] So in Dem.de Cor.
52. 'O γάρ το σπέρμα παρασχῶν,
oύτος ἵν τῶν φύτων κακῶν αἰτιος. 

12. Tres exercitus] That of Pom-
pey, at Pharsalia; of Afranius, in
Spain; and Scipio’s, in Africa. Cic.,
doubtless, considers Caesar as an en-
emy of the republic, and reckons not
his losses, though Romans also.—
\textit{V. E.}

13. Uni—referemus Antonius] Pro-
perly, set down to the account of An-
tony.

14. Ut Helena Trojanus] Plutarch,
Ant. 6, needed not to have called
Cic. an open liar (περιτομή ψευ-
δομένος) for this assertion, as it is
easy to see, that he merely meant An-
tony’s affording a pretext to Caesar,
for invading his country; which, per-
haps, was all that Helen did to the
Greeks, in reference to the Trojans.

15. Principiis] His intervention
took place on the first of January,
twenty-one days after coming into
office.

16. Scelus in scelere] i.e. It was
one act of wickedness to revoke a
public condemnation; but, having
done so, it was a second, to omit the
restoration of an uncle.

\textit{Secr. XXIII.—1. Calamitosos} i.e.
'Damnati.' Verr. v. 6. 'Ut damnati
in integrum restituantur.' Arch. 5.
n. 5. Manil. 6, n. 9.

n. 6, n. 7.

3. Quasi vero] We must suppose,
with Manut., that Antony, in his tri-
buneship, connived at Lenticula’s
evading the sentence of banishment,
rationem populo Romano, cur eum restitui oporteret?—
Absentem, credo, in reos relatum; rem indicta causa judi-
catam; nullum fuisse de alea lege judicium; vi oppressum,
et armis; postremo, quod de patruo tuo dicebatur, pecunia
judicium esse corruptum. Nihil horum.—At vir bonus,\textsuperscript{5} et
republica dignus.—Nihil id quidem ad rem;\textsuperscript{6} ego tamen,
quoniam condemnatum esse, pro nihilo\textsuperscript{7} est, si ita esset,
ignoscerem. Hominem omnium\textsuperscript{8} nequissimum, qui non dubi-
taret vel in foro alea ludere, lege, quae est de alea,\textsuperscript{9} con-
demnatum, qui in integrum restituit, is non apertissime studium
suum ipse profitetur? In codem vero tribunatu, quum Ca-
sar in Hispaniam profisciscens\textsuperscript{10} huic conculcandam Italian
tradicisset; quae fuit ejus peragratio itinerum! lustratio\textsuperscript{11}
in order that he might indulge with
him his passion for play. Antony's
including Lenticula in the act of re-
oration, then, could not have arisen
from any want of the society of his
friend, but from a stipulation, on An-
tyon's part, to pay his losses in play,
by releasing Lenticula from the sen-
tence of banishment.
It is likely that in this passage,
gaming in public, 'vel in foro alea
ludere,' is designed, else Antony
might have been condemned as well
as Lenticula.
4. Quam attulisti rationem? It was
usual to add to the act for restoring a
banished man, the grounds of his
restoration, generally some of the
following. Antony added none.
5. At vir bonus Another ground
for recalling from banishment.
6. Nihil id quidem ad rem Why
not? Because it was contrary to the
fundamental laws of the empire to re-
voke judicial decisions, no matter how
just the pretence. Verr. v. 6.
7. Condemn.—pro nihilo] Since his
having been condemned of the crime
of gaming is now thought lightly of,
and goes for nothing, I, too, would
pardon it, and admit his restoration, if
he were a good man.
omnium. But Cicero's object being
to convict Antony of a passion for
gaming, there is no opposition intend-
ed between 'si [vir bonus] esset' and
'omnium nequissimum;' consequent-
ly, vero should not be inserted.
9. Lege, quae est de alea] Hence
Hor. Carm. iii. 24. 'Seu malis vetita
legibus alea.' They were the Titian,
Publician, and Cornelian laws. The
exact penalty of their violation is not
known. The word 'restituit,' here
used, makes it probable that it was
banishment.
10. Caesar in Hispaniam profis-
cens? It should be observed that Ca-
sar waged two wars in Spain; one
against Petreius, Afranius, and Varro,
the lieutenants of Pompey, before the
battle of Pharsalia (\textit{A. v. 704}), ano-
ther with the sons of Pompey, (\textit{A. v. 708,})
the year before his assassina-
tion. It is the former to which he was
now setting out. Previously to this
he had obliged Pompey to evacuate
Bruncisium and fly to Greece; and as
he was unable, owing to the want of
transports, to pursue him at once and
terminate the war, he resolved to pro-
cceed into Spain 'to meet,' as he said,
'an army without a general, that he
might return to a general without an
army.'
11. Lustratio] 'Lustrum,' \textit{λουσω},
is properly, a purificatory sacrifice;
municipiorum! Scio me in rebus celebratissimis omnium
sermones versari, eaque, quae dico diturusque sum, notiora
omnibus esse, qui in Italia tum fuerunt, quam mihi, qui non
fui.¹³ Notabo¹⁴ tamen singulas res: etsi nullo modo¹⁵ poterit
oratio mea satisfacere vertæ scientiæ. Etenim quod un-
quam in terris tantissimum exstisisse auditum est? tan-
tam turpitudinem?¹⁶ tantum dedecus?

XXIV. Vehebatur¹ in essedo² tribunus plebis;³ lictores
laureati⁴ antecedebant; inter quos, aperta lectica, mima por-
tabatur; quam ex oppidis municipales homines honesti, ob-

which, being customary before reviewing
an army, 'lustratio' comes to signify a
'going about to inspect,' in which it
differs from 'peragratio.' So Ἀε. i. 577. 'Libya: lustrare extrema ju-
bebo.' Also vi. 888.¹³

13. Quam mihi, qui non fui] Yet
Cic. remained in Italy two months
after the departure of Cæsar for Spain.
In fact, he did not set sail till he had
advises of the battle of Ilerda, where-
in Cæsar's army was worsted, when
he withdrew privately to Dyrrachium,
and joined Pompey.

14. Notabo] 'Notice; ' not enter
into fully.

15. 'Etsi nullo modo] i. e. You
know more than I can mention. Peo-
ple sometimes wish to hear others
state what they themselves know. Cic.
could not in this instance gratify
them.

16. Tant. turp.] Are bracketed by
Ern. and expunged by Sch. But
Schol. says that 'audit. est' may have
the accus. after it.

Sect. XXIV.—1. Vehebatur] Abram, has here pointed out the striking
force of the expressions. It was
bad enough for a tribune to ride, but
worse to ride on a Gallic car; parti-
cularly with lictors, an officer not al-
lowed to them, and those lictors deck-
ed with laurel, as an emblem of their
victory over their country. Then,
again, the open litter of the courtesan,
contrary to the custom in travelling,

('Namque facit somnum clausa lectica
fenestra.' Juv. iii. 242,) the citizens
obliged to call her by a Roman name,
instead of Cytheris, &c., are all highly
amplificatory circumstances.

2. Essedo] This car was probably
made known to the Romans by Cæ-
sar's invasion of Britain (Cæs. B. G.
iv. 38); and as the Britons were
thought a fierce people, ('Britannos
feros hospitibus.' Hor. Carm. iii. 4,) it
is likely that it was not much esti-
teeed at Rome. Att. vi. 1. It
was also used in Gaul. Virg. G. iii.
204. 'Belgica vel molis melius fe-
ret esseda collo.'

3. Tribunus plebis] Plutarch says
that tribunes were not allowed the
'prætexta, lictors, or curule-chair;
that they were obliged to continue in
the city, and keep their doors open
even during the night.' It may, there-
fore, be inferred, that they were not
allowed carriages, particularly as it
appears that a similar prohibition was
made in the case of dictators and the
flamines Diales.'

4. Lictores laureati] Cæsar annex-
ed these lictors to his lieutenants, on
his expelling Pompey from Italy. Cic.
(Att. x. 4,) mentions their attendance
on Curio, who, though not then a
tribune, was a lieutenant. They were
usually appointed by victorious ge-
nerals, and Cæsar, no doubt, con-
sidered this a victory.

4. Aperta lectica] 'Lectica,' from
'lectus'—ἀλέγα. It was furnished

L L
viam necessario prodeuntes, non noto illo et mimico nomine, sed Volumniam\textsuperscript{5} consalutabant. Sequebatur rheda cum 
leonibus,\textsuperscript{6} comites nequissimi,\textsuperscript{7} rejecta mater amicam impuri 
filii, tamquam nurum, sequebatur. O miseræ mulieris fe-
cunditatem calamitosam \textsuperscript{8} Horum flagitiorum iste vestigis 
omnia municipia, præfecturas, colonias, totam denique Itali-
am impressit.

Reliquorum factorum ejus, Patres conscripti, difficilis est 
sane reprehensio et lubrica.\textsuperscript{8} Versatús in bello est: satura-
vit\textsuperscript{9} se sanguine dissimillorum sui civium. Felix\textsuperscript{10} fuit, si 
potest ulla in seclere esse felicitas. Sed, quoniam veteranis 
cautum esse\textsuperscript{11} volumus, quamquam\textsuperscript{12} dissimilis est militum 
with curtains, which were drawn when privacy or sleep demanded.

5. \textit{Volumniam} Cytheris had been 
the liberta and mistress of P. Volum-
nius Eutrapelus, (Fam. ix. 26,) at 
whose house Cic. supped with her.— 
Nepos, Att. 9, testifies that a friend-
ship existed between him and Antony. 
Vid. Bayle, art. Lycoris, where he is 
proved to be the Eutrapelus of Hor-
ace. With regard to the name, she 
proved might well be proud of it. It be-
longed to a patrician family, and had 
been born by the wife of Coriolanus. 
Liv. ii. 40.

6. \textit{Cum lenonibus} Al. \textit{leonibus; for Plut., 
Anton. 9, says, καὶ λέωνες 
하였습니다 οὐκεξωμένοι; and Plin.
viii. 15, ‘Primus leones Romas ad 
currum junxit M. Antonius, et quidem 
civilis bello, cum dimicatum esset in 
Pharsalicis campis: non sine ostentó 
quodam temporum, generosos spiritus 
jugum subire illo prodigio significante.
Nam quod ita vectus est cum mima 
Cytheride, supra monstra etiam cala-
mitatum fuit.’ But 1. this account of 
Pliny applies to a time subsequent to 
the battle of Pharsalia, whereas An-
tony’s progress took place when Cæ-
sar was first in Spain, fighting against 
the lieutenants of Pompey. 2. ‘Se-
quebatur cum leonibus,’ meaning 
juncta leonibus’ appears to be an 
unauthorised construction. 3. Cic., 
agreeably to his manner, would have 
dwelt on so flagitious a circumstance 
at greater length. It is certain, how-
ever, that Antony had lions before 
that time. ‘Tu Antonii leones per-
timis-cas, cave.’ Att. x. 13.

[7. \textit{Comites nequissimi} i. e. ‘Me-
ritorii pueri,’ as inf. 41. ‘Ingenui 
pueri cum meritoriis, scorta inter ma-
tresfamilias versabantur.’

8. \textit{Feuenditatem calamitosam} For 
she son was the source of calamity to 
hers and to his country.

8. \textit{Lubrica} From, λέω, ‘lavo,’ 
was washed with rain, slippery, dan-
gerous; alluding to the veterans, as he 
presently shows.

xx. 22,) says of Antony, ‘Quo facile 
intelligatur ebrious jam sanguine civi-
tum et tanto magis cern sientiis.’ ‘Dis-
simil. sui,’ and therefore good men.

10. \textit{Felix} i. e. He was on the 
side of victory, though it was neither 
owing to prudence in selecting, nor 
bravery in sustaining his party.

11. \textit{Veteranis cautum esse} ‘To 
have their advantages secured to the 
veterans;’ which the senate might re-
call, if Cic. entered into a detail of 
the atrocities of the civil war. Phil. i. 
2. ‘Veterani—quibus senatus dili-
gentissime caverat.’ This is the usual 
explanation; but, perhaps the oppo-
sition which the following ‘quam-
quam’ requires would warrant trans-
lating it, ‘to guard against, decline
causa et tua: illi securi sunt; tu quæsisti ducem: tamen, ne apud illos me in invidiam voces, nihil de genere belli dicam. Victor<sup>13</sup> e Thessalia Brundisium cum legionibus<sup>14</sup> revertisti. Ibi me non occidisti.<sup>15</sup> Magnum beneficium! Potuisses enim fatare. Quamquam<sup>16</sup> nemo erat eorum, qui tum tecum fureunt, qui mihi non censeret parci oportere. Tanta est enim caritas patris, ut vestris etiam legionibus sanctus esset, quod eam a me servatam esse minisissent. Sed fac, id te dedisse mihi, quod non ademisti, meque a te habere vitam, quia non a te sit erepta: licuitne mihi per tuas contumelias hoc tuum beneficium sic tueri, ut tuebar, præsertim quum<sup>17</sup> te hæc auditorum videres?

XXV. Venisti Brundisium, in sinum quidem et in complexum tuae mimulæ.<sup>1</sup> Quid est? num mentior? Quam sermonum est id negare non posse, quod sit turpissimum confiteri? Si te municipiorum<sup>2</sup> non pudebat: ne veterani quidem exercitus? quis enim miles fuit, qui Brundisi illum non videt? quis, qui necserit, venisse eam tot tibi dierum viam<sup>2</sup> gratulatum? quis, qui non indoluerit, tam sero se, quam ne-

interfering with, the veterans,' which he nearly expresses by, 'ne apud illos me in invidiam voces.' This sense, indeed, is usually found with <i>ab</i> and the abl.; but the dat. is also used.—<i>Vid. Forcel. Lex.</i>

12. <i>Quamquam</i> A correction, as usual, even though followed by 'tamen.' Cat. ii. 12. n. 5. 'And yet your case and that of the soldiers stand on different grounds.'

13. <i>Victor</i> The conduct of Antony in the civil wars was distinguished by bravery and prudence. He had conducted the army into Macedonia, taken Lissus, succoured Caesar, in the greatest distress, twice conquered the Pompeians, and finally, at Pharsalia, commanding the left wing, slew Domitius, and contributed greatly to the victory. All this is, of course, omitted by Cic.

14. <i>Legionibus</i> Namely, to defend Italy, while Caesar himself pursued Pompey. Cic. was not present at the battle; and after it, was requested by Cato and Cn. Pompey, to take the command of an army for the republic, and on his refusing, the younger Pompey was with difficulty restrained from killing him. Having come to Brundisium, he fell in with Antony and his legions.

15. <i>Ibi—non occidisti</i> <i>Vid. supr. 3</i>, where this charge is noticed.

16. <i>Quamquam</i> To correct his admission of its being a great favour, he shows that even legions in arms against their country, thought its preserver should be saved; how, therefore, could Antony have justly put him to death?

17. <i>Præsertim quum</i> There is an ellipsis before these words, of quod <i>fuicendium fuit</i>, or the like. 'But admitting all your inferences, did you allow me by your insults to prize your favour as I was doing; which it was your business to do, particularly as you were aware that I could and would retort,' (par pari relaturum. <i>Ferrar.</i>)

Sed. XXV.—1. <i>Mimula</i> Contemptuously for 'mime' Cytheris.

2. <i>Si te municipiorum, &c.</i> i. e. PHILIPPICA SECUNDA, CAP. 25. 387
Antony should have regarded the opinion of the soldiers, over whom he was placed, as well to govern as set an example of moderation and virtue, if he did not regard the Italian citizens.

2. Tot—dierum viam] Cytheris was at Rome when she heard of Antony's victory, and proceeded to Brundisium to meet him. The distance was 350 miles. Hor. Sat. i. 5.


4. Eadem] Referred by Abram. to 'percursatio.' This march through Italy was distinguished by all the enormities of the former, and more besides.' But it appears simpler to take it with 'comite mima.'

5. In oppida—deductio] This may mean either a temporary quartering of the troops, or a permanent settlement. In either case we can conceive that great oppression may have been practised.

6. Maximeque vini] This shews that avarice in Antony was secondary to intemperance.

7. Accessit] There was this addition to the profligate management of Antony's tribuneship.

8. Caesaris ignaro] It was usual for the dictator to appoint his own master of the horse; but in this case, as Caesar set out immediately after the battle of Pharsalia, in pursuit of Pompey, and came directly to Alexandria, it is probable he knew nothing for some time of his own appointment; and of course, could not appoint Antony. Both appointments, no doubt, proceeded from the senate, who were ever ready to load their masters with honors. Masters of horse were sometimes appointed by the senate. Liv. vii. 12.

9. Amicorum ejus] i.e. 'Cesaris.' He wishes to make it appear that Caesar entertained a contempt for Antony. It is nearer the truth that he was displeased with his disgraceful conduct, as appeared by his appointing Lepidus, on his return, to be his master of the horse, and colleague in the consulship. Hence too, his strictness with Antony, in reference to the price of Pompey's estate, which had been bought by Antony, c. 29. He still farther mortified his pride, by overlooking the turbulent conduct of Dolabella, who was at this time tribune, and whom Antony accused of an intrigue with his wife Antonia, c. 38.

10. Cum Hippia, &c.] A play on words is intended: Antony, being επιστάμενος, might have intimacy with Hippias. V. E. Some make Hippia a Roman matron, and quote Juv. Sat. vi. 82. But she was wife of the senator Veiento, who eloped with a gladiator. Vid. Rupert. in loc.

11. Equos vectigales] 'Vestigal' is: 1. What produces income; 2. What is paid as tribute. Hence, 'agri vectigales,' Verr. v. 34; and, 'pecunia vectigalis,' Verr. iii. 35. As the Romans sometimes received horses from the tributary provinces, Antony may have readily presented some of them to this Sergius, as he did the Leontine lands to Clodius. Manut., however, adopts the first meaning of 'vestigalis,' and supposes Antony to have given Sergius the horses which belonged to his office, 'ut ex iis questum faceret.' And Ern. 'Puto cum Ferrar. Antonium huic mimo equos gratis dedisse
Tum sibi non hanc, quam nunc male tuetur, sed M. Pisonis 18 domum, ubi habitaret, legerat. 13 Quid ego 14 istius decrēta, quid rapinas, quid hereditatum possessiones datas, quid ereptas proferam? Cogebat egestas: quo se verteret, non habebat. Nondum ei tanta a L. Rubrio, non a L. Turselio hereditas venerat: nondum in Cn. Pompeii locum, multorumque aliorum, qui aberant, repentinus heres 15 successerat. Erat ei vivendum latronum Ritu, ut tantum habe-ret, quantum rapere potuisset.

Sed hæc, quæ robustioris 16 improbitatis sunt, omitteramus: loquamur potius de nequissimo genere levitatis. 17 Tu istis faucibus, 18 istis lateribus, ista gladiatoria totius corporis firmitate, 19 tantum vini in Hippiae nuptiis 20 exhauseras, ut tibi necesse esset in populi Romani conspectu vomere postridie. O rem 21 non modo visu fœdam, sed etiam auditu! Si inter cenaam, 22 in ipsis tuis immanibus illis poulis, hoc tibi accidisset, quis non turpe duceret? In cætu 23 vero populi Romani, negotium publicum, gerens, magister equitum, cui ructare turpe esset, isomens, frustis esculentis, 24 vinum redolentibus, gremium 25 suum et totum tribunal implevit. 26 Sed

ad ludos Circenses, ut ipse lucrum faceret iis locandis.'


13. Tum sibi—legerat] This sentence is restored from the Vatican MS. Male tuetur refers to the waste and destruction by Antony of Pompey's effects. V. E. But the words are 'nunc male tuetur.' i.e. now ill maintains his right to—Sext. Pompey demanding his paternal property. Inf. 30.

14. Quid ego, &c.] This was all during Caesar's absence at Alexandria.

15. Repentinus heres 18 i. e. Without claim or expectation, being heir by auction, instead of at law. So Manut. 'Quorum bona in auctione emerat, heres eorum esse videbatur.'


19. Gladiatoria—firmitate] Not the habit of simple health, to which in Galen it is opposed, but resulting from training—of course, in intemperance.


21. O rem, &c.] Hor. A. P. 180. 'Segnius irritant animos, &c.'

22. Inter cenaam 22 i.e. 'Inter co-nandum.' Cæna, κουφή—the common meal.

23. In cætu, &c.] Quint. viii. 4. 'Per se deforme, vel non in cætu vomere: in cætu etiam non populi: populi etiam non Romani: vel si nullum negotium ageret, vel si non publicum: vel si non magister equitum.'

24. Esculentis] Quint. viii. 4. 'Cibus non recens, ut accidere interdum solet, sed qui usque in posterum diem redundaret.'

25. Gremium 25 A 'gero,' the space from the girdle to the knees of a person sitting, the lap. 'Sinus,' all with—
hoc ipse fatetur esse in suis sordibus: veniamus ad splendi-
data.\footnote{27}

XXVI. Cæsar Alexandria\textsuperscript{1} se recepit,\textsuperscript{2} felix,\textsuperscript{3} ut sibi qui-
dem videbatur; mea autem sententia, qui reipublicæ sit in-
felix, felix esse nemo potest. Hasta\textsuperscript{4} posita pro æde Jovis Sta-
toris,\textsuperscript{5} bona, (miserum me! consumptis enim lacrimis,\textsuperscript{6} tamen
infixus animo hæret dolor,) bona,\textsuperscript{7} inquam, Cn. Pompeii
Magni,\textsuperscript{8} voci acerbissimæ subjecta præconis. Una in illa re\textsuperscript{9}
ervitutis obliita civitas ingemuit, servientibusque animis,
quum omnia metu tenerentur, gemitus tamen populi Romani
liber fuit. Exspectantibus omnibus, quisnam esset tam im-
pius, tam demens, tam diis hominibusque hostis, qui ad illud
scelus sectionis\textsuperscript{10} auderet accedere,\textsuperscript{11} inventus est nemo, præter
Antonium, præsertim quem tot essent\textsuperscript{12} circum hastam illam,
in the compass of the breast and arms
above the girdle, the bosom.

\textsuperscript{26.} \textit{Tribunal}] This occurred at
Rome.

\textsuperscript{27.} \textit{Splendida}] e. g. The sale of
Pompey's effects.

\textit{Sect. XXVI—1. Alexandria} After
Cæsar had arranged the affairs of
Ptolemy, he returned to Rome, by the
route of Pontus, having conquered
on the way Pharnaces, the son of Mi-
thridates. Deiot. Introd. 3.

\textsuperscript{2.} \textit{Se recepit} A military phrase,
signifying to retreat from danger.
Perhaps Cic. intimates as much here,
Cæsar having run peculiar hazard in
the Alexandrian war.

\textsuperscript{3.} \textit{Felix, &c.}] i. e. Because he
had been victorious.

\textsuperscript{4.} \textit{Hasta} This was necessary to
make a sale legal. The custom was
derived from the earliest times, when
the plunder of the enemy was so sold.

\textit{Festus. 'Cui subjiciébat ea quæ pub-
lícē venundabant, et eorum bona qui
hasta, hoc est bello, superantur, quia
signum armorum præcipuum est hast-
a.' Off. n. 8. 'Nec vero unquam bel-
lorum civilium semen et causa deèrit,
dum homines perditi hastam illam
curtam et meminerint et spera-
bunt.'

\textsuperscript{5.} \textit{Æde Jovis Statoris} Vid. Liv. i.

12. According to the relation it must
have been built near the old Pala-
tium. 'Tu pater Deùm hominunque,
fœdam fugam siste. Hic ego tibi Sta-
tori Jovi voveo.'

\textsuperscript{6.} \textit{Consumptis—lacrimis} So Sen-
eca: 'Nulla flendi major est causa
quam flere non posse.'

\textsuperscript{7.} \textit{Bona} Every word is here also
amplificatory. That the property of
an indifferent person should be con-
fiscated is hard; harder that of Pom-
pey; harder still of a Magnus; harder
again to be sold as spoil, at the spear,
by a crier, whose very shout conveyed
insult. Quint. ix. 3.

\textsuperscript{8.} \textit{Magni} Introd. Manil. 12.

\textsuperscript{9.} \textit{Una in illa re} It must, there-
fore, have been a strong case, which,
in such deplorable subjection of the
Roman people, called forth their
groans.

\textsuperscript{10.} \textit{Scelus sectionis} i. e. Sceles-
tam sectionem. Supr. 15. n. 16.

\textsuperscript{11.} \textit{Accedere} This is the technical
word for attempting an auction. So
Nepos Att. 3. 'Ad hastam publicam
nunquam accessit.' Liv. xliii. 16.

\textsuperscript{11.} \textit{Tot essent} Sc. P. Sylla, Mar-
cellus, Attius, &c., who were no-
rious for such purchases. Fam. v.

17.
qui alia omnium auderet. Unus inventus est, qui id auderet, quod omnium fugisset et reformidasset audacia. Tantus igitur te stupor oppressit, vel, ut verius dicam, tantus furor, ut primum, quem sector sis isto loco natus, deinde quem Pompeii sector, non te exsecratum populo Romanó, non destabilém, non omnes tibi deos, non omnes homines, et esse inimicos, et futuros scias? At quam insolenter statim heluo invasit in ejus viri fortunas, cujus virtute terribilior erat populus Romanus exteris gentibus, justitia carior!

XXVII. In ejus igitur viri copias quam se subito ingurgitasset, exsultat gaudio, persona de mimo, modo egens, repente dives. Sed, ut est apud poëtām nescio quem, 'male parta male dilabuntur.' Incredibile ac simile portenti est, quonam modo illa tam multa, quam paucis, non dico mensibus, sed diebus effuderit. Maximus vini numerus fuit, permagnum optimi pondus argenti, pretiosa vestis, multa et lauta supellex, et magnifica multis locis, non illa quidem luxuriosi hominis, sed tamen abundantis. Horum paucis diebus nihil erat.

Qua Charybdis tam vorax?

12. *Isto loco natus*] Either as being the descendant of a noble family, which he would disgrace by purchasing confiscated property; or the son of M. Antony Creticus, where prodigality had caused his own estate to be sold; consequently Antony might have kept aloof from auctions.

13. *Deos, &c. inimicos*] Cic. had said before, 'dis hominibusque hostis;' referring to the guilt, now he says, 'deos, &c., inimicos,' to shew the vengeance that awaited him.

14. *Insolenter*] i. e. 'Intemperanter, not 'superbe.' So Or. 52. 'Gorgias' his festivitatis insolentius abutitur, quas Isocrates moderatius temporavit.'

15. *Heluo*] Ab 'eluendo' dictus est, qui bona sua immode rate consummit; et aspiratur ut aviditas magis comprobetur. Fest.

Sect. XXVII.—1. *Copias*] 'Ops,' an old adj. signifying 'opulentus,' of which it is the root, is still retained in 'inops.' Compounded with con or co it gave cops; also, an old adj. found in Plautus, and hence 'copia.'

2. *Ingurgit.*] 'Gurges,' 'vorago.' This word conveys the double meaning of the wealth of Pompey, and the insatiableness of Antony.


4. *Persona de mimo*] 'Persona,' opposed to 'viril,' preceding—an actor, representing at one time, e. g. a king, at another, a beggar. So Manut.; but, perhaps, the various turns of fortune in the characters represented in plays may be alluded to.

5. *Nescio quem*] Naevius. It was thought dignified in the orator to conceal the name of the poet. Plaut. Poc. 'Male partum, male disperit.'

6. *Vini numeros*] So Hirt. B. A. 'Magne invento hordei, olei, vini, fici numero.'


8. *Pretiosa vestis*] Hor. Ep. i. 18.

32. 'Vestimenta dabat pretiosa.'

9. *Charybdis*] Charybdis is a whirl-
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tum; i.e. marked down in an inventory.

14. Apothecae] New wine was kept in casks in cellars under the ground; the old and best wine was preserved in amphorae, and the stores were generally in the upper part of the house. Hence Hor. Carm. iii. 21, bids the 'pia testa Descende, Corvino juvente:' and again, 'Parcis deripere horreo cessantem Bibuli consulam amphoram.'

15. Conchylieatis] From 'concha,' a shell-fish, a species of murex. The colour was not purple, but a deep violet.

16. Peristromatis] Πηρί—στρωνυμος. The abl. plur. in is for ibus. So Plaut. 'Lectum, inquit, est in poetamius.' Priscian says that the old nom. was in atum.

17. At idem aedes] i.e. 'Tenet aedes, &c.' Al. ejusdem.

18. Sanctiss. limen] So called, says Abram., because it was under the care of the god Limentinus, which St. Augustin testifies. Graev., however, thinks that it refers to the sanctity of the former possessor, Pompey.

19. Os] Deiot. 2. n. 22.
cere poterat, nemo sine lacrimis praeterire, hac te in domo tamdiu deversari non pute? in qua, quamvis nihil sapias, tamen nihil tibi potest esse jucundum. 


20. Deversari] To use as a temporary residence, which is applicable to Antony, whose house was now claimed by Sex. Pompey.

Sect. XXVIII.—1. Vestib.] Mil. 7. n. 16.

2. Rostra, spolia] A copulative is wanting here. Grævius inserts, an. Rostrum, is properly the beak of a bird, next the prow of a ship, made into that shape, and usually covered with brass. These it was usual for naval victors to strip from the ships and fix by way of trophy in their halls or vestibules. Pompey, we know, had conquered the pirates. The Greeks call it ἀκρωπηριάνεσσαν. Plin. xxxv. 2, asserts that they could not be removed by the subsequent purchaser of a mansion, perhaps because they were dedicated to the penalties. This may account for their still remaining in Pompey's house.

3. Et te, et tua, &c.] Therefore are in no danger of mistaking them, covered with infamy as they are, for Pompey and Pompey's concerns.

4. Stabula] 'Loca nequittis,' from 'stare,' i. e. 'prostrate.'

5. Triclinii] Τριείς—κλινη, a couch for three persons. Hence the room where such couches were laid, a dining room. So Cic. Att. xiii. 'Villa ita completa militibus est ut vix triclinium ubi conatus est Cæsar esset, vacaret.'


7. Suas res sibi habere] The formal words on a divorce. 'Veterem Proculiea maritum Deseris, atque jubes res sibi habere suas.' Mart. x. 41. Cicero means here, probably, merely a pleasantry. Antony had never married Cytheris. V. E.

8. Claves ademit] These were gi-
ven to the matron on entering the mansion of the husband; and were taken away from her at her departure.

9. *Et consul, et Antonius* [Having stated the prodigality of Antony, Cic. proceeds to notice his weak vanity. Conceiving his name, when connected with 'consul,' to be sunk into a mere epithet, he had it separated in the public acts, thus rendering it emphatic, and restoring the 'dignitas in nomine.' This 'dignity,' however, no other Antony had ever thought of.]

10. *Aeus* M. Antonius, the orator.

11. *Ea peccata* e. g. 'The foolish vanity of 'et consul et Antonius.'

12. *Earum partium* Cæsaris. *Maut.*; but it means the part which Antony acted, as appears by Cicero's own explanation.

13. *Quod natum—opera tua* Hence he justly calls it 'ipsas tuas partes.'

**Sect. XXIX.**—1. *Cui bello* [Not the whole civil war, for a considerable part of it was already over, of which Antony 'pars magna fuit,' but that part of it usually called the African war, wherein Caesar fought with and conquered Scipio, Cato, and Juba, king of Mauritania.]

2. *Propter timiditatem* [Though it is probable that Antony remained in Italy by Caesar's orders, when he pursued Pompey to Egypt; and that during the Alexandrian and Pontic war, he was supporting the cause of Caesar at home, yet Cic. grounds on it a charge of cowardice, as likely to wound the feelings of a soldier. It is likely, however, that there was a certain estrangement between them at this time; perhaps because Caesar countenanced Dolabella, with whom Antony was then at variance, or found reason to dislike the excesses of An- tony. This is certain, that he appointed Calenus and Varinius, consuls for the remaining three months of this year, and took Lepidus as his colleege and master of the horse for the ensuing. Antony now became the purchaser of Pompey's house and estate, which may account for the words 'propter libidines defuisti.'—Antony staid at home to enjoy them.]

3. *Antesignanus* Πρόμαχος. Plutarch says that Caesar, by taking the right wing at Pharsalia, judged himself the first, and by stationing Antony on the left wing, judged him the second general. *Abram.*

4. *L. Domitium* Supr. 11. n. 12. Caesar's account differs. (B. C. iii. 81.) He says that Domitius, having fled from the camp towards the mountains, was killed by the cavalry.
occideras; multos, qui e prœlio effugérant, quos Cæsar, ut nonnullos, forasse servasset,\textsuperscript{5} crudelissime persecutus trucidaras. Quibus rebus tantis talibus\textsuperscript{6} gestis, quid fuit causâ, cur in Africam Cæsarem non sequerere, quum præsertim\textsuperscript{7} belli pars tanta restaret? Itaque quem locum apud ipsum Cæsarem post ejus ex Africa reditum obtinuisti? quou numero fuisti? Cujus tu imperatoris questor fueras,\textsuperscript{8} dictatoris magister equitum, belli princeps,\textsuperscript{9} crudelitatis auctor, prædae socius, testamento,\textsuperscript{10} ut dicebas ipse, filius, appellatus es\textsuperscript{11} de pecunia, quam pro domo, pro hortis, pro sectione\textsuperscript{12} debebas. Primo respondisti plane ferciter; et, ne omnia videar contra te, propemodum æqua et justa dicebas. A me C. Cæsar pecuniam? cur potius, quam ego ab illo? an sine me ille vicit? At ne potuit quidem. Ego ad illum belli civilis causam attuli; ego leges perniciosas\textsuperscript{13} rogavi; ego arma contra consules imperatorisque populi Romani, contra senatum populumque Romanum, contra deos patrios, arasque et focos, contra patriam tuli. Num sibi soli vicit? Quorum facinus est commune, cur non sit eorum præda communis? Jus postulabas: sed quid ad rem? Plus ille poterat. Itaque, excussis tuis vocibus,\textsuperscript{14} et ad te, et ad praedes\textsuperscript{15} tuos milites\textsuperscript{15} misit: quum repente a te præclara illa

5. Quos Cæsar—servasset] Cæsar's cry at the battle of Pharsalia, was to spare his fellow-citizens; and after it, 'neminem nisi armatum occidi.' Ligar. 6. 
6. Tantis talibus] This must be considered ironical. 
8. Quaestor fueras] Supr. 20. 'Quaestor es factus.' There was the strictest tie of friendship between the quaestor and general; and likewise between the dictator and his master of the horse. This latter is not extraordinary, as they often mutually appointed each other. 
9. Belli princeps] Supr. 22. 'Ut igitur in seminibus est causa, &c.' 
10. Testamento] According to Dio, xliv. Antony was named among the second heirs of Cæsar. 
11. Appellatus es] Sued, dunned, a technical word in use among creditors, because debts were called nomina. Columella used to say, 'bona nomina fieri mala, si nunquam appelles.' 
12. Sectione] Here, 'the property sold or prescribed.' Supr. 15. n. 16. 
13. Leges perniciosas] What these laws were does not appear, unless certain decrees of the people in favour of Cæsar are alluded to. Supr. 22. Plut. 5. 
14. Excussis—vocibus] Not 'examinis,' as the Delph., though the word sometimes has that meaning; but 'having compelled you to lay aside your blustering.' Vid. Forcet. Lex. 
15. Praedes tuos] 'Praes' from præstare, is applied to bail in property cases; 'vades' in criminal. Thus Auson. 'quis subit in pecunam capitalis judicii? Vas. Quis cum li fuerit nummaria? Praes.'
tabula\textsuperscript{16} prolata. Qui risus hominum! tantam esse tabulam, tam varias, tam multas possessiones, ex quibus, praeter partem Miseni,\textsuperscript{17} nihil erat, quod is, qui auctionaretur,\textsuperscript{18} posset suum dicere. Auctionis\textsuperscript{19} vero miserabilis adspectus: vestis\textsuperscript{20} Pompeii non multa, eaque maculosa; ejusdem quaedam argentea vasa collisa; sordidata\textsuperscript{21} mancipia: ut doleremus quidquam esse ex illis reliquis, quod videre possemus. Hanc tamen auctionem heredes L. Rubrii\textsuperscript{22} decreto Caesaris prohibuerunt. Haerebat nebulo:\textsuperscript{23} quo se vereteret, non habebat. Quin his ipsis temporibus domi Caesaris perissor, ab isto missus, deprehensus dicebatur esse cum sica. De quo Caesar in senatu, aperte in te invehens, questus est. Profiscitur in Hispaniam\textsuperscript{24} Caesar, paucus tibi ad solvendum propter inopiam tuam prorogatis diebus. Ne tum\textsuperscript{25} quidem

15. Milites\textsuperscript{1} Other men, he hints, would have employed \textit{civil} officers. Plancus, the tribune, acted as sheriff. Inf. 31.

16. Tabula\textsuperscript{2} This advertisement or inventory of property was sometimes called 'libelli.' Quint. 15. \textit{de quo, libelli in celeberrimis locis proponuntur.} \textit{Præclara} contains an ironical allusion to the contrast between this catalogue and what Antony's ought to be, and Pompey's was.

17. Partem Miseni\textsuperscript{3} Supr. 19. n. 14.

18. Qui auctionaretur\textsuperscript{4} i. e. Antony.

19. Auctionis vero\textsuperscript{5} \textit{Auctio est venditio quædam in publico ac celebri loco.} \textit{Valla;} obviously from 'augere.' Compare the description here with c. 27, and observe how every word is adapted to throw contempt on the scene, 'maculosa, collissa, sordidata.'

20. Vestis\textsuperscript{6} Intell. vestem tricliniarem, peristromata quibus lecti strati. Ea a servis maculata erat, qui iiis erant usi, ut supradictum. \textit{Ern.}

21. Sordidata\textsuperscript{7} \textit{Sordidus' natura vel institutione, 'sordidatus,' necessitate.} Terent. Ileaut. ii. 3. 56. \textit{Sordidata} therefore, as conveying a censure on Antony, is obviously a better reading than \textit{Ern. sordida.}

22. Heredes L. Rubrii\textsuperscript{8} No doubt the inventory contained property to which they could lay claim. Caesar's interfering, by a decree, shews his usurpation of supreme power did not make him forget the claims of justice.

23. Nebulo\textsuperscript{9} Fest. \textit{Nebulo est qui non pluris est quam nebula, aut qui non facile perspici potest qualis sit.} \textit{Haerebat,' as having no means left of raising the sum due.}

24. Profiscitur in Hispaniam\textsuperscript{10} The second time. Supr. 23. n. 10.

25. Ne tum quidem sequeris\textsuperscript{11} Tum must not be referred to the preceding 'paucus prorogatis diebus,' which would rather be a reason why Antony should not follow him at all; but to 'profiscitur in Hispaniam.' He had said above, \textit{cur in Africam Caesarem non sequere?} well; let that pass. He sets out for Spain. You do not even then follow him. Did so excellent a gladiator as you, so soon receive the foil? i. e. How came you, who began the civil war, and spilled so much blood, to obtain your discharge so soon?
seu futi6a. Tam bonus gladiator rudem tam cito accepisti? Hunc igitur quisquam, qui in suis partibus, id est, in suis fortunis, tam timidus fuerit, pertimescat?


26. Tam cito] It appears from Ulpius, that there was a regular time of service, before which the gladiators could not be discharged. * Post triennium autem rudem induere permettitur.* Hor. Epis. ii. 1.

27. Suis partibus] Vid. Supr. 28, n. 2, where Cic. makes *ipsae partes,* the civil war. So here, *in his own proper sphere of action,* in other words, *in what concerns his own immediate interests.* This was the war in Spain, which being waged by Pompey’s sons in order to recover their paternal estates, above all others concerned Antony, the present possessor of these estates.

Sect. XXX.—1. Profectus est] A new proof of cowardice is adduced by Cic.: that Antony and Dolabella both set out for Spain; that the latter arrived; the former did not. Various reasons have been given by commentators for Antony’s return: e.g. that the roads were beset with Pompeians; that Caesar was reported to have been killed, &c.; but Cic. states it inf. *ne L. Plancus praeedes suas venderet.*—This, Cic. here designedly withholds, that the reader may admit his charge of cowardice.


3. Ter depugnavit] Supr. 15. n. 4. *In Hispaniensi.* Sc. pugna.

4. Si de meo judicio] Lest the senate might infer from his praises of Dolabella, that he condemned the cause of Pompey, he says ‘nollem,’ sc. Dolabella affiisset.

5. Sed tamen] From want of the opposition between ‘nollem’ and ‘consilium reprehendendum,’ which ‘sed tamen’ would require, we must take ‘constantia laudanda’ after ‘sed tamen’ bringing in ‘cons. repreh.’ parenthetically: *But (though—nollem)—I would oppose his fighting against his country;* yet (even admitting his line of conduct to be reprehensible,) his perseverance must claim our praise. Vid. Mil. 13. n. 9, for a similar construction. Atticus had censured these praises of Dolabella; which Cic., however, defends (Att. xvi. 11,) as being *bella eipowevia.* If so, when was he sincere?

6. Fuerit hae] Sc. ‘patria,’ i.e. ‘the demand of a restoration to their country, by Pompey’s sons, concerned every member of the Cæsarian faction; and had it been been limited to that, then every Cæsarian had as good a right to oppose them as you; but they demanded more—their patri-
penates, patrios, aras, focos, larem suum familiarem; in quae tu invaseras. Hæc quum repeterent armis ii, quorum erant legibus:—etsi in rebus iniquissimis quid potest esse æqui?—tamen quem erat æquissimum, contra Cn. Pompeii liberos pugnare? quem? Te, sectorem. An tu Narbone mensas hospitum convomeres, Dolabella pro te in Hispania dimicaret?

Qui vero Narbone reditus?—Etiam quarebat, cur ego ex ipso cursu tam subito revertisses. Exposui nuper, Patres conscripti, causam reditus mei. Volui, si possem, etiam ante Kalendas Januarias prodesse reipublicæ. Nam, quod quærebas, quomodo redisset: primum luce, non tenebris; deinde cum calceis et toga, nullis nec Gallicis, nec lacerna. At etiam adspicis me, et quidem, ut videris, iratus.—Næ tu jam mecum in gratiam redeas, si scias, quam me pu-

mony, their house and chattels. You were, therefore, particularly called upon to oppose them. ‘Partium,’ then, is here limited to the party of Caesar.

7. Penates] This word is not found in the Vatican MS. and is expunged by Ern. As we are not sufficiently acquainted with the meaning of the term, and it is elsewhere found in union with patrios, other editors retain it, which Scheller approves.—V. E.

8. Aras] Supposed to belong to heroes, ‘altaria’ to gods. But this is not always observed. Virg. Ecl. v. 66; Æn. v. 639.

9. Sectorem] Supr. 15. n. 16.

10. An tu Narbone] Al. cum convomeres. i.e. ‘I have thus proved, that it was most equitable for you to take the field against the sons of Pompey. Did you do so? Was it for you to be rioting in Narbo, and Dolabella fighting your battles in Spain. Are you not, therefore, a coward?’

11. Narbone] Is emphatic. ‘We have seen, supr. 29, what kind your return from Brundisium was. What then, was that from Narbo? ‘Qui’ for ‘qualis.’

12. Cur ego] Cic. returned in the latter end of August, and on the second of September, explained his reasons to the senate. Phil. i. 1, 4. Probably Antony had given a malicious interpretation to Ciceró’s conduct, insinuating that it was to embroil his country in war; and had asked, ‘quomodo redisset,’ meaning ‘under what circumstances;’ but Cic. artfully turns it off from the cause to the manner; and, by contrasting it with the return of Antony, who came by night in the rough garb of a soldier, rather than a citizen, throws on him the greaterodium.

13. Kal. Jan.] On this day Hirtius and Pansa were to enter on their consulship. Introd. 6.

14. Primum luce] This was thought reprehensible. Pis. 22. ‘Nonne tibi nux erat pro die, &c.’ Q. Frat. iii. 1.


17. Lacerna] From ‘lacio,’ (the Greek σόρμα,) a great cloak, or over-
deat nequitiae tuae, cujus te ipsum non pudet. Ex omnium omnibus flagitiis nullum turpius vidi, nullum audivi. Qui magister equitum fuisset tibi viderere, in proximum annum consulatum peteres, vel potius rogares; is per municipia coloniasque Galliae, a qua nos tum, quem consulatus petebatur, non rogabatur, petere consulatum solebamus, cum Gallicis et lacerna cucurrísti.

XXXI. At videte levitatem hominis. Quum hora diei decima fere ad Saxa rubra venisset, delitit in quadam cauponula, atque ibi se occultans, perpotavit ad vesperam: inde cisio celeriter ad urbem adventus, domum venit capite involuto. Janitor, "Quis tu?"—"A Marco tabellarius." Confestim ad eam, cujus causa venerat; cique epis-

all, with which the head could be covered. Hence, inf. 31, 'Capite involuto;' and Hor. Sat. ii. 7: 'Turpis adoratum caput obscurante lacerna.'

Antony had on the usual military travelling dress, and the shame was, that he did not lay it aside, while canvassing the freemen of the towns and colonies.

18. Viderere] For as Caesar was not a legal dictator; so Antony could not be a master of the horse, except in his own opinion. Cic. says 'fuisset;' for it was A. v. 706, two years before, that Antony held this office.

19. In proximum annum] This occurred in the year 708. It shows that, however Caesar directed the appointments of the magistrates, the usual forms were upheld, and also, that he had early given Antony reason to expect his support, without which he would not have ventured to commence a canvass; and, therefore, all Cicero's insinuations, about Antony's having lost the favour of Caesar, &c., were unfounded.

20. Peteres] Sue for an office in due form; 'rogares,' beg it, in a manner humiliating to the suitor.

21. Municip.—Gallie] Att. i. 1. Sect. XXXI.—1. Levitatem] As 'gravitas' is said of every virtue in which there is firmness of purpose and conduct, so 'levitas' is said of every vice that, arising from ungoverned desires, is marked by a fluctuating and wayward course of action. Cat. ii. 5. n. 2.

2. Decima] Mil. 18. n. 11.

3. Saxa rubra] Near Cremera, where the Veientes were routed by the Fabii. Liv. ii. 49. As it was in the same neighbourhood that the Fabii afterwards fell, the epithet rubra, i. e. bloody, may have arisen from that slaughter, and Livy have applied it by 'prolepsis.'


5. Cisio] A two-wheeled car, a calash, used for speed. Rose. A. 7. 'Decem nocturnis horis quinquaqinta et sex mill. pass. nisiis pervolavit.'


7. Tabellarius] Properly, an adj. used absolutely for ' a courier.' The Romans employed their own couriers. Fam. xii. 12. 'Si literae perlatae non sunt, non dubito quin Dolabella, tabellarios meos deprehenderit.'

8. Ad eam] Sc. Fulvia, whom
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Antony had now married. Al. insert deducitur, after ‘venerat.’
31. V. E.
11. Catamitum] i. e. Ganymedes, as corrupted by the Latins. Fest. ; or from κατά, μιαθος, ‘puer meritorius.’
12. Nec opinato] So Tibul. i. 3:
‘Tunc veniam subito nec quisquam nuncciet ante;
Sed videar cælo missus adesse tibi.’
13. Terre nocturna] ‘Nocturnal,’ because Antony came by night. The Pompeians were afraid that Cæsar had been victorious, and sent Antony to renew the horrors of Marius and Sylla. Middl. L. C. vii. Plut. Anton. 10, gives a different, but improbable account.
14. Praedes—venderet] In law this would be understood literally; for debtors were liable to be sold as slaves. Sup. 18. n. 15, but here perhaps, ‘praedes’ is put for ‘prædia,’ the property of the ‘praedes.’ Vern. iii. 54. ‘Prædibus et prædiis populo cautum est.’

15. Productus autem] Manil. i. n. 4.
16. Rei tua] This, it appears, had a double meaning, which excited the pleasantry of the people. Vid. Bayle, art. Lycoris.
17. Nugas] i. e. ‘Nequitia, levitate,’ but ‘majora,’ the consulsiphip.

Sect. XXXII.—1. Isti, redisti] Antony set out for Spain ; stopped at Narbo; returned, ‘rei suæ causa;’ set out again; not to assist, but meet Cæsar. On this occasion, too, he reached Narbo, as it was then Trebonius sounded him respecting the conspiracy against Cæsar. Sup. 14. n. 5. As ‘celeriter’ can hardly apply to his first journey, we may suppose ‘isti, redisti,’ to mean his journey from Narbo, (which we know was expeditiously performed in a two-wheeled chaise,) and back again from Rome.

2. Strenuum] A good traveller.—Att. xv. 6. ‘Noli autem me tam strenuum putare ut ante Nonas recurram.’
quomodo,\textsuperscript{3} familiaris. Habebat hoc omnino Caesar:\textsuperscript{4} quem plane perditum aere alieno egentemque, si eundem nequam hominem audacemque cognorat, hunc in familiaritatem libentissime recipiebat. His igitur rebus\textsuperscript{5} praeclare commendatus, jussus es renuntiari consul, et quidem cum ipso. Nihil queror\textsuperscript{6} de Dolabella, qui tum est impulsus, inductus, elusus. Qua in re quanta fuerit uterque vestrum perfidia in Dolabellam, quis ignorant? Ille induxit, ut peteret; promissum et receptum intervertit, ad seque transtulit: tu ejus perfidiae voluntatem tuam adscripsiisti. Veniunt Kalendae Januarie;\textsuperscript{7} coginur in senatum; inductus est copiosius multo in istum\textsuperscript{8} et pararius Dolabella, quam nunc ego. Hic autem iratus quæ dixit,\textsuperscript{9} dii boni! Primum quum Caesar ostendisset, se, priersquam proficisceretur,\textsuperscript{10} Dolabellam consulem esse jussurum:\textsuperscript{11} (quem negant regem, qui et faceret

3. Factus es—nescio quomodo] Caesar took Antony into his own chariot, while D. Brutus and Octavius followed behind. Plut. Anton. 11. The Delph. makes this the time when Antony canvassed for the consulship. But then, 'qui Narbone reditus,' sup. 30, would be the second return; which it evidently was not. The canvassing, then, obviously took place when Caesar was in Spain.

4. Habebat—Caesar] 'This was Caesar's way;' and, it may be added, that he found it very successful with Cic. himself, with whom, about this time, he kept up a friendly correspondence.

5. His igitur rebus] Sc. 'are alieno, &c.;' and 'jussus es,' Caesar being a tyrant.

6. Nihil queror] Caesar did not deceive by appointing Antony, but by becoming his colleague ('et quidem cum ipso.') For, contented with the dictatorship, he had, on his return, appointed Q. Fabius and C. Trebonius, consuls for the remainder of the year; and Fabius dying on the last day of his consulship, he nominated Caninius Reblus. This, while it afforded a jest to Cic. and his friends, shews that Caesar had no anxiety about holding the office himself; and, consequently, that the violation of his promise to Dolabella arose from other causes than ambition. Caesar, however, made good his promise to Dolabella, Antony persisting in his opposition till Caesar's death. Introd. 1. 7. Kalend. Jan.] The consuls usually entered on their office this day; the tribunes, twenty-one days earlier. It was distinguished by sacrifices, manumission of slaves, &c.; and was expected to be free from all inventive orations. Ovid. Fast. 1. 73. 'Lite vacant aures, insanaque protinus absint Jurgia; differ opus, livida lingua, tuum.'

8. In istum] For he did not venture to attack Caesar.

9. Quæ dixit] Plutarch says, that even Caesar was ashamed of the display made by his colleague.

10. Priorsquam proficisceretur] Sc. to the Parthian war. Caesar's plan discovered the same greatness which marked all his designs. He was first to subjugate the Dacians; then invade Parthia; then, passing along the Pontus into Scythia, to traverse all Germany, and return by Gaul to Italy. Sueton. 44. Plut. Jul. 58.


\textsuperscript{3} familiaris: friendly.

\textsuperscript{4} quo plane perditum aere alieno egentemque: very alien and destitute.

\textsuperscript{5} praeclare commendatus: praiseworthy commendation.

\textsuperscript{6} nescio quomodo: I do not know how.

\textsuperscript{7} coginur in senatum: consider in the senate.

\textsuperscript{8} pararius Dolabella: colleague Dolabella.

\textsuperscript{9} dixit: said.

\textsuperscript{10} proficisceretur: proceed.

\textsuperscript{11} jussurum: command.
semper ejusmodi aliquid, et diceret:) sed quem Caesar ita dixisset; tum hic bonus augur, eo se sacerdotio præditum esse dixit, ut comitia auspiciis vel impedire vel vitiare posset, idque se facturum esse asseveravit. In quo primum incredibilem stupiditatem hominis cognoscite. Quid enim? istud, quod te sacerdotii jure facere posse dixisti, si augur non esses, et consul esses, minus facere potuisses? Vide ne etiam facilius. Nos enim nuntiationem solum habemus: consules et reliqui magistriatus etiam spectio. Esto: hoc imperite; nec enim est ab homine nonquam so-

the people all the magisterial appointments, except the consuls, whom he nominated himself.

12. *Impedire—vitiare*] The first is—to prevent from taking place; the second, to render null through formality.

13. *In quo primum, &c.*] Cicero's charge against Antony consists of two heads, 'ignorance' and 'impudence.' His ignorance was two-fold: 1. In laying that on the augurship which did not belong to it; 2. In not laying it on his consular authority, to which it did belong.

14. *Quod—posse dixisti*] Observe, he says, 'posse dixisti,' not 'potuisse;' for, in point of fact, Antony, as augur, could not have done so; but, even supposing that he could, why not derive his authority from the highest source? The answer is, 'ignorance' prevented him. He was not a man to spend time in studying the musty rules of an augural college.

15. *Nos enim nuntiationem*] Scaliger, on the authority of a corrupt passage in Festus, decides that 'spectio' and 'nuntiatio' are here, by mistake, interchanged. But as there are examples of augurs exercising 'nuntiatio,' this cannot be true. Besides, the only advantage arising from the change is, that it attributes 'spectio' to augurs; which, it is probable, from the nature of the case, that they once had, though not now, at least in the sense of Cic.
brio postulanda prudentia: sed videte impudentiam. Multis ante mensibus in senatu dixit, se Dolabellae comitia aut prohibiturum auspiciis, aut id facturum esse, quod fecit.—Quisquamne divinare potest, quid vitii in auspiciis futurum sit, nisi qui de caelo servare constituit? quod neque licet co-
mitis per leges, et, si qui servavit, non comitiis habitis, sed priusquam habeantur, debet nuntiare. Verum implicata in-
scientia impudentia est; nec scit quod augurem, nec facit

his consulship, at once to impede the election?

16. Sed videte impudentiam] Let us consider here, how a modest man ought to have acted. I. Supposing him of equal (or higher) rank with the mag-
istrate who was to preside, he would have noticed him, that it was his intention to take auguries on a certain day, 'de ccelo servare constitu-
itus,' the technical term for which was 'spectio.' So Bibulus acted. Supr. 10. n. 1. So did Mil. Attiv. 3. 2. A modest man would have avoided tak-
ing the omens on the day of election, as it was forbidden by the Clodian law. 3. If he had observed the hea-
vens before the day of election, he would have also announced the re-
sult before that day.—But how did Antony proceed? When he was only an augur, or acting as augur, (co sa-
cerdotio præditus), and not as consil, and an equal in rank with the presid-
ing officer, Caesar; nor as possessing 'spectio,' he declared, not by send-
ing a notice to the magistrate—but openly in the senate; not a few days, but many months before the election; that he would either impede that elec-
tion, or would procure an adjourn-
ment by saying ALIO DIE. Cic. ac-
knowledges that a good deal of this arose from Antony's ignorance, which he says was blended with his impu-
dence; but the latter part of the as-
sertion (facturum esse quod fecit) seems, from what follows, to have been the main ground of the charge of impudence; for when Antony did

use the expression, Cic. exclaims 'O impudentiam singularem!' and again, 'confitere te, cum ALIO DIE dixeris, sobrium non fuisses.'

17. Multis ante mensibus] As only two months intervened between the scene in the senate and the death of Caesar, how could many months elapse between that scene and the election? Perhaps Antony had made a similar declaration to Caesar, on his first pro-
posing Dolabella, after his return from Spain, of which 'tum hic bo-

nus augur, &c.' is only a repetition.

18. Quisquamne, &c.] The answer is—no. The person who had determin-
ed to observe the heavens, or exercise inspection, was the only one that had the gift of divination; for, though at first the magistrate was obliged to see, or pretend to see, an unfavourable omen, such was not now the case, it being only necessary to declare be-
forehand the intention of inspecting, and the required omen so surely fol-
lowed, that this bare declaration was quite enough to prevent any magis-
strate (of equal or inferior rank) from proceeding to the comitium. Vatin. 6—8.

19. Quod neque licet] The above form of inspection, first ratified by the Ælian and Fusian laws, and designed to prevent the tribunes from passing laws at pleasure, leaving, as it did, the pop-
ular assemblies completely in the power of the magistrates, must have caused much inconvenience. We are not, therefore, surprised at the two checks which are here noticed. The
quod pudentem decet. Atque ex illo die\textsuperscript{20} recordamini ejus usque ad Idus Martias consulatum. Qui unquam apparitor tam humilis, tam abjectus? Nihil ipse poterat,\textsuperscript{41} omnia rogabat; caput in aversam lecticam inserens, beneficia, quae venderet, a collega petebat.

XXXIII. Ecce Dolabella\textae comitiorum dies;\textsuperscript{1} sortitio prærogativa\textae quiescit. Renuntiatur;\textsuperscript{3} tacet. Prima classis vocatur; renuntiatur; deinde, ut assolet, suffragia;\textsuperscript{4} tum first, ('quod neque licet comitiis,'\textsuperscript{5}) originated with Clodius, who enacted, (Sext. 15,) that the Athenian and Persian laws should not be in force at the comitia. The second ('siqui serv., &c., nuntiare,'\textsuperscript{6}) was, that the magistrate should give due notice of his intention to inspect, before the election. 'Leges,' is here used for 'legem,' as Cic. did not choose to specify the law by the enactor's name, Clodius; and 'habitās' held, being over. Legg. ii. 12. 'Vēl instituta, dimittere, vel habitā rescindere.'

20. \textit{Ex illo die} Antony's character, as drawn by Cicero, is quite an enigma. Thus he insulted Caesar on the day of his election, and from that to the Ides of March, fawned on him like the meanest slave; and yet, on the day of Dolabella's election, which occurred in the mean time, he had the hardihood to cry out, at the conclusion of the business, \textit{alio diē!}

21. \textit{Nihil ipse poterat} i.e. Although a consul as well as Caesar.

\textit{Sect.} XXXIII.—1. \textit{Dies} What day this was does not appear. The election was usually held about the beginning of August, but Caesar could not observe these forms. We are only sure that it was between the Calends of Jan. and Ides of March.

2. \textit{Sortitio prærog.} The first step previous to the commencement of the polling. 'Sortitio' must not be confounded with the \textit{voting} of the prerogative century, which, in Cicero's brief description, is omitted, and the result, 'renuntiatur, sc. Dolabella,' given. This vote of the prerogative century is called 'omen comitiorum,' (Divin. ii. 20,) and so certain was it, 'ut nemo unquam prior eam tulerit quin renuncietur.' Plane. 20.—Hence our meaning of \textit{prerogative.} When 'prerogativa tribus' occurs, it is likely that there is a reference either to the \textit{tribe} of which the century formed a part, or to the comitia by \textit{tribes.} The other centuries (or tribes) are called by Livy (x. 22,) 'primo vocātā, and, xxvii. 6, 'jure vocātā.' It appears, too, that the same class had senior and junior centuries. Verr. v. 15.

3. \textit{Renuntiatur} Either by the magistrate who held the election, or by the herald. Mil. 35. n. 13. Verr. v. 15.

4. \textit{Deinde—suffragia} Sc. \textit{renuntiatur}; i.e. the polling proceeds as usual. But this, which is the obvious meaning of the words, makes the \textit{declaration} of the vote \textit{precede} the voting, which is absurd. This difficulty is avoided several ways: 1. The whole is so briefly detailed that it is not to be wondered at, if we do not see the force of every expression. 2. Gruch. (de comitiis) refers these words to a scrutiny of the votes of the first class (taking in the equites and prerogative century) to ascertain whether it would be necessary to call up the second class, since, if the first class were unanimous, its votes (exceeding those of all the other classes, by one) decided the election. Hence he would understand 'numerantur,'

or the like, after suffragia."

3. Græv. reads 'deinde suffragatum secunda classis vocatur;' to which the objection is, that 'suffragari' always signifies 'gratia adjuvare et commendare.'

4. Manut. would transpose the words so as to bring them in after 'tum secunda classis,' which, if warranted by MSS., appears most satisfactory.

5. Citius facta] Hence the brevity of Cicero's description. The expedition may have arisen from there being no competitor.

7. Bonus augur] Ironical. Lælii was very celebrated as an augur, but more so as a wise man. Legg. ii. 11. Hor. Sat. ii. l. 72.


9. Quid videras, &c.] As Antony, through ignorance, did not say that he had observed the heavens, ' nec enim te de cælo servasse dixisti,' the only other ground on which he could have vitiated the election was, inauspicious omens happening while it was proceeding. These generally were, lightning, storms of rain, and thunder. Now these occurring, would have entitled Antony to cry, aliō die. So Phil. v. 3. 'Illa auspicia non egent interpretatione; ' and, Vatini. 8. 'Augu-\-res omnes usque a Romulo decreverunt, Jove judgente, cum populo agi nefas esse.' Again, Phil. v. 3. 'Ut susstine Antonium ac ferre posse tantam vim tempestatis, imbris ac tur-\-binum, mirum videretur.' The expression, 'quid senseras?' which the commentators refer to an earthquake, is obviously applicable to 'vim tempestatis, imbris ac turbinum.' But the weather being fine, and none of these omens intervening, Antony was obliged to have recourse to pretended omens. Hence, 'ementitus es auspiciæ,' infr.

10. Magna, ut spero tua, &c.] Falsifying the auspices must call down the vengeance of heaven. Cicc. hopes that it will light on the head of the offender, rather than on the republic.

11. Obstrinxisti] 'Religio' is here, 'a religious scruple, a conscientious dread of the gods being offended.' Liv. viii. 17. The sense is: 'You who were the equal of Cæsar, as augur and consul, and might be supposed to know the duties of your station, declared an election vicious, which your colleague pronounced valid. You, thereby inspired the Roman people with the dread of the Deity being offended, since, let who may be in error, the auspices were profaned.'

12. Consul consuli] Gallius quotes from Messala, an old writer on augury, to show that consuls, praetors, and censors were considered 'majores magistratus'—all others, 'minores.' Hence the form in the edict for holding the comit. centur. 'Nequis mag\-\-istratus minor de cælo servasse ve-
Dolabella videar convellere: qua necesse est aliando ad nostrum collegium deferantur. Sed arrogantiam hominis insolentiamque cognoscite. Quamdiu tu voles, vitiosus consul Dolabella: rursus, quum voles, salvis auspiciis creatus. Si nihil est, quum augur iis verbis nuntiat, quibus tu nuntiasti; confitere te, quum “alio die” dixeris, sobrium non fuisse: sin est aliqua vis in istis verbis, ea quae sit, augur a collega requiro.

Sed, ne forte, ex multis rebus gestis, M. Antonii rem unam pulcherrimam transiliat oratio, ad Lupercalia veniamus.

XXXIV. Non dissimulat, Patres conscripti: apparet esse commotum; sudat, pallet. Quidlibet, modo ne nauseet, lit. Messala adds, ‘consul ab omnibus magistratibus et comitiatum et concionem avovare potest; prætor et comitiatum et concionem usqueaque avovare potest; nisi a consule; minores magíst. nec comitiatum nec concionem avovare possunt.’ Antony, therefore, being of equal rank with Cæsar, and therefore, empowered to intercede, the very validity of the intercession caused it to be the more dreaded.

13. *Nolo plura*] For, if Antony’s interference were legal, Dolabella was an illegal consul, and therefore his acts were illegal; but some of these were such as Cic. would not at present desire to shake.

14. *Aliquando* i.e. When the state shall have shaken off the yoke of tyranny, and the regular procedures are resumed. Of course, this time never came.

15. *Arrogantiam*] He had already convicted Antony of ignorance and impudence. He now charged him with arrogance, for having, in defiance of his own veto, acknowledged Dolabella consul. Phil. i. 13.

16. *Si nihil est*] A dilemma. Either there is not force in Antony’s words, or there is. If there is *not*, (which was Cicero’s opinion, as Antony had no augural grounds for his proceedings, ‘quid, enim videras,’ &c.,) then Antony could not have been sober when he used them; and if *there* is, it was for him to explain it to a brother augur; which, he hints, would be a difficult task.

17. *Veniamus*] If Cicero observes the order of time here, Dolabella’s election must have taken place prior to the fifteenth of Feb., on which day the Lupercal feast was celebrated; and which reduces ‘multis ante mensibus’ to one and a half. The date is pointed out in Ovid. Fast. ii. 267: ‘Tertia post Idus nudos Aurora Lupercos Aspicit, et Fauni sacri bicornes erunt.’ Virgil (Æn. viii. 343,) derives it from the Lycean Pan:

—— ‘Gelida monstrat sub rupe Lupercal
Parrhasio dictum Panos de more Lycei.’

Quint. i. 9, mentions another origin: “Inveniuntur qui Lupercalia tres partes orationis esse contendant, quasi ‘luere (i.e. expiare) per caprum.’” Liv. i. 5.

**Sect. XXXIV.**—1. *Sudat, pallet*] Signs of conscious guilt. Juv. Sat. i. 167 . . . . . . ‘tacita sudant precordia culpa;’ Pers. Sat. iii. 43. ‘Palleat infelix quod proximus nesciat uxor.’ The mention of the Lupercalia is sup-
posed to recall to Antony's mind the betraying of his country.

2. Nauseat] Nauriâo, to be seasick. So Hor. Epis. i. 1:

—— 'Conducto navigio æquè Nauseat ac illo quem ducit priva treiremis.'

3. Minutia] Placed by Grœv. in the Campus Martius, and called also

Frumentaria. If, as is most probable, the intemperance of Antony at

the marriage of Hippias is referred to, it must have been when Antony, as

magister equitum, had his tribunal ; which place, it is probable, was the

forum.


5. Rostris] This was the 'suggestum,' or galley in the forum, from

which the orators addressed the people. The Lupercal noticed by Virg.

Aen. viii. 343; and from whence the Luperci began their procession, was

near the ficus Rumminalis, where Romulus and Remus were exposed and

saved by the wolf (lupus); to which, and the god Pan, who guarded the

shepherds from the wolves (lupi) it owed its name. This place being

contiguous to the forum gave Antony, who had lately added a third order to

the Luperci, called 'Juliani,' an opportunity of conducting them, as they

proceeded along the Via Sacra, to the presence of Caesar, their tutelary god.

6. Colleu tuus] By exaggerating the pride of Caesar, he exaggerates

the guilt of Antony, who endeavoured to raise his colleague and equal to

royalty.

7. Toga purpurea] i. e. A trium-

phal robe. The ancients did not know the chemical process for dying red; therefore purple was esteemed by them the most costly colour.


9. Coronatus] Suetonius informs us that Caesar, being bald, was privi-

ileged to wear a perpetual crown of laurel, and also a golden crown with

rays emerging from a centre. As he was in a triumphal dress, it is likely

that he wore the more costly crown. We are carefully to distinguish this

from a diadem, the badge of royalty, which was a white fillet or bandage

for the head, 'candida fascia'—in Greek, ταύβια λευκή. Nothing else

was regal.

10. Escendis] The other Luperci, if we may believe Plutarch, (Anton.

12,) raised him on their shoulders.

11. Ita—Lupercus] 'Ita' and

'sic,' followed by 'ut,' are some-
times prefixed to substantives to en-

force or restrict them. Hor. Epis. ii.

1. Sic fœtur veterum; so warm a

patron of the ancients. Here, how-

ever, 'ita' is so indefinite, that it may

admit of several explanations: 1. Alluding to his conduct, as here de-

scribed, it may be: 'you so over-

acted the part of a Luperc, that you

quite forgot (ought to have re-

membered) you were a consul.' Or,

2. 'You were so circumstances as a

Lupere, that you ought to have re-

collected your being consul.' But this

seems to be too general, and 'delibes meminisse' to hint at a positive de-

linquency, such as is noticed inf. n. 19.
adema ostendis. Gemitus\textsuperscript{12} toto foro. Unde diadema? non
enim abjectum\textsuperscript{13} sustuleras, sed attuleras domo meditatum et
cogitatum scelus. Tu diadema imponebas cum plangore\textsuperscript{14}
populi: ille cum plausu rejiciebat.\textsuperscript{15} Tu ergo unus, scelerate,
inventus es, qui quem auctor\textsuperscript{16} regni esses, eum, quem col-
legam habebas, dominum habere velles: et idem tentares,
quid populus Romanus ferre et pati posset. At etiam\textsuperscript{17} mi-
sericordiam captabas: supplex te ad pedes abjiciebas; quid
petens? ut servires? Tibi uni peteres, qui ita a puero\textsuperscript{18} vix-
eras, ut omnia paterere, ut facile servires: a nobis populo-
que Romano mandatum id certe non habebas. O præcla-
ram illam eloquentiam tuam, quam es nudus concionatus\textsuperscript{19}
Quid hoc turpius? quid feeditus? quid suppliciis omnibus
dignius? Num exspectas, dum te stimulis fodiam? haec te, si
ullam partem habes sensus, lacerat, haec cruentat oratio. Vere-
or, ne imminuam\textsuperscript{20} summorum virorum gloriam. Dicam tamen
dolere commotus. Quid indignius,\textsuperscript{21} quam vivere eum, qui
imposuerit diadema, quem omnes fateantur jure interfec tum
esse, qui abjecerit? At etiam adscribi jussit in fastis ad

12. \textit{Ostendis diad.}—[Gem.] The
people did not wait till Antony had
placed it on Caesar's head; but
groaned at the bare exposure.

13. \textit{Non—abjectum} [Hence An-
tony must have premeditated the over-
throw of the republic.

14. \textit{Plangore} [The people had
groaned at the sight; but they burst
into loud lamentation when it was
placed on his head.

15. \textit{Rejiciebat} [Livy, Epit. 116,
says that he laid the diadem on the
chair beside him. Suet., Dio, and
Plutarch, that he sent it to the Capi-
Max.; adding that he was the only
king of the Romans. Vid. Hooke, x.
11, where he shews it probable that
Caesar was sincere in his rejection of
the diadem.

16. \textit{Quum—auctor, &c.} 'In being
(or by being) the prime mover of a
tyranny.' 'Et idem,' and \textit{who} at the
same time, &c.

17. \textit{At etiam} This heightens the
charge still more. It was not enough
to entreat Caesar to rule; he must
also \textit{pity} the Roman people.

18. \textit{A puero} i.e. 'A pueritia.'

19. \textit{Nudus concionatus est} The
Luperci were not stark naked, but
had the skins of sheep tied about their
loins. Plut. (in Romulo) \textit{ενα}θενε
\textit{by περιξωματι γυμνων. Virg. Αen.
viii. 663.}

'Hinc exultantes Salios nudosque
Lupercos.'

The charge then, here made is, not
that he was naked, but that being so,
he harangued. For this was con-
 founding the duties and office of con-
sul with the mummery of the Lu-
percí.

20. \textit{Ne imminuam, &c.] By censur-
ing their sparing the life of Antony.

21. \textit{Quid indignius} This, Cicero,
Att. xvi. 11, changes to \textit{indignissi-
mum est:} but the MSS. remain un-
altered. \textit{V. E.}
Lupercalia, 22 "C. Cæsari, dictatori perpetuo, M. Antonium, consulem, populi jussu regnum detulisse, Cæsarem uti no-
luisse." Jamjam minime miror, te otium 23 perturbare; non modo urbem odisse, sed etiam lucem; cum perditissimis latronibus non solum de die, 24 sed etiam in diem vivere. Ubi enim tu in pace consistes? qui locus tibi in legibus 25 et in judiciis esse potest, quæ tu, quantum in te fuit, dominatu regio sustulisti? Ideone L. Tarquinius exactus, Spurii Cassius, Mælius, M. Manlius, necati, ut multis post seculis 26 a M. Antonio, quod fas non est, 27 rex Romæ constituere-
tur? Sed ad auspicia redeamus. 28

XXXV. De quibus rebus 1 Idibus Martis fuit in senatu Cæsar acturus, quærum tu quid egisses. Audiebam qui-

22. Ad Lupercalia] i. e. Antony or-
dered it to be inscribed in the Fasti, under the date of these games (fif-
teenth of Febr.) that 'he offered, &c.'

Antony was so far from having a sense of shame at establishing a ty-
nanny, that he wished it to be handed down to posterity. Similarly, ad
Brut. 15, 'Ego, D. Bruto liberato, quum latissimus ille civitati dies il-
lexisset, idemque casu Bruti natalis esset; decrevi ut in fastis ad eum
diem Bruti nomen adscriberetur.'

23. Te otium] Reip. statum con-
vellere. Abram.

24. De die] By day, openly; for he had said 'non modo urbem odisse, sed etiam lucem.' Catull. carm. 47.—

'In diem,' from day to day. De Or.
ii. 40. 'Si barbarorum in diem vivere, nostra consilia sempiternum tempus spectare debent.' Trans. 'Not only to
riot during the day, but (what is worse) to take no thought for to-
morrow.' 'Vivere,' with 'de die,' means 'voluptatibus indulgere;' with 'in diem' 'vitam instituere.'

25. In legibus] i. e. In a state
having laws and judiciary proceed-
ings.

26. Multis—seculis] Tarquin was
expelled, A. v. 245; Sp. Cassius fell
in 270; Sp. Mælius, in 315; M.

Manlius, in 370; Antony presented
Cæsar with the diadem in 709. The
greatest difference is 464; the least,
339.

27. Quod fas non est] Liv. ii. 1,
'Populum jurejurando aedigit, nem-
nem Romæ passuus regnare.' Dio-
nys. (lib. v.) goes farther still; for he
says that they bound not only
themselves, but their posterity, by the
oath.

28. Sed ad auspicia redeamus] He
pretends to consider the 'Lupercalia'
as a digression, that he may return to
the subject of the auspices, and intro-
duce the Ides of March; on which
there was to be some decision as to the
validity of Antony's alio die. From
that he digresses into the great events
which followed, and never returns.

Sect. XXV.—1. De quibus rebus] As Cæsar was to set out on the Par-
thian expedition, four days after the
ides of March, it was necessary to
settle the affair of Dolabella's election
before he proceeded. This was the
question for that day, and Cic., who
was engaged for Dolabella, had, no
doubt, studied the subject, and dis-
covered, perhaps, the distinction of
'muntiatio' and 'spectio.' Antony,
on the other hand, aware that Cic.
was to speak against him, had come

N N
dem te paratum venisse, quod me de ementitis auspiciis, quibus tamen parere necesse erat, putares esse dicturum. Sustulit illum diem Fortuna populi Romani. Num etiam tum de auspiciis judicium interitus Caesaris sustulit? Sed incidit in id tempus, quod iis rebus, in quas ingressa erat orto, prævertendum est. Quae tua fuga que formido præclaro illo die! quæ propter conscientiam scelerum desperatio vitae! quum ex illa fuga, beneficio eorum, qui te, si sanus esses, salvum esse voluerunt, clam te domum recepisti. O prepared on the subject. Others refer it to a report noticed by Seuton. Jul. 79. ‘Proximo senatu percrebuit fama L. Cottam quindecemvirum sententiam dicturum, ut quoniam libris fatalibus continetur, Parthos nisi a rege non posse vincì, Caesar rex appellaret.’ If Cicero referred to this report, ‘quero tum tu quid egisses?’ must be answered by saying, ‘you would no doubt have voted for creating him king, on whom you had already placed a diadem.’ But the first explanation is the simpler.

2. De ementitis auspiciis [Phil. iii. 4. ‘Servabant reges auspicia, quæ hic consul augurque neglexit, neque solum legibus contra auspiciis ferendis, sed etiam collega, una ferente, quem ipsæ ementitis auspiciis vitiosum fecerat.’

3. Quibus tamen parere] By this we see that Caesar had not yet settled the question of Dolabella’s election.

4. Sustulit illum diem [i.e. The fortune of the Roman people, who then recovered their liberty, freed you from the dangers of that day, whereon you must either have opposed Caesar, your master, or allowed that you had falsified the auspices.


6. Num—judicium [i.e. ‘The death of Caesar freed you from this dilemma; but it left your decision on record, to prove your ignorance, impudence, and arrogance.’ Or—his admission of Dolabella to the consulship may be alluded to.

7. Sed incidit, &c.] As Cicero pursues this digression to the end of his speech, it is plain that he made use of the auspices merely for the sake of transition, and had exhausted all that he had to say upon them. Supr. 34. n. 28.


9. Quæ tua fuga] He laid aside his consular robes, and assumed the garb of a slave.

10. Beneficio eorum] E. g. Trebonius, who drew Antony aside; or perhaps M. Brutus, who is said to have opposed the murder of Antony. Phil. xiii. 13. ‘Sceleratum Trebonium? quo scelere? nisi quod te Idibus Mart., a debita tibi peste seduxit.’

11. Si sanus esses] i.e. Entertain sound and honest views for the republic.

12. Clam te domum] Plutarch says that Antony and Lepidus were obliged to take refuge in the houses of others, though Lepidus was not in the senate at all, but with his soldiers in the suburbs. Inf. n. 17.
mea frustra semper¹³ verissima auguria rerum futurum! 
Dicebam illis¹⁴ in Capitolio liberatoribus nostris, quum me 
ad te ire vellent, ut ad defendendam rempublicam te adhor-
tarer: quoad metuere, omnia te promissurum; simul ac 
timere desisses, similem te futurum tui. Itaque, quum ceteri 
consulares¹⁵ irent, redirent,¹⁶ in sententia mansi: neque te 
illo die, neque postero vidii; neque ullam societatem optimis 
civibus cum importunissimo hoste fecedere ullo confirmari 
posse credidi. Post diem tertium veni in aedem Telluris, et 
quidem invitus, quum omnes aditus¹⁷ armati obsiderent. Qui 
tibi dies ille, M. Antoni, fuit? Quamquam mihi inimicus 
subito¹⁸ exstisti: tamen me tui miseret, quod tibi invi-
deris.¹⁹

XXXVI. Qui tu vir, dii immortales! et quantus fuisses, 
si illius dici mentem servare potuisses! Pacem haberemus, 
quae erat factura per obsidem, puerum nobilem,¹ M. Bamba-
lonis² nepotem. Quamquam bonum te timor faciebat, non 
diuturnus magister³ officii: improbum secit ea, quae, dum 
timor abest, a te non discedit, audacia. Etsi tum, quum op-
timum te putabant, me quidem dissentiente,⁴ funeri tyranni, 
ilium funus fuit, sceleratissime praefuit. Tua illa pulchra 
laudatio,⁵ tua miseratio, tua cohortatio: tu, tu, inquam, illas

¹³ O mea—semper] Vid. Fam. vi. 
⁶, where he states and upholds his 
prophetic powers. Supr. 15. n. 5.

¹⁴ Dicebam illis, &c.] The con-
spirators fled first to the Capitol. 
Intro. 2.

¹⁵ Ceteri consulares] L. Piso, 
L. Caesar, P. Sulpicius, L. Philippus, &c.

¹⁶ Irene, redirent] Perhaps this 
implies 'kept coming and going,' a 
sense which the words might bear, 
supp. 33.

¹⁷ Omnes aditus, &c.] Appian 
states that Lepidus had a legion in an 
island of the Tiber, and that hearing of 
what had taken place, he led his 
troops into the Campus Marius, to 
assist Antony,—Dio says into the Fo-
rum. These, it is probable, were the 
men that were blockading the temple 
of Tellus, as Antony's veterans and 
'advocates' were hardly yet in train-
ing.

¹⁸ Inimicus subito] Sc. the seven-
teenth of September.

¹⁹ Tibi invideris] Denied your-
self the glory.

Sect. XXXVI.—1. Puerum No-
bilem] Ironical. Att. xvi. 11. 'Tan-
tum ut sciant, παίδες παίδων, eum 
ex C. Fadii filia liberos habuisse.'

² Bambaloniis] Phil. ii. 1.

³ Non diut. mag.] i.e. 'Tamen 
non, &c.' Al. diuturni. 'Malus cus-
tos diuturnitatis, metus.' Off. ii. 7. 
V, E.

⁴ Me, quidem dissentiente] This 
may apply either to their opinion of 
Antony's integrity, in which Cic. did 
ot concur; or the appointment of 
him to preside at the funeral of Caesar, 
which he opposed.

⁵ Pulchra laudatio] Ironically.
faces incendisti, et eas, quibus semustulatus ille est, et eas, quibus incensa L. Bellieni domus deflagravit. Tu illos impetus perditorum hominum et ex maxima parte servorum, quos nos vi manuque repulimus, in nostras domos immisisti. 

10. *Idem tamen, quasi fuligine* abstersa, reliquis diebus in Capitolio praeclara senatusconsulta fecisti, ne qua post Idus Martias immunitatis tabula, neve cujus beneficii figere tur. Meministi ipse de exsulibus, scis, de immunitate quid dixeris. Optimum vero, quod dictaturae nomen in perpetuum de republica sustulisti. Quo quidem facto tantum te cepisse odium regni videbatur, ut ejus omnem, propter proximum dictatorem, tolleres metum. Constituta respublica videbatur aliis, mihi vero nullo modo, qui omnia, te gubernante, naufragia metuebam. Num me igitur fesse illit? aut num diutius sui potuit esse dissimilis? *Inspectantibus* vobis, toto Capitolio tabulae figebantur; neque solum singulis venibant immittantes, sed etiam populis universis; civitas non jam singillatim, sed provincis totis dabatur. Itaque si haec manent, quae stante republica manere non possunt, provincias universas, Patres conscripti, perdistis; neque vectigalia

Suet. (Jul. 84.) says that Antony having read the decree and oath of fealty, formerly passed and taken, added a very few words. Dio and Appian, however, supply long orations.


7. *L. Bellieni* Fam. viii. 15. 'Bellienus verna Demetrii, &c.' Demetrius was a freedman of Pompey's. If so, Bellienus was not a senator, as the Delphin affirms, nor consequently a conspirator; none but senators having had that honour.

8. *Perditorum hominum* Many of them were Jews, attached to Cæsar and hostile to Pompey, who had taken their temple. Suet. Jul. 84. 'Precipueque Judæi qui etiam noctibus continuos bustum frequentarent.'

9. *Parte servorum* For these mixed with the mob, and wore the same dress as their masters, except they were senators.

10. *Immisi* Att. xiv. 10. 'Servique et egentes in tecta nostra cum facibus immissi.'


12. *Meministide exsulibus* Similarly, in Quint. xii. 2. 'Neque omnino hujus rei meminist usquam poeta ipse.'

13. *Inspectantibus, &c.* In the sight of the senators, who, a few days before, were witnesses to a contrary decree; the advertisements posted up, not in the forum, but in the capitol; to beard even Jupiter himself; not in a part of it, but the whole.'

14. *Populis universis* e. g. The Cretans.

15. *Civitas, &c.* We learn from Att. xiv. 12, that Cic. considered the Jus Latium (Latinitas) a great boon even for Caesar to grant; whereas Antony grants them full citizenship.

16. *Manent* Without being abrogated. So Virg. ÆEn. 'Atque im-
solum, sed etiam imperium populi Romani, hujus domesticis nundinis\textsuperscript{17} deminutum est.

XXXVII. Ubi est septies millies\textsuperscript{1}, quod in tabulis, quae sunt ad Opis, patebat? funestæ illius quidem pecuniae\textsuperscript{2} sed tamen, quæ nos, si iis, quorum erat, non redderetur, a tributis\textsuperscript{3} possit vindicare. Tu autem quadringentes HS, quod Idibus Martis debuitis, quonam modo ante Kalendas\textsuperscript{4} Apries debebant desistis? Sunt ea quidem innumerabilia, quæ a diversis\textsuperscript{5} emebantur, non inscience te: sed unum egregium de rege Deiotaro,\textsuperscript{6} populi Romani amicissimo, decretum in Capitolio fixum. Quo proposito nemo erat, qui in ipso dolore risum\textsuperscript{7} possit continere. Quis enim cuiquam inimicior, quam Deiotaro Cæsar? æque atque huic ordini, ut equestri, ut Massiliensibus,\textsuperscript{8} ut omnibus, quibus rempublicam populi Romani caram esse sentiebat. Sed [igitur], a quo vivo, nec præsens,\textsuperscript{9} nec absens\textsuperscript{10} quidquam aequi boni impetravit, apud mortuum factus est gratiosus. Compellarat\textsuperscript{11} hospitem præsens, computarat, pecuniam imperarat,\textsuperscript{12} in ejus tetrarchiam\textsuperscript{13}.

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mota manet fatis Lavinia conjux.'

17. \textit{Nundinis} So supr. 3. 'Quum domi tuae turpissimo mercatu omnia essent venalia?'


2. \textit{Funestæ illius—pecunia} He had before called it 'cruenta.' Phil. i. 7. 'Illius,' i. e. 'Opis,' if we are not to refer it to Cæsar himself, to whom 'ille' is generally applied.


3. \textit{Tributis} From the necessity of imposing taxes: these had not yet been levied, and were not till the following year. Fam. xii. 30. \textit{Manut. V. E.}

4. Idibus—Kalendis] Cat. i. 6. n. 7. Att. xiv. 21. 'Kalendis Januarii debuit; adhuc non solvit.' And again, in the next letter: 'Jam vel sibi ha-beat nummos, modo numeret Idibus.'

5. A diversis] From different agents

of Antony.

6. \textit{Unum—Deiotaro} Att. xiv. 12. 'Quid? Deiotari nostri causa non similis? dignum ille quidem omni regno, sed non per Fulviam.'

7. \textit{Risum} At the contradiction between Cæsar's own acts, and those regarding the same individual, now ascribed to him. \textit{V. E.}

8. Massiliensibus] They had sustained a memorable siege against his lieutenants, D. Brutus and Trebonius, when he was first in Spain. Hooke, x. 3. He was therefore highly incensed against them. Cat. ii. 7. n. 12.

9. \textit{Nec præsens} Deiot. Introd. 3.

10. Absens] His cause was advocated by Brutus at Nice in Liguria, and by Cic. at Rome. Deiot. Introd. 6.

11. Compellarat] 1. To call by name or question. 2. To reproove, to chide. 3. To sue for money, to dun, as here.

12. Pecuniam—imperarat] This is alluded to Deiot. 5.


14. Unum ex Græcis] Mithridates Pergamenus. Deiot. Introd. 3. Hirtius B. A., says that he was of royal extraction, and educated by Mithrid. the great.

15. Hæc vivus—mortuus] Abram. thought that Cicero meant this to be ridiculous. Grav. says not. 'Nihil hic ridiculi video.' Cicero, however, says, supra, that nobody could refrain from laughter at the sight of the decree, by which Caesar restored his kingdom; evidently because he was mortuus when it was made.

16. Quibus verbis] The very language of the decree, Cicero hints, betrayed the author. Caesar was a perspicuous writer.

17. Mode—modo] Sometimes. So Ter. Ern. iv. 4. 'Modo ait, modo negat.'


19. Semper enim absenti] Either as patron or advocate. As Cicero fled to Brundisium after the battle of Phar-salia, he was not present at Nice, where the cause of Deiotarus was heard.

20. Syngrapha] 'Chirographum' means: 1. An autograph. 2. Memoranda, notes. 3. Any acknowledgment or bill of a debt, &c. But 'Syngrapha' is a regular bond signed by both parties, a copy of which is kept by each. 'Sestertii,' more usually 'sestertium,' or HS.

21. Legatos] Deiot. 15. 'Timidos,' being afraid of Antony; 'Impertos,' who did not know, that on the death of a tyrant, the plunder reverted to its rightful owners.

22. Gynæco] Γυνακεῖον, sc. οίκημα, an inner apartment, in which the matron kept the female part of the household. Here the apartment of Fulvia.

23. Venierunt et veneunt] Cicero joins these tenses to express the continuance of the practice. Manil. 13. n. 9. And, 'ex qua synq.—quid, &c.' i.e. How are you to execute your bond? Muren. i. 17. 'Pergitiae tanquam ex syngrapha agere cum populo?'

Nemo igitur jureconsultus, ne iste quidem,\textsuperscript{25} qui tibi uni est jureconsultus, per quem haec agis, ex ista syngrapha deberi dicit pro iis rebus, quae erant ante syngrapham recuperatae. Non enim a te emit, sed prius, quam tu suum sibi venderes, ipse possedit. Ille vir fuit: nos quidem contemnedi, qui auctorem odimus, acta defendimus.\textsuperscript{26}

XXXVIII. Quid ego de commentariis infinitis, quid de innumerabilibus chirographis loquar? quorum etiam\textsuperscript{1} imitatores sunt, qui ea, tamquam gladiatorum libellos,\textsuperscript{2} palam venditent. Itaque tanti acervi nummorum apud istum construuntur,\textsuperscript{3} ut jam expendantur,\textsuperscript{4} non numerentur pecuniae. At quam cæca\textsuperscript{5} avaritia est! Et nuper fixa tabula est, qua civitates locupletissimae\textsuperscript{6} Cretensium liberantur, statuiturque, ne post M. Brutum proconsulem sit Creta\textsuperscript{7} provincia. Tu mentis es compos? tu non constringendus? An Cæsaris decreto Creta post M. Bruti decessum potuit liberari, quum from his tetrarchy, and Ariobarzanes from Armenia.

25. \textit{Ne iste quidem} [Perhaps he means Sex. Clodius, who was by this time returned from exile; and from his experience in the service of P. Clodius, would be well qualified to assist Antony.]

26. \textit{Acta defendimus} [E. g. Cic. himself. Vid. Phil. i. 7.]

secr. XXXVIII. — 1. Quorum etiam, \&c.] Abram. makes etiam in addition to Antony. Rather: Of which also, (in addition to 'the tabulae, \&c.', mentioned, sup. 36, and corrupted by Antony,) there are forgers. That these were merely agents of Antony, is shewn by the next sentence, where \textit{it} appears that the money was piled up at his house.

2. Tamquam gladiatorum libellos] Like play-bills. Maturant. understands them as 'advertisements for the sale of gladiators,' but they are rather statements of the matches to be fought at the shews by the gladiators, Cic. Fam. ii. 8, calls them 'gladiatorum compositiones.' And Lipsius Saturn. ii. 18, says 'Ante pugnam, moris erat, ut editor libellos propo-

neret, in quibus dies futuri muneris, item nomina et paria gladiatorum; and he adds, that they were sent even into the provinces to collect spectators and friends. Hor. Sat. ii. 7, alludes to a species of them which had on them representations of the fancy. Plin. xxxv. 7.

3. Construuntur] 'Divitiis, quas qui construxerit, ille Clarus erit.' Hor. Sat. ii. 3. 95. \textit{V. E.}

4. Expendantur] The measuring of money to intimate its abundance had become proverbial. Hor. Sat. i. 1. 'Ut metiretur nummos.' This Cicero transfers to weight; which, though once the method of valuing money, had long fallen into disuse; except, as here, to express a large sum.

5. \textit{At quam cæca, \&c.} [Which takes the most imprudent methods of self-gratification; e. g. 'Nuper fixa tabula est, \&c.]

6. Locupletissimae] And therefore paid a great revenue.

7. \textit{Creta} [This island was voted to Brutus soon after the ide of March. Introd. 3. Antony, then on friendly terms with Brutus, sold the decree for its liberation, on condition that it
Creta nihil\(^8\) ad Brutum, Cæsare vivo, pertinenter? At hujus venditione decreti (ne nihil actum putetis) provinciam Cretam perdidistis. Omnino nemo ullus rei fuit emptor, cui defuerit hic venditor. Et de exsulibus legem,\(^9\) quam fixisti, Cæsar tulit. Nullius insector calamitatem: tantum queror,\(^10\) primum eorum reditus inquinatos,\(^11\) quorum causam Cæsar dissimilem judicarit; deinde nescio cur non reliquis idem tribuas. Neque enim plus quam tres aut quattuor reliqui sunt. Qui simili in calamitate sunt, cur tua misericordia simili non fruntur? cur eos habes in loco patrui?\(^12\) de quo\(^13\) ferre, quam de reliquis ferres, nolueisti: quem etiam ad censuram petendam impulisti,\(^14\) eamque petitionem comparasti, quæ et risus hominum et querelas moveret. Cur autem ea comitia non habuisti? an quia tribunus plebis sinistrum\(^15\) ful-

should not take place till after expiration of Brutus’s government. ‘Pro consulens,’ vid. Manil. 21. n. 8.

8. Quum Creta nihil] For Appian iii. relates that Cæsar had appointed Brutus to Macedonia; and although, upon the death of Cæsar, Antony, as consul, laid claim to it, and had Crete assigned to Brutus; yet, soon after this speech was written, Brutus seized on Macedonia, and held it for the senate. Had Antony, however, not made the exception in his favour, in the decree concerning Crete, Brutus might, by demanding Macedonia, have concerted his schemes.

9. De exsulibus legem] He had promised, Phil. i. 1, to restore only one.

10. Tantum queror] Cic. objects, 1. That the restoration of these honourable men, who were exiled for their adherence to the cause of Pompey, should be contaminated by being brought into contact with that of men who had been banished for their crimes; and 2. That invidious exceptions were made when only three or four remained.

11. Inquinatos] Al. æquatos, i. e. put on the same footing.

12. In loco patrui] i.e. Why do you treat them as you did your uncle in your tribuneship, whom you omitted to restore along with Lenticula and others. We must not then refer ‘in loco patrui’ to the present time, a mistake which has caused the greatest confusion in all the explanations given by the commentators of this and the following passage.

13. De quo, &c.] Namely, when Antony restored Lenticula, &c., sup. 23. It is probable that C. Antonius offered his return to Cæsar, who, on returning first from Spain, restored all the exiles, except Milo and Sex. Clodius. We find him in the senate the first day of this year. Inf. ‘patruo sedente.’

14. Quem—impulisti] Cic. evidently introduces this as an instance of unfeeling conduct in Antony towards his uncle; but the circumstances being notorious, required only a brief allusion. Hence it is not clear what excited ‘the laughter and complaints of people.’ An obvious solution is, that the former arose from a man of such morals as C. Antonius aspiring to be ‘magister morum;’ and the latter from Antony’s having urged his uncle to a canvass, in order to expose him to the scorn of the citizens.

15. Sinistrum] De divin. ii. 35. ‘Fulmen sinistrum auspicium optimum habemus ad omnes res præter quam ad comitia.’
men nuntiabat? Quum tua quid interest, nulla auspicia sunt; quum tuorum, tum fis religiosus. Quid? eundem in septemviratu\textsuperscript{16} nonne destituisti? Intervenit enim.\textsuperscript{17} Quid metuisti? Credo, ne salvo capite\textsuperscript{18} negare non posses. Omnibus eum\textsuperscript{19} contumeliis onerasti, quem patris loco, si ulla in te pietas esset, colere debellas. Filiam ejus, sororem tuam,\textsuperscript{20} ejecisti, alia conditione\textsuperscript{21} quæsita et ante perspecta.\textsuperscript{22} Non est satis. Probri\textsuperscript{23} insinulastì pudicissimam feminam. Quid est, quod addi possit? Contentus eo non fuisti. Frequentiissimo senatu Kalendis Januarii sedente patruo, hanc tibi esse cum Dolabella causam odii dicere ausus es, quod ab eo sorori et uxorì tua stuprum oblatum esse compìrisses. Quis interpretari potest, impudentiorne, qui in senatu, an improbior, qui in Dolabellam,\textsuperscript{24} an impurior, qui patre audiente, an crudelior, qui in illam miseram\textsuperscript{25} tam spurse, tam impie\textsuperscript{26} dixeris.

16. \textit{Septemviratu}] A further act of harshness in Antony towards his uncle. A Commission having been appointed by Antony to assign the public lands, his uncle wished to be made one of the number. Att. xv. 16. ‘Dic mihi C. Antonius voluitne fieri septemvir? Dignus fuit.’ Antony after giving him cause to expect his support, for reasons which do not appear, subsequently withdrew it.

17. \textit{Intervenit enim}] An observation inserted by Cic. (or some grammatician) to show how Antony abandoned his uncle. ‘Did you not desert him in his suit for the office of Septemvir?—(for he (Antony) privately opposed his appointment.)’ What did you fear, that you should act so underhand a part? Forsooth, lest you could not deny him without personal danger. Absurd.’ Orel. agrees with this explanation. Others take it generally. ‘I did,’ replies Antony; ‘for something occurred.’ Others again: ‘I did; for he (C. Antonius) intruded himself.’

The first explanation appears the most probable; but perhaps the sense is left designedly imperfect.

It may be added, that Turneb. Advers. iv. 11, supposes ‘destituisti’ to refer to a money transaction; and explains: ‘Intervenit enim (et pecuniam petivit).’ Of course there is no ground for this conjecture. Olivet. however, cites ‘pecuniam petivit,’ as Turnebus’s meaning of ‘interveni,’ not as an explanation of the transaction! Hence Dunc. ‘He asked for the money.’


19. \textit{Omnibus eum}] This is a new act of harshness, quite distinct from the Septemvirate.

20. \textit{Sororem tuam}] Your cousin.

21. \textit{Alia conditione}] Fulvia.


23. \textit{Probri}] Here, adultery.

24. \textit{Qui in Dolabellam}] Dolabella was now reconciled to Antony, and both had conspired against the senate; therefore Cic. might hope by this to create dissension between them.


26. \textit{Tam spurse, tam impie}] These adverbs must be limited to the last clause in the sentence, i.e. to his
XXXIX. Sed ad chirographa redeamus.  

1. Quae tua fuit cognitio?  

2. Acta enim Caesaris pacis causa confirmata sunt a senatu, quae quidem Caesar egisset, non ea, quae Caesarem egisse dixisset Antonius.  

3. Unde ista erumpunt?  

4. Quo audire proferuntur?  

5. Quod fuit consilium quem unquam convocasti? quas Kalendas Junias exspectasti? an eas, ad quas te, peragratiss veteranorum coloniis, stipatum armis retulisti?  

O praeclamam illam percursationem tuam mense Aprili atque Maio, tum, quam etiam Capuam coloniam deducere conatus es! Quemadmodum illinc abieris, vel potius pene abuse of Antonia—being inapplicable to the rest. 'Spurcus,' according to Fest., is properly applied to impure wine; and 'impius' is, without regard to consanguinity.  

Sect. XXXIX.—1. Sed ad chirographa redeamus  

From speaking of the law about the exiles, Cic. took occasion to digress to Antony's harsh treatment of his uncle, and now he returns to the 'chirographa' again.  

2. Quae—cognitio?] In what mode did you examine and verify these? 'Ne qua ipsius cognitio, illo absente, de existimatione eis constitueretur.'  

Verr. ii. 25. V. E. As Antony ought to have given in his report on the first of June, his failing to do so leads Cic. to consider how he spent his time, his review of the colonies, his return to Rome and conduct there, with which he concludes.  


Abram.  

4. Quo audire proferuntur?] i.e. Who but Antony vouches for their genuineness? Phil. i. 7. n. 8.  

5. Cognosceretis] sc. You and Dolabella. 'Cum consilio;' 'with a committee.'  


7. Capuam] This city, a. u. 412, made a voluntary surrender of itself to the Roman people (Liv. vii. 30,) to obtain its protection against the Samnites. When Hannibal, however, released it from the fear of Rome, it revolted. Its punishment was severe, being deprived of its senate, and all the distinctions of a republic. Agrar. ii. 33. It continued a Roman prefecture, untouched either by the generosity of a Gracchus, or the tyranny of a Sylla—'benignitas Grachorum aut Syllaæ dominatio.' A colony, indeed, had been led out thither by M. Brutus, the father of the tyrannicide; but it being observed, that both he and the other promoters of it met with a violent death, it soon declined. Agrar. ii. 34. Rullus, in Cicero's consulship, proposed to colonize it, but failed through the eloquence of Cic., who urged the innate pride of Capua, and its emulation of Rome. Caesar, a. u. 694, proposed an Agrarian law which made Capua the head of a colony. Then were its senators raised to the rank of decuriones, and it soon became the most flourishing city in Italy.
non abieris, scimus. Cui tu urbi\textsuperscript{9} minitaris. Utinam concere, ut aliquando illud \textit{pae}ne tollatur! At quam nobilis est tua illa peregrinatio! quid prandiorum apparatus\textsuperscript{10}, quid furiosam vinolentiam tuam proferam? Tua ista detrimenta sunt: illa\textsuperscript{11} nostra. Agrum Campanum,\textsuperscript{12} qui quum de vectigalisbus eximebatur, ut militibus daretur, tamen infligi magnum reipublicae vulnus putabamus; hunc tu compransoribus tuis et collusoribus dividebas. Mimos dicco et mimas, Patres conscripti, in agro Campano collocatos. Quid jam querar\textsuperscript{13} crease the number of the Capuan colony; in attempting which he was nearly killed.

9. Cui—urbi\textsuperscript{9} Quali, Delph. But it is like 'cui bello,' supr. 29. Phil. xii. 3. 'Ilì, (Capua\textemdash; ilì, inquam, urbi fortissime conanti e manibus est ereptus Antonius.'

10. Prandiorum apparatus\textsuperscript{10} Cat. ii.

11. IJla\textsuperscript{11} Referring, as usual, to what follows.

12. Agrum Campanum\textsuperscript{12} This district became the 'publicus ager' of the Rom. people by surrender, \textit{a. v.} 412, during the war of the Samnites, but the occupiers were permitted to retain the possession. But after the revolt of Capua to Hannibal, they were driven out, and it was allocated to Roman settlers, 'vectigales,' the tenants of the Rom. people. Liv. xxvi. 34; xxvii. 3. 11, and xlii. 19. It continued in their possession with slight changes, till it was colonized by Caesar, with 20,000 Roman citizens. The head of this colony was Capua. Now as Cicero objected to the Agrarian law of Rullus, that it would deprive the Rom. people of their 'fairest revenue,' we must infer that Caesar's law did no less. How, then, can Cic. say that this land was taken from the 'vectigales' to be given to soldiers, if it had been already disposed of to 20,000 colonists? The probable answer is, that the 'Campanus ager' was so extensive as to leave abundant room for numerous state tenants, after supplying Caesar's colonists; that it was these who were removed to make way for the military colonies of Caesar (militibus,) and hence the 'wound inflicted on the republic.'

It is worth notice, however, that even these veterans did not fully occupy it, as we find it now distributed to his favourites by Antony, who would not surely attempt to dislodge the men whose favour he was now courting. But not even did this exhaust this wonderful land; for Antony had about this time a special commission of seven, appointed to distribute to 'deserving persons,' this, and the Leon-tine lands; and we find in the succeeding Philippics, that they acted on their commission; and Antony makes it a particular demand from the senate, that, in case of their coming to terms, the grants made by the Septemvirate should be valid. Phil. viii. 7. The Romans, indeed, in the leases of the state lands, reserved to themselves the right of resumption at pleasure, and this may explain the location of this land to colonies; but nothing except its extent and the vagueness of the terms, seems sufficient to clear the difficulty of understanding the repeated settlements which Cicero states it to have undergone. The student will find some sensible remarks connected with this subject, in Niebuhr's Roman History, which would have been still more valuable, if properly illustrated by examples.

13. Quid jam querar?] He does afterwards. Phil. iii. 9.

XL. Deduxisti coloniam Casilimum, quo Caesar ante deduxerat. Consuluisisti me per literas de Capua tu quidem; sed idem de Casilino respondissem: possessae, ubi colonia esset, eo coloniam novam jure deducere. Negavi, in eam coloniam, quae esset auspiciato deducta, dum esset incolumis, coloniam novam jure deduci: colonos novos adscribi posse rescripsi. Tu autem insolentia elatus, omni auspiciorum jure turbato, Casilimum coloniam deduxisti, quo erat paucis annis ante deducta, ut vexillum tolleres, ut aratum circumduceres: eujus quidem vomere portam Capuae pene perstrinxisti, ut florentis coloniae territorium minueretur. Ab hac

14. *Arationes*] Public farms, or the arable parts of an 'ager.'
16. *Fenore* Properly, produce, 'fructus.'
17. *Medico*] The name of this lucky man is not recorded. For 'rhetori' vid. sup. 4. n. 7.
18. *Quid, si te sanasset*] If he had restored your senses. *Al. quasi.* V. E.
19. *Ad iter Italiamque*] He had digressed to speak of the Leontine land which lay in Sicily.

Sect. XL.—1. *Deduxisti coloniam, &c.*] The object here is to convict Antony of a disregard of omens, and consequently a breach of religion.

2. *Quo Caesar ante deduxerat*] Casilimum was on the river Vulturine, in Campania. Liv. xxii. 15. *Quae urbs, Vulturine flumine dirempata, Falerum ac Campanum agrum dividit.* Abram. considers this a military colony; but as the civil war was only terminated the preceding year, the veterans could hardly be said to be 'paucis annis ante deducta.' We must, therefore, refer it to the coloniza-

XLI. At quam multos dies in ea villa turpissime est perbaccatus! Ab hora tertia bibebatur, ludebatur, vomebatur. O tecta ipsa misera, 'quam dispari domino!' Quam-

boundaries with the plough; (i. e. of infringing on the territory of Capua.)

5. M. Varronis] Varro was born ten years before Cicero, to whom he dedicated his books, de Ling. Lat. Lactantius says of him: 'Fuit togatorum literatissimus et quo nemo unquam doctior, ne apud Graccos quidem fuit.' His attachment to the cause of Pompey is well known.

6. Casinatum] Casinum, a town of the Volsci, in Latium, now Monte Cassino. Varro had another estate at Tarentum, where there was a famous aviary and horologium. Vid. de R. R. iii. 5. 13.

7. Quo in heredum] Cic. had written quo in Scipionis, but at the request of Atticus, changed it. Att. xvi. 11.


9. Si ab hasta] Phil. viii. 3. 'Hasta Caesaris multis improbis et spem affert, et audaciam.' If Antony really bought the estate of Varro at the pro-

scription-sale of Caesar, why let that sale be valid, lest the treasury accounts, by which, at the instance of Caesar, you were made debtor to the amount, ('quibus debuisti,' be valid; not yours, by which you brought yourself in clear. Antony had no doubt written 'paid' under his account in the state ledger. The 'tabulae auctionariae' then are not referred to here.

10. Misisse te, &c.] He refutes this second plea of Antony in three ways:

1. By shewing its improbability, as there was no urgency to prevent him from awaiting Caesar's return. 2. There was no witness of the transaction, yet every one was concerned. 3. So far from that, Caesar wrote to you to restore it.


2. Quam dispari domino] Off. i. 39. 'O domus antiqua, heu! quam o o
quam quomodo iste dominus? sed tamen quam ab dispari
tenebantur! Studiorum enim suorum M. Varro voluit esse
illed, non libidinum deversorium. 3 Quae in illa villa antea
dicebantur! quae cogitabantur! quae literis mandabatur!
Jura populi Romani, monumenta majorum, omnis sapientiae
ratio, omnisque doctrinae. 4 At vero, te inquilino, (non enim
domino,) personabant omnia vocibus ebrorium; natabant
pavimenta6 vino; madebant parietes; ingenui pueri7 cum
meritoriiis, scorta inter matresfamilias versabantur. Casino
salutatum veniebant,8 Aquino, Interamna.9 Admissus est
nemo. Jure id quidem: in homine enim turpissimo obsole-
fiebant10 dignitatis insignia. Quum inde Romam proficiscens
ad Aquinum accederet, obviam ei processit (ut est frequens
municipium) magna sane multitudo. At iste operta11 lectica
latus per oppidum est ut mortuus. Stulte Aquinates: sed
tamen in via12 habitabant. Quid, Anagnini?13 qui, quam

dispari dominare domino? 14.25. 'Absumes heres. Cæcuba dig-
nior . . . et mero tinguet pavimen-
tum suberbo.' Pis. 10. 'In quo ne-
mo potest dicere, utrum iste plus bi-
berit, an vomuerit, an effuderit.'

7. Inquinui pueri, &c.] Of whom Se-
neca, Epist. v. 'Transeo puorum in-
felicium greges, quos post transacta
convivia alia cubiculi contumeliam ex-
pectant.' They are opposed to ' me-
ritoriis,' who were generally slaves.

8. Veniebant] Sc. to the Villa of
Varro.

'Aquinum,' a town of Latium, now
Aquino; most celebrated, perhaps, as
the birth-place of the angelic Doctor,
Thomas Aquinas.

Manil. 17. n. 5.

11. Operta] Not like Cytheris who
chose her litter to be 'aperta.'

12. In via] Sc. Latina; opposed
to 'devii.'

13. Anagnini] Anagnia was a town
of Latium, built on a low mountain,
which lay to the left of the Via La-
tina. They therefore might have
avoided paying their respects to the
Roman consul.
essent devii, descendenterunt, ut istum, tamquam si esset, consulem salutarent. Incredibile dictu: sed tum nimirum inter omnes constabat, neminem esse resalutatum: præsertim quum duas secum Anagninos haberet, Mustelam et Lacocem; quorum alter gladiorum est princeps, alter pocolorum. Quid ego illas istius minas contumeliasque commemorem, quibus inventus est in Sิดicinos, vexavit Puteolanos, quod C. Cassium et Brutos patronos adoptassent? Magno quidem judicio, studio, benevolentia, caritate, non ut te, ut Basilum, vi et armis, et alios vestri similes, quos clientes nemo habere velit, non modo illorum cliens esse.

XLII. Interea dum tu abes, qui dies illa collegae tui fuit, quum illud, quod tu venerari solebas, bustum in foro evertit! qua re tibi nuntiata, ut constabat inter eos, qui una fuerunt, concidisti. Quid evenerit postea, nescio. Metum credo valuisse et arma. Collegam quidem de ccelo detraxisti, effecistique, non tu quidem etiam nunc, ut sit similis tui, sed certe, ut dissimilis esset sui.

Qui vero inde redditus Romam! quae perturbatio totius urbis! Memineramus Cinnam nimiris potentem, Sullam pos-

14. Præsertim] Supr. 24. n. 17. 15. Must.—gladiorum] Al. gladiatorum. Cicero gives these two persons' names to his friend Atticus, xvi. 11. apparently after the perusal of this oration. They were therefore probably not found in the original, though they now appear in all MSS. V. E. 'Anagnini sunt Mustela rațiαρχης et laeo qui plurimum bibern.'

16. Sidicinos] Sidicinum, called also Teanum, was a town of Campania, on the Liris, near the Via Appia. Liv. vii. 29.

17. Puteolanos] Puteoli, now Pozzolo, a town on the sea-coast near Naples; so called, either 'ab aquae calidæ potuere;' or, 'a multitundine puteorum, earundem aquarum gratia, factorum.' It was so celebrated as a mart, that it was called Delos Minor.


19. Non modo] For 'nemum.' Fam. i. 9. 'Nullum meum minimum dicitur, non modo factum intercessit.' The regular construction would be 'quos nemo non modo illorum cliens ipse, sed ne clientes quidem habere velit.' Cat. i. 10, n. 4.

Sect. XLII.—1 Interea] Cic. has now arrived at the transactions of the preceding months, some of which were noticed in Phil. i. 1—3.

2. Bustum] Phil. i. 2. n. 13.

3. Quid—nescio] He knew very well; for by this time Dolabella was corrupted by Antony, Att. xiv. 21. 22.

4. De ccelo detraxisti] Cic., indeed, had often praised Dolabella; but was as often premature. Atticus thought so, xiv. 21. 'Sapius me jam agitas, quoad rem gestam Dolabellæ nimiris in ccelum effere videar.' The expression is poetical. Hom.: 'Καὶ μον κλεος συφανδον ικετ,' Virg.: 'Fama super aethera notus.'

Hor.: 'Sublimi, feriam sidera vertice.'

5. Cinnam—Sullam] Cat. iii. 10. n. 7.—13.
tea dominantem; modo regnantem Cæsarem videramus.—
Erant fortasse gladii, sed absconditi, nec ita multi. Ista vero
quae sq et quanta barbaria est! Agmine quadrato cum gladiis
sequuntur: scutorum lecticas portari videmus. Atque his
quidem jam inveteratis, Patres conscripti, consuetudine ob-
durui mus. Kalendis Juniis, quum in senatum, ut erat con-
istitutum, venire vellemus, metu perterriti repente diffugimus.
At iste, qui senatu non egeret, neque desideravit quem-
quam, et potius discessu nostro latet us est, statimque illa
mirabilia facinora effect. Qui chirurgophra Cæsaris defen-
disset lucru sui causa, is leges Cæsaris, easque praeclaras, ut
rempublicam concutere posset, evertit. Numerum annorum10
provinciis prorogavit: idemque, quum actorum Cæsaris
defensor esse deberet, et in publicis, et in privatis rebus acta
Cæsaris rescidit. In publicis nihil est lege gravius: in
privatis firmissimum est testamentum. Leges alias sine
promulgatione sustulit: alias ut tolleret, promulgavit.11
Testamentum irritum fecit; quod etiam insimis civibus
semper obtentum est.12 Signa, tabulas,13 quas populo Cæ-

6. Ista vero quæ] By comparing Antony with former tyrants, and
shewing that he was worse, he holds
him up to public odium. Phil. v. 6.
‘Cinnam memini; vidi Sullam; mo-
do Cæsarem.’

7. Barbario] From βαύω, I speak, and the letter ρ, the Greeks formed
the word βαυβαρός, to express stran-
gers who could not give that letter the
proper sound. Arch. 8. n. 18. Ap-
plied to foreigners, ‘barbaria’ signifies
rudeness, ignorance, &c.; but to a
Roman, an affectation of foreign man-
ers, as here; for it was introducing
an eastern despotism to have body-
guards, litters of shields, &c. Per-
haps, too, there is a reference to the
Itureans whom, in the parallel pas-
sage, Phil. v. 6, he calls ‘barbari
sagittarimi.’

8. Quadrato] i. e. Presenting a
front on every side; therefore, ready
to engage.

3. Scutorum lecticas] i. e. ‘Reple-
tas scutis,’ a use of the genit. corres-
ponding to our idiom, ‘a basket of
flowers.’ It appears, from Phil. v.
6, that the object was not to conceal
the shields, but to relieve his friends
from the fatigue of carrying them.
‘Non quo ille scuta occulta esse vel-
let, sed ne familiares, si scuta ipsi
ferrent, laborarent.’

with ‘latet us est.’ ‘Both did not
want.’

10. Numerum annorum.] Phil.
i. 8.

10. In publicis] Sc. rebus, from
the preceding words; where acta in-
cludes both ‘lex’ and ‘testamen-
tum; the former being ‘respublica,’
the latter, ‘privata.’ Justin., how-
ever, says: ‘Testamenti factio non
privati sed publici juris est.’

without, others by, promulgation.’

i. e. It was indifferent to him whether
he observed even the forms of regular
legislation.

12. Obtentum est] Tusc. v. 1,
‘Lex, quæ in Græcorum conviviis
sar una cum hortis legavit, eas hic partim in hortos Pompeii deportavit, partim in villam Scipionis.\textsuperscript{14}

XLIII. Et tu\textsuperscript{1} in Caesars memoria diligens? tu illum amas mortuum? Quem is honorem majorem consecutus erat, quam ut haberet pulvinar,\textsuperscript{2} simulacrum,\textsuperscript{3} fastigium,\textsuperscript{4} flaminem? Est ergo flamen,\textsuperscript{5} ut Jovi, ut Marti, ut Quirino, sic divo Julio M. Antonius. Quid igitur cessas? cur non inaugurare? sume diem: vide, qui te inauguret,\textsuperscript{6} collegae sumus; nemo negabit. O detestabilem hominem, sive quod tyranni sacerdos es, sive quod mortui! Quero deinceps, num, hodiernus dies qui sit,\textsuperscript{7} ignores? nescis, heri quartum in Circo\textsuperscript{8} diem ludorum Romanorum fuisse? te autem ipsum ad populum tulisse, ut quintus præterea dies Caesaris tribuere tur? Cur non sumus præ-

obtinetur, i.e. holds—is observed.

13. \textit{Signa, tabulas]} These, not being mentioned in Caesar's will, probably belonged to the gardens, which were mentioned; and this omission Antony took advantage of, to carry them away.

14. \textit{Villam Scipionis]} Which, with Pompey's gardens, was in Antony's own possession. Supr. 17. n. 2.

Sext. XLIII.—1. \textit{Et tu, &c.]} Having dwelt upon the illegal acts, he now meets the general defence of Antony: that he was actuated in all he did by love to Caesar and his memory. So far from this, Cicero shews that the very honours which he had voted Caesar, while alive, he neglects to confer.

2. \textit{Pulvinar]} Mil. 27. n. 15. The feast at which these couches were employed, was called 'lectisternium.'

3. \textit{Simulacrum]} According to Plin. xxxiv. 2, 'simulacrum' was peculiar to the gods. 'Pervenit deinde ad Deum simulacra, effigiem homini.'

4. \textit{Fastigium]} Murator. iii. 618. 'Ædicula, sive tegamentum adicula vel statue impostum, et quatuor columnas suffultum,' i.e. a canopy or dome raised over a small temple, or image, to defend it from injury. Flor.

iv. 2, among the honours of Caesar, places 'fastigium in domo.'

5. \textit{Flamen]} Qu. \textit{filamen—a filo}, from the cap which the priest wore. The 'flamines' were priests to individual deities. They were originally three, as Cic. states. Liv. i. 20. After this example every emperor at his consecration had his flamen. Suet. Cl. 6.

6. \textit{Vide—inaugurœ]} Cic. does not here intimate any doubt of Antony's being able to procure an augur to consecrate him; his argument requiring him to prove that no difficulty of that kind existed. He does so by assuring him, as a brother augur, that no one would oppose his application. Antony's not applying then, under such circumstances, proves the insincerity which dictated his proposed honours to Caesar.

7. \textit{Dies qui sit]} Vid. Introd. 8, where, contrary to Phil. v. 7 ('adesse in senatum jus sit a. d. xiii. Kal. Oct.' i.e. the nineteenth of Sept.) the date of Antony's speech, and consequently of this, Cicero's reply is given, by mistake, the twentieth instead of the nineteenth.

8. \textit{In Circo]} The old 'ludi Roman,' which were celebrated from the fourth to the thirteenth of Sep.

XLIV. Hunc unum diem, hunc unum, inquam, hodier-

tember, differed from these, the institution of which is not clearly ascer-
tained: they being, however, on the fifteenth of Sept.

9. Praetestati] The 'praetexta,' it is probable, was the proper senatorial
dress for viewing the Roman games, unless, we suppose with Ferrar., that
on the fifth day of the games the se-
nators were by the law obliged, in honour of Caesar, to wear the senatori-
al robe.

10. An supplicationes] For, while Antony had neglected the 'pulvinar'
and 'simulacrum,' in order to save appearances, he had ordered 'sup-
plicationes' on the fifth day of the games. Cic., however, thought them
all equally a profanation of religion.

11. Quaeres] An anticipation by
which he frees himself from the sus-
picion of favouring these extravagant
grants to Caesar; and convicts An-
tony of proposing them merely to flat-
ter a tyrant, and serve his own ends.

12. Alia non cures] Cic. hints that
the law by which Antony decreed the
honours to Caesar, which he is now ne-
glecting, was as much Caesar's act, as
any of those which, to suit his inter-
est, he was maintaining. This con-
sideration identifies Antony's laws
with the acts of Caesar.

13. Disert. ] Cic. makes this M.
Antony, the orator, express the dis-
tinction of 'disertus' and 'elo-
quens,' de Or. i. 21. 'Quod eum
statuebam disertum, qui posset satis
acute atque dilucide, apud mediocres
homines, ex communi quadsan op-
nione hominum, dicere: eloquentem
vero qui mirabilius et magnificiensus
augere posset atque ornare, quæ vel-
let; omnesque omnium rerum, quæ
ad dicendum pertinenter, fontes ani-
mo ac memoria contineret.'

on Antony's naked exhibition at the
Lupercal games. 'Apertus,' applied
to speech, signifies 'perspicuous.'
Nat. D. ii. 2. 'Aperta et perspicua
res.'

15. Hiscere] To open the mouth—
' raris turbatus vocibus hisco.' Virg.
Æn. iii. 314.

16. Praeterita] i. e. Admitting you
cannot defend your past conduct, at
least give us some reason why you put
the senate under arrest.
num diem, hoc punctum temporis, quo loquor, defende, si potes. Cur armatorum corona senatus septus est? cur me tui satellites cum gladiis audiant? cur valvae Concordiae non patent? cur homines omnium gentium maxime barbaros, Ityraeos, cum sagittis deducis in forum?—Presidii sui causa se facere dicit. Nonne igitur millies perire est melius, quam in sua civitate sine armatorum præsidio non posse vivere? Sed nullum est istuc, mihi crede, præsidium. Caritate et benevolentia civium septum oportet esse, non armis. Eripiet, extorquebit tibi ista populus Romanus, utiam salvis nobis! Sed quoquo modo nobiscum egeris, dum istis consilis uteris, non potes, mihi crede, esse diuturnus. Etenim ista tua minime avara conjux, quam ego sine contumelia describo, nium debet diu populo Romano tertiam pensionem. Habet populus Romanus, ad quos gubernacula reipublicæ deferat: qui ubicunque terrarum sunt, ibi est omne reipublicæ præsidium, vel potius ipsa respublica, quæ se adhuc tantummodo ulter est, nondum recuperavit. Habet quidem certe respublica adolescentes no-

Sect. XLIV.—1. Hodiernum diem] This repetition of dies is imitated from the Greek, who often join τῆμερον with ημέρα.
2. Corona] So Mil. 1. 'Corona consessus vester cinctus est.' It was usually composed of by-standers.—Antony had it of soldiers.
3. Valvae Concordiae] Within this temple, of which the door was usually open, had been probably placed by Antony an additional body of armed men. Phil. v. 7. 'In cella Concordiae colloqui armatos, latrones, sicarios: e templo, carcerem fieri.' V. E.
5. Presidii sui] He turns Antony's defence into a new charge, and thence takes occasion to begin his peroration.
7. Caritate, &c.] This is a usual 'locus communis.' Sall. Jug. 10.
8. Quoquo] i. e. Slay us or spare us.
9. Tertium pens.] i. e. 'Tertium maritum.' For her two former husbands, Clodius and Curio, had died violent deaths. The good of his country now requires the third. Supr. 5. n. 6. There is an allusion to the custom of passing money, e. g. a dowry in three gales. Erin.
11. Qui utoeunque] He anticipates a boast of Antony, that those heroes dare not approach to the aid of their country, by showing that where they are, the state is also.
14. Adolescentes] Brutus, as praetor, was forty years of age. Mil. 9. n. 6.
bilissimos, paratos defensores. Quam\textsuperscript{15} volent, illi cedant, otio consulentes: tamen a republica revocabuntur. Et nomen pacis dulce\textsuperscript{16} est, et ipsa res salutari. Sed inter pacem et servitutem plurimum interest. Pax est tranquilla libertas: servitus postremum malorum omnium, non modo bello, sed morte etiam repellendum. Quod si se ipsos\textsuperscript{17} illi nostri liberatores e conspectu nostro abstulerunt, exemplum facti reliquerunt. Illi, quod nemo fecerat, fecerunt. Tarquinium Brutus bello est persecutus: qui tum rex fuit, quem esse Romæ regem licebat. Spurii Cassius, Mælius, M. Manlius propter suspicione regni appetendi sunt necati. Hi primi cum gladiis, non in regnum appellentem, sed in regnante\textsuperscript{18} impetum fecerunt. Quod quum ipsum factum per se præclarum est atque divinum, tum expositum ad imitandum; præsertim\textsuperscript{19} quum illi eam gloriam consecuti sint, quæ vix coelo capi posse videatur. Etsi enim satis in ipsa conscientia pulcherrimi facti fructus erat, tamen mortali immortalitatem non arbitror esse contemnendum.

XLV. Recordare igitur\textsuperscript{1} illum, M. Antoni, diem, quo dictataram sustulisti; pone ante oculos laetiam senatus populi Romani; confer cum hac immanni nundinatione\textsuperscript{2} tua tuorumque:\textsuperscript{3} tum intelliges, quantum inter laudem\textsuperscript{4} et lucrum intersit. Sed nimium, ut quidam, morbo aliquo et sensus

\textsuperscript{15} Quam] By apocope for 'quantum.' Forcei. 'As much as they please.'

\textsuperscript{16} Et nomen pacis dulce] i.e. 'I say that the republic will recall them; for, though peace is a blessing, and though, consulting for its maintenance, they have withdrawn for the present from Rome, yet slavery is not only an evil, but the worst of evils, which neither they nor the Roman people will bear."

\textsuperscript{17} Quod si se ipsos] Hitherto he showed that the state is supplied with youthful heroes to assist her cause, meaning the conspirators. But it might be urged that they were absent and might never return; no matter, says Cic. They have left an example which will inspire others to emulate their virtue, &c.

\textsuperscript{18} Regnante]\textsuperscript{1} Sc. Caesarum.—'regnare' here is 'dominari'; its usual meaning in reference to Rome.

\textsuperscript{19} Praesertim] The usual ellipsis may be here inserted—quod nobis faciendum est; 'which we ought to do,' sc. imitate, especially, &c. Supr. 24. n. 17.

\textsuperscript{1} Recordare igitur] i.e. 'If, therefore, immortal renown is so valuable, think of the strides you made towards it by taking away the dictatorship.' Phil. i. 1.

\textsuperscript{2} Nundinatione] Al. nummatione. Supr. 14. n. 12.

\textsuperscript{3} Tuorumque] Fulvia, and Antony's brothers, Cassius, then prætor, and Lucius, tribune.

\textsuperscript{4} Laudem] For abolishing the dictatorship; 'lucrum,' by selling
stupore, suavitatem cibi non sentiunt; sic libidinosi, avari, facinorosi, veræ laudis gustatum non habent. Sed, si te laus allicere ad recte faciendum non potest, ne metus quidem a fœdissimis factis potest avocare? Judicia non metuisset.\(^5\) Si propter innocentiam, laudo: sin propter vim, non intelligis, qui isto modo judicia non timeat, ei quid timendum sit? Quod si non metuisset viros fortes, egregiosque cives, quod a corpore tuo prohibentur armis; tui te, mihi crede, diutius non ferent. Quæ est autem vita, dies et noctes timere a suis? Nisi vero aut majoribus habes beneficiis obligatos, quam ille quosdam habuit ex iis, a quibus est interflectus; aut tu es ulla re cum eo comparandus. Fuit in illo ingenium,\(^6\) ratio, memoria,\(^7\) litteræ, cura, cogitatio, diligentia; res bello gesserat, quamvis reipublicæ calamitosas, attamen magnas; multos annos\(^8\) regnare meditatus, magno labore, multis periculis, quod cogitaret, effecerat; muneribus,\(^9\) mo-

5. Judicia non metuisset] Having tried the effects of praise, he now addressed himself to Antony's fears.—But he might answer, 'I do not regard your trials.' Granted: but perhaps you will our arms. This was not an idle threat; for Cicero's sanguinary speeches against Antony roused the people to exertions; the effects of which appeared at Mutina, where Antony was defeated, and well nigh taken prisoner. But again, Antony might allege that, protected as he was by personal guards, he did not dread arms. Cic. replies that even his guards will conspire against him. No, replies Antony, for they are bound to me by indissoluble ties of gratitude. Not by greater, rejoins Cic., than were Trebonius, Cimber, &c., &c., to Cæsar; in comparison of whom, Oh, what a difference.


7. Memoria] Deiot. 15. n. 7.—'Memoram tuam implorat quâ vales plurimum.'

8. Multos annos] Suet. Jul. 9, quotes, as would appear, from Cic. 'Cæsarem in consulatu confirmasse regnum, de quo aedilis cogitaret.'—And c. 22, he dates the design from his obtaining the province of Gaul. The former date would give about fifteen years. But any one who reads the dangers and difficulties of his wars, and the fearless exposure of his person in battles, during the nine years which he was absent from Rome, leaving to Cicero and Pompey all the favours of the people, will be disposed to question the fact of any premeditated plan to overturn the liberties of his country. As is usual in all such cases, at every succeeding step, the path opened before him, and what at first appeared insurmountable, became easy and plain.

numentis,10 congiariis,11 epulis,12 multitudinem imperitam
delenierat: suos præmiis, adversarios elementiæ specie
dvinxrerat. Quid multa? attulerat jam libertæ civitati, partim
metu, partim patientia, consuetudinem serviendi.

XLVI. Cum illo ego te dominandi cupiditate conferre
possum, ceteris vero rebus nullo modo comparandus es.
Sed ex plurinvis malis, quæ ab illo reipublicæ sunt inusta,1
hoc tamen boni est, quod didicit jam populus Romanus,
quantum cuique crederet, quibus se committeret, a quibus
caveret. Hæc non cogitas? nec intelligis, satis esse viris
fortibus didicisse, quam sit re pulchrum, beneficico gratum,
fama gloriosum, tyrannum occidere? An, quam illum ho-
mines non tulerint, te ferent? Certatim posthac, mihi crede,
ad hoc opus curretur, neque occasionis2 tarditas expectabili-
tur.

Respice, quæso, aliquando3 rempublicam, M. Antoni:
quibus ortus sis, non quibuscum vivas,4 considera: mecum,5
ut voles; cum republica redi in gratiam. Sed de te tu vi-
deris:6 ego de me ipse profitebor. Defendi rempublicam
adolescens,7 non deseram senex: contemps Catilinae gladios,
non pertimescam tuos. Quin etiam corpus liberent obtule-

10. Monumentis] A circus, forum, amphiatheatre, temple of Venus Ge-
he designed to do, vid. Suet. Jul. 44.

11. Congiariis] (From 'Congus,' a liquid measure, containing six sext-
tarius or pints,) signified gifts made by generals to the people, usually of
wine, oil, &c., but sometimes of money. Suet. Aug. 41. Their gifts
to the soldiers were called donatives.
So Suet. Ner. 7, 'Populo congiarium, militi donativum proposuit;' but this
distinction is not always observed. Vid. Att. xvi. 8, where Antony's
gift to the Macedonian legions is
called a congriay.

and, particularly, Suet. The first
states the number of triclinia at 2200.
Pliny mentions the case of Hirtius
lending Caesar 6000 lampries for the
occasion. The other accounts of
these feasts are equally surprising.

n. 4.

2. Occasionis] Fest. 'opportunitas
temporis, casu quodam proveien-
tis.'

3. Aliquando] On the principle of
'better late than never.'

4. Non quibus vivas] Sex. Clodius,
Mustela, Saxa, &c.

5. Mecum] Sc. 'redi in gratiam.'
Terent. Hecyr. v. 1. 'Nostra utere
amicitia ut voles.'

'But do you see to yourself: I have
given you fair warning. As for me;
my declaration, as touching myself,
shall be.'

7. Adolescens] The early services
of Cic. in the Marsic war, Plut. Cic.
3, are not here alluded to, but, as ex-
plained by himself in the following
rim, si repraesentari\textsuperscript{8} morte mea libertas civitatis potest; ut aliquando\textsuperscript{9} dolor populi Romani pariat, quod jamdiu partu-
rit! Etenim si ablinc annos prope viginti hoc ipso in tem-
plo negavi posse\textsuperscript{10} mortem immaturam esse consulari; quanto
verius nunc negabo seni! Mihi vero,\textsuperscript{11} Patres conscripti, jam
etiam optanda mors est, perfuncto rebus\textsuperscript{12} iis, quas adeptus
sum,\textsuperscript{13} quasque gessi. Duo modo hæc opto:\textsuperscript{14} unum, ut
moriens populum Romanum liberum relinquam; hoc mihi
majus ab diis immortalibus dari nihil potest: alteram, ut ita
cuique eveniat, ut de republica quisque mereatur.

\begin{enumerate}
\item[8.] Repraesentari\textsuperscript{] Properly ‘to place
again before the view,’ here to be im-
mediately restored; a meaning which
it seems to take from pecuniary trans-
actions, wherein it was used to signify
‘prompt payment.’ Vid. Gronov. de
Sest. i. 6.
\item[9.] Ut aliquando\textsuperscript{] He considers the
people to have conceived and to be
long in labour of a riddance of Anto-
ny; which he thinks would be facili-
tated by Antony’s having recourse to
violence against himself, which he
would not oppose, as it would give the
people an opportunity to avenge his
dehth.
\item[10.] Negavi posse\textsuperscript{] Cat. iv. 2. ‘Ne-
que enim turpis mors forti viro potest
accidere, neque immatura consulari,
nece misera sapienti.’ This speech
also was made in the temple of Con-
cord.
\item[11.] Mihi vero\textsuperscript{] Phil. i. 15. ‘Mihi
vero satis est quod vixi, &c.’
\item[12.] Rebus\textsuperscript{] This word here applies
both to the offices which he enjoyed
and the exploits which he performed;
‘adeptus’ referring to the former, and
‘gessi’ to the latter. We take the
word ‘things,’ or ‘matters,’ in the
same loose acceptance.
\item[13.] Quas adeptus sum\textsuperscript{] ‘Quæstura,
aedilitas, prætura, consulatus, pro-
consulatus Ciliciae, auguratus, sup-
plicationes, nomen imperatoris, &c.’
Abram.
\item[14.] Duo—opto\textsuperscript{] Similarly, Dem.
de Cor. 101. \textit{Ei δ’ ἄρα ἔχοντιν οὔτως ἀνάφας, τοῦτος μὲν αὐτοῦ καθ’
ιαυτὸς, ἐξώλεις καὶ προώλεις ἐν γῇ}

\textit{kai θαλάτη ποιῆσαι: ἡμῖν ὅ τεις
λοιπὸς τὸν ταχιστὸν ἀπαλλαγὸν}

\textit{τῶν ἐπηρεημένων φόβων ἔστε, καὶ
swvthriavn afofalh.}
M. TULLII CICERONIS

IN

MARCUM ANTONIUM,

NONA*

ORATIO.

I. VELLEM, dii immortales fecissent, Patres conscripti, ut vivo potius Ser. Sulpicio gratias ageremus,quam honores mortuo quæreremus. Nec vero dubito, quin, si ille vir legationem renuntiaret potuisset, reditus ejus et nobis gratus fuerit, et reipublicæ salutaris futurus; non quo L. Philippo et L. Pisoni aut studium aut cura defuerit in tanto officio tantoque munere; sed quam Ser. Sulpicius ætate illos anteiret, sapientia omnes, subito ereptus e causa, totam legationem orbam et debilitatam reliquit. Quod si cuquam justus honos habitus est in morte legato, in nullo justior, quam in Ser. Sulpicio, reperietur. Ceteri, qui in legatione mortem obierunt, ad incertum vitae periculum sine ullo mor-

* Introd. 11.
Sect. I.—1. Gratias ageremus[ Mil. 35. n. 18.
3. L. Philippo] The step-father of Augustus, consul A. v. 697. Err. contends that the son of that Philip is meant; and this might be more readily conceded, if Cic. did not say, (Phil. viii. 10,) ' nec vos ut legati apud eum fuistis, nec ut consularès; ' whereas it does not appear that the son had ever been consul. The Philippi were of the ' gens Marcia.'
4. L. Pisoni] Phil. i. 4. 6.
5. E causa] Among the various meanings of this word is that of 'business, commission, &c.' Thus, Ver. v. 73. ' Halesinus Æneas, cui sensatus dederat publice causam ut mihi fratricque meo gratias ageret.'

P P
tis metu profecti sunt: Ser. Sulpicius cum aliqua perveniendi ad M. Antonium 6 spe profectus est, nulla revertendi. Qui quum ita affectus esset, ut, si ad gravem valetudinem labor 7 accessisset, sibi ipse diffideret; non recusavit, quo minus vel extremo spiritu, si quam opem reipublicae ferre posset, experiretur. Itaque non illum vis hiemis, non nives, non longitudo itineris, non asperitas viarum, non morbus ingrevescent retardavit; quumque jam ad congressum colloquiumque ejus pervenisset, ad quem erat missus, in ipsa cura et meditatione obeundi sui muneris excessit e vita. Ut igitur alia, sic hoc, C. Pansa, praclare, quod nos ad honorandum Ser. Sulpicius cohortatus es, et ipsse multa copiose de illius laude dixisti. Quibus a te dictis, nihil praeter sententiam dicerem, nisi P. Servilio respondendum putarem, qui hunc honorem statuae nemini tribuendum censuit, nisi ei, qui ferro esset in legatione interfactus. Ego autem, Patres conscripti, sic interpretor sensisse majores nostros, ut causam mortis censuerint, non genus esse quaerendum. Etenim cui legatio ipsa morti fuisset, ejus monumentum exstare voluerunt, ut in bellis periculosus obirent homines legationis munus audaci. Non igitur exempla majorum quaerenda, sed consilium eorum, a quo ipsa exempla nata sunt, explicandum.

II. Lar Tolumnius, 1 rex Veientium, quattuor legatos populi Romani Fidenis interemit; quorum statute steterunt usque ad meam memoriam in Rostris. Justus honos. 2 nam enim majores nostri, qui ob rempublicam mortem obierant, pro brevi vita diuturnam memoriae reddiderunt. Cu Octavii, 3 clari viri et magni, qui primus in eam familiam, quae postea viris fortissimis floruit, attulit consulatum, statuam videmus in Rostris. Nemo tum novitati invidebat; nemo virtutem non honorabat. At ea fuit legatio Octavii, in qua

6. Ad M. Anton.] Introd. 11. He was now at Mutina, the modern Mo
dena, lying between the Appenines and the Po.
7. Labor] Al. labor vix.
8. Ut alia] Sc. ' fecisti,' sic hoc, &c.
10. Sic interpretor] 'I understand the opinion of our ancestors to have been this, that they decided, &c.'

Sect. II.—1. Tolumnius] Liv. iv. 17. Fidenae was a Roman colony which had revolted to Tolumnius.— The Fidenates, by his order, slew the ambassadors sent from Rome. Their names are given below. 'Lar' means 'dominus, princeps.' It was common to the Etrurian kings, as Belus in the east.
2. Cn. Octavii] The 'Octavia gens' was distinguished into two fa-
periculi suspicio non subset. Nam, quem esset missus a senatu ad animos regum perspiciendos liberorumque populo, maximeque, ut nepotem Antiochi, regis ejus, qui cum majoribus nostris bellum gesserat, classes habere, elephanos alere prohiberet: Laodiceae in gymnasio a quodam Leptine est interfectus. Reditla est ei tum a majoribus statuua pro vita, quæ multos per annos progeniem ejus honestaret, nunc ad tantæ familiæ memoriam sola restaret. Atqui et huic, et Tullo Clulio, et L. Roscio, et Sp. Antio, et C. Fulcinio, qui a Veientium rege caesi sunt, non sanguis, qui est profusus in morte, sed ipsa mors ob rempublicam obita, honorì fuit.

III. Itaque, Patres conscripti, si Ser. Sulpicio casus mortem attulisset, dolorem quidem tanto reipublicae vulnere: mortem vero ejus non monumento, sed luctu publico esse honorandam putarem. Nunc autem quis dubitat, quin ei vitam abstulerit ipsa legatio? Secum enim ille mortem extulit; quam, si nobiscum remansisset, sua cura, optimi filii fidelissimæque conjugis diligentia, vitare potuisset. At ille, quem videret, si vestra auctoritatis non paruisset, dissimilem se futurum sui; si paruisset, munus sibi illud pro republica susceptum, vitæ finem fore: maluit in maximo reipublicæ discrimine emori, quam minus, quam potuiisset, videri reipublicæ profluisse. Multis illi in urbibus, iter qua faciebat, referiendi se et curandi potestas fuit. Aderat et hospitum invitatia liberalis pro dignitate summì viri, et corum hortar

milies; one of which was early advanced to the senatorian dignity, and subsequently reckoned among its sons Cn. Rufus, who was of quaestorian rank. His son was Cn. Octavius, the first consul of the family, who, being sent ambassador with two others, to settle the affairs of Syria, then disturbed by the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, and accession of his son Eupator, and confiding too much in the majesty of the Roman name, was proceeding to execute his commission by burning the fleets and maiming the elephants, when he met the fate stated by Cic. Lysia, the guardian of the young prince, was the supposed instigator of Leptines. Pliny (xxxiv. 3.) contrary to the express words of Cic. Phil. viii. 8) attributes to this Cn. the resolute act of C. Popilius Laenas; who enclosed Antiochus in a circle drawn by his rod, and insisted on an answer before he crossed it. Of course, the Delph. follows Pliny.

3. Laodiceae] A city of Phrygia Major, on the river Lycus. It was named from Laodice, the wife of Antiochus, its previous name being Diospolis. It was there Dolabella slew himself.

4. Leptines] Nothing is known of him. Observe that the penult is short.


IV. Quod si excusationem Ser. Sulpiciii, Patres conscripti, legationis obeundæ recordari volueritis, nulla dubitatio relinquetur, quin honore mortui, quam vivo injuriam fœcimus, sarciamus. Vos enim, Patres conscripti, (græve dictu est, sed dicendum tamen,) vos inquam, Ser. Sulpicum vita privastis: quem quum videretis re magis morbum, quam oratione, excusantem, non vos quidem cruideles fuistis: (quid enim minus in hunc ordinem convenit?) sed quum speraretis nihil esse, quod non illius auctoritate et sapientia effici posset, vehementius excusationi obstitistis; atque eum, qui semper vestrum consensum gravissimum judicavisset, de sententia dejecistis. Ut vero Pansa consulis accessit cohortatio gravior, quam aures Ser. Sulpicii ferre didicissent, tum vero de-nique filium meque seduxit, atque ita locutus est, ut auctoritatem vestram vitae suæ se diceret anteferre. Cujus nos virtutem admirati, non ausi sumus adversari voluntati. Movebatur singulari pietate filius; non multum ejus perturbationi meus dolor concedebat; sed uterque nostrum cedere cogebatur magitundini animi, orationisque gravitati; quum quidem ille, maxima laude et gratulatione omnium vestrum, pollicitus est, se, quod velletis, esse facturum, neque ejus

2. Properans, festinans] Non., v. 81, makes 'propero', 'festino,' refer to the mind; 'festino,' to the body; but Fest., 'propero' to the speedy execution of some one thing; 'festino,' to the abortive attempt to perform several things at once. But neither distinction is always observed. Forcel.
sententiae periculum vitaturum, cujus ipse auctor fuisset; quem exsequi mandata vestra properantem mane postridie prosecuti sumus. Qui quidem discedens mecum ita locutus est, ut ejus oratio omen fatis videretur.


2. A legibus ab jure civili] i. e. From these words are contrasted as here, 'jus' is strict right; 'justitia,' equity; as he explains the latter Partit. 22, 'in moderatione animad-vertendi lenitas.'

3. Facilitatem This, according to Cicerō's manner, is explained by 'æquitatem' following.

4. Habet illa majora Al. alia majora.
filium; cujus luctus aut hoc honore vestro, aut nullo solatio levari potest.


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\(1\) L. Sulla\]
\(2\) Insolentiam\]
\(3\) P. Servilii\]
\(4\) Sin id tribuit\]
\(5\) Illi—hunc\]
VII. Quas ob res ita censeo: Quum Ser. Sulpicius, Q. F. Lemonia, Rufus, difficillimo reipublicae tempore, gravi periculo somo morbo affectus, auctoriatem senatus salutemque reipublicae vitae sua pro posuerit, contraque vim gravitatemque morbi contenderit, ut in castra Antonii, quo senatus eum miserat, perveniret; isque, quum jam prope castra venisset, vi morbi oppressus, vitam miserit in maximo reipublicae munere; ejusque moris consentanea vita fuerit sanctissime honestissimeque actae, in qua sœpe magno usu reipublicae Ser. Sulpicius et privatus, et in magistratibus, fuerit; quum talis vir ob rempublicam in legatione mortem obierit: Senatui placere, Ser. Sulpicio statuum pedestriæ in Rostris ex hujus ordinis sententia statui, circumque eam statuam locum ludis gladiatoribusque, liberos posterosque eujus quo quo versus pedes quinque habere, quod is ob rempublicam mortem obierit ea quæ causam in basi inscribi; utique C. Pansa, A. Hirtius, consules, alter, anibove, si eis videatur, que storibus urbis imperent, ut eam basim statuamque faciendam et in Rostris statuendum locent; quantique locaverint, tantam pecuniam redemptori attribuebant solvendumque current; quumque ante auctoritatem suam in virorum fortium funeribus ornamentisque ostenderit, placere, eum quœ amplissime supremo suo die efferri. Et quum Ser. Sulpicius, Q. F. Lemonia, Rufus ita de republica meritos sit, ut æs ornamentis decorari debat: Senatum censere atque e republica existimare, ædiles curules edictum, quod de funeribus habeant, Ser. Sulpicii, Q. F. Lemonia, Rufus, funere remittere; utique locum sepulchro in campo Esquilino C. Pansa consule, seu quo alio in loco videbitur, pedes triginta quo quo versus assignet, 5 quo
Ser. Sulpicius inferatur; quod sepulchrum ipsius, liberorum posteriorumque ejus esset, uti quod optimo jure publice sepulchrum datum esset.

6. Utiquod quod Sc. utpote. 'As being the public expense, and by the best a sepulchre which has been given at right.'