CICERO

J. R. KING
THE PHILIPPIC ORATIONS OF M. TULLIUS CICERO

WITH ENGLISH NOTES

BY THE

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HAVING been asked by the Delegates of the Clarendon Press to undertake the editing of a portion of Cicero's orations, I was induced to choose the series delivered against Antony, partly from finding that as a matter of fact they had come to be more read by Students in this University than any other portion of his works; but even more because I was convinced of their especial value, both as bringing out most strongly Cicero's power as an orator, and his importance in the State at what was perhaps really the most honourable portion of his life, and also as illustrating a period of history concerning which we have so little contemporary information. From these considerations I had for some years past selected them as a subject for lectures with my own pupils; my experience in which both laid the foundation of the present work and convinced me that some new commentary was required. Indeed the Philippic orations of Cicero appeared of late years to have sunk into an obscurity which contrasts strongly with the high esteem in which they were held by ancient writers, and the attention which was paid to them by early commentators. For more than forty years no separate edition of them, with explanatory notes, had been published either in England or on the continent; and the only English commentary on the whole series which had appeared was that of Mr. Long, which embraces all the orations of Cicero. The first and second orations have been carefully edited, with short German notes, by Karl Halm, the colleague of J. G. Baiter in completing the second edition of Orelli's text of the whole works of Cicero; and Halm's notes on the second oration have been translated and expanded, with his usual exhaustive carefulness, by Mr. J. E. B. Mayor. From the notes in Halm's edition I have derived much assistance, and to Mr. Mayor's additional notes I have been occasionally indebted for useful information.

The only other edition which has helped me much in the explanation of the orations is that of Wernsdorf, which, though ill-arranged and deficient in accuracy, is yet valuable as containing the notes of many of the earlier commentators; the most important being those of Abrami
on the first two orations, of Manutius, and of Garatonius. The last of these do not appear to be preserved in any other form.

I must gratefully acknowledge the assistance which I received from the late Professor Conington, who looked over the sheets of my first edition as they passed through the press, and improved it by many valuable suggestions; and also from the Rev. A. Watson, of Brasenose College, who most kindly placed at my disposal his own notes on the orations. These have been especially useful in illustrating the historical allusions.

In preparing the present edition Mr. Watson's notes on the Letters of Cicero have also been of great assistance to me. I have further to acknowledge kind help from the Rev. G. G. Bradley, Master of University College, and the Rev. W. Lock, Fellow of Magdalen College.

The text is mainly taken from that of Halm, in the second edition of Orelli's text. The deviations from it are mostly in the direction of a return to the authority of the Vatican MS., and are noted where they occur; with the exception of a few variations from his orthography, either for the sake of uniformity, or in deference to the wishes of the Delegates of the Press, that unusual modes of spelling should, so far as possible, be avoided.

Besides the more usual historical and critical authorities, I have gained considerable assistance from Mr. Forsyth's Life of Cicero; from the recent excellent edition of the text of Cicero's works, by Baiter and Kayser; and from various articles by Madvig, both as collected in his Opuscula, and as scattered through the various German classical periodicals. From these I have also gained some useful hints by other scholars. The Chronological Table of Cicero's life is founded on that of Schütz and Uster in Orelli's Onomasticon Tullianum. The grammars of Madvig, Zumpt, and Donaldson I have quoted simply by their authors' names.

Great pains have been taken to secure accuracy of reference. Every quotation has been verified, and the passages for the most part quoted at length, so far as they bear upon the point at issue. The references to Cicero have been given both to the chapters and the smaller sections, but it should be noted that the smaller sections, except in the letters, are a collateral, not a subordinate division, to the larger chapters.

A list of the chief MSS. of these orations, and of the editions and commentaries to which I have referred, is appended.

MSS.

Of these the Vatican (commonly quoted as V) is the most important. It is preserved in the archives of the Basilica of St. Peter at Rome,
and is commonly referred to the eighth or ninth century. It was first
collated by Gabriel Faerni in 1561, subsequently by Muretus and
Garatonius, and more recently a special collation was made for Halm's
large edition.

Four MSS., commonly quoted collectively as D, individually as a b g t,
hold the next place. They are of different dates, a and b belonging to
the thirteenth, t to the eleventh century; but they are all manifestly
derived from the same older MS., while their discrepancies show them
to be independent copies: b and t are the most carefully written of the
four. They are preserved at Bamberg, Berne, Wolfenbüttel, and
Tegernsee respectively.

An Italian MS. of the fifteenth century, now in a private library
in Ireland, has been used by Halm in parts where either the Vatican
or the other MSS. have failed. It is quoted by him as i.

For the fourteenth oration he also consulted an old Italian MS.,
quoted as v in the Vatican library; but it is apparently of very
inferior authority.

Editions quoted.

(The editions and commentaries marked * are quoted from Wernsdorff's edition of the Philippic orations.)

Halis Saxonum. 1774–1777.
M. Tullii Ciceronis opera quae supersunt omnia, edidit Io. Casp.
Orellius. Turici. 1831–1838.
M. Tullii Ciceronis opera omnia, editio auctior et emendator. Opus
morte Orellii interruptum continuaverunt J. G. Baiterus et Car.
Halmius. Turici. 1845–1862. This may be said to be as
great an improvement on the former edition as that was on all
which had preceded it.
M. Tullii Ciceronis opera supersunt omnia, ediderunt J. G. Baiter,
C. L. Kayser. Lipsiae. 1860–1869. A very convenient, accu-
rate, and at the same time cheap edition of Cicero's complete
works, issued from the press of Bernhard Tauchnitz.
* Ciceronis Orationes. Venetiis. 1519. This was the work of Andr.
Naugerius: and is stated by Orelli to be the foundation of all
subsequent editions.

M. Tullii Ciceronis Orationes, with a commentary by George Long.
London, 1851–1858.

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PREFACE.

* Ciceronis Philippicae Orationes, a Caelio Secundo Curione emendatae et illustratae. Basiliae. 1551.
* Ciceronis Philippicae Orationes, a M. Antonio Mureto emendatae et illustratae. Parisiis. 1562.
* Ciceronis Orations Philippicae, etc., ex antiquissimo libro a Gabriele Faerno illustratae. Romeae. 1563.
M. T. Ciceronis Oratio Philippica II., emendata et in usum scholarum edita ab Carolo Henr. Frotschero. Lipsiae. 1833.
Cicero’s Second Philippic, with an introduction and notes, translated from the German of Karl Halm. Edited, with corrections and additions, by John E. B. Mayor, M.A. Cambridge and London. 1861.

COMMENTARIES QUOTED.
* Ferrarii, Hieron., ad Paulum Manutium emendationes in Philippicas Ciceronis. Venetiis. 1542.
* Gaspar Garatonius, a native of Ravenna, began to publish a complete edition of Cicero’s works at Naples in 1777, but being prevented from completing it, he sent his notes on the Philippic orations to Wernsdorf, who incorporated them in his edition.
Madvig, Io. Nicol. See above, p. vi.
* Ursini, Fulvii, in omnia opera Ciceronis notae. Antverpiae. 1581.

Oxford, April, 1878.
## CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

### OF THE

### LIFE OF CICERO.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Life of Cicero</th>
<th>B.C.</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 106</td>
<td></td>
<td>Coss. C. Atilius Serranus, Q. Servilius Caepio. M. Tullius Cicero, son of M. Tullius Cicero by Helvia, was born at Arpinum, on the 3rd of January, in the last year of the war with Jugurtha; which was also marked by the birth of Cn. Pompeius Magnus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 104</td>
<td></td>
<td>Coss. C. Marius II., C. Flavius Fimbria. Marius celebrated his triumph over Jugurtha on the 1st of January; and shortly afterwards war was declared against the Cimbri and Teutones. The 'Lex Domitia de sacerdotiis' was passed, transferring the election of priests from their respective colleges to the people.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 103</td>
<td></td>
<td>Coss. C. Marius III., L. Aurelius Orestes. Q. Cicero, the brother of the orator, was probably born in this year.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 102</td>
<td></td>
<td>Coss. C. Marius IV., Q. Lutatius Catulus. Marius utterly defeated the Teutones at Aquae Sextiae. M. Antonius the orator gained a triumph over the Cilician pirates. Archias, the instructor of Cicero, came to Rome.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 100</td>
<td></td>
<td>Coss. C. Marius VI., L. Valerius Flaccus. L. Apuleius Saturninus and C. Servilius Glacia, tribunes of the commons, were put to death in a seditious riot which they had excited against the aristocracy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 99</td>
<td></td>
<td>Coss. M. Antonius (the orator), A. Postumius Albinus. The Servile war in Sicily was brought to an end by M'. Aquilius.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 98</td>
<td></td>
<td>Coss. Q. Caecilius Metellus Nepos, T. Didius. The 'Lex Caecilia et Didia' was passed, requiring the promulgation of all laws for three 'nundinae' before they could be</td>
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<tr>
<td>Life of Cicero</td>
<td>B.C.</td>
<td>Event</td>
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<td>passed (Phil. 5. 3, 8), and forbidding laws on different subjects to be tacked together.</td>
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<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>Coss. L. Licinius Crassus, Q. Mucius Scaevola. The 'Lex Licinia Mucia,' attaching severe penalties to the unauthorized assumption of citizenship, proved one of the chief exciting causes of the Social war.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Birth of Lucretius.</td>
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<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>Coss. C. Valerius Flaccus, M. Herennius.</td>
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<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>Coss. C. Claudius Pulcher, M. Perperna.</td>
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<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>Coss. L. Marcius Philippus, Sex. Iulius Caesar. Cicero assumed the 'toga virilis,' and Schütz refers to this year his boyish poems of Pontius Glaucus, and Marius.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>Coss. L. Iulius Caesar, P. Rutilius Lupus. About this time Cicero translated the Phaenomena and Prognostica of Aratus.</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The Marsic or Social war broke out in consequence of the civic disabilities and wrongs of the allies. A 'Lex Iulia' conferred the franchise on all the Italians who did not join in the outbreak.</td>
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<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>Coss. Cn. Pompeius Strabo, L. Porcius Cato. Cicero served his first and only campaign under Pompey (Phil. 12. 11, 27).</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The Marsic war was prosecuted with success by Pompey and Sulla, and the outbreak virtually quelled.</td>
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<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>Coss. L. Cornelius Sulla, Q. Pompeius Rufus. Cicero began the study of philosophy under Phaedrus the Epicurean, and afterwards under Philo the Academic. Having been a pupil of Q. Mucius Scaevola the augur, in the study of civil law, on his death, probably in this year, he transferred himself to his cousin, Q. Mucius Scaevola the pontifex maximus.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The Marsic war was brought to an end by Pompey. War was declared against Mithridates, and disputes about</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
the command in it gave rise to the civil war between Marius and Sulla. Marius was driven from Rome.

P. Sulpicius Rufus passed a law for equalizing the old and new citizens, which Sulla declared null, as being passed by violence (Phil. 8. 2, 7). Sulla himself passed laws confirming the legislative powers of the senate, and placing the elections more exclusively in the hands of the wealthier citizens.

Birth of Catullus.

Coss. L. Cornelius Cinna II., C. Marius VII. Cicero wrote his books de Rhetorica, of which the two of Inventione are extant, about this time.

Marius died on the 13th of January, and was succeeded in the consulship by L. Valerius Flaccus. Cinna was left in undisputed supremacy at Rome.

Birth of Sallust.


Cicero, now a pupil of Diodotus the Stoic, began the practice of public declamations, and translated various dialogues of Plato and the Oeconomicus of Xenophon.

Peace was concluded with Mithridates: and Cinna was slain in a mutiny of his soldiers at Ancona.

Coss. L. Cornelius Scipio Asiaticus, C. Norbanus. Sulla returned to Italy, and having defeated Norbanus, who fell in the battle, made terms with Scipio (Phil. 12. 11, 27).

Coss. C. Marius, Cn. Papirius Carbo III. Sulla finally defeated the Marian party in Italy, both Consuls were killed, and Sulla was appointed perpetual dictator.

Birth of Terence.


| Life of Cicero | B.C. | \( \text{Coss. P. Servilius Vatia, App. Claudius Pulcher.} \) | \( \text{Cicero spoke} \quad \text{pro muliere Arretina} \)\(^1\), and shortly afterwards went to Athens, where he studied under Antiochus of Ascalon, the Academic, and Phaedrus and Zeno the Stoics. Sulla resigned the dictatorship. |
| 28 79 | \( \text{Coss. M. Aemilius Lepidus, Q. Lutatius Catulus.} \) | \( \text{Cicero took lessons in rhetoric at Athens from Demetrius the Syrian. Later in the year he travelled in Asia Minor, gaining instruction from all the leading professors of rhetoric.} \) |
| 29 78 | \( \text{Coss. D. Iunius Brutus, Mam. Aemilius Lepidus Livianus.} \) Cicero returned to Rome and married Terentia. | \( \text{Cn. Pompeius was sent to take the command in Spain against Q. Sertorius.} \) |
| 30 77 | \( \text{Coss. Cn. Octavius, C. Scribonius Curio.} \) Cicero, among other causes, pleased \( \text{pro Q. Roscio Comoedo.} \) He was elected quaestor. |
| 31 76 | \( \text{Coss. L. Octavius, C. Aurelius Cotta.} \) Cicero was quaestor in Sicily under the pro-praetor Sex. Pedeucaeus, and delivered a speech \( \text{pro Siculis adolescentibus.} \) P. Servilius Vatia gained the agnomen of Isauricus for his victories over the pirates. |
| 32 75 | \( \text{Coss. L. Licinius Lucullus, M. Aurelius Cotta.} \) Cicero returned to Rome and spoke \( \text{pro S. mandro.} \) War was renewed with Mithridates under L. Lucullus. |
| 33 74 | \( \text{Coss. M. Terentius Varro Lucullus, C. Cassius Vuris.} \) The war with the gladiators under Spartacus broke out. |
| 34 73 | \( \text{Coss. L. Gellius Poplicola, Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Clodianus.} \) Sertorius was murdered, and the war in Spain concluded. |
| 35 72 | \( \text{Coss. Cn. Aufidius Orestes, P. Cornelius Lentulus Sura.} \) Cicero spoke \( \text{pro M. Titlio, and probably} \quad \text{pro L. Voren and} \quad \text{pro C. Mutilo.} \) Spartacus was defeated and slain by M. Licinius Crassus, and Cn. Pompeius celebrated a triumph for his victories in Spain. |
| 36 71 | | \( ^1 \) Of Orations marked thus \( ^* \) little or nothing remains.
Coss. Cn. Pompeius Magnus, M. Licinius Crassus. The Sicilians having indicted C. Verres for extortion and malversation in his province, Cicero on their behalf delivered the Divinatio in Q. Caecilium, and the Actio Prima in C. Verrem. The Actio Secunda was never delivered. He was elected curule aedile.

L. Aurelius Cotta passed a law, giving the 'iudicium' to the senate, equites, and tribuni aerarii, in equal portions. Cn. Pompeius restored the power of the tribunes of the commons.

Birth of Virgil.

Coss. Q. Hortensius, Q. Caecilius Metellus Creticus. As aedile Cicero exhibited three sets of games. He delivered the speeches pro M. Fonteio, and pro A. Caecina.

Coss. L. Caecilius Metellus, Q. Marcius Rex. In this year begin Cicero's letters to Atticus. His cousin and constant travelling companion, L. Cicero, died.

Coss. C. Calpurnius Piso, M. Acilius Glabrio. Cicero spoke pro P. Oppio. He betrothed his daughter to C. Piso Frugi. He was elected praetor at the head of the poll.

The 'Lex Gabinia' gave the command in the war against the pirates to Cn. Pompeius. A law of L. Roscius Otho assigned the seats in the theatre immediately behind the senators to the equites.

The 'Lex Acilia Calpurnia' was passed against bribery and treating at elections.

Coss. M'. Aemilius Lepidus, L. Volciatus Tullus. Cicero, as praetor urbanus, presided with marked integrity in the criminal courts. He delivered his speech de imperio Cn. Pompeii, in behalf of the law of C. Manilius for giving the command of the Mithridatic war to Cn. Pompeius; and spoke pro A. Cluentio and pro C. Fundanio.

Cn. Pompeius assumed the command against Mithridates, and made a treaty with Tigranes.

Coss. L. Aurelius Cotta, L. Manlius Torquatus. Cicero spoke pro C. Manilio and pro L. Cornelio Censor, and began his canvass for the consulship.

L. Catiline formed his first conspiracy to murder the Consuls.

Birth of Horace.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Life of Cicero</th>
<th>b.c.</th>
<th>CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE Life of Cicero</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>Coss. L. IULIUS CAESAR, C. MARCIUS FIGULUS. Cicero delivered his speech, * in t^ga candida, against the coalition of Catiline and C. Antonio. His son Marcus was born, and his daughter married to C. Piso. He was elected Consul by all the centuries.</td>
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<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>Coss. M. TULLIUS CICERO, C. ANTONIUS. Cicero delivered his orations de lege agraria contra P. Servilium Repasse one in the senatus and two before the people; * pro L. Rosciu Othon; pro C. Rabirio Postumo; * de proscriptione; maintaining the law of Sulla, whereby the sons of those who fell in his proscription were excluded from public offices; pro C. Pisone; * cum provinciam deponeret in Catilinam; and pro Murena. The great event of his consulship was crushing the second conspiracy of Catiline. Mithridates died, and the war in the East was brought to a close. Birth of Augustus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>Coss. D. IUNIUS SILANUS, L. LICINIUS MURENA. Cicero, having refused a province, remained at Rome, and delivered the speeches. * contra contionem Q. Metelli, and pro P. Cornelio Sulla. Catiline was defeated and slain: Cn. Pompeius returned to Italy. P. Clodius violated the mysteries of the Bona Dea.</td>
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<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>Coss. L. AFRAELIUS, Q. CAECILIUS METELLUS CELE. Cicero wrote a commentary in Greek, * περι τῆς ιπατειας, and the poem de rebus in consulatu gessis, of which about eighty lines remain. He spoke * pro P. Scipione Nasica. Caesar, Pompey, and Crassus formed the coalition commonly called the first triumvirate.</td>
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<td>48</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>Coss. C. IULIUS CAESAR, M. CALPURNIUS BIBULUS. Cicero spoke * pro C. Antonio; * pro A. Minucio Thermo (twice); and pro L. Valerio Blace. He refused the overtures of Caesar, who offered him first a place at the board of twenty for dividing lands in Campania, and then an embassy to Egypt. He began his letters to his brother Quintus, with an excellent essay on the duties of a provincial governor.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Life of Cicero</td>
<td>b.c.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Caesar</strong> received the command in both Gauls for five years; and P. Clodius was elected tribune of the commons, having been adopted into a plebeian family through the influence of Caesar.</td>
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<td><strong>Birth of Livy.</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Coss.</strong> L. CALPURNIUS PISO CAESONINUS, A. GABINIUS. Cicero was exiled in consequence of a law of P. Clodius, imposing exile on any person who had killed a Roman citizen uncondemned. His house and villas at Tusculum and Formiae were destroyed; and he himself went abroad to Thessalonica, but returned in November as far as Dyr-rhachium.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Coss.</strong> P. CORNELIUS LENTULUS SPINTHER, Q. CAECILIUS METELLUS NEPOS. Cicero was recalled from exile in August, and in September delivered the speeches Post Reditum in Senatu and ad Quirites, and pro domo sua.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Coss.</strong> CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS MARCELLINUS, L. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS. Cicero delivered the speeches <em>pro L. Calpurnio Pisone Bestia, pro P. Sestio, in P. Vatinium interrogatio; de haruspicium responsis; pro L. Cornelio Balbo; de provinciis consularibus; pro M. Caelio.</em> He married his daughter Tullia for the second time, to Furius Crassipes.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Coss.</strong> CN. POMPEIUS MAGNUS II., M. LICINIUS CRASSUS II. Cicero spoke in Pisonem; *in A. Gabinium; pro Cn. Planco; *pro Caninio Gallo; and wrote his treatise de Oratore.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Coss.</strong> CN. DOMITIUS AHENOBARBUS, APP. CLAUDIUS PULCHER. Cicero spoke *pro C. Rabirio Postumo; *pro P. Vatinio; pro M. Aemilio Scouro; *pro M. Crassus, in senatu; pro C. Messio; *pro Druso; and *de Reainorum causa. He was also engaged in writing his treatise de República.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Coss.</strong> CN. DOLEIATUS CALVINUS, M. VALERIUS MESSALA. Cicero was elected augur, on the death of Crassus in a battle against the Parthians.</td>
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| **Coss.** CN. POMPEIUS MAGNUS III., Q. CAECILIUS METELLUS PIUS SCIPIO, from the 1st of August. Cicero defended Milo on the charge of killing P. Clodius, and afterwards wrote the extant speech pro Milone. He also spoke *pro M. Saeufio
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Life of Cicero</th>
<th>B.C.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>Cicero was appointed proconsul in Cilicia.</td>
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<td>57</td>
<td>A supplication was decreed in honour of Cicero, for his conduct in his province. He came as far as Brundisium on his return to Rome. Tullia married her third husband, P. Cornelius Dolabeila.</td>
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<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>Cicero returned to Rome, where he found civil war on the point of breaking out between Caesar and Pompey. When Caesar crossed the Rubicon, Cicero, despairing of peace, retired first into Campania, and about the beginning of June to Greece. Caesar was made dictator.</td>
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<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>Caesar crossed into Greece, and defeated Pompey at the battle of Pharsalus, Aug. 9. Cicero returned to Italy after the battle. Pompey was murdered before Alexandria. Caesar went to Egypt, and commenced the Alexandrine war.</td>
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<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>Cicero remained at Brundisium till September, when he was reconciled to Caesar, and came to Tusculum, and ultimately to Rome. Caesar, as dictator, finished the Alexandrine war; and having returned to Italy in September, crossed again to Africa at the end of the year, to carry on the war against the Pompeian party.</td>
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| 61   | Cicero wrote the *Partitiones Oratoriae*, *Laus Cesonis*, and *Orator*; and at the close of the year delivered the speeches pro M. Marcello and pro Q. Ligario. About the same time he divorced his wife Terentia. Caesar finally defeated the Pompeian army in Africa at Thapsus. M. Cato killed himself at Utica. Returning to Rome Caesar occupied himself in correcting abuses in...
the state, and in reforming the calendar. At the end of
the year he went to Spain.

Coss. C. IULIUS CAESAR IV., without a colleague till
October, then Q. FABRUS MAXIMUS, C. TREDONIUS. Cicero
married Publilia, whom he divorced the same year. Tullia
died, after giving birth to a son. Cicero wrote his treatises
de Consolatione, de Finibus, Academicae quaestiones, and de-
ivered the speech pro rege Deiotaro.

Caesar defeated the sons of Pompey at Munda. He was
made Consul for ten years, dictator and censor for life.

Coss. C. IULIUS CAESAR V., M. ANTONIUS. On Caesar's
death, P. CORN. DOLABELLA.

Cicero finished the Tusculan Disputations. On the 15th
of March Caesar was assassinated, and two days afterwards
Cicero delivered a speech in the senate, recommending
peace. Antony getting the upper hand, Cicero retired into
the country, where he wrote his treatises de Natura Deorum,
de Divinatione, de Fato, Laelius, Cato Maior, * de Gloria,
Topica. On the 31st of August he returned to Rome, and
on the 2nd of September delivered the first Philippic oration.
Shortly afterwards he wrote the second Philippic, and also
the treatise de Officiis. On the 20th of December, Antony
having abandoned the city in consequence of the defection
of the Fourth and Martian legions, Cicero delivered the
third and fourth Philippic orations.

Coss. C. VIEIUS PANSA, A. HIRTIUS. Cicero delivered
the remaining Philippic orations. (See the several Intro-
ductions.) After the battles before Mutina, Antony com-
bined with M. Lepidus, and subsequently they were both
invited to Rome by Octavianus, who had been elected Consul
with Q. PEDIUS. The second triumvirate was formed, a
general proscription followed, and Cicero was murdered
by order of Antony, on the 7th of December, in the grounds
of his Formian villa.
THE PHILIPPIC ORATIONS.
INTRODUCTION

TO THE FIRST ORATION.

To understand the bearing of the Philippic orations of Cicero, it is necessary shortly to review the course of events at Rome, consequent on the assassination of Julius Caesar, March 15th, 44 B.C. On the evening of the same day, finding it impossible to gain the confidence or the sympathy of the mass of the citizens, the conspirators, at the instigation of Decimus Brutus, repaired to the Capitol, where they were joined by Cicero and other nobles; while Lepidus, the Master of the Horse, occupied the Forum with an armed force, and sent an assurance of support to Antony. In the meantime the body of Caesar was carried home, and something like quiet was restored. During the ensuing night Antony opened negotiations with Lepidus, securing his support by the promise of the vacant office of pontifex maximus: while his own position was strengthened by his receiving from Calpurnia, Caesar's widow, all the dictator's private papers, and treasure to the amount of 4,000 talents.

The next day the liberators, encouraged by the avowed support of Dolabella, who claimed the consulship which Caesar's death left vacant, and to which he had been already nominated as his successor, resolved again to appeal to the people, and made M. Brutus their
spokesman. He was coldly received, and they were obliged to return to the Capitol, while Antony took the opportunity of seizing the public treasure in the temple of Ops, amounting to seven hundred millions of sesterces (somewhat more than 6,000,000/). The next day (March 17), on the invitation of the conspirators, he summoned the senate to meet in the temple of Tellus, near his own house in the Carinae. To add to his security he filled the Forum with troops, an excuse for the precaution being afforded by the violence which the mob had offered to the praetor, Cornelius Cinna, when he appeared among them in his official robes. The result of a very stormy debate was a resolution that no investigation should be made into Caesar's murder; but that all the ordinances and arrangements which he had made, 'acta Caesaris,' should be ratified. This policy was supported by Cicero, as a necessary compromise, and was acquiesced in by the liberators, though it was manifest that it left the whole power in the hands of Antony. A public funeral was further decreed to Caesar, on the motion of his father-in-law, L. Calpurnius Piso. These measures were confirmed by the people, assembled in the Forum; and the conspirators were invited to come down from the Capitol, Antony sending his own son as a hostage for their security. On the following day another meeting of the senate was held, and the distribution of the provinces, as arranged by Caesar, was again confirmed. By this assignment M. Brutus received Macedonia, and C. Cassius Syria, though they could not properly enter into possession of them till the expiration of their office of praetor. Decimus Brutus succeeded to Cisalpine Gaul, Cimber to Bithynia, and Trebonius to Asia.

The next event was the funeral of Caesar, which Antony artfully employed as a means of stirring up the fury of the people against his murderers. Entitled by his position as Consul to pronounce the funeral oration over his colleague, as the body lay in the Forum, previously to its being carried to the pyre prepared for it in the Campus Martius, he roused their feelings by recounting the honours of the dictator, which were reflected on the whole Roman people, and the violated oath whereby his murderers had sworn to defend him. Excited to frenzy by his speech, and yet more by hearing the tenour of Caesar's will, and his munificent bequests to the Roman people, the crowd refused to allow the body to be removed without the city walls, and burned it on a hastily raised pyre in the midst of the Forum itself. The excitement rapidly spread. The houses of the liberators were attacked; Helvius Cinna, an adherent of Caesar, was torn in pieces in mistake for the praetor L. Cornelius Cinna, and the tumult
TO THE FIRST ORATION.

did not cease till the people were convinced that the principal conspirators had fled, and were for the present beyond their reach.

The advantage which Antony had gained by the course of events at Caesar's funeral he further secured by the moderation of his subsequent conduct. He did not attempt to extend the amnesty to any of the political exiles, with the single exception of Sextus Clodius, a client and chief agent of the notorious Publius Clodius, whose widow Fulvia Antony had married as his third wife. He declared that no exemptions from tribute had been granted to any cities. He consented to the proposal of Sulpicius that no further 'acts' of Caesar should be ratified. His popularity culminated when he proposed that the office of dictator should be abolished for ever. In the beginning of April he did good service to the state by crushing a disturbance raised by one Herophilus, who pretended to be a grandson of Marius, and whom he put to death without a trial (1. 2, 5). Emboldened by his success, he began to make unscrupulous use of Caesar's papers, urging the pleasure of the dictator for every measure or appointment which might suit his purpose, and not hesitating to forge supposititious memoranda, when no convenient documents could be found among the genuine 'acta Caesaris.' In addition to the favour which he thus acquired, both among citizens and provinces on whom he conferred benefits, he presently added to his personal security by the usual tyrant's resource of a body-guard of 6000 soldiers, which the senate were persuaded to allow him, and he sought for popularity among the veterans by a new assignment of lands to them in Campania, whither he himself proceeded to superintend in person the execution of his measure.

Dolabella took this opportunity of thwarting the policy of Antony in the city; overthrowing all the memorials of Caesar which existed within its walls, even the altar raised in his honour in the Forum, and the marble pillar which marked the place of his tumultuous funeral. He repressed every popular demonstration of the Caesarian party, and aided the cause of the patriots in a manner that called forth the warmest eulogies from Cicero himself (Att. 14, 15, 2).

At this crisis Octavius appeared upon the scene. He had received the news of his great-uncle's murder in Epirus, where he was completing his military education in the camp at Apollonia. Urged by his mother Atia to return to Rome at once, he crossed the sea without delay, and landing near Lupiae in Calabria, he remained there till the receipt of a copy of Caesar's will emboldened him to advance to Brundisium, and present himself to the garrison in that place as C. Iulius Caesar Octavianus,
INTRODUCTION

the dictator's adopted son. He was warmly received by the veterans, and encouraged to send a formal notification of his claims to the senate and the leaders of the two parties. Following this up by a cautious advance towards Rome, at Naples he met Cicero, who gladly welcomed a new rival to Antony. About the beginning of May he entered Rome, where he had already made a favourable impression by undertaking the expense of certain shows exhibited in honour of Caesar at the festival of the Parilia, on the 21st of April. This impression he confirmed by paying assiduous court to the individual senators, and by undertaking to pay the bequests of Caesar to the people. Antony was absent from Rome, but hearing of Octavius' growing popularity, he hastened back to the city, and about the middle of the month he had an interview with Octavius, in which the latter claimed the money of the dictator which Antony had appropriated. Antony refused to refund it, on the ground that it was public treasure, when Octavius took upon himself the payment of the legacies, as well as the exhibition of shows at the dedication of the temple which Caesar had built in honour of Venus Genitrix.

Meanwhile M. Brutus and Cassius had retired from the city to Lanuvium, probably at the time of the disturbances caused by the Pseudo-Marius. Decimus Brutus, in defiance of the Consul, assumed the government of Cisalpine Gaul, and Trebonius and Cimber took possession of their respective provinces of Asia and Bithynia. In the absence of the liberator, Antony persuaded the senate to alter the distribution of the provinces, so far as to transfer Syria and Macedonia from Cassius and Brutus to Dolabella and himself. In compensation they were offered the privilege of supplying the city with corn from Sicily and Asia. This they were unwilling to accept, and made the necessity of preparing for it an excuse for lingering in Italy, till they had made one more unsuccessful attempt to conciliate popular favour by the magnificence of the 'Ludi Apollinares,' exhibited at the expense of Brutus as city praetor. The failure of this effort induced them at length to abandon hopes of remaining longer in Italy, and Cicero, feeling that the prospects of the republican party were for the present crushed, and that he himself was not wholly free from danger, determined to avail himself of a 'legatio' which Dolabella had given him, and to go to Greece till the beginning of the next year, when he hoped for more success under the administration of the new Consuls, Hirtius and Pansa. He spent a single day among his friends in Sicily, and thence set sail for Greece on the 2nd of August, but was driven back to Leucopetra, whither tidings were brought him that a change had come over the face of affairs; that the senate had
been summoned for the 1st of August; and that rumours were rife that Brutus and Cassius were likely to come to an understanding with Antony. This news changed his plans once more; he resolved to go at once to Rome, and was not even deterred by an interview with Brutus at Velia, in which he learned the defeat of the republican party in the meeting of the 1st of August from which they had hoped so much. He entered Rome on the 31st of August, and found that Antony had summoned the senate for the following day. Cicero, after some hesitation, resolved not to attend, pleading fatigue and sickness to the Consuls, while to his friends he urged the impossibility of his appearing as a witness of the honours which were to be proposed to Caesar. His real reason appears to have been an unwillingness to take the initiative in the contest between himself and Antony which was now inevitable. In his absence the Consul uttered the most violent invective against him, upbraiding him with cowardice in staying away, and even threatening the demolition of his house. He then retired to his villa at Tibur; but Dolabella summoned the senate to meet on the following day in the temple of Concord, when Cicero delivered his first Philippic oration against Antony. The tone of it is moderate, compared with that of those which follow. He seems unwilling to close every door of peace between himself and his antagonist; and though he attacks his public policy unsparingly, he abstains as yet from any personal abuse, such as is conspicuous in all the rest of these orations.
M. TULLII CICERONIS

IN

M. ANTONIUM

ORATIONUM PHILIPPICARUM LIBRI XIV.

LIBER PRIMUS.

1 ANTE quam de re publica, patres conscripti, dicam ea, quae
dicenda hoc tempore arbitror, exponam vobis breviter consilium
et profectionis et reversio mensae. Ego cum sperarem ali-
quando ad vestrum consilium auctoritatemque rem publicam esse
revocatum, manendum mihi statuebam quasi in vigilia quadam

cc. 1, 2. Before entering on the main topic
of his speech, Cicero thinks it right to explain
why he left the city, and why he returned
without accomplishing his contemplated jour-
ney to Greece. He had derived great hopes
from the amnesty which followed the dic-
tator’s death; from the moderation and
constitutional policy of Antony; and, above
all, from the abolition of the dictatorship.
These hopes were confirmed by the strong
and orderly administration, both of Antony
and Dolabella: but they were rudely dashed
to the ground by the events of the 1st of
June. Then the senate was terrified into
inaction; the populace was excited into revo-
lutionary acts; the veterans were urged to
look for booty; and Cicero, despairing of
any present sphere of usefulness, left the city
till the new year should open a prospect of
better things.

1. Patres Consulari. Livy 2. 1 tells
us that on the expulsion of the kings, in order
to fill up the number of the senate, dimin-
ished by the massacres of Tarquinius, Brutus
admitted the principal knights to the rank
of senators, under the title of ‘Conscripti’;
and that this was the origin of the double
title of the senate, ‘ut in senatum vocarentur,
qui Patres, quique conscripti essent. Con-
scriptos videlicet, in novum senatum ad-
pellabant lectos.’ The term ‘Patres Con-
scripti’ therefore is condensed for ‘Patres
et Conscripit,’ like ‘Populus Romanus
Quirites,’ ‘lis vindiciae,’ &c. It had
however so completely come to be used
as a single expression for ‘Senators,’ that
Cicero even uses the singular ‘Pater Con-
scriptus,’ of an individual senator, Phil. 13.
13, 28.

3. Reversio. Manutius gives as the
distinction between ‘reversio’ and ‘reditus,’
that the latter is used of a man who has
attained the object of his journey, and so
returns in accordance with his original plan:
the former of a man who turns back before
reaching his proposed destination. He sup-
ports this by the expression of Cicero about
this very expedition, Att. 16. 7, 5 ‘Quam
valde ille reditum, vel potius reversio nescia
laetatus!’ but as he also uses the term
‘reditus’ in reference to it, without cor-
rection, in the same Epistle, and in Phil.
2. 30, 76 ‘Exposui nuper, patres con-
scripiti, causam reditum mei,’ it seems pro-
bable that ‘reditus’ is the word of general
application, ‘reversio’ the word more pecu-
liarly appropriate to turning back pre-
maturely.
consulari ac senatoria. Nec vero usquam discedebam nec a re publica deieciebam oculos ex eo die, quo in aedem Telluris convocati sumus. In quo templo, quantum in me fuit, 485 B.C. The exact situation of it is very uncertain, but it probably lay in the valley at the foot of the western slopes of the Esquiline, and so conveniently near the house of Pompey in the Carinae, which Antony himself occupied.

4. Atheniense. On the restoration of the exiles under Thrasybulus, in 493 B.C., when a general amnesty was proclaimed, and the people swore μη μνησισκαίειν. The term ἀμνηστία, which Cicero is said to have used on this occasion, is not found in any Greek author before the time of Plutarch; the classical word being ἀδεία. Dion Cassius, 44. 23-33, professes to give the speech of Cicero in favour of the amnesty, together with that which Antony delivered over the body of Caesar.

8. Per libros. The conspirators, even after the amnesty had been proclaimed, did not venture to come down from the Capitol till Antony and Lepidus each sent a son to them, to be kept as hostages for their safety. That ‘liberos’ is a mere rhetorical inaccuracy for ‘filium’ is clear from c. 13, 31, and 2. 36, 90, from the latter of which passages we learn that Antony’s hostage was one of his sons by Fulvia, the daughter of M. Fulvius, nicknamed Bambalio. On receiving the hostages, Brutus and Cassius descended from their stronghold, and supped the same evening, Brutus with Lepidus, Cassius with Antony. Plut. Brut. 19.

11. Deferebat. ‘Defere res ad senatum’ is to make an announcement to the senate on a matter over which they have no control; whence it is used of the augurs reporting the auspices, and here of Antony reporting to the senate the purport of documents which they had already ratified: ‘referre ad senatum’ is the term used of the Consuls, bringing a question formally before the senate for their decision.

In C. Caesaris commentariis, ‘in Caesar’s papers,’ ‘commentarii’ being notes for future expansion and use; as Cicero, Brut. 75, 262, tells us that Caesar called his histories ‘Commentarii,’ because they were ‘nudi, recti et venusti, omni ornatu orationis tamquam veste detracta,’ written from the wish ‘alia habere parata, unde suementer, qui vellent scribere historiam.’

14. Unum. This was Sex. Clodius, a client of P. Clodius, and the chief agent of his lawlessness, who had been condemned and sent into exile in 52 B.C., after Milo’s trial, on the accusation of Caesennius Philo and M. Aulidius. Cicero, Att. 14. 13, 6, says he consented to his recall by Antony, though convinced that Caesar had never expressed any wish for it: ‘quae enim Cae- sar numquam neque secessit neque passus esset, ea nunc ex falsis eius commentariis proferetur.’

15. Immunitates, δράκαια, exemptions from taxation, which we find frequently granted, especially by the emperors, both
debat. Assentiri etiam nos Ser. Sulpicio, clarissimo viro, voluit, ne qua tabula post Idus Martias ullius decreti Caesaris aut beneficii figeretur. Multa praeterea eaque praeclara; ad singulae enim M. Antonii factum festinat oratio. Dictaturam, quae iam vim regiae potestatis obsederat, funditus ex re publica sustulit, de qua ne sententias quidem diximus; scriptum senatus consultum, quod fieri vellet, attulit, quo recitato auctoritatem eius sumnum studio secuti sumus eique amplissimis verbis per senatus 2 consultum gratias egimus. Lux quaedam videbatur oblatae, non 4 modo regno, quod pertuleramus, sed etiam regni timore sub- 10 lato; magnumque pignus ab eo rei publicae datum, se liberam civitatem esse velle, cum dictatoris nomen, quod saece iustum fuisset, propter perpetuae dictaturae recentem memoriam fun- 5 ditus ex re publica sustulisset. Liberatus periculo caedis paucis post diebus senatus; uncus impactus est fugitivo illi, qui in 15 Marii nomen invaserat. Atque haec omnia communiter cum collega: alia porro propria Dolabellae, quae, nisi collega afuisset,
the beginning of May, in order to super-
intend the distribution of lands to the
veterans, with which Cicero taunts him in
the second Philippic, §§ 100 foll.
2. Infinitum malum, ‘an evil of
which no one could foresee the end.’
Bustum: alluding to a column which
the lower orders of the people raised in Ca-
esar’s honour on the site of his funeral pyre,
with the inscription ‘Parenti Patriae.’ This
column Dolabella threw down during the
absence of Antony, finding that the honours
paid to it were made a pretext for tumult
and sedition. He also put the ringleaders
in the disturbances to death, crucifying
the slaves, and throwing the freemen from the
Tarpeian rock.
3. Insepultam sepulturam, ‘that
burial so little worthy of the name;’ prob-
bly with reference to the tumultuous and
irregular nature of the proceedings. The
body, contrary to the general custom at
Rome, was burnt in the very heart of the
city, in the Forum. See Legg. 2. 23, 58
‘Hominem mortuem, inquix lex in xid tabulis,
in urbe ne sepelito neve urito.’ The omy-
moron appears to be an imitation of such
Greek expressions as οὐ ψυχρὸν ἀνωμούν, παρ-
θένον τ’ ἀνακρηθένον Eur. Hec. 612. Fer-
rarius compares a line quoted by Cicero de
Orat. 3. 58, 219
‘Qua tempestate Paris Helenam innuptis
iuxta nuptias.’
9. Kalendis Iunius. Cicero tells us in
the second Philippic, 42, 108, that the senate
was too much alarmed to obey the summons
convening it for the 1st of June; and gives
a detailed account of the unconstitutional
proceedings of Antony on that day: pro-
ceedings nominally sanctioned by the peo-
pile, though in reality they were wholly devoid
of such a sanction, as the assembly consisted
only of an excited, tumultuous rabble, none
of the respectable citizens being present.
He draws the same distinction in the speech
De Domino sua, 33. 89 ‘An tu populum Ro-
manum esse putas illum, qui constat ex fis,
qui mercede conducuntur? qui impelletur
ut vim afferant magistratibus? ut obsideant
senatum? optent quotidianae caedem, incendia,
rapias?’
11. Consules designati, C. Vibius
Pansa, and Aul. Hirtius, who had been
nominated by Caesar as Consuls for the
year 43 B.C.
14. Quos tamen &c. ‘and that though
the Consuls themselves were always speaking
of them in the highest terms.’ Cp. 2. 3. 5
‘Quos tu carissimos viros soles appellare,’
and 12. 30 ‘Brutus, quem ego honoris causa
nomino.’
15. Veterani qui appellabantur:
Gaevius takes this to mean ‘the veterans to
whom Antony appealed;’ but it seems more
probable that it signifies ‘those who claimed
the name of veterans:’ the imperfect being
used rather than the present, because it is
not Cicero’s object to define the term ‘ve-
teran,’ but he is wishing to intimate either
that he thought those who had aided Caesar
against the state to be unworthy of the
name, or that many of them had not yet
gentissime caverat, non ad conservationem earum rerum, quas habeabant, sed ad spem novarum praedarum incitabantur. Quae cum audire mallem quam videre, haberemque ius legationis liberum, ea mente discissi, ut adessem Kalendis Ianuariis, quod initium senatus cogendi fore videbatur.

3 Exposui, patres conscripti, professionis consilium: nunc refer 7 versionis, quae plus admirationis habet, breviter exponam. Cum Brundisium itaque illud, quod tritum in Graeciam est, non sine causa vitavisset, Kalendis Sextilibus veni Syracusas, quod ab ea urbe transmissio in Graeciam laudabatur: quae tamen... urbs mihi conjunctissima plus una me nocte cupiens retinere served the number of campaigns which entitled them to it. Hence the reading 'appe- llabantur,' which is found in two MSS., would destroy the meaning of the passage, which would then merely be 'the veterans, as they are called.'

1. Caverat: by assigning lands to them after the expiration of their term of military service.

3. Ius legationis liberum. Cicero gives an account of this 'legatio' in one of his letters to Atticus, 15, 11, saying that Dolabella had appointed him his 'legatus,' with the special privilege, usually confined to 'liberae legationes,' of being allowed to enter and leave Rome at his will; and had extended the time within which he might avail himself of it to five years. He says that with these additions to the usual rights of a 'legatus,' this commission suits him better than a 'libera legatio,' since the time of the latter could not be extended. These 'liberae legationes' were a species of honorary commissions, granted to senators who wished to travel in the provinces, and investing them with all the privileges of 'legati.' Seeing the abuses to which they led, Cicero endeavoured, in his consulship, to abolish them, but only succeeded in limiting their duration to one year, Legg. 3, 8, 18. Further regulations, the exact nature of which is unknown, were made about them by a 'Lex Iulia.'

cc. 3, 4. Cicero had scarcely left Italy, when the fortunate accident of a storm drove him back in time to hear of the speech of Antony, and the farewell edict of Brutus and Cassius; together with the news that the senate was to meet on the 1st of August, and that Antony once more promised to obey the constitution. And although at Velia he heard from Brutus that these promises had not been fulfilled, and that L. Piso alone had dared to raise his voice in support of the authority of the senate, yet he determined still to return, and to make a solemn protest against the encroachments of Antony.

7. Plus admirationis habet, 'has more in it to excite astonishment.' Cp. Off. 2, 5, 17 'Cum hic locus nihil habeat dabitationis,' Halm attributes this sense of 'admirationem habet' to a kind of passive meaning of the substantive, as though it signified 'the capacity for being admired,' as well as 'the act of admiring:' but it seems rather to arise from a vague use of the verb 'habeo,' like the Greek ἔχω, in the sense of 'carries with it,' 'admits of,' 'necessarily associates with itself;' cp. Aristot. Eth. 1, 3, 2 ἐὰν δικαια... τοσαύτην ἔχει διαφορὰν καὶ πλάνην ἐστε δοκεῖν νόμῳ μόνον ἐνία, Thuc. 2, 61, 2 τὸ μὲν λυπῶν ἔχει ἤδη τὴν αἰθόρου ἱκάστην. 8. Non sine causa. In a letter to Atticus, 16, 4, 4, he explains this cause to be the expected arrival of certain legions, probably those from Macedonia, at Brundisium; and says that he entertains the idea of waiting to sail with Brutus. In the next letter he tells Atticus that this scheme fell through, owing to Brutus' anxiety to see how things turned out in Italy.

10. Tamen refers, not to what preceded, but to the desire of the Syracusans expressed in the same clause by the participle 'cupiens:' —'which city, in spite of its eagerness to do so, yet could not detain me more than a single night.' Halm compares Pro Sestio, 67, 140 'Hunc tamen flagrantem invidia... ipse populus Romanus periculo liberavit.' It is somewhat like the use of ὄμως in such passages as Soph. O. C. 957 ἐρήμωσα με, κὴ δικαίω ὄμως λέγω, σμικρὸν τίθησι. 11. Conjunctissima: owing to the integrity of his conduct as quaeator in the
non potuit. Veritus sum ne meus repentinus ad meas necessarios adventus suspicionis aliquid afferrerit, si essem commoratus. Cum autem me ex Sicilia ad Leucopetram, quod est promontorium agri Regini venti detulissent, ab eo loco conscendi ut transmitterem; nec ita multum provetus reiectus austro sum in cum ipsum locum, unde conscenderam. Cumque intempestas 8 nox esset mansissemque in villa P. Valerii, comitis et familiaris mei, postridie quidum eundem ventum exspectans manerem, municipes Regini complures ad me venerunt, ex iis quidam Roma recentes: a quibus primum accipio M. Antonii contionem, quae mihi ita placuit, ut ea lecta de reversione primum coeperim cogitare. Nec ita multo post edictum Bruti affertur et Cassii, quod quidem mihi, fortasse quod eos plus etiam rei publicae quam familiaritatis gratia diligo, plenum aequitatis videbatur. Addebant praeterea—fit enim plerumque ut ii, qui boni quid volunt afferre, affingant aliquid, quod faciant id quod nuntiat laetius—rem conventuram; Kalendis senatum frequentem fore; Antonium, repudiatis malis suasoribus, remissis provinciis island, and his zeal in their behalf in the prosecution of Verres.

4. Conscendi. This verb appears in Cicero to have everywhere the meaning of ‘emerging,’ whether it is used absolutely, as here, or with the addition of ‘navem,’ as in Fam. 3, 10, 3 ‘Conscendens iam navem, Epheso Laodiccam revertit.’ Another similar account of these circumstances is given Att. 16, 7.

6. Intempestas nox, ‘the dead of night,’ quae non habet idoneum tempus rebus gercendis’ Macrobi. Sat. 1, 3, sub fin. Cp. Varr. L. L. 7, 72 ‘Nox intempesta dicta ab tempestate; tempestas ab tempore; nox intempesta quo tempore nihil agitur.’ We may compare with it the Greek expression πυγτος δαιπ, Theoc. 11, 40. The same indefiniteness pervades both expressions, Macrobius l. c. making ‘nox intempesta’ succeed ‘concubia’ while Varro 6, 7 identifies it with ‘concubium,’ and also with ‘silentium noctis.’ Cp. Virg. G. 1, 247 ‘Intempesta silet nox.’

10. Contionem. Of the purport or occasion of this speech we know nothing, except that we may gather from this passage that it referred to the restoration of tranquility in the state. It was a common practice to have such speeches taken down by shorthand writers, ‘notarii,’ and copies distributed among those interested in the proceedings.

11. Coeperim, the perfect subjunctive, instead of the pluperfect, to bring the picture more vividly before the minds of the hearers, on the same principle as the use of the present indicative in historic narration.

12. Edictum Bruti et Cassii. This was probably the farewell edict which they published when on the point of leaving Italy; in which they declared themselves willing, if it were necessary for the peace of the state, to live in perpetual exile. It is mentioned by Velleius, 2, 62, 3; and is alluded to in the letter of Brutus and Cassius to Antony, Cic. Fam. II, 3, but is not itself extant.

17. Rem conventuram, ‘that an arrangement would be made;’ ep. Att. 9, 6, 2 ‘Rem conventuram putamus.’ Lit. ‘that the matter would result in unanimity.’

Kalendis. In the MSS. we find ‘Kalendis Sextilibus,’ an obvious mistake, since Cicero came to Syracuse on the 1st of August. Halm thinks there is a confusion between ‘Sext.’ and ‘S-pt.’ but it seems more probable that the month was not named by Cicero, and that some copyist has repeated the word ‘Sextilibus’ from the previous section. See Madvig, Opusc. I. p. 163.

18. Provinciis Galliis. By the disposition of Caesar, Transalpine Gaul had been assigned to L. Munatius Plancus, and Cisalpine Gaul to Decimus Brutus. Antony prevailed on the people, notwithstanding this arrange-
§§ 7—10.

ORATIO PHILIPPICA I. 13

4 Galliis, ad auctoritatem senatus esse rediturum. Tum vero
9 tanta sum cupiditate incensus ad reditum, ut mihi nulli neque
remi neque venti satis facerent, non quo me ad tempus occur-
surum non putarem, sed ne tardius quam cuperem rei publicae
gratularer. Atque ego celeriter Veliam devectus Brutum vidi: 5
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 maximis ac pul-
cherrimi facti sui conscientia nihil de suo casu, multa de vestro 10
querebatur. Exque eo primum cognovi quae Kalendis Sexti-
libus in senatu fuisset L. Pisonis oratio: qui quamquam parum
erat—id enim ipsum a Bruto audieram—a quibus debuerat
adiutus, tamen et Bruti testimonio—quo quid potest esse
gravius?—ct omnium praedicatione, quos postea vidi, magnam
mihi videbatur gloriam consecutus. Hunc igitur ut sequerer
properavi, quem praesentes non sunt seuti, non ut proficerem
aliquid—nec enim sperabam id nec praestare poteram,—sed
ut, si quid mihi humanitus accidisset—multa autem impendere
ment, to grant him the latter province; but
on proceeding in November to take posses-
sion of it, he was resisted by Brutus, who
threw himself into Mutina, and there maint-
tained himself till the siege was raised by
the new Consuls, Hirtius and Pansa, both
of whom fell in the struggle. Antony
was driven across the Alps, and Brutus
remained in undisputed command of the
province.
3. Non quo...non putarem, ‘not
that I had any fears of being too late.’ The
subjunctive with such expressions appears to
be used when the proposition they introduce
is in itself a mere hypothesis of the writer
or speaker, which is not only declared not
to be the reason of the phenomenon under
investigation, but is also asserted to be in
itself untrue. Accordingly, when the sup-
posed cause is in itself a real fact, and it is
merely denied that it is the cause of the
phenomenon, the indicative is used with
‘quia’ or ‘quoniam,’ as in Tac. Hist. 3. 4
‘Non quia industria Flaviani egebatur,’ ‘not
influenced by the desire, which he yet felt,
to avail himself of the zeal of Flavianus,’
‘sed ut consulaire nomen surgentibus...praet-
tenderetur’; and Livy 33. 27 ‘Non quia sa-
tis dignos eos esse credebatur,’ ‘not from the
conviction which he yet entertained of their
worthiness;’

8. Tuto esse. A similar use of ‘esse’ with
‘tuto’ instead of a predicative noun is found,
Fam. 14. 3. 3 ‘Ut tuto sim,’ Att. 8. 1. 1
‘Nusquam eris tutius;’ ib. 2 ‘Non quereret,
ubi tutissimae esset.’ See also with other
adverbs; Att. 14. 16. 4 ‘De Attica pergratum
mihi fecisti, quod curasti ut ante scirem recte
esse quam non belleuisse.’

10. De vestro, i.e. their loss of real
power, owing to Antony assuming to take
everything into his own hands.

12. L. Piso, Caesar’s father-in-law, was
formerly the bitter personal and political
enemy of Cicero, and was attacked by him
with the greatest virulence in his speeches
De Provinciis Consularibus, and In Pisonem,
55 B.C. In these Cicero accuses him, with
apparent justice, of every kind of mal-
administration in his province of Macedonia
during the two preceding years. Piso’s
opposition to Antony was only short-lived,
as when the latter went to Mutina to attack
D. Brutus, Piso remained as the prin-
cipal supporter of his views in Rome. He
was one of the envoys to Antony in the
beginning of the following year. At pre-
sent Cicero was ready to follow him as the
most appropriate leader of the constitutional
party.

19. Si quid mihi humanitus, &c.
‘if any of the accidents to which man is liable
videntur praeter naturam etiam praeterque fatum,—huius tamen diei vocem rei publicae relinquerem meae perpetuae erga se voluntatis.

Quoniam utriusque consilli causam, patres conscripti, pro-1 batam vobis esse confido, prius quam de re publica dicere incipio, pausa querar de hesterna M. Antonii iniuria: cui sum amicus, idque me non nullo eius officio debere esse prae me

should have beenfallen me—and many do appear to be hanging over me contrary at once to the course of nature and to my destined lot;—‘fatum’ being apparently the natural tenour of the life which destiny had marked out for him, liable however to be overthrown by rash interference on the part of himself or others. It seems to be rightly explained by Abramii: ‘illa praeter naturam praeterque fatum, quae nec a principis naturae intrinsecis, nec a causis externis agendi necessitate contristica, sed ab hominis libertate dependet, ut cum quis sibi vel mortem consciscit, vel alterius scelere occiditur.’ He compares Virg. Aen. 4. 696 foll.

‘Nam quia nec fato, merita nec morte peribat,
Sed misera ante diem, subitoque accensa furor,
Nondum illi flavum Proserpina vertice crinem
Abstulerat, Stygioque caput damnaverat Orci,’
and Denoth. de Cor. p. 296, 19 τῶν τῆς εἰμαρχόντως καὶ τῶν συντάγματος θάνατος: from which latter passage Gellius, 13. 1, tells us that Cicero probably derived the expression. The same idea occurs frequently in Homer; cp. Od. i. 33 [βροτοί] ἄπαθοι ἀπαθαλήσιν ἀπέρματον ἀλγεί ἔχοσιν, ii. 2. 155 ἐνθα κεῖν Ἀργείουσιν ἀπέρματο πόστος ἑτύχθη: though the supremacy of fate was generally vindicated, even by supernatural interference, if necessary, when external causes were on the point of breaking through it. Cp. II. 17. 321; 20. 30 and 336. See also Professor Conington’s note on Virgil, l. c.

1. Tamen is omitted in some MSS., but it is commonly found in the apodosis after a protasis introduced by a concessive ‘si.’

1 might at any rate leave my voice in testimony,’ &c. Cp. 2. 32, 78 ‘Si minus fortém, at tamen strenuum.’

2. Erga se rather than ‘erga eam,’ because ‘respublica’ is virtually the subject of the sentence; ‘that the state might still have my voice this day as a witness to my loyalty.’

6. Hesterna M. Antonii iniuria, the threats which Antony had used, when Cicero, on the plea of illness, absented himself from the senate on the 1st of September. Nominally, every senator was bound to be present at all meetings of the senate; cp. Legg. 3. 4. 11 ‘Senatori, qui nec aderit, aut causa aut culpa esto;’ and absence was liable to be punished by a fine, which might be enforced by a ‘pignoris capio.’ This was the technical term for the process whereby the prator allowed the goods of a person, who was in contempt of court, to be taken, and sold, unless the contempt was purged within a given time. Cp. Livy 3. 38 ‘Postquam citati non conveniunt, dimissi circa domos adparitores simul ad pignor capienda, sciscitandumque, sum custulo detrectarent.’ On such an occasion however as the proposal of a ‘supplicatio,’ or solemn holiday in honour of a general who had gained an important victory, it was supposed that the friends of the person thus honoured would be certain to attend in sufficient numbers to ensure a full house, and therefore it was generally left open to the senators to be present or not as they pleased. The irregularity of the present ‘supplicatio’ is pointed out by Cicero in this speech, c. 6. 13.

7. Non nullo eius officio: in sparing him at Brundisium, when on his return from Pharsalus, Antony was instructed by Caesar to prevent any of Pompey’s party from landing in Italy. For Cicero’s later estimate of this service, see 2. 3. 5;

cc. 5, 6. Cicero complains of the personal animosity displayed towards him by Antony, in endeavouring to force him to attend the meeting of the senate on the previous day, when he was weary with his journey, and in threatening violent measures towards him in consequence of his non-appearance. He declares the impossibility of his taking part in any such unconstitutional proceedings as
5 semper tuli. Quid tandem erat causae cur in senatum hesterno
die tam acerbe cogerer? Solusne aberam? an non saepe minus
frequentes fuistis? an ea res agebatur, ut etiam aegrotos desferri
oporteret? Hannibal, credo, erat ad portas, aut de Pyrrhi pace
agebatur, ad quam causam etiam Appium illum, et caecum et 5
senem, delatum esse memoriae proditum est. De supplicationibus
referebatur, quo in genere senatores deesse non solent.
Coguntur enim non pignoribus, sed eorum, de quorum honore
agitur; quod idem fit; cum de triumpho refertur. Ita
sine cura consules sunt, ut paene liberum sit senatori non adesse. 10
Qui cum mihi mos notus esset cumque e via languerem et mihimet
disiplicerem, misi pro amicitia qui hoc ei diceret. At ille
vobis audientibus cum fabris se domum mean venturum esse
dixit. Nimis iracunde hoc quidem et valde intemperanter.
Cuius enim maleficici tanta ista poena est, ut dicere in hoc ordine 15
auderet se publicis operis disturbaturum publice ex senatus
sententia aedificatam domum? Quis autem umquam tanto
damno senatumorem coegit? aut quid est ultra pignus aut multam?
Quod si scisset quam sententiam dicturus esse, remisisset
aliquid profecto de severitate cogendi. An me censetis, patres 20
conscripti, quod vos inviti secuti estis, decreturum fuisse, ut
parentalia cum supplicationibus misercentur? ut inexpiabies

the ordinance of a 'supplicatio' in honour
of a dead man; and regrets that absence had
protected him from supporting L. Piso in his
patrician opposition to Antony on the 1st of
August.

4. De Pyrrhi pace agebatur. The
allusion is to the mission of Cineas, after
the battle of Heraclea, 280 B.C., when the
terms of peace that Pyrrhus offered were
on the point of being accepted, till Appius
Claudius Caecus persuaded the senate to
reject them. The speech which he delivered
on the occasion was still extant in Cicero's

11. E via languerem. Ferrarius, on
the authority of three MSS., urges the reading
'de via,' comparing Acad. Post. 1. 1, 1
'Nisi de via fessus esset,' Somn. Scip. 1. 2
(Rep. 6. 10. 10) 'Me, et de via, et qui ad
multum nocem vigilassem, artior quam
solebat somnus complexus est;' and Plaut.
Pseud. 2. 2, 66 'Ut lassus veni de via, me
volo curare.' The actual expression 'de
via languere,' however, does not seem to
occur elsewhere, and the majority of editors,

following the Vatican MS., here retain 'e
via.'

Mihimet disiplicerem, 'was indis-
posed.' So of mental trouble, 'Disipicco
mihi nec minus scribo dolore,' Cic. Att.
2. 18, 3.

13. Cum fabris. Cp. 5. 7, 19 'Huc
etiam nisi venirem Kal. Sept. etiam fabros se
missurum et domum mean disturbaturum
esse dixit.' Cicero's house had been pulled
down during his exile in 58 B.C., and
re-built on his return in the following year,
out of funds granted him by the state, in
spite of the violent opposition of P. Clodius.

16. Publicis operis. This use of
'operae,' for the concrete 'operarii,' is not
ininfrequent in Cicero; cp. e. 9, 22 'Ut ipse ad
operas mercenarias statim prostrabatur,' Att.
4, 3, 3 'Facile operas aditum prohibuerunt.'
So Hor. S. 2, 7, 118 'Accedes opera agro
nona Sabino.'

22. Parentalia. In the end of February,
Cic. Legg. 2. 21, 54, the Romans celebrated
a festival in honour of the dead, 'Feralia,' at
which offerings were brought to their tombs,
religiones in rem publicam inducendur? ut decernerentur supplicationes mortuo? Nihil dico cui. Fuerit ille Brutus, qui et ipse dominatu regio rem publicam liberavit et ad similem virtutem et simile factum stirpem iam prope in quingentesimum annum propagavit: adduci tamen non possem, ut quemquam mortuum coniungerem cum immortalium religione, ut, cujus sepulchrum usquam exstet ubi parentetur, ei publice supplicetur. Ego vero eam sententiam dixissem, ut me adversus populum Romanum, si qui accidisset gravior rei publicae casus, si bellum, si morbus, si famae, facile possem defendere: quae partim iam sunt, partim timeo ne impendecant. Sed hoc ignoscant di immortalae velim et populo Romano, qui id non probat, et huic ordini, qui decrevit invitus. Quid? de reliquis rei publicae malis licetne dicere? Mihi vero licet et semper licebit digni-14 tatem tueri, mortem contemnere. Potestas modo veniendi in hunc locum sit: dicendi pericum non recuso. Atque utinam, patres conscripti, Kalendis Sextilibus adesse potuissem! non

and panegyrics pronounced in their praise. Cp. Varro, L. L. 6. 13 'Feralia ab inferis et ferendo, quod ferunt tum epulas ad sepulcrum, quibus inis lbi parentare.' Cicero's argument here is, that Antony is mixing up two inconsistent kinds of religious ceremony; the 'Parentalia,' addressed directly to the dead; and the 'Supplicatio,' a solemn service in honour indeed of some general, but addressed to the gods, and therefore incapable of being celebrated after the death of the general without the risk of confusing thanksgiving for his success with worship to himself, and so incurring the guilt of impiety.

2. Fuerit ille, 'suppose that he was,' &c. Cp. § 15 'Fuerit quaedam necessaria.'

4. Stirpem propagavit. The identity of the families of L. Iunius Brutus, the first consul, and M. Brutus, the tyrannicide, is upheld also by Plutarch Brut. 1, who says, on the authority of Posidonius, that L. Brutus had a third son, who was only a child when his father put his elder brothers to death. The connection is, however, improbable in itself; and the story of Posidonius would naturally be invented to reconcile its difficulties. The objection that the later Brutus were plebeians, while L. Brutus was a patrician, even if we admit the latter fact as certain, would not be fatal, as there are many instances of families passing from the one order to the other.

7. Usquam. The reading of the Vatican and some other MSS. is 'nusquam,' which is supported on the ground that as the column which marked the place where Caesar's body was burned had been overthrown by Dolabella, it could not be said that any tomb of his did now exist. This interpretation, however, is contrary to the general argument of the passage, in which Cicero is maintaining that as Caesar was dead, and buried, like any other man, he could not be made an exception to the general rule of never performing a 'supplicatio' in honour of the dead. See Madvig, Opusc. 1. p. 202.

Supplicetur. The tense is to be explained by reference to the idea in Cicero's mind ('nusquam adducar ut coniungam'), the change from the imperfect being aided by the tenses in the intervening relative clause.

9. Si qui gravior casus, 'if any more serious kind of disaster.' The reading of the old editions, supported by two MSS., is 'si quis;' but the usual distinction seems to apply here, that 'si qui casus' means 'if any kind of disaster;' si quis casus, 'if any individual disaster.' Cicero is giving the reason why he was so urgent in expressing his opinion on the subject, in order that, whatever might be the result, he at least should be free from blame.
ORATIO PHILIPPICA I.

quod profici potuerit aliquid, sed ne unus modo consularis, quod tum accidit, dignus illo honore, dignus re publica inveniretur. Qua quidem ex re magnum accipio dolorem, homines amplissimis populi Romani beneficiis usos. L. Pisonem ducem optime sententiae non secutos. Idcircone nos populus Romanus consules fecit, ut in altissimo gradu dignitatis locati rem publicam pro nihilò haberemus? Non modo voce nemo L. Pisoni consularis, sed ne vultu quidem assensus est. Quae, malum! est ista voluntaria servitus? Fuerit quaedam necessaria: neque ego hoc ab omnibus iis desidero, qui sententiam consulari loco dicunt. Alia causa est eorum, quorum silentio ignosco, alia eorum, quorum vocem requiro. Quos quidem doleo in suspensionem populo Romano venire non modo metus, quod ipsum esset turpe, sed alium alia de causa deesse dignitati suae. Quare primum maximas gratias et ago et habeo Pisoni, qui non quid efficere posset in re publica cogitavit, sed quid facere ipse debebet: deinde a vobis, patres conscripti, peto ut, etiam si sequi minus audebitis orationem atque auctoritatem meam, benigne me tamen, ut adhuc fecistis, audiatis.

3. Amplissimis beneficiis usos: in being made Consul and praetors. Among those of consular rank, the most conspicuous were L. Piso, Servius Sulpicius, C. Marcellus, Q. Fufus Calenus, P. Servilius Isauricius, P. Vatinius, and L. Caesar, the uncle of Antony, to whom Cicero is probably especially referring in saying that he can pardon the silence of some of them. —Abrami.
8. Quae, malum, 'what, the plague?' Cp. 10. 9, 18 'Quae, malum! est ista ratio?' and Verr. Act. 2. 1. 20, 54 'Quae, malum! est ista tanta audacia?' This interjectional use of 'malum' is most common in the comedians.
10. Hoc, i.e. the assertion of freedom under all circumstances. The obscurity in the connection of ideas has led some recent editors to suppose that some such words as 'repellenda est voluntaria' have been lost; but this seems hardly necessary; and there is no trace of such omission in any of the MSS. The train of thought appears to be, 'Grant that all could not avoid such slavery; this is a degree of patriotism whose absence I must needs forgive in some who speak as consulars; but yet we must distinguish between those whose silence is pardonable, and those who are absolutely bound to speak.' Cp. 10. 9, 19.
Sententiam consulari loco dicunt. The privilege of speaking 'consulari' or 'praetorio loco' was often granted as a special honour to persons who had not filled the office of Consul or praetor. Thus we find a decree in favour of Octavius, Phil. 5. 17, 46 'Senatui placere, C. Caesarem, C. f., pontificem, pro praetore, senatorem esse, sententiamque loco praetorio dicere.'
12. Suspicionem .. alium .. deesse. 'Suspicio' is occasionally found with the accusative and the infinitive; as in Cic. Att. 8. 11 D, 1 'Suspicionem nullam habebam, te republikea causa mare transiturum?' Brut. 11, 43 'Puisset suspicionem venenio sibi consci visse mortem:' but here there is the especial awkwardness of the clause depending on another infinitive of which the persons suspected are themselves the subject.
cc. 7. 8. Turning to the main subject of his speech, as containing the reasons for his vote, Cicero declares his opinion that the 'acts' of Caesar ought to be ratified: meaning thereby, not all the memoranda and notes, genuine or forged, which Antony quoted from the dictator's private papers; but his formal and completed acts, as embodied in his laws,
Primum igitur acta Caesaris servanda censeo, non quo pro-
blem—quis enim id quidem potest?—sed quia rationem haben-
dam maxime arbitror pacis atque otii. Vellem ædesset M.
Antonius, modo sine advocatis—sed, ut opinor, licet ei minus
valere, quod mihi heri per illum non licuit:—doceret me vel po-
tius vos, patres conscripti, quem ad modum ipse Caesaris acta
defenderet. An in commentariolis et chirographis et libellis se
uno auteore prolatis, ne prolatis quidem, sed tantum modo dictis,
acta Caesaris firma crunt: quae ille in aes incidunt, in quo populi
iussa perpetuasque leges esse voluit, pro nihil habebuntur?
Equidem existimo nihil tam esse in actis Caesaris quam leges
Caesaris. An, si cui quid ille promisit, id erit fixum, quod idem
non facere potuit? ut multis multa promissa non fecit: quae
tamen multo plura illo mortuo reperta sunt, quam a vivo bene-
sicia per omnes annos tributa et data. Sed ea non muto, non
moveo: summo studio illius praeclara acta defendo. Pecunia
utinam ad Opis maneret! cruenta illa quidem, sed his tempo-
ribus, quoniam iis, quorum est, non redditur, necessaria. Quam-
such as that limiting the tenure of provinces;
or that abolishing the third decuria of
‘judices,' which Antony proposed to nullify
by establishing a new third decuria, com-
posed of centurions and of privates of the
legion Alauna.
1. Primum igitur...censeo. With
this begins the formal declaration of Cicero’s
resolution and vote, to which all that went
before was prefatory. See on 3. 9, 24.
Subsequently in writing to C. Cassius, Cicero
says that the senate made these concessions
to Antony merely ‘temporibus cedentes,’
Fam. 12. 1, 2.
4. Sine advocatis. ‘Advocatus’ was
the name commonly applied to any one who
by his presence gave aid or countenance
to a person pleading his cause in the senate
or law-courts; and especially to the ‘iuris-
consultus’ who supplied him with advice on
points of law. Antony’s ‘advocati,’ whose
presence Cicero deprecates, were the armed
soldiers with whom he had beset the en-
trances of the ‘Cella Concordiae’ on the
previous day. Cp. Liv. 3. 47 ‘Virginius
sordidatus filiam suam cum ingenti advoca-
tione in forum deducit.’
7. Se uno auteore. This use of the
reflexive pronoun is justified by the fact that
Antony’s views are the prominent thought
in Cicero’s mind, so that he is the logical
subject of the sentence: ‘Does he think
to secure the ratification of those acts of
Caesar, of whose existence we have no evi-
dence except in the various note-books of
the dictator, which he, and he alone, pro-
duces, or rather simply quotes; and that
meanwhile all that Caesar caused to be
engraved on brass, signifying thereby that
they should be permanent laws, should go
for nothing?’
9. In aes incidunt: see on c. 1, 3.
12. An si cui, &c. Cicero goes on to
prove the absurdity of ratifying all these
supposed ‘acta,’ by showing that it would
pledge the people to a much more rigid ful-
filment of the promises, and even the un-
expressed intentions of the dictator, than
he either could or would have carried out
himself. Cp. Att. 14. 10, 1 ‘Ut omnia facta,
scripta, dicta, promissa, cogitata Caesaris
plus valerent, quam si ipse viveret.’
16. Pecunia utinam ad Opis ma-
eret. Sc. the seven hundred million ses-
teres which Antony had seized on the
evening of the dictator’s murder. See Intro.,
and 2. 37, 93. The remains of the temple of
Ops are still visible in the Forum, adjoining
the temple of Saturn. Cicero calls the money
‘cruenta,’ and ‘funesta,’ 2. 1. c., as being the
result of the tyranny and bloodshed of the
dictator, especially in the confiscation of
the property belonging to the party of
Pompey.
quam ea quoque sit effusa, si ita in actis fuit. Ecquid est quod tam proprie dici possit actum eius, qui togatus in re publica cum potestate imperioque versatus sit, quam lex? Quaere acta Gracchi; leges Semproniae proferentur: quaere Sullae; Corneliae. Quid? Pompeii tertius consulatus in quibus actis constitit? nempe in legibus. De Caesare ipso si quaereres, quidnam egisset in urbe et in toga, leges multas responderet se et praeclaras tulisse, chirgrapha 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 Caesari dissolvit ferendum non puto.

8 Quae lex melior, utilior, optima etiam re publica saepius flagiata, quam ne praetoriae provinciae plus quam annum neve plus quam biennium consulares obtinenterunt? Hac lege sublata videnturne vobis posse Caesari acta servari? Quid? lege, quae promulgata est de tertia decuria nonne omnes iudicariae leges Caesaris dissolvuntur? Et vos acta Caesaris defenditis, qui leges eius 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.

1. Effusa sit, 'let us acquiesce in its having been expended.'

§ 18 introduces, somewhat irregularly, the opposition to what precedes. The natural antithesis to 'id erit fixum' would have been 'leges eius fixae non erunt,' instead of which Cicero proceeds to prove that Caesar's laws were especially 'acta Caesaris,' and leaves his hearers to draw the inference.

2. Qui togatus, &c., 'who as a civilian has been invested with supreme civil and military authority in the state,' Cp. Sull. 30, 85 'Cui uni togato supplicationem decreverit.' 'Imperium' is defined by Cicero, Phil. 5, 16, 45, as the power sine quo res militaris administrari, teneri exercitus, bellum geri non potest. As it was an established principle that a Consul could not exercise the authority of a general within the city walls, this 'imperium togati' was the especial characteristic of a dictator.

5. Tertius consulatus. In 52 B.C., when Pompey, being elected sole Consul, passed the laws 'de VI,' 'de Ambitu,' and 'de Sodalitis,' which proved the means of delivering the city from the disturbances of Mfio and his party.

13. Ne praetoriae provinciae, &c. Cp. 5. 3; 7; 8. 9, 28 'Ipse autem utquinquennium, inquit Antonius, obtineam provinciam. At istud vetat lex Caesaris, et tu acta Caesaris defendis.' Before the passing of this 'Lex Iulia,' the tenure of a province was not limited in time; and Dion Cassius, 43. 35, says that Caesar was led to propose it by feeling how much both his desire for empire, and his power of acquiring it, were increased by his own long government in the province of Gaul.

16. De tertia decuria. The addition of the word 'iudicum,' which is wanting in the Vatican MS., bears evident traces of being a gloss. The third decuria of the 'tribini aerarii,' to whom a share in the iudicium had been given by the 'Lex Aurelia' in 70 B.C., was abolished by a 'Lex Iudiciaria' of Julius Caesar passed in 46 B.C. Cp. Suet. lul. 41 'Iudicia ad duo genera iudicium rediget, equestris ordinis ac senatorii: tribunos aerarios, quod erat tertium, sustulit.' Antony proposed to add another third decuria, consisting of centurions qui ordinis duxerunt, and of private soldiers of the legion Alanda. Cp. 5: 5, 12.
id in actis Caesaris non habebitur. At quae ista tertia decuria?—Centurionum inquit.—Quid? isti ordini iudicatus lege Iulia, etiam ante Pompeia, Aurelia non patebat?—Census præfiniebatur, inquit.—Non centurioni quidem solum, sed equiti etiam Romano: itaque viri fortissimi atque honestissimi, qui ordinex duxerunt, res et iudicant et iudicaverunt.—Non quacero, inquit, istos: quicumque ordinem duxit iudicet.—At si ferretis, quicumque equo meruisset, quod est lauitus, nemini probaretis; in iudice enim spectari et fortuna debet et dignitas.—Non quacero, inquit, ista: addo etiam iudices manipulares ex legione Alaudarum; aliter enim nostri negant posse se salvos esse.—O contumeliosum honorem iis, quos ad iudicandum nec opinantes vocatis!hic enim est legis index, ut ii res in tertia decuria iudicent, qui libere iudicare non audeant. In quo quantus error est, di immortales! eorum, qui istam legem excogitaverunt! Ut enim quisque sordidissimus videbitur, ita libentissime severitate iudicandi sordes suas eluet laborabitque ut honestis decuriiis

1. Quae ista tertia decuria? So the Vatican MS.; as in 2. 19, 48 ‘quae autem domus?’ Some MSS. insert ‘est,’ which is retained as a doubtful reading by Halm.

3. Pompeia; passed 55 B.C., confirming the provisions of the ‘Lex Aurelia,’ with regard to the three decuriae, but imposing a property qualification. Cicero therefore shows that the bill of Antony did more to lower the dignity of the judicial bench than any of those which had preceded it.

8. Quicumque equo meruisset, i.e. ‘equo publico,’ with a horse furnished by the state (cp. 6, 5, 13 ‘Ab equibus Romanis, equo publico’), since there was another class of equites at Rome, who served with their own horses, and were not reckoned among the eighteen centuries. See Livy 5. 7. An equest received half as much pay again as a centurion, and ranked proportionately higher, so that if position alone, ‘dignitas,’ were taken into consideration, without a property qualification, ‘fortuna,’ the knight would have a claim to be admitted more freely to the ‘iudicatus’ than the centurion.

Quod est lauitus, ‘a more honourable service.’ Some MSS. read ‘laudatus.’

11. Alaudarum, ‘the legion Alauda,’ (so called, apparently, from a plume on their helmets like a lark’s crest, Pliny H. N. 11. 37; 43.) had been raised by Caesar among the natives of Transalpine Gaul, about 55 B.C., so that the admission of its soldiers to the ‘iudicatus’ was the first opening of the judicial bench to barbarians. On this point Cicero expresses himself strongly in a later oration, 5. 5. According to him, the avowed motive of Antony in giving them this privilege was to have some devoted partisans among the ‘iudices.’ They had already been invested with the franchise by Caesar. Suet. Jul. 24.

Aliter, ‘without this admixture of obsequious adherents.’

13. Legis index, ‘the whole gist of the law,’ ‘index’ being used not merely for ‘the title’ of a book, but also for a summary of its contents; and being hence applied to an abstract of any work, or the subject-matter of any science; cp. Varr. R. R. 1. 1. 4 ‘Scribam tibi tres libros indices, ad quos revertare, si qua in re quaeres, quemadmodum quidque te in colendo oportet facere.’

14. In quo quantus, &c. Cicero argues that Antony’s scheme will defeat its own object; for these legionary ‘iudices,’ from the very fact of their being admitted on such insulting terms to the judicial bench, to act as his tools, will be led to discharge their duty with greater sternness, if not even to show bias against his followers, in order to exhibit their independence and impartiality, and to prove that they were worthy of receiving admission in more creditable fashion; and of being enrolled in honourable ‘decuriae,’ instead of being hustled into one which was nothing but a disgrace.
cc. 9, 10. As for the proposed law allowing those who were found guilty of rioting or treason to appeal to the people, it was a simple abolition of all laws whatsoever; reducing any trials for such crimes to mere questions of violence and corruption, while there was not even any one whose favour Antony might thus conciliate. He was using Caesar's name to nullify the very laws to which Caesar, when alive, attached the most importance; the power of the dead dictator was ruining the commonwealth; and though, in virtue of its constitution, the state had means of guarding against evil consequences even from the worst of laws, the present reign of terrorism turned the ancient forms of law into a force, and neutralised all such salutary checks.

2. Maiestatis. This is the amendment of Orelli for the unintelligible reading of the Vatican MS. 'maiestases,' here and in § 23. Other MSS., and the majority of editors before Orelli, read 'de maiestate.' Cp. however pro Cluent. 35. 97 'Bulbus est condemnatus; addae maiestatis;' where the testimony of MSS. is unanimous. The crime of 'maiestas' is defined by Cicero, de Invent. 2. 17, 53, as 'De dignitate aut amplitudine aut potestate populi, aut eorum, quibus populus potestatem dedit, aliquid derogare.' The right of appeal to the people from the decision of any magistrate, to which we find so much value attached in early Roman history, apparently did not exist in the case of 'quaestiones perpetue,' permanent judicial commissions, which were first introduced by L. Calpurnius Piso, 149 B.C., to try cases of extortion in the provinces. Afterwards they were extended, probably by C. Gracchus, to the investigation of those public crimes which most frequently gave occasion to capital sentences, such as poisoning and assassination; and by Sulla to all criminal causes. The practical effect of this was the abolition of capital punishment, as the power of life and death rested with the people only. See Mommsen, Hist. of Rome, vol. 3. pp. 112, 372, 373. Eng. Trans. The appeal of C. Rabirius, supported by an extant speech of Cicero, was from the 'Duumviri perduellionis,' exceptionally appointed for that occasion, and not from the regular criminal tribunal, pro C. Rab. 4. 12. It is obvious that as the working of the law courts became more settled, and more deserving of the confidence of the people, and more especially as the jealousies between patricians and plebeians died away, the 'Provocatio ad Populum,' which was rendered so necessary by the tyranny of kings and deceivers, and the oppression of a dominant class, would tend to become both unnecessary and pernicious.

5. Manere can only mean 'should stand,' an unusual sense of the word. Cp. however Tac. Agric. c. 46 'Quidquid mirati sumet manet mansurumque est in aninis hominum.' Garatonius argues that a law may as well be said 'manere,' after promulgation, by being passed, as by being left unchallenged when it has come into force. He compares the use of 'maneat' as parallel to 'fixum sit' in the speech pro Rab. Post. 9, 25 'Ilid maneat et fixum sit, quod neque moveri neque mutari potest.' Madvig, Opusc. 1. p. 203, denies the possibility of this meaning for 'manere,' and considers the passage to be corrupt. If it is genuine, it would seem as though Cicero were looking forward beyond the actual passing of the law: 'Suppose you pass the law, who will be interested in its remaining in operation?' F. Urlichs, in 'Eos' for 1865, p. 203, suggests 'avere,' the 'm' of 'manere' having been introduced from the end of the preceding 'legem.' Another reading is 'venire,' which gives no sense.

Legibus illis. Under the existing laws there were no prisoners for trial, so where was the need of a change by which none would benefit? It was a law for which no one would thank him, 'quae gratiam nullam habeant.' The common reading 'istis legis' loses all the distinction between the present state of things, in which as a matter of fact no offenders existed, and the result of Antony's proposal, whereby any future criminals would secure indemnity: 'id fertur, ne quis omnino ut quam istis legibus reus fiat.'
judicum vocabantur. At res popularis. Utinam quidem aliquid velletis esse popolare! omnes enim iam cives de rei publicae salute una et mente et voce consentiunt. Quae est igitur ista cupiditas legis eius ferendae, quae turpitudinem summam habeat, gratiam nullam? Quid enim turpius quam qui maiestatem populi Romani minuerit per vim, eum damnatum iudicio ad eam ipsam vim reverti, propter quam sit iure damnatus? Sed quid plurae leges 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 reoc condemnato obiicere se multitudini conductae velit, aut iudex, qui reum damnare audeat, ut ipse ad operas mercenarias statim protractatur? Non igitur provocatio ista lege datur, sed duae maxime salutares leges quaestionesque tolluntur. Quid est aliud hortari adolescentes, ut turbulentis, ut seditiosis, ut perniciosi cives velint esse? Quam autem ad pestem furorum tribunicius impelli non poterit his duabus quaestionibus de vi et maiestatis sublatis? Quid, quod obrogatur legibus Caesaris, quae iubent ei, qui de vi, itemque ei, qui maiestatis damnatus sit, aqua et igni interdici? quibus cum provocatio datur, nonne acta Caesaris rescinduntur? Quae quidem ego, patres conscripti, qui illa numquam probavi, tamen ita conservanda concordiae causa arbitratus sum, ut non modo, quas vivus leges

1. At res popularis, 'but, you will say, it is a matter which public opinion has already settled.'

6. Ad eam ipsam vim. Because it reduces the matter to a contest between the loyal and the partakers of his treason.

8. Quasi vero, &c., 'just as though the object were that any single person should appeal.' 'Quisquam' is here used on account of the negative notion really inherent in the clause: 'the object being that no one should appeal.' Cp. in Vat, 3, 7 'Quasi vero quisquam vir excellenti animo... optabilius quisquam arbitretur quam se a suis civibus rei publicae causa diligit.'

10. Quis enim, &c., 'for where will you find either a prosecutor so mad as willingly to expose himself to the mercy of a hired crowd by convicting his opponent; or a juryman so rash as to condemn a prisoner knowing that he himself will thereupon be dragged before a mob of mercenary labourers?'

12. Operas. See on c. 5, 12.

14. Quid est aliud, 'what else were it to exhort the youths,' &c. Some MSS. insert 'quam' or 'nisi,' as in 5, 8, 21 'Quid erat aliud nisi deniuntari servitutem?' but cp. 2, 4, 7 'Quid est aliud tollere ex vita vitae societatem?' So also 5, 2, 5; 10, 2, 5. We may compare the two Greek expressions ἄλλοι ἦν and ἄλλοι 71.


Legibus Caesaris. Passed in 46 B.C. 22. Illa numquam probavi, 'never approved of their being carried,' not so much because of any fault he had to find with the measures themselves, as on account of the unconstitutional manner in which they were passed.
Caesar tulisset, infirmandas hoc tempore non putarem, sed ne illas quidem, quas post mortem Caesaris prolatas esse et fixas 10 videtis. De exsilio reducti a mortuo, civitas data non solum 24 singulis, sed nationibus et provinciis universis a mortuo, immi-

nitatibus infinitis sublata vectigalia a mortuo. Ergo haec uno, 5 verum optimo auctore domo prolata defendimus: eas leges, quas ipse nobis inspectantibus recitativ, pronuntiavit, tulit, quibus latissi gloriabatur, eisque legibus rem publicam contineri 

puñabat, de provinciis, de iudiciis, eas, inquam, Caesaris leges 25 nos, qui defendimus acta Caesaris, evertendas putamus? Ac 10 
de his tamen legibus, quae promulgatae sunt, saltem queri pos-
sumus: de iis, quae iam laetae dicuntur, ne illud quidem licuit; illae enim sine ulla promulgatione laetae sunt ante quam scriptae. Quaero autem, quid sit cur aut ego aut quisquam vestrum, patres conscripti, bonis tribunis plebi leges malas metuat. 15 

Paratos habemus qui intercedant, paratos qui rem publicam 

religione defendant; vacui metu esse debemus.—Quas tu mihi, 
inquit, intercessiones? quas religiones?—Eas scilicet, quibus rei 

publicae salus continetur.—Negligimus ista et nimiris antiqua ac

§§ 22—25. ORATIO PHILIPPICA I. 23

3. De exsilio ... immunitatibus. 

See oo § 3.


grandi pecunia fixit legem a dictatore com-

mitis latam, qua Siculi cives Romani: cuius 

rei vivo illo mentio nulla,' 

5. Uno verum optimo auctore, 

'on the unsupported testimony of a single 

man, however excellent he may be.' Vulg. 

'unO viro optimo,' a reading which loses 

the irony expressed by the prominence given 

to 'optimo' in the reading of the text.

6. Domo prolata appears to be opposed 

to the publicity and regularity of the proceed-

ings in the other case.

7. Recitavit, pronuntiavit seem 

both of them to express the public reading 

of the laws by the crier, before they were 

proposed; tulit the formal proposal of them 

before the people.

8. Eisque legibus, &c., 'thinking that 

the safety of the state depended on them.' 

Cp. § 25 'Quibus reipublicae salus continetur.' 

The change from the relative to the demonstra-

tive, for the sake of simplicity, is common 

both in Greek and Latin. Cp. Fin. 2. 2, 5 

'Finem definiebas id esse, quo omnia, quae 

recta fierent, referrentur, neque id ipsum 

usquam referretur.' Plat. Rep. p. 505 E

6 σθ διώκει πάνα ψυχή καὶ τοῦτον ἐνεκα 

πάντα πράττει.

II. De his tamen legibus, 'And yet 

these laws, which come under our cognisance 

by having been promulgated, are not the 

worst; of these we may at any rate com-

plain.' So far Antony had only used Caesar's 

authority in support of laws which he brought 

forward and passed in regular course, so that 

men might canvass, though they dared not 

reject them: but besides this, he introduced 
certain suppositions laws, which he declared 

to have been actually passed by Caesar, so 

that men were forced to accept them, with-

out even the opportunity of discussing them. 

And though constitutionally the tribunes of 
the commons, by interposing their veto, or by 

'obnuntiatio' (see on 2. 32, 81), ought to 

have been able to overcome all fear of 

bad laws being passed or acted on to the 

injury of the state, yet Antony got over this 
difficulty by the simple process of pre-

venting them by force.

19. Antiqua ac stulta, 'follies of a 

bygone age.' Cp. pro Rosc. Amer. 9, 26 

'Hominis antiqui, qui ex sua natura ceteros 

fingerent.' So ἄρχαιος, Aesch. Prom. 317 


Soph. O. T. 290 κοφά καὶ παλαί ἐπη.
M. TULLII CICERONIS
cc. 10—12.

stulta ducimus: forum saepietur, omnes claudentur aditus, armati in praecidiis multis locis collocabuntur.—Quid tum? Quod ita erit gestum, id lex erit? et in aes incidi iubebitis, credo, illa legitima: ‘consules populum iure rogaverunt’—hocine a maiorisbus accepimus ius rogandi?—‘populusque iure scivit.’ Qui populus? isne, qui exclusus est? Quo iure? an eo, quod vi et armis omne sublatum est? Atque haec dico de futuris; quod est amicorum ante dicere ea, quae vitari possint: quae si facta non erunt, refelletur oratio mea. Loquor de legibus promulgatis, de quibus est integrum vobis: demonstro vitia; tollite! denuntio vim, arma; removete!

Irasci quidem vos mihi, Dolabella, pro re publica dicenti non oportebit. Quamquam te quidem id facturum non arbitror—novi facilitatem tuam—: collegam tuum aiunt in hac sua fortuna, quae bona ipsi videtur—mihi, ne gravius quippiam dicam, avorum et avunculi sui consulatum si imitarcetur, fortunator videretur—:

3. Credo. Muretus reads ‘cedo illa legitima,’ but besides its MS. authority, ‘credо’ seems also to have more force in keeping up the irony of the clause. ‘What is thus carried must needs be law: and the provisions so made law, I presume, you will order to be inscribed on brass’ Cicero then changes from irony into direct invective, while he shows the hollowness of meaning in the ancient formula of laws, when used to introduce measures passed under absolute compulsion.

7. De futuris. He passes over all that is irrevocable, and speaks only of the laws which had been promulgated, and were in due course awaiting the vote of the people, who could yet decide upon them as they would (‘de quibus est integrum vobis’); and herein, he says, he is acting the part of a friend even towards Antony and Dolabella; for he is warning them of the neglect of religion and order which he foresees will render their acts really invalid, and they need only give heed to his warnings, and abandon their unconstitutional proceedings, if they wish to prove his forebodings false. If he were blaming them for what is past, he argues, they might reasonably be angry with him, but with his friendly advice they have no ground of quarrel.

cc. 11, 12. Turning directly to address the Consuls, Cicero deprecatcs the notion that he is actuated by hostility towards them; he even courts their opposition, so long as they confine themselves within the bounds of fair antagonism; and while lamenting that a false conception of glory had lately misled them, he compliments Dolabella on the vigour which he displayed in putting down the riots occasioned by the erection of a monument to Caesar.

§ 27. With this section begins the second division of Cicero’s speech, in which he points out the dangers and the evils of the course which the Consuls were pursuing. See on § 16.

14. Facilitatem, ‘how placable your temper is’: ‘facilitas’ being distinguished from ‘clementia,’ with which it is often joined, as ‘readiness to admit an explanation, and so to forgive,’ from ‘calmness of temper, which does not readily take offence.’ See on 9, 5, 11.

15. Avorum. These were M. Antonius the orator, Consul in 99 B.C., a strenuous opponent of the democratic party, and L. Julius Caesar, Consul in 90 B.C., and author of the ‘Lex Iulia de civitate sociis danda.’ They both were put to death by Marius and Cinna when they obtained possession of the city in 87 B.C. Cp. de Orat. 3, 3. 10 ‘Iam M. Antonii in iis ipsis Rostris, in quibus ille rempublicam constantissime consul defendebatur, quaeque censor imperatoris manuibus ornata, positum caput illud fuit, a quo erant multorum civium capitae servata; neque vero longe ab eo C. Iulii caput hospitii Etrusci scelere proditum cum L. Iulii patris capite iacuit.’

16. The uncle referred to was L. Julius
sed cum iracundum audio esse factum. Video autem quam sit odiosum habere eundem iratum et armatum, cum tanta praesertim gladiatorum sit impunitas: sed proponam ius, ut opinor, aequum, quod M. Antonium non arbitror repudiaturum. Ego, si quid in vitam eius aut in mores cum contumelia dixero, quo minus mihi inimicissimus sit, non recusabo: sin consuetudinem meam tenuero, id est, si libere quae sentiam de re publica dixero, primum deprecor ne irascatur, deinde, si hoc non impetro, peto ut sic irascatur ut civi. Armis utatur, si ita ncessse est, ut dicit, sui defendendi causa: iis, qui pro re publica quae ipsis visa erunt dixerint, ista arma ne noceant. Quid hac postulatione 28 dici potest acquirius? Quod si, ut mihi a quibusdam eius fAMILIARIUS dictum est, omnis eum quae habetur contra voluntatem eius oratior graviter offendid, etiam si nulla inste contumelia, feremus amici naturam. Sed idem illi ita mecum locuntur: 'non idem tibi, adversario Caesaris, licebit, quod Pisoni socero,' et simul admonent quiddam, quod cavebimus: nec erit iustior in senatum non veniendi morbi causa quam mortis. Sed per deos

Caesare, Consul in 64 B.C., the year before Cicero himself, and his firm supporter in suppressing the conspiracy of Catiline.

1. Sed eum. After the long parenthesis, the thread of the sentence is resumed with 'sed,' in a manner not unfrequent in Cicero. C. P. 2. 2, 5 'Sed quo beneficio?' ib. 4, 8; 32, 80.

3. Ius...aequum, 'I will make a proposition which seems to me so fair, that I think Antony will not refuse to entertain it.' The manifest equity of the proposal entitles Cicero afterwards to term it 'postulatio.' See on 2. 29, 72.

9. Ut civi, 'without violent and illegal use of arms.'

10. Sui defendendi causa. The usual pretext of all tyrants for obtaining a body-guard. So Peisistratus, τρυφανίας ἑνωτὸν ἐδέστο τοῦ δῆμου φυλακῇ τινὸς πρὸς αὐτοῦ νυκτίας Hdt. i. 59, 5. C. Phil. 2. 8, 19 'Quid est dementius, quam, cum rei publicae pernicioso arma ipse cepis, obieicere alteri sualitaria?

15. Feremus amici naturam, 'we will not quarrel with the humour of a friend,' rather than (with Mr. Long) 'we will bear with his humour like friends,' which does not harmonise with the resumption of 'familiares' in 'idem illi.'

Locuntur. So the Vatican MS. Halm reads 'loquantur,' but the Romans appear to have avoided with especial care the concurrence of 'uu.' See Mr. Munro's Lucretius, vol. 2. p. 27.

17. Nec erit iustior, &c. In his large edition Halm places these words within inverted commas, as though they were part of the warning given by Antony's associates, 'nor will you find death a less valid excuse than sickness for not coming into the senate.' To this it is objected by Prof. Rauchenstein (Jahn's Jahrbücher for 1857, p. 382) that Cicero had not pleaded illness, but weariness ('cum e via languardem et mihiatem displice-rem,' c. 5, 12), and that the warning of his foes ends with the words 'admonent quiddam;' the clause 'nec erit iustior, &c., containing the exposition of Cicero's intended caution, and meaning, 'if sickness is, as all allow, a valid excuse for absence from the senate, surely the danger of death is at least as valid, and I shall be fully justified, if these threats continue, in refusing to expose myself to obvious peril of my life.' In his second school edition (1858), Halm adopts this explanation.

18. Sed per deos immortales! The sentence, interrupted after this exclamation, is virtually though not formally resumed in § 30, with the words 'recordare, quaeo, Dolabella,' &c. Cicero, being as yet unwilling to make the rupture with Antony
immortales!—te enim intuens, Dolabella, [qui es mihi carissimus,] non possum utriusque vestrum errorem reticere—: credo enim vos, nobiles homines, magna quaedam spectantes, non pecuniam, ut quidam nimirum creduli suspicantur, quae semper ab amplissimo quoque clarissimoque contempta est, non opes violentas et populo Romano minime ferendam potentiam, sed caritatem civium et gloriam concupivisse. Est autem gloria laus recte factorum magnorumque in rem publicam meritorum, quae cum optimi cuiusque, tum etiam multitidinis testimonio comprobatur. Dicerem, Dolabella, qui recte factorum fructus esset, nisi te praeter ceteros paulisper esse expertum viderem. Quem potes recordari in vita illuxisse tibi diem laetum quem cum expiato foro, dissipato concursu impiorum, principibus sceleris poena affectis, te domum recipisti? Cuius ordinis, cuius generis, cuius denique fortunae studia tum laudi et gratulationi tuae se non obtulerunt? Quin mihi etiam, quo auctore te in his rebus uti arbitrabantur, et gratias boni viri agebant et tuo nomine gratulabantur. Recordare, quæso, Dolabella, consensum illum theatri, cum omnes earum rerum oblit, propert quas

final, here attributes the unpatriotic conduct of the Consul to an error of judgment.

1. Qui es mihi carissimus. These words rest solely on the authority of the second writer in the Vatican MS.

3. Nobiles homines. The word ‘nobiles’ is here used in its strictly technical sense, ‘belonging to families ennobled by the tenure of curule offices.’

4. Nimirum creduli. Yet at the end of November in this same year, Cicero, in a letter to Atticus, Att. 16. 15, i, speaks of Dolabella as having betrayed a client’s cause, ‘emptus pecunia.’

Ab amplissimo quoque, ‘by each in proportion to his dignity and honour;’ the usual force of the superlative with ‘quique.’

5. Opes violentas, ‘resources founded on violence.’ Cicero frequently draws a similar distinction between ‘money’ and the wider expression ‘opes.’ cp. Lael. 6, 22 ‘Ceterae res, quae expetuntur, opportune sunt singulae rebus fere singulis, divitiae ut utare, opes ut colare, honores ut laudare.’

7. Est autem gloria. Op. c. 14, 33; and Tusc. 3, 2, 3 ‘Ea (gloria) est conscientiam laus bonorum, incorrupta vox bene indicantium de excellenti virtute, ea virtutis resonat tanquam imago: quae quia recte factorum plerumque comes est, non est bonis viris repudianda.’

13. Expiato foro, &c. See on § 5. After ‘affectis,’ one MS. adds the words ‘urbe incendio et caedis metu liberata.’

14. Cuius ordinis, &c., ‘what rank, or family, or fortune, then could hinder men from pressing forward to congratulate and praise you?’


19. Eorum rerum oblit. Dolabella, being greatly in debt, and finding that Caesar would do nothing for him, caused himself to be adopted into the plebeian family of Cn. Lentulus, and thus became eligible for the tribuneship, which he obtained in 48 B.C. He then proposed a general abolition of debts, which gave rise to great tumults, the opposition being headed by his colleague L. Trebellius: and these tumults being repeated on the day of voting, Dolabella’s party was defeated, and the motion lost, mainly through the influence of Antony, then Caesar’s Master of the Horse.
§§ 20—32. **ORATIO PHILIPPICA I.**

fuerant tibi offensi, significarent se beneficio novo memoriam 31 veteris doloris abiecisse. Hanc tu, P. Dolabella,—magnò loquor cum dolore,—hanc tu, inquam, potuisti aequo animo tantam 13 dignitatem deponere? Tu autem, M. Antoni,—absentem enim appello,—unum illum diem, quo in aede Telluris senatus fuit, non omnibus his mensibus, quibus te quidam multum a me dissentientes beatum putant, anteponis? Quae fuit oratio de concordia! quanto metu veterani quanta sollicitudine civitas tum a te liberata est, cum collegam tuum depositis inimicitiis, oblitus auspiciorum a te ipso augure populi Romani nuntiatorium, illo primum die collegam tibi esse voluísti, tuus parvus filius in 32 Capitolium a te missus pacis obses fuit. Quo senatus die laetior? quo populus Romanus? qui quidem nulla in contione umquam frequentior fuit. Tum denique liberati per viros fortissimos videbamur, quia, ut illi voluerant, libertatem pax consequebatur. Proximo, altero, tertio, denique reliquis consecutis diebus non intermitterebas quasi donum aliquod quotidie afferre rei publicae, maximum autem illud, quod dictatae nomen sustulisti. Haec inusta est a te, a te, inquam, mortuo Caesari nota ad ignominiam sempiternam. Ut enim propter unius M. Manlii scelus 20 decreto gentis Manliæ neminem patricium Manlium Marcum

cc. 13—15. Apostrophizing Antony in his absence, he reminds him of his magnanimous and patriotic conduct during the few days immediately following the death of Caesar. Especially he thanks him for abolishing the dictatorship; and pointing out the infamy with which he thereby branded the last holder of the office, he laments that instead of following the example of M. Antonius, his grandfather, he should seek to imitate Caesar, by striving after supreme power and desiring to be feared. At the same time he warns both Antony and Dolabella that the public voice was everywhere against the memory of Caesar, and in favour of constitutional authority, and that any one who sought to rival the dictator's power must be prepared to meet with the dictator's fate.

He ends his oration by declaring his undying zeal for the good of the state, and thanking the senate for the kindness with which they had listened to him.

5. Unum illum diem. See on § 1.
8. Veterani. Their fear would probably be lest the grants of land made by Caesar should be revoked; for otherwise the interests of the soldiery would lie on the side of war and tumult. The suggestion of Graevius, that 'veterani' is the genitive ('from what fear of the veteran soldiery'), 'veteranus' being used like 'eques' or 'pedes,' is improbable, and unsupported by any similar use of the word. Halm conjectures 'veterum malorum,' but the antithesis of the sentence seems to require some word in the nominative case. Madvig, Opusc. 1. p. 203, thinks the reading corrupt, but does not suggest any emendation.

10. Auspiciorum; by which he had declared the election of Dolabella to be invalid. See 2. 33, 82 and 83.
11. Tuus parvus filius. See on § 2.
20. M. Manlii, the preserver of Rome from the night attack of the Gauls, 390 B.C.; in consequence of whose subsequent attempt, 384 B.C., to raise himself to despotic power, the Manilia gens passed a resolution that none of them should henceforth bear the praenomen of Marcus, Livy 6. 20. According to Dion Cassius, 51. 19, a similar decree was passed in the family of the Antonii, after the battle of Actium, to mark their repudiation of M. Antonius.
21. Patricium; there being also plebeian families of Manlii.
vocari licet, sic tu propter unius dictatoris odium nomen dictatoris funditus sustulisti. Num te, cum haec pro salute rei publicae tanta gessisses, fortunae tuae, num amplitudinis, num claritatis, num gloriae, poenitebat? Unde igitur subito tanta ista mutatio? Non possum adduci ut suspicer te pecunia captum: licet quod cuique libet loquantur, credere non est necesse; nihil enim umquam in te sordidum, nihil humile cognovi. Quamquam solent domestici depravare non numquam, sed novi firmitatem tuam. Atque utinam ut culpam, sic etiam suspicione vitare potuisse! Illud magis vereor, ne ignorans verum iter gloriae gloriosum putes plus te unum posse quam omnes et metui a civibus tuis. Quod si ita putas, totam ignoras viam gloriae. Carum esse civem, bene de re publica mereri, laudari, coli, diligi gloriosum est: metui vero et in odio esse invidiosum, detestabile, imbecillum, caducum. Quod videmus etiam in fabula illi ipsi, qui ‘oderint, dum metuant’ dixerit, perniciosumuisse. Utinam, M. Antoni, avum tuum meminisses! de quo tamen audisti multa ex me caqae saepissime. Putasne illum immortalitatem mereri voluisse, ut propter armorum habendorum licentiam metueretur? Illa erat vita, illa secunda

6. Nihil in te sordidum. Yet in the next oration, c. 14, 35, he does not hesitate to attribute the conduct of Antony to the basest greed for money, and in the same oration, c. 16, 40 and 41, he points out his discreditable avarice in securing, by any means, the succession to the property even of utter strangers. It is probable, however, that Cicero here refers to his liberality in spending money, which Plutarch (vit. Anton. 4) shows to have been remarkable.

8. Domestici; referring especially to his wife Fulvia, whose avarice was notorious. Cp. 5. 4, 11 'Calebat in interiore aedem parte totius reipublicae mundinae: mulier, sibi felicior quam viris, aquitionem provinciarum regnumque faciebat.'

11. Metui a civibus tuis. Some MSS. add 'quam diligi mali,' but these words seem to have been inserted (perhaps from Off. 2. 8, 29 'Dum metui, quam cari esse, et diligi malumus') by some copyist, who did not see that 'metui' depends on 'gloriosum,' and is parallel to 'plus te unum posse.' 

'You think that glory consists in being more powerful than all your fellow-citizens together, and in being the object of their dread.'

15. Imbecillum, caducum, 'a sign of weakness and impending ruin.'

16. Oderint, dum metuant. These words, probably from Attius, are quoted with abhorrence by Seneca, de Ira, 1. 20, 4 'qualis illa dira et abominanda, Oderint dum metuant:' and again by Cicero, Off. 1. 28, 97, as a wicked sentiment, but yet appropriately put into the mouth of some characters, 'Atreo dicente plausus excitatur. Est enim digna persona oratio.'

17. De quo tamen, &c. 'Tamen' rather apologizes for the utterance of the wish, than qualifies its meaning. 'And yet there ought to be no doubt of your doing so, considering how often you have heard so much from me concerning him.'

19. Ut ... metueretur, 'at the price of being feared.' Cp. Nat. Deor. 1. 24, 67 'Quid enim mereas, ut Epicurus esse desinas,' 'what would you take to give up Epicureanism?' Verr. Act. 2. 4. 60, 134 'Quid arbitramini Reginos merere velle, ut ab ilis marmoreo illa Venus auferatur.' The expression is said by Ferrarius to be confined to Cicero and Plautus. Cp. Plaut. Menaechem. 1. 3, 35 'Neque hodie ut te perdam, meream Deum divitias nihil.'
fortuna, libertate esse parem ceteris, principem dignitatem. Itaque, ut omittere res avitut prosperas, acerbiissimum eius supremum diem malum quam L. Cinenae dominatum, a quo ille crudelissime est interfactus.

Sed quid oratione te flectam? Si enim exitus C. Caesaris efficere non potest ut malis carus esse quam metui, nihil cuiusquam proficiet nec valebit oratio. Quem qui beatamuisse putant, miseris ipsi sunt. Beatus est nemo, qui ea legem vivit, ut non modo impune, sed etiam cum summa interfectoris gloria interfici possit. Quare flecte te, quaeso, et maiores tuos respice atque ita gubernare rem publicam ut natum esse te cives tui gaudeant; sine quo nec beatus nec clarus nec unctus quisquam esse omnino potest. Populi quidem Romani iudicia multa ambo habetis, quibus vos non satis moveri permodeste fero. Quid enim gladiatoribus clamores innumerabilium civium? quid populi versus? quid Pompei statuae plausus infinitus? quid duobus

2. Supremum diem. See on § 27.
3. Dominatum. His four successive consulships, 87–84 B.C., called also by Tacitus, Ann. I, 1, 'dominatio.' Among the leading men in Rome, besides M. Antonius and L. Caesar, L. Merula, Q. Catulus, Cn. Octavius and others fell victims to his tyranny.
4. Carus esse quam metui. Cp. 2. 44, 112 'Caritate te et benevolentia civium saepium oportet esse, non armis.'
5. Nec unctus. So the Vatican MS. only, all the rest omitting it. Halm adopts the conjecture of Muretus 'nec tutus,' others read 'nec sanctus,' or 'nec diuturnus.' If the reading be genuine, 'unctus' probably means 'distinguished,' like 'lautus,' for which sense however there is apparently no authority elsewhere, the nearest approach to it being a metaphorical use of the word as applied to language, Brut. 20, 73 'Iam enim erat unctor quasi absque splendidoque consuetudo loquenti.'
6. Iudicia multa. Showing, that is, the rigour with which they exact true patriotism as a necessary condition of popularity.
7. Gladiatoribus, 'at the time of the gladiators' shows.' Cp. Att. 2, 1, 5 'Quae sit, quae ex me, num consuessem Siculs locum gladiatoribus dare; ib. 19, 3 'Gladiatibus qua dominus qua advocati sibilis conscius: ludis Apollinaribus, Diphilus tragedies in nostrum Pompeium petulantibus invenit.' So in Greek, τραγῳδαὶ κανονίς, 'when the new tragedies were acted.' ap. Dem. Cor. p. 243, 16.
8. Populi versus. Extempore effusions, by which the people on any public occasion expressed their views on the events and characters of the day; in the present instance probably either praising Caesar's murderers, or reviling those who sought to emulate him in crushing the liberty of the state. Cicero expresses his opinion about the general value of such demonstrations, pro Sest. 54, 115 'Comitiorium et comitium significations sunt non numquam viitis atque corruptae: theatralibus gladiatoriisque consessus dicuntur omnia solere levitate nonnullorum emptos plausus exiles et raros excipisse.' 'Significo' appears to be the technical word for such expression of opinion: cp. also pro Sest. 50, 106 'Tribus locis significari maxime populi Romani iudiciis ac voluntas potest, contione, comitio, ludorum gladiatorumque consessu.'
9. Pompei statuae, the statue of Pompey in the Curia Pompei, at the foot of which Caesar was assassinated, and which is therefore represented as looking with a favourable eye upon his death. A statue, believed to be the one in question, 'yet existent in

The austerest form of naked majesty,' is preserved in the Palazzo Spada at Rome. Duobus tribunis plebis, 'the ap-
tribunis plebis, qui vobis adversantur? parumne haec significat incredibiliter consentientem populi Romani universi voluntatem? Quid? Apollinarium ludorum plausus vel testimonia potius et iudicia populi Romani parum magna vobis videbantur? O beatos illos, qui, cum adesse ipsis propter vim armorum non licebat, aderant tamen et in medullis populi Romani ac visceribus haerebant! nisi forte Attio 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 clamore leniret.

Equidem is sum qui istos plausus, cum popularibus civibus tribuerentur, semper contemperim; idemque cum a summis, medias, insimis, cum denique ab universis hoc idem fit cumque ii, qui ante sequi populi consensum solebant, fugiunt, non plausum illum, sed iudicium puto. Sin haec leviora vobis videntur,

plause bestowed on the two tribunes of the commons,' 'tribunis,' like 'statuae,' being the dative. The reading of the Vatican MS. is 'a T. R. P.,' where the 'iu' (II) might equally stand for 'ii,' whence Ferrarius conjectured 'iis.' Cicero, Phil. 3, 9, 23, enumerates three tribunes of the commons among the enemies of Antony, L. Cassius, D. Carfulenus, and Ti. Cauittus, the last-named being also mentioned by Velleius, 2, 64, 2, as a bitter antagonist who 'continua rabie lacerabat Antonium.' The other one referred to here is probably L. Cassius, the brother of C. Cassius: cp. Att. 14, 2, 1 'Plausus L. Cassio datus etiam facetus mihi quidem visus est.'

3. Apollinarium ludorum plausus, 'aplauss,' not merely as at the gladiators' shows, at the time of the games, but 'bestow'd upon the games themselves,' and so by implication on Brutus, who as 'praetor urbanus' had defrayed their expense, though he did not dare to trust himself in Rome. The presidency of the games, in his absence, was entrusted to C. Antonius. The games took place every year on the 6th of July.

4. O beatos illos. Brutus, Cassius, and their adherents, who, though banished from the city, yet remained rooted in the hearts and breasts of the people.

7. Attio. The play acted at these games was the Tereus of Attius. Cp. Cic. Att. 16, 2, 3 'Delectari mihi Tereo videbatur, et habere maiorem Attio quam Antonii gratiam.' Cicero argues that this unwonted demonstration in favour of so old a play could only be due to the circumstances under which it was acted.

9. Tribuerit, 'have shown their zeal, which still remains, while at the time they soothed their regret.' Each tense has thus its proper and distinct meaning, and the various emendations, 'tribuerunt,' found as a correction in the Vatican MS., and adopted by Halm, or 'lenierit,' are quite unnecessary. Cp. Vell. 1, 9, 1 'Nam biennio adeo varia fortuna cum consulibus conflexerat, ut plerumque superior fuerit, (has continued to show his superiority,) magnamque partem Graeciae in societatem suam peruceret (brought, once for all, into alliance with himself.)'

12. Cum popularibus tribuerentur, 'as a mere tribute of, praise to citizens who court popular favour.' One MS. and many editors read 'a popularibus,' apparently from a wish to make it harmonize with 'a summis,' &c., interpreting 'populares' and 'qui sequi populi consensum solebant' to mean 'citizens who follow in the wake of public opinion, and always shout with the majority;' but besides the strangeness of meaning thus given to 'populares,' the difference of mood and tense in the two clauses shows that they were in no way intended to be parallel.

15. Qui . . . solebant, 'who used to follow public opinion,' but see that the present is no time to show themselves, since now it is not demagogues, but honest men, who are being cheered.
5. Tantam tamen, &c., 'yet whom can we remember whose health excited such anxiety, such fear in all good men?' Fear, that is, of the consequences should the state be left unprotected by the death of the Consul elect. Most MSS. read 'timorem omnium,' omitted in the Vatican, which may be justified on the ground that even the inferior citizens, though they might not care for the death of the man, would yet dread the loss of the Consul. As late as the last week in December Cicero writes to a friend that 'Hirtius noster tardius convalescit,' Fam. 12. 22, 1. Cp. Phil. 7. 4, 12; 8, 2, 5.

8. Quid? eos, &c. 'If the Romans care so much for the life of those whom they hope to find serving the interests of the state, think ye they will pass over your proceedings without notice,' when they see you trying to reimpose on them the yoke of slavery? Vulg. 'Quid eos ... cogitare censetis?'

10. Fructum. In clearing his own conscience, and in experiencing the kindness and attention of the senate. 


14. Utar, without 'ea.' Cp. pro Sulla

33. 92 'Quae prima innocentis mihi defensio est obleta suscepi.'

15. Mihi fere satis est, &c., 'I have lived long enough to satisfy my desire of life, and to fill up the measure of my fame,' Cp. Fam. 10. 1, 1 'Mihi maximae curae est, non de mea quidem vita, cui satisfeci, vel aetate, vel factis, vel (si quid etiam hoc ad rem pertinent) gloria: sed me patria sollicitat,' and Att. 14. 21, 3 'Mihi quidem βέβηλωσα.'
INTRODUCTION
TO THE SECOND ORATION.

After the delivery of the first Philippic oration, Antony remained for some days in his villa at Tibur, employed, according to Cicero, in arranging and rehearsing his reply, Phil. 2. 17, 42; 5. 7, 19; Fam. 12. 2, 1. On his return to Rome he summoned the senate to meet on the 19th of September, and then delivered a speech in Cicero's absence, the nature of which we can gather from the answer it provoked. He accused Cicero of personal baseness and ingratitude; of cruelty and oppression in his consulship; of having caused the death of P. Clodius; of having brought about the civil war, by sowing variance between Caesar and Pompey; and lastly of having been the prime mover in the murder of Caesar himself. It was an open declaration of war, formed with the object of concentrating on Cicero the enmity of all parties in the state. Regarding it in this light, Cicero did not venture on an immediate reply, and though he remained in Rome till the end of the month, he did not appear in the senate.

Early in October he retired to Puteoli, where he occupied himself in composing the second Philippic oration, in reply to Antony. It was submitted to the criticism of Atticus, and some alterations made in it at his suggestion, Att. 16. 11; but though he was in Rome for a part of the autumn, he still abstained from coming into open collision with Antony, and the oration did not pass beyond the circle of his confidential friends till the end of November, when Antony left Rome to quell the mutiny of his troops at Alba. Then, with the approbation of Atticus, Cicero published his manifesto, and the success with which it met showed the soundness of the judgment which had kept it back so long. The defection of the legions weakened the prestige of Antony, and people were prepared to join in any clamour raised against him. The crisis only called for some one with authority to lead the cry, and Cicero's oration gave the impulse which was requisite. Accepting the challenge which Antony had given some ten weeks before, he openly
declared himself his enemy, and laid bare his character in one of the bitterest invectives which has ever been composed. He begins by answering in detail the charges which Antony had brought against him, and then reviews the public and the private life of Antony throughout its course, showing him to be, if the account be true, the greatest monster of corruption, meanness, and profligacy ever seen upon the earth. Even allowing for exaggeration, there was enough of truth in the attack to make it tell with fatal force against the cause of Antony. The people were shaken by it in their natural allegiance to the Consul; the veterans were reminded that the man who claimed to be the heir of Caesar’s power had slighted and insulted Caesar’s adopted son; and the senate were roused to energetic measures against Antony which contrasted strongly with their previous apathy. Above all, Cicero was placed in a position of influence which made him virtually the leader of the senate, and gave additional weight to his continued exertions in the cause of freedom.

The speech professes to be spoken on the 19th of September, in immediate reply to Antony; but even from internal evidence, from the elaboration of its arguments, and the very perfectness of its detail, we might gather that it could not have been an extempore address; and it is at least noticeable that in no speech which he actually delivered does he lavish such unqualified abuse upon the tyranny of Caesar.

Though it is characterized in many parts by a coarseness which we feel to be intolerable to modern ears, yet the verdict of all ages pronounces this oration to be Cicero’s masterpiece. It is probably to this, the longest of the political orations, that the younger Pliny is referring, Ep. i. 20, 4, when he tells of ‘M. Tullium, cuius oratio optima fertur, quae maxima;’ and the lines of Juvenal, 10. 124, are famous

‘Ridenda poemata malo,
Quam te conspicuae, divina Philippica, famae,
Volveris a prima quae proxima.’

It was undoubtedly to this oration that the title of Philippic was especially applied, though when it was first given is not easily ascertained. Plutarch, Cic. 24, says that Cicero himself entitled the orations his Philippiques, but he is perhaps referring to passages in the spurious letters to Brutus, 2. 4. 2; 5. 4; so that the lines of Juvenal contain the first certain trace of the name.

The oration has great historical, as well as literary, value, from the continual allusions to the events of a period of which we have no satisfactory continuous history.
QUONAM meo fato, patres conscripti, fieri dicam, ut nemo his annis viginti rei publicae fuerit hostis, qui non bellum codem tempore mihi quoque indixerit? Nec vero necesse est quemquam a me nominari: vobiscum ipsi recordamini. Mihi poenarum illi plus quam optarem dederunt: te miror, Antoni, quorum facta non perhorrescere. Atque hoc in aliis minus mirabar. Nemo enim illorum inimicus mihi fuit voluntarius: omnes a me rei publicae causa lacessiti. Tu ne verbo quidem violatus, ut audacior quam Catilina, furiosior quam Clodius viderere, ultro me maledictis lacessisti tuamque a me c. 1. Cicero opens his speech by remarking on his peculiar destiny, that he was always personally involved in conflict with every citizen who had proved himself a traitor to the state. Generally he was the aggressor, but Antony had taken the initiative in a speech of more than ordinary virulence. After reviewing all the motives which suggested themselves for such a course, he concludes that Antony must have wished to make his treason unmistakable, by attacking so notorious a patriot.

1. Nemo. He mentions by name Catiline and Clodius, but the point of his sarcasm is not a little blunted by the omission of Caesar, from whom he had received too many favours to enumerate him among his personal enemies.

2. His annis viginti, 'within these twenty years:' a less exact description of time than 'ante hos viginti annos,' or 'abhinc viginti annos,' though according to the inclusive mode of reckoning in vogue at Rome it was just twenty years since the conspiracy of Catiline, 63 B.C.

Bellum indixerit: cp. pro Sulla, 9, 28 'Cum mihi uni cum omnibus improbis aeternum videam esse bellum susceptum.'

5. Optarem, 'than I should wish them to have paid, did it still depend on me.' Heumann's conjecture 'optaram' is needless, and would rather express that Cicero had determined in his own mind some less penalty which he had wished that they should pay.

7. Voluntarius, 'of his own accord, without having been first attacked by me.'

9. Ut... viderere. These words go better with 'lacessisti' than with 'violatus;' 'you attacked me, to prove yourself more daring than Catiline, more insane than Clodius.'

Contra rem suam me nescio quando venisse questus est. An 2 ego non venirem contra alienum pro familiari et necessario? non venirem contra gratiam non virtutis spe, sed actatis flore collecta? non venirem contra iniuriam, quam iste intercessoris ini-

1. Ad impios cives: cp. 5. 1, 3 'Ne-minem aequirerem reperiet quam me, cui, dum se civibus impis commendat, inimicus quam amicus esse maluit.'

2. Quid putem? Of the four conceivable reasons for Antony's conduct, viz. 1. contempt of Cicero, 2. a mistaken estimate of their respective positions with the senate, 3. a desire to rival him in oratory, 4. a wish to prove his own disloyalty, by attacking the noblest of patriots, Cicero rejects the first three as untenable, and adopts the fourth.

In vita, 'in my private life,' as opposed to 'in rebus gestis,' 'in the actions of official life.'

6. Uni conservatae: so Cat. 4. 10, 20 Ceteris semper bene gesta, mihi uni conservata republica gratulationem decrevisti.' Cp. also Cat. 3. 6, 15. Phil. 14. 8, 24.

7. Hoc quidem, 'this is indeed the greatest kindness he could show me.'

9. Illud profecto. So the Vatican MS. The others add 'est:' but 'illud' depends on some such word as 'putavit,' to be supplied from 'non existimavit.'

c. 2. 3. He began by charging Cicero with being false to ties of friendship, by opposing him in a lawsuit. Cicero replies, first generally, that he was pleading against Antony, with whom he was wholly unconnected, for a friend, and in the cause of justice; then in detail he denies that Antony was an intimate of his house, or that he owed his augurship to the courtesy of Antony, who could not possibly have stood against him; or that Antony had any claim upon his gratitude, unless it constituted a claim that he had once abstained from murdering him. Even if the most were made of this, it could not outweigh Cicero's plain duty in denouncing Antony when he violated every duty of a citizen, a magistrate, and a man.

14. Contra rem suam. In some trial, of the particulars of which we know nothing, but in which, from Cicero's expression, Antony was rather indirectly than directly interested. So far as we can gather, it would seem probable that the suit in question was brought by Sicca, Cicero's Sicilian friend, against some associate of Antony's, and that the latter, finding the suit going against his friend, prevailed on a certain tribune of the commons, whose favour he had gained by companionship in profligacy, to stop the proceedings by his veto. We may infer, from a letter of Cicero to Atticus, Att. 16. 11. 1, that Cicero suppressed the details at the instigation of Atticus, out of regard for the honour of Sicca. The defendant has been thought, with some probability, to be Quintus Fadius himself; this passage evidently implying that it was some one who belonged to the order of freedmen.

17. Non venirem contra iniuriam, &c., 'was I not to oppose a wrong which
§§ 1—4. ORATIO PHILIPPICA II.

quissimi beneficio obtinuit, non iure praetorio? Sed hoc idcirco commemorationatem a te puto, uti te insimo ordini commendares, cum omnes te recordarentur libertini generum et liberos tuos nepotes Q. Fadii, libertini hominis, fuisse. At enim te in disciplinam meam tradideras—nam ita dixisti—; domum meam ventitaras. Ne tu, si id fecisses, melius fames, melius pudicitiae tuae consulsuisse. Sed neque fecisti nec, si cuperes, tibi id per C. Curionem facere licuisse. Auguratus petitionem mihi te concessisse dixisti. O incredibilem audaciam! O impudentiam praecandidam! Quo enim tempore me augem rem a toto collegio expetitum Cn. Pompeius et Q. Hortensius nominaverunt—nec enim licebat a pluribus nominari—, tu nec solvendo eras nec te ullo modo nisi cersa re publica

Antony carried through, not by due course of law in the praetor’s court, but by favour of a veto from the most unscrupulous of tribunes? It appears from the speech against Vatinius, 14, 33, that such exercise of the veto was at least an unusual, if not an absolutely illegal practice: ‘Fecerisne, quod in hac republica non modo factum antea nunquam est, sed in omni memoria est omnino inauditum? appellantis tribunos plebis, ne causam diceres?’

3. Te is inserted by Halm, following Orelli, as necessary for the construction.

Libertini generum. Fada was his first wife. Cp. 13. 10, 23 ‘Is humilitatem despicere audet cuiusquam, qui ex Fadia susceperit liberos.’ According to Sue- tonius, Claud. 24, the original meaning of this word ‘libertinus’ was a freedman’s son, as opposed to ‘libertas,’ a freedman: ‘Ignarus temporibus Appii et deinceps aliquamdiu libertinos dictos non ipsos, qui manumitterentur, sed ingenuos ex his procreatps;’ but in all extant authors in whom we find the words, from Plautus onwards, they both denote the actual freedman, ‘libertinus’ absolutely, in respect of his condition in the state, ‘libertas’ in his relation to his former master.

4. Fuisse. Fadius being apparently already dead, so that the tie between him and Antony was no longer in existence.

At enim. Here Cicero introduces, and refutes, the several arguments whereby Antony had sought to prove that he was not ‘alienus,’ but bound to Cicero by the closest ties.

In disciplinam. ‘You had placed yourself under my instruction.’ Cp. de Div. 1. 41, 92 ‘Senatus decretivit ut de principum filiis decem singulis Etruriae populi in disciplinam tradierentur.’

6. Ne tu. All the MSS. concur in the orthography ‘ne,’ rather than ‘nae,’ which appears to be a later device for the sake of distinction from the conjunction. Cp. Kritz on Sall. Cat. 52, 27. In Cicero this adverb is never found except in combination with a pronoun. Cp. c. 30, 76.

8. C. Curionem. See c. 18, 44—46. It was to Curio’s influence that Antony owed his election to the augurship, 53 B.C., three years after Cicero’s admission to the college. Cp. Plut. Ant. 5 δήμαρχον ἀπέδειξε τὸν Ἀντώνιον, ἔτι τῶν ἐπ’ οἷον εἰρέων οὖς Ἀγγέωμας καλόνων.

9. Mihi te concessisse, ‘you retired in my favour from the contest for the augurship.’

11. A toto collegio. The number of the augurs was increased by Sulla to fifteen, by Caesar to sixteen. The nomination by two augurs perhaps was a relic of the time when their whole number was only three, and any vacancy was filled by the ‘co-optatio’ of the two survivors. By the ‘Lex Domitia de Sacerdotis,’ passed 103 B.C., and re-enacted 63 B.C., the election to the college of augurs was vested in seventeen out of the thirty-five tribes chosen by lot.

13. Nec solvendo eras, ‘were insolvent;’ lit. ‘not in a condition to pay your debts.’ Cp. Livy 2. 9 ‘Tributo plebes liberata, ut dictes conferrent, qui oneri ferendo essent.’ This use of the dative is closely allied to its employment as marking the destination in official titles: Cp. Livy 10. 8 ‘Decemviri sacris faciundis;’ Id. 2. 8 ‘Comitia collegiae subrogando habuit;’ and see Madv. § 415, Obs. 1.
fore incolunem putabas. Poteras autem eo tempore auguratum petere, cum in Italia C. Curio non esset? aut tum, cum es factus
unam tribum sine Curione ferre potuisses? cuius etiam famillares
de vi condemnati sunt, quod tui himis studiosi fuissent. At beneficio sum tuo usus. Quo? quamquam illud ipsum, quod commemoraras, semper prae me tuli. Malui me tibi debere consitteri quam cuiquam minus prudenti non satis gratus videri. Sed quo beneficio? quod me Brundisii non occideris? Quem ipse victor, qui tibi, ut tute gloriari solebas, detulerat cx latronibus
suis principatum, salvum esse voluisses, in Italiam ire iussisset, cum tu occideres? Fac potuisses. Quod est aliiud, patres conscripti, beneficium latronum, nisi ut commemorare possint iis se dedisse vitam, quibus non ademerint? Quod si esset beneficium, numqui illum interfecerunt, a quo crant conservati, quos tu clarissimos viros soles appellare, tantam essent gloriam consecuti. Quale autem beneficium est, quod te abstinuereis nefario scelere? Qua in re non tam iucundum mihi videri debuit non interfectum me a te, quam miserum te id impune facere potuisses. Sed sit beneficium, quando quidem maius accipi
a latrone nullum potuit: in quo potes me dicere ingratum? an de interitu rei publicae queri non, debui, ne in te ingratus viderer? At in illa querella, miserà quidem et luctuosa, sed mihi pro hoc gradu, in quo me senatus populusque Romanus collocavit, necessaria, quid est dictum a me cum contumelia?

1. Fore incolunem, 'could escape bankruptcy.'
2. Semper prae me tuli: see on 1. 4, 11.
3. Minus prudenti, 'who does not look at the matter in its right light.'
4. Sed quo: see on 1. 11, 27.
5. Quod si esset beneficium. Cicero's argument is, that the general voice of the Roman people, in holding the assassins of Caesar, who had owed their lives to him, to be yet worthy of the highest praise, declared that no gratitude was due to any one who merely abstained from exercising illegal power over the lives of his fellow-citizens. Cp. c. 24, 59, and Sen. de Benef. 2. 20, 3. 'Non enim servavit is, qui non interfecit, nec beneficium dedit, sed missioium.'
6. Interfectum me. 'Me' is a conjecture of Madvig's, being absent from the MSS. He urges that its insertion is absolutely necessary, since 'nudum participium pro tota sententia infinita nullo exemplo nulla ratione posuit' Opusc. 1. p. 207.
7. In illa querella, sc. the first Philippic, in which, as we have seen, his tone towards Antony was comparatively moderate.
8. Miserà quidem. With this concessive use of 'quidem,' it is usual to insert the pronoun, 'miserà illam quidem,' but its absence here is due to its occurrence immediately before.
9. Pro hoc gradu, 'in consideration of my consular rank.' For the view which Cicero entertained of the responsibilities involved by this position, see 1. 6, 14 and 15; 6, 7, 18.
temperantiae fuit, de M. Antonio querentem abstinerre male-
dictis, praesertim cum tu reliquias rei publicae dissipavisses,
cum domi tuae turpissimo mercatu omnia essent venalia, cum
leges eas, quae numquam promulgatae essent, et de te et a te
latas confiterere, cum auspicia augur, intercessionem consul
sustulisses, cum esses foedissime stipatus armatis, cum omnes
impuritates impudica in domo quotidie susciperes vino lustrisque
confectus. At ego, tamquam mihi cum M. Crasso contentio esset,
quocum multae et tam magnae fuerunt, non cum uno gladiatore
nequissimo, de re publica graviter querens de homine nihil dixi. 10
Itaque hodie perficiam ut intelligat, quantum a me beneficium
tum acceperit. At etiam litteras, quas me sibi misisse diceret,

2. Reliquias, 'the remaining treasures of the state.' Cp. r. 7, 17.
3. Domi tuae: Cp. cc. 14, 35; 36, 94; 37, 95; 45, 115.
4. De te, 'to benefit yourself.' This
was forbidden by a 'Lex Licinia' and a 'Lex Aebutia,' both of
uncertain date. Cp. de Leg. Agrar. 2, 8, 21 'Licinia est lex et
altera Aebutia, quae non modo eum, qui tulerit de aliqua curatione
ac potestate, sed etiam collegas eius, cognatos, affines excipit,
ne ii ea potestas curiatoe mandetur.' We
learn from 11, 6, 13 that he had placed
himself on a commission for dividing public
lands; 'Duos collegas Antoniorum et Dola-
bellae, Nuculam et Lentonem, Italiae di-
visores lege ea, quam senatus per vim latam
judicavit.'
A te, and therefore not among the 'acta
Caesaris.'
5. Auspicio augur, intercessionem
consul. The first in passing his Agra-
rarian law, which was in double defiance
of the omens, both because they were at
the time adverse, and because he proposed
it in conjunction with Dolabella, whose
election he had himself pronounced void,
in consequence of unfavourable omens, see
c. 32, 81; Phil. 5, 3, 7: the second, by filling
the forum with armed men, and so forcibly
overbearing any opposition, Ib. 4, 9.
7. Impudica: so the Vat. MS.; Vulg.
'pudica,' which probably is derived from
c. 28, 69 'Quid enim unquam domus illa
videtr nisi pudicum, quid nisi ex optimo
more et sanctissima disciplina?' Here however
it is more appropriate to find an epithet
descriptive of the present condition of
the house, than a reference to its former purity
when in the possession of Pompey.
8. M. Crasso, the colleague of Caesar
and Pompey, who fell in battle against the
Parthians, 55 B.C. Cicero always professed
the greatest admiration for him in public;
cp. pro Sest. 17, 39 'M. Crassus, quocum
mihi omnes erant amicitiae necessitidines,
vir fortissimus'; and a letter to him is ex-
tant, full of the warmest protestations of
friendship, Fam. 5, 8; but in speaking of
him to his intimate friends, he always ex-
presses distrust of him; see Att. 1, 14, 3
and 4; Fam. 14, 2, 2. Many of the repartees
that passed between them are preserved by
Plutarch, Cic. cc. 25, 26.
9. Uno. Halm takes this with 'ne-
quissimo,' 'most especially wicked;' but it
is rather equivalent to 'aliqo,' with a shade
of contempt conveyed in it, 'with a certain
most abandoned gladiator.' Cp. Att. 9,
10, 2 'Me una haec res torquet, quod non no-
Pompeium, tamquam unus manipularis, se-
cutus sim:' and Plut. Truc. 2, 1, 39 'Scd
est huic unus servos violentissimus.'
4. As regards the letters which Antony
had read, while wondering at his want of
manners in publishing private correspond-
ence, and at his folly in producing docu-
ments whose authenticity he could not prove,
Cicero urges that the only charge against
him which they could support was that he
used too much courtesy in addressing An-
tyon. He would not produce in return
the letters which would show Antony in the light
of a suppliant to himself.
12. Letters. A copy of this letter,
sent to Atticus for inspection, is preserved, Att.
14, 13 B. It is couched in terms of warm
friendship, but in the accompanying letter
to Atticus he explains that his complaisance
is only feigned, for the sake of temporizing
where resistance was useless. For the sub-
stance of the letter see on 1, 1, 3.
Diceret. This use of the subjunc-
tive, of words introducing a sentence in
recitavit homo et humanitatis expers et vitae communis ignarus. Quis enim umquam, qui paulum modo bonorum consuetudinem nosset, litteras ad se ab amico missas offensione aliqua interposita in medium protulit palamque recitavit? Quid est aliud tollere ex vita vitae societatem, tollere amicorum colloquia absentium? Quam multa ioca solent esse in epistolis, quae prolata si sint, inepta videantur! quam multa seria, neque tamen ullo modo divulganda! Sit hoc inhumanitatis: stultitiam incredi-

bilem videte. Quid habes quod mihi opponas, homo diserte, ut Tironi et Mustelae iam esse videris? qui cum hoc ipso tempore stent cum gladiis in conspectu senatus, ego quoque te disertum putabo, si ostenderis, quo modo sis cos inter sicarios defensurus:—sed quid opponas tandem, si negem me umquam ad te istas litteras misisse? Quo me teste convincas? an chiro-

grapho? in quo habes scientiam quaestuosam. Quis possis? sunt enim librarii manu. Iam invideo magistro tuo, qui te tanta mercede, quantam iam proferam, nihil sapere doceat. Quid enim est minus non dicho oratoris, sed hominis, quam id ob-

licere adversario, quod ille si verbo negarit, longius progradi non possit qui obiecerit? At ego non nego, teque in isto ipso con-

vinco non inhumanitatis solum, sed etiam amentiae. Quod enim verbum in istis litteris est non plenum humanitatis, officii, benevolentiae? Omne autem crimen tuum est, quod de te in his litteris non male existimem, quod scribembam tamquam ad

the oratio obliqua, though irregular in itself, is not uncommon in Cicero. Cp. c. 24, 60 'Quod eam a me servatam esse meminis-

sent:' and see Madv. § 357, Obs. 2.

3. Nosset, the subjunctive, because the clause describes a particular class of men, not an individual.

4. Quid est aliud: see on 1. 9, 22.

8. Inhumanitatis. Halm adds 'tuae,' but it is not found in the Vatican MS., and seems unnecessary. 'So much for his ill breeding: now see the inconceivable folly of the man.'

10. Tironi et Mustelae. These men are often mentioned among the satellites of Antony: cp. 8. 9, 26; 12. 6, 14; 13. 2, 3. The latter was a native of Anagnia, and is styled by Cicero 'gladiatorum princeps,' c. 41, 106; but nothing more is known of either of them.

12. Inter sicarios, 'when tried for murder,' lit. 'when numbered among ass-
sassins for trial,' Cp. pro Rosc. Amer. 32.

90 'Sexcenti sunt, qui inter sicarios et de beneficiis accusabant;' Fin. 2. 16, 54 'Cum praetor quaestionem inter sicarios exer-

cuisset.'

15. Scientiam quaestuosam: see c. 38, 97.

17. 'Nihil sapere, 'to be a fool.' Cp. c. 17, 43, whence we learn that his teacher was Sex. Clodius, a Sicilian rhetorician, whom he rewarded with 2000 'iugera' of Leontine land.

18. Id oblicere, &c., 'to bring an ob-

jection against an opponent, which requires only his bare denial to stop your further progress in the attack.'

23. Omne autem tuum crimen, &c., 'the sole point of your accusation is that in the said letter I express no bad opinion of you.' Cp. below 'existimatio,' the expressed opinion.'

24. Scribebam: so the Vatican MS.
civem, tamquam ad bonum virum, non tamquam ad sceleratum et latronem. At ego tuas litteras, etsi iure poteram a te laces-
situs, tamen non proferam: quibus petis ut tibi per me licet quendam de exsilio reducere, adiurasseque id te invito me, non, esse facturum, idque a me impetras. Quid enim me interpo-
erem audaciae tuae, quam neque auctoritas huius ordinis neque
existimatio populi Romani neque leges ullae possent coërcere?

Verum tamen quid erat quod me rogares, si erat is, de quo
rogabas, Caesaris lege reductus? Sed videlicet meam gratiam:
voluit esse, in quo ne ipsius quidem ualla esse poterat lege
lata.

5 Sed cum mihi, patres conscripti, et pro me aliquid et in
M. Antonium multa dicenda sint, alterum peto a vobis ut me
pro me dicentem benigne, alterum ipse efficiantur, contra illum
cum dicam, attente (audiatis). Simul illud oro: si meam cum in
omni vita, tum in dicendo moderationem modestiamque cog-
nostis, ne me hodie, cum isti, ut provocavit, respondero, obluitum
esse putetis mei. Non tractabo ut consulem: ne ille quidem
me ut consularem. Etsi ille nullo modo consul, vel quod ita
vivit vel quod ita rem publicam gerit vel quod ita factus est:
10 ego sine ualla controversia consularis. Ut igitur intelligeretis,

Halm follows the ordinary reading ‘scribam,’
but there seems to be a special reason for
the difference of mood, in that ‘male existi-
mem’ only expresses the charge which An-
tony might have expected Cicero to make
against him; whereas ‘scribebam’ introduces
the actual substance of the letter.

4. Quendam. Sextus Clodius, the tool
of P. Clodius, not the rhetorician mentioned
above.

9. Meam gratiam, ‘he wished me to
have the credit of it.’

10. Lege lata: see 1, 1, 3, where An-
tony is represented as expressly declaring
that Sextus Clodius was the one exile whom
the act that Caesar had passed restored to
his country.

cc. 5-7. Apologizing for his unwonted
egotism in speaking of his own merits, Cicero
answers the attack which Antony had made
upon his consulship, by appealing to the
approbation of his conduct expressed by all
the leading men of his time: contrasting in
this respect the consulship of Antony, which
was only marked by deeds of unconstitutional
violence, calculated to win applause from
the base companions of his revolts.

13. Alterum peto, &c. The reason
for the different tone he takes with regard
to the two divisions of his speech may be
found in the beginning of Demosthenes’
speech de Corona, p. 226. 20 φισει πάσιν
ἀνθρώποις ὑπάρχει, τῶν μὲν λαοδρών καὶ
tῶν κατηγοριῶν ἀκονίην ἥρευσ, τοῖς ἐπαι-
νοῦσι δ’ αὐτῶν ἀχθεῖσαν. Accordingly,
while judiciously apologising for the part
concerning himself, he gains greater atten-
tion even for this portion of his speech, by
the promise of the more exciting invective
which is to follow. His appeal, too, to his
usual moderation is not without its object,
as serving to show that nothing but the
atrocities of the case could have led him to
break forth at such length on the present
occasion.

20. Quod ita factus est. Since he
had been nominated by Caesar, not elected
by the free vote of the people. Cp. c. 32,
79 ‘Iussus es renuntiari consul, et quidem
cum ipso.’ See on c. 30, 76. For the use
of ‘ita’ as a predicate, see Madv. § 209 b.
Obs. 2.

21. Ut igitur intelligeretis, &c.
He uses a similar argument in the speech
qualem ipse se consulem profiteretur, obiecit mihi consulatum meum. Quis consulatus verbo meus, patres conscripti, re vester fuit. Quid enim ego constitui, quid gessi, quid egi nisi ex huius ordinis consilio, auctoritate, sententia? Haece tu homo sapiens, non solum eloquens, apud eos, quorum consilio sapientiisque gesta sunt, ausus es vituperare? Quis autem meum consulatum praefer te Publimium Clodium, qui vituperaret, inventus est? Cuius quidem tibi fatum, sicut C. Curioni, manet, quoniam id domus tuae est, quod fuit illorum utrique fatale. Non placet M. Antonio consulatus meus. At placuit P. Servilio, ut eum primum nominem ex illius temporis consularibus, qui proxime est mortuos; placuit Q. Catulo, cuius semper in hae re publica vivet auctoritas; placuit duobus Lucullis, M. Crasso, Q. Hortensio, C. Curioni, C. Pisoni, M'. Glabrioni, M'. Lepido, L. Volcatio, C. Figulo, D. Silano, L. Murenac, qui tum erant consules designati; placuit idem quod consularibus M. Catoni, qui cum multa vita excedens providit, tum quod te consulem non vidit.

against Piso, 7. 14 'Relatio illa salutaris et diligens fuit consulis, animadversio quidem et judicium senatus: quae cum reprehendis, estensis qualis tu, si ita forte accidisset, fuerit illo tempore consul futurus.'

8. Tibi. One MS. has 'te...manet,' which would simply mean 'awaits you,' whereas 'tibi' is a pure dativus commodi, 'is reserved in all its force for your benefit.' So Virg. Ann. 9. 391 'Quae tibi polliceor reduci, rebusque se-cundis, Haec cadem matrice tuae generique memebunt,' 'shall be confirmed without diminution to your mother and your family.'

Id domus tuae est. Fulvia, who before she married Antony, had been the wife of P. Clodius and C. Scribonius Curio, who fell in the war with Juba, before Utica, 49 B.C. Halm retains the ordinary meaning 'domi tuae,' in your house;' but 'domus,' the reading of the Vatican MS., is more appropriate, signifying 'there exists as part of your household that which proved the death of both of them.' For the ambitious, restless character of Fulvia, cp. Plut. Ant. c. 10 Foulbsh aγαγέμων τῶν Κλαδίων τῷ δημαρχού, συνυκρίσατο, οὐ τακασίαν ὦδε οἰκουρίαν ἔφοβον γίναιον οὕτω ἀνθρόποι ἰδιώτω κρατεῖν ἄξιον, ἀλλ' ἄρχοντος ἄρην καὶ στρατηγοῦντος στρατη-γεῖν βουλόμενον.

10. P. Servilio, &c. The 'consulares' whose names he here enumerates all hold the consulship in the course of the seventeen years immediately preceding the conspiracy of Catiline, with the exception of D. Junius Silanus, and L. Licinius Murenac, who were then Consuls elect. The most eminent among them were P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus, the repressor of the Cilician and Iasian pirates, 79 B.C.; L. Lucullus, the conqueror of Mithridates; M. Licinius Crassus, the colleague of Caesar and Pompey in the so-called first triumvirate, 61 B.C.; and L. Hortensius the orator. Cicero mentions nearly the same list of his supporters, Att. 12. 21.

11. Proxime. He had died in the early part of this same year, at the advanced age of 80.

16. M. Catoni. Cato's speech on the 5th of December turned the scale against the conspirators, in whose behalf the speech of Caesar had produced a great effect.

Cum multa...providit, &c., 'by hastening his death he avoided many evils, and chief of them the sight of you as Consul.' Cp. the comment of Tacitus on the death of Agrigola, Agric. 44 'Festinatæ morbis grande solatium evasisse postremum illud tempus, quo Domitianus non iam 1er inter- valla ac spiramenta temporum, sed continuo ac velut uno ictu rem publicam exsustit,' Cato killed himself at Utica, 46 B.C., to avoid falling into Caesar's hands.
Maxime vero consulatum meum Cn. Pompeius probavit, qui, ut me primum decedens ex Syria vidit, complexus et gratulans meo beneficio patriam se visurum esse dixit. Sed quid singulos commemoro? Frequentissimo senatu si placuit, ut esset nemo, qui mihi non ut parenti gratias ageret, qui mihi non vitam suam, fortunas, liberos, rem publicam referret acceptam. Sed quoniam illis, quos nominavi, tot et talibus viris res publica orbata est, veniamus ad vivos, qui duo de consularium numero reliqui sunt. L. Cotta, vir summum ingenio summaque prudentia, rebus iiis gestis, quas tu reprehendis, supplicationem decrevit verbis amplissimis, cique illi ipsi, quos modo nominavi, consulares senatoriusque cunctus assensus est, qui honos post conditam hanc urbem habitus est togato ante me nemini. L. Caesar, avunculus tuus, qua oratione, qua constantia, qua gravitate sentiens dixit in sororis suae virum, vitricum tuum! Hunc tu cum auctorem et praeceptorem omnium consiliorum totiusque vitae debuisses habere, vitrici te similam quam avunculi maluisti. Huius ego alienus consiliis consul tum usus sum: tu, sororis filius, ecquid ad eum umquam de re publica retulisti? At ad quos refert? di immortales! Ad eos scilicet, quorum nobis etiam dies natales audiendi sunt. Hodie non descendit Anto-

1. Cn. Pompeius had been absent from Rome at the time of Cicero's consulship, and on first hearing of its events had been wanting in his congratulations, of which Cicero complains to him in an extant letter, Fam. 5. 8. Cp. Off. 1. 22, 78 'Cn. Pompeius, vir abundans bellicos laudibus, multis audientibus Ciceroni hoc tribuit, ut diceret frustra se triumphum tertium deportaturumuisse, nisi Ciceronis in rumpublicam beneficio, ubi triumpharet, esset habituris.'

6. Referret acceptam, 'gave me credit for the boon of life.' The metaphor is taken from keeping accounts, in which 'referre acceptam' is 'to enter in the column of money received,' 'referre expensam' 'to enter in that of money paid.' Cp. c. 22, 55 'Omnia denique, quae postca vidimus ... uni accepta referemus Antonio.'

8. Qui duo, 'of whom two.' The Latin idiom, more logical than the English, never uses the genitive with numerals, unless some real partition is expressed. See Madv. 284. Obs. 7.

9. L. Cotta, Consul 65 B.C., the year of the first conspiracy of Catiline, showed his friendship for Cicero, not only by proposing the 'supplicatio' (see on 1. 6, 13) in his honour, but later, by proposing his recall from exile.

15. Vitricum tuum. After the death of M. Antonius the elder, Julia married P. Lentulus Sura, the man of most note among the associates of Catiline, who was put to death in prison on the special motion of his brother-in-law L. Julius Caesar. Cp. Cat. 4. 6. 13.

18. Alienus ... consul, 'a stranger in blood, and in the highest position in the state, I thought no scorn to seek his counsels.'

20. Quorum nobis, &c., 'whose birthdays must needs be dinned into even our ears.' Such is the shamelessness of the man, that he not only celebrates the birthdays of his minions, but he cannot be content without letting the very senate know of it.

21. Non descendit, 'comes not down to the senate;' not necessarily implying literal descent, since Antony's house was in the low ground of the Carinae, but as most people in Rome lived on the hills, it was usual

1. Nataliciam, sc. 'cenam.' So Halm from the Vatican MS. Vulg. 'natalicia,' sc. 'numera,' like 'sponsalia.' Cp. ad Q. Fratr. 2, 6, i 'A. D. viii. Id. Apr. sponsalia Crassipedi praebui,'

2. Phormionis, &c., characters from well-known comedies, the former two being parasites in the Phormio and Eunuchus respectively of Terence, Ballio a pander in the Pseudolus of Plautus.

3. Tuus videlicet, &c. Cicero here begins another point in his answer, by taking up again the summary of Antony's charge against him, from the beginning of § 12 'non placet M. Antonio consulatus meus.'

4. Pudorem cum pudicitia, 'all sense of shame, as well as purity;' 'pudor' being purity of mind, 'pudicitia' purity of body. Thus they are contrasted with 'petulantia' and 'stuprum' respectively, Cat. 2, 11, 35.

5. In eo templo. In the shrine of Concord, see c. 8, 19. This was at the N.E. corner of the Forum, close under the Capitol. The raised floor of it, paved with marble, still remains. The Clivus Capitolinus, that portion of the Via Sacra which wound up the slope of the Capitoline hill, passed just to the south of the Aedes Concordiae, only separated from it by the Senaculum.

10. Quondam. Before the ruin brought upon the state by the civil war, and more recently by the oppressive measures of Antony. In his speech pro Mil. 33, 90, Cicero calls the senate house which Clodius burnt 'templum sanctitatis, amplitudinis, mentis, consilii publici, caput urbis, portum omnium gentium.'

13. Servorum armatorum. So Antony styled the knights, as being wholly subservient to Cicero. To arm slaves was in itself contrary to law.

14. Afferebam, 'I was proposing to employ.'

15. O miser, &c. Cp. c. 22, 54 'O miserum te, si haec intelligis, miseriorem si non intelligis.' Some MSS. have 'miserum' here, but cp. 13, 17, 34 'O miser, cum re, tum hoc ipso, quod non sentis quam miser sis.'

17. Nobilis. See on 1, 12, 29.

19. Nomen non dedit, 'did not enrol his name for service.' Cicero says that the very slaves hastened to volunteer for the preservation of the state, Cat. 4, 8, 16 'Ser-
§§ 15—18.

ORATIO PHILIPPICA II.

17 illorum capere potuerunt. Etenim cum homines nefarii de patriae parricidio confiterentur, conscientiorum indicii, sua manu, voce paene litterarum coacti, se urbem inflammare, cives trucidare, vastare Italian, delere rem publicam consensisse, quis esset qui ad salutem communem defendendam non excitaretur? praeceptum cum senatus populusque Romanus haberet ducem, quis si qui nunc esset, tibi idem quod illis accidit contingisset. Ad sepulturam corpus vitrisci sui negat a me datum. Hoc vero ne Publius quidem Clodius dixit unquam: quem, quia iure ei inimicus fui, doleo a te omnibus vitii [eum] esse superatum. Qui autem tibi venit in mentem redigere in memoriam nostram, te domi P. Lentuli esse educatum? An verebarea ne non putaremus natura te potuisse tam improbum evadere, nisi accessisset etiam disciplina? Tam autem eras excors, ut tota in oratone tua tecum ipse pugnares, non modo non cohaerentia inter secundum, sed maxime disiuncta atque contraria, ut non tanta mecum, quanta tibi tecum esset contentio. Vitricum tuum fuisse in tanto scelere fatebare, poena affectum querebare. Ita

vus est nemo qui modo tolerabili conditione sit scrivitus, qui non quantum audet et quantum potest conferat ad salutem voluntatis.

1. De patriae parricidio. The words 'parricidium,' 'parricida,' as applied to treason against the state, seem always to have a conscious reference to the metaphor of the state being the parent of her citizens, as in Val. Max. 6, 4, 5 'M. Brutus suarum prius virtutum quam patriae parentis parricida.' Cp. Sall. Cat. 51, 25 'Quis reprehendet, quod in parricidas reipublicae decretum erit?'

3. Se... consensisse. The infinitive is explanatory of 'de patriae parricidio confiterentur.' 'Consentio' is more usually found in a good sense, 'to agree together,' but cp. Verr. Act. 2, 5, 8, 18 'belli facienda causa consensisse.'

8. In particular Antony had charged Cicero with refusing burial to his step-father. Denying the fact, Cicero rebukes his folly in reminding the senate that Lentulus was his step-father; in laying on him the blame of a punishment for which the senate was itself responsible; and in bringing forward any charge of violence, while guilty at the moment of the grosser violence of blocking up the senate with barbarian mercenaries. He takes occasion by the way to vindicate his own poetry from the impotent assault of Antony's wit.

10. Eum, which is found in the Vatican MS., appears to be here superfluous, unless indeed the true reading be 'cui quia iure inimicus fui, doleo a te omnibus vitii eum esse superatum;' as has been conjectured by Stümben, on pro Arch. p. 185.

12. P. Lentulus Sura was Consul in 71 B.C. His dissolute life led to his expulsion from the senate in the following year, but he was again made praetor in 63 B.C., and held that office at the time of the conspiracy. See on c. 6, 13.

16. Disiuncta. So the Vatican MS. spells the word, in this place only. It means 'contradictory to each other,' in the logical sense of the word. Cp. c. 13, 32 'Quae diuicius dicetur,' 'what is put in the form of a dilemma;' and Top. 14, 56 'In diuiniectioe plus uno verum esse non potest.'
quod proprio meum est, laudasti, quod totum est senatus, reprehendisti: nam comprehensio sumont mea, animadversione senatus fuit. Homo disertus non intelligit cum, quem contra dicit, laudari a se, eos, apud quos dicit, vituperari. Iam illud cuius est, non dico audaciae—cupit enim se audacem—, sed, quod minime vult, stultitiae, qua vincit omnes, clivi Capitolini mentionem facere, cum inter subsellia nostra versentur armati? cum in hac cella Concordiae, di immortales! in qua me consule salutare sententiae dictae sunt, quibus ad hanc diem viximus, cum gladiis homines collocati stent? Accusa senatum, accusa equestrem ordinem, qui tum cum senatu copulatus fuit, accusa omnes ordinem, omnes cives, dum confiteare, hunc ordinem hoc ipso tempore ab Ityraeiis circumsederi. Haec tu non propter audaciam dicis tam impudenter, sed, quia tantam rerum repugnantiam non videas, nihil profecto sapis. Quid est enim dementi quam, cum rei publicae perniciosae arma ipse ceperis, obicere alteri salutarit? At etiam quodam loco facturus esse voluisti. Quam id te, di boni, non decebat! In quo est tua culpa non nulla; aliquid enim salis a mima uxore trahere potuisti. Cedant arma togae. Quid? tum nonne cesserunt?

3. Quem contra dicit. So Cicero always, the first use of the compound word 'contradico' being apparently in Livy 8. 2 'nece contradici, quin... amicitia de integro reconcilietur,' while its usage with a dative is wholly post-Augustan.
4. Inter subsellia nostra. In the very senate house itself (see on c. 7, 15), where, if anywhere, freedom from violence might have been confidently expected.
5. Qui copulatus fuit. See Cat. 4. 7; 15, where Cicero tells us that the knights, after many years of struggling with the senate,—the most prominent subject of dispute being the exclusive right to the 'judicum,'—had shown the greatest cordiality in combining with them to repress the sedition.
6. Ityraeiis. These men, whom he again alludes to as 'barbari sagittarii' in 5. 6, 18, were first introduced into the Roman army as archers by Caesar in his African campaign, 47 B.C. (Bell. Afric. c. 20); their country, which lies on the east bank of the Jordan, to the north-east of the sea of Galilee, having been subdued by Pompey in 63 B.C.
7. Sed quia... videas, 'because you do not see how great an inconsistency is involved.' The subjunctive here has proved a difficulty to most editors. Orelli reads, with the later MSS., 'sed, qui tantam rerum repugnantiam non videas, nihil profecto sapis.' Halm combines the readings, 'sed quia, quia non videas, nihil profecto sapis.' In his school edition of 1858 he substitutes 'cum' for 'qui.' Baiter and Kayser adopt Ernesti's reading, 'vides,' which is simply cutting the knot. Perhaps the simplest emendation is that of Frotscher, 'sed quia... non videns, nihil profecto sapis.' I have thought it best to retain the reading of the Vatican MS., though the subjunctive after 'quia' seems to be an anomaly. In other passages where 'quia' is joined with a subjunctive (as Lael. 4. 15 'ut beate vixissi videar, quia cum Scipione vixeris') the reason which it introduces is obviously quoted as existing in the mind of some one else.
8. In quo, &c., 'and yet you deserve some blame for failing.' The 'mima uxor,' who should have supplied Antony with wit was Cytheris, formerly the mistress of Volumnius Eutrapelus, Fam. 9. 26, 2; whence Cicero tells us that certain 'municipales' saluted her, when travelling with Antony, as Volumnia, c. 24, 58; cp. 28, 69.
At postea tuis armis cessit toga. Quaeramus igitur, utrum melius fuerit, libertati populi Romani sceleratorum arma an libertatem nostram armis tuis cedere. Nec vero tibi de versibus plura respondebo: tantum dicam breviter, te neque illos neque ullas omnino litteras nosse, me nec rei publicae nec amicis umquam defuisse, et tamen omni genere monimentorum meorum perfecisse ut meae vigiliae meaeque litterae et iuventuti utilitatis et nominis Romano laudis aliquid asserrent. Sed haec non huius temporis: maiora videamus.

9 P. Clodius meo consilio interfecit esse dixisti. Quidnam 21 homines putarent, si tum occisus esset, cum tu illum in foro spectante populo Romano gladio insecutus es negotiumque transsegisses, nisi se ille in scalas tabernae librariae conieciesset iisque oppilatis impetum tuum compressisset? Quod quidem ego favisse me tibi fateor, suasisse te quidem dicis. At 15 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 rei publicae sine suasore non posset! At lactatus sum. Quid ergo? in tanta laetitia cunctae civitatis me unum tristem esse oportebat? Quamquam de morte 22

criticism of the line 'Cedant arma togae, concedat laura Ludi.' It is one of four, which are all that remain to us of his epic poem in three books, de Meis Temporibus.

7. Perfecisse ut. Between these words some MSS. introduce 'operis subsecivis,' which are wanting in the Vatican MS. The expression would mean 'bits of work, done at odd times,' and it is so used by Cicero, de Or. 2. 89, 364, but with an apologetic 'ut aiunt,' as though the metaphor were then a new one; and this is borne out by a more elaborate explanation of it in the treatise de Legg. 1. 3. 9.

cc. 9, 10. Antony had laid at Cicero's door the death of Clodius. Cicero replies that Milo needed and allowed no aid or countenance; and that he only shared the feelings of every patriot in rejoicing at a deed which Antony himself had once before attempted. As regarded the charge of causing the quarrel between Caesar and Pompey, Cicero had indeed endeavoured to prevent their friendship; and failing in this, had tried to keep Pompey from violating the laws; but when their alliance had once completed, he used his utmost efforts to maintain harmony between them.

11. Tu illum ... insecutus es. This as we learn from c. 20, 49, was when Antony was a candidate for the quaeestorship, in 53 B.C., the year before Clodius was killed by Milo,

13. In scalas. This would be the stair-case leading from the shop on the ground floor to the upper room, inhabited by the shopman. Cp. pro Mil. 15. 40 'Cum se ille (Clodius) fugiess in scalarum tenebris abdidisset.' So the runaway slave in Horace, 'In scalis latuit metuens pendentis habenae,' Epp. 2. 2. 15.

14. Quod ... favisse ... fateor, 'herein I confess I gave you the sanction of my approval,' 'Faveo' seems to be here used in its technical sense of applauding (whence 'faviores', 'claqueurs,' Plaut. Amph. prol. 78 &c.): cp. Hor. Od. 3. 24, 46 'Quo clamor vocat et turba faveantium.' Cicero says that in Milo's case he could only rejoice after the event, as he should not have presumed to give him advice on the matter, and the affray was over too quickly to admit of any one cheering him on. For the use of 'quod' limiting the extent of the action of an intransitive verb, see Madv. § 229.

20. Quamquam ... fuit quaestio.
Clodii fuit quaestio—non satis prudenter illa quidem constituta; quid enim attinebat nova lege quaeri de eo, qui hominem occidisset, cum esset legibus quaestio constituta? quaesitum est tamen—: quod igitur, cum res agebatur, nemo in me dixit, id totannis post tu es inventus qui diceres?

Quod vero dicere ausus es idque multis verbis, opera mea Pompeium a Caesaris amicitia esse diiunctum ob camque causam culpa mea bellum civile esse natum, in eo non tu quidem tota re, sed, quod maximum est, temporibus errasti. Ego M. Bibulo, praestantissimo cive, consule nihil praetermisi, quantum facere enitique potui, quin Pompeium a Caesaris conjunctione avocarem. In quo Caesar felicior fuit; ipse enim Pompeium a mea familiaritate diiunxit. Postea vero quam se totum Pompeius Caesari tradidit, quid ego illum ab eo distrahere conarer? Stulti erat sperare, suadere impudentis. Duo tamen tempora inciderunt, quibus aliquid contra Caesarem Pompeo suaserim. Ea velim reprehendas, si potes: unum, ne quinqueennii imperium Caesari prorogaret, alterum, ne pateretur ferri ut absentis cius ratio haberetur. Quorum si utrumvis per-

And therefore, Cicero implies, had I taken a prominent part in the general rejoicing,—had it been supposed that I was accessory to the deed,—then was the time when such suspicions would have found vent, but then no one asserted that I was in any way implicated. He entirely ignores what he himself had written in his speech for the occasion, pro Mil. 18, 47 'Scitis, iudices, quae in hac rogatione suadenda dicerent Milonis manu caedem esse factam, consilio vero maioris alicuius: me vidi lect latronem ac sicarium abieci homines et perditae describant.'

2. Nova lege. This was the 'Lex Pompeia de Vi,' a privilege passed specially to meet the case of Milo. See on l. 7, 18.

9. Temporibus. Cicero's argument is that until Caesar's power had reached such a height as to be dangerous to the state, he did endeavour to check its growth by warning Pompey against him. When however the alliance between them was cemented by the marriage of Pompey with Julia, Caesar's daughter, which took place in the consulship of Caesar and Bibulus, 59 B.C., he felt that further remonstrance would be both dangerous and useless; though he still kept a watchful eye upon them, and took advantage of two opportunities to advise Pompey not to strain the laws in Caesar's favour.

12. Ipse ... diiunxit. In his speeches pro Sestio, 64, 133, and in Pisonem, 31, 76, Cicero attributes this estrangement to the intrigues and calumnies of Vatinius, Gabinius, and Piso. As these were all the devoted adherents of Caesar, Piso being his father-in-law, they were probably merely acting as his agents in the matter.

18. Quinqueennii imperium. The provinces of Gallia Cisalpina and Illyricum had been conferred on Caesar for five years, by the 'Lex Vatinius,' in 59 B.C. To these the senate added Gallia Transalpina, and his command in all three was extended, 'prorogabatur imperium,' for a further space of five years, in 55 B.C., by the 'Lex Trebonia,' which received the support of the Consuls, Cn. Pompeius and M. Crassus.

19. Ratio haberetur. This was in 53 B.C., when the senate had passed a decree that Pompey should be sole Consul. Though Cicero here claims credit for opposing the proposal that votes should be received for Caesar in his absence, we learn from a letter to Atticus, 7, 1, 4, that he promised Caesar to exert himself in his behalf: 'Ut
suasissem, in has miserias numquam incidissetus.

\[Atque idem ego, cum iam opes omnes et suas et populi Romani Pompeius ad Caesarem detulisset seroque ca sentire coepisset, quae ego multo ante provideram, inferrique patriae bellum viderem nefarium, pacis, concordiae, compositionis auctor esse non destiti, meaque illa vox est nota multis: 'Utinam, Pompei, cum Caesare societatem aut numquam coisses aut numquam diremisset! fuit alterum gravitatis, alterum prudentiae tuae.' Haec mea, M. Antoni, semper et de Pompeio et de re publica consilia fuerunt: quae si valuissent, res publica staret, tu tuis flagitiis, egestate, infamia concidisses.

11 Sed haec vetera, illud vero recens, Caesarem meo consilio interfectum. Iam vero, patres conscripti, ne, quod turpissimum est, praeveravicatoremi mihi apposuisse videar, qui me non solum meis laudibus ornaret, sed etiam alienis. Quis enim meum in ista societate gloriosissimi facti nomen audivit? cuius autem, qui in eo numero fuisse, nomen est occultatum? occultatum dico? cuius non statim divulgatum? Citius dixerim

illis hoc liceret (sc. ut absenitis ratio habebatur, ne exercitum dimitteret), aduiu, rogatus ab ipso Ravennae.' In a letter however to A. Caecina, Fam. 6. 6, 5, he says that his advocacy extended, not to urging that the leave should be given, but only to supporting the decision of the people on the matter: 'Ut, quoniam ipso consule repugnante populus insenserat, habebatur.'

6. Utinam, &c. Cp. the same letter § 4. 'Plurimi sunt testes me et initio, ne conjungeret se cum Caesarem, monuisse Pompeium, et postea, ne sejungere: conjuncte frangi senatus opes, diuissete civile bellum exicitari videbam.'

8. Gravitatis, if the genuine reading, probably means 'consistency,' or 'steadfastness of character;' an absence of which was shown by Pompey in allying himself with Caesar, and dissolving his connection with the aristocracy. The reading is however doubtful, being added by a later hand to supply a blank in the Vatican MS. Halm suggests 'pietatis.'

cc. 11–13. The last charge was that Cicero was the contriver of Caesar's death. This was something altogether new, and resting on no evidence. Nor were the liberators men to need his sanction or advice. In rejoicing at the tyrant's death, he agreed with every other loyal citizen. The actual assassins even

Antony mentioned with respect, and this, with the special honours which their country granted them, proved them to be, not, as otherwise they must have been, the worst of murderers, but savours of their country. To be of their number, could he but claim the honour, would be indeed a ground of pride. Though, had the plot been his, he would not have failed to carry it through, by rooting out the kingly power with the king.

12. Meo consilio interfectum. Cp. Fam. 12. 2, 1 'Homo amens et perditus ... nullam aliam ob causam me auctorem fuisse Caesaris interficiendi criminarur, nisi ut in me veterani excitentur.'

14. Praeveravicatorem, 'a collusive accuser,' in league with the accused, to secure his acquittal—such as Verres sought to gain for himself in Q. Caecilius. The charges, he says, which Antony brings against him, although false, are such as would be most honourable, if true.

15. Alienis. Some MSS. insert before this 'oneraet,' introducing a play on the words like 'ex oratore arator,' in 3. 9, 22. It is however not found in the Vatican MS., and the spelling varies in the others. For the expression 'laudibus onerare,' we may compare Livy 4. 14 'Laudibus haud immemorini onerarent.'
M. TULLII CICERONIS
ce. 11—12.

iactasse se aliquos, ut fuisset in ea societate viderentur, cum consci
do non fuissent, quam ut quisquam celari 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 liberandam patriam deside-
rentur illis auctoribus, Brutos ego impellerm, quorum ute
L. Bruti imaginem quotidie videret, alter etiam Ahalaec? Hi
igitur his maioris ab alienis potius consilium paterent quam:
a suis? et foris potius quam domo? Quid? C. Cassius, in ea
familia natus, quae non modo dominatum, sed ne potentiam
quidem cuiusquam 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 constitu-
erat, non ad contrarium naves appulisset. Cn. Domitius non
ut citius veterioriam quam oratoriam diceres, does not seem to be quite equivalent
to 'potius,' but rather signifies 'it would re-
quire less time and argument to induce one
to say,' &c.

1. Iactasse se aliquos, &c. Cp. Plut. Caes. 67. 'It is possible
to suppose the words which really depend on ' dixerim,' is probably due to
the confusion introduced by the inter-
vening clause, 'ut ... viderentur,' into the construc-
tion of which they are attracted. Otherwise a verb of contrary meaning,
' were so timid,' must be supplied from
'iactasse' after 'quem.'

4. Adolescentibus neminem occul-
tantibus, 'young men without discretion
to suppress the name of any one.' So Att.
14. 22. 5. he speaks of the conspirators as
'illi juvenes.'

p. 164, objects that they actually perpetrated,
and not merely advised the deed. He sug-
gests 'actoribus.' Ernesti thinks the words
to be a gloss.


Ahalaee, of C. Servilius Ahala, who
killed Sp. Maelius in 439 B.C. From him
Servilia, the mother of M. Brutus, traced
her descent. The allusion is to the waxen
images or masks of those members of the
family who had held curule offices, which
were placed in the atrium in the houses
of all 'nobles.' See Pliny N. H. 35. 2, 2.

9. Foris, 'from external sources,' as in
de Orat. 2. 40, 173. 'Foris assumuntur ea,
quae non sua vi sed extranea sublevantur.'
Hence 'domo,' 'from their home resources,'
not ' domi,' 'at home.'

In ea familia. The allusion is to the
fate of Sp. Cassius Viscellinus, the pro-
poser of the first Agrarian law, who ac-
coordinating to one story was put to death by his
own father in 485 B.C., for aiming at ty-
ranny. See Liv. ii. 41.

16. Dominatus is the regular word for
absolute power: cp. Off. 2. 1. 2 ' Cum
dominatu unius omnia tenerentur neque esset
usquam consilio aut auctoritate locus;' and
see on Phil. 1. 14. 34.

13. Ad eam ripam, &c. This perhaps
refers to the marshy lake formed at the
mouth of the Cydnus, just below Tarsus (see
Strabo 14. 5. 11); otherwise it is not easy
to see how Caesar's landing on the wrong
bank of a small river like the Cydnus should
have overthrown Cassius' plans. Of the
proposed attempt on Caesar's life we know
nothing from other sources.

Quam constituerat. For the omis-
sion of the preposition see Madr., § 323 b.
Obs. 1.

14. Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus was
son of L. Domitius, who was killed after
the battle of Pharsalus by the cavalry of
Caesar (Caes. Bell. Civ. 3. 99; see c. 29,
71), by Porcia, the sister of M. Cato Uti-

12 At quem ad modum me coarguerit homo acutus recordamini. 28 Caesare interfecto, inquit, statim cruentum alte extollens Brutus 15 pugionem Ciceronem nominatim exclamavit atque ei recuperatam libertatem est gratulatus. Cur mihi potissimum? quia sciebam? Vide ne illa causa fuerit appellandi mei, quod, cum rem gessisset consimilem rebus iis, quas ipse gesseram, me potissimum testatus est se aemulum mearum laudium exstitisse. 20 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 exceptis iis, qui 25 illum regnare gaudebant, qui illud aut fieri noluerit aut factum

censis. He was himself at the battle of Pharsalus, and remained an exile till 46 B.C., when he received the pardon of the conqueror, but remained in the retirement of a private citizen.

5. Unius, of Caesar, whose friendship and confidence Trebonius enjoyed up to the time of the assassination. The same may be said of Cimmer, cp. Fam. 6. 12, 2.

7. Quem ego magis, &c., 'whose antecedents gave me far less reason to suppose that he would do the deed, than to wonder at his having done it.'

10. An Ahalas, 'or are they not rather worthy to be called Ahalas?' See on § 26. P. Servilius Casca, who aimed the first blow at the dictator, and his brother Gaius, had both been among Caesar's adherents.

12. Longum est, 'it would be tedious.' See Madv., § 348 e. Obs. 1.

16. Ciceronem exclamavit, 'shouted out the name of Cicero;' perhaps for the reason Cicero alleges, perhaps because Cicero was now left the most powerful man in the state. It might also be to make the people believe that Cicero was an accomplice in the plot, without his really being so.

17. Quid. So Halm, from a conjecture of Graevius. The MSS. have 'quid.'

20. Laudium. So the Vatican MS. Cp. 'fraudium,' Off. 3. 18, 75; and in Pis. 19, 44. The other MSS. have the more usual form 'laudum.'

26. Regnare. He purposely uses the obnoxious word, 'to rule with kingly sway.'

4. Pecudis, 'of the ass,' as we should say: the use of 'pecus' (properly 'a sheep') referring to his intellectual rather than his moral baseness. Cp. S. 3. 9 'Hominem agrestis, si homines illi ac non pecudes potius;' and in Pia. 9, 19 'Ego istius pecudis ... praesidio volebam uti.'

5. Quem ego honoris causa nomino, 'whom I name with all respect,' the usual formula when living persons were spoken of by name, so that no special compliment is thereby intended. Cp. c. 44. 113 'Tua minime avara coniux, quam ego sine contumelia describo;' and see on 1. 2. 6. Conventional, however, as the expression was, it gave Cicero some ground for urging the argument that to speak of the assassin with respect was inconsistent with looking on the accessory as accused.

8. Is. For this redundant use of 'is,' especially after an intervening relative clause, see Madv. § 480 a; and cp. de Off. 3. 3. 13. 'Illud quidem honestum, quod proprie vereque dici-

tur, id in sapientibus est solis.'

12. Quam velis causam. Explanatory of 'hoc,' 'what complexion you would wish to be given to the case of the conspirators.'

13. Inquam, 'in other words, I bid you rouse yourself from sleep.'

An faces admovendae sunt, 'must we apply a lighted torch to stir up a man who can sleep over a question such as this.' The same expression is used metaphorically de Orat. 3. 1. 4. 'Verborum faces admoveo.' Cp. Lucr. 3. 304 'Nec nimirum fax unquam subjicia percit,' and Quint. 1. 2. 25 'Id nobis acrisiores ad studia dicendi faces subdi-disse contenderim.' Before 'excitent' Halm inserts [te] from a later copyist in the Vatican MS. It seems to be unnecessary, its omission leaving the clause in the form of a general sentiment, as rendered above.

21. Plus quam, 'more than can be expressed by the term cut-throats.' See Madv., § 305. Obs. 2.

23. Parricidas. See on c. 7, 17.
§§ 30—32. ORATIO PHILIPPICA II.

honoris causa a te sunt et in hoc ordine et apud populum Romanum semper appellati? cur M. Brutus referente te legibus est solutus, si ab urbe plus quam decem dies afuisse? cur ludi Apollinares incredibili M. Bruti honore celebrati? cur provinciae Bruto et Cassio datae? cur quaestores additi? cur legatorum numerus auctus? Atqui haec acta per te; non igitur homicidas.

Sequitur ut liberatores tuo iudicio, quando quidem tertium nihil potest esse. Quid est? num conturbo te? non enim fortasse satis quae diiunctius dicuntur intelligis. Sed tamen haec summa est conclusionis meae: quoniam scelere a te liberati sunt, ab eodem amplissimis praemissi dignissimos iudicatos. Itaque iam retexo orationem meam. Scribam ad illos ut, si qui forte quod a te mihi obiectum est quaerent sitne verum, ne cui negent. Etenim vercor (ne aut celatum me illis ipsis non honestum, aut invitatum refugisse mihi sit turpissimum.) Quae enim res umquam, pro sancte Iuppiter! non modo in hac urbe, sed in omnibus terris est gesta maior? quae gloriosior? quae

2. Legibus solutus, from the special law, that is, which forbade Brutus, as praetor urbanus, from being absent from the city more than ten nights. Such exemption from the obligation of a particular law could originally only be granted by the people: and so we are told by Asconius, in his preface to Cicero's lost oration pro C. Cornelio, that when the senate first began to grant such immunities, the condition was inserted 'ut de ea re ad populum ferretur,' though by degrees first the actual reference to the people, and eventually even the form of inserting the clause, were discontinued.

3. Ludi Apollinares. See on I. 15, 36.

4. Provinciae datae. According to the disposition of Caesar, Brutus was to have had the province of Macedonia, Cassius Syria, on the expiration of their praetorship in the city: but one of the first measures of Antony, on the 18th of March, had been to prevail on the senate to alter this arrangement, giving Brutus Crete, and Cassius Africa. (Plut. Brut. 19; cp. Phil. II. 11, 37.

5. Quaestores additi. The meaning of this appears from what follows to be that an extraordinary number of quaestors and legates were voted to Brutus and Cassius, as part of the compensation for the loss of the more important provinces.

9. Diiunctius. So Halm from the Vatican MS. Other MSS. have 'distinctius,' which is less appropriate than the technical word, meaning 'in the form of a dilemma.' See on c. 8, 18.

10. Ab eodem. Some MSS. insert 'te,' which is quite in accordance with Cicero's manner: cp. pro Sest. 50, 107 'Habuit de eodem me P. Lentulus consul contionem'; ib. 51, 109 'De me eodem comitii centuriatis ferebatur.' Halm omits it on the authority of the Vatican MS.

12. Retexo, 'I remodel my speech on the hypothesis that I was cognizant of the matter.' So Matius, ap. Cic. Fam. II. 10, 5 'Me ipse retexam.' Cicerq has shown, cc. II, 12, that Antony's arguments were insufficient to prove his complicity; he now declares that the charge, if proved against him, is but further testimony to his patriotism.

Ut ... ne. Cp. Fam. IV. 1, 2 'Trebatio mandavi, ut, si quid tu eum velles ad me mittere, ne recusaret; 'ut' in each case expressing the general final nature of the clause, 'ne' resuming it with the negative, after a parenthesis. See Mad., § 456.

14. Celatum me, 'my being kept in ignorance.' Cp. de Leg. Agr. 2, 5, 11 'Cum me in eorum sermonem insinuarem, cela-bar, excluidebar.' Plutarch, Brut. 12, says that Cicero was not informed of the conspiracy from fear of his natural timidity, exaggerated by the cautiousness of age.
commendator hominum memoriae sempiternae? In huius me
tu consilii societatem tamquam in equum Troianum cum princi-
pibus includis? Non recuso; ago etiam gratias, quoquo animo facis. Tanta enim res est, ut invidiam istam, quam tu in me vis concitare, cum laude non comparcum. Quid enim beatus illis, quos tu expulsos a te praedicatas et relegatos? qui locus est aut tam desertus aut tam inhumanus, qui illos, cum acces-
serint, non affari atque appetere videatur? qui homines tam
agrestes, qui se, cum eos adspexerint, non maximum cepisse
tuae fructum putent? quae vero tam immemor posteritas, quae
tam ingratae litterae reperientur, quae eorum gloriam non im-
mortalitatis memoria probeantur? Tu vero adscribe me talem
in numerum. Sed unam rem vereor ne non probes. Si enim
fuisset, non solum regem, sed etiam regnum de re publica
sustulisse; et, si meus stilus ille fuisset, ut dicitor, mihi crede,
non solum unum actum, sed totam fabulam confecissem. Quam-
quam si interfici Caesarem voluisse crimen est, vide, quaeo,
Antoni, quid tibi futurum sit, quem et Narbone hoc consilium

1. Commentator, ‘commends itself more to the recollection of mankind for all ages.’ Cp. Fam. 12. 26 ‘Ceteris rebus habeas eos a me commendatissimos.’ ‘Com-
mandabilis,’ besides slightly differing in meaning (‘capable of commending itself’ rather
than actually doing so), is not found earlier than Livy.

2. In equum Trojanum. Cp. de
Orat. 2. 22, 94 ‘Isocrates, cuius e ludo tamquam ex equo Trojanum meri principes exierunt.’

4. Invidiam istam, ‘I consider the
risk of the odium which you wish to excite
against me, as nothing in comparison with
the chance of the praise which may await
me.’ Cp. Fam. 12. 2, 1 ‘Nullam aliam ob
causam me auctorem fuisset Caesaris inter-
ficiendi criminar, nisi ut in me veterani
incenditur.’

6. Expulsos et relegatos. The
former is the general word expressing ‘driven
to exile;’ the latter the technical term for
exclusion from Rome, without loss of civic
rights. Cp. Ov. Trist. 2. 135
‘Addie quod edictum quamvis immane
minaxque,
Attamen in poenae nomine leve fuit.
Quique relegatus, non exsil dicor in illo.’

C. 14. *If however killing Caesar was
a crime, let Antony beware lest he himself
be found to be a sharer in it. He was
well known to have wished it once, and now
he was the person who had reaped the greatest
benefit from it, so that the only thing which
saved him from suspicion was the feeling that
he could have had no part in so meritorious
a deed.*

14. Fuissem, sc. ‘in eo numero.’
Non solum regem, sed regnum.
Abarini compares Fam. 12. 1, 1 (a letter
to Cassius) ‘Ut adhuc quidem actum est,
non regno sed rege liberati videatur;’ Att.
14. 14, 2 ‘Sublato tyranno tyrannida manere
video.’

15. Si meus stilus, &c. ‘Had I been
the author of that tragedy, I should not have
stopped at the completion of the first act.’
The play on the word ‘stilus,’ intimated in the
words ‘ut dicitur,’ is untranslateable.
Halm compares Hor. S. 2. 1, 39
‘Sed hic stilus haud petet uto
Quemquam animamet et me velut
custodiet ensis
Vagina tectum.’
For the sentiment cp. Fam. 12. 4, 1 ‘Vellem
Idibus Martis me ad cenam invitasses:
reliquiarum nihil fuisset.’

Tων φιλων των πιστων καταληγοντες
έκειπαντον περι Αντωνιου. Των δε άλλων
προσεμελων των άνδρα Τραβάωνις·
cum Trebonio cepisse notissimum est, et ob eius consilii societatem, cum interficeretur Caesar, 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, ignosco; virum res illa quaerebat. Quod si te in iudicium quis adducat usurpetque illud Cassianum, cui bono fuercit, vide, quaeo, ne haereas. Quamquam illud fuit, ut dicebas quidem, omnibus bono, qui servire nollebant, tibi tamen praccipue, qui non modo non servis, sed etiam regnas, qui maximo te aere alieno ad aedem Opis liberavisti, qui per eadem tabulas innumerabilem pecuniam dissipavisti, ad quem e domo Caesaris tam multa delata sunt, cuius domi quaestu-sissima est falsorum commentariorum et chiographorum officina, agrorum, oppidorum, immunitatum, vectigalium flagitio-sissimae nundinae. Etenim quae res egestati et aeri alieno tuo praeter mortem Caesaris subvenire potuisset? Nescio quid

ēph γάρ ὑπ' ἐν χρύον ἀπήγαν ἵν Ἡβρίας ἐπαινέντα. Καίσαρ τοῦ 'Ἀντώνιον αυτοκράτορος αὐτῷ καὶ συνοδεύοντος θάλασσα τῆς γυμνῆς θρύμα πως καὶ μετ' εὐλαβείας, τῶν δὲ νόοις μὲν, οὐ δέξασθαι δὲ τὴν πείραν, οὐ μὴν οὖν πρὸς Καίσαρα κατειπίναι, ἀλλὰ πιστῶς καταστάθησαι τὸν λόγον. The occasion was on his return from Spain, after the defeat of Cn. and Sext. Pompeius, 45 B.C.

2. Tam ... sevocari. CP. Plut. Brut. 17 Τριβότους περὶ τὰς θύρας Ἀντώνιον ἐποποιοῦσαν καὶ προσομιλῶν ἦν κάτεσχε: and Phil. 13. 10, 23.

4. Non indicasti. 'Non' is wanting in the Vatican MS., but seems necessary to the sense; though Faeni would explain it, 'I thank you for having at length shown your patriotism by wishing to kill the tyrant.' In this sense 'indicasti' would be most unusual.

6. Cui bono fuercit? 'who has profited by the deed?' This saying of L. Cassius, the proposer of the second 'Lex Tabellaria' in 137 B.C., is quoted also pro Mil. 12, 32; cp. pro Rosc. Amer. 30, 84 'L. Cassius ille, quem populus Romanus verissimum et sapientissimum iudicem putabat, identidem in causis quaerere soletab, cui bono fuisset.' Cicero argues that Antony had derived more advantage than any one else from Caesar's death, since it removed the sole barrier between himself and absolute power. The following words, 'omnibus bono, tibi tamen praccipue,' are conclusive against the old mistranslation of the phrase, 'what was the good of it,' as though 'cui' 'bono' agreed with one another.

7. Ne haereas, 'I fear lest you may find it embarrassing.'

Illud fuit, ut dicebas quidem. So Halm, from the reading of the Vatican MS. 'illud fuit, tu ut dicebas quidem.' The common reading is 'illud quidem fuit, ut tu dicebas;' from which Madvig, Opusc. 1. p. 207, conjectures 'ut tum dicebas,' on the ground that while no antithesis is meant between the words of Antony and those of others, there is a contrast between his present and his former policy. The occasion referred to is probably the 17th of March, when Antony made his conciliatory speech in the temple of Tellus.

10. Ad aedem Opis. See on I. 7, 17; and cp. c. 37, 93; 5. 4. 11.

11. Ad quem, &c. See Introduction to the first oration.

13. Commentariorum. See on I. 1, 2.

15. Nundinae. From meaning the day on which markets were held, 'nundinae' came to mean the place of meeting for traffic; cp. de Leg. Agr. 2. 33, 89 'Ilili Capuanum receptaculum aratorem, nundinas rusticorum, esse voluerunt;' and hence the traffic itself, as here, and 5. 4. 11 'Calebant in interiore aedium parte totius reipublicae nundinae.' So 'nundinabantur,' 3. 4. 10.

16. Nescio quid. For the accusative see on c. 9, 21.
conturbatus esse videris: num quid subtimes ne ad te hoc crimen pertinere videatur? Libero te metu: nemo credet umquam; non est tuum de re publica bene mereri; habet istius pulcherrimi facti clarissimos viros res publica auctores: ego te tantum gaudere dico, fecisse non arguo. Respondi maximis criminibus: nunc etiam reliquis respondendum est.

Castra mihi Pompei atque illud omne tempus obieciisti. Quo 15 quidem tempore si, ut dixi, meum consilium auctoritasque valuisset, tu hodie egeres, nos liberi essemus, res publica non tot duces et exercitus amisisset. Fateor enim me, cum ea quae acciderunt providerem futura, tanta in maestitia fuisse, quanta ceteri optimi cives, si idem providissent, fuisse. Dolebam, dolcebam, patres conscripti, rem publicam vestris quondam misque consiliis conservatam brevi tempore esse perituram. Nec vero eram tam indoctus ignarusque rerum, ut frangerer animo propter vitae cupiditatem, quae me manens conficeret angoribus, dimissa molestiis omnibus liberaret. Illos ego praestatissimos viros, lumina rei publicae, vivere volebam, tot consulares, tot praetorios, tot honestissimos senatores, omnem prastera florem nobilitatis ac iuventutis, tum optimorum civium exercitus; qui si viverent, quamvis iniqua conditione pacis—mihi enim omnis pax cum civibus bello civili utilior videbatur—rem publicam hodie teneremus. Quae sententia si valuisset, ac non ei maxime 38 mihi, quorum ego vitae consulebam, spe victoriae elati obstitisent, ut alia omittam, tu certe numquam in hoc ordine, vel potius

c. 15. To pass to lighter accusations.—And first, his conduct in the last campaign with Pompey. 'He was too sad,' says Antony. Not too sad, surely, considering the perils of the state, and the critical position of so many noble men. 'He alienated Pompey by his levity.' Experience did not bear this out, nor his unbroken friendship with Pompey, nor the testimony borne by Pompey to his merits during his final flight. This was the stronger proof of friendship, since Cicero had been throughout opposed to Pompey's policy, having always advocated peace as the object to be first sought after, even at some sacrifice of dignity.

7. Castra mihi Pompei. This was Pompey's last campaign in Epirus, where Cicero joined him in the summer of 49 B.C.

10. Tot duces. Notably Pompey himself, his father-in-law Q. Metellus Scipio, who fell in Africa shortly after the battle of Thapsus, in 46 B.C., and his son Cn. Pompeius, slain in Spain in 45 B.C. The armies referred to are probably those defeated under their respective commands at Pharsalus, Thapsus, and Munda.

21. Mihi enim omnis pax. Cp. 7. 3. 7 'Ego ille, qui semper pacis auctor fui, cuique pax praesertim civilis, quamquam omnibus bonis, tamen in primis fuit optabilis.'

23. Quae sententia si valuisset, i.e. if Caesar's terms had been accepted. These were that Pompey, dismissing his army and his garrisons, should go to Spain, whilst Caesar himself should resign the two provinces of Gaul to their respective praetors, L. Domitius and Considius Nonianus, and come to Rome to stand in person for the consulship. See Fam. 16. 12, 3.
numquam in hac urbe mansisses. At vero Cn. Pompei volun-
tatem a me alienabat oratio mea. An ille quemquam plus
dilexit? cum ullo aut sermones aut consilia contulit saepius?
quid quidem erat magnum, de summa re publica dissentientes
in eadem consuetudine amicitiae permanere. Ego, quid ille, et
contra ille, quid ego sentirem et spectarem, videbat. Ego inco-
lumitati civium primum, ut postea dignitati possemus, ille prae-
senti dignitati potius consulebat. Quod autem habebat uterque
quid sequeretur, idcirco tolerabilior erat nostra dissensio. Quid
vero ille singularis vir ac paene divinus de me senserit, sciant
qui eum de Pharsalia fuga Paphum persecuti sunt. Numquam
ab eo mentio de me nisi honorifica, nisi plena amicissimi desi-
derii, cum me vidisse plus fateretur, se speravisse meliora. Et
eius viri nomine me insectari audes, cuius me amicum, te sec-
torem esse fateare?
/ Sed omissatur bellum illud, in quo tu
nimium felix fuisti. Ne de iocis quidem respondebo, quibus
me in castris usum esse dixisti. Erant quidem illa castra plena

1. At vero, &c. This charge of Antony is confirmed by Macrobius (Sat. 1. 3, 8), who tells us that Cicero was so free in the indulgence of his sarcastic humour, as to irritate Pompey, so that at last he exclaimed 'Cupio ad hostes Cicero transeat, ut nos
timeat.'

4. Quod quidem erat magnum,
and this, it must be confessed, was no slight proof of mutual goodwill.' Cicero wished to secure peace by accepting Caesar's conditions, Pompey to hold out for more honourable terms.

9. Quid sequeretur, 'as each had a
definite object in view.'

11. Paphum. Valerius Maximus, 1. 5, 6, tells us that Pompey, on his way to Egypt, 'appeals ad oppidum Paphum, con-
spectum in littore speciosum aedificium: guber-
natoremque interrogavit, quod ei nomen
esse: qui respondit, κακοβασιλέα vocari:
quae vox spem eius, quantulacumque restabant,
communuit.' His companions in flight were
M. Favonius, the two Lentuli, and the king
Delotarus (Plut. Pomp. 77: Cic. de Div. 2.
37. 79).

13. Me vidisse plus, 'that I had had
the keener foresight.'

14. Sector is the term applied to one who
bought the goods of a proscribed person
when they were put up to auction. Partly
from the forced nature of the sale, partly
because the property was taken with all its
liabilities, known and unknown, and partly
too from the odium attaching to the purchase,
such property seldom realised its full value.
In the present case Cicero tells us, c. 26. 44, that Antony was the only bidder.
The word is probably derived from 'seco,'
the property being bought in bulk, and
afterwards 'cut up' into lots for purposes of
resale. Cp. pro S. Rosc. Amer. 29. 80
'Nescimus per ista tempora eosdem fere
sectores fuisse collorum et bonorum,' and a
similar play upon the word, ib. 36. 102
'Cum de bonis et de caede agatur, testi-
monium dicturus est, qui et sector est et sca-
rius, hoc est, qui et illorum ipsorum bonorum,
de quibus agitur, emptor atque possessor est,
et eum hominem occidendum curavit, de
cuius morte quaeritur.' Others, with less
likelihood, derive the word from 'sequor.'

17. Erant quidem. The unusual position
of 'quidem,' attached to the verb instead
of the pronoun, is owing to the fact
that the opposition lies, not between two
attributes of the camp, but between
the expected and actual consequences of its
anxiety. 'It is true the camp was full of
care (and might therefore have been expected
to be gloomy), but men, so long as they
are men, relax at times even amid the
greatest perplexities.'

Plena curae. Very different is the account given of that camp by Caesar, B.C.
3. 91, 1 'In castris Pompeii videre licuit
curae; verum tamen homines quamvis in turbidis rebus sint, tamen, si modo homines sunt, interdum animis relaxantur. Quod autem idem maestitiam meam reprehendit, idem iocum, magno argumento est me in utroque fuisse moderatum.

Hereditatem mihi negasti venire. Utinam hoc tuum verum crimen esset! plures amici mei et necessarii viverent. Sed quis tibi venit in mentem? ego enim amplius sestertium ducentiis acceptum hereditatibus rettuli. Quamquam in hoc genere fateor feliciorem esse te. Me nemo nisi amicus fecit heredem, ut cum illo commodo, si quod erat, animi quidam dolor 1unge-retur: te is, quem tu vidisti numquam, L. Rubrius Casinas fecit heredem. Et quidem vide, quam te amarit is, qui albus aterne fuerit ignoras. Fratris filium praeterit, Q. Fufii, honestissimi equitis Romani suiique amicissimi, quem palam heredem semper

trichilas structas, magnum argenti pondus expostum, multa praeterea quae nimiam luxuriam et victoriae fiduciam designaret, ut facile aestimari posset, nihil eos de eventu eius diei timuisse, qui non necessariis conquirerent voluptates."

4. In utroque. Plutarch, Cic. 38, talks of him as "agelastos dei perurum in tyr stratofidw kai skynthatos, etepios de parêxey ýelosia meiowen.

c. 16. The last named accusations contradicted one another. The next was simply false, that no one ever had left legacies to Cicero. It was true indeed that of the twenty million sestertius he had so received, none had ever come to him except from men he knew, whereas Antony was fortunate enough to find himself the heir of perfect strangers.

5. Negasti: as a proof of his unpopularity. It was a mark of disrespect if a man was passed over in a friend's will. Abrami compares Plut. Pomp. 15 edhésae de molyata òllas, òti pror Puspliow oik eýmêas exex tais diathkias ka érganen, òtrios gar filios barylas apollinai ka tov paisióv aponeizos epitupous tov Puspliow ólas paráhke

57. Ducentiens, &c., 'centena millia,' twenty million sestertii, nearly 180,0001. of our money.

8. Acceptum rettuli, 'I entered to the credit of inheritances;' see on c. 6, 12.

11. L. Rubrius of Casinum is not known from any other source.

'Fecit heredem'. Madvig, Opusc. 1. p. 165, thinks that these words should be expunged, as being redundant, and weakening the sentence by transferring its emphasis from the antithetical words 'te is' to the end. He is followed by Baiter and Kayser, but Halm maintains the words on the authority of all the MSS.

12. Albus aterne fuerit, 'the very colour of whose complexion you do not know.' Cp. Catull. 93. "Nil nimium studeo, Caesar, tibi velle placere, nec scire utrum sis ater an albus homo.' The MSS. vary between 'fuerit' and 'fueris,' 'ignoros' and 'ignorans,' whence Orelli reads 'fueris ignorans, fratris filium praeterit,' 'when, without even knowing the colour of your hair, he passed over his nephew in your favour.'

13. Q. Fufii, sc. 'filium.' So Halm, following the Vatican MS. He says, 'nominat Cicero duos filios, alterum fratris L. Rubrii, alterum amicissimi eius Q. Fufii, quos ambos ab eo, ut Antonio gratificaretur, praeteritos esse conqueritur.' Another reading is 'ne nomen quidem perscrivisti,' making Fufius himself the disappointed heir. Faerni, with the same object, suggested, 'meminit.' Heusinger wished to expunge the doubtful words, making Q. Fufius to be the brother of L. Rubrius.
factitarat, ne nominat quidem: te, quem numquam viderat aut certe numquam salutaverat, fecit heredem. Velim mihi dicas, nisi molestum est, L. Turselius qua facie fuerit, qua statura, quo municipio, qua tribu. 'Nihil scio' inquiues 'nisi quae praedia habuerit.' Igitur fratrem exheredans te faciebat heredem. In multas praeterea pecunias alienissimorum hominum vi eictis veris hereditibus, tamquam heres esset, invasit. Quamquam hoc maxime admiratus sum, mentionem te hereditatum ausum esse facere, cum ipse hereditatem patris non adisses.

17 Haec ut colligeres, homo amennisime, tot dies in aliena villa declamasti? quamquam tu quidem, ut tui familiarissimi dicti- tant, vini exalandi, non ingenii acuendi causa declamas. At vero adhibes ioci causa magistrum, suffragio tuo et compotorum tuorum rhetorem, cui concessisti ut in te quae vellet diceret, sal- sum omnino hominem, sed materia facilis est in te et in tuos dicta dicere. Vide autem quid intersit inter te et avum tuum.

2. Salutaverat, 'had never visited.' Cp. Att. 13. 9, 1 'Venit paullo post Curtius, salutandi causa, sed mansit invitatius.'

5. Igitur, 'this then was the reason, merely because you knew about his property.'

Faciebat, 'he was willing, as you say, to leave his property to you.'

In multas pecunias invasit: cp. pro Rosc. Amer. 2, 6 'Quoniam in alienam pecuniam tam plenam atque praecolam nunlo iure invaserit.' 'Multae pecuniae' are 'many sums of money;' cp. Verr. Act. 2, 3, 73, 171 'Ut praeator pecunias (the several sums of money) quas civitatis distribuere debat, eas omnes avertat atque auferat.'

9. Non adisses, 'had not entered on the estate of your father.' 'Hereditatem adire' or 'cernere' was the technical term for taking possession of a property bequeathed to one. 'Heredes necessarii' (slaves and children in manu testatoris), were bound to accept a bequest, unless the praeator exempted them on the ground of its being encumbered. Hence it is doubtful whether Cicero means here that Antony was dis- inherited, or that he found the estate so burdened with debt, that he was allowed to relinquish it, and give it up for sale to pay the debts. The latter is rendered more probable by c. 18, 44; and Sallust, Fragm. 3. 65, says that M. Antonius, the father, was 'perduanec pecuniae genus.'

15. Omnino, 'certainly,' 'it must be granted.'

16. Dicta, 'sharp sayings,' 'dicteria,' like the French 'mots.' Cp. de Orat. 2, 54 222 'Haec sublicet bona dicta, quae salsa sint; nam ea dicta appellantur proprio iam nomine.' Hence the use of the cognate accusative, usually only found with the addition of an adjective or pronoun, 'dicta' containing in itself the requisite additional idea. See Madv., § 224. Obs. 4.

Avum, the famous orator, M. Antonius. For his cautious, deliberate style of speaking, 'sensim,' cp. de Orat. 3, 9, 32.

Visne igitur te inspiciamus a puero? Sic, opinor; a principio ordiamur. Tenesne memoria praetextatum te decoxisse? Patris, inquies, ista culpa est. Concedo; etenim est pictatis plena defensio. Illud tamen audaciae tuae, quod sedisti in quattu-

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10. De ipso emendatore et correctore, 'our would-be schoolmaster and reformer,' So Pliny Pan. 6 'Corrector emendatorque disciplinae castrorum.' Furnaletti refers to Bentley on Hor. Epp. 1. 15, 37 'epaviscos et invidioso corrector dicitur, qui alios castigat ipse eiusdem culpae reus.'

15. Praetextatum, 'while still a boy,' 'before changing the dress of boyhood for that of manhood.' Cp. Livy 22. 57 'Delectu edicto, iuniores ab annis septemdecim, et quosdam praetextatos scribunt.'

Decoxisse, 'were a bankrupt,' a meaning gained from the sense of 'boiling down to nothing.' Cp. Pliny N. H. 33. 10, 47 'Qui primus acciperit cognomen divitis, decoxisse creditoribus suis.' Antony's apology renders it probable that this bankruptcy consisted in the renunciation of his father's estate, see on c. 16, 41.

16. Concedo. Your very dutiful apology is valid, as excusing your poverty, but it does not justify your breaking the law, which takes cognizance only of a man's position, not of the causes of it.
ordecim ordínibus, cum esset lege Roscia decóctoribus certus locus, quamvis quis fortunae víto, non suo decoxisset. Sump-sisti vírilem, quam statim muliebrem togam reddidisti. Primo vulgare scortum; certa flagitií merces nec ea parva; sed cito Curio intervenit, qui te a meretricio quæstù abdúxit et, tam- 5 quam stolam dedissét, in matrimonio stabili et certo collocavit. Nemo umquam puer emptus libidinis causa tam fuit in domini potestate quam tu in Curision. Quotiens te pater eius domu sua eiecit? quotiens custodes posuit, ne limen intrares? cum tu tamen nocte socia, hortante libidine, cogente mercede per tegu- 10 las demitterere. Quae flagitia domus illa diutius ferre non potuit. Scisne me de rebus mihi notissimis dicere? Recordare tempus illud, cum pater Curio maerens iacebat in lecto; filius se ad pedes meos prostenens lacrímans te mihi commendabat; orabat ut se contra suum patrem, si sestertium sexagiens pete- 15 ret, defenderem: tantum enim se pro te intercessísse dicebat. Ipse autem amore ardens confirmavít, quod desiderium tui dis- 46 cídií ferre non posset, se in exsilium iturum. Quo tempore ego quanta mala florentissimae familiae sedavi vel potius sustuli!

1. Lege Roscia, the law of L. Ros- cius Otho, 67 B.C., assigning the fourteen rows of seats immediately behind the or- chestra to the equites. Cn. Hor. Epod. 4, 15 'Sedilibusque magnum in primis eques Othone contem po sedet.'

3. Togam. Some MSS. 'stolam,' but this loses the whole point of Cicero's sarcasm, the 'stola' being the dress of Roman matrons, to which he says that Antony had no right until his marriage with Curio. Cn. c. 20, 50 'Ut viri tui similis esses.' The 'toga' was worn by courtezans and freed- women. Cn. Hor. S. 1, 2, 62 'Quid interest in matrona, auxilia pecesse togata;' and Ovid Ep. de Pont. 3, 3 'Scrissimus haec illis, quorum nec vitta pudicas'. Attingit crines, nec stola longa pedes.'

8. Domu. Some MSS. have 'domo,' but 'domu' is the reading of the Vatican MS., and also of the best MS. of Verr. Act. 2. 5. 49, 128 'Domu sua tota explítata.' The form is also found in the Prænestine Kal- endar (Orelli, Inscript. Lat. 2. p. 388), 'IN DOMV IMP. CAEÆRIS,' and it is quoted by Garatónius as reading in Pliny Ep. 10. 76.

10. Cogente mercede. Abrami notices the climax, 'nox sociæ est, hortatur libido, merces cogit.'

Per tegulas. Cn. Ter. Eun. 3, 5, 40 'Deum sese in pretium convertisse, atque in alienas tegulas Venisse clanculum per impluvium, fúcum factum mulier;' where 'impluvium' is used for the aperture in the roof, usually 'compluvium.'

11. Demitterere. So Halm, following Ferrarius, for the MS. reading 'dimitterere.'

15. Orabat, &c. The younger Curio had become security for Antony to the amount of six millions of sesterces (53,125.) which he was called upon to pay, and thus obliged to ask his father for them, and so he begs Cicero to stand between him and his father's anger. If we follow the reading, 'te contra,' found in some MSS., the subject of 'petiter' will be 'pater,' the father demanding repay- ment from Antony of the sum which his son had lost on his account.

16. Intercedere, 'to become security.' Cn. Att. 6. 1, 5 'Quasi calcar admovet, intercessisse se pro iis magnam pecuniam.' Cicero's friendship for the elder Curio showed itself by continued interest in the son, in spite of his profligacy and extravagance, as we find in the letters
Patri persuasi ut aes alienum filii dissolveret, redimeret adole-
scentem, summa spe et animi et ingenii praeditum, rei familiaris
facultatibus, eumque non modo tua familiaritate, sed etiam con-
gressione patrio iure et potestate prohiberet. Haec tu cum
per me acta meminisses, nisi illis, quos videmus, gladiis confi-
deres, maledictis me provocare ausus esses? Sed iam stupra
et flagitia omittamus: sunt quaedam, quae honeste non possum
dicere, tu autem eo liberior, quod ea in te admisisti, quae a
verecundo inimico audire non posses. Sed reliquum vitae cursum
videte, quem quidem celeriter perstringam. Ad hacc enim, quae
in civili bello, in maximis rei publicae miseriis fecit, et ad ea,
quae quotidie facit, festinat animus. Quae peto ut, quamquam
muito notiora vobis quam mihi sunt, tamen, ut facitis, attente
audiatis: debet enim talibus in rebus excitare animos non cog-
nitio solum rerum, sed etiam recordatio: etsi incidamus, opinor,
media, ne nimirum ad extrema veniamus.

Intimus erat in tribunatu Clodio, qui sua erga me beneficia
commemorat; eius omnium incendiorum fax, cuius etiam domi
iam tum quiddam molitus est. Quid dicam ipse optime intel-
ligit. Inde iter Alexandream contra senatus auctoritatem, contra
rem publicam et religiones: sed habebat ducem Gabinium,
quicum quidvis rectissime facere posset. Qui tum inde redivit

to him, Fam. 2. 1-7. He may also have
hoped to turn to use his great powers of
oratory, which, however, Caesar attached to
his side by paying all his debts, 50 B.C.

1. Redimeret, &c., *employ his for-
tune to ransom so promising a youth from
slavery to Antony.*

5. Quos videmus; as though he were
delivering the speech in the presence of
Antony's body-guard of mercenaries. See
on c. 8, 19.

c. 19. *His entry into public life was as the
friend and tool of Clodius. Next he was
found, under the respectable patronage of
Gabinius, travelling to all corners of the
world, to find himself on his return to Italy
the only citizen without a home.*

8. *So liberior, 'you allow yourself
more licence of speech, because you know
how my tongue is tied in answering you.'

15. Incidamus, 'let us cut short the
middle of the story.' Cp. Livy 32. 37 'Lon-
giorem exorsis orationem, brevis interrogatio
sermonem incitit.' For 'opinor' some MSS.
have 'opertet.'

18. Incendiorum fax, perhaps meta-
pherically 'the firebrand that set alight the
fire of all his treason,' cp. de Dom. 5. 13
'Ne in bane tantam materiem seditionis ista
funesta fax adhaeresceret:' though Cicero
often charges P. Clodius and his satellites
with actual incendiarism, cp. ib. 24, 62; pro
Cael. 32, 78. Clodius was tribune in 58
B.C.

19. Quiddam. What this was we have
no means of knowing, but from his after-
wards marrying Fulvia, the wife of Clodius,
Manutius supposes that a reference is made
to an intrigue with her.

20. Iter Alexandream. See on c. 30,
76. The journey was made in 56 B.C., when
Antony combined with A. Gabinius to rein-
state Ptolemy Auletes on his throne, in oppo-
sition to a decree of the senate, and an oracle
of the Sibyl, which forbade that he should be
restored 'cum multitudine' (ad Q. Frat. 2.
2, 3).

22. Quicum, See Madv., § 86. Obs. 2.
Cicero was especially bitter against Gabinius,
as being the author of his exile.

1. In ultimam Galliam, to join Caesar, who had then just returned from Britain.
2. Quae autem domus? The later copyist in the Vatican MS. and some other MSS. insert 'erat,' but the omission of the verb is common in short exclamatory questions. Cp. c. 17, 43 'Num etiam hoc ex Caesaris commentaris?' c. 29, 74 'Tam bonus gladiator rudem tam cito?'
3. Nec erat usquam tua. The time had not come for Antony to acquire a house, since that was only to be done through the aid of confiscations.
4. Sisaponem. Probably the true explanation of this comparison is that given by Turnebus, quoted by Abrami. He refers it 'ad miniaaria metalla Sisaponeumium, quae societates publicanorum exercebant: dicit enim, Antonium non unum possessorem Miseni fuisse, sed possessionis socios habere multos' Turn. Adv. 10. 12. He only held it 'in partnership with his creditors.' Cp. c. 29, 73. That a company of 'publicani' worked the cinnabar mines at Sisapo, in Hispania Baetica, is told us by Pliny N. H. 33, 7, 40. Abrami himself thinks that as the fumes of cinnabar were unwholesome, so the villa of Antony was exposed 'ad ventum horribilem et pestilentem,' viz. the exactions of his creditors. He compares Catullus 26 'Furi, villula nostra non ad Austri Flatus opposita est, nec ad Favoni, Nec saecvi Boraeae, aut Apeliotae, Verum ad milia quindecim ac ducentos. O ventum horribilem atque pestilentem.'
5. Venis. So Halm, from the Vatican reading 'venisse Gallia.' Other MSS. have 'venisti Galliam,' whence the common reading 'venisti e Gallia.' Antony was elected quaestor for the year 52 B.C.
6. Ad parentem tuum. So the Vatican and other MSS., but as his father and his stepfather, P. Lentulus, both were dead, his only parent was Julia. Charisius, indeed (1. 76), quotes instances of 'pares' in the masculine being used for 'mother,' but in the only one which we can verify (Virg. Ae. 3, 341) against the authority of all existing MSS. The others are a fragment of Pacuvius, 'Te, sol, invoco, ut mihi potestatem duis Inquirendi mei parentis:' and of an epistle of Gracchus, 'tuus parens sum,' h. e. 'mater.' Still as 'ad parentem' here is merely equivalent to 'to your home,' as we might say 'to your father's house,' the masculine gender is perhaps defensible. An obvious emendation is 'tuam,' suggested by Buchanan. Halm reads 'tum,' from a conjecture of Frotscher. The remaining MSS. have 'patrem tuum,' whence we have conjectures 'patruum tuum' (though his uncle C. Antonius was then in exile), 'matrem tuum,' and 'amatorum tuum,' with reference to C. Curio.
7. Ut mihi satis fieri, &c., 'that I would accept your overtures of reconciliation;' the main ground of offence being probably the friendship of Antony with P. Clodius.
8. Observatus, 'countenanced.' Cp. pro Mur. 34, 70 'A quibus (senatoribus et equitibus) si domus nostra celebratus, si interdum ad forum deducimus, si uno basilicæ spatio honestamur, diligenter observavi videmur et coli.' The Vatican reading 'ovatus' is manifestly corrupt, and has given rise to the conjectures 'ornatus,' 'adiutos,' 'comitatus,' 'sublevatus,' but 'observatus' is the reading of all the other MSS.
populo Romano in foro es conatus occidere, cumque eam rem tua sponte conarere, non impulso meo, tamen ita praedicabas, te non existimare, nisi illum interfectisses, umquam mihi pro tuis in me iniurii satis esse facturum. In quo demiror, cur Milonem impulso meo rem illam egisse dicas, cum te ulro mihi idem illud deferentem numquam sim adhortatus. Quamquam, si in eo perseverares, ad tuam gloriam rem illam referri malebam quam ad mean gratiam. Quaeactor es factus: deinde continuo sine senatus consulto, sine sorte, sine lege ad Caesarem cucur- risti; id enim unum in terris egestatis, aeris alieni, nequitiae perditis vitae rationibus perfugium esse ducbas. Ibi te cum et illius largitionibus 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.

15 Accipite nunc, quaeo, non ea, quae ipse in se atque in domes- ticum decus impure et intermenerant, sed quae in nos fortu- nasque nostras, id est in universam rem publicam, impie ac

1. Conatus es. See on c. 9, 21.
6. Quamquam, &c. The train of thought seems to be 'I did not encourage you, because I saw your want of perseverance. And yet, under any circumstances, even if you were to persevere, I thought it better that you should have the whole credit of the matter.' Hence the conjecture of Manutius, 'quoniam' for 'quamquam,' is unnecessary.
9. Sine sorte. Cpl. Att. 6-6, 5. 'Pompeius, co robore vir, iis radicibus, Q. Caesium sine sorte delegit, Caesar Antonium.'
11. Perfugium. See below, c. 32, 78; Cael. ap. Cic. Fam. 8, 14, 3 'Video ad Caesarem onnes, qui cum timore aut mala spe vivant, accessuros.'
13. Explicerc. Halm marks here a lacuna, which is variously supplied, 'haurire,' 'devorarc,' 'ingerere,' 'corripere.' The sense may be, however, 'if we may apply the word 'explicere' to that which you immediately intend disgorging.' Garatonicus compares pro Rab. Post. 16, 44 'Ex qua (dignitate) illi nihil detrahi potest quod non aut fortiter ferat aut facile restituet.'
14. Vir mei tui, Curio. See on c. 18, 44.
21. in his tribuneship, he persisted in thwarting by his veto the counsels of the senate for the common weal, till they were obliged, in self-defence, to stop his interference by declaring him a public enemy. Again he fled to C. Caesar, and gave him the excuse he sought for the invasion of his country, on the ground that the tribunes' privileges had been violated. Thus Atony was the immediate cause of all the evils of the civil war, and of the loss, by death or banishment, of so many noble citizens; the final issue being loss of liberty to the senate and the state.
16. Decus. This reading is due to Madvig, who shows (Opusc. 1, p. 166; 2, p. 322) not only that in must have the same meaning with both accusatives, so that here 'in dedecus' could only mean 'to the detriment of his dishonour,' which is absurd, but also that such an expression as 'in dedecus,' 'to his dishonour,' 'so as to bring dishonour on himself,' is never used by any prose writer till after the Augustan period, though it occurs in poetry, as Hor. Epod. 17, 63 'Ingurata misero vita ducenda est, in hoc, Novis ut usque suppetas doloribus:' and in later prose, especially in the time of Seneca. The mistake would easily arise from doubling the syllable.
nefarie fecerit: ab huius enim scelere omnium malorum principium natum reperietis. Nam cum L. Lentulo C. Marcellum consulibus Kalendis Ianuarii labentem et prope cadentem rem publicam fulcire cuperetis, ipsique C. Caesari, si sana mente esset, consulere velletis: tum iste venditum atque emancipatum tribunatum consiliis vestris opposuit cervicesque suas ei subiecit securi, qua multi minoribus in peccatis occiderunt. In te, M. Antoni, id decrevit senatus et quidem incolum, nondum tot luminibus extinctis, quod in hostem togatum decerni est soli- tum more maiorum. Et tu apud patres conscriptos contra me dicere ausus es, cum ab hoc ordine ego conservator essem, tu hostis rei publicae iudicatus? Commemoratio illius tuo sceleris intermissa est, non memoria deleta. Dum genus hominum, dum populi Romani nomen exstabit—quod quidem erit, si per te licebit, sempiternum,—tua illa pustifera intercessio nominabi-tur. Quid cupide a senatu, quid temere fiebat, cum tu unus adolescens universum ordinem decernere de salute rei publicae prohibuisti, neque semel, sed saepius? neque tu tecum de senatu auctoritate agi passus es? Quid autem agebatur, nisi ne deleri et everti rem publicam funditus velles, cum te neque 20

2. L. Lentulo, C. Marcello, in 49 B.C., the year of Antony's tribuneship, and of the commencement of the civil war between Caesar and Pompey.

4. Si sana mente esset, 'had he been willing', that is, 'to show himself a loyal citizen.' See c. 35, 88 note. The senate passed a decree on the 1st of January, that Caesar should disband his army, or be held a public enemy. Antony and his colleague, Q. Cassius Longinus, interposed their vetoes, which the senate disregarded, declaring that in doing so the tribunes violated the interests of the state. Finding themselves expelled from the senate on the 6th of January, and feeling that the absolute power given to the Consul was aimed especially against them, they fled from Rome and joined Caesar at Ravena. (Caes. B. C. 1, 5, 4: Liv. Epit. lib. 109.)

5. Emancipatum, 'transferred from his own authority to that of Caesar,' his own loss of power being the idea more prominently brought forward. So de Fin. 1, 7, 24. 'Filium in adoptionem D. Silano emancipaverat,' but Cat. Mai. 11, 38 'Senecus hostes est... si nemini emancipata est,' stress being laid on the slavery which is the result.

6. Cervices. It is noticeable that Cicero nowhere uses the word 'cervix' in the singular.

9. In hostem togatum, so as to give the Consul the power of life and death within the city walls.

11. Conservator. See on c. 1, 2.


'Hic ego nec metas rerum nec tempora pono:
Imperium sine fine dedi.'
Hence Tibullus, 'Aelternae urbis moenia,' 2, 5, 23.

16. Unus adolescens. Cicero conveniently ignores the co-operation of Q. Cassius, and exaggerates the youth of Antony, who, being now 34, could no longer be reckoned among 'adolescentes.' See on c. 44, 113.

18. Neque tu tecum, &c., 'nor would you allow the opening of any negotiations with yourself about upholding the authority of the senate, though all that was sought was that you should consent not utterly to destroy the state: that you would not erect your sovereign will and pleasure.'
principes civitatis rogando neque maiores natu monendo neque frequens senatus agendo de vendita atque addicta sententia movere potuit? Tum illud multum rebus ante tentatis necessario tibi vulnus inflictum est, quod paucis ante te, quorum incolumis fuit nemo: tum contra te dedit arma hic ordo consulibus reliquisque imperiis et potestatibus: quae non effugisses, nisi te adarma Caesari contulisses. Tu, tu, inquam, M. Antoni, princeps C. Caesari omnia perturbare cupienti causam belli contra patriam inferendi dedisti. Quid enim alium ille dicebat? quam causam sui dementissimi consilii et facti afferebat, nisi quod intercessio neglecta, ius tribunici sublatum, circumscriptus a senatu esset Antonius? Omitto quam haec falsa, quam levia, praesertim cum omnino nulla causa iusta cuiquam esse possit contra patriam arma capiendi. Sed nihil de Caesare: tibi certe confitendum est causam perniciosissimi belli persona tua constitisse. O miserum te, si haec intelligis, miseriorem, si non intelligis, hoc litteris mandari, hoc memoriae prodi, huius rei ne posteritatem quidem omnium saeculorum unquam immemorem fore, consules ex Italia expulsos cumque iis Cn. Pompeium, quod imperii populi Romani decus ac lumen fuit, omnes consulares, qui per valetu-

2. Agendo, 'by its attempted negotiations,' rather than 'by the severity of its measures.'

Addicta, 'given over to the highest bidder.' cp. Verr. Act. 2. 3. 63. 149. 'Si docer al quanto pluris potuisse vendere neque ipsa voluisse te addicere, qui contra Atrium licerenter.'

4. Vulnus, viz. the decree, 'dent operam consules, praetores, tribuni plebis, queque consulares sunt ad urbem (these being "reliquia imperia"), ne quid res publica detrimenti capiat' Caes. B. C. 1. 5. 3; cp. Fam. 16. 11. 3. This power, Cicero says, had never before been given to the Consuls without proving fatal to those against whom it was directed.

9. Causar. Caesar himself alleges this object amongst others that induced him to take up arms against the state ('ut tribunos plebis, ea re ex civitate expulsos, in suam dignitatem restitueret' B. C. 1. 32. 5), and it was no doubt useful to him as a popular cry, especially as the senate seem to have been technically in the wrong: but his counsels were based on deeper views than this, and as Plutarch says, Ant. 6 ταύτα πάλαι δεομένης προφίλασις σχήμα καὶ λόγον εὐπρεπῇ τοῦ πολέμου πορέσχεν.

11. Ius tribunici sublatum, not only by ignoring their veto, but by threatening the sanctity of their persons. Cp. Livy 2. 33; Dionys. 7. 17.

Circumscriptus, 'hampered in the exercise of his power.' Cp. 13. 9, 19 'Parrata de circumscribendo adolescente sententia consularis;' and pro Mil. 33, 88 'Senatus, credo, praetorem eum circumscripisset,' 'would have fenced in Clodius, so that he should not exceed his powers.'

15. Persona tua. So the Vatican MS, Cp. 3. 8, 19 'cum eo (sc. interitu tuo) salus... consisteter.' Vulg. 'in persona.'

O miserum te. See c. 7, 16.

19. Pompeium, quod lumen fuit. This attraction of the relative into the gender of the predicate is found when the antecedent being already sufficiently defined, stress is to be laid on the attribute contained in the relative clause. Cp. 5. 14, 38 'Pompeio patre, quod imperio populi Romani lumen fuit, extincto.' When the relative clause contains the only data for identifying the antecedent, the relative pronoun must follow the ordinary rules. See Madv. § 316.

20. Omnes consulares. As it was
ORATIO PHILIPPICA II.

§§ 52—56.


notorious that several men of consular rank (among whom were P. Servilius Isauricus, L. Volcatus, and Serv. Sulpicius Rufus, the last-named actively espousing Caesar's side), remained in Rome, Cicero invents for all of them the plea of ill health.

1. Exsequi, &c., 'to accomplish that disastrous flight.' The leaders of Pompey's party retired with him in the first instance to Capua, whence he fled to Brundisium at the end of February, in preparation for leaving Italy for his last campaign.


6. Tres exercitus. See c. 6, 12 note.

10. Accepta referemus. See c. 16, 40.

13. Principii. So Halm, following Gara-tonius, from the Vatican reading 'principis,' where the 's' is probably due to the initial of the following 'simillis.' Vulg. 'principio.'

Quae senatus, &c., 'which the senate had rendered impossible without the ruin of the constitution.'

14. Sceclus in scelere. It was an of-fence against the state to annul its sentences; but if he were doing that, natural affection demanded the recall from exile of his uncle, C. Antonius.

cc. 23—25. His power he abused in every way. First, by restoring to their civil rights convicted persons, in behalf of whom no single plea could decently be urged. Secondly, in not extending this leniency to his uncle. Thirdly, by his progress through the borough towns in the company of an actress, and attended by a troop of profligates, amid luxury most unsuited to a tribune. Fourthly, by his cruelty and avarice in war, in which the only merit he could urge was his single act of moderation in not killing Cicero; and this was only out of deference to the unan-imous opinion of his soldiers, who were scandalized by the open profligacy of his conduct.

His next appointment, to be Caesar's master of the horse, was gained by jobbery, and led to further jobbery, combined with rapine and excess of every kind.

15. Restituebat in this chapter seems to mean generally 'he restored to their former privileges,' (cp. below, 'restituit in integrum'), since Denticula was evidently not in exile. Cp. Verr. Act. 2. 2. 26, 63 'Alia judicia restituta sunt.'

17. De aele condemnatuum. Cp.Hor. Od. 3. 24, 58 'Seu malis veita legibus aele.'
condemnatum, collusorem suum, restituit, quasi vero ludere cum condemnato non liceret: sed ut, quod in alia perditione, beneficio legis dissolveret. Quam attulisti rationem populo Romano cur eum restitui oporteret? Absentem credo in reos relatum; rem indicta causa iudicatam; nullum fuisse de alia legi iudicii; vi oppressum et armis; postremo, quod de patruo tuo dicebatur, pecunia iudicium esse corruptum. Nihil horum. At vir bonus et re publica dignus. Nihil id quidem ad rem, ego tamen, quoniam condemnatum esse pro nihil est, ita ignosce-rm. Hominem omnium nequissimum, qui non dubitaret vel in foro alia ludere, lege, quae est de alia, condemnatum qui in integrum restituit, is non aperissimem studium suum ipsa profi-tetur? In eodem vero tribunatu, cum Caesar in Hispaniam proficiscens huic conculcandam Italian tradidisset, quae fuit eius peragratio itinerum! lustratio municiporum! Scio me in rebus celebratissimis omnium sermone versari caeque, quae dico dicturusque sum, notiora esse omnibus, qui in Italia tum fuerunt, quam mihi, qui non fui: notabo tamen singulas res, etsi nullo modo poterit oratio mea satis facere vestrae scientiae. Etenim quod umquam in terris tantum flagitium exstississe auditem est? tantam turpitudinem? tantum dedecus? Vehabatur in essedo

1. Quasi vero, &c., 'as though to keep up some show of respectability in his company, though really to escape the payment of his gambling debts;' *sed* marking the transition from the false plea to the real object which Antony had in view, 2. Beneficio legis, by the gratitude he earned from Denticula, by carrying through the law which restored him to his civic rights. 4. Absentem credo. Here follow the usual pleas on which reversal of a sentence might be urged, or even (as in the last case) the compassion of the senate excited. One of these, he says, Antony might have pressed in favour of his uncle; Denticula could claim the benefit of none. Additional point is given to the comparison by the fact that Cicero himself defended C. Antonius. 9. Condemnatum esse. In such a general confusion of the constitution, respect for the mere decision of a court of law would naturally go for nothing. 10. Qui non dubitaret, &c., 'who would not hesitate to play dice in the very forum itself;' this being the height of profanity in a Roman's eyes; cp. Off. 3. 24, 93, where Cicero propounds the case of a man who had accepted an inheritance under promise of dancing in the forum, and decides that he ought to violate his promise rather than do so, unless the money gained were to be applied to some great necessity of the state. 12. Studium suum, 'his own predilection for play.' 14. Italian. Caesar left Lepidus in charge of Rome, and Antony of Italy. Plut. Ant. 6. 18. Qui non fui. See on c. 15, 37. 21. Vehabatur in essedo. Abrami calls attention to the force of every single word in this charge. He, a *tribune of the commons*, bound to avoid aristocratic pomp, and to make himself accessible to all, *drove*, like a woman, in a *barbarian carriage*, preceded by *lictors*, to which a tribune had no right, and *these adorned with laurel wreaths*, in token of victory over Pompey and the Consul's. Among these was carried Cytheris, a *minic actris*, a courtezan among the insignia of magistracy, without even the decency of a curtained litter. Essedo. This was a Celtic two-wheeled chariot, found apparently both in
tribunus pl.; lictores laureati antecedebant, inter quos aperta lectica mima portabatur, quam ex oppidis municipiae homines honesti, obviam necessario prodeuntes, non noto illo et mimico nomine, sed Volumniam consalutabant. Sequebatur reda cum lenonibus, comites nequissimi: rececta mater amicam impuri 5 fillii tamquam nurum sequabatur. O miserae mulieris fecunditatem calamitosam! Horum flagitiorum iste vestigis omnia municipia, praefecturas, colonias, totam denique Italian impression.

Reliquorum factorum eius, patres conscripti, difficilis est sane 10 reprehensio et lubrica. Versatus in bello est; saturavit se sanguine dissimillorum sui civium: felix fuit, si potest ulla in scelere esse felicitas. Sed quoniam veteranis cautum esse volumus, quamquam dissimilis est militum causa et tua—illi secuti sunt, tu quaeisti ducem,—tamen, ne apud illos me in invidiam 15 voces, nihil de genere belli dicam. Victor et Thessalia Brundisium cum legionibus revertisti. Ibi me non occidisti. Magnum

Britain and in Gaul. Cp. Fam. 7, 6, 2 'Tu, qui ceteris cavere didicisti, in Britannia ab essedariis decipiaris caveto,' and Virg. G 3. 20. 4 'Belgica vel mollis melius feret esseda colo.' Caesar describes them as used in war, B. C. 4. 33. It seems to have become a fashionable carriage in Rome; see Professor Conington on Virg. l. c.


Cicero complained at the time of the disgraceful nature of the proceeding. Att. 7. 10, 5 'Hic tamen Cytherida secum lectica aperta portat, alteram uxorem:' cp. ib. 16, 5.


Reda. This was also a Gaulish chariot, but on four wheels; see Quint. l. 5. 57 'Plurima Gallica (verba) valuerunt, ut reda ac pettorium.'

5. Comites is in apposition to the general idea of 'reda cum lenonibus,' the coach-load of panders. Another reading, supported however only by one late MS., is 'leonibus,' in defence of which Pliny's story (N. H. 8. 16, 21; cp. Att. 10. 13, 1) of Antony driving a yoke of lions in a chariot is urged. But besides that this event was after Pharsalus, and that the lions were yoked to his own chariot, not to that of his attendants, the anomaly of the expression 'reda cum lenonibus' for 'reda lenonibus juncta' would be sufficient to decide the question in favour of the reading of the MSS.

Mater. Julia, daughter of L. Iulius Caesar, who was Consul in the social war, 90 B.C.


11. Lubrica, 'hazardous,' on account of the offence which would be given to the veterans.

13. Quoniam veteranis, &c. Two reasons are assigned by Cicero for his silence, of which the latter, though in strictness of grammar it should merely re-assert the former, is really quite distinct from it: 'Since we wish to maintain the interests of the veterans,' that you may not bring me into disfavour with them.'

14. Dissimilis. Besides the superior and more responsible position of Antony, the soldiers were in the first instance bound to Caesar by their military oath.

16. E Thessalia. After the battle of Pharsalus, August, 48 B.C., Cicero came to Brundisium in November, and remained there till September in the following year.

17. Non occidisti. See on c. 3, 5 and 6.
beneficium! potuisse enim fator: quamquam nemo erat eorum, qui tum tecum fuerunt, qui mihi non censeret parci oportere. Tanta est enim caritas patriae, ut vestris etiam legionibus sanctus essem, quod eam a me servatam esse meminisset. 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, praesertim cum te haec auditurum videres? Venisti Brundisium, in sinum quidem et in complexum tuae mimulae. Quid est? num mentior? Quam miserum est id negare non posse, quod sit turpissimum confiteri! Si te municipiorum non pudebat, ne vcterani quidem exercitus? quis enim miles fuit qui Brundisii illam non viderit? quis qui nescierit venisse cam tibi tot dierum via gratulatum? quis qui non indoluerit tam sero se quam nequam hominem scutus esset cognoscere? Italiae rursus percursatio eadem comite mima, in oppida militum crudelis et misera deductio, in urbe auri, argenti maximeque vini foeda direptio. Accessit ut Caesare ignaro, cum esset ille Alexandrae, beneficio amicorum eius magister equitum constitueretur. Tum existimavit se suo iure cum Hippia vivere et equos vectigales Sergio mimo tradere. Tum


6. Licuitne, &c., 'did not your abuse prevent me from continuing to show that I recognised your kindness, especially as, all the time that you were abusing me, you saw that such would be my answer?' Praesertim cum gives an additional reason for what is really, though not grammatically, the leading notion in this sentence, viz. the effect of Antony's wanton abuse of him. Cp. 8. 2, 5 *C. quidem Caesar non expectavit vestra decrata, praesertim cum illud acetas erat;' where the train of thought is, 'Octavius might have been expected to wait for your decrees, especially considering his age, but he acted on his own responsibility.'

11. Municipiorum, 'if you felt no shame in the presence of the borough towns,' i.e. at bringing on them such a disgrace. Lindemann (on Plaut. Trin. 4. 2, 67) says, 'Omnia quae pudore afflicuit, sive illa in rebus turpibus cessentur, sive personae sunt reverentia dignae, ad verbum pudere genitivo struuntur.' Cp. 12. 3, 8 *Pudet huius legionis, pudet quartae;' Ter. Hec. 5. 2, 27 *Pudet Philumenae,' 'I am ashamed of seeing Philumenae;' and Sall. Frag. 1. 54, 15 *Te neque hominem neque deorum pudet.'

16. Deductio, *quartering the soldiers on the towns for the winter,* 'deduco' being commonly employed for bringing soldiers into winter quarters: cp. Caes. B. G. 5. 27, 9 *Legionibus in hiberna deductis;' and Livy 26. 20; 43. 9. Abrami takes it of the allotment of lands to the soldiers, which would drive the citizens from their homes; but it is not likely that any measures of this sort would be taken till Caesar had returned to Rome.

17. Caesare ignaro. Yet Plutarch, Ant. 8, says that Caesar himself appointed him master of the horse, and sent him in that capacity to Rome.

19. Cum Hippia, that as master of the horse (παρόχος) he was entitled to live with Hippias, the mimic actor.

20. Vectigales, according to Manutius (whom Forcellini follows), means simply *earning profit for their master.* Hence he thinks the reference is to the horses that contended in the games, and that Antony allowed Sergius, the mimic actor, to contract for the supply of these, a privilege hitherto monopolized by senators, and in their case exercised with a view to popularity rather than to profit. Abrami thinks that 'equi vectigales' (like 'pecunia vectigalis' in Verr.
§§ 59—63. ORATIO PHILIPPICA II.

sibi non hanc, quam nunc male tuetur, sed M. Pisonis domum ubi habitaret legerat. Quid ego istius decreta, quid rapinas, quid hereditatum possessiones datas, quid ereptas proferam? Cogebat egestas; quo se vereret, non habebat: nondum ei tanta a L. Rubrio, non a L. Turselio hereditas venerat; nondum in Pompei locum multorumque aliorum, qui aberant, repentinus heres successerat. Erat ei vivendum latronum ritu, ut tantum haberet, quantum rapere potuisset.

63 Sed haec, quae robustioris improbitatis sunt, omittamus: loquamur potius de nequissimo genere levitatis. Tu istis fauci cibus, istis lateribus, ista gladiatoria totius corporis firmitate tantum vini in Hippiae nuptiis exhauseras, ut tibi nessesse esset in populi Romani conspectu vomere postridie. O rem non modo visu foedam, sed etiam auditu! Si inter cenam in ipsis tuis immanibus illis poculis hoc tibi accidisset, quis non turpe duceret? in coetu vero populi Romani, negotium publicum gerens, magister equitum, cui ructare turpe esset, isomens frustis esculentis vinum redolentibus gremium suum et totum tribunal implevit. Sed haec ipsa fatetur esse in suis sordibus: veniamus ad splendidiora.

Act. 2. 1. 35, 89) means horses supplied as tribute by conquered nations. He quotes Hdt. 3. 90 to show that the Cicilians paid a tribute of horses to Darius, and thinks that the Romans probably continued to receive their tribute in the ancient fashion. In that case the passage would mean that Antony gave Sergius the horses which belonged to the state.

1. Male tuetur, 'has difficulty in retaining for his own.' It was Pompey's house (see on 1. 1, 1), and was now claimed by Sextus Pompeius, who had agreed to lay aside hostilities in Spain, on condition of receiving the property of his father. See on 13. 8. 10.

2. M. Pupius Piso distinguished himself in the first civil war, on the side of Sulla, and was afterwards Consul, through the interest of Pompey, 61 B.C.

3. Datas ereptas, 'which he gave to his adherents, or seized from their lawful owners.'


9. Istis fauciibus, &c., all showing Antony's great powers of drinking, and therefore the enormity of his excess, when it produced such results. See Quint. 8. 4. 16; 9. 4. 23.

11. In Hippiae nuptiis, &c. Cp. Plut. Ant. 9 'In Ipsiis potes tum mihi frindam igitur, etiam propter tum coelestibus etiamque, si propter tum adhucum orationis esse tutti potestas est, tamen vincens tibi esse ipse hominem.'

14. In coetu, &c. Garatianus quotes Quint. 8. 4. 8, commenting on this passage: 'Singula incrementum habent. Per se formosae, vel non "in coetu," vomere: "in coetu" vel non "populi;" "populi" etiam non "Romani;" vel, si nullum "negotium" ageret; vel si non "publicum;" vel si non "magister equitum."' Mr. Mayor remarks that this chapter is more often cited by Quintilian than any other in the speech. cc. 26—28. Caesar's illomened return to Rome led to the sale of his proscribed opponents' property. Antony alone had the heart and shamelessness to bid for that of Pompey; and entering on it with indecent haste, in a few days, with the aid of his abandoned followers, he had squandered all the treasures of that house, which no one else could look on without tears. He alone was utterly devoid of feeling, never disturbed by the contrast between the former pure and noble owner of the house. and its present tenant, whose most virtuous act was to divorce his mistress. And
Caesar Alexandria se recepit, felix, ut sibi quidem videbatur, mea autem sententia, qui rei publicae sit hostis, felix esse nemo potest. Hasta posita pro aede Iovis Statoris bona subiecta Cn. Pompei—miserum me! consumptis enim lacrimis tamen infixus haeret animo dolor,—bona, inquam, Cn. Pompei magni voci acerbisimae subiecta praconis. Una in illa re servitutis oblita civitas ingemuit servientibusque animis, cum omnia metu tenerentur, gemitus tamen populi Romani liber fuit. Exspectantibus omnibus quisnam esset tam impius, tam demens, tam dis hominibusque hostis, qui ad illud scelus sectionis auderet accedere, inventus est nemo praeter Antonium, praevertit cum tot essent circum hastam illam, qui alia omnia auderent: unus inventus est qui id auderet, quod omnium fugisset et reformidasset audacia. Tantus igitur te stupor oppressit velut, ut verius dicam, tantus furoer, ut primum, cum sector sis isto loco natus, deinde cum Pompei sector, non te exsecraturum populo Romano, non detestabilem, non omnes tibi deos, non omnes homines esse inimicos et futuros scias? At quam insolenter statim helluo invasit in eius viri fortunas, cuius virtute terribilior erat populus Romanus exteris gentibus, iustitia carior! In cius igitur viri copias cum se subito ingurgitasset, exsultabat gaudio unum vix fuisse, etiam tamen conspectum vidit auctoris, qui praecipit: 'etiam unus runt.' At 12. hoc adhuc non significat, nisi quod quisque se a genere humanorum omnium ei praebet, quem societatis uirtutis auctoritas subito expectat: tamen, si hanc deseguisse quidem, praecipit: 'etiam unus runt.' Adhuc, si minusve (qui minusve habet) de eis, quibus societatis uirtutis auctoritas subito expectat. 15. Hoc est Graeciae statistae, qui ad illud scelus sectionis audiere, inventus est nemo praeter Antonium, praecipit cum tot essent circum hastam illam, qui alia omnia audiarent: unus inventus est qui id auderet, quod omnium fugisset et reformidasset audacia. Tantus igitur te stupor oppressit velut, ut verius dicam, tantus furoer, ut primum, cum sector sis isto loco natus, deinde cum Pompei sector, non te exsecraturum populo Romano, non detestabilem, non omnes tibi deos, non omnes homines esse inimicos et futuros scias? At quam insolenter statim helluo invasit in eius viri fortunas, cuius virtute terribilior erat populus Romanus exteris gentibus, iustitia carior! In cius igitur vitæ copias cum se subito ingurgitasset, exsultabat gaudio

withol he was so proud of his notoriety, that even now he spoke of himself as being 'both Consul and Antonius,' lest men in respect for the Consul should forget the contempt appropriate to the debauchee.

1. Alexandria. Caesar left Alexandria in the latter end of March, and arrived in Rome in September, 47 B.C.
2. Hostis. So the Vatican MS. Some others have 'infelix.'

3. Hasta posita. The origin of setting up a spear as the sign of a public auction is probably to be found in the fact that the earliest auctions would be sales of spoil taken in war, and sold on the spot.

Pro aede Iovis Statoris. At the top of the Via Sacra, near the place where the arch of Titus now stands.

5. Haeret animo. Madvig, Opusc. 1. p. 145, would alter the order of the words, reading 'animo haeret,' to mark more clearly the dependence of 'animo' on 'haeret.' For the disgrace involved in the proceeding see pro Quinct. 15, 49 'Cuius bona venirent, cuius ... etiam victus vestitusque necessarius sub praecomem cum dedecore subiectus est, is non modo ex numero vivorum exturbatur, sed, si fieri potest, infra etiam mortuos amandatur.'

10. Sectionis. See on c. 15, 39.
11. Accedere is the special word for bidding at an auction. Cp. Livy 43. 16 'Exsectum, ne quis eorum ... ad hastam suam accederent.'
12. Praesertum cum, though formally dependent on 'inventus est nemo,' really refers to the leading idea in Cicero's mind; to the strangeness of the want of bidders, rather than to the actual fact of that want. See on c. 24, 60. It may be translated 'which was all the more remarkable as,' or 'even though,' or 'and that at a time when.'
15. Isto loco, sc. as being 'nobilis.'
16. Exsecratum, so Halm from the Vatican MS. Vulg. 'excrandum? but see on c. 13, 32.
21. Se subito ingurgitasset, 'had all at once begun to wallow in;' cp. in Pis. 18, 42 'Numquam te in tot flagitia ingurgitasses.'
1. Persona de mimo, 'like the man in the face.'
2. Male, &c., 'ill-gotten gain never thrives.' The quotation is from Naevius.
5. Numerus, 'a vast stock of wine,' so 'frumenti' Verr. Act. 2. 2. 72, 176.
Optimi argenti, 'of beautifully-wrought plate.' Madvig (§ 466 b) says that the words are placed in such unusual order 'to give a prominence to both adjectives, and at the same time to bring 'argenti,' which forms an anaphora with other words, to the last place.'
6. Non illa quidem, &c., 'not enough to stamp the man as luxurious, but sufficiently betokening affluence.' See on 13. 5, 10.
9. Animal unum fuit, 'was but a single creature.' So Virgil personifies Charybdis, Ae. 3. 420 'Laevum implacata Charybdis Obsident.'
Me dius fidius is taken by some to be the same oath as 'Mehercle,' being equivalent to 'Me Deus (Loviis) filius,' d and I being interchanged as in lingua, 'cingua,' 'lacrima,' δακτυλιον, and many other words. The more probable derivation is from 'fides,' 'Dius Fidius' corresponding to Zeus πίστις. The 'me' is merely a demonstrative inseparable particle, like 'e' in 'ecaster.'
11. Nihil erat clausum, &c., 'so careless was he, that he neither locked, nor sealed, nor put his name on anything;' or 'scriptum' may be (as Halm takes it) 'he made no list of anything.'
12. Apothecae, 'whole stores of wine.' 'Apothecae' differ from 'cellae vinariae,' being the magazine where the main stock of wine was stowed away, as opposed to the place where the supply for daily use was kept. The latter was in the innmost part of the house, for coolness (not necessarily underground, see Piny, N. H. 14. 21, 27), whereas the 'apotheca' was in the upper part, where it could be mellowed by the smoke. See Colum. 1. 6, 20; and op. Hor. Od. 3. 21, 7
'Descende, Corvino iubente
Promere languidiora vina;
' of a jar of special wine that was to be produced in honour of his guest.
17. Servorum in cellis, 'in the garrets of the slaves.' Cato, R. R. 14. 2, calls them 'familiae cellas,' whence Vitruvius' term, 6. 10, 'cellae familiariae.'
20. Devorare potuisset, 'could have
ORATIO PHILIPPICA II.

nanus; L. Domitium, clarissimum et nobilissimum virum, occi-
deras multosque praeterea qui e proelio effugerant, quos Caesar, ut non nullos, fortasse servasset, crudelissime persecutus truci-
daras. Quibus rebus tantis talibus gestis, quid fuit causae cur
in Africam Caesarem non sequerere, cum praesertim belli pars
anta restaret? Itaque quem locum apud ipsum Caesarem post
eius ex Africa reditum obtinuisti? quo numero fuisti? Cuius
tu imperatoris quaestor fueras, dictatoris magister equitum, belli
princeps, crudelitatis auctor, praedae socius, testamento, ut dice-
bas ipse, filius, appellatus es de pecunia, quam pro domo, pro
hortis, pro sectione debebas. Primo respondisti plane ferociter,
et, ne omnia videar contra te, prope modum aqua et insta dice-
bas. A me C. Caesar 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 rogavi; ego
arma contra consules imperatoresque 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 praeda communis? Ius
postulabas, sed quid ad rem? plus ille poterat. Itaque excussis
tuis vocibus et ad te et ad praedae tuos milites misit, cum re-

1. L. Domitium. See on c. 11, 27.
7. Quo numero fuisti? ‘of what ac-
count were you?’ So 3. 6, 16 ‘Bambalio,
homo nullo numero.’
8. Quaestor, see on c. 20, 50; Magis-
ter equitum, on c. 25, 62; belli prin-
ceps, on c. 22, 55.
10. Filius. We learn from Dion Cassius
(44. 35) that Antony was placed among the
heirs in remainder (‘secundi heredes’), by
the will of Caesar, but nowhere of anything
like his adoption by the dictator.
Appellatus es, ‘you were summoned
for the money.’ cp. de Leg. Agr. 2, 36, 100
‘Nulli populo Romano pro me maiores
me spoponderunt, mihi credidum est: a
me pote re quod debeo, me ipsum appellare
debitis.’
15. Causam; see on c. 22, 53.
Ego leges perniciosas rogavi.
These words are wanting in the Vatican
MS., but are found in the others, and are
quoted by the grammarians Nonius (about
A.D. 200). Their reference is very doubt-
ful, as among Antony’s actions we hear
of no laws which he passed at this period,
with the exception of that for the re-
versal of certain judicial sentences (see c.
23, 56). It shows Cicero’s power of sar-
casm that he makes Antony urge as services
to Caesar exclusively the wrongs he did the
state.
19. Ius postulabas, ‘your demands were
only fair,’ ‘postulo,’ according to Donatus,
being strictly ‘to demand what is one’s
right.’ He says, on Ter. Andr. 2, 5, 11
‘Petimus precario; poscimus impierose;
postulamus iure.’ See on 1. 11, 27. The
fairness of any claims, Cicero declares, is the
last thing to be taken into consideration;
Caesar was the more powerful, and that
decided the matter.
20. Excussis. So the Vatican, and most
other MSS. Two have ‘exclusis,’ which
Madvig adopts (Opusc. 1. p. 207). The use,
however, of ‘excussis’ (‘having shaken him-
self free from your words’) probably has re-
ference to ‘respondisti plane ferociter’ above;
and it is borne out by Tibullus, 2, 6, 12
‘Magna loquor, sed magnifice mihi verba
locuto
Excutiunt clausae fortia verba fores.’
pentae at praecella illa tabula prolata est. Qui risus hominum! tantam esse tabulam, tam varias, tam multas possessiones, ex quibus praeter partem Miseni nihil erat, quod is qui auctionaretur posset suum dicere. Auctionis vero miserabilis adspectus: vestis Pompei non multa eaque maculosa, eiusdem quaedam argentea vasa collisa, sordidata mancipia, ut doleremus quidquam esse ex illis reliquis, quod videre possemus. Hanc tamen auctionem heredes L. Rubrii decreto Caesaris prohibuerunt. Haereditab nebulo: quo se verteret non habebat. Quin his ipsis temporibus domi Caesaris percussor ab isto missus reprehensus dicebatur esse cum sica: de quo Caesar in senatu aperte in te invehens questus est. Profisciscitur in Hispaniam Caesar, paucis tibi ad solvendum propter inopiam tuam prorogatis diebus. Ne tum quidem sequeris. Tam bonus gladiator rudem tam cito? Hunc igitur quisquam, qui in suis partibus, id est in suis fortunis tam timidus fuerit, pertimescat?

30 Profectus est aliquando tandem in Hispaniam, sed tuto, ut ait, pervenire non potuit. Quonam modo igitur Dolabella pervenit? Aut non suscienda fuit ista causa, Antoni, aut, cum suscipiendo, we may suppose, was added by Antony to the sale.


14. Rudem. The wand with which gladiators who had served their time were presented by the praetor, in token that they had earned their pension. Cp. Hor. Epp. 1. 1. 2 *Spectatum satis, et donatum iam rude quaeris?* Juv. 7. 171 *Ergo sibi dabit ipsa rudem;* and Mart. 3. 36. 10 *Ut nondum credas me meruisse rudem.* Some MSS. have *rudem accipisti,* but the verb is wanting in the Vatican MS. See on c. 19. 48; and for the term *gladiator* as applied to Antony, cp. 7. 6. 17.

15. In suis partibus, *in following out his own policy; that is, in looking after his own interests,* cc. 30. 31. Thither Antony, after much delay, proposed to follow him, but only got as far as Narbo, leaving Dolabella to fight his battles for him, even against the sons of Pompey, who were seeking to regain from him their lost inheritance. From Narbo he returned, by night, in most unworthy guise, alarming all the city, that he might surprise his wife, and save her suetides from an execution on their property.

Qui vero Narbone reditus? Etiam quacrebat, cur ego ex ipso cursu tam subito revertissim. Exposui nuper, patres conscripti, causam reditus mei: volui, si possem, etiam ante Kalendas Ianuarias prodesse rei publicae. Nam quod quaerabes, quo modo redissim: primum luce, non tenebris; deinde cum calceis et toga, nullis nec Gallicis nec lacerna. At etiam adspicis me

1. Ter depugnavit Caesar. See on c. 15, 37.
4. Nollem, 'I would he had been absent.'
5. A primo, 'from the outset.' Cp. Att. 9, 6, 5 'Tuis nunc epistolam a primo lego.'
5. Quid es? As we say, 'you are neither one thing nor the other.' 'Neither loyal nor consistent.' Cp. de Har. Resp. 20, 42 'Hic vero quid est? quid valet?'
6. Tum is only found in the Vatican MS., but may have been omitted in the rest to bring out more clearly the meaning of 'primum,' which does not belong to it, but is 'in the first place,' as opposed to 'praeterea.'

Fuerit, &c., 'grant that in this you were but abandoning your party's cause, the further object of their resistance touched yourself more nearly.'

8. In quae. Referring to masculine and feminine antecedents. Cp. Livy 44, 24 'Natura inimica sunt libera civitas et rex.'
10. Tamen is resumptive, after the parenthesis introducing an apology for the word 'aequissimum.'
et quidem, ut videris, iratus. Ne tu iam mecum in gratiam redeas, si scias quam me pudeat nequitiae tuae, cuius te ipsum non pudet. Ex omnium omnibus flagitiis nullum turpium vidi, nullum audivi. Qui magister equitum fuisse tibi viderere, in proximium annum consolatum peteres vel potius rogares, per 5 municipia coloniasque Galliae, a qua nos tum, cum consulatus petebatur, non rogabatur, petere consolatum solebamus, cum Gallicis et lacerna cucurriti. At videte levitatem hominis. 31 Cum hora diei decima fere ad Saxa rubra venisset, delituit in 77 quadam cauponula atque ibi se occultans perpotavit ad ves-peram; inde cisio celeriter ad urbem adventus domum venit capite obvolute. Ianitor: 'Quis tu?' 'A Marco tabellarius.'

and Martial (10. 47, 5) enumerates among the things that make life happy, 'Lis numquam, toga rara, mens quieta.'

Gallicis. From Gellius (13. 21) we learn that 'gallicae' were a kind of sandals, like the Roman 'soleae,' and the Greek κρυπτέα, covering only the sole of the feet. There was an ancient law at Rome, 'Neive quis in poplico luci praetextam, neive soleas habeto' (Marini, Atti degli Arvali, p. 569); and Cicero brings a reproach against Piso (c. 6. 13) 'Nescio quo e gurgustio te pro dire, capite involuto, soleat attent.' Cp. Verr. Act. 2. 5. 33, 86.

Lacerna (cp. Hor. S. 2. 7. 55 'Odoratum caput obscurante lacerna,) was a large riding cloak, fastened by a brooch, and used in Cicero's time (apparently not before) for travelling. Suctonius (Aug. 49) confirms the inference from this passage, that it was considered a mark of effeminate luxury to wear it in the city: 'Negotium aedilibus dedit (Augustus) ne quem posthac paterentur in foro Circove, nisi positis lacernis, togatum consistere.'

1. Ne tu. See on c. 2. 3.

5. Rogares. Abrami takes this change of words as though Cicero referred to Antony's obtaining the consulship as a gift from Caesar, not by a legitimate election. As, however, 'rogatio' is a regular word for a constitutional canvass, the explanation of Graevius seems better, that Antony, according to Cicero, begged the consulship as a favour from the people, instead of claiming it as the reward of his services. He compares pro Planc. 10. 23 'Neque enim sic rogabam, ut petere viseret, quia familiaris esset petuere.' Cp. Fam. 2. 6. 1 'Grave est enim homini pudendi petere aliquid magnum ab eo, de quo se bene meret.'

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9. Ad Saxa rubra, on the Cremera, between Rome and Veii.

10. Vesperam. So Halm from the Vatican MS. Other MSS. and Gellius (who quotes this passage, 7. 11) 'vesperam,' a form which occurs de Fin. 3. 2. 8.

11. Cisio, 'in a gig.' 'Cisia' were two-wheeled vehicles, especially used for rapid travelling: cp. pro Rosc. Amer. 7. 19 'Decem horis nocturnis sex et quisquaginta milia passuum cisii pervolavit.'

Capite obvolute. Cp. in Pis. 6. 13, quoted above on § 76.

12. A Marco, the praenomen only being given in his own house, among his own servants.
Confestim ad eam, cuius causa venerat, eique epistolam tradidit.
Quam cum illa legeret flens—erat enim scripta amatorie; caput
autem litterarum, sibi cum illa mima posthac nihil futurum;
onmem se amorem abiecssse illim atque in hanc transfudisse—:
cum mulier fletet uberius, homo misericors ferre non potuit:
caput aperuit, in collum invasit. O hominem nequam! quid
enim aliud dicam? magis proprie nihil possum dicere. Ergo ut
te catamitum, nec opinato cum te ostendisses, praeter spem
mulier adspiceret, idcirco urbem terrore nocturno, Italian mul-
torum dierum metu perturbasti? Et domi quidem causam
amoris habuisti, foris etiam turpiorem, ne L. Plancus praedes
tuos venderet. Productus autem in contionem a tribuno plebis
cum respondisses te rei tuae causa venisse, populum etiam dic-
cem in te reddidisti. Sed nimis multa de nugis: ad maiora
veniamus.

C. Caesari ex Hispania redeunti obviam longissime proces-
sisti. Celeriter isti, redisti, ut cognosceret te, si minus fortum, at
tamen strenuum. Factus es ei rursus nescio quo modo famili-

1. Ad eam. Some MSS. add 'deductur,' but the omission of the verb suits better
the dramatic character of the scene.

4. Illim, 'from that quarter,' Halm
maintains this form also in pro Rab. Post.
12, 35; de Har. Resp, 20, 42; instead of
'illinc,' which is formed from it by the
addition of the demonstrative particle 'ce.'

8. Catamitum. The inappropriateness
of this reproach here led Heusinger to con-
jecture that this word is a corruption for
the name of a well-known character in some
play, who reappeared when he was supposed
to be dead.

10. Causam amoris, 'the plea of love
to urge.'

11. Praedes tuos. Caesar having ap-
parently given orders to the praefecti urbis,
of whom L. Plancus was one, that, if An-
tony did not pay the price of Pompey's
house within the time appointed, a distress
should be levied, and that, as was usual, not
on the goods of Antony himself, but on
those of his sureties. 'Praedes,' properly
the sureties themselves, is here used for
their goods. Cp. Verr. Act. 2. 1. 54, 142
Praedibus praeludisque vendendis.

12. Tuos. So Halm from the Vatican
reading 'tus,' and from other MSS. Al.
'tuos,' which agrees better with the MS.
reading 'habuit,' for 'habuisti.'

Productus in contionem, in order
that the news which occasioned the mission
of a special messenger might be made pub-
licly known. When Antony declared that
he had merely returned 'on urgent private
affairs,' ('res tua' having moreover a spe-
cial reference to 'love affairs,') the very
people made jokes at his expense.

c. 32. When Caesar was returning home,
Antony went some way to meet him, and
not only regained his favour,—to that his
villainy was sufficient passport,—but obtained
from him the consulship. In this Dola-
bella was cheated, first by Caesar grasping
for himself what he had promised Dolabella,
and secondly, by the conduct of Antony.
Abject enough in all his demeanour towards
his master, he had the face to declare
beforehand that he, as Consul, would usurp
the augur's duty, and pronounce the auspices
faulty, whatever their real character might be.

17. Isti, redisti. So c. 35, 89: the
omission of the copula marking more
strongly the restlessness of the proceeding.

18. Strenuum, 'active,' especially in
travelling. Cp. Att. 15. 6. 2 'Noli me tam
strenuum putare, ut ad nonas recurrar.' An-
tony's reputation for bravery, Cicero says,
was lost when he stopped short at Narbo;
his sought to regain favour by his energy.
§§ 77—80. \textit{Oratio Philippica II.}

aris. Habebat hoc omnino Caesar: quem plane perditum aere alieno egentemque, si eundem nequam hominem audacemente cognorat, hunc in familiaritatem libentissime recipiebat. His igitur rebus praecclare commendatus iussus es renuntiari consul et quidem cum ipso. Nihil queror de Dolabella, qui tum est impulsus, inductus, elusus. Qua in re quanta fuerit uterque vestrum perfidia in Dolabelam, quis ignorat? Ille induxit ut peteret, promissum et receptum intervertit ad seque transtulit: tu eius perfidiae voluntatem tuam adscripsisti. Veniunt Kalendae Ianuariae: cogimur in senatum; invectus est copiosius multo in istum et paratus Dolabella quam nunc ego. Hic autem iratus quae dixit, di boni! Primum cum Caesar osten-disset se, prius quam proficisceretur, Dolabelam consulem esse iussurum—quem negant regem, qui et faceret semper eius modi aliquid et diceret:—sed cum Caesar ita dixisset, tum hic bonus augur eo se sacerdotio praeditum esse dixit, ut comitia auspicis vel impedere vel viiari possit, idque se facturum esse asseve-

1. Habebat, &c., 'this was exactly Caesar's way.' Cp. Pliny Ep. i. 12, 7 *Habebat enim hoc moris,* and Hor. S. i. 3, 3

'Sardus habebat
Ille Tigellius hoc.'

6. Impulsus, inductus, elusus. The two latter words are explained by what follows; *impulsus* probably means, excited with the hope of being Consul; cp. ad Brut. i. 10, 3 'Caesarem impulerunt in spem certissimam consultus;' Suet. Ner. 35 'In spem imperii impellere.'

8. Receptum adds to *promissum* the further idea of *guarantee:* cp. Att. 13. 1, 2 'De aestate pollicercis vel potius recipis.'

9. Kalendae Ianuariae, when the Consuls entered on their office, 44 B.C.

11. In istum. Against Antony, as the instrument of Caesar, whom he dared not attack directly for his treachery.

13. Proficisceretur. On the expedition which, beginning with the subjugation of the Parthians, was intended to extend over Hycania, and the parts about the Caspian Sea and the Caucasus, and passing through Scythia, to work its way back to Italy through Germany, completing thus the circle of his conquest. Plut. Caes. 58.

14. Iussurum. Cp. S 79 'iussus es,' the word being intentionally chosen to mark the despotic nature of the act, as Cicero himself points out in the words that follow.

15. Sed. See on 1. 11, 27.

17. Impedire, vel viiari, 'could prevent their being held, or, if they were, could make them null and void,' neither of which he had any right to do as augur. The several steps in the ceremony of taking the auspices were as follows:—First the Consul or other presiding magistrate ordered the inspection to be made. This order the augurs carried out, and made their report ('obnuntiatio'), which the Consul then considered; and if he thought the omens unfavourable, he declared the business to be postponed ('obnuntiatio'). Hence the augurs' office was purely ministerial, as they could neither initiate the proceedings, nor decide on the result; though doubtless there were many cases in which the 'obnuntiatio' necessarily followed on their report. It is not clear to which part of the proceedings the term 'spectio' applies, though probably to the estimation of the auspices by the Consul, previous to his 'obnuntiatio.' Festus says it applies also to the actual inspection; but this is not borne out by Cicero's argument. Cp. Varr. L. L. 5. 8 'Et quod in auspiciis distributum est, qui habeant spectionem, qui non habeant.' A wholly different rite is referred to in the words 'de caelo servare,' the process there consisting in looking for omens in the heavens. This was only in
ravit. In quo primum incredibilem stupiditatem hominis cognoscite. Quid enim? istud, quod te sacerdotii iure facere posse dixisti, si augur non esses et consul esses, minus facere potuisse? Vide ne etiam facilius. Nos enim nuntiationem solum habemus, consules et reliqui magistratus etiam spectionem. Esto: hoc imperite; nec enim est ab homine numquam sobrio postulanda prudentia: sed videte impudentiam. Multis ante mensibus in senatu dixit se Dolabellae comitia aut prohibiturum auspicis aut id facturum esse, quod fecit. Quisquamne divinare potest, quid vitii in auspicis futurum sit, nisi qui de caelo servare constituit? quod neque licet comitiis per leges, et, si qui servavit, non comitiis habitis, sed prius quam habeatur debet nuntiare. Verum implicata inscientia impudentia est; nec scit quod augurem, nec facit quod pudentem decet. Itaque ex illo die recor-
damini eius usque ad Idus Martias consulatum. Quis umquam apparitor tam humilis, tam abiectus? Nihil ipse poterat; omnia rogabat; caput in aversam lecticam inserens beneficia, quae ven-
the power of the presiding magistrate, and as the mere determination on his part 'to observe the sky' sufficed, whether omens were observed or not, it was possible to know beforehand that the business would be thus postponed. Probably it was the immense power thus conveyed to one man in determining elections that led to the prohibition of this means of stopping them. Cp. de Dom. 15, 39 'Negant (augures) fas esse agi cum capulo, cum de caelo servatum sit.'

4. Nos enim, 'we augurs,' see on c. 2, 3.

9. Aut id, &c., or make them void, by breaking them off in the middle. See c. 32, 82.

10. Nisi qui, &c. It is true that, as Abrami urges, the man who had determined 'de caelo servare' could not tell what bad omen he would see, and so Cicero's argument is informally expressed; but his meaning is clear, that by that determination alone could a man resolve beforehand that he would bring augury to bear in stopping the proceedings, since it was the only kind of divination in which, as we have seen above, it made no practical difference what was the result of his observations.

11. Per leges. He apparently refers to a 'Lex Clodia,' passed by P. Clodius in his tribuneship, 58 B.C., and repealing the 'Lex Aelia et Fufia.' This latter law (or laws, for it is doubtful whether there was one or two, see Orelli, Onomast. 3, p. 120,) secured to the magistrates the right of stopping the 'comitia' if the omens were unfavourable, and also reserved to the tribunes their privilege of 'intercessio.' Cicero elsewhere denounces its repeal as the removal of one of the main bulwarks of the constitution. (In Vatin. 9, 23; pro Sest. 15, 33.)

16. Apparitor, a public servant of one of the minor magistrates, standing in the same relation to them as the lectors to the Consuls.

17. In aversam lecticam, 'into the back of the litter.' He would respectfully follow his colleague's litter, and from time to time reach forward his head to the back of the litter as it was carried from him. The reading 'adversam,' which is found in several MSS., would represent him as bold enough to stop the litter when he met it in the street.

c. 33. This monstrous rôle he carried out. After the election was concluded, he declared that it should not take place; and then again, when it so suited him, he acted as though it had been regular. On the consequences of his conduct Cicero would not utter an opinion, lest he should anticipate the formal judgment of the augurs, but at least it served to show the fellow's impudence.
Ecce Dolabella comitiorum dies;

1. Ecce Dolabella comitiorum dies, &c. The key to this much disputed passage appears to be found in the description of the 'Comitia Centuriata' given by Cicero in his treatise de Republica (3. 22, 39). That passage is itself corrupt, but it seems agreed that in the main the Vatican MS., as corrected by the second copyist, fairly represents its meaning. (See Halm on the passage, and Orelli, Onomast. 3. p. 374.) It is as follows: 'Nunc rationem videtis esse talem, ut equitum centuriae cum sex suffragiis et prima classis, addita centuria quae ad sumnum usum urbis fabricis tignarili est data, LXXXVIII centurias habeat: quibus ex cent. quattor (sic) centurii, tot enim reliquiae sunt, octo solae si accessorunt, confecta est vis populi universa: reliquaque multo maior multitudo sex et nonaginta centuriarum neque excluderetur suffragiis, ne superbum esset, nec valeret nimirum, ne esset periculosum.' From this account we gain the following facts, bearing on the passage before us. 1. That the first class contained 70 centuries, probably one of seniors and one of juniors in each tribe. 2. That the whole number of centuries was 193, of which only 104 belonged to the lower classes. 3. That the votes of the knights, the first class, and a very small portion (8 centuries) of the second class, constituted an absolute majority, and if they agreed, rendered further voting unnecessary. 4. That the knights appear to have been associated in voting with the first class, but that the 'sex suffragia,' probably the representatives of the old patrician centuries, which Livy tells us (1. 43) were retained by Servius Tullius, still were kept distinct. It must also be observed that in the original rendering of the Vatican MS. the number 'sex' is not expressed, so that we may readily suppose either that Cicero omitted it in both passages as superfluous, or that in both cases it has dropped out by the carelessness of the copyist. Any explanation of its absence in the Republic would apply, though with less apparent plausibility, to the less corrupt passage before us.

Applying these remarks to our text, and observing that the knights appear to have lost their right of voting first, in order to gratify the superstition involved in giving the first vote to a century chosen by lot ('praerogativa'), we get the following interpretation of the passage: 'Now we come to the day of Dolabella's election; the lot is cast which century shall vote first. He remains quiet. Its vote is declared. He holds his tongue. Then the first class (including the 12 centuries of knights, and the odd century of smiths, &c.) is called within the barriers. Then, as usual, come the "sex suffragia." Then the second class is called; all this taking less time than I have spent in telling it. When all is over (the votes of a few centuries in the second class finishing the business), our excellent augur, a second Laelius, adjoins the election to another day.' The only difficulty in this interpretation lies in the necessity of introducing or understanding 'sex,' and it is possible that the true reading may be 'suffragia equitum,' the word 'equitum' having dropped out from the influence of the following 'tum.'

The explanation here given differs from the ordinary views in supposing that the only change introduced into the 'Comitia centuriata' by the admixture of the forms of the 'Comitia tributa,' consisted in an alteration of the number of centuries, adapting them to the number of tribes. This adaption is confirmed by the expressions in Livy that the right of voting first fell on different occasions to the 'Aniensis iuniorum' (24. 7), the 'Veturia iuniorum' (26. 22), and the 'Galeria iuniorum' (27. 6). Many commentators have even supposed (following the conjecture of Pantagathus) that the same arrangement prevailed in all the classes, and that there were two centuries of each class in every tribe, or 350 centuries in all, excluding the knights; but besides the adverse testimony of the passage in the Republic, Niebuhr brings an objection (Hist. Rome 3. p. 334. Eng. Trans.) against this theory, that in an ordinary day there would not be time for 350 centuries to vote. How the 104 centuries were divided among the lower classes we cannot tell. Orelli (Onomast. I. c.) conjectures that the fourth and fifth classes, which originally had fewer votes in proportion to their numbers than the others, were actually disfranchised by the change, and points out that this was the more feasible when the citizens no longer paid any taxes to the treasury. Madv. (Opusc. 1. p. 169) thinks that the whole account refers to the voting of the 'centuria praerogativa,' the several classes voting separately in each century, but he gives no authority to support his view, which is at least opposed by the words 'confecto negotio.' His theory also makes it necessary to expunge the second 'renuntiatur.' Another reading is 'suffragiatum secunda classis vocatur,' with which the words 'ut assolet' are hopelessly otiose, nor is the

Si nihil est, cum augur iis verbis nuntiat, quibus tu nuntiasti, confitere te, cum alio die dixeris, sobrium non fuisse: sin est aliqua vis in istis verbis, ea quae sit augur a collega requiro.
34 Sed ne forte ex multis rebus gestis Antonii rem unam pulcherrimam transiliat oratio, ad Lupercalia veniamus. Non dissimulat, patres conscripti: appareat esse commotum; sudat, pallet. Quidlibet, modo ne nauseet, faciat, quod in porticu Minucia fecit. Quae potest esse turpitudinis tantae defensio? Cupio audire, ut videam, ubi rhetoris sit tanta merces, id est ubi campus Leontinus appareat. Sedebat in rostris collega tus, amictus toga purpurea, in sella aurea, coronatus. Escendis, accedis ad sellam—ita eras Lupercus, ut te consulem esse meminisse deberes—, diadema ostendis. Gemitus toto foro. Unde diadema? non enim abiectum sustuleras, sed attuleras domo meditatum et cogitatum scelus. Tu diadema imponebas cum plangore populi: ille cum plausu reiciiebat. Tu ergo unus, scelerate, inventus es qui, cum auctor regni esses, eum, quem collegam habebas, dominum habere velles; idem tentares, quid populus Romanus ferre et pati posset! At etiam misericordiam captabas: supplex te ad pedes abiiiciebas. Quid petens? ut servires? Tibi uni peteres, qui ita a puero vixeras, ut omnia such a tyranny as in olden times had caused the death or exile of all who aimed at it.

1. Unam pulcherrimam, "the very fairest action:" cp. Lael. 1, 1 'Sceavolam contuli, quem unum nostrae civitatis et ingenio et iustitia praestantissimum audes dicere,' and Virg. Ae. 2. 426 'Cädit et Rhipeus, iustissimus unus Qui fuit.'

2. Ad Lupercalia. On the 15th of February. Plutarch (Caes. 61) describes the licence that prevailed during this festival, 'touν ευγενών ναυσικών και ἀρχώντων πολλοί διαβέοιν ανά την πόλιν γυμνοί σκύτεια λαοίν τούτο εμποδώ απί παιδία καὶ γέλαι παιόντες. In his life of Antony, c. 12, he tells us that Antony took part in this; and in both places he gives a full account of his offering the crown to Caesar. Caes. 13. 15, 31.

4. In porticu Minucia, in the region of the Circus Flaminius, a little south-west of the circus itself, and adjoining the theatre of Balbus, close to the modern Ghetto. It was built by L. Minucentius Rufus, in commemoration of his victories in Thrace in 110 B.C. As assemblies of the people were often held there, the misconduct of Antony here alluded to is probably the same that is described in c. 25, 63.

7. Ubi campus Leontinus appareat, 'what we have to show for the land at Leontini.' See c. 17, 43 note,
paterere, ut facile servires: a nobis populoque Romano mandatum id certe non habebas. O praecelaram illam eloquentiam tuam, cum es nudus contionatus! Quid hoc turpius? quid focius? quid suppliciis omnibus dignius? Num exspectas, dum te stimuli fodiamus? hacc te, si ullam partem habes sensus, lacerat, hacc cruentat oratio. Vereor ne imminuam summorum virorum gloriam; dicam tamen dolore commotus. Quid indignius quam vivere cum qui imposuerit diadema, cum omnem fateantur iure interflectum esse qui abiecerit? At etiam adscribi

10 iiussit in fastis ad Lupercalia: C. Caesari, dictator perpetuo, M. Antonium consulem populi iussu regnum detulisse, Caesarem ut noluisse. Iam iam minime miror te otium perturbare; non modo urbem odisse, sed etiam lucem; cum perditissimis latronibus non solum de die, sed etiam in diem vivere. Ubi enim tu in pace consistes? qui locus tibi in legibus et in iudiciis esse potest, quae tu, quantum in te fuit, dominatu regio sustulisti? Ideone L. Tarquiniius exactus, Sp. Cassius,
Sp. Maelius, M. Manlius necati, ut multis post saeculis a M. Antonio, quod fas non est, rex Romae constituenter?

35 Sed ad auspicia redeamus, de quibus Idibus Martis fuit in senatu Caesar acturus. Quaero: tum tu quid egisses? Audiebam equidem te paratum venisse, quod me de cenmentis ausipi-5

cc. 35, 36. The death of Caesar had prevented Antony from giving an explanation about the auspices. It also caused him, under the influence of terror, to make more show of patriotic feeling than Cicero could possibly believe would last. It was true that he stirred up the riot which took place at Caesar's funeral; but then he passed those excellent decrees, forbidding the recall of exiles, or the granting of immunities, and abolishing for ever the office of dictator. Yet, even at the time, he was violating these decrees; and not content with squandering the public funds, he was selling pardons and immunities by wholesale at his home.

3. Fuit acturus. As Caesar was intending to start on his Parthian expedition on the 19th of March, it was necessary that the validity of Dolabella's election, as Consul in his place, should be determined before his departure; and it seems that on the very day of his death he was going to bring the matter before the senate.

5. Ementitis auspiciis. Cp. c. 33, 85: 3. 4. 9. Fictitious however though they were, yet being formally declared, these auspices could not be ignored till they had been as formally annulled; hence 'parere necesse erat.'

6. Putares. For this use of the subjunctive see c. 4, 7 note.

7. Sustulit, 'rendered unavailable for public business,' Cp. de Dom. 17. 45 'Si qua res illum diem aut auspiciis aut excusatione sustulit, tota causa iidiciumque sublatum sit.'

Tuum de auspiciis iudicium. Since nothing more was heard of any objections to the validity of Dolabella's election.

9. Quod . . . praevertendum est, 'which claims precedence of the other matters,' 'Praevertor' (rarely 'praeverto,' as in Tac. Ann. 4. 32) is commonly used in the sense of 'turning first to,' though seldom, as here, with an accusative case after it. Cp., however, Livy 8. 13 'Coacti novi consules omnibus eam rem praeverti.'

10. Quae tua fuga. We learn from Plutarch (Ant. 14) that Antony, on hearing of Caesar's assassination, hid himself in the disguise of a slave.

12. Si sanus esses, 'if you would but entertain sound views about the state,' cp. c. 21, 51 'Ipse C. Caesari, si sana mente esset, consulere velletis.'

18. Iren redirent. See c. 31, 78 note.
M. TULLII CICERONIS  
co. 35—37.

optimis civibus cum importunissimo hoste foedere ullo confirmari posse credidi. Post diem tertium veni in aedem Telluris, et quidem invitus, cum omnes aditus armati obsiderent. Qui tibi dies ille, Antoni, fuit! Quamquam mihi inimicus subito exstitisti, tamen me tui miseret, quod tibi invideris. Qui tu vir, di immortales, et quantus fuisses, si illius dici mentem servare potuisses! Pacem haberemus, quae erat factura per obsidem puerum nobilem, M. Bambalionis nepotem. Quamquam bonum te timor faciebat, non diuturnus magister officii, improbum fecit ca, quae, dum timor abest, a te non discedit, audacia. Etsi tum, cum optimum te putabant me quidem dissentiente, funeri tyranni, si illud funus fuit, sceleratissime praefuisti. Tua illa pulchra laudatio, tua miseratio, tua cohortatio; tu, tu, inquam, illas faces incendisti et eas, quibus semustilatus ille est, et cas, 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. Idem tamen quasi fulagine abstersa reliquis diebus in Capitolio praeclara senatus consulta fecisti, ne qua post Idus Martias immunitatis tabula neve cuius beneficij figeretur. Memini ipse de exsulibus, scis de immunitate quid dixeris. Optimum vero, quod

2. Post diem tertium, 'two days after,' on the 17th of March, according to the Roman inclusive mode of reckoning: cp. de Div. 1. 25, 52 'Est apud Platonem Socrates ... dicens Crisii, sibi post tertium diem esse moriendum; ' and Tac. Ann. 1. 62 'Post sextum cladis annum.'

3. Veni in aedem Telluris. See 1. 1, 1 note.

3. Qui tibi dies ille! 'what a day of glory was that for you!' as being marked by his zeal for the real interests of the state. See 1. 1, 2. For the expression cp. 'Qui tu vir!' just below.

5. Invideris, 'you have grudged yourself the fame you had achieved,' 'have interfered with your own interests.'

7. Per puerum. See 1. 1, 2 note.

8. M. Bambalionis, That Bambalio was the nickname of M. Fulvius, the father of Fulvia, not of the father of Fadus, Antony's first wife, as some have thought, is proved both by the praenomen, Fadus' name being Quintus, c. 2, 3; and by 3. 6, 16, where he explains the meaning of the name.

9. Diuturnus. Cp. Off. 2. 7, 23 'Malus est custos diuturnitatis metus.' His meaning is, that where fear is the only monitor to duty, the removal of the fear will cause the immediate neglect of the duty.


14. Semustilatus, 'scorched.' The taunt is not only unworthy of Cicero, but also untrue, as Caesar's body was consumed to ashes: cp. Att. 14. 10. 1 'Ille etiam in foro combustus.' Ferrarius compares pro Mil. 13. 33 'Tu P. Clodii cruenta cadaver ... infelicissimis liguis semustilatum, nocturnis caibus dilaniandum reliquisti.'

15. L. Bellieni. Perhaps the same man whom Cælius mentions (Cic. Fam. 8. 15. 2) as 'vera Demetri,' Demetrius being a favourite freedman of Antony's. The burning of his house, and the murder, by mistake, of Helvidius Cinna, appear to have been the only serious deeds of mischief done by the mob after Caesar's funeral.

17. Idem tamen, &c. For the following acts of Antony, see 1. 1, 3 notes.
dictatae nomen in perpetuum de re publica sustulisti: quo quidem facto tantum te cepisse odium regni videbatur, ut eius omne nomen propter proximi dictatoris metum tolleres. Constituta res publica videbatur alis, mihi vero nullo modo, qui omnia te gubernante naufragia metuebam. Num igitur me fefellit? aut 5 num diutius sui potuit dissimilis esse. Inspectantibus vobis toto Capitolio tabulae figebantur, neque solum singulis venibant immunitates, sed etiam populis universis: civitas non iam singillatim, sed provinciis totis dabatur. Itaque si haec manent, quae stante re publica manere non possunt, provincias universas, 10 patres conscripti, perdidistis, neque vectigalia solum, sed etiam imperium populi Romani huius domesticis nundinis deminutum est. Ubi est septiius miilliens, quod est in tabulis, quae sunt ad Opis? funestae illius quidem pecuniae, sed tamen, quae nos, si iis, quorum erat, non redderetur, a tributis posset vindicare. 15 Tu autem quadringentiens sestertium, quod Idibus Martiiis debuisti, quonam modo ante Kalendas Apriles debere desisti? Sunt ea quidem innumeralia, quae a tuis emebantur non insciente te, a singular noun (whence the singular relative 'quod'), so that there it would be the nominative, case, 'funestae pecuniae' is not in apposition with it, but rather depends on 'tabulis.' Cp. 5. 6, 15 'Direptio eius pecuniae, cuius ratio in aede Opis confecta est.' See also on § 95.

15. A tributum. The 'tributum,' or war tax, levied on all real property, had been discontinued since the time of the Macedonian war, in 147 B.C., in consequence of the influx of revenue from the provinces. It became necessary to reimpose it in the year following this speech. Cp. Fam. 12. 30, 4 'Incredibles angustiae pecuniae publicae, quae conquiritur undique, ut optime meritis militibus promissa solvantur; quod quidem fieri sine tributo posse non arbitror.'

16. Quadringentiens sestertium. Forty millions of sestertios, or nearly 360,000. The enormous scale of the incomes and debts of the leading Romans of this period is well illustrated by M. Boissier, in his pamphlet Sur la Vie privée des Romains.

Idibus ... Kalendas. The usual times for settling accounts between debtor and creditor. Cp. Hor. S. i. 3, 87 'Tristes Kalendas.; ib. 6, 75 'Octonis referentes Idibus aera.' id. Epod. 2, 69 'Omnem rediget Idibus pecuniam, Quaerit Kalendis ponere.'

1. Deiotaro. Deiotarus, tetrarch of Galatia, was invested by the Romans with the title of king in gratitude for his services in the war with Mithridates. Having aided Pompey in the civil war, he was deprived of his dominions by Caesar, but resumed them on hearing of the dictator’s death, and induced Antony to confirm his title by a bribe of ten millions of sesterces, or nearly 90,000l.

5. Massiliensibus. Cp. pro Font. 1, 3 'Urbs Massilia fortissimorum fidelissimorumque sociorum, qui Gallicorum bellorum periculum a populo Romano copiis armisque propulsaram'; ib. 16, 35 'Ex condione atque eo fato se in terris collocatum esse arbitratum, ne quid nostris hominibus illae gentes nocere possint.' Hence when Caesar reduced it, in 48 B.C., in consequence of its adherence to Pompey, Cicero tells us that the Roman citizens mourned over its humiliation as their own. See 8, 6, 17.

6. Igitur. In consequence of the rare use by Cicero of 'igitur' at the beginning of a clause, various emendations, such as 'is igitur', 'sed igitur', 'igitur', &c., have been suggested. Madvig (Opusc. i. p. 206) defends the simple 'igitur,' comparing c. 16, 41, and urging that Cicero's meaning is obvious enough, that having shown that Caesar was Deiotarius's bitterest foe, he concludes ironically, from Antony's decree, that they must have been reconciled after Caesar's death. See also Zumpt, § 357.

7. Aequi boni. See on 1, 1, 1.

8. Compellarat hospitem praesens, 'Caesar had sent for him when staying in his house;' cp. in Senatu 13, 32 'Nomina- tim alii compellabantur, alii citabantur, alii relegabantur.' Caesar passed through Galatia in 47 B.C., returning from his campaign in Pontus against Pharnaces.

9. Impetrarat. So Halm, from the Vatican MS.; Orelli, from another MS., 'imperarat.'

Unum... collocarat. Mithridates of Pergamus, a natural son of Mithridates the Great, on whom at the same time Caesar conferred the title of king of the Bosporus.

10. Armenia. The little Armenia, which Caesar probably gave to Ariobarzanes III, king of Cappadocia: cp. de Div. 2. 37, 79 'Is cum ei Trogmoni tetrarchian eripisset et adseculae suo Pergameno nescio cui dedisset eademque detraxisset Armeniam a senatu datam, cumque ab eo magnificentissimo hospitio acceptus esset, spoliatum reliquit et hospitem et regem.'

12. Mira verborum complexio, 'a strange combination of words;' viz. the indiscriminate use of 'aequam' and 'non iniquum' in the same decree. Cicero again finds fault with Antony's Latinity, 3, 9, 22; and 13, 19, 43.

13. Adflui. The last cause that Cicero pleaded was that of Deiotarus, when he was accused by his grandson Castor of designs on Caesar's life. The case was heard before Caesar, 45 B.C., on which occasion Cicero delivered his extant speech, pro Rege Deio- taro, but the dictator postponed the decision of the case till he should have made personal inquiries on the spot.
dixit videri. Syngrapha sestértii centiens per legatos, viros bonos, sed timidos et imperitos, sine nostra, sine reliquorum hospitum regis sententia facta in gynaecio est, quo in loco plurimae res venierunt et vaneunt. Qua ex syngrapha quid sis acturus meditere censeo: rex enim ipse sua sponte, nullis commentariis Caesaris, simul atque audivit eius interitum, suo Marte rés suas recuperavit. Sciebat homo sapiens ius semper hoc fuisse, ut, quae tyranni eripuissent, ea tyrannis interfecit ii, quibus erepta essent, recuperarent. Nemo igitur iure consultus, ne iste quidem, qui tibi uni est iure consultus, 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, ipsae possedit. Ille vir fuit, nos quidem contemnendi, qui auctorem odimus, acta defendimus. **38** Quid ego de commentariis infinitis, quid de innumerabilibus **15**

1. Syngrapha was the special term for a contract which did not necessarily involve the receipt of a valuable consideration by the person who paid the money. Hence it would be appropriate to the present case, when the benefit which Antony proposed to confer on Deiotarus was at once illegal and beyond his power. See Asconius on Verr. Act. 2. 1. 36, 91. For the story cp. Att. 14. 12. I 'Quid? Deiotari nostri causa non similis? Dignum ille quidem omni regno, sed non per Fulviam;' and see c. 44. 113; 36, 92 notes.

Sestértii centiens. In such expressions it would seem that the contracted genitive plural of 'sestertius' is treated as a singular neuter noun = 1000 sesterces (see on 5. 3. 8), and that its case is determined by the construction required for the expression of the whole sum. Hence in § 93 'quadrin- gentiens sestertium' is 'a sestertium reckoned 400 times,' or, as this mode of reckoning usually implied an addition of a hundredfold, 40,000,000 sesterces. So here 'sestertii' depends not on 'centiens,' but on 'syngrapha,' a 'contract for 10,000,000 sesterces.' So in the ablative, pro Font. 3. 4 'Testis non inventur in ducenties et triciens sestertio;' Pliny N. H. 8. 48, 74 'Quae Neronis principi quadragies sestertio super stetere.'

5. Médiére censeo, 'I recommend you to consider very carefully.' cp. Verr. Act. 2. 5. 68, 174 'Magno opere censeo desistis.'

Sua sponte. So that Antony's contract, even if otherwise not fraudulent, fell to the ground, as being based upon a promise to give Deiotarus what was already in his actual possession.

9. Iure consultus. So Halm, from the Vatican reading 'iuris,' which he conceives to be a confusion of the right and wrong readings. In 9, 5. 10 Cicero uses the form 'iuris consultus,' but there, as in pro Mur. 13, 28, and de Orat. 1. 55, 235 the participial force of the word, 'experienced in jurisprudence,' is strongly dwelt on; and where the term is simply used for 'a lawyer,' 'iure consultus' seems to be the ordinary form. Yet Horace, A. P. 369, has 'consultus juris,' evidently meaning no more than 'a lawyer.'

10. Iste. Supposed by Manutius to be Sext. Clodius, the tool of P. Clodius, whose recall from exile Antony procured. See 1. 1. 3 note.

13. Suum sibi venderes. The subjunctive mood and the reflexive pronoun are used for the same reason, because the clause expresses the state of Deiotarus' mind. 'He entered on possession of his rights, without waiting to know that you had sold him what was his already.'


**38.** To tell of all the forgeries of Antony would take too long. Decrees were issued under Caesar's name without waiting for the meeting of the committee which the

senate had appointed to examine the dictator's papers; Caesar was represented as foreseeing all the changes which his death should cause in his arrangements for the provinces; Crete was henceforth to be lost to Rome; enough exiles were restored to render it injustice not to bring back all; his uncle, L. Antonius, was neglected, insulted, and betrayed, and to crown all, he brought a false and cowardly charge of faithlessness against his wife, that uncle's daughter, that he might make room for her successor.

1. Institores. So Halm, from Pantagathus, and Madvig from his own independent conjecture. He urges (Opusc. i. p. 173) that the MS. reading 'imitatores' is obviously false, not only because no one would have dared to forge the documents except Antony, but even if they had, and further had found purchasers for their forgeries, that would have brought no gain to Antony, whereas Cicero directly states that the circumstance which he relates was the source of enormous profit to him. 'Institores' are 'hawkers,' as in Ov. A. Am. 1. 421

'Institor ad dominam veniet distinctus emacem,
Expediet merces teque sejente suas.'

2. Libellos, 'programmes:' cp. Tac. Dial. de Or. 9 *Subsellia conducit et libellos dispergit.*

3. Expendantur, 'are weighed,' as is customary with large sums of money, which would take too long a time to count.

6. Post M. Brutum pro console, 'after the proconsulship of M. Brutus.' Cicero argues that Antony here betrays the falseness of the decrees attributed to Caesar, by making one of them refer to Brutus' proconsulship in Crete, though his only connexion with that province arose out of Antony's alteration of Caesar's arrangements, after Caesar's death.

7. Constringendus, 'put in confinement;' cp. in Pis. 20. 48 *Si familiar tuam dimississes, amici te constringendum putaret.'

11. Nemo ullius, &c., there has been nothing which Antony would not sell, if he could only find a purchaser.

13. Fixisti, as being one of Caesar's laws.

14. Eorum reditus inquinatos, the slur thrown upon the more respectable exiles, by being coupled in their restoration with such reprobates.

18. Patruil. See c. 23, 56 note.
impulisti, eamque petitionem comparasti, quae et risus hominum 
99 et querellas moveret. Cur autem ea comitia non habuisti? an 
quia tribunus pl. sinistrum fulmen nuntiabat? Cum tua quid 
interest, nulla auspicia sunt, cum tuorum, tum fis religiosus. 
Quid? eundem in septemviratu nonne destituiisti? intervenit 5 
enim, cui metuisti, credo, ne salvo capite negare non posses. 
Omnibus eum contumelii onerasti, quem patris loco, si ulla 
in te pietas esset, colere debebas. Fillam eius, sororem tuam, 
iecisti, alia conditione quaesita et ante perspecta. Non est 
satis: probri insimulasti puidicissimam feminam. Quid est quod 10 
addi possit? contentus eo non fuisti. Frequentissimo senatu 
Kalendis Ianuariis sedente patruo hanc tibi esse cum Dolabella 
causam odii dicere ausus es, quod ab eo sorori et uxori tuae 
stuprum esse oblatum comperisses. Quis interpretari potest, 
impudentiorne, qui in senatu, an improbior, qui in Dolabella, 15 
an impurior, qui patruo audiente, an crudelior, qui in illam 
miseram tam spurse, tam imple dixeris? Sed ad chirographa 
redeamus. Quae tua fuit cognitio? Acta enim Caesaris pacis 
causa confirmata sunt a senatu, quae quidem Caesar egisset, non 

1. Risus et querellas. Men laughed 
at the idea of a man who had been exiled 
for extortion in his province being a can-
didate for such a magistracy as the censor-
ship: they grieved at the unnatural conduct 
of Antony, in exposing his uncle to such 
contempt. That C. Antonius had been re-
called from exile is clear from § 99. The 
real reason for not carrying through the 
election of censors probably was the people's 
obvious disapproval of the candidate whom 
Antony proposed. 

3. Sinistrum fulmen. It was at the 
Comitia only that this was an unfavourable 
sign: see de Div. only 2. 18, 43 'Comitiorum 
solum vitium est fulmen, quod idem omnibus 
rebus opus suis auspicium habemus, si sinis-
trum fuit.'

Tua... tuorum. Cp. Fam. 2. 4, 1 'Si 
quid esset, quod eos scire aut nostra aut 
ipsorum interesser;' and for different views 
as to the case of 'tua,' see Zumpt. § 449 
note, Madvig § 395, Donaldson § 152 c.

5. In septemviratu. The commission 
for dividing lands in Campania and the 
Leontine territory (see 8. 8. 26) among the 
veterans. The acts of this commission were 
thereafter annull'd on the ground that its 
appointment had been procured by intimida-
tion. See II. 6, 13.

í. p. 171) from the Vatican reading 'cui.' The 
other MSS. read 'quem,' but the object of 
Antony's fear was not Nucula or Lento, 
but the danger of disobliging whichever of 
these worthy. Cicero here refers to.

8. Debebas. See Madv. § 348 e.

So... sem. His first cousin, Antonia, 
whom he divorced on the pretext of an 
intrigue with Dolabella, in order to marry 
Fulvia, the other 'match' ('conditio') re-
ferred to here.

15. In Dolabella. This, at least, is 
a mere rhetorical licence. Dolabella was 
notoriously one of the most profligate men 
of his time.

17. Tam spurse, tam imple, 'with 
such want of decency and good feeling.'

18. Quae... cognitio? 'what was the 
nature of your investigation?' The senate 
had appointed a committee ('consilium') to 
investigate Caesar's papers with the two 
Consuls on the 1st of June; but Antony 
submitted the papers to the cognizance of 
no one but himself; and when the appointed 
day arrived, he had surrounded himself with 
such a force as to bear down all cavil or 
opposition.
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cc. 39—40.


5. Quas Kalendas, 'what was the aspect of the Kalends you awaited?'

cc. 39, 40. In the spring he made a progress through Campania, which he tried to divide among a party of actors and actresses: just as he had given Leontini to his doctor and his tutor, who alike had failed in doing any good with him: he founded a new colony at Casilinum, in spite of Cicero's remonstrances, on the site of one which then existed; and then, to crown his sacrifice with robbery, he seized on M. Varro's villa at Casinum, under the pretence that he had purchased it from Caesar, who had really only ordered him to give it up.

9. Etiam Capuam. Capua had been made a Roman colony by Caesar, who in 59 B.C. settled 20,000 Roman citizens in the 'ager Campanus.' It was therefore illegal (see c. 40, 102) to found a new colony there, and Antony's proceedings would nominally be limited to the reassignment of lots which had reverted to the state by the death or relinquishment of their original holders. He would doubtless in some cases out existing occupiers, so as to give some ground for the sweeping charge which Cicero brings against him. (See Merivale, 3. p. 61.)


11. Utinam concere, 'I wish you would try to carry out your threats.'

14. Illa nostra, 'ours are yet to be told.'

15. De vectigalibus eximebatur, 'was struck out of the list of 'agri vectigales.' This was the natural result of the land being taken out of the hands of the subject population, who paid 'decemae' to the Roman treasury, and divided among colonists, who held it in absolute ownership, subject to no payment of any sort.

16. Tamen, 'notwithstanding the goodness of the object.'

Hunc. For this redundant use of the demonstrative pronoun, after a long relative clause, see Madv. § 489 a.

19. Quoniam introduces the reason why he introduces the subject of Leontini in this connection. 'And yet the association is natural, since, &c.'

20. Arationes. This word is especially applied to the Roman state lands, farmed on the principle of paying tithes to the treasury: cp. Verr. Act. 2, 3, 50, 119 'Arationes et agros vectigales vastasse atque exinanisse.' Among them the lands of Campania and

1. Grandiferae. Orelli, following one M. reads 'grandi fenore,' to avoid a word which seems not to occur again in classical Latin; but 'grandiferae' is not only the reading of the Vatican and other MSS., but is stated by the satirist Marcianus Capella (5. § 511) to have been used by Cicero, while it certainly suits better in combination with 'fructuosae.'

2. Quid, si. So the Vatican MS. The others read 'quasi,' but there is more force in the reading of the text, 'He got 3,000 iugera for failing; what would have been his fee, had he succeeded?'

4. Casilinum, where Caesar had planted another colony of veterans, was on the Volturbus, only three miles west of Capua, and on the site of the modern town of that name.

5. Tu quidem, 'your question, it is true, referred to Capua.'
dicis Alexandream, quiemeret aCaesare. Ipsum enim exspectare. Caesar did not return to Rome till September, and
then unexpectedly, in consequence of the disturbances resulting from the quarrels of the tribunes, P. Dolabella and L. Trebellius,
sothat Cicero’s accusation of unnecessary haste is hardly fair. It is however only a rhetorical introduction to the real burden of the charge, consisting in the fact that, so far from sanctioning the sale of Varro’s property, Caesar had actually commanded restitution to be made.

2. Nullius autem salus, &c. And therefore the negative evidence, that no one had heard of it, went far to prove that no such spoliation had taken place.

5. Remove gladios. See on c. 18, 46.

6. Aliam causam esse, &c., i.e. in consenting to ratify the acts of Caesar, we do not sanction every act of your rapacity.

9. Procurator, an agent, with full powers to act for his absent employer: cp. pro Caec. 20, 31 ‘Is qui legitime procurator dicitur, omnium rerum eius, qui in Italia non sit absitae rei publicae causa, quasi quidam paene dominus, hoc est, alieni iuris vicarius.’

c. 41. In that villa, formerly the seat of learned study, he indulged his usual profili-
gacy, neglecting all the ordinary courtesies expected from a Roman Consul towards his neighbours in the country; and on his journey back to Rome he treated those who came to greet him with the same disdain. Some, who had adopted Cassius and the Brutii as their patrons, he took upon himself to chide in the most abusive language.

10. Ab hora tertia. From about 8.30 a.m.; the usual time for feasts to begin being the ninth hour (cp. Fam. 9, 26, 1 ‘Accubueram hora nona,’ and Mart. 4, 8, 6 ‘Imperat exstrictos frangere nona toros’), or in winter the tenth, to balance the variation of the time. (See Becker’s Gallus, p. 456, Eng. Trans.)

11. Quam dispari domino. A quotation from some tragedy, given more fully in Off. i. 139 ‘O domus antiqua, heu quam dispari dominare domino.’ The ablative here is probably merely retained from the familiar quotation, without any consideration of its possible dependence on ‘misera.’

15. Iura populi Romani, &c. Distinct reference is here made, as Halm points out, to the treaties of Varro de Iure Civili, in fifteen books; de Vita Pop. Rom. in four books; Annales, in three books; Antiquitates, in forty-one books; de Forma Philosophiæ; and his nine books Discipularum.

16. Ratio, &c., ‘the theory or method of all philosophy and learning.’

17. Inquilino, ‘tenant.’ So Catiline says, ‘sibi patricio homini perdita republica opus esse, cum eam servaret M. Tullius
§§ 103—107. **ORATIO PHILIPPICA II.**

personabant omnia vocibus ebriorum, natabant pavimenta vino, madebant parietes, ingenui pueri cum meritoriiis, scorta inter matres familias versabantur. Casino salutatum veniebant, Aquino, Interamna. Admissus est nemo. Iure id quidem; in homine enim turpissimo obsolefiebant dignitatis insignia. Cum inde Romam profisciscens ad Aquinum accederet, obviam ei processit, ut est frequens municipium, magna sane multitudo. At iste operta lectica latus per oppidum est ut mortuus. Stulte Aquinates: sed tamen in via habitabant. Quid, Anagnini? Qui cum essent devii, descendenterunt, ut istum, tamquam si esset, 10 consulem salutarent. Incredibile dictu, † sed tum nimis inter omnes constabat neminem esse resalutatum, praesertim cum duos secum Anagninos haberet, Mustelam et Laconem, quorum alter gladiorum est princeps, alter pocolorum. Quid ego illas istius minas contumeliasque commemorem, quibus invectus est 15 in Sindicinos, vexavit Puteolanos, quod C. Cassium et Brutos patronos adoptassent? Magno quidem studio, iudicio, benevolentia, caritate, non, ut te et Basilum, vi et armis, et alios vestri similis, quos clientes nemo habere velit, non modo illorum cliens esse. Interea dum tu abes, qui dies ille collegae tui 20 fuit, cum illud, quod venerari solebas, bustum in foro evertit!

iniquillus civis urbis Romae' (Sall. Cat. 31, 7), with reference to Cicero being a native of Arpinum.

4. Iure id quidem, 'so far you did well, not to let provincials see the tarnished glory of the Roman magistracy.'

9. Sed tamen, 'yet they had the excuse of living on his road.' The Via Latina passed through Aquinum, seven miles from Casinum, whereas it left Anagnia on an eminence slightly to the right.

10. Tamquam si esset, 'as though he had not forfeited the dignity.'

11. Sed tum nimis, 'all testimony at the time was too unanimous to be discredited.' So Halm in his large edition, following two MSS., for the unintelligible reading of the Vatican MS. 'sed cum uinus.' In his edition of 1858 he has a conjectural reading 'verum uinocis.' Madvig (Opusc. 2. p. 330) suggests 'sed cum uinocis,' Cicero's personal knowledge from having a villa near being brought forward to counterbalance antecedent improbability. Nipperdey (Philologus 3. p. 144) conjectures 'uisu,' introducing a somewhat weak antithesis to 'dictu,' 'from the evidence of eye witnesses.'
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qua re tibi nuntiata, ut constabat inter eos, qui una fuerunt, concidisti. Quid evenerit postea nescio—metum credo valuisse et arma—; collegam quidem de caelo detraxisti effecisque, non tu quidem etiam nunc ut similis tui, sed certe ut 5 dissimilis esset sui.


2. Concidisti, 'you collapsed': cp. 5. 9, 23 'Quo ille nuntio audito, ... repente concidit.'
3. Metum. So in 1. 12, 20 he repudiates the notion of Dolabella being actuated by corrupt motives. See note.
4. De caelo detraxisti. Cp. Att. 14. 18, 1 'Saepeius me iam agitas, quod rem gestam Dolobellae nimis in caelum videar effere; ib. 6. 2, 9 'Salaminii nos in caelum decretis suis sustulerunt.'
5. Memineramus ... videramus. Cicero was about 20 years old when Cinna was in power (87-84 B.C.), but it was during the dictatorship of Sulla (82-70 B.C.) that he first came forward into public life: cp. 5. 6, 17 'Cinnam memini, vidi Sullam, modo Caesarem.'
6. Nec ita multi, 'and not so very many:' not by way of direct comparison with those of Antony, but absolutely, to show that Caesar had a certain moderation in his lawlessness.
7. Barbaria, 'Asiatic despotism' (Halm).
11. Lecticas. Cp. 5. 6, 18 'Lecticeae collocabantur, non quo illa scuta occulta esse vellet, sed ne familiares, si scuta ipsi ferrent, laborarent.'
14. At iste, &c. The connection of the clauses is not very clear; 'qui ... egeret' is explanatory; 'statimque ... effecit' answers to 'neque desideravit quemquam': cp. Cat. 2. 13, 28 'Perficiam ... ut neque bonus quisquam intereat paucorumque poena vos omnes salvi esse possitis;' and 'et ... laetatus est' is parenthetical. 'Yet Antony, standing in no need of a senate, showed no dismay at anybody's absence, being indeed rather rejoiced at our departure, and immediately carried out his marvellous atrocities.' Halm reads 'sed ... laetatus est,' but on no authority, and the intervening 'et' perhaps accounts for the unusual combination of 'neque ... que.' See Madv. § 458 c.
18. Numerum annorum. See 1. 8, 19 note, and 5. 3, 7.
22. Sine promulgatione sustulit, 'he abolished without ever publishing the "abrogatio."' Cicero complains of the
sustulit, alias ut tolleret, promulgavit. Testamentum irritum fecit, quod etiam insimis civibus semper obtentum est. Signa, tabulas, quas populo Caesar una cum hortis legavit, eas hic partim in hortos Pompei deportavit, partim in villam Scipionis.

43 Et tu in Caesaris memoria diligens? tu illum amas mortuum?


same irregularity in the opposite direction, 1. 10, 25 'illae enim (leges) sine ulla promulgatione late sunt ante quam scriptae.'

1. Alias ... promulgavit, 'to abolish other laws, he published bills to a contrary effect;' as in the case of the 'indicium,' when Caesar had reduced the 'decuriae' to two, and Antony proposed a law reconstituting a third.

2. Obtentum est, 'has ever been maintained, even in the interests of the lowest citizens.' Cp. Tusc. 5. 41, 118 'lex, quae in Graecorum conviviiis obtinetur.' 'Civibus is a 'dativus commodi.'

3. Cum hortis. These were on the Etruscan side of the Tiber (cp. Hor. S. 1. 9, 18 'Trans Tiberim longe cubat, is, prope Caesaris hortos'), below the city, about a mile distant from the Porta Portuensis.

4. And even in his love for Caesar he was not consistent. He was Caesar's flamen, the minister of the divine honours lately voted to him. Now was the time for the celebration of his festival, yet Antony was not preparing for the task. To account for this neglect, clearer eloquence was needed than his grandfather's, who however never clothed his thoughts in so thin a disguise as Antony had worn at the Lupercalia.

8. Pulvinar, &c., 'a couch to support his image at the "lectisternium," an image to adorn his temple, a temple with a pediment, a special priest to do him service.'

Cp. Flor. 4. 2 'Non ingratis civibus, omnes unum in principem congeti honores: circa templum imagines; in theatro distincta radiis corona; suggestus in curia; fastigium in domo; mensis in caelo.'

Simulacrum is generally, like 'signum,' the statue of a god, but not universally: see Verr. Act. 2. 2. 62, 159 'Forsitan vix convenire videretur, quem ipsum hominem cuperent (Rhodii) evertere, eius (sc. Mithridatis) effigiem simulacrumque servare.'

9. Ut Iovi, &c. The Flamines of these three gods were always patricians, and were called 'flamines maiores.' Hence the bathos of the descent, from Jupiter to Caesar, from the flamen Dialis to Antony. Antony had sought and obtained this office of flamen during Caesar's life, but had not been consecrated, and after Caesar's death had shrunk from it.

12. Mortui. See on 1. 6, 13.

14. In Circo. The 'Ludi Romani in Circo' appear to have been a continuation, after two days' interval, of the 'Ludi Magni:' these latter lasting from the 4th to the 12th of September, the former generally from the 15th to the 18th, but this year, in honour of Caesar, was added the 19th, on which day Cicero represents himself as speaking.

17. Supplicationes, &c., 'were you so inconsistent, that, while permitting the profanation of the supplications, by allowing one
diem contaminari passus es, pulvinaria contaminari noluisti? Aut undique religionem tolle aut usque quaque conserva. Quae ris placeatne mihi pulvinar esse, fastigium, flaminem. Mihi vero nihil istorum placcet: sed tu, qui acta Caesaris defendis, quid potes dicere cur alia defendas, alia non cures? nisi forte vis fateri te omnia quaestu tuo, non illius dignitate metiri. Quid ad haec tandem?—exaspecto enim eloquentiam tuam: disertissimum cognovi avum tuum, at te etiam apertiorum in dicendo; ille numquam nudus est continentus, tuum hominis simplicis pectus vidimus—: respondebisne ad haec aut omnino hiscere audebis? equid reperies ex tam longa oratione mea, cui te respondere posse confidas?

Sed praeterita omittamus: hunc unum diem, unum, inquam, hodiernum diem, hoc punctum temporis, quo loquor, defende, si potes. Cur armatorum corona senatus saeptus est? cur me tui satellites cum gladiis audiunt? cur valvae Concordiae non patent? cur homines omnium gentium maxime barbaros, Ityraeos, cum sagittis deducis in forum? Praesidii sui causa se facere dicit. Non igitur miliens perire est meius quam in sua civitate sine armatorum praesidio non posse vivere? Sed nullum est istud, mihi crede, praesidium: caritate te et benevolentia civium saeptum oportet esse, non armis. Eripiet et extorquebit tibi ista populus Romanus, utinam salvis nobis! sed quoquo in honour of a dead man, you respected the "lectisternium" too much to allow a mortal to encroach upon it? The clause 'suppli cations ... passus es,' though grammatically parallel to 'pulvinaria ... noluisti,' is really subordinate. This arrangement, called by the grammarians 'parataxis,' is common in Greek. See Dissen on Dem. Cor. p. 251, 7 αὐχώρων ἐστιν, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναίοι, εἰ ἐγὼ μὴν τα ἐργα ὑπέμενα, οὐκ ἔδω μὴ τοὺς λόγους αὐτέσθη; and cp. Cic. Tusc. 5. 32. 90 'An Scythes Anacharsis potuit pro nihiln pecuniarn ducere, nostratas philosophi facere non potuerunt.'

8. Apertiorum in dicendo, 'you showed less reserve.' Cicero plays on the double meaning of 'apertus,' referring to Antony's naked harangue at the Lupercalia (see c. 34, 80), and to his openness of speech. Cp. pro Mur. 25. 51 'Ille, ut semper fuit, apertissimus, non se purgavit, sed indicavit atque inditit.'

10. Hiscere, 'to open your mouth at all.' Cp. Liv. 6. 16 'Nec adversus dictatoriam vim aut tribuni plebis aut ipsa plebs adtolleru oculos aut hiscere audeabant.'

C. 44. Even while Cicero was speaking, Antony was acting unconstitutionally in blocking the senate with a mercenary force. At the best, it was mistaken policy, since love, not terror, was the best protection for a Roman magistrate; and if he used a tyrant's arms, Romans would never forget, and never shrink from following the glorious examples of those who, in the spirit of their ancestors, asserted with the sword the sacred cause of liberty.

15. Cur armatorum, &c. See on c. 18, 46.

17. Ityraeos. See on c. 8, 19.


23. Salvis nobis, 'before we are utterly destroyed.'
modo nobiscum egeris, dum istis consiliis uteris, non potes, mihi crede, esse diuturnus. Etenim ista tua minime avara coniunx, quam ego sine contumelia describo, niumim diu debet populo Romano tertiam pensionem. Habet populus Romanus ad quos gubernacula rei publicae deferat: qui ubicunque terrarum sunt, ibi omne est rei publicae praesidium vel potius ipsa res publica, quae se adhuc tantum modo ulta est, nondum recuperavit. Habet quidem certe res publica adolescentes nobilissimos, para- tos defensores: quam volent illi cedant otio consulentes, tamen a re publica revocabuntur. Et nomen pacis dulce est et ipsa res salutaris; 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 illi nostri liberatores e conspectu nostro abstulerunt, at exemplum facti reliquerunt. Illi, quod nemo fecerat, fecerunt. Tarquinium Brutus bello est persecutus, qui tum rex fuit, cum esse Romae licebat; Sp. Cassius, Sp. Maelius, M. Manlius propter suspicionem regni appetendi sunt necati: hi primum cum gladiis non in regnum appetentem, sed in regnamentem.

2. Minime avara coniunx, 'most liberal of wives.' She had sacrificed two husbands to the Roman people already—P. Clodius and C. Curio;—the third and last instalment of her debt was overdue. 'Peniso' is the technical word for instalments to be paid at regular intervals, and is especially applied to the restitution of the dowry of a divorced wife by her husband, which he was required to make in three annual payments.


7. Nondum recuperavit, having merely exchanged the yoke of Caesar for that of Antony. Cp. Fam. 12. 1, 2 'Ultra suas iniurias est per vos interitu tyranni; nihil amplius: ornamenta vero sua quae recuperavit?'

8. Adolescentes. Brutus and Cassius were both upwards of 40 years old, Brutus having been born in 85 B.C., and Cassius having been quaestor, and therefore at least 32, in 53 B.C. See on c. 21, 52.

9. Quam volent illi cedant, 'let them retire as far as they will,' 'however far they shall retire.' Cp. de Div. 1. 26, 56 'Quam vellet cunctaretur, tamen eodem sibi leto, quo ipse interisset, esse pecundum.' This transitional usage, in which the verb, though still conjugated, has yet nearly the same force as the conjunction 'quamvis,' illustrates both the original meaning of that conjunction, 'in whatever degree,' 'however much,' and also the reason of its ordinary construction with the subjunctive. Similarly we find 'licebit' with nearly the force of 'licet' in its conjunctival use, in Hor. Epod. 15, 19 'Sis pecore et multo dives tellure licebit,' 'you may be rich, for aught I care;' and Ov. Trist. 5. 14, 3 'Detrahatur auctoris multum forteum licebit.'

11. Inter pacem, &c. Cp. Livy 10. 17 'Petisse pacem (Samnites) a populo Romano, cum bellum tolerare non possent: rebellasse, quod pac servientibus gravior, quam liberis bellum, esset.'


M. Manlii. See on 1. 13, 32.

18. Primum. So Halm, following the Vatican MS., for 'primi.' He compares 9. 6, 13 'Statua ... qualis L. Sulla primum statuia est;' and Cat. 3. 6, 15 'Quod mihi primum ... togato contigit.'
impetum fecerunt. Quod cum ipsum factum per se praeclarum est atque divinum, tum expositum ad imitantur est, praesertim
cum illi eam gloriam consecuti sint, quae vix caelo capi posse videatur. Etsi enim satis in ipsa conscientia pulcherrimi facti
5 fructus erat, tamen mortali immortalitatem non arbitror esse
contemnendum.

Recordare igitur illum, M. Antoni, diem, quo dictaturam sus-
tulisti; pone ante oculos laetitiam senatus populeque Romani,
confer cum hac immani nundinatione tua tuorumque: tum in-
telliges quantum inter lucrum et laudem intersit. Sed nimirum,
ut quidam morbo aliquo et sensus stupore suavitatem cibi non
sentiunt, sic libidinosi, avari, facinerosi verae laudit gustatum
non habent. Sed si te laus allicere ad recte faciendum non
potest, ne metus quidem a foedissimis factis potest avocare?
15 Iudicia non metuis. Si propter innocentiam, laudo: sin propter
vim, non intelligis, qui isto modo iudicia non timeat, ei quid
timendum sit. Quod si non metuis viros fortis egregiosque
cives, quod a corpore tuo prohibentur armis, tui te, mihi crede,
diutius non ferent. Quae est autem vita dies et noctes timere
20 a suis? nisi vero aut maioribus habes beneficiis obligatos, quam
ille quosdam habuit ex ii, a quibus est interfactus, aut tu es
ulla re cum eo comparandus. Fuit in illo ingenium, ratio,
memoria, litterae, cura, cogitatio, diligentia; res bello gesserat

4. Etsi enim satis, &c. Cp. pro
Mil. 35. 97 'Addit haec ... fortes et saper-
entes viros non tam præmia sequi solere
recte factorum, quam ipsa recta facta ... sed
tamen ex omnibus præmiis virtutis, si
esse habenda ratio præmiiorum, amplissi-
num esse præmiolum gloriam.'
cc. 45, 46. Finally, Cicer adjoins him
to return to better counsels, as the safest
policy. Caesar was in every way a nobler
man than Antony, his friends were perso-
nally devoted to him; yet he fell by the hands
of those very friends, because he placed him-
self before the law. Antony should take
warning by his fate; his armed adherents
would not long be faithful to him; the ex-
ample of tyrannicide was fresh among the
citizens; and Cicero himself would rather
die to free the state from slavery than live
when life had lost the sweetness which is only
found in liberty.

7. Igitur, as with your present counsels
you cannot long be safe.

Dictaturam sustulisti. See 1. 2, 4
note.

8. Cum hac immani nundina-
tione. So Halm from the unintelligible
reading of the Vatican MS., 'cum hac im-
manun latione.' Cp. c. 14, 35. Kayser
adopts a conjecture of Jeep's: 'Cum hac
immani mutatione.' The other MSS. have
'Cum nunntione.'

and L. Tillius Cimber; see c. 11, 27. M.
Brutus and C. Cassius were bound to Caesar
by the same obligation as Cicero to Antony,
that he had spared their lives.

22. Ingenium, ratio,' genius and me-

23. Memoria. Abrani compares pro
Deiot. 15, 42 'Memoriam tuam implorat,
qua vales plurimum.'

Litterae. Besides his histories, Caesar
was famous as an orator. See Cic. Brut.
72, 252; Quint. 10. 1, 114 'C. Caesar
si foro tantum vacasset, non alius ex nostris
§§ 114—118.  **ORATIO PHILIPPICA II.**

 quamvis rei publicae calamitosas, at tamen magnas; multos annos regnare meditatus magno labore, multis periculo quod cogitarat effecerat; muneribus, monumentis, congiariis, epulis multitudinem imperitam delenierat; suos praemiis, adversarios clementiae specie devin Dexterat; quid multa? attulerat iam liberae 5 civitati partim metu, partim patientia consuetudinem serviendi.

46 Cum illo ego te dominandi cupiditate conferre possum, ceteris vero rebus nullo modo comparandus es. Sed ex plurimis malis, quae ab illo rei publicae sunt inusta, hoc tamen boni est, quod didicit iam populus Romanus, quantum cuique crederet, quibus se committeret, a quibus caveret. Haec non cogitas? neque intelligis satis esse viris fortibus didicisse, quam sit re pulchrum, beneficio gratum, fama gloriosum tyrannum occidere? An, 118 cum illum homines non tulerint, te ferent? Certatim posthac, mihi crede, ad hoc opus curretur neque occasionis tarditas exspectabitur.

Respice, quaeo, aliquando [rem publicam, M. Antoni]; quibus ortus sis, non quibuscum vivas considera; mecum, uti voles: redi cum re publica in gratiam. Sed de te tu videris, contra Ciceronem nominaretur; Tac, Ann, 13. 3 "Caesar summis oratoribus aemulus;" and he also wrote works on the Latin language (de Analogia), on the movements of the stars, and on the auspices.


Monumentis. The chief public buildings of Caesar were the Forum Iulium, to the north of the Forum Romanum, enclosing a temple of Venus Genetrix (Pliny N. H. 35. 12, 45); the Basilica Iulia (completed by Augustus), whose area, paved with precious marbles, has of late years been uncovered, on the south side of the Forum Romanum; and the Circus Maximus, which he extended to the dimensions of three stadia in length, and one in breadth, and completed with great magnificence (ib. 36. 15, 102).

Congiarii. The 'congii' being a liquid measure (holding about three quarts), 'congiaria' were strictly largesses of wine or oil, but the word was afterwards applied to presents of money; cp. Suet. Tib. 20 'Populo congiarium treneos nummos virtim dedit.' Though generally used of presents to the people (id. Ner. 7 'Populo congiarium, militi donativum propositi'), yet Cicero applies it to a largess offered by Antony to the legions from Macedonia (Att. 16. 8, 2 'Congiarium ab Antonio accipere nolle ruit').

9. Inusta, 'whose brand he has indelibly impressed upon the state.' The term appears to combine the two notions of compulsory infliction, and indelible impression. Op. Livy 9. 3 'Vivet semper in pectoribus illorum, quiuidquid istuc praesens necessitas insesserit.' So Cic. Cat. 1. 6, 13 'Quae nota domesticae turpitudinis non inusta vitae tuae est?'

11. A quibus caveret, 'against whom it should be on its guard.'

17. Respice, &c. The Vatican reading is 'Respice quaeo ali quibus,' &c., with a small lacuna after 'ali,' too small, apparently, to leave room for the words in brackets, which are found in the other MSS. Halm, in his school edition of 1858, omits them. Kayser, following Jeep, reads 'Resipisce.'

18. Mecum, uti voles, sc. 'be reconciled to me' ('in gratiam redibis') or not as you will.' Abrami compares Livy 8, 35 'Mecum, ut voles, reverteris in gratiam.' The use of the future, where we less accurately use the present, is to be noticed, cp. c. 44. 113 'quam volent illi cedant.'
ego de me ipse profitebor. Defendi rem publicam adolescens, non deseram senex: contempi Catilinae gladios, non pertimescam tuos. Quin etiam corpus libenter obtulerim, si repraesentari morte mea libertas civitatis potest, ut aliquando dolor populi Romani pariat, quod iam diu parturit. Etenim si abhinc annos prope viginti hoc ipso in templo negavi posse mortem immaturam esse consulari, quanto verius nunc negabo seni! Mihi vero, patres conscripti, iam etiam optanda mortis est, perfecto rebus is, quas adeptus sum quasque gessi. Duo modo hacc opto, unum, ut moriens populum Romanum liberum relinquam—hoc mihi maius ab dis immortalibus dari nihil potest—; alterum, ut ita cuique eveniat, ut de re publica quisque mereatur.

3. Repraesentari, 'be presently secured.' Cp. Fam. 5. 16, 6 'Neque expectare temporis medicinam, quam repraesentare ratione possimus.'

5. Abhinc annos viginti. 'Abhinc' is used both with the accusative and ablative, according to Hand (Tursell. 1. 64), with no difference of meaning; but the double use in Cic. pro Rose. Com. 13. 37 'abhinc annis xv.' in the oratio obliqua, and in the next line 'repromittis abhinc triennium Roscio,' in the oratio recta, seems to favour the distinction drawn by Mr. Mayor, that with the accusative it means 'before this time,' with the ablative 'before that time.' Cp. Verr. Act. 2. 1. 57, 130 'Hero-
INTRODUCTION
TO THE THIRD ORATION.

The third oration brings before us a new scene in the struggle between the different parties in the state, and is directed against an attempt on the part of Antony which gave occasion, more or less directly, to all the remaining orations except the eleventh. We have seen that one of the first measures which Antony proposed, after the death of Caesar, was a change in the disposition of the provinces, whereby he was to obtain Macedonia, and Dolabella Syria. Not content with this, he shortly afterwards, probably in July (see Merivale 3. 98), proposed that Macedonia should be transferred to his brother Gaius, and that he himself should supplant Decimus Brutus in Cisalpine Gaul, apparently in order that he might possess a powerful force within easy reach of the city. The senate refused to listen to the proposal, but Antony brought it before the people in the 'comitia,' and gained their assent by persuading them that Decimus was preparing to attack the party of Caesar, and uphold by force the cause of his assassins. He also obtained leave to recall four legions from Macedonia, and on the 9th of October proceeded to Brundisium to place himself at their head. On his way he put some soldiers to death at Suessa Auruncorum, and finding at Brundisium that two of the legions, the Martia and Quarta, despised the largess which he offered them, he treacherously massacred their centurions in the presence of his wife. Finding that the troops were not to be depended on, probably owing to the temptations offered by agents of Octavianus, he sent the second and thirty-fifth legions, which still in the main adhered to him, (see 5. 19, 53; Fam. 10. 30, 1), in detachments towards Cisalpine Gaul, appointing a rendezvous at Ariminum; and returned himself to Rome, at the head of the Gaulish legion Alauda, which he had probably brought with him from Rome; as we know that it was there in the earlier part of the summer (Att. 16. 8, 2).

Octavianus had meanwhile been levying troops, and winning over the veterans in Campania, by a largess of 500 denarii apiece. By Cicero's advice he returned to Rome, shortly before the arrival of Antony, but finding that the veterans were not yet prepared for open conflict with the Consul, he thought it prudent to retire to Arretium.

Antony left the bulk of his troops at Tibur, but entered the city,
contrary to the laws, at the head of an armed force, to whom, as he marched through the streets, he promised the houses and property of his enemies for plunder. He convened the senate for the 24th of November, denouncing any senator who should absent himself as an enemy to him and to his country. On the appointed day he was himself absent, being, according to Cicero (Phil. 3. 8, 20), too drunk to make his appearance. He summoned another meeting in the Capitol for the 28th, at which he forbade three tribunes, whom he knew to be hostile to him, to be present.

The object of the meeting was to denounce the conduct of Octavianus, but when the day arrived his resolution failed him, and the only proposal laid before the senate was for a ‘supplicatio’ in honour of M. Lepidus. In the midst of the debate on this, a message reached him that the fourth legion had openly declared in favour of Octavianus and joined the Martia, which had already taken up a position at Alba. Feeling that to stay in Rome was dangerous, he took a hurried division on the question before the senate, and hastened to Alba, in hopes of yet recovering the allegiance of his troops. Finding the gates shut against him, he proceeded to Tibur, and confirming the fidelity of the forces there by a present of 2000 sesterces to every soldier, he set forth at their head towards Cisalpine Gaul, with a view of dispossessing Decimus Brutus of his province.

At this juncture Cicero published his second oration, and used the influence which it gave him in strengthening the cause of Octavianus, and inflaming all parties against Antony. On the 20th of December the tribunes, in the absence of both the Consuls, convened the senate for the transaction of some formal business, and to arrange for its safe meeting on the 1st of January; and Cicero availed himself of the occasion to deliver the third Philippic oration.

In it he denounces Antony as a public enemy, declaring that his conduct was worse than that of Tarquin; and having reviewed the lawlessness and cowardice of his proceedings, by which he had forfeited all claim to be regarded as Consul, he exposes the absurdity of his attempt to insult Octavianus by reproaching him with the position of his mother; and ridicules the bad Latin of his proclamations. On the other hand he highly extols the conduct of Octavianus, of Decimus Brutus, and the fourth and Martian legions; and he ends his speech by formally proposing that the thanks of the senate should be given them for what they had done, and that the recent changes in the disposition of the provinces should be annulled. His proposals were accepted by the senate, and A. Hirtius and C. Pansa, the Consuls elect, were instructed to take the earliest possible opportunity for carrying them into effect.
M. TULLII CICERONIS

ORATIONUM PHILIPPICARUM

LIBER TERTIUS.

1 SERIUS omnino, patres conscripti, quam tempus rei publicae postulabat, aliquando tamen convocati sumus: quod flagitabam equidem quotidie, quippe cum bellum nefarium contra aras et focos, contra vitam fortunasque nostras ab homine profligato ac perdito non comparari, sed geri iam viderem. Exspectantur 5 Kalendae Ianuariae, quas non exspectat Antonius, qui in provinciam D. Bruti, summi et singularis viri, cum exercitu impetum facere conatur; ex qua se instructum et paratum ad urbem ven-
turum esse minitatur. Quae est igitur exspectatio aut quae vel minimi dilatio temporis? quamquam enim adsunt Kalendae 10 Ianuariae, tamen breve tempus longum est imparatis. Dies enim affert vel hora potius, si nihil provisum est, magnas saec-
eclades. Certus autem dies non ut sacrificiiis, sic consiliis exspect-
tari solet.

c. 1. Cicero urges on the senate that they should take instant action, instead of need-
lessly waiting for the 1st of January; a dangerous delay, when so unscrupulous an
enemy was already actively engaged against the state.
1. Serius omnino, &c. In 5. 11, 30 Cicero says that he began to press for the meet-
ing of the senate ‘ut primum post discersum latronis vel potius desperatam fugam libere
haberi potuit.’ Antony, however, had left the
city on the 28th of November, and Cicero
did not return to it till the 9th of December.
The senate was summoned by the tribunes of the commons, who entered on office on
the 10th, for the 20th of the same month, on which day Cicero delivered this oration.
6. In provinciam D. Bruti, sc. Cis-
alpine Gaul. See Introduction.
12. Si nihil, So Halm, from the Vatican
reading, ‘nihil.’ Vulg. ‘nisi.’ The senti-
ment seems to be borrowed from Dem. Phil.
1. p. 50, 24 τὸν γὰρ τοῦ πράττεισθαι χρόνον
eis τὸ παρασκευάζεισθαι ἀναλισκομεν, οἱ δὲ
tῶν πραγμάτων οὐ μένουσι καὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν βραδύτητα καὶ εἰρωνείαν.
13. Sacrificii is Halm’s emendation
for the Vatican reading, ‘sacrificii sic con-
siliis.’ The other MSS. have ‘sacrificii sic
consiliis.’
M. TULLII CICERONIS

Quo si aut Kalendae Ianuariae fuissent eo die, quo primum ex urbe fugit Antonius, aut eae non essent exspectatae, bellum iam nullum haberemus. Auctoritate enim senatus consensuque populi Romani facile hominis amentis fregissemus audaciam.

5 Quod confido equidem consules designatos, simul ut magistram inierint, esse facturos; sunt enim optimo animo, summo consilio, singulari concordia: mea autem festinatio non victoriae solum avida est, sed etiam celeritatis.

Quo enim usque tantum bellum, tam crudele, tam nefarium privatis consiliis propulsabitur? cur non quam primum publica accedit auctoritas? C. Caesar adolescens, pacè potius puer, incrídelíci ac divína quàdam menté atque virtute, sum maxíme furor arderet Antonii cumque eius a Brundíseo crudelís et pestifer reditus tímeretur, nec postulantibus nec cogitantibus, nee optantibus quidem nobis quia non posse fieri videbatur, firmíssínum exercitum ex invîcto genere veteranorum mîlitum comparavit patrimoniumque suum effudit: quamquam non sum usus eo verbo quo debui; non enim effudit: in rei publicae salute collocavit. Cui quamquam gratia referri tanta non potest quantum debetur, habenda tamen est tanta, quantam maximam aními nostri capere possunt. Quis enim est tam ignarus rerum, tam

2. Fugit. Cp. 5. 11, 30, quoted above on § 1.
5. Consules designatos. Aulus Hirtius and C. Vibius Pansa, who were to enter office on the 1st of January 43 B.C., C. Caesar, on his own responsibility, and at his own expense, had saved the state, by gaining over the legions at Brundisium, which Antony had hoped to have as instruments of his cruelty, that he might overwhelm the citizens of Rome, as he had murdered the centurions at Brundisium. To C. Caesar therefore, and the soldiers who had shown their patriotism by deserting Antony, thanks, honours, and the confirmation of their deeds were due from the senate.
9. Quo enim usque. For the division of the adverb, cp. Mart. 2. 64, 9 'Eia age, rumpe moras, quo te sperabis usque?'
10. Privatis consiliis, by the irregular proceedings of Octavianus, which he goes on to describe, and the unauthorised resistance of Dec. Brutus (see c. 4, 8); for both of which thanks are proposed by Cicero in the formal vote which closes this oration.

11. Adolescens. Octavianus was at this time eighteen years of age.
14. Ne optantibus quidem. The Vatican MS. reads 'nee optantibus quidem;' but Madvig (on Cic. Fin. Excur. 3. p. 822 foll.) shows that the expression 'nee... quidem;' never in writers of this age absorbs into itself the copulative conjunction. The only other passages in Cicerone where 'nee... quidem' rests on any good authority are Cat. Ma. 9, 27 'nee nunc quidem;' where 'nee... quidem' is a condensation of 'ac non... quidem;' 'nor do I now indeed;' and Nat. Deor. 3, 9, 23 'nee cur animantem quidem esse,' where the 'c' seems due to the initial of the following word. Here he thinks 'nee' has crept in from the double 'nee' preceding. Halm admits his reasoning, and reads 'nee... quidem;' See also Hand's Tursellinus, 4. 162 foll.:
17. Patrimonium... effudit. Octavianus expended, or rather invested, 'collocavit; his private means in giving the veterans 500 denarii apiece. Cp. Att. 16. 8. 1 'Veteranos, quique Casilini et Calatinae sunt, perduxit ad suam sententiam. Nec mirum: quingenos denarios dat,'
nihil de re publica cogitans, qui hoc non intelligat, si M. Antonius a Brundisio cum iis copiis, quas se habiturum putabat, Romam, ut minabatur, venire potuisset, nullum genus eum crudelitatis praeteritum fuisset? quippe qui in hospitis tectis Brundisii fortissimos viros optimosque cives iugulari iussisset; quorum ante pedes eius morientium sanguine os uxoris respersum esse constabat. Hac ille crudelitate imbutus, cum multo bonis omnibus veniret irator, quam illis fuerat, quos trucidarat, cui tandem nostrum aut cui omnino bono pepercisset? Qua peste privato consilio rem publicam—neque enim fieri potuit aliter—Caesar liberavit. Qui nisi in hac re publica natus esset, rem publicam scelere Antonii nullam haberemus. Sic enim perspicio, sic iudico, nisi unus adolescentis illius furentes impetus crudelissimosque conatus cohibuisset, rem publicam funditus iteraturum fuisset. Cui quidem hodierno die, patres conscripti,—nunc enim primum ita convenimus, ut illius beneficio possemus ea, quae sentiremus, libere dicere—tribuenda est auctoritas, ut rem publicam non modo a se suscepat, sed etiam a nobis commendatam possit defendere.

3 Nec vero de legione Martia, quoniam longo intervallo loqui nobis de re publica licet, sileri potest. Quis enim unus fortior, quis amicior umquam rei publicae fuit quam legio Martia universa? quae cum hostem populi Romani Antonium iudicasset, comes esse eius amentiae noluit: reliquit consulem, quod profecto non fecisset, si eum consulem iudicasset, quem nihil aliud agere, nihil moliri nisi caedem civium atque interim civitatis videret. Atque ea legio consedit Albae. Quam

1. Si M. Antonius, &c. Cp. Fam. 10. 28, 3 'Certum habeto, nisi ille' (sc. puer Caesar) 'veteranos celeriter conscriptisset legionesque duae de exercitu Antonii ad eius se auctoritatem contulissent, atque is oppositus esset terror Antonio, nihil Antonium se clericis nihil crudelitatis praeteritum fuisse.'
4. Fortissimos viros. 'Martiae legiones centuriones' 13, 8, 18. The massacre however was not confined to the centurions, unless Cicero in c. 4, 10 of this oration exaggerates the number ('Brundisii ad trecentos fortissimos viros civesque optimos trucidavit'), as there were only 60 centurions to a legion. Cp. also 5, 8, 22.
7. Bonis omnibus. So the Vatican MS. Halm, following an early conjecture, reads 'nobis,' as agreeing better with the context. The other MSS. have 'bonis hominibus.'
9. Privato consilio, 'on his own responsibility.'
17. Ut rempublicam, &c., 'that he may assume the defence of the state, not merely as an office voluntarily taken on himself, but as a charge entrusted to him by the senate.'
27. Consedit Albae, at Alba Longa, on the east shore of the Alban Lake, and only fourteen miles from Rome. It was the news of this occupation of Alba that had induced Antony hurriedly to leave the city (see on c. 1, 1). When he found that he could not shake the resolution of the
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potuit urbecm eligere aut opportuniorem ad res gerundas aut fideiorem aut fortium virorum aut amicorum rei publicae civium? Huius legionis virtutem imitata quarta legio duce L. Egnatuleio quaestore, civi optimo et fortissimo, C. Caesaris auctoritatem atque exercitum persecuta est. Faciundum est igitur nobis, patres conscripti, ut ea, quae sua sponte clarissimus adolescens atque omnium praestantissimus gessit et gerit, haec auctoritate nostra comproventur, veteranorumque, fortissimorum virorum, tum legionis Martiae quartaeque mirabilis consensus ad rem publicam recuperandam laude et testimonio nostro confirmetur, eorumque commoda, honores, praemia, cum consules designati magistratum inierint, curae nobis fore hodierno die spondeamus.

Atque ea quidem, quae dixi de Caesare deque eius exercitu, iam diu nota sunt nobis. Virtute enim admirabili Caesaris constantiaque militum veteranorum legionumque earum, quae optimo iudicio auctoritatem vestram, libertatem populi Romani, virtutem Caesaris secutae sunt, a cervicibus nostris est depulsus Antonius. Sed haec, ut dixi, superiora: hoc vero recens edictum D. Bruti, quod paulo ante propositionem est, certe silento

Martian legion, he retired to Tibur, and thence proceeded towards Cisalpine Gaul.

2. Fortium ... amicorum. This is the reading of the Vatican MS., defended (though not adopted) by Wernsdorf, who shows that Cicero’s meaning probably is ‘what city that contains either brave men or friendly citizens could have been found either more convenient or more to be depended on?’ Bravery and good feeling towards Rome were necessary conditions in the citizens of the place which they should occupy;—of the cities which exhibited these the veterans might choose the most convenient. Halm adopts the reading of the Junta edition (1515), which is slightly altered from the other MSS., ‘aut fortiorum virorum aut amicorum.’ This however has evidently arisen from not distinguishing the independence of the two pairs of ‘aut ... aut.’

4. Civi. So the Vatican MS. here, and 39, 52, and the other MSS. in c. 15, 39, Priscian, 7, 13, 68, brings several passages (e.g. pro Sest. 12, 12 ‘quod ausus esset pro civi, pro bene merito civi’) to prove that this form of the ablative is used by Cicero.

5. Persecuta est, ‘attached itself to the army under C. Caesar’s command.’

6. Ea ... haec. For this redundant use of ‘haec,’ to recall emphatically to mind the subject which had been separated from its verb by an intervening relative clause, cp. 7, 5, 15 ‘cogitatis eum, qui Mutinam coloniam populi Romani firmissimam, oppugnarit ... hunc in eum ordinem recipi,’ and contrariwise de Orat. 2, 28, 125 ‘haec ipsa, quae nunc ad me delegare vis, ea semper in te eximia fuerunt.’ See Madv. 9 a.

c. 4. More recently Decimus Brutus, following the example of his ancestor, who drove out a king for merely being proud, had published an edict, maintaining the liberty and authority of the state, menaced now by Antony, who in wickedness, arbitrary self-assumption, and contempt of all religion, in meanness, cruelty, and disloyalty, went beyond the worst that any man had ventured to assert of Tarquin.

19. Edictum D. Bruti. Cicero tells Decimus Brutus himself (Fam. 11, 6, 2) that the sight of this edict was what induced him to come into the senate on the day when this oration was delivered: ‘Nefas esse duxi aut ita haberi senatum, ut de tuis divinis in rempublicam meritis sileretur—quod! factum esset, nisi ego venisset—aut, etiam si quid de te honorific diceretur, me non adesse.’
non potest praeteriri. Pollicitur enim se provinciam Galliam retenturum in senatus populique Romani potestate. O civem natum rei publicae, memorem sui nominis imitatoremque maiorum! Neque enim Tarquinio expulso maioribus nostri tam fuit optata libertas, quam est depulso iam Antonio retinenda nobis. Illi regibus parere iam a condita urbe didicerant: nos post reges exactos servitutis oblivio ceperat. Atque ille Tarquinius, quem maiores nostri non tulerunt, non crudelis, non impius, sed superbus est habitus et dictus: quod nos vitium in privatis saepe tulimus, id maiores nostri ne in rege quidem ferre potuerunt. L. Brutus regem superbum non tulit: D. Brutus sceleralatum atque impium regnare patietur Antonium? Quid Tarquinius tale, quia innumerabilia et facit et fecit Antonius? Senatum etiam reges habebant: nec tamen, ut Antonio senatum habente, in consilio regis versabantur barbari armati. Servabant auspicia reges; quae hic consul augurque neglexit, neque solum legibus contra auspicia ferendis, sed etiam collega una ferente eo, quem ipse ementitis auspiciis vitiosum fecerat. Quis autem rex umquam fuit tam insignire impudens, ut haberet omnia commoda, beneficia, iura regni venalia? Quam hic immunitatem, quam civitatem, quod praemium non vel singulis hominibus vel civitatibus vel universis provinciis vendidit? Nihil humile de Tarquinio, nihil sordidum accepmus: at vero huius domi inter quasilla pendeabatur aurum, numerabatur pecunia; una in domo... occidere, in exsilium agere, bonis multare poterat non suspectos modo aut invisos, sed unde nihil alium quam praedam sperare posset.'

2. In potestate. So Halm. following the Vatican MS. Orelli, from the other MSS., reads 'in potestatem,' a construction which is found after 'esse' and 'habere' in a few legal and political expressions: cp. Div. in Q. Caec. 20, 66 'quae in amicitiam populii Romani dicentemque essent.' See Madv., § 230, Obs. 2.

3. Imitatorum maiorum. See 1. 6, 13 note.

4. Neque enim Tarquinio, &c., 'nor indeed was the desire of our ancestors to gain liberty on the expulsion of Tarquinii so great as should be our desire to retain it by throwing off the yoke of Antony.'

5. Non crudelis. Yet cp. Flor. 1. 7 'Ipse in senatu caedibus, in omnes superbia, qua crudelitate gravior est bonus, grasse, cum saevitiam domi fatigasset, tandem in hostes conversus est. . . . Tum quoque cruentus in suos;' Livy 1. 49 'Metu regnum tutandum esset: quem ut pluribus incoeret... occidere, in exsilium agere, bonis multare poterat non suspectos modo aut invisos, sed unde nihil alium quam praedam sperare posset.'

12. Sceleratum atque impium regnare, 'to play the part of a king both impious and wicked.'

15. Barbariaarmati. See 2. 8, 19 note.

17. Colleaga una ferente, 'proposing them in conjunction with Dolabella, whose election he had nullified.' See on 2. 33, 82.

19. Tam insignire impudens, 'so egregiously devoid of shame.'

20. Immunitatem. See on 1. 1, 3.

22. Nihil humile, &c. Of the value of such commendation from the mouth of Cicero we may judge from a comparison of 1. 13, 33, where he uses exactly the same expressions of Antony: 'nihil umquam in te sordidum, nihil humile cognovi.'

23. Inter quasilla, 'Domesticis nundinis,' 2. 36, 92; 'in gynaecio,' ib. 37.
omnes, quorum intererat, totum imperium populi Romani nundi
nabatur. Supplicia vero in cives Romanos nulla Tarquinii
accepimus: at hic et Suessae iugulavit eos, quos in custodiam
dedecratus, et Brundisi ad trecentos fortissimos viros civesque op-
timos trucidavit. Postremo Tarquinius pro populo Romano 11
bellum gerebat tum, cum est expulsus: Antonius contra popu-
lum Romanum exercitum adducebat tum, cum a legionibus
relictus nomen Caesaris exercitumque pertimuit neglectisque
sacriificiis sollemnibus ante lucem vota ea, quae numquam sol-
veret, nuncupavit, et hoc tempore in provinciam populi Romani
conatur invadere. Maius igitur a D. Bruto beneficium populus
Romanus et habet et exspectat, quam maiores nostri acceperunt
a L. Bruto, princeps huius maxime conservandi generis et nomi-
nis. Cum autem omnis servitus est misera, tum vero intolera-
bilis est servire impuro, impudico, effeminato, numquam ne in 12
metu quidem sobrio. Hunc igitur qui Gallia prohibet, privato
praeertim consilio, iudicat verissimeque iudicat non esse consu-
lem. Faciendum est igitur nobis, patres conscripti, ut D. Bruti
privatum consilium auctoritate publica comproemus. Nec vero
20 M. Antonium consulem post Lupercalia debuistis putare. Quo

95. 'Quasillum' (whence the contracted form 'quålum') is especially used of women's
spinning baskets; cp. Prop. 5. 7, 41 'Et
graviora repedit iniquis pensa quasillis.'
This massacre seems to have taken place
when Antony was on his way to Brundis-
ium.
5. Pro populo Romano. Against
the Rutulians of Ardea. Livy 1. 57.
9. Vota nuncupavit, 'uttered so-
lemn vows.' 'Vota nuncupata' were those
which Consuls and praetors made in solemn
form, on their departure for their provinces;
and they were generally registered in the
10. 'Cum consul maiorum, secundum
vota in Capitolio nuncupata, paludatus pro-
fectus ab Urbe esset.'
Quae numquam solveret, 'which he
was never doomed to pay;' i.e. Cicero
expresses his belief that Antony's prayers
would not be granted, and that so he
would not be obliged to pay his vows; as
in the case of Pallas, 'nil iam caelestibus ullis debenter' Virg. Aen. 11. 51.
10. In provinciam . . . invadere, 'to
usurp by force.' Cp. 11. 2, 4 'In Galliam
invatis Antonius, inAsian Dolabella, in
alienam uterque provinciam.'
c. 5. It was true that he was nominally
Consul, but on this score he had forfeited all
right, by offering to become the slave of
Caesar, in the hope that he might one day
emulate his despotism. Therefore the senate
ought to honour Brutes for resisting him,
and with Brutus all Cisalpine Gaul, which had
come forward with the utmost unanimity to
defend the authority of that senate, which had
now met to take measures for its own pro-
tection.
14. Intolerabilis. So Halm, from
almost all the MSS. 'Servitus' is easily sup-
plied from the preceding clause. Vulg.
'intolerable.'
15. Ne in metu quidem sobrio.
Plutarch records his wonderful power of
abstinence under pressure, Ant. 17 'O
δ' ουν 'Αντώνιος τότε θαμαστόν ὄν παρα-
δείγμα τοῖς στρατιώταις ὑπὸ τρήφης το-
αυτῆς καὶ πολυτελείας ὑδαρ τε πίνων
dieφθαρμένον εὐκλεός καὶ καρποῦς ἁγρίων
cαι βίζας προσφερόμενος.
20. Lupercalia. 'See 2. 34, 84 note.
enim ille die populo Romano inspectante nudus, unctus, ebrius
est kontionatus et id egit ut collegae diadema imponeret, eo die
se non modo consulatu, sed etiam libertate abdicavit. Esset
enim ipsi certe statim serviendum, si Caesar ab eo regni insignia
accipere voluisset. Hunc igitur ego consulem, hunc civem Ro-
manum, hunc liberum, hunc denique hominem putem, qui foedo
illo et flagitioso die et quid pati. C. Caesare vivo posset et quid
eo mortuo consequi ipse cuperet ostendit? Nec vero de virtute,
constantia, gravitate provinciae Galliae taceri potest. Est enim
ille flos Italiae, illud firmamentum imperii populi Romani, illud
ornamentum dignitatis. Tantus autem est consensus municipi-
orum coloniarumque provinciae Galliae, ut omnes ad auctori-
tatem huius ordinis maiestatemque populi Romani defendendam
conspirasse videantur. Quam ob rem, tribuni pl., quamquam vos
nihil aliud nisi de praesidio, ut senatum tuto consules Kalendis
Ianuariiis habere possent, rettulistis, tamen mihi videmini magno
consilio atque optima mente postestatem nobis de tota re publica
fecisse dicendi. Cum enim tuto haberi senatum sine praesidio
non posse iudicavistis, tum statuistis etiam intra muros Antonii
sceilus audaciamque versari.

Quam ob rem omnia mea sententia complectar, vobis, ut

2. Id egit ut imponeret, 'used
every effort to crown his col-
league.' So 2, 34, 85 'imponebas,' 'again and again you
tried to crown him.'

10. Ille flos Italiae. For this at-
traction of the demonstrative out of the gender
of the noun which it represents into that of the
predicate cp. Virg. Ae. 7, 4 'si qua
est ea gloria;' ib. 10, 828 'si qua est ea
fama.' A similar usage is also found in
Greek, as Aesch. Prom. 754 αὕτη γὰρ (sc. τὸ θανεῖν) ἦν ἄν ημῖνων ἀπαλλαγῆ.
See Madv. § 313; and Riddell on Plat. Apol.
p. 195.

11. Municipiorum coloniarumque.
By the 'Lex Iulia,' passed in the consulsiphi
of L. Julius Caesar, 90 B.C., all the allied
towns in Italy and Gallia Cispadana re-
ceived the Roman civitas,' and became
'municipia.' In 49 B.C. the dictator Caesar
extended this privilege to the 'transpadani,'
so that it is not easy to see what distinction
is here implied between 'municipia' and
'coloniae.' Most probably by 'coloniae' he
means to distinguish those cities which were
'coloniae' before they became 'municipia,'
and which perhaps retained a larger share
of local self-government than the older
'municipia' possessed, as in the oration pro
Sest. 14, 32, he preserves the old distinc-
tions: 'nullum erat Italiae munici-
pium, nulla colonia, nulla praefectura, . . .
cuo non tum honorificentissime de mea salute
decrevisset.' Cp. Phil. 4. 3, 7 'municipia,
coloniae, praefecturas,' and 2. 24, 58. So a
'Lex Municipalis' found near Heraclea, pro-
bably of the year 45 B.C., contains provi-
sions for the constitutions of the various
'municipia, coloniae, praefecturae, fora, con-
cillabia civium Romanorum.' In Phil 13.
8, 18 he clearly makes the change which the
Lex Iulia had made in the status of
'coloniae.' For the whole subject see
Mr. Watson's 'Letters of Cicero,' Append. xii.

16. Rettulistis, 'brought forward a
motion.' See on 1, 1, 2.

cc. 6, 7. The honours paid to Brutus and
to Gaul would render it imperative to treat
Antony as a public enemy, since otherwise
they must be rebels against the highest law-
fully constituted authority. But he had
further shown himself unworthy of his office,
by the insulting language of his edicts, in
which he found fault with C. Caesar for pro-
intelligo, non invititis, ut et praestantissimis ducibus a nobis detur auctoritas, et fortissimis militibus spes ostendatur praemiorum, et iudicetur non verbo, sed re non modo non consul, sed etiam hostis Antonius. Nam si ille consul, fustuarium meruerunt legiones, quae consulem reliquerunt; sceleratus Caesar, Brutus nefarius, qui contra consulem privato consilio exercitus comparaverunt: si autem militibus exquirendi sunt honores novi propter eorum divinum atque immortale meritum, ducibus autem ne referri quidem potest gratia, quis est qui eum hostem non existimet, quem qui armis persequentur, conservatores rei publicae iudicantur? At quam contumeliosus in edictis! quam barbarus! 15 quam rudis! Primum in Caesarem maledicta congesit deprompta ex recordatione impudicitiae et stuporum suorum. Quis enim hoc adolescente castior? quis modestior? quod in 15 iuventute habemus illustrius exemplum veteris sanctitatis? quis autem illo, qui male dicit, impurior? Ignobilitatem obiicit C. Caesaris filio, cuius etiam natura pater, si vita suppeditasset, consul factus esset.—Aricina mater.—Trallianam aut Ephesiam putes dicere. Videte quam despiciamur omnes, qui sumus e

fligacy peculiar to himself; and reproached him with an origin which many noble senators were proud to claim, and which at least was not inferior to his own. He had even gone out of his way to accuse Cicero's nephew of having meditated parricide, not seeing that his abuse is really praise, just as in his attacks on Cicero himself he never knew whether he was eulogising or injuring him.

4. Fustuarium, 'cudgelling to death,' a military punishment described by Polybius, 6. 35. τὸ δὲ τῆς ἐξουσίας ἐστὶν τοιοῦτον. λαβὼν ἥλιον ὁ χιλίαρχος τοῦ κατακριθέντος ὅν ἤπατο μόνον. οὗ γεγομένου, πάντες οἱ τῶν στρατοπεδίων τύπτοντες τοῖς ἥλιοις καὶ τοῖς λίθοις, τοὺς μὲν πλεῖστοι ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ στρατοπεδείᾳ καταβάλλουσι. It was the punishment for deserters, cp. Livy 5. 6 'Fustuarium meretur, qui signa relinquat, aut praesidio recedit,' It must be distinguished both from the 'flagellantio servorum,' and the lighter 'fustium animadversio,' to which free civilians were liable. See also Kritz on Sall. fragm. 4. 27.

10. Persequantur. So Halm, from the Vatican MS. for the ordinary reading 'persequuntur.' The subjunctive seems to be required, as conveying the description of the men who were considered patriots. 'When, if any men pursue him under arms, they are thought to be the saviours of their country.'

16. Qui male dicit. So Halm, from the original reading of the Vatican MS., 'qui maledicit.' A corrected reading, followed by the other MS., is 'male dicere.'

17. Natura pater. Cp. Verr. Act. 2, 3. 69, 162 'Si est tuus natura filius,' C. Octavius, the father of Octavianus. died when he was only four years old, 58 B.C. He was praetor 61 B.C., which itself secured Octavianus from the reproach of 'ignobilitas,' even if he could not claim to inherit the honours of his adoptive father, all being 'nobles,' by any of whose ancestors any curule magistracy had been held. Octavius had just returned to Rome before his death, to be a candidate for the consulship.

18. Aricina mater, of Aricia, a Latin town, only 16 miles from Rome (cp. Hor. S. 1. 5. 1; Juv. 4. 117), which had gained the full Roman franchise so early as 340 B.C., at the close of the great Latin war; and was therefore not deserving of such contemptuous mention, as though it had been a barbarous Asiatic town, like Ephesus or Tralles.

19. Omnes qui sumus: Cicero himself being but a 'municipalis' of Arpinum.
municipiis, id est omnes plane: quotos enim quisque nostrum non est? Quod autem municipium non contemnit is, qui Aricinam tanto opere despicit, vetustate antiquissimum, iure foederatum, propinquitate paene finitimum, splendore municipum honestissimum? Hinc Voconiae, hinc Atiniae leges; hinc multae sellae curules et patrum memoria et nostra; hinc equites Romani lautissimi et plurimi. Sed si Aricinam uxorem non probas, cur probas Tusculanam? Quamquam huius sanctissimae feminae atque optime pater, M. Atius Balbus, in primis honestus, praetorius fuit: tuae coniugis, bonae feminae, locupletis quidem certe, Bambalio quidam pater, homo nullo numero. Nihil illo contemptius, qui propter haesitiantiam linguae stuporemque cordis cognomen ex contumelia traxerat.—At avus nobilis.—Tuditanus nempe ille, qui cum palla et cothurnis nummos populo de rostris spargere solebat. Vellem hanc contentionem pecuniae suis reliquisset! Habetis nobilitatem generis gloriosam. Qui autem evenit ut tibi †Iulia natus ignobilis videatur, cum tu codem materno genere soleas glorari? Quae porro amentia est eum dicere aliquid de uxorum ignobilitate, cuius pater Numitoriam Fregellanam, proditoris filiam, habuerit uxorem, ipse ex libertini

1. Quotus quisque, 'one in every how many?' and so 'how few among the whole of us can boast a different origin?'
2. iure foederatum, 'whose privileges are secured by treaty, not merely granted as favours.'
3. Hinc Voconiae hinc Atiniae leges. These laws are mentioned together also in Verr. Act. 1. 42, 109. The 'Lex Voconia de Hereditatibus' was proposed by Q. Voconius Saxa, 169 B.C. Its principal provision was 'ne quis heredem mulierem institueret.' Livy Epit. 41. There were two 'Leges Atiniae,' one 'de rebus furtivis,' passed in 197 B.C., the other probably about 130 B.C., giving senatorial rank to the tribunes of the commons. It is only from this passage that we know that the proposers of any of these laws were natives of Aricia.
4. Tusculanam. M. Fulvius Bambalio (see on 2. 36, 90) being apparently a Tusculan.
5. Praetorius. He was praetor in 62 B.C., and obtained the province of Sardinia.
7. Traxerat. So Halm, from the Vatican reading 'tarxerat.' Vulg., 'traxerit,' but the reference being only to the facts of an individual case, the subjunctive is unnecessary.
8. Tuditanus. Of Tuditanus we know only what is mentioned in the text. He is quoted by Val. Max. (7, 8, 1) as a notorious madman, but he grounds the fact of his madness on the same story.
9. Cum palla et cothurnis, 'in full tragic costume.'
10. Iulia natus. So the Vatican MS., though 'natus' nowhere else seems to be used in the sense of 'prognatus.' Hence we have various conjectures: 'Iuliei filia natus,' 'Iulii nepos,' 'Iuliei nata,' &c. The other MSS. have 'Aricia,' which is inappropriate, as the point of Cicero's argument is that Octavius only shared with Antony the honour of being sprung from a Julia.
11. Numitoria was the first wife of M. Antonius Creticus. Her father, Q. Numitorius Pullus, betrayed his native town to the Romans under L. Opimius, 125 B.C.
12. Ex libertini filia, Fadia. See 2. 2, 3 note.
filia susceperit liberos? Sed hoc clarissimi viri viderint, L. Philippus, qui habet Aricinam uxorem, C. Marcellus, qui Aricinam filiam: quos certo scio dignitatis optimarum feminarum non paenitere. Idem etiam Q. Ciceronem, fratris mei filium, com-

pellat edicto, nec sentit amens commendationem esse compella-
tionem suam. Quid enim accidere huic adolescenti potuit opta-
tius quam cognosci ab omnibus Caesaris consiliorum esse socium, Antonii furoris inimicum? At etiam gladiator ausus est scribere hunc de patris et patrui parricidio cogitasse. Ο admirabilem impudentiam, audaciam, temeritatem! in eum adolescentem hoc scribere audere, quem ego et frater meus propter cius suavissimos atque optimos mores praestantissimumque ingenium certatim amamus omnibusque horis oculis, auribus, complexu tenemus! Nam me isdem edictis nescit laedat an laudet. Cum idem supplicium minatur optimis civibus, quod ego de sceleratissimis ac pessimis sumpserim, laudare videtur, quasi imitari velit: cum autem illam pulcherrimi facti memoriam refricat, tum a sui simi-

libus invidiam aliquam in me commoveri putat.

Sed quid fecit ipse? Cum tot edicta posuissest, edixit ut ad-

vestri cives atque socii.'

17. Refricat, 'excites afresh,' the me-
taphor being taken from chafing an old wound; cp. de Leg. Agr. 3. 2, 4 'Reficrare obductam reipublicae cicatricem'; in Pis. 33, 82 'Reipublicae praeterita fata refricabis.' The allusion is to the suppression of Catiline's conspiracy.

c. 8. With similar inconsistency he issued a proclamation, aimed especially at Cicero, requiring all senators, under pain of being held guilty of treason, to attend a meeting on the 24th of November, and when the day came, he was himself absent at a disorderly feast. And on the 28th, when he once more convened the senate, expressly to impeach C. Caesar, he dared not carry out his shameful project, even though by dropping it he convicted himself.

19. Posuissest. I have restored the reading of all the MSS. here, and of the Vatican MS. in 4. 4. 9, because although 'proponere' would be more in accordance with usage in both cases, yet there is sufficient authority for this use of 'ponere' in such expressions as 'tabulas in publico po-
nere' (pro Flacc. 9. 21); while the usage in 4. 4. 9 finds a parallel in Fam. 9. 15. 4 'cum in mentem venit, ponor ad scriben-
dum.'
esset senatus frequens a. d. VIII Kalendæ Decembres: eo die ipse non adfuisset. At quo modo edixit? Haec sunt, ut opinor, verba in extremo: Si quis non adfuisset, hunc existimare omnes poterunt et interitus mei et perditissimorum consiliorum auctorem fuisse. Quae sunt perdicta consilia? an ea, quae pertinente ad libertatem populi Romani recuperandam? quorum consiliorum Caesari me auctorem et hortatorem et esse et fuisse fator. Quamquam ille non eguit consilio cuiusquam, sed tamen currentem, ut dicitur, incitavi. Nam interitus quidem tui quis bonus non esset auctor, cum eo salus et vita optimi cuiusque, libertas populi Romani dignitasque consisteret?


6. Quae pertinente, 'such as relate to the recovery of our liberty,' So Halm, from the corrupt Vatican reading 'pertinetnat.' Vulg., 'pertinent'; but it is not individual counsel, but the kind of counsel, that Cicero is specifying.

9. Currentem incitavi, 'I spurred the willing horse.' In Fam. 12, 23, 2 Cicero speaks of the alleged attempt on Antony's life as one which 'prudentes viri et credunt factum et probant.'

10. Eo. See on 2, 22, 53.

11. Optimus cuiusque. See on 1. 12, 29.

14. Retentus. Sc. 'non adfuisset.' Some MSS. unnecessarily add 'est.'

15. Diem obire. As we say, 'to meet his engagement,' Cp. Att. 13, 14, 1 'Obire auctionis diem facile poterunt.'

In ante diem. The expression 'ante diem quarto Kalendas' (itself attracted from the proper construction 'die quarto ante Kalendas') came to be looked on so completely as a single term, as to be combined with other prepositions. Cp. Att. 3.

4. Referat, 'why was he to make no proposal?' So the Vatican MS. Halm 'referbat'; vulg. 'revert.' For the use of the subjunctive, see Madv. § 353.

6. Spartacum. Spartacus, by birth a Thracian, was leader of the gladiators in the Servile war, 73-71 B.C. In 46. 6. 14 Cicero calls Antony himself a 'Spartacus,' as the climax of all that was atrocious.

c. 9. His very language was barbarous and unintelligible, though this was a trifle compared with his outrageous conduct towards most virtuous and loyal citizens. His ultimate departure was marked by a combination of panic and disorder, equally unworthy of a Consul; when on hearing of the defection of his soldiers he took a hurried division on the popular question of a 'supplicatio' for Lepidus, and fled in panic from the city.

12. Quid est dignus? Cicero's argument is that 'dignus' used absolutely is not Latin, and if it meant anything, would probably mean 'a man of worth.' Consequently insult proceeding from 'dignus' would be the worst of all, as being probably well-deserved. Antony probably meant 'contumelia dignus,' a man himself deserving to be insulted; so that his fault in Latinity consists only in a rather obscure ellipsis.

15. Quis sic loquitur? The expression, if not classical in Cicero's time, was used before him by Plautus, Asin. 26. 82 'Tu contumeliarm alteri facias, tibi non dicatur!' and Terence, Eun. 5, 2, 26 'Nam etsi ego dignus hac contumelia sum maxime, at tu indignus qui faceres tamen.' and in later times by Seneca. It is curious that Quintilian, remarking on the change of usage, whereby 'facere contumelia' had become classical in his day, seems to understand it as meaning 'to suffer insult,' like 'incurar facere;' Inst. 9, 3, 13 'Ut nunc evahuit... contumeliarm faciet, quod a Cicero reprehendi notum est: offici enim contumelia dicebat;' so that some commentators have thought that Cicero is objecting to Antony using the expression in so unusual a sense. See Gronov. Observ. 3, 8. Gronovius himself thinks that Cicero's criticism is really directed against the extreme compression of the whole clause, rather than against the barbarism of any special phrase.

Quem denuntiat inimicus, 'which arises from the threatening of an enemy,' cp. Att. 2, 23, 3 'Non mediocres terrores iacere atque denuntiare.'


Ex oratore arator, 'has left the platform for the plough.'
5. L. Cassio . . . D. Carfulenum . . . Ti. Canutium. See on i. 15, 36. L. Cassius was reconciled to Antony after the battle of Philippi, but Carfulenus fell in the battle before Mutina, in which Antony was defeated, April 15, 43 B.C., and Canutius was killed by Octavianus, after the capture of Perusia, 40 B.C.

II. Intercederent, ‘oppose their tri-bunical veto.’

M. Lepidi, afterwards the triumvir. Antony had sent him to Spain to effect a reconciliation with Sex. Pompeius, and for his success in this mission the senate granted him a ‘supplication.’ See on i. 6, 13. The terms of the reconciliation were that Pompey should be allowed to return to Rome, and be indemnified for the loss of his father’s property.

17. Per dissectionem. The usual mode of taking the votes in the Roman senate consisted in the Consuls asking each man severally how he wished to vote. On being asked his vote he had the right to speak, and so we find most of Cicero’s speeches in the senate ending with a formal declaration of his vote. Where the opinion of the house, however, was very decided, so that there was nothing to be gained by listening to the speeches of all the senators, it was not unusual for the majority, with the permission of the Consuls, to group themselves round one of the speakers on their side during his speech, and so to show in favour of which side the decision was. This was called ‘discessio,’ and the senators were said ‘discedere,’ or ‘pedibus ire in sententiam illorum quorum sententiae assentirentur.’ C. 6. 1, 3; 14. 7. 21; Livy 3. 41 ‘In hanc sententiam ut discenderetur, iuniores Patrum evincebant.’ In the case of the decree for a ‘supplicatio,’ the strangeness of a ‘discessio’ is obvious, since it took away all opportunity of panegyric.

cc. 10, 11. From that day forth all had gone well in Rome. The magistrates were showing energy befitting the occasion; even Antony’s friends had given up the provinces which fortune had assigned them so marvellously in accordance with their wishes; by the loyalty and judgment of C. Caesar the wolf had been driven from the gate of the fold, and the Roman people, well rid of so profligate a tyrant, could once more take measures to secure the freedom which Cicero had ever laboured to maintain.

19. Paludati, ‘wearing the general’s cloak,’ the symbol of military command,

formally assumed by the Consul on setting out for a campaign, and as formally laid aside before he could re-enter the city.

2. Praeclara senatus consulta, &c. The irony is to be noticed throughout. The decrees were not only not admirable, but actually illegal, being passed after sunset (see Sen. Dial. 9. 17, 7 'Maiores nostri novam relationem post horam decimam in senatu fieri vetabant'); the allotment of the provinces was managed in defiance of all the sanctions of religion; and the interference of heaven had never before shown so happy a disposition of the lots as that each person should gain exactly what he wished.

4. Cuique ... cuique. See 2. 46, 119 note.

7. Et agere et habere, 'both to express and feel gratitude.'

Periculo carere. So the Vatican MS. The rest have 'carere metu et periculo,' perhaps borrowed from 7. 9, 27. Cp. c. 8, 20 'ut turpe senatori esset nihil timere.'

9. Afflictus, 'overwhelmed with wick-
edness.' This use of the word is seemingly without a parallel, though in almost every other sense of 'perditus' it is common to find 'afflictus' combined with it by Cicero.

11. L. Lentulus had been the accuser of A. Gabinius, on the charge of 'naeistas,' in 54 B.C., when he was suspected of praebetica. See on 2. 11, 25. Of Naso nothing further is known.

13. L. Philippus, probably the son of Octavianus' stepfather, who was Consul in 56 B.C., and grandson of the famous orator, distinguished by Horace, Epp. 1. 7. 46, as 'Strenus et fortis causisque Philippus agendis Clarus.'

15. C. Turranius. Of Turranius and the following three nothing else is known.

19. L. Cinna was praeor at the time of Caesar's death, and so far identified himself with the conspirators, as to incur the enmity of the mob exasperated by Antony, so that they murdered Helvius Cinna in mistake for him.

21. Minus admirabilem, &c., 'makes us wonder less at it.'

11 sortes minus divinas fuisset. O C. Caesar—adolescentem ap-

27 pello—, quam tu salutem rei publicae attulisti! quam impro-

visam! quam repentinam! qui enim haec fugiens fecit, quid faceret insequens? Etenim in contione dixerat se custodem fore urbis sequre usque ad Kalendas Maias ad urbem exercitum habiturum. O praeclarum custodem ovium, ut aiunt, lupum! 15 custosne urbis an diretor et vexator esset Antonius? Et

2. Qui sunt igitur reliqui, &c., 'whom have we then remaining, to testify by their delight the interference of heaven in the lots.'

3. L. Annius. Perhaps L. Annius Bellienus, whose house was burnt after Caesar's death. The name however is doubtful. Some MSS. have T. Antonius, which Orelli thinks is a mistake for L. Antonius, but he was tribune of the commons at the time.

M. Antonius. It seems strange that his name should occur in the allotment, as Gaul had been assigned to him by a law, passed indeed with violence, (Livy Epit. 117,) and therefore ignored by Cicero, (see on c. 4. 11,) but still superseding the necessity of any share in the 'sortitio.' Some commentators have supposed that there is an error in his name also.

4. C. Antonius, the second of the three brothers, fell into the hands of M. Brutus, in trying to maintain his province, and by him was put to death in 42 B.C.

5. Hunc quoque felicem. For the accusative in an exclamation, without an interjection, cp. pro Cael. 26, 63 'In balneis delituerunt: testes egregios.'

6. Africam. This was at present held by Q. Cornificius, a friend of Cicero, who was commissioned, with the other governors of provinces, by the decree passed in the senate on the day of this speech, to hold his province against Calvisius Sabinus, or any successor not sanctioned by the senate, 'quod ex senatus consulto cunque eorum successum sit,' c. 15, 38; cp. Fam. 12. 22, and 23; Att. 12. 14.

8. M. Cusini Sicilia. So the Vatican MS. Orelli reads 'M. Ircius Siciliam, Q. Cassius Hispaniam,' from very confused readings of the inferior MSS. Some error probably underlies the name of 'Cusius,' as we nowhere hear of such a man. Cicero's argument is that here the hand of heaven is less visible, since two of Antony's opponents had obtained these provinces. Q. Cassius was probably son of the Q. Cassius whom Cicero, Att. 5. 21, 2, calls 'frater' (probably cousin) of C. Cassius the tyrannicide.

Quam tu salutem. The tone of all this passage is much more confident than that which Cicero adopted in a letter of this date to Q. Cornificius. See Fam. 12, 22; and Mr. Watson's note.

12. Fecit. So the Vatican MS. The others have 'fecerit,' expressing not only the fact, but the character of the man who could have taken such measures in the midst of flight. The subjunctive, however, though expressive, is not necessary.

15. Custodem ovium. The proverb is as old as Herodotus, 4. 149 ἐφ' ἀντών καταλείψεων καὶ λύκους. Cp. Plaut. Pseud. 1. 2. 8

'Hoc eorum opus: ut lupos mavis

Apud oves linquere, quam hos custodes
donii.'
M. TULLII CICERONIS

cc. 11—12.

quidem se introitum in urbem dixit exiturumque, cum vellet. Quid illud? nonne audiente populo sedens pro acce Castoris dixit, nisi qui vicisset, victurum neminem?

Hodierno die primum longo intervallo in possessionem liber-

tatis pedem ponimus: cuius quidem ego, quoad potui, non modo defensor, sed etiam conservator fui. Cum autem id facere non possem, quievi, nec abiciect nec sine aliqua dignitate casum illum temporum et dolorem tuli. Hanc vero tacterrimam beluam quis ferre potest aut quo modo? Quid est in Antonio praeter libi-
dinem, crudelitatem, petulantiam, audaciam? Ex his totus con-
glutinatus est. Nihil appareat in eo ingenium, nihil moderatum, nihil pudens, nihil pucidum. Quapropter, quoniam res in id dis-
crimen adducta est, utrum ille poenas rei publicae luat an nos serviamus, aliquando, per deos immortales! patres conscripti,
patrium animum virtutemque capiamus, ut aut libertatem pro-
primam Romani et generis et nominis recuperemus aut mortem servituti anteponamus. Multa, quae in libera civitate ferenda
non essent, tulimus et perpessi sumus: alii spec forssitan recu-
perandae libertatis, alii vivendi nimia cupiditate: sed, si illa
tulimus, quae nos necessitas ferre coegit, quae vis quaedam
paene fatalis, quae tamen ipsa non tulimus: etiamne huius im-
puri latronis feremus tacterrimum crudelissimumque dominatum?
Quid hic faciet, si poterit, iratus, qui cum suscensere nemini

1. Introitum exiturumque. When a
general had once left the city, he could
not re-enter it without laying down his
‘imperium.’ It was one of the charges
against Verres, ‘quod, cum pulchatus ex-
sisset, votaque . . . nuncupasset, nee
tecta lecta in urbem introfere solitus est’ Verr. Act.
2. 5, 13, 34. See on 1, 2, 6.
3. Victurum. Cp. 4. 5. 12 ‘Agitur
enim non qua conditione victuri, sed vic-
turium sinmus an cum supplicio ignominiaque
peritur.’ The epigrammatic turning of the
sentence, arising from the identity in form
of the participles of ‘vivo’ and ‘vinco,’ is
untranslatable.
4. In possessionem. The ablative
would have been more in accordance with
Cicero’s usage, cp. pro Caecc. 11, 31 ‘Si in
fundo pedem possuisses;’ pro Lig. 8, 24, ‘In
provincia pedem ponere.’ Ferrarius quotes
two passages in which the accusative is used
after ‘vestigium ponere, facere’ (de Fin. 5,
2, 5; pro Caecc. 14, 39), but in both of these
the best MSS. have the ablative.

6. Conservator fui. Up to the time
of Caesar’s usurpation.

Cum non possem, ‘on ceasing to
be able,’ the subjective marking that his
rest was both subsequent to, and consequent
on, his loss of power.

tacturum de belua putas.’
12. Pudens, pucidum. For the disti-
tinction, see 2. 7, 15 note.
15. Propriam. Cp. 6. 7, 19 ‘Aliae na-
tiones scrutatum pati possunt, populi Romani
est propra libertas.’
21. Quae tamen ipsa, &c., ‘though
even these we found at length too much to
bear.’ Even Caesar’s power fell at last before
the Roman passion for liberty.

cc. 12-14. Recapitulating the crimes
which Antony had committed since the death
of Caesar, and showing how, with his brother
Lucius, he was carrying on the same sad
career of wanton cruelty in Gaul, Cicero
calls upon the senate not to lose the oppor-
tunity, but with the Roman people eager to

31 Atque is ab hoc impetu abstractus consilio et copiis Caesaris, consensu veteranorum, virtute legionum, ne fortuna quidem fractus minuit audaciam, nec ruere demens nec furere desinit. 20 In Galliam mutilatum ducit exercitum, cum una legione et ex vallantane L. fratrem exspectat, quo neminem repperire potest

support them, himself ever ready with his counsels, and C. Caesar and Brutus in the field, to choose the wise and energetic course of crushing Antony while he was entangled on every side in Gaul. They should be prepared for death rather than slavery, though with such new Consuls as Hirtius and Pansa, there could be but little doubt of soon securing the freedom which was a Roman's birthright.

3. Compilaverit, 'has stripped whole villas of their decorations?' cp. Verr. Act. 2. 4. 24, 53 'Qui uno imperio ostiatim totum oppidum compliverit.'

4. Caedis, &c., 'has sought to find in the celebration of a funeral a pretext for murder and incendiariurn.' See on 1. 2, 5.

6. Senatus consultis. See 1. 1, 3 notes.

8. Liberaverit, 'has freed from paying tribute.' See 2. 36, 92 note; and for the use of the word cp. de Prov. Cons. 5, 10 'Vitectales multos ac stipendiarios liberavit.'


13. Armatis. Madvig. (in a letter to Halm) says that he thinks this reading has crept in from its not being observed that 'armis et praesidiis' belongs to 'stiparit,' as well as to 'excluderit.' The word suggests a false antithesis between 'armis et praesidiis,' and 'armatis,' and might easily have been borrowed from the following 'armatos.' I have therefore followed Halm in placing it between brackets.

14. Haberet, incluserit, 'has been in the habit of placing armed men on the several occasions when he convened the senate.'

17. Dispersionem, 'the breaking up of our city.' So the Vatican MS. If this word is right, (other readings being 'dispersionem' and dispersionem,) it may be compared with the Greek ἀπαρατής, the dispersion and removal of the citizens in either case implying the ruin of the city.

19. Ne fortuna quidem, &c., 'showed no diminution of his rashness even under fortune's frown.'


22. Vacillante. I have restored this
sui similiorem. Ille autem ex myrmillonë duæ, ex gladiatore imperator, quas effecit strages, ubicumque posuit vestigium! Fundit apothecas, caedit greges armentorum reliquique pecoris, quodcumque nactus est; epulantur milites; ipse autem se, ut fratrem imitetur, obruit vino; vastantur agri, diripiuntur villæ, matres familiae, virgines, pueri ingenui abripiuntur, militibus traduntur. Haec eadem, quacumque exercitum duxit, fecit M. Antonius. His vos tæterrimis fratibus portas aperietis? hos umquam in urbem recipietis? non tempore oblato, ducibus paratis, animis militum incitatis, populo Romano conspirande, Italia tota ad libertatem recuperandam excitata, deorum immortálium beneficio utemini? Nullum eit tempus hoc amisso. A tergo, fronte, lateribus tenebitur, si in Galliam venerit. Nec ille armis solum, sed etiam decretis nostris urguendus est. Magna vis est, magnum numen unum et idem sentientis senatus. Vide-tisne refertum forum populumque Romanum ad spem recuperandae libertatis erectum? qui longo intervo cum frequentes hic videt nos, tum sperat etiam liberos convenisse. Hunc ego diem exspectans M. Antonii scelerata arma vitavi tum, cum ille in me absentem invehens non intelligebat, ad quod tempus me et meas vires reservarem. Si enim tum illi caedis a me initium quarenti respondere voluisset, nunc rei publicae consulere non possem. Hanc vero nactus facultatem, nullum tempus, patres reading from the Vatican MS., on the authority of Nonius, p. 34. Cp. Munro on Lucr. 3. 504, apparently the only passage in poetry where the first syllable is long. He says that this spelling would confirm its dérivation from the waddling gait of the 'vacca.' Halm reads 'vacillante.'

1. Myrmillone. Cp. 5. 7, 20; 7. 6, 17. The 'myrmillo' fought in Gallic arms, with a fish ('mormyr') for his crest. He usually was the antagonist of a 'Thrax,' or of a 'retiarius.'

2. Effectit. The Vatican MS. has 'effecerit,' whence Halm thinks it probable that after 'vestigium' some such clause as 'quis vestrum ignorat?' has fallen out. This is the more likely from the fact that the words 'fundit apothecas' are also not to be found in any of the MSS., being restored from a quotation by Servius, on Virg. E. 6. 55.

3. Apothecas. See on 2. 27, 67.

4. Armentorum, &c., 'of cattle, and any smaller beasts that he could lay his hands upon.'

10. Conspirante, 'joining together heart and soul.'

15. Numen, 'the prestige.' Cp. Post Red. ad Quir. 10, 25 'Cum vobis, qui apud me deorum immortalium vim et numen tenetis;' pro Mil. 30, 83 'Qui nullam vim esse ducit numenque divinum.'

20. Invehens. In the speech, delivered on the 19th of September, which provoked the second Philippic.


23. Hanc vero, &c., 'now that this opportunity is given me, be assured, senators, that I will not let a moment pass, by day or by night, without making the liberty of the Roman people and your honour the subject of my thoughts where thought is required; while, where deed and action are needed, so far from shrinking, I will strive, even with importunity, to make that deed and action mine.'

4. Dum licuit, 'as long as ever I could.' See Madv. § 336. Obs. 2.
10. Erat. So Halm from his own conjecture. Most MSS. omit the verb. Orelli, following two MSS., reads 'esset.'
16. Si indormierimus, 'if we let this time pass by in sleep.'
17. Cruedem superbamque, 'marked with cruelty and pride,' the latter epithet probably referring to the reign of Tarquin, (see above, c. 4, 9,) the former to the tyrannies of Cinna, Sulla, and Caesar, cp. 2. 42, 108. To submit to such rule as this was a sign of weakness, but it did not involve disgrace and infamy.

23. Ut honeste decumbant. Cp. Tusc. 2. 17, 41 'Quis mediocris gladiator ingenuit? quis non modo stetit, verum etiam decubuit turpiter?' Faciamus ut, &c., 'let us take care to fall with dignity rather than submit to the disgrace of slavery.' For this periphrastic use of 'facere ut,' to add length and weight to an apodosis, see Zumpt, §§ 619, 816. It seems to be especially used with an epegegetic clause, explaining more particularly what has been generally expressed before as the direct object of the verb, Cp. 6, 3, 5, and 4, 5, 11.
apertum est; omnes patesciunt, in utramque partem quid sentiat, quid velit. Sunt impii cives, sed pro caritate rei publicae nimium multi, contra multitudinem bene sentientium admodum pauci: quorum opprimendorum di immortales incredibilem rei publicae potestatem et fortunam dederunt. Ad ea enim praesidia, quae habemus, iam accedunt consules summa prudentia, virtute, concordia, multos menses de rei publicae libertate commentati atque meditati. His auctoribus et ducibus, dis iuvantibus, nobis vigilantibus et multum in posterum providentibus, populo Romano consentiente, erimus profecto liberi brevi tempore. Iucundiorem autem faciet libertatem servitutis recordatio.

Quas ob res, quod tribuni pl. verba fecerunt, uti senatus Kalendis Januariiis tuto haberi sententiaeque de summa re publica libere dici possint, de ca re ita censeo, uti C. Pansa A. Hirtius, consules designati, dent operam uti senatus Kalendis Ianuariiis tuto haberi possit: quodque edictum D. Brutus, imperatoris, consulis designati, propositum sit, senatum existimare D. Brutum, imperatorem, consulem designatum, optime de re publica mereri, cum senatus auctoritatem populique Romani libertatem imperiumque defendat: quodque provinciam Galliam citeriorem, optimorum et fortissimorum amicissimorumque rei publicae civium, exercitumque in senatus postestate retineat, id cum exercitumque

1. Quid sentiat, quid velit. So the Vatican MS., 'quisque' being apparently understood from the collective 'omnes.' Halm follows the ordinary reading 'sentiant,' 'velint.'

2. Sed really opposes admodum pauci to sunt impii cives; pro caritate reipublicae nimium multi being parenthetical. 'Disloyal citizens exist, it is true, but, though more than in one's love for the state one would desire, yet they are but few against the multitude of well-affected.' Halm compares pro Sest. 49, 105 'Graves et magni homines hæbeantur; sed valebant in senatu multum, apud bonos viros plurimum, multitudini incumbi non erant;' 'yet, despite their influence in the senate, and with all good men, they were unpopular with the crowd,' Orelli, following the later MSS., omits 'sed.'


c. 15. Cicero concludes the oration with his formal vote, that the new Consuls should provide for the safe meeting of the senate on the 1st of January; that thanks should be given to Decimus Brutus, C. Caesar, and the forces under their command; and that the existing provincial governors should hold their appointments till successors were duly chosen by the senate.

12. Verba fecerunt, &c., have opened this debate in order to enable the senate to meet in safety.' The difference of mood between quod verba fecerunt, and quod edictum . . . propositum sit is to be noticed. The former states the reason of Cicero giving his vote at all, without any regard to the substance of it, while the latter is one of the arguments influencing his decision. Hence the latter forms an integral part of his vote, the former is merely an external circumstance leading to it.

14. Ita censeo. With these words begin his formal vote; see on c. 9, 24; and cp. 1. 7, 16 note.

18. Consulem designatum. D. Brutus and L. Plancus were nominated by Caesar to the consulship for 42 B.C., in succession to C. Pansa and Aul. Hirtius.
eius, municipia, colonias provinciae Galliae recte atque ordine exque re publica fecisse et facere: quod senatum ad summam rem publicam pertinere arbitrari ab D. Bruto et L. Planco, imperatoribus, consulibus designatis, itemque a ceteris, qui provincias obtinent, obtineri ex lege Iulia, quoad ex senatus consulta cuique eorum successum sit; eosque dare operam ut eae provinciae atque exercitus in senati populique potestate praesidioque rei publicae sint: cumque opera, virtute, consilio C. Caesaris summoque consenso militiae veteranorum, qui eius auctoritatem seuti rei publicae praesidio sunt et fuerunt, a gravissimis periculis populus Romanus defensus sit et hoc tempore defendatur; cumque legio Martia Albae constiterit, in municipio fidelissimo et fortissimo, seseque ad senatus auctoritatem populique Romani libertatem contulerit; et quod pari consilio eademque virtute legio quarta usa L. Egnatuleio duce, civi egregio, senatus auctoritatem popule Romani libertatem defendat ac defenderit: senatui magnae curae esse ac fore, ut pro tantis eorum in rem publicam meritis honores eis habeantur gratiaeque referantur: senatui placere uti C. Pansa A. Hirtius, consules designati, cum magistratum inissent, si eis videretur, primo quoque tempore de his rebus ad hunc ordinem referrent, ita uti e re publica fideque sua videretur.

1. Municipalia, coloniae. See on c. 5, 13.

4. Qui provincias obtinent. See c. 10, 26 note.

7. Senatui. So the Vatican MS. F. Ritschl (Rhein. Mus. for 1853, p. 495) quotes in favour of this form Divin. in Caec. 5, 19 'Beneficio senati populique Romani;' where it rests on the authority of Charisius; Fam. 2, 7, 4 'Ut et senati consultum et leges defendas;' ib. 8, 8, 6 'Quominus de R.P.P.R.Q. referri senatique consultum fieri possit.' This last passage is from a complete decree of the senate, quoted in its integrity by M. Caelius, in a letter to Cicero.

15. Duce, civi egregio. So Halm, following some of the MSS. The reading of the Vatican MS. is 'L. egnatuleio que opti egregio mo;' in which F. Bücheler (Rhein. Mus. for 1857, p. 407) contends that 'egregio' is a mere gloss, and that the right reading is 'L. Egnatuleio, quaestore optimo.' He inserts ['duce'] conjecturally before 'L. Egnatuleio.' His view is supported by J. Frey (ib. p. 631), except that the latter thinks that 'cive' (more probably 'civi') is the word represented by 'que.'
INTRODUCTION

TO THE FOURTH ORATION.

The senate having passed a decree in accordance with the terms of the resolution proposed by Cicero, he proceeded immediately to the Forum, and announced to the people, at the suggestion of M. Servilius, and the other tribunes of the commons, the determination to which the senate had come; showing that though Antony was not yet declared an enemy to the state, yet that the senate, by the measures which they had taken, were practically acting on the supposition of his treason. The speech, delivered in the excitement of the moment, is naturally less finished than those which he had carefully prepared, and in many parts contains a repetition, less happily expressed, of ideas on which he had enlarged before the senate.

The genuineness of the oration has been often questioned, especially by F. G. Jentzen, in a pamphlet published at Lubeck in 1820, and by A. Krause, in an address delivered at Neu Stettin in 1847. The arguments of the former call for the less consideration, because they are based on the theory that Cicero only published any of his orations for one of two reasons; either to gratify some client whose cause he had pleaded, or because he thought them likely to prove useful to the youth of Rome, as models of oratory. He entirely ignores the historical interest which by itself would justify the publication of a speech like this, and is naturally led by his hypothesis to criticise details in the oration with a severity that makes no allowance for the circumstances under which it was delivered.

Krause attacks it on grounds both of external and internal evidence. The former he acknowledges to be partly on the other side, since the end of the third chapter is quoted both by Quintilian (9. 3, 86) and by the Spanish grammarian Isidorus (Orig. 2. 21, 11); while the words 'Incumbite in causam' (c. 5, 12) are quoted by Arusianus Messius.
Against this testimony he brings the fact that Nonius (p. 373) quotes, as from the fourth Philippic, the words 'si cum fascibus clam te ex urbe proieceris,' which do not occur in the oration as we have it, and which he says are specially appropriate, as supplying a natural allusion to Antony's flight. He also thinks that the words 'Laudat an compellat edicto,' quoted by Acron (on Hor. S. 2. 3, 297) as from the Philippics, probably belonged to the genuine fourth Philippic. Now, even granting the accuracy of Nonius, it is a less violent supposition to allow that the words which he quotes may have dropped out from the oration, than to condemn it altogether; and the supposition that Acron, if quoting correctly, is quoting from the fourth oration, is entirely gratuitous, especially as we know that at least one of this series of orations is lost.

His internal evidence is of two kinds, from the subject-matter, and from details in the language of the speech. The first is mainly negative, from the absence of certain topics which he thinks that Cicero must have introduced. He observes that he does not mention in detail the several points of the senate's decree; that there is no mention of the flight of Antony from the city; that there is no defence of Octavianus, whose conduct was technically illegal; and that there is no abuse of the brothers of Antony. Now, in the first place, the whole of this argument rests on the assumption that because Cicero might naturally have introduced these topics in his speech, therefore he must necessarily have done so, which is at once illogical and arbitrary; and even in detail, most of the positions fail. In the senate, Cicero was giving his formal vote on the matters before the house, and therefore necessarily mentioned every separate clause in the resolutions he supported; but some of them were comparatively unimportant, as the decree that the provinces should remain in the power of the existing magistrates; and to one at any rate, that the tribunes should provide for the safe meeting of the senate on the 1st of January, Cicero was in his heart opposed, because it interfered with his wish for immediate action. (See Phil. 3. 1, 1; and cp. Drumann, Geschicht. Rom. i. 224 notes 95 and 96.)

The second point, the flight of Antony, we have already seen, was possibly mentioned, if we believe the fragment quoted by Nonius to have belonged to this oration. The second chapter of the speech, with its panegyric on Octavianus, would surely be sufficient apology for his conduct before an audience whose passions Cicero was striving to excite, rather than to convince their minds. As for the omission of any invective against the other brothers, the want of it seems rather to arise from an overstrained interpretation of the word 'semper'
in 12. 7, 17 (‘in totam denique M. Antonii domum sum semper invectus’) which is surely sufficiently justified by the abuse lavished on them in the third, sixth, seventh, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth orations.

The only positive argument that Krause brings against the speech from the subject-matter is that it so often coincides with that of the third oration; to which he adds (and in this he follows in the steps of Jentzen), that in many cases the very expressions are borrowed, but spoiled by being differently turned, from passages in the former speech. These characteristics, however, are just what might be looked for in a case where a man had delivered a carefully prepared speech in a body like the senate, and then proceeded to address a popular assembly on the same subject. The same ideas would occur to his mind, and the old phrases would adapt themselves to those ideas, while want of full preparation, with perhaps less carefulness in addressing a less educated audience, would tend to divest those phrases of their exact propriety of expression. If we may draw any inference from the facts alleged, it should rather be that we have here the speech as Cicero actually delivered it, not retouched and polished at his leisure.

The individual passages which Jentzen and Krause severally select, as evidence of spuriousness, will be more conveniently considered in the notes as they occur.
M. TULLII CICERONIS

ORATIONUM PHILIPPICARUM

LIBER QUARTUS.

1 FREQUENTIA vestrum incredibilis, Quirites, contioque tanta, quantam meminisse non videor, et alacritatem mihi summam defendendae rei publicae affert et spem recuperandae. Quamquam animus mihi quidem numquam defuit, tempora defuerunt: quae simulac primum aliquid lucis ostendere visa sunt, princeps vestrae libertatis defendendae fui. Quod si id ante facere conatus essem, nunc facere non possem. Hodierne enim die, Quirites, ne mediocrem rem actam arbitremini, funda-

c. 1. The eagerness with which the people crowded to hear him led Cicero to hope that they would second the measures which the senate had adopted against Antony. They had passed a decree of thanks to C. Caesar for levying an army against him, and thereby declared most plainly that they looked upon him as no longer Consul, but a public enemy. Otherwise Caesar's conduct would be treason: as it was, it showed a readiness and energy in the state's behalf, which was without a parallel, and well deserved the enthusiastic gratitude of the people.

1. Vestrum. Ernesti, following one MS., reads 'vestra,' on the ground that 'vestrum' is not thus used without any partitive meaning. Compare however de Leg. Agr. 2. 21, 55 'Hac vestrum frequentia;' and pro Planc. 6, 16 'Noli me ad vestrum contentionem vocare.' The difference between the two forms of the genitive is brought before us by a comparison of this passage with c. 2, 4 'odio vestri,' 'with hatred felt towards you.'

Incredibilis, 'such as I can hardly credit.' Jentzen attacks this word as inappropriate, since what is before the eyes is no longer matter for belief or disbelief. It is at worst a pardonable exaggeration; meaning that no one who had not seen it would believe in the greatness of the crowd.

Contio exactly answers to our 'public meeting,' not invested with any legal power, but generally summoned by some duly constituted authority, as in the present case by M. Servilius, and the other tribunes of the commons, and carrying with it the moral weight of public opinion, constitutionally expressed.

3. Recuperandae. Some MSS. add 'libertas,' but cp. 3. 2, 5 'Nisi (Caesar) in hae re publica natus esset, rem publicam sceletere Antonii nullam haberemus.'

6. Princeps, &c., 'I took the lead in defending your liberty.' Op. 7. 8, 23 'Principes pecuniae pollicendae fuerunt;' 10. 11, 24 'Eum principem fuisse ad conatum exercitus comparandi.'

7. Hodiero enim die. Emphasis must be laid on 'hodiero,' to make this clause agree with what precedes; 'for it is only to-day,' &c. This fault in the connection is remarked upon both by Jentzen and Krause, but with Cicero it is no uncommon thing to find conjunctions carrying on the train of thought suggested to the orator's mind, rather than that which is expressed by his words. See on 2. 24, 60.
menta iacta sunt reliquarum actionum. Nam est hostis a senatu non dum verbo appellatus, sed re iam iudicatus Antonius. Nunc vero multo sum erectior, quod vos quoque illum hostem esse tanto consensu tantoque clamore approbavistis. Neque enim, Quirites, fieri potest, ut non aut ii sint impii, qui contra consulem exercitus comparaverunt, aut ille hostis, contra quem iure arma sumpta sunt. Hanc igitur dubitationem, quamquam nulla erat, tamen ne qua posset esse, senatus hodierno die sustulit. C. Caesar, qui rem publicam libertatemque vestram suo studio, consilio, patrimonio denique tutatus est et tutatur, maximos senatus laudibus ornatus est. Laudo, laudo vos, Quirites, quod gratissimis animis prosequimini nomen clarissimi adolescentis vel pueri potius; sunt enim facta eius immortalitatis, nomen actatis. Multa memini, multa audivi, multa legi, Quirites; nihil ex omnium saeculorum memoria tale cognovi: qui, cum servitute premeremur, in dies malum cresceret, praesidii nihil haberemus, capitelem et pestiferum a Brundisio tum M. Antonii reditum timeremus, hoc insperatum omnibus consilium, incognitum certe ceperit, ut exercitum invictum ex paternis

1. Reliquarum actionum, "of all that remains to be done." For this rare use of "actio," objected to by Jentzen as unparalleled, cp. Off. 2. 1, 3 "Stante re-publica, . . . scriptis non ea, quae nunc, sed actiones nostras ( = res gestas) manderemus."

4. Clamore. This speech is especially full of reference to the demeanour of the audience. Cp. below § 3 'Laudo, laudo vos, &c.; c. 2, 5 'praecelare et loco,' &c.; 3, 7 'Ut ostenditis,' 'Recte et vere negatis, Quirites,' &c.

7. Hanc igitur, &c., "this doubt therefore, though doubt indeed there was none, the possibility however of such a doubt, the senate has this day removed."

13. Suni enim, &c., "his deeds indeed betoken something more than mortal, yet the name of boy behits his age." Cp. I. 3. 11, 24 'Est istic nomen actatis.' In this passage the order is somewhat inverted, in order to lay more stress on the glory of the deeds. Another reading, found in some interior MSS., is 'non actatis.'

15. Qui. The antecedent to 'qui' is of course Octavianus, and is to be sought grammatically in some ellipse after 'tale,' such as 'quale est eius.'

17. Capitalem et pestiferum. Jentzen objects to this combination as an anticlimax, adapted in bad taste from 3. 2, 3 'Crudelis et pestifer reeditus.' In reality however the words stand to each other in no relation of degree, 'capitalem' marking the guilt of Antony, 'pestiferum' the ground the Romans had for being terrified.

19. Ceperit . . . confereret, 'he has adopted counsels (resulting in a lasting resolve), . . . that so he might (once for all) collect an army.'

Invictum, &c. Jentzen objects to this clause, as being a copy of 3. 2, 3 faulty in two respects. First, that though the veterans might be styled 'invictum genus militum,' yet an untried army could not as a whole be called 'invictum;' and secondly, that the allusions to the dictator in 'paterni . . . patris sui milites,' would go far to alienate the people by reminding them of his tyranny. To the latter objection it may be answered that Cicero's chief point at present is to urge the prowess of the soldiers, which would be assured by their having served under Caesar, and it never could be strange or unacceptable in Roman ears to hear an army of their veterans styled 'invincible.'
militibus conficeret Antoniiique furorem crudelissimis consiliis
incitatum a pernicie rei publicae averteret. Quis est enim qui
hoc non intelligat, nisi Caesar exercitum paravisset, non sine
exitio nostro futurum Antonii reditum fuisset? Ita enim se
recipiebat ardens odio vestri, cruentus sanguine civium Roman-
orum, quos Suessae, quos Brundisii occiderat, ut nihil nisi de
pernicie populi Romani cogitaret. Quod autem praesidium
erat salutis libertatisque vestrae, si C. Caesaris fortissimorum
sui patris militum exercitus non fuisset? cuius de laudibus et
honoribus, qui ei pro divinis et immortalibus meritis divini im-
mortalesque debentur, mihi senatus assensus paulo ante decrevit
ut primo quoque tempore referretur. Quo decreto quis non
perspicit hostem esse Antonium iudicatum? quem enim pos-
sumus appellare eum, contra quem qui exercitus ducunt, iis
senatus arbitratur singulares exquiringos honores? Quid? legio Martia, quae mihi videtur divinitus ab eo deo traxisse
nomen, a quo populum Romanum generatum accepiimus, non
ipsa suiis decertis prius quam senatus hostem iudicavit Anto-
nium? Nam si ille non hostis, hos, qui consulem reliquerunt,
hostes necesse est iudicemus. Praeclare et loco, Quirites, re-
clamatione vestra factum pulcherrimum Martialium comproba-
vistis, qui se ad senatus auctoritatem, ad libertatem vestram,
ad universam rem publicam contulerunt, hostem illum et latro-
em et parricidam patriae reliquerunt. Nec solum id animose

For a similar combination of genitives of different significations we may compare
Off. 1. 14, 43 'L. Sullae C. Caesaris pecuniarum translatio a iustis dominis ad
alienos non debet liberalis videri.'

14. Contra quem, &c., 'whose open enemies in the field are deemed by the
senate worthy of extraordinary honours.' Krause objects that 'qui ducunt,' really
refers to Octavianus only, but D. Brutus shared in the special honours granted by
the decree.

20. Loco, 'opportune;' cp. Fam. 9, 16, 4 'Oenomao tuo nihil utor; etsi po-
suisti loco versus Accianos.'

Reclamatione, 'by your shouts of
disapproval;' see on c. 1, 2. The sub-
stantive is not found again before the time
of Apuleius, but Cicero uses the verb' in
5, 8, 22; and 6, 5, 12.

7, 17.

C. Caesaris, &c., 'Caesar's army,
composed of the bravest of his father's
veterans.' The accumulation of genitives
has given offence to many commentators.

For a similar combination of genitives of
different significations we may compare
Off. 1. 14, 43 'L. Sullae C. Caesaris pecuniarum translatio a iustis dominis ad
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of Apuleius, but Cicero uses the verb' in
5, 8, 22; and 6, 5, 12.

7, 17.
et fortiter, sed considerate etiam sapienterque fecerunt. Albæ constiterunt, in urbe opportuna, munita, propinqua, fortissimorum virorum, fidelissimorum civium atque optimorum. Huius Martiae legionis legio quarta imitata virtutem duce L. Egnatuleio, quem senatus merito paulo ante laudavit, C. Caesaris exercitum persecuta est.

Quae exspectas, M. Antoni, iudicia graviora? Caesar fertur in caelum, qui contra te exercitum comparavit. Laudantur exquisitissimis verbis legiones, quae te reliquerunt, quae a te arcessitae sunt, quae essent, si te consulem quam hostem malisses, tuae. Quarum legionum fortissimum verissimumque iudicium confirmat senatus, comprobat universus populus Romanus, nisi forte vos, Quirites, consulem, non hostem iudicatis Antonium. Sic arbitrabar, Quirites, vos iudicare, ut ostenditis. Quid? municipia, colonias, praefecturas num aliter iudicare censetis?

Omnes mortales una mente consentiunt: omnia arma corum, qui haec salva velint, contra illam pestem esse capienda. Quid? D. Brutus iudicium, Quirites, quod ex hodierno cius edicto perspicere potuisistis, num cui tandem contemnendum videtur? Recte et vere negatis, Quirites. Est enim quasi deorum immortalium beneficio et munere datum rei publicae Brutorum genus et nomen ad libertatem populi Romani vel constituendam vel recipiendam. Quid igitur D. Brutus de M. Antonio iudicaverat?

3. Fidelissimorum is only added in the margin of the Vatican MS., by the second writer, perhaps to make the passage more like 3. 3. 6. Halm thinks that the true reading (if the whole clause be not an interpolation) is probably 'fortissimorum virorum civiumque optimum.' Against its genuineness has been urged its intrinsic weakness, and the rare apposition of 'in urbe,' subjoined to 'Albæ,' though this occurs previously in the parallel passage in 3. 15, 39. (See Madv., § 296 a. Obs. 2.) Jentzen considers that the whole of the chapter, from 'Quid? legio Martia,' is a mere ill-digested canto from other orations.

c. 3. This decision of the legions was approved of not only by the senate and by the people at Rome, but by the borough towns; and also by D. Brutus, who had recently issued an edict, excluding Antony from his province, and declaring war against him.


10. Arcessitae sunt, 'which you had summoned from Macedonia.' Krause objects that this is a very unimportant point to urge, and that, if mentioned at all, it should have preceded 'quae te reliquerunt.' But in reality it adds very much to the significance of the conduct of these legions, that had not Antony, somewhat irregularly, summoned them from Macedonia, they would never have been in Italy at all, and the force it gives to their desertion accounts both for the insertion of the words, and for their position.

15. Municipia, colonias, praefecturas. See on 3. 5, 13. It is to be observed that 'praefecturae' were not a separate division from 'coloniae' and 'municipia,' but that praefects were sent from Rome to administer justice in most of the older 'municipia,' and at least in many of the 'coloniae civium Romanorum.'

22. Constituendam vel recipiendam. Respectively by the expulsion of
ORATIO PHILIPPICA IV.

§§ 6—9.


the kings, and the overthrow of usurpers, such as Caesar had been, and Antony was now.

3. Si consul Antonius. This clause is quoted by Quintilian (9. 3, 86) as an instance of antithetical. See the introduction to this oration.

c. 4. This conduct on the part of Brutus was commended by the senate and the people, and the Gauls were also praised, who would not allow Antony to come into their country: none, in fact, still looked on him as Consul save some few abandoned men, amongst whom he had promised that he would oppose Italy; a promise which gods and men seemed equally resolved that he should not perform.

9. Deinceps, &c., 'next in order we have the praises of the province of Gaul.' 'Deinceps' here approximates in meaning to 'deinde,' but still retains the idea of a series, of which the members come in regular succession. Cp. Livy 31. 16: 'Aenum inde ceptit; deinceps alia castella, Cypselae, et Doriscon, et Serrheum occupavit;' then he successively gets possession of the other forts.' See Hand's Tursellinus, 3. 235. It does not appear to be ever used as exactly equivalent to 'deinde,' of mere accidental sequence.

13. Omnes enim, &c., 'for all provinces ought to submit to the jurisdiction and authority of the Consul.' This seems hardly in accordance with the existing state of things at Rome since the time of Sulla, who limited the authority of the Consul to the home districts, confining the command of the provinces to procurators and praetors. (See Mommsen, Hist. of Rome, 3. 367 Eng. Trans.) It was still however competent for the senate to give the Consul extraordinary powers in the provinces; and under any circumstances violent opposition to the first magistrate in the state could only be justified by flagrant misconduct on his part.


15, 37.

17. Putant. For the attraction into the number of 'latrones' see Madv. § 217. Obs. 2.

agrorum assignatio, non illa infinita hasta satiavit; qui sibi urbem, qui bona et fortunas civium ad praedam posuerunt; qui, dum hic sit quod rapiant, quod auferant, nihil sibi defuturum arbitrantur; quibus M. Antonius—o di immortales, avertite et detestamini, quae so, hoc omen!—urbem se divisurum esse promisit. Ita vero, Quirites, ut precamini, eveniat, atque huius amentiae poena in ipsum familiamque eius recidat! quod ita futurum esse confido. Iam enim non solum homines, sed etiam deos immortales ad rem publicam conservandam arbitror consensisse. Si enim prodigii atque portentis di immortales nobis futura praedicunt, ita sunt aperte pronuntiata, ut et illi poena et nobis libertas appropinquet: sive tantus consensus omnium sine impulsu deorum esse non potuit, quid est quod de voluntate cælestium dubitare possimus?

Reliquum est, Quirites, ut vos in ista sententia, quam præ 5 vobis fertis, perseveretis. Faciam igitur, ut imperatores instructa 11 acie solent, quamquam paratissimos milites ad proeliandum videant, ut eos tamen adhortentur, sic ego vos ardentes et erctos ad libertatem recuperandam cohortabor. Non est vobis, Quirites, cum eo hoste certamen, cum quo aliqua pacis conditione esse possit. Neque enim illa servitutem vestram, ut antea, sed

1. Hasta. The sale of the goods of the Pompeian party, by the command of Caesar.
2. Posuerunt. Halm reads 'propusuerunt.' See on 3, 8, 19.
3. Detestamini, 'turn aside at my prayer.' 'Detestor' elsewhere means 'I pray for the removal of;' but this usage, to signify the action of the gods in granting such a prayer, seems to be unparalleled.
4. Familiam, 'his household;' including probably Fulvia, but not his two brothers. See the introduction to this oration.
5. Prodigii, &c. Of these we have no further record.
6. It was no use parleying with Antony; he was thirsting for blood, and nothing else would satisfy his rage; they must destroy him, now that they had the opportunity, or they would perish, and that amid disgrace most alien to the nature of the Roman people. He was not a Hannibal, the general of a civilized and responsible country; he had nothing to lose, and therefore nothing to form a material guarantee for the performance of his promises; he was a mere robber, as wicked as Catiline, without his energy, and like Catiline he must be crushed; and Cicero was once more ready to contribute all his powers towards accomplishing this end.
7. Quamquam videant, 'although they may see;' the subjunctive being due to the purely hypothetical character of the clause.
8. Ut... adhortentur depends on 'facere,' to be supplied from 'faciam' with 'solent.' For this use of 'facio ut' cp. Cat. Ma. 12, 42 "Invitus feci ut L. Flaminiunm e senatu eicerem;' and see 3, 14, 35 note. For the use of 'sic' cp. Fam. 1. 9, 19 "Dixi me facere quiddam, quod in Eu- nucho parasitus suaderet militi... sic petivi a judicibus.'
9. Neque enim. Krause objects to this clause that it is unworthy of a Roman, and inconsistent with the beginning and end of this speech, to represent the fear of death as a more powerful motion for action than the fear of slavery. But Cicero's argument rather is that when death is imminent there is no chance of escaping it, as slavery may be avoided, or even remedied, by diplomacy. It is the immediate urgency of the danger,
iam iratus sanguinem concupivit. Nullus ei ludus videtur esse iucundior quam cruer, quam caedes, quam ante oculos truci-
datio civium. Non est vobis res, Quirites, cum scelerato homine
ac nefario, sed cum immani taetraque belua, quae quoniam in
foveam incidit, obrurat. Si enim illum emerserit, nullius sup-
plicii crudelitas erit recusanda. Sed tenetur, premitur, urgetur
nunc iis copiis, quas habemus, mox iis, quas paucis diebus novi
consules comparabunt. Incumbite in causam, Quirites, ut facitis.
Numquam maior consensus vester in nulla causa fuit, numquam
tam vehementer cum senatu consociati fuistis. Nec mirum.
Agitur enim non qua conditione victuri, sed victurine simus an
cum supplicio ignominiae perituri. Quamquam mortem qui-
dem natura omnibus proposuit, crudelitatem mortis et dedecus
virtus propulsare solet, quae propria est Romani generis et
seminis. Hanc retinet, queso, quam vobis tamquam heredi-
tatem maiores vestri reliquerunt. Nam cum alia omnia falsa
incerta sint, cadaea mobilia, virtus est una altissimis defixa
radicibus, quae numquam vi ulla labefactari potest, numquam
demoveri loco. Hac virtute maiores vestri primum universa-
Italian devicerunt, deinde Karthaginem exciderunt, Numantiam
evererunt, potentissimos reges, bellicosissimas gentes in dici-
onem huius imperii redegerunt. Ac maioribus quidem vestris,
Quirites, cum eo hoste res erat, qui haberet rem publicam,
curiam, aerarium, consensum et concordiam civium, rationem
aliquam, si ita res tulisset, pacis et foederis: hic vester hostis
not the greatness of the evil threatened, which he is impressing on his audience.

4. In foveam. This appears to have passed into a proverb. Cp. Plant. Pers. 4. 4
45 ‘Pene in foveam decidi.’
5. Illim. See on 2. 31. 77.
Nullius ... recusanda, ‘we shall have no power to repudiate any punishment,
however cruel.’ This use of the gerundive, to denote capacity, is confined in the best
prose writers to negative sentences. See Madv. § 420 Obs.; and cp. 5. 4. 11 ‘Fe-
renda nullo modo est.’
16. Nam cum ... sint. So Halm, for
‘quamquam ... sint,’ from a suggestion of P. R. Müller, in Philologus, 9. 186, the
alteration being suggested by the anomaly of
‘quamquam’ with the subjunctive. Krause
objects, without much force, that the whole
passage is too philosophical for the occa-
sion.
19. Universam Italianam. The con-
quest of Italy was completed by the reduc-
tion of Volsinii, 265 B. C., unless the Cisal-
pine Gauls and Ligurians be included, the
latter of whom were not finally subdued till
158 B. C.
20. Karthaginem ... Numantiam.
Cp. Off. 1. 1. 35 ‘Maiores nostri ... Karthaginem et Numantiam funditus sus-
erunter.’ The memorable resistance of the
latter city to Scipio Africanus, 134 B. C.,
rather than the importance of its capture,
causes it to be placed in the same category
as Carthage.
21. Potentissimos reges, such as Perseus, Antiochus, and Mithridates.
24. Rationem, &c., ‘something whereon
to found peace and treaties.’
vestram rem publicam oppugnat, ipse habet nullam: senatum, id est orbis terrae consilium, delere gestit, ipse consilium publicum nullum habet: aerarium vestrum exhaustit, suum non habet. Nam concordiam civium qui habere potest, nullam cum habet civitatem? pacis vero quae potest esse cum eo ratio, in quo est incredibilis crudelitas, fides nulla? Est igitur, Quirites, populo Romano, victori omnium gentium, omne certamen cum percussore, cum latrone, cum Spartaco. Nam quod se similem esse Catilinae gloriari solet, scelere par est illi, industria inferior. Ille cum exercitum nullum habuisset, repente conflavit: hic eum exercitum, quem accepit, amisit. Ut igitur Catilinam diligentia mea, senatus auctoritate, vestro studio et virtute fregistis, sic Antonii nefarum latrocinium vestra cum senatu concordia tanta, quanta numquam fuit, felicitate et virtute exercituum ducumque vestrorum brevi tempore oppressum audietis. Equidem, quantum cura, labore, vigiliis, auctoritate, consilio, niti atque efficere potero, nihil praetermittam, quod ad libertatem vestram pertinenti arbitrabor: neque enim id pro vestris amplissimis in me beneficiis sine scelere facere possum. Hodiero autem die primum referente viro fortissimo vobisque amicissimo, hoc M. Servilio, collegisque eius, ornatissimis viris, optimis civibus, longo intervallo me auctore et principe ad spem libertatis exarsimus.

5. Cum habet, 'at a time when he no longer has.' This is the Vatican reading, and seems to point more strongly to Antony's outlawry than the common reading 'cum habet,' 'seeing that he has none of his own.'


9. Gloriari solet. Of this we have no record elsewhere. Manutius thinks that it is a pure invention on the part of Cicero, probably to pave the way for his praises of himself.

17. Niti atque efficere. In 2, 10, 23, he reverses this order of the words, 'quantum facere enitique potui.' If however 'eniti' means to 'struggle to the end,' and so 'to achieve,' the reason for the difference of order is apparent, the word marking the completion of the effort coming last in each case.

20. Sine scelere, &c. Cp. 6, 6, 17 'Quid enim non debeo vobis, Quirites, quem vos a se ortum hominibus nobilissimis omnibus honoribus praestistis?'

22. M. Servilio. See the introduction to this oration. He was similarly introduced to the meeting before which he delivered the sixth oration by P. Apuleius, tribune of the commons. See 6, 1, 1.

23. Ad spem exarsimus. Jentzen complains of this as being too bold a metaphor. It is not however easy to see why he should not use the expression 'ad spem exardere' as well as 'exarsistis ad libertatis recuperandae cupiditatem' 11. 2, 3.
No immediate action could be taken in consequence of the success of Cicero's third oration, as it was necessary to wait till the new Consuls, A. Hirtius and C. Vibius Pansa, entered on office on the 1st of January, 43 B.C. Meanwhile Antony had marched upon Cisalpine Gaul, whereupon D. Brutus threw himself into Mutina, the modern Modena, resolved to stand a siege rather than surrender his province; and Octavianus, at the head of a considerable force, including Antony's two revolted legions, was marching to attack him in the rear. If the new Consuls proved vigorous in attacking Antony, his cause was hopeless, and Cicero was using all his influence to induce them to adopt an energetic policy. On the other hand, they were both staunch adherents of Caesar, who had given them all the position which they held in the state, and therefore they were not likely to be very warm in supporting the cause of one of his assassins, against the man who professed to be upholding all his measures. Hence, though Cicero speaks in public as though they could be thoroughly depended on, yet we learn from his letters that he did not wholly trust them. (Att. 15. 6 and 22.) And this distrust was justified by the proceedings in the senate on the 1st of January. The Consuls themselves indeed adopted a firm and manly tone, which excited Cicero's hopes, but then they called on Q. Fufius Calenus to deliver his opinion first among the consuls. It has been commonly thought that giving him this precedence was a matter of private arrangement; but be this as it may (see on c. i, i), at any rate he was Pansa's father-in-law, and might be reasonably supposed to represent the real feelings of the Consul, which his official position forced him in some degree to suppress in his own speech. He was not only a firm partisan of the dictator, but a personal enemy of Cicero (Att. 11. 8, 2), and so closely allied to the cause of Antony, that he was acting as his
representative in Rome, and Fulvia and her children were actually staying at his house. He proposed that Antony should not yet be treated as a public enemy, but that ambassadors should be sent to him, to bring him back, if possible, to his allegiance to the senate. This motion was supported by L. Piso and some other consulars, and it was against it that Cicero delivered his fifth oration.

In this he urges that it would be in the highest degree inconsistent, and unworthy of the dignity of the senate to enter into negotiations with a man whom, a few days before, they had virtually declared to be a public enemy, by voting their thanks to the legions who had deserted him, and to the generals who had taken on themselves to act against him. He passes in review once more the conduct of Antony since the dictator's death; his wanton forgeries; his various pernicious measures, especially condemning his degradation of the judicial bench; and his unconstitutional conduct in maintaining an armed force within the city walls. He maintains that not merely war, but civil war (lumullus) should be proclaimed, that the military dress should be assumed, the courts of justice closed, and a general levy made throughout the whole of Italy. He concludes by renewing his proposal of thanks and honours to D. Brutus and Octavianus, and the soldiers under their command.

The debate was continued for the unusual period of four days, and it appears that Cicero would have had a large majority, had not Salvius, a tribune of the commons, interposed his veto, and prevented the motion for declaring Antony a public enemy from being voted on. The proposal of Calenus was then adopted; Servius Sulpicius L. Piso and L. Philippus were appointed ambassadors to treat with Antony; and Cicero so far prevailed that he was entrusted with the drawing out of their commission. They were instructed to call on Antony to raise the siege of Mutina, to cease from further hostilities against D. Brutus, and from all attempts upon the province of Cisalpine Gaul, and to submit himself in all respects to the authority of the senate and the Roman people. If he refused submission on any single point, he was to be treated as a public enemy.

The rest of the proposals in Cicero's motion, with reference to the honours to be bestowed on Brutus and Octavianus and their armies, were carried without opposition.
M. Tullii Ciceronis
Orationum Philippicarum
Liber Quintus.

1 NIHIL umquam longius his Kalendis Ianuariis mihi visum est, patres conscripti: quod idem intelligebam per hos dies uni cuique vestrum videri. Qui enim bellum cum re publica gerunt, hunc diem non exspectabant. Nos autem tum, cum maxime consilio nostro subvenire communi saluti oporteret, in senatum non vocabamur. Sed querellam praeteritorum dierum sustulit oratio consulum; qui ita locuti sunt, ut magis exoptatae Kalendae quam serae esse videantur. Atque ut oratio consulum animum meum erexit spemque attulit non modo salutis conservandae, verum etiam dignitatis pristinae recuperandae, sic me pertur-10 basset eius sententia, qui primus rogatus est, nisi vestrae virtuti.

c. 1, 2. The speeches of the Consuls on assuming office had done much to lessen the anxiety with which all loyal citizens were longing for the meeting of the senate. But this anxiety was renewed by the proposal of Q. Fufius Calenus, which contrasted strongly with the general firmness shown against Antony, thirteen days before. To send ambassadors to treat with him would be absurdly inconsistent with the recent vote of thanks and honours to those in arms against him: it was what none but Cotyla would have ventured to suggest ten days ago; and it almost made one credit the rumour that it would be proposed to give him the government of Transalpine Gaul; in other words, to furnish him with all the means of waging civil war against the state. And yet this would be madness which no plea of friendship or kindred, to say nothing of corruption, could for a moment justify.

I. NIHIL umquam longius, 'nothing ever was more impatiently longed for,' 'seemed longer in coming.' This is a favourite expression with Cicero, cp. Fam. 11. 27, 1; Verr. Act. 2.4.18, 39; pro Rab. Post. 12, 35 'Nec mihi longius quidquam est, indices, quam videre hominum vultus.'

4. Cum ... oporteret. The subjunctive is used, because it is not so much the exact moment, as the character of the crisis that is signified; 'at a time when,' rather than 'at the moment when our counsel was required.'

7. Ut magis, &c., 'that it is rather the impatience of our anxiety than the real urgency of the case that has made them seem so late in coming.'

11. Qui primus rogatus est. This is shown by 10. 1, 3 to have been Q. Fufius Calenus, since it was the custom to give the precedence of voting to the same man throughout the year. (Suet. Caes. 21.) From the same passage we learn that this precedence was given at the discretion of the Consul, and that Caesar, after the marriage of his daughter, gave it to his son-in-law Pompey. Hence Manutius thinks it probable that Calenus was called upon to vote first as being the father-in-law of Pansa. (See

8. 6, 19.) It might also have been because he was the junior 'consularis' present, having been Consul in 47 B.C., and his colleague and successors being at this time all either absent from Rome or dead. The usual practice was to begin with the 'consules designati' (see c. 13, 35, and 6, 3, 8), but D. Brutus and L. Plancus were also absent.

4. Qui dies nudius tertius decimus, 'what was the character of this day twelve days;' literally 'the day that now is the 13th day since,' a.d. xiii Kal. Ian., the 20th of December, on which the third and fourth orations were delivered. This chapter seems to be the only place where 'nudius' (= 'nunc dies') is used in speaking of a day so distant.

8. Nihil sit integrum nisi, &c., 'the only alternatives now open to you are honourable peace or war from which you cannot shrink.'

18. Suscepissent. It is not easy to see the reason for the difference of mood of 'suscepissent' and 'anteposuerunt,' unless it be changed to vary the sound of the termination of the two clauses. In both certain definite individuals are referred to, so that the indicative might have been employed; and in both the subjunctive would appropriately have been used as introducing the reason of the special praise. Perhaps the use of the subjunctive is referable to the presence of eos, in the sense of 'such generals as.'

19. In colonias. See 2. 39, 100 foll. notes.

21. Si enim consulem, &c. Compare the dilemma used in canvassing the conduct of D. Brutus, 4. 3, 8; and 3, 8, 21.

23. Nondum haberetis. The city was deserted by both the Consuls of the preceding year, Dolabella having, before the flight of Antony, gone to Asia Minor on his way to Syria.
in qua parentes etiam continentur? 'Mihi pecuniam tribuit.' Cupio videre qui id audeat dicere. Quid autem agatur cum aperuero, facile erit statuere quam sententiam dicatis aut quam sequamini.

5 Agitur, utrum M. Antonio facultas detur opprimendae rei publicae, caedis faciendae honorum, urbis dividundae, agrorum suis latronibus condonandi, populum Romanum servitute opprimendi, an horum ei facere nihil liceat. Dubitate quid agatis. At non cadunt haec in Antonium. Hoc ne Cotyla quidem dicere auderet. Quid enim in cum non cadit? qui, cuius acta se defendere dicit, cius eas leges pervertit, quas maxime laudare poteramus. Ille paludes siccare voluit: hic omnem Italian moderato

parentes', 'parentes' and descendants are alike 'cognati' in relation to the supposed founder of the nation.

1. Tribuit, 'he has given me money.' So Halm from the Vatican MS. The ordinary reading is 'attribuit,' which would mean 'he has entrusted me with public money on account' (cp. 9, 7, 16 'Uti consules ... pecuniam redemptori attribuendum solvendique current.' 14, 14. 35 'Quaesitores urbanos ad eam rem pecuniae dare, attribuere, solvere iubeat'), so that plea and retort would be alike pointless.

2. Quid autem agatur, &c. For the order of the clauses, see Madv. § 476 c.

cc. 3. 4. If any one doubted the use which Antony would make of such an opportunity, he need only look at his previous conduct, when professing to follow in the path of Caesar. Caesar had wished to improve the state domains, Antony, in contempt for all forms, and in despite of the most unmistakable auspices, proposed to carry a law giving the whole of Italy to L. Antonius for distribution. And to prevent any possible remonstrance, on the day when the law was to be voted on, he occupied the forum with an overwhelming force of armed men. Cicero therefore proposes that all his laws should be formally annulled: that those which were beneficial should be re-enacted: but that all his embezzlement of public money, all his forgeries, all his fraudulent dealings in pardons, immunities, treaties and grants must be condemned, and reversed, so far as possible, by a solemn decree of the senate.

6. Urbis dividundae. This is the emendation of Halm, in his 'corrigenda,' derived from a comparison of § 7; 8, 3, 9; 13. 9, 19; ib. 19, 42 and 20, 47; in all of which passages a division of the city is spoken of as forming part of Antony's plans. The reading of the Vatican MS. is 'urbs eruendorum,' crowded in by a later hand over an erasure too small for it; that of the other MSS. 'bonorum eruendorum, urbis, agrorum suis condonandi.' The combination of gerundive constructions is remarkable. We have first the simple construction with the gerund, 'populium ... opprimendae;' secondly, the ordinary attracted construction with the gerundive, 'opprimendae rei publicae;' and thirdly, the intermediate construction, 'agrorum condonandi,' where the object is attracted into the case of the gerund, but the gerund itself remains unaltered. (See Madv. § 413. Obs. 2.) Kritz (on Sallust, Cat. 31, 5) explains this last construction by supposing that the leading substantive and the gerund combine so as to form one notion, on which the second genitive depends. This, however, seems too artificial. Cp. de Invent. 2. 2. 5 'Exemplorum eligendi potestas.'

8. Dubitate, &c., 'hesitate, if ye can, what course to take.' Some editors, without authority, read 'dubitatis.'

9. At non. The inferior MSS. have an non; but the clause comes in much better as an objection from some friend of Antony, 'yet all this does not apply to Antony,' than as a question from Cicero.

10. Qui, cuius acta. &c., 'who while professing to maintain the acts of Caesar, selects those laws of his for travesty which we might best have praised.'

12. Paludes. The drainage of the Pomptine marshes was commenced by Caesar, and some progress seems to have been made before his death, as Dion Cassius tells us (49. 5) that Antony proposed to
homini, L. Antonio, dividundam dedit. Quid? hanc legem populus Romanus accepit? quid? per auspicia ferri potuit? Sed augur verecundus sine collegis de auspiciis: quamquam illa auspicia non egent interpretatione; Iove enim tonante cum populo agi non esse fas quis ignorat? Tribuni plebi tulerunt de provinciis contra acta C. Caesaris: ille biennium, iste sexennium. Etiam hanc legem populus Romanus accepit? quid? promulgata fuit? quid? non ante lata quam scripta est? quid? non ante factum vidimus quam futurum quisquam est suspicatus? Ubi lex Caecilia et Didia? ubi promulgatio trinum 10 nundinum? ubi poena recenti lege Iunia et Licinia? Possuntne haec leges esse ratae sine interitu legum reliquarum? Eccui potestas in forum insinuandi fuit? Quae porro illa tonitura 1 divide the land reclaimed among the poorer Roman citizens; χωρόν ἄλλῳ τε πολλῷ καὶ τῷ ἐν τοῖς ἑλεί τοῖς Ποτίνοις ὡς κεχωσμένοι ὕδω καὶ γεωργετέα δυναμένων κληρονομήν διὰ Λουκίου 'Αντωνίου ἄδελφου δημαρχοῦν ἐστήγατο. For this commission to divide the lands, which Cicero here magnifies into a division of all Italy, cp. 11. 6. 13; 2. 3. 6 note. The law appointing the commissioners was annulled as being carried illegally. See also 6. 5. 14.

3. Augur verecundus, &c., 'but our augur is bashful about interpreting the auspices without his colleagues.' Cp. 10. 6. 13 'Homo verecundus in Macedoniarn non accedit.' De introduces the subject-matter of his bashfulness, in a manner more common with verbs; but cp. pro Sest. 33. 72 'Quae etiam collegae eius moderatio de me.'


5. Plebi. So the Vatican MS. here and in c. 4. 9. The form is defended and illustrated by Drakenborch on Livy 2. 43.

6. Ille biennium, &c. It is doubtful who are meant by 'ille' and 'iste.' The latter would seem to refer to Antony, working through his tools, the tribunes of the commons. 'ille' then must be Caesar, and the meaning is, 'Caesar limited the tenure even of a consular province to two years, Antony has extended it to six.' In 8. 9. 28 Antony is represented as demanding that he should hold his province for five years, perhaps by way of moderation. Otherwise 'ille' and 'iste' might refer to the two proposers of the change, the one advocating the tenure of praetorian provinces for two years, the other that of consular provinces for six. This seems less likely, partly because there would be no object in thus dividing the measure, partly because it loses the contemptuous force of 'iste,' so appropriately used of Antony. Halb reads 'hic,' apparently adopting the latter interpretation; Kayser 'hi,' from A. W. Zumpt. For the 'Lex Iulia de provinciis' cp. 1. 8. 19; 2. 42. 109.

10. Lex Caecilia et Didia, passed by the Consuls Q. Caecilius Metellus Nepos, and T. Didius, 98 B.C., and requiring that every law should be published on three successive 'nundinae' before it was proposed. This law and the 'Lex Iunia et Licinia' were considered by Cicero two of the 'remedia rei publicae,' Att. 2. 9. 1.

Trinum nundinum. This passage, with de Dom. 16. 41 'Quod in ceteris legibus trinum nundinum esse oportet, id in adoptione satis est trium esse hortatur,' seems to show that 'trinum nundinum' was originally a syncopated genitive plural (see on 2. 17. 43), though afterwards, like 'sesterium' (see on 2. 37. 95) it came to be treated as a neuter singular, as in Livy 3. 35 'Postquam comitia decreviriis creandis in trinum nundinum indicata sunt,' Quint. 2. 4. 35 'Rogatio sive non trino forte nundino promulgata. sive non idoneo die.'

11. Lege Iunia et Licinia, passed by the Consuls D. Iunius Silanus and L. Licinius Murena, 62 B.C., against introducing laws without due notice, 'ne clam aerario legem ferri liceret.'

13. Insinuandi, 'of making their way into the forum.' 'Insinuo' is more generally used with the reflexive pronoun, but cp. Fam. 4. 13. 6 'In ipius consuetudinem
M. TULLII CICERONIS

M. Sed the yet Primum num 17. Cp. 10 15 20 nuntiatione fiteri quae ut, forum arbitratus clamore sustinerne colonis iisque quaerimus leges Caesaris to ingcouldnotbe procure a in absolutely the insinuabo. The later MSS. have 'introecundi,' a manifest gloss for the less usual but more expressive word. Antony had so blocked the entrance, that no management could procure a passage. See below, c. 4. 9.

1. Si auspicia, &c., 'if his religious feeling could not be aroused, the storm was enough to break down any ordinary physical powers.'

5. Clamore depends on prohibente; 'when Jupiter was not only thundering, but absolutely stopping all action by his uproar in the sky.'

6. Cum eo collega. Dolabella. See on 2. 33, 82 foll.

8. Nos fortasse erimus interpretes. He no longer expresses himself with the same confidence as in 2. 33-83 'Acta Dolellae necesse est aliquando ad nostrum collegium deferantur.'

9. Num ergo, &c. The meaning of the arnis at any rate was plain enough. Garatonius compares, for the rhetorical figure, 8.

1, 2 'Ergo ille (L. Caesar) avunculus; num etiam vos avunculi, qui illi estis assensi?'


17. Si quam legem, &c. The meaning of this seems to be that Antony, by illegally passing measures to suit his own purposes, had thrown such suspicion over all his acts, that even his beneficial measures, for the more security, had better be formally re-enacted. The dictatorship had been abolished, and Caesar's acts confirmed, by a decree of the senate, not by a law, but the argument would equally apply to both.

21. Quamvis here qualifies bonas, and leges is the predicate of the apodo-is. 'H--wever good the measures may have been which he passed irregularly and by force, yet they must not be considered laws.'

miliens falsis perscriptionibus donationibusque avertit, ut porterenti simile videatur tantam pecuniam populi Romani tam brevi tempore perire potuisse. Quid? illi immanes quaeestus feren-
dine, quos M. Antonii tota exhaust domus? Decrepta falsa vendebat, regna, civitates, immunitates in aes accepta pecunia iubebat incidi. Haec ex commentariis C. Caesaris, quorum ipse auctor erat, agere dicebat. Calebant in interiore acium parte totius rei publicae undinace; mulier, sibi felicer quam viris, actionem provinciarum regnorumque faciebat; restituebantur exsules quasi lege sine lege: quae nisi auctoritate senatus rescinduntur, quoiam ingressi in spem rei publicae recuperandae sumus, imago nulla liberae civitatis relinquentur. Neque solum commentariis commenticiis chirographisque venalibus innumerabilis pecunia congesta in illam domum est, cum, quae vendebat Antonius, ea se ex actis Caesaris agere diceret, sed senatus etiam consulta pecunia accepta falsa referebat; syngraphae obsignabantur; senatus consulta numquam facta ad aerarium deferebantur. Huius turpitudinis testes erant etiam exteriorae nationes. Foedera interea facta, regna data, populi provinciaeque liberatae, ipsarumque rerum falsae tabulae gemente populo Romano toto Capitolio figebantur. Quibus rebus tanta pecunia una in domo

1. Falsis perscriptionibus, 'by forged entries.' 'Perscriptio' is a memorandum of money spent, not yet formally entered in the account book. Cp. pro Rosc. Com. 2, 5 'Suum codicem (ledger) testis loco recitare arrogante est; suarum perscriptionum et litterarum adversaria proferre non amentia est.' The entries referred to were forged in the papers which Antony produced as Caesar's. Avertit, 'he has embezzled,' 'turned to his own use;' cp. Verr. Act. 2, 3, 19, 49 'Si doceo te non minus domum tuam avertisse quam Romam missis.'

5. Immunitates, &c. See 2, 36, 92 notes.

6. Commentariis. See 1, 1, 2 note.


8. Quam viris. Two of whom, P. Clodius and C. Curio, she had outlawed. See 2, 44, 113 note.


12. Syngraphae, 'contracts were signed and sealed.' Notably that with Delotarus; see 2, 37, 95 note.

17. Ad aerarium. Laws and decrees of the senate, after being exposed to public view for a sufficient time, were finally deposited, for safe custody, with the 'quaestores aerarii' in the treasury. Cp. Tac. Ann. 3, 51 'Factum senatus consultum ne decreta patrum ante diem decimum ad aerarium deferrentur;' Livy 39, 4 'Qui per infrequentiam furtim factum senatus consultum ad aerarium detulerit.' Originally, from the time of the abolition of the decemvirates, decrees of the senate had been placed in the temple of Ceres, under the care of the aediles. See Livy 3, 55. In 12, 5, 12 and 13, 9, 19 Cicero uses the expression 'delata,' without specifying the place.


20. Toto Capitolio figebantur. So elsewhere of Caesar's decrees, genuine or forged, 2, 36, 91; 37, 93; 38, 97; 12, 5, 12.
coacervata est, ut, si hoc genus pene in unum redigatur, non sit pecunia rei publicae defutura.


1. Hoc genus pene, &c. This is the reading of the Vatican MS., and no satisfactory emendation has been proposed. The other MSS. omit 'pene,' for which 'pecuniæ' and 'penu' (itself a form only quoted by grammarians from Afranius) have been suggested. The meaning is clear, 'could all this treasure be realised,' but the reading seems hopeless. P. R. Müller suggests 'si hoc genus populi in unum redigatur,' but even with this violent alteration he leaves 'genius' unexplained. Halm proposes 'si hoc ingens fenus.' The right reading may perhaps be, as has been suggested by Professor Conington, 'si hoc genus omnæ in unum redigatur,' if all these various kinds of treasure could be reduced to one, viz. money.

2, 3. Especially his law with respect to the 'iudicium' must be repeated. It was bad enough at first sight that centurions and even private soldiers of a foreign legion should be indiscriminately admitted to the judicial bench. But the reality was even worse: among the best of the new 'indies' were aliens and gamblers, men either unknown in Rome, or better known than liked, men over whom the praetor could have no control, some of them even ignorant of the Latin language. And after these came all the dregs of Antony's revellers; the sole object of the law being to secure impunity for crimes which could not possibly escape before a decently respectable tribunal. Such a law was a deep disgrace to the whole country, and even had it been legally passed, must needs have been annulled.

3. Legem iudiciariam. See on 1. 8, 10 foll.

5. At ille legit, &c. What he acknowledged was bad enough, that he appointed men who had no position to guarantee their integrity, private soldiers, of foreign extraction. Yet these at least were Roman citizens, and had not forfeited their reputation. 'Those whom he really chose were even worse, gamesters, exiles, even Greeks. A noble bench of jurymen, a court of truly wondrous dignity!' Cp. Att. 1. 16, 3 'Non enim uni quem turbipior in ludotario consessus fuit.'

8. Cydam. Sc. 'legit.' 'Cydas' was a common name in Coptya, but this man is otherwise unknown.

10. Ex iudicum genere et forma, 'of the breed and stamp of men with whom we make our jurymen.'

13. Dilectus, &c., 'even among our own citizens we exercise some choice and discrimination.' Cp. 1. 8, 20 'Censum praefiliatur.'

15. Nam Lysiaden, &c. 'Nam' carries on the connection rather of Cicero's thoughts than of his words. 'Who could be expected to know a juryman from Cortyna; this is worse than all, for men like Lysiades at least we know.'

16. Phaedrus was the president of the Epicurean school when Cicero was at Athens, B.C. 80. Cp. de Nat. Deor. 1. 33, 93; de Fin. 1. 5, 16.
festivus, ut ei cum Curio, consessore eodemque collusore, facil-
14 lime posse convenire. Quaero igitur, si Lysiades citatus iudex
non responderit excuseturque Areopagites esse nec debere eodem
tempore Romae et Athenis res judicare: accipietne excusatio-
nem is, qui quaestioni praeerit, Graeculi iudicis, modo palliati, s
modo togati? an Atheniensis antiquissimas leges negliget?
Qui porro ille consessus, di boni! Cretensis iudex, isque nequis-
simus. Quem ad modum ad hunc reus alleget? quo modo
accedat? dura natio est. At Athenienses misericordes. Puto ne
Curium quidem esse crudelem, qui periculum fortunae quotidie facit.
Sunt item lecti iudices, qui fortasse excusabuntur; habent
enim legitimam excusationem, exsilli causa solum vertisse nec
esse postea restitutos. Hos ille demens iudices legisset, horum
nomina ad aerarium detulisset, his magnam partem rei publicae
credidisset, si ullam speciem rei publicae cogitavisset? Atque
ego de notis iudicibus dixi: quos minus nostis, nolui nominare:
saltatores, citharisthas, totum denique comissionis Antonianae
chorum in tertiam decuriam iudicum scitote esse coniectum.
En causam cur lex tam egregia tamque praeclara maximo
imbris, tempestate, ventis, procellis, turbibibus, inter fulmina et
atonitra ferretur, ut cos iudices habereumus, quos hospites habere

1. Ut ei cum Curio, &c., 'so that he
would have no difficulty in agreeing with
Curius, his partner on the bench and at the
gaming table.'

3. Areopagites esse. A Greek
construction, perhaps introduced to suit
the nationality of Lysiades. Cp. Catull. 4. 1.
'Phaselus ille quem videtis hospites
Aituisse navium celerrimus.'

5. Is qui quaestioni praeerit, &c.,
'will the presiding praeator admit the excuse
of the Greekling juryman, clad now in
Greek, and now in Roman garb?'

8. Quem ad modum. So the Vatican
MS. 'How shall a prisoner get an advocate
to plead before this man?' 'Allegare' is
used in private matters as 'legare' in public,
'to employ a representative.' Cp. Fam. 15.
4. 16 'Extremum illud est, ut philosophiam
ad te allegem.' In post-Augustan Latin it
obtains the meaning 'to allege.' 'The other
MSS. have 'quem ad hunc,' 'what advocate
shall be employ?'

9. Dura natio est. J. Meursius, in his
account of Crete, gives a long list of the
vices of the Cretans, convicting them, on
the testimony of ancient authors, of cunning,
avarice, treachery, didloyalty, and piracy;
but their cruelty, except so far as it might
be involved in the other faults, does not
seem to be elsewhere recorded.

At Athenienses. This at least cannot
be said against them all. Lysiades is of
a nation noted for its clemency.

11. Lecti, 'chosen by Antony.'

12. Legitimam excusationem. Ab-
sence from Rome on the service of the state
was a valid plea for escaping the burden of the
'judicium,' and these men had been required
by the state to go abroad. Cp. pro Quinct. 38,
86 'Exsilli causa solum vertisse;' Juv. 11. 49
'Qui vertere solum Baias et ad Ostia currunt.'
15. Si ullam speciem, &c., 'had any
form of commonwealth been in his thoughts.'

18. In tertiam decuriam. See r. 8,
19 and 20 notes.

19. Maximo imbris, &c. See above,
c. 3, 8.

21. Quos hospites. So the Vatican MS.
The others have 'quos socios ad epulas hos-
pites,' the additional words bearing evident
signs of being a gloss to interpret ' hospites.'
nemo velit. Scelerum magnitudo, conscientia maleficiorum, direptio eius pecuniae, cuius ratio in aede Opis confecta est, hanc tertiam decuriam excogitavit: nec ante turpes iudices quacsit quae honestis iudicibus nocentium salus desperata est. Sed illum os, illam impunitatem caeni fuisset, ut hos iudices legere auderet! quorum lectione duplex imprimeretur rei publicae dedecus: unum, quod tam turpes iudices essent; alterum, quod patisfactum cognitumque esset, quam multos in civitate turpes haberemus. Hanc ergo et reliquas eius modi leges, etiam si sine vi salvis auspiciis essent rogatae, censerem tamen abrogandas:
nunc vero cur abrogandas censeam, quas iudico non rogatas?

2. Ratio confecta est, 'the tale of which was duly stored.' There appears here to be a confusion of ideas between 'rationem conficiere,' 'to make up one's accounts,' (cp. Fam. 5. 20, 2 'Rationes confectas collatas,' and 'pecuniarum conficiere,' 'to gather money together,' cp. pro Place. 9. 20 'Duae rationes conficiendi pecuniae,'

5. Fuisset. The later MSS. have 'feciissent,' but the explanation of indignant surprise suits better here. It was bad enough to work out the idea of the third decuria; but to think of the shamelessness, the foul iniquity that dared to choose such jurymen as these to sit in it! Cp. Fam. 14. 1, 1 'Me miserum! te, ista virtute, fide, probitate, humanitate in tantas aeternas propter me incidisse.'

6. Impriseretur. The subjunctive is used, because the proposition sets forth, not the identity, but the character of the jurymen, who were such that by choosing them a double disgrace was inflicted on the state; first, the corruption of the judicial bench; and secondly, the revelation that such reprobates were so numerous in Rome.

11. Nunc vero, &c. His only reason for not proposing their repeal was that this would be an acknowledgment that they had been constitutionally passed.

cc. 6, 7. Urging the enormity of Antony's offence in bringing armed men into the senate-house, Cicero strengthens his proposal to annul the laws of Antony, by passing in review his conduct towards the senate. On the 1st of September he threatened to pull down Cicero's house for being absent, though there was no pressing business to discuss; and having been absent himself when Cicero delivered his first Philippic oration, he spent seventeen days in drinking and declaiming in Scipio's villa, by way of preparing a reply. On the occasion of its delivery, nothing but absence could have saved Cicero from the violence of Antony and his brother Lucius; and all Antony's policy since that time had consisted in plundering and distributing to his ruffians the property of honest men.

12. Gravissimis ignominias, &c., 'is not this to be handed down to posterity with the record of the deepest ignominy which this senate can inflict?'

15. Armatos. The tyrant's bodyguard. See 1. 11, 27 note.

batur: Cassius, Mustela, Tiro, gladios ostentantes, sui similes greges ducebant per forum; certum agminis locum tenebant barbari sagittarii. Cum autem crat ventum ad aedem Concordiae, gradus complebantur, lecticae collocabantur, non quo ille scuta occulta esse vellet, sed ne familiares, si scuta ipsi ferrent, labo-

15. Qui ... excluderet, 'violent to the extent of barring this habit of free speech.'
16. Fecerat enim, &c. The parenthetic clause is apparently introduced to explain and justify the word 'consuetudinem.' The speech of L. Piso was on the 1st of August. Cp. 1. 4. 10.
18. A. d. XIII Kal. Oct. On the 19th of September Antony delivered the speech to which the second Philippic is supposed to be an answer. See introd. to the second oration.
20. Sitim quaerens, 'to stimulate his thirst.' Hence his use of the exaggeration 'declamitavit,' rather than 'commentatus est,' which he employs in his account of the same matter to Q. Cassius, Fam. 12. 2. 1. Some MSS. insert the words 'ut digestio potius quam declamatio videreatur,' which seem to be a gloss.
si per amicos mihi cupienti in senatum venire licuisset, caedis
initium fecisset a me; sic enim statuerat. Cum autem semel
gladium scelere imbuisset nulla res ei finem caedendi nisi desati-
gatio et satietas attulisset. Etenim aderat Lucius frater, gladiator
Asiaicus, qui myrmillo Mylasis depugnarat; sanguinem nostrum
sitiebat, suum in illa gladiatoria pugna multum profuderat. Hic
pecunias vestræ aæstimabat; possessiones notabat et urbanae
et rusticæ; huius mendicitatis aviditate coniuncta in fortunas
nostras imminebat; dividebat agros quibus et quos volebat;
nullus aditus erat privato, nulla acquitatis depræcatio: tantum
quisque habebat possessor, quantum reliquerat divisor Antonius.
Quae quamquam, si leges irritas feceritis, rata esse non possunt,
tamen separatim suo nomine notanda censeo, iudicandumque
nullos septemviro fuisse, nihil placere ratum esse, quod ab ipsis
actum dicercet.

M. vero Antonium quis est qui civem possit iudicare potius
quam taeterrimum et crudelissimum hostem, qui pro aede Cas-
toris sedens audiente populo, Romano dixerit, nisi victorem
victurum neminem? Num putatis, patres conscripti, dixisse cum
minaciun quam facturum fuisse? Quid vero, quod in contione
dicer ausus est, se, cum magistratu abisset, ad urbem futurum

5. Myrmillo. See on 3. 12, 31. Of
the circumstance to which Cicero alludes
we have no record except his own repeated
taunts. Cp. c. 11, 30; 6, 4. 10; 7, 6, 17.
Mylas was the principal city of Caria.
6. Multum profuderat, ‘he had
poured forth unsparingly.’
8. Aviditate coniuncta. For the
use of the ablative cp. 3. 14, 35 ‘Ea sum-
ma miscia est summo dedere coniuncta;’
and see Madv. § 268 a. Obs. 2.
10. Nullus aditus privato, &c., ‘no
one who had been deprived of his lands
could obtain an audience, no arguments of
equity could prevail on him to spare.’ Cp.
c. 19, 53; and 7. 6, 18 ‘Queretur expulsos,’
where ‘expuli’ seems to be the same as
‘privati.’
12. Si leges irritas feceritis, &c.
Cicero might have been content to let the
commission of the ‘septemviri’ and their acts
fall through in the general annulling of
Antony’s laws, but the special iniquity of
them seemed to call for individual notice,
and to require every care that they should
not be allowed to stand for want of atten-
tion being drawn to them.

cc. 8, 9. Antony had persistently endeav-
oured to bring about a reign of terror.
He had threatened his opponents with death,
and all the people with slavery; he had
gone to Brandibium to get forces adequate
for his purpose, and finding that the troops
refused to be his tools, he took a murderous
revenge on their centurions. C. Caesar of-
fered to oppose him, and Antony was pre-
apread to move that he should be declared
a public enemy, had not the defection of his
legions caused him to flee in panic from
the city. Even then he persevered in his evil
designs, marching on Gaul, and besieging D. Brutus in Mutina. He, a
Roman citizen, was waging against Rome
a war more savage and destructive than any
foreign foe had ever done: and yet men
hesitated to declare him an enemy, and were
for sending envoys to him, thus lowering the
dignity of the senate, cooling the general
ardour for war, and losing precious time,
without a chance of doing good.
20. Quam facturum fuisse. For this
attraction from the finite verb after ‘quam’
see Madv. § 402 c.
cum exercitu, introitum quotiensemque vellet, quid erat aliud nisi denuntiare populo Romano servitutem? Quod autem eius iter Brundisium! quae festinati! quae spes, nisi ad urbem vel in urbem potius exercitum maximum adduceret? Qui autem dilectus centurionum! quae effrenatio impotentis animi! Cum eius promissis legiones fortissimae reclamassent, domum ad se venire iussit centuriones, quos bene sentire de re publica cognoverat, eoque ante pedes suos uxorisque suae, quam secum gravis imperator ad exercitum duxerat, iugulari coegit. Quo animo hunc futurumuisse censetis in nos, quos oderat, cum in eos, quos numquam viderat, tam crudelis suisset? et quam avidum in pecuniis locupletium, qui pauperum sanguinem concupisset? quorum ipsorum bona, quantacumque erant, statim suis comitibus comotoribusque descripsit. Atque ille furens infesta iam patriae signa a Brundisio inferebat, cum C. Caesar deorum immortalium beneficio, divina animi, ingenii, consilii magnitudine, quamquam sua sponte eximiaque virtute, tamen approbatione auctoritatis meae colonias patrias adit, veteranos milites convocavit, paucis diebus exercitum fecit, incitatos latronum impetus retardavit. Postea vero quam legio Martia ducem praestantissimum vidit, nihil egit aliud nisi ut aliquando liberi esserem: quam est imitata quarta legio. Quo ille nuntio auditum cum senatum vocasset adhibuissetque consularem, qui sua sententia C. Caesarem hostem

1. Quotienscumque vellet. Constitutionally a military commander lost his imperium by entering the city. See on 1. 2, 6; and on c. 16, 45.

3. Iter Brundisium. See 2. 30, 76 note.

Nisi ad urbem. So the Vatican MS. Some MSS. have ‘nisi ut ad urbem,’ but not only would the construction ‘spes ut’ be a very unusual one, (cp. Lael. 19, 68 ‘Spem adferunt ut fructus appareat’), but the clause introduced by ‘nisi’ is evidently meant to give the grounds, not the substance of his hope.

5. Dillectus centurionum, ‘assembling of the centurions.’ See 3. 2, 4 note. Some MSS. have ‘dillectus,’ but though the verb ‘diligo’ is never used of levyng or assembling soldiers, the form ‘dillectus’ is often found in the best MSS. both as substantive and as past participle.


16. Divina. So Halm, for ‘divini,’ from a conjecture of Madvig’s, supported by one MS.

Quamquam sua sponte, &c., ‘unprompted, it is true, save by his own unrivalled virtue, yet with the full sanction of my authority.’ Cp. Att. 16. 8, 2 ‘Consultabat, utrum Romam cum tribus milibus veteranorum proficiscieterat, an Capuam tene- ret... an iret at tres legiones Macedonicas.’

18. Patrias, ‘which his father had founded.’

20. Ducem praestantissimum. Of this he had at least hitherto given no proof, having held no military command.

21. Nihil egit aliud, &c., ‘it strove for nothing else except our freedom.’

23. Consularem, &c. We know from
iudicaret, repente concidit. Post autem, neque sacrificii sollem-
nibus factis neque votis nuncupatis, non profectus est, sed pro-
fugit paludatus. At quo? In provinciam firmissimorum civium, 
qui illum, ne si ita quidem venisset, ut nullum bellum inferret, 
ferre potuissent, impotentem, iracundum, contumeliosum, super-
bumb, semper poscentem, semper rapientem, semper ebrium. At
ille, cuius ne pacatam quidem nequitiam quisquam ferre possent, 
bellum intulit provinciae Galliae; circumsecedet Mutinam, firmis-
simam et splendidissimam populi Romani coloniam; oppugnat
D. Brutum imperatorem, consulem designatum, civem non sibi, sed
nobis et rei publicae natum. Ergo Hannibal hostis, civis Anto-
nius? Quid ille fecit hostiliter, quod hic non aut fecerit aut
faciat aut moliatur et cogitet? Totum iter Antoniorum quid
habuit nisi depopulationes, vastationes, caedes, rapinas? quas
non faciebat Hannibal, quia multa ad usum suum reservabat: at
hi, qui in horam viverent, non modo de fortunis et de bonis
civium, sed ne de utilitate quidem sua cogitaverunt.

Ad hunc, di boni! legatos mitti placet? Norunt isti homines
formam rei publicae, iura belli, exempla maiorum? cogitans quid

does not find a parallel in what Antony
either has done, or is doing, or is at least
contriving and planning.

14. Quas. Some MSS. have 'quae,' as
in de Nat. Deor. 3. 24, 61 'Nemo fortunam
ab inconstantia et temeritate seu nget, quae
digna certe non sunt deo.' See Madv.
§ 315 a.

At hi is adopted by Halm and most
editors from the conjecture of Naugerius,
(1519.) in the place of the ungrammatical
reading of the Vatican MS. 'haec.' The
other MSS. have 'haec hi,' or 'haec ii,'
except one which has 'et hiis.' The 'at'
might easily have dropped out after 're-
ervabat.'

16. Qui in horam viverent, 'who
lived but for the passing hour.' Cp. 'In
diem vivere,' 2. 34, 87. The
subjective is due to the causal force of the
relative.

Non modo is used thus for 'non
modo non,' only when the predicate
is common to both clauses, so that the
negation which lies in 'ne quidem' may
be referred to the whole. See Madv.,
§ 401 b.

18. Isti homines, 'the men you fa-
vour.' He is addressing Calenus, cp. c. 1, 1
'Tu, qui primus roгas us es,' and the
note.

4. Hunc, &c., 'will quench the ardour now apparent in the Roman people, and crush the spirits of theburghers throughout Italy.'

10. An embassy would be interpreted as indicating fear; and it was not like opening negotiations with a foreign general, because there was no further authority to which they could appeal, if Antony refused compliance. In dealing with a rebellious citizen, the dignified course was to compel him to submit, instead of begging him to have compassion on his country.

10. Minimis momentis, &c., 'the smallest impulses bring about the greatest changes in events.'

18. Miserat olim, &c., in 218 B.C. Cp. Livy 21. 6 'Legati missi, P. Valerius Flaccus et Q. Baebius Tampilus, Saguntum ad Hannibalem, atque inde Karthaginem, si non absisteretur bello, ad ducem ipsum in poenam foederis rupti deposcendum.' The name of the latter envoy is recovered from the passage in Livy, the MSS. of Cicero having 'vebium pamphilum.' When Hannibal would not listen to terms, remonstrances could be made to his government, to which he could not refuse obedience; if Antony proved obstinate, there was no ulterior court of appeal.

22. Itane vero? 'is it then come to this?'

24. Propugnaculum, 'an outpost.' Cp. de Leg. Agrar. 2. 27. 74 'Est operae praetium diligentiam maiorum recordari, qui colonias sic idoneis in locis contra suspicio-nem perici collocarunt, ut esse non oppida Italie, sed propugnacula imperii viderentur.' See above on c. 9, 24.
Punici secundi, quod contra maiores nostros Hannibal gessit, causa fuit Sagunti oppugnatio. Recte ad eum legati missi: mittebantur ad Poenum, mittebantur pro Hannibalis hostibus, nostri sociis. Quid simile tandem? nos ad civem mittimus, nec imperatorem populi Romani, ne exercitum, ne coloniam circum-sedcat, ne oppugnet, ne agros depopuletur, ne sit hostis.

Age, si paruerit, hoc cive uti aut volumus aut possimus? Ante 11
diem xiii Kalendas Ianuarias decretis vestris eum concidistis: 28
constituistis ut hacc ad vos Kalendis Ianuarii referrentur, quae
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ORATIO PHILIPPICA V.

3. Num umquam. So Halm, following P. R. Müller, from the Vatican reading 'numquam.' The other MSS. have 'num quando.'

5. Minus vereor. Because the contingency will never arise; he will never obey.

8. Peregre depugnarit. As a Myrmillo at Mylissa. See on c. 7, 20.

9. Familiam ducit, 'heads the band,' not as captain or officer, but set in front as the prime specimen of the lot. The expression is taken from the practice of putting the finest man in the front of a gang of slaves exposed for sale, to recommend the lot. So Quintilian has 'classem ducere,' of a schoolboy, 'to be the show-boy of the class,' I. 2. 24. Here the expression has peculiar point from the application of 'familia' to a school of gladiators. Cicero elsewhere uses the expression metaphorically: Fin. 4. 16. 45. 'Gravissimam illam vestram sententiam, quae familiam ducit,' ('stands in the forefront of your philosophy.') Cp. Fam. 7. 5. 3.

12. Tractum, 'prolonged,' equivalent to 'protractum;' cp. Att. 10. 8. 2. 'Id quod maxime velim, pelli istum ab Hispania, aut trahi id bellum.'

Ut primum, &c. See 3. 1, 1 note.


21. Kalendae Ianuariae. When the new Consuls entered on their office.

22. Hanc moram. After these words there is in the margin of the Vatican MS., by a later hand, the word 'afferemus,' which Kayser inserts, but Halm thinks it an unnecessary interpolation, the verb being frequently omitted, even in these orations, in similar rhetorical exclamations, Cp. 2. 29. 74. 'Tam bonus gladiator rudem tam cito?' and the note.

23. Quorum exspectatio, 'waiting for whom throws a doubt over the certainty
Quam ob rem, patres conscripti, legatorum mentionem nullam censeo faciendam; rem administrandam arbitror sine ulla mora et confestim gerendam censeo; tumultum decerni, iustitium edici, saga sumi dico oportere, dilectum haberi sublatis vacati-
onibus in urbe et in Italia praeter Galliam tota. Quae si erunt facta, opinio ipsa et fama nostrae severitatis obruet scelerati gladiatoris amentiam. Sentiet sibi bellum cum re publica esse susceptum, experiertur consentientis senatus nervos atque vires: nam nunc quidem partium contentionem esse dictat. Quarum 10 partium? Alteri victi sunt, alteri sunt e medii C. Caesaris partibus: nisi forte Caesaris partes a Pansa et Hirtio consulfibus et a filio C. Caesaris oppugnari putamus. Hoc vero bellum non est ex dissensione partium, sed ex nefaria spe perditissimorum civium excitatum: quibus bona fortunaeque nostrae notatae 15 sunt et iam ad ciiusque opinionem distributa. Legi episto-
lem Antonii, quam ad quendam septemvirum, capitehom: hominem, collegam suum, miserat.  ‘Quid concupiscas tu videris: quod concupiveris certe habebis.’ En ad quem legatos mitta-
of war, which stops all zeal in the levying of troops.’
2. Censeo. See on 3. 9, 24.
Rem administrandam, &c., ‘we should without delay determine on our line of policy, and proceed at once to carry it into effect.’
3. Tumultum. See on 8. 1, 3, and cp. 6. 1, 2.
4. Sublatis vacationibus, ‘with no allowance of exemptions.’ So in 326 B.C., on an alarm of an invasion of the Gauls, L. Aemilius was ordered ‘Exercitum scribere sine ulla vacationis venia’ Livy 8. 20. ‘Vacatio,’ ‘exemption from further service,’ on account of illness, civil employment, completion of the term of service, or the like, is to be carefully distinguished from ‘commutae,’ ‘furlough,’ or leave of absence for a time.
5. Praeter Galliam. In 8. 2, 6 and Fam. 11. 8, 2 he speaks of this levy as being ‘tota Italia,’ without excepting Gaul; but here, in his formal vote, he is naturally more precise in his language. From 7. 8, 21 we learn that Antony was raising levies in Gaul, which sufficiently accounts for its exception. Cp. Fam. 12. 5, 2.
10. Alteri, &c., ‘those favouring Antony are conquer’d; those opposing him are found in the very heart of C. Caesar’s party.’ Cicero’s argument is that the vote of Dec. 20 showed that Antony had no party of his own in the senate, and that the very people whom he might have expected to enlist upon his side, the partisans of the dictator, were actively arrayed against him. Manutius and other commentators take the former ‘alteri’ to mean the Pompeian party. but then the second ‘alteri’ could only be ‘the adherents of the dictator,’ and it would be wholly without point, and mere tautology, to say that they were to be found in Caesar’s party.
11. A Pansa et Hirtio. They were both bound by ties of gratitude and friendship to the dictator, and now held the consulship on his nomination.
14. Quibus, ‘for whose benefit,’ unless the dative may be looked on as immediately depending on ‘distributae,’ ‘among whom,’ ‘notatae sunt et’ being, as regards the grammar, parenthetical.
15. Ad ciiusque opinionem ‘to suit the views of each’; cp. Verr. Act. 2. 1. 51, 135. 1ste, qui iam spe atque opinione praedam illam devorasset.
16. Septemvirum. See on 2. 38, 99. Capitalem hominem, ‘a gallows-
bird.’ The word in this sense is generally used of crimes rather than of their perpetrators, but cp. Cat. 2. 2, 3 ‘Tam capi-
talem hostem.’
mus, cui bellum moremur inferre: qui ne sorti quidem fortunas nostras destinavit, sed libidini cuiusque nos ita addixit, ut ne sibi quidem quidquam integrum, quod non aliqui promissum iam sit, reliquerit. Cum hoc, patres conscripti, bello, bello, inquam, decertandum est, idque confestim: legatorum tarditas repellandae est. Quapropter ne multa nobis quotidie decernenda sint, consulibus totam rem publicam commendandum censeo iisque permittendum, ut rem publicam defendant providentique ne quid res publica detrimenti accipiat, censeoque ut iis, qui in exercitu M. Antonii sunt, ne sit ea res fraudi, si ante Kalendas Februarias ab eo discesserint. Haec si censuritis, patres conscripti, brevi tempore libertatem populi Romani auctoritatemque vestram recuperabis: si autem lenius agetis, tamen cadem, sed fortasse serius decernetis. De re publica, quoad rettulistis, satis decrevisse videor.

3. Integrum reliquerit, 'he has left nothing in his own power.'

9. Ne quid detrimenti, &c. This was the formula by which martial law was proclaimed, and irresponsible power given to the Consuls. Cp. pro Mil. 26, 70 'Pompeio senatus commissit ut videret, ne quid res publica detrimenti caperet; quo uno versiculo satris armati semper consules fuerunt, etiam nullis armis datis.'

Ut ne. See Madv. § 456.

10. Fraud. So in the laws of the xii Tables: 'Se fraude esto,' 'let him be blameless.'

15. Quoad rettulistis, 'so far as your motion related to the state.' Some editors read 'quod,' but 'quoad' is the reading of the Vatican MS., and 'quod' would rather mean 'as to the point of your having made a motion about the state,' (see Madv. 398 b. Obs. 2,) which would be less appropriate here.

cc. 13-15. Turning to the question of rewarding those who had done loyal service to the state, Cicero proposes that a vote of thanks should be given to D. Brutus, who had saved his country by preserving Cisalpine Gaul from the hands of Antony: and that a gilt equestrian statue should be erected in honour of M. Lepidus, who had always shown himself to be a true lover of liberty, and who had lately quenched the embers of a dangerous civil war, and done good service in restoring Sext. Pompeius to his country.

16. Deinceps, 'next in their due order.' See on 4. 4. 9.

17. In sententiis rogandis. See on c. I, I.

20. Superiora: his share in the assassination of Caesar, which all men were not as yet prepared to praise.

22. Huius ipsius temporis, &c., 'the praise which he has won for his conduct at this time:' the praise being considered from different points of view as bestowed on Brutus and on the time. A somewhat similar combination of two different genitives is found in Caes. B. G. 3. 18 'Superiorum dierum Sabini cunctatio.'
mus? Neque enim ullam mercedem tanta virtus praeter hanc laudis gloriaeque desiderat: qua etiam si careat, tamen sit se ipsa contenta: quamquam in memoria gratorum civium tamquam in luce posita laetetur. Laus igitur iudicii testimoniique nostri tribuenda Bruto est. Quam ob rem his verbis, patres conscripti, senatus consultum faciendum censeo: Cum D. Brutus imperator, consul designatus, provinciam Galliam in senatus populique Romani potestate teneat, cumque exercitum tantum tam brevi tempore summò studio municipiorum coloniarumque provinciarum Galliae, optime de re publica meritisque, conscripserit compararit, id cum recte et ordine exque re publica fecisse, idque D. Bruti praestantissimum meritum in rem publicam senatui populoque Romano gratum esse et fore: itaque senatum populumque Romanum existimare, D. Bruti imperatoris, consulis designati, opera, consilio, virtute incredibili studio et consensu provinciarum Galliae rei publicae difficultillimo tempore esse subventum. Haec tanto merito Bruti, patres conscripti, tantoque in re publicam beneficio quis est tantus honos qui non debeatur? Nam si M. Antonio patuisset Gallia, si oppressis municipiis et coloniis imparatis in illam ultimam Galliam penetrare potuisset, quantus rei publicae terror impen- deret? Dubitaret, credo, homo am Wendissimus atque in omnibus consiliis praeceps et devius non solum cum exercitu suo, sed etiam cum omni immanitate barbariae bellum inferre nobis, ut eius fuorem ne Alpium quidem muro cohiberis possemus. Haec igitur habenda gratia est D. Bruto, qui illum, nondum interposita auctoritate vestra, suo consilio atque iudicio non ut consulem recepit, sed ut hostem arctum Gallia sequae obsideri

2. Desiderat, "feels to be needful for the perfection of its happiness;" careat, "though it be deprived of this."

4. Laetetur. The subjunctive is not dependent on "quamquam," which here signifies "and yet;" but is due (like "sit") to the conditional nature of the clause, φαίδρυνοντι, "if permitted, it would rejoice at finding a record in the hearts of its grateful fellow-citizens, as being thus brought forth to view."

14. Existimare, "express their opinion."

20. Ultimam, Gallia Comata, at present held by L. Munatius Plancus, the other Consul elect. See on c. 2, 5.

23. Devius, "never constant in his course." Cp. Lael. 25, 93 "Quid enim potest esse tam flexibile, tam devium quam animus eius, qui ad alterius vultum atque nutum convertitur?" and Lucr. 2, 82 "Avius a vera longe ratione vagarīs."

25. Muro. The force and propriety of this expression is only to be appreciated when the Alps are seen from the Italian side, descending, as it seems from a little distance, precipitously into the plain of Lombardy. The northern side is, generally speaking, much less steep, and there is no extensive plain to give the force of con- trast.
quam hanc urbem maluit. Habeat ergo huius tanti facti tamque praeclari decreto nostro testimonium sempiternum: Galliaque, quae semper praesedit atque praesedit huic imperio libertatique communi, merito veroque laudetur, quod se suasaque vires non tradidit, sed opposuit Antonio.

14. Atque etiam M. Lepido pro eius egregiis in rem publicam meritis decernendos honores quam amplissimos censeo. Semper ille populum Romanum liberum voluit: maximumque signum illo die dedit voluntatis et iudicis sui, cum Antonio diadema Caesaris imponente se avertit gemituque et maestitia declaravit, quantum haberet odium servutitis, quam populum Romanum liberum cuperet, quam illa, quae tulerat, temporum magis necessitate quam iudicio tulisset. Quanta vero is moderatione usus sit in illo tempore civitatis, quod post mortem Caesaris consequutum est, quis nostrum oblivisci potest? Magna haec, sed ad maiora properat oratio. Quid enim, o di immortales! admirabilius omnibus gentibus, quid optatius populo Romano accidere potuit quam, cum bellum civile maximum esset, cujus belli exitum omnes timeremus, sapientia etiam id potius exstingui quam armis et ferro rem in discriminem adducere? Quod si eadem ratio Caesaris fuisset in illo tceptro miseroque bello, ut omittam patrem, duos Cn. Pompei, summii et singularis viri, filios incolumes haberemus: quibus certe pietas fraudi esse non debuit. Utinam omnes M. Lepidus servare potuisset! Facturum fuisset declaravit in eo, quod potuit, cum Sex. Pompeium restituit

3. Praesidet atque praesedit, † is now, and always has been, the bulwark of our empire, ‡ lying as an obstacle to the inroads of the outer barbarians beyond the Alps.

6. M. Lepido. Lepidus had been appointed by Caesar to the government of Gallia Narbonensis and Hispania Citerior, and repaired thither shortly after Caesar's death, at Antony's instigation, to try and reconcile the younger Pompey to the senate, with the ulterior object of weakening the power of the opposition, should the civil war again break out.

9. Diadema. See 2. 34, 85 notes.

13. Quanta moderatione. He had followed the lead of Antony throughout, but had withdrawn from Rome before the latter began to abandon the moderation which at first he showed.

18. Bellum civile, the war with Sext. Pompeius, as continued after Caesar's death.

19. Sapientia. Some second virtue seems to be required here, to balance 'armis et ferro.' The want has been variously supplied by 'et Clementia,' 'et mansuetudine,' or 'et humanitate,' from the following section. The missing word would seem to be represented by 'etiam,' which is otiose.

20. Adducere. We should rather have expected 'rem adduci,' maintaining the form of the previous clause, but the civil war is represented as using its instruments of harness and sword to bring the matter to a crisis.

23. Pietas, 'sympathy with, and duty towards their father.'

25. Restituit. See on 3. 9, 23.
civitati, maximum ornamentum rei publicae, clarissimum monumentum clementiae suae. Gravis illa fortuna populi Romani, grave fatum. Pompeio enim patre, quod imperio populi Romani lumen fuit, exstincto interfactus est patris simillimus filius. Sed omnia mihi videntur deorum immortalium iudicio expiata, Sex. Pompeio rei publicae conservato. Quam ob causam iustam atque magnam et quod periculosissimum civile bellum maximumque humanitate et sapientia sua M. Lepidus ad pacem concordiamque convertit, senatus consultum his verbis censeo perscribendum: Cum a M. Lepido imperatore, pontifice maximo, saepe numero res publica et bene et feliciter gesta sit, populusque Romanus intelleixerit ei dominatum regium maxime displicere, cumque eius opera, virtute, consilio singularique clementia et mansuetudine bellum acerbissimum civile sit restitutum, Sextusque Pompeius, Gnaei filius, Magnus, huius ordinis auctoritate ab armis discesserit et a M. Lepido imperatore, pontifice maximo, summa senatus populique Romani voluntate civitati restitutus sit : senatum populumque Romanum pro maximis plurimisque in rem publicam M. Lepidi meritis magnam spem in eius virtute, auctoritate, felicitate reponere otii, pacis, concordiae, libertatis, eiusque in rem publicam meritorum senatum populumque Romanum memorem fore, cique statuum equestrem inauratam in rostris aut quo alio loco in foro vellet ex huius ordinis sententia statui placere. Qui honos, patres conscripti, mihi maximus videtur primum, quia iustus est: non enim solum datur propter spem temporum reliquorum, sed pro amplissimis meritis redditor; nec vero cuiquam possimus com-

3. Quod ... lumen fuit. Cp. 2. 22, 54 note.
4. Filius. Cn. Pompeius, the elder brother of Sextus, was wounded in the battle of Munda (March 17, B.C. 45), and shortly afterwards captured and slain.
10. Pontifice maximo. He owed this dignity to Antony, who caused him to be elected to the vacancy made by Caesar's death, in return for the support that Lepidus had given him.
25. Primum, &c. The natural sequence to this would have been 'deinde quia novus est,' but Cicero, having interrupted his sentence to give the reasons why his vote was just, resumes it in another form. Similarly in Cat. 2. 10, 21 he begins, 'Qui homines

primum si stare non possunt corrumpi;' and then being led away to give the reason for this wish, he never proceeds to the second consideration.
27. Redditur, 'it is awarded him in payment for his services.'
Nec cuiquam, &c. Manutius quotes a passage from Velleius, (2. 10,) who says that similar statues were erected to L. Sulla, Cn. Pompeius, and C. Caesar. That in honour of Pompey would be awarded 'iudicio senatus libero et soluto,' and Cicero is careless enough of facts when they interfere with rhetorical point to make his statement of little force as invalidating that of Velleius. See on 2. 1, 1.
memorare hunc honorem a senatu tributum iudicio senatus soluto et libero.

16 Venio ad C. Caesarem, patres conscripti: qui nisi fuisset, quis nostrum esse potuisset? Advolabat ad urbem a Brundisio homo impotentissimus, ardens odio, animo hostili in omnès bonos, cum exercitu Antonius. Quid huius audaciae et sceleri poterat opponi? Nondum ullos duces habeamus, non copias; nullum erat consilium publicum, nulla libertas; dandae cervices erant crudelitati nefariae; fugam quaerebamus omnes, quae ipsa

8. Nullum consilium publicum, 'no council representing the republic;' the senate being still unable to deliberate freely.

10. Exitum non habebat, 'presented no outlet;' no safe place for flight being to be found. Cp. de Or. 2.77, 312 'Causa quae plurimos exitus dant.'

11. Deus is thrown to the end of the clause apparently to give point to 'divinus.' So godlike a young man could only have received his inspiration from a god.

15. Cum esset adolescentem, 'young man as he was.' Pompey was not quite 23 when he raised an army in Picenum, defeated M. Brutus, and joined Sulla, 83 B.C. Octavianus was little more than three years younger at the time of Antony's advance on Rome.

17. Paratior. Halm reads 'paratiore,' a conjecture of his own, in order that the clauses may more exactly balance the expressions in the account of Caesar. The final 'et' might easily have dropped out before 'et,' but 'studio paratior' could only depend upon 'robustior,' which would thus be strangely used with one ablative of physical quality, existing in Pompey, and another of the mental affections of his soldiers. 'He was of a much more vigorous age, and had much more to support him, in the zeal of the soldiers who were seeking for a general,' and so far his difficulties were less; and further, his services were of more
et in alio genere belli; non enim omnibus Sullae causa grata: declarat multitudo proscriptorum, tot municipiorum maxime calamitates. Caesar autem annis multis minor veteranos cugi- 44 entes iam requiescere armavit; eam complexus est causam, 
5 quae esset senatui, quae populo, quae cunctae Italiae, quae dis 
hominibusque gratissima. Et Pompeius ad L. Sullae maxi- 
6 num imperium victoremque exercitum accessit: Caesar se ad 
neminem adiunxit; ipse princeps exercitus faciendi et praesidii 
7 comparandi fuit. Ille adversariorum partibus agrum Picenum 
10 habuit inimicum: hic ex Antonii amicis, sed amicioribus liber- 
tatis contra Antonium consecut exercitum. Illius opibus Sulla 
11 regnavit: huius praesidio Antonii dominatus oppressus est. 
Demus igitur imperium Caesari, sine quo res militaris adminis- 
trari, teneri exercitus, bellum geri non potest: sit pro praetore 
15 eo iure quo qui optimo. Qui honos quamquam est magnus 
illa acetate, tamen ad necessitatem rerum gerendarum, non somum 
ad dignitatem valet. Itaque illa quaeramus, quae vix hodierno 
die consequemur. Sed saepe spero fore huius adolescenis honorandi et nobis ct populo Romano postestatem: hoc autem 
17 tempore ita censeo decernundum: (Quod C. Caesar, Gai filius, 
pontifex, pro praetore, summo rci publicac tempore milites vete-

doebur merit, for 'the war in which he engaged was different, the cause of Sulla being less universally popular.' 
12. Regnavit, 'made himself despot.' See on 2. 12, 20. 
Dominatus. See on 1. 14, 34. 
13. Imperium. This is a 'locus classicus' for the meaning of 'imperium.' See on 1. 7, 18. The same honour was given 
to Pompey by Sulla, who addressed him when their forces joined as 'Imperator,' 
though he had held no regular commission 
from the state. 
14. Sit pro praetore,' let him have the 
rank of pro-praetor, as fully as though 
regularly appointed; ' eo iure quo pro praec- 
tore est qui optimo iure est,' that is, with 
as full privileges as if he had been legally 
appointed in the ordinary way. 
16. Ad necessitatem. If Octavius was 
to hold the command of an army, he must 
have the 'imperium'; and Cicero implies 
that he would ask for further honours, were 
it not that he anticipated opposition; on 
which account he limited his demands to 
what he thought he could obtain, though 
even here he foresaw difficulty: 'Let us 
therefore seek for this, which to-day we 
shall have sufficient difficulty in gaining.' 
So in the spurious Epistles to Brutus we find 
(2. 15, 7): 'Cum omne praesidium esset in 
puesto, quis honos ei non fuit decemundus? 
Quamquam ego illi tum verborum laudem 
tribui, eamque modicum. Decrevi etiam 
imperium, quod quamquam videlatur illi 
actati honorificum, tamen erat exercitum 
habenti necessarium. Quid enim est sine 
imperio exercitus?' 
19. Honorandi. So Halm, for the Vatic- 
ican reading 'hortandi honorandi,' the two 
words there probably arising from confusion, 
such as is common in that MS. Many 
editors, following Ferrarius, read 'ornandi 
honorandi,' referring the former to the 
panegyrics of the senate, the latter to the 
offices of distinction conferred by the 
people. 
20. Gai. 'Gaius,' 'Gnaeus' appear to 
be properly spelt with a 'G,' the 'C' which 
usually stands for their initial being perhaps 
retained from the time when that letter 
had the force of 'G.'
ranos ad libertatem populi Romani cohortatus sit eosque conscripsit, quodque legio Martia atque quarta summo studio optimoque in rem publicam consensu C. Caesare duce et auctore rem publicam, libertatem populi Romani defendant defenderint, et quod C. Caesar pro praetore Galliae provinciae cum exercitu subsidio profectus sit, equites, sagittarios, elephantos in suam populique Romani potestatem redegerit difficillimoque rei publicae tempore saluti dignitatisque populi Romani subveniret; ob eas causas senatui placere, C. Caesarem, Gai filium, pontificem, pro praetore, senatorem esse sententiamque loco praetorio dicere, eiusque rationem, quemcumque magistratum petet, ita haberit, ut haberii per leges liceret, si anno superiore quaestor fuisset.

47 Quid est enim, patres conscripti, cur eum non quam primum amplissimos honores capere cupiamus? Legibus enim annalibus cum grandiorem actatem ad consultatum constituebant, adolescentiae temeritatem verebantur: C. Caesar inunete actate docuit ab excellenti eximiae virtute progressum actatis expectari non oportere. Itaque maiores nostri, veteres illi admodum antiqui, leges annales non habebant: quas multis post annis attulit ambitio, ut gradus essent petitionis inter aequales. 20 Ita saepe magna indoles virtutis, prius quam rei publicae prodesse potuissest, extincta est. At vero apud antiquos Rulli,

6. Equites, sagittarios, elephantos. These are joined together as forming the foreign portion of his forces. At this period the cavalry of the Roman army generally, and the light-armed universally, were composed of mercenaries. See on c. 2, 5. The elephants were probably some that had been taken by Caesar from the Moors in the African campaign, and had been attached to the legions of Antony; though elephants had been occasionally used in the Roman army since the close of the second Punic war. (Livy 31. 36.) The last occasion on which they took part in any important engagement was at the battle of Thapsus, where they proved fatal to their own side.

10. Loco praetorio. See on 1. 6, 15.
11. Ratiorum haberi, 'votes should be received for him;' he should be taken into account in the election, should be eligible. Cp. 2. 10, 24 note.
14. Legibus, by the 'Leges annales,' fixing the age at which a citizen might become a candidate for the various offices of state. That for quaestor was 31, for Consul 43.

The first and principal 'Lex annalis' was the 'Lex Villia,' passed in 180 B.C.
18. Admodum antiqui, 'of primitive simplicity,' not yet hampered by the complexity of more modern regulations: as in 1. 10, 25 he uses 'antiqua' for old-fashioned customs, falling short of the requirements of more advanced civilization. Cp. pro Quinct. 22, 72 'Hominem antiqui officii.'
22 'Apud maiores virtutis id praeium fuerat, cunctis civium, si bonis artibus fiderent, licitum petere magistratus; ac ne aetas quidem distinguerebat, quin prima iuventa consulatum et dictaturas iurent.'
20. Ambito, 'rivalry for office;' not the 'struggle for popularity,' which is a later meaning of the word, illustrative of the change in Roman public life under the emperors, when the avenues of laudable ambition were gradually closed. 'Which rivalry for office introduced long after, that the struggles for the several steps might take place among men of the same age.'
22. Rulli. Q. Fabius Maximus Rullus
Decii, Corvini multique alii, recentiore autem memoria superior Africanus, T. Flamininus admodum adolescentes consules facti tantas res gesserunt, ut populi Romani imperium auxerint, nomen ornarent. Quid? Macedo Alexander, cum ab ineunte 5 actate res maximas gerere coepisset, nonne terto et tricesimo anno mortem obiit? quae est actas nostris legibus decem annis minor quam consularis. Ex quo iudicari potest virtutis esse quam actatis cursum celeriorem. Nam quod ii, qui Caesari 18 invident, simulant se timere, ne verendum quidem est, ut tenere 10 se possit, ut moderari, ne honoribus nostris clatus intemperan-tius suis opibus utatur. Ea natura recrum est, patres conscripti, ut, qui sensum verae gloriae ceperit quique se ab senatu, ab equitibus Romanis populoque Romano universo sensorit civem

was Consul 322 B.C., having already distinguished himself when 'magister equitum' in 315 B.C., by a victory over the Samnites, gained in a battle which he fought against the orders of his dictator, L. Papirius Cursor. (Livy 8. 29 sqq.) He is the only Rullus of that period known to history.

1. Decii. Probably the youthful Consul of the name was the second P. Decius Mus, who was Consul first in 312 B.C. He was afterwards thrice Consul with Fabius Maximus Rullus, and on the last occasion, in 295 B.C., he is described by Livy as being 'ferior et aetate et vigore animi' Livy 10. 28.

Corvini. M. Valerius Corvus, whose son took the name of Corvinus, here loosely given to the father, was elected Consul in 348 B.C., as a mark of gratitude for his victory over the gigantic Gaul in the previous year. He was at the time only 23 years old. (Livy 7. 26.)

2. Africanus. The elder Africanus was 29 when he was made Consul in 205 B.C.; and he had then already achieved the conquest of Spain, where he was appointed to the command of the army as proconsul in 210 B.C.

T. Flamininus was elected Consul in 198 B.C., at the age of 31, having previously only held the office of quaestor. See Livy 32. 7; from which passage we learn that at that time not only was there no 'Lex annalis,' but the practice of requiring men to pass through the several minor grades of office to qualify for the consularship rested only upon custom, not on law. Plutarch says (Flam. c. 2) that he was not yet 30, but Livy, two years later, makes him 33 (Livy 33. 33).

3. Auxerint, ornarent. Perfects, instead of imperfects, because the results of their exploits continued to the time when Cicero is speaking.

4. Ab ineunte aetate. Alexander's first military distinction was gained in the battle of Chaeroneia, 338 B.C., before he was 18. (Plut. Alex. c. 9.)

8. Quam aetatis. The insertion of the second member of the comparison before the comparative, to increase the force of contrast, is noticeable; cp. Tusc. 3. 22, 52 'Maris subita tempestas quam ante provisa terret navigantes vehementius;' and see Madv. § 303 a. Obs. 2.

c. 18. There was no fear of C. Caesar forgetting what was due to moderation, no fear of his following in his father's footsteps, through elation at his early honours. He had learned to prize true glory, the glory which consists in the love and respect of all his fellow-citizens; he had even sacrificed his private enmities to the welfare of the state; and in going to the aid of D. Brutus he had given a pledge which Cicero undertakes he should redeem, that he would always unwaveringly maintain his present loyalty.

Quod ii, &c., 'what those who envy Caesar feign to dread is no subject even for our apprehension.' For this distinctive meaning of 'vereor' cp. 12. 12, 29 'Quid? veteranos non veremur, nam timeri se ne ipsi quidem volunt, quonam modo accipiant severitatem?' Cat. Na. II. 37 'Metuebant servi, verebantur liberi.'

12. Quique se, &c. Cicero means this clause to be explanatory of the former: 'the love of one's fellow-citizens is the truest glory.'
ORATIO PHILIPPICA V.

1. Carum is a conjecture of Ferrarius, adopted by most editors, for the MSS. reading 'clarum.' Cp. I. 14. 33 'Carum esse civem, bene de re publica mereri, laudari, coll, diligit gloriosum est.'

3. Optimo cuique, 'best beloved by those who are most virtuous themselves.' See on I. 12. 29.

14. Verae, gravi, solidae, 'genuine, influential, substantial,' opposed severally to inutilis, invidiosa, lubrica, 'profitless, obnoxious, precarious.'

18. Condonavit, 'has sacrificed all his private enmities.'

19. Consiliorum is a conjecture of Faenius to supply an obvious want, the reading of the Vatican MS. being 'omnia atque factorum.' 'Consilia atque facta' are similarly joined in 10. 10. 20; 11, 23; and in the speech of the Prov. Cons. 9, 20.

Ita ad rem publicam accessit. 'His entrance on public life is a guarantee that he will establish, not destroy, the commonwealth.'

21. Habeo cognitos. This periphrasis for the perfect active, like the Greek construction with the active aorist participle, (τὸν μὲν προτίσιαν, τὸν δ' ἀντίμασσα ἔχει, Soph. Ant. 22,) is a step towards the modern usage of auxiliary verbs. It always marks the fullest force of the definite perfect, that the action of the verb continues, in itself or in its consequences, to the present time. Cp. Fam. 13. 17. 2 'Si eum nondum satis habes cognitum, tibi eum commendò;' and see Madv. § 427.


Quae plus possit, 'so as to weighmore.'
apud eum possit quam salus civitatis. Audebo etiam obligare fidem meam, patres conscripti, vobis populoque Romano reique publicae: quod prorecto, cum me nulla vis cogere, facere non audercm, pertimesceremque in maxima re periculosam opinionem temeritatis: promitto, recipio, spondeo, patres conscripti, C. Caesarem talem semper fore civem, qualis hodie sit: quemquecum maxime velle esse et optare debemus.

Quae cum ita sint, de Caesare satis hoc tempore dictum habebo. Nec vero de L. Egnatuleio, fortissimo et constantissimo civi amicissimoque rei publicae, silendum arbitror, sed tribuendum testimonium virtutis egregiae, quod is legionem quartam ad Caesarem adduxerit, quae praeсидio consilibus, senatui populoque Romano reique publicae esset: ob cam causam placere, uti L. Egnatuleio triennium ante legitimum tempus magistratus peterc, capere, gerere liceat. In quo, patres conscripti, non tantum commodum tribuitur L. Egnatuleio, quantus honos: in tali enim re satis est nominari.

De exercitu autem C. Caesaris ita censeo decernundum: senatui placere, militibus veteranis, qui Caesaris pontificis auctoritatem seuti libertatem populi Romani auctoritatemque huius ordinis defenderint atque defendant, iis liberisque eorum militiae vacationem esse, utique C. Pansa A. Hirtius consules, alter

3. Quod . . . temeritatis, 'which otherwise I should not dare to do,' &c. Ernetti supposes an alternative clause to have dropped out after 'temeritatis,' such as 'nisi eum plane perspectum haberem,' but this may easily be supplied from the context.

5. Promitto, recipio, spondeo, 'I promise, undertake, pledge myself,' the three words forming a climax, from a mere promise to a solemn bond. 'Recipio,' in the sense of taking a risk upon oneself, is distinguished from 'pollicer,' Att. 13. 1, 2 'De aestate polliceris, vel potius recipis,' and joined with 'spondeo,' Fam. 13. 17, 3 'Spondeo in meque recipio.'

c. 19. Having moved a vote of thanks and special privileges to L. Egnatuleius, the quaestor of the fourth legion; and proposed that rewards in lands, money, and exemptions from service should be given to the soldiers who had left or should leave the standard of Antony, Cicero concludes by once more deprecating delay, and urging the necessity for immediate and energetic action.

8. Dictum habebo, 'I shall be acknowledged to have said enough.' See above on § 50.


15. Magistratus. Halm reads 'magistratum,' on his own authority, but as Egnatuleius was at present only quaestor, there seems no reason why we should not accept the reading of the Italian MS. (the Vatican has 'magna,' which is obviously wrong, and the others are deficient in this portion of the oration), supposing that he was allowed to anticipate each of the higher magistracies by three years. This privilege, Cicero says, was insignificant in itself, but it was a high honour to have gained in it the public thanks of the senate.

19. Auctoritatem seuti, &c. The words in italics are added by Halm, after a suggestion of Garatoni, to supply an obvious omission, probably arising from the repetition of the word 'auctoritatem.' The words supplied are modelled on the decree in 3. 15.

37. Cp. 3. 4, 8; 10. 10, 21; 11. 8, 20.

22. Vacationem. See on c. 12, 31.
ambove, si eis videretur, cognoscerent, qui ager iis coloniis esset, quo milites veterani deducti essent, qui contra legem Iuliam possideretur, ut is militibus veteranis divideretur: de agro Campano separatim cognoscerent inirentque rationem de commodis militum veteranorum augendis; legionique Martiae et legioni quintae et iis militibus, qui de legione secunda, tricesima quinta ad C. Pansa A. Hirtius consules venissent suaque nomina edidissent, quod iis auctoritas senatus populique Romani libertas carissima sit et fuerit, vacationem militiae ipsis liberisque corum esse placere, extra tumultum Gallicum Italianumque, easque legiones bello confecto missas fieri placère; quantamque pecuniam militibus earum legionum in singulos C. Caesar, pontifex, pro praetore pollicitus sit, tantam dari placère: utique C. Pansa A. Hirtius consules, alter ambove, si eis videretur, rationem agri haberent, qui sine iniuria privatorum dividi posset, iisque militibus, legioni Martiae et legioni quarta ita darent adsignarent, ut quibus militibus amplissime dati adsignati essent. Dixi ad ea omnia, consules, de quibus rettulistis: quae si erunt sine mora matureque decreta, facilius apparabitis ea, quae tempus et necessitas flagitat. Celeritate autem opus est: qua si essemus usi, bellum, ut saepe dixi, nullum haberemus.

Probably the exemption proposed would be with the same limitation as below, 'extra tumultum Gallicum Italianumque.'

2. Contra legem Iuliam. The main provisions of the agrarian law, carried by Caesar in his consulship in 59 B.C., for the division of state lands in Campania, were that existing rights of property should be observed, that individual allotments should be small, and incapable of alienation till they had been held for twenty years, and that the receivers of land were to be poor citizens, fathers of at least three children. See Mommsen, Hist. of Rome, 4. pp. 200, 528 (Eng. Trans.). Antony had divided this territory 'compransoribus suis et collusoribus' 2. 39, 101.

5. Legioni Martiae, &c. See on 3. 2, 4.

8. Edidissent. So the Vatican MS. Cp. Livy 2. 24 'Nominis edendi apud consules potestas.'

10. Tumultum. See 8. 1, 3 note.

11. Missas fieri, 'should be at once discharged from further service.'


17. Ut quibus militibus. Sc. 'ut iis militibus dati essent quibus amplissime dati essent.' Cp. 'Eo iure, quo qui optimo' c. 16, 45.
INTRODUCTION

TO THE SIXTH ORATION.

At the close of the debate in the senate which gave rise to the fifth Philippic oration, Cicero came out into the Forum, on the 4th of January, and being introduced to the multitude by P. Apuleius, a tribune of the commons, he told them in the sixth oration what had happened.

In it he shows again the absurdity and danger of sending ambassadors to Antony, and so delaying the declaration of war; which he declares to be inevitable, from considerations of the character both of Antony himself, and of his chief companions, especially his brother Lucius; and he concludes by urging them to await patiently the return of the ambassadors, and to let nothing induce them to waver in the firm assertion of their liberty, which he had ever laboured to support.
M. TULLII CICERONIS

ORATIONUM PHILIPPICARUM

LIBER SEXTUS.

1 AUDITA vobis esse arbitror, Quirites, quae sint acta in senatu, quae fuerit cuiusque sententia. Res enim ex Kalendis Ianuariiis agitata paulo ante confecta est, minus quidem illa severe quam decuit, non tamen omnino dissolue. Mora est allata bello, non causa sublata. Quam ob rem, quod quaesivit 5 ex me P. Apuleius, homo et multis officiis mihi et summa familiaritate coniunctus et vobis amicissimus, ita respondebo, ut ea, quibus non interfusitis, nosse possitis. Causa fortissimis optimisque consilibus Kalendis Ianuariis de re publica primum referendi fuit ex eo, quod XIII Kalendas Ian. senatus me auctore 10 decrevit. Eo die primum, Quirites, fundamenta sunt iacta rei

c. 1. Following out the motion of the 20th of December, which was the first day after a long interval on which the senate had met in liberty, the Consuls had proposed stringent measures against Antony. This proposal Cicero had strenuously supported, moving that all the steps should be taken which were usual when an enemy was threatening the city. During three days' debate his policy was looked upon with favour; but on the fourth day milder counsels prevailed, and it was agreed to send an embassy to Antony, whereby the progress of the war was needlessly delayed.

1. Audita vobis, 'has been rumoured among you,' rather than 'has been heard by you.' The dative is seldom, if ever, used in prose as the exact equivalent of the ablative of the agent; see Madv. 250 a. Here the literal meaning would be, 'our proceedings are to you as what you have heard.' For the sense cp. 10. 3, 6 'An vero hoc pro nihilom putas, efferri haec foras, et ad populi Romani aures pervenire.' The opinion of Manutius, that from the doors of the temple of Concord being open, some, but not all, of the people could hear the deliberations of the senate, and that this oration was meant to gratify the curiosity of the rest, scarcely needs refutation. Cicero's object is obviously to explain more fully what was generally but imperfectly known.

4. Dissolue, 'without strength.'

6. P. Apuleius, Cp. 14. 6, 16 'P. Apuleius, tribunus plebis, meorum omnium consiliorum perculorumque iam inde a consolatu meo testis, conscius, adiutor.' On the present occasion he brought forward Cicero to speak, as M. Servilius had done fifteen days before. See 4. 6, 16.

10. XIII Kalendas Ian., the 20th of December, when he delivered the third and fourth orations.

11. Eo die primum, &c. Cp. 4. 1, 1.
M. TULLII CICERONIS
cc. 1—3.

publicae: fuit enim longo intervallo ita liber senatus, ut vos aliquando liberi essetis. Quo quidem tempore, etiam si ille dies vitae finem mihi allaturus esset, satis magnum ceperam fructum, cum vos universi una mente atque voce iterum a me conservam esse rem publicam conclamastis. Hoc vestro iudicio tanto tamque praeclaro excitatus ita Kalendis Ianuariiis veni in senatum, ut meminissem quam personam impositam a vobis sustinerem. Itaque bellum nefarium illatum rei publicae cum viderem, nullam moram interponendam insequendi M. Antonium putavi, hominemque audacissimum, qui multis nefariis rebus ante commissis hoc tempore imperatorem populi Romani oppugnaret, coloniam vestram fidissimam fortissimamque obsideret, bello censui sequendum: tumultum esse decrevi, iustitium edici, saga sumi dixi placere, quo omnes acrius graviusque incumbe- rent ad ulciscendas rei publicae iniurias, si omnia gravissimis bellis insignia suscepta a senatu viderent. Itaque haec sententia, Quirites, sic per triduum valuit, ut, quamquam discessio facta non esset, tamen praeter paucos omnes mihi assensuri vidercetur. Hodie autem die quae cias obiecta remissior senatus fuit. Nam plures eam sententiam securi sunt, ut, quantum senatus auctoritas vesterque consensus apud Antonium valiturus esset, per legatos experiremur.

Intelligo, Quirites, a vobis hanc sententiam repudiari, neque

3. Ceperam. The indicative is here used because, independently of the condition, he had already reaped an adequate reward.
4. Iterum: the first deliverance being from the conspiracy of Catiline.
7. Quam personam, &c., 'what character you had given me to sustain.' Cp. de Orat. 2. 24, 102 'Tres personas munus sustineo, meam, adversarii, iudicis;' Off. 1. 28, 97 'Nobis personam imposita ipsa natura.'
11. Oppugnaret, the subjunctive, as showing wherein his audacity consisted.
12. Coloniam: Mutina.
18. Esset. The subjunctive here is merely due to the influence of 'videretur,' the dependent verb being attracted into the construction of the one on which it depends. For discessio see on 3. 9. 24.
19. Nescio qua, &c. So Halm. The reading of the Vatican MS. here is 'dies, non est, pecus nescio quae obiectarem remissor senatus fuit,' the most probable interpretation of which is given by F. Bächeler (Rhein. Mus. for 1857, p. 466). Rejecting 'non est,' as probably brought in from 'non esset' above, and 'rem' as merely the repetition of the beginning of 'remissor,' he considers that 'qua pacis' underlies 'qua esis,' so that the whole would be, 'Hodierno autem die, spec nescio qua pacis obiecta, remissor senatus fuit.'
Remissor, 'less severe.'
cc. 2. 3. The people would learn with dismay that the ambassadors had merely been charged to enjoin on Antony that he should desist from his attempts on Gaul, and once more place himself under the authority of the senate. When they considered his profigate and treasonable course of conduct, and the evil influences which prevailed with him, they would agree with Cicero that Antony was most unlikely to obey. His violence and insolence were much more likely to make him treat the envoys and their embassy with contempt; and the only result of
ORATIO PHILIPPICA VI.

§§ 2—5. 173

injuriam. Ad quem enim legatos? ad eumne, qui pecunia publica dissipata atque effusa, per vim et contra auspicia impositis rei publicae legibus, fugata contione, obsessedo senatu ad opprimendum rem publicam Brundisio legiones arcesserit, ab iis relictus cum latronum manu in Galliam irruperit, Brutum oppugnet, 5 Mutinam circumsedeat? Quae vobis potest cum hoc gladiatore conditionis, acquitatis, legationis esse communitas? Quamquam, Quirites, non est illa legatio, sed denuntiatio belli, nisi paruerit: ita enim est decretum, ut si legati ad Hannibalem mitterentur. Mittuntur enim qui nuntient, ne oppugnet consulem designatum, ne Mutinam obsideat, ne provinciam depopuletur, ne dilectus habeat, sit in senatus populique Romani potestate. Facile vero huic denuntiationi parebit, ut in patrum conscriptorum atque in vestra potestate sit qui in sua numquam fuerit! Quid enim ille umquam arbitrio suo fecit? Semper eo tractus est, quo libido rapuit, quo levitas, quo furor, quo violentia: semper eum duo dissimilia genera teneuerunt, lenonum et latronum; ita domesticis stupris, forensibus parricidiis delectatur, ut mulieri citius avariissimae paruerit quam senatus populoque Romano. Itaque quod paulo ante feci in senatu faciam apud vos. Testificor, denuntio, ante praedico nihil M. Antonium eorum, quae sunt legatis mandata, facturum: vastaturum agros, Mutinam obsessurum, dilectus qua possit habiturum. Is est enim ille, qui semper senatus iudicium et auctoritatem, semper voluntatem vestram potestatemque contempersit. An ille id faciat, quod paulo ante decretum est, 25

it would be the serious delay which it would cause. In the end they would be obliged to follow the example of D. Brutus, who had shown by his opposition to Antony that he looked on him as no longer a Consul, but the enemy of the state.

1. Legatos: sc. 'mittimus.' The omission of the verb is remarkable here, as the substantive is repeated from a clause in which it stood in a different construction. See however on 2. 19, 48.

Pecunia publica: that which Caesar had stored in the temple of Ops, cp. 1. 7, 17.

2. Contra auspicia. Cp. 3. 4, 9 'Neque sollem legibus contra auspicia feren- dis, sed etiam collega una ferente eo quem ipse ementitis auspiciis vitiosum fecerat.'


24, 2 'Nondum legati redierant, quos senatus non ad pacem deprecandam sed ad denun- tiandum bellum miserat, nisi legatorum nuntio paruisset.'


17. Genera, lenonum et latronum. For a similar use of the genitive, where we should rather have expected nouns in apposition, see Cat. 2. 8, 18 'Unum genus est eorum, qui magno in aere alieno maioris etiam possessiones habent;' and see Madv. § 286. Obs. 2.

18. Mulieri, Fulvia. See on 1. 13, 33; 2. 44, 113; 23. Qua possit, 'in whatever way he can,' 'qua ratione;' rather than 'wherever he can,' which would be a rare, though not unexampled use of the word in Cicero.

25. Faciat . . . ut. See on 3. 14, 35.
ut exercitum citra flumen Rubiconem, qui finis est Galliae, educeret, dum ne propius urbem Romam cc milia admoveret? Huic denuntiationi ille pareat? ille se fluvio Rubicone et cc milibus circumscriptum esse patiatur? Non is est Antonius.

5 Nam si esset, non commississet ut ei senatus, tamquam Hannibali

initio belli Punici, denuntiaret ne oppugnaret Saguntum. Quod vero ita avocatur a Mutina, ut ab urbe tamquam pestifera flamma arceatur, quam habet ignominiam! quod iudicium senatus! Quid quod a senatu dantur mandata legatis, ut D. Brutum militesque
eius adeant iisque demonstrent summa in rem publicam merita beneficiaque eorum grata esse senatui populoque Romano iisque
eam rem magnae laudi magnoque honoris fore, passurumne censetis Antonium introire Mutinam legatos, exire inde tuto? Numquam patietur, mihi credite: novi violentiam, novi impudentiam,
novи audaciam. Nec vero de illo sicut de homine aliquo debe-mus, sed ut de importunissima belua cogitare. Quacum cum ita sint, non omnino dissolutum es quod decretit senatus. Habet atrocityatis aliquid legatio: utinam nihil haberet morae! Nam cum plerisque in rebus gerendis tarditas et procrastinatio odio-sa est, tum hoc bellum indiget celeritatis. Succurrendum est D. Bruto, omnis undes copiae colligendae; θ horam exhibere nul-

2. Ne propius cc milia. This would confine Antony within limits of about twenty miles, the Rubicon being nine miles north of Ariminum, which is about 210 Roman miles from Rome. The omission of 'quam' is not usual in comparisons of quantity, cp. Livy 24. 40 ‘Multo minus tria milia militum;’ and see Prof. Conington on Virg. G. 4. 207.

4. Circumscriptum. See on 2. 22. 53.

5. Non commississet, 'never would have gone so far.'

7. Ita . . . ut, &c., 'what disgrace, what censure from the senate is involved in this, that while withdrawn from Mutina, he yet is ordered to remain away from Rome,' See on 2. 34. 85.

16. Importunissima, 'of the most indiscriminate rapacity;' raging without any regard to fitness of time or circumstance.

17. Dissolutum. See on c. 1. 1. Atrocitas seems to be a stronger expression than 'severe' in that place, perhaps 'rigour.' Cp. Quint. 1. 7. 37. ‘Quod in foro atrocitate formularum diludicatur,' by the unbending strictness of the laws. Hor. Od. 2. 1. 24 ‘Practer atrocem animum Catonis,' 21. Horam exhibere nullam, &c. This is the reading of the MSS. The general meaning is plain, 'we are bound to do our best without delay for the liberation of a citizen like this,' but the interpretation of the words is almost hopeless. As they stand they can only signify, 'to spend no time in freeing such a citizen cannot but be wrong,' which is very weak. In the more generally proposed alterations, 'horam eximesere' ('to withdraw an hour from the time that might be spent,' and so 'to waste an hour'), and 'horam exhibere,' 'to make a show of delay,' the repetition of the negative forms a further difficulty, whence Wessenberg (ad or. pro Sest. p. 30, quoted by Halm) declares the removal of one of the negatives to be necessary. A less violent alteration would be to read 'curam exhibere,' which would give good sense. Lambinus proposes 'excubare,' 'to give up none of our time to watchfulness,' comparing c. 7. 18 'Quantum potero excubabo vigilabique pro vos,' Halm reads 'horam eximere [nullam].' Even with this reading there is a dispute about the meaning; but 'eximere tempus' in Cicero appears to be

4 Non metuo, Quirites, ne, cum audierit Antonius, me hoc et in senatu et in contione confirmasse, numquam illum futurum in senatus potestate, refellendi mei causa, ut ego nihil vidisse 15 videat, vertat se et senatui pareat. Numquam faciet; non invadebit huic meae gloriae: malet me sapientem a vobis quam se 10 modestum existimari. Quid? ipse si velit, num etiam Lucium fratrem passurum arbitrarmur? Nuper quidem dicitur ad Tibur, ut opinor, cum ei labare M. Antonius videretur, mortem fratri 20 esse minitatus. Etiamme ab hoc myrmillone Asiatico senatus mandata, legatorum verba audientur? Nec enim secerni a fratre poterit, tanta praesertim auctoritate. Nam hic inter illos Africanus est; pluris habetur, quam L. Trebellius, pluris, quam T. Plancus, ** adolescens nobilis. Plancum, qui omnibus 25

' to deprive one of time which one might claim,' like ἀνελεῖν τούς χρόνους in Dem. F. L. p. 399, 30, cp. ad Q. Fratr. 2. 1, 3 'Clodius rogatus diem dicendo eximere coepit,' rather than, as some maintain, 'to consume time.'

4. Primus sententiam dicere: as 'Consul designatus' for the following year. Cp. 5. 13, 35; and see on 5. 1, 1. Quoad, 'until;' cp. 3. 15, 38.

II. Iretur. Cp. 14. 1, 1 'Propter cuius periculum ad saga issemus, propter eiusdem salutem redeundum ad pristimum vestitum censerem.'

cc. 4, 5. *If Antony himself were willing to submit, he would be prevented by his traitorous associates, such as T. Plancus and L. Trebellius, the champion of commercial probity, and above all by his brother L. Antonius, the leader and the greatest ruffian of the crew: who had the impudence to claim amongst his clients the thirty-five tribes of Rome, the Roman knights, the most distinguished military tribunes of Caesar's army, and, most marvellous of all, the Roman Change. These claims were all attested by statues in his honour, with inscriptions bearing lasting witness to his arrogance.

19. Ad Tibur, whither Antony had gone when he fled precipitately from Rome on the news of the defection of the fourth legion. See 3. 9, 24.


23. Tanta auctoritate, 'when his influence is so great among the soldiers.'

25. Adolescens nobilis. This appellation could hardly apply to T. Plancus, who had been tribune of the commons nine years before; and in the Vatican MS. we
sententiis maximo vestro plausu condemnavit nescio quo modo se coniecit in turbae atque ita maestus reditit, ut retractus, non reversus videretur, sic contemnit, tamquam si illi aqua et igni interdictum sit; aliquando negat ei locum esse oportere in curia, qui incenderit curiam. Nam Trebellium valde iam diliguit: oaderat tum, cum ille tabulis novis adversabatur: iam fert in oculis, postea quam ipsum Trebellium vidit sine tabulis novis salvum esse non posse. Audisse enim vos arbitror, Quirites, quod etiam videre potuistis, quotidie sponsores et creditores L. Trebellii convenire. O fides!—hoc enim opinor Trebellium sumpsisse cognomen—: quae potest esse maior fides quam fraudare creditores? domo profugere? propiter aec alienum ire ad arma? Ubi plausus ille in triumpho est, saepe ludis? ubi aedilitas delata summo studio bonorum? quis est, qui hunc non casu existimet recte fecisse, nequitia sceleste? Sed redeo ad amores deliciaeque vestras, L. Antonium, qui vos omnes in fidem suam find after his name the wildest confusion of erasures and repetitions, so that the genuine reading is hopelessly lost. This confusion is followed by the words 'cum exiluerit,' from which some editors, comparing 13. 12, 28, extract 'quam Exitius,' a name which even there is of doubtful authority. It is more probable that the words have some reference to the banishment of Plancus, in 51 B.C., for the share which he had taken in the tumultuous funeral of P. Clodius. Any conjecture, however, is too uncertain to be of much value. Plancus was restored by Caesar, and on his death espoused the cause of Antony. See 10. 10. 22. 2. Coniecit in turbae, 'mixed himself up with the crowd of returning exiles.' 3. Aqua et ignis interdictum. The 'aqua et ignis interdictio' was the severest form of exile, whereby the culprit lost his 'civitas.' 5. Qui incenderit curiam. In the riot which accompanied the funeral of Clodius the Curia Hostilia was burnt to the ground. Trebellium. In 47 B.C. L. Trebellius, then tribune of the commons, took a prominent part in the rejection of his colleague P. Dolabella's motion for a general abolition of debts; 'tabuleae novae.' As he afterwards endeavoured, with the aid of Antony, to carry a precisely similar measure, Cicero is always twitting him with his inconsistency; cp. 10. 10. 22; 11. 6, 14; 13. 12, 26. 9. Sponsores et creditores, 'his sureties and his creditors,' to make arrangement for the satisfaction of the claims upon him. 10. O fides! &c. Cp. 13. 12, 26, where he is styled 'fidei patronus, fraudator creditorum.' 13. In triumpho, 'on the occasion of the triumph;' i.e., not one of his own, but on some occasion, when some other man was triumphant, Trebellius had come in for a share of the popular favour, as patron of the public credit. A similar demonstration in his favour seems to have been made at some time at the games. 15. Nequitia sceleste, 'he acted well by chance, but ill by the inborn corruption of his nature.' The Vatican MS. has 'nequitia est sceleste,' which has led to the various conjectures, 'nequitia est sceleste coniuncta,' 'nequitia excelleste,' 'qui nequitia et sceleste ita excellat,' &c. The best emendations seem to be that of Klotz, 'nequitia sceleste,' and the similar one in the text, which is adopted by Halm from Nipperdey, who says (Philol. 3. 144) that the 'est' is a mere futile attempt to emend the corrupt reading 'sceleste.' Amores deliciaeque, 'your love and sweetheart.' Cp. de Div. 1. 36, 79 'Quid? amores ac deliciae tuae, Roscius.' 16. In fidem recepist, 'has taken you all under his protection.' Cp. Off. 1. 11, 35 'Ut ii, qui nationes devictas bello in fidem recepissint, earum patroni essent more maiorum.'


1. Num quisnam. Some editors have written 'quisiam,' apparently without authority, and needlessly, as the use of 'quisnam' as an indefinite pronoun is quite Ciceronian, cp. de Orat. 2. 3. 13 'Crassus, num quidnam, inquit, novi?' pro Rosc. Am. 37. 107 'Duo Rosci. Non quisnam praeterea?'

2. Quinque et triginta, 'the whole thirty-five tribes,' the number having remained the same since the addition of the Quirina and Velina, 241 B.C.

3. Reclamatis? See on 4. 2. 5.

7. Non modo... sed quis umquam, 'putting this rufian out of the question, was there ever any man?' The interrogative following 'non modo' is perhaps unparalleled, but similar cases of its usage for a negative, to which by its exhaustive force it is equivalent, are not uncommon. A somewhat similar instance is found in Div. in Caec. 18. 59 'Quid habes quod posis dicere, quamobrem non modo mihi, sed cuiquam anteponare?'

II. Tremuli. Q. Marcius Tremulus triumphed over the Hernici and Anagnini in 306 B.C. The temple of Castor stands nearly opposite the Rostra, on the south side of the Forum, so that the statue was probably full in Cicero's view as he addressed the people.

13. Familiarem suum, 'one of his own company,' see on 5. 11. 30.

15. Equo publico. See on 1. 8. 20.

16. Debuist me, as having raised the equestrian order by his consulship. Cp. de Leg. Ag. 1. 9. 27 'Habeat me ipsum sibi documento, quem equestri ortum loco consulem videt, quae viæ via facillime viros bonos ad honorem dignitatemque percutat.'

20. Statuerunt: sc. 'statuam,' as in 5. 15. 41; 9. 7. 16.

21. Bis. The MSS. have 'duobus,' apparently a misinterpretation of the symbol II, as they have the singular 'exercitu.' Cp. the inscription on the monument of Cn. Scipio:

CN. CORNELIUS CN. F. SCIPIO HISPANUS
PR. AID. CUR. Q. TR. MIL. II.
XVIR SL. IUDIK.

Moreover the following question put by

Cicero points to the erectors of this statue being a more arbitrary and ill-defined body than would be formed of all the military tribunes in the two armies of Caesar, understanding by this expression the army of Gaul, and the army of the civil war. 'To have merely held the office of military tribune twice was in itself no great bond of union between the sharers of this honour, while so many would come under the designation that it was at least unlikely that they would all have other sympathies in common. Nor indeed could the army of the civil war be said to be so different from the army of Gaul that they could be talked of with any propriety as 'the two armies of Caesar.' A. W. Zumpt (Commentationes Epigraphiae, 1. 311) proposes the somewhat violent alteration 'decem annis fuisse,' objecting to the reading in the text on the ground that to have been tribune twice formed no basis of classification, either in respect of character or length of service. He admits however that there are undoubted instances where a second tribunship is reckoned to a man's credit, and points out that if it were true that military tribunes were appointed to serve under a general for the whole term of his command, then those who had served twice under Caesar, who had received the command in Gaul for two definite periods of five years, would have held their office for ten years. This length of service points to a reason why such men should associate together in erecting a statue, but on the other hand 'per tot annos' seems to imply reference to a tenure of office admitting of more frequent changes than would thus have taken place.

2. Semurium. We only know of this that it formed part of a bequest left to the Roman people by Acca Larentia, a mythical courtezan of the early ages of the kingdom, identified by some with the wife of Faustus, the nurse of Romulus and Remus. (Macrob. Saturn. i. 10.) From being named as next in sanctity to the Campus Martius, it evidently was in or close to Rome. Some editors have wished to read 'Remurium,' this being the spot on the Aventine where, according to the legend, Remus wished to build the city (Plut. Rom. c. 9); but the authority of the MSS. is supported by the passage in Macrobius.

4. L. Caesaris. The uncle of Antony. Cicero had himself advocated this measure, 5. 7. 21.

6. Iacent beneficia. &c., 'the favours of Nucula are lost, the patronage of Antony is at zero.' Cp. ad Q. Fratr. 3. 2, 3 'Memmius mirum in modum facet; Scurus refricaet.' Nucula is mentioned again as one of the 'septemviri,' B. 9. 26; 11. 6. 13.

7. Possessores, 'the allottees of the public land.' They had not yet 'stocked' it, partly from want of means, being chosen from the dregs of the people, partly, where they were better off, from want of confidence in the permanence of their title.

9. Palmaris, &c., 'but that statue carries off the palm,' &c. That 'palmaris' is the predicate, and not, as Manutius seems to hold, an epithet of 'statua,' seems clear from the only other passage, also ironical, in which the word is used by Cicero; de Nat. Deor. 1. 8. 20 'Sed illa palmaris, quod, qui non modo natum mundum introduxerit, sed etiam manu paene factum, est cum dixerit fore sepulternum.'

11. A Iano medio. Mr. Dyer (Dict. of Geography, vol. 2, p. 774 b) thinks that Ianus was the name of a street, perhaps that which passed along the south side of the Forum, the Via Sacra, according to him, passing to the north. He supports his view
Antonii clientela est? Quis umquam in illo Iano inventus est, qui L. Antonio mille nummum ferret expensum?

6 Sed nimis multa de nugis: ad causam bellumque redeamus; quamquam non alienum fuit personas quasdam a vobis recognoscit, ut quibuscum bellum gereretur possetis taciti cogitare. Ego autem vos hortor, Quirites, ut etiam si melius aliud fuit, tamen legatorum reditum exspectetis animo aequo. Celeritas detracta de causa est: boni tamen aliquid accessit ad causam.

10 Cum enim legati renuntiarint, quod certe renuntiabunt, non in vestra potestate, non in senatus esse Antonium, quis erit tam improbus civis qui illum civem habendum putet? Nunc enim sunt pauci illi quidem, sed tamen plures, quam re publica dignumerit, qui ita loquantur: ne legatos quidem exspectabimus? Istam certe vocem simulationemque clementiae extorquebit istis

by the Scholium on Hor. Epp. 1. 1, 54 'Ianus autem hic platea dicitur, ubi mercatores et foenoratores sortis causa convenire solebant,' That 'medius Ianus' is equivalent to our 'Change,' and that it was in the immediate neighbourhood of the Tabernae Novae, is clear; but it seems probable that it signifies not 'the middle of the street Ianus,' but the middle Ianus, the centre one, that is, of three archways in the Forum, round which bankers used to congregate. One such archway, the Ianus Quadrifrons, dating probably from the time of Constantine, still exists in the Velabrum. This explanation suits better with the personification of the several Ianis, here and in Horace, l. c. 'Haec Ianus summus ab imo Perdocet;' and also with the expression 'ad medium Ianum,' rather than 'in medio Iano,' in Hor. S. 2, 3, 18

'Postquam omnis res mea Ianum
Ad medium fracta est, aliena negotia
curo,'

and Cic. Oif. 2, 24, 87 (25, 90 of many editions) 'Sed toto hoc de genere commodius a quibusdam optimis viris ad Ianum medium sedentibus disputatur,' Cicero tells us (de Nat. Deor. 2, 27, 67) that 'transitiones perviae Ianii nominantur.' We hear that Q. Fulvius Flaccus, in 174 B.C., built three Ianis, which may have been those in question. Orelli indeed (on Hor. S. l. c.) quotes a passage from P. Victor de Reg. Urb. 8 'Ianii duo celebris mercatorum locus... Ianii duo praecipui ad arcam Fabianum, superior et inferior,' as supporting a view that 'summus' and 'imus Ianus' were distinct arches, and 'medius Ianus' the space between; but the authority of the writings which go under the name of Victor is generally now considered worthless.

2. Qui... ferret expensum, 'to lend 10l. to L. Antonius.' In strict accuracy 1,000 sestertii at this time were a little under 9l. For 'ferre expensum' see on 2, 6, 12.

cc. 6, 7. Though the embassy was useless, yet now it would be best to wait for the return of the ambassadors. The failure of their mission would prove that Cicero was not only unceasingly energetic in maintaining the freedom of his country, but also gifted with the foresight which should make his counsels worth attending to. Meanwhile he would content himself with being among the foremost in making those preparations for immediate action, which the innate love of liberty was stimulating all to make, who, whether in the city or the country, were eager to crush the frenzy and audacity of Antony.

4. Personas quasdam, &c., 'the characters of certain men should be reviewed by you.'

5. Taciti cogitare, 'consider in your minds.'

6. Etiam sis... fuit, 'granting that a different course was preferable,' viz. that recommended by Cicero in the fifth oration, to treat Antony as an enemy without more ado.

res ipsa [publica]. Quo etiam, ut confitear vobis, Quirites, minus hodierno die contendi, minus laboravi, ut mihi senatus assentiens tumultum decerneret, saga sumi iuberet. Malui viginti diebus post sententiam meam laudari ab omnibus quam a paucis hodie vituperari. Quapropter, Quirites, exspectate legatorum reditum et paucorum dierum molestiam devorate. Qui cum redierint, si pacem afferent, cupidum me, si bellum, providum iudicatote. An ego non providam meis civibus? non dies noctesque de vestra libertate, de rei publicae salute cogitem? Quid enim non debeo vobis, Quirites, quem vos a se ortum hominibus nobilissimis omnibus honoribus praetulistis? An ingratus sum? quis minus? qui partis honoribus cosdem in foro gessi labore, quos petendis? Rudis in re publica? quis exercitator, qui viginti iam annos bellum geram cum impiis civibus? Quam ob rem, 15 Quirites, consilio quantum potero, labore plus paene quam potero excubabo vigilaboque pro vobis. Etenim quis est civis, praesertim hoc gradu, quo me vos esse voluistis, tam oblitus beneficicii vestri, tam immemor patriae, tam inimicus dignitatis suae, quem non excitet, non inflamnet tantus vester iste consensus? Multas magnasque habui consul contiones, multis interius: nullam umquam vidi tantam, quanta nunc vestrum est. Unum sentitis

1. Res ipsa (publica). The last word, whose initial only is found in the MSS., seems to have been rightly condemned by Muretus and Garatonicus. 

Quo etiam, &c. This declaration is at variance with the earnestness with which Cicero urged his point in the fifth oration, and is an apology for his defeat with which he could scarcely have hoped to impose upon his audience.

6. De vorate, 'swallow down the annoyance.' Cp. Brut. 67, 236 'Hominum ineptias ac stultitias, quae devorandae nobis sunt.'

7. Cupidum. Graevius interprets this 'nimis partium studiosum,' 'led astray by party feeling;' comparing pro Font. 10, 21 'Testibus ... cupidis et iratis et coniuratis et ab religione remotis;' and pro Caec. 3, 8 'Cupidior quam sapientem indicem esse aequum est.' Cp. also Fam. 16, 11, 3 'Nos agimus nihil cupide:' though in all these passages 'cupidum' rather means 'blinded by the passion of the moment,' in the present case by obstinate antipathy to Antony. Another interpretation of 'cupidum' here is 'eager to welcome it;' that it would come unexpectedly, but none the less welcome on that account. This however loses the antithesis to 'providum.' There is no variation in the MSS., but conjectural emendations are 'stupidum' and 'timidum.'

10. A se ortum, 'with no parentage to boast of.'

11. Praetulistis. Cicero was returned at the head of the poll both for the praetorship in 66 B.C., and for the consulship in 63 B.C. For the latter he had among his antagonists two patricians, L. Catilina and P. Galba, and two plebeians of noble family, C. Antonius Hybrida (his colleague) and L. Cassius Longinus.

Ingratus. Cp. pro Mur. 4, 8 (a corrupt passage, whose general meaning is, however, clear enough) 'Cum praemia mihi tanta pro hac industria sint data, quanta anteae nemini: sic et si ceperis eos, cum adeptus sis, deponere, esset hominis et astuti et ingrati.'

13. Viginti iam annos. Since his consulship. See 2, 1, 1 note.

17. Gradu. Sc. 'consulari.'
omnes, unum studetis, M. Antonii conatus avertere a re publica, furorem exstingue, opprimere audaciam. Idem volunt omnes ordines, eodem incumbunt municipia, coloniae, cuncta Italia. Itaque senatum bene sua sponte firmum firmiore vestra aucto-
ritate fecistis. Venit tempus, Quirites, serius omnino, quam dig-
um populo Romano fuit, sed tamen ita maturum, ut differri iam hora non possit. Fuit aliquis fatalis casus, ut ita dicam, quem tulimus, quoquo modo ferendus fuit: nunc si quis erit, erit volun-
tarius. Populum Romanum servire fas non est: quem di immor-
tales omnibus gentibus imperare voluerunt. Res in extremum est adducta discrimen: de libertate decernitur. Aut vincatis oportet, Quirites, quod profecto et pietate vestra et tanta con-
cordia consequemini, aut quidvis potius quam serviatis. Aliae nationes servitutem pati possunt, populi Romani est propria libertas.

7. Fatalis casus, 'a misfortune brought on us by destiny:’ viz., the tyranny of Caesar.

12. Pietate, 'your loyalty to your fatherland.'

14. Populi Romani, &c. Cp. 3. 11, 29; 4. 5, 13. After 'Romani' some MSS. insert 'res,' perhaps from a mistake in the Vatican MS., where the first two letters of 'est' are written twice over.
INTRODUCTION

TO THE SEVENTH ORATION.

During the absence of the ambassadors the Consuls summoned a meeting of the senate, for the purpose of settling some comparatively unimportant business connected with the Appian road, the Mint, and the festival of the Lupercalia. The day of the meeting is not exactly known, but it was before the 15th of February, that being the day on which the Lupercalia was held. Cicero was present, and on being asked for his vote upon the first two questions, he took the opportunity of delivering the seventh Philippic oration, in which the first three lines and the last seven words refer to the matter under discussion, and the rest is occupied with an urgent appeal to the senate not to listen to the friends of Antony, whose anxiety for a peace, which was incompatible with freedom, safety, or honour, showed more zeal for the cause of their friend than loyalty to their country. He therefore pressed upon them the necessity of continuing their efforts for the protection of the state, since no sincere proposals could be hoped for on the side of Antony. The speech is one of his most eloquent: but it does not appear that any immediate action was taken in consequence of it.
M. TULLII CICERONIS
ORATIONUM PHILIPPICARUM
LIBER SEPTIMUS.

1. PARVIS de rebus, sed fortasse necessariis consulimur, patres conscripti. De Appia via et de Moneta consul, de Lupercis tribunus pl. refert. Quorum rerum etsi facilis explicatio videotur, tamen animus aberrat a sententia suspensus curis maioribus. Adducta est enim, patres conscripti, res in maximum periculum et in extremum paene discrimen. Non sine causa legatorum missionem semper timui, numquam probavi, quorum reeditus quid sit allatus ignoror: exspectatio quidem quantum afferat insigni animis quis non videt?

cc. 1, 2. The topics for discussion were unimportant, compared with the consideration of the danger overhanging the state. It was asserted that Antony was willing to make what he called moderate terms with the people, giving up at least Cisalpine, if not both the Gauls, as though it were his part to dictate terms, instead of submitting unconditionally to the senate. Such language proved those who employed it to be no good citizens, much less worthy of the name of consular; contrasting as it did with the conduct of C. Pansa, who had availed himself of the opportunity which the crisis gave him, to show himself the noblest Consul that had been known within the memory of man.

2. De Moneta. The temple of Juno Moneta, afterwards the Roman Mint, occupied the S.W. summit of the Capitoline Hill. It was built by L. Camillus, on the site of the house of Cn. Manlius Capitolinus, in pursuance of a vow made in a battle with the Aurunci. (Livy 7. 28; 6. 20.)

Lupercis. See on 2. 34. 84.

4. Suspensus curis maioribus, 'amid the suspense which greater cares inflict on us.'


10. Revirescere, 'regaining strength enough to hope for the renewal of its ancient power.' Some MSS. have 'reviviscere,' a more favourite word with Cicero. For the construction, cp. de Prov. Cons. 14. 34 'Ad renovandum bellum revirescent.'
ferret, leges imponeret, reserare nos exteris gentibus Italianam iubet, se praesertim incolumi, a quo maius pericum quam ab ullis nationibus extimescendum est. Alii remittere eum nobis Galliam citeriorem, illam ultimam postulare: praeclare! ex qua non legiones solum, sed etiam nationes ad urbem concitur adducere. Alii nihil eum iam nisi modeste postulare. Macedonianiam suam vocat omnino, quoniam Gaius frater est inde revocatus. Sed quae provincia est, ex qua illa fax excitare non possit incendum? Itaque idem, quasi providi cives et senatores diligentes, bellicum me cecinisse dicunt, suspiciunt pacis patrocinium. Nonne sic disputant? Irritatum Antonium non opor
tuit; nequam est homo ille atque confidens; multi praeterea improbi—quos quidem a se primum numerare possunt, qui haec locuntur: eos cavendos esse denuntiant. Utrum igitur in ncariis civibus ulciscendi, cum possis, an pertimescendi diligens
tor cautio est? Atque haec ii locuntur, qui quondam propter levitatem populares habebantur. Ex quo intelligi potest animo illos abhorruisse semper ab optimo civitatis statu, non voluntateuisse populares. Qui enim evenit ut, qui in rebus improbis

1. Reserare, &c., remove the forces which bar Italy against her foreign foes.
2. Se praesertim incolumi, 'and that though he is safe.' See on 2. 24, 60.
3. Illam ultimam, 'quam Plancus obtinet.' 5. 2, 5; see note.
4. Suam vocat. On the ground that the decree of the senate which recalled his brother left matters as they were before the provinces had been allotted; and that the province originally belonged to M. Brutus, he had been superseded in favour of Antony by a previous decree of the senate, passed on the 1st of June.
5. Gaius frater. He was praetor in 44 B.C., and obtained the province of Mac
donia. (Cp. 3. 10, 26.) On his recall, in consequence of the decree passed on the occasion of that oration, he did not return to Rome, but maintained himself in arms against M. Brutus till the autumn of this year. (See 10, 4, 9; 11, 11, 26.) He was eventually put to death by Brutus, probably in retaliation for the murder of Cicero.
6. F. Halm, the later MSS. have 'ulciscendi'... 'pertimescendi,' apparently to avoid the peculiar construction 'ulciscendi cautio.' Cp. however pro Flacc. 13, 31. 'Defendendi faciis est cautio.' In dealing with traitors, should we take more care to show our fears of them, or to punish them, when there is a chance?' 16. Propter levitatem, &c., 'whose frivolity made them seem, in former days, to be hunting after popularity.' See on 2. 31, 77; and for 'populares' on 1. 15, 37.
17. Non voluntate, &c., 'that their seeking for popularity arose from no love for the people, but from disloyalty to the state.' They were on the democratic side, only when the democratic side was wrong.
18. In rebus improbis, sc. when the popular desire was set on what was wrong, they were all for furthering what the people

10. Pacis. This is the conjecture of Ursinus, for the readings of the MSS. 'patris,' or 'partis;' cp. 12. 2, 6 'Ex pacis patrocinio, quod subito suscepi.'
11. Irritatum. So Halm, from a correction in the Vatican MS., the word having been omitted by the original writer. The other MSS. have 'irritari,' which is simpler.
15. Ulciscendi. The later MSS. have 'ulciscendi'... 'pertimescendi,' apparently to avoid the peculiar construction 'ulciscendi cautio.' Cp. however pro Flacc. 13, 31. 'Defendendi faciis est cautio.' In dealing with traitors, should we take more care to show our fears of them, or to punish them, when there is a chance?'

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wished; but when the people’s wishes happened to be right, they sacrificed their popularity to their love of wickedness.

3. Adversarium. The later MSS. have ‘adversatum;” but cp. pro Cluent. 34. 94 ‘seditionis adversarius.’

7. Faveas tu hosti. This may be addressed to Q. Fufiis Calenus (see on 5. 1, 1), but more probably generally to any senator to whom the charges would apply.


11. Accipiet, &c., C. Pansa will not be offended at my using his name in order to illustrate my argument from an extreme case.

22. Praestantissimum, &c., ‘stands forth most prominently as the most patriotic Consul that I can remember.’

23. Non quin. Equivalent to ‘non quia non;’ cp. de Orat. 2. 72, 295 ‘Non quin enitendum sit in utroque.’

26. Tempestas, &c., ‘an opening has been given to Pansa’s high-mindedness, solidity of character, and wisdom, in a moment of extraordinary danger.’ ‘Tempestas temporis,’ ‘the opportunity which is presented by the time.’
Itaque ego ille, qui semper pacis auctor fui, cuique pax prae certem civilis, quamquam omnibus bonis, tamen in primis fuit optabilis—omne enim curriculum industriae nostrae in foro, in curia, in amicorum periculis propulsandis elaboratum est; hinc honores amplissimos, hinc mediocres opes, hinc dignitatem, si quam habemus, consecuti sumus—: ego igitur pacis, ut ita dicam, alumnus, qui, quantuscumque sum—nihil enim mihi arrogo—sine pace civili certe non fuisset—periculo dico; quem ad modum accepturi, patres conscripti, sitis horreo, sed pro mea perpetua cupiditate vestrae dignitatis retinendae et augendae quasco oroque vos, patres conscripti, ut primo, etsi erit vel acerbum auditu vel incredibile a M. Ciceroni esse dictum, accipiatis sine offense quod dixero, neve id prius, quam quale sit explicaror, repudictis—: ego ille, dicam saepius, pacis semper laudator, semper auctor, pacem cum M. Antonio esse nolo. Magna spe ingredior in reliquam orationem, patres conscripti, quoniam periculosissimum locum silentio sum prae vectus. Cur igitur pacem nolo? quia turpis est, quia periculoosa....

cc. 3-5. Cicero therefore, the persistent eager advocate of peace, so far deviated from his principles as to shrink from peace with Antony; but only because it was shameful, dangerous, and fallacious. It was shameful, because inconsistent with the decree which they had passed so recently. By voting honors to C. Caesar, Decians Bratus, and the soldiers under their command,—by determining to send both Consuls, one at the risk of his life, to the seat of war,—and by ordering a general levy, they had practically declared that Antony was a public enemy: and this view was confirmed by the eager attention paid to warlike preparations by all classes in the city. Nor did the message to Antony, impolitic, even disgraceful as it was, bind them to treat upon his terms, since it was not so much an embassy, as a notice to yield, under penalty of destruction if he disobeyed. The Roman senators should die rather than submit to one who outdid kings and tyrants alike, both in extortion and wickedness at home, and in actual deeds of treasonable warfare in the provinces.

1. Pacis auctor. Cp. 2. 15, 37. The elaboration of this sentence and the frequent dependent clauses and parentheses make the thread of it difficult to follow, even with the aid of the thrice repeated subject, 'Ego ille, ... ego igitur pacis ... alumnus, ... ego pacis ... laudator, ... pacem esse nolo.'

2. In primis, 'above all other men,' All good men desired peace, but none so much as Cicero.

4. In periculis propulsandis, Cicero only twice in his life undertook a prosecution, and in both cases he might be said to be pleading the cause of his friends against their oppressors. The first was that of Verres, 70 B.C., in behalf of the Sicilians; the second that of T. Munatius Plancus Bursa, who as tribune of the commons had taken a leading part in bringing Milo to trial, 52 B.C.

7. Quantuscumque sum, 'whatever small position may be mine,' 'quantuscumque' being used, by a μείσις common with Cicero, for 'quantuscumque,' cp. 5, 8, 22 'Bona, quantacumque erant;' and de Orat. 2. 28, 123 'Quantuscumque sum ad iudicandum.'

8. Periculo dico, 'I speak at the peril of my reputation for consistency.' Muretus notices this as a remarkable instance of προθυρωσις, answering an objection before the cause of it has arisen.

17. 'Incredibile, &c., 'however difficult to believe that it has come from Cicero's mouth.'

17. Silentio, 'without your interrupting me.'
quia esse non potest. Quae tria dum explico, peto a vobis, patres conscripti, ut eadem benignitate qua soletis mea verba audiatis.

Quid est inconstantia, levitate, mobilitate cum singulis hominibus, tum vero universo senatui turpius? quid porro inconstantius quam, quem modo hostem non verbo, sed re multis decretis iudicaritis, cum hoc subito pacem velleconiungi? Nisi vero, cum C. Caesari meritos illi quidem honores et debitos, sed tamen singularius et immortales decrevisistis, unam ob causam, quod contra M. Antonium exercitum comparavisset, non hostem tum Antonium iudicavistis; nec tum hostis est a vobis iudicatus Antonius, cum laudati auctoritate vestra veteranis milites, qui C. Caesarem secuti essent; nec tum hostem Antonium iudicavistis, cum fortissimus legionibus, quod illum, qui consul appellabatur, cum esset hostis, reliquissent, vacationes, pecunias, agros 5 sopondistis. Quid? cum Brutum, omne quodam illusionem illius et nominis naturam ad rem publicam liberandam, exercitundique eum, pro libertate populi Romani bellum gerentem cum Antonio, provinciamque fidellissimam atque optimam, Galliam, laudibus amplissimis affectistis, tum non hostem iudicavit Antonium? Quid? cum decrevisistis ut consules, alter ambove, ad bellum proficiscerentur, quod erat bellum, si hostis Antonius non erat? Quid igitur profectus est viri fortissimus, meus collega et familiaris, A. Hirtius consul? at qua imbécillitate! qua macie! sed animi vires corporis infirmitas non retardavit. Aequum, credo, putavit vitam, quam populi Romani votis retinuisset, pro libertate populi Romani in discrimen adducere.
Quid? cum dilectus haberit tota Italia iussisset, cum vacatio
omen susulistis, tum ille hostis non est iudicatus? Armorum
officinas in urbe videtis; milites cum gladiis secuntur consulem;
praesidio sunt specie consuli, re et veritate nobis; omnes sine
ulla recusatione, summum etiam cum studio nomina dant, parent
auctoritati vestrae: non est iudicatus hostis Antonius? At
legatos misimus. Heu me miserum! cur senatum coger, quem
laudavi semper, reprehendere? Quid? vos censetis, patres con-
scripti, legatorum missionem populo Romano vos probavisse?
non intelligitis, non auditis, meam sententiam flagitari? cui cum
pridie frequentes essetis assensi, postridie ad spem estis inanem
pacis devoluti. Quam turpe porro legiones ad senatum legatos
mittere, senatum ad Antonium! quamquam illa legatio non est:
denuntiatio est paratum illi exitium, nisi paruerit huic ordinii.
Quid refert? tamen opinio est gravior. Missos enim legatos
omen vident, decreti nostri non omnes verba noverunt. Retin-
enda est igitur nobis constantia, gravitas, perseverantia, repetenda
vetus illa severitas: si quidem auctoritas senatus decus, honest-
atem, laudem, dignitatemque desiderat, quibus rebus hic ordo
caruit nimium diu. Sed erat tunc excusatio oppressis, misera illa
quidem, sed tamen iusta: nunc nulla est. Liberati regio
dominatu videbamur: multo postea gravius urgebamus armis
domesticis. Ea ipsa depulimus nos quidem: extorquenda sunt,
Quod si non possumus facere—dicam quod dignum est sena-

10. Meam sententiam flagitari, 'do
you not hear them calling loudly for the
measures I proposed?' viz. that Antony
should at once be formally declared an
enemy.

11. Pridie... postridie are here cor-
relative, 'on one day,' 'on the next.' Till
the 3rd of January the feeling of the senate
had been on Cicero's side, but on the morn-
ing of the 4th the tide turned, and the
meeting acquiesced in the veto which Salvius
placed upon his motion. See introd. to the
sixth oration.

12. Devoluti, 'ye sank down,' with
the implied notion of deterioration. Cp. Livy
5. 11. 'Eo devolvi rem (matters had come
to such a pass), ut aut patricii aut patriciorum
asseclae habendi tribuni plebis sint.'
Legiones, those of Antony. Of these
ambassadors we know nothing.

15. Quid refert? &c. So Halm, re-
storeing the common punctuation, instead of
placing the note of interrogation after
'tamen,' according to the suggestion of
Forsyth. 'In spite of this distinction, the
really important point is what people gene-
really think of the measure; and they at
least look on it as an embassy.'

17. Constantia, gravitas, persever-
antia, as opposed to the 'inconstantia,
levitas, mobilitas' of Antony, c. 3, 9.
19. Desiderat, 'regrets'; caruit, 'has
been without,' under the tyranny of Caesar.
23. Depulimus, &c., 'we drove them
indeed from our walls, but that is not
enough, we must wrench them from the
hands of him who has usurped them.' The
words 'extorquenda sunt' stand boldly, so
that some editors have inserted 'sed,' but
without authority. The reading of the
later MSS. is 'nunc quidem extorquenda
sunt,' but 'quidem' is wanted in the former
clause, and weak in the latter.

24. Quod si, &c. Mr. Forsyth says of
tore et Romano homine—, moriamur. Quanta enim illa crit rei publicae turpitudo, quantum dedecus, quantum labes, dicere in hoc ordine sententiam M. Antonium consulari loco! cuius ut omittam innumerabilia scelera urbani consulatus, in quo pecuniam publicam maximam dissipavit, exsules sine lege restituit, vectigalia divendidit, provincias de populi Romani imperio sustulit, regna addixit pecunia, leges civitati per vim imposuit, armis aut obsedit aut exclusit senatum: ut haece, inquam, omittam, ne hoc quidem cogitatis eum, qui Mutinam, coloniam populi Romani firmissimam, oppugnarit, imperatorem populi Romani, consulem designatum, obsederit, depopulatus agros sit, hunc in eum ordinem recipi, a quo totiens ob has ipsas causas hostis iudicatus sit, quam foedum flagitiosumque sit?

Satis multa de turpitudine: dicam deinceps, ut proposui, de periculo, quod etsi minus est fugiendum quam turpitude, tamen offendit animos maioris partis hominum magis. Poteritisigitur exploratam habere pacem, cum in civitate M. Antonium videbitis vel potius Antonios? Nisi forte contemnitis Lucium: ego ne Gaium quidem. Sed, ut video, dominabitur Lucius; est enim patronus quinque et triginta tribuum, quorum suae lege, qua cum C. Caesare magistratum partitus est, suffragium sus-

this sentence that it is as fine as anything in Demosthenes—perhaps finer—if we except the adjuration in the speech on the Crown' (Life of Cicero, 2. 221, edit. 1).

4. Urbani consulatus. His campaigns were carried on at home, against the liberty, the laws, the property of the state and people. The charges here brought against Antony have all been discussed already, in the notes to the second oration.

6. Divendidit, 'has sold piecemeal'; cp. de Leg. Agr. 1. 3, 7 'Bona populi Romani divendere.'

7. Addixit, 'has given over to the highest bidder'; see 2, 21, 52 note.

11. Consulem designatum: see on 3.

15, 37.

12. Hunc. For this redundant use of 'hic,' after a long relative clause, see 2, 39, 101 note.

cc. 6, 7. Secondly, with Antony (or rather with the Antoni, for Lucius, the patron of the people, the knights, and the bankers, the doughty gladiator, was no less formidable than his brother), any peace must needs be full of danger, for there could be no security against his falling into his ancient evil practices. And if danger should arise, the senate must accept the blame of it, since they had Cicero to warn them, and all orders of the people were eager to assist them in averting it.

19. Dominabitur, 'will play the part of tyrant'; so pro Rab. Post. 14, 39, 'Dominatus est enim, inquit, Alexandriae.'

20. Patronus. See 6, 5.

Sua lege, the law passed by L. Antonius, as tribune of the commons, in the preceding year, giving to Caesar the right of nominating the Consuls for the next two years, together with half the other magistrates who were usually elected by the people. (Suet. Caes. 41.)

21. Magistratum. This is the reading of the Vatican MS., which Halm supposes to be a corruption for 'magistratum comitia' or 'nominationem.' 'By virtue of which law he divided the election of the magistrates between Caesar and the people.' The use of 'magistratus' in the singular for the whole body of magistrates is hardly defensible. The other MSS. and most

editors have 'magistratus.' Nipperdey (Philologus 3. 144) thinks that 'magistratuum partitus est' may mean, 'shared the nomination of magistrates,' as in Tac. Ann. 1. 44 'Centurionatum egit' means 'he proceeded to the appointment of centurions,' For the general sense he compares Suet. Caes. 41 'Conitia cum populo partitus est.'

4. Praesertim cum, &c., 'especially when he shall have given these same clients allotments of the public lands.'

5. Tribunos militares. One of the later MSS. reads 'habuit,' but it is easily supplied from the earlier part of the argument.

9. Plane et Latine, 'plain Latin;' cp. Verr. Act. 2. 4. 1, 2 'Latine me scitote, non accusatorio loqui.'


12. Luculentam, 'a serious blow.' The expression is probably taken from the slang of the arena; cp. ad Q. Fr. 3. 2, 1 'Gabinium luculentum caleficerat Memmius.'

13. Familiarem, 'his comrade;' cp. 6. 1. c.

14. Animi causa, 'to amuse himself;' cp. Fam. 7. 2, 3 'Hic simulius animi causa me, in quem inveheatur, delegaret.'

15. Decuriamit, 'place on the judicial bench.' See 1. 8, 19 note. Sollicitabit agrarios, 'try to rouse those who are desirous of land.' cp. Cat. 4. 2, 4 'C. Gracchus, quod agrarios concitare conatus est.'

16. Queretur expulsos, 'bemoan the lot of those who lose their lands,' to make way for the new settlers; so as to gain over desperadoes of all classes. Muretus suggests 'queret urbe expulsos' as the explanation of the Vatican reading 'quaeritur,' but the 'expulsi' are obviously those who are deprived of their property. See on 5. 7, 20. The new settlers would be those introduced by the decree passed in consequence of the fifth oration.

20. Ad nutum, 'to obey Antony without demur.'
paccem nolo, sed pacis nomine bellum involutum reformido. Quare si pace frui volumus, bellum gerendum est: si bellum 7 omittimus, pace numquam fruemur. Est autem vestri consilii, patres conscripti, in posterum quam longissime providere. Idcirco in hac custodia et tamquam specula collocati sumus, uti vacuum metu populum Romanum nostra vigilia et prospicientia redderemus. Turpe est summo consilio orbis terrae, praesertim in re tam perspicua, consilium intelligi defuisse. Eos consules habemus, eam populi Romani alacritatem, eum consensum Italiea, eos duces, eos exercitus, ut nullam calamitatem res publica 10 accipere possit sine culpa senatus. Equidem non deero: mo-nebo, praedicam, denuntiabo, testabor semper deos hominesque quid sentiam, nec solum solum, quod fortasse videatur satis esse, sed in principe civi non est satis: curam, consilium vigilantiamque praestabo.

8 Dixi de periculo: docebo ne coamentari quidem posse 21 pacem; de tribus enim, quae proposui, hoc extremum est. Quae potest pax esse M. Antonio primum cum senatu? quo ore vos ille poterit, quibus vicissim vos illum oculis intueri? quis vestrum illum, quem ille vestrum non oderit? Age, vos 20 ille solum, et vos illum? Quid? ii, qui Mutinam circumsedent, qui in Gallia dilectus habent, qui in vestras fortunas imminent, amici umquam vobis erunt aut vos illis? An equites Romanos

1. Involutum. So Halm from the later MSS., and a comparison with a fragment of a letter to Octavian, ad Caes. jun. Epist. 1. fr. 9. 'Sed quod videret nomine pacis bellum involutum fore.' The Vatican MS. has 'nono-lutum' whence Muretus suggested the common reading 'obvolutum,' as in 2. 31. 77.

3. Est vestri consilii, 'your character for prudence calls upon you.'

5. In hac custodia. &c., 'in this post of guardianship, this watch-tower, as it were.' To 'custodia' answers 'vigilia;' to 'specula' 'prospicientia.'

7. Summo consilio. Cp. 4. 6, 14 'Senatum, id est orbis terrae consilium.'

14. In principe civi, 'in one who claims to be the leader of his party.' For the form 'civi' see 3. 3. 7 note.

c. 8. And lastly, peace with Antony could not be. Mutual hatred, the people's eagerness for liberty, the siege of Mutina, and the loyalty and readiness for service which had thereby been excited, together with the influence of C. Caesar and D. Brutus, all made peace impossible.

16. Coamentari. The Vatican MS. has 'coamentari,' a reading which Muretus defends, deriving the word from 'amenta, ea quibus ad ligandum utimur.' This meaning of 'amentum' however does not occur before the writings of the elder Pliny, and if 'coamentari' be the right reading, it seems more likely that it is taken from a form 'coamentum,' derived directly from 'cogo,' as 'amentum' (the impelling thong) is from 'ago.' Though several times used by Cicero (apologetically, with 'quasi' or 'quodammodo') of the combination of words, in his rhetorical treatises, the word 'coamentari' appears to be nowhere else employed in so distinctly metaphorical a sense as here. 'I will show that peace cannot even be patched up with Antony.'

20. Age, vos, &c., 'is this mutual hatred confined to you and him?'

22. In Gallia. See 5. 12, 31 note.
amplectetur? occulta enim fuit eorum voluntas iudiciumque de Antonio. Qui frequentissimi in gradibus Concordiae steterunt, qui nos ad libertatem recuperandam excitaverunt, arma, saga, bellum flagitaverunt, me una cum populo Romano in contionem vocaverunt: hi Antonium diligent et cum his pacem servabit Antonius? Nam quid ego de universo populo Romano dicam? qui pleno ac referto foro bis me una mente atque voce in contionem vocavit declaravitque maximam libertatis recuperandae cupiditatem. Ita quod erat optabile antea, ut populum Romanum comitem haberemus, nunc habemus ducem. Quae est igitur spes, qui Mutinam circumsecedent, imperatorem populi Romani exercitumque oppugnant, iis pacem cum populo Romano esse posse? An cum municipiis pax erit, quorum tanta studia cognoscuntur in decretis faciendis, militibus dandis, pecuniiis pollicendis, ut in singulis oppidis curiam populi Romani non desideretis? Laudandi sunt ex huius ordinis sententia Firmani, qui principes pecuniae pollicendae fuerunt: respondendum honorifice est Marrucinis, qui ignominia notandos censurunt cos, si qui militiam subterfugisset. Haec iam tota Italia fient. Magna pax Antonio cum iis, his item cum illo. Quae potest esse maior discordia? in discordia autem pac civilis esse nullo pacto potest. Ut omittam multitudinem, L. Visidio, equiti Romano, homini in primis ornato atque honesto civique semper egregio, cuibus ego excubias et custo-

1. Occulta, &c. Ironic. 'They made no display, of course, of their feelings and opinions about Antony.'

7. Bis. On the occasions of the fourth and sixth orations.

9. Quod here is nearly equivalent to 'whereas,' the principal clause not containing a direct antecedent to it, but only an observation referring to the antecedent. See Madv. § 308 b. Obs. 2.

15. Ut in singulis, &c., 'that in reviewing the conduct of the several towns you nowhere feel the absence of the Roman senate:' they are all as zealous as if they were acting under the immediate influence of the senate.

17. Firmani. From the time of the Roman conquest of Picenum, 268 B.C., Firmum (now Fermo) always proved a staunch ally of Rome, remaining faithful even during the Social War, when it was the headquarters of Cn. Pompeius Strabo. The Marrucini, from their admission to the Roman alliance, in 304 B.C., were also conspicuous for their general fidelity to Rome, but they joined the Marsi and Peligni in the Social War, at the close of which, with the Picenians, they were admitted to the Roman franchise.

19. Subterfugissent, 'evaded military service.' Cp. Off. 3. 26, 97 'Ulixen insimulat tragediae simulacione insaniae militiam subterfugisse.'

23. L. Visidio. Orelli and other editors, apparently without MS. authority, have 'Nasidio,' identifying this otherwise unknown knight with L. Nasidius, who commanded a fleet under Pompey in 49 B.C. To this it is objected that Nasidius would not have been appointed to such an office unless he had held some magistracy, and it is unusual to apply the term 'eques' to any one who had even been quaestor.
ORATIO PHILIPPICA VII.

§§ 22—27. 193

9 Quorsum haec omnis spectat oratio? quid enim legati egerint, nondum scimus. At vero excitati, erecti, parati, armati animis iam esse debemus, ne blanda aut supplici oratione aut aequitatis simulatione fallamur. Omnia fecerit oportet, quae interdicta et denuntiata sunt, prius quam aliquid postulet; Brutum exercitumque eius oppugnare, urbes et agros provinciae Galliae populari destiterit; ad Brutum adeundi legatis postulet, exercitum citra flumen Rubiconem eduxerit, nec proprius urbem milia passuum ducenta admovet; fuerit et in senatus et in populi Romani potestate. Haec si fecerit, erit integra potestas nobis deliberandi: si senatui non paruerit, non illi senatus, sed ille populo Romano bellum indixerit. Sed vos moneo, patres conscripti: libertas agitur populi Romani, quae est commendata vobis, vita et fortunae optimi ciusque, quo cupiditatem infinitam cum immanni crudelitate iam pridem intendit Antonius; auctoritas vestra, quam nullam habebitis, nisi nunc tenueritis: tacetam et pestiferam beluam ne inclusam et constrictam dimittatis cavete. Te ipsum, Pansa, monco—quamquam non eges consilio, quo vales plurimum, tamen etiam summi 27

6. Leniet, sc. 'se provinciae leniet, an apparently unparalleled construction of 'lenio,' due to the influence of its combination with 'placo,' which, with so closely cognate a meaning, is not unusual with this construction; cp. Fam. 13. 1. 3 'Ut te sibi placarem.' 'Will he now bring himself to look with kindly and gentle feelings on the province of Gaul?'

C. 9. What remained was therefore to be firm and ready. If Antony gave way to all the orders of the senate, then deliberation might be possible and safe, but if he failed in any one particular, the only course in that case was to crush him, and thus free the Roman people from all danger and all fear for ever.

15. Omnia fecerit, &c., 'he must have submitted to us in all that we have forbidden or commanded him to do, before he can claim a hearing for his requests.'


21. Erit integra, 'the question will be open for deliberation.'

24. Agitur, 'is at stake.'

30. Non eges, &c., although, that is,
gubernatores in magnis tempestatibus a vectoribus admoneri solent—, hunc tantum tuum apparatus tamque praeclarum ne ad nihilum recidere patiare. Tempus habes tale, quale nemo habuit umquam. Hac gravitate senatus, hoc studio equestris ordinis, hoc ardone populi Romani potes in perpetuum rem publicam metu et periculo liberare. Quibus de rebus refers, P. Servilio assentior.

you are rather fitted for administering than receiving such advice.

2. Apparatum, not merely the forces which he had collected from the levy, as Manutius thinks, but all his other resources, in the firmness of the senate, the zeal of the knights, and the eagerness of the people.

6. Quibus de rebus: the Appian way, and the Mint, the subjects of the Consul's motion; see c. 1, 1.

7. P. Servilio: probably P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus the younger, who was one of the chief supporters of the aristocratical party, and afterwards chosen as one of the envoys for the proposed second embassy to Antony. See 12. 1, 1 note.
INTRODUCTION

TO THE EIGHTH ORATION.

The exact date of this oration cannot be determined, but it is clear from the last section that it was delivered some little time before the Ides of March. The occasion of it was the return of two of the ambassadors who had been sent to Antony. Servius Sulpicius, the third ambassador, had been in bad health before he started, and died before he reached the camp of Antony. The other two, L. Piso and L. Philippus, laid before Antony the demands of the senate; to which he replied, as Cicero had foretold, not by simple submission, but by a series of counter propositions. He offered indeed to give up his designs upon Cisalpine Gaul, but only on condition of his being invested with the command of the Transalpine province, to be held, against the law of Caesar, for a period of five years. He further demanded that six legions should be given him from the army of D. Brutus; that his troops should receive rewards in lands and money; that his previous grants in Campania and Leontini should be confirmed; that all the decrees which he had published as the acts of Caesar should continue valid; that no account should be demanded of the public money which he had embezzled; that the 'septemviri' for the division of lands should be maintained in their office; and that his own law concerning the 'iudicia' should be ratified. In making these proposals he did not suspend his operations against Mutina, even during the time of his interview with the ambassadors; and he refused to allow them to communicate with D. Brutus.

When the commissioners returned home with their report of these proceedings, public indignation was generally aroused. All thoughts of peace with Antony were laid aside; and the only question was what steps should be adopted against him. Hirtius had already gone to join the army under Mutina, but Pansa immediately summoned the senate, and proposed that war should be proclaimed. L. Caesar proposed the substitution of the milder term 'tumultus,' but with an apology on the
ground that Antony was his nephew. However he was supported by Q. Fusius Calenus, and some others, and eventually by the Consul himself. It is not easy to understand why Cicero took no prominent part in the debate (see however on c. 1, 1), but allowed the proposal of L. Caesar to be carried, though it was strongly in opposition to his own desires. On the following day, the senate having met again to consider further measures, he delivered the eighth oration, in which he criticizes severely both the proceedings of the senate on the previous day, and the pusillanimous conduct of the ambassadors in allowing such contemptuous insolence on the part of Antony. He protests against any half measures, urging that Antony could only be treated as an enemy to whom no terms could be granted; and that to send a second embassy to him was only to incur a second time the degradation which the first had brought upon them; and he concludes by proposing that Cotyla, the envoy sent by Antony, should at once be ordered to return to him, and that an amnesty should be granted to all of Antony’s soldiers who should leave his standard before the Ides of March.
M. TULLII CICERONIS

ORATIONUM PHILIPPICARUM

LIBER OCTAVUS.

1 CONFUSIUS hesterno die est acta res, C. Pansa, quam postulabat institutum consulatus tui. Parum mihi visus es eos, quibus cedere non soles, sustinere. Nam cum senatus ea virtus fuisset, quae solet, et cum re viderent omnes esse bellum, quidamque id verbum removendum arbitrendur, tua voluntas in discesione fuit ad lenitatem propensior. Victa est igitur propter verbi asperitatem te auctore nostra sententia. Vicit L. Caesaris, amplissimi viri, qui verbi atrociitate dempta oratione fuit quam sententia lenior. Quamquam is quidem, antequam sententiam diceret, propinquitatem excusavit. Idem fecerat me consule in sororis viro, quod hoc tempore in sororis filio fecit, ut et luctu sororis moveretur et saluti populi Romani provideret. Atque ipse tamen Caesar praecepit vobis quodam modo, patres conscripti, ne sibi assentiremini, cum ita dixit, aliam sententiam se dicturum fuisse camque se ac re publica dignam, nisi propinquitatem. 

c. 1. Cicero begins by lamenting the leniency of the previous day’s decision, though he maintains that L. Caesar, in proposing, out of feeling for his nephew, to style the crisis of affairs ‘tumultus’ rather than ‘bellum,’ was introducing an imaginary distinction, since in fact ‘tumultus’ was more serious a thing than ordinary war.

1. Hesterno die: the day on which the decree was passed, which declared the ‘tumultus.’ See introduction.

3. Sustinere, ‘to withstand their attack.’

5. In discesione. See on 3, 9, 24.

7. Nostra sententia. From this it appears that Cicero had taken part in the debate of the preceding day, but probably he expressed his views before L. Caesar, and not anticipating the amendment which he moved, did not deliver an important speech.

10. Propinquitatem. He was the brother of Julia, Antony’s mother. Cp. Fam. 10, 28, 3 ‘L. Caesar optime sentit, sed, quod avunculus est, non acerrimas dicit sententias.’ After the death of the elder Antonius, Julia married P. Lentulus Sura, one of Catiline’s accomplices, to whom allusion is made below. At the trial of the conspirators, L. Caesar declared himself in favour of any punishment short of death.

Idem fecerat, &c., ‘in my consulship he had behaved in the same way with regard to his brother-in-law as now in respect of Antony; in both cases combining care for the public interest with sympathy for his sister’s grief.’
tate impediretur. Ergo ille avunculus: num etiam vos avunculi, qui illi estis assensi?

At in quo fuit controversia? Belli nomen ponendum quidam in sententia non putabant: tumultum appellare malebant, ignari non modo rerum, sed etiam verborum; potest enim esse bellum, ut tumultus non sit, tumultus esse sine bello non potest. Quid est enim aliud tumultus nisi perturbatio tanta, ut maior timor oriatur? unde etiam nomen ductum est tumultus. Itaque maiores nostri tumultum Italicum, quod erat domesticus, tumultum Gallicum, quod erat Italiae finitimus, praetera nullum nominabant. Gravius autem tumultum esse quam bellum hinc intelligi potest, quod bello vacationes valent, tumultu non valent. Ita fit, quem ad modum dixi, ut bellum sine tumultu possit, tumultus sine bello esse non possit. Etenim cum inter bellum et pacem medium nihil sit, necesse est tumultum, si belli non sit, pacis esse: quo quid absurdius dici aut existimari potest? Sed nimis multa de verbo: rem potius videamus, patres conscripti, quam quidem intelligo verbo fieri interim deteriorem solere. Nolumus hoc bellum videri. Quam igitur municipiis et

6. Ut tumultus, &c. The words 'tumultus non sit' are wanting in the Vatican MS., apparently owing to the recurrence of the word 'tumultus.' They have been recovered by Halm from a quotation in Isidorus, Orig. 18. 1, 7. The other MSS. have 'esse bellum sine tumultus: tumultus esse,' &c., taken, with great improbability, from Cicero's repetition of the sentiment just below.

Quid est enim, &c. This is adduced by Quintilian, 7. 3, 25, as an instance of definition by etymology, which he says is rarely found. It is hardly necessary to observe that in this case the etymology is wrong.

8. Itaque maiores nostri, &c. This is the 'locus classicus' for the meaning of 'tumultus,' properly a revolt of the Italian nations, and extended only to an inroad of the Gauls, which was looked upon with equal apprehension. Cp. Servius on Virg. Ae. 8. 1 'Tumultus, id est, bellum Italicum, vel Gallicum, in quibus ex percibit vicinitate crat timor multus.'


17. De verbo. The special pleading of Cicero is sufficiently shown by the fact of the senate looking on the amendment of L. Caesar as a milder measure; and the general use of the word 'tumultus' proves that though looked on as more conducive to panic for the moment, it was never considered so serious a matter as 'bellum.'

Rem, &c., 'let us rather look at the reality, which, as I understand, is often made worse than it need be by the language which we employ;' i.e. for want of precision in our language we fail to form a right estimate of, and so take right measures in, any crisis.

cc. 2, 3. That there was really war was shown by the zeal of the municipal towns; by the conduct of Antony himself; by the energetic measures of Octavianus; by the mission of Hirtius, and his victory over Antony; by the general levies, and the war-like attitude of the citizens. This all be-tokened civil war, and that of an enormous hitherto unparalleled. Unlike all others, it was entered on solely for private aggrandizement, in the midst of profound peace, when all classes were unanimously bent on defending the institutions of their country, and preserving their property and their homes. These Antony was promising as spoil to his abandoned crew of profiteers and ruffians, after a fashion which contrasted strangely in its lawlessness and cruelty with the glorious rewards held out by the commonwealth to its patriotic soldiers.
2. Ut milites fiant, 'that they should enrol themselves, as they are doing.'

Sine multa. The later MSS. have 'tumultu,' but Cicero is obviously enumerating the various motives, of terror or patriotism, whereby men are commonly induced to enlist.

5. Descendit in causam, 'is taking up the matter.' Cp. Livy 36. 7 'Cui, si semel in causam descendit, nihil integri futurum sit.' The expression seems to be taken from coming down into the forum (see below, § 6), to support a friend's case in the law courts.

10. Infimus. See 7. 4, 12 note.

13. Praesertim cum, 'as he might well have done at his age.' Cp. 2. 24. 60 note.

14. Decernendi enim tempus, &c., 'for the time for passing a decree was not yet come;' the senate not being free till Antony had quitted Rome.

18. Claterna was about ten miles south-east of Bononia (Bologna), which was still in Antony's possession. Cp. Fam. 12. 5, 2. There are now no remains of the city, but its site is perhaps marked by the name of a small stream which crosses the ancient Via Aemilia, called Quadrerna.


25. Descensurum esse, sc. 'in forum.' Cp. 2. 6, 15 'Hodie non descendit Antonius,'
tentionem rei publicae causa faciebat. Sulla cum Sulpicio de
jure legum, quas per vim consul Sulla latas esse dicebat; Cinna
cum Octavio de novorum civium suffragiis; rursus cum Mario
et Carbone Sulla, ne dominarentur indigni et ut clarissimorum
hominum crudelissimam poeniretur necem. Horum omnium
bellorum causae ex rei publicae contentione natae sunt. De
proximo bello civili non libet dicere: ignoro causam, detestor
exitum. Hoc bellum quintum civile geritur—atque omnia in
sione et discordia civium, sed in maxima consensione incredibi-
lique concordia. Omnes idem volunt, idem defendunt, idem
sentient. Cum omnes dico, eos excipio, quos nemo civitate
dignos putat. Quae est igitur in medio belli causa posita? 
Nos decorum immortalium templo, nos muros, nos domicilia
sedesque populi Romani, aras, focos, sepulchra maiorum; nos
leges, iudicia, libertatem, coniuges, liberos, patriam defendimus:

1. Rei publicae causa, 'a question affecting the state.'
Cum Sulpicio. P. Sulpicius Rufus, characterised by Cicero (Brut. 55, 203) as
the grandest orator he had ever heard, joined
Marius in 88 B.C., when tribune of the
common, and in his favour got a law passed
by violence, which distributed the Italians
who had just received the franchise, among
the thirty-five old tribes, thus placing the
whole political power in their hands. The
Consuls attempted to prevent the passing of
this law by declaring a 'iustitium,' but
Sulpicus came into the forum with a force
sufficient to overbear all opposition, over-
came the Consuls, and drove Sulla from the
city. Sulla shortly afterwards returned at
the head of his army, and having made himself
master of the city, killed Sulpicus, and
obliged Marius to flee from Rome. The
next year Cinna was Consul, and tried again
to pass the obnoxious law, but was for
a time successfully resisted by his colleague,
Cn. Octavius, who was slain in the tumults
that ensued.
De iure legum, 'how far the laws
were constitutional: 'ius' being the prin-
ciple of right which underlies all written
law.
3. Cum Mario. This was the adopted
son of the great Marius, who succeeded his
father as the leader of his party, but in
his consulship, 82 B.C., was utterly defeated
by Sulla, and put an end to his own life.
His colleague Cn. Papirius Carbo was de-
feated shortly after, but made his escape to
Africa.
4. Indigni, the democratic party.
Clarissimorum hominum, e.g. Q. Camillus, the former colleague of Marius,
M. Antonius the orator, L. Caesar, the
victor of Acerrae, 90 B.C., P. Crassus, who
had gained distinction in the Spanish and
Social Wars, and L. Murula, who had un-
willingly superseded Cinna in his consulship.
5. Poeniretur. For the deponent form
cp. Tusc. i. 44, 107 'Multi iniurios etiam
mortuos poenirruit.'
6. Proximo, that between Caesar and
Pompey.
8. Quintum. Cicero omits all mention
of the war with Sertorius, perhaps because
from the time of his quitting Rome in 82
B.C., till his death in 72 B.C., the scene of
the struggle was in Spain.
In nostram actatem. Cicero was
19 years old at the time of the contest
between Sulpicius and Sulla, forty-five years
before the time of this oration.
9. Primum, &c., 'and yet it is the first
that has arisen when our citizens were not
only free from variance and disunion, but
even joined together by unusual and scarcely
credible harmony of feeling.' Perhaps the
same might be said of almost any civil war,
by thus conveniently ignoring that those
who differ from the speaker have any right
to be considered.
13. Quae est igitur, &c., 'what is then
the avowed cause of the war?'
contra M. Antonius id molitur, id pugnat, ut haec omnia perturbet, evertat, praedam rei publicae causam belli putet, fortunas nostras partim dissipet, partim dispertiat parricidis.


4. In hac tam dispari ratione, 'in the midst of a war that contradicts all precedents.'
5. Deducturum, &c., 'will lead them forth to seize upon what lands they will.'
6. Cafoanes. Cafo was one of Caesar's veterans (11. 5, 12), and is frequently denounced by Cicero as one of Antony's tools. Cp. also 10. 10, 22.
7. Saxae. Decidius Saxa was a Spaniard, whose Caesar made tribute of the commons in 44 B.C., though not even a Roman citizen. (Cp. 11. 5, 12; 13. 13, 27.) He subsequently held commands under Antony and Octavianus in the East, but was defeated and killed by Q. Labienus, 49 B.C.
8. Tusculana, sc. praedia,' cp. Att. 7. 5. 3 'Ego in Tusculanum nihil sane hoc tempore... Sed de Formiano Tarracinam prid. Kal. Ian. Inde Pompptinam summam; inde Albanum Pompeii.'

Ad aquas: to Baiae. Cp. pro Planc. 27, 65 'Me unum ex iis feci, qui ad aquas venissent.' From Att. 1. 16, 10 'Quid, inquit, homini Arpinati cum aquis calidis,' we may gather that it was considered presumption for any one not in good society at Rome to go to so fashionable a watering-place as Baiae.
11. Hasta Caesaris, the auctions of confiscated property, sold by Caesar's orders, as in the case of the estate of Pompey, bought by Antony himself. See 2. 26, 64 note.
12. Semper hastam... cupiunt, &c. Manutius compares Off. 2. 8, 29 'Nec vero unquam bellorum civitatem semen et causa deert, dum homines perditi hastam illam cruentam et meminerint et sperabant.'
13. Scelerum promissio, 'to promise what is wicked.'
nec salutaria: nostra contra honesta, integra, gloriosa, plena laetitia, plena pietatis.


1. Integra, opposed to 'taeta,' 'without taint of crime.'

cc. 4—6. To advocate war at the present time was quite consistent with an undiminished love of peace, and care for the safety of the citizens, for war meant now deliverance from tyranny and permanent safety for all honest men, and these were blessings well worth winning by a temporary sacrifice of peace. In like manner Scipio Nasica and L. Opimius were rightly praised for choosing present bloodshed rather than a lasting slavery, when the Gracchi tried successively to overthrow the constitution. So the reason of Saturninus and of Carline could only be subdued by force of arms; the guilty always must be rooted out to save the innocent, and though in the single case of P. Clodius popular opinion of course was wrong, and Calenus showed himself more keen of sight than Cicero, yet none could now dispute the fact that in upholding D. Brutus Cicero was asserting the freedom of the Roman people and its colonies. Calenus, on the contrary, showed himself to be unpatriotic, first, by defending Antony in spite of his open warfare and insulting conduct towards the state; and secondly, by his persistent attacks upon a city so loyal as Massilia, whose sufferings excited the compassion even of her oppressor, Caesar.

3. Q. Fufius: Calenus; see on 5. 1.

1. For Cicero's real feelings towards Calenus, see Att. 9. 8, 2 'Fufius est illic (with Caesar), mihi inimissimus'; ib. 15.

2. 4 'Saeve insulse (scribit), ut solet.'

4. Si laudanda pax esset. See 7. 3, 7 foll.

15. Necessaria, 'admits of no alternative.'

19. Antea, during the time of Caesar's rule.

20. De illo homine. The last word is emphatic, 'of him, who was a man.'

23. Ita, si, &c., 'only with the proviso that all these citizens should be loyal.' Cp. 2. 34. 85 note.
ORATIO PHILIPPICA VIII.

§§ 10—14.


2. Pater. The father is mentioned only here. From his estimate of Scipio Nasica Dr. Schmitz (Smith's Dict. of Biogr.) argues that he was a considerable holder of public land.

3. Primas. Sc. 'partes?' cp. Att. i. 17, 5 'Amoris erga me tibi primas defero.'

4. P. Nasicae. Cicero is fond of eulogising this man as a patriot, though he seems to have been a hotheaded, unscrupulous partizan of the aristocratic faction. Cp. Brut. 58, 212 'Ex dominatu Ti. Gracchi privatus in libertatem rem publicam vindicavit.' Off. 1. 22, 76 'Nec plus Africanus in excusenda Numantia rei publicae profuit, quam P. Nasica privatus, cum Ti. Gracchum interemit.' The part he took in the murder of Gracchus made Nasica so unpopular in Rome, that the senate made an excuse for sending him to Asia, whence he never returned.

8. Voluisset. The subjunctive is used, because containing the reason which Calenus would have given: 'because, you would have said, he had not wished for the safe preservation of all the citizens.'

L. Opimius was Consul in 121 B.C., and introduced the law against the restoration of Carthage, which led to the disturbances in which C. Gracchus perished. He acted at the instigation of the senate (see Cat. i. 2, 4), and was looked on by their party as a hero, 'servator ipsa rei publicae,' pro Planc. 28, 69; cp. ib. 29, 70 'Praetor finitimo, Consul domesticO bello rem publicam liberavit.'

12. Esses. See Madv. § 347 b. Obs. 2. Q. Metellus Macedonicus was a steady opponent of the Gracchi, and is praised by Cicero (Brut. 21, 81) for the eloquence of his speech against the elder brother. His fourth son was praetor, and candidate for the consulship at the time of his father's death, in 115 B.C.; cp. Fin. 5. 27, 82 'Tris filios consules vidit, e quisbus unus etiam et censorum et triumphantem, quartum autem praetorem, osque salvos reliquit et tris filias nuptas.'

13. P. Lentulus was Consul 162 B.C., and must therefore have been far advanced in years at the time of Gracchus' death. Cp. Cat. 4, 6, 13 'Huius avus Lentuli, vir clarissimus, armatus Gracchum est persecutus; ille etiam grave tum vulneris accept, ne quid de summa re publica deminuereetur.'

15. In Aventinum. Gracchus himself escaped across the Tiber, through the self-devotion of two of his attendants, but having sprung his uncle in descending the Aventine, he fell, probably by his own hand, in the Lucus Furiae, at the foot of the Janiculum.

17. M. Fulvius Flaccus, Consul 125 B.C., was one of the supporters of the Gracchi, and the chief advocate for resisting the senate by force of arms. His elder son

was seized and put to death with him, the younger son was detained when sent by his father to arrange a compromise with the senate, and was afterwards put to death in prison. See Cat. 1. 2, 4; and 12, 29; ib. 4. 6. 13.

2. C. Mario, &c. 100 B.C. Cicero says (Brut. 62, 224) that Saturninus was 'seditiosorum omnium post Gracchos eloquentissimus, Glauca longe post homines uatos improbissimus.' The lawless conduct of Saturninus in his tribuneship reached a climax in the murder of C. Memmius, on which he and Glauca were declared public enemies, and after an ineffectual struggle to defend themselves in the Capitol, they surrendered to Marius, but were pelted to death by the mob.

10. Committere ut, &c., 'should act so as to deserve the punishment of death,' a favourite construction with Cicero; cp. Off. 2. 14. 50 'Committere ut accusator nominere.'

17. Te vidisse plus. When P. Clodium was accused of violating the mysteries of the Bona Dea, Calenus, then tribune of the commons, proposed a law that he should be tried by the ordinary tribunal, instead of by a special court, and thus made possible the corruption which procured his acquittal. The irony of the passage is obvious.

19. Facinerosum. So Halm, following the Vatican MS, and the general custom of the most ancient MSS. Al. facinoro- sum.

Ego te, cum in Massilienses tam es acerbus, Q. Fufi, non animo aequo audito. Quousque enim Massiliam oppugnabis? ne triumphus quidem finem facti bellis? per quem lata est urbs ea, sine qua numquam ex transalpinis gentibus maiores nostri triumphaverunt. Quo quidem tempore populus Romanus ingemuit. Quamquam proprios dolores suarum rerum omnes habeant, tamen huius civitatis fidelissimae miseras nemo erat civis qui a se alienas arbitrararet. Caesar ipse, qui illis fuerat iratisimus, tamen propter singularem eius civitatis gravitatem et fidem quotidiem aliiquid iracundiae remittebat: te nulla sua

1. Ego huic, &c., "is it a mere question of political partizanship, one supporting A, the other B?"

6. Lineae. This is the reading in all the MSS., though its meaning is uncertain, the word not being elsewhere found in connection with military operations. It may perhaps be, like our 'lines,' the entrenched position of the army, the opposing forces are already in close contact." All editors before Halm have "vinea," a reading which still leaves a difficulty about 'conductae,' though it may be the "system" or mantelets is brought against the city; cp. Veget. de Re Mil. 4. 15 "Cum plures (vinea) factae fuerint, iunguntur in ordinem, sub quibus subsidentes tuti ad subranda murorum penetrant fundamenta."

Qui intercurrerent, 'to throw themselves into the contending parties.'

10. Cum suo, &c., 'Antony had taken part against him, though under great obligations to him.' Manutius compares Fam. 7. 30. 3 'Acilius, qui in Graeciam cum legionibus missus est, maximo meo beneficio est.' The construction seems akin to that of the descriptive ablative.

13. Massilienses. The friendship between Massilia and Rome dated from the second Punic war, and the Massiliots had always aided Rome in all her contests with the Transalpine Gauls. Cp. pro Font. 5, 13 'Urbs Massilia, fortissimorum fidelissimorumque sociorum, qui Gallicorum bellum pericula populo Romano copiis remisq. compensarunt.' In 49 B.C. Massilia declared for Pompey, and being reduced by Caesar after a determined resistance, was deprived of part of its territory and privileges. Cp. Off. 2. 2, 28 'Portari in triumpho Massiliam vidimus et ex ea urbe triumphari, sine qua numquam imperatores nostri ex transalpinis bellis triumpharunt.' It appears from Att. 14. 14, 6, and Phil. 13. 15, 32 that after Caesar's death the Massiliots applied for restitution of their lands and rights.

15. Lata est, 'was borne in effigy,' cp. Quint. 6. 3, 61 'Cum in triumpho Caesares eboea oppida essent translata.'

22. A liquid remittebat, sc. grew less
calamitate civitas satiare tam fidelis potest? Rursus iam me irasci fortasse dices. Ego autem sine iracundia dico omnia, nec tamen sine dolore animi: neminem illi civitati inimicum esse arbitror qui amicus huic sit civitati. Excogitare quae tua ratio sit, 5 Calene, non possum. Antea deterrece te ne popularis esses non poteramus: exorare nunc ut sis popularis non possumus. Satis multa cum Fufo ac sine odio omnia, nihil sine dolore. Credo autem, qui generi querellam moderate ferat, acquo animo laturum amici.

10 Venio ad reliquis consularum, quorum nemo est—iure hoc meo 7 dico—quin mecum habeat aliquam coniunctionem gratiae; alli maximam, alli mediocrem, nemo nullam. Quam hesternus dies nobis, consularibus dico, turpis illuxit! iterum legatos? quid? si ille faceret inducias? Ante os oculosque legatorum tormentis 15 Mutinam verberavit; opus ostendebat munitionemque legatis; ne punctum quidem temporis, cum legati adessent, oppugnatio respiravit. Ad hunc legatos? cur? an ut corum reditu vhec- mentius pertimescatis? Equidem cum ante legatos decerni non censuissem, hoc me tamen consolabar, quod, cum illi ab Antonio 20 contempi et reiecti revertissent renuntiavissentque senatui non and less displeased with it every day. 'It retained its freedom and its nationality, and continued, though with diminished proportions in a material point of view, to be intelle- Jrictually the centre of Hellenic culture in that distant Celtic country which at this very time was attaining a new historical significance.' (Mommsen, Hist. of Rome, Eng. Tr. 4. 390.)

2. Dico omnia. So the Vatican MS. The later MSS. insert 'ut' before 'omnia,' but the asyndeton is less abrupt if we have expressed a direct object of 'dico.'

5. Popularis is here used with a play on the word. In the first place it means 'one of the democratic party,' in the second, 'on the side of the mass of Roman citizens,' 'Formerly we could not make you by our threats give up the party of the people, now we cannot bring you by our prayers to join the people's cause.'

8. Generi, the Consul, C. Vibius Pansa. See on 5. 1, 1.

cc. 7-9. It was with pain that Cicero turned to comment on the conduct of the other consulars. They were willing to despatch a second embassy, when the first had even now come back insulted and unable to accomplish anything. He was left alone, in circum- stances which might well have caused alarm, to maintain single-handed the honour of the senate. Things were sadly changed since the time when Antiochus was brought to submit upon the spot, by the mere threat of breaking off negotiations, now that Antony replied to the demands of the senate by making counter- propositions; and these too involving no less than the reward of men who really merited execution, indemnity for all illegal actions done by himself and his adherents, and a province wherein he might carry on his reasonable practices without interference for a period far exceeding all the limits which the law allowed.

10. Iure hoc meo dico, 'as I may fairly say.'

13. Quid? si, &c., 'what is left for you, if he should consent to a truce?' Success in the negotiations would really cause the greatest embarrassment, and only waste time. A common reading, though apparently with- out MS. authority, is 'ut ille faceret inducias?' 'not surely with any idea of his consenting to a truce,' like Cat. 1. 9. 22 'Quamquam quid loquor? te ut ut nulla res frangat.'
modo illum de Gallia non discessisse, ut censuissemus, sed ne a
Mutina quidem recessisse, potestatem sibi D. Bruti convenien
di non fuisse, foret ut omnes inflammati odio, excitati dolore armis,
equis, viris D. Bruto subveniremus. Nos etiam languidiores
postea facti sumus, quam M. Antonii non solum audaciam et 5
scelus, sed etiam insolentiam superbiamque perspeximus. Utin-
am L. Caesar valeret, Servius Sulpicius viveret! multo melius
haec causa ageretur a tribus, quam nunc agitur ab uno. Dolenter
hoc dicam potius quam contumeliose: deserti, deserti, inquam,
sumus, patres conscripti, a principibus. Sed—saepè iam dixi— 10
omnes in tanto periculo, qui recte et fortiter sentient, erunt con-
sulares. Animum nobis afferre legati debuerunt: timorem attu-
lerunt, quamquam mihi quidem nullum, quamvis de illo, ad
quem missi sunt, bene existimem: a quo etiam mandata acce-
perunt. Pro di immortales! ubi est ille mos virtusque maiorum? 15
C. Popilius apud maiores nostros cum ad Antiochum regem

1. Ut censuissemus, 'according to the
terms of our decree.'
3. Foret ut. So Halm, from the
Vatican reading 'fore tu,' the subjunctive
being conditional, without any inherent idea
of futurity. The other MSS. have 'fore
ut,' as though Cicero had forgotten the
preceding 'quod,' after the long intervening
clause.
Armis, equis, viris, 'with all the
forces at our command;' so metaphorically
Fam. 9. 7, I 'Quoniam confecta sunt omnia,
non est dubitandum, quin equis viris.' Cp.
Livy 35. 44 'Ommem se Graeciam armis,
viris, equis, omnem oram maritimam classi-
sibus completurum.' The later MSS. have
'viri.'
4. Nos etiam, &c., 'as a matter of fact
we became even more devoid of energy, so
soon as we found in M. Antonius not only
boldness and wickedness, but insolence and
arrogance as well.'
Caesar, optimus et fortissimus civis, valetu-
dine impeditur.'
8. Ab uno, i.e. by Cicero himself, who
was now bereft of his two main supporters,
and left to fight the battle of his cause alone.
From c. 1, 1 we learn that L. Caesar was
virtually on Cicero's side, though differing
from him on the choice of words to be em-
ployed.
Dolenter, &c., 'I speak in sorrow more
than in reproach.' For the complaint, cp.
Fam. 12. 22, 2 'Oppressa omnia sunt, nec
habent ducem boni.'
10. A principibus, 'by the consuls,'
as is explained by the following clause. Cp.
Cat. 3. 6, 13 'Dictae sunt a principibus
acerrimae ac fortissimae sententiae, quas
senatus sine ulla varietate est secutus.'
14. Bene existimem, 'they express a
favourable opinion;' an infatuation on
the part of public officers which Cicero main-
tains might well strike panic into the
boldest.
16. Ad Antiochum. The occasion of
this embassy was the war between Syria and
Egypt, 171 B.C., caused primarily by a
dispute about the cities of Coele-Syria, which
had been granted to Egypt as the dowry of
Cleopatra, the daughter of Antiochus the
Great, and not restored upon her death.
Antiochus Epiphanes thought this a favo-
rable opportunity of advancing the traditional
policy of the Seleucidae, and seizing upon
Egypt. In 168 B.C. he had advanced,
after considerable successes, as far as Alex-
andria, when he was induced by the menace
of C. Popilius Laenas to obey the injunc-
tions of the Roman senate, and give up the
enterprise. For the incident cp. Livy 45. 12
'Popilius, pro cetera asperitate animi, virga,
quam in manu gerebat, circumscriptis regem:
ac, "Prisquam hoc cireulo excedas," inquit,
"reddo responsum, senatui quod referam."'
Obstupefactus tam violento injuria parumper
cum haesisset, "Faciam," inquit, "quod
censet senatus."' Pliny (N. H. 34. 6, 24)
erroneously attributes this action to Cn.
legatus missus esset et verbis senatus muniiasset ut ab Alexandrea discederet, quam obsidebat, cum tempus ille differret, virgula stantem circumscripsit dixitque se renuntiaturum senatu, nisi prius sibi respondisset quid facturus esset, quam ex illa circumscriptione exisset. Praeclare: senatus enim faciem secum attulcrat auctoritatemque populi Romani: cui qui non paret, non ab eo mandata accipienda sunt, sed ipse est potius repudiandus. An ego ab eo mandata acciperem, qui senatus mandata contenneret? aut ei cum senatu quidquid commune indicarem, 10 qui imperatorem populi Romani senatu prohibente obsideret? At quae mandata! qua arrogantia! quo stupore! quo spiritu! Cur autem ca legatis nostris dabat, cum ad nos Cotyla mitteret, ornamentum atque arcem amicorum suorum, hominem aedilicum? si vero tum fuit aedilis, cum cum iussu Antonii in 15 convivio servi publici loris ecciderunt. At quam modesta manda! Ferrei sumus, patres conscripti, qui quidquam huic negemus. Utramque provinciam, inquit, remitto; exercitum depono; privatus esse non recuso: haec sunt enim verba. Redire ad se videtur. Omnia obliviscor, in gratiam redeo. Sed quid adiungit? Si legionibus meis sex, si equitibus, si cohorti praetoriae praedam agrumque dede-

Octavius, ambassador to Antiochus V, the son of Epiphanes. See 9. 2, 4 note.

10. Se renuntiaturum, 'that he would report progress,' and so stop the negotiations. Halm thinks that in 're' there lies the notion of negation, and that the word in itself implies the refusal of Antiochus to comply with the demands of the senate; but though this is easily gathered from the context, it is not contained in the word, which has its customary meaning of reporting the result of a commission. The later MSS. have 'se non ante renuntiaturum,' which vitiates the meaning.

11. Potius. The later MSS. have 'totus,' as in Att. 9. 2, 1 'Recludiari se totum.'

12. Quo stupore. The unsuitableness of this word between two of such cognate meaning as 'arrogantia' and 'spiritus' has led to the conjecture 'quo tumore.' If the reading be genuine, it may perhaps qualify 'qua arrogantia,' with what infatuated arrogance,' as ἐπιληφτως, ἐμβρύνητως are used in Greek.


17. Utramque provinciam. Not the two provinces of Gaul, for Plancus still held Gallia Transalpina (5. 2, 5), but Cisalpine Gaul and Macedonia (see 7. 1, 3). Hence there is no discrepancy between this demand of Antony and that in the next chapter: 'Galliam togatam remitto, Comatam postulo.'

20. Legionibus meis sex. These would be the 5th or Alauda legion, the 2nd and 35th from Macedonia, of which the greater part had followed Antony, and probably three of 'tiriones.' Cp. Fam. 10. 34. 1: and Mr. Watson's notes. In Append. xi. 11, Mr. Watson expresses his opinion that one of these three latter legions consisted of 'evocati.'

21. Cohorti praetoriae, the bodyguard, attached to the person of every Roman general. Cp. Caes. B. G. 1. 40 'Si praeterea uerno sequatur, tamen scum sola decima legione futurum, de qua non dubitaret, sibique eam praetoriis cohortem futuram.'

which could be so distributed, have led to the probable conjecture of 'praemia' for 'praedam,' which is however found in all the MSS. The conjecture is borne out by the repetition of 'praemia' in the following clause.

5. Annonae perfugia, 'our reserve of corn.'
8. Chirographorum. If this word, which is found in all the MSS., be genuine, it must be applicable to all the three classes of decrees which are afterwards specified. 'The decrees, existing under the hand of himself and Caesar (as found in his notebooks) and Dolabella.' It is more probably an interpolation, arising from the recollection of such passages as I. 7, 16; 2. 14, 35 'Commentariorum et chirographorum officina.'
9. Quid laborat, &c., 'why so anxious to secure the title of the buyers, so long as he, the seller, is in safe possession of the purchase-money?' Antony had got all that he could make by his wholesale forgery of decrees, and Cicero thinks that it is not like him to be so careful of the interests of his customers.
11. Ad Opis. See I. 7, 18 note.
14. Clientelas: of the partizans to whom he had assigned land.
16. Mustelae et Tironi. See 2. 4, 8 note.
Quid commisit? Cicero recurs ironically to the three main charges against Antony; the appropriation of the public treasure, the murder of the centurions, and his being in arms against the state.
19. Iudiciaria lex, de tertia decuria iudicum. See I. 8, 19; 5. 5, 12 foll., with the notes upon both passages.
23. Togatam. Cisalpine Gaul, which was so far civilized as to have adopted the Roman dress; Comatam, Transalpine Gaul, so called from the fashion of the people to

Haec tu mandata, L. Piso, et tu, L. Philippe, principes civi-10 tatis, non dico animo ferre, verum auribus accipere potuistis? Sed, ut suspicor, terror erat quidam: nec vos ut legati apud illum fuistis nec ut consulares, nec vos vestram nec rei publicae dignitatem tenere potuistis. Et tamen nescio quo pacto sapi-15 entia quadam, credo, quod ego non possem, non nimis irati re-vertistis. Vobis M. Antonius nihil tribuit, clarissimus viris, legatis populi Romani: nos quid non legato M. Antonii Cotylae con-

let their hair grow long. In 7. 1, 3 Cicero shows that Antony's real object in demanding an unsettled province like Transalpine Gaul was not that he might be 'otiosus,' but that he might be able to raise forces in it for the overthrow of the commonwealth.

3. Tamdiu, &c. Antony apparently forewove that if the senatorial party continued in the ascendant, M. Brutus and C. Cassius would certainly be elected Consuls on the first possible occasion. This would be for the year 41 B.C., on the expiration of two years from their praetorship, and as they would subsequently have been able to hold the command of provinces as proconsuls for two years (1. 8, 19), compliance with Antony's demand would give him Gallia Transalpina for five years (43-39 B.C.), in direct violation of the very law by which he assumed that the command of Brutus and Cassius would be limited. His pretext for this proposal would doubtless be that he anticipated danger to himself from the posses-10 sion of power by his enemies.

4. Huius comitis, 'by his mode of determining the election, he accepts as a foregone conclusion the defeat of his bro-ther.' C. Antonius had been a colleague of Brutus and Cassius in the praetorship, and would therefore naturally be a candidate for the consulship in the same year, and hence his brother, by assuming that Brutus and Cassius would be Consuls, admits the prob-ability of his defeat.

6. Ipse autem, &c. This last demand is probably Cicero's interpretation of the pre-vious one, and this would account for the change of person. Otherwise, as a quo-tation from Antony's letter, it would be worse than tautology, as it would put in plain language what he had previously taken care to express obscurely.

8. Haec tu mandata, &c. Manutius compares Fam. 12. 4, 1 'Nihil autem foe-dius Philippo et Pisone, legatis, nihil flagitio-sius; qui cum essent missi, ut Antonio ex senatus sententia certas res denuntiaret, cum ille earum rerum nulli paruisset, ulterior ab illo ad nos intolerabilia postulata rettu-lerunt.'

13. Non nimis irati. The Vatican MS. omits the negative, but it seems essential to the sense. The envoys had the command over their tempers which was called for by a wise discretion.

Revertistis. One MS. has 'reversi estis,' but the active form of the perfect is usual in authors of the ante-Augustan period,
cessimus? Cui portas huius urbis patere ius non erat, huic hoc templum patuit, huic aditus in senatum fuit, hic hesterno die sententias vestras in codicillos et omnia verba referebat, huic se etiam summis honoribus usi contra suam dignitatem venditabant. O di immortales! quam magnum est personam in re publica tueri principis! quae non animis solum debet, sed etiam oculis servire civium. Domum recipere legatum hostium, in cubiculum admittere, etiam seducere hominis est nihil de dignitate, nium de periculo cogitantis. Quod autem est periculum? nam si maximum in discrimen venitur, aut libertas parata victori est aut mors proposita victo: quorum alterum optabile est, alterum effugere nemo potest. Turpis autem fuga mortis omni est morte peior. Nam illud quidem non adducor ut credam, esse quosdam, qui inuideant aliquis constantiae, qui labori, qui eius perpetuam in re publica adiuva vanda voluntatem et senatur et popular Romano probari moleste ferant. Omnes id quidem facere deebamus, caque erat non modo apud maiores nostros, sed etiam nuper summa laus consularium, vigilare, adesse animo, semper aliquid pro re publica aut cogitare aut facere aut dicere.

Ego, patres conscripti, Q. Scaevolam augurum memoria tenco bello Marsico, cum esset summa senectute et perdita valetudine, quotidie, simul atque luceret, facere omnibus conveniendi potestatem sui: nec eum quisquam illo bello vidit in lecto, senexque debilis primus veniebat in curiam. Huius industriam maxime

1. Ius non erat: he being on a reasonable errand, as a traitor's messenger.
2. Venditabant se, 'tried to recommend themselves,' as a salesman showing off his goods; cp. pro Sull. 10, 31 'Ita illos audituros quibus se venditabat.'
3. Personam tueri principis, 'to sustain the character of a leading citizen.' See on 6. 1, 2.
4. Seducere, 'to take aside for private conversation.' Cp. Att. 5. 21, 12 'Cum haec disseruissem, seducet me Scaptius; ait se nihil contra dicere.'
5. Qui labori. Halm reads 'qui labori eius,' from two of the later MSS., but the insertion of the pronoun would lead us to look forward for the construction of 'labori,' instead of referring it to 'invidiante.' One MS. has 'laboribus,' but this is unlikely with 'labori' at the end of § 31.
6. Id facere, sc. perpetuam voluntatem praestare.

20. Q. Scaevolam. Cp. Lael. 1, 1 'Ego a patre ita eram deductus ad Scaevolam sumpta virili toga, ut, quoad possem et liceret, a senis latere numquam discederem.' Scaevola was Consul 117 B.C., and lived to the end of the Marsic war, 88 B.C., but how much longer he survived does not appear. He is commonly called the Augur in distinction to his son Q. Mucius Scaevola Pontifex.

21. Simul atque luceret. That early rising was common among the Romans is shown, among other passages, by the well-known epigram of Martial, 4, 8, which gives the first and second hours, which in summer would be from about 4.30 to 7 a.m., to the reception of clients and friends: 'Prima salutantes atque altera continet hora.'

22. Debilis. The later MSS. have 'et debilis,' which is adopted by Orelli, on the ground that so 'melius distinguingatur duo mala, senectus et debilitas.'
c. 11. When zeal for the public service was so much needed, and so little shown, it was no time for the leaders of the people to insist on special privileges. He had thought it right that all should alike wear the military garb, lest the people should be reminded that the consulars were also specially distinguished for cowardice and disloyalty. For himself, he could offer no terms to the insurgents except upon immediate submission; and therefore he proposed that Cotyla, and no one else, should now return to Antony, and that those of his adherents should be pardoned who returned to their allegiance by the 1st of March.

3. Sexennio: the slavery beginning with the outbreak of the civil war between Caesar and Pompey, 49 B.C.

4. Captivi servi: The latter word is omitted in the later MSs, but Cicero seems to imply a distinction between slaves taken in war, and persons born in slavery. The former would be more likely, if honest and industrious, to win the compassion of their masters, and gain an early manumission.

7. Hoc honore usi, ‘those who have been Consuls,’ cp. c. 10, 28 ‘summis honoris usi.’

16. Sublevatum velint, ‘are anxious that all difficulties should be removed from his path.’

17. In eodem excipiendo, &c., ‘in the matter of his reception my views were overruled;’ Cicero having been of opinion that he should never have been received into the city; see above, c. 10, 28.


primas adierint, iis fraudi ne sit, quod cum M. Antonio fuerint. Si quis eorum, qui cum M. Antonio sunt, fecerit quod honore praemiove dignum esse videatur, uti C. Pansa A. Hirtius consules, alter ambove, si iis videbitur, de eius honore praemiove primo quoque die ad senatum referant. Si quis post hoc senatus consultum ad Antonium profectus esset praeter L. Varium, senatum existimaturum eum contra rem publicam fecisse.

primas dabitur;’ and Livy 23. 32 ‘Q. Fabius edixit, ut frumenta omnes ex agris, ante Kal. Ian. primas, in urbes munitas conveherent.’ The exact precision of expression is due to the formal character of the vote or proclamation. Cp. also Livy 42. 21.

2. Si quis eorum, &c. This seems to point to the contemplation of some act of treachery, or even open violence, among the soldiery of Antony.

3. Consules, &c. This appears in the Vatican MS. in the contracted form ‘cosaa sis.’ See on 5. 19, 53.
INTRODUCTION

TO THE NINTH ORATION.

Shortly after the delivery of the eighth oration, another meeting of the senate was held, to consider what honours should be paid to the memory of Servius Sulpicius, who had died on the embassy to Antony. He had been chosen as ambassador on account of his eminence as a jurist, and his high reputation for uprightness of character; and Cicero is probably guilty of no exaggeration in pronouncing him the mainstay of the expedition. He had been in very bad health before he started, and was anxious to decline the commission, but yielded to the pressure put on him by the senate, so that Cicero had some foundation for saying that the senate was responsible for his death. The Consul, Pansa, proposed that he should be honoured with a public funeral, and a gilt pedestrian statue placed in the Rostra; and it was in support of this motion that Cicero delivered his ninth Philippic oration. He says that he need have spoken a very few words, had not P. Servilius opposed the latter part of the decree, on the ground that a statue had never before been voted to any ambassador, unless he had been slain by violence on his embassy. Cicero urges that Sulpicius even more truly gave his life for his country than any who had been so put to death, since he knew before he started that he had small chance of returning. He points out how fully worthy Sulpicius had proved himself of such honours, and how the form of them was most appropriate to the man. The motion of the Consul was carried in its integrity, and a statue was erected before the Rostra, which was still standing in the time of Aurelian, as a testimony to the fame of Sulpicius and the eloquence of Cicero.

The speech is one of the most genial and pleasing which we have of Cicero's: it displays genuine feeling for the loss of a friend, and in the
warm panegyric which he utters over the illustrious jurist, he forgets for a time the bitterness of his animosity towards Antony. There is but little difficulty in the language of the speech, which is probably owing partly to the fact that Cicero could on this occasion speak exactly as he felt, and had no occasion for the complications caused by veiled sarcasm and artificial innuendo.
M. TULLII CICERONIS
ORIZATIONUM PHILIPPICARUM
LIBER NONUS.

1 VELLEM di immortales fecissent, patres conscripti, ut vivo
potius Ser. Sulpicio gratias ageremus quam honores mortuo
quareremus. Nec vero dubito quin, si ille vir legationem
renuntiare potuisset, reditus eius et vobis gratus fuerit et rei
publicae salutaris futurus, non quo L. Philippo et L. Pisoni aut 5
studium aut cura defuerit in tanto officio tantoque munere, sed
cum Ser. Sulpicius actate illos anteiret, sapientia omnes, subito
eruptus e causa totam legationem orbam et debilitatam reliquit.
2 Quod si cuiquam iustus honos habitus est in morte legato, in
nullo iustior quam in Ser. Sulpicio reperictur. Ceteri, qui in 10
legatione mortem obierunt, ad incertum vitae periculum sine
ullo mortis metu profecti sunt: Ser. Sulpicio cum aliqua per-

1. In proposing that a statue should be
erected in memory of Ser. Sulpicius, who had
died on a mission to Antony, Cicero expresses
his deep sense of the loss which the embassy
had sustained in the death of the oldest and
wisest of its members. He points out that
Sulpicius had started with the full conviction
that it would cause his death, and there-
fore more truly sacrificed his life for his
country than those who had on former occa-
sions received the same honour of a statue.
3. Legationem renunciare, 'to report
the issue of his embassy:' cp. 6. 6, 16
'Cum enim legati renuntiarit, quod certe
renuntiabunt;' and 8. 8, 23 note.
5. Non quo... defuerit. See on 1. 4, 9.
6. In tanto officio tantoque mun-
ere, 'in performing duties so arduous and
services so important.' The original differ-
ence between these two words, so constantly
combined by Cicero, seems to be that
'officium' represents an act as binding on
the doer, 'munus' as beneficial to some other
person or persons.
7. Illas... omnes. The readings vary
between the accusative and dative, but the
former has the sanction of the Vatican MS.,
and is more in accordance with Cicero's
usage, though he has the dative in Fin. 5.
31, 93 'Quamvis minimam animi praestan-
tiam omnibus bonis corporis anteire dicamus;' and
Off. 2. 10, 37 'Qui anteiire ceteris virt-
tute putatur.'
8. Ereptus e causa, 'the sudden loss of
his services in the commission,' 'Causa,'
though more generally used of pleading in a
court of law, is sometimes extended to any
3. 73, 170 'Aeneas, cui senatus dederat
publicam causam, ut mihi gratias ageret.'
9. Cuiquam. For the use of 'quis-
quam' in affirmative sentences see on 1. 9,
22; and Madv. § 494 b.
11. Ad incertum, &c., 'to meet the
various ordinary risks of life, with no especial
ground for apprehending death.'
veniendi ad M. Antonium spe profectus est, nulla revertendi. Qui cum ita affectus esset, ut, si ad gravem valetudinem labor accessisset, sibi ipse diffideret, non recusavit quo minus vel extremo spiritu, si quam opem rei publicae ferre posset, experiri.

Itaque non illum vis hiemis, non nives, non longitudo itineris, non asperitas viarum, non morbus ingravescens retardo-vit, cumque iam ad congressum colloquiumque eius pervenisset, ad quem erat missus, in ipsa cura ac meditatione obeundi sui munieris excessit e vita.

10 Ut igitur alia, sic hoc, C. Pansa, praclare, quod et nos ad honorandum Ser. Sulpicium cohortatus es, et ipse multa copiose de ipsius laude dixisti. Quibus a te dictis nihil praeter sententiam dicerem, nisi P. Servilio, clarissimo viro, respondendum putarem, qui hunc honorem statuae nemini tribuendum censuit nisi ei, qui ferro esset in legatione interfactus. Ego autem, patres conscripti, sic interpretor sensisse maiores nostros, ut causam mortis censuerint, non genus esse quaerendum. Etenim cui legatio ipsa morti fuisset, eius monimentum extare voluerunt, ut in bellis periculosum obirent homines legationis munus audacius. Non igitur exampla maiorum quaerenda, sed consilium est corum, a quo ipsa exempla nata sunt, explicandum. Lars Tolumnius, rex Veientium, quattuor legatos populi Romani Fidenis interemit, quorum statuae steterunt usque ad meam memoriam in rostris. Iustus honos; iis enim maiores nostri, qui ob rem publicam mortem obierant, pro brevi vita diuturnam memoriam reddiderunt. Cn. Octavii, clari viri et magni, qui

2. Cum ita affectus esset, &c., 'though in such a state of health, as to feel his danger imminent.' Cp. Att. 14. 17. 2 'L. Caesari, quem pridie Neapoli affectum graviter videram.'

4. Si . . . posset. For the use of 'si' in dependent questions, after words which signify an attempt, see Madv. § 451 d.

12. Nihil praeter sententiam, 'I should give my vote without adding any further words.' See on 3. 9. 24.

13. Clarissimo viro. These words were added by Th. Mommsen, as the explanation of the previously undeciphered Vatican reading 'cui.'

cc. 2, 3. The envoys slain by Lars Tolumnius, and Cn. Octavius who was assassinated on an embassy to Antiochus, had fallen in the service of their country, but Sulpicius had gone to face an almost certain death, allowing no precautions for his health even to delay his exertions in performing what he felt to be his duty.

22. Legatos interemit. See Livy 4. 17. Livy and Pliny (N. H. 34. 6, 23) both call the envoy Cloelius Tullius instead of Cluvius, and Pliny has the name 'Nautilus' instead of 'Antius.'

26. Cn. Octavii. Octavius was killed when on an embassy to Antiochus V, the son of Epiphantes (see on 8. 8, 23), in 162 B.C., to enjoin obedience to the terms of the treaty made with his grandfather, Antiochus the Great. He was Consul in 165 B.C. Four of his descendants also gained the consulship.
primus in eam familiam, quae postea viris fortissimis floruit, attulit consulatum, statuam videmus in rostris. Nemo tum novitati invidiebat; nemo virtutem non honorabat. At ea fuit legatio Octavii, in qua periculi suspicio non subisset. Nam cum esset missus a senatu ad animos regum perspiciendos liberorumque populorum, maximeque ut nepotem regis Antiochi, eius qui cum maioribus nostris bellum gesserat, classes habere, elephantes alere prohiberet, Laudicceae in gymnasio a quodam Leptine est interfectus. Reddita est ei tum a maioribus statua pro vita, quae multos per annos progeniem eius honestaret, nunc ad tanteae familiae memoriam sola restat. Atqui et huic et Tullo Cluvio et L. Roscio et Sp. Antio et C. Fulcino, qui a Vcientium rege caesi sunt, non sanguis, qui est profusus in morte, sed ipsa mors ob rem publicam obita honori fuit. Itaque, patres conscripti, si Ser. Sulpicio casus mortem attulisset, dolorem equidem tanto rei publicae vulnere, mortem vero eius non monimento, sed luctu publico esse ornandam putarem. Nunc autem quis dubitat quin ei vitam abstulerit ipsa legatio? Secum enim ille mortem extulit: quam, si nobiscum remanisset, sua cura, optimi filii fidelissimaeque coniugis diligentia vitare potuisset. At ille cum videret, si vestrae auctoritati non paruisset, dissimilem se portion of Antony's fleet at Actium, but this might well have been another of the name Augustus was descended from the uncle of the murdered relative.

14. Obita. So Halm, following one MS., and the conjecture of Ferrarius, who compares pro Sest. 38, 83 'Quos a maioribus nostris morte obita positos in illo loco atque in rostris collocatos vidit.' The other MSS. have 'habita;' which S. C. Schirlitz (de Philippica Nona Dissertatio, p. 11) defends, as going closely with 'honori;' 'what was deemed an honour to Octavius, and the envoys slain by Lars Tolumnius, was not the blood which was shed in their death, but the very fact of dying for the state.' For 'honori habere' he compares Sall. Jug. 31, 10 'Perinde quasi ea honori non praedae habeant;' and for the expression 'mors ob rempublicam,' such phrases as 'pietas adversum deos' Fin. 3. 22, 73.

16. Non monimento, &c. 'should be marked, not by a monument, but by public demonstrations of mourning.' Cp. pro Sest. l. c.: 'cuius mortem ornandam monimento sempiterno putaretis.'

12. Auctorem senatus, 'the senate's representative;' cp. pro Flacc. 15, 36 'Praeclarus iste suae civitatis auctor.'
19. Honoris memoria, 'the record of a public honour.'
cc. 4, 5. The senate itself could not escape the charge of having caused his death, by setting aside the excuses which he urged for exemption from this service. It had made the interests of the state a higher consideration than his life, and was thus peculiarly bound to pay him honour in his death. This was due to his friends, and especially to the exemplary filial piety of his son, who was himself the best memorial of his father's virtues. The memory of his life was sufficiently secured by his excellence, and his unequalled legal skill and judgment, so that this statue would only be a monument of his death, and of the senate's gratitude.
20. Excusacionem legationis obeundae, 'his plea for declining the commission of ambassador.' This is a rare construction with 'excusatio,' the genitive being more generally used with it to signify the substance of the excuse. We find, how-ever, 'excusatio peccati,' Lael. 11, 37; 'excusiones inuiriāe,' pro Sull. 16, 47.
25. Re magis, &c., 'enforcing the plea of illness by his looks more than by his words.' The later MSS. have 'se,' a mistake which has given rise to the further false reading 'morbo;' but the antithesis evidently is intended to be between the proof of illness given by his words, and that visible in his worn-out and feeble looks.
sed cum speraretis nihil esse, quod non illius auctoritate et sapientia effici posset, vehementius excusationi obstitistis atque eum, qui semper vestrum consensum gravissimum iudicavisset, de sententia deicistis. Ut vero Pansae consulis accessit cohor-tatio gravior quam aures Ser. Sulpicii ferre didicissent, tum vero denique filium meque seduxit atque ita locutus est, ut auctoritatem vestram vitae suae se diceret anteferre. Cuius nos virtu-tem admirati non ausi sumus adversari voluntati. Movebatur singulari pietate filius; non multum eius perturbationi meus dolor concedebat: sed uterque nostrum cedere cogebar magit nitudini animi orationisque gravitati, cum quidem ille maxima laude et gratulatione omnium vestrum pollicitus est se quod velletis esse facturum, neque eius sententiae periculum vitaturum, cuius ipse auctor fuisset: quem exsequi mandata vestra properantem mane postridie prosecuti sumus. Qui quidem discedens mecum ita locutus est, ut eius oratio omen fati vide-retur.

5 Reddite igitur, patres conscripti, ei vitam, cui ademistis: vita enim mortuorum in memoria est posita vivorum. Perficite, ut is, quem vos inscrii ad mortem misistis, immortalitatem habeat a vobis. Cui si statuam in rostris decreto vestro statueritis, nulla eius legationem posteritatis obscurabit oblivio. Nam reliqua Ser. Sulpicii vita multis erit praeclarisque monimentis ad omnem memoriam commendata. Semper illius gravitatem constantiam, fidem, praestantem in re publica tuenda curam atque prudentiam omnium mortalium fama celebrabit. Nec vero silebitur admirabilis quaedam et incredibilis ac paene divina

9. Singulari pietate, the descriptive ablative, not dependent on 'movebatur.' 'His son, a man of singular affection for his father, was deeply moved.'
13. Eius sententiae, the proposal that ambassadors should be sent to Antony.
15. Prosecuti sumus, 'we set him on his way;' προεπεμψαμεν; cp. Att. 6. 3, 6 'Is me nec profiscientem Apameam prosecutus est.'
18. Vita enim mortuorum, &c. Cp. Cat. Mo. 13, 82 'Nescio quo modo animus erigens se posteritatem ita semper prospiciet, quasi, cum excessisset e vita, tum denique victurus esset.' So far however was Cicero from holding that men had no objec-tive existence after death, that in the passage quoted he is arguing from the instinctive desire felt by men to live 'in the remembrance of posterity,' to the conclusion that after death we shall necessarily be conscious of the opinion which men hold of us.
26. Nec vero silebitur. For the transitive use of 'sleo' cp. Att. 2. 18, 3 'Tu hoc silebis;' and Ov. M. 12. 575. 'Nec tamen ulterior, quam fortia facta silendo, Uleiscar fratres,' And for the estimate of the legal eminence of Sulpicius cp. de Legg. 1. 5, 17 'Sit ista res (iuris disciplina) magna, sicut est, quae quondam a multis claris viris, nunc ab uno summa auctoritate ac scientia sustinetur.'
ei us in legibus interpretandis, acquitate explicanda scientia. Omnes ex omni actate, qui in hac civitate intelligentiam iuris habuerunt, si unum in locum conferantur, cum Ser. Sulpicio non sint comparandi. Nec enim ille magis iuris consultus quam iustitiae fuit. Ita ea quae profisciebantur a legibus et ab iure civili semper ad facilitatem acquitatemque referebat, neque instituere litium actiones malebat quam controversias tollere. Ergo hoc statuae monimento non eget: habet alia maiora. Haec enim statua mortis honestae testis erit, illa memoria vitae glori-

Mihi autem recordanti Ser. Sulpicii multos in nostra famili-

1. Acquitate, the application to individual cases of the principle rather than the letter of the law: *επανέφωμαι νόμου, ὑ ἐλεἰπει διὰ τὸ καθόλου, Arist. Eth. N. 5. 10, 6.

4. Iuris consultus, &c., 'more skilled in the letter than in the spirit of the law.' For the case see on 2. 37, 96.

6. Facilitatem, properly 'readiness to listen,' seems here, from its conjunction with 'aequitas,' to mean 'willingness to admit arguments from special circumstances,' such as might prevent the rigorous application of the letter of the law. 'Arguments which started from the letter of our statutes and the common law were invariably referred by him to the standard of tolerance and equity.' So 'facilitas' is joined with 'humanitas,' Fam. 13. 24, 2 'Pro tua facilitate et humanitate purgatum se tibi scribit esse.' A conjectural emendation, 'utilitatem,' quoted by Lumbinus, would place the reputation of Servilius on much lower grounds, in substituting expediency for equity.

Neque... malebat. He thus showed himself in contrast to the general class of 'iureconsulti,' according to Cicero's estimation of them. Cp. pro Mur. 12, 27 'Cum permulta praecellae legibus essent constituta, ea iureconsultorum ingemis pleraque corrupita ac depravata sunt.'

9. Illa, 'those other greater monuments of his worth will form a record of his nobler life.'

10. Hoc magis, &c., 'this will bear witness rather to the gratitude of the senate than the greatness of the man.'

14. Doluerit... maeret, 'that no one has ever felt more grief for the loss of an only son than he shows for the death of his father.' For this distinction between 'doleo' and 'maero' cp. Att. 12. 28, 2 'Maerorem munii, dolorem non potui, nec si possem, vellen.'

C. 6. The form of monument, a pedestrian statue of brass, was just what Sulpicius himself, with his characteristic moderation, would have wished. Nor could he fear opposition on the part of those who had proposed the greater and more permanent memorial of a public funeral; while he rejoiced that by the same vote a well-earned honour would be paid to Sulpicius, and another brand of infamy impressed on Antony.

1 Si qui est sensus, &c. In Lael. 4. 13 he expresses less doubtfully his views of the consciousness of the soul after death: 'Neque enim adsentior iis, qui nuper haec disserere coeperunt, cum corporibus simul animos interire atque omnia morte deleri.'

3. Primum. See on 2. 44, 114. The gilding must have been the innovation, since Livy (2. 13) records an equestrian statue of Cloelia, placed on the Via Sacra, as early as 506 B.C.

4. Insolentiam, 'extravagance,' which passes all the bounds of precedent and authority; cp. Or. 52, 176 'Gorgias festivitatibus insolentius abutitur, quas Isocrates moderatius etiam temperavit.'

5. Ut ... si. Cp. Fam. 2. 14. 'Eius negotium sic velim suscipias, ut si esset mea.'

8. Minuet. Cp. Pliny Ep. 2. 7, 7 'Si defunctorum imagines domi positae dolorem nostrum levant, quanto magis eae, quibus in celeberrimo loco non modo species et vultus illorum, sed honor etiam et gloria referunt.'

17. Sepulchrorum, &c. The ground being consecrated by the usual rites and sacrifices. See de Legg. 2. 22, 55 foll. Till this was done, Cicero tells us that the resting-place of the corpse was only 'situs,' not 'sepulchrum.' Cp. also Tusc. I. 12, 27.

19. Exstinguntur. All the MSS. spell this word with one 'u.' Halm has exstinguuntur, but see on 1. 11, 28.

20. Isto honore, 'with the honour already proposed to you;' sc. of a public funeral.
Quas ob res ita censeo: Cum Ser. Sulpicius Q. F. Lemonya Rufus difficillimo rei publicae tempore, gravi periculosoque morbo affectus, auctoritatem senatus, salutem rei publicae vitae suae praeposuerit contraque vim gravitatemque morbi conten-5 derit, ut in castra M. Antonii, quo senatus cum miserat, pere-veniret, isque, cum iam prope castra venisset, vi morbi oppressus vitam amiserit maximo rei publicae tempore, eiusque mors con- sentanea vitae fuerit sanctissime honestissimeque actae, in qua saepe magno usu rei publicae Ser. Sulpicio statuam pedestrem aeneam in rostris ex huius ordinis sententia statui circumque cam statuam locum ludis gladiatoribusque liberos posterosque eius quoquo versus pedes quinque habere, quod is ob rem pub-licam mortem obierit, eamque causam in basi inscribi: utique C. Pansa A. Hirtius consules, alter ambove, si iis videatur, quaestoribus urbibus imperent, ut eam basim statuamque faciendam et in rostris statuendam locent, quantique locaverint, tantam pecuniam redemptori attribuendam solvendamque curent: cumque antea senatus auctoritatem suam in virorum fortium funeribus ornamentalsque ostenderit, placere eum quam amplissime supre-mo suo die efferri. Et cum Ser. Sulpicius Q. F. Lemonya Rufus 17

c. 7. He concludes with a formal motion, that Ser. Sulpicius should be buried at the public expense on the Esquiline, and that a brazen statue should be erected on the Rostra in his honour, with a space of five feet on each side reserved for his posterity for ever.

1. Lemonya, 'of the tribe Lemonya,' which was one of the original sixteen country tribes, cp. Verr. 1. 8, 23 'Q. Verrem Romilla,' ib. Act. 2. 2. 43, 107 'C. Claudius C. F. Palatina.'

7. Maximo rei publicae tempore. So Halm from the Vatican MS. The other MSS. have 'nuumere,' but in such formal votes repetition of the same idea in nearly the same words is very common. For the expression 'maximo tempore' cp. de Legg. 3. 19, 43 'Est boni auguris meminisse se maximis rei publicae temporibus praesto esse debere.'

13. Ludis gladiatoribusque: perhaps a hendiadys for 'ludis gladiatoris,' since these were the only exhibitions held in the forum.

14. Quoquo versus, 'in every direction from the statue,' and thus expressive of a slightly different mode of measurement from 'pedes xxx. quoquo versus' in § 17; which means 'thirty feet square,' 'in each direction in which ground is usually measured'; that is, 'in fronte' and 'in agrum.' Cp. Hor. S. 1. 8, 12 'Mille pedes in fronte, trecentos cippus in agrum hic dabit.'

16. Quaestoribus urbibus, elsewhere 'quaestores urbani,' but cp. Verr. Act. 2. 3. 53, 123 'Quas ad quaestores urbis misit,' and Livy 25. i 'M. Atilio praetori urbis,' This duty would fall on them, as keepers of the public treasury.

19. Attribuendum. See on 5. 2, 6. Supremo suo die, 'on the day of his funeral;' an expression which is perhaps without an exact parallel, though 'supremus' is commonly used in reference to the various portions of the funeral rites. Cp. 'Supremi tori' Ov. Fast. 6. 668; 'Supremus ignis' id. Am. 1. 15. 41.

22. Efferri, ἐκφέρεσθαι, 'should be carried out to burial.'
ita de re publica meritus sit, ut iis ornamentis decorari debeat, senatum censere atque e re publica aestimare aediles curules edictum, quod de funeribus habeant, Ser. Sulpicii Q. F. Lemonia Rufi funeri remittere; utique locum sepulchro in campo Esquilino C. Pansa consul, seu quo in loco videbitur, pedes XXX. 5 quoquo versus adsignet, quo Ser. Sulpicius inferatur: quod sepulchrum ipsius, liberorum posterorumque eius esset, uti quod optimo iure publice sepulchrum datum esset.

3. Edictum, 'the bye-law,' ('edictum perpetuum.') promulgated by the aediles on entering office, to regulate the expenses permissible at funerals. Though these 'edicta' were only technically in force for the year of the magistrate's tenure of office, it was the custom for those which were found to work well to be re-enacted from year to year.

4. Remittere, 'to relax in favour of the funeral of Sulpicius.'

In campo Esquilino. On that part of the Esquiline which was outside of the Agger of Servius Tullius. See on 1. 2, 5. The more usual place for public funerals was in the Campus Martius, the Campus Esquilinus being also used as a burial-ground for the lowest class of citizens (Hor. S. 1. 8, 10); but from the 'magna sepulchra' which he mentions (ib. 35) it would seem that some at least of the higher classes were buried there. The site of the burial-ground was turned into a kind of public park by Maecenas (ib. 14).

7. Uti, &c., 'with the firmest title that is ever given by authority of the state for a place of burial.' A somewhat fuller formula would be 'eodem iure quo quod optimo iure ... datum esset.' Cp. 12. 12, 30.
INTRODUCTION

TO THE TENTH ORATION.

About the same time that M. Antonius left Rome, his brother C. Antonius started for Macedonia, to take possession of that province. The government of it for the year 43 B.C. had been originally assigned by Caesar to M. Brutus; it had been transferred by a decree of the senate on the 5th of June to M. Antonius; when he obtained from the people, probably in July, the province of Cisalpine Gaul, it had been transferred, in the general allotment of the provinces, to his brother Gaius; and lastly, on the 20th of December, this allotment had been annulled on the motion of Cicero, and a decree passed that the provinces should remain in the hands of their present governors till successors should be appointed by the senate. With this complication it was no wonder that the possession of the province should be disputed. The best title was perhaps that of M. Antonius, and Cicero himself acknowledges that it was valid (see on 11. 12, 27); but he had abandoned his claim in his attempts upon Cisalpine Gaul; and the contest remained between the two other claimants. M. Brutus, who had gone to Athens in September, and had there received a large supply of money from the quaestor M. Apuleius, and been joined by the remnants of the forces of Pompey, was the first in the field, and was acknowledged by Q. Hortensius, the son of the orator, whom he found in command of the province, as his legitimate successor. Being thus placed at the head of the regular forces in the province, he was enabled to set C. Antonius at defiance, and force him to take refuge in Apollonia, where he kept him closely shut up. He was also warmly supported by the troops of P. Vatinius, who was proconsul in Illyricum, though it is doubtful how far this was by the will of Vatinius himself. (Compare 10. 6, 13 with Livy Epit. 118 and Vell. Pat. 2. 69, 3.)

When the news of these proceedings reached Rome, the Consul Pansa called a meeting of the senate, and speaking of M. Brutus in the highest
terms, laid before them the question whether he should be confirmed in the government which he had assumed. Q. Fusius Calenus, who opened the debate, proposed that he should be removed from his command; and it was in answer to him that Cicero delivered his tenth oration. It is mainly a warm panegyric on the conduct of M. Brutus. The two main objections to be urged against him were that he had no more right in Macedonia than Antonius, and that if one of Caesar’s murderers were supported the veterans would take offence. The first point Cicero passes over as lightly as possible, maintaining that even if he were not borne out by the letter of the law, yet in all that he had done he had anticipated the wishes of the senate, and been actuated by a spirit of the purest patriotism; so that no loyal citizen could hesitate to prefer him to Antonius. With regard to the second point he declares that the veterans had shown themselves superior to such prejudices, when they interfered with the welfare of the state; and indignantly protests against the idea of submitting the highest interests of the commonwealth to the will and pleasure of the soldiery.

He concludes by formally proposing that M. Brutus should be confirmed in the government of the province, and that he should be supplied with all the requisites for carrying on the campaign. His motion was agreed to by the senate. The exact date of the speech cannot be ascertained, but it was probably delivered about the beginning of March, 43 B.C.
M. TULLII CICERONIS

ORATIONUM PHILIPPICARUM

LIBER DECIMUS.

1 MAXIMAS tibi, Pansa, gratias, omnes et habere et agere debemus: qui cum hodierno die senatum te habiturum non arbitraremur, ut M. Bruti, praestantissimi civis, litteras accepisti, ne minimam quidem moram interposuisti quin quam primum maximo gaudio et gratulatione frueremur. Cum fac tum tuum gratum omnibus debet esse, tum vero oratio, qua recitatis litteras usus es. Declarasti enim verum esse id, quod ego semper sensi, neminem alterius, qui suae confideret, virtuti invidere. Itaque mihi, qui plurimis officiis sum cum Bruto et maxima familiaritate coniunctus, minus multa deillo dicenda sunt. Quas enim ipse mihi partes sumpseram, eas oratio tua praepcit. Sed mihi, patres conscripti, necessitatem attulit paulo plura dicendi sententia eis, qui rogatus est ante me:

cc. 1, 2. Congratulating Pansa on his promptitude in convening the senate, and on the generosity of his speech in praise of M. Brutus, Cicero laments that once again his lead had not been followed by Calenus, who appeared at present to be doomed to find himself on all occasions in a minority of one. He seemed to have some special quarrel with the Bruti, though Cicero could hardly believe it possible that he should not prefer them to any one of the Antonii, the last men whom he should wish a son of his to imitate. And in modifying the vote proposed in honour of M. Brutus, Calenus made the strange proposal, which had not even the excuse of being unpremeditated, that the composition of his letter should be praised, and nothing said about its substance.

1. Gratias et habere et agere, 'both to feel and to express our gratitude.'

2. Qui cum, &c., 'seeing that though we did not expect that you would convene the senate to-day, yet on receiving the despatch of M. Brutus, you allowed no time to be lost before putting us in the receipt of the greatest pleasure and the most acceptable congratulations.' Manutius takes 'gratulatione' of the congratulations which the senate would send to M. Brutus, in which case 'frueremur' would be applied to it by a kind of zeugma; but it refers rather to the mutual congratulations of the senators, when the Consuls reported his success.

11. Praecepit, 'has anticipated,'

a quo ita saepe dissentio, ut iam verear ne, id quod fieri minime debet, minuere amicitiam nostram videatur perpetua dissensio.

Quae est enim ista tua ratio, Calene, quae mens, ut numquam post Kalendas Ianuarias idem senseris, quod is, qui te sententiam primum rogat? numquam tam frequens senatus fuerit, cum unus aliquis sententiam tuam secutus sit? Cur semper tui dissimiles defendis? cur, cum te et vita et fortuna tua ad otium, ad dignitatem invitet, ea probas, ea decernis, ea sentis, quae sint inimica et otio communi et dignitati tuae? Nam ut superriora omissam, hoc certe, quod mihi maximam admirationem movet, non tacebo. Quod est tibi cum Brutis bellum? cur cos, quos omnes paene venerari debemus, solus oppugnas? alterum circumsederi non moleste fers, alterum tua sententia spolas iis copiis, quas ipse suo labore et periculo ad rei publicae, non ad suum praesidium per se nullo adiuvante perfect? Qui est iste tuus sensus, quae cogitatio, Brutos ut non probes, Antonios probes? quos omnes carissimos habent, tu oderis? quos acerbissime ceteri oderunt, tu constantissimae diligas? Amplissimae tibi fortunae sunt, summus honoris gradus, filius, ut et audio et spero, natus ad laudem, cui cum rei publicae causa favoe, tum etiam tua. Quaero igitur, cumne Bruti similem malis an Antonii? ac permitto ut de tribus Antoniiis eligas quem velis. Di meliora! inquies. Cur igitur non iis faves, cos laudas, quorum similem tuum filium esse vis? Simul enim et rei publicae consules et propones illi exempla ad imitantum. Hoc vero, Q. Fuji, cupio sine offensione nostrae amicitiae sic tecum ut a te

7. Sententiam tuam secutus sit. Yet a portion of the motion of Calenus on the 1st of January was carried, even in opposition to Cicero. See introduction to the fifth oration.

9. Ad dignitatem. The later MSS. have 'et ad dignitatem,' but the asyndeton is preferable, marking that Cicero substitutes the appeal to his dignity as a correction for the lower motive of personal leisure. So in the next clause he brings in public tranquillity in the place of individual ease.

11. Mihi ... admirationem movet. The later MSS. have 'me maxima admiratione,' but the construction in the text is more common in Cicero; cp. pro Mur. 13, 28 'Si mihi stomachum moveritis,' Att. 2, 14, 1 'Quantam tu mihi moves expectationem.'


16. Perfecit, 'has organized.' The later MSS. have the more ordinary expression 'confectum,' 'has got together.'

20. Summus honoris gradus. He was Consul in 47 B.C.

Filius. Of this son we only know that on his father's death in 41 B.C. he surrendered to Octavianus the army which his father was commanding in Cisalpine Gaul as the legate of Antony.

23. Di meliora. See 8, 3, 9 note.
dissentiens senator queri: ita enim dixisti et quidem de scripto—nam te inopia verbi lapsum putarem—litteras Bruti recte et ordine scriptas videri. Quid est aliud librarium Bruti laudare, non Brutum? Usum in re publica, Calene, magnum iam habere et debes et potes. Quando ita decerni vidisti? aut quo senatus consulto huius generis—sunt enim innumerabilia—bene scriptas litteras decretum a senatu? Quod verbum tibi non excitidit, ut saepe fit, fortuito: scriptum, meditatum, cogitatum attullisti. Hanc tibi consuetudinem plerisque in rebus bonis obtrectandi si qui detraxerit, quid tibi quod sibi quisque velit non relinquetur? Quam ob rem collige te placaque animum istum aliquando et mitiga; audi viros bonos, quibus multis uteris; loquare cum sapientissimo homine, genero tuo, saepius quam ipse tecum: tum denique amplissimi honoris nomen obtinebis. An vero hoc pro nihilo putas, in quo quidem pro amicitia tuam vicem dolere solco, efferri hoc foras et ad populi Romani aures pervenire, ei, qui primus sententiam dixerit, neminem assensum? quod etiam hodie futurum arbitror.

1. De scripto. See on 1, 1, 3.
2. Nam . . . putarem, 'for otherwise I should suppose.' Some MSS. insert 'nisi tuam in dicendo facultatem nossem,' to the detriment of the sense, the protasis evidently being, 'had you not been reading from a written copy of your speech.' This seems to have been a most unusual practice in the Roman senate.
3. Recte et ordine. Calenus probably meant 'with propriety and deference to the authority of the senate.' Cicero puts on the words the puerile interpretation 'in good writing and decent style.'
4. Quid est aliud. See on 1, 9, 22.
5. Meditatum, &c. Cp. 2. 34. 85 'Atuleras domo meditatum et cogitatum sceles.'
6. Calenus did injustice to himself, by always seeking to disparage men of worth. For now, in seeking to take away from M. Brutus the legions which he had won over to the salvation of the state, he was striving to dishonour a man who had not only dared the noblest of deeds in order to secure freedom for his country, but had also shown himself capable of the more difficult virtues of patience and self-abnegation, in resigning the chief honours of his praetorship.
7. Hanc tibi consuetudinem, &c., 'could some one but cure you of this habit of disparaging the good on every occasion, all your remaining qualities will be such as any one would gladly welcome in himself.' Some MSS. have 'bonos,' but 'obtrectare' does not seem to be used with the accusative till the time of Tacitus, and then mainly with inanimate objects.
8. Collige te, 'recover yourself.' Cp. Tusc. 4. 36, 78 'Quid est se ipsum colligere nisi dissipatas animi partis rursum in sumum locum cogere?'
9. Quibus multis uteris, 'with many of whom you are intimate.' This is better than the reading of the later MSS., 'quiusculus et multis,' 'whose society you much frequent,' with which 'audi bonos viros' would be little more than mere tautology.
11. Amplissimi honoris, &c., 'you will make good your claim to a title of such high rank;' i.e. you will show yourself to be indeed a consul.
Legiones abducis a Bruto. Quas? nempe eas, quas ille a C. Antonii scelere avertit et ad rem publicam sua auctoritate traduxit. Rursus igitur vis nudatum illum atque solum a re publica relegatum videri. Vos autem, patres conscripti, si M. Brutum deserueritis et prodideritis, quem tandem civem umquam ornabitis? nisi forte cos, qui diadema imposuerint, conservandos, eos, qui regni nomen sustulerint, deserendos putatis. Ac de hac quidem divina atque immortalis laude Bruti silebo, quae gratissima memoria omnium civium inclusa non-dum publica auctoritate testata est. Tantamne patientiam, di boni! tantam moderationem, tantam in iuris tranquillitatem et modestiam! qui cum praetor urbis esset, urbe caruit, ius non dixit, cum omne ius rei publicae recuperavit, cumque concursu quotidiano bonorum omnium, qui admirabilis ad cum fieri solebat, praesidioque Italiae cunctae sacptus posset esse, absens iudicio bonorum defensus esse maluit quam praesens manu: qui ne Apollinares quidem ludos pro sua populique Romani dignitate apparatos praesens fecit, ne quam viam patefacet sceleratissimorum hominum audaciae. Quamquam qui umquam aut ludi aut dies lactiores fuerunt, quam cum in singulis versibus

1. A C. Antonii scelere. In spite of the decree of the 20th of December, annulling the apportionment of the provinces made by Antony (see 3, 15, 38 and 10, 26), his brother had gone to take the command in Macedonia, when he was opposed and eventually taken prisoner by M. Brutus, after being deserted by several of his legions.

2. Deserueritis et prodideritis, 'ye desert and betray,' the climax expressed in the words being more clearly shown in Epist. ad Q. Fr. 1, 3, 5. 'Cum amici partim deseruerint me, partem etiam prodiderint.'

3. Qui diadema imposuerint. See 2, 34, 85 note.

10. Testata est: so rarely in a passive sense, and only in the tenses compounded with the perfect participle. Tantamne patientiam. For the simple accusative, without an infinitive, in interrogative exclamations, cp. Verr. Act. 2, 5, 25, 62. 'Huncine hominem! hanc impudentiam, indices! hanc audaciam!' and see Zumpt, § 402.

12. Praetor urbis. See 9, 7, 16 note. The reading 'urbs,' which is found in the Vatican MS., seems here preferable in itself to 'urbanus,' on account of the play on the word in the following 'urbe caruit.'

14. Admirabilis, 'to a marvellous extent.'

17. Apollinares ludos. The presidency of these belonged to him as city praetor. See 1, 15, 36 note; and 2, 13, 31.

18. Apparatos, 'which he had got up with magnificence proportionate to the honour of the Roman people and himself.'

c. 4. Even while all the world was lamenting his absence from the games, so grandly celebrated at his expense, he was passing his time contentedly in retirement, framing measures for his country's good. Presently he quit Italy, followed in a few days by C. Cassius, only to find a new sphere for his patriotism, in rescuing Macedonia, Illyricum, and Greece from the grasp of C. Antonius.

20. In singulis versibus, 'echoing the sentiments of casual verses in the play.' See 1, 15, 36 notes.
populus Romanus maximo clamore et plausu Bruti memoriam
prosequebatur? Corpus aberat liberatoris, libertatis memoria
aderat: in qua Bruti imago cerni videbatur. At hunc iis ipsis
ludorum diebus videbam in insula clarissimi adolescentis, Lu-
culli, propinqui suí, nihil nisi de pace et concordia civium cogi-
tantem. Eundem vidi postea Veliae cedentem Italia, ne qua
oraretur belli civilis causa propter se. O spectaculum illud non
modo hominibus, sed undis ipsis et litoribus luctuosum! cedere
e patria servatorem eius, manere in patria perditores! Cassii
classis paucis post diebus consequatatur, ut me puderet, patres 10
conscripti, in eam urbem redire, ex qua illi abirent. Sed quo
consilio redierim, initio audistis, post estis experti: exspectatum
igitur tempus a Bruto est. Nam quoad vos omnia pati vidit,
usus est ipse incredibili patientia: postea quam vos ad liber-
tatem sensit erectos, praesidia vestrae libertati paravit.

At cui pesti quantaeque restitit! Si enim C. Antonius quod
animo intenderat perficere potuisset, aut potius nisi eius sceleri
virtus M. Bruti obstitisset, Macedoniam, Illyricum, Graeciam
perdissesemus: esset vel receptaculum pulso Antonio vel agger
oppugnandae Italiae Graccia: quae quidem nunc M. Bruti im-
perio, auctoritate, copiis non instructa solum, sed etiam ornata
tendit dexteram Italiam suumque ei praesidium policetur. Quod

4. In insula. Probably the small island of Nesis, at the extremity of the head-
land between Puteoli and Naples. It was in the immediate neighbourhood of the cele-
brated Neapolitan villa of Lucullus, and we know from Att. 16. 1-4, that Brutus was
residing there while making preparations for his games.

5. Propinquii. Brutus and Lucullus were cousins: their mothers being daughters
of Q. Servilius Caepio, and half-sisters of M. Cato Uticensis.

Nihil nisi de pace. Cp. a letter of Brutus and Cassius to Antony, Cic. Fam.
11. 2, 2 'Nos ab initio spectasse otiunm nec quidquam aliud libertate communi quasiisse
declarat exitum.'


9. Perditores. Probably the three
Antonii. One MS. gives the more usual word 'proditores,' but 'perditores' is more
immediately opposed to 'servatores,' and is quite classical. Cp. pro Planc. 36, 89
'ut idem perditor rei publicae nominarem, qui servator fuissem.'

10. Ut me puderet. Cp. 1. 4, 9
'Turpe mihi ipsi videbatur in eam urbem
me audere reverti, ex qua Brutus cederet,
et ibi velle tuto esse, ubi ille non posset.'

12. Initio, at the beginning of these
orations. See 1, 3 and 4.

19. Receptaculum...agger oppug-
nandae Italiae. Ferrarius compares the
two Greek words πρόβολος and ἐπίτευχομα,
as in Xen. Cyr. 5, 3, 23 ἐβουλεύσαντο
covē φιλάττειν (τὸ φρούριν), ὥσπερ αὐτὸς
μὲν πρόβολος ἐν πολέμω, τοῖς δ' Ἀσσυρίων
ἐπίτευχομένον.

21. Instructa...ornata. These two
words are so frequently used indifferently, as
almost synonyms, that it is difficult to see in
what the antithesis consists. Probably 'in-
structa' marks that existing resources were
made the most of, 'ornata' that all that was
necessary was provided. 'Not only prepared
to fight, but thoroughly equipped for war.'
Cp. 11. 10, 23 'Instructam ornatamque
provinciam.'

22. Quod qui, &c., 'wherefore if any
one deprives Brutos of his army, he thereby
qui ab illo abducit exercitum, et respectum pulcherrimum et praesidium firmissimum adimit rei publicae. Equidem cupio haec quam primum Antonium audire, ut intelligat non D. Brutum, quem vallo circumsedeat, sed se ipsum obsideri. Tria tenet oppida toto in orbe terrarum; habet inimicissimam Galliam; cos etiam, quibus confidebat, alienissimos, Transpadianos; Italia omnis infesta est; exterae nationes a prima ora Graeciae usque ad Aegyptum optimorum et fortissimorum civium imperii et praesidiis tenetur. Erat ei spes una in C. Antonio, qui duorum fratrum actatibus medius interiectus vitis cum utroque certabat. Is tamquam extruderetur a senatu in Macedoniam, et non contra prohiberetur proficisci, ita cucurrit. Quae tempestas, di immortales! quae flamma, quae vastitas, quae pestis Graeciae, nisi incredibilis ac divina virtus furentis hominis comnatum atque audaciam compressisset! Quae celeritas illa Bruti! quae cura! quae virtus! Etsi ne C. quidem Antonii celeritas contemnenda est: quam nisi in via caducae hereditates retar-

"primum os" could add nothing to this meaning.

10. Vitiis cum utroque certabat, was a match for each of them in his own special vices.

11. Tamquam extruderetur, &c. as though he had been driven into Macedonia, instead of having been expressly forbidden to go. For the use of "ac non" see Madv. § 458 a. Obs. 1.

14. Graeciae. The later MSS. add "fussist," but see 2. 29, 74 note.

16. Virtus. The Vatican MS. adds "Caes.," evidently in mistake, perhaps from recollection of the beginning of 13. 9, 19; but some genitive seems required in opposition to "furentis hominis." Some editors have suggested "Caepionis," but that name alone does not appear to have been applied to M. Brutus.

17. Quam. So Halm from the Vatican MS. The others have "quem." Caducae hereditates. Caduca bona were legacies of which the person to whom they were left failed to take possession. "Quod quis sibi testamento relicuit aliqua ex causa non cepit, caducum appellatur, quia quasi cessit ab eo." Ulp. lib. regular. tit. 17. They would probably become the property of the next heir-at-law. Cp. Juv. 9. 88 "Legatum omne capis, nec non et dulce caducum," and Cic. de Or. 3. 31. 122 "Nosstra est omnis ista prudentiae

doctrinaeque possessio, in quam homines quasi caducam atque vacuum abundantes otio, nobis occupatis, involaverunt,' C. Antonius is represented as thrusting himself into the position of the revisionary heirs, and seizing on these properties in default of the persons to whom in the first instance they were left. Manutius says that, in default of the heir, they fell 'ad fiscum,' but the very use of this word shows that he is anticipating the regulations of a later time, when the disposal of these 'caduca bona' was elaborately settled by the 'Lex Iulia et Papia Poppea,' A.D. 9.

3. Cum Apollonia? cum Dyrrachio? That these towns at this time in the province of Illyricum might be inferred from this passage, and seems clear from c. 6, 13, and Plut. Brut. 25 ἀγγέλεται Γαῖας, ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ ἀνιώτας, ἐξ Ἡλειας διαβεβηκαίνας βαδίσειν εὑρόν ἐπὶ τὰς δυνάμεις, ἓν ἐν Ἐπιδαύρῳ καὶ Ἀπολλωνίᾳ Βατῖνοις συνείχε. P. Vatinius had been proconsul in Illyricum since 46 B.C., and Cicero's argument is that whatever claim C. Antonius might urge on Macedonia, he must be acting illegally in meddling with Illyricum. From the fact that L. Piso, when proconsul in Macedonia, extended his extortion to Apollonia and Dyrrachium (in Pis. 49, 96), it would seem that the country known by the name of Illiris Graeca, extending from the river Drilo southwards to the Aerocoraunian mountains, formed a kind of debateable land between the provinces of Illyricum and Macedonia, being attached to one or the other at the will of the senate.

5. Hortensio. Q. Hortensius, the son of the orator, received the province of Macedonia from Caesar in 44 B.C.

6. Certa conditio, definite terms on which it was held.

8. At ne Bruto quidem. Cicero supposes an objection, that M. Brutus had no more right to appropriate the legions of Vatinius than C. Antonius. Technically such an objection would be valid, and Cicero can only urge that Brutus was acting in accordance with the policy of the senate, and for the good of his country, while Antony was striving for the ruin of his country, in direct opposition to what he knew to be the senate's will. Even so his argument begs the question in dispute, that Brutus was acting for, Antonius against the state.

9. Omnes legiones. For the introduction of the answer to a supposed objection, without any adversative particle, cp. Att. 16. 7. 3 'At hoc hic non constanter. Nemo doctus unquam ... mutationem consili inconstantiam dixit esse.'

c. 6. The conduct of Brutus was best justified by comparing his loyalty of purpose with the treason of C. Antonius, who throughout sought nothing but the ruin of the state. Brutus had blockaded him in Apollonia; and was well seconded by Q. Hortensius, the younger M. Cicero, Cn. Domitius, and P. Vatinius, by whose united energies the Greek provinces were saved, and all the forces there kept loyal to their country's cause.
M. TULLII CICERONIS

The text is a translation of Cicero's speech on the death of Lentulus. It is a dialogue between Cicero and the boy Antonius, discussing the events surrounding Lentulus's death and the role of honor and virtue in public life.

10. Homo verecundus, &c., 'or at
any rate the man has the modesty not
to enter Macedonia.' Cp. 5. 3. 7
'Angur verecundus sine collegis de aus-
pieis.'

15. Filio meo. In 45 B. C. M. Cicero
the younger went to Athens, for the pur-
poses of study. On Caesar's death he
attached himself to M. Brutus, who made
him military tribune, in which capacity he
distinguished himself in the Macedonian
campaign, not only gaining over the legion
of L. Piso, but taking C. Antonius pri-
soner.

Equitatus . . . alter . . . alter.
This use of 'alter' . . . 'alter,' dividing a
singular nominative with which they stand
in apposition, seems to be without a parallel.
It is like the Greek ἡ μὲν . . . ἡ δὲ in
Plato Phaedr. p. 255 C. 'ἡ τοῦ βεύματος
ἐκεῖνος πηγή . . . ἡ μὲν εἰς αὐτὸν ἔδω,
ἡ δ' ἀπομεστομένον ἐξω ἀπορρέει.' The
cavalry appears to have been going into
Syria as Dolabella's share of the army
in Macedonia, Antony having summoned
the four legions of infantry to join him
in Italy (see 3. 3). In Fam. 12. 14. 6, P.
Lentulus speaks of a third body of cavalry
which he had gained over to the service
of the state: 'Primus equitatum Dola-
bellae ad rem publicam traduxi Cassioque
traddidit.'

18. Cn. Domitius. See 2. 11, 27
note.

19. A legato Syriaco, 'from the
officer commanding the detachment on its
way to Syria.' From Plutarch (Brut. 25)
we learn that this was Cinna, probably a
son of the popular leader; though he refers
the exploit to Antistius.

20. A vobis. Some MSS. have 'nobis,'
but this would have been too much even
for Cicero, after the abuse lavished on
him in the speeches pro Sesto and in
Vatinius.

meque noster est Brutus semperque noster, cum sua excellentiissima virtute rei publicae natus, tum fato quodam paterni
maternique generis et nominis. Ab hoc igitur viro quisquam bellum timet, qui ante quam nos id coacti suscepimus, in pace iacere quam in bello vigere maluit? quamquam ille quidem numquam iacuit, neque hoc cadere verbum in tantam virtutis praestantiam potest. Erat enim in desiderio civitatis, in ore, in sermone omnium. Tantum autem aberat a bello, ut, cum cupiditate libertatis Italia arderet, defuerit civium studiis potius quam eos in armorum disceret. Itaque illi ipsi, si qui sunt, qui tarditatem Bruti reprehendant, tamen idem moderationem patientiamque mirantur.

15 Sed iam video, quae loquantur; neque enim id occulte faciunt. Timere se dicunt, quo modo ferant veterani exercitum Brutum habere. Quasi vero quidquid intersit inter A. Hirtii, 15 C. Pansae, D. Bruti, C. Caesaris et hunc exercitum M. Bruti. Nam si quattuor exercitus ii, de quibus dixi, propertia laudantur, quod pro populi Romani libertate arma ceperunt, quid est cur hic M. Bruti exercitus non in eadem causa ponatur? At enim veteranis spectum nomen est M. Bruti. Magisne quam Decimi? Equidem non arbitror: etsi est enim Brutorum commune factum et laudis societas aqua, Decimo tamen iratiiores erant ii, qui id factum dolebant, quo minus ab eo rem illam

2. Paterni maternique generis, viz. the Bruti and Servili. See on 2. 11, 26.

2. Nor was Brutus influenced by thirst for military renown. He was always willing to sacrifice himself for the sake of peace, and his moderation and patience formed a theme for praise with every one. Nor was there much more force in the suggested jealousy of the veterans. M. Brutus, like Decimus and the Consuls and Octavius, was fighting for the liberty of Rome; and if either of the Bruti could be thought to be obnoxious to Caesar's soldiery, surely it was Decimus, for whose safety they were yet content to fight.

4. In pace iacere, 'the inactivity of peace,' as shown during the time that Brutus remained in Italy after Caesar's death.

6. Neque cadere potest. 'It cannot apply to Brutus.'

8. Aberat a bello. Cp. Fam. 11. 3.

4 (a letter from Brutus and Cassius to Antony) 'Nos in hac sententia sumus, ut te cupiamus in libera re publica magnum atque honestum esse; vocemus te ad nullas inimicitias, sed tamen plures nostram libertatem quam tuam amicitiam aestimemus.'

9. Defuerit, &c., 'he has preferred disappointing the ardour of the citizens to involving them in the risks of war.' For the construction potius quam ... adduceret see Madv. § 360. Obs. 4.

14. Veterani, 'the veterans of Caesar's army,' who might well dislike to serve under his assassin.

22. Decimo tamen, &c., 'yet those who were sorry for what was done were more enraged with Decimus, in proportion as they urged that he had stronger reasons for abstaining from the plot.' Decimus had all along been a favourite with Caesar; he obtained from him the government of Cisalpine Gaul, and in his will was found to be named among the 'heredes secundi.'
dicebant fieri dehisse. Quid ergo agunt nunc tot exercitus nisi ut obsidence Brutus liberetur? Qui autem hos exercitus ducunt? Ii, credo, qui C. Caesaris res actas everti, qui causam veteranorum prodi volunt. Si ipse viveret C. Caesar, acrius, credo, acta sua defenderet, quam vir fortissimus defendit Hir- tius: aut amicior causae quisquam inveniri potest quam filius? At horum alter, nondum ex longinquitate gravissimi mori re- creatus, quidquid habuit virium, id in eorum libertatem defen- dendam contulit, quorum votis iudicavit se a morte revocatum: alter, virtutis robore firmior quam actatis, cum istis ipsis vete- ranis ad D. Brutum liberandum est prefectus. Ergo illi certis- simi idemque acerrimi Caesaris actorum patroni pro D. Bruti salute bellum gerunt, quos veterani secuntur; de libertate enim populi Romani, non de suis commodis armis decernendum vident. Quid est igitur cur iis, qui D. Brutum omnibus opibus conservatum velint, M. Bruti sit suspectus exercitus? An vero, si quid esset quod a M. Bruto timendum videretur, Pansa id non videret? aut, si videret, non laboraret? Quis aut sapientior ad coniceturam rerum futurarum aut ad propulsandum metum diligentior? Atquin huius animum erga M. Brutum studiumque vidistis. Praceepit oratone sua, quid decernere nos de M. Bruto, quid sentire oporteret, tantumque asfuit ut periculosum rei publicae Bruti putaret exercitum, ut in eo firmissimum rei publicae

3. Ii, credo: their readiness, at any rate, to confirm the measures of Caesar, and his grants to the veterans, is quite beyond suspicion; therefore why should the veterans object to M. Brutus, who was aiding them with all his might?

c. S. Caesar himself could not have been more eager for the maintenance of his measures than A. Hirtius and Octavianus. Yet both of these were using all their energies in the cause of D. Brutus, and thereby virtually declared their trust in him and in Marcus. The latter too was deemed by C. Pansa—the eager supporter of the acts of Caesar, whose keen foresight would at once detect the slightest danger—to be the most important bulwark of the state.

6. Filius: his adopted son, Octavianus.


8. Quidquid virium. Cp. Livy 23. 9 'Iurantes per quidquid Deorum est;' and Hor. Epod. 5; 'At O Deorum quidquid in caelo regit.'

10. Quam actatis. Cp. 4. 1. 3 'Sunt enim facta eiusmod immortalitatis, nomen actatis.'

18. Laboraret, 'would he not feel anxiety?'

20. Atquin. So the Vatican MS. The rule, however, quoted by Wernsdorf from Muretus, that 'aliaqui' and 'atqui' were written with a final 'n' when a vowel followed is not to be depended on. The form 'atqui' is frequently used by Cicero before a vowel, and those authors who employ 'aliaqui' (which is not found till after the Augustan period, see Halm on Cic. de Legg. 2. 25. 62; Munro on Lucr. 3. 415), as frequently insert the 'n' before a consonant. It was probably purely euphonic, and arbitrarily inserted according to the writer's taste, though Hand (Tursell. 1. 235) thinks that it is akin to the final 'n' of 'sin,' and intensifies the idea of opposition. That 'atqui' is the original form seems to be proved by the fact that 'atquin' does not appear in the writings of Plautus or Terence. (Hand, 1. 523.)
praesidium et gravissimum poneret. Scilicet hoc Pansa aut non videt—hebeti enim ingenio est—aut negligent: quae enim Caesar egit, ea rata esse non curat; de quibus confirmandis et sancien-
dis legem comitiis centuriatis ex auctoritate nostra latus est. 9 Desinant igitur aut ii, qui non timent, simulare se timere et 5 prospicere rei publicae, aut ii, qui omnia verentur, niumm ese timidi, ne illorum simulatio, horum obsit ignavia. Quae, malum! est 18 ista ratio semper optimis causis veteranorum nomen oppo-
nere? quorum etiam si amplereter virtutem, ut facio, tamen, si essent arrogantones, non possem ferre fastidium. At nos conantes 10 servitutis vincula rumpere impediet, si quis veteranos nolle dix-
erit? Non sunt enim, credo, innumerabiles, qui pro communi libertate arma capiant; nemo est praeter veteranos milites vir, qui ad servitutem propulsandam ingenuo dolore excitetur. Potest igtur stare res publica fresta veteranis sine magno subsidio iu-
ventutis? quos quidem vos libertatis adiutores complecti debitis, 19 servitutis auctores sequi non debitis. Postremo—erumpat enim 20 aliquando vera et me digna vox!—si veteranorum nutu mentes huius ordinis gubernantur omniaque ad eorum voluntatem nostra dicta facta referuntur, optanda mors est, quae civibus Romanis semper fuit servitute potior. Omnis est misera servitus; sed fuerit quaedam necessaria: ecquodnam principium putatis liber-
tatis capessendae? An, cum illum necessarium et fatalem paene casum non tulerimus, hunc feremus voluntarium? Tota

1. Scilicet, &c. an ironical argu-
ment from a manifest absurdity, that Pansa could be neglecting the measures of Caesar, when he was actually preparing a bill, in obedience to the senate, for confirming them.

c. 9. Urging his hearers to lay aside un-
founded fears, Cicero indignantly protests against subservience to the veterans. They were not the only people willing to fight for the cause of freedom; and it were better for the people all to die than to change that freedom for a slavery which they might avoid.

7. Quae, malum! &c. Cp. 1. 6, 15 20 Quae civibus, &c. Cp. 3. 11, 29
‘Quae, malum! est ista voluntaria servitum?’ On the sentiment of the passage Mr. Forsyth (Life of Cicero, 2. 231) remarks that Cicero little foresaw that the time would come when the Praetorian guards would put up to auction the Imperial throne.

15. Sine magno subsidio iuven-
tutis, ‘without considerable reinforcements from the younger men?’

20. Quae civibus, &c. Cp. 3. 11, 29
‘Ut aut libertatem propriam Romanis et generis et nominis recuperemus aut mortem servitutii anteponamus;’ and Dem. Cor. p. 296, 14  
oblie ζήν ἄξιον, εἰ μὴ μετ’ ἐλευ-
θερίας ἔσται τουτο πολείν.

22. Fuerit quaedam necessaria, 23 when Caesar was supreme. Cp. 1. 6, 15 note.

Ecquodnam, &c., ‘do ye entertain the idea of ever beginning to assert your liberty?’

23. Fatalem paene casum, ‘that disaster which one might almost say was brought on us by fate.’ Cp. 3. 11, 29 ‘Si illa tulimus, quae nos necessitas ferre coēgit, quae vis quaedam paene fatalis, quae tamen ipsa non tulimus: etiamne huius insipri
latronis feremus tecterrimum crudeli-
munque dominatum?’
Italia desiderio libertatis exarit: servire diutius non potest civitas; serius populo Romano hunc vestitum atque arma dedicamus, quam ab eo flagitati sumus.

Magna quidem nos spe et prope explorata libertatis causam suspérimus: sed ut concedam incertos exitus esse bellii Martemque communem, tamen pro libertate vitae periculo decertandum est; non enim in spiritu vita est, sed ea nulla est omnino servienti. Omnes nationes servitutem ferre possunt: nostra civilis non potest, nec ullam aliam ob causam, nisi quod illae laborem doloremque fugiunt, quibus ut careant, omnia perpeti possunt, nos ita a maioribus instituti atque imbuti sumus, ut omnia consilia atque factura ad dignitatem et ad virtutem referremus. Ita praeclera est recuperatio libertatis, ut ne mors quidem sit in repetenda libertate fugienda. Quod si immortalitas consequeretur praezentis periculi fugam, tamen eo magis ea fugienda videretur, quo diuturnior servitus esset. Cum vero dies et noctes omnia nos undique fata circumstant, non est viri minimeque Romani dubitare eum spiritum, quem naturae debeat, patriae reddere. Concurritur undique ad commune incendium restinguendum. Veterani, qui primi Caesaris auc-

2. Hunc vestitum: the military garb. 
Cp. 8. 11, 32.

10. The struggle certainly was not without its risk, but no risk would be too great to run for such a prize, especially when Roman citizens were concerned: and on their side were all the men and all the forces worth considering, while Antony had with him only his abandoned brother and a crew of men like him, who merely wished to reinstate their ruined fortunes by seizing on the public lands.

5. Martem communem, 'that Mars is fickle.' 
Cp. Fam. 6. 4. 1 'Omnis bellii Mars communis,' and Livy 5. 12 'Sergio Martem communem bellii fortunamque accussante;' with the Homeric expression εψος 'Ενυδαλιος, 'Ares deals his favours forth impartially.'

8. Nationes, 'all foreign nations;' like the Jewish use of the word εθνη.
15. Eo magis, &c. 
Cp. Hom. II. 12. 322

ούτε ιε σε στηλλομαι μάχην ἐσι κυδά- νειραν;

νυν δ', ἐμπής γαρ Κίρης ἐφεστάσων

θανάτου

μυρία, ἢς ὅτι ἐστι φυγεῖν βρωτὼν, ὦδ' ὑπαλλαξία.

Τομεν, ἢ τῷ εὖχος δρέξομεν, ἢ τίς ἡμῖν,

followed by Demosth. Cor. p. 258, 15

Πέρας μὲν γὰρ ἄπαινος ἀνθρώποι ἐστὶ τοῦ βίου βανατος, κἂν ἐν οἰκίσκει τις αὐτὸν καθερίζα τηρη' δει δὲ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἀνθρας

ἐγχειρεῖν μὲν ἄπαινοι δεὶ τοῖς καλοῖς, την

ἀγαθὴν προβαλλομένους ἐλπίδα, φέρειν δ' ὧ τι ἃν ὁ Θεὸς ἔδω ἑναιας; and by Virg. 

Ac. 10. 467

'Stat sua cuique dies, breve et irreparable tempus

Omnibus est vitae: sed famam extendere factis

Hoc virtutis opus;' though Cicero goes beyond the rest in deeming even immortality wretched if attended with dishonour; reminding us of the envy felt by Tennyson's Tithonus towards 'happy men that have the power to die.'

17. Dies et noctes, 'whole days and nights;' not merely 'by day and night.'
ORATIO PHILIPPICA X. 241

toritatem securi sunt, conatum Antonii repulserunt: post eiu-
dem furorem Martia legio fregit, quarta afflicit. Sic a suis-
 legionibus condemnatus irrupit in Galliam, quam sibi armis
animisque infestam inimicamque cognovit. Hunc A. Hirtii,
C. Caesaris exercitus insecuti sunt: post Pansae dilectus urbem 5
totamque Italian erexit. Unus omnium est hostis: quamquam
habet secum Lucium fratrem, carissimum populo Romano civem,
22 cuius desiderium ferre diutius civitas non potest. Quid illa
tacterius belua? quid immanius? qui ob eam causam natus
videtur, ne omnium mortalium turpissimus esset M. Antonius. 10
Est una Trebellius, qui iam cum tabulis novis redit in gratiam,
Plancus et ceteri pares: qui id pugnant, id agunt, ut contra
rem publicam restituti esse videantur. Sollicitant homines
imperitos Saxa et Cafo, ipsi rustici atque agrestes, qui hanc rem
publicam nec viderunt unquam nec videre constitutam volunt, 15
qui non Caesaris, sed Antonii acta defendunt, quos avertit agri
Campani infinita possessio: cuius eos non pudere demiror, cum
videant se mimos et mimas habere vicinos. Ad has pestes oppri-
mendas cur moleste feramus quod M. Bruti accessit exercitus? 20
immoderati, credo, hominis et turbulentii: videte ne nimium
patientis: etsi in illius viri consiliis atque factis nihil nec nimium

1. Sunt is omitted in the MSS., the later ones correcting the deficiency by the
improbable reading 'veternique,' for 'veterni, qui;' Halm restores it in italics,
being uncertain in what position it should stand.
2. Martia .... quarta. See 3. 3 notes.
Cons. 5, 12 'Piso gloriatur se brevi tempore
perfectissimum, ne Gabinius unus omnium nequis-
simus existimaretur.'
11. Qui iam, &c., 'who is now becoming
reconciled to the general abolition
of debts,' which, before he himself became
insolvent, Trebellius had strenuously re-
sisted. See 6. 4. 11 note.
15. Nec viderunt unquam: their
introduction to Rome dates back only to the
time when it was crushed beneath the tyranny of
Caesar.
16. Avertit, 'perverts from loyally main-
taining Caesar's acts.'
17. Cuius eos, &c. Cafo and Saxo them-
selves were creditable persons beside their
fellow colonists. Cp. 8. 9. 26 'Cafoni
etiam et Saxae cavet, quos centuriones pug-
naces et lacertosos inter mirmorum et mima-
rum greges collocavit.'
11. There was no fear of M. Brutus
being too impetuous. His moderation was
more to be feared, but all his wishes were
subordinate to the authority of the senate.
He deserved the same honours as Decimus
and Octavianus; while some acknowledgment
was due to M. Auleius and Q. Hortensius;
and therefore Cicero concludes by a formal
motion, approving of the conduct of Brutus
and Hortensius, confirming them in their
comm nds, and giving to Brutus authority
to levy money and supplies in the name of
the republic.
20. Ne nimium patientis. The
reading of the Vatican MS. is 'paeneti-
entes;' whence most of the later MSS.,
followed by Halm, give 'paene patientis.'
One MS. alone has the reading in the text,
which is maintained by J. Frey (Rhein,
Mus. for 1857, p. 631) to be the true one,
the letters 'ene' in the Vatican reading being
interpolated from 'videte ne' above. The
sense is much improved by the omission of
the 'paene.'
nec parum umquam fuit. Omnis voluntas M. Bruti, patres
conscripti, omnis cogitatio, tota mens auctoritatem senatus, li-
bertatem populi Romani intuetur: haec habet proposita, haec
tueri vult. Tentavit quid patientia perficere posset: nihil cum
proficeret, vi contra vim experiundum putavit. Cui quidem,
patres conscripti, vos idem hoc tempore tribuere debetis, quod
quorum privatum de re publica consilium et factum auctoritate
vestra est comprobatum atque laudatum. Quod idem in
M. Bruto facere debetis, a quo insperatum et repentinum rei
publicae praesidium legionum, equitatus, auxiliorum magnae et
firmae copiae comparatae sunt: adiungendus est Q. Hortensius,
qui cum Macedoniam obtineret, adiutorem se Bruto ad com-
parandum exercitum fidissimum et constantissimum praebuit.
Nam de M. Apuleio separatim censeo referendum: cui testis
est per litteras M. Brutus, eum principemuisse ad conatum
 exercitus comparandi. Quae cum ita sint, quod C. Pansa consul
verba fecit de litteris, quae a Q. Caepione Bruto pro consule
allatae et in hoc ordine recitatae sunt, de ea re ita censeo:
Cum Q. Caepionis Bruti pro consule opera, consilio, industria,
virtute difficillimo rei publicae tempore provincia Macedonia et
Illyricum et cuncta Graecia et legiones, exercitus, equitatus in
consulum, senatus populique Romani potestate sint, id Q. Cae-
pionem pro consule bene et e re publica pro sua maiorumque
suorum dignitate consuetudineque rei publicae bene gerendae
secisse, eam rem senatui populoque Romano gratam esse et
fore: utique Q. Caepio Brutus pro consule provinciam Mace-

3. Haec habet proposita, 'these he has always set before him.' Cp. Att. 8. 2, 3 'Positas omnes nostras spes habemus;' and see on 5. 18, 50.
15. M. Apuleio. From Appian, Bell. Civ. 4. 75, we learn that on the arrival of Brutos in Macedonia M. Apuleius handed over to him all the money which he held as quaestor, and all the troops under his command. Cp. the complaint of Antony, 13. 16, 32 'Apuleiana pecunia Brutum sub-
ournatis.'
18. Caepione, M. Brutus was so
called in consequence of his adoption by his
uncle, Q. Servilius Caepio. Cicero uses the
name in his formal vote as being his strictly
legal appellation. Hence it also appears on
his coins, of which one is engraved in Dr.
Smith’s Dict. of Biography, with the head of
Brutos and 'LEIBERTAS' on the ob-
verse, and a lyre and the inscription
'CAEPIO BRUTUS PROCOS' on the
reverse.
25. Consuetudineque, 'Que' is very
seldom found in Cicero appended to a word
ending in 'e,' except in a passage like the
present, where legal phraseology is of more
importance than euphonic rules. See how-
ever 13. 20, 46 'Maioreque deorum im-
mortalium beneficio,' and Fam. 1. 9, 20
'Illi quos saepe muta significationeque ap-
pello.'
doniam, Illyricum cunctamque Graeciam tueatur, defendat, custodiat incolumemque conservet, eique exercitui, quem ipse constituit comparavit, praesit, pecuniamque ad rem militarem, si qua opus sit, quae publica sit et exigi possit, utatur exigat, pecuniasque a quibus videatur ad rem militarem mutuas, sumat 5 frumentumque imperet operamque det ut cum suis copiis quam proxime Italiam sit: cumque ex litteris Q. Caepionis Brutii pro consule intellectum sit, Q. Hortensii pro consule opera et virtute vehementer rem publicam adiutam omniaque eius consilia cum consiliis Q. Caepionis Brutii pro consule coniuncta 10 fuisset, camque rem magno usui rei publicae fuisset: Q. Hortensium pro consule recte et ordine exque re publica fecisset, senatoriae placere Q. Hortensium pro consule cum quaestore prove quaestore et legatis suis provinciam Macedoniam obtinere, quoad ei ex senatus consulto successum sit.

5. Mutuas sumat. Cicero more generally uses 'mutuari' for 'to borrow,' though 'mutuum dare' is with him the customary expression for 'to lend.' Cp. Plaut. Asin. 1. 3. 95 'Nam si mutuas noni potero, certum est, sumam seniore.'

6. Quam proxime Italiam. Cp. Att. 6. 5. 3 'Exercitum habere quam proxime hostem.'

14. Prove quaestore. The title of 'proquaestor' was sometimes given to a man who had been quaestor at Rome, and in the following year accompanied a proconsul to his province in the same capacity: but it more generally signified one who was appointed to the quaestor's office by the governor in his province, either as an extra honorary officer, or to supply a deficiency in the number.

15. Quoad ei, &c., 'till some one be appointed by the senate to succeed him.' Cp. 3. 15. 38.
INTRODUCTION

TO THE ELEVENTH ORATION.

Towards the end of the year 44 B.C., Dolabella left Rome, in order to anticipate C. Cassius in occupying the province of Syria, in which he had supplanted him by the decree of June 5th. Being in great need of money, he endeavoured to supply his wants by levying contributions on his road, in Greece, Macedonia, Thrace, and Asia Minor. At Smyrna, about the end of February, he was excluded from the city by the proconsul, C. Trebonius, one of Caesar's murderers; but received a supply of provisions, and an escort to Ephesus, for which place he started after an apparent reconciliation with Trebonius. He returned, however, with the escort, and entering the city by night, he treacherously murdered the proconsul. If we may believe the account of Cicero, he previously tortured him for two days, and then treated his dead body with the utmost ignominy; but the former part at least of this statement is improbable. (See on c. 3, 17.)

When the news of this outrage was received at Rome, about the middle of March, a meeting of the senate was immediately held, and Dolabella was proclaimed a public enemy. Whether Cicero took any part in the debate we have no means of knowing; but on the following day, when a second meeting was held to consider what provision should be made for the government of Syria, left vacant by the deposition of Dolabella, he delivered his eleventh Philippic oration. Two proposals had been made, one that P. Servilius should be sent out as proconsul, the other that the Consuls of the current year should themselves be appointed to the governments of Asia and Syria. To the latter proposal Cicero objected that they had already work enough on hand, in crushing the designs of Antony; to the former he opposed the technical objection that, as Servilius held no public office, it was not competent to the senate to appoint him to the command of a province.

He proposed to bestow the province on C. Cassius, to whom it had originally been assigned, and who was already there, in arms against
Dolabella. He acknowledges that Cassius was acting against the orders of the senate, but urges that he was really furthering the true interests of the state with energy and judgment; and that in a crisis like the present such patriotism should be encouraged without pressing too closely the letter of the law. The speech, which opens with a violent tirade against Dolabella, was unsuccessful, mainly through the influence of Pansa; and it was agreed, on the motion of Q. Fufius Calenus, to commit the charge of the two provinces to the Consuls, so soon as they should have ended the campaign against Antony. (Fam. 12. 7, 1.) Cassius however, as Cicero had predicted, took the law into his own hands, and assuming the government of Syria, shortly afterwards reduced Laodicea, into which Dolabella had thrown himself; and Dolabella, to escape falling into his hands, committed suicide. The text of this speech is in a less satisfactory state than that of the preceding ones, the Vatican MS. failing in the middle of the ninth chapter, and thenceforth only supplying us with fragments of the twelfth and thirteenth orations, containing 12. 5, 12; 12. 9, 23; and 13. 1, 1; 13. 5, 10.
M. TULLII CICERONIS

ORATIONUM PHILIPPICARUM

LIBER UNDECIMUS.

1 MAGNO in dolore, patres conscripti, vel maerore potius, quem ex crudeli et miserabili morte C. Trebonii, optimi civis moderatissimique hominis, accepimus, inest tamen aliquid, quod rei publicae profuturum putem. Perspeximus enim quanta in iis, qui contra patriam scelerata arma ceperunt, inesset inanitas. Nam duo haec capita nata sunt post homines natos taeterrima et spurcissima, Dolabella et Antonius: quorum alter effecit quod optarat, de altero patefactum est quid cogitaret.

L. China crudelis, C. Marius in iracundia perseverans, L. Sulla vehemens; neque ullius horum in ulciscendo acerbitas progressa ultra mortem est: quae tamen poena in cives nimis crudelis

cc. 1–3. The death of Trebonius, grievous calamity as it was, might furnish a useful lesson to the state. Antony and Dolabella were twins in wickedness, and now that Dolabella had shown how far he could go beyond all previous precedents in cruelty, and had thereby given warning what they both were capable of doing, the sternest measures must be adopted in dealing with either of them. Each was an intruder in a province not his own. Antony indeed was check'd in Gaul by D. Brutus, but in Asia Dolabella had made good his ground, having sent a ruf-fianly subordinate to prepare the way for him. He had followed up a treacherous show of friendship for Trebonius, by sur-prising his city and murdering himself, with all the aggravation of torture before and insult after death, and had then proceeded to play the tyrant in a triumphal progress throughout Asia. It were good for the senators to observe this well in all its horrors, for it was but typical of what Antony would do if he should be allowed to have his way.

1. Magno in dolore, &c., ‘in the midst of great grief, grief which I cannot control.’ See on 9, 5, 12.

2. C. Trebonii. See the introduction to this oration. Trebonius was Consul in 45 B.C., and soon after Caesar's death, in which he took a prominent part, he went as proconsul to the province of Asia.

9. L. Cinna, &c. The introduction of Cinna and Sulla as examples of tyranny had now become a commonplace with Cicero; cp. 2, 42, 108; 5, 6, 17. For the sake of a rhetorical point he here ignores the indignity which Sulla practised on the remains of Marius, on which he elsewhere enlarges, de Legg. 2, 22, 56. Cp. Val. Max. 9, 2, 1.
putabatur. Ecce tibi geminum in scelere par, invisitatum, in-2 auditum, sero, sermo, barbarus. Itaque quorum summum quondam inter ipsos odium bellumque meministis, eosdem postea singulari inter se consensu et amore devinxit improbissimae naturae et 5 turpissimae vitae simuludo. Ergo id, quod fecit Dolabella in quo potuit, multis idem minatur Antonius. Sed ille cum procul esset a consulibus exercitibusque nostris neque dum senatum cum populo Romano conspirasse sensisset, fretus Antonii copiis ea scelera suscepit, quae Romae iam suscepta arbitrabatur a 10 socio furoris sui. Quid ergo hunc aliud moliri, quid optare 3 censetis aut quam omnino causam esse belli? Omnes, qui libere de re publica sensimus, qui dignas nobis sententias diximus, qui populum Romanum liberum esse voluimus, statuit ille quidem non inimicos, sed hostes: maiora tamen in nos quam in hostem 15 supplicia meditatur: mortem naturae poenam putat esse, iracun- diae tormenta atque cruciatum. Qualis igitur hostis habendus est is, a quo victore si cruciatus absit, mors in beneficii parte nu- meretur? Quam ob rem, patres conscripti, quamquam hortatore 2 non egetis—ipsi enim vestra sponte exarrisistis ad libertatis recu- perandae cupiditatem—, tamen eo maiore animo studioque liber- tatatem defendite, quo maiora proposita victis supplicia servitutis

1. Invisitatum, though only found in one of the later MSS, for 'invisitatum', is upheld by Halm, as being the less likely word of the two to have been substituted by mistake, and as being more suited to the context. He compares Livy 4. 33 'Acies, inauditata ante id tempus invisitataque;' id. 5. 37 'Invisitato atque inauditto hoste.' In these passages, as in almost every passage where the word is used, the same confusion with 'invisibuis' has arisen. Cp. de Div. 2. 67; 138; Off. 3. 9, 38; Livy 5. 7 and 35; 35. 42.

2. Odium bellumque, as in the con- duct of Antony when Dolabella was standing for the consulship (see 2. 32 foll.); and the proceedings of Dolabella after Caesar's death. See on 1. 2, 5.

10. Quid hunc, &c., 'wherein conceive you that Antony's plans are different? or if his plans and wishes are not of such a nature, what do you suppose is the reason why we are at war?'

14. Non inimicos, sed hostes, 'not merely unfriendly, but deadly enemies.' 'Inimicos' it might suffice to shun, 'hostes' must be crushed.

15. Poenam, which is found in all the MSS, is placed by Halm in brackets, as though he thought, with Ferrarius, that death could scarcely be called 'poenae naturae.' Cp. pro Mil. 37, 101 'Milo exsilium ibi esse putat, ubi virtuti non sit locus; mortem naturae funem esse, non poenam.' But Dolabella is represented as considering what kind of punishment will suit his purpose best, and rejecting the punishment of death, as coming naturally at some time on man. Since therefore it is as a punishment that it comes before his thoughts, it is only consistent to look on nature, who inflicts it, as a punisher. In the first clause 'poenam' is appropriate, as carrying on the notion of 'supplicia,' while without it in the second the opposition of 'iracundiae' to 'natureae' would be forced and artificial.

17. A quo victore, &c., 'who thinks that we should look on death as a boon, if when victorious he abstains from tor- ture.'

19. Exarrisistis, &c. Cp. 4. 6, 16 'Ad spem libertatis exarimius.'

1. In alienam uterque provinciam. Cp. c. 12, 27 'In Macedoniam alienam advolavit.' These provinces had been assigned by Caesar to D. Brutus and C. Trebonius respectively, and though the people had apparently consented that Antony should have Cisalpine Gaul, this arrangement had not been sanctioned by the senate. See on 2. 13, 31, and introduction to the tenth oration.

2. Brutus, sc. Decimus.

4. Colligavit, 'has hampered his onset:' cp. Fam. 9. 17, 2 'Quid faciat tamen non habet, ita se cum multis impedivit;' and below, c. 11, 26 note.

6. Cur? si, &c. I have followed the reading of Halm, who adopts the conjecture of Lambinus, inserting the words 'sin ut ad Trebonium,' as though Cicero were discussing the only two possible reasons for Dolabella entering Asia Minor. He might be merely taking that road into his own province of Syria, which the senate had taken from C. Cassius and given to Dolabella after Caesar's death. To this suggestion Cicero answers that the way to Syria, which was generally reached by sea, was well enough known, and too short to admit of such a deviation. Or he might be going to join Trebonius, the legal governor of Asia, but in that case he would hardly have entered another man's province at the head of an army. Hence Cicero infers that there is no explanation of his conduct consistent with innocence of reasonable designs. And this inference was confirmed by his sending in advance an unscrupulous plunderer like Octavius. Orelli, rejecting the words inserted by Lambinus, stops the passage thus: 'Quid opus fuit cum legione praemisso Marso...egenti? qui popularetur agros...mendicitatis suae. Consecutus est Dolabella nulla suspicione belli,' &c.

11. Hic senator, 'this upstart senator;' sc. Octavius.

14. Complexusque. According to the common reading these words belonged to the following clause, 'complexusque summae benevolentiae falsi indices exstiterunt in amore simulato;' which must either mean 'and embraces stood forth as false witnesses of the highest goodwill, whose love was wholly feigned,' or 'and embraces, false witnesses of the highest goodwill, were conspicuous amid the pretence of love.' Nipperdey (Philol. 3. 146), whom Halm follows, first proposed to transpose 'indices falsi,' and place the stop after 'complexusque,' so that the sense is, 'then followed the most intimate conversations with Trebonius, accompanied by embraces: the symbols of the highest goodwill proved false where love was only feigned.' S. Rau, by a somewhat more violent change, suggests 'Complexus, qui sunt mutuae benevolentiae indices, falsi exstiterunt,' &c., which agrees very well with the following clause, Professor Conington suggested removing the colon after 'complexusque,' so that 'secutae' should be a participle, and 'falsi indices' the predicate of the sentence.
quae fidei testes esse solemant, sunt perfidia et scelere violatae: nocturnus introitus Zmyrram quasi in hostium urbem, quae est fidissimorum antiquissimorumque sociorum: oppressus Trebonius, si ut ab eo, qui aperte hostis esset, incautos, si ut ab eo, qui civis etiam tum speciem haberet, miser. Ex quo nimium documentum nos capere fortuna voluit, quid esset victis extime- scendum. Consularem hominem, consulari imperio provinciam Asiam obtincentem, Samiario exsuli tradidit: interficere captum statim noluit, ne nimirum, credo, in victoria liberalis videretur. Cum verborum contumeliis optimum virum incesto ore lacerasset, tum verberibus ac tormentis quaestionem habuit pecuniae publicae idque per biduum: post cervicibus fractis caput abscedit idque adfixum gestari iussit in pilo: reliquum corpus tractum [atque laniatum] abiecit in marc. Cum hoc hoste bellandum est, cuius tactorrima crudelitate omnis barbaria superata est. Quid loquar de caede civium Romanorum? de direptione fano- rum? quis est qui pro rerum atrocitate deplorare tantas calamities queat? Et nunc tota Asia vagatur, volitat ut rex, nos alio bello distineri putat: quasi vero non idem unumque bellum sit contra hoc iugum impiorum nefarium. Imaginem M. Antonii crudelitatis in Dolabella cernitis: ex hoc illa efficta est, ab hoc Dolabelae scelerum praecepta sunt tradita. Num leniorem, quam in Asia Dolabella trium, in Italia, si liceat, fore

2. Zmyrram. So Halm, on MS. authority, here and pro Balb. 11, 28. Smyrna especially distinguished itself, in the war with Mithridates, for fidelity to Rome.

4. Si ut ab eo, &c., 'if by one who was in the position of an open enemy, he merits blame for want of caution, but if by one who even then maintained the semblance of a citizen, his fate deserves our unmixted pity.'

8. Samiario. Orelli (Onomast. Tull. s. v.) thinks that this word refers to the man's trade, 'a vendor of Samian pottery,' whence the late Latin word 'samio,' 'to polish with Samian stone;' but Garatonius, who first suggested this idea, doubts the existence of such a term in Cicero's time, as well as the propriety of mentioning the trade of the murderer in this passage. More probably it is the man's name. Appian (B.C. 3, 56) says that Trebonius was slain by a centurion directly he was taken; and neither he nor Strabo (14, p. 649) makes any mention of the cruelty or treachery of Dolabella. Appian attributes the insulting treatment of the body to the hatred felt by the soldiers towards one of Caesar's murderers.

Exsuli. A play on the words, which is untranslateable, is perhaps intended here between 'consul' and 'exsul.'

11. Quaestionem, &c., 'tortured him to make him say where he had hidden the public money.'

14. [Atque laniatum]. These words are added in the Vatican MS. by a later hand.

17. Deplorare, 'sufficiently lament.'

19. Distineri, 'are kept away from him by pressure in another place;' so better than 'detineri,' the reading of some MSS., which would merely be 'are kept employed.'

20. Hoc iugum. Cp. c. 1, 2.'Ecez tibi geminum in sceiere par.'

21. Ex hoc illa efficita est, 'the model (image) was copied from Antony.' The existing MSS. have 'effecta,' which is meaningless, but Ursini gives MS. authority for the reading in the text.
putatis Antonium? Mihi quidem et ille peruenisse videtur, quoad proregdi potuerit feri hominis amentia, neque Antonius ullius supplicii adhibendi, si potestatem habeat, ullam esse partem relicturus. Ponite igitur ante ochulos, patres conscripti, miseram illam quidem et flebilem speciem, sed ad incitandos nostros animos necessarium: nocturnum impetum in urbe Asiae clarissimam, irruptionem armatorum in Trebonii domum, cum miser ille prius latronum gladios videret, quam quae res esset audisset: furentis introitum Dolabelae, vocem impuram atque os illud infame, vincla, verbera, eculeum, tortorem carnisificemque Samiarium: quae tulisse illum fortiter et patienter ferunt. Magna laus meoque iudicio omnium maxima; est enim sapientis, quidquid homini accidere possit, id praemeditari ferundum modice esse, si evenerit. Maioris omnino est consilii providere ne quid tale accidat, animi non minoris fortiter ferre, si evenerit. Ac Dolabella quidem tam fuit inmemor humanitatis—quamquam eius numquam particeps fuit—, ut suam insatiabilem crudelitatem exerceretur non solum in vivo, sed etiam in mortuo, atque in eius corpore lacerando atque vexando, cum animum satiare non posset, ochulos paverit suos.

4 O multo miserior Dolabella quam ille, quem tu miserrimum

1. Et ille... neque Antonius. Só c. 2, 4 'Patebat via et certa neque longa.'

4. Ponite ante ochulos, &c. Muretus thinks that Cicero is here imitating Aeschin. in Ctes. p. 76, 1 ἐπείδι θοῖ ὀψασιν οὐ παρεγίνεσθε, ἀλλὰ θοῖ γε διανοίᾳ ἀποβλήσατι αὐτῶν εἰς τὰς συμφορὰς, καὶ νομίσατο ὅρων ἀλοκομίνην τὴν πόλιν κ.τ.λ.

10. Eucleum. Of this instrument of torture, so often mentioned in the persecutions of the early Christians, we have no account in any writer of authority.

12. Est enim sapientis, &c. Lambinus compares a saying of Pittacus, σωτῖων ἀνδρῶν ἵστη, πρὶν γενέσθαι τα διεχρή προσονήσαι μη γένηται ἄνδρεων δὲ γενόμενα εἰς θέσας. Compare also Tusc. 3. 14, 30 'Quoniam multum potest provisio animi et praeparatio ad minendum dolorem, sint semper omnia homini humana meditata;' and Eur. Fr. Thes. 384 ἐγὼ δὲ τοῦτο παρὰ σοφοῦ τινὸς μαθῶν, εἰς φροντίδας νοῦν συμφορᾶς τῷ ἐξαλώμεροι, φυσικὸς τῷ ἐμαυτῷ προστιθεὶς πάτρας ἐμῆς, θανάτους τῷ ἄρουρος, καὶ κακῶν ἄλλας ὅδοις, ὥν, εἴ τι πάχασα, ἤ δὲ ἐβοσκαῖρον φρενι, μη μοι νεαρῆς προποσεῖς μᾶλλον δάκως. 17. Fuit. So Halm, following one MS., the others having 'fuerit.' The correction seems to be so plainly stated as a fact that the indicative is absolutely necessary.

20. Paverit. All the MSS. have 'pavīt,' but the connection of ideas, as well as the rhythm of the sentence, seems to require that this clause, as well as the preceding one, should be dependent on 'fuit immemor.'

4. Even in his hour of triumph Dolabella failed, for he inflicted on himself the lasting agonies of remorse, a thousand times more hard to bear than the two days' torture which Trebonius underwent. He was moreover judged to be an enemy of the state, a far worse fate than death; and so, even in respect of their present condition, Trebonius might be deemed the happier man; without setting his noble nature against the viciousness of Dolabella's character, which an unsuspecting trustfulness had hitherto prevented
esse voluisti! Dolores Trebonius pertulit magnos; multi ex morbi gravitate maiores, quos tamen non miseror, sed laboriosos solemus dicere. Longus fuit dolor bidui, at compluribus anno- rum saepe multorum: nec vero graviora sunt carnificum crucia-
menta quam interdum tormenta morborum. Alia sunt, alia, inquam, o perditissimi homines et amentissimi, multo miseria. Nam quo maior vis est animi quam corporis, hoc sunt graviora ea, quae concipiuntur animo, quam illa, quae corpore. Miserior igitur qui suscipit in se seclus quam si qui alterius facinus subire cogitum. Cruciatius est a Dolabella Treboniis: et quidem a Karthaginensisibus Regulus. Qua re cum crudelissimi Poeni iudicati sint in hoste, quid in cive de Dolabella iudicandum est? An vero hoc conferendum est aut dubitandum, uter miseror sit, isne, cuius mortem senatus populusque Romanus ulisci cupit, an is, qui cunctis senatus sententiis hostis est iudicatus? Nam ceteris quidem vitae partibus quis est qui possit sine Trebonii maxima contumelia conferre vitam Trebonii cum Dolabellea? Alterius consilium, ingenium, humanitatem, innocentiam, magni-
tudinem animi in patria liberanda quis ignorat? alteri a puero pro deliciis crudelitas fuit, deinde ea libidinum turpitudo, ut in hoc sit semper ipse lactatus, quod ea faceret, quae sibi obici ne ab inimico quidem possent verecoundo. Et hic, di immortales! 10 aliquamdo fuit mens: occultam enim erant vita non inquirenti.

Cicero from discovering in a near connection of his own.
3. Longus fuit dolor bidui at, &c. So Halm. Madvig (John’s Jahrbuch for 1856, p. 124) would stop the clause ‘Longus fuit dolor. Bidui; at,’ &c. He says that the mention of the definite and comparatively short period of two days is inappropriate in an objection urging the length of the sufferings of Trebonius; and that it comes in much more fitly in Cicero’s answer: ‘two days, I grant, he suffered, yet how many have been sufferers for many years,’ but two days of incessant torture would generally be considered long enough.
λοίμην μὲν ἂν ἔσογεν ὑδέτερα; εἰ δ’ ἀναγ-
καίων εἰπ ἄδικες ἢ ἄδικεσθαι, ἐκόμην ἂν μᾶλλον ἄδικεσθαι ἢ ἄδικες.
11. Regulus. The story of the mission of Regulus to Rome in 250 B.C., and his subsequent cruel treatment by the Cartha-
ginians, is looked upon by many modern writers, and amongst others by Mommsen (Hist. of Rome, 2. 46), as an invention of the later Romans.
12. In hoste, ‘in dealing with an enemy ;’ cp. Virg. Ac. 2. 541
18. ‘At non ille, satum quo te mentiris, Achilles Talis in hoste fuit Priamo;’
and see Kritz on Sall. Cat. 9, 2.
23. ‘Meus, ‘a member of my family,’ He styles him ‘meus’ even after his divorce from Tullia, Att. 14. 15. 2 ‘O mirificum Dol-
bellam meum, iam enim dicam meum; antea, crede mihi, subdubtabam.’ That Ciceto’s blindness to the notorious profligacy of Dol-
bella was wilful seems clear from the language used by M. Caecilius, in his letter congratulat-
ing Cicero on his daughter’s engagement (Fam. 8. 13. 1); in which he extenuates the vices which he cannot deny to have existed in the man. While Caesar lived, Cicero
Neque nunc fortasse alienus ab eo esset, nisi ille nobis, nisi moenibus patriae, nisi huic urbi, nisi dis penatibus, nisi aris et focis omnium nostrum, nisi denique naturae et humanitatis inventus esset inimicus. A quo amoniti diligentius et vigilantius caveamus Antonium.

5 Etenim Dolabella non ita multos secum habuit notos atque insignes latrones: at videtis quis et quam multos habeat Antonius. Primum Lucium fratrem: quam facem, di immortales! quod facinus! quod seclus! quem gurgitem! quam voraginem! Quid eum non sorbere animo, quid non haurire cogitatione, cuius sanguinem non bibere censetis? in cuius possessiones atque fortunas non impudentissimos oculos spe et mente defigere? Quid Censorinum? qui se verbo praetorem esse urbanum cupere dicebat, re certe noluit. Quid Bestiam? qui consulatum in Bruti locum se petere profitetur: atque hoc quidem detestabili omen avertat Iuppiter! Quam absurdum autem, qui praetor fieri non potuerit, petere eum consulatum! nisi forte damnationem pro praetura putat. Alter Caesar Vopiscus ille summo ingenio, appears to have thought it useful to have a friend at court in the person of his son-in-law; and on his death there was a hope at first that Dolabella would be serviceable as a check to Antony. Hence, even after his ill-treatment of Tullia, Cicero maintained a constant show of friendship towards him. 1. Nobis. So Halm for the Vatican reading 'bonis,' the two words being often confused in MSS. Op. 3, 2, 4 note. The other MSS. have 'vobis.'

5. Antonium: because, as he said above, cc. 1, 2 and 3, 6, Dolabella had only proved more cruel than Antony from having had a better opportunity. cc. 5, 6. The guilt of Dolabella might serve as a warning against Antony, who was the more dangerous because of the desperate character of his followers. His brother Lucius was indeed the worst, but he had besides in his army men notorious in every way, who had violated every precept of political or moral probity. Outlaws, foreign upstarts, bankrupts, murderers formed the flower of his army, and they would eagerly have followed the example set by Dolabella, had not the senate wisely adopted the proposal of Calenus, and denounced him as a public enemy.

9. Quem gurgitem! So he speaks of M. Antonius as worse than any Charybdis, 2, 27, 67.

10. Cuius ... ceneditis? in are omitted in the Vatican MS., but the omission of the last word makes it appear as though a complete line had escaped the copyist, 'in' being indispensable for the construction.

12. Quid Censorinum? The accusative may depend on 'habet,' to be supplied from 'habet,' but it is more probably 'what say you of Censorinus? who was always saying that he wished to be praetor of the city, but has shown himself in fact unwilling so to be;' i.e. he had practically abdicated the office, by going to the camp of Antony, whereas it was illegal for the city praetor to be away from Rome. L. Marcus Censorinus was one of Antony's staunchest supporters, and through his interest gained the consulship in 39 B.C.

14. Bestiam. L. Calpurnius Bestia was one of Catiline's adherents. In 57 B.C. he was an unsuccessful candidate for the praetorship, and in the following year was prosecuted for bribery, and convicted, though Cicero defended him. Having thus failed in gaining the praetorship, he was ineligible for the consulship, in which he was hoping to supplant M. Brutus.

In Bruti locum, 'to fill the place which naturally would fall to Brutus.' The construction 'in locum' depends upon the idea of being elected, which is involved in 'consulatum petere.'

18. Alter Caesar Vopiscus, 'like a
summa potentia, qui ex aceditate consulatum petit, solvatur legibus: quamquam leges eum non tenent propter eximiam, credo, dignitatem. At hic me defendente quinques absolutus est: sexta palma urbana etiam in gladiatore difficilis. Sed haec iudicum culpa, non mea est. Ego defendi fide optima: illi debuerunt clarissimum et praestantissimum senatorem in civitate retinere. Qui tamen nunc nihil aliud agere videtur, nisi ut intelligamus illos, quorum res iudicatas irritas fecimus, bene et e re publica iudicavisse. Neque hoc in hoc uno est: sunt alii in isdem castris honeste condemnavi, turpiter restituti. Quod horum consilium, qui omnibus bonis hostes sunt, nisi crudelissimum putatis fore? Accedit Saxa nescio quis, quem nobis Caesar ex ultima Celtiberia tribunum pl. dedit, castrorum antea metator, nunc, ut sperat, urbis: a qua cum sit alienus, suo capiti salvis nobis omen tur. Cum hoc veteranus Cafo, quo neminem veterani peius oderunt. His quasi praeceper dote, quam in civilibus malis acceperant, agrum Campanum est second Caesar Vopiscus.’ C. Iulius Caesar Strabo Vopiscus, having been curule aedile in 90 B.C., was brought forward by the aristocratic party as a candidate for the consulship, in violation of the ‘Lex Villia Annalis,’ as he had never held the praetorship. His election was prevented by the forcible intervention of the tribunes, and Cicero thus implies that Bestia could only bring forward one precedent for his illegal conduct, and that a precedent of failure. 1. Solvatur legibus. See on 2. 13, 31.

2. Quamquam leges, ‘and yet,’ Cicero would say, ‘a decree to this effect is hardly necessary, since the laws already prove too narrow to confine such singular merit.’ 3. Sexta palma urbana. Cicero had gained his cause five times for Bestia; defeat in the sixth, in his trial for bribery, was hardly to be avoided. Such unqualified success would scarcely find a parallel even in the arena. That the defeat in question was already sustained is clear from the following words, ‘illi debuerunt ... retinere.’

7 Qui tamen, &c. In 49 B.C. Caesar procured the recall from banishment of most of the exiles, especially those convicted of bribery under the ‘Lex Pompeia de Vi.’ It is probable that Bestia, though convicted under an earlier statute, would take advantage of the grace thus offered to return to Rome; and Cicero, to whom this act of Caesar’s had been most distasteful at the time, urges that Bestia at least was doing all he could to justify the severity of those who tried him, and to show how utterly misplaced was Caesar’s clemency. It is probable that the recall was accomplished at the time by a decree of the senate, acting under Caesar’s orders; but at any rate by ratifying all his measures after his death they had accepted the responsibility of what he did. Hence ‘fecimus.’

13. Castrorum antea metator. In 14. 4, 10 he is called ‘peritus metator et callidus.’ He was probably at first one of the workmen employed to trace out the camp under the direction of the centurions, on whom that duty devolved. See also on 8. 3, 9.

14. A qua, &c. Saxa had been hoping for a confiscation of the state lands, but as he, a foreigner, knew but little of Rome and its affairs, Cicero expresses a hope that his wish may prove ominous to himself,—that there may be a confiscation indeed, but of the lands so wrongfully bestowed on him. ‘Yet since he is a stranger there, may the omen recoil on his own head without inflicting injury on us.’ Some of the later MSS. have ‘dominetur,’ which is meaningless.

largitus Antonius, ut haberent reliquorum nutriculas praediorum. Quibus utinam contenti essent! ferremus, etsi tolerabile non erat, sed quidvis patiendum fut, ut hoc taeterrimum bellum non haberemus.


1. Nutriculas, 'to nurse their other farms;' the certain profits from the rich lands of Capua covering all the risk and possible loss of their other estates; as he says of them de Leg. Agrar. 2. 28, 78 'neque istorum pecunii quidquam alius deesse video nisi eius modi fundos, quorum subsidio familiaris magnitudines et Cuma- norum ac Puteolanaorum praediorum sumptus sustentare possint.'

6. Collegas, as 'septemviri agris dividundis.' See 2. 38, 99 note.


Lentonem. Cp. 12. 9, 23. The other two 'divisors' were Tiro and Mestela. See 8. 9, 26.

8. Commentatus est, 'composed mimes;' the word expressing rather the inventive than the mechanical part of composition.

9. Cuius modo, &c., 'whose goods I saw but yesterday exposed for sale, so great has been the carelessness of the assigns.' The emphasis is on 'modo,' the affairs of Domitius the Apulian (of whom nothing is known from other sources) having long been desperate, though steps were only just now taken to realize his property.

11. Infudit venenum, non dedit. Some have taken this to mean, 'he drenched, rather than dosed with poison,' as though 'infudit' expressed excessive quantity. It is rather 'he mixed the poison for his nephew, but did not administer it;' meaning either that his resolution failed him, or that he employed another's hand to carry out his wickedness. Cp. Hor. Epod. 5, 77 'Maius parabo, maius infundam tibi Fastidienti peculum.'

14. Pro alieno se aere devovit, 'sacrificed himself as a martyr to his—debts.'

16. Qui se exserere, 'to think he could escape the debts he owed to others, by selling what was not his own.' 'Exserere' is Halm's emendation for the Vatican reading 'exercere,' for which the other MSS. have 'exire.'

17. De Trebellio. See on 10. 10, 22. Trebellius had made himself obnoxious to the general body of insolvent debtors, when he opposed the general abolition of debts, 'nova tabulae.' Hence now that his affairs have been reduced to such a state, that his property appears scheduled in an auction list, 'tabula auctionaria,' Cicero says that 'the furies of the debtors now have wreaked their vengeance on Trebellius; for here a clearance catalogue asserts the right of clearance from our debts.' He has a similar play on the words Cat. 2. 8, 18 'Meo beneficio tabulae nova proferentur, verum auctionariae.'
tabalam videmus. Quid de T. Plano? quem praestantissimus civis, Aquila, Pollentia expulit, et quidem crure fracto: quod utinam illi ante accidisset, ne huc redire potuisset! Lumen et decus illius exercitus paene praeterit, T. Annium Cimbrum, 5 Lysidici filium Lysidicum ipsum [Graeco verbo], quoniam omnia iura dissolvit, nisi forte iure Germanum Cimber occidit. Cum hanc et huius generis copiam tantam habeat Antonius, quod scelerum omittet, cum Dolabella tantis se obstrinxerit parricidiis nequaquam pari latrunum manu et copia? Quapropter, ut 15 invitus saepe dissensi a Q. Fufio, ita sum eius sententiae libenter assensus. Ex quo iudicare debetis me non cum homine solere, sed cum causa dissidere. Itaque non assentior solum, sed etiam gratias ago Fufio: dixit enim severam, gravem, re publica dignam sententiam, iudicavit hostem Dolabella, bona consuit 15 publice possidenda. Quo cum addi nihil potuisset—quid enim atrocius potuit, quid severius decernere?—dixit tamen, si quis corum, qui post se rogati essent, graviorem sententiam dixisset, in cam se iturum. Quam severitatem quis potest non laudare?

Nunc, quoniam hostis est iudicatus Dolabella, bello est per- 7 sequendus. Neque enim quiescit: habet legionem, habet fugi- 10
decernere?—dixit tamen, si quis corum, qui post se rogati essent, graviorem sententiam dixisset, in cam se iturum. Quam severitatem quis potest non laudare?

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tivos, habet sceleratam impiorum manum; et ipse confidens, impotens, gladiatorio generi mortis addictus. Quam ob rem, quoniam Dolabella hesterno die hoste decreto bellum gerundum est, imperator est diligendus. Duae dictae sunt sententiae, quaram neutram probo: alteram, quia semper, nisi cum est necesse, periculosam arbitror: alteram, quia alienam his temporibus existimo. Nam extraordinarium imperium popolare atque ventosum est, minime nostrae gravitatis, minime huius ordinis. Bello Antiochino magn ET gravi, cum L. Scipioni provincia Asia obvenisset, parumque in eo putaretur esse animi, parcum roboris, senatusque ad collegam eius, C. Laelium, huius Sapientis patrem, negotium deferret, surrexit P. Africanus, frater maior L. Scipionis, et illam ignominiam a familia deprecatus est, dixitque et in fratre suo summam virtutem esse summumque consilium, neque se ei legatum, id acetatis iisque rebus gestis, desfuturum. Quod cum ab eo esset dictum, nihil est de Scipionis provincia commutatum; nec plus extraordinarium imperium ad id bellum quaesitum, quam duobus antea maximis Punicis bellis, quae a consulibus aut a dictatoribus gesta et confecta sunt.

2. Impotens, 'unable to control his passions.' Cp. Hor. Od. 1. 37, 10 'Quidlibet impotens Sperare.'
3. Hesterno die. Hence it is clear that this oration was not spoken, as is often stated, (see Mscrivale, 3. 136: Forsyth, Life of Cicero 2. 233,) in support of the motion of Calenus, that Dolabella should be declared a public enemy; but it was delivered on the following day, when the senate met to consider what action should be taken in the matter, and especially who should be appointed to succeed Dolabella in the government of his province. Cp. c. 13, 29.
5. Cum est. The indicative marks the concession, that occasions not only may, but do occasionally arise, when such a step is necessary. Cicero had himself taken a leading part in such a measure when advocating the 'Lex Manilia,' giving Pompey the special command of the war against Mithridates; and more recently, when defending the measures of Octavianus.
7. Extraordinarium, 'out of due course.'
8. Ventosum, 'unsustantial.'; cp. Livy 42. 30 'Quosdam (ad novanda omnia agebat) ventosum ingenium, quia Perseus magis auro populari crat.'
9. Bello Antiochino, the war with Antiochus the Great, in 190 B.C.
11. Huius Sapientis, 'of Laelius the wise, so well known, so constantly spoken of, among ourselves.' From the peculiarity of this use of 'huius,' some editors would read 'illius,' and some even substitute 'Laelii Sapientis patrem.' Kayser places 'huius' within brackets.
13. A familia, 'prayed that such disgrace might not befall his family,' cp. Verr. Act. 2. 1. 60, 157 'Is ullam ab sese calamitatem poterit deprecari?' Most of the later MSS. unnecessarily read 'familiae.' Livy (37. 1) represents the story somewhat differently, saying that the command in Asia was given to L. Scipio by a special decree of the senate, and so was 'extraordinarium,' in order that Africanus might once more be opposed to Hannibal, who was fighting in the army of Antiochus.
15. Id acetatis, 'though of such an age;' 'id acetatis,' 'id temporis' being sometimes used for the simple genitive or ablative, to signify the point of time; cp. Cat. 1. 4, 10 'Quos ad me id temporis venturos esse praedixeram,' and Madv. § 238.
19. A dictatoribus. The very office
of dictator supplied a constitutional means of appointing a man to such a command as Cicero is now attempting to prevent; so that the mention of dictators virtually concedes the point at issue.

1. Philippi, Philip V of Macedonia, finally defeated by T. Quinctius Flamininus in 197 B.C., after seventeen years of intermittent war.

Achaico bello, in 147 and 146 B.C., terminating with the capture of Corinth by L. Mummius.

2. Ita... ut, ‘though it selected for itself a suitable general, yet chose that he should carry on the war as Consul.’ See on 2. 34, 85.

4. Aristonicus was a natural son of Eumenes II, who claimed the kingdom of Pergamus on the death of Attalus III. As Attalus had made the Romans his heirs, Aristonicus was thus brought into conflict with Rome. He defeated the Consul P. Licinius Crassus in 131 B.C., but was taken prisoner by M. Perperna in the following year.

8. Remisit. As the fine was only threatened, it is hardly clear how it could have been remitted; but probably the explanation of Garatoni is correct, that L. Valerius appealed against his colleague’s decision, which was only possible under the supposition that the fine had been inflicted, and that therefore the people, in confirming the claim of Crassus, necessarily confirmed the fine, and made it requisite to remit it, in order to exempt Valerius from payment. He compares the parallel case of an older P. Licinius Crassus, who similarly prevented the Consul Q. Fabius Pictor, as being Flamin Quirinals, from taking the command in Sicily, in 189 B.C. In that case also the fine was threatened, an appeal was made, and the result, as given by Livy (37. 51), was ‘religio ad postremum vicit, ut dicto auxiliis esset flamen pontifici; et multae ex iussu populi remissae.’ What made the conduct of the younger Crassus more oppressive was that he himself, as Pontifex Maximus, was no less bound to stay in Rome. See Livy, Epit. 59.

11. Anno ante. Numantia was taken 133 B.C., but the triumph of Africanus did not take place till the following year.

13. Tulit, ‘only gained the votes of two tribes.’

15. Tribuni... tulerunt. B.c. Cicero himself supported the proposal, in his speech of Cn. Pompeii imperio.

16. Nam Sertorianum bellum. And this, Cicero would imply, concludes the list of precedents, ‘for the Sertorian war, which some might urge against me, was only given to a private citizen, because the Consuls would not undertake its conduct.’ The private citizen was Pompey, then (in 77 B.C.) only an ‘eques’; cp. de Imp. Cn. Pompei 21 ‘Cum esset numen in senatu qui diceret, “non oportere miiti hominem privatum pro consule!” L. Philippus dixisse furtur, “non se illum sua sententia pro con-
§§ 17—20. **ORATIO PHILIPPICA XI.**

datum est, quia consules recusabant, cum L. Philippus pro
19 consulibus eum se mittere dixit, non pro consule. Quae igitur
haec comitia? aut quam ambitionem constantissimus et gra-
vissimus civis, L. Caesar, in senatum introduxit? Clarissimo
viro atque innocentissimo decrevit imperium, privato tamen:
in quo maximum nobis onus imposuit. Assensus ero, ambi-
tionem induxero in curiam: negaro, videfragio meo
tamquam comitiis honorem homini amicissimo denegavisse.
Quod si comitia placet in senatu haberi, petamus, ambiamus:
tabella modo detur nobis, sicut populo data est. Cur committis, 10
Caesar, ut aut praestantissimus vir, si tibi non sit assensum,
repulsam tulisse videatur, aut unus quisque nostrum praeteritus,
si, cum pari dignitate simus, eodem honore digni non putemur?

At enim—nam id exaudio—C. Caesari adolescentulo imperium
extraordinarium mea sententia dedi. Ille enim mihi praesidium
extraordinarium dederat: cum dico mihi, senatui dico populo-
que Romano. A quo praesidium res publica, ne cogitatum
quidem, tantum habet, ut sine eo salva esse non posset, huic
extraordinarium imperium non darem? Aut exercitus adi-
mendus aut imperium dandum fuit. Quae est enim ratio aut 20
qui potest fieri ut sine imperio tenatur exercitus? Non

sule sed pro consulibus mittere." The
Consuls thus contumptuously set aside were
M. Iunius Brutus and Mam. Aemilius Le-
pidus Livianus

2. Quae igitur, &c., 'what then is
this election? or what this candidate for
office which L. Caesar has introduced into
the senate?' The 'comitia,' Cicero would
say, not the senate, was the place for the
election of officers of the state, and the only
constitutional function of the senate in the
matter was to apportion among existing
officers their several spheres of duty. L. 
Caesar had proposed that P. Servilius Vatia
Isauricus, a man of consular rank, but at
present holding no office, should be appointed
proconsul, with the command of the war
against Dolabella. Cicero himself was
anxious to commit the conduct of the war
to C. Cassius, who was already procurator
in Syria.

6. Assensus ero. For the omission
of 'si,' in the hypothetical statement of
alternatives, see Madv. § 442 a. Obs.
2; and cp. 13. 11. 25 'Recesseris, undi-
que omnes inequentur: manseris, haere-
bis,'

10. Tabella, 'the voting tablet;' so that
all the forms of a popular election might be
duly observed.

13. Pari dignitate, 'of equal rank as
consulars.'

14. Exaudio, 'I hear it whispered,'
'Exaudio' is 'to hear in spite of some
obstacle,' and especially to hear what is not
directly meant to be heard. Cp. Cat. 4. 7.
14 'Sed ea quae exaudio dissipalare non
possim.' Here the implication is that
the objection made is one which the objectors
would hardly have ventured to utter in
Cicero's own hearing, so as to allow him to
expose its full absurdity.

18. Haberet. The subjunctive puts the
case generally, so as to show that the case
of Octavianus was one which fell under an
acknowledged law. Cicero's first argument
is that the merits of Octavianus were extra-
ordinary; and besides, he urges that in his
case the senate were not conferring, but
continuing a command, so that the case
was not parallel to that of Servilius, to whom
no slight would be offered by letting him
remain at home in the position which he at
present held.

S 2
igitur, quod ereptum non est, id existimandum est datum. Erpuissetis C. Caesari, patres conscripti, imperium, nisi dedissetis, Milites veterani, qui illius auctoritatem, imperium, nomen securi pro re publica arma ceperant, volebant sibi ab illo imperari: legio Martia et legio quarta ita se contulerant ad auctoritatem senatus et rei publicae dignitatem, ut deposcerent imperatorem et ducem C. Caesarem. Imperium C. Caesari bellii necessitas, fasces senatus dedit. Otioso vero et nihil agenti privato, obsceo te, L. Caesar,—cum perittissimo homine mihi res est—quando imperium senatus dedit?

Sed de hoc quidem hactenus, ne refragari homini amicissimo ac de me optime merito videar: etsi quis potest refragari non modo non petenti, verum etiam recusanti? Illa vero, patres conscripti, aliena consulum dignitate, aliena temporum gravitate sententia est, ut consules Dolabellae consequendi causa Asiam et Syriam sortiantur. Dicam, cur inutile rei publicae, sed prius, quam turpe consulibus sit, videte. Cum consul designatus obsideatur, cum in eo liberando salus sit positae rei publicae, cum a populo Romano pestiferi cives parricidaeque desciverint, cumque id bellum geramus, quo bello de dignitate, de libertate, de vita decernamus, si in potestatem quis Antonii venerit, proposita sint tormenta atque cruciatus, cunque harum rerum omnium decertatio consulibus optimis et fortissimis commissa et commendata sit: Asiae et Syriae mentio fiet, ut aut suspicioni crimen aut invidiae materiam dedisse videcamur? At

5. Ita...ut, 'only on condition that.' See 2. 34. 85 note.
9. Perittissimo, 'well-versed in law,' and therefore knowing all the precedents which possibly could bear upon the point.
cc. 9, 10. To appoint the Consuls to the vacuit provinces was inexpedient both for them and for the state. It would make the people imagine that they were looking after their own interests rather than the safety of D. Brutus, while it would hardly fail to divert some portion of their care from the measures to be taken for his deliverance. The state would suffer, because proceedings against Dolabella must necessarily be delayed; unless indeed they appointed a deputy, thus taking on themselves a responsibility which Cicero had shown to be too heavy even for the senate.
13. Illa vero, 'the other of the two proposals mentioned above.' See § 16.
18. Sit posita, 'has been allowed to rest.'
21. Si in potestatem. One MS. has 'etil,' but the word is very well be carried on throughout the clause.
24. Suspicioni crimen, &c., 'that we may seem to have provided suspicion with a ground for accusation, or to have laid a foundation for unpopularity.' His meaning is more fully explained in the following chapter, that if the notion were entertained that Pansa was cognizant of the proposal, suspicion would immediately conclude that he wished to have the conduct of the war in Asia, in order to avoid the difficult and dangerous task of contending with Antony. It is true that the liberation of D. Brutus was still the first task assigned to the Consuls, but the fact that they had further duties laid upon them was likely to make them negligent in performing the first, and anxious to find excuses for abandoning it.
vero ita decernunt, ut liberato Bruto: id enim restabat, ut relickto, deserto, profido. Ego vero mentionem omnino provinciarum factam dico alienissimo tempore. Quamvis enim intentus animus tuus sit, C. Pansa, sicut est, ad virum fortissimum et omnium clarissimum liberandum, tamen rerum natura coget te necessario referre animum aliquando ad Dolabellam sequendum et partem aliquam in Asiam et Syriam derivare curae et cogitationis tuae. Si autem fieri posset, vel plures te animos habere vellem, quos omnes ad Mutinam intenderes. Quod quoniam fieri non potest, isto te animo, quem habes praestantissimum atque optimum, nihil volumus nisi de Bruto cogitare. Facis tu id quidem et eo maxime incumbis, ut intelligo: duas tamen res, magnas praesertim, non modo agere uno tempore, sed ne cogitando quidem explicare quisquam potest. Incitare et inflammare tuum istuc praestantissimum studium, non ad aliam ulla ex parte curam transferre debemus. 

Adde istuc sermones hominum, adde suspiciones, adde invidiam. Imitare me, quem tu semper laudasti: qui instructam ornatamque a senatu provinciam deposui, ut incendium patriae omissa omni cogitatione restringuerem. Nemo ctit practer unum me, quicum profecto, si quid interesse tua putasses, pro summa familiaritate nostra communicasses, qui credat te invito provinciam tibi esse decretam. Hanc, quaeso, pro tua singulari sapientia reprime famam atque officie, ne id, quod non curas, cupere videare. Quod quidem eo vehementius tibi laborandum

1. Id enim restabat, &c. Cicero disposes of the apology made for the authors of this proposal, that they would only send Hirtius and Pansa to Asia 'after Brutus was released,' by showing that the only alternative to his release was his desertion, abandonment, betrayal. If they had not used the word 'liberato,' one of the other three must necessarily have been appropriate.

7. Derivare, 'to divert into another channel,' 'to turn some portion of your thoughts and care on Asia and Syria.'

12. Ut intelligo. So Halm, from the reading of two MSS., 'intelligo.' The others omit it. It must be borne in mind that in this portion of the orations the legitimate sphere of conjecture is somewhat enlarged, from the failure of the Vatican MS. See introduction to this oration.

18. Instructam ornatamque, 'excellently ordered and equipped.' See on 10. 4, 9.

19. Deposui. On the expiration of his consulship, Cicero first gave his colleague C. Antonius his province of Macedonia in exchange for that of Gallia Cisalpina, and then resigned this latter in favour of Q. Metellus Celer. See Fam. 5, 2, 3; and cp. in Pis. 2, 5. 'Ego provinciam Galliam senatus auctoritate exercitu et pecunia instructam et ornatam, quam cum Antonio commutavi, quod ita existimabam tempora rei publicae ferre, in contione deposui reclamante populo Romano.'

21. Quicum profecto, &c. This clause contains the proof, to Cicero's mind, that Pansa was innocent of all complicity in the proposal; for in any matter concerning his interests he would have been sure to consult so dear a friend as Cicero.
est, quia in candem cadere suspicionem collega, vir clarissimus, non potest. Nihil horum scit, nihil suspicatur; bellum gerit, in acie stat, de sanguine et de spiritu decertat: ante provinciam sibi decetam audiet quam potuerit tempus ei rei datum suspicari. Vereor ne exercitus quoque nostris, qui non dilectus necessitate, sed voluntariis studiis se ad rem publicam contulerunt, tardentur animis, si quidquam aliiud a nobis nisi de instanti bello cogitatum putabunt. Quod si provinciae consulibus expetendae videntur, sicut saepe multis clarissimis viris expetitae sunt, reddite prius nobis Brutum, lumen et decus civitatis: qui ita conservandus est, ut illud signum, quod de ccelo delapsum Vestae custodiis continetur: quo salvo salvi sumus futuri. Tunc vel in caelum vos, si fieri potuerit, umeris nostris tollemus, provincias certe dignissimas nobis deligemus:


4. Tempus, &c., 'that time could have been spared for the consideration of such a matter.'

9. Multis . . . expetitae sunt, 'have been objects of ambition to many men of the highest renown.' Halm reads 'a multis,' but 'multis' is the dative; see on 6. 1, 1.

11. Illud signum. So Halm, following Ernesti, and the parallel of the similar passage pro Scarr. fr. 48 'Palladium illud, quod quasi pignus nostrae salutis atque imperii custodiis Vestae continetur.' The MSS. have 'id signum.' For an account of the Palladium see Ov. Fast. 6. 419 foll.

18. An id exspectamus quoad ne, &c. Of the confused readings of the MSS., 'quo ante, quo, quo nec, quo ne,' the best two emendations seem to be that in the text, adopted by Halm, from W. Christ; and that of Lambinus, 'an id tempus exspectamus quo ne,' &c. Without 'tempus,' 'id' must either mean the coming of the Consul, implied in 'quando veniet,' or the circumstances defined in the following clause, the utter destruction of the cities of Asia. In either case 'quoad' would give a satisfactory construction, while 'quo' would be unintelligible. The conjecture of Lambinus gives the simplest sentence, but is a more violent interference with the MSS. In any case the sense is clear: 'is it that we are waiting till no vestige of the states and cities of Asia be left?'

20. De suo numero, 'of their own rank,' 'some consular.' But Cicero points out that this is more objectionable than the former proposal; if it was undesirable that the senate should appoint a private citizen to such a post, how much worse was it that he should be appointed by the sole authority of the Consuls. The worthiness of the man appointed was beside the question.

23. Eum, sc., one more worthy than Servilius.

24. Putavi is the conjecture of Madvig,
adopted by Halm, for the MS, reading 'putat.' With the common reading, 'ipse' is generally understood of Servilius, who, Cicero says (c. 9, 20), was unwilling to accept the office. The opposition however of Servilius and Cicero would be unmeaning, whereas the full force of each pronoun, as referring to Cicero, is clearly seen by placing the clauses in their natural order; 'am I a man to approve of a command being given by the decision of an individual, which I have myself held should not be given even by the senate?'

3. Qui praeterea, &c. Cicero acknowledges the importance of the crisis, that it requires a man of weight, reputation, and approved loyalty, with an army at his back; and therefore virtually admits that an extraordinary appointment might conceivably have been necessary; but he would maintain that such a man would commonly be found among the Roman officers, and asserts that as a matter of fact there were at present two, most fully qualified, to choose between.

cc. 11, 12. There were only two men really eligible for the post, both already holding office, and possessed of adequate abilities. These were M. Brutus and C. Cassius. And as Brutus had already work enough on hand in defending Macedonia against C. Antonius, a task which he had taken on himself, in his zeal for the welfare of the state, it remained to give authority to Cassius to act against Dolabella. For this authority indeed he had not waited, having gone to Syria in obedience to that insight into his country's true interests which justified a man in disregarding written laws. Cicero accordingly proposes that Cassius should have the government of Syria, with full authority to levy all the troops and money needed for the war with Dolabella.

6. Sicut multa in consulibus, sc. 'decernuntur,' 'after the fashion of many decrees in the case of the Consuls, my proposal would be that Brutus and Cassius should take the command, one or both of them, as might be most convenient.' This is Halm's conjecture, from the reading of one MS., 'multa consulib.' To the same effect is the conjecture of Klotz, 'sicut multi consules,' 'as many do of the Consuls.' The common reading, 'sicut multa, consules alterum ambosve,' 'I should propose, following many previous decrees, that the Consuls, separately or together, take the command,' exactly contradicts his previous argument.

7. Ni... colligassemus, &c., 'had we not bound Brutus to remain in Greece; the word being apparently chosen for its opposition to 'expedito homine.'

8. Non ut ex ea acie, &c., 'not that we might have a place to fly to from that scene of action, but that the army there might itself have something to support it from beyond the sea.' The meaning seems to be that Cicero does not wish the forces under Hirtius to entertain the idea of flight to Greece in case of failure, but only to feel that there were forces there which might support them if they were hard beset. Madvig (Jahn's Jahrbücher für 1856, p. 124), to bring this out more clearly, would adopt the conjecture of Ferrarius, 'non ut eo ex acie,' &c., 'Ex acie, quae in Italia contra Antonium instruatur et pugnet, ad M. Brutum et in Gracciam resiç non vult, ne in eo respectu fugae cogitatione lateat, sed ipsam illam Italicam aeiem subsidio Brutii et Graeciae firmari.' For the use of 'respectus' cp. 10. 4, 9 'Respectum pulcherrimum et praesisidium firmissimum,' and Liv. 42. 46 'Quae serva atque obnoxia fore, si nullus alio sit quam ad Romanos respectus.' Halni would strike out 'acie' and 'acies,' so that 'ea' and 'ipsa' should both refer to Italy.

II. Apolloniam, &c. Apollonia, Byllis,
magnum urbem et gravem, tenet, opinor, Byllidem, tenet Aman-
tiam, instat Epiro, urget Oricum, habet aliquot cohortes, habet equitatum. Hinc sì Brutus erit traductus ad aliud bellum, Graeciam certe amiserimus. Est autem etiam de Brundisio atque illa ora Italicæ providendum. Quamquam miror tam diu morari Antonium; solet enim ipse accipere manicas nec diutius obsidionis metum sustinere. Quod si confecerit Brutus et interlexerit plus se rei publicae profuturum, si Dolabella persequatur, quam si in Graecia maneat, aget ipse per sese, ut adhuc quoque fecit, neque in tot incendii, quibus confestim succurrerendum est, exspectabit senatum. Nam et Brutus et Cassius multis iam in rebus ipse sibi senatus fuit. Necesse est enim in tanta conversione et perturbatione omnium rerum temporibus potius parere quam moribus. Nec enim nunc primum aut Brutus aut Cassius salutem libertatemque patriae legem sanctissimam et morem optimum iudicavit. Itaque si ad nos nihil referetur de Dolabella persequendo, tamen ego pro decreto putarem, cum essent tales virtute, auctoritate, nobilitate † summi

and Amanitia were all in Illyric Graecæ (see 10. 5. 11 note), and apparently, as well as Epiro and its port of Oricum, out of the jurisdiction of C. Antonius, even granting his right to the province of Macedonia. Ferrarius reads 'Illyricum' instead of 'Oricum,' urging, in addition to some MS. authority, that Cicero would not have so mixed up the names of towns and countries as to mention Epiro between Amanitia and Oricum. But it seems more natural to introduce a chief town in Epiro after mentioning the province, than to return to Illyricum after passing to Epiro; while it is hardly consistent to say, 'he is pressing on Illyricum,' after stating that three of its cities were actually in his hands. Halm quotes the extant MSS. as unanimous in favour of 'Oricum.'

2. Aliquot cohortes. Seven, according to 10. 6. 13; but Cicero here suppresses the number, probably to make his forces seem of more importance.

6. Accipere manicas, to put on his gloves, and start on such journeys of his own accord, without waiting to be driven out by stress of war. These gloves are probably mentioned with contempt, to show the effeminacy of the man; cp. Pliny Ep. 3. 5. 15 'Ad latus notarius, cuius manus hieue manicis muniebantur, ut ne cxeli quidem asperitas ullum studiis tempus eriperet.'

7. Quod si confecerit. Halm suggests 'quiem si confecerit;' but the word may well be used without an expressed object, 'if he gets his work finished,' as it is employed with reference to bargains; cp. Att. 12. 19, 1 'Confectis de columnis,'

9. Adhuc quoque: in assuming the command of the legions of Vathius. See on 10. 5. 12.

14. Quam moribus, 'than to the customary rules of conduct.' Cp. Off. 1. 10, 31 'elicidant saepe temporae, cum ea, quae maxime videntur digna esse iusto homine coque quem virum bonum dicimus commutatur funque contraria.' Nec nunc primum, &c. An allusion probably to their share in Caesar's death.

18. Tales virtute, &c. 'Aut summi abundat, quod non credo, aut legendum summa; aut pro tales, tall, aut alium mendum subest' (Faenius). That the passage is corrupt to some extent is admitted by all commentators, but it seems as though the fault lay deeper than in any single word, since the clause 'cum essent,' &c, hardly gives a grammatical explanation of 'pro decreto putarem.' Yet I should consider that we had as good as a decree, when there were found men of such surpassing merit in respect of birth, and influence, and valour, of whose armies one is already close at hand,
ORATIO PHILIPPICA XI.


within our cognizance, and the other is known to us by fame.'

4. Alienam. The province of Macedonia had originally been given to Brutus, but was transferred by the senate to M. Antonius after Caesar's death. This arrangement Cicero apparently acknowledges as valid, since it also constituted the title of Brutus to Crete. The subsequent transference of Macedonia to C. Antonius we have seen him repudiate (10.5, 10 foll.). If by the term 'alienam' Cicero meant to signify the province of Hortensius, as Manius supposes, he could not have talked of Crete as belonging to Brutus.


7. Tanto parricidio oblītum, stained with the murder of Trebonius.

12. Ut . . . haberentur, 'on the principle that everything beneficial to the state should be considered lawful and just.' The dependent clause expresses that in which the justice of the matter shows itself; cp. Pers. 5. 98

'Publica lex hominum naturaque continet hoc fas,
Ut tenēat vetitos inscita debilis actus;'

and see Madv. §. 374.

13. Est enim lex. Cp. de Legg. 1. 6, 18

'Lex est ratio summa, insita natura, quae fubet ea quae facienda sunt prohibetque contraria.' In both definitions Cicero is rather setting forth the principle on which law ought to be grounded, than the nature of law itself; and he was too good a lawyer and too practical a man not to know the utter confusion which would ensue, if every one were allowed to regulate his conduct by his own interpretation of the principles of the law of nature, instead of obeying his country's laws. The real justification for the conduct of Cassius is not to be found in special pleading such as Cicero's, but in the generally admitted truth that in a great crisis the executive authority must set itself above the laws, and leave it to its fellow-citizens to judge whether the emergency required such unlawful conduct.

17. Ea . . . firmetur, 'that this law may be confirmed.' Halm, following Bake, reads 'firmetur,' as though 'ea' were 'the whole conduct of Cassius.'

20. Iudicati sint. 'Hesterno die,' c. 7, 16.
senatus P. Dolabellam bello persequendum censuerit, ut is, qui omnia deorum hominumque iura novo, inaudito, inexpiabili scelere polluerit nefarioque se patriae parricidio obstrinexterit, poenas dis hominibusque meritas debitasque persolvat: senatui placere C. Cassium pro consule provinciam Syriam obtinere, ut qui optimo iure cam provinciam obtinuerit; eum a Q. Marcio Crispo pro consule, L. Statio Murco pro consule, A. Allieno legato exercitum accipere cosque ei tradere, cumque iis copiis et si quas praeterea paraverit bello P. Dolabellam terra mari-que persequi; eius belli gerendi causa, quibus ei videatur, naves, nautas, pecuniam ceteraque, quae ad id bellum gerendum pertineant, ut imperandi in Syria, Asia, Bithynia, Ponto ius potestatemque habeat, utique, quamcumque in provinciam eius belli gerendi causa advenerit, ibi maius imperium C. Cassii pro consuie sit, quam eius erit, qui eam provinciam tum obtinebit, cum C. Cassius pro consule in cam provinciam venerit: regem Deiotarum patrem et regem Deiotarum filium, si, ut multis bellis saepe numero imperium populi Romani iuverint, item C. Cassium pro consule copiis suis opibusque iuvissent, senatui populoque Romano gratum esse facturos: itemque si ceteri reges, tetrarchae dynastaeque secissent, senatum populumque Romanum eorum offici non immemorem futurum: utique C. Pansa A. Hirtius consules, alter ambo, si eis vidicetur, re publica recuperata de provinciis consularibus, praelorii, ad hunc ordinem primo quoque tempore referant: interea provinciae ab iis, a qui-

7. Crispo. Crispus was properly proconsul in Bithynia, but had come to Syria to assist L. Murcus against Caecilius Bassus. They had both been adherents of Caesar, and had been sent out to the East as proconsuls without having previously held the consulate. Cassius gratefully acknowledges their support in a letter to Cicero, Fam. 12. 11, 1, written on the 7th of March, and therefore not received when this oration was delivered. In the same letter he says that the legions which Allienus brought from Egypt, at the request of Dolabella, had been given over to him, but we learn from Appian (4. 59) that this was not without resistance, so that Cicero's conviction that Allienus was anxious to abandon Dolabella (c. 13, 32) proved to be ill grounded.

10. Eius belli gerendi, &c. In this clause Cicero passes from the construction of the accusative with the infinitive to that of 'ut' with the subjunctive; cp. 3. 15, 37.

The general construction of the clause is, 'and I move that for the purpose of carrying on this war he should have the right and power of demanding in Syria, Asia, &c., the ships, sailors, and so forth, with which it may seem good to him to carry on the war.'

16. Deiotarum patrem. See on 2. 37. 93 foll. Deiotarus was a very old man in 54 B.C., but lived to join the side of Brutus and Cassius in 42 B.C. Both father and son received the title of king from Caesar. Cp. pro Deiot. 13. 36.

23. Re publica recuperata, 'when the state is re-established,' by the overthrow of Antony.
bus obtinentur, obtineantur, quod cuique ex senatus consulto successum sit.


1. Quoad cuique, &c. Cp. 3. 15, 38. c. 13. Such a decree would encourage C. Cassius and his troops, which even now were numerous. Besides the Roman forces at his disposal, he could command the assistance of the two Deiotari, those constant allies of the Roman people; and of the Phoenician fleet, which would willingly aid him in consequence of his exploits against the Parthians.

5. Videtis. Ferrarius suggested 'vidistis,' with reference to Caesar's murder; a reading supported by Ernesti, from its agreement with 'audistis.' But the difference of tense naturally follows from hearing being a momentary, seeing a continuous operation of the senses; and they may fairly be said to 'see' the state of Cassius' mind, which Cicero had so clearly laid before them.

6. Fortes et constantes viri ... sivissent. This is the reading of the existing MSS., except that one at Oxford has 'passi suissent.' Madvig (Jahn's Jahrbücher for 1856, p. 124) thinks that something has fallen out, since even if we adopt with Halm the common emendation, 'fortis et constantis ... sivisset,' there is a double awkwardness; first in recurring to the virtues of Cassius, instead of proceeding to enumerate his forces, and secondly in the omission of the names of Q. Marcii Crispus and L. Statius Murcus. His most plausible conjecture is, 'copiae quas audistis [primum eae legiones, quas Q. Marcii, L. Statii habent], fortis,' &c.

7. Familiaris, &c. It seems very doubtful whether this is the same man that was legatus of Q. Cicero in Asia 60 B.C.; and Cicero is so fond of claiming every man of any note as his very good friend that not much weight can be attached to such expressions of intimacy.

8. Profecto. So Halm, following the suggestion of W. Christ. The common reading is 'profectus,' but Trebonius was only killed in February, and Allienus, before the 7th of March (Fam. 12. 11. 1), had joined Cassius, while returning from a mission which Dolabella had given him to Egypt.

9. Q. Caecilii Bassi. Bassus was at this time entrenched in Apaneia, having assumed the title of praetor in 46 B.C., and successfully resisted hitherto all the forces sent against him. On the arrival of Cassius in Syria, the troops of Bassus joined him, but Bassus himself was allowed to leave the country.

12. Nostro more institutus, 'organised according to our principles.' Cp. Att. 6. 1, 14 'Deiotaros habet cohortes quadringenarias, nostra armatura, XXX.' Orelli, following one early edition, reads 'instruitus,' but all the MSS. have 'institutus,' and this is more appropriate, being the word that would signify the furnishing with principles, while 'instruere' would rather express the application of those principles to particular cases. 'Instituere' est ad recte aedium dirigere, et quasi in honesta re monstrata statuere et collocare: instruere est ornare, et quasi apparare.' (Forcell. s.v.) Hence 'instituere exercitum' is 'to organise the constitution of an army; 'instruere,' 'to prepare it for a particular campaign or battle.'

14. Ipsius aequalis aetati. Deiotaros had been the firm ally of Rome during all

the wars with Mithridates, who first came in conflict with the Romans in 89 B.C.

2. Sulla, Murena, Lucullus, the conquerors of Mithridates in the three wars with him respectively. P. Servilius Vatia also found in Deiotarus a useful ally against the Cilician and Isaurian pirates, 78-75 B.C.

8. Finitimis provinciis. Cicero in Cilicia, M. Bibulus in Syria, 51 B.C. In both provinces operations were carried on with success against the Parthians, in Cilicia mainly by Cicero’s brother Quintus, in Syria by C. Cassius as pro-quaestor; cp. c. 14.

12. Contra ac Deiotarum sensit: Deiotarus having throughout taken the part of Pompey.

16. Classes. Cassius himself, in a letter to Cicero (Fam. 12. 13, 3), says he obtained what ships he could from the coasts of the province of Asia and the islands; and he speaks of the fleet of a namesake of his, probably his nephew L. Cassius, as being ‘classis bene magna:’ ib. § 4. The prestige of Cassius among the Phocicians was due to his prowess in the Parthian war, as quaestor to M. Crassus.

cc. 14. 15. To the charge of over-praising Cassius, Cicero answers that nothing would induce him to praise any who were traitors to the state; and he ends by a protest against a slavish subservience to the veterans, as if they were the only powerful body in the state, while he shows that even of the veterans it was only those that had espoused the cause of Antony whom the honours given to C. Cassius could possibly offend.

21. Pacorus was the son of Orodes I, king of Parthia, and entrusted by him with the command of the campaign against Cassius, after the death of Crassus. The reading of all the extant MSS. is ‘Parthorum nobilissimos duces,’ the reading in the text being from a MS. quoted by Ursinus. It is adopted by Halm in consequence of ‘Parthorum’ occurring again so soon, though he thinks that perhaps the right reading is ‘Pacori, Parthorum nobilissimi ducis.’

22. Maximam laudem: his share in Caesar’s death.

3. Exaudivi. Halm reads 'exaudiri,' from a MS. reading 'exaurdiri,' but with what sense it is not easy to see. The common reading is 'dici iam a quibusdam exornari,' the last word being found in three MSS., the remainder supplied by Naugerus. I have preferred, following Kayser, to strike out the 'r' in 'exaudirii,' believing that thus good sense is obtained with little recourse to conjecture, and that the words 'nimium Cassium,' which are found in all the MSS., though suspected by Garatonius and Halm (who places them in brackets), are justified. In c. 8, 20 he says he hears whispers ('exaudio') that he is guilty of inconsistency in having voted for conferring an extraordinary command upon Octavianus. So now, referring back to that, he says: 'I have even heard it whispered, senators, that Brutus and Cassius are too much praised by me, nay that to Cassius my proposal gives absolute and irresponsible authority.' And the words in § 37, 'hoc enim vel maxime exaudio,' seem to refer to some more recent whispers than those about Octavianus. The suggestion of Naugerus seems to be confuted by the singular verb 'inquit,' in § 37, the subject of which must be the whisperer of this passage.

10. Censorinum. See on c. 5, 11.
11. Sectorem, 'a broker,' 'a purs-

chas of confiscated property.' See on 2. 15, 39.

Naufragia, 'the other wrecks,' cp. 13, 2, 3. 'Addite illa naufragia Caesaris amicorum.'

15. Ego autem, &c., 'now I grant that I am bound to respect the interests of the veterans, that is, the loyal ones; to fear them I am assuredly in nowise bound.' Halm places only a comma after 'sanitas est,' as though 'eos' depended on 'timere,' but Cicero would not acknowledge any obligation to fear any of the veterans, while his following argument is all intended to show that even in the duty of respecting their interests there was a limit, since those interests might be forfeited by treason. Of the two adversative particles, 'autem' is opposed to the view of Cicero's conduct suggested by his opponent, 'sed' to the universal implied in 'veteranos.' 'He warns me not to give the veterans offence, but I am only anxious for their interests, yet not the interests of all, for it is only for the loyal that I need to care.'

18. Auctorem, 'who guaranteed the benefactions of his father;' undertaking out of his own resources to pay the legacies of Caesar, which Antony, though in possession of his money, had repudiated. Some MSS. have 'auctoritate,' which, if it mean anything,
norum, Hodieque rem publicam defendunt cum magno periculo, non tuceri solum, sed etiam augere commodis debeo. Quia autem quiescunt, ut septima, ut octava legio, in magna gloria et laude ponendos puto. Comites vero Antonii, qui postquam beneficia Caesaris comederunt, consulem designatum obsident, huic urbi ferro ignique mimitantur, Saxae se et Cafoni tradiderunt, ad facinus praedamque natis, num quis est qui tuendos putet? Ergo aut boni sunt, quos etiam ornare, aut quieti, quos conservare debemus, aut impii, quorum contra furorem bellum et iusta arma cepimus. Quorum igitur veteranorum animos ne offendamus veremur? Eorumne, qui D. Brutum obsidione cuperiunt liberare? quibus cum Bruti salus cara sit, qui possunt Cassii nomen odisse? An eorum, qui utrisque armis vacant? non vero ne acerbus civis quisquam istorum sit, qui otio deductantur. Tertio vero generi non militum veteranorum, sed importuniissimorum hostium, cupio quam acerbissimum dolorem inure. Quamquam, patres conscripti, quousque sententias dicesmus veteranorum arbitratur? quod eorum tantum fastidium est, quae tanta arrogantia, ut ad arbitrium illorum imperatores etiam diligamus?

Ego autem—dicendum est enim, patres con-

would mean 'encouraged by remembering his father's benefactions.' This however not only requires a very forced interpretation of the ablative, but requires an awkward reference in 'paternorum,' which in that case would more grammatically refer to the fathers of the veterans than to Caesar.

1. Cum magno periculo. So most of the MSS., though some omit 'cum,' Halm reads 'vitae sua pecico,' from the reading of one MS., 'video epericulo.'

3. Septima. So the extant MSS. Orelli, following MS. authority quoted by Ferrarius, reads 'sexta,' on the ground that the seventh legion as a matter of fact was in the army of Hirtius. See 14. 10, 27. The discrepancy may however be owing to the difference of date, the fourteenth occasion being delivered more than a month later.

4. Postquam . . . comedurunt, &c. Cp. 13. 2, 3. 'Alaudae ceterique veterani, seminariam iidicem decuriae tertiae, qui suis rebus exhaustis, beneficis Caesariis devoratis, fortunas nostras concuperiunt.'

6. Ferro ignique. So all the MSS. here, and in 13. 21, 47. So too Halm, Cat. 21, 1. 'Huic urbi ferro flammaleque mimitantem.' Cp. Sall. Cat. 49, 4. 'Egrediunt ex senatu Caesari gladio mimitarentur.'

In the passage against Catiline some MSS., and in both those from the Philippics some editions have the accusative, but the ablative seems more natural of the instrument with which the threatened evil is to be inflicted. When the evil itself is expressed, it is put in the accusative, as in 6. 4. 10. 'Dicitur mortem patri esse minitatum.' We find the two combined in Ov. M. 2, 169. 'Vohena curvata minitentam cupide vidit.'

13. Qui utrisque armis vacant, 'who assume the arms of neither side.'

14. Civis quisquam. Madvig (Jahn's Jahrb. for 1856, p. 124) thinks there is an error here, as Cicero is not speaking of the veterans being 'acerbi,' but of Cassius offending them, for which purpose he divides them into three classes. He would substitute 'quisquam' or 'cuiquam' for 'quisquam,' and some such word as 'nuntius' for 'civis,' and these alterations are adopted by Kayser. But in fact no alteration is needed, unless it be Halm's suggestion 'civibus,' for in saying that there is no fear of any one of these veterans being virulent, he is merely expressing in other words that there was no fear that they should take offence.

scripti, quod sentio—non tam veteranos intuendos nobis arbitror, quam quid tirones milites, flos Italiae, quid novae legiones ad liberandam patriam paratissimae, quid cuncta Italia de vestra gravitate sentiat. Nihil enim semper floret; aetas succedit actati. Diu legiones Caesaris viguerunt: nunc vigent Pansae, vigent Hirtii, vigent Caesaris filii, vigent Planci; vincunt numero, vincunt actatibus: nimirum etiam auctoritate vincunt; id enim bellum gerunt, quod ab omnibus gentibus comprobatur. Itaque his praemia promissa sunt, illis persoluta. Fruantur illi suis, persolvantur his quae spopondimus: id enim deos immortales spero aequissimum iudicare. Quae cum ita sint, eam quam dixi sententiam vobis, patres conscripti, censeo comprobandum.

9. *Fruantur illi suis,* 'let us leave the veterans in possession of what they have already.' So Halm from a MS. reading 'illisues.' The common reading is 'fruantur his illi,' which is improbable, in consequence of the following 'his.'
INTRODUCTION

TO THE TWELFTH ORATION.

After the debate in the senate which gave occasion to the eleventh Philippic oration, Cicero proceeded to the forum, and being introduced to the people there assembled by M. Servilius, a tribune of the commons, he told them what had taken place. According to his own account his eulogies on C. Cassius were received with immense enthusiasm, 'tanto clamore consensuque populi, ut nihil umquam simile viderim' (Fam. 12. 7, 1), but the speech is unfortunately lost; so that the twelfth in our series of Philippic orations is really the thirteenth which he delivered.

The partisans of Antony were unceasing in their endeavours to remove the sentence of outlawry which had been decreed against him, and their efforts at this time were aided by the fears entertained by many of the friends of D. Brutus, that if he should fall into Antony's hands he would be treated like Trebonius. Accordingly the Consul, C. Pansa, was prevailed upon to propose that another embassy should be sent to Antony, including amongst its members P. Servilius and Cicero himself. The proposal was agreed to by the senate, apparently without much opposition, but on the following day a second meeting was held to consider some of the details, and then Cicero urged the senate to reconsider its decision, and give up all idea of such an embassy. He shows that a renewal of negotiations could not possibly do any good; that the ardour of generals, soldiers, and citizens alike would be discouraged by such vacillation; that Antony's treatment of the former embassy showed the hopelessness of endeavouring to make terms with him; and that if he were restored, his presence in Rome would make the place too hot for any honest citizens.

As regarded himself, he urges that he was the last man who should have been selected for the purpose, as the enmity between himself and Antony had gone too far to allow of any peaceful intercourse between
them. His presence would not only destroy the little chance that there was of the embassy proving successful, but would be attended with the greatest danger to himself, and he could much better serve his country by watching over its interests at home, than by throwing away his life in fruitless attempts at negotiation with his enemy.

The senate were prevailed upon by Cicero's arguments to abandon the project of an embassy, and Pansa shortly afterwards, about the end of March, left Rome with his army to join his colleague and Octavianus before Mutina.
M. TULLII CICERONIS
ORATIONUM PHILIPPICARUM
LIBER DUODECIMUS.

1 ETSI minime decere videtur, patres conscripti, falli, decipi, errare eum, cui vos maximis saepe de rebus assentiebamini, consolor me tamen, quoniam vobiscum pariter et una cum sapientissimo consule erravi. Nam cum duo consulares spem honestae pacis nobis attulissent, quod erant familiares M. Antonii, quod domestici, nosse aliquod eius vulnus, quod nobis ignotum esset, videbantur. Apud alterum uxor, liberi : alter quotidie litteras mittere, accipere, aperte favere Antonii. Hi subito hortari ad pacem, quod iam diu non fecissent, non sine causa videbantur. Accessit consul hortator. At qui consul! Si prud dentiam quaerimus, qui minime falli posset : si virtutem, qui

cc. 1, 2. Cicero had consented to the proposal of sending a second embassy to Antony, partly in deference to the opinion of Pansa, and of the two men who were most likely to know how Antony would receive it; partly from seeing that Antony's family and friends showed less confidence than usual. Reflection had proved to him that he was wrong. They had been deceived by ambiguous expressions, and there was really no reason to suppose that Antony was inclined to yield. P. Servilius had also acknowledged that he was wrong in consenting to go upon the embassy, and was even afraid that his consent should be interpreted as treason; and therefore Cicero urges the senate to reconsider their decree.

1. Falli, decipi. From this beginning, as well as from the fact of his having been proposed as one of the envoys, we may gather that Cicero had been at first favourable to the idea of sending this second embassy to Antony. The general question had probably been already voted on, and he took the opportunity of the names of the envoys being submitted to the senate to express his change of views. From cc. 2, 6, 7, 18 we learn that the other envoys proposed were L. Piso, Q. Fufius Calenus, L. Caesar, P. Servilius, and the Consul, C. Pansa.

2. Assentiebamini. So Halm from one MS. for the common reading 'assentiamini,' the mood being more suitable to the definite reference to Cicero himself, and the tense to 'saepe.'

4. Consule, C. Pansa. The two consulars are L. Piso and Q. Fufius Calenus.

6. Aliquod eius vulnus, &c., 'something which had befallen him, without our knowing it.'

8. Litteras mittere, &c. So in 7, 2, 5 Calenus is represented as Antony's active agent in Rome, receiving and circulating his despatches.

10. Qui consul! 'what a Consul!' So better than 'Quis consul?' 'who was the Consul in question?' See on 1, 6, 13.
nullam pacem probaret nisi concedente atque victo: si magnitudinem animi, qui praeserret mortem servituti. Vos autem, patres conscripti, non tam immemores vestrorum gravissimorum decerorum videbamini, quam spe allata dictionis, quam amici pacem appellare mallent, de imponentibus, non accipiendo legisbus cogitare. Auxerat autem meam quidem spem, credo item vestram, quod domum Antonii afflictam maestitiam audiebam, lamentari uxorum * *. Hic etiam fautores Antonii, quorum in vultu habitant oculi mei, tristiorcs videbamus. Quod si non ita est, cur a Pisone et Caleno potissimum, cur hoc tempore, cur tam improviso, cur tam repente pacis est facta mentio? Negat Piso scire se, negat audisse quidquam, negat Calenus rem ullam novam allatam esse. Atque id nunc negant, postea quam nos pacificatoria legatione implicatos putant. Quid ergo opus est novo consilio, si in re nihil omnino novi est? Decepti, inquam, sumus, patres conscripti: Antonii est acta causa ab amicis eius, non publica. Quod videbamus quidem, sed quasi per caliginem: praestrinxerat aciem animi D. Bruti salus. Quod si in bello dari vicarii solorent, libenter me, ut D. Brutus emitteretur, pro illo includi paterer. Atque hac voce Q. Fufii capti sumus: ‘ne si a Mutina quidem recesserit, audiemus Antonium? ne si in senatus quidem potestate futurum se dixerit?’ Durum videbatur: itaque fracti sumus, cessimus. Recedit igitur a Mutina? ‘Nescio.’ Paret senatui? ‘Credo,’ inquit Calenus, ‘sed ita, ut teneat dignitatem.’ Valde hercules

1. Concedente atque victo. Other readings are ‘concedenti,’ the dative; and ‘Antonio concedente;’ but that in the text has most authority, and is quite intelligible as a ablative absolute, without the subject being expressed.

5. Appellare mallent. So Halm, from an old conjecture formed out of the reading ‘appellarem alieni.’ Other MSS. have ‘appellarent alieni,’ which, if genuine, would imply that some word, opposed to ‘pacem,’ had dropped out before ‘appellarent.’ This seems not improbable, though the obvious word ‘dedilio’ sufficiently accounts for the introduction of the pathetic clause.

8. Uxorern * *. ‘Suspicor hic aliquid excidisse, quod sit ex eodem genere. Nimis abruptum est hoc: infra quidem (c. 2, 5) liber commemorantur.’ ERNESTI. Halm agrees with this view, and Kayser marks the lacuna.

In vultu habitant, &c. ‘on whose countenance my eyes continually dwell.’ Cp. Or. 15, 49 ‘Quonam modo ille in bonis haerebit et habitabit suis.’


18. Praestrinxerat, &c., ‘had destroyed the keenness of my insight.’ Cp. Div. in Caec. 14, 46 ‘Periculum fore ne... praestringat selem ingenii tui.’

19. Vicarii, ‘substitutes.’ The word is more generally used of those who succeed to privileges, than of those who undertake burdens for others; but cp. Verr. Act. 2, 4, 37, 81 ‘Succedam ego vicarius tuo muneri,” and Livy 29. 1 ‘Se quisque excusare, et vicarium accipere.’

22. In potestate. So Halm from one MS. The others have ‘in potestatem,’ which he believes to be impossible. See 3, 4, 8 note.
ORATIO PHILIPPICA XII. 277


13. Maestam . . . suscepissem. A quotation from the speech of P. Servilius, which seems to be referred to above, c. 1, 2. P. Servili. See on 7, 9, 27. Severissimis. So Halm, from an older conjecture, confirmed by 5, 1, 3; 11, 6, 15; for the MS. reading 'verissimis.'
19. Cuius idem, &c., 'knowing how much I am blamed for a course of conduct like your own.'

cc. 3, 4. A second embassy could not possibly do good, and might do endless harm: offending and discouraging all the loyal citizens, both of Rome and of the borough towns, and especially the legions now engaged against Antony, and the inhabitants of Capua,
redeamus in viam. Optimus est portus paenitenti mutatio consilii. Quid enim potest, per deos immortales! rei publicae prodesse nostra legatio? prodesse dico? quid, si etiam obfutura est? obfutura? quid, si iam nocuit atque obfuit? An vos acer-

rimam illam et fortissimam populi Romani libertatis recupe-

randae cupiditatem non immunitam ac debilitatam putatis leg-
gatione pacis audita? Quid municipia censeris? quid colonias? quid cunctam Italiam? futuram eodem studio, quo contra com-
mune incendium exarserat? An non putamus fore ut eos paenitentiam professos esse et praec se tulisse odium in Antonium, qui pecunias polliciti sunt, qui arma, qui se totos et animis et corporibus in salutem rei publicae contulerunt? Quem ad modum nostrum hoc consilium Capua probabit, quae temporibus his Roma altera est? Illa impios cives iudicavit, eiecit, exclusit.

Illi, illi, inquam, urbi fortissime conanti e manibus est ereptus Antonius. Quid? legionum nostrarum nervos nonne his cons-
siliis incidimus? quis est enim qui ad bellum inflammato animo futurus sit spe pacis oblata? Ipsa illa Martia caelestis et divina legio hoc nuntio languescit et molliet atque illud pulcher-

rimum Martium nomen amittet: excidunt gladii, fluent arma de
debere esse in Antonium quam senatum. Pudet huius legionis, pudet quartae, quae pari virtute nostram auctoritatem probans non ut consulem et imperatorem suum, sed ut hostem et oppugnatorum patriae reliquit Antonium: pudet optimi ex-

ercitus, qui coniunctus est ex duobus; qui iam lustratus, qui

profectus ad Mutinam est: qui si pacis, id est timoribus nostri,

who had forcibly excluded him as a rebel from their city. It was moreover most un-

fair to open a negotiation for peace without the concurrence of the generals who were carrying on the war, and of their allies in Gaul, who were joining in it heart and soul.

3. Obfutura? 'do I speak of the fu-
ture?' As in the former clause he re-
jected the idea of the embassy doing good, so here he corrects himself for telling of its evil consequences in the future tense.

14. Impios cives, &c. These were the new colonists whom Antony tried to settle in the territory of Capua, and whom the Capuans succeeded in rejecting both by force of law, and, apparently, by force of arms. Cp. 2. 39, 100 foll.

15. Illi, illi, &c., 'from the strenuous efforts of that city, aye, of Capua, it required force to rescue Antony;' cp. 2. 1. c.: 'Queni-

admodum illinc abieris, vel potius paene non abieris, scimus.'

18. Martia. Cp. 3. 3. 6.

22. Huius legionis, &c., 'we feel shame in the presence of this legion, and the fourth.' See on 2. 25. 61.

26. Ex duobus: the army of Hirtius, who had been joined by the forces under Octavianus.

Lustratus, 'has been solemnly puri-

fied,' as was always done before an army took the field.

§ 7—10. ORATIO PHILIPPICA XII.

I. Ut non referat pedem, 'even supposing it does not retreat.' See Madv. § 440 a. Obs. 4.

Quid enim, &c., 'why should it be in a hurry to engage?' This, which is the reading of the four older MSS, seems preferable to 'Quis,' which Orelli reads from 'i,' as it preserves the notion of the army feeling as one man.

15. Principia firmavit, 'placed the war at its onset on a firm basis.'

20. Quo quondam, &c., 'who in former days were in the same position as Padua.' From the time of the first subjugation of the Boii in 191 B.C., the district of Gaul had been oppressed by the cruelty of one Roman governor after another, till the time of the Social War. As a reward for their fidelity in this war the 'iús Latīi' was given to the Transpadani in 89 B.C., and most probably the 'civitas' to the Cispadani at the same time; as afterwards we hear of their playing an important part in Roman elections (see Att. 1. 1, 2, B.C. 65, 'Videtur in suffragiis multum posse Galliam'); and we know of no occasion between these dates for giving them new privileges.

22. Communicata cum iis republica, 'when they received a share in the franchise.'

cc. 5, 6. Antony had treated with contempt all overtures of peace even while it still was possible; before he had passed beyond all bounds in his demands, and before the senate had branded him as a forger and a thief. His laws indeed had been annulled, but the remembrance of them and of his violence remained; and so far from giving him the province of Further Gaul, the senate, if they consulted the welfare and the dignity of the
Quid? si ne potest quidem ulla esse pax? Quae enim est 5 conditio pacis, in qua ei, cum quo pacem facias. nihil concedi 11 potest? Multis rebus a nobis est invitatus ad pacem Antonius: bellum tamen maluit. Missi legati repugnante me, sed 5 tamen missi; delata mandata: non paruit. Denuntiatum est ne Brutum obsideret, a Mutina discenderit: oppugnavit etiam vehementius. Et ad eum legatos de pace mittemus, qui pacis nuntios repudiavit? Vercundioremne coram putamus in pos- tulando fore, quam fuerit tum, cum misit mandata ad senatum?

10 Atqui tum ea petebat, quae videbantur improba omnino, sed tamen aliquo modo posse concedi; nondum erat vestris tam gravibus tamque multis iudiciis ignominiisque concisus: nunc ea petit, quae dare nullo modo possumus, nisi prius volumus bello nos victos confitteri. Senatus consulta falsa delata ab eo iudi- 12 cavimus: num ea vera possumus iudicare? Leges statuimus per vim et contra auspicia latas isisque nec populum nec plebem teneri: num eas restitui posse censeatis? Sestertium septiens miliens avertisse Antonium pecuniae publicae iudicavistis: num fraudae poterit carere peculatus? Immunitates ab eo civitatis, sacerdotia, regna venierunt: num figentur rursus cae tabulac, quas vos decretis vestris refixistis? Quod si ea, quae decre- 6 vimus, obrule, num etiam memoriam rerum delere possumus?

people, would not let either him or his sup- porters even enter the city with any semblance of a triumph. If they returned, the only choice for honest men would be between slavery and death; and it was most inconsis- tent and undignified in them to place them- selves in such a strait.

7. Pacis nuntios. He uses the term ‘nuntios,’ as though in correction of his former expression, ‘missi legati,’ to carry out consistently the view he had before main- tained, (see 7, 9, 26,) that the previous commis- sioners were not sent to treat with Antony, but merely to convey to him the ultimatum of the senate, and if he rejected that, to declare him a public enemy.

8. Coram, ‘in a personal interview.’

10. Improba omnino, ‘quite uncon- scionable.’

11. Tam gravibus. So Halm, from one MS., for ‘tam gravissimis,’ on the ground that ‘tam’ is not so used with superlatives. In two passages quoted by Graevius, Lael. 23, 86, and Fin. 2, 28, 93, there appears to be no MS. authority for the reading; and in Tac. Ann. 1. 53 ‘Nec alia tam intima Tiberio causa,’ ‘intima’ is vir- tually equivalent to a positive.

12. Concisus, ‘he had not yet received his death blow.’ Cp. 5. 11, 28.


19. Peculatus, ‘embezzlement of public money.’

Ab eo venierunt. For the abla- tive of the agent after ‘veneo,’ cp. Quint. 12. 1, 43 ‘Respondit, a civi spoliari malle, quam ab hoste venire.’

20. Figentur rursus. Cp. 5. 4. 12 ‘Earum rerum falsae tabulae gemente populo Romano toto Capitolio figebantur.’ These measures were all cancelled by the senate on the 1st of January, ib, 6, 16.

22. Obruere. Some MSS. have ‘obruere volumus,’ but this gives a false antithesis, laying the emphasis on the contrast between the wish and the power of the senate, instead of on the difference between stultifying their former measures, and making the world forget what had taken place. The one was possible, though inexpedient, the other quite beyond their power.
ORATIO PHILIPPICA XII.

quando enim obliviscetur ulla posteritas, cuius scelere in hac vestitus foeditate fuerimus? Ut centurionum legionis Martiae Brundisii profusus sanguis eluat, num elui praedicatio crudelitatis potest? Ut media praeteream, quae vetustas tollet operum circum Mutinam taetra monimenta, sceleris indicia latrociniique 5
vestigia? Huic igitur importunum atque impuro parricidae quid habemus, per deos immortales! quod remittamus? An Galliam ultimam et exercitum? quid est aliud non pacem facere, sed differre bellum? nec solum propagare bellum, sed concedere etiam victoriam? An ille non vicerit, si quacumque conditione 10 in hanc urbem cum suis venerit? Armis nunc omnia tenemus; auctoritate valemus plurimum; absunt tot perditi cives, nefarium secuti ducem: tamen eorum ora sermonesque, qui in urbe ex eo numero relicti sunt, ferre non possumus. Quid censetis? cum tot uno tempore irruperint, nos arma posuerimus, illi non 15 deposuerint, nonne nos nostris consiliis victos in perpetuum fore? Ponite ante oculos M. Antonium consularem; sperantem consulatum Lucium adiungite; supplete ceteros, neque nostri ordinis solum, honores et imperia meditantes; nolite ne Tirones quidem, Numisios, Mustelas, Seios contemnere. Cum iis facta 20 pax non erit pax, sed pactio servutitis. L. Pisonis, amplissimi viri, praeclara vox a te non solum in hoc ordine, Pansa, sed etiam in contione iure laudata est. Excessurum se ex Italia dixit, deos penates et sedes patrias relieturum, si—quod di 7 omen averterint!—rem publicam oppressisset Antonius, Quaero 25

2. Vestitus foeditate. They were still wearing the ‘sagum,’ the melancholy witness of a civil war. Cp. 8. 11, 32.
3. Profusus sanguis. See 3. 2, 4 note.
5. Taetra monimenta, ‘the foul records of his works about Mutina;’ to be found in the remains of his siege operations.
8. Quid est aliud. See on 1. 9, 22.
9. Propagare bellum, ‘to prolong the war.’ Cp. Fam. 5. 15, 3 ‘Propagatio miserrimi temporis.’
10. Si quacumque. The later MSS. omit ‘si,’ and Madvig (§ 87. Obs. 1) limits this use of ‘quacumque,’ as practically equivalent to ‘quivis,’ from the suppression of the verb of possibility, to the expression ‘quacumque ratione.’ Cp. however Att. 3. 21 ‘Te oro ut quacumque in partem quam planissime ad me scribas.’
18. Supplete ceteros, &c. Those already named had some pretensions to distinction, being senators, though unworthy ones; but there were many others aiming at high civil and military officers, who had not even reached the senate.
20. Numisios. The name of Numisius does not occur elsewhere; nor does that of Seius, though Halm thinks he is probably the same man whose name occurs with many varieties of reading in 13, 12, 26, and whom he there calls Insteius. For Tiro and Mus tela cp. 2. 4. 8.
25. Averterint, ‘may the gods already have diverted from us.’ Some of the later MSS. have ‘averterent,’ as though the words

Quod si habenda cum M. Antonii latrocino pacis ratio fuit, mea tamen persona ad istam pacem conciliandam minime fuit deligenda. Ego nonquam legatos mittendos censui; ego ante reditum legatorum ausus sum dicere, Pacem ipsam si afferrent, quoniam sub nomine pacis bellum lateret, repudiandam; ego princeps sagorum; ego semper illum appellavi hostem, cum ali

were part of the quotation from Piso's speech; but the fact that the words of ill omen were merely quoted by Cicero, accounts for his throwing back his wish to the time when they were originally uttered.

c. 7, 8. Even if the embassy were sent, Cicero was the last person who should have been appointed to negotiate for peace. He had shown himself the bitter and unspiring enemy of Antony, and was therefore most unlikely to prevail with him, while the expedition could not but involve the greatest danger and annoyance to himself. His loyalty made him shrink from intercourse with men so stained with every kind of guilt; and even if he had little regard for his own life, still it was of too great importance to the state to be endangered needlessly.

9. Non solum audivit, &c., 'not only heard, but learned by heart the lesson.'

12. Excussimus, 'we have sited out the finest of our youth from the whole of Italy.' Op. pro Mur. 12, 26 'In manibus iactata et excusa.' The later MSS. have 'excivimus,' but 'excussimus' is quoted and explained by Nonius (p. 299) as being equivalent to 'elegimus.'

13. Si accipiendam, &c., 'if the object of the embassy is to sue for peace on Antony's terms, why does not that appear on the face of the motion? and if it is to dictate terms, what have we to fear?'

15. Ad id consilium, 'shall I mix myself up in such a policy?'

22. Pacem ipsam, 'the goddess Peace herself.'

24. Princeps sagorum. Cicero had urged that the military dress should be assumed as early as the 1st of January, (see 5. 12, 32,) though it was not till the return of the ambassadors that his advice was followed (8. 11, 32).
adversarium, semper hoc bellum, cum aliis tumultum. Nec haec in senatu solum; eadem ad populum semper egi: neque solum in ipsum, sed in eius socios facinorum et ministros, et praesentes et eos qui una sunt, in toto denique M. Antonii domum sum 18 semper invectus. Itaque ut alacres et laeti spe pacis oblata 5 inter se impii cives, quasi vicissent, gratulabuntur, sic me ini- quum eierabunt, de me querebantur: diffidebant etiam Servilio; meminerant eos sententii consilium Antonium: L. Caesarem, fortem quidem illum et constantem senatorem, avunculum tamen, Calenum procuratorem, Pisonem familiarem: te ipsum, Pansa, 10 vehementissimum et fortissimum consulem, factum iam putant leniorem: non quo ita sit aut esse possit, sed mentio a te facta pacis suspicionem multis attulit immutatae voluntatis. Inter has personas me interiectum amici Antonii moleste ferunt: quibus gerendus mos est, quoniam semel liberalae esse coeipimus. 15 8 Proficiscantur legati optimis omnibus, sed ii proficiscantur, in quibus non offendatur Antonius. Quod si de Antonio non laboratis, mihi certe, patres conscripti, consulere debetis. Par- cite oculis saltem meis et aliquam veniam iusto dolori date. Quo enim aspectu videre potero—omitto hostem patriae, ex 20 quo mihi odium in illum commune vobiscum est: sed quo modo adspiciam mihi uni crudelissimum hostem, ut declarant eius de me acerbissimae contiones? Adeone me ferreum pu- tatis, ut cum eo congrudi aut illum adspicere possim? qui nuper,
cum in contione donaret eos, qui ei de parricidis audacissimi videbantur, mea bona donare se dixit Pettissio Urbinati, qui ex naufragio luculentii patrimonii ad haec Antoniana saxa proiectus est. An L. Antonium adspicere potero? cuius ego crudelitatem effugere non potuissem, nisi me moenibus et portis et studio municipii mei defendissem. Atque idem hic myrmillo Asiaticus, latro Italicus, collega Lentonis et Nuculae, cum Aquilae primi pili nummos aureos daret, de meis bonis se dare dixit: si enim de suis dixisset, ne Aquilam quidem ipsum crediturum putavit. Non ferent, inquam, oculi Saxam, Cañom, non duo praetores, non tribunum pl., non duo designatos tribunos, non Bestiam, non Trebellium, non T. Plancum. Non possum animo acquo videre tot tam importunos, tam sceleratos hostes; nec id fit fastidio meo, sed caritate rei publicae. Sed vincam animum mihique imperabo: dolorem justissimum, si non potuero frangere, occultabo. Quid? vitae censetisne, patres conscripti, hабendam mihi aliquam esse rationem? quae mihi quidem minime cara est, praesertim cum Dolabella fecerit ut optanda mors

1. Donaret eos... bona donare. The close conjunction of these two constructions with 'dono' shows the difference between them; the accusative in each case being used of the object whose interests are most prominent in the writer's mind. Antony was considering how he should reward his band of murderers—so far the recipients of his bounty were uppermost in his thoughts, —and then in considering ways and means, the property of Cicerio occurred to him, and for the moment its destination was the chief point to be considered. The first question was whence to find rewards for his followers, the second in what direction to bestow the goods of Cicero. Pettissius of Urbinum is mentioned again among the crew of Antony, 13, 2, 3.

6. Municipii mei, Arpinum. Of this attack of L. Antonius we do not elsewhere hear; but we know that Cicero was at Arpinum in the interval between the first and second Philippic orations, Att. 16, 13 C. 2.

Myrmillo Asiaticus. See 5, 7, 20 note.

7. Colleega Lentonis, in the septemvirate for dividing the public lands.

Aquilae primi pili. As 'primi pili' is nowhere else found without 'centurio,' expressed or easily understood, it is probable either that 'centurion' has dropped out, (cp. pro Balb. 15, 34,) or that Cicero wrote 'primipilo,' as Garatonius and Halm suppose. In Livy 7, 42 'Primus centurio erat, quem nunc primi pili vocant,' 'centurio' may be so readily supplied from the preceding words, that it furnishes no authority for the use of the expression in a passage like the present. Some have thought that Aquila is not a proper name, but expresses the soldiers of the first maniple gathered under their standard. Putting aside, however, the un-Ciceronian nature of such an expression, 'aquila' is only used of the standard of the whole legion, as opposed to the 'signa' of the several cohorts, and could therefore never be applied in reference to the soldiers of a single maniple. This view seems to have been held by the writers of some of the MSS., which have below 'ne Aquilam quidem ipsam crediturum.'

10. Duo praetores: probably Censorinus, cp. 11, 5, 11, and P. Ventidius Bassus, who was also praetor for this year, and whom we know from the next chapter and from 13, 2, 2 to have been with Antony.

11. Non tribunum plebis. Garatonius thought that this should be struck out, because in 13, 12, when Antony's senate is being described, there are enumerated in it both future and past tribunes, but none for the current year.

Duo designatos tribunos, Tullus Hostilius and one Instieus. See 13, 12, 26.
esset, modo sine cruciatu atque tormentis: vobis tamen et populo Romano vilis meus spiritus esse non debet. Is enim sum, nisi me forte fallo, qui vigiliis, curis, sententiis, periculis etiam, quae plurima adii propter acerbissimum omnium in me odium impiorum, perfeccrim ut non obstarem rei publicae, ne 5 quid arrogantius videar dicere. Quod cum ita sit, nihilne mihi de periculo meo cogitation dum putatis? Hic cum essem in urbe ac domi, tamen multa saepe tentata sunt, ubi me non solum amicorum fidelitas, sed etiam universae civitatis oculi custodient: quid censetis, cum iter ingressus ero, longum praesertim, 10 nullasne insidias extimescendas? Tres viae sunt ad Mutinam, quo festinat animus, ut quam primum illud pignus libertatis populi Romani, D. Brutum, adspicere possim: cuius in complexu libenter extremum vitae spiritum ediderim, cum omnes actiones horum mensum, omnes sententiae meae pervenerint ad eum, qui mihi fuit propositus, exitum. Tres ergo, ut dixi, viae: a supero mari Flaminia, ab infero Aurelia, media Cassia.)

Nunc, quaeso, attendite, num aberret a coniectura suspicio periculi mei. Etruriam discriminat Cassia. Scimusne igitur, Pansa, quibus in locis nunc sit Lentonis Caesennii septemviralis 20

5. Ut non obstarem, &c., ‘that I should not hurt the interests of the state, since modesty prevents my telling all that I have done for it.’
cc. 9, 10. On each of the three roads that led to Mutina Cicero would find a deadly enemy; and therefore the city itself was not without its dangers to him, he would stay at home, on the scene of his continued struggles in his country’s cause. Men of his position were bound to use all due precautions, and not to risk their lives without security.
6. Nihilne de periculo meo, &c. Mr. Forsyth (2. 235) comments on the difference between ancient and modern manners shown in this part of the speech. ‘With us a man who should be selected for a public service of danger would hardly like to confess that the danger alarmed him, or to urge that his life was of too much value to the state to be sacrificed. Yet Cicero did this without scruple.’
11. Ad Mutinam, ‘to the army before Mutina.' See Madv. § 232.
15. Mensum. So Halm, for ‘mensumsum, the reading of the Vatican MS., in which alone the word occurs. This form is common in poetry, cp. Ov. M. 8. 500; Fast. 5. 187 and 424; and Halm quotes it as the probable reading in Fam. 3 6. 5; though Orelli and Baiter there read ‘mensium.’
17. Flaminia. The most direct road to Mutina was the Via Cassia, which ‘passes through the middle of Etruria’ (‘discriminat Etruriam”) passing near Veii, and through Volsumii, Clusium, Florence, and Pistoria. The Via Flaminia, however, leading from Rome in a nearly direct line to Ariminum, and thence bending westward through Bo-nonia, Mutina, and Placentia, to Mediolanum, was the most frequented north road. The Via Aurelia followed the coast of the Mediterranean, which it struck at Alsum, to Pisa, where travellers to Mutina would probably leave it, and pass through Luca to join the Via Cassia at Pistoria.
20. Lentonis, &c., ‘Lenio Caesennius with his authority as septemvir?” See on 11. 7, 13. ‘Caesennii auctoritas’ may be compared with the common Greek peri-thesis βιον ηθοπλησι, &c.
M. TULLII CICERONIS

1. Nee animo, &c., 'he is opposed to us in feeling; as he is personally absent.'

3. Quis igitur, &c., 'who then guarantees to me that Lento will be satisfied with his one murder?'

7. Tenere, though only found in one MS., seems requisite for the sense, as he goes on to state what would be the probable consequence of taking the Flaminian road.

Anconam. The form of this word varies even in the best writers. Cicero elsewhere has 'Anconam' Fam. 16. 12, 2; but 'Anconem' Att. 7. 11, 1.

Ut dicitur, 'as he is said to have done,' not 'as it is said.' We must supply 'venisse.'

9. Habeo. Two MSS. have 'habebo,' but the present tense suits the irony better: 'Here indeed I actually have a guard awaiting me.'

12. Terminalibus, on the 23rd of February, the last day of the old Roman year.

14. Maneo, which is enclosed by Halm in brackets, is omitted by Kavser. It seems to be superfluous, and probably is a copyist's error, as it is only found in the four cognate MSS.

15. Praesidium stativum, 'my permanent station.'

16. Gerant res bellicas. 'Gerant' is Halm's emendation for 'regna,' which seems unmeaning, as no command given to a Roman officer would be called by that obnoxious name.

Oderint hostem. Orelli explains this, 'let them really hate Antony as a public enemy, not feign hatred towards him, while secretly favouring his cause.' Cp. 13. 7, 15 'Odimus, irati pugnamus.' The peculiarity of the expression has led to various conjectures, such as 'adeant,' 'custodiant,' 'fuderint,' but the words 'nam hoc caput est,' omitted in some MSS., seem to refer the audience to something preceding any overt act.

3. Semel circumseussus, &c., ‘once when I was beset by a picked band of the most powerful men, I fell like a skilful combatant, that I might rise again with glory.’ The allusion is probably to the time of his exile in 58 B.C., when finding that Crassus and Pompey, and even Caesar, were abandoning him to the attacks of P. Clodius, he left Rome to return to it within eighteen months amid acclamations and congratulatory addresses. The words ‘circumseussus’ and ‘lectis’ have both been questioned, and at first they seem incongruous, the former being always used of hostile attacks, the latter more generally applied to friends; but it was just the fact that the real leaders of the state were combined against him, which made Cicero yield for the time before the league.

11. Quod . . . non caverit. This charge of want of precaution Cicero has before refuted in 11. 2, 5, by showing that Trebonius had no grounds for suspecting evil designs in Dolabella.

16. Luci. This locative form is common in Plautus, but does not appear else-

where in prose. Lucretius even has it as an ablative, 4. 235 ‘In luci quae poterit res accidere.’

17. Neque . . . valent. ‘do not hold good either at this time or in my case.’

cc. 11, 12. In the city he could guard against the dangers that beset him; but this was out of the question either on his journey through the Apennines, or in a conference with Antony. In him he would find no courteous enemy, but a passionate ruffian, who would certainly kill him if they met on neutral ground, while it was quite impossible for either party to consent to an interview in the camp of the other. Hence conference was only possible by letter, and the result of this must be referred to the senate, so that it could as well be carried on from Rome. He felt sure that his conduct would meet with the approbation of the loyal legions, and, if they took time for reflection, of the veterans as well. He concludes by expressing his willingness to go if called upon, but again urges the duty of preserving his life for more important services.

dederunt: me salvum adhuc res publica conservavit sibi. Timide hoc dicam; scio enim quidvis homini accidere posse: verum tamen semel circumseussus lectis valentissimorum hominum viribus cecidi sciens, ut honestissime possem exsurgere. Possumne igitur satis videri cautus, satis providus, si me huic itineri tam infesto tamque periculoso commisero? Gloriam in morte debent ii, qui in re publica versantur, non culpae reprehensionem et stultitiae vituperationem relinquere. Quis bonus non luget mortem Trebonii? quis non dolet iterum talis et civis et viri? At sunt qui dicant, dure illi quidem, sed tamen dicunt: minus dolendum, quod ab homine impuro nefarioque non caverit. Etenim qui multorum custodem se profiteatur, eum sapientes sui primum capitis aiunt custodem esse oportere. Cum saeptus sis legibus et iudiciorum metu, non sunt omnia timenda neque ad omnes insidias praesidia quaerenda. Quis enim audeat luci, quis in militari via, quis bene comitatum, quis illustrem aggredi? Haec neque hoc tempore neque in me valent: non modo enim poenam non extimescet, qui mihi vim attulerit, sed etiam gloriam sperabit a latronum gregibus et praemia.

Haec ego in urbe prodeo: facilis est circumspectus, unde exexam, quo progrediari, quid ad dexteram, quid ad sinistram sit.

1. In tramitibus, 'in the narrow paths;' cp. 13, 9, 19 'Egressus est non viis sed tramitibus.'
2. De officiis ... attendere. Cp. de Part. Or. 24, 84 'Cum de necessitate attendemus.'
3. Effugi, 'suppose me to have escaped all ambuscades.' See Madv. § 44.2. Obs. 2; and cp. the use of καί δὴ in Greek, as Eur. Med. 388 καί δὴ τεθνάσι.
4. Ceteri viderint, 'let the others look to themselves.'
5. Mortem actutum futuram. So most of the MSS. Halm has a conjecture, 'me vix tutum futurum,' and Kayser suggests 'me vim ac tortorem laturum,' apparently from the reading of one MS. 'me vi ac toto futurum.' The reading in the text seems weak, but the conjectures involve a violent change without much improvement.
6. Sacrilegas; as daring to offer violence to the sacred person of an augur.
7. Cn. Pompeius, the father of the triumvir, was Consul in 89 B.C., in which year he put an end to the Social War. There is a discrepancy in the cognomen of Vettius, who is called Cato by Appian, 1, 40, and Vell. Pat. 2, 16: but Scato occurs as a Marsic name in Cicero's speech de Domō, 44, 116; and the substitution of the well-known name Cato for the rare one of Scato was natural enough in the later writers.
8. Quo quidem. Halm has 'quo quidem tempore,' from a conjecture of Ernesti, which seems to weaken the sentence. 'And to this meeting I remember that Sextus Pompeius himself, the brother of the Consul, came to take part in the conference.' 'Ad colloquium' is added to 'quo,' to define more clearly the purpose for which Sextus came. He was noted for his skill in jurisprudence, cp. Brut. 47, 175 'Sex. frater eius (Cn. Pompeii) praestantissimum ingenium con- tulerat ad summum iuris civilis et ad perfectam geometriae et rerum Stoicarum scientiam.'
9. Sulla cum Scipione. This was in 83 B.C., shortly after Sulla's return from Asia, after conquering Mithridates. Having
num, cum alter nobilitatis florem, alter belli socios adhibuisset, de auctoritate senatus, de suffragiis populi, de iure civitatis leges inter se et conditiones contulerunt. Non tenuit omnino collo-
quiœm illud fidem: a vi tamen periculoque asuit. Possumusne
igitur in Antonii latrocinio acque esse tutti? Non possumus: 5
aut, si ceteri possunt, me posse difcido. Quod si non extra
casta congrediemur, quae ad colloquium castra sumentur? In
nostra ille numquam veniet: multo minus nos in illius. Reli-
quum est ut et accipientur et remittantur postulata per litteras:
ergo erimus in castris. Mea quidem ad omnia postulata una 10
sententia: quam cum hic vobis audientibus dixero, isse et re-
disse me putatote: legationem conferro. Omnia ad senatum
mea sententia reiiciam, quaecumque postulabit Antonius. Ne-
que enim licet aliter, neque permission est nobis ab hoc ordine,
ut bellis consectis decem legatis permitti solet more maiorum, 15
neque ualla omnino a senatu mandata accepimus. Quae cum
agam in consilio, nullis, ut arbitror, repugnantibus, nonne me-
tuendum est ne impera militum multitudo per me pacem
20 distineri putet? Facite hoc meum consilium legiones novas
defeated the other Consul, C. Norbanus, he
offered a truce to L. Scipio, and availed
himself of the intercourse which ensued to
induce the troops of Scipio to desert him.
Scipio was taken prisoner in his tent, and
obliged to resign his consulship as the price
of his liberty.

2. De auctoritate senatus, &c. The
nature of these negotiations may be in-
erred from the measures passed by Sulla
when he obtained absolute authority. He
greatly increased the power of the senate,
especially by transferring the chief military
power from the Consuls and praetors, who
were elected by the people, to the proconsuls
and praetors, who were both appointed
and liable to be dismissed by the senate;
he maintained the rights of all the new citi-
zens, doing away with the distinction
between citizens of Rome and of the borough
towns, and only disfranchising those whose
opposition to him had been most marked:
but he abolished so much of Cinna’s law as
had given the freedmen equal rights of
suffrage with the older citizens. See
Mommsen, Hist. of Rome, vol. 3. c. 10.

3. Contulerunt. The change of con-
struction is noticeable, as though ‘Sulla
Scipioque’ had preceded, instead of Sulla
‘cum Scipione.’

10. Erimus in castris, ‘each in his
own camp.’

12. Confecero, ‘I shall have accom-
plished the purpose of my mission, without
stirring from the spot.’ Most of the MSS.
have ‘confero,’ which is unmeaning.

13. Neque enim licet, &c., ‘for in
fact no other course is lawful, nor has any
such power been given us by the senate, as
is commonly given on the completion of a
war, according to the custom of our ances-
tors, to ten plenipotentiaries, nor have we
received from the senate any commission
enabling us to act.’ Cicero’s argument is
that they were not like the ten commis-
sioners usually sent with full powers to
arrange the settlement of a conquered
country, that they had no authority to
conclude any arrangement with Antony,
and that any proposals of his must still
come before the senate; so that to expose
the lives of eminent men, merely for the
purpose of carrying despatches, was alto-
gether needless.

17. In consilio, ‘in carrying out our
mission.’

18. Pacem distineri, ‘that the prospect
of peace is being deferred.’ Cp. Livy
2. 15 ‘Ne quid meam vobiscum pacem
distineeit.’
non improbare: nam Martiam et quartam nihil cogitantes praece dignitatem et decus comprobaturas esse certe scio. Quid? veteranos non veremur—nam timeri se ne ipsi quidem volunt—quonam modo accipiant severitatem meam? multa enim falsa de me audierunt, multa ad eos improbi detulerunt. Quorum commoda, ut vos optimi testes estis, semper ego sententia, auctoritate, oratione firmavi: sed credunt improbis, credunt turbulentis, credunt suis. Sunt autem fortes illi quidem, sed propter memoriam rerum, quas gesserunt pro populi Romani libertate et salute rei publicae, nimis feroce et ad suam vim omnia nostra consilia revocantes. Horum ego cogitationem non vereor: impetum pertimesco. Haece quoque tanta pericula si effugero, satisne tutum reditum putatis fore? Cum enim et vestram auctoritatem meo more defendero et meam fidem rei publicae constantiamque praestitero, tum crunt mihi non ii solum, qui me oederunt, sed illi etiam, qui invident, extimescendi. Custodiatur igitur vita mea r. p., eaque quoad vel dignitas vel natura patietur, patriae reservetur: mors aut necessitatem habeat fati, aut, si ante oppetenda est, oppetatur cum gloria. Haec cum ita sint, etsi hanc legationem res publica, ut levissime dicam, non desiderat, tamen, si tuto licebit ire, profiscar. Omnino, patres conscripti, totum huiusce rei consilium non meo periculo, sed utilitate rei publicae metiar. De qua mihi, quoniam liberum est spatium, multum etiam atque etiam considerandum puto idque potissimum faciendum, quod maxime interesse rei publicae iudicaro.

1. Cogitantes. The reading of the MSS. is 'cogiteticris', or 'cogitatis.' With that reading 'certe scio' has no meaning, and to say that the Martian and Fourth legions will approve of nothing but their honour and glory is very weak. The reading in the text (which was first suggested by Madvig in John's Jahrbücher for 1856, p. 126), making 'consilium meum' the object of 'comprobaturas esse,' gives a simple construction and sensible meaning to the sentence. In support of it he compares a similar error in 14. 3. 6, where the minor Vatican MS. has 'Dubitatis' for 'dubitantes,' and in Livy 42. 26, where all the MSS. have 'fluctuatris' for what must be 'fluctuantes.'

2. Veremur...timeri. See on 5. 18, 48; and cp. below, § 30.

4. Quonam modo accipiant. So Halm from one MS., for the ordinary reading, 'sed quonam modo accipiant.' Halm's reading gives more special force to 'veremur,' and of the four MSS. which have 'sed,' two have 'accipiant.'

11. Horum ego, &c., of the result of their thoughts, if they would but think, I have no apprehension, but I dread the fury of their impulse.

17. Eaque. The reading of the MSS. here is very confused, but all except one have 'eaque.' Halm reads 'Custodiatur igitur vita r. p. mea, quoad,' &c., and suggests 'custodiatur igitur vita p. c. (patres conscripti) mea, atque quoad,' &c.

19. Si ante oppetenda est. See 1. 4, 10 note.
INTRODUCTION

TO THE THIRTEENTH ORATION.

Shortly after Pansa had left Rome, in the middle of March, to join his colleague before Mutina, letters arrived from L. Plancus, the governor of Transalpine Gaul, and Consul elect, and from M. Lepidus, now in command of the province of Hither Spain. They both strongly advocated peace with Antony, and both at the same time wrote to Cicero, declaring their unswerving loyalty to the senate. The letters of Lepidus are not preserved, but their tenour may be gathered from Cicero's answer, (Fam. 10. 27), in which he expresses a hope that Lepidus will not sacrifice liberty to his desire for peace. The letter of Plancus to the senate and people (Cic. Fam. 10. 8) is full of apologies for past hesitation and dissimulation, and assurances of energetic action for the future.

The despatch of Plancus was first laid before the senate, and after a two days' debate, in the course of which Cicero delivered two speeches which are not preserved, a vote of thanks to him was passed on Cicero's proposal. On the following day P. Servilius proposed a vote of thanks to Lepidus, coupling with it a recommendation to him to leave the question of peace to the senate, who could not entertain it until Antony laid down his arms. On this occasion Cicero delivered his thirteenth oration, in which he supports the motion of Servilius, especially deprecating peace with Antony. In addition to the reasons previously urged, he laid before the senate a letter recently addressed by Antony to Hirtius and Pansa, which he criticises, clause by clause, with a bitterness and animosity not surpassed in any of the other orations.

He concludes by adding to the motion of Servilius a vote of thanks to Sextus Pompeius, for his promises of aid to the senate and the Roman people.
M. TULLII CICERONIS
ORIZATIONUM PHILIPPICARUM
LIBER TERTIUS DECIMUS.

1 A PRINCIPIO huius belli, patres conscripti, quod cum im-
piis civibus consceleratisque suscepimus, timui ne conditio
insidiosa pacis libertatis recuperandae studia restingueteret. Dulce
enim etiam nomen est pacis, res vero ipsa cum iucunda, tum
salutaris. Nam nec privatos focos nec publicas leges videtur 5
nec libertatis iura cara habere, quem discordiae, quem caedes
civium, quem bellum civile delectat, eumque ex numero hominum
eiciendum, ex finibus humanae naturae exterminandum puto.
Itaque sive Sulla sive Marius sive uterque sive Octavius sive
China sive iterum Sulla sive alter Marius et Carbo sive qui
alius civile bellum optavit, eum detestabilem cive du.

2 nam quid ego de proximo dicam, cuius acta
defendimus, auctorem ipsum iure caesum fatemur? Nihil
hoc cive, nihil hoc homine homo

cc, 1, 2. Deeming peace the greatest of
blessings, and civil war, under any circum-
stances, such a curse as to merit extermination
for its authors, Cicero yet warns the senate
that they may be deceived by the name of
peace. In most cases mutual concessions on
the part of the leaders in civil war might
have produced a genuine peace; but Antony
and his associates were such profligate and
abandoned characters, that not only could no
reliance be placed on their engagements, but
their very presence would make the city in-
tolerable for honest men.

5. Publicas leges. The epithet is
added here to show the different capacities
in which a man loves his home and the laws
of his country. The former is dear to him
as a member of a family, the latter as a
citizen. 'He holds in esteem neither the
home of his family, nor the laws of his
country, nor the rights which liberty con-
veys.' For this last expression cp. Sall. Cat.
37, 9 'Ius libertatis imminutum;' where
Kritz explains 'Ius libertatis' to mean all
the privileges of a freeborn citizen. Cp.
Hom. II. 9, 63.

6. ἀφήτωρ, ἀθέμιστος, ἀνέστις ἐστιν ἐκεί-

νος,
r of which this passage is perhaps intended to
be a paraphrase.

9. Octavius. Cn. Octavius, the col-
league of Cinna in his consulship 87 B.C.
See on 8, 2, 7.

10. Alter Marius, C. Marius, the
adopted son of the great Marius. See on
8, 2, 7.

'ille (C. Caesar) vir fuit: nos contemnendi,
qui auctorem odimus, acta defendimus.'

3. Pactio pacis, &c., ‘to come to terms of peace is but to pass a law ordaining our slavery.’
7. Sanitas, &c., ‘men might have continued in a healthy state within the commonwealth.’ Halm thinks that these words, which are only found in the margin of the Vatican MS., are an awkward conjecture of a later copyist to supply a missing clause. As it was the state itself, rather than the citizens, which had sunk into a morbid condition, Faenius proposed to read ‘omnino’ for ‘hominum.’
8. De summa gravitate, ‘if Pompey would have abated somewhat of his inflexible consistency.’ See on 2. 10, 24.
11. Cum Censorino, &c. Of all these heroes we have heard before. See Index.
13. Genus infinitum, &c., ‘the countless tribe and savage cruelty of the rest.’
14. Naufragia does not appear to be used elsewhere in this concrete metaphorical sense, of the men who had made shipwreck of their fortunes, though frequently employed for the wreck itself. Cp. 12. 8, 19.
16. Eutrapelum. P. Volumnius, the former lover of Cytheris, (see on 2. 24, 58,) received this name on account of his liveliness and wit.
26. Latera tegentes, ‘walking by

their side,' Cp. Hor. S. 2. 5, 18
1 'Une tegam spuro Damae latus?'
2 'Latus tegere,' or 'claudere' (Juv. 3. 131),
3 was more especially to walk on a man’s left,
or unprotected side, so as to act as a shield
4 to him.
5 c. 3. The measures which the senate had
taken against Antony must have rendered
him inaplaceable; and since any pretended
wisdom which urged the senate to make
peace would purchase security at the price of
honour, the only course that remained was
to carry on the war, and so save honour even
at the risk of defeat.
6 7. Collegam, &c., 'his colleague and
partner in all his wickedness you have pron-
ounced a public enemy.'
7 Hostis si esset, &c., 'were he a
foreign foe, peace would be too much to
grant him after such conduct, but yet some
means might be found to make it possible.'
The unnecessary emphasis of 'id ipsum,'
and the want of an infinitive after 'posset,'
makes the genuineness of this clause doubi-
ful. The later MSS, insert 'tamen' before
'id ipsum,' which makes the awkwardness
still greater. Halm compares in Pis. 12,
27 'Collegit ipse se vix, sed collegit ta-
men.'
8 11. Odisse eum, &c., 'you might hate
one who was out of sight, without that
hate proving an insupportable annoy-
ance.' Cicero's meaning is that the feel-
ings of any loyal citizen towards one
who had acted like Antony could only
be those of deadly hatred, such as would
render contact with him insupportable; and
that therefore peace with such a man was
only possible so long as he could remain at
a distance out of sight. This would naturally
occur in the case of a foreign foe, it would
be impossible in that of Antony.
9 12. Haerebunt, &c., 'these men will
haunt your eyes, and when occasion offers,
will fasten on your throat.' The play on
the word 'haerebunt' is untranslatable.
10 16. Extimescere, 'to be too much
afraid of:' *ex* being emphatic.
Fin. 2. 17, 54 'Is, qui occultus et tectus
dicitur.' A reading of later MSS, not borne
out by parallels, is 'protector.'
censet? parendum est enim atque id optimum iudicandum, quod sit sapientissime constitutum. Si hoc praccipit, ne quid vita ex-
istimem antiquius, ne decernam capitis periculo, fugiam omne
discrimen, quaearam ex ea: etiamne, si erit, cum id fecero,
serviendum? Si annuerit, ne ego sapientiam istam, quamvis
sit erudita, non audiam. Sin responderit, ‘tu vero tuere ita
vitam corpusque, ita fortunas, ita rem familiarem, ut haec
libertate posteriora ducas itaque his uti velis, si libera re publica
possis, ne pro his libertatem, sed pro libertate haec proiicias
tamquam pignora iniuriae.’ tum sapientiae vocem audire vidcar
eique uti deo paream. Itaque si receptis illis esse possimus
liberi, vincamus odium pacemque patiamur: sin otium incolu-
mibus iis esse nullum potest, laetemur decertandi oblatam esse
fortunam. Aut enim interfecitis illis fruemur victrice re publica,
aut oppressi—quod omen avertat Iuppiter!—si non spiritu, at
virtutis laude vivenus.

At enim nos M. Lepidus, imperator iterum, pontifex maximus.4

4. Si erit. So Halm from the reading of the Vatican MS., ‘sierit,’ comparing c. 6,
1.4 ‘si perniciosa crunt.’ The later and
more general reading is ‘etiamne fuerit,’ which very much weakens the force of
the query.

5. Ne ego. See on 2. 2, 3.

6. Tu vero, &c. The reading of the
Vatican MS. is ‘Tu vero vitam,’ &c., the
other MSS. adding ‘servato’ after ‘cor-
pusque.’ Halm suggests that ‘tuere’ had
dropped out after ‘tu vero,’ and Kayser,
following Madvig, (see Jahn’s Jahrb., for
1856, p. 126), strikes out ‘tu vero’ al-
together, as a mere corruption from ‘tuere,’
and as being in itself ‘quasi dubitantis
affirmatio, vix apta, saltem non necessaria.’
The retention of the words, however,
serves to maintain the vividness of a dia-
logue: ‘Nay, I would have you preserve,’
&c.

10. Tamquam pignora iniuriae, ‘feeling
that if retained they will but guarantee
your wrong.’ The possession of property
under the government of a tyrant is so far
from being an unmixed blessing, that it is cer-
tain sooner or later to excite his covetousness,
and then he will be deterred by no respect
for law or honesty from appropriating it.
Hence what in a free state would be the
strongest security for a man’s welfare, under
a tyrant is only a guarantee that he will be
one of the tyrant’s victims. Manutius takes
it somewhat differently, that the wealth can
only be retained by unconstitutional submis-
sion to a tyrant, and that therefore its re-
tention involves a pledge that its possessor
will act unrighteously, but this is less in
accordance with the line of Cicero’s argu-
ment. The guarantor is not the owner of
the goods, but Fortune, who has entrusted
him with them, and who, in bestowing
them under such circumstances, does but
guarantee spoliatiun.

12. Pacem patiamur, ‘let us reconcile
ourselves to peace:’ which, under such cir-
cumstances, can at best be only the more
endurable of two evils.

cc. 4, 5. The advice of Lepidus, who ad-
vocated peace, deserved careful attention,
from the high character of the man, and the
services which both his ancestors and himself
had rendered to the state. But he was wrong
in supposing that because he had made an
honourable peace with the younger Pompey,
he could therefore do the like with Antony,
whose character was in all respects so oppo-
site. Moreover the outlawry of Antony and
his friends really came most opportunely for
the senate, enabling them to carry out the
restitution of Pompey’s property.

17. M. Lepidus. The name, though
wanting in all the MSS., is found in the
earliest printed editions, and has been gene-
really retained as necessary. Cicero could
hardly have styled a person whom he did
optime proximo civili bello de re publica meritus, ad pacem adhortatur. Nullius apud me, patres conscripti, auctoritas maior est quam M. Lepidi, vel propter ipsius virtutem vel propter familiae dignitatem. Accedunt eodem multa privata magna eius in me merita, mea quaedam officia in illum. Maximum vero eius beneficium numero, quod hoc animo in rem publicam est, quae mihi vita mea semper fuit carior. Nam cum Magnum Pompeium, clarissimum adolescentem, praestantissimi viri filium, auctoritate adduxit ad pacem remque publicam sine armis maximo civilibis belli periculo liberavit, tum me eius beneficio plus quam pro virili parte obligatum puto. Itaque et honores ei decrevi quos potui amplissimos, in quibus mihi vos estis assensi, nec umquam de illo et sperare optime et loqui destiti. Magnis et multis pignoribus M. Lepidum res publica illigatum tenet. Summa nobilitas est, omnes honores, amplissimum sacerdotium, plurima urbis ornamenta ipsius, fratris maiorumque monimenta.

not name as 'imperator iterum.' The title has been objected to by Ursinus, but it is assumed by Lepidus himself in two of his extant letters (Cic. Fam. 10. 34 and 35), and it is found on the coins of more than one of his contemporaries. In his own case it was hardly deserved, as on the first occasion he assumed it on his own authority, when in 48 B.C. he compelled the proconsul Q. Cassius Longinus and his questor M. Marcellius to abstain from warring on each other in Further Spain. His second exploit, the reconciliation of Sex. Pompeius in 44 B.C., was equally bloodless, but on that occasion the appellation of 'Imperator' was granted him by the senate. See 5. 14 and 15.

5. Merita... officia. The courtesy shown in the difference of the terms employed deserves notice. 'To this should be added many occasions on which he has in private earned my gratitude, some few where I have been able to serve him.' See on 9. 1.

7. Magnum Pompeium. Sex. Pompeius, the younger son of the triumvir.

10. Plus quam pro virili parte. Forcellini interprets this 'in more than my private capacity,' 'to a greater extent than I, as an individual, had a right to look for;' 'cum non solum privato mihi, sed etiam reipublicae profuerit.' It may however be better referred to Lepidus, the logical subject of the sentence, 'he has laid me, I think, under a greater obligation than any single man could be expected to confer.'

Or it might be, as Prof. Conington has suggested, 'I consider that my obligations to him are greater than those that bind an individual.' The general sense, in this case, being nearly the same as according to the first interpretation, 'Pro parte virili' always means, 'to the extent of a man's right or duty,' not 'to the extent of his powers.' Cp. Verr. Act. 2. 3. 3. 7 'Plus etiam, quam pars virilis postulat, ... suscipere debeam.'

11. Decrevi, 'I proposed.' See 5. 15.

15. Omnes honores, 'he has filed all the offices of state:' ending with his consulsip in 46 B.C.

Amplissimum sacerdotium: that of 'pontifex maximus,' secured to him by Antony in consideration of his support at the time of Caesar's death. See introduction to the first oration.

16. Ornamenta ipsius, &c. Orelli places a semicolon after 'ornamenta,' as though 'monimenta' were in apposition to it: but the balance of the sentence seems better preserved by Halm's punctuation, which is adopted in the text. We do not know what works Lepidus himself contributed towards the beautifying of the city, but his ancestor, M. Aemilius Lepidus (Consul in 187 and 175 B.C.) was noted as the founder of several important buildings. In his aedileship, 192 B.C., he built the Porticus Aemilia, between the Aventine and the river, and in his first censorship, in 179 B.C., he founded the Pons Aemilius, and the Basilica
probatisima uxor, optatissim i liberi, res familiaris cum ampla, tum casta a cruore civil i. Nemo ab eo civis violatus, multi eius beneficio et misericordia liberati. Talis igitur vir et civis opinione labi potest, voluntate a re publica dissidere nullo pacto potest. Pacem vult M. Lepidus. Praeclare, si talem potest efficere, qualem nuper effect: qua pace Cn. Pompei filium res publica adspiciet suoque sinu complexuque recipiet, neque solum illum, sed cum illo se ipsam sibi restitutam putabit. Haece causa fuit cur decerneretis statuam in rostris cum inscriptione praeclara, cur absentis triumphum. Quamquam enim magnas res belicas gesserat et triumpho dignas, non erat tamen ei tribuendum, quod nec L. Aemilio nec Aemilianus Scipioni nec superiori Africano nec Mario nec Pompeio, qui maiora bella gesserunt: sed quod silentio bellum civile confecerat, cum primum licuit, honores in cum maximos contulistis. Exstimasne igitur, M. Lepide, qualem Pompeium res publica habitura sit civem, tales futuros in re publica Antonios? In altero pudor, gravitas, moderatio, integritas: in illis—et cum hos compello, praetereo animal ex grege latrocinii neminem—libidines, scelera, ad omne facinus immanis audacia. Deinde vos obsecre, patres conscripti, quis hoc vestrum non videt, quod Fortunus ipsa, quae dicitur caeca, vidit? Salvis enim actis Caesaris, quae concordiae causa defendimus, Pompei sua domus patebit, camque non minoris, quam emit Antonius, redimit: redimet, inquam, Cn. Pompei Aemilia in the Forum. This was further beautified by M. Aemilius Lepidus, the father of the triumvir, in his consulship 78 B.C. His brother, L. Aemilius Paulus, appears, from a passage in Cicero (Att. 4. 16. 14), to have restored this basilica and built a new one in his aedilship, 53 B.C., but of this second basilica nothing else is known.

1. Probatissima uxor. Iunia, the daughter of D. Iunius Silanus, and half-sister of M. Iunius Brutus. In a letter to Atticus (6. 2. 25) Cicero throws serious doubts upon her faithfulness to her husband, most inconsistent with the epithet 'probatisima.'

5. Praeclare. Cp. Fam. 10. 27. 1 'Pacis inter cives conciliandae te cupidum esse lactor.'

9. Statuam. See 5. 15. Of the triumph we do not elsewhere hear.

12. L. Aemilio: 'to L. Aemilius Paulus Macedonicus,' the conqueror of Perseus, and father of Scipio Aemilianus, better known as Scipio Africanus the younger.

14. Silentio, 'without disturbance.'

18. Cum hos compello, in 'formally arraigning these.'

21. Fortuna ipsa vidit. The course of Cicero's argument is not very clear, but it seems to be this: Pompey's property having been confiscated by Caesar, and bought by Antony, would have been lost beyond recall, had Antony continued loyal; but as his property in turn had reverted to the state, it was possible, without over-throwing Caesar's ordinance, to enable Sex. Pompeius to recover his father's property. He would still be required to buy it, which was sad enough, but the state could now, by the aid of Fortune, both furnish him with the money, and empower him to effect the purchase. Cp. the concluding clause of this chapter.
§8—12. ORATIO PHILIPPICA XIII.


2. Tantam pecuniam. The amount of the indemnity voted to Sex. Pompeius is stated by Appian (3. 4) to have been fifty million Attic drachmae, or about 2,000,000L, of our money.
5. Urbana quaedam, &c., 'certain villas in the city, now in Antony's occupation.'
10. Anseres. The allusion is to a poet in the train of Antony, surnamed Anser, who is alluded to in uncomplimentary terms by Ovid, Trist. 2. 435
'Citra quoque his comes est, Cinnaque proccior Anser,
Et leve Cornifici, parce Catonis opus,'
and according to Servius by Virgil, in the line 'inter strepere anser olores:' Ecl. 9. 35. The villa at Falernum had probably been given to him by Antony as the reward of his verses.
Depellantur. Orelli reads 'depellentur,' from one MS., but all the others have 'depellantur,' which is also quoted by Servius on Virg. I.c.
15. Is: perhaps Demetrius of Gadara, a favourite freedman of Pompey, whom we know to have acquired great wealth.

'Pervenit ad draconis speluncam intimam,
Custodiabet qui thesauros abditos.'
[Thesaurum.] This is placed within brackets by Halm and Kayser. Rau thinks the whole three words 'quasi thesauro
5. 12. Septiens milii/. From the context it would seem that this must refer to the indemnity which the senate had voted to Sextus, and this we have seen to be stated by Appian at 2,000,000L, more nearly 'bis milii.' Many editors have supposed that allusion is here made to the often-quoted money in the temple of Ops, but this had not only been appropriated but spent by Antony, and therefore could not have been assigned to Sextus. It is probable either that Appian was mistaken in the amount of the sum, or that the copyists have been misled by the recollection of the famous 'septiens milii,' and that the genuine reading here is 'bis.'
18. Describetur, 'shall be apportioned,' Halm reads 'describatur,' but in his notes declares his preference for the form 'discere.'
20. In ea familia, 'in dealing with that family.'
familia, quam vidit amplissimam, persequetur, in primis pater-
um auguratus locum, in quem ego eum, ut, quod a patre accepi, 
filio reddam, mea nominatione cooptabo. Utrum igitur augurem 
Iovis optimi maximii, cuius interpretis internuntique constituti 
sumus, nos, utrum populus Romanus libertius sanciet, Pompei-
umne an Antonium? Mihi quidem numine deorum immorta-
lium videtur hoc Fortuna voluisse, ut actis Caesaris firmis ac 
ratis Cn. Pompei filius posset et dignitatem et fortunas patrias 
recuperare.

10 Ac ne illud quidem silentio, patres conscripti, praetereundum 6 
puto, quod clarissimi viri legati, L. Paulus, Q. Thermus, C. 13 
Fannius, quorum habetis cognitam voluntatem in rem publicam 
eamque perpetuam atque constantem, nuntiant, se Pompei con-
vendiundi causa devertisse Massilium eumque cognovisse para-
tissimo animo, ut cum suis copiis iret ad Mutinam, ni vereretur 
ne veteranorum animos offenderet. Est vero eius patris filius, 
qui sapienter faciebat non minus multa quam fortiter. Itaque 
intelligitis et animum ei praestouisse nec consilium defuisse. 
Atque etiam hoc M. Lepido providendum est, ne quid arrogan-
tius, quam eius mores ferunt, facere videatur. Si enim nos 14 
exercitu terret, non meminit illum exercitum senatus populique 
Romani atque universae rei publicae esse, non suum. At uti 
potest pro suo. Quid tum? omniane bonis viris, quae facere 
possunt, facienda sunt? etiamne. si turpia, si perniciosa erunt? 
25 si facere omnino non licebit? Quid autem turpiss aut foedius

1. Paternum, 'which his father held before him.' See 2, 2, 4 note.
5. Nos. Halm saw that some altera-
tion was required in this sentence, and 
suggested 'augures' for 'augurem,' in order 
to account for the double 'utrum,' which 
seemed to show that the sanction of some 
other body was required besides the Roman 
people. The emendation in the text, sug-
gested by Madvig (in Jahn's Jahrb. for 
1856, p. 120), seems preferable, as 'nos' 
might easily have dropped out, being taken 
for the subject of 'constitui sumus;' and 
'augurem Iovis O.M.' seems to be required, 
to show the importance of the sanction 
sought.

cc. 6, 7. Pompey himself was only deterred 
from joining in the contest against Antony 
by fear of offending the veterans: so that 
Lepidus would do well to reconsider the 
matter, and especially to beware of straining 
his power so far as to use the army which 
was given him for the service of the state, in 
thwarting the general zeal now displayed 
against Antony by senate, Consuls, and people 
alike.

11. Legati: probably envoys sent to 
Sex. Pompeius, not by the senate, but by 
Lepidus, L. Paulus being his brother.
14. Massilium. Sextus appears to have 
come to Marseilles as a convenient place 
from which to watch the course of events, 
with a view to determining his own policy 
accordingly.
16. Veteranorum: the veterans of 
Caesar, to whom his very name would be 
obnoxious.
20. Quam eius mores ferunt, 'that 
is compatible with his loyal character.'
24. Si erunt. See on c, 3, 6.
aut quod minus deceit quam contra senatum, contra cives, contra
patriam exercitum ducere? quid vero magis vituperandum quam
id facere, quod non liceat? Licet autem nemini contra patriam
ducere exercitum: si quidem licere id dicimus, quod legibus,
quo more maiorum institutisque conceditur. Neque enim, quod 5
quisque potest, id ei licet, nec, si non obstatur, propertia etiam
permittitur. Tibi enim exercitum, Lepide, tam quam maioribus
tuis patria pro se dedit. Hoc tu arcebis hostem, fines imperii
propagabis: senatui populoque Romano parebis, si quam ad
7 aliam rem te forte traduxerit. Haec si cogitas, es M. Lepidus,
15 pontifex maximus, M. Lepidi, pontificis maximi, pronepos:
sin hominibus tantum licere iudicas, quantum possunt, vide ne alienis
exemplis iisque recentibus uti quam et antiquis et domesticis
malle videare. Quod si auctoritatem interponis sine armis,
magis equidem laudo, sed vide ne hoc ipsum non sit necesse. 15
Quamquam enim est tanta in te auctoritas, quanta debet in
honore nobilissimo, tamen senatus se ipse non contemnit, nec
vero fuit umquam gravior, constantior, fortior. Incensi omnes
rapimur ad libertatem recuperandam: non potest ulius aucto-
ritate tantus senatus populique Romani ardor exstingui: odimus, 20
irati pugnamus, extorqueri manibus arma non possunt: receptui

4. Licere, &c. This is the locus classicus for the meaning of the word.
7. Tam quam, 'no less than to your ancestors.' For this rarer use of 'tam
quam,' in a simple comparison of degree, cp. Brut. 74, 258 'Aetatis illius ista fuit
haus tam quam innocentiae sic Latine lo-
quendi.'
10. Es M. Lepidus, 'you are all that
the name of M. Lepidus implies.' Cp.
Virg. Aen. 6. 883
'Tu Marcellus eris,'
and Dr. Henry's note. One MS, has 'M. Lepide,' losing the whole point and vigour
of the clause.
11. Pronepos. Strictly 'the great-grand-
son,' whereas the M. Lepidus in question,
who was pontifex maximus, censor, and
twice Consul, was his great-great-grandfather.
The word 'abnepos,' however, does not
seem to occur before the time of Suetonius,
and the exact degree of descent is unim-
portant.
12. Alienis exemplis, 'a precedent
out of your own family;' referring to the
usurpation of Caesar.
15. Vide, ne, &c. Cp. Fam. 10. 27,
2 (a letter written by Cicero to Lepidus
about this time) 'Sapientius, meo qui-
dem iudicio, facies, si te in istam pacifica-
tionem non interpones, quae neque senatui
nec cuiquam bono probatur.'
20. Odimus, irati pugnamus. Halm
points out a reference to a passage in
Lucilius (fr. 4. 8), which Cicero had before
used to illustrate an argument: Tusc. 4.
21, 48
'Odi hominem: iratus pugno; nec longiu'
quidquam
Nobis, quam dextrae gladium dum
accommodet alter.'
21. Manibus. So all the MSS. Halm
reads 'e manibus,' Orelli 'de manibus;' but
as 'extorqueo' is often used with a
dative of the person from whom anything
is wrested, there is no reason why it should
not equally admit a dative of the part. Cp.
Lucr. 6. 1224
'Extorquebit enim vitam vis morbida
membris;'
and Cic. Cat. 1. 6, 16; where there is con-
siderable MS. authority for the reading
'Quotiens tibi iam extorta est ista sica
manibus?'

At periculum est ne opprimamur. Non metuo ne is, qui suis amplissimis fortunis nisi bonis salvis frui non potest, prodat salutem suam. Bonos cives primum natura efficit, adivuat deinde fortuna; omnibus enim bonis expedit salvam esse rem publicam: sed in iis, qui fortunati sunt, magis id apparent. Quis fortunator Lepido, ut ante dixi? quis codem sanior? Vidit cius macstitiam atque lacrimas populus Romanus Lupercalibus: vidit quam abjectus, quam confectus esset, cum Caesari diadema imponens Antonius servum se illius quam collegam esse malebat. Qui si reliquis flagitiis et sceleribus se abstinere potuisset, tamen unum ob hoc factum dignum illum omni poena putarem. Nam si ipse servire poterat, nobis dominum cur imponebat? et si eius pueritia pertulerat libidines eorum, qui erant in eum tyranni, etiamne in nostros liberos dominum et tyrannum comparabat? Itaque illo interfecto, qualem in nos eum esse voluit, talis ipse in ceteros exstitit. Qua enim in barbaria quisquam tam taeter, tam crudelis tyrannus quam in hac urbe armis barbarorum stipatus Antonius? Caesare dominante veniecimus in senatum,

3. Confecit, 'has got together.' Cp. de Imp. Ca. Pomp. 21, 61 'Quid tam novum, quam adolescentulum privatum exercitum difficili rei publicae tempore conficiere? confecit.'
4. Quattuor consules: Hirtius and Pansa; and L. Plancus and D. Brutus, the Consul elect.
5. Too much weight must not be attached to the danger of defeat. By subservience to Caesar, by his cruel massacres, by his outrageous conduct in Rome, followed by his ignominious retreat, and lastly by plunging the country into civil war, and blockading the Consul elect, who had loyally opposed him, Antony had closed the door to any overtures of peace.
6. Ne opprimamur: if, that is, Lepidus should prove false to his loyalty, and join with Antony. In what follows Cicero really betrays his fears that Lepidus would be faithless, in the very earnestness with which he brings forward reasons why he should be staunch.
7. Fortunati, 'blessed by fortune,' and so not unfrequently 'wealthy.' Cp. de Orat. 2. 86, 352 'Apud Scopam, fortunatum hominem et nobilem.'
8. Lupercalibus. See 2. 34, 85 note.
si non libere, at tamen tuto. Hoc archipirata—quid enim dicam tyranno?—haec subsellia ab Itryacis occupabantur. Prorupit subito Brundisium, ut inde agmine quadrato ad urbem acce- deret: lautissimum oppidum nunc municipum honestissimorum, quondam colonorum, Suessam, fortissimorum militum sanguine 5 implevit: Brundisii in sinu non modo avarissimae, sed etiam crudelissimae uxoris defectos Martiae legionis centuriones tru- cidavit. Inde se quo fureo, quo ardore ab urbem, id est, ad caedem optimi cuiusque rapiebat! quo tempore di ipsis immor- tales praesidium improvim nec opinantibus nobis obtulerunt. 10

9 Caesaris enim incredibilis ac divina virtus latronis impetus 19 crudeles ac furibundos retardavit: quem tum ille demens laedere se putabat edictis, ignorans, quaecumque falso [in eum] dicret in sanctissimum adolescentem, ea vere recidere in memoriam pueritiae suae. Ingressus urbem est, quo comitatu vel potius 15 agmine! cum dextra sinistra, gemente populo Romano, mina- retur dominis, notaret domos, divisurum se urbem palam suis polliceretur. Rediit ad milites; ibi pestifera illa Tiburi contio. Inde ad urbem cursus, senatus in Capitolium, parata de circum- scribendo* adolescente sententia consularis, cum repente—nam 20

1. Hoc archipirata, &c., 'under this arch-pirate (for tyrant is too good a name for him).'. A tyrant is only the enemy of his subjects, a pirate the enemy of all mankind, according to Cicero's own def- inition, Off. 3. 29, 107 'Non est ex per- duellium numero definitus, sed communis hostis omnium: cum hoc nec fides debet nec ipsis iurandum esse commune.' Hence by the very name he is strengthening his argu- ment against negotiations with Antony.

2. Ab Itryaiais. See 2. 8, 19 note.

3. Agmine quadrato, 'at the head of an army.' Cp. 2. 42, 108.

4. Municipum. This is the emenda- tion of Manutius for 'municipium.' Cicero is expressing the change in the political status of Suessa, from being a 'colonia Latina' to being a borough town, effected by the 'Lex Iulia' in 90 B.C. See on 3. 5, 13.

5. Suessam. See on 3. 4, 40.


14. In sanctissimum adolescentem. Halm encloses these words in brackets, as a probable gloss, explaining 'falso.' Either these words or 'in eum' are re- dundant, but the latter are omitted in the Italian and two of the other MSS., and enough has been already said about the boyhood of Antony to make the mere men- tion of it imply a contrast to the purity of Octavianus.

Vere recidere, &c., 'recoil with truth on the records of his own boyhood.' Cp. 3. 6, 15 'In Caesarem maledicta con- gessit deprompta ex recordatione impudici- tieae et stuprum suorum.'

15. Vel potius agmine. The correction marks the attempt at intimidation by a display of military power, which was speci- ally obnoxious at Rome, where a general was not allowed to enter the city under ordinary circumstances at the head of his army.

18. Tiburi. Cicero and Livy both commonly use this old locative form, signi- fying the place where a thing is done, in nouns of the third declension. Cp. 'Kar- thagini,' de Leg. Agr. 2. 33, 90; Livy 28. 26; 'Anxuri,' Id. 5. 8; and see on 12. 10, 25.

19. De circumscribendo adoles- cente, 'for impeding the young man's liberty of action.' See on 2. 22, 53.

20. Sententia consularis. Cp. 3. 8, 21 'Scriptam attulerat consularis quidam senentiam.'

Quod si quis dubitare adhuc potuit quin nulla societas huic ordini populoque Romano cum illa importunissima belua posset esse, desinat prorecto dubitare his cognitis litteris, quas mihi missas ab Hirtio consule modo accepi. Eas dum recito dumque de singulis sententiis breviter disputo, velim, patres conscripti,

I. Antonius Hirtio et Caesar. The absence of the titles in this address may have arisen from a feeling on the part of Antony that while they were fighting to decide which truly represented Rome, it was unfitting to assign to either party Roman titles. Cicero’s criticism of this letter should be compared with his criticism of Antony’s edict in 3. 9.

3. Alienum, ‘a title which he has forfeited.’

9. Intra finem, &c., ‘before twelve months had passed away;’ not, that is, before the end of 44 B.C., but within twelve months of Caesar’s death. Cp. pro Quinct. 12, 40 ‘Petisses statim; si non statim, paullo quidem post; si non paullo, at aliquanto; sex quidem illis mensibus profecto; anno vertente sine controversia.’ Annus vertens signifies the time within which the cycle of the earth’s revolution is completed, the solar year, at whatever date the computation is begun. Hence it is applied in a wider sense to a supposed cycle of the universe, at the end of which all the heavenly bodies are found occupying the same positions as at its commencement, in Cic. de Rep. 6. 22, 24 (Somm. Scip. 7) ‘Cum ad idem unde semel profecta sunt cuncta astra redierint eademque totius caeli descriptionem longis intervallis rettule-

runt, tum ille vere vertens annus appellari potest: in quo vix dicere audoe quam multa hominum sæcula teneantur.’ The murder of Trebonius was about the end of February (Mervale 3. 135; cp. introduction to the eleventh oration), so that this letter was probably written immediately after Antony had received the news.

10. Spartace. Cp. 4. 6, 15 and 3. 8, 21 note.

12. Laetandum esse, &c. Halm places a note of interrogation after ‘scribere,’ as though Cicero first marvelled at Antony’s finding any cause for rejoicing, and then at the subject of his joy. This however introduces a needless complication, and suggests a climax which does not exist, from ‘dedisse poenas’ to ‘scleratum Trebonium.’

15. Seduxit. Cp. Fam. 10. 28, 1 ‘Quod vero a te, viro optimo, seductus est tuoque beneficio adiliuc vivit haec pestis, interdum, quod mihi vix fas est, tibi subirascor.’ On the occasion of Caesar’s murder Trebonius took Antony aside, not from any motives of kindness towards him, but to prevent his interference.

18. Scurrae. The father of Trebonius is only known to us from this chapter, and Fam. I.c., where he is styled ‘civis accerrimus.’

quid? te non intelligis dilectu tota Italia habito, consulibus missis, Caesare ornato, sagis denique sumptis hostem iudicatum? Quid est autem, scelerate, quod geras hostem Dolabellam iudicatum a senatu? quem tu ordinem omnino esse nullum putas, sed eam tibi causam belli gerendi proponis, ut senatum funditus delcas, reliqui boni et locupletes omnes summum ordinem subseuquantur. At scurrae filium appellat: quasi vero ignotus nobis fuerit splendidus eques Romanus, Trebonii pater. Is autem humilitatem despicere audet cuiusquam, qui ex Fadia sustulerit liberos? Acerbissimum vero est tē, A. Hirti, ornatum beneficiis Caesaris, et talem ab eo relictum, qualem ipse miraris—Equidem negare non possum a Caesare Hirtium ornatum, sed illa ornamenta in virtute et industria posita lucent. Tu vero, qui te ab eodem Caesare ornatum negare non potes, quid esses, si tibi ille non tam multa tribuiisset? ecquo te tua virtus provexisset? ecquo genus? In lustris, popinis, ala, vino tempus acataris omne consumpsisses, ut faciebas, cum in gremiis mimarum mentum mentemque deponeres. et tē, o puer—Puerum appellat, quem non modo virum, sed

9. Ex Fadia. So Ferrarius, followed by most subsequent editors, from the various readings of the MSS., 'ex eadie,' 'ex ea die,' 'ex eadem,' the two latter being apparently attempts to frame Latin words, regardless of meaning, from the first. Fadia, Antony's first wife, was the daughter of Q. Fadius, a freedman. Cp. 2. 2, 3; 3. 6, 17.

10. Sustulerit. 'Tollere liberos' is properly 'to acknowledge children,' from the custom of laying new-born children at their father's feet, for him to decide whether they should be reared or not. Here it seems to be used as nearly equivalent to 'gignere liberos,' cp. Suet. Ner. 5 'Decesist (Domitius) sublato filio Nerone ex Agrippina.'

11. He found fault with the conduct of Hirtius, who owed everything to Caesar,—though in his case it was merit which had earned Caesar's favour,—and of Octavianus, a mere boy,—who, boy as he was, had won for himself, thanks to Antony, the title of Father of his country,—because, forsooth, they sought for the condemnation of Dolabella, the deliverance of D. Brutus,—whom Antony dared to call a prisoner,—and the exaltation of M. Brutus and Cassius.

11. Ornatum. The MSS. add 'esse,' an obvious mistake of the copyists, who did not observe that 'te' is part of the subject of 'id agere' in § 25, the thread of the sentence being interrupted by the comments of Cicero.

Beneficiis. Hirtius belonged to a plebeian and undistinguished family, and owed all his honours and position to the friendship and patronage of Caesar, who had finally nominated him to the consulship for 43 B.C.

13. In virtute, &c., 'conferred on valour and energy.'

16. Ecquo genus? This reading seems to be very pointless, especially considering the ignoble birth of Hirtius. Kayser adopts the plausible emendation of Pluygers, 'ecquo industria?' which might easily have been confused with the following 'in lustris.'

18. Mentum mentemque. So Halm after Ferrarius, as having much more point than the MS. reading 'mentem mentemque,' To place the seat of his brains in his heard might pass for a joke, but without this link it would be absurd to say 'mentem in gremiis deponere,' and nothing would be gained by adding the literal after the metaphorical idea. Cp. the similar play on words in § 26 'diruptus dirutusque.'
etiam fortissimum virum sensit et sentiet. Est istuc quidem nomen aetatis, sed ab eo minime usurpandum, qui suam amen-
tiam puero huic praebet ad gloriarn. qui omnia nomini de-
bes—Debet vero solvitque praeclare. Si enim ille patriae
parens, ut tu appellas—ego quid sentiam videro—, cur non hic 5
parens verior, a quo certe vitam habemus e tuis facinerosissimis
manibus ereptam? id agere, ut iure damnatus sit Dola-
 bella—Turpem vero actionem, qua defenditur amplissimi aucto-
ritas ordinis contra crudelissimi gladiatoris amentiam!—et ut
venefica haec liberetur obsidione. Veneficam audes ap-
pellare eum virum, qui tuis veneficis remedia inventit? quem ita
obsides, nove Hannibal, aut si quis acutior imperator fuit, ut
te ipse obsideas, neque te istinc, si cupias, possis explicare.
Recesseris, undique omnes inequentur: manseris, haerebis.
Nimirum recte veneficam appellas, a quo tibi praesentem pestem 10
vides comparatam. ut quam potentissimus sit Cassius
atque Brutus. Putes Censorinum dicere aut Ventidium aut
etiam ipsos Antonios. Cur autem nolint potentes esse non modo
optimos et nobilissimos viros, sed secum etiam in rei publicae
defensione coniunctos? Nimirum eodem modo haec ad-
spicitis, ut priora—quae tandem?—castra Pompei sena-
tum appellabatis. An vero tua castra potius senatum ap-
pellaremus? in quibus tu es videlicet consularis, cuius totus
consulatus est ex omni monimentorum memoria evulsus: duo

3. Nomini: sc. ‘Caesarius.’ Some MSS. add ‘eius,’ but the reading in the text
is clear enough when the fragments of the letter are extracted from the commentary of
Cicero.
5. Ut tu appellas, ‘to adopt the
title which you give him;’ cp. Fam. 12. 3, 1
‘In statua quam posuit in Rostris inscriptit
PARENTI OPTIME MERITO.’
7. Damnatus sit, &c., ‘that the con-
demnation of Dolabella may appear to have
been legal.’
10. Venefica haec. The feminine
fr. 1. 48, 21 ‘Fufidius, ancilla turpis, hono-
rum omnium dehonestamentum.’
21. Ut priora. Manutius takes this to
be, ‘as your former conduct, in aiding those
who would check me in avenging Caesar’s
death;’ but so the following words come
in very awkwardly, and it is more pro-
bable that ‘priora’ agrees with ‘castra;’
not so as to imply two camps of Pompey,
but comparing the expedition of Hirtius and
Pansa with Pompey’s well-known previous
campaign; ‘as formerly ye used to give the
name of senate to the camp of Pompey.’
cc. 12—14. He cavilled at the name of
senate as applied to Pompey’s camp; as if it
were more appropriate to his own, which had
indeed representatives of every rank, but each
of them a disgrace to the rank he represented.
In the camp of Pompey, on the other hand,
the consuls alone were ten in number, and
men of such repute, that the one survivor
had sufficed to crush Antony, while among
the other senators present were found a ma-
jority of the men in highest esteem at Rome.
24. Duo praetores, P. Ventidius Bassus
and L. Marcus Censorinus. See 12. 8, 20
note.

1. Sine causa diffisi. Cicero's meaning is that they joined Antony to preserve their interests, which would have been safe at any rate, since the senate had confirmed the gifts of Caesar.

2. Philadelphus Annius, C. Annius Cimber, called Philadelphus by Cicero because he had killed his brother (see on 11. 6, 14), as Ptolemy Philopator derived his surname from the murder of his parents.

3. Innocens Gallius. Of Gallius we know scarcely anything, except that he is probably the man who adopted the emperor Tiberius. 'Innocens' is of course ironical, and perhaps refers to some specially notorious crime of which he had been guilty.

Corycus, properly a leathern sack filled with sand or flour, and hung up in the gymnasium, for the athletes to exercise their strength by striking it to and fro, somewhat after the fashion of the quintain. Cicero here calls Bestia 'the practising ground for his lungs and voice,' in allusion to his having six times defended him in a court of justice. See 11. 5, 11 note.

4. Fidei patronus. Cp. 6. 4, 11 note. Fraudator creditorum are bracketed by Kayser, with great probability, as a gloss.

5. Diruptus dirutusque, 'ruptured and ruined.' 'Dirutus' is more strictly applied to a soldier whose pay has been stopped by way of punishment, cp. Verr. Act. 2. 5. 17. 33 'Aleatoris Placentini castra commemorabuntur, in quibus cum frequens fuisset, tamen aere dirutus est.'

6. Cotyla Varus. See 5. 2, 5 note. Deliciarum causa, 'for his amuse-

ment.' Cp. 8. 8, 24. The idea of insult to Cotyla is probably also conveyed in the expression, as in 'delicias facere'; see Plaut. Men. 2. 3. 35 'Eia, delicias facis.'

7. Septemvirales, on the commission for the division of the lands. See on 2. 38, 99.

9. Tribuni. So Halm, following Ferrarius, for the reading of the MSS. 'tribunicii.'

Suo iure, 'with good right.' Cp. 2. 25, 62. The man and the circumstance to which allusion is here made are alike unknown; but Orelli supposes that Hostilius, having been foiled in an attempt to betray Mutina to Antony, made his escape by a 'Porta Hostilia,' to the name of which he thereby gave a new significance.

10. Qua, So Halm, adopting Ran's suggestion, for 'qui,' which is awkward after the former 'qui,' from the influence of which the mistake might easily have arisen.

12. Quem tamem, 'who however, they say, confined himself at Pisaurum strictly to water—for the baths.' Cicero, taking advantage of the double meaning of 'temperan,' (cp. Hor. Od. 3. 19, 6 'Quis aquam temperet ignibus'), introduces what is really a hit at the low birth of Insteius as though he were going to pay a compliment to his temperance, carefully preserving the word which unveils his real meaning till the end of the sentence.

13. T. Plancus was tribune in 52 B.C., and one of the chief movers in the riot at the funeral of Clodius, in which the Curia Hostilia was burnt down.

1. Rediit armis, by the violent interference of Caesar.  
2. Simillimus. The MSS. have ‘dissimillimus,’ but most modern editors have adopted the emendation, which seems necessary.  
3. Mirum. So Klotz, followed by Halm and Kayser, for the reading of the MSS., ‘verum,’ which affords no antithesis to ‘commune,’ whereas what is peculiar to one man may naturally be termed ‘mirum.’ The peculiarity consisted not in the application of the saying to Plancus, but in its being falsified. He was driven out of Pollentia by Aquila with a broken thigh (11. 6, 14).  
4. Nisi ei crura fracta essent, ‘unless his legs were broken;’ the allusion being to the punishment of ‘crucifragium.’  
5. Decius. Cp. 11. 6, 13 note.  
6. Munera rosit, ‘he nibbled at the gifts of Caesar;’ in punning allusion to his name of ‘Mus.’  
7. Mulo intervallo. There was a P. Decius, who took a prominent part in supporting C. Gracchus, 129 B.C., but Cicero is probably referring only to the Decii Mures, the last of whom was defeated by Pyrrhus at Asculum, 279 B.C.  
11. Est quidem. Madvig (Jahn’s Jahrb. for 1856, p. 126) suggests ‘ibidem,’ comparing ‘est ibi etiam’ in § 27, and pointing out that ‘quidem’ is not only weak here, but rarely attached by Cicero to a verb.  
13. Frater: probably the cousin German. He is not mentioned elsewhere.  
15. Asinius. Perhaps the Pollio of c. 2, 3: but otherwise unknown.  
17. Pater conscriptus, ‘a newly enrolled senator.’ Cp. Hor. A. P. 314  
18. ‘Quod sit conscripti, quod iudicis officium,’ which is apparently the only other passage where ‘conscriptus’ is found in the singular of a senator. See on 1. 1, 1.  
21. Decem consulares. In the fol-
fuiimus consulares: qui si omnes viverent, bellum omnino hoc non fuisset; auctoritati cessisset audacia. Sed quantum prae-
sidii fuerit in ceteris, hinc intelligi potest, quod ego unus relictus
ex multis contudi et fregi adiuvantibus vobis exsultantis praedonis audacias. Quod si non Fortuna nobis modo eripuisset
Scr. Sulpicium eiusque collegam ante, M. Marcellum—quos
cives! quos viros!—si duo consules amicissimos patriae, simul
ex Italia eictos, si L. Afranius, summum ducem, si P. Lentutum,
civem cum in ceteris rebus, tum in salute mea singularum,
si M. Bibulum, cuius est in rem publicam semper merito laudata
constantia, si L. Domitium, praestantissimum civem, si Appium
Claudium, pari nobilitate et voluntate praeditum, si P. Scipio-
inem, clarissimum virum maiorumque suorum simillimum, res
publica tenere potuisset: certe iis consularibus non esset Pom-
peianus despiciendus senatus. Utrum igitur aequius, utrum
melius rei publicae fuit, Cn. Pompeium an sectorem Cn. Pompei
vivere Antonium? Qui vero praetorii! quorum princeps M.

owing chapter he mentions ten, besides
himself; but of these Serv. Sulpicius never
joined Pompey, and is apparently only men-
tioned as being a firm opponent of Antony,
and as having sacrificed his life on the em-
bassy to him. See introduction to the
ninth oration. Pompey himself is not
reckoned, as being the chief to whom the
senate belonged.

6. M. Marcellus was assassinated in
49 B.C., as he was returning from the
exile to which his violence in opposing
Caesar, both during and after his consulship
(51 B.C.), had condemned him.

7. Duo consules. The two Consuls
of the year 49 B.C., C. Marcellus, brother
of M. Marcellus, and L. Lentulus Crass.
The former probably perished during the
civil war; the latter was put to death in
prison in Egypt, shortly after Pompey's
murder. Two of the MSS. have 'duo,' but
the dual form of the accusative is of frequent
occurrence.

8. L. Afranius, Consul 60 B.C., was
put to death by Caesar's orders shortly after
the battle of Thapsus, where he was taken
prisoner. Cicero's present estimate of him
seems merely expressed to serve the purpose
e of the moment, as elsewhere (Att. 1. 18, 5)
he speaks of him as 'ignavus ac sine animo
miles.' Cp. ib. 1. 20, 5.

9. In salutem mea. P. Lentulus Spin-
ther owed his consulship, in 57 B.C., to the
support of Caesar, but he had no sooner
entered on it than he proposed the recall of
Cicero from exile, and thenceforth he showed
himself an energetic supporter of Pompey,
after whose death we hear no more of
him.

10. M. Bibulus was elected Consul with
Caesar in 59 B.C., through the interest of
the aristocratical party, of which he was
a consistent supporter. He died when in
command of Pompey's fleet, in 48 B.C.

11. L. Domitius Ahenobarbus and
App. Claudius Pulcher were colleagues in
the consulship in 54 B.C. They were
both of them constantly opposed to Cicero,
though belonging to the same party in the
state, and Claudius was notorious for his
venality and rapacity. Domitius fell at
Pharsalus; Claudius died previously in Eu-
boea.

12. P. Scipio, better known as Q. Cae-
cilus Metellus Scipio, was called Publius
before his adoption by Metellus Pius,
and accordingly his name appears under both
forms. He was selected by Pompey as his
colleague in the consulship late in 52 B.C.,
and was ever afterwards his staunch adhe-
rent. He commanded Pompey's fleet off
the coast of Africa, but being defeated
shortly after the battle of Thapsus he com-
mitted suicide.

16. Sectorem. Cp. 2. 15, 39 and 26,
64 notes.

15 Victum Ciceronem ducem habuistis. Eo libentius ducem audio, quod certe ille dicit invitus: nam de victo nihil laboro; fatum enim meum est sine re publica nec vinci posse nec vincere. Macedoniam munitis exercitibus. Et quidem fratri tuo, qui a vobis nihil degenerat, extorsimus. Africam commisistis Varo bis capto. Hic cum Gaio fratre putat se litigare. In Syriam Cassium misistis. Non igitur sentis huic causae orbem terrae patere, te extra munitiones tuas vese 15 tigium ubi imprimas non habere? Cascam tribunatum gerrre passi estis. Quid ergo? ut Marullum, ut Caesetium a re publica removeremus eum, per quem, ut neque hoc idem posthac neque multa eius modi accidere possent, consecuti

cc. 15, 16. After a futile sneer at Cicero, and taunts levelled at other loyal citizens which recoiled upon himself, Antony ventured to recall to mind his own disgraceful conduct at the Lupercalia, his illegal proceedings in connection with the colonization of the veterans, and his disloyal hatred of the people of Marseilles; and he found fault with various actions of the senate, which were found wholly insignificant, or meritorious in themselves, or even necessary for the welfare of the state.

8. Victum Ciceronem, an allusion to his exile, a point on which he was always most sensitive.

11. Exercitibus, with the combined forces under M. Brutus. See the tenth oration. The present tense is noticeable among the perfects; but the fortification of Macedonia, like the promises to the Massiliots in § 32, was still in process of completion, and Antony had probably not yet heard of the capture of his brother Gaius.

Cum Gaio fratre. He thinks that the senate has no more right to exercise a discretionary power in selecting its officers, than a man would have who was as utterly devoid of judgment and discretion as C. Antonius.

16. Cascam. P. Servilius Casca, one of Caesar’s assassins, was tribune of the commons at the time, and Antony urges that he should have been removed from his office for the crime: which Cicero says would have been following Caesar’s own example, who superseded and expelled from the senate the two tribunes, L. Caesetius Flavus and C. Epidius Marullus, for removing the crowns from his statues and imprisoning a person who had saluted him as king. See Suet. Caes. 79.

17. A re publica removeremus. Cp. Vell. Pat. 2. 68 ‘In hoc tamen sepe lacessiti principis ira excessit, ut censoria potius contentus nota quam animadversione dictatoria summoveret eos a republica,’ where the mention of the censorial power shows that their removal ‘a republica’ was not banishment, but merely exclusion from public life.

18. Hoc idem, ‘this same act of arbitrary power,’ by which the tribunes were deprived of their office.
M. TULLII CICERONIS

cc. 15—16.


Neminem Pompeianum, qui vivat, teneri lege Hirtia dictitatis. Quis, quæso, iam legis Hirtiae mentionem facit? cuius non minus arbitror latorem ipsum quam cos, de quibus

1. Vectigalia Iuliana, the revenues which Caesar gave to the Luperci: probably as an endowment for the third class of Iulliani, which he added to the college of the Luperci in his own honour, and of which he made Antony high priest. This was in his 4th dictatorship, probably just at the end of 45 B.C. For Antony's conduct on the occasion referred to, see 2. 34 notes.

5. Lege et senatus consulto. Some MSS. omit 'et,' and Garatonius upholds the omission, making 'senatus consulto' depend on 'sustulisti,' on the ground that the act for establishing the colonies, hastily passed at the comitia, never came before the senate. Halm however shows that this is no objection to the ordinary reading, as Antony made no more difficulty about inventing decrees of the senate, than about irregularly passing laws. See 5. 3. 7.

6. Nos sustulimus, &c., 'did we abolish the colonies, or did we rather ratify a law duly passed at the comitia? 'i.e. the senate could not rescind an act which had never really passed, but by annulling the irregular proceedings of Antony they vindicated the authority of the laws which he had violated. Some editors understand the colonies in question to be those of Caesar, and interpret these words to mean, 'so far from disallowing the colonies, we even got a law carried to maintain them,' or (reading 'lege...lata' ) 'we even sanctioned them by a law which regularly passed the comitia:' but Antony could have had no pretence or reason for asserting that any colonies planted by Caesar had been disallowed.

7. Qui erant, &c., 'you have ruined those veterans who had ruined themselves already, and brought them into a dilemma,' &c. Cp. Fam. 4. 2. 3 'Quantum nos sefellerit et quem in locum res deducta sit vides,' Cicero is of course playing on the technical meaning of 'deducere in locum' with respect to colonies.

9. Iure belli. In consequence of their revolt against Caesar, in whose proceedings Cicero could see but little 'ius.' For the treatment of the Massiliots see 8. 6. 18 note.

16. Dictitatis. This is Orelli's emendation, followed by all subsequent editors, for the unintelligible reading of the MSS. 'dignitatis.' Previous editors commonly adopted the suggestion of Naugerus: 'An nescitis nemen... tenere lege Hirtia dignitatis.' To discover the true reading is the more hopeless from the want of any information as to the purport of the 'Lex Hirtia.' Mr. Watson suggests that it was passed in 49 B.C., and perhaps excluded those who had served in Pompey's army from public offices. (Letters, Append. ix. 1.)
2. Ut sit lex, 'supposing it to be a law.'

3. Apuleiana pecunia. Cp. 10. 11, 24 'Cui testis est per litteras M. Brutus, eum principem fuisse ad conatum exercitus comparandi.' Appian tells us that from the first arrival of M. Brutus in Greece Apuleius handed over to him all his forces and the money which he had collected as quaestor (B. Civ. 4. 75).

7. Petrum. Perhaps the same who is mentioned by Caesar (Bell. Civ. 3. 35) as his zealous supporter. The name is doubtful, and is variously given as 'Petrus,' 'Petreus,' and 'Paetus.' The last form is the least likely, as he was evidently a Greek.

Menedemum. Of him we know nothing, except that from a comparison of Cic. Att. 15. 2, 2 with ib. 4, 4 it seems probable that the rumour of his execution was a mistake.

11. Non is found after 'nudum,' in three of the MSS., under the contracted form 'n.'

Halm omits it, thinking that it is a corruption of the name of the place from which Theopompus was expelled. He may be the man whom Cicero mentions two years before (Att. 13. 7, 1) as being in correspondence with Caesar.

15. Eodem pugione, with the identical dagger with which he killed Caesar.

19. Meos, the Fourth and Martian legions, which Antony had summoned from Macedonia to join him. See 3. 2, 3 and 4.

21. Quaestoris, &c. Antony served as quaestor in Gaul under Caesar in 52 and 51 B.C. Cp. 2. 20, 50. At Pharsalus he was in command of the right wing of Caesar's army, whence he probably claimed the title of Imperator.

23. Verba dedimus, &c., 'we cozened and deceived them.' Cp. Att. 15. 16 A: 'Verba mihi dari facile patior.' The irony is best continued to the end of the chapter, though some editors take the latter part as a question, reading 'num illi,' &c.

3. Fatalem, ‘the special act of destiny,’ and so calling for no revenge in any quarter. cc. 17–18. He considered he was uttering a very bitter taunt in accusing the senate of imitating Pompey: and having repudiated the idea of relieving D. Brutus, he offered terms to the veterans if they would betray their general. Acknowledging his sympathy with Dolabella, and complaining of the rejection of his own outrageous terms, he urged that Caesar’s rather than Trebonius’ death should be avenged, thus seeking the destruction of all the noblest and most loyal citizens.


7. Quod faciat. So Halm, following the conjecture of Madvig (Opusc. 2. 203), for the ordinary reading, found in two MSS., ‘feciis? Quid faciat,’ &c. He approves however rather of the plural ‘quae’ (two MSS., ‘que’), ‘what have ye not either sanctioned or actually done of the things which Pompey, could he come to life again, would do?’

10. Modo. So Halm, from one MS., for the ordinary reading ‘domo,’ corrected in one MS. to ‘domi.’

16. Omnia integra sunt, ‘have yet to choose their line of action.’ Antony seems to mean that as they had not yet actually attacked him, they had committed no offence for which he might not pardon them; but Cicero points out that deserting their general was ample cause of offence, saying that ‘he never saw any line of action so freely open to a body of men as to attack their general, whom they have so studiously and so unanimously offended.’ Halm unnecessarily reads ‘cum tantum studium consensumque ostenderint,’ from the reading ‘ostenderint’ in one MS.

18. Quoniam vos vos, &c. The sentence as it stands is unmeaning. Halm suggests ‘quoniam vos eos assentationibus... venists depravatum. Ilne corrupti sunt,’ &c., and Madvig (Jahn’s Jahrb. for 1856, p. 126) would substitute ‘quamquam eos vos... venists depravatum. Itane? Corrupti sunt,’ &c., which Kayser adopts.

20. Persuasum sit... persequi. This construction of ‘persuasum sit’ with the infinitive is rare, but is found also in Plaut. Bacch. 4. 8, 93 ‘Persuasum est facere, quoius me nunc facti pudet;’ and is borne out by the analogy of ‘conceditur mihi facere,’ and ‘permittio alicui facere.’ See Madvig I. c.
persequi? At militibus inclusis opem fertis. Nihil moror eos salvos esse et ire quo lubet, si tantum modo patiuntur perire eum, qui meruit. Quam benignæ! Denique usi liberalitate Antonii milites imperatorem reliquerunt et se ad hostem metu perterriti contulerunt: per quos si non stetisset, non Dolabella prius imperatori suo quam Antonius etiam collegae parentasset. Concordiae factam esse mentionem scribitis in senatu et legatos esse consulares quinque. Difficile est credere eos, qui me praeceptum egerint, aequissimas conditiones ferentem et tamen ex iis aliquid remittere cogitantem, putare aliquid moderate aut humane esse facturos. Vix etiam veri simile est, qui iudicaverint hostem Dolabellam ob rectissimum facinus, eosdem nobis parere posse idem sentientibus. Parumne videtur omnium facinorum sibi cum Dolabella societatem inimam confiteri? Nonne cernitis ex uno fonte omnia scelera manare? Ipse denique fatetur, hoc quidem satis acute, non posse eos, qui hostem Dolabellam iudicaverint ob rectissimum facinus—ita enim videtur Antonio—sibi parere idem sentienti. Quid huic facias, qui hoc litteris memoriaque mandarit, ita sibi convenisse cum Dolabella, ut ille Trebonium

2. Quo lubet, si tantum, &c. So Halm from one MS. 'The others have 'quo iubetis tantum,' or 'quo iubetis si tantum';' the 'si' being apparently first lost in 'iubetis,' and then re-inserted from the obvious necessity of its presence. Mr. Long gets over this necessity by reading 'patiuntur,' apparently without authority.

3. Denique, &c., 'we have come to this then at last, that availing themselves of Antony's generosity, the soldiers have left their general,' &c. Some editors, following Ferrarius, read 'itaque;' but Hand (Tursell. 2. 267) shows that 'denique,' like the German 'am Ende,' serves to express ironical indignation, suggesting what is looked upon as in the highest degree improbable. He compares pro Rosc. Am. 29, 81 'li denique qui tum armati dies noctesque concursabant, ... Sex. Roscio temporis illius acerbitatem iniquitatemque obiicient,'

5. Per quos si non stetisset, 'but for whose opposition.'

6. Non Dolabella prius, &c. 'Dolabella's offering to the "manes" of his general would not have come before the offering of Antony to his colleague;' i.e. Antony would have sacrificed hisvictim from among the murderers of Caesar, by killing D. Brutus, as soon as Dolabella succeeded in murdering Trebonius. 8. Consulares quinque. See 12. 7. 18; where Pansa is added to the five 'consulares.' He is probably omitted by Antony, because the embassy was only the secondary reason for his going to Mutina, and if it failed he was to follow out his primary object, and join his forces to those of Hirtius in opposing Antony.

9. Difficile est credere ... putare. That either 'credere' or 'putare' is superfluous is clear; but Garatonius defends them both, thinking that 'putare' repeats 'credere' on account of the long intervening clause. He thinks 'credere' comes in so elegantly as to prove its own case, while Priscian (15. 3. 13) quotes the passage with 'putare.' Madvig would strike out 'credere,' 'nam etsi multos novi interpretes nihil reformidantes, non puto tamen me reperturum qui neget haec sic cohaereere; "Difficile est putare (credere) eos qui me ... egerint ... facturos esse."' (Jahn's Jahrb. for 1856, p. 127.)
et, si posset, etiam Brutum, Cassium, discruciatos necaret * * * cademque inhiberet supplicia nobis? O conservandus civis cum tam pio iustoque foedere! Is etiam queritur conditiones suas repudiatas, aequas quidem et verecundas: ut haberet Galliam ultimam, aptissimam ad bellum renovandum instruendumque provinciam: ut Alaudae in tertia decuria iudicarent, id est, ut perfugium scelerum esset † cum turpissimis rei publicae sordibus: ut acta sua rata essent, cuius nullum remanet consulatus vestigium. Cavebat etiam L. Antonio, qui fuerat aequissimus agri privati et publici decemperator, Nucula et Lentone collega. Quam obrem vos potius animadvertite, utrum sit elegantius et partibus utilius, Trebonii mortem persequi an Caesaris, et utrum sit aequus, concurrere nos, quo facilius reviviscat Pompeianorum causa totiens iugulata, an consentire, ne ludibrio simus imicis. Si esset iugulata, nuncquam exsurgeret: quod tibi tuisque contingat! Utrum, inquit, elegantius—atqui hoc bello de elegantia quaeritur!—partibusque utilius. Partes, furiose, dicuntur in foro, in curia. Bellum contra patriam nefarium suscipisti: oppugnas Mutinam, circumsedes consulem designatam: bellum contra te duo consules gerunt cumque ies pro practore Caesar: cuncta contra te Italia armata est. Istas tu partes potius quam a populo Romano defectionem vocas?

2. Eademque, &c. As 'ille' obviously refers to Dolabella, and this latter clause as obviously to something which Antony should do, and as there is nothing to mark the change of subject, Klotz, followed by subsequent editors, has marked the passage as deficient. Probably some such words as 'ipse domi maneret' should be supplied.

6. Alaudae. See 1. 8, 20 note.

7. Cum turpissimis r. p. sordibus can only mean 'to the dire disgrace of the state,' in which sense the use of 'turpissimis' is strange. Halm would read 'tum' or 'iam,' 'that henceforth there might be a refuge for their crimes to the lowest dregs of the state.' Klotz reads 'in ... sordibus,' 'a refuge for crime among the lowest dregs of the people,' but this is hardly fair to the Alaudae.

10. Decemperator. The word is only used here. Cp. 14. 4. 10 'Peritus metator et callidus.' The reference is again to the septemvirate 'agris dividundis.'

12. Elegantius, &c., 'in better taste, and more advantageous for your party.' Cicero cavils at the word 'elegantius' as introducing too trifling considerations for so weighty a decision as that between peace and war. Two passages are commonly quoted from Livy as justifying Antony's use of the word, from 35. 14 'Neminem (Pyrrho) elegantius loca cepisse, praesidia disposuisse:' and 37. 1 'Elegantius facturos dixit si indicio patrum quam si sorti eam rem permisisset;' but the former refers only to the engineering skill of Pyrrhus, the latter not to the actual alternative between peace and war, but to the manner in which the decision should be made. Cicero's objection to 'partes' is that it is used of parties in a state, whereas Antony was an outlaw, and at open war with Rome. Here therefore the matter in dispute lies deeper than a mere question of Latinity.

15. Iugulata. Perhaps 'annihilated' is the word that will best bear Cicero's criticism of a term which cannot be literally translated.

1. Trebonii...persequi. So Halm, following a suggestion of Ferrarius. The MSS. have ‘potius Trebonii mortem quam Caesaris persequimur,’ but the change of ‘persequi’ into ‘persequimur’ might easily have been made by some copyist, who did not see that it was a quotation of a portion of what had been already quoted, and wished to make it grammatical in itself; and ‘potius’ probably comes in from the line above.

2. Facillime. It were easy enough to defend it by eulogies on its perpetrators, but it is easier still, and quite enough, to let it sink unmentioned into oblivion.

3. He deprecated civil war, as fostered by Cicero for his own ends, as if anything but ruin could accrue to him if Antony were successful; and he upbraided Cicero for treacherous compliments which he had never paid to Hirtius, and for deceiving Caesar, who had really been betrayed by Antony himself. He declared himself resolved to abide by his party, and by his plighted troth to Dolabella,—partnership with whom was in-famy,—and to Lepidus and Plancus, neither of whom would ever have made terms with him.


5. Lanista Cicerone, ‘with Cicero to arrange the terms of combat,’ as though both sides belonged to his school of gladiators, and he marshalled the whole war. Cp. Livy 35. 35 ‘Quanto satius esse Romam mittere legatos, quam populum Romanum cum Antiocho, lanistis Aetolis, dimicare.’

6. Ornamentis: perhaps ‘flowers of rhetoric;’ (cp. ad Quint. Fr. 2. 13, 1 ‘Iam pridem istum canto Caesarem. Mihi crede, in sinu est: uveque ego discingo’) as we do not hear of Cicero taking any prominent part in promoting the official exaltation of Caesar.

7. In me maledicta. Halm thinks ‘iacere’ or ‘iactare’ has fallen out. Another reading is ‘in mea maledicta,’ like ‘neam contumeliam’ in § 42; but this presents a strange construction of ‘pergo,’ hardly borne out by ‘pergamus ad reliqua’ in Brut. 43.

8. Et quidem non insipiens, ‘and indeed I show my skill therein;’ in seeking to get rid of the worst of his band.

9. Nobis, ‘to Cicero and his friends;’ the ‘inimici’ referred to above in § 38. It is hard to see what gain Cicero could be supposed to reap by the overthrow of the Consuls, leading as it must have done to the exaltation of Antony.

10. Quo, ‘whereby.’ An emendation has been suggested, ‘cum te victore.’
1. Caesari plura, &c. It would seem from this as though Cicero affected to understand Antony as referring to the younger Caesar, to whom alone this would apply; and then he corrects himself by saying, 'but can it be the elder Caesar whom you dare to say that I deceived?' If this view be right, it gives weight to the reading 'deceptum autem patrem a me,' &c., which is found in three MSS.

3. Occidisti, 'dealt him the fatal blow;' by opening the eyes of the people to the real nature of his government, in offering him a crown. Cp. 2. 34. 85.

4. Flaminium cur reliquisti. As 'flamen' of Caesar (see 2. 43, 110), it was unlawful for Antony to be away from the city for a single night. The mention of the 'Lupercalia,' at which Antony held the new office of Lupercus Julius, naturally leads Cicero to consider the other priesthood in honour of Caesar with which he was invested. The form 'flaminium' is confirmed by Livy 26. 23 'C. Claudius . . . fluminio abit.'

7. Odivit. So the MSS. Festus acknowledges the obsolete form ' odio' as the basis of conjugation for this verb, and various forms belonging to it are found in patristic Latin, especially in Tertullian.

11. Optimis cuiusque, &c. Cp. 20, 47, and 5, 3, 6. For 'vastarum' one MS. has 'suas dandarum,' whence many editors, following Ferrarius, have 'suis dandarum;' but the superfluous 's' is merely the repetition of the final letter of 'partitionis.' Another meaningless reading is 'sententias dandarum.'

15. Cum Lepido. Here again, as in c. 4. 7 foll., and c. 8. 16, Cicero betrays his misgivings about Lepidus; but he implies that even if Lepidus forgot his duty to his country, he would at any rate never be guilty of such enormities as Antony.

18. De altero, 'of one's neighbour.' Cp. Off. 1. 2. 4 ' Nulla vitae pars, neque si tecum agas quid, neque si cum altero contrahas, vacare officio potest.'

22. Omnino nullum, &c. It was used by Tacitus and later writers, and Flavius

ciliation to all who would aid him in avenging Caesar's death: as if he were the man whom such a task befitted, or as if such an offer could delude any, when not even Caesar's adopted son had been led away by the use which Antony had made of Caesar's name.

9. Se colligit, 'he composes himself.' See 10. 3, 6 note.

12. Vestrorum: of the partisans of Caesar, represented by the Consuls, to whom the letter was addressed; on whom the Pompeian party would wreak a speedy vengeance, so soon as they had no longer need of their assistance against Antony.

14. Praecipias licet, 'it is well,' that is, 'that you should enjoy by anticipation what you will never live to see fulfilled.' Manutius points out that Cicero does not repeat the subject of Antony's enjoyment, on account of the evil omen.

18. Nuntio, when a false report arrived that you were dead.

19. Aequiore animo. Perhaps from feeling that he had no friends, but that all wished him dead.

21. Meorum iniurias, 'the wrongs
committed by my friends;" by the former adherents, that is, of Caesar, as opposed to the Pompeians.

1. Parati sunt. So the extant MSS. The older editors have 'sint;' but Antony would require the readiness for vengeance more immediately than the willingness to forget, and so might well say, 'if they should be willing to forget that they have done the wrongs, or if they are prepared at once to join us in avenging Caesar's death.'

7. Poenas patrias, 'to avenge his father's death.'

Fecerunt ut. See 4. 5. 11 note. 'They advanced at once nearer to Antony's entrenchments, to join battle with him.' The double meaning of 'accedo,' which so well expresses the result of Cicero's ironical suggestion, can hardly be rendered in translation.

8. Quo maior, &c., 'whereby Caesar is seen to be a youth of higher powers,' &c. 9. Maioreque. See on 10. 11. 25.

16. Cornua tenuerunt, 'were Caesar's main support on either side;' lit. 'supported his flanks,' the metaphor being taken from military language. This expression (the boldness of which does not appear to have gained for it imitators) probably attaches too much importance at least to Pansa among Caesar's followers; and even Hirtius mainly owes his prominence to his being Consul at this time.

c. 21. He was right enough in supposing that no ambassadors would trust themselves to him. In short, his letter did but expose his treasonable designs, and make it more impossible to come to terms with him; and it only confirmed Cicero in voting with Servilius that Lepidus should be recommended to leave the matter in the hands of the senate; to which he adds the further proposal that the thanks of the senate and people should be given to the younger Pompey for his conduct.

21. Quod venias. The reading here is hopelessly corrupt; and no satisfactory emendation has been suggested. Perhaps the best is that adopted by Orelli; 'bellum quo veniat,' 'into the neighbourhood of the war.'
bellae. Sanctiore erunt, credo, iure legati quam duo consules, contra quos arma fert, quam Caesar, cuius patris flamen est, quam consul designatus, quem oppugnat, quam Mutina, quam obsidet, quam patria, cui igni ferroque minitat. Cum vene-
rint, quae postulant cognoscam. Quin tu abis in malam 5
pestem malumque cruciatum! Ad te quisquam veniat nisi
Ventidii similis? Oriens incendium qui restinguenter, summos
viros misimus; repudiasti: nunc in tantam flammam tamque
inveteratam mittamus, cum locum tibi reliquum non modo ad
pacem, sed ne ad deditioinem quidem feceris?

Hanc ego epistolam, patres conscripti, non quo illum dignum
putarem recitavi, sed ut confessionibus ipsius omnia patefacta
eius parricidia videretis. Cum hoc pacem M. Lepidus, vir
ornatissimus omnibus et virtutis et fortunae bonis, si haec
videret, denique aut vellet fieri aut posse arbitraretur? ‘Prius 15
undis flamma,’ ut ait poëta nescio quis, prius denique omnia
quam aut cum Antoniis res publica aut cum re publica Antonii
redeant in gratiam. Monstra quaedam ista et portenta sunt
[prodigia] rei publicae. Moveri sedibus huic urbi melius est
atque in alias, si fieri possit, terras demigrare, unde Antoniorum 20
nec facta nec nomen audiat, quam illos, Caesaris virtute eictos,
Bruti retentos, intra haec moenia videre. Optatissimum est
vincere; secundum est nullum casum pro dignitate et libertate
patriae non ferendum putare. Quod reliquum est, non est

4. Igni ferroque. See 11. 14, 37
note.
9. Inveteratam, ‘that has gained such
force from lapse of time.’
11. Non quo, &c., ‘not that I thought
the writer worthy of so much consideration.’
13. Pacem M. Lepidus. Lepidus had
written a letter to the senate (see Introd.)
strongly advocating peace, as the only means
of securing the safety of the state.
15. Denique aut vellet. There seems
to be something wrong here, from the bald-
ness of ‘denique’ as it stands. Where it is
used in the apodosis of a hypothetical sen-
tence, as equivalent to ‘denuum,’ it is al-
ways combined with a demonstrative pronoun
or adverb, as in Fin. 1. 19, 64 ‘Qui si omnes
veri erunt, tum denique poterit aliquud cognos-
ci et percipi.’ Madvig (Jahn’s Jahrb. for
1856, p. 127) suggests the addition of ‘an-
direct’ after ‘videret,’ ‘if he could see, or in
fact hear all this.’ The word may perhaps
be itself an interpolation from the following
clause.
3. 1, 77
‘Ante cum flammis aquae,
Cum morte vita, cum mari ventus fidem
Foedusque iugenter.’
It was probably a common proverb at Rome,
though it cannot be traced further back than
Cicero.
19. [Prodigia]. So Halm, who looks
on ‘prodigia’ as a gloss.
20. Antoniorum nec facta nec
nomen. Cp. Fam. 7. 30, 1 ‘Hinc ipse evo-
lare cupio et aliquo pervenire, ‘ubi nec
Pelopidarum nomen nec facta audiam;’
and Att. 14. 12, 2 ‘Exire aveo, ‘ubi nec Pe-
opidarum;’ from which passages it appears
that Cicero is here alluding to a favourite
quotation from some well-known play.
22. Retentos, ‘kept before Mutina.’
24. Non est tertium, ‘does not come
V
tertium, sed postremum omnium, maximam turpitudinem sus-
cipere vitae cupiditate. Quae cum ita sint. de mandatis litterisque M. Lepidi, viri clarissimi, Servilio assentior et hoc amplius censeo, Magnum Pompeium, Gnaei filium, pro patris maiorumque suorum animo studioque in rem publicam suaque pristina virtute, industria, voluntate fecisse, quod suam eorumque, quos secum haberet, operam senatui populoque Romano pollicitus esset, eamque rem senatui populoque Romano gratum acceptamque esse eique honori dignatique eam rem fore.

Hoc velconiungi cum hoc senatus consulto licet, vel sciungi potest separatimque perscribi, ut proprio senatus consulto Pompeius collaudatus esse videatur.
INTRODUCTION
TO THE FOURTEENTH ORATION.

After the departure of Pansa to join his colleague, Cicero was left practically at the head of affairs in Rome, and about the middle of April his opponents took advantage of his prominence to spread a rumour that he was intending to assume the dictatorship. Their design was favoured by a report which reached the city at the same time that Antony had gained a great victory, and was marching upon Rome: and Cicero would have been in considerable danger, had not P. Apuleius, the tribune of the commons, come forward to vindicate the purity of his policy, and expose the absurdity of the rumour which was circulated of his ambition. Very shortly after this speech was delivered, a despatch arrived from Hirtius with the news of a victory over Antony, and the tide immediately turned in Cicero's favour. It appears that Antony had evacuated Bononia, in order to concentrate his forces before Mutina, so that Pansa advanced without opposition to within eight miles of the latter city. There he was opposed by Antony with two legions, two praetorian cohorts, and some veteran volunteers. Hirtius however sent a detachment to his aid, and the result was a decided success on the part of the Consuls, though Pansa was seriously, and, as it turned out, mortally wounded in the engagement. The details of the battle may be best given in the words of Ser. Sulpicius Galba (Cic. Fam. 10. 30), who held a command in Pansa's army. His narrative slightly differs from that of Appian, and also in some small particulars from the account in Cicero's speech; but Appian is not quite impartial in his history of these times, and Cicero spoke the fourteenth oration before the arrival of Galba's letter, and probably with imperfect information as to the details of the battle, so that, considering the clearness and vigour of Galba's account, and the opportunity which he possessed of knowing the particulars, we may fairly trust its accuracy. He says: 'A. d. xvii. Kalend.
INTRODUCTION


The despatch of Hirtius excited to the highest pitch the enthusiasm of the people, already roused in Cicero's favour by the speech of Apuleius. They crowded to his house, and conducted him in a triumphal proces- sion to the Capitol, and back again to his home on the Palatine. This was on the 20th of April, the day on which Galba's letter was written, and on the following day, M. Cornutus, the city praetor, called a meeting of the senate. It was moved by P. Servilius that the citizens should lay aside the military garb, and that a public thanksgiving should be celebrated in honour of the victory. Cicero followed with the fourteenth and last extant Philippic oration. In respect to the first point he urged that it would be premature to lay aside the garb of war till the siege of Mutina was actually raised; but the second motion he eagerly supported as implying more than it expressed. On no previous occasion had a thanksgiving been decreed for a victory over citizens, and therefore in voting for its celebration now, the senate really was pronouncing Antony a public enemy. He accordingly moved that the time should be extended to the unprecedented length of fifty days, and that the three generals, Hirtius, Pansa, and Octavianus, should be included in the honour; though even according to his own account, Octavianus had taken no part in the actual battle. He concluded with a glowing eulogy of those who had fallen in the battle, consoling their surviving friends with the thoughts of the glory which they had won, and which would be made imperishable by the public monument which he proposed should be erected to their memory.

It is probable that Cicero delivered further orations on the subject of the contest with Antony, and we might especially expect to find one on the occasion of the second battle before Mutina, in which Hirtius was killed and Antony decisively defeated; but there is no trace of any later speech preserved, except two short fragments quoted by Arusianus (p. 225, Lindem.) as from a sixteenth Philippic oration.

For this oration Halm obtained the collation of an additional MS., but without any valuable results, as it has given rise to no improvement in the text, and appears to be carelessly written. It is in the Vatican library, and is pronounced by Halm (who quotes it as 'v') to be 'ex vetustioribus Italicis.'
SI, ut ex litteris, quae recitatae sunt, patres conscripti, sceleratissimorum hostium exercitum caesum fusumque cognovi, sic id, quod et omnes maxime optamus et ex ea victoria, quae \textit{parta est, consecutum arbitramur}, D. Brutum egressum iam Mutina esse cognovissem\textsuperscript{1}, propereius periculum ad saga\textsuperscript{5} issemus, propereius salutem redeundum ad pristinum vestitum sine ulla dubitatione censerem. Ante vero quam sit ea res, quam avidissime civitas exspectat, allata, laetitia frui satis est maxime praeclarissimaque pugnae; rexitum ad vestitum confectae victoriae reservate. Confectio autem huius belli est\textsuperscript{10} D. Bruti salus. Quae autem est ista sententia, ut in hodiernum diem vestitus mutetur, deinde eras sagati prodeamus? Nos vero cum semel ad eum, quem cupimus optamusque, vestitum redierimus, id agamus ut eum in perpetuum retincamus. Nam hoc quidem cum turpe est, tum ne dis quidem immortalibus gratum, ab eorum aris, ad quas togati adierimus, ad saga\textsuperscript{15} menda discedere. Atque animadverto, patres conscripti, quosdam huic favere sententiae: quorum ea mens idque consilium est, ut, 

\textsuperscript{1}cc. 1, 2. Cicero warns the senate that it was premature to assume the garb of peace before D. Brutus should be extricated from Mutina, both because the war could not be yet considered finished, and because they would be falling in due respect to Brutus. It was for his deliverance that they had witnessed such gallant exertions on the part of the envos, the Consuls, Octavianus, and the Roman people; and therefore it was right to wait for the issue on which so much had been staked before commencing their rejoicings.

\textsuperscript{5}Laetitia frui. So Halm from the MSS. The old reading was 'laetitiae usus,' which gives rather an awkward double genitive.

\textsuperscript{15}Cum turpe est, &c.: the shame of the action consisting in the mockery which it involved, both of their sorrow and of their religion, that they should put on the toga, so as to mark rejoicing and triumph, while they knew that their anxiety was not yet over, and that the gods had granted only half their prayers.
cum videant gloriosissimum illum D. Bruto futurum diem, quo die propter eius salutem redierimus, hunc ei fructum eripere cupiant, ne memoriae posteritatiisque prodatur propter unius civis periculum populum Romanum ad saga isse, propter eiusdem salutem redisse ad togas. Tollite hanc: nullam tam pravae sententiae causam reperietis. Vos vero, patres conscripti, conservae auctoritatem vestram, manete in sententia, tenete vestra memoria, quod saepe ostendistiis, huius totius bellii in unius viri fortissimi et maximi vita positum esse discrimin. Ad 2 D. Brutum liberandum legati missi principes civitatis, qui illi hosti ac parricidae denuntiarent ut a Mutina discederet: ciusdem D. Bruti conservandì gratia consul sortitu ad bellum profectus A. Hirtius, cuius imbecillitatem valetudinis animi virtus et spec victoriae confirmavit: Caesar, cum exercitu per se comparato † cum primis pestibus rem publicam liberasset, ne quid postea sceleris oriretur, profectus est ad eundem Brutum liberandum vicitque dolorem aliquem domesticum patriae caritate. Quid 5 C. Pansa eit aliud dilectibus habendis, pecuniis comparandis, senatus consultis faciendis gravissimis in Antonium, nobis cohortandis, populo Romano ad causam libertatis vocando, nisi ut D. Brutus liberaretur? A quo populus Romanus frequens ita salutem D. Bruti una voce depoposcit, ut eam non solum commodis suis, sed etiam necessitati victus anteferret. Quod sperare nos quidem debemus, patres conscripti, aut inibi esse

2. Redierimus, sc. 'ad pristinum vestitum:' an ellipse easily supplied from the preceding section. One MS. however inserts 'ad vestitum;' and in another 'ad togam' is added as a gloss.

5. Hanc, sc. 'sententiam.'

10. Legati missi. See fifth and sixth orations.

12. Sortitu. So Halm from two MSS. The old reading was 'consules sortiti;' but the form 'sortitu' occurs also de Dom. 19, 50 'Pluribus de rebus uno sortitu retulisti.'

13. Imbecillitatem. Cp. 7, 4, 12 'Quidigitur profectus est vir fortissimus, meus collega et familiaris, A. Hirtius Consul? at qua imbecillitate! qua macie! sed animi vires corporis infirmitas non retardavit.'

15. Cum primis pestibus. Halm thinks that under this obviously corrupt reading underlies some such expression as 'compressis pestibus.' Kayser reads 'cum primum,' apparently taking the first 'cum' as a preposition; and this inverted order of the words would suit the artificial arrangement of the whole of these two opening chapters. One MS. has 'a primis pestibus,' and Manutius defends the reading in the text, referring the 'primae pestes' to Antony's return from Brundisium, and joining 'cum exercitu a se comparato' to 'profectus est.'

17. Dolorem aliquem domesticum, 'what natural affecion lingered in his breast.' Cicero seems rather to imply that Octavianus was too true a patriot to entertain much love for such a tyrant as the dictator.

23. Quod, sc. the deliverance of D. Brutus.

aut iam esse confectum: sed spei fructum rei convenit et evento reservari, ne aut deorum immortalium beneficium festinatione praeripuisset aut vim fortunae stultitia contempsisse videamur.

6 Sed quoniam significatio vestra satis declarat quid hac de re sentiatis, ad litteras veniam, quae sunt a consulibus et a pro praetore missae, si pausa ante, quae ad ipsas litteras pertineant, dixerò. Imbuti gladii sunt, patres conscripti, legionum exercituumque nostrorum vel madefacti potius duobus duorum consulum, tertio Caesaris proelio. Si hostium fuit ille sanguis, summa militum pietas: nefarium scelus, si civium. Quousque igitur is, qui omnes hostes scelere superavit, nomine hostis carebit? nisi mucrones etiam nostrorum militum tremere vultis 7 dubitantes, utrnum in cive an in hoste figurant. Supplicationem decernitis: hostem non appellatis. Gratae vero nostrae dis immortalibus gratulationes erunt, gratae victimae, cum interfacta sit civium multitudine! De improbis, inquit, et audacibus; nam sic eos appellat clarissimus vir: quae sunt urbanarum maledicta litium, non inustae belli internecivi notae. Testamenta, credo,

1. Evento. So Halm from one MS. Most of the MSS. have 'eventu,' which is the commoner form in the singular number, but cp. Att. 3, 8, 4 'poenam eventi.' Cicero's meaning is that they must not be too hasty in triumphing over the victory, lest they should seem to presume on the continued favour of the gods, or to have put out of sight reverses with which fortune still might persecute them. He attributes all the good which they might receive to the favour of heaven, and all reverses to the accidents of fortune, with an inconsistency commonly to be found in all who adopt the phraseology of fatalism.

cc. 3, 4. The senate still hesitated to call Antony an enemy, though they waged war against him, and entertained the question of a 'supplication' for his defeat. Yet he did not hesitate to carry on open war with his country, to praise the enormities of Dolabella, to sanction the outrages of his brother, to treat the colonies with most rapacious violence, and to threaten equal violence against Rome itself. Cicero therefore declares in favour of a 'supplication' for fifty days in honour of the three generals, who would thus acquire for themselves the name of Imperator, whilst Antony would be thereby branded as an enemy to the state.

4. Significatio vestra, 'your gestures of assent;' cp. pro Sest. 59, 125. 'Haece populi Romani tanta significatio.'

5. A pro praetore, by Octavianus. Cp. c. 8, 22.

7. Imbuti. One MS. adds 'sanguine,' which is apparently a gloss.

8. Madefacti. Manutius, followed by Forcellini, says 'Minus est 'madefacti' quam 'imbuti,'" as though Cicero corrected himself, putting a weaker word for a stronger one. The mention of the three battles, however, seems to point rather to a climax in the use of 'madefacti'; and this is confirmed by the use of 'imbuo,' referring to the beginning of bloodshed in 5. 7, 20 'Cum semel gladium scelere imbuisset.'

Duobus. See the introduction.

10. Pictas, 'loyal devotion.'

11. Nomine hostis. He had in all respects been treated as a foe, since the day when the people assumed the military dress, but had never yet been formally declared a public enemy.

16. Civium: as the soldiers of Antony must be deemed, if they were not considered enemies.

17. Clarissimus vir: the proposer of the 'supplicatio,' P. Servilius.

18. Internecivi. So Halm, with whom Facciolati agrees, for the common reading 'internecini.' The MSS. are hopelessly confused in this clause, and all corrupt.

ORATIO PHILIPPICA XIV.
M. TULLII CICERONIS

subiiciunt aut eiiciunt vicinos aut adolescentulos circumscribunt; his enim vitiiis affectos et talibus malos aut audaces appellare consuetudo solet. Bellum inexpiable infert quattuor consuli- 8 bus unus omnium latronum tacterrimus; gerit idem bellum cum 5 senatu populoque Romano; omnibus—quamquam ruit ipse suis cladibus—pestem, vastitatem, cruciatum, tormenta denuntiat; Dolabellae ferum et immane facinus, quod nulla barbaria posset agnoscere, id suo consilio factum esse testatur; quaeque esset facturus in hac urbe, nisi eum hic ipse Iuppiter ab hoc templo 10 atque moenibus reppulisset, declaravit in Parmesium calamitate, quos optimos viros honestissimosque homines, maxime cum auctoritate huius ordinis populique Romani dignitate coniunctos, crudelissimis exemplis interemiti propudium illud et portentum, L. Antonius, insigne odium omnium hominum vel, si etiam di 15 oderunt quos oportet, deurum. Refugit animus, patres conscripti, 9 caque dicere reformidat, quae L. Antonius in Parmensium liberos et coniugibus effecerit. Quas enim turpitudines Antonii libenter cum dedecore subierunt, casdem per vim lactantur aliis se in- tulisse. Sed vis calamitosa est, quam illis obtulerunt: libido 20 flagitiosa, qua Antoniorum oblit a est vita. Est igitur quisquam, 4 qui hostes appellare non audeat, quorum scelere crudelitatem Karthaginiensium victam esse fateatur? Qua enim in urbe tam immanis Hannibal capta quam in Parma surrepta Antonius? nisi forte huius coloniae et ceterarum, in quas eodem est animo, non est hostis putandus. Si vero coloniarum et municipiorum 10 sine ulla dubitatione hostis est, quid tandem huius censetis

1. Subiiciunt, 'they exhibit counterfeit wills.' Cp. Quint. 9. 2, 73. 'Ream tuebar, quae subiecisse dicebatur mariti testamentum.'

3. Quattuor consulisb. See on 13, 7, 16.

4. Unus. See on 2, 34, 84.

5. Ruit ipse, &c. Cp. Hor. Epod. 16, 2. 'Suis et ipsa Roma viribus ruit.'

9. Ab hoc templo. From this passage it would appear that the senate met on this occasion in the temple of Jupiter on the Capitol. Cp. c. 10, 27.

10. In Parmensium calamitate. We have already seen (10, 5, 10) that Parma was one of the cities in Antony's occupation (cp. Fam. 12, 5, 2); but of the particulars of its seizure we have nowhere else so much information as in this passage. Cp. Fam. 10, 33, 4; ib. 11, 13 A.

13. Propudium et portentum, 'that prodigy of wileness.' 'Propudium,' as a concrete term, appears, except in this passage, to be confined to the writings of the comedians. It here rests on the authority of one MS., the others having 'proludium,' or 'praeludium.'

15. Refugit, &c. Halm compares Virg. Ae. 2, 13 'Animus meminisse horret, luctuque refugit.'

24. Nisi forte, &c. Cicero's argument depends on the general acknowledgment that Antony was an enemy to Parma and the other municipal towns; and this he shows him to have been, in that he treated them worse than any recognised enemy ever did.

26. Quid... huius urbis, 'what is his relation to this city? is he its enemy? or

Itaque cum supplicationes iustissimas ex iis litteris, quae recitatae sunt, decernere debeamus, Serviliusque decreverit, augebo omnino numerum dierum, praesertim cum non uni, sed tribus ducibus sint decernendae. Sed hoc primum faciam, ut imperatores appellem eos, quorum virtute, consilio, felicitate maximis periculis servitutis atque interitus liberati sumus. Etenim cui viginti hisannis supplicatio decreta est, ut non imperator appellaretur, aut minimis rebus gestis aut plerumque nullis? Quam ob rem aut supplicatio ab eo, qui ante dixit, decernenda non fuit, aut usitatus honos pervulgatusque tribuendus iis, quibus etiam novi singularesque debentur. An si quid est?

what? 'quid' standing for the word which should bear the same relation to 'urbs' that 'hostis' does to 'coloniarum.'

1. Latrocinii, 'of his band of robbers.' Cp. Cat. i. 13, 31 'si ex tanto latrocinio iste unus tolletur.'

2. Decempeda sua. Cp. 11. 5, 12; and see on 13. 18, 37.


A domestici hostibus, 'by enemies within the walls.' The MSS. add 'id est qui intra moenia hostes sunt;' which Furrarius deservedly expunged as a gloss.


12. Decernere is to give one's decision in favour of any question, and hence either of the senate, 'to pass a decree,' or, as here, of an individual senator, 'to vote for a motion;' not necessarily implying that he was the original proposer of it. Mr. Long compares de Prov. Cons. cc. 10 and 11, in which the word occurs repeatedly in both applications; and which also illustrate the custom of proposing a 'supplicatio' on the receipt of despatches from a general in the field.

13. Cum non uni sed tribus. So Halm, from the very confused readings of the MSS. The old reading was 'sed communiter tribus,' but 'communiter' seems to have sprung out of 'cum non uni.'

17. Viginti hisannis. See on 2, 1, 1.

19. Ab eo. This rare construction with the gerundive, showing that it had come to be looked on as a passive form, seems mainly to occur when there is already a dative depending on it in another relation. Cp. de Imp. Cn. Pomp. 2. 6 'Quibus est a vobis consulum.' See however ib. 12, 34 'Haec a me in dicendo praetereunda non sunt;' and Phil. 3, 8, 21 'Sin ille a senatu notandum non fuit?' and Zumpt, § 651.

cc. 5, 6. The generals would rejoice that their honours should be associated with the name of Cicero, when they entered the temple which had recently been the scene of an ovation.
Hispanorum aut Gallorum aut Threcum mille aut duo milia occidisset, eum hac consuetudine, quae increbuit, imperatorem appellaret senatus: tot legionibus caesis, tanta multitudine hostium interfecta—hostium dico? ita, inquam, hostium, quamvis hoc isti hostes domestici nolint—clarissimis ducibus supplicationum honorem tribuemus, imperatorium nomen adiemus?

Quanto enim honore, lactitia, gratulatione in hoc templum ingredi debent illi ipsi huius urbis liberatores, cum hesterno die propter corum res gestas me ovantem et prope triumphantem populus Romanus in Capitolium domo tulerit, domum inde reduxerit? Is enim demum est mea quidem sententia iustus triumhus ac verus, cum bene de re publica mcritis testimonium a consensu civitatis datur. Nam sive in communi gaudio populi Romani uni gratulabantur, magnum iudicium, sive uni gratias agebant, eo maius, sive utrumque, nihil magnificantius cogitari potest.

Tu igitur ipse de te dixerit quispiam. Equidem invitus, sed iniuriae dolor facit me præcter consuetudinem gloriosum. Nonne satis est ab hominibus virtutis ignaris gratiam bene merentibus non referri? Etiam in cos, qui omnes suas curas in rei publicae salute desigunt, † impetus crimen [invidiaque] quaeretur? Scitis enim per hos dies creberrimum fuisse sermonem, me Parilibus,

in his honour. An attempt had been made to spread a rumour that he, of all men, was aiming at sovereign power, and designs had even been formed against his life; but the plot had been frustrated by a speech of P. Apuleius, and the conspirators confounded by the news of Antony's defeat.

2. Imperatorem. Cicero seems to imply that the custom of giving the title of 'imperator' so easily was of recent growth.

7. Quanto enim honore, &c. Mr. Forsyth (2, 24) draws attention to the adroitness with which Cicero manages 'to bring in his own name and speak at some length of himself by ALLuding to the proud delight with which the victorious generals would enter as imperators that temple where they were then sitting, when they re-collected that it was on account of their exploits that the people had the day before conducted him in triumph to the Capitol.'

8. Hesterno die, the 20th of April, the day on which the news arrived. See on §14.

21. Impetus crimen [invidiaque].

So Halm in his text, though in his notes he suggests 'impietatis crimen,' 'the charge of disloyalty.' He thinks 'invidia' a gloss, 'que' not being found in the MSS. Kayser reads 'impietatis crime invidia.' The older editors omit 'impetus,' and read 'crimen invidiaque quaeretur,' 'shall it be sought to stir up prejudice against them, by charging them with crime;' but the expression of the nature of the charge seems to be required.

22. Parilibus. So Halm from one MS. The rest have 'per Idus Quintiles,' a reading opposed to both chronology and grammar. The feast of the Parilia, or birthday of Romulus and Remus (otherwise called Pa
inglia, as though it were the festival of Pales), was celebrated on the 21st of April, and as the battles which gave occasion to this speech were fought on the 15th, the news might very well have reached Rome on the 20th of that month. This is the date given in one of the so-called letters to Brutus (ad Brut. 1, 3, 2), and as that letter bears evident traces of reference to this passage, and was
ORATIO PHILIPPICA XIV.

§§ 12—16. qui dies hodie est, cum fascibus descensurum. In aliquem credo hoc gladiatorem aut latronem aut Catilinam esse collatum, non in eum, qui ne quid tale in re publica fieri posset effecerit. An ego, qui Catilinam haec molientem sustulerim, everterim, aflixerim, ipse existerem repente Catilina? Quibus auspiciis istos fasces augur acciperem? quatenus haberem? cui traderem? Quemquamne fuisse tam sceleratum qui hoc fingeret, tam furio-

6 sum qui crederet? Unde igitur ista suspicio vel potius unde iste sermo? Cum, ut scitis, hoc triduo vel quadriduo tristis a Mutina fama manaret, inflati laetitia atque insolentia impii cives unum se in locum, ad illam curiam, partibus potius suis quam rei publicae infelicem, congregabant. Ibi cum consilia inirent de caede nostra partirenturque inter se, qui Capitolium, qui rostra, qui urbis portas occuparent, ad me consursum futurum civitatis putabant. Quod ut cum invidia mea fieret et ut cum vitae etiam periculo, famam istam fascium dissipaverunt; fasces ipsi ad me delaturi fuerunt. Quod cum esset quasi mea voluntate factum, tum in me impetus condatorum hominum quasi in tyrannum parabatur; ex quo caedes esset vestrum omnium consecuta. Quae res patefecit, patres conscripti, sed suo tempore totius huius sceleris fons aperici tur. Itaque P. Apuleius tribunus pl., meorum omnium consiliorum periculumque iam inde a consulatu meo testis, conscius, adiutor, dolorem ferre non potuit doloris mei: contionem habuit maximam populo Romano unum

probably written within twenty or thirty years of Cicero's death, its authority on this point is considerable. Orelli, following a conjecture of Ferrarius, reads 'pridie Vinalia,' which would be the 22nd of April; but the reading in the text is further confirmed by a scholium on Pers. i. 72, which quotes Cicero as mentioning the Palilia in the Philippics.

1. Cum fascibus, 'with the ensigns of sovereign power;' probably as dictator, or even as king. For 'descensurum' see on 2. 6, 15.

4. An ... everterim; sc. 'an id effeci ut,' &c.

9. Sermo. He implies that the rumour was not even founded on honest suspicion, but was wilfully spread abroad to bring him into odium.

11. Partibus. So Halm from a conjecture by Klotz. The MSS. have 'viribus,' or 'iuris;' from the latter of which Madvig (Jahn's Jahrb. for 1856, p. 127) suggests 'furis,' 'ut furiosos homines co congregari solitos significat.' This conjecture is adopted by Kayser, and has the advantage of making 'suis' refer to 'curiam.' Other conjectures are 'civibus,' 'victoribus,' 'rebus.' The allusion is probably to the Curia Pompeii, which, as being the scene of Caesar's murder, would naturally be deemed by his adherents to be a place of evil destiny to the state.

13. Rostra is the emendation of Faernius for 'hostia,' and has been adopted by almost all subsequent editors.

20. Patefecit. So the MSS. The older editors have 'patescit,' a mistake caused probably by their not observing that 'quaes' is the accusative plural. The reasonable designs were brought to light by the course of events, but their origin yet remained to be disclosed.

atque idem sentiente. In qua contione cum me pro summa nostra coniunctione et familiaritate liberare suspicione fascium vellet, una voce cuncta contio declaravit nihil esse a me umquam de re publica nisi optime cogitatum. Post hanc 5 habitam contionem duabus tribusve horis optatissimis nuntii et litterae venerunt: ut idem dies non modo iniquissima me invidia liberarit, sed etiam celeberrima populi Romani gratulatione auxerit.

Hac interposui, patres conscripti, non tam ut pro me dicerem 17 —male enim mecum ageretur, si parum vobis essem sine defensione purgatus—, quam ut quosdam nimis iciuno animo et angusto monerem, id quod semper ipse fecissem, uti excellentium civium virtutem imitatione dignam, non invidia putarent. Magnus est in re publica campus, ut sapienter dicere Crassus 15 solebat, multis apertus cursus ad laudem. Utinam quidem illi 7 principes viverent, qui me post meum consulatum, cum ii ipse cederem, principem non inviti videbant! Hoc vero tempore in tanta inopia constantium et fortium consularium quo me dolore affici creditis, cum alios male sentire, alios nihil omnino curare videam, alios parum constanter in suspeta causa permancere sententiamque suam non semper utilitatem rei publicae, sed tum spe, tum timore moderati? Quod si quis de contentione 18 principatus laborat, quae nulla esse debet, stultissime facit, si vitii cum virtute contendit: ut enim cursu cursus, sic in viris fortibus virtus virtute superatur. Tu, si ego de re publica optime sentiam, ut me vincas, ipse pessime senties? aut, si ad me bonorum concursum fieri videbis, ad te improbos invitabis? Nollem, primum rei publicae causa; deinde etiam dignitatis tuae. Sed si principatus ageretur, quem numquam expetivi, quid

7. Sed etiam, &c., 'but has also conferred on me the honour of most unanimous congratulations from the Roman people.'

c. 7. He himself was not desirous of acquiring undue prominence in the state; and so far as he aimed at distinction among his fellow-citizens, he confined himself to honourable means; being conscious that any use of disloyal measures must necessarily result in disconsolation. Hence he had been constant in his efforts for the freedom of the state, and had persevered in urging war, only because a peace with Antony would involve the slavery of them all.

12. Fecissem. We should rather have expected 'feci,' but Cicero represents this as part of the wording of his advice to his adversaries, instead of expressing it as a parenthetic explanation to the senate.

14. Crassus, L. Licinius Crassus, Consul 95 B.C., and pronounced by Cicero to dispute the palm for oratory with M. Antonius. See Brut. 36, 138; and 86, 296.

16. Principes, 'leaders in the state,' and especially men of consular rank.

29. Quid tandem, &c. As the protasis of this clause contains the opposite suggestion to that of the preceding one, supposing Cicero to be actuated by the unworthy motive of personal ambition, instead of
anxiety for the good of the state, and the character of his rivals, so the apodosis contains an opposite result. Patriotism and generous rivalry would make him most unwilling that his opponents should descend to unworthy means for gaining success, personal ambition would make him welcome eagerly such conduct on their part. The 'res optatissima' therefore, in such a case, would be that his opponent should entertain disloyal thoughts, and seek the aid of reprobes, 'vitiss cum virtute contendens.' The following clause confirms this view, in which Cicero declares that he fears nothing from disloyal stratagems, but if any one can devise a better policy than his own for the state, he, in the interests of the state, would be the first to welcome it.

2. Possim. One MS. has 'possum,' but see Madv. § 350 b. Obs. 3.

4. Proinde. One MS. here has 'perinde;' and some critics deny that Cicero ever uses 'proinde' in this sense; but in Tusc. 5. 2, 6 'proinde' is found in all the extant MSS., and in pro Quinct. 14, 45, as here, the balance of authority is greatly in its favour. Its occurrence in Lucretius (see 3. 1035 and 1053) admits of no question. See also Zumpt, § 282.

De quoque ut quisque. See on 2. 46, 119.

8. Hoc loco, sc. 'consulari loco.'

11. Ante diem xiii: the day on which the third and fourth orations were spoken. The MSS. have 'xiii;' but the date is proved both by the occurrence of the right figures in 6. 1, 1 and Fam. 12. 22, 3; and by the expression which he used respecting it on the 1st of January, 'qui dies nudiis tertius decimus est' 5. 1, 2.

12. Ex Kalendis Ianuariis: when in the fifth oration he proposed that Antony should be declared an enemy.

16. Meis sententiis. It is to be noticed in this sentence how, as Cicero advances to his climax, his expressions become more elliptical: in the opening clauses the grammar is complete, then the substantive verb disappears, and at last he omits the whole verbs 'missos esse legatos,' 'iudicatum esse illum hostem.'

18. Ut ego, &c., 'so that I, the consistent adviser of real peace on all occasions, opposed this ruinous peace, which existed but in name. Cp. 7. 3, 7 foll.; 8. 4, 11, &c.


20. Tr. pl. uolusenum. The reading
meas si consules discesionem facere voluissent, omnibus istis latronibus auctoritate ipsa senatus iam pridem de manibus arma cecidissent. Sed, quod tum non licuit, patres conscripti, id hoc tempore non solum licet, verum etiam necesse est, eos, qui re sunt hostes, verbis notari, sententiiis nostris hostes iudicari. Antea cum hostem ac bellum nominassem, semel et saepius sententiam meam de numero sententiarum sustulerunt: quod in hac causa iam fieri non potest. Ex litteris enim C. Pansa A. Hirtii consulum, C. Caesaris pro praetore, de honore dis immortalibus habendo sententias dicimus. Supplicationem modo qui decrevit, idem imprudens hostes iudicavit: numquam enim in civili bello supplicatio decreta est. Decretam dico? ne victoris quidem litteris postulata est. Civile bellum consul Sulla gessit; legionibus in urbem adductis quos voluit expulit, quos potuit occidit: supplicationis mentio nulla. Grave bellum Octavianum insecutum est: supplicatio Cinnae nulla victori. Cinnae victoriam imperator ultus est Sulla: nulla supplicatio decreta a senatu. Ad te ipsum, P. Servili, num misit uillas collega litteras here is hopefully corrupt, and probably a portion has been lost, as there seems no reason for mentioning Ventidius alone in such a connection. Moreover he was one of the praetors for this year. Hence Orelli reads 'cum alii praetorem, tribunam Volusium, ego,' &c., on which Halm remarks with justice, 'huc connecturam iam verborumordo ratioque rhetorica refragatur.' Another reading, found in two MSS., is 'cum alii tr. pl. voluissent num ego,' &c. Volusenus is not elsewhere mentioned by Cicero as one of the followers of Antony, though we hear of one C. Volusenus Quadratus, 'vir et consili magull et virtutis,' being 'praefectus equitum' under Caesar. (Caes. Bell. Gall. 3. 5; Bel. Civ. 3. 60.)

1. Si consules. The MSS. add 'designati,' probably the injudicious interpolation of an early copyist, as the Consuls had already entered on their office. 

Discessionem facere. See on 3. 9, 24.

cc. 8—10. He now had the authority of the Consuls for proposing to declare Antony an enemy: for in no case had a 'supplication' been decreed for victory over citizens. He himself proposed to make the matter even less ambiguous, by giving the title of Imperator to both the Consuls and to Octavianus, for their noble prowess in the war. Hirtius and Pansa in the field, as gallant leaders

of gallant armies, and Octavianus for his promptitude in opposing Antony and his valour in defending the camp, had well deserved this honour in addition to a 'supplication' of fifty days.

7. Sustulerunt, &c., 'would not allow the question to be put to the House.' This explains 'non licuit' above, as the Consuls were the lawful authorities on the subject of what motions should be allowed. In the present instance, the question which they had brought before the senate in their despatches involved, if Cicero's reasoning is correct, the previous decision that Antony was a public enemy.

11. Imprudens, 'unconsciously,' without being aware what his proposal involved.


16. Victori. So Halm from one MS., comparing § 24, and c. 3, 11. The common reading 'victoris' seems to have arisen from copyists not observing that the construction really depends on 'decreta est.' Madvig thinks 'Cinnae' an interpolation, as being itself out of place, and destroying the symmetry of the three clauses, 'supplicationis mentio nulla;' 'supplicatio nulla victori;' 'nulla supplicatio decreta.'

18. Collegra. P. Servilii Vatia was
§§ 21—26. **ORATIO PHILIPPICA XIV.**

de illa calamitosissima pugna Pharsalia? num te de supplicatione voluit referre? Profecto noluit. At misit postea de Alexandrea, de Pharmace: Pharsaliae vero pugnae ne triumphum quidem egit. Eos enim cives pugna illa sustulerat, quibus non modo vivis, sed etiam victoribus incolmis et florens civitas esse posset. 5 Quod idem contigerat superioribus bellis civilibus. Nam mihi consulti supplicatio nullis armis sumptis non ob caedem hostium, sed ob conservationem civium novo et inaudito genere decreta est. Quam ob rem aut supplicatio re publica pulcherrime gesta postulantibus nostris imperatoribus deneganda est, quod praeclare 10 A. Gabinium contigit nemini, aut supplicatione decernenda hostes eos, de quibus decernitis, iudicetis necesse est. Quod ergo ille re, id ego etiam verbo, cum imperatores eos appello: hoc ipso nomine et eos, qui iam devici sunt, et eos, qui supersunt, 20 hostes iudico, cum victores appello imperatores. Quo modo 15 enim potius Pansam appellem? etsi habet honoris nomen amplissimi. Quo Hirtium? Est ille quidem consul, sed alterum nomen beneficici populi Romani est, alterum virtutis atque victoriae. Quid? Caesarem, deorum beneficio rei publicae praefectum, dubitemne appellare imperatorem? quiprimus Antonii 20 immanem et foedam crudelitatem non solum a iugulis nostris, sed etiam a membribus et visceribus avertit. Unius autem diei 26 quot et quantae virtutes, di immortales, fuerunt! Princeps enim

Consul with Caesar in 48 B.C., and remained at home while Caesar was in Greece.

2. De Alexandrea. Alexandria was reduced by Caesar early in the following year, after which he proceeded to attack Pharmaces, the son of Mithridates, whom he utterly defeated at Zela, in Pontus, on the 2nd of August.

4. Eos enim cives. In this sentence Cicero is rather representing his own views of the party of Pompey, than those which Caesar would have entertained. The fact however of their being citizens was probably what deterred Caesar from claiming a triumph.

6. Nam mihi consuli, &c. See 2, 1, 2. For the use of 'nam' introducing by anticipation the answer to a supposed objection, cp. 11. 8, 18 note.

10. Praeter A. Gabinium. Cp. ad Q. Fr. 2, 8, 1 'Id. Maiis (56 B.C.) senatus frequens divinus fuit in supplicatione Gabiniø deneganda. Adiurat Procilius hoc nemini accidisse.' Cicero himself was not present on this occasion. The ground of his claim to a 'supplication' is commonly stated to have been some successes in his province of Judaea: but Drummann (Gesch. Rom. 3. 47, note 35) shows from the dates that it was rather a defeat of some Arabs who had been making incursions into Syria.

12. Ille, sc. P. Servilius. Another reading is 'illī,' referring to the Consuls and Octavianus, but the more recent reference has been to the proposer of the decree.

15. Cum victores appello imperatores. These words are supposed by some editors to be a gloss; but such repetitions are not unfrequent with Cicero, and unless the words in question be retained, the connection of the following clause is very awkward.


22. A membribus et visceribus, 'from our limbs and flesh.' 'A ingulis' simply points to the dangers to their lives, the following words to the probability that Antony would torture them, following the example set by Dolabella.
omnium Pansa proeli faciendi et cum Antonio confligendi fuit: dignus imperator legione Martia, digna legio imperatore. Cuius si acerrimum impetum cohiber Pansa potuisset, uno proelio confecta res esset. Sed cum libertatis aida legio effrenatus in aciem hostium irrupisset ipseque in primis Pansa pugnaret, duo- bus periculosus vulneribus acceptis sublatus e proelio rei publicae vitam reservavit. Ego vero hunc non solum imperatorem, sed etiam clarissimum imperatorem iudico: qui cum aut morte aut victoria se satis facturum rei publicae sponpoidisset, alterum 10 fecit, alterius di immortales omen avertant! Quid dicam de Hiritio? Qui re audita e castris duas legiones eduxit incredibili studio atque virtute, quartam illam, quae relictio Antonio se olim cum Martia legione coniunxit, et septimam, quae constituta ex veteranis docuit hoc proelio militibus iis, qui Caesaris beneficia 15 servassent, senatus populique Romani carum nomen esse. His viginti cohortibus, nullo equitatu, Hirtius ipse aquilam quartae legionis cum inferret, qua nullius pulchriorem speciem imperatoris accepinus, cum tribus Antonii legionibus equitatuque con- flixit hostesque nefarios, huic Iovis optimi maximi ceterisque 20 deorum immortalium templis, urbis tectis, libertati populi Ro-

3. Si ... potuisset. According to Galba (Cic. Fam. 10. 30), the uncontrollable impetuousity of the Martian legion led Pansa into considerable difficulty, and ultimately gave to Antony a temporary advantage in the battle. This letter Cicero could not yet have received, as it was only written the day before he delivered this oration. See the introduction.

6. Vitam reservavit. He was mortally wounded, but was apparently still alive when Galba wrote.

13. Septimam. This legion has been already mentioned with praise (7. 14, 37, note), as having remained loyal, in oppo- sition to those followers of Antony, "qui, postquam beneficia Caesaris comedunter, consulem designatum obsident,"


17. Qaa nullius, &c., "the noblest type of devotion of which we have ever heard in any general;" lit. "the noblest type of generalship on record." Cp. Off. 2. 11, 39 "Nisi speciem prae te boni viri feras." We find a similar exploit recorded of Octavianus in the subsequent battle, by Sueton. Aug. 10 'In media dimicatone, aquilifero legione suae graviter saucio, [constat eum] aquilam humeris subjecto, dique portasse.'

18. Cum tribus. In the letter of Galba Antony is said to have brought only two legions, the second and thirty-fifth, into action; but we know that he had with him also the fifth, the famous Alaude legion, which certainly took part in the second action (Fam. 10. 33, 4); and as Galba's letter had not yet arrived, Cicero might naturally conclude that all three legions were engaged on the first day. It seems more simple to suppose that the despatches did not contain precise information on this point, than to imagine with Drummant that Cicero purposely exaggerated the number of Antony's forces, or with Garatoni that he reckoned as a legion the two praetorian co- horts and veteran volunteers ('evocati') whom Galba mentions as engaged in the fight.

19. Huic Iovis optimi maximi. So Halm, after Muretus. The old reading is 'huic Iovi maximo,' combining the name of Jupiter awkwardly with the temples of the other gods. Huic, 'this temple where we are now sitting,' See c. 3, 8 note.

Est autem fidei pietatisque nostrae declarare fortissimis militi-bus quam memores simus quamque grati. Quam ob rem pro-

10. Imperium dabamus: by the decree passed on the 1st of January, wherein he was invested with the title of propraetor (5. 17. 46).

'Spem eius nominis, 'the hope implied in that name.'

11. Est consecutus. Halm suggests, and Kayser reads, 'asset consecutus,' but this would necessitate an aorist rather than a perfect sense for 'comprobavit.' 'In achieving all that the word "imperium" implies, he has justified our decree by his exploits.'

13. Maximi animi. The genitive is much less frequently used by Cicero to express quality than the ablative, and almost exclusively to denote the quality of some portion of the subject which cannot be separated from it even in idea. Cp. Fam. 4. 8, 1 'Neque monere te audoe praestANTI prudentia virum nec confirmare maximi animi hominem;' and see Madv. § 287. Obs. 2.

Castra multarum legionum, the camp of Hirtius, constructed to accommodate a large body of troops, and therefore requiring a large force for its defence. Anthony had attacked this camp in the morning, before proceeding against Pansa, and had left a portion of his troops to continue the assault.

17. Quinquaginta dierum. This was an unprecedented number of days for a 'supplicatio,' ten having been an extreme number in honour of Pompey's victory over Mithridates, and only fifteen having been granted even in honour of Caesar's conquest of the Belgae. See de Prov. Cons. 11, 26 and 27.

cc. 11-13. It was right to recognize also the valour of the soldiers; and therefore Cicero proposes that all the promises made to them should be confirmed in favour of the survivors; and that the dead, who had given a portion of their life to their country, should receive the imperishable memorial of a public monument. This unparalleled honour would mark the people's sense of the unparalleled distinctions of the legions engaged; and it would be some consolation to their mourning relations, to feel that those whom they had lost were acknowledged to be worthy of such a monument, as being the saviours of their country.
missa nostra atque ea, quae legionibus bello confecto tributuros nos spongondimus, hodierno senatus consulto renovanda censeo; acquirum est enim militum, talium praesertim, honorem coniungi. Atque utinam, patres conscripti, civibus omnibus solvere nobis praemia liceret! quamquam nos ea, quae promisimus, studiose cumulata reddemus. Sed id quidem restat, ut spero, victoribus, quibus senatus fides praestabitur: quam quoniam difficillimo rei publicae tempore seuti sunt, os numquam oportebit consilii sui paenitere. Sed facile est bene agere cum his, a quibus etiam tacentibus cumulata praemia Atque tunata fortissorum senate though multa, nem found word is not able to be associated with that of their generals.

6. Cumulata, 'with interest.' This is the emendation of Naugérisus for 'quam multa,' adopted by most subsequent editors, though Halm suggests 'atque cumulata,' comparing c. 13, 35. Cp. Virg. Ae. 4. 436 'Quam (veniam) mihi cum dederis, cumulatam morte remittam.'

7. Praestabitur, 'the senate's plighted word will be fulfilled.' Another reading, found in two MSS., is 'praestatur,' 'the senate's word is pledged.'

15. Maerorem et luctum, 'the distress and mourning of their relatives.' He does not say 'dolorem,' that deeper reasonable grief which is beyond the power of outward consolation. See on 9, 5, 12.

16. Placet igitur mihi, &c. The conclusion of this oration is apparently an imitation of the funeral orations, so commonly delivered by the Athenians over those who had fallen in war. This custom seems never to have prevailed at Rome, the duty of celebrating the praises of the dead having been there left in the hands of their private friends and relations.

21. Hanc imitata, &c., 'it was by following the example which this legion set,' &c. This special theme of praise seems to be introduced for the sake of including the fourth legion in his eulogy. As it had lost no men (cp. Fam. 10. 30. 5) it did not naturally come within the scope of what is practically a funeral oration.

24. Naturae debita. Cp. 10. 10. 24 'Non est viri minimeque Romani dubitate eum spiritum, quem naturae debet, patriae reddere.' Potissimum, 'in preference to any other way.' Death is a debt which nature claims at some time or another, but the occasion and mode of paying the debt is left to some extent within the discretion of each individual man for himself.
32 reddita! Vos vero patriae natos iudico: quorum etiam nomen a Marte est, ut idem deus urbem hanc gentibus, vos huic urbi genuisse videatur. In fuga foeda mors est, in victoria gloria: etenim Mars ipse ex acie fortissimum quemque pigerari solet. Illi igitur impii, quos cecidistis, etiam ad inferos poenas parricidia lucent: vos vero, qui extremum spiritum in victoria effudistis, piorum estis sedem et locum consecuti. Brevis a natura vita vobis data est, at memoria bene redditae vitae sempiterna. Quae si non esset longior quam haec vita, quis esset tam amens qui maximis laboribus et periculis ad summam laudem gloriam-que contenderet? Actum igitur praeclare vobiscum, fortissimi, dum vixistis, nunc vero etiam sanctissimi milites, quod vestra virtus neque oblivione eorum, qui nunc sunt, nec reticentia posterorum sepulta esse poterit, cum vobis immortale moni-

Idem deus, &c. Curio compares the funeral oration ascribed to Demosthenes, p. 1307, 11 foll., where the value of the several tribes is traced back to the influence of their founders, as here the value of the Martian legion is ascribed directly to the inspiration of the founder of the Roman people.

4. Pignerari, ‘to claim as his own,’ as his pledge, or share of the wealth of brave men with which he endowed the state.

5. Etiam ad inferos. Cp. Cat. 1. 13, 31 *Tu, lupitter, ... hunc et huius socios, ... scelerum foedere inter se ac nefaria societate coniunctos, aeternis suppellicis vivos mortuasque matabis.’ For the use of ‘ad,’ as equivalent to ‘apud,’ cp. Caes. B. G. 3, 9 *Nomen ad omnes nationes sanctum suisset.’


Brevis a natura, &c. Cp. Lys. Epitaph. p. 158, 8 ἀγήρατοι μὲν αὐτῶν αἱ μνήμηι, ἠξιωθαὶ δὲ ἒντω πάντων ἀνθρώπων αἱ τιμαὶ: οἱ πνευμάτω τί έμεν διὰ τὴν φύσιν ώς θυμαῖ, ἢμνονται δὲ ὡς ἀθάνατοι διὰ τὴν ἄρετήν; ib. p. 158, 15 ἐπείδη θυργῶν σαμα-των ἐνυχὼν, ἀθάνατον μνήμην διὰ τὴν ἄρετήν αὐτῶν κατέλησον. We must re-

member that, according to Cicero’s philo-

sophy, these men gave up part of the short life allowed them by nature in dying for their country. See 1. 4, 10 note.

9. Quis esset tam amens, &c. Cp. Tusc. 1. 15, 33 ‘Inhaeret in mentibus quasi saeclorum quodam augurium futurorum, ... quo quidem adempeto quis tam esset demens qui semper in laboribus et periculis viverc?’


and Tib. 2. 6, 31 *Illa mihi sancta est; illius dona sepulcro, Et madefacta meis sertas feram lacrimis.’

14. Sepulta. So Halm from two MSS. *Inasmuch as your prowess cannot be buried in obscurity either through the forgetfulness of the present generation, or by the silence of posterity.’ The other reading is ‘insepulta,’ which some interpret as an intensified form of ‘sepulta,’ from ‘insepelio;’ but which is more commonly taken to mean, ‘shall not be deprived of funeral honours,’ a strange and seemingly unparalleled sense for the adjective to convey.

mentum suis paene manibus senatus populusque Romanus ex-
struxerit. Multi saepe exercitus Punicis, Gallicis, Italicis bellis
clari et magni fuerunt, nec tamen ullis tale genus honoris
tributum est. Atque utinam maiora possemus, quando quidem
5 a vobis maxima acceptimus! Vos ab urbe furentem Antonium
avertistis; vos redire molientem repuldistis. Erit igitur ex-
structa moles opere magnifico incisaeque litterae, divinae virtutis
testes sempiternae, numquamque de vobis eorum, qui aut vide-
bunt vestrum monimentum aut audient, gratissimus sermo
10 conticescit. Ita pro mortali conditione vitae immortalitatem
estis consecuti.

Sed quoniam, patres conscripti, gloriae munus optimis et
13 fortissimis civibus monimenti honore persolvitur, consolemur
ereorum proximos, quibus optima est haec quidem consolatio:
15 parentibus, quod tanta rei publicae praesidia genuerunt; liberis,
quod habebunt domestica exempla virtutis; coniugibus, quod iis
viris carebunt, quos laudare quam lugere praestabit; fratribus,
quod in se ut corporum, sic virtutis similitudinem esse confident.
Atque utinam his omnibus abstergerc fletum sententiis nostris
20 consultisque possemus vel aliqua talis iis adhiberi publice possent
oratio, qua deponenter maerorem atque luctum gauderentque
potius, cum multa et varia impenderent hominibus gener mortis,
id genus, quod esset pulcherrimum, suis obtignisse, cosque nec
inhumatos esse nec nec desertos, quod tamen ipsum pro patria non
25 miserandum putatur, nec dispersis bustis humili sepulitura cre-
matos, sed contactos publicis operibus atque muneribus caque
exstructione, quae sit ad memoriam acternitatis ara Virtutis.

2. 43 kovv &v tò sòumata didòntes, ìdía
τον τάναον ἑπανον ἑλάμβανον καὶ τόν
τάδιον ἑπισημοτάτων, οἷς ἐν ψευδών
ἀλλ' ἐν θυδαία, ἑυτῶν παρά τῷ ἐν
τυχόντι ἕν καὶ λόγον καὶ έργον καρμ))^
ἀκμαίησαν καὶ καλείσαται: ἕναρ
γας ἐπιφανῶν πάσα γῆ
τάρτον, καὶ οὐ στήλων μόνον ἐν τή
οἰκίᾳ σημαίναι ἑπιγραφή, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ
μὴ προστοιούσῃ ἀγράφος μνήμη παρ' ἐκάστῳ
tης γνώμης μάλλον ἢ τοῦ έργου ἐνδιαται
13. Consolemur: following the ex-
ample in the speech of Pericles, Thuc. 2
44 and 45.
22. Cum multa et varia, &c. The idea
is perhaps taken from Hom. II, 12. 328 foll.
νῦν δ' (ἐπιτη γὰρ Κήρες ἐφεστάσιν ὑπάτουo

Plat. Menex. p. 234 C. καὶ μή, ὁ Μνέττεν
πολλαχί κηδεμούν καλλίν εἶναι τὸ ἐν πο-
λεμῷ ἀποθέσκειν καὶ ἐν ταφής καλῆς
τε καὶ μεγαλοπρεποὺς τυγχάνει.
Virg. Ae. 2. 646 ‘Facilis iactata sepulcri.’
26. Contactos publicis operibus
ateque muneribus, ‘buried by the state
with public obsequies;’ ‘ opera being the
actual labour bestowed upon the funeral,
‘munera’ the ceremonies and functions by
which it was accompanied.
35 Quam ob rem maximum quidem solacium erit propinquorum, eodem monimentum declarari et virtutem suorum et populi Romani pietatem et senatus fidem et crudelissimi memoriam belli: in quo nisi tanta militum virtus exstitisset, parricidio M. Antonii nomen populi Romani occidisset. Atque etiam censo, patres conscripti, quae praemia militibus promisimus nos re publica recuperata tributuros, ea vivis victoribusque cumulate, cum tempus venerit, persolvenda: qui autem ex iis, quibus illa promissa sunt, pro patria occiderunt, eorum parentibus, liberis, coniugibus, fratribus eadem tribuenda censeo.

14 Sed, ut aliquando sententia complector, ita censeo: Cum C. Pansa, consul, imperator, initium cum hostibus conflagendi fecerit, quo proelio legio Martia admirabili incredibileque virtute libertatem populi Romani defenderit, quod idem legiones tironum fecerint, ipseque C. Pansa, consul, imperator, cum inter media hostium tela versaretur, vulnera acceperit: cumque A. Hirtius, consul, imperator, proelio audito, re cognita, fortissimo praestantissimoque animo exercitum castris eduxerit impetumque in M. Antonium exercitumque hostium fecerit eiusque copias occidione occiderit, suo exercitu ita incolumi, ut ne unum quidem militem desiderarit: cumque C. Caesar, pro praetore, imperator, consilio diligentiaque sua castra feliciter defenderit copiasque hostium, quae ad castra accesserant, profligari, occiderit: ob eas res senatum existimare et iudicare eorum trium imperatorum virtute, imperio, consilio, gravitate, constantia, magnitudine animi, felicitate populum Romanum foedissima crudelissimaque servitute liberatum; cumque rem publicam, urbum, templum deorum immortalium, bona fortunasque omnium liberosque conservarint dimicatione et periculo vitae suae, uti

8. Cumulate. See on c. 11, 30.
Cum tempus venerit, 'now that the time has come.' The fulfilment of the promises being duly earned by the victory which they had gained.

c. 14. He concludes by a formal vote, that the three generals should receive the thanks of the senate, and that a 'supplication' of fifty days should be held in their honour; that the rewards promised to the soldiers should be confirmed; that a monument should be raised at the public expense in honour of the dead; and that the rewards and honours due to them should be bestowed on their surviving relatives.

11. Sententia complector, 'to sum up what I have been urging in a formal vote,' Halm suggests 'sententiam,' but what has gone before was not the substance of his vote, but the reasons for it.

14. Legiones tironum. Two legions of recruits, out of four which the Consuls apparently had with them, were engaged in the battle. See Fam. 14, 30, 2.

29. Vitae suae. The genitive belongs to 'dimicatione' as well as to 'periculo,' cp. de Prov. Cons. 9, 23 'Impendentibus periculis maximis cum dimicatione capitis,' pro Planc. 32, 77 'Vitae dimicationes.'
ob eas res bene, fortiter feliciterque gestas C. Pansa A. Hirtius consules, imperatores, alter ambove, aut, si aberunt, M. Cornutus praetor urbanus supplicationes per dies quinquaginta ad omnia pulvinaria constitut: cumque virtus legionum digna clarissimis imperatoribus exstiterit, senatum, quae sit antea pollicitus legi-
onibus exercitibusque nostris, ea summo studio re publica recuperata soluturum: cumque legio Martia princeps cum hostibus conlixerit, atque ita cum maiore numero hostium contenderit, ut, cum plurimos caederent, caderent nonnulli, cumque sine ulla retractatione pro patria vitam profuderint; cumque simili virtute reliquarum legionum milites pro salute et libertate populi Romani mortem oppetiverint: senatui placert ut C. Pansa A. Hirtius consules, imperatores, alter ambove, si eis videatur, iis, qui sanguinem pro vita, libertate, fortunis populi Romani, pro urbe, templis deorum immortalium profudissent, monimentum quam amplissimum locandum faciendumque curent quaestoresque urbanos ad eam rem pecuniam dare, attribuere, solvere iubeant, ut exstet ad memoriam posteritatis sempiternam scelus crudelissimorum hostium militumque divina virtus; utique, quae praemia senatus militibus ante constituit, ea solvantur eorum, qui hoc bello pro patria occiderunt, parentibus, libris, coniugibus, fratribus, iisque tribuantur, quae militibus ipsis tribui oporteret, si vivi vixerissent, qui morte vicerunt.

2. M. Cornutus. As city praetor it was his official duty to take the place of the Consuls in their absence. Cp. Fam. 10. 12, 3. 'Placuit nobis ut statim ad Cornutum praetorem urbanum litteras deferremus, qui, quod consules abert, consolare munus sustinebat more maiorum.'

7. Soluturum. So Halm from one MS. The others have 'resoluturum,' 're'- having the force of 'paying as a debt due,' as in 'reddo' c. 12, 32. Plautus uses the word in the same sense, Menaceph. 5, 5, 30 'Obdormisco si resolvit argentum quoi ego debeo.' Cp. id. Amph. 2, 2, 81; Epid. 1, 2, 39; Cat. R. R. 1, 44, 3. Manutius reads 'persoluturum,' which would be suitable enough, but rests on no authority.

10. Sine ulla retractatione, 'without any hesitation;' cp. Att. 13, 25, 1. 'Sine ulla dubitatione ant retractions.' The word, which is rare, is only found in combination with 'sine,'

16. Curent, quaestoresque urbanos. So Ferrarius, correcting the reading of the MSS., 'locandum faciendumque urbem ad eam rem,' which is wholly untenable. Cp. the wording of the decree in 9, 7, 16.

19. Divina virtus. So Halm from one MS. The others have 'ad scelus ... divinam virtutem.'

Utique. So Halm, following the suggestion of Manutius ('malum utique, magis enim redolet antiquitatem'), fortified by the reading of one MS. The other MSS, have 'utique.'

22. Iisque tribuantur. So Halm, following Ferrarius. The MSS. repeat 'fratribus' after 'iisque,' probably by mistake, as there is no trace of a custom such as some commentators have suggested, that the brothers of those who had fallen in war should succeed to their military rank and privileges.

23. Si vivi vixerissent. So Halm and Kayser, following Ernesti. The MSS. have 'si illi vixerissent,' which is much less forcible. Another emendation, adopted by Orelli, is 'si illi vixerissent.'
Loci qui a grammaticis ex Philippicis afferuntur nec in iis exstant.


1. This passage is supposed by August Krause (‘über Ciceros vierte Philippische Rede,’ p. 6) to be the sole surviving fragment of the genuine fourth oration, which had been replaced by a spurious composition of later date. (See the introduction to the fourth oration.) The reading ‘fecit ut ... proiceres’ is a conjecture by C. L. Roth for the reading of the MSS. ‘facit clam te ex urbe proiceres.’

2. M. Juventius Laterensis was legatus in the army of M. Lepidus, and used all his influence to deter him from joining Antony after the battle of Mutina. Hence it seems probable that this sixteenth oration was delivered after the news of the alliance between Antony and Lepidus had been received at Rome.

4. Aulus Gellius tells us (15. 4) that Ventidius Bassus obtained a precarious livelihood in his younger days by furnishing mules and carriages to magistrates who were setting out for their provinces; and quotes three lines composed in allusion to this when Ventidius was made Consul—

'Concurrere omnes augures, haruspices:
Portentum inusitatum conflatum est recens,
Nam mulos qui fricabat, consul factus est.'
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(The first figure refers to the Oration, the second to the smaller subdivision into sections.)

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