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*Continued in the end of this volume.*
SELECT ORATIONS

OF

M. TULLIUS CICERO:

WITH NOTES,

FOR THE USE OF SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES

BY

E. A. JOHNSON,
PROFESSOR OF LATIN IN THE UNIVERSITY OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK.

NEW-YORK:
D. APPLETON & COMPANY,
846 & 848 BROADWAY.
M.DCCCLVII.
This volume of Select Orations of Cicero is intended to form one of the series of Classical Books published by the Messrs. Appleton, and was prepared at their request. After the purpose was formed to issue such a volume, there appeared in England, edited by T. K. Arnold, a small volume containing the fourth book of the impeachment of Verres, the four speeches against Catiline, and the speech for the poet Archias. It was the desire of the publishers that that volume should be made the basis of their edition, and accordingly, so far as it coincided with the selection usually read in the preparatory schools of our country, it has been incorporated in the present work. The Verrine oration, which is given in the English edition, has been omitted in the present, as it is the intention of the editor to issue it in some other form.

The present volume will be found to contain those orations, which in this country usually go under the name of select orations. They are the same, and given in the same order as in the Boston edition, with the exception of the second Philippic, which is omitted in the present volume.

The editions of Cicero's select Orations, which are in most general use in this country, are the Boston edition just referred to, by Charles Folsom, and Professor Anthon's edition published by Harper & Brothers. These volumes are so well known that it is needless to speak of them in detail. Those, however, who are acquainted with them, and with the progress which
has been made since their appearance in the careful collation and correct deciphering of the best MSS. of Cicero's writings, will be ready to admit, without hesitation, that if nothing more should be attempted, a new and improved text was called for. The labors of Orelli, Madvig, Klotz, and others, have not been without important results for the text of Cicero, and no one will deny that these results are of primary importance to beginners in the study of the classics. The editor felt therefore that he would render an essential service to the cause of accurate scholarship, if he did nothing more than furnish a text as correct as possible. It was not his plan, however, to present a text which should be made up of several others, however good, and correspond entirely with no one. He was convinced that it would more certainly meet the views of scholars and teachers, if he should select the text, which might be considered on the whole the best for his object, and give a careful and exact reprint of that. He has accordingly intended in this edition to give the text of Orelli, as revised by him subsequently to his edition of the entire works of Cicero, and published in a volume containing fifteen orations. This remark refers to all the orations given in this volume, except those for Marcellus and for Milo, which are not found in Orelli's revision. The text of the Milo is a reprint of that of Madvig; and of the Marcellus, of that of Klotz. The principal variations, in the most recent editions, from the text, which has been in either case adopted, are noticed in the notes. This has been done often with what may at first sight appear unnecessary minuteness, but the editor is convinced that a teacher may make use of various readings to the advantage of the pupil, even at this stage of his progress.

The notes have been collected freely from any sources which were within the editor's reach. It will readily appear to those who are acquainted with the subject that they have been largely drawn from the productions of German scholarship. Those which were given in Arnold's edition are here retained in full.
They were there credited, in many cases by initials, to Orelli, Klotz, Bloch, Matthiæ, and Stürenburg, with the remark, that those without an initial letter appended are generally from Matthiæ. It would have been agreeable to the editor's views and feelings to give credit in connection with each note to the source or sources from which it was taken, but this was inconvenient, and seemed hardly necessary in a work of this kind. It is his pleasure however here, as well as his duty, fully and distinctly to acknowledge and specify the authorities which he has so freely and as he hopes profitably used in compiling the notes to this edition.

Of editions by English or American scholars, besides those already mentioned, the editor has had before him Valpy's and M'Kay's; from the latter of which he has taken many notes, especially on the later orations. But, as already remarked, German scholars have furnished him the most abundant aid; and besides the editions of Möbius and Crusius, Matthiæ, Süpfle, Schultz, Steinmetz, Klotz, Madvig, Orelli, which contain all or nearly all the orations given in this volume, the editor has made use of several special editions of most of the orations selected. They are, for the orations against Catiline, Benecke's, Holzapfel's, and Morgenstern's, from the first mentioned of which he has derived much assistance. On the oration for the Manilian law, he has been largely indebted also to Benecke's separate edition of this oration. The recent edition of the same oration by Halm was not received till after the notes to this oration had been stereotyped; and while the editor regrets that he could not make use of Halm's labors, he has been gratified to find that the uses made by him of his resources in so many instances correspond with the results arrived at by the German editor. As neither the revision of Orelli nor the edition of Madvig contained the oration for Marcellus, the text of Klotz was chosen, and the special edition of Wolf, with the essays of Hug and Jacob on the genuineness of this oration, consulted. Again, Benecke's edition of the three
orations next in order for Ligarius, Deiotarus, and Archias was of great service in regard to them. Besides this, Soldan's separate editions of the orations for Ligarius and Deiotarus, and the two editions of Stürenburg of the oration for Archias, contributed greatly to aid the editor in his task. At this point also the editor received the edition by Schmitz and Zumpt, which has just been republished in this country. In regard to the oration for Milo, the editor, in leaving Orelli's text, did not hesitate to follow Madvig, whose principles of criticism mainly harmonize with those of Orelli. For assistance in this oration the editor is greatly indebted to the special edition of Osenbrüggen. He has also consulted the edition with Garatoni's notes, published separately by Orelli.

Besides the editions above specified, to which the editor would be glad to indicate his indebtedness more minutely than it is in his power to do here, he has also made use of programmes and journals, and works on antiquities and on style, as well as various Latin grammars, and remarks of scholars in editions of the classics generally, which came under his notice. The references to Zumpt's Latin Grammar will be found particularly frequent.

With this statement of the design of this edition, and of the sources from which it has been compiled, the editor offers it to the public, in the hope that it may be found useful in its place by the side of others' labors in the same field, in promoting the interests of true and accurate scholarship.

New York University, July, 1850.
deest rei publicae consilium neque auctoritas hujus ordinis
nos, nos, dico aperte, consules desumus.

II. 4. Decrexit quondam senatus, ut L. Opimius consul
videret, ne quid res publica detrimenti caperet. Nox nulla
intercessit: interfecit est propter quasdam seditionum
suspicione C. Gracchus clarissimo patre avo majoribus;
occisus est cum liberis M. Fulvius consularis. Simili sena-
tus consulto C. Mario et L. Valerio consulibus est permissa
res publica. Num unum diem postea L. Saturninus tri-
bunum plebi et C. Servilium prætorem, mors ac rei publicae
pœna remorata est? At vero nos vicesimum jam diem
patimur hebescere aciem horum auctoritatis. Habemus
enim hujusmodi senatus consultum, verumtamen inclusum
in tabulis, tamquam in vagina reconditum: quo ex senatus
consulto confestim interfecerunt te esse, Catilina, convenit.
Vivis: et vivis non ad deponendam, sed ad confirmandam
audaciam. Cupio, Patres conscripti, me esse clementem;
cupio in tantis rei publicae periculis me non dissolutum vi-
deri: sed jam me ipsum ineritiae nequitiaeque condenno.

20 5. Castra sunt in Italia contra rem publicam in Etruriae
faucibus collócata: crescit in dies singulos hostium numero-us: eorum autem castrorum imperatorem ducemque hos-
tium intra moenia atque adeo in senatu videmus intestinam
aliquam quotidie perniciem rei publicae molientem. Si te
25 jam, Catilina, comprehendi, si interfici jussero: credo, erit
verendum mihi, ne non hoc potius ommes boni serius a me,
quam quisquam crudelius factum esse dicat. Verum ego
hoc, quod jampridem factum esse oportuit, certa de causa
nondum adducor, ut faciam. Tum denique interficiam te,
30 quum jam nemo tam improbus, tam perditus, tam tui
similis inveniri poterit, qui id non jare factum esse fatuar.
6. Quamdiu quisquam erit, qui te defendere audeat, vives:
sed vives ita, ut vivis, multis meis et firmis præsidiis obs-
ssus, ne commovere te contra rem publicam possis. Mul-
35 torum te etiam oculi et aures non sentientem, sicut adhuc
fecerunt, speculabuntur atque custodient.

III. Etenim quid est, Catilina, quod jam amplius ex-
spectes, si neque nox tenebris obscurare cetus nefarios nec
privata domus parietibus continere voces conjurationis [tæ
potest? Si illustrantur, si erumpunt omnia? Muta jam
istam mentem, mihi crede: obliviscere cædès atque incen-
diorum. Teneris undique: luce sunt clariora nobis tua
consilia omnia: quæ jam mecum licet recognoscas. 7.
Meministine me ante diem XII. Kalendas Novembres dicere

ORATIO 1.

tum miserar, quum illi ipsi venissent, quos ego jam multis ac summis viris ad me id temporis venturos esse praebi-

xeram.

V. Quae quum ita sint, Catilina, perge, quo cœpisti: 5 egressere aliquando ex urbe: patent portæ: proficiscere. Nimium diu te imperatorem tua illa Malliana castra desi-
derant. Educ tecum etiam omnes tuos: si minus, quam plurimos. Purga urbem. Magno me metu liberabis, dum-
modo inter me atque te murus intersit. Nobis neces versa

10 jam diutius non potes: non feram, non patiar, non sinam. 11. Magna diis immortalibus habenda est atque huic ipsi Jovi Statori, antiquissimo custodi hujus urbis, gratia, quod haec tam tetram, tam horribilem tamque infestam rei pu-

blicœ pestem toties jam effugimus. Non est saepius in uno 15 homine summa salus periclitanda rei publicœ. Quamdiu mihi consuli designato, Catilina, insidiatus es, non publico me praebid, sed privata diligentia defendi. Quum proximi comitiis consularibus me consulem in campo et compe-
titores tuos interficere voluisti, compressi conatus tuos ne-

20 farios amicorum praebid et copis, nullo tumultu publice concitato: denique, quotiescunque me petisti, per me tibi obstiti: quamquam videbam perniciem meam cum magna calamitate rei publicœ esse conjunctam. Nunc jam aperte 25 rem publicam universam petis: templi deorum immortalium, tecta urbis, vitam omnium civium, Italiam denique totam, ad exitium ac vastitatem vocas.

12. Quare, quoniam id, quod est primum et quod hujus imperii disciplinaeque majorum proprium est, facere nondum audeo, faciam id, quod est ad severitatem lenius et ad 30 communem salutem utilius. Nam, si te interfici jussero, residebit in re publica reliqua conjuratorum manus; sin tu (quod te jamdumum hortor) exieris, exaurietur ex urbe tuoorum comitum magna et perniciosa sentina rei publicœ. 13. Quid est, Catilina? Num dubitas id me imperante fa-


VI. Quid est enim, Catilina, quod te jam in hac urbe delectare possit? In qua nemo est extra istam conjura-
tionem perditorum hominum, qui te non metuat; nemo, qui non odgit. Quae hœta domesticœ turpitudinis non inusta vitae tuae est? [Quod privaturn rerum dedecus non ha-

ret infamias?] Quae libidum ab oculis, quod facinus a mani-

bus unquam tuis, quod flagitiurn a totò corpore abfuit?
Cui tu adolescentulo, quem corruptelarum illecebris irreetisses, non aut ad audaciam ferrum aut ad libidinem facem praetulisti? 14. Quid vero? Nuper, quum morte superioris uxoris novis nuptiis domum vacueficesse, nonne etiam alio incredibili scelese hoc scelus cumulasti? Quod ego praetermitto, et faente patior sileri; ne in hac civitate tanti faciendoris immannitas aut extitisse aut non vindicata esse videatur. Praetermitto ruinas fortunarum tuarum, quas omnes impendere tibi proximus Idibus senties: ad illa venio, quæ non ad privatam ignominiam vitiorum tuo cum, non ad domicham tuam difficultatem ac turpitudinem, sed ad summam rem publicam atque ad omnium nostrorum vitam saltemque pertinent. 15. Potestne tibi hæc lux, Catilina, aut hujus coeli spiritus esse jucundus, quum scias horum esse neminem, qui nesciat te pridie Kalendas Januarias Lepido et Tullo consulibus stetisse in comito cum telo? Manum consularum et principum civitatis interficiendorum causa parvisse? Secleri ac furori tuo non mentem aliquam aut timorem tuum, sed fortunam populi Romani obstitisse? Ac jam illa omittor (neque enim sunt aut obscura aut non multa post commissa): quotiens tu me designatum, quotiens consulem interficer conatus es! Quot ego suas petitiones ita conjectas, ut vitari posse non viderentur, parva quadem declinatione et, ut aiunt, corpore effugi! [Nihil agis], nihil assequeris, [nihil moliris], neque tamen conari ac velle de sistis. 16. Quotiens tibi jam extorta est sica ista de manibus? Quotiens vero excitit casu aliquo et elapsa est! [Tamen ea carere diutius non potes]: quæ quidem quibus abs te initia sacris ac devota sit, nescio, quod eam necesse putas esse in consulis corpore defigere.

VII. Nunc vero, quæ tua est ista vita? Sic enim jam tecum loquir, non ut odio permutus esse videar, quo debeo, sed ut misericordia, quæ tibi nulla debetur. Venisti paullo ante in senatum. Quis te ex hac tanta frequentia, tot ex tuis amicis ac necessariis salutavit? Si hoc post hominum memoriam contigit nemini, vocis exspectas contumeliam, quum sis gravissimo judicio taciturnitatis oppressus? Quid? Quod adventu tuo ista subsellia vacuefacta sunt, quod omnes consulares, qui tibi perspepe ad cædem constituiti fuerunt, simul atque assedisti, partem istam subselliorum nudam atque inanem reliquerunt, quo tandem animo hoc tibi ferendum putas? 17. Servi mehercule mei si me isto pacto metuerent, ut te metuunt omnes cives tui, domum meam relinquendam putarem: tu tibi urbem non arbitraris? Et,
ORATIO I.

si me meis civibus injuria suspectum tam graviter atque offensum viderem, careere me adspectu civium, quam infestis oculis omnium conspici mallem: tu, quum conscientia scelerum tuorum agnoscas odium omnium justum et jam diu tibi debitum, dubitas, quorum mentes sensusque vulneras, eorum adspectum præsentiamque vitare? Si te parentes timeánt atque odissent tui neque eos 5 ulla ratione placare posses, ut opinor, ab eorum oculis aliquo concederes: nunc te patria, quae communis est omnium nostrum parent, odit ac metuit et iaradui te nihil judicat nisi de parricidio suo cogitare. Hujus tu neque auctoritate verebere nec judicium sequere nec vim pertimesces? 10 Quæ tecom; Catilina, sic agit et quodam modo tacita loquitur: "Nullum jam aliquot annis facinus exstitit nisi per te; nullum flagitium sine te; tibi uni multorum civium necesse, tibi vexatio direptiœque sociorum impunita fuit ac libera; tu non solum ad negligendas leges et questiones, verum etiam ad everendas perfringendasque valuisti. Superiora illa, quamquam ferenda non fuerunt, tamen, ut potui, tuli: nunc vero me totam esse in metu propter unum te, quidquid increpuerit, Catilinam timeri, nullum videri contra me consilium iniri posse, quod a tuo sceleri abhorreant, non est ferendum. Quamobrem discede atque hunc mihi timorem eripe: si est verus, ne opprimar; sin falsus, ut tandem aliquando timere desinam."

VIII. 19. Haec si tecom, ut dixi, patria loquatur, nonne impetrare debeat, etiam si vim adhibere non possit? Quid? Quod. tu te ipse in custodiam dedisti? Quod vitandæ suspicione causa ad M'. Lepidum te habitare velle dixisti? A quo non receptus, etiam ad me venire ausus es atque, ut domi meæ te asservarem, rogasti. Quam a me quoque id responsi tulisses, me nullo modo posse iisdem paretibus tuto esse tecom, qui magno in periculo esset, quod iisdem mœnibus contineremur, ad Q. Metellum prætorem venisti. 30 A quo repudiatus, ad sodalem tuum, virum optimum, M'. Marcellum demigrasti; quem tu videlicet et ad custodiendum te diligentissimum et ad suspicandum sagacissimum et ad vindicandum fortissimum fore putasti. Sed quam longe videtur a carcere atque a vinculis abesse debere, qui se ipse jam dignum custodia judicaret? 20. Quæ quum sita, Catilina, dubitas, si emori æquo animo non potes, abire in alius terras, et vitam istam, multos suppliciis justis debitisque ereptam, fugæ solitudinique mandare?

"Refer, inquis, ad senatum:" id enim postulas, et, si hic
ordo sibi placere decreverit te ire in exsilium, obtemperaturum te esse dicis. Non referam, id quod abhorret a meis moribus: sed tamen faciam, ut intelligas, quid hi de te sentiant. Egregere ex urbe, Catilina: libera rem publicam metu: in exsilium, si hanc vocem exspectas, proficiscere. 5

IX. 22. Quamquam quid loquor? Te ut ulla res frag-grat? Tu ut unquam te corrugas? Tu ut ullah exsilium cogites? Utinam tibi istam mentem dii immortales quidat! Tametsi video, si mea 25 voce perterritus ire in exsilium animum induxeris, quanta tempestas invidiae nobis, si minus in presens tempus recente memoria scelerum tuorum, at in posteritatem impendeat. Sed est tanti; dummodo ista privata sit calamitas et a re publicae periculos sejungatur. Sed tu ut vitius tuis commo 30 veare, ut legum pœnas pertimescas, ut temporibus rei publicæ cedas, non est postulandum. Neque enim is es, Catilina, ut te aut pudor a turpitudine aut metus a periculo aut nutio a furore revocari. 23. Quamobrem, ut saepe jam dixi, proficiscere: ac, si mihi inimico, ut prædicas, tuo con 35 fllare vis invidiam, recta perge in exsilium: vix feram ser-mones hominum, si id feceris; vix molem istius invidiae, si in exsilium jussu consulis ieris, sustinebo. Sin autem servire meæ laudis et glorie mavis, egredere cum importuna sceleratorum manu; confer te ad Mallium; concita perditos 40 cives; secerne te a bonis, infer patriæ bellum; exsulta impio latrocinio, ut a me non ejectus ad alienos, sed invitatus ad tuos isse videaris. 24. Quamquam quid ego te invitem, a quo jam sciam esse præmissos, qui tibi ad Forum Aure-
llium præstolarentur armati? Cui sciam pactam et con-
stitutam cum Mallio diem? A quo etiam aquilam illam
argenteam, quam tibi ac tuis omnibus pernicosam esse con-
fido ac funestam futuram, cui domi tuae sacrarium scelerum
5 tuorum constitutum fuit, sciam esse præmissam? Tu ut
illa carere diuitus pessis, quam venerari ad cædem profici-
scens solesbas? a cujus altaribus sæpe istam impiam dexte-
ram ad necem civium transtulisti?

X. 25. Ibis tandem aliquando, quo te jampridem tua
10 ista cupiditas effrenata ac furiosa rapiebat. Neque enim
tibi haec res affer tam dolorem, sed quandam incredibilem vo-
luptatem. Ad hanc te amentiam natura peperit, voluntas
exercuit, fortuna servavit. Nunquam tu non modo otium,
sed ne bellum quidem nisi nefarium concupisti. Nactus es
15 ex perditis atque ab omni non modo fortuna, verum etiam
spe derelictis, conflatam improborum manum... 26. Hic tu
qua laetitia perfruire? Quibus gaudiis exsultabis? Quanta
in voluptate bacchabere, quum in tanto numero tuorum
neque audies virum bonum quemquam neque videbis? Ad
30 hujus vitae studium meditati sunt illi, qui feruntur, labores
tui: jacere humi non modo ad obsidendum stuprum, verum
etiam ad facinus obeendum; vigilare non solum insidiantem
somno maritorum, verum etiam bonis otiosorum. Habes,
ubi ostentes illum tuam præclaram patientiam famis, frigo-
25 ris, inopie rerum omnium, quibus te brevi tempore con-
fectum esse sentias. 27. Tantum profeci [tum], quam te
a consulatu reppuli, ut exsul potius tentare quam consul
vexare rem publicam posses atque ut id, quod esset abs te
scelerate susception, latrocinium potius quam bellum nomi-
30 naretur. 

XI. Nunc, ut a me, Patres conscripti, quandam prope
justam patriæ querimoniam detester ac deprecer, percipite,
quæso, diligenter, quæ dicam, et ea penitus animis vestris
mentibusque mandate. Etenim, si mecum patria, quæ mihi
35 vita mea multo est carior, si cuncta Italia, si omnis res pu-
blica loquatur: "M. Tulli, quid agis? Tune eum, quem
esse hostem comperisti, quem ducem belli futurum vides,
quem exspectari imperatore in castris hostium sentis, au-
torem sceleris, principem conjurationis, evocatorem servo-
40 rum et civium perditorum, exire patiere, ut abs te non
emissus ex urbe, sed immissus in urbem esse videatur?
Nonne hunc in vincula duci, non ad mortem rapi, non sum-
mo supplicio mactari imperabis? 28. Quid tandem te
impedit? Mosne majorum? At persæpe etiam privati in
IN CATILINAM, CAP. XII, XIII.

hic re publica perniciosos cives morte multarunt. An leges, quæ de civium Romanorum supplicio rogatae sunt? At nunquam in hac urbe ii, qui a re publica defeegerunt, civium jura tenuerunt. An invidiam posteritatis times? Praelaram vero populo Romano refers gratiam, qui te hominem per te cognitum, nulla commendatione majorum tam mature ad summum imperium per omnes honorum gradus extulit, si propter invidiam aut alieus periculi metum salutem civium tuorum negligis. 29. Sed, si quis est invidiae metus, num est vehementius severitatis ac forficitudinis invidia quam inertiae ac nequitiae pertimescenda? An quom bello vastabitur Italia, vexabuntur urbes, tecta ardebunt, tum te non existimais invidiae incendio conflagraturum?

XII. His ego sanctissimis rei publicæ vocibus et eorum hominum, qui hoc idem sentiunt, mentibus paucâ respondibo. Ego, si hoc optimum factu judicarem, Patres conscripti, Catilinam morte multari, unius usuram horæ gladiatori isti ad vivendum non dedissem. Etenim, si summî viri est clarissimi cives Saturnini et Gracchorum et Flacci et superiorum comœrium sanguine non modo se non contaminarunt, sed etiam honestarunt, certe verendum mihi non erat, ne quid hoc parricida civium interfecto invidiae mihi in posteritatem redundaret. Quod si ea mihi maxime impenderet, tamen hoc animo semper fui, ut invidiam virtute partam gloriam, non invidiam putarem. 30. Quamquam nulli sunt in hoc ordine, qui aut ea, quæ imminent, non videant, aut ea, quæ vident, dissimulent: qui spem Catilinae mollibus sententiis aluerunt, conjurationemque nascentem non credendo corroboraverunt: quorum auctoritate seuti multi, non solum improbi, verum etiam imperiti, si in hunc animadvertissem, crudeler et regie factum esse dicerent. Nunc intelligo, si iste, quo intendit, in Malliana castra pervenerit, neminem tam stultum fore, qui non videat conjurationem esse factam, neminem tam improbum, qui non faciat teatur. Hoc autem uno interfecto intelligo hanc rei publicæ pestem paulisper reprimi, non in perpetuum comprimi posse. Quod si se ejecerit secumque suos eduxerit, et eodem ceteros undique collectos naufragos aggregaverit, exstinguetur atque delebitur non modo hæc tam adulta rei publicæ pestis, verum etiam stirpis ac semen malorum omnium.

XIII. 31. Etenim jamdiu, Patres conscripti, in his periculis conjurationis insidiisque versamur, sed nescio quo
pacto omnium scelerum ac veteris furoris et audaciae maturationis in nostri consulatus tempus erupit. Quod si ex tanto latrocinio iste unus tolletur, videbimus fortasse ad breve quoddam tempus cura et metu esse relevati: periculum autem resedit et erit inclusum penitus in venis atque in viscerae rei publicae. Ut saepe homines aegri morbo gravi, quam aetum febris jactantur, si aquam gelidam biberint, primo relevari videntur, deinde multo gravius vehementiusque affliciuntur, sic hic morbus, qui est in re publica, rele- vatus istius poena vehementius vivis reliquis ingravescet.

32. Quare secedant improbi, secernant se a bonis, unum in locum congregetur, muro denique, id quod saepe jam dixi, secernantur a nobis, desinant insidiari domi suas consuli, circumstare tribunal praetoris urbani, obsidere cum gladiis curiam, malleolos et faces ad inflammandam urbem comparare; sit denique inscriptum in fronte unius cujusque, quid de re publica sentiat. Polliceor vobis hoc, Patres conscripti, tantam in nobis consulibus fore diligentiam, tantam in vobis auctoritatem, tantam in equitibus Romanis virtutem, tantam omnibus bonis consensionem, ut Catilinae profectio omnia patefacta illustrata, oppressa vindicata esse videatis.

33. Hicce omnibus, Catilina, cum summa rei publicae salute et cum tua peste ac pernicie cumque eorum exitio, qui se tecum omni scelere parricidioque junxerunt, profici- 25 scere ad impium bellum ac nefarium. Tum tu, Juppiter, qui isdem, quibus haec urbs, auspiciis a Romulo es constitutus, quem Statorem hujus urbis atque imperii vere nominamus, hunc et hujus socios a tuis aris ceterisque templis, a tectis urbis ac monibus, a vita fortunisque civium omnium ar- 30 cebis: et homines bonorum inimicos, hostes patriae, latrones
Italie, scelerum fœderes inter se ac nefaria societate con-
junctos æternis suppliciis vivos mortuosque mactabis.
L. CATILINAM
SECUNDA
AD QUIRITES ORATIO.

I. 1. TANDEM aliquando, Quirites, L. Catilinam, furentem audacia, scelus anhelantem, pestem patriæ nefarie motientem, vobis atque huic urbi ferro flammaque minitantem, ex urbe vel ejectimus vel emisimus vel ipsum egredientem verbis prosecuti sumus. Abiit, excessit, evasit, erupit. Nulla jam inter pernicios a monstro illo atque prodigio mænibus ipsis intra mœnia comparabitur. Atque hunc quidem unum hujus belli domestici ducem sine controversia vicimus. Non enim jam inter latera nostra sica illa versabitur: non in campo, non in foro, non in curia, non denique intra domésticos parietes pertimescimus. Loco ille motus est, quem est ex urbe depulsus. Palam jam cum hoste, nullo impediente, bellum justum geremus. Sine dubio perdidimus hominem magnificeque vicimus, quem illum ex occultis insidìis in apertum latrocinium conjecimur. 2. Quod vero non cruentum mueronem, ut voluit, extulit, quod vivis nobis egressus est, quod ei ferrum et manibus extortimus, quod incolumes cives, quod stantem urbem reliquit: quanto tandem illum mœrore esse afflicatum et profligatum putatis? Jacet. ille nunc prostratus est et se perculsum atque abjectum esse sentit et retorquet, oculos profecto sœpe ad hanc urbem, quam e suis faucibus ecreptam esse luget: quæ quidem mihi fœtari videtur, quod tantam pestem evomuerit forasque proiecerit.

II. 3. At si quis est talis, quales esse omnes oportebat, 25 qui in hoc ipso, in quo exsultat et triumphat oratio mea, me vehementer accuset, quod tam capitalem hostem non comprehendérim potius, quam emiserim: non est ista mea culpa, Quirites, sed temporum. Interfectum esse L. Catilinam et gravissimo supplício affectum jampridem oportebat: id-
ORATIO II.

que a me et mos majorum et hujus imperii severitas et rea publica postulabat. Sed quam multos fuisset supputati, qui, quae ego deferrem, non crederent? [Quam multos, qui propter stultitiam non putarent?] Quam multos, qui etiam 5 defenderent? [Quam multos, qui propter improbitatem faverent?]. Ac si, illo sublato, depelli a vobis omne periculum judicarem, jampridem ego L. Catilinam non modo invidiae meae, verum etiam vitae periculo sustulissem. 4. Sed quum viderem ne vobis quidem omnibus re etiam tum pro-
10 bata, si illum, ut erat meritus, morte multassem, fore, ut ejus socios invidiae oppressus persequi non possem, rem huc deduxi, ut tum palam pugnare possetis, quum hostem aperte videretis. Quam quidem ego hostem, Quirites, vehementer foris esse timendum putem, licet hic intellega-
15 tis, quod etiam illud moleste fero, quod ex urbe parum comitatus exierit. Utinam ille omnes secum suas copias eduxissent! Tongilium mihi eduxit, quem amare in praetexta [calumnia] ceperat; Publicium et Munatium, quorum aes alienum contractum in popina nullum rei publicae motum 20 afferee poterat: reliquit quos viros! quanto aere alieno! quam valentes! quam nobiles!}

III. 5. Itaque ego illum exercitum et Gallicanis legionibus et hoc defectu, quem in agro Piceno et Gallico Q. Metellus habuit, et his copiis, qua a nobis quotidianie comparantur, 25 magnopere commensum, collectum ex senibus desperatis, ex agresti luxuria, ex rusticis decoctoribus, ex iis, qui vadimo-
ya deserere quam illum exercitum maluerunt; quibus ego non modo si aciem exercitus nostri, verum etiam si edictum praetoris ostendero, coincident. Hos, quos video volitare in
30 foro, quos stare ad curiam, quos etiam in senatum venire; qui nitent unguentis, qui fulgent purpura, mallem secum suos milites eduxisset: qui si hic permanent, mementote non tam exercitum illum esse nobis quam hos, qui exercitum deseruerunt, pertimescendos. Atque hoc etiam sunt ti-
35 mendis magis, quod, quid cogitent, me scire sentiunt neque tamen permentur. 6. Video, cui sit Apulia attributa, quis habeat Etruriam, quis agrum Picenum, quis Gallicam, quis sibi has urbanas insidias cadetis atque incendiorum depoposserit. Omnia superioris nostris consilia ad me perela esse sentiunt;
40 patefeci in senatu hesterno die; Catilina ipse pertinuit, pro-
fugit: hi quid exspectant? Nee illi vehementer errant, si illum vaneam pristinam lenitatem perpetuum sperant futuram.

IV. Quod exspectavi, jam sum assecutus, ut vos omnes factam esse aperte conjurationem contra rem publicam vi-
deretis. Nisi vero si quis est, qui Catilinæ similis cum Ca-
tilia sentire non putet. Nōtī est 'jam lēnitātī locus: seve-rātem res ipsa flagitāt. Unum etiam nunc ēnucedam: exant, proficiscantur, ne patiāntur desiderio sui Catilinam miserum tabescere. Demonstrabo iter: Aurelia via pro strictly fectus est. Si accelerare volent, ad vesperam consequentur. 7. O fortunatam rem publicam, si quidem hanc sentinam hujus urbis ejecerit! Uno meherculae Catilina exhaus-
to recessa mihi et recreata res publica videtur. Quid enim mali aut sceleris fingi aut cogitari potest, quod non ille con-
teritur? Quis tota Italia veneficus, quis gladiatore, quis la-
tro, quis sicarius, quis parricida, quis testamentorum sub-
jector, quis circumscriptor, quis ganeo, quis nepos, quis adulter, quae mulier infamis, quis corruptor juvenitis, quis corruptus, quis perditus inveniri potest, qui se cum Catilina 15 non familiarissimique vivisse fateatur? Quae cædes per hosce annos sine illo facta est? Quod nefarium stuprum non per illum? 8. Jam vero quae tanta unquam inullo homine juventus illecebris fuit, quanta in illo? Qui alios ipse amabat turpissem, aliorum amori flagitiissimē serviebat, aliis fructum libidinum, aliis mortem parentum non modo impellendo, verum etiam adjuvando polliebatur. Nunc vero quam subito non solum ex urbe, verum etiam ex agris, ingente numerum perditorum hominum collegerat? Nemo non modo Romæ, sed [nec] ullo in angulo totius Italicæ op- pressus sere alieno fuit, quem non ad hoc incrediblem scecle-
ris faędus adsciverit.

V. 9. Atque ut ejus diversa studia in dissimili ratione perspicere possit, nemo est in ludo gladiatorio paullo ad facinus audacion, qui se non intimum Catilinæ esse fateatur; 30 nemo in scena levior et nequior, qui se non ejusdem prope sodalem fuisse commemorat. Atque idem tamen stuporum et scelerum exercitatione assuefactus frigori et fami et siti et vigiliiis perferendis, fortis ab istic praedicabatur, quum indus-
triae subsidia atque instrumenta virtutis in libidine audacia 35 ciaque consumerentur. 10. Hunc vero si secuti erunt sui comites; si ex urbe exierint desperatorum hominum flagi-
tiosi greges: o nos beatos, o rem publicam fortunatam, o praeceleram laudem consulatus mei! Non enim jam sunt mediocres hominum libidines, non humane audaciae ac tole-
randæ: nihil cogitant nisi cædes, nisi incendia, nisi rapinas: patrimonia sua profuderunt: fortunas suas obligaverunt: 40 res eos jam pridem, fides nuper deficere cœpit: eadem ta-
men illa, quæ erat in abundantia, libido permanet. Quod
si in vino et alea comissationes solum et scorta quererent, essent illi quidem desperandi, sed tamen essent ferendi. Hoc vero quis ferre possit, inertes homines fortissimis viris insidiari, stultissimos prudenssimis, ebriosos sobriis, dormientes vigilantibus? Qui mihi accubantes in convivis, complexi mulieres impudicas, vino languidi, conserti oibo, sertis redimiti, unguentis obiti, debilitati stupris, eructant sermonibus suis caedem bonorum atque urbis incendia. '11. Quibus ego confido impendere fatum aliquod, et pœnam jam dixim improbitati, nequitiae, sceleri, libidini debitem aut instare jam plane aut certe appropinquare. Quos si meis consulatis, quoniam sanare non potest, sustuleri, non breve nescio quod tempus, sed multa secula propagari rei publicae. Nulla est enim ratio, quam pertimescamus; nullus rex, qui bellum populo Romano facere possit. Omnia sunt externa unius virtute terra marique pacata: domesticum bellum manet; intus insidiae sunt, intus inclusum periculum est; intus est hostis. Cum luxuria nobis, cum amitia, cum sceleris certandum est. 'Huc ego me bello ducem profiteor, Quirites; suspicio inimicitias hominum perditorum. Quo sanari poterunt, quacunque ratione sanabo: quae rescedanda erunt, non-patiar ad perniciem civitatis manere. Proinde aut exspectant aut quiesscant aut, si et in urbe et in caedem mente permanent, ea, quae merentur, expectent.

25 VI. 12. At etiam sunt, qui dicant, Quirites, a me in exsilium ejectum esse Catilinam. Quod ego si verbo assequi possem, istos ipsose ejicerem, qui haec loquantur. Homo videlicet timidus aut etiam permodestus vocem consulis ferre non potuit: simul atque ire in exsilium jussus est, paruit, ivit. Hesterno die, quam domi meæ pæne interfector essem, senatum in eadem Jovis Statoris convocavi; rem omnem ad patres conscriptos detuli. Quo quüm Catilina venisset, quis eum senator appellavit? quis salutavit? quis denique ita adspexit ut perditum civem, ac non potius ut importunissimum hostem? Quin etiam principes ejus ordinis partem illam subselliorum, ad quam ille accesserat, nudam atque inanem reliquerunt. 13. Hic ego vehemens ille consul, qui verbo cives in exsilium ejicio, quæsivi a Catilina, nocturno conventu apud M, Læcum fuisse tecum. 40 Quum ille, homo audacissimus, conscientia convictus primo reticuisset, patefeci cetera; quid ea nocte egisset, quid proxima constituisset, quemadmodum esset ei ratio totius belli descripta, edocui. Quum hesitaret, quum teneretur, quæsivi, quid dubitaret profiscisci eo, quod jampridem para-

VII. O conditionem miseram, non modo administrando, sed verum etiam conservando, res publicae. Nunc, si L. Catilina consiliis laboribus periculis meis circumclusus ac debilitatus subito perlimuerit, sententiam mutaverit, deseruerit suos, consilium bello faciendi abjecerit, ex hoc cursu sceleris et bello iter ad fugam atque in exsilium converterit, 15 non ille a me spoliatus armis audacie, non obstupefactus ac perterritus mea diligentia, non de spe conatuque depulstus, sed indemnatu, innocens, in exsilium ejectus a consule vi et minus esse dicitur: et erunt, qui illum, si hoc fecerit, non improbum, sed miserum, me non diligentissimum consulem, sed crudelissimum tyrannum existimari velit. 15. Est mihi taht, Quirites, hujus invidiae falsae atque iniquae temptationem subira, dummodo a vobis hujus horribilis belli ac nefarii periculum depellatur. Dicatur sane ejectus esse a me, dummodo eat in exsilium. Sed mihi credite, non est 25 iturus. Nuncquam ego a diis immortalibus optabo, Quirites, invidiae meae levandae causa, ut L. Catilinam ducere exercitum hostium atque in armis volitare audiatis; sed triduo tamen audietis: multoque magis illud timeo, ne mihi sit invisiosum aliquidando, quod illum emiserim potius, quam 30 quod ejecerim. Sed quum sint homines, qui illum, quem professus sit, ejectum esse dicant, idem, si interfactus esset, quid dicerent? 16. Quamquam isti, qui Catilinam Massiliam ire dicent, non tam hoc queruntur, quam verentur. Nemo est istorum tam misericors, qui illum non ad Mallium 35 quam ad Massilienses ire malit. Ille autem, si mehercule hoc, quod agit, nunc quam ante cogitasset, tamen latrocinantem se interfici mallet quam exsulem vivere. Nunc vero, quum ei nihil adhuc praepter ipsius voluntatem cogitationemque acciderit, nisi quod vivis nobis Roma professus est, 4C optemus potius, ut eat in exsilium, quam queramur.

VIII. 17. Sed cur tamdiu de uno hoste loquimur, et de eo hoste, qui jam fatetur se esse hostem, et quem, quia, quod semper volui, murus interest, non timeo: de his, qui
dissimulant, qui Romæ remanent, qui nobiscum sunt, nihil dicimus? Quos quidem ego, si ullo modo fieri possit, non tam ulciisci studeo quam sanare sibi ipsos, placare rei publicæ; neque id quare fieri non possit, si me audire volent, intelligo. Exponam enim vobis, Quirites, ex quibus generibus hominum istæ copiæ comparentur: deinde singulis medicinam consilii atque orationis meas, si quam potero, afferam. 18. Unum genus est eorum, qui magno in ære alieno majores etiam possessiones habent, quorum amore adduci dissolvì nullo modo possunt. Horum hominum species est honestissima; sunt enim locupletes: voluntas vero et causa impudentissima. Tu agris, tu ædificiis, tu argento, tu familia, tu rebus omnibus ornatus et copiosus sis, et dubites de possessione detrahere, acquirere ad Ædem?


IX. 19. Alterum genus est eorum, qui quamquam pre- muntur ære alieno, dominationem tamen exspectant, rerum potiri volunt, honores, quos quieta re publica desperant, perturbata consequi se posse arbitrantur. (Quibus hoc præciendum videtur, unum scilicet et idem, quod reliquis omnibus, ut desperent, se id, quod conantur, consequi posse:) primum omnium, me ipsum vigilare, adesse, providere rei publicæ; deinde magnos animos esse in bonis viris, magnam concordiam, maximam multitudinem, magnas præterea copias militum; deos denique immortales huic invicto populo, clarissimo imperio, pulcherrimæ urbi contra tantam vim sceleris præsentis auxilium esse lutos. Quod si jam sint id, quod cum summo furore cupiunt, adepto, num illi in ci- 35 nere urbis et in sanguine civium, quæ mente conscelerata ac nefaria concepiunt, consules se aut dictatoræ, aut etiam reges sperant futuros? Non vident id se cupere, quod si adepti sint, fugitivo alicui aut gladiatori concedi sit necesse? 20. Tertium genus est ætate jam affectum, sed
tamen exercitacione robustum: quo ex genere iste est Mal-lius, cui nunc Catilina succedit. Hi sunt homines ex iis coloniis, quas Fæsulis Sulla constituit: quas ego universas civium esse optimorum et fortissimorum virorum sentio: sed tamen hi sunt coloni, qui se in insperatis ac repentinis pecuniis sumptuosius insolentiusque jactarunt. Hi dum edificant, tamquam beati, dum prædiis, lecticis, familias magnis, conuiviis apparatis delectantur, in tantum æs alienum inciderunt, ut, si salvi esse velit, Sulla sit iis ab inferis excitandus. Qui etiam nonnullus agrestes, homines eunues atque egentes, in eandem illum spem rapinarum veterum impulerunt; quos ego, Quirites, in eodem genere predictorum direptorumque pono. Sed eos hoc moneo: desinant furere et proscriptiones et dictaturas cogitare. Tantus enim illorum temporum dolor inustus est civitati, ut jama non modo homines, sed ne pecudes quidem mihi passuæ esse videantur.

X. 21. Quartum genus est sane varium et mixtum et turbulentum; qui jampridem premuntur, qui nunquam emergunt; qui partim inertia, partim male gerendo negotio, partim etiam sumptibus in vetere ære alieno vacillant; qui vadimonis, judicio, proscriptionibus honorum defatigati, permulti et ex urbe et ex agris se in illa castra conferre dicuntur. Hosce ego non tam milites acres, quam initiatores lentos esse arbitror. Qui homines primum si stare non possunt, correant: sed ita, ut non modo civitas, sed ne vicini quidem proximi sentiant. Nam illud non intelligo, quamodobrem, si vivere honeste non possunt, perire turpiter velint, aut cur minore dolore perituros se cum multis, quam si soli perante, arbitrentur. 22. Quintum genus est parri-cidarum, sicariorum, denique omnium facinorosorum; quos ego a Catilina ne revoco; nam neque divelli ab eo possunt, et perante sane in latrociniio, quoniam sunt ita multi, ut eos carcer capere non possit. Postremum autem genus est, non solum numero, verum etiam genere ipso atque vita, quod proprium Catilinae est, de ejus delectu, immo vero de complexu ejus ac sinu; quos pexo capillo, nitidos aut imberbes aut bene barbatis videtus, manicatis et talaribus tunicis, velis amictos, non togis; quorum omnis industria vitae et vigilandus labor in antelucanis coenis expromitur. 23. In his grægibus omnes aleatores, omnes adulteri, omnes impuris impudicisque versantur. Hi pueri tam lepidi ac delicati non solum amare et amari, neque cantare et psallere, sed etiam secræ vibrare et spargere venena didicerunt; qui nisi exseunt,
nisi pereunt, etiam si Catilina perierit, scitote hoc in republica seminarium Catilinarianum futurum. Veruntamen quid sibi isti miserii volunt? Num suas secum mulierulas sunt in castra ducturi? Quemadmodum autem illis carere poterunt, his praesertim jam noctibus? Quo autem pacto illi Apenninum atque illas pruinias ac nives perferent? Nisi idcirco se facilius hiemem toleraturos putant, quod nudi in conviviis saltare didicerunt.

XI. 24. /O bellum magno opere, pertimescendum, quam hanc sit habiturus Catilina scortorum cohortem prætoriam! Instruite nunc, Quirites, contra has tam praecellas Catilinae copias vestra praesidia vestrosque exercitus; et primum gladiatori illi confecto et saocio consules imperatoresque vestros opponite) deinde contra illam naufragorum ejectam ac debilitatam manum florem totius Italiae ac robur educite. Jam vero urbes coloniarum ac municipiorum respondebunt Catilinae tumulis silvestribus. Neque ego ceteras copias, ornamenta, praesidia vestra, cum illius latronis inopia atque egestate conferre debeo. 25. Sed, si, omissis his rebus omnibus, quibus nos suppeditamur, eget ille, sepatu, equitibus Romanis, populo, urbe, aerario, vectigalibus, cuncta Italia, provinciis omnibus, exeris nationibus, si his rebus omissis, causas ipsis, que inter se configurant, contendere velimus: ex eo ipso, quam valeb ili jaceant, intelligere possumus. V Ex hac enim parte pudor pugnat, illinc petulantia: hinc pudicitia, illinc stuprum: hinc rides, illinc fraudatio: hinc pietas, illinc sclerus: hinc constantia, illinc furor: hinc honestas, illinc turpitudo: hinc continentia, illinc libido: denique equitas, temperantia, fortitudo, prudentia, 30 virtutes omnes certant cum iniquitate, luxuria, ignavia, temeritate, cum vitius omnibus: postremo copia cum egestate, bona ratio cum perdita, mens sana cum amentia, bona denique spes cum omnium rerum desperatione configit. In hujusmodi certamine ac prælio nonne, etiam si hominum studia deficiant, dii ipsi immortales cogent ab his praeclassissimis virtutibus tot et tanta vitia superari?

XII. 26. Quæ quum ita sint, Quirites, vos, quemadmodum jam anteana, vestra tecta custodiis vigilissisque defendite: mihi, ut urbi sine vestro motu ac sine ullo tumultu satiss esset præsidii, consultum atque provisum est. Colonii omnes municipisque vestri certiores a me facti de hac nocturna excursione Catilinae facile urbes suas finesque defendent: gladiatores, quam sibi ille manum certissimam fore putavit, quamquam meliore animo sunt quam pars patriciorum, po-
testate tamen nostra continebuntur. Q. Metellus, quem ego hoc prodigium in agrum Gallicum Picenumque praemisi, aut opprimet hominem aut ejus omnes motus consatusque prohibebit. Reliquis autem de rebus constituendis maturandis agendis jam ad senatum referemus, quem vocari 5 videtis.

27. Nunc illos, qui in urbe remanserunt atque adeo qui contra urbis salutem omniumque nostrum in urbe a Catilina relict sunt, quamquam sunt hostes, tamen, quia nati sunt cives, monitos eos etiam atque etiam volo. Mea lenitas adhuc si cui solutior visa est, hoc expectavit, ut id, quod latebat, erumperet. Quod reliquum est, jam non possum obivisci meam hanc esse patriam, me horum esse consulem, mihi aut cum his vivendum aut pro his esse moriendum. Nullus est portis custos, nullus insidiator vice: si qui exire 15 volunt, connivere possum: qui vero se in urbe commoverit, cujus ego non modo factum, sed inceptum ulla conatum-ve contra patriam deprehendo, sentiet in hac urbe esse consules vigilantes, esse egregios magistratus, esse fortum senatum, esse arma, esse carcerem, quem vindicem nefario- 20 rum ac manifestorum scelerum maiorem nostri esse voluerunt.

XIII. 28. Atque hae omnia sic agentur, Quirites, ut res maxima minimo motu, pericula summa nullo tumultu, bellum intestinum ac domesticum post hominum memoriam crudelissimum et maximum me uno togato duce et impera- tore sedetur. Quod ego sic administrabo, Quirites, ut si ullo modo fieri poterit, ne improbus quidem quisquam in hac urbe peñam sui sceleris sufferat. Sed si vis manifestæ audaciar, si impedias patriæ periculum me necessario de hac animi lenitate deduxerit, illud profecto perficiam, quod 30 in tanto et tam insidioso bello vix optandum videtur, ut neque bonus quisquam intereat paucorumque pena vos jam omnes salvi esse possitis. 29. Quæ quidem ego neque mea prudentia neque humanis consiliis fretus polliceor vo- bis, Quirites; sed multis et non dubiiis deorum immortalium 35 significationibus, quibus ego ducibus in hanc sper mentemque sum ingressus; qui jam non procul, ut quondam solem, ab externo hoste. atque longinquo, sed hic præ- sentes suae nomine atque auxilio sua templae atque urbis teeta defendunt; quos vos, Quirites, preварi, venerari [atque] 40 implorare debetis, ut, quam urbem pulcherriram, florentis- simam potentissimamque esse voluerunt, hanc omnibus hostium copiis terra marique superatis a perditissimorum civium nefario scelore defendant.
IN

L. CATILINAM

ORATIO TERTIA

AD QUIRITES.

I. 1. REM PUBLICAM, Quirites, vitamque omnium vestrum, bona fortunas, conjuges liberosque vestros atque hoc domicilium clarissimi imperii, fortunatissimam pulcherri-

10 nascendi incerta conditio, et quod sine sensu nascimur, cum

15 que servavit. Nam toti urbi, templis, delubris, tectis ac

20 per me, vobis jam exponam breviter, Quirites, ut et quanta

25 duces Romæ reliquisset, semper vigilavi et providi, Quirites,
II. Nam tum, quum ex urbe Catilinam ejiciebam (non enim jam vereor hujus verbi invidiam, quum illa magis sit simenda, quod vivus exierit), sed tum, quum illum exterminiari volebam, aut reliquam conjuratorum manum simul exituram aut eos, qui restitissent, infirmos sine illo ac deibiles fore putabam. 4. Atque ego, ut vidi, quos maxime furore et scelere esse inflammatus aciebam, eos nobiscum esse et Romanæ remansisse, in eo omnes dies noctesque consumpsit, ut, quid agerent, quid moliarentur, sentirem ac viderem: ut, quoniam auribus vestris propter incredibilem magnitudinem 10 sceleris minorem fidem faceret oratio mea, rem ita comprehenderem, ut tum diem animis saluti vestrae provideretis, quum oculis maleficium ipsum videretis. 5. Itaque ut comperis legatos Allobrogum belli Transalpini et tumultus Gallici excitandi causa a P. Lentulo esse sollicitatos eosque 15 in Galliam ad suos cives eodemque itinere cum literis mandatisque ad Catilinam esse missos comitemque iis adjunctum T. Volturciun atque huic esse ad Catilinam datas literas, facultatem mihi oblatam putavi, ut, quod erat difficillimum quoque ego semper optabam a diis immortalibus, 20 ut tota res non solum a me, sed etiam a senatu et a vobis manifesto reprehenderetur. Itaque hesterno die L. Flaccum et C. Pomptinum, prætores, fortissimos atque amantisimos rei publicæ viros, ad me vocavi; rem omnem exposui; quid fieri placet, ostendi. Illi autem, qui omnin 25 de re publica præclara atque egregia sentirent, sine recusatione ac sine uilla mora negotium suscepérint et, quum advesperacseret, occulte ad pontem Mulvium pervenerunt atque ibi in proximis villis ita bipartito fuerunt, ut Tiberis inter eos et pons interesset. Eodem autem et ipsi sine cu- 30 jusquam suspicione multos fortes viros eduxerunt, et ego ex prefectura Reatina complures delectos adolescentes, quorum opera utor assidue in re publica, præsidio cum gladiis niseram. 6. Interim tertia fere vigilia exacta, quum jam pontem Mulvium magni comitatu legati Allobrogum ingredi 35 inciperent unaque Volturcius, fit in eos impetus; educuntur et ab illis gladii et a nostris. Res erat pretoribus nota solis; ignorabatur a ceteris.

III. Tum interventu Pomptini atque Flacci pugna, quæ erat commissa, sedatur. Literæ, quæ eunque erant in eo 40 comitatù integris signis pretoribus traduntur; ipsi comprehensi ad me, quum jam dilucisceret, deducuntur. Atque horum omnium scelerum improbissimum machinatorum Cimbrum Gabinium statim ad me nihil dum suspicantem

3*
vocavi. Deinde item arcassitur L. Statilius et post eum [C.] Cethegus. Tardissime autem Lentulus venit, credo quod in literis his dandis praeter consuetudinem proxima nocte vigilaverat. 7. Quum vero summis et clarissimis hujus civitatis viris, qui audita re frequentes ad me mane convenerant, literas a me prius aperiiri quam ad senatum referri placueret, ne, si nihil esset inventum, temere a me tantus tumultus injectus civitati videretur, negavi me esse factorem, ut de periculo publico non ad consilium publicum rem integram deferrem. Etenim, Quirites, si ea, quæ erant ad me deferta, reperta non essent, tamen ego non arbitrabam in tantis rei publicae periculis esse mihi nimiam diligentiam pertimescendam. Senatum frequenter celeberit, ut vidistis, coegi. 8. Atque interea statim admonitu Allobrogum C. 15 Sulpicianium praetorem, fortum virum, nisi, qui ex seditibus Cethegri, si quid telorum esset, efferret; ex quibus ille maximum sicarum numerum et gladiorum extulit.

IV. Introduxi Volturcium sine Gallis: sidem ci publicam jussu senatus dedi; hortatus sum, ut ea, quæ seiret, sine 20 metu indicaret. Tum ille dixit, quum vix se ex magnis timore recreasset, a P. Lentulo se habere ad Catilinam mandata et literas, ut servorum presidio uteretur et ad urbem quam primum cum exercitu accedere: id autem eo consilio, ut, quum urbem ex omnibus partibus, quemadmodum descriptum distributumque erat, incendissent cædemque infinitam civium fecissent, praesto esset ille, qui et fugientes exciperet et se cum his urbanis ducibus conjungeret. 9. Introducti autem Galli jus jurandum sibi et literas a Lentulo, Cethegri, Statilii ad suam gentem datas esse dixerunt, atque 30 ita sibi ab his et a L. Cassio esse præscriptum, ut equitatum in Italianam quam primum mitterent: pedestres sibi copias non defuturas; Lentulum autem sibi confirmasse ex fatis Sibyllinis haruspicumque responsis esse se tertium illum Cornelium, ad quem regnum hujus urbis atque imperium pervenire esset necessè; Cinnam ante se et Sullam fuisset; eundemque dixisse fatalem illum esse annum ad interitum hujus urbis atque imperii, qui esset decimus annus post Virginum absolutionem, post Capitolium autem incensionem vicesimus. 10. Hanc autem Cethegri cum ceteris contro- 40 versiam fuisset dixerunt, quod Lentulo et alius cædem Saturnalibus fieri atque urbem incendi placeret, Cethegri nimium id longum videtur.

V. Ac, ne longum sit, Quirites, tabellas proferri jussimus, quæ a quoque dicebantur datœ. Primum ostendimus Ce-
thego signum; cognovit. Nos linum incidimus; legimus. 
Erat scriptum ipsius manu Allobrogum senatui et populo, 
se, quæ eorum legatis confirmasset, facturum esse: orare, 
ut item illi facerent, quæ sibi eorum legati recepissent. 
Tum Cethegrus, qui paulo ante aliquid tamen de gladiis ac 
sicis, quæ apud ipsum erant deprehensæ, respondisset di- 
rissetque se semper bonorum ferramenti tum studiosum fuis- 
se, recitatis literis debilitatus atque abjectus, conscientia 
convictus, repente conticuit. Introductus est Statilius; 
cognovit et signum et manum suam. Recitatae sunt tabellæ 1C 
in eandem fere sententiam: confessus est. Tum ostendi 
tabellas Lentulo et quæsivi, cognoveretne signum. Annuit. 
—"Est vero, inquam, notum signum, imago avi tui, claris- 
simi viri, qui amavit unice patriam et cives suos: quæ qui- 
dem te a tanto scelere etiam muta revocare debuit." 11. 15 
Leguntur eadem ratione ad senatum Allobrogum populum-
que litem. Si quid de his rebus dicere vellet, feci pote-
statem. Atque ille primo quidem negavit; post autem ali-
quanto, toto jam indicio exposito atque edito, surrexit; 
quæsivit a Gallis, quid sibi esset cum iis; quamobrem do-
num suam venissent; itemque a Volturcio. Quis quum illi 
breviter constanterque respondissent, per quem ad eum 
quosque venissent, quæssissentque ab eo, nihilc secum 
esse de fatis Sibyllinis locutus, tum ille subito scelere de-
mens, qua conscientia vis esset, ostendit. Nam, quum 25 
id posset iunctari, repente præter opinionem omnium con-
fessus est. Ita eum, non modo ingenium illud et dicendi 
exercitatio, quæ semper valuit, sed etiam propter vim sceleris 
manifesti atque deprehensi impudentia, qua superabat 
omnes, improbitasque defecit. 12. Volturcius vero subito 30 
literas referri atque aperiri jussit, quas sibi a Lentulo ad 
Catilinam datas esse dicebat. Atque ibi vehementissime 
perturbatus Lentulus, tamen et signum et manum suam 
cognovit. Eamus autem scriptæ sine nomine, sed ita: Qui 
sim, scies ex eo, quem ad te misi. Cura, ut vir sis, et cogita 35 
quam in locum sis progressus, et vide, quid jam ibi sit ne-
ce. Et cura, ut omnium tibi auxilia dajuasy, etiam in-
famorum. Gabinius deinde introductus, quum primo im-
pudenter respondere cepisset, at extremum nihil ex iis, 
que Galli insinulabant, negavit. 13. Ac mihi quidem, 40 
Quirites, quum illa certissima sunt visa argumenta atque 
indicia sceleris tabellæ, signa, manus, denique unius cujus-
que confessio, tum multo certiora illa, color, oculi, vultus, 
taciturnitas. Sic enim obstupuerant, sic terram intuebantur,
sic furtim nonnunquam inter se adspiciebant, ut non jam ab aliis indicari, sed ipsi a se viderentur.

VI. Indiciis expositis atque editis, Quirites, senatum consultum, de summa re publica quid fieri placet. Dictae sunt a principibus acerrima ac fortissima sententiae, quas senatus sine ulla varietate est constitueta. Et quoniam nundum est per scriptum senatus consultum, ex memoria vobis, Quirites, quid senatus censuerit, exponam. 14. Primum mihi gratiae verbis amplissimis aguntur, quod virtute consilio providentia mea re publica maximis periculis sit liberata; deinde L. Flaccus et C. Pomptinus, praetores, quod eorum opera fortii fideliique usus esse, merito ac jure laudantur: atque etiam viro fortii, collegae meo, laus imperitii, quod eos, qui hujus conjunctionis participes fuissent, a suis et rei publicae consiliis removisset. Atque ita censuerunt, ut P. Lentulus, quem se praetura abdicasset, in custodiam tradepertur: atque idem hoc decretum est in L. Cassium, qui sibi procreationem, incendendae urbis depoposcerat: in M. Cæparium, cui ad sollicitandos pastores Apuliam esse attributam erat indicatum: in P. Furium, qui est ex iis colonis, quos Faesulas L. Sulla deduxit: in Q. Manlium Chilonom, qui una cum hoc Furio semper erat in hac Allobrogum sollicitacione versatus: in P. Umbrenum, libertinum hominem, a quo primum Gallos ad Gabinium perductos esse constabat. 15. Atque ea lenitatem senatus usus est, Quirites, ut ex tanta conjuratione tantaque vi ac multitudine domesticorum hostium novem hominem perditissimorum poena, re publica conservata religuorun mentes sanari posse arbitretur. Atque etiam supplicatio diis immortalibus pro singulari eorum merito meo nomine decreta est, Quirites; quod mihi primum post hanc urbem conditam togato conscripto: et his decretum verbis est, QUOD URBEM INCENDISIS, CAEDE CIVES, ITALIAM BELO LIBERASSEM. Quae supplicatio si cum ceteris supplicationibus conferatur, Quirites, hoc intus, quod ceterae bene gesta, haec una conservata re publica constituta est. Atque illud, quod faciendum primum fuit, factum atque transactum est. Nam P. Lentulus, quamquam patefactus indicii et confessionibus suis, judicio senatus non modo praetoris jus, verum etiam civis amiserat, tamen magistratu se abdicavit: ut, quæ religio C. Mario, clarissimo viro, non fuerat, quo minus C. Glauciam, de quo nihil nominatim erat decretum, praetorem occideret, ea nos religione in privato P. Lentulo puniendo liberaremur.

VII. 16. Nunc, quoniam, Quirites, sceleratissimi peri-
culosissimique belli nefarios duces captos jam et compre-
hesos tenetis, existimare debetis omnes Catilinae copias,
omenes spes atque opes his depulsis urbis periculis con-
disse. Quem quidem ego quem ex urbe pellebam, hoc
providebam animo, Quirites, remoto Catilina non mihi esse 5
P. Lentuli somnum, nec L. Cassii adipes, nec C. Cethegi
furiosam temeritatem pertimescendam. Ille erat unus ti-
mendus ex his omnibus, sed tamdiu, dum meiuibus urbis
continetabatur. Omnia norat, omnium aditus tenebat; app-
pellare, tentare, sollicitare poterat, audebat; erat ei consi-
lum ad facinus aptum; consilio autem neque lingua neque
manus deerat; jam ad certas res consiciendae certos homines
delectos ac descriptos habebat; neque vero, quum aliquid
mandaverat, confectum putabant. Nihil erat, quod non ipse
obiret occurreret, vigilaret laboraret; frigus situm famem ferre 10
poterat. 17. Hunc ego hominem tam acerem, tam paratum,
tam audacem, tam callidum, tam in scelere vigilantem, tam
in perditis rebus diligentem, nisi ex domesticis insidiis in cas-
trense latrocinium compulsissem (dicam id, quod sentio, Qui-
rites), non facile hanc tantam molem a cervicibus ves-
tris depulissem. Non ille nobis Saturnalia constituisset neque
tanto ante exitii ac fato diem rei publicae denuntiasisset nec
commississet, ut signum, ut literae sua testes manifesti sceleris
deprehenderentur. Quae nunc illo absente sic gesta sunt,
ut nullum in privata domo fur tum unquam sit tam palam 25
inventum, quam haec in tota re publica conjuratio manifesto
inventa atque deprehensa est. Quod si Catilina in urbe ad
hanc diem remansisset, quamquam, quod ad fuit, omnibus
ejus consiliis occurri atque obstiti, tamen, ut levissime di-
cam, dimicandum nobis cum illo fisset, neque nos unquam, 30
quum ille in urbe hostis esset, tantis periculis rem publicam
tanta pace, tanto otio, tanto silentio liberassemus.

VIII. 18. Quamquam haec omnia, Quirites, ita sunt a
me administrata, ut deorum immortalium nutu atque consilio
et gesta et pro visa esse videantur. Idque quum conjectura 35
consequi possumus, quod vix videtur humani consiliis tanta-
rum rerum gubernatio esse potuisse, tum vero ita presentes
his temporibus opem et auxilium nobis tulerunt, ut eos
pane oculis videre possemus. Nam, ut illa omissam, visas
nocturno tempore ab occidente faces ardoremque coeli, ut 40
fulminum jactus, ut terrae motus ceteraque, quae tam multa
nobis consulibus facta sunt, ut haec, quae nunc fiunt, canere
dii immortales viderentur: hoc certe, Quirites, quod sum
dicturus, neque praetermittendum neque relinquendum est.
19. Nam profecto memoria tenetis Cotta et Torquato consulibus complures in Capitolio res de cælo esse percussas, quant et simulacra deorum immortalium depulsarunt sunt et statuae veterum hominum dejectae et legum æra liquefacta; tactus est etiam ille, qui hanc urbem condidit, Romulus, quem inauratum in Capitolio parvum atque lactentem, uberibus lupinis inhiantemuisse meministis. Quo quidem tempore quum haruspices ex tota Etruria convenissent, cædes atque incendia et legum interitum et bellum civile ac

domicum et totius urbis atque imperii occasum appropinquare dixerunt, nisi dii immortales omni ratione placati suo nomine prope fata ipsa flexissent. 20. Itaque illorum responsis tunc et ludi per decem dies facti sunt, neque res utt a, quæ ad placandos deos pertineret, praeterrissa est:

15 idemque jusserunt simulacrum Jovis facere majus et in excelsa collocare et contra, atque ante fuerat, ad orientem convertere: ac se sperare dixerunt, si illud signum, quod videtur, solidus ortum et forum curiamque consipceret, fore, ut ea consilia, quæ clam essent inita contra salutem urbem

atque imperii, illustrarentur, ut a senatu populoque Romano perspicu possent. Atque illud signum ita collocandum con-sules illi locaverunt, sed tanta fuit operis tarditas, ut neque a superioribus consulibus neque a nobis ante hodiernum diem collocaretur.

25 IX. 21. Hic quis potest esse, Quirites, tam aversus a vero, tam præceps, tammente captus, qui neget hæc omnia, quæ videmus, præcipueque hanc urbem deorum immortalium nutu ac potestate administrari? Et enim quum esset ita responsum, cædes, incendia interitumque rei publicæ comparare, et ea per cives, quæ tum propter magnitudinem sclerum nonnullis incredibilis videbantur, ea non modo cogitata a nefariis civibus, verum etiam suscepta esse sensistis. Illud vero nonne ita praesens est, ut nutu Jovis Optimi Maximi factum esse videatur, et quum hodierno die

30 man per forum meo jussu et conjurati et eorum indices in ædem Concordia ducerentur, eo ipso tempore signum statueretur? Quo collocato atque ad vos senatumque converso omnia et senatus et vos, quæ erant contra salutem omnium cogitata, illustrata et patet facta vidistis. 22. Quo etiam

majore sunt isti odio supplicioque digni, qui non solum vestris domiciliis atque tectis, sed etiam deorum templis atque delubris sunt funestos ac nefarios ignes inferre conati. Quibus ego si me restitives dicam, nimium mihi sumam et non sim ferendus: ille, ille Juppiter restitit: ille Capitolium,
ille hæc templæ, ille hanc urbem, ille vos omnes salvos esse voluit. / Diis ego immortalibus ducibus hanc mentem, Quirites, voluntatemque suscepi atque ad hæc tanta indica perveni. Jam vero illa Allobrogum sollicitatio † sic a P. Lentulo ceterisque domesticis. hostibus tam dementer tanta res credita et ignotis et barbaris commissœque literæ nunquam essent profecto, nisi ab diis immortalibus haec tanta audaciae consilium esset erectum. Quid vero? Ut homines Galli ex civitate male pacata, que gens una res, atque bellum populo Romano facere et posse et non nolle videat, spem imperii ac rerum amplissimarum ultro sibi a patriis hominibus oblatam neglegere quamque salutem suis opibus anteponerent, id non divinitus factum esse putatis? Præsentium qui nos non pugnando, sed tacendo superare potuerunt. 

X. 23. Quamobrem, Quirites, quoniam ad omnia pulvinaria supplicatio decreta est, celebratote illos dies cum conjugibus ac liberis vestris. Nam multi sepe honores diis immortalibus justi habitur sunt ac debiti, sed profecto justiores nunquam. Erepti enim estis ex crudelissimo ac miserrimo interitu, et erepti sine caede, sine sanguine, sine exercitu, sine dimicazione; togati me uno togato duce et imperatore vicistis. 24. Etenim recordamini, Quirites, omnes civiles dissensiones, non solum eas, quas audistis, sed eas, quas vosmet ipsi meministis atque vidistis: L. Sulla P. 25 Sulpicium oppressit: ex urbe ejecit C. Marium, custodem hujus urbis, multosque fortes viros partim ejecit ex civitate, partim interemit. Qn. Octavius, consul, armis expulit ex urbe collegam suum; omnis hic locus acervis corporum et civium sanguine redundavit. Superavit [postea] Cinna 30 cum Mario. Tum vero clarissimis viris interfexis lumina civitatis extincta sunt. Ultus est hujus victorise crudelitatem postea Sulla; ne dici quidem opus est, quanta deminutione civium et quanta calamitate rei publicae. Dissensit M. Lepidus a clarissimo ac fortissimo viro, Q. Catulo. 35 Attulit non tam ipsius interitus rei publicae luctum, quam ceterorum. 25. Atque illæ tamen omnes dissensiones erant ejusmodi, Quirites, quæ non ad delendam, sed ad commutandam rem publicam pertinereat; non ili nullam esse rem publicam, sed in ea, quæ esset, se esse principes, neque 40 hanc urbem conflagrare, sed se in hac urbe florere voluerunt. Atque illæ tamen omnes dissensiones, quorum nulla exitium rei publicae quæsivit, ejusmodi fuerunt, ut non reconciliatione concordiae, sed internecione civium dijudicatæ.
sint. In hoc autem uno post hominum mem.iam maxime crudelissimoque bello, quale bellum nulla unquam barbaria cum sua gente gessit, quo in bello lex haec ruit a Lentulo, Catilina, Cethego et Cassio constituta, ut omnes, qui salva urbe salvi esse possent, in hostium numero ducerentur, ita me gessi, Quirites, ut omnes salvi conservaremini; et, quam hostes vestri tantum civium superfuturum esse putasset, quantum infinitae caedi restitisset, tantum autem urbis, quantum flamma obire non potuisset, et urbem et cives integros incolumesque servavi.

XI. 26. Quibus pro tantis rebus, Quirites, nullum ego a vobis præmium virtutis, nullum insigne honoris, nullum monumentum laudis postulabo praeterquam hujus diei memoria semperturnam. In animis ego vestris oune trium phos meos, omnia ornamenta honoris, monumenta gloriae, laudis insignia, condi et collocari volo. Nihil me mutum potest delectare, nihil tacitum, nihil denique ejusmodi; quod etiam minus digni assequi possint. Memoria vestra, Quirites, nostræ res alentur, sermonibus crecent, literarum monumentis inveterascent et corroborabuntur: eademque diem intelligo, quam spero æternam fore et ad salutem urbis et ad memoriam consulatus mei propagam unque tempore in hac re publica duos cives exstitisse, quorum alter fines vestri imperii non terraæ, sed caeli regionibus terminaret, alter ejusdem imperii domicilium sedemque servaret.

XII. 27. Sed, quoniam earum rerum, quas ego gessi, non eadem est fortuna atque conditio, quæ illorum, qui externa bella gesserunt: quod mihi cum iis vivendum est, quos vici ac subegi, illi hostes aut interfectos aut oppressos reliquerunt: vestrum est, Quirites, si ceteris recte facta sua prosunt, mihi mea ne quando obsint, providere. Mentes enim hominum audacissimorum sceleratæ ac nefariæ ne vobis nocere possent, ego providi: ne mihi noceant, vestrum est providere. Quamquam, Quirites, mihi quidem ipsi nihil ab istis jam noceri potest. Magnum enim est in bonis presidium, quod mihi in perpetuum comparatum est; magna in re publica dignitas, quæ me semper tacita defendet; magna vis conscientiae, quam qui negligent, quam me violare volent, se ipsi indicabunt. 28. Est etiam in nobis is animus, Quirites, ut non modo nullius audacia cedamus, sed etiam omnes improbos ulter semper laccensam. Quod si omnis impetus domesticorum hostium depulsus a vobis se in me unum converterit, vobis erit viden-
dum, Quirites, qua conditione posthac eos esse velitis, qui se pro salute vestra obtulerint invidiae periculisque omnibus. Mihi quidem ipsi quid est, quod jam ad vitae fructum possit aequi, præsertim quum neque in honore vestro neque in gloria virtutis quidquam videam altius, quo mihi libeat ascendere? 29. Illud perficiam profecto, Quirites, ut ea, quae gessi in consulatu, privatus tuam atque ornem; ut, si qua est invidia in conservanda re publica suscepta, laedat invidos, mihi valeat ad gloriem. Deinde ita me in re publica tractabo, ut meminerim semper, quæ gesserim, curemque, ut ea virtute, non casu gesta esse videantur. Vos, Quirites, quoniam jam nox est, veneramini illum Iovem, custodem hujus urbis ac vestrum, atque in vestra tecta discedite: et ea, quamquam jam periculum est depulsum, tamen æque ac priore nocte custodiis vigiliiisque defendite. Id ne vobis diutius faciendum sit atque ut in perpetua pace esse possitis, provebo, Quirites.
IN

L. CATILINAM

ORATIO QUARTA

HABITA IN SENATU.

I. 1. Video, Patres conscripti, in me omnium vestrum ora atque oculos esse conversos. Video vos non solum de vestro ac rei publicae, verum etiam, si id depulsum sit, de meo periculo esse sollicitos. Est mihi jucunda in malis et gratia in dolore vestra erga me voluntas: sed eam, per deos immortales! deponite atque obliviti salutis meae de vobis ac de vestris liberis cogitate. Mihi si haec conditio consulsata data est, ut omnes acerbitates, omnes dolores cruciatusque perferrem, feram non solum fortiter, verum etiam libenter, dummodo meis laboribus vobis populoque Romano dignitas salusque pariatur. 2. Ego sum ille consul, Patres conscripti, cui non forum, in quo omnis æquitas continetur, non campus consularibus auspiciis consecratus, non curia, summum auxilium omnium gentium, non domus, commune perfugium, non lectus ad quietem datus, non denique haec sedes honoris, sella curulis, unquam vacua mortis periculo atque insidiis fuit. Ego multa tacui, multa pertuli, multa concessi, multa meo quodam dolore in vestro timore sanavi. Nunc, si hunc exitum consulatus mei dii immortales esse voluerunt, ut vos, Patres conscripti, populumque Romanum ex caede miserrima, conjuges liberosque vestros virginesque Vestales ex acerbissima vexatione, templum atque delubra, hanc pulcherrimam patriam omnium nostrum ex fedeissima flamma, totam Italiam ex bello et vastitate eriperem, quæcunque mihi uni proponetur fortuna, subeatur. Etenim, si P. Lentulus suum nomen, inductus a vatibus, fatale ad perniciem populi Romani fore putavit, cur ego non læter
meum consulatum ad salutem rei publicae prope fatalem exstitisse?

II. 3. Quare, Patres conscripti, consulite vobis, prospecite patriae, conservate vos, conjugete, liberos fortunasque vestras, populi Romani nomen salutemque defendite, mihi 5 parcerae ac de me cogitare desine. Nam primum debo sperare omnes deos, qui huic urbi praesident, pro eo mihi, ac meroer, relatu res esse gratiam; deinde, si quid obtigerit, sequo animo paratoque moriar. Nam neque turpis mors fortior viro potest accidere neque immatura consulari nec 10 misera sapienti. Nec tamen ego sum ille ferreus, qui fratris carissimi et amantisimis presentis merore non movear horumque omnium lacrimis, a quibus me circumsemm videtis. Neque meam mentem non domum sepe revocat examinata uxor et abjecta metu filia et parvulus filius, quem 15 mihi videtur amplecti res publica tamquam obsidem consulatus mei; neque ille, qui expectans hujus exitum diei adstat in conspectu meo gener. Moveor hic rebus omnibus, sed in eam partem, uti salvi sint vobiscum omnes, etiam si me vis aliqua oppresserit, potius quam et illi et nos una rei 20 publicae peste pereamus. 4. Quare, Patres conscripti, incumbite ad salutem rei publicae; circumspicite omnes procellas, que impendent, nisi providetis. Non Ti. Gracchus, quod iterum tribunus plebi fieri voluit, non C. Gracchus, quod agrarios concitare conatus est, non L. Saturninus, 25 quod C. Memmius occidit, in discrinem aliquod atque in urbis severitatis judicium adducitur: tenentur ii, qui ad urbis incendium, ad vestram omnium caedem, ad Catilinam accipiendum Romae restiterunt. Tenentur literae signa manus, denique unius cujusque confessio; sollicitantur Al-30 lobroges; servitia excitantur; Catilina arcessitur; id est inimum consilium, ut interfectis omnibus nemo ne ad deplo- randum quidem populi Romani nomen atque de lamentan- dam tanti imperii calamitatem relinquatur.

III. 5. Hae omnia indices detulerunt, rei confessi sunt; 35 vos multis jam judicis judicatis: primum, quod mihi gratias egistis singularibus verbis, et mea virtute atque diligentia perditorum hominum conjurationem patefactam esse decrevistis: deinde quod P. Lentulum, ut se abdicaret x praeitura, coegistis; tum quod eum et ceteros, de quibus 40 judicatis, in custodiam danda est decravit, qui honos togato postremo hesterno die præmia legatis Allobrogum Titoque Volturcio dedistis amplissima.
Quae sunt omnia ejusmodi, ut ii, qui in custodiam nominatim dati sunt, sine ulla dubitatione a vobis damnati esse videantur.

6. Sed ego institui referre ad vos, Patres conscripti, tamquam integrum et de facto, quid judicetis, et de poena, quid censeatis.illa prædicam, quae sunt consulis. Ego magnum in re publica versari fuorem et nova quædam miseri et concitari malam jampridem videbam; sed hanc tantam, tam exitiosam haberi conjurationem a civibus nunquam putavi. Nunc, quidquid est, quocunque vestrae mentes inclinant atque sententiae, statuendum vobis anto noctem est. Quantum facinus ad vos delatum sit, videtis. Huic si paucos putatis affines esse, vehementer erratis. Latius opinione disseminatum est hoc malum; manavit non solum per Italiam, verum etiam transcendit Alpes et obscure serpens multas jam provincias occupavit. Id opprimi sustentando ac prolatando nullo pacto potest. Quacunque ratione placet, celeriter vobis vindicandum est.

IV. 7. Video duas adhuc esse sententias: unam D. Silani, qui censeet, eos, qui haec delere conati sunt, morte esse multandos; alteram C. Cæsarist, qui mortis poenam removet, ceterorum suppliciorum omnes acerbitates ampliatur. Uterque et pro sui dignitate et pro rerum magnitudine in summa severitate versatur. Alter eos, qui nos omnes, qui populi Romanum vita privare conatus sunt, qui delere imperium, qui populi Romani nomen exstingueret, punctum temporis frui vita et hoc communi spiritu non putat oportere, atque hoc genus poenæ saepè in improbos cives in haec re publica esse usurpatum recordatur. Alter intelligit mortem a diis immortalibus non esse supplicii causa constitutam, sed aut necessitatem naturæ aut laborum ac miseriae quietem esse. Itaque eam sapientes nunquam invit, fortes saepè etiam libenter appetiverunt. Vincula vero, et ea sempiterna, certe ad singularem poenam nefarii 35 seeleris inventa sunt. Municipiis dispersiri jubet. Habere videtur ista res iniquitatem, si imperare velis, difficultatem, si rogare. Decemnatur tamem, si placet. 8. Ego enim suspiciam et, ut spero, reperiam, qui id, quod salutis omnium causa statueritis, non putet esse sua dignitatis recusare. Adjungit gravem poenam municipiis, si quis eorum vincula ruperit; horribiles custodias circumdat et digna seclere hominum perditorum sancit, ne quis eorum poenam, quos condemnat, aut per senatum aut per populum levare possit; eripit etiam spem, quae sola homines in miseriis consolari
solet Rōna prōterea publicari jubet: vitam solam relinquit nefarīs hominibus; quam si eripuisset, multos uno dolore animi atque corporis et omnes scelerum pœnas ademisset. Itaque ut aliqua in vita formido improbis esset posita, apud inferos ejusmodi quedam illi antiqui supplicia impis constituta esse voluērunt; quod videlicet intelligebant his remotis non esse mortem ipsam pertimescendam.

V. 9. Nunc, Patres conscripti, ego mea video quid intersit. Si eritis seuti sententiam C. Cæsaris, quoniam hanc is in re publica viam, quæ popularis habetur, secutus est, fortasse minus erunt hoc auctore et cognitore hujusce sententiae minū populares impetus pertimescendi: sin illam alteram, nescio, an amplius mihi negotii contrahatur. Sed tamen meorum periculorum rationes utilitas rei publicae vincat. Habemus eām a C. Cæsare, sicut ipsius dignitas et majorum ejus amplitudo postulabat, sententiam tamquam obsidem perpetuae in rem publicam voluntatis. Intellectum est, quid intersit inter levitatem concionatorum et animum vere popularem, saluti populi consulentem. 10. Video de istis, qui se populares haberi volunt, absesse non neminem, ne de capite videlicet civium Romanorum sententiam ferat. Is et nudiustertia in custodiam cives Romanos dedit et supplicationem mihi decrevit et indices hesterno die maximis praemiis affecit. Jam hoc nemini dubium est, qui rei custodiam, quæsitori gratulationem, indici praemiunm decrevit, quid de tota re et causa judicarit. At vero C. Cæsar intellegit legem Semproniam esse de civibus Romanis constituam; qui autem rei publicae sit hostis, eum civem esse nullo modo posse: denique ipsum latorem Sempronia legis jussu populi pœnas rei publicae dependisse. Idem ipsum largitorem Lentulum et prodigm non putat, quum de peregrine populi Romani, exitio hujus urbis tam acerbe tamque crudeler cogitarit, etiam appellari posse populi. Itaque homo mitissimus atque lenissimus non dubitat P. Lentulum æternis tenebris vinculisque mandare et sancit in posterum, ne quis hujus supplicio levando se jactare et in peregrine populi Romani posthac popularis esse possit. Adjungit etiam publicationem honorum, ut omnes animi cruciatus et corporis etiam egestas ac mendicitas consequatur.

VI. 11. Quamobrem sive hoc statueritis, dederitis mihi comitem ad concionem populo carum atque jucundum; sive Silani sententiam sequi malueritis, facile me atque vos crudelitatis vituperatione populo Romano exsolvetis atque
obtinebo eam multo leniorem fuisse. Quamquam, Patre, conscripti, quae potest esse in tanti sceleris immancitate punienda crudelitas? Ego enim de meo sensu judico. Nam ita mihi salva re publica vobiscum perfrui liceat, ut ego, quod in hac causa vehementior sum, non atrociate animi moveor, (quis enim est me mitior?) sed singulari quadam humanitate et misericordia. Videor enim mihi videre hanc urbem, lucem orbis terrarum atque artcom omnium gentium, subito uno incendio concidentem; cerno 10 animo sepultam patriam, miseros atque inseptulos acervos civium; versatur mihi ante, oculos adspectus Cethegi et furor in vestra caede bacchantis. 12. Quum vero mihi proposui regnante Lentulum, sicut ipse se ex fatis sperasse confessus est, purpuratum esse huic Gabinium, cum 15 exercitu venisse Catilinam, tum lamentationem matrum-familias, tum fugam virginum atque puerorum ac vexationem virginum Vestalium perhorresco: et, quia mihi vehementer hac videntur misera atque miseranda, idcirco in eos, qui ea perficere voluerunt, me severum vehementemque praebeo.

20 Et enim quero, si quis paterfamiliae liberis suis a servo interfecit, uxore occisa, incensa domo supplicium de servis quam acerbissimum sumpserit; utrum is clemens ac misericors, an inhumanissimus et crudelissimus esse videatur? Mihi vero importunus ac ferreus, qui non dolore ac cruicata 25 nocentis suum dolorem cruciatumque lenierit. Sic nos in his hominibus, qui nos, qui conjuges, qui liberos nostros trucidare voluerunt, qui singulas unius cujusque nostrum domos et hoc universum rei publicae domicilium delere conati sunt, qui id egerunt, ut gentem Allobrogum in 30 vestigiis hujus urbis atque in cinere deflagrati imperii collocarent, si vehementissimi fuerimus, misericordes habeamur; sin remissiores esse voluerimus, summam nobis crudelitatis in patriae civiumque pernie fama subeunda est. 13. Nisi vero cuipiam L. Caesar, vir fortissimus et amantissimus rei 35 publicae, crudelior nudiustertius visus est, quam sororis suae, feminae lectissime, virum presenitem et audientem vita privandum esse dixit, quam avum jussu consulis interfectum filiumque ejus impuberem, legatum a patre missum, in carcere necatum esse dixit. Quorum quod simile factum? 40 quod initum delendae rei publicae consilium? Largitionis voluntas tum in re publica versata est et partium quedam contentio. Atque illo tempore hujus avus Lentuli, clarissimus vir, armatus Gracchum est persecutus: ille etiam grave tum vulnus accepit, ne quid de summa re publicae
minucretur: hic ad evertenda fundamenta rei publicae Gallos arcessit, servitia concitata, Catilinam vocat, attribuit nos trucidandos Cethego, ceteros cives intericiendos Gabini, urbem inflammandam Cassio, totam Italiam vastandum diripiendamque Catilinae. Vereamini, censeo, ne in hoc scelere tam immani ac nefando nimis aliquid severius statusse videamini. Multo magis est verendum, ne remissione pæne crudelis in patriam, quam ne severitate animadversionis nimis vehementes in acerbissimos hostes fuisse videamur.

VII. 14. Sed ea, quæ exaudio, Patres conscripti, dissimulare non possum. Jaciuntur enim voces, quæ perveniunt ad aures meas, eorum, qui vereri videntur, ut habeam saitis praesidii ad ea, quæ vos statueritis hodierno die, transigunda. Omnia et provisa et parata et constituta sunt, 15 Patres conscripti, quam mea summa cura atque diligentia, tum multo etiam majore populi Romani ad summum imperium retinendum et ad communes fortunas conservandas voluntate. Omnes adsunt omnium ordinum homines, omnium denique sestatum; plenum est forum, plena templo 20 circum forum, pleni omnes aditus hujus templi et loci. Causa est enim post urbem conditam hæc inventa sola, in qua omnes sentirent unum atque idem præter eos, qui, quum sibi viderent esse pereundum, cum omnibus potius quam soli perire voluerunt. 15. Hosce ego homines excipio 25 et secerno libenter neque in improborum civium, sed in acerbissimorum hostium numero habendos puto. Ceteri vero, dii immortales! qua frequentia, quo studio, qua virtute ad communem salutem dignitatemque consentiunt? Quid ego hic equites Romanos commemorem? qui vobis 30 ita/summam/ordinis consiliique concedunt, ut vobiscum de amore rei publicae certent; quos ex multorum annorum dissensione hujus ordinis ad societatem concordiamque revocatos hodiernus dies vobiscum atque hæc causa conjungit; quam si conjunctionem in consulatu confirmatam meo 35 perpetuam in re publica tenuerimus, confirmo vobis nullum posthaec malum civile ac domesticum ad ullam rei publicae partem esse venturum. Pari studio defendendæ rei publicæ convenisse video tribunos æararios, fortissimos viros; scribas item universos; quos quum casu hic dies ad æararium fre-40 quentasset, video ab expectatione sortis ad salutem communem esse conversos. 16. Omnis ingenuorum adest multitudo, etiam tenuissimorum. Quis est enim, cui non hæc 'imple, adspectus urbis, possessio libertatis, lux denique
haec ipsa et hoc commune patriae solum quem sit carum, tum vero dulce atque jucundum?

VIII. Operae pretium est, Patres conscripti, libertinorum hominum studia cognoscere; qui sua virtute fortunam hujus civitatis consecuti vere hanc suam patriam esse judicant, quam quidam hic nati et summo nati loco non patriam suam, sed urbem hostium esse judicaverunt. Sed quid ego huysce ordinis homines commemoro, quos privatae fortuna, quos communis res publica, quos denique libertas, ea, quae dulcissima est, ad salutem patriae defendendam excitavit? Servus est nemo, qui modo tolerabili conditione sit servitutis, qui non audaciam civium perhorscet; qui non haece stare cupiat; qui non quantum audet et quantum potest conferat ad communem salutem voluntatis. 17. Quare si quem vestrum forte commovet hoc, quod auditus est lenonem quendam Lentuli concursare circum tabernas, pretio sperare sollicitari posse animos gentium atque imperiorum, est id quidem coeptum atque tentatum; sed nulli sunt inventi tam aut fortuna miseri aut voluntate perditi, qui non illum ipsum sellae atque operis et quaeustus quotidie locum, qui non cubile ac lectulum suum, qui denique non cursum hunc otiosum vitae suae salvum esse velint. Multo vero maxima pars eorum, qui in tabernis sunt, nisi vero (id enim potius est dicendum) genuis hoc universum amantissimum est otii. · Etenim omne instrumentum, omnis opera atque quaeustus frequentia civium sustentatur, alitum opio: quorum si quaeustus occclusis tabernis minui solet, quid tandem incensis futurum fuit?

IX. 18. Quae quum ita sint, Patres conscripti, vobis populi Romani præsidia non desunt: vos ne populo Romano deesse videamini, providete. Habetis consulem ex plurimis periculis et insidiis atque ex media morte non ad vitam suam, sed ad salutem vestram reservatum; omnes ordines ad conservandam rem publicam mente, voluntate, studio, virtute, voce consentiunt; obsessa facibus et telis impiae conjurationis vobis supplex manus tendit patria communis; vobis se, vobis vitam omnium civium, vobis arcem et Capitolium, vobis aras Penatium, vobis ignem illum Vestae sempiternum, vobis omnia deorum templum atque delubra, vobis muros et urbis tecta commendat. Praeterea de vestra vita, de conjugum vestrarum atque liberorum anima, de fortunis omnium, de sedibus, de focis vestris hodierno die vobis judicandum est. 19. Habetis ducem memorem vestri, oblivium sui, quæ non semper facultas datur; habetis omnes ordines, omnes homines, universum populum Roma-
num, id quod in civili causa hodierno die primum videmus, unum atque idem sentientem. Cogitate, quantis laboribus fundatum imperium, quanta virtute stabilitam libertatem, quanta deorum benignitate auctas exaggeratasque fortunas una nox pæne delerit. Id ne unquam posthac non modo 5 confici, sed ne cogitari quidem possit a civibus, hodierno die providendum est. Atque hæc, non ut vos, qui mihi studio pæne præcurritis, excitarem, locutus sum, sed ut mea vox, quæ debet esse in re publica princeps, officio x functa consulari videretur.

X. 20. Nunc antequam, [Patres conscripti], ad sententiam redeo, de me paucœ dicam. Ego, quantâ manus est conjuratorium, quam videtis esse permagnum, tantam me inimicorum multitudinem suscepisse video, sed eam esse turpem judico, infirmam et abjectam. Quod si aliquando 15 alicujus furore et scelere concitata manus ista plus valuerit quam vestra ac rei publicœ dignitas, me tamen meorum factorum atque consiliorum nunquam, Patres conscripti, pœnitet. Etenim mors, quam mihi illi fortasse mimitantur, omnibus est parata: vitae tantam laudem, quanta vos me 20 vestris decretis honestatis, nemo est assecutus. Ceteris enim bene gesta, mihi uni conservata re publica gratulacionem decrevisistis. 21. Sit Scipio clarus ille, cujus consilio atque virtute Hannibal in Africam redire atque Italia dece- dere coactus est; ornetur alter eximia laude Africanus, qui 25 duas urbes huic imperio infestissimas Karthaginem Numantiamque delevit; habeatur vir egregius Paullus ille, cujus currum rex potentissimus quondam et nobilissimus Perses honestavit: sit æterna gloria Marius, qui bis Italiam obsidione et metu servitutis liberavit; anteponatur omnibus 30 Pompeius, cujus res gestae atque virtutes iisdem, quibus solis cursus, regionibus ac terminis continentur: erit profecto inter horum laudes aliquid loci nostræ gloriae; nisi forte majus est patefacere nobis provincias, quo exire possimus, quam curare, ut etiam illi, qui absunt, habeant, quo victores 35 revertantur. \22. Quamquam est uno loco conditio melior externæ victoriae quam domesticae, quod hostes alienigenæ aut oppressi serviant aut recepti beneficio se obligatos putant: qui autem ex numero civium dementia aliqua depravati hostes patriæ semel esse coeperunt, eos, quum a pernicie rei publicœ reppuleris, nec vi coercere nec beneficio placare possis; quare mihi cum perditis civibus æternum bellum susceptum esse video. Id ego vestro honorumque omnium auxilio memoriaque tantorum periculorum, quàe
non modo in hoc populo, qui servatus est, sed [etiam] in omnium gentium sermonibus ac mentibus semper herebit, a me atque a meis facile propulsari posse confido. Nequeulla profecto tanta vis reperietur, quae conjunctionem vestram equitumque Romanorum et tantam conspansionem bonorum omnium confringere et labefactare possit.

XI. 23. Quæ quom qua sint, Patres conscripti, pro imperio, pro exercitu, pro provincia, quam neglegi; pro triumpho ceterisque laudis insignibus, quæ sunt a me propter urbis vestraeque salutis custodiam repudiata, pro clientelis hospi-tiaisque provincialibus, quæ tamen urbanis opibus non minore labore tueor, quam comparo: pro his igitur omnibus rebus, pro meis in vos singularibus studiis, proque hac, quam conspicitis, ad conservandum rem publicam diligentia nihil a vo- bis nisi hujus temporis totiusque mei consulatus memoria postulo, quæ dum erit in vestris fixa mentibus, tutissimo me muro septum esse arbitrabor. Quod si meam spem vis improborum fefellerit atque superaverit, commendo vosibus parvum meum filium; cui profecto satis erit praedidii non solum ad salutem, verum etiam ad dignitatem, si ejus, qui hact omnia suo solius periculo conservaverit, illum filium esse memineritis. 24. Quapropter de summa salute vestra populeque Romani, Patres conscripti, de vestris conjugibus ac liberis, de aris ac focis, de sanis atque templis, de totius urbis tectis ac sedibus, de imperio ac libertate, de salute Italiae, de universa re publica decernite diligenter, ut instituistis, ac fortiter. Habetis eum consulem, qui et parere vestris decretis non dubitet et ea, quae statuetis, quoad vivet, defendere et per se ipsum præstare possit.
ORATIO
DE
IMPERIO CN. POMPEII
SIVE
PRO LEGE MANILIA.

I. 1. QUAMQUAM mihi semper frequens conspectus ve-
ster multo jucundissimus, hic autem locus ad agendum
amplissimus, ad dicendum ornatisimus est visus, Quirites,
tamen hoc aditu laudis, qui semper optimo cuique maxime
patuit, non mea me voluntas adhuc, sed vitae meae ra-
tiones ab ineunte ætate susceptæ prohibuerunt. Nam,
quum antea per ætatem nondum hujus auctoritatem loci
attingere auderem statueremque nihil hoc nisi perfectum
ingenio, elaboratum industria afferti oportere, omne meum
temps amicorum temporibus transmittendum putavi. 2. 10
Ita neque hic locus vacuos unquam fuit ab iis, qui vestram
causam defenderent, et meus labor in privato periculis
caste integreque versatus ex vestro judicio fructum est
amplissimum consecutus. Nam quum propter dilationem
comitiorum ter prætor primus centurii cunctis renuntiatus 15
sum, facile intellexi, Quirites, et quid de me judicaretis et
quid alius præscriberetis. Nunc quum et auctoritatis in me
tantum sit, quantum vos honoribus mandantis esse voluistis,
et ad agendum facultatis tantum, quantum homini vigilanti
ex forensi usu prope quotidiana dicendi exercitatio potuit 20
affere; certe et si quid auctoritatis in me est, [ea] apud
cos utar, qui eam mihi dederunt; et si quid in dicendo
consequi possum, iis ostendam potissimum, qui ei quoque
rei fructum suo judicio tribuendum esse censuerunt. 3.
Atque illud in primis mihi lætandum jure esse video, quod 25
in hac insolita mihi ex hoc loco ratione dicendi causa talis
oblata est, in qua oratio deesse nemini possit. Dicendum
est enim de Cn. Pompeii singulari eximiaque virtute; hujus autem orationis difficilium est exitum quam principium invenire. Ita mihi non tam copia, quam modus in dicendo quærendus est.

5 II. 4. Atque, ut inde oratio mea profiscatur, unde haec omnis causa ducitur, bellum grave et periculosum vestris vectigalibus ac sociis a duobus potentissimis regibus infertur, Mithridate et Tigrane; quorum alter relictus, alter lacessitus, occasionem sibi ad occupandam Asiæ oblatam 10 esse arbitrantur. „Equitibus Romanis, honestissimis viris, afferuntur ex Asia quotidie literæ, (quorum magnæ res aguntur in vestris vectigalibus exercendis occupatæ; qui ad me pro necessitudine, quæ mihi est cum illo ordine, causam rei publicæ periculaque rerum suarum detulerunt):

15 5. Bithyniæ, quæ nunc vestra provincia est, vicos exustos esse complures; regnum Ariobarzanis, quod finitimum est vestris vectigalibus, totum esse in hostium potestate; Lucullum magnis rebus gestis ab eo bello discedere; huic qui successerit, non satis esse paratum ad tantum bellum admi

20 nistrandum; unum ab omnibus sociis et civibus ad id bellum imperatorem deposci atque expeti; eundem hunc unum ab hostibus metui, praeterea neminem.

6. Causa quæ sit, videtis: nunc quid agendum sit, considerate. Primum mihi videtur de genere belli, deinde de 25 magnitudine, tum de imperatore deligendo esse dicendum. Genus est enim belli ejusmodi, quod maxime vestros animos excitare atque inflammare ad perseverandi studium debeat; in quo agitur populi Romani gloria, quæ vobis a majoribus quum magna in omnibus rebus, tum summa in re militari 30 tradita est; agitur salus sociorum atque amicorum, pro qua multa majores vestri magna et gravia bella gesserunt; aguntur certissima populi Romani vectigalia et maxima, quibus amissis et pacis ornamenta et subsidia belli requiretis; aguntur bona multorum civium, quibus est a vobis et 35 ipsorum et rei publicæ causa consulendum.

III. 7. Et quoniam semper appetentes gloriae præter ceteras gentes atque avidi laudis fuistis, delenda vobis est illa macula Mithridatico bello superiore concepta: quæ penitus jam insedit ac nimis inveteravit in populi Romani 40 nomine: quod is, qui uno die, tota Asia, tot in civitatibus, uno nutio atque una significacione literarum cives Romanos necandos trucidandosque denotavit, non modo adhuc pœnam nullam suo dignam scelere suscepit, sed ab illo tempore annum jam tertium et vicesimum regnat, et ita regnat, ut
se non Ponto neque Cappadociae latebris occultare velit, sed emergere e patrio regno atque in vestris vectigalibus, hoc est, in Asiae luce versari. 8. Etenim adhuc ita nostri cum illo rege contenderunt imperatores, ut ab illo insignia victoriae, non victoriam reportarent. Triumphavit L. Sulla, 5 triumphavit L. Murena de Mithridate, duo fortissimi viri et summii imperatores, sed ita triumpharunt, ut i.e pulsus superatusque regnaret. Verumtamen illis imperatoribus laus est tribuenda, quod egerunt, venia danda, quod reliquerunt; propertia quod ab eo bello Sullam in Italiam res 10 publica, Murenam Sulla revocavit.

IV. 9. Mithridates autem omne reliquum tempus non ad oblivionem veteris belli, sed ad comparationem novi contulit: qui posteaquam maximas edificasset orناسsetque classes, exercitusque permagnos, quibuscunque ex gentibus potiusset, comparasset et se Bosporanis, finitimis suis, bellum inferre simularet, usque in Hispaniam legatos ac literas misit ad eos duces, quibuscum tum bellum gerebamus, ut, quum duobus in locis disjunctissimis maximeque diversis uno consilio a binis hostium copiis bellum terra marique gereretur, vos ancipiti contentione districti de imperio dimicaretis. 10. Sed tamen alterius partis periculum, Sertorianae atque Hispaniensis, quae multo plus firmamentum ac roboris habebat, Cn. Pompeii divino consilio ac singulari virtute depulsum est; in altera parte ita res a L. Lucullo, summum 25 viro, est administrata, ut initia illa rerum geratur magna atque praecella non felicitati ejus, sed virtutis, haec autem extrema, quae nuper acciderunt, non culpae, sed fortunae tribuenda esse videantur. Sed de Lucullo dicam alici loco, et ita dicam, Quirites, ut neque vera laus ei detracta oratone 30 nostra neque falsa aucta esse videatur. 11. De vestris imperii dignitate atque gloria, quoniam is est exorsus orationis meae, videte, quem vobis animum suscipiendum putetis.

V. Majores nostri sepe mercatoribus aut naviculariis 35 injustosius tractatis bella gesserunt: vos tot milibus civium Romanorum uno nuntio atque uno tempore necatis quo tandem animo esse debetis? Legati quod erant appellati superbus, Corinthum patres vestri, totius Graeciae lumen extinctum esse voluerunt: vos eum regem inultum esse 40 patierni, qui legatum populi Romani consularem vinculis ac verberibus atque omni supplicio excruciatum necavit? Illi libertatem civium Romanorum imminguntam non tulerunt; vos vitam erexitam negligentis? Jus legationis verbo viola-
ORATIO

tum illi persecuti sunt; vos legatum omni supplicio interfecunt relicquetis? 12. Videste, nec, ut illis pulcherrimum fuit tantam vobis imperii gloriæ tradere, sic vobis turpis simum sit, id, quod accepistis, tueri et conservare non posse.

Quid, quod salus sociorum summas in periculum ac discriminem vocatur quo tandem animo ferre debetis? Regno est expulsus Ariobarzanes rex, socius populi Romani atque amicus; imminet duo reges toti Asiae non solum vobis inimicissimi, sed etiam vestris sociis atque amicis; civitates autem omnes cuncta Asia atque Graecia vestrum auxilium exspectare propter periculi magnitudinem coguntur; imperatore a vobis certum deprehendere, quem præsertim vos alium miseritis, neque audient neque se id facere sine summo periculo posse arbitrantur. 13. Vident et sentiunt hoc idem, quod vos, unum virum esse, in quo summa sint omnia, et cum propter esse, quo etiam carent ægrius: cujus adventu ipso atque nomine, tametsi ille ad maritimum bellum venerit, tamen impetus hostium repressus esse intel-igunt ac retardatos. Hi vos, quoniam libere loci non licet, tacite rogant, ut se quoque, sicut ceterarum provinciarum socios, dignos existimas quorum salutem tali vico commencedis; atque hoc etiam magis, quod ceteros in provinciam ejusmodi homines cum imperio mittimus, ut, etiamsi ab hoste defendant, tamen ipsorum adventus in urbes sociorum non multum ab hostilis expugnatione dierant. Hunc audiebant antea, nunc præsentem vident tanta temperamentia, tanta mansuetudine, tanta humanitate, ut ii beatissimi esse videantur, apud quos ille diutissime commoratur.

VI. 14. Quare, si propter socios nulla ipsi injuria lacessit, maiores nostri cum Antiocho, cum Philippo, cum Ἐτοῖς, cum Pœnis bella gesserunt, quanto vos studio con-vcatus injuriis provocatos sociorum salutem una cum imperii vestri dignitatem defendere? præsertim quem de maximis vestris vectigalibus agatur.

Nam ceterarum provinciarum vectigalia, Quirites, tanta sunt, ut ii ad ipsas provincias tutandas vix contenti esse possimus; Asia vero tam opima est ac fertillis, ut et ubertate agrorum et varietate fructuum et magnitudine pastionis et multitudine eorum rerum, quæ exportantur, facile omni bus terris antecellat. Itaque hæc vobis provincia, Quirites, si et belli utilitatem et pacis dignitatem retinere vultis, non modo a calamitate, sed etiam a metu calamitatis est defendenda. 15. Nam in ceteris rebus, quem venit calamitas,
tum detrimentum accipitur; at in vectigalibus non solum adventus mali, sed etiam metus ipse affect calamitatem. Nam quem hostium copiae non longe absunt, etiam si irruptio nulla facta est, tamen pecua relinquuntur, agri cultura deseritur, mercatorum navigatio conquiscit. Ita neque ex portu neque ex decumis neque ex scriptura vectigal conservari potest; quare sepe totius anni fructus uno rumore periculi atque uno belli terreore amittitur. 16. Quo tandem igitur animo esse existimatis aut eos, qui vectigalia nobis pene tant, aut eos, qui exercent atque exigunt, quam duo reges cum maximis copiis propter adsint? Quam una excursio per brevi tempore totius anni vectigal adiere possit? Quum publicani familias maximas, quas in salinis habent, quas in agris, quas in portus atque custodiis, magno periculo se habere arbitrentur? Putatisne vos illis rebus frui posse, nisi eos, qui vobis fructui sunt, conservatis, non solum (ut ante dixi) calamitate, sed etiam calamitatis formidino liberatos?

VII. 17. Ac ne illud quidem vobis neglignendum est, quod mihi ego extremum proposueram, quam essem de belli generis dicturus, quod ad multorum bona civium Romanorum pertinet; quorum vobis pro vestra sapientia, Quirites, habenda est rati diligenter. Nam et publicani, homines honestissimi atque ornatisissimi, suas rationes et copias in illam provincIAM contulerunt; quorum ipsorum, per se res et fortuna vobis curae esse debent. Etenim si vectigalia nervos esse rei publicae semper duximus, eum certe ordinem, qui exercet illa, firmamentum ceterorum ordinum recte esse dicemus. 18. Deinde ex ceteris ordinibus homines navi atque industrii partim ipsi in Asia negotiabantur, quibus vos absensibus consulere debetis, partim eorum in ea provincia pecunias magnas collocatas habent. Est igitur humanitatis vestrae magnum numerum eorum civium calamitate prohibere, sapientiae, videre multorum civium calamitatem a re publica sejunctam esse non posse. Etenim primum illud parvi refert, nos publicanis amissis vectigalia postea victoria recuperare; neque enim isdem redimendi facultas erit propter calamitatem, neque aliis voluntas propter timorem. 19. Deinde quod nos eadem Asia atque idem iste Mithridates initio belli Asiatici docuit, certe id quidem calamitate docti memoria retinere debemus: nam tum, quum in Asia res magnas permulte amiserant, scimus, Romae solutione impedita fidem concedisse. Non enim possunt una in civitate multi rem atque fortunas amittere, ut non plures secum
in eandem trahant calamitatem. A quo periculo prohibete rem publicam et mihi credite, id quod ipsi videtis: haec fides atque haec ratio pecuniarum, quae Romae, quae in foro versatur, implicita est cum illis pecuniis Asiaticis et cohaeret; ruere illa non possunt, ut haec non eodem labefacta motu concidant. Quare videte, num dubitantum vobis sit omni studio ad id bellum incumbere, in quo gloria nominis vestri, salus sociorum, vectigalia maxima, fortunae plurimum civium cum re publica defenduntur.

10 VIII. 20. Quoniam de genere belli dixi, nunc de magnitude paucà dicam. Potest hoc enim dici: belli genus esse ita necessarium, ut sit gerendum; non esse ita magnum, ut sit perteæcendum. In quo maxime laborandum est, ne forte a vobis, quie diligentissime providenda sunt, con- temnenda esse videantur. Atque ut omnes intelligant me Lucullo tantum impertire laudis, quantum forti viro et sapienti homini et magno imperatori debetur, dico, ejus adventu maximas Mithridatis copias omnibus rebus ornatas atque instructas fuisset, urbemque Asiae clarissimam nobisque amicissimam Cyzicenorum obsessam esse ab ipso rege maxima multitudine et oppugnatam vehementissime, quam L. Lucullus virtute assiduitate consilio summis obsidionis periculis liberavit; 21. ab eodem imperatore classem magnam et ornatam, quae ducibus Sertorianis ad Italiam studio atque odio inflammata raperetur, superatam esse atque depressam; magnas inflammatae præterea copias multis prœlis esse deletas patefactumque nostris legionibus esse Pontum, qui ante populo Romano ex omni aditus clausus fuisset; Sinopen atque Amisum, quibus in oppidis erant domicilia regis, omnibus rebus ornatas atque referatas ceterasque urbes Ponti et Cappadociae permultas uno aditus adventuque esse captas; regem spoliatum regno patrio atque avito ad alios se reges atque ad alias gentes supplicem contulisse: atque haec omnia salvis populi Romani sociis esse laudibus, atque ita, 30 Quirites, ut hoc vos intelligatis, a nullo istorum, qui huic obtræctant legi atque causa, L. Lucullum similiter ex hoc loco esse laudatum.

IX. 22. Requiretur fortasse nunc, quemadmodum, quum haec ita sint, reliquum possit magnum esse bellum. Cognoscite, Quirites, non enim hoc sine causa queri videtur. Primum ex suo regno sic Mithridates profugit, ut ex eodem Ponto Medea illa quondam profugisse dicitur; quam praedican in fuga fratris sui membra in iis locis, qua se pares
pro lege manilia, cap. ix.

persequeretur, dissipavisse, ut eorum collectio dispersa mærorque patriis celeritatem perseverendi retardaret. Sic Mithridates fugiens maximam vim auri atque argenti pulcherrimarumque rerum omnium, quas et a majoribus acceptat, et ipse bello superiore ex tota Asia directas in suum 5 regnum conguesserat, in Ponto omnem reliquit. Hæc dum nostri colligunt omnia diligentius, rex ipse e manibus effugit. Ita illum a perseverendi studio mæror, hos letitia tardavit. 23. Hunc in illo timore et fuga Tigranes, rex Armenius, exceptum diffidentemque rebus suis confirmavit et afflictum 16 erexit perdiditumque recreavit: cujus in regnum posteaquam L. Lucullus cum exercitu venit, plures etiam gentes contra imperatorem nostrum concitatae sunt. Erat enim metus injectus iis nationibus, quas nunquam populus Romanus neque accessendas bello neque tentandas putavit; erat etiam 15 alia gravis atque vehemens opinion, quæ per animos gentium barbararum pervaserat, fani locupletissimi et religiosissimi diriendi causa in eas oras nostrum esse exercitum adduxit. Ita nationes multæ atque magnæ novo quodam terrore ac metu concitabantur. Noster autem exercitus, 20 armetis urbem ex Tigrani regno ceperat et prælia usus erat secundis, tamen nimia longinquitate locorum ac desiderio suorum commovebatur. 24. Hic jam plura non dicam. Fuit enim illud extremum, ut ex iis locis a militibus nostris reditus magis maturus quam processio longior quæreretur: 25 Mithridates autem et suum manum jam confirmerat [et eorum, qui se ex ipsius regno collexerant] et magnis adventiciis auxiliis multorum regum et nationum juvabatur. Jam hoc fere sic fieri solere accipimus, ut regum afflictæ fortunæ facile multorum opes aliicient ad misericordiam, 30 maximeque eorum, qui aut reges sunt aut vivunt in regno: ut [iis] nomen regale magnum et sanctum esse videatur. 25. Itaque tantum victus efficere potuit, quantum incolumis nunquam est ausus optare. Nam quem se in regnum suum recepisset, non fuit eo contentus, quod ei præter spem 35 acciderat, ut illam, posteaquam pulsus erat, terram unquam attingeret, sed in exercitum nostrum clarum atque victorem metum fecit. Sinite hoc loco, Quirites, sicut poetae solent, qui res Romanas scribunt, præterire me nostram calamitatem, quæ tanta fuit, ut eam ad aures imperatoris 40 non ex prælio nutuisti, sed ex sermone rumor afferret. 26. Hic in illo ipso malo gravissimoque bello offensione L. Lucullus, qui tamen aliqua ex parte iis incommodis mederi tortasse potuisset, vestro iussu coactus, quod imperii diu-
turnitati modum statuendum vetere exemplo putavistis, partem militum, qui jam stipendiiis confecti erant, dimisit, partem Glabrioni tradidit. Multa prætereo consulto: sed ea vos conjectura perspicite, quantum illud bellum factum putetis, quod conjungant reges potentissimi, renovent agitatae nationes, susciplant integrae gentes, novus imperator noster accipiat, vetere exercitu pulso.

X. 27. Satis mihi multa verba fecisse video, quare esset hoc bellum genere ipso necessarium, magnitudine periculosum restat, ut de imperatore ad id bellum deligendo ac tantis rebus praeficiendo dicendum esse videatur. Útinam, Quirites, virorum fortium atque innocentium copiam tantam habetis, ut hac vobis deliberatio difficilis esset, quemnam potissimum tantis rebus ac tanto bello praeficeris endum putaretis. Nunc vero quum sit unus Cn. Pompeius, qui non modo eorum hominum, qui nunc sunt, gloriam, sed etiam antiquitatis memoriam virtute superarit, quæ res est, quæ cujusquam animum in hac causa dubium facere possit? 28. Ego enim sic existimo, in summo imperatore quattuor has res inesse oportere, scientiam rei militaris, virtutem, auctoritatem, felicitatem. Quis igitur hoc homine scientior unquam aut fuit aut esse debuit? qui e ludo atque pueritia disciplinis bello maximis atque acerrimis hostibus ad patris exercitum atque in militiae disciplinam profectus est; qui extrema pueritia miles in exercitu fuit summum imperatoris, ineunte adolescentia maximis ipse exercitus imperator; qui saepius cum hoste conflixit, quam quisquam cum inimico concertavit; plura bella gessit, quam ceteri legerunt; plures provincias confecit, quam alii concupiverunt; cujus adole- 30 scientia ad scientiam rei militaris non alienis præceptis, sed suis imperiis, non offensionibus bellis, sed victoriis, non stipendiis, sed triumphis est erudita. Quod denique genus esse belli potest, in quo illum non exerceriet fortuna rei publicæ? Civile, Africanum, Transalpinum, Hispaniense mixtum ex incitatis atque bellicosissimis nationibus, servile, navale bellum, varia et diversa generis et bellorum et hostium, non solum gesta ab hoc uno, sed etiam confecta, nullam rem esse declarant in usu positam militari, quæ hujus viri scientiam fugere possit.

XI. 29. Jam vero virtuti Cn. Pompeii quæ potest oratio par inveniri? Quid est, quod quisquam aut illo dignum aut vobis novum aut cujusquam inauditum possit afferre? Neque enim illæ sunt solæ virtutes imperatoriae, quæ vulgo existimantur, labor in negotiis, fortitudo in periculis, industria
in agendo, celeritas in conficiendo, consilium in providendo; quae tanta sunt in hoc uno, quanta in omnibus reliquis imperatoribus, quos aut vidimus aut audivimus, non fuerunt. Testis est Italia, quam ille ipse victor, L. Sulla, hujus virtute et subsidio confessus est liberatam. 30 Testis est Sicilia, quam multis undique cinctam periculis non terrore belli, sed consilium celeritate explicavit. Testis est Africa, quae magnis oppressa hostium copiis eorum ipsorum sanguine redundavit. Testis est Gallia, per quam legionibus nostris in Hispaniam iter Gallorum internectione patefactum est. Testis est Hispania, quae sepiissime plurimos hostes ab hoc superatos prostratosque conspexit. Testis est iterum et sepius Italia, quae, quem servili bello tetro periculosque premeretur, ab hoc auxilium absente expetivit: quod bellum expectatione ejus attonutum atque inominatum est, adventu 15 sublatum ac sepultum. 31. Testes nunc vero jam omnes orae atque omnes gentes ac nationes, denique maria omnia, quem universa, tum in singulis oris omnes sinus atque portus. Quis enim toto mari locus per hos annos aut tam firmum habuit praesidium, ut tutus esset? aut tam fuit 20 abditus, ut lateret? Quis navigavit, qui non se aut mortis aut servitutis periculo committeret, quam aut hieme aut tertio praeidonum mari navigaret? Hoc tantum bellum, tam turpe, tam vetus, tam late divisum atque dispersum, quis unquam arbitraretur aut ab omnibus imperatoribus 25 uno anno, aut omnibus annis ab uno imperatore confici posse? 32. Quam provinciam tenuisti a praedonibus liberam per hosce annos? quod vectigal vobis tutum fuit? quem socium defendistis? cui præsidio classibus vestris fuistis? quam multas existimatis insulas esse desertas? 30 quam multas aut metu relictas aut a praedonibus captas urbes esse sociorum?

XII. Sed quid ego longinquam commemoro? Fuit hoc quondam, fuit proprium populi Romani, longe a domo bellare et propugnaculis imperii sociorum fortunas, non sua 35 tecta defendere. Sociis ego nostris mare per hos annos clausumuisse dicam, quom exercitus nostri nunquam a Brundisio nisi hieme summa transmiserint? Qui ad vos ab exteris nationibus venirent, captos querar, quem legati populi Romani redempti sint? Mercatoribus tutum mare 40 nonuisse dicam, quom duodecim secures in praedonum potestatem pervenerint? 33. Cnidum aut Colophonem aut Samum, nobilissimas urbes, innumerablesque alias captas esse commemorem, quom vestros portus, atque eos
portus quibus vitam et spiritum ducitūs, in prædonum fuisse potestate sciatīs? An vero ignorātis portum Caietāe celernium atque plenissimum navium inspexitātum prætore a prædonibus esse direptum? ex Miseno autem ejus ipsius liberōs, qui cum prædonibus antea ibi bellum gesserat, a prædonibus esse sublātos? Nam quid ego Ostiense incommōtum atque ilam labem atque ignominiam rei publicae quērar, quum prope inspexitātibus vobis classis ea, cui consul populi Romani prepositus esset, a prædonibus capta atque oppressa est? Pro dīi immortales! tantamque unius hominis incredibilem ac divina virtutem tam brevi tempore luecum affere rei publicae potuit, ut vos, qui modo ante ostium Tiberiūm classem ĥostium videbatis, nunc nullam intra Oceanī ostium prædonum navem esse audėtis? 34. 15 Atque hæc qua celeritate gesta sint, quamquam vidētis, tamen a me in dicendo prētereunda non sunt. Quis enim unquam aut obeiūndi negotiī aut consequendī quēstus studiō tam brevi tempore tot loca adire, tantos cursus conficere potuit, quam celeriter Cn. Pompeio duce tanti belli impetus navigavit? qui nondum tempěstivō ad navigandum mari Siciliam adīt, Africam exploravit, inde Sardiniam cum classe venit atque hæc tria frumentaria subsidia rei publicae firmissimis prēsidīis classibusque munivit. 35. Inde quum se in Italian recepisset, duabus Hispanicis et Gallia [Transalpina] prēsidīis ac navibus confirma, missis item in oram Ilyrici maris et in Achaiam omnemque Greceiam navibus Italiæ duo maria maximis classibus firmissimisque prēsidīis adōrnavit; ipse autem, ut Brundisio prefectus est, undequinquegesimo die totam ad imperium populi Romani Cilikiam adjunxit: omnes, qui ubique prōdones fuerunt, partim capti interfēctique sunt, partim unius hujus se imperii ac potestātis ᵁdiderunt. Idem Cretensibus, quum ad eum usque in Pamphyliam legatos deprecatoresque misissent, spem deditionis non ademitt obsidesque imperavit. Ita 35 tantum bellum, tam diuturnum, tam longe lateque dispersum, quo bello omnes gentes ac nationes premebantur, Cn. Pompeius extrema hiemē apparavit, incune verte suscepit, media aestate confecit.

XIII. 36. Est hæc divina atque incredibilis virtus imperatoris. Quid cēferē, quās paulo ante commemorare cēperam, quantā atque quam multae sunt? Non enim belandi virtus solum in summo ac perfecto imperatore quærenda est, sed multae sunt artes eximiae, hujus administrāe comitesque virtutis. Ac primum quanta innocentia debent
PRO LEGE MANILIA, CAP. XIV.

esse imperatores! quanta deinde in omnibus rebus temperantia! quanta fide, quanta facilitate, quanto ingenio, quanta humanitate! quattuor breviter, qualia sint in Cn. Pompeio, consideremus. Summa enim omnia sunt, Quirites, sed ea magis ex aliorum contentione quam ipsa per sese cognosci atque intelligi possunt. 37: Quem enim imperatorem possumus ullo in numero putare, cujus in exercitu centuriam veneant atque venierint? quid hunc hominem magnum aut amplum de re publica cogitare, qui pecuniam ex aerario depromptam ad bellum administrandum aut propter cupiditatem provinciarum magistratibus diviserit aut propter avaritiam Romae in questu reliquerit? Vestra admururatio facit, Quirites, ut agnosce videamini, qui hoc fecerint: ego autem nominò neminem; quare irasci mihi nemo poterit, nisi qui ante de se voluerit confiteri. 38. Itaque propter hanc avaritiam imperatorum quantas calamitates, quocunque ventum sit, nostri exercitus ferat, quis ignorat? Itinera, quae per hosce annos in Italia per agros atque oppida civium Romanorum nostri imperatorum fecerint, recordaminì; tum facilius statuetis, quid apud exteram nationem fieri existimetis. Utrum plures arbitramini per hosce annos militum vestrorum armis hostium urbes, an hibernis sociorum civitatis esse deletas? Neque enim potest exercitum is continere imperator, qui se ipse non continet, neque severus esse in judicando, qui alios in se severos esse iudices non vult. 39. Hic miramur hunc hominem tantum excellere ceteris, cujus legiones sic in Asiam pervenerint, ut non modo manus tanti exercitus, sed ne vestigium quidem cuiquam pacato nocuisse dicatur? Jam vero, quemadmodum milites hibernent, quotidie sermones ac litterae perferuntur; non modo, ut sumptum faciat in militem, neminilvis effertur, sed ne cupiunt quidem cuiquam permittitur. Hiemis enim, non avaritiae perfugium maiores nostri in sociis atque amicorum tectis esse voluerunt.

XIV. 40. Age vero, ceteris in rebus qua sit temperantia, considerate. Unde illum tantam celeritatem et tam incredibilem cursum inventum putatis? Non enim illum eximiam vis remigum aut ars inaudita quaedam gubernandi aut venti aliqui novi tam celeriter in ultimas terras pertulereunt, sed eae res, quae ceteros remorari solent, non retardarunt; non avaritia ab instituto cursu ad praedam aliquam devocavit, non libido ad voluptatem, non aumenitas ad delectionem, non nobilitas urbis ad cognitionem, non denique labor ipse ad quietem. Postremo signa et tabulas ceteraque ornamenta Graecorum
oppidorum, quae ceteri tollenda esse arbitrantur, ea sibi ille
ne visenda quidem existimavit. 41. Itaque omnes nunc in
iis locis Cn. Pompeium sicut aliquem non ex hac urbe
missum, sed de caelo delapsum intuentur; nunc denique
incipient credere, fuisse homines Romanos hac quondam
continentia, quod jam nationibus exteris incredibile ac falso
memoriae proditum videbatur. Nunc imperii vestri splendor
illis gentibus lucet; nunc intelligunt non sine causa maiores
suos tum, quam ea temperantia magistratus habeamus,
10 servire populo Romano quam imperare aliis maluisset. Jam
vero ita faciles aditus ad eum privatorum, ita liberæ queri-
moniae de aliorum injuriis esse dicuntur, ut is, qui dignitate
principibus excelleit, facilitate infimis par/esse videatur. 42.
Jam quantum consilio, quantum dicendi gravitate et copia
15 valeat, in quo ipso inest quaedam dignitas imperatoria, vos,
Quirites, hoc ipso ex loco esse cognovistis. Fidem vero ejus
quantam inter socios existimari putatis, quam hostes omnes
omnium generum sanctissimam judicarint? Humanitate jam
tanta est, ut difficile dictu sit, utrum hostes magis virtutem
20 ejus pugnantes timuerint, an manus etudinem victi dilexerint.
Et quia quem dubitabit, quin huic hoc tantum bellum trans-
mittendum sit, qui ad omnia nostræ memoriae bella con-
ciendam divino quodam consilio natus esse videatur ?

XV. 43. Et, quoniam auctoritas quoque in bellis ad-
25 ministrandis multum atque in imperio militari valet, certe
nemini dubium est, quin ea re idem ille imperator plurimum
possit. Vehementer autem pertinere ad bella administranda,
quid hostes, quid socii de imperatoribus nostris existimem,
quis ignorat, quum sciamus homines in tantis rebus, ut aut
30 contemnunt aut metuant aut oderint aut amem, opinione
non minus et fama quam aliqua ratione certa commoveri ?
Quod igitur nomen unquam in orbe terrarum clarius fuit?
cujus res gestae pares? de quo homine vos, id quod maxime
facit auctoritatem, tanta et tam praela judicia fecitum?
35 44. At vero ullam usquam esse oram tam desertam putatis,
quo non illius diei fama pervaserit, quum universus populus
Romanus referto foro completisque omnibus templis, ex
quibus hic locus conspici potest, unum sibi ad commune
omnium gentium bellum Cn. Pompeium imperatorem de
40 poposcit? Itaque, ut plura non dicam neque aliorum
exemplis confirmem, quantum auctoritas valeat in bello, ab
eodem Cn. Pompeio omnium rerum egregiarum exempla
sumantur; qui quo die a vobis maritimo bello praepositus
est imperator, tanta repente vilitas annone ex summa
inopia et caritate rei frumentariae consecuta est unius hominis spe ac nomine, quantam vix ex summa ubertate agrorum diuturna pax efficiere potuisset. 45. Jam, accepta in Ponto calamitate ex eo praelio, de quo vos paulo ante invitus admonui, quum socii pertimissent, hostium opes animique crevisse, satis firmum praesidium provincia non haberet, amisissetis) Asiam, Quirites, nisi ad ipsum discrimen ejus temporis divinitus Cn. Pompeium ad eas regiones fortuna populi Romani attulisset. Hujus adventus et Mithridatem insolita inflammatum victoria continuit et Tigranem magnis copiis munitantem Asiae retardavit. Et quisquam dubitabit, quid virtute perfecturus sit, qui tantum auctoritate perfecerit? aut quam facile imperio atque exercitu socios et vectigalia conservaturus sit, qui ipso nomine ac rumore defenderit?

XVI. 46. Age vero, illa res quantam declarat ejusdem hominis apud hostes populi Romani auctoritatem, quod ex locis tam longinquos tamque diversis tam brevi tempore omnes huic se uni dediderunt! quod Cretensium legati, quim in eorum insula noster imperator exercitusque esset, ad Cn. Pompeium in ultimas prope terras venerunt eique se omnes Cretensium civitates dedere velle dixerunt! Quid? idem iste Mithridates nonne ad eundem Cn. Pompeium legatum usque ad Hispanicam misit eum, quem Pompeius legatum semper judicavit, ii, quibus erat semper molestum ad eum potissimum esse missum, speculatorem quam legatum judicari maluerunt. Potestis igitur jam constituere, Quirites, hanc auctoritatem multis postea rebus gestis magnisque vestris judiciis amplificatam quantum apud illos reges, quantum apud exteris nationes valituram esse existimetis.

47. Reliquum est, ut de felicitate, quam praeclare de se ipso nemo potest, meminisse et commemorare de altero possimus, sicut sequum est homines de potestate deorum, timide et pauca dicamus. Ego enim sic existimo: Maximo, Marcello, Scipioni, Mario et ceteris magnis imperatoribus non solum propter virtutem, sed etiam propter fortunam (saepius) imperia mandata atque exercitus esse commissos. Fuit enim profecto quibusdam summis viris quaedam ad amplitudinem et ad gloriam et ad res magnas bene gerendas divinitus adjuncta fortuna. De hujus autem hominis felicitate, de quo nunc agimus, hac utar moderatione dicendi, non ut in illius potestate fortunam positam esse dicam, sed ut praeterita meminisse, reliqua sperare videamur, ne aut invisa diis immortalibus oratio nostra aut ingrata esse vi-
deatur. 48. Itaque non sum prædicatus, quantas illae residomi militiae, terra marique quantaque felicitate gesserit; ut ejus semper voluntatibus non modo cives assenserint, socii obtemperarint, hosites obedierint, sed etiam venti tempestatesque obscündarint; hoc brevissime dicam, neminem unquam tam impudentem fuisset, qui ab diis immortalibus tot et tantas res tacitus auderet optare, quot et quantas dii immortales ad Cn. Pompeium detulerunt: quod ut illi proprium ac perpetuum sit. Quirites, quum communis salutis atque imperii, tum ipsius hominis causa, sicuti facitis, velle et optare debetis.

49. Quare quum et bellum sit ita necessarium, ut negligi non possit, ita magnum, ut accuratissime sit administrandum, et quum ei imperatorem praeficer possit, in quo sit eximia belli scientia, singularis virtus, clarissima auctoritas, egregia fortuna, dubitabitis, Quirites, quin hoc tantum boni, quod vobis ab diis immortalibus oblatum et datum est, in rem publicam conservandum atque amplificandum conferatis?

XVII. 50. Quod si Romæ Cn. Pompeius privatus esset hoc tempore, tamen ad tantum bellum is erat deligendus atque mittendus. Nunc, quum ad ceteras summis utilitates hæc quoque opportunitas adjungatur, ut in iis ipsis locis adsit, ut habeat exercitum, ut ab iis qui habent, accipere statim possit, quid exspectamus? aut cur non dulcibus diis immortalibus eadem, cui cetera summa cum salute rei publicæ commissa sunt, hoc quoque bellum regium committamus?

51. At enim vir clarissimus, amantissimus rei publicæ, vestris beneficiis amplissimis affectus, Q. Catulus, itaque summis ornamentis honoris fortunæ, virtutis ingenii prædictus, Q. Hortensius, ab hac ratione dissentient: quorum ego auctoritatem apud vos multis locis plurimum valuisset et valere oportere confiteor; sed in hac causa, tametsi cognoscetis auctoritates contrarias virorum fortissimorum et clarissimorum, tamen omissis auctoritatibus ipsa re ac ratione exquirere possimus veritatem; atque hoc facilius, quod ea omnia, quae a me adhuc dicta sunt, idem isti vera esse concedunt, et necessarium bellum esse et magnum et in uno Cn. Pompeio summa esse omnia. 52. Quid igitur ait Hortensius? Si uni omnia tribuenda sint, [unum] dignissimum esse Pompeium; sed ad unum tamen omnia deferri non oportere. Obsolevit jam ista oratio, re-multa magis quam verbis refutata. Nam tu idem, Q. Hortensi, multa pro tua summa copia ac singulari facultate dicendi et in senatu
contra virum fortet, A. Gabinium, graviter ornateque dixisti, quum is de uno imperatore contra praedones constituendo legem prœmulgasset, et ex hoc ipso loco permulta item contra legem eam verba secisti. 53. Quid? tum, per deos immortales! si plus apud populum Romanum auctoritas tua quam ipsius populi Romani salus et vera causa valuissest, hodie hanc gloriam atque hoc orbis terræ imperium teneres? An tibi tum imperium esse hoc videbatur, quum populi Romani legati, questores praetoresque capiebantur? quum ex omnibus provinciis commœatu et privato et publico prohibebamur? quum ita clausa nobis erant maria omnia, ut neque privatam rem træsmarinam neque publicam jam obire possemus?

XVIII. 54. Quæ civitas antea unquam fuit, non dico Atheniensium, quæ satis late quondam mare tenuisse dicitur; non Karthaginiensium, qui permultum classe ac maritimis rebus valuerunt; non Rhodiorum, quorum usque ad nostram memoriam disciplina navalis et gloria remanisset: quæ civitas unquam tam terræ, quæ tam parva insula fuit, quæ non portus suos et agros et aliquam partem regionis atque oræ maritimæ per se ipsa defenderet? Atercule aliquot annos continuos ante legem Gabiniam ille populus Romanus, cujus usque ad nostram memoriam nomen inividuitum in navalibus pugnis permanserat, magna ac multo maxima parte non modo utilitatis, sed dignitatis atque imperii caruit. 55. Nos, quorum magiores Antiochum regem classe Persenque superarunt, omnibusque navalibus pugnis Karthaginiensibus, homines in maritimis rebus exercitatisimos paratissimosque, victorii, ii nullo in loco jam praedonibus naires esse poteramus. Nos, qui ante non modo Italiam tutam habeabamus, sed omnes socios in ultimis oris auctoritate nostri imperii salvos praestare poteramus, tum, quum insula Delos tam procul a nobis in Ægæo mari posita, quo omnes undique cum mercibus atque oneribus commœabant, referita divitiis, parva, sine muro nihil timebat, idem non modo provinciis atque oris Italici maritimis ac portibus nostris, sed etiam Appia jam via carebamus: et his temporibus non pudebat magistratus populi Romani in hunc ipsum locum ascendere, quum eum nobis magiores nostri exuissi nauticis et classium spoliis ornatum reliquissent!

XIX. 56. Bono te animo, Q. Hortensi, populus Romanus et ceteros, qui erant in eadem sententia, dicere existimavit ea, quæ sentiebatis: sed tamen in salute communem iam populus Romanus dolori suo maluit quam auctoritati.
vestrae obtupere. Itaque una lex, unus vir, unus annus non modo nos illa miseria ac turpitudine liberavit, sed etiam efficit, ut aliquando vere videremur omnibus gentibus ac nationibus terra marique imperare.

5 57. Quo mihi etiam indignius videtur obrectatum esse adhuc, Gabinioc dicam, anne Pompeio, an utrique? id quod est verius; ne legaretur A. Gabinius Cn. Pompeio expetenti ac postulanti. Utrum ille, qui postulat ad tantum bellum legatum, quem velit, idoneus hon est, qui imperet, quum ceteri ad expilandos socios diripiendasque provincias, quos voluerunt, legatos eduxerint; an ipse, cujus lege salus ac dignitas populo Romano atque omnibus gentibus constituta est, expers esse debet ejus gloriae imperatoris atque ejus exercitus, qui consilio ipsius ac periculo est constitutus?

15 58. An C. Falcidius, Q. Metellus, Q. Caecilius Latinensis, Cn. Lentulus, quos omnes honoris causa nomino, quum tribuni plebi fuissent, anno proximo legati esse potuerant; in uno Gabinio sunt tam diligentes quia in hoc bello, quod lege Gabinia geritur, in hoc imperatore atque exercitu, quem per vos ipse constituit, etiam praecipuo jure esse deberet? De quo legando consules spero ad senatum relatus. Qui si dubitabant aut gravabuntur, ego me profiteor relatum; neque me impediet cujusquam inimicum edictum, quo minus vobis fretus, vestrum jus beneficiumque defendam; neque praeter intercessionem quidquam audiam; de qua, ut arbitror, isti ipsi, qui minantur, etiam atque etiam, quid liceat, considerabunt. Mea quidem sententia, Quirites, unus A. Gabinius belli maritimis rerumque gestarum Cn. Pompeio socius adscibitur; propertea quod alter uni illud bellum suscipientium vestris suffragiis detulit, alter delatum susceptumque confecit.

XX. 59. Reliquum est, ut de Q. Catuli auctoritate et sententia dicendum esse videatur. Qui quum ex vobis quaereret, si in uno Cn. Pompeio omnia ponenteris, si quid 35 eo factum esse, in quo sper essetis habituri, cepit magnum suae virtutis fructum ac dignitatis, quum omnes una prope voce in ipso vos sper habituros esse dixistis. Etenim talis est vir, ut nulla res tanta sit ac tam difficilis, quam illa non et consilio regere et integritate tueri et virtute conficiere possit. Sed in hoc ipso ab eo vehementissime dissentio, quod, quo minus certa est hominum ac minus diuturna vita, hoc magis res publica, dum per deos immortales licet, frui debet summii virti vita atque virtute.—60. At enim ne quid novi fiat contra exempla atque instituta majorum.—Non
dicam hoc loco majores nostros semper in pace consuetudini, in bello utilitati pariisse; semper ad novos casus temporum novorum consiliorum rationes accommodasse: non dicam duo bella maxima, Punicum atque Hispaniense, ab uno imperatore esse confecta; duasque urbes potentissimas, quae huic imperio maxime minitabantur, Karthaginem atque Numantium, ab eodem Scipione esse deletas: non commemorabo nuper ita vobis patribusque vestris esse visum, ut in uno C. Mario spes imperii poneretur, ut idem cum Jugurtha, idem cum Cimbri, idem cum Teutonis bellum administraret: 61. in ipso Cn. Pompeio, in quo novi constitui nihil vult Q. Catulus, quam multa sint nova summa Q. Catuli voluntate constituata, recordamini.

ORATIO

XXII. Quare videant, ne sit periniquum et non serendum illorum auctoritatem de Cn. Pompeii dignitate a vobis comprobatam semper esse, vestrum ab illis de eodem homine judicium populique Romani auctoritatem improbari; præsertim quam jam suo jure populus Romanus in hoc homine suam auctoritatem vel contra omnes, qui dissentiunt, possit defendere; propterea quod, iisdem istis reclamantibus, vos unum illum ex omnibus delegistis, quem bello prædonom præponeretis. 64. Hoc si vos temere fechristis et rei publicae parum consuluisitis, recte isti studia vestra suis consiliis regere conantur; sin autem vos plus tum in re publica vidistis, vos his repugnantibus per vosmet ipsos dignitatem huic imperio, salutem orbi terrarum attulistis; aliquis isti principes et sibi et ceteris populi Romani universi auctoritati parendum esse fateantur! [Atque in hoc bello Asiatico et regio non solum militaris illa virtus, quæ est in Cn. Pompeio singularis, sed alia quoque virtutes animi magnæ et multae requiruntur. Difficile est in Asia, Cilicia, Syria regnisque interiorium nationum ita versari nostrum imperatorem, ut nihil aliud nisi de hoste ac de laude cogitet. Deinde etiam si qui sunt pudore ac temperantia moderatores, tamen eos esse tales, propter multitudinem cupidorum hominum nemo arbitratur. 65. Difficile est dictu, Quirites, quanto in odio simus apud exteris nationes propter eorum, quos ad eas per hos annos cum imperio misimus, libidines et injurias. Quod enim fanum putatis in illis terris nostris magistratibus religiosum, quam civitatem sanctam, quam domum satis clauas ac munitam fuisse? Urbes jam locupletes ac copiosæ requiruntur, quibus causa bellì propter diripienda cupiditatem infastrut. 66. Libenter hæc coram cum Q. Catulo et Q. Hortensio summis et clarissimis viris, disputarem; noverunt enim sociorum vulnera, vident eorum calamitates, querimones audiant. Pro sociis vos contra hostes exercitum mittere putatis, an hostium simulatione contra socios atque amicos? quæ civitas est in Asia, quæ non modo imperatoris aut legati, sed unius tribuni militiae animos ac spiritus capere possit?

XXIII. Quare, etiam si quem habetis, qui collatis signis exercitus regios superare posse videatur, tamen, nisi erit idem, qui se a pecuniis sociorum, qui ab eorum conjugibus ac liberis, qui ab ornamentis fanorum atque oppidorum, qui ab auro gazaque regia manus oculos animum cohibere possit, non erit idoneus, qui ad bellum Asiaticum regiumque mittatur. 67. Ecquam putatis civitatem pacatamuisse,
quae locuples sit? ecquam esse locupletem, quae istis pacata esse videatur? Ora maritima, Quirites, Cn. Pompeium non solum propter rei militaris gloriam, sed etiam propter animi continentiam requisivit. Videbat enim praetores locupletari quotidissimis pecunia publica, praeter paucos; neque eos quidem quam aliudasse sequi classium nomine, nisi ut detrimentis accipiendis majore affici turpitudine videremur. Nunc qua cupiditate homines in provincias, quibus jacturis, quibus conditionibus profisciscantur, ignorant videlicet isti, qui ad unum deferenda omnia esse non arbitrantur: quasi vero Cn. 10 Pompeium non quum suis virtutibus, tum etiam alienis vitius magnus esse videamus.

468. Quare nolite dubitare, quin huic uni credatis omnia, qui inter tot annos unus inventus sit, quem socii in urbes suas cum exercitu venisse gaudeant.] Quod si auctoritatibus 15 hanc causam, Quirites, confirmandam putatis, est vobis auctor vir bellorum omnium maximarumque rerum peritus simus P. Servilius, cujus tantae res gestae terra marisque existerunt, ut, quam de bello delibertis, auctor vobis gravium nemo esse debeat; est C. Curio summis vestris beneficis maximisque rebus gestis, summo ingenio et prudentia praeditus; est Cn. Lentulus, in quo omnes pro amplissimis vestris honoribus summum consilium, summam gravitatem esse cognovistis; est C. Cassius, integritate virtute constantia singularis. Quare videte, ut horum auctoritatibus 25 illorum orationi, qui dissentiant, respondere posse videamus.

XXIV. 69. Quae quum ita sint, C. Manili, primum istam tuam et legem et voluntatem et sententiam laudo vehementiissimeque comprobo: deinde te hortor, ut auctore populo Romano manecas in sententia neve cujusquam vim aut minas pertimescas. Primum in te satis esse animi perseverantiaque arbitror; deinde quum tantam multitudinem cum tanto studio adesse videamus, quantam nunc iterum in eodem homine praeficiendo videmus, quid est, quod aut de re aut de perficiendi facultate dubitemus? 35 Ego autem, quidquid est in me studii consilio, laboris ingenii, quidquid hoc beneficio populi Romani atque hac potestate praetoria, quidquid auctoritate fide constantia possum, id omnino ad hanc rem conficiendam tibi et populo Romano poliecior ac defero: 70. testorque omnes deos, et eos maxime, qui huic loco temploque praesident, qui omnium mentes corum, qui ad rem publicam adeunt, maxime perspiciunt, me hoc neque rogatu facere cujusquam neque quo Cn. Pompeii gratiam mihi per hanc causam conciliari putem
neque quo mihi ex cujusquam amplitudine aut præsidia periculis aut adjumenta honoribus quæram; propterea quod pericula facile, ut hominem præstare oportet, innocentia tecti repellimus; honorem autem neque ab uno neque ex hoc loco, sed eadem illa nostra laboriosissima ratione vitae, si vestra voluntas feret, consequemur. 71. Quamobrem, quidquid in hac causa mihi susceptum est, Quirites, id ego omne me rei publicæ causa susceptisse confirmo; tantumque abest, ut aliquam mihi bonam gratiam quæsisse videar, ut multas me etiam simul tates partim obscuras, partim apertas intelligam mihi non necessarias, vobis non inutiles susceptisse. Sed ego me hoc honore praeditum, tantis vestris beneficiis affectum statui, Quirites, vestram voluntatem et rei publicæ dignitatem et salutem provinciarum atque sociorum meis omnibus commodis et rationibus præferre oportere.
ORATIO

PRO M. MARCELLO.

I. 1. Diuturni silentii, Patres conscripti, quo eram his temporibus usus, non timore alioqu, sed partim dolore, partim verecundia, finem hodiernus dies attulit, idemque initium, quae vellem queaque sentirem me pristino more dicendi. Tantam enim mansuetudinem, tam inusitatem 5 inauditaque clementiam, tantum in summa potestate omnium rerum modum, tam denique incredibilem sapientiam ac paenae divinam tacitus praeterire nullo modo possum. 2. M. enim Marcellum vobis, Patres conscripti, rei publicae redito, non illius solum, sed etiam meam vocem et auctoritatem et vobis et rei publicae conservatam ac restitutam puto. Dolebam enim, Patres conscripti, et vehementer angebar, quum viderem, virum talum, qui eadem causa esset, in qua ego fuisse, non in eadem esse fortuna: nec mihi persuadere poteram nec fas esse ducebam, versari me in 15 nostro veteri curriculo, illo aemulo atque imitatore studiorum ac laborum meorum quasi quodam socio a me et comite distracto. Ergo et mihi meae pristinae vitae consuetudinem, C. Caesar, interclusum aperiisti et his omnibus ad bene de omni re publica sperandum quasi signum aliquod sustulisti. 20 3. Intelectum est enim mihi quidem in multis et maxime in me ipso, sed paulo ante omnibus, quum M. Marcellum senatui rei publicae concessisti, commemoratis praesertim onensionibus, te auctoritatem hujus ordinis dignitatemque rei publicae tuis vel doloribus vel suspicionibus 25 anteferre. Ille quidem fructum omnis ante actae vitae hodierno die maximum cepit, quin summum consensu senatus tum praeterea judicio tuo gravissimo et maximo. Ex quo profecto intelligis, quanta in dato beneficio sit laus, quum 30
ex salute non minor pæne ad omnes, quam ad illum ventura sit, laetitia pervenerit: 4. quod quidem ei merito atque optimo jure contigit. Quis enim est illo aut nobilitate aut probitate aut optimarum artium studio aut innocentia aut 5 ullo laudis genere præstantior?

II. Nullius tantum flumen est ingenii, nullius dicendi aut scribendi tanta vis, tanta copia, quæ non dicam exornare, sed enarrare, C. Cæsar, res tuas gestas possit. Tamen affirmo et hoc pace dicam tua: nullam in his laudem esse 10 ampliorem, quam eam, quam hodierno die consecutus es.

5. Soleo sepe ante oculos ponere idque libenter eredris usurpare sermonibus: omnes nostrorum imperatorum, omnes exterarum gentium potentissimorumque popularum, omnes clarissimorum regum res gestas cum tuis nec contentionum nec celeritate conficiendi nec dissimilitudine bellorum posse conferri; nec vero disjunctissimas terras citius passibus cujusquam potuisse peragrari, quam tuis non dicam cur- sibus, sed victoriis lustraæ sunt. 6. Quæ quidem ego 20 nisi tam magna esse fatear, ut ea vix cujusquam mens aut cogitatione capere possit, amens sim, sed tamen sunt alia majora. Nam bellicas laudes solent quidam extenuare verbis easque detræhere ducibus, communicare cum multis, ne proprie sint imperatorum. Et certe in armis militum 25 virtus, locorum opportunitas, auxilia sociorum, classes, commodatus multum juvant, maximam vero partem quasi suo jure fortuna sibi vindicat et quidquid prospere gestum est, id pæne omne ducit suum. 7. At vero hujus gloriæ, C. Cæsar, quam es paulo ante adeptus, socium habes neminem: 30 totum hoc quantumcumque est, quod certe maximum est, totum est, inquam, tuum. Nihil sibi ex ista laude centurio, nihil praefectus, nihil cohors, nihil turma decerpit: quum etiam illa ipsa rerum humanarum domina, Fortuna, in istius societatem gloriæ se non offert, tibi cedit, tuam se esse 35 totam et proprium fatetur. Nunquam enim terneritas cum sapientia commisgetur neque ad consilium casus admittitur.

III. 8. Domuisti gentes immanitatem barbaras, multitudo innumerables, locis infinitas, omni copiarum genere abundantes: sed tamen ea vicisti, quæ et naturam et condi- 40 tionem, ut vinci possent, habebant. Nulla est enim tanta vis, quæ non ferro et viribus debilitari frangique possit. Animum vincere, iracundiam cohibere, victoriarum temperare, adversarium nobilitate, ingenio, virtute præstantem non modo extollere jacentem, sed etiam amplificare ejus pristi-
nam dignitatem, hæc qui facit, non ego cum cum summis viris comparo, sed simillimum deo judico. 9. Itaque, C. Cæsar, bellicæ tuæ laudes celebrabuntur illæ quidem non solis nostris, sed pæne omnium gentium literis atque linguis, nec ulla unquam ætas de tuis laudibus conticescit: sed 5 tamen ejusmodi res nescio quomodo etiam quum leguntur, obstrepi clamore militum videntur et tubarum sono. At vero quum aliquid clementer, mansuete, juste, moderate, sapienter factum, in iracundia præsertim, quæ est inimica consilio, et in victoria, quæ natura insolens et superba est, 10 audimus aut legimus, quo studio incendimus, non modo in gestis rebus, sed etiam in factis, ut eos sœpe, quos nunquam vidimus, diligamus! 10. Te vero, quem præsentem intuemur, cujus mentem sensusque et os cernimus, ut quidquid bellæ fortuna reliquum rei publicæ fécerit, id esse salvum 15 velis, quibus laudibus efferemus? quibus studiis proseque- mur? qua benevolentia complectemur? Parietes, medius fidius, ut mihi videtur, hujus curiæ tibi gratias agere gestiunt, quod brevi tempore futura sit illa auctoritas in his majorum suorum et suis sedibus.

ORATIO

V. 13. Atque hoc C. Cæsaris judicium, Patres conscripti, quam late pateat attendite: omnes enim, qui ad illa arma fato sumus nescio quo rei publice misero funestoque compulsi, etsi aliqua culpa tenemur erroris humani, a scecle 5 certe liberati sumus. Nam quum M. Marcellum deprecantibus vobis rei publicae conspervavit: memet mihi et item rei publicae nullo decrepante reliquis amplissimos viros et sibi ipsos et patræ reddidit: quorum et frequentiam et dignitatem hoc ipso in consessu videtis. Non ille hostes 10 induxit in curiam, sed judicavit a plerisque ignorance potius et falso atque inani metu, quam cupiditate aut crudelitate bellum esse susceptum. 14. Quo quidem in bello semper de pace audiendum putavi semperque dolui non modo pacem, sed etiam orationem civium pacem flagitantium repudiari. Neque enim ego illa unquam secutus sum arma civilia semperque mea consilia pacis et togæ socia, non bellii atque armorum fuerunt. Hominem 15 secutus privato consilio, non publico: tantumque apud me grati animi fidelis memoria valuit, ut nulla non modo cupiditate, sed ne spe quidem prudens et sciens tamquam ad interitterum ruerem voluntarium. 15. Quod quidem meum consilium minime obscursum fuit. Nam et in hoc ordine integra re multa de pace dixi et in ipso bello eadem etiam cum capitibus mei periculo sensi. Ex quo nemo jam erit tam 20 injustus existimato rerum qui dubitet, quæ Cæsaris de bello voluntas fuerit, quum pacis autores conservandos statim censuerit, ceteris fuerit iratior. Atque id minus fortasse mirum tum, quum esset incertus exitus et aniceps fortuna belli: qui vero victor pacis autores diligit, is pro 30 facto declarat se maluisse non dimicare quam vincere.

VI. 16. Atque hujus quidem rei M. Marcellum sum testis. Nostri enim sensus, ut in pace semper, sic tum etiam in bello congruebant. Quoties ego eum et quantum cum dolore vidi, quam insolentiam certorum hominum tum 35 etiam ipsius victoriae ferocitatem extimescere! Quo gratior tua liberalitas, C. Cæsar, nobis, qui illa vidimus, debet esse. Non enim jam causæ sunt inter se, sed victorie comparandae. 17. Vidimus tuam victoriäm prehiiorum exitu terminatam: gladium vagina vacuum in urbe non 40 vidimus. Quos amissimus cives, eos Martis vis percultit, non ira victorie, ut dubitare debit nemo quin multos si fieri posset, C. Cæsar ab inferis excitaret, quoniam ex eadem acie conservat, quos potest. Alterius vero partis nihil amplius dicam quam id, quod omnes verebamur, nimis ira-
PRO M. MARCELLO, CAP. VII.

18. Quidam enim non modo armatis, sed interdum ctiam otiosis minabantur, nec quid quise sennisset, sed ubi fuisset, cogitandum esse deebant: ut mihi quidem videantur dii immortales, etiam si penas a populo Romano ob aliquod delictum expetive- runt, qui civile bellum tantum et tam luctuosum excitave- runt, vel placati jam vel satiati aliquando omnem spem salutis ad clementiam victoris et sapientiam contulisse.

19. Quare gaude tuo isto tam excellenti bono: et fruere quem fortuna et gloria tum etiam natura et moribus tuis: 10 ex quo quidem maximus est fructus jucunditasque sapienti. Cetera quum tua recordabere, etsi persæpe virtuti, tarnen plurumque felicitati tuae gratulabere: de nobis, quos in re publica tecum simul salvos esse voluisti, quoties cogitabis, toties de maximis tuis beneficis, toties de incredibili le- 15 beralitate, toties de singulari sapientia tua cogitabis: quæ non modo summa bona, sed rimum audebo vel sola dicere. Tantus est enim splendor in laude vera, tanta in magnitu- die animi et consilii dignitas, ut hac a virtute donata, cetera a fortuna commodata esse videantur. 20. Noli igitur in conservandis bonis viris defatigari, non cupiditate præsertim aliqua aut pravitate lapsis, sed opinione officii stulta fortasse, certe non improba, et specie quadam rei publicæ; non enim tua ulla culpa est, si te aliqui timuerunt, contraque summa laus, quod minime timendum fuisset 25 senserunt.

VII. 21. Nunc venio ad gravissimam querelam et atro- ciesimam suspicionem tuam; quæ non tibi ipsi magis quam quum omnibus civibus tum maxime nobis, qui a te conserv- vati sumus, providenda est: quam etsi spero falsam esse, tamen nunquam extenuabo verbis. Tua enim cautio nostra cautio est, ut si in alterutro peccandum sit, malum videri nimis timidus, quam parum prudens. Sed quisam est iste tam demens? Da tuisne?—tametsi qui magis sunt tu, quam quibus tu salutem insperantibus reddidisti? an ex hoc 35 numero, qui una tecum fuerunt? Non est credibilis tantus in ullo furor, ut quod deuce omnia summa sit adeptus, hujus vitam non anteponat suæ. An si nihil tui cogitant sceleris, cavendum est ne quid inimici? Qui? omnes enim, qui fuerunt, aut sua pertinacia vitam amiserunt aut tua miseri- cordia retinuerunt, ut aut nulli supersint de inimicis aut qui superfuerunt sint amicissimi. 22. Sed tamen quam in animis hominum tantæ latebræ sint et tanti recessus, augea- mus aut suspicacionem tuam: simul enim augebimus dili-
gentiam. Nam quis est omnium tam ignarus rerum, tam rudis in re publica, tam nihil unquam nec de sua nec de communi salute cogitans, qui non intelligat tua salute contineri suam et ex unius tua vita pendere omnium? Equidem de te dies noctesque, ut deb eo, cogitans casus dumentum humanos et incertos eventus valetudinis et naturae communis fragilitatem extimesco, doleoque, quem res publica immortalis esse debeat, eam in unius mortalis anima consistere. 23. Si vero ad humanos casus incertosque motus valetudinis secleris etiam accedit insidiarumque consensio: quem deum, si cupiat, posse opinandi rei publicae credamus?

PRO M. MARCELLO, CAP. IX, X.

quæres, in quo nunc est: vide, quæso, ne tua divina virtus
admirationis plus sit habitura quam gloriæ: siquidem gloriæ
est illustris ac pervagata magnorum vel in suos cives
vel in patriam vel in omne genus hominum fama meritorum.
IX. 27. Hæc igitur tibi reliqua pars est: hic restat actus, 5
in hæc elaborandum est, ut rem publicam constituas eaque
tu in primis summa tranquillitate et otio perfluare: tum te
si voles, quum patriæ, quod debes, solveris, et naturam
ipsam expleveris satietate vivendi, satis diu vivisse dicit.
Quid enim est omnino hoc ipsum diu, in quo est aliquid 10
extremum? quod quam venit, omnis voluptas praeterita
pro nihil est, quia postea nulla est futura. Quamquam
iste tuus animus nunquam his angustiis, quas natura nobis
ad vivendum dedit, contentus fuit, semper immortalitatis
amore flagravit. 28. Nec vero hæc tua vita dicenda est, 15
quæ corpore et spiritu continetur. Illa, inquam, illa vita
est tua, quæ vigejit memoria seculorum omnium, quam
posteritas alet, quam ipsa æternitas semper tuebitur. Huic
tu inservas, huic te ostentes orpitum, quæ quidem, quæ
miretur, jampridem multa habet, nunc etiam quæ laudet 20
expectat. Òstupescent posteri certe imperia, provincias,
Rhenum, Oceanum, Nilum, pugnas innumerabiles, incredi-
biles victorias, monumenta, munera, triumphos audientes
et legentes tuos. 29. Sed nisi hæc urbs stabilita tuis
consiliis et institutis erit, vagabitur modo nomen tuum longe 25
atque late: sedem stabilem et domicilium certum non
habebit. Erit inter eos etiam, qui nascentur, sicut inter
nos fuit, magna dissensio, quum alii laudibus ad coelum
res tuas gestas efferent, alii fortasse aliquid requirant, idque
vel maximum, nisi òbelli civilis incendium salute patriæ
restinxeris: ut llud fati suisse videatur, hoc consiliis. Servi
igitur iis etiam judicibus, qui multis post seculis de te
judicabunt et quidem haud scio an incorruptus, quam nos:
nam et sine amore et sine cupiditate et rursus sine odio et
sine invidia judicabunt. 30. Íd autem etiam si tum ad te, 35
ut quidam falso putant, non pertinebit: nunc certe pertinet
esse te talem, ut tuas laudes obscuratura nulla unquam sit
oblivi.

X. Diversæ voluntates civium fuerunt distinctæque sen-
tentiae. Non enim consiliis solum et studiis, sed armis 40
etiam et castris dissidebamus, erat enim obscuritas quædam:
erat certamen inter clarissimos duces: multi dubitabant,
quid optimum esset, multi quid sibi expediret, multi quid
deceret, nonnulli etiam quid liceret. 31. Perfuncta res
publica est hoc miserò fatalique bello: vicit is, qui non fortuna inflammaret odium suum, sed bonitate leniret: nec qui omnes, quibus iratus esset, eodem etiam exilio aut morte dignos judicaret. Arma ab aliis posita, ab aliis erepta sunt. Ingratus est injustusque civis, qui armorum periculo liberatus, animum tamen retinet armatum, ut etiam ille melior sit, qui in acie cecidit, qui in causa animam profudit. Quæ enim pertinacia quibusdam, eadem aliis constantia videri potest. 32. Sed jam omnis fracta dissensio est armis, extincta æquitate victoris: restat ut omnes unum velint, qui modo habent aliquid non solum sapientiae, sed etiam sanitatis. Nisi tē, C. Cæsar, salvo et in ista sententia, qua quum antea tum hodie vel maxime tuis es, manente, salvi esse non possimus. Quare omnes te, qui 15 haec salva esse volumus, et hortamur et obsecramus, ut vitae tuae et saluti consulas, omnesque tibi, (ut pro aliis etiam loquar, quod de me ipse sentio), quoniam subesse aliquid putas, quod cavendum sit, non modo excubias et custodias, sed etiam laterum nostrorum oppositus et corporum polli- 20 cemur.

XI. 33. Sed ut unde est orsa, in eodem terminetur oratio: maximas tibi omnes gratias agimus, C. Cæsar, majores etiam habemus. Nam omnes idem sentiunt, quod ex omnium precibus et lacrimis sentire potuisti: sed quia non est omnibus stantibus necessae dicere, a me certe dici volunt, cui necessae est quodammodo, et quod fieri decet M. Marcello a te huic ordine populoque Romano et rei publicae reddito, fieri id intelligo. Nam lastari omnes non de uniusolum, sed de communi salute sentio. 34. Quod autem summæ benevolentiae est, quæ mea erga illum omnibus semper nota fuit, ut vix C. Marcellus, optimo et amantissimo fratrum, præter eam quidem cedere nemini, quum id sollicitudine, cura, labore tamdiu præstiterim, quamdiu est de illius salute dubitatum, certe hoc tempore, magnis curis molestiis, doloribus liberatus, præstare debeo. Itaque, C. Cæsar, si tibi gratias ago, ut omnibus me rebus a te non conservato solum, sed etiam ornato, tamen ad tua in me unum innumerabilia merita, quod fieri jam posse non arbitraber, maximus hoc tuo facto tumulus accesserit.
ORATIO

PRO Q. LIGARIO.

I. 1. Novum crimen, C. Cæsar, et ante hunc diem inauditum propinquus meus ad te Q. Tubero detulit, Q. Ligarium in Africauisse; idque C. Pansa, præstanti vir ingenio, fretus fuisse familiariitate ea, quæ est ei teco, ausus est confiteri. Itaque, quo me vertam, nescio. Paratus 5 enim veneram, quum tu id neque per te scires neque audire aliunde potuisses, ut ignorance tua ad hominis miserisalutem abuterer. Sed quoniam diligentia inimici investigatum est, quod latebat, confitendum est, ut opinor; præsentim quam meus necessarius Pansa fecerit, ut id integrum 10 jam non esset: omissaque controversia, omnis oratio ad misericordiam tuam conferenda est, qua plurimi sunt conservati, quum a te non liberationem culpæ, sed errati veniam impetravissent. 2. Habes igitur, Tubero, quod est accusatori maxime optandum, confitentem reum: sed tamen hoc 15 confitentem, se in ea parteuisse, qua te, qua virum omni laude dignum, patrem tuum. Itaque prius de vestro delicto confiteamini necesse est, quam Ligarii ullam culpam reprehendatis.

Q. enim Ligarius, quum esset nulla belli suspicio, legatus 20 in Africam cum C. Considio profectus est; qua in legatione et civibus et sociis ita se probavit, ut decedens Considius provinciæ satisfacer hominibus non posset, si quemquam alium provinciæ præfecisset. Itaque Ligarius, quum diu recusans nihil præfecisset, provinciam accepit invitus; cui 25 sic praefuit in pace, ut et civibus et sociis gratissima esset ejus integritas ac fides. 3. Bellum subito exarist: quod, qui erant in Africa, ante audierunt geri quam parari. Quo audito, partim cupiditate inconsiderata, partim caeco quodam umore, primo salutis, post etiam studii sui quærebant ali- 30
quam duce; quum Ligarius domum spectans, ad sua
redire cupiens, nullo se implicari negotio passus est. Interim
P. Atius Varus, qui pretor Africam obtinuerat, Uticam
venit; ad eum statim concursum est. Atque ille non me-
diocris cupiditate arripuit imperium, si illud imperium esse
potuit, quod ad privatum clamore multitudinis imperitae,
nullo publico consilio deferefatur. 4. Itaque Ligarius, qui
omne tale negotium cuperet effugere, paulum adventu Vari
conquievit.

10 II. Adhuc, C. Cæsaris, Q. Ligarius omni culpa vacat.
Domo est egressus non modo nullum ad bellum, sed ne ad
minimam quidem suspicacionem belli: legatus in pace pro-
fectus, in provincia pacatissima ita se gessit, ut ei pacem
esse expediret. Profectio certe animum tuum non debet
offendere: num igitur remansio? Multo minus; nam pro-
fectio voluntatem habuit non turpem, remansio necessitatem
etiam honestam. Ergo hæc duo tempora carent crimine:
um, quum est legatus profectus; alterum, quum efflagitatu
status a provincia, prepositus Africæ est. 5. Tertium tem-
pus est, quo post adventum Vari in Africa restitit: quod si
est criminorum, necessitatis crimen est, non voluntatis.
An ille, si potuisse ullo modo evadere, Uticæ quam Romanæ,
cum P. Atio quam cum concordissimis fratibus, cum
alienis esse quam cum suis maluisse? Quum ipsa legatio
plena desideriæ ac sollicitudinis fuisset propter incredibilem
quendam fratrum amorem, hic æquo animo esse potuisse belli
discidio distractus a fratibus? 6. Nullum igitur habes,
Cæsar, adhuc in Q. Ligario signum alienæ a te voluntatis.
Cujus ego causam, animadvertere, quæso, qua fide defendam:
prodo meam. O clementiam admirabilem atque omnium
laude, prædicatione, literis monumentisque decorandum!
M. Cicero apud te defendit alium in ea voluntate non fuisset,
in qua se ipsum confitetur fuisset, nec tuas tacitas cogitationes
extimescit nec, quid tibi de alio audienti de se ipso
occurrat, reformidat.

III. Vide, quam non reformidem! vide, quanta lux libe-
ralitatis et sapientiae tuae mihi apud te dicenti oboritur!
Quantum potero, voce contendam, ut hoc populus Romanus
exaudiat. 7. Suscepto bello, Cæsars, gesto etiam ex parte
magna, nulla vi coactus, judicio ac voluntate ad ea arma
profectus sum, quæ erat sumpta contra te. Apud quem
igitur hoc dico? Nempe apud eum, qui, quum hoc secreto
tamen me, antequam vidit, rei publicæ reddidit: qui ad me
ex Ægypto literas misit, ut essem idem, qui fuisset: qu'
me, quem ipse imperator in toto imperio populi Romani
mus esset, esse alterum passus est: a quo, hoc ipso C.
Pansa mihi hunc nuntium perferente, concessos fasces lau-
reatos tenui, quoad tenendos putavi: qui mihi tum denique
se salutem putavit reddere, si eam nullis spoliatam orna-
mentis dedisset. 8. Vide, quae so, Tubero, ut, qui de meo
acto non dubitem, de Ligario adeam dicere. Atque hac
propter eam et me dixi, ut mihi Tubero, quum de se eadem
dicerem, ignosceret; cujus ego industriae gloriæque faveo
vel propter propinquam cognationem, vel quod ejus ingenio 10
studisque delector, vel quod laudem adolescentis propinqui
existimo etiam ad meum aliquem fructum redundare. 9.
Sed hoc quæro: quis putat esse crimen fuisse in Africa?
Nempe is, qui et ipse in eadem Africa esse voluit et prohi-
bitum se a Ligario queritur, et certe contra ipsum Cæsarem 15
est congressus armatus. Quid enim, Tubero, tuus ille
destinctus in acie Pharsalica gladius agebat? cujus latus
ille mucro petebat? qui sensus erat armorum tuorum? quæ
tua mens, oculi, manus, arbor animi? quid cupiebas? quid
optabas? Nimis urgeo; commoveri videtur adolescentis: 20
ad me revertar; iisdem in armis fui.

IV. 10. Quid autem aliud egimus, Tubero, nisi ut, quod
bic potest, nos possemus? Quorum igitur impunitas, Cæsar,
tualementia laus est, eorum ipsorum ad crudelitatem te
acuet oratio? Atque in hac causa nonnihil equidem, Tu-
bero, etiam tuam, sed multo magis patris tui prudentiam
desidero; quod homo quem ingenio, tum etiam doctrina
excellens genus hoc causa quod esset, non viderit: nam, si
vidisset, quovis profecto quam isto modo a te agi maluisset.
Arguis fatentem; non est satis: accusas eum, qui causam 30
habet aut, ut ego dico, meliorem quam tu: aut, ut tu vis,
parem. 11. Hac admirabilia: sed prodigii simile est,
quod dicam. Non habet eam vim ista accusatio, ut Q.
Ligarius condemnetur, sed ut necetur. Hoc egit civis
Romanus ante te nemo. Externi isti mores usque ad san-
guinem incitari odio, aut eum Græcorum aut immanium
barbarorum. Nam quid agis alius? Romæ ne sit? ut
domo careat? ne cum optimis fratribus, ne cum hoc T.
Bocchio, avunculo, ne cum ejus filio, consobrino suo, ne
nobiscum vivat? ne sit in patria? Num est? num potest 40
magis carere his omnibus, quam careat? Italia prohibetur,
exsulat. Non tu ergo hunc patria privare, qua caret, sed
vita vis. 12. At istud ne apud eum quidem dictatorum,
qui omnes, quos oderat, morte multabat, quisquam egit isto
modo. Ipse jubebat occidi, nullo postulante; præmiis etiam invitabat; quæ tamen crudelitas ab hoc eodem aliquot annis post, quem tu nunc crudelem esse vis, vindicata est.

VI. 17. Ac primus aditus et postulatio Tuberonis hæc, ut opinor, fuit, velle se de Q. Ligarii scelere dicere. Non dubito, quin admiratus sis, vel quod de nullo alio quisquam vel quod is, qui in eadem causa fuisset, vel quidnam novi sceleris affertet. Scelus tu illud vocas, Tubero? cur? isto enim nomine illa adhuc causa caruit. Alii errorem appellant; alií timorem; qui durius, spem, cupiditatem, odium, pertinaciam; qui gravissime, temeritatem: scelus preter te adhuc nemo. Ac mihi quidem, si proprium et verum nomen nostri mali quæritur, fatalis quædam calamitas incidisse videtur et improvidas hominum mentes occupavisse; ut nemo mirari debeat humana consilia divina necessitate esse superata. 18. Liceat esse miseros; quamquam hoc victore esse non possumus: sed non loquor de nobis; de illis loquor, qui occiderunt. Fuerint cupidi, fuerint irati, fuerint pertinaces: sceleris vero crimine, furoris, parridii liceat Cn. Pompeio mortuo, liceat multis alis carere. Quando hoc quisquam ex te, Cæsar, audivit? aut tua quid aliud arma voluerunt nisi a te contumeliam possis propulsare? quid ego tibi in ille invictus exercitus, nisi ut suum jus tueretur et dignitatem tuam? Quid tu, quum pacem esse cupiebas, idne aegbas, ut tibi cum sceleratis, an ut cum bonus civibus conveniret? 19. Mihi vero, Cæsar, tua in me maxima merita tanta certe non viderentur, si me ut sceleratum a te conservatum putarem. Quomodo autem tu de re publica bene meritusesses, quam tot sceleratos incolumi dignitate esse voluisses? Secessionem tu illam existimavisti, Cæsar, initio, non bellum; neque hostile odium, sed civile dissidium; utrisque cupientibus rem publicam salvam, sed partim consiliis, partim studeis a communi utilitate aberrantibus. Principum dignitas erat pæne par; non par forteesse eorum, qui sequebantur: causa tum dubia, quod erat aliquid in utraque parte, quod probari posset: nunc melior ea judicanda est, quam etiam dīi adjuverunt. Cognita vero clementia tua, quis non eam victoriam probet, in qua occiderit nemo nisi armatus?


provincia venissetis. Venistis ad Pompeium. Quae est ergo apud Cæsarem querela, quum eum accusetis, a quo queramini prohibitos vos contra Cæsarem gerere bellum? Atque in hoc quidem vel cum mendacio, si vultis, gloriemini per me licet vos provinciam fuisset Cæsari tradituros. Etiam si a Varo et a quibusdam alius prohibiti estis, ego tamen confitebor culpam esse Ligarii, qui vos tante laudis occasione privaverit.

IX. 26. Sed vide, queso, Cæsar, constantiis ornatisiæm viri, L. Tuberonis: quam ego, quamvis ipse probarem, ut 10 probo, tamen non commemorarem, nisi a te cognovissem in primis eam virtutem solere laudari. Quæ fuit igitur unquam inullo homine tanta constantia? constantiam dico? nescio, an melius patientiam possim dicere. Quotus enim istud quisque fecisset, ut, a quibus in dissensione civilis non 15 esset receptus, esset etiam cum crudelitate rejectus, ad eos ipsos rediret? Magni cujusdam animi atque ejus viri, quem de suspepta causa propositaque sententia nulla contumelia, nulla vis, nullum periculum possit depellere. 27. Ut enim cetera paria Tuberoni cum Varo fuissent, honor, 20 nobilitas, splendor, ingenium, quæ nequaquam fuerunt; hoc certe praecipuum Tuberonis, quod justo cum imperio ex senatus consulto in provinciam suam venerat. Hinc prohibitus non ad Cæsarem, ne iratus, non domum, ne iners, non in aliquam regionem, ne condemnare causam illam, quam 25 secutus esset, videretur: in Macedoniam ad Cn. Pompeii castra venit, in eam ipsam causam, a qua erat rejectus cum injuria. 28. Quid? quum ista res nihil commovisset ejus animum, ad quem veneratis, languidior, credo, studio in causa fuistis: tantummodo in praesidiis eratis, animi vero a 30 causa abhorreabant: an, ut fit in civilibus bellis ** nec in vobis magis quam in reliquis; omnes enim vincendi studio tenebamus. Pacis equidem semper auctor fui: sed tum sero; erat enim amentis, quam aciem videres, pacem cogi- tare. Omnes, inquam, vincere volebamus: tu certe praeci- 35 pue, qui in eum locum venisses, ubi tibi esset perundum, nisi vicisses: quamquam, ut nunc se res habet, non dubito, quin hanc salutem anteponas illi victoriae.

X. 29. Hæc ego non dicerem, Tuberó, si aut vos con-
stantiæ vestrae, aut Cæsarem beneficii sui pœniteneret. Nunc 40 quæro, utrum vestras injurias, an rei publicæ persequamini? Si rei publicæ: quid de vestra in illa causa perseverantia respondebitis? si vestras, videte, ne erretis, qui Cæsarem vestris inimicos iratum fore putetis, quum ignoverit suis.
Itaque num tibi videor in causa Ligarii esse occupatus? num de ejus facto dicere? Quidquid dixi, ad unam summarum referri volo vel humanitatis vel clementiae vel misericordiae. 30. Causas, Caesar, egi multas, et quidem tectum, dum te in foro texit ratio honorum tuorum; certe nunquam hoc modo: Ignoto, judices; erravit; lapsus est; non putavit: si unquam posthac. Apud parentem sic agi solet: ad judices, Non fecit, non cogitavit; falsi testes, factum crimen. Dic te, Caesar, de facto Ligarii judicem esse:

10 quibus in præsidii fuerit, quær. Taceo; ne hac quidem colligo, qua fortasse valerent etiam apud judicem; “Legatus ante bellum profectus, relictus in pace, bello oppressus, in eo ipso non acerbus, totus animo ac studio tuus.” Ad judicem sic agi solet; sed ego ad parentem loquor: Erravit, 15 temere fecit, penitet: ad clementiam tuam confugo, delicti veniam peto; ut ignoscas, oro. Si nemo impetravit, arroganter; si plurimi, tu idem fer opeam, qui quem dedisti. 31. An sperandi Ligari causa non sit, quum mihi apud te locus sit etiam pro altero deprecandi? Quamquam neque

20 in hac oratione spes est posta causa nec in eorum studiis, qui a te pro Ligario petunt, tui necessarii.

XI. Vidi enim et cognov, quid maxime spectares, quum pro alicujus salute multi laborarent: causas apud te ro- gantium gratiosiores esse quam vultus: neque te spectare, 25 quam tuus esset necessarius is, qui te oraret, sed quam illius, pro quo laboraret. Itaque tribuis tu quidem tuis ita multa, ut mihi beatiiores illi videantur interdum, qui tua liberalitate fruantur, quam tu ipse, qui illis tam multa concedas. Sed video tamen apud te causas, ut dixi, valere 30 plus quam preces, ab isque te moveri maxime, quorum justissimum videas dolorem in petendo. 32. In Q. Ligario conservando multis tu quidem gratum facies necessariis tuis; sed hoc, quæso, considera, quod soles. Possum fortissimos viros, Sabinos, tibi probatiissimos, totumque 35 agrum Sabinum, florem Italiam, robur rei publicae proponere.

Nōstī optime homines: animadvert horum omnium mæsti- tiam et dolorem. Hujus T. Brocchi, de quo non dubito quid existimes, lacrimas squaloremque ipsius et filii vides. 33. Quid de fratribus dicam? Noli, Caesar, putare, de

10 unius capite nos agere: aut tres tibi Ligarii retinendi in civitate sunt aut tres ex civitate exterminandi. Quodvis exsilium his est optatius, quam patria, quam domus, quam dīi penates, uno illo exsulante. Si fraterne, si pie, si cum dolore factiunt, moveant te horum lacrimae, moveat pietas,
moverat germanitas; valeat tua vox illa, quae vict. To enim dicere audiebamus nos omnes adversarios putare, nisi qui nobiscum essent: te omnes, qui contra te non essent, tuos. Videsne igitur hunc splendorem omnium, hunc Brogchorum domum, hunc L. Marcium, C. Caesetium, L. Corfidium, hosce omnes equites Romanos, qui adsum veste mutata, non solum notos tibi, verum etiam probatos viros? Tecum fuerunt. Atque his irascebamur, hos requirebamus, his nonnulli etiam minabantur. Conserva igitur tuos: ut, quemadmodum cetera, quae dicta sunt a te, sic hoc verissimi 10 num reperiatur.

XII. 34. Quod si penitus perspicere posses concordiam Ligariorum, omnes fratres tecum judicares fuisse. An potest quisquam dubitare, quin, si Q. Ligarius in Italia esse putisset, in eadem sententia fuisse futurus, in qua fratres 15 fuerunt? Quis est, qui horum consensus conspirantem et pæne conflatum in hac prope æqualitate fraterna non noverit? qui hoc non sentiat, quidvis prius futurum fuisse, quam ut hi fratres diversas sententias fortunasque sequerentur? Voluntate igitur omnes tecum fuerunt: tempestate abreptus 20 est unus; qui si consilio id fecisset, esset eorum similis, quos tu tamen salvos esse voluisti. 35. Sed ierit ad bellum, disesserit non a te solum, verum etiam a fratribus, hi te orant tui. Equidem, quem tuis omnibus negotiis interesse, memoria teneo, qualis tum T. Ligarius 25 quaestor urbanus fuerit erga te et dignitatem tuam. Sed parum est me hoc meminisse: spero etiam te, qui obi- visci nihil soles nisi injurias, quoniam hoc est animi, quoniam etiam ingenii tui, te aliquid de hujus illo quaestorio officio, etiam de aliis quibusdam quaestoribus reminiscem 30 recordari. 36. Hic igitur T. Ligarius, qui tum nihil egit illud (neque enim haec divinabant), nisi ut tu eum tui studiis et bonum virum judicares, nunc a te supplex fratris salutem petit. Quam hujus admonitus officio quam utrisque his deredis, tres fratres optimos et integerrimos non 35 solum sibi ipsos neque his tot ac talibus viris neque nobis necessariis, sed etiam rei publicae condonaveris. 37. Fac igitur, quod de homine nobilissimo et clarissimo fecisti nuper in curia, nunc idem in foro de optimis et huic omni frequentiæ probatissimis fratribus. Ut concessisti illum 40 senatui, sic da hunc populo, cujus voluntatam carissimam semper habuisti: et, si ille dies tibi gloriosissimus, populo Romano gratissimus fuit; noli, obscur, dubitare, C. Caesar, similem illi gloriam laudem quam secpissime quaerere. Nihil
est tam popolare quam bonitas; nulla de virtutibus tuis plurimis nec admirabilior nec gratior misericordia est; homines enim ad deos nulla re propius accedunt quam salutem hominibus dando. 38. Nihil habet nec fortuna tua majus, 5 quam ut possis, nec natura melius, quam ut velis servare quam plurimos. Longiorem orationem causa forsitan postulat, tua certe natura breviorem. Quare, quom utilius esse arbitrer te ipsum quam me aut quemquam loqui tecum, finem jam faciam: tantum te admonebo, si illi absenti 10 salutem dederis, præsentibus his omnibus te daturum.
L. 1. QUUM in omnibus causis gravioribus, C. Cæsar, initio dicendi commoveri soleam vehementius, quam videatur vel usus vel ætas mea postulare, tum in hac causa ita me multa perturbant, ut, quantum mea fides studii mihi afferat ad salutem regis Deiotari defendendam, tantum & facultatis timor detrahat. Primum dico pro capite fortunisque regis; quod ipsum etsi non iniquum est in tuo dumtaxat periculo, tamen est ita insitatum, regem reum capitis esse, ut ante hoc tempus non sit auditum. 2. Deinde eum regem, quem ornare antea cuncto cum senatu solebam 10 mus pro perpetuis ejus in nostram rem publicam meritis, nunc contra atrocissimum crimem coger defendere. Accedit, ut accusatorum alterius crudelitate, alterius indignitate conturber. Crudelis Castor, ne dicam sceleratum et impium; qui nepos avum in capitis discrimen adduxerit ad 15 lescentiaeque sua terrorem intulerit ei, cujus senectutem tueri et tegere debebat, commendationemque ineuntis ætatis ab impietate et scelere duxerit; avi servum, corruptum præmii, ad accusandum dominum impulerit, a legatorum pedibus abduxerit. 3. Fugitiv autem dominum accusantis, 20 et dominum absentem et dominum amicissimum nostræ rei publicæ, quum os videbam, quum verba audiebam, non tam afflictam regiam conditionem dolebam, quam de fortunis communibus extimescebam. Nam quum more majorum de servo in dominum ne tormentis quidem quaerì liceat, in
qua quæstione dolor elicere veram vocem possit etiam ab invito: exortus est servus, qui quem in equuleo appellare non posset, eum accuset solutus.

II. 4. Perturbat me, C. Cæsar, etiam illud interdum; quod tamen, quum te penitus cognovisti, timere desino: re enim iniquum est, sed tua sapientia sit æquissimum. Nam dicere apud eum de facinore, contra cujus vitam consilium facinoris inisse arguare, si per se ipsum consideres, grave est; nemo enim fere est, qui sui periculi iudex, non sibi se æquiorem quam reo praebat. Sed tua, Cæsar, præstans singularisque natura hunc mihi metum minuit; non enim tam timeo, quid tu de rege Deiotaro, quam intelligo, quid de te ceteros velis judicare. 5. Moveor etiam loci ipsius insolentia, quod tantam causam, quanta nulla unquam in disceptatione versata est, dico intra domesticos parietes, dico extra conventum et eam frequentiam, in qua oratorum studia niti soleat: in tuis oculis, in tuo ore vultuque acuissimo; te unum intueor; ad te unum omnis mea spectat oratio. Quæ mihi ad spem obtinenda veritatis gravissima sunt, ad motum animi et ad omnem impetum dicendi contentionemque leviora. 6. Hanc enim, C. Cæsar, causam si in foro dicerem, eodem audiente et disceptante te, quantam mihi alacritatem populi Romani concursos afferret! Quis enim civis ei regi non favoret, cujus omnem ætatem in populi Romani bellis consumtam esse meminisset? Spectarem curiam, intuerer forum, cœlum denique testarer ipsum. Sic, quum et deorum immortalium et populi Romani et senatus beneficia in regem Deiotarum recordaret, nullo modo mihi deesse posset oratio. 7. Quæ quoniam angusti-30 ora parietes faciunt, actioque maximæ causæ debilitatur loco, tuum est, Cæsar, qui pro multis sæpe dixisti, quid mihi nunc animi sit, ad te ipsum referre; quo facilius quam æquitas tua, tum audiendi diligentia minuat hanc perturbationem meam. Sed antequam de accusacione ipsa dico, de accusatorum spe pauca dicam. Qui quum videantur nec ingenio nec usu atque exercitatione rerum valere, tamen ad hanc causam non sine aliqua spe et cogitatione venerunt.

III. 8. Iratum te regi Deiotaro fuisses non erant nescii; affectum illum quibusdam incommodis et detrimentis propter 40 offensionem animi tui meminerant; [teque quum huic iratum, tum sibi amicum esse cognoverant]; quamque apud ipsum te de tuo periculo dicerent, fore putabant, ut in exulcerato animo facile fictum crimen insideret. Quamobrem hoc nos primum, Cæsar, metu, per fidem et constantiam et per clemen-
tiam tuam, libera, ne residere in te ullam partem iracundiae suspicemur. Per dexteram istam te oro, quam regi Deiotaro hospes hospiti porrexisti: istam, inquam, dexteram, non tam in bellis noc in praelis quam in promissis et fide firmiorem. Tu illius domum inire, tu vetus hospitium renovare voluisti; te ejus dii penates acceperunt; te amicum et placatam Deiotari regis arae faciue viderunt. 9. Quum facile [exorari], Caesar, tum semel exorari soles; nemo unquam te placavit inimicus, qui ullas resedisse in te simul-tatis reliquias senserit. Quamquam cui sunt inauditae cum 10 Deiotaro quereles tuae? Nunquam tu illum accusavisti ut hostem, sed ut amicum officio parum functum, quod pro-pension in Cn. Pompeii amicitiam fuisset quam in tuam. Cui tamen ipsi rei veniam te daturum fuisse dicebas, si tantum auxilia Pompeio vel si etiam filium misisset, ipse 15 ætatis excusatione usus esset. Ita quum maximis eum rebus liberares, perparvam amicitiae culpam relinquebas. 10. Itaque non solum in eum non animadverstisti, sed omni metu liberavisti, hospitem agnovisti, regem reliquisti. IV. Neque enim ille odio tui progressus, sed errore communi lapsus est. 14. rex, quum senatus hoc nomine sæpe honorificentissimis decretis appellavisset, quique quum illum ordinem ab adolescentia gravissimun sanctissimumque duxisset, iisdem rebus est perturbatus, homo longinquus et alienigena, quibus nos in media re publica nati semperque versati, 25 11. quum audiret senatus consentiens auctoritate arma sumpta; consulibus, praetoribus, tribunis plebi, nobis imperatoribus rem publicam defendendam datam, movebatur animo et vir huic imperio amicissimus de salute populi Romani extimescebat, in qua etiam suam esse inclusam 30 videbat; in summo tamen timore quiescendum sibi esse arbitrabantur. Maxime vero perturbatus est, ut audivit, consules ex Italia profugisse, omnesque consulares (sic enim ei nunciabatur), cunctum senatum, totam Italiam esse effusa: talibus enim nuntiis et rumoribus patebat ad Orientem 40 via, nec ulli veri subsequebantur. Nihil ille de conditionibus tuis, nihil de studio concordiae et pacis, nihil de conspi-ratione audiebat certorum hominum contra dignitatem tuam. Quæ quum ita essent, tamen usque eo se tenuit, quoad a Cn. Pompeio legati ad eum litteraque venerunt. 12. Ignorosc, ignoscere, Caesare, si ejus viri auctoritati rex Deiotarus cessit, quem nos omnes secuti sumus; ad quern quum dixit atque homines omnia ornamenta congressissent, tum tu ipse plurima et maxima. Neque enim, si tuae res gestae cetero-
rum laudibus obscuritatem attulerunt, idcirco Cn. Pompeii memoria etc. amissimus. Quantum nomen eius fuerit, quantae opes, quanta in omni genere bellorum gloria, quanti honores populi Romani, quanti senatus, quanti tui, quis ignorat?

5 Tanto ille superiores vicerat gloria, quanto tu omnibus praestitisti. Itaque Cn. Pompeii bella, victorias, triumphos, consulatus admirantes numerabamus; tuos enumerare non possumus.

V. 13. Ad eum igitur rex Deiotarus venit hoc misero fatalique bello, quem antea justis hostilibusque bellis adjuverat, quocum erat non hospitio solum, verum etiam familiaritate conjunctus; et venit vel rogatus, ut amicus, vel arcessitus, ut socius, vel evocatus, ut is, qui senatui parere didicerisset; postremo venit ut ad fugientem, non ut ad insequentem, id est ad periculos, non ad victoriam societatatem. Itaque Pharsalico proelio facto a Pompeio discissit; spem infinitam persequi noluit; vel officio, si quid debuerat, vel errori, si quid nescierat, satisfactum esse duxit; domum se contulit atque Alexandrimum bellum gerente te utilitatis bus tuis paruit. 14. Ille exercitum Cn. Domitii amplissimi viri suis tectis et copiis sustentavit; ille Ephesum ad eum, quem tu ex tuis fidelissimum et probatissimum omnibus delegisti, pecuniam misit, ille iterum, ille tertia aucti nibus factis pecuniam dedit, qua ad bellum uterere; ille 25 corpus suum periculo objectit, tecumque in acie contra Pharmacen fuit, tumque hostem esse duxit suum. Quæ quidem a te in eam partem accepta sunt, Caesar, ut eum amplissimo honore et regis nomine affeceris. 15. Is igitur, non modo a te periculo liberatus, sed etiam honore amplissimo ornatus, arguitur domi te sua interficere voluisse. Quod tu, nisi eum furiosissimum judices, suspicari profecto non potes. Ut enim omittam, cujus tanti sceleris fuerit, in conspectu deorum penatium necare hospitem; cujus tantæ importunitatis omnium gentium atque omnium memoriae clari 35 rissimum lumen exstinguere; cujus tantæ fecicitatis victory rem orbis terrarum non extimescere; cujus tam inhumanæ et ingrati animi, a quo rex appellatus esset, in eo tyrannum inveniri: ut hæc omittam, cujus tanti furoris fuit omnes reges, quorum multæ erant finitimæ, omnes liberos populos, 40 omnes socios, omnes provincias, omnia denique omnium arma contra se unum excitare? Quonam ille modo cum regno, cum domo, cum conjuge, cum carissimo filio distractus esset, tanto scelere non modo perfecto, sed etiam cogitato?
VI. 16. At, credo, haec homo inconsultus et temerarius non videbat.—Quis consideratior illo? quis tectior? quis prudentior? quamquam hoc loco Deiotarum non tam ingenio et prudentia quam fide et religione vitae defendendum puto. Nota tibi est hominis probitas, C. Cæsar, noti mores, nota constantia. Cui porro, qui modo populi Romani nomen audivit, Deiotari integritas, gravitas, virtus, fides non audita est? Quod igitur facinus nec in hominem imprudentem cadere posset propter metum praesentis exitii, nec in facinorosum nisi esset idem amintissimus, id vos et a 10 vire optimo et ab homine minime stulto cogitatum esse constringit. 17. At quam non modo non credibiliter, sed ne suspiciose quidem! Quum, inquit, in castellum Luceium venisses et domum regis, hospitis tui, devertisse, locus erat quidam, in quo erant ea composita, quibus te rex 15 munerear constituerat. Huc te e balneo, pius quam ac- cumberes, ducere volebat: ibi enim erant armati, qui te interficerent, in eo ipso loco collocati. En crimine, en causa, cur regem fugitivus, dominum servus accuset. Ego me- hercules, Cæsar, initio, quum est ad me ista causa delata, 20 Phidippum medicum, servum regium, qui cum legatis missus esset, ab isto adolescente esse corruptum, hac sum suspicione percussus: medicum indicem subornavit; finget videlicet aliquid crimen veneni. Etsi a veritate longe, tamen a consuetudine criminandi non multum res abhorre- 25 bat. 18. Quid ait medicus? Nihil de veneno. At id fieri potuit primo occultius in potione, in cibo; deinde etiam impunius fit, quod quum est factum, negari potest. Si palam te interemisset, omnium in se gentium non solum odia, sed etiam arma convertisset; si veneno, Jovis ille 30 quidem hospitalis numen nunquam celare potuisset, homines fortasse celasset. Quod igitur et conari occultius et efficere cautius potuit, id tibi, et medico callido et servo, ut puta- bat, fideli, non credidit? de armis, de ferro, de insidiis celare te noluit? 19. At quam festive crimen contemptur! 35 Tua te, inquit, eadem, quæ semper, fortuna servavit: nega- visti tum te inspicere velle.

VII. Quid postea? an Deiotarus re illo tempore non perfecta continuo dimisit exercitum? nullus erat alius insidiandi locus? At eodem te, quum coœnavisses, rediturum 40 dixeras: itaque fecisti. Horam unam aut duas eodem loco armatos, ut collocati fuerant, retinere magnum fuit? Quum in convivio comiter et jugunde fuisses, tum illuc isti, ut dixeras. Quo in loco Deiotarum talem erga te cognovisti,
ORATIO


VIII. Reliqua pars accusationis duplex fuit: una, regem semper in speculis fuisse, quum a te animo esset alieno; altera, exercitum eum contra te magnum comparasse. De exercitu dicam breviter, ut cetera. Nuncam eas copias rex Deiotarus habuit, quibus inferre bellum populo Romano posset; sed quibus fines suos ab excursionibus et latrocinis tueretur et imperatoribus nostris auxilia mitteret. Atque antea quidem majores copias alere poterat; nunc exiguas vix tueri potest. 23. At misit ad Cæciliun nescio quem: sed eos, quos misit, quod ire noluerunt, in vincula conjecit. Non quærò, quam veri simile sit aut non habuisse regem, quos mitteret, aut eos, quos misisset, non paruisse; aut qui dicto audientes in tanta re non fuissent, eos vincit potius quam necatos. Sed tamen quum ad Cæciliun mittebat,
utrum causam illam victam esse nesciebat, an Cæcilium istum magnum hominem putabat? quem profecto is, qui optume nostros homines novit, vel quia nosset vel quia non nosset, contemneret. 24. Addit etiam illd, equites non optimos misisse. Credo, Cæsar; nihil ad tuum equitatum; sed misit ex iiis, quos habuit, delectos. At nescio quem ex eo numero servum judicatum. Non arbitror, non audivi; sed in eo, etiam si accidisset, culpam regis nullam fuisse arbitrarer.

IX. Alieno autem a te animo quomodo? Speravit, 10 credo, difficiles tibi Alexandræe fore exitus propter regionum naturam et fluminis. At eo tempore ipso pecuniam dedit, exercitum aluit; ei, quem Asiae prefaceras, nulla in re defuit; tibi victori non solum ad hospitium, sed ad periculum etiam atque ad aciem præsto fuit. 25. Secutum est bellum Africanum; graves de te rumores; qui etiam furiosum illum Cæcilium excitaverunt. Quo tum rex animo fuit? qui auctionatus sit seseque spoliare maluerit quam tibi pecuni non subministrear. At eo, inquit, tempore ipso Nicaeam Ephesumque mittebat, qui rumores Africanos exciperent et celeriter ad se referrent. Itaque quum esset ci nunciatum, Domitium naufragio perisse, te in castello circumsederti, de Domitio dixit versusum Græcum eadem sententia, qua etiam nos habemus Latinum:

Pereant amici, dum una inimici intercidant 25 quod ille, si esset tibi inimicissimus, nunquam tamen dixisset: ipse enim mansuetus, versus immanis. Qui autem Domitio poterat esse amicus, qui tibi esset inimicus? Tibi porro inimicus cur esset, a quo quum vel interfici belli leges potuisset, regem et se et filium suum constitutos esse meminisset? 30 Quid deinde? furcifer quo progreditur? Ait, hac lactitia Deiotarum elatum vino se obruisse, in convivio-que nudum saltavisse. Quæ crux huic fugitivo potest satis supplicii afferre? Deiotarum saltantem quisquam aut ebrium vidit unquam? Omnes in illo sunt rege virtutes, 35 quod te, Cæsar, ignorare non arbitror, sed præcipue singularis et admiranda frugalitas: etsi hoc verbo scio laudari regem non solere. Frugi hominem dici non multum habet laudis in rege; fortum, justum, severum, gravem, magnanimum, largum, beneficium, liberalem, hæ sunt regiæ laud des; illa privata est. Ut volet quisque accipiat; ego tamen frugalitatem, id est, modestiam et temperantium, virtutem maximam judico. Hæ in illo est ab ineunte æstate quam
a cuncta Asia, tum a magistratibus legatisque nostris, tum ab equitibus Romanis qui in Asia negotiati sunt, perspecta et cognita. 27. Multis ille quidem gradibus officiorum erga rem publicam nostram ad hoc regium nomen ascendit; sed tamen quidquid a bellis populi Romani vacabat, cum hominibus nostris consuetudines, amicitias, res rationesque jungebant, ut non solum tetrarches nobilis, sed etiam optimus paterfamilias et diligentissimus agricola et pecuarius habebatur. Qui igitur adolescentis, nondum tanta gloria præditus, nihil unquam nisi severissime et gravissime fecerit, is ea eximiatione eaque ætate saltavit?

X. 28. Imitari, Castor, potius avi tui mores disciplinamque debellas quam optimo et clarissimo viro fugitivi ore maledigere. Quod si saltatorum avum habuisses, neque cum virum, unde pudoris pudicitiaque exempla peterentur tamen hoc maledictum minime in illam ætatem conveniret. Quibus ille studiis ab ineunte ætate se imbuerat, non saltandi, sed bene ut armis, optime ut equis uteretur, ea tamen illum cuncta jam exacta ætate defecerant. Itaque Deiotarum quum plures in equum sustulissent, quod haeeret in eo senex posset, admirari solebamus. Hic vero adolescentis, qui meus in Cilicia miles, in Græcia commilito fuit, quum in illo nostro exercitu equitatum cum suis delectis equitibus, quos una cum eo ad Pompeium pater miserat, quos concursus facere solebat! quam se jactare! quam ostentare! quam nemini in illa causa studio et cupitutae concedere! 29. Quum vero exercitu amissus ego, qui pacis semper auctor, post Pharsalicum prælims suos foru armorum non deponendorum, sed abjiciendorum: hunc ad meam auctoritatem non potui adducere, quod et ipse ardebit studio ipsius belli, et patri satisfaciendum esse arbitrabatur. Felix ista domus, quæ non impunitatem solum adepta sit, sed accusandi etiam licentiam; calamitosus Deiotarus, qui ab eo, qui in iisdem castris fuerit, non modo apud te, sed etiam a suis accusetur. Vos vestra secunda fortuna, Castor, non potestis sine propinquorum calamitate esse contenti?

XI. 30. Sint sane inimicitiæ, quæ esse non debebant: rex enim Deiotarum vestram familia abjactam et obscuram e tenebris in lucem evocavit. Quis tuum patrem antea qui esset, quem cujus gener esset audivit? Sed quamvis ingrate et impie necessitudinis nomen repudiaretis, tamen inimicitias hominem more gerere poteratis, non ficto crimine insectari, non expetere vitam, non capitis arcessere. Esto:
concendentur haec quoque acerbitas et odii magnitudo: adeo-
ne, ut omnia vitae salutisque communis atque etiam hu-
manitas jura violentur? Servum sollicitare verbis, spe
promissisque corrumpere, abducere domum, contra dominum
arare, hoc est non uni propinquo, sed omnibus familias
 nefarium bellum indicere. Nam ista corruptela servi, si
non modo impunita fuerit, sed etiam a tanta auctoritate
approbata, nulla parietes nostram salutem, nullae leges,
nulla jura custodient. Ubi enim id, quod intus est atque
nostrum, impune evolare potest contraque nos pugnare, fit
in dominatu servitus, in servitute dominatus. 31. O tem-
pora, o mores! Cn. Domitius ille, quem nos pueri consulem,
cenorem, pontificem maximum vidimus, quum tribunus
plebi M. Scaurum principem civitatis in judicium populi
vocasset Scaurique servus ad eum clam domum venisset et
15 crinma in dominum delaturum se esse dixisset, prehendi
hominem jussit ad Scaurumque deduci. Vide, quid interis;
etsi inique Castorem cum Domitio comparo: sed tamen
ille inimico servum remisit, tu ab avo abduxisti; ille inco-
ruptum audire noluit, tu corrupti; ille adjutorem servum
20 contra dominum repudiavit, tu etiam accusatorem adhibu-
isti. 32. At semel iste est corruptus a vobis? Nonne
quum esset productus et quum tecum fuisset, refugit ad
legatos? nonne etiam ad hunc Cn. Domitium venit? nonne
audiente hoc Ser. Sulpicio clarissimo viro, qui tum casu
25 apud Domitium cenabat, et hoc T. Torquato, optimo
adolescente, se a te corruptum, tuis promissis in fraudem
impulsum esse confessus est?

XII. Quae est ista tam impotens, tam crudelis, tam
immoderata inhumanitas? idcirco in hanc urbem venisti,
30 ut hujus urbis jura et exempla corrumeres, domesticaque
immanitate nostra civitatis humanitatem inquinares? 33.
At quam acute collecta crinma! Blesamius, inquit, (ejus
enim nomine, optimi viri nec tibi ignoti, maledicente tibi,
) ad regem scribere solebat te in invidia esse, tyrannum
35 xistimari; statua inter reges posita animum hominum ve-
nemeter offensos; plaudi tibi non solere. Nonne intelli-
gis, Caesar, ex urbanis malevolorum sernunculis haec ab
istis esse collecta? Blesamius tyrannum Caesarem scribe-
ret? Multorum enim capita civium viderat; multos jussu
40 Caesaris vexatos, verberatos, necatos; multas afflictas et
eversas domos; armatis militibus refertum forum. Quae
semer in civili victoria sensimus, ea te victore non vidimus.
34. Solus, inquam, es, C. Caesar, cujus in victoria ceciderit
nemo nisi armatus. Et quem nos liberi, in summa populi Romani libertate nati, non modo non tyrannum sed etiam clementissimum in victoria ducimus, is Blesamio, qui vivit in regno, tyrannus videri potest? Nam de statua quis 5 queritur, una præsertim, quam tam multas videat? Valde enim invidendum est ejus statuis, cujus tropæis non invidimus. Nam si locus afferit invidiam, nullus est ad statuam quidem Rostris clarior. De plausu autem quid respondeam? qui nec desideratus unquam a te est, et nonnumquam, obstupefactis hominibus, ipsa admiratione compressus est, et fortasse eo praetermissus, quia nihil vulgare te dignum videri potest.

XIII. 35. Nihil a me arbitror praetermissum, sed aliquid ad extremam causæ partem reservatum. Id autem aliquid est, te ut plane Deiotaro reconciliet oratio mea: non enim jam metuo, ne illi tu succenses; illud vereor, ne tibi illum succensere aliquid suspicere. Quod abest longissime, mihi crede, Cæsar: quid enim retineat per te, meminit, non quid amiserit; neque se a te multatam arbitratur; sed quum 20 existimares multis tibi multa esse tribuenda, quominus a se, qui in altera parte fuisset, ea sumeres, non recusavit. 36. Etenim si Antiochus magnus ille, rex Asiae, posteaquam a L. Scipione devictus Tauro tenus regnare jussus esset omnemque hanc Asiam, quæ est nunc nostra pro vincia, amississet, dicere est solitus, benigne sibi a populo Romano esse factum, quod nimis magna protractione liberatus modicis regni terminis uteretur, potest multo facilius se Deiotarus consolari. Ille enim furoris multam sustulerat, hic erroris. Omnia tu Deiotaro, Cæsar, tribuisti, quum et 30 ipsi et filio nomen regium concessisti. Hoc nomine retento atque servato nullum beneficium populi Romani, nullum judicium de se senatus imminutum putat; magno animo et erecto est, nec unquam succumbet inimicus, ne fortunæ quidem. 37. Multa se arbitratur et peperisse ante factis et 35 habere in animo atque virtute, quæ nullo modo possit amittere. Quæ enim fortuna aut quis casus aut quæ tanta possit injuria omnium imperatorum de Deiotaro decreta delere? ab omnibus est enim iis ornatus, qui, posteaquam in castris esse potuit per ætatem, in Asia, Cappadocia, Ponto, Cilicia, 40 Syria bella gesserunt. Senatus vero judicia de illo tam multa tamque honorifica, quæ publicis populi Romani literis monumentisque consignata sunt, quæ unquam vetustas obruit aut quæ tanta delebit oblivio? Quid de virtute ejus dicam? de magnitudine animi, gravitate, constantia?
PRO REGE DEIOTARO, CAP. XIV, XV.

quae omnes docti atque sapientes summa, quidam etiam sola bona esse dixerunt, hisque non modo ad bene, sed etiam ad beate vivendum contentam esse virtutem. 38. Hae ille reputans, et dies noctesque cogitans, non modo tibi non succedisset, (esset enim non solum ingratus, sed etiam amens), verum omnem tranquillitatem et quietem senectutis acceptam refert clementiae tuae.

XIV. Quo quidem animo quem antea fuit, tum non dubito, quin tuis literis, quorum exemplum legi, quas ad eum Tarracone huic Blesamio dedisti, se magis etiam ere- xerit ab omni sollicitudine abstraxerit. Jubes enim bene sperare et bono esse animo: quod scio te non frustra scribere solere; memini enim iisdem fere verbis ad me te scribere meque tuis literis bene sperare non frustra esse jussum. 39. Laboro equidem regis Deiotari causa, quocum mihi amicitiam res publica conciliavit, hospitium voluntas utriusque conjuncta, familiaritatem consuetudo attulit, sum- mam vero necessitudinem magna ejus officia et in me et in exercitum meum effecerunt; sed quum de illo laboro, tum de multis amplissimis viris, quibus semel ignotum a te esse oportet, nec beneficium tuum in dubium vocari, nec hærere in animis hominum sollicitudinem sempiternam nec accidere, ut quisquam te timere incipiat eorum, qui sint semel a te liberati timore. 40. Non debeo, C. Cæsar, quod fieri solet in tantis periculis, tentare, equonam modo dicendo miserí- cordiam tuam commovere possim. Nihil opus est; occurr- rere solet ipsa supplicibus et calamitis, nullius oratione evocata. Propone tibi duos reges, et id animo contemplare, quod oculis non potes. Dabis profecto misericordiæ, quod iracundiæ denegavisti. Multa sunt tuæ clementiæ monu- menta, sed maxime eorum incoluitates, quibus salutem dedisti. Quæ si in privatis gloria sunt, multo magis commemorabuntur in regibus. Semper regium nomen in hac civitate sanctum fuit; sociorum vero regum et amico- rum sanctissimum.

XV. 41. Quod nomen hi reges ne amitterent, te victore timuerunt; retentum vero et a te confirmatum posteris etiam suis tradituros esse confido. Corpora sua pro salute regum suorum hi legati tibi regii tradunt, Hieras et Blesamius et Antigonus, tibi nobisque omnibus jam dieu noti, eademque fide et virtute preeditus Dorylaus, qui nuper cum Hiera legatus est ad te missus, quam regum amiciissimi, tum tibi etiam, ut spero, probati. 42. Exquire de Blesamio, num- quid ad regem contra dignitatem tuam scripserit. Hieras
quidem causam omnem suscipit et criminibus illis pro rege
se supponit reum; memoriam tuam implorat, qua vales
plurimum; negat unquam se a te in Deiotari tetrarchia
pedem discessisse; in primis finibus tibi se præsto fuisse
dicit, usque ad ultimos prosecutum; quum e balneo exisses,
tecum se fuisse, quum illa munera inspexisses cenatus,
quum in cubiculo recubuisses; eandemque assiduitatem tibi
se præbuisse postridie. 43. Quamobrem si quid eorum,
quæ objecta sunt, cogitatum sit, non recusat, quin id suum
facinus judices. Quocirca, C. Cæsar, velim existimes,
hodierno die sententiam tuam aut cum summo dedecore
miserrimam pestem importaturam esse regibus, aut incolu-
mem famam cum salute, quorum alterum optare illorum
crudelitatis est, alterum conservare clementiae tuae.
PRO

A. LICINIO ARCHIA

POETA

ORATIO.

I. 1. Si quid est in me ingenii, judices, quod sequi quam sit exiguum, aut si qua exercitatio dicendi, in qua me non infitor mediocriter esse versatum, aut si hujusce rei ratio aliqua ab optimarum artium studiiis ac disciplina profecta, a qua ego nullum confiteor ætatis meæ tempus abhorruisse: earum rerum omnium vel in primis hic A. Licinius fructum a me repeterete prope suo jure debet. Nam quoad longissime potest mens mea respicere spatium præteriti temporis et puertiae memoriam recordari ultimam, inde usque repetens hune video mihi principem et ad suscipiendum piandam et ad ingrediendum rationem horum studiorum exstitisse. Quodsi haec vox hujus hortatu praæptisque conformata nonnullis aliquando saluti fuit; a quo id accepimus, quo ceteris opitulari et alios servare possemus, huic profecto ipsi, quantum est situm in nobis, et opem et salutem ferre debemus. 2. Ac ne quis a nobis hoc ita dici forte miretur, quod alia quædam in hoc facultas sit ingenii neque haec dicendi ratio aut disciplina, ne nos quidem huic uni studio penitus unquam dediti fuimus. Etenim omnes artes, quæ ad humanitatem pertinent, habent quoddam commune vinculum et quasi cognatione quodam inter se continentur.

II. 3. Sed ne cui vestrum mirum esse videatur me in quaestionem legittima et in judicio publico, quum res agatur apud praetorem populi Romani, recitissimum virum, et apud severissimos judices tanto conventu hominum ac frequentia,
ORATIO

hocc uti genere dicendi, quod non modo a consuetudine
judiciorum, verum etiam a forensi sermone abhorreat:
quæso a vobis, ut in hac causa mihi detis hanc veniam,
accommodatam hicre, vobis, quemadmodum spero, non
5 molestam, ut me pro summo poeta atque eruditissimæ
homine dicentem hoc concursu hominum literatissimorum,
hac vestra humanitate, hoc denique prætore exercente
judicium, patiamini de studiis humanitatis ac litterarum
paulo loqui liberius et in ejusmodi persona, quæ propter
10 otium ac studium minime in judiciis periculisque tractata
est, uti prope novo quodam et inusitato genere discendi. 4. 
Quod si mihi a vobis tribui concedique sentiam, perficiam
profecto, ut hunc A. Licinium non modo non segregandum,
quum sit civis, a numero civium, verum etiam, si non esset,
15 putetis adsciscendum.

III. Nam ut primum ex pueris excessit Archias atque ab
iiis artibus, quibus ætas puerilis ad humanitatem infonsari
solet, se ad scribendi studium contulit, primum Antiochiae
(nam ibi natus est loco nobili), celebri quondam urbe et co-
20 piosa atque eruditissimis hominibus liberalissimisque studiis
affluent, celebiter antecellere omnibus ingenii gloria contigit.
Post in ceteris Asiae partibus cunctaque Græcia sic ejus ad-
ventus celebrabuntur, ut famam ingenii expectatio hominis,
expectationem ipsius adventus admiratioque superaret. 5.

25 Erat Italia tunc plena Græcarum artium ac disciplinarum
studiaque hæc et in Latio vehementius tum colebantur quam
nunc isdem in oppidis, et hic Romæ propter tranquillitatem
rei publicæ non negligebantur. Itaque hunc et Tarentini
et Regiini et Neapolitani civitate ceterisque præmiis dona-
30 runt; e. omnes, qui aliquid de ingenii poterant judicare,
cognitione atque hospitio dignum existimarunt. Hac tanta
celebritate famæ quam esset jam absintibus notus, Romam
venit Mario consule et Catulo. Nactus est primum consu-
les eos, quorum alter res ad scribendum maximas, alter
35 quum res gestas, tum etiam studium atque aures adhibere
possit. Statim Luculli, quem praetextatus etiam tum
Archias esset, eum domum suam receperunt. † Sed etiam
hoc non solum ingeniis ac literarum, verum etiam nature
atque virtutis, ut domus, quæ hujus adolescentiae prima
40 patuit, eadem esset familiarissima senectuti. 6. Erat tem-
poribus illis jucundus Metello illi Numidico et ejus Pic
filio; audiebatur a M. Æmilio; vivebat cum Q. Catulo et
patre et filio; a L. Crasso colebatur; Luculloso vero et
Drusum et Octavios et Catonem et totam Hortensiorum
domum devinctam consuetudine quem teneret, afficiebatur
summo honore, quod eum non solum colebant, qui aliqvum
percipere atque audire studebant, verum etiam, si qui forte
simulabant.

IV. Interim satis longo intervallo, quem esset cum L. 5
Lucullo in Siciliam profectus et quem ex ea provincia cum
eodem Lucullo decederet, venit Heracliæ. Quæ quum
esset civitas æquissimo jure ac foedere, adscribi se in eam
civitatem voluit: idque, quem ipse per se dignus putaretur,
tum auctoritate et gratia Luculli ab Heracliusibus impe-
travit. 7. Data est civitas Silvani lege et Carbonis, Si qui
præfatus civitatis adscripti fuissent, si tum, quum
lex ferrebat, in Italia domicilium habissent, et, si
sexaginta diebus apud prætorem essent professi. 8.
Quum hic domicilium Romæ multos jam annos haberet, 15
professus est apud prætorem, Q. Metellum, familiarissimum
suum. Si nihil aliud nisi de civitate ac lege dicimus, nihil
dico amplius: causa dicta est. Quid enim horum infirmari,
Grati, potest? Heracliezene esse tum adscriptum negabis?
Adest vir summa auctoritate et religione et fide, L. Lucul-
lus, qui se non opinari, sed seire, non audivisse, sed visisse,
non interfuisse, sed egisse dicit. Adsunt Heracl enhancement
legati, nobilissimi homines: hujus judicior causa cum man-
datis et cum publico testimonio venerunt, qui hunc ad-
scriptum Heracliesem dicunt. Hic tu tabulas desideras 25
Heracliænum publicas, quas Italico bello incenso tabulario
interisse scimus omnes. Est ridiculum ad ea, quæ habemus,
nihil dicere, quœrere, quæ habere non possunum, et de
hominum memoria tacere, literarum memoriam flagitare;
et, quum habeas amplissimi virtir religionem, integerrimi 30
municipii jus jurandum fidemque, ea, quæ depravari nullo
modo possunt, repudiare, tabulas, quas idem dicis solere
corrumpi, desiderare. 9. An domicilium [Romæ] non ha-
buit? qui tot annis ante civitatem datam sedem omnium
rum ac fortunarum suarum Romæ colocavit? An non 35
est professus? Immo vero iis tabulis professus, quæ solæ
ex illa professione collegioque prætorum obtinent publica-
rum tabularum auctoritatem.

V. Nam quum Appii tabulae neglegentius asservatae
dicerentur, Gabinii, quamdiu incoluisse fuit, levitas, post 40
damnationem calamitas, omnem tabularum fidem resigna-
set, Metellus, homo sanctissimus modestissimusque omnium,
tanta diligentia fuit, ut ad L. Lentulum prætorem et ad
judices veniret et unus nominis lirura se commotum esse
dixerit. His igitur tabulis nullam lituram in nomine A. Licinii videtis. 10. Quæ quum ita sint, quid est, quod de ejus civitate dubitetis, præsertim quum alis quoque in civitatibus fuerit adscriptus? Etenim quum mediocribus multis et aut nulla aut humili aliqua arte præditiis gratuito civitatem in Graecia homines impertiebant, Rhæginos credo aut Locreses aut Neapolitanos aut Tarentinos, quod scenici artificialibus largiri solebant, id huic summa ingenii prædito gloria noluisse. Quid? quum ceteri non modo post civitatem datam, sed etiam post legem Papiam aliquo modo in eorum municipiorum tabulas irrepsrint, hic, qui ne utitur quidem illis, in quibus est scriptus, quod semper se Heracliensem esse voluit, rejecietur? 11. Census nostros requiris. Scilicet: est enim obscurum proximis censoribus hunc cum clarissimo imperatore, L. Lucullo, apud exercitum fuisse, superioribus cum eodem quaestore fuisse in Asia, primis, Julio et Crasso, nullam populi partem esse censam. Sed, quoniam census non jus civitatis confirmat ac tantummodo indicat eum, qui sit census, ita se jam tum gessisse pro cive: iis temporibus, quem tu criminaris ne ipsis quidem judicio in civium Romanorum jure esse versatum, et testamentum sœpe fecit nostris legibus et adiit hereditates civium Romanorum et in beneficis ad ærarium delatus est a L. Lucullo proconsule.

VI. Quære argumenta, si quæ potes. Nunquam enim hic neque suo neque amicorum judicio revincetur.

12. Quæres a nobis, Grati, cur tantopere hoc homine delectemur. Quia suppeditat nobis, ubi et animus ex hoc forensi strepitu reficiatur et aures convicio defessæ conquiscant. An tu existimas aut suppetere nobis posse, quod quotidie dicamus, in tanta varietate rerum, nisi animos nostros doctrina excolamus, aut ferre animos tantam posse contentionem, nisi eos doctrina eadem relaxemus? Ego vero fateor me his studiis esse deditum. Ceteros pudeat, si qui se ita literis abdiderunt, ut nihil possint ex iis neque ad communem afferre fructum neque in adspectum lucemque proferre. Me autem quid pudeat, qui tot annos ita vivo, judices, ut a nullius unquam me tempore aut commodo aut otium meum abstraxerit aut vuluptas avocaris aut denique somnus retardarit? 13. Quare quis tandem me reprehendat aut quis mihi jure succenseat, si, quantum ceteris ad suas res obundas, quantum ad festos dies ludorum celebrandos, quantum ad alias voluptates et ad ipsam requiem animi et corporis conceditur temporum; quantum
alii tribuunt tempestivis convivis, quantum denique alveolo, quantum pila, tantum mihi egomet ad hæc studia recolenda sumpsero? Atque hoc adeo mihi concedendum est magis, quod ex his studiis hæc quoque crescit oratio et facultas; quæ, quantacunque est in me, nuncquam amicorum periculis defuit. Quæ si cui levior videtur, illa quidem certe, quæ summa sunt, ex quo fonte hauriam, sentio. 14. Nam nisi multorum præceptis multisque litteris mihi ab adolescentia suasisset nihil esse in vita magnopere expetendum nisi ludem atque honestatem; in ea autem persequenda omnes cruciatus corporis, omnia pericula mortis atque exsilia parvi esse ducendæ, nuncquam me pro salute vestra in tot ac tantas dimicationes atque in hos profligatorum hominum quotidianos impetus obiecsem. Sed pleni sunt omnes libri, plenae sapientium voces, plena exemplorum vetustas; 15 quæ jacerent in tenebris omnia, nisi litterarum lumen acce- deret. Quam multas nobis imagines non solum ad intuen- dum, verum etiam ad imitandum fortissimorum virorum expressas scriptores et Graeci et Latini reliquerunt? Quas ego mihi non in administranda re publica proponens animum et mentem meam ipsa cogitatione hominum excellenti- lentium conformabam.

VII. 15. Queret quispiam: Quid? illi ipsi summi viri, quorum virtutes litteris proditae sunt, istane doctrina, quam tu effers laudibus, eruditi fuerunt? Difficile est hoc de omnibus confirmare: sed tamen est certum, quid respondam. Ego multos homines excellenti animo ac virtute suisse et sine doctrina naturæ ipsius habitu prope divino præ se ipsos et moderatos et graves exstitisse fætor: etiam ilud adjungo, sæpius ad laudem atque virtutem naturam sine doctrina quam sine natura valuisse doctrinam. Atque idem ego hoc contendo, quum ad naturam eximiam et illustrem accesserit ratio quàdem conformatioque doctrinæ, tum illud nescio quid praeclarum ac singularë solere existerë: 16. ex hoc esse hunc numero, quem patres nostri viderunt, divinum hominem, Africanum; ex hoc C. Læilibrium, L. Furium, moderatissimos homines et continentissimos; ex hoc fortissimum virum et illis temporibus doctissimum, Catonem illum senem, qui profecto, si nihil ad percipliantem coelendamque virtutem litteris adjuvarentur, nuncquam se ad carum studium contulissent. Quod si non hic tanti fructus ostenderetur et si ex his studiis delectatio sola peteretur, tamen, ut opinor, hanc animi vivam conversionem humanissimam ac liberalissimam judicaretis. Nam ceteræ neque temporum...
sunt neque ætatum omnium neque locorum; at haec studia adolescentiam acuunt, senectutem oblectant, secundas res ornant, adversis perfugium ac solatum præbent; delectant domi, non impedient foris, pernoctant nobiscum, peregri-nantur, rusticantur.

17. Quod si ipsi haec neque attingere neque sensu nostro gustare possemus, tamen ea mirari debere mus, etiam quam in alius videremus.

VIII. Quis nostrum tam animo agresti ac duro fuit, ut Rosci morte nuper non commoveretur? qui quum esset senex mortuus, tamen propter excellentem artem ac venum statem videbatur omnino mori non debuisse. Ergo ille corpore motu tantum amorem sibi conciliat a nobis omnibus: hos animorum incredibiles motus celeratemenque ingeniorum negligemus?

18. Quoties ego hunc Archiam vidi, judices, (utar enim vestra benignitate, quoniam me in hoc novo genere dicendi tam diligenter attenditis,) quoties ego hunc vidi, quum literam scriptisset nullam, magnum numerum optimorum versuum de suis ipsis rebus, quæ tum agerentur, dicere ex tempore! quoties revocatum eandem rem dicere commutatis verbis atque sententiis! Quæ vero accurate cogitatuque scriptisset, ea sic vidi probari, ut ad veterem scriptorum laudem pervenirent. Hunc ego non diligam? non admirer? non omni ratione defendendum putem?

Atque sic a summis hominibus eruditissimisque accepimus, ceterarum rerum studia et doctrina et præceptis et arte constare, poetam natura ipsa valere et mentis viribus excitari et quasi divino quodam spiritu inflari. Quare suo jure noster ille Ennius sanctos appellat poetas, quod quasi deorum aliquo dono atque munere commendatur nobis esse videantur.

19. Sit igitur, judices, sanctum apud vos, humanissimos homines, hoc poetæ nomen, quod nulla unquam barbaria violavit. Saxa et solitudines voci respondunt; bestiae sæpe immanes cantu flectuntur atque consunt: nos instituti rebus optimis non poetarum voce moveamur? Homerum Colophonii civem esse dicunt suum, Chii suum vindicant, Salamini repeputant, Smyrnæi vero suum esse confirmant; itaque etiam delubrum ejus in oppido dedicaverunt: permulti alii præterea pugnant inter se atque contendunt.

IX. Ergo illi alienum, quia poeta fuit, post mortem etiam expetunt: nos hunc vivum, qui et voluntate et legibus noster est, repudiabimus? presertim quam omne olim studium atque omne ingenium contulerit Archias ad populi
Romani gloriam laudemque celebrandum. Nam et Cimbricas res adolescentis attigit et ipsi illi C. Mario, qui durior ad hæc studia videbatur, sicut etiam. Neque enim quisquam est tam aversus a Musis, qui non mandari versibus æternum suorum laborum facile praæconium patiatur. The mistoclem illum, summum Athenis virum, dixisse aiunt, quem ex eo quereretur, "quod acroama aut cujus vocem libentissime audiret: ejus, a quo sua virtus optime prædicaretur." Itaque ille Marius item eximie L. Plotium dilexit, cujus ingenio putabat ea, quæ gesserat, posse celebrari. 10

X. Ergo illum, qui hæc fecerat, Rudinum hominem, maiores nostri in civitatem receperunt: nos hunc Heracliensem 35 multi civitibus expetimum, in hac autem legibus constituendum de nostra civitate ejiciemus?

23. Nam si quis minorem gloriæ fructum putat ex Grœcis versibus percipi quam ex Latinis, vehementer errat, propterea, quod Grœca leguntur in omnibus fere gentibus, 4c Latina suis finibus, exigitus sane, continentur. Quare si res eæ, quas gessimus, orbis terræ regionibus definiuntur, cупere debemus, quo manuum nostrarum tela pervenerint, eodem gloriæ famamque penetrare; quod quem ipsis
populis, de quorum rebus scribitur, hæc ampla sunt, tum
uis certe, qui de vita gloriae causa dimicant, hoc maximum
et periculum incitamentum est et laborum. 24. Quam
multos scriptores rerum suarum magnus ille Alexander
5 secum habuisse dicitur! Atque is tamem, quum in Sigeo
ad Achillis tumulum adstitisset, O fortunate, inquit, ado-
lescens, qui tuae virtutis Homerum praecem invenires! Et
vere: nam, nisi Ilias illa exstitisset, idem tumulus, qui
corpus ejus contexerat, nomen etiam obruisset. Quid?
10 noster hic Magnus, qui cum virtute fortunam adequavit,
nonne Theophanem Mitylæum, scriptorem rerum suarum,
in concione militum civitate donavit; et nostri illi fortes
viri, sed rustici ac milites, dulcedine quadam gloriae
moti, quasi participes ejusdem laudis, magno illud clamore
15 approbaverunt? 25. Itaque, credo, si civis Romanus Ar-
chias legibus non esset, ut ab aliquo imperatore civitate
donaretur, perficere non potuit. Sulla, quum Hispanos
donaret et Gallos, credo, hunc petentem repudiasset; quem
nos in concione vidimus, quum ei libellum malus poeta de
20 populo subjecisset, quod epigramma in eum fecisset tan-
tummodo alternis versibus longiusculis, statim ex iis rebus,
quas tunc vendebat, jubere ei præmium tribui, sed ea con-
ditione, ne quid postea scriberet. Qui sedulitatem mali
poetæ duxerit alioque tamen præmio dignam, hujus ingenium
Quid? a Q. Metello Pio, familiarissimo suo, qui civitate
multos donavit, neque per se neque per Lucullo impetra-
visset? quæ præsertim usque eo de suis rebus scribi cuperet,
ut etiam Cordubæ natus poetæ pingue quiddam sonantibus
30 atque peregrinum tamen aures suas dederet.

XI. Neque enim est hoc dissimulandum, quod obscures
non potest, sed præ nobis ferendum: trahimur omnes studio
laudis et optimus quisque maxime gloria ducitur. Ipsi illi
philosophi etiam in iis libellis, quos de contemnenda gloria
35 scribunt, nomen suum inscribunt: in eo ipso, in quo praedi-
cationem nobilitatemque despiciunt, praedicari de se ac
nominari volunt. 27. Decimus quidem Brutus, summus
vir et imperator, Accii, amicissimi sui, carminibus templo-
rum ac monumentorum aditus exornavit suorum. Jam vero
40 ille, qui cum Ætolis Ennio comite bellavit Fulvius non
dubitavit Martis manubias Musis consecrare. Quare, in
qua urbe imperatorem prope armati poetaetrum nomen et
Musarum delubra coluerunt, in ea non debent togati judicæs
a Musarum honore et a poetaetrum salute abhorrere.
28. Atque, ut id libertius faciatis, jam me vobis, judices, indicabo et de meo quodam amore gloriam nimirum acer for-
tasse, verumtamen honesto vobis confitebor. Nam, quas res nos in consulatu nostro vobiscum simul pro salute hujus urbis atque imperii et pro vita civium proque universa re publica gessimus, attigit hic versibus atque inchoavit; qui-
bus auditis, quod mihi magna res et jucunda visa est, hunc ad perfiiciendum adjuvi. Nullam enim virtus aliam merce-
dem laborum periculorumque desiderat præter hanc laudis et gloriam; qua quidem detracta, judices, quid est, quod in hoc tam exiguo vitae curriculo et tam brevi tantis nos in laboribus exerceamus? 29. Certe, si nihil animus præsen-
tiret in posterum et si, quibus regionibus vitae spatiis circumscriptum est, eisdem omnes cogitationes terminaret suas nec tantis se laboribus frangeret neque tot curis vigili-
isque angeretur nec toties de ipsa vita dimicaret. Nunc insidet quædam in optimo quoque virtus, quæ noctes ac dies animum gloriam stimulit concitat atque admonet non cum vitae tempore esse, sed cum omni posteritate adæquandam.

XII. 30. An vero tam parvi animi videamur esse omnes, qui in re publica atque in his vitae periculis laboribusque versamur, ut, quum usque ad extremum spatiis nullum tranquillum atque otiosum spiritum duxerimus, nobiscum simul moritura omnia arbitremur? An statuas et imagines, non animorum simulacra, sed corporum, studiose multi summi homines reliquerunt, consiliorum reliquere ac virtu-
tum nostrarum efficier nonne multo malle debemus summis ingenii expressis et politam? Ego vero omnia, quæ gerebam, jam tum in gerendo spargere me ac disseminare arbitrabar in orbis terrae memoriam sempiternam. Hec [vero] sive a meo sensu post mortem afutura est sive, ut sapientissimi homines putaverunt, ad aliquam animi mei partem pertinebit, nunc quidem certe cogitazione quadam speque delector.

31. Quare conserve, judices, hominem pudore eo, quem amicorum videtis comprobari quom dignitate, tum etiam vetustate, ingenio autem tanto, quantum id convenit existi-
mari, quod summorum hominum ingenii expetitum esse videatis; causa vero ejusmodi, quæ beneficio legis, auctori-
tate municipii, testimonio Luculli, tabulis Metelli compro-
betur. Quae quum ita sint, petimus a vobis, judices, si qua non modo humana, verum etiam divina in tantis ingenii commendatio debet esse, ut eum, qui vos, qui vestros impe-
ratores, qui populi Romani res gestas semper ornavit; quae etiam his recentibus nostris vestrisque domesticis periculis aeternum se testimonium laudis daturum esse profitetur; isque est eo numero, qui semper apud omnes sancti sunt habitu itaque dicti, sic in vestram accipiatis fidelem, ut humanitate vestra levatus potius quam acerbitate violatus esse videatur. 32. Quæ de causa pro mea consuetudine breviter simpliciterque dixi, judices, ea confido probata esse omnibus: quæ non fori neque judiciali consuetudine et de hominis ingenio et communiter de ipsius studio locutus sum, ea, judices, a vobis spero esse in bonam partem accepta; ab eo, qui judicium exercet, certe scio.
ORATIO

PRO T. ANNIO MILONE.

I. 1. Ersi vereor, judices, ne turpe sit, pro fortissimo viro dicere incipientem timere, minimeque deceat, quum T. Annius ipse magis de rei publicae salute quam de sua perturbetur, me ad ejus causam parem animi magnitudinem afferre non posse, tamen haec novi judicii nova forma terrat 5 oculos, qui, quocunque inciderunt, consuetudinem fori et pristinum morem judiciorum requirunt. Non enim corona consessus vester cinctus est, ut solebat; 2. non usitata frequentia stipati sumus; nec illa præsidia, quæ pro templis omnibus cernitis, etsi contra vim collocata sunt, non affe- 10 runt tamen oratori alicui, ut in foro et in judicio, quamquam præsidii salutaribus et necessariis septi sumus, tamen ne non timere quidem sine alicui timore possimus. Quæ si opposita Miloni putarem, cederem tempori, judices, nec inter tantam vim armorum existimarem esse orationis locum. 15 Sed me recreat et reficit Cn. Pompeii, sapientissimi et justissimi viri, consilium, qui profecto nec justitiae sua putaret esse, quem reum sententiis judicium tradidisset, eundem telis militum dedere, nec sapientiae, temeritatem concitatæ multitudinis auctoritate publica armare. 3. Quamobrem 20 illa arma, centuriones, cohortes non periculum nobis, sed præsidium denuntiant, neque solum, ut quieto, sed etiam, ut magno animo simus, hortantur, neque auxilium modo defensioni mec, verum etiam silentium pollicentur. Reli- qua vero multitudo, quæ quidem est civium, tota nostra 25 est, neque eorum quisquam, quos undique intuentes, unde aliqua fori pars adspici potest, et hujus exitum judicii expectantia videtis, non quum virtutis Milonis favet, tum de se, de liberis suis, de patria, de fortunis hodierno die decidendi putat.
II. Unum genus est adversum infestumque nobis eorum, quos P. Clodii furor rapinis et incendiis et omnibus exitiis publicis pavit; qui hesterna etiam concione incitati sunt, ut vobis voce preærent, quid judicaretis. Quorum clamor, si 5 qui forte fuerit, admonere vos debebit, ut eum civem retineatis, qui semper genus illud hominum clamoresque maximos pro vestra salute neglexerit. 4. Quamobrem adeste animis, judices, et timorem, si quem habetis, deponite. Nam, si unquam de bonis et fortibus viris, si unquam de 10 bene meritis civibus potestas vobis judicandi fuit, si denique unquam locus amplissimorum ordinum delectis viris datu est, ut sua studia erga fortes et bonos dives, quæ vultu et verbis sœpe significassent, re et sententiis declararent, hoc profecto tempore eam potestatem omnem vos habetis, ut 15 statuatatis, utrum nos, qui semper vestrae auctoritatis dediti fuimus, semper miseri lugeamus, an, diu vexati a perditissimi 20 mis civibus, aliquando per vos ac per vestram fidem, virtu- tem sapientiamque recreemur. 5. Quid enim nobis duobus, judices, laboriosius, quid magis sollicitum, magis exercitum duci aut fingi potest, qui, adeamplissimorum præmiorum ad rem publicam adducti, metu crudelissimorum suppliciorum caree non possumus? Equidem ceteras tempestates et procellas in illis dumptaxat fluctibus concionum semper putavi Miloni esse subeundas, quia semper pro bonis contra 25 improbos senserat; in judicio vero et in eo consilio, in quo ex cunctis ordinibus amplissimi viri judicarent, nunquam existimavi spem ullam esse habituros Milonis inimicos ad ejus non modo salutem exstinguendam, sed etiam gloriam per tales viros infringendam. 6. Quamquam in hac causa, 30 judices, T. Annii tribunatu rebusque omnibus pro salute rei publicae gestis ad hujus criminis defensionem non abu- temur. Nisi oculis videritis insidias Miloni a Cludio factas, nec deprecaturi sumus, ut crimen hoc nobis propter multa præclara in rem publicam merita condonetis, nec postulaturi, 35 ut, si mors P. Clodii salus vestra fuerit, idcirco eam virtuti Milonis potius quam populi Romani felicitati assignetis. Sin illius insidiae clarires hac luce fuerint, tum denique obscurobo obtestaborque vos, judices, si cetera amismus, hoc saltæm nobis ut relinquatur, vitam ab inimicorum au- 40 dacia telsque ut impune liceat defendere.

III. 7. Sed antequam ad eam orationem venio, quæ est propria vestrae quaestionis, videntur ea esse refutanda, quæ et in senatu ab inimicis sœpe jactata sunt et in concione ab improbis et paulo ante ab accusatoribus, ut, omni errore
sultato, rem plane, quæ veniat in judicium, videre possitis. Negant intueri lucem esse fas ei, qui a se hominem occisum esse fateatur. In qua tandem urbe hoc homines stultissimi disputant? Nempe in ea, quæ primum judicium de capite vidit M. Horatii, fortissimi viri, qui, nondum libera civitate, tamen populi Romani comitiis liberatus est, quam suas manu sororem esse interfectam fateretur. 8. An est quisquam, qui hoc ignoret, quam de homine occiso quæratur, aut negari solere omnino esse factum, aut recte et jure factum esse defendi? Nisi vero existimatis, dementem P. Afr. canum fuisse, qui, quam a C. Carbone, tribuno plebis, sediose in concionc interrogaetur, quid de Ti. Gracchi morte sentiret, respondet, jure casum videri. Neque enim posset aut Ahalà ille Servilius aut P. Nasica aut L. Opimius aut C. Marius aut, me consule, senatus non nefarius haberi, si sceleratos cives interici nefas esset. Itaque hoc, judices, non sine causa etiam fictis fabulis doctissimi homines memoriae prodiderunt, eum, qui patris ulciscendi causa renum necavisset, variatis hominum sententiis, non solum divina, sed etiam sapientissimae deæ sententia liberatun. 20
9. Quod si duodecim tabulae nocturnum furem quoqumo modo, diurnum autem, si se telo defenderet, interici impune voluerunt, quis est, qui, quoquo modo quis interfactus sit, puniendum putet, quam videat aliquando gladium nobis ad hominem occidendum ab ipsis porrige legibus?

IV. Atqui si tempus est ullam jure hominis necandi, quae multa sunt, certe illud est non modo justum, verum etiam necessarium, quam vi vis illata defenditur. Pudicitiam quum eriperet militia tribunus militaris in exercitu C. Marii, propinquis ejus imperatoris, interfactus ab eo est, cui vim afferebat. Facere enim probus adolescens periculose quam perpeti turpiter maluit. Atque hunc ille summus vir, scelere solutum, periculo liberavit. 10. Insidiatori vero et latroni quæ potest inferri injusta nex? Quid comitatus nostri, quid gladii volunt quos habere certe non liceret, si uti illis nullo pacto liceret. Est igitur haec, judices, non scripta, sed nata lex, quæ non didicimus, accepimus, legimus, verum ex natura ipsa arripiimus, haudimus, expressimus, ad quam non docti, sed facti; non instituti, sed imbuti sumus, ut, si vita nostra in aliquis insidias, si in vim et in tela aut latronum aut inimicorum incidisset, omnis honesta ratio esset expediendæ salutis. Silent enim leges inter arma nec se espectari jubent, quam ei, qui espectare velit, ante injusta poena luenda sit quam justa repetenda.
11. Etsi persapienter et quodammodo tacite dat ipsa lex potestatem defendendi, quae non hominem occidi, sed esse cum telo hominis occidenti causa vetat, ut, quem causa, non telum quereretur, qui sui defendendi causa telo esset usu, non hominis occidenti causa habuisse telum judicare- tur. Quapropter hoc maneat in causa, judices; non enim dubito, quin probaturus sim vobis defensionem meam, si id memineritis, quod oblivisci non potestis, insidiatorem inter-fici iure posse.

10 V. 12. Sequitur illud, quod a Milonis inimicis sæpissime dicitur, cædem, in qua P. Clodius occitus est, senatum judicasse, contra rem publicam esse factam. Illam vero senatus non sententiis suis solum, sed etiam studiis commovevit. Quoties enim est illa causa a nobis acta in senatu?

15 quibus assensionibus universi ordinis? quam nec tacitis nec occultis? Quando enim frequentissimo senatu quattuor aut summum quinque sunt inventi, qui Milonis causam non probarent? Declarant hujus ambusti tribuni plebis illæ intermortuæ conciones, quibus quotidie meam potentiam invidiose criminabatur, quam diceret, senatum non quod sentiret, sed quod ego vellem, decernere. Quæ quidem si potentia est appellanda potius quam aut propter magna in rem publicam merita mediocris in bonis causis auctoritas aut propter hos officiosos labores meos nonnulla apud bonos gratia, appelletur ita sane, dummodo ea nos utamur pro salute honorum contra amentiam perditorum. 13. Hanc vero quaestionem, etsi non est iniqua, nunquam tamen senat-us constitutuendum putavit. Erant enim leges, erant quaes-tiones, vel de cæde vel de vi; nec tantum méremum ac

20 luctum senatui mors P. Clodii afferebat, ut nova questio constitueretur. Cujus enim de illo incepto stupro judicium decernendi senatui potestas esset erepta, de ejus interitu, quis potest credere, senatum judicium novum constituendum putasse? Cur igitur incendium curiæ, oppugnationem

25 edium M. Lepidi, cædem hanc ipsam contra rem publicam senatus factam esse decrevit? Quia nulla vis unquam est in libera civitate susceptra inter cives non contra rem publicam. 14. Non enim est illa defensio contra vim unquam optanda, sed nonunquam est necessaria. Nisi vero aut

30 ille dies, quo Ti. Gracchus est caesus, aut ille, quo Caius, aut arma Saturnini non, etiamsi et re publica oppressa sunt, publicam tamen vulnerarunt.

35 Itaque ego ipse decrevi, quum cædem in Appia esse constaret, non eum, qui se defendisset, contra
rem publicam fecisse; sed, quum inessent in re vis et insidiae, crimen judicio reservavi, rem notavi. Quod si per furiosum illum tribunum senatui, quod sentiebat, perficere licuisset, novam quaestionem nullam haberemus. Decernebat enim, ut veteribus legibus, tantummodo extra ordinem, sæqueretur. Divisa sententia est, postulante nescio quo; nihil esse necesse est omnium me flagitia proferre. Sic reliqua auctoritas senatus empta intercessione sublata est.


VII. Domi suae nobilissimis vir, senatus propugnator 25 atque illis quidem temporibus pæne patronus, avunculus hujus judicis nostri, fortissimi viri, M. Catonis, tribunus plebis M. Drusus occisus est. Nihil de ejus morte populus consultus, nulla quæstio decreta a senatu est. Quantum lactum in hac urbe fuisset a nostris patribus accipimus, 30 quum P. Africano, domi sua quiescunt, illa nocturna vis esset illata quid tum non gemuit? quis non arsit dolore, quem immortalem, si fieri posset, omnes esse cuperent, ejus ne necessariam quidem expectatam esse mortem? Num igitur ualla quæstio de Africani morte lata est? Certe 35 nulla. 17. Quid ita? Quia non alio facinore clari homines, alio obscuri necantur. Intersit inter vitae dignitatem sumorum atque infirmorum; mors quidem illata per sclerus isdem et pœnis teneatur et legibus. Nisi forte magis erit parricida, si qui consularem patrem, quam si quis humilem necaverit, aut eo mors atroci erit P. Clodii, quod is in monumentis majorum suorum sit interfactus. Hoc enim ab ists sepe dicitur; proinde quasi Appius ille Cæcus viam muniverit, non qua populus uteretur, sed ubi impune
sui posteri latrocinarentur. 18. Itaque in eadem ista Appia
via quum ornatissimum equitem Romanum P. Clodius M.
Paprium occidisset, non fuit illud facinus puniendum;
homo enim nobilis in suis monumentis equitem Romanum
occiderat; nunc ejusdem Appiae nomen quantas tragœdias
excitat! Que cruentata antea cæde honesti atque inno-
centis viri silebatur, eadem nunc crebro usurpatur, postea-
quam latronis et parricidæ sanguine imbuta est. Sed quid
ego illa commemoro? Comprehensus est in templo Castoris
servus P. Clodii, quem ille ad Cn. Pompeium interficiendum
collocarat; extorta est confitenti sica de manibus; caruit
foro postea Pompeius, caruit senatu, caruit publico; janua
se ac parietibus, non jure legum judiciorumque texit. 19.
Num que rogatio lata, num que nova quaestio decreta est?
15 Atqui, si res, si vir, si tempus ullam dignum fuit, certe hæc
in illa causa summa omnia fuerunt. Insidiator erat in foro
collocatus atque in vestibulo ipso senatus; ei viro autem
mors parabatur, cujus in vita nitebatur salus civitatis; eo
porro rei publicæ tempore, quo, si unus ille occidisset, non
haec solum civitas, sed gentes omnes concidisset. Nisi
vero, quia perfecta res non est, non fuit punienda; proinde
quasi exitus rerum, non hominum consilia legibus vindicen-
tur. Minus dolendum fuit, re non perfecta, sed puniendum
certe nihil minus. 20. Quoties ego ipse, judices, ex P.
25 Clodii telis et ex cruentis ejus manibus effugi? ex quibus
si me non vel mea vel rei publicæ fortuna servasset, quis
tandem de interitu meo quaestionem tulisset?

VIII. Sed stulti sumus, qui Drusum, qui Africanum,
Pompeium, nosmet ipsos cum P. Clodio conferre audeamus.
30 Tolerabilia fuerunt illa; P. Clodii mortem nemo aequo
animo ferre potest. Luget senatus, mæret equester ordo,
tota civitas confecta senio est, squalent municipia, afflictan-
tur coloniae, agri denique ipsi tam beneficium, tam salutarem,
tam mansuetum civem desiderant. 21. Non fuit ea causa,
35 judices, profecto, non fuit, cur sibi censeret Pompeius qua-
estionem ferendum; sed homo sapiens atque alta et divina
quadam mente praeditus multa vidit; fuisse illum sibi ini-
imicum, familiarem Milonem; in communi omnium letitia si
etiam ipse gauderet, timuit, ne videretur infirmior fides re-
40 conciliatae gratiae; multa etiam alia vidit, sed illud maxime,
quamvis atrocteur ipse tulisset, vos tamen fortiter judicatu-
ros. Itaque delegit e florentissimis ordinibus ipsa lumina.
Neque vero, quod nonnulli dictitant, secrevit in judicibus
legendis amicos meos. Neque enim hoc cogitavit vir justis-
simus, neque in bonis viris legendis id assequi potuisset, etiamsi cupisset. Non enim mea gratia familiaritatis continetur, quae late patere non possunt, propetrea quod consuetudines victus non possunt esse cum multis; sed, si quid possuimus, ex eo possuimus, quod res publica nos con-

junxit cum bonis; ex quibus ille quum optimus viros lege-

ret, idque maxime ad fidem suam pertinere arbitraretur, non potuit legere non studiosos mei. 22. Quod vero te, L. Domiti, huic questioni præesse maxime voluit, nihil quae-
sivit aliud, nisi justitiam, gravitatem, humanitatem, fidem. 10
Tulit, ut consularem necesse esset; credo, quod principum
munus esse ducebat resistere et levitati multituidinis et per-
ditorum temeritati. Ex consularibus te creavit potissimum.
Dederas enim, quam contemneres populares insanias, jam
ab adolescentia documenta maxima.

IX. 23. Quamobrem, judices, ut aliquando ad causam
crimenque veniamus, si neque omnis confessione facti est
inusiata, neque de causa nostra quidquam aliter, ac nos
vellemus, a senatu judicatum est, et lator ipse legis, quem
esse controversia nulla facti, juris tamen disceptationem
esse voluit, et electi judices isque prepositus questioni,
qui hæc juste sapienterque disceptet, reliquum est, judices,
ut nihil jam quærere aliud debeatis, nisi, uter utri insidias
fecerit. Quod quo facilius argumentis perspicere possitis,
rem gestam vobis dum breviter expono, quæso, diligenter 25
attendite. 24. P. Clodius quum statuisset omni scelere in
praetura vexare rem publicam, videretque ita tracta esse
comitia anno superiore, ut non multos menses praeturam
gerere posset, qui non honoris gradum spectaret, ut ceteri,
se et L. Paullum collegam effugere vellet, singulari virtute
30
civem, et annum integrum ad dilacerandam rem publicam
quereret, subito reliquit annum suum sesseque in proximum
annum transtulit, non, ut fit, religione aliqua, sed ut haberet,
quid ipse dicebat, ad praeturam gerendum, hoc est, ad
evertendum rem publicam, plenum annum atque integrum. 35
25. Occurrebat ei, mancam ac debilem praeturam suam
futuram, consule Milone; eum porro summo consensu po-
puli Romani consulem fieri videbat. Contulit se ad ejus
competitores, sed ita, totam ut petitionem ipse solus, etiam
invitis illis, gubernaret; tota ut comitia sui, ut dictitabat, 4C
humoris sustineret. Convocabat tribus; se interponebat;
Collinam novam delectu perditissimorum civium conscrive-
bat. Quanto ille plura miscebat, tanto hic magis in dies
convalescebat. Ubi vidit homo ad omne facinus paratissi-
mus, fortissimum virum, inimicissimum suum, certissimum, consulem, idque intellexit non solum sermonibus, sed etiam suffraguis populi Romani sæpe esse declaratum, palam agere ceptit et aperte dicere, occidendum Milonem. 26. Servos agrestes et barbaros, quibus silvas publicas depopulatus erat Etruriamque vexarat, ex Apennino deduxerat, quos videbatis. Res erat minime obscura. Etenim dicitabant palam, consulatum eripi Miloni non posse, vitam posse. Significavit hoc sæpe in senatu; dixit in concione; quin etiam M. Favonio, fortissimo viro, quaerenti ex eo, qua spe fureret, Milone vivo, respondit, triduo illum aut summum quattuor sese esse peritum; quam vocem ejus ad hunc M. Catonem statim Favoniis detulit.

X. 27. Interim, quum sciret Clodius (neque enim erat difficile scire), iter sollemne, legitimum, necessarium, ante diem XIII. Kalendas Feb. Miloni esse Lenuvium ad flaminem prodendum, quod erat dictator Lenuvii Milo, Roma subito ipse prefectus pridie est, ut ante suum fundum (quod re intellectum est) Miloni insidias collocaret. Atque ita profectus est, ut concionem turbulentam, in qua ejus furore desideratus est, quæ illo ipso die habitæ est, relinquueret, quam, nisi obire facinoris locum tempusque voluisset, nunquam reliquisset. 28. Milo autem quum in senatu fuisset eo die, quod senatus est dimissus, domum venit; calceos et vestimenta mutavit; paulisper, dum se uxor (ut fit) comparat, commoratus est, deinde profectus id temporis, quum jam Clodius, si quidem eo die Romam venturus erat, redire potuisset. Obviar fit ei Clodius, expeditus, in quo, nulla rheda, nullis impedimentis, nullis Graecis comitibus, ut solebat, sine uxore, quod nunquam fere, quum hic insidiator, qui iter illud ad caedem faciendum apparasset, cum uxore veheretur in rheda, penusulat, magnò et impedito et muliebri ac delicato ancillarum puerorumque comitatu. 29. Fiat obviar Clodio ante fundum ejus hora fere unde-cima aut non multo secus. Statim complures cum telis in hunc faciunt de loco superiore impetum; adversi rhedarium occidunt; quum autem hic de rheda, rejecta pœnula, deslibisset seque acri animo defenderet, illi, qui erant cum Clodio, gladiis edectis, partim recurrere ad rhedam, ut a tergo Milonem adorirentur, partim, quod hunc jam interfecum putarent, caedere incipiunt ejus servos, qui post erant, ex quibus qui animo fideli in dominum et præsentibertur, partim occisi sunt, partim, quum ad rhedam pueri viderent, domino succurrere prohibentur, Milonem
occisum ex ipso Clodio audirent et re vera putarent, sece-
runt id servi Milonis (dicam enim aperte non derivandi
criminis causa, sed ut factum est), nec imperante nec sciente
 nec præsente domino, quod suos quisque servos in tali re
facere voluisset.

XI. 30. Hæc, sicut exposui, ita gesta sunt, judices; insi-
diator superatus est; vi victa vis vel potius oppressa virtute
audacia est. Nihil dico, quid res publica consecuta sit,
nihil, quid vos, nihil, quid omnes boni. Nihil sane id prosit
Miloni qui hoc fato natus est, ut ne se quidem servare
potuerit, quin una rem publicam vosque servaret. Si id
jure fieri non potuit, nihil habeo, quod defendam. Sin hoc
et ratio doctis et necessitas barbaris et mos gentibus et fera
etiam belluis natura ipsa præscripsit, ut omnem semper
vim, quacunque ope possent, a corpore, a capite, a vita sua
propulsarent, non potestis hoc facinus improbum judicare,
quin simul judicetis, omnibus, qui in latrones inciderint, aut
illorum telis aut vestris sententias esse pereundum. 31.
Quod si ita putasset, certe optabilius Miloni fuit dare
jugulum P. Clodio, non semel ab illo neque tum primum
petitum, quam jugulari a vobis, quia se non jugulandum
illi tradidisset. Sin hoc nemo vestrum ita sentit, illud jam
in judicium venit, non, occisusne sit, quod fatemur, sed
jure an injuria, quod multis in causis sepe quesitum est.
Insidias factas esse constat, et id est, quod senatus contra
rem publicam factum judicavit; ab tuo factæ sint, incertum
est. De hoc igitur latum est ut quaeretur. Ita et senatus
rem, non hominem, notavit, et Pompeius de jure, non de
facto, quaestionem tulit.

XII. Numquid igitur aliud in judicium venit, nisi, uter
utri insidias fecerit? Profecto nihil; si hic illi, ut ne sit
impune; si ille huic, tum nos scelere solvamur.

32. Quonam igitur pacto probari potest, insidias Miloni
fecisse Clodium? Satis est in illa quidem tam audaci, tam
nefaria bellua docere, magnam ei causam, magnam spem in
Milonis morte propositam, magnas utilitates fuisset. Itaque
illud Cassianum, cui bona fuit, in his personis valeat;
etsi boni nullo emolumento impelluntur in fraudem, improbi
sepe parvo. Atqui, Milone interfecto, Clodium hoc asse-
quebatur, non modo ut prætor esset non eo consule, quo
sceleris facere nihil posset, sed etiam, ut iis consulibus
prætor esset, quibus si non adjuvantiess, at conniventiess
certe, speraret, se posse eludere in illis suis cogitatis furori-
bus; cuius illi conatus, ut ipse ratiocinabatur, nec cuperent
reprimere, si possent, quam tantum beneficium ei se debebant arbitrairetur, et, si vellent, fortasse vix possent frangere hominis sceleratissimi corrodoratam jam vetustate audaciam.

33. An vero, judices, vos soli ignoratis, vos hospites in hac urbe versaminis? vestrae peregrinantur aures neque in hoc pervagato civitatis sermone versantur, quas ille leges (si leges nominandae sunt, ac non faces urbis, pestes rei publicae) fuerit impositurus nobis omnibus atque inusturus? Exhube, queso, Sexte Clodi, exhube librarium illud legum 10 vestrarum, quod te aiunt eripuisse e domo et ex mediis armis turbaque nocturna tamquam Palladium extulisse, ut praeclarum videlicet munus atque instrumentum tribunatus ad aliquem, si nactus esses, qui tuo arbitrio tribunatum gereret, deferre posses. Atque per ***. An hujus ille 15 legis, quam Sex. Clodii a se inventam gloriatur, mentionem facere ausus esset, vivo Milone, ne dicam consule? De nostrum omnium—non audeo totum dicere. Videte, quid ea vitii lex habitura fuerit, cujus periculoa etiam reprehensio est. Et adspexit me illis quidem oculis, quibus tum solebat, 

20 quum omnibus omnia minabatur. Movet me quippe lumen curiae.

XIII. Quid? tu me tibi iratum, Sexte, putas, cujus tu inimicissimum multo crudelius etiam punitus es, quam erat humanitatis meae postulare? Tu P. Clodii cruentum cadam ver ejecisti domo, tu in publicum abjecisti, tu spoliatum imaginibus, exsequiis, pompa, laudatione, infelicissimis lignis semustiliatam, nocturnis canibus dilaniandum reliquisti. Quare etsi nefarie fecisti, tamen, quoniam in meo inimico crudelitate exprompsi tuam, laudare non possum, irasci 30 certe non debeo. 34. [Demonstravi, judices, quantum Clodii inter] fuerit occidi Milonem. Convertite animos nunc vicissim ad Milonem. Quid Milonis intererat interfici Clodium? Quid erat, cur Milo, non dicam admireret, sed optaret?—Obstatbat in spe consulatus Miloni Clodium. At 35 eo repugnante fiebat; immo vero eo fiebat magis, nec me suffragatore meliore utebatur quam Clodio. Valebat apud vos, judices, Milonis erga me remque publicam meritorum memoria; valebant preces et lacrimae nostra, quibus ego tum vos mirifice moveri sentiebam; sed plus multo valebat 40 periculum impendentium timor. Quis enim erat civium, qui sibi solutam P. Clodii praeturam sine maximo rerum novarum metu proponeret? Solutam autem fore videbatis, nisi esset is consul, qui eam auderet possetque constringere. H—n Milonem unum esse quum sentiret universus populus
Romanus, quis dubitaret suffragio suo se metu, periculo rem publicam liberare? At nunc, Clodio remoto, usitatis jam rebus enitendum est Miloni, ut tueatur dignitatem suam; singularis illa et huic uni concessa gloria, quae quotie augebatur frangendis furoribus Clodianis, jam Clodii morte 5 cecidit. Vos adepti estis, ne quem civem metueritis; hic exercitacionem virtutis, suffragationem consultus, fontem perennem gloriae suae perdidit. Itaque Milonis consultus, qui, vivo Clodio, labefactari non poterat, mortuo denique tentari cespus est. Non modo igitur nihil prodest, sed 10 obest etiam Clodii mors Miloni. 35. At valuit odium, fecit iratus, fecit inimicus, fuit utlor injuriæ, punitor doloris sui. Quid? si hæc, non dico, majora fuerunt in Clodio quam in Milone, sed in illo maxima, nulla in hoc? quid vultis amplius? Quid enim odisset Clodium Milo, segetem ac ma-15 teriem suae gloriae, præter hoc civile odium, quo omnes improbos odimus? Ille, erat, ut odisset, primum salutis meæ defensorem, deinde vexatorem furoris, domitorem armorum suorum, postremo etiam accusatorem suum. Reus enim Milonis lege Plotia fuit Clodium, quoad vixit. Quo 20 tandem animo hoc tyrannum illum tulisse creditis? quantum odium illius et in homine injusto quam etiam justum fuisset?

XIV. 36. Reliquum est, ut jam illum natura ipsius consuetudoque defendat, hunc autem hæc eadem coarguat. 25 Nihil per vim unquam Clodius, omnia per vim Milo. Quid? ego, judices, quum, mærentibus vobis, urbe cessi, judiciumne timui? non servos, non arma, non vim? Quæ fuisset igitur justa causa restituiendi mei, nisi fuisset injusta ejiciendi? Diem mihi, credo, dixerat, multam irrogarat, actionem per-30 duellionis intenderat, et mihi videlicet in causa aut mala aut mea, non et præclarissima et vestra, judicium timendum fuit. Servorum et gentium civium et facinorosorum armis meos cives, meis consilii periculisque servatos, pro me objici nolui. 37. Vidi enim, vidi, hunc ipsum Q. Horten-35 sium, lumen et ornamentum rei publicæ, pæne interfici servorum manu, quum mihi adisset; qua in turba C. Vibienus, senator, vir optimus, cum hoc quum esset una, ita est mulcatus, ut vitam amiserit. Itaque quando illius postea sica illa, quam a Catilina acceperat, conquievit? Hæc in-40 tentata nobis est; huic ego vos objici pro me non sum passus; hæc insidiata Pompeio est; hæc istam Appiam, monumentum sui nominis, nece Papirii cruentavit; hæc, hæc eadem longo intervallo conversa rursus est in me;
nuper quidem, ut scitis, me ad regiam pæne confecit. 38. Quid simile Milonis? cujus vis omnis haec semper fuit, ne P. Clodius, quem in judicium detrahi non posset, vi oppressam civitatem teneret. Quem si interficere voluisset, 5 quante, quoties occasiones, quam præclare fuerunt? Potuitne, quum domum ac deos penates suos, illo oppugnante, defenderet, jure se ulisci? potuitne, civi egregio et viro fortissimo, P. Sestio, collega suo, vulnerato? potuitne, Q. Fabricio, viro optimo, quum de reductu meo legem ferret, pulso, crudelissima in foro cæde facta? potuitne, L. Cæcili, justissimi fortissimique praetoris, oppugnata domo? potuitne illo die, quum est lata lex de me? quum totius Italæ cursus, quum mea salus concitarat, facti illius gloriæ libens agnovisset, ut, etiam si id Milo fecisset, cuncta civitas eam 15 laudem pro sua vindicaret?

XV. 39. At quod erat tempus! Clarissimus et fortissimus consul, inimicus Clodio, P. Lentulus, ultor scleris illius, propugnator senatus, defensor vestrae voluntatis, patronus publici consensus, restitutor salutis meæ; septem pretores, octo tribuni plebis, illius adversarii, defensores mei; Cn. Pompeius auctor et dux mei reeditus, illius hostis, cujus sententiam senatus omnis de salute meæ gravissimam et ornatisamm secutus est, qui populum Romanum est cohortatus, qui, quum decretum de me Capua fecit, ipse 20 cunctæ Italæ cupiendæ et ejus fidem imploranti signum dedit, ut ad me restituent Romam concurrerent; omnia tum denique in illum odia civium ardebat desiderio mei; quem qui tum interemisset, non de impunitate ejus, sed de premiis cogitaretur. 40. Tamen se Milo continu 30 et P. Clodium in judicium bis, ad vim nunquam vocavit. Quid? privato Milone et reo ad populum, accusante P. Clodio, quum in Cn. Pompeium pro Milone dicentem impetus factus est, quæ tum non modo occasio, sed etiam causa illius opprimendi fuit? Nuper vero quum M. Antonius 35 summam spem salutis bonis omnibus attulisset, gravissimamque adolescens nobilissimus rei publicæ partem fortissimae suscepisset, atque illum bellumam, judicis laqueos declinantem, jam irretitam teneret, qui locus, quod tempus illud, dii immortales, fuit? Quum se ille fugiens in scalarum tenebras abdississet, magnum Miloni fuit conficere illum pestem nulla sua invidia, Antonii vero maxima gloria. 41. Quid? comitiis in campo quoties potestas fuit, quem ille in septa irrupisset, gladios destringendos, lapides jaciendos curavisset, dein subito, vultu Milonis perterritus, fugeret ad
Tiberim, vos et omnes boni vota faceretis, ut Miloni uti virtute sua liberet?

XVI. Quem igitur cum omnium gratia noluit, hunc voluit cum aliquorum querela? quem jure, quem loco, quem tempore, quem impune non est ausus, hunc injuria, iniquo loco, alieno tempore, periculo capitis non dubitavit occidere? 42. præsertim, judices, quem honoris amplissimi contentio et dies comitiorum subisset; quo quidem tempore (scio enim, quam timida sit ambitio quantaque et quam sollicita sit cupiditas consulatus), omnia non modo, quæ reprehendi palam, sed etiam quæ obscure cogitari possunt, timemus, rumorem, fabulam fictam, lemem perhorrescimus, ora omnium atque oculos intuemur. Nihil est enim tam molle, tam tenerum, tam aut fragile aut flexible quam voluntas erga nos sensusque civium, qui non modo improbitati irascuntur. candidatorum, sed etiam in recte factis sepe fastidiunt. 43. Hunc igitur diem campi speratum atque exoptatum sibi proponens Milo, cruentis manibus, sceletus et facinus præ se ferens et confitens ad illa augusta centuriarum auspicia veniebat? Quam hoc non credibile in hoc! quam idem in Clodio non dubitandum, qui se interfector Milone regnaturum putaret! Quid? quod caput est [audaciæ], judices, quis ignorat, maximam illecebram esse pecundi impunitatis spem? In utro igitur hæc fuit? in Milone, qui etiam nunc reus est facti aut præcari aut certe necessari, an in Clodio, qui ita judicia pœnamque contemperat, ut eum nihil delectaret, quod aut per naturam fasset aut per leges liceret? 44. Sed quid ego argumentor? quid p’ura disputo? Te Q. Petili, appello, optimum et fortissimum civem; te, M. Cato, testor; quos mihi divina 30 quædam sors dedit judices. Vos ex M. Favonio audistis, Clodium sibi dixisse, et audistis vivo Clodio, peritum Milonem triduo. Post diem tertium gesta res est, quam dixerat. Quum ille non dubitarit aperire, quid cogitaret, vos potestis dubitare, quid fecerit?

XVII. 45. Quemadmodum igitur eum dies non sefellit? Dixi equidem modo. Dictatoris Lanuvini stata sacrificia nosse negotii nihil erat. Vidit, necesse esse Miloni, proficisci Lanuvium illo ipso, quo est prefectus, die. Itaque antevertit. At quo die? Quo, ut ante dixi, fuit insanissima concio, ab ipsius mercenario tribuno plebis concitata; quem diem ille, quam concionem, quos clamores, nisi ad cogitatum facinus approperaret, nunquam reliquisset. Ergo illi ne causa quidem itineris, etiam causa manendi; Miloni ma-

20 XVIII. 47. Videte, judices, quantæ res his testimonii sint confectæ. Primum certe liberatur Milo, non eo consilio profectus esse, ut insidiaretur in via Cladio; quippe; si ille obvius ei futurus omnino non erat. Deinde (non enim video, cur non meum quoque agam negotium) scitis, judices, 25 fuisse, qui in hac rogatione suadenda dicerent, Milonis manu cædem esse factam, consilio vero majoris alicujus. Me videbant latronem ac sicarium abjecti homines et perditi descrebant. Jacent suis testibus [hi], qui Clodium negant eo die Romam, nisi de Cyro audisset, fuisse redivum.

30 Respiravi; liberatus sum; non vereor, ne, quod ne suspiciari quidem potuerim, videar id cogitasse. 48. Nunc persequear cetera. Nam occurrit illud: Igitur ne Clodium quidem de insidiis cogitavit, quoniam fuit in Albano mansuram. Si quidem exiturus ad cædem e villa non fuisse. Video 35 enim, illum, qui dicatur de Cyri morte nuntiassæ, non id nuntiassæ, sed Milonom appropinquare. Nam quid de Cyro nuntiaret, quem Clodium Roma proficiscens reliquerat morientem? Una fui; testamentum simul obsignavi cum Cladio; testamentum autem palam fecerat, et illum heredem 40 et me scripserat. Quem pridie hora tertia animam efflantem reliquisset, eum mortuam posstridie hora decima denique ei nuntiabatur?

XIX. 49. Age, sit ita factum; quæe causa, cur Romam properaret? cur in noctem se conjiceret? Quid afferet
causam festinationis? Quod hères erat? Primum erat nihil, cur properato opus esset; deinde, si quid esset, quid tandem erat, quod ea nocte consecui posset, amitteret autem, si postridie Romam mane venisset? Atque ut illi nocturnus ad urbem adventus vitandus potius quam expe- tendus fuit, sic Miloni, quem insidiator esset, si illum ad urbem noctu accessurum sciebat, subsidendum atque spectandum fuit. 50. Noctu, insidioso et pleno latronum in loco occidisset; nemo ei neganti non credidisset, quem esse omnes salvim etiam confitentem volunt. Sustinisset 1C hoc crimen primum ipse ille latronum occultator et receptor locus; tum neque muta solitudo indicasset, neque ceca nox ostendisset Milonem; deinde ibi multi at illo violati, spoliati, bonis expelsi, multi hæc etiam timentes in suspicio nem caderent; tota denique rea citaretur Etruria. 51. 15 Atque illo die certe Aricia rediens devertit Clodius ad se in Albanum. Quod ut sciret Milo, illum Ariciæ fusisse, suspicari tamen debutit, eum, etiamsi Romam illo die reverti vellet, ad villam suam, quæviam tangeret, deversurum. Cur neque ante occurrât, ne ille in villa resideret, nec eo in 20 loco subsedit, quo ille noctu venturus esset?

Video constare adhuc, judices, omnia: Miloni etiam utile fusisse Clodium vivere, illi ad ea quæ concupiserat, optatissimum interitum Milonis; odium fusisse illius in hunc acerbissimum, nullum hujus in illum; consuetudinem illius 25 perpetuam in vi inferenda, hujus tantum in repellenda; 52. mortem ab illo denuntiâtam Miloni et prædictam palam, nihil unquam auditum ex Milone; profectonis hujus diem illi notum, reditus illius huic ignotum fusisse; hujus iter necessarium, illius etiam potius alienum; hunc præ se tu 30 lisse, illo se die Roma exiturum, illum eo die se dissimulasse rediturum; hunc nullius rei mutasse consilium, illum causam mutandi consilii finxisse; huic, si insidiaretur, noctem prope urbem exspectandam, illi, etiamsi hunc non timeret, tamen accessum ad urbem nocturnum fusisse metuendum. 35

XX. 53. Videamus nunc id, quod caput est, locus ad insidias ille ipse, ubi congressi sunt, utri tandem fuerit aptior. Id vero, judices, etiam dubitandum et diutius cogitandum est? Ante fundum Clodii, quo in fundo propter insanæ illæ substructiones facile hominum mille versabantur 40 valentium, edito adversarii atque excelsa loco superiorem se fore putatar Milo et ob eam rem eum locum ad pugnam potissimum elegerat? an in eo loco est potius exspectatus ab eo, qui ipsius loci spe facere impetum cogitarat? Res
loquitur ipsa, judices, quæ semper valet plurimum. 54. Si
hæc non gesta audiretis, sed picta videretis, tamen appare-
ret, uter esset insidiator, uter nihil cogitaret mali, quum
alter vehetetur in rheda pœnulatus, una sederet uxor. Quid
5 horum non impeditissimum? vestitus, an vehiculum, an
comes? quid minus promptum ad pugnam, quum pœnula
irretitus, rheda impeditus, uxore pæne constrictus esset?
Videte nunc illum, primum egredientem e villa, subito;
cur? vesperi; quid necesse est? tarde; qui convenit, præ-
10 sertim id temporis? Devertit in villam Pompeii. Pompeium
ut videret? sciebat, in Alsiensi esse; villam ut perspiceret?
millies in ea fuerat; quid ergo erat? mora et tergiversatio;
dum hic veniret, locum relinquire noluit.

XXI. 55. Age, nunc iter expediti latronis cum Milonis
15 impedimentis comparae. Semper ille antea cum uxor;
tum sine ea; nunquam nisi in rheda; tum in equo; comites
Græculi, quocunque ibat, etiam quum in castra Etrusca
properabat; tum in comitatu nugarum nihil. Milo, qui
nunquam, tum casu pueros symphoniacos uxoris ducerat et
20 ancillarum greges. Ille, qui semper secum scortae, semper
exoletos, semper lupas dueret, tum neminem, nisi ut virum
a viro lectum esse diceret. Cur igitur victus est? Quia
non semper viator a latrone, nonnunquam etiam latro a
viatore occiditur; quia, quamquam paratus in imparatos
25 Clodius, tamen mulier inciderat in viros. 56. Nec vero sic
erat unquam non paratus Milo contra illum, ut non satis
fere esset paratus. Semper ille, et quantum interesser P.
Clodii, se perire, et quanto illi odio esset, et quantum ille
auderet, cogitabat. Quamobrem vitam suam, quam maxi-
30 mis præmiis propositam et pæne addictam sciebat, nunquam
in periculum sine præsidio et sine custodia projicierat.
Addes casus, addes incertos exitus pugnarum Martemque
communem, qui sepe spoliabant jam et exsultabant evertit
et perculit ab abjecto; addes insigniam pransi, poti, oscitantis
35 ducis, qui quum a tergo hostem interclusum reliquisset,
nihil de ejs extremis comitibus cogitavit, in quos incensos
ira vitamque domini desperantes quum incidisset, hæsit in
iius poenis, quas ab eo servi fideles pro domini vita expetie-
run. 57. Cur igitur eos manumisit? Metuebat solicet,
10 ne indicarent, ne dolorem perferre non possent, ne tormentis
cogerentur occisum esse a servis Milonis in Appia via P.
Clodium confiteri. Quid opus est tortore? Quid quæris?
Occideritne? Occidit. Jure an injuria? Nihil ad torto-
rem. Facti enim in equuleo quæstio est, juris in judicio.

XXIII. 61. Quod si nondum satís cernitis, quum res ipsa tot tam claris argumentis signisque luceat, pura mente atque integra Milonem, nullo scelere imbutum, nullo metu 40 perpetrimum, nulla conscientia examinatum Romam reversisse, recordamini, per deos immortales! quæ fuerit celeritas reditus ejus, qui ingressus in forum, ardente curia, quæ magnitudo animi, qui vultus, quæ oratio. Neque vero se
populo solum, sed etiam senatu consisit, neque senatu modo, sed etiam publicis presidiis et armis, neque his tantum, verum etiam ejus potestati, cui senatus totam rem publicam, omnem Italiam pubem, cuncta populi Romani arma commiserat, cui nunquam se hic profecto tradidisset, nisi causae sua confideret, preseritum omnia audienti, magna metuendi, multa suspicani, nonnulla credenti. Magna vis est conscientiae, judicis, et magna in utramque partem, ut neque timeant, qui nihil commiserint, et pœnam semper ante oculos versari putent, qui peccarent. 62. Neque vero sine ratione certa Milonis semper a senatu probata est. Videbant enim sapientissimi homines facti rationem, preseritam animi, defenseonis constantiam. An vero oblitis estis, judices, recenti illo nuntio necis Clodianæ, non modo inimicorum Milonis sermones et opiniones, sed nonnullorum etiam imperitorum? Negabant eum Romam esse reditum. 63. Sive enim illud animo irato ac percito fecisset, ut incensum odio trucidaret inimicum, arbitrabantur, eum tanti mortem P. Clodiæ putasse, ut aequo animo patria careret, quum sanguine inimici expelset odium suum, sive etiam illius morte patriam liberare voluisset, non dubitaturum fortum virum, quin, quum suo periculo salutem rei publicæ attulisset, cederet aequo animo legibus, secum auferret gloriae sempiternam, nobis hæc fruenda relinqueret, quæ ipse servasset. Multi etiam Catilinam atque illa portenta loquebantur: "Erumpet, occupabit aliquem locum, bellum patriæ faciet." Miseros interdum cives optime de re publica meritos, in quibus homines non modo res praecellarissimas obviscuntur, sed etiam nefarias suspicantur! 64. Ergo illa falsa fuerunt; quæ certe vera exstitissent, si Milo admississet aequam, quod non posset honeste vereque defendere.

XXIV. Quid? quæ postea sunt in eum congesta, quæ quemvis etiam mediocrum delictorum conscientia perculissent, ut sustinuit! dìi immortales! sustinuit? immo vero ut contemptus ac pro nihilò putavit! quæ neque maximo animo nocens, neque innocens, nisi fortissimus vir, negligere potuisset. Scotorum, gladiorum, f renorum pilorumque etiam multitudo deprehendi posse indicabatur; nullum in urbe vicum, nullum angiportum esse dicebant, in quo non fallerentur. 40 Miloni conducta esset domus; arma in villam Oriculanam devecta Tiberi; domus in clivo Capitolino scutis referta; plena omnia malleolorum ad urbis incendia comparatorum. Hæc non delata solum, sed pæne credita, nec ante repudiata sunt, quam quæsita. 65. Laudabam equidem incre-
dibilem diligentiam Cn. Pompeii; sed dicam, ut sentio, judices. Nimis multa coguntur audire, neque aliter facere possunt ii, quibus tota commissa est res publica; cui etiam fuerit audiendus popa Licinius nescio qui de circio maximo; servos Milonis apud se ebrios factos sibi confessos esse, de 5 interficiendo Pompeio conjurasse, dein postea se gladio percussum esse ab uno de illis, ne indicaret, Pompeio in hortos nuntiavit. Accessor in primis. De amicorum sententia rem defert ad senatum. Non poteram in illius mei patriaeque custodis tanta suspicione non metu examinari, 10 sed mirabar tamen, credi popae, confessionem servorum audiri, vulner in latere, quod acu punctum videretur, proictu gladiatoris probari. 66. Verum, ut intelligo, cavebat magis Pompeius, quam timebat, non ea solum, que timenda erant, sed omnia, ne vos aliquid timeretis. Oppugnata 15 domus C. Caesaris, clarissimi et fortissimi viri, per multas noctes horas nuntiabatur. Nemo audierat tam celebri loco, nemo senserat; tamen audiebatur. Non poteram Cn. Pompeium, praestantissima virtute virum, timidum suspicari; diligentiam, tota re publica suscepta, nimiam nullam puta- 20 bam. Frequentissimo senatu nuper in Capitolio senator inventus est, qui Milonem cum telo esse diceret. Nudavit se in sanctissimo templo, quoniam vita talis et civis et viri fidem non faciebat, ut, eo tacente, res ipsa loqueretur.

XXV. 67. Omnia falsa atque insidiose ficta comperta sunt; illum tamen metuitur etiam nunc Milo. Non jam hoc Clodianum crimen timemus, sed tuas, Cn. Pompeii, (te enim jam appello, et ea voce, ut me exaudire possis), tuas, tuas, inquam, suspicione perhorrescimus. Si Milonem times, si hunc de tua vita nefarie aut nunc cogitare aut 30 molitum aliquando aliquid putas, si Italiae delectus, ut nonnulli conquisitores tui dictitarunt, si haec arma, si Capitolinæ cohortes, si excubiae, si vigiliae, si electa juventus, quæ tuum corpus domumque custodit, contra Milonis impetum armata est, atque illa omnia in hunc unum instituta, parata, 35 intenta sunt, magna certe in hoc vis et incredibilis animus et non unius viri vires atque opes indicantur, si quidem in hunc unum et praestantissimus dux electus et tota res publica armata est. 68. Sed quis non intelligit, omnes ibi rei publicæ partes ægras et labantes, ut eas his armis 40 anares et confirmares, esse commissas? Quod si locus Miloni datus esset, probasset profecto tibi ipsi, neminem unquam hominem homini cariorem fuisse quam te sibi; nullo se unquam periculum pro tua dignitate fugisse;
cum illa ipsa tetrerrima peste se sæpissime pro tua gloria contendisse; tribunatum suum ad salutem mean, quæ tibi carissima fuisse, consiliis tuis gubernatum; se a te postea defensum in periculo capitis, adjutum in petitione prætura;

5 duos se habere semper amicissimos sparsse, te tuo beneficio, me suo. Quæ si non probaret, si tibi ita penitus inhaesisset ista suspicio, nullo ut evelli modo posset, si denique Italia a defectu, urbs ab armis sine Milonis clade nunquam esset conquiseta, nœ iste haud dubitans cessisset patria, is, qui ita natus est et ita consuevit; te, Magne, tamen antestaretur, quod nunc etiam facit.

XXVI. 69. Vide, quam sit varia vitae commutabilis quo ratio, quam vaga volubilisque fortuna, quantae infidelitates in amicitias, quam ad tempus aptæ simulatioes, quanta in periculis fugæ proximorum, quantae timiditates. Erit, erit illud profecto tempus et illucescet ille aliquando dies, quam tu, salutaribus, ut spero, rebus tuis, sed fortasse motu aliquo communium temporum (qui quam crebro accidat, expeti scire debemus), et amicissimi benevolentiam et gravissimi hominis fidem et uniis post homines natos fortissimi viri magnitudinem animi desideres. 70. Quamquam quis hoc credat, Cn. Pompeium, juris publici, moris majorum, rei denique publicæ peritissimum, quem senatus ei commiserit, ut videret, ne quid res publica detrimenti caperet, quo uno versicolo satis armati semper consules fuerunt, etiam nullis armis datis, hunc exercitu, hunc defectu dato, judicium exspectaturum fuisse in ejus consiliis vindicandis, qui vi judicia ipsa tolleret? Satis judicatum est a Pompeio, satis, falsa ista conferri in Milonem, qui legem tulit, qua, 71. Quod vero in illo loco atque illis publicorum præsidiorum copiis circumfusus sedet, satis declarat, se non terrem inferre vobis (quid enim minus illo dignum, quam cogere, ut vos eum condemnetis, in quem animadvertere ipse et more majorum et suo jure posset?), sed præsidio esse, ut intelligatis, contra hesternam illumccionem licere vobis, quod sentiatis, libere judicare.

XXVII. 72. Nec vero me, judices, Clodianum crimen movet, nec tam sum demens tamque vestri sensus ignarus atque expres, ut nesciam, quid de morte Clodii sentiatis. De qua, si jam nollem ita diluere crimem, ut dilui, tamen impune Miloni palam clamare ac mentiri gloriose liceret: "Occidi, occidi, non Sp. Mælium, qui annona levanda jacturisque rei familiaris, quia nimis amplecti plebem videbatur,
in suspicione incidunt regni appetendi, non Ti. Gracchum, qui colloquentes magistratum per seditionem abrogavit, quorum interfectores impleverunt orbem terrarum nominis sui gloria, sed eum (auderet enim dicere, quum patriam periculo suo liberaret), cuius nefandum adulterium in pulvinaribus sanctissimis nobilissimae feminae comprehenderunt; 73. eum, cuius supplicio senatus sollemnes religiones expliandas sæpe censuit; eum, quem cum sorore germana nefarium stuprum cessisse, L. Lucullus juratus se, quaestionibus habitis, dixit comperisse; eum, qui cive, quem senatus, quem populus Romanus, quem omnes gentes urbis ac vitae civium conservatum judicarant, servorum armis exterminavit; eum, qui regna dedit, ademit, orbem terrarum, quibuscum voluit, partitus est; eum, qui, plurimis caedis in foro factis, singulari virtute et gloria civem domum vi et armis compulit; 15 eum, cui nihil unquam nefas fuit nec in facinore nec in libidine; eum, qui ædem Nympnarum incendit, ut memoriam publicam recensionis, tabulis publicis impressam, exstingueret; 74. eum denique, cui jam nulla lex erat, nullum civile jus, nulli possessionum termini; qui non calumnia litium, non injustis vindiciis ac sacramentis alienos fundos, sed castris, exercitu, signis inferendis petebat; qui non solum Etruscos (eos enim penitus contemperat), sed hunc P. Varium, fortissimum atque optimum civem, judicem nostrum, pellere possessionibus armis castrisque conatus est; qui cum 25 architectis et decempedis villas multorum hortosque peragrabat; qui Janiculon et Alpibus spem possessionum terminabat suarum; qui, quum ab equite Romano splendido et fortii, M. P. Caesari, non impetrasset, ut sibi insulam in lacu Prilio venderet, repente lintribus in eam insulam materiem, 30 calcem, cæmenta, arma convexit, dominoque trans ripam inspectante non dubitavit sedificium exstruere in alieno; 75. qui huic T. Furfanio, cui viro? dii immortales! (quid enim ego de muliercula Scantia, quid de adolescenti P. Apinio dicam? quorum utrique mortem est minitatus, nisi sibi hortorum possessione cessissent); sed ausus est Furfanio dicere, si sibi pecuniam, quantam poposcerat, non dedisset, mortuum se in domum ejus illaturum, qua invidia huic esset tali viro confagrandum; qui Appium fratrem, hominem mihi conjunctum fidissima gratia, absentem de possessione fundi 40 dejecti; qui parietem sic per vestibulum sororis instituit dicere, sic agere fundamenta, ut sororem non modo vestibulo privaret, sed omni aditu et limine.”

XXVIII. 76. Quamquam hæc quidem jam tolerabilia
videbantur, etsi æquabiliter in rem publicam, in privatos, in longinquos, in propinquos, in alienos, in suos irruebat; sed nescio quomodo jam usu obduruerat et percalluerat civitatis incredibilis patientia. Quæ vero aderant jam et impendebant, quonam modo ea aut depellere potuissetis aut ferre? Imperium ille si nactus esset, omitto socios, exterar nationes, reges, tetrarchias; vota enim faceretis, ut in eos se potius immitteret quam in vestras possessiones, vestra tecta, vestras pecunias; pecunias dico? a liberis, medius fidius, et a conjugibus vestris nunquam illæ effrenatas suas libidines cohibuisset. Fingi hæc putatis, quæ patent, quæ nota sunt omnibus, quæ tenetur? servorum exercitus illum in urbe conscripturum fuisse, per quos totam rem publicam resque privatas omnium possideret? 77. Quamobrem, si cruentum gladium tenens clamaret T. Annius: “Adeste, queso, atque audite, cives; P. Clodium interfeci; ejus furores, quos nullis jam legibus, nullis judiciis frenare poteramus, hoc ferro et hac dextra a cervicibus vestris reppuli, per me ut unum jus, æquitas, leges, libertas, pudor, pudicitia in civitate manerent,” esset vero timendum, quonam modo id ferret civitas! Nunc enim quis est, qui non probet? qui non laudet? qui non unum post hominem memoriam T. Anniun plurimum rei publicae profuisse, maxima laetitia populum Romanum, cunctam Italiam, nationes omnes afficepsit et dicat et sentiat? Non queo, vetera illa populi Romani gaudia quanta fuerint, judicare. Multas tamen jam summorum imperatorum clarissimas victorias ætatas nostra vidit, quamur nulla neque tam diuturnam attulit laetitiam nec tantam. 78. Mandate hoc memoriae, judices. Spero multa vos liberosque vestros in re publica bona esse visuros; in iis singulis ita semper existimabitis, vivo P. Clodio nihil eorum vos visuros fuisse. In spem maximam et, quemadmodum confido, verissimam sumus adducti, hunc ipsum annum, hoc ipso summo viro consule, compressa hominum licentia, cupiditatibus fractis, legibus et judiciis constitutis, salutarem civitati fore. Num quis est igitur tam demens, qui hoc, P. Clodio vivo, contingere potuisse arbitretur? Quid? ea, quæ tenetis, privata atque vestra, dominante homine furioso, quod jus perpetuum possessionis habere potuissent?

XXIX. Non timeo, judices, ne odio meorum inimiciitarum inflammatus libertius hæc in illum evomere videar quam verius. Etenim etsi præcipuum esse debeat, tamen ita communis erat omnium ille hostis, ut in communi odio pæne

XXX. 81. Etenim, si id non negat, ex quo nihil petit, nisi ut ignoscatur, dubitaret id fateri, ex quo etiam præmia laudis essent petenda? nisi vero gratius putat esse vosbis, susi se capitis quam vestri defensorem fuisset; quum præser tim in ea confessione, si grati esse velletis, honores asse 35 queretur amplissimos; si factum vosbis non probarentur (quamquam qui poterat salus sua cuquam non probari?), sed tamen si minus fortissimi viri virtus civibus grata ceci disset, magno animo constantique cederet ex ingrata civitate. Nam quid esset ingratus, quam lætari ceteros, lugere cum solum, propter quem ceteri lætarentur? 82. Quam quam hoc animo semper omnes fuimus in patriæ proditori bus opprimendis, ut, quoniam nostra futura esset gloria, periculum quoque et invidiam nostram putaremus. Nam
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quæ mihi ipsi tribuenda laus esset, quam tantum in consulatu meo pro vobis ac liberis vestris ausus essem, si id, quem conabar, sine maximis dimicationibus meis me esse ausurum arbitraser? Quæ mulier scleratum ac perniciosem civem occidere non auderet, si periculum non timeret? Proposita invidia, morte, poena, qui nihil segnium rem publicam defendit, is vir vere putandas est. Populi grati est, præmiis afficere bene meritos de re publica cives, viri fortis, ne suppliciis quidem moveri, ut fortiter fecisse pœniteat. 83. Quamobrem uteretur eadem confessione T. Annius, qua Ahala, qua Nasius, qua Opimius, qua Marius, qua nosmet ipsi, et, si grata res publica esset, læstaretur, si ingrata, tamen in gravi fortuna conscientia sua niteretur.

Sed hujus beneficii gratiam, judices, fortuna populi Romani et vestra felicitas et dii immortales sibi deberi putant. Nec vero quisquam aliter arbitrari potest, nisi qui nullam vim esse ducit numenve divinum, quem neque imperii nostri magnitudo neque sol ille nec cess sit signorumque motus nec vicissitudines rerum atque ordines movere neque, id quod maximum est, major sapientia, qui sacra, qui caerimonias, qui auspicia et ipsi sanctissime coluerunt et nobis, suis posteris, prodiderunt.

XXXI. 84. Est, est propecto illa vis, neque in his corporibus atque in hac imbecillitate nostra inest quiddam, quod vigeat et sentiat, et non inest in hoc tanto naturæ tam præclaro motu. Nisi forte idcirco non putant, quia non appareat nec cernitur; proinde quasi nostram ipsum mentem, qua sapimus, qua providemus, qua haec ipsa agimus ac dicimus, videre aut plane, quals aut ubi sit, sentire possimus. Ea vis igitur ipsa, quæ sæpe incredibiles huic urbi felicitates atque opes attulit, illam perniciem extinxit ac sustulit, cui primum mentem iniecit, ut vi irritare ferroque lascere fortissimum virum auderet turque ab eo, quem si vicesset, habiturus esset impunitatem et licentiam sempiternam. 85. Non est humano consilio, ne mediocri quidem, judices, deorum immortalium cura res illa perfecta. Religiones mehereculce ipsae, que illam bellam cadere viderunt, commovisse se videntur et just in illo suum retinuisse. Vos enim jam, Albani tumuli atque luci, vos inquam, imploro atque testor, vosque Albanorum obrute aræ, sacrorum populi Romani sacris et æqualibus, quas illa, præceps amentia, cæsis prostratisque sanctissimis lucis, substractionum insanis molibus oppresserat; vestra tum, [aræ,] vestrae religiones viguerunt, vestra vis valuit, quam
omni scelere polluerat, tuque ex tuo edito monte, Latia-
ris sancte Juppiter, cujus illae lacus, nemca finesque sape
omni nefario stupro et scelere macularat, aliquando ad eum
puniendum oculos aperuisti; vobis illes, vobis vestro in
constpectu serae, sed justae tamen et debite pene solute
sunt. 86. Nisi forte hoc etiam casu factum esse dicemus,
ut ante ipsum sacrarium Bonae Deae, quod est in fundo T.
Sestii Galli, in primis honesti et ornati adolescentis, ante
ipsam, inquam, Bonam Deam, quorum proelium commisisset,
primum illud vulnus acciperet, quo teterrimam mortem 10
obiret, ut non absolutus judicio illo nefario videretur, sed
ad hanc insignem peneam reservatus.

XXXII. Nec vero non eadem ira deorum hanc ejus sa-
tellitibus injecit amiantum, ut sine imaginibus, sine can-
tu atque ludis, sine exequis, sine lamentis, sine laudationibus, 15
sine funere, obitus cruore et luto, spoliatus illius suprremi
diei celebritate, cui cedere etiam inimici solent, ambureretur
abjectus. Non fuisse credo fas, clarissimarum virorum
formas illi teterrimo parricide aliquid decoris afferre, neque
ullo in loco potius mortem ejus lacerari, quam in quo esset 20
vita damnata.

87. Dura, medius fides, mihi jam fortuna populi Romani
et crudelis videbatur, quae tot annos illum in hanc rem
publicam insulsare pateretur. Polluerat stupro sanctissimas
religiones, senatus gravissima decreta perfrigerat, pecunia 25
se a judicibus palam redemerat, vexarat in tribunatu sena-
tum, omnium ordinum consensu pro salute rei publicae
gesta resciderat, me patria expulerat, bona diripuerat, do-
num incenderat, liberos, conjugem meam vexarat, Cn.
Pompeio nefarium bellum indexerat, magistratum privato-
rumque caeses efficcerat, domum mei fratris incenderat,
vastarat Etruriam, multis sedibus ac fortunis ejecerat;
instabat, urgebat; capere ejus amentiam civitas, Italia,
provinciae, regna non poterant; incidebantur jam domi
leges, quae nos servis nostris addicerent; nihil erat cujus-
35 quam, quod quidem ille adamasset, quod non hoc anno
suum fore putaret. 88. Obstabat ejus cogitationibus nemo
prae ter Milonem. Illum ipsum, qui poterat obstare, novo
reditu in gratiam quasi devinctum arbitrabatur; Cæsaris
potentiam suam esse dicebat; honorum animos in meo casu 40
contemperat; Milo unus urgebat.

XXXIII. Hic dii immortales, ut supra dixi, mentem illi
perdito ac furioso dederunt, ut huic faceret insidias. Aliter
perire pestis illa non potuit; nunquam illum res publica

XXXIV. 92. Sed jam satis multa de causa; extra causa- sam etiam nimirum fortasse multa. Quid restat, nisi ut orem 40 obtesterque vos, judices, ut eam misericordiam tribuatis fortissimo viro, quam ipse non implorat, ego, etiam repu- gnante hoc, et imploro et expresco? Nolite, si in nostro omnium fletu nullam lacrimam adspexisist Milonis, si vul- tum semper eundem, si vocem, si orationem stabilem a
non mutatam videtis, hoc minus ei parcer. Haud scio, an multo etiam sit adjuvandus magis. Etenim si in gladiatoriis pugnis et in infimi generis hominum conditione atque fortuna timidos atque supplices et, ut vivere liceat, obsecrantes etiam odisse solemus, fortes et animosos et se acriter ipsos morti offerentes servare cupimus, eorumque nos magis miseret, qui nostram misericordiam non requirunt, quam qui illam efflagitant, quanto hoc magis in fortissimis civibus facere debemus? 93. Me quidem, judices, examinant et interimunt haec voces Milonis, quas audio assidue et quibus 10 intersum quotidie. "Valeant, inquit, valeant cives mei; sint incolumes, sint florentes, sint beati; stet haec urbs praecala mihiique patria carissima, quoquo modo erit merita de me; tranquilla re publica mei cives (quoniam mihi cum illis non licet) sine me ipsi, sed per me tamen, perfruantur; 15 ego cedam atque abibo; si mihi bona re publica frui non licuerit, at carebo mala, et quam primam tetigero bene moratam et liberam civitatem, in ea conquiescam. 94. O frustra, inquit, mei suscepti labores! o spes fallaces! o cogitationes inanes meae! Ego, quum tribunus plebis, re 20 publica oppressa, me senatui dedissem, quem extinctum accepseram, equitibus Romanis, quorum vires erant debiles, bonis viris, qui omnem auctoritatem Clodianis armis abjecerant, mihi unquam bonorum presidium defuturum putarem? ego, quum te (meicum enim saepissime loquitur) 25 patriae reddidissem, mihi putarem in patria non futurum locum? Ubi nunc senatus est, quem securi sumus? ubi equites Romanii illi, illi, inquit, tu? ubi studia municipiorum? ubi Italie voces? ubi denique tua illicit, M. Tullii, quae plurimis fuit auxilio, vox atque defensio? mhine ea soli, 30 qui pro te toties morti me obtuli, nihil potest opitulari?" 35

XXXV. 95. Nec vero haec, judices, ut ego nunc, flens, sed hoc eodem loquitur vultu, quo videtis. Negat enim se, negat, ingratias civibus fecisse, quae fecerit; timidis et omnibus periculis circumspicientibus, non negat. Plebem et infimam 35 multitudinem, quae P. Clodio duce fortunis vestris imminebat, eam, quo tutior esset vestra vita, se fecisse commemorat, ut non modo virtute flecteret, sed etiam tribus suis patri moniis deleniret; nec timet, ne, quem plebem muneribus placarit, vos non conciliarit meritis in rem publicam singularibus. Senatus erga se benevolentiam temporibus his ipsis saepse esse perspectam, vestras vero et vestrorum ordi num occurrentiones, studia, sermones, quemcumque cursum fortuna dederit, secum se ablaturum esse dicit. 96. Me-
minit etiam, vocem sibi praeconis modo defuisse, quam minime desiderarit, populi vero cunctis suffragis, quod unum cupierit, se consulem declaratum; nunc denique, si haec contra se sint futura, sibi facinoris suspicionem, non 5 facti crimen obtare. Addit haec, quae certe vera sunt, fortes et sapientes viros non tam præmia sequi solere recte factorum quam ipsa recte facta; se nihil in vita nisi præclarissime fecisse, si quidem nihil sit præstabilitus viro, quam periculis patriam liberare; beatos esse, quibus ea res 10 honorì fuerit a suis civibus, 97. nec tamen eos miseros, qui beneficio cives suos vicerint; sed tamen ex omnibus præmiis virtutis, si esset habenda ratio præmiorum, amplissimum esse præmium gloriam; esse hanc unam, quæ brevitatem vitæ posteritatis memoria consolaretur, quæ efficie- 15 ret, ut absentes adessemus, mortui viveremus; hanc denique esse, cujus gradibus etiam in celum homines viderentur ascendere. 98. “De me, inquit, semper populus Romanus. semper omnes gentes loquentur, nulla unquam obmutesceret vetustas. Quin hoc tempore ipsò, quum omnes a meis 20 inimicis faces invisibîe meæ subjiciuntur, tamen omni in hominum cœtu gratiis agendis et gratulationibus habendis et omni sermone celebramur. Omitto Etruriae festos et actos et institutos dies; centesima lux est haec ab interitu P. Clodii et, opinor, altera; qua fines imperii populi Ro- 25 mani sunt, ea non solum famæ jam de illo, sed etiam lætitia peragravit. Quamobrem, ubi corpus hoc sit, non, inquit, laboro, quoniam omnibus in terris et jam versatur et semper habitabit nominis mei gloria.”

XXXVI. 99. Hæc tu mecum sæpe, his absentibus;
30 sed iisdem audientibus hæc ego tecum, Milo: te quidem, quum isto animo es, satis laudare non possum; sed, quo est ista magis divina virtus, eo majore a te dolore divellor. Nec vero, si mihi eriperis, reliqua est illa tamen ad conso- landum querela, ut his irasci possim, a quibus tantum 35 vulnus accepero. Non enim inimici mei te mihi eripient, sed amicissimi, non male aliquando de me meriti, sed sem- per optime. Nullum mihi unquam, judices, tantum dolorem inuretis (etsi quis potest esse tantus?), sed ne hunc quidem ipsum, ut obliviscar, quanti me semper feceritis. Quæ si 40 vos cepit oblivio, aut si in me alicui djudensis, cur non id meo capite potius luitur quam Milonis? Praeclare enim vixerò, si quid mihi acciderit prius, quam hoc tantum mali videro. 100. Nunc me una consolatio sustentat, quod tibi, T. Anni, nullum a me amoris, nullum studii, nullum pietatis
officium defuit. Ego inimicitias potentium pro te appetivi, ego meum sepe corpus et vitam objeci armis inimicorum tuorum, ego me plurimus pro te supplicem abjeci, bona, fortunas meas ac liberorum meorum in communionem tuorum temporum contuli; hoc denique ipso die, si qua vis est parata, si qua dimicatio capitis futura, deposco. Quid jam restat? quid habeo, quod faciam pro tuis in me meritis, nisi ut eam fortunam, quæcunque erit tua, ducam meam? Non abnuo, non recuso, vosque obscro, judices, ut vestra beneficia, quæ in me contulístis, aut in hujus salute augeat, aut in ejusdem exitio occasura esse videatis.

XXXVII. 101. His lacrimis non movetur Milo. Est quodam incredibili robore animi; exsilium ibi esse putat, ubi virtuti non sit locus; mortem naturæ finem esse, non poenam. Sed hic ea mente, qua natus est; quid vos, iudices? quod tandem animo eritis? Memoriam Milonis retinebitis, ipsum ejicietis? et erit dignior locus ullus in terris, qui hanc virtutem exciptat, quam hic, qui procreavit? Vos vos apello, fortissimi viri, qui multum pro re publica sanguinem effusistis; vos in viri et in civis invicti periculo 20 apello, centuriones, vosque, milites; vobis non modo inspectantibus, sed etiam armatis et huic judicio præsidentibus, haec tanta virtus ex hac urbe expelletur, exterminabitur, projicetur? 102. O me miserum, o me infelicem! Revocare tu me in patriam, Milo, potuisti per hos, ego te in 25 patria per eosdem retinere non potero? Quid respondebo liberis meis, qui te parentem alterum putant? quid tibi, Quinte frater, qui nunc abes, consorti mecum temporum illorum? mene non potuisset Milonis salutem tueri per eodem, per quos nostram ille servasset? At in qua causa 30 non potuisset? quæ est grata gentibus non potuisset? iiis, qui maxime P. Clodii morte acquirunt; quod deprecante? me. 103. Quodnam ego concepi tantum scelus, aut quod in me tantum facinus admisi, judices, quam illa indicia communis exitii indagavi, patefeci, protuli, existinxī? 35 Omnes in me meosque redundant ex fonte illo dolores. Quid me reducem esse voluistis? an ut, inspectante me, expellerentur ii, per quos esset restitutus? Nolite, obscro vos, acerbiorem mihi pati reditum esse, quam fuerit ille ipse discessus. Nam qui possum putare me restitutum esse, si 4C distrahar ab iis, per quos restitutus sum?

XXXVIII. Utinam dii immortales fecissent (pace tua, patria, dixerim; metuo enim, ne scelerate dicam in te, quod pro Milone dicam pie), utinam P. Clodius non modo vive-
NOTES.
NOTES.

THE FOUR ORATIONS AGAINST CATILINE

GENERAL INTRODUCTION.

CATILINA, L. SERGIUS, the descendant of an ancient patrician family which had sunk into poverty, first appears in history as a zealous partisan of Sulla. During the horrors of the great proscription, among many other victims, he killed, with his own hand, his brother-in-law, Q. Cecilius, described as a quiet, inoffensive man, and having seized and tortured the well-known and popular M. Marius Gratidianus, the kinsman and fellow-townsmen of Cicero, cut off his head, and bore it in triumph through the city. Plutarch accuses him in two places (Sull. 32, Cic. 10) of having murdered his own brother at the same period, under circumstances of peculiar atrocity, but there is probably some confusion here between the brother and the brother-in-law; for Sallust, when enumerating the crimes of Catiline, would scarcely have failed to add such a monstrous deed as this to the black catalogue. Although his youth was spent in the most reckless extravagance, and in the open indulgence of every vice; although he was known to have been guilty of various acts of the foulest and most revolting debauchery; although he had incurred the suspicion of an intrigue with the vestal Fabia, sister of Terentia; and although it was said and believed that he had made away with his first wife and afterwards with his son, in order that he might wed the fair and rich but worthless Aurelia Orestilla, who objected to the presence of a grown-up step-child, yet this complicated infamy appears to have formed no bar to his regular political advancement,—for he attained to the dignity of praetor in A.C. 68, was governor of Africa during the following year, and returned to Rome in 66, in order to press his suit for the consulship. The election for 65 was carried by P. Autronius Postus and P. Cornelius Sulla, both of whom were soon after convicted of bribery, and their places supplied by their competitors and accusers, L. Aurelius Cotta and L. Manlius Torquatus; Catiline, who was desirous of becoming a candidate, having been disqualified in consequence of an impeachment for oppression in his province, preferred by P. Clodius Pulcher, afterwards so celebrated as the implacable enemy of Cicero. Exasperated by their disappointment, Autronius and Catiline forthwith formed a project along with a certain Cn. Calpurnius Piso, a young man of high family, but turbulent, needy, and profligate, to murder the new consuls upon the first of January, when offering up their vows in the Capitol, after which Autronius and Catiline were to seize the fasces, and Piso was to be dispatched with an army to occupy the Spains. Some rumors of what was in contemplation having been spread abroad, such precautions were taken that the conspirators were induced to delay the execution of their plan until the 5th of February, resolving at the same time to include many of the leading men of the state in the proposed massacre. This extraordinary design is said to have been frustrated solely by the impatience of Catiline, who, upon the appointed day, gave the signal prematurely, before the whole of the armed agents had assembled.

* This account of the career of Catiline is the article under that head in the "Dictory of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology."
and thus confounded the preconcerted combinations. The danger being past, certain resolutions were proposed in the senate with regard to the authors of this abortive attempt; but the proceedings were quashed by the intercession of a tribune. The plot was, however, a matter of common discussion, and no one seems to have entertained any doubt of its reality, while many did not scruple to assert that M. Crassus and Julius Cæsar, who was then edile, were deeply involved. (Q. Cic. de pet. Cons. 2, &c.; Asconius in Tog. cand. and in Cornel.; Sall. Catil. 15-18; Liv. Epit. 101; Dion Cass. xxxvi 27; Sueton. Jul. 9; Cic. pro Sulla, 1-24, pro Murena, 38, pro Catil. 4, in Catil. i. 6.)

Encouraged rather than disheartened by a failure which had so nearly proved a triumph, and which had so distinctly demonstrated the practicability of such a project, if conducted with common prudence and caution, Catiline was soon after (B. C. 65) left completely unfettered, by his acquittal upon trial for extortion, a result secured, it was alleged, by the liberal bribes administered to the accuser as well as to the jury. From this time he seemd to have determined to proceed more systematically; to enlist a more numerous body of supporters; to extend the sphere of operations, and to organize a more comprehensive and sweeping scheme of destruction. Accordingly, about the beginning of June, B. C. 64, probably soon after the successful termination of his second trial, when called to account for the blood which he had shed during the prosecution of Sulla (Dion Cass. xxxvii. 10), he began, while canvassing vigorously for the consulsiph, to sound the dispositions of various persons, by pointing out the probable success of a great revolutionary movement, and the bright prospect of power and profit opened up to its promoters. After having thus ascertained the temper of different individuals, he called together those who from their necessities, their characters, and their sentiments, were likely to be most eager and most resolute in the undertaking. The meeting, according to Sallust, was attended by eleven senators, by four members of the equestrian order, and by several men of rank and influence from the provincial towns. The most conspicuous were P. Cornelius Lentulus Sura, who had been consul in B. C. 71, but having been passed over by the censors had lost his seat in the senate, which he was now seeking to recover by standing a second time for the praetorship (Dion Cass. xxxvii. 30); C. Cornelius Cethegus, distinguished throughout by his impatience, headstrong impetuosity, and sanguinary violence (Sall. Cat. 43; Cic. pro Sull. 19); P. Antonius, spoken of above; L. Cassius Longinus, at this time a competitor for the consulship, dull and heavy, but bloodthirsty withal (Cic. in Cat. iii. 4-6; pro Sulla, 13); L. Vargunteius, who had been one of the colleagues of Cicero in the quæstorship, and had subsequently been condemned for bribery (pro Sull. 5, 6, 18); L. Calpurnius Bestia, tribune elect; Publius and Servius Sulla, nephews of the dictator; M. Porcius Læca (Cic. in Cat. i. 4, ii. 6, pro Sull. 2, 18); Q. Annius; Q. Curius; M. Fulvius Nobilior; L. Statilius; P. Gabinius Capito; C. Cornelius. In addition to these, a great body of the younger nobility were known to be favorably inclined, although they had not openly committed themselves; and now, as on the former occasion, rumor included Crassus and Cæsar, although the report does not appear to have gained general belief.

At this assembly, Catiline, after expatiating upon a number of topics calculated to rouse the indignation and stimulate the cupidity of his audience, proceeded to develop his objects and resources. He proposed that all debts should be cancelled, that the most wealthy citizens should be proscribed, and that all offices of honor and emolument should be divided among the associates, while for support he counted upon Piso in Iberia Spain, P. Sittius Nicerinus with the army in Mauritanie, and at home confidently anticipated the co-operation of C. Antonius, whom he expected to be chosen consul along
with himself for the following year, having formed a coalition with him for
the purpose of excluding Cicero. The votes of the people, however, in some
measure deranged these calculations. Cicero and C. Antonius were returned,
the former nearly unanimously, the latter by a small majority over Catiline.
This disappointment, while it increased if possible the bitterness of his animosity
towards the dominant party among the aristocracy and the independent portion
of the middle ranks, rendered him more vigorous in the prosecution of
his designs. Large sums of money were raised upon his own security, or on
the credit of his friends; magazines of arms and other warlike stores were
secretly formed; troops were levied in various parts of Italy, especially in the
neighborhood of Fessulae, under the superintendence of C. Manlius, an experi-
enced commander, one of the veteran centurions of Sulla (Dion Cass.
xxvii. 39), and numerous adherents were enrolled from the most desperate
classes, including not a few women of ruined reputation; attempts also were
made in various quarters to gain over the slaves, and it was determined, when
the critical moment should arrive for an open demonstration, to set fire to
the city in many different places at the same instant, and to slaughter the
well-disposed portion of the population in the tumult. Meanwhile, in the
midst of these extensive preparations, Catiline again (63) stood candidate for the
consulship, and used every effort to get rid of Cicero, who met him at
every turn and thwarted all his best-contrived machinations. Nor was this
wonderful, for he was counteracted from a quarter whence he apprehended
no danger. One of the most high-born, abandoned, but, at the same time,
weak and vacillating, among the conspirators, was a certain Q. Curius, who
had been expelled from the senate by the censors on account of the infamy of
his life. This man had long consorted with a noble mistress named Fulvia,
who appears to have acquired complete control over his mind, and to have
been made the depositary of all his secrets. Fulvia, alarmed by the intelligence
obtained from her lover, divulged what she had learned to several of her
acquaintances, and, through them, opened a correspondence with Cicero, to
whom she regularly communicated all the particulars she could collect, and
at length persuaded Curius himself to turn traitor and betray his comrades.
Thus the consul was at once put in possession of every circumstance as soon
as it occurred, and was enabled to keep vigilant watch over the conduct of
every individual from whom danger was to be apprehended. By imparting to
a certain extent his fears and suspicions to the senators and moneymen, he
excited a general feeling of distrust and suspicion towards Catiline, and bound
him firmly together, by the tie of common interest, all who having property to lose
looked forward with dread to confusion and anarchy; Antonius, whose good
faith was more than doubtful, he gained over by at once resigning to him the
province of Macedonia, while he protected his own person by a numerous
body of friends and dependents who surrounded him whenever he appeared
in public. These preliminary measures being completed, he now ventured to
speak more openly; prevailed upon the senate to defer the consular elections
in order that the state of public affairs might be fully investigated; and at
length, on the 21st of October, openly denounced Catiline, charged him
broadly with treason, predicted that in six days from that time Manlius would
take the field in open war, and that the 28th was the period fixed for the mur-
der of the leading men in the commonwealth. Such was the consternation
produced by these disclosures, that many of those who considered themselves
peculiarly obnoxious instantly fled from Rome, and the senate being now
thoroughly roused, passed the decretum ultimum, in virtue of which the consuls
were invested for the time being with absolute power, both civil and
military. Thus supported, Cicero took such precautions that the Comitia
passed off without any outbreak or even attempt at violence, although an at-
tack upon the magistrates had been meditated. Catiline was again rejected; was forthwith impeached of sedition, under the Plautian law, by L. Emilius Paulus; was forced to abandon the expectation he had entertained of surprising the strong fortress of Praeneste, which would have formed an admirable base for his warlike operations; and found himself every hour more and more closely confined and pressed by the net in which he was entangled through the activity of Cicero. Driven to despair by this accumulation of disappointments and dangers, he resolved at once to bring matters to a crisis, and no longer to waste time by persevering in a course of policy in which he had been so repeatedly foiled. Accordingly, while he still endeavored to keep up appearances by loud protestations of innocence, and by offering to place himself under the control and surveillance of M. Lepidus; of Q. Metellus, the pretor; or of M. Marcellus, in whose house he actually took up his abode; or even of Cicero himself; on the night of the 6th of November he met the ring-leaders at the dwelling of M. Porcius Læca, and after complaining of their backwardness and inactivity, informed them that he had dispatched Manlius to Etruria, Septimius of Camerinum, to Picenum, C. Julius to Apulia, and others of less note to different parts of Italy to raise open war, and to organize a general revolt of the slave population. He added that he was desirous to place himself at the head of his troops, but that it was absolutely necessary in the first place to remove Cicero, whose vigilance was most injurious to their cause. Upon this L. Vargunteius, a senator, and C. Cornelius, a knight, undertook to repair at an early hour the following morning to the house of the consul, to make their way into his chamber as if for the purpose of paying their respects, and then to stab him on the spot. The whole of these proceedings were instantly reported to their intended victim; the assassins, when they presented themselves, were refused admission, and certain intelligence having been now received that the rebellion had actually broken out, on the 27th of October, in Etruria, Cicero, on the 6th of November, went down to the senate, which, for greater security, had been summoned to meet in the temple of Jupiter Stator, and there delivered his celebrated oration, "Quousque tandem abutere, Catilina, patientia nostra?" which paralyzed the traitor, not so much by the vehemence of the invective, as by the intimate acquaintance which it displayed with all his most hidden contrivances. Catiline, who upon his entrance had been avoided by all, and was sitting alone upon a bench from which every one had shrank, rose to reply with downcast countenance, and in humble accents implored the fathers not to listen to the malignant calumnies of an upstart foreigner against the noblest blood in Rome; but scarcely had he commenced when his words were drowned by the shouts of "enemy" and "parricide" which burst from the whole assembly, and he rushed forth with threats and curses on his lips. On his return home, perceiving that there was now no hope of destroying his hated foe, and that the strict watch kept throughout the city rendered tumult and fire-raising difficult if not impossible for the present, he resolved to strike some decisive blow before troops could be levied to oppose him, and accordingly leaving the chief control of affairs at Rome in the hands of Lentulus and Cathegus, with the promise at the same time to march with all speed to their support at the head of a powerful army, set forth in the dead of night (8th-9th November), and after remaining for a few days with his adherents in the neighborhood of Arretium, where he assumed the fasces and other ensigns of lawful military command, proceeded to the camp of Manlius, having previously addressed letters to the most distinguished consuls and others, solemnly protesting his innocence, and declaring that, unable to resist the cabal formed among his enemies, he had determined to retire to Marseilles, that he might preserve his country from agitation and disturbance.
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On the 9th, when the flight of Catiline was known, Cicero delivered his second speech, which was addressed to the people in the forum. The senate proceeded to declare Catiline and Manlius public enemies, dispatched officers of high standing to Etruria, Picenum, Campania, Apulia, and the different districts from which danger was apprehended, directed the consuls to hold a levy with all speed, decreed that Antonius should go forth to the war, and that Cicero should remain to guard the city; offering at the same time an amnesty to all who should quit the rebels, and free pardon and great rewards to any who should give such information as might lead to the discovery and conviction of the conspirators within the walls. It is a remarkable fact, and one which indicates most strongly the disaffection of the lower classes to the existing order of things, that not one man could be found to take advantage of this proclamation, and that not a single soldier deserted from the rebel standard. This circumstance threatened to prove a source of most serious embarrassment. Although the existence of the conspiracy and the names of the leading conspirators were known, not only to the magistrates but to the public at large, yet there was no legal evidence against any individual; for Curius, while he faithfully supplied secret intelligence, could not come forward openly without blasting himself forever, and at the same time depriving the government of its most powerful auxiliary. But such steadiness of purpose did not extend to certain foreigners belonging to a race proverbial in ancient times for the lightness of their faith. There was at Rome at this period a party of Allobroges, deputies dispatched by their nation to seek relief from certain real or alleged grievances. Their suit, however, had not prospered, and their complaints of the rudeness of the magistrates and of the indifference of the senate were open and loud. Lentulus, conceiving that their discontent might be made available for his own purposes, opened a negotiation through the medium of P. Umbrenius, a freedman who, in the course of mercantile transactions, had become acquainted with most of the Gaulish chiefs, and who now assuming a tone of warm sympathy with their wrongs, undertook to point out an easy method by which they might obtain ample redress. Finding that these mysterious hints were greedily caught up, he gradually disclosed the nature of the plot, and invited them to co-operate by stimulating their countrymen to insurrection. The men for a long while hesitated, but prudence prevailed. After calculating and balancing the chances, they resolved to secure a certain and immediate recompense, rather than to speculate upon doubtful and distant advantages. Accordingly, they revealed all to Q. Fabius Sanga, the patron of their state, who in his turn acquainted Cicero, and by the instructions of the latter enjoined the ambassadors to affect great zeal in the undertaking, and if possible to gain possession of some tangible documentary proof. The Gauls played well the part assigned to them. A written agreement, signed by Lentulus, Cethegus, and Statilius, was placed in their hands, and they quitted Rome soon after midnight on the 3d of December, accompanied by T. Volturcius, of Crotona, who was charged with dispatches for Catiline, it being arranged that the Allobroges were to visit his camp on their way homewards for the double purpose of receiving his orders and obtaining a ratification of the pledges given by his agents. The whole cavalcade was surrounded and seized as it was crossing the Milvian bridge, by two of the pretors who had been stationed in ambush to intercept them. The Gauls quietly surrendered; Volturcius, after having vainly endeavored to resist, was overpowered and forced to yield.

Cicero, when informed of the complete success of his plan, instantly summoned Lentulus, Cethegus, Statilius, and Gabinius to his presence. Lentulus being pretor, the consuls led him by the hand to the fane of Concord, where the senate was already met; the rest of the accused followed closely guarded. The pretor Flaccus was also in attendance, bearing the portfolio with the
...papers still sealed. Catilina finding escape impossible, agreed, upon his own personal safety being secured, to make a full confession. His statements were confirmed by the Ambassadors, and the chain of testimony was rendered complete and conclusive by the signature in the handwriting of the ringleader, which they were unable to deny. The guilt of Lentulus, Catulus, and several others being thus established beyond a doubt, Lentulus was forced to abdicate his office, and then along with the rest was consigned to the charge of certain residents of high station who became responsible for their appearance.

These circumstances as they had occurred having been fully detailed by Cicero to his third audience, delivered in the Forum, a strong reaction took place among the populace, who all now joined in prosecuting Catiline and demanding vengeance, from the well-founded convictions, that although they could not derive profit from riot or even from civil war, yet the general conscription, which had always formed a leading feature in the schemes of the conspirators, must have brought ruin upon the humblest mechanics as well as upon the wealthiest of the aristocracy. On the other hand, a vigorous effort was made by the clients of Lentulus to excite the dregs of the multitude to arrest his escape. The danger appearing imminent, the senate was called together on the nine (3rd) of December, the day so frequently referred to by Cicero as after times with triumphant pride, and the question was put, What was their pleasure with regard to those who were now in custody? After an animated debate, of which the leading arguments are strongly and pointedly expressed in the two celebrated orations assigned by Sallust to Scaurus and to Cato, a decree was passed, that the last punishment should be inflicted according to ancient usage upon the convicted traitors. Therupon the consul led away Lentulus to the subterranean prison on the slope of the Capitol, and the others were conducted thither by the praetors. On the self-same night, the high-born patrician Lentulus, a member of the noble Cornelius gens, was strangled in that loathsome dungeon by the common executioner, and the rest of his associates shared his fate.

While these things were going on at Rome, Catiline had gradually collected a force amounting to two legions, although not above one-fourth part of the whole, or about 5,000 men, were fully equipped, the rest being armed with pikes, clubs, and other rude weapons which chance presented. On the approach of Antonius, Catiline, fearing to encounter regular troops with this motley crowd, threw himself into the mountains, and, by constantly shifting his ground and moving rapidly in different directions, contrived to avoid a collision, while at the same time he exercised and disciplined his followers, whose numbers daily increased, although he now refused to enrol slaves, multitudes of whom flocked to his banner, deeming that it might prove injurious to his prospects were he to identify their interests with what he termed the cause of Roman freedom. But when the news arrived of the disclosures that had taken place in the city, of the complete suppression of the plot, and of the execution of the leading conspirators, many who had joined his standard, from the love of excitement and the hope of plunder, gradually slackened. Those who remained firm he led into the territory of Pistoria, with the design of crossing the Apennines and taking refuge in Gaul. But this movement was anticipated by the vigilance of Metellus Celer, who guarded Pisaenum with three legions, and had marched straight to the foot of the hills that he might intercept the insurgents on their descent.

Catiline, therefore, at the beginning of the year 62, finding that escape was cut off in front, while Antonius was pressing on his rear, turned fiercely on his pursuers and determined as a last resource to hazard an engagement, trusting that, if successful, all Etruria would be thrown open for the maintenance of
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his soldiers, and that he would be able to keep his ground in the disaffected districts until some diversion in his favor should be made in the metropolis. The battle, in which the legions of the republic were commanded by M. Petreius, in consequence of the real or pretended illness of the proconsul Antonius, was obstinate and bloody. The rebels fought with the fury of despair, and long kept at bay the veterans by whom they were assailed. Catiline, in his last field, nobly discharged the duties of a skilful general and a gallant soldier; his eye and his hand were everywhere; he brought up columns to support those who were most hotly pressed; withdrew the wounded and the weary, and supplied their place with the sound and fresh; flew from rank to rank encouraging the combatants, and strove by repeated feats of daring valor to turn the fortune of the day. But, at length, perceiving that all was lost, he charged headlong where the foes were thickest, and fell sword in hand fighting with resolute courage, worthy of a better cause and a better man. His body was found, after the struggle was over, far in advance of his own ranks in the midst of a heap of his enemies; he was yet breathing, and his features in the agonies of death still wore their habitual expression of reckless daring. His adherents, to the number of 3000, imitated the example of their leader. Each perished at his post, and not one freeborn citizen was taken alive either in the fight or in the pursuit. The victory cost the consular army dear, for all the bravest were slain or grievously wounded.

Although we possess only a one-sided history of this famous conspiracy; although much that has been recorded seems so marvellous and incredible, that many have regarded the whole narrative as little better than a fabric of misrepresentation and falsehood, built up by violent political animosity, and resting on a very slender basis of truth; although it cannot be denied that some of the particulars, set down by Dion Cassius (xxvi. 30) and alluded to by others (e. g. Sall. Cat. 32), of the revolting rites by which the compact between the associates was ratified, are evidently vulgar exaggerations; although little reliance can be placed on the self-panegeics of Cicero, who would studiously seek to magnify the danger in order to enhance the merits of his own exertions; yet, upon a careful and dispassionate investigation, we shall discover no reasonable ground for entertaining any doubts with regard to the general accuracy of the facts as presented to us by Sallust, whose account is throughout clear and consistent, and is corroborated in all the most important details by the information transmitted from other sources. Nor, upon a close examination into the circumstances of the individuals concerned, of the times, and of the state of public feeling and public morals, shall we have much difficulty in forming a distinct idea of the character of Catiline himself, of the motives by which he was stimulated, and of the calculations by which he was encouraged to anticipate success.

Trained in the wars of Sulla, he was made familiar from his earliest youth with civil strife, acquired an indifference to human suffering, and imbibed an utter contempt for the constitutional forms and government of his country, which had been so freely neglected or violated by his patron. The wealth quickly acquired was recklessly squandered in the indulgence of coarse sensuality; and, although his shattered fortunes may have been to a certain extent repaired by a wealthy marriage, and by the plunder of a province, yet the relief was but temporary; his pleasures were too costly; a considerable portion of his ill-gotten gains would be expended in bribing the different juries who pronounced his innocence, and his necessities soon became pressing. The remorse too produced by his frightful vices and crimes—remorse which was betrayed by the haggard cheek, the bloodshot eye, the wild glance, and the unsteady step, so graphically depicted by the historian—must have given rise to a frame of mind which would eagerly desire to escape from reflection and
seek relief in fierce excitement. On the other hand, the consciousness of those great mental and physical powers, from which even his most bitter enemies could not withhold a tribute of admiration, combined with the extensive popularity which he had acquired among the young by his agreeable address, varied accomplishments, and unwearied zeal in ministering to their pleasures, must have tended to augment his natural self-confidence, to foster his pride, and to stimulate his ambition. How soon the idea of destroying the liberties of his country may have entered his thoughts it is impossible to discover, but we can readily believe that the career of Sulla was ever present to his imagination, that his grand aim was to become what the dictator had been, and that, provided this end was accomplished, he felt little scrupulous about the means employed. And, in truth, when he looked abroad, the moment seemed most propitious for the advancement of a man of daring and powerful intellect uncontrolled by principle. The leading statesmen were divided into factions which eyed each other with the bitter jealousy engendered during the convulsions in which they had played an active part some twenty years before. The younger nobility, as a class, were thoroughly demoralized, for the most part bankrupts in fortune as well as in fame, eager for any change which might relieve them from their embarrassments, while it held out the promise of unrestrained license. The rabble were restless and discontented, filled with envy and hatred against the rich and powerful, ever ready to follow at the bidding of any seditious demagogue. Thus, at home, the dominant party in the senate, and the equites or capitalists alone felt a deep interest in the stability of the government. Moreover, a wide-spread feeling of dissatisfaction extended over the whole of Italy. Many of the veterans of Sulla, accustomed to riotous living and profuse expenditure, had already squandered their hoards, and looked forward with anxiety to the renewal of those scenes of blood which they had found by experience so profitable; while the multitude whose estates had been confiscated, whose relations had been proscribed, and who themselves were suffering under civil disabilities in consequence of their connection with those who had thus perished, were eagerly watching for any movement which might give them a chance of becoming oppressors, robbers, and murderers in their turn.

Never was the executive weaker. The senate and magistrates were wasting their energies in petty disputes, indifferent to the great interests of the commonwealth; Pompey, at the head of all the best troops of the republic, was prosecuting a long-protracted and doubtful war in the East; there was no army in Italy, where all was hushed in a treacherous calm. If then, Catiline, surrounded as he was by a large body of retainers all devotedly attached to his person and detached from society at large by the crimes which he had suggested or promoted, had succeeded in striking his first great blow, had he assassinated the consuls and the most able of the senators, the chances were, that the waverers among the higher ranks would have at once espoused his cause, that the populace would have been intimidated or gained over, and that thousands of ruined and desperate men would have rushed from all quarters to his support, enabling him to bid defiance to any force which could have been brought to bear upon the city until the return of Pompey from the East. But Pompey might never return, or might not return victorious, or, at all events, a long period must elapse, and ample time would be given for negotiations or resistance. Such were the probabilities which led on Catiline to hazard all upon one great throw;—but the fortune of Rome prevailed, the gambler was ruined, and the state saved. (Sall. Catil. ; Dion. Cass. 27, 37vii. 10, 29—42; Liv. Eplt. 101, 102; Cic. in Catil. 1, 3, iv., pro Sulla, pro Murena, 25, 26, in Pison. 9, pro Flacc. 40, pro Planc. 37, ad Att. i. 19, ii. 1, xii. 21, xvi. 14, ad Fam. i. 9; Suét. Jul. 14; Plut. Cíc. 10—22, Cat. Min. 23.)
FIRST ORATION AGAINST CATILINE.

ANALYSIS.

This oration is distributed into three parts:—

1. In the introduction the orator expresses his astonishment at the bold appearance of Catiline in the senate, and reminds him with what severity he ought long before to have been treated, as similar cases were dealt with in earlier periods of the state. He at the same time gives the reasons, for which he has not already put Catiline to death. (Chaps. 1, 2.)

2. The main proposition is a summons to Catiline to leave the city, to go either into exile or into the camp of Mallius (ch. 3); for—

(a) His shameful conspiracy is known to all, his private life stained by crimes of every kind, and his public life has to such a degree excited the abhorrence of the senate, the citizens, and the whole country, that it by an emphatic silence, as it were, demands the removal of Catiline, although the consul by allowing him to go unpunished will bring upon himself the greatest odium. (Chaps. 3–9, § 23.)

(b) It must be agreeable to Catiline himself to leave Rome and withdraw to the camp of Mallius, whither he has already sent forward his troops, finding as he does, consistently with his character, his greatest delight in making war upon his country, and in the society of similar disturbers of the public peace. (Ch. 9, § 24, to ch. 10.) And,

(c) Such a withdrawal of Catiline will be more advantageous to the state than would be his execution, as in the former case his fellow-conspirators will follow him, and thus the seeds of disorder be extirpated. This last consideration the orator adds especially as a justification of his course of proceeding. (Chaps. 11–13, § 32.)

3. In conclusion, Cicero promises to the senate the co-operation of all orders in suppressing the remnants of the conspiracy, after the removal of Catiline and his associates; and, again bidding Catiline with his adherents to leave Rome, he supplicates Jupiter Stator to protect and save the Roman state. (Ch. 13, § 32–end.)
the energy imparted by the personification of *furor* and *audacia*. *Furere* is often used of instigators of sedition. *Quid est alius furere, nisi non cognoscere homines, non cognoscere leges, non senatum, non civitatem?* Cic. in *Pison.* 20, 47.—*Eludet.* Properly a gladiatorial term of avoiding a thrust by the rapid motion of the body; hence figuratively to deceive, baffle, and here with the notion of derision and contempt, derived from the bearing of the victor, to mock, insult over.

—*Nos* is bracketed by Orelli as doubtful, defended by Klotz, omitted by Madvig. See *pro Milone*, 12, 32.

3. *Quem ad finem.* This phrase should not be used to signify purpose or aim, but as equivalent to *quousque* or *quamdiu*. So *Verr.* 5, 29, 75: *piratam vivum tenuisti.* *Quem ad finem? Dum cum imperio fuiisti.* Of the three interrogatives here used, *quousque* puts the more general question, with reference to *time* and *degree*; *quamdiu* and *quem ad finem*, the more special, the former in regard to *time* only, the latter in regard to *degree* only. Schultz.—*Jactabit = inso- lenter se effret.* The notion is derived from the proud gesture of one who tosses his head contemptuously, walks with a conceited swing, &c. Muretus calls attention to the frequency of the letter *a* in this passage, as giving fuller tone and stateliness to the discourse, and contrasts it with *cupio* *P. C. me esse clementem*, ch. 2, 4.—*Nihilne.* For the figure *repetitio* here used, see Arnold, *P. C.* 263; Z. 821; and for *nihil* instead of *non*, see Z. 677.

4. *Palatii.* The Palatine hill, which overhung the Forum on the south. At an earlier date it was the residence of the kings, and, before the time of Augustus, of distinguished Romans. Cicero, Antony, Scaurus, and Catiline himself had houses on it. Augustus built upon it a splendid mansion, and succeeding emperors made it their residence, so that *palatium* came to signify any royal residence, and hence the English word *palace*. In dangerous times a guard was set upon it, as upon its possession depended the possession of the city. Comp. Sall. Cat. 49: *Nonnulli equites Romani—praesidii causa cum telis erant circum adem Concordiae.—Vigiliae.* See Sall. Cat. 30: *itemque decrever, uti—Roma per totam urbem vigiliae habenerunt, tisque minores magistratus praeesent.* Under the republic, on special occasions, the triumviri capitales, ædiles or tribuni plebis, who are meant by "minores magistratus" in the passage of Sallust, were charged with providing a watch for the city. Cf. Liv. 39, 14. The *triumviri nocturni* appointed a watch to guard against fires. Augustus concentrated these offices in one head of police, the *praefectus urbi* and a special *praefectus vigilum*.

5. *Timor popull.* Compare Sallust's description of this alarm, Cat. 31: *repente omnis tristitia inesit . . . suo quiaque metu pericula metiri, &c.*; and *pro Murena*, ch. 26.—*Bonorum omnium.* *Boni*, as often, used of the patriotic, conservative, order and quiet
loving portion of the community. See Dict. of Greek and Roman Antiquities, Optimates.

6. Locus. The temple of Jupiter Stator at the foot of the Palatine. See infr. ch. 5, 11, and 2, 6, 12. The regular meetings of the senate were held on the calends, nones, and ides of each month, and commonly in the Curia Hostilia. Extraordinary meetings (senatus indixtus) might be called on other days, and were often held in temples, or some other place inaugurated by the augurs for the purpose.—Mutitissimus. From its position as well as from the special guard set there on this occasion.—Horum ora vultusque. All the senators rose up and left the bench on which Catiline seated himself. Comp. below, ch. 7, 16, 17, and 2, 6, 12. The words ora and vultus are often found in connection. They both denote the countenance as making known the state of the mind—os more the natural and habitual state, as indicated by the expression of the mouth and lower part of the face; vultus rather the temporary and changing state, as expressed by the motion of the eye and brow.

7. Non sentis. Orelli (ad Verr. 4, 9, 19) states very clearly and neatly the difference between non and nonne in direct questions: “ubi dico non—est? certus sententiae meae adversarii responsum non curio; ubi interrogo nonne—est? opto atque exspecto eum, quem interrogo, mihi assensurum. In illo igitur major vis inest.” Hand (Turr. iv. p. 309) says, “Is qui per non quaerit, supponit negationem in alterius, quocum loquitur, sententia, quam alter respondendo, aut pronuntiat, aut rejecit affirmans contrarium.—Utuntur hac dictione indignabundi, aut irascentes, aut admirantes.”

8. Constrictam . . . teneri. See Z. § 592. The metaphor is taken from chaining a wild beast, to which he compares the conspiracy. Cf. Phil. 7, 8, 27; Sent. 7, 16.

9. Quid proxima, quid superiore. The “nox superior” here mentioned is the same as that called “prior,” § 8; viz. the night which followed the day after the nones of November,—the night between Nov. 6 and 7. The conspirators were then assembled in the house of M. Porcius Læca; ch. 4, § 8; pro Sulla, 18, 52. The “nox proxima” is of course the night between Nov. 7 and 8. In what way Catiline was engaged on this night we are not informed.—Comp. Arch 5, 11, proximis censoribus—superioribus—primis.

10. Quos convocaveris. See Sall. Cat. 17. Muretus has collected from ancient authorities the names of forty persons connected with the conspiracy.—Quid consilii. See ch. 4, 9; Sall. Cat. 27, 28; and pro Sulla, 18, 52.

11. Arbitraris. See Z. 166.

12. Vivit immo vero. If a word only is to be corrected, it is done by putting that word into the form of a question with or without dicam, and answering it by immo. So ad Att. 12, 43: Perendus
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*tibi in hoc meus error; serendus? immo vero etiam adjuvandus.* See also Z. § 277 and 823.—*In senatum.* Catiline had been praetor, and therefore possessed the right to a seat in the senate. His motive in appearing there at this time is given in Sall. Cat. 31.


16. Videmur. *Sc. nobis.* See Z. § 380.—*Istius.* This is the regular pronoun by which the advocate speaks (in the 3d person) of the person against whom he is pleading = "the person who stands there before you (the judges)," or "whom you (the counsel for the opposite party) defend." The notion of *deprecation* does not by any means belong to the word; it can at most be implied, from the frequency of its use, to denote another person whom the speaker is attacking, and some one else defending. "See P. C. 377 and 382; Z. 127 and 701.

17. Ad mortem . . . oportebat. This is his proposition, which he enforces by the example of others.—*Jamgradem.* See below, 2, 4: *viceceosim jam diem.*—*Iussu consulis.* The consuls were invested, for the time being, with absolute power. See ch. 2, 4; and Sall Cat. 29. Otherwise they had not the power of life and death over a Roman citizen.


19. Jamdiu machinaris. The present tense in Latin is often used as a present, including past time; especially with *jamdiu* and *jamdudum = have been*—*ing.* P. C. 413.—*Machinaris = μαχαναρις.* So *machinator,* 3, 3, 6.—*Machinari* and *moliri* are both used of great undertakings. The former expresses more the secret and artful means, the latter the strong effort. Here *machinaris* is used because the conspiracy is looked upon as secretly and cunningly prosecuted by artful means; in 2, 1, 1, *moliri* is used, as the conspiracy was already discovered, and the powerful efforts of Catiline were known. Schultz—An vero. A formula of the argument a *minore ad majus,* thus stated: whereas P. Scipio, a private individual, slew Tib. Gracchus, much more ought the *consuls* to have slain Catiline. Here when the sentence is of the form, "Can A do this—(but) B not do it?" consisting of two questions, the first is often introduced by an or (stronger) an vero. See Z. § 781; and Krebs' Guide, 332, (8). On the interrogative *an,* see P. C. 120; Z. 353.

20. P. Scipio. P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica Seraio, consul with D Junius Brutus, A. V. C. 616.—*Ti. Gracchum.* Ti. Gracchus, descended from a father who had been twice consul, and Cornelia, daughter of the elder Africanus, when tribune of the commons, promised the rights of citizenship to the whole of Italy. At the same time, moreover, having
promulgated the Agrarian laws, he deprived his colleague Octavius of his office, and constituted himself, his father-in-law Appius, and his brother Caius, a triumvirate for the division of lands and the plantation of colonies. Upon this, P. Scipio Nasica, his cousin-german, from the upper part of the Capitol, summoned all who had at heart the welfare of their country to follow him, and rushed upon the crowd of Gracchus’ adherents. Gracchus, as he fled, was struck down by the fragment of a bench, and expired at the very gates of the temple of Fides, A. u. c. 621. Here and below, 2, § 4, Cicero speaks mildly of the offence of the Gracchi, to contrast the conduct for which they suffered with the fearful crime that Catiline meditated. Another passage, in which he speaks of the Gracchi with great moderation (but possibly, says Klotz, to please the people), is in the second book De Lege Agrar. 5, 10: “Venit enim mihi in mentem duo clarissimos, ingeniosissimos, amatissimos plebi Romanae viros, Ti. et C. Gracchos, plebem in agris publicis constituisse, qui agris a privatis antea possideabantur. Non sum autem ego is Consul, qui, ut plerique, nefas esse arbitrov Gracchus laudare; quorum consiliis, sapientia, legibus multas esse video rei publicae partes constitutas.” Quintilian points out the antithetical character of this passage: “Hic et Catilina Gracco, et status rei publicae orbis terrarum, et mediocris labefactatio eadi et incendiiis et vastationiis, et privatus consulibus comparatur.” viii. 4, 14.—Pontifex maximus. Cicero appears to have added these words simply to remind his hearers that Scipio was a distinguished and prudent man, who had had that high office. It agrees also very well with the subsequent privatus, since the priesthood was not strictly a magistracy, and accordingly the pontifex, unless he at the same time held some magistracy besides, was only a private man. Consult Schmitz, Hist. Rome, pp. 330–333.

24. Spurium Mællum, a Roman knight, who, when the Roman people were suffering from famine, A. u. c. 314, distributed corn to them at his own expense. Having thus gained over the commons, he aimed at regal power, and was slain by Servilius Ahala, at the command of Q. Cincinnatus the dictator, A. u. c. 315. Cf. Liv. 4, 13. See Schmitz, Hist. Rome, p. 126.—Novis rebus studentem, aiming to overturn the government, varepsovra.


27. Coercerent. This is the vocabulum proprium to express the executive duty of a magistrate. Cf. de Legg. 3, 3, 6; de Off. 3, 5, 23.

1. Non deest rei publicae consilium. Rei publicae is usually construed as the dative with deest. Benecke, however, regards it as the genitive limiting consilium, and referring the whole sentence to the historical events cited, he gives the following as the sense: “There
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is no lack of decisions of the state, i. e. our state has already, often by individual patriots punished dangerous citizens; also the authority of the senate is not wanting; nothing stands in the way of thy punishment, except that we the consuls make no use of the early precedents, and do not apply the powers conferred on us by the senate." Or if this explanation appears too forced (B. continues), consilium may be taken as = qui rei publicae consulant. Cf. de Legg. 2, 12, 30.

Ch. II.—3. L. Opimius, &c. When C. Gracchus and M. Fulvius Flaccus, a man of consular rank, and who had been honored with a triumph, were summoned to appear before the senate, they disobeyed, and occupied the Aventine, posting themselves at the temple of Diana. Twice they sent the younger son of Fulvius to make terms; but the second time Opimius caused him to be seized, and advanced to the attack. The insurgents fled: Fulvius, with his eldest son, was slain; Gracchus prevailed on his slave to dispatch him. The younger son of Fulvius, who had been seized, was allowed to choose the manner of his own death. See Schmitz, Rome, p. 338.

4. Ne quid res publica det. caperet. This was the usual formula by which the senatus conferred upon the consuls unlimited power in dangerous times. Sall. Cat. 29; Liv. 3, 4.

5. Intercessit, viz. between the conferring of this power and the death of Gracchus: on the same day therefore. Medius also with a noun and esse is sometimes used like intercedere, and the following clause connected by et, especially in the poets. Propert. 3, 14, 1; Ovid, Fast. 3, 809.

6. Patre. Tl. Sempronius Gracchus, who had been twice consul (A. v. c. 577 and 591) and censor, and had triumphed for a victory over the Celtiberians—Avo. P. Scipio Africanus Major.


11. Remorata est. As both things and persons are said differri, Cicero here, instead of saying that their death was put off, speaks of death (whom he here personifies), putting off, reprehending, as it were, Saturninus to a more distant day.—Mors ac rei p. pana = mortis pana a re p. inficta. See Z. 741.—Vicesimum. Asconius observes that it was only the eighteenth day; but Ahrens shows that Cicero is correct, according to the Roman way of reckoning in the two broken days.

12. Hebescere actem . . . auctoritatis. Metaphorically, from the comparison of the decree to a sword.

14. Ex senatus consulto. See Z. § 309, 3d paragraph

15. Convenit = consentaneum fuit, oportuit, par fuit. Cf. cap 1, 4.

17. *Cupio...me esse clementem; cupio in tantis rel publicae periculis me non dissolutum videri.* The two wishes are opposed: "I wish to be lenient," and (on the other hand, or, at the same time) "I am anxious not to be justly thought guilty of any want of proper firmness;" or, as Manutius gives the meaning, "its me cupio esse clementem ut dissolutus ne sim;" or "cupio quidem me esse clementem, sed idem tamen cupio me non dissolutum videri." Weiske; who compares Lucceii Ep. ad Fam. 5, 14, extr. *Cupio non obtundere te...cupio deterriere.* The introduction of the acc. pronoun (*cupio me esse clementem,* for *esse clemens*) gives more prominence to the circumstance wished, by disconnecting it from the cupio. Cf. *sapientem cirem me et esse et numerari volo* (Fam. 1, 9, 18). After what verb of wishing is C. fond of inserting the pronoun? *P. C. 149,* note r. Compare *Z. 610.*

19. *Me ipsum.* Others read *me ipse.* On the difference, see *Arnold, P. C.* § 368; *Krebe, Guide,* § 127; *Zumpt, Gr.* § 696.— *Inertia nequitiaque.* Compare ch. 11, § 29.

21. *In Etruriae faucibus.* At Fessula. *Sall. 28. Mallius in Etruria plebem sollicitare...praeterea latrones cujusque generis...nonnullos ex Sullanis coloniis.—Crescit in dies.* On *in dies* and *quotidie,* line 24, see *P. C.* 69, t. With words containing what idea is *in dies* found? See *Z.* § 315, 2d paragraph, in fin.

23. *Atque adeo — nay more, nay even.* *Z.* 737.

25. *Credo,* &c. For the construction of verbs and expressions which denote fear, see *Arnold, P. C.* § 95; and *Zumpt,* §§ 533–535. Here the irony conveyed by *credo* (*Z.* 777) makes the sentence equivalent to *non erit verendum mihi,* &c.; and the sense is: "I am convinced that all patriots will regard your death as occurring too late, rather than as too severe and cruel." Benecke cites a very similar passage from *Cic. de lege agr.a* 1, 8, 24.


28. *Certa de causa.* See *Z.* 308, in fin. This reason is explained in what follows, and more fully, ch. 12, and 2, 2, 3.

29. *Interficiam te; i. e. I will order you to be put to death.* *Z.* 713. [So the *Lex Clodia* condemned Cicero, "quod cives Romanos indicta causa necasset."]

30. *Tam tut similia.* What is the difference between *mei* and *mihi similis?* *P. C.* 212, w. *Z.* 411, 3d paragraph.


33. *Sed vives.* *Sed* is a conjecture of Weiske and Madvig. *Klots*
and Stüffel defend the common reading et = "and indeed" "and moreover."—Below Madvig and Klotz read oppressus for obsessus.

Ch. III—39. Voces conjurationis = voces conjuratorum. Cf pro Mil. 94: Italiæ voces.—For cautus, Steinmetz and Klotz read captus.

40. Illustrantur, &c. Observe illustrari opp. to obscurare; and erumpere, to domus . . . . continuat.

41. Mentem = plan, purpose of remaining in the city to murder, &c.—Mihmi crede. P. C. p. 259, § 111; Z. 801.


44. Meministine = Nonne meminiisti? See Z. 352.—Ante diem. What other form of stating the day of the month was used? Which form is most common in Cicero and Livy? How is the peculiarity of this form to be explained? P. C. 530; Z. 868. On the day named, the 21st October, Cicero had informed the senate of the conspiracy, and received full powers to protect the state.—Dicere. P. C. 426; Z. 589.—Here, and page 11, line 2, Steinmetz and Klotz, on the authority of Priscian and some MSS., read Kalendarium Novembrium. Orelli remarks, "Apud Cic. me non memini genitivum legere; et nostri contra stant."

1. Certo die, qui dies. Z. 743. Peter, ad Brut. Excursus, 4, explains this repetition, of the substantive after the relative, by the figure anaphora, or on the ground of perspicuity. Ellendt, de Orat. 1, 35, 174, derives it from legal usage.


5. Ego idem. Z. 127 and 697.

6. Optimatum. Z. 66, (d).—In ante diem. How is ante diem here to be considered? P. C. 530; Z. 869.

8. Sui conservandii. Conservandum would not here be correct. The explanation of the apparent violation of the rule of agreement in regard to this construction is given in Z. 660.

9. Profugerunt. It has been already remarked, that even men of high standing in the state, such as M. Crassus, C. Caesar, and others, took an interest, if not a part in the conspiracy of Catiline. Of these we may suppose that one and another, perceiving that Catiline proceeded with too little caution in his enterprise, withdrew from the city, not because danger threatened them, though this may have been their pretext for leaving, but because they wished to remove from themselves (reprimere), or, in the language of diplomacy, to disavow the plans of Catiline, in which they had previously perhaps been engaged. Klotz. Those "principes civitatis" considerably withdrew themselves from the city; not through personal fear, but lest they should be slain along with the consul, and, of course, nobody left to oppose Catiline. M'Kay.—For the position of causa, see Z. 792.
12. Discessu ceterorum — quum ceteri disc essissent. Ellendt (ad Brut. 79, 273), on nescio quomodo discessu nec discessit a se, says, "Hoc est alius genus ablavitum absolutis satis similiun, causam indicantium, quae tempore prior fuerit." Cf. de Amic. 3, 10 amicorum decessu; where Seyffert agrees with Ellendt, and disapproves of the classification of such ablatives under the ablative of time. Z. § 475.—Nostra . . . . qui. Qui refers to the personal pronoun implied in nostra.

13. Prænestae, a town of Latium (now Palestrina); being two hundred stadia from Rome, and very strongly fortified, was well suited for insurrectional purposes, as was Capua on the other side, which Catiline also attempted to secure by C. Marcellus.

14. Novembribus. What part of speech are the names of the months? Z. 38.


17. Nihil agis . . . . quod ego non modo audiam, sed etiam videam. The meaning required is plainly, "you do nothing which I do not only hear, but also see;" but it does not seem possible that this meaning can be expressed by these words, since the videam has no negative with it: so that the supposition of a non modo for non modo non can only explain the audiam. Madvig would read nihil agis quin ego non modo audiam, sed etiam videam (Opusc. I. p. 143). Hand approves of the usual reading (against Orelli and Klotz), nihil agis, quod ego non modo non audiam, sed etiam non videam; i. e. "nihil quod non dico me non audire, sed quod ego non videam." Orelli observes that Madvig's conjecture removes all the difficulty; and that, in the same way, in pro Cæcin. § 39, the negative precedes and affects both of two closely united notions: ne non modo intrare, verum etiam adspecere . . . . possim. Klotz (who is followed by Stüelpfe), ad Tusc. 2, 5, 14, disapproves of Madvig's correction, and retains the reading of the MSS. as given in our text, which he renders, "You think nothing which I do not hear only, but also see and clearly perceive."


21. Dico. Notice the skill which is displayed in this passage. Cicero first states the fact clearly and briefly. He notices the effect on Catiline, and calls upon him to answer. Catiline is silent. The orator then claims his silence as confirmation of his statement, and proceeds with a more full and emphatic exposition. Dico commences
the sentence with emphasis as the antithesis of "num negare audes?" —Prius nocte. See note on p. 9, line 9.

22. Inter falcarios. Into the street, or quarter, inhabited by the scythe-makers. So inter lignarios, Liv. 35, 42.—In ... domum. Is the preposition necessary? See Z. § 400.

27. Ubinam gentium. See Z. § 434.

30. Gravissimo consilio. Consilium, a deliberative assembly, is often used of the senate. Cf. 3, 3, 7: consilium publicum. In this passage, the rhetorical exaggeration is well adapted to excite their pride, and at the same time kindle their displeasure.—De nostro omnium. See Z. 424 and 431; Krebs, 105. With omnium the genitives nostrum, vestrum are more common, and always used when omnium precedes. Cf. cap. 7, 17: omnium nostrum pares; and 4, 2, 4: ad vestrum omnium cadem.

32. Sententiam rogo. Supply hos from the preceding. Sententiam rogare was said of the presiding magistrate, who, to ascertain the will of the senate, for the purpose of a senatus consultum, asked the opinion of the senators individually. Thus some of the conspirators who are present, would be called upon for their opinion.

33. Trucidari oportebat. See Z. § 518.—Nondum voce vulnere. By not mentioning publicly their names, and charging them with their guilt.

34. Fulsti ititur. Having been interrupted by the outbreak of his indignation, he now returns to the plans of the conspirators, as settled at the house of Leca.—Apud Lecan = in domo Leca.

35. Partes Italicæ. See Sall. Cat. 27, 32, and 43.

38. Etiam nunc, in oblique narration, is used to denote the speaker's "now," not the narrator's. Catiline's words would be "paullulum mihi etiam nunc more est," &c.


42. Vixdum. See Z. § 733.

43. Compert. By means of Curius and Fulvia. Sall. 10, c. 28.

44. Exclusi. Cf. Z. § 713.—Salutatum. See Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Antiq. Sportula, for some account of this usage in the earlier days of Rome, and to what it degenerated under the emperors.

12 1. Multis ac summis. Z. 756; Krebs, Guide, 81.—Id temporis P. C. 160 (β); Z. 459.

Ch. V.—4. Quae quum ita sint. The plural is used in reference to the many grounds which he has already stated, and from which he now draws his conclusion that Catiline should at once leave the city. Muretus reduces the argument of Cicero to the following sylo-
gistic form: Si omnia tua consilia nota sunt, exire debes. Sunt autem nota. Ergo: exire debes. The relations of the several sentences of this chapter, with reference to the figure *asymbeton*, are carefully examined in Nägelsbach's *Lat. Stilistik*, p. 404. See also Z. 742.


11. Habenda est . . . gratia. Gratiam habere, and in connection with agere sometimes gratias habere, is to feel thankful; gratias (not gratiam) agere, to return thanks in words; and gratiam, rarely gratias referre (unless of several), to show one's self thankful by deeds—Atque huic = and especially to this Jupiter Stator, in whose temple the senate were then met. Cf. Z. 333.

12. Jovi Statori = flight-staying Jupiter. The occasion of the name is given in Livy, 1, 12.

14. Toties. For Catiline had instigated an earlier conspiracy which had accidentally failed. See General Introduction, p. 139.

15. In uno homine, i.e. Catiline. A similar expression is found in p. Rosc. Am. 51, 148: *summa res publica in hujus periculo tentatur*.

17. Proximis comitibus. Those which were held between the 21st of October and the 5th of November.

18. In campo, Martio, where the comitia for the election of magistrates were usually held. Cf. 4, 1, 2.—*Competitores*. D. Junius Silanus and L. Licinius Murena.


23. Nunc jam. Jam nunc is "even now" (i.e. before the regular time), or "now at last." "Now," as opposed to a preceding time or to other circumstances, = in his rebus, quum ita sit, quum huc precesserint. *Nunc jam* has the same meaning of an emphatic now.—The train of thought is, that so long as you sought my life only, I protected myself by my individual means. Now, however, that your attacks are directed against the whole state, other means of defence must be resorted to. Two courses are open to me to pursue, the one severe, the other mild; i.e. to put you to death as a traitor, or to drive
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27. Quod est primum, sc. to have you put to death.

28. Imperii. This is by most commentators referred to the potestas consularis. Benecke understands it of the empire or government.—Proprium. See Z. 411, 2d paragraph; Krebs, 167.

29. Quod est ad severitatem lenius et ad communem saltem utiliss. Ad severitatem = quod attinet ad severitatem, ratione habita severitatis. Matthiæ observes, that when of two antithetical adjectives one has an accus. with ad, Cicero often adds another acc. with to the other, even when it hardly seems necessary to the sense, for the purpose of making the antithesis more complete and the two notions more equally balanced. Thus pro Rosc. Am. 30, 85: Natura non tam propensus ad misericordiam quam implacatus ad severitatem videbatur. So Or. 1, 25, 113: Animis atque ingenti celebres quidam motus esse debent, qui et ad ex cogitandum acuti, et ad explicandum ornandumque sint uberes et ad memoriam firmi atque diuturni. Ib. 2, 49, 200: Nihil mihi ad exstimationem turpis, nihil ad dolorem acerbius accidere posse.

32. Jamudum hortor. See P. C. 413.

33. Tuorum comitum ... sentina rei publicae. Observe the two genitives, dependent in different relations on the same substantive, sentina. P. C. p. 239, 28; Z. 423 and 791. “Sentina rei publicae est quae resedit in re publica tamquam in navi, ut sentina urbis, Att. 1, 19: sentina comitum tuorum sunt ipsi comites, ex quibus, ut ita dicam, constat sentina.” M., who quotes Quint. 8, 6, 15, Cic. recte sentinam rei publicae dixit, faditatem hominum significans. Orelli compares Sall. 37: Omnes quos flagitium aut facinus domo expulerat, ii Romam sicut in sentinam confuderant.

35. Faciebas = facere voletbas, in reference to cap. 4, 9: Confirmasti, &c.

36. Jubeat consul hostem. The expression is much stronger than if he had said, jubeat Cicero Catilinem. The order of the words also may be noticed, by which the subject and object are brought together at the close of the sentence in marked contrast.

37. Non jubeo. This Cicero could not do; for exile was not properly a punishment for a crime committed; but those who foresaw that they would be condemned in a judicium publicum, before their sentence, went into exile to escape it. In crimes of magnitude this voluntary exile was confirmed by the interdictio aquæ et ignis, and thus became a real punishment. Cf. pro Cæc. 34, 100.

Cn. VI.—38. Quid est enim. Cicero now, as though a friendly adviser, gives the reasons for his advice. In Rome Catiline cannot be.
FIRST ORATION AGAINST CATILINE.

happy, for all hate him, his reputation is lost, he is burdened with debt, and his treasonable designs are known to all.

41. Nota domesticae turpitudinis is different from privatarum rerum dedecus: res private may include, but is more extensive than res domestica: the latter relates to moral or immoral domestic life, the former to all private actions as opposed to those that belong to a man's public character; e.g. to money transactions, &c. Privatarum rerum dedecus = "dodocus e privatis rebus conceptum." M. Madvig, after Muretus, would read non inhaeret in fama: but (1) haerere with the dat. is found in another passage of Cic. (Potest hoc homini huic haerere peccatum? Pro Rusc. Com. 6, 17, K.), and (2) it is a strong rhetorical turn, as Matthiae well remarks, not to use the expected term of indifference ("vocabulum medium"), i.e. fama (which may be bona or mala), but at once to assume that he had no fama, but a notorious infamia. Nearly so Klotz. With nota ... inusta, cf. pro Sall. 31, 88: Ne qua generi ac nominis suo nota nefaria turpitudinis inuratur.—Inusta. A metaphor from branding slaves, and especially used to denote what is violent and of long duration.

1. Cui tu adolescentulo, &c. Cf. 2, 4, 8; and Sall. 14: sed maxime adolescentium familiaritates appetebat, &c.

2. Facem prestuisti. An allusion to the nightly revels and debauches of Catiline. Slaves carried torches before their masters when they visited their haunts.


4. Novis nuptiis. His marriage with Aurelia Orestilla, a woman of most abandoned character; to remove all impediments to which, he is believed ("pro certo creditur," Sall.) to have murdered his own son. Cf. Sall. Cat. 15.

5. Hoc sceleris; i.e. the murder of his wife.

7. Immmanitas ... videatur. Is videri commonly used personally or impersonally? See P. C. 297; Z. 380.


9. Proximis Idibus. The day on which it was usual to pay the interest of borrowed money. Hor. Epod. 2, extr. fenerator Alfius Omnim redegit Idibus pecuniam, &c. Cf. Cic. Phil. 2, 37. Benecke thinks that on the Idea notice was only given to the borrower that the money must be paid on the next Calenda.


16. Lepido et Tullio consulibus. M. Emilius Lepidus and L. Volcatius Tullus were consuls, a. u. c. 688. The Consules desig- sati were P. Autronius Patus and P. Cornelius Sulla; but these were found to be disqualified by bribery, and L. Aurelius Cotta and L. Manlius Torquatus (their accusers) obtained the consulship. Cf. Sall. 18: Cum CN. Pisone Catilina et Autronius consilio communi-

17. Consulum . . . interfectendorum causa. Is the genitive of the gerund, followed by its object accusative, used along with the gerundive? Z. 659 (b). Is the usual position of *causa* = *for the sake of,* before or after its genitive? Z. 792.

18. Non mentem aliquam, not some intention on your part. "The commonly received rule, that *aliquis* is peculiar to affirmative sentences, must be confined within more definite limits; for *aliquis* is found in negative sentences also, when any thing is spoken *of* which either really exists, or at least can be conceived as existing, as in the present passage, non mentem aliquam; for assuredly one might have suspected such an intention on Catiline’s part. *Quisquam* and *ullus* altogether deny the whole. Thus Orat. 56, 186: *Numerus autem non domo depromebatur, neque habebat aliquam necessitudinem aut cognitionem cum oratione;* i. e. as one might have imagined. Cf. pro Sestio, 17, 40; 58, 125. Mil. 1, 2, ut ne non timere quidem sine aliquo timore possimus. But *quisquam* and *ullus* are not negative in themselves, but with a negative particle; and they are always placed *after* that particle." M.

20. Ac jam illa omittio. Hand would read *at* for *ac.* Benecke says *ac, et,* and *atque* stand not unfrequently at the beginning, in the sense of *sed,* but without losing entirely their force as connectives—*Neque enim sunt,* &c.; i. e. "nam quae post a te commissa sunt, quae neque obscura sunt, neque paucia; satis aperta sunt multa illa, quae post commissisti sceleras." Beier Steinmetz, Klotz, and Madvig read, *aut non multa commissa postea.—Aut* . . . *aut* sometimes follow negatives for *neque . . . neque.*

21. *Quotiens.* On the form of this word, see Z. 122. Why is the pronoun *tu* expressed, and in the next sentence *ego?* P. C. 1, Obs.; Z. 379.

22. *Quot . . . tuas petitiones.* See Z. 430.—Petitiones. A term of the fencing-school. Cic. Or. 68, 228: *Ut enim athletas nec multo secus gladiatores videmus nihil nec vitando facere cautae nec petendo vehementer, in quo non motus hic habeat palæstram quandam,—sic oratio nec plagam gravem facit, nisi petitio fuit opta, nec,* &c.

24. *Ut alunt,* are often added to show the proverbial character of the expression, generally after the first one or two words of the proverb. Here *corpor e effugere* signifies, "barely to escape, by the slightest movement or change of position."—[Nihil agit], &c. In this sentence the marks of a corrupt text will be observed. The passage or dinarily stands, *Nihil agit,* *nihil assequeris,* *nihil moliris,* *quod wiki*
latere valeat in tempore, neque tamen, &c. In the clause quod . . . in tempore, for one mark of corruption, see Z. 390, in fin. Madvig omits altogether the bracketed words, and reads, Nihil assequeris; neque tamen, &c.

26. Extorta, viz. by the precautions taken to thwart your measures; in reference to the preceding tuas petitiones . . . effugi.

27. Excidit casu aliqua. Cf. § 15: fortunam populi Romani chestisse.—Et elapsa est, = et ita elapsa est.

28. [Tamen . . . non posito.] These words are omitted by Matthiæ and Madvig. As above, [nihil agis], [nihil moliris] may be supposed to have crept in from § 8, so here the bracketed words may seem to have been taken from ch. 9, § 24. Benecke, Klotz, and Säpfle retain and defend them.

29. Initiatas sacrileg, &c. That a dagger or other weapon might execute successfully the purpose it was to be used for, its owner used to devote it, as it were, to that purpose by some solemn rites, accompanied with a vow, that, after the accomplishment of it, he would offer it up to some god. Thus Justin. 9, 7, 13: Olympias gladium, quo rex percussus est, Apollini sub nomine Myrales consecravit. Suet. Cal. 24 (extr.), tres gladios in necem suam praeparatos Marti ultori, addito elogio, consecravit. So Vitell. 10.—Necessa putas esse. Benecke remarks that esse is very seldom omitted with necessa. What are the constructions of necessa est? Z. 608 and 625. With necessa est in Cicero the infinitive and subjunctive appear to be equally frequent; with oportet the infinitive is much the more common.

Ch. VII.—33. Que tibi nulla = "none of which." Nullus for non. See Z. 688. It is however more emphatic, meaning "none at all," "not a particle." So "none of my words," not nullum dictorum meorum, but nullum meum dictum; so unus verbum tuum, "one word of yours."—Venisti . . . in senatum. See Sall. Cat. 31.

35. Salutavit. It was customary among the Romans, when they saw their friends or eminent men approaching, to rise up and salute them, and courteously address them. For an interesting illustration of this mark of Roman politeness, see de Repub. 1, chaps. 9–12. —Post hominum memoriam, "within the memory of man."—Si hoc . . . contigit nemini. Observe that contigit is not confined to desirable occurrences.

36. Vocis . . . contumellam . . . judicio tacturnitatis. On this arrangement of contrasted words, see P. C. p. 14, § 15, b, and p. 242, § 5. What is this figure called?

37. Quid. See Z. § 769.

38. Adventu tuo. Compare diessu ceterorum, ch. 3, § 7.—Ista subsellia. What is the force of ista? How would hae or illa vary the sense? So below, partem istam. Z. 127.

42. Servi mehercule meli. The emphasis and distinctness with which Cicero here expresses the shameless insensibility of Catiline should be noticed. The comparison between his own regard for his slaves, and Catiline's indifference to his fellow-citizens, is fitted to excite the highest indignation of his audience. — Why do these words precede et? Z. 356. And on the arrangement of the whole sentence, see P. C. p. 242, § 5. — Mehercule is explained in Z. 361, Note.

44. Tu tibi. Supply relinquuendum. Z. 419, Note, and 649.

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3. Tu, quum, &c. A fortiori—should you, deservedly odious to your citizens, shun their sight.

5. Dubitas .... vitare. In what signification is dubito followed by the infinitive? Z. 541.—Quorum .... corum. Z. 813; P. C. 30

7. Neque ... ualla. See Krebs, 527; Z. 738 and 808.

12. Quae tecum .... sic agit. To the close of the chapter, Cicero, by personification, introduces his native country as speaking.

13. Tacita loquitur. This figure, involving a contradiction, is called oxymoron. So 8, 21: quum tacent, clamant.


15. Multorum citiun necess. Q. Cicero de petit. consul 2: Hic (Catilina) ne leges quidem (metuit), natus in patriis egessato, educatus in sororis stupris, corroboratus in cede civium; cuius primus ad rem publicam aditus in equitibus Romanis occidendis fuit. Nam illius, quos meminimus, Gallius, qui tum Titinioum ac Nannium ac Tanusium capiit demetebant, Sulla unum Catilinam praefecerat, in quibus ille hominem optimum, Q. Caecilium, sororis suae virum, equitem Romanum, nullarum partium, quum semper natura, tum etiam aetatem jam quietum, suis manibus occidit. Quid ego nunc dicam, petere eum Consulatum, qui hominem carissimum populo Romano, M. Marium (Gratidianum) inepectante populo Romano, vitibus per totam Urbem ceciderit? &c. Cic. in the Orat. in tog. cand. had mentioned, among those who were killed, Qu. Caecilius, M. Volumnius, L. Quantius (Tanusius?). M. See Schmitz, Rome, p. 365.

16. Vexatio direptique sociorum; i.e. during his administration of his province of Africa: on his return from which he was impeached for extortion by P. Clodius, afterwards the enemy of Cicero, but acquitted by the unfairness of his judges. Ascon Ped. in Orat. in tog. cand. p. 85, Bait.: Catilina ex pratitura Africam provinciam obtinuit. Quamquam graviter vexasset, legati Africi in senatu jam tum absente illo questi sunt .... quam redisset ex Africa Torquato et Cotta cons. accusatus est repetundarum a P. Clodio adolescente (qui postea inimicus Ciceroni fuit) — ita tamen, ut Clodius infamis fuerit praevariicus esse. Ibid: p. 87: "Voc. questiones ad hanc
ipsam repetundarum causam refertur. Cf. Cic. Orat. in tog. cand. 14
Stupris se omnibus ac flagitiis contaminavit; eadem nefaria cruenta-
vit; diripuit socios; leges, quaestiones, judicia violavit. Quid ego, ut
involaveris provinciam, prae dicem? Nam ut te illic gesseris, non
audeo dicere quoniam abolutus es."

17. Ad negligendas leges. "Negligit leges ac quaestiones, qui
cerum metu a pecando non continetur; eadem perfringit, qui quum
in judiciurn adductus manifesto teneatur, aliqua tamen via elabitur."
Muretus.—Would ad negligendum leges be in accordance with usage?
Z. 666.—For evertendas, Klotz reads devincendas, Madvig vincendas
—On non solum . . . . verum etiam, see Z. 724.

20. Me tojam esse, &c. See P. C. 35. Totam, patria personi-
ﬁed being the speaker. Notice also the contrast between me toram
and unum te.—Quidquid increpuit. So in PIs. 41: Quidquid in-
crepuisset, pertinaciuscetem. Sen. Ep. 90: Inter pictures vestras, si
quid increpit, fugitis attotit. Liv. 4, 43: Si quid increpet terro-
ria. Heum.

Ch. VIII.—28. Quid t Quod, &c. See Z. 769, 3d paragraph.
—Ipsa, "of your own accord."—Custodiam, i. e. liberam. Cf. Sall.
ch. 47. This was without bonds in the house of a magistrate, senator,
or other distinguished man, and allowed only to persons of distinction.

Tâ de e tâ Tuvoruâv du'gelâmae. t难以 ut aõiââ kâstôâ esto kai bîas tâ
añoi'x gra'fîn tâ' Kâ'nilâv paroseêas. (Lege Plautia interroga tus exist
ab L. Pauilo. Sall. ch. 31). Kaî de tâ mîn prôta kai tâv aôîn eôîmâs
âs kai âpâ xristôv tûr suneiôdor iôîkato prôs tâ tûr dîn tên hûmâketo kai
ô kîkîrûoi aôîâ têrîn ëautêâ, òkws dê mûf $$\gamma$$n $$\nu$$ , parêdêon ' $$\mu$$ prôsokefêmenon
de êkîon tûr fôrwoân aôîw, parâ tû Metêllo tû $$\sigma$$stratê$$\gamma$$n tûr dîn$$\tau$$a
$$\kappa$$ûnoi$$\epsilon$$ $$\kappa$$êaiêto, tâ $$\kappa$$êa $$\kappa$$êa $$\kappa$$êpotevô$$\beta$$ $$\kappa$$êo$$\tau$$ $$\kappa$$êov $$\tau$$, $$\mu$$hîre$$\alpha$$ $$\kappa$$ $$\kappa$$î$$\kappa$$ $$\kappa$$êa kai e tâ
aôîthe suneiôdor iôîkênon tê prôsokefê.

31. Domi meâ. Would domi with other adjectives be allowable?
Z. 400.—Qua$$\kappa$$o$$\tau$$, "What is its position? Z. 355, and see 335.—Id
responi. Would this construction be allowable with any other form
of the pronoun? Z. 432.—Alî response; illud contemptu. Schultz.

33. Ma$$\kappa$$o in periculo essem. Compare esse in metu, § 18.
In such expressions can the preposition be omitted? See Krebs, 213,
(1) ; and Arnold, Nepos, Dion, 8, 2.

34. Q. Metellum. Q. Cæcilius Metellus Celer, afterwards
consul, A. u. c. 694, was poisoned by his wife Clodia, A. u. c.
695.

35. Virum optimum, M. Marcellum, said ironically. Muretus
thinks that this M. Marcellus was the father of that C. Marcellus
whom Sextus drove out of Capua. He is not to be confounded with
the M. Marcellus, mentioned below, § 21, who was consul, A. u. c.
703, and was murdered at Athens by P. Magius Chilo. Muretus
quotes Orosius, Hist. 6, 6, p. 385, ed. Haverc.: Motus etiam in Pe-
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NOTES.

36. Videlice, is used in an ironical sense. See Z. 345, Note, in fin.

41. Si emori, &c. "Hoc Cicero dicit; qui tanto, quanto Catilina, omnibus odio sit, vitam abjecere debere; sin id non sustineat, patria fugere quam longissime: nec hortatur vere Catilinam, ut moriatur, sed exire ita jubet, ut vel moriendi causam adeesse dicat." Madvig (Opusc. I. p. 176: he had before approved the reading si hic moraret). Orelli gives a somewhat different explanation: "Sententia igitur hae est: 'Conscientia scelerum oppressus, aequo animo mortem nec spectare, nec tibi ipsae conscire potes: quin igitur abis est.'"

44. Refer. Referre is the verbum proprium to express the laying of the subject for debate before the senate. This was done by the consul or other presiding magistrate. Referre denotes the simple mention or announcement of any thing. So placere is the usual term to express a decision of the senate.—Inquis. See Z. 802.

2. Id quod. See P. C. 36; Z. 371.—Abhorret a meis moribus, "is inconsistent with my character." Cf. ch. 2, § 4: cupid me esse clementem.

3. Ut intelligas, i. e. by their silence.

4. Egressere . . . profisciscere. The orator may be supposed to pause here, that the silent acquiescence of the senate may be more impressive.


10. P. Sestio; then the quæstor of the consul C. Antonius. P. Sest. § 8.—M. Marcellus: he was consul twelve years afterwards with Serv. Sulpicius. Cicero afterwards defended P. Sestius, and spoke in favor of Marcellus before Caesar in the senate.

11. Jam mihi consuli, &c. Even his dignity as consul, and the sacredness of the place, the temple of Jupiter Stator, would not have shielded him.

16. Qui circumstant. Interest in the proceedings had drawn a number around, and such a collection of men was called corona.

18. Voces . . . exaudire potuisti, i. e. as they showed their approval of what the orator uttered, and their abhorrence of Catiline.

19. Tela continueo. Even those who have been specially armed for the protection of the city against your designs, will form a safe escort for you if you will leave it.

20. Hæc, dicatque, i. e. the temples and other buildings of the city.

21. Prosequuntur. Prosequi expresses the act of accompanying, out of respect or sympathy, one who is leaving the city for a foreign province or to go into exile.
CH. IX.—22. Quaquam. In what peculiar way is it used here? Z. 341, Note.—Te ut, &c. Why does the pronoun, in this and the following sentences, precede the conjunction? P. C. p. 254, § 86.; Z. 356. What feeling do such interrogations express, and how is the construction to be explained? Z. 609.

24. Utinam...dunt. How is the wish conceived when the present or perfect tense is used? P. C. 496; Z. 571. On the form dunt, see Z. 162.

26. Animum induxeris. For the construction of the phrase animum induco or in animum induco, see Z. 614. Of these two forms, Madvig asserts that Cicero uses only the former, except p. Sull. 30, 83; and that Livy uses only the latter.

28. Recentii memoria. Abl. of cause = on account of.—At. See Z. 349, 756.—In posteritatem, i.e. in posterum tempus.


30. Sed tu, &c. Refer the three following clauses each to its appropriate source, which Cic. subjoins; sc. “pudor—metas—ratio.”

31. Temporibus. Tempora in the plural (rarely in the singular) signifies the circumstances of the times, especially the difficulties and necessities of the times.

32. Is es....ut te. What is a more common construction instead of the conjunction and pronoun? P. C. 483; Z. 556. Te is here emphatic.

33. Pudor a turpitudine. Klotz and Madvig (from Quintilian, 9, 3, 62) read pudor unquam, &c.

36. Recta. What is to be supplied with this word? Z. 270.

37. Sermones hominum, i.e. their censure, as in “to be the talk of the town,” &c. Verr. 4, 7, 13: Nunquam—commisseret, ut propter eum in sermonem hominum atque in tantam vituperationem veniret. Pro Cal. 16, 38: Sermones iniquorum effugere non potuit. —Si id feceris, i.e. si in exsilium perrezeris. Facere, like the English verb to do, is frequently used as the representative of a preceding verb. See Arnold’s Nepos, Chabr. 3, 4, p. 191.

38. Jussu. See Z. 454.—Sin autem. Z. 342, Note; and 348, Note.

41. Secerne te a bonis. Is the preposition necessary? Z. 468. —Exsulta impio latrocinio. Z. 452. Latrocinium is properly highway robbery and murder. No more dignified or honorable, Cicero means, is Catiline’s course.—Impio. It is impious, i.e. unfilial, undutiful, as being against his country, communio omnium pares.

42. Ut a me non ejectus. Does the non with ut express an effect without an intention, or belong to ejectus? How is a negative
intention expressed, and how a simple result? Z. 532. What is the position of non when it belongs to a single word of the proposition? Z. 799. Compare page 16, lines 40 and 41. What is the common construction of videri?

43. Quid ego te invitem. What is implied in such questions? Z. 530.—In this line, for isve videaris Klotz and Madvig read esse videaris.

44. Ad Forum Aurelium. A little town in Etruria, between the rivers Armenta (Fiova) and Marta, not far from the sea; now called Monte Alto. It was named probably from some Aurelius, who paved the via Aurelia from Rome to Pisa. What is denoted by ad when joined with names of towns? Z. 398, Note.

16 1. Præstolarentur. Z. 413. The præstolans waits for a person in order to perform services for him, and stands in subordinate relation to the person waited for. Döderlein.

28. Diem. On the gender of this word, see Z. 86, Note.—Aquilam scilam argenteam, &c. The allusion is supposed to be to the Eagle, which Sallust mentions, in speaking of the engagement: Ipse cum libertis et colonis propter aquilam aedisit, quam bello Cimbriico C. Marius in exercitu habuisse dicebatur. Ch. 59. On military standards among the Romans, see Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Antiq., Signa Militaria. An ensign which, like this, had been so long borne by the victorious armies of Marius, was regarded with unusual reverence, as promising certain victory. Cicero adds scelerum to limit sacrarum, the place where it was kept, because there Catiline preserved the instruments of his crimes, and his character was such that there was nothing religious in his ceremonies, but all was wicked and criminal. It is explained in the last clause.

4. Sacrarum. "Nam erat etiam quam signorum militarum omnium, tum aquile quaedam religio, et in sacello illa reponebantur." M.

Ch. X.—10. Neque enim. Z. 808.

11. Hec res, i. e. bellum contra patriam. Manut. Benecke refers it to his departure from Rome.

13. Nunquam ... non modo ... sed ne ... quidem. Z. 724, b, and 754, Note.—Otium = peace is often contrasted with bellum. Compare below otiosorum.

15. Atque is here explicative, perditias being explained by what follows.


17. Perfruere, &c. A climax is here to be noticed.

20. Meditati sunt. Here used passively, as the participle frequently is. Z. 632, and compare § 147.—Qui feruntur = qui sermonibus celebrantur, commemorantur. Pro Sull. 23, 66: Eius voces. ejus mina ferebantur. M.—Labores tui. Cf. pro Cat. § 12.
21. Ad obsidandum stuprum — "ad tempus stupro opportu-
num observandum." So Verr. 1, 2, extr. tempus obsiderere. M. The
infinitive clauses, jacere humi, &c., and vigilare, &c., are to be taken
as in apposition with labores.

22. Otiosorum. "The peaceably disposed." So the MSS.; the
common text is occisorum. Otiosus h. l. dicitur qui in pace atque otio
securus tranquillissimique vivit, nihil mali expectat. Steinmetz; who
compares 2, Catil. 4, and Sall. 16. Süpfe, against Orelli, Klotz, and
Madvig, retains occisorum; and remarks, that Cicero's design to ex-
hibit the turpitude of Catiline in a gradation, seems to require bonis
occisorum in antithesis to somno maritorum.

24. Illam tuam praeclarum, &c. Sall. Cat. 5: Corpus patiens
inedia, vigilie, algoria, supra quam quisquam credibile est.

27. Quum te a consulatu reppull; i.e. "at the last election."
Cf. Sall. ch. 26: Postquam dies comitiorum venit, et Catilinae neque
petitio neque inedita, quius Consuli (i.e. Ciceroni) in Campo fecerat,
prospere cessere, constituit bellum facere, et extrema omnia experiri.
Pro Murena, 24–26.—Exsil ... consul. Z. 822.

Ch. XI.—32. Detester ac deprecere. These words signify to
seek to turn from or avert by adjuration and entreaty.

34. Patria ... loquat. Compare ch. 7, 18. Madvig reads
sic loquatur.

36. Quid agis. Formula reprehendendi.

39. Evocatorem servorum; whose aid however he afterwards
rejected (Sall. 56, in fin.), although Lentulus urged its acceptance
Cat. 3, 5, 12; Sall. 44.

41. Emissus ... immissus. Paronomasia. Z. 822.

42. Hunc ... duc! ... imperab. How is imperare more
frequently construed? Z. 617, in fin.

44. Quid ... impedit. Cicero, arguing disjunctively, shows
that neither precedent, nor laws, nor the dread of future obloquy, for-
bade the punishment of Catiline.—At pereaspe ... privati. On this
use of at, see Z. 349. Cic. 1, 1, instanced Scipio Nasica. Benecke
considers the plural and per se as rhetorical exaggeration. The
first ground of excuse was "Mos majorum." His country answers,
"At per se," &c.

2. An leges, &c. The Valerian and Porcian laws. P. Valerius
Publicola, when consul, &c. c. 245, brought in a bill (the first that
was ever brought before the comitia centuriata), which enacted, that
no magistrate should put to death or flog any Roman citizen if he had
appealed to the people. Afterwards, &c. c. 305, L. Valerius Potitus
and M. Horatius Barbatus enacted, that no magistracy should be
created with an exemption from appeal. Lastly, in &c. c. 454, M.
Valerius Corvus brought in another law on the subject of appeal, the
third after the expulsion of the kings, and always by the same family
17. The Porcian laws, which emanated from three of the Porcii, exempted from stripes the person of all Roman citizens, imposing a heavy penalty on any one who should scourge or kill a Roman citizen.

3. At nunquam, &c. This is the answer to the second ground of excuse. Compare p. Sest. 67, 140.

5. Praetoriam vero. Irony, which vero strengthens. Cf. Z. 266, Note, and 716. This is the answer to the third ground of excuse.

6. Hominem per te cognitum, i.e. per te, non per maiores, &c. Or, as Cic. immediately adds: Nulla commendatione majorum. Brut 25, 96: Q. Pompeius non contentus orator temporibus illis fuit, qui summos honores homo per se cognitus sine ulla commendatione majorum est adeptus. M. See Dict. of Antiq., Novi homines.

7. Mature, i.e. as soon as the laws allowed him to become a candidate; with no repulse.

8. Omnes honorum gradus. Cicero had been chosen to fill in succession all the high offices of the state: the questorship, the edileship, the pretorship, and the consulate. Such success as he here alludes to was without precedent in the history of Rome.

13. Invidiae ... confagraturum. Cf. p. Mil. 27, 75.—In the preceding sentence, Klotz and Madvig read non est vehementius without the interrogation.

Ch. XII.—16. Respondebo. Cicero's reply is, that he would have put Catiline to death, even at the cost of his own life (though others for such deeds had won praise), if he had judged it to be for the interest of the state. But he regards it best for the state that Catiline should be allowed to leave the city and draw after him his followers and adherents.

17. Si ... judicarem ... non dedisset. When the imperfect subj. is used where we should use the pluperfect, it denotes, not an action that is terminated before that denoted by the verb in the other clause, but conceived as going on simultaneously with it. Compare in the next Oration, § 3, si ... judicarem, &c. ... jam pridem ... sustulissem: here it is implied, at non sustuli quia non judicabam, &c. (not non judicavi). Cic. implies that it was not then, and still is not his opinion. So Tusc. 1, 12, 27: Quas ceremoniae ... nec coluisse nec sanisse, nisi hqueret in eorum mentibus, &c. M.


28. Quia ... aluerunt, &c. = men who nourished, &c. It is not to be joined with the preceding sunt qui, as the subjunctives videant, &c. are, but = hi aluerunt. M.

32. In hunc animadvertissem. It means "to punish with an
FIRST ORATION AGAINST CATILINA.

authoritative and steady hand," and in this sense the preposition is necessary.—Regie = tyrannically.

37. Reprimi... comprim. Z. 822.

38. Ejecerit. The city where their plans have been discovered is the wreck of their hopes, and they must leave it or sink in ruin. The camp of Mallius is the friendly coast to which Catiline must flee with those who are wrecked with him in the discovery of the conspiracy. Benecke; who does not understand by naufragos, patrimonio naufragos, but those whose hopes have been disappointed.


Cu. XIII.—43. Jamdu. The whole three years from the consulate of Lepidus and Tullus.

44. Nesco quo pacto. Beier (Cic. Off. 1, 41, 146) rightly informs us that this phrase, like nescio quomodo, is often used with reference to things which one would wish had not been done. What mood should follow? Z. 553.

3. Ex tanto latrocinio = ex tanto numero latronum.

5. Residebit. The metaphor is taken from a subtle poison in the system. The state is the body, the conspiracy the fever, and the execution of Catiline the draught of cool water which refreshes for a moment.—In venis atque in visceribus. Does atque introduce a stronger, weaker, or equal term? P. C. 4, d; Z. 333. Observe the repetition of the preposition in. The repetition of the preposition keeps the terms distinct; its omission before the second term combines them as being little more than one complex notion. But in practice the preposition is often found repeated, even where the notions are cognate. Zumpt (ad Div. in Cæcil. 13) says: "vetus illa [regula] repeti præpositionem ubi diversitas verborum sit, falsa est, si hoc debet consequi, non repeti, ubi nulla appareat diversitas." The preposition is always repeated with et... et (but sometimes cum precedes both the et's; cum et nocturno et diurno metu); nec... nec; generally with aut... aut; vel... vel; after nisi; and after quam following a comparative: e.g. et in bello et in pace; in nulla alia re nisi in virtute; in nulla re melius quam in virtute. See Z. 745.

6. Ægri morbo gravī. Z. 452.—On the structure of this period, see Z. 816.


12. Id quod. See P. C. 36*.

14. Pretorius urbani. L. Valerius Flaccus, whose tribunal they hemmed around, that they might intimidate him when delivering judgment in cases of debt.

15. Malleolos. The term malleolus denoted a hammer, the transverse head of which was formed for holding pitch and tow; which, having been set on fire, was projected slowly, so that it might not be
extinguished during its flight, upon houses and other buildings, in order to set them on fire. *Dict. Antiq. Malleus.*

17. Polliceor volvis hoc. On this use of *hoc,* see Z. 748.—What tense of the infinitive follows *polliceor?* *P. C.* 15.

22. Hicce omnisbus . . . . *cum* summa . . . . salute. On this ablative, see Z. 472; and, for the use of *cusa* to denote an accompanying circumstance as a result or consequence of the action, see Z. as above, and the similar passage there cited from *Verr.* 1, 24.


26. Tum tu, Jupiter, &c. What is here said of Jupiter is strictly true only of the *Temple* of Jupiter. Cf. *Liv.* 1, 12, where Romulus vowed the Temple: *Romulus et ipsae turba fugientium actus, arma ad calum tollens, Jupiter, tuis, inquit, iussus avibus hic in Palatio prima urbi fundamenta jecit:*—*deme terrorem Romanis; fugam fœdam siste; hic ego tibi templum, Statori Jovi, quod monumentum sit posteris tua praetensi ope servatam urbem esse,* voce. *So M.*

27. Statorem. Compare note on p. 12 line 12. It may here be taken as *conservatorem et eum per quo uternum stabit Roma.*

Cf. *Sen. de Benef.* 4, 7
SECOND ORATION AGAINST CATILINE.

ANALYSIS.

1. In the introduction Cicero congratulates the Roman people, that Catiline has left the city, and consequently can do it no more injury.

2. He vindicates himself from a double charge: for the well-disposed citizens complained that he had suffered Catiline to escape unpunished, while on the other hand the friends of Catiline maintained that he had been too severely dealt with by the consul. To the first complaint he replies by setting forth the grounds of his course of action, viz. the conspiracy had not yet been fully discovered; moreover, the execution of Catiline would have rendered him odious and have prevented the punishment of the other conspirators; and finally, the absent enemy with his army is less to be feared than his adherents who have remained in Rome. The second reproach he meets by explaining the action which the senate had taken in regard to the conspiracy, and by showing from several circumstances that Catiline had previously determined to go, not to Marseilles, but to his army in Etruria. (§ 3—ch. 8, § 17.) In thus defending himself against the censure of the disaffected, he gives

A classification of the conspirators and of the Romans who favored the treasonable designs, and divides them into six classes, from whom, however, he considers the state has not much to fear, particularly since the best measures have been taken for its security and weal. (§ 17—ch. 12, § 26.) Finally,

4. After an apostrophe to the conspirators who had remained in the city, in which he warns them to leave Rome without delay, or at least to keep themselves quiet, since the disturbance of the public security will be most severely punished, he closes with an address to the well-disposed citizens, in which he assures them, that, without resort to arms on their part, the civil war will be ended, and, at the same time, calls upon them to supplicate the gods for the preservation of the state. (§ 26-end.)

Ch. I.—1. Tandem aliquando = at last, at length. These words express great joy at the accomplishment, after long delay, of a desired or expected object. Tandem is often strengthened by aliquando; and aliquando alone, in exhortations and wishes, and sometimes in narrative, is used with this meaning. The correspondence to the opening of the first oration, quousque tandem, may be noticed.—Quirites = citizens. The origin of this word has given rise to much discussion. It was, however, the political name by which the Roman people were at home collectively designated and addressed as free citizens of the state.

2. Scelus anhelantem. Z. 383. Anhelo describes the violence of his rage, and eagerness to execute the crime upon which he was bent. Scelus is here used in its proper sense; it is the strongest of the general terms that denote evil deeds, and expresses an offence against
the rights of individuals, or the peace of society, by robbery, murder, and particularly by sedition. Dōd. Cf. Auct. Rhet. ad Herenn. 4, 55, 68: At istic opus ex ore scelus, anhelans ex intimo pectoro cru-
delitatem.—Pestem . . . molientem. See note on line 19 of page 9.

3. Vobis atque huic urbi ferro flammasque minitantem. Klotz reads (with Matthiae) ferrum flammasque. In other passages, he remarks, Cic. meae ferro ignique (or igni ferroque) minitari, c. g. Phil. 11, 14, 37: Huic urbi ferro ignique minitantur; in Phil. 13, 21, 47: patriæ igni ferroque [Nobbe ignem ferrumque] minitatur; but then igni ferroque denote only the instruments with which they threaten their country, &c. The acc. denotes what they threaten to inflict upon it: the sword (= death by the sword) and fire (= destruction by flames). So Tusc. 1, 43, 102: cui quum Lygimachi
tex crucem minaretur = "death on the cross," "crucifixion." Con-
cinnity of style here requires the accusative, that it may range, as it were, with scelus anhelantem. Klotz.

4. Vel ejecimus vel emissimus. Ejicimur nolentes, emittimus volentes; sed utrumque ab alio: egregium autem ipsi per nos. Mure-
ipsa ceciderunt. M.

5. Verba prosecuti sumus = malis ominibus. Cf. the end of the preceding oration: Hicce ominibus . . . cum tua peeta ac pernicie
. . . proficiscere, &c.—Abiit, excessit, evasit, erupit. "Certo quid
inter abire et excedere intereat, hau facilfe dixeris: evadere autem et
erumpere quam utrumque significet o loco parum tuto effugier, ita
differunt, ut evadere sit dolo alioque vel arte et clam se subtrahere;
erumpere autem vi exitum sibi patefacere. Coaservatio autem verba-
rum idem significantrum signum est animi luttitia exsaltantibus, et dubi-
tantis, quo verbo aptissime sensa sua exprimat." M. Cf. Quintilian,
9, 3, 46. See Z. 742.

—A monstra illo atque prodigio. The primary notion in monstrum is,
that it is unnatural and ugly; in prodigium, that the appearance is
replete with meaning and pregnant with consequences. Dōd.

8. Sine controversa = sine dubio.

10. Non in campo, &c. Supply Martio. The several occasions
here referred to, have been noticed in the first oration, chaps. 5, 11;
6, 15; 4, 9.

11. Pertimescemus, is here used intransitively = timorem ha-
bebimus, "shall not fear or be afraid."

12. Ex urbe depulsus, The more common form would be ex-
pulsus; but Matthiae remarks that he chose rather to say depulsus.
because Catiline was driven from his position or vantage-ground; as de loco or gradu moveri, depelli, dejici, are properly used of soldiers and gladiators.—Nullo impeditente. In what cases is nemo defective? P. C. p. 326*; Z. 88 and 676.

13. Bellum justum = regular, formal, open war.

14. Hominem, contemptuously, as opprimet hominem in ch. 12, 26.—Occultus, which seems pleonastic with insidiae, stands for the sake of the contrast with apertum latrocinium.

15. Quod vero. Quod, with verbs of the emotions, introduces the clause which contains the ground or cause of the feeling. See P. C. 517; Z. 629. In this sentence the emphatic position of non cruentum should be noticed, and also the position of vivis . . . . incolumes . . . . stantem, which, as containing the whole force of the expression, come before their substantives. See P. C. p. 238, 25; Z. 793.

17. E manibus extortius. The common text is de manibus. So in 1 Cat. 6, 16: extorta est . . . . de manibus. De is here explained by Krüger as = away. Ellendt on de Orat. 1, 52, 225, considers exam ex manu as the proper, de manu as the metaphorical expression, so that the latter = adimere utendi posse statem.

19. Quanto, &c. . . . . putatis! This sort of question may often be conveniently translated by imagine with must. "Imagine with how great sorrow he must have been stricken," &c.

21. Retorquet oculos. As the wild beast that wistfully eyes the prey which has been snatched from its jaws.

23. Evomuerit. A metaphor taken from the sick, who are often so relieved. This figurative use of evomo is common, nor did the ancients feel that it offended against good taste.

Ch. II.—25. Si quis. How does si quis differ from si aliquis? P. C. 391; Z. 708. Madvig reads, Ac si quis.—Quales esse omnes operebat. All as true patriots should have judged that Catiline deserved death.

26. In hoc ipso, in quo exsultat . . . . accuset. In = in respect to, is especially used with certain verbs, such as lateari, gloriari, exsultare, and the verbs of praising, blaming, and accusing, to express the point, to which the general notion contained in the verb applies.


1. A me. What is the construction of postulo? Z. 393.

3. Quae ego deferrem. Consult note on p. 14, line 44. He refers to the information derived through Fulvia and communicated by him to the senate. The emphasis which belongs to ego should be noticed.

4. Non putarent = did not duly estimate. The bracketed clauses have been regarded as spurious, because the former in one of the MSS.
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is not found, and in others is placed after Quam multos, qui etiam
defenderent. Klotz and Madvig give them in this order, and Klotz
omits the [ ].

6. Ac si, like quod si, connects sentences which are mutually re-
lated to each other, and = in hac rerum consecutio sesi. Cf. Z. 333
and 807.—Sublato. To what verb do the forms sustulit and sustulatum
belong? Z. 213, Note.—Depelli a vobis. Is the preposition necessary?
Z. 463.


8. Invídite me. The possessive pronoun here takes the place
of the objective genitive. Z. 424.—Periculo. Z. 472, Note.

9. Re etiam tum probata. Re = the fact of the conspiracy.

10. Fore ut . . . . non possem. When is the circumlocution by
means of futurum esse or fore ut necessary to express the infinitive

15. Parum comitatus. Z. 632, and on parum, 731. Sallust
says, cum paucis; and Plutarch gives the number 300.

17. Tongillum. Tongilius, Publicius, Munatius (Qy. Munatius
Plancus ?), are unknown personages. Some have thought that
the orator purposely mentions such names; but it is enough to suppose
that they were persons of no note, and that Cicero points this out by
avoiding all circumstantial or full description of them. Orelli quotes
Q. Cic. de pet. Cons. 3, 10: Catilina, qui ex curia Curios et Annios,
ab atriis Sapalas et Carvilius, ex equestri ordine Pompeius et Vet-
tios sibi amicissimos comparavit.—Mihi. What is this dative called?
P. C. 240; Z. 408. It often gives an ironical coloring. Compare note
on p. 22, line 5.—In prætexta. Supply toga. This was the dress
worn by a Roman youth until he assumed the toga virilis.

18. [Calumnia]. This word is here found in most MSS. It
appears to have been a marginal gloss, which afterwards crept into the
text. Some editors have proposed conjectural readings for the purpose
of giving it significance, but recent editions omit it altogether.

19. Contractum in popina = i. e. sumitibus in popina factis.
Several MSS. read in popinam, which some editors receive as ex-
pressing the object for which the indebtedness was contracted.

20. Ære alieno. On the order of the words, see Z. 800. This
class, so deeply involved in debt, were more to be feared, as they had
nothing to lose and every thing to hope for from the overthrow of the
government.

Ch. III.—22. Et Gallicanus legionibus . . . . contenmno. The
abl. here denotes the cause of his setting it at naught or despising it.
A nearly similar construction occurs, Or. 13, 41: Isocrates videtur
testimonial Platonis aiiorum judicia debere contenmne. See Z. 454.
Some editions, from a conjecture of Lambinus, read pra Gallicanis
The MSS. give ex, for which et, the emendation of Muretus, has been
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generally received.—Gallicae legiones are, "Roman legions serving in Gaul:" *Gallicae legiones* would be "legions consisting of Gauls."

See Z. 258.

23. In agro Piceno et Gallico. These countries were situated on the Adriatic, and separated from each other by the river *Adus*. The latter derived its name from the Galli Senones who occupied it in early times.

24. Q. Metellus Celer, the praetor, was dispatched by the senate into the Picenian territory, to raise an army proportioned to the emergency and danger. *Agrum Camertem, Picenum, Gallicum maxime quam morbus quidam illius fuiros pervaserat. Pro Sulla, 19, 53* Cl. Sall. Cat. 30.

25. Magna opere. So more correctly written for *magnopere*.—*Ex senibus desperatis*. The veterans who had served under Sulla are meant. Cf. ch. 9, 20; and Sall. 16.—*Ex agresti luxuria = ex agrestibus luxuriosis*, the abstract for the concrete.

26. Decoctoribus. *Decoquere* and *decoctor* are not used of *every bankrupt*, but of one who arranges matters with his creditors by an *assignment* of his goods (*cessio bonorum*); without a public compulsory *venditio bonorum*; the *decoctor* did not lose his civil rights.

K.—*Vadimonia*. When the praetor had granted an action, the plaintiff required the defendant to give security for his appearance before the praetor on a day named. The defendant, on finding a surety, was said *vadimonium promittere* or *facere*. If the defendant appeared on the day appointed, he was said *vadimonium sistere*; if he did not appear, he was said *vadimonium deseruisse*, and the praetor gave to the plaintiff the *bonorum possessio*. See Dict. Antiq., Agric.

28. Edictum praetoris. In which the praetor's judgment against debtors is announced.

29. Q. Quae video volitare. Verbs which denote *to see* and *hear* can take the infinitive or a participle. Z. 636. Cic. prefers the infinitive, unless a picture is to be presented, later writers, as Tacitus, the participle.—*Volitare*. With this word is associated the notion of impudence and presumption—insolent assurance.

31. Nitent unguentis. Pomatum and perfumes were then the fashion with such characters. Cf. ch. 10: *pezo capillo, nitidi*.—*Fulgent purpura*. The senators and equeites who had joined the conspiracy are here meant. The dress of the former was distinguished by a broad, of the latter by a narrow stripe of purple in front of the breast.

See Dict. Antiq., Clavus Latus.

32. Suos milites = as his soldiers.

34. Quae exercitus desernerunt. *Pro Muren. 37, 79: Quaris a me, quid ego Catilinam metuam*. *Nihil; et curavi, ne quis metueret; sed copias illius, quas hic video, dico esse metuendas; nec tam timendus est nunc exercitus L. Catilinae, quam isti, qui illum exer-
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20. *cittum deserviisse dicuntur; non enim deseruerunt, sed ab illo in speculius atque insidiis relictum in capite atque in cervicibus nostris restiterunt.*


38. *Cædis atque incendiorum; Cædis, i. e. Cethagus and others; incendiorum, Gabinius and Statilius.* See Sall. 43. Cicero distributes these parts somewhat differently. See 3 Cat. 6, 14; and 4 Cat. 6, 13.

39. Superioris noctis. The same night that is called in the first oration, *superior in § 1, prior in § 8.* O.—*Periata esse,* i. e. by Curius and Fulvia. Madvig reads, delata.

41. *Næ IIII.* With what is *næ* in the best writers usually joined? Z. 360, Note.

Ch. IV.—43. *Vos omnes.* Would *vestrum omnes* be admissible? Z. 430.

21. 1. *Nisi vero.* What mood follows these words, and in what sense are they used? See Z. 526.—*Si quis.* As *quod* and *quia* follow *nisi* when it has the sense of the adverb "except" (Z. 735); so *nisi,* in the same sense, is frequently followed by *si* and especially by *si quis.* In Cicero this is rare in his orations, but more frequent in his letters and dialogues. Madvig here however rejects the *si—Cætillæ.* What case is this word here? P. C. 212, w; Z. 411.

2. *Sentire non putet.* With verbs of *thinking,* *seeming,* &c., the "not" is prefixed to the verb rather than to the infinitive. See Arnold's *Nepos,* Paus. 3, 6. Thus *non puta, non arbitratus,* as forming one notion, may be compared with the compound *necos,* which we often in translating resolve into *dicere non.* See P. C. p. 202, 2; Z. 799. Cf. de *Off. 1, 13, 39:* captivos reddendos in senatu non censuit; pro *Leg. Man. 23, 67:* ad unum deferenda omnia esse non arbitratur.


5. *Aurelia via;* which led through Etruria. *Philipp. 12, 9:* *Tres via sunt ad Mutinam, a supero mari Flaminia, ab infero Aurelia, media Cassia.*

6. *Si . . . volent . . . consequentur.* See Z. 509.—*Ad vesperam.* In Cicero, with the exception of this passage, where *ad vesperam* is the reading of all the MSS., *ad vesperum* has been restored from the MSS. Cicero and Caesar appear to have preferred the second declension in the accusative, the third in the ablative. Z. 98.


8. *Catilina exhausto.* With reference to the metaphor noticed in the preceding note.
SECOND ORATION AGAINST CATILINE.

10. Quod non ille conceperit. On the place of non, see P. C. 258, 104.

11. Tota Italia. See Arnold’s Nepos, Praef. 5, 1, p. 63; Iphicr. 2, 3, p. 188; Z. 482.

15. Cum Catilina . . . . vixisse. Vivere cum aliquo = to live with some one, not in the sense of being his contemporary, but to have intercourse with, to be on intimate footing with.

16. Quae caedes . . . . non per illum! Cf. 1 Cat. 6, 14; 7, 18; and pro Sull. 5, 16: quod flagitium Lentulus non cum Autronio concepit? quod sine eodem illo Catilina facinus admisit? Per illum is different, of course, from ab illo. Per does not denote the immediate agent, but the person by whose instigation, assistance, instrumental-ity, &c., the action takes place. Per illum here may be compared with illo ad libidinem facem praferente, in Cat. 1, § 13. M.

17. Quod nefarium stuprum non per illum. Why quod?

P. C. 105; Z. 134, and Note.

18. Jam vero. These words are often used to mark transition, and = “likewise,” or “moreover,” “besides.”


Ch. V.—28. Diversa studia in dissimilis ratione. Cicero here exhibits some of the traits of Catiline’s character, made up as it was of extremes, in the light of contrasts. He was among the bold and toil-worn distinguished for his daring and patient endurance of labor; and again, among the delicate and effeminate, equally eminent for his excess in these qualities. Cf. p. Cat. 5, 12, where the orator is speaking of Catiline: neque ego unquam fuisse tale monstrum in terris uillum puto, tam ex contraria diversoria inter se pugnantibus na-turae studiorum cupiditatibusque conflatum.

30. Intimum Catilina. For the construction of intimus, see Z. 410.

31. Nemo in scena levior. The histriones were either freed-men, strangers, or slaves, and were generally held in great contempt. Dict. Antiq., Histrio.

33. Frigori . . . . perferendis. Madvig reads frigore et fame; and assuefactus is more commonly construed with the ablative. With this reading some editions place a comma after assuefactus, and, construing it with exercitatio, make what follows = “propter ea quod frigus, &c. perferret.”

35. Subadda atque instrumenta. These are his capacity for enduring cold, &c.—For consumenter Madvig reads consumeret.

36. Si securi erunt. Z. 168*.—Sui comites. The constant attendants and companions of Catiline in Rome, described in what follows as desperatorum hominum flagitiissi greges.
38. O nos beatos, &c. The simple *apodosis*, "Then shall we be happy," is given with greater emphasis by the repeated exclamation.

40. Libidines . . . audacie. Z. 92.

42. Obligaverunt. Have mortgaged. The reading in the older editions is *abligurierunt* = have wasted in luxury.

43. Res, i.e. domestica, property.—*Fides*. Credit.

22. 1. In vino et aequa. Drinking and play were indulged in at the close of the feast; and when the party were heated with wine they sallied into the streets with torches and music, and visiting the houses of their favorite mistresses, they with up roar demanded admittance, threatening to break down the doors if refused. This was *carnissatio*. Games of chance among the Romans were prohibited by various laws, and *aleatores* were infamous.

2. Illi quidem . . . sed tamen. When *quidem* followed by *sed* stands with a predicate verb or adjective as a concessive particle, it is not in the best writers connected with the verb or adjective, but with an inserted pronoun. P. C. 383; Z. 744.—*Essent . . . desperandi*. Z. 417.

3. Inertes homines fortissimis viris. On the distinction between *homo* and *vir*, see Arnold’s Nepos, *Paus.* 1, 1.

5. Qui mihi, &c. The dative of personal pronouns is often used (where we cannot translate them) to indicate that the thought expressed is one that *interesse* and *excitare* the speaker, or one that must arrest the attention of the person addressed: thus, *Quid mihi Celsum agit?* Hor. *Ep.* 1, 3, 15. *At tibi repente pascio post diebus . . . venit ad me Caninius, C. Fam.* 9, 2.—*Accubantes.* See *Dict. Antiq.*, *Triclinium*.

7. Sertos redimitis. It was customary for the guests at such carousals to wear garlands of myrtle, ivy, lilies, roses, &c.; and to perfume their hair with fragrant oils.


14. Nulla est enim natio, &c. So Agr. 1, 9, 26: *Nullum externum periculum est; non rex, non gens ulla, non natio pertimescenda est; inclusum malum, intestinum ac domesticum est.*

16. Unius. Pompey the Great and his successes against the pirates and Mithridates are referred to.

21. Quacunque. Z. 706. On the tenses in this sentence, see Z. 509.—*Resecanda.* Cf. Phil. 8, 5, 15. *In corpore ei quid ejusmodi est, quod reliquo corpori nocet, ut securique patimur; ut membro-rum aliquod potius, quam totum corpus intereat: sic in rei publicae corpore, ut totum salutum sit, quidquid est pestiferum, amputetur.*

23. Prolude = *igitur* cum exhortatione quadam, and is often used in animated appeals at the end of a speech, &c. Z. 344.
SECOND ORATION AGAINST CATILINE.

Ch. VI.—25. A me. With emphasis, as its position indicates With this chapter commences the refutation of the calumnies which the enemies of Cicero and the friends of Catiline had circulated.


29. Simul atque. How is atque (ac) to be translated after words denoting similarity? How after words which denote dissimilarity? Is simul alone used for simulac? Z. 350.—Ire . . . . iussus est. Z. 607.

The irony is well sustained throughout the period. Compare note, Orat. 1, ch. 5, line 37.

30. Paruit, ivit. On the omission of et, see Z. 783. Klotz reads paruit. Qui ut hesterno, &c.—Hesterno die. This statement is quite irreconcilable with 1 Cat. §§ 1, 9, 10; from which we necessarily gather that Orat. I. was delivered on the 8th of November; whereas, from the present passage, it would appear to have been delivered on the 7th. O. Drumann, Vol. V. p. 456, n. 32, dates the delivery of the first oration on the 7th of November and of the second on the 8th Madvig, Opusc. I. pp. 194-96, inclines to the same dates.

31. In ædem Jovis Statoris. Ædes in the singular = a temple; in the plural, a house. In the former sense it is regularly qualified by some adjective expressed, or the genitive of the deity whose temple is mentioned. If more temples than one are spoken of, the adjective or genitive determines the sense, as ædes sacræ, deorum.

32. Detull. See note on Orat. 1, ch. 8, line 44.

34. Ac non potius. In the sense of and not rather, et non and more commonly ec non are retained, and do not give place to neque or nec. See Krebs, Guide, 525; Z. 781, in fin:

36. Partem illam subselliorum. Cf. 1 Cat. 7, 16.

38. Vehemens ille consul. On this use of ille, see P. C. 381; Z. 701. It refers ironically to the first part of the chapter, sunt, qui dicant . . . a me, &c.—Quæsivi a Catilina. Does quæro take a double accusative? With what other prepositions is it construed? Z. 393.

39. Necne = or not. In what kind of questions is necne used? What is used in direct questions? Krebs, Guide, 324; P. C. 122, b Z. 554. What is there faulty in the reading an nocturno conventu, which is found in some editions? Z. 353. Klotz and Madvig read in nocturno, &c.; and below, line 42, in proximam.

42. El ratio . . . . belii descripta. For what does the dative stand? Z. 419. Translate “how the plan of the whole war had been marked out by him.”

44. Dubitaret proficisci. In what sense of dubito does the infinitive follow it?—Pararet. In oratione recta it would be quid dubitas eo proficisci, quo jamdudum paras?

1. Quum arma, quum secures. Cf. 1 Cat. § 24. Sall. 36 Cum fascibus atque aliis imperii insignibus in castra ad Manlium

Cum fascibus atque aliis imperii insignibus in castra ad Manlium
contendit. Appian, B. C. 2, 3: ὃ ἐμὸν ἄμβον, τε καὶ πελέκες, δὲ τοῦ ἀνθέσατο, καθὼς μαλα ἄνγχει ἐξ ἑαυτῷ καὶ ἦν τὸν Μάλλιον ἐξήφες στρατευόντων.
4. Premissam attaches itself to the nearest substantive, aquilam Z. 373.—Ejiciebam. On this use of the imperfect to describe an action of the past time as incomplete or continuing, see Z. 500.
5. Credo. How is this word here used? Z. 777.
Cu. VII.—12. Periculis metis. These are the measures which Cicero with danger to himself had adopted for the suppression of the conspiracy. Cf. p. Sull. 11, 33: meis consiliis, meis laboribus, mei capitis periculis; and 3 Cat. 1, 1. The asyndeton between these nouns, and between the several clauses of the protasis, should be noticed; as also the force which the position of non gives, and its repetition at the beginning of the clauses of the apodosis.
15. Ad fugam atque in exsilium. Observe the change of the prepositions, atque in exsilium, more nearly defining ad fugam.
19. S1 hoc fecerit, i.e. iter in exsilium converterit. See note on Orat. 1, ch. 9, line 37.
23. A vobis . . . depellatur. If the verb in the active voice admits the preposition a or ab, an ambiguity sometimes exists in the passive construction. In this instance it will be easy to decide that the construction belongs to Z. 468, and not to Z. 451.
26. A dils . . . optabo . . . ut. Z. 613, and Note in fin.
33. Massiliam. Cf. Sall. Cat. 34: At Catilina ex itinere plerisque consularibus, pratera opumto cuique litteras mittit; se falsis criminiibus circumventum, quoniam factioni inimico rum resistere nequiverit, fortuna cedere: Massiliam in exsilium proficiisci, non quo sibi tanti aecleris consciscus esset, sed uti respublica quieta foret, neve ex sua contentione seditione oriretur.
34. Quam verentur. For their real wish was that Catiline would speedily return to Rome at the head of an army.
35. Tam misericors. Alluding ironically to those who pretended to be distressed at the fate of Catiline.
Ch. VIII.—43. Fatetur se esse hostem; i.e. by his withdrawal to the camp of Mallius, which Cicero now assumes as certain. The emphatic repetition of hostis may be noticed.—Quem, quia, quod. Seyffert, ad Lat. p. 186, remarks that a succession of words commencing with q was rather agreeable to the Roman ear. From Cicero he there quotes, quoniam quisbuseram quisquam, Acad. 1, 2, 6; and quia qua, Famili. 12, 2, 2.
24 2. Siullo modo fieri possit. Klots reads posset; and below line 4, volunt for volent.
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5. Exponam eunm voles. Supply primum, to correspond to deinde.


8. Unum genus est eorum. For the genitive, see Z. 425. Cf. p. Mil. 2, 3: unum genus est adversum infestumque nobis eorum, quos, &c. The genuineness of this oration has been attacked against the most express testimony. Among other arguments, some have alleged the length and fulness of these divisions, and of the antithetical array of opposed principles in ch. 11, § 25. Klotz observes, that the orator, who was here addressing the people after the decision, had not to persuade them to the adoption of measures, but to satisfy them that all had been done with sufficient reason, &c. Hence this fulness of description.


10. Amore adducti. Z. 454, in fin.—Dissolvi = divelli, &c. a praddis illis; but not without allusion to the phrase, ac alienum disservere. Compare p. Sull. 20, 59: Illud erat genus hominum horribile et pertimescendum, qui tanto amore suas possessiones amplexi tenebant, ut ab iis membra divelli citius ac diutrihi posse diceres. This was uttered after the suppression of the conspiracy.

12. Tu agris, tu edificis, . . . copiosus ails, et dubites. Compare this form of question with the form noticed in ch. 9, line 22, of Orat. 1; and see Z. 530. Observe also the forcible repetition of the pronoun, which in questions that indicate disapprobation, or surprise and indignation, is usually expressed.

14. Acquirere ad fidem = to gain credit. Acquirere, in Cicero, is often construed with ad in the sense of increase or addition to that which is already possessed. The contrast of ad with de, and the chiasric arrangement of the clauses may be noticed. P. C. p. 14, 15, b, and p. 243, init.

15. Quid ergo, &c. See Z. 769.


18. Tabulae novae . . . verum auctionariarum: “By my good services fresh bills shall be proposed, but they shall be bills of sale.” Cicero here plays upon the term tabula novae, which usually signifies a revision of debts; by which, in revolutionary times, the creditor was forced to give the debtor a fresh bill, making a stated deduction (often very considerable) from the old one. Tabulae auctionariae were schedules, in which the debtor’s property was summed up, preparatory to a sale by auction for the benefit of his creditors. These might in jest be called novae (i.e. insolita), as being a proceeding quite unex-
24 pected by the debtors. Cicero, *de Off. 2*, 24, 84, refers to this time

Numquam vehementius actum est quam me consule, ne solvere ut
numquam nec majus ex alienum fuit, nec melius nec facilius disso-
lutum est. Fraudandi enim epe subiata, solvendi necessitas conse-

21. Neque certare cum usuris fructibus prædiorum: “and
not struggle to meet the usurious interest demanded by their creditors
with the mere incomes derived from their estates” [i.e. instead of sell-
ing part to set the rest free]: the interest they had to pay frequently
exceeded their entire income.—*Id quod. P. C. 36*

22. Locupletioribus his et mellioribus civibus uteremur =
we should have in them both richer and better citizens. See *Z. 394,
Note 1*, in fin.

23. Puto pertimescendos. What is omitted with *pertimesen-
dos*, also with *facturi . . . laturi*, in the following lines? *Z. 775.
This omission, which is common after *verba sentiendi* and *declarandi*,
occurs most frequently with the infinitive future active and with the
gerundive.

Cu. IX.—28. *Dominationem . . . exspectant.* Compare below
*consules se aut dictatores, aut etiam reges sperant futuros.—B«erum
potiri.* *Z. 466.*

30. *Quibus hoc præcipiendum.* Is *quibus* here dative of the
agent with *præcipiendum*, by *Z. 649*; or of the remote object, by *Z.
495*?

32. *Quod conantur.* *Z. 546.*

33. *Primum omnium, me ipsum vigilare . . . deinde . . .
denique.* See *Z. 727.*—These infinitive clauses are to be referred to
*præcipiendum*, or some suitable *verbum dicendi* or *sentiendi* implied
in it.

35. *Maximam multitudinem.* Matthay observes that the con-
struction is as if it were *magnos esse animos virorum honorum . . .
maximam (orum) multitudinem.*

38. *Præsentes auxilium esse laturos.* The force which lies
in *præsentes* will be noticed. *The gods, as if present before our eyes,*
will render prompt and efficient aid. *Cf. 3 Cat. 8, 18*; and ch. 13,
29, of this oration. *Præsens* often = *propitius, favens.*

42. *Se . . . reges sperant futuros.* Would *reges sperant esse* be admissible for, “they hope to be kings”?—*Aut etiam reges.* This
Cicero adds with the design of rendering the class of which he is
speaking odious to the Roman people, to whom the name king was
offensive.

43. Fugittivo . . . aut gladiatori concedi sit necessae. See
*P. C. p. 245, 47.* For Catiline, in the event of success, would advance
such characters to posts of honor, not those who had remained inactive
in Rome.
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14. Etate... affectum = proiectum, ut vires debilitatae quidem sint, sed non exhausta.

3. Quas Fessulas, &c. Catilinam (in consulatus petitione) stipatam choros juventutis, vallatum indicibus atque sicariis... circumvuentem colonorum Arretinorum et Fasulanorum exercitu. Pro Muren. § 49. Klotz reads quas Fessulas; Madvig, quas Sulla constituit.—Universas. This adjectival is often used in agreement with the noun, where we should use an adverbial expression, as "in general," or "on the whole." The same is true in Latin of many other adjectives.

5. In insperatis ac repentinis pecunias = quum insperatas et repentinas pecunias adopti essent. The preposition in denotes rather the continuing state, the abl. alone would express the cause or ground. Appian, B. Civ. 2, 2, p. 177: περίπτεραν ἐς τῶν Συμφέων τοὺς τὰ κρέα τὸν βίον ὁμοιωμένον καὶ ἀργοτέρων ἐγγυος ἰδρυον. M.

7. Lecticae, &c. The lecticae were a mark of opulence, requiring many lecticarii, &c. They answered to a splendid equipage in our days. See Dict. Antig., Lectica.


14. Dictaturas cogitare, i.e. to dream that dictatorships (and the license of Sulla's days) will come back again.—The illa tempora (= those days), the days of Sulla's dictatorship.

15. Inustus forcibly expresses the violence and duration of the suffering.

16. Non modo homines. Supply the negative predicate of the following clause. Z. 724, b.


19. Jampridem premuntur. How to be construed? P. C. 413

21. Quil... permulti. Z. 430.

22. Vadiominis, judicilis, proscriptionibus. The exact order of procedure is here observed: for, first, the creditor took bail of the debtor; secondly, if the debtor failed to make his appearance, the creditor was put in possession; thirdly, if the creditor remained in possession thirty days, the property was proscribed. Muret.

23. Et ex urbe et ex agris. For the repetition of the preposition, see note on page 18, line 5.

24. Inifitatores lentos. Lentus is a slow payer. Inifitatores lenti are persons who put off paying their debts by denying wholly, or in part, that they are just debts.

25. Primum, not followed by deinde, occurs 1 Fin. 6, 17, and in several other passages.—Si stare non possunt. With reference to vacillant, line 21.
26. Corruant. The subjunctive as containing the advice which Cic. had promised, ch. 8, 17.—Sed ita, ut non modo, &c. "Ita ut nullum incommodum e ruina ipsorum non modo ad civitatem sed ne ad vicinos quidem perveniat." Muretus, who considers the expression proverbial and suspects that there is an allusion to an old play, as Plato has ἴδων δὲ γεννώμενων, τὰ τοῦ κομφόσκοπου, ἀδ' οἷ ó γεννών σφόδρα τοι αἰσθάνοντα, Alcib. 1, p. 121, and Plutarch (Phocion, c. 30), ἴδων μὲν τὴν εὖ μνημεία γαρούντος ὧδ' οὗ γεννών θεότη.

28. Honeste = with honor, in consequence of their debts.

32. Neque ... possunt et peranc. Here two leading clauses are connected, the former of which stands as unconditional in the indicative, the latter as concessive in the subjunctive. On neque ... et, see Z. 338, in fin.

34. Postremum. In a double sense "the last and worst," as Cicero immediately explains it.

36. Proprium, in the full meaning of what is peculiarly and exclusively his.—De complexu ejus ac sinu = of his bosom friends. The expression is figurative, and derived from the Roman custom of reclining at table. It is often used in a good sense of an intimate and valued friend. Muretus thinks there may be here an allusion to Catiline's impurity of life.

37. Quos pexo capillo, nitidos, &c. Some editions omit the comma between capillo and nitidos, making pexo capillo limit and define nitidos. Compare ch. 3, 5, qui nitent ungentibus, and ch. 5, 19, ungventis obiliti.


39. Veils amictos, non togas, i. e. "in such loose and flowing togas that they should rather be called veils." A close-fitting toga indicated a person of strict character, &c.; e. g. exiguaeque toga simul et textore Catonem. So, of course, an ample flowing toga belonged to luxurious, effeminate livers. Tunc procul absitie, quisquis colit arte capillos, Efflutit effuso cui toga laxa sinu. M.

40. Cenae antelucanae were banquets carried on all through the night till the day broke: this was called canare in lucem.


43. Neque cantare et psallere. Supply solum from the preceding. Cantare properly of vocal music; psallere of instrumenta music, particularly on stringed instruments, accompanied by the voice. Some editions give cantare et saltare, others psallere et saltare.

1. Scitote. Z. 164.
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2. Seminarium Catilinarum, "a Catilinarian nursery;" i.e. for bringing up young Catilines; men resembling Catiline in principles and morals. Cf. seminarium pomarium, &c. Madvig reads Catilinarum.


7. Idcirco . . . . quod. Idcirco and ideo = "for this reason," and refer either to a preceding statement or a succeeding one. They sometimes refer to a following quod, quia, or quoniam. The order may be inverted, and quod, &c. precede. Sometimes ideo and idcirco refer to a purpose to be afterwards stated by ut, quod; ne, ut ne. The forms si . . . . idcirco; et si . . . . idcirco; neque si . . . . idcirco, are common. Ideo also occurs with this reference to a conditional sentence.

Ch. XI.—10. Scortorum cohortem praetoriam. Scortae here = cinedi; those just before called impuri impudicique. Cohors prætoria was the name applied to the body of men which was particularly appointed to attend on the commander, and which was composed of soldiers of tried bravery.


14. Naupfragorum ejectam . . . . manum. Compare note on p. 17, line 38. Ejicere is often used of one who is wrecked and cast upon the shore. Virg. Æn. 1, 578: Si quibus ejectus sibis aut urbis erat.

16. Urbes coloniarum ac municipiorum = urbes, sicut coloniae ac municipia; i.e. urbes denotes the genus, and coloniae and municipia the species. Cf. Or. 11, 15, 63: Causa vel causis vel sapientia vel temeritatem; where casus, sapientia, temeritas, are the species of the genus causa. M. Z. 425.—Respondebunt = pares erunt ad resistendum; resistent, opponentur; "will be a match for." Cf. pro Flacco, 40, 100: Septimio et Calio testibus P. Servilius et Q. Metellus . . . . repugnabunt. Asiatica jurisdictioni urbana jurisdictio respondebit. The notion is that of drawing up one line of soldiers opposite to another, so that each answers or corresponds to a particular portion of the enemy's line.

17. Tumulis silvestribus; which Catiline gave out that he would occupy, for the purpose of carrying on a guerilla warfare; such localities as cowards flee to who seek lurking-places for ambushes, and dare not give battle in the open plain. So Liv. 27, 20: tumulus erat silvestris, quem Hannibal insidiis quam castris optio- rem esse crediderat. Schütz.

18. Ornamenta = all the necessary equipments, the whole op-
paratus belii.—Cum illius latronis inopia atque egestate. Compare Sall. Cat. ch. 56: Sed ex omni copia circiter pars quarta erat mili-
taribus armis instructa, &c., and ch. 59: latrones inermes.


22. Exteris nationibus. Externus denotes a merely local re-
lation, and is applicable to things as well as to persons; but exerlus
an intrinsic relation, and is an epithet for persons only. Externa na-
tiones is a merely geographical expression for nations that are situated
without; exteris nationes, a political expression for foreign nations.
Déd. Compare ab externo hoste, p. 27, line 38.

23. Contendere = conferre; comparare. Cf. quidquid tu con-
tra dixeris, id cum defendas nostra contendita. Pro S. Rosc. 33,
93.

29. Equitas, &c. Heumann remarks, that the four primary or
cardinal virtues are alluded to, according to the practice of Platonists
and Stoics: ditacionis, assortionis, judike, gloriae. Cf. C. de Offic. 1, 3.

31. Postremo. Notice. postremo after denique in line 29, and
again denique after postremo in line 32. Z. 727.

33. In hujusmodi certamine ac prello. Certamen = strife,
contest with words or weapons, here in reference to the opposed virtues
and vices; praelium is a more technical military expression = combat,
action, engagement, with reference to the evolutions and charges.


Cn. XII.—38. Quemadmodum jam antea. After antea the
MSS. give dixi, which Klotz retains, and with Benecke supposes may
refer to the sentence Instruisti nunc, &c. § 24, which was interrupted
by the enumeration of the virtues and vices which are arrayed against
each other.

39. Mihi ... consultum, &c. See Z. 419.—Sine ullo tumultu.
See P. C. 390, 391; Z. 709.

41. Certiores a me facti de, &c. Z. 394, Note 1.

43. Gladiatores, quam, &c. See Z. 372. Catiline's intimacy
with them has been noticed in ch. 5, 9. Cf. Q. Cicer. de petit. cons.
3: qui postea cum gladiatoribus ita vixit, ut facinoris adjutores
haberet.

44. Melleore animo sunt, i. e. potentiores et fortiores. So Mat-
thie after Heumann. It seems better, however, to understand
the words of the disposition which the gladiators showed. They
might have been better disposed to the state than some of the patricians,
and yet have needed to be held in check. Cicero obtained a decree from
the senate, by virtue of which the gladiators were sent to Capua and
other municipal towns. Cf. Sall. 30.

27. Continuabuntur, by being distributed about the country at
Capua and other municipal towns. Sall. 30.
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7. Atque .... contra, &c. Atque adeo here = vel potius. 27

Z. 737.

10. Nunc illos, qui, &c.—monitos eos etiam atque etiam volo. Observe the eos, which is not wanted, the construction being nunc illos .... monitos volo. Many instances of this kind are found, especially after the relative and an intervening clause. M. quotes 2 Or. 23, extr.: Hae ipsa, quae nunc ad me delegare vis, ea semper in te eximia et præstantia fuerunt. Inv. 1, 31, 52: Factum est, ut etiam illud, quod dubium videbatur, si quis separatim quæreret, id pro certo propter rationem rogandi concederetur.—On monitos .... volo, see Z. 611.

11. Adhuc .... solutior. Would it be proper to connect adhuc with solutior in the sense of “still”? Z. 486. Adhuc relates to time, and = “up to this time;” “hitherto,” “as yet.”


17. Non modo factum, sed inceptum. After non modo, sed follows without etiam, where the second is the stronger statement.


25. Togato duce et imperatore. The same expression occurs in Orat. 3, 10, 23. The toga was the robe worn by the Romans in times of peace, and the word sometimes stands for pax. The language is military, except as qualified by the word togatus, which expresses that the general is not one in the field (i.e. sagatus from sagum), but a peaceful leader in a quiet suppression of the threatening war.


31. Quod .... vix optandum videtur, i.e. “as being so impossible that it would be idle to wish for.” Thus the Greeks used to denote such things as one might fairly wish for, as being σοφή δίκα (Isocr. Pan. 79), or σιγάσ ὡσα (Plat. de Rep. 14, 499). O. On the use of the participle in dies with the signification of possibility, see Z. 650. With what particle has it this signification in classical prose?

32. Ut neque bonus quisquam intercet paucorumque penae, &c. Observe neque ... que. A negative sentence with neque (ne) is often followed by an affirmative one with et or que. The notion introduced by et, que, is often the stronger opposite notion to that which is rejected. The force may often be given by not ... but rather. Cf. 1 de Fin. 14, 48: Ex quo intelligitur nec temperantiam propter se esse fugiendam temperantiamque expetendum.


40. Precari, venerari [atque] implorare. Observe the gradation in the words. What is there irregular in the use of atque as here found? Z. 783. Madvig omits it altogether.
THIRD ORATION AGAINST CATILINE.

ANALYSIS.

1. In the introduction Cicero announces to the people that the state is saved, and thus prepares the way for a recital of the course of events. (Ch. 1, § 3.)

2. The orator narrates the means and precautions by which the conspiracy was discovered, and how the conspirators were convicted by the testimony of Vulturcius and the Allobroges, and by their own letters and confessions: for which, he adds, it was decreed by the senate, whose decree is recited, at the close of the examination of the conspirators, with honorable mention of his colleague Antonius and of the pretors, that a thanksgiving to the gods should be appointed in the name of Cicero. (Ch. 2, § 3-ch. 6, § 15.)

3. He showed that it was principally owing to the manifest favor of the immortal gods that this conspiracy was discovered, they having by the clearest signs indicated the danger which threatened the republic. (Ch. 7, § 15-ch. 9, § 22.)

4. He in conclusion exhorts the people to celebrate the festival which is to be instituted in honor of the gods, and commends himself to the protection and grateful remembrance of his fellow-citizens, promising to labor, even after the termination of his consulship, for the welfare of the state. (Ch. 9, § 22—end.)

CH. I.—2. Bona fortunas. These nearly synonymous words are frequently found together. Cf. Rose. Am. 49, 141; Cæc. 13, 38; and Verr. 2, 1, 44: Quibuscum vivi bona nostra partimur, iis prator admere, nobis mortuis, bona fortunasque poterit? on which Pseudo-Asconius remarks: Bona in ipsis possessionibus, fortuna in fructibus earum.—Observe the asyndeton (Z. 825) in some of the clauses of this period, and the variation in the use of the conjunctions, et, atque, que. Z. 333.


4. Hodlermo díc. This oration was delivered on the 3d of December.

7. Et, si idem fere significat ac quod si.

11. Profecto. Z. 266, Note 2.—Illum qui hanc urbem condidit . . . is, qui eandem hanc urbem conditam amplificatamque servavit. On such circumlocutions, see Z. 714, 3. In this instance, however, the form appears to be determined by considerations connected with the periodic structure (Z. 810) and rhythm of the sentence. Seyffert, Pal. Cic. p. 10.

lum fama ac voluntate tollerent. Off. 3, 5: Herculem illum, quem
hominum fama beneficiorum memor, in concilio caelestium collocavit.
Late Greek writers use φησι in the same way. Plut. Rom. T. 1, 63, B.:
'Ωμήκλον μεν οὔτε θεόν ταῖς ταῖς νυμφάδοι φήσι. Cf. Tusc. 1, 12, 28.

14. Amplificatamque. The addition of this word serves to con-
trast the present grandeur of Rome with its early narrow limits and
thus magnify the merit of Cicero as its preserver.

15. Templis delubris. See P. C. p. 128, y; and compare bo-
na fortunas above.

17. Ilademque. See Z. 127 and 697

ugum dejicer. Pro Sull. 9, 28: quos (hominos) ego a vestris cer-
vicibus depuli. Cf. below, 7, 17. M.

19. Compta sunt per me, "i.e. mea opera atque industria, non
a me. See Z. 455, Note. Illustrata, in luce posita, ita ut non am-
plus laterent, patet facta, ut illustrata, ut omnibus paterent, vel, ut
ipse loquitur pro Sulla 2, in. id omnes viderent, quod ante fuisset oc-
cultum: compta, certis indiciis cognita et deprehensa. Gravissimum
ex his esse compta, vel ex eo apparat, quod hoc verbo utentem Cice-
ronem irrident adversarii. Vid. ad Fam. 5, 5, ad Att. 1, 14. Acad.
Disp. 4, 19, 62. Sic pro Sull. 4, 12: non modo enim nihil comperi,
sed vix ad aures meas istius suspicionis fama pervenit, ubi ad minora
descenditur." M.

21. Investigata et comprehensio = deprehensio, a metaphor
derived from the chase.

22. Ex actis, accurately, according to the official reports of what
has taken place. The regular daily journale (acta diurna) were not
yet kept, if Suetonius is to be trusted. Inito honore, Caesar primum
omnia instituit, ut tam Senatus quam populi diurna acta confe-
rent, et publicarentur. Jul. Cae. c. 20: this was in his first consul-
ship. - The meaning of the passage from Suetonius is rather that Ca-
esar introduced a regulation for the making up of the minutes of the
proceedings of the senate in form for publication as a part of the Roman
daily gazette. See Dict. Antiq. Acta Diurna.–Klotz reads, qui igno-
ratius [et exspectatis], ex actis scire; Steinmetz, qui ignoratius, et
ksespectatis, scire, &c.

23. Paucis ante diebus. Z. 476. This was the 25th day from
his departure.

Ct. II.—1. Quum . . . . ejicerebam, "whilst I was endeavoring
to drive Catiline out." Cf. 2 Cat. § 14, and exterminari volebam
just below. On the mood, see P. C. 488, b; Z. 579. Cicero is not
always uniform or consistent in his expressions respecting the part
which he took in the withdrawal of Catiline. He distinguishes between
allowing him to go forth, and casting him forth, emittere and ejicere,
using one or the other word as best suited his purpose.
3. Sed tum. This is the *sed* of *resumption* = inquam, *I say.*

6. *Atque* is here a *particle of transition.* "*When then I saw,*" or (better) "*and so when I saw.*" "Usurpatur *atque* in adiicendo *eo,* quod id, de quo antea sermo erat, sive ex ratione cause, sive temporis consequitum; ideoque in iis locum habet, quae necessitate quadam continuatione vel consecutione arcte coherent. *Nos dicimus and so* (and so)." Hand, i. 478; and p. 497, he notices as especially frequent the forms *atque ego,* *atque ego scio,* *ac nescio,* *atque haud scio,* *ac ve- reor,* *atque ego credo,* which often have the appearance of modesty, as if the speaker would signify that he has been led to his opinion by the circumstances themselves.


10. *Auribus vestris.* For, *segnius irritant animos demissa per aurem,* *Quam qua sunt oculis commissa fidelibus.* Hor. ep. ad Pisonem 180.

11. *Comprehenderem = liquido convincerem, tanquam manuprehensam.* Cf. § 3; *pro Cluentius, 16, 47: quo facilius comprehenderetur res ejus indicio.* Pro Flaccum, 16, 38.


13. *Ut comperti.* "*Per Q. Fabium Sangam,* *cuius patrocinio civitas Allobrogum plurimum utebatur,* Salust, 41. *Allobrogum autem legati Romam venerant, questum de avaritiae magistratum, ut ait idem, c. 40: aliis paneiis *iis* hunc an quos auctos.* Appian, *B. C. 2, p. 179.* Plut. *Cic. 18: *pratrum dormii de tofus, tranquili ecipitet acmodates *Allobrogum dominium* dium prius, *deos* malitas ut satis kompirae pratenitos a barumacem tuum *H春秋an.* tofus, o *eum* *Albion* *pale* *hunc* *etiam* *favit* *etiam* *mollis* *etiam* "*Victor autem erant Allobroges a Q. Fabio Maximo, a. v. c. 632.*" M. See General Introduction, p. 143.—*The Allobroges were a Gallic people occupying the country between the Isara and Rhodamas, lake Lemannus and a part of the Alps, in modern Dauphiné and Savoy. Their chief town was Vienna (Vienne), and their border-town towards the Helvettii was Geneva. The name Sapaudia was applied to this country as early as the time of Ammianus.*

14. *Belli Transalpini.* In farther Gaul.— *Tumultus Gallici.* In hither Gaul. For the peculiar meaning of *tumultus,* see Arnold's Nopus, Milt. 4, 3; and compare Cic. Phil. 8, 1: *Quid est enim alias tumulatu, nisi perturbatio tanta, ut major timor oriatu? unde etiam nomen ductum est tumultus.* *Itaque maioribus nostri tumultum Italicum, quod erat domesticus; tumultum Gallicum quod erat Italiae iuniorum; praeterea nullum tumultum nominabant.*

16. *Eodemque itinere.* Their route to Gaul would lie through Etruria, where Catiline was encamped.

Vesturcium quendam Crotoniensem, Sallust, 44. Tivar virid iaponeid. 

21. Ut is frequently repeated after a parenthetical relative clause, as this is a repetition of the ut in line 19.


23. Fortissimos etque amantissimos. By these epithets Cicero wishes to show that he selected for the execution of his plan, men who had both the ability and the will to serve their country. Sallust, ch. 45, calls them homines militares.

25. Illi... qui... sentiunt. When qui assigns the reason or ground, and stands for quae or quae is, it is followed by the subjunctive; and the noun or pronoun to which it refers usually precedes. P. C. 481; Z. 564. So Tusc. Disp. 1, 11, 24: quid de Dicaearcho dican, qui nihil omnino animum dicit esse? = qui dicit et quum dicit. Pro Arch. 10, 25: qui sedulitatem mali poetæ duerit aliquo tamen præmio dignam, hujus ing., &c. M.

27. Sine ultra mora. See Z. 709.

28. Ad postrem Mulvium. Now corrupted into Ponte Mollo or Pente Molle. It was three [Roman] miles from the column in the Roman forum, on the Flaminius road.


32. Ex prefectura Reatina. Cicero was the patronus of the Reatini (Reate, now Rieti), and therefore summoned their aid. Ego super, quum Reatini, qui essent in fide mea, &c., pro Scauro, 27. Prefectura were towns, the highest magistrate of which was a prefectus juri dicundo, who was appointed annually in Rome and sent thither. Consult Dict. of Antiq., Colonia, towards the end of the article.

33. Quorum opera, &c. Klotz and Madvig read, quorum opera utor asidue in rei publicae presidio, cum gladiis miseram.

34. Tertia fere vigilia. The Romans divided the night into four watches. The time here mentioned would, therefore, be towards three o'clock in the morning.

36. Educuntur . . . . gladii. "Probabilior est Salustii narratio, c. 45: utrimque clamor exortus est; Galli cito cognito consilio sine mora pratoribus se tradunt. Volturcius primo cohortatus suus, gladio se a multitudine defendit cet. Conjurati memorantur a Salustio, c. 17. In his ex equestri ordine P. Gabinius Capito; quod familiare nomen longe probabilior est, quam Cimber. Puto rhetorem memoria vitio errasse. [This refers to Orelli’s disbelief of the genuineness of the last three orations against Catiline. Compare note on p. 24, line 8.]


41. Integris signis. With the seals unbroken. Letters were frequently written upon waxen tablets, which were secured by being fastened together with packthread and sealed with wax.

44. Cimbrum Gabinium. P. Gabinius Capito, ex equestri ordine. Cf. Sall. 17, and below, § 14. See also Sall. chaps. 40 and 55.
—Statim is opposed to a future time (postea), and = "at once" as opposed to "then," "afterwards," "at another time."—Nihil dum. Nondum, necdum, nihil dum, nullus dum add to the negatives the meaning of up to this or that time, whether it be a past, present, or future time.

2. Credo. In what way is this word used? Z. 177.

3. In literis his dandis. So Orelli, Klotz, and others. Madvig omits his; and Steinmetz omits dandis. The common text is literis dandis, which Wunder, ad Planc. 6, 15, defends as = quum literas daret. Compare Z. 643, Hand, iii. p. 286, and Halm, in Vatin. p. 81, fg. By in more prominence is given to the duration of the time, which well suits the sluggish and indolent character of Lentulus. But even where the notion of time would be suitable, the Latin language prefers the causal or instrumental mode of expression as the more logically exact and definite. Seyffer, Pal. Cic. p. 93.—Præter constetudinem. Lentulus being notoriously indolent; δ άντιναὶ δικτείνοντες ην . . . . Dio. 37, 32. So Catiline says of him in Sallust: Scitis equidem, mi-
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lites, vocordia atque ignavia Lentuli quantum ipsi cladem nobisque attulerit.

4. Quum vero. Vero = part. affirmativa, gravitatem addens narrationi de re non minimi momenti. Z. 348, Note.


8. Negavi me esse facturum, ut, &c. On this circumlocution, see Z. 618. To what is the expression in the text equivalent? Z. 619, in fin.

10. Rem integrum. The matter untouched, just as it was found; in reference to literas . . . operiri above.—Si . . . tamen. De Orat. 1, 16, 72: quibus ipsis si in dicendo non utimur, tamen apparat atque estat, &c. 41, 185: Nam si esset ista cognitio juris magna ac difficilis, tamen utilitatis magnitudo deberet homines ad suscipiendum discendi laborem impellere. Muretus.


13. Senatum . . . coegit. He summoned them to meet in the Temple of Concord, which stood in a commanding situation on the ascent to the Capitol; its elevated site (the ascent to it was by several steps), commanding the forum and place of assembly, made it a very strong place; and a guard of Equites volunteered to defend it against all attacks. It was vowed and built by M. Furius Camillus (588?) in commemoration of the reconciliation between the patricians and plebeians. Plut. Cam. 42; Ovid, Fast. 1, 641.

15. C. Sulpiciolum. Plut. Cic. c. 19: Γάιος ἐξ Σουλπίκιου, ἐς τῶν στρατηγῶν (= praetor in an, ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ περιτοί τῷ Κρήτοι, κολλᾶ μὲν ἐν ἀθρή βίλῃ καὶ ἐπὶ, πλοῖσι ἐκ ἔφη καὶ μαχαίρας ἐδραμεῖ ὁ οἰκείων ἀρχεῖος. M. —Misi, qui . . . efferret. What are the various ways of expressing a purpose in Latin? P. C. p. 216, h, to which qui with the subjunctive should be added, especially after verbs of sending, coming, giving, choosing, and the like. Cf. 1 Cat. 4, 9: delegisti, quos Roman relinqueres, quos tecum educeres.


Ch. IV—18. Fidem . . . publicam (= ἀναμ, Dio Cass. 37, 34), dare: to pledge to him the word of the state that his life should be saved = to promise him pardon, &c.

19. Jussu senatus. For only when authorized by a decree of the senate could the consul make this pledge. Cf. p. C. Rabir. 10, 28.

20. Metu . . . timore. The change of words here is not merely to vary the expression. Metus is well-grounded fear, as here of punishment, if he had not received the promise of pardon; timor magnus, on the other hand, denotes the great anxiety and apprehension with
which Volturcius was filled, without regard to its being well-founded or not.

22. Ut servorum præsidio uteretur. Cf. § 12, and Sallust, 44: ad hoc mandata verbis dat, quum ab senatu hostis judicatus sit, quo consulio servitio repudiat? M. After literas supply quibus præscriptum erat for the following sentence to depend on. Klotz reads ut ad urbem, &c.

23. Id autem. On the id, see Z. 699. Autem is the weakest adversative particle, being rather a particle of distinction than of opposition. A principal use of it is to add some new distinction, description, or remark, where we should use “and.” Before the last term of an enumeration it gives prominence to that part of it above the rest. Observe the frequency with which it occurs in this chapter. See Z. 348, Note; Arnold's Nepos, Mitt. 4, 1.

25. Cedem infinitam. According to Plut. Cic. 18, the only exception made by Lentulus was the children of Pompey.

26. Qu[.] . . . exciperet et . . . conjungeret. See note on line 15 of this page. P. C. 483 (6); Z. 567.

31. Pedestres . . . copias non defuturas. See P. C. 460 (c) (1)


33. Esse se tertium illum Cornelium. Cf. Sall. ch. 47.


37. Post Virginiun (sc. Vestalium) absolutionem, &c. Probably the trial, in which Fabia, the sister of Cicero's wife Terentia, was acquitted. She was accused of a connection with Catiline. Asconius in Orat. in tog. Cand. p. 93, Or.; Plut. Cat. min. ch. 19. The trial mentioned in Brut. 67, 236, is probably the same.


41. Cethego uimium Id longum videretur. Compare Sall. 43.

42. Videretur. So Orelli, Süpfe, and Madvig: Steinmetz and Klotz read videri.
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43. Tabellas proferrit jussimus, sc. by the prector Flaccus. See Sall. 44.

44. Qvae . . . dicebantur datae. See Z. 607.

1. Cognovit. Sall. 47, uses the same verb where we might have expected, as here, agnoscere.—Linum incidunt. See note on p. 29, line 41. Klotz reads legimus literas.


Ch. V.—5. Alliquid tamen. Tamen = although his guilt was manifest; he nevertheless, &c. So Fam. 16, 11: Nobis inter hanc turbas senatus tamen frequens flagitavit triumphum (i.e. quamquam hanc turbam erant). Att. 1, 16: quum illum plumbeo gladio jugulatum iri tamen diceret (i.e. quamquam plumbeo), though it was but a leaden sword.

6. Quae . . . respondissent. P. C. 484. In this line Klotz and Madvig read apud se for apud ipsum.

8. Consclentitia convictus. Cf. 2 Cat. 6, 13.

13. Aut tulit. P. Lentulus, the princeps Senatus, who was consul with Cn. Domitius, A. U. C. 592.

27. Dicendi exercitatio. He gives a very different opinion, Brut. 66: Neque multo secus P. Lentulus, cujus et excogitandi et loquendi tarditatem tegebant formae dignitas, corporis motus plenus et artis et venustatis, vocis et suavitas et magnitudo. This, however, is a critical judgment: in addressing the people he adopts their opinion; for the advantages above enumerated are highly valued by them (M.); and the adoption of this opinion gives more force to the proof of his guilt afforded by his loss of presence of mind, &c.

32. Dicebat. In what mood does Cicero often put the verbum dicendi in such clauses? Z. 551, and compare Phil. 2, 4, 7.

33. Perturbatus . . . . tamen. To what does tamen refer? Would it be proper to express quamquam with perturbatus? Z. 635, and Note.

34. Quis sim, &c. The letter in Sallust (ch. 44) is somewhat different: Quis sim, ex eo, quem ad te misi, cognosces. Fac cogites, in qua calamitate vis, et memineris te virum esse: consideres quid tua ratione postulent: auxilium petas ab omnibus, etiam ab infinis.

Matthiae observes, that in ancient times neither orators nor historians hesitated to alter the words of a speech, letter, &c., provided they preserved the sense. Whether quis sim or quis should be the reading is questioned. See Z. 134, Note.

35. Misit. On the tense, see Z. 503.

40. Insimulabatur. "Donat ad Terent. Phorm. 2, 3, 12: hunc locum attent, ut probet insimulare non modo de falso, sed etiam de vero nomine dici." Garat.—Ac mihi quidem, &c. Seps occurred
eique illi ipsi, quos modo nominavi, consulares senatusque cunctus assensus est, qui honesti post conditam hanc urbem habitus est togato ante me nemini. So Fam. 15, 4, 11, to Cato: tu idem mihi supplicationem decrevisisti togato, non, ut multis, re publica bene gesta, sed, ut nemini, re publica conservata. It has been inquired how the decree could have spoken of Cicero’s saving Italy from a war. Klotz replies, from a war with the Allobroges, whom the conspirators would have brought into Italy. Compare Cicero’s own words, quoted above: Meis consiliis, meis laboribus, mei capitis periculis . . . incendione urbem, internecione cives, vastitate Italiam, interitu rem publicam liberavi.

32. Quod urbem, &c. So Fam. 5, 2: qui curiam caede, urbem incendiarit, Italiam bello liberasset. Observe the chiasitic arrangement in this sentence, which is quite common where the sentence consists, as this does, of three clauses; the 1st and 2d, and the 2d and 3d are mutually arranged under this figure.

34. Supplicationibus. The repetition of this word after ceteris and of religione below with ea, is express of the emphasis which Cicero attaches to the words.—Hoc interit. "Erm. monet, modestius hoc esse, quam Gregvii interest. οἱ ἄνδρες διαφεροῦ ἀν. Cf. infra, § 22. Sed respondet etiam verbis si conferatur." M.

37. Factum atque transactum est. This was a regular phrase used by lawyers, in contracts, deeds, &c., to express that all the necessary steps had been taken, and that the transaction was concluded. Hence it is adopted by other writers: e. g. Ter. Andr. 1, 5, 13: quot modis contemptus, epretus? factura, transacta omnia. hem! M.—Nam P. Lentulus, &c. The nam is explanatory. Cicero begins to explain how all the proper preliminary steps had been taken.


40. Magistratu se abdicavit. Not willingly, but of necessity. 4 Cat. § 5. Magistrates, from regard to the public service, were exempt from criminal prosecution, during the term of their office, unless they permitted the prosecution, or voluntarily abdicated, or were by controlling circumstances compelled to abdicate. Observe that the regular classical construction is abdicare se aliqua re. The historians after Sallust use also abd. aliquid.—Quae religio . . . non fuerat, quo minus. Religio est = a scruple or doubt hinders or deters, is construed with quo minus and the subjunctive, according to P. C. 94; Z. 543. Translate, That from the scruple which had not deterred Marius from putting to death, &c.


Ch. VII.—1. Captos . . . tenetis. Cf. constrictam . . . teneri, 33

1 Cat. § 1.

3. Opes = auxilia, praesidia, posita in multitutidine sociorum.
NOTES.


6. Lentullum somnum. Somnus here = somnolentia: see 2 Cat. 5, 10, dormiens for somnolentus. Ernesti. But the pupil must understand that somnus does not express "somnolence," but that the orator uses the effect for the habit, to point out Lentulus as then under the influence of his habitual somnolence.—L. Cassii adipes = obesitatem et, quae inde oriri solent, inertiam atque ignaviam. Ascon., on the Or. in Toga Candida, says: "Cassium, qui iners ac stolidus tam magis quam improbus videretur, post paucos menses in conjunctione Caliliae esse apparuit, ac cruentissimarum sententiarumuisse antecorem.

7. Cethegii furiosam temeritatem. Sall. 43: Cethegus semper querebatur de ignavia sociorium; . . . se . . . si pauci adjuverent, languentibus aliis, impetum in curiam facturum. Natura ferox, vehementem, manu promptum, maximum bonum in celeritate putabat. M.

8. Dum mænibus . . . continebatur. See 1 Cat. 5, 10; 2 Cat. 8, 17.—On dum = quamdiu, see Z. 507, a.


11. Ad facinus aptum. Is ad or the dative more common with aptus? When is the dative necessary? Z. 409.—Lingua = an persuadendi; manus = agendi facultas.

12. Jam = deinde, porro. See note on page 21, line 18.—Certos homines, i.e. spectatores fidei, reliable, trustworthy.

13. Quum . . . mandaverat. Z. 579. Quum, with the properf ect indicative of repeated actions, is more common in the older writers, Cicero, Caesar, Sallust; others prefer the subjunctive. What tense is found in the apodosis?

14. Occurreret requires cui non instead of quod non. The relative is sometimes used but once with several verbs of different constructions. The proper case must therefore be supplied with each verb. Occurrere here = to hasten to meet for the purpose of aiding: below, line 28, for the purpose of opposing.

15. Tam acrem, sc. ad agendum: paratum = promptum consilio, manu.


22. Commississet, ut. P. C. 479. It is only used with reference to some unpleasant result.

23. Testes. Klotz, testes denique, referring to the Allobroges.

27. Haec diem. On the gender, see Z. 86, Note.

29. Dimicaxduum . . . cum illo fulisset. Though (scripturus)
fui, (scribendum) fuit, &c., are the usual forms, the subj. is also found; e.g. thus C. Fam. 2, 8, 21: etiam si obtemerasset auspiciis, idem eventurum fuisse; and Krüger remarks that even connimicy with neque . . . liberassemos requires it here. See Z. 519, a.


CH. VII.—33. Quamquam is corrective. 1 Cat. 9, 22. As if he had before spoken too strongly, Cicero now adds that he was only the instrument; the gods were the real deliverers; and then by enumerating the various prodigies by which they had given warning of the threatening dangers, he endeavors to work upon the minds of the superstitious people.

35. Quum . . . possumus . . . tum vero. Z. 723.

36. Humanis consilii. Z. 448. Klutz reads, quod vix videretur
humanis conseilis tantam molem rerum gubernatio consequi potuisse.

37. Præsentes. Cf. 2 Cat. 9, 19.


39. Visas, agreeing with the nearest substantivo.

40. Fæces. In De Divinatione, 1, c. 11, &c., Quintus Cicero
quotes his brother’s verses on the subject; among which are the lines,—

Quid vero Phabi fax, tristis nuntia belli,

Quae magnum ad columnam flammatum ardores volabat,

Præcipites cali partes obitusque petisset?

Dio Cassius, 37, 25, says, οἱ παρανόμι τὸν ἀδήμω τολμοῦ ξεχωρίζει, εἰς τὸν κολαχοῦ καὶ τὴν κομάσαν καὶ τὸν ἄραμον ἀπὸ τῶν ὑμῶν ἀνήρουν. Jul. Obsq. c. 122: trahe ardens
ab occaso ad calum extenta. M.—Ut . . . jactus, ut . . . motus
ceteraque. Supply omittam.

41. Ceteraque. Que (= ut in unum contraham), “and in short.”

(Görenz.) M.

44. Neque prætermittendum neque relinquendum est. The
omission of the unintentional, the latter of an intentional omission. Off.
3, 2, 9: Negant, eum locum a Panath prætermissum, sed consulto relictum. Cf. Or. 2, 29, 126; Tusc. 1, 49, 119. M.

1. Cotta et Torquato consilibus, λ. v. c. 689. Dio Cass. 37, 9, 34
p 117: ἔτι μὲν ὅσον τονὸς ξεχωρίζει οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, τὰ δὲ τὴν προτα καὶ πᾶν ἀκόντι
θεοῦ ταῦτα ἐν γὰρ τῷ Καπιτῶλῳ αὐτραχνίας τὸν πόλιν ἐπὶ περιπτό μιστάνθισθαι
καὶ ἄγαθον ἀλλὰ ταῦτα καὶ Ἰωάννου ἀλλὰ ταῦτα ἔργων ἧμεν, εἰκόνι τὸς τῶν λυκών
σὸν τῷ Ῥώμη καὶ σὸν τῷ Ῥωμήλῳ ἐρυθήναι ἐκεῖ, τὰ τῆς γράμματα τῶν σημάδων,
τὰ δὲ τοῦ Ῥωμηλοῦννος, ἑνεχθὲ καὶ ἀναφέρεται. The following is
Cicero’s poetical account of these prodigies (De Divin. 1, 12):

Nunc ea, Torquato quæ quondam et Consule Cotta
Lydius ediderat Tyrrhenum gentis haruspex,
Omnia fìsa tuus glomerans determinat annus.
Nam pater altitane, stellanti nixus Olympos,
Ipse suos quondam tumulos ac templum petivit,
Et Capitolinis inject sedibus ignes.
Tum species ex are vetus generosaque Natta;
Concidit, elapsaque vetusto numine leges;
Et Divum simulacra peremit fulminis ardor,
Hic silvestris erat, Romani nominis altiris,
Martia, qua parvos Mavortis semine natos
Uberibus gravidis vitali ore rigabat:
Qua tum cum pueris flammato fulminis ictu
Concidit, atque avulsea pedum vestigia liquit.
Tum quis non, artis scripta ac monumenta volutans,
Voces tristis in chartis promebat Etruscis?
Omnes civili generosa stirpe profectam
Vitare ingentem cladem pustenque monebant;
Veli legum exitium constanti voce ferebant;
Templa Deumque adeo flammis urbesque jubebant
Eripere, et stragem horribilem caedemque vereri:
Atque hae fixa gravi fato ac fundata teneri;
Nis post, excelsum ad columnam formata decore,
Sancta Jovis species clarus spectaret in ortus:
Tum fore, ut occultus populus sanctuarii Senatus
Cernere conatus posset, si, solis ad ortum
Conversa, inde patrum sedes populoque videret.
Hae, tardata diu species, tumultque morata,
Conuulte te tandem celsa est in sede locata:
Atque una fixi ac signati temporis hora
Juppiter exulcsa clarabat sceptra columna;
Et clades patria, flamma ferroque parata,
Vocibus Allobrogum patribis populique patebat.

2. In Capitolio. Where was the temple of Jupiter and other temples?—Percussae, with lightning.

3. Depulsa. This word implies a displacing, dejectae in the next line, a throwing down or overturning. See Nepos, Alcib. 3, 2.

4. Legum era. The laws in the earliest period were engraved on tablets of wood; soon afterwards, however, on tablets of brass, and set up in some public place, most frequently in a temple, especially in and around the temple of Jupiter on the Capitol, and in the Æranium Saturni.

5. Tactus est = affatus leviter fulmine ut explicat Serv. ad Virg Buc. 1, 17; Æn. 2, 649.


13. Ludi, sc. scenici. Cf. Liv. 7, 2: Ludi quoque scenici, ... inter alia caelestis irae placamina instituti dicuntur.—Et ... neque. Z. 338.


15. Ilidemque jussurunt. Dio Cass. l. c. τα τε οὖν ἄλλα ἱέθεντο τοὺς μάντας πειθόμενοι, καὶ τῷ ἄτι ὄγλαμα μᾶζιν πρὸς τὰς ἀνατολὰς καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἄγραν βλέπον, διότι αἱ συνμοιχαι, ἢν ἦν ἔταξαντο, ἑκατειριστείν, ἵαραις θυσίας ἐγγραφέναι. M. See the lines quoted above, from Tum quia to videre. Is jussurunt ... facere the regular construction? Z. 617.—Simulacrum Jovis. De Divin. 2, 20: Eo ipso tempore quo fieret indicium conjurationis in Senatu, signum Jovis biennio post, quam erat locatum, in Capitolio collocabatur. Böttiger, according to Orelli, has proved that this was a piece of Cicero's clever contrivance to strike the people with religious awe.


18. Fore, ut ... illustrarentur. Z. 594.

21. Collocandum ... locaverunt. Contracted to have it so placed. See Z. 653.


34. Ut, quam Hodierne Die. "Debatabledoherere cum illud nomine ita praeuenta est, quod, quam Hod. d. sed, quando factum est, accidit, &c. praeceedit, semper sere ad hoc refertur ut. ad Fam. 5, 2, addam illud etiam, quod jam ego curare non debui, sed tamen fieri non moleste tuli, atque etiam, ut ita fieret, pro mea parte adjuvii, ut senatus consulto meus inimicus, quia tuus frater erat, sublevaretur. Verr. 2, 65, 158: de quo homine hoc auditum est unquam, quod tibi accidit, ut ejus in provincia statua dejicerentur? Cf. pro l. Man § 25. Dio Cass. 37, 34, p. 133, ubi Lentulum praetura se abdicare coactum et cum reliquis in custodiam traditum narravit: καὶ ταῦτα, inquit, καὶ τῷ ἐδίω ὅμως ἥρεσις, καὶ μάλιστα ἤκειθος, τοῦ Κικέρωνος δυρχοορθύνετος τι πολλῶν, τὸ ἄγαλμα τὸ τῷ Διὸς ἔς τε τῷ Καπιτόλιον παρ᾽ αὐτὸν τὸν καιρὸν τῆς ἔκλεισε ἀντίρρηθη καὶ κατὰ τὴν ὑφήγησιν τῶν μάντων πρὸς τὰς ἀνατολὰς καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἄγραν βλέπον ἀνέτλθη· ἦκειθος γὰρ ἔκεινοι συνμοιχαν τινα ἔξελεγχισθείς εἰ τῇς τὰς ἄγκλαμας πτῶσεως ἐφρεικαν καὶ η ἀνάθεσις αὐτοῦ τῶν φυσικῶν συνθείσει τὸ τὸ θεῖον ἤμεγάλυπνον καὶ τοὺς τὴν αἰεί πάλιν ἀλιθῶς ἐς φροῖς μᾶλλον ἐποιεῖντο. M. Cf. the vv. above, from haec tarda die to the end."

35. Per forum. According to Matthiae, Cicero then occupied the house which he bought of Crassus; so that the forum lay between it and the Temple of Concord. Middleton describes it thus:—"About the time of this trial [pro Sulla, which, however, was after his consulship], Cicero bought a house of M. Crassus, on the Palatine hill, adjoining to that in which he had always lived with his father, and
which he is now supposed to have given up to his brother Quintus. The house cost him near thirty thousand pounds, and seems to have been one of the noblest in Rome; it was built about thirty years before by the famous tribune, M. Livius Drusus; on which occasion we are told, that when the architect promised to build it for him in such a manner, that none of his neighbors should overlook him: but if you have any skill, replied Drusus, contrive it rather so, that all the world may see what I am doing. It was situated in the most conspicuous part of the city, near to the centre of all business, overlooking the forum and the rostra; and what made it the more splendid, was its being joined to a portico or colonnade, called by the name of Catulus, who built it out of the Cinibrice spoils, on that area where Flaccus formerly lived, whose house was demolished by public authority for his seditious practices with C. Gracchus." — Middleton.

43. Si me . . . . dicam . . . . sumam. P. C. 445.
44. Ille, ille Juppiter. Cf. 1 Cat. 13, 33.

4. Jam vero, &c. Orelli's mark † before the sic is intended to signify that the passage is ungrammatical, and probably corrupt. Matthiae explains it thus:—The regular construction would have been jam vero illa Allobro. sollicitatio a Lentulo tam temere suscepta nunquam fuisse, nec tanta res tam dementer credita et ignotis et barbaris, &c., but the occurrence of tanta res, which embraces the sollicitatio and all its attendant circumstances, leads him to use one predicate (the nunquam credita esse) of both.—It is better, I think, to stop the passage thus (with Klotz): Jam vero illa Allobrogum sollicitatio sic a P. Lentulo ceterisque domesticis hostibus, tam dementer tanta res, credita et ignotis, &c. The sollicitatio Allobrogum is not the tampering with the ambassadors of the Allobroges, but the attempt to induce the nation of the Allobroges to rise up against the senate. This very important and dangerous mission, that of inducing the Allobroges to rebel, was intrusted to the ambassadors of the state, who were then at Rome, et ignotis et barbaris. In voc. sic videtur subjusse participium haec rationis forma: suscepta a P. Lent—tam dementer, tanta, &c. Madvig.


14. Præsertim qui = præsertim quum illi.
15. Superare potuerunt. [125.] "Ex nostra consuetudine scribendum esse potuisse, sed hoc interest inter nostrum et Latinorum consuetudinem, quod nos conditionem aliquam suppressam cogitare
solemus, Latini non solent. Itaque semper fere dicunt: multos con-
memorare possum, non possum, ut De Nat. D. 1, 36, 101, quae vel sine
magistro facere potuerunt. Orat. 9, § 32 (cf. Or. 2, 32, 139), non
poteissent. Quae consuetudo quum semel invaluisset, etiam ubi si cum
conj. sequebatur, indicativum verbi posse ponebant, ut pro Quint. 13,
43, at, si id velles, jam pridem actum esse poterat. Cf. Verr. 3, 31,
73. Sic Verr. 3, 49, 71, multo enim pluris fructus annui Sicilia
venire potuerunt, si id te senatus aut pop. Rom. facere voluisset. Cf.
ad Fam. 13, 29, 14; pro Flacc. 5, 12, etenim potest esse infinita
(oratio), si mihi libeat. Cf. ad Manil. c. 17. Recte igitur hanc lec-
tionem contra Ern., qui superarent receptit, tuetur Garenz. ..., ceterum
in eo falsus, quod post qui, quando pro quia iponatur, indicativum
etiam sequi contendit. Imo ubi Latini causam plane et diserte exprim-
volut, semper conjunctivo post qui utuntur: sed non semper necesse
est causam diserte exprimi, ut Phil. 3, 6, 14. Si ille consil. fusi-
ariam meruerunt legiones qui consulem reliquerant; sceleratus Ca-
sar, Brutorus nefarius, qui contra consulem privato consilio exercitus
comparaverunt; membra, quae a qui incipient, causam continere ap-
paret, cur illi scelerati ac nefarii appelleantur, sed non necesse putavit
Cic. h. i. causam significare." M. Madvig, however, from conjecture,
reads potuerunt.

Ch. X.—16. Ad omnia pulvinaria = in omnibus templis. Pul-
vinaria were couches provided for the purpose of a lectisternium. See
Dict. Antiq., Lectisternium; Arnold's Nepos, Tim. 2, 2.

17. Celebratote. The imperative forms in to, tote are stronger
than the forms in a, ate, implying that the thing ordered is a duty
either always, or under the circumstances. It is obvious from this,
that they are (1) the natural form for laws. They are also (2) used
in emphatic requests and exhortations; and (3) in emphatic permi-
sions, granted by one who has the right to forbid the action or power
to prevent it. See, however, Z. 583 and Note.—Processions of boys,
matrons, and maidens, crowned with garlands, and singing hymns in
honor of the gods, formed part of such celebrations. They lasted com-
monly for three or five days.


22. Togati . . . togado duce. Cf. 2 Cat. 13, 28, and note on
p. 27, line 25.

23. Recordaminvi. Recordari very rarely takes the genitive, but
usually the accusative of the thing; and of a person regularly the ab-
lative with de. See Z. 439, 440.

24. Non solum . . . sed. Z. 724—Quas audistis. The early
contests between the patricians and plebeians, and the disturbances
occasioned by the Gracchi and Saturniun are meant.

25. L. Sulla P. Sulpicium oppressit. [A. u. c. 666.] Quam
P. Sulpicius tribunus plebis, auctore C. Mario, pennisceae leges

26. Ex urbe ejectus. Madvig brackets these words.—Custodem hujs urbjs. On account of the defeat and destruction of the Cimbri and Teutoni. Cf. 4 Cat. § 21; Schmitz, Rome, pp. 344-49.


29. Omnis hic locus. The forum, where the conflict between Octavius and Cinna had taken place. Hic urḅis.
THIRD ORATION AGAINST CATILINE.


36. Ipaetus, i.e. M. Lepidi.

37. Atque ille tamen omnes. So Orelli, Klotz, Madvig. In some editions the reading is atque illae dissensiones, Quirites, from non illi to voluerunt being parenthetical.

40. Se esse... voluerunt. P. C. 149, 6, note r.

42. Atque ille tamen. Ernesti says that tamen here = inquam igitur (as a particle of resumption), after a parenthesis; but M. properly remarks that it has not a simple resumptive power, but can only be used when the second portion of a sentence, interrupted by a parenthesis, contains a statement opposed to the parenthetical statement: e.g. here the force is,—although those dissensions had for their object not the overthrow of the state, but a change of the constitution. From atque in this line to diciputis sint, Madvig includes in brackets.

36. 1. Post hominum memoriae maximo, &c. Cf. 2 Cat. 13, 28. The expression is emphatic with reference to the milder term dissensiones just used for rhetorical effect.


5. In hostium numero ducerentur. Z. 394, Note 3.

7. Tantum civium. See Z. 726.

8. Infinito cædi restitisset. "Resistere cædi codem modo dicetur ut resistere dolori; i.e. non succumbere, sed haec adjuncta vi, ut sit fortitudine sua vel alia ratione efficere ne cæde infinita civium ipse etiam interesse." M.

10. Integras Incolumesque = untouched and unhurt. Incolus in opp. to being wounded, &c.; integer (from tangere) in opp. to being attacked. Död.

Ch. XI.—12. Præmium virtutis... insignia honoris. Döring supposes he has in mind the honor of a triumph, as in animis ego vestris omnes triumphos, &c., follows directly after.

13. Præterquam hujus diem memoriam. Z. 735. Cf. 4 Cat. 11, 23.

16. Nihil... mutum, e.g. a statue.

20. Eademque diem, &c. This passage is probably corrupt. Matthiae, after Muretus and Garatoni, makes dies = tempus; and explains it thus: "Eam us, conjuratione oppressa, propagatum sit productam esse dicit, ut et salus urbis et memoria consulsus sui diu
tius constaret." Intelligio = video, arbitror.—Bloch explains it nearly in the same way (both placing a comma after fore), eandem diem, quam [= cujus memoriam], spero aeternam fore, intelligo (= video, arbitror) propagatam (= productam, effectu suo ad posterum prolatam. Cf. 2 Cat. c. 5: meus consulatus ... multa secula propagarit rei publicae) esse et ad salutem urbis (quod ea hac die servata videtur) et ad memoriam consulatus mei.—Intelligio must be understood again before uno: intelligoque uno tempore, &c.; but Madvig is surely right in asserting that Cicero could not say se intelligere uno tempore se et Pompeium exstitisse, &c. He supposes the omission of some infinitive dependent on intelligo, and adopts the reading of the best MSS. omni, thus: Omnique tempore [hoc prædicatum iri, simul] in hac re publica, &c. Op. Academ. p. 192. In his second edition he reads fore, propagatam esse et ad salutem ... ♦ unaque, &c.; then, adding what he supposes omitted, he suggests, omnique tempore (sic codd. aliquot) hoc prædicatum iri, uno tempore.—Klotz for cives reads dies.—My own opinion of the passage is this: As propagare tempus, multa secula, &c., rei publicae, is, to grant it or procure for it an extended duration, &c., so propagare diem (rei publicae) is to extend the period of its duration; and eandem diem propagare is to grant the same extended duration to two or more objects, &c. Hence the meaning would be: "And I know that the same extended period ... and I hope it may be an unlimited one ... has been granted both for the safety of the state and for the remembrance of my consulship." Perhaps the clause, unaque tempore exstitisse, &c., is loosely connected with ad memoriam consulatus mei (i.e. for the remembrance of my consulship, and of the fact that at the same time, &c.)


25. Alter ... servaret. Cf. 4 Cat. 10, 21; 2 Phil. 5, 12; 1 Off. 22, 78.

Ch. XII.—28. Eadem ... qua. Z. 704.


31. Recte facta sua. Cf. in Verr. 4, 38, 82: suarum rerum gestarum, where Ernesti said, it must be rerum a se gestarum; but Zumpt quotes p. Deiot.: tuae res gestae; and Brut. 35: de rebus gestis suis. Matthiae, on this passage, gives the following examples, including some where the attributive is a genitive case. Ad Herenn. 1, 14: nisi quando pro eo dicimus, cujus multa recte facta constant. Verr. 3, 80, 186: nisi forte id egisti, ut hominibus ne obliviscis quidem rerum suarum male gestarum liceret. Liv. 28, 25: suis recte factis gratiam qui exsolvet, non esse. Ad Fam. 10, 8, in. optima
mentis cogitata jampridem, maturo tempore enuntiare. Pro Client 31, in. qui alterius bene inventis obtemperat. 3.2. Quando. When is quando used for “ever”? P. C. 402.—Mentes . . . . ne . . . . poscent. Z. 356.
3.5. Mihi quidem ipsi . . . . noceri potest. Z. 412.
3.8. Tacita defendet. Quia, qui me laudet, is violando reip animum prodet” Weishe.
4.1. Nullius. What cases of nemo are not in use?
5. Quidquam . . . . altius. Z. 433.
6. Illud perflciam . . . . ut. Z. 618 and 748.
13. Vestrum. Nostrum, vestrum are seldom used objectively for nostri, vestri. Vestrum = of each individual of you.
17. Quirites is omitted by Madvig.
FOURTH ORATION AGAINST CATILINE.

ANALYSIS.

1. In the introduction Cicero thanks the senate for the kind feeling and concern which they had shown for his safety, and entreats them, without regard to his person, to consider only the welfare of the state. At the same time, aware of the dangers which threaten him, he testifies his anxiety for his family, and urges upon the senate continued watchfulness. (Ch. 1, § 1-5.)

2. The main proposition is, that the crime of the conspirators demands severe and speedy punishment. After again describing the magnitude of the crime he (a) states the different opinions in the senate respecting the punishment of the criminals,—that of Silanus for their punishment by death, and of Caesar for their imprisonment for life; (b) he examines these two opinions, and while he praises the seemingly milder opinion of Caesar as less hazardous, he defends that of Silanus as more advantageous to the state; (c) he refutes those who were afraid that the sentence of capital punishment could not be carried into execution, and shows that he has abundant resources for carrying it into effect, since all the orders of the state are ready to sustain him. (Ch. 3, § 5-ch. 6, § 17.)

3. In conclusion, he calls upon the senate to vote with decision and courage for the opinion of Silanus, expresses his satisfaction with the honors he has already attained, commends his family to the protection of the state, and asks no other return for the benefits he has conferred upon his country but its grateful recollection. (Ch. 8, § 17-end.)

Ch. I.—2. Ora atque oculos. Descriptive of the anxiety with which all were waiting to see which of the opinions respecting the punishment of the conspirators Cicero would favor.

3. Depulsum sit, sc. a vobis et a re publica, sumto de sociis Catilinae supplicio.

5. Voluntas. Kind feeling. But as Cicero refers to this as prompting their anxiety for his welfare, he uses deponite, which properly refers to sollicitudinem implied. So M.

12. Non forum, in quo omnis aequitas continetur. So pro Mur. § 31 : deque eo pausa disserat; neque enim causa in hoc continetur. The usual meaning of contineri in re is to be confined within any thing: contineri re = positum esse in re; ea servari, ex ea pendere. Z. 452. Muretus remarks that Livy (40, 10) has imitated this passage, where he makes Perseus say, Quo enim alio confugiam, cui non—domus, non epula, non nox ad quietem data naturae beneficio mortalibus, tuta est? Muret. V. L. 19, 14. Cf. pro Mur. § 82. M. Cicero calls the Forum the seat of justice because in it the courts of law were held.

The *Campus Martius* was the place of holding the consular elections, at the commencement of which the auspices must be taken. Cf. 1 Cat. 5, 11.—Non curia, &c. Particularly the *curia Hostilia*, where the sittings of the senate were usually held. Cf. p. Mur. 39, 84: *in illo sacrario rei publicae, in ipsa, inquam, curia non nemo hostis est.*


15. Non lectus, &c. See 1 Cat. 4, 9.

16. Sedes honoris, sella curulis. Liv. 9, 46: *Flavius ... curulem offerri sellam eo jussit, ac sede honoris sui anxios invidias inimicos spectavit.* M. after Heun. Madvig reads *hac sedes honoris unquam.* On the *sella curulis*, see Dict. Antiq., Sella.—Vacua ... periculo. Z. 468. What preposition does it also take?


18. In vestro timore = "*quum in timore essetis.*" In is used to express the condition and present state of things, where otherwise the participle of a verb, and the conjunctions *quum, dum, si*, might be employed. Cf. 2 Cat. 8, 18: *magni in aere alieno: 9, 20: in insperatis ... pecuniis.*


22. Templa atque delubra. See 3 Cat. 1, 2.

26. Suum nomem. This was Cornelius. See 3 Cat. 4.—*Inductus a vatibus* = misled by the Haruspices. *Inducere* is often used in a bad sense of misleading, deceiving, corrupting.

1. Ad salutem rei publicae. Steinmetz and Klotz read *ad sal populi Romani, and before ad perniciem rei publicae.*

Ch. II.—3. Consulte volvis, prospeclte patræ. Z. 414.

7. Omnes deos, qui ... præsident. The tutelary gods of Rome. Every city, according to the prevailing belief, had its tutelary deities, the names of which were often concealed, and their statues chained or otherwise fastened to prevent their being *evoked* by besieging or assailing enemies. Cf. Liv. 5, 21; Macrob. Sat. 3, 9.—*Pro eo mihi, ac merceor. So ad Fam. 4, 5: pro eo ac debui. Z. 340, Note.*

8. Relaturus esse gratiam. See note on p. 12, line 11.—*Si quid obtigerit.* A common euphemism = *si me vis aliqua oppresserit* in line 20. *Acciderit* is more commonly used, as p. Mil. § 36. Here, in declaring his willingness to die for his country, he chooses the more cheerful and emphatic word *obtigerit.* See P. C. 374, d.

9. Turpis morae. "Ec demum turpis est more, quam qui oppetit, debilitatur ac frangitur animo, ignaveque et muliebriter se gerit. *Immatura autem morae ea dici solet, quæ interrupitur institutum ad glo-
ab hinc annos prope viginti hoc ipso in templo (Concordium) negavi
posse mortem immaturam esse consulari, quanto verius nunc negabo
sine? M.
11. Fratris carissimi. Q. Cicero: his wife Terentia; his
daughter Tullia; his little son Marcus (then not quite two years old).
13. Horumque omnium. Ernesti understands these words of
the equites and other friends of Cicero, since videtis below refers to
the senators.
15. Quem mihi videtur amplecti res publica tamquam
obsidem. “Qui confirmet, me nihil gesturum in consulatu, nisi quod
salutis sit reip. Nam qui liberos habent, non minus liberorum causa,
Rhet. p. 237, ed. Reiske: *et oti tostum kal ēntimōtrōs anēkh γίνεται τοῦς
άνθρωπος καὶ πιστοτέρος doxai καὶ ευσεβέτερος περι τᾶς κύριας πατρίδας ἐν
παρι, diē τὰ ἄσετρ ἄμα μετακύναι ταῖς πατρίδος τῶν θανῶν παιδας. M.
[Ahrens, Orelli, &c., who attack the genuineness of this oration, say
that Cicero was now Consul, not a vir consularis, i.e. one who had
been Consul. To this Klotz replies, that with respect to his general
position in the state, he was one of those who had reached its highest
honor, the Consulship; that if Cic. had said “to a Consul,” he would
both have unnecessarily limited the truth, and made it too immediately
applicable to himself; and that the concinnity of the sentence requires
rather the adjective consularis than the substantive consul: *viro
forti... consulari... sapienti. He shows too that Cicero, in an-
other place, uses consularis of Consule, as well as of Consularis, when
he speaks of them as a class; e.g. Philipp. 5, § 12; where, after
mentioning several Consulars, he adds D. Silano L. Murœnc, qui tum
erant Consules designati; placuit idem, quod consularibus, M. Ca-
toni, &c., where even Consule elect are called consulares.]
18. Gener. C. Calpurnius Piso Frugi; who died before his
father-in-law’s restoration, A. V. C. 697. He was not yet a senator,
but must be supposed standing at the door of the Temple of Concord,
Manut. Cf. Tacitus, Annal. 2, 37: Hortalus—quatuor filiis ante
limen curiae adstantibus—ad hunc modum copit; P. C. hos, quorum
numerus et pueritia videtis, non sponte sustuli. Klotz. For ad-
stat Madvig reads stat.—Moveor = I am moved. Its position at the
beginning of its clause points it out as the important and emphatic
word in the sentence. See Z. 789, and compare below, line 27, te-
mentur ii, where a similar contrast of negative and affirmative state-
ments occurs.
19. Sed in eam partem. The pronoun is here used in the re-
strictive sense, which is noticed with regard to ita and tautus in Z.
726.
20. Una rei publicae peste. Una pestis = pestis qua omnes

21. Incumbite ad. See Z. 416. With what proposition is it more frequently construed in its figurative sense?


28. Vestrarn omnium. The genitive omnium is in apposition with the genitive implied in the possessive vestrarn. See note on p. 11, line 30.

32. Nemo ne . . . quidem. See Z. 754, Note.

Ch. III.—36. Vos multis jam judicis judicatis. He skilfully endeavors to give to their decisions the force of judicial determinations. Res judicata formed precedents, which, in default of any written law, were binding on other judges. Multis jam judicis judicatis is more emphatic than sepe jam judicatis would have been. So Klotz. Paulo ante frequens senatus judicaverat eos contra rem publicam fecisse; and a little before: Legatis Allobrogum et T. Vol-turcio comprobato eorum indicio pramia decernitur. Sall. c. 50. 0.

37. Gratias egistis. See note on p. 12, line 11.

39. Ut se abdicaret . . . coegistis. Cogere with ut is rare in C.—Matthiae gives de Orat. 3, 3, 9: Catulum . . . esse coactum, ut vita se ipsa privat. Verr. 2, 17, 41: cogere incipit eos ut absentem Heraclium condemnarent, with four or five more passages. See, however, Z. 613.

42. Supplicationem, &c. Cf. 3 Cat. § 15.—Qui honos. See Krebe, Guide, 124.

40 1. Qui in custodem, &c. See 3 Cat. 6, 14.

2. Sine utilla dubitatione. "Without any hesitation."

4. Referre. See note on p. 14, line 44. "But I have determined to bring before you, Conspect Fathers, as if the matter were still un-
decided the question, both in regard to the fact, what is your judgment, and in regard to the punishment, what is your decree.”

7. In republica versari furorem. On this meaning of furor, see note on p. 9, line 2.
8. Misceri. This is the verbum proprium to describe the attempts of those who seek to overturn the government, and thereby throw everything into disorder and confusion. Cf. p. Mil. 9, 25.

9. Quodquid est, quocunque vestrae mentes inclinat. The two clauses quidquid est and quocunque vestrae mentes inclinant are grammatically independent and co-ordinate: the second may be considered explanatory of the first. Quidquid est, id est, quocunque vestrae mentes inclinant. Klotz reads quocunque vestrae se mentes, &c.

11. Status pendet ante noctem est. “Tum quia periculum erat, ne noctu aliquid tumultus excitaretur, ut per vim eriperentur ii, qui in custodiam dati erant, tum quia senatum ante noctem dimitti oportebat.” Maret. Varro, in A. Gell. 14, 7, says that no senatus consultum was valid if pronounced before sunrise or after sunset.

13. Affines. What cases does affinis govern? P. C. 212; Z. 411. Matthiae gives the following examples of both cases: Aff. sceleri, Sull. 25, 70; turpitudini, Client. 45, extr.; suspicione, Sull. 5, extr.; rei capitalis, Verr. 2, 38, 94.—Latius opinione. Z. 494.

17. Sustentando = differendo. This use appears to be confined to Cicero. [Freund.] De Pausania Abadensi sustentat rem, dum Nero veniat, Fam. 13, 64, 1; adificationem Arcani ad tuum adventum sustentari placatam, Q. Fr. 2, 7.


Ch. IV.—19. Duas. For Cato (Sall. 52) had not yet spoken.—D. Silani, consulis designati. Sall. c. 50: Tum D. Silanum, primum sententiam rogatus, quod eo tempore consul designatus erat. Appian, B. C. 2, 5, p. 180: Sillaces mihi de praeos diecun, de is melius homin. Ignitarum unde rebus legis etiam eorumque nominibus, de istis, quem, ut longe semperius legem, et e tanta exsouletoque in e alibi redactis utique legatur. M.

20. Hoc, decessit; see note on p. 15, line 20.


23. Pro sui dignitatis. So Orelli, Klotz, and others. Madvig and Steinmetz, pro sua dignitate. Cf. de Off. 1, 39: Habenda ratio non sui [al. sua] solum sed etiam aliorum. So also the genitive stands with causa, but only where prominence or contrast is required.

26. Qui populum Romanum. These words are included in brackets by Madvig.

27. Non putat. See note on p. 21, line 2, and compare below, line 39: non putat.
NOTES.

39. eodem tempore corrupt. See below, ch. 6, § 11: una incendio. Qui
vivit comparatur Statius. Et populus more una venit; and Ovid, Met.
241 (on the edge of Argus): centum oculos more occupat una, eò
thine addes, C. Off. 2, 8, 27: secutus est, qui—universus quoque
regionumque una calamitate jure comprehenderat.

more frequently construed in its figurative sense?


28. Agricola. On the agrarian laws consult Dio
Arrianus Legat.

29. C. Memmius. Liv. Epit. 69. L. Appuleius
adjuvante C. Marius, et per milites occis A. Nonius, eum
homem plebis per viam cresuit, non minus violenter in
potestatem, gessit—Idem Appuleius Saturninus in
Memmiun candidatun consulebatur, quem maximino
tribunos urbem timebat, occidit. Quiibus rebus eum
cueus convenit et C. Marius, humo vixii et metaphil
e transferring secundum fortunas, transfertur, qui
pessum, oppressus armis cum Glarco pretore, est
sociis, bello quondam interfecuss est. See Schmitz.

29. Vestron omnium. The genitive case
with the genitive implied in the possessive case.

30. Nemo ne . . . . quedam. See Z. 75.

Ca. III.—36. Vos multis jam judicium expiravit. They
fully endeavored to give to their decisions the
prestige of law. Rex judicatus formed precedents.
written law, were binding on other judges.
continuity is more emphatic than easi jam judicium.

testum secundum, with four or five cases of the best

court compendium omne indicium praemium.


39. Ut se abdicaret . . . . coegistit. C.—Matthiae gives de Ov. 3, 3, 9: C.
which poses problem. C.Off. 2, 17, 41 : eum
ita eo ipso praeceps. Verr. 2, 17, 41: omne, in ea
thing indeed.

42. Supplicationem, &c. Cf. 3

1. Qui in castris, &c. See C.

2. Sine uilla dubitatione. "With

not really been appointed (as "sententia Romanae," proposed by D.C.R. 106) or being a regular trial; but he.

...civium Romanae, proposed by D.C.R. 106, are not in keeping with the people. Cicero means "sententia Romanae," proposed by D.C.R. 106, or being a regular trial; but he.

...civium Romanae, proposed by D.C.R. 106, are not in keeping with the people. Cicero means "sententia Romanae," proposed by D.C.R. 106, or being a regular trial; but he.

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...civium Romanae, proposed by D.C.R. 106, are not in keeping with the people. Cicero means "sententia Romanae," proposed by D.C.R. 106, or being a regular trial; but he.


31. Necesitatatem naturae, i. e. quam natura affert, id quod alter non potest evenire atque a natura constitutum est. It is used in a different sense, Off. 1, 35: partae corporis ad naturaz necessitatem data. M.

32. Appetiverunt. So Orelli and Klotz. Oppetiverunt is the reading of Madvig and others.—On the use of inepti . . . . liberent see Z. 682.—Vincula . . . . jubet. Cf. Sall. 51: ita censeo; publicandae eorum pecunia, ipso in vinculis habendos per municipia, quae maxime obipos valent; ne quis de his postea ad Senatum referat, neve cum populo agat; qui aliter fecerit, Senatum existimare eum contra rem publicam et salutem omnium facturum.—The injustice is the commanding the municipal towns to receive them.

35. Municipis = per municipia.

38. Susciplam = will undertake it; i. e. the task of imploring some of the municipia to receive them.


41. Digna . . . . sanctit, &c. Sancire = proposita pena aliquid caveri et vetare. Madvig reads, with Lambinus and Muretus, circumdat et dignas scelera hominum perditorum; sanctit, ne quis, &c.

44. Erplct etiam spem, &c. Cf. de Nat. D. 3, 6, 14: Miserrum est enim, nihil proficietem angi, nec habere ne spei quidem extremum et tomen commune solatium.

41. Multos uno dolore animi. This is the reading of the best MSS. Orator tamem ipse scripsisse videtur, ut vidit Gravius: multos uno dolore dolores animi, &c. Orelli. This last is also received by Madvig. Klotz retains multus uno dolore animi, &c.

4. Pœnas ademisset. Observe an instance which proves that Döderlein’s distinction, “adimuntur bona, eximuntur mala,” is not always observed. In C. Legg. 3, 9, it is used of a bad thing indeed, but one not felt to be so: tribunis plebis injuria facienda potestatem . . . . adimere.

6. Voluerunt = statuerunt, contenderunt, affirmarunt. Cf Tusc. 5, 14, 41: volumus eum, qui beatus sit, tutum esse, inexpugnabilem, &c. M. Cicero’s own belief on this point may be derived from p. Oluent. 61, 171, and Tuscul. 1, 5, 10 seq.

Cf. V.—S. Ego mea video quid inter alt. See Z. 449.
10. *Popularis.* Pro Sest. 45: *qui ea, quae faciebant quaque dicebant, multitudini jucunda volebant esse populares... habeabant.* The name *popularis* lost the good sense in which it stands below, line 19, and denoted one who sought to gain the favor of the crowd, and looked for support to the mass of the people, as opposed to the *optimates*; and even became identified with *sediciosus* and *turbulentus.* The shades of meaning between these extremes will be noticed in this chapter.

11. *Cogitare = defensore.* Ernesti in Cl. *Auctor sententiae* is the original proposer of an opinion; *cognitor,* one who defends it as his own.


15. *Vincat.* The MSS. here give *vindicat,* which Klotz retains. *Vincat* firmat Scholiasta. Orelli.—*Habemus enim,* &c. Cicero, having observed the impression which Caesar’s opinion had made upon those who were present, designedly praises it, in order to show his deference and respect for him, and thereby at the same time also to render him more yielding and disposed to adopt severer measures.


18. *Quid inter sit.* Lsel. 25, 95: *Concio, quae ex imperitissimis constat, tamen judicare solet, quid inter sit inter popularem, id est, assentatorem et leuem civem, et inter constantem, severum et gravem.* M. *Quid interesset* is the reading of Klotz and Madvig from the MSS. On the repetition of *inter* after *interesse,* see Z. 745.


20. *Non neminem... Is,* &c. “The far more trustworthy Scholiast of Gronovius says, that by this *non nemo* Cicero means Q. *Metellus Nepos;* against whose odious speech to the people Cicero had to deliver a formal defence of himself in the beginning of the next year. Compare the fragments of the *Oratio contra Concionem Q. Metelli.*” K.—Hence the use of the singular *is* relating to *non nemo; one* only being intended, though vaguely pointed out. Of course *non nemo* means more than one; but the *is* proves that the principal reference is to an individual. Z. 755.


25. *Quassatorio,* &c. Cicero had not really been appointed (as *quassator*) to try the cause, nor had there been a regular trial; but he puts a *general case,* to which the present was *analogous,* though not *identical* with it.

29. *Sempronius legis, de capite civium Romanorum,* proposed by C. Gracchus, a. u. c. 631. It enacted that the people only should de-
cide respecting the caput or civil condition of a citizen. Cf. p. Rabir 4, 12. The argument of Cicero here is, that if the proposer of the Sempronian law himself, since he was the author of the state, was put to death with the approval of the people, then can these criminals also be executed.

30. Jussu populi. "Causes serviens hoc dicit; neque enim populi jussu interfactus est Gracchus." Muret. The senate had given Opimius unlimited power to take all necessary measures for the preservation of the state, without consulting the people; i.e. by the well-known formula: darent operam Consules, ne quid rei publice detrimenti caperet. Cf. Sall. 29. Madvig, in jussu populi, Buheri et Ernestii conj., quam fons ita aliquid firmet ex Scholiasta, p. 412, Ed. mea: "Legem Semproniam in jussu populi non licebat quern de capite civis Romani." Orelli.

31. Largitorem et prodigum. Largitor is one who gives from self-interested motives, generally for political ends; prodigus applies to one who seeks gratification and admiration from his profession. Cic. Off. 2, 16: omnino duo sunt genera largorum; quorum alteri prodigi, alteri liberales. Prodigi, qui epulis et viscerationibus et gladiatorum muneribus, ludorum venationumque apparatu pecuniis profundunt in eas re, quorum memoriam aut brevem aut nullam omnino sint relicturis. M. Klotz and Madvig read Idem ipsum Lentulum, largitorem et prodigum.

32. Pernicie et exitio. Perniciosus has an active meaning, and denotes the destruction of a living being by murder; exitium has a passive meaning, and denotes the destruction even of lifeless objects by annihilation. Död.


Ch. VI.—41. Dedesus. This is not for dabitis, but (as Matthiae observes) the Romans used two future perfects in this way, when the second action was not merely consequent upon the first (so as then to begin to take place), but both were completed together. Cf. qui Antonium oppresserit, is hoc bellum, teterrimum periculosissimumque conecerit, Fam. 10, 13. See Z. 511.

44. Exsolvetis. Madvig reads populus Romanus exsolvat. The common text is a crudel vitup. defendetis.

42. 1. Obtinebo = probabo, docebo.—Quamquam is corrective. Cf. 1 Cat. 9, 22.

4. Ita mihi .... Iiceat, ut, &c. A well-known form of assertion by what a person holds dearest; ita mihi deos omnes propitius esse velim, ut .... nequaquam tantum capio voluptatis, &c. Verg. 5, 14, 37. Ita or sic precedes with the subjunctive, and that which is affirmed, follows with ut, commonly with the indicative
7. Videor ... videre. Z. 380. The rhetorical figure here used is called Hypotyposis.
9. Uno incendio. Cf. una ... peste, 2, 4.
10. Sepultam patriam. So Orelli, Klotz, and others. Madvig, with others, reads sepulta in patria. Sepulta then = delete or incendio consumpta, laid in ashes.
11. Ex fatis, sc. Sibyllinis. See 3 Cat. 4, 9. Klotz and Madvig read sicut ipse ex fatis se sperasse, &c.
14. Purpuratum. Purpurati = state officers, members of the royal household, &c.—ministers of state, &c.; e. g. ista horribilia minitiae purpuratis tuis. Tusc. 1, 43.—Huic (scil. Lentulo) Gabiniun. Some read hunc Gabiniun. The picture of Lentulus in his fasciæd royalty, with the addition of Gabinius as his prime minister, clad in the purple robes of oriental courtiers, is well adapted to excite the indignation of the republican Romans.
17. Qua... dicurco. See pote on p. 26, line 7.
19. Praebéba. Madvig retains the present praebó.
21. De servis quam, &c. Klotz reads de servis non quam, &c.; Madvig, de servos non quam, &c. The singular de servus is defended by some because of the singular nocentis in the next sentence. This does not, however, seem sufficient ground for rejecting the reading of the best MSS. Besides, nocentis may denote the entire class of the guilty. We know also from Tacitus, An. 14, 42, that when a master or one of his family had been murdered by a slave, punishment was inflicted upon all of the slaves.
24. Mihi vero, &c. Cicero here speaks as the orator, not as the philosopher.
25. In his hominibus = in regard to these men, in the case of these men.
29. Id egerunt, ut. Z. 614. Is the id necessary? Z. 748.
33. Nisi vero has the same sense as nisi forte. Z. 526.
34. L. Cæsar. This was L. Julius Cæsar, who was consul with C. Marcus Figulus, s. v. c. 690.
35. Sororis suæ. Julia, who, after the death of her first husband, M. Antonius Cæticus (by whom she had M. Antonius the Triumvir), married P. Cornelius Lentulus.
37. Avum. M. Fulvius Flaccus (Cf. 1 Cat. 2, 4). His daughter Fulvia was the wife of L. Julius Cæsar (consul, s. v. c. 664), and L. Cæsar was their son. 2 Phil. 6, 14: L. Cæsar, avunculus tuus, qua erat tue, qua constantia, qua gravitate sententiam dixit in sororis tua virum, vitricum tuum? M.
38. Filiusque ejus imparerem. Vell. 2, 7, 2: juvenis, specis
excellens, nee dim unius eorum transgressus annam, in uincum

delectorum paternorum, Fulvii Flacci filius, quem pater legatum de

conditionibus miserat, ab Optimio interemptus est. Quem quum ks-

ruspe Tuscus, amicus, fientem in custodiam duci vidisset, quis

tu hoc potius, inquit, facie? protinusque illis capite in postem pa-

lideum Janua carceris effusosque cerebro exspiravit. M.

40. Largititiosa voluntas, sc. frumentaria, for the purpose of

gaining the favor of the people.

42. Hujus avus Lentull. [Consul, a. v. o. 592.] Cf. Phil. 2,

4, 14: Nunc igitur temerarium cives aut crudelium putas... P.

Lentulum principem Senatus, complures alios summos viros, qui cum

L. Optimio Cos. armati Graecum in Aventinum persequi sunt? quo

in praesio Lentulius grave vulnus accept? Cf. 3 Cat. 5, 10.

43

2. Attribuit nos trucidandos Cethego. See Z. 653.


5. Vereamini, censeo, &c. This parenthetical insertion of cense

with an ironical force is unusual (Matthiae says he knows of no other

instance). With credo it is very common. Z. 777. Cf. Sall. 53:

Miseramini censeo. In the next line Madvig reads ac nefario ali-

quid severius, &c. The common text is nimia aliquid severe.

7. Remissione poena = mitigatione, lenitate. [Opposed to se-


16, 15. B.

Ch. VII.—11. Exaudito. The usual signification of the com-
pound is to hear from a distance, or ex strengthens the meaning, so

that it = to hear distinctly.


remarsh that jactare would imply insolence, bravado, &c., whereas

Cicero is speaking of good citizens, who were disposed to support

him, but were timid and apprehensive. Such persons threw out

the remarks in question in conversation with their friends. Jecere

voces is, he says, the right term to express this. M. But jactare does

not appear necessarily to imply bravado: in Liv. 8, 29, we have qua

res, sicut eo anno sermonibus magis passim hominum jactata, quam

in ullo concilio est, ita inequentie anni Consulibus... nulla prior

potiorque visa est, de qua ad Senatum referrent.

13. Veneri... ut habeam. P. C. 95; Z. 533.

20. Plenum est. "De hac re Cicero in Philipp. 2, 7: Quis

eque Ro., quis prater te adolescentes nobilis, quis ullius ordinis, qui

se civem meminisset, quem senatus in hoc templo esset, in clivo Cap-

tolino non fuit? quis nomen non dedidit? Quamquam nec scriba

suffecere, nec tabulae nomina eorum capere potuerunt." Steinhelt.

21. Tempit et loci. Not of Jupiter Stator, but of Concord. See

2 Phil. 8, 19, and 46, 119.

24. Cum omnibus... perire voluerunt. Cf. 2 Cat. 5 21.
31. Summam ordinis consilii, "i.e. locum primum in \textit{ordines} et \textit{jus de re publica deliberandi ac decernendi: exquisita Latinitate." Ernesti.—\textit{Ita \ldots ut = quidem \ldots sed.} So pro \textit{Rosc. § 72: Ita vivunt, dum possunt \ldots ut Ducere animam de celo queant.} M. See Z. 726.

32. Quos ex multorum annorum dissensione, &c. The quarrels alluded to are those that arose from the changes introduced of late years in the judicial departments. In \textit{A. V. C. 632}, C. Gracchus had deprived the senate of their judicial power, and transferred it to the equites; Sulla restored it to the senate in 673 ; and L. Cotta, in 684, had made another change (that would naturally satisfy neither the senate nor the knights), and confided it jointly to the senate, the equites, and the tribuni serrarion. Though this arrangement had existed for some years, yet Cicero speaks of \textit{this day} as the day that had united the senate and the equites, because it was (we must assume) the first day of their cordial reconciliation; the common danger having made both senators and knights co-operate zealously with Cicero against Catiline. But differences broke out anew, particularly in \textit{A. V. C. 693} and 694. See 2 \textit{Phil. 8}, 19.

33. Confirmatam. Cf. \textit{ad Att. 1}, 15: \textit{tuor, ut possum, illam a me conglutinatam concordiam.}

39. Tribunos serrarion. These were officers who assisted the quaestors (from \textit{n. c. 49}, the sedites) in the management of the treasury. Their principal duty was to collect each from his tribe the pay of the army. They were plebeians. Madvig, \textit{Opusc. Alt.} p. 242, seq., endeavours to show that there was no connection between the \textit{tribuni serrarion} of an earlier date, in the sense above explained, and the \textit{tribuni serrarion} of the \textit{Lex Aurelia}, who are here intended. His language is: Gradum aliquem et distinctionem civium universorum certa aliqua norma factam, quemadmodum equites censeu separabantur, illud nomen tribunorum serrariorum notare debet. His view is that the \textit{tribuni serrarion} of this period were those who possessed a property qualification next to that of the equites, and that they were so called in the law of Cotta, from some resemblance in this respect to the earlier \textit{tribuni serrarion}, who, he supposes, were private men, whose property, of a prescribed amount, made them responsible for the trust reposed in them. The amount of property required in either period is not known.—\textit{Scribas.} The \textit{scribae} were public notaries, and received a salary. From the \textit{ab expectatione sortis} and the Scholiast, we learn that it was decided by lot to which magistrate each should be attached ("\textit{Ipso die convenunt ad serrarion scriba, ut sortientur officia, qui scriba esset consultis, qui tribuni plebis}"). "In Cicero's time it seems that any one might become a \textit{scriba} or \textit{public clerk} by purchase; and, consequently, as freedmen and their sons were eligible, and constituted a great part of the public clerks at Rome, the office was not highly es-
teemed, though frequently held by ingenius, or free-born citizens. Cicero, however, informs us that the scribas formed a respectable class of men; but he thinks it necessary to assign a reason for calling them such, as if he was conscious that he was combating a popular prejudice.” (Dict. Antiq.) His words are: Ordo est honestus. Quis negat? aut quid ea res ad hanc rem pertinent? Est vero honestus, quod eorum hominem fidei tabellae publicae periculaque magistratur [the books in which the sentences pronounced were recorded. Cf. Nep. Epam. 8] committatur. 3 Verr. 79, 183.

40. Quos quum casa hic dies ad aerarium frequentasset. They did not happen to meet on that day; but that day, the day on which Cicero was speaking, happened to be the regular day that brought the scribas to the aerarium.—Frequentare is here = frequenter cogere, or congregare; an unusual use of the word. But Klets observes properly that frequentare = frequentem facere or reddere; so that it may very correctly be said of the person or occasion that causes men to be numerous in any place. It is used in the same way in the Or. pro domo sua [the genuineness of which is disputed]: quin tu tamem populum nisi tabernis clausis frequentare non poteram: and at any rate Cicero uses the word in other places in the sense of bringing or heaping many things together; e. g. acervatim multa frequentans (Or. 25, 85).

42. Ingeniorum . . . etiam teutilasmororum. See the extract from Dict. Antiq. in note on scribas above. Cf. 2 Verr. 79, 183: Itaque ex his scribis, qui digni sunt illo ordine, patribus familiae, viris bonis atque honestis percunctamin, &c. He also mentions that Imperatorum, after victories, often raised their scribas to the rank of knights (scribas suos annulis aureis in concione donarunt: ib. 80, 185).

44 Ch. VIII.—3. Libertinorum. Libertus means the freedman, with reference to his master, in opp. to servus; libertinus, with reference to his rank, in opp. to civis and ingenue. Dod.

4. Fortunam . . . civitatis, i.e. the right of citizenship. He calls it fortuna civitatis, because, though gained by merit, yet merit could not always gain it: a man must be lucky enough to have a good opportunity of calling attention to his claims.

7. Sed quid ego . . . commemore? Heumann, “Quid ego commemorem, inquit, est formula prateritionis, ac tum usurpar, quum aliquid non sum commemoraturus. At quum jam commemoravi aliquid et ad ultimum dicere volo, commemorazione illa me potisset supercedere, subjungo quid eae commemorò? hoc est, cur tam longum sum in is commemorandis? pro Mil. 7, 18.” But M. quotes the following passages to prove that the subjunctive, in questions of this sort, does not always imply that the speaker does not do what he asks why he should do. Or. 3 8, in.: Sed quid ego volesa consequar? Tusc
1; 45, in.: Sed quid singulorum opiniones animadvertam? Fin. 5, 22, 63: quid loquar de nobis?—Madvig, with others, reads Sed quid ego hanc homines ordinesque commemo? Klotz, with Orelii, as in the text.

8. Huicsee ordinis. The libertini. It is strange that Matthias should deny the possibility of their having privata fortuna.

11. Qui medo . . . . sit. Z. 559.

13. Quantum . . . . voluntatis. M. quotes the following similar instances of a genitive dependent on tantum, though removed to a considerable distance from it. Or. 3, 23: Nnon tantum ingenioso homini et ei, qui forum, qui curiam, qui causas, qui remp. spectet, opus esse arbitror temporis. Ib. 24, in.: satis video tibi, homini ad perdiscendum accerri, ad ea cognoscenda, quae dicis, fuisses tempore. 1, 47, 297: quoniam id nobis, Antoni, hominibus id estatis, oneris ab horum adolescentium studiis imponentur. Ofbc. 2, 9, extr.: quantum volet, habebit ad faciendum fidem virum. Cf. de Or. 1, 1, 3; pro Arch. § 13. M. The common text is non tantum, quantum, &c. Klotz reads qui non quantum audet et quantum potest, tantum conferat, &c.

15. Lenomen quendam Lentuli. Sall. c. 50: Dum haec in senatus aguntur et dum legislat Allobrogum et Tito Vulturcio, comprobato eorum indicio, premie decernuntur, liberti et pauci ex clientibus Lentuli diversis itineribus opifices atque servitut in vieis ad eum eripendiendum sollicitabant. Cf. Dio Cass. 37, 35, p. 134; Appian, B. C. 2, 5, p. 180. M. He uses lenu or munius or administrer, that he may give a sidelove to the dissipated habits of Lentulus. The word seems to have been used by later writers in the general sense of internuntius, &c. Scythi bellum indixit, missis primo lenonibus. Just. 2, 3, 3.

16. Tabernas = workshops, though properly it signifies the place of sale of wares elsewhere made. Hence just below the paraphrase sella, &c., whence the workmen were called sellularii or sedentarii.

21. Denique. See Z. 727.—Otium = remotum a bello et tumultu, quietum, i. e. peaceful. Cf. line 24, etii.

22. Vellint. Invenit suav, being followed by pres. subj, must be construed by the perf. definitae.


26. Occulus tabernas. This occurred, by command of the magistrates, on the breaking out of public disturbances, and in general mourning.


Cu. IX.—30. Ex plurimal . . . . insidias atque ex media morte. Atque = atque etiam or atque adeo. Cf. 2 Cat. 19, 27.
35. Supplex manus tendit patria. Compare 1 Cat. 7, 17. Such a personification is frequently resorted to, to move the feelings of the hearers.


38. Vobis omnia deorum templ. Klotz and Madvig read robis omnium deorum templ. Orelli does not notice this variation.


43. Quae. . . . facultas datur = cujus generis or qualem decem non semper habere contingit.

45. Cogitate, quantis, &c. If the participial construction is employed in a sentence introduced by a relative or interrogative, in translating we may use a substantive and preposition, or change the particle into the finite verb, and add the finite verb in an accessory clause, or we may make of the participle a leading sentence and connect it with the other sentence by and, but, and therefore, &c. Here, for example, we may translate, "consider, by how great labors the empire was founded, &c., and how a single night almost destroyed them."

5. Una nox. That on which the Allobroges were taken. Cf. Flacc. 40, 102.—Ne unquam . . . non modo . . . sed ne . . . quidem. Z. 754, Note.

9. Mea vox, &c. Cf. p. C. Rabir, 1, 3; and 3, 6, of this oration. Ch. X.—11. Ad sententiam, sc. rogandam.

14. Sed eam, &c. Klotz reads sed eam esse judico turpem et infirmam et objectam; Madvig, sed eam esse turpem judico et infirmam et objectam.

15. Si aliquando allicujus. Si aliquando, si aliquis, &c., "different a si quando, si quis, &c., eo quod plena vocabula ponuntur, quando in iis vis inest, et nunquam, nemo, nullus vel multi, omnes opponi potest, ut h. i. non significat nunquam cujusquam manum plus valuturam esse, sed concedit fieri posse, ut aliquando alic., &c., si quando antem et si qui ponuntur, quando conditio tantum spectatur. Cic. Phil. 13, 1, extr. Proximo bello si alicuid de summa gravitate Pompejus, multum de cupiditate Caesar remisisset. Brut. 82, 285: Quem igitur imitaris? si aliquem, ceteri ergo Attice non dicebant; si omnes, &c." M. See P. C. 391; Z. 708.

19. Mibi is omitted by Klotz and Madvig.


23. Sit Scipio. P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus major, who put an end to the second Punic war by the battle at Zama, a. u. c. 552.

24. In Africam redire atque Italia decedere. Benecke di-
rects attention to the ἕπερ συντροφον in these words, which would be more correct if inverted. But such instances are not uncommon.

25. Alter . . . . Africanus. Africanus minor. He was the son of L. Emilius Paulus, and adopted by the son of the elder Africanus. He put an end to the third Punic war by the destruction of Carthage, A. u. c. 608.


27. Paulus ille. The father of the younger Africanus.


33. Nihil forte, ironically. Z. 526.

35. Ut . . . . IIII, qui absunt . . . . revertantur. Cf. de Offic. 1, 22, 78: Mihi quidem certe vir abundans bellicis laudibus Cn. Pompeius, multis audientibus hoc tribuit, ut diceret frustra se tri- umphum tertium deportaturum fuisset, nisi meo in rem publicam be- nescio ubi triumpharet, esset habiturus. See also 2 Phil. 5, 12. Pompey was absent, being in command of the army in the war against Mithridates. M.

36. Revertantur. Z. 209, in fin.—Quamquam. See note on p. 15, line 22.—Uno loco = una parte, in one respect.

42. Quare mihi, &c. So pro Sull. 9, 28: Etenim in qua civi- tate res tantas geserim memini; et in qua urbe verser, intelligo: plenum forum est eorum hominum, quos ego a egestero cervicibus de- puli, judicis, a meo non remov.—Quare non sum necius, quanto periculo vivam in tanta multitudine improborum, quum mihi uni cum omnibus improbis aeternum videam bellum esse suceptum.

5. Conscriptionem = consensum, unanimitatem.

Ch. XI.—7. Pro imperio . . . . provinciae, instead of pro imperio exercitus in provincia. Cicero separates the notions for the sake of emphasis. Some understand him to mean the province of Macedonia, which he relinquished to his colleague Antonius to gain him to his side, or at least to neutrality in regard to the conspiracy of Catiline. It is, however, better to refer it to the province of Gallia, which Cicero gave up because of the dangers which threatened the state. Cf. Plut. Cic. 12. In Gallia there was yet much opportunity to gain warlike renown and honors.

10. Pro clientelis. The colonies, allies, provinces, and especially the countries dependent on Rome, chose from the most distinguished men in Rome a patron who represented them in the city, and took care of their rights and interests. Thus Q. Fabius Sanga (Sall. 41)
was the *patronus* of the Allobroges, probably because Q. Fabius Max- imas had conquered them. Cf. de Off. 1, 12, 35. So Cicero was the patronus of the Sicilians.—*Hospitiales*. Such ties of hospitality often grew into the relation of patron and client, and increased the dignity and authority of the Roman citizen who was the patron.


12. *Igitur = inquam* (Z. 739), and in this connection with *igitur* the pronoun is not *is* but *hic*, since the latter refers more distinctly to the preceding.

15. *Consulatum memoriam*. Compare 3 *Cæs. 11, 26.*

16. *Dum crīt. Dum* with the future = *quamdīus.*


24. *De aris ac focis*. A well-known formula for private dwell- ings. For *foci* were fireplaces in the *atrium* for sacrifices to the household gods (*lāres*), and *arēs* were little altars in the impluvium for sacrifices to the guardian deities (*penates*).—*De fānis atque temp- plīs*. *P. C.* p. 128, note y.

The result of this debate is given in the General Introduction, p. 144.

It may here be briefly stated, that the genuineness of the Orations against Catiline has not been unquestioned. Each in its turn has been attacked. The second oration was early assailed, in consequence of a remark of F. A. Wolf, that one of the four was spurious, he at the same time adding, "*esse alteram e mediis duabus.*" Wolf however, it appears, intended the third, and he seems to have adopted this opin- ion from a suggestion made by Eichstädt. But the genuineness of the fourth oration has been most warmly assailed, and by the largest num- ber. The first had escaped, until recently it has found an assailant in R. A. Morstādt. Orelli (*Oratt. selectt. Cicer.* pp. 176–182) endeavors to prove that all, with the single exception of the first oration, are spurious. But notwithstanding these attacks, the genuineness of these orations has had able defenders in Madvig, Drumann, and many oth- ers.
THE ORATION FOR THE MANILIAN LAW.

INTRODUCTION.

Mithridates, king of Pontus, had been checked in his plans of conquest and aggrandizement, by L. Sulla, as early as A. U. C. 669, by the battles of Chersonea and Orchomenos, and compelled to restrict himself to the dominions which he held before the commencement of the war. But he had from this time improved every opportunity to carry into effect his long-cherished hopes. Therefore, in the years 671 to 673, he had renewed the war, and defeated the Roman general, Murena, near Sinope. In 680, while the Roman arms were occupied in Spain with Sertorius, in Italy with Spartacus, while too the pirates who infested the coasts of Cilicia and Issus increased in boldness after the downfall of Carthage, caused alarm along the sea and coasts of the Roman empire, Mithridates thought the most favorable moment had arrived for carrying his plans into execution, and directed his first effort to grasp Bithynia, which, by the will of king Nicomedes, was to become a Roman province. In pursuit of similar aims he sought to gain his son-in-law Tigranes, king of Armenia, and commenced a secret correspondence with Sertorius in Spain, for the purpose of bringing about some concert of action. The consuls of the year 680, L. Licinius Lucullus and M. Aurelius Cotta, marched against Mithridates from Rome, and although Cotta lost a battle on land and sea, Lucullus was afterwards so successful on land, that he not only signally defeated Mithridates in several battles and drove him from his kingdom, but also several times routed, in the years 685 and 686, Tigranes, who had received and protected Mithridates in his flight. Thus Lucullus probably would have completely frustrated the last efforts of the combined kings, if other circumstances, of which he was partly the cause, had not prevented. Lucullus had received his army in a wretched and insubordinate condition, but as a skilful general he had brought them under subordination thus far by strict discipline, until his insatiable avarice, which he sought to gratify at the expense of the legions, excited the minds of the soldiers against his severity. It was thus easy for his enemies in Rome, who, without his knowledge, had their agents even in his army, to foment insurrections in his legions, and in this way so to paralyze his energy, that Mithridates was enabled again to establish himself in Pontus. Thus his opponents in Rome, at the head of whom was Pompey, succeeded in effecting his recall from the command of the army, A. U. C. 687. He was succeeded by M. Acilius Glabrio, consul of this year, who, however, showed such incapacity and so little activity, that Mithridates disgracefully defeated two Roman legates, Fabius and Triarius. At the same time also the pirates from the coast of Cilicia and Issus, against whom Servilius Isauricus, M. Antonius, and Cæcilius Metellus Creticus had fought, had made the most daring assaults upon Roman territory and property, and caused serious losses to the public treasury as well as to private individuals. This state of things led the tribune, A. Gabinius, a friend of Pompey, to propose a law that some one should be clothed with extraordinary powers for three years for the purpose of putting
an end to the disturbance of the pirates, who carried on open and formal war against Rome. Although this bill was directed less against the pirates than the existing constitution of the state itself, since that "some one" could be no other than Cn. Pompey, who after his consulship had remained in Rome without a province, and only thought how he might secure to himself political preponderance, it nevertheless was passed, and Pompey received the command on all seas and coasts for 400 stadia inland with the most extensive powers. Pompey executed this trust with such success, that within fifty days he had entirely conquered the pirates and in part brought them back to a better mode of life. But instead of laying down his power after the conclusion of the war against the pirates, he sought to extend it still more, and when Mithridates came forth against Glabrio with renewed strength, L. Manilius, a tribune, of Pompey's party, a. u. c. 688, proposed a bill that the extraordinary powers conferred on Pompey should not only be prolonged, but extended so as to include Pontus, Bithynia, and Armenia. This bill was opposed by many patriotic citizens, as Catulus and Hortensius, but C. Julius Caesar supported it from deep political motives, and M. Tullius Cicero, who had been chosen praetor, recommended it to the people in this oration, the first he ever addressed to the assembled people, and in this year, 688, under the consulship of M. æmilius Lepidus and L. Volciatus Tullus the bill was carried. The Romans, however, had no occasion to regret the step they took.

ANALYSIS

In this lucid and finished oration the orator commences with a modest recital of the reasons which have hitherto prevented him from addressing the people from the rostra, testifies his gratitude for the office of praetor conferred upon him by the people, and promises to devote the influence of his office, and his eloquence to the good of the state. (Ch. 1.) He then briefly reviews the condition of the Romans in Asia Minor and the position of Mithridates, which had occasioned the Lex Manilia (§ 4, 5), and distributes his speech into three parts; the first of which treats of the character of the war, the second of the magnitude, and the third of the general in whom are found the qualifications requisite to bring it to a successful issue. (§ 6.)

1. On the first head, the character of the war, the orator shows (a) that the honor and dignity of the Roman people are endangered (§ 6–11); (b) that the protection of the allies in Asia deserves the closest attention (§ 12, 13); (c) that the largest and surest revenues of the state are exposed to the greatest danger, if help is not speedily rendered (§ 14–16); (d) that the property of many Roman citizens, especially of the farmers of the revenue and of merchants, is depreciated, so that in Rome itself the most disastrous consequences to the credit of the state must ensue. (§ 17, 18.)

2. Cicero speaks of the greatness and importance of the war, mentions with due praise the many and great victories of Lucullus (§ 20, 21), shows, however, at the same time, how powerful Mithridates has again become since his defeats, (a) by the aid of Tigranes and many nations of Asia; (b) by the resistance of the army which has refused to follow its general; (c) by the return of Mithridates to his kingdom, and the frightful overthrow which he caused the Roman army when Lucullus had been recalled from the command by the Roman people. (§ 21–35.)
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(2) He seeks to show that to no other general than Pompey, who unites in himself all the qualities of a commander, can the command in this war be given (§ 27); for (a) he possesses the most accurate knowledge and experience of war (§ 28); (b) the greatest bravery as shown in the Italian, Sicilian, Gallic, and Servile wars (§ 29, 30), and especially in the war against the pirates (§ 31-36). He besides possesses the greatest purity of character and disinterestedness (§ 37-39); self-command (§ 40, 41); good faith, courtesy, eloquence, and humanity (§ 42); respect and authority among all nations, friends and foes (§ 43-46); and finally, the marked favor of fortune everywhere attends him (§ 47-49). He can besides best take charge of this war as he is already in the neighborhood of it. (§ 50.)

The orator having sufficiently dwelt upon these points, proceeds to refute two opposite opinions (§ 51):—

(1.) That of Hortensius, who had objected that all power ought not to be conferred upon one man. Cicero weakens this objection by showing that if the conduct of the war against the pirates, in accordance with this view of Hortensius, had not been given to Pompey, the welfare of the Roman people, nay, even its world supremacy would have been lost (§ 52-56). He thus gives to his own opinion greater weight, and casts suspicion upon that of Hortensius, as opposed to the welfare of the state. He further adds, what does not properly form a part of this cause, that some had unworthily opposed Gabinius, in preventing his appointment as legate to Pompey, when he had been the proposer of the Lex by which Pompey was charged with the command of the war against the pirates (§ 57, 58).

(2.) That of Catulus (to whom he testifies his respect for his merits,) that such a proceeding was contrary to the institutions of their ancestors; by showing, (a) that the Roman people, for its own advantage, had often made exceptions and put many wars in charge of one man (§ 60); and (b) that Catulus himself had previously, to honor Pompey, voted for extraordinary measures. Praise of Pompey (§ 60-62).

Finally, Cicero concludes with urging that, in accordance with the judgment of the people, Pompey should be appointed to the command of the army against Mithridates (§ 63), especially because he possesses the self-control which is necessary in an Asiatic war (§ 64-67). He then offsets to the authority of Hortensius and Catulus the views of other distinguished men who had supported the Manilian bill (§ 68). At last, praise of Manilius for his bill, encouragement to perseverance, and, with the promise of his support, the most solemn assurance also that the orator has been influenced solely by the good of the state to defend this bill and cause (§ 69-end).

2. Multo jucundissimus. See Z. 108 and 487.—Hic autem locus. The rostra, from which the orators addressed the people. Consult Dict. Antiq. Rostra.—Autem = "and though," &c., serves to continue the discourse. See note on p. 30, line 23.—Ad agendum... dicendum. The distinction between agere and dicere in this passage is given in Gell. 13, 15. Only magistrates had the right of submitting questions to the people (agere cum populo) for their approval or disapproval; while to harangue them was open to any one, though not invested with office, to whom the presiding magistrate gave the authority.—Ad = quod attinet ad. See note on p. 12, line 29.

4. Hoc aditu laudis. The Rostra, the grand entrance to glory and fame at Rome.—Optimo cuique maxime patuit. Z. 710, b.

5. Vitæ meæ rationes. My chosen plan or course of life, i.e. pleading causes.

6. Ab incunete ætate. Referring to manhood, not boyhood. At the age of 26 Cicero argued his first private cause for P. Quinctius, and in the following year his first public cause for Roscius of America.—Nam, quum, &c. Three causes deterred him from the rostra: 1. his plans of life, 2. his modesty, 3. the talents and industry requisite for such an undertaking.

7. Per ætatem. Cicero was now in his forty-first year, had been pleading causes for nearly twenty, and had held the offices of questor and adile.—Hujus auctoritatem loci = hunc locum, qui auctoritatem tribuit conscientibus ex eo. But Benecke considers the words hic locus ad ag. amplissimus, ad dic. ornatisimusus and hujus auct. loci attingere audeam, statuerenque nihil hoc nisi perfectum ingenio, &c., as mutually corresponding, and explanatory of each other. Locus ad agendum amplissimus is therefore one to which only magistrates and men of the highest dignity were admitted, and ad dicendum ornatisimus where the finished and elaborate eloquence of the most perfect orators was wont to be brought forward. Consequently, hujus auctoritatem loci is that to which the highest authority belongs, because from it men of the highest standing and influence were wont to consult the people.

10. Temporibus = saepeis. Cf. § 2: in privatorum periculis, and note on p. 15, line 31. Benecke is displeased with the play upon the words tempus... temporibus.—Transmittendum = tribuendum. Cf. 14, 42: hic hoc tantum bellum transmitendum.

11. Ita neque hic locus. Sensus est: Eo pacto, dum privatia servio, vestram mihi benevolentiam conciliavi, quum interea tamen desertus hic locus non esset. Hotoman. For a dependent thought, which should be thrown in, as an intervening or accessory clause,
subordinately to the rest of the sentence, is sometimes put in co-ordi-
nate relation with the leading thought, notwithstanding it does not pro-
ceed from it; as e. g. this passage does not follow from the preceding
Cicero, however, could boast of having preserved by his activity as an
advocate many citizens to the state, who now could defend its inter-
esta. Especially was this the case before his praetorship.—Neque . . .
et. Z. 338.—Ab iis = talibus; therefore the subjunctive defende-
rent. Z. 556.

12. Causam = id in quo utilitas vestra posita est; interest. So
cusa rei publicae, § 4; pop. R. vera causa, § 53.—Periculis = trials,
prosecutions. Pericula in Cicero is a standing expression for judicia
publica, or criminal prosecutions instituted against private individuals.

13. Caste Integreque versatus. These words refer to the cus-
tom of conferring gifts and favors upon lawyers and orators to induce
them to defend even the worst causes. To put a stop to this abuse,
the Lex Cincia de donis et munerebus was passed, A. U. C. 550, in
the comitia tributa, having been proposed by the tribune Cincius,
and supported by Q. Fabius Maximus. It prohibited advocates from re-
ceiving fees or gifts from their clients. Caste and integre are else-
where found together. They both denote purity and integrity of char-
acter, but particularly freedom from cupidity and corruption. De Fin.
4, 23, 63: caste et integre vivere; id. 1, 9, 30: incorrupte atque in-
tegre judicare; pro Sest. 43, 93: homo castus ac non cupidus.—Ju-
dicio, as expressed by acts, in electing him to the office of praetor.

14. Propter dilationem comitiorum. The higher magistrates,
consuls, praetors, and censors, could only be chosen at the comitia cen-
turiae. The comitia might be broken off for some informality in
taking the auspices, by a tempest, by the intercession of a tribune, or
for other reasons. The grounds of postponement were more frequently
political than religious. In this instance it arose from the ferment in
which the city was kept by the promulgation of the Gabinian, Rocc-
cian, and other laws, and the assembly had been twice adjourned be-
fore completing the election of the entire number of praetors, which
was then eight.

15. Praetor primus. These words do not mean that Cicero was
chosen praetor urbanus, as of higher rank than either of the other
praetors, but merely that he was the first choice of the people at three
successive trials. The particular duties of the praetors were after their
election decided among themselves by lot. To Cicero fell the quaestio
de pecuniae repetundae.—Centuriae. See Bojesen’s Roman Antiq-
uitics, p. 33, § 10; and p. 49, § 6.

17. Quid alius praescriberetis. The approbation which the
people had expressed of his course by conferring their honors upon
him, set it up as an example for others to follow.


22. In dicendo. The common text omits is; and this reading Matthiae explains as = officere, quod operis pretium sit. Benecke, from Cod. Erf., receives in and explains: si quid in ipsa arte oratoris officere possum, si quam facultatem dicendi habeo, &c.

23. Pottismum. See Arnold’s Nepos, Milt. 1, [2], 6.—Ei . . . . rei = facultati dicendi.


25. Illud . . . . instandum . . . . esse. Z. 385.

27. Possit. Z. 556. The common text gives potest.

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1. Virtute = high qualities, merit, talents.—Hujus autem orationis, &c. The position of a genitive, which is governed by two or more substantives, is either before or after the governing substantives, not between them. The resemblance of this passage to the following from Lysias against Eratosthenes, § 1, is striking: οὐκ ἔργαζεν μιᾷ δοκεῖ διὰρον ἐκεί, ἢ ἄλλες ἐκαστὰ, τῆς καταγραφῆς, ἀλλὰ πανανθέω λέγων.

3. Copla = materials for eloquence.—Modus, moderation in the use of them.

Ch. II.—7. Vectigallibus. Tributarios.—Sociis, particularly Arisbarzanes, of whom below, ch. 5, rex, socius populi Rom. atque amicus.

8. Alter, Mithridates, relictus, non prorsus debellatus a L. Lucullo. See § 22.—Alter, Tigranes ab eodem Lucullo iacessitus dumtaxat, non victus. § 23.

9. Occasionem . . . . ad occupandam Asiam. We might expect the genitive of the gerundive after occasio. For one substantive is seldom joined to another by a preposition in Latin, except after a verbal substantive, retaining the construction of the verb from which it is derived (aditus ad portum); and when the substantive with its preposition expresses the material (monile ex auro).—Asiam. Proconsular Asia, a portion of Asia Minor, including Mysia, Troas, Æolis, Ionia, Lydia, Caria, and the two Phrygias. These were the finest and richest districts of Asia Minor, and from them the Romans derived large revenues.

10. Arbitrantur. So also Klotz and Madvig. It is defended by Wunder, Varr. Lectt. Cod. Erf. p. LXIX. against the common reading arbitratur, and by Benecke, since it refers to neither singly, but to Mithridates and Tigranes conjointly as allies.—Equitibus Romanis. The equites, as possessing large wealth, were usually the farmers of the public revenues. The revenues were let out, or, as the Romans expressed it, were sold by the censors in Rome itself to the highest bidder. The publicani, which word is used as synonymous with equites, had to give security to the state for the sum at which they bought one or more branches of the revenue in a province; but as for the
reason the property of even the wealthiest individual must have been inadequate, a number of equites generally united together and formed a company (socii, societas, or corpus), which was recognised by the state. The credit of these companies, and the flourishing state of their finances, were of the utmost importance to the state, and in fact its very foundation. See ch. 6. Cicero, p. Planc., calls them the ornamentum civitatis et firmamentum rei publicae.

12. Aguntur = are at stake, employed in the farming of your revenues.—Exercere vectigalia is said of the equites; exigere of their subordinates (vid. § 16). Vectigalia is the general term for all the regular revenues of the Roman state. These were derived partly from the tithes paid to the state by those who occupied the public land (decuma); partly from the sums paid by those who kept their cattle on the public pastures (scriptura); and partly from the harbor duties raised upon imported and exported commodities (portorium). There were other revenues from the salt-works (salinae) and the mines (metalla). These various branches of the revenue were let out by the censors, who had the charge of this business, to the Publicani for a fixed sum and for a certain number of years. The letting or sale of the revenues generally took place in the month of Quintilis, and was made for a lustrum. The responsible person in each company, and the one who contracted with the state, was called manceps. There was also a magister to manage the business of each society, who resided at Rome, and kept an extensive correspondence with the agents in the provinces. See Dict. Antiq. Vectigalia and Publicani.

13. Pro necessitute. For Cicero himself belonged to their order, and, regarding them as holding the balance of power in the state, zealously defended their interests. Cf. p. Rabir. Post. 6, 15; ad Q. frat. 1, 1, 12.

14. Causam rei publicae. See note on vestram causam, p. 47, line 12. He adds the public interest to the private interest of the equites, that he may not seem to be solicitous for these only.

15. Bithyniae, . . . vicis exustos esse. The construction which the parenthesis had interrupted is here continued, and these words depend upon afferuntur . . . literae.—Vestra provincia. By the will of the deceased king Nicomedes Philopator, a. u. c. 679, who bequeathed it to the Roman people, because Sulla had restored him to the throne when driven out of his kingdom by Mithridates. It became a Roman province, and was governed sometimes by proconsuls, sometimes by propraetors.

16. Regnum Arliobarzani, sc. Cappadocia, of which, on the recall of Lucullus, Mithridates again took possession.


20. Unum, sc. Pompeium, whom Cicero designedly omits to name.
It is greater praise of Pompey that he does not need to be named, and the attention is more awakened.

21. Despecti atque expetit = magno pepor et instanter posci atque valde ac pro ceteris desiderari. The prepositions strengthen the meaning of the simple verb.

24. De generare bellis; as being in defence of civil rights and freedom, for supremacy, or for honor and glory.

25. Delligende. Of choice from among several objects, with the accompanying notion of superior fitness. Cf. § 63.

28. In quo agitur. On the use of the relative as Latin, where we should use the demonstrative or personal pronoun and some copulative or causal conjunction, see Z. 603. This sentence is explanatory and not dependent upon genus est enim, &c.; therefore agit er is indicative, while debet is subjunctive, by Z. 556. Notice also the 


31. Magna et gravia bella. They are mentioned below, ch. 6, 14.

32. Certissima ... vexitallia. Such were the riches and fertility of Asia, that the revenues could be depended upon, unless interrupted by the calamities of war. Cf. 6, 14: Asia vero, &c.

33. Pacis ornamenta et subaulia bellis. Below, ch. 7, 17, he calls them nervos rei publicae. — Requisitio = desiderabitis, carobitis. The consequent standing for the antecedent; for we commonly miss and seek what we have lost. Compare Div. in Cæs. 22, 71: nihil de suis veteribus ornamentis requirit, where Pseudo-Ascius interprets it amissum sentiet. Here its relation to quibus amissis just before may be noticed.

34. Multorum civium. The collectors of the revenue and others, who were engaged in business in Asia. — A vobis. Why is the preposition with the ablative here preferable to the dative, which is regularly the case of the agent with this participle? Z. 651.

35. Et rei publicae causa. Because losses to the equites, who had farmed the revenues, would react upon the state, in case of their inability to meet their engagements.


38. Mithridatico bello superiore. A. u. c. 666. For an account of the manner in which it commenced, see Schmitz, Rome, p. 356, fol.

40. Uno dico. Velleius Paterculus says, legem die atque hora. — Tota Asia. On the omission of the preposition in, see Arnold’s Nepos, Pref. [5], 1; Iphicr. 2, [3], 4, and Z. 482. Klotz reads tota in Asia.

41. Una significatone literarum. Z. 791.

42. Denotavit. Cf. 1 Cat. § 2. Klotz reads curavit. Some writers state the number of those who perished in this massacre at 80,000; Plutarch makes it 150,000.
ORATION FOR THE MANILIAN LAW.


2. Emergere. Emergere proprius dicatur, qui aqua mera ei eluc- tant et evadunt, unde pulchrum nascentur translationes v. c. de eo; qui ex obscuro loco ad illustriorem adsipiat, aut ex infelice fit felix, aut a vita pravitate se recipit ad bonam frugem. Ruhnken ad Terent. And. 3, 3, 30. Sic igitur emergere etiam Mithridates dicitur, qui e patrio et non ita nobili regno profectus totius Asiae imperium affectavit.


4. Insignia victoriae. These are triumphs, as may be seen from the following triumphavit. Reportarent then, which is strictly applicable only to victoriam, comes under the figure seuigma. Z. 775. Manutius considers insignia as = signa et indicia victoriae (ut captivos, aurum, argentum, vestes, &c.).

5. Triumphavit L. Sulla. Schmitz, Rome, p. 359, fol. Sulla made peace with Mithridates in 670, and returned to Italy in 671. He triumphed in 673.

6. Triumphavit L. Murena. Schmitz, Rome, p. 369. Though he was defeated and recalled, a triumph was still granted him, in the same year with Sulla.

7. Ita triumpharunt. Ita with a restrictive meaning. Z. 726. —Pulsus superatusque. What writers join the particles quamquam, quamvis, etiam, and vel with the participle itself? Z. 635. and Note.

9. Quod egerunt, . . . . quod reliquerunt. Quod in both instances is to be considered as a causal conjunction, and the verbs are to be taken absolutely, the action, and not the object to which it is directed, being the prominent notion. Thus quod egerunt = quod non otiosi, sed strenui in bello Mithridatico gerendo fuerunt. The absolute use of agere is common, and here relinquere for the sake of concinnity is likewise so used.

10. In Italiam res publica. His opponents, the Marian faction, having gained the ascendancy in Rome. His recall too of Murena may have arisen from pressing occasion for all these troops in Italy. Consult Schmitz, Rome, p. 369, fol.

Ch. IV.—12. Omne reliquum tempus. After the return of Murena.

14. Posteaquam . . . . sollicitat. Z. 507, b. But Madvig adopts the conjecture of Benecke, qui postea, quum maximas, &c.—Omnis setque = instruxisset. On the omission of the English verb "to order," or "have," see Z. 713.

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16. Bosphorus. Accedat Bospori Cimmerii. They had revolted from Mithridates, but he afterwards reduced them to submission and established Maecenas, one of his sons, as king of that country.


21. De imperio, i.e. de conservatione vestri imperii vestraque libertatis.

22. Alterius partis periculum = periculum, quod ab alter parte velis iaminat.


27. Hae autem extrema. See ch. 9.

Ch. V.—35. Mercatoribus aut navicularibus, &c. Compare Verr. 5, 58, in. Quae bella, mare nostrum et quanta susceptis arbitramini, quod cives Romani injuria affecti, quod navicularii retenti, quod mercatores spoliati dicenentur? Madvig reads majoris vestri; and after navicularis, with Klotz, nostris.


40. Extinctum esse voluerunt. Z. 611 Extinctum is chosen with reference to lumen, and therefore the agreement with the noun in apposition instead of Corinthum...extinctam esse. Z. 370, Note. Cicero calls Corinth, Gracie totius lumen, but Rome (4 Cat. 6), laeem orbis terrarum; Corinth is compared to a glimmering point of light; Rome is distinguished as that city in comparison with which all other cities lie in darkness. Död.

41. Legatum. Manius Aquilius, who had been consul a u. c. 653, and as proconsul had put an end to the servile war in Sicily, a u. c. 655. He was sent in 664 into Asia to Nicomedes and Ariobarzanes. Mithridates, into whose hands he had fallen, treated him in the most barbarous manner, and put him to death by pouring molten gold down his throat.

43. Civium Romanorum, i.e. naviculariorum.

1. Persecuti sunt = ulti sunt. Persequi corresponds to the following relinquuetis.

2. Reлинqueutis. Verr. 1, 33, 84: cum in jure suas relinquissi? i.e. non persecutus, non ultus es. This figurative use of relinquere is derived from its sense as = omittere, praterire.—Videte, ne, = cave te, veremini, &c.

6. Quid, quod. On this familiar formula, see Z. 769.
8. S. Soccius p. R. atque amicus. Such honorary titles were received by friendly kings from the Roman people for services rendered. They were conferred by decree of the senate, and accompanied by rich gifts—as a golden crown, a golden patera, an ivory curule chair, an embroidered toga, an ivory sceptre, and a tunic with a purple border. Those who had received this title, in foreign countries placed their throne next to the seat of the Roman generals, and had a squadron of Roman cavalry as a guard.

11. Cuncta Asia. Cf. tota Asia, 3, 7. "At non idem est in tota Asia et in cuncta Asia. Nam cuncti signifisit quidem omnes, sed conjunctos et congregatos, ait Festus." Matthiae. So some separate these words from the preceding by a comma, and take them as nominatives.

14. Altum miseritis. M. Acilius Glabrio, the consul of the previous year. See §§ 5 and 26.—Sine summo periculo, no offender Glabriorem.

16. Summa. omnia. The greatest virtues, the highest qualities.

17. Propter esse, i.e. in Cilicia, employed against the pirates. This war however he brought to an end in 687 and landed his forces in Cilicia and Pamphylia, where he waited hoping to receive the command in Asia.—Quo . . . aegrius = et eo aegrius carent, sc. Pompeio. These words are included in a parenthesis by Klotz and Madvig, and the following cuius brought into immediate connection with cum propter esse.

22. Dignos . . . quorum . . . commendetis. Z. 568.

23. Atque hoc etiam magis. Supply dignos existimetis. Hoc magis stands with stronger emphasis for eo magis.—Quod ceteros, &c. The common reading is quam ceteros, quod ejusmodi hom. in prov. Benecke explains the text as arising from brevity of expression, for quod ceteri homines, quos in provinciam mittimus, ejusmodi sunt.

24. Cum imperio, sc. militari, quod habent ii, quibus potestas belli gerendi data est. Hoc imperium qui habent, dicuntur esse cum imperio. The wealth of the Asiatic provinces excited, more than any other, the avarice of the Roman generals. Cf. chaps. 29 and 23.


26. Ab hostillis expugnatione. For the conduct of the Roman pretors in Asia, see chaps. 22 and 23, and compare ad Q. frat. 1, 2, 9.

27. Hunc audlebat. When he was carrying on war in Italy, Africa, Gallia, and Spain.—Tanta temperantia, &c. What ablatives are these? Z. 471. Hanc virtutem primam nominat, ut opponat aliorem libidinem et rapacitatem.

NOTES.


32. Cum Pameliae. 490–512; 536–553; 605–608.
36. Tanta sunt, i. e. tantilla, tam exigua. Z. 726.

38. Asia vero tam opima, &c. Opima in reference to the soil and pasturage; fertiliis in respect of the grain and produce.—Ubertatis agrorum, &c. Three sources of revenue are referred to: decumae, scripturae, and portoriurn. See note on p. 48, line 12.

40. Exportantur. See Z. 547. Klotz, however, from the Erfurt and some other MSS., reads exportentur.

42. Belli utilitatem, res eas, quae ad bellum gerendum belliique sumptus susserendos sunt utiles. Retinere is the reading of the best MSS. Est autem inter sustinere et retinere illud discrimen, ut sustineri dicatur res ea, quae ne labatur ac corrutat, providamus; retinere, quae ne amittatur periculum sit.

43. A calamitate. Calamitas is here loss of crops by devastation and by the expulsion of the cultivators, or by the checking the pursuit of husbandry. Hence loss, misfortune, in general.

51. 4. Facta est . . . peca. So Benecke and Madvig; Klotz, pecora.

6. Scripturae. The publicani had to keep lists of the persons who sent their cattle upon the public pastures, together with the number and quality of the cattle. From this registering (scribere), the duty itself was called scriptura. See Dict. Antiq., Scriptura.


10. Qui exercent atque exigunt. The Roman equites or publicani.

13. Familias maximas = servos.

14. Custodias. These were places where the servants of the publicani kept watch, lest any goods should pass without paying custom. Consult Dict. Antiq., Portorum. As this formed a part of the portorum, portus and custodiae are rightly joined by atque, while the other three sources of revenue are distinguished by quas in.—For salinis various conjectures have been proposed, that this passage may be made to correspond with the one in § 14, where three sources of revenue are referred to. But the MSS. give, almost without exception, salinis. These too were sources of revenue, and Pliny, H. N. 31, 7, speaks of numerous salt-works in Asia. Cf. Dict. Antiq., Salinae.

15. Magna perpetuus. Z. 472
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16. illis rebus, vectigalibus.—Eos, publicanis.—Fructui sunt, i.e. fructum prebent; sc. et socii et publicani. Z. 422. Cf. vobis cura esse debent, below.

Ch. VII.—20. Quod mihi ego, &c. Quod is here the pronoun; in the next line it is the conjunction depending on negligendum.

22. Quorum .... habenda est ratio. Rationem habere aliquus rei = to regard something.

23. Nam et publicani. This sentence is anacoluthous. We should expect below, to correspond with this commencement, a second et. But in its place, at § 18, the orator begins a new period with deinde. See, however, Hand, Tursell. ii. p. 508, seq.

24. Honestissimi, i.e. splendidissimi, an epithet of the equites. Honestus is one who deserves honor, honorable; honoratus, one who is honored, qui magistratus gerit aut gessit.—Ornatissimi. A common epithet of those who are distinguished for their high qualities, or for their rank and splendor.—Rationes = resources, property.


29. Ex ceteris ordinibus, præter ordinem publicanorum.

30. Negotiantur. Negotiari is used of such Romans as sought for gain, partly by putting out their money to interest in the provinces, or in the purchase and sale of grain. They are expressly distinguished from the publicani. The former mode of employing capital was more profitable, as the rate of interest was not limited by law in the provinces. Cicero also distinguishes those who pursued their business in Asia, from those who remained at Rome and put out their money there.

31. Partim eorum, sc. nonnulli, aliquot. Z. 271, in fin. Some read partim suas et suorum, but on insufficient authority.

32. Collocatas habent. Z. 634.

33. Calamitate prohibere. Compare p. 52, line 1, and see Z. 469. The preposition is more commonly expressed.

34. A re publica sequuntam esse non posse. Cf. de Off. 3, 15.

63: Singulorum enim facultates et copias divitiae sunt civitatis.—Illud, sc. quod mihi responderi posset.

35. Illud parvi refert. Z. 449. Does refert occur in Cicero with the genitive of the person?

36. Publicans amissis, i.e. perditis. The common reading is amissas.

37. Redimendi. Redimere = to farm or purchase the revenues. Here re may have its force of again.

40. Initio bellii. Twenty-three years before. Benecke and Madvig, id quidem certe; Klotz as in the text.

41. Nam tum, &c. After certe id quidem .... memoria reti-
nere debemus, we should expect quod tum, quam, &c. But instead of the second member with quod, in imitation of the Greek usage, a new sentence begins with nam.

42. Solutione impedita. Payments were suspended in Rome because the publicani and capitalists had not received returns from Asia.

43. Non enim possunt ... ut non; &c. What is more common than ut non in this construction? How is the clause to be translated? Z. 538 and 539. Compare below ruere illa non possunt, ut hac non, &c.

3. Ratio pecuniaria. Z. 678.—In foro, in tabernis argentariis. The shops of the bankers were in the cloisters round the forum.

5. Ila, sc. vectigalia Asiatica.—Hae, vectigalia Romana.


18. Maximas Mithridatis copias. Appian informs us that the army of Mithridates, at the beginning of the third war, consisted of 140,000 infantry and 16,000 cavalry. Lucullus had only 30,000 infantry and 1600 cavalry. Cicero, in order to elevate Lucullus's bravery, first mentions Mithridates' prosperous condition, and then proceeds to the victory gained by Lucullus.


23. Liberavit. In grateful remembrance of the relief which he brought, the inhabitants celebrated a yearly festival, called Lucullea.

24. Ducibus Sertorianis. L. Varius. Lucullus gained two naval battles; one near Tenedos, the other near Lemnus, where Varius was taken and put to death, since he was a Roman senator and could not be led in triumph.—Studia atque odio inflammata. Madvig omits atque odio. Others read s. a. o. inflammato.

28. Sinopen atque Amisum. The former was a city and Grecian colony in Paphlagonia, on the Black Sea, and the birthplace of the cynic, Diogenes. The latter was a city and Grecian colony in Pontus.—Ex omni aditu. Benecke directs attention to the rarer use of ex where ed might be expected.

29. Domicellia. The Asiatic kings had palaces in several places.

32. Patrio atque avito. This was the sixth from Mithridates I. the founder of the kingdom.

33. Ad alias gentes, sc. Iberos, Caspios, Albanos et utroque Armenios.

35. Atque ita. Understand esse again, i.e. atque ita laudatum esse Lucullum.
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36. A nullo istorum, i.e. Catulo et Hortensio. Why nullo?

Z. 676.

37. Obtrectant. See Arnold's Nepos, Arist. 1, 1.

Ch. IX—39. Quum hoc ita sint = quum tantas res gesserit

Lacullus.


43. Medea illa. Z. 701. In this sense ille usually stands after

its substantive, or after an adjective connected with the substantive.

44. Fratris. Absyrus. Pares, Æstes. See de Nat. D., where

Cicero has preserved the following lines of an old poet—

postquam pater

Appropinquat, jamque, pene ut comprehendatur parat:

Puerum interea obtruncat, membraque articulatim dividit,

Perque agros passim dispergit corpus; id ea gratia,

Ut dum nati dissipatos artus captaret pares,

Ipse interea effugeret, illum ut maor tardaret sequi,

Sibi salutem ut familiari pareret parricidio.

1. Eorum collectio dispersa. This figure is called hypallage, where the adjective is joined with a substantive different from that to which it seems properly to belong. This is done only when the adjective itself can be transferred to the other substantive. Thus here, as the limbs had been scattered, their collection also could be called dispersa.

3. Maximam vim. Plutarch and Appian say he owed his escape to his shrewdness in opposing a mule laden with his treasures to his pursuers, who were on the point of overtaking him, and to his scattering his money as he fled, with the collection of which his pursuers were retarded so that he escaped with 2000 horsemen to Tigranes in Armenia. Cf. Flor. 3, 5, 18: Rex callidus Romanaeque avaritas peritus spargi a fugientibus sarcinias et pecuniam fessit, qua sequentes moraretur.

12. Venit. What mood and tense usually follows posteaquam and the conjunctions which are equivalent to the English “as soon as?” P. C. 514; Z. 506 and 507, b.—Flures gentes. Plut. Luc. 26, gives the names of a number.

15. Neque lacesandas bello neque tentandas. Döderlein understands tentare of peaceful attempts on the part of Rome to form connections of friendship and alliance with other nations.

16. Per animos . . . pervaserat. The preposition is rejected, on the authority of the Erfurt MS., by Wunder, Benecke, Klotz, and Madvig. See Z. 386.

17. Fani, &c. The temple of Bellona in Comana, respecting which compare Hirt. de B. Alexandr. 66; Venit Comana, vetustissimum et sanctissimum in Cappadocia Bellona templum, quod tanta religionem colitur, ut sacerdos ejus deae majestate imperio potentia secundus a rege consensu gentis illius habeatur.

22. Plura non dicam. For the Romans had suffered a severe defeat, which Cicero (§ 25) ascribes to the misfortune of Lucullus's absence.

27. Ex ipsius regno. Madvig reads ex ejus regno, and includes only the et before eorum in brackets. This accords with the conjecture of Matthiae, who omits et and explains suum manum confirmat eorum as = quae constabat ex ist, qui se coll. Orelli, because of the involved explanation of the common text, (sc. “et eos, quos ante secum habuerat, et eos, qui demum se ad eum adjunxerant,”) and of another reading found in one MS., supposes with Benecke a double interpolation of the text.


36. Ut illam . . . . attingeret, depend upon acciderat.

38. Sicrit poetae solent. He appears to allude to the first Punic war of Cn. Nævius, and to the annals of Q. Ennius.

39. Nostram calamitatem. The defeat, first of M. Fabius then of C. Triarius, in which the Romans lost more than 7000 men.


44. Imperii diuturnitati. Lucullus had been in command of the army for seven years, from a. v. c. 630–636. Cf. Liv. 4, 24: maximam libertatis pop. R. custodiam esse, si magna imperia diuturna non essent, et temporis modus imponeretur, quibus juris imponi non posset.

54. 2. Stipendilis confecti erant. Madvig, with others, confectis, i. e. who had served out their time. Confecti = fracti, debilitati. For the infantry exemption was allowed after 20, for the cavalry after 10 years' service.


5. Conjungant = conjunctim gerant.

Ch. X.—§. Quare esset. The imperfect, because not merely a result is denoted, but an action from its commencement. Z. 515.


19. Sic existimo. Z. 748.

20. Scientiam . . . . felicitatem. An asyndeton for the sake of distinctness and emphasis. The orator speaks in this chapter of the military science of Pompey; of his bravery, ch. 11–14; of his weight of character and authority, ch. 15–16; of his good fortune, ch. 16.

23. Bello maximo, sociali, a. v. c. 663–665. In this war Italy
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lost no less than 300,000 of her sons. Schmitz, *Rome*, p. 352, foll. On
the omission of the preposition in, see Z. 475.—Acerrimis hostibus.
Compare Z. 645.—*Ad patris exercitum*. Ca. Pompeius Strabo. It
was in his 18th year that Pompey entered upon his military career.


26. *Imperator*, in the 23d year of his age, when he collected an
array of three legions, and went to the aid of Sulla, by whom he was
saluted *imperator* as a mark of distinction.

27. *Hoste* is contrasted with *inimico*. *Hostis* is "the enemy," in the field and war; *inimicus*, "an enemy," in heart. Död. Observe also the choice of verbs, *concertare* and *configere*. With he former Manutius supplies *verbis*, and compares *ad* Att. 3, 12: *nun-
quam accidit, ut cum eo verbo uno concertarem*.

Liv. 40, 28: *confecta provincia decidere*.

32. *Non stipendium*, contrasted with *triumphus*, and = inactive
campaigns, the time merely of service as measured by the soldiers' pay.

34. *Civile*. Between Sulla and the Marian faction, against Car-
bo, Cinna, &c., 666.—*Africanum*, 673. Against Ca. Domitius and
Hiarbas, king of Numidia, whom he conquered, and then restored
Hempsal to his kingdom. Schmitz, *Rome*, p. 369.—*Transalpinum*,
677. The history of this war is obscure, and only known from § 30 —
and the letter of Pompey to the senate in Sallust's Hist. frag. III.,
where Pompey says of himself: *diebus quadragesima exercitum para-
vi, hostesque in cervicibus jam Italia agentes ab Alpibus in His-
pianam summovit; per eas iter aliud, atque Hannibal, nobis opportu-
Sertorius appears to have formed an alliance with the Gauls that dwelt
between the Pyrenees and the Alps, for the purpose of cutting off or
obstructing the march of the Roman armies through Gallia, and of
securing easy access for himself to Italy.—*Hispaniense*. Sertorianum,
676—82.

Orelli explains his text as = quod varie gerebatur, hic finiebatur, illic
runus incipiebatur ab incitatis et bellicosissimis nationibus Hispaniae.
Süpfle remarks that prominence is to be given to the circumstance,
that the last-named Spanish war, as also in part the previously men-
tioned wars, was carried on by states that were connected with Rome
(as the citizens of Roman colonies in Spain), and at the same time by
foreign nations that were not Roman. It was thus a *bellum mixtum*.
376, foll.

36. *Navale*. Against the pirates, 687, see § 35.—*Varia . . . ho-
In apposition with the preceding. Variae discuntur quae se ejusdem sunt generis, diversae, quae dissimilia.

Ch. XI.—40. Jam vero mark transition. See note on p. 21, line 18.—Virtutis, in a general sense of merit, virtue.

41. Quid est, quod quisquam. Z. 563 and 709.

43. Neque enim illae sunt, &c. Cicero here speaks generally of the ordinary virtues of a commander, and extols Pompey's possession of them, but forgets to add what the reader will expect, sed alia etiam, &c. These are mentioned in § 36.

52. Tanta....quanta. The neuter as referring to all that has gone before.

4. Testis est Italia. Notice the anaphora and the metonymy, the names of the countries standing for the inhabitants.—Quam....L. Sulla....confessus est liberata. Cf. § 28, and note on p. 54, line 26. Liberata a dominatione partium Marianarum.

6. Scylla. Being sent thither by the senate, when 25 years old, he drove out Perperna, and took Carbo captive and put him to death, A. u. c. 672. From Sicily he crossed into Africa.

7. Explicavit, instead of explicuit, for rhythmical reasons. Gell. N. A. 1, 7. Cinctam, in the previous line, and explicavit are both used figuratively, as of escape of the game when surrounded by the nets or toils of the hunter.—Africa. Where, in the war against Ca. Domitius and Hiareas, of an army of 20,000 only 3,000 escaped.


14. Expeditiv. What Plut. says, Crass. 11, may be referred here. This praise of Pompey is greatly exaggerated.

17. Exterae gentes et nationes. Gens and natio denote a people, in a physical sense, in the description of nations, as a society originating in common descent and relationship, without any apparent reference to civilization. Gens includes all people of the same descent; natio, a single colony of the same. Död. On exteræ, consult note on p. 26, line 22.

19. Toto marl, sc. mediterraneo = per totum maris. Z. 462. Observe how Cicero, in order to excite the attention of his hearers, begins with the most remote coasts and countries, which were disquieted by the pirates, and draws nearer and nearer, until he exhibits these daring foes at the very mouth of the Tiber.

22. Committeret. Committere = to expose. It is often used of a thing of doubtful issue. The thought is expressed in a general way and therefore the imperfect. In another form it would be: quicumque navigabat, se committerebat. Commiserit would be used of an actual fact.—Hieme. Because the sea, owing to the season, was less full of pirates, navigation being generally suspended during the winter months.

24. Vetus. It was begun A. u. c. 667, in the consulship of Octa
vius and Cinna, and ended in the consulship of Lepidus and Tullus. A. u. c. 688.

35. Quis . . . arbitrantur. See Z. 528, Note 2 in fin.

31. Captas. A. u. c. 686. The pirates had more than 1000 ships on the sea, and had taken 400 cities. Their chief stations were in Crete and Cilicia. See Plut. Pomp. 24.


34. Fuit proprium popull Romani. The repetition of the verb contributes to the emphasis. See note on p. 9, line 25. What case does proprium take? Z. 411.

35. Propugnaculis. Ernesti understands this of the colonies founded in subdued nations, to keep the conquered in subjection, and to restrain the neighboring nations from attacks upon the provinces. See p. Font. 1. Sometimes fleets and armies are so called, and in this sense, since Cicero adds sua tecta and is speaking of the piratic war, Bonnecke and others take it here.

37. Clausum. In consequence of the waylaying of the pirates.—A Brundisio. Brundisium is particularly mentioned, because it was the port from which the Roman forces set out for the war against Mithridates and the pirates. It was also in the usual route to Greece. The preposition is sometimes added to the names of towns, particularly where the departure or starting is had in view rather than the route. But see Z. 398, Note 1. Madvig reads sociis . . . vestris and exerc. vestri.

38. Hieme summa. In the dead of winter. See note on line 22. —Transmiserint, used absolutely. Z. 392.

39. Venirent = venire vellent.—Querar. Z. 530. So dicam, line 41, and commemorem, line 44.

41. Duodecim securas = two prætors, for in the provinces a prætor had six lictors, while in the city he had only two, and without the axe. Plut. Pomp. 24, gives the names, Sextilius and Bellinus.

42. Cnidum. A city of Caria, situated on a peninsula, with two harbors, and distinguished for its commerce and for the Venus of Praxiteles.—Colophonena. A city of Ionia, famous for its horses.

43. Samum. An island and city of Ionia in the Icarian Sea, known as the birthplace of Pythagoras.

1. Quibus vitam et spiritum ductitis. For through them supplies of grain were brought from Sicily, Sardinia, and Africa.

2. Cælætæ. A promontory and town of the Auruncans, now Gaeta. It had a fine harbor.—Celeberrimum. Thronged, populous.

3. Prætor. Probably Marcus Antonius, son of the orator and father of the triumvir, surnamed Ceticus. In an attack which he made upon Crete, he entirely failed, and shortly after died there.

5. **Liberos.** Plut. *Pomp.* 24, informs us that the daughter of Antonius was taken by the pirates. Various passages show that it was customary for orators when speaking of one son or one daughter to use the plural *liberi*. The thing and name, and not the number, are regarded.

6. **Ostense incommodum.** Dio Cass. tells us that the pirates ventured to enter the harbor of Ostia at the mouth of the Tiber and to burn or plunder the shipping.

7. **Consul.** Cicero conceals the name, to cover the disgrace.—*Capta atque oppressa.* Weiske explains *capta* of those that came into the power of the pirates; *oppressa* of those that were destroyed or greatly damaged. Others find here a δοτέρων πρόσφερον, understanding *opprimere* as = subito et improviso invadere in classem. Beneck considers *opprimere* in this connection as but an amplification of *capere*, and = capta classe, plane tenere eam dominumque ejus sier. They are likewise found together in *Verr.* 2, 19, 46; *Sest.* 15, 35.


9. **Oceani ostium = fretum Herculeum, the straits of Gibraltar.** The expression is chosen to correspond to *Ostium Tiberinum* and *ostium* is repeated with emphasis.

10. **Hoc . . . prætereunda non sunt, for prætereundum non est, &c.** The subject of the accessory clause is sometimes, for the sake of prominence, drawn into the leading sentence, and made its object or subject. In the latter case the leading sentence becomes personal. In both cases a kind of attraction exists, by which the leading and accessory clauses are interlocked. The verbs of the leading clause are principally such as express some mental activity, and not seldom also the verbs of causing or effecting (*facio, efficio*). Cfr. *Læb.* 17, 63: *Quidam sepe in parva pecunia perspiciumtur, quam sint leves* (for perspicitur, quam leves sint quidam).

11. **Aut obeundī negotii aut consequendī quaestus studio.** The former refers to the *negotiatores* or money-lenders, the latter to the *mercatores* or traders.

12. **Bellī impetus navigavit.** The language is here poetical. *Impetus belli = bellum*, with the accompanying notion of its magnitude and impetuousity. *Navigavit* is equally poetical and appropriate, as the *impetus belli* consisted in the fleet of Pompey. It may also have special meaning with reference to the following *nondum temp. ad navigandum mari.* Cfr. *Florus,* 2, 2, 7: *Regulo duce jam in Africam navigabat bellum.*

13. **Sardiniam.** Z. 398, Note 1.

14. **Duabus Hispanis.** Spain was divided into either and farther Spain.—*Gallia.* Intelligendum de Ligustico sinu et Gallico.
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Florus, 3, 6, 9. Quod vulgo inculcatur vel Transalpina vel Cisalpina del. est. Orelli.

27. Duo maria. The Adriatic and Tuscan seas.—Adornavit pro simplici ornavit, i.e. instruxit. M.

28. Undequinquaginta dies. According to Zonaras, 10, 3, Pompey cleared the Tuscan and Libyan seas and the sea around Sardinia, Corsica, and Sicily in 40 days. Steinmetz retains the preposition before Brundisium. See ch. 12, 32.

32. Cretensiibus. Pompey's interference in the affairs of the Cretans was quite unwarrantable. Q. Cecilius Metellus was charged with the conduct of the war against Crete, and several towns had fallen into his hands, so that the war seemed almost at an end, when the Cretans sent to offer their submission to Pompey, from whom they hoped to obtain more favorable terms than from Metellus. Metellus, however, refused to take any notice of the legates whom Pompey sent, and continued to attack and subdue the towns until he brought the war to a close. Schmitz, Rome, pp. 379 and 381. On the construction, see Z. 812, in fn.

34. Speram . . . . non ademt obdesque imperavit. On que after a negative, see note on p. 27, line 32.

36. Quo bello. See note on p. 11, line 1.

37. Extrema hlem. Z. 685

Ch. XIII.—40. Quid ceterae, &c. In transitions, the noun, on which the emphasis rests, and the pronoun which serves as it were to prepare the way for what follows, are often prefixed with quid to the interrogation itself. Cf. de Senect. 7, 22: Quid jurisconsulti? quid pontifices? quid augures? quid philosophi senes? quam multa me minerunt? Tusc. 1, 14, 32: Quid iliid? num dubitas, &c. See Z. 769.

42. Querenda est, i.e. postulanda, requirenda. Cf. § 64.

43. Artes = virtutes, qualitates.

44. Innocentia. Innocentia est affectio talis animi, quae neceat semini. Tusc. 3, 8, 16. Cicero here uses it, as he explains more fully, § 37-40, for disinterestedness, as particularly opposed to avarice.

2. Quanta facilitate. See § 42, where also consilium and dicendi gravitas et copia, i.e. eloquence, correspond to ingenio.

5. Cognoscere atque intelligere. Intelligere denotes a rational discernment by means of reflection and combination; cognoscere, an historical discernment by means of the senses and of tradition. Djd.

7. Ullo in numero putare. We may supply esse or ponendum. —Centuriatus veneant atque venierint. Allusion appears to be made here to Galbrie. Madvig: veneant cent atque venierint.

9. Cogitare. Supply putare possimus. Benecke places a comma after quid, and construes the accusative and infinitive absolutely, as a question expressing indignation, according to Z. 609.

21*
10. Aut propter cupiditatem provinciae. From desire to continue in his province, by their permission or assistance. For the custom had arisen of extending the time of office.


17. Ferant. Ambigue dictum est: nam significare potest et afferant et ipse perferant. M. The context seems to decide for the former sense. If you supply from quocunque an so with ferant, the ambiguity ceases.—Itinera. The marches in the social war, and in the wars between Sulla and Marius, against Sertorius, and Spartacus.

18. Per haec annos. Of late years.

19. Fecerunt. Madvig reads fecerunt, making the clause merely explanatory of the preceding substantive, itinera; the subjunctive brings it into dependence on recordamini.


24. Cointinere = reprimere, coercere. Cf. ad Q. frat. 1, 1, 2: quid est enim negotii, continere eos, quibus praeis, si te ipse contineas.—Ipse. Z. 696, where ipsum the common reading is given, but see the end of that §, and compare the passage from Q. frat. 1, 1, 2.

26. Hic miramur, i.e. quum ita se reus habeant, with a mixture of indignation, and irony.—Tantum excellere. See Z. 488, Note 2.

27. In Aësam pervenerunt, bello piratico. Bake places a mark of interrogation after ceteris, and defends the reading pervenerunt. The subjunctive in the text expresses the ground of the wonder, or rather is given as the thought of those who wonder.—Ut non modo, &c. = non modo nihil rapuississe, sed ne pedem quidem, ubi non licebat, posuisse. On non modo for non modo non, see Z. 724, b.

30. Hibernum. Pompey was encamped on the borders of Cilicia.

31. In millitem, upon a soldier, in usum militum.

32. Hie misa . . . . perfugium est, quo hiemis vitandae causa confugimus; avaritas perfugium, quo avaritia ad se expleandam confugit.

Ch. XIV.—35. Aeg vero. These particles are used in transitions to give animation to the discourse. The following verb is often in the plural.—Qua sit temperantia. The common text is qualis, &c. Madvig gives quoi.

37. Inventum = paratum, effectum. So the Greeks use ἐπιπλεκτικός for parare, consequii. Here the word figuratively expresses fertility of invention in devising the means of accomplishing some difficult object.


41. Devocavit. Did not call off or turn aside, allure, attract. He alludes to the common faults of Roman generals, and draws a comparison favorable to Pompey.—Libido. Pompey sent the mistresses of Mithridates back to their parents.
42. Nobilitas urbis ad cognit CONTEM. Alluding to Athens, where he only remained long enough to offer sacrifices, and address his soldiers.

44. Signa. Statues of bronze, marble, ivory, &c.—Tabulas, &c. pictas. Cf. in Verr. 5, 48, 127: In urbe nostra pulcherrima atque ornatissima quod signum, quae tabula picta est, qua non ab hostibus victis capta atque asportata sit. He then proceeds to notice this robbery more particularly, and says that Athens, Pergamus, Cyzicus, Miletus, Chios, Samos, all Asia, Greece, and Sicily are to be seen in the environs of a few Roman villas. So ad Q. frat. 1, 1: Praecarium est enim summo cum imperio suisse in Asia triennium, sic ut nullum te signum, nulla picture, nullum vas, nulla vestis, nullum mancipium, nulla forma cujusquam, nulla conditio pecuniae...ab summa integritate continentiaque deduxerit.


2. Omnes nunc. The common text has quidem after omnes, which Beneceke defends as giving more emphasis to omnes.

4. De caelo delapsum. So ad Q. frat. 1, 1, 2: Nam Graci quidem sic te ita viventem intuebuntur, ut quendam ex annalium memoria aut etiam de caelo divinum hominem esse in provinciam delapsum putent.

5. Homines Romanos. In a similar way, homines Graci, homines Latini, homines adolescences, and the like occur. But the connection is found only where the genius and character of the nation or men are particularly had in view.


10. Jam vero. In what way are these particles used? See note on p. 21, line 18.

11. Querimoniae. Querimonia and querela are expressions of indignation; the former in the just feeling of the injured person, who will not brook an act of injustice; the latter in, for the most part, the blamable feeling of the discontented person, who will brook no hardship. The querimonia is an act of the understanding, and aims at redress or satisfaction; the querela is an act of feeling, and aims for the most part only at easing the heart. Död.


14. Consilium = prudentia, or, as in § 36, ingenio.—Dicendi gravitate et copia. Velleius, 2, 29, calls him eloquentia medium.


16. Hoc ipso ex loco, i. e. quum ex hoc ipso loco Pompeius concionaretur. The common reading is hoc ipso in loco, which Hand, Turs. 2, p. 627, inclines to prefer. Cf. 17, 52; 24, 70.
24. At this juncture opportunities presented. From desire to age no one knew he was aware of their permission or assistance. For they are not aware of extending the time of office.


26. Present. Announce declines out. His significance probably on the opposite. If one desires some premonition as with some man—January. The mention of the social era between Europe and America suggests Satanism and Satan.

27. For lower section. Cf. also verse.

28. Present. More time is current, nothing is obtained; he is proceeding with faster pace. The meaning is: no assurance in separation.


30. Contemn = veneration. Cf. 1. and 2. we desire to give assurance. The meaning is: no assurance in separation.

31. The section... a man... is assured. The meaning is: no assurance in separation. In human perception, due to confusion, a man supposes after error and indicates the way to assurance. He does not consider the path not to be in the thought of those who are his enemies and his own soul for his own soul. 2. In this respect, it is not the case that he is a man among men. There are many who are the same, their spirit... a man... his own soul. The same spirit of assurance.

32. The same. Power is expressed in the same way. In multitudes, men of various sorts, their participation in the same spirit. The same spirit... a man among men. There are many who are the same, their spirit... a man... his own soul. The same spirit of assurance.
17. Hostes omnes omnium gentium. So Benecke, Klotz, and Madvig in accordance with the MSS. The common text is hostes omnium gentium, i.e. the pirates.


21. Et quisquam, &c. Et est commemorantis aliquid, quod fieri indignetur. Vid. § 45, 55; pro Mil. 33, 91.—Transmittendum, i.e. committendum, mandandum. See note on p. 47, line 10.

23. Quodam... videatur. On this use of quidam to soften an expression, see Z. 707; and on the use of videatur, Z. 751.

Ch. XV.—25. Certe = at least, to limit an assertion. Z. 268, Note 1.

30. Opinione... et fama. The common reading is opiniones... famae, i.e. opinione, quam fama et sermone hominum nititur. But to this Benecke objects that in this use the genitive is not commonly separated from its governing substantive, and the position of non minus would lead us to expect another genitive equally dependent on opinione.

34. Tam praeclara judicia. Summis ad eum delatis imperia. Besides, a triumph was allowed him in his 26th year, when he was only a knight; and in his 36th year, when he was legally eligible only to the edileship, he was elevated to the consulship. Judicium often stands of an opinion or judgment which is expressed by acts, not by words. Cf. ch. 1, 2: ex vestro judicio, &c.

35. An vero. On an see P. C. 120; Z. 353. The orator continues the proof of his former proposition in the interrogative form to give animation to his discourse.

36. Illius diet. When the Gabinian law was passed.

37. Completisque... templis. The Roman forum was surrounded by porticos, public buildings, and temples. The numbers collected on this occasion were so great that the forum could not contain them, and the steps leading to these buildings were filled. And Plutarch says, that the applause of the people was so deafening, that a crow, which was flying over, was stunned by the concussion of the air and fell among the crowd.

38. Ad commune omnium gentium bellum. Against the pirates.

40. Ut... non dicam neque, &c. See Z. 347. We use ne dicam to indicate that we could say something more important, but do not wish to say it; on the other hand, when we say ut non dicam, we signify that we do not wish to say what might be said, because it is not necessary, and we have said enough for the present purpose. So pro Murena, 15, 32: ut aliud nihil dicam.

41. Quantum auctoritas. Klotz follows the MSS., and retains hujus before auctoritas.
43. Qui quo die. The relative to connect propositions is found even before other relatives. Z. 603.

44. Villitas annusae. The grain merchant anticipating a large supply from the foreign market, in consequence of the seas being cleared of the pirates, was glad to dispose of his store before its arrival. —Ex summa inopia, i.e. statim post summam inopiam.

2. Spe ac nomine. Plutarch says, as the price of provisions fell immediately, the people were greatly pleased, and it gave them occasion to say, "The very name of Pompey had terminated the war."


7. Ad ipsum discrimen. At the very critical moment. So Benecke, Klotz, and Madvig. Other readings are ad ipsum temporis, and ad id ipsum eius temporis.

8. Ad eas regiones, sc. in Pamphylia et Ciliciam.

10. Insolita victoria. For he had been conquered by Sulla, Murena, and Lucullus. His victory was over Triarius. —Continuit. This is appropriate to Mithridates, who was near; as retardavit to Tigranes, who was at a distance.


Ch. XVI.—15. Age vero. See note on p. 57, line 38.—Illa rea. The following circumstance. Ille often refers forward to what follows. It is here explained by the sentence, quod . . . . dediderunt.

18.cretensium legat. See note on p. 56, line 32.


25. Ad eum potissimum. Instead of to Q. Metellus who was of consular rank, while Pompey was only a questor. That Mithridates ever sent an ambassador into Spain to Pompey seems highly improbable. In the preceding line Madvig omits semper, and line 24 reads in Hispaniam.


31. Reliquum est, ut, &c. Z. 621.

32. Meminiisse. On the omission of the conjunction vero in adversative clauses, see Z. 781.

33. De potestate deorum, i.e. de re ea quæ est tota in potestate deorum, ut cavendum sit, ne in ea plus homini tribuamus. Sic bene explicat fortunam.

34. Timide. Ne quod est deorum, homini tribuisse videar. Ideo
59. Sane, quia timide.—Maximo. Q. Fabius Maximus, called Cunctator from his caution in war.

35. Marcello. M. Claudius Marcellus, celebrated as five times consul, and the conqueror of Syracuse.—Scipioni. Manutius understands the younger Africanus.—Maro. C. Marius, seven times consul. Cf. note on p. 45, line 29.—Et ceteris. In concluding an enumeration of several persons or things, is et common with alii and ceteri? Z. 783.

39. Et ad gloriem. Ernesti rejects the preposition. The best authorities give it. Consult note on p. 18, line 5.

41. De quo nunc agimus. Some editions give quo de, placing the preposition after its case. On this usage in regard to de, see Z 324.

44. Invita dila, i.e. if he said, in illius potestate fortunam positam esse.—Ingrata, if he failed praterita meminisse, reliqua operare.

2. Domi militiae. So also Klotz. Madvig, and others, militiae. For quantaque Matthaeus prefers quanta, since Cicero is not speaking of both the greatness of Pompey's deeds and of his good fortune, but only of the latter. Such a connection, however, of the more important with the less important, by means of an explanatory conjunction, is not uncommon. We might properly have expected, quanta felicitate tantas ille res, &c.

3. Ut = how.—Assenserint. In Cicero the active form of this word is very rare, except in the perfect tense and in the moods and tenses derived from the perfect. The deponent or middle form answers to its meaning more nearly than the active.

4. Obtemperarint...obediderint...obsecundarint. Observe the propriety with which these words, which have the same general signification, are selected and applied to their several subjects. Obedire denotes obedience as an obligation, and a state of duty and subjection; obsecundare and obtemperare, as an act of free will. The obtemperans obeys from persuasion, esteem, or fear, evincing his conformity to another's will; the obsecundans from love and complaisance, showing his readiness to obey. Dód.—Tempestatessque. Tempestas is a vocabulum medium, and like valetudo, facinus, dolus, &c., taken not only in malam, but also in bonam partem. The "favor" of the elements was especially apparent in the piratical war.

5. Neminem unquam. See Krebe, 527; Z. 738.

6. Qua...tactitus auderet. P. C. 483 (2); Z. 556. On the use of tactitus, which may be rendered adverbially, see Z. 682.

10. Sicuti tactitis. As evinced by the extraordinary honors and offices conferred on him.—Velle et optare. Velle means to wish, and co-operate towards the realization of one's wish; optare, to wish, and leave the realization of one's wish to others, or to fate; expetere, to wish, and apply to others for the realization of one's wish. Dód.
12. Quare quum, &c. The general conclusion before proceeding to the confusion.

16. Dubitabitis . . . quin . . . conseratès. Is this the common construction of dubito or non dubito when the meaning is "to scruple" or "hesitate"? Z. 541. Quis is, however, necessary when dubitare stands in the passive or gerund: Domitius sibi dubitandum non putavit, quin prælio decerretur. Cas. B. C. 3, 37. So also, Quamque nec mihi, nec fratri nec dubium esse, quin Brunadius contemneremus. Cic. Att. 8, 11, D. 3.

Cn. XVII.—19. Quod si = quare si, is more than the simple si. Quod serves to indicate a connection with the preceding proposition. See Z. 342 and 807. How may we express this quod? Z. 807. In rendering it may also be sometimes unexpressed, and should not always be translated by "because if."

20. Erat delictandus. Si with the imperfect or pluperfect subjunctive is generally followed by the indicative of the historical tenses, most frequently by the imperfect indicative, in expressions which denote "must," "should," "can," "may," &c.; also the participle of the future active, almost without exception, and the gerund and gerundive, regularly are connected with erat, fuit, fuerat. See Z. 519, a. The subjunctive denotes the simple thought or conception, the indicative the actual undoubted fact, in itself true and certain.


23. Ab ipsis, &c. Pompey had just brought the piratic war to a close, and was now in Cilicia, and could receive troops from Lucullus or Gabrio, the proconsul of Bithynia.

25. Cetera. Supply bella from the next clause, and connect summa with saluté. On the cum, see Z. 472.


28. At enim. These particles are used in anticipating an objection for the purpose of removing it.

29. Vestris beneficis amplissimis affectus = summis honoriabus ornatus; for Catulus had been consul with Lepidus twelve years before, and offices among the Romans were regarded as benefits, which the state conferred, and therefore named beneficia, to which amplissima is here added to denote the high dignity of the consulship. —Q. Catulus. Throughout life he was distinguished as one of the prominent leaders of the aristocracy, and being consul along with M. Emilius Lepidus, a. u. c. 678, the year in which Sulla died, he steadily resisted the efforts of his colleague to bring about a counter-revolution by abrogating the acts of the dictator. During the progress of the Catilinarian plot, he strenuously supported Cicero, and either he or Cato was the first to hail him as "pares patriæ." Catulus died during the consulship of Metellus Celer, a. u. c. 694; "happy," says
Cicero, "both in the splendor of his life, and in having been spared the spectacle of his country's ruin."

31. Q. Hortensius was so distinguished as an orator, that Cicero calls him (Divin. in Q. Cæcil. 7) rex judiciorum. This domination over the courts continued up to about the year, a. u. c. 684, when Hortensius was retained by Verres against Cicero. The issue of this contest was to dethrone Hortensius, and to establish his rival, Cicero, as the first orator and advocate of the Roman forum. Hortensius attached himself closely to the dominant Sullan or aristocratic party, and after his consulate, a. u. c. 685, took a leading part in supporting the optimates against the rising power of Pompey. Up to Cicero's consulate, a. u. c. 691, Hortensius and Cicero were continually opposed, professionally and politically. After this period they usually acted together professionally, for Hortensius retired from political life in the year 694. He possessed enormous wealth, and of his luxurious habits many stories are told.

32. Multis locis. See Z. 481.

33. Cognoscitis. So Benecke, Madvig, and others, instead of the common reading cognoscitis, which Klotz retains. See Jordan, ad Cæc. pp. 166, 167. Benecke considers this passage as closely connected with chap. 23, § 68: Quod si auctoritatibus, &c., to the close of the chapter. The meaning then is, "Although I shall offset to the views of these men (Catulus and Hortensius) the views of other distinguished men (§ 68), we can however for the present pass these by, and seek the truth from the merits of the case."

34. Auctoritates = sententias, quæ a viris gravibus profectis auctoritatem et vim habent.—Fortissimorum. In reference to the boldness of their declarations, quoniam neque metu, neque ulla alia re deterrebutur, quin libere dicerent, quæ sentirent. It is also an expression of courtesy, as clarissimorum which follows and denotes their rank as senators.

35. Tamen. The repetition of this particle after tametsi is not uncommon in Cicero. Z. 341.—Omissis auctoritatibus, i. e. prætermissis pondere, quod illorum sententias, ut hominum honoratorum habent.


37. Adhuc. Z. 292.

39. Igitur is used as a formula of commencement, to introduce a narration, argument, &c., the subject having generally been mentioned before.

40. [Unum.] Klotz and Madvig without brackets.

43. Tu idem. Z. 127 and 697.—Pro. See Z. 312; and P. C. 56, in fin.

1. A. Gabinius. Gabinius was tribune of the people in a. u. c. 687 and moved that the command of the war against the pirates
should be given to Pompey. Having dissipated his fortune by extravagance and prodigality, if he had not carried his law, says Cicero, (post Red. in Sen. 51), such were his embarrassments, that he must have turned pirate himself. He afterwards became consul in 696. See introduction, at the bottom of p. 225.

2. Uno. For Pompey was not named in the law. See introduction, p. 226.

3. Ex hoc ipso loco, i.e. ex rostris.


5. Vera causa. The true interests of the state. See note on page 47, line 12.


12. Privatam rem. See §§ 31, 32.

Ch. XVIII.—14. Non dico, &c. The sense is, "I speak not now of larger states, which were distinguished for their navies and maritime power; even small islands and states could protect themselves against the pirates. How disgraceful then for the Roman empire not to be able to defend itself."

15. Atheniensem, sc. civitatem. For nearly seventy years the Athenians commanded the maritime coasts, extending even to the Euxine and Pamphyliarica seas.

16. Carthaginensium. The naval power of the Carthaginians was for a long time unrivalled in the Mediterranean.

17. Rhodorum. The Rhodians often aided the Romans in their maritime wars, and Strabo testifies to their excellent discipline and naval prowess.

19. Quae cives unquam tam tenuils. After unquam Klotz reads ante, and Madvig [antea].

24. In navallisbus pugnias. Particularly the victories of Dullius, Regulus, and Catulus in the first Punic war; and of Livius and L. Aemilius Regillus over the fleet of Antiochus, a. v. c. 563, 564. About half of the Roman fleet was furnished by the Rhodians, and they were further assisted by King Eumenes of Pergamus. The fleet of Antiochus was commanded by Polyxenidas.—Ac multo = atque adeo multo maxima parte.

25. Utilitatis. Rerum ad usum vitae necessarium, i.e. vectigalium.—Dignitatis. See § 32, foll.


27. Persenque. See Z. 52, 4; and note on p. 45, line 28. We must infer this defeat, which is not directly mentioned by historians, from the naval triumph of Octavius. Liv. 45, 42.

29. II. So § 33 in some editions the reading is vos, qui...ii nunc, &c. This pronoun is often used to resume or repeat with emphasis a preceding noun or pronoun. See note on page 27, line 10; and compare the next sentence, nos...i idem.
33. Deles. This island possessed an excellent harbor and situation, lying in the route of those who traded between Asia and Greece, or Italy; and, after the overthrow of Corinth by Mummius, was very celebrated as a commercial place, until it was almost destroyed by the generals of Mithridates.—Tam procul, tamen nostri armae et opibus tuta.

Arist. c. 3.—Nihil timebat. Deles is instanced as furnishing a contrast between former security and present insecurity.

37. Appia jam vila. This led from Rome to Capua and across to Brundisium. Where it touched the sea, or was near to it, it was insecure owing to the landing of the pirates.—Carobenus. Because we had not free and unobstructed enjoyment of them.

38. Non pudebat, &c. Pudori esse debuit oratoribus h.n.o (e rostris) verba sacere, quod potestatem illam maritimam penitus amisisset populus Romanus. Hortensius may be particularly alluded to in reference to §§ 52 and 53.

40. Exuvulis . . . . spolias. Praeda and manuslas denote booty only as a possession and gain that has been made by conquest; whereas spolia and exuviae, at the same time, are signs of victory and of honor. Dcd.

Ch. XIX.—41. Animo = mente, consilio, with good intention, in good faith.

43. Ea, quae sentiebatur. Are such circumblocutions common?

44. Dolori suo. Dolor denotes an inward feeling of pain, as from a wound or blow, especially when the sensation or feeling is fresh. Liv. 41, 10, joins it with indignatio, in which sense it may here be taken. The people were indignant at the wrongs and con
tumely they suffered from the pirates.

1. Una lex. The Gabinian.—Usus vir. Pompey.

3. Vere. The ill success of former generals in their efforts to suppress the pirates might have made the Roman supremacy appear questionable. Now, however, it has at last recovered its true ascen
dency.

5. Obrectatum esse. Impersonal, 
P. C. 285; Z. 412, in sim.; Krebs, 171. On the meaning of obrectare, see Arnold's Nepos, 
Arist. 1, 1.

6. Gabinio dicam, ann Pompeo, an utrique. For the forms of disjunctive questions, see Z. 554. Ann is not frequently used, and only in the second member, and generally when the interrogative par
ticle is omitted in the first member.—Id quod. 
P. C. 36.

7. Ne legaretur A. Gabinius. In his tribunate he procures a law to be passed, investing Pompey with supreme command,
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When obtained, Pompey asks for his lieutenant this same Gabininus. Such an attempt, leading to corrupt jobbing, was properly resisted.—Expetenti ac postulanti. On expetere, see note on p. 60, line 10. Postulare = to make claims, or demand, with reasons of right and equity, or in accordance with relations and circumstances. By the Gabinian law, Pompey, as Plutarch (Pomp. 25) informs us, was empowered to choose out of the senators fifteen legates, or lieutenants, to act under him. He actually chose twenty-four (Plut. id. 26), which number accords more nearly with Appian (B. Mith. 94), who gives the number as twenty-five. The persons appointed to this office were usually men of great military talents, and were nominated by the consul or dictator under whom they served; but the sanction of the senate was an essential point, without which no one could be legally considered a legatus. But the senate baffled Gabininus in his favorite project of following Pompey into Asia, by successfully opposing, or, at least, delaying his election as one of the legates.

9. Idoneus . . . . qui impetret. What other adjectives have the same construction? Z. 563. Consult also P. C. 486 and 212a.

14. Pericullo. For if Pompey had been unsuccessful, the blame would also have attached to the proposer of the law by which Pompey was put in command.

15. An C. Falcidius, &c. On the form of the sentence, see note on p. 9, line 19. In the second member, the future or subjunctive is more common.

16. Quos omnes. Not quorum omnes. Compare note on p. 13, line 33; and see Z. 430, in fin.—Honoris causa = out of respect, with all due respect.

18. Diligentes = strict, scrupulous, careful, etc. in adhering to the rule that tribunes should not be appointed legates to a general who had received his appointment during their tribuneship. Confirmation of the general's choice had become so much the rule, that Pompey must have deeply felt the rejection of Gabinius. To wound him still more deeply, laws which, as Cicero claims, had in the case of Falcidius and others been neglected, or not applied, were revived and applied against Gabinius; viz. that no one who had proposed a bill should participate in the commission under it. Klotz retains: in hoc uno Gabinio.

20. Per vos. By your suffrages = vestris suffragiis, at the end of the chapter.

21. Deberet. The subjunctive imperfect refers to the implied conditional clause, si esset in exercitu Pompeii.

22. Ego me profiteor relaturum. Since a legatio required a decree of the senate, it was necessary, if Gabinius was to be a legate to Pompey under the Manilian law, that a decree should approve. And as it devolved first upon the consuls to propose the question, Ci-
Cicerone says, Consules spero, &c.; and immediately adds, in order to stimulate the consuls to act, that he (as pretor), in case they decline, will bring forward the business of Gabinius’s appointment. For it appears to be going too far to deny, as some do, that a pretor could in the presence of the consuls propose a decree. He must however submit, if the higher magistrate interfered to prevent his design.

23. Impedit . . . . quo minus. P. C. 94 and 98; Z. 543.—Inimicum edictum. With reference to the preceding note, this may mean an edict issued by the consuls, either of a general nature to prescribe the mode of conducting business in the senate; or to define the mode of procedure in reference to a single session. Cicero calls it inimicum, as intended to trammel and thwart in his purpose the mover of a measure, and declares that he will disregard it and persist in his motion. In such a case nothing was left to the consuls but to intercede, when the pretor must yield. Cicero could be bold, because the grounds of objection to Gabinius’s appointment, which existed under the Gabinian law, of which he was the mover, no longer existed under the Manilian law.

24. Jus, sc. pretorius. Ernesti makes it the right which the tribunes had to be appointed legates, and beneficium, the honor and rights of the tribuneship itself. Benecke understands jus of the right of the people generally to bestow its honors on whom it pleases, and beneficium of the favor thereby conferred. L. v. Jan rejects both of these opinions, and understands the words of the right of the people to appoint Pompey to the command of the war against the pirates. As the senate were opposed to this measure, they, in revenge for their defeat, refused to confirm Gabinius as legate to Pompey. The overcoming of this revenge, therefore, by the appointment of Gabinius, will be a triumph of the rights of the people.

25. Intercessione, sc. tribunorum. A compliment to the people, to whose tribunes he was ready to defer.

26. Qui minuantur, se intercessuros, aut, aliqui ut intercedant, operam daturum.

29. Socius adscribitur, i. e. pro socio Pompeii in bello maritimo habetur, ejus gloriae particeps est. Cicero intimates that the tribunes had no just grounds for interceding, and reminds his hearers of Gabinius’s special and peculiar claims to the office of legate. See § 57.


Ch. XX.—32. Reillqum est, ut . . . . videatur. See Z. 621; and compare § 27: restat, ut . . . . dicendum esse videatur.

34. Quæreret. See P. C. 415, 5; Krebs’ Guide, 232 (4); Z 505, Note.—Si . . . . poneretis, si quid eo factum esset. Notice here a double protasis without co-ordination or subordination of the one to the other. In English we might put them in co-ordination by the conjunction and, but this is not allowable in Latin, whether they both
stand immediately together, or inclose the *apodosis*, or leading sentence. Render "When he inquired of you, if you were to place all your dependence on Pompey alone, on whom you would set your hopes, in case any thing should befall him," or (inserting one protasis) "on whom, if any thing should befall him, you would set your hopes."

—*Si quid eo factum esset*. A euphemism to avoid uttering a word of ill-omen or gloomy import. Compare note on p. 39, line 8.—*Ex. P. C. 291*, in fin.; *Z. 491*. What other case is also found in this construction, and what preposition is sometimes expressed with the ablative?

36. *Quum omnes.... dixistis*. *Z. 560*. This anecdote is given in Plut. *Pomp. 25*, and in Vell. *Pat. 2*, 32. The occasion was when Catulus rose up to speak against the Gabinian law.

37. *In ipso*. Madvig: *in eo ipso*; Klotz: *in eo ipso*, who says that as the Quirites could not cry out *in ipso orem habeimus*, but in *te ipso*, &c., so in Cicero’s speech *eo* is almost indispensable.—*Talis est vir*, &c. Cf. *Sest. 47, 101*: *qualis nuper Q. Catulus fuit, quem neque periculi tempestas, neque honoris aura potuit unquam de suo cursu aut spe aut metu demovere."

40. *In hoc ipso*. This refers to the words of Catulus: *in uno Cn. Pompeio non omnia ponenda*, and *quod* gives the reason for Cicero’s differing from Catulus on this point.

43. *At enim*. An objection. See note on p. 60, line 28.—*Ne quid* is the reading of Benecke, Klotz, Madvig, and others.

44. *Non dicam*. *Non dico, non dicam, non commemorabo* are forms of expression by which the orator, without omitting any thing that he wishes to say, under the appearance of brevity gains the goodwill of his hearers, and their attention in expectation of something more important to come. Cf. in *Rull. 1*, 7, 21.

1. *In pace consuetudinis, in bello utilitatis*. Thus Marius too, in later times, presented two cohorts of Cameritians with the freedom of the city, on the field of battle, for their gallant resistance to the Cimbrians; and when told that it was illegal, he replied, that the din of arms drowned the voice of the laws. *Val. Max. 5*, 2, 8.


8. *Vobis.... esse visum*. That it seemed good to you, that you thought it proper.


Cist. *XXI.—14*. *Tam novum*. The meaning of *novum* is determined by the words *prater consuetudinem, inauditum, inusitatum,*
NOTES.

singularare, incredibile, with which Cicero below varies the expression. He introduces further variety in the construction. The first three are followed by quam and the acc. c. inf., and the second three by quam and at with the subjunctive. We may also notice the skill with which justness of proportion between uniformity and variety is again consulted for in the answers to the questions.—Adolescentulum, privatum. See note on p. 54, line 26; and compare Vell. Pat. 2, 29, 1.

15. Conficere = comparare, contrahere, conscribere, to enrol, levy.

18. A senatorio gradu. The age at which a person might become a senator, was probably at this period 27. Pompey was at this time only 24.


23. Equitem Romanum triumphare. On his return from Africa, he demanded a triumph, which was at first refused. Pompey however persisted, and was at last allowed a triumph at the age of 25. Plutarch says, it would have been nothing strange if Pompey had been a senator before the age fixed for it; but it was a very extraordinary instance of honor, to lead up a triumph before he was a senator. And it contributed not a little to gain him the affections of the multitude; the people were delighted to see him, after his triumph, class with the equestrian order.

25. Visendam. Visere, as the frequentative of videre, is stronger, and equivalent to studiisse videre. Its meaning of "go to see," is also involved. Therefore, Era.: non modo vidit, sed etiam studiisse et frequenter spectavit. Klotz reads omnium for omni.

26. Quid tam inustitatum, quam ut. So below, quid tam singularare, quam ut, and quid tam incredibile, quam ut. See Z. 623. Above, with novum, praeter consuecutudinem, and inauditum, the construction is the accusative and infinitive.—Duo consules. They were. D. Junius Brutus and Mam. Emilius Lepidus, a. u. c. 677.

28. Bellum maximum. The Sertorian or Spanish war.


32. Pro consuliibus. Here is a bonmot, consisting of a play upon words, by which the incapacity of the consule of that year is intimated. Cicero, who also mentions it in the 11th Philippic, 8, 18, skilfully makes use of it here, as though it had been uttered simply to glorify Pompey.

33. Rel publicae bene gerendae, i. e. belli rei publicae causa suscepti bene gerendi.

36. Legibus solutus. By the lex annalis, a. u. c. 574, it was decreed that the consul should be 43 years of age. The age requisite
for the ædileship, which was the first of the curule magistracies, by the same law was 36. But Pompey was consul when he was only 35.

38. Iterum .... triumphant. A. u. c. 63, at the age of 35, over Sertorius. Usually no one could be permitted to triumph unless he had held the office of dictator, of consul, or of praetor.

42. Profecta sunt = ei tributa sunt.

43. A Q. Catull atque a cet. ..... hominum auctoritate.

On the repetition of the preposition, see note on p. 18, line 5.

Cu. XXII.—1. Videant, ne, &c. Z. 534.

5. Suo jure facere aliquid dicuntur, qui libere, pro arbitrio, nullo impediente, impune faciunt. With perfect right.

8. Vel contra omnes. Z. 734.


8. Unum illum ex omnibus. Z. 691.—Quem ... proponeretis. Z. 567.

10. Studia vestra. Your views and wishes.

11. Sin autem vos plus ..... vidistis. But if you then saw more clearly the true interests of the state, if you better understood what was for the real welfare of the state.

14. Et sibi et ceteris populi ...... auctoritati parendum. P. C. 332. Compare de Orat. 1, 23, 105: Gerendus est tibi nos adolescentibus. How might Cicero have avoided the two datives, one of the agent, the other of the object? Z. 651; P. C. 335, h.

15. Atque, &c. This passage down to gaudeant, § 68, is by Orelli printed in italics and included in brackets. With reference to which he makes the following note: “Quae litteris inclinatis exprimenda curavimus, ea subditicia et ex aliqua declamatione hic inculcata esse viderunt Naugerius, Pantagathus, Blochius, qui subtiliter eam de re disputavit, et Madvig.” But Madvig, in his second edition of select orations from Cicero, gives it without any indication of its being of doubtful genuineness.


26. Per hos annos. Of late years.

29. Quibus = ut iis. —Causa belli = prætextus, simulatio belli. Dicitur enim causam inferre, qui simulat causam ac fingit.

36. Non modo .... sed. Z. 724, says, When a transition from greater to lesser things is to be expressed, we usually find non modo
... sed without the ctiam. Arnold (P. C. Part 2, 505) objects, that the second is always the stronger statement. Here, though a tribunus is in himself less than an imperator or legatus, yet that a province could not endure even a tribune, is a stronger assertion than that it could not bear an imperator or legatus.


Ch. XXIII.—40. Qui se a pecuniiis. Madvig adopts the conjecture of Benecke and omits sc. Benecke retains it in [ ].

42. Manus oculos animum cohibere. Cf. de Off. 1, 40: At enim praetorem, Sophocle, decet non solum manus, sed etiam oculos abstinenter habere.

44. Ecquam. Z. 136. For even if a rich city were really disposed to peace and tranquillity, some occasion was sought to charge it with disobedience and contumacy, for the purpose of plundering its riches.

65 4. Requisitivit = desideravit.—Videbat, sc. ora maritima, i.e. habitatores, inclosa ora maritima. Z. 675. The common reading is Videbat enim populum Romanum non locupletari . . . . neque nos, &c. The reading of the text is defended by Benecke, and given by later editors, except that Madvig reads neque nos instead of neque eas. It best suits the connection, and is nearest to the MSS. The sense is: For they (i.e. the inhabitants of the coast) saw that the praetors, with the exception of a few, yearly enriched themselves from the appropriations of the public money, and that they in the name of a fleet attained nothing else, &c. From this passage it appears that the praetors, along the Mediterranean and particularly in Asia Minor, yearly received appropriations from the public treasury, for the purpose of fitting out ships; and that they embezzled this money, and applied it to their own use. This neglect of their naval force left them too weak to resist the pirates, and subjected them to defeats, which brought disgrace upon the Roman name.

6. Classium nomine. Z. 679.—Detrimentis accipiendo. The difference in the use of the participle in deus and of the perf. pass. participle, though we may often render both by a verbal noun in ing, should be attended to. It is the difference of a completed and past action and one yet to be. Compare urbis condendae principium pro- sectum a Romulo, and institutae rei publicae clarum exordium. De Rep. 2, 2. Also, superstitione tollenda religio non tollitur. De Div. 2, 72. Sublata superstitione would represent this action as prior to the other; but tollenda marks it as continuing at the same time. So in Cat. 2, 10, 21: male gesto negotio for gerendo, would modify the conception, though in itself giving a just idea.

8. Jacuris, from jacere, properly the throwing of goods overboard in a storm; then any loss whatever; and here, as a kind of
waste or loss, expense, largess, made to those through whose aid they had received their province.


11. Quaem. tum. Z. 723.—Alienis vitis magnus Quia vitis aliorum vacat; with perhaps an allusion to the cognomen of Magnus, which he had received from Sulla.


14. Inter tot annos. The correctness of this expression was formerly questioned, but is sufficiently defended by several similar passages. On the ground of this doubt, however, some editors have erased annos, understanding imperatores; and the correspondence between hic uni and inter tot seems to favor this reading.—Unus .... quem .... gaudent. P. C. 484 (a); Z. 561.

17. Bellorum omnium, i.e. omnis generis.

18. P. Servilius. Consul a. u. c. 675. He was the first of the Romans who led an army to Mount Taurus, and for his victory over the Isaurians, whom he reduced to subjection, he received the cognomen of Isauricus. He was joint advocate of the law with Cicero.

—Marique. He had been successful in several engagements with the pirates.

19. Quaem. .... dellberetis. The subjunctive denotes a possible case, and asserts conditionally.

20. C. Curio. C. Scribonius Curio, consul a. u. c. 678. He triumphed over the Dardanians, a. u. c. 683; and was the first Roman general who penetrated to the Danube.

22. Præditus. This word does not well suit rebus gestis. Here is a kind of zeuma, and insignis or conspicuus may be supplied.—Cn. Lentulus, Clodianus. Consul a. u. c. 682.—Pro. Z. 312.

24. C. Cassius, Varus. Consul a. u. c. 681.—Cassius, integriate, &c. The genitive or ablative of quality seldom stands, as here, in immediate connection with proper names. The connection is commonly effected by means of the apposition of homo or vir. So too, not sapientissimus Socrates, Corinthus amplissima, but Socrates, sap. homo; Cor. urbs ampl.

25. Videce, ut. This is the reading of the MSS., and suits the sense. See Z. 614, in fn. From ut appears to have arisen utrum, and then sum, which is the common text. Madvig adopts a former conjecture of Orelli, and gives videte, horumne.

Ch. XXIV.—33. Cum tanto studio. Z. 472.—Nunc iterum. The first was in passing the Gabinian law. An earlier reading is non iterum ....... vidimus. Benecke contends also for adesse videmus, claiming with Wunder, p. Planc. 12, 29, p. 101, that the particle
quam, as often as it has the meaning of eo, quod, necessarily requires the indicative. See P. C. 488 (c).

39. De re. De tanto viro deligendo.—De perficiendi facultate. About our ability to carry through this choice. The numbers and zeal of the people show their sentiments.

37. Atque is here explanatory. The beneficium consisted in the preceptorship which had been conferred on him.

40. Polliceor ac defero. Defero = ulterus effero, confero, ut numerosior cadat oratio, adjectum verbo polliceor.

41. Hinc loco temploque. There were numerous temples around the forum. We are, however, to understand templo of the rostra, as a nearer explanation of loco. Cf. in Vatin. in rostris, in illo, inquam, augurato templo ac loco; Liv. 8, 14: rostraque id templo appellatum, because consecrated by augures.—President. See note on p. 39, line 7.

42. Ad rem publicam adeunt. Compare ad magistratus remoque publicam accedere. Verr. 1, 12, 33. These phrases are used of those who are candidates for public offices, or who are entering upon public life clothed with civic honors.

43. Cujusquam. Pompey or his friends.—Negque quo. Z. 536. We should expect "sed quod hoc rei publice utilissimum esse confido" to follow, but the construction changes at § 71. In a similar way the construction is broken off, ad Q. frat. 2, 2; and pro Quinct. 3, 11.

66 2. Honoribus. The consulship particularly, since this was the only remaining object of Cicero's ambition.

3. Ut hominem prestante oportet. So far as a man can engage to do.


5. Eadem illa nostra laboriosissima ratione vitae, sc. vos defendendi.

7. Mitti. Z. 419.

8. Tantumque absit, ut... ut. And so far from seeming to have aimed at some grateful return, I even, &c. Tantum absit, followed by two clauses with ut, is almost without exception used impersonally; the first sentence with ut forming its subject, and the second sentence with ut depending upon the tantum.

10. Simulatae. See Arnold's Nepos, p. 177.

11. Non necessarias. For I might have avoided them.—Non inutilis. An instance of the figures litotes and asyndeton. Their advantage to the state Manutius finds, in the ascertaining of the will of the citizens, so as to be able to distinguish the good from the bad; Benecke, because he incurred them in undertaking a cause which would be of the highest utility to the people; M'Kay, because public good often accrues from the disputes of political opponents by reason of the watch which they keep on each other's actions.
12. **Hoc honore.** The praetorship.

13. **Vestram voluntatem.** Your inclination to confer this command on Pompey.

15. **Commodis et rationibus.** The latter as a synonym of the former is more comprehensive: *omnes enim res dicit, quae ad ipsum pertinent.*
THE ORATION FOR M. MARCELLUS.

INTRODUCTION.

M. Claudius Marcellus had been a friend of Cicero's from his earliest youth; their views on political affairs had generally coincided, and they continued to act in concert until the breaking out of the civil war. His merits as an orator are said to have been of a high order, and inferior to few except Cicero himself. He is first mentioned as curule ædile with P. Clodius, A. D. 696. In February of that year he defended Milo, at Cicero's request, against the charge of violence brought against him by Clodius. In 700, he was one of the six advocates who defended the cause of M. Scaurus; and after the death of Clodius, 702, took a prominent part in the defence of Milo. In the year 700 he was consul with Ser. Sulpicius Rufus, and during the period of his magistracy he showed himself a zealous partisan of Pompey, and sought to secure his favor by urging the senate to extreme measures against Caesar.

But all the party zeal and animosity of Marcellus did not blind him to the obvious imprudence of forcing on a war for which they were unprepared. Though he joined Pompey and his partisans in Epirus, it is clear that he did not engage with any heartiness in the cause, of which, according to Cicero, he foresaw the failure from the beginning; and after the battle of Pharsalia he abandoned all thoughts of prolonging the contest, and withdrew to Mytilene, where he gave himself up to the pursuits of rhetoric and philosophy. Here Caesar was content to leave him unmolested in a kind of honorable exile; and Marcellus himself was unwilling to sue to the conqueror for forgiveness, though Cicero wrote to him repeatedly from Rome, urging him in the strongest manner to do so, and assuring him of the clemency of Caesar. But though Marcellus himself would take no steps to procure his recall, his friends at Rome were not backward in their exertions for that purpose; and at length, in a full assembly of the senate, C. Marcellus, the cousin of the exile, threw himself at Caesar's feet to implore the pardon of his kinsman, and his example was followed by the whole body of the assembly. Caesar yielded to this demonstration of opinion, and Marcellus was declared to be forgiven, and restored to all his former honors. Cicero wrote to announce to him this favorable result, in a letter now lost; but the answer of Marcellus is preserved, and is marked by a singular coldness, which would lead us to the conclusion that his indifference in this matter was real and not assumed. He, however, set out on his return; but having touched at the Peiræus, where he had an interview with his former colleague, Sulpicius, then proconsul in Greece, he was assassinated immediately afterwards by one of his own attendants, P. Magius Chilo. There seems no doubt that the deed was prompted by private resentment, though suspected at the time to have been committed at the instigation of Caesar. Sulpicius paid him all due funeral honors, and caused him to be buried in the Academy, where a monument was erected to him by the Athenians, at the public expense.—Dict. Gr. and Rom. Biog. and Myth,
The oration for Marcellus was spoken in the senate, A. u. C. 708; and was the first which Cicero delivered after the downfall of the republic. As subsequently written out and published, it was always admired as a finished discourse. "Cicero," says Middleton, "touched by the generosity of Caesar, and greatly pleased with the act itself, on the account of his friend, returned thanks to him in a speech, which, though made upon the spot, yet for elegance of diction, vivacity of sentiment, and politeness of compliment, is superior to anything extant of the kind in all antiquity." It has been regarded as the model of Pliny's Panegyric of Trajan; and passages from it are quoted and explained by Nonius Marcellus, Lactantius, and Priscian, as well as in the fragments of Commentaries on Cicero's Orations, which have come down to us under the name of Asconius Pedianus.

Notwithstanding this, it is maintained by F. A. Wolf, that Cicero delivered no oration for Marcellus, still less that he wrote one out; and, consequently, that the present oration is a declamatory exercise of a later period, perhaps of the age of Tiberius, shortly before Asconius. This view was assailed by Worm, Kalau, and Weiske, but defended by Spalding, until at a later date Jacob re-examined the whole question, and came to the conclusion that, in accordance with the testimony of the ancients, Cicero delivered and wrote out a speech for Marcellus, and that this speech can be, in a great measure, recognised in the oration which has come down to us, but that it has received later additions and interpolations. This view was received with much favor by Passow and Hand. Independently of Jacob, Hug also, and after him Savel, who gave prominence to the testimony of Cicero himself, endeavored to set aside the doubts respecting the genuineness of the present oration, which Schütz, and after him Orelli, who also directed attention to earlier doubts of a Spaniard, John Andres, again condemned as spurious, though such a sentence, even allowing single interpolations, as also numerous variations of MSS. from each other, on the whole, can hardly be justified or rest on a sure and satisfactory basis, in opposition to the external evidence of the authorities already noticed, or to the finished style and composition of this oration. Some old scholia on this oration, which, although not written by Asconius in their present form, are yet not later than the 4th century, have been discovered by Angelo Mai. Among later assertors and defenders of the authenticity of the oration for Marcellus, may be mentioned Steinmetz, Drumann, R. Klotz, and Sopfle.

For the authorities upon this question, we refer to Dunlop's Roman Literature, vol. 2; and Bähr's Geschichte d. Röm. Literatur. 3e Ausg. 2r Band p. 284, fgg.

ANALYSIS.

1. In the introduction Cicero declares his purpose of again appearing as an orator in public; and justifies his determination, partly by the uncommon and extraordinary goodness of Caesar, partly by his joy upon the pardon of Marcellus, (§ 1-4.)

2. The orator magnifies the clemency of Caesar, by comparing it with his great achievements and victories, which latter must doubtless give place to the former; for—
NOTES.

(a) The victor must share the glory of his victory with fortune and with his army, but not so the glory of his humanity and clemency, (§ 4-7.)

(b) Victory over powerful nations is achieved by bravery and prudence, while acts of gentleness and compassion raise a hero to a level with deity, (§ 8.)

(c) Military exploits excite emotions of dread, but the qualities of a good heart gladden all hearts, even in mere fiction, or when they are found before our time, and do not, as the deeds of Caesar, fall under our own observation, (§ 9-11.) Nay more, this clemency and goodness of heart in a victor excites the highest conceivable joy and gratitude, and by it even the dead are honored in their surviving relatives, (§ 11.)

(d) Time destroys and annihilates the works of our hands and of our power, but deeds of righteousness and mercy continue to shine more and more brightly, (§ 11, 12.)

(e) Caesar has vanquished victory, by showing the highest gentleness and favor to the vanquished, which could not have been expected from the partisans of Pompey, (§ 12-18.) Conclusion of the first part of the oration. (§ 19, 20.)

3. The orator answers the twofold opinion of Caesar, that snares are laid for his life, and that he has lived long enough for nature and for fame. To this Cicero replies,

(1) That—(a) Such a suspicion is incredible, for none of his friends will betray him, and his enemies by his kindness have been made his trustiest friends and followers, (§ 21.) (b) He wishes and hopes, however, that Caesar will not drop this solicitude, but retain it for the good of the state, which is so closely connected with his safety. (§ 22-24.)

(2) Caesar may have lived long enough for nature, but not for his country. This point is touched with much frankness and discretion, and was by some of the earlier commentators regarded as the finest and most striking part of the oration, (§ 26-32.) Then follows an entreaty to Caesar to take care to preserve his life, and a promise, in his own and the senate's name, of the most faithful protection.

4. In conclusion, he gives repeated thanks for the preservation and pardon of Marcellus, (§ 32.)

Ch. I.—1. Dlutural alleuntg, governed by finem...attulit. So de Off. 2, 22, 76. Krebs, Guide, 351, incorrectly says finem facere takes the genitive only, not the dative. It has its object sometimes in the dative as well as in the genitive. Pro Cluent. 67, 191. Cf. 4, 11, Monumentis tuis allatura finem sit atae.—His temporibus. See note on page 15, line 31. The reference is to the period of the civil wars, and the calamities which they had brought upon the state. Cicero, after Caesar's victory, displeased with the new order of things, had avoided all participation in public affairs; but now the pardon of Marcellus had made so favorable an impression on him, that he hoped to see a return, at least in part, to the former republican relations and administration, which he takes this occasion, particularly in ch. 8, § 23, to urge upon Caesar.—Eram...usus, in lively discourse for the perfect, as though this silence had been long past. Wolf condemns it as almost a solecism. Ellendt. ad Brut. 2, 7, (ed. 1) compares several similar passages, where the pluperfect is connected with the present.
2. Non timere aliquo, sc. deterre. For Cæsar's magnanimity left no room to fear that he would act the tyrant.—Dolore, at the thought of Marcellus's exile.

3. Verecundia. From a sense of propriety. Le sentiment des commences. Lemaire. Cf. ad Fam. 4, 13: In ipsius (Cassaria) consuetudinem, quam adhuc meus pudor mihi clausit, insinuabo. Dolore and verecundia are more fully explained in the sentence below, commencing Dolebam enim, &c. Cicero, ad Fam. 4, 4, 4, speaks of this day and his speech as follows: Statucrem, non mehcreu eia- tia, sed desiderio pristinae dignitatis, in perpetuum tacere. Fregit hoc meum consilium et Cæsari magnitudo animi et senatus offici- um. Itaque pluribus verbis egi Cassari gratias, &c.—Idemque, sc. diem, initium, sc. attulit, ... dicendi. Observe the chiastic arrangement of this period.

5. Tantam enim manusuetudinem, &c. It would be highly unbecoming, especially in me, who regard my own former influence and authority as secured by the restoration of Marcellus, to pass over without notice such exalted traits of character.

7. Medium = moderationem animi in omnibus rebus. So p. Sest. § 79.—Denique. Z. 737.—Sepientiam. This almost divine wisdom of Cæsar is exhibited in his control of anger, suppression of revenge, and magnanimous forgiveness of injuries.

8. Tacitus praestisse ... possum. Z. 682


13. In eadem causa = in partibus Pompeii. The text of this oration is given from the edition of Klotz, M. T. Cicero's sämtliche Reden, Leipzig, 1835. In this passage the reading, which differs somewhat from the common text, is that of the excellent Erfurt and other MSS. The change of tense in esset and fuisset is because, at the time of which the orator speaks, Marcellus was not, like Cicero, reconciled to Cæsar, but still belonged to the opposite party. So also Schultz and Säpfe: Steinmetz reads: qui in eadem causa, in qua ego, fuisset, &c.—In qua. The omission of the preposition before the relative, when it stands before the case of the demonstrative, is usual principally in these relative clauses, in which the verb of the demonstrative clause is to be supplied. Z. 778.

16. Vetere is the more common form of the ablative of vetus. Al. aeterni.—Illo esamdo atque imitatore. Marcellus was distinguished as an orator. Brut. 71, 248-251. Imitator is not one who simply copies after another, but one who is devoted to the same pursuits. Cf. ad Fam. 15, 9, 1.

20. Signum aliquod sustulit. Ductum est e re militari et a sigmo, quod in castris in proctorio attollitur atque proponitur

22. Sed paulo ante omnibus. Supply intellectum est. See Z. 419, Note. In this construction the passive expresses an intransitive or reflexive activity, and the dative denotes the originator of this activity at the same time as the person who participates in it, or for whom it takes place, while ab with the ablative simply expresses the originator.

23. Commemoratis . . . . offensionibus. Cf. ad Fam. 4, 4, 3, from which letter we learn that Cæsar, before he pardoned Marcellus and restored him to his former dignity, complained in the senate of his bitter enmity. Marcellus had, when consul, proposed the immediate abrogation of Cæsar’s authority as proconsul in Gaul, and had caused a citizen of Comum to be scourged, in order to show his contempt for the privileges lately bestowed by Cæsar upon that colony. Steinmetz: senatus populoque Romano concessit.

24. Dignitatem. For distinguished men like Marcellus give dignity to the state by their high character.


26. Ille quidem. A fine transition to praise of Marcellus, whose character and life are approved both by friends and foes. Orelli and Schultz: ante acta etatis.

28. Ex quo. Refer these words forward to the clause quum in accepto sit tanta gloria, as containing the reason.

29. Laus . . . . gloria. The orator rises from laus to gloria. Cf pro Balb. 5: laus refers to Cæsar, gloria to Marcellus. If it was glorious for Marcellus to receive this favor from the senate, who interceded in his behalf, and from you who restored him, how much more glorious is it for you to have conferred it.

30. Est vero fortunatus ille. His strength of mind and virtues sustained him, and made him happy, even in exile. Cf. Brut. 71, 150. Senec. Cons. ad Helvid. 9, med.—Cujus = quum ejus. Z. 564. Marcellus did not really feel so great joy at his recall, as his friends, to whose wishes he yielded. Ad Fam. 4, 7, 8; 9, 10, 11.


2. Quod, sc. ex ejus salute letitiam ad omnes pervenisse. Orelli, Schultz, and Steinmetz: quod ei quidem.

CH. II.—6. Nullius, sc. hominis. Why not neminis? P. C. p. 396; Z. 676. On the two genitives in different relations, see Z. 423, Note. On the order, Z. 781.—Ftumen ingenii. So rich a flow of language, such a stream of eloquence. Cf. p. lege Man., § 86, and Acadd. 2, 38, 119: ftumen orationis aureum fundens Aristotelis. Schultz with Orelli reads: Nullius tantum est ftumen ingenii, nulla dicendi . . . tanta vis. But many MSS. give nullis, which may supposed to have arisen from the omission of the mark of abbe-
passage, which is only to be excused by the consideration, that Cicero might have felt it necessary to put himself above all suspicion in Caesar's eyes. Similar passages exist in the orations for Ligarius, and for Deiotaros, especially § 36. The oration for Marcellus was the first delivered after his pardon.—*Sed tamen,* &c. A general mode of expression, with reference to § 4 *extr. sullam in his laudem,* &c. In § 7, the orator expresses himself more fully on this point.

22. *Nam . . . . quidam.* He speaks with caution, and does not say *alii* or *plerique* in opposition to himself, but only *quidam,* (paren.) to show that they might have been mistaken in their judgment. Compare Nepos, *Thrasyb.* 1, 4. *Sed-illa,* &c.


28. *Hujus gloriae,* from pardoning Marcellus. *Laus* soon follows as a synonym of *gloria.* The former is properly the praise and esteem, which the meritorious and noble man enjoys; the latter, renown, fruit of esteem. *Laus* denotes more the individual and momentary; *gloria* enhances the idea, and denotes the general and lasting. *Gloria . . . . est consentiens laus honorum,* *incorrupta est bene judicantium de excellente virtute.* *Tusc.* 3, 2.

30. *Quantumcumque est.* This expression often restricts and limits; *quod certe maximum* is therefore added to prevent ambiguity.

32. *Praefectus, sc. alarum, qui equestribus turmis præest, in opposition to centurio,* a commander of a company of infantry. So, in the next line, *cohors,* of the infantry; *turma,* of the cavalry. This passage is an instance of rhetorical amplification.

34. *Se non offerre.* Orelli, Schultz, and Steinmetz place *se* before *societatem.*—*Cedit.* So Schultz and Steinmetz Orelli, *conceit.*—*Tuam se esse.* Orelli, Schultz, and Steinmetz, with Ernesti, omit *se,* understanding *gloriam.* *Tuam = tui arbitrii,* or in tua *potestate positam.*

Ch. III.—37. *Barbaras.* The Gauls, Germans, Britons.

38. *Innumerabiles.* The Gauls, and especially the Alexandrians.—*Locii infinitas.* Britain, Africa, Spain, and Pontus.

39. *Et before naturam* is omitted by Orelli, Schultz, and Steinmetz.

40. *Vincit.* Schultz reads *vinci vi possent.* Orelli suggests *vinci ut possent.*

is here used? The accusative here is

dignitatem. Compare ad
an inferred that Caesar in some
consular man. But he died before
3. But the delicate way in which
sed, so that it seemed to come from the
intended.

Süpfe, from the Erf. Oxf. and other
the common text faciat, which Steinmetz and

unde. Wolf was displeased with this expression
Klotz defends it by reference to the common opinion of
respecting their gods. In popular belief and tradition the
between a mortal and immortal being was not so great, but
an apotheosis was easily adopted. The language of the enlight-
also generally conformed to the belief of the mass. The senate
had erected a statue to Caesar in the capitol, with the inscription,
Semideus est. See p. Deiot. § 33. Lactantius, 1, 9, cites this pas-
sage, reading non modo ego sum. Priscian also quotes it.
3. Illae quidem. Cf. § 11, and Z. 744. Where quidem has a
concessive force = "it is true," "certainly," and introduces a word
preparatory to sed, the pronoun, otherwise omitted, is usually inserted.
See Z. 278 and 801.—Non solis nostris. Z. 687. Steinmetz and
Schultz: non solum. Gernhard, ad Cat. M. 23, 83, incorrectly denies
that the adj. non solus can stand for the adv. non solum, when sed or
sed etiam follows. See Klotz, Læl. p. 137, fg.
5. Nec utra unquam. Krebs’ Guide, 527. Z. 738.—Sed ta-
men ejusmodi res.... obstrepis.... videntur. The construction here
should be noticed as a departure from the regular form. Obstrepere
being neuter should retain its dative in the passive voice, and be con-
strued impersonally, as Liv. 3, 49: Decemviro obstrepetur. So too
the infinitive of the passive is impersonal, and requires the quasi aux-
iliaries sola, possum, videor, &c., to be impersonal, although videor
in Latin, contrary to the English idiom, is almost exclusively personal
in construction. See P. C. 285 and 297; Z. 412; and Krebs’ Guide,
171 and 413. The language is highly figurative, and concinnity of
expression is obtained by this construction. Jacob compares, de Opt.
gen. 4, 11: nam si arrenderentur. Compare for a similar conception,
Horat. Od. 2, 1, 17.—Nescio quamodo. Z. 553.
10. Quae natura insolens. Cf. ad Fam. 4, 4, 2: Victoria, qua
civilibus bellis semper est insolens; and 4, 9, 3: Victoria, qua eti-
um si ad meliores venit, tamen eos ippos ferociiores impotenteresque
redit.
12. Sed etiam in fictia. Compare Læl. 7 24. Eleganter ges-
13. Te vero, &c. The orator here passes in a lively and animated manner, to that which is before his eyes, and by which therefore his feelings are more deeply and strongly moved.

14. Sensusque et os cernimus. So also Orelli, Schultz, and Steinmetz. Whose emotions, as depicted on the countenance, we behold, expressive of the desire to preserve what of the state has escaped the fortune of war. For et os, which Ernæti, Wolf, andspaling defend, some adopt the conjecture of Faernus, and read sensusque eos, which Jacob also advocates. Eos, i.e. tales, smooths the connection with the following ut.

17. Parietes . . . . gestintunt. The language becomes more and more bold, as the orator rises to the completion of his climax. Cf. Client. 6, 15.—Medius fidius. Z. 361, Note.

18. Ut mihi videtur. So Orelli, Schultz, and Steinmetz. We should expect ut mihi videntur, as from Cod. Col. some editions read. See references in note on line 5 above, especially Krebs, Guide, 413.

19. Ila auctoritas. The abstract for the concrete = vir ille magnus auctoritas. Others understand it of the former authority and dignity of the senate. Jacob explains it as illi senatores adhibos exulantes, regarding the pardon of Marcellus as an earnest of the pardon of others.

Ch. IV.—21. Equidem quum . . . . viderem. A transition from M. Marcellus to his kinsmen and family, whom the tears of C. Marcellus bring to Cicero’s mind.—Incomparabili pietate. On the affection of C. Marcellus for his cousin Marcus, see ad Fam. 4, 7, and 9. C. Marcellus was consul a. u. c. 704. He was at first a zealous and uncompromising advocate of the party hostile to Caesar. He, however, remained in Italy, and obtained the forgiveness of the conqueror. He was the husband of Caesar’s niece Octavia, and at a later period, as such, enjoyed a place of high consideration. He is often confounded with a brother of M. Marcellus, whose name was the same, and who was consul a. u. c. 705. He appears to have perished in the civil wars. For incomparabili Orelli, Schultz, and Steinmetz give commemorabili, which variation Klotz omits to notice.

22. Viderem, of time, to denote what is casual or accidental, therefore not videbam. P. C. 489; Z. 578, 579, Note.

23. Obfudit. Obfundere denotes to overspread as with a flood; to throw as it were a cloud over any thing; and conveys the idea of something grave and sorrowful. The word here seems suggested by the preceding, lacrimas. Sicut C. Marcelli vultus lacrimis, its pectus Ciceronis dolore suffusum est.
ORATION FOR M. MARCELLUS.

24. Etiām mortuis = licet sint mortui. Z. 635.—M. Marcell

conservato. By the restoration of Marcellus. Z. 637.


27. Gratulationibus. Days of rejoicing, festival days.—Ante-

ponis. So Klotz and Säpfle, from Erf. and 3 Oxf. MSS., for the

common antepones. The present suits the confidence of the presump-

tion. In the following passage, down to afferet laudibus, Klotz de-

fends from MSS. his variations from the common text, which differs in several particulars. The chief difference is in ut nulla tropoais, where

the usual reading is ut tropoais, omitting nulla. But Osiannder thinks

the new reading harmonizes as little with the following, as the old did

with the preceding sentence. He therefore prefers, with Halm (Zeit-

schrift für Alterthumswissenschaft, 1838, p. 167,) the conjecture ut ei

ulla, and below, florescat, instead of either florescit or florescit. Fr.

Schneider (Jahrbücher f. Philol. u. Paedag. 52r. Band, 1848, p. 285)

rejects nulla, which Klotz received from Erf. and 8 Oxf. MSS., and

takes nihil to vetustas as a parenthesis. He gives the connection in

the thought as follows: “This act of thy magnanimity is so great,

that time brings an end to thy trophies: but thy justice and clemency
daily increase in fame;” and remarks, that it is not surprising in Ci-

cero, that a new sentence independent of ut should commence with at.


casus eventusque rerum non duces, sed comites ejus (Pompei) con-

siliorum fuerint.

33. Conficiat et consumat. The former may refer to the com-

cencement, the latter to the end of the destruction.

34. Quotidie. The distinction between quotidian and in dies,

which would lead us here, because of the comparative magis, to ex-

pect the latter, is not always observed. P. C. 69, t.

35. Quantum . . . tantum. Z. 704.

38. Vereor ut, &c. Cicero here purposely speaks not quite

plainly. He did not wish to give full utterance to his thoughts re-

specting the sentiments of the partisans of Pompey, as he had him-

self been an opponent of Cæsar, and therefore passes rapidly on

Compare ad Fam. 4, 9, 2; Att. 7, 3, 4. In the next line Orelli gives

egó ipse.

40. Victoriam vicisse videris, quum . . . remisisti. See

P. C. 488, (c). Quum is used with two indicative verbs in the same

tense, to express identity of action as well as identity of time (when

the best translation is by the preposition in:) as, Praeclare facis quum

puerum diligis, you act a most noble part in thus loving the child.

41. Ipsius victoriae. Victory in itself considered, without regard

to the victors who had gained it.

42. Omnes. Orelli and Steinhæt read jure omnes; Schults,

[jure] omnes.
NOTES.

44. Devicta cat. The strengthened *devicta* is well chosen with reference to *victi* and *invictus*.

70 Ch. V.—1. Atque hoc ... judicium ... quam late patet attendite. This turn of thought could be only agreeable to the senate, and not offensive to Caesar, who sought to lay others under obligations to himself. The favor shown to Marcellus seemed to give assurance to other Pompeians, that they might expect like clemency. On the anticipation, by which the subject of the dependent clause is made the object of the leading clause, see note on p. 56, line 15. With what verbs is this the case in Cicero?

3. Fato .... nescio quo. Here again, as § 12, from unwillingness to contemplate the origin of the civil war, Cicero hurries on, merely in passing calling it an unhappy and mournful destiny that forced the followers of Pompey to arms. On *nescio quo*, see Z. 553.

4. Erroris humanit. By euphemism, to soften the expression. So in Lig., and in his letters, where Cicero touches upon this subject—A *scelestis ... liberatis summis*. Cicero regularly joins the simple ablative with *liberari* where the notion is not personal. Z. 468.

6. Item. Some read *iterum*; his first restoration being when he was recalled from exile.

7. Nullo deprecante. Z. 676 and 638.

8. Sibi ipsos. Orelli, Schultz, and Steinmetz read *sibi ipsis*. In the next line after *videtis*, Steinmetz places a colon, and quotes the schol. Ambros. in support of it: *Quum eos, inquit, C. Caesar, qui contra se pro Pompeio arma cuperant, in senatum introduxit, hostes non fuisse judicavit.*

12. Quo quidem in bello. Z. 743.

14. Orat. civium civium pacem flagitantium. Under this more comprehensive form Cicero doubtless includes himself especially, but he did not wish distinctly to say mean pacem flagitantem. So he begins the next sentence with, *Neque enim ego*, &c. Compare ad Fam. 9, 6, 3; 16, 12.

15. Illa, Pompeii, whom he avoids mentioning by name, as often in the Ligurium. So below, *hominem for cum*, or in a merely general way, without regard to his relation to the state, therefore not *virum*, referring to the implied genitive in *illa ... arma*.

16. Mea consilia pacis. See ad Att. 7, 12, and 7, 5.

18. Privato consilio. From considerations of personal obligation, not to serve the interests of the state. See ad Fam. 6, 6, 6; ad Att. 8, 3, 2. *Consilio* I judge to be a misprint in the edition of Klotz, as I find *officio* in all others, except Sopide's, who copies from Klotz. Klotz himself notices no variation from Orelli, who also, without variation, gives *officio*.

20. Prudens et sciens. *Prudens* denotes one who has ready practical views and circumspection; *sciens*, one who possesses the re-
QUOT huius quidem meum consilium. And this purpose of mine, sc. to advise peace.


22. Integra re. Before the outbreak of the war.

24. Cun capitis mel periculo. For the Pompeians threatened all who counselled peace. Plutarch, Cic. 39, gives an account of another danger which Cicero incurred, from declining the command after the battle of Pharsalia. Pompey the son, and others, with drawn swords, assailed him, calling him traitor, and would have taken his life, had not Cato interfered and saved him.—Ex quo indicate transition, and = igitur, ergo. Orelli, Schultz, and Steinmetz: jam nemo, and below, rerum existimato. . . . Caesaris voluntas de bello . . . .

27. Statim, after the battle of Pharsalia, while he was in Egypt. See Lig. § 7. Wolf. But Jacob interprets: statim ut deprecabantur, immediately upon their application, without hesitation. On the omission of the adversative conjunction between the two clauses, see Z. 781.

CIT. VI.—31. Hujus quidem rei, Marcellum a bello ahorruitse. Cicero, having attributed Caesar’s prompt pardon of himself to his advocacy of peace, now advances a like claim on the part of Marcellus, to whose desire for peace he himself bears witness, on the ground of his intimacy with Marcellus, and his knowledge of his views.


37. Non enim jam cause, &c. Compare p. Lig. 6, 19.

38. Vildimus, &c. Weiske notices the beauty of this §, both in respect to the figurative expressions and the construction. The first clause is chiasitic. See also Z. 781.

39. Gladium vagina vacuum, &c. Victory had given to Caesar power to avenge himself, but, far from imitating Marius and Sulla, he wished to be formidable to his adversaries only on the field of battle. None of his enemies, with the exception of Afranius, Faustus Sulla, and the younger L. Caesar, perished but in battle. Suet. Caes. 75. But in the camp of Pompey there was only the breath of hatred and revenge. Several days before the battle a list of proscribed had been drawn up, in which were included even those who had remained in Italy, or who had shown indifference to the cause. Pompey him-
Page 70 Self meditated vengeance. Cicero says of him, *ad Att. 9, 10, Sulla* turit animus ejus, et proscripturit diu.

42. Excitaret, in reference to *perculit = excitaturus esse.*

43. Alterius vero partis, sc. Pompeiaæ. Constreb *Nihil vero amplius dicam, quam nimium irac. fut. fuisse victoriam alterius p.* id quod, &c. For the sake of emphasis and contrast, *Alt. p.* are placed first.

71. Armatis, here refers of course to the followers of Caesar, and = adversarii.—*Otiosio*, the neutral.

5. Expettiverunt. The indicative is the language of confidence and certainty.

7. Vel satiati aliando. As it were a correction of *vel placati jam.*

9. Bono, sc. clementia et sapientia.

10. *Natura = in dolces animi, ingenium.* Bene naturam moribus conjungit, quia virtutes non solum insita vi nature, sed etiam moribus et exercicio comparantur.

13. Felicitati tua gratulabere. This Caesar himself admits. *B. G. 3, 15; B. C. 3, 14; and Hirt. in B. Alex. 75.* *Congratulabere* is found in some editions, but Cicero appears not to have used the compound form of this verb. See Garat. *ad Pianc. 27, 66.*

17. Vel sola. In accordance with the principles of the Stoics; *p. Deiot. § 37.*

19. A virtute . . . . a fortuna. *Virtus* and *fortuna* are personified. *Z. 451, in fin.*


22. Aliqua. Orelli and Schultz place *aliaqu after pravitate.*

23. Specie quadam rel publicæ. Under color of the common good, or public weal.

24. Timuerunt. As hostile to the welfare of the state.

25. Senserunt. By their own preservation after your victory. Orelli, Schultz, and Steinmetz after *quod* give *plerique,* which *Erf.* and other MSS. omit.

Ch. VII.—27. Nunc venio. Orelli, *nunc vero v.*; Schultz, *nunc [vero].* With this chapter commences the second part of this oration. The first part treated of the pardon of Marcellus; and the second and leading part, containing the orator's opinion and judgment upon a matter brought forward in the senate, treats of the snares to which Caesar already believed himself exposed, of which indeed Cicero makes no mention elsewhere, not even *ad Fam. 4, 4,* although in that letter the restoration and pardon of Marcellus are communicated to Sulpicius.— *Atrocissimam suspicionem. Atrox from ater, as ferox from ferus,* velox from *velum,* with the final syllable *ox (oculis)* related to *ζψ,*
properly expresses what is of a dark, lowering, sinister aspect or look. As a legal expression in connection with vis, it means direct personal violence. So atrocitas, atrx res, atrx injuria, indicate a grave wrong or crime, &c., which evinces the hostile animus of the wrongdoer, and marks the criminality of the act, as one to be more severely punished. In this sense Cæsar’s suspicion that his life was aimed at is called atrocissima. The atrocitas is estimated from the circumstances; e. g. Quinctil. 6, 1, 15–18: atrocitas crescit ex his, quid factum sit, a quo, in quem, quo animo, quo tempore, quo loco, quo modo; quæ omnia infinitos tractus habent.

30. Falsam esse. Orelin and Schultz, esse falsam, nunquam tamem verbis extenuabo. So also Steinmetz, except ext. verbis.

31. Tua enim cautio nostra cautio est. Cautio is repeated for the sake of emphasis and antithesis.

32. In alterutro. Vel nimum cavendo, vel parum.

34. Tam demens, sc. qui tibi insidiaretur, the omission of which clause evinces the orator’s strong feeling of its impossibility.

35. Ex hoc numero, qui. This is common, where we should expect, ex horum numero, qui. See p. Arch. § 31. Z. 366, in fin. Orelin, Schultz, and Steinmetz, ex eo num.

41. De inimicis. Z. 430, in fin.

42. Superoferunt. Steinmetz, fuerunt.


5. Dumtaxat. Z. 274.


10. Sceleris . . . insidiarumque consenso = scelestarum insidiarum consenso. What is this figure called? Z. 741. It serves to give distinctness to the two notions, which if connected as adjective and substantive would present but one conception. The first substantive for the most part stands to the second in the relation of the genus to the species.

Ch. VIII.—13. Prostrata atque perculsa. Dashed to the ground, and shattered. Or., Sch., and St., perculsa atque prostrata.


15. Propaganda suboles. The civil wars had greatly reduced the population; Appian, B. C. 2, 102, says, to one-half the number before the wars. Encouragements to marriage were therefore held out, and privileges conferred upon the parents of several children. Cf. Suet. Cas. 42, and Oct. 34.

16. Delapsa . . . defluxerunt. The figure is derived from running water, which is restrained by a dam, whence vincienda suits it well. Jus and lex are metaphorically called vincula. Orelin and Schultz, dilapsa jam fluxerunt; Steinmetz, dil. jam diffuxerunt.
17. Non fuit recusandum ... quin = fieri enim aliter non potuit ... quin. Orelli, Schultz, and Steinmetz, tanteque.

18. Quassata. As the ship of state is a common figure, so quassata is figuratively applied as if speaking of a wreck.

19. Ornamenta dignitatis, in reference to external splendor; præsidia stabilitatis, in reference to the security and permanence of the state, especially in time of war; and both expressions refer to the moneys drawn from the treasury, and resources for the purpose of carrying on war.


21. Quæ ... fieri prohibuisset. Z. 543 and 544.

22. Sananda. Orelli, curanda; Orelli and Schultz, nunc tibi; and Orelli, Schultz, and Steinmetz, mederi nemo.

24. Praeclarissimam et sapientissimam vocem. This remark is so called by the orator, as evincing a noble resignation, and a contempt of death, becoming a philosopher. Cf. Suet. Ces. 45 and 86.

25. Satis diu, &c. Orelli and Schultz in the form of the oratio obliqua: satis te diu vel naturæ vixisses, vel gloriae.

26. Fortasse. Caesar was now over 54 years old, therefore the language is qualified. Or., Sch., and St., naturæ fortasse.


29. Esse sapientem = philosophari, but with distinct allusion to the stoical wise man, as an ideal character. Orelli, Schultz, and Steinmetz, sapiens esse.

30. Tibi te satis. Orelli, Schultz, and Steinmetz, satis te tibi; and below, quæ cog., nondum jeceris.

32. Tibi ... soli natus esse. Compare de Off. 1, 7, 22.


34. Tantum abes a perfectione ... ut. Tantum abesse is construed personally, only when it is followed by an object with et. For its more common construction, see note on p. 66, line 8; and Z. 779.

36.æquitate animi. Composuro and tranquillity of mind, such as is undisturbed by either prosperity or adversity. Orelli and Schultz, tuae vitae; and below, Or., Sch., and St., quidem tuae.

38. Quamvis sis sapiens. Sapiens anim gloriarm, quæ virtutis fructus est, non querrit, ipsa virtute contentus.

39. Parumne ... gloriam magnum, i.e. perumne gloriam, quæ est magna, alicujus ponderis. We need not, therefore, read with Weisso magnam gloriam, on the ground that parum, to avoid ambiguity, must not be too remote from the word to which it belongs. For parum gl. m., i.e. non satis gloria magna, is “not enough fame,” to be considered great; par. magna gl. is “a not great enough fame,” i.e. an insignificant, insufficient fame. The common reading, therefore,
less restricting the *magn.* is to be preferred, as the words *satis*... *parum*, which follow, clearly show.

40. *Immo vero.* Z. 277.

41. *Quidquid est enim.* Orelli, Schultz, and Steinmetz, *q. enim est... amp. vit, id certe parum est tum.*

2. *Admiratiolis... gloria.* So below, § 28, *mirari* and *laudat* are opposed to each other.


Cn. IX.—5. *Pars.* This word here, as *actus* immediately afterwards, seems borrowed from the drama, although the plural of *pars* is more common in this sense. Compare *ad Q. fratr.* 1, 16, 46.

6. *Constituere.* The common reading here is *constituere eaque tu in primis composita cum summa,* &c. *Componere* is used especially of the peaceful settlement of disputes, civil disturbances; *constituere*, chiefly of institutions in the state, of ordinances, which then first become possible.

7. *Tranquillitatem et otium.* Thus far Caesar had been involved in perpetual wars.


12. *Quia postea nulla est futura.* This is in accordance with the principles of the Epicurean philosophy, to which Caesar was attached. *Or., Sch., and St., futura est;* and, below, *semperque.*


16. *Corpore et spiritu.* *Spiritu* is added purposely, to denote merely the physical life. *Animo et corpore* is the more common expression.—*Constitutum.* Z. 452. *Sch., illa, ilia, inquam, vita,* &c.


23. *Munera, i.e. spectacula omnis genera, ludus gladiatoriorum, Circenses, naumachiae.* Public festivals, considered as presents or donations to the people, are often so called. The old reading here was *munera* innumera, which Steinmetz retains. But *innumerae* is not a Cicerean word, and *munera* adds a new and appropriate notion. Caesar too had just before exhibited such games and shows with great splendor. Cf. *Phil.* 2, 45, 116.

24. *Tuos.* The emphatic position of *tuos* should be noticed.

25. *Vagabitur = innotescet quam plurimis, sed sine constante laude, but wise civic regulations will place posterity, who will enjoy them, under constant obligations to you, and they, with a feeling of thankfulness, will ever magnify your fame. After *sedem,* Orelli, Schultz, and Steinmetz give *quidem.*
NOTES.

29. Requirent, is here a softer term for reprehendent.


34. Sine cupiditate, i. e. sine studio partium, unbiased by party zeal. Below, Or., Sch., and St., etiam si tunc.

36. Quidam. The Epicureans.

Ch. X.—39. Distraecœ, contraries. It is explained by consilia et studia ... dissidebamus, which immediately follow. For consilia are the consequence of sententiae, studia of voluntates. There is no need also of applying the figure zeugma here, for armis and castris are like the preceding substantives, abl. causa and = propert arma et castra, quæ secuti eramus. This chapter appears to begin abruptly, and without easy transition from what has gone before, unless we consider it to be a more circumstantial repetition of what has preceded, in order to lead Cæsar to the present state of his circumstances, and the dispositions of the pardoned Pompeians, and to introduce the conclusion with an expression of thanks.

41. Obscuritas quidam, utra causa esset melior, justior. Orelli, Schultz, and Steinmetz read autem for enim before obscuritas.

42. Clarissimos duces. Pompey and Cæsar.

43. Optimum, utrum tecum an cum Pompeio essent.—Expediret, utile esset; decretum, conveniret, pro gestis honoribus, for in Pompey’s camp were the higher in rank. Cf. p. Deiot. § 11.

44. Licet, fas esset, sc. deserere partes amici et transire ad Cæsarem.

74 1. Misero fatalisque bello. The evils and horrors of civil war were willingly charged to a sad fatality. Compare p. Lig. § 17—Vicit is, qui non ... inflammarerit. P. C. 483 (2); Z. 556.

4. Arma ab aliis posita, ab aliis erepta sunt. Ab aliis, by some voluntarily, e. g. Cicero and others, after the battle of Pharsalia: ab aliis, from others, who had renewed the war in Africa. The addition of the preposition in the latter clause marks more prominently the violence necessary, and gives concinnity to the sentence. Notice also the different relation in which the preposition stands to posita and to erepta. In the first clause it introduces the active subject; in the second, the suffering person from whom the weapons were wrested.


12. Nisi te ... salvo ... manente. Z. 638.

15. Hec, hunc urbem. See note on p. 15, line 20. In the next line, Orelli, Schultz, and Steinmetz read ut vitae, ut salutis tuae.

18. Excubias et custodias. Properly watch and body guards: for the former stands generally of the watch, which is kept at night; the latter of the watch, which defends the peace, welfare, and safety of another. It is not necessary with some to refer this to a body-guard of soldiers, for Cæsar rejected with disdain a standing body-guard. It
rather refers to the readiness of the senators to defend Caesar at the risk of their own life.

19. Oppositus = oppositiones, an δια οπpositions in Cicero. So positus, appositus, and other compounds, occur for the form in io.

Ch. XI.—21. Ut. Klotz has admitted this conjunction from MSS., by which the sentence is more compactly connected and rounded. So also Steinmetz, Süpfle, and Schultz.—Unde, sc. gratiarum actione.

22. Gratias agimus . . . habemus. See note on p. 12, line 11. Laminus reads majorem, sc. gratiam, in accordance with the more common construction of habere.

23. Majores, to preserve the construction uniform and parallel with the preceding maximae . . . agimus. Compare ab aliis postita, ab alii esse potest, § 31. Notice also that the comparative enhances the superlative, for the superlative does not always mean the highest, but only a high degree of a given quality. Cf. de Off. 3, 121: Tibi persuade, esse te quidem mihi carissimum, sed multo fore cariorum, &c.; in Cat. 3, 5, 13.—Idem sentiunt. Entertain the same sentiments of gratitude.


25. Stantibus. Senators who did not wish to make a speech on the question, assented while retaining their seats. Ad Fam. 5, 2, 9: sedens iis assensi. The text in this passage is very corrupt. Orelli gives: sed, quia non est stantibus omnibus necesse dicere, a me certe dicere, cui necesse est quodam modo, quod volunt; et quod fieri decret, et quod, M. Marcellum a te huic ordini, populoque Romano et rei publicae reddito, fieri id intelligo. This he explains as follows: But because it is not necessary for all to rise and speak, they desire me to do so, upon whom their wish imposes the obligation; both because it is proper in itself to give thanks now to you, and because it is M. Marcellus, my friend, that has been restored by you, for whose restoration I now thank you. With slight variations the common text agrees with the above from Orelli, except that et is given before quod volunt, and fieri omitted before decret; and praecipue a me fieri debere, or praecipue id a me fieri, are found before intelligo. But of praecipue a me and debere there is no trace in MSS. Steinmets from MSS. gives the reading of Klotz, except that after quodammodo he retains in brackets et quod volunt and et quod before M. Marcellum. He also indicates a lacuna before fieri id intelligo. They wish me to speak, who am under a kind of necessity of so doing, and who feel the propriety of it, since Marcellus has been restored, &c.

28. Non de. Orelli, Schultz, and Steinmetz, non ut de; and in the next line, sed ut de, &c.

24*
29. Quod autem, &c. The construction is, Quum autem pra-
estiterim tamdiu, quamduo dubitatum est de salute illius, id, solli-
citudo, cura, labore, quod est summae benevolentiae; (qua ... ne-
mini) certe debo praestare hoc tempore (sc. id, quod summae benevo-
letiae est), liberatus magnis curis, molestiis, doloribus. But since
I have, so long as his safety was uncertain, shown him by my solici-
tude, anxiety, and efforts, the highest marks of affection (which all
know I have felt towards him, so as hardly to fall behind his most ex-
cellent and loving cousin, besides him so as to yield to no one), these
same marks of affection I ought certainly at the present time, when I
am relieved from care, trouble, and pain, to testify. Compare ad Fam.
4, 7, 6, and 9, 4.

32. Fratri, sc. patrueli.

35. Itaque, &c. This is a second evidence of affection, that he
thanks Caesar, as if the greatest benefit had been conferred not upon
Marcellus, but himself.

36. Sic, hoc rei convenienter, with such sentiments of gratitude.

37. Tamen, with reference to the correlative concessive, with pre-
ceeding participle. Z. 635. The sentence may be resolved into ut,
licet omnibus rebus non solum conservatus, sed etiam ornatus sim, ta-
men.

38. Unum, adds emphasis, ut alios taceam.

um accessisse profitear. In Latin two clauses are not unfrequently con-
ected immediately with each other, the logical connection of which
is only mediate. Cf. Tusc. 4, § 47: Ita . . . . definit, ut perturbatic
sit, for ut: dicit perturbationem esse. Z. 748.
INTRODUCTION.

Ligarius was the name of three brothers, who lived in the time of the civil wars between Cæsar and Pompey. They were of Sabine origin.

Q. Ligarius is first mentioned in A. u. C. 704 as legate, in Africa, of C. Considius Longus, who left him in command of the province, while he went to Rome to become a candidate for the consulate.

On the breaking out of the civil war in the following year, L. Atius Varus, who had commanded the Pompeian troops at Auximium, and had been obliged to fly before Cæsar, arrived in Africa, of which province he had been formerly propraetor. Into his hands Ligarius resigned the government, although L. Elius Tubero had been appointed to the province by the senate; and when Tubero made his appearance off Utica shortly afterwards, he was not permitted even to land. Ligarius fought under Varus against Curio in the course of the same year (A. u. C. 705), and against Cæsar himself in 708. After the battle of Thapsus, in which the Pompeian army was defeated, Ligarius was taken prisoner at Adrumetum. His life was spared, but he was banished by Cæsar. His friends at Rome exerted themselves to procure his pardon, but were unable to succeed at first, notwithstanding the intercession of his brothers, of his uncle, T. Brocchus, and of Cicero himself, who had an audience with the dictator on the 33d of September, A. u. C. 708, for the purpose. Meantime, a public accusation was brought against Ligarius by Q. Elius Tubero, the son of L. Tubero, whom Ligarius had united with Varus in preventing from landing in Africa. He was accused on account of his conduct in Africa, and his connection with the enemies of the dictator. The case was pleaded before Cæsar himself in the forum. Cicero defended Ligarius in the following speech, in which he maintains that Ligarius had as much claim to the mercy of Cæsar as Tubero and Cicero himself. Ligarius was pardoned by Cæsar, who was on the point of setting out for the Spanish war, and who probably was not sorry to have this public opportunity of exhibiting his usual mercy. The speech which Cicero delivered in his defence has been much admired. Ligarius, however, felt no gratitude for the favor that had been shown him, and eagerly joined the conspirators, who assassinated Cæsar in A. u. C. 710.

Appian speaks of two brothers of the name of Ligarius, who perished in the proscription of the triumvirs in A. u. C. 711 (B. C. iv. 32); and in the following chapter, he mentions a third Ligarius, who met with the same fate. Now, as Cicero expressly mentions three brothers of this name, Q. Ligarius must have been one of those who were put to death on this occasion. Dict. G. and R. Bieg. and Myth., Ligarius.

The oration of Q. Tubero against Ligarius in this trial, was still extant in the time of Quinctilian (cf. 10, 1, 23). But after his failure in this cause, he abandoned the profession of oratory, and devoted himself to the study of the civil law.
ANALYSIS.

1. The introduction consists of a continued and well-sustained irony. Cicero ridicules Tubero, for bringing an accusation against Ligarius before Cæsar, on account of a matter that is known to everybody; represents himself as stripped of all means of defence, by the charge of so unheard of a crime, as the having been in Africa; and proceeds to treat the whole accusation as trifling and contemptible. He accordingly goes on, in subtle and covert irony, to urge that the disclosure of this crime compels him to resort to Cæsar's humanity as his only refuge; by which, he adds, so many already have been preserved to their country, whom Cæsar has pardoned, not for any crime, but only for an error, and among them Tubero also, who, however, as well as his father, has more to answer for to Cæsar, than Ligarius who is charged by them with a crime, from which they are not able to clear themselves. (§ 1, 2.)

2. The narration shows, that Ligarius was in Africa, but without any fault of his own, and not as Cæsar's enemy; for,
   (a) He went as legate into the province of Africa before the outbreak of war was suspected;
   (b) He was constrained, when Considius withdrew, by the urgent wish of the inhabitants, against his will to assume the government of the province;
   (c) He refused the command offered to him, but was unable, becoming involved in the war, to escape from the province. (§ 3–5.)

3. The argument itself has two parts: the first invalidates the charge of the accuser; the second commends Ligarius to Cæsar's mercy.
   (1) The orator introduces his proof of the weakness of Tubero's accusation by a panegyric on Cæsar, for having spared him who had been a Pompeian (§ 6–8), and then shows,
   (a) How unwise and inconsiderate the accusation is, since the accuser had actually fought against Cæsar, while the accused had only been in Africa (§ 9, 10);
   (b) How cruel and inhuman, since it aims at the death of Ligarius (§ 11, 12), or at least hinders his pardon (§ 13, 14), a cruelty which Cicero purposely depicts in the strongest colors (§ 15, 16);
   (c) How unreasonable and unjust, since Tubero has called the error of Ligarius treason, whereby he reflects upon the whole party of Pompey, and even condemns his own and his father's course (§ 17–19); in respect to (1) his own journey to Africa, which was entered upon by command of the senate (§ 20–23), (2) his zeal to defend this province (§ 24), and (3) his firmness and consistency, in supporting the party of the senate, even after his affront (§ 25–28);
   (d) How absurd and foolish it is, to desire that Cæsar, who has pardoned public offences, should avenge private grievances. (§ 29.)

(2) He directs his discourse to secure pardon for the accused, and,
   (a) In connection with praise of Cæsar, he makes frank confession of his own mistake and fault (§ 30, 31);
   (b) He draws a touching picture of the sorrow and distress of the brothers and kinmen of Ligarius, who are present, and have been constant friends of Cæsar (§ 32–34);
   (c) He briefly sets forth the merits of one of the brothers, T. Ligarius, for service done to Cæsar, who now is reminded that he has it in his own power to show him a grateful recollection of the favor (§ 35, 36);
(d) He in a few words alludes to the glory which Caesar has already obtained by the preservation and pardon of Marcellus (§ 37); and finally,
(e) Describes the praise, which the attributes of mercy and compassion win.

§ 38
4. In conclusion, the orator leaves the entire cause to Caesar's own reflections, and only reminds him that, by preserving Ligarius, he will at the same time preserve the happiness and welfare of many more.

Ch. I.—Novum crimen. Ironically, as if he had said, "A monstrous charge this, Caesar, that Ligarius was in Africa! (as if you had not pardoned even your Pharsalian foes before now;) and what is worse still, Pansea, no mean authority, has had the hardihood, trusting, no doubt, to his intimacy with you, (as nothing less could warrant such a communication,) to confess this fact! I am, therefore, completely at a loss; for (as no one could defend) I was prepared to deny the charge, which being so new (i.e. notorious), you, of course, could have no means of learning, either of yourself or from other sources."

M'Kay. Cf. Quintil. 4, 1, 38 and 70; 9, 2, 50; 11, 1, 78.

2. Inauditum. Benecke, Soldan, Madvig, and others read non auditum, as found in Quintil. 11, 3, 108; and some MSS. Benecke thinks that the separation of the negative particle gives it prominence and sharpens the irony.—Propinquus meus. So ch. 3, § 8: adolescentis propinqui. The elder Tubero appears to have married into the "gons Tullia." Cf. ch. 7, 21; and ad Att. 13, 20. He here refers to this relationship obviously to show that his predilection should be in favor of the accuser, and, therefore, that his confidence must be great in the innocence of Ligarius.—Q. Ælius Tubero, having failed in his charge against Ligarius, devoted himself exclusively to the study of jurisprudence. He was a writer on public and private law, and is often mentioned in the Digest.

3. In Africa fuisse. Cicero carefully extenuates the act of Ligarius, and makes no allusion to his having taken up arms against Caesar, which doubtless formed the gravest part of Tubero's charge.—C. Pansa. C. Vibius Pansa was consul with Hirtius, a. v. c. 711. He died at Bononia (Bologna), from a wound received in the first battle with Antony, near Mutina (Módena). When tribune of the people, a. v. c. 703, he, with his colleague Cælius, opposed the decree of the senate to appoint a successor to Caesar in the command of the province of Gaul. The intimacy and affection which existed between him and Caesar may be learned from ad Fam. 6, 12. That the words praestanti vir ingenio are spoken without irony, appears also from the same epistle.

4. Fretus . . . . ausus est. The force which these words add to the irony of the passage should be noticed. Audéo and non dubito, when not used merely as auxiliaries for form's sake, but with full and emphatic meaning, are put before their infinitive.
5. Confiteor. This is not to be understood of testimony given by a witness whom the accuser has brought forward, which would be expressed by dicere in eum or profiteri, rather than by confiteor, but of a simple acknowledgment or admission, although it may be a forced or unwilling one. Matthiae adds, as the complement of confiteor, "se quoque cum Ligario in Africauisse;" Soldan more correctly understands idque or novum istud crimen.—Vertam. P. C. 109; Z. 552.

6. Quum . . . scires . . . . . . . potuisse. P. C. 489; Z. 577
Observe the change of tense. See P. C. 125, 130, 131.


10. Quum . . . . fecerit. Z. 577.—Ut . . . . non esseet. P. C. 62 and 77 [C. xiv.]; Z. 531 and 532.—Integrum. Derived from in, i. e. non and tango. It expresses what is unchanged from its original condition, so that the whole control and shaping is free. There was no more room for denial. The orator was restricted to one course of proceeding.


The pluperfect subjunctive stands of a past action in reference to an action also past. Z. 505, t.—Culpa, voluntary; errata, involuntary.


15. Hoc confitentem. So Orelli, Madvig, Stäpke, Klotz, and Soldan. The common reading is ita conf., after which we might have expected, ut se in ea parte dicatuisse. But ita and sic, id, hoc, illud are often used where they seem superfluous, e. g. with verbs of hearing, learning, affirming, doubting, &c. They are then generally followed by the infinitive (if the verb would otherwise be so constructed), or by ut and the subj. Z. 748.

16. In ea parte, sc. the party of Pompey.—Qua te, qua virum. On the omission of the preposition with the relative, when it stands before the same case of the demonstrative, and the relative and demonstrative clauses have a common predicate, see Z. 778 and 774. On the case of te and virum, Z. 603 (a). After te the common text has Tubero.


20. Q. enim Ligarius. Exit is very often used, in passing to a more detailed statement, or explanation of a subject which has been generally mentioned before. This has led copyists to substitute other
particles, as in this passage, *igitur*, which some retain against the better authority of MSS. For the position of *enim*, see P. C. p. 356, 98.—*Quum esset*. Z. 578. He distinguishes three periods, all without charge against Ligarius, of which the first is, his lieutenancy. After *esset* in some editions *adhuc* is given, which, in Cicero, almost always refers to the present of the speaker or writer. See ch. 2 init.: *Adhuc Ligarius; &c., i. e. ex iis, que ad hoc usque tempus demonstravi*. Z. 292. In our passage the best MSS. omit *adhuc*.

21. C. Conradio. On the breaking out of the civil war, he espoused Pompey's party, and returned to Africa, where he took part in the war. He was murdered by the Gaetulians, a. u. c. 707.

22. *Et civilibus*: Civibus Romanis; qui in Africa negotiabantur. —*Et sociis*. The provincials.—*Decedens*. This is the *verbum proprium* of one who is returning from the government of a province. It is, as here, construed with the ablative alone, or with *de* and *e*. The latter construction is used of leaving the country, the two former of leaving the administration of the province. Where there is no notion of place, Cicero usually repeats the preposition, as *de bonis decedere*, *de sententia d.*, *de officio d.*

23. *Si quemquam*: Z. 709, b.—*Si . . . praefisset*. Z. 517 and 524. If the governor of a province left before the arrival of his successor, it was customary to commit the administration, in the mean time, to a questor, as next in rank, rarely to a legato, to avoid giving offence. *Ad Fam. 2*, 15 and 18; *ad Att. 6*, 6. Here the provincials, however, insisted on having Ligarius as vice-governor.

24. *Itaque Ligarius, &c.* The second period; partly peace, partly war. In both Ligarius was *sine crimen notus.* For the third, see 2, 5.


26. *In pace*. *In pace, in bello, &c.*, express not simply the notion of *when*, but *during*. *De Off.* 3, 25: *Agamemnon quum devosisset Diane, quod in suo regno pulcherrimum natum esset illo anno, immolavit Iphigeniam, qua nihil erat in eo quidem anno natum pulchrius*. Here the ablative without in simply answers to the question *when*, and the difference between *illo anno* and in *eo anno* is apparent.

27. *Bellum, sc. between Pompey and Caesar.—Exaret* expresses the suddenness of its outbreak.

29. *Cupiditate inconsiderata*. From thoughtless party zeal, because they favored the cause of Pompey.—*Caco quodam timore*. From a blind (mistaken) fear, of Cæsar. *For though friends of Pompey, they had nothing to fear on that account from Cæsar, if they took no sides against him*. On *quodam*, see Z. 707.

30. *Primo salutis, &c.* They looked out for a leader; first to protect them, afterwards to favor their inclinations, sc. for Pompey.
1. Quum...passus est. See Z. 581.—Domum spectans. This is said to gain Cæsar's favor, who regarded those that remained at home, as friends. In his view neutrality was innocent; in Pompey's criminal.

3. P. Atius Varus. This zealous partisan of Pompey, soon after the outbreak of the civil war, had as a private citizen (vir praetorius), like many others of Pompey's party, fled before Cæsar into Africa. On the submission of Africa to Cæsar, he fled to Spain, where the sons of Pompey had collected a formidable army against Cæsar. Here he lost his life in the battle of Munda, 709, in which the Pompeians in Spain were completely conquered. See Cass. B. C. 1, 13 and 31; 2, 23, sqq.—Prætor Africam obtinuerat. A few years before, after his praetorship, he had been governor of Africa. Prætor was a common name of all governors of provinces.—Uticum. After the destruction of Carthage this was the chief city of the province. It was situated on the sea, 27 miles from Carthage, and celebrated for the death there of Cato Uticensis.


5. Sì illud Imperium esse potuit. Imperium enim magistratus lege Curiata, privati senatus consulto accipiebat.

6. Ad privatam clamatem. The Erfurt MS., with several others, reads a privato clamore, and this reading Klotz, Schultz, and Soldan adopt. Benecke, without adopting it, inclines to regard it as the true reading. He remarks also on the not unfrequent use with passives, of the preposition in connection with nouns which denote things, where either the source is indicated or the thing personified.

7. Qua...cuperet. P. C. 481; Z. 564.

9. Conquiescit, i.e. nihil agens restituit, nihil publice suspiciens remanisset. Since Varus had seized the government, Ligarius withdrew from public business, but was soon afterwards compelled to take an active part in the war. Others understand it of the repose which Ligarius enjoyed from the cares of the administration, which had been the more burdensome, because of the disturbances of the more violent partisans of Pompey.

Ch. II.—10. Adhuc, &c. Compare Quin. 4, 2, 51: Si...in longum exerit ordo rerum, erit non inutilis in extrema parte comitii, quod Cicero etiam in brevi narratione facit: Adhuc Cæsar; and 108: argumentabimus (in narratione) nunquam; argumentum ponemus aliquando, quod facit pro Ligario Cicero, quum dicit, sic cum provincia praefuisse, ut illi pacem esse expediret.


13. Pacatissima. Not with reference to other provinces, but to express the deep quiet and repose of this province.
14. Expediret. P. C. 62; Z. 531. The subject of expediret is pacem esse, i. q. pacis continuatio. Z. 597 and 600.

16. Non turpem. There was no dishonorable or sinister purpose in his going, and his remaining was a necessity even honorable, for it was by command of Considius, and in accordance with the wishes of the inhabitants of the province.

17. Etiam gives prominence to the notion of honestam, and is by the best MSS. more correctly placed just before it.

18. Efflagitatatis. Importuned, prevailed upon by urgent entreaty. The proposition adds intensity, and carries the idea of successful urging.

20. Qua. Benecke, Madvig, Klotz, and Soldan read quod from the best authorities. The accusative of duration of time is found with measure and similar verbs.

21. Necessitatis crimen, a necessitate profectum. Because, surprised by the outbreaking of the war, and surrounded by excited partisans, he was compelled against his will to remain.—An ille. P. C. 190; Z. 353.

22. Si potuisset . . . maluisset. P. C. 437 (d); Z. 524.—Utica quam Roma. Potius is commonly read after Utica, and it is not an uncommon pleonasm with malle, but is not here found in the best MSS. Cf. Z. 747.

23. Cum . . . cum. For the repetition of the proposition, see note on p. 18, line 5.


26. Hic sequo animo. Potuitae hic sequo animo esse in bello sine fratribus, qui in pacatissima legatione sua fratrum desiderio coacisciebatur?


30. Prede meam. This is the reading of almost all the MSS., and received by Benecke, Madvig, Klotz, Soldan, and others. It needs but to be stated, to be adopted. “See, I pray, with what integrity I defend his cause; I betray or sacrifice my own.”—Omnium laude. Omnium is defended by Benecke, Klotz, and Soldan against the common reading omn, and they and Madvig also retain the quum of the MSS. before M. Cicero.

32. Defendit, followed by the acc. o. infin. is equivalent to in defendendo dicit, or defensionis loco dicit, contendit.—In ea voluntate. Cicero speaks with circumpection, using voluntate and not factione. Ligarius had, to be sure, stood on Pompey’s side, but by compulsion, not of free choice.

34. Quid tibi de alto audienti de se ipse occurrat. For it may occur to you, while I am speaking in defence of Ligarius, that I too was one of those who opposed your cause.

35. Occurrat, P. C. 109; Z. 552.
NOTES.

Cu. III.—36. Reformidem, repeated with emphasis, in reference to extimescit, which is used of a suddenly rising fear, and reformidat which expresses an anxious, lasting fear. P. C. 109; Z. 552.

37. Oboriatur. The compound expresses the suddenness of its rising. "See how, as I speak before you, the light of your noble generosity and wisdom bursts upon me, how the recollection of your nobleness and wisdom is vividly renewed in me."

38. Voce contendam. "I will raise my voice, I will exert myself to the utmost to make the Roman people hear this."

39. Exaudiat. P. C. 58; Z. 531. See note on p. 43, line 11. This oration was spoken before a public tribunal in the forum.—Suscepto bello, &c. Compare Quinctil. on this passage, 9, 2, 28; and 11, 3, 166.—Gesto...ex parte magna. Pompey having been driven from Italy, for in Italy Cicero took no part against Caesar. See ad Fam. 6, 6, 6. Cicero embarked for Greece the 11th June, 705 (ad Fam. 14, 7, 2), to join Pompey, who had already embarked the 17th March, notwithstanding Caesar and his friends sought to retain him, and even Cato disapproved the step, and he himself augured no good from the cause of Pompey. See ad Att. 10, 8.

40. Judicio ac voluntate. From reflection and choice. Z. 472, in fin. Cf. de Off. 1, 15, beneficia...quae judicio, considerate constanterque delata sunt; and 1, 9, voluntate fieri.


42. Nempe expresses the speaker's conviction of a thing, with the expectation that the hearer will assent. It therefore often stands in questions which one answers himself, as § 9. It is also used to express displeasure, or with an ironical reference.—Quum hoc sciret. P. C. 489; Z. 577.

43. Antequam vidit, post Pharsalicam pugnam.

44. Ex Aegypto. Caesar had gone to Egypt after his victory near Pharsalia, and became involved there in the Alexandrine war. Cicero meanwhile took no further part in the war, and had returned to Italy, where he endeavored through Caesar's friends to obtain his pardon. He finally received from Caesar the wished-for letter, probably through Philotimus. See ad Att. 11, 23; ad Fam. 14, 23; 24.—Ut essem idem, qui fuissem, i.e. ut dignitatem eam retinerem, quam ante bellum civile habuissem. P. C. 58; Z. 531 with 615: also P. C 467, and Z. 547.

77 1. In toto imperio. With totus and similar notions of totality, the proposition is very generally omitted, though sometimes added, especially if the notion of within is to be made prominent. See Z. 482, Arnold's Nepos. Me, at the beginning of this line, is commonly given between esse alterum.

2. A quo...concessos...tenet. By whose permission, &c.—Hoc ipso. The very Pansa who is here present. Z. 127.
3. Concessos fasces lauratos. Klotz: conc. laureatos fasces. After an important victory the general was commonly honored by his soldiers with the title of Imperator, and the lictors wreathed their fasces with laurel. Ad Fam. 2, 10; ad Att. 5, 20. So too, the letter in which the general announced his victory to the senate was twined with the same. In Pison. 17, 39; Liv. 5, 28, 13; 45, 1, 6. According to Appian, at least 10,000 of the enemy must have fallen in the battle gained to entitle to this honor. It was in the year 703, while Cicero was proconsul of Cilicia, that he gained this victory and received this honor. Ad Att. 5, 20; ad Fam. 2, 10; 15, 4. In the following year he left the province, and tarried some time at Athens. Having reached Brundisium near the end of November, in the beginning of January, 705, he moved on to Rome, without however entering it, since the outbreak of the civil war swept him with it, and deferred his hope of a triumph. He did not, however, abandon the hope of being allowed a triumph, and consequently did not enter Rome again till October, 707, and till his entry, when the laws would require him to lay down the imperium, he appears to have retained the insignia of command. See ad Fam. 14, 20; ad Att. 11, 24.

5. Reddere is the reading of the best MSS. instead of the common dare, which however Madvig retains. As what was lost and again restored, is spoken of, it seems also best adapted to the context. That dedisset should follow is not surprising, since it was not necessary to express a second time the more exact idea of reddere.

6. Vide, queso, &c. This passage is variously given in the MSS. Benecke and Madvig read as in the text, except de Ligarii non audeam confiteri. After non dubitem many MSS. and Edd give dicere. Some retain it in brackets. Klotz and Soldan read and defend non dubitem dicere, de Ligarii audem confiteri. With regard to omitting the non before audeam, which the common reading gives, Benecke thinks there might be some doubt, since the irony which suits the passage, and so well corresponds to the ironical commencement of the speech; would be by the omission lost. Sudplie on the other hand regards the expression as gaining in force and irony, by the omission of non. The sense of the text is thus given by Orelli: Quum tam libere ac sine ullo metu de meo facto coram Caesarre loquar, facilis intelliges me de Ligarii facto, re minoris momenti, aequo libere dicere ausurum esse.


8. Quum de se, &c. The reflexive shows that this sentence is referred to the mind of Tubero. Ernesti, not inaply, resolves it by quum de se eadem me dicentemaudiret,

10. Propert propi quam cognitionem. See note on p. 75, line 2. Observe the change of construction, by which the two following clauses, as substantives, here take the relation of accusatives governed by propert. This change is not uncommon, though it offends against concinnity of expression. It is a sacrifice of one of the proprieties of language, to a higher law, sometimes of necessity, since not every root has the same fulness of development into the various parts of speech, with the same form of construction.

13. Quis putat. So Benecke, Klotz, Soldan, and Madvig. The independent question is better suited to the context than the dependent putat, which the common reading gives. Also with the Cod. Erf. and others, Ligarium, which commonly stands after in Africa, and which Klotz retains, is omitted by Benecke and others. On this passage compare Quinctil 5, 13, 30.


16. Est congressus armatus. This neither Cicero nor Ligarium had done, for the latter had remained in Africa only from compulsion, while Tubero had taken an active part in bearing arms.—Quid enim, Tubero, &c. See remarks of Quinctil. 9, 2, 38, on this powerful and strong apostrophe; and cf. Plat. Cic. 39.—Tuus ille dextra est. This order, which throws the force on dextra est, is given by the MSS. and best suits the passage.

17. Agebat = spectabat, propositum habebat, as in the phrase, id agere ut.


22. Quid . . . altud egtmus . . . nist ut. See Z. 614 and 748, and 735. Fortissime defendenti est, judice Quinctil. 5, 13, 5.

23. Hic. Caesar.—Possemus. P. C. 58; Z. 531.—Quorum . . . eorum. This is a common inversion. The emphasis lies wholly on impunitas.

24. Laus est. Laudi est is more common. The dative expresses the tendency or aim, the nominative denotes more the realization. Cf. Z. 422, Note.


26. Ettam tuam, sed multo magis. Ettam is thus used in the first member, and sed or quidem or certe in the second, to show that two things occur; but the latter often and certainly.

27. Quum . . . tum etiam. Z. 728.—Doctrina excellent. See
what Cicero says of him, ad Q. Frat. 1, 1, from which we should infer that *doctrina* is not to be limited to *scientia juris*, but is used of culture and learning generally.

28. *Genus hoc cause quod esset.* Cf. *Deiit. 11, 30*: *Quis tamen patrem ... qui esset;* and note on p. 70, line 1.—*Quod ... non viderit.* P. C. 461, 518, 519; Z. 629.

29. *Agō may be taken absolutely, or causam can be supplied.*


32. *Haec admirabilla.* This passage is much interpolated in the MSS. For this reading, which Benecke, Klotz, Madvig, and Soldan also give, we are indebted to the *Cod. Col.* The common text is unsound in various respects. It may be noticed that Cicero usually omits the substantive verb in such short clauses. See Z. 776.


34. *Condemnatur ... necetum.* P. C. 58; Z. 531.

35. *Externi isti moraes, &c.* This passage is also variously given. The common text is, *externi isti sunt moraes; ... incitari solet odium aut levium, &c.* Klotz, Benecke, Süpfle, Soldan, and others reject *sunt* and read *incitari solent odio*, &c. The sense then is as follows: *Externi isti moraes, hoc est, non Romani, qui graves sunt, sed exterorum populorum, ut aut levium Graecorum aut immannium barbarorum, solent odio aliquo suscepero ad sanguinem petendum incitari.* Benecke makes the following genitives depend on *odio;* Süpfle more correctly considers them as a supplementary explanatory appendix, limiting or determining *externi isti moraes.* He would also prefer, if MSS. allowed it, to omit *solent,* as Wunder and Madvig do, by which the passage gains in energy.

37. *Ne sit.* Supply *id agis,* with this and the following subjunctives which denote the purpose. P. C. 58; Z. 531.

39. *Consobrinus suo.* According to the old grammarians and lawyers *consobrinus* stands for *consororinus,* and denotes properly children of two sisters. But the word is used in a wider sense of the children of both brothers and sisters. Since now *avunculus* denotes the mother's brother, and therefore the mother of Ligarius was the sister of Broccus, his son was properly the *amittinus* of Ligarius. Klotz also reads, *avunc. suo.*

41. *Italia prohibetur, exsulat.* Z. 783.

42. *Hunc.* Ligarius, who is conceived of as present.—*Privare* is more rhetorical than *privari,* and presents Tubero in a more cruel light. So the monosyllable *via* closes the sentence with abruptness and force. Therefore Manutius: *mira via in numero: solet enim Cicero, quae sunt acerbiora, breviter concludere, ut illud quoque proximum, Italia prohibetur, exsulat.*


25*
1. Jubebat occidit. Z. 617.—Nullo postulante. Z. 676.—Præmiis. He offered a reward of two talents for the head of any proscribbed person.

2. Quae tamen crudelitas, non Sulles sed eorum, quae ipse præmis invitataverat.—Aliquot annis post. Seventeen years afterwards; for Sulla was chosen dictator in the year of Rome 672, and in the year 690 Cæsar, as president of the quastio de sicariis, extended the prosecutions to those who, during Sulla’s proscriptions, had murdered Roman citizens for money. See Suet. Cæs. 11; Dion Cass. 37, 10. Benecke considers from quae tamen to vindicata est an interpolation.

Ch. V.—5. Novi enim te, &c. The anaphora or repetition of novi, may be noticed, which contributes to the animation and energy of the discourse. In the second member the order is inverted, making the arrangement of the period chiastic.

6. Studia generis ac familias vestras virtutis, &c. This is again an instance of several genitives limiting the same noun in different relations. Generis and familias are genitives of the subject, the others of the object. Z. 423 and 791.—Generis, i.e. gentis, the Ælian, of which the Tuberos were a familia, among the Lamiæ, Pætæ, &c. On the virtue and learning of the Ælians, to which Cicero frequently alludes, see de Oraç. 1, 45, 198; Brut. 20, in., and 56, 205. Of the family of the Tuberos, the most prominent was the grandfather of the accuser, Q. Ælius Tubero Stoicus, vir eruditus ... et honestus homo et nobilis. p. Muren. 36, 75.

7. Plurimarum artium atque optimarum. By this the Romans understood the studia liberalia, the study of philosophy, history, eloquence, and poetry. Benecke brackets these words, because they are not found in Cod. Col., and he regards them as a gloss on the preceding humanitatis, doctrinae. Klotz and Soldan, with Ernesti, remove the comma and connect them with doctrinae. The common text has studia denique ... nota sunt mihi omnia. Klotz and Soldan also retain omnia, placing a colon before nota, and making nota mihi sunt omnia a general conclusion.

9. Res enim eo spectat, i.e. eam vim habet. He accuses them of unintentional cruelty; because Ligarius being already in exile, any punishment must be worse than that, i.e. must be death.

10. Ut ... non videamini. Z. 532.—In qua ... sit. Z. 547.

12. Sicuti est. This is a formula of frequent occurrence, used to confirm the truth of what has been previously expressed conditionally.

13. Ignoscatur. Benecke and Klotz read ignoscat, sc. Cæsar. What is the construction of ignoscatur?—Hoc vero multo acerbius. This denial of pardon is harder than death itself. The love of country was strong in the Romans, and hence the misery of perpetual exile.
ORATION FOR Q. LIGARIUS.

14. [Dom] petimus. Since this cause was argued in the forum, it seems necessary to erase domi, or read petiimus. Madvig omits domi. Matthiae defends the common text as spoken generally, remarking that in what follows Cicero speaks of what was actually done. Soldan with Klotz retains domi petimus, and considers with Manutius the present as used for the perfect for the purpose of vividness of description. Benecke would read, Quod nos petimus... op-pugnabis? ... repente irruisses... misceatur... Quanto hoc duris, ite in foro oppugnare et in tali, &c.—Precibus, lacrimis. Omittenda est copula et, propterea quod a minore, ut dicunt, ad majus hoc loco ascendit oratio. Soldan. Madvig, however, retains et. On the different kinds of the asyndeton, see Hand, Turs. ii. p. 472; and Lehrbuch des lat. Stils. pp. 301, 302.


16. Si... irrupisses... cepisses... nenne... exuisses. P. C. 435 (d), (2), 437 (d); Z. 524.—Quam... faceremus. Z. 578. —Quod et fecimus. See ad Fam. 6, 14.

19. Repente. The old reading is derepente, but this form belongs to earlier latinity, and is not elsewhere used by Cicero, nor here sustained by the best MSS.—Irrupisses. Benecke would prefer irruisses, which Madvig and Soldan, from Cod Erf. as shown by Freund, adopt. Irrumpere involves the notion of violence and force, which here is not so suitable as the notion of rapidity and haste, which is contained rather in irruisses.


23. Te in tali miseria... tollere. The change from the passive to the active construction has given offence here. Some have therefore preferred te... oppugnare and tollere; others either tolli or multorum te perfugium... tollere. Such instances of enallage are however elsewhere found. Orelli alone, so far as appears, and without reason, changes the common reading et in tali into te in tali.

24. Perfugium misericordiae. The refuge of mercy, i.e. the refuge which the wretched find in Caesar’s clemency. Compare note on p. 26, line 16. In Manil. § 39 the construction is different.

25. Si... non esset... redundaret. P. C. 435.

26. Per te.... obtines. Possess naturally. Cf. ad Fam. 6, 6, 8: in Caesar... mitis clemensque natura; and Sall. Cat. 54; Suet. Cas. 71. For quantam, Benecke, Klotz, Soldan, and Madvig read quam.

27. Intelligo, quid loquar. An aposteropesis which means more than it says. Tacuit enim illud, quod nihil minus accepimus, non.
NOTES.

78 deesse homines, qui ad crudelitatem eum impellant. Cf. Quinctil. 8, 3, 83 and 85.—Loquar. P. C. 109; Z. 552.

28. Quam multi ... essent. Essent in the consequent clause of a conditional proposition. P. C. 430. Benecke questions the genuineness of this passage down to misericordem.—De victoris. P. C. 165, h; Z. 430, in fin. Why would not the genitive be suitable here?

29. Quis ... vellent. Z. 547; also 561, 563.—De victis. See preceding note.—Quam ... repertiantur. Z. 577.


31. Ipse ignovisti. Of your own accord.

33. Probara. Persuade, induce to believe.

34. Saluti civili ... esse. Z. 611, cites this passage with the common reading civis calamitosi consultum esse. The best MSS. give it as in the text, and so the latest editions. Saluti esse alicuius is used of an advocate who defends the cause of his client. De Ora. 2, 49, 200; Pro Arch. p. 1, 1.

35. Hominis non esse. P. C. 190, 191; Z. 448.

37. Si ... alicujus. P. C. 391, 392; Z. 708.

38. Allud ... allud. P. C. 38; Z. 712, in fin.

39. Errare ... nolle, ... nolle misericordi. Where two members of a sentence are antithetical, Cicero often inverts the order of the words. So Planc. 30, 72: nec considerate minus, nec minus amice. Klotz, Soldan, and Madvig in this line also read allud est.—Tunc diceres. Z. 528, Note 2. Benecke and Madvig: Tum diceres.

43. Abjectet, as something worthless and contemptible. The common text gives utetur.

44. Extorquebit, wrest by violence, as being implanted by nature. See note on line 26 above.

79 Ch. VI.—1. Ac is a particle of transition = further, besides.—Aditis, sc. ad causam.—Postulatio, properly, is the request or demand made upon the praeator by a complainant, for the form of action and accusation which will lie against the party to be prosecuted. It is the first step in preparing a formal accusation. The next step was the delatio nominis. Cf. ad Fam. 8, 6, 1.

3. Admiratus sis. Z. 540.

4. Novi sceleris, (for which the common text gives facinoris,) alludes to the commencement of the oration: Novum crimen, &c., and scelus is purposely repeated here so often, to annoy Tubero.

5. Tu, with emphasis. Z. 379. For voces Klotz gives vocasti.—

6. Alii errorem, &c. An ascending series: errorem, in the Pompeians, who acted conscientiously; timorem, in those who were really afraid of Caesar's tyranny; spem, sc. of arriving at honors and command; cupiditatem, the feeling of wary men who looked no farther
than their party; odium, groundless hatred of Cæsar; pertinacia, a downright obstinacy in the cause they had espoused; temeritatem, an inconsiderate eagerness for war. All these had some truth, the charge of wickedness none.


9. Ac mihi quidem. Cicero laid the blame, where it could well be borne, on fate. See Marcell. 5.


—Divina necessitate. A periphrasis for fato.

13. Liceat esse miseræs. Z. 529. P. C. 152; Z. 601. The sense is: Liceat per te, Tubero, in exsilio ac miseria Ligarium vivere, sed quum isto modo agis, non licet: aliquid enim ultra exsiliæ miseriae queris.

15. Fuerint. Admit they were, &c. The subj. is concessive. Z. 529.


19. Quid altud . . . . nist. Z. 735.—Contumeliam, sc. in recalling him from Gaul before his command was expired, requiring him to stand in person for the consulship, and instead of voting him a triumph, insisting on his giving an account of his administration. Cass. B. C. 1, 9. Cf. ad Att. 9, 11; and Cass. B. G. 8, 53.

20. Quid egit . . . . nist ut . . . . tuetur. Z. 614 and 748.
Ille after tuus is omitted by Benecke, Klotz, Soldan, and Madvig.—Suum ius, sc. that of the army; but of the army as composed of citizens whose rights were involved in the treatment of Cæsar. For many of them had voted for admitting Cæsar’s claim to stand for the consulship in his absence, but the law was neglected, and therefore their rights.

21. Quum pacem esse cupiebas. Cæsar’s anxiety for peace is fully testified by Cicero, ad Fam. 16, 11; 6, 6; ad Att. 9, 8. Cf. Cass. B. C. 1, 9 and 3, 90. Quum . . . . . . cupiebas. P. C. 488 (c); Z. 579.

22. An ut . . . . conventiret. The ut is omitted in some MSS., but in disjunctive clauses it is more commonly repeated. Convenire is construed either personally or impersonally. In the former case, the thing agreed upon is in the nominative, and the persons are expressed by the dative, and the ablative with cum, or by the accusative with
79. inter, e. g. quae mihi tecum convenit, and quae inter regem Pausani-
amque convenerant. The persons are often unexpressed, when they
are easily supplied; e. g. conditiones non convenérunt, and fre-
quently res, pax convenit. When convenire is construed impersonally,
the persons are expressed as in the personal construction, but the thing
is put in the ablative with de, or introduced by a following clause,
with ut or the relative. Here too the persons may be unexpressed,
e. g. quibuscum sibi de pace conveniret; mihi cum Deiotaro con-
venit, ut ille ... esset, and quum de facto convenit. Finally, convenire
de re can also be used of persons who are agreed upon a thing, but
then cum is not allowable. Convenio cum aliquo therefore is not
Latini, but convenimus is correct, e. g. quum de praeda non conveni-
ter. Justin. 15, 4, 23.

26. Quum ... voluisset. Quum is substituted, from MSS.,
by recent editors, for the common reading si, which however Klotz re-
tains. Quum is to be taken as causal, Z. 577; “since you would
have wished,” &c., and the conditional clause, si me et multos Pom-
peianos ut scleratas servasse, is to be supplied in the mind.

27. Secessionem. A mild word for defection or revolt; taken
from the early secessions of the Romans to Mons Sacer, Janiculum,
&c., by adopting which he frees Caesar from the charge of exciting a
civil war.

29. Dissidium. This word Orelli here retains. The best MSS.
give discidium. Madvig (ad Fin. p. 812, fg) rejects discidium alto-
gether, and denies that it is a Latin word. His reasons are, that its
form is contrary to the usual formation; that, wherever it is found,
the oldest and best MSS. give discidium; and that partly the thought
and connection, partly the grammatical relation of the words, require
discidium in the sense of separatio, discessio. He states the result at
the conclusion of his investigation, as follows: Satis confirmat
esse opinor, nullum esse Latinum vocabulum discidium, id autem,
quod est, discidium, ita late patere, ut non solum ad eorum separatio-
mem, qui in diversa loca distrahantur, pertineat, sed ad omnes, quorum
conjunctio, etiam animorum vinclo astricta, prorsus tollatur et in ini-
micitias convertatur. See Seyffert’s Latius, p. 152, fg.—Utrisque
cupientibus. Aliter loquitur, quum oratorem agit, aliter cum amico.
Cf. ad Att. 8, 11: Dominatio, qua sita ab utroque est: non id actum,
beata et honesta civitas ut esset; 10, 4: Utrique semper patria sal-
lus et dignitas posterior sua dominatione et domesticis commodis
fuit. On the plural of utroque, see Z. 141, Note 2.

30. Partim consilii. Some through upright views.—Partim
studii. Others again through party feelings.

31. Pœne par. Par closes its clause with emphasis, and is re-
peated at the beginning of the next clause with equal emphasis. This
figure is called anadiplosis.
32. Non par fortasse. Maxime quia inter Pompeianos permulti fuerant homines inconsulti ac temerarii. Cf. ad Att. 9, 11; 11, 6; 11, 9. Pompeianos autem, ut vult Manutius, h. i. Cesarianus ante ponere non poterat orator. Orelli.—Causa tum dubia. He did not think so when writing to Atticus, 7, 3: causam solum illa causa non habet; ceteris rebus abundat.

33. Posset. Z. 558.

35. Quis non . . . probet. Z. 530. The gods decided which cause was the better; but it is only the experience of your clemency that will gain to your victory a hearty approval.


Ch. VII.—37. Communem causam. Of all the Pompeians—Veniamus. It is not unusual to pass from the singular to the plural. And on the other hand the transition from the plural to the singular is not unfrequent.

38. Nostram. The cause of Ligarius. Having thus far refuted the general charges against the Pompeians, he now shows in particular the superiority of Ligarius's cause, because Tubero went to the province when its fidelity to the republic was doubtful; and sent by a senate the organ of a party. Not so Ligarius.—Utrum is the neuter of the adjective taken as the subject of facilius esse, and serving to introduce generally the question which follows. Ligarium and vos, therefore, which the MSS. give, are the true reading instead of Ligario and vobis. In this passage Orelli gives the punctuation proposed by Madvig, who also (Opusc. i. p. 159) advocates veniam. The common punctuation places a period after ad nostram, and this is the punctuation of Benecke, Klotz, Soldan, and even Madvig in his edition of the Orations.

40. Poteramusne, sc. in Africam non venire. Could we avoid going into Africa.—Si me consulis. The expression is borrowed from the lawyers, qui proprie consulit dicuntur. Cf. in Cat. 1, 5, 13. Cicero wishes always, as far as possible, to appear to be on the side of law and order, and therefore here, as also below, ch. 8, 23, he says, he always regarded it as his duty to recognise the will of the senate, thereby justifying his position in regard to Cæsar.


42. Eo tempore paruit, quum . . . necesse erat. Z. 579. This was before the civil war commenced, when the senate still directed the administration of affairs.

43. Tunc parulasit. Tunc = tum-če stands emphatically for codem ipso tempore, “just then,” and is received by Benecke, Klotz, Soldan, and Madvig.
44. Qui noluit. For any who did not choose to obey the senate found a refuge with Cæsar. Ernesti wished qui nollet; but the sentence is merely explanatory of nemo, and therefore the indicative is correct.

1. Generi, nominis, &c. As one of the Ælians and a Tubero, whose character and principles alike prompted you to obedience, you could not have done otherwise.

2. Quibus rebus gloriemini, sc. for having yielded obedience to the senate, the highest power in the state. The subj. by Z. 547.

3. Tuberonis, i.e. Lucius Tubero the father. The senate every year determined which should be consular and which pretorian provinces. The pretorian provinces, which were six in number after the reduction of the Spains, and sometimes the consular, which were only two, were distributed by lots, which were shaken in an urn, and drawn by a boy. Benecke and Soldan: Tuberoni.

5. Statuerat excusare, sc. morbum, i.e. morbum pro causa affere, cur nollet. This is the usual explanation, but it is perhaps better to take it absolutely, that he meant to decline; whether for this or that reason is left undecided.


7. Millites contubernalis. Military chums. The centuriae were divided into contubornia, consisting of ten soldiers, who quartered under one tent. Veget. de re mil. 2, 13. It was customary for young Romans of family to attach themselves to the commanding general for the purpose of learning the art of war under his eye, and this was called alicui contubernalem esse, or in alicujus contubernio esse. Cicero and Tubero were tent-mates in the Marsic war, under the consul Cn. Pompeius Strabo, a. u. c. 665.—Post affines. See note on p. 75, line 2.


10. Voluisse. Wished and might; for the argument goes to show that he was free to act as he pleased.—Quidam agebat. There was one so active or urgent. Ager is often used as here absolutely, without an object. The direction of this activity is more nearly defined by the following clause: ita . . . opponebat. By quidam some suppose reference is had to Pompey, others, to Cato. Sed de his mortuis tecte locui vix quidquam attinebat. Ego interpres de M. Marcello, quem significat tantummodo ne Cæsaris in eum odium restrictive. Sic ex optimorum Codd. testimonio ejus nomen siletur etiam in § 37 Orelli.


16. Nam, si crimen est illum voluisse, &c. This passage is variously read and explained. Some give: nam, si crimen est prohibere illum voluisse. But most reject prohibere, which is found in only a few MSS. of an inferior class. Steinmetz, Klotz, and Soldan therefore with the most and best MSS. read: si crimen est illum voluisse, and this seems to be the preferable text. The meaning of the passage as given in our text is thus stated by Wernsdorf: Si velle (crimen committere) crimen est, vos non minus magnum crinem commissitis, qui Africam . . . obtinere voluistis, quam alius quis (v. g. Ligarius), qui eam obtinere maluit. Madvig points si crimen est illum, voluisse: Benecke, si crimen est, illum voluisse. In the other reading, illum is to be referred to Ligarius, who has just been named, and aliquem to Varus, not to Ligarius, as is commonly done. What is said therefore in the protasis, of the general wish of Ligarius to commit some crime, is fitly applied to the opposite wishes of the two opposing parties as it were to get possession of Africa, which are compared in the apodosis. If Ligarius’s simple wish to do something is considered a crime in itself, then no one else, who, like Varus, chose to get possession of Africa, rather than you, committed a greater crime than you, who wished, though with less vehemence, to get that province. For the question is not of the strength of the desire. If the wish of that one (Ligarius) is in itself a crime, then the circumstance, that you wished to hold Africa, that stronghold of all the provinces, by nature fitted to carry on war against this city, is just as great a crime, as if some one wished for himself still more strongly the same possession.

18. Arcem, &c. As possessing the greatest resources.—Natum ad bellum . . . gerendum. As shown in the Punic war.


21. Imperium se habere dicebat. It was a usurped command. Cf. § 3: Ille (Varus) imperium arripuit, si illud imperium esse potuit.

22. Quoquo modo se illud habet. However that may be. Z. 521, Note 4. Al. illud se habet. The common text gives esse.

24. Tradittari fulsitis. P. C. 447, in fin.; Z. 498. Benecke, Klotz, and Soldan: fuisseatis. Z. 519, a. The argument assumes a disjunctive form: You must, if admitted into the province, have held it either for Cæsar or Pompey. If you say for Cæsar, even Cæsar will not approve of such treachery; and indeed the supposition is monstrous. You must then have held it for Pompey; and that this
was your design your subsequent conduct proves. For as soon as you
found yourself excluded, you withdrew to Pompey. Falsely boast
then, if you will, that had you been allowed to land, you would have
delivered Africa to Caesar; for it only sets your treachery in a stronger
light.

Ch. VIII.—29. Eum. L. Tubero, the father.
29. Apud ipsum te = apud eum ipsum, cujus ... interfuit, id
est apud te. Ipsa precedes as being the leading notion, and the per-
sonal pronoun follows as explanatory.
31. Esset etiam probata. Quia non honestum fuisse, injustu
senatus eam Caesaris tradere. Vel secundum proverbium: Prodito-
num amo, proditorem odio:
32. Non tam. Klotz and Soldan from MSS. read non tam pro-
ter id, ne, &c.
34. Veniebatis. You attempted to enter. Z. 500, Note.
35. Unam ex omnibus. Unus is joined with the partitive
genitive only when it means the one in reference to alter or alteri
(slius), &c. Otherwise in prose we find, for the most part, unus ex
or de.—Huic victoriae. Pharsalicae. Huic victoriae = victoriae quem
nunc nobis gratia est; or victoriae, quam Caesar, qui hic adest, conse-
cutus est.
36. Rex potentissimus. Juba, son of Hiempsal, and king of
Numidia according to some; of Mauritania, or both, according to oth-
ers. The hostility of Africa was owing to its early connection with
Pompey, who found in Juba one of his most zealous adherents.
37. Conventus firmae atque magnum. Powerful and important
districts or countries. Others, omitting the comma after voluntas,
construe as genitives singular. But Cicero is enumerating the diffi-
culties with which Caesar had to contend in Africa. These are the
unfriendliness of Juba, the hostility of the province, and the conventus
firmae atque magni, which some understand of the Roman citizens
there congregated for business.
38. Quid facturi fuisse. Z. 498.
read non dubitem, without the interrogation.—Quum videam, &c.
Vide enim vos Africa prohibitos in Graeciam ad Pompeium iisse.
40. Et prohibiti. Z. 717.—Summa cum injuria. Z. 472. He
was not even allowed to land his sick son.
42. Nempe. Z. 278.—Cujus auctoritatem secuti. Latenter hoc
significat: Auctoritas amplissimi viri, non causa vos ad belli societatem
adduxit.
43. Quod si ... veniebatis ... venissetis. Observe the in-
dicative in the conditional clause, and the subjunctive in the conse-
quent clause. The indicative represents the action as real or as so
conceived, here with reference to veniebatis above, line 34; the sub-
DREATION FOR Q. LIGARIUS.

1. Quae est ergo. Klotz and Soldan: quae est haec ergo.

2. Accusatis. So from MSS. for accusatis. The subjunctive states it as a simple thought or reflection, not as an actual fact.—A quo queramini. Z. 551, in fin.


4. Vel, Z. 734.—Si vultis. Benecke, Klotz, Soldan, and Madvig: si velitis; and, except Madvig: gloriari per me licet. Also in the next line, Benecke, Klotz, and Soldan read, tradituros, etiam si a Varo et a q. a. prohibiti essetis; &c.

5. A Varo et a quibusdam. See note on p. 18, line 5.—Prohibiti estis, sc. provinciæ Cæsari tradere.


7. Privaverit. Z. 564.

Ch. IX.—Q. Constantiam. Continued irony to line 31


13. Constantiam dico. This is a formula of frequent occurrence in corrections. Cf. p. Mil. 28, 76.


15. Fecisset, ut . . . . rediret. Z. 619.—A quibus . . . . ad eos ipso. Klotz and Soldan give a quibus partibus . . . . ad eos ipso, making it an instance of the construction ad synesim.


20. Ut . . . . sussent. Z. 573.—Honos. Does Cicero use honor?

21. Nobilitas. For the Ælia gens was most noble, deriving its origin from the kings of the Laestrygones. See Horat. Carm. 3, 17; Juven. 4, 154; 6, 385. It had also formed alliances with the Scipios. The Atia gens was rather obscure, until ennobled by Augustus Cæsar, the son of Atia, the daughter of M. Atius Balbus.

22. Justo. Regular, i.e. appointed by the senate, not as Varus's, clamore multitudinis imperita.

26. Secutus esset. Benecke reads secutus erat, referring to Z. 547, Note. So also Klotz, Soldan, and Madvig.—In Macedoniam, &c. The adversative conjunctions in Latin are omitted, when an affirmative clause is opposed to a preceding negative one. When the
predicate is common to both clauses, as it usually is, it must be repeated in the second clause. Z. 781.

27. Cum injuria. Benecke and Soldan reject the preposition. Z. 472. Without the preposition, the cause or ground of the action is given; with the preposition, a new circumstance is added. To express therefore that the wrong consists in the rejection, the preposition should be omitted. Cum injuria implies that to the rejection another wrong is added. Cf. cum crudelitate rejectus, § 26; and prohibiti summa cum injuria, § 24.


30. In praestidibus eratis. You, as the senators, magistrates, and men of rank, who followed Pompey into Greece for whatever reason, were in the camp, without however making part of his fighting army. —Animi. Referring to both the Tuberos. Z. 92.

31. An, ut sit, &c. The general purport of this passage appears to be to press the zeal which Tubero showed for victory, and, supplying the ellipsis, the sense may be thus given: Or, was not that, which is usually the case in civil wars, with you still more the case than with the rest? viz. that you ardently desired to conquer. The *** indicate a lacuna. Exciderunt, quae proprie de Tuberonum studio dictarent. Madvig.

33. Pacis equidem semper auctor fut. Cf. Deiot. 10, 29; Att. 7, 14; 9, 11; Marc. 5, 14; Phil. 2, 10, 24; ad Fam. 6, 6.—Sed tum aero, sc. after his return from Cilicia. Ad Fam. 4, 1.

34. Pacem cogitare. Matthiae distinguishes between pacem and de pace cogitare. The accusative denotes the thing which one wishes to effect; the preposition with the ablative only the subject of the reflection.


37. Se res habet, and res se habet, are both found in Cicero. Zumpt, Verr. 5, 34, 89, thinks the latter the regular order; Madvig, de Fin. p. 57, thinks the former is more frequent.

38. Hanc salutem, a Caesar victore acceptam.—Ili victoriae, de cujus crudelitate timebamus.

Ch. X.—40. Beneficii sui. Erga vos quorum constantiam (in Pompeiana causa) non ignorabat. Auget Caesaris clementiam, et simul Tuberonis carpit, quum eos non penitere constantia suae dicit.

41. Vestras injurias. Z. 424.—Rei publicae. Eius, que nunc est, et Caesaris consilio ac sapientia gubernatur.

43. Quia . . . putetis. In supposing. Z. 555.
1. Itaque num, &c. He throws himself and his suit on the mercy of Cæsar; and begs to disabuse him if he imagined he was pleading the cause of Ligarius. It was altogether an appeal to his humanity, &c.

2. Ad unam summam . . . vel humanitatis, &c. All that he has said he wishes to reduce to a single head or point, and that is Cæsar’s humanity. The genitive (genitivus epexegeticus) may be referred to Z, 425.

3. Causas, &c. Cæsar was also a distinguished orator, and according to Quinctil. 10, 1, 114, the only man fit to be a rival of Cicero: since (in his pithy expression) eodem animo dixit, quo bellavit. See Cic. Brut. 72–75.

4. Dum te in foro, &c. A.D. 677, at the age of twenty-three, Cæsar accused Cn. Dolabella of extortion in his province of Macedonia, and continued his pleading till nearly forty. This is what he calls ratio honorum, the course of your honors. He was praetor, A.D. 692, at the age of thirty-eight.

5. Ignoscite, judices. Hæc esset decrepatione; quam locum habere in senatu et apud populum et apud principem et ubi unum juris clementia est, disputat, Quinctil. 7, 4, 18.—Erravit, judicio.—Lapsus est, facto.—Non putavit, i.e. non reputavit secum. The same as tere mere fecit below.


7. Dic te . . . judicem esse. He bids Cæsar to imagine himself a judge of Ligarius, and to put to him, as counsel, the usual questions. In such a case, he professes that he would have nothing to say in defence, but by the figure antiphraes (i.e. quum quædam negamus nos dicere, et tamen dicimus), he Concise science sums up, without the appearance of having designed it, the substance of what he has previously urged in defence.

8. Colligo. The technical term for collecting proofs for a trial. —Valerent. The conditional membro is frequently left to be supplied from the context.

9. Non acerbus, totus. The + indicates that the text is doubtful. Madvig reads jam est totus; Klotz and Soldan, non acerbus fuit, tametsi totus. During the war even he was not a bitter enemy, on the contrary rather, he was wholly yours in heart and affection. Tametsi is thus used to correct a former expression. Hand, Tur. ii. pp. 604–606.

10. Ad parentem. Benecke, Klotz, Soldan, and Madvig read apud.

11. Ignoscas. Soldan and Madvig read ignoscatur.

12. An sperandt. Quinctil. 5, 10, 93, calls this comparatio ex difficiliore; for it was obviously more difficult for Cicero, who was al
NOTES.

ready indebted to Caesar for his own, to urge the pardon of another, than for that other to hope for a pardon. But this being done, Caesar would hardly forfeit the glory of his clemency, gained in pardoning the one, by refusing the same pardon to the other.

21. Tulli necessarit. We might expect tuorum necessariorum, but the construction is conformed to the relative qui, instead of to the antecedent eorum.


26. Itaque, &c. Accordingly, you do not, to be sure, deny your own friends any favor, as the preceding remark (neque te spectare, quam tuus esset necessarius) might lead a person to suppose. So far from that, you are above measure liberal to them; still I see (sed video tamen) that the causes, &c.

27. Beatiores. Beatus qui multa bona possidet. Cicero does not mean that they were happier than Caesar, but as we say, “better off;” “wealthier.” Caesar was so generous that he left himself in a worse situation than the recipients of his bounty. This accords with the account of Sallust, Cat. 54: nihil denegare quod denuo dignum esset.


31. In Q. Ligario conservando. Si Ligarium conservaveris. And this introduces the case of Ligarius. He here reasons syllogistically. Thus the major (Vidi enim, &c.) is shortly: Just grounds (causae) for interference in the suppliants usually avail with Caesar. The friends of Ligarius have the justest grounds (minor). Therefore, &c. In establishing the minor he is able to enumerate all the friends of Ligarius who are interested in his fate. And this he proceeds to do.

32. Tu quidem .... sed. Z. 278, 744, 801. See note on p. 22, line 2.


34. Sabinos. Ligarius was of Sabine origin, and it was usual for the whole people of a district to appear at Rome in defence of a patron or countryman. So the Campanians appeared in favor of Cicero, on his return from banishment.—Tibi probatissemus. They had afforded Caesar an asylum during the proscription of Sulla, and he may have tried and proved their valor in his legions.


37. T. Brocchi .... lacrinas squaloremque. Brocchus was the uncle of Ligarius. Squalor, the garb of mourning, is often joined
ORATION FOR Q. LIGARIUS.

with sordes, and describes the neglected appearance of those who were in affliction and distress.

41. Quodvis. Benecke, Klotz, Soldan, and Madvig: Nam quodvis.

43. Si fraterne, si ple, si cum dolore. Notice the anaphora, by which, in the first member of this sentence, the conjunction, and in the second member, the predicate is repeated. It is often the case, in animated discourse, that a word which is common to the connected members of a sentence is repeated, by which the place of the copulative conjunction is taken, and a kind of asyndeton is formed. Besides, in this sentence the chiastic arrangement of fraterne, pie, cum dolore, and lacrimae, pietas, germanitas, should be noticed.

3. Essent. P. C. 460 (b); Z. 545.

4. Hunc splendorem. This is the proper epithet of the equestrian order, as, majesty of the people, and authority of the senate. Benecke and Madvig retain the reading, omnem hanc Brochorum domum.

5. L. Corfidium. By a lapsus memoriae Corfidius was here mentioned, though previously dead. Cicero requests Atticus (13, 44) to be careful to have the name erased from all the copies; which, however, was not effected.


7. Tecom fuerunt. This did not require them to be actually in Caesar's camp. It was enough that they did not join Pompey. Benecke, Klotz, Soldan, and Madvig: viros, qui tecom fuerunt.

8. Requiebamus. Missed, felt annoyed at the absence of. Therefore their deserts towards you are enhanced by their being the objects of the hatred and threats of the Pompeians.

9. Minabatur. Benecke and Klotz: minabamur. By nonnulli we may suppose Pompey, Lentulus, Scipio, and Fannius are intended, not Cicero who strongly censures those who threatened the neutral. Therefore Minabatur is preferable.—Tuis suis. To those, who by their neutrality are proved to be your friends, preserve their own.

10. Hoc. Your considering all these your friends who did not appear against you.

Ch. XII.—13. Tecom . . . fulisse, i. e. domi remansisse.

15. Fuiisset futurus. The common text is futurus fuerit, and so Madvig. Soldan: fuerit futurus. If conditional sentences, which are expressed by the subjunctive of the imperfect or pluperfect, are made to depend upon a tense of the present, in the leading sentence, they are not subjected to the consecutio temporum, but remain unchanged. In the periphrastic conjugation, however, the subjunctive of the perfect takes the place of the subj. of the pluperfect, after a
tense of the present in the leading sentence, although the conditional member stands in the subj. of an historical tense. This arises from the use of the indicative of the perfect for the pluperfect subjunctive. Compare Z. 519, a, and 498, in fin. Both fuiisset and fuerit appear to be correct, though the latter is more frequent, while the Est. and other MSS. here defend fuiisset.

16. Consensum conspirantem et peone conflatam. Concordant, and, as it were, moulded into one.


22. Sed lerit. But take it in the worst point of view, admit that he did go to the war, &c.

23. Dissesserit. Benecke, Klotz, Soldan, Madvig, and others read dissererit.

25. Quaills ..... T. Ligarius ..... fuerit. He paid Cæsar, a. v. c. 698, a sum of money, voted to him out of the public treasury, to support his army in Gaul. This payment Cicero strenuously supported. De Prov. cons. 11, 26; p. Balsb. 27, 61. Tum is rejected by Benecke, Klotz, Soldan, and Madvig.


27. Spero te ..... recordari. The infinitive of the present or perfect follows spero if the time actually falls in the present or the past. P. C. 15; Z. 605.—Obliviisci. Z. 439.

30. De allis quibusdam questoribus. Wunder and Klotz understand these words of questors who had shown themselves unfriendly to Cæsar, in contrast with the friendliness of T. Ligarius. But Benecke and Soldan give this sense to the passage: "even if you recall to mind the services of certain other questors, perhaps greater than those of Ligarius, you will still bear in mind something of the service which Ligarius rendered." Klotz also retains cogitantatem after questorio officio.

31. Nihil egit. Had no object in view, was quite disinterested.


35. Dederis ..... condonaveris. Z. 511.

37. Necessarit. After this word the common text gives tuis Benecke, Klotz, and Soldan, tuis.—Condonaveris. Z. 511.
38. De homine nobilissimo. M. Marcellus. See the preceding oration. Observe that nuper in curia and nunc . . . in foro with reference to each other are anaphorical, but with reference to the prepositional expressions, chiastic. Klotz gives M. Marcellus after clarissimo. See, however, note on p. 80, line 10

40. Concessisset. Granted to the prayers of. Above, condonare has a similar sense, viz. to pardon for their sake, at their request, and to gain their favor.

2. Hominès enim. This sentiment is elsewhere met with. Cf. 84 p. Marcell. § 8; De Rep. 1, 7.


6. Forsitan. Z. 728.
THE ORATION FOR KING DEIOTARUS.

INTRODUCTION.

Deiotarus was a noble tetrarch of Gallogrecia or Galatia, who in the several wars in which the Romans had been engaged in Asia, Pontus, Cappadocia, Cilicia, and Syria, had often afforded powerful aid to their generals, and proved himself a zealous and faithful ally. Through Pompey, after the close of the Mithridatic war, he was, for his services, honored by the senate with the title of king, and had Gadilonitis and Armenia Minor added to his dominions. He succeeded, indeed, doubtless by Roman favor, in encroaching on the rights of the other tetrarchs of Galatia, and obtaining nearly the whole of it for himself.

In the civil war, Deiotarus attached himself to the cause of Pompey, his benefactor, in the same ship with whom he effected his escape after the battle of Pharsalia. After the defeat of Pompey, he sought in every way to regain the favor of Caesar, relying upon the friendly relations which had previously existed between them. Accordingly, while Caesar was employed in Egypt, Deiotarus offered to Cn. Domitius Calvinus, Caesar's legate in Asia, his services and money, and in his turn, A. u. c. 707, applied to Domitius for aid against Pharnaces, the son of Mithridates, who had taken possession of his kingdom of Armenia Minor, and of Cappadocia, the kingdom of Ariobarzanes, and was plundering them. In the campaign which followed, Pharnaces defeated the combined Roman and Galatian forces near Nicopolis, and almost entirely destroyed the army of Deiotarus. When Caesar, in the same year, came into Asia from Egypt, Deiotarus, divested of his royal robes, waited on him in the garb of a suppliant, and in consideration of his former services, his age, dignity, and the prayers of his friends, received a pardon, and was permitted to resume the ensigns of regal dignity. About certain claims, however, which the neighboring tetrarchs made on Gallogrecia, Caesar decided nothing; but taking with him all Deiotarus's cavalry, and a legion trained in the Roman discipline, he proceeded against Pharnaces, whose speedy defeat is recorded in the memorable words, "Veni, vidi, vici."

Caesar, after this victory, proceeding to Asia, by the route of Gallogrecia and Bithynia, became the guest of Deiotarus. He took from him, however, the tetrarchy of the Trocmi and gave it to Mithridates of Pergamus, whom he had made king of the Bosporus. The kingdom of Armenia Minor also, which Pharnaces had wrested from Deiotarus, Caesar did not restore to Deiotarus, but bestowed it on Ariobarzanes, king of Cappadocia. Thus Deiotarus was left with almost nothing more than his original tetrarchy. We learn from Cicero (ad Att. 14, 1), that in the autumn of the same year, the cause of Deiotarus was unsuccessfully pleaded by Brutus before Caesar at Nicea in Bithynia; but that Brutus interceded for Deiotaurus in this matter is highly improbable, and in what other relation he defended Deiotarus is equally uncertain. When Caesar returned from Spain, A. u. c. 709, Castor the grandson of Deiotarus, by a daughter who was married to Sceoncarius, accused his grandfather of a
design to murder Cæsar, when he was his guest in Gallogracia, and also of an intention of sending troops to the aid of Cæcilius Bassus. Deiotarus sent an embassy to Rome to look after his interests, and with them his slave Philippus, who was at the same time his physician. But he, while in Rome, was corrupted by Castor, and appeared against his master. This embassy waited on Cicero, who readily undertook the cause of his old friend, and in November of this year, before Cæsar in his own house, defended him in the following speech. Of Cicero's success we are not informed; but from Phil. 2, 37, 94, it would appear that while Cæsar lived, Deiotarus's circumstances did not improve. After the murder of Cæsar, Hieras appears to have obtained from Antony, through Fulvia, the restitution of his master's dominions for 10,000,000 sesterces. Deiotarus, however, had seized by force on the territory in question, as soon as he heard of Cæsar's death, and took revenge upon his son-in-law and daughter. He subsequently joined the party of Brutus and Cassius, and having attained an advanced age, was succeeded by Deiotarus II., his only surviving son, all the rest of his children having been put to death by him, according to Plutarch, in order that his kingdom, in the hands of his successor, might not be shorn of its power.

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ANALYSIS.

I. In the introduction the orator speaks of his embarrassment and confusion, which he generally feels in important cases, and which is increased still more by the circumstance, (1) that he has to defend a king, and a king who has done great service to the Roman people. Besides, (2) his agitation by the cruelty and unworthiness of the two accusers (§ 1–3), and even (3) the unusual constitution of the court, since the offended Cæsar is at the same time judge; as likewise (4) the place in which he must speak, a room in Cæsar's palace, instead of the public forum, add to his embarrassment. (§ 4–7.)

II. Before replying to the charge and refuting it, he speaks of the hope of the accusers, on which they relied, in the belief that Cæsar had not sincerely pardoned Deiotarus, an opinion which is alike inconsistent with the noble sentiments of Cæsar and with his previous expressions respecting the king. (§ 7, 8.) By this he prepares the way for the mention of what Deiotarus had done (1) for Pompey, (2) for Cæsar, and (3) how Cæsar had received his endeavors. (§ 9–15.)

III. The simple statement is a refutation of the charge: for (1) so inconsiderate an act is at variance with the well-known prudence and character of the king (§ 15, 16); (2) the whole accusation is a clumsy invention, and every thing which has been brought forward to prove it, is utterly improbable and absurd (§ 17–22); (3) the king had no wish to levy an army against Cæsar, as the accusers maintained (§ 23, 24); (4) Deiotarus did not cherish hostile feelings against Cæsar (§ 24–27); but (5) it was Castor rather, who was so disposed (§ 28, 29), who, ungrateful and treacherous (§ 30–32), had impudently fabricated a story, that Blesiamus had by letter communicated to the king, his master, something prejudicial to Cæsar. (§ 33, 34.)

IV. The conclusion mentions the gratitude of the king, and his contentment with Cæsar's treatment (§ 35–39); and seeks to enlist the sympathy and favor of Cæsar in behalf of the two kings, the father and son.
Ca. I.—1. Quam . . . tum. Not only . . . but also; the second being the more important notion. The first is often a general term, the second a more special determination of it; the first the more common, the second the more rare, &c. When quae stands in a complete clause, it takes either the subjunctive or the indicative. When it takes the indicative, both the statements are made as direct assertions. When it takes the subjunctive, a general proposition is assumed as true, and a particular instance, or further development of it is asserted in the sentence with tum. In English we should either use "though," or no conjunction. "Though I am usually more agitated, when I begin to speak, &c., yet, &c.;" or, "I, when I begin to speak, am wont to be more agitated, &c., but, &c."—Causis gravioribus. Cicero explains the use of the adjective here, when he says below, disco pro capite. Caput signifies both natural and civil life—the sum of civil rights and privileges.

2. Commoverit. Compare Divin. in Cacil. 13 in; p. 171, 51. The cause of the agitation Cicero himself gives in the person of L. Crassus, De Orat. 1, 26.—Videatur. So also Froltscher. Benecke, Klotz, Soldan, and Madvig give videtur.

3. Ætas mea. Cicero was now in his 63d year, and his experience at the bar had been long and ample to give him confidence.

4. Plices. Deiotarus was his friend, his hostus, as we learn in § 39, and Cicero was bound by a sense of duty to defend him.

5. Primum. Cicero adduces four causes to account for his fear: 1. His client being a king; 2. The cruelty of one accuser (the grandson), and meanness of the other (a slave); 3. The fact of the virtual plaintiff, Caesar, being also judge; 4. The place where the trial was held, as the house of Caesar.

7. Regia, emphatic, instead of ejus, illius, for the kingly dignity was sacred and inviolable. See p. l. Man. § 24.

8. Dumtaxat = dum taxat, "whilst one estimates it;" "being accurately estimated;" hence (1) "not more than," "only;" (2) "not less than," "at least." Z. 274.—Periculus. Because in Caesar’s peril, the whole state was in danger.—Reum capitae esse. P. C. 188.

10. Quem ornare. Cf. ad Fam. 15, 4; Phil. 11, 13.—Solebasmus. So Benecke, Klotz, Soldan, and Froltscher, who considers the plural more complimentary to Deiotarus. The meaning is: omnes Romani cum senatu in eo orando celebrandoque consentiebam; and those generals particularly whom Deiotarus had aided in their wars, Sulla, Murena, Lucullus, Pompey, and others are had in mind. Orelli compares de Rep. 1, 6, 10: Quasi vero major cuiquam necessitas accidere possit, quam accidit nobis! in qua quid facere potuisse, nisi tum consul fuisse? Madvig, however, retains and defends solebasmus.

See note on p. 71, line 27.—Accedit, ut. When the sentence is con-
ditional, accedit is always followed by ut. Without a condition we
sometimes find accedit ut, but more commonly accedit quod. With
quod an added circumstance is presupposed as real; with ut it is con-
ceived as just developing itself = præterea fit, ut. See Z. 621, 622.

13. Alterius crudelitate. Because his grandson Castor was
the accuser of his grandfather.—Alterius indignitate. Because his
slave Philippus had appeared against his master.

14. Crudelis Castor. So also Benecke, Klotz, Steinmetz, and
Soldan. Madvig and Schneider defend Crudelem Castorem, on the
ground that ne dicam requires the same case of the substantive or ad-
jective before as after it. Cf. p. Mil. § 33: vivo Milone, ne dicam
consule. Hunc accusativum o sequentibus ortum esse arbitror: atque
omnia initio orationis exclamatio minus apposita videtur. Orelli.

15. Nepos. The son of his daughter, who had married Saaco-
varius.—Adduxerit. The subjunctive expresses not merely some ad-
tional characteristic, but the conception and feeling of the speaker.
Z. 554.—Adolescentia, et sua terrem = terrem a sua adolescencia
a se adolescente, prefectum. For young men at Rome found it a
ready way of gaining commendation, to accuse the magistrates, to
whom, therefore, they were in some sort a terror. De Off. 2. 14.
Benecke omits ei after intulerit, referring to Z. 765.

17. Debebat. On the indicative, see Z. 518.

18. Servum. Philippum medicum. In Rome physicians be-
longs to the servile condition.

19. A legatorum pedibus. In company with whom he had
come to defend his master. Servants are said to be ad or circum pe-
des domini, i.e. pedissequi. Verr. 1, 36, 92: habebat circum pedes
hominis formosos et litteratos.

20. Fugitivus. This is said contemptuously of Philippus, since
when sent with the other ambassadors to defend Deiotar us, he had
abandoned his cause. His object, in speaking so contemptuously of
his servile condition, is to make the accusation of Deiotarus appear
still more unworthy, and to lower and weaken in the minds of the
Romans the regard in which Philippus stood in his own country. On
the repetition of dominum, compare ad Att. 5, 2, 1: quum Hortensius
veniret et firmus et tam longe et Hortensius; p. Sest. § 54: ge-
ner, et Piso gener.

22. Os, quo impudentiam præ se serebat.—Quum verba audiebam.
These words are omitted by Benecke and Soldan as a gloss on quum
os videbam. But Madvig very justly remarks, quam apte urtiusque
sensus offensio commenoretur quamque membra orationis
cadant, nemo non videt.

23. De fortunis communibus. For who can be safe, if slaves
are permitted to turn informers?
25. De servo in dominum. The regular construction should be noticed, *de servis quaerere in dominum*, i.e., servis questiones a tormentia extorquere, quod contra dom. valere possit. Not even is the involuntary (*tormentia*) evidence of a slave allowed against his master, much less the voluntary accusation (*accuset solutus*).

2. Exortus est servus. Intimating the impudence of Phidippus—here starts up a slave.

3. Accuset. Compare note on p. 44, line 22. Ernesti altered it to *accusaret*. But *exortus est* brings the action down to the present time, and is but a rhetorical amplification of the simple *est*. Z. 512, Note.

Ch. II.—4. Illud, Referring to what follows. This circumstance, sc. your being judge in your case. The third cause of his fear. Matthew remarks that *quod dicere . . . . grave est* ought to follow, instead of which Cicero commences with the causal particle *nam*.

5. Quum = now that, since.

8. Arguare. Z. 166. The second person of an indefinite subject is common.

10. Æquorem = more favorable, kind.


12. Quid . . . . judicare. Namely, that you are a friend of justice and humanity. By this praise of Caesar he hinted what Caesar ought to be; particularly that it was foreign to his clemency to condemn in his own cause. Caesar’s anxiety to be thought mild and forgiving is noticed by Suetonius, c. 75.

13. Locl . . . . Insolentia. The fourth cause. Cicero’s usual theatre was the forum; here, the house of Caesar, where there was no surrounding band (*conventum*) by which the orator is inspired to emulation. Compare p. Mil. 1, and the story of the declaimer Porcius Latro given in Quintil. 10, 5, and Senec. Controv. 4: *Pref. Declamatoria virtutis Latronem Porcionem unicum exemplum quum pro reo in Hispanic Rustico Porcio proinque suo diceret, usque eo esse consueum, ut a solacismo inciperet, nec ante potuisse confirmari tectum ac parietes desiderantem, quum impetravit, ut judicium ex foro in basilicam transferretur. Usque eo ingenia scholasticis excercationibus delicate nutriuntur, ut clamorem, silentium, risum, calum denique pati nesciant.*


16. In qua oratorum studia niti solent. Z. 466

17. Aquellesco. Not so strong as *gaudeo, delector*, but *tue* oculos, indices benevolentiam tue, quum intuior, timere desino. Z. 415.

19. Quae. These things; referring to what has been mentioned in the preceding clauses.—*Obtinenda veritatis. Veritatem obtineres* = to make good, establish, or by defending set forth the truth so that all shall see it. Cicero had what was most important in establishing
the truth; though it was of little weight in rousing the eloquence and
ardor of the speaker.
21. Hanc, &c. Benecke, Klotz, and Soldau: Hanc enim caus-
sam, C. Caesar, si, &c.
24. Cujus omnem ætatem in popull Romani bellis con-
sumptam. The first expedition of the Romans in Asia, occurring in
the time of Deiotarus, was that of Sulla, A. u. c. 662, to restore Ario-
barzanes to his kingdom of Cappadocia. He had assisted the Romans
in the first Mithridatic war, in the time of Sulla, A. u. c. 667. It was
now 709. Soldan rejects ei before regi.
26. Curlam. Because it was contiguous to the forum where the
cause should be pleaded in the open air.
27. Deorum . . . popull Romani . . . senatus. These answer
to calum . . . forum . . . curiam, and, as usual, are in the reverse
order. See p. Lig. 11, 33: Si fraterne, &c., with the note on
the passage. Observe also the repetition of the et with each of the sub-
stantives, in reference to calum, forum and curiam.
30. Maxime causa, i. e. longe gravissima, quanta, inquit, § 5,
nulla unquam in disceptationes versata est.—Debilitatur loco. Cf.
Tac. Dial. 39.
Pro multis sepe = pro multis pro alio alio tempore.
32. Ad te ipsum referre. Referre ad aliquam rem is properly
to refer to something as a standard or measure. You, Cæsar, should
judge my present feelings by your own; you should put yourself in
my place, and give me the indulgence which you would then require
—Quo facilius. Z. 536.
34. Antequam . . . dico. Z. 576. He wishes to remove any
latent hatred which Cæsar might cherish against Deiotarus, as a Pom-
peian, before he proceeds to the charge itself.
35. Accusatorum. Castor and Phidippus.—Quum = etsi. Z.
577.—Nec ingenio. It is contrary to Cicero’s usual practice to lower
the character of his opponents; but here he does so to show their
audacity in impeaching a king, and that they must rely for success
on Cæsar’s well-known prejudices against Deiotarus.
Cn. III.—39. Afflictum, &c. Cæsar had deprived him of the te-
trarchy of the Trocmi, and also of Armenia Minor, which he owed
to Pompey. De Div. 2, 37. Benecke, Klotz, and Soldau read af-
lictum; but Orelli and Madvig prefer affectum, as better suited to
the softened expressions incommodis et detrimentis. Instead of the
mild language here chosen, compare the harsh words used by Cic.
Phil. 2, 37, 94: Quis enim cuium quam Deiotarum Cæ-
sar? &c.—Propter offensionem animi tui. Owing to your displeas-
ure.
40. [Teque.... cognoverant.] These words are bracketed by Orelli, after Madvig, on account of the perversity of the sentiment. Esse before cognoverant is omitted in the common text, as is often the case after the verba sentiendi; but when a lasting state is to be denoted, it should be expressed.

41. Apud ipsum te = apud ipsum, de cujus periculo dicerent, id est, apud te. See note on p. 80, line 29.

42. Fore putabant, ut ... insideret. Z. 594.—Exulcerate, figuratively from festering wounds. Therefore insideret, of a deeply-seated and fixed grudge. As Caesar would be called upon to negative this supposition, so it is a tacit exhortation to justice.

44. Per clementiam. Benecke, Klotz, and Madvig omit the preposition here.

3. Hospes hospitii. Z. 798. The allusion is to the time when, in returning from his march against Pharmaces, after the Alexandrian war, Caesar partook of the hospitality of Deiotarus.

4. Non tam in bellis, &c. Matthiae here supposes a blending of two constructions, one of which would give non tam in bellis, quam in promissis firmam; the other, non in bellis, quam in promissis firmiorem. Benecke rejects this explanation, and holds that tam does not correspond to the following quam, which refers rather to the comparative firmiorem, but is closely connected with the non, nearly in the sense of non admodum. Schneider (Jahrb. 52r. B. 1848, p. 280) prefers the view of Benecke, and compares Liv. 28, 39, 12: Quod nobis non tam fructum iucundius est quam uitium, where tam as in our passage is found in all MSS. On the twofold application of manus, compare ad Fam. 7, 5, 3: totum demique hominem tibi ita tradu de manu, ut aiant, in manum tuam istam et victoria et fide praestantem.

6. Dil penates. The tutelary gods of his family.

7. Delotari regis. On the order of the words, see Z. 796. Which is the usual order?—Ars facie. See note on p. 46, line 24.

8. Facile [exorari]. Not only easily induced to forgive, but to forgive heartily (semel, once for all; cf. § 39). Klotz, Benecke, Süpfe, and Soldan read facile orari from the best MSS., and explain it: Caesar on the one hand does not close his ears to entreaty, and on the other allows himself, once for all, to be prevailed upon.

9. Placavit .... senserit. After qui non or quin, when a negative or equivalent interrogative precedes, it is the usage of Cicero to place the subjunctive in the same tense which has gone before, because the action follows immediately, and is included in the same time as the preceding. Compare note on p. 55, line 22.

10. Quamquam, &c. "Though why dwell on this? For by whom have your expostulations with Deiotarus been unheard? Everyone knows the drift of them. You never accused him as an enemy,"
ORATION FOR KING DEIOTARUS.

Queri cum aliquo = exprobrare alicui acceptam injuriam. Z. 87

307. For the complaints of Caesar against Deiotarus, see Auct. B. Alex. 67, seqq.

12. Hostem. The distinction that hostis means an enemy of the state, and inimicus a private enemy, is not always observed. See de Fin. 5, § 29; Verr. 2, § 58; Sest. § 129; and compare note on p. 54, line 27.

14. Daturumuisse. Benecke, Klotz, and Soldan give daturum esse, which is the reading of only the Erfurt MS., but supported by the note of the Schol. Gronov. on this passage, who gives the following letter from Caesar to Deiotarus: Turpe est. Et ego amicus tuus fui. Quae causa est, ut ad Pompeium transire? Sed ignoso tibi, si secutus es nomen senatus. Mitte exercitum Pompeio, mitte filium, tu tantum excusatione utere, quia senex es.

15. Ipse, sc. antem. Z. 781. Benecke, Soldan, and Madvig: si, quum auxilia Pompeio vel etiam filium misisset, &c. Soldan: ipse tamen; and Benecke: ipse tamen excusatione atatis; Klotz reads si quum aux. Pompeio vel si etiam fil. misisset, ipse tamen, &c., which Fritscher also approves.

16. Maximis . . . . rebus = hostili odio. For the circumstance that Deiotarus had not from his own impulse and from hatred marched against Caesar, but had followed the general course of things, amount ed to an acquittal in reference to the most important point of the charge.

17. Amicitiae neglectae vel violatae culpam. Nam accusabat eum ut amicum officio parum functum. The fault was very trifling, and had no eminence in it.

18. In eum . . . . animadversit. See note on p. 17, line 32. Observe also that eum, the object of liberaviisti, is to be supplied from in eum. Cf. de Orat. 1, 15, 69: ad eum delata et tradita without ei; ad Fam. 13, 4, 6: ut te horter et suadeam without tibi. Comp. Z. 766.—Sed omni. When sed alone, without etiam, follows non modo or non solum, the first clause is included: i.e. as the particular in the general, the weaker in the stronger, the less numerous in the more numerous. Therefore with cuncti and omnes regularly the simple sed is found.


Ch. IV.—20. Progressus, sc. ad alicui moliendum. Additum est concinnitatis causa, ne, quum in seqq. errore communi additum haberet lapsus, odio tui suo participio fraudaretur. The complement of progressus is omitted to avoid any invidious allusion. Klotz gives progressus est . . . . lapsus est.—Errone communi. Cf. Phil. 11, 13, 34.

21. Honoriificentissimis. Z. 105 (c).

22. Appellavisset. The subjunctive expresses the thought only as the speaker’s conception or idea. Z. 565. But in this passage the common text (omitting quum after quique) puts a period after versatt,
and commences the 4th chapter with Quum audiret. Madvig defends the common text and punctuation as required by the moods and tenses (appellavitset ... duixisset) which are brought together, and confirmed by the connection. "Cicero primum (§ 10) universe Deiotorum dicit, qui senatus auctoritatem maximi facere consuevit, perturbatum esse iidem rebus, quibus eos, qui minus perturbari debuerint, deinde (§ 11) has et hanc perturbationem singulatim describit." Klotz, from MSS. which give quique eum illum, &c., or quique eum illum, &c., formed the period as given in the text, and was followed by Oreli and Sütphse. Madvig and Soldan: quique eum ordinem ... versati. IV. 11. Quum audiret, &c.

24. Est perturbatus = in errorem abductus est, a softened expression like lapsus est above. The causes of this error are given in the following chapter. This is the first excuse for Deiotarus's joining Pompey.—Longinquus. For if those who were born and living in the heart of the republic, yet mistook the true state party, a fortiori might Deiotarus, a foreigner, living at a distance. Nati refers to alienigenae, and versati to longinquus.

27. Consulibus. These were C. Claudius Marcellus and L. Cornelius Lentulus, a. u. c. 705. Cf. Cæs. B. C. 1, 5; and Cic. ad Fam. 16, 11, 3. The measure here referred to caused the friends of Cæsar to take refuge at Ravenna, where he then was.—Nobis imperatoribus. Cicero had just returned from Cilicia, and in expectation of a triumph was now at the city. See ad Fam. 16, 11; and note on p. 77, line 3. Instead of nobis, the reading in most of the MSS. as well as the best, is novis, which Schultz also gives in his text, and Benecke thinks may be defended from Cæs. B. C. 1, 5, and 6.


34. Esse effusam. Manutius adds ad bellum contra te gerendum, but it answers rather to the preceding profugisse, and = in fugam effusum. Were dispersed; for on hearing of the march of Cæsar towards the city, the optimates fled, and joined Pompey in Greece.

35. Ad Orientem, i. e. to Asia where Deiotarus was.

36. De conditionibus tuis. Pompey demanded that Cæsar should deliver his army and province to a successor, previously to his suing for a second consulship. Cæsar offered to disband his army if Pompey did the same. Cf. Cæs. B. C. 1, 9; Cic. ad Fam. 16, 12. After veri in this line Klotz with some MSS. gives nuntii.

38. Certorum hominum. Especially the consule Lentulus and Marcellus, M. Bibulus, L. Domitius, P. Scipio, and Cato, who all, in
their opposition to Caesar, betrayed motives quite distinct from love of country. Cæs. B. C. 1, 4.

39. Se tenuit, retinuit, quo minus ad bellum proficisceretur

40. Ignosee. Pardon the man so circumstances in regard to Pompey, who, from his high command in the republic, and his intercourse with Deiotarus in the Mithridatic war, had naturally great influence over him. The second excuse.

42. Ad quem quum ... congressissent. On quum and the subjunctive, see note on p. 85, line 1. In quem is the common reading; and congerere omnia ornamenta in aliquem is a more common construction than c. o. o. ad aliquem. The former = to confer on one or impart to one all honors and distinctions; the latter = omnia congerere ad aliquem orandum, to make every thing contribute to the honor of some one. By ad the direction towards an object is denoted, by in the object itself.

43. Tuipse. Caesar and Pompey, united by the affection and prudence of Julia, and acting in the true spirit of their triumvirate, readily voted each other the highest offices and honors; but Julia may be also meant.

44. Si ... idcirco. See note on p. 26, line 7.—Tua res gesta.

3. Honores populi Romani, a populo Romano in Pompeium collati.

4. Quantis senatus. What ellipsis is there here; and what do we in English supply? Z. 767.

5. Tanto ... quanto. Benecke, Klotz, and Soldan, from the Erf. and other MSS., read quanto ... tanto. Verum qui sic loquitur, is, quanta Cæsaris gloria sit, ostendit Pompeii comparatione; Cicero, Deiotari excusandi causa, quanta Pompeii gloria fuerit, commemorat; itaque omnia breviter comprehendens tantum ait fuisse Pompeii gloria preter ceteros praestantium, quanta nunc Cæsaris sit. Madvig.


Ch. V—9. Ad eum Igitur. Igitur resumes the thread of the narrative, which had been interrupted by § 12. Z. 739. The third excuse is drawn from antecedent circumstances. He had been the old ally, host, and friend of Pompey.

10. Justis hostilibusque bellis. Bellum justum is one commenced and carried on in accordance with the usual formalities. Cf. de Off. 1, 11, 36. Bella hostilia are wars waged with a foreign foe, in opposition to bella civilia. For hostis was anciently = peregrinus. The assistance here alluded to was afforded in the Mithridatic war, which Pompey terminated.

11. Quocum. Cicero usually uses quocum, and (rarely) cum quo, to refer to a definite person, and quicum when the reference is indefinite or general.
12. Et venit, &c. The fourth excuse, from the concomitant circumstances.—Vell... vel... vel. Z. 336, 339.

13. Evocatus. Benecke and Soldan read vocatus, and consider inappropriate the particular meaning of evocatus as applied to a veteran who has served his full time and received his discharge, but is afterwards called to the field by special request, or, as a compliment to his military experience, on special occasions. For arcusitis, Benecke, Klotz, and Madvig give the form, accersitus.

14. Ad fugientem, &c. Not to a victorious general, but to a retreating friend. For Pompey had fled from Italy to Greece. Therefore Deiotarus’s conduct was perfectly disinterested.

16. Pharsalico praelio facto. The fifth excuse, from the subsequent conduct of Deiotarus.—Discessit. Nec tamen continuo; Pompeium enim ex Pharsalico praelio profugum secatus, in Cilicia vel in litorum Icario expositus est, ut Orientis regna in auxilio illius concitaret.

17. Infinitam = positam in bello, quod quando finem habitum esse, incertum erat; vague, uncertain.

18. Error!... satis factum esse duxit. Cf. p. leg. Man. § 17: vectigalia neros esse... duximus; p. Mil. 8, 22: munus esse ducet; and below, § 14: tuumque hostem esse duxit sum.—Satis facere errori est satis errare, nec longius in errore progressi vel perseverare.

19. Utilitatibus tuis paruit = fecit quidquid utilitates tue postulabant. They are enumerated below. His aiding Domitius, sending money (most probably) to Sextus Caesar, frequently auctioning his goods to raise supplies, &c. The common text gives contulit, teque Alex. bell. gerente util. &c., which Benecke, Soldan, and Madvig retain. Caesar had pursued Pompey into Egypt, and there, captivated by the charms of Cleopatra, he had espoused her quarrel with her brother Ptolemy, and involved himself in a war with the Alexandrians.

20. Cn. Domitii. This Cn. Domitius Calvinus was consul a. u. c. 701. In the battle of Pharsalia he commanded the centre, and when Caesar went to Egypt, he intrusted to Calvinus the administration of the province of Asia and the neighboring countries. Domitius here became involved in a war with Pharnaces, the son of Mithridates, by whom he was defeated in the neighborhood of Nicopolis.

—Amplissimi viri. Z. 793.

21. Suis tectis et copitis. The former understand of quarters and supplies, the latter of forces. Deiotarus furnished to Domitius two legions and a hundred horsemen in the war against Pharnaces. Hist. Bell. Alex. 34, 35. Hoc tamen loco potius loquitur de alimentis ac receptione in oppida regis. Orelli.

22. Eum, quem tu, &c. The individual here intended is doubtful. Some have referred it to Q. Fusius Calenus; but he was then
governor of Achaia. Others understand Sextus Caesar, who was at that time prefect of Syria. D. Cass. 47, 26. Soldan brackets et probatisimum, and omits omnibus, which is to be construed as the dative with probatisimum, as in Planc. 11, 27.

23. Iterum. In the war against Pharmaces, in which Deiotarus took part. B. Alex. 68-77. So Manutius and others; but Orelli refers it to the Alexandrian war.—Tertio. In the African war, c. u. c. 708. See ch. 9.

24. Uterere. Z. 166.

26. Tuumque hostem esse duxit suum. A phrase of frequent occurrence, and, according to Manutius, lepore suo non carens. Compare p. Mil. 32, 88: Cæsaris potentiam suam esse dicebat; and 36, 100: Eam fortunam, quacunque erit tua, ducam meam. Pharmaces, however, was more the enemy of Deiotarus than of Cæsar. Cf. Bell. Alex. 34.

28. Amplissimo honore et regis nomine. A senatu jam rex appellatus erat; sed Cæsar ei, quamquam victo, regis dignitatem servabat. Cf. Bell. Alex. 67. Klotz, Soldan, and Madvig read amp. regis honore et nomine; Benecke, amp. regis nomine offeceris.—Is igitur. The state of the question or case is: the man whom you relieved from every apprehension of danger, and honored most highly, is accused of wishing to assassinate you at his house. This is sufficiently improbable, as he proceeds to show.

30. Domi sue. Z. 400.

31. Quod tu. The first proof of improbability deduced from the personal character of Deiotarus. It would argue downright madness in the most prudent of men. Benecke and Madvig read nisi . . . judicia. Z. 526.

32. Ut enim omittam. He enumerates, by pretending to omit, five marks of improbability: the reverence due to the tutelary gods, the dignity of Cæsar, his fortune, the favors he had bestowed on Deiotarus, the gratitude of Deiotarus, and adds lastly, his danger if he had attempted Cæsar's life.—Cujus tanti = quanti or cujus tam magni. The genitive by Z. 448.

33. Deorum penatium. The tutelary gods of his family.

34. Importunitatis. Barbarity, destitute of all sense of propriety, and regardless of time, place, or person.

35. Ferocitatis. Ferocitas est eujus, qui nimium viribus suis confidit.

37. In eo. In with the accusative signifies the object or that to which the action refers; with the ablative, the place in which the absolute power of the verb is exerted. Cf. 4 Cat. 6, 12: in his hominibus.

38. Omnem regem, &c. Who after the defeat of Pompey had joined Cæsar, and having been kindly treated by him, would reason-
abdy have been expected to avenge his death. Abram enumerates the following: Sadakes, king of Thrace, Cotys, Rhaseopolis, Ariobarzanes, Tarcondimotus, Mithridates Pergamenes, and Ariarathes.

42. Filio. Deiotari regis, et patris et filii, et magnum et nostrum in praecepta exercitus; summa in filio spe, summa ingenii indoles, summa virtus. Phil. 11, 13.—Distractus esset — would have been at variance or discord, would have quarrelled with, fallen out with, &c. Plebique etiam nunc exponunt "discretus, dilaceratus," quum sit "a societate divulsus esset, in maximum odium omnium, etiam conjugis ac filii, incisisset." Hoc patet partim ex indurre coristeo, partim ex eo, quod dicit etiam cogitato seclere futurum suisse, ut distraheretur. Tantam enim crudelitatem Cæsari, apud quem verba facit, imputare non poterat, ut is detecto Deiotari periculo consilio atque occupato, etiam conjugem et filium regis, homines prum innocentes, laceratus, discerpturus, id est, necatusr suisset. Orelli.


Ch. VI.—I. At, credo. An objection. All that you have mentioned as improbable in Deiotarus, becomes easy if he is a rash and inconsiderate man. But quis considerator illo? On at, see Z. 349; and on credo, Z. 777. Consideratus, which is properly said of things, is elsewhere applied to persons. Phil. 2, 13, 31: p. Quint. 3, 11.

2. Quis tector. Benecke, Klotz, and Soldan read and defend quis rectior, which is found in the best MSS. Rectus is to be taken, not in the moral sense of just or honest, but as equivalent to firm, consistent, one whose judgment is correct and sound. But Orelli explains tector as: Metaphora petita ab gladiatoribus, qui, uti debent, contraictus adversariorum sese tegunt. Non igitur inest in his verbis maligne caliditatis reprehensio.


6. Cul porro. Z. 419. Nay, farther; a correction of the preceding sentence: I said that Deiotarus's virtues were known to you; nay, the whole world has heard of them.

8. Quod igitur. He draws the conclusion from the acknowledged probity and prudence of Deiotarus. Instead of audita est, Benecke, Klotz, and Soldan read sit audita. In the next line, for cadere posset, Madvig reads caderet, considering the former as expanded from the latter by some copyist for the sake of perspicuity.

10. Idem. Z. 697.

11. Minume stulto. A species of litotes or meiosis, where an affirmation is made by denying the opposite notion. Comp. p. Cluent. 26, 72: minime amarus is visus est, &c. Similarly, we say, "he is no fool." On vir and homo, spoken of the same person, see note on p. 93, line 34.

13. Suspiciose. Place the charges on one side, the life of Deiotarus on the other, and so far from there being in them grounds for
probability, there are none even for suspicion. This he proceeds to prove.—Inquit, sc. the accuser.—In castellum Luceium. Castellum, a diminutive of castrum, is a fort raised in a territory to defend it against the incursions of an enemy; or on its borders, to guard the passes; or lastly, it formed a part of the regular encampment itself. Owing to the security which these castella afforded, towns were often built near them. Here Luceium is to be taken first, generally as the name of the “castle” adjacent to, but distinct from which was the royal palace. Hence visitors to the palace were said “to come to the castle.” Again, ch. 7, it is taken as the “citadel” or “castle,” properly so called, and as such is visited by Caesar the following day. Orelli regards the name Luceium as corrupt, as Strabo calls it Blovcon.


16. Huc. The place where the gifts were displayed.—E balneo. For the bath before dinner was Roman etiquette.

17. Ibi... In eo ipso loco. The former denotes the place generally, and the latter exegetically more nearly defines it. In eo ipso loco also are to be more closely connected with colocati, so that erant stands by itself, and colocati as in apposition with armati. “For there were armed men, who had been placed in that very spot, for the purpose of killing you.”

18. En crimen, en causa. Z. 403, Note 2.

19. Ego meherculae. The first circumstance connected with the charge, and which shows its improbability, is that a physician was privy to the secret, yet that the sword was preferred to poison. On the form meherculae, see Z. 361, Note.

20. Quum est ad me ista causa delata, et delatum Phidippum... esse corruptum. When that case was laid before me, and it was laid before me, that Phidippus, &c. So Matthew. Benecke more correctly takes the acc. with the infin. as in apposition with causa, for the purpose of more nearly defining wherein this consists. In Cicero, when an acc. c. inf. is governed by an abstract substantive, the substantive usually has a demonstrative pronoun agreeing with it, as in this instance.


27. Primo... deinde. The two advantages of poison: “it is more secret, and has more impunity.” Madvig: primum.

30. Jovis illae quidem hospitallae. Strangers and guests were under the immediate protection of Jupiter, who avenged any injury done to them. Hospitalis = ἤκολος. Benecke, Klotz, and Sordan read Jovis illius quidem, &c.

32. *Quod igitur,* &c. The double interrogation has the force of argumentation. Very likely, forsooth, that Phidippus, who was not trusted in the way of his profession (poison), should be privy to arms, swords and an ambush.


34. *De armis... colore tenolult.* Z. 391, *Note.*

35. *Crimen contextur.* So in Greek, ἡμαν, ἠμα τεῖν, καὶ, ἡματο.

37. *Inspicere,* sc. ea, quibus te Deiotarum munerare constituerat.

38. *Quid posse?* Z. 769. Soldan and Klotz: Deiotarum rex illo tempore non perfecta re continuo, &c.

39. *Dimisit exercitum.* In imitation of the braggart Thraso in the Eunuch of Terence, 4, 7, 44, Cicero here sportively calls the assassins who were placed in ambush the army of Deiotarus. It must have produced a ludicrous effect to address a few hired braves by the dignified appellation of exercitus, and therefore tended to "dilute" the charge by setting it in a ridiculous point of view.

41. *Itaque fecisti = et ita fecisti;* and you did return thither after supper. See note on p. 15, line 37.

42. * Magnum fuit!* Would it have been a difficult matter, with a tinge of irony.

43. *Comiter et Jucunde suisses.* Z. 365, in fin. It is the language of familiar confidential intimacy.—*Ipsi* from eo, ire.

1. *Rex Attalus.* King of Pergamus, the third of the name of King of Pergamus, the third of the name, who, A. v. C. 621, made the Roman people his heir. Liv. *Epit.* 57, mentions a similar circumstance of Antiochus, king of Syria; and since we have no information of such presents made by Attalus, some have supposed that we should read here Antiochus. Neutiquam cum Ursino b. l. *Antiochus* reponendum neque de Ciceronis ipsius άμάταται μενονικάς *cognitandum: nam ab Attalo non minus quam* ab Antioco, *et simili quidem ratione,* munera accipere potuit Scipio. Orelli.—*P. Africanum.* Africanus minor. He carried these gifts into the public treasury, and promised to reward them with the bravest of his army.

2. *Ad Numantiam.* In Spain, where Scipio was then commanding. What does *ad* with names of towns signify? Z. 398, Note.

3. *Inspectante.* Indicating the attention of the observers.

4. *Regio et animo et mora,* i. e. *maximo splendore et liberalitate.*

5. *Repete... memoriae,* pone... diem... recordare. Notice the arrangement of the clauses. The first and second in anaphorical order, the third *chiasmically.*

7. *Num quae.* Z. 136. Dropping the interrogative form, it = plane multa. So *num quid,* sc. *fuit, factum est,* with *nei.* since in *num* the notion of negation lies. Z. 735.
10. Disciplina. Every thing was in keeping with a well-regulated family, and none of that hurry and disturbance inseparable from the execution of guilty enterprises.

14. Acta res criminose est. This thing was brought forward as an important part of the accusation; the accusers made it the subject of the gravest charges.

15. Vomere post cernam, i. e. έπρομαχείγαρος, as he calls it, ad Att. 13, 52. This was a frequent practice with the ancients, and particularly with Caesar, as appears from the letter just quoted: Accubuit (Caesar), έπρομαχείγαρος ηγαβατ. Itaque et edit et bibit αυτός et jugando; opipare sane et apparte. This disgusting practice did not argue Caesar a drunkard; for Suetonius, Jul. 55, says, vini parcellinum ne inimici quidem negaverunt. It was rather to relieve himself from indigestion after an official entertainment, and a sort of compliment to Deiotarus, intimating that he intended to pass the evening cheerfully with him. Seneca, alluding to this custom of voluptuaries, says, ad Helv. 9, Vomunt ut edant, edunt ut vomant.


17. In cubiculo malle. Supply vomere. So also Madvig. Others, in cubiculum te ire malle dixisti.—Dii te perduint. A common formula of imprecation which is often found in the comic poets. Z. 162.

18. Fugttive. A term of reproach of frequent occurrence. Here, however, with special reference to the faithless slave. Benecke reads, ita non modo improbus, et fatuus, sed etiam amens es.

19. Signa senea, and not men rather.

20. Quae . . . . transferri non possent. That they could not be removed, &c. Z. 556.

21. Habes crimina insidiarum. There are the charges for you; and you may judge of their importance! Compare in Pison. § 53: Habes reditum meum.—Horum . . . . eram consicis. Phidippus conceived that evidence of his being in the secret should establish the credit of all that he had said. Cicero denies that Deiotarus would in that case have trusted Phidippus to visit Rome, where Castor his hostile grandson was, and also the much-injured Caesar.

22. Quid tum. Z. 769.


25. Cui fecisset. According to their account.—Præsertim quum. An instance of brachylogy, in reference to the negative import of the preceding question, where Romam mitteret = non mitteret cum Romam, præsertim quum, &c. So also p. Arch. 9, 19; p. Mil. 30, 81. Render: and that, when or although, &c.

cogitaret Caesarem unum esse in orbe terrarum, qui judicare de se (Deiotaro) etiam absente regnoque se spoliare posset; alii vero judices, quos absens reformidaret, nulli erant. Orelli. Benecke, Steinmetz, and Klotz read vindicare. With this reading, is refers to Phidippus, and se is the accusative after vindicare; also, referring to the same. Sulpici and Madvig read indicare. And that too, notwithstanding he (Phidippus) was the only man who could give information in Rome against him in his absence. For had Deiotarus been present, he would have been able to refute the charges of Phidippus. Sulpici regards se as a gloss which might easily have arisen from the preceding syllable te.


30. Scire. Not sciasae; for they still knew, and it is the same as qua illi sciebant, ut dicis.

Ch. VIII.—31. Reliqua pars. The first part of the charge was the attempted assassination of Caesar; the rest of it argued only disaffection towards him: 1. In attending too much to unfavorable rumors about Caesar; 2. In levying a large army against him. The latter point (with which he connects the charge of holding a correspondence with one Cassius, a Pompeian, as also of supplying Caesar with inferior cavalry) he answers first in the remainder of this section. —Regem semper in speculis fuisse. Speculum in quo spectum imaginem, specula de qua prospecimus. Varr. 5, 8. Esse in speculis = to be on the watch, to observe. So in Verr. 1, 16, 46: nunc homines in speculis sunt; observant, quemadmodum esse unusquisque ventrum gerat. Cf. p. Muren. 37, 79; ad Att. 9, 10; ad Fam. 4, 3. See § 25.


34. Eas . . quibus . . posset = tales . . ut is, &c. Z. 556.

36. Ab excursionibus et latrocinis. After these words Madvig gives hostium.

38. Antea. Before Caesar deprived him of part of his dominions. When Cicero was proconsul of Cilicia, Deiotarus brought to his assistance thirty cohorts of infantry and two thousand cavalry. Ad Att. 6, 1, 14.—Exiguas. Absolutely small or trifling; but parvas relatively so. Hence its propriety here. This is said to move Caesar's pity.

39. Cecillium. Q. Cecilius Bassus, a Pompeian, noticed, ad Fam. 12, 18; and Liv. Epit. 127. He spread a report that Caesar had been defeated and killed in Africa, and seized the government of Syria, which he held till the arrival of Cassius. Cicero, to suit his purpose, speaks of him here contemptuously, as also ad Fam. 12, 18; but Phil. 11, 13, he says, Est Q. Cecilii Bassi, privati illius quidem, sed fortis et praecleri viri, robustus et victor exercitus. With
him, however, Deiotarus was accused of attempting to open a communication, and of imprisoning the messenger for refusing to go. To this Cicero replies ironically, “What a likely story, forsooth, that he had not others to send (if they refused); or, that the persons whom he had sent, did not obey his orders; or, (lastly,) that those who in so important a matter had disobeyed him, were imprisoned (only) and not put to death!”—Nescio quem. Z. 553.

43. Dicto audientes. See Arnold’s Nepos, Lys. 1, 2. Klotz and Soldan: dicto obedientes.—In tanta re. Namely, waging war against Caesar.

1. Utrum, &c. When Deiotarus sent messengers to Cæcilius, he must either have been ignorant that the Pompeian cause was ruined (causam illam victam), or have conceived Cæcilius an important man; neither of which is at all likely. Therefore he did not send them:

2. Is, quæ. Deiotarus, who as possessing an accurate knowledge of every Roman, must despise Cæcilius. For if he knows him, he despises his insignificance; if he does not, he despises him for not attracting his notice. Cf. Phil. 2, 7, 16: O miser sive ita tibi nota non sunt... sive sunt, &c. Ibid. 22, 54: O miserum te si intelligis, miseriorem, si non intelligis, &c. Benecke, Klotz, Süpfe, and Madvig read, vel quia non nosset, vel si nosset.

4. Addit. Namely, the accuser.—Illud. Z. 748.

5. Misisset, &c. against Pharmaces.—Nil ad. Z. 296, in fin. Benecke, Klotz, and Süpfe retain the common text: Vetere, credo, Caesar; and Benecke takes the words as spoken ironically, “his old ones, forsooth;” and nihil ad tuum equitantum, as an enlargement, which Cicero makes on the preceding sentence, equites non optimos misisset; but Klotz and Süpfe better understand vetere as = veterans, those who had seen service and received their discharge, taking the sentence without irony. The reading, however, of Madvig, which Orelli adopted, is preferable.


7. Servum judicatum. Slaves were not allowed by the Romans to serve as soldiers, particularly in the cavalry. Servius, ad Aen. 9, 547: Lege militari servii a militia prohibebantur; unde et in Deiotariana purgat hoc Cicero, quum fuisset objectum, inter equites, quos Deiotarus miserat Caesar, unum servum fuisset. Servos sane nunc quam militiae constat nisi servitute deposita, excepto Hannibal tempore, quum post Cannense praelium in tanta necessitate fuit urbs Roma, ut ne liberandorum quidem servorum daretur facultas. Marcius, in Fr. 11, Dig. 49, 16: Ab omni militia servi prohibentur i.quin capite puniuntur.
CH. X.—10. Attem autem a te animo quomodo? The former secondary charge, which he now proceeds to answer. The common text and punctuation gives, animo fuit. Quomodo? Speravit, &c.—Speravit, credo, &c. Had Deiotarus been disaffected towards Caesar, finding him beset with difficulties in Alexandria, he would have neglected to lend him assistance. The reverse was the fact. Credo is ironical. For with the taking of Alexandria, Caesar had overcome his greatest difficulties. "He hoped, forsooth, that you should never extricate yourself;" i.e. he hoped no such thing, as his conduct proved.

11. Propter regionum naturam et fluminis. See Cæs. B. C. 3, 112; Bell. Alex. 25–32. On the order it should be observed that the common notion naturam takes the middle place, and that the words et fluminis have the character of a supplementary afterthought. In other passages this arrangement seems chosen to avoid the coming together of like endings. Cf. p. Marcel. § 24: in tanto animorum ardore et armorum; § 32: laterum nostrorum oppositum et corporum pollicemur.

12. Pecuniam dedit. He had said above, ch. 5, Utilitatis tuae parasit.


14. Victori. In Egypt. Deiotarus not only entertained Caesar, but accompanied him against Pharmaces, bringing along his "Roman" legion and all his cavalry. B. Alex. 67. Benecke and Klotz read sed ad periculum atque aciem; and Madvig omits the ad before aciem, but retains etiam.

16. Bellum Africanum. Caesar, after his speedy conquest of Pontus, delaying only a few days in Italy, proceeded to Africa, where Scipio and Cato with Ca. Pompey the son, assisted by king Juba, had hoisted the standard of the republic.—Graves de te rumores. The republican forces had gained some slight advantages in Africa, which, being exaggerated by their friends into a report that Caesar was killed, gave a color to Cæcilius and others to renew the war in Syria.

17. Quo tum rex animo fuit? Z. 471. A triumphant argument of his friendly feelings towards Caesar. The graves rumores had no other effect on Deiotarus than to quicken his benevolence. His very furniture was put to the hammer, and the proceeds remitted to Caesar. As auctionor is deponent, bona, supellectilem, or the like is understood.

18. Auctionatus sit. . . . maluerit. Z. 555, 564.

19. At eo . . . tempore. Cicero had instanced the sacrifices of Deiotarus. The accuser urges that these were the effect of fear, because at that very time, Deiotarus was collecting every idle rumor to Caesar's disadvantage. As Cicero could not deny this, he fixed on an
improbable circumstance in the charge, and against it directs the shafts of his eloquence.

20. Nicea. Nice was the capital of Bithynia, situated on the lake Ascania. It was the central point of all the main roads leading to eastern and southern Asia, and remarkable as being the town where the first general council was held, A.D. 325. Hence the Nicene creed.—Ephesus. A city of Asia Minor, remarkable for populousness. Plin. 5, 27, calls it lumen Asiae. It and Nicea were much resorted to, and likely to have the earliest intelligence from Africa.—Qui rumores exciperent. Hence the accusation in ch. 8: regem... in speculis fuisse. The subjunctive by Z. 567.


22. Domitius. After the defeat of Pharnaces, Domitius stayed a short time to arrange the affairs of Asia, and then followed Caesar to Africa. It was reported that he was lost on the voyage thither.—Perissae. Z. 160, and Note.


26. Quod ille. He shows that Deiotarus's disposition forbade the idea of his repeating so unfeeling a verse. But this is very doubtful, as it is stated by Plutarch, de Stoic. repugn. 32, that he was very cruel (see Introduction, p. 311, in fin.); and by Strabo, 12, that he put to death his daughter and her husband, Saondarius.

27. Qu. Z. 133, Note.

28. Amicus... Inimicius. For the king's application of the verse was, Pereat Domitius dum una Caesar intercidat. Cicero shows that the double character of friend to Domitius and enemy to Caesar was a contradiction; therefore he could not have uttered the verse.—Tibi inimicus. And again, the verse assumed that Caesar was inimicus Deiotaro; but this could not be, as Deiotarus was the recipient of innumerable favors from Caesar.

29. Belli legi. As fighting against him in Pharsalia.


31. Quid deinde? Z. 769.—Furcifer. Phidippus, who as being a fugitive slave, was liable to the punishment of carrying on his neck a furca, or species of cross.

32. Hac laetitia = hujus rei laetitia; namely, at hearing of Caesar's disasters. Both the relative and the demonstrative pronoun often attach themselves to a following substantive, and agree with it in gen-
113. Nudum saltavisse. In Pison. 10: Quum ipse nudus in convicio saltaret; p. Muren. 6, 13: Nemo enim fere saltet sobrius, nisi forte insanit, ... neque in convicio moderato atque honesto. Hence appears the infamy attached by the Romans to dancing. See Dict. Antiq. Saltatio, in fin.—Nudum. Thinly clad, the outer garment thrown off. So Virg. Georg. 1, 299: Nudus ara, sere nudus, where nudus answers to the γυμνός in Hesiod's verse, from which this is taken.—Crux. This punishment was chiefly inflicted on slaves and the worst kind of malefactors. See Dict. Antiq. Caux.


37. Frugalitas, as below frugi, is said of a man who by discretion, conscientiousness, and diligence, qualifies himself to be useful in practical life, in opposition to nequum, like ἡμιφροῦς. Doed.

38. Regem. The common text gives reges. On the singular, see Z. p. 268, Note t.—Frugi. The dative of frux used adjectively instead of frugalis, and often applied to faithful slaves.

39. Fortem, &c. Fortem, in facing dangers; justum, in giving every man his own; severum, in being swayed neither by prayers nor bribes from rectitude; gravem, in maintaining equanimity of temper, neither elated too much by prosperity, nor depressed by adversity; magnanimum, in looking with disdain on all the petty greatness of common men; largum, in exhibiting bountiful liberality; beneficium, in doing good for its own sake; and liberalem, in bestowing with a noble and generous spirit.

40. Hæ ... illa. Z. 372.

41. Ila privata est. Frugality is the virtue of the subject, the former σαρ' ḳηστιν of the king; and to obviate any mistake he defines it by modestiam et temperantiam. Manutius thinks Cicero insincere in this praise, and that he calls the cause tenuem et inopem, in allusion to this stinginess.

43. Hæc ... ab inunete ætate. He reasons thus: Deiotaros was engaged from his youth up, in performing all the public and private duties of a monarch. Such persons are not likely to disgrace their old age by dancing. Therefore, neither did Deiotaros.

92 1. A cuncta Asia, i.e. inolis Asia minoris h. e. Phrygiae, Mycia, Caria, Lydiae; and therefore the preposition. Z. 451. On the repetition of the preposition, see note on p. 18, line 5. The common text is tum a cuncta Asia.


3. Multis ille quidem. Benecke, Soldan, and Klotz multie
ORATION FOR KING DEIOTARUS.

quidem ille, because not ille but multis is to be made prominent. But see note on p. 22, line 2; and compare § 18: Jovis ille quidem; and p. Lig. 11, 31: tribue tu quidem.—Gradibus . . . . ascendit. “Degrees.” The services of Deiotarus towards Rome became greater and greater. Similarly, p. Mil. 36, 97: cujus (glorias) gradibus . . . . ascendere.

5. Quidquid . . . . vacabat. Whatever leisure he had, he spent in forming connections, &c. Quidquid, sc. temporis.


7. Tetrarches. Not only the governor of the fourth part of a kingdom, but the sole ruler of any country which was at any time so divided. So Hirt. B. Alex. 67: Deiotarus tetrarches Gallograeciae tunc quidem paene totius, to which the other tetrarchs questioned his right.

8. Paterfamilias. A master of slaves; the father of a family. It differs from pater in not necessarily implying the having of children. It often, as here, imports a careful person, an economist.—Agricola. In how great honor agriculture was among ancient kings, appears from the Cato Major, ch. 17. Of kings who wrote on husbandry, Hiero, Attalus Philometor, and Archelaus are mentioned by Pliny, Varro, and Columella. Varro too, de re rust. 1, 1, 11, says: Magonis Panis libros de re rustica utiliter ad sex libros redigit Diophanes in Bithynia, et misit Deiotarum regi. It is besides well known that royal youths were often brought up among shepherds, and in the midst of flocks and herds—Pecuarius. A grazier; also a farmer of the public pastures. The antiquity and respectability of the shepherd is evidenced by the Shepherd Kings, by the epithets of τουλυφυς, τουλυβοντυς, &c., applied by the ancient poets to the most illustrious characters, and by the transference of the very name of shepherd to the highest office known among men, ποιμήν λαώς. See Varr. de re rust. 2, 1.

9. Quo igitur, &c. P. C. p. 251, 74, 2; Z. 805. The conclusion of his argument; in which adolescens is opposed to ea aetate, i.e. old age; nondum tanta gloria praeditus to ea existentiatione; and secerisse . . . . fecerit ita saltavit; where the first and second in each, are, it will be observed, in an inverted order, not the third. Similarly, ad Fam. 11, 28, 5: An, quod adolescens praestiti, quam eiam errare cum excusatione possem, id nunc, aetate praecipitata, commutem ac me ipsa retegam.

Ca. X.—12. Imitari, Castor. Cicero, p. Rabir. post. 1, says that it is almost a gift of nature for people to follow up the praise and glory of their family; not so Castor. Benecke, Klotz, and Madvig omit tui after avi.
14. Saltatorem avum. If your grandfather had been a professor of dancing, which he was not, yet ought his years to have exempted him from this railing accusation. For even his laudable pursuits, his military exercise and horsemanship are given over; much less is he fitted for dancing.


18. Sed bene ut armis...uteretur. The construction is varied from sed bene armis...equi utendi, which would accord with saltandi. Horsemanship was the first branch of a princely education.

19. Exacta se tate. Eight years before, when Deiotarus assisted Crassus, he was an old man; and Dion Cass. calls him ἐρατόσθενος when he aided Brutus.


21. Hic vero adolescens, i.e. Castor, who was in Cicero's army in Cilicia, when he was carrying on war, A. u. c. 703, against the Cilician mountaineers, and in Pompey's in Greece. Therefore his accomplishments were well known to Cicero.

24. Pater. Saonondarius, the son-in-law of Deiotarus; Cicero keeps him before Caesar's mind as being once as great a foe as Deiotarus.

25. Quos concursus. What crowds were collected to look at him! Cicero designedly leaves their motive in collecting dubious, but the following words sufficiently show that it was to ridicule him.

26. In illa causa. Pompeii. As Cicero mentioned the father, so he takes care to set forth the alacrity of the young Pompeian, of which he had himself been witness.

27. Concedere = cedere, to yield to.—Quum vero exercitu, &c. The reading here is doubtful. Orelli's agrees with Madvig's, except that M. gives fuisse instead of fui. Benecke from the Erf. MS. reads, Quum vero exercitu amissos et cupiditate post Pharsallicum praelium suasor fuisse armorum non ponendorum, &c. Klotz: Quum vero exercitu amissos, ego, qui pacis auctor semper fui, post Pharsalicum autem praelium suasor fuisse armorum non deponentorum, &c. Pompey had about 15,000 men killed, and more than 24,000 taken prisoners. Cæs. B. C. 3, 99.

29. Adjiciendorum. Without making any terms. This word shows his eagerness to terminate the civil war. He uses the same in writing to Marcellus.—Ad meam auctoritatem. As Cicero could not prevail on Castor to desist from war, owing to his military ardor and his wish to satisfy his father, we may infer that both father and son were determined foes of Caesar.
31. *Ipsum bellii*, i.e. without regarding the good of the cause. But Benecke takes it as *ejus ipsius*, Cicero having already spoken of Castor's zeal in the cause of Pompey. In this case *ipsae* commonly stands before its substantive; and if Cicero had spoken of war in general, he would have said *belli ipsius*. Madvig reads *illius*.

32. *Felix ista domus*. Cicero compares the fortunes of the two families, in order to excite odium against the one, and pity towards the other. They were both in Pharsalia. Mark the consequence. Castor is not only restored to Caesar's favor, but permitted to accuse others. Deiotarus is allowed to be arraigned by one who was in Pharsalia as well as he, who is his own grandson, and before Caesar, at once the injured party and the judge.

33. *Calamitoseus Deiotarus*. The † shows that the passage is doubtful. Benecke from some MSS. gives *qui et ab eo*, which Hand, *Thrs.* 2, p. 521, approves. Recta sententia unica inest in ea, quam olim proposui, conjectura: *qui non modo ab eo, qui in iisdem castris fuerit, apud te, sed etiam a suis accusetur*. Orelli.

35. *Vos vestra*. *Vestra* answers to the preceding *ista domus*, and includes Castor and his father.

Ch. XI.—38. *Sint sane inimitis*. Admit the existence of enmity between the families, which gratitude and piety forbid, still you might have entertained it like human beings, and not be thirsting for blood like savage beasts.

40. *Quis tuum patrem . . . qui esset . . . audivit*. See note on p. 56, line 15; and p. 70, line 1. For *qui esset* some MSS. give *quis esset*. What is the difference? See Arnold's Nepos, Themist. 8, 6, 2, p. 105.

42. *Ingrate et impie*. *Ingrate* alludes to the favor, *impie* to the tie of relationship.

43. *Hominum more*, i.e. in an open and honest manner; *not* to prefer false charges; *not* to seek to take away the life, &c.

44. *Capitis arescere.* Z. 446, 447.—*Esto*. It might be supposed that Cicero having convicted Castor of *in gratiitude* and *impiety*, should be obliged to stop there, as crimes so heinous hardly admitted of amplification. But here his art appears in seeming to accede all this as trivial, that he may charge Castor with attempting to shake the foundations of human society, and to declare war against mankind. Compare ch. 1, 3: *non tam afflictam regiam conditionem dolem, quam de fortunis communibus extimescebam*.

1. *Adeone*. Supply *concedi debet* from the preceding. Benecke and Klotz, in this line, read *acerbitatis et odii*.

4. *Abducere domum*. To entice Philippus from the legates of Deiotarus to your house.


7. *A tanta auctoritate = ab homine tantas auctoritatis* Camp.
93 note on p. 69, line 19. Such is Caesar's authority, that approbation is implied in impunity being permitted.

9. Id, quod intus est. Namely, the slaves who reside in our families. Spoken contemptuously.

10. Evolare = in vulgus proferri, sed cum animi levitate. Cf. emanare, Orat. 15, 47; erumpere, Phil. 2, 39, 100; Lact. 21, 76.—Fit in dominatu, &c. It makes a slave of the master, a master of the slave.

11. O tempora. How changed! O mores. How unlike what they were! He proves both by comparing Domitius and Castor.

12. Cn. Domitius. Ahenobarbus. He was consul, a. u. c. 658, with C. Cassius Longinus, and censor with L. Crassus, the orator. Scaurus had refused to choose him among the augurs. He, therefore, in return, accused Scaurus of not duly attending to the worship of the Penates in Lavinium. Plutarch reverses the names in this transaction; but Valerius Maximus, 6, 5, corroborates Cicero's statement, and adds, quem populus tum propter alias virtutes, tum hoc nomine libertius et consulem et censorem et pontificem maximum fecit. Perhaps he owed his popularity no less to a law by which he gave the people a voice in the election of priests. See Asconius, in Scaur p. 21, ed. Baiter, who says, absolutus est Scaurus quidem, sed icti, ut a tribus tribubus damnametur, a xxii absolveretur, et in eis punica puncta inter damnationem et absolutionem interesserat.

13. M. Scaurus, sc. Æmilius. He was consul, a. u. c. 639.—Principem civitatis. The title of princeps senatus, which the censors had six times conferred on him, he here varies by saying, princeps civitatis.—In judicium populi. The judicia populi were those in which the populus acted as judices. They were originally held in the Comitia Curatiata, and subsequently in the Centuriata and Tributa. See Dict. Antiq. Judex.

16. Prehendi hominem. Benecke, Klotz, and Madvig: apprehendi.—Hominem, for the demonstrative pronoun referring to the preceding servus, with the accompanying notion of contempt, which may be derived from its frequent use to denote one of the servile condition. P. Tull. § 19: Cati .... duo homines; p. Quinct. 19, 61: hominem Quinctii; and in the language of the jurists, without any connection with the name of the master; e.g. homo Stichus, hominem emere.


18. Est et unique .... compare. For Domitius was a man of character and honor, not so Castor. So in Pisae, 4, 7, comparing Metellus Celer and Pisae, he says, facio iurisiam fortissimo viro mortuo, qui illum cujus paucos pares haec civitas tulit, cum haec impertuna bellus conferam.

22. At semel, &c. The MSS. here appear uniform, but Weiske
suspects some mistake, and would correct the text. This seems unnecessary. The imputation on Castor is this: that after Phidippus had received his first bribe, and given his testimony, he acknowledged before respectable witnesses that it was false, and that he had been corrupted. But he now persists in the same tale. The inference drawn by Cicero is, that the bribe must have been repeated.

23. Ad legatos. Namely, Hieras, Blesamius, and Antigonus, a quorum pedibus per te abstractus erat.

24. Nonne etiam ad hunc Cn. Domitium. Probably the same Domitius who is mentioned, ch. 5, as a general of Caesar’s. Sulpicius is the celebrated lawyer, a friend of Cicero, and zealous adherent of Caesar. They were both present on this occasion, as may be inferred from the use of the pronoun hic. So below, ch. 14: *huc Blesamio; p. Arch. 9: hujus proavus Cato.* Benecke, Klotz, and Madvig omit etiam. Orelli says: Servavi cum Cod. Bern. v. etiam; videlet significat, “vel ad ipsum Cn. Domitium, Caesaris amicum, venisse Phidippum, sui indicii jamjam prestantem.”

26. T. Torquato. The Torquatus here mentioned is uncertain. Orelli, in his Onomasticon, makes him the son of A. Torquatus, or of the Titus who is mentioned in Brut. 70, 245; and p. Planc. 11, 27.

Ch. XII.—29. Impotens. The common text gives impudens, which Orelli supposes was substituted by copyists for the true reading, from ignorance of the sense which impotens here has. Compare Phil. 5, 9, 24: impotentem, iracundum, contumeliosum, superbum, semper poscentem, semper rapientem, semper ebrium. Impotens in such cases is not = weak, but ungovernable, violent, tyrannical.

30. Idcirco . . . ut. See note on p. 26, line 7.—*In hanc urbem . . . hujus urbis.* The repetition is for emphasis. In line 32, the MSS. give inhumanitate for immanitate, and so Benecke, Klotz, and Madvig read. Frotscher prefers inhumanitate.

31. Domestica = Asiatic and barbarous.

33. At quam acute collecta. Ironically, for Castor’s charges were rather an invective against the tyranny of Caesar than an injurious accusation of Deiotarus. Compare ch. 6, 19: *At quam festive crimen contextit.—Blesamius,* with Hieras and Antigonus, formed the embassy sent by Deiotarus to plead his cause before Caesar. See ch. 15. Him the accusers pretended to be a spy.

34. Enim has an ironical force = forsooth. Ironia in eo posta est, quod causa aff Curtur rei, quam falcum vel absurdum esse omnem scient.—Optimi viri. So also Madvig. Benecke, Soldan, and Klotz: optimi hominum. On the difference between homo and vir, see Arnold’s Nepos, Paus. 1, 1. Vir is said of man in his relations to the state and to civic virtues, as a good citizen or patriot; homo is man as an individual or person, or with reference to his relations in private life and to social virtues. They often stand together, and the epithets of vir are
93 bonus, optimus, clarissimus; while homo doctissimus, pereruditus, moderatissimus, officiosus, &c., are common. Though, therefore, bonus homo and optimus homo are not often found, at least in Cicero, Benecke contends, that as optimi viri here would refer to patriotic virtues, optimi hominis is allowable and suitable in this passage as referring to moral and social qualities. Doederlein conjectures, viri optimi nec tibi ignoti hominis.—Maledicebat, &c. Phidippus did; by repeating slanders of his own invention as if uttered by Blesamius. The slanders were: 1. That Caesar was disliked by the people, and considered a tyrant; 2. That the placing of his statue in the capital among those of the ancient kings of Rome had given general offence; 3. That he was not applauded at the public games and theatres.

35. Scribere solebat. Namely, from Rome; for it would appear that the embassy had reached Rome from the king some time before the trial came on. Before scribere the MSS. repeat inquit, which Benecke, Soldan, and Klotz retain; and Benecke reads te invideoe tyrannum existimari.

36. Statua inter reges posita. This statue is noticed by Suet. Ces. 76, and had in fact given public offence. It was erected in the capitol, where were statues of the seven kings of Rome and of Brutus. See Dion Cass. 43, 45.

37. Plaudi. The great, and those who enjoyed the favor of the people, were commonly received with applause in the theatre. See ad Att. 3, 44.

39. Blesamius ... scriberet. Blesamius write that Caesar was a tyrant! Impossible. See Z. 530 and 552.

40. Multorum enim capita. Here enim occurs again with an ironical force, and may be rendered “perhaps.” See below, § 34: valde enim invidendum est, &c.; and p. Arch. 5, 11, Est enim obscurem. From this description of what a tyrant’s acts would be, we are to infer that Caesar was not a tyrant.—Capita, sc. abscessa, truncata.

42. Armatis militibus refertum forum. For Appian, B. C. 2, 107, says that Caesar removed from his person the praetorian cohorts, which during the war had attended him as guards, satisfied with the civic attendants; and Vell. Paterc. 2, 57, that when warned to guard an empire by arms, which arms had acquired, he replied, Mori se quam timeri malle. See Plut. Ces. 57; and Suet. Ces. 86.—Quas ... sensimus, ea ... non vidimus. Benecke and Klotz, with the Erf. MS., omit ea, and thus the quae refers to the preceding, and belongs to both sensimus and vidimus, and the two clauses are antithetical, without the adversative conjunction.

43. In civili victoria. He has in mind such as those of Marius and Sulla.

44. Solus, inquam, ea, ... cujus ceciderit. Z. 561 and 583
3. In victoria ductimus. Benecke and Klotz: in vict. ducem vidimus.—Qui vivit in regna, i.e. who is the subject of a despotic monarch; opposed to nos liberis.

4. Nam de statua. Nam is not used here for simple transition, but to introduce a trifling matter hardly worth mentioning. Schultz gives jam, as proposed by Döderlein.

5. Quum tam multas vident. Besides the one spoken of as set up in the capitol, where the statues of the kings and Brutus stood, there were two others before the rostra in the forum, which being a much more conspicuous (clarior) site than where the royal statues were placed, ought to excite odium still more, if odium there were. Respecting the erection of these and other statues to Cæsar, see Dion Cass. 44, 23.

6. Enim. The turn is ironical = non valde invidendum est.—Tropæis. Quæ majorem illi laudem afferunt, quum una statua.—Invidimus. Soldan and Madvig: invidemus.


8. De plausu. His answer is threefold: 1. You never courted popular applause, therefore no wonder if it is not bestowed; 2. Men’s minds were so astounded by your exploits that they were incapable of raising their voice; 3. The people omitted it, because it was trite and unworthy of you.

Ch. XIII.—13. Nihil, &c. Before so consummate a rhetorician as Cæsar, it was useless to have recourse to the ordinary rules, one of which is to conceal every appearance of art. Cicero, therefore, affects to make a display of art to conceal it more effectually.

14. Extremam . . . partem. The peroration, the fittest place for discussing the most important point.—Id autem aliquid. Compare p. Lig. 7, 22: is tamen aliquis Ligarius non fuit. So Terent. Andr. 2, 1, 14: Id aliquid nihil est. Cicero, wishing to reconcile the parties, has first to show that there is no cause for resentment on either side. With regard to Cæsar, he assumes that what he has urged is enough to allay his angry feelings (non . . . metuo, ne illi tu successe); it remained to show that he had no grounds to suspect that any such were harbored by Deiotarus. His reasons are: 1. Deiotarus is sensible that what he lost he deserved to lose, nay, that Cæsar was compelled to make the vanquished assist him in rewarding his brave associates, and to this no reasonable man could object. And if Antiochus the Great bore similar treatment with equanimity, much more should a petty sovereign like Deiotarus. Besides, he had the support
The consciousness of suffering for an involuntary error, not so Antiochus. He owed to Caesar's generosity what he retained, his hereditary dominions and regal title, which latter was to him every thing. He had two sources of consolation left, of which he could not be deprived; the decrees of the Roman generals and senate in his favor, and the consciousness of his own virtue. These he illustrates in § 37. He has a letter from Caesar himself encouraging him to hope for the best, ch. 14, by which he was greatly cheered and inspired. All this shows that Deiotarus is fully sensible of his obligations to Caesar, and is therefore deserving of being received into his friendship.

16. Metue, ne . . . . vereor, ne. Z. 533.—Illud vereor. Z. 748.


18. Quid enim retineat. His life, name of king, and part of Galatia.—Quid amiserit. Armonia and the tetrarchy of the Trocmi.

20. Multis siti multa esse tribuenda. Z. 651. Dion Cass. 43, 47, relates that Caesar chose fourteen prætors, forty questores, and increased the number of senators to nine hundred. Σελειτινος ἀνὴρ εἶχεν θεῖον ἕδρον ἐφὶ δίδω ἄμπιγματι.—Quominus . . . sumeres, non recusavit. Z. 543.


23. L. Scipion. The brother of Africanus Major, who was his lieutenant in this war.

24. Quae est nunc nostra provincia. This portion of Asia, after the defeat of Antiochus, the Romans had given to Attalus, after whose death it fell by his will to the Romans.

26. Nimis magna procuratione. The care of too extensive dominions. If Antiochus so consoled himself for such losses, a fortiori may Deiotarus; for the one madly attacked the Roman people at the instigation of Hannibal and the Étolians, the latter followed Pompey, as seeming his cause the better. Deiotarus therefore has innocence on his side. For esse factum, Benecke, Klotz, and Madvig read factum esse.

28. Multam sustulerat = penam dederat. Benecke, Klotz, and Soldan read sustinuerat, which is the reading of many MSS. Madvig and Orelli adopt sustulcrat from Ced. Col., and Madvig r-
sers to the similar phrase in de Nat. Deor. 3, 33, 82. See Z. 213, Note.

29. Quum . . . concessit. See note on p. 69, line 40.

33. Ne fortuna quidem. Because he possesses many things over which fortune has no control, the decrees of your generals, the votes of the senate, he is able to defy her power.

34. Peperisse. Klotz: reperisse; which Frötscher approves, citing Terent. Heaut. 1, 1, 59; and referring to Kritz ad Sull. Jug. 70, § 2, p. 374, sq.

35. Habere in animo atque virtute. Habere in virtute, which is an unusual expression, is softened here by being joined to habere in animo, which is a common expression. Hae duo conjungit, ut et velle cum res magnas, et prestare possese signifiaret. The bona animi as opposed to the bona corporis, or external good, are here understood.

36. Quis casus. Z. 134, Note.

37. Omnium imperatorum. Cf. Phil. 11, 13, 33; where in this connection, Sulla Murena, Servilius, Lucullus, and Pompey are mentioned.

38. Ab omnibus est enim ipsius ornatus. Benecke, Soldan, and Madvig: ab omnibus enim est ornatus; Klotz: ab omnibus enim or- natus est.

40. Senatus vero judicata, &c. Such decrees of the senate were kept in the public archives in the capitol, and the assembled people gave its sanction to them.

42. Quae unquam vetustas obruet, &c.? Temporis vetustas, hominum oblivio.

1. Quae. Z. 372.—Omnes docti. The Peripatetics and Stoics. Cicero adds in explanation sapientes, which very often = philosophers. —Summa. Plato, Aristotle, and others, divided good into pleasure, utility, and virtue; and called virtue chief, in comparison of the others; but the Stoics, denying that any thing had a right to come into comparison with virtue, declared it the sole good. Cf. p. Marcel. 6.

2. Hisque. And that, with these (in the opinion of the Stoics) virtue is well content, &c.—Non modo ad bene, for this they all confess.—Sed etiam ad beate, i.e. jucundae et feliciter, and this the Peripatetics deny. See Tusc. Disp. lib. 5.

7. Acceptatam rerum. Sets down to the account of your clemency; a metaphor from keeping accounts.

Ch. XIV.—S. Quo quidem animo. As above, ch. 13, magno et erecto, a mind fortified by reflecting on what fortune had left as well as taken away, and on its own virtues.—Quum . . . tum. See note on p. 85, line 1.

9. Quarum exemplum. A copy of which, namely, the one which you, &c.

10. Tarracense. A city of Hispania Tarraconensis, from which
the district was so named. After the subjugation of the Pompeyans, Caesar appears to have given audience there to the ambassadors of the several states, and among them to Blessamius, who had been sent thither by Deiotarus to adjust his interests with Caesar.—_Huius Blessamio._ Who is now present, waiting the issue of this trial. Cicero here intends to remind Caesar of his promise.


13. Memini...scribere. Compare p. Lig. 3, 7; and see Z. 589.

14. Meque...esse jussum. Z. 607.

15. Laboro equidem. But knowing _causes rogantium apud te gratiosiores esse quam preces,_ p. Lig. 11, I shall tell you my reasons for being interested for Deiotarus. Observe that below, _laboro_ takes the preposition _de._ See Z. 452.—_Quocum, &c._ Cicero takes the highest ground; “I loved him because he was the friend of my country.” Then follow the steps to _summa necessitudo._

16. Voluntas utrisque. For _hospitium_ was often a matter of form, or the _inclination_ was all on one side. Not so here.

18. Officia. While Cicero was proconsul of Cilicia.—_Et in me._ Benecke, Klotz, Soldan, and Madvig omit _et._

19. Sed quum de illo. Cicero wishes to set the case on the widest foundation. The question is one of general interest: “If after what is past, you still harbor resentment against Deiotarus, the same may be expected by all who owe their life to your clemency, and doubts and fears take possession of their minds. Let them know, then, that once pardoned they are still pardoned.

20. Quibus. Z. 412.—_Semel._ Once for all. See ch. 3, § 9: _semel exorari._

23. Quisquam te timere, &c. So Madvig. Benecke and Klotz omit _te._ Soldan: _accedere, ut quisquam te timere...qui sunt, &c._

24. Non debeo. Cicero, affecting to reject any appeal to the clemency of Caesar, makes a strong appeal.

25. Ecquonam. On the force of _sc_ in this compound, see Z. 351; and on _nwm_, Z. 134.

27. Solet ipsa. Is wont of itself to come to the aid of the wretched; non _expectat,_ dum rogetur.—_Nullius._ Z. 676.


29. Dabis profecto misericordiae. Klotz and Soldan: _dabis profecto id misericordiae._

30. Irascandis denegavisti. Quum antea Deiotarum, licet iratus, tamen perdere nolles. Benecke; who rejects the explanation of Haumann: _irascendium illorum, qui reum Deiotarum fecerunt._ Benecke and Klotz: _monumenta clementiae tuae._ So also Soldan, who further gives _sed maxime eorum incoluntatis, &c._
Incoluntitates. Z. 92.

32. In privatis, i.e. in privatise collata atque ita in iiia conspicua, so in the next line in regibus. See note on p. 88, line 37.

34. Sanctum. For kings were thought to be under the protection of the gods.—Sociorum regum sanctissimum. This might be designed by Cicero as hinting to Caesar, that his present titles might satisfy himself. This oration was delivered late in the year 709. In the following February, Mark Antony offered Caesar the diadem.

Ch. XV.—37. Posteris tradituros. Deiotarus died, according to Dion Cass. 48, 33, a. c. 714, but without leaving his dominions to his son. Castor succeeded him in Galatia, which was afterwards bestowed by Antony on Amyntas. After his death it was made, in connection with Lycaonia, a province, which was subsequently enlarged by the addition of Paphlagonia and a part of Phrygia. The account given in the introduction, p. 311, follows Smith's Dict. of Greek and Roman Biog. &c.

38. Corpora. Either as sureties, or to suffer any punishment awarded against their master. Klotz omits esse before confido.

42. Regum amicissimae. Matthis and Benecke, with Ernesti, take amicissimae and probati in the nominative, and explain regum of Deiotarus and his family (Benecke, Deiotarus and his son, as in § 40), just as Brutus is said to have expelled the kings of Rome. Weiske objected to this explanation, and taking regum as = inter reges, he considers amicissimae and probati as genitives. By this view, Dorylaus est legatus amicissimae regum sive regis præter ceteros addisci fide erga populum Romanum. This king, Weiske supposes, may have been Ariobarzanes, the sovereign of Cappadocia.

43. Exquire de Blesamio. As the weight of the prosecution lay in the testimony of Phidippus, Cicero wished to conclude with impressing on the mind of Caesar the opposing testimonies of men of integrity. Above, ch. 12, the charge against Blesamius is given and refuted.

1. Criminibus illis se supponit. Substituit. Möbius takes criminibus illis for datives after supponit as = illis regem criminantibus, accusantibus; Benecke for ablative = in those accusations.


4. Pedem. Z. 395. As Hieras never left you, he is therefore qualified to decide on the truth of the charge. He attended you both during your stay in the palace, and the next day at Lucetium. As none of the attempts charged could have been made without his privy, he calls on you to deem them, if any there were, to have been
his, and try him accordingly.—*Finibus.* Deiotarus had waited on Cæsar on the *borders* of Galatia, and was then accompanied by Hieras.

5. *Balneo.* See ch. 6. The bath preceded the supper, and so it was intended should the inspection of the gifts; but Cæsar refusing to go, it was put off till *after* supper. Hence *cesatus*.

8. *Postridie.* The day of the castle and bedchamber scene, ch. 6.

13. *Quorum alterum.* The former of which, it is of a piece with the cruelty of the accusers to wish for; the latter, the part of your clemency to preserve inviolate.—*Illorum.* Castor and Phidippus.
THE ORATION FOR THE POET ARCHIAS.

INTRODUCTION.

A. LICINIUS ARCHIAS, born and educated at Antioch in Syria, a city renowned for the cultivation of Greek art and learning, acquired at a very early age a considerable reputation as a poet. He had scarcely grown out of the age of boyhood, when, according to the fashion of the time, he went out on a journey, the object of which was to improve himself and increase his knowledge. He travelled through Asia Minor and Greece, and thence to Southern Italy, where he visited the towns of Tarentum, Locri, Rhegium, and Naples. His talent was everywhere recognised and appreciated, and the above-mentioned towns attested their estimation by honoring him with the franchise. In a. u. c. 632, in the consulsip of C. Marius and Q. Lutatius Catulus, Archias came to Rome; he was received into the first families of the city, and enjoyed the particular hospitality of the Luculli, in honor of which family Archias also assumed its gentle name Licinius. As Cicero calls him his instructor, it would seem that Archias, besides his poetical occupations, also engaged at that time in instructing young Romans. Some years later he accompanied L. Lucullus on a journey to Sicily, and on their return they passed through Herraclia in Lucania. There, too, he was, through the mediation of Lucullus, honored with the franchise; and this was the more valuable to him, as that town was in a nearly equal legal relation to, and alliance with, Rome, and as Archias seems to have determined to spend the remainder of his life at Rome. In a. u. c. 665, the tribunes, M. Plautius Silvanus and C. Papirius Carbo, brought forward a bill (lex Plautia Papiria) by which the franchise was conferred upon all those who were enrolled as citizens in an allied town, provided they had a domicile in Italy at the time of the passing of the law, and gave in their name to the pretor within sixty days. Archias fulfilled these conditions, and gave in his name for registration to the pretor Q. Metellus. But in a. u. c. 669, a law was passed (lex Papiya), enacting that all peregrini, or strangers, should be expelled from Rome, and that the Socii Latini (who were not Roman citizens) should be sent away to their native places. On that occasion a certain Gratius, who may have been induced by hatred, or avarice, or by enmity against Lucullus, came forward, asserting that Archias was a peregrinus, and had illegally assumed the name of a Roman citizen. Archias was unable to bring forward any evidence of his franchise, for the archives of Herraclia had been destroyed by fire. During his long stay at Rome, moreover, he had never entered his name as a citizen in the census lists. Cicero now undertook the defense of his old teacher and friend; not, indeed, with a strict legal argumentation, for the proofs were wanting, but he sets up the dignity of the accused, the affection he had met with everywhere, and his services to literature and art, as so many proofs of the truth of his assertion that he was in lawful possession of the Roman franchise; nay, Cicero maintains that if Archias were not already a Roman citizen, his life and merits made it a duty for Rome to admit him among the number of her citizens, in order to secure a man of such eminence to the commonwealth. Such a defence, which
Cicero sought in the personal character of the accused, and laid before the judges, who could not well sacrifice the cause of learning and humanity to such an accusation—such a defence could not so much urge the legal points at issue, for which, as we have already observed, the documents were wanting, as set forth the praise of varied acquirements, and of a life devoted to the cultivation of the beautiful. And it is this very praise of the humaniores that makes this speech a useful, agreeable, and inciting study to young readers; though it must not be left unnoticed, that some critics consider it as spurious, and unworthy of Cicero; and the ancients themselves regard it as less excellent than other orations. Respecting the result of the speech, which was delivered in a. u. c. 692, before Q. Cicero, who was then praetor urbanus, nothing is known, and the remaining period of Archias's life is buried in utter obscurity. To judge from the few specimens of his poetry which have come down to us, it appears that he did not possess so very great a poetical talent as Cicero describes it in his oration; and it is probable that Archias, who was intimate with so many Roman families, was more particularly skilled in making verses upon the passing events of the day, and also, as some believe, knew how to make himself agreeable by improvisation, or extempore composition of verses. —From Schmitz's Cicero in Chambers's Educational Course.

ANALYSIS.

1. The introduction gives the reason which decided the orator to defend the poet, and at the same time contains his apology for speaking of the advantages of letters in a trial at law. (Chaps. 1, 2, § 3.)

2. The leading proposition states the two points of his defence: that Archias, who was already a Roman citizen, should not only not be deprived of his franchise, but, even if he were not a citizen, the franchise should be conferred upon him. (Ch. 2, § 4.)

3. A description follows of the origin, acquired fame, and travels of the poet; showing, that, as he came to Rome from these travels in Asia Minor, Greece, and Italy, the most distinguished men and families honored him with their friendship and society, and that Lucullus aided him to obtain the Roman franchise. (§ 4-ch. 4, § 7.)

4. Cicero next proceeds to the two points of his defence, and refutes (a) the grounds upon which the accuser had proceeded against Archias, and establishes Archias's Roman citizenship, since he had been a citizen in Hierissi, an allied town, and accordingly by the law of Silvanus and Carbo had been received in Rome as a citizen, having long before had a domicile in Rome, and given in his name to the praetor within 90 days, and having moreover exercised the rights of Roman citizens; at the same time the charge of the accuser, that Archias was not enrolled in the census lists, is set aside. (§ 8-ch. 6.) (b) In order to show that Archias was worthy of Roman citizenship, he first speaks of the advantages of letters, and especially of poetry (ch. 6, § 13—ch. 7, § 16); he then describes the eminent poetic talent of Archias, and shows by examples how highly poets were esteemed by antiquity; he then enlarges upon the merit of Archias and his claims upon the Roman people acquired by his celebration in verse of the deeds of eminent Romans, and by his contribution in this way to the glory of the Roman name, and mentions many great men who, from their love of glory,
had honored poets and authors. Finally, he confesses that he too on his own account must wish for the safety of Archias, since Archias has promised to sing the praises of his consulship. (Ch. 7, § 18-ch. 12, § 30.)

5. In conclusion, he commends the poet to the protection of his judges, and craves their indulgence for having enlarged, more than is usual in a forensic argument, upon the talent of Archias and upon the merits of literature in general. (Ch. 12, § 31.)

Cic. I.—1. Ingenii. Natural talent as an orator (φῶς); exercitatio, practice (ἀσκήσεως). Cicero expresses the simple thought si quid eloquentia valeat, by an enumeration of the three chief requisites for forming an orator; ingenium, exercitatio, ratio. Cf. de Oratione 1, 25, sqq. Quint. Fam. I, 1, 19, directs attention to the molesy of this passage. Cf. ad Fam. 9, 18.—Quod sentio quam sit exiguum. Stürensburg remarks that the usual order would be quod quam sit exiguum sentio, e.g. qui ordo quanto adjumento sit in honore, quis nescit? Planc. 9, 23: Qua ex una fuerit, jam mihi dicere non est necesse. Sest. 29, 62. Of this order, (that is, of the governing verb being placed after the dependent interrogative clause, when there is also a relative pronoun introducing the governing verb,) he gives a very large body of examples. Of passages where the dependent relative clause follows the verb, he gives a few: e.g. Verr. 5, 7, 15: quod super ipse juratus docuit quemadmodum gestum esset. But he observes that the position in the passage before us gives the principal emphasis to sentio, and a secondary but considerable emphasis to exiguum: quod sentio quam sit exiguum. Nauck, however, thinks the principal emphasis belongs to quam sit exiguum, and that, to give this emphasis, the usual order is abandoned. The order of quam sit exiguum in oblique narration, i.e. of the sit, sint, &c., immediately following the quam, or other relative, and preceding the predicate, is the regular order in Cicero. Vide ne, quam sit magna dissensio: considerate nunc, cetera quam sint prorsa sapienter, &c.

2. In qua me, &c. A regular hexameter: in qua me non infitior mediocriter esse.

3. Si . . . aliqua. See note on p. 45, line 15.—Hujusce rei, eo eloquentiae.


6. Vel in primis. "Particularly," because Archias had given instruction to Cicero in his youth. This form occurs in but one other passage in Cicero: Nec absurde Crantor ille, qui in nostra Academia
NOTES.

97 ocul in primis fuit nobilis. Tusc. 3, 6, 12. S., who says that he knows of no instance in any other writer.—A. Licinius. It was customary for foreigners, on receiving the franchise, to take the praenomen and nomen of the individual by whose favor they had received it. Manutius supposes that Archias assumed the praenomen Aulus from Marcus Lucullus, the brother of Lucius, whose praenomen, before his adoption by M. Terentius Varro, he supposes to have been Aulus. The omission of his foreign name may be regarded as intentional. By giving him his Roman name only, the orator recognises his rightful claim to Roman citizenship.

7. Repetere prope suo jure. Repetere = petere tanquam sibi debitum. Archias has a right to claim that I should employ for his good that which I have learned from him. Klotz: petere.—Prope suo jure. See note on p. 64, line 5. The prope softens the suo jure, which would be an exaggerated statement. Others take it, less correctly, with repetere. S. (in his second edition), who compares meo jure quodammodo vindicare. De Off. 1, 1, 2.

9. Memoriam recordarl. S. compares de Orat. 1, 2, 4: et mihi repetenda est veteris cujusdam memoriae non sane satis explicata recordatio, sed, &c.—Ultimam = ab hac aetate remotissimam. The earliest recollection.

10. Inde usque repetens, ac. rerum ordinem. Repetere is used absolutely in this way, de Orat. 1, 20, 91: neminem scriptorem artis ne mediocriter quidem disertum fuisse dicebat, quum repetaret usque a Corace nescio quo et Tisia. Tusc. 1, 48, 116: clara vero morte pro patria oppetita non solum gloriosa rhetoribus sed etiam beata videri solent; repetunt ab Erechtheo.—Inde usque (ineptus dyphram) marks a continuous progress from the distant point mentioned, quite up to the moment present to the speaker. These words, according to S., are found nowhere else in Cicero, and never in any other writer. But, as he observes, there is no reason why they should not be.—He thinks it is an imitation of Isocrates's ineptus dyphram, which M. compares with it.—Principem = autorem, magistrum.—Suscipiedam . . . ingrediendum. "Suscipiedam pertinet ad consilium discendi artes dicendi; ingrediendum ad actum discendi. Illuc spectat mox hortatu, huc praecipio." Erneste. S. compares the similar opposition between suscipere and instituere; e.g. susceptarum rerum et jam institutam. Ad Fam. 5, 12, 2.


12. Hortatu. This word occurs in the ablative only, in the golden age. Tacitus has nominative plural non vox et mutui hortatus juvabat. Ann. 1, 70, m. In Cicero it occurs but once more: id feci uliorum consilio, hortatu, auctoritate; ad Fam. 13, 29, 7. Stüvenburg.
14. Quo ceteris epistulari ... possemus, sc. whenever an opportunity should offer itself. Benecke: possumus.


16. Ita = tam gravior, so emphatically.

17. Quod alia quendam in hoc facultas ... neque haec. Because Archias was a poet, and not an orator. The usual negative particle in an opposition of this sort would be non. Hand says that, when neque is used, it is no longer a direct opposition, and the whole expression of the thought is weakened.

18. Ne nec quidem. On the ellipsis of the implied idea, “let me tell you,” see Z. 772.—Hsic uni. The MSS. give hzc cuncti studio, &c., which Klotz and Nauck retain and defend. Uni is a conjecture of Luminus, and adopted by most editors. Stürenburg and Benecke: hisce uni.

19. Studio, sc. dicendi s. eloquentiae.—Penitus, exclusively, or without regard to other pursuits and means of developing the mind.—Omnès artes, e. g. poetry, eloquence, philosophy, history, mathematics, &c.: the studies that are pursued, sic id τιχυρ, ἀλλʼ id ξαύδια, as Plato and Aristotle speak.

20. Quae ad humanitatem pertinent. Which make man a man in the true sense of the word. Gellius, 13, 16, speaking of the old and true Latin meaning of humanitas, says: "Humanitatem appellaverunt id propemodum quod Græci xαύδια vocant; nos erudutionem institutionemque in bonas artes dicimus."—Quoddam. Z. 707.

21. Et quasi ... quadam, &c. Cicero often uses quasi quidam, and not uncommonly quidam quasi: he also uses et quasi quidam, and once only et quidam quasi; but never atque (ac) quasi quidam, nor indeed ever atque (ac) quasi or tanquam, which would give prominence and emphasis to the very notion which is softened by the quasi. In the order, et quasi quidam, the substantive is sometimes interposed between quasi and quidam: bene constitutæ civitatis quasi alunna quadam eloquientia; Brut. 12, 45: an adjective sometimes precedes the quidam: et puro quasi quodam et candido genere dicendi. Orat. 16, 53. S.

Ch. II.—23. In quæstione legittima = "legibus constituta, non ab otiosis hominibus doctis proposita." Benecke supposes the lex Mucia Liciaea of 659, and the lex Pupia of 689, are here meant.

24. In judicio publico. Judicium publicum stands opposed to judicium privatum, and is a trial in which the interest of the state is involved, in which a state offence is charged.—Agatur. Klotz: agitur.

25. Apud prætorem popull Romani. C. Virgilius (according to Ilgen), C. Octavius (according to Schütz). But the scholiast dis-
Page 97 covered by Mai informs us that the prætor here meant was Q. Cicero, the brother of the orator. The addition populi Romani to the title prætor is generally unnecessary, but here it is emphatical.—Rectissimum virum = "virum, qui nec ipse discidit unquam de ea via, quam mores ac legis prescribunt, nec facile patitur alios tale quiescum committere." S. Cf. unus L. Cæsar firmus est et rectus; Fam. 12, 5.

2. Its meaning is correct, consistent. Madvig and Nauck: lectissimum.

26. Judicæs. Ever since the lex Aurelia of the year a. u. c. 684, the judicæs consisted of senators, equites, and tribuni aerarii (plebeians).

98 1. Hoc uti genere dicendi, quod . . . abhorreant. Hic here = "a" = "such a." Hic qui is used for is qui, when the thing spoken of is present. Here it is the style he is now going to adopt.—Non modo . . . verum etiam. Verum (for sed) etiam is nearly peculiar to Cicero; not being found in Cæsar, Corn. Nepos, Livy, or Tacitus; nor in the Auctor ad Herennium. It is found now and then in letters of Cicero's correspondents, and twice in Sallust. Stürenburg; whose calculation of the comparative frequency of sed etiam and verum etiam is as follows: After non modo, &c.,—

In the Orat. p. Archia, sed etiam occurs 2, verum etiam, 7
" " Balbo, "6, "0
" " Planc., "10, "1
" " Sest., "15, "1
" " L. Manil., "12, "0
" " Brut., "21, "2

To which Haase adds p. Sull. "15, "5
So that sed etiam is the more common form; at least in Cicero's Orations.

2. A forensic sermone abhorreant. It being unusual in judicial transactions and speeches to treat of literature and art.

3. Quæso a vobis, &c. Weiske and Matthiae criticæ § 3, because the protasis and apodosis make the same statement; e. g. Sed ne cui mirum videatur, me uti hoc genere dicendi, quæso a vobis, ut me patiamini uti novo genere dicendi; and because many unnecessary repetitions are introduced.


9. Libertus. Schröter maintains that libere loqui = (necessarily), "sine metu offense aut periculi loqui;" but Cicero uses it elsewhere in the sense of at length, copiously, fully, &c. Quae fusa olim disputabantur ac libere, opposed to articulatim distincteque dici. Legg. 1, 13, 36: ne ornatus quidem aut liberus causam dici sciam quam, &c. De Orat. 1, 53, 229. S.—In ejusmodi persona, qua . . . est. "In the case of such a person," sc. as Archias is. Otherwise persona is the mask worn by an actor, or the part which he per-
forms. The indicative after ejusmodi = such, makes the statement
definite, (whereas the subj. would describe it indefinitely as belonging
to a class.) Cf. Verr. 4, 32, 71: in ejusmodi conviviis, quae . . . . . fi-
grabunt.

10. Pericullos = "judiciis, quia in iis reus periculum adit, ne
condemnetur. Fam. 5, 17: in ejus judicio ac periculo.—Tractata
est, "which otherwise is not brought forward," or, as it were, "acted,"
and does not show itself at trials and in courts of law, its life being de-
voted to the quiet pursuit of art and literature. Tractare personam is
Matthiae says: "Fortasse eo etiam respetit, quod poetae, rerum civi-
lium fere rude atque ignari, easque adeo refugientes, si quando in vitæ
communium lucent protracti vel in judicium adducti sunt, in sole cali-
gantes magis alius se regendos, moderandos, tractandos præbent, quam
ipsi versantur. Aliter Quintili. 4, 1, 13: ipsius autem litigatæris
persona tractanda varie est, nimirum ab oratore."


Cr. III—16. Ut primum ex puere exsexit. This happened
in Greece in his fifteenth year. Cicero had probably in his mind Ter-
ence's Nam is postquam exsedit ex ephebis, Andr. 1, 1, 24; for the
mode of expression is properly Greek, not Latin; and Cicero praises
the passage of Terence, de Or. 2, 80, 327. S.

17. Ad inhumanitatem informari. A very young person is
properly said informari by another; an older one, whose mind is no
longer a tabula rasa, and who assists (at least) in forming his own
mind, conformari: "is rem conformat qui illi meliorem etiam formam
dat, quam qui prius eam informaverat." S. Thus Auct. ad Herenn.
4, 22: Alexander Macedo summò labore animum ad virtutem a pue-
ritia conformavit. Ad humanitatem informari is found only here: ad
humanitatem fingi, once also de Orat. 3, 15, 58. From S.

quum primum animum ad scribendum appulit.—Antiochia . . .
urbe, &c. Urbs, in apposition to the name of a town, stands in the
abl.; never urbis. Z. 399.

19. Loco nobili = nobili genere: as honesto loco natus, &c.—
Celebri, not celebrated, but that was much visited.

20. Copiosa = opulenta.

21. Antecellere . . . contigit. The usual construction is con-
tigit alicu ut antecellaret, &c.; but Horace has Fingere cinctutis
non exaudita Cethegis continget: non cuivis homini contingit adire
Corinthum, &c. Virg. quis (= quibus) ante ora patrum Troja sub
manibus altis Contigit oppetere; Æn. 1, 95 (so 6, 108; 9, 267).
The infinitive gives less prominence and definiteness to the con-
sequence. It occurs with the infin. once in Vell. and once in Tacitus. S.

23. Ut famam ... superaret. His arrival was so much talked of, that the expectation of the man and the desire to see him surpassed the reputation of his talents, whereas his arrival and the admiration shown to him surpassed even the expectation with which his arrival had been looked for. Cf. C. (ap. Macrobi. Sat. vi. 2) ot Cato: Contingebat in eo, quod plerisque contra solet, ut majora omnia re quam fama viderentur; id quod non sepe evenit, ut expectatio a cognitione, aures ab oculis vincerentur.

25. Italia ... et in Latino. Italia (= the country of the Itali) is here = Magna Graecia. "That name [Italia], in very early times was a national one in the south, and was not extended to the more northerly regions until the Roman sway had united the Peninsula into one state. The latter [Theophrastus] continues to make a distinction between Latium and Italia in his History of Plants." Niebuhr. It was especially after the Punic wars that Greek civilization began to be introduced into Italy.

27. Propter tranquillitatem rel publicae. The seditious attempts of Saturninus had been suppressed, A. u. c. 654, and the Social war did not break out till A. u. c. 664.

28. Non negligebantur. Z. 754. The expression is, of course, less strong than coelebantur. So 3 Orat. 11, 43: Nostri [= hic Roma] minus studion litteris, quam Latinis.—Tarentini et Rhegini et Neapolitani. These states, on account of their very origin, must have been favorably disposed towards the Greek poet, and endeavored to honor him with their best presents—namely, the franchise. Rhegium and Neapolis were then only confederate towns; they were made municipal towns by the lex Julia in the first year of the Social war. But it is urged that Tarentum could not have been only a confederate town, since a colony was settled there, A. u. c. 631. Vell. 1, 15. Orelli seems to think the Tarentini veteres (as distinct from the Colonii Tarentini) are meant. "The orator knew well enough that the facts here mentioned did not avail Archias in a legal point of view; he is only paving the way, as it were, for the fact of his receiving the freedom of the city at Heraclea. Thus the Scholia Bobiensia: Utiliter praeparavit ad causam, jam pridem hunc Archiam poeticae facilitatis gratia celebrem a plurimis Italia nobilissimis populis in numerum civium cooptatum. Quod uimium argumento esse debeat, etiam Heracliansibus nuper adscriptum, robustiorem jam fama et ingenii dignitate majorem." K.

30. Allquid is here put with some degree of emphasis; all, who were able to form some accurate judgment of men of talent.
31. Cognitio. Here of personal acquaintance, more commonly of knowledge of things only.

32. Celebritate famæ. See Z. 672.

33. Mario consule et Catulo, A. u. c. 652, in the fourth consulship of Marius. The usual order is Mario et Catulo Coss.; but a similar instance occurs in Brut. 96, 328: Ille a Crasso consule et Scaevola usque ad Paullum et Marcellum...floruit. See Z. 790—Consules eos, quorum alter...posset. Why subj.? Quorum alter, i.e. Marius, who had conquered Jugurtha, and the Teutones and Cimbri.

35. Res gestas = Cimbricam victoriam. Cf. Tusc. 5, 19, 56: C. Marius tum quum Cimbriae victoriae gloriæ cum collega Catulo communicavit, pene altero Latio (nam hunc illi duco similimum), &c.—Studium atque aures adhibere posset. Studium is interest in literary works, &c., though Catulus did both write a history and some poems (Brut. 35): aures is not attention, but the critical ear. correct literary taste. De Off. 1, 37, 133: Catuli exquisito judicio utebantur literarum. Observe that adhibere is only suited to studium and aures; whereas res gestas would require such a verb as suppeditare (to supply). This is called Zeugma. Cf. Tac. Ann. 14 53: Ego quid alium munificentiam tuae adhibere potui, quam studia, ut sic dixerim, in umbra educata? S.

36. Lucullus, i.e. L. Licinius Lucullus, the conqueror of Mithridates, and a man of great learning; and M. Licinius Lucullus, who gained a triumph over the Thracians and Macedonians, A. u. c. 684.—Prætextatus. He speaks of Archias as if he were a Roman: for, being a Greek, he was not allowed to wear the praetexta. Prætextatus, therefore, = “eadem èstate, qua nostri prætextati, id est annorum for exv.” The toga praetexta was worn (with the bulla) by Roman children, and put off when they assumed the toga virilis. Matthias points out the inconsistency between this and the assertion, that he already ex puerris excererat even at Antioch.

37. Domum suam receperunt. So Verr. 1, 26, 65, we have Homo, qui semper hospitalissimus amicissimusque nostrorum hominum existimatus esset, noluit videri ipsum illum Rubrium invitus domum suam recepisse (without in). Others (e.g. Stürenburg) read in domum suam receperunt, by which the reception is represented as more intimate and familiar.—Sed etiam hoc, &c. This passage Orelli regards as corrupt. The orator lays stress on the fact, as being greatly to the credit of Archias, that the house which was the first to receive him in his youth, was also the most friendly to him in his old age. Stürenburg reads: Sed est jam hoc...prima fuerit, eadem, &c. Van Heusde proposes: Sed hoc non solum ingenii ac literarum, verum etiam naturæ atque virtutis vis fuit, ut, &c.

38. Hoc...ut...esset. The more usual explicative of hoc
98 in quod. Matthias observes, that wherever ut is so used, it conveys the explanation, as at the same time an effect or consequence of what had been stated: e. g. here it is the consequence of Archias's good character.

40. Senectuti. If the cause was pleaded in 692, he was then in his sixtieth year. For patuit, other readings are fuit, favorit, and uerit.


43. L. Crasso, the orator.—Lucullus, i. e. Lucius and Marcus Lucullus.

44. Drusum. M. Livius Drusus. He was tribune, a. u. c. 663, and carried many laws, but was murdered in his own house. Vell. 2, 13. Cf. p. Mil. 7.—Octavios. Cneius and Lucius Octavius, consuls, respectively, with Cinna (667), and C. Aurelius Cotta (679). There was also another Cneius, consul with C. Scribonius Curio (678).—Catonem, probably the father of M. Cato Uticensis.—Hortensiorum deum. L. and Q. Hortensius, father and son; the latter was the celebrated orator, and consul, a. u. c. 685.

3. Si quis fortis simulabatur. Ne indocti atque ab politicisibus litteris abhorrere viderentur.

CH. IV.—6. In Siciliam profectus. The language shows that Lucullus must have had the province of Sicily, but nothing of this is known from any other source. Senators were allowed to quit Italy for a certain time without any special commission. On their journey, and wherever they stayed, they enjoyed the honors and distinctions of real ambassadors, but more especially the hospitium publicum. It has been thought, therefore, by some, to be more probable that Lucullus, on the occasion here referred to, made use of this juss legationis librum for a private purpose. Matthias thinks the short-hand writer has blundered the passage, as the going to Sicily is made prominent, though it is quite secondary: one should have expected, he says, "Quum ex provincia Sicilia cum L. Lucullo, quem eo comitatus erat, decederet." But may not the complimentary nature of the fact, that Lucullus took him and kept him with him, justify the co-ordinate (instead of subordinate) position of the taking him into Sicily? Madvig: cum M. Lucullo.
7. Heraclam. A colony of Tarentum in Lucania on the Bay of Tarentum.

8. Aequissimo jure ac sedere. Namely, with Rome. Heraclia concluded an alliance with Rome as early as a. u. c. 476, in the consulsip of C. Fabricius, and obtained greater privileges than other towns, such as Tarentum, Rhegium, and Naples; hence aequissimo, "placing it in a most fair relation, in which it was almost equal to Rome." This was also the reason why Archias endeavored to obtain the franchise of Heraclia. Cf. p. Balb. 22, in.

10. Auctoritate. From affection and esteem for Lucullus.

11. Data est civitas, i.e. fæderatis in Italia civitatibus. Cf. § 10.—Silani lege. Sec. est lex Plautia Papiria, lata a M. Plautio Silvano, C. Papirio Carbone, tribb. pl. a. u. c. 665. Libri Silani (etq.) vel Silani (sicque kl.) Silanus autem Plautiorum est cognomen; Silanus Juniorum. Orelli.

14. Sexaginta diebus. Within sixty days after the passing of the law.


16. Professus est. Profiteri was the term for a person's signifying to the prætor his wish to accept the civitas. The name was sent to the prætor, because the whole business of keeping lists of the citizens formed part of his official functions.—Apud prætorem, Q. Metellum, i.e. Q. Metellus Pius; prætor, a. u. c. 665.

17. Nihil aliud nisi. Z. 771, Note.—De civitate ac lege, = de civitate Heraclensi ab Archia impetrata ac de lege (Plautia Papiria) qua civitas data est fæderatis populis.

18. Causa dicta est. That is, if the question is only about the compliance with that law on the part of Archias, and about his franchise at Heraclia, all has been said, and the matter is settled; for Archias has in fact complied with all the conditions stated in the law.


25. Hic tu. This form implies something of indignant feeling. Cf. Fam. 5, 15: Hic tu ea me abesse urbe miraris, in qua domus nihil depictare possit, summum sit odium temporum, hominum, fori, curia? And ibid. 7, 13: Hic tu me etiam insinulas, nec satisfactionem meam accipis. Manut.—Tabulas. The civic registers of
Notes.

99. Heracleia, which had been burnt with the archives (tabularium) at the

time of the Social war.

20. Italico bello. Called also Social, and, from the Marsi who

began it, Marsic. See Schmitz, Rome, ch. xxvii.

29. Dicere, quarrere. On the omission of the conjunction, see

Z. 781. Notice also the chiasmus and anaphora in the arrangement

of the period.—De hominum memoria tacere, literarum memoria

flagitare. Hominum memoria = quae homines facta meminerunt et

testantur: literarum memoria = memoria rei literis prodata.

30. Integerrimum municipli, i. e. Heracleia, which, according to

these words, must, previously to the delivery of this speech, have been

changed from a civitas faderata into a municipium. Heracleia

remained faithful to Rome during the Social war, whence the epithet

integerrimum. But it had much to suffer for this.


33. An domicilium collocavit? The objection is “an dom.

non habuit,” and the answer is blended, as it were, into one sentence

with it, by the qui, &c. It implies that the objection does not deserve a

formal answer: the answer may be gathered from the statement.

If formally given as an answer, it would be something of this sort:

At (= but, you say) in Italia domic. non habuit. Imo vero tot an-

nis, &c. Cf. de Divin. 2, 49, 102: neque ignorant ea, qua ab ipsis

constituta et designata sunt; = neque ignorant futura, hac enim

ab ipsis, &c. Stürenburg and Madvig: an domicilium Roma non

habuit is qui, &c.

35. An non, &c. Nauck: At non est professus!

36. His tabulis, sc. Metelli.—Quae sole, in antithesis to the rec-

ords of Appius and Gabinius mentioned below. Which, from the time

of that registration, and of the then college of pretors, alone have the

authority of public records. The reason is added immediately below.

Ch. V.—39. Appii. Appius Claudius Pulcher. He was the fa-

ther of the notorious P. Clodius, and pretor in the year A. u. c. 665, in

which the lex Plautia Papiria was carried. He was the colleague of Q.

Metellus Pius.—Negligentius asservata. So that forgeries

might easily be introduced into them.

40. Gabinii. Gabinius was pretor in the same year as Appius,

and was afterwards found guilty of extortion in his province of Achaia.

Div. in Cecil. 20, 64.—Quamdiu incoluisse fuit. So long as he was

free from misfortune; that is, previous to his condemnation.—Post
damnationem calamitatis. After his condemnation his difficulties or

downfall, which cast suspicion or distrust upon his previous acts.

Weisak’s interpretation, that he, after his condemnation, had access
to the lists and inserted forgeries for money, in order to retrieve his

ruined fortune, seems out of place here.—Levitas. His recklessness or

corruption.
ORATION FOR THE POET ARCHIAS.

41. Resignasset = "had destroyed." Resignare (properly to resign) is here appropriate, because all such public documents were sealed by the praetor with his own ring. His condemnation, by injuring his character for probity, naturally lessened the authority of his papers.

42. Modestissimus = "legum diligentissimus observator." Ern.

44. Venerit .... dixerit. The Perfect denotes a single action: veniret .... diceret would rather denote a continued or repeated one. See Z. 512, Note. Kreba, Guide, 261. Lentulus was praetor, A. u. C. 665.—See commotum esse, i. e. to suspect a fraud.

3. Allis quoque in civitatibus .... adscriptus. His having received the freedom of those cities, is mentioned to increase the probability of his having received it at Heraclia; not as giving him any right to the Roman citizenship. For dubitatis, Klotz gives dubitatio.


5. Gratuito, i. e. "nullo eorum merito;" or "ita ut nullus inde fructus neque ad se neque ad rem publicam redundaret." Matthiae compares de Nat. Deor. i, 44, 122: Prata et arva et pecudum greges diliguntur isto modo, quod fructus ex iis capiuntur, hominum caritas et amicitia gratuita est. Nauck rejects gratuito. S. non gravato.

6. In Graecia, i. e. in Magna Gracia; the Greek colonies in the south of Italy. In Gracia is to be joined with impertiebant: not in Gracia homines.—Rheginus credo ....... noluisse. Ironically. So Rosc. Amer. 21, 59. But in this sense it is rarely followed by the accusative with the infinitive. See Z. 777.

7. Scenicis artificiibus. Acting on the stage, music, and dancing, were regarded by the Romans as ignoble acts, which ought to be practised by slaves, and not by freemen.

9. Post civitatem datam, sc. sociis et Latinis. Cf. Fam. 13, 30: erat adscriptus in id municipium ante civitatem sociis et Latinis datam. There were two laws on this subject: (1) that of L. Julius Caesar, then consul, A. u. C. 664, in the first year of the Italic war, that the citizenship should be given to the allies, who had either remained in their allegiance or laid down their arms; (2) that of the tribunes, M. Plantius Silvanus and C. Papirius Carbo, in the second year of the same war, which extended its provisions to foreigners enrolled in any of the confederate states, provided they were resident at Rome when the act was passed, and declared their wish to avail themselves of its provisions within sixty days. This declaration was made before the praetor. Ait. Manut.

10. Post legem Papiam. An act de peregrinis ex urbe ejiciendis passed in the consulship of Cotta and Torquatus, A. u. C. 689. It enacted that all strangers who regarded themselves as Roman citi-
100zens, and all the citizens of allied towns which had not yet become municipia, should be expelled from the city. In consequence of this, many strangers got their names entered in the lists of municipia, in order to be able to pass as Roman citizens. Male etiam, qui peregrinos urbibus uti prohibent easque exterminant; ut Pennus apud patres nostros, Papias nuper. The Schol. Bob. says: "Reus factus est Archias lege Papia, quae lata fuerat ad eos coercendos, qui temere et illice civitatem Romanam usurpasserunt." But, according to Cicero, its effect was usus urbis prohibere peregrinos, which, he observes, is sane inhumanum.

11. Eorum munetiporum. Rhegium, Locri, Neapolis, &c., were made municipia (from fateratae civitates) by the law of L. Cesar. See ad Fam. 13, 30. For irrepsent, Klotz, Benecke, Stru- renburg, and Nauck read irrepsent.

12. Se...esse voluit. P. C. 149, (b); Z. 610.

13. Census nostros requiriis. Scilicet: est enim obscurum, &c. Census is the counting and estimating the Roman citizens according to their property: this was usually done every five years (lustrum); but from a. u. c. 668–684 there had been no census. Scilicet (= sci licet) properly calls upon him whom we address to know that which we are going to state. Compare with our present passage ad Quint. Fratr. 1, 3, 1: Ego tibi irascerer? tibi ego possem irasci? Scilicet, tu enim me afflizisti, tui me inimici, tua me invidia ac non ego te misere perdidii. In both these passages it calls attention to the truth and certainty of a false statement, ironically asserted to be true. After S.


15. Apud exercitum fuisse, "to be with the army," is said of non-military persons attending the general for any reason. This was in the Mithridatic war, which Lucullus carried on from a. u. c. 681–687.

16. Superloribus. L. Marcus Philippus and M. Perpenna, a. u. c. 668.—Cum eodem questore. L. Lucullus from a. u. c. 666–674, was in Asia, as questor and proquestor, with Archias and his brother M. Lucullus.

17. Primiis, i.e. the first after Archias had declared before the preator his wish to avail himself of the law, that put the freedom of the Roman city within his reach. These were L. Julius Cesar and P. Licinius Crassus, a. u. c. 665, the consuls being Cn. Pompeius and L. Porcius Cato.—Nullam populi partem esse census. Because it was not yet five years since the census of a. u. c. 662, and because they had been elected censors only for the purpose of distributing the allies, who had obtained the franchise, into eight or ten new tribes. It is not probable that Archias gave in his name on that occasion; be-
cause, having resided at Rome for a long time, he might hope to be
admitted among the old tribes.

18. Non...ac tantummodo indicat. Et, atque (ac) are sometimes used where we should use but; in connecting opposite notions, the first having a negative with it. "But rather" is "ac potius;" less commonly et potius.

19. Indicat eum...ita se jam tum Cassiase pro civi. Ita = "so far," or "as such," by the very fact of this enrolment among the citizens at the census. It refers the reader to the preceding statement: "Id quo referitur ita, interdum exprimitur verbi proxime antecedentibus vel uno nomine, quod in prioribus emini...quemadmodum Graeci pragredienti participio adjungunt reliquam sententiam per ebras. Id, quod dicitur haec particula restringitur ad eam noti- nem, quae modo est expressa: unde fit, ut intelligamus eo ipso." Hand. vol. iii. 482.

20. Quem tu criminariis, &c., i.e. iste Archias, quem. Matthiae, who reads quae tu, &c., considers this an instance of attraction for quibus. Klotz first takes quae tu criminaris by itself, and considers the following clause an instance of epegegesis; i.e. of an explanatory statement (here an explanatory statement of the substance of the charge) that is appended to a previous assertion, without any strict grammatical coherence. He adds, it would all be plain if it stood in full, iis temporibus quae tu criminaris, quum dicis eum ne ipsius quasi
dem, &c. Nauck also adopts quae, and renders "in those times during which he, according to your accusations," &c. Madvig and Stürenburg (ed. 2) read quem.

22. Testamentum saepe facti. Roman citizens alone were allowed to make a will, or be made heir of a Roman citizen; a proof that Archias considered himself to be a Roman citizen (suo jüdicio).

23. In beneficiis...delatus est. In beneficiis deferrī = in iis, qui beneficia merentur, deferrī; "to be recommended as one deserving rewards." When a Roman proconsul or propretor returned from his province, and gave in his accounts, &c., to the treasury, he also delivered in the names of persons whom he wished to be recorded as benefactors to the Roman state. In Cicero's time these recommendations must be made within thirty days after the rendering of accounts. Fam. 5, 20; Balb. 28. This did not constitute a claim to any immediate or particular reward, but was an honor, and, in case of any danger, &c., an advantage, as entitling a person so honored to the good offices of the Roman government. It appears from this passage that only citizens were so recorded. Möbius compares τοις ισηγείοις τοι βασιλίσσως (Herod. 8, 85), and the ἀσφυγσαί of the Syracusians, Xen. Hist. Graec. 1, 1, 26. So when Mordecai discovered the plot against the king's life, his name "was written in the book of the
chronicles before the king." Esth. ii. 23. See Dict. Antiq. BENE-
VICIUM.
24. A L. Lucullo proconsul. Stürenburg (ed. 2) and Nauck
for proconsul read the abbreviated P. R. of the MSS. as populi Roma-
ni consule.
CH. VI.—25. Si quae potes. Stürenburg holds that "the older
and fuller form, si quis, si quae, is used by Cicero when the logical
faculty; the intellect, predominates: the later and shorter form, si qui,
si quae, when the sensibility, the feelings are uppermost."
26. Revincetur = convincetur. "He will never be convinced
that his judgment, and that of his friends, is unsound and false."
29. Convictio. Conviciun is the shouting and quarrelling of
the orators and parties at a trial; hence also strepitus forensis. Quinctil.
1, 8, 11: Præcipue apud Ciceronem—sidimus Ennii—et aliorum
inseri versus, summa non eruditionis modo gratia, sed etiam jucun-
ditatis, quem poetis volupatibus aures a forensi asperitate respi-
rent.
31. Nisi animos nostros doctrina excolamus. Cf. Tusc. 2,
5, 13: ut ager quamvis fertilis sine cultura fructuosus esse non po-
test, sic sine doctrina animus.
33. Contentionem. A metaphor derived from bending the bow;
therefore relaxemus immediately afterwards.
35. Se . . . literis abdiderunt. The phrase se in literas ab-
dere is more common: e.g. Fam. 7, 33: me totum in literas abdere,
&c. Literis is the abl. See Z. 489.
37. Quid pudeat. Quid = cujus rei causa. See Z. 385 and
442.
38. Vivo = "have lived;" the past and present being brought
into connection.—Aut commodo. Stürenburg (2) and Nauck: aut
commodum.
40. Retardavit. Retardare ab aliquo, or ab aliqua re, is quite
correct, though Matthiæ appears to doubt it; e.g. posteriora (tempora)
me a scribendo . . . retardarunt; Fam. 5, 17.
41. Quantum ceteris, &c. Cf. Quinct. 1, 12, 18: qui vero
imaginem ipsum eloquentiam divina quadrum mente conceperit—facile
persuadebit sibi, ut tempora, qua spectaculis, campo, tesseris, ostios
denique sermonibus, ne dicam somno et conviviorum mora conterunt,
42. Ceteris . . . alli. This proleptic use of these words is very
common. Here they stand not with reference to each other, but to
egomet, as in ch. 1 ceteris and alii to huic . . . ipsi. Cf. 5, 10,
ceteri . . . hic; 7, 16, ceterœ . . . haec studia; Leg. Manil. 10, 28;
Sull. 3, 9.
44. Temporum. See note on p. 44, line 13.
ORATION FOR THE POET ARCHIAS.

1. *Tempestivis convivis.* *Tempestiva convivia* are to be understood of entertainments which commence early, before the ninth hour, i.e. before three o'clock in the afternoon, which was the usual hour for the cena, and extend late into the night. *Interimpestiva* in this connection is an old error still met with in some editions.—Alvola. Nauck prefers the common text *aede*. *Aelaeolus* is the gaming board or table, the place of the game for the game itself.


3. Atque hoc aede, &c. The *aede* is to be joined with *hoc*. Hand. “Constat, a Latinis particulam aede, ut a Graecis particulam τάμωυ, tum usurpam esse, cum res aliqua, de qua jam ante dictum erat, majore vi efferenda erat: eaque significatione sepiissime conjunctam inveneri cum pronominibus *is et hic.*” S. (who, however, rejects *aede* in Ed. 2; observing that, common as *id aede* is, *hoc aede* is not found.) Madvig: *Atque hoc ideo, &c.* Nauck: *Atque id eo mihi,* &c., comparing *Lat.* 4, 15: *idque eo mihi magis,* &c.; and *Acad.* 2, 1, 2; *Sust.* *Cass.* 81. Stürenburg: *atque hoc id mihi.*


5. *Quantacunque = quantulacunque.* But it must be remembered that it means “however great,” “to whatever magnitude it reaches;” though the orator modestly implies that it is a small one. Cf. *de Orat.* 2, 28, 122: *Atque ego is, qui sum, quantuscumque sum ad judicandum,* &c. S. Klotz omits *est*.

6. *Quae summa sunt,* i.e. “recte vivendi praecipita, quae philosophia continentur.” “That which is the highest that man can attain;” namely, principles to guide him in practical life.

8. *Literae, “from literary works,”* the works of poets, historians, orators, philosophers. *Literae* are opposed to *praecipita*, which are imparted *viva voce*: the *sapientium voce*, afterwards mentioned.

9. *Nisi laudem.* *Laus* is here well-founded praise; a good reputation fairly won. Matthiae observes that the Greeks, on the contrary, use the names *virtus, vice*, respectively, for the *praise or censure* that follows them: *τὴν ἄριστην κρίσεως = laudem virtutis comparare.*


11. *Omula... exsilia,* “all kinds of banishment.” Madvig: *exsilia.*

12. *In tot... dimicationes... objecisse.* Cf. *Cluent.* 41, 113: *Nego rem esse ullam in quemquam illorum objectam, qua,* &c. So *offerre* with *in*, as well as with dat.: e.g. *pro Sest.* 1, 1: *qui au- dercem se et salutem suam in discrimen offerre pro statu civitatis et pro communi libertate.* A reason for not choosing the dative after *objicere*, which is its more common construction, may in this instance
be found in the circumstance that *impetus* lacks the dative and ablative plural. Cicero alludes here to the conspiracy of Catiline, and to the attacks of the Clodian faction which drove him into exile.

14. Pleni sunt omnes libri, &c., i.e. "full of those principles, the power of which he had just stated." Stüreburg (2) and Nauck: *pleni omnes sunt libri*. Cf. *Tusc.* 1, 6, 11.


19. Expressus. *Expressus* is a metaphor borrowed from sculpture, and is opposed to *adumbratus*, "sketched in outline." *Gloria est solida quaedam res et expressa, non adumbrata*. *Tusc.* 3, 2, 3.


31. Atque idem ego. *Idem* is not simply equivalent to *etiam*, but has an adversative force ("yet for all that"), denoting an opposition between the notions. Z. 697. *Ad Att.* 1, 11: *Ac ne illud mirere, cur, quum ego antea signiscarim tibi per litteras, me operare illum in nostra potestate fore, nunc idem videar diffidere.* *Off.* 1, 24, 84: *Inventi multi, qui non modo pecuniam, sed vitam etiam profundere pro patria parati essent, idem gloria jacturam ne minimam quidem facere vel lent.* See Hand, i. pp. 477, 493.

33. Conformatio doctrinae = conformatio naturae (sive ingenii), qua doctrina efficitur. So *sermonis delectatio*; de *Senect.* 14, in. Voluptates epularum; *ibid.* § 50 = *quae epula afferunt*. Heumann compares with what follows the words of Zeno in *Diogenes Laert.* 7, 8: *φοινικη ευγνωμια μετριαν δοκην μεροσθαλοδον, ἐν ἕν τοι δομινως ἐκδίκωσα, ἤλθας ἱσχυτα ὑπὸ τῆς τελειας ἀνάλυσις τῆς ψυχῆς.*

34. *Nescio quid.* Z. 553. This phrase usually implies that the thing is unimportant or insignificant. Here it heightens the notion by its very indefiniteness = something quite distinguished. This force also often belongs to *quidam*; e.g. ch. 2, 3, *novum quoddam genus*; 8, 18, *divino quoddam spiritu*.

35. *Ex hoc esse hunc numero, sc. contendo.—Ex hoc .... numero.* Cf. § 31.

36. *Africanum .... Lællum .... Furlum.* These three men are mentioned also, *de Orat.* 2, 37, as surrounded by men of the highest cultivation of the time.—*Divinum hominem.* See Arnold's *Nepos*, *Paus.* 1, 1, p. 116.

39. *Catone.* He was surnamed Censorinus or Sapiens, was a great orator, who learned Greek at a very advanced age, and wrote
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many works. Cicero has called his treatise, de Senectute, after him and made him one of the interlocutors in it. Cf. de Orat. 1, 37.—

Si nihil . . . adjuvarentur. Where we should use the pluperf. Cf. 2 Cat. 4, 3. Z. 525.

42. Et si, &c. Where we should use “but.” See note on p. 100, line 18.

43. Hanc animi adversionem. “Tendency” or “direction of the mind,” “mental occupation.” The substantive adversio is not found in any other passage. Matthijs observes that animum advertere is much less than studere rei or operam in ea collocare. But Cicero may choose to speak of some attention to such studies as a secondary, though interesting and valuable, pursuit. Madvig: animi remissionem, which Orelli also approves.

44. Judicaretis = judicare debertis. Cf. Etenim qui praeceps agro colendo flagitium putes, profecto illum Atilium, quem sua manu epargnetem semen, qui missi erant, convenerunt, hominem turpissimum atque ihonestissimum judicares. Pro Rosc. Am. 18, 50.—Nam cetera, &c. . . . . at haec. Madvig omits at. Hand (Turr. 1, 420) corrects the prevalent notion, that in such contrasted cases the adverative particle at is usually omitted. He gives a great many instances of its insertion. Fecit idem Themistocles . . . . at idem Pericles non fecit . . . . Att. 7, 11: Ut maiores nostri Tusculanos, &c. . . . . in civitate . . . . aceperunt; at Karthaginem et Numantiam funditus sustulerunt. Off. 1, 11—Cetera, sc. animi adversiones, i. e. ars, studia. Namely, those of a more practical nature; the object of which is not solely the ennobling of the mind, but by which we may make ourselves useful to our country and our fellow-men. Nauck inclines to think cetera the true reading, and ceterae res a gloss on this.

1. Omnium belongs to each of the genitives, temporum, aetatun, locorum.

2. Acuunt. Klotz, Stürenburg, Benecke, and Nauck retain the reading of the MSS. agunt, in the sense of employ, keep busy.

4. Non impedientur foris. A cold praise. In Or. 43, extr. he expresses himself far more strongly: quae quidem me antea in judicia atque in curiam deducebam, nunc oblectant domi. Matthijs’s next remark that peregrinari, rusticari, &c., convey no great praise, because the wicked devices of bad men occupy them as fully by day and by night, at home and abroad, has no good foundation. That the presence of good is perpetual, is a blessing that is not diminished because the presence of evil is perpetual too. With the general praise, Heumann compares Fam. 5, 13: Quibus secundae res ornantur, adversae adjuvantur. Quintet. 6, proem. 14: Credendumque docitissimis hominibus, qui unicum adversorum solatium litteras putaverunt. Plin. Ep. 8, 19: Et gaudium mihi et solatium in literis, nihilque tam latum, quod his latius, nihil tam triste, quod non per has sit minus
5. Rusticantur. The rich and distinguished among the Romans spent their summers at their country-seat, and Cicero wrote many of his treatises at his Tusculan villa.

6. Attingere = "discere." - Sensu nostro gustare = "sentire præstantium eorum."


10. Roscilli, i. e. Q. Roscius, comodi. Roscius had acquired such a perfection in his acting on the stage, that his name became proverbial for any one distinguished in his art or profession. Cicero himself elsewhere owns that he had learned much from Roscius, especially in reference to delivery. Cf. p. Quinct. 25; de Orat. 1, 23; de Nat. Deor. 1, 28; and the oration in which Cicero pleaded his cause.

12. Ergo ille. An argument, a minore ad majus, of which the more common form is an ille.... followed by non.... So 1 Cif. 31, 114: Ergo histria hoc videbit in seena, non videbit vir sapiens in vita? Orat. 51, 171: Ergo Ennio liciit vetera contemnenti dicere Versibus.... mihi de antiquis codem modo non licebit? Cf. ch. 9, in. 10 in.

13. A nobis omnibus, i. e. from all of us alike, whether learned or unlearned.

14. Hos. Klotz, Beucke, and Nauck read nos, which gives almost a better sense, and at any rate is more oratorical, as opposed to ille, although the antithesis is not strictly logical. - Animorum incre-dibles motus. "Activity of the soul" refers, in the first place, to Archias; but the plural animorum and ingeniorum renders the thought more general; and to this nos is better suited, though hos may be equivalent to hujusmodi or tales. 1 de Orat. 25, 113: animi atque ingenii celeres quidam motus esse debent. 3 de Nat. Deor. 27, 69: motum istum celerem cogitationis.

17. Novo genere dicendi, i. e. the encomium, which he is going to pronounce upon poetry and the arts, which, as such, has nothing to do with the trial.


22. Cogitate. This is the only passage in Cicero in which this adverb occurs; nor is it found in other writers, except sometimes in
Plautus, so that it appears to have belonged to familiar conversation, instead of to a more elevated style. S.


28. Indari = ἵνα οὖν ὑδροδοτήσῃ.—Suo jure = "with full right."

29. Ennius, a native of Rudiae in Calabria, flourished in the time of the second Punic war, in which he served as a centurion, and of which he composed a poetical history. He also wrote tragedies, satyric dramas, and a eulogy on the elder Scipio Africanus; but we have only fragments of his works. He died, A. D. 585.


33. Saxa et solitudines vocl respondent, &c. Nauck: voce respondent. Quinct. 9, 4, 44, says of this passage: "Magis insurgebat, si vereterut; nam plus est saxa, quam bestias commoveri; vicit tamen compositionis decor;" a strange opinion (as Stürenburg remarks), the re-echoing of the rocks being a natural law, which, he irreverently adds, would take effect, if the voice were the braying of a donkey. The fact is, that it is a poor piece of trumpery declamation. Cf. Verr. 5, 67, in.: Si haec non ad cives Romanos, non ad aliquos amicos nostrae civitatis, non ad eos, qui populi Romani nomen audiunt, denique si non ad homines, verum ad bestias, aut etiam, ut longius progradiar, si in aliqua desertissima solitudine ad saxam et ad scopulos haec conqueri et deplorare velitum, tamen omnia muta atque inanima tanta et tam indigna rerum atrocissime commoverunt.

34. Bestiae saepe immaenas. "Si quis [haec] attente consideret, videbit nullo modo referri posse ad Orphei et Arionis fabulam: quod tamen erudito homini, Paulo Manutio, visum est. Nam quod perraro factum postea fabulantur, quo ore id Cicero dixisset saepse fieri? Miliius igitur Victorius, qui id jam pridem ad serpentem retulerat: quos carminibus fictici ac consistere opinio est. Gothicarum quidem rerum scriptores narrant, uranos ita detectari tibiarum et fistularum pastoriciarum sono, ut, cum in pastores impetum facta sunt, saepse ab eis cantu mulceantur: atque hanc usitatissimam pastoribus ejus regionis rationem esse expediebat ab ursorum impetu salutis suae. Vix tamen est, ut existimem id Ciceroni notumuisse." Muretus. Benecke considers this too meager an explanation to suit the coloring of the entire passage. The myths respecting the enchanting notes of the singers of the earliest times floated before the mind of the orator, and, carried away by his feelings, he represents as of frequent occurrence, what was a matter of individual experience.
NOTES.

36. Homerum. Cicero here mentions only four towns which claimed the honor of being Homer's birthplace. A Greek verse mentions seven.—Colophonii . . . iatoque etiam delubrum ejus in oppido dedicaverunt, causae nulla est, cur mutetur. Quamvis enim Ieta quoque Homerum suum esse contenderent, non tamen Ciceronis propositum fuit eas omnes urbes nominare, quae sibi summum illum poetae vindicarent. Et notum est apud Smyrnœos Homeri delubrum fuisse.

Strabo libro quartodecimo: ἵππος δὲ καὶ βιβλιοθήκη καὶ τὸ Ὀμῆρου, στῶν τετράγωνων ἱστορία νῦν Ὀμῆρου καὶ ξίδανων ἀντιποικισμαὶ γὰρ καὶ οὕτω διαφέροντας τὸν ποιητὴν καὶ δὲ καὶ νόμισμα τι χαλκόν παρ' αὐτοῖς Ὀμῆρου λέγεται. Muretus.

37. Smyrniæ vero. Z. 348, Note

Ch. IX.—Ergo III.1. See note on line 12.

42. Qu i et. Klotz and Stürenburg: et qui.

43. Præsértim quum, i. e. minime vero (repudiabimus) præsértim quum, &c. Klotz, Madvig, and Nauck: repudiamus.

103 1. Cimbricas res . . . attigit, ο. the victory of Marius over the Cimbi. Attigit = scribere cæpti, inchoavit. Cf. ch. 11.

2. Qui durior ad haec studia videbatur = "qui ea sensus sua minus gustare poterat." Cf. Sall. Jug. 85, where Marius is made to say: "Neque literas Graecas didici. Parum placebat eis discere, quippe quae ad virtutem doctoribus nihil profuerunt."

4. Aversus a Muöis = ἄνωνος.

8. Ejus, a quo sua virtus. Cf. Val. Max. 8, 13. Plutarch attributes this to Xenophon, alluding no doubt to Hier. 1, 14: τὸν μὲν ἥλιον ἄκροφαστος, ἵκαλο, οὖν πανίγεστε οὐ Μεμ. 2, 1, 31: τὸ δὲ ναυτῶν ἥλιον ἄκροφαστος, ἢκαλον πανίγεσθε, ἅνωνος οὐ. There is no reason, however, for doubting that Themistocles may have uttered the sentiment.


10. Quae gesserat. Z. 546.

12. In multa varietate, &c.; from its various fluctuations of success, its battles by day and by night, its sieges, &c.—Totum ab hoc expressum est. Not totum, but only the part of it that Lucullus carried on; not the later and final successes of Pompey, who had his eulogist in the person of Theophanes of Mitylene. Manutius.

13. Expressum est, i. e. a lively image was given. Expressere properly refers to an image in wax, gypsum, &c.; or per aihenesa signa, as Hor. Ep. 2, 1, 248, has it.

15. Aperuit . . . Pontum. Cf. pro lege Manil. 8, 21: patefac- tumque nostris legionibus esse Pontum, qui ante populo Romano ex omnibus cauibus fuisse. Pontus was bounded on the north by the
Euxine, and on the landward sides enclosed by a chain of mountains. Mithridates had besides guarded this country by five and seventy for¬
tresses. Stürenburg reads et ipse natura egregie vallatum; Nauck, from the MSS. which give naturae regione, makes natura et regione.

18. Non maxima manu. Plutarch, Lucull. 27, says, 10,000 heavy-armed soldiers.—Innumerabilia Armeniorum copias. Plutarch, ib. c. 26 and 27, says 260,000. He is speaking of the battle at Tigranocerta. He tells us that Tigranes said, when he saw the Romans, εἰ μὲν ὁς προσβεςτήφι, τολλί πάρεινεν: εἰ δὲ ώς στρατίωτας, ὡμοι.

bem sibi Mithridates Asia januum fore putavisset, qua effracta et revulsa tota pateret provincia, perfecta ab Lucullo hac sunt omnia, ut urbes fidelissimorum sociorum defenderetur, et omnes copiae regis diuturnitate obsidionem consumerentur. Cf. also pro l. Manil. 8, 20.


21. Nostra semper feretur . . . depressa hostium classis = depressio hostium classis. Z. 637. This use of participles is very common; e. g. 1 Verr. 4, 11: quaestura quid aliquod habet in se, nisi Cn. Carbonem epoliatam—nudatum et proditum Consulem, desertum exercitum? "As o u r exploit will the sinking of the enemy's fleet, &c., always be named and celebrated."


24. Tropea, marks of places where victories have been won. They consisted of arms piled upon one another, or suspended on pillars or trees.—Monumenta, artificial monuments, such as columns or inscriptions. The triumphs here alluded to are those of Lucullus, for Pompey's triumph was not celebrated till after the time of this speech.

25. Quae quorum, &c. "Therefore those, by whose," &c. Nauck retains the old reading Quare, quorum ingenii haec feruntur, i. e. ea, quae diximus, patescunt omniumque ore celebrantur.

that Pliny asserts that he had himself read the name of Ennius on the monument; but it is not legi the infin. (not perfect indicative)? jussit, nomen... legi. This celebrated monument was discovered A.D. 1780, but contained no such statues as are spoken of in the above quotation.

28. At ilsa laudibus, sc. quibus Ennius Scipionem ornasit. S., who compares Fam. 5, 13, 3: Casus enim gladiatorii similitudinumque ex, tum rationes in ea disputatione a te collecta vetabant me rei publicae penitus diffideris; i.e. similitudinumque ex, quibus-usus ex.

29. Ipse, qui laudatur, instead of the common reading ipse, qui laudantur. Ita hoc membrum refertur ad unum Africanum: in sequentibus alio nomine virum illustres ab Ennio in annalibus celebratos.

30. In cælum... adjungitur. The two propositions are placed together without a conjunction, as if they were not related to each other; but the relation is implied by this very juxtaposition. The force is quum in cælum Cato tollitur, tum, &c.—Hujus = Catonis Uticensis: pro avus Cato, Censorius. Hic is often used of contemporaries = qui nunc vivit, in opposition to one of an earlier day. It often also denotes one present.

32. Omnes denique IIII, &c. These are the most celebrated Roman generals in the second Punic war: Q. Fabius Maximus Cunctator; Claudius Marcellus, the conqueror of Syracuse, A. u. c. 542; and Q. Fulvius Flaccus, the conqueror of Capua in A. u. c. 543.

33. Decorantur = celebrantur; namely, by Ennius in his annals.

Ch. X.—34. Rudinum hominem, i.e. Ennius, who says of himself, de Orat. 3, 42, Nos sumus Romani; qui fuimus ante Rudini; from which, as from the passage before us, it appears that Rudiae was not a foderata civitas. Cicero means to contrast its insignificance with the splendor of Heraclea, whence Archias derived his claim of citizenship.

36. In hac, i.e. at Rome itself. Ennius had obtained the Roman franchise through M. Fulvius Nobilius, the conqueror of the Ætolians, A. u. c. 565, who had led a colony to Rudiae.

37. De... civitate ejusdemus? If he had said e civitate, it might have been supposed that he meant in exsilium mittere. Compare etire de vita, Lat. 4, 15; de manibus extorsemus; ex urbe depulsa, 2 Cat. 1, 2. See Hand, Turs. ii. p. 188.

38. Nam si quia, &c. Nam is not a mere particle of transition, but implies that what the orator is going to say is related in the way of reasoning to what preceded. The "shall we cast him out of the number of citizens?" implies a strong denial of this; involving the notion, gathered from what preceded, that the city would disgrace itself by casting out one who had conferred such honor upon it. Cicero
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proceeds to justify this assertion, and the consequent assumption that he ought not to be cast out, and should not be cast out, by meeting the objection that the city had not received any considerable honor from him because he wrote in Greek. = ejiciemus? minime vero; nvm, quod contradicere aliquis possit Græcis carminiibus Archias populi Romani gloriam minus celebrari, a si quis minorem . . . errat.

40. Leguatur in omnibus sese gentibus, sc. through their colonies, and through the conquests of Alexander the Great, the Greek language had spread over the coasts of the Mediterranean, and throughout the Eastern world. Cf. de Div. 1, 41, 90: eaque divinationum ratio in barbaris quidem gentibus neglecta est. Tusc. 5, 27, 77: in ea tamen gente primum ii qui sapientes habentur, nudi estatem agent, &c. S.

41. Suis finibus. That is, is limited to Latium; since even in the neighboring Etruria a different language was spoken. The expression, however, is nevertheless oratorical.

43. Quo manuum, &c. Nauck: quo minus manuum . . . eo gloriam; giving this sense: Our deeds do not extend beyond the boundaries of our empire. It is to be desired, therefore, that those nations beyond the limits of the Roman empire, who have not experienced our prowess, should at least be reached by the fame of our deeds. Stuæburg: quo minus, &c.

44. Gloriam famamque sic intelligi voluit, ut cogitaretur de gloria famaque, hoc est de gloria fama, quam carmina adderent Romanorum rebus gestis. S.


3. Periculum inicitamentum = incit. ad pericula subeunda. So open, irritamenta malorum, O. Met. 1, 140; invitamentum scleros, Vell. Patrec. 2, 67. Z. 423, in fin.—Quam multis scriptores, &c. "No contemporary author of the campaigns of Alexander remains. Our best account comes from Arrian, who lived in the second century of the Christian era, but who drew up his history from the accounts of Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, and Aristotle of Cassandria." Smith's Dict. of Biog. The work that gives most information on this subject is St. Croix's Examen critique des Anciens Historiens d'Alexandre le grand.

5. In Sigco. Sigoum, a promontory on the coast of Troy, with the 'Αχτίλευν, the reputed tomb of Achilles.

7. Præcolum, translated from the Greek κηφή (used by Plutarch in vit. Alex. 15, extr.). The usual Latin term for herald, figuratively used, is prædicator, laudator. Buccinator is trumpeter.—Invenerit.
NOTES.


S. Nisi illas illa. Nauck: nisi illi ara illa, i. e. illi Achilli ara illa Homeri.


11. Theophanem. We learn from Cic. Att. 2, 5, 1, &c., that he was the intimate and confidential friend of Pompey, and had very great influence with him (Att. 5, 11, 3). He accompanied him on his expeditions in the East. Only a few epigrams of his have come down to our time.

12. Nostri illi fortes viri. The fortes viri are the soldiers of Pompey; nostri is here used with emphasis and pride.


15. Itaque, credo, an ironical supposition. The meaning is: any imperator would have been happy to make him a citizen. What follows is to be taken in the same sense. How is pericere non potuit to be construed? P. C. 130.

17. Potuit. Z. 519. Cf. 3 Cat. 9, 22.—Hispanos...et Gallos.

In the Ora. pro Balb. 22, 50, he mentions Aristo of Massilia (Marsoilles) and nine inhabitants of Gades.

18. Quem nos, &c. Klotz: quem nos in concionc videamus! quem...statim ex his rebus, suas tum vendebat, jussit ei, &c. Stürenburg: videamus, cui quern libellum...jussit ei, &c.


20. Subjecisset, “had put (or thrust) into his hands.”—Quod...feciisset. Matthiae thinks the subj. refers the assertion to the poetaster (who would say “feci in te epigramma”), although Cicero adds the description of the metre. With this Orelli’s paraphrase accords: “quem ego ipse in concionc vidi, quam ei vulgaris aliquis poeta in manus timide porrecta dextra tradisset libellum, non carmen, sed breve scriptum, quo premium petebat, propter qua quod in ejus laudem composuisset epigramma (quod tamen, addit Cicero, quid aliquid erat quam, ut solet esse ista Graecorum poetarum, numerum tantummodo aliquot distichorum elegiacorum, nulla elegantia, nullo lepore?)” Nauck, however, makes quod...feciisset the thought of Sulla. Nor does in csum determine the question. See Z. 550.

21. Alternis versibus longiusculis, “in longe and shorte.”—Tantummodo...versibus longiusculis, i. e. whose only merit was that they consisted of longs and shorts: “hoc est, in quo nihil aliud erat nisi alterni versus longiusculi, nulli sale, nullo aures, nihil
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23. Quí . . . . duxerit = quem ille duxerit. Z. 564.

24. Tamen, i.e. bad as the poet, and consequently the poem was. —Hujus referring to Archias, not cujus with Stürenburg and Benecke, by which the sentiment is made general.

25. Virtutem in scribendo. So oratoris virtutes, Brut. 17, 65; oratoris vis illa divina virtusque, de Or. 2, 27, 120; comica virtus, Epigr. of Julius Caesar in Suet. vit. Ter. p. 46, ed. Wolf.—In scribendo (rather than scribendi); the prep. refers it to expectisset (?). M. Scribendi would limit virtus; in scribendo denotes the object, in quo illa virtus cernitur. Benecke.

27. Per Lucullus. According to Plutarch the Luculli were kinsmen of Metellus, and the mother of L. Lucullus the sister of Q. Metellus Numidicus, the father of Pius.


30. Peregrinum. Foreign or provincial; they could not write pure Latin.—Aures suas dederet = "libenter audiret." So aures suas dare alciui, Att. 1, 5. Vide . . . . quibus . . . aures sint dedite mea, Att. 2, 14, 2.

Cu. XI.—33. Optimus quisque maxime. Z. 710, b.—Ipsi illi philosophi. Tusc. 1, 15, 34: quid nostri philosophi? nonne in his ipsi libris, quos scribunt de contemnenda gloria, sua nomina inscribunt? Matthaeus says that Cicero always uses inscribere with in; but Stürenburg quotes vestris monumentis nomen suum inscripsit, from d. Harusp. 27, 58; an oration which some think not genuine: so inesse in aliqua re, not rei. Inscribere librum alciui would be to dedicate it to him. Ipsi illi = tantopere celebrati. Manutius. Klotz: in illis libellis.

36. Prædicari de se ac nominari volunt, i.e. volunt nominari, and volunt de se prædicari, = ut de se prædicetur; i.e. prædicari is, so to speak, used impersonally.

37. Declimus quidem Brutus, who ante tempus excisa Numantiae, penetratis omnibus Hispania gentibus, ingenti vi hominum
urbiumque potitus numero, editis quae vix auditae erum Gallaci cognomen meruit, Vell. Patr. 2, 5. Similiter honoratus minus erga poetae Accius D. Bruti, suis temporibus clari ducis, exstitit; cujus familiari cultu et promota laudatione delectatus, ejus versibus templorum aditus, quae ex manubiiis consecraverat, adornavit. Val. Max. 8, 14, 2. Cf. Brut. 28, init. He was consul with P. Corn. Scipio Serapio a. u. c. 616. Quodem, after proper names, saltem, but with nearly the force of "for instance," one being selected out of many persons mentioned or alluded to. The force seems to be: "As at all events" (and therefore probably others).

38. Accius, the old tragic poet Accius (or Attius), born a. c. 170. Cicero had often conversed with him in his youth (Brut. 28). His tragedies were mostly imitated from Æschylus, but some on Roman subjects (prætextata), e. g. one entitled Bratus, probably in honor of his patron. He is praised for the strength and vigor of his language, and the sublimity of his thoughts. Cf. Smith's Dict. of Bing.—Templorum ac monumentorum. Monum. genus; templo, species. It was customary for generals to institute, from the portion of looty which fell to them, public festivities, or to erect public monuments. Some here understand the temple of Mars, others private sanctuaries of D. Bratus, upon which he caused the Saturnian verses of his friend to be inscribed.


42. Imperatores prope armati, i. e. who had hardly laid down their arms; who had but just returned from war; in opposition to the following tōgātii judices.

1. Atque, ut id libentius faciatis; quum intelligitis, quantopere ego cupiam Archias devinitus propter consulatum mecum ejus ingenio celebratur.

2. De meo quodam amore glorié . . . confitebor. Cf. ad Fam. 5, 12; ad Att. 1, 16.

4. Vobiscum simul. The art of the orator in seeking to enlist the feelings of the judges for Archias, by making them participants in the glory of his consulship, is apparent.—Hujus urbis atque imperii. Madvig: hujusce imperii.

5. Proorque. Z. 356, in fin.

6. Incheavít, non tamen ad termimum perduxit. Att. 1, 16, 15.

Oration for the Poet Archias.

Orelli. Madvig: adhortatus sum. Nunc: quibus auditis mihi magna res et jacunda visa est hanc ad persiciendum adhortari; omitting quod. Other readings are adoravi, adhortavi, hortatus fui, hortavi and hortatus sum. Orelli's conjecture adivi, and Klotz's adornavi hint at Cicero's furnishing to Archias the materials, as he offered to do to Lucceius. Fam. 5, 12.

9. Præter hanc, i. e. quam commemoravi. Cf. Philipp. 5, 13, 35: necque enim ullam mercedem tanta virtus præter hanc laudis gloriæque desiderat; but he there adds more philosophically, qua etiam ei careat, tamem si se ipse contenta. Cf. also Hor. Ep. 1, 17, 42. Z. 767, Note.

11. Tantis nes in laboribus exerceamus! So Tusc. 5, 1, 3: Casus, in quibus me fortuna vehementer exercuit.


16. Nunc is here used (as the Greek ἄς) to oppose the actual state of things to the supposed case (si nihil animus, &c.) rejected.

19. Dimittendam, i. e. "ita ut cum vita finiatur." Dimittendam is doubted by Orelli, because, with Lambinus, he thinks then not cum vita tempore, but cum vita fine, or cum vita, or morte would be required. Lambinus: dimittendum, which Orelli thinks corresponds better with adaquandum. Stürenburg: dimittandum.

Ch. XII.—21. Parvi animi. Tam demisi, angusti, contracti. Parvis animis, "a narrow mind," which does not take the future into consideration.

25. An statuas, &c. On this form of argument, a minore ad majus, cf. note on p. 9, line 19. The following is an example, in which nonne occurs (as here) in the second clause:—An vero, si dominum magnum pulchrænam vidēris, non possis adduci, ut, etiam si dominum non vides, muribus illam et mustelis edificatam putes: tantum vero ornatum mundi, tantam varietatem pulchritudinemque rerum caelestium, tantam vim et magnitudinem maris atque terrarum, si tuum, ac non Deorum immortalium domicilium putes, nonne plane desipere videas? De Nat. Deor. 2, 6, 17. Madvig: non multo malle, &c.

29. Expressam refers to the truth and accuracy; politam to the finish and taste of the expression or representation.

30. Jam tum in gerendo = jam tum, quam geregam.

31. Hoc ... a meo sensu. From my perception. Hoc refers to memoria semipeternam.

32. Sive ... ad aliquam animi mel partem, &c. Cicero not uncommonly speaks of partes animi; e. g. quid est autem se ipsum
colligere, nisi dissipatas animi partes rursum in suum locum cogere?

Tusc. 4, 36, 78. Cf. Acad. 2, 39; de Fin. 5, 13, 36. He mentions animus to indicate that if anything survives, it will be the soul; and he speaks indefinitely, to hint at the possibility of there being some difference in the perceptions or faculties of the soul after death. S. Madvig: ad aliquam mei partem, omitting animi, as Hor. Od. 3, 30, 6; Ovid, Am. 1, 15, 42.

33. Septentriassimi homines. Such as Pythagoras and Socrates, who taught the immortality of the soul.


39. Vetustate = vetere notitia; their long-enduring friendship. Significat: vetera comemorativa, quae ipsa signo est, virtutibus suis Archim dignum se præstitesse Ciceronis præsertim amicitia. Dignitatem enim potius ceteris poetae amicis, viris illustribus tribuit, sibi modestissime vetustatem, veteranum, ut dixi, notitiam, quo significat aliquoties utilium. Orelli. Klotz and Stürenburg: venustate. Sed de hominibus semper usum pat hoc v. Cicero cum leni cipoviq, veluti Verr. 5, 54, 142; in Pison. 28, 70. Accedit de Off. 1, 36, 130, venustatem muliebre dum usque debemus, dignitatem virilem; adeo ut, si Archias amicorum venustatem h. l. commemorasset orator, vel ipsi Catoni rium concitassent. Orelli. Süpplie, who also reads vetustate, notices, that in this remark Orelli goes too far, and refers to ch. 8, artem ac venustatem; and Steinmetz, in defence of venustate, refers to de Orat. 2, 56, 228, and, where dignitas and venustas are brought together, ib. 3, 45, 178; 1, 31, 142. Klotz and Nauck: quanto id convent.—Id . . . quod . . . . expetitum esse videatis. For expetitum sit, or expetitum esse videatis. Z. 551.

41. Comprobetur. Z. 556.

43. Divina. See above, § 18.—Ingentia. Id est: “Si vobis, judices, viris tanto ingenio præditis, Archias non solum ab hominibus, ejus amicis, sed etiam a divina sua arte (a facultate poeticis, cujus optimi vos estis existimatores), commendatus debet esse.”

106. 2. Domestica pericullis. This alludes to the Catilinarian conspiracy, which had been suppressed the year before.

4. Isaque est, both the Greeks and the Romans pass to the demonstrative pron. from the relative in the last clause (or later clauses) of an enumeration (though there be but two members): “Quem (Pythagoram) Philoentem diueunt venisse, cunqque . . . dissersisse.” Z. 806. Madvig: estque ex eo admodum probabilius. Orelli.—Eo numero, qui . . . sunt habitu. So Agr. 2, 14, 37: “Quem ex eo numeri, qui per eos annos consules fuerunt, multi mortui sint.” Cf. ad 2 Cat. 10, 21. Z. 366. Eo numero in this sense is less usual than ex eo numero. The examples quoted by Stürenburg show that Cicero and other wri-
ters used ex eo, hoc, illo numero very frequently, in eo numero often, de eo numero rarely; but eo numero esse never, in the sense of "be among," "belong to." Süpfe here would take the ablative as the ablativ of quality: "Archias is one of that class, belongs to the honorable number of those," &c. He compares nullo numero esse. Stürenburg (2): isque est ex eo numero.


12. Ab eo, i. e. Q. Cicerone, fratre meo, sc. accepta esse.—Certe scio. So the MSS. It used to be contended that certo with scio was the only correct usage. See Z. 266, Note 1. Certe scio significat: certum est me scire, et aliquantum differt a verbis certo scire, i. e. certa est mihi notitia rei. Hand, Tura. ii. 18. Certe relates more to the persuasion of the speaker, certo to the real state of the case. In other words, certo is objective; certe, subjective. Stürenburg makes certe an adverb, appropriated to the expression of a feeling, certo one that refers to the understanding. De fratre utrumque dici poterat; ex meo quidem sensu, de fratre meo locuturus, certo potius scripsissem. Neque id obliviscendum, mediea quam dicitus etati adverbium certo prorsus ignotumuisse. Orelli. Here certe scio = an emphatic "I know," and is opposed to spero which precedes. Cicero wishes to indicate hanc non esse meram speciem, sed justam scieniam.
THE ORATION FOR T. ANNIUS MILO.

INTRODUCTION.

P. CLIDIUS PULЧER first makes his appearance in history in a. u. c. 68, serving with his brother Appius under his brother-in-law, L. Lucullus, in Asia. Displeased at not being treated by Lucullus with the distinction he had expected, he encouraged the soldiers to mutiny. Afterwards, being intrusted by his other brother-in-law, Q. Marcius Rex, at that time proconsul in Cilicia, with the command of the fleet, he fell into the hands of the pirates, who however dismissed him without ransom, through fear of Pompey. He next went to Antiocheia, and joined the Syrians in making war on the Arabians. Here again he excited some of the soldiers to mutiny, and nearly lost his life. He now returned to Rome, and made his first appearance in civil affairs in a. u. c. 699, by impeaching Catiline for extortion in his government of Africa. Catiline bribed his accuser and judge, and escaped.

In a. u. c. 690, Clodius accompanied the propretor, L. Munera, to Gallia Transalpina, where he resorted to the most nefarious methods of procuring money. He also had recourse to similar proceedings on his return to Rome.

Towards the close of 692, Clodius was guilty of an act of sacrilege, which is especially memorable, as it gave rise to that deadly enmity between himself and Cicero, which produced such important consequences to both and to Rome. The mysteries of the Bona Dea were this year celebrated in the house of Caesar. Clodius, who had an intrigue with Pompeia, Caesar's wife, with the assistance of one of the attendants entered the house disguised as a female musician. But while his guide was gone to apprise her mistress, Clodius was detected by his voice. The alarm was immediately given, but he made his escape by the aid of the damsel who had introduced him. He was already a candidate for the questorship, and was elected; but in the beginning of 693, before he set out for his province, he was impeached for this offence. The senate referred the matter to the pontifices, who declared it an act of impiety. Under the direction of the senate a rogation was proposed to the people, to the effect that Clodius should be tried by judices selected by the pretor who was to preside. The assembly, however, was broken up without coming to a decision. The senate was at first disposed to persist in its original plan; but afterwards, on the recommendation of Hortensius, the proposition of the tribune Publius Calenus was adopted, in accordance with which the judices were to be selected from the three decuries. Cicero, who had hitherto strenuously supported the senate, now relaxed in his exertions. Clodius attempted to prove an alibi, but Cicero's evidence showed that he was with him in Rome only three hours before he pretended to have been at Interamna. Bribery and intimidation, however, secured him an acquittal by a majority of 31 to 35. Cicero, however, who had been irritated by some sarcastic allusions made by Clodius to his consulsip, and by a verdict given in contradiction to his testimony, attacked Clodius and his partisans in the senate with great vehemence.

Eager to revenge himself on Cicero, that he might be armed with more formidable power Clodius purposed becoming a tribune of the plebs. For this m
was necessary that he should be adopted into a plebeian family. Repeated attempts were made by the tribune, C. Herennius, to get this brought about. But the triumvirs had not yet taken Clodius's side. Cicero, however, whose reliance was placed on the friendship and support of Pompey, in defending C. Antonius, provoked the triumvirs, and especially Caesar, and within three hours after the delivery of his speech, Clodius became the adopted son of P. Fonteius (at the end of the year 69). The lex curiata for his adoption was proposed by Caesar, and Pompey presided in the assembly. The whole proceeding was irregular, but Clodius was soon actively endeavoring to secure his election to the tribuneship, and succeeded in his object with the assistance of Caesar, and entered upon his office in December, A. U. C. 695.

Clodius did not immediately assail his enemies. His first measures were a series of laws, calculated to lay senate, knights, and people under obligations to him. The consuls of the year he also gained over to his interests, and having thus prepared the way, he opened his attack upon Cicero by proposing a law to the effect, that whoever had taken the life of a citizen, uncondemned and without a trial, should be interdicted from earth and water. The proceedings which ensued ended in Cicero's withdrawing into exile.

Immediately after the banishment of Cicero, Clodius set fire to his house on the Palatine, and destroyed his villas at Tusculum and Formiae. The greater part of the property carried off from them, was divided between the two consuls. To alienate Cicero's property irretrievably, he dedicated it to the goddess Libertas; and a small portion of the site of the dwelling on the Palatine, with part of the ground on which the portico of Catulus, which adjoined Cicero's grounds, had stood, was occupied by a chapel to the goddess. He went so far as to offend Pompey by aiding the escape of Tigranes, son of the king of Armenia, whom Pompey had brought a prisoner to Rome. In this instance also his services were purchased. Pompey, however, did not feel himself strong enough to resent the insult. Clodius soon assailed him more openly and made an attempt, through one of his slaves, upon the life of Pompey, who now withdrew to his own house, and kept there as long as his enemy was in office.

The attempts made before the end of this year to procure the recall of Cicero proved abortive. Next year, A. U. C. 697, T. Annius Milo was tribune of the plebs, when his memorable and fatal contest with Clodius began. Milo was deeply in debt, and a wealthy province alone could extricate him. But without eloquence or political talent, the member of a comparatively obscure family could not hope to obtain the consulate, unless he identified his own interest with that of some one or other of the great leaders of the commonwealth. Milo, therefore, attached himself to Cn. Pompey, and Cicero's recall from exile was the immediate pretext of their alliance. In procuring Cicero's restoration, Milo, from his daring and unscrupulous character, was by far the most efficient of the tribunes. He combated Clodius with his own weapons. He purchased, after a faint and fruitless trial of constitutional means, a band of gladiators, and the streets of Rome were the scene of almost daily and always deadly conflicts between the two leaders of these paid assassins.

When the senate came to a resolution to propose to the comitia a decree for the restoration of Cicero, Clodius was the only one who opposed it; and when, on the fourth of August, it was brought before the people, Clodius spoke against it, but could do nothing more. The decree by which Cicero was recalled, provided also for the restitution of his property. Some difficulty, however, remained with respect to the house on the Palatine, the site of which had been consecrated by Clodius to the service of religion. The matter was referred to the college of pontifices, who returned an answer sufficient to satisfy all religious scruples; and the senate decreed the restoration of the site,
and the payment of a sum of money to Cicero for rebuilding his house. When the workmen began their operations in November, Clodius attacked and drove them off, pulled down the portico of Catulus, which had been nearly rebuilt, and set fire to the house of Q. Cicero. Shortly afterwards he assaulted Cicero himself in the street, and compelled him to take refuge in a neighboring house. Milo twice rescued him from the hands of the Clodian mob. The success of the combatants was nearly equal. Milo's houses in Rome, the Annia on the Capitoline and another on the hill Germinalus, were assailed by the Clodians, but Clodius was twice driven from the forum, and the last time narrowly escaped with his life. Nor did the rivals restrict their warfare to the swords of their adherents. With equal justice and consistency they accused each other of a breach of the Lex Plautia de vi, and with equal violence both eluded the results of prosecution. Clodius, however, notwithstanding Milo's repeated disruption of the comitia, succeeded in carrying his election for the curule-ordo in A. u. c. 698, and was thus during his year of office exempt from impeachment. Milo, whose tribunate expired in December, 697, was on the other hand open to legal proceedings, and Cicero from dread of Crassus, who favored Clodius, refused to undertake his defence. It was, therefore, necessary for his safety that he should again hold an office of the state. But his bankrupt condition did not allow him to risk the expenses of the curule-ordo, and there is no authentic record of his praeatorship. In those convulsive years of Rome, it is indeed likely that the sequence of magistracies was not very strictly observed. Milo, however, although never mlile, exhibited seditionist games of unusual and, according to Cicero, of insane magnificence. He was enabled to give them by the bequest of a deceased curule-ordo whose name is lost, and he exhibited them in the year previous to his canvass for the consulship.

In A. u. c. 701, Milo was candidate for the consulship, and Clodius for the praeatorship of the ensuing year. Each strove to hinder the election of the other. They collected armed bands of slaves and gladiators, and the streets of Rome became the scene of fresh tumults and frays, in one of which Cicero himself was endangered. When the consuls endeavored to hold the comitia, Clodius fell upon them with his band, and one of them, Cn. Domitius, was wounded. The senate met to deliberate. Clodius spoke, and attacked Cicero and Milo, touching, among other things, upon the amount of debt with which the latter was burdened. Cicero, to whom Milo's election was of vital importance, defended him in the speech De aere alieno Miltonis, of which a few fragments are still extant. The contest, however, was soon after brought to a sudden and violent end. On the 30th of January, A. u. c. 702, Milo set out on a journey to Lanuvium. Near Bovilla he met Clodius, who was returning to Rome after visiting some of his property. Both were accompanied by armed followers, but Milo's party was the stronger. The two antagonists had passed each other without disturbance; but two of the gladiators in the rear of Milo's troop picked a quarrel with some of the followers of Clodius, who immediately turned round and rode up to the scene of dispute, when he was wounded in the shoulder by one of the gladiators. The fray now became general. The party of Clodius were put to flight, and betook themselves with their leader to a house near Bovilla. Milo ordered his men to attack the house. Several of Clodius's men were slain, and Clodius himself dragged out and dispatched. The body was left lying on the road, till a senator named Sex. Tedius found it, and conveyed it to Rome. Here it was exposed to the view of the populace, who crowded to see it. Next day it was carried naked to the forum, and again exposed to view before the rostra. The mob, enraged by the spectacle, and by the inflammatory speeches of the tribunes Munatius Plancus and Q. Pompeius Rufus, headed by Sex. Clodius, carried the corpse into the Curia.
ORATION FOR T. ANNIUS MILO.

Hostilia, made a funeral pile of the benches, tables, and writings, and burst the body on the spot. Not only the senate-house, but the Forcian basilica, erected by Cato the Censor, and other adjoining buildings, were reduced to ashes.

The immediate effect of the death of Clodius was to depress the Milonian, and to reanimate the Clodian faction. Milo at first meditated voluntary exile. But the excesses of his opponents made his presence once more possible at Rome. The tribune of the plebs, M. Cassius, attended him to the forum, and Milo addressed the assembly in the white robe of a candidate, and proceeded with his consular canvass. But a more powerful, though secret, opponent had meanwhile risen up against Milo. His competitors in the comitia were P. Plantius Hypseus and Q. Metellus Scipio. Ca. Pompey had married a daughter of Scipio, and from Hypseus he expected aid in gratifying the prime object of his ambition—the dictatorship. A bill for his appointment was not indeed promulgated. But the senate nominated him sole consul. Pompey immediately brought forward three laws, which, from their immediate reference to the circumstances of the times, were in fact privilegia. In the first he specially noticed the murder at Boville, the confabulation of the Curia Hostilia and the Forcian Basilica, and the attack upon the house of M. Lepidus the interrex. In the second, he introduced more stringent penalties for ambitus; and in the third he increased the severity of the existing laws against sodalititia, or illegal interference with the freedom of the comitia. The time allowed for trials de Vi, Ambitu, Sodalititia, was also much shortened, only three days being assigned to the accusation, the defence, and the examination of witnesses. M. Cassius opposed these laws on the ground that they were privilegia and retrospective. But Pompey stifled all opposition by surrounding his house and gardens with soldiers, and withdrawing himself from the senate and the forum, on pretence of dreading Milo's violence. A variety of charges and recriminations was brought forward by either faction. The slaves of Milo and Clodius were respectively required to be given up to the torture; and perjury and intimidation, the forms of law, and the abuse of justice, were put in active requisition. Milo, however, was not without hope, since the higher aristocracy, from jealousy of Pompey, supported him, and Cicero undertook his defence. His trial opened on the fourth of April, a. u. c. 702. He was impeached by the two Clodii, nephews of the deceased, de Vi; by Q. Petulcius and L. Cornificius, de Ambitu; and by P. Fulvius Neratius, de Sodalititia. L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, a consular, was appointed quæstor or investigator, by a special law of Pompey's, and all Rome and thousands of spectators from Italy thronged the forum and its avenues from dawn to sunset during these memorable proceedings. But Milo's chances of acquittal, faint even had justice been decorously administered, were wholly marred by the virulence of his adversaries, who insulted and obstructed the witnesses, the process, and the conductors of the defence. Ca. Pompey availed himself of these disorders to line the forum and its encompassing hills with soldiers. Cicero was intimidated, and Milo was condemned. Had he even been acquitted on the first count de Vi, the two other charges of bribery and conspiracy awaited him. He therefore went into exile. Cicero, who could not deliver, rewrote and expanded the defence of Milo—the extant oration—and sent it to him at Marseilles. Milo remarked, "I am glad this was not spoken, since I must have been acquitted, and then had never known the delicate flavor of these Marseilles-mullets." Milo's exile was a heavy blow to his numerous creditors.

The close of Milo's life was as inglorious, as his political career had been violent and disgraceful. Milo expected a recall from Caesar, when, in a. u. c. 68, the dictator permitted many of the exiles to return. But better times
were come, and Rome neither needed nor wished for the presence of a bankrupt agitator. Milo's former friend, the ex-tribune M. Cælius, praetor a. u. c. 706, promulgated a bill for the adjustment of debts—a revolutionary measure, for which the senate, where the Caesarian party had then a majority, expelled him from his office. Cælius, himself a man of broken fortunes, required desperate allies, and he accordingly invited Milo to Italy, as the fittest tool for his purposes. At the head of the survivors of his gladiatorial bands, reinforced by Samnite and Bruttian herdsmen, by criminals and runaway slaves, Milo appeared in Campania, and proclaimed himself a legatus of Ca. and Sextus Pompey. He found, however, no adherents, and retreated into Lucania, where he was met by the praetor, Q. Pedius, and slain under the walls of an obscure fort in the district of Thurii.—Dict. Gr. and Rom. Biog. and Mythol.

Clodius and Milo.

ANALYSIS.

In the introduction the orator confesses, that the sight of the place of trial surrounded by armed men is somewhat terrifying to him: he however expresses his conviction, that Pompey has adopted this arrangement only the better to secure to the law its due course; and his assurance that the better class of citizens are strongly inclined in favor of Milo. (Ch. 1.) The rest, a turbulent mob, composed of the hirelings of Clodius, will fail to frighten the judges, who now have an opportunity to testify to a man who deserves so well of the lovers of their country, as Milo, the sympathy which is his due. Then follows an intimation of his leading position: that the taking of Clodius's life was an act of self defence. (Ch. 2.)

The oration itself may be divided into three parts.

1. A refutation of the allegations of the opponents:—

(a) "That the taking of human life is in all cases inexcusable." This is invalidated by examples drawn from Roman history, from the myth of Orestes, by the laws of the twelve tables, and by the nature of the case. (Chaps. 3, 4.)

(b) "That the taking of Clodius's life was a violation of the Roman constitution." The senate, as Cicero also admits, did indeed make use of this language; but it wished, notwithstanding, that the case should be tried under existing laws, only immediately, without the delay which would ordinarily ensue from awaiting its turn. Pompey, on the other hand, carried a special law for this case. But he wished only to secure the course of justice, and in fact recognised the possibility of Milo's acquittal. (Chaps. 5, 6.)

(c) "The murder of Clodius is the more deserving of punishment, because it occurred on the Appian road, which is a monument of his illustrious ancestor." The renown of Drusus and of Scipio Africanus the younger did not protect them from murder, which was not even investigated. Clodius too had previously contaminated the Appian way by a deed of murder. He had also attempted the life of Pompey and others; and no special investigation had on that account been ordered. (Ch. 7.)

(d) Pompey's measures, and the choice of the judges, who are distinguished men, furnish no ground for an unfavorable judgment against Milo. (Ch. 8.)

2. The proof that Milo killed Clodius in self-defence.

(e) The narrative of the circumstances of the affair, and explanation of the
causes which led Clodius to attempt the life of Milo. Clodius wished to be prætor and Milo consul for the same year. This was quite contrary to the desires of Clodius. Clodius, therefore, did not attempt to conceal the fact, that he wished, expected, and would bring about the death of Milo. (Ch. 9.) Clodius took advantage of the occasion of a journey, which Milo was called to make on business, to lie in wait for him. The time and manner of his journey exonerate Milo from the suspicion of having intended to waylay Clodius; while Clodius appears to have been prepared to commit murder. The attack commenced against Milo. Several of his retinue were slain; the rest supposed Milo had already fallen; without his command or knowledge they killed Clodius. (Ch. 10.)

(b) Application of the principle of justifiable homicide in self-defence to Milo, who confesses the deed, but claims for himself justification therefor. (Ch. 11.)

(c) The proposition that Clodius was the waylayer, is drawn out more particularly.

(1) Milo's death would bring great advantages to Clodius: under such a consul as Milo, he would not have been able to carry through his projected law for introducing freed slaves into the tribes. An apostrophe to Sextus Clodius, who, for the purpose of exciting the people, deprived the corpse of Clodius of honorable burial. (Ch. 12.)

(2) The hostility of Clodius was to Milo, on the other hand, in his canvassing for the consulship, not so much a hindrance as an advantage, since Milo seemed the only one capable of restraining, by means of the consular power, the mad projects of Clodius: therefore the death of Clodius was injurious to Milo, and could not for that reason have been designed by him.

(3) Clodius hated Milo personally; but Milo, Clodius only from political grounds. (Ch. 13.)

(4) Clodius has always loved and practised violence, particularly in the banishment of Cicero. (Ch. 14.)

(5) Milo on the other hand has used violence only in defence of the constitution, and generally, where he has had an opportunity to kill Clodius, has treated him with forbearance: e.g. on the occasion of Cicero's recall from banishment, and in other disturbances. (Ch. 15.)

(6) Milo could not have had any plan or purpose to take the life of Clodius, because of the nearness of the consular election, and for fear of losing the favor of the people.

(7) Clodius on the other hand had always shown contempt for the tribunals and for public opinion. He believed, if Milo were put to death, he would have all power in himself alone.

(8) Cato is witness, that Clodius said, Milo must be put to death. (Ch. 16.)

(9) Clodius knew that Milo about this time would be passing on the road in this vicinity, and hastened to precede him, even to the neglect of much in Rome. Milo did not know that he would meet Clodius: his journey was necessary for the performance of an official duty connected with the rites of religion. (Ch. 17.)

(10) Cicero, in his own defence, urges, that he could have had no knowledge of a plan to murder Clodius. The pretext for the return of Clodius from his estate, viz. to enter upon an inheritance, was a mere fiction. He journeyed to meet Milo on the road. (Chaps. 18, 19.)

(11) The place where the fray took place, shows that Clodius and not Milo entertained the murderous design; so also does the retinue of both.

(12) The circumstance that Milo had armed men among his followers is not surprising, since he was not at any moment secure against Clodius. (Ch. 20.) Milo bestowed their freedom upon his slaves, not from fear that confession would be forced from them by torture, for he confesses the fact him-
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(13) The depositions of the slaves of Clodius are illegally demanded, and unreliable. (Ch. 22.)

(14) The confidence with which Milo appeared in public soon after the killing of Clodius, and the contempt which he showed for the rumors and false accusations in circulation, prove his innocence: he was not even afraid of Pompey, though attempts were made to excite his suspicions against Milo. (Chaps. 22, 24.)

(15) Milo is rather, although Pompey appears not to believe it, sincerely devoted to him, and might also at some later day be of service to him. (Chaps. 25, 26.)

3. An appeal to the judges to acquit Milo.

(a) Were Milo guilty, Pompey, by virtue of the extraordinary power intrusted to him, would have been able, ere this, himself to punish him. (Ch. 26.)

(b) Clodius deserved death far more than others who in former times have been put to death. An enumeration of his crimes. (Ch. 27.)

(c) An intimation of what would have been to be feared from him.

(d) It follows, that Milo's act is highly meritorious, since it may be called tyrannicide. (Chaps. 28, 29.)

(e) The removal of Clodius is a benefit conferred upon the Roman people by the immortal gods, whose presence and power have been signalized displayed in the destruction of this abandoned wretch, and in the preservation of Rome from many evils. (Chaps. 30–33.)

(f) Milo is commended to the sympathy of the judges, for his firm bearing and the composure with which, conscious of his sincere love of his country, he faces the possible unfavorable issue of this trial: for what he deserves of all true patriots and of Cicero, for the sacrifice which he made to secure the object of bending and controlling the violence of the mob, as directed by Clodius against the fortunes of the higher ranks: for the fame which he has won, and the universal applause with which his deed has been hailed. (Chaps. 34, 35.)

Cicero also, in his own name, as a grateful friend, asks the regard both of the judges and of the soldiers present for the accused, reminding them of the suppression of the conspiracy of Catiline, of his own exile, and his recall through the instrumentality of Milo. (Chaps. 36, 37.)

Milo does not regret his deed. He deserves the thanks of his country, and the judges will by his acquittal show a manly spirit, and that too without offending Pompey. (Ch. 38.)

The following brief outline of the argument in this oration we add from Folsom's edition.

The point of inquiry is, not whether Clodius was killed by Milo, for that is confessed; but whether he was not unlawfully killed. This Cicero maintains in the affirmative, by laying down a general proposition, that it is lawful to kill the man, who lies in wait and attempts to kill you. This general proposition he proves,—

1st. From the authority of the people, from former trials, and from the laws in being.

2d. From the silence of the laws passed on that occasion, either by the senate or Pompey.

Having established this general proposition, the orator proceeds to prove that Clodius comes precisely under that description; this he does,—

1st. From the advantages that were to arise to the deceased by the death of Milo.

2d. From the declared hatred he always expressed against Milo.

2d. From the criminal behavior of the deceased through all the scenes of his life.
ORATION FOR T. ANNIUS MILO.

4th. From his hopes of impunity.
And the evidence, upon which these circumstances are alleged, are the words
and actions of the deceased.
The conclusion of the whole is, Milo acted in self-defence, and Clodius was
lawfully killed.

Ch. I.—I. Fortissimo. Compare Vell. Patrec. 2, 68: (Milo) 107
ultra fortum temerarius.

Much of this kind of language we may regard as mere rhetorical art.
In the present instance there was real cause for fear, and real fear. For
the tribunes had held hostile meetings against Milo, and had endeavored
to excite the people against Cicero too, for so warmly undertaking the
defence of Milo; and so far succeeded, that not only Milo but Cicero
also was hated by the greatest part of the populace. The unusual
preparations too, to prevent disturbance, added to his alarm. When
Cicero began to speak the partisans of Clodius commenced a threaten-
ing outcry, for the purpose of intimidating him, and could not be re-
strained even by fear of the armed soldiers who were stationed around.
Compare, on this exordium, Quinctil. 11, 3, 47, sq.

5. Novi judicil. The trial of Milo was extraordinary, by a spe-
cial commission, instead of before the established tribunals. Pompey,
on being appointed consul without a colleague, issued an edict that
no one should carry any weapon in the city, and in a few days pro-
posed new projects of law in the senate, two of which, after a decree
of the senate, he promulgated to the people. One law was de vi,
and expressly comprehended the murder which had been perpetra-
ted on the Appian road, the burning of the curia, and the assault
upon the house of the interrex M. Lepidus. The other law was
de ambitu. These laws heightened the punishment, and abridged the
judicial process. They limited the taking of the testimony to
three days, confined the speeches of the accuser and the accused to
one and the same day, allowing the former two, the latter three
hours. For the trial of Milo, Pompey carried through a bill, that
the people should choose a quaesitor from the number of the consula-
res. L. Domitius Ahenobarbus was chosen. Also the other judices
appointed by Pompey were of such a character, that there was but
one voice, that never had more eminent or more conscientious men
been appointed judges.—Neua forma. The shops were shut through-
out the whole city, soldiers posted in the forum, and at all the entranc-
es to the forum, and Pompey with a select guard took his station be-
fore the aerarium. When Cicero began to speak, the Clodian faction
set up an outcry and clamor. They were not even deterred by the
 guard of soldiers.

6. Quocunque incidunt. Z. 521, Note.—Consuetudinem
Al veterem consuetudinem.
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7. Requirunt desiderant, miss. Corona. The ring or crowd of people, that were gathered around, when a public trial, which enlisted their sympathies, was in progress. They represented the popular voice, and were an index of public opinion. Therefore the orators were in the habit of paying much regard to the corona. See Brut. 84, 290.

9. Stipati sumus, tanquam honoris aut custodis causa: nam hoc proprius est stiperre, non simpliciter circumdare. Nec illa prasidia, &c. The text in this passage is very doubtful. The better MSS. give non illa prasidia; the common editions, nam illa prasidia. Garatoni proposed nec illa prasidia, and was followed by Madvig. The double non... non afferunt of the MSS., appearing strange and unusual, occasioned the change of the former into nam. Klotz, however, who is followed by Säpfie and others, defends the first non, placed at the head of the clause, which the second rhetorically repeated before afferunt does not destroy, as giving energy and emphasis to the language. In the following clause also the negation is made prominent a third time, by saying: ut... tamen ne non timere quidem possimus, instead of ut... tamen etiam non timere possimus. The sense of the passage then is as follows: Those guards do not secure..., I repeat, they do not secure to the orator, that we here in the forum, and before the tribunal... can be so fearless, that we should not at least have some fear. To this view Madvig objects, that the position of non in the beginning of the sentence, before the subject, and its rhetorical repetition before the verb in a sentence which flows so smoothly, and without excitement, is unusual and uncalled for. Besides, if the repeated non is equivalent to a single negation, aliquid, he remarks, is barbarous. Further, the sentence, ut ne non timere quidem, &c., is so annexed, as to require that an intimation of fear caused (not a mind relieved) should precede. Moreover, the connection of the sentence with the preceding, and the continuation of the thought, is against the non, which seems to have arisen from the repetition of the non with usitata. Gradually approaching his subject, the orator does not simply affirm, Atque etiam ipsa illa prasidia afferunt oratori aliquid et animum ejus perturbant, but employs the form of affirmation which arises from the negation of the opposite.—Presidia. Compare §§ 71, 96, 101; de opt. gen. dic. 4, 10; and Lucan, Pharsal. 1, 319, &c.

Quis castra timenti

Nescit mixta foro? gladii quum triste minantes
Judicium insolita trepidum cinxere corona,
Atque auso medias Perrumpere milite leges
Pompeiana reum clauaserunt signa Milonem?

—Fro tempus omnibus. Templum Saturni, aedes Concordiae, aedes Vesta, templum Minervae, templum Castoriae.
11. Oratori alliquid. After oratori in some texts horroris or terroris is found. So Matthiae retains terroris, claiming, against Gar- 
atoni, who makes afferre aliquid = timorem aliquem efficient, or 
habeat in se, quod timorem injiciat, that afferre is not a vocabulum 
medium, but always, when taken alone, = prodesse.

quidem sine scelere esse potuerunt; in Vatin. 11, 27, ne recte qui- 
dem facere sine scelere potuisse.—Sine aliqua timore. See Z 709, 
and note on p. 13, line 18.


15. Oratiae. Another reading is oratori, which does not so well 
stand opposed to via armorum.

16. Pompei, &c. Cicero wishes to conciliat Pompey by these 
complimentary expressions.

17. Putaret, si hoc ab eo pateretur. Putaret, etiam nunc; pu-
tarit, semel ante.

19. Teneritatem concitate multitudinis. See Z. 672. Pom- 
pey had received unlimited power from the senate to preserve the 
safety of the state. Had he, therefore, intended by his guards to effect 
the suppression of Milo and his friends, the thoughtless mob would 
have turned their weapons against the judges even, if they had voted 
for Milo.

21. Centuriones. Cf. ch. 37, 101. The centurions were subal-
tern officers. Their badge was the vites; promotion to the centurio 
primi pilii (primum pilus, primipilius). They were commonly chosen 
from the tribuni militum, and their pay was double that of the gregari 
iius miles. Non ... sed ... neque solum ... sed etiam ... neque aux-
isium modo ... verum etiam. The student should attend to the va-
riety and difference of such forms of expression.

22. Praesidium denuntiavit. Zouga. Z 775.—Quieta. For 
the fear inspired by the "nova forma" was banished by a proper con-
sideration of the motives of Pompey in posting the guards.

25. Quae quidem est civitatem. At least as far as it is composed 
of citizens. Cicero hints either that the Clodians who were present 
were not citizens, or that slaves formed part of that faction.

28. Expectantes videtis. Some eddions omit videtis here, and 
after inuenit are cernit.

20. De libris, &c. Compare ch. 28. Cicero urgently endeav-
ors to identify the cause of his client with the general interest of all 
citizens and of the state. See p. Flacc. 1, 3. Marcell. 11, 34.

Ch. II.—1. Unum genus est ... eorum. See note on p. 24, 108 
line 8.

2. Rapinl. The outrages of Clodius are enumerated by Cicero 
in his several orations. He had plundered the treasury, sold provinces, 
burned the house of Q. Cicero and the temple of the nymphs, and by
means of his gladiators kept up perpetual alarm in the city. See 
chaps. 24, 27, 28. — Omnibus excitis publicis. Every thing that can 
contribute to the destruction of the state.

3. Pauit. The expression is contemptuous. Cf. p. Sext. 46, 99: 
Qui . . . seditione pascantur; de Off. 2, 11, 40. — Hepterna . . . con-
ciense. The tribune Munatius Plancus, in a speech made the day be-
fore this trial, had exhorted the people not to let Milo escape with 

4. Voce praebent. Eleganter inest acerbitas; quasi formulam 
ipsam sententiae praebent, a qua vel paululum discedere nefas esse, 
ut in precationibus et jurejurando. Said of those who repeated the 
forms of oaths, imprecations, &c., to the persons obliged to take them. 
So verba (carmen) praebent, verbis praebent, and the corresponding phrases 
in verba vovere, jurare. — Judicareta. A modern latinist would be 
inclined to say judicare deberet. — Si qui. Z. 136.

5. Retineatil. The penalty under the lex Pompeii de vi was 
probably the aquae et ignis interdictio.

7. Neglexit, &c., in his tribuneship; five years before this time.— 
Pro vestra salute = in vestra salute defendenda, pro vestra salute 
Be composed, retain your presence of mind; and often simply, pay 
attention.

11. Amplissimorum ordimium. The lex Aurelia was now in 
force, by which the judges were chosen equally from the senators, 
equites, and tribuni milites. Hence in connection with the ordo sena-
torius and the ordo equester, an ordo plebeius was sometimes spoken of. 
Cf. § 5; ch. 8, 21; 35, 95; and p. Muren. 39, 83. — The superla-
tives with ordines are epitheta ornantia.

12. Ut sua studia. So also Klotz. The common reading = 
ubi sua studia.

13. Re et sententiae. Namely, by acquitting them. Opposed 
respectively to vultu et verbis. Cf. ad Fam. 1, 9, 17; p. red. in Sen. 
7, 16. Cicero always sided with the party of the optimates.

14. Ut statuatis. Cicero seeks to interest the feelings of his 
judges in the fate of Milo: 1. by putting him on a par with himself, 
an acknowledged patriot; 2. by testifying his constant deference to 
their authority; 3. by the modesty of his petition, which only sought 
encouragement for himself, not vengeance on his enemies. The 
words, too, are appropriate and complimentary: fidem, the honor of a 
judge; virtutem, the firmness necessary to meet the audacity of the 
Clodians; and sapientiam, the wisdom to counteract the rashness of 
the mob.

18. Nobis duobus. Cicero identifies himself with his client. Ga-
rateni would strike out duobus, and understand nobis of the whole.
body of the optimates. The case is the ablative construed with magis.

19. Laboriosus. This word, as also sollicitum and exercitum, is used here in a passive sense. Laboriosus = multis laboribus et aemun-

nis affectus.

20. Præmiorum. The offices of the state. The contrast be-

between spe amplissimorum præmiorum and metu crudelissimorum

suppliciorum, while it shows their disappointment, lays claim to a

higher degree of pity from the audience. Others read eexitiorum in-

stead of suppliciorum.

23. Dumtaxat. See note on p. 85, line 8. Cicero expected Milo
to be tossed by the winds amidst the billows of popular assemblies, be-
cause he had merited the resentment of the mob; but he thought that
his troubles should end there; and that his enemies would have no
hopes, &c.—Fluctibus concionum. The same figure is frequent in the
Attic orators. Conciones were mostly called by the tribunes of the
people. There was no voting in the concio, but the sussio and dis-
sussio legis took place here, and in the comitia the lex without further
discussion was accepted or rejected by votes. Quintil. 8, 6, 48, says
that the words dumtaxat fluctibus concionum give a mixed character to
the allegory in this passage, which were otherwise pure.

24. Quia semper. So also Klotz. Others, quod semper.

27. Spem ullam esse habituros . . . ad . . . salutem exstit-
guendam. See note on p. 48, line 9.


29. Tales viros. Tales viri solemnì quadam et honorifica ap-
pellatione Ciceroi in orationibus judicariis judices audient. Tales
rarely follows its substantive.—Quamquam, &c. Cicero had alluded
to the public services of Milo, and expressed his surprise at his enemies
hoping to foil him before judges, whose authority he had always sup-
ported; lest, however, he might seem to rest his cause on this, or ad-
mit the inference, that because Milo had saved the city, Milo might
therefore slay the citizens with impunity, he corrects himself, and adds
that he will not so apply Milo’s patriotic actions; at least before he
shall have established the fact of Clodius being the aggressor. Com-
pare p. Planc. 1, 3.

30. T. Anni tribunatu. A. u. c. 697. Milo’s services to the
state during his tribunate reduced themselves mainly to his merit in
effecting the recall of Cicero from banishment. Cf. ch. 37, 102: post
red. in senat. 8, 19, and 12, 30: Quibus autem officiis T. Anni bene-
fitia remuneravor? cujus omnis actio, ratio, cogitatio, totus denique
tribunatus nihil aliud fuit nisi constans, perpetua, fortis, invicta de-
senso salutis wece. Cicero, especially in the orations delivered after
his return from exile, reminds us not seldom of the expression of Louis
XIV., "L'état, c'est moi."—Rebusque. Klotz follows the most MSS and reads rebus omnibus. The enclitic is explicative, and = id est rebus omnibus.

31. Abutemur. Not simply for utemur, but of wrong or unreasonable use, or of the application of a thing, contrary to its natural use or original intention. The public services of Milo were performed with the view of gaining the esteem of his countrymen, not of shielding himself against a criminal charge. Cf. Leg. 1, 1, ut ... abutemer.

32. Nisi oculis videtis, &c. In the early editions the punctuation differs, so that these words do not begin a new period, but attach, as a condition, to what precedes. Cicero's proposition is: Clodius was justly slain, whether as being an intended assassin, or as being the scourge and ruin of his country. The former point, which occupies from ch. 12 to ch. 27, he calls de causa; the latter, from ch. 27 to ch. 34, he calls extra causam.

34. Merita. See ch. 28, where the services of Milo are alluded to in terms of the highest eulogy.—Nec postulaturi. The killing of Clodius being a public benefit, Milo might have urged this as his motive; Cicero, while he admits the beneficial result, will not adduce that argument as long as it may be doubted whether the merit of it belongs to the fortune of the Roman people, or the courage of Milo. This very doubt is most complimentary to Milo.

36. Populi Romani felicissimi. See chaps. 30–33.

37. Si in illius, &c. Cicero here varies the hypothetic statement "nisi oculis," &c., as also the inference, which ought to be—"then will I have recourse to Milo's services," &c.; whereas it is—"then will I implore you to leave untouched the principle of self-defence." These two inferences comprise the entire defence, both "de causa" and "extra causam." Others read sed si illius.

CH. III.—41. Ad eam orationem, i.e., eam partem orationis. So the Roman jurists use hoc edictum for hic titulus or hoc caput editi,—Quae est propria vestra questionis, sc. uter utri insidias fecit. Questa, a public trial, so called from quaerere, because the guilt or innocence of the accused was therein inquired into.

42. Es esse refutanda. These objections, whose refutation is properly prefixed to the general defence, were three:—1. Negant in tueri ... fateatur; that an avowed homicide was unworthy of life. 2. Sequitur ... esse factum, ch. 5; that the senate had already decided the cause against Milo. 3. At enim Cn. Pompeius ... fuit, ch. 6; that Pompey by his law declared his belief of Milo's guilt. On the propriety of the orator's refuting these objections before he proceeds to the narration, see Quint. 4, 2, 24, sqq. 5, 11, 12, who remarks, that by preparing the judges for the reception of the case, they virtually constitute an exordium. Schol. Bob. ad h. 1.: Hsec qualitas M. Tullio
propria est, ut antequam argumentationes impleat, victoriam praelibet in ipsis propositionibus.

43. In senatu. Referring to the account given by Q. Metellus Scipio, before Milo was accused. Klotz: Saepe ab inimicis jactata sunt et in concione saepe ab improbis, &c.

2. Negant, &c. This is a fundamental proposition of the accusation. It is the lex talionis; life for life. But the penalty of death did not attach to the condemned Milo. For the language is, 1. negant fse esse: 2. civil death was, in the view of a Roman, equivalent to the punishment of natural death.

4. Primum. The first on record, or oldest traditionary capital trial, where provocatio ad populum and a judicium populi were exercised; Dion. Hal. 3, 22: γενόμενος δὲ θανατηφόρον κρίνως τὸ τάχτηον ἡ Ἑρμολίων ὄρμος κόρος.

5. M. Horatii. The story of Horatius, who slew his own sister, for mourning over the fate of her lover, one of the Curiiitis, whom he had just slain, is given by Livy, 1, 26.—Nondum libera civitate. Still under kingly government, and therefore more unlikely to be influenced by popular feeling.

6. Tamen. With reference to the implied quamquam in the participial construction. Z. 635, Note.—Comitiiis. As this was before the institution of the comitia centuriata and tributa, we must supply curiatiis with comitiis.

9. Recte et jure factum. Cf. 6, 15, and 9, 23. Recte may refer to natural and jure to positive law, unless we take them as a circumlocution. The distinction is taken between a question of law and a question of fact.


11. C. Carbone. He was tribune A. v. c. 623, and a contemporary and friend of the Gracchi. Val. Max. 6, 2, informs us that Carbo, when he was exciting the people to revenge the death of C. Gracchus, hoped to be assisted in attaining this object by the weight and authority of Africanus, the husband of Sempronia, the sister of the Gracchi, who he imagined could not avoid speaking in favor of his brother-in-law. He therefore dragged Scipio to the forum, before he had well entered the city, and put him to the interrogation in the text.


14. Ahala ille Servilius. Notice the order. Usually the names precede the cognomen. On the persons here mentioned, see 1 in Cat. chaps. 1 and 2.

16. Me consule, senatus. Cicero elsewhere is in the habit of
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Page 109 claiming to himself alone the merit of saving his country in the conspiracy of Catiline. Here he does not say aut ego, for obvious reasons.


19. Variatris hominum sententia. The court of the Areopagus were divided. According to Æschylus, sixteen were for condemning, fifteen for acquitting. Minerva joined herself to the fifteen, which made the division equal, and amounted to an acquittal.


21. Duodecim tabulae. The fragment of the twelve tables reads thus: si nox (nocte) furtem factum sit, si im occisit (si eum aut furum occiderit), iure census est o. Cf. pro Tull. 20, 47, and 50.

22. Tele. Inst. 4, 18, 5: Teleum autem, ut Gaius noster interpretatione legis duodecim tabularum scriptum reliquit, vulgo quidem id appellatur, quod ab arc umittitur, sed et omne significatur, quod manu cujusdam mititur: sequitur ergo, ut et lapis et lignum et ferrum hoc nomine contineatur. Others read defendentur and defendat.


31. Affirebat. De Invent. 2, 49, 124: Relatio criminis, ut in eo militi, qui, quum communis lex omnium hominum occidere vetaret, tribunum suum, qui vim sibi afferre conaretur, occidit. Plut. Mar. 14, calls the soldier Trebonius; Val. Max. 6, 1, 12, C. Plotiis; Quinctil. 3, 11, 14, Aruncius. The tribune’s name was C. Lusius.

34. Quid committatur nostri, quid glutit. As the Roman roads were often insecure, travellers had armed guards to accompany them.

36. Non scripta, sed nata lex. A paraphrase of the ius naturale; “the right that is born with us,” γενεσίον ἀνάφος. The classical jurists also class self-defence under the ius naturale (gentium). D. 9, 2, 4: adversus periculum naturalis ratio permittit se defendere. Cf. ch. 11, § 30.

37. Didutilus, the general term, of which accepsimus = audivimus, and legimus are species. So in the antithesis, haurimus is the more general expression, in which arrripimus and expressimus are included, the former expressing eager grasping of that which is adapted to our nature, the latter conveying the idea of the exact representation of the original or model. On the harmony and rhythm of this passage, see Orat. 49, 164, and 5; and Quinctil. 9, 3. See also Z. 828

40. Et in tela. Some read si in tela.

1. Etsi persapienter, &c. This is a correction of silent enim lege, &c.: as if he said, "Though why say the laws are silent amidst arms, when in their silence they sanction the principle of self-defence by not barely forbidding homicide, which they do as a matter of course, but also to carry arms with a hostile intention;" the obvious inference from which was, that they might be carried if that intention did not exist. This Cicero calls tacita dat . . . potestatem defendendi.—Ipsa lex, i.e. Cornelia de sicariis et veneficiis. Leges Corneliae de sicariis et veneficiis tenetur, qui hominem occiderit . . . quive hominis occidenti causa cum telo ambuleret. D. 48, 8, 1. Lex Corneliae de sicariis, qua homicidas ulterre ferro persequitur, &c. Inst. 4, 18, 5, where Justinian has introduced the ulterre ferro persequitur into the lex Cornelia, which made the penalty aqua et ignis interdictio, i.e. exile. In Justinian's time the punishment was made capital.

2. Non hominem occidi. Klotz: non modo hominem occidi, i.e. does not merely prohibit the killing of a man, but the carrying of a weapon, &c. For though the occideris is more than the telum . . . habere, yet Cicero regards it as the reverse in the law, which considers more the intention to kill than the killing itself. See note on p. 64, line 36.—E esse cum telo. This was prohibited by the Twelve Tables. Cic. ad Att. 2, 24, 3: Fit senatus consultum, ut Vettius, quod confessus esset se cum telo fuisse, in vincula conduceretur. In Vatin. 10, 24. In Verr. 5, 3, 7: ut ne quis cum telo servus esset. On the notions comprehended in the generic word telum, see Arnold's Nepos, Dat. 11, 3.

3. Quam causa, &c. = quam quassaretur, quae causa fuisse teli gestandi, non habuerint telum is, qui occidit, i.e. by questioning the motive, not the fact of carrying arms.

6. Maneat in causa. Cf. de Off. 3, 12, 49: Maneat ergo: quod turpe sit, id nunquam esse utile, &c. Cicero conceives that he has now fully established the legality of homicide in self-defence, and thus refuted the first prejudicium.—Non enim. Z. 308.

7. Probaturus sit, i.e. de veritate defensionis meae vobis persuasurus sim; make good to you, &c.

8. Obliviscat non putetis. Quia est lex naturalis, quae sui defensendi causa alium interficere jubeat.

Cic. V.—10. Sequitur illud. He begins the refutation of the prejudicia, 1. of the senate; 2. of Pompey. Cf. Quinctil. 5, 2.

11. Caedem, &c. The decree was expressed in general terms, but admitted of a particular application, which the opponents of Milo made. Cicero, therefore, contends for the general interpretation, and shows that in the various debates which had taken place in the senate since the death of Clodius, Milo's cause was invariably triumphant; that the charge against the senate of submitting to his (Cicero's) dictation, and not their own judgment, proved the strength of Milo's
cause in the senate, and therefore that that body could never have intened to condemn Milo by the decree. Besides, that the decree was expressed in the form usual in the case of public disturbances, e.g. the burning of the senate-house, &c., and was voted by him, as no doubt it was by others too, as a condemnation of the fact, without deciding with whom the guilt lay. This clears the second praedjudicium.—Cedem, in qua, &c. This expression is not simply = to the briefer form caedem Clodii, but comprehends the whole conflict, in which Clodius lost his life. Cf. 6, 15.

12. Contra rem publicam esse factum. This is a general formula, to denote any thing as dangerous or adverse to the state. It occurs in the words of decrees, as cited by Cicero, ad Q. frat. 2, 3, 3, and ad Fam. 8, 8, 6.

14. Quoties enim, &c. Below, ch. 35, he says: Centesima lax est hoc ab interitis P. Clodii et ... altera; a period which admitted of various discussions of the question in the senate.


17. Summum. The common reading is ad summum, which is unciceronian. See Z. 271.

18. Declarant, ec. how fully the senate approved of Milo's conduct. Declarare is often put absolutely, without the addition of the pronoun id or hoc.—Hujus ambusti tribuni plebis. T. Munatius Plancus Bursa, who, with another tribune, Q. Pompeius Rufus, harangued the mob, which under their direction brought out the body of Clodius, and exposed it in the forum before the Rostra, that its wounds might be viewed. In their speeches they excited the populace against Milo; and, Sextus Clodius, a scribe, acting as leader, the people bore the corpse into the curia, where they made a pile of the benches, desks, tables, and books, on which they burned the body, setting fire to the curia, which was consumed, together with a portion of the Basilica Porcia, which was adjoining. Asconius says the tribunes did not cease haranguing, until the heat of the burning curia forced them to retire: therefore the derisive epithet ambustus, scorched, sanged. Ambustus, however, circumustus, properly applies to one who has been struck by lightning, but not killed.

19. Intermortuus, is explained by most as = inanes, futilis, inefficaces. It properly expresses the alternate sinking and reviving of one struggling between life and death, and is applied with bitter sarcasm to the harangues, which were, in the confusion of the scene, ineffectual and fruitless attempts, just dying, and as it were already dead before they reached the hearers.

20. Invidiose. For it was holding up Cicero to public odium to represent him as the tyrant of the senate.—Quam dicaret. The general usage would lead us to expect the indicative here. See note
on p. 69, line 40. Kühner considers the subjunctive as expressing repetition; Madvig says the subj. stands when a fuller description of the manner of the action is added.

24. Apud bona gratia. For the class denoted by Cicero as boni, optimi, optimates, optimus quique, principes, see note on page 9, line 5. Cf. ch. 8, 21; Sest. chaps. 45, 48, 49; de Off. 1, 25.


28. Erant enim leges. Garatoni compares Demosthenes de corona Elai recti, & c. The leges were the lex Plotia de vi, the lex Cornelia de sicariis, &c., the lex Aquilia de cæde.—Questiones, sc. perpetua. See Dict. Antiq. Judic. Milo’s was a special commission, the very appointment of which operates against him by giving an undue importance to the affair. Though in Cicero’s times there were questiones perpetua for all leading crimes, special commissions were appointed in particular cases. For the people, by the organization of the former standing tribunals, did not surrender their supremacy and prerogative. Extraordinary questions were frequent, particularly in turbulent times.

29. Mœrorem ac luctum. Dolor denotes an inward feeling of grief; mœror and luctus, an utterance or external manifestation of this inward feeling: luctus its artificial manifestation, designedly, and through the conventional signs of mourning, as cutting off the hair, mourning clothes, &c.; mœror, the more natural and involuntary manifestation of it in the gestures of the body, and in the countenance, by sighing and weeping.

31. Cujus enim de illo incesto stupro. See below, chapters 22, 59; 27, 73; 32, 87. Clodius, in order to carry on an intrigue with Pompeia, the wife of Julius Caesar, had gained admittance, in disguise, to Caesar’s house, where the mysteries of the Bona Dea were celebrating. He was detected, however, but in the confusion effected his escape. Cicero calls the intrigue incestitus, as polluting those sacred rites, at which males were forbidden to appear. Harus. 5: Ea sacra, quo viri oculis, ne imprudentis quidem, adspeci fas est. Juvenal goes still farther: Ubi velari pictura jubetur, Quacunque alterius sexus imitata figuram est.—Judicium decernendi. Appointing a trial. Cicero, ad Att. 1, 13, informs us that the affair was, by a decree, referred to the pontifices, and by them declared a sacrilege; and that the consuls proposed a bill to the people, by which the praetor was empowered to select assessors to try the cause. This bill, it appears, was, by the influence of the Clodian faction, headed by the tribune Fufius, prevented from passing, and an amended bill substituted; according to which, judges, selected in the usual way, were to try the cause. Owing to the corruption of the judges, Clodius was
acquitted. This Cicero calls judicium decernendi senatus potestas esset crepta.

34. Cur igitur, &c. The general disorders of the opposing faction, especially the burning of the curia, had excited greater displeasure in the mind of the better-disposed citizens, than the murder of Clodius. Cicero, therefore, mentions them in the order of their importance.

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

36. Quia nulla vis, &c. Cf. Seneca, de ira, 2, 31: Nefas est nocere patria, ergo civi quoque, nam hic pars patriae est. Sancta partes sunt, si universum venerabile est. In the libera civitas Romana there was the closest connection between the welfare and interests of the citizen and the state. Violence done to a citizen was brought for trial before the judicia publica.

38. Illa, saepe, e.g. paulo ante memorata.

39. Nisi vero. Z. 526. “Unless, indeed,” &c., which it is absurd to assert; the loss of citizens, however abandoned, being still a loss. The usual indirect argument.


41. E re publica. Z. 309.

Ch. VI.—43. Ego ipse decrevi. “My own vote then was.” Decernere is properly used of the sentences of the whole senate, though often applied to the vote of individual senators.

44. Non eum, qui se defendisset. For self-defence was just and right, and not a crime against the state.


3. Furiosum illum tribunum. Munatius Plancus. Furiosus is a common epithet of the tribunes, implying that their occupation was to excite the people to acts of violence. On the meaning of furere, see note on p. 9, line 2.


5. Extra ordinem. Extra ordinem quare are is not to be confounded with the nova quaestio. The senate purposed no change in the laws or tribunals, but wished the cause of Milo, as one of special
importance, tried without delay, without waiting its turn on the
docket.

6. Divisa sententia est. When a motion comprehended two or
more particulars, any senator could have them put separately, simply
by saying, divide. Here the points were: 1. *ut veteribus legibus... quæreretur*; 2. *ut extra ordinem quæreretur.* This division allowed
the rejection of one and adoption of the other measure.—*Postulante
nescio quo.* Cicero doubtless knew, but wishes to show his judgment
of the insignificance of the individual. Cf. ch. 24, 65, where the name
is even given, and p. Sest. 31, 68. The name in this instance is given
by Asconius and *Schol. Bob.* as Q. Fufius Calenus.

8. Empta Intercessione. That of the tribunes Munatius Plancus
and Sallust. When a tribune interposed his *veto,* the decree was
not completely nullified, but retained a species of authority, intimated
by the name *senatus auctoritas,* which, however, is sometimes used
for *senatus consultum.* *Reliqua* stands in reference to the unobnoxious
part, *ut extra ordinem quæreretur.*

9. At enim. The third *praedium*; sc. "that Pompey by his
act had condemned Milo." This Cicero refutes, by showing that Pom-
pey merely enacted an inquiry—that an inquiry, where the fact was
acknowledged, implies an inquiry into the merits of the cause—that it
will be seen by Pompey's own showing (*Jam illud ipse dicet, &c.*)
that his act is attributable to no predilection for Clodius, but to the
emergency of the case—that to act otherwise would be to overthrow
the very nature of a law, in the eye of which all men, whether high
or low, are equal, as appears from the instances of Drusus and Afri-
canus, whose untimely and lamented fate called forth no new enact-
ment—that to permit concomitant circumstances to have any weight
in determining the amount of guilt, would be to make the atrocity of
Clodius's death to be heightened, and that of his victim, Papirius,
lowered, by their occurring on the Appian (i.e. Clodian) way, (*aut eo
mors atrocior, &c.* § 17)—that in adducing an instance of Clodius's
guilt, it was unnecessary to go back to Papirius, (*quid ego illa con-
memoro, &c.*) the attempt to assassinate Pompey (as guilt consists in
the intention) being as bad as murder itself; not to mention the re-
peated attempts on Cicero's own life, (*Quoties ego ipse, &c.* § 20.)
Are we prepared to say, then, (asks Cicero,) that, while the great and
good have had their lives taken away, or attempted, and no new law
was called into existence by the public sorrow, Clodius's death has
excited such general regret, that Pompey framed his bill to *assuage* it?
No, (*Non fuit ea causa, &c., § 21.*) it was merely the fact of a recon-
ciliation having taken place between Pompey and Clodius some time
before, and in which Pompey wished to show himself perfectly sincere,
that has called forth the law in question, (*timuit ne sideretur, &c.,
§ 21;) which after all Pompey would not have proposed, were he not
aware that whatever severity there might be in this enactment, it would be tempered by the firmness of the judges; the selection of whom, from the most illustrious orders, and particularly the respectability of him who presides, proved incontestably, that Pompey's sole motive was a regard to justice, &c. This Cicero considers sufficient to clear the third prejudicium, and he now proceeds to the defence itself, ch. 9.—Et de re et de causa. De re of the question of fact; de causa of the question of law. Ch. 22 init., the opposition of the law and the fact is thus expressed: Quod igitur in causa quaerendum est, id agamus hic; quod tormentis invenire vis, id fatemur. Cf. ad Fam. 2, 6, 5: Nunc tibi omnem rem atque causam meque totum commendo atque trado.

10. Tullt, sc. rogationem. Pompey, on being appointed consul, prohibited the wearing of any kind of arms in the city, and carried a law de vi, in which he made special reference to the murder committed on the Appian road, to the burning of the curia, and to the assault on the house of the interrex.—Facta esset ... ooccias esset. In legum formulae nihil frequentius quam istud imperfectum conjunctivi vel aliquoties repetitum. The reading ooccias est or fuit is inadmissible, since esset doubtless belongs to the rogatio.


13. At paret. Paret is an old terminus judicialis. See Gaius 4, 47; Verr. 2, 12, 31: si judicium sit ejusmodi: L. Octavius judex esto: si paret, &c. Cf. Verr. 3, 22, 55, and 28, 69. In the present passage condemnare and absolvere are near by, as in the formula given by the prætor to the judex: si paret ... condemn, si non paret ... absolve.


15. Quod nisi vidisset, posse absolvit. Quod ad antecedentia relatum explicatur verbis posse absolvit, ubi non nempe adderemus.

17. Salutarem ... literam ... tristem. The initials of absolve and condemn. There was a third tablet, not mentioned here, which was marked N. L., i.e. non liquet. Each judge received these three tablets from the prætor, and when the vote was taken, threw one into the urn, which was provided separately for the different classes of judges, senators, equites, and tribuni scribii. Ad Q. frat. 2, 6, 6. According to the tablets the prætor pronounced his sentence; when C. was the prevailing number, videtur fecisse. Verr. 6, 14; Acad. 2, 47, extr.; when A. predominated, non videtur; and when N. L. was the vote, the decision was adjourned, or a compromise effected. Cicero here means to say, that Pompey, if he had considered Milo guilty, would not have appointed a trial, since he could, by virtue of the power conferred upon him by the senate, have punished him himself.

22. Non interitum = non, an aliquis occisus sit.
23. Tribuendum. Clodine causa, an temporis faciendum. No partiality for Clodius could have influenced Pompey to propose this law, but policy, and the soothing of the populace, which Sex. Clodius and the wife of P. Clodius, and the deed itself, had greatly excited.


26. Pæne patronus. Vere patronus senatus dictus erat ejus pater. Vid. Suet. Tib. 3.—Avunculus hujus judicis nostri. M. Cato Uticensis, whose mother, Livia, was sister of Drusus, and by a second marriage, mother also of Servilia, whose son was Brutus, the tyrannicide. Cf. ch. 16, 44.

27. Tribunus plebis, whose person was therefore inviolable.

31. Illa nocturna vis. He was found dead in his bed, and commonly believed to have been strangled. Others supposed he died suddenly a natural death, while some thought he took his own life. Most authorities of that and the subsequent period agree in supposing he was murdered. This was Cicero's decided opinion. Suspicion fell upon the tribune C. Papirius Carbo. Schmitz, Rome, p. 334. For quiessenti, Klotz reads conquiessenti.


34. Necessarium ... mortem, quam naturae necessitas affect, naturalem.
35. Questio. ... lata est? An instance of brachylogy for lex lata est, ut quereretur.
36. Allo ... allo. Z. 712: Nam caedes est, sive clarus homo, sive obscursus necatus est.
38. Mors quidem = sed mors.
40. Parricida. Many MSS. have patricida, and so Lamblinus edited, to distinguish it from the wider signification of parricida and parricidium. The ground of the more extended usage of the word is partly rhetorical, partly legal. It originally denotes foul murder, and stands opposed to chance killing, or justifiable homicide. It was afterwards analyzed, and several kinds of punishable homicide were distinguished. In its more restricted sense it was the killing of parents, grandparents, brothers, sisters, and other near connections, as also of
the patronus and patrona. In the signification of murder of one’s father, it is of comparatively rare occurrence in Roman writers, although the derivation from pater was approved by them. Quinctil. 8, 6, 33. Perhaps the very old paricida (paricida) is to be derived from rapé, as in ταρεψεως, ταρεβεσεως, and cadere. This rapé expresses perseverance, wickedness, and is to be found often in the Latin prefix per (perfuga, perjurus, perduellio). That the word did not take the form pericida, may be owing to the high antiquity of the notion and the word, or to regard for euphony. Legal forms were not readily changed.

41. In monumentis majorum suorum, in via Appia. This road, which still partially remains, was made by Appius Claudius Cæ sus in his censorship. Schmitz, Rome, p. 184. On the so-called plura tantum majorum, compare Varro, de R. R., 1, 2, 9, cujus majores . . . nam Stoelonis illa lex, &c. Cf. L. Manil. 13, 33, for a similar use of liberis. Quod est . . . si interfectus. Z. 549. Klots: necarit.

43. Ab Istitis, Clodianis, with contempt.—Preinde. Z. 292 and 344, Note.

44. Non qua . . . sed ubi = non ut ea . . . . sed ut ibi, and therefore uteretur and lairocinarentur. Z. 567. The Clodian, it seems, urged it as an aggravation of Milo’s guilt, that he killed Clodius on a road constructed by his ancestors; and Quinctil. 5, 10, 40, points out the force of this part of the Clodian charge. On the same principle, M. Manlius could not be convicted while he remained in sight of the capitol. Liv. 6, 20. Cicero replies by admitting the aggravation, if his opponents will admit that Appius made the road to afford his posterity an opportunity of plundering there with impunity.

112. 1. Itaque. Accordingly; i.e. supposing the road made for the above purpose.

2. Quum ornatusssimum equitem Romanum P. Clodius M. Papirium. The order should be noticed, which appears chosen for the purpose of giving an ironical emphasis to the name of P. Clodius, in contrast with a highly respectable Roman knight, who, however, cannot compare with Clodius in ancestral dignity; and M. Papirium is added for explanation = viz. M. Papirius.

3. Papirium. Pompey had, some time before, brought to Rome the son of Tigranes, king of Armenia, as a prisoner, and after his triumph, put him under the care of Flavius, a senator. The young prince, assisted by Clodius, attempted to escape, but the ship, in which he embarked, was driven into Antium. Flavius on hearing this, hastened to recover Tigranes, when a rencontre ensued between Flavius and Clodius, in which Papirius, Pompey’s friend, was slain. This was the origin of Pompey’s enmity to Clodius.

5. Quantas tragódiás. What a commotion! Dem. Car

6. Usurpatur = vocatur, commemoratur, is talked of.


15. Si res, si vir, si tempus. Each of these particulars is answered in the same order in the following sentence: Insidiat or erat, &c.; ei viro, &c.; eo tempore.

17. In vestibulo ipso senatus. In Pison. 12, 28, preparatus denique cum ferro ad senatum is, quem ad On. Pompeium interimendium colloquatum fuisse constabat.


21. Proinde quasi exitus rerum. Juvenal, 13, 209: Nam seclus intra se tacitum qui cogitat ullum, Facti crimen habet. See the story of Glaucus, son of Epicydes, in Herodotus, 6, 86. This general principle, in regard to the punishment of such crimes, was maintained in the earliest times, and expressly embodied in the Lex Cornelia de sicariis. Cf. D. 48, 8, 1, 3, and ibid. l. 14. Divus Hadrianus in hac verba recens repeat: In maleficiis voluntas spectatur, non exitus.—Exitus rerum, non hominum consilia, i.e. quasi non hominum consilia, sed exitus rerum. When an affirmative clause is followed by another negative clause, so that the order can be inverted, and non—sed be substituted, the negative is expressed by the simple non. Ac non is used where a preceding statement is corrected, when potius may be supplied, and sometimes is added. It is then indicated that what follows ac non is true. Also et non is so used. In neither case is nec allowable.


27. Questionem tuisset. See note on p. 111, line 35.

Ch. VIII. 28. Stulti sumus. Non cogitamus. It is thoughtless or foolish in us to venture to compare, &c.—Quis . . . audeamus, i.e. quum audeamus. Z. 564. For in the preceding chapter he had really compared Drusus, &c., with Clodius. This passage is an im-
stance of elegant and even eloquent irony. The verbs accurately correspond in importance with their subjects, forming together a descending series. Thus 

luret = the loudest grief; senatus = the highest order; next marat = euster amor, and so down to agri . . . desiderant. We may further notice in regard to the structure of the sentences, that in the first sentence qui is repeated with Afiricam, and omitted with Pompeium and nonet ipsum. In such a grouping the particle or other common word is often repeated in the first members, and omitted in the last, with a kind of evenness in the number of times of the occurrence and omission. Cf. p. Cal. 14, 33: non patrue, non saeun, proam, atavum, audieres consulem fuisse; Verr. 5, 51, 133. In the remaining sentences, the anaphora and chiasmus should be observed. Of three clauses it is very common for the two first to be arranged anaphorically, while the last is chastic to the former. The sentence luret = desiderant furnishes a double instance of this. The artistic character of the period furnishes other points, which are worthy of careful attention and study.

34. Non fuit ea causa . . . curr. Z. 562. The irony is dropped. Cicero having in language of the deepest pathos expressed the sorrow and mourning of all parts of the Roman state at the death of Codium, now suddenly and briefly, against such a fiction, sets the plain truth, that there was nothing of the kind, but directly the reverse (in communi omniat latitia).

36. Alta et divina. Alta menace esse videtur, quae alta in rerum naturam quasi penetrat, ejusque intimos et abitum recessus explorat. Ernest. metem altam, h. i. explicat, quae res humanas contemnit, Garaton. quae, tanquam e specula, plus ceteris videt. Divinatione autem menae, qua sapientiae deorum proxima videtur. Hac etenim vox id omne continet, quod est maxime admirabile ac singularis.

39. Fides reconciliata gratia. Cf. ch. 32, 88. Pompey had quarrelled with Codium on account of his attempt on Tigranes, but by this time they had found it convenient to make common cause with each other, and Codium actively supported Pompey and Crassus when they became candidates for the consulsip. Codium hoped to be appointed on an embassy to Asia, and thus to have the opportunity of recruiting his exhausted pecuniary resources, and of getting from Buretus, and some others whom he had assisted, the rewards they had promised him for his services.

41. Quamvis = quantumvis. Z. 574.

ORATION FOR T. ANNIUS MILO.

43. Secrexit. Set aside, passed over. Pompey in choosing the judges had passed by Cicero's intimate friends, which was adduced by some as a proof of Pompey's hostility to Milo. He did pass over my intimate acquaintances (familiares), says Cicero; nor is that strange, for they are necessarily few; but admitting that he appointed good men, he did not, could not, pass over my friends and adherents (studiosos mei).

4. Consuetudines victus. This determines the meaning of sed familiares; se. those who are in the habit of meeting in convivial parties.

5. Res publica = salus rei publicae.


8. Quod vero. Z. 627. But in that, &c.; i.e. Pompey's choosing you to preside, shows that he was in quest of no personal enemy of Milo; that he only wanted in the president, justice, &c.

9. Nil nihil . . . . altud, nihil. Z. 735.—Quaevisit = spectavit, proper nihil aliquid ut adesse curavit.

11. Ut consularem necesse esset, huic questioni praesse. Domitius had been consul two years before with Appius Claudius.—Principium munus esse. Z. 448, Note 1.


Ch. IX.—17. Si neque, &c. He briefly recapitulates his answers to the prejudicia.


26. Roman gesture...dum breviter expono. Quinctil. 4, 2
Sulpitius Victor also takes the following account of the affray, as a specimen of what a narrative should be: "aperta, brevis, probabilis."

27. In prasture vexare. As he had previously done in his sedile-ship and tribunate. Chaps. 9, 26, and 33, 89.

28. Tracta esse comitia. Owing to the bribery and disputes of the candidates, the election of consuls for the year 701 had not taken place when it commenced; and the tribunes, partly from partiality to an interregnum, during which their power was under the least possible control, partly from the wish of having Pompey created dictator, by their cabals retarded six months longer. Finally, Cn. Domitius Calvinus and M. Valerius Messalla were elected. D. Cass. 40, 45.

29. Qui non honoris gradum spectaret, i.e. non ideo prasturam appeteret, ut per hunc gradum adscenderet ad consulatum.

30. L. Paulillum. L. Emilus Paulus, praetor A. u. c. 701. He belonged to the party of the optimates.

32. Annum sumus. The lex Vitia annalis, A. u. c. 574, determined the age for holding the curule offices. By it the pretorship was fixed to forty. Liv. 40, 44; Phil. 5, 17, 47.

33. Religione aliqua. He hints that persons, through religious scruples, resulting from defects in the auspices, occasionally omitted to sue for offices in their proper year. Clodius was not one of these.


37. Summe consensus. Consequently he did not fear his opposition; and therefore had no interest in killing him.

39. Competitores. P. Plautius Hypseaus and Q. Metellus Scipio. Contulit se ad = cum iis se conjunxit, ut dicitur ad alicujus amicitiam, se conferre.—Ita est tanta diligentia, tanta ardores. His assuming to direct the canvass alone, against the wishes of the candidates, characterizes him as a bold and shameless disturber, who would not have scrupled to interrupt the comitia by violence.


41. Convocabant tribuna. In what way the people were prepared for elections, appears from the oration for Plancius.—Se interponebat. Either in a general sense, "became, as it were, a party concerned;" or, as Erneste, "acted as bribing-agent for the candidates." Planc. 16, 38; 18, 44.

42. Collinum...conscriptebat. The Collins was one of the four city tribes. Since the libertini were added to them, they were less respectable than the rustic tribes, and now embraced the fex populi. This turba or factio forensis demagogues and disorganizers
used as their instruments, especially at the time of elections. The numbers of the city tribules were very large. If, as Cicero says, Clodius made, or attempted to make, the Celiine tribe entirely new, by excessive increase of the tribules, his aim was first to secure the vote of this tribe for the candidates whom he favored, but not his principal aim. Conscribere is a military term, ch. 28, 76; and an expression relating to public law, for “to enroll in a definite class of citizens.” Liv. 1, 13. Comp. Patres conscripti. But in this sense it did not belong to Clodius. The word was also used of those who prepared the people systematically, according to its political divisions, for elections, and for this purpose collected them together by enrollment. Planc. 18, 45, and 19, 47. Klotz: dilectu.

43. Miscabat, i.e. res turbuleatas concitabat ac molebat. Turbare is also used in a similar way.

44. Ubi vidit, &c., i.e. ubi vidit certissimum consulesm fore virum, qui fortissimae et intimissimae esset. Cf. Sext. 69, 144.

3. Suffragis . . . declaratum. See ch. 36, 96. The election had been frequently adjourned by the interference of the tribunes, and disturbed by the violent partisans of Clodius, but not till Milo's likelihood of success was manifest.

4. Occidendum Millenem. Cicero gives great prominence to this threat of Clodius throughout his argument. See § § 26, 44, 52. That Milo made like declarations, in regard to Clodius, is apparent from ad Att. 4, 4.—Servos agrestes et barbaros. Clodius possessed estates in Etruria, near the Aurelia via, on which he had a number of slaves located, whom he could summon to Rome from time to time, to assist him in his enterprises. He had, no doubt, been found, too, a troublesome neighbor in the country.

5. Quibus, i.e. quorum ope, per quos.

6. Ex Apenville deduxerat. So a fragment of the oration, de are alieno Milonis, 2, 2: Eodem ad cedem civium de Apeninis deauxisti, on which the scholiast says: Quasi haec omnia in Catilina socium dicentur, ita mentionem attulit Apennini, quem nuper illa cum exercitu obtiusuerat.

8. Consulatum cripi . . . non posse, vitam posse. When one verb is common to two clauses, of which one is negative and the other positive, the common verb is given to each clause. Notice the omission of the conjunction. Z. 781.

9. Significavit . . . dixit. Cicero points out the difference, Or 1, 26. Significare inter se dicuntur, qui sibi innuunt, &c.


judicem nostrum. See note on p. 103, line 30.

Cn. X.—15. Ante diem XIII. Kal. See note on p. 10, line 44. The names of months are adjectives agreeing with Kal. Id. Nos. Here therefore Feb. should be read Februearias. Z. 38. Since the year of the decemvirs, in which January had only 29 days, was still in force at Rome, this date would be the 18th of January, a. u. c. 702. The reformation of the calendar by Julius Caesar was effected a. u. c. 708, the last year of confusion. Klotz reads difficile id scire a Lanuvinis; and ante diem tertium decimum Kalendas Februarias.

16. Lanuvium. Behind the Alban mount, on the Appian way, was the city Aricia, about 160 stadia from Rome. Beyond Aricia lay Lanuvium, a city of the Romans, on the right of the Appian way. —Ad flaminem prodendum, sc. Junonis Sospita. Liv. 8, 14: ades lucusque Sospita Junonis communis Lanuvinibus municipibus cum populo Romano. Appian gives another reason for Milo’s journey. Prodendum = renuntiandum or creandum, is the proper word for appointing priests of particular deities, as cooptare of augurs, creare of consuls, dicere of dictators, and capere of vestal virgins and the men dialis. But this usage was not always observed. In the municipia the flamines usually were not named from the deity on whom they attended, but from the people where they served. This flamen therefore would have been called Lanuvinearum, and for this reason Cicero may have omitted the name of the deity.

17. Dictator. The dictatura was of Latin origin, and very generally the highest office in the Latin cities; and as the rex in Rome was the head of civil and religious matters, so also were the chiefs of the Latin cities. Therefore the language of Cicero: quod erat dictatur. Sometimes there were two chief magistrates in the municipia called duumviri, and when there was but one he was sometimes called praetor.

18. Ante suum fundum, i.e. in a locality well known to him, and favorable for his object. Cf. § 29, and ch. 20, init. Villa denotes a country-house, usually with a real estate; fundus, a real estate, usually with a country-house; predium, sometimes a country-house, sometimes a real estate, like landed property.


22. Obire = attend on. So diem, vadimonium obire.

23. Milo autem. Compare Quintil. 4, 2, 57, who remarks on the effect produced by this affectation of simplicity in his language in lulling the suspicions of the judges, and raising an idea of the straightforward conduct of Milo.

24. Calceos. The calcei senatorii were of various colors, orna-
mented with a lunula, or letter C (the original number of the senators), and fastened by four thongs of black leather, which were wound round the leg up to the calf. The calcus belonged to the toga; the soles, to the tunica and lacerna. To the senator's dress belonged the tunic with the latus clavus. These were laid aside to assume the penula or lacerna and perones.

25. Uxor, Fausta, filia Corneli Sullae.
26. Id tempertis. Z. 459.
27. Si quidem . . . venturus erat, as his friends contended.
29. Rheda. A large four-wheeled travelling vehicle, of Gallic origin, commonly drawn by mules, sometimes eight to thirty, yoked in pairs.—Nullis Gracia comitibus. Cf. 21, 55. It was the fashion among the wealthy Romans to patronise learned foreigners, and maintain them in their families. They were also, for entertainment or instruction, accompanied by them in their journeys.

32. Penulatus. The penula was a garment of wool or leather, similar to the toga, but shorter and narrower, with sleeves. It was used in journeys, as a protection against the cold and rain.—Magna et impedito. Duplex comitatus significatur, servorum magnus et impeditus, i.e. impedimentis onus est, alter muliebris ac delicatus ancillarum puerorumque symphoniacorum. Hic oppositor Gracia comitibus, impeditus comitatus autem impedimentis, ut c. xxii, in. expedito Clodio Milo penulatus, &c. The ablatives are ablative consequentia.
34. Hora sere undecima. About 4½ o'clock in the afternoon, since it was on the 25th of October, a. u. c. 701, according to the true calendar. The hora undecima at the equinox would be 5 P. M. Asconius says the 9th hour, which would make it about 2½ o'clock, P. M. The key to the solution of the discrepancy is perhaps given by Quinctilius 6, 3, 49, who says the accuser of Milo charged him quod Bovillae ante horam nonam devortisset, ut expectaret, dum Clodius a villa sua exiret. This stopping of Milo at Bovilla (which is the first station on the Appian way from Rome), before the 9th hour, was perhaps a fact, which the accuser had proved. Cicero seeks to set it aside, by changing the time. He is, however, consistent, for at the end of the 18th chapter, he asserts that it was about the 10th hour Clodius received news, as was pretended, of the death of the architect Cyrus. Asconius again says the body of Clodius arrived in Rome before the first hour of the night, which would favor the correctness of the time, as fixed by him, and be inconsistent with the time assigned by Cicero. Cf. Schol. Bob. p. 285. Orell.

35. Secus, in the sense of alio tempore, is not common
36. Superiore. They had the choice of the ground, and the farm was on an elevated situation. This and every like circumstance is set forth as corroborative of the charge that Clodius planned the
waylaying and murder. It is a detailed description of a robber-ma
manoeuvre.—Ad eves. Those in front.


38. Illi, qui erant cum Clodio. It would appear that some of
Clodius's party attacked the carriage in front, to prevent escape. Milo,
on quitting the vehicle, began to defend himself against their assault.
Clodius and the rest of his party, who had permitted the carriage to
pass them a little, seeing Milo thus engaged, ran back (they were on
their way to Rome) to attack him. But this did not require them all.
The remainder (partim), therefore, with whom Clodius happened to
be, fell in with the attendants of Milo, that were in the rear of the
 carriage (qui post erant, and therefore nearer the Clodian body), by
whom Clodius was killed.

42. Ex quibus quis animo fidei, &c. The orator, with con-
summate skill, prepares the minds of the judges, by the mention of
sufficient and almost necessary grounds for the murder, for the re-
ception of the main fact, and in the very mention of the murder ade-
servi Milonis for oratorical effect, to show, what was the principle
thing, that not Milo, but his slaves, committed the murder.—An
...... presenti. Cf. Terent. Phorm. 5, 7, 64: Animo virili prae-
que ut sis, para.

44. Succurrere prohlberentur. Z. 544 and 607.

1. Fecerunt id. A periphrasis and euphemism.

2. Non derivandi criminis causa. Not with the view of lay-
ing the blame elsewhere.

CH. XI.—7. VI victa viis. Quam maxime cum Ciceronis con-
sertudine congruit, ut verba ab eadem origine ducta aut similibus lite-
ris scripta una in enunciacione conjungantur plura.

8. Nihil alio, &c. This line of argument was urged by some,
and adopted by M. Brutus in a defence of Milo, which he wrote out
and published, as if actually delivered. Quinctil. 4, 5, notices the in-
genious of Cicero in enumerating, while he professes to omit, the ad-
vantages likely to accrue from the death of Clodius.

11. Si id jure, &c. If the principle of self-defence is inadmis-
sible. For posuit the common text gives posset.

12. Nihil habeo, quod defendam. Z. 562. Klotz: quid de-
defendam.

13. Ratio, &c. These fountains of law are appropriately refer-
red. For "reason" properly belongs to those who have improved their
powers; the uncultivated are the slaves of "necessity;" nations are
subservient to "custom," while the lower animals are directed by
"mere instinct." Klotz omits et before ratio.

17. Quin simul. Without at the same time deciding. Z. 538.

19. Quod si ita putasset, .... optabiliss .... fuit. Not
fuisse, although we in such cases use a potential. Z. 519 a. If he
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had imagined there was no alternative between the dagger of Clodius and the sentence of the judges, he would have preferred the former, as less dishonorable to you. Cf. Rosc. 3, 8.—Dare jugulum. Rosc. Am. 11, 30, servis Roscis dare.


25. Factas . . . factum . . . factae. Recte Garatoni monent repetitiones ejusmodi alicando ita esse necessarias, ut, eas effugere si velis, nihil proficiat, nisi ut incepto labore te maceres, et, perspicuitate sublata, vitias fiat oratio. They form a kind of polyptoton. Q. minutil. 9, 3, 37.

28. Notavit. Notare involves the notion of censure, derived from the censor's nota.

Ch. XII.—32. Impune = impunitum. Z. 365 in fin.—Tum i.e. Klotz: si ille haec, ut ecelere solevsernt. Some read tum ut nos.

33. Quonam igitur pacto. His first proof, which occupies this and the following section, is, that Clodius would have gained by the death of Milo, and not Milo by the death of Clodius.

37. Illud Cassianum. Cf. Rosc. Am. 30, 84. L. Cassius was remarkable for his strictness as a judge, that Val. Max. 3, 7, says: as tribunal scopulus rerum dicebatur. When appointed, says Asconius, to judge the vestal virgins, of whom L. Metellus had condemned only one, Emilia, and acquitted Marcia and Licinia, he condemned them also, along with several others.—Cui bona fuerit. Cui is dative of the person, and bona of the thing.


40. Non eo consule, quo, &c. Cf. 13, 34, and 33, 89.

41. Hs consullbus. Plautius Hypsaeus and Q. Metellus Scipio, Cf. 33, 89.

43. Eludere is used absolutely, and = bacchari quodam modo et quasi per ludum ac jocum, nemine resistente, andacisine omnis permiscere, subvertere. See note on p. 9, line 2. Klotz: posse se ludere.

44. Cujus, Clodii.—Illi, consules. —Ipse. Klotz and others ille.—Nec cuperent, &c. Most editions, from a conjecture of Manutius, give nec, si possent, reprimere cuperent, quum, &c. Klotz and Süpfe retain the reading of the MSS. nec, si cuperent, reprimere possent, quum, &c., and make cupere denote the inclination of the feelings, the moral desire; velle, the energetic, efficient will. Cicero's meaning then is, that, as Clodius reasoned, the consuls would neither be able (morally), if they found it even desirable, to check his enterprises, since they supposed themselves bound in gratitude to him for so great a favor, nor, if they really wished it, were they in a condition (physically) to crush them. Madvig rejects this view, and assuming his conjecture to be the correct text, accounts for the reading of the MSS., by supposing that a careless copyist, not attending
to the sense, was led by the form of the second member (et, si vel-
ent, ... vix possent) to carry back the conditional particle in the first

member too to the beginning, and give it to the first verb. It is not

so easy to explain how, according to the conjecture of Manutius, the

verbs possent—cupereent should have changed places. Cicero simply

says, these consuls would neither have had the will nor the power to

restrain Clodius. Schultze agrees with Madvig.

1. Tantum beneficium. For Clodius had canvassed for them,

ch. 9. Convocabat tribus.

4. An vero, judices. An eloquent amplification of the simple

proposition: Clodius was about to enact pernicious laws in his praetor-

ship, were Milo dead.—Hospites = peregrini. Cf. p. Rabir. perd. 10.

Adeone hopec hujusce urbis, adeone ignarus ea disciplinae consue-

tudinisque nostras, ut hae necias? ut peregrinari in aliena civitate,

non in tua magistraturam gerere videare.

5. Perigrinantur, ut Aristoph. Equ. 1120, 5 voio el on evoq
di. Cf. Acad. 1, 3, 9: Nam nos in nostrae urbe peregrinantes er-

rentesque tanquam hospites.

6. Quas ille leges. Asconius, on ch. 32, 87, mentions that P.

Clodius, among other measures, had prepared a project of law, by

which freedmen, who now had the right of suffrage only in the city

tribes, should be allowed the same in the rustic tribes, which embraced

the freeborn: From about the year 639, they, after various changes,

had again been brought into the city tribes, and remained in them to

the close of the republic, although it was a favorite scheme of indi-

vidual party leaders to gain for themselves partisans and influence by

extending the suffrage of the freedmen.


8. Inusturus = tam alta impressurus, ut acriter sentiantur. In

Pison. 13, 30: Quae lex privatis hominibus esse lex non videbatur,

iuesta per servos, incissa per vim, imposita per latrocinium.

9. Sexte Clodi. He was the kinsman and secretary of Publius

Clodius.

11. Palladium. Sex. Clodius was as anxious to save Clodius’s

laws, as formerly Metellus the priest was to preserve the Palladium,

when the temple of Pallas was on fire. Plin. H. N. 743.

12. Instrumentum. An apparatus for carrying on a tribune-

ship; sc. a transcript of all such laws as a bad tribune could turn to

the destruction of the state.

14. Atque per ** **. The *** indicate a lacuna or gap in the

MSS. Klotz gives in brackets, with the text, the following attempt of

Beier to supply the defect: Atque per [omnes tribus divisio libertinis

servos ille omnes, qui in libertate morarentur, lege nova additurus

erat, ut ipse cum ingenuis aequaliter suffragia ferrent.] An, &c.

The common text gives deferre posses. Et adspexit, &c., without
any mark of a lacuna. Peyron observed the want of connection, as also the absence of five lines from the Turin palimpsest, and from Quintil. 9, 2, 54, supplied the last half of the gap. From other sources he attempted to restore the rest.

15. A se Inventam. S. Clodius was a libertinus; therefore the malicious observation that he was the author of this law.


19. Et adspexit me. Phil. 2, 30, 76, At ... adspicis me, et quidem, ut videris, iratus. The connection of these words with the preceding is still loose; but the language is animated, and the abruptness not out of place. "But see, he has cast such a look on me, as he was accustomed to wear, when he threatened all evils to everybody;" sc. in the tribunate of P. Clodius, when Sextus was the willing instrument of all the injuries inflicted on Cicero.


Ch. XIII.—22. Sexte, with the tone of familiarity, expressive of irony.—Cujus = quia mei.


24. Crucem, when it should have been washed and anointed. See ch. 32, 86.

25. Ejectisti. But it should have been placed in the atrium in state, and after eight days, have been carried out with ceremony. Cadaver ejectisti and abjectisti are chosen to express the carelessness and contempt with which he treated the corpse of his patron.

26. Imaginibus. See note on p. 131, line 14.—Exsequiis. A following to the grave; funeral procession, which pomps also here signifies, and is therefore only amplificatory. The procession crossed the forum, when the lectus funebris was set down in front of the rostra, and the laudatio pronounced. It then moved to the place where the body was burned without the city. The ashes were gathered into an urn (condere), which was placed in the tomb (componere). Nothing of this respect was shown to Clodius.—In felicissimis lignis. An allusion to the distinction between arbores felices and infelices in the (Etruscan) pontifical language. An arbor infelix was taken for a gallows, which, it may be intimated, Clodius deserved. The body of Clodius, however, was burned with the benches, tables, &c., of the senate-house, which he emphatically calls infelicitissima. So Catullus devotes the writings of a sorry poet, infelicius ustulanda lignis.

27. Semustillatum. Cf. 32, 86: Phil. 2, 36, 91.—Nocturnis canibus. Ex Homeric a formula κίνων αἰλονιάς τι νόσι, quam Graeci poetae, Latinique maxime frequentarunt, detraxit aves, addiditque nor-
39. Laudare non possam, i.e. quamquam laudare non possam.
30. [Demonstravi, &c.] Here is again a lacuna. The italics in brackets are supplied by Beier. Others give Audistis, judices, &c. Another form of supplying the omission is, Audistis, judices, quantum Clodio profuerit. But this could have been said only in case Milo had been killed.
33. Non dicam admitteret, sed. Z. 724. Admittere is used absolutely of the commission of a crime. Cf. ch. 23, 64; 37, 103.
42. Solutum autem fore, sc. omni religione, omni metu legum, effrenem. Was likely to be unrestrained; explained by constringere.
43. Constringere, as a wild beast. Cf. 33, 89.

2. At nunc. Hitherto Milo had a strong claim on the favor of the good by his opposing Clodius; now, however, that being removed, he must adopt the usual methods of obtaining popular favor. Therefore he was a loser by the death of Clodius.

5. Frangendis furoribus. Practis would imply the completion of the act. See note on p. 65, line 6.
6. Vos adoptit estis, ne quem eivem metueretis. Z. 618.
7. Fontem perennem. Cited by Quinetil. 8, 6, 7, where he treats de egregiis metaphoris.
10. Tantarl caputus est. The passive voice of capi with the passive infinitive is the regular construction in Cicero and Caesar. See Krebs, Guide, 220 in fin.; P. C. 150x; Z. 221 in fin.
11. At vallat, &c. At introduces an objection. Z. 349. But you will say, &c. The second argument, founded in personal animosity.
12. Punctor doloris sui. Sic cupiditas puniendi doloris, de Orat. 1, 51, 220, i.e. dolorem posse de adversario sumpta satiandi, eum ulciendi.
15. Quid enim, i.e. cur enim, ut &c.—Segestem ac materiem sua gloria. A metaphor derived from agriculture. Cf. Liv. 6, 7: hostis est quid aliud, quam perpetua materia virtutis gloriaque vestra? See Quinetil. 8, 6, 7.
16. Prater hoc civile odio, i.e. praterquam hoc civili odio. Z. 323. Civile autem odium est, ex dimensione rei publicae a civili susceptum, non e privata aliqua causa. Victor. V. L. 21, 19, proposed commune odium. Cf. ch. 29, 78.
17. Ille erat ut odisset. Some construe: ille erat (sc. is, talis) ut, &c. Others take the construction as = erat, ut ille, it was the case, that, &c. And est ut is not unfrequently found in this way, serving
to direct attention prominently to what follows. Z. 752. *Ille erat ut*

would then be a case of synchysis, or commingling of words. But see

Z. 562.— *Salutis mea defensorum.* Cicero specifies three causes of

enmity: 1 Milo, as tribune, had assisted in the recall of Cicero from

exile; 2. he had opposed the Clodian mob in their attacks on the city;

3. he had accused Clodius. Klotz and others: *defensorum salutis mea.*

18. *Vexatorem furoris, eum, qui furiosa ejus consilia irrita red-

debat.*

19. *Reus enim, &c.* Milo a. u. c. 697 aimed to accuse Clodius

under the *lex Plotia de vi,* but it did not come to trial. Cf. Sest. 41.

From ch. 15, 40, we gather, that Milo made a second attempt to

bring Clodius to trial. Cf. chaps. 14, 38, and 28, 77. Clodius retort-

ed, with a like accusation against Milo. Cf. 15, 40. Klotz: *postre-

mun.*

20. *Quoad vixit.* Because the cause never came to trial.

21. *Tyrrannum, i. e. Clodium, qui unus tum erat in re publica tyran-

num.*

24. *Reliquum est, ut, &c.* Z. 621. Having argued,

1. from the *cui bono*; 2. from personal hatred; he now urges the nat-

ural disposition of the parties; and shows that his client was always

obedient to the laws; Clodius always turbulent. The *third* argument.

— *Illum, Clodium; hunc, Milonom.* The irony of the passage is evi-

dent.

26. *Per vim.* The repetition of *vim* and the omission of the verb

impart energy to the sentence. On the omission of the verb, see Z.

771.— *Quid? ego, &c.* Klotz: *Quid ergo, judices?*

27. *Mæreuntibus nobis.* Cicero was deserted by Pompey and

Caesar, the most powerful leaders in the state, and fearing the violent

measures of Clodius, went into voluntary exile, whereupon the sena-
tors put on mourning. *Post red. in sen. 5, 12; Sest. 11 and 12.—

Urbe cessi.* Planc. 10, 26: *quod me vel vi pulsum vel ratione ce-
dentem;* on which the Schol. Bob. remarks: *prudenter hoc suspedit,

ne aut damnatus aut exul fuisse unquam videretur.* Cicero is in

the habit of calling his exile *dicessus meus;* ch. 37, 103. Sest. 22,

49: *Servavi . . . rem publicam dicessu meo . . . unus bis rem publi-

cam servavi, semel gloria, iterum ærumna mea.—Judiciumne. Pa-

rad. 4, 1, 27: Non erat illa tum civitas, quam leges in ea nihil
valebant, quam judicia jacebant, &c.*

28. *Non servos, &c. i. e. nonne potius timuit servos a Clodio con-

scriptos et arma, &c.* By *servos* understand the Clodian mob, who

followed Cicero, wherever he went, ridiculing his mourning garb.

29. *Elictendi.* 2 Cat. 7, 14, in *exsilium ejectus;* and *de Rep.* 1,

42 without this addition *populus interfecit aut ejectit tyrannum.* Cf.

38, 105. Möbius takes *restituenti* not simply for revocandi, but as =

*te restitutio* to his former rights and possessions as a citizen; and so
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30. Diem .... dixerat. Diem dicere (ad populum) is the commencement of an accusation in a judicium populi, and belongs to magistrates. The meaning is to appoint a day for appearing before the people. It therefore corresponds to in jus vocare in the case of other tribunals. The tribunes threatened Cicero with it, because it was, they alleged, at his instigation that Milo killed Clodius.—Multam irrogat. Multam irrogare (for the most part in the comitia tributa) or capitis accusare (in the comitia centuriata) formed the sequel of the diem dicere. Hence the corresponding phrases pecunia anquirere, and capite anquirere. It was very common for the tribunes at the comitia tributa to propose a fine for magistrates or generals who had transcended their duty or powers, or who had in general incurred any liability in their office. Clodius had it in his power to accuse Cicero before the people, and call for a fine to be imposed upon him, in consequence of his measures against the Catilinarian conspirators; and he could also bring the actio perduellionis against him (therefore capite anquirere), because Cicero had, without sentence and without right, executed Roman citizens, as C. Rabirius was made perduellionis reus, for the murder of Saturninus.—Actionem perduellionis, ob cives Romanos, Catilinarum conjurationis socios, de senatus sententia indicta causa damnatos. So intendere (move re) litem frequently.

31. Videllicet, continues the irony indicated by credo in the preceding line.


37. Quum mihi adesset, mean causam sua presentia et auctoritate defenderet, ne in exsiliu ejiceret. Aesse is often used in a legal sense of the countenance or support lent by a patronus or avocatus to a person in his trial, by his presence, advice, or his influence generally. The circumstances here referred to are given by D. Cass. 38, 16. The equites sent a committee from their number, and the senators sent Q. Hortensius and C. Curio to the consul Gabinius, to engage him to interfere in favor of Cicero; but Gabinius rudely repulsed them, and the messengers were maltreated by the Clodian mob.

39. Vitam amiserit. Asconius says that Vipienus died on the very day of the burning of the body of Clodius.

40. Sica illa. This passage furnishes no evidence that Cicero regarded Clodius as a fellow-conspirator with Catiline. The ambiguity appears intentional. Cicero looked upon Clodius as a second Catiline.—Haec intentata nobis est, ante exsilium.

41. Hunc ego vos objici pro me non sum passus, urbem relinquendo.

42. Insubiata Pompeio est. See ch. 7, 19.
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43. Nece Papiril. See ch. 7, 18.
44. Longo intervallo. Six years afterwards, when Cicero supported Milo for the consulship. Klotz omits est after rursus.

1. Ad regtam. The regia (Numæ) was an important building and locality in Rome, connected with the earliest religious rites, and situated on the confines of the forum, near the temple of Vesta. The sacra via opened into the forum by the side of the regia. The addition of ut scitis points clearly to an actual fact, and probably to the one mentioned by Asconius, where the bands of Milo met those of Hypseius in bloody fray. An earlier attack on his person is mentioned by Cicero, ad Att. 4, 3, 3.

2. Cujus vis omnibus. Cicero, Sest. 42, 92, makes a similar defence of Milo. But when he is no longer the orator, he, ad Att. 4, 3, keeps nearer the truth. Cf. de Off. 2, 17, 58.

3. Oppressam....teneret, sc. opprimeret et teneret. Z. 634 and 635 Note.

5. Quantae, quoties. Klotz: Quotiens et quantae.—Potuitne, i. e. nonne potuit. Z. 352.

6. Quum domum....defenderit. See ad Att. 4, 3, and introduction, p. 376. This attack was made at eleven o'clock in the day, and defeated by a vigorous sally of Milo's friends, under the command of Q. Flaccus.

7. Civit. Z. 63 (c) Note.

8. Ch. Sestio. See p. Sest. chaps. 35-39, for a description of this affair, in which Sestius received twenty wounds. He was a colleague of Milo in the tribuneship.—Q. Fabricio. Another colleague of Milo's. Sest. 35-36.

10. L. Cæcilius. Prætor in the year of Cicero's return. Asconius speaks of riots in the theatre, while he was exhibiting the Apollinarian games, but of this attack on his house he had nowhere read any account. Cf. Sest. 41, 88.

12. Illus die, &c. Pison. 15, 34: me Kalendis Januariis....frequentissimus senatus, concursu Italiae, referente....P. Lentulo, consentiente populo Romano atque una voce revocavit. Cf. ch. 28, 77.—Totius Italia concursus. Pison. 22: A Brundisio usque Romam agmen perpetuum totius Italiae viderem. All these, had Milo slain Clodius, would have claimed the glory of the deed.

Ch. XV.—16. At quod erat tempus? Supply with the next sentence, erat eo tempore clarissimus, &c. The old reading is: Atqui erat id temporis clarissimus, &c.

17. P. Lentulus was an intimate friend of Cicero, and was very active in the senate and at the comitia in promoting his recall from exile.

18. Illus, Clodii.—Propugnator senatus. Because he had restored the former freedom, which had been suppressed by the consuls.
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of the previous year, who were tools of Clodius.—Vestra voluntas:
Cicero's recall was the wish of the people, which Clodius hindered.

19. Publici consensus. The voice of the people was almost
unanimous in the comitia of the centuries for Cicero's return. Pison
15, 34; Sest. 51, 109.—Septem praetores. Pison. 15, 35: de me,
quum omnes magistratus promulgassent, praeter unum praetorem, e
quo non fuit postulandum, fratrem inimici mei praeterque duos de
lapide emptos tribunos. The praetor was Appius Claudius, the tr.
tribunes, Q. Numerius Rufus and Sex. Atilius Serranus.

20. Illius adversarii, defensores mei. Notice the anaphora in
the preceding clauses, and the chiasmus here. Mei is to be referred

21. Cu. Pompeius. Pison. 15. Pompey, finding that Clodius,
presuming too much on his popularity, began to think himself a match
for the triumvirates, favored the recall of Cicero in order to keep him
in check.

22. Gravissimam et ornatissimam, i.e. gravitatis ac ponderis:
plenissimam et isis, quae ad orationis elegantiam pertinent, instructissi-
man. The oration ad Quir. p. Red. 7, contains an abstract of Pom-
pey's speech on this occasion.

24. Decretum de me Capua fecit. Pison. 11, 25. Capua, be-
cause of its defection from Rome in the second Punic war, was se-
verely punished, and reduced to a praefectura. Liv. 26, 16. Julius
Cæsar, a. v. c. 695, made it a colonia civium Romanorum. Capua
could therefore take part in the restoration of Cicero. Pompey had
been appointed, by the Julian law, one of the Duumviri for governing
the new colony at Capua, in right of which office he made this decree.
Fecit not fecisset. See note on p. 69, line 40.

25. Signum dedit, gave the signal to convene. Like signum
sustulit, which is a military phrase, and therefore perhaps concurrere,
with the notion of eagerness and haste, as in the first charge of battle.

27. Omnium demique, &c. So also Klotz without the t. But
Madvig now adopts the conjecture of Heumann: omnium demique in
illum odia civium, &c.

29. Cogitaretur is not for cogitatum esset, although we should so
speak, but the imperfect conveys the notion of continuance or incom-
pleteness.

30. In judicium bis, ad vim nunquam vocavit. See ch. 13,
35. On the variation of the preposition, Garatoni remarks: preposi-
tionum variatio, ubi præsertim sua cuique nominis propria ex sua tribu-
tur, tantum abest a vitio, ut in elegantiae laude ponatur. Compare
note on p. 23, line 15.

31. Privato Milone, deposito tribunatu. Magistrates could not
as a general rule be accused during their magistracy.—Accusante P.
Clodio. Sest. 44, 95. D. Cass. 39, 18, says Clodius was no sooner
made vile, than he accused Milo, for keeping a band of gladiators as an offset to a similar accusation which had been brought against himself. Pompey, Crassus, and Cicero defended Milo; and Pompey, notwithstanding the continued clamor and abuse of the Clodian mob, spoke for nearly three hours. Cf. ad Q. frat. 2, 3.

32. Impetus factus est. Ad Fam. 1, 5, 1: *Pompeius ... quum pro Milone dicaret, clamore convicique jactatus est.*

34. M. Antonius, afterwards triumvir, married Fulvia, the wife of Clodius, and subsequently became Cicero's bitterest enemy. Cf. Phil. 2, 9, 21. This occurred perhaps when Antony, A. U. C. 701, was a candidate for the quaestorship, and greatly favored by Cicero. Cf. Fam. 16, 23, 2.


37. Bellum ... laqueos ... irretitam. Metaphors borrowed from hunting.

39. In scalarum tenebras, sc. tabernae librariae. Cf. 2 Phil. 9, 21. On the construction, see Z. 489.

40. Magnum ... fuit. Z. 520.—*Illum pestem,* Clodium.


42. Comitills. A. U. C. 702, when he was obstructing the election of Milo, and favoring that of Scipio and Hypseus.

43. In septa. These were enclosures in the Campus Martius, (called also Ovile,) into which one class of citizens was admitted after another for the purpose of voting. The access to these compartments was formed by narrow passages called pontes or ponticuli. Steinmetz and Klotz: *in septa ruisset.*

44. Fugeret ad Tiberim. For the Campus Martius was washed by that river. Liv. 2, 5.

1. Vos et omnes boni vota faceritis, ut. Z. 378. So ch. 28, 119 vota enim faceritis, ut, &c.—*Ut Miloni uti virtute sua libaret.* That it might please Milo to exert his bravery; a euphemism for "slay Clodius."

Ch. XVI.—3. Quemigitur, &c. The object of the argument from § 38 was to prove, "nil per vim Milo." As, however, it might be said that other motives besides the love of violence might have actuated Milo, Cicero here ingeniously reasons that Milo, having formerly omitted the fairest opportunities of killing Clodius, cannot be imagined to have done so now with any disadvantage. On the form of the argument, *enthymema ex pugnantibus,* compare Quintil. 5, 14, and Cic. Top. 13, 55.—*Cum omnium gratia = ita ut ab omnibus gratiam iniret; cum aliquorum querela, ita ut aliqui quererentur.*

9. Q.iam timida sit . . . quam sollicita sit. Is this the usual order? See note on p. 97, line 1.
12. Fabulam. Hearsay—which may be true or false; limited here by the epithet factam. The common text gives fabulum falsam, factam, levem. And so Steinmetz and Klotz.
16. Candidatorum. A candidate (candidatus) was so called from his appearing in the public places, such as the fora and Campus Martius, before his fellow-citizens in a whitened toga.—In recte factis, i. e. etiam quam recte faciunt. Fastidire vero dicuntur eos, quos sibi non satisfacere significant, ut hoc modo ipsi plus aliis sapere videantur.
19. Augusta. This word originally belonged to the language of religion, and was therefore by Cicero often joined with sanctus. Here the allusion is to the comitia centuriata, at which the higher magistrates were elected, and to the solemn auspices which must precede.
20. Quam hoc, &c. For Milo was a respecter of religion—Clodius the reverse.
23. [Audaciae]. Klotz: audacia without [ ]; λογισών παρέμα, leve tamen, audacia retinentos ab oratore ipso commissum fateamur, necesse est. Orelli. And finally Madvig strikes the word out entirely. Quod caput est = which is the main point.
24. Impunitatis aem. He strengthens his conclusion still further, by showing that the hope of impunity lay all with Clodius. This may be considered the fourth argument.
26. Aut praecari, as being done to benefit the state; necessarii, as being in self-defence.
26. Contemperat. Clodius had escaped the punishment of his violation of the mysteries of the Bona Dea by the corruption of his judges, and avoided trial on the charge of violence which Milo had brought against him. He was also accused of having committed incest with his sister. Fas of natural; licet of positive laws. Cf. Phil 13, 6, 14: licere id dicimus, quod legibus, quod more majorum institutisque conceditur.
29. Quid plura disputo? When I can appeal to the personal knowledge of some of my judges, that Clodius had resolved to slay Milo. This evidence of the animus of Clodius, from his denouncing Milo's death within three days, constitutes the fifth argument.
30. Divina quaedam sors. Pompey chose 360 of the best citizens for the selecti judices. After the three days' hearing of testimony, the sortitio judicum took place, by which the number was reduced to 81, and before the voting this number was still further reduced
by the rejection of five from each order, by both the accuser and the accused, thus leaving 51 judges to vote. The 51 judges were composed of 18 senators, 17 equites, and 16 tribuni serarii. Of the latter 3, of the equites 4, and 6 senators voted for Milo's acquittal; the rest condemned, so that the vote stood 36 for condemnation against 13 for acquittal.

31. Ex M. Favonie. See ch. 9, 26.

32. Vivo Cludio. He could, therefore, have denied the charge.


Ch. XVII.—36. Quemadmodum, &c. It might be objected to the fifth argument, that by specifying days it implied, what had not been proved, that Clodius had a knowledge of Milo's visit to Lanuvium. Cicero shows both how that knowledge could be obtained, and that to act upon it, Clodius had made the greatest personal sacrifice. Cicero, therefore, would have it appear that Clodius's expression was not made in anger or thoughtlessness, but that he then entertained the purpose to kill Milo.


43. Approperaret. Not an enallage of the imperfect for the pluperfect, but in reference to a repeated and later action, than is intimated in the leading clause; nam reliquit, quia approperabat.

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

5. Ut eum neminem. Z. 573.

6. T. Patiniam. Probably a Lanuvian, and well skilled in the usages of the place.

9. [Omnes scilicet Lanuvini.] Klotz omits the [ ]. Garatoni and others doubt the genuineness of these words. But they are found
120 in almost all the MSS. without variation, and Matthias defends them, as making more ridiculous the excuse of those who maintained that Clodius had no means of knowing. *Scilicet* = doubtless, *omnes La-\[\text{nu}i\]i making an antithesis to the one named, T. Patini.

10. Unde quæsalvít? Æ x quonam quæsalvit? Notice also how unde is dislodged from its position at the head of its clause.—Quasi-erit sane. Z. 529. So also *corruperit* below.

11. Q. Arrius, *meus amicus*. Some consider *meus amicus* as said with bitter irony. But Cicero, *in Vatin*. 12, 30, calls Q. Arrius *familiaris meus*, and *ad Q. frat*. 1, 3, 8, when complaining of him and Hortensius, indicates friendly relations with him. *Amicus meus*, *familiaris meus*, *vir fortissimus*, and the like, are rather complimentary additions, without their full meaning.

12. *Corruperit*. Though Cicero asserts that Milo had no means of knowing the return of Clodius from Arcia, yet, for argument’s sake, he admits that he might have bribed a slave of Clodius to inform him. He then produces the testimony of Clodius’s witnesses, to prove that no such information could have been given; his (Clodius’s) return to Rome being contrary to his intention, and owing to a circumstance that it was impossible to foresee.—*Legite testimonia*. The testimony had been previously taken. Cassinius Schola was brought as witness against Milo on the first day. The Clodians created great disturbance, and Pompey set a guard in the forum. The taking of testimony, therefore, on the two following days passed without disturbances. On the *fourth* or *fifth* day, with regard to which there is some discrepancy, the arguments of the parties were held, and the sentence pronounced.

13. C. Cassinius Schola. On the occasion of his trial for violating the mysteries of the Bona Dea, Clodius attempted to prove an *alibi* by means of this Cassinius.—*Interamnana*. A native of Interamna. There were several towns of this name in Italy. The one supposed to be here meant was on the Nar in Umbria, and is now called Terni. The distance of it from Rome is about eighty Roman miles. Cicero alludes to the false testimony of Cassinius *ad Att*. 2, 1, and *p. domo*, 30, 80, and on that trial was brought as a witness to disprove it.

14. *Eadem hora*. Ironically. It may appear strange that Cicero should lessen the credit of this witness, at the very time that he is quoting him to make out a point for himself, viz. that the return of Clodius being accidental, could not have been known by Milo. But it is enough for his present purpose, that his opponents admit the truth of the testimonies by which he convicts them of charging himself and Milo falsely. He afterwards shows that the evidence was false, and this remark on Cassinius leads the hearer to expect as much.

15. In Albano. In the beautiful country around the ancient Alba Longa, there were numerous splendid villas; one of Pompey,
ORATION FOR T. ANNIUS MILO.

ch. 20, 54, ad Att. 7, 5, 3; in Pison. 31, 77; of Clodius, ch. 19, 51; and others. At a later day, Tiberius and particularly Domitian had favorite residences there. The city Albanum arose from these country-seats, and considerable remains of amphitheatres and tombs are found near the modern Albano on the Appian way.

17. Cyrum architecture. Cf. ad Att. 2, 3, 2; Fam. 7, 14, 1; Q. frat. 2, 2, 2.

18. Comes, who was in his company the same day.—C. Clodius

The younger brother of Publius Clodius.

CH. XVIII.—20. Quantae res. 1. That Clodius, whose return was thus proved accidental, could not have been waylaid by Milo. 2. That Cicero could not have instigated such an assault. In the next line good MSS. give sunt confectae. See Z. 553.

21. Liberatam Milo, non . . . . profectus esse, i.e. absolvitur Milo eo quod demonstratum est cum non eo consilio proectum esse. Compare Phil. 5, 5, 14, excusaturque Areopagites esse, and Thucyd. 1, 95, ἄκαλλης ἔτοι δίκαιος. Verba dicendi are often omitted while the construction remains such as they would require.

22. Quippe sometimes stands independently = "certainly." Quipe revera mirantis est, qui res aliter esse possit, et comparandum maxime cum Graeco υἱὸς vel υἱὸς γιος. Itaque inter quippe et sententiam annexam, quae causa contingebatur, olim distinguebatur: quae distinctio quum diuturna consuetudine in oblivionem venisset, quippe ex interrogativa particula abita in relativam. O. Müller. Other readings give quippe qui obvius and quippe; obvius, &c.

25. Fulse, qui . . . . dicerent, Q. Pompeius Rufus et C. Salustius tribuni sunt, quos significat. Hi anim primi de ea lege feren-dam populum hortati sunt, et dixerunt, manu Milonis occisum esse Clodium, consilio vero majoris alicujus. This was afterwards maintained by Antony, Phil. 2, 9, 21; 20, 49; and before Clodius's death Cicero had been designated as the counsellor and guide of Milo, ad Att. 4, 3, 5.—In hac rogatione suadenda, sc. that an extraordinary trial should be instituted. The suadere and dissuadere legem took place in the conciones; in the comitia the law was proposed by the presiding magistrate, and accepted or rejected without further discussion.


30. Respiravit. Simulationem hanc vocat Quintil. 9, 2, 25.

32. Nam occurrit illud = objicitur or objici potest ab adversariis; this objection meets me. Above Cicero inferred the innocence of his client and himself from the testimony of Cassius. He here pursues the argument further, because the inference remained, that since Clodius was to stay all night in his Alban villa, therefore he did not even think of waylaying Milo.—Igitur is omitted in many edi-
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tions. Sed est particula praeoccupans ea, quae ex precedentiis deduci atque objici poterant.

34. Si quidem, &c. Admitted, says Cicero, if he had not been to leave it to execute his bloody task. For I see the real business of the so-called messenger about Cyrus, &c. Si quidem, &c., therefore, is the answer of Cicero to the inference, and is to be separated from it by a full point.

35. Quia dicatur. The common reading is quia dicitur, but not so much an historic fact as a subjective thought is here expressed.

36. Testamentum .... obiguavit. Cicero and Clodius were legates and witnesses at the same time. This was not allowed in the later law. D. 28, 1, 20 pr.: qui testamento heres instituitur, in eodem testamento testis esse non potest. Witnesses sealed the will on the outside, and by their seal wrote their names. Afterwards the will must be subscribed by the (seven) witnesses, inside also. Una refers to locality; simul commonly to time. Klotz: testamentum Cyri simul, &c.

39. Palam. It was customary not to disclose the names of legates till after the death of the testator, lest avare should prompt them to hasten his death. As it was thought honorable to be made one’s heir, independently of the profit, so the confidence implied in palam induces Cicero to give that fact prominence.

40. Animam efflantem. The Latin language has many expressions for mori, some of which are euphemisms, and others, as the present, are descriptive of the struggle at death. Similar to animam efflare, are animam exhalare, exspirare, emittere.

Ch. XIX.—43. Sit ita factum. Admitting that he was informed of Cyrus’s death.

44. Quid afferebat, &c. Most MSS. give quid afferebat festinationes, quod heres erat? and so Klotz.

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4. Atque ut, &c. Having spoken of travelling by night, Cicero led to consider the time and place of the rencontre. This constitutes the sixth argument.

5. Vitandus. The general odium in which he was held ‘aided him open to nocturnal attacks; and therefore made it advisable to avoid late journeys.

7. Subsidendum. See § 51. Subsidere (subsidium) was originally a verbum militare, spoken of the Triarii, who, with their left foot extended, rested on their right knee, until the engagement reach-
ed them. In this half-sitting posture, they had their shields under the left shoulder, and their spears set in the ground before them.

8. Invidioso ... loco. The common reading is invidioso. The Appian road, especially near the tomb of Basilus, was notorious for harboring robbers and their booty. It was usual therefore in this vicinity to travel with a strong guard. Cf. ad Att. 7, 9, 1.

9. Occidisset, not for si occidisset, but occidisset cum, si subsidisset, i.e. supposing Milo the waylayer, he would have slain him by night, in a place notorious for lying in wait and for robberies. Everyone, in that case, would have given credit to, &c. The locality, &c. &c., would have borne the blame.

11. Occultator et receptator locus. See Z. 102, Note 2. Receptator is the common text.

12. Tum neque, &c. The usual reading is dum neque, &c. i.e. sustinuisset crimen locus quamdiu et quatenus neque muta solitudo, &c.

13. Ibi, i.e. multi, ibi si ceedes facta esse... in suspicionem caderent.—Ab illo, Clodio.

14. Multi hæc etiam. The common text is multi etiam hæc.

15. Tota denique rea citaretur Etruria, i.e. omnes Etrusci accusarentur ceedis Clodii, quos vexarat; 9, 26. Cf. chaps. 27, 74; 35, 98.

16. Atque illo die, &c. The seventh argument. The preceding was, that were Milo the aggressor, his attack should have been made at night, near the city. This he here varies, by supposing his client to be aware that Clodius, whose country-seat lay between Rome and Aricia, was at that town; and by asking what particular spot an aggressor so informed would choose for his attack. Evidently either between Aricia and the villa, lest he might call there, and not leave it; or near the city, where his journey would be in the shades of night. But Milo chose neither; therefore, &c.—Aricia was a town of Latium, on the Appian way, 60 stadia from Rome. From Atque to Albavm, Osenbrüggen supposes may be regarded as the position of the opponents of Cicero, who have been reduced already to weak subterfuges, as in § 48, Igitur ne Clodius quidem, &c.

17. Quod ut sciret Milo, scilicet illum Aricia fuisse, ideoque in via esse. On quod, see note on p. 111, line 15.—Ut. Z. 573. But admitting that Milo knew of Clodius's having been at Aricia, &c. The common reading is: Quod nisi sciret Milo. Garatoni takes illum Aricia fuisse as a gloss; and explains: Quod (ad villam suam detersisse Clodium) nisi sciret Milo, suspicari tamen debuit, cum, &c., vel, nisi sciret Milo, eum illuc deversurum, suspicari tamen id fore debuit.

20. Nec eo in loco, sc. near the city, at the tomb of Basilus.

22. Video constare adhuc. He recapitulates the various argu-
ments from ch. 12, omitting, however, the fourth, 16, 43, and particularizing the several subsidiary points of the fifth, and then proceeds, ch. 20, to consider the actual site of the rencontré. He has noticed where he ought to have attacked him, if he were the assailant, now he considers where (as was said) he did. The eighth argument.


29. Reditus. The common reading is reditum. Reditus like projectionis depends on diem. Notice the different reference of the pronouns hic and ille.

30. Prae se tulisse, illo se die, &c. The common text is se illo die. Klotz: prae se tulisse illo die. The omission of the unaccented subject accusative (eo, me, te, nos, vos, less frequently eam, eas) is not uncommon. See 24, 65; 35, 95; and compare P. C. p. 55a; Z. 605.

Ch. XX.—36. Locus ad insidias . . . . utr1 . . . . fuerit aptor. See Z. 409, and note on p. 33, line 11. Argumentum hoc ex loco ductum vehementissime tractasse Ciceronem docet Quintil. 5, 10, 37 and 50.

38. Etiam. See note on p. 9, line 2.


40. Insanas illas substructiones. Cf. § 85: Substructionum insanae moles. Plin. N. H. 36, 15, 103: Pyramidas regum miramur, quum solum tantum foro exstruenda H-S. millies Caesar Dictator emerit, et ei quidem impenso movent captos avaritia animos, P. Clodius, quem Milo occidit, seestertium centies et quadrages octies domo emta habitaverit, quod equidem non secus ac regum insaniam miror. Itaque et ipsum Milonem seestertium septingentes aris alieni debuisse, inter prodigia animi humani duco. Sed tunc senes aggeris vastum spatium, et substructiones insanas Capitolii mirabantur, &c. The substructiones are the substructures, foundations, or changes made in the ground in preparation for the building. Sall. Cat. 12, speaks of villa in urbiurn modum exadificate, and ch. 13, he says: Nam quis ea memorem, qua nisi his qui videre, nemini credibilium sunt: a privatis compluribus subversos montes, maria constructa esse. Cf. Liv. 6, 4; 38, 28; Vitruv. 1, 5; 5, 3; 6, 11. On this ruinous passion for building, see also Hor. Od. 2, 18, 20; 3, 1, 33.—Hominum mille versabantur. The common text is mille hominum versabantur. See Z. 116, Note. Gallus, N. A. 1, 16, and Macrobi. Saturn. 1, 5, contend for the singular, which Phil. 6, 5, 15, mille numnum . . . . expensum, favors. But Gallus decided for the singular on theory, while he found the plural here in his MSS. Klotz on this passage observes with truth, that in a freer use of language, with regard to the inner thought a construction can also arise, which, while false in external grammatical respects, is so much the truer in
reference to the internal thought. Nonius Marc. cites from Cio. de Rep. vi. ut... mille hominum... descendenter.


44. Res loquitur ipsa. Without me. Cf. p. Cluent. 50, 139:
Nam si causa ipsae pro se loqui possent, nemo adhiberet oratorem. nunc adhiberum, ut ea dicamus, &c.

1. Quae semper... et ea semper, &c.—Si hae, &c. He now proceeds to argue from the concomitant circumstances, the vehicle, dress, train, &c. This ninth argument, with the explanations arising from it, extends to ch. 23.

4. Alter. Milo: debebat ita pergere: alter egredere...e villa subito, veesperi, tarde. Sed interjectis illis Quid horum non impediti...m., &c., ordo inmutatus est.—In rheda panulatus. See ch. 10, § 28.—Uxor, Fausta, the daughter of Sulla.

5. Vestitus, an vehiculum, quasi precessisset Quid horum impeditis? vest. an veh.

6. Panula irretitus. For the panula was a close-fitting over-all without sleeves, which confined the arms. It was either made of wool or skin, and was principally used in travelling, and to keep off the rain and cold. The vehicle, too, was rather a pleasure carriage than one adapted to speed and flight.

7. Uxore panee constrictus, quae muliebri timore percusla eum non patiebatur ad pugnam descendere.

8. Videte nunc illum, &c. In this passage Cicero leaves the answers to his queries to be supplied from his previous observations. Thus, to the question, egredientem e villa, subito; cur? the answer would naturally suggest itself—“because he had heard from the messenger,” ch. 18. Milonem approquinquare. To veesperi; quid necessis est? and tarda; qui convenit? why leave the villa in the evening? the reply would be found ch. 18. He had no reason, si quidem exiturus ad caudem e villa non fuisset. Translate: Observe him now, first of all sallying out from his villa, unexpectedly: why?

-In the evening too: where was the necessity for that? With slow progress: how is this to be rationally explained—especially at such an hour?—E villa, sc. sua, i.e. Clodi.

10. Devertit, &c. Cicero here in the spirit of his opponents suggests an explanation for the purpose of overthrowing it with still more force.—In villam Pompeii. See note on in Albano, p. 120, line 15. Some ruins belonging to it are still found.—Pompeium ut videret? As before his rhetorical questions were more forcible denials of any reason, necessity, or propriety in regard to the suddenness, time, and
122 slowness of his return, so here it is suggested that the turning aside to Pompey's villa could not have been to see Pompey or his country-seat.

11. In Aliaenst, &c. villa. Aliaenum, now the village of Palo, was an old Etrurian town, on the sea-coast near Cere, northwest from Rome, while the Appian way lay to the southeast. Fronto, de feriis Aliaenstibus, calls it maritimus et voluptarius locus. The Romans went there, ut bene haberent genio, ut facerent animo voluptatem, and the richer had villas there. Ad Fam. 9, 6, 1; Plin. Epp. 6, 10; Val. Max. 8, 1.

12. Millies. Z. 692.—Quid ergo erat? &c. Klotz reads Quid ergo erat more et terrigvoctationis? to which dum hic, &c. forms the answer. His enemies invented a similar charge against Milo.


Ch. XXI.—14. Age . . . . comparatae. Others agite. Scilicet ante Vallas non defuerant, qui age putarent cum plurali non posse conjungi. Horum jamdiu expls sententia est. See note on p. 57, line 35.—Expediiti, haud impeditei, parati ad eodem faciendam, contrasted with impedimentia; which is derived from the same root.

15. Cum uxore, Fulvia, who afterwards married Antony; supply iter faciebat.

17. Gracculli. Used by way of contempt. Juv. Sat. 3, 76. They were perhaps professors of music and the fine arts; perhaps worse.—In castra Etrusca. Asconius makes Cicero here hint that Clodius was privy to the conspiracy of Catiline, whose army was encamped under Mallius in Etruria. Cicero nowhere directly charges Clodius with participation in the Catilinarian conspiracy, but he is fond of speaking ambiguously about it, ch. 14, 37. Clodius had possessions in Etruria, and, as from a robber-fortress (castra Etrusca) in which he intrenched himself, he made war upon and plundered Etruria, ch. 27, 74; 9, 26. In the present passage Cicero does not speak of one journey of Clodius to Catiline in Etruria (quum c. ind. imperi); did he not, however, choose the expression castra Etrusca, to lead the thoughts of his hearers to Catiline, and the Mallian camps in Etruria? Cf. note on p. 114, line 6. According to Plut. Cic. 29, Clodius, at the time of Catiline's conspiracy, had attached himself to Cicero, to defend him, for they were not yet enemies; but afterwards Clodius was to Cicero a second Catiline, ch. 14, 37, sica illa, &c.; and the ultor Catilinae (in Pison. 10, 23; 7, 16), since he made Cicero's proceedings against the Catilinarians the ground of driving him into exile. The remnants of Catiline's adherents were in Clodius's bands. Pison. 5, 11; 7, 16. Clodius, as Asconius speaks of his intention only as a report, may have given up his plan of following Catiline, as not holding out any advantages, and, to clear himself more certainly from
suspicion and not remain inactive, may have attached himself to the opposite party as a good citizen.

18. Nugarumubi. Nugas, like the Greek ἀνωτέρα, is used of persons, ad Q. frat. 1, 2, 4; Sext. 10, 24. So quiexulice, Sext. 43, 94. Nugarum uiiii = nulls homines leves et nugatorius, h. i. versantes in artibus ludicris, quas tractare gravi vire indignum esset, jester, buffoons.

19. Puerus symphoniacus. Articles of luxury and ornament were mostly denoted by Greek names, e. g. anagnostos, authepes, baptisteriam, chryseideta, lychnuehus; as in modern times French fashions and French names mark corresponding objects. The Romans had to learn étajance from the Greeks, we from the French. Singing boys were taken by the Roman grandees on their journeys, to relieve by music the tediousness of the journey; and to avoid the appearance of effeminacy, the pretex was made, that they belonged to the retinue of their wives.

20. Ancillarum greges. A Roman domina was surrounded by an army of female slaves, each of whom had her special duty. Cf. Juv. Sat. 6, 495 sqq. The slaves in attendance upon the wives of Indian nabobs may furnish some parallel.—Qui . . . duceret for quum is . . . duceret.

21. Neminem, nisi ut, i.e. nisi tales omnes, ut, &c.—Virum a vire lectum esse. The Roman soldiers were permitted, when going on a dangerous service, to choose their comrades. Cf. Liv. 9, 39; 10, 38. This was not merely an Etruscan or Italian custom, but also in use among other ancient nations, as the Greeks and Persians. Xen. Cyrop. 1, 5, 5; Corn. Nep. Paus. 1, 2: Neminem nisi, &c., then = neminem nisi selectos (gladiatores). His were picked men.

25. Muller. See ch. 33, 39, homo effeminatus. Cic. in Clod. et Cur. 5: nam rusticos ei (Clodio) nos videri minus est mirandum, qui manuam tunicam et mitram et purpureas fasces habere non possamus. Tu vero festivus, tu elegans, tu solus urbans, quem decent muiiebris ornatus, quem incessus psaltriae, qui effeminare vultum, attemu're vocem, lavare corpus potes.—Nec vero, &c. Milo was obliged, for his own security, to keep a band of gladiators. Cf. 14, 38.


30. Propositionem et pœne addictam. The allusion is to a sale, where an object is first set up and then knocked down, assigned to, the highest bidder.

32. Martemque communem. Commune Mars est, qui non anam partem, sed utramque, modo hanc modo illum, adjuvat, ἄλλως—
N O T E S.


34. *Percuitt ab abjecto, i.e. per eum, qui jam abjectus et prostratus erat. Matthiae. But Hand, *Turs.*, i.p.30: *Mars semper spoliator tempum ejus et ab abjecto, cui jam incesuerat, depulit, which seems preferable.—Prasi, poti. Z. 633.—Oscitantis. Listless, inattentive. Quae oscitantis licet nonmunquam e corporis visus contingat, certum est tamen frequenter e potu et a prandio provenire.* A. Gell. 4, 10.

35. *Qui quum ... interclusum relliquisset.* Ch. 10, 29. Ciodius thought every thing safe, when Milo had passed him, and was separated from his party, forgetting the famous gladiators Eudamus and Birria, in the rear of Milo's retinue; from the latter of whom, as Asconius relates, Ciodius received a dangerous wound in the shoulder.

37. Hæc aut, tanquam in laqueis aut in reti, metaphorically from wild animals, which are taken in nets.—*In suis panis, quae, &c. Compare ch. 10: id fecerunt, &c.*

39. *Cur igitur eos manumisit? To reward them for having preserved his life, as the advocates of Milo claimed. Sometimes slaves were manumitted by their masters, when threatened with a criminal prosecution, to save them from exposure to torture, but more frequently for their own advantage, to screen themselves from any unfavorable disclosures which might be wrung from their slaves by torture. This was afterwards forbidden, and the manumitted slave was liable to torture.—Metuebat sciisse.* See Z. 345 in fin.

41. Occidit esse a servis. Cf. ch. 10, 29.

43. Occideritue? Occidit. From *occidere*. Having admitted the fatal interference of the slaves, Cicero might fairly be asked to submit them to examination, as they must be aware of the facts of the case. He replies that it was useless. These facts were acknowledged—Milo slew Ciodius; and farther than this the testimony of slaves could not go. But here it is obvious to remark, that while Milo admitted he had slain Ciodius, he urged that he had done so under peculiar circumstances; namely, in self-defence. Now to the existence of these peculiar circumstances it was surely competent for the slaves to depose; but this question of fact Cicero artfully confounds with the question *jure an injuris.*

44. Equuleus. The *equuleus*, as its name shows, resembled a horse, and was probably a wooden machine on four feet, provided with screws, by which the limbs of a body lying upon it could be stretched.

123 *Ca. XXII.—1. In causa.* See ch. 6, 15.

4. Necetis Inimici, &c. Because you fix your censure upon that point of his conduct which is deserving of the highest praise; whereas the proper complaint would be a charge of ingratitude for inadequately rewarding conduct so meritorious.
6. M. Cæs. He had defended Milo before the people, and as judge voted for his acquittal.—

Et dixit. Z. 717.

10. Prop. quæ, per quœ, quorum opera. Prop. for per in this usage, is perhaps limited to persons. See Z. 302.


16. Quod minus moleste ferat, per μελετων pro quo se erigat, conseque tur.

16. Etiam si quid ipsi accidat. This euphemism is not here, as commonly, used of death, but of condemnation which would result in exile, or civil death. Cf. ch. 36, 99, and note on p. 109, line 2.

17. Sed quœstiones. That is, examinations of slaves by torture. The testimony of slaves was not believed, unless wrung from them by torture; hence, the rack is the means of strengthening the credibility of the witness. The rack, as a means of compelling a free citizen, when accused, to confess, was foreign to the Roman republic. In the criminal process, under the Roman law, the accuser must prove his accusation, and it was his business, before coming to the trial, to provide the means of proof. The declarations of the slaves of the opposite party often formed a part of the evidence; hence, of the accuser, the phrase: postulat familiam. On the other side, the accused and his party had to provide all weapons of defence against the attack of the accuser: therefore also the party of Milo moved for the torture of the slaves of Clodius and his party. By the nova lex of Pompey the process against Milo took a new turn, even in regard to the torture of the slaves. The questor Domitius decided that the slaves of Milo must be subjected to torture, and the slaves of Clodius were likewise put upon the rack, but, as Cicero represents it, on motion of Appius Claudius, not, as has been said, upon motion of Milo’s party. Cicero here presses this point, but the passage has difficulties, because the orator here designedly confounds two entirely different things. He represents the depositions of Clodius’s slaves against Milo, derived by torture, as suspicious and invalid, because these slaves were produced by the accuser, Appius Claudius, and because the whole proceeding in regard to them, shows the greatest partiality and hostility against Milo. As no one could be a witness in his own case, so were the witnesses that were entirely dependent upon one party inadmissible. Cicero first takes this view, and has at least some right to it; but he then suddenly springs to a wholly different point: Dii boni! quid potest, &c., which does not properly belong here at all, for Clodius was dead, and Milo was the reus. He does this, in order to speak again of his favorite subject, the incest of Clodius, under which was included every species of sacrilege, and to conclude a contrario: In reum de servo, &c. He here proposes for the examination by torture of the slaves of Clodius the question: Clodius insidias fecit Miloni? which is to him the main question, to answer which affirmatively, he makes his prim-
18. Nunc, with emphasis = nunc demum, 100 days after the death of Clodius. See § 60.—In atrio Libertatis. There was a temple of Libertas on the Aventine, built by the father of the Gracchi. There was also an atrium Libertatis by the forum, ad Att. 4, 16, 14. When Clodius had driven Cicero into exile, he destroyed his house on the Palatine, and on its site had erected a chapel to Libertas. The spacious porches of temples were used for various purposes; and perhaps business, particularly that relating to slaves and freedmen, was transacted in the Atrium Libertatis. Klotz supposes the atrium Libertatis is mentioned as the place of the examination, in order to suggest the hope of freedom as an inducement to the slaves to give the desired answers.

19. Quibusnam de servis. When Appius could not procure the slaves of Milo for examination, he had recourse to those of P. Clodius. Cicero shows the fairness that may be expected from slaves drilled by the accuser.—Rogas? A familiar formula of every-day conversation and dialogue, frequently used when one is surprised, or affects surprise, that the other could ask.

20. Quis . . . . Appius. This is an instance of the rhetorical figure called *συμφλοχ* (κοινής) *complexio*. Quinctil. 9, 3, 31, cites it as an example. Z. 821. Appius was the nephew of Publius Clodius.

21. Ab Appio = ex Appii domo. How little credit would be due to their declarations, appears from Place. 10.

22. Questio est, like actio est = the right, &c., exists.—In dominum. Klotz: *in dominos*.

23. Proxime deos accessit Clodius. Because he is put on a par with them in the mode of examination touching his death. The violation of their mysteries demands the inquisition. The death of Clodius has called for the same. This is a nearer approach to divinity than was even his famous adventure at Caesar's house. In this signification, *accedere ad*, commonly with *prope, proprius, proxime*, is the usual construction in Cicero. He also uses the dative. Compare Arnold's Nepos, Them. 4, 1, and 7, 2. See also Z. 386 and 387. What double meaning in this sentence? Lig. 12, 37: *hominem exim ad deos nulla re proprius accedunt quam salutem hominibus dant.* Rabir. perd. 2, 5: Deinde vos, Quirites, quorum potestas pro xime ad deorum immortalium nomen accedit.

25. Sed tamen, &c. Were the slaves of Milo examined against Milo, the truth might easily be elicited; for it was not the difficulty of arriving at the truth, but the indignity of the proceeding that dictated the rejection of such testimony; but where the slaves of the accuser are questioned against the arraigned, of Appius against Milo, is truth
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to be expected? He illustrates this by giving, § 60, a specimen of the mode of examination.


30. Heus tu, Rufio, &c. Spoken with comic seriousness, and put in the mouth of Appius, who directed the deposition of his slaves. Quintil. 8, 3, 21.—Verbi causa = exempli gratia.

31. Sis = si vis is borrowed from the language of common life and comedy. Est blande admonentis.—Mentiare. See note on page 9, line 1.

32. Certa crux. Crucifixion was the usual form of capital punishment for slaves. Deiit. 9, 26. With it is contrasted operata libertas, for which some prefer parata libertas.

33. Subito abrepti, &c. The customary and proper proceedings in such examinations of slaves are here given in contrast with the unusual course pursued in the present instance, as described in the next sentence. Slaves hurried away to torture without any previous warning, are yet kept apart from the others in solitary confinement, whence they are produced when required. In this case the prosecutor, after a hundred days tampering with them, produces them for examination. Subito abrepti is opposed to centum dies. Some read adrepti.

34. In arcas. Cells in jails and private houses for the solitary confinement of culprits or slaves.

Ch. XXIII.—36. Qued si nondum, &c. The only ground of argument remaining to Cicero, after so many being urged, was—a consequentibus—from the conduct of Milo after the fatal rencontre, his expeditions return, his lofty bearing and language. These could only result from conscious innocence. Chaps. 23, 24.

39. Tot tam, for tot et tam. So Liv. 25, 24, tot tam opulent tyranni; 28, 28, tot tam claris imperatoribus; 30, 30, tot tam egregii duces; 4 in Cat. 3, 6, tantam tam.

41. Reverilisse. Z. 209 in fin.

42. Celeritas reditus ejus. The excesses of the Clodiars, especially the burning of the curia, had turned the tide of popular feeling in favor of Milo, and he ventured to return to Rome the same night, in which the curia was burned. He also continued his canvass for the consulship, and distributed by tribes to each citizen 1000 ases of borrowed money.

44. Qui vultus. Compare 3 in Cat. 5, 13; p. Cluent, 19. 54.

—Quae eratio. The tribune M. Cælius, held a concio for Milo, and spoke also himself in Milo's behalf. They both maintained that Clodius had lain in wait for Milo.—Neque vero ae, &c. This climax is
NOTES.

123 noticed by Aquila Romanus, de figuris sentent. 40. Cf. Demosth de Corona, 55: ὡς ἔστω μὲν τάδε, ὡς ἤγραψα δὲ, ὡς ἠγραψα μὲν, ὡς ἀνῄρεσα δὲ, ὡς ἀνῄρεσα μὲν, ὡς ἠκούα δὲ τοῦ Θεσαλούς.—Neque... solum, sed etiam... neque... modo, sed etiam... neque... tentum, verum etiam. See note on p. 107, line 21.

124 1. Populo... senatul commissit, ejus fidei tradidit, sed ita ut ipse periculum in eo adiret. See chaps. 3, 4, and 5.


3. Ejus potestati. Ch. 6, 15. Pompey, with the interrex and tribunes of the people, was charged with the duty of preserving the peace and quiet of the republic. To effect this, he was authorized to levy troops in all Italy, which he did with the greatest dispatch. Klots omits etiam after verum.

6. Omnia audienti, i.e. nihil eorum, quae ad se deferen tur, plane repudiati et negligenti. See ch. 24, 65.

7. Suspicant... credentii. Ch. 24, 66.—Magna viis est conscientia, 3 in Cat. 5, 11, and 12, 27. Juvenal, 13, 196, thinks it exceeds the torments of hell, Nocte dieque suum gestare in pectoris testem.

9. Neque timeant... et. Z. 338.

11. A senatu probata est. Ch. 5, 12.


14. Recentii illo nuntio. Z. 645.—Obiit esse... sermones. Z. 440.

16. Inimicorum Milo... Z. 410.

16. Imperatorum. Who though not the enemies of Milo, were ignorant "rationis facti."

17. Illud... fecisset, ut trucidaret. Z. 618 and 619. On the illud, Z. 748.

18. Arbitrabantur, sc. the imperiti.

19. Tanti... putasse. Z. 444. Partit. 32: Spectantur etiam ad causam facti motus animorum... si fascinio coluptes major, quam damnationis dolor; Virg. Aen. 2, 585: Exstinxisse nefas tamen et suspense merentis Laudabor panae, animumque expressse juvabit.

21. Non dubitaturum... quin. Z. 541 in fin.

23. Cederet... legibus. To obey the laws, and go into exile, that being the penalty for homicide. Some reject legibus; but it is more honorable for Milo to make his reverence for the law the motive of his going.

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Curios, omnesque eos, qui haece ex minimis tanta fecerunt. Compare note on p. 15, line 20. On fruenda, see Z. 466 and 657.

25. Illa portenta. In Pison. 4, 9, Cicero calls Clodius fatale portentum prodigiumque rei publicae; and, de prov. Cons. 1, 2, the consul, Piso and Gabinius, are described as duo rei publicae ... portenta ac pane funera. So in our passage, Houmann takes illa portenta as = ejus generis consceleratos atque exsecrables homines. Schütz, on the other hand, supplies verhorum with portenta, and refers it to the following Erumpet, &c.—Loquebantur. Loqui with the accusative = to prate of, generally in Cicero with the notion of contempt. Cf. ad Att. 9, 2, 3, nihil nisi classes loquens ex exercitus. Hor. Serm. 1, 3, 12, modo reges atque tetrarchas, omnia magna loquens.

26. Erumpet. This word Cicero had already applied to the hurried departure of Catiline from the city. 2 in Cat. 1, 1. By using it here, the enemies of Milo meant to suggest a parallel between him and that conspirator.

27. Miseros interdum elus. Z. 402.—Optime de ... meritos. Deserving best at the hands of; having best served.

30. Admississet alliquid. Cf. 13, 34, and 37, 103.

Ch. XXIV.—32. Quid t. Z. 769.—Quae postae sunt in eum congesta, a circumlocution for, the subsequent charges against him.

33. Conscentia. An ablative of the cause; but compare Z. 472, Note 1, and 646: "under the consciousness," or "if he were conscious of." Ernesti conjectured in mediocrum delict. conscientia.

34. Sustinuit t. immo vero. See note on p. 9, line 13.

35. Pro nihilum putavit. Z. 394, Note 3.

37. Frenorum. The reading here is doubtful. Lambinus proposed framearum. Garatoni conjectures, since Hispanorum occurs, gladiatorum Hispanorum pilorumque; and supposes Hispanorum, sparorum, and framearum may be varieties of one and the same word. Steinmetz brackets both frenorum and sparorum, Klots and Sulpé read ferramentorum pilorumque.

38. Multitudo deprehendit pessae indicabatur. The personal construction of verba dicendi in the passive voice is sometimes, as here, extended to other verbs which denote a peculiar and special kind of saying, showing, believing, &c. See Z. 607. But the impersonal construction in this case is more common.

39. Vicum. Vicos from sloci, as vinum from sloci, corresponding to wick in bailiwick, is not a principal street, but a collection of houses, a ward or quarter of the city, the subdivision of a regio.—Angiportum is according to Festus: iter compendiariuim in oppido.

40. Milon. The dative of the possessor; and this seems to be the origin of the dative with passive verbs, for the ablative with ab. Z. 419 and 490.—In villas Ocriculanam. A villa of Milo’s, near
Oriculum, a town of Umbria, not far from the junction of the Nar with the Tiber. The modern Otricoli is about two miles from the ancient city.

41. Domus. Ernesti wished: domum...refertam depending on dicebant. Garat. considers it an instance of syllepsis, and supplies dicebatur from dicebant. This house of Milo was called Anniana. Ad Att. 5, 3, 3.

42. Malleorum. See note on p. 18, line 15.

43. Repudiata. Though totally unworthy of notice, such was the misery of the times, they were not rejected without inquiry.

44. Laudabam, &c. Cicero expresses the extraordinary solicitude of Pompey, but shows at the same time how little he was pleased with his timid credulity.


3. Tota...res publica. Cf. ch. 26, 70. Ernesti suspected tota, but compare 23, 61; 24, 66; 25, 63 init. Garatoni: Aliquando etenim una erat rei publicae pars; aut aliqui commissa aut ab aliquo sponte suscepta—ut res frumentaria eadem Pompeio SCto commissa, &c.—Cui etiam, &c. "Since he had to hear," &c. The common text is publica. Quin etiam, &c., for which Mudvig substituted his conjecture, making the subjunctive causal instead of concessive.

4. Popa Liciniius. The popes were freedmen, or men of the lower sort. Asconius describes this Licinius as quemdam de plebe, sacrificulum, qui solitus esse familias purgare; and it is reasonable to suppose that Cicero degrades him to a popa, as he also adds nescio qui, to denote his insignificance, in contrast with Pompey, who attached much weight to the information of Licinius. The popes appear to have retained as their perquisites the gleanings or fragments of the sacrifices, and to have kept victualling shops. The popinae, at least in the time of the republic, were visited only by slaves and the lower class. There were doubtless many popinae about the Circus maximus, as also in the neighborhood of the theatres and other public buildings and places. —De circo maximo. This was the largest of the courses of Rome, the foundation of which goes back to Tarquinius Priscus. After its enlargement by Cesar, it was capable of holding 150,000 spectators, or 250,000 according to Pliny, N. H. 36, 15, 102. It lay in the hollow between the Palatine and Aventine, and was a chief place of amusement for the idle people of Rome, at other times also, besides during the circenses, as were the Campus Martius and the airy agger (Tarquinii), on the eastern side of Rome from the Esquiline to the Colline gate; the agger particularly for promenaders. Circus maximus and agger correspond with each other as residences of the lower classes. As here popa de circo maximo, so we find pomarius de circo maximo and pomarius de aggero; and the astrologi de circo are notorious: de Div. 1, 58. Z. 308. It was here that fortune-tell-
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oram, astrologers, and conjurors practised their arts upon the credulous; hence fallacem circum. Hor. Sat. 1, 6, 113.

5. Servius Milonis .... confessus esse, dependent, in some texts, which give a period after indicaret, on the verbum dicendi, implied in fuerit audiendo. We should then supply "saying." Z. 620.


7. Ab uno de illis. Z. 308 and 340 in fin.

8. Hortos. Z. 96.—De amicorum sententia. Pompey called a council of friends (consilium amicorum) to hear the information of the popa in their presence, in order that the matter might receive more importance, and he not have the appearance of having feigned fear of Milo. Such private consilia of friends were very common, and amici in such cases = witnesses; acquaintances and friends were called to such extrajudicial depositions. In matters of interest to a family circle a consilium propinquo rum (cognatorum) was formed. De sententia, "by the advice," or "at the suggestion." So also ex sententia Z. 308 in fin. and 309.

9. Non poteram .... non. Z. 754.


13. Probari, sDEM fieri hunc iectum esse gladiatoris.

15. Ne .... aliquid. Z. 708.—Oppugnata domus .... nuntiabatur. Z. 607.


18. Tamen audiebatur. It was listened to


22. Cum telo esse. See note on p. 110, line 2.

Ch. XXV.—25. Insidiose, nam fictis crimiibus Miloni siebant insidiis. Another reading gives invidiose, i.e. ad invidiam contrahendam conficta, quamvis insidiando composita.

26. Quum tamen metuitur, &c. This is a conjectural emendation of Madvig. The common text is: sunt. Quod si tamen metuitur etiam nunc Milo, non jam hoc Clodianum, &c. Klotz with some MSS.: Cur tamen si metuitur etiam nunc Milo, non, &c., with a point of interrogation after perhorressimus.—Etiam nunc, i.e. after all the statements (in the preceding section) to show that the charges against Milo were mere calumnies, and the suspicions of Pompey unfounded.

27. Hoc Clodianum crimen. It is no longer the present in-
dictament, the charge of murdering Clodius, that we fear, but your sus-
picions, Pompey. The pronoun tuas is repeated with emphasis.

28. Exaudire. Fere semper exaudire est ita audire, ut dicta
plane percepian tur, ubi nostrates fere intelligere dicere solent. Rariss
m in hoc verbo simplicis verbi audiendi vis sueta apparat. Exaudiantur
igitur verba, quae clara voce in turrito dicuntur; dicanturae ex longinquo
an ex propinquo nihil refert; nam etiam ex propinquitate ita dicas, ut
vix proximi te exaudiant. See note on p. 43, line 11. Pompe y was sit-
ting in front of the erarium, at some distance from the rostrum.

29. Suspicio ne. It appears from Asconius, that Pompey, being
interrogated by the Clodian leaders, as to whether his life had been
attempted by Milo, told the story of Licinius; and that in addition to
the precaution of confining himself to his gardens, on his return from
raising the levies through Italy, he had refused to admit the visit of
Milo, and of none else; and that when the senate was held in the
portico of Pompey, to allow of his taking part in the business, Milo
was the only man ordered to be searched before he was allowed to
enter.


32. Si Capitolium cohorte. For when danger threatened, or
there was fear of disturbances, guards were set on the Capitol and
other hills of the city. Compare note on p. 9, line 4.

42, et promiscue usurpantur, sic tamen, ut vigiliae numquam de diurno
tantummodo tempore dicantur.—Delecta juven tus. Juventutis no-
mine precipue equeites designantur: hinc princeps juventutis.

36. Magna certe in hoc vis, &c. The consequent member of
this hypothetical period seems to correspond only with the latter clauses
of the conditional member, from si Italia, &c. These he answers by
showing their absurdity, as they would imply courage and resources in
Milo far above those of any single man; and, with regard to the ex-
traordinary levies, by proving that they are called for by the necessi-
ties of the state without any reference to Milo. The answer to the
first clauses of the conditional member is implied in the words: Quod
si locus, &c., as he said—“If you fear Milo, it is wholly owing to
misapprehension; for if an opportunity had been afforded him, he
would have proved to your satisfaction that no man was ever dearer to
another than you to him, &c. And if he had failed in his proof, (qua
si non probaret,) he would have gone into exile; not, however, with-
out calling you to testify his innocence, as he now does.”

37. Non unius, sed multorum. So Hor. Carm. 4, 9, 39: Consul
non unius anni.—Indicantur. See note on p. 124, line 38. Klotz
gives judicantur.

40. Egras.... labantes, corresponding respectively to aequarcs
and confirmarcs.
41. Quod si locus, &c. Had Milo been granted an audience. But Pompey, as Asconius informs us, would not allow Milo access to him.


3. Consulilia tuis. And, therefore, though the advantage was mine, yet the obligation was also yours.

4. In periculo capitis, i.e. in periculo deminutionis capitis mediocre, for exile would have been the punishment, had Milo been condemned. See note on p. 85, line 1, for the meaning of caput.—Adjutum. Candidates were assisted in various ways by their friends; viz. in canvassing the electors of the city and the country, &c. Cf. Quint. Cic. de petit. consulat.

5. Se habere . . . sperasse. Krebs, Guide, 402; Z. 605.—Te tuo beneficio. This is a true, though not an obvious ground of friendship. We all take a lively interest in our own work; e.g. the success of one whom we patronize.

7. Inhaesisset. Like a deep-rooted tree. Hence evelli. The common text is insedisset.


10. Qui ita natus est et ita consuevit. Manutius: qui hoc habet et a natura et a consuetudine, ut otium salutemque patriæ rebus omnibus anteponat. Cf. ch. 14, init. The connection shows the relation (ὅ; ὅτι πέφυκα); namely, so as to act the patriot.—Magne. When the young Pompey, a. u. c. 674, returned victorious from Africa, he was received as a second Alexander; the dictator Sulla went out to meet him, saluted him with the title of Magnus, and directed his attendants to join in the salutation. Cicero, ad Att. 2, 13, ridicules this surname of Pompey.

11. Antestaretur. Simpliciter est: te moneret, ut meminisses, se convenire te voluisse, et de sua innocentia, aliorum autem perfidia docere. Matthiae. This is a technical word for "to call on a person to be witness to an arrest." If the defendant, when summoned to court, would not willingly follow, the plaintiff might call witnesses and bring him by force. The witnesses were necessary to testify to the unwillingness of the defendant, and to justify the force used. The witness was asked by the formula licet antestari, and if he assented, the plaintiff touched his ear to impress his duty on his memory. See Hor. Sat. 1, 9, 75. Milo, as Cicero exhibits it, had used only lawful force, to suppress the violence of the wicked for the welfare of the good, consequently for Pompey's welfare, to whom he had been ever grateful and true: this he calls Pompey to witness. Schultz: ante testaretur.—Quod nunc etiam facit, tametsi neque tui convieniendi potestas est facta, neque abit a patria sed in judiclo se sisset.

Cn. XXVI.—12. Vide, quam sit varia. See note on p. 97, line 1. The mention of banishment led Cicero to revolve the various turns...
of fate below; and this constrained him to break out in the following exclamation. The circumstance, therefore, under which it was uttered, is a sufficient answer to those who claim for this passage the praise of prophecy. That of beauty and pathos it cannot be denied. Some read vide.


14. Amicitiae. The common reading is amicis.—Ad tempus optae, accommodata et aptata; time-serving.


16. Illucescit ille, ... dies, quum ... desideres. It occurred in about four years after. After fuit (erit) tempus (illo tempus, dies), quum, there was once a time, when; there will a time come, when, (such a time, that,) the subjunctive almost always follows. So simply: fuit, quum, de Orat. 1. 1.

17. Salutaribus. So the MSS. Orelli remarks: Nihil omnino vetat, quo minus accipiamus, non tam rebus salutem tibi afferentibus, quam rebus cum salute tua conjunctis: nec probari potest vel Gartonii salubribus vel Ant. Augustini Weiskiique salvis; salutaribus majus quidam est, quam salvis. Cf. ad Fam. 10, 23, 2, salutariter recipere. After communium temporum the editions commonly give immutatis, and this or immutatus, is found in some MSS., but not the best; therefore Madvig, Klotz, and others omit it.

18. Quam crebro. Sulla, Cinna, Catiline, were within the experience of Cicero.

20. Unius post homines natos ... viri, i. e. from the foundation of the world. Cf. 28, 77, unum post hominum memoriam T. An. nium.—Hominis ... viri. See note on p. 93, line 34.

21. Quamquam. A correction, as if he said, “and yet why suppose that Pompey harbors suspicions against Milo, which his own acts disprove? Had Milo been disposed (in Pompey’s opinion) to abolish trials altogether, would Pompey, clothed with supreme authority, have conceded a trial to Milo? Yet he did; while in the very choice of his position, he fully indicates his anxiety to protect you in the impartial expression of your opinions on this occasion.”

22. Moris majorum. The formula quoted below: ne quid res publica, &c., came under the mos majorum, or common law. On this formula, see note on p. 10, line 4, and the reference there given.

24. Quo uno versiculo, De Legg. 2, 6, 14: leges Titias, Apuleias, Livias uno versicula sensatus sublatas commemorat, i.e. hos oodem SCto.
25. Satís armátī, i.e. subsidiis ad consilia sua perficicāda instructī. Cf. Liv. 4, 53, hoc decreto consul armatus. Cf. ch. 1, 2.


28. Tolleret, i.e. tollere auderet, sublatum iaret, sc. by taking the law into his own hands, murdering Clodius, and plotting against Pompey.

29. Ista. The calumnies which were said to have excited the suspicions of Pompey.—Legem tulit, qua . . . liceret. See ch. 6, 15.

31. Quod vero. Z. 627. "But in that," &c., i.e. by his taking post in that particular place; sc. the entrance to the treasury, as Asconius says. See ch. 25, 67, and ch. 1.


35. Animadvertere ipse. See note on p. 17, line 32.—Suo jure. For the act permitted the consul coercere modis omnibus socios atque cives. Sall. Cat. 29.

36. Hesternam illum coniurinem. T. Manutius Planus—post audita et obsignata testium verba dimissosque interim judices, vocata concione cohortatus est populum, ut clusis tabernis posterie die ad judicium adesset, nec pateretur elabi Milonem. See ch. 2, init.

Ch. XXVII.—38. Clodianum crimen, quod Milo accusatur Clodium occidisse. He had contrasted this charge, ch. 25, with the suspicions of Pompey, and cleared away those suspicions. He now addresses himself to prove that the death of Clodius, being a service to the state, its perpetrator (Milo) had therein performed a glorious act. This is the second principal division of the confutation, called by himself, ch. 34, extra causam, the use and defect of which is noticed by Quintil. 3, 6, and 4, 5. It was this line of argument that Brutus adopted in a written defence of Milo; but Cicero dissented from Brutus's ground of defence, as Asconius says: quod non qui bono publico damnari, idem etiam occidi indemnatus posset.

42. Meuttrii glorioso. In saying occidi, i.e. per vim et insidias, which he has just disproved.—Glorioso, boastfully, proudly, glorifying in it.


1. Appetendī. Z. 652.—Ti. Gracchum. Cicero, from his political principles, held the view, which the younger Africanus expressed: Ti. Gracchum jure casum videri. Cf. ch. 3, 8; de Off. 2, 12 fin. In the latter passage, he likewise passes a general sentence of condemnation on both Ti. and C. Gracchus, while here he makes prominent a single act of Ti. Gracchus as worthy of death,
2. College. Octavius, the colleague of Ti. Gracchus in the tribunehip, opposed his Agrarian law, and had a right by his veto to prevent the reading of it before the people. They opposed each other with honorable weapons, with the power of eloquence, without personal abuse. But Gracchus was compelled to find a means of setting aside his opponent who was unyielding in his opposition. Though the person of a tribune was inviolable (sacrosanctus), he had his colleague dismissed from his office by the people. That was a sedition proceeding, and the people had no right and no reason to depose him. The only justification Gracchus could bring for his measure was political necessity. If the end justified the means, Gracchus needed no defence, but deserved the highest praise of a determined statesman; but it is certain, that, with only the appearance of legal right, he destroyed a wise regulation of the Roman state, and in his noble efforts, which the present age better understands and appreciates than an earlier, committed a mistake, which is so much the more sad, as upon the Roman horizon the morning of a day dawned, in which law and justice were silenced. Compare note on p. 9, line 20.

3. Interfectores. Servilius Ahala and Scipio Nasica.


6. Nobilissimae. Vestal virgins and noble matrons who had assembled at Caesar's house, to perform the rites of the goddess Caesar was Pontifex Maximus.

7. Religiones explandas. See de Harusp. resp. 12, 13.

8. Cum sorore germana. P. Clodius had three sisters, the youngest of whom and the one here intended, was married to L. Lucullus. Elsewhere Cicero speaks of Clodius's being guilty of the same crime with his other sisters.

9. L. Lucullus Juratus. On his return from the third Punic war, he discovered the guilt of his wife, and repudiated her. The occasion of the testimony referred to was the trial of Clodius (ch. 5, 13) a. u. c. 693.—Juratus. Z. 633.—Quaestionibus habitis. The slaves of Clodia were put to the torture.


13. Regnus delet, demitit. Through Clodius's influence, exerted for a bribe, Brogitarus of Galatia, son-in-law of Deiotarus, was made
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priest of Cybele at Pessinus, and received the title of king. *Sext. 26 127 sqq.; de Harusp. resp. 13. On the motion of Clodius, when tribune of the people, a decree was passed, by which M. Cato was sent with the powers of praeator to take possession of the island of Cyprus, with the treasures of its king, Ptolemy, and reduce the island to the form of a province.*—Orbem terrarum . . . partitus est. In return for services which the consuls Piso and Gabinius had rendered to Clodius in his efforts to destroy Cicero, he proposed a bill, by which they had the provinces of Macedonia and Syria assigned to them, with extraordinary powers. *Sext. 10, 24; 14, 33; 24 sqq.* By the lex Semproniana of C. Gracchus, it was the duty of the senate to determine the consular provinces before the election of the consuls, so that the consuls after their consulship could draw lots, or agree in regard to those provinces only which had been previously designated. *Pro domo, 9, 24.*


17. Edem Nymphaenum. In this temple, as being most secure from fires, were kept the public registers of the censors. It was burned in the disturbances which preceded the exile of Cicero, though the motive here assigned may have been unfounded. *Cat. 32, 78; Parad. 4, 2; Sext. 39, 84; 44, 95; Harusp. 27.*—Memoriam publicam recensionem. Recensio = actus receessendi is not elsewhere found in Cicero. Suetonius uses it, *Cat. 41.* Clodius could not obliterate the ignominy which was the result of the animadversion (castigatio, notatio, notio) censoria, though he might remove it from the public recollection, by destroying the censors' tablets, where it was recorded. The repetition of publicam in publicis makes this notion emphatic.

19. Cui . . . erat. Who regarded, &c. From Clodius's public crimes the orator passes to his private life. He trampled under foot the laws.

20. Nulli possessionum termini. Possessio = both the right of possession, and, as here, actual possession. The stories respecting the god Terminus show the feeling of the ancient Romans with regard to the certainty and sacredness of landmarks. A remarkable passage is found in one of the agrimensores: qui contigerit moveriique possessionem, promovendo suam, alterius minuendo, ob hoc sectus damnabitur a diis. Si servi faciant, dominio mutabuntur in deterius; sed si conscientia dominica sit, celerius demus exstitrabitur genusque ejus omnis interret, &c. —Columnia litium. Unjust law-suit; the twisting or perversion of right in litigation. Columnia = trick, artifice, chicanery, and is opposed to veritas, fides, aequitas.

21. Vindicatis ac sacramentis. The orator makes use here of technical expressions belonging to the Roman process, to bring out strongly the contrast between the judicial prosecution of unjust claims to others' possessions, and the open violence with which Clodius seized.
possession of others' property. *Viandicia* is the mock contest of the two parties, (therefore the plural as *indicia*,) who, appearing before the prae tor to make good their claim, exhibit force in asserting it, (vim dicere, *ius in via*.) They both take hold of the thing in controversy, (or a piece of it to represent the whole,) lay the festuca (*viandica*) on it and maintain: *Hanc rem ex jure Quiritium mean esse ais.* The *viandicia* form only the introduction to the process. Also by the following *nc* (*injustia*) *sacramentis*, the beginning of a suit is indicated, inasmuch as the parties deposited a pledge or gage, to be forfeited by the loser; the gainer of the cause receiving his back. This pledge went to the state, and was especially applied to the *sacra publica*; hence the name *sacramentum*. Varr. *t. l.* 5, 180. Here the special parts in the commencement of a suit are taken for the whole suit.

23. *Etruscus*. Ch. 9, 26.—*Hunc P. Varium*. Ch. 9, 61n.


27. *Janiculum et Alpibus, i.e. the entire of upper Italy, from Rome to Gaul.—Terminabat. Klotz: terminabat.

28. *Equite Romano splendide*. *Equites Romani* are the knights, *qui publicoquo stipendia faciunt* or *qui equum publicum* *habent*, Liv. 39, 9 : 24, 18, in distinction from those *qui equo private stipendia faciunt*. Only the former have the distinctions and the *splendor* which belong to the rank of knight; and only they, at least to the time of the Gracchi, have the name *Equites*.


31. *Arma*. Recte Garat. monre arma per vim edificanti suisse necessaria, eorumque commemorationem solam face rer potuisse, ut vim armatam intelligeremus. Some understand by *arma* tools.—*Dominoque . . . inspectante.* This was an aggravating circumstance.

32. *Edificium extraere in alieno*. For the expression, compare Liv. 39, 55. It was a principle of the Roman law: *accessio cedit principali* (se. ref) and with a more special application: *superficies solo cedit*, and *omne quod inadificatur solo cedit*. *Inst.* 2, 1, 29. Later constructions of the rule which is very old are: If one built on another's ground with his own materials, knowing it to be another's, (mala *fide*), he forfeited the building. *Inst.* 2, 1, 30. D. 41, 1, 7, 12. In the older law this was surely the rule without exception and without limitation. If the builder supposed the land his in good faith, he could claim to be indemnified. Clodius came under the former case, but he did not fear the legal consequences, therefore he built even in sight of the owner of the island, for his principle was, "might makes right," and he showed by his proceedings, that he hoped to acquire by force the island, which the owner would not sell to him.

36. Sed ausus est. On sed, see note on p. 29, line 3. Klotz and Süpke with MSS. give sed ausum esse, &c. The former considers the infinitive as chosen by Cicero to express, in a lively manner, surprise and displeasure, with which force it often occurs with the enclitic se. Süpke takes it as an anacoluthon occasioned by the long parenthesis.

37. Mortuum ... se illaturum, ut Furfanius caedis auctor videtur.

38. Qua invidia. By the odio consequent on which this honorable man should be overwhelmed.


40. Absentem ... dejectit. Deicere is the technical expression for a forcible or violent ejectment of a person from his possessions. Before Cicero's time detrudere was common. If one's house or ground were entered and taken possession of by force during his absence, he was regarded as dejectus, and as such could use the interdictum de vi.

41. Sororis. This was probably the second of Clodius's three sisters, the wife of Q. Metellus Celer, since the dwellings of P. Clodius and Q. Metellus on the Palatine, were contiguous. She became infamous for her debaucheries, and was often called by the nickname Quadrantaria. The vestibulum was not a part of the house, but, as explained by Gellius, the place, per quem a via aditus accessusque ad ades est.

Ch. XXVIII.—44. Quamquam, &c. The preceding chapter contained a review of Clodius's past enormities, forming a sort of descending series from the profanation of the rite of the Bona Dea to the building a partition across his sister's courtyard. In this is sketched his intended crimes, and the praise due to Milo for cutting short his mad career inferred.—Tolerabilia. In comparison of the evils which he was likely to inflict on the state.

1. Etai, &c. Eti non debebant tolerabilia videri, quia ... irra. ebat; sed ... usu jam obscurerat civitatis patientia.
2. Propinquus = vicinos, neighbors.
4. Imperium illie si nactus esset. How Clodius hoped to gain the imperium, appears from ch. 9, 24. The apodosis of this period begins with a liberis, &c.
5. Tetrarchas. This name was now a mere title for petty subordinate princes.
6. Pecunias. Pecunia sometimes has a wide sense, covering all one's property or possessions. In the old legal language it is often
NOTES.

11. Patentes, ... nota sunt ... tenentur! Res manifeste continet verbum *patentes*, conscientiam omnium et testimonium ea significat, quae nota sunt omnibus, coactiva sunt probationibus, quae tenetur. Klots omits *hac* after *fingi*.

12. Servorum exercitus. With reference to the rule, by which slaves were excluded from military service. See Deiot. 8, 24. The *servi publici*, it would appear, were used as rowers in the marine. The *jus militiae* was a right inherent in the *civitas*. It was a Roman proverb: *Quot servii, tot hostes*. Cicero often speaks of Clodius's being surrounded with a band of slaves, ch. 14, 36.

18. Cerviciibus. Z. 94.—*Per me ut unum*. Some read *per me unum ut*. See Z. 356.


29. Mandate hoc memorize. He foretells that they will attribute every future blessing to the removal of Clodius, and he bids them note that he now said so. Matthias notices that the legitimate order is abandoned, which would be the following: *Mandate hoc memorize, eti sperem multa vos ... esse vieuros, tamen in sic singulis vos exsitematuras*.

34. Hoc ipso summo viro. Pompey, who, appointed to be sole consul, had passed some salutary laws against bribery and corruption, and attempted to reform the state.

35. Legibus et judiciis constitutis. Klots: *legibus et institutis constitutis*; and below, line 39, *domino* for *hominem*. The variation appears to be in each instance a typographical error, as no authority is given.

38. Ea, quae tenetis, privata. See ch. 27, 74.—Dominante. § 76, *imperium ille si nactus esset*.

Ch. XXIX.—41. Non teneo, &c. Having now detailed all the enormities of Milo, Cicero apprehensive that the feelings of the judges did not accompany him in his exaggerations, resolves to give them a palpable proof of their abhorrence of Clodius. This he does by supposing him recalled to life; the bare thought astounded them. Nay, he adds, Pompey would not recall him. Therefore Clodius was a ty-
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rant, an: his murder meritorious.—Odio . . . . inimicitiarum, i.e. odio ex inicicitiis orto.

42. Libentius . . . . quam verius. Z. 690. Fatetur Cicero se liberter in Clodiam invehit, sed ita, ut omnes intelligant, nihil se odii causa confingere, nihil amplificare.

43. Etsi praecipuum, sc. odium meum; being banished by Clodius, my brother nearly killed, my family persecuted, my property confiscated. my house burned, &c. Communi opponitur proprium et praecipuum, quod, qui nunc latine scribunt, peculiare dicunt. Hinc proprius jungitur cum meus, tuus, suus. Klotz: Etenim si, &c.

44. Paene aequaliter versaretur. Was almost on an equality with; i.e. did not much exceed.

3. Quin sic attendite. As the magnitude of Cladius's guilt admitted neither of expression nor conception, he thought the judges might best approximate to the idea of it, by supposing his recall to life.

6. Cernimus. Cernere, related toumbing, properly denotes to distinguish, then to know; videre, also connected with the root of divide; dere, properly signifies to divide and see, but soon took the general notion of seeing or perceiving by the organs of sight, while cernere holding more firmly to its original signification, is elsewhere, as here, contrasted with videre. Cf. Tusc. 1, 20, 46: Nos enim ne nunc quidem oculis cernimus ea, que videmus. Some read cernamus. Klotz omits igitur after fingite.

7. Conditionis meae, quam vobis propono verbis si, &c. Sed ea conditione proposita abrumpitur oratio verbis quid vultu extimuisitis? ita ut absorpta sit apodosis. Form, I say, in your own minds. a distinct image of the proposition which I make to you: suppose I could bring you to acquit Milo, but on the condition that Clodius should be brought to life.—Cicero artfully connects the acquittal of Milo with the reanimation of Clodius; as well to keep the former ever before the minds of the judges, as to reconcile them to it the more, when they should perceive it to be relieved from such a fearful condition.


10 Quid! si ipse Cn. Pompeius. Nay, Pompey, the best and bravest man alive, would not, if he could, recall Clodius to life. Therefore his death must have been a public benefit. For percussit, Klotz gives the stronger but unusual percussit.

11. Qua in virtute ac forutna est. In Pompeii laudibus, qua maxime, plurimeque cumulantur pro Balbo 4. hae exstat: in quo una sta summa forutna cum summa virtute certavit, ut omnium judicio plus homini, quam dea tribueretur.


14. Utrum = utram rem, which of the two, sc. questionem ferre
or ab inferis excitare.—Propter amicitiam. Pompey having become reconciled to Clodius a short time before his death, ch. 8.


17. Cujus vitam si putetis . . . nollitis. Z. 524 Note, in fin. Significat fieri adhuc posse, ut putent; at, ut reviviscat, non potest.

18. Qui si, &c. = de quo, si. See Z. 834.

19. Hujus ergo Intersector si esset. Matthim defends the common reading qui esset, for which, from the best MSS. Garatoni, Orelii, Klotz, &c., give si esset.

21. Graeci homines. A Grecism: compare the Homeric πάλις Μηδένων ἀνθρώπων, and ἄνθρωπος κλικς, ἀνθρώπος, &c. The contrast is in Vos tanti conserva rerum populi.—Iis viris, e.g. Aratus, Timoleon, Pelopidas, and Brasidas, in other cities; in Athens, Harmodius and Aristogiton. Pliny, N. H. 34, 4, says the Athenians first erected statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton the same year in which the kings were expelled from Rome. Slaves were not allowed to be called by their names.


24. Quos cautus? Quae carmina? For fragments of these songs, which were sung at festivals and entertainments, see C. Dav. Iugen σκηλέως hoc est carmina convivia Graecorum, p. 58 sqq.

25. Consacratur, quae inter deos referuntur et cultu divino afficiuntur. Ad religionem, ita ut religioso colantur et memoria hominum vigent. Immortalitatem autem religio est, quas immortalitati sive naturis immortalibus, i.e. diis debitur.

Ch. XXX.—31. Etenim, si id, &c. that he slew Clodius in self-defence. An a fortiori argument.

33. Nisi vero. "Unless truly," &c., which is absurd. Z. 526

34. Sed se capitiss quam vestri, &c. Klotz, Steinmetz, and others retain ordinis after vestri.—Quam pressertim, reftetur ad sententiam non verbis expressam, sed in eorum, quae precedunt, conformatione latentem. Quam enim formula nisi vero usurpetur, ubi absurdi quid commemoratur in verbis nisi vero—fuisse, hanc inest sententiam: gratissimum voce putat esse, se vestri capitis defensorumuisse, quomque libenter praedicaret, quam pressertim, &c. See note on page 90, in e.

35. In ea confessione, dum ea consitteretur. Poterat etiam d'
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ere ea confessione sine in, ut id indicaret, quo officeretur, ut honoræ
assequeretur amplissimos. See note on p. 25, line 5.

36. Si factum. That Milo slew Clodius, not in self-defence, but
in your defence. He reasons on this supposition all through to nitere-
tur below.

38. Sed tamen si. See note on p. 29, line 3. Quamquam nemo
esse potest cui salus sua non probetur, si tamen, &c.—Minus ... gra-
ta cecidisset. Had proved displeasing.

39. Cederet ex. Ch. 25 fin. without the preposition.

41. Propet quem. See note on page 123, line 10. Z. 452.—
Quamquam, is corrective. He had supposed (what was hardly possi-
ble) that had he slain Clodius in its defence, his country would not
thank him for so doing; he would therefore abandon so ungrateful a
country—yes, ungrateful, to make the author of their joy the only one
sorrowful, and yet (quamquam, &c.) this is what we patriots all ex-
pect, danger and odium; without which where in fact would be our
merit? Wherefore if Annius had slain a tyrant, he would have frank-
ly confessed it; rejoiced, if his country approved; if not, rejoiced at
the consciousness of having done his duty. Sed—But unhappily for
his fame, he did not. The fortune of Rome and the gods claim all
the merit. They had long borne with his enormities, to which Milo,
ch. 32, was the only impediment. They therefore inspired him with
the idea of attacking Milo in the very place where he had most out-
raged the laws. Ch. 33. He did so and fell. And this leads to the
peroration.

1. Quae mihi ipsi tribuenda laus esset, ... si ... arbitraser.

2. Nam nulla mihi tribuenda laus erat, si arbitraber. Noe dicemus:
tribuenda fuisse, si arbitratus essem. Z. 525.—Tantum. The sup-
pression of Catiline's conspiracy.

4. Quae mulier, &c. Kloz: Quae mulier interficere sceleratum
.... cinem non auderet?

11. Ahala ... Nasica ... Optimus ... Marius. See notes on
p. 9, lines 20 and 24; p. 10, lines 3 and 9.

13. Consuetudinä sua niteretur. Z. 452.

14. Sed. But so far from Milo having any claim, the fortune,
&c. Cicero, by making the death of Clodius a matter of religious con-
cern, in which the gods participated, renders Milo no trifling service
towards gaining the favor of the people. Compare a similar passage,
3 in Cat. 9.

16. Nullam vim esse ducit numene divinum, &c. This
beautiful passage is one, from which, with others scattered through his
writings, we learn Cicero's views respecting the existence of a deity,
and the grounds of his belief. Cf. de Nat. Deor. 1, 9; Tusc. 1, 13.
For the positions of the adjective when common to two substantives,
see P. C. p. 236, 18.
Cu. XXXI.—23. Est, est profecto illa vis. Cf. 27, 72. Occidi, occidi, &c.—Neque...inest...et non inest. See the thought more fully exhibited, de Legg. 2, 7, 16. The name of the logical form of this sentence is conjunctionum negantia or negatio. Cic. Top 14, 57. Cf. de Fato, 8. It is a form of the argument a minori ad majus. Compare note on p. 9, line 19. The meaning is: Nor is there in these mortal frames an active, thinking principle, without its being in like manner in the system of nature, i.e. if it be in the former, a fortiori it is in the latter. Proprie dicendum erat: quum in his corporibus—inest quidam, quod viget et sentiat, multo magis hoc inest, &c. But the Greek and Latin writers often place two sentences in juxtaposition as co-ordinate, although the relation between them is causal: as, instead of the above, in his corporibus inest quidam, quod viget et sentiat, et hoc idem inest in natura motu, for which, however, a double negation is substituted, so that the first neque extends to the whole proposition, but especially applies to the second member. Although the Stoics particularly delighted in this form, the orators also used it in climaxes. Compare ad Herenn. 4, 25, 34, and the passage from Demosthenes in note on p. 123, line 44. See note on p. 47, line 11.


30. Ea vis igitur ipsa, i.e. ea inquam ipsa. See note on p. 46, line 12. Is is correct, when the speaker returns to a person or thing before named.

32. Cui primum, &c. Cf. ch. 33, init. and § 89. The deity intimated Clodius, to lead him to his ruin. This reminds us of &c.—Mentem iniectit, ut...auderet vinceturque, i.e. mentem iniectit ut...auderet; quo factum est, ut vincetur.

35. Sempternam, i.e. all his life.

37. Religiones ipsae, sc. aedae, ara, ceremoniae, or rather, the gods which belong to them, and which alone can be said to "bestir themselves."

38. Commovisse se. This expression points to the well-known prodigy of Mars and Juno shaking their spears. Liv. 21, 62; 40, 19; 24, 10. Gell. N. A. 4, 6. Cicero skillfully avails himself of the suppositions of the people, to work upon their minds.—In illo, sc. puniendo, i.e. dum illum puniebant. See note on p. 88, line 37.

39. Retinuisse. Maintained, asserted. They seemed heretofore to have waived it.—Ves enim jam. Z. 824. This apostrophe to the sanctuaries of Alba is specially commended by Quintilian, 9, 2, 38; 11, 1, 34; 12, 10, 62. The Alban mount was in sight from Aricia near Bovillae.—Albani tumuli atque luci. Clodius had a villa
in the Alban land; and it would appear that in the building of it he had destroyed some old groves and altars attached to Mons Albanus, where the Latinae serisi were celebrated. Mons Albanus was covered with trees; but we may suppose that every little hillock and grove was the site of an altar for these occasions.

41. Sacrarium populi Romani sociæ et aequalis. Liv. 1, 7, says of Romulus: Sacra diis atibus Albano ritu, Graco Herculi et ab Evandro institutis erant, facit. The worship of Vesta particularly was derived from Alba. After the destruction of Alba, the joint worship continued, whence Cicero, making use of an expression of public law, calls the Alban altars populi Romani sociæ et aequalis. As in a surrender the conquered people were obliged to make over to the Romans divina humanque omnia, so the gods and sanctuaries were included in the league. The common worship of Juno Sospita in L nutsium and Rome is well known. Liv. 8, 14, and above, ch. 10, 27. The temples and altars of Alba had not been destroyed in the destruction of the city; Clodius destroyed them.

43. Substructionum insania mollibus. See ch. 20, 53.

44. [Aræa.] This word, if correct, is the vocative, like obruæ arc, above. Madvig now rejects it entirely. Klotz retains it without the brackets.

1. Tuque .... Latiaris sancte Juppiter. The form Latiaris, not Latiois, is confirmed by Priscian, though MSS. confound them. In the sacred grove, on the lofty Alban mount, sacrifice was performed to Jupiter Latiaris, the guardian god of the old Latin league, and afterwards also the highest national god of Latium.

2. Lacus. The beautiful Alban lake lay at the foot of the mountain on the west—an oval sheet of water about six or seven miles in circumference. The plural is not merely oratorical, as other writers also have Albani lacus.

5. Solutæ sunt. Cicero skillfully makes the death of Clodius a propitiatory sacrifice. His crimes against the gods had long before brought down upon him the sentence Sacer esto, which it was every one's duty to execute.

6. Nisi forte. Cicero thought it absurd to deny a providential interference, in the fact of his death happening in the very presence of the goddess whose rites he had profaned.

7. Sacrarium Bonæ Deæ. The rencontre was near this chapel.

10. Accipserat. Steinmetz, Klotz, and Süpfle accepserit. In perfecto simplex inest facti notio: in imperfecto etiam necessitatis et consili divini, quasi dixisset; ut eum oportaret fulvus accipere, ita volente numine Bonæ Deæ. Unless we wish to maintain that it was mere chance, that he must receive that wound. See Z. 514.

11. Judicio illo nefario. Wherein he was tried for the violation of the mysteries. Ch. 5, 13. Cicero here, as often in his letters,
characterizes the trial, in which Clodius was acquitted, as infames. 

Ad Att. 1, 16, 18.


14. Injectit amentiam. So § 84.—Sine imaginibus. The imagines were wax masks, made to resemble the deceased ancestors, and colored. (Juven. Sat. 8, 2, pietos cultus majorum.) In the atrium figures, dressed in the costumes of the deceased, were these masks; in triumphal and funeral processions men carried them before their faces, and thus the ancestors accompanied their descendant on his greatest and last day of honors, when he went to join them. It was also customary to have these figures, as they stood in the atrium, borne before the procession.—Sine canto, tibicinium, siticinum corniciumque.

15. Ludis scurrarum, histrionum gladiatorumque, qui in funeribus indictis edili soletant.


17. Amburcetur abjectus. See ch. 13, and ch. 33, 90.

18. Clarissimorum virorum formas, i.e. imagines, quem pro-prie vocantur. Clodius’s father, uncle, grandfather, great-grandfather, and the grandfather of his great-grandfather were consuls.


20. Mortem ejus. A bold metaphor for mortuum, suggested by the antithesis vita for vivus. Cf. Sest. 38, 83; Cluent. 71, 201; Propert. 3, 4, 6: Nec sit in Attalico more mea nixa toro.—Lacerari. See ch. 13, 33.

22. Dura .... videbatur, i.e. I did think the goddess of Roman fortune cruel in bearing so long with Clodius; but I now confess my error: she knew better the time and agent for punishing him.

24. Polluerat, &c. He now enumerates the enormities of Clodius, most of which are touched on before. Of course the pollution of the mysteries of the Bona Dea stands first. See ch. 5, 13.


26. Vexarat .... senatum. By procuring the proscription of Cicero, and inducing the consuls to forbid their mourning for him. See Sest. 7 sqq.

28. Gesta. Cicero’s acts against the Catilinarian conspirators,
which he, by vote of the senate and with the concurrence of all the orders, had as consul carried into execution.—Me patria expulerat. Ch. 14, 36.—Bona diripuerat. Sest. 24, 54. The aquae et ignis interdiction, as also voluntary exile to escape a sentence or a capital punishment, was attended by the confiscation of the property of the proscribed or exiled, which was sold by the questor as a whole in the name of the state to the highest bidder. The purchaser took it with the indebtedness upon it, so that if the debts were great, but a small sum came into the treasury.—Domum . . . vexarat. Sest. 69, 145: cœræ domus est, fortuna vexata, dissipati liberi, raptata conjux, &c. See Introduction, p. 375.


30. Magistratum . . . cædes effecerat. The slaves of Clodius attacked the tribunes Seutius, Fabricius, and Cispius, and much bloodshed was caused; but they escaped. See Sest. chaps. 35 and 36.

31. Domum . . . fratris incenderat. Not at the same time with Cicero’s Palatine house, but in the following year, A. u. c. 697. See ad Att. 4, 3, 2. Introduction, p. 376.

32. Vastarat Etruriam. See ch. 9, 26; 21, 55; 27, 74.

33. Incidebantur, &c. This being due only to laws actually ratified, was a proof of the insolence of Clodius. His laws were engraved on brass before he served on the magistracy in which he was to bring them forward.

35. Quæ nos servis nostris addicereant. See note on p. 116, line 6. From the time of the well-known censor Appius Claudius, A. u. c. 442, frequent attempts were made to give to the libertini the right of voting in all the tribes, and this was a principal means in the hands of the populares of gaining favor and followers from among this class. See note on p. 1.3, line 42. Counter attempts were as frequently made to confine the voting of the libertini again to the four city tribes. When thus confined, they, though very numerous, could exercise no decisive control over the elections; but if permitted, as was the design of Clodius’s law, to vote in all the tribes, they would have the control; and the language of Cicero is not perhaps very extravagant. Cicero here calls the libertini servi, in the same spirit in which he calls, p. Rosc. Am. 48, 140, Chrysogonus a servos nequisimus. So he often designates the Clodian mob as servorum manus, or the like. Compare Tac. Germ. 25, where he says of the Germans: liberti non multum supra servos sunt.


39. Cæsaris potentiam. Cæsar was now pursuing his victories in Gaul, leaving Pompey to conduct the home department. Crassus
the preceding year had lost his life in Parthia. Klotz: Caesaris potentiam suam potentiam esse.

40. In meo casu. See ch. 14, 36.

Ch. XXXIII.—42. Hic. See note on p. 57, line 26.—Ut supra dixi. Ch. 31, 84.

43. Hic. Milo.

132. 1. Senatus . . . circumscripsisset. Would have restrained him in the exercise of his power. Magistrates were dependent upon the senate as the supreme administrative authority, and therefore the senate could check them if they overstepped their province, and misused their office, the fulfilment of the duties of which must be sworn to both on assuming it and on laying it down. Circumscribere in this sense (see just below in praetore coepeendo) is found also ad Att. 7, 9, 2: trib. pl. . . . SCto circumscriptus. Phil. 2, 22, 53: circumscriptus a senatu esse Antinous. Ibid. 13, 9, 19.—Credo. With an ironical force, as frequently.

2. Id facere, sc. magistratus circumscribere. For Sulla had increased the authority of the senate by abolishing the tribunes' veto, which Pompey afterwards restored.

3. Profecerat. Clodius baffled the senate in the trial for incest. Ch. 5, 13, and ch. 32, 87: senatus gravissima decreta perfererat. The argument is one a fortiori: Not even when it used to do this, so coerce, had it effected any thing in the case of this same Clodius as a private citizen.—An consules, &c. See ch. 9, 25: mancem ac debilem praturam, &c., and ch. 13, 34: consul . . . constringere. According to the principle: Par majore potestas pius valeto, de Legg. 3, 4, a consul could keep a praetor within bounds. Val. Max. 7, 7, 6 gives an instance of appeal to the consul against a praetor. Liv. 5, 9, fin.

5. Suos consules, sibi faventes, et addicetos. Hypseaus and Scipio, his nominees.

6. Virtatem consularem, in consulatu praetitam a Cicerone: nam propter res in consulatu fortiter, i.e. cum virtute gestas Clodius vexavit Ciceronem vel res ejus gestas ut est pro Sest. 5 in. Virtutem vexari simili modo dicitur, ut supra 32, 86, multis lacrari.

7. Oppressisset . . . teneret. See ch. 28.

8. Lege nova. See chaps. 33, 87, and 12, 33: Exhile liberiam illud legum vestrum. Clodius wished to effect a second emancipation of the libertini, so that they should be in a measure his liberti, and he the patronus of them all.


11. Effeminitatus, See ch. 21, 55.

12. Nullam haberetis. De Oral. 1, 9, 38: (pater Gracchorum) libertinos in urbanas tribus transtulit; quod nisi fecisset,
rem publicam, quam vix nunc tenemus, jamdiu nullam habe
eremus.

13. Hec templum. Which surrounded the forum.

16. Satellitibus. Properly the body-guard of a king; but used
by the Romans, who hated every thing regal, to signify "braves,
 accomplices, aidsers, and abettors in crime."—[Sex. Clodia.] Klotz
and others without the brackets.

18. Tempulum, curiam, locum inauguratum; sanctitatis, i. e.
where sanctity, or inviolable honor, holds its seat; and amplitudinis,
majesty; mentis, wisdom.

19. Consili publici. See note on p. 11, line 30.—Urban, not
orbis, which in Cicero is not used without the addition of terra or
terrarum.—Portum omnium gentium. De Off. 2, 8, 26: Regum,
populorum, nationum portus erat et refugium senatus. Ovid, Heroid.
1, 110: Tu citius venias, portus et ara tua. Id. Pont. 2, 8, 68:
Vos eritis nostrae portus et ara fugae. Aram sic usurpavit etiam
Trist. 4, 5, 2.

21. Funeestari, cadavere illato. For a place was considered to
be polluted by a dead body.—A multitudine. The mob generally act
under the excitement of the moment; but Sex. Clodius acted by
premeditation, which was worse.

23. Ustior. Ustior oppugnator—signifero, ut munus muneri, mu-
nusque funebre, humile ac sordidum militari muneri splendido et lauto.
Argumentatur igitur a minori ad majus: si ustior tantum potuit, quan-
tum signifer ausus esset?

25. Everterat. Ch. 5, 13, and 32, 86 fin. 87.—Et sunt. Par-
ticula et, hic sepius cum quadem indignatione proferuntur. See note
on p. 58, line 21; p. 57, line 26; and p. 99, line 25.

26. De via Appia querantur. Ch. 7, 18. Cicero thought the
burning of the senate-house a sufficient set-off against the Appian way
and ancestral monuments of Clodius.

27. Ab eo. From or against him.

the next line for a mortuis many read ab inferis.

30. Furias pro furore nominat, tanquam demones malescros
Ataropas.—Inseptuli? See ch. 13, 33; 32, 86. He uses inseptulus
instead of mortus, in reference to the popular superstition that the
souls of the unburied could find no repose, but wandered over the earth
troubling the living.—Nisi vero. Ironical.

31. Falcibus. Non falces his memorius fuerunt, sed quae in ar-
mis numerabantur, quam militaribus, tum etiam gladiatoris. Ernesti
supposes the object was to break into the temple of Castor, to secure
arms which had been deposited there. Pison. 5, 11; 10, 23: Sect.
15: p. domo 21. Garatoni thinks it more probable the motive was

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Page 132. Money, which Cæcilius, ad Quintil. 4, shows was customarily deposit-
ed there.—Ad Cæs. 892.


33. Disturbari. Driven here and there, dispersed.

34. M. Cælius. When the fate of Cælius was known at Rome, the tribune Cælius, a friend of Milo, collected his adherents, and be-
gan to explain the outrages that led to Cælius’s death. He was inter-
terupted by the tribunes Planus and Q. Pompey, who, with an armed mob, dispersed the meeting, and slew numbers. Cælius and Milo escaped in the dress of slaves.

35. Firmissimass, &c. He even opposed the arrangement of Ca-
Pompey regarding this trial; till Pompey threatened to put down his opposition by force. Compare Brut. 79, 273.

37. Fortuna singulari. Why may not singulari be joined with fide? Z. 783.

C. XXXIV.—38. De causa; wherein he proved Cælius the aggressor: ch. 12.—Extra causam; wherein he proved that Milo’s act was praiseworthy, even supposing it intentional, ch. 27. The verbum dicendi is to be supplied, which is often omitted. The epilogus or perora-
tion now follows. Quinctil. 4, 1, 28: In ingressu parcius et mo-
destius prætentanda sit judicis misericordia, in epilogu vero licet totos essundere affectus, et fictam orationem induere personæ, et de-
functos excitare, &c. Cicero’s skill in conclusions is pre-eminent: he was acknowledged by his contemporaries to be a master in them, and when several orators appeared in one case, the closing argument was readily yielded to him, even by Hortensius. Brut. 51; Ora-
t. 37; Balb. 7; Sest. 2; Muren. 23. Laterensis, the accuser of Ca. Plan-
cius, charged him with having proposed a severe law against ambitus, that he might have an opportunity to deliver touching perorations. Planc. 34, 83. Schol. Bob. ad orat. pro Flacco, 41 (p. 246, Orril.): secutus videlicet suam consuetudinem et artis oratoris disciplinam, ut laerinosis affectibus prope sententiam judices implentur. Cicero is called by Quinctil. 11, 1, 85, summa tractandorum animorum atri-

t. and the closing chapters of this oration give a complete illustra-
tion of his skill and power.

40. Misericordiam... quam ipse non implorat. Milo re-
jected with disdain the usual means of awakening the compassion of
the judges; the tears, the supplicant gesture, and mourning garb. This, besides the defence, Cicero must alone undertake. Quinctil. 6, 5, 10, praises the orator, quod Miloni preces non dederit, et in earum locum ipse successerit. Cf. Id. 6, 1, 24, and 11, 1, 40. Plut. Cic. 35, says: Milo with his unmoved resignation, which Cicero here represents as magnanimity, formed a marked contrast to the alarmed and pain-
stricken Cicero.
ORATION FOR T. ANNIUS MILO.

42. Nolite....parcere. Z. 586.—In nostro omnium. See note on p. 111, line 30.


Klotz: multo etiam, &c.

2. Etenim si in gladiatoribus pugnatis. Senec. de tranq. vittae, 11: Gladiatores, ait Cicero, inviso habemus, si omni modo vitam impetrare cupiunt; faciemus, si contentum ejus praec: se ferant. Tusc. 2, 17, 41: Quis mediocris gladiator ingemuit? quis vul-
tum mutavit unquam? quis non modo stetit, verum etiam decu-
buit turpiter? quis quum decubuisset ferrum recipere jussus, vultum contrazit? The gladiators were men of the lowest class, (infami generis hominum,) many of them the very dregs of society: their combats were viewed in the light of bull-fights, or other combats of beasts. Ch. 2, the gladiators of Milo are called servi. Subsequently, the nobles of Rome did not disdain to become gladiators, and exhibit on the stage. Juvenal, 8, 200.


5. Odisse, i.e. to demand their death from the magistrates. This was done by a well-known signal.

6. Servare, sc. pollices premendo.—Eorumque nos....miseret. Z. 441.

12. Sint incolumae....florentes....beat. Notice the gra-
dation in which one word succeeds the other, while the preceding is explained by the one which follows.


14. Tranquilliae. Clodius, the prime mover of every disturbance, being removed.

15. Per me. Klotz: propter me.

16. Cedam atque abibo. On cedere, see note on p. 117, line 27. Milo did not go into exile till all was lost; he had no such resignation as Cicero here gives him credit for.—Si....licuerit. Z. 510.


18. Moratam. (From mos) possessed of good institutions and morals; where the turbulence of a Clodius is unknown. The follow-
ing apostrophe, O frustra, &c., is noticed by Quintilian, 6, 1, 27, as an instance of the propriety of putting suitable exclamations in the mouths of the accused, even when prayers are not allowed.

spe...fallaces et cogitationes, &c.

20. Ego, quum....me senatum dedissem....putarem. Non putassem; nam putabat sibi honorum occidium non defuturum,
et sibi futura in patria locum. *Dare se alieni* = ad alium esse applicare, ei gratum esse laborare omni obsequio officiique generae. Sic etiam tradere se alieni. *Seot.* 69, 130. Garat. proposed *dedidissem.* See ch. 2, 4, and 33, 91.—Re publica oppressa. By Clodius and his party, for Milo was tribune a.v. c. 697, the year after Clodius's tribunate. See Introduction, p. 375.


28. Equites Romani IIII, IIII . . . . . tulit! Cicero's equestrian extraction is not so much alluded to here, as the friendship of the knights, which he had gained, as well by his general attention to their interests as his exertions in effecting the celebrated junction between the a and the senate. Plin. *N. H.* 33, 2, 8: *Marcus Cicero . . . stabilivit equestre nomen in consulatu suo, Catilinariis rebus, ex eo se ordine prefectum esse celebrans, ejusque vices peculiari popularitate quaress.* Ab illo tempore plane hoc tertium corpus in re publica factum est caputque adici senatui populoque Romano et equester ordo. Cic. *Phil.* 6, 5, 13: *Quem unquam iste ordo (equitibus Romanis procedes) patronum adoptavit? Si quemquam, debuit me.—Studia municipiorum.* So ardent in the cause of your recall from exile. See ch. 15, and *Pisone.* 15.

29. Italici voces. Ch. 15, 39. The acclamations and congratulations with which he was accompanied on his route through Italy to Rome.

Ch. XXXV.—32. Nec vero hae. Wishing to praise the kindness of "the good" to Milo, Cicero here begins by representing the firmness and resignation which he exhibited as resulting from their feelings towards him.—*Plez.* See ch. 34, 92, and 38, 105.

33. Quo videtis, sc. eum loqui.

34. Negat, ingratia civibus, &c. Dicit, sc. Milo, cives suos non haberi a se ingratos erga se, sed tantum nimis timidos nimisque cautos.

36. Quae . . . imminebat. The sentiment of Cicero, else we should expect immiseret.

37. Eam . . . . se fecisse commemorat ut . . . . flexeret. The pronoun *eam* recall: with emphasis the noun to which it refers. *Plbeum . . . . se fecisse . . ut . . . . flexeret.* See note on p. 56, line 15. Cf. § 63: *illud . . . fecerat, ut, &c.* On the periphrasis of facere ut, see Z. 619. The sentence may be construed: *Commemorat se fecisse, ut n. m. v. flexerat, sed etiam, quo t. e. v. v., deliniret multitudinem eam, &c.*

38. Tribus suis patrimoniis, sc. those of his father, Papius; of his maternal grandfather, C. Annius, by whom he had been adopted; and of his mother. Cicero complains of Milo's extravagance, ad Q. *frat.* 3, 9. He involved himself greatly in debt, besides wasting his patrimonies, which he squandered in exhibiting gladiatorial and theatrical shows to the people, and distributing money among them.

43. Occurtsiones. Occursatio imports running to meet one out of respect; respectful greetings.

44. Secum se ablaturum, sc. in memory: memoria conserva-turum ubicumque vixerit. Klotz: secum ablaturum, without sc.—Memini . . . . defuisse. Z. 589.

1. Vocab sibi praecens. By whom the person was declared duly elected. The elections had been repeatedly broken up by the disturbances of the Clodians.

2. Declaratum. Ch. 9, 25. Cicero represents, that Milo had already been chosen by the single centuries before the interruption of the election, only the praecens had not declared the combined result, owing to the disturbances. The praecens announced the single suffragia and at the close of the voting proclaimed the result of the choice.—Si hae. Klotz: si hae arma contra, &c. By hae Orelli understands omnia in rem publicam merita, quae supra enumeraverat.


5. Addit hae. Compare Cicero's remarks on famo and honor, ad Fam. 15, 4, 13; p. Arch. 11.


8. Si quidem nihil sit praebilium. Klotz omits sit, making si quidem as si quando, si forte (see § 104), si adeo, take the place of an entire clause.

10. Honori fuerit a suis civibus. Z. 305.—Nec tamen esse miseros, in reference to the preceding beatos esse, quibus.

11. Sed tamen, &c. This stands in reference to the clause fortres et sapientes, &c.

13. Premium is thrice repeated with emphasis.


16. Cujus gradibus. Cf. Parad. 1; 2, 11; p. dem. 28; Deiot. 9, 27.

19. Quam . . . . subjicitantur. That quae here has the signification of time, is plain from the preceding words hae tempere ipse; yet the following tamen shows that quae has also a causal or re-
strictive force, like quaevis. The subjunctive is therefore correct. Z. 579.


21. Gratiae agenda. See note on p. 12, line 11.—Gratulationibus habendis. Gratulationes habere = to present congratulatory addresses to one on account of distinguished success.

23. Actus, the already celebrated; institutes, appointed and yet to be celebrated. The Etruscans regarded Milo as their benefactor, by whose exertions they had been relieved of their oppressor. See 9, 26; 21, 55; 27, 74. It was usual for a people to institute feastis in honor of a benefactor. So the Syracusans instituted the Marcella in honor of M. Claudius Marcellus; and the Asiatics the Macia, in honor of Q. Mucius.—Centesima . . . et . . . altera. The hundred and second. Z. 118. Some contend that alter should be translated first, as adding only one to centesima. The date of the rencontre as given by Cicero, ch. 10, was a. d. XIII. Kal. Feb., or January 18th a. u. c. 702. See note on p. 114, line 15.

There were remaining in January, the 18th included, 12 days.

February had . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 28 "
Mercedonius . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 22 "
March . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 31 "

93 days.

To make up 102 days, we must add 9 from April, which would make the day of the trial the 9th of April, or a. d. V. Id. April. There is a discrepancy in the dates given by Asconius, who at one time gives a. d. III. Id. April. at another VI. Id. April. Yet according to him, Milo first appeared before the tribunal of Domitius pridie Non. April. (April 4th.) Three days were occupied in the taking of testimony. On the fourth day (quarta die) all were set down for the following day, (in diem posterum,) and on the next day (reverse posterio die) the accusation and defence were heard, and the sentence followed. See Ascon. ed. Orell. p. 40, and Brewer, Cicero's Rede für den Milo, p. XXX., whose reckoning is given above.

Ch. XXXVI.—29. Haece tu, sc. the preceding from Valesant, § 93.
—His, sc. judicibus.

30. Haece ego, sc. the following from Te quidem.


33. Nec vero, sc. mihi e ripienis. Cicero complains that he has not even the poor consolation left of feeling angry at those who inflict the wound. Therefore they ought not to inflict it; but pardon Milo.
—Tamen, sc. etai mihi eripieris.

34. Ut his frasei possum, ponitur, ut post reliquum est. Z. 691
36. Inuretis. A metaphor borrowed from branding animals with marks by which they might be known. Here a forcible expression for "inflict."—Etei quis, &c. Though what (other) pain could be so great as this (ec. depriving of me of Milo); but not even this will you inflict on me to the degree that I shall forget, &c. Before ut obli-viscar supply tantum inuretis, i.e. ne hic quidem ipse dolor tantum erit, &c.

39. Quae si vos cepit oblivio. For cujus rei (sc. quanti me semper feceritis) si vos cepit oblivio. See note on p. 91, line 32.

40. Si in me aliquid offendisti. Offendere in aliquo est animadvertere aliquid, quod molestiam faciat, itaque moleste aliquid ferre in aliquo. This comes from the proper signification of offendere which is impingere in re, quasi incurrere in aliquid, quod displiceat.—Cur non, &c. Why is not that offence atoned for by my life rather than by Milo's.

42. Si quid . . . . acciderit. See note on p. 39, line 8.

44. Nullum a me amoris . . . . officium defult. Cf. ad Fam. 2, 6, 3: Ego omnia mea studia, omnem operam, curam, industrium, cogitationem, mentem denique omnem in Milonis consulatu fixi et locavi statuique in eo me non officii solium fructum, sed etiam pietatis laudem debebre quaerere, &c. This is confirmed by the following just tribute of praise, which Asconius, who lived not long after this period, and was accurately acquainted with its history, pays to Cicero, in his argument to this oration. After speaking of the attempt to exciteodium against Cicero for his zeal in the defence of Milo, and of the threats made use of to compel him to desist, Asconius adds: Tanta tamen constantia ac fides fuit Ciceronis, ut non populi a se alienatione, non Cn. Pompeii suspicionibus, non periculi futuri metu, si dies ad populum dicaretur, non armis, quae palam in Milonem sumpta erant, deterrueri potuerit a defensione ejus, quam posset omne periculum suum et offensionem inimicum multitudinis declinare, redimere autem Cn. Pompeii animum, si paulum ex studio defensionis remisisset.

1. Potentium. Pompey and others.


4. In communione tuorum temporum contuli, i.e. tecum communicavi, quum tempora tua (i.e. pericula, vid. ad. Manil. 1.) id poscerent, sive tecum partitus sum.

6. Dimicatius capitis. Si Clodiiani, quum te absolutum senserint, vam inferre consatrit. Diminutio is here out of place.

7. Quid habeo, quod. Klotz: quid habeo? quod faciam, &c. The common text is, Quid habeo, quod dicam, quod faciam, &c.


10. In hujus salutem, i.e. dum hujus salutem tuemini: in eodem exitio, i.e. dum et exitium affertis, pro quo e nostra consuetudine
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13. Planinus etsit, ut aut hujus salute conservanda, a ut ejusdem exitio decernendo.

11. Videatis, h. e. intelligatis, vobisque persuadeatis.

Cf. XXXVII.—12. His lacrimis. See note on p. 136, line 13—Est . . . animi. Klotz and Süßkle take these words as a parenthesis, erasing the period after Milo, and continuing sed exsiliatum, &c.


14. Mortem nature finem esse. Cf. 4 in Cat. 4, 7, and note on p. 40, line 30. Natura, i. e. existentia, quam vulgo vocant, sive vivendi.

15. Sed hic. The reading is here various. Madvig has given that of Codd. Erf. and Bavar., with a little difference of punctuation. He remarks: Verbum ad superiorem partem assumitur ex altera et contraria parte sententiae, similiiter conformata (critis). Nec haerere debemus, quod ex futuro praecons sumitur, similiiter atque de Legg. 1, 5, 17: qua (res) quondam a multis claris viris (sustinebatur), nunc ab uno summa auctoritate et scientia sustinetur. Other readings are Sed hic ea mente natus est et ornatus est. Klotz: Sit hic ea mente, qua natus est. Quid, &c.


18. Quis procreavit. See note on p. 133, line 13. Milo was born in Lanuvium. Exile extended to all Italy.

21. Centuriones, vosque, millites. See ch. 1. The guards were in hearing of Cicero.


26. Retinere. Which should be easier than recocere.


ORATION FOR T. ANNIUS MILO.

Mene non potuisse. Z. 609. 31. Quae est grata **. Cod. Erf. has gentibus non potuisse his qui, &c. The editions do not generally indicate any marks of various readings in this passage, which is commonly given quae est grata gentibus. A quibus non potuisse? Ab ibi, &c. Madvig supposes the text to be corrupt, and that a dative after grata has dropped out. After which he suggests [Quibus judicatibus non potuisse? Osenbruggen thinks this would be tautological with tueri per eodem, per quae, &c., and proposes: quae est grata omnibus. Quibus intuentibus non potuisse? referring to ch. 1, 3, Reliqua vero multitude decertari putat.

32. Acquiescent, quasi securi facti, magnam oblectionem acceperunt. Z. 416.

33. Quodnam ego concept. Cf. Sest. 69, 145: Quod tantum est in me scelus? quid tanto opere deliqui illo, illo die, quum ad vos indicis, litteras, confessiones communisexitii detulit, &c. The conclusion of the oration for Sestius has many points of similarity to that for Milo.

35. Indagavi. See the 3d oration against Catiline.—Exstinxis, non indicia, sed semina sive auctores communis exitii. Ex indicis res indicatam summatur. See note on p. 38, line 5.

40. Diœcussus. See note on p. 117, line 27.

41. Distrahatur. To express a possible case, which the orator conceives in his imagination.

Cn. XXXVIII.—42. Utinam dli immortales fecissent. The sentence is interrupted by the parenthesis, and instead of going on with ut P. Clodius vivet, as would have been the case without the parenthesis, a new sentence commences with utinam, giving the simple proposition utinam vivet Clodius. After an interruption, by a parenthesis of considerable length, the form of the sentence is usually changed. On the difference of the tenses with utinam, see Krebs, Guide, 228; P. C. 496; Z. 57.

1. Prætor. He begins with the first office which Clodius did not hold.

3. A vobis .... conservandum. Z. 651. These words refer to Clodius.—Minime, minime. We may suppose that Milto motioned a negative on Cicero's wish: Utinam ... dictator esset. "Let him," he adds, "meet his deserts, and I care not for personal consequences."

6. Patris natus. Framed by nature for the especial purpose of saving his country.—Usquam nisi. Nisi because the question implies a negative.—Si forte, i.e. si forte tulerit, si +

7. Pro patria. Some MSS. have procul patria, which led to the emendation of Peyron, aut, si forte procul, pro patria. Sensus est:
Hic vir in patria debet mori; in nullo alio loco, nisi si forte pro patria moritur. Animi monumenta, quae animi ejus fortitudinem et magnitudinem memoriam consequant, ac his publicis servitutibus recordatus in the history of his country; opposed to corpon sepulcrum.

13. In Italia. Milo went, as is known, to Marseilles. Upon such voluntary exile, ensued a decree of the people, declaring the exile just, and pronouncing the aquae et ignis interdictum. This involved the loss of the civitas. An exile could not therefore remain in Italy, because the lex Plantia Papiria A. u. c. 655 had extended the Roman civitas over all Italy. For the same reason the wearing of the toga, the distinctive dress of the Roman citizen, was not allowed. Plin. Ep. 4, 11, 3: Carent enim jurae togas, quibus aqua et ignis interdictum est. In some cases, as in that of Cicero, the distance from Rome to which one was exiled was fixed.—Sepulcrum. At the close of the oration for Cluentius, ch. 71, 201, Cicero says: Nunc vero quid Exit prefectorum, nisi ut hujus ex mediis mortis insidiis vita ad actum conservata, non sepulcro patriis privata esse videatur. The importance attached to a burial in one's native land, may be seen exemplified in the prayer of Hector to Achilles, II. 22, 254; of Mezentius, Aen. 10, 904; of Turnus, Aen. 7, 935, and of Polynices, Eurip. Phere. 1460.

12. Sed finis sit. For my tears prevent my words, as well as the wish of Milo, to depend solely on the goodness of his cause.

13. Præ lacrimis. Quintil. 11, 3, 173: Illa quaque mira facit in peroratione velut deficientia dolore et fatigations confessione, ut pro ... Milone: Sed finis ... est possum. Quæ similem verbum habere debent eisam pronuntiationem. Cf ch. 34, 92; 35 init. Other passages, where Cicero speaks of his own tears and those of his clients and the judges, are, Planc. 31, and 41, 99; Sest. 11, 26; Cluent. 69, 197; Font. 17, 37; Mur. 40, 86; Rabir. Post. 17, 48. Cf. Liv. 39, 44; Cae. B. G. 1, 31; Sest. Cae. 33; Tac. Ann. 3, 23; Sen- eca de Tranq. an. 15. It is, however, to be observed that lacrimeri often forms only the antithesis to letari, and therefore = to be moved, affected even to tears. So the substantive lacrimae often stands opposed to letitia, and its proper meaning must not be urged. Tears are in Cicero often a rhetorical artifice: they give to the words the requisite pathos. Upon our minds an orator by such appeals would make perhaps an impression directly opposite to that which Cicero by this means produced upon the minds of the judges and the audience (corona); but among the Greeks and Romans tears were the natural expression of pain and emotion. They felt keenly, and the expressions of their feelings were strong. Etiquette did not require them to suppress the loud outbreak of pain, or silent tears, and custom did not compel them to stifle their bitterest sorrow. In the midst therefore of a circle composed of men of like tune and temper, Cicero could commu-
nicate his sad feelings to their hearts. Tears and lamentations were usual also before Greek tribunals, and not merely in capital trials.

14. Vos oro. Having wound up the feelings of the judges to the highest pitch, he now affects to call upon them to attend only to the dictates of justice, &c.


16. Is maxime. Pompey, who being the prime mover of the whole proceeding, is here presented, in conclusion, to the minds of the judges, as the friend of justice and of Milo.

17. Optimum .... sapientissimum .... fortissimum. These adjectives correspond to the substantives virtutem, justitiam, fide m, but in the inverse order, optim. to fide m, sapienti s. to justi tiam, and for tiss. to virtutem.


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