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From

Mrs. Harrison Sanwin
of Cambridge,

12 May, 1890.
M. T. CICERONIS

ORATIONES

QUÆDAM SELECTÆ,

NOTIS ILLUSTRATÆ.

IN USUM ACADEMIAE EXONIENSIS.

Editio Stereotypa,

TABULIS ANALYTICIS INSTRUCTA.

Edited by Charles Fison.

BOSTON:
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1859.
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Cambridge, January 1, 1831.

ORATIO I.

IN

L. CATILINAM.

I. QUOUSQUE tandem abutère, Catilina, patientiâ nostrâ? quamdiu etiam furor iste tuus nos eludet? quem ad finem se-
se effrænata jactabit audacia? Nihilne te nocturnum præsi-
dium Palatii, nihil Urbis vigiliæ, nihil timor populi, nihil
concursus bonorum omnium, nihil hic munitissimus habendi
senatis locus, nihil horum ora vultusque, moverunt? Patere
tua consilia non sentis? constrictam jam omnium horum
conscientiâ teneri conjurationem tuam non vides? Quid
proximâ, quid superiore, nocte egeris, ubi fueris, quos con-
vocaveris, quid consiliii cepерis, quem nostrûm ignorare arbi-
traris?

O tempora! o mores! Senatus hæc intelligit; consul vi-
det: hic tamen vivit! Vivit? immo verò, etiam in senatum
venit; fit publici consilii particeps: notat et designat oculos
ad cædem unumquemque nostrûm. Nos autem, viri fortes, 15
satisfacere reipublicæ videmur, si istius fuorem ac tela vite-
mus.

Ad mortem te, Catilina, duci, jussu consulis, jampridem
oporebat; in te conferri pestem istam, quam tu in nos om-
nes jamdui machinaris. An verò vir amplissimus, P. Scipio, 20
pontifex maximus, Ti. Gracchum mediocriter labefactantem
statum reipublicæ, privatus interfecit; Catilinam verò, or-
bem terræ cæde atque incendiis vastare cupientem, nos con-
sules perferamus? nam illa nimis antiqua prætero, quod C.
Servilius Ahala Sp. Melium novis rebus studentem, manu 25
suâ occidit. Fuit, fuit ista quondam in hac republicâ virtus,
ut viri fortes acrioribus suppliciis civem perniciosum, quàm
acerbissimum hostem, coercerent. Habemus senátus-con-
sultum in te, Catilina, vehemens et grave: non deest reipub-
ORATIO 1. IN L. CATILINAM.

miseras, cùm illi ipsi venissent, quos ego jam multis ac sum mis viris ad me id temporis venturos esse præixeram.

V. Quæ cùm ita sint, Catilina, perge, quò cepisti: egredere aliquando ex urbe: patent portæ: proficiscere. Nimi-
5 üm diu te imperatorem illa tua Manliana castra desiderant. Educ tecum etiam omnes tuos; si minus, quàm plurimos: purga urbem. Magno meo metu liberabis, dummodo inter me atque te murus intersit. Nobiscum versari jam diutiùs non potes: non feram, non patiar, non sina. Magna Diis immortalibus habenda est gratia, atque huic ipsi Jovi Statori, antiquissimo custodi hujus urbis, quod hanc tam tetram, tam horribilem, tamque infestam reipublicæ, pestem toties jam effugimus. Non est sapius in uno homine salus summa periclitanda reipublicæ. Quamdiu mihi, consuli designato,
10 Catilina, insidiatus es, non publico me præsudio, sed privatâ diligentia, defendi. Cùm, proximis comitiis consularibus, me consulem in Campo, et competitores tuos, interficere voluisti; compressi tuos nefarios conatus amicorum præsidio et copiis, nullo tumultu publicè concitato. Denique,
15 quotiescunque me petisti, per me tibi obstiti; quanquam vi-debam, perniciem meam cum magnà calamitate reipublicæ esse conjunctam. Nunc jam apertè rempublicam universam petis: templâ Deorum immortalium, tecta urbis, vitam omnium civium, Italiam denique totam, ad exitium et vastitatem vocas.

Quare, quoniam id, quod primum, atque hujus imperii disciplineque majorum proprium est, facere nondum audeo; faciam id, quod est ad severitatem lenius, et ad communem salutem utilius. Nam, si te interfici jussero, residebit in re-
20 publicâ reliqua conjuratorum manus; sin tu (quod te jamdu-
dum horœxeris, exhauniatur ex urbe tuorum comitum magna et perniciosa sentia [reipublicæ]. Quid est, Catilina? num dubitas id, me imperante, facere, quod jam tuâ sponte faciebas? Exire ex urbe consul hostem jubet: interroge me, num in exsilium? Non jubeo: sed, si me consulis, suadeo.

VI. Quid enim, Catilina, est, quod te jam in hâc urbe delectare possit? in quâ nemo est (extra istam conjurationem perditorum hominum), qui te non metuat; nemo, qui non oderit. Quæ nota domesticæ turpitudinis non inusta
25 vitae tuae est? quod privatarum rerum dedecus non habet [infamiæ]? quæ libid ab oculis, quod facinus a manibus unquam tuis, quod flagitiun a toto corpore, abfuist? Cui tu adolescentulo, quem corruptelarum illecebris irretisse, non aut ad audaciam ferrum, aut ad libidinem facem, prætulisti?
ORATIO I. IN L. CATILINAM.

Quid verò? nuper, cùm, morte superioris uxoris, novis nuptiis domum vacuefiscisses, nonne etiam alio incredibili scele-
re hoc scelus cumulāsti? quod ego prætermitto, et facile patri-
or sileri, ne in hac civitate tanti facinoris immanitas aut exstisisses, aut non vindicata esse, videatur. Prætermitto 5
ruinas fortunaram tuarem, quas omnes impendere tibi proximi
Ibidus senties: ad illa venio, quæ non ad privatam igno-
niniam vitiorum tuorum, non ad domesticam tuam difficil-
tatem ac turpitudinem, sed ad summam reipublicæ, atque ad
omnia nostrum vitam salutemque, pertinent.

Potestne tibi hujus vitæ lux, Catilina, aut hujus coeli spiritu
nesse esse jucundus, cùm scias, horum esse neminem, qui
nesciat, te, pridie Calendas Januarias, Lepido et Tullo con-
sulibus, stetisse in comitio cum telo? manum, consulum et
principum civitatis interficiendorum causā, parvisse? sceleri
ac furori tuo non mentem aliquam, aut timorem tuum, sed
fortunam reipublicæ obstitisses? Ac jam illa omittis: neque
enim sunt aut obscura, aut non multa pœst commissa. Quo-
ties tu me designatum, quoties consulem, interficere conatus
es? quot ego tuas petitiones, ita conjectas ut vitari non posse
viderentur, parvā quàdam declinatione, et (ut aiunt) corpore,
effugi? Nihil agis, nihil assequeris, nihil moliris, quod nihil
latere valeat in tempore: neque tamen conari ac velle desistis.
Quoties jam tibi extorta est sica ista de manibus? quoties
verò excidit casu aliquo, et elapsa est? Tamen eā carere 25
diutius non potes: quæ quidem quibus abs te initia sacris
ac devota sit, nescio, quod eam necesse putas consulis in
corpore defigere.

VII. Nunc verò, quæ tua est ista vita? sic enim jam
tecum loquar, non ut odio permutus esse videar, quo debeo, 30
sed ut misericordiā, quæ tibi nulla debetur. Venisti pau-
lo ante in senatum. Quis te, ex hac tantā frequentiā, ex
tot tuis amicis ac necessariis, salutavit? Si hoc, post homi-
num memoriam, contigit nemini, vocis expectas contumeli-
am, cùm sis gravissimo judicio taciturnitatis oppressus? 35
Quid, quòd adventu tuo ista subsellia vacuefacta sunt? quòd
omnes consules, qui tibi persēpe ad cædem constituti
fuerunt, simul atque assedisti, partem istam subselliorum
nudam atque inanem reliquerunt? Quo tandem animo hoc
tibi ferendum putas? Servi (mehercule) mei si me isto
pacto metuerent, ut te metuunt omnes cives tui, domum
meam reliquendam putarem: tu tibi urbem non arbitaris? 40
Æt, si me meis civibus injuriā suspicum tam graviter atque
offensum viderem; carere me adspectu civium, quàm infestis
ORATIO I. IN L. CATILINAM.

ocularis omnium conspici, mallem: tu, cūm, conscientiā scelerum tuorum, agnoscas odium omnium justum, et jam tibi diu debitum, dubitas, quorum mentes sensusque vulneras, eorum adspectum præsentiamque vitare? Si te parentes timent
5 atque odisse tui, neque eos ulla ratione placare posses; ut opinor, ab eorum oculis aliquò concederes: nunc te patria, quæ communis est omnium nostrūm parens, odit ac metuit, et jamdiu de te nihil judicat, nisi de parricidio suo cognitare. Hujus tu neque auctoritatem verebere, neque judicium se
10 quere, neque vim pertimesces? Quæ tecum, Catilina, sic agit, et quodammodo tacita loquitur: "Nullum, aliquot jam annis, facinus exstitit, nisi per te; nullum flagitium sine te: tibi uni multorum civium necès, tibi vexatio direptioque sociorum impunita fuit ac libera: tu, non solum ad negligentas leges
15 et quæstiones, verùm etiam ad evertendas perfringendases, valuisti. Superiora illa, quamquam ferenda non fuerunt, tamen, ut potui, tuli: nunc verò me totam esse in metu propter te unum; quidquid increpuerit, Catilinam timeri; nullum videri contra me consilium iniri posse, quod a tuo scelere abhor
20 reat; non est ferendum. Quamobrem, discende, atque hunc mihi timorem eripe; si est verus, ne opprimar; sin falsus, ut tandem aliquando timere desinam."

VIII. Hæc si tecum (ut dixi) patria loquatur, nonne impetrare debeat, etiam si vim adhibere non posset? Quid?
25 quòd tu te ipse in custodiam dedisti? quid? quòd, vitandœ suspicioris causâ, apud M. Lepidum te habitate velle dixisti? a quo non receptus, etiam ad me venire ausus ess; atque, ut domi meæ te asservarem, rogasti. Cùm a me quoque id responsum tulisses, me nullo modo posse isidem parietibus tutò
30 esse tecum, qui magno in periculo esset, quod isidem mortibus contineremur; ad Q. Metellum pretorem venisti: a quo repudiatus, ad sodalem tuum, virum optimum, M. Marcello, demigrasti; quem tu videlicet et ad custodiendum te diligentissimum, et ad suspicandum sagacissimum, et ad vin
dicandum fortissimum, fœre putasti. Sed quàm longè videtur a carcere atque a vinculis absesse debere, qui se ipse jam dignum custodiā judicaverit?

Quæ cūm ita sint, Catilina, dubitas, si hic [morari] æquo
35 animo non potes, abire in aliquas terras, et vitam istam, multis suppliciis justis debitisque ereptam, fugæ solitudinique mandare?

"Refer," inquis, "ad Senatum" (id enim postulas): et, si hic ordo placere sibi decreverit, te ire in exsilium, obtimperaturum te esse dicis. Non referam (id, quod abhorret a
meis moribus): et tamen faciam, ut intelligas, quid hi de te sentiant. Egredere ex urbe, Catilina: libera rempublicam metu: in exsilium (si hanc vocem exspectas) profiscere. Quid est, Catilina? ecquid attendis, ecquid animadvertis horum silentium? Patiuntur; tacent. Quid exspectas auctoritatem loquentium, quorum voluntatem tacitorem perspicis?

At, si hoc idem huic adolescenti optimo, P. Sextio, si fortissimo viro, M. Marcello, dixissem; jam mihi consuli, hoc ipso in templo, jure optimo, senatus vim et manus intulisset. De te autem, Catilina, cùm quiescunt, probant: cùm patiuntur, decernunt: cùm tacent, clamant: neque hi sùlum, quorum tibi auctoritas videlicet cara, vita vilissima; sed etiam illi equites Romani, honestissimi atque optimi viri, cæterique fortissimi cives, qui circumstant senatum, quorum tu et frequentiam videre, et studia perspicere, et voces paulo antè exaudire, potuisti: quorum ego vix abs te jamdiu manus ac tela contineo; eodem facile adducam, ut te haec, quæ jampridem vastare studes, relinquentem, usque ad portas prosequantur.


Quamobrem, (ut sæpe jam dixi) profiscere: ac, si mihi, inimico (ut praedicis) tuo, consolare vis invidiam; rectà perge in exsilium. Vix feram sermones hominum, si id feceris: vix molem istius invidiæ, si in exsilium ieris jussu consulis, sustinebo. Sin autem servire meæ laudi et gloriæ mavis, egressere cum importunâ sceleratorum manu; confer te ad Manlium; concita perditos cives; secern te a bonis; infer patriæ bellum; exsulta impio latrocinio, ut a me non ejectus ad alienos, sed invitatus ad tuos, íssæ videaris.

Quanquam quid ego te invitem? a quo jam sciam esse premisos, qui tibi ad Forum Aurelium præstolarentur armati; sciam pactam et constitutam esse cum Manilio diem: a
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sultum in te, Catilina, vehemens et grave: non deest reipub-
ORATIO I. IN L. CATILINAM.

licæ consilium, neque auctoritas hujus ordinis: nos, nos, dico apertè, consules desumus.

II. Decretit quondam senatus, ut L. Opimius consulvideret, ne quid respublica detrimenti caperet. Nox nulla in-
tercessit: interfectus est, propter quasdam seditionum suspicio-
ciones, C. Gracchus, clarissimo patre, avo, majoribus: occisus est cum libris M. Fulvius, consularis. Simili senatus-con-
sulto, C. Mario et L. Valerio, consulibus, permissa est respublica:
um num diem postea L. Saturninus tribunum plebis, et C. Servili-
ium prætorem, mors ac reipublicæ poena remorata est? At nos vicesimum jam diem patimur hebescere aciem horum auctoritatis. Habemus enim hujusmodi senatus-consultum, verutamam inclusum in tabulis, tanquam gladium in vagina reconditum; quo ex senatus-consulto, confestim interfecit te esse, Catilina, convenit. Vivis; et vivis, non ad deponendam, sed ad confirmandam, audaciam. Cupio, Patres Conscripti, me esse clementem: cupio, in tantis re-
publicæ periculis, me non dissolutum videri: sed jam me ipsa inertiae nequitàque condemno.

Castra sunt in Italii, contra rempublicam, in Etruriae fau-
cibus collocata: crescit in dies singulos hostium numerus: eorum autem imperatorem castrorum, ducemque hostium, in-
tra moenia, atque adeò in senatu, videmus, intestinam alia-
quam quotidie perniciem reipublicæ molientem. Si te jam, Catilina, comprehendi, si interfici, jussere; credo, erit ve-
rendum mihi, ne non hoc potius omnes boni seriùs a me, quam quisquam crudeliùs, factum esse dicat. Verùm ego hoc, quod jam pridem factum esse oportuit, certà de causà, nondum adducor, ut faciam. Tum denique interficiam te,
cùm jam nemo tam improbus, tam perditus, quam tu similes, inveniri poterit, qui id non jure factum esse fateatur. Quam-
diu quisquam erit, qui te defendere audeat, vives: et vives ita, ut nunc vivis, multis meis et firmis presidius obsessus, ne commovere te contra rempublicam possis: multorum te etiam oculi et aures, non sentientem, (sicut adhuc fecerunt) speculabuntur atque custodient.

III. Etenim quid est, Catilina, quod jam amplius exspec-
tes, si neque nos tenebris obscure curatus ceturus nefarios, nec privata domus parietibus continere vocem conjurationis tuae potest? si illustrantur, si erumpunt omnia? Muta iam istam mentem: mihi crede: obliviscere credis, atque incendiorum. Teneris undique: luce sunt clariora nobis tua consilia om-
nia: que etiam mecum licet recognoscas. Meministine, me, ante diem XII. Calendas Novembris, dicere in senatu, fore in
ORATIO I. IN L. CATILINAM.

armis certo die (qui dies futurus esset ante diem VI. Calendas Novembris) C. Manlium, audaciae satellitem atque administrum tuae? Num me sefellit, Catilina, non modo res tan-
ta, tam atroax, tam incredibili, verum (id, quod multò magis est admirandum) dies? Dixi ego idem in senatu, cædem te optimatum contulisse in ante diem V. Calendas Novembris, tum, cum multi principes civitatis Romæ, non tam sui conservandi, quàm tuorum consiliorum reprimendorum, causâ profugerunt. Num inficiari potes, te illo ipso die, meis præ-
sidiis, meâ diligentiat circumclusum, commovere te contra rempublicam non potuisse; cum tu, discessu caeterorum, nostrà tamen, qui remansissemus, cæde contentum te esse dicebas?

Quid? cùm tu te Præneste Calendis ipsis Novembris occupaturum nocturno impetu esse confideres; sensistine, illam coloniam meo jussu, præsidii, custodii, vigilisique, esse munitam? Nihil agis, nihil moliris, nihil cogitas, quod ego non modò non audiam, sed etiam non videam, planæque sentiam.

IV. Recognosce tandem mecum noctem illam superio-
rem: jam intelliges multò me vigilare acrius ad salutem, quàm te ad perniciem, republicae. Dico te priori nocte venisse inter falcarios (non agam obscurè) in M. Læcæ domum; convenisse eodem complures ejusdem amentiae scelerisque socios. Num negare audes? Quid taces? convincam, si negas: video enim esse hic in senatu quosdam, qui tecum unà fuère.

misso, comperì: domum meam majoribus præsidiis munivi atque firmavi: exclusi eos, quos tu manè ad me salutatum
miseras, cùm illi ipsi venissent, quos ego jam multis ac sum mis viris ad me id temporis venturos esse preixeram.


Quare, quoniam id, quod primum, atque hujus imperii disciplinaeque majorum proprium est, facere nondum audeo; faciam id, quod est ad severitatem lenius, et ad communem salutem utilius. Nam, si te interfici jussero, residebit in reipublicâ reliqua conjuratorum manus; sin tu (quod te jamdatum hortor) exieris, exhaucietur ex urbe tuorum comitum magna et perniciosa sentina [reipublicæ]. Quid est, Catilina? num dubitas id, me imperante, facere, quod jam tu à sponte faciebas? Exire ex urbe consul hostem jubet: interroga me, num in exilium? Non jubeo: sed, si me consulis, suadeo. VI. Quid enim, Catilina, est, quod te jam in hæc urbe delectare possit? in quâ nemo est (extra istam conjurationem perditorum hominum), qui te non metuat; nemo, qui non oderit. Quæ nota domestica turpitudinis non inusta vitae tuae est? quod privatum rerum dedecus non hæret in-famiae? quæ libido ab oculis, quod facinus a manibus unquam tuis, quod flagitium a toto corporé, abfuit? Cui tu adolescentulo, quem corruptelarum illecebris irretisses, non aut ad audaciam ferrum, aut ad libidinem facem, prætulisti?
ORATIO 1. IN L. CATILINAM.

Quid verò? nuper, cùm, morte superioris uxoris, novis nuptiis domum vacuefecisses, nonne etiam alici incredibili scelere hoc scelus cumulásti? quod ego prætermitto, et facile patrior sileri, ne in hác civitate tanti facinoris immanitas aut extitisse, aut non vindicata esse, videatur. Prætermitto ruins fortunarum tuarum, quas omnes impedere tibi proxi mis Idibus senties: ad illa venio, quæ non ad privatam ignominiam vitiorum tuorum, non ad domesticam tuam difficultatem ac turpitudinem, sed ad summam reipublicæ, atque ad omnium nostrùm vitam salutemque, pertinente.


VII. Nunc verò, quæ tua est ista vita? sic enim jam tecum loquar, non ut odio permutus esse videar, quo debeo, sed ut misericordiâ, quæ tibi nulla debetur. Venisti paulo ante in senatum. Quis te, ex hác tantâ frequentiâ, ex tot tuis amicis ac necessariis, salutavit? Si hoc, post hominum memoria, contigit nemini, vocis expectâs contumeliâ, cùm sis gravissimo judicio taciturnitatis oppressus? Quid, quòd adventu tuo ista subsellia vacuefacta sunt? quòd omnes consulares, qui tibi perspexit ad cædem constitutti fuerunt, simul atque assesti, partem istam subselliorum nudam atque inanem reliquerunt? Quo tandem animo hoc tibi ferendum putas? Servi (mehercule) mei si me isto pacto metuerent, ut te metuunt omnes cives tui, domum meam relinquentam putarem: tu tibi urbem non arbitrâris? Et, si me meis civibus injuriâ suspectum tam graviter atque offensum viderem; carere me adspectu civium, quàm infestis
ORATIO I. IN L. CATILINAM.

oculis omnium conspici, mallem: tu, cūm, conscientiā scele-
rum tūorum, agnoscas odium omnium justum, et jam tibi diu
debītum, dubitas, quorum mentes sensusque vulneras, eorum
adspectum presentiamque vitare? Si te parentes tīmerent
5 atque odiissent tui, neque eος ullā ratione placare posses; ut
opinor, ab eorum oculis aliquō concederes: nunc te patria,
qua communis est omnium nostrūm pārens, odit ac metuit,
et jandiu de te nihil judicat, nisi de parricidio suo cogitare.
Hujus tu neque auctoritatem verebere, neque judicium se-
quere, neque vim pertimescos? Quae tēcum, Catilina, sic
agit, et quodammodo tacita loquitur: "Nullum, aliquot jam an-
nis, facinus exstitit, nisi per te; nullum flagitium sine te: tībi
uni multorum civium neces, tībi vexatio direptoque sociorum
impunita fuit ac libera: tu, non solūm ad negotiandas leges
15 et questiones, verīm etiam ad evertendas perfringendasque,
valui. Superiora illa, quamquam serend na non fuerunt, tamen,
ut potui, tuli: nunc verò me totam esse in metu propter te
unum; quidquid increpērēt, Catilinam timeri; nullum videri
contra me consilium iniri posse, quod a tuo scelere abhor-
20 reat; non est ferendum. Quamobrem, discede, atque hunc
mihi timorem eripe; si est verus, ne oppressar; sin falsus, ut
tandem aliudando timere desinam."

VIII. Hec si tēcum (ut dixi) patria loquatur, nonne im-
petrare debeat, etiam si vim adhibere non possit? Quid?
25 quōd tu te ipse in custodiam dedisti? quid? quōd, vitandae
suspicionis causa, apud M. Lepidum te habitare velle dixisti?
a quo non receptus, etiam ad me venire ausus es; atque, ut
domi meæ te asservarem, rogasti. Cūm a me quoque id re-
ponsuum tulisses, me nullo modo posse iisdem parietibus tutū
30 esse tēcum, qui magnō in periculo essem, quod iisdem ma-
nibus contineremur; ad Q. Metellum prætorem venisti: a
quo repudiatus, ad sodalem tuum, virum optimum, M. Mar-
cellum, demigrasti; quem tu videlicet et ad custodiendum te
diligentissimur, et ad suspicandum sagacissimur, et ad vin-
dicandum fortissimur, fore putasti. Sed quâm longē videtur
a carcere atque a vinculis absesse debere, qui se ipse jam dig-
num custodiā judicaverit?
Quae cūm ita sint, Catilina, dubitas, si hic [morari] æquo
animo non potes, abire in aliquid terras, et vitam istam, mul-
tis suppilliciis justis debitisque ereptam, fugē solitudinique
mandare?

"Refer," inquis, "ad Senatum" (id enim postulas): et, si
hic ordo placere sibi decreverit, te ire in exsilium, obtempe-
ratum te esse dicis. Non referam (id, quod abhorret a
meis moribus): et tamen faciam, ut intelligas, quid hi de
te sentiant. Egedere ex urbe, Catilina: libera rempublic-
cam metu: in exsilium (si hanc vocem exspectas) profisc-
cere. Quid est, Catilina? ecquid attendis, ecquid animad-
vertis horum silentium? Patiuntur; tacent. Quid exspectas
auctoritatem loquentium, quorum voluntatem tacitorum
spicias?

At, si hoc idem huic adolescenti optimo, P. Sextio, si for-
tissimo viro, M. Marcello, dixissem; jam mihi consuli, hoc
ipso in templo, jure optimo, senatus vim et manus intulisset.

De te autem, Catilina, cùm quiescunt, probant: cùm patiun-
tur, decernunt: cùm tacent, clamant: neque hi solùm,
quorum tibi auctoritas est videlicet cara, vita vilissima; sed
etiam illi equites Romani, honestissimi atque optimi viri, ce-
terique fortissimi cives, qui circumstant senatum, quorum tu
et frequentiam videre, et studia perspicere, et voces paulo
anté exaudire, potuisti: quorum ego vix abs te jam diu manu
ac tela contineo; eodem facile adducam, ut te hæc, quà
jampridem vastare studes, relinquentem, usque ad portas
prosequantur.

IX. Quanquam quid loquar? te ut ulla res frangan? tu ut
unquam te corrigas? tu ut ullum exsilium cogites? Utinam tibi istam mentem Dii im-
mortales duint! tametsi video, si, meâ voce perterritus, ire in
exsilium animum induxeris, quanta tempestas invidiæ nobis,
si minus in praesens tempus, recenti memoriam scelerum tuo-
rum, at in posteritatem, impendeat. Sed est mihi tanti,
dummodo ista privata sit calamitas, et a reipublicæ periculis
sejungatur. Sed, tu ut vitiis tuis commoveare, ut legum po-
nas pertimescas, ut temporibus reipublicæ concedas, non est
postulandum: neque enim es, Catilina, ut te aut pudor a
turpitudine, aut metus a periculo, aut ratio a furore, revocâri.

Quamobrem, (ut sæpe jam dixi) profiscere: ac, si mihi,
imimico (ut prædicas) tuo, confinare vis invidiam; rectâ perge
in exsilium. Vix feram sermones hominum, si id feceris: vix
molem istius invidiæ, si in exsilium ieris juissu consulis,
sustinebo. Sin autem servire meæ laudi et gloriae mavis,
egredere cum importunâ sceleratorum manu; confer te ad
Manlium; concita perditos cives; secerne te a bonis; infer
patriæ bellum; exsulta impio latrocinio, ut a me non ejectus
ad alienos, sed invitatus ad tuos, isse videaris.

Quanquam quid ego te invitem? a quo jam sciam esse
premissos, qui tibi ad Forum Aurelium prestolarentur arma-
ti; sciam pactam et constituam esse cum Manlio diem: a
ADVERTISEMENT TO THE FOURTH EDITION.

The Second Edition of this book having been revised by the Editor of the present, in the year 1811, under the direction and with the assistance of the respected head of the institution for the use of which it was originally prepared, and having obtained the reputation of an accurate classical school-book, it was with regret that those who felt a personal concern in that edition, saw a third and surreptitious one make its appearance, deformed with the grossest errors, and, by the absence of all intelligent care, doing discredit to the classical school with the name of which it was associated.

At the instance, therefore, of his venerated friend, Dr. Abbot, the Editor undertook to publish a Fourth Edition, which should be less unworthy of the Roman orator, and of that seat of liberal discipline, so fondly remembered by so many of the friends of good learning in the community.

As to the Text, that of the edition of Cicero's works by Dr. Carey (among what are commonly called the Regent's Pocket Classics), which is derived from Olivet and Ernesti, has been adopted, as by far the best for a school-book; since it not only affords the results of the labors of modern criticism upon this author; but for the distribution into paragraphs, the punctuation, and, in general, the judicious employment of the resources of the printing art to illustrate the sense, is probably unequalled. The words included in brackets are such as are considered to be spurious, or are rendered doubtful by being variously written in different MSS., or for some other reason are a subject of disagreement among critics. No change has been made in this text, except in conforming the orthography of certain words to that of the dictionaries and grammars in common use in this country, and distinguishing by accents certain equivocal words. The lines have been numbered in the margin, as well for the sake of disencumbering the body of the text of figures referring to the notes, as for the convenience of the instructor in exercising his pupils in grammatical analysis.

The Notes, according to the good usage which now prevails in books of this sort, have been placed by themselves at the end of the volume, that they may be consulted only when needed, in learning a lesson, and not when the pupil should rely on his memory, in reciting it. Some of the explanatory notes were rendered unnecessary by the improved state of the text, and these have been omitted; some that were wrong have been expunged or altered; and notwithstanding the faults of matter or
style that may still be observed, the whole has received many corrections. Among the additional notes, a few are philological; but the most important consist of the Synoptical and Analytical Tables of Voöllus. These were first published by Olivet, and, it is believed, have never been republished, probably on account of the difficulty of reducing them to the size of a school-book. They were originally intended for the help of young students, and the school-boy recollections of many persons will doubtless convince them of the necessity of some such aid for understanding the structure and scope of these most artificial compositions, and for perceiving the relation of each lesson to the general argument of which it forms a part. As the Tables consist almost always of the precise words of the text, only differently disposed, they do not render less necessary to the student a thorough investigation of the words of his lesson; and while they encourage diligence, they will not screen idleness. In these, also, care has been taken to conform the orthography to that of the body of the Orations, and to adapt to the sections in common use the numbers by which Voöllus referred to the now disused divisions of Nizolius.

CHARLES FOLSOM.

Cambridge, March 1, 1828.

ADVERTISEMENT TO THE STEREOTYPE EDITION.

The vignette inserted in the title-page of this edition is copied from Fosbroke's "Encyclopedia of Antiquities," where it is thus spoken of:

"The following medal, proved to be a faithful portrait of Cicero, was struck by the inhabitants of Magnesia of Sipylus, in the archonship of Theodorus, to express their gratitude to Cicero for his exertions in the Senate to procure them a remittance of the contributions levied on the Asiatic provinces for support of the Edilian games. The medal is preserved in the monastery of La Close, near Ravenna."

The ancient Magnesia ad Sipylum (now called Manisa) was a town in Lydia, situated at the foot of mount Sipylus, about 20 miles N. N. E. from Smyrna.

This interesting medal, which is very rare, is of bronze. It bears on the obverse a naked head of Tully, with the name ΜΑΡΚΟΣ ΤΥΛΙΙΟΣ ΚΙΚΕΡΩΝ, (Marcus Tullius Cicero): on the reverse is a hand, holding out a bunch of grapes, an ear of wheat, an olive branch (emblems, doubtless, of the prosperity of the people whose interest he had promoted), and a chaplet of laurel, with the legend ΜΑΙΝΗΤΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΑΠΟ ΣΤΙΠΛΑΟΥ ΘΕΟΙΑΡΟΣ, (Magnetum ad Sipylum Theodorus).

Cambridge, January 1, 1831.

ORATIO I.

IN

L. CATILINAM.


Ad mortem te, Catilina, duci, jussu consulis, jampridem oportebat; in te conferri pestem istam, quam tu in nos om- nes jamdiu machinaris. An verò vir amplissimus, P. Scipio, pontifex maximus, Ti. Gracchum mediocriter labefactusam 20 statum reipublicæ, privatus interfecit; Catilinam verò, orbem terræ cæde atque incendiis vastare cupientem, nos cons- sules perferemus? nam illa nimis antiqua prætereo, quōd C. Servilius Ahala Sp. Melium novis rebus studentem, manu 25 suâ occidit. Fuit, fuit ista quondam in hac reipublicâ virtus, ut viri fortēs acroribus suppliciis civem perniciosum, quàm acerbissimum hostem, coèrcerent. Habemus senātūs-con- sultum in te, Catilina, vehemens et grave: non deest reipub-
ORATIO I. IN L. CATILINAM.

licæ consilium, neque auctoritas hujus ordinis: nos, nos, dico apertè, consules desumus.


Castra sunt in Italiâ, contra rempublicam, in Etruriae faucibus collocata: crescit in dies singulos hostium numerus: eorum autem imperatorem castrorum, ducemque hostium, intra moenia, atque adeò in senatu, videmus, intestinam aliam quotidie perniciem reipublicæ molientem. Si te jam, Catilina, comprehendi, si interfici, jussero; credo, erit verendum mihi, ne non hoc potius omnes bona seriis a me, quæ quisquam crudelius, factum esse dicat. Verùm ego hoc, quod jam pridem factum esse opportun, certa de causâ, nondum adducor, ut faciam. Tum denique interficiam te, cum jam nemo tam improbus, tam perditus, tam tui similis: inveniri poterit, qui id non jure factum esse fateatur. Quamdiu quisquam erit, qui te defendere audeat, vives: et vives ita, ut nunc vivis, multis meis et firmis praedisi obsessus, ne commovere te contra rempublicam possis: multorum te etiam oculi et aures, non sentientem, (sicut adluc fecerunt) speculabuntur atque custodient.

III. Etenim quid est, Catilina, quod jam amplius exspectes, si neque nos tenebris obscurare cætus nefarios, nec privata domus parietibus continere vocem conjunctionis tuae potest? si illustrantur, si erumpunt omnia? Muta jam istam mentem: mihi credo: obliviscere cædis, atque incendiorum. Teneris undique: luce sunt clariora nobis tua consilia omnia: quæ etiam mecum licet recipiscas. Meministime, me, ante diem XII. Calendas Novembris, dicere in senatu, fore in
ORATIO I. IN L. CATILINAM.

armis certa die (qui dies futurus esset ante diem VI. Calendas Novembris) C. Manlium, audaciae satellitem atque administrum tuae? Num me fessit, Catilina, non modo res tanta, tam atroxe, tam incredibilius, verum (id, quod multo magis est admirandum) dies? Dixit ego idem in senatu, cædem te optimatum contulisse in ante diem V. Calendas Novembris, tum, cum multis principes civitatis Romae, non tam sui conservandi, quam tuorum consiliorum reprimendorum, causae profugentur. Num inficiari potes, te illo ipso die, mei præsidii, meæ diligentiam circumcludum, commovere te contra rempublicam non potuisse; cum tu, discessu caeterorum, nostræ tamen, qui remansissemus, cæde contentum te esse dicebas?

Quid? cum tu te Præneste Calendis ipsis Novembris occupaturum nocturno impetu esse consideres; sensistine, illam coloniam meo jussu, præsidii, custodiis, vigiliosisque, esse munimentum? Nihil agis, nihil moliris, nihil cogitas, quod ego non modo non audiam, sed etiam non videam, planèque sentiam.


ORATIO I. IN L. CATILINAM.

miseras, cùm illi ipsi venissent, quos ego jam multis ac sum mis viris ad me id temporis venturos esse prædiixeram.

V. Quæ cùm ita sint, Catilina, perge, quœ cœipiː egredere aliando ex urbeː patent portœː proficiscere. Nimi-
ùm diu te imperatore illum tua Manliana castra desiderant. Educ tecum etiam omnes tuos; si minus, quàm plurimosː purga urbem. Magno me metu liberabis, dummodo inter me atque te murus intersit. Nobiscum versari jam diūtius non potesː non feram, non patiar, non sinam. Magna Diis immortalibus habenda est gratia, atque huic ipsi Jovi Statori, antequissimo custodi hujus urbis, quod hanc tam tetram, tam horribilem, tamque infestam reipublicæ, pestem toties jam effugimus. Non est sæpius in uno homine salus summa periclitanda reipublicæ. Quamdiu mihi, consuli designato, Catilina, insidiatæ est, non publico me præsidio, sed privatâ diligentia, defendi. Cùm, proximis comitibus consularibus, me consulem in Campo, et competitores tuos, interficere voluisisti; compressi tuos nefarios conatus amicorum præsidio et copiis, nullo tumultu publice concitato. Denique, quotiescumque me petisti, per me tibi obstiti; quanquam videbam, perniciem meam cum magnâ calamitate reipublicæ esse conjunctam. Nunc jam aperte rempublicam universam petisː templum Deorum immortalium, tecta urbis, vitam omni
cum civium, Italiam denique totam, ad exitium et vastitatem vocas.

Quare, quoniam id, quod primum, atque hujus imperii disciplinæque majorum proprium est, facere nondum audeo; faciam id, quod est ad severitatem lenius, et ad communem salutem utilius. Nam, si te interfici jussero, residebit in re
decet reipublicâ conjuratorum manus; sin tu (quod te jamdu
dum hortor) exieris, exauriretur ex urbe tuorum comitum magna et perniciosæ sentina [reipublicâ]. Quid est, Catilina? num dubitas id, me imperante, facere, quod jam tua sponte faciebas? Exire ex urbe consul hostem jubet: interroga me,
um in exsilium? Non jubeo: sed, si me consulis, suadeo.

VI. Quid enim, Catilina, est, quod te jam in hac urbe delectare possit? in quâ nemo est (extra istam conjuratione

dem perditorum hominum), qui te non metuatur; nemo, qui non oderit. Quæ nota domestica turpitudinis non inusta
vitæ tuae est? quod privatœm rerum dedecus non haeret [in
famie]? quæ libibo ab oculis, quod facinus a manibus unquam tuis, quod flagitiœm a toto corpore, abfuit? Cui tu ad
dolescentulo, quem corruptelœrum illecœbris irretœses, non aut ad audaciam ferrum, aut ad libidinem facem, prætulisti?,
Quid verò nuper, cùm, morte superioris uxoris, novis nuptiis domum vacuefecisses, nonne etiam alio incredibili sceletre hoc scelus cumulāsti? quod ego prætermitto, et facile patrior sileri, ne in hāc civitate tanti faciornis immanitas aut exstitisse, aut non vindicata esse, videatur. Prætermitto ruinas fortunārum tuarum, quas omnes impendere tibi proximis Idibus senties: ad illa venio, quæ non ad privatam ignominiam vitiorum tuorum, non ad domesticam tuum difficultatem ac turpitudinem, sed ad summam reipublicae, atque ad omnium nostrum vitam salutemque, pertinent.


Nunc verò, quae tua est ista vita? sic enim jam tecum loquar, non ut odio permotus esse videar, quo debeo, sed ut misericordiā, quae tibi nulla debetur. Venisti paulo antè in senatum. Quis te, ex hāc tantā frequentiā, ex tot tuis amicis ac necessariis, salutavit? Si hoc, post hominem memoriam, contigit nemini, vocis expectas contumeliām, cùm sis gravissimo judicio taciturnitatis oppressus?

Quid, quōd adventu tua ista subsellia vacuefacta sunt? quōd omnes consulares, qui tibi perspèae ad cēdem constitutis fuerunt, simul atque assedisti, partem istam subselliorum nudam atque inanem reliquerunt? Quo tandem animo hoc tibi ferendum putas? Servi (mercurīle) mei si me isto pacto metuenter, ut te metuunt omnes cives tui, domum meam relinquentam putarem: tu tibi urbem non arbitraris? Et, si me meis civibus injuriā suspicium tam graviter atque offensum viderem; carere me adspectu civium, quām infestis
ORATIO I. IN L. CATILINAM.

oculis omnium conspici, mallem: tu, cùm, conscientià scele-
rum tuorum, agnoscas odium omnium justum, et jam tibi diu
debitum, dubitas, quorum mentes sensusque vulneras, eorum
adspectum presentiamque vitare? Si te parentes tимерent
5 atque odissent tu, neque eos ulla ratione placare posses; ut
opinor, ab eorum oculis aliquò concederes: nunc te patria,
quæ communis est omnium nostrùm parens, odit ac metuit,
et jamdiu de te nihil judicat, nisi de parricidio suo cogitare.
Hujus tu neque auctoritatem verebere, neque judicium se-
quere, neque vim pertimesces? Quae tecum, Catilina, sic
agit, et quodammodo tacita loquitur: “Nullum, aliquò jam an-
nis, facinus exstìtit, nisi per te; nullum flagitium sine te: tibi
uni multorum civium necès, tibi vexatio dıreptioque sociorum
impunìt quì ac libera: tu, non solùm ad negligendas leges
15 et quaestiones, verùm etiam ad evertendas perfringendasque,
valuisti. Superiora illa, quamquam ferenda non fuerunt, tamen,
ut potui, tuli: nunc verò me totam esse in metu propter te
unum; quidquid increpuerit, Catilinam tìmeri; nullum videri
contra me consilium iniìri posse, quod a tuo scelere abhor-
20 reat; non est ferendum. Quamobrem, discède, atque hunc
mihi timorem eripe; si est verus, ne opprimar; sin falsus, ut
tandem aliquando timere desinam.”

VIII. Hæc si tecum (ut dixi) patria loquatur, nonne im-
petrare debeat, etiamsi vim adhibere non posset? Quid?
25 quòd tu te ipse in custodiam dedisti? quid? quòd, vitandæ
suspicionis causâ, apud M. Lepidum te habitate velle dixisti?
a quo non receptus, etiam ad me venire ausus es; atque, ut
domi meæ te asservarem, rogàsti. Cùm a me quoque id re-
sponsum tullisses, me nullò modo posse iisdem parietibus tutò
30 esse tecum, qui magnò in periculo essèmus, quod isdem mo-
nibus contineremur; ad Q. Metellum prætorem venisti: a
quo repudiatus, ad sodalem tuum, virum optimum, M. Mar-
cellum, demigrásti; quem tu videlicet et ad custodiendum te
diligentissimum, et ad suspicandum sagacissimum, et ad vin-
dicandum fortissimum, fore putásti. Sed quàm longè videtur
a carcere atque a vinculis abesse debere, qui se ipse jam dig-
num custodià judicaverit?

Quæ cùm ita sint, Catilina, dubitas, si hic [morari] æquo
animo non potes, abire in aliuquas terras, et vitam istam, mul-
40 tis suppliciis justis debitisque ereptam, fugæ solitudinique
mandare?

“Refer,” inquis, “ad Senatum” (id enim postulas): et, si
hic ordo placere sibi decreverit, te ire in exsilium, obtempe-
2-5
5-10
ORATIO I. IN L. CATILINAM.

meis moribus): et tamen faciam, ut intelligas, quid hi de te sentiant. Egdere ex urbe, Catilina: libera rempublicam metu: in exsilium (si hanc vocem exspectas) proficiscere. Quid est, Catilina? ecquid attendis, ecquid animadvertis horum silentium? Patiuntur; tacent. Quid exspectas auctoritatem loquentium, quorum voluntatem tacitorum perspicis?

At, si hoc idem huic adolescenti optimo, P. Sextio, si fortissimo viro, M. Marcello, dixissem; jam mihi consuli, hoc ipso in templo, jure optimo, senatus vim et manus intulisset. De te autem, Catilina, cum quiescunt, probant: cum patiuntur, decernunt: cum tacent, clamant: neque hi solum, quorum tibi auctoritas est videlicet cara, vita vilissima; sed etiam illi equites Romani, honestissimi atque optimi viri, cæterique fortissimi cives, qui circumstant senatum, quorum tu et frequentiam videre, et studia perspicere, et voces paulo antè exaudire, potuisti: quorum ego vix abs te jamdiu manus ac tela contineo; eosdem facile adducam, ut te hæc, quæ jampridem vastare studes, relinquentem, usque ad portas prossequantur.


Quamobrem, (ut sapem jam dixi) profiscere: ac, si mihi, inimico (ut prædicas) tuo, consolare vis invidiam; recta perge in exsilium. Vix ferar sermones hominum, si id feceris: vix molem istius invidiæ, si in exsilium ieris jussu consulis, sustinebo. Sin autem servire meæ laudis et gloriam mavis, egredere cum importunæ sclerorut manu; confer te ad Manlium; concita perditos cives; secern te a bonis; infer patriæ bellum; exsulta impio latrocinio, ut a me non ejectus ad alienos, sed invitatus ad tuos, esse videaris.

Quanquam quid ego te invitem? a quo jam sciam esse præmissos, qui tibi ad Forum Aurelium præstolarentur arma? sciam pactam et constitutam esse cum Manlio diem: a
ORATIO IV. IN L. CATILINAM.

quam, Quirites, mihi quidem ipsi nihil jam ab istis noceri potest: magnum enim est in bonis præsidium, quod mihi in perpetuum comparatum est; magna est in republicâ dignitas, quæ me semper tacita defendet: magna vis est conscientiae, quam qui negligent, eum me violare volent, se ipsi indicabunt.

Est etiam in nobis is animus, Quirites, ut non modò nullius audaciae cedamus, sed etiam omnes improbos ulterem semper lacessamus. Quod si omnis impetus domesticorum hostium, depulsus a vobis, se in me unum converterit; vobis erit providendum, Quirites, quæ conditione poethac eos esse velitis, qui se, pro salute vestra, obtulerint invidiae periculosum omnibus. Mihi quidem ipsi, quid est, quod jam ad vitæ fructum possit acquiri, præsertim cum neque in honore vestro, neque in gloriâ virtutis, quidquid videam altius, quò quidem mihi libeat ascendere? Illud perficiam profecto, Quirites, ut ea, quae gessi in consulatu, privatus tuear atque ornem; ut, si qua est invidia in conservanda republicâ suscepta, lædatis, mihi valeat ad gloriam. Denique ita me in republicâ tractabo, ut meminerim semper quæ gesserim, curemque, ut ea virtute, non casu, gesta esse videantur.

Vos, Quirites, quoniam jam nox est, veneramini illum Jovem, custodem hujus urbis ac vestrûm; atque in vestra tecta discodite: et ea, quanquam jam periculum est depulsum, tamen, acquæ ac priori nocte, custodiis vigiliisque defendite. Id ne vobis diutiûs facerem sit, atque ut in perpetuâ pace esse possitis, providebo, Quirites.

ORATIO IV.

IN

L. CATILINAM.

I. VIDEÔ, Patres Conscripti, in me omnium vestrûm ora atque oculos esse conversos: video, vos, non solûm de vestro ac republicâ, verûm etiam (si id depulsum sit) de meo periculo esse sollicitos. Est mihi jucunda in malis, et grata in dolore, vestra erga me voluntas: sed eam (per Deos immor-
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tales, quæso) deponite; atque, oblivite salutis meæ, de vobis ac de liberis vestris cogitate. Mihi quidem si hæc conditio consulatūs data est, ut omnes acerbitates, omnes dolores cruciatusque, perferrem; faram non solūm fortiter, sed etiam libenter, dummodo, meis laboribus, vobis populoque Romano dignitas salusque pariatur.

Ego sum ille consul, Patres Conscripti, cui non forum, in quo omnis æquitas continetur; non Campus, consularibus auspiciis consecratus; non curia, summum auxilium omnium gentium; non domus, commune perfugium; non lectus, ad quem etem datus; non denique hæc sedes honoris, 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 consulatūs mei Dii immortales esse voluerunt, ut vos, Patres Conscripti, populumque Romanum, ex cede miserā, conjugēs liberosque vestros, virginesque Vestales, ex acerbissimâ vexatione; templum atque delubra, hanc pulcherrimam patriam omnium nostrum, ex fædissimâ flamma; totam Italiam ex bello et vastitate, eriperem; quæcumque mihi uni proponentur fortuna, subeatur. Etenim, si P. Lentulus suum nomen, inductus a vatibus, fatale ad perniciem reipublicÆ fore putavit; cur ego non læter, meum consulatum ad salutem reipublicÆ propē fatalem exstitisse?

II. Quare, Patres Conscripti, consulite vobis; prospicite patriæ; conservate vos, conjugēs, liberos, fortunasque vestras; populi Romanœ nomen salutemque defendite: mihi parcerē, ac de me cogitare, desinate. Nam primūm debeo sperare, omnes Deos, qui huic urbi præsident, pro eo mihi, ac meo, relocaus gratiam esse. Deinde, si quid obtigeret, æquo animo paratoque moriār. Neque enim turpis mors fœlī viro potest accidere, neque immatura consulari, nec misera sapienti. Nec tamen ego sum ille ferreus, qui fratris carissimi atque amantissimi præsentis morœre non movere, horumque omnium lacrymis, a quibus me circumsetum videtis: neque meam mentem non domum sæpe revocat examinata uxor, abiecta metu filia, et parvulus filius, quem mihi videtur amplecti respublica, tanquam obsidem consulatūs mei; neque ille, qui, exspectans huibus exitum diei, adstat in conspectu meo gener. Moveor his rebus omnibus, sed in eam partem, ut salvi sint vobiscum omnes, etiam si vis aliqua me oppresserit, potius quām et illi et nos unà reipublicæ peste pereamus.

Quare, Patres Conscripti, incumbite ad reipublicÆ salutem:
circumspicite omnes procellas, quæ impendunt, nisi providetis. Non Ti. Gracchus, qui iterum tribunus plebis fieri voluit; non C. Gracchus, qui agrarios concitare conatus est; non L. Saturninus, qui C. Memmiium occidit, in discriminem aliquod, atque in vestra severitas judicium, adducitur. Tenentur ii, qui, ad Urbis incendium, ad vestram omnium caedem, ad Catilinam accipiendum, Romæ restiterunt. Tenentur literæ, signa, manus, denique unusquisque confessio: sollicitantur Allobroges; servitia excitantur: Catilina arcessitur: id est inimicum consilium, ut, interfecit omnibus, nemo, ne ad deplorandum quidem reipublica nomen, atque ad lamentandum tanti imperii calamitatem, reliquatur.

III. Haec omnia indices detulern, rei confessi sunt: vos multis iam judioicii judicaxis: primum, quod mihi gratias egistis singularibus verbis: et, mea virtute atque diligentia, perditorum hominum patet factam esse conjurationem decrevisitis; deinde, quod P. Lentulum, ut se abdicaret praetura, coegistis; tum quod eum, et caeteros, de quibus judicaxis, in custodiam dandos censuistis; maximèque, quod meo nomine supplicationem decrevisitis: qui honos togato habitus ante me est nemini: postremò, hesterno die præmia legatis Allobrogum, Titoque Vulturcio, dedistis amplissima. Quæ sunt omnia ejusmodi, ut ii, qui in custodiam nominatim dati sunt, sine ullâ dubitatione a vos damnati esse videantur.


Ego magnum in republicâ versari suorem, et nova quaedam misceri et concitari nula, jam prædum videbam: sed hanc tantam, tam exitiosam hæberi conjurationem a civibus, nunquam putavi. Nunc, quidquid est, quocunque vestra mentes inclinant atque sententias, statuendum vobis ante nocent est. Quantum facinus ad vos delatum sit, videtis. Huic si paucos putatis affines esse, vehementer erratis. Latius opinionem disseminatum est hoc malum: manavit, non solùm per Itiam, verum etiam transcendit Alpes; et, obscurè serpens, multas jam provincias occupavit. Id opprimi sustentando ac prolataendo nullo pacto potest. Quâcunque ratione placet celeriter vobis vindicandum est.

30 IV. Video duas adluc esse sententias; unam D. Silani, qui censet, cos, qui haec deore conati sunt, morte esse multandos: alteram C. Cæsaris, qui mortis pœnam removet, caeterorum suppliantium omnes acerbitates amplecitur. Uterque, et pro suâ dignitate et pro rerum magnitudine, in
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summa severitate versatur. Alter eos, qui nos omnes, qui
populum Romanum, vitæ privare conati sunt, qui delere im-
perium, qui populi Romani nomen extingueru, punctum tem-
poris frui vitæ, et hoc communi spiritu, non putat oportere;
atque hoc genus poenæ sæpe in improbis cives in hac re pub-
licâ esse usurpatum recordatur. Alter intelligit, mortem a
Dis immortalibus non esse supplicii causâ constitutam, sed
aut necessitatem naturæ, aut laborum ac miseriarum quietem
esse. Itaque eam sapientes nunquam inviti, fortess etiam sæpe
libenter, oppetiverunt. Vincula verò, et ea sempiterna, certè
ad singularem poenam nefarii sceleris inventa sunt. Munici-
pis disperiri jubes. Habere videtur ista res iniquitatem, si im-
perare velis; difficultatem, si rogare. Decernatur tamen, si
placet. Ego enim suspiciam, et, ut spero, referiam, qui id,
quod salutis omnium causâ statueritis, non putent esse suæ
dignitatis recusare.

Adjungit gravem poenam municipibus, si quis eorum vincula
ruperit: horribiles custodias circumdat; et digna scelere ho-
minum perditoris sancit: ne quis eorum poenam, quos con-
demnat, aut per senatum aut per populum, levare possit:
erupt etiam spem, quæ sola hominem in miseriis consolari
solit. Bona præterea publicari jubes: vitam solam relinquuit
nefarii hominibus; quam si eripuisseis, [multos,] uno dolore,
animi atque corporis, et omnes scelerum poenas, ademisset.
Itaque ut aliqua in vitæ formido improbis esset posita, apud
ineros ejusmodi quedam illi antiqui supplicia impius constituta
esse voluerunt; quod videlicet intelligebant, his remotis, non
esse mortem ipsam pertimescendam.

V. Nunc, Patres Conscripi, ego, meâ, video, quid in-
terisit. Si eritis secuti sententiam C. Cesaris; quoniam
hanc is in republicâ viam, quæ popularis habetur, secutus est,
fortasse minûs erunt, hoc auctore et cognitore hujusce senten-
tiæ, mihi populares impetus pertimescendi: sin illum alteram;
nescio, an amplius mihi negotii contrahatur. Sed tamen
morum periculorum rationes utilitas reipublicæ vincat. Ha-
bemus enim a C. Cassae (sicut ipsius dignitas, et majorum
ejus amplitudo, postulabat) sententiam, tanquam obsidem per-
petuæ in republicam voluntatis. Intellectum est, quod in-
terisit inter levitatem concionatorum, et animum verè popula-
rem, saluti populi consulentem.

Video, de istic qui se popularum haberi volunt, abesse non
neminem, ne de capite videlicet civium Romanorum senten-
tiam ferat. Is et nudiustertius in custodiam cives Romanos
dedit, et supplicationem mihi decrevit, et indices hesterno
die maximis præmiis afeclit. Jam hoc nemini dubium est, qui reo custodiam, quæsitoris gratulationem, indici præmium decrevit, quid de tota re et causâ judicârit. At verò C. Cæsar intelligit, legem Semproniam esse de civibus Romanis constat; qui autem reipublicæ sit hostis, eum civem esse nullo modo posse; denique ipsum latorem legis Semproniae, injuus populi, panes reipublicae dependisse. Idem ipsum Lentulum, largitorem et prodigum, non putat, cûm de pernicie populi Romani, et exitio hujus urbis, tam acerbè tamque crudeliter cogitât, appellari posse popularem. 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 [pernicie] populi Romani posthac popularis esse, possit. Adjungit etiam publicationem bonorum, ut omnes animi cruciatus et corporis etiam ego Esta ac mendicitas consequatur.

VI. Quamobrem, sive hoc statuercitis, dereritis mihi comitem ad concionem, populœ carum atque jucundum: sive Silani sententiam seque malercitis, facilè me atque vos a crudelitatis vituperatione defendetis; atque obtinebo, eam multò leviorem fuisse. Quanquam, Patres Conscripiti, quæ postes in tanti sceleris immanitato puniendâ crudelitâ? Ego enim de meo sensu judico. Nam, ita mihi salvâ republicâ vos inimicato liceat, ut ego, quòd in hac causâ vehementior sum, non atrocitate animi moveror, (quis enim est me mitior?) sed singuli quâdam humanitate et miscricordiâ. Videor enim mihi hanc urbern videre, lucem orbis terrarum atque arcem omnium gentium, subito uno incendio concidentem: cerno animo, sepultâ in patriâ, miserors atque inseptulus acervos civium: versatur mihi ante oculos aspectus Cethegii, et furor, in vestrâ cæde bacchantis. Cûm verò mihi propositi regnantem Lentulum (sicut ipse se ex fatis sperasse confessus est), purpuratum esse hunc Gabinium, cum exercitu venisse Catilinam; tum lamentationem matrumfamilias, tum fugam virginum atque puérorum, ac vexationem virginum Vestalium, perhorresco: et, quia mihi vehementer haec videntur misera atque miseranda, idcirco in eos, qui ea perficere voluerunt, me severum vehementemque præbeco. Etenim quæro, si quis paterfamilias, liberis suis a servo interfexit, uxore occisâ, incensâ domo, supplicium de servis non quâm acerbissimum sumpscri; ut rôn is clemens ac miscericors, an inhumanissimus et crudelissimus, esse videatur? mihi verò importunos ac ferreas, qui non, dolore ac cruciato nocentis, suum dolorem cruciatumque lenierit. Sic nos, in his hominibus,
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qui nos, qui conjuges, qui liberes nostros, trucidare voluerunt; qui singulas uniuscujusque nostrum domos, et hoc universum reipublicae domicilium, delere conati sunt; qui id egerunt, ut gentem Allobrogum in vestigii hujus urbis, atque in cinere deflagrati imperii, collocarent; si vehementissimi fuerimus, miseroricordes habevimur: sin remissiores esse voluerimus, summae nobis crudelitatis in patriae civiumque pernicie fama subeunda est.

Nisi verò cuipiam L. Cæsar, vir fortissimus et amantissimus reipublicæ, crudelior nudiustertius visus est, cùm sororis sua, foeminae electissima, virum praesentem et audientem, vitâ privandum esse dixit, cum avum jussu consulis interfectum, filiumque ejus impuberem, legatum a patre missum, in carcere necatum esse dixit: quorum, quod simile factum? quod initium delenda reipublicæ consilium? Largitionis voluntas tum in republicâ versata est, et partium quædam contentio. Atque illo tempore hujus avus Lentuli, clarissimus vir, armatus Graccum est persecutus: ille etiam grave tum vulnus accept, ne quid de summâ re publicâ minueretur: hic, ad evertenda fundamenta reipublicâ, Gallos accessit, servitia concitat, Catilinam vocat; attribuit nos trucidandos Cethego, cæteros cives interficiendos Gabinio, urbem inflammandam Cassio, totam Italiam vastandum diripien damque Catilinae. Veremini, (censeo) ne, in hoc scelere tam immani ac nefando, nimirum aliquid severer statuisse videamini; cûm multò magis sit verendum, ne, remissione pœnæ, crudes in patriam, quâm ne, severitate animadversionis, nimirum vehementes in acerbissimos hostes, fuisses videamur.

VII. Sed ea quæ exaudio, Patres Conscripti, dissimulare non possum. Jaciuntur enim voces, quæ perveniunt ad aures meas, eorum qui vereri videntur, ut habeam satis præsidii, ad ea, quæ vos statueritis hodierno die, transigenda. Omnia et provisa et parata et constituata sunt, Patres Conscripti, cum mea summâ curâ atque diligentia, tum multò etiam majore populi Romani, ad summum imperium retinendum, et ad communes fortunas conservandas, voluntate. Omnes adsunt omnium ordinum homines, omnium denique ætaturn: plenum est forum, plena templâ circa forum, pleni omnes aditus hujus loci ac templi. Causa enim est, post Urbem conditam, hæc inventa sola, in quâ omnes sentirent unum atque idem, præter eos, qui, cûm sibi viderent esse pereundum, cum omnibus potius quâm soli periæ voluerunt. Hosce ego homines excipio et secerno libenter: neque enim in improborum civium, sed in acerbissimorum hostium, numero
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habendos puto. Cæteri verò (Dii immortales!) quà frequentiät, quà studio, quà virtute, ad communem dignitatem salutemque consentient! Quid ego hic equites Romanos commemo rem? qui vobis ita summam ordinis consiliique conce duunt, ut vobiscum de amore república certent; quos, ex multorum annorum dissensione ad hujus ordinis societatem concordiamque revocatis, hodiernus dies vobiscum, atque hæc causa, conjungit; quam conjunctionem si, in consultu confirmatam meo, perpetuam in republicâ tenerimus; contra firmo vobis, nullum posthac malum civile ac domesticum ad ullam república partem esse venturum. Pari studio defucundâ reipublicæ convenisse video tribunos aerarios, fortissimos viros; scribas item universos; quos cum causa hæc dies ad æramium frequentàsset, video, ab expectatione sortis, ad communem salutem esse conversos. Omnis ingeniourum adest multitudo, etiam teniusissimorum. Quis est enim, cui non hæc templâ, adspectus urbis, possesso libertatis, lux denique hæc ipsa, et hoc commune patriæ solum, cùm sit carum, tum verò dulce atque jucundum?

20 VIII. Operæ pretium est, Patres Conscripti, libertinorum hominum studia cognoscère; qui, virtute sua fortunam civitatis consecuti, hanc verò suam patriam esse judicant; quam quidam, hinc nati, et summo nati loco, non patriam suam, sed urbem hostium, esse judicaverunt. Sed quid ego hujusce ordinis homines commemorem, quos privates fortunæ, quos communis respública, quos denique libertas ea, quæ dulcissima est, ad salutem patriæ defendendum excitavit? Servus est nemo, qui modò tolerabili conditione sit servitus, qui non audaciam civium perhorrescat; qui non hæc stare cupiat; qui non tantum, quantum audet, et quantum potest, conferat ad communem salutem, voluntatis.

Quare, si quem vestrum fortë commovet hoc, quod auditum est, lenonem quemad Lentuli concursare circum tabernas, pretio sperare sollicitari posse animos egentium atque imperitorum; est id quidem cœptum atque tentatum: sed nulli sunt inventi tam aut fortunâ miseri, aut voluntate perditi, qui non ipsum illum sellâ atque operis et quæstis quotidiani locum; qui non cubile ac lectulum suum; qui denique non currsum hunc otiosum vitae suæ, salvum esse vellent. Multò verò maxima pars eorum, qui in tabernis sunt; immo verò (id enim potius est dicendum) genus hoc universum amantissimum est oti: etenim omne eorum instrumentum, omnis opera aq ĉestus, frequentiät civium sustinetur, alitur otio: quorum si
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quæstus, occlusis tabernis, minui solet, quid tandem incensis futurum est?

Quæ cùm ita sint, Patres Conscripti, vobis populi Romani præsidia non desunt: vós ne populo Romano deesse videamini, providete.

IX. Habetis consulem ex plurimis perículis et insidiis, atque ex medià morte, non ad vitam suam, sed ad salutem vestram, reservatum: omnes ordines, ad conservandam rempublicam, mente, voluntate, studio, virtute, voce, consentiunt: obsessa facibus et telis impia conjurationis, vobis supplex manus tendit patria communis: vobis se, vobis vitam omnium civium, vobis arcem et Capitolium, vobis aras Penatium, vobis illum ignem Vestae perpetuum ac semipternum, vobis omnia templã Deorum atque delubra, vobis muros atque urbis tecta, commendat. Praeterea de vestrâ vitâ, de conu- gum vestrarum ac liberorum animâ, de fortunis omnium, de sedibus, de focis vestris, hodierno die vobis judicandum est.

Habetis ducem, memorem vestri, oblitum sui; quæ non semper facultas datur: habetis omnes ordines, omnes homines, universum populum Romanum (id, quod in civili causâ hodierno die primum videmus) unum atque idem sentientem. Cogitate, quantis laboribus fundatum imperium, quantâ virtute stabilitam libertatem, quantâ Deorum benignitate auctas exaggeratasque fortunas, una nox penē delērit. Id ne unquam posthac, non modò confici, sed ne cogitari quidem possit a civibus, hodierno die providendum est. Atque hæc, non ut vos, qui mihi studio penē præcurritis, excitarem, locutus sum; sed ut mea vox, quæ debet esse in republicâ princeps, officio functâ consulari videtur.

X. Nunc, antè quàm [Patres Conscripti] ad sententiam redeo, de me paucâ dicam. Ego, quanta manus est conjuratorum, quam videtis esse permagnum, tantam me inimicorum multitūdinem suscipisse video: sed eam esse judicio turpem et infirmam, contemptam et abjectam. Quòd si aliquando, alicuius furore et scelere concitata manus ista plus valuerit, quàm vestra ac republicæ dignitas; me tamen meorum factorum atque consiliorum nunquam, Patres Conscripì, penitebit. Etenim mors, quam ili mihi fortasse mimitantur, omnibus est parata: vite tantam laudem, quantâ vos me vestris decretis honestàstis, nemo est assecutus. Caeteris enim semper benÌ gestœ, mihi uni conservatae, reipublicæ gratulatio- nem decrevisist.

Sit Scipio clarus, ële, cujus consilio atque virtute Hannibal in Africam redire, atque ex Ætìà decedere, coactus est:
ORNATIO IV. IN L. CATILINAM.

ornetur alter eximii laude Africanus, qui duas urbes huic imperio infestissimas, Carthaginem Numantiamque, delevit: habeatur vir egregius L. Paulus, ille, cujus currum rex potentissimus quondam et nobilissimus, Perses, honestavit: sit 5 in aeterna gloria Marius, qui bis Italiam obsidione et metu servitutis liberavit: anteponatur omnibus Pompeius, cujus res gestae atque virtutes iisdem, quibus solis cursus, regionibus ac terminis continentur. Erit profecto, inter horum laudes, aliquid loci nostrae gloriae: nisi forté majus est patefacere 10 nobis provincias, quò exire possimus, quàm curare, ut etiam illi, qui absunt, habeant, quà victores revertantur.

Quanquam est uno loco conditio melior externæ victoriae, quàm domesticæ; quòd hostes alienigenæ aut oppressi vexerunt, aut recepti beneficii se obligatos putant: qui autem 15 ex numero civium, dementiæ aliqúæ depravati, hostes patriæ semel esse cæperunt, eos, cum a pernicie reipublicæ repulseris, nec vi coæcrere, nec beneficii placare possis. Quare mihi cum perditis civibus externum bellum susceppus esse video: quod ego, vestro bonorumque omnium auxilio, memoriâque 20 tantorum periculorum, (quæe non modò in hoc populo qui servatus est, sed etiam in omnium gentium sermonibus ac mentibus, semper hæredit) a me atque a meis faciliæ propul- sari posse confido. Neque ulla profectò tanta vis reperietur, quæ conjunctionem vestram equitumque Romanorum, et tan- 25 tam conspirationem bonorum omnium, perfringere et labe- factare possit.

XI. Quæ cùm ita sint, Patres Conscripiti, pro imperio, pro exercitu, pro provinciâ, quam neglecti, pro triumpho, cæ- terisque laudis insignibus, quæ sunt a me, propter Urbis vestrae salute custodiaem, repudiata; pro clientelis hospitiosisque provincialibus, quæ tamen urbanis opibus non minore labore tueris, quàm comparo; pro his igitur omnibus rebus, pro meis in vos singularibus studiis, proque hac, quam conspicitis, ad conservandam rempublicam diligentia, nihil aliud a vobis, 30 nisi hujus temporis, totiusque mei consilium me memoriam, postulo; quæ dum erit vestris mentibus infixa, firmissimo me muro septum esse arbitrator. Quòd si meam spem vis improborum fefellerit atque superaverit; commendo vobis par- vum meum filium; cui profectò satis erit praedii, non solùm 40 ad salutem, verùm etiam ad dignitatem, si ejus, qui hoc omnìa suo solus periculo conservaverit, illum esse filium me- mineritis.

Quapropter, de summâ salute vestrâ, populique Romani, Patres Conscripiti, de vestris conjugibus ac liberis, de aris
ac focis, de fanis ac templis, de totius urbis tectis ac sedibus, de imperio, de libertate, de salute Italiae, deque universa republica, decernite diligenter, ut instituistis, ac fortiter. Habetis enim eum consulem, qui et parere vestris decretis non dubitet, et ea, quæ statueritis, quoad vivet, defendere, et per se ipsum præstare, possit.

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ORATIO

PRO LEGE MANILIA.

1. Quanquam mihi semper frequens conspectus vester multò jucundissimus, hic autem locus ad agendum amplissimus, ad dicendum ornatissimus est visus, Quirites; tamen hoc aditu laudis, qui semper optimo cuique maximè patuit, non mea me voluntas, sed meæ vitae rationes, ab ineunte ætate susceptæ, prohibuerunt. Nam cum antea, per Ætatem, nondum hujus auctoritatem loci attingere auderem; statueremque, nihil huc, nisi perfectum ingenio, elaboratum industrià, afferri oportere; omne meum tempus amicorum temporibus transmittendum putavi. Ita neque hic locus vacuus unquam fuit ab ipsis qui vestram causam defenderent; et meus labor, in privatorum periculis castè integrèque versatus, ex vestro judicio fructum est amplissimum consecutus. Nam cum, propter dilationem comitiorum, ter praetor primus censuriis cunctis renuntiatus sum, facili intellectu, Quirites, et quid de me judicaretis, et quid aliis præscriberetis. Nunc, cum et auctoritatis in me tantum sit, quantum vos honoribus mandandis esse voluistis, et ad agendum facultatis tantum, quantum homini vigilanti ex forense usu propé quotidiana dicendi exercitatio potuit afferre; certè, et si quid auctoritatis in me est, eà apud eos utar, qui eam mihi dederunt; et, si quid etiam dicendo consecui possum, ipsis ostendam potissimum, qui ei quoque rei fructum suo judicio tribuendum esse censuerunt. Atque illud in primis mihi lætandum jure esse video, quod, in hac insolitâ mihi ex hoc loco ratione dicendi, causa talis oblata est, in quâ oratio deesse nemini potest. Dicendum est enim de Cn. Pompeii singulari eximiâque
ORATIO PRO LEGE MANILIA.

virtute: hujus autem orationis difficilium est exitum quam principium invenire: ita mihi non tam copia, quam modus in dicendo quercendus est.

II. Atque, ut inde oratio mea profiscatur, unde haec omnis causa ducitur; bellum grave et periculosum vestris vectigalibus atque sociis a duobus potentissimis regibus infectur, Mithridate et Tigrane; quorum alter relictus, alter lacesitus, occasionem sibi, ad occupandum Asiam, oblatam esse arbitrum. Equitibus Romanis, honestissimis viris, affecerunt ex Asia quotidiem littera, quorum magnae res aguntur, in vestris vectigalibus exercendis occupatae; qui ad me, pro necessitudine quae mihi est cum illo ordine, causam reipublicae periculaque rerum suarum detulerunt: Bithyniae, quae nunc vestra provincia est, vicos exustos esse complures: regum num Ariobarzaneis, quod finitimum est vestris vectigalibus, totum esse in hostium potestate; Lucullum, magnus rebus gestis, ab eo bello discendere; huic qui successerit, non satis esse paratum ad tantum bellum administrandum; unum ab omnibus sociis et civibus ad id bellum imperatorem deposci atque expeti; eundem hunc unum ab hostibus metui, praeterea neminem.


III. Et, quoniam semper appetentes gloriam præter ceteras gentes, atque avidi laudis fuistis, delenda vobis est illa macula, Mithridatico bello superiore suscpta; quæ penitus jam insetit atque inveteravit in populi Romani nomine: quod is, qui uno die, totâ Asia, tot in civitatibus, uno nuntio, atque unâ litterarum significatione, cives Romanos necandos trucidandoque denotavit, non modò adhuc pœnam nullam, suo dignam scelere, suscepti, sed ab illo tempore annum jam tertium et vicesimum regnat; et ita regnat, ut se non Ponto, neque Cappadociæ latebris, occultare velit, sed emergere e patrio.
regno, atque in vestris vectigalibus, hoc est, in Asiae luce, versari. Etenim adhuc ita vestri cum illo rege contenderunt imperatores, ut ab illo insignia victoriae, non victiam, repertarent. Triumphavit L. Sulla, triumphavit L. Murena de Mithridate, duo fortissimi viri, et summi imperatores: sed ita triumpharunt, ut ille pulsus superatusque regnaret. Veruntamen illis imperatoribus laus est tribuenda, quod egerunt; venia danda, quod reliquerunt; propter qua quod ab eo bello Sullam in Italiam respublicam, Murenam Sullam, revocavit.

IV. Mithridates autem omne reliquum tempus, non ad 10 oblivionem veteris belli, sed ad comparationem novi, contulit: qui posteaquam maximas edificasset ornassetque classes; exercitusque permagnos, quibuscunque ex gentibus potuisset, comparasset, et se Bosporanis, finitimis suis, bellum inferre simulasset; usque in Hispaniam legatos Ecbatanis misit ad 15 eos duces, quibuscum tum bellum gerebamus: ut, cum duobus in locis disjunctissimis maximèque diversis, uno consilio, a binis hostium copiis bellum terrà marique gereretur, vos, ancipiti contentione districti, de imperio dimicareis.

Sed tamen alterius partis periculum, Sertorianae atque Hisp 20 aniensis, quæ multò plus firmamenti ac roboris habebat, Cn. Pompeii divino consilio ac singulari virtute depulsum est: in altera parte ita res a L. Lucullo, summo viro, est administrata, ut initia illa gestarum rerum magna atque pra-- clara, non felicitati ejus, sed virtuti; hac autem extrema; 25 quæ nuper acciderunt, non culpæ, sed fortune, tribuenda esse videantur. Sed de Lucullo dicam aliquo loco; et ita di- cam, Quirites, ut neque vera laus ei detracta oratione nostrâ, neque falsa affecta, esse videantur. De vestri imperii dignitate atque gloria, quoniam is est exorsus orationis meæ, videte, 30 quem vobis animum suscipiendum putetis.

vobis imperii gloriäm relinquere; sic vobis turpissimum sit, illud, quod acceperistis, tueri et conservare non posse.

Quid, quod salus sociorum summum in periculum ac discrimen vocatur! Regno expulsus est Ariobarzanes, rex, socius populi Romani atque amicus: imminent duo reges toti Asia, non solum vobis inimicissimi, sed etiam vestris sociis atque amicis: civitates autem omnes, cuncta Asia atque Graecia, vestrum auxilium exspectare, propter periculi magnitudinem, coguntur: imperatorem a vobis certum deposecere, 10 cui praestionim vos alium miseritis, neque audent, neque id se facere summum sine periculo posse arbitrantur.

Vident et sentiunt hoc idcirco, quod vos, unum virum esse, in quo summa sint omnia, et cum propè esse (quo etiam carent agris), cuius sicut advenit ipso atque nomine, tametsi ille ad 15 maritimum bellum venerit, tamen impetus hostium repressos esse intelligunt ac retardatos. Hi vos, quoniam liberè loqui non licet, tacitù rogant, ut se quoque, sicut caeterarum provinciarum socios, dignos existimetis, quorum salutem tali vir commendetis; atque hoc etiam magis quàm caeteros, quod 20 ejusmodi in provinciis homines cum imperio mittimus, ut, etiam ab hoste defendant, tamen ipsorum adventus in urbes sociorum non multùm ab hostili expugnatione dierant. Hunc audiebat antea, nunc præsentem vident, tantá temperantia, tantá mansuetudine, tantá humanitate, ut ii beatissimi 25 esse videantur, apud quos ille diutissimé commoratur.

VI. Quare, si propter socios, nullà ipsi injurià laxessiti, maiores vestri cum Antiocho, cum Philippo, cum Ætolis, cum Penìs bella gesserunt; quanto vos studio convenit, injuriis provocatos, sociorum salutem unà cum imperii vestri 30 dignitate defendere; praestionem cum de vestris maximis vectigalibus agatur! Nam caeterarum provinciarum vectigalia, Quirites, tanta sunt, ut iis, ad ipsas provincias tutandas, vix contenti esse possimus: Asia verò tam opima est et fertile, ut et ubertate agrorum, et varietate fructuum, et magnitudine pastionis, et multitudine earum rerum quæ exportentur, facilè omnibus terris antecedat. Itaque hæc vobis provincia, Quirites, si et bellì utilitatem et pacis dignitatem sustinere vultis, non modò a calamitate, sed etiam a meta calamitatis, est defendenda.

Nam, caeteris in rebus, cum venit calamitas, tum detrimentum accipitur: at, in vectigalibus, non solùm adventus mali, sed etiam metus ipse, affert calamitatem. Nam, cum hostium copiæ non longè absunt, etiamsi irruptio facta nulla sit, tamen pecora relinquuntur; agricultura deseritur; mercatorum na-
ORATIO PRO LEGE MANILIA.

vigatio conquiescit. Ita neque ex portu, neque ex decumis, neque ex scripturâ, vectigal conservari potest. Quare sæpe totius anni fructus uno rumore periculi, atque uno bello ter- reore, amittitur.

Quo tandem animo esse existimatis aut eos qui vectigalia nobis pensitant, aut eos qui exercent atque exigunt, cùm duo reges cum maximis copiis propè adsint? cùm una excursio equitâtus perbrevi tempore totius anni vectigal auferre possit; cùm publicani familiae maximas, quas in salinis habent, quas in agris, quas in portubus atque custodiis, magnò periculo se habere arbitrentur. Putatisne vos illis rebus fruì posse, nisi eos, qui vobis fructuosì sunt, conservaveritis, non solùm (ut antea dixi) calamitatem, sed etiam calamitatis formidine, libe- ratos?

VII. Ac ne illud quidem vobis negligendum est, quod mihi ego extremum proposueram, cùm essem de belli genere dic- turus, quod ad multorum bona civium Romanorum pertinet; quorum vobis, pro vestrâ sapientiâ, Quirites, habenda est ratio diligenter. Nam et publicani, homines et honestissimi et ornatissimi, suas rationes et copias in illam provinciam con- tulerunt; quorum ipsorum per se res et fortunæ curâ vobis esse debent. Etenim, si vectigalia nervos esse reipublicæ semper duximus; eum certè ordinem, qui exercet illa, firma- mentum cæterorum ordinum rectè esse dicemus.

Deinde cæteris ex ordinibus homines navi et industrii parti- tim ipsi in Asiâ negotiantur, quibus vos absentibus consulere debitis; partim suas et suorum in eâ provinciâ pecunias magnas collocatas habent. Erit igitur humanitatis vestrae, magnum eorum civium numerum calamitate prohibere; sapientiâ, vi- dere, multorum civium calamitatem a republicâ sejunctam esse non posse. Etenim illud primum parvi refert, vos pub- licanis amissa vectigalìa postea victoriâ recuperare. Neque enim isdem redimendi facultas erit, propter calamitatem, neque alis voluntas, propter timorem.

Deinde, quod nos eadem Asia atque idem iste Mithridates, initiò belli Asiatici, docuit; id quidem cortè, calamitate docti, memoriâ retinere debemus. Nam tum cùm in Asiâ res magnas permulti amiserant, scimus, Romanæ, solutione impe- ditâ, fidem concidisse. Non enim possunt unà in civitate multi rem atque fortunas amittere, ut non plures secum in eandem calamitatem trahant. A quo periculo prohibete rempublicam, et mihi credite, (id, quod ipsi vidētis) hæc fides, atque hæc ratio pecuniarum, quæ Romanæ, quæ in foro ver- satur, implicita est cum illis pecuniis Asiaticis, et coheret. Ruere illa non possunt, ut hæc non eodem labefactata motu
concedant. Quare videte, num dubitandum vobis sit, omni
studio ad id bellum incumbere, in quo gloria nominis vestri,
salus sociorum, vectigalia maxima, fortunae plurimorum cir-
rium, cum republica defendantur.

VIII. Quoniam de genere belli dixi, nunc de magnitu-
dine paucis dicam. Potest enim hoc dici: belli genus esse ita
necessarium, ut sit gerendum, non esse ita magnum, ut sit per-
timescendum. In quo maximè laborandum est, ne forte a vo-
bris, quae diligentissimè providenda sunt, contemnenda esse
videantur.

Atque, ut omnes intelligant, me L. Lucullo tantum im-
pertiri laudis, quantum forté viro, et sapientissimo homini, et
magno imperatori, debeatur; dico, ejus adventu, maximas
Mithridatis copias omnibus rebus ornatas atque instructas
fuisse; urbenque Asiae clarissimam, nobisque amicissimam,
Cyzicenorum, obsessam esse ab ipso rege maximà multitu-
dine, et oppugnatam vehementissimè; quan L. Lucullus
virtute, assiduitate, consilio, summis obsidionis periculo li-
beravit: ab eodem imperatore classem magnum et ornatam,
quæ, ducibus Sertorianis, ad Italiano studio inflammatore re-
peretur, superatam esse atque depressam: magnas hostium
præterea copias multis proelii esse deletas: patefactumque
nostri legionibus esse Pontum, qui antè populo Romano ex
omni aditu clausus esset: Sinopen atque Amisum (quibus in
oppidis erant domicilia regis, omnibus rebus ornata atque re-
serta), cæterasque urbes Ponti et Cappadociae permultas, uno
aditu atque adventu esse captas: regem, spoliatum regno pa-
trio atque avito, ad alios se reges atque alias gentes sup-
plicem contulisse: atque hac omnia, salvus populi Romani
sociis, atque integris vectigalibus, esse gesta. Satis opinor
hoc esse laudis; atque ita, Quirites, ut hoc vos intelligatis,
a nullo istorum, qui huic obtræctant legi atque cause, L. Lu-
cullum simili ex hoc loco esse laudatum.

IX. Requiretur fortasse nunc, quemadmodum, cùm hac
ita sint, reliquam possit esse magnum bellum. Cognoscite,
Quirites: non enim hoc sine causâ quæri videtur. Primum,
ex suo regno sic Mithridates profugit, ut ex eodem Ponto
Medea illa quondam profugisse dicitur; quam praecipit, in
fugæ, fratri sui membra in iis locis, quæ se pares perseque-
retur, dissipavisse, ut eorum collectio dispersa, mœrorque
patrius, celeritatem persequendi retardaret. Sic Mithridates,
 fugiens, maximam vim auri atque argenti, pulcherrimarnque
rerum omnium, quas et a majoribus acceperat, et ipse, bello
superiore ex totâ Asia direptas, in suum regnum congererat,
in Ponto omnem reliquit. Hac dum nostris colligunt omnia
ORATIO PRO LEGE MANILIA.

diligentiūs, rex ipse e manibus effugit. Ita illum in persever defendi studio moror, hos letitia, retardavit.


Hic jam plura non dicam. Fuit enim illud extremum, ut ex iis locis a militibus nostris reditus magis maturus, quàm processio longior, quæreretur. Mithridates autem et suam manum jam confirmārat; et eorum qui se ex ejus regno collēgerant, et magnis adventiciis multorum regum et nationum, copiis juvabatur. Hoc jam fērē sic fieri solere accepimus, ut regum afflictēs fortunē facili multorum opes alliciānt ad misericordiam, maximēque eorum, qui aut reges sunt, aut vivunt in regno; quōd regale iis nomen magnum et sanctum esse videatur. Itaque tantum victus efficere potuit, quantum incolumis nunquam est ausus optare. Nam, cūm se in regnum recipisset suum, non fuit eo contentus quod ei prēter spem acciderat, ut illum, posteaquam pulsus erat, terram unquam attingeret; sed in exercitum vestrum, clarum atque victorem, impetum fecit.

Sinite hoc loco, Quirites, (sicut poētēs solent, qui res Romanas scribunt) prāterire me nostram calamitatem; quae tanta fuit, ut eam ad aures L. Luculli non ex prēlio nuntius, sed ex sermone rumor, affēret. Hic, in ipso illo malo, gra5 vissimāque belli offensione, L. Lucullus, qui tamen alīquā ex parte iis incommodis mederi fortasse potuisset, vestro jussu coactus, (quōd imperii diuturnitati modum statuendum veteri exemplo putavistis) partem militum, qui jam stipendiis factis erant, dimisit, partem Glabrioni tradīdit. Multa prē 40 tereo consultō: sed ea vos conjecturā perspicitis, quantum illud bellum [futurum] putetis, quod conjungant reges potentissimi, renovent agitata nationes, suscipiant integrae gentes, novus imperator vester accipiat, vetere pulso exercitu.
ORATIO PRO LEGE MANILIA.

X. Satis mihi multa verba fecisse videor, quare hoc bel-

lum esset genere ipso necessarium, magnitudine periculorum:

restat, ut de imperatore ad id bellum deligendo, ac tantis re-

bus praeficiendo, dicendum esse videatur.

5 Utinam, Quirites, vironum fortium atque innocentium co-
piam tantum habetatis, ut haec vobis deliberatio difficilis es-

set, quemnam potissimum tantis rebus ac tanto bello praefici-

dendum putaretis! Nunc verò, cum sit unus Cn. Pompeius,

qui non modò corum hominum, qui nunc sunt, gloriari, sed

10 etiam antiquitatis memoriam, virtute superari; quae res est,

qua cujusquam animum in hac causâ dubium facere possit?

Ego enim sic existimo, in summo imperatore quatuor has

res inesse oportere, scientiam rei militaris, virtutem, auctoritatem, felicitatem. Quis igitur hoc homine scientior unquam

15 aut fuit, aut esse debuit? qui, e ludo atque pueritia disciplinâ,

bello maximo, atque accerimis hostibus, ad patris exercitum,

atque in militâ disciplinam, profectus est; qui extremâ pueri-

tiâ miles fuit summì imperatoris; ineunte adolescentiâ maxi-

mi ipse exercitus imperator; qui sæpius cum hoste conflìxit,

20 quâm quisquam cum inimico concertavit; plura bella gessit,

quâm ceteri legerunt; plures provincias confecit, quàm aliù

concuperunt; cujus adolescentiâ ad scientiam rei militaris,

non alienis praecipitis, sed suis imperiis, non offensionibus

belli, sed victorïis, non stipendiis, sed triumphis, est erudita.

25 Quod denique genus belli esse potest, in quò illum non exer-
cuerit fortuna reipublicâ? Civile, Africanum, Transalpinum,

Hispaniense, mixtum ex civitatibus atque ex bellicosissimis

nationibus, servile, navale bellum, varia et diversa genera et

bellorum et hostium, non solum gesta ab hoc uno, sed etiam

30 confecta, nullam rem esse declarant in usu militari posìtam,

quae hujus viri scientiam fugere possit.

XI. Jam verò virtutis Cn. Pompeii quae potest par oratio

inveniri? quid est, quod quisquam aut dignum illo, aut vobis

novum, aut cuiquam inauditum, possit affere? Neque enim

35 illæ sunt sola virtutes imperatoric, quæ vulgò existimantur,
labor in negotio, fortitudo in periculis, industria in agendo,

celeritas in conficiendo, consilium in provendio; quæ tanta

sunt in hoc uno, quanta in omnibus reliquis imperatoribus,
quos aut vidimus aut audivimus, non fuerunt.

40 Testis est Italia, quam ille ipse victor, L. Sulla, hujus vir-
tute et subsidio confessus est liberatam. Testis est Sicilìa,
quam, multis undique cinctam periculis, non terrore belli, sed

celeritate consilii, explicavit. Testis est Africa, quæ, magnis

oppressa hostium copiís, corum ipsorum sanguine redundavit.
ORATIO PRO LEGE MANILIA.

Testis est Gallia, per quam legionibus nostris in Hispaniam iter, Gallorum internecione, patefactum est. Testis est Hispania, quae sæpissime plurimos hostes ab hoc superatos prostratosque conspexit. Testis est iterum et sæpius Italia, que, cum servili bello tetro periculosoque premeretur, ab hoc auxilium absente expetit; quod bellum expectatione Pompeii attenuatum atque imminutum est, adventu sublatum ac sepultum. Testes verò jam omnes oræ, atque omnes externae gentes ac nationes, denique maria omnia, tum universa, tum in singulis [oris] omnes sinus atque portus. Quis enim toto mari locus per hos annos aut tam firmum habuit præsidium, ut tutus esset, aut tam fuit abditus, ut lateret? Quis navigavit, qui non se aut mortis aut servitutis periculo committeret, cum aut hieme, aut referto prædonum mari, navigaret? Hoc tantum bellum, tam turpe, tam vetus, tam latè divisum atque dispersum, quis unquam arbitraretur aut ab omnibus imperatoribus uno anno, aut omnibus annis ab uno imperatore, confici posse? Quam provinciam tenuistis a prædonibus liberam per hosce annos? quod vectigal vos tum fuit? quem socium defendistis? cui præsidio classibus vestris fuistis? quâm multas existimatis insulas esse desertas! quàm multas aut mutu relictas, aut a prædonibus captas, urbes esse sociorium!

XII. Sed quid ego longinqua commemoro? Fuit hoc quondam, fuit proprium populi Romani longè a domo bellare, et, propugnaculis imperii, sociorum fortunas, non sua tecta, defendere. Sociis ego vestris mare clausum per hosce annos dicam fuisse, cūm exercitus nostri a Brundisio nunquam, nisi sumnā hieme, transmiserint? Qui ad vos ab exteris nationibus venirent, captos querar, cūm legati populi Romani redempti sint? Mercatoribus tum mare non fuisse dicam, cūm duodecim secures in prædonum potestatem pervenerint? Cnidum, aut Colophonem, aut Samum, nobilissimas urbes, innumerablesque alas, captas esse commemorum, cūm ves- tros portus, atque eos portus quibus vitam et spiritum ductitis, in prædonum fuisse postestate sciatis? An verò ignoratis, portum Caietæ celeberrimum atque plenissimum navium, inspectante prætore, a prædonibus esse direptum; ex Miseno autem, ejus ipsiis libero, qui cum prædonibus antea ibi bellum gesserat, a prædonibus esse sublatos? Nam quid ego Ostiensc incommodum, atque illam labem atque ignominiam rei- publicae, querar; cūm, propē inspectantibus vobis, classis ea, cui consul populi Romani præpositus esset, a prædonibus capta atque oppressa est? Pro, Dii immortales! tantamne unius hominis incredibilis ac divina virtus tam brevi tem-
ORATIO PRO LEGE MANILIA.

pore lucem asserre reipublicae potuit, ut vos, qui modo
ante ostium Tiberinum classem hostium videbatis, credi
nunc nullam intra Oceanum ostium pradonum navem esse audivi-
tis! Atque, hanc quae celertate gesta sint, quamquam vide-
tis, tamen a me in dicendo pratercunda non sunt. Quis
enim unquam, aut obeundi negotii aut consequendi quae
tus studio, tam brevi tempore, tot loca adire, tantos cursus con-
cere, potuit, quam celeriter, Qn. Pompeio duce, belli impetus
navigavit! qui, noundum tempestivo ad navigandum mari, Si-
ciliam adiit, Africam exploravit; inde Sardiniam cum classe
venit; atque hanc tria frumentaria subsidia reipublicae firmi-
simus praesidiis classibusque munivit. Inde cum se in Italian
recepisset, duabus Hispaniis et Galliis Cisalpina praesidiis ac
navibus confirmata, missis item in oram Illyrici maris, et in
Achaia omnemque Graciam, navibus, Italic du maria
maximis classibus firmissimisque praesidiis adornavit: ipse
autem, ut a Brundisio profectus est, undeiquinquagesimo die
totam ad imperium populi Romani Ciliciam annexit: omnes,
qui ubique praedones fuerunt, partim capti interfectorque sunt,
partim uniis hujus imperio ac potestati se dediderunt. Idem
Cretensibus, cum ad eum usque in Pamphylia legatos de-
precatoresque misissent, spem deditiores non ademitt, obii-
desque imperavit. Ita tantum bellum, tam diuturnum, tam
longe latetque dispersum, quo belio omnes gentes ac nations
premebantur, Qn. Pompeius extremae hieme apparavit, ineunte
vere suscipit, mediæ aestate consecit.

XIII. Est hanc divina atque incredibilis virtus imperato-
ris. Quod cætera, quas paulo ante commemorare ceperam,
quantae atque quam multæ sunt! Non enim solum bellandi
virtus in summo atque perfecto imperatore querenda est;
sed multæ sunt artes eximiae, hujus administræ comitesque
virtutis. Ac, primùm, quantum innocentia debent esse impe-
ratores? Quantæ deinde omnibus in rebus temperantia?
quantæ fides? quantæ facilitate? quanto ingenio? quantæ hu-
manitate? Quæ, breviter, qualia sint in Qn. Pompeio, con-
sideremus. Summa enim omnia sunt, Quirites: sed ea
magis ex aliorum contentione, quàm ipsa per se, cognosci
atque intelligi possunt.

Quem enim possimus imperatorem aliquo in numero pu-
40 tare, cujus in exercitu veneant centuriatus atque venierint?
quid hunc hominem magnum aut amplum de re publicâ
cogitare, qui pecuniam, ex ærario depromptam ad bellum
administrandum, aut, propter cupiditatem provinciae, magis-
tratibus diviserit, aut propter avaritiam Romæ in quœstu re-
liquerit? Vestra admurmuratio facit, Quirites, ut agnoscere videamini, qui haec fecerint: ego autem neminem nomino: quare irasci mihi nemo poterit, nisi qui ante de se voluerit confiteri. Itaque, propter hanc avaritiam imperatorum, quantas calamitates, quocunque ventum sit, nostri exercitus ferant, quis ignorat? Itinera, quae per hosce annos in Italia per agros atque oppida civium Romanorum nostri imperatorem fecerunt, recordamini: tum facilius statuetis, quid apud exterar nationes fieri existimetis. Utrum plures arbitramini per hosce annos militum vestrorum armis hostium urbes, an, hibernis, sociorum civitates, esse deletas? Neque enim postest exercitum is continere imperator, qui se ipsum non continet; neque severus esse in judicando, qui alios in se severos esse judices non vult.

Hic miramur, hunc hominem tantum excellere ceteris, cujus legiones sic in Asia pervenerunt, ut non modò manus tanti exercitùs, sed ne vestigium quidem, cuiquam pacato nocuisse dicatur? Jam verò, quemadmodum milites hibernent, quotidianus sermones ac literās perferuntur. Non modò, ut sumptum faciat in militem, nemini vis affertur; sed ne cupienti quidem cuiquam permittitur. Hiemis enim, non avaritia, perfugium maiores nostri in sociorum atque amicorum tectis esse voluerunt.

XIV. Age verò, ceteris in rebus quali sit temperantia, considerate. Unde illam tantam celeritatem, et tam incredibilem cursum inventum putatis? non enim illum eximiam vis remigum, aut ars inaudita quadam gubernandi, aut venti aliqui novi, tam celeriter in ultimas terras pertulerunt: sed haec res, quae ceteros remorari solet, non retardarunt: non avaritia ab instituto cursu ad prædam aliquam devocavit, non libido ad voluptatem, non amenitas ad defectionem, non nobilitas urbis ad cognitionem, non denique labor ipse ad quietem; postremò, signa, et tabulas, ceteraque ornamenta Graecorum oppidorum, quae ceteri tollenda esse arbitrantur, ea sibi ille ne visenda quidem existimavit. Itaque omnes quidem nunc in his locis Cn. Pompeium; sicut aliquem non ex hac urbe missum, sed de caelo delapsum, intuentur: nunc denique incipient credere, fuisse homines Romanos hac quondam abstinentiā; quod jam nationibus exteris incredi- bile, ac falsō memoriae proditus, videbatur. Nunc imperii vestri splendor illis gentibus lucet: nunc intelligunt, non sine causā maiores suos tum, cum hac temperantia magistratus habebamus, servire populo Romano, quàm imperare aliis, maluisse.
ORATIO PRO LEGE MANILIA.

Jam verò ita facile aditus ad eum privatorum, ita liberæ querimoniam de aliis in pariis, esse dicuntur; ut is, qui dignitatem principibus excellit, facilitate par inimici esset videatur. Jam, quantum consilio, quantum dicendi gravitate et copiâ valeat, (in quo ipso inest quædam dignitas imperatoria) vos, Quirites, hoc ipsò in loco sapes cognòstis. Fidem verò ejus inter socios quantam existimari putatis, quam hostes omnium gentium sanctissimam judicârunt? Humanitate jam tantâ est, ut difficile dictu sit, utrum hostes magis virtutem ejus pugnantes timuerint, an mansuetudinem victi dixerint. Et quisquam dubitabit, quin huic tantum bellum transmitendum sit, qui, ad omnia nostræ memoriae bella conficienda, divino quodam consilio natus esse videatur?

XV. Et, quoniam auctoritas multùm in bellis quoque administrandis atque imperio militari valet; certè nemini dubium est, quin eà re idem ille imperator plúrum possit. Vehementer autem pertinere ad bella administranda, quid hostes, quid socii, de imperatoribus vestris existiment, quis ignórat, cùm sciámus, homines in tantis rebus, ut aut contemnunt, aut metuant, aut oderint, aut ament, opinione non minus famæ, quàm aliqùa certâ ratione, commoveri? Quod igitur nomen unquam in orbe terrarum clarius fuit? cujus res gestæ pares? de quo homine, vos (id, quod maximè facit auctoritatem) tanta et tam praeclera judicia fecistis?

An verò ullam usquam esse oram tam desertam putatis, quò non illius diei fama pervaserit, cum universus populus Romanus, refertò foro, repletisque omnibus templis, ex quibus hic locus conspici potest, unum sibi ad commune omnium gentium bellum Cn. Pompeium imperatorem depoposcit?

Itaque, ut plura non dicam, neque aliórum exemplis confirmem, quantum auctoritas valeat in bello; ab eodem Cn. Pompeo omnium rerum egregiarum exempla sumuntur: qui quo die a vobis maritimo bello praepositus est imperator, tanta repente vilitas annonæ, ex summa inopia et caritate Rei frumentariae, consecuta est, unius spe et nomine, quantum vix ex summâ ubertate agrorum diuturna pax efficere potuisset.

Jam, acceptâ in Ponto calamitate, ex eo prælio, de quo vos paulò antè invitus admonui, cùm socii pertimumissent, hostium opes animique crevissent, satis firmum præsidium provincia non haberet; amisissetis Asiæ, Quirites, nisi, ad id ipsum temporis, divinitus Cn. Pompeium ad eas regiones fortuna populi Romani attulisset. Hujus adventús et Mithridatem insolitâ inflammatur victoriâ continuat, et Tigranem,
magnis copiis minitantem Asiae, retardavit. Et quiaquam dubitabit, quid virtute perfecturus sit, qui tantum auctoritate perfecerit? aut quâm facile imperio atque exercitu socios et vectigaliam conservaturus sit, qui ipso nomine ac rumore defenderit?

XVI. Age verò, illa res quantam declarat ejusdem hominis apud hostes populii Romani auctoritate, quàd ex locis tam longinquos, tamque diversis, tam brevi tempore, omnes uni huic se dediderunt? quàd Cretensium legati, cum in eorum insulâ noster imperator exercitusque esset, ad Cn. 10 Pompeium in ultimas propè terras venerunt, eique se omnes Cretensium civitates dedere velle dixerunt? Quid? idem iste Mithridates, nonne, ad eundem Cn. Pompeium, legatum usque in Hispaniam misit; eumque Pompeius legatum semper judicavit: ii, quibus semper erat molestum, ad eum potissimum esse missum, speculatorem, quàm legatum, judicari maluerunt. Potestis igitur jam constituere, Quirites, hanc auctoritatem, multis postea rebus gestis, magnisque vestris judiciis amplificatam, quantûm apud illos reges, quantûm apud exteram nationes, valituram esse existimetis.

Reliquum est, ut de felicitate, quam præstare de se ipso nemo potest, meminisse et commemorare de altero possimus, sicut æquum est homini de potestate Deorum, timidè et paucà dicamus. Ego enim sic existimo: Maximo, Marcello, Scipione, Mario, et ceteris magnis imperatoribus, non solûm 25 propter virtutem, sed etiam propter fortunam, sæpius imperia mandata, atque exercitus esse commissos. Fuit enim profecto quibusdam summis viris quædam ad amplitudinem et gloriam, et ad res magnas bene gerendas, divinitus adjuncta fortuna: de hujus autem hominis felicitate, quo de nunc 30 agimus, hac utar moderatione dicendi, non ut in illius potestate fortunam positam esse dicam, sed ut præterita meminisse, reliqua sperare videamur; ne aut insæsa Diis immortali-bus oratio nostra, aut ingrata, esse videatur.

Itaque non sum predicaturus, Quirites, quantas ille res 35 domi militique, terrâ marisque, quantâque felicitate gessit: ut ejus semper voluntatibus non modò cives assenserint, socii obtemperârint, hostes obedierint, sed etiam venti tempestatesque obscurandârint. Hoc brevissimè dicam, neminem unquam tam impudentem fuisse, qui a Diis immortali-40 bus tot et tantas res tacitus auderet optare, quot et quantas Dii immortales ad Cn. Pompeium detulerunt. Quod ut illi proprium ac perpetuum sit, Quirites, cùm communis salutis
atque imperii, tum ipsius hominis causâ, (sicuti facitis) velle
et optare debetis.

Quare, cùm et bellum ita necessarium sit, ut negligi non
possit; ita magnum, ut accuratissimè sit administrandum;
5 et cùm ei imperatorem praècere possitis, in quo sit eximia
belli scientia, singularis virtus, clarissima auctoritas, egregia
fortuna; dubitabis, Quirites, quin hoc tantum boni, quod
vobis a Diis immortalibus oblatum et datum est, in rempub-
licam conservandum atque amplificandam conferatis?
10 XVII. Quòd si Romæ Cn. Pompeius privatus esset hoc
tempore; tamen ad tantum bellum is erat deligendus atque
mittendus. Nunc, cùm ad cæteras summas utilitates hæc
quoque opportunitas adjungatur, ut in iis ipsis locis adsit, ut
habeat exercitum, ut ab iis, qui habent, accipere statim pos-
15 sit; quid expectamus? aut cur non, ducibus Diis immor-
tabus, eodem, cui cætera, summâ cum salute reipublicæ, com-
missa sunt, hoc quoque bellum regium committimus?

At enim vir clarissimus, amantissimus reipublicæ, vestris
beneficiis amplissimis affectus, Q. Catulus, itemque summis
ornamentis honoris, fortunæ, virtutis, ingenii præditus, Q.
Hortensius, ab hac ratione dissentient: quorum ego auctorit-
tatem apud vos multis locis plurimum valuisse, et valere
portere, confiteor; sed in hac causa, tametsi cognoscitis
auctoritates contrarias virorum fortissimorum et clarissimo-
rum, tamen, omissis auctoritatibus, ipsâ re et ratione exqui-
rere possumus veritatem; atque hoc facilius, quòd ea omnia,
quæ adhuc a me dicta sunt, idem isti vera esse concedunt,
et necessarium bellum esse, et magnum, et in uno Cn.
Pompeio summa esse omnia.

30 Quid igitur ait Hortensius? Si uni omnia tribuenda sunt,
unum dignissimum esse Pompeium; sed ad unum tamen
omnia deferri non portere. Obsolevit jam ista oratio, re
multò magis quâm verbis refutata. Nam tu idem, Q. Hor-
tensi, multa, pro tua summâ copiâ ac singulares facultate
dicendi, et in senatu contra virum fortem A. Gabinium,
graviter ornatèque dixisti, cùm is de uno imperatore contra
prædones constituo legem promulgasse; et ex hoc ipso
loco permulta item contra legem eam verba fecisti. Quid!
tum (per Deos immortales!) si plus apud populum Roma-
num auctoritas tua, quâm ipsius populi Romani salus, et
vera causa, valuissest, hodie hanc gloriam, atque hoc orbis
terræ imperium, teneremus? An tibi tum imperium esse
hoc videbatur, cùm populi Romani legati, prætores, quæs
OREAS: CAPIEBANTUR? CUM, EX OMNIBUS PROVINCIIS COM-
MEATU, ET PRIVATO ET PUBLICO, PROHIBEBAMUR? CUM ITA CLUSAERANT NOBIS OMNIA MARIA, UT NEQUE PRIVATAM REM TRANSMAR-
NAM, NEQUE PUBLICAM, JAM OBIRE POSSEMU?

XVIII. QUAE CIVITAS ANTEA UNQUAM FUIT, (NON DICO ATEH-
NIESIUM, QUAE SATIS LATÈ QUONDAM MARE TENUISSE DICTUR,
NON CARTHAGINESIUM, QUI PERMUTÒM CLASSE MARITIMISQUE
REBUS VALUERUNT, NON RHODIORM, QUORUM USQUE AD NOSTRAM
MEMORIAM DISCIPLINA NAVALIS ET GLORIA REMANISIT) QUAE CIVITAS
UNQUAM ANTEA TAM TENUIS, QUAE TAM PARVA INSULA FUIT, QUAE
NON PORTUS SUOS, ET AGROS, ET ALIQUAM PARTEM REGIONIS ATQUE
ORA MARITIME, PER SE IPSA DEFENDERET? AT (HERCLE) ALIQUOT
ANNOS CONTINUOS ANTE LEGEM GABINIAM, ILLE POPULUS ROMA-
NUS, CUIUS, USQUE AD NOSTRAM MEMORIAM, NOMEN INVICTUM
IN NAVALIBUS PUGNIS PERMANERAT, MAGNÀ AC MULTÒ MAXIMA
PARTE NON MODÒ UTILITATIS, SED DIGNITATIS ATQUE IMPERII, CARUIT:
NOBIS, QUORUM MAJORES ANTIOLUM REGEM CLASSE PERSENQUE
SUPERÀRUNT, OMNIBUSQUE NAVALIBUS PUGNIS CARTHAGINENSES,
HOMINES IN MARITIMIS REBUS EXERCITATISSIMOS PARATISSIMOSQUE,
VICERUNT, IN ILLO IN LOCO JAM PRÆDONIBUS PARES ESSE POTERA-
MUS. NOS QUOQUE, QUI ANTEA NON MODÒ ITALIAM TUTAM HABE-
BAMUS, SED OMNES SOCIOS IN ULTIMIS ORIS AUCTORITATE NOSTRI
IMPERII SALVOS PRESTARE POTERAMUS; TUM, CUM INSULA DELOS,
TAM PROCUL A NOBIS IN ÆGEO MARII POSITA, QUÆ OMNES UNDI-
QUE CUM MERCIUS ATQUE ONERIBUS COMMEABANT, REFERTA DIVI-
TIIS, PARVA, SINE MUNRO NIIH TIMEBAT; IDEM NON MODÒ PROVIN-
CIIS, ATQUE ORIS ITALICÆ MARITIMIS, AC PORTUS NOSTRIS, SED
ETIAM APPIÀ JAM VIÀ CAREBAMUS: ET HIC TEMPORIBUS NON
PUDEBAT MAGISTRATUS POPULI ROMANI, IN HUNC IPSUM LOCUM
ESCENDERE, CUM EUM VOBIS MAJORES VESTRI EXUVIIS NAUTICIS ET
CLASSIUM SOLIIS ORNATUM RELIQUISSENT.

XIX. BONO TE ANIMO TUM, Q. HORTENSI, POPULUS ROMA-
NUS, ET CAETEROS QUI ERANT IN EÄDEM SENTENTIÄ, DICERE EXISTI-
MAVIT EA, QUÆ SENTIEBATIS: SED TAMEN, IN SALUTE COMMUNI,
IDEM POPULUS ROMANUS DOLORI SUO MALUIT, QUAM AUCTORITATI
VESTRAE, OBSERVARE. ITAQUE UNA LEX, UNUS VIR, UNUS ANNUS,
NON MODÒ NOBILE MÆRISIÀ AC TURPITUDINE LIBERAVIT; SED ETIAM
EFFECIT, UT ALIQUANDO VERÈ VIDEREMUR OMNIBUS GENIBUS AC
NATIONIBUS TERRĀ MARIQUE IMPERARE.

QUO MIHI ETIAM INDIGNIÀ VIDETUR OBRECTATUM ESSE ADHUC,
GABINIO DICAM, ANNE POMPEIO, AN UTRIQUE? (ID, QUOD EST
VERIUS) NE LEGARETUR A. GABINIIUS CN. POMPEIO EXPETENTI AC
POSTULANTI? ÚTRUM ILLE, QUI POSTULAT LEGATUM AD TAM TUM BEL-
LUM, QUEM VELIT, IDONEUS NON EST, QUI IMPETRET, CUM CAETERI,
ad expilandos socios diripiendasque provincias, quos voleant, legatos eduxerint; an ipse, cujus lege salus ac dignitas populo Romano atque omnibus gentibus constituta est, egressus esse debet gloriae ejus imperatoris atque ejus exercitii, qui consilio ipsius atque periculo est constitutus? An C. Falcidius, Q. Metellus, Q. Caecilius Latiniensis, Cn. Lentulus (quos omnes honoris causa nominis), cum tribuni plebis fuissent, auno proximo legati esse posuerunt; in hoc uno Gabiniis sunt tam diligentes, qui in hoc bello, quod legi Gabiniis geritur, in hoc imperatore atque exercitu, quem per [vos] ipse constituit, etiam præcipuo jure esse deberet? de quo legando, spero consules ad senatum relaturos. Qui si dubitabunt, aut gravabuntur; ego me profiteor relatum; neque me impediet cujusquam, Quirites, inimicum edictum, quominus, fretus vobis, vestrum jus beneficiumque defendam: neque, praeter intercessionem, quidquam audiam; de quâ (ut arbitror) isti ipsi, qui minantur, etiam atque etiam, quid liceat, considerabunt. Meâ quidem sententiâ, Quirites, unus A. Gabinius, belli maritimimi rerumque gestarum auctor, coniuncta Cn. Pompeio adscribitur: propter eam quod alter uni id bellum susciendi vestris suffragiis detulit; alter delatum susceptumque confecit.

XX. Reliquum est, ut de Q. Catuli auctoritate et sententiâ dicendum esse videatur. Qui cùm ex vobis quaeret, si in uno Cn. Pompeio omnia ponentur, si quid eo factum esset, in quo spem essetis habituris; cepit magnum suum virtutis fructum, ac dignitatis, cum omnes, propè unà voce, in eo ipso vos spem habituros esse dixistis. Et enim talis est vir, ut nulla res tanta sit ac tam difficilis, quam ille non est consilio regere, et integritate tueri, et virtute conficere, pos sit. Sed in hoc ipso ab eo vehementissime dissentio, quod quominus certa est hominum ac minus diuturna vita, hoc magis respublica, dum per Deos immortales licet, frui debet summi hominis vitæ atque virtute.

At enim nihil novi fiat contra exempla atque institutum majorum. Non dico hoc loco, majores nostros semper, in pace consuetudini, in bello utilitate, paruisse; semper, ad novos casus temporum, novorum consiliorum rationes accommodasse: non dicam, duo bella maxima, Punicum et Hispaniæ atque Numantiam, ab eodem Scipione esse deletas: non commemorabo, nuper ita vobis tribusque vestris esse visum, ut in uno C. Mario spes imperii poneretur, ut idem cum
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XXII. Quare videant, ne sit perinquüm et non ferendum, illorum auctoritatem de Cn. Pompeii dignitate vobis comprobatam semper esse; vestrum ab illis de eodem homine judicium, populaire Romani auctoritatem, improbari: præsertim cum jam suo jure populus Romanus in hoc homine suam auctoritatem, vel contra omnes qui dissentiant, possit defendere; propterea quod, istis reclamantibus, vos unum illum ex omnibus delegistis, quem bello prædomum prepone-retis. Hoc si vos temeré fecistis, et rei publicae parum con-
ORATIO PRO LEGE MANILIA.

sulustis; 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; aliquando isti principes, et sibi et cæteris, populi Romani universi auctoritate parendum esse fatantur.

Atque, in hoc bello Asiatico et regio, non solum militaris illa virtus, qua est in Cn. Pompeio singularis, sed aliae quaeque virtutes animi multæ et magnæ requiruntur. Difficile est in Asia, Cilicia, Syriæ, regnisque interiorum nationum, ita versari vestrum imperatorem, ut nihil aliud, quam de hoste ac de laude cogitct. Deinde, etiam siqui sunt pudore ac temperantia moderiores; tamen eos esse tales, propter multitudinem cupidorum hominum, nemo arbitratur. Difficile est dictu, Quirites, quanto in odio simus apud exterar nationes, propter eorum, quos ad cos per hos annos cum imperio misimus, injurias ac liuidines. Quod enim fanum putatis in illis terris nostris magistratibus religiosum, quam civitatem sanctam, quam domum satis clausam ac muniam suis fussit? Urbes jam locupletes ac copiosæ requiruntur, quibus causa belli, propter diripiendo cupiditatem, inferatur. Libenter hac coram cum Q. Catulo et Q. Hor- tensio disputare, summis et clarissimis viris. Noverant enim sociorum vulnera: vident eorum calamitates: querimonias audiant. Pro sociis vos contra hostes exercitium mittere putatis, an, hostium simulacione, contra socios atque amicos? Quae civitas est in Asia, quae non modò imperatoris aut legati, sed unius tribuni militum, animos ac spiritus capere possit?

XXIII. Quare, etiam siquem habetis, qui, collatis signis, exercitus regios superare posse videatur; tamen, nisi erit idem, qui se a pecuniiis sociorum, qui ab eorum conjugibus ac liberas, qui ab ornamentis fanorum atque oppidorum, qu ab auro gazâque regiâ, manus, oculos, animum, cohibere possit; non erit idoneus, qui ad bellum Asiaticum regiumque mittatur. Ecquam putatis civitatem pacatam fussisse, quæ locuples sit? Ecquam esse locupletem, quæ istis pacata esse videatur? Ora maritima, Quirites, Cn. Pompeium, non solum propter rei militaris gloriam, sed etiam propter animi continentiam, requiravit. Videbat enim populum Romanum non locupletari quotannis pecuniâ publicâ, præter paucos; neque nos quidquam aliud assequi classium nomine, nisi ut, detrimentis accipiendis, majore affici turpitudine videremur. Nunc, quâ cupiditate homines in provincias, quibus jacturis,
quibus conditionibus proficiscantur, ignorant videlicet isti, qui ad unum deferenda esse omnia non arbitrantur? quasi verò Cn. Pompeium non, cum suis virtutibus, tum etiam alienis vitis, magnum esse videamus.

Quare, nolite dubitare, quin huic uni credatis omnia, qui inter annos tot unus inventus sit, quem socii in urbes suas cum exercitu venisse gaudeant. Quòd si auctoritatis hanc causam, Quirites, confirmandam putatis; est vobis auctor, vir bellorum omnium maximarumque rerum peritissimus, P. Servilius; cujus tanta res gestæ terræ marique extiterunt, ut, cum de bello deliberetis, auctor vobis gravior esse nemo debat: est C. Curio, summis vestris beneficiis, maximisque rebus gestis, summò ingenio et prudentiæ prædictus: est Cn. Lentulus, in quo omnes, pro amplissimis vestris honoribus, summum consilium, summam gravitatem, esse cognoscitis: est C. Cassius, integritate, virtute, constantiæ singulari. Quare, videte, ut, horum auctoritatis, illorum orationi qui dissentiant, respondere posse videamur.

XXIV. Quæ cùm ita sint, C. Manili, primùm istam tuam et legem, et voluntatem, et sententiam laudo, vehementer tissimèque comprobo: deinde te hor tur, ut, auctore populo Romano, maneas in sententiæ, neve cujusquam vim aut minas pertimescas. Primùm, in te satis esse animi perseverantiae arbitrò: deinde, cùm tantam multitudinem cum tanto studio adesse videamus, quantum nunc iterum in eodem homine praeficiendo videmus; quid est, quòd aut de re, aut de perficiendi facultate, dubitemus? Ego autem, quidquid in me est studii, consilii, laboris, ingeni, quidquid hoc beneficio populi Romani, atque hac potestate prætoriæ, quidquid auctoritate, fide, constantiæ possunt; id omne, ad hanc rem conficiendam, tibi et populo Romano pollicor et defero. Testorque omnes Deos, et eos maximè qui huic loco temploque præsident, qui omnium mentes eorum, qui ad rem publicam adeunt, maximè perspiciunt, me hoc neque rogatu facere cujusquam, neque quò Cn. Pompeii gratiam 35 mihi per hanc causam conciliari putem; neque quò mihi, ex cujusquam amplitudine, aut præidia periculis, aut adjumenta honoribus, quæram; propter ea quòd pericula facile, ut hominem præstare oportet, innocentiæ tecti, repellemus: honores autem neque ab uno, neque ex hoc loco, sed eàdem nostrà illà laboriosissimà ratione vitae, si vestra voluntas feret, consequemur.

Quamobrem, quidquid in hac causâ mihi susceptum est, Quirites, id omne me reipublicae causâ suscepisse confirmo:
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tantùmque abest, ut aliquam bonam gratiam mihi quæssisse
tudicar, ut multas etiam simulantes, partim obscursas, partim
apertas, intelligam, mihi non necessarias, vobis non inutilis,
suscepisse. Sed ego me, hoc honore præeditum, tantis ves-
5 tris beneficiis affectum, statui, Quirites, vestræ voluntatem,
et reipublicæ dignitatem, et salutem provinciarum atque
sociorum, meis omnibus commodis et rationibus præfere
optere.

ORATIO

P R O M . M A R C E L L O .

I. Diuturni silentii, Patres Conscripti, quo eram hæ
10 temporibus usus, non timore aliquo, sed partim dolore, partim
verecundia, finem hodiernus dies attulit; idemque initium,
qua vellem, quæque sentirem, meo pristino more dicendi.
Tantam enim mansuetudinem, tam inusitatam, inauditamque
clementiam, tantum, in summâ potestate, rerum omnium mo-
dum, tam denique incredibilem sapientiam ac penè divinam,
tacitus nullo modo præterire possum. M. enim Marcello
vobis, Patres Conscripti, reique publicæ reddito, non solùm
illius, sed meam etiam vocem et auctoritatem, et vobis et re-
publicæ conservatam ac restitutam puto.

Dolebam enim, Patres Conscripti, et vehementer angebar,
cùm videarem, virum talem, in cædém causâ in quà ego fuís-
sem, non in cædém esse fortunâ : nec mihi persuadere poterum,
nec fàs esse ducebam, versari me in nostro veteri curriculo, illo
æmulo atque imitatore studiorum ac laborum meorum, quasi
25 quodam socio a me et comite, distracto. Ergo et mihi mea
pristinæ vitæ consuetudinem, C. Cæsar, intercussam apertu-
isti; et his omnibus, ad bené de omni republicâ sperandum,
quasi signum aliquod sustulisti. Intellectum est enim, mihi
quidem in multis, et maximè in me ipso, sed paulò antè om-
30 nibus, cùm M. Marcellum senatui populeoque Romano con-
cessisti, commemoratis præsertim offensionibus, te auctorita-
tem hujus ordinis, dignitatemque reipublicæ, tuis vel doloribus
vel suspicicionibus anteferre.
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Ille quidem fructum omnis vitae antea hodierno die maximum cepit, cùm summo consensu senatus, tum praeterea judicio tuo gravissimo et maximo. Ex quo profectò intelligis, quanta in dato beneficio sit laus, cùm in accepto tanta sit gloria. Est verò fortunatus ille, cujus ex salute non minor penè ad omnes, quàm ad ipsum ventura sit, lætitia pervenit. Quod ei quidem merítò, atque optimo jure, contigit. Quis enim est illò aut nobilitate, aut probitate, aut optimarum artium studio, aut innocentia, aut ullo genere laudis, praestantior?

II. Nullius tantum est flumen ingenii, nullius dicendi aut scribendi tanta vis, tanta copia, quæ, non dicam exornare, sed enarrare, C. Cæsar, res tuas gestas possess. Tamen affirmo (et hoc pace dicam tuà), nullam in his esse laudem ampliorum, quàm eam, quam hodierno die consecutus es. Soleo 15 sæpe ante oculos ponere, idque libenter crebris usurpare sermonibus, omnes nostrorum imperatorum, omnes exterrarum gentium, potentissimorumque populorum, omnes clarissimorum regum, res gestas, cum tuis nec contentionum magnitudine, nec numero præliorum, nec varietate regionum, nec celeritate conficiendi, nec dissimilitudine bellorum, posse conferri: nec verò disjunctíssimas terras citiùs cujusquam passibus potuisse peragrari, quàm tuís, non dicam cursibus, sed victoriis, lustratæ sint.

Quæ quidem ego nisi ita magna esse fatare, ut ea vix 25 cujusquam mens aut cogitatio capere possit, amens sim: sed tamen sunt alia majora. Nam bellicas laudes solent quidam extenuare verbis, easque detrhere duciæ, communicare cum multis, ne propriæ sint imperatorum. Et certè, in armis, militem virtus, locorum opportunitas, auxilia sociorum, classes, conmecatus, multum juvant: maximam verò partem, quasi suo jure, Fortuna sibi vindicat; et, quidquid est prosperè gestum, id penè omne ducit suum.


III. Domuisti gentes immanitatem barbaras, multitudine innumerabiles, locis infinitas, omni copiarum genere abun-
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dantes: sed tamen ea viciasti, quae naturam et conditionem, ut vincì possent, habeant: nulla est enim tanta vis, quae non ferro ac viribus debilitari frangique possit. Animum vincere, iracundiam cohibere, victoriam temperare, adversarium, nobilitate, ingenio, virtute præstantem, non modò exstollere jacentem, sed etiam amplificare ejus pristinam dignitatem; hæc qui faciat, non ego cum summis viris comparo, sed simillimum Deo judico.

Itaque, C. Cæsar, bellicæ tuae laudes celebrabuntur ille quidem non solûm nostris, sed penè omnium gentium, literis atque linguis; neque ulla unquam ætas de tuis laudibus conticeat. Sed tamen ejusmodi res, nescio quomodo, etiam cum leguntur, obstrepi clamore militum videntur, et tubarum sono. At verò, cùm aliquid clementer, mansuetè, justè, moderatè, sapienter factum, (in iracundiâ præsertim, quæ est inimica consilio, et in victoriâ, quæ naturâ insolens et superba est) aut audimus, aut legimus; quo studio incendimur, non modò in gestis rebus, sed etiam in factis, ut eos seepe, quos nunquam vidimus, diligamus! Te verò, quem pra- sentem intuemur, cujus mentem sensusque et os cernimus, ut, quidquid belli fortuna reliquum reipublicæ secerit, id esse salvum velis, quibus laudibus efferemus? quibus studiis prosequemur? quâ benevolentia complexerunt? Parietes, medius fidius, (ut mihi videntur) hujus curiae, tibi gratias agere gestiunt, quod brevi tempore futura sit illa auctoritas in his majorum suorum et suis sedibus.

dicam, non perinde intelligi auditu posset, atque ipse cogitans sentio. Ipsam victoriam vides videris, cum ea, quae illa erat adopta, victis remissisti. Nam, cum ipsius victoriae conditione jure omnes victi occidissemus, clementiae tuae judicio conservavi sumus. Recte igitur unus invictus es, a quo etiam ipsius victoriae conditionis visque devicta est.

V. Atque hoc C. Cæsaris judicium, Patres Conscripti, quam latè pateat, attendite: omnes enim, qui ad illa arma fato sumus nescio quo reipublicæ misero funestoque compulsi, etsi aliquà culpà tenemur erroris humani, a scelere certè liberati sumus. Nam, cum M. Marcellum, deprecantibus vobis, reipublicæ conservavit; memet mihi, et iterum reipublicæ, nullo deprecante, reliquis amplissimos viros et sibi ipsis et patriæ, reddidit: quorum et frequentiam et dignitatem hoc ipso in consessu videtis. Non ills hostes induxit in curiam; sed judicavit, a plerisque, ignoracione potius, et falso atque inani metu, quâm cupiditate aut crudelitate, bullum esse susceptum. Quo quidem in bello semper de pace audiendum putavi; semperque dolui, non modò pacem, sed orationem etiam civium, pacem flagitantium, repudiari. Neque enim ego illa, nec ulla unquam, secutus sum arma civilia; semperque mea consilia pacis et togæ sociæ, non bellii atque armorum, fuerunt. Hominem secus privato officio, non publico: tantumque apud me grati animi fidelis memoria valuit, ut nullâ, non modò cupiditate, sed neque quidem, prudenti et sciens, tanquam ad interitum rurem voluntarium.

Quod quidem meum consilium minime obscurum fuit. Nam et in hoc ordine, integrâ re, multa de pace dixi: et in ipso bello eadem, etiam cum capitis mei periculo, sensi. Ex quo jam nemo crit tam injustus rerum [existimatur,] qui dutit, quæ Cæsaris voluntas de bello fuerit, cùm pacis auctores conservandos statim censuerit, cæteris fuerit irator. Atque id minùs mirum fortasse tum, cùm esset incertus exitus, et aniceps fortuna bellii: qui verò, victor, pacis auctores diligent, is prosectò declarat, se maluisse non dimicare, quàm vincere.

VI. Atque hujus quidem rei M. Marcello sum testis. Nostri enim sensus, ut in pace semper, sic tum etiam in bello congruebant. Quoties ego eum, et quanto cum dolore, vidi, cùm insolentiam certorum hominum, tum etiam ipsius victoriae ferocitatem, extimescentem! Quò gratior tua liberalitas, C. Cæsar, nobis, qui illa vidimus, debet esse. Non enim jam causa sunt inter se, sed victoriae, comparandae. Vidimus tuam victiam præliorum exitu terminatam: gladi-
um vaginà vacuum in Urbe non vidimus. Quos amissimus cives, eos Martis vis perculit, non ira victoriae; ut dubitare debeat nemo, quin multos, si fieri posset, C. Cæsar ab inferis excitaret; quoniam ex cædem acie conservat, quos potest.

5 Alterius verò partis, nihil amplius dicam, quàm (id, quod omnes verebamur) nimis iracundam futuram fuisset victoriam. Quidam enim, non modò armatis, sed interdum etiam otiosis, minabuntur: nec, quid quisque sensisset, sed ubi fuisse, cogitandum esse dicebant; ut mihi quidem videantur Diì immortalis, (etiam si penas a populo Romano ob aliquod delictum expetiverunt, qui civile bellum tantum et tam lucuosum excitaverint) vel placati jam, vel satiati aliquando, omnem spem salutis ad clementiam victoris et sapientiam contulisse.

15 Quare gaude tuo isto tam excellenti bono; et fruere, cùm fortunà et glorià, tum etiam naturà et moribus tuis; ex quo quidem maximus est fructus jucunditasque sapienti. Caetera cùm tua recordabere, etsi perspecisse virtutì, tamen plerumque felicitati, tuae congratulabere. De nobis, quos in republicà 20 tecum simul salvos esse voleïsti, quoties cogitabis, toties de maximis tuis beneficiis, toties de incredibili liberalitate, toties de singulari sapientiâ tua, cogitabís: quæ non modò summa bona, sed nimirum audebo vel sola dicere. Tantus est enim splendor in laude verà, tanta in magnitudine animi et consilii dignitatis, ut hac a virtute donata, caetera a fortunà commodata esse videantur. Noli ingeri in conservandis bonis viris defatigari, non cupiditate præsertim aut pravitate aliquà lapsis, sed opinione officii, stultà fortasse, certè non improbabì, et specie quàdam reipublicæ. Non enim tua ulla culpa est, si te aliqû timuercunt: contrâque, summa laus, quòd plerique minimè timendum fuisse senserunt.

25 VII. Nunc verò venio ad gravissimam querelam, et atrocissimam suspicionem tuam; quæ non tibi ipsi magis, quàm, cùm omnibus civebus, tum maximè nobis, qui a te conservati sumus, providenda est: quam etsi spero esse falsam, non quam tamen verbis extenuabo. Tua enim cautio nostra cautio est; ut, si in alterutro peccandum sit, malim videri nimis timidus, quàm parum prudent. Sed quisnam est iste tam demens? de tuïne? tametsi qui magis sunt tui, quàm quibus tu salutem insperantibus reddidist? an ex eo numero, qui unà tecum fuerunt? Non est credibilis tantus in ullo fúor, ut, quo duce omnia summa sit adeptus, hujus vitam non anteponat suæ. [At.] si tui nihil cogitant sceleris, cavendum est, ne quid inimici. Qui? omnes enim, qui
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fuerunt, aut suâ pertinaciâ vitam amiserunt, aut tuâ misericordiâ retinuerunt; ut aut nulli supersint de inimicis, aut, qui superfuerunt, sint amicissimi.

Sed tamen, cûm in animis hominum tantæ latebræ sint et tanti recessus, augeamus sanè suspicitionem tuam: simul enim augebimus diligentiam. Nam quis est omnium tam ignarus rerum, tam rudis in re publicâ, tam nihil unquam nec de suâ nec de communi salute cogitans, qui non intelligat, tuâ salute contineri suam, et ex unius tuâ vitâ pendere omnium? Equidem, de te dies noctesque (ut debeo) cognitans, casus duntaxat humanos, et incertos eventus valetudinis, et naturæ communis fragilitatem, extimesco: doleoque, cûm respublica immortalis esse debeat, eam in unius mortalis animâ consistere. Si verô, ad humanos casus, incertosque eventus valetudinis, sceleris etiam accedat insidiarumque consensio; quem Deum, si cupiat, opitulari posse reipublicæ credamus?

VIII. Omnia sunt excitanda tibi, C. Cæsar, uni, quæ jacere sentis, belli ipsius impetu (quod necesse fuit) perculsa atque prostrata: constituenta judicia, revocanda fides, comprimendæ libidines, propaganda soboles: omnia, quæ dilapsa jam fluxerunt, severis legibus vincienda sunt. Non fuit recusandum, in tanto civili bello, tanteque animorum ardore et armorum, quin quassata respublica; quicunque belli eventus fuisset, multa perderet et ornamenta dignitatis, et presidia stabilitatis suæ: multaque uterque dux faceret armatus, quæ idem togatus fieri prohibuisset. Quæ quidem tibi omnia bellæ vulnera curanda sunt; quibus, præter te, mederi nemo potest.

Itaque illum tuam praeclassissimam et sapientissimam vocem invitus audivi: "Satis diu vel naturæ vixi, vel gloriæ." Satis, si ita vis, naturæ fortasse; addo etiam, si placet, gloriæ: at (quod maximum est) patriæ certè parum. Quare, omite, quæso, istam doctorum hominum in contemnendâ morte prudentiam: noli nostro periculo sapiens esse. Sève enim venit ad aures meas, te idem istud nimiis crebrò dicere, satis te tibi vixisse. Credo: sed tum id audirem, si tibi soli viveres, aut si tibi etiam soli natus esses. Nunc, cûm omnium salutem civium cinctamque rempublicam res tæ gestæ complexa sint; tantùm abes a perfectione maximorum operum, ut fundamenta, que cogitas, nondum jeceris. Hic tu modum tuae vitae, non salute reipublicæ, sed æquitate animi, definies? Quid, si istud ne gloriæ quidem tuae satis est? cujus te esse avidissimum, quamvis sis sapiens, non negabis.
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Parumne igitur, inquies, gloriam magnam relinquemus? Immo verò aliis, quamvis multis, satis; tibi uni parum. Quidquid enim est, quamvis amplum sit, id certè parum est tum, cùm est aliquid amplius. Quòd si rerum tuarum im-
5 mortalium, C. Cæsar, hic exitus futurus fuit, ut, devictis adversariis, rempublicam in eo statu relinqueres, in quo nunc est; vide, quæso, ne tua divina virtus admirationis plus sit habitura, quàm glorïæ: siquidem gloria est illustris ac per-
vagata multorum et magnorum, vel in suis, vel in patriam,
10 vel in omne genis hominum, fâma meritorum.

IX. Hæc igitur tibi reliqua pars est; hic restat actus, in
hoc elaborandum est, ut rempublicam constituas, eâque tu
in primis [compositâ,] cum summâ tranquillitate et otio, per-
fruare: tum te, si voles, cùm et patriæ, quod debes, solveris,
15 et naturam ipsam expleveris satietate vivendi, satis diu vixisse
dicito. Quid est enim omnino hoc ipsum diu, in quo est
aliquid extremum; quod cùm venit, omnis voluptas præterita
pro nihil est, quia postea nulla futura est? Quanquam iste
tuus animus nunquam his angustiis, quæ natura nobis ad
20 vivendum dedit, contentus fuit; semperque immortalitatis
amore flagravit.

Nec verò hæc tua vita ducenda est, quæ corpore et spiritu
continetur. Ila, illa, inquam, vita est tua, quæ vigebit
memoriâ sæculorum omnium; quam posteritas alet, quam
25 ipsa æternitas semper tuebitur. Huic tu inservias, huic te
ostentes, oportet: quæ quidem, quæ miretur, jampridem
multa habet; nunc, etiam quæ laudet, exspectat. Obstupes-
cent posteri certè, imperia, provincias, Rhenum, Oceanum,
Nilum, pugnas innumerables, incredibles victorias, monu-
30 menta innumera, triumphos audientes et legentes tuos. Sed,
nisi hæc urbs stabilita tuis consiliis et institutis erit, vagabi-
tur modò nomen tuum longè atque latè; sedem quidem sta-
bilem et domicilium certum non habebit. Erit, inter eos
etiam qui nascentur, sicut inter nos fuit, magna dissenso,
35 cùm aliis laudibus ad cælum res tuas gestas efficerent, aliis for-
tasse aliquid requirent, idque vel maximum, nisi bellii civili
s incendium salute patriæ restinxeris; ut illud fati fuisse
videatur, hoc consilii. Servi igitur iis etiam judicibus, qui
multis post sæculis de te judicabunt, et quidem haud sco,
40 an incorruptiùs, quàm nos: nam et sine amore et sine cupi-
ditate, et rursus sine odio et sine invidia, judicabunt. Id
autem etiam si tunc ad te (ut quidam falsò putant) non per-
tinebit; nunc certè pertinet, esse te talem, ut tuas laudes
obscureatura nulla unquam sit oblivio.
X. Diversæ voluntates civium fuerunt, distractæque sententia: non enim consiliis solûm et studiis, sed armis etiam et castris, dissidebamus. Erat autem obscuritas quædam, erat certamen inter clarissimos duces: multi dubitabant, quid optimum esset; multi, quid sibi expediret; multi, quid deceret; nonnulli etiam, quid liceret. Perfuncta respublica est hoc misero fatalique bello: visit is, qui non fortunâ inflammaret odium suum, sed bonitate leniret; nec qui omnes, quibus iratus esset, eosdem etiam exsilio 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 sit melior, qui in acie cecidit, qui in causâ animam profudit. Quæ enim pertinacia quibusdam, eadem aliis constantia, videri potest. Sed jam omnis fracta dissensione est armis, et extinxta sæquitate victoris: restat, ut omnes unum velint, qui modò habent aliquid, non solûm sapientia, sed etiam sanitatis. Nisi te, C. Cæsar, salvo, et in istâ sententia, quâ cūm antea, tum hocie vel maximè usus es, manente, salvi esse non possimus. Quare omnes te, qui haec salva esse volumus, et hor tamur et obsecramus, ut vitæ, ut saluti, tue consulas: omnesque tibi, (ut pro aliis etiam loquar, quod de me ipse sentio) quoniam subesse aliquid putas, quod cavendum sit, non modò excubias et custodias, sed etiam laterum nostrorum oppositus et corporum, policemur.

XI. Sed, 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 lacrymis sentire potuisti. Sed, quia non est stantibus omnibus necessæ dicere; a me certè dici volunt, cui necesse est quodammodo, et quòd volunt, et quod decet, et quòd (M. Marcello a te huic ordini populoque Romano et republique redditâ) [præcipuè id a me fieri debere] intelligo. Nam lateri omnes, non ut de unius solûm, sed ut de communi omnium salute, sentio: quod autem summae benevolentiae est, (qua mea erga illum omnibus semper nota fuit, ut vix C. Marcello, optimo et amantissimo fratri, pretios eum quidem, cedere nemini) cùm id solici tudine, curà, labore tamdui præstiterim, quamdui est de illius salute dubitatum, certè hoc tempore, magnis curis, molestiis, doloribus liberatus, præstare debeo. Itaque, C. Cæsar, sic tibi gratias ago, ut, omnibus me rebus a te non conservato solûm, sed etiam ornato, tamen ad tua in me unum innumerabilia merita, (quod fieri jam posse non arbitrabar) maximus hoc tuo facto cumulus accessorit.
ORATIO PRO Q. LIGARIO.

ORATIO

PRO Q. LIGARIO.

I. Novum crimen, Cai Caesar, et ante hunc diem inaudi-
tum, propinquus meus ad te, Q. Tubero, detulit, Q. Liga-
rium in Africamuisse: idque C. Pansa, praestanti vir ingenio,
fruits fortasse cä familiariitate quae est ei tecum, ausus est
5 conteri. Itaque, quò me vertam, nescio; paratus enim
veneram, (cum tu id neque per te sciæs, neque audire al-
unde potuisses) ut inspectione tua ad hominis miser salutem
abuterer: sed, quoniam diligentiäm imicí invesigatum est,
quod latebat, confitendum est, ut opinor; præsertim cum
10 meus necessarius, C. Pansa, fæcerit, ut id jam integrum non
esse: omissæque controversiæ, omnis oratio ad misericordiam
tuum conferenda est; quä plurimi sunt conservati, cum a te
non liberationem culpæ, sed errati veniam, impetravissem.

Habes igitur, Tubero, (quod est accusatori maximè opta-
dum) confitentem reum, sed tamen ita confitentem, se in ea
parteuisse, quà te, Tubero, quà virum omni laude dignum,
patem tuum. Itaque prius de vestro delicto confiteamini,
necess est, quàm Ligarii ullam culpam reprehendatis.

Q. enim Ligarius, cūm esset adhuc nulla belli suspicio,
20 legatus in Africam cum C. Considio prefectus est: quâ in
legatione, et civibus et sociis ita se probavit, ut decedens
Considius provincia satisfacere hominibus non posset, si
quenquam alium provinciæ praefecisset. Itaque Q. Ligarius
(cum, diu recusans, nihil profecisset) provinciam accept
25 invitus: cui sic praebuit in pace, ut et civibus et sociis gra-
tissimam esset ejus integritas et fides. Bellum subitò exarrit;
quo, qui erant in Africâ, antè audierunt geri, quàm parari.
Quo audito, partim cupiditate inconsideratâ, partim caeco
quodam timore, primò salutis, post etiam studii sui, quere-
30 bant aliquem ducem: quàm Ligarius, domum spectans, et ad
suos redire cupiens, nullo se implicari negotio passus est.
Interim P. Attius Varus, qui praetor Africam obtinerat,
Uticam venit: ad eum statim concursum est. Atque ille
non mediocrî cupiditate arripuit imperium, si illud imperium
35 esse potuit, quod ad privatum, clamore multitudinis imperiæ,
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nullo publico consilio, deferebatur. Itaque Ligarius, qui omne tale negotium cuperet effugere, paulum adventu Vari conquievit.

II. Adhuc, Cai Cæsar, Q. Ligarius omni culpâ vacat. Domus est egressus, non modo nullum ad bellum, sed ne ad minimam quidem suspensionem belli: legatus in pace profectus, in provinciâ pacatissimâ ita se gessit, ut ei pacem esse expediret. Profectio certè animum tuum non debet offendere. Num igitur remansio? Multò minùs: nam profectio voluntatem habuit non turpem, remansio etiam necessitatem honestam. Ergo hæc duo tempora carent crimen; unum, cùm est legatus profectus; alterum, cùm, efflagitatus a provinciâ, praepositus Africâ est. Tertium est tempus, quo, post adventum Vari, in Africâ restitit; quod si est criminorum, necessitatis crimen est, non voluntatis. An ille, si po-tuisset illinc ullo modo evadere, Uticae potius, quàm Romæ, cum P. Attio, quàm cum concordissimis fratribus, cum alienis esse, quàm cum suis, maluisset? Cùm ipsa legatio plena desiderii ac sollicitudinis fuisset, propter incredibilem quendam fratrum amorem, hic sequo animo esse potuit, belli discidio distractus a fratribus?

Nullum igitur habes, Cæsar, adhuc in Q. Ligario signum alienæ a te voluntatis: cujus ego causam, animadverte, queso, quà fide defendam, cùm prodo meam. O clementiam admirabilem, atque omni laude, prædicatione, literis, monumentisque decorandam! M. Cicero apud te defendit, alium in sæ voluntate non fuisset, in quà scipsum confitetur fuisset; nec tuas tacitas cogitationes extimescit; nec, quid tibi, de alio auditent, de se ipso occurrat, reformidat.

III. Vide, quàm non reformidem: vide, quanta lux libéralitatis et sapientiae tuae mihi apud te dicenti obioriatur. Quantum potero, voce contendam, ut populus hoc Romanus exaudiat. Suscepto bello, Cæsar, gesto etiam ex magnâ parte, nullâ vi coactus, judicio ac voluntate ad ea arma profectus sum, quá erant summata contra te. Apud quem igitur hoc dico? nempe apud eum, qui, cùm hoc sciret, tamen me, antequam vidit, reipublicæ reddidit; qui ad me ex Ægypto literas misit, ut essem idem, qui fuisset; qui, cùm ipse imperator in toto imperio populi Romani unus esset, esse me alterum passus est; a quo, hoc ipso C. Pansâ mihi nuntium perferente, concessos fæces laureatos tenui, quoad tenendos putavi; qui mihi tum denique se salutem putavit dare, si eam nullis spoliatam ornamentis dedisset.
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IV. Quid autem aliud egimus, Tubero nisi, ut quod his potest, nos possemus? Quorum igitur impunitas, Cæsar, tuæ clementiae laus est, eorum ipsorum ad crudelitatem te acut oratio? Atque in hac causâ nonnihil equidem, Tubero, etiam tuam, sed multò magis patris tui, prudensiam desidero; quòd homo, cùm ingenio tum etiam doctrinâ excellent, genus hoc causâ quod esset, non viderit: nam, si vidis- set, quovis profectò, quàm isto modo; a te agi maluisset.

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V. Ego verò istud non postulo, inquies. Ita (mehercle) existimo, Tubero: novi enim te; novi patrem; novi domum nomenque vestrum: studia denique generis ac familias vestrae, virtutis, humanitatis, doctrinae, plurimarum artium atque optimarum, nota sunt mihi omnia. Itaque certò scio, vos non petere sanguinem: sed parum attenditis. Res enim eò spectat, ut eà pœnâ, in quâ adhuc Q. Ligarius sit, non videamini esse contenti. Quae est igitur alia, præter mortem? Si enim in exilio est, sicuti est, quid amplius postulatis? an, ne ignoscatur? hoc verò multò acerbius, multòque est durius. Quod nos domi petimus, precibus et lacrymis, prostrati ad pedes, non tam nostræ causæ fidentes, quàm hujus humanitatem, id ne impetremus, pugnabis? et in nostrum fletum irruppes? et nos, jacentes ad pedes, supplicium voce prohibebis?

Si, cùm hoc domi faceremus, quod et fecimus, et, ut spero, non frustra fecimus, tu derepentë ruripess, et clamare cœpisses, "C. Cæsar, cave ignoscas; cave, te fratrum, pro fratis salute obsecrantium, misereatur;" nonne omnem humanitatem exuisses? Quanto hoc durius, quod nos domi petimus, id a te in foro oppugnari! et, in tali miseriâ multorum, perfugium misericordiæ tollere!

Dicam planè, Cæsar, quod sentio. Si, in hac tantâ tuà fortunâ, lenitas tanta non esset, quantam tu per te, per te, inquam, obtines, (intelligo, quid loquar) acerbissimo luctu redundaret ista victoria. Quàm multi enim essent de victoribus, qui te crudelem esse vellent, cùm etiam de victis reperiantur! quàm multi, qui, cùm a te nemini ignosci vellent, impediunt clementiam tuam, cùm etiam ii, quibus ipse ignovist, nolint te in alios esse misericordiæm!

Quod si probare Cæsari possemus, in Africâ Ligarium omnino non fuisses; si honesto et misericordiæ mendacio saluti civis calamitosi consultum esse vellimus; tamen hominis non esset, in tanto discrimine et periculo civis, refellere et coarguere nostrum mendacium: et, si esset alicujus, ejus certè non esset, qui in eàdem causâ et fortunâ fuisset. Sed tamen aliud est errare Cæsarem nolle, aliud nolle misereri. Tum dicerés, "Cave, Cæsar, credas: fuit in Africâ Ligarius: tulit arma contra te." Nunc quid dicis? "Cave ignoscas." Hæc nec hominis, nec ad hominem, vox est: quà 40 qui apud te, Cæsar, utetur, suam citiûs abjiciat humanitatem, quàm extorquebit tuam.

VI. Ac primus aditus et postulatio Tuberonis hæc, ut opinor, fuit; velle se de Q. Ligarii sceclere dicere. Non du-
buto, quin admiratus sis, vel quod de nullo alio quisquam, vel quod is qui in eadem causâ fuisset, vel quidnam novi facinoris afferret. Sclus tu illud vocas, Tubero? cur? isto enim nomine illa adhuc causa caruit. Alii errorem appellant; aliis, timorem; qui durius, spem, cupiditatem, odium, pertinaciam; qui graviissimè, temeritatem: scelus, præter te, adhuc nemo. Ac mihi quidem, si proprium et verum nomen nostrum malum quaeratur, fatalis quædam calamitas incidisse videtur, et improvidas hominum mentes occupavisse; ut nemo mirari debeat, humana consilia divinâ necessitate esse superata.


Mihi verò, Cæsar, tua in me maxima merita tanta certè non viderentur, si me, ut sceleratum, a te conservatum putarem. Quomodo autem tu de republicâ bene meritus esses, si tot sceleratos incolumni dignitate esse voluisses? Secessionem tu illum existimavistis, Cæsar, initio, non bellum; non hostile odium, sed civile dissidium; utrisque cupientibus rempublicam salvam, sed partim consiliis, partim studis, communi utilitate aberrantibus. Principum dignitas erat penè par; non par forte eorum, qui sequebantur: causa tum dubia, quod erat aliquid in utrâque parte, quod probari posset. nunc melior certè ea judicanda est, quam etiam Dii adjuerunt. Cognîtà verò clementià tuâ, quis non eam vicrium probet, in quà occiderit nemo, nisi armatus?

non concedo, ut, quibus rebus gloriemini in vobis, easdem in alis reprehendatis.


Quomodo id tulistis? acceptæ iuriscae querelam ad quem detulistis? nempe ad eum, cujus auctoritatem secuti, in societatem belli veneratis. Quòd si Cæsaris causâ in provinciam veniēbatis; ad eum profectò, exclusi provinciâ,
venissetis. Venistis ad Pompeium. Quae est ergo hæc apud Cæsarem quærela, cùm eum accusatis, a quo quernmini vos prohibitos contra Cæsarem bellum gerere? Atque in hoc quidem, vel cum mendacii si multis gloriari, per me 5 licet, vos provinciam fuisse Cæsaris tradituros, etiam si a Varo et quibusdam aliis prohibit essetis: ego autem confitæbor culpam esse Ligarii, qui vos tantæ laudis occasione privaverit.


20 Ut enim cætera paria Tuberoni cum Varo fuissent; honores, nobilitas, splendor, ingenium, quæ nequaquam fuerunt; hoc certe praecipuum Tuberonis fuit, quod justo cum imperio et senatus-consulto in provinciam suam venerat. Hinc prohibitus, non ad Cæsarem, ne iratus, non domum, ne iures, 25 non aliquam in regionem, ne condemnare causam illum, quam secutus esset, videretur; in Macedoniam, ad Cn. Pompeii castra venit, in eam ipsam causam, a qua erat reiectus cum iuriæ. Quid? cùm ista res nihil commovisset ejus animum, ad quem veneratis; languidiores (credo) studio in causam 30 fuistis: tantummodo in præsidii eratis; animi verò a causæ abhorrebant: an, ut fit in civilibus bellis, nec in vobis magis quæm in reliquis, omnes vincendi studio tenebamur? Pacis equidem semper auctor fui: sed tum sero. Erat enim amen tis, cum aciem videres, pacem cogitare. Omnes, inquam, 35 vincere volebamus: tu certè praecipuæ, qui in eum locum venisses, ubi tibi esset pereundum, nisi vicisses: quamquam, ut nunc se habet, non dubito, quin hanc salutem antepos nas illi victorie.

X. Hæc ego non dicerem, Tubero, si aut vos constantiam 40 vestrae, aut Cæsarem beneficii sui, poneiteret. Nunc quem, utrum vestras injurias, an reipublica, perseverantini. Si reipublicæ, quid de vestra in eâ causâ perseverantîa responsibilis? si vestras, videte, ne erretis, qui Cæsarem vestris inimicis iratum fore putetis, cùm ignoverit suis.
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Itaque num tibi videor, Cæsar, in causâ Ligarii occupatus esse? num de ejus facto dicere? Quidquid dixi, ad unam summam referri volo vel humanitatis, vel clementiae, vel misericordiae tuae. Causas, Cæsar, egì multas, et quidem tecum, dum te in foro tenuit ratio honorum tuorum: certè nunquam huc modo, "Ignoscite, judices: erravit; lapsus est; non putavit: si unquam posthac"....Ad parentem sic agi solet: ad judices, "Non fecit; non cogitavit; falsi testes; fictum crimen." Dic, te, Cæsar, de facto Ligarii judicem esse: quibus in præsidii fuerit, quære. Taceo. Ne hæc quidem colligo, quæ fortasse valerent etiam apud judicem: "Legatus ante bellum profectus, relictus in pace, bello oppressus, in eo non acerbus, tum etiam totus animo et studio tuus." Ad judicem sic agi solet: sed ego ad parentem loquor; "Erravi; temerè feci; pœnitet: ad clementiam tuam confugio; delicti veniam peto; ut ignoscas, oro." Si nemo impetravit, arroganter; si plurimi, tu idem fer ope, qui semp dedisti. An sperandi Ligario causa non sit, cùm mihi apud te sit locus etiam pro altero deprecandi? Quanquam neque in hac oratione spes est posita cause, nec in eorum studiis, qui a te pro Ligario petunt, tui necessarii.

XI. Vidi enim et cognovi, quid maximè spectares, cùm pro alicujus salute multi laborarent: causas apud te rogantium graviores esse, quàm vultus; neque spectare te, quàm tuus esset necessarius is qui te oraret, sed quàm illius, pro quo laboraret. Itaque tribuis tu quidem tuis ita multa, ut mihi beatiores illi esse videantur interdum, qui tua liberalitate fruuntur, quàm tu ipse, qui illis tam multa concedis. Sed video tamen, apud te causas (ut dixi) rogantium valere plus, quàm preces; ab iisque te moveri maximè, quorum justissimum dolorem videas in petendo.


Quid de fratibus dicam? Noli, Cæsar, putare, de unius capite nos agere. Aut tres tibi Ligarii retinendi in civitate sunt, aut tres ex civitate exterminandi. Quodvis exsilium his est optatus, quàm patria, quàm domus, quàm Dii penates, uno illo exsulante. Si fraternè, si piè, si cum dolore,
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faciunt; moveant te horum lacrymæ, moveat pietas, moveat Germanatas: valeat tua vox illa, quæ vicit. Te enim dicere
audiebamus, Nos, omnes adversarios putARE, nisi qui nobiscum essent; te omnes, qui contra te non essent, tuos. Vi
desne igitur hunc splendorem, omnem hunc Brocchorum
domum, hunc L. Marcium, C. Cæsetium, L. Corfidiun,
hosce omnes equites Romanos, qui adsunt veste mutatâ, non
solùm notos tibi, verùm etiam probatos viros, tecum fuisses?
Atque his irascebamur; hos requiebamus; his nonnulli etiam
10 [minabamus.] Conserva igitur tuos suos; ut, quemadmo
dum cætera quæ dicta sunt a te, sic hoc verissimum reperi
atur.

XII. Quòd si penitùs perspicere posses concordiam Li
gariorum, omnes fratres tecum judicaret fuisses. An potest
15 quisquam dubitare, quin, si Q. Ligarius in Italiâ esse potuis
set, in cædem sententia futurus fuerit, in quâ fratres fuerunt?
Quis est, qui horum consensum conspirantem et penë con
flatum, in hac propè æqualitate fraternal, non noverit? qui
hoc non sentiat, quidvis priùs futurum fuisset, quàm ut hi
20 fratres diversas sententias fortunæque sequerentur? Volun
tate igitur omnes tecum fuerunt: tempestate abreptus est
unus; qui, si consilio id fecisset, esset eorum similis, quos
tu tamen salvos esse voluisti.

Sed ieri ad bellum: discesserit, non a te solùm, verùm
25 etiam a fratribus: hi te orant tui. Equidem, cùm tuis omni
bus negotiis interesse, memorià teneo, quisl T. Ligarius,
quæstor urbanus, fuerit erga te et dignitatem tuam. Sed
parum est, me hoc meminisse: spero etiam te, (qui oblivisci
nihil soles, nisi injurias, quoniam hoc est animi, quoniam
30 etiam ingenii tui) te, aliquid de hujus illo quæstorio officio
cogitantem, etiam de alius quibusdam questoribus reminiscen
tem, recordari. Hic igitur T. Ligarius, qui tum nihil
egit aliud (neque enim haec divinabat) nisi ut tu eum studi
osum tui et bonum virum judicares, nunc a te supplex fra
35 tris salutem petit. Quam, hujus admonitus officio, cùm
utrisque his dederis, tres fratres optimos et integerrimos,
non solùm sibi ipsos, neque his tot ac talibus viris, neque
nobis necessariis suis, sed etiam reipublicæ, condonaveris.

Fac igitur, quod de homine nobilissimo et clarissimo M.
40 Marcello fecisti nuper in curiâ, nunc idem in foro de optimis et huic omni frequentiæ probatissimis fratribus. Ut
concessisti illum senatus, sic da hunc populo, cujus volun	
tatem carissimam semper habuisti: et, si ille dies tibi gloriosissimus, populo Romano gratissimus fuit; noli, obscore.
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dubitare, Cai Cæsar, similem illi gloriae laudem quâm ñepissime quærere. Nihil est enim tam populare, quâm bonitas: nullâ de virtutibus tuis plurimis nec admirabilior nec gravior misericordiâ est. Homines enim ad Deos nullâ re propius accedunt, quàm salutem hominibus dando. Nihil habet nec fortuna tua majus quàm ut possis, nec natura tua melius quàm ut velis, servare quàm plurimos. Longiorem orationem causa forsitan postulat, tua certè natura breviorem. Quare, cùm utilius esse arbitrer, te ipsum, quàm aut me aut quenquam, loqui tecum, finem jam faciam: tantùm te ipsum admonebo, si illi absenti salutem dederis, præsentibus his omnibus te daturum.

ORATIO

PRO REGE DEIOTARO.

I. CUM, in omnibus causis gravioribus, Cai Cæsar, initio dicendi commoveri soleam vehementius quàm videtur vel usus vel ætas mea postulare; tum in hac causâ ita me multa perturbant, ut, quantum mea fides studii mihi afferat ad salutem regis Deiotari defendendam, tantum facultatis timor detrahat. Primùm, dico pro capite fortunisque regis: quod ipsum et si non iniquum est, in tuo duntaxat periculo; tamen est ita inusitatum, regem capitis reum esse, ut ante hoc tempus non sit auditum. Deinde, eum regem, quem ornare antea cuncto cum senatu solebam, pro perpetuis ejus in nostram rempublicam meritis, nunc, contra atrocissimum crimen, cogor defendere. Accedit, ut accusatorum alterius crudelitatem, alterius indignitatem, conturbare. Crudelem Castorem! ne dican sceleratum et impium; qui nepos avum in discrimen capitis adduxerit, adolescentiæque suæ terrem intulerit ei cujus senectutem tueri et tegere debeat; commendationemque ineuntis ætatis ab impiatet et scelere duxerit; avi servum, corruptum premiiis, ad accusandum dominum impulerit, et a legatorum pedibus abduxerit. Fugitivi autem, dominum accusantis, et dominum absentem, et dominum amicissimum nostræ reipublicæ, cum os videbam, cum verba
audiebam; non tam afflictam regiam conditionem dolebam, quàm de fortunis communibus extimescebam. Nam, cùm, more majorum, de servo in dominum, ne tormentis quidem, quæri liceat (in quà questione dolor veram vocem elicere 5 possit etiam ab invito); exortus est servus, qui, quem in equuleo appellare non possit, eum accusaret solutus.

II. Perturbat me, Cai Cæsar, etiam illud interdum; quod tamen, cùm te penitus recognovi, timere desino: re enim iniquum est, sed tua sapientiâ fit æsquissimum. Nam dicere 10 apud eum de facinore, contra cujus vitam consilium facinoris inisse arguere, si per seipsum consideres, grave est: nemo enim ferè est, qui, sui periculi judex, non sibi se æquiores quàm reo præbeat. Sed tua, Cai Cæsar, præstans singularisque natura hunc mihi metum minuit. Non enim tam tímœ, quid u de rege Deiotaro, quàm intelligen, quid de te cæteros velis judicare. Moveor etiam loci ipsius insolentiâ, quod tantam causam, quanta nulla unquam in discpectione versata est, dico intra domesticos parietes, dico extra conventum et eam frequentiam, in quà oratorum studia niti solent: 15 in tuis oculis, in tuo ore vultuque, acquiesco: te unum intueor: ad te unum omnem mea spectat oratio: quæ mihi ad spem obtinendæ veritatis gravissima sunt, ad motum animi, et ad omneum impetum dicendi, contentionemque, leviora.

20 Hanc enim, Cai Cæsar, causam si in foro dicerem, eodem audiente et discipstante te, quantam mihi alacritatem populi Romani concursus afferret! Quis enim civis ei regi non favoret, cujus omnem ætatem in populi Romani bellis consumptam esse meminisset? Spectarem curiam; intuerer forum; celum denique testaré ipsum. Sic, cùm et Deorum immortalium, et populi Romani, et senatís, beneficia in regem Deiotarum recordarer, nullo modo mihi deesse posset oratio. Quæ quoniam angustiora parietes faciunt, actuque cause maximè debilitatur loco; tuum est, Cæsar, qui pro 25 multis uæpe dixisti, quid nunc mihi animi sit, ad te ipsum referre; quo faciliûs tum æquitas tua, tum audiendi diligentia, minuat hanc perturbationem meam.

Sed, antequam de accusatione ipsâ dico, de accusatorum spe paucâ dicam: qui cùm videantur neque ingenio neque usu atque excitatione rerum valere, tamen ad hanc causam, non sine aliquâ spe et cogitatione, venerunt.

III. Iratum te regi Deiotaro fuisse non erant nescii: affectum illum quibusdam incommodis et detrimentis, propter offensionem animi tui, meminerant: teque cùm huic iratum,
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tum sibi amicum, cognoverant: cûmque apud ipsum te de
tuo periculo dicerent, fore putabant, ut in exulcerato animo
facile fìctum crimen insideret. Quamobrem hoc nos pri-
mûm metu, Cai Cæsar, per fidem, et constantiam, et clemen-
tiam tuam, libera, ne residere in te ullam partem iracundiae
suscìcemur. Per dextram te istam oro, quam regi Deiotoro
hospes hospiti porrexisti; istam, inquam, dextram, non tam
in bellis et in præliis, quàm in promissis et fide firmiorem.
Tu illius domum inire, tu vetus hospitium renovare, voluisti:
te ejus Dii penates acceperunt: te amicum et placatum De-
iotari regis aræ focique viderunt.

Cûm facìlè exorari, Cæsar, tum semel exorari, soles. Ne-
mo unquam te placavit inimicus, qui ullas resedisse in te si-
multatis reliquias sensoris. Quamquam cui sunt inaudìte
cum Deiotoro querela tuae? Nunquam tu illum accusasti, ut
hostem, sed ut amicum officio parum functum, quod prop-
sensor in Cn. Pompeii amicitiam fuisset, quàm in tuam.
Cui tamen ipsi rei veniam te daturum fuisse dicebas, si tan-
tûm auxilia Pompeio, vel si etiam filium misisset, ipse excu-
satione ætatis usus esset. Ita, cûm maximis eum rebus libe-
rare, perparvam amicitiae culpam relinquebas.

Itaque non solûm in eum non animadvertisti, sed omni
metu liberavisti, hospitem agnovisti, regem reliquisti: neque
e nim ille odio tui progressus, sed errore communi lapsus est.
Is rex, quem senatus hoc nomine sepe honorificantissimis
decretis appellavisset, quique illum ordinem ab adolescentià
gravissimum sanctissimumque duxisset, iisdem rebus est per-
turbatus, homo longinquus et alienigena, quibus nos, in me-
dià republicâ nati, semperque versati.

IV. Cûm audiret, senatûs consentientis auctoritate arma
sumpta; consilibus, prætoribus, tribunis plebis, nobis impe-
ratoribus, rempublicam defendendam datam; movebatur ani-
mo, et vir, huic imperio amicissimus, de salute populi Ro-
mani extimescebat, in quâ etiam suam inclusam videbat. In
summo tamen timore, quiescendum sibi esse arbitrabatur. 35
Maximè verò perturbatus est, ut audivit, consules ex Italià
profugisse, omnesque consulares (sic enim nunciabatur),
cunctum senatum, totam Italiâm esse effusam. Talibus
enim nuntiis et rumoribus patebat ad Orientem via; nec ulla
veri subsequebantur. Nihil ille de conditionibus tuis, nihil
de studio concordiæ et pacis, nihil de conspirazione audiebat
certorum hominum contra dignitatem tuam. Quæ cûm ìta
essent, tamen usque òe se tenuit, quoad à Cn. Pompeio ad
eum legis literæque venerunt.

V. Ad eum igitur rex Deiotarus venit, hoc misero fatali- que bello, quem antea justis hostilibusque bellis adjuverat; quocum erat non hospitio solûm, verum etiam familiaritate, conjunctus; et venit vel rogatus, ut amicus; vel accessitus, ut socius; vel evocatus, ut is qui senatus parere didisset: postremò venit, ut ad fugientem, non ut ad insequenter, id est, ad periculi, non ad victoriae, societatæ. Itaque, Phar- salico prælio facto, a Pompeio discessit: spem infiniam persequi noluit: vel officio, si quid debuerat, vel errori, si quid nescierat, satisfactus esse duxit: domum se contulit: teque Alexandrinum bellum gerente, utilitatus tuis paruit. Ille exercitum Cn. Domitii, amplissimi viri, suis tectis et copis sustentavit: ille Ephesum ad eum, quem tu ex tuis fidelis- simum et probatissimum omnibus delegisti, pecuniam misit: ille iterum, ille tertio, auctionibus factis, pecuniam dedit, qui ad bellum utereris: ille corpus suum periculo objectit, tecumque in acie contra Pharmacem fuit; tuumque hostem esse duxit suum. Quæ quidem a te in eam partem accepta sunt, Cæsaris, ut eum amplissimo regis honore et nomine affereris.

Is igitur, non modò a te periculo liberatus, sed etiam honore amplissimo ornatus, arguitur domi te sua interficer voluisse: quod tu, nisi eum furiosissimum judicas, suspiciar profectò non potes. Ut enim omitteram, cujus tanti sceleris fuerit, in conspectu Deorum penatium necare hospitem; cujus tantæ importunitatis, omnium gentium atque omnis me- moriei clarissimum lumen exstinguere; cujus tantæ ferocitatis, victorem orbis terrarum non extimescere; cujus tam inha- mani et ingrati animi, a quo rex appellatus esset, in eo ty- rannum inveniri: ut hæc omitteram, cujus tanti furoris fuit, omnès reges, quorum multi erant finitimi, omnès liberos po- pulos, omnès socios, omnès provincias, omnia denique om-
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nium arma, contra se unum excitare? Quonam ille modo, cum regno, cum domo, cum conjugue, cum carissimo filio, distractus esset, tanto scelere non modò perfecto, sed etiam cogitato?

VI. At (credo) hæc homo inconsideret et temerarius non videbat. Quis considerat illo? [quis tectior?] quis prudentior? quanquam hoc loco Deiotarum non tam ingenio et prudentiæ, quàm fide et religione vitæ, defendendum puto. Nota tibi est, Cæsar, hominis probitas, noti mores, nota constantia. Cui porro, qui modò populi Romani nomen audivit, Deiotari integritas, gravitas, virtus, fides, non audit? Quod igitur facinus nec in hominem imprudentem cadere posset propter metum presentis exitii, nec in facinorosum, nisi esset idem amentissimus, id vos et a viro optimo, et ab homine minimè stulto, cogitatum esse confingitis.

At quàm non modò non credibiliter, sed ne suspiciosè quidem! Cum, inquit, in castellum Luceium venisses, et domum regis, hospitis tui, divertisses, locus erat quidam, in quo erant ea composita, quibus rex te munerere constituerat. Huc te e balneo, priusquam accumeres, ducere volebat. Erant enim armati, qui te interficerent, in eo ipso loco collocati. En crimen, en causa, cur regem fugitivus, dominum servus, accuset. Ego, (mehercule) Cæsar, initio, cùm est ad me ista causa delata, Phidippum medicum, servum region, cum legatis missus esset, ab isto adolescentë esse corruptum, hac suspicione sum percussum: medicum indicem subornavit: finget videlicet aliquod crimen veneni. Et si a veritate longè, tamen a consuetudine criminandi non multùm, res abhorrebát.

Quid ait medicus? nihil de veneno. At id fieri potuit, pri-mò, occultiùs in potione, vel in cibo: deinde, etiam impuniùs fit; quod, cum est factum, negari potest. Si palàm te interemisset, omnium in se gentium non solùm odia, sed etiam arma, convertissent: si veneno; Jovis illius quidem hospitalis numen nunquam celare potuisset; homines fortas se celaviisset. Quod igitur et occultiùs conari, et efficere cautìùs, potuit; id tibi, et medicó callido, et servo (ut putabat) fideli, non credidi; de armis, de ferro, de insidiis, celare te noluit? At quàm festivè crimen contextur! Tua te, inquit, eadem, quæ semper, fortuna servavit; negavisti tum te 40 inspicere velle.

VII. Quid postea? An Deiotarus, re illo tempore non perfectà, continuò dimisit exercitum? nullus erat alius insidiandi locus? At eòdem te, cùm cœnavisses, redditurum
dixeram: ita-que fecisti. Horam unam aut duas eodem loco
armatos, ut collocati fuerant, retinere magnum fuit? Cum
in convivio comiter et juvendè fuisses, tum illuc isti, ut dix-
eras. Quo in loco Deiotarum talem erga te cognovisti, qua-
is rex Attalus in P. Africannum fuit; cui magnificentissima
dona, ut scriptum legimus, usque ad Numantium misit ex
Asiâ; quæ Africannus, inspectante exercitu, accepit. Quod
cum præsens Deiotarus, regio et animo et more, fecisset; tu
in cubiculum disc essisti.

10 Obsecro, Cæsar, repetite temporis illius memoriam: pone
illum ante oculos diem: vultus hominum te intuentium at-
que admirantium recordare. Num quæ trepidatio? num qui
tumultus? num quid, nisi moderatè, nisi quietè, nisi ex ho-
minis gravissimi et sanctissimi disciplinâ? Quid igitur
15 cause excogitari potest, cur te lautom voluerit, coenatum no-
lerit, occidere?

In posterum (inquit) diem distulit; ut cùm, in castellum
Luceium ventum esset, ibi cogitata periceret. Non video
causam loci mutandi: sed tamen acta res crimi nosè est
20 Cùm, inquit, vomere te post coenam velle dixisses, in balne
um te ducere copernerit; ibi enim erant insidie. At te ea
dem tua fortuna servavit: in cubiculum te ire malle dixisti
Dii te perduint, fugitive! ita non modò nequam et improbus
sed fatuus et amens est. Quid? ille signa ænea in insidie
25 posuerat, quæ e balneo in cubiculum transferri non possent
Habes criminia insidiarum: nihil enim dixit amplius
Horum, inquit, eram conscious. Quid tum? ita demens ille
erat, ut eum, quem conscius tanti sceleris habebat, a se di-
mitteret? Romam etiam mitteret, ubi et inimicissimum scri
30 ret esse nepotem suum, et C. Cæsarem, cui fecisset insidias!
præsertim cum is unus esset, qui posset [de absente se indi-
care.] Et fratres meos, inquit, quod erant consciis, in vis-
cula conjecit. Cùm igitur eos vinciret, quos secum habeb
bat; te solutum Romam mittebat, qui eadem scirens, quis
35 illos scire dicis?

VIII. Reliqua pars accusationis duplex fuit: una, regem
semper in speculis fuisse, cum a te animo esset alieno; al-
tera, exercitum eum contra te magnum comparasse. De ex-
ercitum dicam breviter, ut cætera. Nuncnam eas copias rex
40 Deiotarus habuit, quibus inferre bellum populo Romano pos-
set; sed quibus fines suos ab excursionibus hostium et latro-
ciniis tueretur, et imperatoribus nostris auxilia mitteret. At
que antea quidem majores copias alere poterat; nunc ex
guas vix tueri potest.
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At misit ad Cæcilium, nescio quem: sed eos, quos misit, quod ire noluerunt, in vincula conjecit. Non quero, quam verisimile sit, aut non habuisse regem, quos mitteret; aut eos, quos misisset, non paruisse; aut, qui dicto audientes in tantâ re non fuissent, eos vincitos potius quam necatos fuisset. Sed tamen cùm ad Cæcilium mittebat, utrûm causam illam victam esse nesciebat, an Cæcilium istum magnum hominem putabat? quem profectò is, qui optimè nostros homines novit, vel quia nösset, vel quia non nösset, contemneret. Addidit etiam illud, equites non optimos misisse: veteres, credo, Cæsar; nihil ad tuum equatum: sed misit ex iis, quos habuit, electos. Ait nescio quem ex eo numero servum judicatum. Non arbitror: non audivi: sed in eo, etiam si accidisset, culpam regis nullam fuisset arbitrarer.

IX. Aliento autem a te animo fuit. Quomodo? Speravit, (credò) difficiles tibi Alexandriæ fore exitus, propter regionis naturam et fluminis. At eo ipso tempore pecuniam dedit; exercitum aluit: ei, quem Asiae praefecerat, nullâ in re defuit: tibi victori, non solûm ad hospitium, sed ad periculum etiam, atque ad aciem, præstò fuit. Sectum est bellum Africæ. Graves de te rumores sparsi; qui etiam furiosum illum Cæcilium excitaverunt. Quo tum erga te rex animo fuit? qui auctionatus sit, seseque expoliare maluerit, quâm tibi pecuniam non subministaret. At eo, inquit, tempore ipso Nicæam Ephesumque mittebat, qui rumores Africanos exciperent, et celeriter ad se referrent. Itaque cùm esset ei nunciatum, Domitiùm naufragio periisse, te in castello circumsideri; de Domito dixit versum Græcum eâdem sententia, quâ etiam nos habemus Latinum:

"Percant amici, dum unà inimici intercident."

quod ille, si esset tibi inimicissimus, nunquam tamen dixisset. Ipse enim mansuetus: versus immanis. Qui autem Domiòio poterat esse amicus, qui tibi esset inimicus? Tibi porro inimicus cur esset, a quò cùm vel interfici, bellì legè, potuisset, regem et se, et filium suum, constitutos esse meminisset?

Quid deinde? furcifer quò progreditur? Ait, hæc lœtitiæ Deiotarum elatam, vino se obriisse, in convivioque nudum saltavisse. Quæ crux huic fugitivo potest satis supplicii afferre? Deiotarum saltantem quisquam, aut ebrïum, vidit unquam? Omnes sunt in illo rege regis virtutes (quod te, Cæsar, ignorare non arbitror), sed præcipue singularis et admiranda frugalitas: etsi hoc verbo scio laudari reges non
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solere. Frugi hominem dici, non multum habet laudis in rege; fortem, justum, severum, gravem, magnanimum, largum, beneficium, liberalem; hae sunt regis laudes: illa privata est. Ut volet, quisque accipiat: ego tamen frugalitatem id est, modestiam et temperantiam, virtutem esse maximum judico. Hanc in illo est ab ineunte statum, tum a cuncta Asia, tum a magistratibus legatisque nostris, tum ab equitibus Romanis qui in Asia negotiati sunt, perspecta et cognita.

Multis ille quidem gradibus officiorum erga rempublicam nostram ad hoc regium nomen ascendit: sed tamen quidquid a bellis populi Romani vacabat, cum hominibus nostris consuetudines, amicitias, res rationeque junegabat; ut non solum tetrarcha nobilis, sed optimus paterfamilias, et diligensissimus agricola et pecuarius, haberetur. Qui igitur, adolescentiam, nondum tantã gloriæ præditus, nihil unquam nisi severissimè et gravissimè fecerit; is, eæ existimatione, aequo statu, saltavit?

X. Imitari potius, Castor, avi tui mores disciplinaque debeat, quæm optimo et clarissimo viro fugitivi ore malediceret. Quod si saltatorem avum habuisses, neque eum virum, unde pudoris pudicitiaeque exempla peterentur; tamen hoc maedictum minime in illum statum conveniret. Quibus ille studiis ab ineunte statum se imbuaret, non saltandi, sed bene ut armis, optimè ut equis uteretur; ea tamen illam cuncta jam, statæ exactæ, defecerant. Itaque, Deiotarum cùm plures in equum sustulissent, quod hæcrire in eo senex posset, admirari solebamus. Hic vero adolescents, qui mens in Ciliacă miles, in Græcia commilito, fuit, cùm in illo nostro exercitu equitaret cum suis delectis equitibus, quos unà cum eo ad Pompeium pater miserat, quos concursus facere solebat; quæm se jactare! quæm ostentare! quæm nemini in illa causâ studio et cupiditate concedere! Cùm vero, exercitu amissō, ego, qui pacis auctor semper fui, post Pharsalicum autem proelium suasor fuissem armorum non deponendorum, sed abjiciendorum; hunc ad meam auctoritatem non potui adducere, quod et ipse ardebat studio ipsius bellii, et patri satisfaciendum esse arbitrabatur. Felix ista domus, quæ non impunitatem solêm adepta sit, sed etiam accurandâ centiâ: calamitosus Deiotarus, qui et ab eo qui in iisdem castris fuerit, non modò apud te, sed etiam a suis, accusabatur. Vos vestrâ secundâ fortunâ, Castor, non potestis, sine propinquorum calamitate, esse contenti?
XI. Sint sanè inimicitiae, quæ esse non debebant. Rex enim Deiotarus vestram familiam, abjectam et obscuram, e tenebris in lucem evocavit. Quis tuum patrem ante, qui esset, quàm cujus gener esset, audivit? Sed quamvis ingrati et impius necessitudinis nomen repudiatur, tamen inimicitia hominum more gerere poteratis, non facto crinme insectari, non expetere vitam, non capitis arcessere. Esto: concedatur hæc quoque acerbitates et odii magnitudo: adeòne, ut etiam omnia vitae salutisque communis, atque etiam humanitatis, jura violentur? Servum sollicitare verbis, spe promissisque corrumpere, abducere domô, contra dominum armare; hoc est, non uni propinquo, sed omnibus familiis, bellum nefariam indicere. Nam ista corruptela servi, si non modò impunita fuerit, sed etiam a tantâ auctoritate approbata; nulli parietes nostram salutem, nullæ leges, nulla jura, custodient. Ubi enim id, quod intus est atque nostrum, impunè evolare potest, contraque nos pugnare; fit in dominatu servitus, in servitute dominatus.

O temporâ! o mores! Cn. Domitius ille, (quem nos pueri consulem, censorem, pontificem maximum, vidimus) cùm, tribunus plebis, M. Scarrum, principem civitatis, in judicium populi vocasset, Scaurique servus ad eum clam domum venisset, et crimina in dominum delaturum se esse dixisset; prehendi hominem jussit, ad Scaurumque deduci. Vide, quid interitis: etsi iniquè Castorem cum Domitio comparo: sed tamen 30 ille inimico servum remisit; tu ab avo abduxisti: ille incorruptum audire noluit; tu corrupisti: ille adjutorem servum contra dominum repudiavit; tu etiam accusatorem adhibuisti.

At semel iste est corruptus a vogis? nonne, cùm esset productus, et cùm tecum fuisset, refugit ad legatos? nonne etiam ad hunc Cn. Domitiim venit? Nonne, audiente hoc Ser. Sulphicio, clarissimo viro, qui tum casu apud Domitiium cenabat, et hoc T. Torquato, optimo adolescenté, se a te corruptum, tuis promissis in fraudem impulsion, esse confessus est?

XII. Quæ est ista tam impudens, tam crudelis, tam immoderata inhumanitas? Idcirco in hanc urbem venisti, ut hujus urbis jura et exempla corruperes, domesticâque inhumanitate nostræ civitatis humanitatem inquinares?

At quàm acutè collecta crimina! Blesamius, inquit, (ejus enim nomine, optimi hominis, nec tibi ignoti, maledicebat tibi) ad regem scribere solet, te in invidiâ esse; tyrannum existimari; statuâ inter reges positâ animos hominum
vehementer offensos; plaudi tibi non solere. Non intelligis, Cæsar, ex urbanis malevolentorum sermunculis haec ab ipsis esse collecta? Blesamius tyrannum Cæsarem scriberet? multorum enim civium capita viderat; multos iussu Cæsaris vexatos, verberatos, necatos; multas affictas etversas domos; armatis militibus refertum forum. Quæ semper in civili victoria sensimus, ea, te victore, non vidimus.

Solus, inquam, es, Cæsar, cujus in victoria ceciderit nemo, nisi armatus. Et, quem nos liberis, in summâ populi Romani libertate nati, non modò non tyrannum, sed etiam clementissimum in victoria, ducimus; is Blesamius, qui virit in regno, tyrannus videri potest? Nam de statua quæque ritur, unà præsertim, cum tam multas videat? Valde enim invidendum est ejus statuis, cujus tropæis non invidemus.

Nam, si locus affert invidiam, nullus locus est, ad statuam quidem, Rostris clarior. De plausu autem quid respondeam? qui nec desideratus unquam a te est, et nonnumquam, obstipactis hominisibus, ipsa admiratione compressus est; et fortasse eò præterminissus, quia nihil vulgare te dignum videri potest.

XIII. Nihil a me arbitror prætermissum, sed aliqûd ad extremam causæ partem reservatum. Id autem aliqûd est, te ut planè Deiotarò reconciliet oratio mea. Non enim jam metuo, ne tu illi succenseas: illud vereor, ne tibi illum susceneri aliqûd suspicere: quod abest longissimè, mihi crede, Cæsar. Quid enim retineat per te, meminit, non quid amiserit: neque se a te multatum arbitratur; sed, cum eristimaret, multas tibi multa esse tribuenda, quominus a se, qui in alcrat parte fuisset, ea sumeres, non recusavit. Exnim, si Antiochus Magnus ille, rex Asiam, cum, postea quin a Scipione devictus, Tauro tenus regnare iussus esset, omnemque hanc Asiam, quæ est nunc nostra provincia, amissa, dicere est solitus, Benignè sibi a populo Romano esset factum, quod, nimis magnà procuratione liberatus, modicus

35 regni terminis uteretur; potest multò facilius se Deiotarò consolari. Ille enim furos multà sustinuerat, hic erroris. Omnia tu Deiotarò, Cæsar, tribuisti, cum et ipsi et filio tene regium concessisti. Hoc nomine retento atque conservato, nullum beneficium populi Romani, nullum judicium

40 de se senátus, inminutum putat. Magno anime et erecto est; nec unquam succumbet inimicus, ne fortuna quidem. Multa se arbitratur et peperisse antefactis, et habere in animo atque virtute, que nullo modo possit amittere. Quæ enim fortuna, aut quis casus, aut quæ tanta possit injuria,
omnium imperatorum de Deiotaro decreta delere? Ab om, nibus enim his ornatus est, qui, postquam in castris esse potuit per aestatem, in Asia, Cappadociâ, Ponto, Ciliciâ, Syriâ, bella gesserunt. Senatûs verò judicia de illo tam multa, tamque honorifica, quae publicis populi Romani literis monumentisque consignata sunt, quae unquam vetustas obruet, aut quœ tanta delebit oblivio? Quid de virtute ejus dicam? quid de magnitudine animi, gravitate, constantiâ? quæ omnes docti atque sapientes summa, quidam etiam sola, bona esse dixerunt; hisque, non modò ad bene, sed etiam ad beatè vivendum, contentam virtutem esse. Hæc ille reputans, et dies et noctes cogitans, non modò tibi non succenset (esset enim non solem ingratus, sed etiam amens), verum omnem tranquillitatem et quiem senectutis acceptam rerum clementiae tuae.

XIV. Quod quidem animo cùm ante fuit, tum non dubito, quin tuis litteris, quarum exemplum legi, quas ad eum Tarracones huic Blesamio dedisti, se magis etiam erexerit, ab omnique sollicitudine abstraxerit. Jubes enim eum bene sperare, et bono esse animo; quod scio te non frustra scribere solere: memini enim, iisdem ferox verbis ad me te scribere, meque tuis litteris bene sperare non frustra esse iussum. Laboro equidem regis Deiotari causâ, quocum mihi amicitiam res publica conciliavit, hospitium voluntas utriusque conjunxit, familiaritatem consuetudo attulit, summam verò necessitutinem magna ejus officia in me et in exercitum meum effecerunt. Sed, cùm de illo laboro, tum de multis amplissimis viris, quibus semel ignotum aesse oportet, nec beneficiolum tuum in dubium vocari, nec hærede animis hominum sollicitudinem sempiternam, nec accidere, ut quasquam te timere incipiat eorum qui semel a te sint liberati timore. Non debo, Cæsar, (quod féri solet in tantis periculis) tentare, quonam modo dicendo misericordiam tuam commodare possim: nihil opus est: occurrere ipsa solet supplicibus et calamitosis, nullius oratione evocata. Propone tibi duos reges, et id animo contemplare quod oculis non potes. Dabis profecto misericordiae, quod iracundiae negavit. Multa sunt tuae clementiae monumenta; sed maximè eorum incoluitates, quibus salutem dedisti: quæ si in privatis gloria sunt, multà magis commemorabuntur in regibus. Semper regium nomen in hac civitate sanctum fuit: sociorum verò regum et amicorum sanctissimum.

XV. Quod nomen, hi reges, ne amitterent, te victore, timuerunt: retentum verò, et a te confirmatum, posteris
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cetiam suis tradituros esse confido. Corpora vero sua, pro salute regum suorum, hi legati tibi regii tradunt, Hieras, et Blesaniius, et Antigonus, tibi nobisque omnibus jamdiu noti, cædeaque tide et virtute præditus Dorylæus, qui nuper cum Hierà legatus est ad te missus, tum regum amicissimi, tum tibi etiam, ut spero, probati. Exquire de Blesamio, num quid ad regem contra dignitatem tuam scripsisset. Hieras quidem causam omnem suscipit, et criminibus illis pro rege se supponit reum: memoriam tuam implorat, quæ vales plurimum: negat unquam se a te in Deiòtari tetrarchiæ pedem discessisse: in primis finibus tibi se præsto fuisset dicit, usque ad ultimos prosecuteum: cùm e balneo exiisset, tecum se fuisset, cùm illa munera inspexisses cænatus, cùm in cubiculo recubuisses; cændemque assiduitatem tibi se præbuisse postridie. Quamobrem, si quid eorum, quæ objecta sunt, cogitatum sit, non recusat, quin id facinus suum judicis Quocircà, Cæsar velim existimes, hodierno die sententiam tuam, aut cum summo dedecore miserrimam pœtem importuram esse regibus, aut incolumem famam cum salute; quorum alterum optare, illorum crudelitatis est; alterum conservare, clementiam tuæ.

ORATIO

PRO

A. LICINIO ARCHIA POETA.

I. Si quid est in me ingenii, judices, quod sentio quam sit exiguum; aut si qua exercitatio dicendi, in quâ me non inficer intus mediocris esse versatum; aut si hujusce rei ratione aliquâ, ab optimarum artium studiis ac disciplinâ profecta, a quâ egonullum confiteor etatis meæ tempus abhorruisse; carum rerum omnium vel in primis hic A. Licinio fructum a me repetere propè suo jure debet. Nam, quoad longissimè potest mens mea respicere spatium præteriti tempus, et pueritia memoriae recordari ultimam, inde usque repetens, hunc video mihi principem, et ad suscipientem et ad ingrediendam rationem horum studiorum, exstitisse. Quod
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si hæc vox, hujus hortatu præceptisque conformata, nonnullis alicuando saluti fuit; a quo id accepiimus, quo cæteris opitulari et alios servare possemus, huic profectò ipsi, quantum est situm in nobis, et opem et salutem ferre debemus.

Ac, ne quis a nobis hoc ita dici fortè miretur, quòd alia quædam in hoc facultas sit ingenii, neque hæc 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 quâdam, inter se continentur.

II. Sed, ne cui vestrûm mirum esse videatur, me, in questione legitimâ, et in judicio publico, cùm res agatur apud pretorem populi Romani, lectissimum virum, et apud severissimos judices, tanto conventu hominum ac frequentiâ, hoc uti genere dicendi, quod non modò a consuetudine judiciorum, verum etiam a forensi sermone, abhorreat: quæso a vobis, ut, in hac causâ, mihi detis hanc veniam, accommodatum huic reo, vobis (quemadmodum spero) non molestam; ut me, pro summo poetâ atque eruditissimo homine dicentem, hoc concursu hominum literatisseiorum, hac vestra humanitate, hoc denique pretore exercente judicium, patiamini de studiis humanitatis ac literarum paulò loqui liberius; et, in ejusmodi personâ, quæ, propter otium ac studium minimè in judiciis periculisse tractata est, uti propè novo quodam et insitato genere dicendi. Quod si mihi a vobis tribui concedique sentiam; perficiam prosectò, ut hunc A. Licinimum, non modò non segregandum, cùm sit civis, a numero civium, verum etiam, si non esset, putetis asciscendum fussse.

III. Nam, ut primùm ex pueris excessit Archias, atque ab iis artibus quibus etas puerilis ad humanitatem informari solet, se ad scribendi studium contulit; primùm Antiochiae (nam ibi natus est, loco nobili, celebri quondam urbe et copiosâ, atque eruditissimis hominibus liberalissimisque studiis affiliunt) celeriter antecellere omnibus ingenii gloriam contigit: pòst in cæteris Asiae partibus, cunctæque Graeciae, sic ejus adventus celebrabatur, ut famam ingenii exspectatio hominis, expectationem ipsius adventus admiratioque, superaret. Érat Italia tunc plena Græcarum artium ac disciplinarum: studiaque hæc et in Latio vehementiûs tum colebantur, quàm nunc iisdem in oppidis; et hic Romæ, propter tranquillitatem reipublicæ, non negligebantur. Itaque hunc et Tarentini, et Rhegini, et Neapolitani, civitate cæterisque
præmiis donārunt: et omnes, qui aliud de ingeniiis poterant judicāre, cognitione atque hospitio dignum existimārunt.


IV. Interim, satis longo intervallo, cūm esset cum L. Lucullo in Siciliam prefectus, et cūm ex eā provincia cum codem Lucullo decederet, venit Heracleam. Quæ cūm esset civitas sequissimo jure ac fædere, adscribi se in eam civitatem voluit: idque, cūm ipse per se dignus putaretur, tum auctoritate et gratiā Luculli, ab Heracleensisimplextravit. Data est civitas Silvani lege et Carbonis, "si quæ fæderatis civitatibus adscripti fuissent; si tum, cum lex ferebatur, in Italia domicilium habissent; et, si sexaginta diebus apud praetorem essent professī.

Cūm hic domicilium Romanē multos jām annos haberet, professus est apud praetorem, Q. Metellum, familiāriissimum suum...

Si nihil aliud, nisi de civitate ac lege, dicimus, nihil dico amplius: causa dicta est: quid enim hōrum inspīrāri, Grati, potest? Heracleæne esse tum adscriptum negabīs? Adest vir summā auctoritate, et religione, et fide, M. Lucullus, qui se non opinari, sed scire; non audire, sed vidisse; non interfuisse, sed egisse, dicit. Adsunt Heracleenses legati, nobilissimi homines, (hujus judicia causā, cum mandatis, et cum publico testimonio, venerunt) qui hunc [adscriptum] Heracleensem dicunt.

Hic tu tabulas desideras Heracleensis publicas; quas, Italico bello, incenso tabulario, interisse scimus omnes. Est...
ridiculum, ad ea quaæ habemus, nihil dicere; quæcere, quæ habere non possumus; et de hominum memoriam tacere, literarum memoriam flagitare; et, cùm habeas amplissimi viri religionem, integerrimi municipii jusjurandum fideoque, ea, quæ depravari nullo modo possunt, repudiare: tabulas, quas idem dicis solere corrumpi, desiderare.

At domicilium in Italìa non habuit; is, qui, tot annis ante civitatem datam, sedem omnium rerum ac fortunarum suarum Romæ collocavit. At non est professus. Immo verò iis tabulis professus, quæ sole, ex illâ professione, collegioque prætorum, obtinent publicarum tabularum auctoritatem.

V. Nam, cùm Appii tabulas negligentius asservavat dicerentur, Gabini, quamdui incolumis fuit, levitas, post damnationem calamitas, omnem tabularum fidem resignāset; Metellus, homo sanctissimus modestissimusque omnium, tantā diligentiā fuit, ut ad L. Lentulum prætorem et ad judices venērit, et unius nominis liturā se commotum esse dixerit. His igitur tabulis nullam lituram in nomen A. Liciniī vidētis.

Quæ cùm ita sint, quid est, quòd de ejus civitate dubitetis, præsertim: cùm allis quoque in civitatis fuerit adscriptus? Etenim, cùm mediocribus multis, et aut nullā aut humili aliqua arte præditis, gratuítō civitatem in Gracci homines impertiebantur, Rhéginos credo, aut Locrenses, aut Neapolitano, aut Tarentinos, quod scenicis artificibus largiri solebant, id huic, summā ingeniī prædito glorīa, noluisse. Quid? cùm cæteri, non modò post civitatem datam, sed etiam post legem Papiam, aliquo modo in eorum municipiorum tabulas irrepserint; hic, qui ne utitur quidem illis in quibus est scriptus, quòd semper se Heracleensem esse voluit, rejicietur?

Census nostros requiris scilicet: est enim obscurum, proximis censoribus, hunc cum clarissimo imperatore, L. Lucullo, apud exercitum fuisse; superioribus, cum eodem questore fuisse in Asiā; 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, quæ tu criminaris, ne ipsius quidem judicio eum in civium Romanorum jure esse versatam, et testamentum sepe fecit nostris legisbus, et adit hereditates civium Romanorum, et in beneficiis ad ærarium delatus est a L. Lucullo prætore et consule.

VI. Quære argumenta, si qua potes: nunquam eum hic, neque suo neque amicorum judicio, revincetur.

Quæres a nobis, Grati, cur tantopere hoc homine delectemur. Quia suppeditabit nobis, ubi et animus ex hoc forensi
ORATIO PRO ARCHIA POETA.

strepitu reficiatur, et aures, convicio defessae, conquiescunt. An tu existimas aut suppetere nobis posse, quod quotidie di-
camus, in tantâ varietate rerum, nisi animos nostros doc-
trinâ excolamus? aut ferre animos tantam posse contentio-
5 nem, nisi eos doctrinâ cãdem relaxemus? Ego verò fateor, me his studiis esse deductum. Caeteros pudeat, si qui ita se
literis abdiderunt, ut nihil possint ex his neque ad commu-
nem afferre fructum, neque in adspectum lucemque profere:
me autem quid pudeat, qui tot annos ita vivo, judices, ut,
10 nullius unquam me tempore aut commodo, aut otium meum
abstraxerit, aut voluptas avocât, aut denique somnus reta-
dâtir?

Quare quis tandem me reprehendat, aut quis mihi jure
succenseat, si, quantum caeteris, ad suas res obeundas, qua-
tum ad festos dies ludorum celebrandos, quantum ad alia
voluptates, et ad ipsam requiem animi et corporis, concedi-
tur tempore; quantum aliis tribuunt tempestivis convivis;
quantum denique aleas, quantum pilae; tantum mihi egremet
ad hanc studia recolenda sumpsero? Atque hoc adeò mihi
20 concedendum est magis, quod, ex his studiis, haec quoque
censeatur oratio et facultas; quæ, quantacunque in me, non-
quam amicorum periculis defuit. Quae si cui levior videtur;
ilia quidem certè, quæ summa sunt, ex quo fonte hauriam,
sentio. Nam, nisi multorum preceptis multisque literis mi-
25 hi ab adolescentiâ suasissem, nihil esse in vitâ magnopere
expetendum, nisi laudem atque honestatem; in ea autem
persequendâ omnes cruciatus corporis, omnia pericula mor-
tis atque exsilii, parvi esse ducenda; nunquam me, pro sa-
luto vestra, in tot ac tantas dimicationes, atque in hos profi-
gatorum hominum quotidians impetus, objectionem. Sed
pleni omnes sunt libri, plêna sapientium voces, plêna exem-
plorum vetustas; quæ jacerent in tenebris omnia, nisi litera-
um lumen accederet. Quàm multas nobis imaginés, non
solùm ad iuvandum, verùm etiam ad imitandum, fortissimo-
30 rum virorum expressas scriptores et Graeci et Latini reliqui-
runt! quas ego mihi semper in administrandâ republicâ pro-
ponens, animum et mentem meam ipsâ cogitatione hominum
excellentium conformabam.

VII. Quæret quispiam, Quid? illi ipsi summì viri, quo-
35 rum virtutes literis prodite sunt, istâne doctrinâ, quam tu
laudibus effers, eruditi fuerunt? Difficile est hoc de omni-
buis confirmare: sed tamen est certum, quid respondam.
Ego multis hominibus excellenti animo ac virtute fuisse, et,
sine doctrinâ, naturâ ipsius habitu propê divino, per seipsos
et moderatos et graves exstississe, fateor: etiam illud adjungo, 
sepius ad laudem atque virtutem naturam sine doctrinâ, 
quâm sine naturâ valuisse doctrinam. Atque idem ego con-
tendo, cûm ad naturam eximiam atque illustrem accesserit 
 ratio quedam conformatioque doctrine; tum illud nescio quid 
præclarum ac singulare solere existere: ex hoc esse hunc 
numero, quem patres nostri viderunt, divinum hominem, 
Africanum; ex hoc C. Lælius, L. Furium, moderatissimos 
homines et continentissimos; ex hoc fortissimum virum, et 
illis temporibus doctissimum, M. Catonem illum senem; 10 
qui, profecto, si nihil ad percipiendam coledamque vir-
tutem literis adjuvarentur, nuncum se ad earum studium 
contulissent.

Quôd si non hic tantus fructus ostenderetur, et si ex his 
studiiis delectatio sola peteretur; tamen (ut opinor) hanc ani-
mi [remissionem] humanissimam ac liberalissimam judicar-
tis. Nam caetera neque temporum sunt neque atatum om-
nium, neque locorum: hac studia adolescentiam [alunt,] 
senectutem oblectant, secundas res ornant, adversis perfugi-
um ac solutiam praebent, delectant domi, non impediunt foris; 20 
pernoctant nobiscum, peregrinantur, rusticantur. Quôd si 
ipsi hæc neque attingere neque sensu nostro gustare possemus, 
tamen ea mirari debere mus, etiam cûm in aliis videremus.

VIII. Quis nostrùm tam animo agresti ac duro fuit, ut 
Roscii mortuus, tamen, propter excellentem artem ac venustatem, 
videbatur omnino mori non debuisse. Ergo ille corporis 
mutu tantum amorem sibi conciliarat a nobis omnibus; nos 
amorum incredibles motus celeritateque ingeniorum neg-
ligemus? Quoties ego hunc Archiam vidi, judices, (utar 30 
ensim vestra benignitate, quoniam me, in hoc novo genere 
dicendi, tam diligenter attenditis) quoties ego hunc vidi, cûm 
literam scripsisset nullam, magnum numerum optimorum 
versuum de his ipsis rebus quæ tum agerentur, dicere ex 
tempore! quoties revocatum eandem rem dicere, commutatis 35 
verbis atque sententiis! quæ verò accuratè cogitatèque scrip-
sisset, ea sic vidi probari, ut ad veterum scriptorum laudem 
pervenirent. Hunc ego non diligam? non admirer? non 
onmi ratione defendendum putem?

Atqui sic a summis hominibus eruditissimisque accepi-
mus, caeterarum rerum studia, et doctrinâ, et præceptis, et 
arte constare; poëtam naturâ ipsâ valere, et mentis viribus 
excitari, et quasi divino quodam spiritu inflari. Quære suæ 
jure noster ille Ennius sanctos appellat poëtas, quôd quasi
ORATIO PRO ARCHIA POETAE.

Decorum aliquo dono atque munere commendati nobis esse videantur.

Sit igitur, judices, sanctum apud vos, humanissimos homines, hoc poëta: nomen, quod nulla unquam barbaria vit. Saxa et solitudines voci respondunt; bestiae sepe i manus cantu flecentur atque consistunt: nos, instituti rebus optimis, non poëtarum voce moveamus? Homerum Colophonii civem esse dicunt suum; Chii suum vindicant; Salminii repetunt; Smyrnæi verò suum esse confirmant (itaque etiam delubrum cius in oppido dedicaverunt); permult ali præterea pugnant inter se, atque contendunt.

IX. Ergo illi alienum, quia poëta fuit, post mortem etiam exspectant; nos hunc vivum, qui et voluntate et legibus noster est, repudianus? presertim cum omne olim studium atque omne ingenium contulerit Archias ad populi Romani gloriæ laudeaque celebrandam. Nam et Cimbrias res adolescentes attigit; et ipsi illi C. Mario, qui durior ad hæc studia videbatur, jucundus fuit. Neque enim quisquam est tam avenae a Musis, qui non mandari versibus aeternum suorum laborum facili praconium patiatur. Themistocele illum, sumnum Athenis virum, dixisse aiunt, cum ex eo quæreretur, Quod acroama, aut cujus vocem, libentissimè audiret; "Eius quo sua virtus optimè prædicaretur." Itaque ille Marcus item eximiæ L. Ploetium dilexit, cujus ingenio putabat ex quae gesserat, posse celebrari.

Mithridaticum verò bellum, magnum atque difficile, et multâ varietate terrâ marique versatam, totum ab hoc expressum est: qui libri non modo L. Lucullum, fortissimum et clarissimum virum, verum etiam populi Romani nomen, illustrat.

Populus enim Romanus aperuit, Lucullo imperante, Pontum, et regiis quondam opibus, et ipsa naturâ regionis, vallatum: populi Romani exercitus, eodem duce, non maximâ manu innumerabiles Armeniorum copias fudit: populi Romani laus est, urbem amicissimam Cyzicenorum, ejusdem consilio, ex omni impetu regio, ac totius belli ore ac fauces, ereptam esse atque servatam: nostra semper feretur et praedicabitur, L. Lucullo dimicante, cum interfectis ducibus depressa hostium classis, et incredibilis apud Tenedum pugna illa navalis: nostra sunt tropae, nostra monumenta, nostri triumphi. Quare, quorum ingenii hæc feruntur, ab iis populi Romani fama celebratur. Carus fuit Africano superiori noster Ennius: itaque etiam in sepulchro Scipionum putatur is esse constitutus e marmore. At iis laudibus certè non sólum ipsi, qui laudantur, sed etiam populi Romani nomen or-
natur. In cælum hujus proavus Cato tollitur: magnus homos populi Romani rebus adjungitur. Omnes denique illi Maximi, Marcelli, Fulvii, non sine communi omnium nostrum laude decorantur.

X. Ergo illum, qui haec fecerat, Rudium hominem, maiores nostri in civitatem receperunt; nos hunc Heracleensem, multis civitatis expetitum, in hac autem legibus constitu tum, de nostrâ civitate ejiciemus?

Nam, si quis minorem gloriae fructum putat ex Graecis versibus percipi, quàm ex Latinis, vehementer errat; propertiae quàdem Graeca leguntur in omnibus ferè gentibus, Latinae finibus, exiguis sanè, continentur. Quare, si res haec, quae gessimus, orbis terrae regionibus definiuntur; cupere dementis, quod manuum nostrarum tela pervenerint, eodem gloriam famamque penetrare; quàd cùm ipsis populis, de quorum rebus scribitur, haec ampla sunt; tum iis certè, qui de vitâ, gloriae causâ, dimicant, hoc maximum et periculorum incitamentum est, et laborum.

Quâm multos scriptores rerum suarum magnus ille Alexander secum habuisse dicitur! Atque is tamen, quàm in Sigeo ad Achillis tumulum adstitisset, “O fortunae,” inquit, “adulescentis, qui tua virtutis Homerum præconem inveneris!” Et verò: nam, nisi Ilias illa exstitisset; idem tumulus, qui corpus ejus contexerat, nomen etiam obruiisset. Quid? noster hic Magnus, qui cum virtute fortunam adaequiravit, nonne Theophanem Mitylenæum, scriptorem rerum suarum, in concione militum, civitate donavit? et nostri illi fortes viri, sed rustici ac militae, dulcedine quâdam gloriae commoti, quasi participes ejusdem laudis, magno illud clamo approbaverunt?

Itaque, (credo) si civis Romanus Archias legibus non esset, ut ab aliquo imperatore civitate donaretur, perficere non potuit. Sulla, cum Hispanos et Gallos donaret, (credo) hunc petentem repudiasset: quem nos in concione vidimus, cum ei libellum malus poëta de populo subjecisset, quod epigrammatum in eum fecisset tantummodo alternis versibus longiusculus, statim ex iis rebus, quas tunc vendebat, jubere ci premium tribui, sub eâ conditio, ne quid postea scriberet. Qui seduicetem mali poëtae duxerit aliquo tamen premio dignam, hujus ingenium et virtutem in scribendo et copiâm non exasperasse? Quid? a Q. Metello Pio, familiarissimo suo, qui civitate multos donavit, neque per se, neque per Lucullos, impetrassisse? qui præsertim usque cùr de suis rebus scribi...
ORATIO PRO ARCHIA POETA.

cuperet, ut etiam Corduæ natis poëtis, pingue quiddam
sonantibus atque peregrinum, tamen aures suas dederet.

XI. Neque enim est hoc dissimulandum, quod obscuran
non potest, sed praebit nobis ferendum: trahimur omnes laudis
5 studio; et optimum quisque maxime gloriam ducitur. Ipsii illi
philosophi, etiam illis libellis, quos de contemnendâ gloriâ
scribunt, nomen suum inscribunt: in eo ipso, in quo praedica-
ditionem nobilitatemque despiciunt, prædicari de se, ac
nominari volunt. Decimus quidem Brutus, summus ille vir
10 et imperator, Attii, amicissimi sui, carminibus templorum in
monumentorum aditus exornavit suorum. Jam verò ille, qui
cum Ætolis, Ennio comite, bellavit, Fulvius, non dubitare
Martis manubias Muses consecrare. Quare, in qua urbe
imperatores propè armati poëtarum nomen et Musarum de-
15 lubra coluerunt, in că non debent togati judices a Musarum
honor et a poëtarum salute abhorrere.

Atque, ut id libentius faciatis, jam me vos, judices, indicabo; et de meo quodam amore gloriae, nimis aci fortasse,
veruntamen honesto, vos ob coniuris. Nam, quas res nos in
20 consulatu nostro vobiscum simul, pro salute hujus urbis atque
imperii, et pro vitâ civium, proque universâ republìcaâ gessi-
mus, attigit hic versibus, atque inchoavit: quibus audite, quòd
mihi magna res et jucunda visa est, hunc ad perficiadum
hortatus sum. Nullam enim virtus aiam mercedem
25 laborum periculumque desiderat, præter hanc laudis et
gloriam: quà quidem detractâ, judices, quid est, quod in hoc
tau et exiguo vitae curriculo, et tam brevi, tantis nos in labori-
bus exerceramus?

Certè, si nihil animus preservaret in posterum, et, si, qui-
bus regionibus vitae spatum circumscriptum est, eisdem
omnes cogitationes terminaret suas; nec tantis se laboribus
frangeret, neque tot curis vigiliisque angeretur, neque toties
d vitæ ipsă dimicaret. Nunc insident quædam in optimo
quoque virtus, quae noctes et dies animum gloriæ stimulis con-
35 citat, atque adimonet, non cum vita tempore esse dimittendan-
commemorationem nominis nostri, sed cum omni posteritate
adaquamad.

XII. An verò tam parvi animi videamur esse omnes, qui
in republicâ, atque in his vitae periculis laboribusque versa-
mur, ut, cùm, usque ad extremum spatum, nullum tranquillum
atque otiosum spiritum duxerimus, nobiscum simul moritur
omnia arbitremur? An, cùm status et imagine, non
animorum simulacra, sed corporum, studiosè multi summi
ORATIO PRO T. ANNIO MILONE.

hominum reliquerint; consiliorum relinquire ac virtutum nost-
trarum effigiem non inulò malle debemus, summis ingeniis
expressam et politam? Ego verò omnia, qua gerebam, jam
tum, in gerendo, spargere me ac disseminare arbitrar in
orbis terrae memoriam sempiternam. Hac verò sive a meo
sensu post mortem abfutura est, sive (ut sapientissimi homi-
nens putaverunt) ad aliquam animi mei partem pertinebit;
nunc quidem certè cogitatione quâdam speque delector.
Quare conservate, judices, hominem pudore eo, quem
amicorum videtis comprobati tum dignitate, tum etiam ve-
nustate; ingenio autem tanto, quantum id convenit existi-
mari, quod, summorum hominum ingeniis expetitum esse
videatis; causâ verò ejusmodi, qua beneficio legis, auctorit-
tate municipii, testimonio Luculli, tabulis Metelli, compro-
etur. Quæ cùm ita sint; petimus a vobis, judices, si qua
non modò humana, verùm etiam divina, in tantis negotiis
commendatio debet esse; ut eum, qui vos, qui vestros impera-
tores, qui populi Romani res gestas, semper ornavit; qui
etiam his recentibus nostris vestrisque domestici periculos
æternum se testimonium laudum daturum esse profitetur; 20
qui que est eo numero, qui semper apud omnes sancti sunt
habitati acque dicti; sic in vestram accipiatis fidem, ut hu-
manitate vestrá levatus potius, quam acerbitate violatus, esse
videatur. Quæ de causâ, pro mea consuetudine, breviter
simpliciterque dixi, judices, ea confido probata esse omnibus: 25
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, certò scio.

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ORATIO

PRO T. ANNIO MILONE.

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I. Eter vereor, judices, ne turpe sit, pro fortissimo viro 30
dicere incipientem, timere, minimèque deceit, cum T. An-
nius Milo ipse magis de Republicæ salute quam de sua per-
turbetur, me ad eius causam parem animi magnitudinem

X̄. 2. 11. 4 v. ò.
ORATIO PRO T. ANNIO MILONE.

afferre non posse; tamen haec novi judicia nova forma terret oculos, qui, quocunque inciderint, veterem consuetudinem fori, et pristinum morem judiciorum, requirunt. Non enim coronâ consessus vester cinctus est, ut solebat; non usitât
5 frequentiâ stipati sumus. Nam illa præsidia, quæ pro templis omnibus cernitis, etsi contra vim collocata sunt, nobis afferunt tamen horridis aliquid; ut, in foro, et in judicio, quanquam præsidii salutaribus et necessariis septi [sumus], tamen ne non timere quidem sine aliquo timore possimus.
10 Quæ si opposita Miloni putarem, cederem temporis judices; nec, inter tantam vim armorum, existimarem oratoris locum esse. Sed me recreat et reficit Cn. Pompeii, sapientissimi et justissimi viri, consilium; qui profectò nec justitas sua putaret esse, quem reum sententiam judicium tradidisset, eum
dem telis militum dedere; nec sapientiae, temeritatem consistat tata multitudinis auctoritate publicâ armare.

Quamobrem illa arma, centuriones, cohortes, non periculum nobis, sed præsidium, denuntiâ: neque solum, ut quieta, sed etiam ut magnó animo simus, hortantur; neque auxilium modō defensioni mee, verum etiam silentium, pollicentur. Reliqua verò multitudinem quæ quidem est civium, tota nostra est; neque eorum quisquam, quos undique incontinentes cernitis, unde aliqua pars fori adspici potest, et hujus exitum judicij expectantes, non, cùm virtuti Milonis fave,
tum de se, de liberes suis, de patriâ, de fortunis, hodierno dis
decertari putat.

II. Unum genus est adversum infestumque nobis, eorum, quos P. Clodii furor rapinis et incendii et omnibus exitiis publicis pavit: qui hesternâ etiam concioné incitati sunt, ut
30 vobis voce praerint, quid judicaretis. Quorum clamor si qui fortè fuerit, admonere vos debebit, ut eum civem rei neatis, qui semper genus illud hominum, clamoresque maximos, pro vestrâ salute neglixit. Quamobrem adest animis, judices; et timorem, si quem habetis, deponite. Nam, si
35 unquam de bonis et fortibus viris, si unquam de benè meritis civibus, potestas vobis judicandi futur; si denique unquam locus amplissimorum ordinum delectis viris datus est, ubi sua studia erga fortes et bonos cives, quæ vult et verbi
sepse signifiçassent, re et sententiis declararent; hoc pro-
40 sectò tempore cam potestatem omnis vos habetis, ut statutis, utrūm nos, qui semper vestram auctoritatem dediti fuimus, semper miseri lugeamus, an, diu vexati a perditissimis civibus, aliquando per vos, ac vestram fidem, virtutem, sapientiamque, recroecmur.
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Quid enim nobis duobus, judices, laboriosius? quid magis sollicitum, magis exercitum, dici aut fangi potest? qui, spe amplissimorum praeatorum ad rempublicam adduxi, metu crudelissimorum suppliciorum carere non possimus. Equidem caeteras tempestates et procellas, in illis duntaxat fluctibus concionum, semper putavi Miloni esse subeundas, quod semper pro bonis contra improbos senaret: in judicio vover, et in eo consilio, in quo ex cunctis ordinibus amplissimi viri judicarent, nunquam existimavi spem ullam esse habituros Milonis inimicos, ad ejus, non salutem modum extinguendum, sed etiam gloriam per tales viros infringendam.

Quanquam, in hac causâ, judices, T. Annii tribunatu, rebusque omnibus pro salute reipublicae gestis, ad hujus criminis defensionem non abutemur: nisi oculus videritis insidias Miloni a Cludio factas, nec deprecationi sumus, ut crimen hoc nobis, multa propter præcera in rempublicam merita, condonetis; nec postulaturi, ut, si mors P. Clodii salus vestra fuerit, idcirco eam virtuti Milonis potius, quàm populi Romani felicitati, assignetis. Sin illius insidiae clariores hac luce fuerint, tum denique obscebraco obtestaborque vos, judices, si caetera amissimus, hoc saltem nobis ut relinquitur, ab inimicorum audaciâ telisque vitam ut impune liceat defendere.

III. Sed, antequam ad eam orationem venio, quæ est propria nostræ quaestionis, videntur ea esse refutanda, quæ et in senatu ab inimicis sepe jactata sunt, et in concionc sepe ab improbis, et paulo ante ab accusatoribus; ut, omni errore sublato, rem planè, quæ venit in judicium, videre possitis.

Negant intueri lucem esse fas ci, qui a se hominem occisum esse fateatur. In quâ tandem urbe hoc homines stultissimi disputant? nempe in ea, quæ primum iudicium de capite vidit M. Horatii, fortissimi viri; qui, nondum libera civitate, tamen populi Romani comitibus liberatus est, cùm sua manu sororem interfeciam esse fateretur.

An est quisquam, qui hoc ignoret, cùm de homine occiso quæratur, aut negari solere omnino esse factum, aut, rectè ac jure factum esse, defendi? Nisi verò existimatis, dementem P. Africanum fuisse, qui, cùm a C. Carbone, tribuno plebis, in concione seditionis interrogaretur, quid de Ti. Gracchi morte sentiret, respondit, jure caesium videri. Neque enim posset aut Ahala ille Servilius, aut P. Nasica, aut L. Opimius, aut C. Marius, aut, me consule, senatus, non nefarius haberii, si sceleratos cives interfici nefas esset. Ita-
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que hoc, judices, non sine causâ etiam fictis fabulis doctissimi homines memoriam prodiderunt; eum, qui patris ulcerescendi causa, matrem necassisset, variatis hominum sententiosis, non solùm divinâ, sed etiam sapientissimâ Deae, sententiam liberatum. Quôd si Duodecim Tabulae nocturnum furem, quoquó modo, diurnum autem, si se telo defenderit, interfici impune voluerunt; quis est, qui, quoquó modo quis interfecit sit, puniendum putet, cùm videat aliquando gladium nobis, ad occidendum hominem, ab ipsis porrigi legibus?

IV. Atqui, si tempus est ullum jure hominis necandi (quæ multa sunt), certè illud est non modò justum, verùm etiam necessarium, cùm vi vis illata defenditur. Pudicitiam cùm eiperet militia tribunus [militaris] in exercitu C. Marii, propinquus ejus imperatoris, interfecit ab eo est, cuiuim afferebat. Facere enim probus adolescens periculosè, quam perpeti turpiter, maluit. Atque hunc ille vir summus, sce lure solutum, periculo liberavit. Insidiator verò et latroni quæ potest inferri injusta nex?

20 Quid comitatus nostri, quid gladii, voluntas quæ habere certè non liceret, si uti illis nullo pacto liceret. Est igitur hæc, judices, non scripta, sed nata, lex; quæm non didici mus, accepi mus, legimus, verùm ex naturâ ipsa arripui mus, hausimus, expressimus; ad quam non docti, sed facti, non instituti, sed imbuti sumus; ut, si vita nostra in alius insidias, si in vim, si in tela aut latronum aut inimicorum, incidisset, omnis honesta ratio esset expediendæ salutis. Silent enim leges inter arma; nec se expectari jubent, cùm ei, qui spectaret velit, antè injusta pena luenda sit, quàm justa repetenda.

Etsi persapienter, et quodammodo tacitè, dat ipsa lex potestatem defendendi; quæ non modò hominem occidi, sed esse cum telo hominis occidendi causâ, vetat; ut, cùm causa, non telum, quereretur; qui sui defendendi causâ telo esset usus, non hominis occidendi causâ habuisse telum judicaretur. Quapropter hoc maneant in causâ, judices: non enim dubito, quin probaturus sim vobis defensionem meam, si id memineritis, quod oblivisci non potestis, insidiatorum jure interfici posse.

35 V. Sequitur illud, quod a Milonis inimicis sæpissime dicitur, Cædem, in quâ P. Clodius occisus est, senatum judicasse, contra rempublicam esse factam. Illam verò senatus non sententiss suis solùm, sed etiam studii, comprobavit. Quoties enim est illa causa a nobis acta in senatu quibus
assensionibus universi ordinis! quàm nec tacitis, nec occultis! Quando enim, frequentissimo senatu, quatuor, ad summum quinque, sunt inventi, qui Milonis causam non probarent? Declarat hujus ambusti tribuni plebis illæ intermorte conciones, quibus quotidie meam potentiam invidiosam crimina labatur, cùm diceret, senatum, non quod sentiret, sed quod vellem, decernere. Quæ quidem si potentia est appellanda potius, quàm, propter magna in rempublicam merita, medio cris in bonis causis auctoritas, aut, propter hos officiosos laores meos, nonnulla apud bonos gratia; appelle tur ita sanè, dummodo eâ nos utamur pro salute honorum contra amentiam perditorum.

Hanc verò questionem, etsi non est iniqua, nunquam tamen senatus constitueam putavit. Erant enim leges, erant questiones, vel de cæde, vel de vi: nec tantum mores Clodiis afferebat, ut nova quæstio constitueretur. Cujus enim de illo incesto stupro, judgment decernendi senatus potestas esse eripera; de ejus interitu, quis potest credere, senatum judgment novum constituendum putasse? Cur igitur incendium curiae, oppugnationem ædium Lepidi, cædem hanc ipsam, contra rempublicam senatus factam esse decrevit? quia nulla vis unquam est in liberà civitate suscepta inter cives, non contra rempublicam. Non enim est illa defensio contra vim unquam optanda; sed nonnunquam est necessaria: nisi verò aut ille dies, in quo Ti. Gracchus est cæsus, aut ille quo Caius, aut quo arma Saturnini oppressa sunt, etiam si rempublica, rempublicam tamen non vulnerârent.

VI. Itaque ego ipse decrevi, cùm cædem in Appiâ factam esse constaret, non eum, qui se defendisset, contra rem publicam fecisse; sed, cùm inesset in re vis et insidiæ, crimen judicio reservavi; rem notavi. Quod si, per furiosum illum tribunum, senatus, quod sentiebat, perficere licuisset, novam questionem nunc nullam haberemus. Decernebat enim, ut, veteribus legibus, tantummodo extra ordinem, quæ reretur. Divisa sententia est, postulante nescio quo: nihil enim necesse est, omnium me flagitia proferre. Sic reliqua auctoritas senatus, emptâ intercessione, sublata est.

vidisset, posse absolvì eum, qui fateretur; cum videret nos fateri, neque quierì unquam justississet, nec vobis tam salutarem hanc in judicando literam, quàm illam tristem, dedisset. Mihi verò Cn. Pompeius non modò nihil gravius contra Mi-
5 lonem judicàsse, sed etiam statuisse videtur, quid vos in judicando spectare oporteret. Nam, qui non pœnæm confessioni, sed defensionem, dedit, is causam interitús quærendam, non interitum, putavit. Jam illud dicet ipse profectâ, quod suâ sponte fecit, Publione Clodio tribuendum putâtir,
10 an temporì. ν

VII. Domi suæ nobilissimus vir, senatorus propagator, atque, illis quidem temporibus, penè patronus, avunculus cujus nostri judicis, fortissimi viri, M. Catonis, tribunus plebis M. Drusus, occasus est. Nihil de ejus morte populus consultus, nulla questio decreta a senatu est. Quantum luctum in hac urbe fuisse a nostris patribus accepmus, cum P. Africano, domi suæ quiescenti, illa nocturna vis esset illata? Quis tum non gemuisset? quis non arsìt dolore? quem immortalem, si fieri posset, omnes esse cuperent, ejus ne necessarium quidem exspectatum esse mortem! Num igerit ulla questio de Africani morte lata est? certè nulla. Quid ita? quia non alio facinore clari hominès, alio obscuri, necantur. Intersit inter vitam dignitatem summorum atque infirmorum: mors quidem, illata per scelus, iisdem et pœnis
teneatur et legibus. Nisi fortè magis erit parricida, si quis consularem patrem, quam si quis humilem, necaverit; aut eo mors atrocior erit P. Clodii, quod is in monumentis maiorum suorum sit interfector: hoc enim sepe ab istis dicitur, perinde quasi Appius ille Cæcus viam munierit, non quà
t
30 populus uteretur, sed ubi impune sui posteri latrocinarentur.

Itaque, in eodem istâ Appiâ viâ, cum ornatusimum equi-
tem Romanum P. Clodius M. Papirium occidisset, non fuit illud facinus puniendum: homo enim nobilis in suis mon-
35 umentis equitum Romanum occiderat: nunc ejusdem Appiâ nomen quantas tragœdias excitavit! Que, cruentata antea cæde honesti atque innocentis viri, silebatur, eadem nunc crebrò usurpatur, posteaquam latronis et parricidarum sanguine imbuta est. Sed quid ego illa commemoro? Comprehensus est in templo Castoris servus P. Clodii, quem ille ad Ca.

40 Pompeium interficiendum collocâtat. Extorta est confiten-
sica de manibus. Caruit foro postea Pompeius: caruit senatu: caruit publico: januâ se ac parietibus, non jure legum judiciorumque, textit. Num quæ rogatio lata? num quæ nova quæstio decreta est? Atqui, si res, si vir, si tem-
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pus ullum dignum fuit, certè hæc in illâ causâ summa omnia fuerunt. Insidiator erat in foro collocatus, atque in vestibulo ipso senatus: ei viro autem mors parabatur, cujus in vitâ nitebatur salus civitatis; eo porrò reipublicæ tempore, quo, si unus ille occidisset, non hæc solùm civitas, sed gentes omnes concidissent. Nisi fortè, quia perfecta res non est, non fuit punienda; perinde quasi exitus rerum, non hominum consilia, legibus vindicentur. Minùs dolendum fuit, re non perfecta; sed puniendum certè nihilò minùs. Quoties ego ipse, iudices, ex P. Clodii telis, et ex cruentis ejus manibus, effugi! ex quibus si me non vel mea vel reipublicæ fortuna servasset, quis tandem de interitu meo questionem tulisset?


IX. Quamobrem, judices, ut aliquando ad causam crimineque veniamus; si neque omnis confessio facti est insita; neque de causa quidquam nostrà aliter, ac nos vellemus, a senatu judicatum est; et lator ipse legis, cùm esset controversia nulla facti, juris tamen disceptationem esse voluit; et electi judices, isque præpositus quæstioni, qui hæc justè sapienterque disceptet; reliquum est, judices, ut nihil jam aliud quaerere debeatis, nisi, uter utri insidias fecerit. Quod quò facilius argumentis perspicere possitis, rem gestam vobis dum breviter expono, quæsqo, diligenter attendite.

P. Clodius cùm statuisset omni scelere in praetùra verax rempublicam, videreque ita tractà esse comitia anno superiore, ut non multos menses praeturam gerere posset; qui non honoris gradum spectaret, ut caéteri, sed et L. Paulum collegam effugere vellet, singulari virtute civem, et annum integrum ad dilacerandum rempublicam quaeret; subito reliquit annum suum, seque in annum proximum transtulit, non (ut fit) religionè aliqûa, sed ut haberet (quod ipse dicebat), ad praeturam gerendam, hoc est, ad evertendam rempublicam, plenum annum atque integrum.

Occurrebat ei, mancam ac debilem praeturam suam futuram, consule Milone: eum porro summo consensu populi Romani consulem fieri videbat. Contulit se ad ejus competitores, sed ita, totam ut petitionem ipse solus, etiam invitus illis, gubernaret; tota ut comitia suis (ut dictitabant) humeris sustineret. Convocabant tribus: se interponebat: Collinam novam, delectu perditissimorum civium conscribēbat. Quam ille plura miscebát, tanto hic magis in dies convalescebát.


X. Interim, cùm scrier Clodius (neque enim erat difficile scire), iter solenne, legitimum, necessarium, ante diem XIII. Calendas Februarias, Miloni esse Lanuvium ad flaminem,
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prodendum, quòd erat dictator Lanuvii Milo; Romā subitō
ipse profectus pridie est, ut, ante suum fundum, (quod re
intellectum est) Miloni insidias collocaret. Atque ita pro-
jectus est, ut concionem turbulentam, in quā ejus furor
desideratus est, quā illo ipso die habita est, relinquueret;
quam, nisi obire facinus locum tempusque voluisset, nun-
quam reliquisset.

Milo autem, cūm in senatu fuisset eo die quoad senatus
dimissus est, domum venit: calceos et vestimenta mutavit:
paulisper, dum se uxor (ut fit) comparat, commoratus est: deinde profectus est id temporis, cūm jam Clodius, siqui-
dem eo die Romam venturus erat, redire putuisset. Ob-
viām fit ei Clodius, expeditus, in equo, nullā rhēdā, nullīs
impedimentīs, nullīs Grācīs comītibus, ut solebat; sine uxor,
quod nunquam fērē: cūm hic insidiator, qui iter illud ad cædēm faciāndam apparāsset, cum uxor vehearet in rhēdā,
pēnulūs, magno impedimento, ac muliebri et delicato
ancillarum puorumque comitatu.

Fit obviām Clodio ante fundum ejus, horā fērē undecimā,
a ut aut multō secus. Statim complures cum telis in hunc faciunt de loco superiōre impetum: adversi rhedarium oc-
dunt. Cūm autem hic de rhēdā, rejectā pēnulā, desiluis-
set, seque acri animo defendere; illi, quae erant cum Clodio,
gladius educīs, partim recurrere ad rhedam, ut a terrō Milon-
em adorientur; partim, quōd hum hunc jun interfectum putu-
rent, cædere incipiens ejus servos, qui pōst erant: ex quibus,
qui animo fidei in dominum et præsentī fuerunt, partim occi-
sunt, partim, cūm ad rhedam pugnāri viderent, et
dominum succurrere prohiberentur, Milonemque occisum
etiam ex ipso Clodio audirent, et ita esse putarent, secerunt id [servi Milonis,] dicam enim, non derivandi crimini
causā, sed ut factum est) neque imperante, neque sciente,
neque præsentē domino, quod suos quisque servos in tali re
facere voluisset.

XI. Hæc, sicut exposui, ita gesta sunt, judices: insidia-
tor superatus, vi victa vis, vel potius oppressa virtute audacia
est. Nihil dico, quid respública consecuta sit; nihil, quid
vos; nihil, quid omnes boni: nihil sanē id prosi Miloni, qui
hoc fato natus est, ut ne se quidem servare potuerit, quin unā
rempublicam vosque servaret. Si id jure non posset, nihil habeo, quod defendam. Sin hoc et ratio doctis, et necessi-
tas barbaris, et mos gentibus, et feris natura ipsa, præscripsit,
ut omnem semper vim, quācunque ope possent, a corpore, a
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capite, a vitâ suâ, propulsarent; non potestis hoc facinus improbum judicare, quin simul judicetis, omnibus, qui in latrones inciderint, aut illorum telis aut vestris sententiis esse pereundum.

5 Quod si ita putásset, certè optabílius Miloni fuisset dare jugulum P. Clodio, non semel ab illo neque tum primum petitum, quâm jugulari a vobis, quia se illi non jugulandum tradísset. Sin hoc nemo vestrum ita sentit; illud jam in judicium venit, non, Occususne sit (quod fatemur), sed, Jure, an injurià; quod multis in causis ñepé quæsitum est. Insidias factas esse constat: et id est, quod senatus contra rempublicam factum judicavit: ab utro facta sint, incertum est. De hoc igitur, latum est, ut quereretur. Ita et senatus rem, non hominem, notavit; et Pompeius, de jure, non de facto, questionem tulit.

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

Quonam igitur pacto probari potest, insidias Miloni fecisse Clodiium? Satis est quidem, in illâ tam audaci, tam nefariá bellâ, docere, magnam ei causam, magnam spem, in Milonis morte propositam, magnas utilitates fuisset. Itaque illud Cassianum, cujus bono fuerit, in his personis valeat; etsi boni nullo emolumento impelluntur in fraudem, improbi

25 ñepé parvo. Atqui, Milone interfecto, Clodius hoc assequabatur, non modò ut prætor esset, non eo consule, quo sceleris nihil facere posset; sed etiam, ut his consulibus prætor esset, quibus, si non adjuvantiibus, at convinentibus certè, speraret, se posse rempublicam eludere in illis suis cogitatis furoribus: cujus illi conatus (ut ipse ratiocinabatur) nec, si possent, reprimere cuperent, cùm tantum beneficium ei se debebì arbitrarentur; et, si ventur, fortasse vix possent frangere hominis sceleratissimi corroboram jam vetustate audaciam.

An vero, judices, vos soli ignoratis? vos hospites in hac urbe versamini? vestre peregrinantur aures? neque in hoc pervagato civitatis sermone versantur, quas ille leges (si leges nominandæ sunt, ac non faces urbis, et pestes reipublicæ) fuerit impositurus nobis omnibus, atque inusturus? Exhíbe, quæso, Sexte Clodi, exhíbe librarium illud legum vestrarum, quod te aiunt eripuisse et domo, et ex medii armis turbâque nocturnâ, tanquam Palladium, sustulisse, ut præclarum videlicet munus, atque instrumentum tribunátus, ad aliquem, si nactus esses, qui tuo arbitrio tribunatum
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gereret, deferre posses. Et adspexit me illis quidem oculis, quibus tum solebat, cum omnia omnibus minabatur. Movet me quippe lumen curiae.

XIII. Quid? tu me iratum, Sexte, putas tibi, cujus tu inimicissimum multò crudeliùs etiam punitus es, quām erat 5 humanitatis meæ postulare? Tu P. Clodii cruantum cada- ver ejecisti domo, tu in publicum abjecisti: tu spoliatum imaginibus, exsequiis, pompa, laudatione, infeliciissimis līgnis semistulatum, nocturnis canibus dilaniandum reliquisti. Quam rem 10 etsi nefariē fecisti, tamen, quoniam in meo inimico crudelitatem expropsisti tuam, laudare non possum, irasci certe non debeo.

P. Clodii preturam non sine maximo rerum novarum metu proponi, et solutum fore videbātis, nisi esset is consul, qui eam auderet possetque constringere. Eum Milonem esse, cum sentiret universus populus Romanus; quis dubitaret, suffragio suo, se metu, periculo rempublicam, liberare? At [non.] P. Cludio remoto, usitatis jam rebus extendendum est Miloni, ut tueatur dignitatem suam. Singularis illa, huic unci concessa gloria, quæ quotidie augebatur frangendis 20 furoribus Clodianis, jam morte Clodii cecidit. Vos adepti estis, ne quem civem metueritis: hic exercitacionem virtutis, suffragationem consultātus, fontem perennem gloriarum suarum perdidit. Itaque Milonis consulatus, qui, vivō Cludio, labe- factari non poterat, mortuo denique tentari coepit est. Non 25 modò igitur nihil prodest, sed obest etiam, P. Clodii mort Miloni.

At valuit odium; fecit iratus; fecit inimicus; fuit ultor injuriae, punitor doloris sui. Quid? si hæc, non dico, majora fuerunt in Clodio, quàm in Milone, sed in illo maxima, nulla 30 in hoc; quid vultis amplius? Quid enim odisset Clodium Milo, segetem ac materiam suæ gloriae, præter hoc civile odium, quæ omnes improbus odimus? Ille, erat, ut odisset, primum defensorum salutis meæ, deinde vexatorem furoris, domitorum armorum suorum, postremò etiam accusatorem 35 suum: reus enim Milonis, lege Plotiā, fuit Clodius, quoad vixit. Quo tandem animo hoc tyrannum tulisse creditis? quantum odium illius, et, in honore injusto, quæ etiam justum?

XIV. Reliquum est, ut jam illum natura ipsius consue- 40 tudoque defendat, hunc autem hæc eadem coarguant. Nihil per vim unquam Clodius, omnia per vim Milo. Quid ego, judices? cumb, moerentibus vobis, Urbe cessi, judiciumne ti- mui? non servos, non arma, non vim? Quæ fuisset igitur
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causa justa restituendi mei, nisi fuisset injusta ejiciendi! Diem mihi (credo) dixerat: multam irrogat: actionem perduellionis intenderat: et mihi videlicet, in causâ aut malâ aut meâ, non et præclaremissâ et vestrâ, judicium timendum fuit. Servorum et egentium civium et facinorosorum armis meos cives, meis consilii periculisque servatos, pro me objici nolui.


XV. Atqui crat id temporis clarissimus et fortissimus consul, inimicus Clodio, P. Lentulus, ultor sceleris illius, pro-pugnator senatus, defendor vestrum voluntatis, patronus illius publici consensûs, restitutor salutis meæ; septem praetores, octo tribuni plebis, illius adversarii, defensores mei; Ca. Pompeius auctor et dux mei reditus, illius hostis; cujus sententiam senatus omnis de salute meâ gravissimam et omnis tissimam secutus est: qui populum Romanum cohortatus est, qui, cùm de me decreta Capitis fecisset, ipse cuncta Italiam cupienti, et ejus fidem imploranti, signum dedit, ut, ad me restituendum, Romanum concursarent. Omnia tum denique in illum odia civium ardebant desiderio mei:
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quem si qui tum interemisset, non de impunitate ejus, sed de præmiis, cogitaretur.

Tamen se Milo continuít, et P. Clódium ad judiciúm bis, ad vim nunquam, vocavit. Quid? privato Milone, et reo ad populum, accusante P. Clódium, cūm in Cn. Pompeiúm pro Milone dicéntem impetus factus est; quæ tum non modò occasio, sed etiam causa, illius oppriméndi fuit! Nuper vérò, cūm M. Antonius summam spem salutis bonis omnibus atulisset, gravissimamque adolescens nobilissimus reipublicæ partem fortissimè suscepisset, atque illam bellum, judicium laqueos declinantem, jam irretitam teneret; qui locus, quod tempus illud (Dii immortales!) fuit! Cūm se ille fugiens in scalarum tenebras abdísset, magnum Miloni fuit confívere illam pestem nullá suá invidiá, Antonii vérò máximá gloriá? Quid? comités in Campo quoties potestas fuit! cūm ille vi in Septa irrupisset, gladios distingéndos, lapides jaciéndos, curásset; deinde subítò, vultu Milonis perít continues, fugeret ad Tiberiúm; vos, et omnes boni vóta facerétes, ut Miloni uti virtute suá liberét.

XVI. Quem igitur cum omnium gratiá noluit, hunc voluit cum aliquórum querélá? Quem jure, quem loco, quem tempore, quem impune, non est ausus, hunc injuriá, iniquo loco, alieno tempore, periculo captíris, non dubitavit occidere? præsertim, judices, cūm honoris amplissimi contentio, et dies comitiorum subesset; quo quidem tempore (scio enim, quâm timida sit ambitio, quantaque et quàm sollicita cupidítas consulatús) omnia non modò, quæ reprehendi palám, sed etiam quæ obscurè cogitari possunt, timemus; rumorem, fabulum fictam, falsam perhorrescimus; ora omnium atque oculos intuemur. Nihil enim est tam molle, tam tenerum, tam aut fragile aut flexible, quàm voluntas erga nos, sensusque, civium; qui non modò improbitati irascuntur candidatorum, sed etiam in recte factis sêpe fastidíunt.

Hunc diem igitur Campi, speratum atque exoptatum, sibi proponens Milo, cruentís manibus scelus et facinus præ se ferebant et concitentis, ad illa augusta centuriarum auspícia veniebat? Quæm hoc non credibile in hoc! quàm idem in Clódio non dubitantum, qui se, interfecit Milone, regnaturum putaret! Quid? quod caput audaciae est, judices, quis ignorat, maximam illecebram esse peccandi impunitatis spem? In utro igitur haec fuit? in Milone? qui etiam nunc reus est facti, aut præclari, aut certè necessarii: an in Clódio? qui ita judicia penamque contempererat, ut eum
nihil delectaret, quod aut per naturam fas esset, aut per leges liceret.

Sed quid ego argumentor? quid plura disputo? Te, Q. Petilli, appello, optimum et fortissimum civem; te, M. Cato, testor; quos mihi divina quædam sors dedit judices. Vos ex M. Favonio audistis, Clodium sibi dixisse, et audistis, vivo Cl odio, peritum Melonem triduo. Post diem tertium gesta res est, quàm dixerat. Cùm ille non dubitaret aperire, quid cogitaret, vos postes dubitare, quid fecerit?

XVII. Quemadmodum igitur eum dies non sefellt? dixi equidem modò. Dictatoris Lanuvini statam sacrificia nóssè, negotii nihil erat. Vidit, nescesse esse Miloni, proficiisse Lanuvium illo ipso, quo prefectus est, die: itaque antererit. At quo die? quo (ut antè dixi) insanissima concio ab ipso mercenario tribuno plebis est concitata: quem diem ille, quam concionem, quo clamores, nisi ad cogitatum faciæs approperaret, nunquam reliquisset. Ergo illi ne causa quædem itineris, etiam causa manendi: Miloni manendi mula facultas, exeundi non causa solùm, sed etiam necessitas futi.

Quid? si, ut ille scvit, Milonem fœre eo die in viâ, sic Clodium Milo ne suspicari quidem potuit?


XVIII. Videte, judices, quantæ res his testimoniis sint confectæ. Primum, certè liberatur Milo, non eo consilio prefectus esse, ut insidiaret in viâ Clodio; quippe qui obvius futurus omnino non erat. Deinde (non enim videò, cur non mecum quoque agam negotium) scitis, judices, fuisse, qui, in hac rogatione suadendâ, dicerent, Milonis manu ca-
dem esse factam, consilio verò majoris alicujus. Videlicet me latronem ac sicarium abjacti homines et perditii descriptant. Iacent suis testibus ii, qui Clodium negant eo die Romam, nisi de Cyro audisset, fuisse redivorum. Respiravi: liberatus sum: non vereor, ne, quod ne suspicari quidem potuerim, videar id cogitasse.

Nunc persequar cætera: nam occurrit illud: ne Clodium quidem de insidiis cogitavit, quoniam fuit in Albano manusurus, siquidem exiturus ad caedium e villā non fuisse. Video enim, illum, qui dicitur de Cyri morte nutiásse, non id nuntiásse, sed Milonem appropinquare: nam quid de Cyro nuntiaret, quem Clodium, Romæ proficiscens, reliquerat morientem? Unā fui: testamentum simul obsignavi cum Cludio: testamentum autem palam fecerat, et illum hæredem, et me, scripserat. Quem pridie horā tertiā animam efflantem reliquisset, eum mortuum postridie horā decimā denique ei nuntiabantur?

XIX. Age, sit ita factum: quæ causa, cur Romam propuerat? cur in noctem se conjiceret? quid afferebat [causam] festinationis? quod ēreus erat? Primūm, erat nihil, cur properato opus esset: deinde, si quid esset, quid tandem erat, quod ēa nocte consequi posset, amitteret autem, si postridie manē Romam venisset? Atque, ut illi nocturnus ad Urbem adventus vitandus potius quàm expetendus fuit; sic Miloni, cùm insidior esset, si illum ad Urbem noctu accesurum sciebat, subsidendum atque expectandum fuit. Noctu, invidioso et pleno latronum in loco, occidisset: nemo ei neganti non credidisset, quem esse omnes salvum, etiam confitentem, voluit. Sustinuisset hoc crimen primum ipse ille latronum occultator et receptator locus, dum neque muta solitudo indicasse, neque caeca nox ostendisset Milonem. Deinde ibi multī ab illo violati, spoliati, bonis expulsi, multi etiam hæc timentes, in suspicionem caderent; tota denique rea citaretur Ætruria. Atque illó die certé, Ariciâ rediens, divertit Clodium [ad se,] ad Albanum. Quōd, ut sciret Milo illum Ariciae fuisse, suspicari tamen debuit, eum, etiam si Romam illo die reverti vellet, ad villam suam, quæ viam tangeret, diversurum. Cur neque antè occurrit, ne ille in villā resideret; nec eo in loco subsedit, quo ille noctu venturus esset?

Video adhuc constare omnia, judices: Miloni etiam utile fuisse Clodium vivere; illi, ad ea quæ conceperat, optatissimum interitum Milonis: odium fuisse illius in hunc acerbissimum, in illum hujus nullum: consuetudinem illius perpe-
tuam in vi inferendâ; hujus tantùm in repellendâ: mortem
ab illo denuntiatam Miloni et prædictam palâm; nihil un-
quam auditum ex Milone: professionis hujus diem illi notum,
reditum illius huic ignotum fuisset: hujus iter necessarium;
illius etiam potiùs alienum: hunc præ se tulisse, se illo die
Româ exiturum; illum eo die se dissimulâsse redditurum:
hunc nullius rei mutâsse consilium; illum causam mutandi
consilii finxisse: huic, si insidiaretur, noctem prope Urbem
expectandam; illi, etiam si hunc non timeret, tamen acces-
sum ad Urbem nocturnum fuisset metuendum.

XX. Videamus nunc, (id, quod caput est) locus ad insi-
dias ille ipse, ubi congressi sunt, utri tandem fuerit aptor.
Id verò, judices, etiam dubitandum et diutiùs cogitandum
est? Ante fundum Clodi, (quo in fundo, propter insanâ
illas substructiones, facilè mille hominum versabantur valen-
tium) edito adversarii atque excelsa loco superiorem se fore
putabat Milo; et ob eam rem eum locum ad pugnam potissi-
mùm elegaret? an in eo loco est potiùs expsectatus ab eo,
qui, ipsius loci spe, facere impetus cogitaret? Res loquitur,
judices, ipsa; quae semper valet plurimum. Si hæc non ges-
ta audiretis, sed picta videretis; tamen appareret, uter esset
insidiator, uter nihil cogitaret mali, cùm alter vehetur in
rhedâ penulatus, unà sederet uxor. Quid horum non impe-
ditissimum? vestitus, an vehiculum, an comes? quid minus
promptum ad pugnam, cùm penulâ irretitus, rhedâ impedit-
tus, uxoré penë constrictus, esset? Videite nunc illum, pri-
mùm egredientem e villâ, subitò: cur? vespere: quid neces-
se est? tardè: qui convent, id presertim temporis? Diver-
tit in villam Pompeii. Pompeium ut videret? sciebat in
Alsiensi esse; villam ut perspicaret? millies in eà fuerat.
Quid ergo erat? mora et tergiversatio: dum hic veniret, locum
relinquere noluit.

XXI. Age nunc, iter expediti latronis cum Milonis im-
pedimentis comparate. Semper ille anteà cum uxoré; tum
sine eà: nunquam non in rhedâ; tum in equo. Comites
Græculi, quòcumque ibat, etiam cùm in castra Etrusca pro-
perabant; tum nugarum in comitatu nihil. Milo, qui nun-
quam, tum casu pueros symphoniacos uxorís ducebat, et an-
ciliarum greges: ille, qui semper secum scortá, semper exo-
tos, semper lupas ducebant, tum neminem, nisi ut virum a viro
lectum esse diceres. Cur igitur victus est? quia non semper
viator a latrone, nonnunquam etiam latro a viatore, occiditur:
quia, quanquam paratus in imparatos Clodi, tamen mulier
inciderat in viros.
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XXII. Quod igitur in causâ quærendum est, id agamus hic: quod tormentis invenire vis, id fatemur. Manu verò cur miserit, si id potius quærís, quàm cur parum amplius affecerit præmiis; nescis inimici factum reprehendere. Dixit enim hic idem, qui omnia semper constanter et fortiter, M. Câto, dixitque in turbulentâ concione (quæ tamen hujus auctoritate placata est), non libertate solum, sed etiam omnibus præmiis, dignissimos fuisse, qui domini caput defendissent. Quod enim præmium satis magnum est tam benevolis, tam bonis, tam fidelibus servis, propter quos vivit? etsi id quidem non tanti est, quàm quod, propter eosdem, non sanguine et vulneribus suis crudelissimi inimici mentem oculosque satiavit. Quos nisi manumisset, tormentis etiam dedendi fuissent conservatores domini, ultores sceleris, defensores necis. Hic verò nihil habet in his malis, quod minus molestâ ferat, quàm, etiam si quid ipsi accidat, esse tamen illis meriment præmium persolutum.

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dominum de servo quæri noluerant; non quia non posset verum inveniri, sed quia videbatur indiguum esse, et dominis morte ipsa tristius. In reum de servis accusatoris cùm quaeritur, verum inveniri potest?


XXIII. Quod si nondum satis cernitis, (cùm res ipsa tot tam claris argumentis signisque luceat) purâ mente atque integra Milonem, nullo scelere imbutum, nullo metu perterritum, nullâ conscientiâ examinatum, Romam revertisse; recordamini (per Deos immortales!) que fuerit celeritas redditus ejus; qui ingressus in forum, ardente curiâ; quæ magnitudini animi, qui vultus, quæ oratio. Neque verò se populo solūm, sed etiam senatu, commisit; neque senatori modò, sed etiam publicis præsidii et armis; neque his tantùm, verò etiam ejus potestati, cui senatus totam rempublicam, omnem Italiam pubem, cuncta populi Romani arma, commissae serat: cui nuncum se hic prefectò tradidisset, nisi causa sua consideret; præsertim omnia audienti, magna metuenti, multà suspicantes, nonnullà credenti. Magna vis est conscientia, iudices, et magna in utramque partem; ut neque timeant, qui nihil commiserint; et penam semper ante oceanus versari putent, qui peccâtirint.

Neque verò sine ratione certa causa Milonis semper a senatu probata est. Videbant enim sapientissimi homines facta rationem, presentiam animi, defensionis constantiam. An verò oblitì estis, judices, recenti illo nuttio necis Clodiis sore, non modò inimicorum Milonis sermones et opiniones, sed nonnullorum etiam imperatorum? Negabant eum Romanum esse reitumur. Sive enim illud animo irato ac periculo fecisset, ut incensus odio trucidaret inimum; arbitrabantur, eum tanti mortem P. Clodii putâsse, ut æquo animo patrià careret, cùm sanguine inimici explèsset odium suum: sive etiam illius morte patriam liberare voluisset, non dubitaturum fortem virum, quin, cùm suo periculo salutem reipublicæ at tulisset, cederet æquo animo [legibus]; secum auferret gloriam sempiternam, nobis hæc fruenda relinqueret, quæ ipse
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servasset. Multi etiam Catilinam atque illa portenta loquebantur: Erumpet; occupabit aliquem locum; bellum patriæ faciet. Miseros interdum cives, optimē de republicā meritos! in quibus homines non modō res praēclarissimas obliviscuntur, sed etiam nefarias suspicantur. Ergo illa falsa fuerunt: quae certè vera exstitissent, si Milo admississet aliquid, quod non posset honestè verèque defendere.


XXV. Omnia falsa atque [insidiosè] facta comperta sunt. Quod si tamen metuitur etiam nunc Milo, non hoc jam Claudianum crimen timemus; sed tuas, Cn. Pompei, (te enim jam appello cā voce, ut me audire possis) tuas, tuas, inquam, suspicione perhorresceimus. Si Milonem times, si hunc de tua vitā nefariō aut nunc cogitare, aut multum aliquando aliquid, putas; si Itāliæ delectus, (ut nonnulli consiliiores tui dictant) si hac arma, si Capitolinne cohortes, si excubiae, si vigiliae, si delecta juventus, quae tuum corpus domumque custodit, contra Milonis impetum armata est, atque illa omnia in hunc unum instituta, parata, intenta sunt; magnā in hoc certē vis, et incredibilis animus, et non unius viri vires atque opes indicantur, siquidem in hunc unum et præstantiumissimus dux electus, et tota respublica armata est.

Sed quis non intelligit, omnes tibi reipublicæ partes, segras et labautes, ut eas his armis sanares et confirmares, esse commissas? Quōd si Miloni locus datus esset, probāset protecto tibi ipsi, neminem unquam hominem homini cariorum fugisse, quām te sibi; nullum se unquam periculum pro tua dignitatem fugisse; cum illā ipsā tētremā pāste suspizisse pro tua gloria contindisse; tribunatum suum ad salutem mem, quae tibi carissīma fuisset, consiliis tuis gubernatum; sā te postea defensum in periculo capitis, adjutum in petitione praetūrae; duos se habere semper amicissimos sperasse, te unius beneficii, me suo. Quae si non probaret; si tibi ita peñitūs inhisisset ista suspicio, nullo ut evelli modo posset; si deinde Italia a delectu, Urbis ab armis, sine Milonis clade, nunquam esset conquietura; nē iste haud dubitans cessisset patriā, is, qui ita natus est, et ita consuevit; te, Magne, tamen antestaretur; quod nunc etiam faciet.

XXVI. Vide, quàm sit varia vitae commutabilisque ratio, quàm vaga volubilis fortuna, quantae infidelitates in amīcis, quàm ad tempus aptae simulationes, quantae in periculis fugae proximorum, quantae timiditates. Erit, erit illud protecto tempus, et illucesset aliquando ille dies, cūm tu, salutaribus (ut spero) rebus tuis, sed fortasse motu aliquo commune temporum immutatis, (qui quàm crebrò accidat, experti debēmus scire) et amicissimi benevolentiam, et gravissimi hominis fidem, et unius post homines natos fortissimi viri magnitudinem animi, desideres.

Quanquam quis hoc credat, Cn. Pompeium, juris publici, moris majorum, rei denique publicae peritissimum, cūm senātus ei commiserit, ut videre, NE QUĪD RESPUBLICA DETRIMEFIT CAPERET, (quo uno versículo satis armati semper consules fuerunt, etiam nullis armis datis) hunc, exercitu, hunc, de-
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lectu dato, judicium exspectaturum fuisse in ejus consiliis vindicandis, qui vel judicia ipsa tolleret? Satis judicatum est a Pompeio, satis, falsò ista conferri in Milonem: qui legem tulit, quà, ut ego sentio, Milonem absolvì a vobis oper teret; ut omnes confitentur, liceret.

Quòd verò in illo loco, atque illis publicorum præsidiorn copiis circumfusus, sedet; satis declarat, se non terorem infère vobis, (quid enim illo minus dignum, quàm cogere, ut vos eum condemnetis, in quem animadvertere ipse, et more majorum et suo jure, possét?) sed præsidio esse; ut intelligatis, contra hæsternam concionem illam, licere vobis, quod sentiatis, liberè judicare.

XXVII. Nec verò me, judices, Clodianum crimen movet: nec tam sum demens, tamque vestri sensús ignarus atque expers, ut nesciam, quid de morte Clodi sentiatis. De quâ, si jam nollem ita diluere crimén, ut dilui, tamen impunè Miloni palám clamare atque mentiri gloriosè liceret: Occidi, occidi, non Sp. Melium, qui, annonà levandâ, jacturiisque rei familiaris, quia nimis amplecti plebe putatatur, in suspicionem incidit regni appetendi: non Ti. Gracchum, qui college magistratum per seditionem abrogavit; quorum interfectores implèrunt orbem terrarum nominis sui gloriâ: sed eum, (auderet enim dicere, cùm patriam, periculo suo, liberâsset) cujus nefandum adulterium in pulvinaribus sanctissimis nobilissimæ feminarum comprehenderunt: eum, cujus supplicio senatus sollennes religiones expiandas sepe con suit: eum, quem cum sorore germanà nefarium stuprum fecisset, L. Lucullus, juratus, se, questionibus habitis, dixit comp erisse: eum, qui civem, quem senatus, quem populus, quem omnes gentes, Úrbis ac vitae civium conservatorem judicârant, servorum armis exteminavit: eum, qui regna dedit, ademìt, orbem terrarum, quibuscum voluit, partitus est: eum, qui, plurimis cædibus in foro factis, singulari virtute et gloriâ civem domum vi et armis complìt: eum, cui nihil unquam nefas fuit nec in facinore nec in libido: eum, qui aedem Nympharum incendit, ut memoriam publicam recensionis, tabulis publicis impressam, extinguierat: eum denique, cui jam nulla lex erat, nullum civile jus, nulli possessionum termini; qui, non calumnìa litium, non injustis vindiciis ac sacramentis, alienos fundos, sed castris, exercitu, signis inferendis, petebat; qui non solùm Etruscos, (eos enim pe nitùs contemperat) sed hunc Q. Varium, virum fortissimum, atque optimum civem, judicem nostrum, pellere possessionibus armis castrisque conatus est; qui, cum architectis et
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decem pedis, villas multorum bortosque peragratabat; quod Janiculo et Alpibus spem possessionum terminabat suarum; qui cūm ab equito Romano splendissimo et fortī viro, T. Pacavio, non impetrasset, ut insulam in lacu Prelio
5 venderet, repente in triumphis in eam insulam materiam, calcem, cemenem, atque arma, convexit; dominoque trans ripam inspectante, non dubitavit ædificium extruere in alieno; qui huic T. Furiano, cujus viro! Dīi immortales! (quid enim ego de mulierculā Scantia, quid de adolescentē Aponio, di-
10 cam? quorum utrique mortem est minitatus, nisi sibi borto-
rum possessione cessisset) sed ausus est Furiano dicere, si sibi pecuniam, quantam pospiceret, non dedisset, mortuum
se in domum ejus illaturum; quā invidiā huic esset tāl
viro confagrandum; qui Appium fratem, hominem mīhi
15 conjunctum fidissimā gratiā, absentem de possessione fundi
dejecit; qui parietem sic per vestibulum sororis instituisse
decerit, sic agere fundamenta, ut sororem non modō vesti-
bulo privaret, sed omni aditu et limine.

XXVIII. Quanquam hae quidem jam tolerabilia vide-
batur; etsi æqualiter in rempublicam, in privatis, in longi
quinuos, in propinquos, in alienos, in suos, irruebat; sed
nescio quomodo, jam usu obsdurerat et percalluerat civitatis
incredibilis patientia. Quae verò aderant jam, et impende-
bant, quonam modo ea aut depellere potuisset, aut ferret?
20 Imperium si ille nactus esset . . . . omitto socios, extern
nationes, reges, tetrarchas; vota enim faceretis, ut in eos se
potius mitteret, quàm in vestras possessiones, vestra tecta,
vestras pecunias: pecunias dico? a liberis, a liberis, (mē-
dius fidius) et a conjugibus vestris, nunquam ille effrēnatas
30 suas libidines colibusisset. Fingi haece putatis, quae patent!
haec, quae nota sunt omnibus? quae tenentur? servorum exer-
citus illum in Urbe conscripturum fuisse, per quos totam
rempublicam, resque privatas omnium, possideret.

Quamobrem, si, cruentum gladium tenens, clamaret T.

35 Annius: "Adcete, queso, atque audite, cives! P. Clodius
interfeci: ejus sūrores, quos nullis jam legibus, nullis judi-
ciis, frānare poteramus, hoc ferro et hac dextrā a cervicibus
vestris repuli; per me ut unum, jus, æquitas, leges, libertas,
pudor, pudicitia, in civitate manerent;" esset verò timendum,
40 quonam modo id ferret civitas? Nunc enim quis est, qui
non probet? qui non laudet? qui non, unum post hominum
memoriam T. Annium plurimum reipublicæ profuisse, max-
imā laetitātā populum Romanum, cunctam Italianam, nationes
omnes, affecisse, et dicat, et sentiat? Nequeo, vetera illa
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populi Romani quanta fuerint gaudia, judicare. Multas tamen jam summorum imperatorum clarissimas victorias sube nostrae vidit, quorum nulla neque tam diuturnam attulit laetitiam, nec tantam.

Mandate hoc memoriae, judices. Spero multa vos liberoseque vestros in republicâ bona esse visuros. In his singulis ita semper existimabitis, vivo P. Clodio, nihil eorum vos visuros fuisset. In spem maximam, et (quemadmodum confido) verissimam, adducti sumus, hunc ipsum annunum, hoc ipso summo viro consule, compressâ hominum licentiâ, cupiditatibus fractis, legibus et judiciis constitutis, salutarem civitati fore. Num quis igitur est tam demens, qui hoc, P. Clodio vivo, contingere poteuisse arbitretur? Quid ea, quae tenetis, privata atque vestra, dominante homine furioso, quod jus perpetuum possessionis habere potuissent?

XXIX. Non timeo, judices, ne, odio inimicitiarum mearum inflammatus, libentius hec in illum evomere videar, quam verius. Etenim, etsi præcipuum esse debeat; tamen ita communis erat omnium ille hostis, ut in communi odio penè equaliter versaretur odium meum. Non potest dici satis, ne cogitari quidem, quantum in illo sceleris, quantum exitii, fuerit. Quin sic attendite, judices. Nempe haec est quæstio de interitu P. Clodii. Fingite animis: liberae enim sunt cogitationes nostræ, et, quæ volunt, sic intuentur, ut ea cernimus, quæ videmus. Fingite igitur cogitatione imaginem hujus conditionis meæ, si possim efficere, ut Milonem absolvatis, sed ita, si P. Clodius revixerit. Quid vult extimusitis? quonam modo ille vos vivus afficeret, quos mortuos inani cogitatione percussit? Quid si ipse Cn. Pompeius, qui eâ virtute ac fortunâ est, ut ea potuerit semper, quæ nemo præter illum; si is, inquam, potuisset, ut questionem de morte P. Clodii ferre, sic ipsum ab inferis excitare; utrum putatis potius facturum fuisset? Etiam si, propter amicitiam, voluisset illum ab inferis revocare, propter rempublicam non fecisset. Eius igitur mortis sedetis uletores, cujus vitam si putetis per vos restitui posse, nolitis: et de ejus nece lata quæstio est, qui si eadem lege reviviscere posset, lata lex nunquam esset. Hujus ergo interfactor qui esset, in confitendo ab isse penam timeret, quos liberasset? Graeci homines Deorum honores tribuunt iis viris qui tyrannos necaverunt. Quæ ego vidi Athenis! quæ aliis in urbibus Graecis! quas res divinas talibus institutas viris! quos cantus! quæ carmina! propè ad immortalitatis et religionem et memoriam consecrantur. Vos tanti conservatorem
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populi, tanti sceleris ultorem, non modò honoribus nullis afficietis. sed etiam ad supplicium rapi patiemi? Conferetur, conferetur, inquam, si fecisset, et magnó animo et libente se fecisse, libertatis omnium causâ: quod ei certe non confitendum modò fuisset, verùm etiam prædicandum.

XXX. Etenim, si id non negat, ex quo nihil petit, nisi ut ignoscatur; dubitaret id fateri, ex quo etiam præmia laudis essent petenda? nisi verò gratius putat esse vobis, sui se capitis, quam vestri, defensorum fuisset; cùm præserint, in cæ confessione, si grati esse velletis, honores assequeretur amplissimos. Si factum vobis non probaretur, (quæquam qui poterat salus sua cuique non probari?) sed tamen si minus fortissimi viri virtus civibus grata cecidisset; magno animo constantique cederet ex ingrata civitate. Nam quid esset ingratius, quàm lætari cæteros, lugere eum solum, propert quem cæteri lætarentur?

Quanquam hoc animo semper fuimus omnes in patria proditoribus opprimendis, ut, quoniam nostra futura esset gloria, periculum quoque et invidiam nostram putaremus.

Nam quæ mihi ipsi tribuenda laus esset, cùm tantum in consulatu meo pro vobis ac liberis vestris ausus essem, si id, quod conabur, sine maximis dimicationibus meis me esse ausurum arbitrarer! Quæ mulier sceleratum ac perniciosum civem occidere non auderet, si periculum non tимерet?

Propositâ invidia, morte, pœnâ, quia nihilis segnius rempublicam defendit, is vir veræ putandus est. Populi grati est, præmis sit afficere bene meritos de republicâ cives; viri fortis, ne suppliciis quidem moreri, ut fortiter fecisset posnitéat.

Quamobrem, uteretur eâdem confessione T. Annius, quà Ahala, quà Nasica, quà Opimius, quà Marius, quà nosmet ipsi: et, si grata respublica esset, lætaretur; si ingrata, tamen, in gravi fortunâ, conscientiâ suâ niteretur.

Sed hujus beneficii gratiam, judices, fortuna populi Romani, et vestra felicitas, et Dii immortales, sibi deberti putant.

Nec verò quisquam alter arbitrari potest, nisi qui nullam vim esse ducit, numenve divinum: quem neque imperii vestri magnitudo, neque sol ille, nec coeli signorumque mutus, nec vicissitudines rerum atque ordines movent, neque (id, quod maximum est) majorum nostrorum sapientia; qui sacer, qui cerimonias, qui auspicia, et ipsi sanctissimè coœrunt, et nobis, suis posteris, prodiderunt.

XXXI. Est, est profectò illa vis: neque, in his corporibus atque in hac imbecillitate nostrâ, inest quiddam, quod vigeat et sentiat; et non inest in hoc tanto naturæ tam præ-
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claro motu: nisi fortè idcirco esse non putant, quia non apparet, nec cernitur: proinde quasi nostram ipsum mentem, quà sapimus, quà providemus, quà hæc ipsa agimus ac dici mus, videre, aut planè, qualis aut ubi sit, sentire possimus. Ea vis, ea est igitur ipsa, quæ sæpe incredibles huic urbi felicitates atque opes attulit, quæ illam perniciem extinxit ac sustulit; cui primùm mentem iniect, ut vi irritare, ferroque lascere, fortissimum virum auderet, vincereeturque ab eo, quem si vicisset, habiturus esset impunitatem et licentiam sempiternam. Non est humano consilio, ne mediocrī quidem, 10 judicès, Deorum immortalium cura, res illa perfecta. Religiones (mehercule) ipsæ, quæ illam belluam cadere viderunt, commòsse se videntur, et jus in illo suum retinuisset. Vos enim jam, Albani tumuli atque luci, vos, inquam, imploro atque testor, vosque, Albanorum obtuse aræ, sacrorum populi 15 Romani sociæ et æquales, quas ille, praeccep amentiæ, caèsis prostratisque sanctissimis lucis, substructionum insanis mo libus oppresserat; vestræ tum aræ, vestræ religiones, vigue runt; vestræ vis valuit, quam ille omni sceleri polluerat; tuque, ex tuo edito monte, Latiaris sancte Jupiter, cuius ille lacus, nemora, finesque, sæpe omni nefario stupro et sceleri maculārat, aliucando ad eum puniendum oculos aperuisti: vobis illæ, vobis vestro in conspectu, seræ, sed justæ tamen et debite, pœnæ solutæ sunt. Nisi fortè hoc etiam casu factum esse dicemus, ut, ante ipsum sacarium Bonæ Deæ, 25 quod est in fundo T. Sextii Galli, in primis honesti et ornatì adolescentis, ante ipsam, inquam, Bonam Deam, cum præli um commississet, primùm illud vulnus acciperet, quo teterrīm mam mortem obiret; ut non absolutus judicó illo nefario videretur, sed ad hanc insignem pœnam reservatus. 30

XXXII. Nec vero non eadem ira Deorum hanc ejus satellitibus innect amentiam, ut, sine imaginibus, sine cantu atque ludis, sine exsequiis, sine lamentis, sine laudationibus, sine funere, obitus cruore et luto, spoliatus illius supremi diei celebritate quam concedere etiam inimici solent, abum 35 reretur abjectus. Non fuisse credo fas, clarissimorum viro rum formas illi teterrimo parricide aliud decoris afferrer, neque ullo in loco potius mortem ejus lacerari, quàm in quo vita esset damnata.

Dura mihi (medius fidius) jam fortuna populi Romani, et 40 cruelis, videbatur, que tot annos illum in hanc rempublicam insulare videret et pateteretur. Polluerat stupro sanctissimas religiones: senatûs gravissima decreta perfregerat: pecuniâ se palâm a judicibus redemerat: vexārat in tribunatu sena-
tum: omnium ordinum consensu pro salute reipublicæ gesta resciderat: me patria expleurerat; bona diripuerat; domum incenderat; liberos, conjugem meam, vexaverat: Cn. Pompeio nefarium bellum indixerat: magistratuum privatorumque ca-
5 des fecerat: domum mei fratris incenderat: vastârat Etru-
rium: multos sedibus ac fortunis ejecerat. Instabat, urge-
bat: capere ejus amentiam civitas, Italia, provinciæ, regna, non poterant. Incidebantur jam domi leges, quæ nos nos-
tris servis addicerent: nihil erat cujusquam, quod quidem
10 ille adamasset, quod non hoc anno suum fore putaret. Ob-
stabat ejus cogitationibus nemo, præter Milonem. Ipsum illum, qui poterat obstare, novo reditu in gratiam quasi de-
vincetur arbitrabatur: Cæsaris potentiam suam esse dicebat:
bonorum animos etiam in meo casu contemperaret: Milo unus
15 urgebát.

XXXIII. Hic Dii immortales (ut supra dixi) mentem
dererunt illi perdito ac furioso, ut huic faceret insidias. Aliter perire pestis illa non potuit: nunquam illum repub-
lica suo jure esset ulta. Senatus (credo) prætorem eum
20 circumscriptisisset. Ne, cùm solebat quidem id facere, in
privato eodem hoc, aliquid profererat. An consules in præ-
tore coërcendo fortes fuissent? Primùm, Milone occisó,
habuisset suos consules. Deinde, quis in eo prætore consul
fortis esset, per quem tribunum, virum consularem crudelis-
25 simè vexatum esse meminisset? Oppressisset omnia, possi-
deret, teneret, lege novâ, quàm est inventa apud eum cum reli-
quis legibus Clodianis: servos nostros libertos suos fecisset.
Postremô, nisi eum Dii immortales in eam mentem impul-
sissent, ut homo effeminatus fortissimum virum conaretur
30 occidcrc, hocie rempublicam nullam haberetis.

An ille prætor, ille verò consul, si modò hæc templâ atque
ipsa mænia stare eo vivo tamdiu, et consulatum ejus expec-
tare potuissent, ille denique vivus, mali nihil fecisset, qui
mortuus, uno ex suis satellitibus Sex. Clodio duce, curiam
35 incenderit? Quo quid miserius, quid acerbius, quid luctu-
osius, vidimus? Templum sanctitatis, amplitudinis, mentis,
consiliis publicis, caput [urbis,] aram sociorum, portum omnium
gentium, sedem ab universo populo Romano concessam uni
ordini, inflammari, excindi, funestari! neque id fieri a mult
40 titudine imperitâ (quanquam esset miserum id ipsum), sed
ab uno; qui, cùm tantum ausus sit ustor pro mortuo, quid
signifer pro vivo non esset ausus? In curiâm potissimum
abjecit, ut eam mortuos incenderet, quam vivusevererat.
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Et sunt, qui de viâ Appiâ querantur; taceant de curiâ? et qui ab eo spirante forum potent potuisse defendi, cujus non restiterit cadaveri curia? Excitate, excitate eum, si potestis, ab inferis. Frangetis impetum vivi, cujus vix sustinetis furias insepulti? nisi verò sustinuistis eos, qui cum facibus ad curiam cucurrerunt, cum falcibus ad Castoris, cum gladiis toto foro volitârunt. Cædi vidistis populum Romanum, concionem gladiis disturbâri, cum audiretur silentio M. Cœlius, tribunus plebis, vir et in re publicâ fortissimus, et in susceptâ causâ firmissimus, et bonorum voluntatâ et auctoritati senatus deditus, et, in hac Milonis sive invidiâ sive fortunâ singulari, divinâ et incredibili fide.

XXXIV. Sed jam satis multâ de causa: extra causam etiam nimis fortasse multa. Quid restat, nisi ut orem obtesterque vos, judices, ut eam misericordiam tribuatâs fortissimo viro, quam ipse non implorât; ego, etiam repugnante hoc, et imploro, et exposco? Nolite, si, in nostro omnium fletu, nullam lacrymam adspheres Milonis; si vultum semper eundem, si vocem, si orationem, stabilem ac non mutatam videtis, hoc minús ei parcerâ: atque haud scio, an multò etiam sit adjuvandus magis. Etenim, si, in gladiatoris pugnis, et in infimi generis hominum conditione atque fortunâ, timidos et supplices, et, ut vivere liceat, obsecrantes, etiam odisse solemus; fortes, et animosos, et se acrier ipsos morti offerentes, servare cupimus; eorumque nos magis miseret, qui nostram misericordiam non requirunt, quàm qui illam efflagitant; quanto hoc magis in fortissimis civibus facere debemus!

Me quidem, judices, examinant et interimunt hæ voces Milonis, quas audio assiduè, et quibus intersum quotidie. "Valeant, valeant," inquit, "cives mei; valeant: sint incolumes, sint florentes, sint beati: stet hæc urbs praeclara, mihiqve patria carissima, quoquo modo merita de me erit. Tranquillam republicam cives mei (quoniam mihi cum illis non licet) sine me ipsi, sed per me tamen, perfruantur: ego cedam, atque abibo. Si mihi republicam bonâ frui non licuerit, at carebo malâ: et, quam primam tetigero bene moratam et liberam civitatem, in eâ conquiescam. O frustra" (inquit) "suscepti mei labores! o spes fallaces! o cogitationes inanes meæ! Ego, cùm, tribunus plebis, republicam oppressæ, me senatui dedissem, quem extinctum acciperam; equitibus Romanis, quorum vires erant debiles; bonis viris, qui omnem auctoritatem Clodiani armis abjecerant; mihi unquam bonorum præsidium defuturum putarem? Ego, cùm
te” (mecum enim sæpiissime loquitur) “patriæ reddidissem, mihi futurum in patriæ non putarem locum? Ubi nunc
senatus est, quem securi sumus? ubi equites Romani illi, illi” (inquit) “tui? ubi studia municipiorum? ubi Italiae
voces? ubi denique tua, M. Tulli, quæ plurimis fuit auxilio, vox et defensio? mihine ea soli, qui pro te toties morti me
obtuli, nihil potest opitulari?”

XXXV. Nec verò hæc, judices, ut ego nunc, flens, sed
hoc eodem loquitur vultu, quo videtis. Negat enim, se, ne-
gat, ingratia civibus fecisse, quæ fecerit: timidis, et omnia
circumspicientibus pericula, non negat. Plebem et inimam
multitudinem, quæ, P. Clodio duce, fortunis vestris immine-
bat, eam, quò tutior esset vita nostra, suam se fecisse com-
memorat; ut non modò virtute fleeteret, sed etiam tribus
suis patrimoniiis deleniret: nec timet, ne, cùm plebem muneri-
bus placàrit, vos non conciliàrit meritis in rempublicam sin-
gularibus. Senatús erga se benevolentiam temporibus his
ipsis sœpe esse perspectam; vestras verò et vestrórum ordi-
num occursationes, studia, sermones, quemcunque cursum
fortuna dederit, secum se ablaturum esse, dicit.

Meminit etiam, sibi vocem preconis modò defuisse, quam
minimè desideràrit; populi verò cunctis suffragiis, (quod
unum cupierit) se consulem declaratum; nunc denique, si
hæc arma contra se sint futura, sibì facinoris suspicionem,
non facti crimen, obstare. Addit hæc, quæ certè vera sunt,
fortes et sapientes viros non tam premia sequi solere rectè
factorum, quàm ipsa rectè facta: se nihil in vitæ, nisi pra-
clarissimè, fecisse; siquidem nihil sit prestabilius viro, quàm
periculis patriam liberare: beatos esse, quibus ea res honorì
fuerit a suis civibus; nec tamen eos miseròs, qui beneficio
cives suos vicerint: sed tamen, ex omnibus premiis virtutis,
si esset habenda ratio præsumini, amplissimum esse præ-
mium gloriam: esse hanc unam, quæ brevitatem vitae pos-
teritatis memoríæ consolaretur: quæ efficéret, ut absentes
adessemus, mortui viveremus; hanc denique esse, cujus
gradibus etiam homines in cólum viderentur ascendere.
“De me,” inquit, “semper populus Romanus, semper om-
nes gentes loquentur; nulla unquam obmutescet vetustas.
Quin hoc tempore ipso, cùm omnes a meis inimiciis facès
meæ invidìæ subjiciuntur; tamen omni in hominem cótæ,
gratis agendis, et gratulationibus habendis, et omni sermo-
ne, celebramus. Omitto Etruriam festos, et actos et institu-
tos, dies: centesima lux est hæc ab interitu P. Clodii; et
(opinor) ultra quàm fines imperii populi Romani sunt, ea
non solūm fama 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. Hæc tu mecum sæpe, his absentibus: sed, iisdem audientibus, hæc ego tecum, Milo. Te quidem, cùm isto animo es, satis laudare non possum: sed, quò est ista magis divina virtus, eò majore a te dolore divellor. Nec verò, si mihi eriperis, reliqua est illa saltém ad consolandum querela, ut his irasci possim, a quibus tantum vulnus accepero. Non enim inimici mei te mihi eripient, sed amicissimi: non malè aliqueando de me meriti, sed semper optimè. Nullum unquam, judices, mihi tantum dolorem inuretis, (etsi quis potest esse tantus?) sed ne hunc quidem ipsum, ut obliviscar, quanti me semper feceritis. Quæ si vos cepit oblìvio, aut si in me aliquid offendistis; cur non id meo capite potius luitur, quàm Milonis? Præclarè enim vixero, si quid mihi acciderit priùs, quàm hoc tantum mali videro.

Nunc me una consolatio sustentat, quòd tibi, T. Anni, nullum a me amoris, nullum studii, nullum pietatis, officium defuit. Ego inimicitiias potentium pro te appetivi: ego meum sæpe corpus et vitam objeci armis inimicorum tuorum: ego me plurimis 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 deminutio capitis futura, deposco. Quid jam restat? quid habeo, quod dicam, quod faciam, pro tuis in me meritis, nisi ut eam fortunam, quæcunque erit tua, ducam meam? Non recurso, non abnuo: vosque obsceco, judices, ut vestra beneficia, quæ in me contulistis, aut in hujus salute augeatis, aut in ejusdem exitio occasura esse videatis.

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O me miserum! o infelicem! Revocare tu me in patriam, Milo, potuisti per hos: ego te in patria per eosdem retinere non potero? Quid respondebo libris meis, qui te parentem alterum putant? quid tibi, Q. frater, qui nunc abes, consorti mecum temporum illorum? me non potuisse Milonis salutem tueri per eosdem, per quos nostram ille servasset? At in qua causâ non potuisse? que est grata gentibus. A quibus non potuisse? ab iis, qui maximè P. Clodii morte acquirunt. Quo deprecante? me.

Quodnam ego concepi tantum scelus, aut quod in me tantum facinus admisi, judices, cum illa indicia communis exitu indagavi, patefeci, protuli, extinxi? Omnes in me meosque redundant ex fonte illo dolores. Quid me reducem esse voluiistine? an ut, inspectante me, expellerentur ii, per quos essem restitutus? Nolite, obsecre vos, pati, mihi acerbiorem reditum esse, quàm fuerit ille ipse discessus. Nam qui possum putare me restitutum esse, si distrabhor ab iis, per quos restitutus sum?

XXXVIII. Utinam Dii immortales fecissent, (pace tua, patria, dixerim: metuo enim, ne sceleratè dicam in te, quod pro Milone dicam piè:) utinam P. Clodius non modò vive-ret, sed etiam prætor, consul, dictator, esset potius, quàm hoc spectaculum viderem. O Dii immortales! fortæm, et a vobis, judices, conservandum virum! "Minimè, minimè," inquit: "immo verò pœnas ille debitas luerit; nos subeamus, si ita necesse est, non debitas." Hiccine vir, patriæ natus, usquam, nisi in patria, morietur? aut, si fortæ, pro patria? Hujus vos animi monumenta retinebitis; corporis in Italià nullum sepulcrum esse patiemini? Hunc suà quisquam sententia ex hac urbe expellet, quem omnes urbes, expulsam a vobis, ad se vocabunt? O terram illam beatam, que hunc virum exceperit! hanc ingratam, si ejecerit! miseram, si amiserit! Sed finis sit. Neque enim, præ lacrymis, jam loqui possum; et hic se lacrymis defendi vetat. Vos oro, obtestorque, judices, ut in sententis serendis, quod sentietis, id adeat. Vestram virtutem, justitiam, fidem, (mihi credite) is max imè probabit, qui, in judicibus legendis, optimum et sapientissimum et fortissimum quemque legit.
ORATIO IN M. ANTONIUM.

I. QUONAM meo fato, Patres Conscripti, fieri dicam, ut nemo, bis annis viginti, reipublicae fuerit hostis, qui non bel-

lum eodem tempore mihi quoque indixerit? Nec verò ne-
cesse est a me quenquam nominari: vobiscum ipsi recorda-
mini. Mihi penarum illi plús, quàm optarem, dederunt; te 5
miror, Antoni, quorum facta imitere, eorum exitus non per-
horrescere. Atque hoc in aliis minus mirabar: nemo illorum
inimicus mihi fuit voluntarius: omnes a me reipublicae causâ
lacessit. Tu, ne verbo quidem violatus, ut audacior quàm
L. Catilina, furiosior quàm P. Clodius, viderere, ultro male- 10
dictis me lacessisti: tuamque a me alienationem commendationem tibi ad cives impios fore putavisti.

Quid putem? contemptumne me? Non video, nec in vitâ, nec in gratiâ, nec in rebus gestis, nec in hac meá me-
diocritate ingenii, quid despicere possit Antonius. An in 15
senatu facillimè de me detrahi posse creditit? qui ordo cla-
risissimis civibus bene gestae reipublicae testimonium multis,
mihi uni conservâtæ, dedit. An decertare mecum voluit
contentione dicendi? hoc quidem beneficium est: quid enim
plenius, quid uberius, quàm mihi et pro me, et contra 20
Antonium, dicere? Illud profectò est: non existimavit, sui
similibus probari posse, se esse hostem patrîm, nisi mihi esset
inimicus. Cui prius quàm de caeteris rebus respondeo, de
amicitiâ, quam a me violatam esse criminatus est, (quod ego
graviissimum crimen judico) paucâ dicam.

II. Contra rem suam me, nescio quando, venisse questus
est. An ego non venirem contra alienum pro familiarì et
necessario meo? non venirem contra gratiam, non virtutis
spe, sed astitis flore, collectam? non venirem contra injuriam,
quam iste intercessoris iniquissimi beneficîo obtinuit, non 30
jure prætorio? Sed hoc idcirco commemoratum a te puto,
ut te infimo ordinii commendareas, quàm te omnes recorda-
tur libertini generum, et liberos tuos nepotes Q. Fadii, liber-
tini hominis, fuisse.
At enim te in disciplinam meam tradideras (nam ita dixisti): domum meam ventitâras. Nâ tu, si id fecisses, meliùs famâ, meliùs pudicitiae tuae, consuluisse. Sed nec fecisti, nec, si cuperes, tibi id per C. Curionem facere licuisset.

Augurâtûs petitionem mihi te concessisse dixisti. O incredibile audacia! o impudentiam prædicandam! Quo enim tempore me augurem a toto collegio expetitum Cà. Pompeius et Q. Hortensiûs nominaverunt (neque enim licebat a pluribus nominari), tu nec solving eras, nec te ullo modo, nisi iversâ republicâ, incolumen fore putabas. Pote ras autem eo tempore auguratum petere, cum in Italâ Curic non esset aut tum, cum esse factus, unam tribum sine Curione ferre potuisses? cujus etiam familiares de vi condemnati sunt, quôd tu nimis studiosi fuissent.

III. At beneficio sum usus tuo. Quo? quanquam illud ipsum, quod commemorás, semper præ me tuli. Malui me tibi debere confiteri, quâm cuique minûs prudenti non satis gratius videri. Sed quo beneficio? quod me Brundisii non occideris? Quem ipse victor (qui tibi, ut tute gloriari solebas, detulerat ex latronibus suis principatum) saluam esse voluisset, in Italiam ire jussisset, eum tu occideres? Fac potuisses: quod est aliud, Patriæ Conscripiti, beneficium latronum, nisi ut commemorare possint, iis se dedisse vitam, qui bus non ademerint? Quod si esset beneficium, nunquam ii, qui illum interfecerunt, a quo erant servati, (quo s tu ipse viros clarissimos appellare soles) tantam essent gloriâ consecutì. Quale autem beneficium est, quod te abstinueris nefario scelere? Quâ in re, non tam jucundum videri mihi debuit, non interfustum a te, quâm miserum, id te impune facere potuisse.

Sed sit beneficium, quandoquidem majus accipì a latrone nullum potuit; in quo potes me dicere ingratum? An de interitu reipublicâ queri non debui, ne in te ingratus viderer? Nam, in illâ querelâ, (miserâ quidem et luctuosâ, sed mihi, pro hoc gradu in quo me senatus populusque Romanus collo cavît, necessariâ) quid est dictum a me cum contumeliâ? quid non moderât? quid non amicê? Et quidem cujus temperantiae fuit, de M. Antonio querentem, abstinere male dictò? præsertim cum tu reliquias reipublicæ dissipavisses; cùm domi tuae turpissimo mercatu omnia essent venalia; cùm loges cas, que nunquam promulgâtæ essent, et de te et a te latas conferè vere; cùm auspicia augur, intercessionem consul, sustulisses; cùm esses fëdissimè stipatus armatis; cùm omnes impuritatis pudicâ in domo quotidie susciperes, vino
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lustrisque confectus. At ego, tanquam mihi cum M. Crasso contentio esset, quocum multae et magnae fuerunt, non cum uno gladiatore nequissimo, de republica graviter querens, de homine nihil dixi. Itaque hodie perficiam, ut intelligat quantum a me beneficium tum acceperit.

IV. At etiam literas, quas me sibi misisse diceret, recitavit, homo et humanitatis expers, et vitae communis ignarus. Quis enim unquam, qui paulum modò borporum consuetudinem nosset, literas ad se ab amico missas, offensione aliqua interposita, in medium protulit, palamque recitavit? Quid est aliud, tollere et vitae societatem, quam tollere amicorum colloquia absentium? Quam multa joca solent esse in epistolis, quae, prolata si sint, inepta videantur! quem multa seria, neque tamen ullo modo divulganda!


Quid enim est minùs, non dico oratoris, sed hominis, quàm id obijercere adversario, quod ille si verbo negárit, longi-giùs progrędi non possit, qui objecerit? At ego non nego: teque in isto ipso convinco, non inhumanitatis solūm, sed etiam amentiæ. Quod enim verbum in istis literis est, non plenum humanitatis, officii, benevolentiae? Omne autem crimem tuum est, quod de te in his litteris non malē existis-mem; quod scribam tanguam ad civem, tanquam ad bonum virum, non tanquam ad sceleratum et latronem. At ego tuas literas (etsi jure poteram, a te lacesitus) tamen non proferam; quibus petis, ut tibi per me liceat quendam de exilio redurre; adjurasque, id te, invito me, non esse fac-turum: idque a me impetras. Quid enim me interponerem audaciam tue, quam neque auctoritas hujus ordinis, neque estimatio populi Romani, neque leges utte possent coèr-cere? Veruntamen quid erat, quod me rogares, si erat is, de quo rogabas, Cæsaris lege reductus? Sed videlicet meam gratiam voluit esse; in quo ne ipsius quidem ulla poterat esse, lege latà.
V. Sed cùm mihi, Patres Conscripti, et pro me aliquid, et in M. Antonium multa dicenda sint; alterum peto a vobis, ut me, pro me dícentem, benignè; alterum ípse efficiam, ut, contra illum cùm dicam, attentè audiatís. Simul illud oro:

si meam, cùm in omni vitâ, tum in dicendo, moderationem modestiamque cognóstis, ne me hodie, cùm isti, ut provcovait, respondero, oblitérum esse putetis mei. Non tractabo ut consulem; ne ille quidem me ut consularem. Etsi ille nullo modo consul, vel quòd ita vivit, vel quòd ita rem publicam gerit, vel quòd ita factus est consul: ego, sine ãllà controversià, consularís.

Ut igitur inèntveretis, qualem ipse se consulem profiteretur, objecit mihi consulatum meum. Qui consulatus, verbo meus, Patres Conscripti, re vester fuit. Quid enim ego constituit, quid gessi, quid egi, nisi ex hujus ordinis consilio, auctoritate, sententia? Hác tu, homo sapiens, non solùm eloquens, apud eos, quorum consilio sapientiáque gesta sunt, ausus es vituperare? Quis autem, meum consulatum, præter P. Clodium, qui vituperaret, inventus est? cujus quidem te fatum, sicuti C. Curionem, manet; quoniam id domi tuæ est, quod fuit illorum urique fatale.


VI. Sed, quoniam illis quos nominavi, tot et talibus viris, republica orbata est; veniamus ad vivos, qui duo e consularium numero reliqui sunt. L. Cotta, vir summo ingenio, summâque prudentiâ, rebus iis gestis quas tu reprehendis, supplicationem crevit verbis amplissimis: eique illi ipsi, quos modò nominavi, consulares, senatusque cunctus assensus est: qui honos, post conditam hanc urbem, habitus est
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togato ante me nemeni. L. Cæsar, avunculus tuus, quâ oratione, quâ constantiâ, quâ gravitate sententiam dixit in sororis suæ virum, vitricum tuum! Hunc tu cùm auctorem et praeciptem omnem consiliorum, totiusque vitæ, de- buisses habere, vitrici te similem, quâm avunculi, esse ma- luisti. Hujus ego alienus consilis consul usus sum: tu, sororis filius, equid ad eum unquam de re publicâ retulisti? At ad quos refert? Dii immortales! ad eos scilicet, quo- rum nobis etiam dies natales audienti sunt.


VII. Adeone pudorem cum pudicitia perdisti, ut hoc in eo templo dicere ausus sis, in quo ego senatum illum, qui quondam flores orbi terrarum præsidebat, consulebam; tu homines perditissimos cum gladiis collocasti? At etiam ausus es (quid autem est, quod tu non audeas?) clivum Capitolinum dicere, me consule, plenum servorum armatorum fuisset. Ut illa (credo) nefaria senatús-consulta feren, vim afferebam senatu. O miserum, sive illa tibi nota non sunt, (nihil enim boni nòsti) sive sunt, qui apud tales viros tam impedenter loquare! Quis enim eques Romanus, quis (præter te) adolescentis nobilitis, quïs ullius ordinis, qui se cive meminisset, cùm senatus in hoc templo esset, in clivo Capitolino non fuit? quis nomen non dedit? quanquam nec scribæ sufficerē, nec tabulæ nomina illorum capere, poteu- runt. Etenim, cùm homines nefarii de patriæ parricidio confiterentur (conscriorum indicii, suâ manu, voce penē literarum coacti), se Urbem inflammare, cives trucidare, vas- tare Italiam, delere rempublicam, consensisse; quis esset, qui ad salutem communem defendendam non excitaretur? præsertim cùm senatus populusque Romanus haberet ducem, qualis si qui nunc esset, tibi idèm, quod illis accidit, contigisset. Ad se pœbaturum corpus vitrici sui negat a me datum. Hoc verò ne P. quidem Clodius dixit unquam: quem, quia jure ei fui inimicus, doleo a te jam omnibus vitius esse supe- rumat. Quī autem tibi venit in mentem, redigere in memo- riam nostram, te domi P. Lentuli esse educatum? An vere-
bene, ne non putaremus naturâ te pothuisse tam improbus evadere, nisi accessisset etiam disciplina?

VIII. Tam autem eras ex ore, ut, totâ in oratione, tecum ipse pugnares; ut non modò non coherentia inter se diceres, sed maximè disjuncta atque contraria; ut non tanta mecum, quanta tecum, tibi esset contentio? Vitricum tuum in tanto fuisse scelere fatebare; pœnâ affectum querebare. Ita, quod propriè meum est, laudasti: quod totum senatus est, reprehendisti: nam comprehensio sentium, mea; animadversio, senatus fuit. Homo disertus non intelligit, eum, quem contra dicit, laudari a se; eos, apud quos dicit, vituperari.

Jam illud cujus est, non dico audaciae, (cupit enim se audacem duci) sed (quod minimè vult) stultitiae, quà vincit omnes, clivi Capitolini mentionem facere, cùm inter subsellia nostra versentur armati? cùm in hac cellâ Concordiae, (o Di immortales!) in quà, me consule, salutarea sententiae dictae sunt, quibus ad hanc diem viximus, cum gladiis homines collocati stent. Accusa senatum: accusa equestrem ordinem, qui tum cum senatu copulatus fuit: accusa omnes ordinem, omnes cives, dum confiteare, hunc ordinem, hoc ipso tempore, ab Ithyræis circumsecuri. Hec tu non propter audacia dicis tam impudenter, sed quia tantam rerum repugnantium non vides. Nihil profectò sapis. Quid est enim dementius, quàm, cùm ipse reipublicæ perniciosa arma ceperis, obicere alteri salutaria?


IX. P. Clodium meo consilio interfsectum esse dixisti. Quidnam homines putarent, si tum occisis esset, cùm tu illum in foro, inspectante populo Romano, gladio stricto incorporatus es, negotiumque transegisses, nisi ille se in scalas tabernæ librariorum coniugisset, hisque oppilatis impetu tum compressisset? [Sed] quid? ego favisse me tibi fateor; sua-
sisse ne tu quidem dicis. At Miloni ne favere quidem potui: prius enim rem transegit, quam quisquam eum suspicaretur facturum esse. At ego suasi. Scilicet is animus erat Milonis, ut prodesse reipublicæ sine suasore non posset. At Iatatus sum. Quid ergo? in tantâ letitìâ cunctæ civitatis, me unum tristem esse oportebat?

Quanquam de morte P. Clodii fuit questio non satis prudenter illa quidem constituata. Quid enim attinebat novâ lege quæri de eo qui hominem occidisset, cùm esset legibus questio constituata? questitum est tamen. Quod ergo, cùm 10 res agebatur, nemo in me dixit; id, tot annis post, tu es inventus qui diceres?

Quod vero dicere ausus es, iisque multis verbis, operâ meâ Pompeium a Cæsaris amicitia esse disjunctum, ob eamque causam meâ culpâ civile bellum esse natum; in eo non 15 tu quidem totâ re, sed (quod maximum est) temporibus errasti.


Duo tamen tempora inciderunt, quibus alicui contra 25 Cæsarem Pompeio suaserim. Ea velim reprehendas, si potes: unum, ne quinquennii imperium Cæsari prorogaret; alterum, ne pateretur ferri, ut absentis ejus ratio haberetur. Quorum si utrumvis persuasisset, in has miserias nunquam incidissemus. Atque idem ego, cùm jam omnès opes et 30 suas et populi Romani Pompeius ad Cæsarem detulisset; seròque ea sentire coepisset, quæ ego antè multò prævide-ram, inferrìque patriæ bellum nefarium viderem; pacis, concordiæ, compositionis, auctor esse non destiti: meaque illa vox est nota multis: "Utinam, Cn. Pompei, cum C. Cæsare 35 societatem aut nunquam coisses, aut nunquam diremisses! fuit alterum gravitatis, alterum prudentiae tuae." Hæc mea, M. Antoni, semper et de Pompeio et de republicâ consilia fuerunt; quæ si valuissent, respublica staret; tu, tuis flagitiis, egestate, infamia, concidisses.

XI. Sed hæc vetera: illud verò recens, Cæsarem meo consilio interfectum. Jam vero, Patres Conscripti, ne (quod turpissimum est) prævaricatoremi mihi apposuisse videas, qui me non solùm meis laudibus ornaret, sed etiam
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oneraret alienis. Quis enim meum in istius gloriosissimum facti conscientiâ nomen audivist? cujus autem, qui in eo numero fuisset, nomen est occultatum? Occultatum dico! cujus non statim divulgatum? Citiis dixerim, jactasse se aliquos, ut fuisset in istâ societate viderentur, qui socii non fuissent, quàm ut quisquam celari vellet, qui fuisset.

Quâm verisimile porrò est, in tot hominibus, partim obscuris, partim adolescentibus neminem occultantibus, meum nomen latere potuissse! Etenim, si auctores ad liberandam patriam desiderarentur illis auctoribus, Brutos ego impellerem, quorum uteque L. Bruti imaginem quotidie videret, alter etiam Ahala! His igitur majoribus orti, ab alienis potius consilium peterent, quàm a suis? et foris potius, quàm domo? Quid? C. Cassius, in eâ familiâ natus, quâ non modò dominatum, sed ne potential quidem, cujusquam ferre potent, me auctorem (credo) desideravit: qui, etiam sine his clarissimis viris, hanc rem in Ciliciâ, ad ostium fluminis Cydnî confecisset, si ille ad eam ripam, quam constituerat, non ad contrariam, naves appulisset. Cn. Domitium non patris interitus, clarissimi viri, non avunculi mor, non spoliatio dignitatis, ad recuperandum libertatem, sed mea auctoriâ, excitavit? An C. Trebonio ego persuasi? cui ne suadere quidem ausus esse. Quo etiam majorem ei respublica gratiam debet, qui libertatem populi Romani unius amicitiae praeposuit, depulsorque dominatis, quàm particeps, esse maluit. An L. Tillius Cimber me est auctorem secutus? quem ego magis fecisse illam rem sum admiratus, quàm facturum putavi. Admiratus sum autem ob eam causam, quôd immemor beneficiorum, memoriae, fuisset. Quid duos Servilios, Cascas dicam, an Ahalas? et hos auctoritatem meâ censes excitatos potius, quàm caritate reipublicae? Longum est persequi ceteros: idque reipublicae præclarum, fuisset tam multos; ipsis gloriosum.

XII. At, quemadmodum me coarguerit homo acutus, recordamini. "Caesare interfector," inquit, "statim cruentum altè extollens M. Brutus pugionem, Ciceronem nominatim exclamavit, atque eis recuperatam libertatem est gratulatus." Cur mihi potissimum? quòd sciebam? Vide, ne illa causa fuerit appellandi me, quôd, cum rem gessisset consilium rebus iis quas ipse gesseram, me potissimum testatus est, se æmulum mearum laudum exstitisse. Tu autem, omnium stultissime, non intelligis, si id, quod me arguis, voluisse interfici Caesarem, crimen sit; etiam, lætatum esse morte Caesaris, crimen esse? Quid enim interest inter suasorem


Quid est? num conturbo te? non enim fortasse satis, quæ distinctiûs dicuntur, intelligis. Sed tamen hæc est summa conclusionis meæ: Quoniam scelere a te liberati sunt, ab eodem te amplissimis præmiis dignissimi judicati sunt. Itaque jam retexero orationem meam: scribam ad illos, ut, si qui forte, quod a te mihi objectum est, quærent, sitne verum; ne cui negent. Etenim vereor, ne aut, celestum me ab ipsis, illis non honestum; aut invitatum refugisse, mihi sit turpis.

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simum. Quæ enim res unquam (pro, sancte Jupiter!) non modò in hac urbe, sed in omnibus terris, est gesta major? quæ glorirosior? quæ commendator erit hominum memorie sempiternae? In hujs me tu consilii societatem, tanquam in equum Trojanum, cum principibus includis? Non recuso: ago etiam gratias, quoquo animo facis; tanta enim res est, ut invidiam istam, quam tu in me vis concitare, cum laude non comparem.

Quid enim beatius illis, quos tu expulsos a te praedicas et relegatos? qui locus est aut tam desertus, aut tam inhumanus, qui illos, quò accesserint, non affari atque appeter videatur? qui homines tam agrestes, qui se, cùm eos adiplexerint, non maximum cepisse vitae fructum putent? quæ vero tam immemor posteritas, quæ tam ingrata literæ reperientur, quæ eorum gloriæ non immortalitatis memoriam prosequantur? Tu verò adscribec me talem in numerum.

XIV. Sed unam rem vereor, ne non probes. Si enim fuisse, non solùm regem, sed regnum etiam, de publicâ sustulisse: et, si meus stilus ille fuisse, ut dicitur, (mihi crede) non solùm unum actum, sed totam fabulam, confessisse. Quanquam, si interfici Cæsarem voluisses, crimen est, vide, quœso, Antoni, quid tibi futurum sit, quem et Narbone hoc consilium cum C. Trebonio cepisses notissimum est; et, ob ejus consilii societatem, cùm interficeretur Cæsar, tum te a Trebonio vidimus sevocari. Ego autem, (vide quâm tecum agam non imicè) quod bene cogitasti aliquando, laudo: quod non indicasti, gratias ago: quod non fecisti, ignoscio. Virum res illa quaerebat.

Quod si te in judicium quis adducat, usurpetque illud Cassianum, cui bono fuerit; vide, quœso, ne hæres. Quanquam illud quidem fuit, ut tu dicebas, omnibus bono, qui servire nolabant; tibi tamen precipue, qui non modò non servis, sed etiam regnas; qui maximo te ære alieno ad ædem Opis liberasti; qui, per easdem tabulas, innumerabilém pecuniam dissipasti; ad quem e domo Cæsaris tam multa delata sunt; cuius domus quæstuosissima est falsorum commentatorum et chirographorum officina; agrorum, oppidorum, immunitatum, vectigalium, flagiotosissimæ mundiæ. Etenim quæ res egestati et æri alieno tuo, præter mortem Cæsaris, subvenire potuisset?

Nescio quid conturbatus mihi esse vidēris. Nuncquid subtimes, ne ad te hoc crimen pertinere videatur? Libero te metu: nemo crodet unquam: non est tuum de publicâ benè mereri: habet istius pulcherrimi facti clarissimos viros
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respublica auctores: ego te tantūm gaudere dico; fecisse non arguo. Respondi maximis criminibus: nunc etiam reliquis respondendum est.

XV. Castra mihi Pompeii, atque illud omne tempus, objecti. Quo quidem tempore si (ut dixi) meum consilium auctoritasque valuisset; tu hocie egeres; nos liberi essemus; respublica non tot duces et exercitus amisisset. Fateor enim, me, cum ea, quae acciderunt, providerem futura, tantā in mœstitiâ fuisse, quantâ cæteri optimi cives, si idem providissent, fuissent. Dolebam, dolebam, Patres Conscripti, rempublicam, vestris quondam meisque consiliis conservatam, brevi tempore esse perituram. Neque verò eram tam indoctus ignarusque rerum, ut frangerer animo propter vitæ cupiditatem, quæ me manens conficeret angoribus, dimissa, molestiis omnibus liberaret. Illos ego præstantissimos viros, lumina reipublicæ, vivere volebam, tot consulares, tot prætorios, tot honestissimos senatores, omnem præterea florem nobilitatis ac juventutis, tum optimorum civium exercitus: qui si viverent, quamvis iniquâ conditione pacis, (mihi enim omnis pax cum civibus bello civili utilior videbatur) rempublicam hocie teneremus. Quæ sententia si valuisset, ac non iī maximè mihi, quorum ego vitæ consulebam, spe victoriam elati, obstissent; ut alia omittam, tu certè nunquam in hoc ordine, vel potius in hac urbe, mansisses.

At verò Cn. Pompeii voluntatem a me abalienabat oratio mea. An ille quenquam plus dilexit? cum ullo aut servomnes aut consilia contulit sæpius? quod quidem erat magnum, de summâ re dissentientes, in eâdem consuetudine amicitiae permanere. Sed et ego, quid ille, et contrâ ille, quid ego et sentirem et spectarem, videbat. Ego incolummitati civium primūm, et postea dignitati; ille præsenti dignitati potius consulebat. Quod autem habebat uterque quod sequeretur, idcirco tolerabilior erat nostra dissensio. Quid verò ille singularis vir, ac penē divinus, de me senserit, scienit, qui eum de Pharsalica fugā Paphum persecuti sunt. Nunquam ab eo mentio de me, nisi honôrina, nisi plena amississimi desiderii; cūm me vidisse plus fateretur, se sperasse meliorem. Et ejus viri nomine me insectari audes, cujus me amicum, te sectorem, esse fatere?

XVI. Sed omittatur bellum illud, in quo tu nimium felix fuisti. Ne jocis quidem respondebo, quibus me in castris usum esse dixisti. Erant illa quidem castra plena curæ: veruntamen homines, quamvis in turbidis rebus sint, tamen,
si modò homines sunt, interdum animis relaxantur. Quòd autem idem mæstitiam meam reprehendit, idem jocum; magno argumento est, me in utroque fuisse moderatum.


XVII. Hæc ut colligeres, homo aménissime, tot dies in aliena villâ declamásti? quanquam tu quidem, (ut tui familiarissimi dictitant) vini exhælándi, non ingenii acuendi, causâ, declamítas. Et verò adhibes, joci causâ, magístrum, suffragio tuo et comptorum tuorum, rhetorem; cui concessisti, ut in te, quæ vellet, dicercet. Salsum omnino hominem! sed materia facilis est, in te et in tuos dicta dicere. Vide autem, quid inter te et avum tuum intersit. Ille sensim dicebat, quod causæ professed; tu cursim dicis aliena.

At quanta merces rhetori data est? Audite, audite, Patres Conscripti; et cognoscite reipublicæ vulnera. Duo millia jugerum campi Leontini Sex. Clodio rhetori assignásti, et quidem immutia, ut, pro tantâ mercede, nihil saperes disceres. Num etiam hoc, homo audacissime, ex Cæsaris commentariis? Sed dicam alio loco et de Leontino agro et de Campano; quos iste agros, erectos reipublicæ, turpissimis possessoribus inquinavit. Jam enim, quoniam críminibus ejus satís respondi, de ipso emendatore et corredore nostro quaedam dicenda sunt: nec enim omnia effun-
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dam; ut, si sepius decertandum sit (ut erit), semper novus veniam: quam facultatem mihi multitudo istius vitiorum peccatorumque largitur.


Sumpsiisti virilem togam, quam statim muliebrem togam reddidisti: primò vulgare scortum: certa flagitii merces, nec ea parva. Sed citò Curio intervenit, qui te a meretricio quæstu abduxit; et, tanquam stolam dedisset, in matrimonio stabili et certo locavit.

Nemo unquam puer, emptus libidinis causâ, tam fuit in domini potestate, quâm tu in Curionis. Quoties te pater ejus domo suâ ejecit? quoties custodes posuit, ne limen intrares? cùm tu tamen, nocte sociâ, hortante libidine, cogen- te mercede, per tegulas demittere: quæ flagitia domus illa diutius ferre non potuit. Scisne, me de rebus mihi notissimi dicere? Recordare tempus illud, cùm pater Curio moram jacebat in lecto: filius, se ad pedes meos proster- nens, lacrymans, te mihi commendabat; orabat, ut te contra suum patrem, si sestertium sexagies peteret, defenderem: tantum enim se pro te intercessisse. Ipse autem, amore ardens, confirmabat, quòd desiderium tuí discidii ferre non posset, se in exsilium esse iturum.

Quo ego tempore tanta mala fiorentissimæ familiæ sedavi, vel potius sustuli. Patri persuasi, ut æs alienum filii dissol- veret: redimeret adolescentem, summâ spē et animi et ingenii præditum, rei familiaris facultatibus; eumque a tua non modò familiaritate, sed etiam congressione, patrio jure et potestate prohiberet. Hæc tu cùm per me acta meminis- ses; nisi illis, quos videmus, gladiis confideres, maledictis me provocare ausus esses?

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audiatis. Debet enim talibus in rebus excitare animos, non cognitio solum rerum, sed etiam recordatio. Tametsi inci-
damus oportet media, ne nimir sero ad extrema veniamus.

Intimus erat in tribunatu Clodio, qui sua erga me be nefi-
cia commemorat; ejus omnium incendiorum fax. Cujus etiam domi quiddam jam tum molitus est: quid dicam, ipse optimè intelligit. Iter inde Alexandriam contra senatus auctoritate, contra religiones: sed habebat ducem Gabi-
nium, quicum quidvis rectissimè facere posset. Qui tum 
inde reeditus, aut qualis? Priùs in ultimam Galliam ex 
Ægypto, quàm domum. Quæ autem erat domus? Susa 
enim quies domum tum obtinebat; neque erat usquam tua. Domum dico? quid erat in terris, ubi in tuo pedem poneres, præter unum Misenum, quod cum sociis, tanquam 
Sisapone, tenebas?

XX. Venisti e Galliâ ad quæsturam petendam. Aude 
diceré, te priùs ad [parentem tuam] venisse, quàm ad me. Accepérám enim jam ante Cæsaris litteras, ut mihi satisficeri pateret a te: itaque ne loqui quidem sum te passus de 
gratia. Postea custoditus sum a te, tu a me observatus in 
petitione quæsturae: quo quidem tempore P. Clodium, ap-
probante populo Romano, in foro es conatus occidere: èluc-
que eam rem tua sponte conarere, non impulsu meo; tamen 
ita praedicabas, te non existimare, nisi illum interfiecisses.

25 unquam mihi, pro tuis in me injuriis, satis esse facturum. 
In quo demiror, cur Milonem impulsu meo rem illam esse dicar, cum te, ultro mihi idem illud deferentem, nunquam 
sim adhortatus: quanquam, si in eo perseverares, ad tuam 
gloriam rem illam referri malebam, quàm ad meas gratias.

30 Quæstor es factus, deinde continuò, sine senatus-consulto, 
sine sorte, sine lege, ad Cæsarem currenderisti: id enim unum 
in terris, egestatis, æris alieni, nequitiae, perditis vitae rati-
onibus, perfugium esse duceres. Ibi te cum et illius largi-
 tionibus et tuis rapinis explevisses (si hoc explere, quoq 
35 statim effundas), advolásti egens ad tribunatum, ut in eo 
magistratu, si posses, viri tui similis esses.

XXI. Accipite nunc, quæso, non ea, quæ ipse in se, at-
que in domesticum deduces, impure atque intermptanter, 
sed quæ in nos fortunasque nostras, id est, in universam 
40 rempublicam, impie ac nefariè, fecerit. Ab hujus enim sce 
lere omnium malorum principium natum reperietis. Nam, 
cum, L. Lentulo, C. Marcello, consulibus, Calendis Janua-
riis, labantem et propè cadentem rempublicam fulcire cuper-
retis, ipsique C. Cæsari, si sanæ mente esset, consulere vel-
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letis; tum iste venditum atque emancipatum tribunatum consiliis vestris opposuit; cervicisque suas ei subjecit securi, quâ multi minoribus in peccatis occiderunt. In te autem, M. Antoni, id decrevit senatus (et quidem incolam, nondum tot luminibus extinctis), quod in hostem togatum decerni est solitum more majorum. Et tu apud Patres Scriptos contra me dicere ausus es, cùm ab hoc ordine ego conservator essem, tu hostis, reipublicae judicus? Commemoratio illius tui sceleris intermissa est, non memoria deleta. Dum genus hominum, dum populi Romani nomen exstabit (quod quidem erit, si per te licuerit, sempernum); tua illa pestifera intercessio nominabitur.

Quid cupidè a senatu, quid temerè fiebat, cùm tu, unus, adolescens, universum ordinem decernere de salute reipublicae prohibuisti? neque id semel, sed sæpius: neque tu te cum de senatis auctoritate agi passus es. Quod autem agebatur, nisi ne delere et evertere rempublicam funditus velles, cùm te neque principes civitatis rogando, neque majores natu monendo, neque frequens senatus agendo, de venditâ atque addictâ sententia demovere potuit? Tum illud, multis rebus antè tentatis, necessario tibi vultur inflictum, quod paucis ante te: quorum incolam fuit nemo. Tum contra te dedit arma hic ordo consulibus reliquisque imperis et potestatibus; quæ non effugisses, nisi te ad arma Cæsaris contulisses.

XXII. Tu, tu, inquam, M. Antoni, princeps C. Cæsari, omnia perturbare cupienti, causam belli contra patriam infe-rendi dedisti. Quid enim aliud ille dicebat? quam causam dementissimi sui consili et facti afferebat, nisi quod intercessio neglecta, jus tribunicium sublatum, circumscriptus a senatu esset Antonius? Omitto, quàm hac falsa, quàm levia; præsertim cùm omnino nulla causa justa cuiquam esse possit contra patriam arma capiendi. Sed nihil de Cæsare: tibi certè confitendum est, causam perniciosissimi belli in personâ tuâ constitisse. O miserum te, si intelligis! miseriorem, si non intelligis, hoc literis mandari, hoc memoriae prodi, hujus rei ne posteritatem quidem omnium sæculorum unquam immemorem fore, consules ex Italiam excussos; cumque his Cn. Pompeium, qui imperii populi Romani decus ac lumen fuit; omnes consulares, qui per valetudinem exsequi cladem illam fugamque potuissent; praetores, prætorios, tribunos plebis, magnam partem senatus, omnem sobolem juventutis, unoque verbo, rempublicam expulsam atque exterminatam suis sedibus!

XXIII. Restituebat multis calamitosos: in his patru nulla mentio. Si severus, cur non in omnes? si misericors, cur non in suos? Sed omittæ caeteræ.Licinium Denticulam, de aleæ condemnatum, collusorem suum, restituit: quasi verò ludere cum condemnato non liceret: sed ut, quod in aleæ perdidera, beneficio legis dissolveret. Quam attulit rationem populo Romano, cur eum restitui oporteret? absentem (credo) in reos relatum; rem indictæ causæ judicatam; nullum fussce de aleæ lege judicium; vi oppressum, et armis; postremò, (quod de patruo tuo dicebatur) pecuniæ judicium esse corruptum. Nihil horum. At vir bonus, et republicæ dignus. Nihil id quidem ad rem: ego tamen, quoniam condemnatum esse pro nihil est; si ita esset, ignoscerem. Hominem vero, omnium nequissimum, qui non dubitaret vel in foro aleæ ludere, lege, quæ est de aleæ, condemnatum, qui in integrum restituit, is non apertissimè studium suum ipse profitetur?

In eodem verò tribunatu, cum Cæsar, in Hispaniam proficiscens, huic conculcandam Italiam tradidisset; quæ fuit ejus peragratio itinerum? lustratio municipiorum? Scio me in rebus celebratissimis sermone omnium versari, eaque, quæ dico, dicturusque sum, notiora omnibus esse qui in Italìa tum fuère, quàm mihi, qui non fui. Notabo tamen singulas res: etiam nullo modo poterit oratio mea satisfacere vestrae scientiae. Etenim quod unquam in terris tantum flagitium exstitisse auditum est? [tantam turpitudinem?] tantum dedecus?

XXIV. Vechebatur in essedo tribunus plebis: licores laureati antecedebant: inter quos, apertâ lecticâ, mima portabantur; quam ex oppidis municipales, homines honesti, obviām necessariō prodeuntes, non noto illo et mimico nomine, sed Volumniam, consulatabant. Sequebatur rheda cum lenonibus; comites nequissimi; rejecta mater amicam
impuri filii, tanquam nurnum, sequebatur. O misere mulie-
ris fœcunditatem calamitosam! Horum flagitiarum iste ves-
tigiis omnia municipia, præfecturas, colonias, totam denique
Italiam, impressit.

Reliquorum factorum ejus, Patres Consiprunt, difficilis est sa-
̄næ reprehensio et lubrica. Versatus in bello est: satura-
̄vit se sanguine dissimillimorum sui civium. Fuit felix, si
potest ulla esse in scelere felicitas. Sed, quoniam veteranis
cautum esse volumus, quanquam dissimilis est militum causa
et tua (illi secuti sunt, tu quæsisti, ducem); tamen, ne apud illos me in invidiam voces, nihil de belli genere dicam.
Victor e Thessaliâ Brundisium cum legionibus revertisti.
Ibi me non occidisti: magnum beneficium: potuisse enim
fateor. Quanquam nemo erat eorum, qui tum tecum fue-
runt, qui mihi non censeret parç profeter. Tanta enim est caritas patriæ, ut vestris etiam legionibus sanctus essesm,
quod eam a me servatam esse meminissent. Sed fac, id te
dedisse mihi, quod non ademisti, meque a te habere vitam,
quia a te non sit erepta; licuitne mihi per duas contumelia
cis beneficium sic tueri, ut tuebar, præsertim cùm te hæc auditurum videres?

XXV. Venisti Brundisium, in sinum quidem et in com-
plexum tuae mimule. Quid est? num mentior? Quæm
miserum est id negare non posse, quod sit turpissimum con-
fiteri! Si te municipiorum non pudebat; ne veterani qui
dem exercitus? Quid enim miles fuit, qui Brundisii illum
non viderit? quis, qui nescierit, venisse eam tibi tot dierum
viam gratulatum? quis, qui non indoluerit, tam serè se,
 quem hominem secutus esset, cognoscere?

Italiam rursus percurritio, cùdem comite mimâ; in oppida militum crudelis et misera deductio; in Urbe auri, argenti, maximeque vini, fœda direptio. Accessit, ut, Cæsare igna-
̄ro, (cum ille esset Alexandriæ) beneficio amicorum ejus, magister euritum conterminatur. Tum existimavit, se suo jure cum Hippiâ vivere, et equos vectigales Sergio mimo 35
trader. Tum sibi non hanc, quam nunc malè tueut, sed M. Pisonis domum, ubi habitaret, legerat. Quid ego istius decreta, quid rapinas, quid hæreditatum possessiones datas,
quid ereptas, proferam? Cogebat egestas: quò se verteret,
non habebat. Nondum ei tanta a L. Rubrio, non a L. 40
Tursello, hæreditas venerat: nondum in Cn. Pompeii loc-
cum, multorumque aliorum, qui aberant, repentinus hæres
successerat. Erat ei vivendum latronum ritu, ut tantum
haberet, quantum rapere potuisset.

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Sed hæc, quæ robustioris improbitatis sunt, ommittamus: loquamus potius de nequissimo genere levitatis. Tu, istis fauciibus, istis lateribus, ista gladiatoria totius corporis firmata, tantum vini in Hippiae nuptis exhauseras, ut tibi necesse esset in populi Romani conspectu vomere postridie. O rem, non modo visu sedam, sed etiam auditu! Si, integer cænäm, in ipsis tuis immanibus illis pocus, hoc tibi accidisset, quis non turpe duceret? In cœtu verò populi Romani, negotium publicum gerens, magister equitum, cui ructare turpe esset, is, vornens, frustis esculentis, vinum dolentibus, gremium suum, et totum tribunal, implevit. Sed hoc ipse fatetur esse in suis sordibus: veniamus ad splendidam.

XXVI. Caesar Alexandriæ se recepit, felix, ut sibi qui dem videbatur; mea autem sententia, si quis reipublicæ at inselix, felix esse non potest. Hasta positâ pro sede Jove Statoris, bona Cn. Pompeii (miserum me! consumptis anim lacrymis, tamen inexitus animo hæret dolor) bona, inquam, Cn. Pompeii Magni, voci acerbissimæ subjecta preconis.

Unâ in illâ re servitutis obîta, civitas ingemuit; servientibusque animis, gemitus tamen populi Romani liber fuit. Exspectantibus omnibus, quisnam esset tam impius, tam demens, tam Diis hominibusque hostis, qui ad illud scelus sectiosis auderet accedere, inventus est nemo, præter Antonium, præsertim cum tot essent circum hastam illam, qui alia omnia auderent. Unus inventus est, qui id auderet, quod omnium fugisset et reformidasset audacia.

Tantus igitur te stupor oppressit, vel (ut veriûs dicam) tantus furor, ut, primum, cum sector sis isto loco natus, deinde cum Pompeii sector, non te exsecrandum populo Romano, non detestabilem, non omnes tibi Deus, omnes homines, et esse inimicos, et futuros scias? At quàm insolenter statim helluo invasit in ejus viri fortunas, cujus virtute terribilior erat populus Romanus exteris gentibus, justiâ carior!

XXVII. In ejus igitur copias cum se subitum ingurgitavisset, exsultabat gaudio, persona de mimo, modo egens, repentè dives. Sed, ut est apud poëtam nescio quem, "malè parta malè dilabuntur." Incredibile, ac simile portenti est, quonam modo illa tam multa, quàm paucis, non dico mensibus, sed diebus, effuderit. Maximus vini numerus fuit, per magnum optimi pondus argentii, pretiosa vestis, multa et lauta supellex, et magnifica multis locis, non illa quidem
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luxuriosi hominis, sed tamen abundantis. Horum, paucis diebus, nihil erat.


Itaque, excussis tuis vocibus, et ad te et ad prædes tuos, milites misit; cūm, repente a te præclarâ illâ tabulâ prolata, qui risus hominum! tantam esse tabulam! tam varias, tam multas possessiones, ex quibus preter partem Miseni, nihil erat, quod is, qui auctionaretur, posset suum dicere. Auctio nis verò miserabilis adspectus: vestis Pompeii non multa, eaque maculosa; ejsudem quædam argentea vasa collisa; sordida mancipia; ut doleremus quidquam esse ex illis reli quis, quod videre possemus.

Hanc tamen auctionem hæredes L. Rubrii, decreto Cæ saris, prohibuerunt. Hærebat nebulo: quò se verteret, non
habebat. Quin, his ipsis temporibus, domi Cæsaris, percussor, ab isto missus, deprehensurus dicebatur esse cum sicæ: de quo Cæsar in senatu, apertè in te invehens, questus est. Proficiscitur in Hispaniam Cæsar, paucis tibi ad solvendum, propter inopiam tuam, prorogatis diebus. Ne tum quidem sequeris. Tam bonus gladiator rudem tam citò accepiisti? Hunc igitur quisquam, qui in suis partibus, id est, in suis fortunis, tam timidos fuerit, pertimescat?


Qui verò Narbone redivit? et tamen quaerebat, cur ego ex ipso cursu tam subito revertìssem. Exposui nuper, Pa- tres Conscripti, causam reeditus mei. Volui, si possem, etiam ante Calendas Januarias, prodesse reipublicæ. Nam, quod quaerbas, quomodo redissent; primum luce, non tenè- bris; deinde cum calceis et togâ, nullis nec Gallicis nec lacernâ. At etiam adspicis me, et quidem, ut videris, iratus. Næ tu jam memcum in gratiam redeas, si scias, quâm me pudet nequitiae tuae, cujus te ipsum non pudet. Ex omnibus omnium flagitiis, nullum turpius vidi, nullum audivi. Qui magister equitum fuisse tibi viderere, in proximum annum consulatum pester, vel potius rogares; is, per municipia coloniasque Galliæ, a quâ nos tum, cum consulatus petebatur, non rogabatur, petere consulatum solebamus, cum Gallicis et lacernâ cucurristi.

XXXI. At videte levitatem hominis. Cùm horà diei decimâ férè ad Saxa Rubra venisset, delituit in quâdam cauponulâ, atque ibi se occultans, perpotavit ad vesperum: inde cisio celeriter ad Urbem adventus, domum venit capite


Primum, cùm Cæsar ostendisset, se, priusquam proficisceretur, Dolabellam consulem esse jussurum; (quem negant regem, qui et faceret semper ejusmodi aliquid, et diceret) sed cùm Cæsar ita dixisset; tum hic bonus augur, eo se sacerdotio præditum esse dixit, ut comitia auspiciis vel impedire vel viiàre posset: idque se facturum esse asseveravit.

În quo primum incredibilem stupiditatem hominis cognoscite. Quid enim? istuc, quod te sacerdotii jure facere posse dixisti, si augur non esses, et consul esses, minùs facere potuisse? Vide, ne etiam facilius: nos enim nuntiationem solùm habemus; consules et reliqui magistratus
etiam spectationem. Esto, hoc imperitē; nec enim est ab homine nunquam sobrio postulanda prudentia: sed videte impudentiam. Multis ante mensibus in senatu dixit, se Dolabellae comitia aut prohibiturum auspiciis, aut id facturum esse, quod fecit. Quisquamne divinare potest, quid vitii in auspiciis futurum sit, nisi qui de caelo servare constituit? quod neque licet comitiis per leges; et, si quis servavit, non habitis comitiis, sed priusquam habeantur, debet nuntiare. Verum implicata inscitia impudentia est; nec scit quod augurem, nec facit quod pudentem, decet. Atque ex illo die recordamini ejus, usque ad Idus Martias, consulatum. Quis unquam apparitor tam humilis, tam abjectus? Nihil ipse poterat: omnia rogabant: caput in aversam lecticam inserens, beneficia, quam venderet, a collega petebat.


Sed arrogantiam hominis insolentiamque cognoscite. Quamdiu tu voles, vitiosus consul Dolabella; rursus, cūm voles, salvis auspiciis creatus. Si nihil est, cūm augur iis verbis nuntiat, quibus tu nuntiasti; confite te, cūm atio die dixeris, sobriam non fuisset: sin est aliqua vis in istis verbis, ea quae sit, augur a collega requiro.

Sed, ne fortē, ex multis rebus gestis M. Antonii, rem unam pulcherrimam transiliat oratio, ad Lupercalia veniamus.

XXXIV. Non dissimulat, Patres Conscripti: appareat esse comnotum: sudat, palleet: quidlibet, modō ne nauseet, faciat, quod in porticu Minuciā fecit. Quae potest esse turpi tudinis tante defensio? Cupio audire; ut videam, ubi rhetorics tanta merces, ubi campus Leontinus, appareat. Sedebat in Rostris collega tuus, amicus toga purpureā, in sellā aureā, coronatus. Adscendis; accedis ad sellam; ita eras
Lupercus, ut te consulem esse meminisse deberes) diadema ostendis. Gemitus toto foro. Unde diadema? non enim abjectum sustuleras; sed attuleras domo meditatum et cogitatum scelus. Tu diadema imponebas cum plangore populi; ille cum plausu rejiciebat. Tu ergo unus, scelerate, inventus es, qui, cùm auctor regni esses, eum, quem collegam habebas, dominum habere velles; et idem tentares, quid populus Romanus ferre et pati posset.


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O mea frustra semper verissima auguria rerum futurarum! Dicebam illis in Capitolio liberatoribus nostris, cùm me ad te ire vellent, ut ad defendendam rempublicam te adhortarer; quoad metuere, omnia te promissurum; simul ac timere desisses, similem te futurum tui. Itaque, cùm cæteri consulares irent, redirent, in sententiâ mansi: neque te illo die, neque postero, vidi; neque ullam societatem optimis civibus cum importunissimo hoste fædere ullo confirmari posse credidi. Post diem tertium veni in òdem Telluris, et quidem invitus, cùm omnes aditus armati obsiderent. Qui tibi dies 10 ille, M. Antoni, fuit? Quanquam mihi subitò inimicus exstitisti, tamen me tui miseret, quòd tibi invideris.

XXXVI. Qui tu vir, (Diì immortales!) et quantus suis ses, si illius diei mentem servare potuisses! Pacem habere mus, quæ erat facta per obsidem, puerum nobilémi, [M. An tonii filium], M. Bambaliones nepotem. Quanquam te bonum timor faciebat, non diuturnus magister officii; impro büm fecit ea, quæ, dum timor abest, a te non discidit, audacia. Etsi tum, cùm optimum te putabant (me quidem dis sentiente), funeri tyranni, si funus illud fuit, sceleratissimè praefuisti: tua illa pulchra laudatio, tua miseratio, tua cohortatio. Tu, tu, inquam, illas faces incendisti, et eas, quibus semiustulatus ille est, et eas, quibus incensa L. Bellieni domus deflagravit. Tu illos impetus perditorum hominum, et, ex maximâ parte, servorum, quos nos vi manuque repulimus, in nostras domos immisisti.

Idem tamen, quasi fuligine abstersâ, reliquis diebus in Capitolio praeclara senatus-consulta fecisti, ne qua post Idus Martias immunitatis tabula, neve cujusquam beneficii, figeretur. Meminiisti ipse, de exsulibus, scis, de immunitate, quid dixeris. Optimum verò, quòd dictaturæ nomen in perpetuum de republicâ sustulisti. Quo quidem facto tantum te cepisse odium regni videbatur, ut ejus omnem, propter proximum dictatorem, tolleres metum.

XXXVII. Ubi est septies millies sestertium, quod in tabulis, quae sunt ad Opis, patebat? Funestae illius quidem pecuniae, sed tamen (si iis, quorum erat, non redderetur) quae nos a tributis posset vindicare. Tu autem quadringenies HIS, quod Idibus Martis debuisti, quonam modo ante Calendas Apriles debeberis? Sunt ea quidem innumerabilia, quae a diversis eombantur, non insciente te; sed unum egregium de rege Deiotaro, populo Romano amicissimo, decretum in Capitolio fixum; quo proposito, nemo erat, qui in ipso dolore risum posset continere. Quis enim cuiquam inimicior, quam Deiotaro Caesar? sequere atque huic ordini, ut equestri, ut Massiliensibus, ut omnibus, quibus rempublicam populi Romani caram esse sentiebat. In igitur, a quo vivo, nec praesens nec absens quidquam sequi bonum impetravit, apud mortuum factus est gratiosus. Compellarat hospitem praesens; computarat; pecuniam imperarat; in ejus tetrachimiam unum ex Graecis comitibus suis collocarat; Armeniam abstulerat, a senatu datam. Hae vivus eripuit, reddidit mortuos.

20 At quibus verbis? modò "aequum" sibi videri, modò "non iniquum." Mira verborum complexio! At ille nunquam (sempet enim absentis estui Deiotaro) quidquam sibi, quod nos pro illo postularemus, aequum dixit videri. Syngrapha HIS centies per legatos, viros bonos, sed timidos et imperitos, sine nostrâ, sine reliquorum hospitum regis sententiâ, facta in gynæceo: quo in loco plurimæ res veniere, et venuent. Quâ ex syngraphâ quid sis acturus, meditere, censeo. Rex enim ipse, suâ sponte, nullis commentariis Caesaris, simul atque audivit ejus interitum, suo Marte res suas recuperavit. Sciebat, homo sapiens, jus semper hoc fuisse, ut, quæ tyranni eripuissent, ca, tyrannis interfectoris, ii, quibus crepta essent, recuperarent. Nemo igitur jureconsultus, ne iste quidem, qui tibi unius est jureconsultus, per quem haec agis, ex istâ syngraphâ deberis dicit pro iis rebus quæ erant ante syngrapham recuperatæ. Non enim a te emit: sed prius, quam tu suum sibi venderes, ipse possedit. Ille vis fuit: nos quidem contemnendi, qui auctorem odimus, acta defendimus.

XXXVIII. Quid ego de commentariis infinitis, quid de innumerabilibus chirigraphis, loquar? quorum etiam imitatores sunt, qui ca, tanquam gladiatorum libellos, palam vendident. Itaque tanti acervi nummorum apud istum consuuntur, ut jain appendantur, non numerentur, pecuniae. At quâm caeca avaritia est! Nuper fixa tabula est, quâ civitates
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cupletissimae Cretensium vectigalibus liberantur; statui-
turque, ne, post M. Brutum proconsulem, sit Creta provincia. Tu
mentis es compos? tu non constringendus? An, Ca-
saris decreto, Creta post M. Bruti decessum potuit liberari,
cum Creta, nihil ad Brutum, Caesare vero, pertineret? At, 5
hujus venditione decreti, (ne nihil actum putetis) provinciam
Cretam perdidistis. Omnia nemo ullius rei fuit emptor,
cui defuerit hic venditor.

Et de exsulibus legem, quam fixisti, Caesar tulit? Nullius
insector calamitatem: tantum queror, primum, eorum redi-
tus æquatos, quorum causam dissimilem Caesar judicavit;
deinde, nescio cur reliquis idem non tribuas: neque enim
plus quam tres aut quatuor reliqui sunt. Qui simili in cala-
mitate sunt, cur tua misericordiâ similim non fruuntur? cur
eos habes in loco patruii? de quo ferre, cum de reliquis fer-
res, noloiusi: quem etiam ad censuram petendum impulsist;
eamque petitionem comparasti, quam et risus hominum et
querelas moveret.

Cur autem ea comitia non habuisti? An quia tribunus
plebis sinistrum fulmen nutiabat? Cüm tuà quid interest, 20
nulla auspicia sint; cum tuorum, tum sis religiosus? Quid?
eundem in septemviratu nonne destituit? Intervenit enim.
Quid metuisti? credo, ne salvo capite negare non posses.
Omnibus eum contumeliis omerasti, quem patris loco, si 25
ulla in te pietas esset, colere debebas. Filiam ejus, sororem
etam, ejecisti, alia conditione questâta et ante prospectâ.
Non est satis: probri insimulâsti pudicissimam fœminam.
Quid est, quod addi possit? Contentus eo non fuisti: fre-
quentissimo senatu Calendis Januariis, sedente patruo, hanc
tibi esse cum Dolabellâ causam odio, dicere ausus es, quôd
ab eo sorori et uxori tuae stuprum oblatum esse comperisses.
Quis interpretari potest, impudentiorne, qui in senatu, an
imbrior, qui in Dolabellam, an impurior, qui patre audite-
nte, an crudelior, qui in illam miseram tam sparcæ, tam
impiè, dixeris?

XXXIX. Sed ad chirographe redeamus. Quæ tua fuit
cognitio? Acta enim Caesaris, pacis causâ, confirmata sunt
a senatu, quæ quidem Caesar egisset, non ea, quæ Caesarem
egisse dixisset Antonius. Unde ista erumpunt? quo auctore
proferuntur? Si sunt falsa, cur probantur? si vera, cur
veneunt? At sic placuerat, ut, ex Calendis Junii, de Ca-
saris actis cum consilio cognosceretis. Quod fuit consilium?
quem unquam advocasti? quas Calendas Junias expectâ? 30
an eas, ad quas te, peragratiss veteranorum coloniis, stipatum
armis retulisti?
O præclaram illam percursationem tuam mense Aprili at que Maio, tum, cùm etiam Capuam coloniam deducesse conatus es! Quemadmodum illinc abieris, vel potius penè non abieris, scimus. Cui tu urbi munitari. Utinam conere, 5 ut aliquando illud "Penê" tollatur!


XL. Deduxisti coloniam Casilinum, quò Cæsar antè de- xixerat. Consuluiisti me per literas de Capuâ tu quidem, (sed idem de Casilino responsisse) possesne, ubi colonia esset, eo coloniam novam jure deducere. Negavi, in eam coloniam, quæ esset auspicata deduxa, dum esset incoluns, coloniam novam jure deduci: colonos novos adscribi posse rescripsi. Tu autem, insolentiâ elatus, omni auspiciurum jure turbato, Casilinum coloniam deduxisti, quò erat paucis annis antè deduxa, ut vexillum tolleres, et aratum circum- duceres: cujus quidem vehere portam Capuæ penè per- strinixisti, ut florentis colonie territorium minueretur. 20

causam esse hastae Caesaris, aliam confidentiae et temeritatis tue. Non enim te dominus modò illis sedibus, sed quivis amicus, vicinus, hospes, procurator, arcebit.


Cùm, inde Romam proficiscens, ad Aquinum accederet, obviàm ei processit (ut est frequens municipium) magna sanè multitudine. At iste opérà lecticà latus est per oppidum, ut mortuus. Stultè Aquinates: sed tamen in via habitabant. Quid Anagnini? qui, cùm essent devii, descendenter, ut istum, tanquam si esset consul, salutarent. Incredibile dictu; tamen inter omnes constabat, neminem esse resalutatum; 20 præsertim cùm duos secum Anagninos haberet, Mustellam et Laconem; quorum alter gladiorum est princeps, alter pectorum. Quid ego illas istius minas contumeliasque com- memorem, quibus inventus est in Sidicinos, vexavit Puteolan- nos, quòd C. Cassium, quòd Brutus, patronos adoptassent? 30 magno quidem judicio, studio, benevolentia, caritate; non ut te, ut Basiliun, vi et armis, et alios vestri similes, quos clientes nemo habere velit, non modò esse illorum cliens.

XLII. Interea, dum tu abes, qui dies ille collegæ tuæ, cùm illud, quod tu venerari solebas, bustum in foro evertit! 35 quà re tibi nuntiátæ, (ut constabat inter eos, qui unà fuerunt) concidisti. Quid evenerit postea, nescio. Metum credo valuisse et arma. Collegam quidem de cælo detraxisti; ef- fectisque, non tu quidem etiam nunc, ut sit similis tui, sed certè, ut dissimilis esset sui.

Qui vero reditus inde Romam? quæ perturbatio totius urbis? Minineramus Cinnam nimis potentem, Sullam postea dominam; modò regnantem Caesarem videramus. Erant fortasse gladii, sed absconditi, nec ita multi. Ista vero quà 40
et quanta barbaria est! Agmine quadrato cum gladiis sequuntur milites: scutorum lecticas portari videmus. Atque his quidem jam inveteratis, Patres Consipriti, consuetudine obduruumus. Calendis Junii cùm in senatum (ut erat constituendum) venire vellemus, metu perterriti repente diffugimus.

At iste, qui senatu non egeret, neque desideravit quenquam, et potius discessu nostro lætatus est; statimque illa mirabilia facinora effecit. Qui chirurgaha Caesaris defendisset lucru sui causâ, is leges Caesaris, easque praecellas, ut rempublicam concutere posset, evertit. Numerum annorum provinciis prorogavit: idemque, cum actorum Caesaris defensor esse doberet, et in publicis et in privatis rebus acta Caesaris rescidit. In publicis nihil est lege gravius; in privatis firmissimum est testamentum. Leges alias sine promulgatione sustulit: alias ut tolleret, promulgavit. Testamentum irritum fecit; quod etiam infirmis civibus semper obtentum est. Signa, tabulas, quas populo Cæsar unà cum hortis legavit, eas hic partim in hortos Pompeii deportavit partim in villam Scipionis.

XLIII. Et tu in Cæsaris memorià diligens? tu illum amas mortuum? Quem is majorem honorem consecutus erat, quâm ut haberet pulvinar, simulacrum, fastigium, flaminem! Est ergo flamen, ut Jovi, ut Marti, ut Quirino, sic Divo Julio M. Antonius? Quid igitur cessas? cur non inaugurare?


ORATIO IN M. ANTONIUM.

XLIV. Hunc unum diem, hunc unum, inquam, hodiernum
diem, hoc punctum temporis, quo loquor, defende, si potes.
Cur armatorum coronâ senatus septus est? cur me tui satel-
lites cum gladiis audiunt? cur valvæ Concordia non patent?
cur homines omnium gentium maximè barbaros, Ithyraeos, 5
cum sagittis deducis in forum? Præsidii sui causâ se facere
dicit. Nonne igitur millies perire est melius, quàm in suâ
civitate, sine armatorum præsidio, non posse vivere? Sed
nullum est isthuc, mihi crede, præsidium. Caritate et
benevolentiâ civium septum oportet esse, non armis. 10
Eripiet, extorquebit tibi ista populus Romanus, utinam
salvis nobis! sed, quoquo modo nobiscum egeris, dum 15
istis consilii useris, non potes (mihi crede) esse diuturnus. Ete-
nim ista tua minime avara concius (quam ego sine contumelii
describo) nimium debet diu populo Romano pensionem ter-
tiam. Habit populus Romanus, ad quos gubernacula reipub-
licae deferat: qui ubicunque terrarum sunt, ibi est omne
reipublicæ præsidium, vel potius ipsa respublica, quæ se
adhuc tantummodo ulta est, nondum recuperavit. Habet
quidem certè respublica adolescents nobilissimos, paratos
defensores. Quâm volent, illi cedant, otio consulentes;
tamen a republicâ revocabuntur. Et nomen pacis dulce
est, et ipsa res salutaris: sed inter pacem et servitutem
plurimum interest. Pax est tranquilla libertas; servitus
malorum omnium postremum, non modò bello, sed morte
etiam, repellendum.

Quoâ si se ipso illi nostri liberatores e conspectu nostro
abstulerunt: at exemplum facti reliquerunt. Illi, quod nemo
fecerat, fecerunt. Tarquinium Brutus bello est persecutus;
qui tum rex fuit, cun esse Romæ regem licebat. Spuriæ
Cassius et Melius, M. Manlius, propter suspicionem regni
appetendi, sunt necati. Hi primi cum gladiis, non in regnum
appetentem, sed in regnantem, impetum fecerunt. Quoâ cum
ipsum factum per se praeciprum atque divinum est, tum
expositum ad imitandum; præsertim cum illi eam gloriam conse-
cuti sint, que vix caelo capi posse videatur. Etsi enim satis in
ipsâ conscientiâ pulcherrimi facti fructûs erat, tamen mortali
immortalitatem non arbitror contemnendam.

XLV. Recordare igitur illum, M.Antoni, diem, quo dictatu-
ram sustulisti. Pone ante oculos laetitiam senatus populique
Romani: confer cum nudatione tua tuorumque: tum
intelliges, quantum inter laudem et lucrum intersit. Sed,
nimirum, ut quidam (morbo aliquo, et sensus stupore) suavi-
tatem cibi non sentiunt; sic libidinosi, avari, facinorosi, verae
laudis gustatum non habent. Sed, si te laus allicere ad rectè
ORATIO IN M. ANTONIUM.

faciendum non potest, ne metus quidem a fœdissimis factis potest avocare? Judicia non metuis. Si propter innocenti-
am, laudo: si propter vim, non intelligis, ei, qui isto modo judicia non timeat, quid timendum sit?

5 Quod si non metuis viros fortes, egregiosse cives, quod a corpore tuo prohibentur armis; tui te, mihi crede, diutius non ferent. Quæ est autem vita, dies et noctes timere a suis? nisi verò aut majoribus habes beneficiis obligatos, quàm ille quosdam habuit ex iis, a quibus est interfectus; aut tu


XLVI. Cum illo ego te dominandi cupiditate confere possum; cæteris verò rebus nullo modo es comparandus. Sed, ex plurimis malis, quæ ab illo reipublicæ sunt inusta, hoc tamen boni est, quod didicit jam populus Romanus, quantum cuique crederet, quibus se committeret, a quibus careret. Hæc igitur non cogitas? nec intelligis, satis esse viris fortibus didicisse, quàm sit re pulchrum, beneficio gratum, fæmgloriosum, tyrannum occidere? An, cùm illum homines non tulerint, te ferent? Certatim posthac (mihi crede) ad hoc opus curretur; nec occasiosis tarditas expectabitur.

Respice, quæso, aliquando reipublicam, M. Antoni: qui bus ortus sis, non quibuscum vivas, considera: mecum, ut voles; cum republicâ redi in gratiam. Sed de te tu ipse videris: ego de me ipso profitebor. Defendi reipublicam adolescens; non deseram senex: contempti Catilinae gladios; non pertimescam tuos. Quin etiam corpus libenter obtulerim, si ræpresentari morte meâ libertas civitatis potest; ut aliquando dolor populi Romani pariat, quod jamdiu partitur. Etenim si, abhinc annos propè viginti, hoc ipso in templo, negavi posse mortem immaturam esse consulari; quanto verius nunc negabo, seni? Mihi verò, Patres Conscripiti, jam etiam optanda mors est, perfuncto rebus iis, quas adeptus sum, quasque gessi. Duo modò hæc opto: unum, ut moriens populum Romanum liberum relinquam; hoc mihi majus a Dies immortalibus dari nihil potest: alterum, ut ita cuique eveniat, ut de republicâ quisque mereatur.
NOTES.

THE FIRST ORATION AGAINST CATILINA.

INTRODUCTION.

Lucius Sergius Catilina, of an illustrious family (from which consuls and military tribunes with consular power had frequently been taken to govern the state), was a man of singular strength, both of body and mind, but of a disposition extremely vicious. He had a head to contrive, a tongue to persuade, and a hand to execute the hardest attempt. From his youth up, he took pleasure in civil broils, civil wars, rapine, and massacres. He was wonderfully constituted for enduring cold, hunger, and want of rest; of a spirit daring and insidious; expert in all the arts of disguise and dissimulation; greedily covetous of other men's wealth, lavish of his own; violent in his passions, eloquent enough, but not endowed with much wisdom. His boundless ambition hurried him into extravagant and romantic projects, making him aspire to things greatly beyond the reach of his abilities.

Sallust reports, that Catiline, when a very young man, had been engaged in many scandalous intrigues; that he had debauched a young lady of illustrious birth, and even a vestal nun; and that at last, not long before his conspiracy, he fell in love with Aurelia Orestilla, in whom no good man ever saw anything to commend but her beauty, and, finding her indisposed to marry him, because he had a son grown to man's estate, whom she did not like for a son-in-law, he murdered him (at least it was confidently so believed) to facilitate the wicked nuptials. "And this," says the historian, "in my opinion, was what hurried him to the execution of his atrocious enterprise. For his polluted soul, full of rage against both gods and men, could find no rest either waking or sleeping, so incessantly did a guilty conscience torment him." Hence his face was pale, his countenance ghastly, his gait and motion unequal, now quick, then slow; in a word, his appearance was that of a man out of his senses.

He had probably been questor in the year 676, or 677, and, after the expiration of his questorship, lieutenant to Scribonius Curio, proconsul of Macedon, Anno Urbis 678; and he was prætor at Rome in 686.

At the consular election, which was held in the summer of 687, P. Autronius Patrus and P. Cornelius Sulla were declared consuls; but their election was no sooner published, than they were accused
of bribery and corruption by the Calpurnian Law, and being brought to trial, and found guilty before their entrance into office, their accusers and competitors, L. Manlius Torquatus and L. Aurelius Cotta, were proclaimed consuls elect. Some little time after this, Catiline, who, on the expiration of his praetorship, had obtained the province of Africa, came to Rome to sue for the consulship; but, being accused of extortion and rapine in that government, was not permitted to pursue his pretensions.

At this time, On. Piso, a young nobleman, extremely bold, indigent, and factious, was instigated, by his poverty and depraved morals, to raise disturbances in the state; with him Catiline and Autronius entered into a combination about the fifth of December to assassinate the consuls Torquatus and Cotta, in the Capitol, on the first of January; which done, Autronius and Catiline were to seize the consulship, and send Piso with an army to take possession of both Spain. But, their object somehow getting air, they deferred the intended assassination to the 5th of February; at which time they proposed to murder not only the consuls, but most of the senators. And if Catiline had not been so hasty as to give the signal, when not a sufficient number of his associates were yet assembled before the door of the senate-house (which frustrated the design), on that day had been perpetrated the most wicked deed that Rome had ever beheld since the foundation of the city.

Not long after this disappointment, Catiline was brought to trial for his oppressions in Africa. Of his guilt nobody doubted; but, through the iniquity of his judges, he was acquitted.

And the very next year (630), when Cicero was a candidate, in form, for the consulship, Catiline, being then free, stood against him for the same dignity. But the rumor of a dreadful plot, ready to break out, produced a disposition universally to confer the consuls-ship on Cicero, whose abilities were well known. This plot was the famous conspiracy of Catiline.

Sallust, after relating the universal prevalence, at Rome, of those vices that are the ruin of states, rapacious covetousness, shameless venality, and boundless luxury, adds, that Catiline had collected, which in such a city it was not difficult to do, a band of needy profligates, who attended him as guards to his person; that he had been very assiduous in seeking intimacies with young persons chiefly, whose minds, being soft and pliable, were easily moulded to what fashion he pleased; and that he spared no cost to gratify the favorite passions, whatever they were, of his followers. The young men, thus seduced, and made indigent by squandering their fortunes, he trained up to every kind of wickedness; with fearless impudence to become false witnesses; forge deeds; and not to stick even at murder; which they sometimes committed without provocation, without temptation, and merely to keep their hands in exercise.

Depending on the aid of these his friends and associates, he formed a design to overturn the government, and raise himself to supreme power. And it is said, that his scheme was not without a foundation of probability; Italy being drained in a manner of regular forces; Pompey at a great distance, with the best army of the empire; all things quiet at home; the senate in a careless security; and he himself in great hopes of obtaining the consulship. But it was chiefly from the support of Sulla's veteran soldiers, whose cause he had always espoused, and among whom he had been bred, that he prom-
ized himself success in his enterprise. These, to the number of about 100,000, had been settled in the several colonies and districts of Italy, in the possession of lands assigned to them by Sulla, which the generality had since wasted by their vices and luxury; so that they wanted another civil war to repair their shattered fortunes.

About the beginning of June (689), in the consulship of L. Caesar and C. Figulus, Catiline began to open his project to his confidants; to each of them at first alone; and having sounded them sufficiently, so as to perceive their several tempers and dispositions, he called together all those who were the most distressed in their affairs, and the most desperately bold; judging it now advisable to speak to them in a body. In this assembly, there were of senatorian rank, P. Cornelius Lentulus Sura, P. Auronius, L. Cassius Longinus, C. Cethegus, P. Sulla and S. Sulla (the sons of Servius Sulla), L. Vargunteius, Q. Anniius, M. Porcius Læna, L. Bestia, and Q. Curius; of the equestrian order, M. Fulvius Nobilior, L. Statilius, P. Gabinius Capito, and C. Cornelius.

Lentulus was descended from a patrician branch of the Cornelian family, one of the most numerous, as well as the most splendid in Rome. His grandfather had borne the title of "Prince of the Senate," and was the most active in the pursuit and destruction of C. Gracchus, in which he received a dangerous wound. The grandson, by the favor of his noble birth, had been advanced to the consulship about eight years before, but was turned out of the senate soon after by the censors, for the notorious infamy of his life, till, by obtaining the praetorship a second time, which he now actually enjoyed, he recovered his former place and rank in that supreme council. His parts were but moderate, or rather slow; yet the comeliness of his person, the gracefulness and propriety of his action, the strength and sweetness of his voice, procured him some reputation as a speaker. He was lazy, luxurious, and profligate; yet so vain and ambitious, as to expect, from the overthrow of the government, to be the first man in the republic; in which fancy he was strongly flattered by some crafty soothsayers, who assured him, from the Sibylline books, that there were three Cornelius's destined to the dominion of Rome; that Cinna and Sulla had already possessed it, and the prophecy wanted to be completed in him. With these views he entered freely into the conspiracy, trusting to Catiline's vigor for the execution, and hoping to reap the chief fruit from its success.

Cethegus, of an extraction equally noble (being of the Cornelian family), was of a temper fierce, impetuous, and daring, to a degree even of fury. He had been warmly engaged in the cause of Marius, with whom he was driven out of Rome; but when Sulla's affairs became prosperous, he presently changed sides, and throwing himself at Sulla's feet, and promising great services, was restored to the city. After Sulla's death, by intrigues and faction, he acquired so great an influence, that, while Pompey was abroad, he governed all things at home; procured for Antonius the command over the coast of the Mediterranean, and for Lucullus the management of the Mithridatic war. In the height of this power, he made an excursion into Spain, to raise contributions in that province, where, meeting with some opposition to his violences, he had the hardness to insult, and even wound the proconsul Q. Metellus Pius. But the insolence of his conduct, and the infamy of his life, gradually diminished, and at last destroyed, his credit; when, finding himself controlled by the
magistrates, and the particular vigilance of Cicero, he entered eagerly into Catiline's plot, and was intrusted with the most bloody and desperate part of it, the task of massacring their enemies within the city.

The rest of the conspirators were not less illustrious for their birth. The two Sullas were nephews to the dictator of that name; Antonius had obtained the consulship, but was deprived for bribery; and Cassius was a competitor for it with Cicero himself. In short, they were all of the same stamp and character; men whom disappointments, ruined fortunes, flagitious lives, had prepared for any design against the state; and all whose hopes of ease and advancement depended on a change of affairs, and the subversion of the republic.

With these were joined many from the colonies and principal towns of Italy, men of family and interest in their several countries. There were likewise several other noblemen engaged in this conspiracy, but with more caution and secrecy; men excited to it, not by want, or distress of any sort, but by the hopes of lawless power.

Catiline, having assembled at his own house those first-rate heroes above named, led them into a private part of it, and there, in a spirited harangue, represented to them "that the government was fallen entirely into the hands of a few; that these held kings and princes their tributaries; that whole nations paid taxes to these, while all the rest of the Roman citizens, how worthy or brave soever, remained without interest or authority, and were looked upon as a contemptible mob, the slaves of those to whom they ought to be a terror;—would it not be better to die in a brave attempt than to live the sport of such men's insolence? We have poverty at home and debts abroad; our condition is bad, our expectations worse. Rouse then to action. I call the gods to witness, that success is in our hands. Nothing is wanting but to make the attempt. All that you have so long wished for is now within your reach—liberty, riches, honors; these will be the sure rewards of an easy victory."

His associates, though (being extremely wretched, destitute of all things, even of every honest hope) they were pleased with the design in general of throwing the state into confusion, as imagining that this must some how or other turn to their benefit; yet desired that he would be a little more particular concerning the terms on which they were to engage in the enterprise, the assistance on which they might depend for carrying it on, and the advantages they were to expect from it. Catiline promised them an abolition of their debts; the proscription of their particular enemies, and of the rich; plunder in abundance; in short, every advantage that conquest and uncontrolled power can give. He told them that Piso, with an army in Hither Spain, and P. Sittius Nucernius, another in Mauritia, were both engaged in the undertaking; that C. Antonius, whom he hoped to have for his colleague in the consulship, was his intimate friend, and desperately distressed in his affairs; and that, in conjunction with him, he would, as soon as they should enter upon their office, begin the execution of the great design. He reminded them of the rich fruits which some there present had reaped from Sulla's victory; and when he perceived that his discourse had raised the spirits of the whole company, and filled their minds with pleasing hopes, he pressed them to be active in
promoting his interest at the approaching election, and then dismissed the assembly.

In this conspiracy was Q. Curius, a man of no mean family, but who, for his scandalous conduct, had been expelled the senate by the censors. Desperately audacious he was, yet had not more boldness than levity; for whatever he heard he disclosed; he could not conceal even his own crimes; in a word, he considered neither what he said, nor what he did. There had been, for a long time, a criminal intercourse between him and Fulvia, a lady of quality. He had ruined his fortune by the excess of his liberality to her; and so soon as she perceived that he was poor, he found himself despised. Impatient under this disgrace, he began now to talk big, and to boast of mountains of gold, which he should soon be master of; and, sometimes, instead of the humble suitor, the submissive lover, he put on the fierce tyrant. This change of style made her curious to know the ground of it. She very soon got the secret out of him; and whether she made small account of the promises of a ruined lover, or had no opinion of an enterprise managed by debauchees, and giddy, thoughtless young men, or had too much of common humanity to approve of the detestable design, she disclosed what she had learnt to several persons of distinction; but without mentioning her author.

The rumor of the impending danger being thus spread, the centuries with one voice proclaimed M. Tullius Cicero the first consul (giving him C. Antonius for a colleague); a heavy blow, which very much shocked the generality of the conspirators. Catiline's fury, however, abated not in the least; he exerted himself every day more and more; provided magazines of arms in all the most commodious places of Italy; borrowed money either on his own credit, or that of his friends, and transmitted it to Fesulus, in Etruria, to one Manlius, a bold and experienced centurion, who, having enrolled a considerable body of men, waited only his orders to take the field.

Catiline, notwithstanding these measures taken for war, declared himself a candidate for the next year's consulship; and renewed his efforts with greater vigor than ever to obtain it; hoping, if he should be chosen, to govern Antonius as he pleased. He pursued his pretension by such open methods of bribery, that Cicero published a new law against it, with the additional penalty of a ten years' exile, prohibiting likewise all shows of gladiators, within two years from the time of suing for any magistracy, unless they were ordered by the will of a person deceased, and on a certain day therein specified. Catiline, who knew the law to be levelled at him principally, formed a design to kill Cicero, with some other chiefs of the senate, on the day of election; but Cicero gave information of it to the senate the day before, upon which the election was deferred, that they might have time to deliberate on an affair of so great importance; and the day following, in a full house, he called upon Catiline to clear himself of this charge; where, without denying or excusing it, he bluntly told them that "there were two bodies in the republic" (meaning the senate and the people), "the one of them infirm with a weak head, the other firm without a head; which last had so well deserved of him, that it should never want a head while he lived." He had made a declaration of the same kind, and in the same place, a few days before, when, upon Cato's threatening him with an impeachment, he fiercely replied, "that if any flame should be excited in his
fortunes, he would extinguish it, not with water, but a general ruin.

At the consular election, which came on presently after this, Cicero, apprehending there would be an attempt to assassinate him in the Field of Mars, took care to throw back his gown, and let the people see a shining breast-plate, which he wore under it; a precaution which, deeply imprinted on the multitude a sense of the common danger, prevented, as he told Catiline afterwards to his face, his design of killing, not only him, but D. Junius Silanus, and L. Licinius Munera, who were declared consuls elect.

Catiline, thus a second time repulsed, and breathing nothing but revenge, was now eager and impatient to execute his grand plot. With this view he despatched C. Manlius, then at Rome, to Feneus, and the adjacent parts of Etruria; Septimius to the territory of Picenum; C. Julius into Apulia; and others to different places, where he thought they might be most serviceable to his design. At the same time, he was busily employed in contriving the most effectual means to murder the consul, and set fire to the city. He posted armed men in convenient places; was himself always armed; ordered his followers to be so too; was ever press ing them to be upon their guard, and prepared for action; day and night he passed without sleep, and in a hurry; and yet was unwearied with his never-ceasing toils.

Of all these measures for war, massacres, and conflagrations, Cicero received intelligence from Crassus, who, with M. Marcellus and Metellus Scipio, came to his house at midnight, and, having caused him to be waked, put into his hand a paquet of letters, which had been left with Crassus’s porter by a person unknown. Among these letters was one directed to Crassus himself, but without the name of the writer; the rest were directed to other senators. Crassus opened his own, and finding in it an exhortation to him to quit Rome, because Catiline was soon to make great havoc there, he immediately carried all the letters to the consul; who thereupon convened the senate, and delivered them, each according to its direction. Being read aloud to the assembly, they were found to contain advices of the same import as those to Crassus; and it was at this time (the 21st of October), and upon this occasion, that the senate, by a decree, ordered the consuls "to take care that the republic received no detriment." Catiline, nevertheless, on the sixth of November, summoned the principal conspirators to meet him in the dead of the night, at the house of M. Porcius Leca.

At this meeting it was resolved, that Catiline should put himself at the head of the troops in Etruria, that Rome should be fired in many places at once, and a massacre begun at the same time; that in the consternation of the fire and massacre, Catiline should be ready, with his Tuscan army, to take the benefit of the public confusion, and make himself master of the city; where Lentulus, in the mean while, as first in dignity, was to preside in their general councils; Cassius to manage the affair of firing it; Cethegus to direct the massacre. But the vigilance of Cicero being the chief obstacle to all their hopes, Catiline was very desirous to see him taken off before he left Rome; upon which L. Vargunteius and C. Cornelius, both Roman knights (the first a senator), undertook to kill him the next morning in his bed, in an early visit on pretence of business. They were both of his acquaintance, and used to frequent his house; and knowing his
custom of giving free access to all, made no doubt of being readily admitted, as C. Cornelius, one of the two, afterwards confessed.

No sooner was the meeting over, than Cicero had information of all that passed in it; for Curius sent Fulvia to him, with a punctual account of their deliberations. He presently imparted his intelligence to some of the chiefs of the city, who were assembled that evening, as usual, at his house, informing them not only of the design, but naming the men who were to execute it, and the very hour when they would be at his gate; all which fell out exactly as he foretold; for the two knights came before break of day, but had the mortification to find the house well guarded, and all admittance refused to them.

The meeting of the conspirators was on the sixth of November, in the evening; and on the eighth he summoned the senate to the temple of Jupiter, in the Capitol, where it was not usually held, but in times of public alarm. There had been several debates before this on the same subject of Catiline's treasons, and his design of killing the consul, and a decree had passed, at the motion of Cicero, to offer a public reward to the first discoverer of the plot, if a slave, his liberty and eight hundred pounds; if a citizen, his pardon and sixteen hundred. Yet Catiline, by a profound dissimulation, and the constant professions of his innocence, still deceived many of all ranks, representing the whole as a fiction of his enemy Cicero, and offering to give security for his behavior, and to deliver himself to the custody of any whom the senate would name; of M. Lepidus, of the pretor Metellus, or of Cicero himself; but none would receive him; and Cicero plainly told him, "that he should never think himself safe in the same house, when he was in danger by living in the same city with him." Yet he still kept on the mask, and though he stood actually impeached by L. Paulus, upon the Plautian law, he had the confidence to come to this very meeting in the Capitol; which so shocked the whole assembly, that none even of his acquaintance durst venture to salute him; and the consular senators quitted that part of the house where he sat, and left the whole bench clear to him. Cicero was so provoked by his impudence, that instead of entering upon any business, as he designed, addressing himself directly to Catiline, he broke out into a most severe invective against him; and with all the fire and force of an incensed eloquence, laid open the whole course of his villanies, and of his treasons.

SYNOPSIS.

Propositio. \{I. Catilinam, in rempublicam conjurantem, occidendum.\}
\{II. Utilius esse reipublicam, ut cum suis ex urbe discedat.\}

Hortatio. \{Ut exeat, vel in exsilium:\}
\{vel ad castra Manlii.\}

Epilogus. \{Senatores orat, ut discessum conjuratis permittant.\}
\{Jovem Statorem, ut discendentes puniat.\}
THE FIRST ORATION

**Propositionis Analysis.**

In Catilinam conjurantem invehitur,

\[\text{Ob ejus ob-stinat-nem} \quad \begin{cases} \text{in sceleribus, quibus abutitur} & \{\text{senatús, 1.} \\ \text{patientiá} & \{\text{consulm.1.} \\ \text{in furore, quo illos eludit. 1.} \\ \text{in audaciá effrenatá, quá se jactat. 1.} \\ \text{non movetur Palatii presidio.} \\ \text{Urbis vigilii. 1.} \\ \text{populi timore. 1.} \\ \text{proborum consensu. 1.} \\ \text{senatús convocatione, in loco munito. 1.} \\ \text{senatorum irá. 1.} \end{cases} \]

\[\text{Ob impud-}\\\quad \text{entiam, quà} \\
\{ \text{nescit sua consilia patere. 1.} \\
\{ \text{conjunctionem ab omnibus scriri. 1.} \\
\{ \text{nocturnos cætus et socios cognosci. 1.} \}
\]

Conjurationis tempus de-plorat, quòd

\[\begin{cases} \text{senatus hanc intelligat. 1.} \\
\text{consul videat. 1.} \\
\text{conjurator tamen vivat, et in senatum veniat. 1.} \end{cases} \]

Conjurato-rum occi-dendum probat exemplis

\[\begin{cases} \text{Scipionis, qui occidit Tiberium Gracchum. 1.} \\
\text{Ahaian, qui Spurium Melium. 1.} \\
\text{Opimii, qui C. Gracchum, et Fulvium. 2.} \\
\text{Marci, qui Saturninum et Serviullum. 2.} \end{cases} \]

Quòd non occidat, tamen,

\[\begin{cases} \text{accusat} & \{ \text{inertiae. 2.} \\
\text{nequitiae. 2.} \\
\text{excusat,} & \{ \text{a causâ patientiae. 2.} \\
\text{a voluntate necandi Catilinam. 2.} \end{cases} \]

Cicero seipsum hortatur, ut mentem mutet. 3.

Et Catilinam confundit, apertis ejus sceleratis consiliis. 3 4 jubet ex urbe discedere. 5.

**Hortationis Prima Pars.**

Ut exsulet, postulat

\[\begin{cases} \text{I. Catilinæ vita} & \{ \text{private: quæ in-} \\
\text{famis} & \{ \text{in rebus domesticis et privatis. 6} \\
\text{publica: quæ re-} & \{ \text{in oculis, manibus, toto corpore. 6} \\
\text{ip. noxia,} & \{ \text{consulm quæsiti nece. 6} \\
\text{senatoribus incusso metu. 7.} \end{cases} \]

II. Patricem imperium

\[\begin{cases} \text{vitam sceleratam exprobantis. 7.} \\
\text{metum sibi eripi postulantis. 7.} \end{cases} \]

III. Senatūs voluntas, qui

\[\begin{cases} \text{consulem exsilium imperantem patiener audiit. 8.} \\
\text{silentio imperium ejus approbat. 8.} \end{cases} \]

IV. Equitum et aliorum ci-vium ardor, qui

\[\begin{cases} \text{clamoribus Catilinæ obstrepunt. 8.} \\
\text{ab ejus nece vix manus cohibent. 8.} \end{cases} \]

* The figures at the ends of the lines in the Analysis refer to the corresponding sections in the Oration.
AGAINT CATILINE.

Hortationis Secunda Pars.

Ut ad Manlium se conferat,

I. Ob ipsum Catilinam, cui

- utilis: aucto exercitum. 9.
- delectabilis: ut augere decrevit. 9. [tum. 10.
- honorabilis: ob contubernium improborum milit.
- exitiale: ob spolia occisorum hostium. 10.
- speciem: ob patientia exercitium, in famae, frigore,
- simum: nam inopia. 10.

II. Ob patriam, cui

- revera utilis: bello vastabitur Italia. 11.
- nam: vexabuntur urbes. 11.
- simum: domus ardebunt. 11.
- ut Catilinam et socios procul expellat. 13.

Epilogus.

- ut permittat: ne insidentur consuli. 13.
- conjuratis: ne circumstent tribunal pretoris. 13.
- exitium: ne obsideant cum gladiis curiam. 13.
- senatus: ne malleolis urbem incendant. 13.

I. Senatoribus,

- ut bene sperent: ob consulis diligentiam. 13.
- senatus: senatoribus. 13.
- civium: equitum fortitudinem. 13.

II. Jovi Statori,

- ut dignis suppliantis afficiat. 13.
- et dignis suppliantis afficiat. 13.

Line.

4. Palatii: Palatium, or Mons Palatinus, was one of the seven hills upon which Rome was built, and such was its commanding situation, that in times of public alarm, a garrison was stationed upon it to protect the city.—Urbs vigilie: As soon as there was a suspicion that a dangerous conspiracy existed, the senate ordered the inferior magistrates of Rome to guard with an armed force the various streets of the city, to prevent the execution of any evil design.

5. Mumitissimus: The senate at this time, on account of the public danger, was convened in the temple of Jupiter Stator in the Capitol, which was the highest part of the city, and was strongly fortified.

18. Jussu consulis: In times of peace and safety, the power of the consul was much limited; in all important affairs they were obliged to act under the direction of the senate. But when there were civil commotions in the city, and when it was supposed that some great evil endangered the state, the senate invested them with absolute power, that they might preserve the republic from harm. Upon the first report of the existence of the Catilinarian conspiracy, such authority was conferred on Cicero and Antonius; and it was by virtue of this power, that Cicero says, Catiline should already have been put to death.

20. P. Scipio: Tiberius Gracchus was supposed to be ambitious of making himself king in Rome. P. Scipio Nasica at the head of the senators, whom Tiberius had offended by passing several popular
7 laws, went in an illegal manner, and without any public authority, into an assembly of the people, who were then electing Gracchus tribune a second time, attacked him and his friends, and put him to death.—Pontifex maximus: It is the opinion of many that Cicero here applies to Scipio the title Pontifex Maximus, by anticipation, as he immediately afterwards calls him simply a private person; but as the Pontifex Maximus was not, properly speaking, a magistrate, the term privatus is rightly applied to him in contrast with consules in the same sentence.

25. Servilius Ahala: In the 313th year of Rome, there was a famine in the city, by means of which, Livy says, a private man was near obtaining possession of sovereign power. Minucius was appointed by the senate and people to procure corn in the adjacent countries, but met with little success. Spurius Melius, the richest private man in the commonwealth, had bought up so much of it in the neighboring provinces, that the agent of the public could not purchase provisions of that kind. The corn, which Melius had purchased, was liberally distributed among the people; and so great was the popularity he acquired by this artifice and munificence, that a conspiracy was formed to change the form of government; Melius aspired to royalty; the people were to take arms in his favor, and the tribunes consented to sell the public liberty. Upon the discovery of the conspiracy, T. Q. Cincinnatus was appointed dictator, who, supposing that nothing but a stroke of authority could destroy so dangerous a plot, immediately sent Servilius Ahala, his master of the horse, to cite Melius to appear before his tribunal. Melius, surprised, endeavored to make his escape; Servilius commanded a lictor to arrest him. Melius, imploring the assistance of the people, was rescued by the multitude, and again endeavored to escape; but Servilius, pursuing him, overtook him, ran him through the body with his sword, and thus preserved the liberties of his country.—Necis reddus studentem: "Plotting a revolution."

28. Senatis-consultum: The "decree of the Senate," to which this passage alludes, was that, which, as soon as there was a rumor of Catiline’s conspiracy, charged the consuls to see that the republic received no detriment, and which for that purpose invested them with absolute power.

8 6. C. Gracchus: Caius Gracchus was a brother of Tiberius Gracchus, and, like him, was a favorite of the people, and opposed to the Senate. In the 630th year of Rome, he was chosen tribune, and, besides many other acts of popularity, enforced the execution of his brother’s Agrarian law, and added to it another clause. Marcus Fulvius Flaccus was one of the commissioners appointed to divide the lands. But, two years afterwards, the consul Opimius called an assembly of the people to abrogate that law, and, during the confusion, which was common in those meetings, Q. Antillus, one of his lictors, was killed. Opimius excited the senators to execute immediate vengeance on Gracchus and Fulvius Flaccus, who were supposed to be the authors of the lictor’s death, but a violent shower of rain obliged the parties to separate. On the next day, Gracchus and Fulvius with their friends were assembled on Mount Aventine; the Senate conferred unlimited power on Opimius; the consul immediately attacked the partisans of Gracchus, and slew Fulvius, his sons, and three thousand of his followers. Gracchus sought shelter in a wood consecrated to the Furies, but, perceiving his enemies approach to kill him, ordered a slave to put an end to his life.
9. L. Saturninus...C. Servilius: On the day of the election of Consuls in the 653rd year of Rome, M. Antonius was elected without opposition; C. Servilius Glauce, the Praetor, whom Cicero (in Brut. c. lxxii.) calls the most wicked man that ever lived; and C. Memmius, a man of distinction, were the other candidates. Saturninus, a tribune of the people, and a factious demagogue, was eager for the election of Servilius; but, fearing that Memmius would succeed, murdered him in the presence of the people. The senate immediately charged the consuls to see that the republic received no detriment. Saturninus and Servilius fled to the Capitol; being besieged there by Marius, they surrendered themselves upon condition of safety; but the same day, before they were brought to trial, they were slain by the enraged citizens.

11. Vicesimum jam diem: The decree of the senate, charging Cicero and Antonius to see that the republic received no harm, was passed eighteen days before the delivery of this oration. Cicero calls it, in round numbers, twenty.

28. Certa de causâ: The reasons which induced Cicero not to put Catiline to death, were, because there were many in the city, and even some in the senate, who did not think Catiline guilty, and who would have called Cicero a tyrant, if he had ordered him to be killed; because, although Catiline were dead, yet the conspiracy would not be suppressed; but, should he be obliged to leave the city, it was probable he would carry with him all the profligate and desperate; and because it would be more safe to contend with an open enemy, than a secret, artful, and bloody-minded conspiracy.

30. Continere vocem: By the intrigues of Fulvia and Curius, her paramour, Cicero was informed of all the plans and proceedings of the conspirators. See Introduction, p. 165.

44. XII. Calendas Novembris: The Twelfth of the Kalends of November was the twenty-first day of October. See Adam's "Rudiments of Latin Grammar," upon the division of the Roman month.

8. Consiliorum reprimendarum: Many of the principal men of Rome had left the city, because they feared, that they should be put to death, together with the consul, by Catiline; for he had written a letter to Crassus, advising him to depart, which letter was shown to Cicero. See Introduction, p. 166.

14. Proneste: Catiline had designed to take the town of Proneste, which was within twenty-five miles of Rome, and was one of the strongest fortresses in Italy. It would have been of great use to him in the war, and would have afforded him a safe retreat if he should be defeated. Cicero, however, apprehending that he would make this attempt, put the town in a state of defence, and when Catiline came, on the night of the first of November, to make an attack, he found it so well guarded, that he was obliged to abandon his design.

19. Nostem superiorem...priori nocte: These words refer to the same night, namely, that on which Catiline and the conspirators met at the house of Lecce.

22. Falasrias: There is a doubt existing concerning the meaning of this word; but it is generally believed, that it is either a name of a street in Rome, or an appellatio given to soldiers armed with scythes.

23. Complures: Sallust names eleven senators, and there probably were many more men of influence at this meeting.
35. *Distribuisti*: C. Manlius was sent to the city of Fesulae, Septimius into the Picene territory, and C. Julius into Apulia.

10. *Hic ipsi Jovi Stator*: The temple in the Capitol was consecrated to Jupiter Stator, Juno, and Minerva; the cell of Jupiter was in the middle, of Minerva on the right, and of Juno on the left. It was founded, according to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, by Tarquinius Priscus on this occasion. In a severe battle, which that king fought against the Sabines, his enemies at first were victorious; but, Tarquin having vowed a temple to the deities abovementioned, if they would turn the tide of success, the hopes of their assistance excited fresh courage in the soldiers, and he by this means gained the victory. Regardful of his vow, when he arrived at Rome, he laid the foundation of the temple, upon which his grandson, Tarquin the Proud, afterwards erected the edifice. It was burnt in the 670th year of Rome, rebuilt by Sulla, and dedicated by Quintus Catulus. In the part devoted to Jupiter, Cicero was now speaking to the senate, and his happy allusion to the cause of the building of the temple made a strong impression upon the minds of the senators. It was dedicated to Jupiter Stator, which appellation was given him, because he *stayed* the victorious pursuit of the Sabines, and saved the Romans from defeat, and perhaps from destruction. Rome, by the providential discovery of Catiline's conspiracy, was lately delivered from ruin equally imminent; and Cicero, no less grateful for his remarkable deliverance than Tarquin, gave great thanks to the immortal gods, and with great propriety to Jupiter Stator in particular, the most ancient protector of the city, who had delivered it from early destruction, and had so lately preserved it from confusion, and prevented the assassination of its senate and citizens.

13. *In vuo homine*: This sentence alludes to Catiline's former attempts to raise himself to sovereign power.

14. *Consuli designato*: During the interval between the election of consuls and their entrance into office, which was generally six months, the persons chosen were called *consuls elect*. Cicero and Catiline the last year had been rival candidates, and as Cicero succeeded not only in being elected to the consulship himself, but also in excluding Catiline, this assassin had determined to attempt to murder him in the Campus Martius. The vigilance of Cicero, however, defeated his design. The next year, while Cicero was consul, at the time the Comitia were held, he again employed his influence in preventing the election of Catiline, who stood candidate for the consulship this year also, and Catiline again endeavored to kill him in the field of election. But the prudence of Cicero and the exertions of his friends again prevented the execution of his murderous intentions. See *Introduction*, p. 105.

26. *Id*: That is, to put Catiline to death.

28. *Id*: That is, to force Catiline to leave the city.

35. *Non judico*: He only advises, he does not order, because to command him to leave the city would have been to assume too much of the style and power of royalty.

39. *Domesticae turpitudinis*: He had murdered his brother and son.

41. *Libido*: Besides other crimes of this class, Catiline had violated the chastity of a Vestal, which was an offence that subjected the parties guilty of it to death; the Vestal by law was sentenced to be buried alive, with funeral solemnities, in a place called the *Campus Sceleratus*, and her paramour was to be scourged to death in the Forum.
1. *Morte superioris uxoris:* To induce Aurelia Orestilla to marry him, he not only had killed his son, but was also suspected of having put his wife to death.

2. *Allo incredibili sceler:* It had been asserted that he married one of his own illegitimate daughters.

6. *Proximus Idibus:* This oration was delivered on the eighth of November; the next Ides, therefore, would be on the thirteenth of the same month (See the division of the Roman month in Adam's Grammar), before which time Catiline was obliged to discharge the many and great debts he owed, or to have all his estate taken from him; and as Cicero did not think that he could satisfy the demands of his creditors, he told him that his fortunes would soon be ruined.

14. *Cum telo?* It was unlawful to carry a hostile weapon into the Comitia, the Forum, or the Senate-house.—*Manum...interfecticendorum:* This refers to Catiline's former attempt, when, in conjunction with Sulla, Antonius, Crassus, and Julius Caesar, he designed to murder the Consuls and Senators, and when, by reason of the signals not being given, on account of the absence of some of the conspirators, the design was frustrated. The Senate were well acquainted with Catiline's intentions, but as there was no positive proof of his guilt, they could not punish him.

26. *Initiata mortis:* The meaning of this passage is, "Which indeed has been consecrated and devoted by you with I know not what rites, that you should religiously think it necessary to thrust it into the body of a consul." It was unlawful to use, for common purposes, the knives and other instruments devoted to sacred employments; Cicero therefore implies, that as Catiline was so accustomed to carry a dagger with an intent to kill him, he seems to have vowed to the gods, that with it he would murder a consul.

32. *Quis te:* When Catiline came to this meeting of the senate, the senators abandoned their seats, near which he placed himself, and not one of his friends dared to salute him.

35. *Judicio taciturnitatis:* The senate's abhorrence of him and his crimes could not be more strongly expressed, than by their avoiding him and refusing to speak to him.

37. *Tibi:* This word in this place has the signification of *a te.*

13. * Civium neces:* Catiline was active in putting to death the persons whom Sulla proscribed, and was protected from punishment by the authority of the dictator.—*Vexatio...impunita:* When Catiline was praetor, he obtained the province of Africa, and, while he governed it, was guilty of the most oppressive extortion. When he was afterwards accused in Rome of mal-administration, he escaped with impunity, by bribing his accuser, Publius Clodius, and thus managing to be tried by corrupt judges.

44. *Abhorret a meis moribus:* Cicero by nature was mild and averse to severity; and as he knew the senate would condemn Catiline, if he referred the case to them, he chose rather to drive him from the city, which measure he was certain would be equally fatal to the conspiracy, and would not produce so bad consequences.

13. *Videlicea cara:* Catiline pretended to pay great deference to the authority of the senators, that he might more effectually prevent a suspicion of the design to murder them.—*Vitissima:* The lives of the
THE FIRST ORATION

13 Senators were certainly "cheap" in Catiline's estimation, since he resolved to destroy so many of them.

15. Qui circumstant senatum: The Roman knights had been ordered to guard the temple, in which the senate were convened, because it was feared, that the conspirators would make another attempt to murder the senators, while they were transacting business.

16. Voces: These voices expressed approbation of Cicero's proceedings, and uttered clamorous invectives against Catiline.

18. Tela continco: If Cicero had permitted them, the knights would have immediately put Catiline to death.

24. Dunt: Duin was anciently used for dem or dederim. See Grammar, Gould's ed. p. 153. It was used mostly by comic writers, being found frequently in Plautus, and also in Terence.

25. Tempestas invictae: Cicero is sincere; for had Catiline, instead of going to the camp of Manlius in Tuscany, retired to some remote region, many would have believed that he had been persecuted by Cicero from personal enmity.

27. Sed est mihi tantum: The meaning of these words is, "But it is worth the while for me to endure this;" or, "I esteem it light."

37. Servire mea laudi: Catiline's retreat to Manlius would convince the people of the justice and merit of Cicero's conduct.

43. Forum Aurelium: This was a town not far from the city, through which Catiline designed to pass to Manlius.

14  1. Aquilam: Eagles were used as standards in the Roman army, and so great was the reverence in which they were held, that the soldiers frequently swore by them. The silver eagle, which is mentioned in the text, had belonged to Marius in the Cimbrian war, and it is probable that Catiline had made his partisans swear by this to follow him and execute his designs.

4. Ut: This word in this place has the signification of quomodo.

27. Latrocinium: The distinction between bellum and latrocinium, is, that bellum is used when a public officer declares war, and latrocinium when a private person rebels against the constituted authorities of government.

28. Querimoniam: Of a want of energy, or an impolitic clemency.

41. Privati: Alluding to the cases of Tiberius Gracchus and others.

42. Leges: A law was passed by Caius Gracchus, that no citizen should be put to death, unless by order of the people.

15  2. Per te cognitum: Cicero was what was called a new man, known only by himself, the first of his family, who had been elevated to official dignity.—Tam maturè: Cicero was elected Consul the first year he was permitted by law to offer himself as a candidate, which was a circumstance that never before happened to a new man.

3. Per omnes honorum gradus: It was necessary to pass through the Questorship, the Aedileship or Tribuneship, and the Praetorship, before a Roman could stand as a candidate for the Consulship.

13. Gladiatori: This word signifies one accustomed to the commission of murder.

24. Speram Catilinae: The hope of being able to seize the consulship, and destroy the republic.

16  8. Circumstare tribunal praetoris urbani: The praetor urbanus was the magistrate who administered justice at Rome.
THE SECOND ORATION AGAINST CATILINE.

WHEN Cicero had finished the preceding vehement discourse in the senate, Catiline, who was a perfect master of the art of dissimulation, with downcast looks and suppliant voice, "begged of the fathers not to believe too hastily what had been said against him; that such was his family, and such had been the tenor of his whole life from his youth up, as might encourage him to hope for every honor he could aspire to; and it was not to be imagined, that he, a patrician, whose ancestors, as well as himself, had given many proofs of their affection to the Roman people, should wish to overturn the government; while Cicero, a stranger, a tenant only of a house he had lately hired in Rome, was zealous for its preservation."

But, as he was going on to give harsh and abusive language, the senate interrupted him by a general outcry, calling him parricide and enemy to his country. Urged to fury and desperation by this treatment, he repeated with a loud and menacing voice what he had said before to Cato, "Since I am circumvented, and driven headlong by my enemies, the flame that is raised about me will I extinguish by the common ruin;" and so rushed out of the assembly.

And now, perceiving it in vain to dissemble any longer, he resolved to enter into action immediately, before the troops of the republic were increased; and accordingly he left Rome that very night with a small retinue, to make the best of his way towards Etruria. But, before he went off, he had a short conference with Lentulus, Cathegus, and others, the boldest of the conspirators, in which he pressed them earnestly to neglect no means of augmenting their number, get rid of Cicero as soon as possible, and prepare for a massacre, and the firing of the city; and he assured them that he would speedily return at the head of a strong army.

He no sooner disappeared, than his friends gave out that he was gone into a voluntary exile at Marseilles. Cicero entertained no doubt of his going directly to Manlius's camp, knowing that he had already sent thither a quantity of arms, and all the ensigns of military command, and particularly a silver eagle, for which he had a superstitious regard, because C. Marius had made use of it in his expedition against the Cimbri. However, lest the report should gain belief in the city, and it should be said that the consul had driven an innocent man into banishment, without any previous trial, he called the people into the Forum, to give them an account of what had passed in the senate the day before, and of the immediate consequence of it, Catiline's hasty departure from Rome.
SYNOPSIS.

Pars I. { Gratulatur sibi, quod Catilinam ejecerit.
   Rationem reddit, cur non occiderit.

Pars II. { Conjuratorum milites, extra Urbem non timendos probat.
   Conjuratorum multitum, in Urbe formidandum.
   Conurationis principem Catilinam in exsilium non iturum.

Pars III. { Conjuratos distribuit in sex classes.
   Reipublice prassidia extollit, illis opposita.

Peroratio. { I. Cives bonos metu liberat.
   II. Cives conjuratos territ.
   III. Deos adjutores sibi approximitt.

Prima Pars.

Gratulatur sibi, quod Catilinam ejecerit:
{ ob securitatem futuram. 1.
{ ob bellum presens, quod justum. 1.
{ et publicum. 1
{ ob pericula praterita vitata, propria. 1.
{ Urbis. 1.

Rationem reddit, cur non occiderit:
{ ob cives conjurationis expertes: qui vel delata non credeabant. 2.
{ vel credita non expendebant. 2.
{ vel expensa defendebant. 2.
{ vel conjuratis amicis favebant. 2.
{ ob cives conjurationis particeps, qui puniri non poterant. 2.

Secunda Pars.

Conjuratorum milites, extra Urbem non timendos: quod.
{ senes. 3.
{ rustici. 3.
{ decoctores. 3.
{ judicia fugientes. 3.
{ ob arrogantiam interrim. 3.
{ ob ambitionem regendarum provinciarum. 3.

Conjuratorum multitudinem, in Urbe formidandum:
{ ob vitiorum omnium corruptionem. 4.
{ ob audaciam et crudelitatem. 5.
{ ob avaritiam, et inopiam. 5.
{ ob ebriositatem, et odium proborum. 5.
{ ob infamem luxuriam, et libidinem. 5.

Conjurationis principem, ex Urbe in exsilium non iturum:
{ cum nec ire jussus sit. 6, 7.
{ nec ire velitius. 7.
Tertia Pars.

Conjurati in sex classes distributi.

I. Avari divites. 8.
II. Ambitiosi pauperes. 9.
III. Prodigi insolentes. 9.
IV. Decoectores inertes. 10.
V. Sicarii crudeles. 10.
VI. Delicatuli molles. 10.

Reipublicae presidiae, illis opposita:

... consules et imperatores. 11.
... flos et robur Italic. 11.
... coloniae et municipia. 11.
... senatus, equites, plebs Romana. 11.
... serarium, et vectigalia. 11.
... caussæ equitas, et Deorum auxilium. 11.

Peroratio.

... domos suas custodiis. 12.
... defendant vigiliis. 12.

Cives bonos hortatur,
... de ceteris ne sint solliciti:
... quod

II. Cives conjuratos monet,

... patrim se consulturum. 12.
... discersum ex Urbe, esse liberum. 12.
... tumultuantes in Urbe, se puniturum. 12.

III. Seipsum consuls em predicat

... effecturum, ut periculum vitetur sine tumultu. 13.
... bellum sedetur, se imperatorem. 13.
... cives boni non pereant. 13.
... cives mali paucissimi plectantur. 13.

IV. Deos reipublicæ protectores agnoscit:

... quibus niti se profiteatur. 13.
... qui celestis auxilliis signa ostenderunt. 13.
... qui presentes, tecta et domos defendent. 13.
... quos ut venerentur et implorent, hortatur. 13.

Line.

28. Quirites: The senators of Rome were at first addressed by the title of Patres, which appellation was given them by Romulus on account of their age and dignity; those persons, who were chosen into the senate by Lucius Junius Brutus, after the expulsion of Tarquin the Proud, were called Consipriti, that is, enrolled together with the senators; but afterwards the name Patres Consipriti was usually applied to all the senators. The word Quirites was the appellation by which the people were addressed; it was derived from Cures, a town of the Sabines, to whom it was first applied; when Romulus united the Sabines to the Romans, it became the general name of the inhabitants of Rome.

32. Abiit, excessit, enasit, erupit: These words are not tantological: abit implies only the action of going; excessit signifies he, induced by some powerful motive, has departed from us; enasit indicates that he has escaped from danger; erupit declares that, anxious for his safety
and the execution of his designs, he fled with precipitancy from a place, where the latter was almost impossible, the former very precarious. "He is gone, he has retired, he has escaped, he has broke away."

4. Sica illa: The dagger mentioned in the former oration.—Non in Campo.....foro.....curid.....intra domesticos parietes: Before Catiline departed, Cicero, as his life had been so often attacked, thought it imprudent to go into the Campus Martius unarmed; when Catiline was concerned in the proceedings of courts of justice, he prevented the dictates of law and equity from being observed, by his menaces and arms; as he had often intended to murder the senators, it was unsafe for that body of men to take their seats in the senate-house; and before his departure, it was hazardous even to sleep in private houses, that were not fortified.

11. Virtus nobis: Catiline had said in the house of Lecce, that he would not go to the army, till he had killed Cicero.

19. Quales esse omnes oportebat: All good men thought that Catiline ought to be put to death.

20. Exsulavit et triumphat: Although it was a general opinion, that Catiline ought to be capitally punished, yet Cicero had great reason to boast of his prudence in driving him from the city, as it was the most effectual means of suppressing his conspiracy.

25. Hujus imperii severitas: Such was the constitution of the Roman republic, that, when tumults and insurrections were raised by the intrigues of popular leaders, who disregarded the established laws and liberties of the commonwealth, policy required the creation of a despotic Dictator, or the investment of the consuls with absolute power, in order that the republic might be preserved from harm.

27. Non crederent: Many would not believe what Cicero had published in the senate, because they thought him an enemy to Catiline from some private cause, and because they did not think the dangers imminent which he described. Many also pretended not to believe, who secretly favored the designs of Catiline.

32. Ne nobis quidem: The meaning of this passage is; "If I had put Catiline to death before you were convinced of his criminality, I should have been thought so great a tyrant, that I should have met with much opposition in my endeavors to suppress the other conspirators."

39. Parum comitatus: It is said, Catiline carried but three hundred partisans with him to the camp of Manlius.

41. Mihi: This word in this sentence conveys no meaning; it is used for the sake of euphony. Tongilius, Publicius, and Munatius, men of abandoned characters, went with Catiline to Manlius's camp; conspirators of noble birth remained in the city.

41. Prætexta: The toga prætexta was the gown, which, according to the Roman custom, all young men wore till the age of seventeen, at which time they were admitted into the Forum, and put on the toga virilis.

44. Quos viros: Cicero, a few lines above, expresses his regret that Catiline did not carry with him to the camp of Manlius all his friends; he feared more the conspirators within the city than those without; they were of noble rank; they were immersed in debt; they were ready to commit any crime, however great.

1. Illum exercitum: The army of Catiline, when compared with the Gallic legions, with the levies Quintus Metellus had made in the
against Catiline.

Picene and Gallic territory, and with the troops which the consuls daily raised, deserved the contempt of Cicero.

5. *Qui viadomonia deserere*: In the court of the pretor in Rome, when the plaintiff had obtained a writ, he offered it to the defendant, or dictated it to him, and then required that the defendant should give bail for his appearance in court on a certain day. When the day arrived, if either party was absent without a valid excuse, he lost his cause. If the defendant was absent, he was said *deserere viadomonium*, and the pretor put the plaintiff in possession of his effects.

7. *Edictum Pretoris*: The writs of the pretor, conveying to the respective plaintiffs the goods and estates of each defendant.

15. *Apulia*: Apulia was assigned to Caius Julius, Etruria to Manlius, and the Picene territory to Septimius. Lentulus, Cethegus, Statilius, and Cassius were appointed to burn the city, to murder their enemies, and to put the senators to death. See *Introduction*, p. 166.

17. *Superioris noctis*: The night on which the conspirators met at the house of Marcus Læca.

19. *Hi*: This word refers to the conspirators who remained in the city.

34. *Gladiator*: Gladiators were men who fought against each other, and against wild beasts, for the amusement of the people. They were cruel and bloody-minded, often employed in assassination.

35. *Testamentorum subjector*: "Forger of wills."

7. *Ludo gladiatorio*: There were schools in Rome, in which gladiators were kept and maintained by persons called *laniata*, who purchased and trained them. At first, captives and slaves, or condemned malefactors, were trained as gladiators. But afterwards also free-born citizens, induced by hire or inclination, fought on the stage, some even of noble birth.

9. *In seend levior*: Actors were not so much respected among the Romans, as among the Greeks, but were held infamous.

39. *Unius virtute*: The person to whom these words refer, was Pompey, who by his military talents had at this time successfully terminated the Mithridatic war, and the war against the Pirates.

27. *Etenim (credo)*: This sentence is ironical.

30. *Se Massiliam*: Marseilles was a celebrated city in Narbonese Gaul. It is said by Sallust, that Catiline, after his departure from Rome, wrote letters to the most important inhabitants, in which he pretended that, being unable to withstand the persecution of his enemies, who had falsely accused him, he had retired to this city, not because he was conscious of any guilt, but to prevent the tumults and insurrections, which might be raised in his favor.


16. *Prater*: *Prater* in this place has the signification of *contra*.

27. *Exponam enim nobis*: Catiline had collected his partisans from six different classes of men, which Cicero here begins to enumerate, and also to prove to them, that peace, and order, and the regular administration of justice, would be more conducive to their prosperity, than the wicked measures they designed to follow.

34. *Tu agris*: This first class possessed great property, but owed great debts. They wished to retain their possessions, and defraud their creditors.
THE SECOND ORATION

21 38. An tabulas novas? By the laws of the Twelve Tables, it was ordered, that insolvent debtors should be given up to their creditors to be bound in fetters and cords; and, although they did not entirely lose the rights of freemen, yet they were in actual slavery, and were treated more harshly than even slaves themselves. To check the cruelty of usurers, a law was afterwards made, by which it was provided, that no debtor should be kept in irons or in bonds; that the goods of the debtor, not his person, should be given up to his creditors. But the people, not satisfied with this, as it did not free them from prison, often afterwards demanded an entire abolition of debts, which they used to call New Tables. But this was never granted them. At one time, however, by a law passed by Valerius Praesens, silver was paid with brass, that is, the fourth part of a debt only was paid; an as for a sesterius, and a sesterius for a denarius; or 25 for 100, and 250 for 1000. Such laws, and particularly laws for the abolition of debts, were often proposed by those demagogues, who wished to acquire great influence among the people. Catiline, in order to attach to himself the most indigent class of citizens, who were powerful in insurrections, had promised them New Tables, by which all their debts should be abolished.

22 4. Alterum genus: Men of ruined fortunes, who aspire after honors and commands, that, by oppressing the allies and subjects of the commonwealth, they may in some measure retrieve their affairs.

23. Hi sunt homines: Upon the conclusion of Sulla's civil war, he settled many of his soldiers at Fesulæ, upon lands of which he had deprived those who were opposed to him. These soldiers, having spent in debauchery the estates they acquired by plunder, wished another civil war, by which they might again enrich themselves at the expense of their country.

41. Vadimonius: See Note, page 18, line 5.

23 13. De sinu: This expression indicates great familiarity and friendship; it implies that these effeminate and profligate boys, these gamsters, adulterers, and debauchees, frequently supped with Catiline, and were often in his company. At their meals, the Romans reclined upon couches. On each couch there were commonly three. They lay with the upper part of their body reclined upon the left arm, the head a little raised, the body supported by cushions, and the limbs stretched out at full length, or a little bent. The feet of the first were behind the back of the second, and his feet behind the back of the third, with a pillow between each. The head of the second was opposite to the breast of the first, so that, if he wanted to speak to him, he was obliged to lean upon his bosom, in sinu recumbere; therefore, to be de complexu ejus ac sinu was to be one of his most intimate friends.—Imberbes, aut bene barbatos: In the days of Cicero, the beard was shaven for the first time sooner or later, at pleasure; sometimes when the toga virilis was assumed, but usually about the age of twenty-one. Hence young men with a long down were called juvenes barbatuli or bene barbati.

15. Manicatis et talariis tuniciis: The Romans wore below the toga a white woollen vest called tunica, which came down a little below the knees before, and to the middle of the legs behind, at first without sleeves. Tunics with sleeves (tunica manicata,) or reaching to the ankles (talares), were reckoned effeminate.

17. In antelucanis comis: Suppers at which they sat all night.

26. Nocitibus: This oration was delivered in November.— Appenninum: The Apennine mountains extend along the middle of Italy
30. *Cohortem praeortiam*: Scipio Africanus first instituted the Praetorian Cohort, whose business it was to attend and serve the general as his guard.

36. *Municipiorum*: Municipia were foreign towns, whose inhabitants obtained the rights of Roman citizens.

21. *Metellus*: This is the Quintus Metellus Celer, into whose custody Catiline offered to put himself, but who rejected him.

1. *Me uno togato due*: The toga was the robe of peace; *togati* is often opposed to *armati*.

11. *Deorum immortalium significationibus*: Plutarch relates, that while the Vestal Virgins were performing sacred rites in Cicero's house, for the safety of the people, a flame suddenly issued from the altar. Many other omens happened about this time, of which Cicero made use as means to excite in the people a sense of their danger, and to persuade them that the gods interested themselves in the preservation of the city. These omens are more particularly mentioned in the succeeding oration.

13. *Ut quandam*: Referring to the Carthaginian war, and other times, when Rome was in danger from a foreign enemy.

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**THE THIRD ORATION AGAINST CATILINE.**

**INTRODUCTION.**

After Catiline's departure, Lentulus and other conspirators remained in Rome to engage in the conspiracy all who, from their vicious manners or necessitous circumstances, he thought would be very willing to promote a revolution; not citizens only, but any kind of men, who could be usefully employed. At this time there happened to be in the city deputies from the Allobroges, Gaula inhabiting the countries now called Savoy and Dauphiné, a warlike people, and ever disaffected to the Roman power. These deputies were come to solicit the senate for some relief under the burthen of those debts, with which the nation, as well as many private persons, was overwhelmed, through the oppressive avarice of the Roman governors. They had met with no success, and were about returning home, when Lentulus, knowing their circumstances, and thence imagining it would not be difficult to draw them into the plot, employed Umbrenus to discover to them the whole plan of the conspiracy, and to engage their concurrence. The Allobroges at first were pleased with the prospect, and promised to furnish the conspirators with a body of horse; but when they began to reflect upon what had been proposed to them, they resolved to discover all they had learned of the plot to Q. Fabius Sanga, who immediately gave intelligence of it to the consul. Cicero directed the deputies to feign a zeal for carrying on the enterprise, till they had got a full insight into the extent of the plot, with distinct proofs against the particular actors in it. They therefore procured a meeting of the conspirators, and insisted upon
THE THIRD ORATION

an oath from Lentulus, Cethegus, Statilius, and Cassius, under their hands and seals, to show to their constituents, who, without such credentials, would never be induced to enter into an engagement so hazardous. Not suspecting any fraud, all complied, except Cassius, who promised he would be in their country in a very short time. Vulturcius was appointed to introduce them to Catiline in their road, and Lentulus at the same time sent a particular letter to Catiline, under his own hand and seal, though without his name. Cicero, being informed of all the proceedings of this meeting, engaged the deputies to be upon the Mulvian bridge at a certain time of night with Vulturecius, their letters and papers, and told them that L. Flaccus and C. Pomptinus, two of the praetors, whom he had ordered to lie in ambush near the place with a strong guard of friends and soldiers, would there arrest them, and bring them to him. His directions were observed, and the prisoners brought to his house as soon as the day began to dawn. He immediately sent for Lentulus, Gabinius, Statilius, and Cethegus, who, suspecting nothing, came to him. The consul, being informed also of a quantity of arms provided by Cethegus for the use of the conspiracy, ordered C. Sulpicius, another of the praetors, to search his house, where he found a great number of swords and daggers, with other arms, newly cleaned, and ready for present service. Cicero then assembled the senate in the temple of Concord, carried thither the deputies and conspirators, related all he had discovered and done, examined the several parties, and made a complete discovery of the whole plot. The senate then, the witnesses and criminals being withdrawn, went into debate upon the state of the republic, and resolved, that public thanks should be decreed to Cicero, who had delivered the republic from the greatest dangers; that thanks should also be given to the praetors, Flaccus and Pomptinus, for their faithful execution of Cicero's orders; that the conspirators, who were taken, and others, who should afterwards be arrested, should be kept in safe custody; and that a public thanksgiving should be appointed in Cicero's name, for his having preserved the city from a conflagration, the citizens from a massacre, and Italy from a war. Cicero then went into the Rostra, and gave the people an account of the discovery, and of the resolutions of the senate thereupon in the following speech.

SYNOPSIS.

Exordium. { \begin{align*}
\text{Reddit, attentos, declaratione beneficii Deorum.} \\
\text{benevolos, expositione laboris sui.} \\
\text{dociles, promissione declarandae conjurationis.}
\end{align*}
\begin{align*}
\text{Exponit, diligentiam suam.} \\
\text{Lentuli conjurationem.} \\
\text{praetorum in litteris interciendiis fortitudinis conjuratorum comprehensionem.} \\
\text{eorum et aliorum interrogationem.} \\
\text{reorum perturbationem.} \\
\text{senatus-consultum in convictos et confessos causas manifestationis conjuratorum.}
\end{align*}
\begin{align*}
\text{Narratio.} \\
\text{Populum hortatur, ut gratias agat Diis.} \\
\text{ut eum a sCELERATORUM INSIDIAS} \\
\text{ut Jovem Capitolinum veneretur.}
\end{align*}
**Analysis Exordii.**

Populum reddīt

Attentum, declaratione {in conservatione reipublicā. 1.}
beneficī Deorum {civium. 1.}
ipsius Urbīs Romān. 1.

Benevolentō, expositione {in iisdem conservandīs a sæcēde. 2.}
laborīs sui

Docilem, promissione {atque incendio. 2.}
conjuratioṇis declarandās,

cujus magnitudinem et certitudinem aperiet. 2.
as modum investigationis et comprehensio-
nis. 2.

**Narrationis Prima Pars.**

Cicero declarat

I. Diligentiam suam, {ut civium saluti consuleret. 2.}
{ut conjuratorum consilia cognosceret. 2.}

II. Lentuli conspiratio-
nem {cum Allobrogibus. 2.}
cum Catilīnā. 2.

fortitudinem et {in negotio suscipiendo. 2.}
amorem patris {sine recusatione, sine morā. 2.}

III. Prætorum virtutes:

prudentiam, in disponendis insidiās. 2. [ne. 2]
felicitatem, in capiendis omnibus, sine sangu-

fidelitatem, in adducendis ad consulem. 2.

IV. Conjuratorum com-
prehensionem:

Gabinīi. 3.

Statīlii. 3.

Cethegi. 3.

Lentuli. 3.

V. Eorum aliorumque {Vulturci, et Allobrogum. 4.}
interrogationem:

Cethegi, et sociorūm. 5.

VI. Reorum perturba-
tionem:

ex colore, oculis, vultu. 5.

ex taciturnitate, et furtivo contitu. 5.

**Narrationis Secunda Pars.**

Declarat,

I. Senātūs-

consul-
tum, quo

conjuratioṇem a re-

publicā removenti-

bus, dantur præmia.

gratiarum actio, Ciceroni consuli. 6.

laus de-

prætoribus Flacco et Pomp-
tino. 6.

collegae Ciceronis C. Anto-

conjurati in carcerem traduntur. 6.

Diis immortalibus supplicatio decernitur. 6.
THE THIRD ORATION

II. Causas manifestationis conjuratorum:

absentiam \( \text{sine quo sociis, ob varios defectus, non timendi.} \)
Catilinae: \( \text{qui cum sociis, ob varias dotes, formidandus.} \)

Auxilium Deorum, ac presentim Jovis, qui

conjuracionem venturam premonstrant,

\( \text{per prodigia.} \)
\( \text{per aruspices.} \)

\( \text{per seipsum.} \)
\( \text{per consulem Ciceronem.} \)
\( \text{per legatos Allobro-} \)

ortam dissipatur

Peroratio.

Postulat

1. Ut in supplicatio Diis lati gratias agant:

\( \text{quod fuerint liberati a nece crudelissimâ,} \)
\( \text{sine sanguine.} \)
\( \text{sine exercitu.} \)
\( \text{sine dimicatione.} \)
\( \text{in Sulla et Sulpicio.} \)
\( \text{in Cinnâ et Octavio.} \)
\( \text{in Sullâ et Marianis.} \)
\( \text{in Lepido et Catulo.} \)

11. Ut accepti a se beneficiorum factis, protegendo. 12.

III. Ut Jovem Capitolinum venerentur:

\( \text{custodem Urbis.} \)
\( \text{et civium omnium.} \)

Page. Line.

25 21. Domicilium: Rome was called domicilium imperii, because it was the seat of government.

25. Ex faucibus fata: The word fatur was often used by the ancients to denote death, and the dissolution of states and empires.

30. Romulums: As Romulus, in the 37th year of Rome, and in the sixtieth of his age, was reviewing his troops in a plain without the city, a sudden storm of hail and thunder dispersed his soldiers. The senators, who had attended him, seeing him alone, thought this a favorable opportunity to put him to death, for the absolute tyranny which had lately marked his conduct. He therefore was slain, and his body immediately conveyed out of sight. To conceal the fact and their criminality, the senators reported that he was suddenly surrounded with a flame, and snatched up in it from earth to heaven.

The report gained credit, and Romulus was worshipped as a deity.

26 27. Comperi: He was informed of this by Fabius Sanga, to whom the deputies themselves of the Allobrogis communicated it.

41. Pontem Mulvium: The Mulvian or Milvian bridge was built over the Tiber, upon the road to Etruria. It was about two miles from the city.

27 1. Prefectura Restiæ: Ratis was a Sabine town. Prefectura were towns to which prefects were annually sent from Rome to administer justice, chosen partly by the people, and partly by the praetor.
3. Tertid...vigiliid: The Romans divided the night into four watch-es. The third watch commenced about midnight, and terminated about three o'clock in the morning.

44. Ex futis Sibyllinis: When Tarquinius Superbus was king of Rome, a certain woman, called Amalthea, from a foreign country, is said to have come to him, wishing to sell nine books of Sibylline or prophetic oracles. Being refused the price which she asked for them, she went away and burnt three of them. Returning soon after, she sought the same price for the remaining six. Refused again, she went and burnt other three, and, coming back, still demanded the same price for the three which remained. Tarquin, surprised at the strange conduct of the woman, consulted the Augurs, and bought the books. The woman, having delivered them, and received her price, desired them to be carefully kept, then suddenly disappeared, and was never afterwards seen. The books were found to be the oracles of the Sibyl of Cumae, and soon began to be religiously respected at Rome. They were supposed to contain the fate of the Roman empire, and were kept in a stone chest under ground in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.—Aruspicumque responsio: The Auspices examined the vic-tims and their entrails, after they were sacrificed, and from them, and also from the flame, smoke, and other circumstances attending the sacrifice, derived omens of futurity.

1. Tertium illum Cornelium: Among the Sibylline verses three K's were found, which, it was supposed, would be fatal to liberty. They were applied by the Romans to the three Cornelli, Cornelius Cinna, Cornelius Sulla, and Cornelius Lentulus.

3. Cinnam: During the civil wars between Marius and Sulla, L. Cornelius Cinna, a man rash in counsel, but resolute in action, was raised to the consulship, and had no sooner entered upon his office, than he began to entertain a design of overturning all the acts Sulla had passed. Being soon after deposed, by the senate, from the dignity of consul, on account of illegal conduct, he left the city, raised an army in Italy, recalled Marius, who had been banished, made himself master of Rome, murdered the friends of Sulla, who was conducting the war in Asia against Mithridates, and whom he declared banished from the city, and, for three successive years, usurped the consulship, and associated with himself whom he pleased as colleagues. At the expiration of these years, Sulla made a peace with Mithridates, and came toward Rome; and such were the number and importance of his victories, the splendor and riches of his army, and the greatness of his power, that when Cinna had raised troops to oppose him, they revolted from their general, and, when he menaced them, slew him.—Sullam: The enmity between Marius and Sulla first arose from a dispute concerning the glory of terminating the Jugurthine war. The immediate cause of their hostile actions against each other, was a law passed by P. Sulpicius, transferring the command of the Asiatic expedition against Mithridates from Sulla to Marius. The law was passed illegally; Sulla, who was but a short distance from Rome, immediately returned, and procured the banishment of Marius and the death of Sulpicius. He then success-fully conducted the Asiatic war. In his absence, the Marian faction under Cinna again took command of the city; Marius was recalled, Sulla was banished in his turn, and his friends were murdered. After his peace with Mithridates, however, Sulla returned to the city in defiance of the orders of the senate, and conquered his enemies.
But it is agreed, that no man ever made a more cruel use of victory. Marius had died while Sulla was in Asia; none of his friends escaped, when the tyrant made himself master of Rome, usurped sovereign power, and became Perpetual Dictator. According to Valerius Maximus, above 4700 persons were proscribed and murdered. After passing a number of laws, and retaining his despotic authority for four years, Sulla at length abdicated the dictatorship, and the next year died of a distemper, called the Lousy Disease. A few days before his death, he composed his epitaph, the substance of which was, "no man had ever outdone him, either in obliging his friends, or in avenging himself on his enemies."

5. *Virginitum absolutionem*: The violation of the chastity of a Vestal was thought in Rome to forebode some great calamity to the state. Fabia, a sister of Terentia, who was the wife of Cicero, had a few years before been guilty of this crime, but, through the influence of her friends, was absolved.

6. *Capitollii autem incensionem*: In the 670th year of Rome, the capitol was burnt, through the carelessness of its keepers; this circumstance also was supposed to portend some great evil.

8. *Saturnalibus*: Saturnalia, or the feasts of Saturn, were celebrated on the seventeenth of December. At this time, friends sent presents to one another, masters treated their slaves upon an equal footing, and all orders in the city were devoted to mirth and feasting.

12. *Linum incidimus*: The Romans, in the time of Cicero, folded their letters in the form of a little book, tied them round with a thread, covered the knot with wax, or with a kind of chalk, and sealed them with their rings.

24. *Imago aei tui*: It was usual among the Romans to have the head of some great man engraved upon their rings. P. Lentulus, the grandfather of the conspirator, had borne the title of Prince of the Senate, and was the most active in the pursuit and destruction of Caius Gracchus, in which he received a dangerous wound.

30. *Surrexit*: Lentulus sat, because he was a senator. He had once been expelled the senate, by the censors, for the notorious inanity of his life, but, by obtaining the pretorship a second time, which office he now held, he recovered his former place and rank in that supreme council.—Quas vivit a Gallia...a Vulturcio: He asked the Gauls and Vulturcius this question, because he thought they would not betray him.


37. *Ingenium*: Historians say of Lentulus, that, though his parts were but moderate, or rather slow, the comeliness of his person, the gracefulness and propriety of his action, the strength and sweetness of his voice, procured him some reputation as a speaker.

41. *Vulturcius...jussit*: Impunity being promised Vulturcius, if he would faithfully inform the senate of all the proceedings of the conspirators, he determined to make a full discovery.

16. *Principibus*: In consulting the senate, the same order was not always observed; but usually the princeps senatus was first desired to deliver his opinion, unless when there were consuls elected, who were always asked first; and then the rest of the senate, according to their dignity; Consulares, Praetorii, Edilites, Tribunites, and Questorii.

23. *Collega mvo*: Antonius, before his election to the consulship, united his interests with Catiline in opposition to Cicero; but, Cicero having carried his election, Antonius was given to him as a colleague, as he was preferable to Catiline. The first object of Cicero,
after he had entered upon his office, was to gain Antonius's cooperation in his measures, and this he effected by bribing him with the government of Macedonia. This Antonius was an uncle of Mark Antony, the triumvir.

26. Pratervi abdicavit: No person in Rome could be brought to trial or punished, unless in a private station.—In custodiam: Criminals were often placed in the secret custody of private citizens, to prevent their being liberated by popular insurrections in their favor.

35. Libertinum hominem: In Rome slaves made free were called liberti and libertini; liberti in relation to their masters, libertini in relation to freeborn citizens. Some think that libertini were the sons of the liberti; but this distinction never occurs in the classics; on the contrary, both words are applied to the same persons by writers who flourished at different times.

41. Supplicatio...misi...togato: When a general had obtained a signal victory, a thanksgiving (supplicatio) was decreed by the senate to be made in all the temples. This honor, which was decreed to Cicero, was never conferred on any other person in his robe of peace (togatus).

2. Bene gesta: A thanksgiving had been decreed to others for promoting the interest of the republic, to Cicero alone for having preserved it.

7. Magistratu su abdicavit: Plutarch says of Lentulus, that in the middle of the senate he threw off his purple robe, and assumed one indicative of his circumstances.—Quae religio: See Note, page 58, line 9. The meaning of this passage is: “that we may be free from that scruple in punishing P. Lentulus, a private man, which scruple was disregarded by C. Marius, an illustrious citizen, when he put to death C. Glaucia, the prator, against whom nothing was expressly decreed.”

17. P. Lentuli somnun: The character given of Lentulus is, that he was lazy, luxurious, and prodigately wicked, yet so vain and ambitious, as to expect from the overthrow of the government to be the first man in the republic.

19. Ille: Catiline.

33. Saturnalia constituisset: Notwithstanding the dissent of Cethegus, the feasts of Saturn were appointed by the conspirators as the days on which they would burn the city and murder the citizens.

8. Faces: Several meteors appeared at this time.

10. Cancre: Signifies in this place to forebode.

17. Quem incurvatum: There was a gilded statue of Romulus in the Capitol, which represented him as an infant sucking at the dugs of a female wolf. This statue is still preserved in the modern Capitol at Rome, with the mark of the lightning visible upon it.

20. Araepeces...Etrurid: The Tuscan soothsayers were the most celebrated for their skill.

27. Simulacrum Jonis: The Tuscan soothsayers had reported, that if a larger statue of Jupiter were made, and placed in a conspicuous situation, and in a posture contrary to that in which it had formerly stood, with its face toward the east, so that it could see at once the rising sun, the Forum and the senate-house, the treasons of the conspirators would be fully discovered. The discovery was made, as it was fortunately predicted, the very day on which the statue was erected, by Cicero, in the manner prescribed.
THE FOURTH ORATION

32. *Edem Concordia*: Cicero assembled the senate in the temple of Concord, when he communicated to them the detection of the conspirators.


38. *Custodem hujus urbis*: This appellation was bestowed on Marius on account of his victories over the Cimbri.

39. *Ca. Octavius*: Octavius was a friend of Sulla, and the colleague of Cinna, when the latter was expelled from Rome. See Note, page 28, line 3. The *lumina extincta*, mentioned in the text, refer to the deaths of many great men, who were slain in the contests of these factions.

33. *Lepidus*: Lepidus and his colleague Catulus at first had a warm dispute about the funeral of Sulla; afterwards, Lepidus, to acquire distinction and power, placed himself at the head of the Marius faction, which still remained, and made some attempts to abolish the laws and institutions of Sulla; but, being opposed by Catulus, he raised forces in Etruria, was declared a public enemy, and, after some ill success, died of a disorder, which became mortal through the grief he experienced on account of the incontinency of his wife, whom he affectionately loved.

12. *Dijudicate sint*: "Were terminated."

27. *Mutum....tacitum*: The former of these words refers to *status*, &c., the latter to triumphs and similar ceremonies.

34. *Duos cives*: Pompey the Great and Cicero. Pompey about this time had successfully conducted the Mithridatic war, and war of the Pirates.

34. *Quidquam altius*: The consulship was the highest dignity in the state.

THE FOURTH ORATION AGAINST CATILINE.

INTRODUCTION.

The senate, the next day after that in which the consul had communicated the detection of the conspirators, ordered public rewards to be given to the deputies of the Gauls and to Vulturcius, for their discoveries; but in the mean time the city being alarmed by reports of new plots, formed by the slaves and partisans of Lentulus and Cathegus for their rescue, Cicero resolved to terminate the affair as soon as possible, and therefore, on the succeeding day, summoned the senate to determine the question concerning the punishment which should be inflicted upon the prisoners. The opinion of Silius, the consul elect, was first given; he thought that those of the conspirators, who were already committed to custody, men who had confessed themselves guilty of treason against the republic, and others, who were engaged in the conspiracy, who might afterwards be taken, should be put to death. In this advice many of the senators, who spoke after him, concurred, till the opinion of Julius Caesar, then
AGAINST CATILINE.

pretor elect, was asked. Caesar, who was by many suspected of having encouraged and promoted the designs of the conspirators, was mild in his sentence; but such was his art, that he shrouded his misplaced clemency under the mantle of rigid justice. He said, if the prisoners deserved the most severe punishment, as it was observed, he dissented from the opinion which had been advanced. Death, he thought, was not designed by the immortal gods as a punishment, but either as a necessary law of nature, or a cessation of toils and misery; it was his opinion, that bonds and perpetual imprisonment were contrived for the punishment of the most detestable crimes; and he therefore advised, that the estates of the criminals should be confiscated, that their persons should be closely confined in the strongest of the municipal towns, and that it should be unlawful for any one hereafter to move the senate or people in their favor. His speech made a great impression upon his auditors; it is said, even Silanus altered his opinion, and that the friends of Cicero, solicitous for his safety, which they thought would be secured by mild measures, readily concurred in Caesar's advice. Cicero, however, perceiving the opinions of the senators to be changing, is supposed to have risen, and delivered the following oration, the tendency of which, although it had the semblance of neutrality, strongly supported the counsel of Silanus. It is, however, the opinion of some, that this oration was never spoken, but that it contains many internal probable proofs of its being, not an extemporary speech, but a labored composition, made at leisure, many years after the debate.

SYNOPSIS.

Exordium. 

Reddit benevolent. 
attentos. 
dociles.

Propositio. 
De conjuratione statuendum, ante noctem. 
Sententiae et Silani, et Caesaris.

Contentio. 
Sententias Silani et Caesaris fusiis explicat. 
Conjuratorum penuam justam fore declarat. 
Animi sui robor intrepidum profectur. 
enumerat auxilia, ut non timeant conjuratos. 
causas, ut eos puniant.

Peroratio. 
commendat seipsum. 
filium suum. 
republicam.

Analysis Exordii.

Benevolentis reddit declaratio, quod sit gratia erga ipsos, ob eorum erga se benevolentiam de se non sollicitus, ob amorem patriae. 1. [am. 1.
de familiae anxius, ob mororem suorum. 2.
Attentos, exhortatio, sibi consulat. 2.
Dociles, descriptione, pejor alii omnibus. 2.
conjuratorum, qui damnati a senatu. 3.
THE FOURTH ORATION

Proposito.

Conjurationem declarat

I. Esse opinione majorem. 3.
   Ideo, ante noctem, de illâ statuendum. 3.

II. Esse latissimè dispersam. 3.
   Ideo celeriter vindicandam. 3.

Sententiam aperit

I. Silani, qui ad mortem damnat conjuratos. 4.

II. Cesaris, qui, non morti, sed variiœ penis conjurato addicit. 4.

Contentio.

Cesaris et Silani se veritas prudens:

I. Cesaris, qui vitam servat, sed hostes, non cives, censendo fatetur. 5.
   Lentulum largitorem et prodigum vituperat. 5.
   perpetuo carceri omnes addicit. 5. [vetat. 5.]
   de illis amplius ad senatum aut populum referi

II. Silani, qui ad necem damnat, ob conjurationem, de incendendâ urbe. 6.
   de trucidandis civibus. 6.
   de imperio Urbis et orbis invadendo & de vexandis conjugatis et virginibus. 6.

Conjuratorum punitio justa:

comparatione explicat. 6.
   exemplo illustrat. 6.

Consulis fortitudo, cum

sentiat omnes cum senatu pro republicâ stare. 7.
   equites, tribunos, erarios, scribas. 7.
   ingenuos, libertos, servos. 7, 8.

Peroratio.

Continet

Enumerationem

auxiliorum; ut non timeant conjuratos. 9.
   causarum; ut eos punciât. 9.

commendat

a multitudine inimicorum. 10.
   ab animi robore. 10.
   a mortis contemptu. 10.
   ab obtenta glorid. 10.

seipsum

a periculis futuris. 10.
   a contemptu provincie, et honorum
   adjunctorum. 11.

filium suum

ab state. 11.
   a parente. 11.
   a salute senatûs et populi. 11.

republicam

a conservatione rerum sacrarum et proflinarum.
7. Forum: The Forum was a large oblong space between the Capitoline and Palatine hills, where the assemblies of the people were held, where justice was administered, and public business transacted. Cicero had frequently been in danger in the Forum from the designs of Catiline.—Campus: The Campus Martius was a large plain along the Tiber, consecrated to Mars. On this plain the Comitia Centuriata were held for creating consuls, praetors, censors, and other magistrates; and in this place also Catiline several times attempted to put Cicero to death.

9. Curia: In the "senate-house," likewise, Catiline had threatened the life of Cicero.

10. Domus...lectus: These words refer to the attempt, which the two knights, mentioned in the first oration, made to kill Cicero in his bed.—Domus, commune perfugium: It was unlawful, according to the Twelve Tables, to force any person to court from his own house, because a man's house was esteemed his sanctuary. But if any person lurked at home to elude a prosecution, he was summoned three times, with an interval of ten days between each summons, by the voice of a herald, or by letters, or by the edict of the praetor; and if he still did not appear, the prosecutor was put in possession of his effects.

11. Hae sedes honoris: The Roman consuls, praetors, censors, and chief ediles, were called magistratus curules from the name of the vehicles in which they used to ride, currus; and the seat, on which these magistrates sat in the senate-house, the Rostra, or tribunal of justice, was called sella curulis.

15. Hunc exitum consulatis: Cicero is supposed to have delivered this oration on the 5th of December, and, as Decius Junius Silanus, and Lucius Licinius Muræna, the consuls elect, were to enter upon their office on the first of January, his consulship would soon expire.

17. Virginesque Vestales: These virgins were consecrated to the worship of Vesta, the goddess of fire. Their duties were to keep the sacred fire always burning, to keep the secret pledge of the empire, supposed to have been the Palladium or Penates of the Roman people, and to perform constantly the sacred rites of the goddess. They wore a long white robe bordered with purple, and enjoyed singular privileges and honors. The praetors and consuls, when they met them in the street, lowered their fuscus, and went out of the way to show them respect.

18. Templum atque delubra: Templum were buildings, the situations of which were appointed, and which were consecrated, by the augurs; delubra were buildings in which images of any gods were placed.

27. Mihi parere: In Rome every act of the senate or people was ascribed to the person who summoned the assembly, as he presided in it, and put the question; the odium of putting the conspirators to death would therefore fall upon Cicero, though the senate voted it; he, however, tells them to cease their concern for him, and be regardful only of the public interest.

31. Turpis...miseria: A brave man would never die basely—a consular man could never die immaturely; when he attained consular dignity, he attained the highest pitch of political elevation—a wise man would not die miserably; it was a doctrine of the philosophy of the Stoics, that he would not be unhappy in the most excruciating torments.
33. Fratris: Many of the relations and friends of Cicero were present, and greatly concerned in the issue of the debate; this brother was Quintus Cicero, a brave man and good soldier.

36. Exanimata uxor: Terentia, from the many attempts already made to kill Cicero, was in much fear, that he would finally be murdered.

37. Filia: Tullia, Cicero’s daughter, was celebrated for her beauty, her manners, and her learning. She was first married to C. Calpurnius Piso, afterwards to Crassipes, and lastly to Dolabella.—Filius...obsidem: Men who had children were supposed to be more anxious for the public safety than those who had no offspring. Cicero, therefore, says, that his son, who was named Marcus, and was about a year old, was a kind of hostage in the hands of the republic, that gave the strongest assurance, that the father would undertake nothing but what he thought would promote the public interest. Marcus, after the death of his father, attained the consulship under Augustus.

40. Gener: Piso, at this time the husband of Tullia.

2. Ti. Gracchus: See Note, page 7, line 20, page 8, line 6; and page 8, line 9.

9. Servitia excitantur: Slaves at first were rejected by the conspirators, but afterwards were invited to join the conspiracy.

32. Ante noctem: This was necessary, because it was feared that the friends of the conspirators would raise a tumult during the night, and attempt to rescue them, and because no decree could be passed after sunset.

42. Alteram C. Caesaris: This mildness of Caesar, although it were the appearance of severity, induced many to suspect, that he had secretly encouraged the conspirators; and he was so unpopular at that time, that, it is said, the knights would have killed him as he came out of the house, if he had not been protected by Cicero.

37. Tanquam obsidem: Cicero, knowing the suspicions entertained of Caesar, construes his opinion as given from a conviction of its utility, justice and severity.


41. Absens non neminem: This passage alludes to the folly of some one, who, desirous of being popular, absent himself from the senate, that he might not be guilty of the unpopular act of voting for the death of a Roman citizen. With the conduct of this person, whose name history has not transmitted to us, Cicero contrasts that of Caesar, who was a great favorite of the people, and by implication asserts, that the best means of attaining popularity is the undeviating pursuit of the public interest.

38. 4. Legem Semproniam: A law of Caius Sempronius Gracchus said, that sentence should not be passed upon the life of a Roman citizen, without the order of the people.


18. Ad concionem: As it was in the power of the people to return any decree of the senate, it was usual for the person, who proposed any extraordinary decree in the latter assembly, to defend it before the people.

33. Purpuratum...Gabinium: Magistrates in Rome wore a toga bordered with purple.

39. Qui id egerant: It is said, this passage is exaggeration; the conspirators promised the Allobroges an abatement only, or perhaps an abolition of their taxes.
9. *L. Cæsar...sororis...virum*: The husband of Julia, the sister of L. Cæsar, was Lentulus, the conspirator. L. Cæsar was an uncle of C. Julius Cæsar, and grandson of M. Fulvius Flaccus, mentioned in the note, page 8, line 6. Julia was the mother of Mark Antony, the triumvir, by a former marriage with Marcus Antonius Criticus; and it is said by Plutarch, that the punishment of Lentulus was the source of the enmity which existed between Mark Antony and Cicero.

12. *Aenum...filiumque ejus*: M. F. Flaccus (see Note, page 8, line 6), whose youngest son, a beautiful youth, was sent, bearing a caduceus in his hand, to make proposals of peace to Optimus. The consul rejected them, and forbade the boy to come again, unless to signify the submission of those who sent him. Being ordered back by his father Fulvius with a second message, Optimus imprisoned and afterwards put him to death.

36. *Forum*: This oration was delivered to the senate in the Forum.

39. *Hujus loci ac templi*: The senate could not be held but in one of the curiae. The curiae were buildings consecrated as temples by the augurs, but not to any particular deity.

3. *Equites Romanos*: The order of Roman knights had nothing in it analogous or similar to any order of modern knighthood, but depended entirely upon a census or valuation of their estates, which was usually made every five years by the censors in their in iuxtrum, or general review of the whole people. All those people, whose entire fortune amounted to 400 sesterces (£3229 sterling), were enrolled, of course, in the list of equestes. The badges of equestes were a horse given them by the public, a golden ring, a narrow strip of purple sewed on the breast of their tunic, and a separate place at the public spectacles.

6. *Discessiones*: The office of equestes at first was only to serve in the army; but afterwards also to act as judges, and to farm the public revenues. Judges were chosen from the senate, till the year of Rome 631; then the Sempronian law of C. Gracchus transferred the right of judging to the knights. This law caused discessions between the senators and knights for many years, during which, several laws, alternately favorable to each party, were passed. At length the Aurelian law of L. Aurelius Cotta, the pretor, determined that judges should be chosen from the senators, the equestes, and the tribuni prætorii, and laid the foundation of a reconciliation, that the influence of Cicero, which was great among both the senators and knights, completed.

8. *Consulatu confirmatum meo*: No man in Rome was so capable of uniting in the same cause the senators and knights as Cicero. He was at the head of the senate, and, being descended from a family of equestrian rank, was a favorite of the knights. His policy in reconciling the two orders was of much service to the republic.

12. *Tribunos accursed*: These were officers chosen from the plebeians, who kept and gave out the money for defraying the expenses of the army.—*Scribes*: Scribes were notaries or clerks, who wrote out the public accounts, the laws, and all the proceedings of the magistrates.

14. *Ab expectatione sortis*: The scribes were assembled, on this occasion, to divide among themselves the offices of the ensuing year, to decide who should be secretaries to the consuls, who to the pretors, &c. This was done every year, and like other offices at Rome, de-
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40 terminated by lot. While they were thus engaged, they saw the prisoners conducted to the senate-house, and, immediately leaving all their private concerns, came and offered their assistance to secure the safety of the republic.

41 12. Penatium: This word here means the guardian gods of the republic; in other places it often means the household gods, who presided over families.

13. Iguem Vesta: It was one of the duties of the Vestal virgins to keep the sacred fire always burning, watching it alternately in the night; whoever allowed it to go out, was scourged. This accident was always esteemed unlucky, and expiated by offering extraordinary sacrifices. The fire was lighted up again from the rays of the sun, in which manner it was renewed every year on the first of March, that day anciently being the beginning of the year.

24. Una nox: The night of the feast of Saturn, the time appointed by the conspirators for the execution of their designs.

28. Mea vox... princeps: The consul was the most powerful officer of the republic.

43. Scipio: Publius Scipio, who, by his military success in Africa, obliged Hannibal, the Carthaginian general, to evacuate Italy, and afterwards conquered him in his own country, for which he was sur-

named Afric anus.

42 1. Alter.... Afric anus: P. Cornelius Scipio Æmilianus, the son of L. Æmilius Paulus, an adopted son of Scipio Africanus, made his first campaign in the 17th year of his age, and afterwards conquered and destroyed Carthage and Numantia; for which he successively acquired the surnames Afric anus and Numantinus.

3. L. Paulus: L. Æmilius Paulus, the conqueror of Macedon, whose king, Perseus, walked in chains before the chariot of the Roman general at his triumphal entry into Rome.

5. Marius....his Italian....liberavit: By his victories over the Tes-
toni, the Ambrones, and Cimbri. Marius was a citizen of Arpinum, the native place of Cicero.

6. Pompeius: Pompey the Great, of whom more is said in the ora-
tion upon the Manilian law.

43 1. Ænis: Fana were chapels consecrated to inferior deities or demigods.

4. Parere....non dubitet: These words imply a willingness to put the conspirators to death.

6. Possit: When Cicero had concluded, Cato rose, and, after praising Cicero, advocated his sentiments, and the opinion of Silanus; and, concluding his speech, said, "My opinion therefore is, that since the criminals have been convicted, both by testimony and their own confession, of a detestable treason against the republic, they should suffer the punishment of death, according to the customs of our ancestors. A decree was then passed conformable to this opinion, and Lentulus, Cethegus, Statilius, Gabinius, and Ceparius were strangled in prison. Catiline and his forces were soon after slain by the army under the consul, Antonius. Thus ended this dangerous conspiracy, for his conduct in suppressing which, Cicero was proclaimed Father of his Country."
THE ORATION FOR THE MANILIAN LAW.

INTRODUCTION.

This celebrated oration, the first which Cicero delivered from the Rostra, was pronounced in the 687th year of Rome, in the 41st year of the orator's age, and three years before the orations against Catiline. The Romans at that time were engaged in war with Mithridates, king of Pontus. This monarch, able, ambitious, warlike, and a second Hannibal in military talents, as well as in hatred to the Romans, disdained to submit to the commands of the Roman commissioners in Asia, which checked his enterprises, and, in cool blood, ordered eighty thousand Roman citizens to be massacred in one day. Sulla, and, after him, Lucullus, had been sent against this powerful prince; but, though they repeatedly defeated him, they had not entirely subdued him. The prevalence and oppressive administration of the Marian faction in Rome obliged the former general to make peace with Mithridates, and give him an opportunity to retrieve his affairs, and make more vigorous opposition in future. Lucullus probably would have subjugated him, had not a mutiny in the Roman army existed, and had not the general's personal enemies in Rome persuaded the senate to recall him. These unfortunate incidents enabled Mithridates to become master of the field; the Roman army was dissipated; the Roman general was removed; Glabrio, the consul, who was sent to succeed Lucullus, was a man of inferior talents. At this time, Manilius, one of the tribunes, proposed a law, that Pompey, who was then in Cilicia terminating the piratic war, should have the government of Asia added to his commission, with the command of the Mithridatic war, and of all the Roman armies in those parts. This law was much opposed by the senate, who were unwilling to confer so extensive authority upon any individual, but was so acceptable to the people, of whom Pompey was a great favorite, that none but Catulus and Hortensius, who had both passed through the consulship, dared to speak against it. It was defended by Servilius Isauricus and Caesar; Cicero also, at that time prætor, most eloquently advocated it in this oration.

SYNOPSIS.

Exordium. Captat benevolentam.
          et attentionem.
Narratio. Exponit quale sit bellum Asiaticum.
          Partitionem subjungit totius orationis.
Confirmatio. Declarat genus belli.
            magnitudinem.
            ducem eligendum.
Confutatio. Refellit Hortensii objectiones.
            et Catuli.
            Seipsum prædicat reipublicæ studiorem.
Analysis Exordii.

1. A ut arde plebis Romana: cujus aspectus jucundissimus. 1.'
2. A sua modestatione: ob quam publicis se rebus non immisceretur. 1.'
3. A gratitudine sua: quae gratiam se relaturum sic auctoritate. 1.'
4. A causa magnitudine: a materiæ ubertate. 1.'

Narratio et Partitio.

I. De genere belli. 2.
II. De eiusmod magnitudine. 2.
III. De imperatore deligendo. 2.

Confirmationis Prima Pars.
MANILIAN LAW.

11. Salus sociorum:
   • Ariobarzanis, qui regno ex-pulsus,
   • licet socius. 5.
   • et amicus. 5.
   • Asiaticorum, qui timent duos
     reges,
   • inimissimos populo Romano.
   • inimissimos sociis ejus. 5. [5.
     contra Antiochum. 6.
   • Græcorum, qui auxilium pe-
     tunt datum olim,
   • contra Philippum. 6.
   • contra Ætolos. 6.
   • contra Pænos. 6.

III. Vectigalia republicæ
   • ex agris Asis. 6.
   • ex ejus pascuis. 6.
   • ex portubus. 6.
   • publicanorum. 7.
   • negotiorum. 7.
   • argentariorum. 7.
   • aliorum multorum. 7.

IV. Bona privata civium:

Confirma•

ionis Secunda Pars.

Bellum
   • Mithridat-
   tem hoc-
   tem vi-
   cit:
   • Amicos populi
   • Romani con-
   servavit:
   • copios ejus terrestribus, deletis. 8
   • urbe Cyzico, liberat. 8.
   • classe navali, superat. 8.
   • Ponti regno, aperto. 8.
   • oppidis plurimis, occupatis. 8.
   • rege ipso spoliato, et in fugam acto. 8.

In fine, infelix.

Mithridatem victum suscepit rex potentissimus. 9.

Lucullus victorem impetiverunt populi et reges. 9.

plurimi:
   • legatus Triarius, cum exercitu, ab hoste contribus est. 9.
   • dux Lucullus, in Italiam a populo Romano revocatus. 9.

Confirmationis Tertia Pars.

In Pompeio excellunt,
   • in pute- in mediâ, a patre in exercitu eruditus. 10.
   • ritia, in extremâ, Sullæ summi ducis miles. 10.
   • in adolescentiâ, maximis dux exercit. 10.

1. Scientia rei
   • ob multitudo-
   • nem bello-
   • rum nam
   • amplus cum hoste conlixit, quâm
   • alii cum inimico. 10. [runt. 10.
   • plura bella sessit, quam alii lege-
   • plures provincias confecit, quam
   • alii concupiverunt. 10.
   • non alienis preceptis; sed suis
   • imperiis. 10.
   • non offensionibus belli, sed vic-
   • toris. 10.
   • non stipendis, sed triumphis. 10

   • in vitâ reli-
   • quâ, mira-
   • bilis,
   • ob gerendi
   • modum: nam
   • civile, Africanum, Transalpi-
   • num. 10.

   • ob varia eorum
   • genera:
   • nempe
   • Hispaniense, servile, navale. 10.
omnibus labor in negotio. 11.
ducibus fortitudo in periculo. 11.
necessario: industria in agendo. 11.
vel necessario: celeritas in conficiendo. 11.
consilium in providendo. 11.
in Pompeo ut testantur Italia, Sicilia, Africa. 11.
sempere ximiae: Gallia, Hispania, omnes imperii provinciae. 11.

imperatoris:

ubique nullus locus erat tatus. 11.
diffusum: nullus homo in mari securus. 11.
nam [libera. 11.
nulla provincio a presidibus
nullum vectigal certum. 11.
nullus socius defensus. 11.
multae insulis deserte. 11.
multae urbes capte. 11. [12
mare clausum exercitibus
legati populi Romani auo
redempti. 12.
portus in ipsa Itali direpti.
classis consultis oppressi. 12.

per bellum
piraticum
magis manifestae:

ubique naves presidum capte. 12.
per eum provincia presidii firmata
exstinctum: Cilicia domita. 12.
nam [52
Creta ejus voluntati permis
gentes liberat. 12. [a. 12.

rara in
imperatoribus,
qui centurionatus vendunt. 13.
mira in pecunia dat abutuntur. 13.
Pompeio: qui socios affligunt. 13.
in hibernis nemini vimafer. 13.

innocentia,

ubique centurionatus vendunt. 13.

per eum provincio presidii firmata
exstinctum: Cilicia domita. 12.
nam [52
Creta ejus voluntati permis
gentes liberat. 12. [a. 12.

rara in
imperatoribus,
qui centurionatus vendunt. 13.
mira in
Pompeio: qui

politicae:

pigritiam et curiositatem. 14.
comitas, admissis ad se infimis. 14.
consilium et auditis eorum querelis. 14.
dicendo graviter. 14.
c_ACCESSI ET et copiosae. 14.
qua socii magni adstitant. 14.
hostes sanctissimam judicant. 14.
hostes victi diligunt. 14.

humanitas:

in hostes. 15.
in sociis. 15.
in cives. 15.

III. Auctoritas,

IV. Felicitas:

ob quum Maximo, Marcellino, Scipioni, Mario, a populo impera
mandata. 16.
Pompeio a Diis ubique victoriae concessae. 16.
MANILIAN LAW.

Confutatio.

Hortensio: qui

objiciebat I. Omnia ad unum non esse referenda. 17.
respondet. Deceptus est jam, cum idem diceret in bello
piratico. 17.

objiciebat II. Gabinium non esse dandum legatum Pom-

respondet, Justum est 
Pompeius post cat. 19.
dari: cum 
Gabinius auctor sit legis. 19.
aliis id datum sit. 19.

objiciebat I. Vitae Pompeii consulendum, ut reipublicae diu
prodesset. 20.
respondet, Frundem ejus vitae, dum licet. 20.
objiciebat II. Nihi novi faciendum. 20.

Catulo: qui

objiciebat I. Multa nova facta:
a majoribus, in Scipione et Mario. 20.
a Catulo, et aliis senatoribus in ipso Pomp. 21.

respondet II. Nova fieri postulat,

ratio; nam
allii duces expilant vana. 22.
urbes. 22.
domos. 22.
P. Servilli. 23.
C. Curioni. 23.
Ca. Lentuli. 23.
C. Cassii. 23.

auctoritas,

Peroratio.

Manilium, laudat, ob legem propositam. 24.
hortatur, ad constantiam. 24.

Seipsum,

offert adjutorem:
studio, consilio, amore, ingenio. 24.
potestate a populo accepta. 24.
auctoritate, fide, constantia. 24.
nec gratia Pompeii. 24.
nec auxilii potentiorum. 24.
sed reipublicae et sociorum. 24.

Line.

8. Locus..., amplissimus..., ornatisinus: The people were assembled
at this time in a part of the Forum which was called Comitium, where
the pulpit or tribunal stood, from which the orators used to harangue
them; it was afterwards called Rostra, because it was adorned with
the beaks of the ships taken from the Antiates. In this place none
spoke, except men of distinction and magistrates. A great propor-
tion of the most important business of the republic was here trans-
acted. The orations here delivered were much more polished and
elegant than those pronounced in the courts of the judges. Hence
the epithets amplissimus, ornatisinus.

10. Optimo cuique..., patuit: Magistrates were permitted to address
the people from the Rostra; the Magistrates were open to every good
man who was desirous of election.

15. Temporibus: is often used by Cicero for periculis. In the early
part of his life he advocated the causes of many of his friends.
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18. _Castē integĕrēque_: Cincius, a Tribune, in the year of the city 540, passed a law, that no one should take money or present for pleading a cause.

20. _Ter prætor primus_: Comitia for electing magistrates and enacting laws were often dissolved by some person's taking the auspices, which deferred the meeting to another day. This was an expedient often used by those public officers, who were opposed to a successful candidate or a popular law, to prevent the passing of the one or the election of the other. In the year in which Cicero offered himself candidate for the prætorship, by the promulgation of several laws, to which the senate were much opposed, the Comitia were so often dissolved, it was feared there would be no election. These disturbances, however, were the occasion of an unexpected honor to Cicero, in the three different assemblies convened for the choice of prætors, two of which were dissolved without effect, he was declared every time the first prætor by the suffrages of all the centuries.—_Centuris cunctis_: The prætors were chosen by the _Comitia centuriata_, as were also the consuls and censors; inferior magistrates were chosen by the _Comitia tributa_: in the last-mentioned assemblies, the majority of the votes in each tribe determined the general vote of the tribe, and a majority of tribes determined the election, in which the meanest citizen, therefore, had as much influence as the most powerful; but in the _Comitia centuriata_, instituted by king Servius Tullius, the balance of the power was put into the hands of the affluent and noble. All the citizens were divided into 103 centuries, according to a valuation of their estates, and these centuries were, according to the same rule, reduced into six classes; the first and richest class consisted of ninety-seven centuries, a majority of the whole number. If, therefore, the centuries of the first class agreed, the affair was decided; the votes of the rest were of little importance.

7. _Mithridate et Tigrane_: Mithridates is considered by Plutarch (in _Lucullo_) as a king, in point of talents, second only to Alexander the Great. He had expelled Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, and Ariobarzanes, king of Cappadocia, from their respective kingdoms; and, by the extent of his territories and the number of his alliances, became one of the most powerful enemies ever opposed to Rome. At the beginning of the Mithridatic war, in which Tigranes also, king of Armenia, became involved, that prince was the most powerful sovereign in Asia. He reduced the Parthians, subdued Mesopotamia, obliged the Arabians, called Scenite, to quit their deserts, and ruled the kingdom of Syria.—_Alter relictus_: A mutiny in the army of Lucullus prevented that general from making use of the advantage he had acquired over Mithridates.

7. _Alter laeissitus_: Mithridates, being repeatedly defeated by Lucullus, retired to the court of Tigranes, his son-in-law. The Roman general demanded him of that king, and threatened war in case of refusal. Tigranes refused, and soon after was defeated and dispossessed of his capital, Tigranocerta. Provoked by his loss, he made great exertions to retrieve his affairs, and, in consequence of the unfortunate sedition in the Roman camp, and of the recall of Lucullus, ravaged Cappadocia, and was carrying his depredations into other provinces.

9. _Equitūs Romanīs_: The Roman revenues were farmed by the knights, who were divided into several societies for this purpose. In Rome these farmers of the revenue were in much respect, but in the provinces they were often deservedly detested.
11. *Me, pro necessitudine*: The family of Cicero was of equestrian rank, and he himself was the pride and ornament of that order.

14. *Vestra provincia*: Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, having been expelled from his kingdom by Mithridates, was restored by Sulla. Afterwards, when he died, he made the Roman people the heir of his dominions, which, therefore, were reduced into the form of a Roman province. The allied Asiatic kings at this time committed many ravages in this newly-acquired territory.

14. *Regnum Ariobarzanis*: Ariobarzanes, king of Cappadocia, was an ally of the Romans. He was three times expelled from his kingdom, was twice restored by Lucullus, and the third time by Pompey, after that general had conquered Mithridates and Tigranes.

16. *Lucullum...discedere*: Many persons in Rome, envying the talents and success of Lucullus, endeavored to persuade the people, that he had not pushed the war with vigor against either Mithridates or Tigranes, that he might furnish a pretext for his being continued in command. This circumstance, and the mutiny excited in his camp by P. Clodius, an infamous man, who was dissatisfied because more worthy men were exalted to posts of honor while he was neglected, were the causes of the recall of Lucullus. His removal was founded upon misfortune, not demerit.

17. *Huic qui successerit*: Glabrio, the consul, a man of inferior talents, succeeded him.

18. *Unum*: Pompey, who was at this time terminating the piratic war.

35. *Appetentes gloria*: The love of their country and an ardent desire of martial glory were the ruling passions of the Romans in the early ages of the republic. Such had been their military success, that to have permitted Mithridates to murder 80,000 Roman citizens with impunity, would have been an indelible disgrace to their character.

4. *L. Murerna*: Murena was a lieutenant under Sulla, in whose absence he defeated the king of Pontus.

9. *Sullam*: The successes of the Marian faction induced Sulla to make peace with Mithridates, and lead his army to Rome. Sulla made one treaty with Mithridates, Murerna another; this therefore was the third Mithridatic war.


15. *In Hispianiam legatos*: Mithridates had been persuaded by L. Fanni and L. Magius, two Roman fugitives, to send them ambassadors to Sertorius, the head of the Marian party, who successfully conducted a war in Spain against the partisans of Sulla, the dictator, and had defeated many Roman generals. Fanni and Magius compared Mithridates to Pyrrhus, and Sertorius to Hannibal, and said nothing could resist so great commanders.—*Ecbatānis*: Ecbatāna was the capital of Media.—*Eos duces*: Of the senators who were proscribed by Sulla, and who had retired to the camp of Sertorius, the latter general had formed a senate, and, imitating the government of the republic, out of his senate chose his qvestors, lieutenants, and other military officers.

16. *Duabus in locis*: In Asia with Mithridates, and in Spain with Sertorius. Mithridates and Sertorius had formed a confederacy.

22. *Cn. Pompeii divino consilio*: This savors more of flattery than of truth. It is a well-known fact, that by the good fortune only of Pompey, not by his *divino consilio ac singulari virtute*, the army of
Sertorius was dispersed. The dispersion of his forces was the consequence of his death, and he was slain, not by means of the military talents of Pompey, which he easily baffled, but by the infamous conspiracy of his pretended friends, Perpenna and Antonius, who basely assassinated him at an entertainment, to which they had invited him. Cicero, it has been supposed, was induced by venal motives to extol Pompey in this oration; the defence which he makes will be considered at the close of it.

25. Virtutis...fortuna: The success of Lucullus was to be attributed to his talents; but the mutiny in his camp, the tales of calumny circulated concerning him, and the consequences of both, to his misfortune.

26. Corinthum...extinctum: The Corinthians, having insulted the Roman commissioners, who had been sent into Greece to terminate the quarrels existing between the parties confederated by the Achaean league, were attacked by the consul Memmius, and, being defeated, abandoned their city, which the Roman general afterwards burned.

27. Tultus Græcius lumen: Corinth perhaps did not deserve so great praise: a sufficiently great compliment was paid to it, when it was called a second Athens.

28. Legatum: Mithridates seized Cappadocia contrary to the commands of the Roman generals in Asia; they therefore declared war against him. Mithridates successively conquered each of them, and supposing that Aquilius was the author of the war, mounted him upon an ass, and made him travel with the army through various parts of Asia, and frequently proclaim: that he was Manius Aquilius, the Roman proconsul. At last he caused him to be put to death at Pergamus, by pouring melted gold down his throat, in reproach of Roman avidity.

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10. littera: The consul Glabrio.
12. Lannum: Pompey.
15. Maritimum bellum: The pirates of Cilicia had not only insulted the Romans frequently, but also had intercepted their provisions, and impeded Roman generals. War was declared against them, and Pompey, being appointed to the command by the Gabinian law, which conferred upon him extensive authority, successfully terminated it. Mithridates had assisted the pirates, but the arrival of Pompey induced him to desert them.

16. Liberis loqui non licet: Through fear of offending the Romans.
21. Tum et ipsorum adventus: Several Roman generals had been guilty of great extortion.

22. Propert socios: The historical facts to which Cicero refers are: in the year of Rome 562, the Ætolians, having raised some commotions in Greece against the allies of Rome, and invited to their assistance Antiochus, king of Syria, were declared enemies of the republic, and were reduced to the necessity of begging a peace. Ten years before this time, the Romans declared war against Philip, king of Macedon, because he had attacked the Athenians, the allies of the republic. In the 480th year of Rome, some Italian soldiers, who were in possession of Messina, were attacked by the Carthaginians; they applied to Rome for assistance, and the republic immediately declared war against their enemies.

31. Victigaliam: There were three kinds of tribute; one imposed equally upon all persons; another according to the valuation of their estates; and a third, which was extraordinary, and demanded only in cases of necessity. The other taxes were also of three kinds, porti-
rum, decuma, and scriptura. Portorium was money paid at the ports for goods imported and exported; decuma, tithes, were the tenth part of corn, and the fifth part of other fruits, which were exacted from those who tilled the public lands, either in Italy or without it; scriptura was the tax paid from public pastures and woods, so called, because those, who wished to feed their cattle there, subscribed their names before the farmer of it, and paid a certain sum for each beast.

9. Publicani: The taxes were let publicly by the censors at Rome. Those who farmed them were called publicani.

9. In salinis: There was for a long time a tax upon salt. In the second year after the expulsion of Tarquin, it was ordained, that salt should not be sold by private persons, but should be furnished at a lower rate by the public. A new tax was imposed on salt in the second Punic war, but this tax was also dropped, although it is uncertain at what time. Instead of salinis, many editions have substituted salitia, the editors of which suppose, that, as we do not read that in any period of the Roman history the duty upon salt was imposed upon Asia or any other province, Cicero here refers to the pasture grounds, which abounded with groves of willows.

17. Ad multorum bona civium: The knights, who were the farmers of the revenue, and many Roman citizens, who were concerned in mercantile negotiations, had much wealth in this province, of which the war might perhaps deprive them.

38. Romae...idem concidisse: In the murder of the Romans in Asia, which Mithridates had ordered in the beginning of the first Mithridatic war, many farmers of the revenue were killed, and their estates were confiscated. Their creditors in Rome, therefore, became unable to support their credit.

43. Quae in foro versatur: The Forum was surrounded with shops, which were chiefly occupied by bankers.

14. Copias: According to Plutarch, in the army of Mithridates there were 120,000 foot and 16,000 horse.

16. Cyzicenorum: Cyzicus was an important city, and one of the keys of Asia. It was besieged by Mithridates, when Lucullus arrived; by intercepting the provisions and conquering the detachments of the royal army, the Roman general obliged the king to raise the siege with great loss.

19. Classem magnum: Mithridates, not discouraged by his ill success, sent a fleet to support the revolt, which Spartacus had excited in Italy, and gave the command of it to two of his own officers, and M. Marius, whom Sertorius had sent to him with the title of consul. Lucullus sailed in quest of this fleet, found it in the road of Lemnoe, and destroyed the whole, thirty-two ships of war, and a great number of transports.

22. Multis proliis: At the river Rhyndacus, at the river Granicus, and at sea, in which engagements many of the forces of Mithridates were killed, and many taken prisoners.

23. Pontum: Lucullus invaded Pontus, and took most of its cities.

24. Sinopen atque Amisum: Sinope, the capital of Pontus, was a city on the borders of the Euxine sea, and the birth-place of Mithridates; Amisus was situated on the confines of Paphlagonia and Cappadocia, 130 miles distant from Sinope.


27. Regno patrio atque avito: Mithridates, by right of his birth, reigned over Pontus and many nations in its vicinity.
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28. Ad alios se reges: To Tigranes, his son-in-law, king of Armenia, and to the king of the Parthians.

32. Medea: Medea, daughter of the king of Colchis, having assisted Jason and the Argonauts in acquiring the Golden Fleece, fled with him, and fearing Æetes, her father, would overtake her, cut her brother Abarythus in pieces, and strewed them in the way to check the pursuit. In a similar manner, Mithridates, as Cicero says, scattered his treasures before the army of Lucullus, and was thus enabled to escape.

49. Plures etiam gentes: The army of Tigranes was composed of Armenians, Gordyemnians, Medes, Adiabenians, led by their kings; Arabians from the country between Babylon and the Persian gulf; Albanians and Iberians from the coasts of the Caspian sea; and several free nations and Nomades (Tartars) from the neighborhood of the Araxes. The forces of Tigranes consisted of 20,000 archers and slingers: 55,000 horse, 17,000 of which might be said to be cased in iron; 150,000 infantry, and 35,000 pioneers and other laborers. The Roman army, however, not a twentieth part of the number of the troops of the king of Armenia, conquered them, and took his capital, Tigranocerta.

11. Funi locupletissimi: Cicero refers to a famous temple of Belons, at Comana, which was plundered by Murena, Sulla’s lieutenant.

15. Nimid longinquitate locorum: After the taking of Tigranocerta, Lucullus intended to continue his march to Artaxata, the former capital of Armenia, but, as it was distant many days’ march to the north, and as the winter was advancing, with snowy and tempestuous weather, the soldiers, fatigued by the severities of the campaign, refused to follow him. The mutiny in the army of Lucullus has been attributed to his pride and avarice; but, though these faults of the general may have produced bad consequences, the real cause of the sedition was the intrigues of the disappointed and infamous Clodius.

17. Hic jam plura non dicam: As the dispute concerning the merit and demerit of Lucullus was very warm in Rome between his friends and enemies, Cicero very prudently avoids offending either party.

21. Multorum regum et nationum: The kings and nations, who assisted Tigranes, gave assistance also to Mithridates, who at this time was collecting an army.

31. Victorem, impetum: He defeated Fabius Adrianus in Pontus, whom Lucullus had left there, and afterwards routed the army of the rash lieutenant, Triarius.

33. Nostram calamitatem: It was the rashness of Triarius, which caused this calamity. Flattered by the prospect of the glory he should acquire by conquering in the absence of his general, he fought with the king of Pontus, and was so totally defeated, that not one of his army would have escaped, had not Mithridates received a wound, which induced his generals to check the pursuit. This was the most severe defeat which the Romans experienced in all their wars against Mithridates; seven thousand Romans remained dead upon the field of battle. “Cicero,” says a celebrated Roman historian, “was induced to say, that the Roman general received only from public rumor the news of Triarius’s defeat, not from a regard to truth, but that he might flatter Pompey at the expense of Lucullus.”

38. Veneri exemplo: These words, it has been said, wore the semblance of patriotism, under which the enemies of Lucullus concealed their envy and malignity. It is acknowledged, that Lucullus had
been seven years in command; but Pompey possessed military command for a longer time, and with as great authority. If, therefore, the *vetus exemptum* required the removal of the former, it would certainly prohibit the elevation of the latter.

40. *Dimissi...tradidit*: The calamitous tales of the enemies of Lucullus had such an effect upon the people, that they passed a decree, "that the oldest of his troops, especially the Fimbrian legions, should be discharged, and that he should be succeeded in the command of the war by Glabrio, the consul."

16. *Ad patris exercitum*: His father was Cn. Pompeius Strabo, in whose army he served, when he was but seventeen years of age.

17. *Exirendi pueritia miles...adolescentia...imperator*: The age of man was divided into three parts by the Romans. They were *pueri* until they were seventeen years old; from that time to their forty-sixth year they were *juvenes*; afterwards they were *senes*. The youth of Pompey, when he first entered his father's army, has already been mentioned. At the age of twenty-three, before he was admitted into the senate, he was appointed by Sulla to the command of an army, and sent into Celtiberia.

19. *Hoste...inimico*: These words are distinguished thus by Mezouille: those were properly called *hostes*, against whom the Romans declared war by the *sociales*, who were sacred persons employed in declaring war and making peace; *inimici* were those with whom individuals had private quarrels.

24. *Triumphus*: He had triumphed three times, once for his victories in Africa, once for those in Europe, once for those in Asia.

26. *Civile*: Between Cinna and Sulla; *Africanum*, against Cneius Domitius and a king of Numidia, for his victories over whom, he was called *Pompeius Magnus* by Sulla; *Transalpinum*, against the inhabitants of the Alps and of the countries beyond those mountains, who opposed his passage into Spain to attack Sertorius; *Hispaniense*, against Sertorius in Spain, whose army consisted chiefly of warlike barbarians; *servlet*, against Spartacus, Crixus, and *Eumomus*, their slaves and gladiators; *navale bellum*, against the pirates.

28. *Diverse generae...hostium*: He fought against kings, exiles, provincial persons, pirates, and slaves.

8. *Omnis oea*: The pirates committed such extensive depredations, that 10,000 of the slaves they captured were brought to Delos at once, and sold the same day.

21. *Multa...ebræ*: The pirates formed armies, made descents, surprised cities that were not fortified, by assault or by sieges took others that were in a condition of defence, and extended their ravages along all the coasts of the Mediterranean sea, the only sea at that time navigated.

27. *Brundisio*: Brundisium, or Brundusium, was an Italian seaport, from which the Romans passed into Greece.

29. *Legati...duodecim secure*: Ambassadors and two Roman praetors were seized by the pirates in some of their excursions; the praetors had two axes carried before them in the city, six in the provinces; hence *duodecim secure* imply two praetors.

32. *Colophonem aut Samum*: Cities of Ionia; besides these, the pirates had taken above 400 cities, and plundered thirteen of the richest temples in the world.

34. *Quibus vivam et spiritum ducitis*: Such command of the various harbors in the Mediterranean sea did the pirates possess, that no grain could be brought to Rome from Asia, Africa, Sicily, or Sardinia.
37. *Prætor*: This praetor probably was Marcus Antonius, son of the famous orator, and father of Mark Antony, the triumvir. He was afterwards defeated by the pirates near Crete.
37. *Miscæ*: Misenium, a promontory in Italy. Plutarch tells us, that the pirates carried the daughter of Marcus Antonius, the praetor mentioned in the preceding note, from his house in this place.
39. *Ostia incommodum*: Ostia was a city, situated at the mouth of the Tiber, the river, upon the banks of which the city of Rome was built; the pirates seized it, and kept possession of it for some time.

52. 3. *Intra Oceani ostium*: That is, within the Mediterranean sea. The straits of Gibraltar were the *ostium Oceani*, through which a strong current flows from the Atlantic ocean into the Mediterranean sea. Pompey had subdued all the pirates.
9. *Sicilia*: Sicily was called the granary of the republic, from the quantity of corn annually sent to Rome. The Gabinian law conferred on the conduct of the war against the pirates a command, for three years, over the whole Mediterranean, and all the provinces on its coasts, as far as fifty miles within land. He had power to elect from the senators fifteen lieutenants, to take money at discretion from the public treasury, and from the farmers of the revenue, to raise a fleet of 200 sail, and to enlist both sailors and soldiers, as many as he should judge necessary. Such extensive authority, and the military talents of Pompey, terminated the piratical war.
13. *Duabus Hispaniis*: The two Spains were separated by the river Iber. Cisalpine Gaul was between the Alps and the river Rubicon.
15. *Maria*: Tuscan and Adriatic.
18. *Cilicia*: The pirates had formed a kind of commonwealth, of which Cilicia was the centre, a country difficult to approach, by reason of the rocks and shoals that lined the coasts.
21. *Cretenses*: The island of Crete was another receptacle of the pirates.
21. *Legatos deprecatorum*: Merouille says, the Cretans, fearing that, if Metellus should conquer the island, he would put them all to death, sent ambassadors to Pompey, offering to surrender themselves to him, who, they thought, would be more mild to them; Pompey, therefore, that he might deprive Metellus of the glory of the victory, sent his lieutenant Octavius to Metellus with orders to cease hostilities; which, says Merouille, was base in Pompey, though Cicero artfully turned it to his praise.
40. *Centurianus*: The office of centurion, and other military commands, which ought to be bestowed upon merit, were often bought and sold in the camps of venal generals.
43. *Propter cupiditatem provinciæ*: Great corruption was prevalent in the administrations of the provinces in the latter ages of the republic. So much extortion was generally practised, that the government of a rich province was an object of intrigue and bribery. The provinces were selected by the senate, and distributed to the consuls and praetors, sometimes by lot, sometimes by the senate, and sometimes by the tribunes of the people, who were often bribed largely on such occasions.
44. *Aut...in quaestu reliquerit*: It seems from this passage that public money at Rome was sometimes lent at interest for private emolument.
1. *Admurmuratio*: This “whispering” of the people probably was applying to particular individuals the allusions they thought Cicero was making; he, however, disclaims alluding to any one.

33. *Signa, et tabulas*: Statues, paintings, etc., of which generals often robbed the provinces.


24. *Tanta et tam proclara judicia*: They had decreed him a triumph, while he was only a knight; sent him, while quaestor, to Spain, against Sertorius; and declared him consul, before he had held the other magistracies.

25. *Ad commune omnium gentium bellum*: Pirates are considered by the law of nations as the enemies of mankind.

33. *Calamitate*: The defeat of Triarius.

13. *Legatum*: Although Mithridates, after the assassination of Sertorius, with whom he had entered into an alliance, sent an ambassador to Pompey in Spain, yet the army of Sertorius considered him rather as a spy than an ambassador.

24. *Maximo, etc.*: Fabius Maximus was five times consul, and once dictator; he conquered Hannibal by delay, by avoiding engagements. Marcellus was also five times consul; he subdued the Gauls, defeated the army of Hannibal at Nola, and gained many other victories. Scipio Africanus was twice consul; he defeated the Africans, and obliged Hannibal to return to Carthage. Marius was seven times consul; he conquered Jugurtha, the Teutones, Ambrones, and Cimbri.

33. *Ant invisa*: It would have been offensive and ungrateful to the gods, to have said that Pompey overruled chance, and made fortune obey his commands.

38. *Ventus*: Had not the winds favored him, he could not have conquered, with so much celerity, the pirates, who were scattered over every part of the Mediterranean.

13. *In his ipsis locis*: Pompey at this time was in Asia, engaged in settling some small remains of the piratical war. He had a flourishing army with him, and could easily take possession of the forces in the neighboring provinces.

19. *Catulus*: Of Catulus the following anecdote is told. After he had alleged, that unusual grants of exorbitant power were the causes of all the miseries the republic had suffered from the proscriptions of Marius and Sulla, and that they were pernicious, and contrary to the constitution of Rome, he told the people they were too fond of Pompey, and asked them, “Should you unfortunately lose him, in whom would you place your confidence?” “In you, Catulus,” they all cried out with one voice. Catulus was of consular rank, and popular.

21. *Hortensius*: Hortensius began very early to make a figure at the bar; he was only nineteen years of age when he pleaded his first case, with great eloquence and excellence. “Like a statue of Phidas,” says Cicero, “the instant he was seen, the same instant he was admired.” He charmed the eye no less by his action than the ear by the harmony of his voice and the music of his periods. “He reigned absolute in the Forum,” says Dr. Middleton, “when Cicero first entered it, and as his superior fame was the chief spur of Cicero’s industry, so the shining specimen, which Cicero soon gave of himself, made Hortensius likewise brighter for it, by obliging him to exert all the force of his genius to maintain his ground against his young rival. They passed a great part of their lives in a kind of
equal contest and emulation; but Hortensius, by the superiority of his years, having first passed through the usual gradation of public honors, and satisfied his ambition by attaining the highest, began to relax somewhat of his old contention, and gave way to the charms of ease and luxury, to which his nature strongly inclined him, till he was forced, at last, by the general voice of the city, to yield the post of honor to Cicero.

30. *Omnia tribuenda*: The power that would be delegated to Pompey by this law of Manilius, would be almost unbounded.

35. *A. Gabinium*: The power conferred on Pompey by the Gabinian law, which appointed him to the command in the piratic war, Hortensius thought exorbitant, and therefore opposed the law, which, although it happened to be attended rather with fortunate than unlucky consequences, was a bad precedent.

57. *Atheniensium*: Athens retained the sovereignty of the seas nearly seventy years.

7. *Carthaginensium*: Carthage, before it was conquered by the Romans, was a great commercial city.

8. *Ad nostram memoriam*: The island of Rhodes was still celebrated for its attention to naval discipline.

15. *Navalis pugnis...utilitas, etc.*: The Romans formerly had been celebrated for their naval victories over the Carthaginian and other admirals; lately the pirates had not only intercepted their provisions, but taken and insulted their magistrates; Pompey, armed by the Gabinian law with the most extensive power, had reduced these Asiatic buccaneers and marauders. These facts seem to prove, that, before Pompey took command of the war against the pirates, the naval skill of the Romans had degenerated, and that he alone was able to terminate successfully so dangerous a war; but the truth is, the Romans had not degenerated, nor was Pompey the only man who could put an honorable end to the war. The Romans, engaged in contentions of more importance, did not notice the commencement of the piratic war, till it became threatening, and affected them; and there were many Roman senators, who, had they been armed with the authority of the Gabinian law, would as soon have terminated the opposition of these lawless freebooters.

17. *Antiochum regem*: In the war with Antiochus the Great, the Romans twice defeated his fleet under Polyxenidas, his admiral.—*Persaeque superavit*: There is no mention in Roman history of a sea-fight with Perses; after the battle of Pydna, in which he was defeated by Paulus Æmilius, he took refuge in the island of Samothrace, and soon afterwards surrendered himself to the pretor Octavius, who was sent with a fleet to the island by the consul. If, as Livy says, Octavius had a naval triumph over king Perses, it must have been decreed to him for receiving Perses as a prisoner, not for fighting him.

28. *Appid jam vid carcamus*: The *Appia via* was the first road the Romans paved; it was named from Appius Claudius the censor, who first made it. At first it extended only to Capua, but was afterwards continued to Brundusium. It was called *Regina Varum*. It was paved with the hardest flint, so firmly, that, in several places, it remains entire to this day, above 2000 years; and was so broad that two carriages might pass each other. The stones were of different sizes; but so artfully joined, that they appeared but one stone. This road had been infested by the pirates.
MANILIAN LAW.

42. *Ne legaretur A. Gabinius*: It is said by Roman historians, that the only motive, which induced Gabinius to publish his law in favor of Pompey, was the desire of being chosen one of his lieutenants. Pompey solicited this, but the people refused it; and, although Cicero here says, that this refusal appeared to him a great indignity, we must doubt concerning his sincerity, since, in another oration (*Post Reditum in Senatu*), he says, that Gabinius was so necessitous and so profligate at this time, that, if he had not passed this law, he must have turned pirate himself.

5. *An C. Falcidius, etc.*: Tribunes could not be lieutenants till the year after their tribunship had expired, and then only to those generals who had been appointed by means of their tribunship. Under these circumstances, it was customary to advance the tribunes to the lieutenancies.

16. *Prater intercessionem*: It was in the power of any tribune to stop the proceedings of any assembly of the people by his intercession, that is, by pronouncing the solemn word *Veto*.

19. *Unus A. Gabinius...comes Cn. Pompeio*: It has been said, we must not believe Cicero sincere in all the opinions he advances in his orations; he was so much of a statesman and lawyer, as sometimes, for a politic purpose, or a client's advantage, to express a belief which he did not entertain. See Note, page 57, line 42, and the last note to this oration.

42. *Scipione...Mario*: Cicero here apologizes for the unusual authority conferred on Pompey, by the examples of Scipio and Marius. Scipio Æmilianus was twice elected consul at an illegal age, and in his consulsips destroyed Carthage in Africa, and Numantia in Spain. Marius was elected seven times consul, which elections were unprecedented. He conquered Jugurtha, the Cimbri, and the Teutones.

9. *A senatorio gradu atas longè abesset*: It is said by Dr Alexander Adam, that in the time of Cicero, the usual age of being chosen a senator seems to have been thirty-one; of Pompey, Plutarch relates, that he could have been received into the senate before that age, but that he refused it; his vain-glory induced him to think it a greater honor to triumph, while he was only knight.

14. *Triumphare*: It is related, that when Pompey had defeated Domitian Ænobarbus and Hierbas, king of one part of Numidia, and returned to Rome, he demanded a triumph of Sulla, at that time dictator. Being refused, he said it would be best for Sulla to consider, "that the rising had more worshippers than the setting sun." Sulla did not hear this; but being told of it, he was struck with the boldness of the expression, and instantly said, "Let him triumph, let him triumph."

29. *Iterum*: Pompey had a second triumph, for his victory over the remains of Sertorius's army.

10. *Servilius*: After the defeat of the prætor Antonius, P. Servilius was sent against the pirates. Having defeated them, taken many of their cities, and subdued the nation of the Isauri, he acquired a triumph and the surname of *Isauricus*. He had spoken, before Cicero, in favor of the law.

12. *C. Curio...Lentulus...Cassius*: Curio was consul with Cn. Octavius, Lentulus with Lucullus; Cassius was a particular friend of Cicero.

22. *Maneas in sententia*: The law of Manilius was unpopular with many good men, because it conferred too much power upon an indi-
THE ORATION FOR THE

61 viual, and because it would deprive Lucullus of the glory of term-

62. Habit the temples: There were many temples round the Fo-

63. Law, and the Rostra also was called a temple.

64. Labou, assuring a true and rich: In early life Cicero had applied

65. himself very industriously to the business of the bar. At the time

66. he delivered this oration, he was praetor, as a few lines above, he

67. insinuates.

68. a Notwithstanding Cicero, at the close of his oration, declares that

69. has been induced to support the Manilian law only by the dis-

70. interested motives of patriotism. many modern authors will not be-

71. lieve him. We will quote the remarks of these critics, premising

72. the elocution of Cicero contributed to the enaction of the law. The

73. elegant writer of the "Observations on the Life and Writings of Ci-

74. cero," speaking of Cicero and those who spoke in favor of the Mani-

75. lian law, says, "They had not the least pretense of public necessity

76. to justify it. ... But Lucullus, who commanded in Asia, had overcom-

77. Mr. Mitridates in several battles, and was as capable of finishing the

78. war, as he was, whom they appointed to be his successor. With an

79. eloquence worthy of a better cause, he [Cicero] most artfully re-

80. flected on Lucullus, whose reputation as well as authority was to be

81. made a sacrifice to the envy of Pompey; then he proceeded to des-

82. cale on Pompey's character, which he set off with all the orna-

83. ments of virtue, attributing to him the whole success, not only of

84. the African, Spanish, and piratic wars, but even of that against

85. the slaves, the honor of which was solely due to Crassus. Thus, by

86. cruelly injuring two of the greatest generals that were in the com-

87. monwealth, by a most servile flattery of the man who was manifestly

88. overturning all its liberties, he brought the people to consent to the

89. Manilian law; which, had a regard to the interest of his country

90. been his constant principle, he ought to have opposed as violently

91. as he afterwards did the Agrarian law, or any other attempt against

92. the safety and freedom of the state." Monsieur Crevier, the con-

93. tinuator of Rollin's Roman history, speaking of the Manilian law,

94. says, "We have the discourse which Cicero pronounced on this oc-

95. casion. It is no more to his honor as an orator, than as a patriot, or a

96. commonwealth's man. ... But he had the consulship nearly in view,

97. and it behoved him therefore to gain the people's favor, and make

98. sure of the friendship of Pompey. ... The learned author of "The

99. Divine Legation of Moses," etc., while considering the character of

100. Cicero, says, in the third section of the third book, "The several

101. and various characters he sustained in his life and writings, habituated

102. him to feign and dissemble his opinions. He may be considered as

103. an orator, a statesman, a philosopher, characters all equally person-

104. ated; and no one more the real man than the other, but each of them

105. taken up and laid down for the occasion. This appears from the

106. numerous inconsistencies found in him throughout the course of his

107. sustaining them." Having mentioned an instance in which the

108. philosopher confuted the statesman, the author adds, "as in another

109. instance the statesman seems to have got the better of the philosopher.

110. He defends the paradoxes of the Stoics in a philosophic dissertation;

111. but, in his oration for Murœna, he ridicules those paradoxes in the

112. freest manner. ... Nor under one and the same character, or at one

113. and the same time, is he more consistent. ... In a word, he laughed

114. at the opinions of state, when he was amongst philosophers; he

115. laughed at the doctrines of the philosophers, when he was cajoing
MANILIAN LAW.

an assembly; and he laughed heartily at both, when withdrawn among his friends in a corner. Nor is this the worst part of the story. He hath given us no mark to distinguish his meaning; for in his Academic Questions, he is ready to swear he always speaks what he thinks; Jurarem per Jovem Deusque Penates, me et aedare studio veri reperiendi, et ea sentire, qua dicerem; yet in his treatise De Naturâ Deorum, he has strangely changed his tone; Qui autem requirunt, quid quidque de re ipsi sentiamus, curiosius id faciunt, quâm necessae est.” The latter part of this last quotation invalidates the defence which Dr. Middleton, Cicero’s English historian and panegyrist, makes against the charges of flattery and selfish motives, as that author offers no other proof of his disinterestedness, than his own declaration in the close of the oration. Mr. Melmoth, the elegant translator of Cicero’s letters Ad Familiarès, still further weakens his pretensions to sincerity. He says, “Cicero’s real sentiments and opinions cannot be proved by any particular passages in these letters. In those to Atticus, indeed, he was generally, though not always, more sincere.” We would mention the authority also of Hooke, the Roman historian, who is more severe upon Cicero, than any author we have quoted, did we not believe he traduced the characters of most of the great men of Rome to elevate that of Julius Caesar. But more quotations are unnecessary. We have been induced to select those already expressed, not from any desire to detract praise from Cicero’s character, of which we still have a high opinion, but from a wish to prevent the youth, who shall study these orations, from forming, by their perusal of them, erroneous ideas of the characters of distinguished Roman citizens. We therefore will not hesitate to declare our opinion, that in this oration Cicero extols the praises of Pompey too high, and that he depreciates the merit of Lucullus too much. For the first opinion we have the authority of Cicero himself, who, in a future period of his life, confessed he had pronounced praises on Pompey, which he did not deserve; and for the last, we have the authority of Plutarch, who says Lucullus possessed great qualities, courage, vigilance, activity, prudence, and the love of justice.

THE ORATION FOR M. MARCELLUS.

INTRODUCTION.

There existed a friendship between Cicero and the family of the Marcelli; but of Marcus Marcellus, Cicero was a particular friend. Marcellus was no less eminent on account of his birth, than for the rank he held in the republic; his courage and conduct were equally conspicuous, and the testimonies of historians unite in characterizing him as incapable of meanness or fear. During his consulship, he opposed Caesar, and avowed his intentions to ruin him. After the bat-
tle of Pharsalia, in which Caesar conquered Pompey and his adherents, he retired to Mitylene, where he seemed resolved to spend the remainder of his life in philosophic retirement, and make the pursuits of literature his only employment. This resolution, after many attempts, was overcome by the urgent requests of his friends. The letters of his brother Caius and Cicero induced him to consent, that application might be made to Caesar for permission to return to Rome. In one of the meetings of the senate, therefore, when the dictator had taken his seat, Piso, the father-in-law of Caesar, first mentioned the return of Marcellus. The brother of the illustrious exile immediately threw himself at the feet of Caesar, and requested of him the desired favor; and all the senators, at the same time, rising from their seats, urged the request, and entreated him to restore to their body one of its most distinguished and most valuable members. Caesar at first assumed severity, and complained of the resentment Marcellus had ever shown to him. But when he had made the senators fear a denial, he unexpectedly added, that whatever reasons he had to be dissatisfied with the man for whose return they sued, he could not oppose the unanimous desire of the senate. Having said this, notwithstanding he saw the whole senate concurrent in the petition, he called for the particular opinion of every senator; a method never practised, except in cases of debate, and when the house was divided; "but," says Dr. Middleton, "he wanted the usual tribute of flattery upon this act of grace, and had a mind probably to make an experiment of Cicero’s temper, and to draw from him especially some incense on the occasion; nor was he disappointed of his aim.” Cicero experienced much joy at the prospect of his friend’s return; he fancied he saw the image of the old republic reviving; and, after other senators had expressed their opinions, he pronounced, in the excited feelings of the moment, the following beautiful oration, which is so much known, and so universally admired, and “which,” says Cicero’s English historian, “though made upon the spot, yet for elegance of diction, vivacity of sentiment, and politeness of compliment, is superior to any thing extant of the kind in all antiquity.” It was pronounced in the 707th year of Rome, and in the 61st of Cicero’s age.

SYNOPSIS.

Analysis Exordii.

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\begin{align*}
\text{Attentos} : & \begin{cases} 
expositissilentii, & \text{dolore. 1.} 
\text{causis,} & \text{verecundia. 1.} 
\text{et locutionis :} & \begin{cases} 
\text{Caesaris mansuetudine, et clementia. 1.} 
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\end{align*}
\]
M. MARCELLUS.

Orationis Pars Prior.

Landat Cæsaris fortitudinem: quæ

superavit homines,

c contentionum magnitudine. 2.
numero prælorum. 2.
varietate regionum. 2.
celeritate conficiendi. 2.
dissimilitudine bellorum. 2.
immanitate barbaras. 3.
multitudine innumerabiles. 3.
lotis infinitas. 3.
oni copiarum genere abundantes

domuit gentes,

non centurioni, aut praefecto. 3
non cohorti, aut turmis. 3.
non ipsi fortune. 3.

剽iam habet sibi propriam,

Deo fit similis. 3.
hominibus redditur amabilia. 3.

senatui afferit letitiam. 3.
posteris evadit illustris. 4.
seipso, et victoria est major. 4.
omnibus quietis et tranquillitas spem ostendit. 5.

Clementiam: quæ

Pompeio Cæsarem præfert,

quod Cæsar

pacem petierit. 5.
pacis cupidos servaverit. 5.

quod Pompeius

victis pepercrit. 5.

et hortatur ad perseverantiam,

esse futurus irator. 6.

minas etiam otiosis intentaret. 6.

cum id sit liberalis animi 6.
et sapientis 6.

Pars Altera.

Duo Cæsaris dicta confutat.

I. Cicero suspicione auget. 7.

II. Eam diluit: nam

nec parantur insidiae a Cæsariis. 7.

aut perierint. 7.

nec a Pompeianis: cum

aut amici sint. 7.
et a salute Cæsaris pendent. 7.

I. Sibi parari insidias,

ad constituenda judicia. 8.

revocandam fidem. 8.

III. Cæsarem hortatur, ut sibi caveat:

comprimendas libidines. 8. [8.
curandam propagationem sobolis.
THE ORATION FOR

II. Satis se sibi vixisse, et gloria:

I. Id negat: quia

II. Gloriam ejus prædicat:

III. Et securitatem pollicetur:

non sibi vivit, sed reipublicæ. 8.

Igloria non erit perfecta, nisi remp. 

constitut. 9.

imperiorum. 9.

sola restabit provinciarum. 9.

admiratio victoriarum. 9.

triumphorum. 9. [10.

posteri multi facta ejus improbabunt.

ob clementiam. 10.

etiam erga eae, quibus iratus fuerat. 10.

ob excubias, et custodias. 10.

ob laterum et corporum oppositus. 10.

Peroratio.

Gratias agit Cæsari, 

nomine senatorum omnium. 11.

et suo præsertim. 11.

Amorem suum erga Marcellum testatur:

dolor quædam absumt Marcellus. 11.

gaudio, cum a Cæsare revocatus est. 11.

Page. Line.

62 9. Diurni silentii: In a letter to Servius Sulpi
cius, proconsul in 

Greece, Cicero, mentioning the petition for Mar
cellus’s return, 

writes, “What the senate did was this; upon the mention of 

Marcellus by Piso, his brother Caius having thrown himself at 

Cæsar’s 

feet, they all rose up, and went in a supplicating manner tow-

ards 

Cæsar; in short, this day’s work appeared so decent, that I could 

not 

help fancying I saw the image of the old republic reviving. 

When 

all, therefore, who were asked their opinions before me, had 

returned 

thanks to Cæsar, excepting Volcatius (for he declared that he would not 

have 

done it, though he had been in the place of Marcellus), I, 

as soon as I was called upon, changed my mind; for I had resolved 

with myself to observe an eternal silence, not through any laziness, 

but the loss of my former dignity; but Cæsar’s greatness of mind 

and the laudable zeal of the senate overcame my resolution. I gave 

thanks, therefore, to Cæsar in a long speech, and have deprived 

myself by it, I fear, on other occasions, of that honest quiet, which 

was my only comfort in these unhappy times; but since I have 
hitherto avoided giving offence (and, if I had always continued silent, 

he would have interpreted it perhaps as a proof of my believing the 

republic to be ruined), I shall speak for the future not often, or rather 

very seldom; so as to manage at the same time both his favor and 

my own leisure for study.”

21. In quâ ego fuissem: Marcellus and Cicero were of the Pome-

peian party; after the battle of Pharsalia, Cicero accepted pardon 

of the conqueror; the high spirit of Marcellus and the ancient glory 

of his house would not permit him to receive any favors from a master. 

He retired to Mitylene.
M. MARCELLUS. 215

24. *Iemulo alque imitatores*: Marcellus was famous for his forensic talents, and, of all the orators of his time, seems to have approached nearest to Cicero in the character of a complete speaker.

31. *Offensionibus*: While Marcellus was consul, he endeavored to supersede Caesar in the command of Gaul; he afterwards endeavored to get Caesar proclaimed *Enemy to his country*; in a public speech he called Caesar *Robber*; and, during the civil war, fought against Caesar. These, says Guthrie, with some others of smaller consequence, were the offences of Marcellus.

33. *Suspicionibus*: Caesar had entertained suspicions, that Marcellus intended to murder him.

1. *Fructum...vita...hodierno die*: It should be remembered, that, before Cicero had risen to address Caesar, the whole senate had paid the tribute due to the merit of Marcellus, by rising, and warmly urging the request made for his return.

8. *Nobilitate*: The family of the Marcelli was of plebeian original, but, by the hereditary merit of its individuals, had become noble. Those whose ancestors or themselves had borne any *Curule magistracy*, that is, the consulship, the pretorship, the censorship, or the office of Curule Aedile, was called *nobles*; and of the family of the Marcelli six had been consuls, of whom one was honored with the consulship five times, and another three.

14. *Pace*: "Pardon," or "permission."

20. *Numero praeliorum*: Pliny informs us, that Caesar had fought fifty pitched battles, and had slain 1,192,000 men. If the civil wars are added to the account, says a commentator, this ambitious monster (Caesar) must have made greater desolation in the world, than any tyrant, perhaps, that ever lived.—*Varietate regionum*: Caesar had carried on war in Spain, Britain, Gaul, Egypt, Germany, Asia, Africa and Greece. He conquered Pompey at Pharsalia; Ptolemy in Egypt; Pherenace, the son of Mithridates, in Pontus; Scipio and Juba in Africa; and in Spain the sons of Pompey.—*Celeritate conscendi*: Such was the rapidity with which Caesar made some of his conquests, that, in describing one of them, he said, *Veni, vidi, vici*: "I came, I saw, I conquered."

34. *Hujus gloria*: The glory of pardoning a man whom he supposed an enemy to him.

37. *Centurio....prefectus, etc.*: The Roman army was formed into legions: each legion was divided into ten cohorts, each cohort into three maniples, and each maniple into two centuries. There were also 300 cavalry usually joined to each legion. These were divided into ten *turmae*, or troops, and each *turma* into three *decuriae*, or bodies of ten men. The *centuriones* were the officers who commanded the centuries; the *prefecti* were appointed to command the allies, and seem to have had powers similar to those of the legionary tribunes, the number of whom was six in each legion, each of whom had under his command a thousand men.

43. *Gentes....barbaras*: Gauls, Britons, Germans, Africans, and Egyptians.

44. *Innumerabiles*: It is said that Caesar conquered 400 different nations in Gaul; but these nations probably were but petty tribes, like those of the savages of this country.

8. *Simillimum Deo judico*: Cicero has been accused of flattery and insincerity in this oration, as well as in that upon the Manilian law. The only defence and apology we shall offer is extracted from the writings of his greatest panegyrist. "It should be remembered,"

37. *Prætor*: This praetor probably was Marcus Antonius, son of the famous orator, and father of Mark Antony, the triumvir. He was afterwards defeated by the pirates near Crete.

37. *Miseno*: Misenum, a promontory in Italy. Plutarch tells us, that the pirates carried the daughter of Marcus Antonius, the praetor mentioned in the preceding note, from his house in this place.

39. *Ostiensae incommodum*: Ostia was a city, situated at the mouth of the Tiber, the river, upon the banks of which the city of Rome was built; the pirates seized it, and kept possession of it for some time.

52. 3. *Intra Oceani ostium*: That is, within the Mediterranean sea. The straits of Gibraltar were the *ostium Oceani*, through which a strong current flows from the Atlantic ocean into the Mediterranean sea. Pompey had subdued all the pirates.


9. *Sicilium*: Sicily was called the granary of the republic, from the quantity of corn annually sent to Rome. The Gabian law conferred on the conduct of the war against the pirates a command, for three years, over the whole Mediterranean, and all the provinces on its coasts, as far as fifty miles within land. He had power to elect from the senators fifteen lieutenants, to take money at discretion from the public treasury, and from the farmers of the revenue, to raise a fleet of 200 sail, and to enlist both sailors and soldiers, as many as he should judge necessary. Such extensive authority, and the military talents of Pompey, terminated the piratic war.

13. *Duabus Hispaniis*: The two Spains were separated by the river Iber. Cisalpine Gaul was between the Alps and the river Rubicon.

15. *Maria*: Tuscan and Adriatic.

18. *Ciliciæ*: The pirates had formed a kind of commonwealth, of which Cilicia was the centre, a country difficult to approach, by reason of the rocks and shoals that lined the coast.

21. *Cretensis*: The island of Crete was another receptacle of the pirates.

21. *Legatos deprecatoresque*: Merouille says, the Cretans, fearing that, if Metellus should conquer the island, he would put them all to death, sent ambassadors to Pompey, offering to surrender themselves to him, who, they thought, would be more mild to them; Pompey, therefore, that he might deprive Metellus of the glory of the victory, sent his lieutenant Octavius to Metellus with orders to cease hostilities; which, says Merouille, was base in Pompey, though Cicero artfully turned it to his praise.

40. *Centuriatus*: The office of centurion, and other military commands, which ought to be bestowed upon merit, were often bought and sold in the camps of venal generals.

43. *Propter cupiditatem provinciæ*: Great corruption was prevalent in the administrations of the provinces in the latter ages of the republic. So much extortion was generally practised, that the government of a rich province was an object of intrigue and bribery. The provinces were selected by the senate, and distributed to the consuls and prætors, sometimes by lot, sometimes by the senate, and sometimes by the tribunes of the people, who were often bribed largely on such occasions.

44. *Aut...in quaestu reliquerit*: It seems from this passage that public money at Rome was sometimes lent at interest for private emolument.
1. Admurmuratio: This "whispering" of the people probably was applying to particular individuals the allusions they thought Cicero was making; he, however, disclaims alluding to any one.

33. Signa, et tabulas: Statues, paintings, etc., of which generals often robbed the provinces.

3. Facilitate: "Affability."

24. Tanta et tam procula judicia: They had decreed him a triumph, while he was only a knight; sent him, while questor, to Spain, against Sertorius; and declared him consul, before he had held the other magistracies.

25. Ad commune omnium gentium bellum: Pirates are considered by the law of nations as the enemies of mankind.

38. Calamitate: The defeat of Triarius.

13. Legatum: Although Mithridates, after the assassination of Sertorius, with whom he had entered into an alliance, sent an ambassador to Pompey in Spain, yet the army of Sertorius considered him rather as a spy than an ambassador.

24. Maximo, etc.: Fabius Maximus was five times consul, and once dictator; he conquered Hannibal by delay, by avoiding engagements. Marcellus was also five times consul; he subdued the Gauls, defeated the army of Hannibal at Nola, and gained many other victories. Scipio Africanus was twice consul; he defeated the Africans, and obliged Hannibal to return to Carthage. Marius was seven times consul; he conquered Jugurtha, the Teutones, Ambroes, and Cimbri.

33. Aut invisa: It would have been offensive and ungrateful to the gods, to have said that Pompey overruled chance, and made fortune obey his commands.

38. Venti: Had not the winds favored him, he could not have conquered, with so much celerity, the pirates, who were scattered over every part of the Mediterranean.

13. In its ipse locis: Pompey at this time was in Asia, engaged in settling some small remains of the piratical war. He had a flourishing army with him, and could easily take possession of the forces in the neighboring provinces.

19. Catulus: Of Catulus the following anecdote is told. After he had alleged, that unlawful grants of exorbitant power were the causes of all the miseries the republic had suffered from the proscriptions of Marius and Sulla, and that they were pernicious, and contrary to the constitution of Rome, he told the people they were too fond of Pompey, and asked them, "Should you unfortunately lose him, in whom would you place your confidence?" "In you, Catulus," they all cried out with one voice. Catulus was of consular rank, and popular.

21. Hortensius: Hortensius began very early to make a figure at the bar; he was only nineteen years of age when he pleaded his first cause, with great eloquence and excellence. "Like a statue of Phidias," says Cicero, "the instant he was seen, the same instant he was admired." He charmed the eye no less by his action than the ear by the harmony of his voice and the music of his periods. "He reigned absolute in the Forum," says Dr. Middleton, "when Cicero first entered it, and as his superior fame was the chief spur of Cicero's industry, so the shining specimen, which Cicero soon gave of himself, made Hortensius likewise brighter for it, by obliging him to exert all the force of his genius to maintain his ground against his young rival. They passed a great part of their lives in a kind of
THE ORATION FOR Q. LIGARIUS.

INTRODUCTION.

This oration, which is said to have made Cæsar tremble, was pronounced a short time after the oration for Marcellus was delivered, and was similar to that in its subject. The facts which occasioned it are as follow: Before there was an appearance of a civil war, Quintus Ligarius went into Africa in the capacity of lieutenant to the proconsul Caius Considius. So satisfactory was his conduct, in this station, that when Considius departed from the province, he determined to gratify the inclinations of the people, and confide its government to the hands of Ligarius. Ligarius, after long and unavailing refusal, unwillingly received it, and resigned it with pleasure, when Attius Varus came to take possession of it. In the mean time the war between Cæsar and Pompey commenced; and Lucius Tuber- ro, with his son Quintus, was sent by the senate into Africa to obtain provisions. Although Ligarius and Varus were of Pompey's party, as well as Tuberæ, they would not receive him, nor suffer him to put his sick son on shore. Being driven to Macedonia, Tuberæ then joined Pompey, and there took arms against Cæsar; but, having seen his party ruined at the battle of Pharsalia, he abandoned his unsuccessful general, united himself to Cæsar, and followed the conqueror to the Alexandrine and African wars. Afterwards, when the war was concluded, and when Cæsar had forgiven many who had been opposed to him, the two brothers of Ligarius, who had ever
been the friends of Cæsar, and many of their relations, interceded for his pardon. Cæsar was much offended with Ligarius, and wished to reject the petition; but when he saw Cicero, Pansa, Brocchus, and others join in the request made for his pardon, he began to be inclined to grant it. At this time, Quintus Tubero, son of Lucius, influenced by motives of revenge for not having been formerly received into Africa, and being therefore desirous to obstruct any favor intended to be bestowed upon Ligarius, that he might effectually gratify his vindictive desires, brought forward an accusation against Ligarius, charging him with having prosecuted the war in Africa against Cæsar with uncommon zeal and violence. Cæsar, who was greatly exasperated against those, who, through aversion to him, had renewed the African war, was pleased by the accusation, and, being greatly prejudiced against the defendant, changed his former determination, and became resolved to sacrifice him to the gratification of his own revenge. Plutarch relates, that Cæsar was so much prepossessed against Ligarius, that, when the trial came on, and he was told that Cicero intended to plead for him, he said he saw no reason why he should attend to him, as it was evident that Ligarius was an enemy, and therefore criminal. He, however, permitted the orator to speak.

Analysis Exordii.

Reddit Cæsarem,
Attentum,
Benevolum sibi,
Infensum adversario,

{ propositione criminis novi. 1.
{ et inauditi. 1.
{ misericordia ejus imploratione. 1.
{ et laudatione. 1.
{ qui a Pompeianis steterat. 1.
{ cum patre suo 1

Narratio.

Profectio Ligari in Africam:
Remansio in Africa,

{ cæcum nulla esset belli suspicio. 1.
{ et legatus esset Considii Ligarius. 1.
{ sub Considio omnibus se probavit. 1.
{ cum a Considio est prepositus Africam. 1.
{ post Considii omnibus gratus. 1.
{ discersum in bello quietus. 1.
{ post Vari imperio cessit. 1, 2.
{ ventum invitus remansit. 2.

Confirmatio.

A persona Cæsaris: pepercit Ciceroni. 2.
qui et ipsi Tuberoni. 3.
THE ORATION FOR

A personā Tuberōnii: qui

\begin{align*}
\text{crudelis} & \quad \text{civium Romanorum necem petens. 4.} \\
\text{est} & \quad \text{Cesaris victoris clementiam impediens. 5.} \\
\text{injurīus} & \quad \text{clarissimis cibibus, quos aceleratos vocat. 6.} \\
\text{ejusdem} & \quad \text{Ipsique Pompeio, quem facit aceleratorem ducem. 6.} \\
\text{culpe} & \quad \text{petītā Africā, contra Cesarēm. 7.} \\
\text{reus} & \quad \text{adīto Pompeio, in Cesarēm pugnante. 8.} \\
\text{a personā Ligarii. 10.} \\
\text{amicorum. 10, 11.} \\
\text{fratrum. 11, 12.} \\
\text{Cesaris. 12.}
\end{align*}

Peroratio.

Page. Line.

70 2. Propinquus meus: It is unknown what connection Tubero had with Cicero. The old scholiasts say, that he married a sister of the orator.

3. C. Pansa: Pansa was a famous orator, and had much influence with Cæsar. He was very serviceable to those, who, having been friends of Pompey, supplicated Cæsar’s forgiveness.

17. Itaque prius de vestro delicto, etc.: Tubero himself had fought against Cæsar; it was impossible, therefore, that he could accuse Ligarius before he confessed his own criminality.

32. P. Attius Varus: Varus was the first who took possession of Africa on the part of the republic; but, being afterwards defeated by Cæsar, he fled with Sextus Pompeius into Spain, and was killed in the battle of Munda.

34. Si illud imperium, etc.: By a law of the people, the power of a magistrate must be conferred upon private persons by a decree of the senate: Cicero, therefore, seems to doubt, whether the authority conferred by Considius upon Ligarius could with propriety be called imperium.

71 10. Necessitatem honestam: The command of the proconsul Considius, and the importunate solicitations of the people, imposed upon Ligarius a kind of necessity to remain in Africa.

27. In quid seipsum: It has been before mentioned, that Cicero had chosen the party of Pompey, because he thought it less dangerous to the republic, and that, notwithstanding his political principles, Cæsar had pardoned him.

34. Judicio: The success, which attended Cicero’s oration for Marcellus, induced him now to be more frank in declaring his motives for joining Pompey. Knowing Cæsar’s clemency, he forgets the ties of gratitude, and the friendly, not political principles, which, he once said, induced him to unite himself to the antagonist of Cæsar, and hesitates not to declare publicly, and in the very presence of the
conqueror, that he voluntarily, and with mature deliberation, attached himself to that party, which fought for the republic.

37. *Ad me...litteras misit*: After the battle of Pharsalia, Caesar went to Egypt, where he remained some months. While he was there, he wrote to Cicero, expressing his good will toward him; but, before the reception of the letter, Cicero had written to his friend Atticus to request Balbus, Hirtius, and Pansa, to intercede with Caesar in his favor. The address of Caesar's letter was, *Cæsar Imperator M. Tullio Ciceroni Imperatori salutem.*

39. *Me altem passus est*: Cicero, as has been before related, was sent proconsul into Cilicia in the consulship of Servius Sulpicius and Marcus Marcellus, where he defeated the Armenians, and took the city Pidenissus. He also declared war against the robbers upon mount Amanus, and, for his success against them, was saluted with the title of *Imperator* by his soldiers. The next year he returned to Italy, where a civil war had commenced; but he still retained his power, and remained proconsul, by not going into Rome; for, as we are told by Ulpian, the Roman commanders retained their authority till they had entered the city.

6. *Studisque delector*: It is said of Tubero, that he studied oratory, and undertook to manage the causes of his clients, but was so completely defeated by the eloquence of Cicero in this oration, that he forsook the profession, and dared no more to plead.

11. *Quid enim, Tubero, etc.*: These interrogations compose the part of the oration which is said to have made Caesar tremble. Suetonius, however, relates that Caesar was subject to epileptic fits, which were attended with change of color and trembling of the nerves, and that he was twice seized with these fits, when he was engaged in judicial proceedings—one of which times was perhaps while Cicero was pronouncing this oration. The words do not seem to possess sufficient energy to produce so great an effect.

12. *Acia Pharsalic*: Pharsalia was a town in Thessaly, famous for the decisive battle which was there fought between Pompey and Caesar.

16. *Idem in armis fui*: Cicero was in the camp of Pompey at Pharsalia, but did not fight, as his infirm state of health would not permit him.

17. *Nisi ut quod hic potest, nos possemus*: The meaning of these words is—"but that we might have the power of doing what, he can now do?"

26. *Meliora quem tu*: Better, because Ligarius against his will remained in Africa, while Tubero made voluntary exertions to get there, but did not succeed.

30. *Exteri isti sunt mores*: The criminal code of the Romans during the continuance of the republic was far from being sanguinary; no citizen could be put to death without the consent of the people.

38. *Apud eum...dictatorem*: Sulla, when dictator, not only ordered many to be put to death, but also gave a reward of two talents (nearly £336 sterling) to every one who killed a proscribed person.

41. *Ab eodem*: The cruelty of Sulla was so abhorred by Caesar, that he passed a law, that they should be considered murderers, who should draw money from the treasury for having produced the head of a proscribed citizen.

16. *Quod et fecimus*: Cicero and others had privately, and with much entreaty, requested Caesar to pardon Ligarius.
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THE ORATION FOR

73 27. Eiusm de victis: Tubero, one of the conquered, wished Caesar to be inexcusable to Ligarius.
   43. Postulatio: The manner of making an accusation in Rome was this; the accuser summoned the person accused to court, where he desired of the inquisitors that he might be allowed to produce his charge, and that the prætor would name a day for that purpose. This postulatio, or request, was sometimes made in the absence of the defendant, but there were certain days appointed, on which the prætor attended to these requests.

74 3. Isto...nomine...adhuc causas caruit: Cicero here speaks with manly openness. He was not afraid to pronounce what he thought.
   18. Contumelió: Caesar thought himself injured in three respects. The province of Gaul was conferred on him for ten years, but, before that time had expired, a successor to him was appointed. The consulate was denied to him after he left Gaul. After a victory, the honor of a triumph was denied to him, and he was required to render an account of his administration.
   20. Cúm pacem esse cupiebas: It is said Caesar desired peace; if he had such a desire, he wished the peace of that kind, to which no Roman should have submitted. Caesar was an ambitious man; from early youth he had but one object in view, and that was the acquisition of the supreme power of Rome. This he attained; and such was his address in attaining it, that Cicero either really believed, or pretended to believe, that he made war upon his country only to obtain satisfaction for the injuries he thought he had received.
   40. Senatus...legaverat: The proconsuls appointed their lieutenants, but it was necessary the senate should approve their appointment.

75 6. Domi unda eruditi: Cicero and L. Tubero were educated together in the same school.
   6. Militiae contubernales: In the retinue of the proconsul were comprehended his military officers, and all his public and domestic attendants. Among these were the young noblemen, who went with him to learn the art of war, and to see the method of conducting public business, who, on account of their intimacy, were called contubernales. Cicero and Lucius Tubero were contubernales under Cneius Pompeius Strabo in the Marcus war.
   23. Tua liberalitas: Cicero knew that Caesar boasted of his clemency; like a man of address, therefore, he omits no opportunity of complimenting him upon the possession of this virtue.
   33. Rez potentissimus: Juba, king of Mauritania, was very inimical to Caesar. He, however, was subdued.

76 22. Justo cum imperio: See Note, page 70, line 34.
   29. Languidiores, etc.: This is irony.

77 4. Causas...egi...tecum: As the forum was the grand school of business and eloquence, the scene on which all the affairs of the empire were determined, it was here that those who aspired to public dignities laid the foundation of their fortunes. Every ambitious man applied himself to pleading causes and to defending innocence in distress, as the surest means of gaining popularity. In this business Caesar is said to have been engaged from the 21st to the 39th year of his age. This man, of great and universal talents, neglected no method of gratifying his exorbitant ambition. Money, intrigue, hypocrisy, affectation of republican sentiments, theatrical exhibitions to the people, expensive entertainments, arms, &c., contributed to
KING DEIOTARUS.

increase his popularity, and insure his success. Of his forensic abilities, Quintilian says, that he spoke with the same force with which he fought, and that he was the only man, who, had he wished it, was capable of rivaling Cicero in eloquence.

34. Sabinos: Ligarius seems to have been a Sabine.
7. Veste mutata: During the trial, the defendant and his friends changed their garments, as was usual.

11. Sic hoc verissimum: Caesar had said, that he thought all those on his side who were not against him. He had reason to think so; in a civil war, in which the constituted authorities of government are attacked, there is a probability, that whoever is not inimical to the usurper, favors his designs.

40. In curia...in foro: In the senate-house Caesar pardoned Marcellus; the cause of Ligarius was tried in the Forum.

12. This oration, which, M. Crevier says, is "indisputably one of the finest monuments of the skill and insinuating address of the great Roman orator," was very popular. The success which attended it, made Tubero ashamed of his conduct. An honorable testimony to the merit of the oration is, that Caesar pardoned Ligarius contrary to his will, and that the events, which afterwards happened, evinced, that Caesar knew correctly the character of Ligarius and his republican sentiments, and that he had reason to expect from him future opposition, if he returned from exile. After his return, he lived in great confidence with Brutus, who found him a fit person to bear a part in the conspiracy against Caesar, but, happening to be taken ill near the time of its execution, when Brutus, in a visit to him, began to lament, that he had fallen sick in a very unlucky hour, Ligarius, raising himself on his elbow, and taking Brutus by the hand, replied; "Yet still, Brutus, if you mean to do any thing worthy of yourself, I am well." Nor did he disappoint Brutus's opinion of him; for we find him afterwards in the list of conspirators.

THE ORATION FOR KING DEIOTARUS.

INTRODUCTION.

Of the facts relative to this oration, we can learn but little from historians; even the character of Deiotarus seems not to be ascertained with accuracy; he is represented by some as amiable and virtuous, by others as sanguinary and cruel. An incident, which has perhaps prevented the facts concerning the subject of this oration from being more fully and correctly known, is, that it was not delivered in the Forum, but privately before Caesar in a dwelling-house. What we are able to learn is, that king Deiotarus was Tetrarch of Gallogricia; that, during the civil wars between Caesar and Pompey, he assisted the latter; that, after the battle of Pharsalia, he abandoned his party; that, after having been stripped of part of his dominions, to atone for his offence, he was pardoned by Caesar; that, during the wars in the East, he entertained Caesar as his guest in the castle of Luceius;
and that, after the civil contentions had been for some time composed, he was accused before Caesar by Phidippus, his physician and slave, of having intended to assassinate Caesar, while he was his guest; of having for this purpose placed assassins in a room, into which he invited Caesar to enter and view some presents he had prepared for him, and also in a bath, in which he expected Caesar would bathe before he retired to bed; of having ever been an enemy to Caesar; of having levied an army against him; of having designed to send messengers to Cicelius, a man professedly inimical to Caesar; of having sent to Caesar bad cavalry, and employed a slave as a horseman, which was forbidden by the Roman law; of having repeated an obnoxious Greek verse when he heard that Domitian was shipwrecked and Caesar besieged; of having exulted so much, when this information was communicated to him, that he intoxicated himself with wine, and danced naked at an entertainment; and of having received from Blesamius, his friend and agent in Rome, letters containing slanderous tales concerning Caesar. We also learn, that Phidippus, the physician and slave, who preferred these accusations, was suborned by Castor, a grandson of Deiotarus, who was very inimical to the king, and was induced by motives of revenge for some private offence to plot his grandfather's ruin. To defeat the intention of Castor, and to prove the charges of Phidippus false, Cicero pleads with his usual address and success in this oration, which was delivered in the 708th year of Rome, and in the sixty-second of the orator's age.

Analysis Excordii.

Reddit

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{rei inusitati,} \\
&\text{qui} \\
&\text{a senatu ornari solitus.} \\
&\text{bene de republicâ meritus.} \\
&\text{atrocissimi sceleris accusatus.} \\
&\text{Castoris, avum in discrimin ad-} \\
&\text{ducetius.} \\
&\text{in causâ sui judicat.} \\
&\text{quod orator est grave.} \\
&\text{insolitum oratori.} \\
&\text{intra palatium Cæsaris.} \\
&\text{extra conventum populi.} \\
&\text{in oculis lœsi principis.} \\
&\text{de accusatoribus.} \\
&\text{et de iudae accusatione.}
\end{align*}
\]

Narratio.

Accusatorum fiducia. 3.
Cæsaris, erga Deiotarum, pristina benevolentia. 3.
KING DEIOTARUS.

Deiotari, omni tempore, prudentia: 
1. senatum secutus est. 3. 
2. Pompeium. 4. 
3. Cæsarem ipsum. 5.

Confutatio Prima Pars.

A personæ Deiotari:

1. a quo removet vitiosa: 
   1. furor, scelus, ferociam. 5. 
   2. inhumanitatem, et ingratitude. 5.

2. sine quibus id fieri non potuit: 
   1. in hospitem. 5. 
   2. gentium lumen. 5. 
   3. victorem orbis. 5. 
   4. dantem titulum regis. 5.

3. cui attribuit virtutes: 
   1. prudentiam, fidem, religionem. 6. 
   2. constantiam, gravitatem, fortitudinem. 6.

   et cæteras regi necessarias. 6

4. loci, in castello Luceio. 6. 
5. modi, non veneno, sed palam. 6.

A circumspectionis, personarum:

1. temporis: 
   1. ante coenam. 7.
   2. post coenam. 7.

2. Deiotari, rei, 
   1. nec trepidantis. 7.
   2. nec tumultuantis. 7.

3. Phidippi: 
   1. a Deiotaro dimissi. 7. 
   2. accusatoris: ad Cæsarem destinati. 7.

Confutatio Secunda Pars.

I. A Deiotaro non est paratus exercitus in Cæsarem. 
   Nam nec potuit, maximâditione parte spoliatus. 8.
   Nec voluit. 
   1. Cæcilius enim contemptit. 8.
   2. Cæsarem juvit. 

II. Contumeliosus non fuit Cæsari. 
   Nam versum immanem non protulit. 9.
   Nec in convivio frugalis semper fuerit. 9.
   Saltavit: cum senex tunc esset. 9.

Insectatio Castoris Accusatoris.

In avum impius: 
1. quem accusat ore fugitivi. 10
2. et saltatorem vocat. 10.

Cæsaris hostis: 
1. in quem pugnavit. 10.
2. nec victus arma deposit. 10.

Civibus injurius: 
1. servo corrupto. 11.
2. et in dominum armato. 11.

Reipublicæ noxius: 
1. cujus jura et exempla corruptit. 11.
2. et humanitatem inquinat. 11.
THE ORATION FOR

Blesamii calumniator:  { quæm temerè accusat. 12.
{ quod contra Cassarem scrisserit. 12.

Peroratio.

I. Ne sibi Cæsar succensere credat
Deiotarum: qui multa debet Cæsari.

Ab antecedentibus { Galia illi reliquit. 13.
id probat: { et nomine regio. 13.

Comitantia

juvant:

gloria,

apud populum Romanum. 13.

senatum. 13.

fortitudo. 13.

magnitudo animi. 13.

gravitas. 13.

constantia. 13.

Consequentia evincunt:

spes per literas erecta. 14.

solicitude omnis discussa. 14.

ob Ciceronem:

Deiotari amicus, et hospes. 14.

familiaris, et necessarius. 14.

Deiotaro afflicto, dubitarent de

gratiâ sibi factâ. 14.

in sollicitudine perpetuâ hare-

rent. 14.

Cæsarem semper timentem. 14.

misericordiâ est singulari. 14.

gloriâ erit illustri, reges conser-

vando. 14, 15.

ob amplissimos

dios: qui

ob Cæsarem

ipsum: qui

nomen regium Deiotarum reliquit

15.

ob legatos pres-

tentes: qui

ei causam omnem in se suscipi-

unt. 15.

ob accusatores

cruedes: qui

dedecus summum importare vol-

unt regibus. 15.

et pestem miserrimam. 15.

Line.

21. Quem ornare...solebam: In an oration, which Cicero had before this time delivered in the senate (De Aruspicam Responsio), he praised the fidelity of Deiotaros to the Roman people, and said, that the senate had often thought him worthy of the regal title, and that he had been much commended in the testimonials of the most celebrated generals.


28. Commendationemque...ab impietate et scelere: Among the Romans, young men, who were ambitious of gaining reputation, often brought themselves into notice by accusing public offenders. But, in this case, Cicero implies, Castor deserved rather abhorrence than praise, for endeavoring to gain distinction by the impiety of attempting to ruin his grandfather.
31. *Legatorum pedibus*: Phidippus had been in the service of Deiotarus’s deputies, and perhaps in no more honorable a capacity than that of a footman.

9. *Sed tu sapientiâ fit equissimum*: Sufficient has already been said concerning Cicero’s flattery of Cæsar.

11. *Nemo enim ferē est, etc.*: This observation is just, and Cicero deserves credit for suggesting it to Cæsar. When a man is both judge and party in an accusation, there is great probability, that he will be more favorable to himself than to the accused.

34. *Qui pro multis sepe dixisti*: In a note to a former oration (page 77, line 4), we have already observed, that Cæsar, in the early part of his life, applied himself to the business of the bar.

38. *De accusatorum aequ*: That the student may be able to judge more impartially of the character of Deiotarus and his accusers, we will quote an observation of a judicious commentator. “As to the facts laid down in this oration, we can say very little; but, by what we understand from our author himself in other parts of his writings, the charges are not so destitute of probability and proof, as he would represent them. With regard to the characters, the one given of Deiotarus, throughout this oration, I am apt to believe, is very much misrepresented; for, by all other accounts, he appears to have been a monster of blood and cruelty; since he put to death all his own children, and afterwards Castor’s own father, which may well account for Castor’s appearing in the prosecution.”

19. *Si...excusations atatis unus esset*: It is related that Cæsar told Deiotarus, “You are a very old man; Pompey is not to expect, that you are to take the field; therefore I beg you will not go in person, though, if you please, you may send your troops; nay, your son at their head;” and that Deiotarus was so inveterate an enemy to Cæsar, that he would not urge even old age as an excuse for not taking the field.

24. *Errore communi lapsus est*: Cicero here artfully apologizes for Deiotarus without offending Cæsar, by paying the tribute of flattery, which in a few lines follows, and by appearing to believe the plausible excuses Cæsar had formed to justify his usurpations.

2. *In quem cim Dii atque homines, etc.*: Envy and emulation cease with the life of the person envied and rivalled. An ambitious man, therefore, will hear without being offended the praises bestowed upon a deceased enemy, which, had the enemy been living, would have induced him to inflict upon the panegyrist the dictates of the severest vengeance. The encomiums Cicero here pronounces upon Pompey were, without doubt, rather pleasing than offensive to Cæsar; the more Pompey was extolled, the more merit the conqueror of Pompey attributed to himself. Cicero, therefore, who well knew the effect of compliments, deserves here more credit for his knowledge of mankind, than for the freedom of his praises of Pompey.

23. *Alexandrinum bellum*: After the battle of Pharsalia, Cæsar immediately set sail for Egypt, to which country Pompey had fled after his defeat. Upon his landing, the first news he received informed him of Pompey’s miserable end. He wept, when he heard the account, and shortly after ordered a magnificent tomb to be built to his memory. At this time there were two pretenders to the crown of Egypt, Ptolemy, the acknowledged king, and the celebrated Cleopatra, his sister. Cæsar ordered both of them to maintain their pretensions before him. Phoebus, the young king’s guardian, disdained accepting this proposal, and sent an army of twenty thou-
sand men to attack Cæsar in Alexandria. Thus commenced the
Alexandrine war, which, having continued for some months with
various fortune, at length terminated in Cæsar’s subduing Egypt.

24. Cn. Domitius: When victory had declared itself for Cæsar at
Pharsalia, he made Domitius lieutenant over Asia and the neighbor-
ing provinces.

32. E balneo: It was customary among the ancients to bathe be-
fore supper.

40. Vomere to post cœnas: To vomit after supper was usual. Sup-
per, as has been before mentioned, was the principal meal among the
Romans.

36. Reliqua pars, etc.: The ingenuity of Cicero’s reasoning in re-
futing the accusations deserves the student’s careful attention. The
argumentation is so plain, that it needs no comment or illustration.

32. Ipse...mansuetus: See Note, page 80, line 38.

38. Nudum saltavisse: This was very reproachful among the Ro-
mans.

87. 10. Servum sollicitare: It was thought dishonorable to employ a
slave in an accusation against his master; and so nice was the Ro-
man law upon this subject, that it did not allow much credit to be
given to a slave’s testimony.

41. Blesamius: The friend and agent in Rome of Deiotarus.

88 7. Ea, te victore, non vidimus: No more need be said concerning
Cicero’s flattery to Cæsar.

23. Multis tibi multa-case tribuenda: Cæsar, like all other heads of
parties victorious in revolutions, was obliged to distribute offices
among his clamorous partisans. He made 14 praetors and 40 quaes-
tors; he increased the senate to 900, and created a great number of
additional officers in other posts.

89 8. Omnes docti: The Peripatetic philosophers maintained that vir-
tue was the greatest good; the Stoics, that it was the only good.

26. Exercitum meum: The army which Cicero commanded in Ci-
licia, and which he employed in subduing the robbers, who infested
his province.

36. Duos reges: Deiotarus and his son.

90 2. Hi legati: Upon this passage a commentator observes, “This
was a very high strain of loyalty towards so worthless a fellow as
Deiotarus appears to have been; for these three persons offered to
stand the rack to prove their prince’s innocence.”

21. In defence of king Deiotarus, Brutus also spoke. Cæsar was
pleased with the tribute of adulation, which Cicero, as usual, paid
him, but was astonished at the boldness of Brutus. Brutus deliver-
ed the sentiments of a republican. Brutus had been the friend of
Cæsar; but when Cæsar heard the freedom of his address, he began
to suspect, that Brutus would not with ease submit to his usurpation.
The catastrophe of Cæsar’s life is well known. Cicero and Brutus,
however, on this occasion succeeded. Deiotarus was pardoned.
THE ORATION FOR THE POET ARCHIAS.

INTRODUCTION.

This elegant oration was delivered in the 602nd year of Rome, two years after the consulship of Cicero, and one year after the defeat of Catiline and his accomplices. In early life Cicero had been placed under the tuition of Aulus Lucinius Archias, a native of Antioch, and a man patronized by men of the greatest eminence in Rome for his learning, genius, and politeness. His celebrity was so great, that Lucullus invited him to reside in his family, and gave him the privilege of opening a school in it, to which many of the young Roman nobility were sent to be educated. The prosperity of this popular poet and instructor, however, was interrupted by the malignity of an obscure person, of the name of Gracchus, or by the subornation of those who persuaded him to acts of enmity against Archias. Sylvanus and Carbo had passed a law, which enacted, that those should be esteemed Roman citizens, who were admitted to the freedom of any of the confederated cities, who, at the time of the passing of the law, had a dwelling in Italy, and who claimed their privilege before the praetor within sixty days. Upon this law, in the consulship of M. P. Piso and M. V. Messala, Gracchus accused Archias; he said that Archias lived in the city as a citizen, while he was not entitled to the rights of citizenship. He denied that Archias was admitted to the freedom of any of the confederated cities, that he had an abode in Italy, at the time the law was passed, and that he had claimed the privileges of a citizen before the praetor. In this oration, which was delivered before the praetor, Cicero defends Archias, his friend and former instructor; he refutes the allegations of Gracchus, and proves that Archias was admitted to the freedom of Hecalea and other cities, that he dwelt in Italy at the time of the passing of the law, and that he claimed his privileges before the praetor. The orator, however, does not confine himself to the defence of Archias, but, with great beauty and elegance, descants upon the praises of poetry in general, and upon the talents and merit of the defendant. According to Dr. Middleton, Cicero "expected for his pains an immortality of fame from the praises of Archias’s muse; but, by a contrary fate of things, instead of deriving any addition of glory from Archias’s compositions, it is wholly owing to his own, that the name of Archias has not long ago been buried in oblivion. From the great character given by him of the talents and genius of this poet, we cannot help regretting the entire loss of his works; he had sung, in Greek verse, the triumphs of Marius over the Cimbri, and of Lucullus over Mithridates, and was now attempting the consulship of Cicero; but this perished with the rest, or, rather, was left unfinished, and interrupted by his death, since we find no further mention of it in Cicero’s later writings." At the time of delivering this oration, Cicero was in the forty-sixth year of his age.
THE ORATION FOR

SYNOPSIS.


Narratio. Confirmatio. { Archiam esse jam civem Romanum probat. Si non esset, dignum, qui civis fiat. Petit pro Archiâ, ut jus civitatis Romane ei conservetur Sperare se dicit, orationem suam judicibus placuisse.

Peroratio.

Analysis Exordii.

Conciliat Benevolentiam, gratitudine erga animum ad studia impulit. 1. preceptorem: qui vocem ad eloquentiam formavit. 1. Attentionem, novo genere de studiis humanitatis. 2. dicendi: coram humanissimis. 2. Docilitatem, propositione cause, jam civis est. 2. pro Archiâ: qui si non esset, fieri deberet. 2.

Narratio.

THE POET ARCHIAB.: 231

Confirmatio.

Archiam esse civem Romanum. Nam

1. Civis fuit Hercules,
ut Lucullus testatur. 4.
et Hercules legit. 4.
II. Domicilium habuit Rome: quam
sedem rerum suarum elegit. 4.
et fortunaram. 4.
III. Professus est apud præstorem
sanctissimum et modestissimum. 5.
ac tabularum custodem fideliissimum.

IV. Civis fuit plurimum urbi urbi
Rhegiensis. 5.
V. Civium Romanorum jure usus est,
Locrensium. 5.
testamento facto. 5.
Neapolitanum. 5.
hereditatibus aditius. 5.
Tarentinum. 5.
beneficiis in erario receptis. 5.

et, ob poci
directi

Et civitate Romanâ
dignum:
ob amore
erga populum
Romannum, quo
utilitatem affert,
republica ducibus. 7.
in omni etate vitae. 7.
varietae fortune. 7.
loco. 7.
tempore. 7.
divinis afflante spiritus. 8.
sanctos efficiendo alumnos suos. 8.
venerables omnibus præstando. 8.
Marii victoriam de Cimbria attigit. 9.
Luculli de Mithridate victorias descriptit. 9.[9]
Ciceronis consulatum, et judicum laudes inchoavit.

a judicibus:
malus poeta, a Sullâ. 10.[10]
Cordubenses poëtes, a Metello
Attius, a Bruto. 11.

Petit

ut civis Romanus

conservetur, ob

personam ejus,

insignem pudore. 12.
dignitate. 12.
venustate. 12.

ingenio. 12.

pro Archiab:

ob causam comprobatur

beneficio legis Plautiae. 12.
auctoritate municipii Heracliensis. 12.
testimonio Luculli, viri consularis. 12.
tabulis Metelli, prætoris. 12.

ornavit scriptis Marium et Lucullum. 12.
ornare incepit Ciceronem, et judices. 12.

quod sanctum est habitum. 12.
atque dictum. 12.

pro seipso: ut, pro fori consuetudine dicta, placeant. 12.

ut, praet fori consuetudinem dicta, non displaceant. 12.
THE ORATION FOR

90 26. A quid...nullum...atatis meum tempus abhorrisse : Cicero devoted his leisure hours to the study of philosophy and the belles-lettres. In early life he cultivated his poetical talents, and composed a poem in tetrameter verse, entitled Pontius Glaucus, which was extant at the time Plutarch composed his biography.

27. Eorum rerum...fructum...suo jure : As Archias had improved his mind, Cicero thought that he was entitled to the benefit of his instructions.

30. Memoriam...ultimam : Archias came to Rome when Cicero was but five years of age, and became Cicero's instructor, while he was yet very young.

91 5. Ac, ne quis, &c. : A literal translation of the sentence is, "And let no one be surprised, that this should be said by me, because in him there is a different kind of genius, and not this mode and exercise of speaking; neither have I, indeed, ever devoted myself wholly to this study."

12. Quesiones legitimae : Those causes were called quesiones legitimae, which were provided for by the laws, and in which any one had a right to call the delinquents to a trial.

13. Apud praeorem : The praeator urbanus had cognizance of these actions.

15. Hoc uti genere : Cicero seems to have thought, that if he could not move the judges by his arguments, he might insure his success by diverting them with the beauties of his imagination and the charms of his composition.

20. Hominum literatissimorum : The friends of Archias, and other literary characters, attended this trial, to hear the defence of Cicero, and learn its success.

32. Antiochus : Antioch was the metropolis of Syria.—Loco : "Family."

39. Graecarum artium : After the destruction of Carthage, the belles-lettres and fine arts of Greece were introduced into Italy.

40. In Latinis : Latinus was a part of Italy situated near the banks of the Tiber. Rome was in this part of the country.

42. Non neglegentur : In the early ages of the republic, the wars and civil commotions of Rome made the acquisition of military talents to be considered as the only object of education. The old Romans rejected the arts and literature of Greece, because they thought they would make their sons effeminate. But in the latter ages of the republic, when war was removed to a greater distance from the city, and Rome was tranquil, humanity, civility, the arts and sciences were cultivated by the citizens.

43. Civitate : "The freedom of the city," or "the privileges of a citizen."

92 4. Mario consul et Catulo : Marius and Catulus were consuls in the 651st year of Rome; this oration was delivered in the year 692, forty-one years after Archias came to Rome.

5. Quorum alter : This was the fourth consulship of Marius. It has been already observed, that Archias sung in Greek verse the military exploits of Marius.

6. Alter cium res gestas, etc. : Of this Catulus, Cicero makes honorable mention in his treatises De Claris Oratoribus and De Oratore. It seems from this passage, that he possessed literary taste as well as military talents.
7. **Luculli**: Lucius Lucullus and Marcus Lucullus were brothers. Lucius triumphed over Mithridates and Tigranes. (See the oration for the Manilian law.) Plutarch says, that Lucius Lucullus collected a large library, which was open to all men of learning.

7. **Prætextatus**: The *toga praetexta* was given to young men about the sixteenth year of their age. It is probable, that Archias was rather farther advanced in life when he went to Rome.

12. **Q. Metello...Numidico**: This Metellus was surnamed *Numidicus*, because he defeated Jugurtha in two battles, and laid waste all Numidia. According to Plutarch, he was an uncle of the Luculli.—

13. **Ejus Pio filio**: The son of Metellus was called *Pius*, because by his entreaties he obtained his father's recall from exile. The old Roman signification of *pietas* was *filial duty*; theological writers use it in the sense of *duty towards God*, our heavenly Father.

14. **M. Æmilio**: Æmilius Scaurus was at the head of the senate, and a man of great influence.—**Q. Catulo**: There were an orator and a consul of this name.

14. **L. Crasso, etc.**: Lucius Crassus was celebrated for his eloquence. Of the Luculli we have already spoken. Drusus was an uncle of Marcus Cato, was a tribune of the people, and was slain at home in the beginning of the social war. There were three Octavii in Rome; Cneius, who was consul with Cinna (see Note, page 32, line 39); another Cneius of a different family, who was colleague of Curio in the consulship; and Lucius, who was consul in conjunction with Cotta, and was a brother of the last-mentioned Cneius. This Cato was the father of the celebrated Cato who committed suicide at Utica.

20. **Interim**: "Afterwards."

21. **In Siciliam prefectus**: Lucius Lucullus, when questor, went to Asia, when prætor, had the province of Sicily, and when consul, obtained Asia again. Archias attended him in these provinces.

22. **Heracleam**: Heraclea was an Italian city, situated upon the borders of Campania, near Rhegium and Tarentum. It was one of the associate cities, whose citizens had the same privileges that the Romans had. Archias of course, therefore, might claim the privileges of a Roman citizen.

23. **Fæderæ**: The alliance was made with Heraclea, at the time king Pyrrhus was in Italy, in the year of Rome 475.

34. **Dicta**: "Defended."

43. **Italico bello**: In the 662nd year of Rome, the Italian allies of the Romans made war upon the republic, to obtain the freedom of the city by arms. This occasioned the Italian or social war, which has also been called the Marsic war, because it was begun by the Marsi.

4. **Religionem**: Testimony was thought religious, because it was given upon oath.

10. **Iis Tabulis**: Archias did not record his name in those registers which were kept negligently, but in those kept by Metellus, a man of unquestionable integrity.

12. **Appii tabulae, etc.**: Appius and Gabinius were prætors when Archias was registered. The register of Appius was known to be kept negligently; and the corruption of Gabinius, while he was safe, and his disgrace, after his condemnation, destroyed the credit of his register also. This Gabinius was afterwards consul with L. Piso; it does not appear of what crime he had been convicted.

14. **Metellus**: He was the prætor before whom Archias claimed the privileges of a citizen.
22. *Gracidi*: Cicero here means Graecia Magna, a part of Italy extending from Cumae to Tarentum.

23. *Locrenses*: The inhabitants of Locritia, a city in the remotest part of Italy, conferred upon Archias the immunities of a citizen.

24. *Seminis artificibus*: Managers of theatres and their associates were contemptible among the Romans.

28. *Post citatatem datam*: i.e. after the passing of the law of Sylvanus and Carbo.—*Post legem Papiam*: Petronius at first made a law, prohibiting strangers from enjoying the privileges of citizens; this law Papius, a tribune of the people, revived in the year of Rome 688.

23. *Irrepserint*: By means of the negligence or corruption of the praetors.

30. *Census*: A census, or enumeration of the people, was usually taken once every five years. The census did not make or prove a man to be a citizen; but was only presumptive evidence, that he had been admitted to the freedom of the city. Gracchus said, that the name of Archias was not upon the censor’s books; Cicero replies, that Archias was absent with Lucullus when the census was taken, and that when he was in Rome, the census was not taken.

30. *Proximis censoribus*: In the time of the last censors, Archias was with Lucullus, at that time general in Asia; in the time of the preceding censor, he was with the same Lucullus, who was then questor in Asia; when Julius and Crassus were censors, no census was taken. The census about that time was discontinued for a number of years.

37. *Ne ipsius...judicio*: Gracchus pretended, that, by Archias’s own confession, he was not a Roman citizen.

38. *Testamentum...secit*: Strangers could neither make a will nor receive a legacy; Archias, therefore, by making a will and receiving legacies, declared himself a citizen.

40. *Ad ævarium*: It was customary, when a soldier had behaved remarkably well, that the general should commend him to the treasury to receive a reward; these recommendations were thought very honorable.

417. *Tempesteios convisiis*: Entertainments, which began earlier, and continued later, than usual.


8. *Africanum*: The youngest son of Paulus Emilius was surnamed Africanus. He destroyed Numidia and Carthage. Cicero (*De Officiis*) says of him, that he added dignity to his warlike glory by his eloquence.—*C. Laelium, L. Furium*: Laelius was surnamed *Sophiens*, and was celebrated for his eloquence. In his book *De Claris Oratoribus*, Cicero speaks in high terms of the literary talents of Furius. Cato was a man of great authority and courage. Cicero, in his writings upon oratory, frequently speaks of his eloquence. He learned the Greek language when he was very old.

17. *Catena*: Other pursuits. The student must be pleased with this panegyric upon literature.

25. *Rosci*: Roscius, the comedian, for whom Cicero formerly delivered an oration. He was remarkable for the gracefulness of his motion.

35. *Renocatum*: His attention recalled, Archias possessed the talent of expressing the same idea in many different ways.
44. Sanctos appellat poetas: Plato calls poets the sons and interpreters of the gods.

5. Sessa, etc.: Cicero here alludes to the fable of Orpheus, whom the poets reign to have charmed tigers, lions, woods and trees by the music of his voice.

7. Homerum, etc.: The student well knows the story of the seven Greek cities claiming the honor of being Homer's birth-place. As there were several Homers of various professions, the probability is, that each had one or more whom they declared to be the celebrated poet. Colophon was a city of Ionia. Chios was an island in the Ægean sea. Salamis was a city in the island of Cyprus. Smyrna was an Ionian city.

16. Cimbricas res: In singing the triumphs of Marius over the Cimbri, Archias celebrated the name and glory of Rome.

24. Plotium: There were two of this name, a rhetorician and a poet.

26. Mithridaticum...bellum: See the oration for the Manilian law, passim. A history of this war Archias wrote in Greek verse. Cicero here gives Lucullus those epithets (fortissimum et clarissimum virum), which, for no very good reason, he withheld from him in the oration for the Manilian law.

33. Innumerables Armeniorum: See Note, page 49, line 6, upon the oration for the Manilian law.

38. Tenedum: Tenédos was an island in the Ægean sea, near which Lucullus defeated Mithridates in a naval battle.

42. Ennius: Ennius was an ancient poet, born in Calabria. He was patronized by Scipio Africanus. Nothing of his works remains but a few fragments.

1. Procurus Cato: This is Cato Major, an ancestor of the Cato who was present at the trial. In war, Cato the Elder was an expert general; in peace, an able lawyer; in pleading, an eloquent orator.

3. Maximi, Marcelli, Fulvii: The valor and talents of these Romans, who were distinguished for their exploits in the second Punic war, had been sung by Ennius.

5. Rudium hominem: Ennius was born at Rudia, a city of Calabria, and was admitted to the freedom of Rome by M. Fulvius.

7. Multis civitatis expetitum: By the inhabitants of Rhegium, Locri, and Naples.

9. Si quis minorem, etc.: Archias wrote in the Greek language; Ennius in the Latin. The Greek at that time was much more spoken than the Latin.


23. Ilias: The Iliad of Homer is the celebrated poem in which he narrates the events of the Trojan war.

26. Theophaestus: Theophanes was a poet and historian. He sung the deeds of Pompey, and on that account was presented with the freedom of the city.

31. Iaque, (credo) etc.: This is irony.

35. Malus poeta de populo: "An illiterate, vulgar poet."

1. Corduba: a city in Hispania Bética, famous for its bad poets. It, however, produced some men of merit, among whom were the two Seneucas and Lucan.

9. Decimus quidem Brutus: He was consul with Scipio, and in Spain defeated 60,000 Gallecians, in consequence of which he was surnamed Gallecius. Attius, or Accius, was a tragic poet.

12. Ennio: The poet Ennius attended Fulvius to the Ætolian war.
THE ORATION FOR

20. *Pro salute hujus urbis*: Cicero was very desirous to have the events of his consulship celebrated.


15. *Si*: The particle *si* is here used affirmatively.

19. *His recentibus...periculis*: This oration was delivered a short time after the republic had been delivered from the danger of Catiline's conspiracy.

23. *id est*: It is not known who the pretor was, before whom Cicero delivered this oration. The eloquence of Cicero, however, was successful; Archias was acquitted.

THE ORATION FOR T. A. MILO.

INTRODUCTION.

The most remarkable event which happened in the close of the year of Rome 691, says Dr. Middleton, "was the pollution of the mysteries of the Bona Dea, or the Good Goddess, by P. Clodius; which, by an unhappy train of consequences, not only involved Cicero in an unexpected calamity, but seems to have given the first blow towards the ruin of the republic. Clodius was now questor, and, by this means, a senator; descended from the noblest family in Rome, in the vigor of his age, of a graceful person, lively wit, and flowing eloquence; but, with all the advantages of nature, he had a mind incredibly vicious; was fierce, insolent, audacious, but, above all, most profligately wicked, an open contemner of gods and men; disdaining even honors in the common forms of the republic; nor relishing pleasures, but what were impious, adulterous, incestuous. He had an intrigue with Cæsar's wife, Pompeia, who, according to annual custom, was now celebrating in her house those awful and mystic sacrifices, to which no male creature was ever admitted, and where every thing masculine was so scrupulously excluded, that even pictures of that sort were covered during the ceremony. This was a proper scene for Clodius's genius to act upon, an opportunity of daring beyond what man had ever dared before him; the thought of mixing the impurity of his lusts with the sanctity of these venerable rites flattered his imagination so strongly, that he resolved to gain access to his mistress in the very midst of her holy ministry. With this view, he dressed himself in a woman's habit, and, by the benefit of his smooth face, and the introduction of one of the maids, he hoped to pass without discovery; but, by some mistake between him and his guide, he lost his way, when he came within the house, and fell in, unluckily, among the other female servants, who, detecting him by his voice, alarmed the whole company by their shrieks, to the great amazement of the matrons, who presently threw a veil over the sacred mysteries, while Clodius found means to escape by the favor of some of the damsels."

These facts being publicly known, Clodius was called to a trial, and, because Cicero gave in evidence what justice and a regard to
truth obliged him to testify, Clodius from that time became his implacable enemy. He not only procured the banishment of Cicero, but extended his resentment to deeds of malice against the friends of the orator. Of these friends Milo was one, and consequently was often persecuted by Clodius. It afterwards happened, in the 701st year of Rome, when Milo, with two powerful competitors, was a candidate for the consulship, that Clodius was a candidate for the pretorship; and so great was their enmity, that each, by all the means in his power, endeavored to prevent the success of the other. The senate and all the virtuous part of the community were in favor of Milo, but the intrigues of the Clodian faction prevented the election of consuls for a long time after its usual period.

At this time, says Asconius, Milo endeavored to procure a meeting of the Comitia as soon as possible, and was upon the point of succeeding; for he had not only the good wishes of all virtuous men, who opposed Clodius, but likewise of the populace itself, who caressed him on account of his largesses, and his great expense in entertaining them with plays and shows of gladiators. But his competitors endeavored to put off the day appointed for this purpose as long as they could, and would not suffer an address to be made to the senate for assembling the patricians, in order to create an Interrex, which was customary upon occasions of the like nature.

While the republic was thus situated, it happened that on the 13th of the Calends of February, Milo went to Lanuvium (of which he was a citizen, and, at that time, dictator) in order to create a priest on the next day; and that Clodius, in his return from Aricia, met him, about three in the afternoon, a little on the other side of Bovillae, and nigh the place where the temple of Bona Dea stood. Clodius was on horseback; his retinue consisted of about thirty slaves with swords, and every way prepared for an attack, which was the usual way of travelling in those days. Besides these, Clodius had three companions, one a Roman knight, named C. Cassinius Scola, the other two, P. Pomponius and Caius Clodius, raised from the plebeian to the equestrian order. Milo was in a chariot together with his wife Fausta, and Marcus Fusius, his intimate acquaintance. He was attended by a great number of servants, some of them gladiators, and two of them, Eudamus and Birria, famous in their profession; who, walking slowly in the rear, happened to enter into a quarrel with the servants of Clodius. As Clodius turned about, with a stern and menacing air, to behold the fray, Birria ran him through the shoulder with a sword. The riot increasing, Milo's servants ran up to the assistance of their companions, and Clodius, being wounded, was carried into a tavern near Bovillae. Milo, hearing that Clodius was wounded, and thinking that it might prove dangerous, if he should live to resent it, but that his death would give him great satisfaction, even though he should be punished for it, ordered the tavern to be broken open. Marcus Fustenus was the leader of Milo's servants, and Clodius, attempting to conceal himself, was dragged forth, and killed with repeated stabs. His body was left on the high way, because his servants were either slain or, being wounded, took care to conceal themselves. Sextus Tadius, a senator, as he happened to return from the country, took it up, and ordered it to be carried to Rome. The body reached Rome before the first hour of the night; a great multitude of servants and of the lower class of people flocked about it, and mourned over it, when lying in the court before the house. What heightened the horror of the deed,
was his wife Fulvia's exposing his wounds to public view, in all the action and agony of grief. By the dawn of the next day, a greater multitude of the same kind assembled, and many men of note were squeezed to death. Munatius Plancus and Q. Pompeius Rufus, tribunes of the people, repaired to the house of Clodius, and by their instigations prevailed upon the mob to convey his body (stripped of every thing save shoes, just as it lay in the bed) into the Forum, and place it on the Rostra, that the wounds might be better seen. There these tribunes, being enemies to Milo, made invective speeches against him, while the people, under the conduct of Sextus Clodius, a scribe, brought the body into the Forum, and burnt it, with the desks, seats, tables and books belonging to the clerks; by which fire the court itself was burnt, and the Porcia Basilica adjoining to it damaged. The same mob, favoring Clodius, beset the house of Milo, then absent, and of Marcus Lepidus, who had been appointed Interrex. Their irregularities, however, made their party unpopular, and Milo, whose friends now recovered their spirits, returned to Rome, distributed to the people a thousand asseae a man, and, notwithstanding the unpopular act he had committed, stood for the consulship.

But for some days after the death of Clodius, Rome was in the greatest confusion. Factious tumults and the commotions of different mobs destroyed all the vestiges of regular government. These disturbances at length terminated in Cneius Pompey's being created sole consul. Three days after this magistrate entered upon office, he published a law for inquiring into the circumstances of Clodius's death. By this law it was enacted, that an extraordinary president should be chosen to regulate the trial of Milo. The Comitia being held upon this, Lucius Domitius Aenobarbus was recommended by Pompey, with the other judges, men of the greatest abilities and integrity in Rome. The accusers were the two Appii, young men, and kinsmen of Clodius. After the evidence for the prosecution had been heard before this court, which Pompey, to prevent the violent efforts of either party, had guarded with a strong body of regular troops, Cicero was permitted to proceed to the defence of the accused. When he began to speak, he was interrupted by a shout of the Clodian faction (whom even the terror of the guards could not restrain), which so much disconcerted him, as to deprive him, in a degree, of his presence of mind. Indeed, it has been said, he was so much terrified, that he made a frigid and weak defence. The following beautiful and persuasive oration, therefore, which Asconius thinks is the masterpiece of Cicero's eloquence, it is supposed, was composed by the orator, and received all its beauty and fire, some time after the sentence was passed. It was written in the 701st year of Rome, and in the 55th of Cicero's age.

SYNOPSIS.

Exordium. {Judices reddit benevlos.
attentos.
dociles.

Confutatio. {Prejudicium. I. Nunquam esse licitam hominis cædem.
II. Milonem esse damnamum a senatu.
III. A Pompeio.
T. A. MILO.

Narratio.

{ A Clodio factas esse insidias.
{ Non a Milone.

{ Ab antecedentibus ostendit, omnia fuisset necessaria Clodio, ad insidiandum:
{ voluntatem scilicet.
{ ac potestatem.

{ A comitantibus ostendit, a Milone nihil electum ad insidias commodum:
{ non tempus.
{ locum.
{ comitatum.

{ A consequentibus, ducit pro Milone conjecturas: nempe
{ a conscientiâ ejus securâ.
{ a judicio senatâs.
{ a calumniais inimicorum.
{ evidentem falsis.

{ De Pompeio conqueritur:
{ ob vanas suspicio-
{ nes.
{ et nimiam credulitatem.

{ Judices animat: monéteque
{ Pompeium non esse Miloni contrarium.
{ sed per milites ipsius esse presidio.

{ Confirmationis pars altera.

{ Clodium ob scelera sua occidi potuisse, probat:
{ ab exemplo Romanorum.
{ ab exemplo Graecorum.
{ a Dei providentia.
{ a reipublicae periculo.

Peroratio.

{ Misericordiam judicium implorat.
{ Fortes ut in judicando sint, horatatur.

Analysis Exordii.

Declarat

{ ob novi judicii novam formam. 1.
{ populi circumstantis infrequentiam. 1.
{ militum armatorum multitudinem. 1.

Timorem suum:

{ stiptissimis. 1.
{ justissimi. 1.

Virtutem Pompeii:

{ ab ipsis militibus. 1.
{ ab universo populo. 1.

Spem auxilii:

{ a Clodio rapinis, &c. nutritorum. 2.
{ seditionis clamoribus obstrepantium. 2.

Scelera adversariorum:

{ ut timorem deponant. 2.
{ et Miloni faveant. 2.

Officium judicium:

{ qui spe præmiorum excidit. 2.
{ metu exsilii agitatur. 2.
{ in ipso judicio periclitatur. 2.

Miseriam Milonis:

{ de insidii Miloni a Clodio factis. 2.

Propositionem questionis:

{ quas luce clariores fore pollicetur. 3.
THE ORATION FOR

Conformatio.

Prejudicium

ab exemplis,

permittit semper cædem furis nocturni. 3.

et aliquando diurni. 3.

ferendi arma. 4.

ducendi comites. 4.

a lege XII. Tabularum:

a consuetudine

a jure nature. 4.

a legibus scriptis. 4.

I. Nefas esse cum visere, qui homo

viser, qui homi-

cem occiderit,

occideri,

refutatur :

a contrario. 5.

ab odio senatūs in Clodium. 5.

ab explicatione decreti in senatu facti. 5.

a permissione ut Milo se defenderet. 6.

nova quæstio non fuit, de cæde

Drusi. 7.

deg cæde Scipionis et Papirii. 7.

molientis cædem

Clodii

atque Ciceronis. 7.

III. Atque a Pom-

peio: refutatur:

a desiderio constantissim in reconciliatà gratiâ. 8.

ab electione, quam judicium clarissimorum. 8.

fecit

et quaesitoris fortissimi. 8.

Narratio.

Insidias a Clodio, non a Milone factas, probat,

Ab antecedentibus profectionem utriusque:

in Clodium enim fuit,

desiderium vexandas reipublicas. 9.

timor, ne Milo consul sibi pretori obesset. 9.

minas apertae occidenti Milonem. 9.

servorum barbarorum conquisito. 9.

determinatio diei quo periturus erat Milo. 9.

cognitio itineris Miloni necessarii. 10.

profection, ruit et concion seditiosâ. 10.

presentia in senatu. 10.

mora domi, ad itineris preparationem. 10.

uxoris expectatio. 10.

expeditus in equo. 10.

nullă rhedâ. 10.

nullis impedimentis. 10.

nullis Graccia comitibus. 10.

sine uxore. 10.

in Cl odio, quod esset,

A comitantibus:

in Milone, qui erat

cum uxore. 10.

in rhedâ. 10.

cum penulâ. 11.

cum magnâ vulgi impedimento. 10.

cum delicato sancellarum. 10.

comitatu pu erorum. 10.

in Miloni autem,
T. A. MILO.

occursu scilicet Clodii. 10. telorum iactu primo, a Clossianis. 10.
A subsequentibus: rhedari Milionian i cæde. 10.
pugnæ inite modo. 10. nec imperante Milone. 10.
Clodii nece, a servis illatæ, nec sciente. 10.
 nec presente. 10.

Causee Constitutione.

I. A Milone tum ut reipublice prodesset. 11.
jure occisum tum ut vitam servaret: quod ratio doctos. 11.
Clodium licere docet necessitas barbaros. 11.
mos gentes. 11.
natura feras. 11.

II. Non quæri, utrum a Milone occisus sit Clodiaus. 11.
III. Illud so- ut utrui fecerit insidias. 11.
rum quæri: ut ille damnetur, non alter. 11.

Confirmationis Prima Pars.

Per conjecturam, uter fecerit insidias?

I. Ob utilitatem inde orturam:

Clodio, in preture administratione. 12.
non Miloni, in legum latione. 12.
Clodii in Milo-

tur. 13.
Clodii mortuo, spe sua excidit. 13.
Clodii in Milonem, defensorem Ciceronis. 13.
non Miloni in

Clodii in Milonem, vexatorem furoris sui. 13.
sus gloriam segetem. 13.

et materiam. 13.

II. Ob presens odium

Clodii violentam, qui Ciceronom armis ex urbe ejectit. 14.
Pompeio sicam intentavit. 14.
Ciceronom necare sepius tentavit. 14.
Clodii violentam, qui Vibienum ita multavit, ut vitam
amiserit. 14.
Ciceronom neglexit. 14.

III. Ob naturam utriusque:

Milonis

moderatum, qui quamvis id cum gloriam. 15.
possit, et impune. 15, 16.

IV. Ob tempus comiti-

orum: quo Milo timebat offenditionem populi. 16.

Clodius quærebat liberam agendi potestatem. 16.

V. Ob impunitatis

spem: non in Milone. 16.
sed in Clodio. 16.

VI. Ob dicta

Clodii: qui dixit Milonem triduo periturum. 16.

et post diem tertium fecit insidias. 16.
THE ORATION FOR

\begin{align*}
&\{ \text{ob notitiam} \} \text{itineris necessarii et certi Miloni. 17.} \\
&\{ \text{utiusque} \} \text{importuni et incerti Clodio. 18.} \\
&\{ \text{ob iter susp} \} \text{non propter nunciatam mortem Cyri. 18.} \\
&\text{ceptum a} \text{sed propter nunciatum adventum Milonis. 18.} \\
&A \text{facultate:} \\
&\{ \text{Clodio} \} \text{prope Romam, ubi Milo latuisset. 19.} \\
&\{ \text{ob locum insidiarium, a} \text{inter Ariciam et Clodii villam, ne ibi Clodius} \\
&\text{Milone non} \text{penetret. 19.} \\
&\text{occupatum} \\
&\{ \text{A loco pugnas, qui} \text{commodus Clodio. 20.} \\
&\{ \text{incommodus Miloni. 20.} \\
&\text{Ab adjunctis Milonis, qui} \\
&\{ \text{penulà irretitus. 21.} \\
&\{ \text{rhetad impeditus. 21.} \\
&\{ \text{uxore constrictus. 21.} \\
&\text{sine uxore. 21.} \\
&\text{sine rhedâ. 21.} \\
&\text{Ab adjunctis, Clo-} \\
&\text{dii, qui} \\
&\{ \text{sine Græcis comitibus. 21.} \\
&\{ \text{sine pueris symphoniacis. 21.} \\
&\{ \text{sine scortis. 21.} \\
&\{ \text{in equo, et cum selectis militibus. 21.} \\
&\end{align*}

Confutatio Subsequens.

I. Cur igitur victus est Clodius?
\begin{align*}
&\{ \text{Ob Milonis virtutem et providentiam. 21.} \\
&\{ \text{Ob fortune varietatem et inconstantiam. 21.} \\
&\text{pransi. 21.} \\
&\text{poti.} \\
&\text{oscitantis. 21.} \\
&\text{Ob Clodii incitiam,} \\
&\text{Non metu, ne torti nocerent. 22.} \\
&\text{sed ut liberi justum premium recipere} \\
&\text{productis contra le-} \\
&\text{gem:} \\
&\text{metu suppliciorum corruptis. 22.} \\
&\text{in dominum. 22.} \\
&\text{I. Cur manumis-} \\
&\text{si Milonis servii?} \\
&\text{II. Questiones} \\
&\text{de servis P. Clo-} \\
&\text{dii} \\
&\text{Redit ad Confirmationem.} \\
&\end{align*}

Conjecturas pro- \\
\{ \text{cum celeritate. 23.} \\
\text{redeuntis} \} \text{animi magnitudine. 23.} \\
\text{Romam} \} \text{vultâs securitate. 23.} \\
\text{orationis constantiâ. 23.} \\
\text{se tradentis om-} \\
\text{senatu et populo. 23.} \\
\text{nibus: id est,} \\
\text{millibus et Pompeio. 23.} \\
\text{probantis causam Milonis. 23.} \\
\text{cernentis facti rationem, et viri fortitudi-} \\
\text{cum.} \\
\text{nom. 23.} \\
\text{Milonem non rediturum Romam. 24.} \\
\text{sed bellum patriæ jam paratis armis. 24.} \\
\text{illaturum,} \\
\text{paratis malleolis. 24.} \\
\text{a Milonis con-} \\
\text{scientiâ,} \\
\text{a senatûs judi-} \\
\text{cio,} \\
\text{a calumniis in-} \\
\text{imicorum, qui} \\
\text{jaetabant} \\
\text{a Milonis con-} \\
\text{scientiâ,} \\
\text{a senatûs judi-} \\
\text{cio,} \\
\text{a calumniis in-} \\
\text{imicorum, qui} \\
\text{jaetabant} \\
\text{a Milonis con-} \\
\text{scientiâ,} \\
\text{a senatûs judi-} \\
\text{cio,} \\
\text{a calumniis in-} \\
\text{imicorum, qui} \\
\text{jaetabant}
T. A. MILO.

laudat a diligentiá. 24.
miratur ob facilita- audientis popam. 24. tem. { et ebrios. 24.
ostenit, nimiùm suspicacem. 25.
reprehendit, nimiùm suspicacem. 25.
Gesta ex- monit, pristiné cum a quo adjutus. 25.
pendit Milone amicitia, { quem adjuvit. 25.
Pompeii : docét futuram auxili ejus necessi- tem,
quem ob vitae variam rationem. 26.
{ ob fortunae inconstantiam. 26.
docet futuram auxili ejus necessitatem, amicorum infidelitates. 26.
multorum simulationes. 26.
tissimus, { moris majorum. 26.
securos reipublicae. 26.
praelia dedit, ut liberé judicaretur. 26.

Confirmationis Pars Altera.

Jure occidi potuisse Clodium, probat.

occiderunt Sp. Melium, et Gracchum. 27.

igitur Milo in Deos Bonam Deam preciput. 27. potuit Clod- ac Nymphas. 27.
dium occidiere, ne- in singulos cives. 27. qui
quiores, in Cicerones, quem ejicit. 27.
in totam cujus familias erat turbaturus. 28.
rempublicam jura et leges eversurus. 28.

Ab exemplo honorant et laudant impiorum interfrectores. 29.
Romano- felicitatem omnem impediturus. 29.
um: qui

Ab exemplo imperium Romanum et orbem regit. 31.
Grecorum: qui

A providentia Clodium impulit, ut Milonem irritaret. 31.
Dei: qui

A providentia Clodium honore sepulture privavit. 32.

Clodium honor et laudanda ob impii Claudii ca- religiones polluendo. 32.
dem. 30.

Ab exemplo senatus decreta perfringendo. 32.
honorandus et laudandum ob impii Clodii ca-

et postea erat servis ab eo libertate donatis. 33.
externos vexando. 32.

A periculo vexatorius, nemine illi resistente. 33.

reipublicae: servis ab eo libertate donatis. 33.

quam hacte- magistratus ob- prætura. 33.
nus vexarát, tentis, { consulatu. 33, 34.
Judicium implorat
misericordiam,

\{ fortissimi viri. 34. \\
patris amantissimi. 34. \\
laboribus pro republica exercitatisim. 35. \\
liberatate speciatissimi. 35. \\
\}

A personā Milonis:
\{ maximē amā-

\{ a senatu. 35. \\
ti, \\
\{ a populo. 35. \\
\}

\{ suā virtute. 35. \\
\{ et gloriā. 35. \\
\}

\{ maximo dolore affectī. 36. \\
nulum consolationem habentis. 36. \\
\}

A personā suā:
\{ pro Milone sæpius ex-

\{ corpus, et vitam. 36. \\
ponentis \\
\{ bona, et fortunas. 36. \\
\}

\{ mortem pro ipso non recusantis. 36. \\
\}

A personā suorum
familiarium:
\{ fortissumorum. 37. \\
\{ fortēm tuere debeatium. 37. \\
\}

A personā:
\{ liberorum. 37. \\
\{ Quinti fratis. 37. \\
\}

A personā ipsius
Clodii:
\{ et fulgere in \\
\{ pretoris. 38. \\
dignitate, \\
\{ consulis. 38. \\
\}

\{ quorum est defendere amantes patris. 38. \\
\}

A personā judi-
cum:
\{ et liberās fer-

\{ cum fortitudine. 38. \\
re sententias \\
\{ justitīa. 38. \\
\}

\{ fide. 38. \\
\}

As the course of the argument in this oration is rather difficult to be understood by young students, we copy from a commentator another analysis in different terms.

The point of inquiry is, not whether Clodius was killed by Milo, for that is confessed; but whether he was not lawfully 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.

2ndly, 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.

2ndly. From the declared hatred he always expressed against Milo.
3dly. From the criminal behavior of the deceased through all the scenes of his life.
4thly, 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 on self-defence, and Clodius was lawfully killed.

Line.

1. Novi judicîi nova forma: This is called a new trial, because Milo was not tried by the prætor, as was usual in criminal cases, but by a special commission and an extraordinary judge. By nova forma he refers to the strong guard, which Pompey brought to the trial, in order to prevent any violence.

12. Ca. Pompeii, sapientissimi et justissimi viri: Though Pompey was not dissatisfied with Clodius’s death, or the manner of it, but pleased, rather, that the republic was freed at any rate from so pestilent a demagogue, yet he resolved to take the benefit of the occasion for getting rid of Milo too, from whose ambition and high spirit he had reason to apprehend no less trouble. Cicero, being sensible of this, as well as the great authority and influence of Pompey, endeavors, through the whole of this oration, to remove the effects which they might have upon the minds of the judges.

21. Reliqua, etc.: At this trial there were present three ranks of men; the soldiers, whom Pompey had placed there; the citizens, who waited the event of the trial; and the Clodians, who exerted themselves to procure the condemnation of Milo. The last mentioned consisted of profligate, low, and abandoned wretches, whom Clodius, by his rapines, had gained over to his interest.

29. Hesterndeconcione: The day before Cicero pleaded for Milo, the tribune Munatius Plancus called the people together, and exhorted them to appear the next day in a full body, when judgment was to be given, and to declare their sentiments in so public a manner, that the accused might not be suffered to escape; which Cicero reflects upon as an insult upon the liberty of the bench.

1. Quid enim nobis duobus, etc.: Cicero here excites the compassion of the judges in his own and Milo’s favor, from a consideration of the services they had done the state, and the injuries they had received from the Clodians. Milo might justly claim the highest offices, on account of his merit; and accordingly had been formerly created tribune, and now stood for the consulship.

12. T. Annii tribunatu, etc.: Milo was a tribune the year after Clodius filled that office, and, during his tribuneship, he checked the seditions of Clodius, and exerted himself to procure the recall of Cicero from exile.

14. Insidias Miloni a Cladio factas: The great point which Cicero wishes to prove, is, that Clodius waylaid Milo; but while he demonstrates this, he frequently insinuates, that, if Milo had premeditated the death of Clodius, he would have deserved honors rather than punishment, for destroying so desperate and dangerous an enemy to the peace and liberty of Rome.

30. Negans: The Clodians asserted, that Milo deserved death for having killed a man. This assertion Cicero refutes by an argument derived from the examples of former ages of the republic, and from decisions to the contrary in parallel cases.

33. M. Horatii: In the 53rd year of Rome, when Tullus Hostilius was king, there was a war between the Romans and the Albans. After some success on both sides, and when the two armies were near each other, the Alban general discovered, that some of the neighbor-
ing nations were waiting for an engagement, which might weaken both the Romans and Albans, and that they were determined to improve the opportunity of endeavoring to conquer each of them. After this discovery he became desirous of entering into alliance with Hostilius, the king of Rome, but the parties could not agree upon the terms. While they were thus situated, the Alban general proposed, that the dispute should be settled by combat, and that three champions should be chosen from each camp. The proposal was accepted. Three brothers in each camp were selected; the Albans were named Curati, the Romans Horatii. Soon after the battle commenced, two of the Horatii were slain, but the third Horatius, exerting all his strength, slew the three Curati, and thus gained for his country an honorable victory. It happened, that the sister of Horatius was engaged in marriage to one of the young Albans, whom her brother had slain. When, therefore, her brother returned from the field, she reproached him for having slain the man whom he knew his sister loved, and exclaimed, "Thou monster of wickedness, how couldst thou dip thy hands in the blood of thy relations?" Horatius, still warm with slaughter, and enraged at these reproaches and the untimely grief of his sister, said, "Go then to thy lover, with thy unseasonable passion, thou, who forgettest thy dead brothers, thy living brother, and thy country. Thus let every Roman perish, who laments the death of an enemy to Rome." As he uttered these last words, he stabbed her with his sword, and, without longer stay, without sign of pity or remorse, went straight on to his father's house. His father approved of the cruel deed; and when Horatius was tried for the murder of his sister, he was acquitted by the people.

33. Nondum liberâ civitate: Rome was at that time under monarchical government.

39. P. Africanum: This was P. Scipio Nasica.
42. Aalla....Servilius: See Note, page 7, line 25.
43. Optimus: See Note, page 8, line 9.—Marius: See Note, page 8, line 9.—Me consul: When Cicero was consul, Lentulus, Cathegus and others were put to death, by order of the senate.

2. Qui patria: Cicero refers to the story of Orestes, who killed his mother Clytemnestra, for having imbrued her hands in the blood of Agamemnon, his father. When he was tried, the judges were divided in opinion, upon which an appeal being made to the gods, he was acquitted by Minerva.

5. Duodecim Tabulae: The laws of the Twelve Tables were enacted by the Decemviri, and engraved on twelve plates of brass. The law relative to theft declared, that, if a theft was committed in the night time, the person committing it might be lawfully killed.

13. Pudicitiam, etc.: This military tribune was C. Lucius, the nephew of Marius. Trebonius, a private soldier, to save his honor, put this infamous Lucius to death. When Trebonius was summoned before Marius, the general not only acquitted him, but bestowed an honorary crown or garland, as a reward of his virtue.

41. Senatum judicasse, etc.: Because the senate had passed two decrees relative to the murder of Clodius, one of which declared, that it was an act against the commonwealth; the other, that Pompey should take care, that the republic should receive no detriment, and for that purpose should raise a body of troops; but Cicero says these decrees did not imply, that Milo was criminal in the opinion
of the senate, because the murder of Clodius was committed in self-
4. Ambusti tribuni plebis: The epithet ambusti was applied to Mu-
defence, to which every man had a natural right.
natius Plancus, because he instigated and assisted the people to burn
the court, and the desks, seats, tables, and books in the Forum.—In
53 terea mortua coniones: These short-lived harangues, by asserting
that the senate was under the control of Cicero, implied, that the senate
decreed nothing against Milo; which contradiction to the assertions
of the other enemies of Milo, Cicero here notices.
13. Hanc questionem: “This extraordinary trial.”
17. Incesto stupe: The word incestus was used by the Romans in
relation not only to a kinswoman, but also to a vestal virgin, or any
female immediately employed in performing the rites and ceremo-
nies of religion. It is therefore properly applied to Clodius in rela-
tion to Caesar’s wife, while she was engaged in celebrating the mys-
teries of Bona Dea.
18. Potestas esset crepta: When the affair of Clodius’s polluting the
mysteries of Bona Dea was brought before the senate, it was resolved
to refer it to the college of priests, who declared it to be an abominable
impunity; upon which the consuls were ordered to provide a law for
bringing Clodius to trial. But Q. Fusius Calenus, one of the tri-
bunes, supported by all the Clodian faction, would not permit the
law to be offered to the suffrages of the citizens. The affair being
likely to produce great disorders, Hortensius proposed an expedient,
which was accepted by both parties, that the tribune Fusius should
publish a law for the trial of Clodius by the praetor, with a select
bench of judges. The consequence was, that by bribery a majority of
the judges were induced to acquit Clodius, and he thus escaped
with impunity.
29. Appid: Vid understood. Cicero here artfully insinuates, that,
though the senate had found the fray upon the Appian Way to be
an act of treason against the commonwealth, yet that Milo could
never be affected by that decree, because, says he, it was the vio-
ience, that constituted the treason. Now Clodius, the aggressor,
was the author of the violence, and not Milo, to whom the principles
of self-defence, without any regard to the consequences, gave a
right to preserve his own life.
32. Quod si, etc.: Had not the senate been controlled by the tri-
bune Munatius Plancus, they would have decreed, that Milo should
be tried in the usual form, and he probably would have been ac-
quitted.
36. Divisa sententia: When any opinion, proposed to the senate,
was thought too general, and to include several distinct articles,
some of which might be approved, and others rejected, it was usual
to require that it might be divided. This was the case with the
first decree relative to the death of Clodius; it contained three dis-
tinct charges; it declared that the death of Clodius, the burning of
the court, and the attack upon Lepidus’s house, were acts hostile to
the commonwealth. Neither party would agree to this decree en-
tirely; the enemies of Milo therefore obtained a new decree, that
there should be a special trial of the author of Clodius’s death.
36. Postulante necio quo: This was Q. Fusius, a senator, whom
Munatius Plancus had corrupted by bribery. Cicero does not name
him, because he was in the senate.
44. Quod nisi vidissist, etc.: Cicero well knew of what great au-
thority Pompey’s opinion would be in this trial. He therefore, with-
great address, insinuates, that he was a friend to Milo, when he knew him to be an enemy.

2. Salutarem...literam, etc.: This alludes to the manner of giving judgment among the Romans. The judges had each a tablet covered with wax, upon which they wrote the letter A, if they meant to acquit; C, if they condemned; and N. L. that is, Non liquet, if the cause appeared doubtful. These tables were delivered to the proper officer, who put them into an urn; and, after sorting them, declared the majority.

14. M. Drusus: Marcus Livius Drusus, who, by Velleius Paterculus the historian, is styled a man most brave, most eloquent and powerful, and who, according to Plutarch, was a leading man in the senate, when he saw the whole senate groaning under the popular laws of Tiberius Gracchus, conceived a design of restoring it to its former dignity, and recovering its wonted authority, which was now lodged in the equestrian order. The better to carry on his design, he pretended to be in the interest of the people, and promised to bestow the liberty of the city upon all the Latins; which, when he delayed to do, they demanded, in a very sharp manner, that he would perform his promise. At length, when the people understood that he had played the hypocrite with them, an unknown party of them slew him in his own house.

17. P. Africano: Publius Africanus Minor, opposing the Triumvirs, Caius Gracchus, Lucius Fulvius, and Cneius Carbo, for making an attempt to divide the public lands and put in effect an Agrarian law, was found dead in his chamber in the morning, though the day before, he attended a meeting of the senate. There was no search made to discover who were his murderers. But, notwithstanding that this story is related by many ancient authors, Velleius Paterculus says, that, from the variety of reports concerning Africanus's decease, it is most probable that he died a natural death.

32. M. Papirium: Clodius, by a stratagem, had got into his hands the son of king Tigranes, whom Pompey brought with him from the East, and kept a prisoner at Rome, in the custody of Flavius the pretor; and, instead of delivering him up, when Pompey demanded him, undertook, for a large sum of money, to give him his liberty, and send him home. This occasioned a sharp engagement between him and Flavius, who marched out of Rome, with a body of men well armed, to recover the son of Tigranes by force. Clodius, however, proved too strong for him, and killed a great part of his company; and, among them, M. Papirius, an intimate acquaintance of Pompey, while Flavius himself had some difficulty to escape with life.

39. Templo Castoris: This temple was contiguous to the Forum and senate-house. It was built by Posthumius in honor of Castor and Pollux, who were said to have appeared during the battle of Regillus upon white horses; to have marched at the head of the Roman cavalry, striking terror among the Latins; and in the evening after the battle, to have carried the first news of the victory to Rome.

9. Quoties, etc.: The cause of the enmity of Clodius towards Cicero has already been mentioned. See the Introduction to this oration.

14. Sed stulti sumus, etc.: The student will easily perceive the irony of this sentence.

23. Fuisse sibi illum inimicum: Pompey was afterwards reconciled to Clodius, because Clodius took his part, and wore his ordinary
dress, when the senate decreed a public mourning, because they could not prevent Pompey and Crassus from soliciting the consulship a second time.

38. *Florentissimus ordinibus:* From the senatorial and equestrian ranks.

39. *L. Domiti:* Lucius Domitius Ænobarbus was president of this trial. It formerly happened, when Cneius Manlius seditiously enacted a law, declaring that the freedmen of every tribe should be vested with a power of voting, and had forcibly taken possession of the Capitol, that this Domitius drove him from it, and slew many of his followers.

15. *L. Paulum:* Lucius Paulus, says Cicero (in *Vatinium*), was a man designed by nature for supporting and defending the common wealth. Clodius refused him as his colleague, on account of his spotless honor and untainted character.

21. *Plenum annum:* After the Comitia for electing magistrates had, by the intrigues of the factious, been postponed for a full half year, Clodius withdrew his claim, and waited till the next election, that he might have a whole year to exercise his authority and effect his designs.

24. *Ejus competitores:* The competitors of Milo were Publius Plautius Hyppæus and Quintus Metellus Scipio, who were not only profuse in bribes, but were also supported by armed factions.

36. *Apennine:* The Apennine mountains are about six hundred miles in length, and divide Italy.

45. *Lanuvium:* Lanuvium was a free borough, about twelve miles distant from Rome, and is, by Appian, said to have been built by Diomèdes upon his landing in Italy after the siege of Troy. In it was the famous temple of *Juno Sospes*; to officiate in which temple a priest was yearly appointed by the dictator.

4. *Concionem turbulentam:* The same day that Clodius was killed, Caius Sallustius and Quintus Pompeius, tribunes of the people, and enemies to Milo, held and harangued a tumultuous assembly of their partisans. From this meeting Clodius abruptly departed.

9. *Calceos:* The shoes were a distinguishing mark of a senator, and part of his senatorial dress.

14. *Nullis Graecis comitibus:* The richer class of the Romans, when they travelled, were for the most part accompanied by some Gracians, who were either musicians for their diversion, or philosophers for their improvement and instruction.

14. *Úzore:* The wife of Clodius was Fulvia, who was afterwards married to Mark Antony; she bore such enmity to Cicero, that, after he was dead, she spit upon his head, and thrust her bodkin through his tongue.

16. *Úzore:* Milo’s wife was Fausta, daughter of Sulla, the dictator.

19. *Hora...undeïmà:* The Romans reckoned twelve hours from the rising to the setting sun. These hours varied in their length with the season of the year. The eleventh hour in winter corresponded with half past 3 o’clock, according to our mode of reckoning time.

17. *Hic:* Milo.—*Ili:* Clodius.

23. *Cassianum:* Cassius, says Asconius, was a man of uncommon severity; and always, when he was examining, inquired “which of the parties would be benefited” by the matter in question. The terms of this saying of Cassius are often wrongly translated by “Of what advantage would it be?” as if *cut* agreed with *bono*; whereas
these words are separately governed in the dative by *suere*, according to the rule, " *sum* taken for *affere*, 'to bring,' governs two datives." The popular use of the phrase *Cui bono?* for "To what good end?" "Of what advantage," &c., is therefore not founded in propriety; it should only be used where it may be translated by "who or what will be benefited?"

30. *Secus Clodi*: This Sextus Clodius was a kinsman of Clodius, and, according to Asconius, brought the body of Clodius into the senate-house.

41. *Palladium*: The *Palladium* was a wooden image of Pallas, which the Trojans imagined had fallen from heaven into an uncovered temple. Upon consulting the oracle, they were told, that Troy should be safe so long as it remained there. Some think, that Diomedes, others, that Ulysses, carried it off: what was supposed to be the same image was lodged in the temple of Vesta, and rescued from the flames of that edifice by Metellus, the high priest.

39. *Cim omnibus minabatur*: Sextus Clodius was a secretary of Publius Clodius, and a minister of his fury.


7. *Spoliatum imaginibus, etc.*: We are told by Pliny, that the halls of the great men among the Romans were adorned with waxen images of their deceased friends, and that, when any of the family was to be buried, these images were carried in the procession.—*Laudationes*: This word also refers to a custom among the Romans; when any one of an illustrious family died, one of the friends was elected to pronounce an eulogium on his worth.

8. *Infelicitissimis lignis semistultatum*: These words refer to Clodius's body being burnt with the desks, tables, etc., in the Forum. The word *infelicitissimis* is used, because, at the funerals of great men, anumum, balsam, etc., were used.—*Cannibus dilaniandum*: Sextus Clodius was obliged to leave the body half burned, on account of the danger of the fire, which prevented him from rescuing it from the flames.

15. *Eum Milonem, etc.*: The well-disposed part of the people wished Milo to be consul, because he alone could restrain the seditions of Clodius.

33. *Ille, erat, ut odisset*: Cicero here assigns the reasons why Clodius hated Milo; the first was, because Milo, when he was tribune of the people, exerted himself to have Cicero recalled from banishment; the second, because, when Clodius endeavored to execute some of his fictitious designs, Milo prevented him; the third, because Milo had brought an accusation against him.

36. *Lege Plotiae*: This law was enacted by P. Plautius, tribune of the people, in the year of Rome 675, against those who attempted any force against the state or senate, or used any violence to the magistrates, or appeared armed in public upon any ill design, or forcibly expelled any person from his lawful possession. The punishment assigned to the convicted was *aqua et ignis interdictio*.


43. *Urbe cessi*: It has already been observed, that the laws and violence of Clodius drove Cicero into exile.—*Non servos, non arma, non vim*: When Cicero found himself reduced to the condition of a criminal by one of Clodius's laws, he changed his habit, as was usual in the case of a public impeachment, and went about the
streets in a sordid mourning gown, to excite the compassion of his fellow-citizens; whilst Clodius, at the head of his mob, contrived to meet and insult him at every turn, reproaching him for his cowardice and dejection, and throwing dirt and stones at him.

3. *Mihvi videlicet, etc.*: This is irony.

5. *Servorum et egentium*: Many of Cicero's friends advised him, before he went into banishment, to try his fate in arms against Clodius; but, having the welfare and happiness of his fellow-citizens at heart, he resolved rather to banish himself than expose them to danger.

8. *Q. Hortensium*: When Cicero was banished, the senate passed an order to go into mourning on account of his banishment, and, in some exertions made to induce Clodius to throw off his military robes and appear in a plain dress, according to the resolve of the senators, a tumult took place, in which Hortensius was wounded. For the character of Hortensius, see Note, page 56, line 21.

10. *C. Vibienius*: This senator also was wounded in the tumult.

11. *Multatius*: i.e. injured.

12. *A Catilina*: Clodius was a friend of Catiline.

14. *Insidiata Pompeio*: Cicero has mentioned before in this oration, that Clodius had placed in ambush an assassin to kill Pompey. The orator took care not to let the judges or Pompey forget this circumstance, and, by reminding them of it, he hoped to persuade the judges, that Pompey could not be so great a friend to Clodius as he was supposed to be.


17. *Nuper quidem, etc.*: It is not easy to determine on what occasion it was, that Clodius made this attack upon Cicero. Asconius imagines, that it was in the consuls ship of Domitius and Messala, when the parties of Hypsaeus and Milo fought in the Sacred Way, and several were killed on the side of Milo.

25. *P. Sextio*: Sextius was a tribune of the people; and was attacked and wounded by the Clodians, because he gave his vote for Cicero's return from exile. In an oration for Sextius, Cicero says, that magistrate received twenty wounds, and escaped death by feigning to be dead.

25. *Q. Fabricio*: Fabricius held the office of tribune at the same time Sextius did, and was treated by the party of Clodius in the same manner, when he attempted to aid the law passed for Cicero's return.

29. *Cum totius Italia*: All Italy expressed the greatest joy at Cicero's return, and conferred upon him the highest honors.


34. *P. Lentulus*: Publius Lentulus Spinther, who was a great friend to Cicero, and in whose consuls ship Cicero was recalled.

36. *Septem praetores*: All the praetors and eight of the tribunes were in favor of Cicero's being recalled from exile.

37. *Cn. Pompeius*: Pompey, Marcus Crassus, and Julius Caesar all envied the superior glory Cicero had acquired by putting an end to the conspiracy of Catiline; for which reason Pompey suffered him to be banished by Clodius, when he might easily have prevented it. But when Pompey understood that the senators and all the Roman knights were angry with him for neglecting to succor a man to whom both they and he had been so much obliged, and when he saw that the same danger threatened him from Clodius, he made a motion in the senate to recall Cicero (though the Clodian
law had expressly forbidden any prætor, tribune, or any person whatever to do so), and made mention of his character with the greatest reverence and honor.

38. Illius hostis: Cicero again reminds the judges that Pompey had been an enemy to Clodius.

41. Decretum Capua: Pompey presided in person when the inhabitants of Capua, where he had planted a colony, made a decree to Cicero’s honor; he took the trouble likewise to visit all the other colonies and chief towns in these parts, to appoint them a day of general rendezvous at Rome, to assist in the promulgation of the law for Cicero’s return.

4. Reo: When Milo was accused by Clodius of some public misdemeanor, he was defended by Pompey, who, when he began to speak, was interrupted by the adherents of Clodius. Not content with drowning his voice by the loudness of their clamors, they continued, during the whole time he was speaking, to attack him with reproaches and the most abusive language. Pompey, however, neither was frightened, nor ceased to speak; but spoke in Milo’s favor six hours without intermission.

5. M. Antonius: Mark Antony pursued Clodius with a design to kill him, which he in reality would have done, had not Clodius taken shelter in a bookseller's shop, and concealed himself beneath a dark staircase. This was the same Antony who afterwards waged a civil war against Augustus. He was at first a great friend to Cicero, but afterwards became his enemy, and at last proved the author of his death.

10. Illam bellum: Clodius.

16. Septa: “Enclosures,” in which the people stood, when the Comitia were held.

33. Candidatorum: This sentence is fraught with instruction for the ambitious. Candidatus was a term applied to those who sought magistracies in Rome; they were dressed in white robes, to distinguish them from other people; they derived their appellation from the word candidus, “white.”

37. Augustus...auspicia: Sacred rites were performed before the elections commenced.

44. Contempserat: Alluding to his bribing the judges, when he was tried for having profaned the mysteries of the Good Goddess.

15. Mercenario tribuno plebis: This tribune was Quintus Pompeius, who called a tumultuous assembly on the day in which Clodius was killed, and pronounced severe invectives against Milo and Cicero.

25. T. Patinam: Titus Patina resided at Lanuvium, and was an intimate acquaintance of Clodius.

32. Interamnas: This adjective is formed from Interamnæ, the name of a city of Umbria, and was so called because it was situated between two rivers.

35. Albanus: Alba was so called from Ascanius’s having there found a white sow, according to the prediction mentioned by Virgil. See the Æneid, book 11, line 339th, and the following.

36. Cyræum: Cicero speaks of this Cyrus, the architect, in his letters to Atticus; but we have no account of his history.

38. C. Clodius: This was the brother of Clodius, and, Asconius relates, his two sons were the accusers of Milo.

1. Majoris alicujus: Cicero himself, upon whom these words were bestowed, because, as he had been consul, he was before Milo in dignity.

14. *Testamentum, etc.*: To make wills valid in Rome, it was requisite that there should be seven witnesses present; then the heirs signed and sealed the testament.


30. *Receptator locus*: In the Appian Way there stood a tomb of one Basilius, a very rich man; this place was famous for the many murders committed near it.

32. *Ilo*: Clodius.

34. *Etruria*: Clodius had often appeared in arms to banish the Etrurians from their possessions. Etruria lies upon the Tuscan sea, and reaches to the Tiber.—*Aricid*: Aricia was a town of Latium, on the Appian Way.

28. *Id. temporis*: The month of February.

30. *Alsiensi*: Alsius was a town situated at the mouth of the Tiber.

35. *Comites Graeci*: These were Asiatic servants, employed in ministering to the pleasures of their master.—*In castra Etrusca*: Cicero frequently charges Clodius with having had a share in Catiline’s conspiracy, and to this he refers in this passage. Asconius relates, that Clodius left Rome in order to join the camp of Catiline, when it lay at Fesule in Tuscany; but after he had set out, he repented, and returned to the city.

43. *Mulier inciderat in virit*: Cicero calls Clodius a woman, because, being very effeminate, he might easily be conquered by Milo.

14. *Manumissit*: The ceremony of manumission was thus performed; the slave was brought before the praetor by his master, who, laying his hand upon his servant’s head, said to the praetor, “I will that this man be free;” and having said this, he let him go out of his hands, which they termed *e manu emittere*. Then the praetor, laying a rod upon his head, called *vindicata*, said, *Dico eum liberum esse more Quiritium*, and the servant was from that time called *manumissus*, or freedman.

19. *Equulea*: The *equuleus* was a kind of licking engine in the form of a horse, used by the Romans for the purpose of extorting the truth from their servants, or from malefactors.


37. *Questions, etc.*: According to the Roman law, manumitted servants could not be interrogated upon the rack. Appius Clodius, son of Caius Clodius, brother of Publius Clodius, demanded that his uncle’s servants should be interrogated in that manner.

38. *Atrio Libertatis*: Near the temples were halls, where courts often sat, and the senate was held, because it was reckoned unlawful for it to meet in any other than a holy place. The ancient Romans worshipped Liberty as a goddess; and to this deity Sempronius Gracchus, the founder of the Gracchan race, caused a temple to be erected out of the money raised by fines.

42. *Propius quam tum*: Cicero refers to Clodius’s polluting the mysteries of the Good Goddess.

8. *Quid hie, etc.*: This is ironical.

10. *Centum dies*: A hundred days had elapsed since the death of Clodius.

18. *Celeritas seditius*: Milo returned to Rome in the night on which
the court was burnt, although many thought he had gone into voluntary banishment.

20. Neque ecrò, etc.: The Roman people sometimes passed sentence, as in the case of Rabirius, found guilty of high treason. The senate judged in cases of a more atrocious nature, as in that of the Catilinarian conspirators. The consuls also were vested with an extraordinary power, when, by the decree of the senate, they were commanded to see that the republic received no detriment.

23. Eius potestati: Cicero here means Pompey, to whom the senate gave an unlimited commission to protect the republic either from the power of Milo, or from the factions of the friends of Clodius.

1. Illa portenta: Those wicked characters, who were united with Catiline in the conspiracy.

13. Sparorum, etc.: The sparus was a kind of javelin. The pilae of the Romans were of two kinds; the one was seven feet and a half long, and the iron of it weighed nine ounces; the other was only three feet and a half long, and its weight proportionable.

15. Vicum, etc.: According to Varro, there were three kinds of streets in the city of Rome; the vici, the fundacula, and the angiperti: the vici were the chief streets, open at both ends; the fundacula were open at one end and closed at the other, like what are called courts in populous cities; the angiperti were lanes or alleys, so narrow that they admitted only people to walk in them, wagons and carriages of all kinds being too large to enter them.

17. Ocriluanam: This was a city of Umbria toward Etruria, near the Tiber, in which Milo had a house.

18. Malleolorum: Malleoli were small bundles of broom covered with pitch; which, being kindled, were thrown on the walls or roofs of houses.

24. Popa: This was a term of reproach among the Romans. The popa was the priest, or butcher, who slew the sacrifices, and offered them up when slain. His duty was also to purify the houses in which any one had died.

38. Tum celebri loco: Caesar, from the time he was made Pontifex Maximus, lived in a large house in the Via Sacra, which was not far from the Forum.

42. Senator: Asconius says this senator was P. Cornificius, and that, when Cicero heard this feeble charge against Milo, he exclaimed, "And such are all the crimes of which Milo is accused."

43. Templo: i. e. the senate, which always assembled in a consecrated building.

4. Tuas...suspiciones: Pompey pretended to fear, that Milo would injure him, and to suspect that Milo had designs hostile to the republic. The reason which induced him to practise this hypocrisy, has been already suggested; he wished to remove a rival, and therefore was willing Milo should be condemned.

8. Capitolinea cohortes: Cohorts were placed in the Capitol for the safety and defence of the city, when there was a prospect of sedition.

5. Legem tuat: Pompey published a law, that an inquiry concerning the death of Clodius should be made.

11. Hesternam concionem: It has already been mentioned, that the day before this oration was delivered, Munatius Plancus, tribune of the people, held a tumultuous assembly of the people, in which he advised them to appear at the trial, and not permit Milo to be acquitted; to prevent which invasion of the judges' rights, Pompey placed a body of guards near the tribunal.
18. *Sp. Mелиum...T. Graccum:* It has already been related, that Spurius Mелиus was slain by Servilius Ahala for having endeavored to obtain the sovereignty by buying up all the corn that was to be purchased, and distributing it among the people, when provisions were very dear; and that Scipio Nasica slew Tiberius Graccus, because he deposed his colleague for opposing him, when he moved that an Agrarian law should be passed.

24. *Pultinaribus:* In the most retired and sacred places of the temples there were little beds for the images of the gods to rest upon.

25. *Lucullus,* being summoned as a witness with regard to the life of Clodius, said, that he had extorted a confession from his maid-servants, that Clodius had committed incest. Lucullus himself was married to a sister of Clodius.

32. *Ademit:* Clodius enacted a law against Ptolemy, king of Cyprus, to deprive him of his kingdom, and reduce it to a Roman province, and confiscate his whole estate. This prince was brother to the king of Egypt, and reigned by the same right of hereditary succession; was in peace and amity with Rome, accused of no practices, nor suspected of any designs, against the republic. But Clodius was inimical to him, because he refused to ransom him, when he was taken prisoner by the pirates, and sent him only the small sum of two talents. To sanction this iniquitous law, and give it the better face and color of justice, Cato was charged with the execution of it, which gave Clodius a double pleasure, by imposing such a task on the gravest man in Rome.

36. *Ædēm Nymphārum:* A temple was erected in Rome to the nymphs presiding over fountains, that they might be propitious in preventing fires; which temple was burnt by Clodius.—*Ut memoriam...extinguenter:* Every five years the censors used to take an account of the several tribes, and to make up a register, in which the crimes of all the citizens were marked; and as Clodius knew, that his enormous crimes were recorded in the public acts, he burned the temple in which they were kept, that the remembrance of his wicked deeds might be lost.

2. *Janiculum...Alpibus:* Janiculum was formerly a town of Etruria, on the banks of the Tiber. The Alps are a ridge of high mountains, separating Italy from France.

4. *Lacu Prelio:* This lake is between Rome and Viterbiuim

8. *T. Furiani:* This was a friend of Cicero.

12. *Mortuum, etc.*: Clodius threatened to convey a dead body into Furfanius's house, with the view of bringing him under the suspicion of having committed murder; or perhaps his design was to make him thereby lose the right and property of his house; because, by a dead body's being brought into any house, it became sacred, and the proprietor was obliged to abandon all his title to it.

14. *Appium fratrem:* Appius, brother of Publius Clodius, was a friend of Cicero, as may be conjectured from Cicero's having written several letters to him.

16. *Vestibulum:* A plot of ground before the door of any house, through which an avenue led to the house itself.

26. *Tetrarchas:* One who reigned over the fourth part of a kingdom.

2. *Summorum imperatorum:* Sulla and Marius lived in that age.


42. *Res divinas:* Statues, monuments, columns, etc. erected in honor of the gods.
30. *Noscet ipsi*: Referring to his having put to death Lentulus, Cethegus, and other members of Catiline's conspiracy.
33. *Fortuna populi Romani*: Plutarch observes, that the beginning and increase of the Roman empire was owing to fortune; and that, on that account, the Romans erected many temples to her.
14. *Albani tumuli*: These were little hills or rising spots, on which altars were erected to certain deities; or they were the sepulchres and monuments of the inhabitants of Alba, who had been buried there, before the building of the city.
15. *Sacticum, etc.*: Cicero refers to the rites, which were common to all the people of Latium with the Romans. They were at first instituted by Tarquinus Superbus, who, in order to keep the Latin association firm in their engagements with him, erected a new temple in the midst of them to Jupiter Latialis, on a hill near the ruins of Alba, where the diets of the united cantons were annually assembled on the twenty-seventh day of April, which were called *fœrie Latine*, and jointly offer sacrifices to Jupiter, and feast together in token of union.
29. *Absolutorius*: It has already been mentioned, that by bribery Clodius obtained an acquittance when he was tried by select judges for the violation of the mysteries of *Bona Dea*.
32. *Imaginibus...canto*: At the funerals of the Romans, images were carried in the procession, and hymns were sung.
33. *Ludis*: The Romans imagined that the ghosts of the deceased were satisfied and rendered propitious by human blood. At first, they used to buy captives, or untoward slaves, and offer them at the obsequies. Afterwards they attempted to veil their barbarity with a show of pleasure and voluntary combat. They therefore educated such persons as they had procured, in a knowledge of arms, and obliged them, upon the day appointed for the sacrifices to the departed ghosts, to maintain a mortal encounter at the tombs of their friends. Hence arose the gladiatorial shows, which were exhibited at the tombs of great men to appease their *manes*.
33. *Laudationibus*: Upon the death of an eminent citizen, a funeral oration was usually delivered.
44. *Vexátat in tribunatu*: When Clodius was tribune, that he might more effectually injure Cicero, he decreed the provinces to Gabinius and Piso, contrary to the authority of the senate.
1. *Gesta residerat*: Though the putting of Catiline's accomplices to death was not done by Cicero's authority, but by a general vote of the senate, and after a serious debate, yet Clodius pretended it was illegal; and, accordingly, passed a law importing, “that whoever had taken the life of a citizen uncondemned and without trial, should be prohibited from fire and water.”
3. *Cn. Pompeius...bellum indizerat*: Alluding to Clodius's having placed an assassin in the temple of Castor to murder Pompey.
8. *Incidebatur*: Clodius wished to pass a law, granting the power of voting to all the freedmen in the city. This law, with some others, Clodius had engraved on a plate of brass, as was usual at that time.
17. *Huic*: Milo.
23. *Habuisset suos consules*: Clodius wished, that Hypsaeus and Scipio might be elected consuls.
24. *Quem tribunum, virum consularem*: When Clodius was tribune, he much oppressed Cicero, a man of consular rank.
37. *Portum:* Foreign kings and nations fled to the Romans for safety and protection, and appealed to them, as the arbiters of all their differences.

1. *Vid Appi:* In the Appian Way Clodius was slain.

6. *Falcibus:* The *falcis* of the Romans were military instruments, crooked like a reaper’s hook, and used on two occasions; in pulling the stones out of the walls of a besieged city, and in cutting the tackle of the enemy’s ships.

8. *Cim auderetur... M. Caliius:* As Milo returned to Rome the same night on which the senate-house was set on fire, Caliuis, a tribune of the people, having called an assembly of those who favored Milo, related in an oration all the crimes of which Clodius had been guilty; upon which the other tribunes rushed into the Forum with a body of armed men, and would have killed both Caliuis and Milo, had they not dressed themselves like slaves, and, by that means, made their escape.

10. *In suscepti causâ firmissimus:* This Caliuis vigorously opposed a law, which Pompey made, and which had no other view than to injure Milo, and force a verdict from the judges before they had maturely considered the merits of the case.

40. *Ego, cim, tribunus plebis, etc.:* Cicero refers to the time when he was recalled from banishment. Milo exerted himself in his favor, as did also the senate, against the tribunes of the people, who were in part opposed to his return.

4 *Tui:* Cicero at first was of the equestrian order, afterwards of the senatorian.

14. *Tribus suis patrimonii:* Milo had three estates; one left him by his father, one by his mother, the third by Calius Annius, his grandfather, by whom he was adopted. All three he spent in gifts to the people, and public sports, for which he was charged with bribery, and condemned when absent. Cicero says, these largesses were bestowed upon the people with no other design, but that the rich might not be robbed.

21. *Vocem praeconis:* Although the greater part of the voters knew who would be consul, yet a public crier was appointed to name him with an audible voice, and extol his character.

42. *Etruriae festos:* The inhabitants of Etruria were so inimical to Clodius, on account of some injuries he had done them, that when they heard of his death, they appointed festivals in honor of Milo.

21. *Inimicitias potentium:* So great was Cicero’s friendship for Milo, that neither the threats of the Clodian faction nor Pompey’s inimical disposition toward Milo could deter him from making this defence.

22. *Armis:* In assisting Milo to obtain the consulship, Cicero often exposed himself to the attacks of Clodius.

11. *Ilia indicia, etc.:* The conspiracy of Catiline.

13. *Ex fonte illo dolore:* Clodius became the enemy of Milo, because Milo made great exertions to have Cicero recalled from banishment.

24. *Inquit:* Milo speaks.

38. Notwithstanding the defence of Cicero, Milo was condemned, and, a few days after his condemnation, went in exile to Marseilles.
ORATION AGAINST

ORATION AGAINST M. ANTONY.

INTRODUCTION.

After the assassination of Julius Caesar by Brutus and Cassius, there were many parties and tumults in Rome. The conspirators, having no design beyond the death of the despot, were undecided respecting the measures they should take, and neglected to pursue those means, which were necessary to re-establish the liberties of the republic. Mark Antony, who, during the last year of Caesar’s life, was his colleague in the consulship, at first imagined himself in danger, and began to fortify his house; but, observing the indecision and pacific conduct of the authors of Caesar’s death, he recovered his spirits, and resolved to usurp the government as soon as he was able, and, on pretence of avenging the murder of his colleague, to destroy all who should oppose him. To execute this design, he pretended to have no other desire, than to see the republic settled upon its old basis. He assumed the appearance of goodness and moderation; talked of nothing but conciliating measures; and, as a proof of his sincerity, moved, that the conspirators should be invited to take part in the public deliberations, and sent his son as a hostage for their safety. The invitation was accepted; Brutus supped with Lepidus, Cassius with Antony; the day was closed with joy and rejoicing, and the city thought that liberty would be secured with peace. On pretence of public concord, however, Antony proposed and carried several things, of which he afterwards made a very pernicious use; particularly a decree for a confirmation of all Caesar’s acts. The people soon saw for what end he had provided this decree, to which the senate consented for the sake of peace. Antony, being master of Caesar’s papers, and of his secretary Faberius, by whose hand they were written, forged and inserted at pleasure whatever he thought would be of use to him, and publicly sold for money whatever immunities were desired by countries, cities, princes, or private men, pretending that they had been granted by Caesar, and inserted in his books. These, and several other instances of his duplicity and violence, convinced the conspirators, that no good was to be expected from him, or a senate which was under his influence.

About this time, Cicero, who had hitherto maintained some degree of neutrality or moderation between the parties, being alarmed by these violences, departed from Rome. He had, before the death of Caesar, intended to withdraw into Greece, under pretence of superintending the education of his son at Athens, and had obtained Caesar’s consent and the leave of the senate for that purpose. On Caesar’s death, having hopes that the republic was about to revive, he took his resolution to remain in the city; but, being now satisfied that these hopes were vain, he resumed his former design of absenting himself; and instead of applying to the senate for leave, accepted from Dolabella, the newly-appointed governor of Syria, a commission of lieutenancy, which he was to employ as a pretence for crossing the Ionic sea. Having passed through Rhegium, on
the sixth of August, in continuing his voyage to Greece, some circumstances obliged him to put back; and when he reentered the city, he met some citizens, just arrived from Rome, who brought a report, that a full meeting of the senate was expected on the first of September; that Brutus and Cassius had sent circular letters requesting the attendance of all their friends; that Antony was likely to drop his designs; that, as the cause of the republic had so favorable an aspect, his own departure was censured, and his presence earnestly desired. Though Cicero was not greatly encouraged by these reports, he determined to return to Rome; and, having arrived on the last of August, he found that the expectations, which he had been made to entertain of Antony's intentions, were void of foundation, and that the outrages he was likely to commit were such as to make it extremely unsafe for any distinguished friend of the republic to come into his power. For this reason, Cicero, on the first of September, sent an excuse to the senate, pleading the ill state of his health, which obliged him to remain in his own house. Antony considered his absence from the senate as an affront to himself, or as giving too much countenance to the suspicions which were entertained of his violent intentions. Under this impression, he burst into a rage, and sent an officer to require the attendance of Cicero, threatening, if he persisted in his supposed contumacy, to pull down his house about his ears. The ordinary method of forcing those to submission who shut themselves up, or took refuge in their dwellings from the sentence of the law. He was dissuaded, however, from any attempt to execute his threat; and, being himself absent from the senate on the following day, Cicero ventured to take his seat, and, in the absence of the consul, delivered that oration, which is entitled the First Philippic. In this speech, he accounted for his late retirement from the capital, and for his present return, in terms strongly reflecting on the conduct and administration of the present consul. Antony, in his turn, greatly exasperated by the reports he received of Cicero's speech, prepared to reply at a subsequent meeting of the senate; and delivered himself accordingly with great acrimony against his antagonist. These mutual attacks, thus made in the absence of the parties, produced from Cicero the following famous oration, which is entitled the Second Philippic, "a model of eloquence," says a Roman historian, "in the style of ancient invective;" but which, though put in the form of an immediate reply to imputations supposed to be made in his presence, never was delivered, and is to be considered as a mere rhetorical pleading in a fictitious case. The offence, however, which was given by the publication of this invective, made a principal part in the quarrel, which the parties never ceased to pursue till it ended with Cicero's life. These orations were called Philippics, in imitation of the famous orations delivered by Demosthenes, the celebrated Athenian orator, against Philip, king of Macedonia; the second was written in the 83d year of Cicero's age, and the 709th from the building of the city.

SYNOPSIS.

Exordium. \{ Conqueritur de illatis sibi \{ ab hostibus reipublica. \} injuris \{ ab Antonio præsertim. \} Causa aperit cur ab Antonio vexetur.
ORATION AGAINST

Quōd injuriā affecerit Antonium.
beneficio sit affectus ab Antonio.
in consulatu peccaverit.
ejus consilio sit oceissus Clodius.
belli civilis causa fuerit.
conjuratos impulerit ad occidendum Cæsarem.
Pompeium lacerit.
odiosus omnibus, a nullo sit hæres factus.

Vita Antonii
privata: in puertītia gentissima.
in questūrā.
Vita publica: in pretūrā.
in magisterio equitū.

Antea consuls:
bello Cæsaris Africano defuit.
et bello Hispaniensi.

vivo Cæsar re
Dolabella comitia disturba vit.
Cæsari diadema regium ob fugit, ob timorem.
mortuo Cæsare
dum timuit, praeclara gessit.
dum timere desit, omnia perturbavit.

Peroration.
Antonium deterret a tyrannide, et hortatur ad reipublicam curam.
Seipsum offert ad reipublicam defensionem.

Analysis Exordii.
Conquestione continua- rum molestiarum: cūm ab omnibus reipublicam hostibus impetatur. 1.
presertim ab Antonio, quem nunquam lēsit. 1.

falsas rejicit: contemptum. 1.

desiderium. 1.

Causarum inquisitione cur ab Antonio vexetur:

veras declarat: declarationem hostilis animi

in patriam. 1.
inimicītias in ejus conserva
torem suspectas.

Refutatio.

I. Quōd in judicia, contra socerum ejus contendit. 1.

Resp. id factum, pro familiarī et necessario. 2.

contra gratiam, et injuriam. 2.

Licet Antonius se in Ciceronis disciplinam tradidisset:

Resp. id negando. 2.

et eum graviter punendo. 2.

II. Quōd augurem loco suo fieri passus sit.

Resp. augurem se a toto collegio expectatum. 2.

[ratum viam. 2.

Antonio tunc non patuisse ad augu-
Eique vitam non eripuerit. Resp. negando eripere potuisse. 3.

concedendo: sed gratum se suisse. 3.

Antonium verè inhumanum, stultum, amentem. 4.

senatus eum, pro voluntate sua, direxit. 5.

Clodius solus improbavit. 5.

virilli: clarissimi: P. Servilius. 5.

mi lauda: Q. Catulus, &c. 5.

verunt: vivi, L. Cotta. 6.

viri, L. Cesar. 6.

equites et populus Romanus predicaverunt. 7.

hostes ipsi accusare jure non possunt. 7.

Armatis Antonius sepetit senatum. 8.

Et libertatem populo Romano eripuit. 8.

retorquendo crimen in Antonium: qui eum conatus est occidere. 9.

negando, se consilium dedisse, cùm Milo non egeret impulsore. 9.

negando: cùm Pompeium a Céssare disjunxerit. 10.

asserendo, se bona Pompeio consilia dedisse. 10.

negando; cùm id nemo tunc dixerit. 11.

asserendo, Brutum alioque satis per se incitatos. 11.

irridendo: quòd Brutus eum cæde facta appellàrit. 12.

VI. Trucidatus Caesar. Resp. ostendendo stuporem in verbis. 12.

Antonii in factis. 12.

optando, ut in partem laudis veniat. 13.

rejiciendo in Antonium suspicionem cæsdis. 14.

VII. Ab eo Iesus Pompeius. Resp. Dolusisse se ruinam reipublicæ quam previdebat. 15.

amicum se Pompeio semper exstississe. 15.

jocis moderatis usum esse, ad levandum mæorem. 16.

negando; cùm a morientibus acceperit HS ducenties. 16.

VIII. Quòd nullius hereditatem adierit. Resp. qui falsa testamenta supposerit. 16.

patris heres non fuerit. 16.

bona reipublicæ rhetori suo dederit. 17.

Insectatio Antonii.

Vita in puérítâ, egentissima. 18.

privata in adolescêntiâ, turpissima. 18.
oration against

in questuris

provinciam adit \ sine sorte. 20.\nvitam sustentavit \ sine lege. 20.
\ lagtonibus Cesaris. 20.
\ rapinis propriis. 20.

senatus se opposuit. 21.
a senata, hostis reipublicae judicatam. 21.
senatus-consilis utissimis intercessit. 21.
belli civilis causa exstitit. 22.
damnatos in integrum restituit. 23.
Italiam totam vexavit. 23.
luxuriam suae infamis fuit. 24.
ejus rapine. 25.
vinolentia. 25.

in tribunata

emptio bonorum Pompeii: \ in viles personas effudit. 27.
\ presentat sibi sedavit. 27.
\ imputate polluit. 28.

bello Cesaris

ob timitatem et libidine. 29.
ideo a Cesarre coactus ad solutionem
debitorum. 29.

Africanus de:

ad quod ire tenebatur, ut sector bonorum
Pompeii. 30.

et Hispaniensis:

ad quod se ire finxit, sed temeris reedit. 30.

in magisterio equitum.

ante nectcem Cesaris

cum quo in gratiam reedit. 32.
a quo consulatum obtinuit. 32.
cui turpiter adulatus. \ fusis precipus. 32.
\ diademate oblati. 34.
dum timent:

fugit se subduxit. 35.

in consulatu,

post nectcem Cesaris

cum timere desixerit:
civitatis jure provincias donavit. 36.

vigitalia vendidit. 36.

sarrium exhaustit. 37.

Deiotaro regnum, accepta pecuni, reddidit. 37.

commentarios Cesaris corruptit. 38.

exules sine causa revocavit. 38.

patruum suum impie descript. 38.

Italiam ad corrumpendos veteranos
decurrat. 39.

agrum Campanum sodaliem suis

divisit. 39.

coloniam Casilinum injuste deduxit. 40.

Varrois villam scelerata occupavit. 40.

Dolabellaem collegam suum pervertit. 42.

Rome armatis se cinitit. 42.

Cesaris leges bonas evertit. 42.

Flaminem ejus se professus est. 43.
M. ANTONY.

Peroratio.

Antoniunm

{ ob miseriarm
{ tyrannorum: quis
{ armatis satellitibus gent. 44.
{ odiosi sunt civibus. 44.
{ diurni esse non possunt. 44.
{ vindexe reipublicae non desint. 44.
{ populus Romanus servitutem horret. 44.
{ a Bruto sit expulsus Tarquinius. 44.
{ regnum auctantes perierunt. 44.
{ Caesar regnans occisus sit. 45.

Hortatur

{ recordatione glorie adepte, cuncta dictaturam sustitut.
{ et periculum necis: cum
{ memoriâ lætitiae senatus, et populi Romani. 45.
{ consideratione virtutis majorum suorum. 46.

Seipsum

{ ait, nec reipublicæ defuturum. 46.
{ nec mortem timere. 46.

sed priusquam moriatur, optare duo:

{ ut mornies populum Romanum liberum reliquat. 46.
{ ut cuique eveniat, prout de reipublica merebitur. 46.

Line.

1. Fato: The ancients defined fate to be the connection and series of all causes, by means of which all things happen, that do happen.

2. Anni viginti: Twenty years elapsed between the consulsip of Cicero and the consulsip of Antony.

6. Exitus non perhorrescere: Catiline, who conspired against the republic and against Cicero, was slain in battle, bearing arms against his country. His accomplices in that conspiracy were, by a decree of the senate, put to death in prison. Clodius, who was an inveterate enemy to Cicero, and who by his intrigues drove him into exile, was slain by Milo.

7. Aliis: He here means Clodius, Catiline, Vatinius, Piso, and Gabinius, in opposing whose vices Cicero was more active in attacking than in defending.

14. Gratid: The Romans conferred distinguished marks of favor on Cicero. When he was banished by Clodius, almost the whole equestrian order changed their garments: twenty thousand of the young men of the greatest eminence in the city, accompanied those who were to intercede for his restitution; and a full senate decreed a change of dress, as in a general mourning. When he was on his return from exile, the senate and people went out to meet him; they conducted him in triumph, as it were, from the Porta Capena to the Capitol.

16. Detrahi: Antony thought he could diminish the popularity of Cicero by calumniating him in the senate.

16. Qui ordo, etc.: The senate had conferred the praise of well governing the republic upon many, but the praise of preserving the republic upon Cicero alone. Cato, when speaking in the senate respecting Catiline's conspiracy, called Cicero "The Father of his Country."

27. Contra alienum pro familiari... meo: It is not known who this
friend and relation was; but the stranger was Q. F. Bambalio, whose
dughter Antony had married. Cicero, having appeared for his friend,
against this Bambalio, was reproached by Antony with having vio-
lated the laws of friendship.
29. _Etatis flore, collectam_: When Antony was young, he was
popular, not on account of his virtues, but rather on account of the
vivacity of youth, and his agreeable qualities.
30. _Iste_: It seems from this passage, that, notwithstanding some
tribune bribed by Antony interposed against Cicero’s friend, yet Bambalio
lost his cause. The _jas pretorium_ was a power assumed by the
praetors, of mending, supplying, and correcting the civil law, as ne-
cessity and equity should require.
32. _Ino ordini_: The plebian order.

1. _In disciplinam meas_: It was customary, when young men took
the manly gown, to place them under the tuition of some eminent
citizens, that they might be instructed in useful knowledge and the
duties of life, and be formed to virtue and humanity.
4. _C. Curionem_: Curio was a young nobleman of brilliant talents;
amidly fitted by nature to adorn the character (in which his father
and grandfather had flourished before him) of one of the principal
orators of Rome; but a natural propensity to pleasure, stimulated
by the example and counsels of his perpetual companion, Antony,
hurried him into all the extravagance of expense and debauchery.
When his father, by Cicero’s advice, obliged him to quit the familiar-
ity of Antony, he reformed his conduct, and, adhering to the in-
structions and maxims of Cicero, became the favorite of the city,
the leader of the young nobility, and a warm assessor of the authori-
ty of the senate, against the power of the Triumviri. After his
father’s death, upon his first participation of public honors and ad-
mission into the senate, his ambition and desire of popularity en-

gaged him in so great prodigality, that, to supply the magnificence
of the shows and plays, with which he entertained the city, he was
soon driven to the necessity of selling himself to Caesar, and fell the
first victim in the civil war.
5. _Auguriatis, etc._: It was necessary, that a candidate for admission
into the college of augurs, should be nominated by two augurs, who
 gave a solemn testimony upon oath of his dignity and fitness for the
office; this was done in Cicero’s case by Pompey and Hortensius, the
two most eminent members of the college.
15. _At beneficio sum usus tuo_: After Pompey was defeated in the
battle of Pharsalia, Cato endeavored to persuade Cicero, at the re-
quest of his friends, to take the command of the fleet; but, as Ces-

ar was pursuing, Cicero fled to Brundisium, with a design to go
into Italy. Antony, having been sent there before Caesar, might
have killed Cicero, as he refused both the authority of Pompey and of
Caesar.
19. _Victor...latronibus suis_: Caesar sent Antony at the head of an
army into Italy, to subject it to his power. Cicero, by using the word
latronibus, insinuates, that the soldiers under Antony were rather
robbers than honorable warriors.
25. _A quo erant servati_: In this observation, says Merouille, Bru-
tus and Cassius must not be included. They never submitted to
Caesar.
32. _De interitu reipublicae_: Antony was endeavoring to destroy the
constitution; he wanted not only to assume the power, which Caesar
usurped, but also to reverse the laws made by Caesar.
35. *Hoc gradus*: Cicero was a senator and a man of consular rank, than which there was none higher in the republic.

36. *Residuum reipublica*: These words probably mean the public money laid up in the temple of Ops, which Antony claimed to himself, and made subservient to the purposes of his ambition; or perhaps they refer to the four thousand talents obtained from Calpurnia, Cesar's wife.

41. *Promulgata*: Before any law was passed, it was published twenty days.

1. *M. Crasso*: Cicero was at enmity with Crassus, because he imagined, that Crassus had been engaged in Catiline's conspiracy. They were, however, reconciled afterwards.

16. *Mustella, etc.*: All that is known of these men is, that they were ruffians employed by Antony; illiterate fellows, and qualified only to execute his brutal purposes.

22. *In quo, etc.*: Referring to Antony's inserting various clauses in Cesar's will and other papers.

45. *Tuas literas*: The letters Cicero received from Antony relative to the restoration of Sextus Clodius.

48. *Quid enim, etc.*: Cicero had no intention to oppose Antony vigorously, as he knew Clodius would return in consequence of a law passed by Cesar.


20. *C. Curioni*: Curio, having driven Cato out of Sicily, marched with four legions into Africa against Varus, who, strengthened by the accession of Juba, had reduced the whole province to subjection. Upon his landing, he met with some success, but was afterwards entirely defeated and slain near the river Bagrada, by Sabirs, Juba's general.

21. *Quod...utrique fatale*: Meaning Fulvia, who was first married to Clodius, whom Milo killed; next to Curio, above mentioned; and lastly to Antony.

22. *P. Servilio*: He conquered the Isaurians in Cilicia, and obtained the surname of Isauricus.

24. *Q. Lutatius Catulus*: Catulus was a man of much respectability and influence in the republic.

25. *Duobus Lucullis*: Lucius and Marcus. Lucius Lucullus conducted the war against Mithridates. See Notes to the Oration for the Manilian Law.—*M. Crasso*: Marcus Licinius Crassus was famous for his riches. He was a friend to Cicero, and said, that as often as he thought of his wife, his house and his country, so often he thought of the benefit he derived from Cicero's consulsip.—*Q. Hortensio*...*C. Curioni, etc.*: Of Hortensius, we have already spoken in Note, page 56, line 21. This Curio was consul thirteen years before Cicero. Cicero speaks of him in his treatise *De Claris Oratoribus*. Lepidus was Cesar's master of the horse, and afterwards was one of the Triumviri. Piso was the brother of Lucius Piso, the father-in-law of Cesar. Gabrio was consul four years before Cicero, and was one of those who voted in the senate against Catiline. Volcatus was consul three years before Cicero. Figulus was a man of integrity, and much respected; he was consul the year before Cicero. Silanus and Murena were consuls elect in the year in which Cicero was consul. For Murena, Cicero delivered an oration, to defend him against the charge of having infringed the law against bribery.

29. *M. Catoni*: Cato never arrived to the consulsip; the highest
ORATION AGAINST

132 office he ever bore was the priesthood. He was a man of great innocence and influence, addicted to the philosophy of the Stoics; that he might not see his country enslaved by Caesar, he killed himself at Utica; from which circumstance he is often called Catu Uticensis.

31. Cn. Pompeius: When Pompey returned from his Asiatic expedition, he returned thanks to Cicero, declaring that he should seek a triumph in vain, unless the city had been preserved by Cicero, in which he could triumph.

40. L. Cotta: Cotta was a man of much prudence and virtue, and consul two years before Cicero.

133 1. L. Caesar was consul a year before Cicero.

5. Vettii: This was Lentulus Sura, who, being one of Catiline’s conspirators, was put to death in prison.—Annaeus: This was Lucius Caesar.

9. Dies natales: Birth-days were observed by the Romans as great festivals.

10. Non descendit Antonius: Antony did not come into the senate on that occasion, detained by the birth-day of some parasite.

11. Phormioni, etc.: These were names of famous parasites in the plays of Terence and Plautus.

14. Principem senatorem: L. Caesar, who was Antony’s uncle.

25. Nefaria senatis-consulta: Cicero speaks ironically, as he refers to those decrees of the senate, by which the republic was preserved from ruin.

34. Consciolum induci: Besides others, who confessed, there was one Ceparius, who, upon a public promise of protection, discovered the whole conspiracy.

40. Negat a me datum: Antony had objected to Cicero, that he refused burial to the corpse of Lentulus Sura, who, after the death of Antony’s father, married his mother, and who was put to death in prison for having been engaged in Catiline’s conspiracy; but Plutarch, in his life of Antony, shows that this charge was groundless.

134 21. Ithyraxis circumcederi: Jews (so called from a province of Palestine), whom Antony, when he served under Gabinus, the proconsul, brought with him to Rome, as persons every way qualified to execute his brutal and ambitious purposes.

22. Utroque mimo: This was Cytheris, one of Antony’s mistresses, whom he is said to have carried with him in his military expeditions. Some commentators think she is the person who is mentioned by Virgil in those lines of Eclogue 10th:

Galle, quid insanis? inquit: tua cura, Lycoris,
Perque nives alium, perque horrida castra secuta est.

She was called Volumnia also, from Volumnius Eutrælius, who was acquainted with her before Antony. She had indeed various names, which is no uncommon thing with women of her character.

23. Cedant arma togae: This famous distich has been a source of much raillery upon Cicero’s poetical character; and two bad lines, says the ingenious author of his life, picked out by the malice of his enemies, and transmitted to posterity, as a specimen of the rest, have served to damn many thousands of good ones. Antony had been severe upon him in regard to his poetry; and it is observable that his answer is not in that elegant and polite strain of raillery, of which he was master on other occasions.

135 13. Operd med, etc.: Cicero, indeed, did endeavor to separate
Pompey from Cæsar, when it was feared, that if their arms were united, they would destroy the liberties of the republic; but not when he saw there was a probability, that a civil war would exist between them. Cicero was always an adviser of peace.

18. *M. Bibulus:* Bibulus was consul with Cæsar, but Cæsar deprived him of his authority, and even prohibited him from the senate. At this time was formed the triumvirate of Cæsar, Pompey, and Crassus; they governed the republic as they pleased. It became an object then with every good man to have Pompey separated from Cæsar.

22. *Postea verbo,* etc.: Pompey married Julia, the daughter of Cæsar, and, by this means, the alliance between them was strengthened.

27. *Ne quinquennii imperium...prorogaret,* etc.: By the Vatinian law Cæsar obtained the province of Gaul for five years. When this time had elapsed, by the interest of Pompey and Crassus, he obtained a prolongation of his command. Pompey, when he was consul the third time, in the year of Rome 701, procured also a law, empowering Cæsar to offer himself a candidate for the consulship, without appearing personally at Rome, as law and custom required. To these laws Cicero and Cato were opposed.

30. *Omnes opes,* etc.: Plutarch relates, that Pompey sent two legions to Cæsar in Gaul.


12. *Ahala:* Servilius Ahala was one of Brutus’s ancestors, by the mother’s side: he slew Sp. Melius, who was suspected of aiming at sovereignty.

14. *C. Cassius:* Cassius was descended from that C. Cassius who put his own son to death, because suspected of having designs against the state.

19. *Ca. Domitium:* Suetonius gives a high character to this Domitius. He was son to L. Domitius, who fell in the battle of Pharsalia, and nephew to Cato Uticensis.

26. *L. Tullius Cimber,* Seneca, in his epistles to Lucullus, says, that this Cimber was a notorious drunkard, and that, nevertheless, the secret of Cæsar’s assassination was as much intrusted to him as it was to Cassius, who all his life had drunk nothing but water.

30. *Dux Servilius:* Servilius Isauricus, and his son, who was twice consul.

39. *Consimile:* Cicero delivered his country from Catiline’s con spiracy; Brutus, from Cæsar’s tyranny.

31. *Legibus est solutus:* Brutus and Cassius being obliged to depart from Rome after Cæsar’s death, and not thinking it safe to return on account of the violence of the mob, their friends solicited the senate for some extraordinary employment to be granted to them, to cover the appearance of a flight, and the disgrace of living in banishment, when invested with one of the first magistracies of the republic. As prætors, their residence was absolutely necessary at Rome, and could not legally be dispensed with for above ten days in the year; but Antony readily procured a decree to absolve them from the laws, being glad to see them in a situation so contemptible, stripped of their power, suffering a kind of exile, and depending, as it were, upon him for their protection. By his means commissions were granted to them to buy up corn in Asia and Sicily, for the use of the republic; which commissions were intended to degrade them, as the offices conferred were much below their characters.

5. *Equum Trojanum:* Cicero refers to the wooden horse, by
means of which the Grecians destroyed Troy. See Virgil’s Æneid, Book Second.

20. Non solum varium actum, sed totam fabulum, confecisset: It has already been observed, that the authors of Caesar’s death were undecided in their conduct, after they had slain him. Cicero seems here to imply, that it was his opinion, that more should have been done, besides removing Caesar. This was but one act; the success of the drama was not complete; there should have been a catastrophe, which would have destroyed faction, and reformed the abuses of the constitution of the republic. He seems to insinuate, that Antony should have been slain.

23. Narbona: This was one of the most ancient cities of Gaul, and gave its name to the province in which it was situated.—Hc consilius, etc.: When the conspirators were consulting about killing Caesar, it was debated among them, whether they should invite Antony to assist them; but Trebonius was opposed to the motion, pretending that he knew Antony’s sentiments relative to this matter, as he had already endeavored to urge Antony to it, at the time when Caesar was returning from Gaul. He represented, at the same time, that Antony refused to comply with what he proposed, but that he had nevertheless kept the secret faithfully. They then debated whether they should kill Antony together with Caesar; but Brutus opposed this, because he thought, that whatever was undertaken in defence of liberty and the laws of one’s country, ought, if possible, to be conducted in a popular manner. Thus much Plutarch relates; Cicero, however, affirms, that Antony entered into the design against Caesar, but that he had not courage to assist in the execution of it.

25. Severa: When the conspirators determined on the manner in which Caesar should be slain, they ordered Trebonius to call Antony aside, in fear that Antony, who was then consul, and Caesar’s colleague, should exert his consular power to frustrate their design.

35. Ad quem, etc.: Calpurnia, Caesar’s wife, after the death of her husband, fled for shelter to Antony, carrying with her all the money Caesar had left behind him, amounting to near a million sterling—Cujus domus, etc.: Antony had much reason to be pleased with the death of Caesar, as it became the means of his political elevation; by altering the writings, which Caesar left, foisting into them new clauses, and bribing those who wrote them to write others in the same hand, he was enabled to govern the republic, dispose of offices, and gratify his own desires in the same manner as Caesar had done.

4. Castra...Pompeii, etc.: Antony said of Cicero, that, though he espoused Pompey’s party in the civil wars, yet he did more injury than service to his friends, which assertion Cicero undertakes to refute; he advised peace, as he foresaw the evil consequences of war, and of victory, on either side.

25. At vero, etc.: When Cicero joined Pompey, he was greatly dissatisfied with many things in regard to his management of the war, and the conduct of the chiefs of his party, who, trusting to the superior fame and authority of their leader, and dazzled with the splendor of the troops, which the princes of the East had sent to their assistance, assured themselves of victory, and, without reflecting on the different characters of the two armies, would hear of nothing but fighting. Cicero endeavored to discourage this wild spirit; but finding that his remonstrances were slighted, he resumed his usual way of railery, and what he could not frustrate by his authority, endeavored to make ridiculous by his jests.
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35. Paphum: After the defeat at Pharsalia, Pompey fled to Paphos, a city of Cyprus.

4. Hereditates mihi negasti venire: It was common among the Romans to bequeath legacies to distinguished men, and it was a reproach to a man of talents to have no legacy bequeathed him. In reply to this sarcasm of Antony, Cicero said, he wished that what Antony said was true, as, in that case, many of his friends, who were dead, would be living; and then he asserts, that he had received, by legacies more than £160,000.

6. HS ducenties: H may be considered as II (i.e. duo) merely crossed by a horizontal line; since HVIR, for duumvir, is found on ancient coins, and the numeral X is frequently so crossed (X). S stands for semis, half. Thus HS ("two and a half") are used as a sign for sestertius, which also means "two and a half" (i.e. asse), being written by syncope for semis tertius, "three minus half," according to the ancient custom, in reckoning money, of placing a fraction before a whole number to diminish the latter. Similar is the Greek idiom ἵμιαὑ ὀτίον, "two and a half." Sestertius is properly an adjective agreeing with nummus, understood, which, however, is sometimes expressed (sestertius nummus), and is sometimes even used alone in this sense, having sestertius understood before it. The sestertius (nummus) was originally one quarter (24 asses) of the denarius or piece of 10 asses. In computing by the sestertius, when the number amounted to one or more thousands, the Romans commonly put the word in the genitive plural (sestertiorum, or, contracted, sestertium) governed by mille, bis mille or bina millia, octo millia, centena millia, bis centena millia, &c., signifying so many thousands, or hundreds of thousands, of sestertii (nummi); but when the number amounted to decies centena millia sestertium, "ten hundred thousand" or a "million sestertii," the words centena millia were by custom suppressed, leaving decies sestertium, to signify "a million sestertii." But we find expressions like summa decies sestertii, and vivere in decies sestertio, meaning also "a million sestertii," and the grammatical form they present is not accounted for by the mode of reckoning sums less than a million. Hence several learned critics have adopted the opinion, that decies, in the reckoning of sestertii, came to be considered as an indeclinable substantive noun, in the singular number, and sestertium as an adjective, agreeing with it in number and gender, and varying in case as the position of decies in the sentence might require. This opinion is supported by the phrases, hoc decies, decies plenum, and the like. The same is true of the numeral adverbs higher than decies. According to this explanation, HS ducenties in the text is sestertio ducentes, in the ablative, governed by amplius, and is equivalent to ducenties centena millia sestertium, "two hundred hundred thousand" or "twenty million sestertii." See also page 141, line 25, where sestertium sexages is in the accusative, governed by petere, and signifies 6,000,000. On this subject, the student is referred to the "Additional Remarks on Roman Money," at the end of Gould's edition of Adam's Latin Grammar.

8. Fateor feliciorom, etc.: Cicero insinuates, that he succeeded to legacies only by the wills of his friends; that Antony succeeded to legacies not only by the wills of his friends, but by forging wills of both friends and enemies, and defrauding their heirs.

11. Cassinas: This adjective is formed from Casstrium, the name
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140 of a town of Campania, near which the *Via Appia* and *Via Latina* met.

24. *Patris*: He had dissipated his estate.

25. *Hec ut colligere*: After Cicero delivered his first Philippic, Antony determined to answer him in person in the senate, and for this purpose is said to have employed himself seventeen days in preparing the materials of a speech, and declaiming against Cicero in Scipio's villa near the Tiber.

26. *Alium villam*: These are words of reproach, which imply, that notwithstanding the rapacity and fraud of Antony, he was so prodigal, that he had not a villa of his own, in which he could retire for study or recreation.

29. *Rhetorem*: A rhetorician was less honorable than an orator, because the former taught the rules of rhetoric in private, which the latter practised in public.

32. *Avum tustum*: M. Antonius, grandfather of Antony, was a celebrated orator.

36. *Campi Leontini Sex. Clodio*: This Sextus Clodius, the rhetorical master of Antony, was a Sicilian by birth, and received from Antony two thousand acres of Leontine land, esteemed the most fertile in Sicily, as a reward for his instructions.

38. *Ex Caesaris commentariis*: Cicero reproachfully asks, whether Caesar's posthumous decrees, which Antony altered and interpolated as he pleased, bestowed these lands upon Sextus Clodius.

6. *Decesse*: Became bankrupt.—*Patris*: It has already been observed that Antony's father had dissipated his estate.

7. *Pietatis*: The original signification of this word, and the sense in which it is here used, is "filial duty."

8. *Lege Rosci*: The Roscian law decreed, that those knights, whose estates were correspondent to their dignity, should have benches provided for them in the theatre, from which all knights should be excluded, who, either by their own fault, or the fault of fortune, had lost their property.

11. *Mutilabre togam*: Alluding to the licentious pleasures of Antony. At first, among the Romans, the gown was worn by both men and women. Afterwards the modest women were distinguished by the *palla* and the *stola*; the former was their ordinary vest, worn within doors, coming down to their ankles; the latter they put on when they went abroad, and covered with it the stola and their whole body. The common courtesans were not allowed to wear the *stola*, but were obliged to appear in a *toga*, as a mark of infamy, on account of its resemblance to the habit of the other sex.


142 4. *Intimus erat in tribunatu Clodio*: Antony was intimate with Clodius while the latter was in prosperity, but deserted him when in adversity.—*Qui sua erga me beneficia commemorat*: No favors Antony could bestow upon Cicero, could compensate for his being an intimate friend of Clodius, while that seditious tribune was executing the dictates of his implacable enmity against Cicero.

5. *Ejus...incendiorum fum*: The profligacy of Antony's character justified this assertion.

6. *Quiddam*: Antony endeavored to commit adultery with Fulvia, Clodius's wife, whom, after the death of Clodius, he married.

7. *Contra senatis auctoritatem*: Ptolemy, king of Egypt, being expelled by the Alexandrines, applied to the Romans for restoration to his throne. Gabinius, persuaded by Antony, undertook to rein-
state him, contrary to the authority of the senate, and to the Sibyl-
line oracles, which forbade that an Egyptian king should be replaced
by an army.

10. Rediutus....Prius in ultimam Galliam....quàm domum: From
Egypt, whither Antony had gone with Gabinius, he went to César
in Farther Gaul; his numerous debts prevented his going to Rome.
As Cicero asserts, Antony had no house, except one at Misênus, a
part of which was in possession of his creditors.

15. Sisapōnem: Sisápone was a town of Cordúba, in Spain, famous
for its mines of red lead. It is here applied reproachfully to Antony's
possession of his farm at Misénus; for Sisapo was held in common,
not by any one in particular.

18. Accoperam....Cesariis litteras: One of Antony's objects in going
to César in Spain, was to procure money enough to secure an elec-
tion to the questorship; but fearing that he should not succeed, if
Cicero was opposed to him, on account of his intimacy with Clodius,
he prevailed upon César to write conciliatory letters to the orator.

30. Questor es factus: The questors, who were the treasurers of the
republic, were sent annually into the seven provinces, one with
every proconsul or governor, to whom they were next in authority;
their provinces were assigned them by decree of the senate, or by
casting lots. But Antony, without regard to laws or customs, went
directly to César as soon as he was made questor.

44. Ipsique C. Cesari: Lentúlus and Marcellus were devoted to
Pompey's interest, and when they had entered the office of consulate,
the senate voted a decree, that César before a certain day should dis-
miss his army, or be declared an enemy. Antony and Cassius were
attached to César, and, during their tribuneship, would permit no
decree to be passed, which was detrimental to him; they therefore
opposed this; and when the senate perceived, that they would not
withdraw their negative, they voted that the consuls should take
care that the republic should receive no detriment. This vote gave
the consuls absolute power over every individual in the city whom
they thought enemies to the commonwealth. Antony and Cassius,
supposing themselves endangered, immediately departed from Rome,
and fled to César's camp.

5. Tut luminum extinctis: Cato, Marcellus, Lentulus, Domitius,
and other worthy characters, who were slain in the civil war.—Hos-
tem totum: A conspirator or traitor, who, without putting off the
robe of peace, betrays his country.

26. Tu, tu....princeps: The conduct of Antony in his tribuneship
was such, that the senate were obliged to take violent measures.
Antony then fled to César, and afforded him a pretext for usurping
the power of his country. César used the pretext; and among other
pretences, by which he justified the usurpation, complained, that the
constitution was disregarded by the senate and consuls; that Antony's
Veto was overruled, and himself persecuted by them for discharging
the official duties of the tribuneship.

38. Consules....excussus: As César advanced to the city, Marcellus
and Lentulus fled to Pompey, who was with his army at Capua.

2. Tres exercitus: Pompey's at Pharsalia, Afranius's in Spain, and
Scipio's in Africa.

8. Helena Trojanis: For the story of Helen, the student is referred
to Virgil's Aeneid.

13. Patru nullà mentio: C. Antonius, who was Cicero's colleague
in the consulship, had the province of Macedonia assigned to him, and for mal-administration was condemned to perpetual exile.

21. De aedū legē: Sulla passed a law, by which all games were prohibited, except such as improved the body by exercise; such as throwing the spear, running, jumping, wrestling, and boxing.

30. Cūm Česār, in Hispāniām: When Cēsar went to Spain, he committed Rome to the government of Lepidūs, the praetor, and Italy and the other garrisons to Antōny, who was then tribune. During the absence of Cēsar, Antōny lived very profligately.

35. Quī non fui: Cicērō resided only a short time in Italy, while Cēsar was in Spain.

40. Essēdo: This was a kind of warlike wagon used in battle by the Gauls and Britons.

41. Mīna portābatur: This mistress of Antōny was Cytheria, who was also called Volumnia.

45. Rejecta mater: The unhappy mother of Antōny was obliged to follow this actress as an attendant.

12. Victor e Thessāliā: Tharsalia was in Thessaly.

12. Brundisium: Was a port in Italy, in which Cēsar, after the battle of Tharsalia, stationed Antōny to guard Italy, while he pursued Pompey. At Brundisium it was in Antōny’s power to kill Cicērō.

27. Tot dierum: Brundisium was fourteen days’ journey from Rome.

35. Equōs vectīgales: Tributary horses.—Non hanc: Antōny had unlawfully entered and kept possession of Pompey’s house.

146 4. Hippia nuptīs: Hippia separated herself from her first husband, who was a senator, and married the actor Sērgius. At the nuptials of these debauched lovers, Antōny drank so much wine, that the next day he vomited in the presence of the Roman people, which would have been scandalous in a common citizen, and was extremely disgraceful to a magistrate, so eminent as the master of the horse.

16. Hastā posītā: After the Alexandrine war was ended, Antōny advertised the goods and estate of Pompey for sale by public auction. At the sale, a spear was erected, as usual, which signified that the auction was legal, that instrument of war being an emblem of authority.


32. Frud poetām: This poet is said to be Nērius.

147 3. Charybdis: Charybdis is a whirlpool in the strait between the island of Sicily and Italy, and is opposite to the rock Scylla. See Virgil’s Ænēid, Book III, verse 414, and the following.

24. Rostra, etc.: The spoils Pompey had taken from the ships of the enemy in the piratic war. The Romans were fond of decorating their porches, and the avenues to their houses.

39. Suas res sibi habere jussit: That is, he divorced his actress; for the form of a divorce of this kind was a command, ordering the wife, res suas sibi habere, and sometimes res suas sibi agere; which was according to the law of the Twelve Tables.

43. Et consul et Antonius: This was an appellation, which, through vanity, Antōny gave to himself.

148 5. Earum partium: Cēsar’s party, which Antōny followed.

9. Et bello: This war was undertaken after Cēsar had finished the Alexandrine war. Cēsar prosecuted it in Africa against Scipio and Cato; but Antōny did not join him.
12. L. Domitius: L. Domitius Aenobarbus was a man eminent for his glorious actions, and, before the commencement of the civil wars, was ordered by the senate to succeed Caesar in Gaul.

21. Testamento: It has been said, that Caesar was not so much pleased with Antony, when the civil wars were ended, as he had been during their continuance. Some proof of this was Caesar’s demanding immediate payment of the money, which Antony had bound himself to pay by the purchase of Pompey’s estate. But it is supposed Caesar never had a design of ruining Antony, and that he desired only to check his extravagance, and thus make him more useful to his own designs.

23. Respondisti...ferecit: Trusting to his interest with Caesar, Antony never designed to pay for Pompey’s estate; and, when Caesar demanded payment, was so much provoked, that he is said to have conceived a design against Caesar’s life, of which Caesar himself complained openly in the senate.

35. Illa tabula: The inventory of Pompey’s estate. Antony had destroyed, disposed of, and abused so large a portion of Pompey’s estate and effects, that the inventory of them, exhibited at the sale, became an object of ridicule.

43. Heredes L. Rubrii: By permission of Caesar, the heirs of Rubrius, whose goods Antony had taken, stopped the sale that he was making of the effects of Pompey, which he was obliged to sell in order to procure money to pay Caesar.

1. Ipsis temporibus: At the time of this sale, Antony sent an assassin to Caesar’s house to slay him, but the murderer did not succeed.

4. Proficiscitur in Hispaniam: When Caesar had ended the African war, he went to Spain to attack one of Pompey’s sons, who had collected an army to revenge the death of his father.

6. Rudent: This was a kind of rod or wand given to gladiators in token of their discharge, when they had ended their combats.

13. Ter depugnavit Caesar cum civibus: Once in Thessaly at Pharsalia with Pompey; once at Thapsus in Africa with Scipio and Juba; once with the sons of Pompey at Munda in Spain.

24. Narbona: This city was the capital of Gallia Narbonensis.

31. Galliciis...lacerat: Pattens and a short cloak belonged to a military dress, in which it was very improper to enter the city and appear as a candidate for any magistracy.

42. Saxa Rubra: This was the name of a village between Rome and the city of Veii.

1. A. Marco: i.e. Marcus Antonius.

2. Ad eam: Fulvia, his wife.

11. Terrore nocturno: Antony departed from Rome to compliment Caesar on his victory at Munda in Spain over the sons of Pompey, but, having met some despatches, he returned to Rome with so much haste, that there was a great public alarm, the people supposing that some important event had happened, that Caesar was dead, or that, having destroyed the military force of the Pompeian party, he now approached Rome to inflict bloody revenge upon his unprotected antagonists.

13. L. Plancus: Plancus was an intimate friend of Cicero.

21. Habebat hoc...Cesar: One can scarcely believe that this Caesar is the man, whom Cicero, when delivering the oration for Marcellus and Ligarius, addressed with so much adulation. Yet he is the same; and Cicero, at this time uninfluenced by fear of punishment or hope
of favor, dares portray his character in its true colors. Cesar was an ambitious man; his ambition pursued those means to effect its objects, which the same passion in other men has always chosen. To enslave his country, he deluded or overpowered the virtuous, and, by encouragement and reward, made the vicious the ministers by whose services he executed his designs.

25. *Nihil quor di Dolabella*: Cesar promised the oonsulship to Dolabella; Antony had already been appointed consul, and being jealous of Dolabella’s rivalting him in Cesar’s favor, persuaded Cesar to retain the consulsipship himself. Dolabella’s honor was injured by this proceeding, and in the senate, where he dared not speak against Cesar, he pronounced a severe invective against Antony. A quarrel ensued; Cesar was induced to assure Dolabella, that, before he went to the Parthian war, he would resign the consulsipship to him; but Antony declared that, by his authority as augur, he would disturb that election, whenever it should be attempted.

30. *Calenda Januaria*: The time when the consuls elect entered their office.


34. *Praeticernur*: To the Parthian war.

38. *Vel impediere vel vitiare*: It was in the power of the augurs to hinder or dissolve any public meeting by observing an insinuous omen, as when it thundered, or birds were in certain positions, etc. This power was often abused.

41. *Istuc, etc.*: A literal translation of this passage is as follows: “If you had not been augur, and had been consul, would you have been less able to do that which you said you could do by your sacerdotal authority? See that it is not more easy; for we [the augurs] have only the right of declaring; the consuls and other magistrates, that of inspection.”

6. *In calo servare*: To observe the auspices by viewing the heavens.

7. *Per leges*: The Alian and Tuscan laws forbade the taking of the auspices while the people were engaged in business, because they should have been taken before.

11. *Idus Martias*: On the Ides of March Cesar was slain.

15. *Sortitio praeogatiae*: The consuls were chosen by the Comitia centuriata. See Note, page 43, line 20. By this institution of Servius Tullius, the common people had little power. After the expulsion of kings, the Romans altered this aristocratical regulation, and decreed, that the centuries should vote according to lot, that that century should vote first upon which the lot fell, and should be called centuria praeogatiae, and that the other centuries, which had the appellation of *jure Vocata*, should vote according to their proper places.


19. *Bonus augur*: This is an ironical compliment to Antony, whom, he says, you would call a Laelius. Laelius was an augur of much celebrity and influence.

19. *Allo die*: When Antony saw that Dolabella was elected, he pretended to see an insinuous omen, and exclaimed, *(Allo die)* Adjourn.”

26. *Augur auguri, consul consul*: Antony was augur and consul; Cesar was augur and consul.

35. *Augur*: I. e. I, who am augur,

37. *Lupercalia*: This festival was on the fifteenth of February.
41. Rhetoris: Sextus Clodius, of whom mention has been made before in this oration.

43. Collegeratius: Caesar.

1. Lupercus: One engaged in celebrating the festival of the Lupercalia.

5. Illius: Caesar.

13. Cium es nudus concionatus: The ceremonies of the Lupercalian festival were; first, two goats and a dog were killed; then the foreheads of two young men of distinction were touched with the bloody knife. Afterwards the skins of the victims were cut into thongs and whips for the young men; who, armed in this manner, and covered only with a pair of drawers, ran about the city and fields, striking all they met. Antony this year was one of the young men, and, while Caesar was sitting in a golden chair seeing them run, Antony advanced to him, and offered him a diadem and kingly power, which Caesar refused.


22. Populi jussu: This is false; there was no order of the people.

26. De die...in die: Vinere de die signifies to live sumptuously and feast every day; in diem vivere is to regard the present only, to be careless of futurity.

29. L. Tarquiniius: He was the last king of the Romans, and was expelled by Lucius Junius Brutus.—Sp. Cassius, Metius, M. Manlius: These men at different times were supposed to be desirous of making themselves kings of Rome, and were put to death.

40. Fuga: When Antony heard of Caesar’s death, he fled, fearing he also should be killed.

42. Beneficio eorum: Brutus and Cassius. Antony would have been slain, had not Brutus advised his friends to spare him.

2. Liberatoribus nostris: Brutus and Cassius.


15. Puerum nobilis: Antony sent his son to Brutus into the Capitol as an hostage. Bambalio was Antony’s father-in-law.

21. Pulchra laudatio, etc.: Cicero speaks ironically. Antony pronounced a funeral oration over the body of Caesar.—Tua miseria: In the course of his eulogy he held up to the sight of the populace the robe of Caesar, rent by the daggers of his assassins, and stained with blood, intending, by exciting their pity, to inflame their passions against the conspirators.—Tua cohortatio: Antony exhorted the people to revenge the death of Caesar.

22. Illas facies incendisti: The people, moved by the speech of Antony, took brands of fire from the funeral pile of Caesar, burnt some houses of the senators, and were with difficulty dispersed by Dolabella, the other consul.

29. Immunitatis tabula: Caesar, before his death, granted several immunities and furloughs to his soldiers, which Antony countermanded.

29. Figeretur: Laws, decrees, etc. were engraven on brass tables, and fixed in the Capitol and other public places, for the information of the people.

31. Dictaturae nomen: Antony obtained a decree, that whoever endeavored to create a dictator, or should accept a dictatorship offered to him, should be put to death.
154 1. Septies millies eestertium: About £5,000,000. See Note, page 140, line 6.
2. Ad Opis: The word edem is here understood.
3. Reges Deiotaros: See Introduction to the oration for King Deiotarus. Caesar deprived Deiotarus of a part of his kingdom for his adherence to Pompey. At the death of Caesar, Antony bargained with the old king for the sum of £30,000, to restore to him what Caesar had taken. But when Deiotarus heard Caesar was dead, he seized his dominions himself.
4. Massiliensisus: The inhabitants of Marseilles were allies of the Romans, and espoused the party of Pompey and the senate, which made Caesar inimical to them.
5. Syngrapha H. S. centies: A note in writing for about £78,000
6. Iste: Sextus Clodius, the rhetorician
7. Ille: Deiotarus.
8. Auctorem: Caesar.
9. Imitatores: Counterfeiters.—Gladiatorum libellus: Bills containing the names of the gladiators and the feasts to be performed.
10. Post M. Brutum proconsulem: Antony had lately published a decree, which, he pretended, he had found among Caesar’s papers, that declared, that after the consulship of M. Brutus Crete should be freed from taxes. That this decree was not among Caesar’s papers is very evident, because, while Caesar was living, neither he nor any one else could foresee that Brutus would be proconsul in Crete, as that event was caused by Caesar’s death alone; and if Caesar had not been assassinated, Brutus would not have gone to Crete in quality of proconsul.
12. Patru: This was C. Antonius, the colleague of Cicero in the consulship. He was condemned to exile for maladministration in Macedonia. Mark Antony, his nephew, recalled many from exile, but neglected him. However, when he was afterwards restored, his nephew endeavored to have him elected censor. The inconsistency of the conduct of Mark Antony on this occasion excited both the ridicule and indignation of the Romans.
13. Sinistrum fulmen: Thunder from the left was a happy omen on every occasion except the holding of the Comitia; it then was deemed an inauspicious one.
14. Septemviratu: The Septemviri, to whom this passage refers, were either the seven commissioners appointed to regulate the feasts in honor of the gods, or the commissioners appointed after Caesar’s death to divide the Leontine and Campanian lands. Antony deserted his uncle on this occasion, and thereby became more inconsistent.
15. Stuprum oblatus esse comperisses: This was a tale invented by Antony to afford a pretext for a divorce from his cousin Antonia, and to justify in some degree his marriage with Fulvia, the widow of Clodius.
16. Ad chirgrapha: Cicero alludes to the forgeries of Antony, papers which the latter pretended were left by Caesar.
17. Illud “Penète”; In endeavoring to establish a colony at Capua, Antony was almost killed; and Cicero here says, that he wishes that that almost had been away; that is, he wished that Antony had been killed.
18. Agrum Campanum: The Campanian lands belonged to the commonwealth; Antony nevertheless divided them among his sol-
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13. Agro Leontino: The Leontine lands were in Sicily; Antony bestowed them on the Sextus Clodius before mentioned. These lands were very fertile.


20. Capua: When Antony attempted to settle his soldiers at Capua, the old inhabitants made so vigorous a resistance, that it was with difficulty he escaped with his life.

27. Vexillum togæres, et oratrum circumducere: This was the usual way of establishing colonies.

30. M. Varronis: Varro was esteemed the most learned man in Rome, and was an intimate friend of Cicero. He was Pompey’s lieutenant in Spain, but after the defeat of Afranius and Petreius, he left the army, and retired to his studies.

42. Ut redderes: Caesar wrote to Antony to restore to Varro his Cassianian estate, which Antony had unjustly obtained.

5. Ab horto tertio: This hour, according to the Roman mode of computation, it will be recollected, was early in the forenoon.

15. Cassino, etc.: Cassinum was a town in Campania; Aquinum, a town near Samnium; Interamna, a town near Aquinum.

22. Anagnini: Anagnia was a town in Campania.

29. Sidicinum...Putolanos: Sidicinum, or Teanum, was a colony and city in Campania, towards Cassinum. Putoli was a maritime town in Campania.


34. Coligae tui: Dolabella, who overthrew the monument of Caesar.

38. De caelo detrazisti: The meaning of the phrase de caelo detractores is to debase; and, in the next lines, Cicero accordingly says, that Antony had not indeed made Dolabella, his colleague, quite so bad as himself, but had certainly made him unlike what Dolabella formerly was.

42. Cinnam...Sullam: See Note, page 28, line 3.


4. Calendaris Jumia: At this time Antony returned to the city, as it was the usual period at which the senate met; but, so great was his power, and so tyrannical were his proceedings, that no senator dared to take his place.

11. Prorogavit: Caesar passed a law, that pretors should govern their provinces only one year, the consuls their provinces two years. Antony enabled them to hold the government of the provinces several years.

16. Hortos Pompei...villam Scipionis: Antony possessed these estates.

23. Divo Julio: The Romans and other ancient nations often deified their great men.

25. Coligae sumus: Cicero and Antony were colleagues, as both of them were augurs.

30. Our non sumus praetextati: The magistrates of the city during the year of their magistracy wore the praetexta, a robe bordered with purple. On festival days, all other senators, who had been magistrates, wore this robe.


159 14. Conjux: Fulvia, Antony's wife, had been married twice before. Clodius, her first husband, was killed by Milo; Curio, her next husband, was slain by Juba, king of Mauritania; and Cicero says, she had long owed the Roman people her third debt, insinuating that before that time, Antony, her third husband, should have been killed.


32. Hī: Brutus and Cassius.

160 10. Fuit in ılo ingenium, etc.: Cicero here acknowledges the abilities of Cæsar, which unquestionably were very great, but at the same time were employed to the ruin of his country.

15. Suos premīsī: Cæsar had the generosity of an artful politician; he was liberal, when liberality would promote the execution of his ambitious designs.

44. Cicero published fourteen orations against Antony; but of all of them the Second Philippic, "conspicuum divina Philippica fama," as Juvenal styles it (Sat. X. 125), was the most severe. This oration was perhaps the immediate cause of the assassination of Cicero. The sarcastical wit and pungent satire it contains, so highly exasperated Antony, that he determined to embrace the first opportunity of silencing forever that tongue, whose invectives he so much feared. His desire of revenge did not long remain ungratified. The Roman orator, whom a large portion of mankind have so much admired, in a short time after the publication of this Philippic, became one of the first victims of that bloody vengeance, which characterized the coalition of Octavius, Antony, and Lepidus.

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From the Principal of Massachusetts State Normal School, Bridgewater, Mass.

State Normal School, Bridgewater, Jan. 8, 1858.

We continue, in this institution, to make daily use of Greenleaf’s National Arithmetic, regarding it, on the whole, a sterling work. Having recently examined the revised edition of the same book, I consider it, in many respects, an improvement on the former edition, and a work destined to be extensively used.

MARSHALL CONANT.

From a. Parish, A. M., Principal of the High School, Springfield, Mass., and one of the Massachusetts Board of Education.

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From the Principal of the Boston City Normal School.

Girls’ High and Normal School, Boston, June 3, 1858.

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We subjoin the following testimonials, as expressive of the opinion entertained by practical teachers, who have given the work a critical examination.


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A. M. Gay.


From a careful examination of Greenleaf's Geometry I regard it as well adapted to the wants of schools and seminaries. It contains many valuable problems and propositions not found in other works. Aside from the subject-matter, the typography and mechanical execution of the book bespeak an excellence not surpassed by any other book of the kind. I shall undoubtedly introduce the work into my school.

RECOMMENDATIONS OF GREENLEAF'S GEOMETRY.

From D. B. Hagar, A. M., President of the Massachusetts Teachers’ Association.

West Roxbury, Mass., July 3, 1858.

Having carefully read the advanced sheets of Greenleaf's Geometry, I am happy to be able to assure you that the work appears to me to be one of great merit. Of course no person can expect to find much that is essentially new in a geometrical treatise published at this day. But Mr. Greenleaf's, while it is based, like nearly all American Geometries, upon Legendre's original work, contains valuable propositions not usually found in similar publications, and also presents uncommonly clear demonstrations of many of the standard propositions. The definitions contained in this work are generally concise, clear, and exact. The exercises in Mensuration, and in the Application of Algebra to Geometry, will be found unusually interesting and useful. In a word, I have no doubt that Mr. Greenleaf's Geometry will be found to compare favorably with the best Geometries yet published.

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Principal of Eliot High School.


Plymouth, July 20, 1858.

I have examined, with considerable care, Greenleaf’s Geometry, and am prepared to give it a decided preference to any other text-book in that branch with which I am acquainted. I was, some time since, furnished with advanced sheets, which I compared with other text-books in use in my classes. The arrangement is good, the definitions clear and concise, and the language used in the demonstration of the propositions is lucid in a high degree. That portion of the book devoted to Mensuration, and to Miscellaneous Geometrical Exercises, is a highly valuable feature, and is well executed. It will furnish the teacher with the means of a thorough practical review of the whole subject. As regards the mechanical part of the book, the typography, diagrams, paper and binding, will be found superior to other similar works. I shall introduce this Geometry into my school next term.

A. P. STONE.

New Salem (Mass.) Academy, Aug. 12, 1858.

I have examined, with much pleasure, "Greenleaf’s Elements of Geometry," and think it, in most respects, superior to any text-book of the kind now in use. The author seems to have attained the great object in all mathematical treatises, and especially in a Geometry,—clearness of demonstration united with conciseness of expression. He has closely followed the principle laid down in his Arithmetic and Algebra,—not to explain too much, nor too little; and thus has made Geometry the study that it ought to be,—interesting as well as useful.

The Problems in Books XI.—XIV. are well selected, and cannot fail to put the theoretical knowledge of the student to a practical test.

J. A. SHAW, Principal.

From Moses Woolson, A. M., Principal of Girls' High School, Portland, Me.

Portland, July 31, 1858.

Upon a cursory examination of Greenleaf’s Geometry, I find, although Legendre’s admirable text-book has been taken, in a measure, as a basis, it evidently excels that work, in many points, in clearness and precision. Both in the matter of demonstration, and in the arrangement, important improvements are noticeable. Much extraneous material, too often found in editions of Legendre, is judiciously left out in this new book. I am much pleased with the work, and would therefore cheerfully commend it to the favorable consideration of teachers.

Moses Woolson.
RECOMMENDATIONS OF GREENLEAF'S ALGEBRA.

PHILLIPS' ACADEMY, EXETER, N. H., February 26, 1855.

I have used, for several months, in the Mathematical Department of the Academy, Greenleaf's Algebra. It has stood, remarkably well, the test of the Recitation Room,—a test much severer than a private examination. Its problems, especially those in Quadratic Equations, are very much superior to those of most text-books in Algebra, which have come under my notice. These and the Miscellaneous Questions are well selected, and admirably suited to develop the ingenuity of the student, and familiarize him with the fundamental principles of the science. The discussion of the subject of Logarithms is rendered more valuable by the introduction of Logarithmic Tables at the end of the volume. On the whole I take pleasure in commending the book to teachers in High Schools and Academies.

J. G. HOYT, Prof. of Mathematics.

NEW ENGLAND NORMAL INSTITUTE, LANCASTER, MASS., June 13, 1855.

Greenleaf's Arithmetic and Algebra have been in use in the Mathematical Department of this Seminary, as the best text-books, in the judgment of our instructors, for the purpose of training the minds of teachers to their official duties in these branches. Our instructors in Mathematics have also regarded them as, on the whole, the best fitted of any of our class-books, in their department, for the general purposes of instruction in schools in which Arithmetic and Algebra are taught.

In the temporary absence of Professor HERMANN KRÜŚI, of the Mathematical Department.

WILLIAM RUSSELL, Director.

NEWBURYPORT, MASS., July, 10, 1853.

After a careful examination of Greenleaf's Algebra, we decided to introduce it into our school, and a trial of one term has fully confirmed the favorable impression we had received in regard to it. We are particularly pleased with the fitness of the examples to illustrate the principles, and fix them in the mind of the learner. We find some new matter, and such a combination and arrangement of the old, as will, in our opinion, render the work a very desirable text-book for the use of schools.

W. H. WELLS, Principal of Putnam School.

NEW HAVEN, January 2d, 1854.

I have used Greenleaf's Practical Treatise on Algebra in my school the past eight months, and have found it very convenient and valuable both to the teacher and pupil. It unfolds the science concisely, though with clearness. The distinguishing characteristic of the work, however, is seen in the great variety of practical examples and problems under the rules. I would, with confidence, commend the book to the attention of teachers of elementary mathematics, as one of the best that have been published in this country.

STILES FRENCH, Teacher of Mathematics.

STATE NORMAL SCHOOL, NEW BRITAIN, CT., APRIL 25, 1855.

Having carefully examined Greenleaf's National Arithmetic and Algebra, and used them in classes, I am able to speak of them in terms of high commendation.

DAVID N. CAMP, Prof. of Mathematics

SPRINGFIELD, MASS., June 4, 1855.

During the year past, Greenleaf's Algebra has been in use in this school, and, as a mathematical text-book, has been found very satisfactory. In copiousness and variety of problems, I do not know its superior; and they are so arranged that while the youngest pupil may comprehend and perform a large proportion, the most advanced will find those that will fully tax his mathematical powers. The subjects are clearly stated, and some of them are more completely demonstrated than in any other work I have used. I esteem the work very highly.

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From Samuel P. Newman, Professor of Rhetoric in Bowdoin College.

I have examined "Progressive Exercises in English Composition," by R. G. Parker, with some care, and hesitate not to express an opinion that it is well adapted to the purpose for which it is designed. It is well fitted to call into exercise the ingenuity of the pupil, to acquaint him with the more important principles and rules of rhetoric, and to guide and aid his first attempts in the difficult work of composition.

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No school should be without the National Speaker. Distinguished Educationists recommend its use. Among numerous others, have been received the following

TESTIMONIALS.

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The National Speaker is an excellent school-book. The compend of the principles of elocution, which it contains, is admirable,—being, at once, clear, comprehensive, and practical. It works well in the school-room. Its selections for declamation have been made with judgment and taste; and embrace as great a variety of style and matter as is desirable in such a work.


I know of no work on the subject of Elocution which I can more highly recommend.

44
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From Benjamin Greenleaf, A.M., Author of the “National Arithmetic,” etc.
For several years past, I have used Fisk’s Greek Grammar in my seminary. I consider it a work of superior merit. It is well arranged, and the rules are clear and perspicuous. It is, in my opinion, better adapted to initiate pupils into the idiom of the Greek language, than any other treatise of the kind that I have examined. Fisk’s Greek Exercises should be used in connection with the Grammar. A work of this kind has long been needed. It is a production of great merit.

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From Prof. John J. Owen, Editor of a Popular Classical Series.
I have examined with some attention Caesar’s Commentaries, edited by Leverett, and Cicero’s Orations, edited by Folsom, and am happy to recommend them to classical teachers, as being, in my estimation, far superior to any other editions of those works, to which students in this country have general access. The typography is fair and accurate, and the general appearance of the books does honor to the enterprising publisher. I hope these editions will be extensively used in our Academies and High Schools.

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I take pleasure in commending to teachers the recent beautiful edition of Folsom’s Cicero. The attractiveness of its text, notes, synoptical and analytical tables, and typographical execution, led me to place it in the hands of a class of young ladies, who are reading it with delight.
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