VIRO EREGIO,

UNI OPTIME DE CICERONE MERITO.

CAROLO HALMIO,

QUOD IUIC OPERI ACCESSIT NOVI

EXCUITIENDUM EDITOR TRADIT,

REFERT ACCEPTUM

QUOD IPSIUS EST.
ELOQUIUM AC FAMAM DEMOSTHENIS AUT CICERONIS
INCIPIT OPTARE ET TOTIS QUINQUATRIBUS OPTAT,
QUISQUIS ADHUC UNO PARCAM COLIT ASSE MINERVAM,
QUEM SEQUITUR CUSTOS ANGUSTAE VERNULA CAPSAE.
ELOQUIO SED UTERQUE PERIT ORATOR, UTRUMQUE
LARGUS ET EXUNDANS LETO DEDIT INGENII FONS,
INGENIO MANUS EST ET CERVIX CAESA, NEC UMQUAM
SANGUINE CAUSIDICI MADUERUNT ROSTRA FUSILL.
'O FORTUNATAM NATAM ME CONSULE ROMAM!
ANTONI GLADIOS POTUIT CONTEMNERE, SI SIC
OMNIA DIXISSET. RIDENDA POEMATA MALO,
QUAM TE CONSICUAE, DIVINA PHILIPPICA, FAMAE,
VOLVERIS A PRIMA QUAE PROXIMA.

IUVEN. SATIR. X. 114—126.
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CONTRACTIONS, ETC.

ap. apud

constr. construction

esp. especially

exx. examples

= equal to

Intr. Introduction

l. c. loco citato

n. note

sc. scilicet

) (opposed to
LIST OF BOOKS

Useful to the Student of Cicero.

HISTORY. With this speech should be read Plutarch's lives of Pompeius, Cicero, Caesar, Brutus and Antonius (translated, with others, by Mr Long in his 'Civil Wars of Rome,' forming five of 'Knight's Shilling Volumes'). Cf. Dio (as far as b. xlv.), Caesar b. c., Appian b. c. (ii—iv.), Suet. Caes., Velleius (ii. 29—66), Mr Merivale's 'Fall of the Roman Republic,' and Abeken's 'Account of the Life and Writings of Cicero,' 1854. To the scholar perhaps no books on ancient history are more useful than W. H. Suringar's 'M. Tullii Ciceronis commentarii de vita sua.' Accesserunt Annales Ciceroniani. Leidae. 1854, and Orelli's 'Onomasticon Tullianum.' [Forsyth's Life of Cic.]

CHRONOLOGY. Zumpt's 'Annales' (reprinted by Mr T. K. Arnold) for schools. Fischer's 'römische Zeittafeln' (Altona, 1846, 4to, consisting chiefly of extracts from ancient authors) for the university.

LEXICONS. The large lexicons of Gesner, Scheller, and even Forcellini, may now be bought for the same sum as the abridgements of Freund's abridgement of Forcellini. To the scholar nothing can supply the place of these great storehouses of the facts of the language. For Cicero specially, Ernesti's Clavis (ed. 6. Halle, 1831, Svo) is very convenient. The 'Lexicon Ciceronianum' of Schütz (Lips. 1819) and that of Nizolius (best ed. Patav. 1734, fol.) should be added by the more advanced scholar. Merguet's complete 'Lexikon zu den Reden des Cicero. Jena, Mauke,' small fol. has been brought down to 'ingredior.'

EDITIONS. a. Rhetorical works. Ellenstädt's 'de oratore' (Königsb. 1840, 2 vols. Svo) and 'Brutus' (ib. 1844), Svo. A. S. Wilkins 'de or. Oxf. 1879,' vol. i.


c. Philosophical works. 'de finibus,' Hauniae, 1876, by Madvig; 'Laelius,' Lips. 1828, by C. Beier; 'de officiis,' ibid. 1820 1821, by the same. 'Tusc. disp.' Jenae. 1853, by R. Kühner. 'de officiis' by H. A. Holdcn, Cambr. 1879. 'Academia' by J. S. Reid, Camb. 1874. 'n. d.' by J. B. Mayor, vol. i. Camb. 1880. 'Cato' and 'Laelius' by J. S. Reid, Cambr. 1879.

See my 'Bibliographical clue to lat. literature. Macmillan 1875.' J. B. Mayor 'guide to the choice of classical books. Bell. 1879.'
Having long regarded Halm's commentaries on Cicero as admirably fitted to spread a sound knowledge of those writings, which are the test* of proficiency in Latin, I did not hesitate to recommend his edition to the class, with which I read the Second Philippic in the last October term. As however the book was not accessible to all my hearers, I determined to put the introduction and notes into an English dress.

I have endeavoured to translate the introduction tolerably closely; with the notes I have taken greater liberties, abridging, enlarging, or omitting, at discretion; where Halm gives a reference to a classic, I have generally printed the passage at length; where the reference is to his own notes on other speeches, or to modern books, I have worked in the additional matter; I have also rendered into English the numerous Greek quotations.

My own additions†, which have grown to a far greater bulk than I had intended, have been drawn, i. from the ancient authorities for the history of the period, which I have carefully read over again for the purpose; ii. from my own marginal references, and grammatical, historical, and antiquarian collections; iii. from the notes of previous commentators‡, among

* Quintilian.
† Enclosed in crotchets [ ], with a few unimportant exceptions. The same mark in the text of the speech denotes an interpolation.
‡ Quintilian's observations I have quoted at length. I have also gone through the prolix variorum notes (500 pages, double columns, in Wernsdorf's edition); the commentary of Manutius; the notes of Orelli's smaller edition (Cic. Oratt. sel. xv. Turici, 1836); the prefaces of Madvig (Cic. Oratt. sel. xii. I have used the second, third, and fourth editions, Hainiae, 1841, 1848, 1858, and the preface of the first ed., ibid. 1830, printed in his opuscula
whom the learned Jesuit Nicolas Abram deserves special commendation; if he has often given me the labour of hunting through a whole volume to verify a reference, I do not grudge the time so spent, for I generally found much by the way to reward the search; iv. from Drumann’s Geschichte Roms, Becker’s Handbuch der römischen Alterthümer continued by Marquardt*, Fischer’s römische Zeittafeln, Pauly’s Real-encyklopädie, and Mr Bunbury’s careful articles on the geography of ancient Italy; v. from the principal grammars†; if I have everywhere referred to those of Zumpt and Madvig, it is only because they contain more examples than their English rivals. Of Nāgelsbāch’s Lateinische Stylistik I have made very frequent use.

Throughout the book what has been taken from others has been acknowledged; a scholar to whom the cause of sound grammatical learning is greatly indebted, Mr Shilleto, has kindly furnished the remarks distinguished by his name or initials (R. S.).

The copious 'argument' may, I hope, supersede that coward’s aid, a literal translation.

It is perhaps necessary to add, that I have purposely refrained from looking into any English notes on the speech.

I. III seq.; the substance of his notes from these and other works is here incorporated); and the critical notes of the Zürich edition. I have further consulted, but to no purpose, the notes of Klotz (Cicero’s sämtliche Reden, Band 3. Leipzig. 1839), and Winckler (or. Phil. II. adnot. in us. scholarum illustrata. Marburg. 1829), the German translation of Wernsdorf, and the text of Frotscher.

* I have cited this as 'Becker,' where the volume and page are given, but have elsewhere named Marquardt.

† See the list in Dr. Donaldson’s Latin Grammar.
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Marcus Antonius was grandson of the celebrated orator of the same name, who as a zealous partisan of the aristocracy was put to death by order of Marius and Cinna B.C. 87. The father's spirit had not descended upon his sons. The elder, Marcus, father of the triumvir, when as proprætor (B.C. 74) he assumed the command against the pirates, abused his extensive powers to plunder the provinces with whose protection he was charged, and tarnished the honour of the Roman arms by an incapacity, which drew upon him the nickname Creticus. The younger, Gaius, as consul B.C. 63, betrayed his sympathy for the designs of Catilina, but wanted courage openly to declare himself. The shameless extortions of which, as proconsul of Macedonia (62—60), he was guilty, led to his banishment, nor was he recalled until shortly before Cæsar's death. Thus the earliest impressions of Marcus' boyhood were none of the best;

1) Cf. Drumann Geschichte Roms, I. 64 sq. Brückner's account of the same period (Leben des M. Cicero, I. 698 seq.) is inexact and uncritical. 2) Phil. I. §§ 27, 34. [Cf. II. §§ 42111. The orator Ant. is an interlocutor in Cic. de or.] 3) Cic. Verr. II. § 8, III. § 213, Vell. II. 31. § 3. 4) II. § 98 n. [§§ 56, 59.] In what year Cæsar recalled him cannot be determined; Dio XLIII. 27 seems to favour B.C. 47, Appian (bell. civ. II. 107) B.C. 45.
but the example of his stepfather, P. Lentulus, the confederate of Catilina, who died a traitor’s death by the hand of the executioner, may have been still more pernicious. It is remarked by Plutarch; that it was the execution of Lentulus that sowed in the heart of Antonius the seeds of an implacable hatred against Cicero. From the pictures of Antonius’ youth which his enemy has drawn, however overcharged they may be by party spirit, we cannot doubt that the young Marcus soon plunged into the grossest excesses of every kind. Thus the small fortune which his father left him, was quickly squandered; notwithstanding which he persisted in maintaining his place in the theatre among the seats of the knights. His engaging person, the charm of his manner, his lively and empassioned temperament, worked upon young voluptuaries with an extraordinary force of attraction. In the society of such companions Antonius gave himself up to sensuality, and sank to the lowest depths of degradation in his intercourse with the profligate C. Curio, who on his part supplied the partner of his lusts with the means of continuing his dissolute life. Thus he became surety for Antonius to the large amount of 6,000,000 sesterces; a debt

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which Curio's father long refused to discharge, and when at last he did so at Cicero's entreaty, it was only on the condition that the impure commerce of the young men should be entirely dissolved.  

B.C.-58, when the notorious P. Clodius was tribune of the people, Antonius, being then about 25 years of age, attached himself to him, and for a time supported his plans.  

A breach however soon ensued, whether because the frantic violence of the tribune alarmed Antonius; or because an intrigue of Antonius with Fulvia, (who became afterwards his third wife), awoke the jealousy of her husband Clodius. In the same year Antonius left Italy for Greece, where he employed himself partly in rhetorical exercises, partly in bodily training for a soldier's career. From these pursuits he was called off by A. Gabinius, whose acquaintance he had probably made while an adherent of Clodius. In the year 57 on Gabinius' invitation he accompanied him to Syria, as praefectus equitum; and was also at his side, when in B.C. 55,

10) §§ 45 seq.  11) § 48.  12) So Plut. Ant. 2: 'Soon being cloyed with Clodius' extravagance, and fearing those who were combining against him, Antonius left Italy.'  13) § 48: cuius etiam domi iam tum quiddam molitus est; cf. § 99: filiam eius (C. Antonii) ecceisti, alia condicione quae sita et ante perspecta.  14) After her second husband, the above mentioned C. Scribonius Curio (Phil. ii. §§ 11 and 113), had fallen fighting on Caesar's side in Africa B.C. 49. Fulvia's marriage with Antonius took place in the latter half of the year 47 (Plut. Ant. 10. cf. Phil. ii. § 69 about the divorce from Cytheris).  15) Fadia, daughter of Q. Fadius a freedman (Phil. ii. § 3, cf. ad Att. xvi. 11. § 1 there quoted [and Phil. xiii. § 23]), was his first wife, his second Antonia, daughter of his uncle C. Antonius (hence soror, i.e. patruelis, § 99), whom he put away B.C. 47 on suspicion of adultery with Dolabella (ibid. Plut. Ant. 9).  16) Plut. Ant. 2.  17) Plut. 3: 'when Gabinius, a consular, on his voyage to Syria urged him to join in his expedition, he
unauthorised either by the senate or the people, he deserted his province, in order to reinstate king Ptolemy Auletes on the throne of Egypt. As commander of cavalry Antonius had opportunity for the first time of making himself known to fame; he displayed great wariness and decision in action, and by his humanity and courtesy left behind him an honoured name in Alexandria.

§ 6 When in the year 54 Gabinius returned to Italy, Antonius offered his services to C. Iulius Cæsar, who was then in northern Gaul. Cæsar's eagle eye discovered in the bold and ambitious young man the fitting instrument for the furtherance of his own designs. In order however to support Cæsar's cause with the necessary external authority, it was indispensable that Antonius should obtain admission to the senate by filling public offices. Accordingly he returned (b.c. 53) to Rome, furnished by Cæsar with recommendations, to Cicero among others, and probably also with supplies of money, to sue for the quaestorship. Cicero, flattered by Cæsar's application, lent his countenance to Antonius the more readily, because the latter, while still a candidate for the quaestorship, on an occasion of which the particulars are unknown, stoutly assaulted the constant disturber of the public peace, P. Clodius. Immediately on

refused to go in a private capacity, but accepted the call when appointed to a command of cavalry.'

§ 6. According to Plut. l. c. it was Antonius, who emboldened the hesitating Gabinius to undertake the illegal expedition. 19) Plut. l. c. 'On this account he left behind him a very high reputation in Alexandria, and won the admiration of the Roman troops.' 20) § 48: in ultimam Galliam. 21) § 49. 22) §§ 21, 49, p. Mil. § 40. [Cic. ap. Dion. XLV. 40].
his appointment Antonius returned to Caesar, to administer the office under him\(^{23}\), without either awaiting the decision of the lot\(^{24}\), or being commissioned by express mandate of the people\(^{25}\). The motive for this neglect of legal rules lay, as Cicero asserts\(^{26}\), in the pecuniary embarrassments of Antonius, which could only be retrieved in a province where rich booty was to be had.

In the beginning of the year 50 Antonius left\(^8\) Gaul, where he had also found opportunity for acquiring further mastery in the practice of war, and returned to the city, in order to canvass for a seat in the college of augurs which had been vacated by the death of Q. Hortensius. By the energetic interposition of Caesar\(^{27}\), and by the agitation of the tribune C. Curio\(^{23}\), he succeeded in defeating the candidate of the aristocratical party, L. Domitius Ahenobarbus. The influence of Curio, who as tribune had accepted a bribe from Caesar to betray the cause of the republic\(^{29}\), of which he had been before the champion, procured for Antonius in the same year the office of tribune of the people\(^{30}\). His administration of this magistracy

\(^{23}\) §§ 50 and 71: imperatoris quaestor.
\(^{24}\) The questors drew lots for their provincia on the nones of December, or. Catil, iv. § 15. [ad Att. vi. 6. § 4. Cf. Liv. xxx. 33. § 4: quaestoris extra sortem ex senatus consulto.]
\(^{25}\) This is the meaning of sine lege (§ 50).
\(^{26}\) § 50.
\(^{27}\) de bell. Gall. viii. 50.
\(^{28}\) § 4.
\(^{29}\) Dio xl. 60 seq. [Luc. i. 260: venali... Curio lingua. ib. iv. 819, 820: momentumque fuit mutatus Curio rerum, | Gallorum captus spoliis et Caesaris auro.]
\(^{30}\) Plut. Ant. 5. 'Curio the friend of Antonius, changing sides espoused the cause of Caesar, and brought over Antonius. Partly by the great popularity which he had won by his eloquence, partly by means of the sums of money which Caesar supplied with no niggardly hand, he carried the election of Antonius, first as tribune, next as one of those priests who have the care of the auspices, and are called augurs.'
fell in the year so critical for the history of Rome, B.C. 49, in which the long smouldering fires of civil war burst into flames. The position of tribune gave Antonius the desired opportunity of proving his gratitude to his patron Cæsar, and of working with effect upon the course of events; it appears however a mere rhetorical exaggeration, when Cicero visits upon his head the entire responsibility of the war. Yet this accusation was at least nearer the truth than the like charge brought by Antonius against Cicero, as the fomenter of enmity between Cæsar and Pompeius.

§ 9 After long and unavailing negotiations between Cæsar and the senate, his creature Curio in the session of 1 Jan. 49 presented to the consuls L. Lentulus and C. Marcellus a letter from Cæsar, containing his ultimatum: 'he was prepared to lay down his imperium, in case Pompeius would do the same; but if Pompeius retained his, he too would not retire into a private station, but must take the necessary measures for his own safety.' The tribunes M. Antonius and Q. Cassius Longinus with difficulty obtained permission to have the letter read in the senate; all discussion of its contents was denied. The question was put upon the general state of the commonwealth. The proposal of Metellus Scipio, that Cæsar should be summoned to discharge his troops by a certain day, on pain of being proclaimed a public enemy, was carried by a majority, who persisted

31) §§ 50 seq. cf. Plut. Ant. 6, [Cic. ap. Dion. xliv. 27.]
32) § 23. 33) Caes. b. civ. i. 1: referunt consules de re publica.
34) Caes. i. 2: ut ante diem certam exercitum dimit tat; si non faciat, cum adversus rem publ. facturum videri. Cf. Cic. ep. ad fam. xvi. 12. § 3 seq.
in it in spite of the intercession of the two tribunes. With respect to the intercession the assembly was specially asked, whether it should be acknowledged as valid; the answer returned was in the negative, yet it does not appear that on this and the following days any formal conclusion was adopted. Not until the decisive session of 6 Jan. were the two tribunes, who stiffly adhered to their protest, ejected from the curia by the consul Lentulus, and warned to provide for their own safety. Antonius rose from his seat swelling with rage, and hurried from the curia, after invoking the gods as witnesses of the desecration of the hallowed office. In the following night he with Cassius and Curio left the city in a hired carriage and made the best of his way to Caesar. After the departure of the two tribunes the senate decreed: darent operam consules, praetores, tribuni pl. quique pro consulibus essent ad urblem, ne quid res publica

35) Caes. l. c. Refertur con pestim de intercessione tribunorum. Dicuntur sententiae graves etc. Cic. Phil. ii. § 52: neque frequens senatus agendo te de sententia movere potuit. 36) Liv. periochae l. 109: M. Antonius et Q. Cassius tr. pl., quoniam intercessionibus id senatus consultum impediebant, urbe pulsi sunt. Caes. b. civ. i. 5: de sua salute septimo (reckoning from 1 Jan.) die cogitare coguntur, quod illi turbulentissimi superioribus temporibus tribuni pl. octavo denique mense suarum actionum respicere ac timere consuerant: whence we learn that from the 7th of Jan. their potestas sacrosancta ceased to protect them. Hence Cicero's statements, Phil. ii. §§ 51, 52. Cicero's forebodings (in a letter written B.C. 50) are interesting [ad Att. vii. 9]: cum sit necesse... illum (Caesarem) initium facere armorum aut statim nobis minus paratis aut tum, cum comitiis, amicis eius postulanibus ut e lege ratio habeatur, impetratum non sit, ire autem ad arma aut hanc unam ob causam, quod ratio non habeatur, aut addita causa, si forte tribunus pl. senatum impediebatur aut populum incitans notatus aut senatus consulto circumscriptus aut sublatus aut expulsus sit dicensse se expulsum ad illum confugerit etc. 37) App. b. civ. ii. 33.
detrimenti caperet\textsuperscript{38}. This decree empowered Pompeius, who was then as imperator standing before the gates, to draw the sword against Cæsar. The die was cast. Cæsar crossed the Rubicon.

§ II However often Pompeius with boastful self-confidence had assured the senate and his party, that with his disposable forces he felt himself strong enough to meet every contingency, he nevertheless quickly perceived the impossibility of holding Italy against the seasoned Gallic veterans of Cæsar. Accordingly he first procured a decree of the senate, transferring the seat of government to Capua; but Cæsar's rapid successes soon necessitated the entire evacuation of Italy. In March Pompeius crossed with his army from Brundisium to Greece, accompanied by the magistrates and leaders of the party of the optimates, and also by the greater part of the senate\textsuperscript{39}. Thus Cæsar almost without striking a blow found himself master of Italy. Thinking it at the moment unadvisable to pursue the enemy over the sea, he repaired to Rome at the end of March. With him Antonius (who had meanwhile discharged the functions of legatus in Cæsar's army\textsuperscript{40}) and Cassius Longinus had returned and had resumed their dignity; for the competence of the tribunate did not extend beyond the city itself and a circuit of 1000 paces. Even before Cæsar's arrival the senators who remained in Italy had been summoned from their estates to Rome, because it served his turn to proceed with a

\textsuperscript{38}) Caes. i. 5. \textsuperscript{39}) § 5.4. Dio's account (xli. 7 seq.) of the march out of Rome is worth reading. \textsuperscript{40}) Caes. b. civ. i. 11 and 18.
constitutional council. The rump senate, thus brought together, was convened by Antonius and Cassius; before it Cæsar justified his past conduct, and probably also demanded authority to require the delivery of the sacred treasure. However that might be, he proceeded, regardless of the prohibition of the tribune L. Metellus, to seize it by force, and then, after taking the military precautions necessary to secure Italy, left Rome before the middle of April, in order to disarm Pompeius’ lieutenants in Spain, and thus in the first place to clear the west of his adversaries.

As praefectus urbi he left behind M. Lepidus, while to Antonius he confided the command of the troops in Italy, with the title of propraetor, charging him at the same time to prevent all egress from the peninsula. In this position Antonius won the affections of the soldiery, but gave great offence by his haughty and arbitrary behaviour and his profligate life, which he exposed unblushingly to the eyes of all Italy, while travelling on circuit through the municipia for military purposes. In consideration however of his important services, Cæsar readily winked at the orgies, by which his progress was disgraced. On his westward march Cæsar had nowhere met with serious opposition except at Massilia, for the investment of which he was compelled to

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41) Dio xli. 15.
42) From an expression of Dio’s we may infer that it was Antonius who made the proposal to this effect. For he ends his narrative of the removal of the treasure with the words (xli. 17): ‘moreover, their other measures also were both carried and executed under the name of equality (for they were generally introduced by Antonius) but substantially by arbitrary power.’
43) § 57: huic conciliumandum Italicum tradidit.
44) Cic. ep. ad Att. x. 8 A. [† ad Att. x. 10.]
45) Plut. Ant. 6.
46) § 57.
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leave behind a division of his forces; but the city threw open her gates to the conqueror, when he returned after receiving the submission of Petreius and Afranius in Spain. He there learnt that the people at Rome had appointed him dictator on the motion of the praetor and praefectus urbi Lepidus. Though there was no precedent for the creation of a dictator lege lata, i.e. by vote of the people, he nevertheless accepted the honour, as indispensable for the speedy execution of many of his designs at Rome.

§ 14 As dictator Cæsar held consular comitia, in which he himself was elected with P. Servilius Isauricus; he also alleviated the fate of the exiles, by recalling (at the suggestion, as he says himself, of praetors and tribunes) many of those who had been banished under the lex Pompeia de ambitu (of the year 52). This popular measure had no doubt a wider scope, for Cicero distinctly states that Antonius in his tribuneship, not content with pardoning exiles, also reversed other criminal judgements, in which despotic acts not only political motives but also the baser impulses of vulgar cupidity came into play. Cæsar had only enjoyed the dictatorship 11 days, when he voluntarily abdi-

47) Caes. ii. 21: ibi legem de dictatore latam seque dictatorem dictum a M. Lepido praetore cognoscit. 48) esp. of Antonius. Phil. ii. §§ 56, 98; cf. Dio xliii. 27. 49) Caes. b. c. iii. 1: Hicque prætoribus tribunisque pl. rogationes ad populum ferentibus nonnullos ambitus Pompeia lege damnatos illis temporibus, quibus in urbe praesidia legionum Pompeius habuerat... in integrum restituit etc. Cic. ad Att. x. 4. § 8: Nosti hominem (Curionem): nihil occultavit, in primis nihil esse certius quam ut omnes, qui lege Pompeia condemnati essent, restituerentur, itaque se in Sicilia corum opera usurum. If the rogationes ad populum were limited to these exiles, it is easy to understand why C. Antonius, the uncle of Marcus, was not yet restored. 50) § 56.
cated that extraordinary dignity, in order as consular general to open the campaign against his great opponent. A narrative of the well-known events which succeeded until the battle of Pharsalus would here be out of place, but it may be remarked in passing, that Antonius, not only by the boldness and skill with which he brought up the legions which had at the first embarkation been left behind at Brundisium, rescued Cæsar from great straits at Dyrrachium, but also in the decisive battle itself commanded the left wing.

After the victory Antonius was sent back with a detachment of the army to guard Italy from outbreaks and from the superior fleet of the enemy. At Brundisium he met Cicero, who, instead of taking part in the battle of Pharsalus, had remained in the Pompeian camp at Dyrrachium, and dismissed him unharmed, although Cæsar’s orders would have warranted the utmost severity. Cæsar himself on the third day after the battle commenced his march toward the east, in pursuit of the fugitive Pompeius. In the passage of the Hellespont, which for want of ships of war he crossed in small craft, his fortune saved him from most imminent jeopardy. For C. Cassius, afterwards one of his murderers, met him with numerous triremes; but instead of hazarding an attack, delivered

51) Caes. b. civ. iii. 26, Dio xli. 48. 52) hence § 71: antesignanus.

53) § 5, 59 seq. 54) ad Att. xi. 7. § 2: Quamquam quid ego de lictoribus, qui paene ex Italia decedere sim iussus? Nam ad me misit Antonius exemplum Cæsaris ad se litterarum, in quibus erat se audisse Catonem et L. Metellum in Italiam venisse, Romae ut essent palam: id sibi non placere, ne qui motus ex eis fierent, prohiberique omnes Italia nisi quorum ipse causam cognovisset: deque eo vehementius erat scriptum. Itaque Antonius pete-
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up his fleet in a sudden panic, entreating for mercy. In the offing before Alexandria Cæsar received intelligence of the tragical end of Pompeius. His interference in the disputed succession to the throne of Egypt and his support of queen Cleopatra next involved him in the formidable Alexandrian war, which lasted nine months. After its settlement he turned his arms against king Pharnaces of Pontus, whose conquests in Asia Minor he checked by a speedy victory. While still in Alexandria, he was appointed at Rome dictator for a year (late in 48), and chose Antonius his magister equitum, though Antonius had not yet filled the office of prætor.

§ 16 From the day when Antonius first led his legions from Brundisium to Rome, the Italian towns had groaned under the pressure of military force; but at that time the billeting of troops on the townspeople, however oppressive, might still be excused on the plea of necessity. But when in the beginning of 47 he seized the reins of government as magister equitum, his despotism pressed still more heavily upon Rome

лат а ме per litteras ut sibi ignoscerem: faecere se non posse quin suis litteris parent. Тum ad eum misi L. Lamiam, qui demonstravit illum Dolabellae dixisse, ut ad me scriberet ut in Italianum quam primum venirem; cius me litteris venisse. Tur ille edidit ita ut me exeperet et Laelium nominatim: quod sane nolle poterat enim sine nominieres ipsa except.

55) Suet. Caes. 63, Dio xlII. 6, App. b. c. ii. 88. The story of Cæsar’s encounter with Cassius on the coast of Cilicia, mentioned only by Cicero (Phil. ii. § 26), either arose from a confusion with the meeting in the Hellespont, or is a false report, which Cicero heard during his long sojourn at Brundisium. The occurrence must have happened, when Cæsar crossed over from Egypt to Syria to wage war against Pharnaces. 56) The regular term of an extraordinary dictatorship was 6 months. 57) Dio xliI. 20, 21, Plut. Ant. 8. Cicero’s statement (Phil. ii. § 62) is distorted. 58) § 62: in oppida militum crudelis et misera deductio.
itself. “Pitiable,” says Dio⁵⁹, “was the unwonted aspect of the city on the first of January and long after. No consul or praetor was to be seen⁶⁰. Antonius did indeed by convening the senate still keep up a semblance of the commonwealth; he also contented himself with the praetexta and with the legal number of six lictors; but the sword which he always wore at his girdle, the throng of soldiers who surrounded him, above all, the actions which he performed or allowed to pass unchallenged in others, only too plainly testified the existence of a despotism. For robberies⁶¹, rapes, and murders were the order of the day. And the actual condition of Rome led men to apprehend still worse calamities from Caesar’s arrival. ‘What,’ they asked, ‘was to be expected from the dictator, if his representative could venture on acts of such brutal violence?’” The troubles were still further aggravated by the quarrels of the tribunes P. Dolabella and L. Trebellius, and by Dolabella’s agitation in favour of a cancelling of debts⁶². The steps taken by Antonius towards abating the confusion, were inadequate to restore lasting order and tranquillity, and the conflicting parties stood confronting one another like two hostile armies, when Caesar at the news of the alarming ferment in Rome hastened back from Asia in September 47. His coming brought back quiet, and §17

⁵⁹) xl. 27. ⁶⁰) During a dictatorship the powers of other magistrates, except the tribunes, were in abeyance. [Pl. Ant. 8.] ⁶¹) Cf. §§ 41, 62; for the illegal acquisition of legacies. ⁶²) See the detailed description of Dio xl. 29–33. Livii perioch. cxiii.: Cum seditiones Romae a P. Dolabella tr. pl. legem ferente de novis tabulis excitatae essent et ex ea causa plebs tumultuatitur, inducitis a M. Antonio magistro equitum in urbem militibus octingenti e plebe caesi sunt.
the rioters feared the severest punishments. But Caesar once again pursued his wonted course. Satisfied with the re-establishment of order, he not only overlooked the offence, but raised many of the offenders to honour, as for instance Dolabella himself, to whom as one of the earliest renegades of the Pompeian party he thought himself specially beholden. At this juncture the confiscated estate of Pompeius was also put up to sale by Caesar's order, a proceeding, which, if we may credit Cicero, caused great irritation. The chief purchaser was Antonius, who however neglected to pay the purchase-money, the more as a great part of his acquisition was in a short time wasted in rioting and intemperance. Before the year had run out, Caesar, after having been again invested with the dictatorship and having named M. Lepidus as his magister equitum, left the city to renew the struggle with the Pompeians in Africa, who had raised very imposing forces while he had been engaged in Egypt and Asia. Fortune again stood his friend; after the battle of Thapsus [6 Apr. A.U. 708] he celebrated at Rome in the year 46 his magnificent fourfold triumph over Gaul, Egypt, and the kings Pharnaces of Pontus and Juba of Numidia. The hard

63) Dio xlII. 33 and 50. Plut. Ant. 10 assigns another motive: "These things (the insolences of Antonius and his crew) appear both to have inflamed the sedition and to have let the soldiery loose for acts of violence and rapacity. Hence too Caesar on his return both forgave Dolabella, and when elected consul (ὑπατός, rather δικτάτωρ) for the third time, chose not Antonius, but Lepidus as partner of his power" (magister equitum). 64) not unus, as Cic. § 64. says; who himself (Phil. XIII. § 11) supplies a correction of his own exaggeration. Dolabella had also a share, namely the Albanum and Formianum. 65) See n. 63. 66) Dio xlIII. 19, App. b. c. ii. 101 seq.
struggle in Africa was not the last which he had to maintain for the supremacy, which was to be of such short duration; the most stubborn of all awaited him in Spain against the sons of Cn. Pompeius. It is well known that in the battle of Munda (17 March, 45) a single day had well nigh destroyed the fruits of years of toils and victories. Cæsar's dearly-bought success gave the last blow to the freedom of Rome.

Neither in Africa nor in Spain did Antonius fight at Caesar's side. A coolness had sprung up between them, because Caesar demanded the payment of the sum, which Antonius had bid for the estate of Pompeius. Antonius was nettled by this demand, thinking that he had deserved so well of Cæsar, that he might securely reckon on a greater recompense. But the dictator insisted, and even threatened to put in a military execution, which determined Antonius to have an auction of goods. But here too he was foiled; for when the heirs of the knight L. Rubrius, whose inheritance Antonius had embezzled, put in a claim as owners of the goods

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67 § 71. Plut. Ant. 10: 'When the house of Pompeius was put up for sale, Antonius became the purchaser; but took in great dudgeon the demand of payment. He himself declares that his reason for bearing no part in Cæsar's African campaign was, that his former successes had been unrequited.'

68) As Plut. (ibid.) hints, Antonius' dissolute life also had somewhat estranged him from Caesar: 'Cæsar however by shewing himself not blind to his failings, seems to have weaned Antonius in great measure from his folly and profligacy.'

69) Dio XLII. 50: 'Cæsar evidently declared his design of appropriating the property of others to his own use by absolute power; whereby he incurred the displeasure even of his own associates; for after they had bought up many confiscated estates, sometimes for more than the value, in the hope of obtaining them gratis, they were constrained to make payment in full.'

Cf. Dio XLII. 49. § 3.

70) § 72.

71) § 73.
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offered for sale, the bidding was stopped by Cæsar's order. Antonius' irritation was so great, that he was even charged with hiring an assassin to despatch Cæsar, which seems however to be only a malicious calumny, although Cicero assures us, that Cæsar openly complained of the matter in the senate. Ultimately Cæsar was so far appeased, that before his journey to Spain he consented to a further postponement of the day of payment. As has been already remarked, Antonius held aloof from this campaign also. He did indeed make as though he purposed to follow Cæsar; but advanced only to Narbo in Gaul, giving out that his further progress was hindered by the insecurity of the roads. At Narbo he fell in with the Cæsarian C. Trebonius, who is said to have made to him disclosures of a plot against the dictator, which Antonius neither himself gave in to, nor yet betrayed. His return to Rome (he is said to have come in by stealth under cover of night, to the surprise even of his devoted Fulvia) was altogether unlooked for; it spread great uneasiness throughout the city, being regarded as a confirmation of the alarming reports which were then rife respecting Cæsar's designs. Accordingly Antonius found it necessary for

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72) See however § 74 n. 73) § 74. 74) § 74: paucis tibi ad solvendum propter inopiam tuam prorogatis diebus. 75) §§ 34, 75. 76) § 34. Plut. Ant. 13: 'When the others (the confederates of Brutus and Cassius) were for inviting his (Ant.) co-operation, Trebonius opposed it; for he said that when they went to meet Cæsar on his return from Spain, he himself travelled with Antonius and shared his tent; on which he softly and warily sounded his inclination, when the other understood him indeed, but rejected the proposal, without however betraying it to Cæsar.' 77) § 77 ad Att. xii. 19. § 2. It was feared that he was commissioned to prepare the way for acts of terrorism, such as proscriptions, which Cæsar would carry through on his arrival. Plutarch's
the reassurance of the people to declare in an assembly that he had returned on account of personal affairs, i.e. according to Cicero's interpretation, to prevent the distress of his goods by the representative of the praetor urbanus. When Caesar drew near, Antonius again left the city to meet him, on which occasion an entire reconciliation ensued, the price of which on Caesar's part was undoubtedly the remission of the outstanding debt.

The greater the apprehensions with which many had looked forward to the conqueror's coming, the more lavishly were the most extravagant honours bestowed upon him, either immediately, or in the course of the following months. It is enough here to mention the most prominent. Beside the celebration of a stately triumph, a thanksgiving of 50 days was decreed in honour of his last victory. He was allowed to wear on all festivals the triumphal robe, and to appear everywhere and at all times with a laurel crown. He received the honourable appellations of 'deliverer' (which was also recorded in the fasti), and 'father of his country,' together with the right of employing the title 'imperator' as a standing praenom-

version (Ant. 10) is less probable: 'When many went out to welcome Caesar after his Spanish victory, Antonius went with the rest; but suddenly on a rumour that Caesar was dead and the enemy in full march upon Rome, he returned to the city.' (78) § 78. (79) § 78 n. (80) § 78 seq. (81) § 85: coronatus. Dio xliv. 43. Suet. Caes. 45: Circa corporis curam morosior, ut non solum tonderetur diligenter ac radere tur, sed velleretur etiam, ut quidam exprobraverunt, calviti vero deformitatem iniquissime ferret, sacpe obrectatorum iocis obnoxiam expertus. Ideoque et deficientem capillum revocare a vertice adsu revat, et ex omnibus decretis sibi a senatu populoque honoribus non aliud aut recepti aut usurparit libertius quam ius laurcae coronae perpetuo gestandae.
men, to be inherited by his posterity.\(^{82}\) Nay more, by a later grant he obtained the ancient emblems of royalty, the gilded chair of state and purple toga.\(^{83}\) He was appointed consul for 10 years, dictator and praefectus morum for life.\(^{84}\) His person was declared inviolable, and magistrates on assuming office were required to swear that they would affirm the projects (acta) of Caesar. The month Quintilis, in which he was born, received the name Julius on the proposal of Antonius. It was further resolved that his ivory statue should be carried in the Circensian games,—drawn, as was afterwards added, in a state-carriage (tensa) like the images of the gods,\(^{85}\) —that his birthday should be kept as an annual feast with sacrifices, and solemn vows be yearly offered for his well-being; moreover a special festival was to be observed every 5th year (ludi quinquennales) as in honour of a demigod (ηρώς).\(^{86}\) To the two colleges of Luperci (priests of Lupercus),\(^{87}\) Fabiani and Quinctilian, which celebrated the Lupercalia, a third was added and named the Julian. Finally they did not stick to style him Iuppiter Julius, and to ordain the erection of a temple to him and his Clementia, nominating Antonius beforehand as its special priest (flamen).\(^{89}\) The official residence also, which he occupied as pontifex maximus, should be token the god upon earth; it was embellished with a

\(^{82}\) Dio xliv. 44. \(^{83}\) § 85, Dio xliv. 6. \(^{84}\) ib. xliv. 5. \(^{85}\) ib. xlii. 45 and xliv. 6. \(^{86}\) Dio xliv. 6. \(^{87}\) To Lupercus, an old Italian divinity identified with the Lycean Pan, was ascribed the attribute of shielding man and beast from harm, and of causing fecundity. \(^{88}\) έταυρία Τούλια (Dio xliv. 6); Antonius became president of the college (ἡγεμῶν τῶν συντερέων). See Dio xlvii. 5 and xliv. 30; cf. Phil. ii. § 85. \(^{89}\) Dio xliv. 6, App. ii. 106; hence he also received a pulvinar, Phil. ii. § 110 seq.
astilgium\textsuperscript{90}, i.e. a triangular gable (frontal), which in Rome was the appropriate decoration of the temples.

Thus his countrymen worshipped him as a god\textsuperscript{23} rather than a man, and his authority was that of an absolute king rather than of the chief officer in a commonwealth; the name alone was still wanting, for the formal perfection of the monarchy which already existed in fact. But this end, after which the heart of the man who felt himself born to empire, yearned with such impatient longings, could not be compassed by a mere wish. The Romans had borne so much in silence,—indeed the remembrance of the sanguinary times of a Marius and a Sulla might well teach them resignation,—that Caesar's flatterers deemed they might safely risk the last step, and Antonius, never backward in any slavish office, gladly made proffer of his services for the purpose. But before we come to narrate his rash venture, it is necessary shortly to touch on the previous occurrences of the year 44.

As dictator\textsuperscript{91} Cæsar had again designated Lepidus\textsuperscript{24} his magister equitum for the year, while he himself with M. Antonius assumed the consulship\textsuperscript{92}. As however P. Dolabella\textsuperscript{93} also could claim that dignity by virtue of a previous promise\textsuperscript{94}, Cæsar on the 1st of January declared in the senate, that Dolabella should hold the consulship during his own campaign against

\textsuperscript{90}) § 110. \textsuperscript{91}) This was his fifth dictatorship. Dio xliii. 49; cf. Drumann iii. 646. n. 60. \textsuperscript{92}) § 79: iussus es venun-
tiari consul et quidem cum ipso. \textsuperscript{93}) against the lex Villia
annalis, as (according to App. ii. 129) he was only 25 years old. Cic. ad fam. ix. 14, § 2, calls him iuvenem consulém. [Cf. App. iii. 88.] \textsuperscript{94}) § 79.
the Parthians, and enter upon office before he himself departed from Rome. Upon this Antonius, who in Caesar's absence could brook no division of power, least of all with his old opponent, avowed his determination of interrupting the election in his capacity of augur by the announcement of unlucky auspices. A violent altercation succeeded, ending in the bitterest personalities between him and Dolabella. On the day of the comitia (the precise date cannot be fixed) Antonius actually carried out his threat. The voting had already begun, when he interrupted the proceedings with the exclamation 'alio die.' The election appears indeed to have been continued and brought to a conclusion, but its validity was questioned and stood over for the determination of the senate on the fatal 15th of March. As Caesar disposed of the consulship of the year 44 according to his own good pleasure, so by the projected campaign against the Parthians,—a truly national enterprise, on which public opinion expressed itself very favourably,—he gained a still more extensive authority. For by a law introduced by the tribune L. Antonius, he was empowered before marching against the Parthians, to distribute offices and provinces prospectively. In fact the consuls tribunes and governors of pro-

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vices were already nominated for the two following years. Thus the people had for the nonce divested itself of its highest prerogative, the choice of officers, which it must be confessed had declined almost to a shadow. Still public opinion, in spite of all the influences which were brought to bear upon it, was very loath to recognise by name the uncontrolled power, which Cæsar in fact exercised. On the 15th of February, during the solemnity of the Lupercalia, a religious festival of atonement and purification, the consul Antonius essayed a bolder step. Cæsar had seated himself in the Rostra on his golden chair of state, arrayed in purple toga and laurel crown, to watch the wanton progress of the Luperci, who used to run through the city with no other clothing than an apron of skin. All on a sudden Antonius leapt up to the Rostra from the frolicsome ring of Luperci, reaching out to Cæsar a laurel crown, in which was entwined a diadem. Cæsar thrust back the diadem; for only faint notes of applause, drowned by groans, were heard from the surrounding multitude. Antonius renewed the attempt, and would have pressed the diadem on Cæsar's brow. Again Cæsar rejected it, and was greeted on all sides by the wondering crowd with acclamations and clapping of hands. Cæsar closed the scene with the words 'Juppiter alone is king,' and directed the diadem to be carried to the

103) Dio xliv. 9 seq. App. ii. 108.
104) § 84 seq.
106) Plut. Ant. 12: 'On Cæsar's refusal the assembled people shouted and clapped their hands for joy. Strange that they who could endure to be treated virtually
Capitol\(^{197}\). Nevertheless he permitted an entry in the \textit{fasti} to the effect, that the consul M. Antonius had by order of the people offered the royal diadem to C. §27 Caesar, dictator for life, who had declined it. After this miscarriage, recourse was had to religion, in order to effect that for which other means had proved unavailing. A prophecy was brought to light from the Sibylline books, which announced that the Parthians could not be vanquished except by a king of Rome\(^ {108}\). And as the saying was industriously noised abroad, voices were heard to cry, ‘Caesar must indeed still be styled dictator and imperator of the Romans, but as against foreign and conquered nations must be exalted to the majesty of the kingly name\(^{109}\).’ Caesar however, as Appian relates, deprecated this proposal also, and resolved to open his campaign without delay, that he might no longer remain in the city as the common mark of envy. His enemies were thus driven to the speedier execution of the plot which had long been hatching against his life, and of which M. Brutus and C. Cassius were the heart and soul. The day appointed was the Ides of March, when the senators were to meet in the \textit{curia} of Pompeius, in order to hear from Caesar his final arrangements before setting out for the east. Without waiting to see whether, as was reported, an offer of the royal dignity would really

\(^{197}\) So Dio xliv. 15 and Nicolaos Damascenus in the \textit{vita Caes.} 21 (\textit{Fragm. hist. Graec.} ed. Müller \textit{iii.} 427 seq.) whose relation is the fullest, but tricked up with many embellishments. In Livy we read (\textit{periocha} l. \textit{cxvi.}):

\textit{a M. Antonio consule collega suo inter Lupercos currente diadema capiti suo impositum in sella reposuit.}

\(^{108}\) Dio xliv. 15, Cic. de divin. \textit{ii.} § 110, Suet. Caes. 79.

\(^{109}\) App. \textit{ii.} 110.
be made, they fell upon the unsuspecting imperator, and laid him low with their daggers at the foot of Pompeius' statue, pierced with twenty-three stabs. The tragic deed was done, but the conspirators in the tumult of their blind fanaticism had neither made provision for seizing the reins of government, nor asked themselves whether the hero's treacherous murder would as a necessary consequence involve the recovery of liberty. It was impossible to address the assembled senators, as overwhelmed with consternation they had burst wildly out of the curia. Accordingly the conspirators, brandishing their reeking daggers in their hands, hurried to the forum, crying aloud that the king and tyrant was slain, and calling on the people to restore the republic. But when here too they found nothing but panic terror or apathy, they became perplexed and confounded. The veterans also inspired them with alarm, who happened at the moment to be congregated in the city in great numbers, some lately disbanded and awaiting the assignment of lands, while others had come up from the country to form a guard of honour to Caesar on his outward march. In this embarrassment the conspirators withdrew to the Capitol, avowedly to offer thanks to the gods, in fact from fear for their lives. They had as a guard the gladiators of Decimus Brutus, who

were to have been exhibited on the same day in the theatre of Pompeius, and other hired Russian. In the evening several men of eminence, strangers to the plot, appeared on the Capitol, and amongst them Cicero, whom the conspirators requested to negotiate with Antonius for the re-establishment of the old constitution. Cicero however declined to treat with a man whose designs he distrusted. Antonius had not been present at the scene of terror. For as it was feared that his staunch resolution might frustrate the attempt, the conspirators had charged one of their accomplices, C. Trebonius, to detain him in conversation without the walls of the curia. Some of them had proposed that he also, as Caesar’s most powerful friend and the special favourite of the soldiery, should be put to death together with Lepidus, but Brutus spurned the suggestion, lest the glory of their undertaking should be sullied by the imputation of interested motives. When the bloody deed was

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117) The motive assigned by Cic. (Phil. ii. § 34) in order to discredit Antonius in the eyes of the Caesarian party, is false: see Plut. Ant. 13: ‘fearing the strength of Antonius and the dignity of his office, they told off certain of the conspirators, who should engage him in earnest conversation and so keep him out of doors, when Caesar should enter the senate and the time for action should come.’
118) Cic. ad Trebonium (ep. ad fam. x. 28. § 1): Quam vellem ad illas pulcherrimas opulas me idibus Martii invitatess: reliquiaram nihil haberemus. At nunc cum iis tantum negotii est, ut vestrum illud divinum in rem publicam beneficium nonnullam habeat querellam. Quod vero a te, vix optimo, seductus est tuoque beneficio adhuc vivit haec pestis, interdum, quod mihi vix fas est, tibi subirascor etc. [So Dio xliv. 19. Plut. Caes. 66, says he was called aside by D. Brutus.] 119) App. iii. 33. 120) So Dio xliv. 19, App. ii. 114 names only Antonius. 121) Dio i. c. Plut. Ant. 13 says: ‘But Brutus held them back, urging that an action undertaken in behalf of laws and rights ought to
accomplished, Antonius, believing himself as Cæsar’s friend most exposed to danger, cast away his consular robe and remained for a time in concealment. Ignorant alike of the designs of the conspirators and of the number of their adherents, he let slip the opportunity for a sudden assault upon the Capitol, which amid the general trepidation could scarcely have failed of success. In the night Lepidus brought troops into the city, and made a feint of avenging the dictator’s murder; but after a conference with Antonius determined, especially as the disposition of the senate was not yet declared, to watch the course of events.

On the following day (March 16) Dolabella appeared with the insignia of the consulship. He and others had in readiness a mercenary throng, under whose escort Brutus and Cassius ventured to descend from the Capitol and harangue the assembly. The result however did not answer to their hopes, so that they again retreated to their refuge, and found it expedient to make advances to Antonius, through the good offices of friendly senators. Antonius in his message reminded them of the oath which they had all sworn to Cæsar, that they would defend his life and avenge every attempt on his person, but finally

be unalloyed and clear from injustice." [Cf. Plut. Brut. 18 and 20]. Appian (ii. 114) has a third version: ‘Brutus said, that if they killed Cæsar alone, they would win the reputation of liberators of their country from tyranny, whereas, if they proscribed his friends also, they would be condemned as mere partisans of Pompeius, impelled by private enmity,’ 122) Phil. ii. § 88, Dio xliv. 22. Plut. Ant. 14: ‘he exchanged his dress for that of a servant and hid himself,’ 123) App. iii. 34. 124) Dio xliv. 34, App. ii. 118. 125) App. ii. 121 seq. 126) § 89: *cum ceteri consulares irent redirent etc. App. ii. 123. 127) Suet. 84.
expressed his readiness to leave everything to the disposal of the senate. In the following very bustling night Caesar's private treasure and his memoranda were conveyed to the dwelling of Antonius, whether because Caesar's widow Calpurnia thought that they would there be more secure, or because Antonius had of his own authority given orders to that effect. An edict of Antonius also appeared, summoning the senate to meet on the next morning (March 17) in the temple of Tellus; which was selected for the place of meeting as adjoining the house of Antonius. All approaches to the temple were, as Cicero assures us, beset with troops. After a long debate, in which Antonius displayed extraordinary adroitness, the pacific resolution was at last adopted, that no judicial inquiry should be instituted into the murder of Caesar, but at the same time everything which he had done and appointed (acta Caesaris), should, on grounds of public advantage, remain in force. An additional proviso expressly guaranteed to the veterans the

128) App. ii. 124. According to Nic. Dam. i. c. 27 Antonius adopted this resolution by the advice of A. Hirtius, whereas Lepidus insisted on avenging the murder by force of arms.

129) App. ii. 125, iii. 17. According to Plutarch this did not take place until after the funeral (Ant. 15): 'On this account Brutus and his immediate adherents withdrew from the city; upon which Caesar's friends gathered about Antonius, and Calpurnia Caesar's wife shewed her confidence by depositing with him the bulk of the treasure from her house, to the amount of 4000 talents in all.'

130) App. ii. 126. 131) § 89. 132) App. ii. 127—135. Cicero also advocated an amnesty, Phil. i. § 1; his speech (now incorporated in his works, ed. Klotz) is preserved by Dio xlv. 23—33, who has probably compiled it from that which Cicero delivered before the people on the same day. [On the meeting in the temple of Tellus cf. Plut. Caes. 67 ad fin., Ant. 14, Brut. 19, Dio xlv. 22.] 133) on this addition cf. App. iii. 22.
grants of land which had been made or promised to them. Antonius in this session also tacitly recognised Dolabella as consul, as he allowed him to occupy the curule chair without protest\textsuperscript{134}. At the news of these occurrences Brutus and Cassius invited the people to an assembly on the Capitol, where Brutus spoke amidst great applause, and in the name of his party too allayed the apprehensions of the veterans respecting their grants of land\textsuperscript{135}. The consuls also summoned the people to a contio, in which the resolutions of the senate were read, and Cicero in a long oration extolled the amnesty. Carried away by the orator’s enthusiasm, the people called on the conspirators to come down from their sanctuary. Still they did not venture to appear without security, on which the sons of Antonius\textsuperscript{136} and Lepidus\textsuperscript{137} were sent up to them as hostages. When at last they came in sight, they were welcomed with cheers and clapping of hands; when the consuls would have spoken, the multitude refused to listen, calling on them to shake hands and seal the work of reconciliation\textsuperscript{133}. The consuls complied, but in no cheerful mood: Antonius was greatly disturbed by the sudden veering of popular favour.

\textsuperscript{134} I. § 31, ii. § 84, Dio xliv. 53. \textsuperscript{135} App. ii. 137—142, Dio xliv. 34. Brutus afterwards elaborated the speech (orationem habitum in contione Capitolina), and sent it to Cicero for his corrections, who thus criticises it (ep. ad Att. xv. 18): est autem oratio scripta elegantissime sententiis, verbis, ut nihil possit ultra: ego tamen, si illam causam habuissem, scripsissem ardentius. \textsuperscript{136} Ant. gave his son by Fulvia. Phil. i. § 2. [§ 31: tuus parrus filius in Capitolium a te missus pacis obses fuit.] ii. § 90. Vell. ii. 58. § 3: velut pacis auctor liberos suos obises in Capitolium misit iidemque descendendi tuto interfectoribus Caesaris dedit. \textsuperscript{137} Livii periochae lib. cxvi. Dio xliv. 34. \textsuperscript{138} App. ii. 142.
On the following day (18 Mar.) the deliverers— for by this name or that of tyrant-killers they thenceforth went amongst the republican party—re-appeared in the senate, where over and above the general sanction of of all acta Caesaris which had been passed the day before, Caesar’s disposal of the provinces was separately approved.

§ 34 The work of pacification thus begun was destined to be rudely shaken by an occurrence, the first occasion of which was given in the session of 17 March. At the close of the discussion some of the senators had addressed themselves to Caesar’s father-in-law, L. Piso, entreating him, by way of precaution against further commotions, to take care that Caesar’s body should be privately buried, and his will be kept secret. Piso resolutely refused, in spite of all their threats, and called upon the consuls once more to take the opinions of the senators who still remained; whereupon the senate ordered not only that the will should be opened, but also that the body should be interred at the public cost (funus publicum). In the will C. Octavius, grandson of Caesar’s younger sister Julia, appeared as principal heir and adopted son; while to the people were bequeathed gardens beyond the Tiber, and to each citizen 300 sesterces. This proof of affection powerfully impressed the mul-

139) §§ 31, 89, 114, Dio XLIV. I, 35. On the other hand the opposite party called them parricidae (Phil. II. § 31, ad fam. XII. 3. § 1, and cf. the commentators on Tac. ann. iv. 34), a name which Caesar’s flatterers had already employed of the Pompeians, who had fought against him. Cf. Cic. p. Ligar. § 18. Val Max. pays court to Tiberius by this means. 140) App. II. 135 seq. 141) Dio XLIV. 35, App. II. 143.
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attitude, which was no less exasperated by the discovery that amongst the 'second heirs' (i.e. those who were to succeed the principal heirs, in the event of their death), together with M. Antonius and others, one of the conspirators, Decimus Brutus, was named. Still more violent was the agitation roused by the funeral solemnity. As was customary in the case of persons of the highest rank, the body was to be buried in the field of Mars, the laudatio funebris to be pronounced as usual in the forum. When the procession came there to a stand, Antonius by a very dexterous speech, and by tricks of stage-effect, lashed his hearers into the wildest frenzy, which reached its highest pitch when he opened out the purple toga drenched with blood, and exposed to view the mangled corpse. In a transport of rage they threw themselves upon the body; some were for carrying it to the scene of the crime, the curia of Pompeius; others for dragging it up to the Capitol and burning it there. Hardly diverted from this purpose, they raise a pyre of benches and other furniture, and heap on the burning pile crowns, rich dresses, and valuables of every kind. In the tumult the

house of a senator, L. Bellienus\textsuperscript{145}, was burnt to the ground, and nothing but the interference of the sol-diery prevented further devastation. From the Forum the infuriated crowd hurried with firebrands to the houses of the leading conspirators\textsuperscript{146}. On the way they fell in with the tribune, Helvius Cinna, and, confounding him with his namesake, the prætor Cinna, who was one of the conspirators, tore him limb from limb like so many wild beasts\textsuperscript{147}. The attempt upon the houses failed; for preparations had been promptly made for a stout resistance, and the neighbours also supplicated for indulgence; whereupon the assailants at last with uproarious threatenings retired\textsuperscript{148}. During this stormy scene the conspira-tors had either hidden themselves in safe retreats, or fled from the city.

The senate gravely rebuked Antonius for his indiscreet oration\textsuperscript{149}, whereby, among other ill effects, the late amnesty had become an empty promise\textsuperscript{150}. Antonius suffered himself to be corrected, and appeased

\textsuperscript{145} § 91. Drumann i. 104 conjectures that the fire was not accidental, because Bellienus was certainly (?) the freedman who in the civil war had made himself odious as a Pompeian; cf. ep. ad fam. viii. 15. § 2.

\textsuperscript{146} Suet. Caes. 85 mentions only the houses of Brutus and Cassius; Cic. Phil. ii. § 91 exaggerates when he says, \textit{in nostras domos}; yet cf. ep. ad Att. xiv. 10. § 1: \textit{At ille etiam in foro combustus laudatusque miscrabiliter, servique et egentes in tecta nostra cum facibus immisiti}.

\textsuperscript{147} According to Suetonius, this occurred after the attack upon the houses had been repulsed.

\textsuperscript{148} App. ii. 147.

\textsuperscript{149} Dio xliv. 35: "a very fine and admirable speech, but not expedient in that posture of affairs."

\textsuperscript{150} App. iii. 2. He makes Antonius himself say (iii. 35): "I overthrew the amnesty, not by decrees of the people or senate (for that was not in my power), but by working covertly upon the people; that is, by bringing Cæsar's body, as if for burial, to the forum, and laying bare his wounds, displaying their number and the bloody stains and the stabs in his clothes; passionately in-
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the senate by salutary measures\textsuperscript{151}. By his recommendation the proposal of Servius Sulpicius, that from the Ides of March no ordinance or pardon of Cæsar's should be published, was passed as a decree of the senate\textsuperscript{152}. He himself advocated the perpetual abolition of the dictatorship, which was so universally approved, as to be accepted without discussion\textsuperscript{153}. He also obviated further outbreaks of popular violence by his vigorous interposition against the demagogue Amatius\textsuperscript{154}. This man, an oculist by profession\textsuperscript{38}, had exchanged his Greek name Herophilus for the Roman name Amatius, and by giving himself out as the grandson of C. Marius had won such favour with the people, that many municipal and colonial towns and most of the guilds (collegia) named him as their patron. Banished from Italy by Caesar on account of his dangerous agitation\textsuperscript{156}, he had stolen again into Rome, and now took advantage of his pretended relationship to the deceased dictator, in order to counterfeit the very fanaticism of mourning. He erected upon the bustum (i.e. place where the corpse had been burnt) an altar, on which to sacrifice to Cæsar as to a god, surrounded himself with a gang of desperadoes, and let them loose upon Cæsar's enemies and upon all aristocrats in general\textsuperscript{157}. Upon this sitting the while on his virtue and love for the commons, lamenting him as slain, and invoking him as a god. For these my words and deeds stung the people to the quick, and lit the fire after the amnesty and turned the flames upon the houses of our adversaries, and drove the men themselves from the city.'\textsuperscript{151) §§ 91. \textsuperscript{152) Phil. I. § 3. \textsuperscript{153) Phil. I. §§ 3, 32, ii. §§ 91, 115. \textsuperscript{154) App. iii. 2 seq., Val. Max. IX. 15. § 1, Liv. per. cxvi. \textsuperscript{155) ocularius medicus in Paris' epitome of Val. Max. ; the common reading is aquarius med. \textsuperscript{156) Val. Max. I. c. \textsuperscript{157) ibid. consilium interficiendi senatus sustinuit.}}
Antonius, to prevent greater mischief, gave orders that the brigand should be seized, and executed without trial. In this energetic proceeding Antonius was no doubt in earnest, since he too must have feared the spread of fanaticism in the mob, but the guise of moderation, which he had hitherto worn, was a mere mask. When as consul he had accepted or procured from the senate a commission to test Caesar's ordinances, and to execute everything according to Caesar's will, he soon began in the most barefaced manner to drive trade with Caesar's papers, of which he had made himself master immediately after the Ides of March, unscrupulously converting them into instruments of his own ambition and avarice. He issued ordinances of every kind, as if in compliance with the acta Caesaris, recalled exiles in troops from banishment, bestowed honours, exemptions from imposts, and the franchise not only on individuals, but on whole districts and provinces, and all to fill his own purse. To arm the acts of his own arbitrary will with a sanction as of Caesar's autograph, he directed Caesar's secretary, Faberius, to garble authentic documents and to forge new ones. Still even the profusion of wealth, which flowed in upon the conscientious friend of the murdered dictator in return for countless acts of grace

158) Dio xliv. 53. 159) commentarii, chirographa, libelli. Phil. i. § 16, ii. § 97. [i. § 2.] 160) i. § 16 seq., ii. §§ 6, 35, 92 seq., esp. 97, Dio xliv. 53. 161) i. § 24, ii. § 98. 162) Dio xliv. 53: 'By this means he not only seized great treasure on the spot, but gathered large sums from individuals, from communities and from kings, selling to some land, to others liberty, to others the freedom of the city, to others immunity from taxes.' 163) ad Att. xiv. 18. § 1, App. iii. 5.
and favour, could not glut his rapacity; Caesar’s papers must throw open the doors of the temple of Ops, and place at the disposal of Antonius and his creatures the public treasure there deposited, to the amount of 700,000,000 sesterces.\(^1\)

It may readily be conceived that these enormous resources must have put at the command of Antonius a power, with which the constitutional authorities were unable to cope. A new opportunity for bestowing favours on his intimates, and of engaging the veterans still more decidedly in his party, was procured by an agrarian law, which his brother Lucius, the tribune, introduced and carried without regard to the legal forms.\(^2\) In order to assign for distribution the fertile Leontine domain in Sicily, lands in Campania\(^3\) and even the Pontine marshes,\(^4\) as though they had been already drained and reclaimed, seven commissioners were nominated, amongst whom was the consul Antonius.\(^5\) With this commission is connected the journey which he undertook through Italy in the latter half of April and the beginning of May. Its design was not merely to settle the veterans on the

\(^{161}\) ad Att. xiv. 14. § 5: *Rapinas scribis ad Opis fieri, quas nos quoque tum videbamus.* ad fam. xii. 2. § 2: *alter item adfinis novis commentariis Caesaris delemitus est.* Phil. i. § 17, ii. §§ 35, 93, and esp. Phil. v. § 11 (cited on § 35). From the tenor of these passages it is evident that the treasure was drained by driblets. Otherwise Vell. ii. 66. § 4 (*sestertium septiens miliens, depositum a C. Caesar ad acdem Opis, occupatum ab Antonio*) might lead us to believe, that Ant. seized it at one stroke. \(^{165}\) Phil. v. § 7 seq. \(^{166}\) Phil. ii. §§ 43, 100—102. \(^{167}\) Dio xlv. 9. Phil. v. § 7 seq. \(^{168}\) *septemviratus.* Phil. ii. § 99. \(^{169}\) beside M. Ant. his brother Lucius, Dolabella, Nucula and Lento (Phil. xi. § 13); the two others are unknown. The uncle of M. Antonius was also appointed, but was forced to give way to a minion of the consul’s (Phil. ii. § 99).
lands assigned to them and to bind them to aid all his plans, but he also enlisted from among them a praetorian cohort, which he is said gradually to have raised to the number of 6,000. We may be excused a description of the journey, as all that we know of it rests on the authority of this speech and we seek in vain even in Cicero's letters for further particulars.

§ 42 During Antonius' absence from Rome there appeared on the scene the man, who was destined to inherit not merely the name, but the power of Caesar. The first interview of Antonius and C. Octavianus, whom Cicero does not yet mention in the second Philippic, was none of the friendliest. Antonius refused to deliver to him Caesar's remaining estate, or to give an account of the purposes to which his inheritance had been applied. Hereupon Octavianus offered Caesar's lands for sale, and also devoted his own patrimony to the payment of Caesar's legacies to the people, and to the exhibition of magnificent games. All Antonius' intrigues proving unavailing to divert the current of popular favour from his rival, he thought it wisest to come to terms, the more as he needed the assistance of Octavianus for the accomplishment of his designs respecting the provinces. He found it

179) ad Att. xiv. 21. § 2: Et nosti virum, quam tectus (Balbus), sed tamen Antonii consilia narrabat: illum circumire veteranos, ut acta Caesaris sancirent idque se facturos esse iurarent, ut rata omnes haberent caque duumviri omnibus mensibus inspicerent.

171) So App. iii. 5; who adds, doubtless by mere conjecture, that after the execution of the pretender Marius the senate authorised Antonius to form a body-guard of veterans for the defence of his person against the rabble. In Cicero's letters we find no hint either of such a permission or of the levy of an armed force before the journey in April and May. 173) §§ 100 seq.
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easier again to bring over to his side another antagonist, who had arisen against him during his absence. This was no other than his colleague Dolabella, whose bearing had been such, that the optimates flattered themselves with the hope of winning him as an ally. We have already seen, how Antonius quelled the excesses of the mutineers at Cæsar’s bustum by the execution of the counterfeit Marius. But the altar, which had been erected in the form of a pillar 173, was still standing, and soon again became the rendezvous for all the discontented of the populace. Sacrifices were still offered upon it, vows paid, and disputes settled by oaths sworn in Cæsar’s name 174. But this fanatical idolatry was only the cloak of the most dangerous designs, which threatened the life and property of the better citizens 175. Dolabella at length (at the end of April) put a stop to the ferment 176; he sent a strong force against the brigands, with orders to clear the Forum. Part of the mutinous masses offered resistance; these were either cut down on the spot, or taken prisoners, and, if slaves, crucified, if free-born, thrown from the Tarpeian rock 177. Finally, the pillar,

173) Suet. Caes. 85: postea solidam columnam prope viginti pedum lapidis Numidici in foro statuit (plebs) scripsitque PATRENTI PATRIAE. 174) Suet. 1. c. 175) Cic. Cassio (ad fam. xii. 1. § 1): manabat illud malum urbanum et ita conorborabatur cotidie, ut ego quidem et urbè et oio diffiderem urbane. Cf. also the letter of Brutus and Cassius to M. Antonius (ad fam. xi. 2. § 2): Quare petimus a te facias nos certiores tuac voluntatis in nos: putesne nos tutos fore in tanta frequentia militum veteranorum, quos etiam de reponenda ara cogitare audimus: quod velle et probare vix quisquam posse videtur, qui nos salvos et honestos reliet. 176) ad Att. xiv. 15. 177) App. iii. 3, where however the earlier interposition of Antonius is confounded with the later of Dolabella. Cic. ad Att. xiv. 15. § 2: O mirificum Dolabellam meum! iam enim dico meum, antea, crede mihi,
the beacon of mutiny, was rased to the ground, the
§ 44 site levelled and paved. The great applause, which Dolabella won by this bold stroke\textsuperscript{178}, may have in-
spired him with the thought of assuming an in-
dependent position with relation to Antonius, and of
making a bid for the leadership of the aristocratical
party\textsuperscript{179}. Antonius however knew his man; he
directed the scrivener Faberius to draw up in Cæsar’s
name and in favour of Dolabella an order on the
treasure in the temple of Ops\textsuperscript{180}; Dolabella was
relieved from his embarrassments and the threatened
opposition was silenced, the rather as he was appre-
hensive that if he provoked Antonius, he might forfeit
the province of Syria which he had already secured,
and with it the expectations of a rich plunder\textsuperscript{181}.

§ 45 In Cæsar’s allotment of the provinces, several had
fallen to the share of conspirators, Gallia cisalpina to

\textit{subdubitabam. Magnam \'anathēsōn res habet: de saxo, in cru-
em, columnam tollere, locum illum sternendum locare. Phil. i.
§§ 5, 30, II. § 107.} \textsuperscript{178} Phil. i. § 30. ad Att. xiv. 16. § 2, 17.
\textsuperscript{179} ad Att. xiv. 20. § 2: \textit{L. Antonii horribilis contio, Dolabellae praecella: and esp. § 4: Dolabellae et prima illa actio}
et haec contra Antonium contio mihi profecisse permultum videtur:
\textit{prorsus ibat res. Nunc autem videamus habituri ducem, quod
unum municipia bonique desiderant.} \textsuperscript{180} As Cicero writes
to Atticus (xiv. 18. § 1) on the 8th of May: ‘\textit{O hominem}
pudentem / Kal. Ian., debutit (sc. solvere), adhuc non solvit,
praestertim cum se maximo aere alieno Faberii manu liberavit et
opem ab eo petierit, which we can scarcely understand of a draft
which had been drawn immediately before; we must probably
assume (cf. the passages cited in n. 179, which were written
three days later) that Dolabella was won by a new bribe (see the
allusions Phil. i. §§ 29 and 31 ad fin.). Cf. too ad Att. xvi. 15. § 1:
\textit{idque prae me feram, et quidem me neca facere et vei publicae causa
ut illum (Dolabellam) oderim, quod, cum eam me austore defendere
coepisset, non modo deseruerit emptus pecunia, sed etiam quantum
ipso fuit everterit.} \textsuperscript{181} Cf. P. Lentulus’ letter (of later date)
ad fam. xii. 15.
Decimus Brutus, Asia to C. Trebonius, to Tillius Cimber Bithynia; to the praetors M. Brutus and Cassius Macedonia and Syria were assigned for the year 43, after the expiration of their year of office. The first three had set out for their provinces, either immediately after Caesar's tumultuous funeral, or in the course of April; which M. Brutus and Cassius as praetors were unable to do. After the Ides of March they tarried in Rome for about a month, but since the decisive day of the burial lived in entire seclusion. About the middle of April they left Rome, and moved to and fro among the municipal towns in the vicinity, waiting for a possible change of popular feeling. They purposed to shew themselves again in Rome on the first of June, for on that day Antonius had appointed a meeting of the senate which was anticipated with eager excitement; but were daunted by the veterans, who escorted Antonius on his return from his progress. One of Antonius' first measures in the month of June was to secure the permanent removal from Rome of the two chiefs of the adverse faction. First of all Brutus was relieved, by a lex introduced by Antonius, from the constitutional restriction which made it illegal for a praetor urbanus to be absent from the city more than 10 days; next, also on the proposal of Antonius, he and Cassius on the 5th of June received a cura annonae, i.e. a commission to purchase

\(^{182}\) App. iii. 2. \(^{183}\) Dio xliv. 51. Cicero (ad Att. xiv. 10. § i) says Trebonius travelled to his province "itineribus deviis." \(^{184}\) That the limitation only applied to the praetor urbanus, is evident from Phil. ii. § 31. \(^{185}\) "beneficio Antonii contumelioso" (ad Att. xv. 12. § 9). \(^{186}\) ad Att. xv. 9. § 1.
corn for the state, Brutus in Crete, Cassius in Cyrene\(^\text{187}\). The provinces assigned to them by Caesar had already been otherwise disposed of. As early as the month of April\(^\text{183}\) Dolabella had received Syria from the people, with the right of conducting the war against the Parthians\(^\text{189}\); whereupon Antonius procured from the senate Macedonia, where were posted the legions, which Caesar had sent forward for the same war\(^\text{190}\). Afterwards he desired to exchange this province for *Gallia cisalpina*\(^7\), with the proviso that the legions should be transported thither, and that Decimus Brutus should receive Macedonia without an army. What the senate denied was conceded by the people, as he had desired\(^\text{191}\). The refusal of Brutus to abandon Gaul was afterwards the occasion of the so-called *bellum Mutinense*.

\(\text{§ 48}\) Under these circumstances, Brutus and Cassius perceived that it was no longer feasible to remain in Italy. Yet it was with reluctance that they resolved on departing for their provinces. Brutus in particular wished to await the result of the *ludi Apollinares*\(^\text{192}\) which belonged to the office of the *praetor urbanus*, and which in his name and at his charges\(^\text{193}\) were

\(^{187}\) Phil. ii. \S\S 31, 97. \(^{189}\) as C. Peter (in Schneidewin's Philologus, viii. 427) has shewn good grounds for believing. \(^{189}\) App. iii. 7. \(^{190}\) App. iii. 8. \(^{191}\) App. iii. 24, 30, 37. \(^{192}\) The transfer was probably made before the end of June. In July the Macedonian legions were already expected at Brundisium (ad Att. xiv. 2. \S\S 4, 4. \S\S 3, 5. \S 3). On the 9th of October Antonius left Rome to receive them \(^\text{192}\) they began on the 7th of July; see ad Att. xvi. 4. \S\S 1, \S 12. \(^{193}\) ad Att. xv. 12. \S 1: (Brutus) *statim se iturum, simul ac ludorum apparatum iis, qui curaturi essent, tradidisset*. [Brutus pur-
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solemnised by the prætor Gaius Antonius. But the acclamations were the mere empty plaudits of gratified sight-seers; the hope of a general rising in favour of the liberators was frustrated. Accordingly in the month of August the embarkation so long deferred at last took place. From the coast of southern Italy they issued a farewell edict, declaring their readiness to live in perpetual exile, if it were necessary for the harmony and peace of the commonwealth. When Brutus lay at anchor at Velia, he for the last time had a meeting with Cicero. Cicero too, having openly §49 greeted Cæsar’s death as the breaking dawn of freedom, had been warned by the disastrous scenes of the funeral and its consequences to withdraw from Rome to his estates. He saw with sorrow the frame of the state long undermined tottering to its inevitable fall, and yet continued to cheat himself with hopes of a

chased a large number of wild beasts for the games, and gave orders that all should be killed; he went down to Neapolis to engage actors, making especial endeavours to secure a popular Greek, one Canutius, and begged Cicero by no means to be absent. Plut. Brut. 21 Cf. Dio xlvii. 20, Cic. ad Att. xv. 26. §1.] 194) App. iii. 23. ad Att. xvi. 5. §3. 195) ad Att. xvi. 2. §3. Brutus tuae litterae gratae erant. Delectari mihi Tereo videbatur et habere maiorem Attio quam Antonio gratiam. Mihi autem quo tactiora sunt, co plus stomachi et moles-tiae est populum Romanum manus suas non in defendenda re publica, sed in plaudendo consumere. Cf. Phil. i. §36, ii. §31. 196) App. iii. 24. 197) i. §8. Vell. ii. 62. §3. M. Brutus et C. Cassius, nunc metuentes arma Antonii, nunc ad augendam eius invidiam simulantes se metuere, testati edictis libenter se vel in perpetuo exilio victuros, dum res publica constant et concordia, nec ullam belli civilis praebituros materiam, plurimum sibi honoris esse in conscientia facti sui, prolecti urbe atque Italia etc. [²] Phil. i. §9. ad Att. xvi. 7. §5: Num xvi. Kal. Sept. cum venissem Veliam, Brutus audivit: crat enim cum suis navibus apud Halicem fluvium citra Veliam milia passuum III. Pedibus ad me statim.]
change for the better, so that he could not prevail upon himself to execute the long-formed plan of deserting Italy. In this perplexity it was a welcome relief to him, when Dolabella, after he had received the province of Syria, nominated him as his legatus\(^{198}\). He had thus a colourable excuse for absence. With a heavy heart he began his journey on the 17th of July, intending in the first place to make for Greece; for nothing was further from his intention than actually to discharge the functions of legatus\(^{199}\). On the 1st of August he reached Syracuse, where he took ship for \(\S 50\) Greece\(^{200}\). Being however detained by contrary winds, he learnt from citizens of Rhegium the improved posture of affairs at Rome, and was even assured that Antonius was disposed to come to a perfect understanding with the senate\(^{201}\). The day assigned for the

\[^{198}\] Phil. i. \(\S 8\): *Quae cum audire mallem quam videre, haberenque ius legationis liberum, ea mente discessi, ut adessem Kalendis Ianuariis* (i.e. 1 Jan. 43). Cicero's was not strictly a legatio libera (i.e. without limitation to any place), such as senators often procured in troublous times as a decent pretext for absence from Italy, but he was nominally legatus of Dolabella for Syria. Still his right was liberum, in so far as he was by virtue of it free to go and come. Cf. Ep. ad Att. xv. 11. \(\S 4\): *Dolabella me sibi legavit a. d. iii. Nonas*; *id mihi heri vespri nuntiatum est. Votiva (sc. legatio) ne tibi quidem placebat. Etenim erat absurdum, quae, si stetisset res publica, vovissem, ea me evera illa vota suscipere, et habent, opinor, liberae legationes definitum tempus leges Iulii nec facile addi potest. Aveo genus legationis, ut, cum velis, introire exire liceat: quod nunc mihi additum est. Bella est autem huius iuris quinquennii licentia.*

\[^{199}\] 199) ad Att. xv. 19. \(\S 2\): *A Dolabella mandata habeo, quae mihi videbuntur, id est nihilo; and xv. 20. \(\S 1\): *Dolabellae mandata sintque libellet, mihi aliquid (sc. mandet) vel quod Nicae nuntiarem.*

\[^{200}\] 200) I. \(\S 7.\)

\[^{201}\] I. \(\S 7.\)

Cf. ad Att. xvi. 7. \(\S 1\): *VIII Id. Sext. cum a Leucopetra prefectus—inde enim tramitiebam—stadia circae ccc. processisset, reiectus sum austro vehementi ad candum Leucopetram. Idi cum ventum expectarem—erat enim villa Valerii nostri, ut familiariter esset et libenter—, Rheginis quidam, illustres homines, co
happy reconciliation was the first of September, when a full meeting of the senate was anticipated, whereas of late the patriots, especially since Antonius had begun to check all freedom of debate by the presence of troops, had not dared to take their seats. This cheering news determined Cicero at once to return; on the last of August he entered the city after an absence of half a year.

On the march of events in Rome after the arrival of Antonius, our information is very scanty. We have no detailed accounts even of the often mentioned session of the 1st of June, when a commission was to be named, which should put a stop to further abuse of Caesar’s papers, by ascertaining what were his genuine acts. The meeting from fear of Antonius’ military dispositions was very thinly attended; it appears however from distinct statements in Cicero’s letters that the commission was actually appointed.
Ignorant as we are of the conclusions arrived at by this conclave appointed by the influence of Antonius and under his presidency, one thing we may regard as certain, that he would not consent to any restrictions, as is manifest e.g. from the law respecting the province of Crete, which Cicero (Phil. ii. § 97) has justly ridiculed. In general it may be asserted, that after the first of June Antonius governed more despotically than ever. Trusting to the support of the band of veterans which he had brought with him, he now adopted an openly hostile attitude towards the senate, and looked to the people for the attainment of his ends; indeed, at this time he was even suspected of aiming at the dictatorship, which he had himself abolished in the senate. Supported by the giddy multitude Antonius now ventured to bring forward laws, directly superseding some of Cæsar’s. For instance, Cæsar, taking warning by his own example (for it was to his long-continued government in Gaul that he owed the inclination and the means for compassing the supreme power), had made a law, that

Phil. ii. § 100: quem unquam convocasti? 205 Some such are mentioned ad Att. xvi. 16 e and f. §§ 15 and 18. 205 Brutus et Cassius Antonio (ad fam. xi. 2. § i): Scribitur nobis magnam veteranorum multitudinem Romam convenisse iam et ad Kal. Ianuar. futuram multo maiorem. Cf. Phil. ii. §§ 8, 15, 19, 100, 104, 112, esp. § 108. The alleged reason for establishment of a body-guard was the fear of treachery; see ad Att. xv. 17. § i: de consulum jacto timore cognoveram; and cf. Phil. i. § 27 ad fin. ii. § 112. 206) Phil. i. § 6, ii. § 109. As early as 23 May Cicero wrote to Atticus (xv. 4. § i): Antonii consilia narras turbulenta: atque utinam potius per populum quam per senatum, quod quidem ita credo. Sed mihi totum cius consilium ad bellum spectum videtur, si quidem D. Bruto provincia eripitur. 205 ad Att. xv. 21. § i. 205) Phil. i. §§ 18 seq. ii. § 109. 210) Dio xliii. 25.
late prætors should only hold a government for one year, consulars for not more than two successive years, and generally, that no imperium should be held for a longer term. Antonius, who hoped one day, like Cæsar, at the head of a formidable force to plunder his Gallia cisalpina, instigated tribunes to bring in a bill, whereby he and Dolabella as consuls of the current year were guaranteed the exceptional privilege of a 5-years' tenure of government. When Cicero again entered Rome, two new bills of Antonius, unmistakably of democratic tendency, were promulgated, one for the creation of a third decuria of jurors, the other granting an appeal to the people in actions for assault and for high treason.

211) 1. § 19, II. § 109. In the above account we have adopted Mommsen's view (Die Rechtsfrage zwischen Caesar und dem Senat, p. 43), who has confuted the common hypothesis that Antonius altogether rescinded the law of Cæsar. The number of years is variously given by Cicero. In Phil. v. § 7, we read: Tribuni pl. tulerunt de provinciis contra acta Caesaris, ille biennium, iste sexennium; (viii. § 28: ipse autem ut quinquennium, inquit, obtineam (sc. provinciam Galliam comatam). At istud vetat lex Caesaris et tu acta Caesaris defendis. With this agrees ep. ad Att. xv. II. § 4, where it appears that Dolabella received the province of Syria for five years. Mommsen (l. c.) explains the discrepancy by supposing that in the sexennium the year of succession is also taken into account. 212) The law is mentioned as existing Phil. v. § 12 and viii. § 27. Phil. i. § 19: Quid? lege, quae promulgata est de tertia decuria, nonne omnes iudiciariae leges Caesaris dissolventur? Cf. ib. § 20. The lex Aurelia of the prætor L. Aurelius Cotta (b. c. 70) created 3 decuriae of iudices, one of senators, one of knights, one of tribuni acerii. Pompeius (b. c. 55) limited the choice to the wealthiest members of the three orders, and changed the mode of election. Caesar (b. c. 46) limited the iudicia to senators and knights. Antonius again created a third decuria, consisting chiefly of centurions and discharged soldiers. But the law did not long remain in force. 213) Phil. i. §§ 21—23. There was no appeal against a sentence pronounced in quaestiones perpetuae, because in such actions all sentences appeared to be pronounced in the name of the people,
That the general condition of affairs was not so hopeful as Cicero had been assured on his journey, was seen on the 1st of September, in the meeting of the senate convened by Antonius in the temple of Concordia. Antonius there proposed, that in all supplications a day in honour of Caesar should be added, i.e. that on occasion of every thanksgiving for public successes, a special day should be appropriated for offerings to the deified Caesar. As Cicero was doubtless informed beforehand of the subject of the deliberation, he excused himself to Antonius for non-appearance, on the plea that he had not recovered from the fatigue of his journey. The threat which Antonius thereupon let fall, that he would pull down his house about his ears, was not indeed carried out, but it plainly shewed that he was determined that the which, as these regular trials were introduced for most offences, gradually delegated its powers to the praetor and the indices appointed by him. This explanation is favoured by Dio XLIII. 44: 'They granted Caesar a public residence, and a special festival (ἱερομυνή αὐτῷ ἐξαλπτευτῷ = proprium supplicationem), whenever sacrifices should be offered in honour of a victory; where however Dio is mistaken in fixing the date of this grant immediately after the battle of Munda. He says correctly of the honours conferred after Caesar's death, (XLV. 7): 'on certain thanksgivings for victory (ἱερομυνίαις) they offered sacrifices in honour of his name on a day specially appropriated to that purpose.' And of the triumvirs he says (XLVII. 18): 'They founded a chapel (ἡττα) to him as a hero in the Forum and on the spot where he had been burnt, and also at the horse-races (ludis circensibus) carried an image of him in procession with one of Venus; and when news came of any victory, they granted the distinction of a thanksgiving severally to the conqueror and to Caesar even after his death.' I have cited these passages at length, because the account in Druemann (i. 192) and Bruckner (i. 731) is inaccurate.

§§ 11, 12. v. § 19: huc etiam nisi venirem Kal. Sept., fabros se missurum et domum meam disturbaturum esse dixit. [Plut. Cic. 43.]
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consular should declare himself either as friend or foe. On the following day the senate again assembled in §55 the temple of Concordia; Cicero appeared, but no Antonius. In this sitting Cicero delivered the first of his speeches against Antonius, known as Philippics. In it he endeavoured to explain his long absence from the senate and sudden return, deprecated Antonius' harsh requital of his non-attendance the day before, and frankly spoke his mind about the line of policy pursued by the consul and his colleague, yet still with a certain reserve and moderation, as he was loath entirely to foreclose every avenue of accommodation. Antonius, who was irritated by the speech beyond measure, immediately renounced his friendship, and did not long delay an answer. In a meeting of

217) If we may trust the collection of letters between Cicero and Brutus, the occasion of this title was accidental. Brutus writes II. 5. § 4: *Legi orationes duas tuas, quarum altera Kal. Ian. usus es (Phil. v.), altera de litteris meis (Phil. x.), quae habita est abs te contra Calenum. Nunc scilicet hoc crespectas, dum cas laudem. Nescio animi an ingenii tui maior in his libellis laus contingatur. Iam concedo ut vel Philippici vocentur, quod tu quadam epistola iocans scripsisti.* And Cicero says II. 4. § 2: *De te etiam dixi tum quae dicenda putavi. Haece ad te oratio perferetur, quoniam te video delectari Philippicis nostris.* In the historians and grammarians, as well as in the MSS., the speeches are called Philippicae; A. Gellius however always uses the title *Orationes Antonianae.* [Plut. (Cic. 24 and 48) distinctly says that Cic. himself entitled his speeches against Antonius Philippics. So App. b. c. iv. 20. Plutarch also (Cic. 41) cites a written reply of Antonius to the Philippics (*ἐν ταῖς πρὸς τοὺς Φιλιππικοὺς ἄμυγραφαίς*). Quintil. iii. 8. § 46: *eos Ciceroni dubium consilium, ut Antonium roget, vel etiam ut Philippicas (ita vitam pollicente eo) exurat.* (These seem to have been favourite themes for rhetorical exercises. See Sen. suas. vi.]. Suet. rhet. 5 and Juvenal also use this title. Gellius four times (I. 22, VII. 11, XIII. 1, and 21 or 22) cites Antonianae, once (I. 16) 'M. Cicero in sexta in Antonium.* Yet cf. c. 13 § 33: *domestici.* 218) Phil. v. § 19: *Locutus sum de re publica, minus equidem liber quam mea consuetudo, liberius
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the senate on Sept. 19, from which Cicero kept away out of fear for his life, Antonius delivered a lengthy oration, in which with merciless caricature he held up Cicero's conduct both as a man and as a politician to unqualified contempt. Cicero wanted heart to reply to this speech by word of mouth; but he wrote the second Philippic*, which however he did not pluck

tamen quam periculi minae postulabat. At ille homo vehemens et violentus, qui hane consuctudinem libere dicendi excluderet, inimici

* The speech was first communicated to a few friends, and some alterations were made in it by the advice of Atticus. See ad Att. xv. 13. § 1 (from Puteoli, 25 Oct. 44) : orationem tibi nisi. Eius custodiamque proferendae arbitrium tuum. Sed quando illum dicem, cum tu edendam putes?... § 7: Hacce cum scriberem, tantum quod existimabam ad te orationem esse perlatum. Hui, quam tinceo, quid existimes? et si quid ad me, quae non sit foras proditionu, nisi ve publica reciperata? De quo quid sperem, non audco scribere. ibid. xvi. 11. § 1 seq. (from Puteoli 5 Nov. 44, partly quoted below, § 3. 1. 8 n.) : Tu vero leges Sexto ciusque indicium nihi perscribes. Eius ëmoli vórao. Calci interretam et Calvenae carebis. § 2: Quod veterem, nec καύδνεαχος nihi tu: quis minus?...Quod me admones, tu vero ciammi reprehenderes, non modo facile paterer, sed etiam lactarer; quippe: cum in reprehensione est prudentia cum eivnevia. Ita libenter ca corrigan, quae ac te animadversa sunt. Eodem iure, quo Rubriana potins, quam quo Scipiones (cf. infr. § 103); et de laudibus Dolabella demum cumulum (cf. § 107). Attamen est isto loco (§ 75) bella, ut mihi videtur, eipovela, quod cum ter contra eives in acie. Illud etiam malo, indig-
nissimum est hunc vivere, quam quid indigiiues? (§ 83). § 3: Anagnini (§ 106) sunt, Mustela ταξιάρχης et Laco, qui plurimum bibit. ibid. 14. § 4 he again desires to hear what Sextus thinks of the speech: Sexti iudicium exspecto.]
up courage to publish, until Antonius had left Rome, in order to wrest from Decimus Brutus by force of arms the province which the people had revoked. It was succeeded by twelve others, the contents of which need not here be given. It is divided into two parts, a defensive, in which the orator rebuts the charges brought against himself, and an offensive, in which he paints in the darkest colours the public and private life of his opponent. In order to give the composition the freshness of a spoken harangue, it assumes to be an immediate reply to Antonius’ speech in the senate. Cicero, who had the fairer field for invective in the life of Antonius, doubtless came off victorious in the combat of words, but his enemy’s power was neither crushed nor even shaken; the written reply, which Antonius vouchsafed a year

220) The grammarian Nonius cites two passages of a 16th speech, which are not found in the extant Philippics. See the Zürich edition p. 1410. The scene is laid in the temple of Concord (§§ 15, 19, 112), on the 19th of September (§ 110). Calenus, in his invective against Cicero, comments severely on his practice of preparing speeches for publication, which were never delivered. (Dio xlvi. 7, 8): ‘When you mount the tribunal you quake for fear, as though it were a matter of life and death; your studied eloquence slips from you, and all you say is tame and dead (τεθυμάκος).’ Not one of all your famous orations was really pronounced as we read it; there is your accusation against Verres for example... I say nothing of the books which you compose against your friends; which you do not dare to publish from a consciousness of the villainy of the act.’ Milo, when living in exile, on receiving a copy of the extant speech pro Milone, wrote back, that it was a happy chance for him that Cicero had not spoken as he had written; otherwise he should have missed the delicious mullets of Massilia (ib. xl. 54).] 221] Cf. ep. ad fam. xii. 22. § 1: Nos hic cum homine gladiatoro omnium nequissimo, collega nostro Antonio, bellum gerimus, sed non pari conditione contra arma verbis. [* What Ant. would have said, may be gathered from the invective of Q. Fulvius Calenus against Cicero (Dio xlvi. 1—28), which is in the main a reply to
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later, was the death-warrant of the greatest of Roman orators†.

the second Philippic, as Cicero's invective against Antonius (ib. xlvi. 18—47) is in great part a reproduction of it.] [† In the proscription of the triumvirs Lepidus gave up to death his brother L. Paulus, Antonius his uncle L. Cæsar (infra. § 14), and Octavianus Cicero (Liv. perioch. cxx. Plut. Cíc. 46). Antonius despatched the centurion Herennius and M. Popilius Lænas, by whom Cicero was murdered 7 Dec. B.C. 43, aet. 64. (dialect. de orat. 17. §. 2. See the extracts from Livy and others, all describing the murder, in Sen. suas. 6; cf. Plut. Ant. 20, Cíc. 48, 49). App. b. c. iv. 20: 'Then Lænas, though he had once won an action through Cicero's advocacy, drew his head from the litter and cut it off, striking or rather sawing it three times; so unhandy was he. He likewise cut off the hand, wherewith Cicero wrote those orations against the tyranny of Antonius, which in imitation of Demosthenes he called Philippics. On the instant expresses posted away by sea and land to convey the good news to Antonius. Lænas on his arrival, finding Antonius seated in the forum, waved the head and hand while yet a long way off, by way of displaying them. Antonius overjoyed put a crown on the centurion's head, and gave him over and above the promised reward 250,000 Attic drachms, as having rid him of the greatest and most rancorous of his enemies. Cicero's head and hand long hung from the rostra, where he used to speak; and more now flocked together to see him, than formerly to hear. It is said that Antonius set Cicero's head before the table at his meal, till he had glutted himself with the sight.' Fulvia is said (Dio xlvi. 8) to have placed the head upon her knees, and pricked with hair-pins the tongue which had abused her. On receiving the ghastly offering, Antonius exclaimed that the proscription was complete (Plut. Cíc. 49). Cf. Vell. ii. 64. §§ 3, 4: Haec sunt tempora, quibus M. Tullius continuis actionibus aeternas Antonii memoriae inussit notas. Sed hic fulgentissimo et caelesti ore, at tribunus Canutius continua rabié lacerabat Antonium. Utique vindicta libertatis morte stetit: sed tribuni sanguine commissa proscriptio, Ciceronis, velut satiato Antonio poena, finita.]

[Tacitus dial. 37: nec Ciceronem magnum oratorem P. Quinctius defensum aut Licinius Archias faciunt: Catilina et Milo et Verres et A N T O N I U S hanc illi famam circumdederunt.]
M. TULLII CICERONIS

IN M. ANTONIUM

PHILIPPICARUM LIBER SECUNDUS.

I. 1. Quonam meo fato, patres conscripti, fieri dicam, ut nemo his annis viginti rei publicae fuerit hostis, qui non bellum eodem tempore mihi quoque indixerit? Nec vero necesse est quemquam a me nominari: vobiscum ipsi recordamini. Mihi poenarum illi plus quam optarem dederunt: te miror, Antoni, quorum facta imiterc, eorum exitus non perhorrescere. Atque hoc in aliis minus mirabar. Nemo illorum inimicus mihi fuit voluntarius: omnes a me rei publicae causa lacesit. Tu ne verbo quidem violatus, ut audacior quam Catilina, furiosior quam Clodius viderere, utro me maledictis lacesisti tuamque a me alienationem commendationem tibi ad inpios cives fore putavisti. 2. Quid putem? contemptumne me? Non video nec in vita nec in gratia nec in rebus gestis nec in hac mea mediocritate ingenii, quid despicere possit Antonius. An in senatu facillime de me detrahi posse credidit? qui ordo clarissimis civibus bene gestae rei publicae testimonium multis, mihi uni conservatae dedit. An decertare mecum voluit contentione dicendi? Hoc quidem est beneficium. Quid enim plenius, quid uberius quam mihi et pro me et contra Antonium
dicere? Illud profecto: non existimavit sui similibus probari posse se esse hostem patriae, nisi mihi esset inimicus. 

II. Contra rem suam me nescio quando venisse questus est. An ego non venirem contra alienum pro familiari et necessario? non venirem contra gratiam non virtutis spe, sed aetatis flore collectam? non venirem contra iniuriam, quam iste intercessoris ini- quissimi beneficio obtinuit, non iure praetorio? Sed hoc idcirco commemoratum a te puto, uti te infimo ordini commendares, cum omnes te recordarentur libertini generum et liberos tuos nepotes [Q. Fadii] libertini hominis fuisses. At enim te in disciplinam meam tradideras—nam ita dixisti—, domum meam ventitaras. Ne tu, si id fecisses, melius famae, melius pudicitiae tuae consuluisses. Sed neque fecisti nec, si cuperes, tibi id per C. Curionem facere licuisset.—

4. Auguratus petitionem mihi te concessisse dixisti. O incredibilem audaciam! o inpudentiam praedicandam! Quo enim tempore me augurem a toto collegio expetitum Cn. Pompeius et Q. Hortensius nominaverunt—uec enim licebat a pluribus nominari—, tu nec solven- do eras nec te ullo modo nisi eversa re publica fore incolorem putabas. Poteras autem eo tempore auguratum petere, cum in Italia C. Curio non esset? aut tum, cum es factus, unam tribum sine Curione ferre potuisses? cuius etiam familiares de vi condemnati sunt, quod tui nimis studiosi fuissent. III. 5. At beneficio sum tuo usus. Quo? quamquam illud ipsum, quod commemoras, semper prae me tuli: malui me tibi
debere confiteri quam cuiquam minus prudenti non satis gratus videri. Sed quo beneficio? quod me Brundisii non occideris? Quem ipse victor, qui tibi, ut tute gloriari solebas, detulerat ex latronibus suis principatum, salvum esse voluisset, in Italianam ire iussisset, eum tu occideres? Fac potuisse. Quod est aliud, patrés conscripti, beneficium latronum, nisi ut commemorare possint eis se dedisse vitam, quibus non ademerint? Quod si esset beneficium, numquam qui illum interfecturus, a quo erant conservati, quos tu clarissimos viros soles appellare, tantam essent gloriam consecuti. Quale autem beneficium est, quod te absti-
nueris nefario scelere? Qua in re non tam iucundum mihi videri debuit non interfecum me a te, quam miserum te id inpune facere potuisse. 6. Sed sit beneficium, quando quidem maius accipi a latrone nullum potuit: in quo potes me dicere ingratum? An de interitu rei publicae queri non debui, ne in te ingratus viderer? At in illa querella, misera quidem et luctuosa, sed mihi pro hoc gradu, in quo me senatus populusque Romanus collocavit, necessaria, quid est dictum a me cum contumelia? quid non moderate? quid non amice? Quod quidem cuivis temperantiae fuit, de M. Antonio querentem abstinerre maledictis, praesertim cum tu reliquias rei publicae dissipavisses, cum domi tuæ turpissimo mercatu omnia essent venalia, cum leges eas, quæ numquam promulgatae essent, et de te et a te latas confiterere, cum auspicia augur, intercessionem consul sustulisses, cum esses foedissime stipatus armatis, cum omnes inpuritates inpudica in domo cotidie susciperes vino lustrisque confectus. 7. At ego, tamquam mihi cum M. Crasso
contentio esset, quocum multae et magnae fuerunt, non cum uno gladiatore nequissimo, de re publica graviter querens de homine nihil dixi. Itaque hodie perficiam ut intellegat, quantum a me beneficium tibi acceperit.

-IV. At etiam litteras, quas me sibi misisse diceret, recitavit homo et humanitatis expers et vitae communis ignarus. Quis enim umquam, qui paulum modo honorum consuetudinem nosset, litteras ad se ab amico missas offensione aliqua interposita in medium protulit palamque recitavit? Quid est aliud tollere ex vita vitae societatem, tollere amicorum conloquia absentium? Quam multa ioca solent esse in epistulis, quae prolata si sint, inepta videantur! quam multa scria, neque tamen ullo modo divulganda!

8. Sit hoc inhumanitatis: stultitiam incredibilem vide te. Quid habes quod milli opponas, homo diserte, ut Tironi et Mustelae iam esse videris? qui cum hoc ipso tempore stent cum gladiis in conspectu senatus, ego quoque te disertum putabo, si ostenderis, quo modo sis eos inter sicarios defendurus:—sed quid opponas tandem, si negem me umquam ad te istas litteras misisse? Quo me teste convenias? an chirographo? in quo habes scientiam quaestuosam. Qui possis? sunt enim librarii manu. Iam invideo magistro tuo, qui te tanta mercede, quantam iam proferam, nihil sapere doceat.

9. Quid enim est minus non dico oratoris, sed hominis, quam id obicere adversario, quod ille si verbo negarit, longius progradi non possit qui obiecerit? At ego non nego, teque in isto ipso convinceo non inhumanitatis solum, sed etiam amentiae. Quod enim verbum in istis litteris est non plenum humanitatis, officii, benevolentiae?
Omne auxem crimen tuum est, quod de te in his litteris non male existimem, quod scribam tamquam ad civem, tamquam ad bonum virum, non tamquam ad sceleratum et latronem. At ego tuas litteras, etsi iure poteram a te laecissituis, tamen non proferam: quibus petis ut tibi per me liceat quendam de exsilio reducere, adiurasque id te, invito me, non esse facturum. Idque a me impetrasti. Quid enim me interponerem audaciac tuae, quam neque auctoritas huius ordinis neque existimatio populi Romani neque leges ullae possent coercere? 10. Verum tamen quid erat quod me rogares, si erat is, de quo rogabas, Caesaris legre reductus? Sed videlicet meam gratiam voluit esse, in quo ne ipsius quidem alla esse poterat legre lata.

V. Sed cum mihi, patres conscripti, et pro me aliquid et in M. Antonium multa dicenda sint, alterum peto a vobis ut me pro me dcentem beneigne, alterum ipse efficiam ut, contra illum cum dicam, attente audiatis. Simul illud oro, si meam cum in omni vita, tum in dicendo moderationem modestiamque cognostis, ne me hodie, cum isti, ut provocavit, respondero, oblitum esse putetis mei. Non tractabo ut consulem: ne ille quidem me ut consularem. Etsi ille nullo modo consul, vel quod ita vivit vel quod ita rem publicam gerit vel quod ita factus est: ego sine alla controversia consularis. 11. Ut igitur intellegeretis, qualem ipse se consulem profiteretur, obiecit mihi consulatum meum. Qui consulatus verbo meus, patres conscripti, re vester fuit. Quid enim ego constitu, quid gessi, quid egi nisi ex huius ordinis consilio, auctoritate, sententia? Haec tu homo sapiens, non solum eloquens, apud eos, quorum consilio sapi-
entiaque gesta sunt, ausus es vituperare? Quis autem meum consulatum praeter te Publimumque Clodium, qui vituperaret, inventus est? Cuius quidem tibi fatum, sicut C. Curioni, manet, quoniam id domi tuae est, quod fuit illorum utrique fatale. 12. Non placet M. Antonio consulatus meus. At placuit P. Servilio, ut eum primum nominem ex illius temporis consularibus, qui proxime est mortuus; placuit Q. Catulo, cuius semper in hac re publica vivet auctoritas; placuit duobus Lucullis, M. Crasso, Q. Hortensio, C. Curioni, C. Pisoni, M'. Glabrioni, M'. Lepido, L. Volcatio, C. Figulo, D. Silano, L. Murenae, qui tum erant consules designati; placuit idem quod consularibus M. Catoni, qui cum multă vitā excedens providit, tum quod te consulem non vidit. Maxime vero consulatum meum Cn. Pompeius probavit, qui, ut me primum decedens ex Syria vidit, complexus et gratulans meo beneficio patriam se visurum esse dixit. Sed quid singulos commemoro? Frequentissimo senatui sic placuit, ut esset nemo, qui mihi non ut parenti gratias ageret, qui mihi non vitam suam, fortunas, liberos, rem publicam referret acceptam. VI. 13. Sed quoniam illis, quos nominavi, totet talibus viris res publica orbata est, veniamus ad vivos, qui duo de consularium numero reliqui sunt. L. Cotta, vir summo ingenio summaque prudentia, rebus eis gestis, quas tu reprehendis, supplicationem decrevit verbis amplissimis, eique illi ipsi, quos modo nominavi, consulares senatusque cunctus adsensus est, qui honos post conditam hanc urbem habitus est togato ante me nemini. 14. L. Caesar, avunculus tuus, qua oratione, qua constancia, qua gravitate sententiam
OR. PHILIPPICA II. c. 5—7. §§ 11—16. 7

dixit in sororis suae virum, vitricum tuum! Hunc
tu cum auctorem et praeceptorem omnium consiliorum
totiusque vitae debuisse habere, vitrici te similem
quam avunculi maluisti. Huius ego alienus consiliis
consul usus sum: tu, sororis filius, ecquid ad eum
umquam de re publica rettulisti? At ad quos refert?
di immortales! Ad eos scilicet, quorum nobis etiam
dies natales audiendi sunt. 15. Hodie non descendit
Antonius. Cur? dat nataliciam in hortis. Cui? ne-
minem nominabo: putate tum Phormioni alicui, tum
Gnathoni, tum etiam Ballioni. O foeditatem hominis
flagitiosam! o inpudentiam, nequitiam, libidinem non
ferendum! Tu cum principem senatorem, civem sin-
gularem tam propinquum habeas, ad eum de re pub-
lica nihil referas, referas ad eos, qui suam rem nullam
habent, tuam exhauriunt? VII. Tuus videlicet salu-
taris consulatus, perniciosus meas. Adeone pudorem
cum pudicitia perdidisti, ut hoc in eo templo dicere
ausus sis, in quo ego senatum illum, qui quondam
florens orbis terrarum praesidebat, consulebam, tu ho-
mines perditissimos cum gladiis conlocavisti? 16. At
etiam ausus es—quid autem est quod tu non audeas?
—clivum Capitolinum dicere me consule plenum ser-
vorum armatorumuisse. Ut illa, credo, nefaria
senatus consulta ficerent, vim adferebam senatu. O
miser, sive illa tibi nota non sunt— nihil enim boni
noshi—sive sunt, qui apud tales viros tam inpudenter
loquare! Quis enim eques Romanus, quis praeter te
adulescens nobilis, quis ullius ordinis, qui se civem
esse meminisset, cum senatus in hoc templo esset, in
clivo Capitolino non fuit? quis nomen non dedit?
quamquam nec scribae sufficie re nec tabulae nomina
illorum capere potuerunt. 17. Etenim cum homines nefarii de patriae parricidio consiterentur, consciorum indiciis, sua manu, voce paene litterarum coacti, se urbem inflammare, civies trucidare, vastare Italiam, delere rem publicam consensisse, quis esset qui ad salutem communem defendendam non excitaretur? praesertim cum senatus populusque Romanus haberet ducem, qualis si qui nune esset, tibi idem quod illis accidit contigisset.—Ad sepulturam corpus vitrici sui negat a me datum. Hoc vero ne Publius quidem Clodius dixit umquam: quem, quia iure ei inimicus fui, doleo a te omnibus vitios esse superatum. 18. Qui autem tibi venit in mentem, redigere in memoriam nostram, te domi P. Lentuli esse educatum? An verebaret ne non putaremus. natura te potuisse tam inprobum evadere, nisi accessisset etiam disciplina? VIII. Tam autem eras excors, ut tota in oratunique ipse pugnares, non modo non cohaerentia inter se diceres, sed maxime diiuncta atque contraria, ut non tanta mecum quanta tibi mecum esset contentio. Vitricum tuum fuisse in tanto scelere fadebare, poena adscessit querebare. Ita quod proprie meum est, laudasti, quod totum est senatus, reprehendisti: nam comprehensio siontium mea, animadversio senatus fuit. Homo disertus non intellegit eum, quem contra dicit, laudari a se, eos, apud quos dicit, vituperari. 19. Iam illud cuius est, non dieo audaciae—cupit enim se audacem—, sed, quod minime vult, stultitiae, qua vincit omnes, clivi Capitolini mentionem facere, eum inter subsellia nostra versentur armati? cum in hac eella Concordiae, di immortales, in qua me consule salutares sententiae dicitae sunt,
OR. PHILIPPICA II. c. 7—9. §§ 16—21. 9


IX. 21. P. Clodium meo consilio interfector esse dixisti. Quidnam homines putarent, si tum occisus esset, eum tu illum in foro spectante populo Romano gladio insecutus es negotiumque trausegisses, nisi se ille in scalas tabernae librariae conieciisset isisque oppilatis impetu tum compressisset? Quod quidem ego favisse me tibi factor, suasisse ne tu quidem dicis. At Miloni ne favere quidem potui; prius enim rem
transegit quam quisquam eum facturum id suspicarc-
tur. At ego suasi. Scilicet is animus erat Milonis, 
ut prodesse rei publicae sine suasore non posset! At 
laetatus sum. Quid ergo? in tanta lactitia eunctae 
civitatis me unum tristem esse oportebat? 22. Quam-
quam de morte Clodii fuit quaestio—non satis pru-
denter illa quidem constituta; quid enim attinebat 
ova lege quaeri de eo, qui hominem occidisset, cum 
esset legibus quaestio constituta? quacsitum est tamem 
—: quod igitur, cum res agebatur, nemo in me dixit, 
id tot annis post tu es inventus qui diceres?

23. Quod vero dicere ausus es idque multis verbis, 
opera mea Pompeium a Caesaris amictia esse diiun-
tum ob eamque causam culpa mea bellum civile esse 
natum, in eo non tu quidem tota re, sed, quod maxi-
mum est, temporibus errasti. X. Ego M. Bibulo, prae-
stantissimo cive, consule nilil praetermisi, quantum 
facere enitique potui, quin Pompeium a Caesaris con-
junctione avocarem. In quo Caesar felicior fuit; ipse 
enim Pompeium a mea familiaritate diiunxit. Postea 
vero quam se totum Pompeius Caesar tradidit, quid 
ego illum ab eo distrahere conarer? Stulti erat sperare, 
suadere impudentis. 24. Duo tamen tempora incide-
runt, quibus aliquid contra Caesaris Pompeio suaserim. 
Ea velim reprehendas, si potes: unum, ne quinquennii 
imperium Caesaris prorogaret, alterum, ne pateretur 
ieri ut absentis cius ratio habetur. Quorum si 
utrumvis persuasisset, in has miseras numquam in-
cidissetus. Atque idem ego, cum iam opes omnes et 
suas et populi Romani Pompeius ad Caesarem detulisset 
seroque ea sentire coepisset, quae ego multo ante pro-
videram, inferrique patriae bellum viderem nefarium,
pacis, concordiae, compositionis auctor esse non destiti, meaque illa vox est nota multis: 'Utinam, Pompei, cum Caesare societatem aut numquam coisses aut numquam dirémisses! fuit alterum gravitatis, alterum prudentialiae tuae.' Haec mea, M. Antoni, semper et de Pompeio et de re publica consilia fuerunt: quae si valuissent, res publica staret, tu tuis flagitiis, egestate, infamia concidisses.

XI. 25. Sed haec vetera, illud vero recens, Caesar rem meo consilio interfecit. iam vereor, patres conscripti, ne, quod turpissimum est, praevariatorem milii adposuisse videar, qui me non solum meis laudibus ornaret, sed etiam alienis. Quis enim meum in ista societate gloriosissimi facti nomen audivit? cuius autem, qui in eo numero fuisse, nomen est occultatum? occultatum dico? cuius non statim divulgatum? Citius dixerim iactasse se aliquos, ut fuisse in ea societate viderentur, cum [consci] non fuisse, quam ut quisquam celari vellet qui fuisse. 26. Quam verisimile porro est in tot hominibus partim obscuris, partim adulescentibus neminem occultantibus, meum nomen latere potuisse? Etenim si auctores ad liberandam patriam desiderarentur [illis auctoribus], Brutos ego inpellerem, quorum uterque L. Bruti imaginem cotidie videret, alter etiam Ahalae? Hi igitur his maioribus ab alienis potius consilium peterent quam a suis? et foris potius quam domo? Quid? C. Cassius, in ea familia natus, quae non modo dominatum, sed ne potentiam quidem cuiusquam ferre potuit, me auctorem, credo, desideravit: qui etiam sine his clarissimis viris hanc rem in Cilicia ad ostium fluminis Cydni confecisset, si ille ad eam ripam, quam constituerat, non

XII. 28. At quem ad modum me coarguerit homo acutus recordamini. Caesare interfecto, inquit, statim cruentum alte extollens Brutus pugionem Ciceronem nominatim exclamavit atque ei recuperatam libertatem est gratulatus. Cur mihi potissimum? quia sciebam? Vide ne illa causa fuerit appellandi mei, quod, cum rem gessisset consimilem rebus iis, quas ipse gesseram, me potissimum testatus est se aemulum meorum laudium extitisse. 29. Tu autem, omnium stultissime, non intellegis, si, id quod me arguis, voluisses interfici Caesarem crimen sit, etiam laetatum esse morte Caesaris crimen esse? Quid enim interest inter suasorem facti et probatorem? aut quid refert, utrum voluerim fieri an gaudeam factum? Ecquis est igitur exceptis eis, qui illum regnare gaudebant, qui illud aut fieri noluerit aut factum inprobarit? Omnes ergo in
cur legatorum numerus auctus? Atque hac acta per te; non igitur homicidas. Sequitur ut liberatores tuo iudicio, quando quidem tertium nihil potest esse. 32. Quid est? num conturbo te? non enim fortasse satis quae diiunctius dicuntur intellegis. Sed tamen hacce summa est conclusionis meae: quoniam scelere a te liberati sunt, ab eodem amplissimis praemiis dignissimis iudicatos. Itaque iam retexo orationem meam. Scribam ad illos ut, si qui forte quod a te mihi obiectum est quaerent sitne verum, ne cui negent. Etenim vereor ne aut celatum me illis ipsis non honestum, aut invitatum refugisse mihi sit turpissimum. Quae enim res umquam, pro sancte Iuppiter! non modo in hac urbe, sed in omnibus terris est gesta maior? quae gloriosior? quae commendatior hominum memoriae semper ternaee? In huius me tu consilii societatem tamquam in equum Trojanum cum principibus includis? Non recuso; ago etiam gratias, quoquo animo facis. 33. 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 praedicatas et relegatos? qui locus est aut tam desertus aut tam inhumanus, qui illos, cum accesserint, non adfari atque adpetere videatur? qui homines tam agrestes, qui se, cum eos adspexerint, non maximum cepisse vitae fructum putent? quae vero tam immemor posteritas, quae tam ingratae litterae reperientur, quae eorum gloriem non immortalitatis memoria prosequantur? Tu vero adscribe me talem in numerum. XIV 34. Sed unam rem vereor ne non probes. Si enim fuisset, non solum regem, sed etiam regnum de republica sustulisset; et, si meus stilus ille fuisset, ut
OR. PHILIPPICA II. c. 13—15. §§ 31—37. 15
dicitur, milii crede, non solum unum actum, sed totam fabulam confecissem. Quamquam si interfici Caesarém voluisse crimen est, vide, quaeso, Antoni, quid tibi futurum sit, quem et Narbone hoc consilium cum Trebonio cepisse notissimum est, et ob eius consilii societatem, cum interficeretur Caesar, tum te a Trebonio vidimus sevocari. Ego autem—vide quam tecum agam non inimice—, quod bene cogitasti aliquando, laudo; quod non indicasti, gratias ago; quod non fecisti, ignoso : virum res illa quaerebat. 35. Quod si te in iudicium quis adducat usurpetque illud Cassianum, cui bono fuerit, vide, quaeso, ne haereas. Quamquam illud fuit, ut dicebas quidem, omnibus bono, qui servire nolebant, tibi tamen praecipue, qui non modo non servis, sed etiam regnas, qui maximo te aere alieno ad aedem Opis liberavisti, qui per easdem tabulas innumerabilem pecuniam dissipavisti, ad quem e domo Caesaris tam multa delata sunt, cuius domi quaestuosis-sima est falsorum commentariorum et chirographorum officina, agrorum, oppidorum, immunitatum, vectigalium flagitiosissimae nundinae. 36. Etenim quae res egestati et aeri alieno tuo praeter mortem Caesaris sub- venire potuisset? Nescio quid conturbatus esse videris: num quid subtimes ne ad te hoc crimen pertinere videat? Libero te metu: nemo credet umquam; non est tuum de re publica bene mereri; habet istius pulcherrimi facti clarissimos viros res publica auctores: ego te tantum gaudere dicho, fecisse non arguo. Respondi maximis criminibus: nune etiam reliquis respondendum est.

XV. 37: Castra mihi Pompei atque illud omne tempus obiecisti. Quo quidem tempore si, ut dixi,
meum consilium auctoritasque valuisse, tu Hodie egeres, nos liberi essesmus, res publica non tot duces et exercitus amississet. Fateor enim me, cum ea quae acciderunt providerem futura, tanta in maestitia fuisse, quanta ceteri optimi cives, si idem providissent, fuisse. Dolebam, dolebam, patres conscripti, rem publicam vestris quondam meisque consiliis conservatam brevi tempore esse perituram. Nee vero eram tam indoctus ignarusque rerum, ut frangerer animo propter vitae cupiditatem, quae me manens coniceret angori- bus, dimissa molestiis omnibus liberaret. Illos ego praec- stantissimos viros, lumina rei publicae, vivere volebam, tot consulares, tot praetorios, tot honestissimos senatores, omnem praeterea florem nobilitatis ac iuventutis, tum optimorum civium exercitus: qui si viverent, quamvis iniqua condicione pacis—mihi enim omnis pax cum civibus bello civili utilior videbatur—, rem publicam Hodie teneremus. Quae sententia si valuisse, ac non ei maxime mihi, quorum ego vitae consulebam, spe victoriae elati obstitissent, ut alia omissa, certe numquam in hoc ordine, vel potius numquam in hac urbe mansisses. At vero Cn. Pompei voluntatem a me alienabat oratio mea. An ille quemquam plus dilexit? cumullo aut sermones aut consilia contulit saepius? quod quidem erat magnum, de summare publica dissentientes in eadem consuetudine amicitiae permanere. Ego, quid ille, et contra ille, quid ego sentirem et spectarem, videbat. Ego incolumitati civium primum, ut postea dignitati possemus, ille praesenti dignitati potius consulebat. Quod autem habebat uterque quid sequeretur, idcirco tolerabilior erat nostra dissensio. Quid vero ille singularis
vir ac paene divinus de me senserit, sciunt qui eum de Pharsalia fuga Paphum persecuti sunt. Numquam ab eo mentio de me nisi honorifica, nisi plena amicissimi desiderii, cum me vidisse plus fateretur, se speravitisse meliora. Et eius viri nomine me insectari audes, cuius me amicum, te sectorem esse fatcare? XVI. Sed omissurum bellum illud, in quo tu nimium felix fuisti. Ne de iocis quidem respondebas, quibus me in castris usum esse dixistis. Erat quidem illa castra plena curae, verum tamen homines, quamvis in turbidis rebus sint, tamen, si modo homines sunt, interdum animis relaxantur. 40. Quod autem idem maestitiam meam reprehendit, idem iocum, magno argumento est me in utroque fuisse moderatum.


Fratris filium praeteriit; Q. Fusii, honestissimi equitis Romani suique amicissimi, quem palam heredem semper factitarat, ne nominat quidem: te, quem numquam viderat aut certe numquam salutaverat, fecit heredem. Velim mihi dicas, nisi molestum est, L. Turselius qua facie fuerit, qua statura, quo municipio, qua tribu. 'Nihil scio' inquies 'nisi quae praedia habuerit.' Igitur fratrem exheredans te faciebat
heredem. In multas praeterea pecunias alienissimorum hominum vi eictis veris heredibus, tamquam heres esset, invasit. Quamquam hoc maxime admiratus sum, mentionem te hereditatum ausum esse facere, cum ipse hereditatem patris non adisses.


XVIII. 44. Visne igitur te inspiciamus a puerero? Sic opinor; a principio ordiamur. Tenesne memoria praetextatum te decoxisse? Patris, inquies,
ista culpa est. Concedo; etenim est pietatis plena defensio. Illud tamen audaciae tuae, quod sedisti in quattuordecim ordinibus, cum esset lege Roscia decoc- toribus certus locus, quamvis quis fortunae vitio, non suo decoxisset. Sumpsisti virilem, quam statim muliebrem togam reddidisti. Primo vulgare scortum; certa flagitii merces nec ea parva; sed cito Curio intervenit, qui te a meretricio quaestu abduxit et, tamquam stolam dedisset, in matrimonio stabili et certo conlocavit. 45. Nemo umquam puer emptus libidiniis causa tam fuit in domini potestate quam tu in Curionis. Quotiens te pater eius domu sua eiecit? quotiens custodes posuit, ne limen intrares? cum tu tamen nocte socia, hortante libidine, cogente mercede per tegulas demitterere. Quae flagitia domus illa diutius ferre non potuit. Scisne me de rebus mihi notissimis dicere? Recordare tempus illud, cum pater Curio maerens iacebat in lecto, filius se ad pedes meos prosternens lacrimans te mihi commendabat: orabat ut te contra suum patrem, si sestertium sexagiens peteret, defenderem; tantum enim se pro te intercessisse dicebat. Ipse autem amore ardens confirmavit, quod desiderium tui discidii ferre non posset, se in exsilium iturum. 46. Quo tempore ego quanta mala florentissimae familiae sedavi vel potius sustuli! Patri persuasi ut aes alienum filii dissolveret, redimeret adulescentem, summa spe et animi et ingenii praeditum, rei familiaris facultatibus eumque non modo tua familiaritate, sed etiam congressione patrio iure et potestate prohiberet. Haec tu cum per me acta meminisses, nisi illis, quos videmus, gladiis consideres, maledictis me provocare ausus esses? XIX. 47. Sed
iam stupra et flagitia omittamus: sunt quaedam, quae honeste non possum dicere, tu autem eo liberior, quod ea in te admisisti, quae a verecundo inimico audire non posses. Sed reliquam vitæ currum videte, quem quidem celeriter perstringam. Ad haec enim, quae in civili bello, in maximis rei publicae miseriis fecit, et ad ea, quae cotidie facit, festinat animus. Quae peto, ut quamquam multo notiora vobis quam mihi sunt, tamen, ut facitis, attente audietis; debet enim talibus in rebus excitare animos non cognitio solum rerum, sed etiam recordatio: etsi incidamus, opinor, media, ne nimirum sero ad extrema veniamus.

cumque eam rem tua sponte conarere, non inpulsu meo, tamen ita praedicabas, te non existimare, nisi illum interfecisses, unquam mihi pro tuis in me iniuriis satis esse facturum. In quo demiror, cur Milonem inpulsu meo rem illam egisse dicas, cum te ultimo mihi idem illud deferentem numquam sim adhortatus: quoniam, si in eo perseverares, ad tuam gloriam rem illam referri malebam quam ad meam gratiam. 50. Quaestor es factus: deinde continuo sine senatus consulto, sine sorte, sine lege ad Caesarem cucurristi; id enim unum in terris egestatis, aeris alieni, nequitiae perditis vitae rationibus perfugium esse ducellas. Ibi te cum illius largitionibus et tuis rapinis explevisses, si hoc est explere, haurire quod statim effundas, adversasti egens ad tribunatum, ut in eo magistratu, si posses, viri tui similis esses.

XXI. Accipite nunc, quaeso, non ea, quae ipse in se atque in domesticum decus inpure et intemperanter, sed quae in nos fortunasque nostras, id est in universam rem publicam, inpie ac nefarie fecerit; ab hujus enim scelere omnium malorum principium natum perperietis. 51. Nam cum L. Lentulo C. Marcello consulibus Kalendis Ianuariis labentem et prope cadentem rem publicam fulcire cuperetis, ipsique C. Caesari, si sana mente esset, consulere velletis, tum iste venditum atque emancipatum tribunatum consiliis vestris opposuit cervicesque suas ci subiecit securi, qua multi minoribus in peccatis occiderunt. In te, M. Antoni, id decrevit senatus et quidem incolam, nondum tot luminibus extinctis, quod in hostem togatum decerni est solitum more maiorum. Et tu apud patres conscriptos contra me dicere ausus es, cum ab hoc ordine
ego conservator essem, tu hostis rei publicae iudicatus? Commemoratio illius tui sceleris intermissa est, non memoria deleta. Dum genus hominum, dum populi Romani nomen exstabit—quod quidem erit, si per te licebit, sempiternum—, tua illa pestifera intercessio nominabitur. 52. Quid cupide a senatu, quid temere fiebat, cum tu unus adulescens universum ordinem decernere de salute rei publicae prohibuisti, neque semel, sed saepius, neque tu tccum de senatus auctoritate agi passus es? Quid autem agebatur, nisi ne delerit et everti rem publicam funditus velles? Cum te neque principes civitatis rogando neque maiores nati monendo neque frequens senatus agendo de vendita atque addita sententia movere potuisset, tum illud multis rebus ante temptatis necessario tibi vulnerum inflictum est, quod paucis ante te, quorum incolamus fuit nemo: tum contra te dedit arma hic ordo consulibus reliquisque imperii et potestatibus: quae non effugisses, nisi te ad arma Caesaris contulisses. XXII. 53. Tu, tu, inquam, M. Antoni, princeps C. Caesari omnia perturbare cupienti causam belli contra patriam inferendi dedisti. Quid enim aliud ille dicebat? quam causam sui dementissimi consilii et facti adeferebat, nisi quod intercessio neglecta, ius tribunici sublatum, circumscriptus a senatu esset Antonius? Omitto quam haec falsa, quam levia, praesertim cum omnino nulla causa iusta cuiquam esse possit contra patriam arma capiendi. Sed nihil de Caesare: tibi certe confitendum est causam perniciosissimi belli in persona tua constitisse. 54. O miserum te, si haec intellegis, misc riorem, si non intellegis, hoc litteris mandari, hoc memoriae prodi, huius rei ne posteritatem quidem om-
et re publica dignus. Nihil id quidem ad rem, ego tamen, quoniam condemnatum esse pro nihil est, ita ignoscerem. Hominem omnium nequissimum, qui non dubitaret vel in foro alea ludere, lege, quae est de alea, condemnatum qui in integrum restituit, is non aper-tissime studium suum ipse profitetur? 57. In eodem vero tribunatu, cum Caesar in Hispaniam proficiscens huic conculcandam Italiam tradidisset, quae fuit eius peragratio itinerum! Iustratio municipiorum! Scio me in rebus celebratissimis omnium sermone versari eaque, quae dico dicturusque sum, notiora esse omni-bus, qui in Italia tum fuerunt, quam mihi, qui non fui: notabo tamen singulas res, etsi nullo modo poterit oratio mea satis facere vestræ scientiae. Etenim quod unquam in terris tantum flagitiun exstitisse auditum est? tantam turpitudinem? tantum dedecus? XXIV. 58. Vehebatur in essedo tribunus pl.; lictores laureati antecedebant, inter quos aperta lectica mima portabatur, quam ex oppidis municipales homi-nes honesti, obviam necessario prodeuntes, non noto illo et mimico nomine, sed Volumniam consalutabant. Sequebatur reda cum lenonibus, [comites nequissimi]: reiecta mater amicam inpuri filii tamquam nurum se-quebatur. O miseræ mulieris fecunditatem calamitosam! Horum flagitiiorum iste vestigiis omnia municipia, praefecturas, colonias, totam denique Italian impressit.

59. Reliquorum factorum eius, patres conscripti, difficilest sane reprehensio et lubrica. Versatus in bello est; saturavit se sanguine dissimillimorum sui civium: felix fuit, si potest ulla in scelere esse felicitas. Sed quoniam veteranis cautum esse volumus,
quamquam dissimilis est militum causa et tua—illi secuti sunt, tu quaesisti ducem—, tamen, ne apud illos me in invidiam voces, nihil de genere belli dicam. Victor e Thessalia Brundisium cum legionibus revertisti. Ibi me non occidisti. Magnum beneficium potuisse enim fateor: quamquam nemo erat eorum, qui tum tecum fuerunt, qui mihi non censaret parci oportere. 60. Tanta est enim caritas patriae, ut vestris etiam legionibus sanctus esses, quod eam a me ser- vatam esse meminissent. Sed fac id te dedisse mihi, quod non ademisti, meque a te habere vitam, quia non a te sit erepta: licuitne mihi per tuas contumelias hoc tuum beneficium sic tueri, ut tuebar, prae-sertim cum te haec auditurum videres? XXV. 61.

Venisti Brundisium, in sinum quidem et in complexum tuae mimulae. Quid est? num mentior? Quam miserum est id negare non posse, quod sit turpissimum confessi! Si te municipiorum non pudebat, ne veterani quidem exercitus? quis enim miles fuit qui Brundisii illam non viderit? quis qui nescierit venisse eam tibi tot dierum viam gratulatum? quis qui non indoluerit tam sero se quam nequam hominem secutus esset cognoscere? 62. Italiae rursus percur-satio eadem comite mima, in oppida militum crudelis et misera deductio, in urbe auri, argenti maximeque vini foeda direptio. Accessit ut Caesare ignaro, cum esset ille Alexandrae, beneficio amicorum eius magister equitum constituenter. Tum existimavit se suo iure cum Hippia vivere et equos vectigales Sergio mimo tradere. Tum sibi non hanc, quam nunc male tuerit, sed M. Pisonis domum ubi habitatet legerat. Quid ego istius decreta, quid rapinas, quid heredita-
tum possessiones datas, quid ereptas proferam? Co-
gebat egestas; quo se verteret, non habebat: nondum
ei tanta a L. Rubrio, non a L. Turselio hereditas
venerat; nondum in Pompei locum multorumque ali-
orum, qui aberant, repentinus heres successerat. Erat
ei vivendum latronum ritu, ut tantum haberet, quant-
tum rapere potuisset.

Sed haece, quae robustioris inprobitatis sunt, omi-
tamus: loquamur potius de nequissimo genere levi-
tatis. 63. Tu istis faucibus, istis lateribus, ista gladi-
atoria totius corporis firmitate tantum vini in Hippiae
nuptiis exhauseras, ut tibi necesse esset in populi Ro-
mani conspectu vomere postridie. O rem non modo
visu foedam, sed etiam audita! Si inter cenam in
ipsis tuis immanibus illis poculis hoc tibi accidisset, quis
non turpe duceret? in coetu vero populi Romani,
negotium publicum gerens, magister equitum, cui
ructare turpe esset, is womens frustis esulentis vinum
redolentibus gremium suum et totum tribunal imple-
vit. Sed haece ipse fatetur esse in suis sordibus: veni-
amus ad splendidiora.

XXVI. 64. Caesar Alexandrea se recepit, felix,
ut sibi quidem videbatur, mea autem sententia, qui
rei publicae sit hostis, felix esse nemo potest. Hasta
posita pro aede Iovis Statoris bona subiecta Cn.
Pompei—miserum me! consumptis enim lacrimis
tamen infixus haeret animo dolor—, bona, inquam, Cn.
Pompei Magni voci acerbissimae subiecta praeconis.
Una in illa re servitutis oblita civitas ingemuit ser-
vientibusque animis, cum omnia metutenerentur, gemitus
tamen populi Roman liber fuit. Exspectan-
ibus omnibus quisnam esset tam inpius, tam demens,
tam dis hominibusque hostis, qui ad illud scelus sectionis auderet accedere, inventus est nemo praeter Antonium, praesertim cum tot essent circum hastam illam, qui alia omnia auderent: unus inventus est qui id auderet, quod omnium fugisset et reformidasset audacia. 65. Tantus igitur te stupor oppressit vel, ut verius dicam, tantus furor, ut primum, cum sector sis isto loco natus, deinde cum Pompei sector, non te exsecratum populo Romano, non detestabilem, non omnes tibi deos, non omnes homines esse inimicos et futuros scias? At quam insolenter statim helluo invasit in eius viri fortunas, cuius virtute terribilior erat populus Romanus exteris gentibus, iustitia carior. XXVII. In eius igitur viri copias cum se subito ingurgitasset, exsultabat gaudio persona de mimo ‘modo egens repente dives.’ Sed, ut est apud poëtam nescio quem, ‘male parta male dilabuntur.’ 66. Incredibile ac simile portenti est, quonam modo illa tam multa quam paucis non dico mensibus, sed diebus effuderit. Maximus vini numerus fuit, permagnum optimi pondus argenti, pretiosa vestis, multa et lauta supellex et magnifica multis locis, non illa quidem luxuriosi hominis, sed tamen abundantis: horum paucis diebus nihil erat. 67. Quae Charybdis tam vorax? Charybdim dico? quae si fuit, animal unum fuit: Oceanus, me dius fidius, vix videtur tot res, tam dissipatas, tam distantibus in locis positas tam cito absorbere potuisse. Nihil erat clausum, nihil obsignatum, nihil scriptum. Apothecae totae nequis-simis hominibus condonabantur. Alia mimi rapie-bant, alia mimae: domus erat aleatoribus referta, plena ebriorum; totos dies potabatur atque id locis
Caesar pecuniam? cur potius quam ego ab illo? an sine me ille vicit? At ne potuit quidem. Ego ad illum belli civilis causam attuli; ego leges perniciosas rogavi; ego arma contra consules imperatoresque populi Romani, contra senatum populumque Romanum, contra deos patrios arasque et focus, contra patriam tuli. Num sibi soli vicit? Quorum facinus est commune, cur non sit eorum praeda communis? Ius postulabas, sed quid ad rem? plus ille poterat. 73. Itaque excussis tuis vocibus et ad te et ad praedes tuos milites misit, cum repente a te praeclara illa tabula pro-lata est. Qui risus hominum! tantam esse tabulam, tam varias, tam multas possessiones, ex quibus praeter partem Miseni nihil erat, quod is qui auctionaretur posset suum dicere. Auctionis vero miserabilis aspectus: vestis Pompei non multa eaque maculosa, eiusdem quaedam argentea vasa conlisa, sordidata mansipia, ut doloremus quicquam esse ex illis reli-quiis, quod videre possemus. 74. Hanc tamen aucionem heredes L. Rubrii decreto Caesaris prohibue-runt. Haecrebat nebulo: quo se verteret non habebat. Quin his ipsis temporibus domi Caesaris percussor ab isto missus deprehensus dicebatur esse cum sica: de quo Caesar in senatu aperte in te invehens questus est. Proficiscitur in Hispaniam Caesar, paucis tibi ad solvendum propter inopiam tuam prorogatis diebus. Ne tum quidem sequeris. Tam bonus gladiator rudem tam cito? Hunc igitur quisquam, qui in suis partibus, id est in suis fortunis, tam timidus fuerit, pertimescat?

XXX. 75. Prefectus est aliquando tandem in Hispaniam, sed tuto, ut ait, pervenire non potuit.

76. Qui vero Narbone reditus? etiam quaerebat cur ego ex ipso cursu tam subito revertissem. Exposui nuper, patres conscripti, causam reditus mei: volui, si possem, etiam ante Kalendas Ianuarias prodesse rei publicae. Nam quod quaerebas, quo modo redissim: primum luce, non tenebris, deinde cum calceis et toga, nullis nec Gallicis nec lacerna. At etiam adspicis me et quem, ut videris, iratus. Ne tu iam mecum in gratiam redeas, si scias quam me pudeat nequitiae tuae, cuius te ipsum non pudet. Ex omnium omnibus flagitiis nullum turpius vidi, nullum audivi. Qui magister equitum fuisse tibi viderere, in proximum annum consulatum peteres vel potius rogares, per municipia coloniasque Galliae, e qua nos tum, cum consulatus petebatur, non rogebatur, petere consulatum solebamus, cum Gallicis et
lacerna cucurristi. XXXI. 77. At videte levitatem hominis. Cum hora diei decima fere ad Saxa rubra venisset, delituit in quadam cauponula atque ibi se occultans perpotavit ad vesperam; inde cisio celeriter ad urbem adventus domum venit capite obvoluto. Ianitor: ‘Quis tu?’ ‘A Marco tabellarius.’ Confestim ad eam, cuius causa venerat, eique epistulam tradidit. Quam cum illa legeret fleus—erat enim scripta amatorie; caput autem litterarum, sibi cum illa mima posthac nihil futurum; omnem se amorem abiecisse illum atque in hanc transfudisse—: cum mulier fieret uberius, homo misericors ferre non potuit: caput aperuit, in collum invasit. O hominem nequam! quid enim aliud dicam? magis proprie nihil possum dicere. Ergo ut te Catamitum, nec opinatus cum te ostendisses, praeter spem mulier adspiceret, idcirco urbem terrore nocturno, Italiam multorum dierum metu perturbasti?

78. Et domi quidem causam amoris habuisti, foris etiam turpiorem, ne L. Plancus praedes tuos venderet. Productus autem in contionem a tribuno pl. cum respondisses te rei tuae causa venisse, populum etiam dicasem in te reddidisti. Sed nimirum multa de nugis: ad maiora veniamus.

XXXII. C. Caesari ex Hispania redeunti obviam longissime processisti. Celeriter isti redisti, ut cognosceret te, si minus fortem, at tamen streuam. Factus es ei rursus nescio quo modo familiaris. Habebat hoc omnino Caesar: quem plane perditum aere alieno egentemque, si eundem nequam hominem audacemque, cognorat, hune in familiaritatem liben- tissime recipiebat. 79. His igitur rebus praecclare commendatus iussus es renuntiari consul et quidem cum
ipso. Nihil queror de Dolabella, qui tum est impulsus, inductus, elusus. Qua in re quanta fuerit uterque vestrum perfidia in Dolabellam, quis ignorat? Ille promissum et receptum intervertit ad seque transtulit: tu eius perfidia voluntatem tuam adscripsisti. Veniunt Kalendae Ianuariae: cogimur in senatum; invectus est copiosius multo in istum et paratus Dolabella quam nunc ego. 80. Hic autem iratus quae dixit, di boni! Primum cum Caesar ostendisset se prius quam proficiscetur Dolabella consulem esse iussurum— quem negant regem, qui et faceret semper eius modi aliquid et diceret—: sed cum Caesar ita dixisset, tum hic bonus augur eo se sacerdotio praeditum esse dixit, ut comitia auspiciis vel impedire vel vitiare posset, idque se facturum esse adseveravit. In quo primum incredibilem stupiditatem hominis cognoscite. 81. Quid enim? istud, quod te sacerdotii iure facere posse dixisti, si augur non esses et consul esses, minus facere potuisses? Vide ne etiam facilius. Nos enim nun-tiationem solum habemus, consules et reliqui magistratus etiam spectionem. Esto: hoc imperite; nec enim est ab homine numquam sobrio postulanda prudentia: sed videte inpudentiam. 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 qui servavit, non comitiis habitis, sed prius quam habeantur, debet nun-tiare. Verum implicata inscientia inpudentia est: nec scit quod augurum, nec facit quod pudentem decet. 82. Itaque ex illo die recordamini eius usque ad Idus

XXXIV. Sed ne forte ex multis rebus gestis Antonii rem unam pulcherrimam transiliat oratio, ad Lupercalia veniamus. Non dissimulat, patres conscripti: apparat esse commotum; sudat, pallet. Quidlibet, modo ne nauseet, faciat, quod in porticu Minucia
M. TULLII CICERONIS

bus non solum de die, sed etiam in diem vivere. Ubi enim tu in pace consistes? qui locus tibi in legibus et in iudiciis esse potest, quae tu, quantum in te fuit, dominatu regio sustulisti? Ideone L. Tarquinius exactus est, Sp. Cassius, Sp. Maelius, M. Manlius necati, ut multis post saeculis a M. Antonio, quod fas non est, rex Romae constitueretur?

XXXV. 88. Sed ad auspicia redeamus, de quibus Idibus Martis fuit in senatu Caesar acturus. Quaero: tum tu quid egisses? Audiebam equidem te paratum venisse, quod me de ementitis auspiciis, quibus tamen parere necesse erat, putares esse dicturum. Sustulit illum diem Fortuna rei publicae. Num etiam tuum de auspiciis iudicium interitus Caesaris sustulit? Sed incidi in id tempus, quod iis rebus, in quas ingressa erat oratio, praevertendum est. Quae tua fuga! quae formido praeclaro illo die! quae propter conscientiam scelerum desperatio vitae, cum ex illa fuga beneficio eorum, qui te, si sanus esses, salvum esse voluerunt, clam te domum recepisti. 89. O mea frustra semper verissima auguria rerum futurarum! Dicebam illis in Capitolio liberatoribus nostris, cum me ad te ire vellent, ut ad defendendam rem publicam te adhortarer: quoad metueres, omnia te promissurum; simul ac timere desisses, similem te futurum tui. 25 Itaque cum ceteri consulares irent redirent, in sententia mansi: neque te illo die neque postero vidi, neque ullam societatem optimis civibus cum inoptunissimo hoste foedereullo confirmari posse credidi. Post diem tertium veni in aedem Telluris, et quidem invitus, cum omnes aditus armati obsiderent. 90. Qui tibi dies ille, Antoni, fuit! quamquam mihi inimicus
subito exstitisti, tamen me tui miseret, quod tibi invideris. XXXVI. Qui tu vir, di immortales, et quantus fuisses, si illius diei mentem servare potuisses! Pacem haberemus, quae erat facta per obsidem puerum nobilem, M. Bambalionis nepoten. Quamquam bonum te timor faciebat, non diuturnus magister officii, improbum fecit ea, quae, dum timor abest, a te non discedit, audacia. Etsi tum, cum optimum te putabant, me quidem dissentiente, funeri tyranni, si illud funus fuit, sceleratissime praefuisti. 91. Tua illa pulchra laudatio, tua miseratio, tua cohortatio, tu, tu, inquam, illas faces incendisti, et eas, quibus semustilatus ille est, et eas, quibus incensa L. Bellieni domus deflagravit. Tu illos impetus perditorum hominum et ex maxima parte servorum, quos nos vi manuque reppulimus, in nostras domos immisisti. Idem tamen quasi fulgine abstersa reliquis diebus in Capitolio praeclara senatus consulta fecisti, ne qua post Idus Martias immunitatis tabula neve cuius beneficii figeretur. Memini ipse de exsulibus, scis de immunitate quid dixeris. Optimum vero, quod dictaturae nomen in perpetuum de re publica sustulisti: quo quidem facto tantum te cepisse odium regni videbat, ut teius omne nomen propter proximum dictatoris metum tolleres. 92. Constituta res publica videbatur aliis, mihi vero nullo modo, qui omnia te gubernante naufragia metuebam. Num igitur me nefellit? aut num diutius sui potuit dissimilis esse? Inspectantibus vobis toto Capitolio tabulae figebantur, neque solum singulis venibant immunitates, sed etiam populis universis: civitas non iam singillatim, sed provinciis totis dabatur. Itaque si haec manent, quae stante re pub-
lica manere non possunt, provincias universas, patres conscripti, perdidistis; neque vectigalia solum, sed etiam imperium populi Romani huius domesticis nun-
dinis deminutum est. XXXVII. 93. Ubi est septiens miliens, quod est in tabulis, quae sunt ad Opis? funestae illius quidem pecuniae, sed tamen quae nos, si iis, quorum erat, non redderetur, a tributis posset vindicare. Tu autem quadreringentiens sester-
tium, quod Idibus Martis debuisti, quonam modo ante Kalendas Apriles debere desisti? Sunt ea quidem in-
umerabilia, quae a tuis emebantur non insciente te, sed unum egregium de rege Deiotarō, populi Romani amicissimo, decretum in Capitolio fixum: quo proposito nemo erat, qui in ipso dolore risum posset continere.

94. Quis enim cuiquam inimicior quam Deiotarō Caesār? aeque atque huic ordini, ut equestri, ut Massiliensi-
bus, ut omnibus, quibus rem publicam populi Romani caram esse sentiebat. Igitur a quo vivo nec praesens nec absens rex Deiotarō quicquam aequi boni inpe-
travit, apud mortuum factus est gratiosus? Compellarat hospitem praesens, computarat, pecuniam inpetrarat, in eius tetrarchia unum ex Graecis comitibus suis collo-
carat, Armeniam abstulerat a senatu datam. 95. Haec vivus eripuit: reddit mortuus. At quibus verbis? modo aequum sibi videri, modo non iniquum. Mira verborum complexio! At ille numquam—semper enim absentī adfui Deiotarō—quicquam sibi, quod nos pro illo postularemus, aequum dixit videri. Syngrapha sestertii centiens per legatos, viros bonos, sed timidos et inperitos, sine nostra, sine reliquorum hospitum regis sententia facta in gynaecio est, quo in loco plurimae res venierunt et vencunt. Qua ex syngrapha
quid sis acturus meditere censeo: rex enim ipse sua sponte, nullis commentariis Caesaris, simul atque audivit eius interitum, suo Marte res suas recuperavit.

96. Sciebat homo sapiens ius semper hoc fuisse, ut, quae tyranni eripuissent, ea tyrannis interfectis ei, quibus erepta essent, recuperarent. Nemo igitur iure consultus, ne iste quidem, qui tibi uni est iure consultus, per quem haec agis, ex ista syngrapha deberi dicit pro iis rebus, quae erant ante syngrapham recuperatae: non enim a te emit, sed prins, quam tu suum sibi venderes, ipse possedit. Ille vir fuit, nos quidem contemnendi, qui auctorem odimus, acta defendimus.

XXXVIII. 97. Quid ego de commentariis infinitis, quid de innumerabilibus chirographis loquar? quorum etiam institores sunt, qui ea tamquam gladiatorum libellos palam venditent. Itaque tanti acervi nummorum apud istum construuntur, ut iam expendantur, non numerentur pecuniae. At quam caeca avaritia est! Nuper fixa tabula est, qua civitates locupletissimae Cretensium vectigalibus liberantur, statuiturque ne post M. Brutum pro consule sit Creta provincia. Tu mentis es compos? tu non constringendus? In Caesaris decreto Creta post M. Bruti decessum potuit liberari, cum Creta nihil ad Brutum Caesare vivo pertineret?

25 At huius venditione decreti, ne nihil actum putetis, provinciam Cretam perdidistis. Omnino nemo ullius rei fuit emptor, cui defuerit hie venditor. 98. Et de exsulibus legem, quam fixisti, Caesar tulit? Nullius insceptor calamitatem: tantum queror, primum eorum restitus inquinatos, quorum causam Caesar dissimilem indicavit; deinde nescio cur non reliquis idem tribuas: neque enim plus quam tres aut quattuor reliqui sunt.
Iunias exspectasti? an eam, ad quas te peragratis veteranorum coloniis stipatum armis rettulisti?

O praeclaram illam percursationem tuam mense Aprili atque Maio, tum cum etiam Capuam coloniam deducere conatus es! Quem ad modum illinc abieris vel potius paene non abieris, scimus. 101. Cui tu urbi munitariis. Utinam conere, ut aliquando illud paene tollatur! At quam nobilis est tua illa peregrinatio! Quid prandiorum adparatus, quid furiosam vinolentiam tuam proferam? Tua ista detrimenta sunt, illa nostra. Agrum Campanum, qui cum de vectigalibus eximebatur ut militibus daretur, tamen inflictü magnum rei publicae vulnus putabamus, hunc tu conpransoribus tuis et conlusoribus dividebas.

rum, natabant pavimenta vino, madebant parietes, ingenues pueri cum meritoriiis, scorta inter matres familias versabantur. Casino salutatum veniebant, Aquino, Interamna. Admissus est nemo. Iure id quidem; in homine enim turpissimo obsolesciebant dignitatis insignia. 106. Cum inde Romam proficiscens ad Aquinum accederet, obviam ei processit, ut est frequens municipium, magna sane multitudo. At iste operta lectica latus per oppidum est ut mortuus. Stulte Aquinates, sed tamen in via habitabant. Quid Anagnini? Qui cum essent devii descendunt, ut istum, tamquam si esset, consulem salutarent. Incrédibile dictu est; sed sum vicinus; inter omnes constabat neminem esse resalutatum, præsertim cum duos secum Anagninos haberet, Mustelam et Laconem, quorum alter gladiorum est princeps, alter poculorum. 107. Quid ego illas istius minas contumeliasque commemorem, quibus invectus est in Sidicinos, vexavit Puteolanos, quod C. Cassium et Brutos patronos adoptassent? Magnò quidem studio, iudicio, benevolentia, caritate, non, ut te et Basilum, vi et armis, et alios vestri similès, quos clientes nemo habere velit, non modo illorum clies esse. XLII. Interea dum tu abes, qui dies ille collegae tui fuit, cum illud, quod venerari solebas, bustum in foro evertit! qua re tibi nuntiata, ut constabat inter cos, qui una fuerunt, concidisti. Quid evenerit postea nescio—metum credo valuisse et arma—: collegam quidem de caelo detraxisti effecisti-que, non tu quidem etiam nunc, ut similis tui, sed certe ut dissimilis esset sui.

108. Qui vero inde reditus Romam! quae perturbation totius urbis! Memineramus Cinnam nimis poten-

OR. PHILIPPICA II. c. 42—44. §§ 108—113. 45

dies qui sit ignores? Nescis heri quartum in circ

salvis nobis! sed quoquo modo nobiscum egeris, dum istis consiliis uteris, non potes, mihi crede, esse diurnus. Etenim ista tua minime avara coniunct, quam ego sine contumelia describo, nimmer via debet populo Romano tertiam pensionem. Habet populus Romanus; ad quos gubernacula rei publicae deferat: qui ubicumque terrarum sunt, ibi omne est rei publicae praesidium vel potius ipsa res publica, quae se adhuc tantum modo ulta est, nondum recipervit. Habet quidem certe re publica adulescentes nobilissimos paratos defensores: quam volent illi cedant otio consulentes, tamen a re publica revocabuntur. Et nomen pacis dulce est et ipsa res salutaris; sed inter pacem et servitutem plurimum interest. Pax est tranquilla libertas, servitus postremum malorum omnium, non modo bello, sed morte etiam repellendum. 114. Quod si se ipsos illi nostri liberatores e conspectu nostro abstulercunt, at exemplum facti reliquierunt. Illi, quod nemo fecerat, fecerunt. Tarquinium Brutus bello est persecutus, qui tum rex fuit, cum esse Romae licebat; Sp. Cassius, Sp. Maelius, M. Manlius propter suspitionem regni adpetendi sunt necati: hi primum cum gladiis non in regnum adpetentem, sed in regnantem impetum fecerunt. Quod cum ipsum factum per se praeclarum est atque divinum, tum expositum ad imitandum est, praesertim cum illi eam gloriam consecuti sint, quae vix caelo capi posse videatur. Etsi enim satis in ipsa conscientia pulcher-rimi facti fructus erat, tamen mortali immortalitatem non arbitror esse contemnendam.

XLV. 115. Recordare igitur illum, M. Antoni, diem, quo dictaturam sustulisti; pone ante oculos laetitiam senatus populiique Romani, confer cum bac
in mani nundinatione tua tuorumque: tum intelleges quantum inter lucrum et laudem intersit. Sed nimi-
rum, ut quidam morbo aliquo et sensus stupore sua-
vitatem cibi non sentiunt, sic liberidinosi, avari, facinerosi
verae laudis gustatum non habent. Sed si te laus
adlicere ad recte faciendum non potest, ne metus
quidem a foedissimis factis potest avocare? Judicia
non metuis. Si propter innocentiam, laudo: sin
propter vim, non intellegis, qui isto modo judicia non
timet, ei quid timendum sit? 116. Quod si non
metuis viros fortes egregiosque cives, quod a corpore tuo
prohibitur armis, tui te, mihi crede, diutius non
ferent. Quae est autem vita dies et noctes timere a
suis? nisi vero aut maioribus habes beneficiis obligatos,
quam ille quosdam habuit ex eis, a quibus est inter-
fectus, aut tu es ulla re cum eo comparandus. Fuit
in illo ingenium, ratio, memoria, litterae, cura, cogitatio,
diligentia; res bello gesserat quamvis rei publicae
calamitosas, at tamen magnas; multos annos regnare
meditatus, magno labore, multis periculis quod cogita-
rat effecerat; muneribus, monimentis, congiariis, epulis
multitudinem inperitam delenierat; suos, praemiis,
adversarios clementiae specie devinixerat: quid multa?
atulerat iam liberae civitati partim metu, partim
patientia consuetudinem serviendi. XLVI. 117. Cum
illo ego te dominandi cupiditate conferre possum, ceteris
vero rebus nullo modo comparandus es. Sed ex
plurimis malis, quae ab illo rei publicae sunt inusta,
hoc tamen boni exstitit, quod didicit iam populus
Romanus, quantum cuique crederet, quibus se com-
mitteret, a quibus caveret. Haec non cogitas? neque
intellegis satis esse viris fortibus didicisse, quam sit re
pulchrum, beneficio gratum, fama gloriösüm tyrannum occidere? An, cum illum homines non tulerint, te ferent? 118. Certatim posthaec, mihi erede, ad hoc opus curretur neque occasionis tarditas exspectabitur.

Resipisce, quae so, aliúando; quibus ortus sis, non quibuscum vivas considera; mecum, uti voles: redi cum re publica in gratiam. Sed de te tu videris, ego de me ipse profitebor. Defendi rem publicam adulescens, non deseram senex: contempsi Catilinæ gladios, non pertimescam tuos. Quin etiam corpus libenter obtulerim, si representa morte mea libertas civitatis potest, ut aliúando dolor populi Romani pariat, quod iam diu parturit. 119. Etenim si abhinc annos prope viginti hoc ipso in templo negavi posse mortem immaturam esse consulari, quanto verius nunc negabo seni! Mihi vero, patres conscripti, iam etiam optanda mors est, perfuncto rebus iis, quas adeptus sum quasque gessi. Duo modo haec opto, unum, ut moriens populum Romanum liberum relinquam—hoc mihi maius ab dis immortalibus dari nihil potest—; alterum, ut ita cuique eveniat, ut de re publica quique mercatur.
PASSAGES

IN WHICH CONJECTURES HAVE BEEN ADOPTED.

(The M.S. readings are those of the Cod. Vaticanus.)

Phil. II, § 3 uti te H: uti te || § 5 interfectum me Madvig [Opusc. i. 207]: interfectum || § 6 maledictis Faernus: male-
terere Ferrarius: dimitterere || confirmavit H: confirmauiat || §. 49 ad parentem tuam Frotscher: ad parentem tuum || postea sum cultus Muret: potensesum cultus || § 50 haurire supplied by Fuërnus || decus Madvig [Opusc. i. 166, II. 322]: dedecus || § 55 nobis eripuit H: bonis eripuit || belli bracteot by II, [omitted by Madvig]: || § 56 Denticulum Buccheler: denticu-
lam || pro nihilost, ita H: pro nilo si ita || § 68 rostra Oreill: rostran spolia || § 69 pro conclavibus popinae H: pro conclauibus popinae triclinis || illam mimam suas res H: illam suam suas res || § 73 prolatast H: prolatas || § 75 an cum tu Klotz: an tutu || § 76 Galliae e qua H: galliae qua || § 77 illim Lambin:
CONJECTURES ADOPTED.

illi non || § 78 habuisti Ferrarins: habuit || § 87 Sp. before Maelius supplied by Schütz || Maelius Garatoni: melius || § 88 de quibus Idibus Martis II: de quibus matris || § 92 venibant Heusinger: ueniebant || § 93 a tuis Faernus: a duis || § 94 gratiosus Ubal -
dinus: gratus || § 95 gynaccioest II: gynicaeo et || § 97 instiores Pantagathus: imitatores || § 98 calamitate sunt Faernus: ca-
lamitates at || § 99 cui metuisti Madvig [Opusc. I. 170 seq.]: cūmetuisti || § 100 placuerat ut Kal. Muret: placuerat Kal.
|| illinc abieris Faernus: illim canieris || § 106 dictu est; sed sum vinicus; Madvig and II (ed. 3): dictum sed cum unius inter omnis || § 109 set potius II: est potius || § 110 inauguraris II: inauguraras || § 114 Romae licebat Muret: romate licebat || § 115 cum hac inmani nudinatine A. Augustinus: cum hac inmanum latione || § 117 boni exstitit H. A. Koch: bonis è et || § 118 resi-
pisce aliquando Jeep: respice ali. || uti voles II: utiles. [In ed. 3. § 52 potuisset Madvig: potuit.]

[PASSAGES IN WHICH MADVIG'S READING HAS BEEN PREFERRED TO HALMS.

For the last twenty years every enemy of the republic has been fain to declare war against me also; with what issue, the senate well knows. Yet their deserved doom has not deterred you, Antonius, from a more reckless venture: Catilina and Clodius would gladly have avoided me; you dare me to the encounter, knowing that there is no readier way to win the love of traitors. (§ i. cf. § 2. p. 2. line i). For what other motive can he have had? Not (1) contempt for his antagonist; my private character, my influence, my public services, my abilities, are scarcely such as Antonius can afford to slight. Nor (2) the prospect of a favourable audience; the senate which hailed me ‘saviour of the country’ offers no vantage ground to my detractors. Nor yet (3) the ambition of trying his strength with me as a speaker; else he would not give me such odds: what more can I desire than to speak for myself (c. ii—xvii) and against Antonius? (c. xviii—xliv.)

Reply to the Calumnies of Antonius (c. ii—xvii).

First charge. Breach of friendship †. (c. ii—iv.) § 3. ‘I once appeared in court against your interest.’ i.e. for my friend Sicca against your minion the young freedman. Why rake up this story? unless to curry favour with the freedmen, who regard you as by marriage one of themselves. ‘You resorted to my house for lessons in statesmanship.’ False; Curio (c. 18) would not have given you up; your reputation might have gained, if he had. § 4. ‘I owed my election as augur to your withdrawal.’ No; when (b. c. 53) I was nominated by the two leading augurs in the name of the college, Curio, whose cutthroats afterwards (b. c. 50) carried your election, was in Asia, and you were bankrupt.

c. iii. § 5. ‘You saved my life at Brundisium,’ (b.c. 48). No

* § 2: quid uberius quam mihi et pro me et contra Antonium dicere?
§ 10: cum mihi et pro me aliquid et in M. Antonium multa dicenda sint.
† § 3: Cui prius quam de ceteris rebus respondoc, de amicitia, quam a me violatam esse criminales est, pauca dicam.
thanks to you, but to Cæsar’s safe-conduct; or, if you did spare
me, you cannot call me ungrateful, without branding Brutus too
and Cassius, ‘who we all know are honourable men,’ as ingrates no
less; for they also were spared by Cæsar. §§ 6, 7. However,
where have I shewn ingratitude? ‘In the 1st Philippic (Sept. 2.)’
No, truly: I then blamed your measures, but did not touch your
person. To-day you shall learn how much you owed to my
forbearance.

iv. § 7. He also read a letter, as from me. § 8. Let the
ill-breeding pass;—mark his folly.—Tiro and Mustela may ap-
plaud your eloquence (as I shall, if you procure their acquittal
for this day’s work of intimidating the senate); but how will all
your eloquence confute me, if I disown the letter? Not by the
handwriting; for it is a clerk’s. O for a chance like your mas-
ter’s (the rhetorician Sext. Clodius, § 101), who earns estates by
making a blockhead of his scholar! § 9. However the letter was
mine; nor will I deny that it addressed you as a man of honour.
I shall not retaliate by publishing that, in which you beg me to
allow the recall of the other Sext. Clodius; § 10. a superfluous
request, if he were already, as you say, included in a general
pardon.

Second charge. My consulship. (b.c. 63, c. v.—viii.) § 10.
Apology for disrespect to the consul Ant. (no true consul, in life,
in policy, or in mode of appointment). § 11. You have declared
your principles sufficiently, Ant., in censuring my consulship; a
consulship directed by the senate, § 12, c. vi. § 13, approved by the
chief consuls of that day, § 14, and among the rest by L Cæsar;
whose counsels you, his sister’s son, then rejected for those of
your step-father the traitor Lentulus; § 15, as now for those of
parasites or pimps, whose birthdays you spend in feasting, care-
less of the delay of public business. c. vii. ‘Your consulship
heals the wounds which mine opened.’ And this you say in that
temple of Concord in which I consulted the senate’s every wish,
and which you are besetting with assassins! §§ 16, 17. ‘I posted
armed slaves on the ascent of the Capitol.’ (5 Dec. a. u. 691 =
7 Feb. b. c. 62). Not slaves; every knight, every high-born
youth but you, enlisted in defence of order. ‘I denied the body
of Lentulus for burial.’ A falsehood too gross even for P. Clo-
dius; § 18, but why remind us in what school you were bred a
traitor? viii. You confess the crime, for which I arrested
Lentulus, but complain of his execution, i.e. you blame the
senate’s work, and praise mine. § 19. ‘I posted an armed
force on the ascent to the Capitol.’ Yes, a force of citizens to
guard that senate, which at this very moment is overawed by
your barbarian bowmen. § 20. You are pleased to crack a jest
upon my verses. ‘Let arms yield to the gown.’ Is it better
that freedom should yield to your arms? Of my writings, how-
ever little they may be to your taste, I make bold to say, that
ARGUMENT. cc. viii—xiv. §§ 20—34.

they have been serviceable to our youth, and no discredit to the Roman name.

Third charge. The murder of P. Clodius. (c. ix.) § 21. 'I tutored Milo to kill P. Clodius.' (18 Jan. A. U. 702 = 8 Dec. B. C. 53). What if you, Ant., had despatched Clodius, when you chased him through the forum with drawn sword? (B. C. 53). I cheered you on, I confess; you will scarcely say that I tutored you. § 22. If this charge were true, we should have heard it on Milo's trial. (March B. C. 52).

Fourth charge. The civil war. (c. ix, x.) § 23. 'I caused Pompeius' alienation from Caesar, i.e. the civil war.' An error in dates still more than of fact. 'Distingue tempora.' x. In Caesar's consulship B. C. 59, I did warn Pompeius against him. But when Pompeius had married his daughter, further remonstrance was hopeless. § 24. Yet twice I did remonstrate; (1) against the prolongation of Caesar's command, B. C. 55, (2) against his admission as a candidate for the consulship in his absence B. C. 52. But when a rupture was imminent, I never ceased to promote peace.

Fifth charge. Caesar's murder. (15 Mar. 44. c. xi—xiv.) § 25. 'I planned Caesar's murder.' Now you are playing into my hands, forcing upon me undeserved honours. For how could my name have been concealed till now? § 26. Did Brutus and Cassius need other suggestions than the example of their ancestors? § 27. Domitius had private wrongs to revenge; others were so bound to Caesar that I could not have dared to sound them, if the plot had been mine. xiv. § 28. 'Brutus raised his dagger, reeking with Caesar's blood, and wished me joy, singing me out by name.' Yes; because I too as consul had saved the country. § 29. If it is a crime in me to rejoice at our deliverance, it is a crime of which no honest man is clear. § 30. Me you condemn on a mere suspicion of complicity; Brutus, whose hand dealt the blow, 'you wish to name with all respect.' Scatter the fumes of last night's debauch; and, by your consulship I conjure you, tell us plainly; are Brutus and the rest assassins or deliverers? xiii. § 31. If assassins, why 'honourable men;' why grant all their requests? You do not then hold them for assassins, if we may judge by your words and acts. §§ 32, 33. Consequently,—the reasoning is cogent, however the dilemma may bewilder you—you must hold them for liberators. Good; I deny the charge no longer; I will beg the conspirators to confirm it; I glory in being shut up, as in the Trojan horse, amid a company, where the least is a hero, whom to have seen is an epoch in any man's life. xiv. § 34. Yet if my stilus (dagger-epen) had indeed written that play, it would not have been sheathed after Act 1, the tyrant's fall,—but would in Act 5 have felled the tyranny in your person. What will you say, if
ARGUMENT. cc. xiv—xix. §§ 34—47.

I retort your accusation? You discussed such a plot with Trebonius at Narbo (B.C. 45). § 35. You are the greatest gainer by Cæsar’s death, for you inherit his power, § 36, and have cleared off your debts. Nay, do not be startled; no one will believe it of you; no one will give you credit for patriotism.

Lighter charges. (c. xv, xvi.) My gloom and ill timed jests in Pompeius’ camp. (B.C. 48). § 37. I then tried to avert ruin by peaceful counsels. § 38. Pompeius would not bat one jot of dignity, I sought safety first, next dignity. But these differences never interrupted our friendship. § 39. On his flight from the field of Pharsalus Pompeius confessed that, if he had been the more sanguine, I had proved the truer prophet. And are you jealous for the memory of Pompeius against me his friend,—you who are living on his spoils? xvi. I may now and then have enlivened life in camp by a jest. § 40. Your censure of my melancholy and my mirth may prove that neither transgressed the mean. ‘No friend ever remembered me in his will.’ My books tell another tale. Not that I can boast your luck, for whom a perfect stranger, Rubrins, § 41, disinherited not only his brother’s son, but also his declared heir, young Fufins. By as odd a whim L. Turselius discarded his brother in your favour. Other cases of spoliation I omit. § 42. Indeed, this is the last sarcasm I should have expected from you, whose own father left you not a sesterce.

Conclusion of defence. c. xvii. This then is the sum of your grand impeachment, the fruit of your many rehearsals in Scipio’s villa! For this you became the butt of Sext. Clodius’ wit! § 43. For this you repaid him by a grant of public land! Enough of reply*; it is time to examine our examiner.

CHARGES AGAINST ANTONIUS. (c. xviii—xliv.)

His early profligacy. (c. xviii, xix. §§ 44—47.) § 44. While yet a boy you became bankrupt, but still appeared among the knights, not on the seats assigned to bankrupts by the Roscian law. You disgraced the gown of manhood by prostituting your body to all comers; till young Curio outbid his rivals by the offer of a permanent settlement. §§ 45, 46. I persuaded the elder Curio to discharge a bond which the son had signed on your behalf, on condition that you never entered the house again. xix. § 47. But modesty bids me veil your private life†. I will briefly touch on your public career before the civil war.

His life from B.C. 58—B.C. 49. (c. xix, xx. §§ 48—50.)

* § 43: iam enim, quoniam criminibus eius satis respondit, de ipso emendatore et correctore nostro quaedam dicenda sunt.
† § 47: iam stupra et flagitia omittamus;… reliquum vitae cursum videte, quem quidem celeriter perstringam. Ad haec enim, quae in civili bello,… et ad ea, quae cotidie facit, festinat animus.
You supported Clodius in his tribune ship (B.C. 58). You were with Gaius (B.C. 55), when he illegally reinstated king Ptolemy Auletes. In B.C. 54, having no other home than a share of a villa at Misenum, you joined Cæsar in Gaul. xx. § 49. You came to Rome B.C. 53, as a candidate for the questorship, and I, at Cæsar’s request, supported you. Then it was (§ 21) that you attempted the life of P. Clodius. § 50. On being elected, instead of waiting for the legal distribution of provinces, you at once returned to Cæsar, in the hope of sharing his plunder.

His tribune ship*. (B.C. 49. c. xxix—xxiv. §§ 50—58.) I pass to the treas ons of Ant. § 51. On New-year’s day, A.U. 705 (= 13 Nov. B.C. 50) the senate proscribed you as an enemy, for obstructing its decree; § 52. a proscription brought upon you by your own obstinacy. § 53. You saved your life by flying (7 Jan. A.U. 705) to the camp of Cæsar, xxii, and so furnished him with the desired pretext for drawing the sword. §§ 54, 55. Posterity will hold you guilty of all the ensuing carnage and ruin. You are the Helen of our Troy. xxiii. § 56. You restored illegally many exiles (amongst the rest the notorious gambler Licinius Denticulus), and yet (seclus in seclere) had no mercy on your banished uncle C. Antonius. § 57. Then came your progress through Italy during Cæsar’s absence in Spain. xxiv. § 58. Your mistress Cytheris, borne in an open litter among your licitors, received the homage of the country towns, while your neglected mother brought up the rear.

Antonius after the battle of Pharsalus. (9 Aug. A. U. 706 = 6 Jun. 48. c. xxiv, xxv. §§ 59—63.) §§ 59, 60. On your return to Brundisium you did not put me to death. A great kindness truly! Yet your affronts made it difficult to shew due gratitude. xxv. § 61. Cytheris came all the length of the Appian way to welcome you home. § 62. Again you made a progress through Italy, to the grievous loss of the people. Then (B.C. 48) while Cæsar was in Egypt you were named master of the horse. As such (παρχός) you were entitled to live with (the actor) Hippias, and to leave to Sergius (another actor) those appointments of the racecourse, which belong of right to senators. All this time you lived, like a robber, on your daily booty. § 63. After a surfeit at the marriage-feast of Hippias you were fain to vomit in full assembly.

Purchase of Pompeius’ confiscated house in the Carinae. (c. xxvi—xxviii.) § 64. On Cæsar’s return from Alexandria (in the summer of B.C. 47) you did not fear to purchase the estate of Pompeius. xxvii. § 65. Then, like a character in a farce, ‘yes-

* § 50: Accipite nunc,....quae in nos fortunasque nostras impie ac nefarie fecerit.
terday a beggar, to-day a Cæsus,' § 66, in a few weeks you wasted all that ill-gotten wealth. § 67. There might be seen one incessant debauch, without stint or check. § 68. How can you cross that threshold, xxviii, or see those trophies at the gate, and not be maddened with remorse? § 69. For me, I pity the very walls and roofs. But you have turned a new leaf. You have solemnly put away the actress; so far well; but what must we think of him, whose life can boast no more virtuous act than such a divorce? § 70. What then can you mean by that favourite phrase, 'both a consul and Antonius,' if not 'both a consul and a debauchee'? But I return to your peculiar work, the civil war.

Civil war in Africa and Spain. (b.c. 47—45. c. xxix, xxx.) § 71. You hung back, while Cæsar fought in Africa, and were required on his return to pay for the house of Pompeius. § 72. In spite of your outcry, § 73, Cæsar was enforcing payment, when you advertised for sale the plate, furniture, and slaves; all grievously damaged while in your hands. § 74. On Rubrius' heirs (§ 49) forbidding the sale, you tried to rid yourself of Cæsar by an assassin's knife. On Cæsar's departure for Spain, you again lingered behind; so sturdy a gladiator might surely have been less impatient for discharge. xxx. § 75. You set out at last, but turned back, 'finding the roads dangerous.' Dolabella, however, could make his way to the field of Munda (17 Mar. b.c. 45), though he had not the private quarrel which you have with the heirs of Pompeius.

Antonius' return from Narbo. (b.c. 45. c. xxx, xxxi.) § 76. You asked how I returned the other day (31 Aug. 44). Not in the dark, as you did last year from Narbo; not in easy undress, but in the full Roman costume. xxxi. § 77. Merely for the pleasure of giving Fulvia a surprise, you startled the whole of Italy. § 78. This was one of the 'private affairs' which brought you to Rome; another was to save your securities from distress.

Antonius Consul. (b.c. 44. c. xxxii—end.)

Thwars Dolabella's election. (c. xxxii, xxxiii.) On Cæsar's return (Sept. or Oct. 45) you became reconciled to him. § 79. He made you consul for the next year with himself, breaking his word to Dolabella, who thereupon bitterly denounced you (1 Jan. 44). § 80. On Cæsar's promising to retire, you threaten as augur to vitiate Dolabella's election, § 81, neither knowing that as augur you have less power of obstruction than as consul, nor scrupling to predict an informality long before the day of election. § 82. Not to dwell on your slavish deference to Cæsar, xxxiii, I come to the day of Dolabella's election. After the votes had been declared, § 83, you pronounced the proceedings

* § 70: ad ipsas tuas partes redeo, id est, ad civile bellum.
null and void, as you had threatened. § 84. And yet now you allow their validity.

Antonius offers Caesar a diadem on the Lupercalia. (15 Feb, 44. c. xxxiv.) You change colour at the sound 'Lupercalia. Indeed if your eloquence can remove that slur, your liberality to Sext. Clodius is justified. § 85. When Caesar pushed back the preferred diadem, § 86, you fell at his feet, entreating him to enslave us. A consul, you harangued the Roman people in the apron of a Lupercus. Your conscience, if not utterly seared, must bleed as I recall that scene; my words must prick you to the quick. § 87. You register in the calendar your offer and Caesar’s refusal. No wonder you hate law and order, which cannot consist with tyranny.

Antonius in Rome on and after the Ides of March. (15 Mar. 44. c. xxxv—xxxix.) § 88. On the Ides of March Caesar was to have opened the debate on the election. His death removed all your scruples about its legality.—His death;—after which you were spared, § 89, in spite of my warnings. On the third day (17 Mar.) I attended the meeting of the senate in the temple of Tellus, xxxvi. § 90, and lament your apostasy from the principles you then professed. Yet even then your fair words were belied by your funeral oration on the tyrant, § 91, and by your instigation of rioters; although to please the senate you abolished the dictatorship, and prohibited arbitrary immunities and acts of grace. § 92. Then suddenly your proclamations appear, bestowing immunities and the franchise on whole states. xxxvii. § 93. You embezze the treasures in the temple of Ops, and in Caesar’s name sell privileges to all comers; even king Deiotarus, § 94, who in Caesar’s lifetime could never obtain common justice, is restored by the dead Caesar, § 95, 96, for the king’s envoys had bribed Fulvia; while their bolder master no sooner heard of the tyrant’s death, than he recovered his throne by force of arms. xxxviii. § 97. Your forged ‘notes of Caesar’ were hawked about the streets like playbills. In Caesar’s name you decreed that from and after Brutus’ departure Crete should cease to be a province; forgetting that while Caesar lived Brutus had no connexion with Crete. § 98. You recalled the exiled convicts, and yet excepted three or four from pardon, as you had before (§ 56) excepted your uncle. You set up your uncle as a candidate for the censorship, § 99, and then withdrew him. You struck his name out of the commission for dividing lands. You divorced his daughter, after blasting her character by a charge of adultery with Dolabella (1 Jan. 44. cf. § 79). xxxix. § 100. You neglected to convene the committee appointed to ascertain Caesar’s genuine acts (1 June 44).

Progress of Ant. through Campania. (End of Apr. to middle of May 44. c. xxxix—xlii.) In the attempt to found a new
colony in Capua, you nearly lost your life. § 101. You assigned to your dissolute retainers Campanian and Leontine lands, so crippling the public revenues. XL. § 102. With much state you planted a colony at Casilinum, though warned that it would confuse anspices to settle two colonies in one place. § 103. You then took up your quarters in Varro’s house at Casinum, which not even by right of confiscation could you claim as your own, § 104, as Cæsar had commanded you to restore it. XLII. § 105. That abode of learning you stained with riotous orgies, dismissing unseen the neighbours who came to greet their consul. § 106. With as lordly a disdain you repelled the homage of Aquinum and Anagnia. § 107. You roundly rated the Sidicini and men of Puteoli for choosing the liberators as their patrons. XLII. In your absence, Dolabella had raised the altar and pillar erected in honour of Cæsar. But you found means to curb the dangerous activity of your colleague.

Return of Ant. to Rome. (c. XLII.) § 108. You enter Rome at the head of your troops in order of battle. On 1 June 44 the senators durst not come together. § 109. Their absence did not prevent you from repealing the law limiting the tenure of proconsulships. You also rifled the ‘people’s park’ beyond the Tiber of the statues and pictures bequeathed with it by Cæsar.

‘Consecration’ of Cæsar. (c. XLIII.) § 110. Divine honours have been voted to Cæsar, and you are his flamen. Why are you not consecrated? Yesterday (18 Sept.) was the 4th day of the ludi Romani in circu, to-day by your law (of 1 Sept.) is a 5th day of festival, in honour of Cæsar. Why is the feast not observed? § 111. I wait for your eloquent rejoinder. For even your grandfather, consummate orator as he was, was not so transparently clear as you; he never spoke so lightly clad as you at the Lupercalia.

Peroration. (c. XLIV—end.)

Force put upon the senate by Antonius; threats of retaliation. (c. XLIV.) § 112. Why is the senate hemmed in with troops as I speak? To guard the consul? Better a thousand deaths than life so secured. § 113. The people will wrest those arms from your hands. Fulvia, your wife, has paid two instalments of her debt—(her former husbands, Clodius and Curio)—the third has long been due. The state can find worthier rulers when you are no more. § 114. Our deliverers may be absent, but their glory remains.

Call to repentance and amendment. (c. XLV, XLVI) § 115. Remember the glory you won by abolishing the dictatorship. Or if glory cannot, let fear move you. § 116. You cannot trust
your own followers; Caeser was slain by those who owed him most. Not that you can bear comparison with him, XLVI. § 117, except in ambition. His tyranny at least taught us whom to trust, whom to fear. Now too we know the glory and profit of tyrannicide. § 118. Return then to the paths of honour. Reconcile yourself to your country. In the worst event, I who set at nought the arms of Catiline, will not quail before yours. § 119. Death will always find me prepared; I pray only that I may leave this people free, and that all may be recompensed, as they shall deserve of the commonwealth.]
c. i. § 1. l. 2. hisannisviginti. ‘Within the last twenty years,’
i.e. from Cicero’s consulship B.C. 63 to B.C. 44, both years
inclusive, according to the Roman reckoning. In § 119, (abigne
annis propeviginti), the difference of months is taken into
account.

1. 3. bellum indixerit: p. Sulla, § 28: cum mihi uni cum om-
nibus inprobis acternum videam esse bellum susceptum.

1. 5. vobiscum etc. So without sed p. Caelio, § 43: ex quibus
neminem mihi libet nominare: vosmet vobiscum recordamini.

Phil. ii. § 15: Cui? neminem nominabo: putate etc.

1. 6. illi. Cf. line 11.

[plus etc. de Leg. ii. §§ 43, 44: Vidimus illos qui, nisi odis-
sent patriam, numquam immici nobis fuissent... plus poenarum
habeas animi activi. MAN. Cf. p. Mill. c. 13, § 33. HEUS.]

operae constructed like vellem (p. Sest. § 82: quod ni esset
patefacere... ad citius quam vellem): ‘than I would wish, if I
still had hoped for success.’

e, Antoni. Intr. § 57. [Cf. Dio xlv. 47. ABR.]

1. 13. ad. Cf. ep. ad Att. viii. 4. § 1: Cui qui noster honos, quod
obsequium, quae etiam ad ectoros contempti cuissum hominis com-
mandatio defuit? Liv. ii. 10. § 11: rem ansus plus famae habituram
ad posteros quam fidei.—impios § 50. i. § 30.

§ 2. l. 14. [Quid putem, etc. Quintil. xi. 1. § 25 seq.: Verum
eloquentiauæindecora iactatio, ita nonnamquam concedenda fiducia
est. Nam quis reprehendat hace? Quid putem?... possit
Antonius. Et paulo post aperitus: An decertare... Antonium
dicere.]

§ 24. [infr. § 13. So in a letter to Cato, ad Fam. xv. 4. § 11:
Tu idem mihi supplicationem decrivesti togato, non, ut multis, re
publica bene gesta, sed ut nemini, re publica conservata. MAN.]

1. 21. hoc q. etc. He could not shew me a greater kind-
ness.

1. 22. quid uberius sc. cuiquam.

P. 2. l. 1. Illud profecto. Certainly that is it; [I assigned
the right motive for his conduct (§ 1. l. 13.)]
OBTINUIT. GENERUM FUISSE.

1. 7. An, in the refutation of an objection, cf. § 38 and Seyffert's Schol. Lat. § 53.

1. 8. gratiam, which Sicca's adversary enjoyed.

1. 10. iniur. quam obt. (ius suum contra aliquem obtinere. [cf. Liv. xxix. 1. § 17: pertinacies ad obtinendum iniuriam. Tac. H. ii. 84: obi iniquitates. Obt. is to maintain, uphold, carry through, etc. never 'to obtain' (consequi) 'quo sensu nemo bonus scriptor posuit,' says Madvig on Cic. de fin. ii. § 71. Cf. Cic. ad Q. fr. i. 1. § 35: nos cam necessitatem, quae est vel ut utilitas publicanis, obtine et conservare patientur; i.e. to secure and preserve our existing alliance. Liv. iii. 36. § 9: possessionem sunt obt. imperium, where see Gronov. Cf. infr. §§ 48, 71, 109. Tac. Ann. iii. 23.] interc. It is doubtful whether this refers to the official interposition of a tribune (who had no right to meddle with a private suit, such as this seems to have been, cf. iure praetorio), or merely to the mediation of some man of influence.

1. 12. hoc, contra rem tuam me venisse. inf. ordini hominis libera innocentiae, and esp. to the ordo libertinorum, to which the client of Antonius belonged.

1. 14. liberos tuos, 'children of yours.' Intr. n. 15. Q. Fadii. A gloss, otherwise it must have been joined with lib. gen. (Campe).

1. 15. fuisset, not esse, because according to Roman notions the death of Fadius had dissolved the tie. [Cic. p. Sest. § 6: Ademit Albino soecri nomen mors filiae, where see Halm's note. Add p. Cluent. § 41: Dinoea testamentum faciente, cum tabulas prcheidisset Oppianicus, qui gener eius fuisset.] At enim, introduces a new objection of Antonius. [= ëλλά νη Δία.] in disc. Cf. Hor. epist. ii. 1. 103 seq. [After assuming the toga virilis, the young Roman attached himself to some experienced orator or statesman, with whom he attended the forum and courts of law.
Thus M. Caecilius was deductus a patre to Cicero. (p. Cael. § 9).
Tac. dial. 34: Ergo apud maiores nostros invenis ille qui foro et eloquentiae parabatur, imbatus iam domestica disciplina, refertus honestis studiis deductus a patre vel a propinquus ad cum oratorem, qui principem in civitate locum obtinebat, hunc sectari, hunc prosequi, huius omnibus dictionibus interesse sive in indicibus sive in contionibus adsumebat, etc. Plin. ep. ii. 14. § 3, Cic. Lael. § 1. ABR. Quintil. xii. ii. § 5: Frequentabant vero eius domum optimi invencis more veterum, et veram dicendi riam velut ex oraculo petent. Cf. ibid. x. § 19. Cicero himself was committed by his father to the care of M. Pupius Piso (Ascon. in Pison. p. 15): quod in eo et antiquae vitae similitudo et multitae erant litterae. Cic. off. i. § 122, ii. § 46. Sen. ep. 4. § 2.]


1. 19. C. Curionem. See c. 18.

§ 4. 1. 20. concessisse, i.e. that you retired in my favour.

[1. 22. expcitum. ad Fam. xv. 4. § 13. MANUT.]

[1. 23. Pompeius. Cf. Phil. xiii. § 12: in primis paternum auguratus locum, in quem ego cum, (Sex. Pompeium), ut quod a patre accepti, filio reddam, mea nominatione cooptabo. Orelli.] [Q. Hortensius. When Cic. on his return from Cilicia (Aug. b.c. 50) arrived at Rhodes, he heard of the death of Hort.; on which (Brut. § 1): interitu talis auguris dignitatem nostri collegii diminutam dolebam; qua in cogitatione et cooptatum me ab eo in collegium recordabar, et inauguratum ab eodem.]

nominaverunt. Two members of the college (consisting since Sulla of 15 augurs, to which number Caesar added one) nominated probably three candidates, out of whom by the lex Domitia of b.c. 104, the new augur was elected at the comitia tributa (not by all 35 tribes, but by 17 determined by lot). Then followed the cooptatio by the college, at this time a mere form, and the inauguration. Cicero became augur b.c. 53, on the death of M. Crassus; Antonius b.c. 50. Intr. § 8.


1. 26. incolumem &c. to escape bankruptcy. [Cf. p. Sest. § 18: Alter... putecal et fuæmentorum gregibus inflatus... se etiam invito senatu provinciam sperare dicebat; canque nisi adeptus esset, se incolumem nullo modo fore arbitrabatur.

1. 27. in Italia... non esset; he was then proconsul in Asia. [ad fam. ii. 6. MANUT.]

1. 28. sine Curione. Intr. n. 28. [ferre tribum, 'to carry a
tribe, i.e. obtain its votes; so *ferre puncta or suffragia*. p. Planc. §§ 49, 53, 54; Hor. A. P. 343: *Omne tulit punctum, qui miscuit utile dulci.*

1. 29. *de vi*, on account of the riots at the election. The relative introduces the refutation as in § 27.

c. III. § 5. 1. 32. [semper etc. § 59. 1. § 11: *quid* (Ant.) sum amicus, idque me non nullo cius officio debere esse praed semper tuli. . . . Intr. § 15. Plut. Cic. 39.]

P. 3. 1. minus prudenti: for no prudent can regard it as a beneficium.

1. 2. *Sed* takes up the question Quo ? (p. 2. 1. 31). cf. § 8: *quid habes quod mihi opponas—sed quid opponas tandem etc.* 1. § 23. II. § 80. Zumpt, § 739. [Cic. legg. II. § 2 Dumesnil.]

1. 5. in Italian etc. Intr. n. 54.

[l. 6. *Fac p.* Suppose Cæsar had not restrained you. So § 60: *fac te dedisse.*]

[l. 7. benef. latr. Salvian. de Gubern. Dei, viii. prope fin.: Latrones quidem hoc proverbio uti solent, ut quibus non auferant vitam, dedisse se dicant. Sen. de Ben. II. 12. § 1: *C. Caesar dedit vitam Pompeio Penno, si dat qui non auferat.* Cf. ib. c. 20. § 3 (of Brutus and Cæsar): etc. ABR.] [ut. Suet. Aug. 94: *Fuerunt qui interpretarentur, non aliiud significare, quam ut is ordo, cuius insigne id esset, quandoque ei subjiceretur.* HEUS.]

1. 9. *Quod si esset ben., to spare a man's life (p. Sull. § 72.* In that case M. Brutus and Cassius and other *travayvto/ov* would be guilty of ingratitude, whom Cæsar spared after the battle of Pharsalus. To them was applied at Cæsar's funeral that verse of Pacuvius (Suet. Caes. § 4): *men servasse, ut essent qui me perderent!* Cf. infr. § 116, [App. b. c. II. 146.]

l. 11. clarissimos. infr. § 30. 1. § 6: *patricie liberatores,* . . . *quos... ipsi consules in contionibus et in omnium senone laudabant.*

§ 6. 1. 19. *At in illa querella, i.e. the first Philippic. I refrained from personal reflections. [On the orthography of querella cf. Lachmann's canon on Lucr. III. 1914: 'habemus autem hic auctores non grammaticos verae rationis ignaros, sed eos libros e quibus orthographia vulgaris optime disci potest, Vergilium Medicum, institutiones Gai, novum testamentum Fuldense a me editum, digesta Florentina. itaque l simplici scribuntur in quibus e litteram longa syllaba praecessit, ut custodela clientela suadela candela sutela cautela tutela corruptela mandatela... acutela ... l geminatur ubi prima brevis est: eaque a tertia ac simplici forma (i.e. the 3rd conj.) feecerunt veteres, ut loquellam querellam sequellam lucellam fugellam.*]

miserà quidem. In this form ille is generally inserted before quidem (r. §§ 17, II. §§ 22, 66, 93, and in the 2nd person tu quidem
(II. §§ 23, 102, 107; cf. Madvig, § 480 b). Here the demonstrative illa was required before querella. [cf. § 59. 1. 9.]

1. 25. reliquias, the public treasure. §§ 34, 93. Intr. § 40. Cf. i. § 17: Pecunia utinam ad Opis maneret! eructa illa quidem, sed his temporibus, quoniam ies, quorum est, non redditur, necessaria. Quamquam ea quoque sit effusa, si ita in actis fuit.

1. 26. domi tuae. §§ 92, 95.

1. 28. de te, against the provisions of the lex Licinia et Aebutia (de leg. agr. II. § 21): 'Quae non modo cum, qui tulerit de aliqua uratione ae potestate, sed etiam collegas eius, cognatos, adfines excitat, ne ei potestas urationes mandetur.' On a violation of this law see Intr. n. 169. a te, i.e. not ex actis Caesars.

auspicia augur, at the passing of the lex agraria and of that on the duration of provincial governments (Intr. § 53). See Phil. v. c. 3: Quam legem igitur se augur dicti tulisse non modo tonante Iove, sed prope celesti clamore prohibente, hanc dubitabit contra auspicia latam confiteri? Quid? quod cum eo collega tulit, quem ipse fecit sua nuntiatiione vitaeum, nihilne ad auspicia bonus augur pertinere arbitratus est? [Cf. infr. § 80 seq. Cic. ap. Dion. XLV. 27 ad fin.]

1. 29. intercessionem. ibid. § 9: sic vero crant disposita prae-sidia, ut, quo modo hostium aditus urbe prohibentur, ita castella et operibus ab immigratione fori populum tribunosque plebis propulsari videres. As consul Ant. was especially bound to uphold all constitutional powers.

1. 31. inpulica so cod. Vat. and Non. [and Madvig] for pudica.

§ 7. 1. 32. M. Crasso, who fell in battle against the Parthians b. c. 53; with him Cicero, at the time when he paid court to Pompeius, lived on unfriendly terms. [Crassus was charged with complicity in Catiline's plot, and in Sallust's hearing (Catil. 48. § 9) attributed the affront to Cicero.]

P. 4. 1. 2. uno ... nequiss. Zumpt, § 691. [infr. e. 34. § 84. Madvig, § 310. n. 2.]

[1. 4. intellegat. Ritschl Proleg. p. xcvii. 'Nec antiquitas vel acquirapare vel intelligere et negligere formas novit, sed in his e vocalem probavit solam.]

c. iv. 1. 6. At etiam. On the emphatic at in transitions, cf. §§ 20, 43, 77, 86, 87, 97, 104. litteras. This letter is extant with that of Ant. ad Att. xiv. 13. A and B.

P. 4. 1. 6. diceret. Zumpt, § 551. cf. infr. § 60: quod ... meminisset. [Madvig, § 357 a. note 2. With the same negligence, with which we say, 'he went away, because he said it was late,' the Romans said, e.g. (Cic. ad fam. vii. 16. § 3): Quo e Gallia veniunt, superbiam tuam accusant, quod negent, te percunctantibus respondere, = 'quod, ut dicunt, non respondes,' de fin. i. § 4:

[1. 8. qui...modo...nosset. On this use of the conjunctive, esp. after qui modo and qui quidem, to imply a restriction, see Zumpt, § 559, Madvig, § 364. n. 2, Hand’s Tursellinus III. 631. Cic. Brut. § 180: omnium oratorum...quos quidem ego cognoverim, solutissimum in dicendo et acutissimum iudico...Q. Sertorium. Tusc. disp. I. § 38: Itaque credo equidem etiam alios tot sacculis; scd, quod litteris exset, Pherecydes Syrius primus dixit, etc. So quod sciam, quod menimunim, ‘to the best of my knowledge (recollection).’ Cf. infra. § 25. Quantum has in Cic. the ind. in this use; yet see Quintil. III. I. § 19: quantum ego quidem sciam.]

1. 11. Quid est aliud, sc. nisi hoc. I. § 22: Quid est aliud hortari adultescencte, ut turbulentis...circs velint esse? v. § 5: quid est aliud omnia ad bellum civile hosti arma largiri? x. § 5: quid est aliud librarium Bruti laudare, non Brutum? We say: ‘Is not this to —”? What is this but —”? [de off. II. § 83, III. § 55, and more fully Cat. mai. § 5. WERNSD. Cf. in Pis. § 47, de fin. v. § 31, where Madvig says of our passage: ‘si vera est codicum scriptura, manifestum est, tollere propter gravitatem orationis geminari et hanc esse sententiam: quid est aliud tollere e vita vitae societatem et amicorum conlocua, nisi hoc, quod tu facis, quum epistulas familiariter scriptas palam recitas.’ Cf. the inversion of a comparison introduced by tam in Mart. IX. 68. 5.]

§ 8. L. 15. Sit hoc, he might have said esto, sit hoc, as § 30.

1. 17. Tir. Must. § 106 n. In Phil. xiii. § 3 they are called contusores et sodales et duces comitatus Antonii. [v. § 18: hanc pestem agmen armatorum secuebatur: Cassius, Mustela, Tiro, gladios ostentantes, sui similis greges duellant per forum; certum agminis locum tenebant barbari sagittarii. Cf. VIII. § 26. HEUS.]

1. 18. cum gladiis. § 112 n.

1. 20. inter sicarios, i.e. in iudicio inter sicarios. The expressions quaestio, iudicium inter sicarios, (p. Rosc. Amer. § 11),
inter sicarios deferre, accusarc, defendere, were adopted for want of a substantive to denote the act of assassination. [Hence we have (p. Cluent. § 147) quacstio inter sicarios, qu. peculatus, and qu. de pecuniis repetundis, corresponding to one another; and again (p. Rosc. Amer. § 90) inter sicarios et de renecfiis accusabunt. The crime is expressed by a clumsy periphrasis, de invent. II. § 60: cius maleficii, de quo inter sicarios quaeritur.]

1. 23. an. § 99 n. scientiam qu. § 35. [§§ 97, 100, 109.]

1. 24. Qui. Madvig, § 88. n. 2. librarii. Cf. ad Qu. fr. II. 16. § 1: cum a me litteras librarii manu acceperis, ne paullum me obti habuisse indicare; cum autem mea, paullum, GARAT. ad Att. VIII. 13. § 1: Lippitudinis meae signum tibi sit librarii manus. Ibid. V. 14. § 1: Antequam aliquo loco consedero, neque longas a me neque semper mea manus litteras espectabis. Cum autem erit spatium, utrumque praestabo. Ibid. XV. 20 ad fin. Quintilian censures the dictandi deliciae (x. 3. § 18 seq. where see Gesner). Both the elder and younger Pliny constantly employed an amanuensis, (librarius a manu, ab epistulis. Cf. Hand Tursell. I. 59).]

1. 25. magistro, the rhetorician Sextus Clodius, c. 17, not to be confounded with Sex. Clodius the librarius and satelles of P. Clodius (quendam, § 9. p. 5. I. 6). tanta mercede. §§ 43, 101.


§ 9. [I. 27. non dico—sed. §§ 19, 66, p. Milon. §§ 34, 35. Hand Tursell. III. 281. The same thing might have been expressed thus: q. e. c. m. hominis, non modo oratoris or ne dicam oratoris? Cf. Madvig, § 461. n. 2. Zumpt, § 724 a.]

1. 28. quod icle etc. i.e. according to our idiom, quod sit eius modi, ut si adversarius id negaret, longius etc. Cf. § 17: qualsi si qui nunc esset etc. [Nagelschab compares Cic. de or. I. § 126: esse permulta, quae orator a natura nisi haberet, non multum a magistro adiuvaretur. Translate, 'What is less worthy, I do not say of an orator but of a man, than to urge against an opponent an objection, such as, for the utter discomfiture of the objector, needs only to be met by a bare denial?' or 'such that a bare denial will suffice to nonplus ('gravel, 'bring to a stand') the objector?' verbum like 'a word' is often used for 'a single word'; e.g. verbum non amplius addam; accusator erit, verbum qui dixerit: hic est.]

P. 5. I. 1. Omne crimen. Ant. had read Cicero's letter, as a proof of their intimacy a few months before. Cic. sent to Atticus (ad Att. xiv. 13) his own letter and that of Ant. with the remark: M. Antonius ad me scripsit de restitutione Sex. Clodii, quam honorifice quod ad me attinet ex ipsius litteris cognosces—misi enim tibi exemplum,—quam dissolute quamque ita
perniciose, ut non numquam Caesar desiderandus esse videatur, facile existimabils. Quae enim Caesar numquam neque fecisset neque passus esset, ea nunc ex falsis eius commentariis proferuntur. Ego autem Antonio facillimum me praebo. Etenim ille, quoniam semel induxit animum sibi licere quod vellet, fecisset nihil o minus me invito. [Cf. ibid. 14. § 2.]

[1. 2. exist. 'I express a favourable opinion of you.' Macrob. Sat. II. 4. § 18: Strabone in adulabantem Caesaris male existimante de pervincia Catonis, ait (Caes.) etc. ABR. Cf. Casaub. ad Suet. Aug. 51.]

l. 6. quendam. See note on p. 4. l. 25. Sex. Clodius, the notorious 'satelles' of P. Clodius. On the trial of Milo (Ascon. argum. ad fin.) he was condemned by the lex Pompeia and had lived eight years in exile. Ant. in the letter here referred to (ad Att. XIV. 13. A. § 2) says of his recall: a Caeasar petii ut Sex. Clodium restitueret; impetravi. Erat mihi in animo etiam tum sic uti beneficio eius, si tu concessisses. [Cf. ad Att. XIV. 14 and 19 cited below (note on § 34. p. 14. l. 31.).]

[1. 8. impetrasti. ad Att. XIV. 19. § 2: Antonius ad me tantum de Cl odio rescrpsi, meam lenitatem et clementiam et sibi esse gratam et mihi voluptata magnae fore.]

l. 9. audaciae, the reductio of a condemned criminal.


c. v. [l. 18. alterum ipse etc. 'Quia magis in rebus vor sabitur oratio mea.' MANUT.]

l. 23. ne ille quidem, nor did he treat me etc. [ne quidem and oude are often used where there is no gradation. So Cic. N. D. 1. § 110: deus vester nihil agens: express virtutis igitur; ita ne beatus quidem. ibid. § 113: doceo deos vestros esse voluptatis expertes, ita vestro iudicio ne beatos quidem. cf. ibid. II. § 87, III. §§ 23, 43, 68, orat. § 120, Brut. § 199. Plin. ep. VI. 15. § 1: Mirificae rei non interfusti: ne ego quidem, 'you were not present, nor was I either.' See Madvig's excurs. III. ad Cic. de fin. p. 816, Halm on divin. in Caes. § 62.]

l. 25. ita factus est, i.e. by Caesar's favour. § 79, Intr. § 24.


l. 3. tibi—manet, 'is reserved for you.' So also in Gr. in this special sense (Eurip. ap. Stob. Flor. 124, 29): tois θαυμ παθωποισι καθανείν μένει.


§ 12. [L. 6 seq. placuit etc. Cf. the list in ad Att. xii. 21. § 1.] P. Serrilius Valio, the famous Isauricus, cos. B.C. 70. He died B.C. 44 [hence proxime, l. 8] ἀπεργήρως, Dio xlv. 16.

1. 8. Q. Lutatius Calulus, cos. B.C. 78, 161. [He was princeps senatus, and addressed Cic. as pater and pares patriæ. p. Sest. § 121 seq., in Pis. § 6.]

1. 10. Lucullus, Lucius who fought against Mithridates, cos. 74, 56, and his brother Marcus cos. 73, celebrated for the wars on the Danube in which he was engaged as procos. of Macedonia; he died shortly after Lucius.

M. Licinius Crassus, cos. 73 and 55, 153 in battle with the Parthians. Q. Hortensius, the famous orator, cos. 69, 150. Cf. Brut. § 323: [consulatusque meus, qui illum (Hort.) primo leviter perstrinxerat, idem nos rerum nearum gestarum, quas ille admirabatur, laude coniunxerat.]

1. 11. C. Scribonius Curio (father of C. Curio, §§ 11, 45), cos. 76, obtained some successes in Thrace; a bitter opponent of Cæsar. 152. [ad Att. i. 16. § 13: Consulatum illum nostrum, quem Curio antea ἄποθέωσων vocabat. ABR.]

C. Calpurnius Piso and M. Acilius Glabrio coss. 67, and as such opponents of the lex Gabinia. Glabrio succeeded to L. Lucullus' command against Mithridates.


1. 14. M. Catoni, who, though not a consular, is here mentioned, because on the nones of December 63, he as tribune elect carried the decree sentencing the conspirators to death. [See his speech in Sallust, c. 52.]

mutta, where we say 'among many other evils, precluded this also.' Verr. iv. § 147: cum mutta, tum etiam hoc me nemini dicere. [Cf. Madvig on Cic. de fin. i. § 18. p. 39.] prov. by his suicide at Utica B.C. 46.

1. 17. decedens ex Syria, he saw Cic. when he still remained before Rome cum imperio B.C. 61, before his triumph for his Asiatic campaigns in September.

[Cic. de offic. i. § 78: mihi quidem certe vir abundans bellicos laudibus, Cn. Pompeius, multis audientibus hoc tribuit ut dicere, frustra se triumphum tertium deportaturum fuisse, nisi meo in rem publicam beneficio, ubi triumpharet, esset habiturus. MANUT.
In the year 63 Pompeius took Jerusalem, and did not arrive in Italy until the end of the following year.

1. 22. referret acceptam, e. g. Crassus in the senate b.c. 61. ad Att. i. 14. § 3: Crassus surrexit ornatissimeneque de meo consulatu locatus est, ut ita diceret, sc, quod esset senator, quod eivis, quod liber, quod ineret, mihi acceptum referre; quotiens coniugen, quotiens domum, quotiens patrium videret, totiens se beneficiunc meum videre.


consularium illius temporis. § 12. l. 7. L. Aurelius Cotta, cos. 05, or. p. domo sua, § 68: vir prudentissimus, et cum rei publicae, tum mihi, tum etiam veritati amicissimus.

1. 27. supplicationem—verbis ampl. etc. or. in Catil. iii. § 15: supplicatio dis immortalibus pro singulari corum merito meo nomine decreta est, et his verbis decreta est, 'quod urbem incendiis, caede eives, Italian bello liberassem.'

Π. 30. honos and lepos are the common forms in Cic. Zumpt, § 59 d, Madvig, § 41. The Medicean Virgil has always arbos and honos, but labor. Cf. Lachmann ad Lucr. vi. 1260. Quintil. i. 4. § 13: ut Valesii et Fusii in Valerios Furiosque venerunt; ita arbos labos vapos etiam et clamos ac lases. Madvig (Bemerungen, etc. p. 35 n.) affirms that nouns derived from verbs never end in -03, i.e. that amos, pavos, torpos, are barbarous forms; though pavos was long read without MS. authority in Cic. orat. § 155, and Quintil. allows clamos. During the 5th century u. c. s between two vowels was exchanged in many words for r, and the change in oblique cases generally occasioned a corresponding change in the nominative; mono-syllables however for the most part retain the s, e. g. mas, acs, glis, flos, rus; cf. Ceres, cinit, Ligus, decus, tellus. The date of the change is indicated by Cic. ad fam. ix. 21. § 2: L. Papirium Crassum (cos. b.c. 336), qui primum Papisius est vocari desitut. See Corssen 'uber Aussprache, Vokalismus und Betonung der lat. Sprache. Leipz. 1858.' l. 85 seq.]


§ 14. L. Iulius Caesar, cos. b.c. 64, often commended by
Cic. for his conservative principles, i. § 27: avunculi sui consulatum si imitatetur (Ant.), fortunator videtur.

P. 7. 1. 1. vitricum. i.e. P. Lentulum. inf. §§ 17, 18. Intr. § 2. or. in Catil. iv. § 13: Nisi vero cuipiam L. Caesar, vir fortissimus et amantissimus vi publicae, cruddior nudister-tius visus est, cum sororis suae, feminae lectissimae, virum praesentem et audientem vita privandum esse dixit. [Caemens in his invective against Cic. (Dio XLVI. 20) calls Lentulus ávòra èπιεική, whom ó καλος cέτος Tullius cast into the dungeon (Tullianum) which bears his name.]

Hunc, of L. Caesar as still living, without regard to vitricum immediately preceding.

1. 3. te similem maluisi, as § 19, cupit se audacem. de orat. ii. § 246: ut 1ste, qui se vult dicacem et me herecim est, Appius. [cf. Madvig on Cic. de fin. ii. § 102. p. 316.]


§ 15. 1. 8. descendit in forum.

[1. 9. nat., i.e. cenam. A birthday debauch was proverbial. Juv. v. 37, xi. 85, xii. 1. Sen. de ir. ii. 33. § 4: potiones viæ honestas natalibus liberorum. Faenm. refers to the account of one in Gell. xix. 9. Cf. Plut. Brut. 24.—The dictionaries follow no consistent rule in the orthography or quantity of adjectives of this form (natalicius). They should always be written with a e; cf. civicus, patricius; amicus, commenticus. When derived from verbs the antepenultimate is long; when from nouns, short (except noricius). nutricius is of different formation.—hortis. § 68.]

1. 10. putate. § 1: recordamini. n.

Ph., Gn. parasites in the Phormio and Eunuchus of Terence.


c. vii. 1. 16. Taus, etc. resuming, cf. § 12. 1. 6 seq.

[1. 17. pudorem cum pudicitia. or. in Catil. ii. § 25: Ex hae parte pudor pugnat, illine petulantia; hinc pudicitia, illine stuprum. See Bake on Cic. de leg. i. § 50. Lob. ad Soph. Aj. p. 138.]

1. 18. templum. § 19. [The senate always met in a templum, i.e. not necessarily an acdes sacra, but a place marked out and consecrated by the rules of augural science. Beside the curia Hostilia the temples of the forum and Capitol were employed, esp. templum Concordiae, near the career, between the forum
and Capitol. It was dedicated by Camillus B.C. 367, restored by Tiberius, and in the 3rd cent. A.D. is called curia. Lamprid. Alex. 6: quum senatus frequens in curiam, hoc est in aedem Concordiae templum inauguratum, convenisset. Becker II. d. r. A. I. 312, n. pt. 2. 414. Sall. Catil. 46. §§ 5; 6: Consul (i.e. Cicero) Lentulum, quod practor crat, ipse manu tenens perducit, reliquos cum custodibus in aedem Concordiae venire iubet. Ex senatum advocat. Cf. or. in Catil. iii. § 21, p. Sest. § 26. (Ant. summoned the senate to the temple of Tellus, infr. § 89.)]

l. 21. gladiis. § 19
§ 16. [l. 23. olivum Cap. § 19. l. 29. n. On the nones (5th) Dec. 63, the knights occupied the ascent to the Capitol, in order to guard the senators who were met in the temple of Concord. Cic. p. Sest. § 28, p. red. in sen. §§ 12, 32, Sall. Catil. 49. § 4. Atticus was active among the foremost, ad Att. II. i. § 7: equitatus ille quem ego in clivo Capitolino te signiferum ac princeps collocaram.]

servorum, i.e. the knights, as Cicero's vassals.

[l. 24. credo, ironical, as §§ 26, 99.]

l. 26. O miser, as Phil. xiii. § 34: o miser cum re, tum hoc ipso, quod non sentis quam miser sis! The more usual form occurs below, § 54: O miserum te, si haece intellegis, miscriorem, si non intellegis!

[l. 29. adulescens. On the orthography cf. Ritschl, Proleg. p. xcv. 'certissimo autem, consilio (a tuitus sum) in adulescens, cuius vicarium adulescens formam vix unquam boni libri sine discrepantia agnoscunt.']

nobilis, p. Mil. § 40. [quoted below on § 21.] ullius ordinis.
or. in Catil. iv. § 14: Omnius adsunt omnium ordinum homines, omnium denique aetatum. Cic. then enumerates, equites, tribuni aerarii, scribae (cf. below l. 32), omnis ingenuorum multitudo, libertini. [On the construction qui—meminisset, cf. § 7. l. 8. qui nosset.]

[l. 30. hoc templo. § 15. l. 18.]

[l. 31. nomen non dedit. Cic. directed the praeors to 'swear in' the well affected citizens. Dio xxxvii. 35.]

l. 32. quamquam etc.=quamquam omnes, qui voluerunt, ne dederunt quidem, quia nec scribae, etc.

[scribae. From this mention of scribae in clivo Capitolino, Becker II. d. r. A. I. 318, concludes that the schola Xanthu once belonged to the Aervarium.]

§ 17. [P. S. l. 2. conscirorum. The Allobroges and Vol turcius; the design, as confessed by V., was (or. in Catil. iii. § 8): ut, cum urbem ex omnibus partibus, quem ad modum descrip-
tum distributumque crat, incendissent academque infinitam civium fecissent, praeceps essest ille (Catil.).]

[I. 3. sua manu. manus (cf. § 8) like χειρ and ‘hand’ = hand-writing. Lentulus, Cathegus, and Statilius acknowledged themselves the authors of the letters to the senate and people of the Allobroges read in the temple of Concord, Dec. 3. or in Catil. iii. §§ 4—13. Sall. 44, 45. § 4, 47. Cic. dispersed throughout Italy and the provinces copies of these letters and of that of Lentulus to Catilina. p. Sull. c. 15.]

[paece, evidently modifies voce. So de leg. ii. § 4: incenabula paece mea; Verr. v. § 110, p. Planc. § 65, and Cat. mai. § 49; though Madvig (on Cic. de fin. i. § 4) says, ‘non memini ubi Cic. paece post vocem primariam posuerit.’ Below, §§ 39, 100, 102, paece does come first.]

l. 5. se consciscisse, ‘that is, that they had conspired,’ inf. exegeticus to de patruce parr. conf.

[I. 8. qualis si qui nunc esset. Cf. § 6. l. 23, § 9 n., § 41, § 37. l. 15: qui si vivcrcnt. So de fin. iii. § 9: infici debet quicrii artibus, quas si, dum est tener, confibercr, ad maiora venirt paratorium. ad fam. ix. 14: tantum vales apud Dolabella, quantum si ego apud sororis filium valerem, iam salvi esse possennus. Krueger. The concurrence of two relatives, or of a relative and conjunction, in one clause is foreign to our idiom. Translate, ‘indeed even now it is only their wish of such a leader, that has saved you from the fate of those conspirators.’]

[I. 9. accidit contigisset. Accido denotes any casual and unforeseen occurrence; like our word ‘accident’ it is commonly used of misfortunes; e.g. si quid acciderit, ‘if anything shall happen to him.’ Contigo, properly ‘to meet,’ denotes some connexion between the occurrence and the person, so that the one fits (προσιτοιεῖ) the other; so here ‘you would have met your deserts;’ hence it is commonly used in a good sense. cf. Juv. viii. 28, and esp. Sen. epist. 110. § 3: seis plura mala contingere nobis quam accidere (‘misfortunes are oftener a blessing than a curse’). quotes enim felicitatis causa et initium fuit quod calamitas vocabatur. Evenire denotes ‘the coming into being, the issue, upshot,’ etc., i.e. it presupposes expectation and preparation. See Seyffert ad Lael. pp. 39, 40. Contingit is used in malam partem, as here, also de orat. ii. § 15: magis id facilitate quam utta alia culpa mea contigit.] vitrici. [§ 14. p. 7. l. 1.] Plut. (Ant. 2) adds: ‘Ant. said that the body of Lentulus was not given up for burial until his mother (Julia, wife of Lent.) begged it of Cicero’s wife (Terentia). An evident falsehood; for none of those executed by Cic. was debarred from interment.’ [Cf. Juv. x. 286 seq.]

[l. 10. negat. On the change of person, cf. l. 25, and § 41. p. 18. l. 3. invasit.]
l. 11. quen... superatum, so the Vulgata; but as the MSS. have eum after vitiiis, Stürensburg's emendation cui quia iure invisimus fuì, d. a te o. v. eum esse s. is highly probable, esp. as this is the usual construction in Latin. So Verr. v. § 45: qui si quo proficisceris. [supr. l. 8 n. Our English construction is sometimes found, e.g. Cat. maior. § 13: qui, cum ex co quae creatur, ad fam. vi. 4. § 2: quae tamen, si possis eam suscipere, maxima est. Naegelsb. See Addenda, p. 160.]

§ 18. [l. 13. Qui. § 8. l. 24 n.]

l. 14. domi P. Lentuli, who, after having been cos. B.C. 71, was ejected from the senate by the censors L. Gellius Poplicola and Cn. Lentulus Clodianus on account of his dissolute life (dārνγεια says Plut. Cic. 17). [On the construction see Madvig, § 296 b. n. 1. cf. 233. Similarly domi alienae esse, domum re- giam venire, etc.]

c. viii. [l. 17. excors. Tusc. disp. i. § 18: aliis cor ipsum animus videtur; ex quo exordes recordes concordesque dicuntur. et Nasica ille prudens. .. Corculum, et 'Egregie cordatus hemo, Catus Aelius' Sextus.' So cor habere in Plautus.]

l. 18. eum has probably dropped out before non modo. [Madvig reads ut non modo.]

[l. 20. tibi tecum. Tibi is reserved for this place for the sake of the juxtaposition: 'the struggle lies between you and yourself.' Else it would have followed tanta. In general pronouns exert an attractive force upon one another; cf. mea me, tibi te &c.]

l. 21. in. p. Sull. § 38: si hic esset in codem sedere.


§ 19. [l. 27. non dico .. sed. § 9.]

l. 28. cupid se audacem. § 14. l. 4. [Cic. de opt. gen. orat. § 15: qui se Atticio volunt. de fin. v. § 13: Strato physicum se voluit. Naegelsb. On the form of the sentence cf. in Vatin. § 19: in illo tuo intolerabili non regno—nam cupis id audire—, sed latrocinio. ABR.]

[l. 29. elici Cap. § 16 n. The road leading up to the temple of Juppiter, by which the triumphal processions ascended to the Capitol.]

l. 31. armati. § 112 n. [cella Concordiae. § 15. l. 18 n. Phil. iii. § 30: armatos in cella Concordiae, cum senatum habereit, inclusurit. On the cella of a temple as a place of meeting for the
senate cf. Prudent. c. Symm. i. 573: Respicite ad inlustrem, lux est ubi publica, cellam.

P. 9. [l. 2. equestr. ord. § 16. l. 23 n.]

l. 3. cumplatus. There was an old feud between the senate and the knights respecting the judicia. or. in Catil. iv. § 15: Quid ego hic equites Romanos commemorem? qui nobis ita summam ordinis consilique concedunt, ut vobiscum de amore rei publicae certent; quos ex multorum annorum dissensione huius ordinis ad societatem concordiamque revocatos hodiernus dies vobiscum atque habe causa coniunxiet etc. Cf. ad Att. i. 14. § 4. [fuit. Addenda, p. 160.]

[l. 4. cum. Madvig, § 351 b. n. 2. confiteare. The form in re is in Cic. the usual one, except in the ind. pres. in which it was liable to be confounded with the inf. act.; 9 or 10 exx. are however cited of the ind. pres. (Below § 110 Halm has restored in-auguraris). In the 4th conj. this termination is rare. It was antiquated in Quintilian's time, l. 5. § 42: fuerunt, qui nobis quoque adierent dualem, scripsere legere: quod evitandae aspiratatis gratia mollitum est, ut a pud veleret pro 'male mereris' 'male merere.]

l. 5. Ilyraei, a warlike people (κακομπεργον ταντας Strabo) the modern Druses, whom Pompeius reduced in his Syrian campaign. [B.C. 64. Ant. would have made acquaintance with them when in Syria. Intr. § 5.] Since then they appear in the armies of the republic and emperors as archers; so first mentioned bell. Afric. c. 20: Phil. v. § 18: certum agminis locum tenebant barbari sagittarii. [Virg. G. ii. 448: Ilyraeos taxi torqurentur in arcus. They often occur in inscriptions.]

[l. 7. cum. supplied by Halm. Madvig (Opusc. i. 204, 205, and in his ed.) reads sed quia tantum... videt. Nihil etc.]

[l. 7. rerum repugnantiam. In Lat. many substantives must be defined by an object, which in Engl. are used absolutely. Thus we should translate here, 'because you do not see the gross contradiction.' So Quintil. viii. 6. § 50: inconsequentia rerum, 'inconsequence.' So often causae rerum 'causes;' animi (gen.) is similarly employed. Naegelsb.]

[l. 8. nihil sapis. § 8. l. 26.]

§ 20. l. 13. a mima uxor, i. e. his mistress Cytheris; §§ 58, 61, 62, 77. ad Att. x. 10. § 5: hic tamen Cytherida secum lectica aperta portat, alteram uxor: septem praeterea conjunctae lecticae amicarum; eae sunt amicorum.

Cedant arma togae. From Cicero's epic de temporibus suis; ep. ad Fam. i. 9. § 23: Scripsi etiam versusibus tres libros de temporibus meis, quos iam pridem ad te missem, si esse edendos putasse; ... sed quia verebar non cos, qui se laesos arbitraventur (etemini id fecti parce et molliter), sed cos, quos erat infinitum bene
CICERO'S POEMS. SCALAS.

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de me meritos omnes nominare. Cf. de off. i. § 77: Illud autem optimum est, in quod invadì solcre ab improbis et invidis audio: 'Cedant arma togae, concedat laurea laudi.' Ut enim alias omittam, nobis rem p. gubernantibus nonne togae arma cesserunt? Neque enim periculum in re publica fuit gratius umquam nec maius otium. Cicero (or. in Pis. § 73) gives the words the meaning 'bellum ac tumultum paci atque otio concessurus,' but the remainder of the verse and the passage in the de off. shew the true interpretation, 'military merit must vail to civil.' Cf. Cassius ad Cic. (ep. ad fam. xii. 13. § 1): Fatale nescio quid tuae virtutis datum, id quod seue iam experti sumus; est enim tua toga omnium armis felicior. [Plut. (comp. Dem. c. Cic. 2) renders laudi τῆς γλώσσῆς.—Cicero quotes the third book of his poem (ad Att. ii. 3. § 3). It was written B.C. 60.]


[1. 18. versibus. Cf. Juv. x. 123 seq. (at the back of the title page). Quintil. xi. i. § 24: In carminibus utinam pepercisset, quae non desierunt carpere maligni, 'Cedant arma' etc. et 'O fortunatam' etc.]

1. 20. defuisse. Ant. seems to have suggested that Cic. might spend his time more profitably than in writing dogrel.

[1. 21. omni genere. Calenus (invective against Cic. in Dio xlv. 23): 'he pretends to be a rhetorician, poet, orator, philosopher and historian.' Abr.]

monim. i.e. writings, as keeping up the memory of the author.

[1. 22. iuventuti. ad Att. ii. i. § 3: oratiunculas autem et quas postulas et plures etiam mittam, quoniam quidem ea, quae nos scribimus adulescentuorum studiis cecinximus, etiam delectant. Cf. p. Sest. § 14. with Halm's n. de fin. i. § 10 seq. Tusc. i. § 5 seq. de divin. ii. c. 2, Plut. Cic. 40. Quintil. xii. 11 § 5 seq.]

1. 23. nonimi R. Cf. Vell. Pat. ii. 34. § 3: M. Cicero — ut vita clarus ita ingenio maximus, qui eicit ne, quorum arma viceras, eorum ingenio vinceremur.


[1. 29. scalas. Only used in the plur. Varr. l. l. ix. § 69: scalae quod ad scandendo dicantur et singulos gradus scanderent, magis erat quaerendum, si appellassent singulari vocabulo scalam, cum origo nominatus ostendetur contra. Cf. ibid. §§ 63, 68, x. § 54, Quintil. i. 5. § 16. Under the stairs was a common hiding-place. Thus Cic. in Cornel. ap. Schol. Juv. v. 118: correpsit in scalas. Hor. epist. ii. 2. 14, 15 of a slave: semel hic cessavit et, ut fit, in scalis latuit metuens pendentis habenc. So in Cic. p. Milt. § 40, where he describes the same scene as here: Nuper vero cum M. Antonius summam spem salutis bonis omnibus attulisset,
gravissimamque adulteseens nobilissimus rei publicae partem fortissime suscepisset, atque illum belum, iudicii laqueos deinistantem, iam irretitam tenere, qui locus, quod tempus illud, di immortales, fuit! cum se ille fugiens in scalarum tenebras abdidisset, magnum Miloni fuit conficere illum postem, Antonii vero maxima gloria.

[tabernae. Hor. S. I. 4. 71: nulla taberna meos habeat neque pilâ libellos. Part of the ground-floor of a house was often let for a shop with the garret (cenaculum) as residence for the shopman, who went up to it by scalae. Thus in an advertisement of rooms to let at Pompeii (Orell. 4323) TABERNAE PERTULAE COENACULUM. (cf. no. 7201). In another inscription we find what seems to mean repositiones subsectares (ib. 4331).]

[librariae. The bookshop of the brothers Sosii was in the vicus Tuseus and at the Ianus (Hor. Ep. I. 20. 2, A. P. 345). In Martial's time (i. 118) the Argiletum was the Paternoster Row of Rome; in the times of Galen and of Gellius (XVIII. 4) the vicus Sandaliarius: in Sandaliario forte apud librarios fuimus; cum ibi in multorum hominum cocta Apollinaris Sulpicius, vir in memoria nostra praeter alios doctos, iactatorem quempiam et videntatorum Sallustianae lectionis irrisit. Martial's bookseller (iv. 72, xiii. 3) Tryphon, to whom Quintilian dedicates his Inst., must have been a man of no mean acquirements.]

1. 30. Quod favisse = plausisse. The word favor was new at this time: p. Sest. § 115: ci. qui rumore et, ut ipsi quosquantur, favore populi tenetur et ducitur, plausum immortalitatem, sibilum mortem videri necesse est. Quintil. vIII. 3. § 34: Favorem et urbano Ciecro nova eredit. Nam et in epistula ad Brutum, 'Eum,' inquit, 'amorem et eum (ut hoc verbo utar) favorem in consilium advocabo.' cf. § 29. (On the use of the acc. neut. of pronouns with intransitive verbs see Madvig, § 229, and on Cic. de fin. i. § 14. p. 33. Zumpt, § 385. Cic. p. Sest. § 10. Heind. ad Plat. Phaed. § 21. 'Ovid. epist. 6. 3. 4: hoc tamen ipsum | debueram scripto certior esse tuo.' Translate, 'that in that (your chase of Clodius) I cheered you on (wished you success, 'backed' you), I do not deny; that I advised it, you do not yourself assert. But to Milo I could not so much as wish success, for he dispatched the business before any one had the least inkling of it.' See p. 160.]

P. 10. 1. 2. At=at, inquies: Seyffert Schol. Lat. § 60. 1.


§ 22. 1. 5. Quamquam etc. However there was an investigation concerning the death of C.—whether wisely conducted or not, is not the point;—and the suavas facti, if there were one, must have been named; I was not named.
[1. 7. illa quidem. § 6. 1. 19. n. cf. tu quidem. § 23. 1. 15.]

1. 8. nova lege, i.e. by the lex Pompeia de vi, B.C. 52. On the 3rd day after his creation as sole consul (Ascon. arg. in or. p. Mil. § 15), Pompeius, de legibus novis ferendis retulit; duas ex S. C. promulgavit, alteram de vi, qua nominatim caedem in Appia via factam et incendium curiae et domum M. Lepidi interregis oppugnatam comprehendit, alteram de ambitu; poenam graviorem et formam iudiciorum breviorem: utraque enim lex prius testes dari, deinde uno die atque cedem et ab accusatore et ab reo perorari iubebat, ita ut duae horae accusatores, tres reo darentur. Cic. p. Mil. § 15: Cn. Pompeius rogatione sua ct de re ct de causa indicavit; tulit enim de caede, quae in Appia via facta esset, in qua P. Clodius occisis esset. Quid ergo tulit? nampe ut quaereretur.

1. 9. legibus. p. Mil. § 13: Hanc vero quaestionem, et si non est iniqua, quamquam tamen senatus constitutum putavit. Erat enim leges, erant quaestiones vel de caede vel de vi; nec tantum macrorum ac luctum senatus mors P. Clodii afferebat, ut nova quaestio constitueretur. Milo might have been accused by the lex Cornelia de sancrisi or the lex Plantia de vi.

1. 10. nemo. Yet Cic. says (p. Mil. § 47): scitis, iudices, fuisse, qui in hac rogatione suadenda diccrent, Milonis manu caedem esse factam, consilio vero maioris alieius... Respiravi, liberatus sum; non vero, ne, quod ne suspicari quidem potuerim, vidcam id cogitasse. Asconius (ad loc.): Q. Pompeius Rufus et C. Sallustiius tribuni fuerunt, quos significat. [The same charge made by Calenus ap. Dion. xlvi. 2.]

c. x. § 23. 1. 15. M. Bibulus, cos. B.C. 59, in which year Caesar, then also cos. for the first time, gave his daughter Julia in marriage to Pompeius. [Bibulus, from whom we names the year 59, was so impotent to oppose Caesar's democratic measures, that the wags spoke of the year as the consulship of Gaius Caesar and Iulius Caesar (Dio xxxviii. 8) or of Iulius and Caesar (Suet. 2o, who has preserved the epigram: Non Bibulo quiddam nuper, sed Caesare factum est, | nam Bibulo fieri consule nil memini). ABR.]

[l. 17. quantum—potui. cf. § 7. 1. 8. qui modo etc.]

1. 18. facere critique, cf. div. in Caec. § 26, in quo quid eniti aut quid efficiere possim. )(Phil. iv. § 16: quantum cura niti utque efficiere possim.

Caesaris coniunctione. Cf. de prov. cons. § 38: ab huius ordinis coniunctione. in Caec. iv. § 15: ex multorum annorum dissectione huius ordinis, i.e. with this order. [ep. ad fam. iii. 1o. § 9: hominis nobilissimi utque honoratissimi coniunctio. ib. ep. 4. § 2:
conjunctiones necessariorum tuorum. Madvig ad Cic. de fin. v. § 71. See in Pis. § 76: sua coni. Cf. l. 20. mea fam.]

§ 24. [l. 23. Duo temporae. Cf. ad Att. vii. 3. § 4 (written a. d. 8 Id. Dec. a. u. 70): Cur imperium illi (Caes.) aut cur illo modo prorogatum est? cur tantopere pugnatum est, ut de eius absentis ratione habenda deem tribuni pl. ferrent? His ille rebus ita convaluit, ut nune in uno cive (Pomp.) spes ad resistendum sit, qui mallem tantas ci vires non dedisset, quam nunc tam valenti resisteret. Abr. Cf. ib. vii. 6. § 2, viii. 3. § 3.]

1. 25. quinquennii = quinquennale, which Caesar had received by the lex Vatiniia of b.c. 59. In b.c. 55 the coss. Pompeius and Crassus, according to their agreement with Caesar at Luca, proposed and carried an extension of his imperium in hither and further Gaul for another term of 5 years. [quinq. imp. pror. i.e. ‘to prolong C.’s imperium for 5 years,’ lit. ‘to propose a further 5 years’ imp.;’ not ‘to extend his former 5 years’ imp.’ (Nägelsbach). Cf. infr. § 74: paucis tibi prorogatis diebus; i.e. ‘allowing you a few days’ respite.’]

1. 27. ferri etc. The lex ut ratio absentis Caesaris in petizione consulatus haberetur was carried by M. Cecilius as trib. pl. 52, with the consent of Pompeius. If Cic. dissuaded Pompeius, he must have played the hypocrite; for he says himself ep. ad Att. vii. 1. § 4: Nam ut illi hoe liceret (sc. ut Caesar absens consulatum peteret) adiuvi, rogatus ab ipso Ravenae de Caelio tribuno pl. Ab ipso autem? etiam a Gnacio nostro in illo divino tertio consistatu. [In early times consuls etc. were often elected in their absence; e.g. in the 7th cent. v.c. Marius and Lucullus. Cic. too in his consulship (de leg. agr. ii. § 24) says that no candidates for office need appear in person. Yet 3 years later (b.c. 60) Caesar was on the point of foregoing a triumph in order to satisfy the law by which absentees were disqualified. In b.c. 52, at the time of which Cic. here speaks, the lex Pompeia de iure magistratum contained a clause (Suet. Caes. 28) ‘quo a petitione honorum absentis submovebat.’ Pomp. added an exception in Caesar’s favour after the law had been deposited in the aerarium. Becker, iii. 2. 47 seq.]

P. 11. [l. 1. compositionis. Brut. § 266, p. Ligar. § 28. Caesar’s terms, b.c. 49, (ad Fam. xvi. 12. § 3) were that Pomp. should go to Spain and disband his levies; that he should himself resign his imperium in the Gauls and sue for the consulship in person. Cf. ib. vi. 6. §§ 5, 6: ‘I urged Pomp. to go to Spain, and to allow Caesaris absentis rationem haberem . . . cum vel iniquissimam pacem justissimam bello anteferrem . . . Quo in bello nihil adversi accidit non praedicente me.’ ib. § 7, Cic. calls himself augur publicus. See too ib. iv. 14. § 2.]

1. 2. utinam etc. ep. ad Fam. vi. 6. § 4: plurimi sunt testes
me et initio ne coniungeret se cum Caesare monuisse Pompeium et postea se seciungueret: coniunctione frangit senatus opes, diiunctione civile bellum excitari videbam.

[I. 3. ] coasses. Priscian viii. § 27, cites this as an 'active' use. Coire very frequently (e.g. in the jurists) takes the acc. of this word soc.; thus Cic. N.D. ii. § 123: Pinavero ... cum parva spilla quasi societatem coit comparandi cibi. See Zumpt, § 386. Madvig, § 224 b. Coire soc. = coendum soc. efficere; just as ludere carmina = ludendo carmina componere.

l. 4. gravitatis, alterum wanting in Cod. Vat. 1st hand.

[l. 6. ] quae si etc. § 37.

c. xi. § 25. l. 9. [Sed hanc etc. on the omission of sunt cf. § 29. l. 32. Madvig, § 479, Seyffert on Cic. Lael. p. 78.]

l. 10. meo cons. int. On the motive for this accusation, see Intr. n. 219.

l. 11. pravc. Antonius.

[l. 13. ] alicuis. So Hahn and Madvig from cod. Vat.; other MSS. read oneraret alienis, which reading Orelli (Cic. oratt. xv. Turici 1836) thus defended, 'immeritae laudes et alienae reapse oneri sunt, non ornamentum,' referring to Zumpt (ad Verr. p. 661) for exx. of amnominatio or verbal allusion in Cic. Zumpt quotes Cic. N.D. i. § 17 (adiutorem—auditorem), or. Phil. iii. § 22 (ex oratore arator, etc.), and refers to Quintil. ix. 3. § 65 seq., ad Herenn. iv. § 29 seq., Rutil. Lup. i. § 3 (where Ruhnke illustrates the example 'non honori, sed oneri'). The most familiar instance is the proverbial nec prece, nec pretio (Ov. fast. ii. 805, 806, cod. Justin. i. 3. 31, [al. 30] med., Phaedr. v. 7. 18, Ter. Enn. v. 8. 27 = 11. 7, Bothe Poet. Secn. Lat. v. 248). The later writers, e.g. St Augustin, revel in the use of this puerile figure. Milton has not disdained it, 'beseeching or besieging.' Auson. has the following exx. prof. 15. 2, and epist. 15. 5. (felle—melle); epist. 22. 30, cf. epigr. 33. 1 (solo—salo—Caelo); epigr. 91. 3 (more—amores), cf. Plaut. Pseud. i. i. 62; idyll. 6. 2, (amanes—amanes) cf. Plant. Merc. prol. 81; lud. vii. sap. praef. 3. 4 (legenda—legenda); gratiar. act. § 36 (libris—liberis). Above all, idyll. iv. 97 seq.: posses ornatus, posses oneratus haberit. | accessit tamen ex nobis honor ineditus; hunc tu | officce ne sit onus. See below § 81 (prudentia —inprudentiam), and § 114 (mortali immortalitatem). See p. 100.]

[l. 15. ] qui—fuisset. § 7. l. 8 n. in eo numero, far more common in Cic. than in corum n. So p. Marcell. § 21: ex hoc numero, qui una tecum fuerunt. Madvig, § 317, Zumpt, § 366, and esp. Stürenb. ad Cic. p. Arch. p. 185 seq. So ex eo genero, qui, &c. On the other hand we have exx. corresponding to the Engl. 'of the number of those, who,' etc. e.g. de orat. ii. § 56: ex numero eorum, qui causas dietiturarunt. Cf. Acad. ii. § 15. Madvig on Cic. de fin. iii. § 70.]
l. 17. *Citius*, ‘sooner,’ passing into the sense of *potius*, for which reason *quam ut* follows, as after *potius*. [Just as our ‘rather’ originally meant ‘earlier,’ and as ‘sooner’ often meant; and in vulgar English ‘I would die *first*.’ Cf. the Germ. ‘eher.’]


[l. 18. [consci] Madvig.]

§ 26. l. 21. nem. i.e. nullius nomen; not having learnt the art of politic reserve.

[l. 22. *auctores ad Tusc. i* § 26. p. Sest. § 42. Koch.]


l. 24. *L. Brutus*, the founder of the republic. His patrician family became extinct on the death of his two sons (Dionys. v. 18. Dio xlv. 12); the later Junii were of plebeian descent. But it was for the interest of Caesar’s murderers to represent the Bruti as descendants of the first champion of liberty. Plut. (Brut. i), who appeals to Posidonius, has allowed himself to be misled. [Phil. i. § 13: *ille Brutus, qui et ipse dominaturo regio rem publicam liberavit et ad similem virtutem et similem factum stirpeniam prope in quingentesimum annum propagavit*. HEUS. On the statues of the old L. Brutus, and on the tribunal of the praetor Marcus, unknown hands wrote at night, ‘Would that thou wert living!’ ‘Thy posterity is degenerate.’ ‘Brutus, art thou dead?’ and again, ‘Thou art not sprung from him!’ ‘Brutus, dost thou take bribes?’ (App. ii. 112, cf. Plut. Brut. 9.).]

l. 25. *Ahalae*. Servilia, Marcus’ mother, traced her pedigree to C. Servilius Ahala, who slew Sp. Mælius b.c. 439. [Plut. Brut. 1. Cf. infr. § 27. l. 13. §§ 87, 114. From Polyb. vi. 53. § 5 seq. we learn that *imagines* were painted masks of wax, worn at funerals by men chosen for their resemblance to those ancestors of the deceased whom they personated. Sometimes casts were taken from the face of a corpse (Quintil. vi. i. § 40). They correspond to our ‘family portraits.’ Here we see that *imagines* of maternal ancestors were included; in Vatin. § 28 Vatinius, brother-in-law of M. Antonius, has those of the Antonii. In Tac. Ann. iii. 76, those of twenty families are carried in one funeral.]

[l. 27. *foris—domo*. i.e. from abroad—from home. Cf. ab alienis, a suis, l. 26. *foris* though often opposed to *domi*, *Romae*, etc. and joined with verbs of rest; yet often, as here, is joined with verbs of motion; e.g. Lucr. v. 544: *quaeeunque foris veniunt*. Cf. Hand Tursell. ii. 708, 709. Mencken cites for *foris petere*. de fin. iii. § 24, Tusc. disp. iii. § 6.]
[l. 28. non modo—sed ne—qu. Zumpt, § 724 b. Madvig, § 461 b. Where the two clauses have the same predicate (verb), and that is placed in the second clause, the negative in ne quidem is generally understood in the first clause, i.e. non modo is used for non modo non. Cf. Tusc. disp. 1. § 87: mortuorum autem non modo vitae commodis, sed ne vita quidem ipsa quisquam carct, which might have been expressed thus. M. a. nemo non modo v. e. caret, s. n. v. q. i. The order of the sentences may be inverted, e.g. de divin. II. § 113: numquam ne mediocri quidem cuiquam, non modo prudenti. See Moser’s references there.] potentiam, with allusion to Sp. Cassius Vecellinus, who in his 3rd consulship, b. c. 486, first proposed a lex agraria and was suspected of aiming at the tyranny. Liv. II. 41. § 10: Quem, ubi magistratu absti, damnatum necatamque constat. Sunt qui patrem auctorem eius supplicii ferant: cum cognita domi causa verberasse ac necasse peculiarmque filii Ciceri consecravit; signum inde esse et inscriptum ‘ex Cassia familia datum.” [infr. §§ 87, 114.]

1. 31. in Cilicia, Intr. n. 55. [The Cydnus, now ‘Tersus-tschai,’ or ‘Kara-Su,’ flowed through the midst of Tarsus; a bath in its cold waters, remedial for the gout, nearly cost Alexander his life. At its mouth it spread into lagoons (called Rhegma), which served as the harbour of Tarsus.]

1. 32. [ille Caesar.] ad eam ripam, quam. [Where the same preposition governs the antecedent and relative, the prep. is often omitted before the latter, if the verb in both clauses is the same.] So § 37: me tanta in macstitia fuisse quanta ecter. ad Att. III. 19. § 2: Me tuae litterae numquam in tantium spec addiverserunt quantum alio-


§ 27. P. 12. 1. 1. Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, who with his father Lucius, the legatus of Pomp., was taken prisoner at Cor-

finium b.c. 49. (Caes. b. civ. I. 23), and admitted to mercy. That he was one of the conspirators is asserted also by Dio XLVIII. 7, and 29. Suet. however (Ner. 3) says: is inter consios Caesaria-

neae nes quamquam insons damnatus lege Pedia (on the lex Pedia cf. Vell. ii. 69. § 5) so too L. Cocceius Nerva in App. b. civ. v. 62. Drumann (Gesch. Roms III. 25), follows Suet. and App., forgetting that flatterers may have had a motive for clearing the memory of Nero’s great-grandfather.

1. 2. patris interitus. His father, cos. 54, one of Caesar’s most obstinate enemies, fell at Pharsalus. Caes. b. civ. III. 99:
L. Domitius ex castris in montem refugiens, cum viris cum lassitudine defecissent, ab equitibus est interfectus. Cf. infr. § 71. avunculi. Cato of Utica, whose sister Porcia was wife of L. Domitius.

1. 3. spoliatio. After Pharsalus he returned to Italy, and lived in retirement.

[1. 4. persuasi... suadere. ad Att. xiii. 38. § 2: Tu autem, quod ipse tibi suaseris, idem mihi persuasum putato. Apul. several times (see Hildebr. ad Met. ix. 25, p. 818) has suasi ac denique persuasi.]

1. 5. ausus esset, on account of his intimacy with Caesar. § 116 n. [cf. § 34. Vell. ii. 56. § 3: idibus Martius... adicetis etiam consiliaris caedis familiarissimis omnium et fortuna partium eius in sumnum evectis fastigium, D. Bruto et C. Trebonio, ... interemptus est.]

1. 8. L. Tillium Cimber, who however took the lead in the assassination, giving his confederates the signal by tearing Caesar's toga from off his shoulder. [Sen. de ira, iii. 30. §§ 4, 5: Divum Iulium plures amici confecerunt quam inimi... Vidit itaque strictis circa sellam suam gladiis commilitones suas, Cimbrum Tillium acerrimum paulo ante partium defensorum, aliosque post Pompeium demum Pompeianos. ABR.]

1. 12. The Servilii Cæsae, Publius who gave Cæs. the first blow, and Gaius, both Cæsarians.

1. 13. an Ahalas, as worthy successors of C. Servilius Ahala. § 26. i. 25 n.

[1. 15. Longum est, where we say 'it were (would be) tedious, ' (Madvig, § 34 b. n. Zumpt, § 520.) That is, the Romans speak of the thing absolutely, infinitum est, 'it is an endless task' etc.; we speak of it as conditioned by such and such circumstances, 'there would (in the given case) be no end to it,' etc. Tusc. disp. i. § 17: si te rogavero alicui, non respondebis? A. Superbum id quidem est; i.e. 'That would be arrogant.' ibid. § 118: magnum est, where see Kühner. Cf. infr. § 103. i. 13. So satis est, facilis est, consentancum est. Quintil. i. 6. § 35: inhumanum est. ibid. 10. § 1: infinitum erat. Cf. the use of ēde, προσηκειν, etc. without ēv. Matthiiä, § 505. 2. Obs.]


[1. 22. Vide ne. Madvig, § 372 b. n. 1. infr. § 35. i. 12.]

[1. 25. laudium. § 35: immunitatium. Cic. de off. iii. § 75: fraudium. Zumpt, § 66 c. Madvig here reads laudum, which is the more common form.]
§ 29. [l. 31. \textit{regnare} generally implies arbitrary, tyrannical rule; \textit{rex})(l. x. Suet. Calig. 22.]

[l. 32. \textit{Omnes etc.} cf. § 25. l. 9 n.]


pecudis, in the more restricted sense 'sheep,' hence as a nickname for a blockhead, as or. in Pis. § 19. [cf. Juv. x. 50 (vervex). Cic. Phil. viii. § 9: \textit{hominis agrestes, si homines illi ac non pecudes potius}. Koch adds Lact. § 48. parad. § 14. Tac. xiii i.]


On the compliments paid by Ant. to Brutus, cf. Phil. i. § 6: \textit{patiæ liberatores. ... quos ipsi consules in contionibus et in omnium sermone laudabant.} Supr. § 5.

[1. 6. Cic. excl. § 28. l. 20. In the definition of the figure \textit{exclamatio} (ad Herenn. iv. § 22) the \textit{compellatio hominis aut loci} is an element. Cf. Gesner or Forc. s. v. \textit{exclamo}.]

[1. 9 seq. \textit{ille—is}. Madvig, § 489 a. infra. § 63. l. 18. § 101: Agram Campanum—\textit{hunc}. de off. iii. § 13 (cited by Heus.): \textit{illud quidem honestum, quod proprie vereque dicitur, id in sapienibus est solus}. N. D. i. § 61: \textit{ego ipse pontifex, qui... arbitrator, is... velim}. Acad. i. § 1.]

[1. 10. \textit{Esto; sit}. Cf. § 8. l. 10 n. § 75. l. 9. Cf. de fin. iv. § 73: \textit{ne sit sane}.

1. 13. \textit{quam velis esse causam}: bonam an malam.

1. 14. \textit{exala}. This form is better attested by ancient MSS. than the common \textit{exhalare}. [Lachmann reads (Lucr. vi. 478) \textit{ulitus}; (iii. 432) \textit{exalare}. See his note there p. 170. Mr Munro (vol. ii. p. 53.) retains the \textit{h}. Cf. on \textit{inquam} Madvig Opusc. i. 157: \textit{quam te constituere illud iubeo, hoc iubeo, crapulum ut edornias; ea est enim causa obtivionis tuae}.]

c. xiii. § 31. [l. 19. \textit{paullisper}. So with one \textit{l} in the Medicean Virgil. Lachmann on Lucr. i. 313: \textit{paullisper hodie sine}}
veterum liberorum auctoritate faciunt suo periculo antiquarii; quæ inepti habendi sunt, donec demonstraverint in huius modi vocabulis ablativos inesse, quantis, aliquantibus, paullis, paucillis, tantis.

[I. 23. plus is always used (not magis) to indicate that a word is inadequate to the idea, e.g. animus plus quam fraternus. Madvig, § 305. n. 2. Lucan. i. 1: Bella per Emathios plus quam civilia campos. Flor. iv. 2 (=II. 13) § 4: plus quam bellum. Luc. vii. 639. So perfidia plus quam Punica etc. ap. Hand Tursell. iv. 476.]

[I. 25. patriae parentem. A title which often appears on coins. Cf. Phil. xiii. § 23, Suet. 76, 85. de off. iii. § 83: Potest enim... cuivam esse utile foedissimum et taeterrimum parricidium patriae; quamvis is, si eo se obstrinxerit, ab oppressis civibus parentis nominetur? Cicero was jealous of a distinction which he himself long enjoyed alone. Juv. viii. 243, 244: Roma parentem, | Roma patrem patriae Ciceronem libera dicit.]

1. 26. quid dicis? By what name do you call them?
1. 27. si parricidas, se. dicis.
1. 28. apud p. R. i.e. in contionibus.

1. 29. referente te ad senatum. legibus. from the provisions of the laws. Cf. Ascon. argum. ad Cornelianam p. 57: Antiquo iure cautum erat ne quis nisi per populum legibus solaceretur, itaque in omnibus senatus consultis, quibus aliquem legibus solvi placebat, adici erat solitum, ut de ea re ad populum ferretur: sed paulatinum ferri erat desitum, resque iam in eam consuetudinem venerat, ut postremo ne adiceretur quidem in senatus consultis de rogatione ad populum ferenda, evque ipsa senatus consulta per pauculos admodum fidelis. Cf. Infr. ii. 184.

1. 30. Apollinares. Intr. § 48. [Cobet Monemos. 1879 22—3.]
1. 31. provinciae. Crete and Cyrene, not Macedonia and Syria. Cic. here speaks of the provinces which they received on the proposal of Ant. Intr. § 46. [Bake on Cic. de leg. i. § 53, p. 430, has collected examples of proconsular provinces governed by praetors; as Brutus (Infr. § 97 and Phil. x. § 25); Cassius (Phil. xi. § 30). Cf. Drumann, Index under Proconsuln.]

1. 32. quaestores additi. Not that Caesar, when distributing the provinces (Intr. § 25) named also the quaestors and legati beforehand; it appears rather that Ant. in his lec proposed an extraordinary no. of quaestors and legati for Brutus and Cassius.

P. 14. l. 2. homicidas, se. dicis. liber. sc. dicas. [Cf. p. 13. l. 26 and 27.]

§ 32, l. 4. [Quid est? etc. 'What is the matter? Are you puzzled? for perhaps you do not well comprehend what is couched'] — diiunctius, too much in the form of a logical dilemma.' C. Cic. Topica § 56: Reliqui dialecticorum modi plures sunt, qui
diuunctionibus constant: 'aut hoc aut illud: hoc autem, non igitur illud.' Itemque: 'aut hoc aut illud; non autem hoc, illud igitur.' Quae conclusiones ideo incautae sunt, quod in diuunctione plus uno verum esse non potest. Acad. II. § 97: si e contrariis diuinctio — contraria autem ca dico, cum alterum sit, alterum negat —, si talis diuinctio falsa potest esse, nulla vera est. See too Cic. de nat. deor. I. § 70.

1. 6. *summa*, the substance of my argument.

[1. 8. or. meam. § 25. [retexam. I will retract (see Forc. or Gesner) my former denial of complicity.]

1. 9. *ut si qui forte*, etc. 'I will write to them always to admit the truth of your charge against me, if any one shall chance to ask the question.' Nägelsbach notices the number of subordinate clauses inserted in the sentence, scribam ad illos, ut ne cui negent. the conditional, si qui forte quaerent; the interrogative, sitne verum; the relative, quod—objectum est. On ut ne see Madvig, § 456. Hand Tursell. iv. 32 seq.

1. 11. *celatum me*. Plut. Brut. c. 12. [The conspirators feared to trust Cicero's timid nature with so bold a plot. Plut. Cic. 42. Abr. *celatum me*. 'that I was kept in the dark.' Madvig, § 228 a, and n. Zumpt, § 391. Madvig (Bemerkungen über verschiedene Punkte des Systems der lat. Sprachlehre. 1843. p. 30 n.) thus explains the construction; docco 'I instruct,' celo 'I keep in ignorance,' originally took an acc. of the person (hence the pass. construction); when the verbs received the additional meanings 'I give instruction in,' 'I conceal,' they took an acc. of the thing. Both constructions were afterwards combined. Cic. uses celor with de (p. Sull. § 39, p. Cluent. § 189, ad fam. v. 2. § 9, ad Att. x. 14. § 3) or with the acc. of a neut. pron. (cf. § 21. l. 30 n. ad Qu. fr. III. 5. § 4; so prob. Hirt. bell. Alex. 7. § 1. Mr Shilleto adds Ter. Hec. iv. 4. 23, and the rare constr. in Lucan v. 200. nullumque futuri [a superis celate diem].]

1. 15. *commendation*. 'better recommended, more worthy to be commended.' Cic. does not use *commendabilis*. [Perfect participles often supply the want of verbs in bilis, more particularly in the compar. or superl. Cf. infr. § 65. l. 9 n.]

[1. 17. equum Trojan. Cic. de or. II. § 94: Isocrates, ... cuius e ludo tamquam ex equo Trojanoro meri principes exierunt. Garat.]

[1. 18. quoquo animo. Intr. n. 219.]


[1. 22. qui locus ... tam desertus ... qui. Dobree (Advers. i. 426) compares e. g. Demosth. Mid. p. 536. 6. § 66: τῆς ὄρως
ālōgiustos ἦ τίς ouswss ἀθλίως ἑστω ἑστις ἐκὼν ἄν ... ἐθελησεν ἀναλώσαι; So: 'Lives there a man with soul so dead, Who never to himself has said...?'


1. 31. fuissetem in eo numero. regnum, which, while you live, still exists. Cf. Cic. ad Cassium (ep. ad fam. xii. 1): ut adhuc quidem actum est, non regno, sed rege liberati videmur; interfecto enim rege regios omnes nactus tuemur. Neque vero id solum, sed etiam quae ipse ille, si vixeret, non faceret, ea nos quasi cogitata ab illo probamus. Nec eius quidem rei finem video. Tabulae figuntur, immunitates dantur, pecuniae maximae describuntur, exsules reducuntur, senatus consulta falsa deferuntur, ut tantum modo odium illud hominis inpuri et servitutis dolor depulsus esse videatur, res publica iacet in its perturbationibus, in quas cam ille conicet. ad Att. xiv. 9. § 2: O di boni! vivit tyrannis, tyrannus occidit. [Intr. § 30. ad Att. xiv. 14. § 2: sublato enim tyran-no tyrannida manere video. Nam quae illic facturus non fuit, ea sunt, ut de Clodio, de quo mihi exploratum est illum non modo non facturum sed etiam ne passurum quidem fuisset. (The recall of Clodius was condemned also by Pansa. ibid. 19. § 2. cf. supr. § 9. l. 6.).] Cic. ad Cassium (ad fam. xii. 4. § 1): Vellem Idibus Martius me ad ecanam invitasses: reliquiarum nihil fuisset. Nunc me reliquiae vestrae exercet, et quidem praecler ceteros me. Cf. infr. §§ 86, 113 seq. On regnum supr. § 29. l. 31 n.]

1. 32. stilus, a double entendre (hence ut dicitur = ut aiunt), as Horat. sat. ii. 1. 39: sed hic stilus haud petet ulter | quemquam animamontem et me veluti custodict ensis | vagina tectus. [For ut dicitur Seyffert (ad Lacl. § 97, p. 539) cites Cic. de off. i. § 80: de gradu deici, ut dicitur. Lacl. § 101: ad caleum, ut dicitur, pervenire. etc. Add ad fam. ix. 26. § 2.]

P. 15. [l. 1. mihi crede. very common in Cic. Crede mihi is common in other writers, but is said to be found only 4 times in Cic. and that in the letters, ad fam. x. 6. § 2: crede igitur mihi. (where the termination of a pentameter is avoided); ad Att. ii. 6. § 1, VIII. 14. § 1, XIV. 15. § 2.]

[l. 2. confecissem. verbum ambiguum, quod non solum est absolvere, sed etiam occidere. confectores = bestiarii. ABR.]

1. 4. Narbone. Intr. § 20. [Narbo Martius (Narbonne) on the Atax (Aude) received a colony of Roman citizens B.C. 118, and became the seat of the governor of the province; before that time it rivalled Massilia as an emporium of British tin.]

consilium cepisse. A rhetorical falsehood. Treb. sounded Ant. without receiving any promise. Intr. n. 76.

1. 6. te follows after quem, as often when two relative sen-


CASSIANUM ILLUD, CUI BONO?

Cassianum cited...

non L. belua 106, exdaipoxai, quo (Conis) 87 Mattliii...

tristitia... mema, Jug. 14 quaerent, ad qmterere verissimum it. alarmed ibid. of the always strictness. improbi magnani quaererer quam idsbm qui. tences fuit,.§...1.

In... hus...est, enim nemti est alium 23: Cassianum. p. Milo § 32: Satis est in illa quidem...audaci...belua...Clodio...docere, magnam ei causam, magnam spem in Milonis morte propositam, magnas utilitatesuisse. Itaque illud Cassianum, cui bono fuerit, in his personas valcat, else boni...nullo colnolumento...impi bundleur. Hoc...sepe parvo. Atqui Milone...cui...equester...

§ 35. 1 11. Cassianum. p. Mil. § 32: Satis est in illa quidem...tom...audaci...belua...Clodio...docere, magnam ei causam, magnam spem in Milonis morte propositam, magnas utilitatesuisse. Itaque illud Cassianum, cui bono fuerit, in his personis valcat, else boni...nullo colnolumento...impi bundleur. Hoc...sepe parvo. Atqui Milone...cui...equester...

§ 35. 1 11. Cassianum. p. Mil. § 32: Satis est in illa quidem...tom...audaci...belua...Clodio...docere, magnam ei causam, magnam spem in Milonis morte propositam, magnas utilitatesuisse. Itaque illud Cassianum, cui bono fuerit, in his personis valcat, else boni...nullo colnolumento...impi bundleur. Hoc...sepe parvo. Atqui Milone...cui...equester...
what end does it serve? was protested against by J. Fr. Gronovius (Obs. iv. 9, p. 405, Fr.) two centuries ago: 'neque enim, ut vulgo in ore est omnibus, id significat, ad quem usum; sed, cui homini res fuerit bono seu emolumento,' he cites ad Herenn. ii. § 6: Collatio est, eum accusator id, quod adversarium fecisse criminatur, id nemini nisi reo bono fuisset demonstrat; aut etc. . . . Hoc loco defensor demonstrat oportet aut aliiis quoque bono fuisset aut etc. and iv. § 53: res ista bono nemini praeter istum fuit etc. In this construction of esse, dare etc. (honori est, 'it serves as an honour? reliquit legiones duas praecidio 'by way of guard,' etc.), the dative of the person and thing are commonly found together. Cf. Zumpt, § 422, Madvig, § 249. Phaedr. v. 4. 12: Paucais temperitas est bono, multis malo. The true Latin for 'Of what use is it?' is Quo mihi e.g. fortunam? (cf. Juv. viii. 9, Bentl. on Hor. Epist. i. 5. 12) or Quo tibi sumere? (Hor. S. i. 6. 24); quid prodest? or quorum haec? ('to what end?'). Or we may say, e.g. for 'What was the good of your writing to him?' Quid ut inde boni cuperes, ad eum scripsisti? In the jurists we find Quo bonum est? (Cf. Dirksen's Manuale, p. 101 b.) In St Augustine, utquid (ivà ?) de civ. Dei, i. 18. § 1, ii. 23. § 1, de gen. ad litt. i. § 23 pr., tract. in Jo. LIII. § 8, cv. § 8. See Tac. dial. 9.

[1. 12. vide ne. § 28. l. 22. Vide ne haecas would be a good translation of our 'I am afraid that you may find the question embarrassing.']

ne h. because you have gained so greatly by Cæsar's death. [See Cic. ap. Dion. xliv. 41.]

[1. 13. Madvig opusc. i. 207, in the old reading illud quidem fuit, ut tu diecas, changed tu into tum: 'ea, quae nunc ab Antonio dicatur et agantur, ab illius temporis dictis discrepare orator dicit.']

ut diecas. prob. in the temple of Tellus on the 17th of March [infr. § 89 n.], but then certainly in such a manner, as not to offend his party. [Mark the omnibus, which shews that cui in l. 12 is dat. of the person.]

[1. 15. aere alieno. On the debts of Ant. cf. § 4. l. 24, §§ 44 sqq., 50, 62, 71 seqq., 78. § 93 n.]

l. 16. ad aedem Opis. infr. § 93 n. per easdem tabulas. § 93: ubi est septiens milieus, quod est in tabulis, quae sunt ad Opis? The same account-books and sums of money by which you cleared yourself from debt, enabled you also to lavish untold treasures upon your associates. Cf. Phil. v. § 11: Illa vero dissipatio pecuniae publicae ferenda nullo modo est, per quam sestertium septiens milieus falsis perscriptionibus donationibusque averti.

l. 18. delata. Intr. § 31. with n. 129.

[chir. § 109. § 8: an chirographio? in quo habes scientiam quaestuosam.]

[I. 20. immunitatium. cf. § 28. l. 25: landium. Livy uses no other form of the gen. pl. of civitas than civilatum.]


§ 36. [I. 23. Nescio quid. ‘You seem to be somewhat confused.’ On this use of the acc. of neuter pronouns, cf. § 21. l. 30 n. u. q. cont. esse=n. qua conturbatione affici; just so quid in the next line, ‘have you any lurking fear—(then follows the proper object of subtimes)—lest, &c.?’ cf. Maddvig on Cic. de fin. l. § 14. p. 33. For conturb. cf. supr. p. 14. l. 4. Cic. top. § 52: pallor; rubor, titubatio, si quia alia signa conturbationis et conscientiae: in Tusc. IV. § 19, Cic. defines conturbationem metum cucutientem cogitata.]

[I. 25. non est tuum. ‘you are not the man (‘it does not belong to your character’) to deserve well of the state.’ Hor. Carm. III. 29. 57 sq.: Non est meum si mugiat Africis | procella ventis ad miseram preces | decurrere; where see Orelli.]

[I. 32. ut dixi. § 24. l. 6 seq.]
P. 16. l. 2. egeres, who have grown rich at our cost.

1. 4. providerem futura, so Cic. always, not praevidere, §§ 24, 83.

[I. 5. quanta, i.e. in quanta. § 26. l. 32 n.]

[I. 10. angeribus. ‘melancholy.’ The Latin plur. often represents the sing. of our abstract substantives. So de off. II. § 2, (angores). Cf. de or. II. § 131: usus, auditio, lectio, litterae (‘writing,’ ‘authorship’). So dicendi praecepta = ‘rhetoric;’ numeri = ‘arithmetic’ (de fin. I. § 72, where astra is even used for ‘astronomy’). Naegelsb.]
[l. 14. omneem, etc. In a census taken after Caesar's fourfold triumph, the numbers did not reach half the former amount. Plut. Caes. 55, cf. App. B. civ. II. 102.]

[l. 16. condicione. Dicio and condicio (not ditio, conditio) are the forms constantly found in the best MSS., in coins and inscriptions (Wagner, Orthogr. Vergil. and note on Aen. I. 236). 'On condition' is always expressed in Cic. by the abl. without sub (Stürenb. ad Cic. p. Arch. 147, sqq.)—Cic. wrote to Att. (viii. 3. § 3, cited by Abr.) B. c. 49: Quae condicio non accipienda fuit potius quam relinquenda patria? Malae conditiones erant. Fateor; sed numquid hoc peius? Add ad Fam. vi. 4. § 4: Prima illa consolation est, vidisse me plus quam ceteros, cum cupiebam quamvis iniqua condicione pacem.]

§ 38. [l. 19. ei. nom. plur. On this early and less usual form, cf. Madvig, § 83. n. 1. Ritschl excludes the form i from early writers (Proleg. xcvii.): 'geminatum i in pronomine non maiores; facimus. ut i is, aut dei des ut ei eis veteres probarunt.]

l. 22. At vero, etc. 'But certainly,' you will say, 'my way of talking (oratio) gave umbrage to Pompeius.'

[l. 23. An. § 3. l. 7. Madvig, § 453. 'Was there then any one, etc.' Hand cites Ter. Eun. II. 91: Pa. Flagitium facimus. Ch. An id flagitium est, etc. ?]

l. 24. plus. often used where magis might stand, just as the adverbial multum = magno opere, vale; and quantum = tanto opere. [Phil. I. § 8: eos plus etiam rei publicae quam familiaritatis gratia dilig. Zumpt, § 725 fin., Madvig, § 305. n. 2, and on Cic. de fin. I. § 5, p. 13. Cic. ad Att. II. 6.]

[ullo and ullius are used substantively by the best writers; ullo is much more frequent than quoquam. Stürenburg ad Cic. de off., ed. 1834, p. 198. Cf. Madvig, § 90. 3. n.]

l. 25. quidem. 'certainly.'

[l. 27. Ego (videbam) quid ille (sentiret et spectaret), and so l. 28: Ego (consultebam). In Latin, as the verb is commonly reserved for the end of a sentence, it is often to be supplied from a following clause; in Eng. only from a preceding. Madvig, § 478. see Cic. Tusc. I. § 38 (quoted on § 7. 1. 8.) below § 78 f.]

l. 31. quid sqq. 'his definite aims.'

§ 39. P. 17. l. 2. Pharsalia. This form of the adj. (cf. Φαρσάλιος) is found in the MSS. also in Phil. xiv. § 23, de divin. I. § 68. Paphum. From Cyprus Pompeius made his fatal passage to Egypt. Plut. Pomp. 77. At Paphus he saw on the shore a goodly building. On asking the pilot its name,
he was told that it was called *Kατωβασιλεία* (Val. Max. 1. 5. § 6).

[1. 3. *mentio ab eo, sc. facta est*. Madvig, § 479 d, n. 2. infr. § 43. l. 20 n.] *vidisse plus*. 'had seen further,' 'been the truer prophet,' de imp. Cn. Pomp. § 64: *sin autem vos plus tum in re publica vidistis*. [Cic. Lael. § 99, ad fam. vi. 4. § 4 (cited on § 37. l. 16). On the sanguine hopes of Pomp. cf. ad Att. vii. 8. § 4: *Sin autem ille (Caesar) furevit, vehementer hominem contemnebat (Pompeius) et suis et rei publicae copiis confidebat.*]

[1. 5. *Et, like* 'And,' at the beginning of a sentence in empasioned exclamations or questions. § 51. l. 31, § 110. l. 24. Liv. ii. 38. § 5: *et hanc urbem vos non hostium ducitis, ubi si unum diem morati essetis, moriendum omnibus fuit?* Kühner on Cic. Tusc. disp. 1. § 92. Nægelsb.]

1. 6. *sectorem,* 'broker.' infr. § 64 seq., Intr. § 17. The estates of the proscribed were sold as public property *sub hasta* (originally the symbol of booty taken in war, set up in the camp at the sale) and always as a *whole.* Such a sale was called *sectio,* the purchaser *sector;* Gaius inst. iv. § 140: *sectores vocantur qui publica bona mercantur.* The grammarians wrongly derive the word from *sequi,* instead of secare (Cic. p. Rosc. Amer. § 80: *sectores bonorum et colliorum*). The supposition that *sectores* were so called, because they generally resold the purchased estate in small parcels, is confuted by Cic. ib. § 103: *is qui et sector est... hoc est, qui et illorum ipsorum bonorum, de quibus agitur, emptor atque possessor est.* As the purchaser must take with the estate all its liabilities, Mommsen refers the word to the deduction made in the price on this account. Those who offered only 50 per cent. of the value, might well be called *sectores.* [On *cuius sectorem = cuius bonorum sectorem.* cf. infr. § 65. l. 8 n.]

c. xvi. 1. 8. *iocis.* Some very cutting ones in Plut. Cic. 38, Macrobi. Sat. ii. 3. § 7: *[Pompeius Ciceronis facultarum impatiens fuit; cuius haec dicta fercebantur, 'Ego vero quem fugiam habeo, quem sequar non habeo.' Sed et cum ad Pompeium venisset, dicentibus sero eum venisse respondit: 'Minime sero veni; nam nihil hic paratum video.' § 8. Deinde interroganti Pompeio, ubi gener eius Dolabella esset, respondit: 'Cum socero tuo.' Et cum donasset Pompeius transfugam civitate Romana: 'Hominem bellum,' inquit; 'Gallis civitatem promittit alienam, qui nobis nostram non potest reddeere.' Propter quae merito videbatur dixisse Pompeius: 'Cupio ad hostes Cicero transeat, ut nos timeat.' See generally for Cicero's jests the whole chapter 3 of Macrobius, Plut. comp. Dem. c. Cic. i. Plut. Cic. 25—27, who says (c. 28) that they gave great offence.]
[l. 9. quidem illa, not illa quidem, as usual (§ 6. 1. 19 n.); ‘nam illa castra necessario dicendum erat cum demonstratione.’

MADVIG.]

l. 10 seq. tamen—tamen, si, etc. Cf. p. Rose. Am. § 55: Innocens est quispiam, verum tamen, quamquam abest a culpa, suspititio tamen non caret: tametsi miscrum est, tamen ei qui hunc accuset possum aliquo modo ignoscere.

[hominis—modo homines. An example of the figure diaphora (Rutil. Lup. 1. § 12): cum verbum iteratum aliam sententiam significat, ac significavit primo dictum. Id est huiusmodi:... ‘cuius aerumnae quemvis etiam extrarium hominem, modo hominem, commovere possent.’ where see Ruhnk.]

§ 40. [l. 13. macstitiam...iocum. Plut. Cic. 38, also blames both.]

[l. 15. Hereditatem. Cf. § 41. l. 4. A similar taunt in Cic. ad Att. 1. 16. § 10: ‘Regem appello,’ inquam, ‘cum Rex tui mentionem nullam fecerit?’ Plut. (Pomp. 15) commends the patience shown by Pompeius in not resenting the affront put upon him by Sulla, who passed him over in his will. Tac. Ann. III. 76: Testamentum cius (of Junia, sister of M. Brutus, and widow of Cassius) multum apud vulgum rumore fuit; quia in magnis opibus, cum ferme cunctos proceres cum honore nominavit, Caesarem omisit, quod civiliter acceptum. Cf. Cic. p. Sest. § 111. ABR. p. domo § 49. It was also a great slight not to be made a guardian (tutor), p. Sest. l. c., p. Cluent. §§ 34. 41. The nearest relations, if not mentioned in a will, could bring a querella inofficiis, and procure its reversal.]

[l. 17. qui. § 8. 1. 24.]


[ducentiens. sc. centena milia=20,000,000 sestertii. Cic. received forasce centiens by the will of Diodotus (ad Att. II. 20. § 6). Cf. Plut. Cic. 8. ABR. Drumann (VI. 383) has notices of many other legacies.]

l. 19. rettuli, in my account-book (tabulae accepti et expense).
[l. 22. L. Rubrius. § 103.]  
1. 23. Caesnas, of Casinum, a Volscian town in Latium.  
[§ 103. Sil. iv. 227: nebulosi rura Casini. The famous abbey of Monte Casino was founded on the mountain above by St Benedict A.D. 529.]  

[fecit heredem. Madvig Opusc. i. 165, 166: 'Haec ultima fec. her. non solum languide redundant, sed corruptum manifesto orationis artificio; semel enim posito et tamquam delitescente co, quod commune est, graviter exprimitur contrariorum relatio (me nemo—te is); illis contra additis pondus sententiae a verbis te is transfertur ad clausulam illam in qua esse non debet; tum apertum est, posita alieni hominis circumlocutione finiri sententiam et tamquam residere in ipso nomine, cui apte subiuunguntur illa Et vide etc.']  

§ 41. 1. 23. et quidem (cf. § 43. 1. 19). 'He made you his heir, and that with extraordinary proofs of affection, for fratris filium praeoriiit etc.'  

1. 24. albus etc. proverbial of those, with whom we have no intimate acquaintance. Catull. 93: Nil nimium studio, Caesar, tibi rolle placere, | nce seire utrum sis albus an ater homo. [Cic. ap. Dion. xlv. 47, says that Ant. seized the inheritances of many whom he had never seen nor heard. Garat.]  

1. 25. Q. Fufii, sc. filium. cf. § 74.  

1. 27. nominat, in testamento. We should have expected nominavit.  
1. 28. sal. 'visited.'  
1. 32. Igitur, relates to scio quae pradicia habuerit. Your knowledge of his wealth was reason sufficient for the disinheriting his brother.  

P. 18. [l. 1. multas pecunias. 'much money' is magna pecunia; 'large sums of money' magna pecuniae (de imp. Cn. Pompe. § 18, where Halm cites Lob. ad Soph. Aj. p. 127 seq.); multae pecuniae 'many different sums of money' (Verr. v. § 48. Naegelsb.)]  

1. 3. esset. (cf. te, p. 17. l. 32, and p. 18. l. 4). The same change of person §§ 17 (lines 8, 10 and 12), 56.  
1. 5. non adisses, 'quia nulla erat' (Manut.). Antonius
Creticus was in straitened circumstances (infr. § 44, and the anecdote in Plut. Ant. 1); Cic. maliciously ascribes the son’s poverty to his being disinherited. [The taunt reappears in Cic. ap. Dion. xlv. 47; Calenus ib. xlvi. 14, attempts to prove that it is inconsistent with other statements of Cic. It was a point of honour with the Romans to be mentioned in a friend’s will, § 40. l. 15 n. Add ad Att. xi. 2. § 1: Ex multis meis miserrimis curis est una levata, si... ista hereditas fidem et famam meam tueri potest. Rein cites ad fam. xiii. 61, Suet. Aug. 66. Cic. p. Quinct. § 14: Heredem testamento reliquit hunc P. Quinietum, ut, ad quem summus maior morte sua veniatur, ad eundem summus honors quoque perveniret. Val. Max. vii. chapters 7 and 8 (de testamentis rescessis; de ratis testamentis).]

C. xvii. § 42. l. 7. tot dies. Phil. v. § 10: ipsa interea septemdecim dies de me in Tiburtino Scipionis (father-in-law of Pompeius; he slew himself after the battle of Thapsus) declamitavit itinere quaerens: haec enim ei causa esse declamandi solut. [Cic. writes to Cassius this year, ad Fam. xii. 2. § 1: Cudem enim gladiator (Ant.) quaerit, eiusque initium a me se facturum putavit; ad quam paratus venerat, eum in villa Metelli complures dies commentatus esset. Quae autem in lustris et in vino commentatio potuit esse? Itaque omnibus est visus, ut ad te antea scripsi, romere suo more, non dicere. Abr. cf. on Scipio’s villa infr. § 109.]

[1. 8. tui familiarissimi. § 41. l. 26, § 93. l. 13. Zumpt, § 410. vini. § 63. Plin. hist. nat. xiv. § 147, says that Cicero’s son was notorious for his large potations: sed nimium hanc gloriam auferre Cicero voluit interfectori patris sui. M. Antonio; is enim ante eum avidissime adprehenderat hanc palmam, editam cum volumine de sua ebricitate... § 148: Exiguo tempore ante proelium Actiaeum id volumen evomuit. Ant. styled himself a new Father Liber, and was driven about in Alexandria with an ivy chaplet, thyrsus and cothurni (Vell. ii. 81, § 4). Macrob. Sat. ii. 2. § 7: Post Mutinensem fugam quaerentibus, quid ageret Antonius, responsisse familiaris eius ferebatur: ‘Quod canis in Ἑγυπτῳ; bibit et fugit.’ HEUSINGER. See also Vell. ii. 63.]

l. 9. ing. ac. Cod. Vat. ingeniendi. Qu. ingeni exercendi? [declamas. Cicero himself trained Hirtius, Pansa and Dolabella in the practice of declamation. (ad fam. ix. 16. § 7, Quintil. xii. 11. § 6 seq.)]

l. 10. magistrum. § 43. a master, whom you and your boon-companions vote a rhetorician. [§ 8. Suet. rhet. 5: ‘Sex. Clodius, a Sicilian, professor of Greek and Latin eloquence, being a man of humour and of weak sight, said that he had lost a pair of eyes in his friendship for M. Antonius; eiusdem uxorem Fulviae, cui altera bucca infallor crat, acumen stilli (cf. supr. § 34. l. 32), temptare dixit, nec eō minus, immo vel magis ob hoc Antonio
gratus. a quo mox consule ingens etiam congiarium acceptit, ut ei in Philippicis Cicero obicit: ‘adhibes ... dicere,’ ‘at quanta ... disceres.’ In the bellum Mutinense both Ant. and Octavianus practised declamation. Suet. Rhet. 1. Antonius’ eloquence was of the florid, Asiatic style (Plut. 2, but cf. 43.)]

[I. 11. concessisti. Plut. Ant. 24 says that he was as well pleased to be rallied, as to rally others. Cf. ib. 27 (of Ant. and Cleopatra).]

[I. 12. omnino concessive; properly ‘by all means.’ It is often thus, like scilicet, used where quidem (μὲν) might stand, with sed (ἢ) following. Halm on Cic. p. Sest. § 84, p. 221, and index p. 334 a. Add de nat. deor. i. § 95: utrumque omnino durum, sed usu nollienda nobis verba sunt. ibid. § 12, de off. ii. § 71, Acad. ii. § 84. Plin. epist. vi. 15. § 3: est omnino Priscus dubiae sanitatis; interest tamen officiis, etc. So quidem omnino. ib. ii. 4. § 3, 19. § 6.]

I. 13. dicta ‘witticisms.’ In Gr. also where we find λόγος (λόγους) λέγειν, λόγος has a different (more restricted) sense; e.g. Herod. i. 141, ἔλεγεν λόγον ‘he recited a fable;’ Eurip. Med. 322: μὴ λόγους λέγε ‘do not speak empty words.’ [Lobeck Paralipom. 504 seq., Herm. ad Soph. Phil. 281, Krüger’s Gram. § 304, Madvig; § 223. n. 4, Zumpt, § 384, Reisig, § 383. The general rule is that the cognate accusative must either be defined by an adj., pron., or attributive clause, or else must itself commote something more than the verb; otherwise the addition would be merely superfluous. Just so in English we should scarcely say ‘he fought a fight,’ but we do say ‘he fought a good fight,’ ‘he fought a fight at Leuctra,’ ‘he fought a fight, and won the day.’ Thus in scribendum scribere (Plaut. Aul. iv. 1. 6, Cic. Top. § 29, p. Mur. § 61), scriitus implies more than scribere; not all who serve are slaves. Cf. infr. § 109. p. 44. l. 11. n. Again Cael. ap. Cic. ad fam. viii. 2. § 1: ut omnem gaudium gauderemus. Hor. carm. iii. 29. 50: ludum insolentem ludere. (Partly from Naegelsb. and Reisig). On the narrower sense of dicta (= dictoria), Macrob. Sat. ii. 1. § 14), see Macr. ib. § 13: Is iocus...inter alia eius dicta celebratur. § 14: Sed in hoc verbum non casu incidit. Testis idem Cicero, qui in libro epistolarium ad Cornelium Nepotem secundo sic ait: ‘Itaque nostri, cum omnia quae dixissemus dicta essent, ea proprio nomine appellari dicta voluerunt.’ Cic. de or. ii. § 221: defensio tota redundaret hilaritate quaedam et ioco; dicta illa brevia non habuit. ib. § 222: habe scilicet bona dicta, quaec salsa sint; nam ca dicta appellantur proprio iam nomine. Cf. Quintil. vi. 3. §§ 16, 60, Varr. L.L. vi. § 61 (dictum in mine). Mart. i. 4. 3. 4: consuerisse iocos vestri quoque ferre triumphi; [Materiam dictis nec pudet esse ducem. Jul. Cas. (Suet. 56) published dicta collectanea. We find dicta diecre also de orat. ii. § 244, p. Plane. § 85.]
ELLIPSIS OF VERB. SUBST. IN -TOR. [17 42 43]


§ 43. [I. 16. merces. Cf. § 84. On the scanty pittance of the rhetor or sophista cf. Juv. vii. 150—175. He must not be confounded with the orator.]


[1. 19. et quidem. § 41. I. 23.] populi R. i.e. discharged by the state [= publica. Cf. Phil. iii. § 22 just quoted.]

1. 20. nihil sapere. § 8 n. [§ 68. See the quaint observation of Quintil. v. i. 13. § 38: iae reprehensiones...inscripsae rerum verborumque et insulsitatis etiam, quals in Antonium est, animo dantur aut iustis odiis; suntque utiles ad conciliandum iis, quos invisos facere volueris, odium.]

1. 20. Num etiam hoc, sc. est or habeo? Ellipsis of the verb where the style assumes a familiar or an impassioned tone, is frequent in the Philippics; generally in short, esp. interrogative, sentences. e.g. Phil. i. §§ 6, 25: Phil. ii. § 53: Sed nihil de Caesare etc. § 68: At idem aedes etiam et hortos. § 72: ne omnia videar contra te sc. dicere. ib.: A me C. Caesar pecuniam? eur potius quam ego ab illo? § 74: tam bonus gladiator rudem tam cito? § 77: confessim ad cam etc. § 81: esto, hoc imperite. § 101: mediceo tria militia iugurum, rhetori duo. § 110: Et tu in Caesaris memoria diligentis?

[1. 21. Caes. comm. § 97.]

1. 22. alioc loco. § 101.

1. 25. ipso. ‘Having replied to his charges, I now come to speak of the man himself.’ The verbal substantives em. and corr. imply that the action denoted by the verb is the man’s proper function, business, or permanent quality. So here. ‘I must speak of him, who makes it his business to reform and admonish me,’ ‘of our reformer and censor himself.’ [Verr. iii. § 108: confector negotiorum = chargé d’affaires. See Bentl. ad Hor. epist. i. 15. 38: εἰπων...wos et invidiosae corrector dicitur, qui alios castigat ipse eiusmodem culpae reus. Cic. p. Balb. § 20: O praecelarum...correctorem atque emendatorem nostrae civitatis.’ etc. Naegelsb.]
1. 27. ut crit. § 68. l. 18 n.]
1. 28. novus. Brut. § 324: ad causas simillimas inter se vel potius casdem novi venieciamus cotidie. VICTOR.

c. xviii. § 44. [l. 31. 4 Sic opinor etc. 'Yes, I think so; let us begin from the outset.' Ter. Phorm. II. 2. 2: Phorm. (Itaque ais) Phanium relictum solam? GET. Sic. Hence (Diez) the Ital. si, Span. si, Port. sim, and the French si, e. g. in je dis que si. Cf. Madvig on Cic. de fin. p. 358. So ita. Hand Turs. iii. 493.]

1. 32. pract. While you still wore the toga of the free-born boy; [cf. 'while in jackets,' dec. lit. 'to boil down,' 'waste,' 'become bankrupt' (= conturbo). Cf. §§ 35, 41 ad fin.]

P. 19. l. 3. ord. Liv. perioch. xcix.: L. Roscius trib. pl. (2. c. 67) legem tulit ut equitibus R. in theatro xvm. gradus (rows of seats) proximi (orchestrae, i. e. to the floor of the theatre, where the senators sat) assignaventur. [In the civil wars so many were ruined, that Augustus (Suet. 40) permitted all, quibus ipsis parentibus equester census sumquam fuisse, to sit in these seats. Cf. Juv. iii. 153—159. ibid. xiv. 323 seq.: office sum-mam, | his septem ordinibus quam lex dignatur Othonis. | haeque quogac si rugam trahit extenditque labellum; | surne duos equites, | fve tertia quadriringenta.] decectoribus, who, though as sons of senators they belonged to the equestrian order, no longer possessed the equestrian census, i. e. a property of 400,000 sesterces. Of the certus locus nothing is known.

1. 5. muliebrum, i. e. meretriciam. The meretrices and libertinac, by way of distinction from the matrons, wore a toga, and the former generally toga pulla of dark hue. Cf. Becker's Gallus, iii. 45. [Mart. ii. 39. On the prevalence at Rome of the loathsome vice, here and elsewhere in the speech imputed to Antonius, see Döllinger, Heidenthum und Judenthum, 718 seq. (Most of the heathen emperors, even an Antoninus and a Trajan, and most poets, except Ovid, of the Augustan age, were notoriously addicted to it etc.) Even this very invective attests the predominance of the moral pestilence. Cicero, himself doubtless a man of blameless life, confesses that, knowing Antonius to be a sink of all uncleanness, he yet helped him to the quaeorship, and would gladly have remained his friend. There is here little of the 'indignatio' of the satirist, nothing of the mingled shame and sorrow with which the Apostle re-sents this sin against our nature.]

1. 9. stolam, the characteristic dress of Roman ladies. Paulus Festi, p. 125: matronas appellabant cas fere, quibus stolas habendi ius erat. In § 50 Curio is called the vir of Antonius.

§ 45. [l. 10. nemo puer. Cf. nemo hostis. § 1. Stürenb. on Cic. de off. p. 182 seq.]
DOMU. DISCIDIUM. RECTISSIME. [18 19 45—48]

[1. 12. pater. § 12. l. 11. Cf. Intr. § 3.] domu. This form of the abl., which is found elsewhere, esp. in the older Latin, is attested by the best MS. also in Verr. v. § 128. Cf. Quintil. i. 6. § 5: [si reniat in dubium hac domu dicendum sit, an hac domo.]

[1. 15. tegulas. See Lightf. and Wetst. on St Mark ii. 4.] Quae flagitia etc. The thread of the argument, broken by Seisne etc. is, That house could no longer tolerate these infamous scenes; accordingly a final separation was effected by my means.

[1. 20. sexagiens. sc. centena milia. 6,000,000 sesterces.—peteret, sc. pater ab Antonio.]

[1. 21. intercessisse = soluturum promississe. MANUT.]

[1. 23. discidii. Madvig (on Cic. de fin. p. 812 seq., cf. Seyffert on Lael. pp. 152, 153) seems to have proved that this is the only true form, and that dissidium is a mere corruption.] se in exsilium, i.e. that he would withdraw from Italy for a time.

§ 46. l. 26. redimeret, from Ant. by paying the sum guaranteed.

l. 27. summa spe etc. What great hopes Cic. had of Curio, we see from the letters addressed to him B. c. 53—51. (ad fam. ii. 1—7.)

[1. 28. tua fam. cf. § 23. l. 18 n.]

[1. 31. gladiis. § 112 n.]

c. xix. § 47. p. 20. [l. 8. notiora. § 57. l. 11.]

l. 11. incidamus, 'cut short.'

§ 48. l. 15. fax, 'firebrand,' 'match,' which fired the train of all C.'s explosions. [Cf. Intr. § 4, and on quiddam mobitus est. ib. n. 13.]

l. 17. Alexandream. Intr. § 5, and n. 18. contra senatus auct., because Gab. restored the king by his own authority, though with the consent of Pompeius.

l. 18. religiones, i.e. a prophecy of the Sibylline books, that it would be dangerous for Rome (and so contra rem p. also), if the king were restored by force of arms.

[1. 19. quicum. Madvig, § 86. n. 2.]

rectissime, without the least risk of being called to account. [Caes. b. civ. i. 74. § 2: quaerunt, recte nec illi sint commissuri, i.e. whether they may venture to surrender. Naegelsb.—posset is subj. after qui consecutive.]

L. 21. autem, correcting. 'Yet what house?' 'Why do I say house?' In the figure Correctio autem is used for dico or insum, e.g. fragram, or. Pison.: Quod minimum specimen in te ingenii? ingenii autem? immo ingenii hominis ac liberi etc. p. Rab. Post, § 10: num quis testis Postumum appellavit? testis autem? num accusator?

L. 22. tum, before the confiscations. [obt. § 3, l. 11 n.]

[L. 24. pedem ponerer. ad Att. XIII. 2. § 2: pedem ubi ponat in suo, non habet. cf. Phil. III. § 28. ABR. On the neut. pron. in tuo, cf. pro Quint. § 43: hoc quo pertinet? ut ocius ad tuum pervenies? In general, in all expressions denoting place, the neuters of adjectives are very frequently used substantively. e.g. in profundo, in publico, in vacuo, in summo, etc. NAEGELSE.]

Misenum, a villa at Misenum on the coast of Baiae.

L. 25. Sisapo, a town of Hispania Baetica, in the neighbourhood of which were celebrated mines of cinnabar (vermilion). Plin. hist. nat. XXXIII. S. 40. § 110 seq. [Cinnabar (minium) was only imported from Spain, celeberrimo Sisaponensi regione in Baetica miniarior metallo rectigalibus populi R. Nullius rei diligentiore custodia, non licet ibi pericere id excioquiique; Romam adfectur venia signata ad bina milia fere pondo annua, Romae autem lavatur, in vendendo pretio statuta lege, ne medium excederet H.S. LXX. in libras; sed adulteratur multis modis, unde praeda societati...... § 120: Hoc cego adulteratur modo in officinis sociorum. Among other uses, it was employed in illuminating books, and in bringing out the letters in inscriptions.] As the mines were worked by a company (socii), Cicero's jest comes to this: 'you have no place, not even so much as a foot-breadth, that you can call your own, except Misenum,—and that is not yours, but in great part your creditors.' Cf. inf. § 73: praeter partem Miseni.

c. XX. § 49. Venisti etc. Intr. § 6.

L. 27. parentem. Iulia. [§ 58. l. 23 n.]

L. 28. satis fieri. They were enemies (1) because of the execution of Lentulus § 17, (2) because of the intimacy between Ant. and Clodius § 48.

L. 30. de gratia, sc. reconcilianda. adiatus doubtful emendation of the corrupt ouatus (cod. Vat.).

L. 32. es conatus occidere. § 21 n. Intr. n. 22.


[L. 2. te non existimare...umquam...satis esse facturum, i.e. (te) umquam. Madvig thinks that the Gr. construction confiterate venisse (p. Rose. Am. § 61) for te v., may possibly be questioned, 7—2
but not the class of examples, 'in quo duplex accusativus cum infinitivo implicatur alter ab altero pendens, ut...but idem pronomen subjecti loco ponit debeat (de orat. iii. § 147: me licet existimes desperare ista posse perdissere, hoc est, me d. me posse), quae species longe certissima est; vid. divin. in Caec. § 59, Verr. iii. § 32, de leg. agr. ii. § 100.' cf. Zumpt, § 605.]

[1. 7. quoniam. Madvig (opusc. i. 172) adopts the conj. of Manut. for quamquam, on the grounds (1) that the sense requires quoniam, 'subicitur enim causa, cur eum non sit adhortatus,' (2) that the two particles are often confused.]

1. 8. The words rem—malebam are not in cod. Vat., and are probably a mere conjectural supplement.

§ 50. 1. 10. sine sorte, sine lege, Intr. notes 24, 25. [ad Att. vi. 6. § 4 (written b.c. 50): Pompeius...Q. Caecutiin sine sorte delegit, Caesar Antonium; ego sorte datum offenderem? Cf. ad Qu. iv. i. 1. § 11: Quaestorem habes non tuo iudicio delectum, sed eum, quem sors dedit.]

[1. 11. unum etc. In the year 56 not less than 200 senators went to Luca to pay their respects to Caesar, some seeking money, others returning thanks for past favours. App. b. civ. ii. 112, Plut. Caes. 21. Abbr. cites ad Att. vii. 3. § 5: video cum homine audacissimo paratissimoque negotium esse; omnes damnatos, omnes ignominia ejfectos, omnes damnatione ignominiaque dignos illuc facere, omnen fere iuventutem, omnen illam urbanam ac perditam plebem, tribunos valentes addit0 C. Cassium, omnes, qui aere alieno premantur etc. and Suet. Caes. 27. Cf. infr. § 78.—aeris al. On the debts of Ant. cf. § 35.]

1. 14. haurire, conjectural supplement.

1. 16. viri tui, C. Curio (§ 44), tribune b.c. 50. Intr. § 8.

c. xxi. [1. 18. decus. Madvig's emendation for the MS. reading dedecus. Beside other reasons for the change, this is conclusive; in dedecus could only mean 'to his own disgrace,' a sense of in, which first appears in Vell. ii. 41. § 2: cibo in vitam non in voluptatem uteretur. Seneca and his contemporaries use in honorem aliquius for Cicero's honoris aliquius gratia, etc. Madvig, opusc. i. 166 seq., ii. 322.]

1. 20. fecerit. Qu. fecit?—

§ 51. 1. 22. L. Lentulo etc. Intr. § 8 seq.

1. 27. securi, by his intercession. cf. § 52 ad fin.: tum contra te dedit arma hic ordo consulibus etc.

1. 30. hostem. The decree denz operam consules etc. conferred upon them unlimited power over life and death. That it was launched against the two 'interceding' tribunes, appears from Caes. b. c. i. 5. § 4. Cf. Intr. ii. 36.
[l. 31. Et. § 39. l. 5, § 110 init. apud patres etc. § 2.]

P. 22. [l. 1. conservator. § 2. l. 19 n.]


§ 52. l. 7. unus, rhetorical perversion. Intr. § 9. adulescens, of 34 years. [Cf. §§ 113, 118.]

l. 9. neque tu tecum agi passus es, i.e. you would not enter upon any negotiations or concessions. de sen. auct. concerning the opinion, resolution of the senate.

l. 13. agendo. Intr. n. 35.

l. 18. reliquis imperis, see the terms of the decree, Intr. § 10. cf. also ep. ad fam. xvi. ii. § 3: Postea quam senatus consultus, prætoribus, tribunis pl. et nobis, qui pro consultis sumus, negotium dedcrat ut curaremus, ne quid res publica detrimenti caperct etc. [p. reg. Deiot. § 11: Cum audiret, senatus consentientia auctoritate arma sumpta esse, consultus, prætoribus, tribunis pl., nobis imperatoribus ren publicam defendendum datam.]


l. 22. quam causam adferebat. We certainly read in Caes. b. civ. l. 32: inviriam in cripiendis legionibus pracdcat (Caesar in the senate, Intr. § 12), crudelitatem et insolentiam in circumscribendis (cf. here l. 25. circumscriptus) tribunis plebis; but other reasons are also there given.

[l. 24. ius tribunicium. Lucan l. 264 seq.: iustos Fortuna laborat | esse ductis motus ct causas inurit armis. | expulit ancipiti discordes urbe tribunos | victo iure minax iactatis curia Gracchis. | hos iam mota ductis vicinque signa potentes | audax venati coniuravit Cic. lingua: | vox quondam populi, libertatemque tueri | aures et armatos plebi miscere potentes.]

l. 25. circumscriptus. p. Mil. § 88: senatus, credo, prætorem cum circumscriptisisset. The senate could control magistrates who outstepped their legal powers. [circumscribere, to limit, restrain. Cf. Cic. ad Att. vii. 9 in Intr. n. 36.]

[l. 28. de Caesar, sc. dico. Cf. § 43. l. 20 n.]

§ 54. [l. 30. misericorem, etc. § 16. l. 26.]

P. 23. [l. 1. consules etc. Intr. § 11 seq.]

l. 2. quod: the same attraction Phil. v. § 39: Pompeio patre, quod imperio populi Romani lumen fuit, extincto etc. [Zumpt, § 372, Madvig, § 316, cf. 313, Matthiae Gr. Gr. § 440. Drakenburch on Liv. xxxii. 30. Cic. in Pis. § 95: P. Rutilio, quod specimen habuit hic civis innocentiac. Tusc. disp. 1. § 1: studio sapientiae, quae (i.e. quod stud. sap.) philosophia dicitur. This
attraction is not confined to the relative; generally, when a pron.
is the subject of a sentence, it is attracted to the gender of the
predicate. e.g. Ov. epist. ex Pont. iii. 3. 4: Seu veri species,
seu fuit ille (‘that,’ for illud) sopor. Hence hic labor, hoc opus est.
‘This is a tool, this a work.’

Italia profugisse omnesque consules—sic enim ei nuntiabatur—
cum tunam senatum, totam Italianam effusam. Talibus enim nuntiis et
rumoribus patebat ad orientem via; nulli veri nuntii subsequebantur.
Nihil ille de conditionibus tuis, nihil de studio concordiæ et pacis,
nihil de conspiratione audiebat certorum hominum contra dignitatem
suam. The whole passage, addressed as it is to Cæsar, should
be compared with this.]

exsequi clamem illam fugamque, to effect that disastrous flight.
[So Cat. mai. § 15: res, quae inventute gerantur ac viribus, ‘by
youthful strength.’ p. Rose. Amer. § 9: summus timor, quem
nihil natura pudorque meus attribuit, ‘my inborn bashfulness.’
NAEGELSBB.]

[I. 6. subolem. ‘the whole stock, breed which makes up our
youth.’ Cf. Pollio in Cic. ad fam. x. 33: robur et suboles militum
interit, ‘the flower, nay the very breed of our soldiers is cut off.’
So proles: Virg. Aen. vi. 785: felix prole virum, ‘happy in her
breed of men.’ Georg. iii. 101: proleque parentum, ‘the breed
to which the parents belong.’ Mr MUNRO in Journ. of Philology,
iv. 291 seq.]

1. 7. rem publicam expulsam. The seat of the republic was
transferred by the Pompeians first to Capua (Intr. § 11), and then
to Thessalonica.

§ 55. 1. 8. in seminibus. Dem. de cor. § 59: ὁ γὰρ τὸ στέρμα
παρασχῶν, οὗτος τῶν φυτῶν κακῶν αἰτίως. [Cic. ap. Dion.
XLV. 27.]

1. 10. tres exercitus. § 75.

1. II seq. Antonius—Antonius etc. Figure of conversio, i.e.
of the inverted repetitio (ad Herenn. iv. § 10, where see definition
and examples). Phil. i. § 24: De exsilio reduci a mortuo, civitas
data non solum singulis, sed nationibus et provinciis universis a
mortuo, immunitibus in infinitis sublata vextigalia a mortuo.
Unde ab Appio. (quoted by Manut. with de leg. agr. ii. § 22). Add the example in ad Herenn. iv. § 20,
Quintil. ix. 3. § 31. Rutil. Lup. i. § 8 calls conversio ‘epiphora,’
and repetitio ‘epihole’ (ib. § 7). Sosocrates (ib. § 8): initio ad
bellum suscipiendum nos primum impulit Philippus, deinde in ipso
belli labore ac periculo deseruit nos Philippus, novissime nune calamitati nostrae, provinat atque culpæ, successit idem Philippus.
For the emphatic position of Antonius here cf. § 2. 1. 17.—We
have an example of repetitio (=epibole) in § 3. 1. 6 seq. (non veni-
rem). Cf. Verr. II. § 26 (Verr.).]

[1. 12. cives. cf. § 37 n.]

[1. 18 seq. perfect—perfeecerat. You succeeded in doing all
that the senate before the downfall of the commonwealth had
succeeded in preventing.]

1. 20. scelus in sedere. The recall of condemned criminals
was a scelus, as a rescinding of res indicatae; but when Ant. had
once entered upon this illegal course, it was a further scelus, that
he had no pity on his own uncle (Intr. § 2. cf. Intr. n. 49).

c. XXIII. § 56. l. 21. Restit. in integrum.

[1. 22. patru. § 98. Cic. ap. Dion. XLV. 47, Calen. ib. XLVI. 15.]
Si severus—si misericors. Dilemma. §§ 16, 31, 54, esp. 100.

1. 24. de alca. Gambling with dice was very early made
penal at Rome [Hor. vetita legibus alcaet], and punished (Schol. ad
div. in Caec. § 24) by a fine of fourfold amount and by infamy.
That Dent. was not in exile is clear from the words quasi vero
ludere cum condemnato non licret. For him therefore the restitu-
tio in integrum would consist in the revocation of the legal
penalty. Dio in the speech which he puts into Cicero's mouth
(XLV. 18—47, chiefly taken from Phil. II.), has mistaken this pas-
sage, when (c. 47) he calls Denticulus an exile.

1. 25. quasi vero etc. The more usual form would be non
quo non licret etc.

[1. 26. sed ut, i.e. sed illud eo consilio fecit, ut.—NAEGELSB.]

perdiderat, Antonius, ben. leg. dissip., i.e. with the money
received from Denticulus for carrying the law. A restitutio in
integrum could only be effected by a lex, i.e. per populum.

[1. 28. cur. § III. 'What proof did you shew for the
necessity of his recall?'] Absentem etc. Cicero enumerates the
various valid grounds for a reversion of a res indicata. [credo.
§ 26. l. 30.]

1. 31. quod de patruo tuo dicebatur. Cicero had himself
unsuccessfully defended C. Antonius.

[1. 32. At. § 21. p. 10. l. 2. 'But, you will say.]
P. 24. l. 1. Nihil id quidem ad rem, i.e., that would not
of itself justify the setting aside of a res indicata.

[1. 2. ita, 'in that case.' Ov. trist. I. 2. 105: si fuit hic
animus nosib, ita parcite, divi.]

1. 3. Hominem, etc. Brevity of style for: ut erat homo
nequissimus: quem qui restituit etc.

[1. 4. in foro. de off. III. § 75: in foro, mihi crede, saltaret.
cf. ib. § 93. HEUS.]
1. 6. studium suum, sc. aulea ludendi.
§ 57. l. 8. Italian. Intr. § 33.
[1. 11. notiora. § 47. l. 8.]

1. 12. mihi, qui non fui. Ant. in a very friendly letter (ad Att. x. 8 a) dissuaded Cic. from leaving Italy. [cf. a letter from Cæsar to Cæsar to the same purpose. ib. b.]

c. xxiv. § 58. l. 17. essedo. Becker’s Gall. iii. 9. [ad Att. vi. 1. § 25: Vedius (magus nebulo) venit mihi obrium cum duobus essedis et reda equis iuncta et lectica et familia magna. Cicero in his letters to Trebatius (ad fam. vii. 6. § 2, 7. § 1, 10. § 2), who was then with Cæsar, more than once jestingly mentions them. Caes. b. Gall. iv. 33 describes the Britons’ mode of fighting from esseda. ABR. Originally a British and Belgian (Virg. G. iii. 20.4) war-chariot, with two wheels. The passages of Cic. shew that it had not yet come into very common use, as it did afterwards. Prop. ii. 1. 86 (to Mæcenas): esseda caelatis siste Britannia ingis.]

lectores, who escorted Ant. as prætor, not as tribune. [ad Att. x. 16. § 5: Antoni us, cuius inter lectores lectica mima portabatur. HEUS.]

l. 18. laurati, with wreaths of bay about their fasces, a custom originally adopted in honour of victorious imperatores. The fasces laurati declared to Italy its subjection. [At the time here spoken of Curio paid Cic. a visit, ad Att. x. 4. § 6: Quid isti, inquam, sex tui fasces? Si ab senatu, cur laurati? si ab ipso (Caesare), cur sex? ‘Cupivi,’ inquit, ‘ex senatus consulto surrepto’......Cur autem sex? ‘Quia duodecim nolui; nam licebat.’ ABR.]

aperta lectica, the lecticae (palanquins, sedans) used for travelling, had a roof and curtains (velu). Becker’s Gallus, iii. 2 seq. [](operta. § 106.)


l. 21. Volumniam, because she was also mistress of Volumnius Entrapelus (ad fam. ix. 26), a dissolute senator. [Cic. himself and Atticus dined at Volumnius’ (b. c. 47) with Cytheris, and greatly enjoyed themselves. l. c. Cf. ad fam. ix. 32. § 2 : ἀκύδηηρον. ABR.]

[l. 22. reda. A Gallic word. Quintil. i. 5. § 57: Plurima Gallica (verba) valuerunt, ut reda ac petorrítum. quorum altero Cicero tamen, altero Horatius utitur. It was a four-wheeled]
travelling coach, of large capacity. | Juv. iii. 10: tota domus | reda componitur una. | comites, as though he had said lenones in reda.

l. 23. reiecta, in the rear. | mater, Iulia, daughter of L. | Iulius Caesar, cos. b. c. 90. | (Plut. (Ant. 2) calls her one of the | most virtuous women of her time. She married Lentulus after | the death of M. Antonius the father (cf. vitrices. § 14). When | her brother L. Caesar (ibid.) was proscribed, she stood at | the door of the room in which he had taken refuge, and told the | assassins that before they should touch him, they must kill the | triumvir’s mother (Plut. 20).]

| l. 25 seq. vestigiis municipia impressit. We say, ‘he im- | printed footmarks on the mun...’ and so it can be said in Lat., | vestigia municipiis impressit. However with inscribo, imprimo, | intro, praefigo, the common construction is that which is strange | to us. So Cic. ad fam. i. 9, § 15: monumentum...cruentis in- |ustum litteris. Naegelsb. Cf. Madvig, § 260 b. Zumpt, § 418.]

| § 59. l. 29. lubrica, because of the danger of offending the | veterans. [infr. p. 25. l. 3.] | l. 32. cautum. Intr. § 32. | P. 25. 1. 2. sucuti sunt their old general Caesar. | [l. 3. invidiam. Intr. n. 219.] de genere belli, sc. piumne | fuerit an impium.

| l. 4. revertisti. Intr. § 15. [In this sense in the pres. and | tenses formed from it reverto etc. (cf. devertor; reverto only in | Liv. xliv. 28. § 6); in the perf. reversi (so deverti); seldom in | Cic.) reversus sum. Thus infr. § 76. reversisse. Madvig, § 139, | Haase on Reisig, n. 290.] | l. 5. non occidisti etc. c. 3. | § 60. l. 9. serratam. § 2. 1. 19. quod—meminissent = quod, | ut meminerant, servata esset. Cf. § 7. l. 6 n. and Seyffert ad | Lael. p. 243.]

| l. 13. tucri, bear in mind, thankfully acknowledge. praeser- | tim cum refers to per tuas contumeliae; affronts, which were the | more wanton, as you knew that I could retaliate. §§ 64, 106. | [praesertim cum, ‘and that though.’ First rightly explained by | Madvig on Cic. de fin. ii. § 25: ‘cum praesertim significet, ad- | iungi aliquid singulatim ad id, quod generalius dictum sit quo id | augeratur, hoc speciale apud Latinos, maxime Cic., saepe ex con- | trario generi est, ut ideo maius esse videatur id, quod dicatur, | quod tamen nihilo minus sit. Atque hic transitus ad significan- | dam rem eo memorabilem, quod aliud exspectetur, fit iam in sim- | plici particula, ut de div. ii. § 142: nec tam multum dormiens | ullo somnio sum admonitus, tantis praesertim de rebus, id est, | quamvis tantae essent res, ut vel praecipue admoneri debuerim.}
Sed saepissime cum præsertim et præsertim cum (nullo, quod animadverti, discrimine, et qui præsertim eandem vim habent ac si dicas: idque cum tamen, quamvis, qui tamen.' He explains our passage: 'non destitiisti me provocare, quamvis videres etc.' To his exx. add p. red. in sen. § 10: non modo decercurunt, in causa præsertim publica et consulari, i.e. 'and that in' etc. Nægelsb. cites Phil. viii. § 5: non expectavit vestra decretu, præsertim cum illud esset actatis. Sall. Jug. 2. § 4, Tac. dial. 24. See more in Halm on Cic. p. Sull. § 6.]

c. xxv. § 61. [This chapter is more often cited by Quintil. than any other in the speech.]

1. 15. quidem, that is.

[1. 16. minulae. § 58. 1. 19.]

[1. 19. exer., ec. pudebat. Madvig; § 478 n.]

§ 62. [1. 23. Italicae etc. On the omission of the verb see Madvig, § 479 d, n. 2.]

1. 25. deductio, to be billeted on the inhabitants.

1. 27. magister equitum. Intr. § 15 ad fin.

1. 29. suo iure as ἰππαρχος (magister equitum) with Hippias, a minus (Plut. Ant. 9, infr. § 63).

vectigales, cf. Asc. ad or. in toga cand. p. 94: Diximus iam supra Sullac ludis...quadrigas C. Antonium et alios quosdam nobilis homines agitasse. Praetera Antonius redemptas habebat ab aerario vectigales quadrigas, quam redemtionem senatori habere licet per legem. The equi vectigales, as Cic., or quadrigae vectigales, as Asc. calls them, are the curules equi of Festus ep. p. 49 (curules equi vectigales) and of Liv. xxiv. 18 (cum censores ob inopiae acarari se iam locationibus abstinuerint aedem sacrarum tuendarum euruliumque eorum præbendorum—convenere ad eos frequentes, qui hastae lucius generis adsueverant etc.) That the race-horses which ran in the public games are meant, appears also from Dio lv. 10, who tells us that Augustus extended to the new games in honour of Mars the old privilege of the ludi Romani and Apollinares, 'that even senators might contract for the supply of horses for the races.' Ant. as magister equitum, in his government of the city (Intr. § 16) gave this contract to the player Sergius, whereas hitherto, being probably rather sought for popularity than profit, such contracts had been undertaken by senators or eminent knights. [The friend who furnished Hahn with this note gives vectigales an altogether unattested signification, 'Fahrpferd'; (equus curulis = 'Wagenpferd'), and finds here an allusion to a doughty champion of the Hannibalian wars, 'the Roman Götz with the iron hand,' M. Sergius Silus (Plin. h. n. vii. § 104), who on coins (Eckhel v. 306) appears on horseback. 'So knightly was the conduct of our master of the knights, that he chose for the horse-
races a Sergius—only it was a player of that name.' This seems very far-fetched. *eg. rectigales,* 'qui nonnullis populis stipendiariis quotannis a populo Romano tributi nomine imperati erant; senatori cuique certum numerum minimo, ut videtur, pretio redimere licebat: ciusmodi equos Ant. Sergio, ut ex iis quem vellet quae
tum faceret, tradebat.' Orelli, who thinks that Juv. vi. 82, 104, 105, has borrowed the names Sergiolius and Hippia (whom he makes a woman) from this passage.]

1. 30. *hanc, i.e. Cn. Pompeii.* [§ 64 seq.] *male tuctur,* be
cause of the claims of Sex. Pompeius.

1. 31. *M. Pupii Pisonis, cos. b.c. 61.*

P. 26. 1. 3. *a L. Rubrio etc.* § 40 seq.

1. 5. *heres,* he is called heir to the goods of Pompeius also, because though he was the purchaser, he never paid the purchase-money.

[§ 63. [l. 10. *Tu, etc.* Quintil. ix. 4. § 23: *Anger enim
debet sententiae et insurgere: ut optime Cicero, ‘Tu,’ inquit, ‘istis...firmitate.’* Aliud enim maius alio superveniit. At si coe-
pisset a toto corpore, non bene ad latera faucesque descenderet. Id. viii. 4. § 16: Obiecturus Antonio Cicero merum et vomitum, ‘Tu,’ inquit, ‘istis...firmitate.’ Quid fauces et latera ad cibra-
tem? Minime sunt otiosa. Nam respicientes ad haece possimus aestimare, quantum ille vini in Hippiaec nuptiis exhauserit, quod ferre et concouerque non posset illa corporis gladiatori firmitate.]

*gladiatoria.* Intr. § 3. n. i† infr. § 74. 1. 27.]

[l. 11. *vini.* §§ 42, 62. 1. 26.]

[l. 13. *vomere.* §§ 76, 84, 104, Cie. ap. Dion. xlv. 28, ad fam. xii. 2. § 1 (to Cassius respecting Antonius’ speech on Sept. 19. b.c. 44, cf. Intr. n. 219): *omnia est visus...vomere suo more, non diecre.*] postridie. Zumpt, § 789 n. [Quintil. ix. 4. § 29: *Saepe
tamen est vechemens aliquid sensus in verbo; quod si in media parte sententiae latet, transire intentionem et obscurari circumciacentibus solet; in clausula positum assignatur auditori et infigitur: quale illud est Ciceronis, ‘Ut tibi...postridie.’] § 30. *Transfer hoc ultimi-
num: minus valebit. Nam totius ductus hic est quasi muero, ut per se foedae volendi necessitati, iam nihil ultra exspectatibus, hane quoque adieret deformitate, ut cibus teneri non posset pos-
tride.]

[l. 14 seq. *si—duecret,* cited by Quintil. v. 10. § 99, viii. 4. § 10.]

[l. 16 seq. *In coetu—equitum.* Quintil. viii. 4. § 8: *Singulu
incrementum habent. *Per se deforme, vel non 'in coetu,' 'vomere;'
'in coetu,' vel non 'populi;' 'populi, etiam non 'Romani;' vel,
si nullo 'negotium' ageret; vel, si non 'publicum;' vel, si non
'mag. eq.' Id. xi. 3. § 39 tells the reader to pause on each mem-
brum; 'paulum morandum in his intervallis.'

[l. 18. *ruetarc. ad fam. xii. 25. § 4 (written B.C. 43): Sic
sum in Antonium invectus, ut ille non ferret omnemque suum vino-
' rotating fret furem in me unum effundere, meque tum elicere vellet
caedis lenum, 'mag.' incoetu,' patebit,
liis moring Intm Romulus the councell, of
incpiam, unius opusc. vened
'illeg argentum, 'plosis.
redimet, audes Caesaris, As
nullum his 1.
isl. [I. incpiam, unius opusc. vened
'illeg argentum, 'plosis.
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'illeg argentum, 'plosis.
redimet, audes Caesaris, As
nullum his 1.
isl. [I. incpiam, unius opusc. vened
'illeg argentum, 'plosis.
1. 28. [Magnus: a name given to Pompeius by Sulla (Plut. Pomp. 13) B.C. 80, after his successes over Cn. Domitius and Hiarbas. It took the place of the obsolete Maximus, and was already found in the Postumia gens. Cic. (ad Att. ii. 13. § 2) gives him the name B.C. 59. DRUMANN, IV. 335.]


P. 27. [l. 1. sectus sectionis = scelustam sectionem. Terr. v. § 26: dici brevitas convicis, noctis longitudo stupris et flagitiis continebatur, de or. ii. § 237: parcendum maxime est caritati hominum, ‘those whom we love.’ NAEGELS. cf. lines 5 and 6, omnium — audacia, ‘all, however reckless.’]


nemo. Yet see Intr. n. 64. [The Anseres. Phil. xiii. § 11, where Cic. says, ‘sunt alii plures fortasse, sed de mea memoria diltabant.’]

l. 3. praesertim cum, ‘which is the more remarkable because—’ ‘and that though.’ [§ 60. l. 13 n.]

§ 65. l. 8. isto loco natus, i.e. as homo nobilis; cf. Nep. Att. (above on l. 2). We see from the or. p. Rosc. Amer. in how bad repute the sectores stood in Sulla’s time, esp. § 80: Quid ais? vulgo occidebantur? Per quos et a quibus? Nonne cogitas te a sectoribus huc adductum esse? Nescimus per ista tempora cosdem fere sectores fuisses collorum et honorum? [On the expression isto loco natus (cf. summo or nobili l. n.) see Stürenb. ad Cic. p. Arch. p. 40.]

[Pompeii sector (cf. § 39. l. 6: cuius sectorem), =Pompeii bonorum sector. So Phil. xiii. § 30. infr. § 75: praecedes suos (= bona eorum) vendere. Suet. Claud. 9: Claudius venalis pecundit, i.e. his goods were advertised for sale. p. dom. sua, § 20: cum lege urfaria Ptolemaeum (i.e. Ptolemaei bona)...publicasess. cf. p. Sest. §§ 57 (where see Halm) and 59. NAEGELS. Suet. Domit. 9.]

l. 9. exseceratum, ‘an object of execration, worthy to be cursed.’ [So our word ‘accursed;’ the part. pass. of some few words is thus used. Liv. ii. 55. § 3: nihil contemptius (=more despicable), si sint qui contemnunt. So conspectus ‘visible’ (Fabri on Liv. xxii. 4. § 6).] So esp. in compounds with in; indomitus,
'unconquerable;' inviolatus, 'inviolable;' inaccessus, 'unapproachable.' Naegelsbe. incuratus (Hor.), inlaudatus (Virg. Gell.)


l. 15. de mimo, from a mimic play, a farce, in which sudden reverses of fortune frequently occurred.

l. 16. poetarum, Cn. Naevius (Paulus Festi, p. 222).

[l. 17. male, etc. 'Ill got, ill spent.' Ferrar. cites Plaut. Poen. iv. 2. 22: male partum male disperpit. On male parta = 'ea, quae sunt m. p.' cf. Madvig, § 425 a.]

§ 66. [l. 19. non dicus—sed. § 9. l. 27 n.]

l. 20. vini numerus. So magnus numerus frumenti, olei, flici, and generally of natural products. ['stock.' On the position of the next words, so strange to our language, in which the two adjectives come first, and then the substantives, cf. Madvig, § 467 a. Nägelsbach cites Liv. x. 46. § 4: frequenti publicorum ornatu locorum. ib. 41. § 3: omnis ille oculti paratus sacri. Cic. N. D. ii. § 93: innumerabiles unius et viginti formae litterarum.]

l. 21. optimi = optime facti. vestis stragula, tapestry, curtains etc. [cf. § 73, and § 67. l. 2.]

[l. 22. illa quidem, § 6. l. 19 n.] luxuriosi, which all bespoke the owner, not indeed a voluptuary, but a man of affluence. [Plut. Caes. 51. Corfinius rebuilt a house of Pompeius, as insufficient for him.] abundantis. By the peace of Miseum, B. C. 39, a sum of 17½ millions of drachms was conceded to Sex. Pompeius as compensation for the loss of his patrimony.

§ 67. [l. 24. Charybdis, also from this passage in Cic. ap. Dion. xlvi. 28. Calemus (ibid. xlvi. 14) says, Cicero is always speaking of Sicily, as though we were likely to forget that he fled to that island.]

l. 25. animal. The later form of the legend converted the whirlpool into a moister.

[l. 29. obsignatum. Cic. de or. ii. § 248: Ridiculum est illud Neronianum catus in furace servo, 'Solum esse cui domi nihil sit nec obsignatum nec occulsum;' quod idem in bono servo dici solet. Abr. Cf. Juv. xiv. 132.] scriptum 'inventoried.'

Apothecae, 'wine-bins.' Colum. i. 6. § 20: quae superponebantur in locis, unde plerumque fumus exoritur, quoniam vina celerius retustescunt, quae fumi quodam tenere praecognita maturitate trahunt. [Hor. carm. iii. S. 11: amphorae fumum bibere institutae. Abr.]
[1. 30. mimi. Plut. Ant. 9 and 21, Cic. ap. Dion. xlv. 28.]

P. 28. [1. 1. suggerebantur. There came to swell the total waste—for Ant. had not always a run of luck—losses at play.]


[1. 3. peristromatis. This is the ordinary form of the dat. and abl. of Gr. neuters in ma. Thus poêmatis (not poématis), epigrammatis, peripetasmatis etc. The grammarians cite from Cic. and others poématorum etc. Ruddim. i. 99. Nægelsbach has collected the principal Greek words employed by Cic.; in this speech we have the terms of business apotheca, syngrapha, chirographa; the naturalised diadema, tyrannus, tyrannis, poëta, rhetor; the Gr. name tetrarchia to express a Gr. relation; gynaeceium scoffingly of Fulvia's 'boudoir.' Cicero was on the whole a rigid purist, cf. Acad. i. § 25, Tusc. disp. i. § 15, de offic. i. § 111. Nægelsb. add orat. § 132.]

[cellis. Hor. S. i. 8. 8, 9: hic prius angustis cieeta cadavera cellis | conscures vili portanda locabat in area. In the back parts of the house and in the garrets.]

[1. 5. non modo—sed. § 32. 1. 13.]

[1. 7. potuisset, not, as usual, potuit, because the meaning is, 'It would have been able to devour cities and kingdoms, if it had had them.' Madvig, § 348 c, Obs.]

§ 68. [1. 8. acdes. On the site, see Suet. gram. 15: in Carinis ad Telluris (infr. § 89 n.) acdem, in qua regione Pompeiorum domus fuerat. cf. id. Tiber. 15, App. b. c. ii. 126, or. de harsup. resp. § 49, Dio xliv. 22. Hence the jest of Sex. Pompeius, Vell. ii. 77. § 1: cum Pompeio quoque circa Miscenum pax inita [b. c. 39]; qui hand absurdo, cum in navi Cacaremque et Antonium eam exciperet, dixit, 'in Carinis suis se cenam dare, referens hoc dictum ad loci nomen, in quo paterna domus ab Antonio possidebatur. (The same jest in Dio xlvi. 38, and Aur. Vict. vir. illustr. 84.) Becker, i. 524. See too on Antonius' purchase of the goods and house of Pomp. Plut. Ant. 10, 21, 32, Calen. ap. Dion. xlvi. 14, Cic. ib. xlvi. 28. In this speech §§ 39, 62.]

hortos, sc. occupavit, as continuation of the foregoing in vasit in fortunas. [infr. § 109. 1. 22. Two horti of Pomp. are mentioned, horti superiores (Asc. in Mil. pp. 37, 50. Orell.), and one probably near his theatre in the Campus Martius (Plut. Pomp. 44). Becker, i. 616, 617. In the horti Pompeiani Ant. received the young Octavianus (Vell. ii. 60. § 3). Horti, pl. 'a park,' or pleasure-garden with statues, etc. hortus rather 'a
kitchen-garden.’ Plin. h. n. xix. § 51: Iam quidem hortorum nomine in ipsa urbe delicias, agros villasque possident...Romae quidem per se hortus uger pauperis crat; ex horto plebei macellum, quanto innocentioris victus]

1. 9. *etiam. ‘so much as to —’*


[I. 14. *nihil sapias. § 8. l. 26.*]

c. xxviii. l. 15. *vestibulo.* Becker’s Gallus, II. 148, and esp. 150. [Gellius (xvi. 5. § 2) says that many in his day thought, ‘vestibulum esse partem domus primorem, quam vulgus ‘atrium’ vocat. § 3: C. Aelius Gallus in libro de significacione verborum, quae ad uss civile pertinent, secundo ‘vestibulum’ esse dict non in ipsis acibus neque partem acedum, sed locum ante innam domus vacuum, per quern a via aditus accessusque ad aedes est, cum dextra sinistraque innam tectaque sunt viae iuncta atque ipsa ianua proel a via est, arca vacanti inerita. ‘Forecourt.’]

l. 16. *rostra.* Plin. h. n. xxxv. 2. § 7: *Aliae fors is et circa limina animorum ingentiun imaginum erant, adjixis hostium spoliis, quae nec emplori refugere licet, triumphabantque etiam dominis mutatis ipsae domus. Erat huee simulatio ingen, exprobrantibus tectis cotidie intellel dominum intraxe in alienum triumphum.* [Iul. Capit. Gord. 3: extat silva cius memorabilis quae picta est in domo rostrata Cu. Pompei. ibid. 1: *Gordianus senior...Romae Pompeianam domum possidens.* Virg. vii. 183, 186: *multaque praeda sacris in postibus arma | .... spiculaque clipeique cretaque rostra carinis.* Cf. Suet. Ner. 38. *Abr.* The beaks were of vessels captured in the war with the pirates, b. c. 67.]

[adspexit. Madvig, § 335 b, n. 1; id. on Cic. de fin. v. § 41: ‘ubi aliquid certo tempore fieri solere significatur, idque tempus actionis praegressae absolitione notatur (in quo Latini diligentius actionem temporam distinguunt, nos fere, tamquam eiusdem temporis sint, bis praesenti tempore utimur), ibi Latine sic loquor, de or. ii. § 24: *cum (id est, quotiens) hue veni, hoc ipsum nihil agere...delectat.* de fin. iv. § 38: *sensus, cum accessit ad naturam, tuc tur illam* (significatur enim ea progressio, quam in omnibus factam esse et fieri solere intellegitur). Cf. ib. iii. § 63: *in can-
demque cum se receptit, includitur." See more there, pp. 690, 800.
In his 'Bemerkungen u. s. w.', p. 65 n., the following exx. are added. Caes. b. Gall. vi. 19. § 3: cum...decessit,...conveniet. or. Catil. IV. § 12: Cum vero mihi proposui regnantem Lentulum,... tum...phorresco ('when I picture to myself—, I shudder'). de orf. n. § 19: cum relinquis, affligimur. Quintil. xii. 6. § 5: non nulli senes in scola facti stupent novitate, cum in iudicia vene-

runt.]

[l. 18. ut es. § 43. 1. 27: si saepius decertandum sit, ut erit. Very frequent in confirmation of suppositions; 'if, as is really the case'; but as esse itself contains the notion of real existence, it is not necessary to express our 'really,' 'in fact.' de leg. 1. § 17: sit ista res magna, sit est. p. Rose. Am. § 22: quamvis ille felix sit, sit est. Brut. § 38: suavis, sicut fuit, videri maluit quam gravis. Sometimes certe is added, e.g. ibid. § 76: sit En-

nius sane, ut est certe, perfectior. SEYFFERT ad Læl. § 24. p. 160. p. Lig. § 13. or. § 144. KOCH.

l. 21. furere (cf. § 62, tantus te stupor oppressit vel, ut verius dicam, tantus furor) 'distracted,' deadened by intemperance to all feeling, even to that of fear; still remorse must sometimes break your sensual sleep by fits of actual madness, (furere l. 23). [cf. § 101: furiosam rvinolentiam tuam. ep. ad fam. xii. 25. § 4, cited on § 63. l. 18. GARAT.]

obicta sit, prob. corruption of obicta est (= obictast); cf. l. 16, (cum adspsexisti). PTOLEMAEUS.

[l. 22. excitari. Hor. epod. 5. 91 seq.: quin ubi perire iussus exspiravero, nocturnus occurram Furor | petemque vultus umbra curvis unguibus | quae vis decorum est manum, | et inquietis assiduis praeoordiis | pamore somnos auferam. GARAT. JUV. XIII. 221.]

§ 69. [l. 23. Me quidem, 'as for me, I pity' etc. par. etc. de orat. III. § 168: ex parte totum, ut pro aedificiis cum parietes et tecta dicimus.]

[l. 25. pudicium. Plut. Pomp. 40.]

l. 26. ex optimo morc. p. Deiot. § 20: quid nisi moderate, nisi quicte, nisi ex hominis gravissimi et sanctissimi disciplina?

[l. 30. stabula. Val. Max. vii. 7. § 7: 'Q. Metellus as practor urbanus refused to admit a leno into possession of a legacy, quia...fori ac lupanaris separandam condicionem existi-

mavir, nec...factum illius comprobare voluit, qui fortunae suas in stabulum contaminatam proicerat. ABR.] conclavia, 'dining-

rooms,' as Verr. iv. § 58. pop. 'tap-rooms.' [Spartian. Pescenn. Nig. 3: pro triellinis popinas habent, pro cubiculis meritoria. C. Graecus ap. Gell. xv. 12. § 2, (a singular proof of the general corruption even in his day): Versatus sum in provincia... Nulla apud me futi popina neque pueri ecimi facie stabant et in convivio libri vestri modestius crant, quam apud principia. LAMBIN.]

8
1. 32. mimam. Cytheris, § 20. The common reading illum suam is written over a hiatus in the cod. Vat.


ex duodecim tabulis. If these words belong to what follows, we learn from this passage that the formality of taking away the claves, whose custodia was entrusted to the wife, was prescribed by the 12 tables. [Ambros. epist. 6. § 3: mulier offensa claves remisit, domum revertit. manut. rossbach d. röm. ehe 352.]

P. 29. 1. 1. excipit = foras exire iussit. cf. § 99. eccieisti. In the enumeration of these forms there is a bitter sarcasm, as the divorce itself is only a fiction of the orator's.

[On the asyndeton. cf. § 84. 1. 31. sudat, pallet.]

§ 70. 1. 5. hoc est dicere. cf. Verr. iv. § 45.

[1. 8. avus. Intr. § 1. cos. r. c. 99.]

1. 10. conlega, in the consulship. B.C. 63. [Intr. § 2.] nisi si. or. Catil. ii. § 6: nisi vero si quis est. The use of si after nisi, which then becomes a kind of adverb ('ausser') is attested by indisputable examples in Cic. (Hand Tursell. iv. 239 seq.). It is especially frequent in nisi si quis.

c. xxix. § 71. 1. 12. earum partium, of that political character.

1. 13. ipsas tuas partes, 'your proper (specific) work. [Verr. iv. § 93: cives Romanis...permulti in illo oppido coniunctissimo animo cum ipsis Agrigentinis vivunt. 'with the Agrigentines proper.' NÄEGELSB.]

[1. 14. natum. § 53.]

1. 15. Cui bello, quamquam a te conflato. [On the adver- sative force of the relative Näegelsbach cites Liv. xliv. 20. § 2: legati benigne auditi sunt; qui (= and yet they) responsum sine effectu tulerunt.—propter timeditatem. § 75 seq. Cic. ap. Dion. xlv. 40.]

1. 16. libidines, which kept you in Rome.

1. 18. antesignanum. Intr. n. 52.—L. Domitium. § 27 n. [On the nobility of the family cf. Suet. Ner. i: functi...consulatibus septem, triumpho censuraque duplici.abr.]

[1. 21. fortasse servasset. § 116 n.]

I. 23. in Africa. Intr. § 18. *non seq.* Intr. § 10. [cum praece. Here in its common sense ‘especially as.’ On the other sense, ‘and that though,’ cf. § 60. l. 13 n.]

I. 24. Itaque etc. (cf. *appellatus es de pecunia*, l. 29) implies that Caesar insisted on the payment because Antonius took no part in the campaign. But see Intr. n. 67.

[I. 25. *obtinuisti.* § 3. l. 11 n.]


I. 27. *quaestor.* § 50. [The relation of the quaestor to his praetor was compared to that of a son to his father. ep. ad fam. XIII. 10. § 1, 26. § 1, div. in Caece. §§ 46, 61, 65, p. Planc. § 11, p. red. in sen. § 35, etc. ABR. and Becker, II. pt. 2. p. 358. Add Plin. epist. IV. 15. § 9, VIII. 23. § 5, x. 11 (= 27). § 1.]

[mag. eq. § 62. Intr. n. 57. *belli.* § 55.]

I. 29. *filius*, prob. because he was named as *heres secundus*. Intr. § 34.

[App. II. 143. (on the opening of Caesar’s will), ‘what excited the most commiseration was the discovery that Dec. Brutus, one of the murderers, ἐγέραμαι το παίς among the second heirs,’ cf. 146. ad fin.]

*appellatus.* The proper term for demanding payment of a debt, ‘dunning.’ ad Att. I. 8. § 3: *Tulliola…tuum munusculum flagitabit et me ut sponsorem appellat.* Tac. ann. vi. 17.

[I. 30. *pro domo etc.* § 68. sect. § 39. l. 6.]

§ 72. [I. 31. *contra te*, sc. dicere.]


I. 3. *causam.* § 53. A fine προσωποια (*ficta alienae personae oratio*); for the merits on which Ant. is made to rest his claim were grievous crimes.

*lecès*, as tribune. § 56. Intr. n. 42.


I. 8. *Ius = quod ius erat.* Plaut. Pseud. v. 2. 16: *ius petis, fateor.*


§ 73. l. 10. *excussis*, strong expression for *reiectis.* [Tibull. 8—2]

praeced. § 78 n.

[l. 11. repente. Madvig adds ctt. See his opusc. 1. 207.]

tabula, in qua res suas proscripterat. [Intr. § 19. Tabulae auctionariae (or. Catil. II. § 18) 'placards' 'advertisements of sales.' e. g. ep. ad Qu. fr. II. 6. § 5: tabulam proscript, SE FAMILIAM CATONIANAM VENDITVRVM. de off. III. § 68: si tu aedae pro-

scribas, tabulam tamquam plagam ponas, domum propter vitia vendas. ib. § 55: si qui proscriptunt VILLAM DONAM BENEQUE AEDIFICATAM. Also called libellus, album, or titulus. Sen. de ben. IV. 12. § 3: spondeo pro indicato et suspensis amhis libellum deicio creditoribus eius obli

§ 74. 1. 20. heredes L. Rubr., who claimed a part of what was offered for sale. [§§ 40, 41, 103. Intr. § 19.]

decreto Caesaris, to whom they had explained by what means Ant. had usurped their inheritance. That this appeal occasioned the prohibition of the sale, is perhaps a rhetorical fiction. Caesar's only motive may have been to avoid giving offence.

[l. 15. adspectus. Madvig ad Cic. de fin. v. § 48: 'Alibi... conspectus tantum de conspicendi aut actione aut facultate poni solet; (facultas significat, cum in conspectum aliquid venire dicitur); forma et species rei oculis subjictae ter saltam a Cicerone aspectus appellata est. N. D. II. § 158, Catil. IV. § 11 etc.]

l. 14. partem Miseni. § 43 n.

[l. 16. vestis. § 66.

[l. 17. vasu. Plut. Ant. 9, speaks of his display of gold cups.]

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[l. 17. partem Miseni. § 43 n.

[l. 27. gladiator. § 63. Phil. vii. § 17: quem gladiatorum non ita appellavi, ut interdum etiam M. Antonius gladiador appellari solet, sed ut appellent ii, qui plane et Latine loquuntur.]

l. 28. rudem, sc. accipisti? [Madvig opusc. 1. 205: 'Ha-

bet hic locus imitationem familiaris percontationis et sermocina-
tionis, in qua in vehementia aliqua orationis (ut in admiratione) et simplici sententiae forma non rara est huiusmodi verbi, facile ex rei natura intellegendi omissione.' supra. § 72: A me C. Caesar pecuniam? On de fin. i. § 9. Madvig adds, ad Att. iv. 8 b. § 2: vel quod ab iisdem, vel quod prater opinionem, vel quod viri boni

nusquam. Unum dissimile, quod huile merito. Nam de ipso casa, nescio an illud melius. Quid enim hoc miscris, quam — orat.
§ 20, de off. iii. § 109.—The *rudis* was the wooden sword given to discharged gladiators (*rudarii*); Ov. am. ii. 9. 22: *tutaeque deposito sumitur ense rudis.* Juv. vii. 171.

[1. 29. *timidus.* § 71. l. 15.]

c. xxx. § 75. [l. 32. *Hispaniam—tuto.* Intr. § 20.]


1. 5. Cie. himself (ad Att. xvi. 11. § 2, cited in Intr. § 56, n. *) notices the irony in this commendation of Dolabella.

[1. 6. *nollem, sc. adfinisset.*]

1. 7. *sed tamen* etc. = *sed tamen, quamquam consilium a primo reprehendendum, laudanda constantia.* [§ 110. l. 6. n.]


1. 8. *quid es?* as contrasted with Dolabella, who at any rate proved himself *homo constans in sua causa.*

1. 9. *primum* does not belong to *tam,* but is correlative of *praeterea.*

*esto.* "Good." i.e. I will not lay any stress upon this; for it may be said that this claim did not touch you more nearly than the rest of Cæsar's party. cf. Seyffert, schol. Lat. i. 152. [cf. § 30. l. 10 n.]

[1. 10. *repellabant* etc. Cf. Phil. xiii. § 34. Dio xlv. 9, 10, 28.]

[1. 11. *quae,* in the neuter, though all the antecedents are masc. or fem. Madvig, § 214. n. c. Cie. Tusc. disp. i. § 56: *quam viiis, quam arboris; haec enim etiam dicimus vivere.*]

1. 14. *aequi* anticipates the following *crat aequissimum:* you might be fairly expected to bear the brunt of the fight, if the term "fair" can be applied to the case at all.

[1. 15. *sectorem.* § 39. l. 6 n.]

[1. 16. *Narbone,* Intr. § 20. [mensas. Such scenes seem not to have been uncommon. Cie. de fin. ii. § 23: *Nolim enim mihi fingere asotos, ut soleis, qui in mensam xomant, et qui de}
convivis auferantur crudique postridie se rursus ingurgitent. *ABR.*
Supr. § 63 n.]

[l. 17. *dimicare* = dimicare debeat. § 86. 1. 16 n.]

§ 76. l. 18. *etiam.* Phil. xiii. § 37: *Is etiam queritur con-
diciones suas repudiatas.* Verr. v. § 57. [quaerebat, in his speech
19 Sept. Intr. § 56. On the change of person, cf. § 17.]

[l. 19. *revertissem.* On the form cf. § 59. l. 4 n.]

1. 20. *numper,* in or. Phil. i. [§§ 7 seq. Cf. Intr. § 50.]

[l. 21. *Kal. Ian.* New year’s day, 43; Cic. had intended
to remain during the latter part of the year 44 at Athens, and
to return when his friends Hirtius and Pansa should assume
the consulship on that day. Plut. Cic. 43. Cic. Phil. i. § 6.]

[l. 22. *quod quae.* ‘as for that question of yours.”] quo
modo. If Ant. really put the question in this form, he perhaps
taunted Cic. for coming only to conceal himself the next day
(1 Sept. Otherwise his friends and the people gave him a very
cordial reception. Plut. Cic. 43). Probably however Ant. only
asked the reason (cur) of Cicero’s return, and Cic. distorts the
question in order to upbraid Ant. with his discreditable freak.

[l. 23. *luce—tenebris.* On the abl. of time cf. Madvig,
§ 276, Zumpf, § 475. *luce* is very frequent. cf. Drakenb. on Liv.
xxxviii. 36. § 4: *luce inter horam tertiam ferme et quartam tene-
brae obortae fuerant.* Of *tenebris,* which is here suggested by the
opposition to *luce,* Klotz gives the exx. Tibull. i. 6. 59: *haec
mihi te adducit tenebris.* id. ii. 1. 76, Ov. amor. i. 6. 10.]

[cum. Cf. l. 32. Verr. v. § 40: *responsorium decisti, cun esses
cum tunica pulla et pallio.* Hand Tursell. ii. 144, Gron. Obs.
v. 25, p. 530 Fr.]

*[calceis et toga,* the full dress of the Roman citizen, worn
in courts of law, by clients at their patrons’ levees, and on all
public occasions. The cumbrous folds of the *toga* and the close
fit of the *calceus* made them irksome. Juv. i. 119, iii. 149, 172.
Tertull. de pall. 5: *calceos...proprium togae tormentum.*—Calenus
in Dio xlv. 18, retorts these sarcasms upon Cic., ‘the naked, the
perfumed, with a tunic reaching to his ankles, and thin *laenae*
(χλαδίδα), who scents and combs out his grey hairs etc.’ See
the curious defence of the young nobles and even senators, who
appeared *deliciarum causa et voluptatis in pallium, mitella,
v. 13. § 39.]

*[nullis nec—nec.* Cf. § 2. l. 14. *non video nec—nec.*]

1. 24. *Gallicis,* sc. soleis, slippers, used in-doors. In Ha-
drian’s time T. Castricius, a teacher of rhetoric (Gell. N. A. xiii.
22 [21], *cum me forte praeidente, usus enim sum eo magistro,* dis-
cipulos quosdam suos senatorcs vidisset dic feriato tunicis et lacernis indutos et Gallicis calciatos: ’equidem,’ inquit, ’maluissem, vos togatos esse; sigitum est, cinctos saltem esse et paenulatos. Sed si hic vester huiusmodi vestitus de multo iam usu ignoscibilis est, soleatos tamen vos, populi Romani senatores, per urbis vias ingredi nequaquam decorum est, non hercle vobis minus, quam illi tum fuit, cui hoc M. Tullius pro turpi crimine obiectavit.’ The young fops, thus Romane et severe rebuked, asked why he called them soleati, whereas they wore Gallicae, not soleae. He replied, profecto scire atque incorrupte: ’omnia enim ferme id genus, quibus plantarum calces tantum infiniae teguntur, cetera prope nuda et teretibus habenis vineta sunt, soleas dixerunt, non numquam voce Graeca crepidulas. Gallicas autem verbum esse opinor novum, non diu ante actatem M. Ciceronis usurpari coeptum, itaque ab eo ipso positum est in secunda Antonianarum cum Gallicis... eucrristi (here l. 32 seq.). Neque in ea significacione id apud quemquam alium scriptum lego gravioris dumtaxat auctoritatis scriptorem; sed ut dixi crepidas et crepidulas, prima syllaba correta, id genus calciamentum appellaverunt, quod Graeci κρηπίδας vocant.’ lacerna, a mantle fastened by a clasp (fibula), not held together by a girdle. Becker’s Gallus, iii. 123. [Heind. on Hor. sat. ii. 7. 55. Juv. iii. 148.]

[l. 25. ut videris. We say, ’as it seems;’ the personal constr. is the most common in Latin (Madvig, § 400; Zumpt, § 380), even in parenthetical sentences. Cic. Lael. § 9: sed, ut mihi videris, non recte iudicas. See Seyffert there, p. 41. Matthiä Gr. Gr. § 297. R. S. adds Elmsl. ad Eur. Herac. 681.]

[No. § 3. l. 17 n. There, as here, and almost always in Cic., it is followed by a personal or demonstrative pronoun. See Hand Turs. iv. 25.]

[l. 28. mag. eq. § 62. Mark the tense frisse. Ant. had at this time (b. c. 45) ceased to hold the office.

[l. 29. prox. an. b. c. 44.]

[l. 29 seq. petere—rogares ’were a candidate—or rather a suppliant.’ The object of petere is the thing sought, that of rogare the person from whom it is sought. Petere is to claim a right, rogare to entreat for a favour. So in the proverb, Verr. iv. § 12: Malo emere quam rogare, ’rather buy than beg.’ p. Planc. § 25: Rogatio ipsa semper est gratiosissima, quae est officio necessitudinis coniuncta maxime. Neque enim ego sic rogam, ut petere viderer, quia familiaris est meus etc. ad fam. ii. 6. § 1: grave est enim homini prudenti petere aliquid magnum ab co, de quo se bene meritum putet, ne id quod petat exigere magis quam rogare et in mercedis potius quam benefici loco numerare videatur. On the mode of Antonius’ election, cf. § 10. l. 25; § 79.]
1. 30. e qua, i.e. by services rendered in the province as proconsuls, questors and legati. Cf. the phrase ex provincia triumphare. [Madvig retains a ; and the mention of colon. and mun. (see next note) makes it more likely that petere is 'to canvass for.']

[I. 32. petere consulatum solebamus. Cie. writing in the year 65, i.e. in the year before that in which he offered himself as a candidate for the consulship, says (ad Att. i. 1. § 2) fortasse, quoniam ridetur in sufragis multum posse Gallia, ... egressum male Septembri legati ad Pisonem, ut Januario revertemur. It had become customary to canvass in person the coloniae and municipia (Caes. b. Gall. viii. 50). BECKER. ii. pt. 2. p. 42.]


1. 2. Saxa rubra, a village in Etruria on the Via Flaminia, between Rome and Narnia. It stood near the Cremera, where the 300 Fabii fell. [Now Prima Porta, 9 miles from Rome. It evidently derived its name from the redness of its tufo rocks. Mr. BUNBURY.]

1. 4. vesperam, the same form or. in Catil. ii. § 6.

cisio. p. Rose. Amer. § 19: Decem horis nocturnis sex ct quinquaginta milia passuum cisio persolarit, where Schol. 'cis. genus vehiculi Gallici.' [Virg. catalect. 8. 3: volantis inpetum cisio. It had two wheels (Non. ii. 139). Auson. epist. 8. 6, 8: vel cisio triuqui, si placet, insilis]. ... propere dum modo iam venias. BECKER's Gallus, iii. 9.]

[I. 5. capite obvoluto. In the city it was not usual for men to wear any covering on the head. In bad weather the cucullus ('cowl,' hood) which was attached to the lacerca (Mart. xiv. 132 and 139) was drawn over the head. So too by way of disguise (Juv. viii. 145): nocturnus adulter | tempora Santonicoaisal adoperta cucallo. See BECKER's Gallus, l. 120, ill. 127, 128. Cf. the 'domino' of modern masquerades.]

[I. 6. Marco. Hence it appears that slaves, when speaking of their master, used the praenomen, which was also used by relations and intimate friends. Hor. sat. ii. 5. 32, 33: Quinte, puto, aut Pudli—gaudent praenomine molles | auriculae—, tibi ne virtus tua ficeat amicum.] Mommsen, röm. Forsch. i. 23.

1. 7. ad eam Fulviam. [On the omission of deducitur, or some such word, Nägelsb. compares the ellipsis of ira, de off. iii. § 80: et ceteri quidem alias alio: Marius a subscellis in rostra receta. ad Qu. fr. ii. 3. § 2: nos quoque tum fugimus, ne quid in turba. Senatus vocatus in curiam; Pompeius domum. Neque ego tamen in senatum nec.—.]

[epistulam. Ritschl, Proleg. xcvi. 'u (tenui) pro o in epistula semper.']
[1. 10. mima i. e. Cytheris.]

1. 11. illim, from which form illinc (= illimem) is derived. [cf. exim, istin, etc. On the use of the pronominal adv. ‘from that quarter,’ where a person is meant, cf. Hor. carm. i. 12. 17: unde (= a quo parente) nil maius generatur ipso. Hor. s. i. 6. 12, Plaut. Most. 997, Ov. met. VII. 515, 718. Cf. Halm on Verr. IV. § 29.]

[1. 13. nequam. Cell. VII. 11. tells us that in his day levitas was used as = ‘inconstantia,’ ‘mutabilitas,’ and nequitia as = ‘sollertia,’ ‘astutia;’ whereas veterum hominum qui proprie atque integre locuti sunt ‘leves’ dixerunt, quos vulgo nunc viles et vullo honore dignos diciun... et ‘nequam’ hominem nihil; neque rei neque fugac bonae, quod genus Graeci fere αἰσθόν vel ἀκόλαστον dicunt. He then cites this passage, with others, and defines ‘nequitia’ luxus vitae prodigus effususque.]

1. 15. ‘Catamitum’ pro Ganymede dixerunt. Paulus Festi, P. 44.

[1. 17. terror, ‘fright,’ and metus, ‘apprehension,’ have their strict sense here; the city was scared by the sudden apparition of Ant.; Italy was not reassured for many days. Cf. Tusc. disp. IV. § 19: ‘terrorem’ (definiunt) metum concutientem, ex quo fit, ut... terrorum pallor et tremor et dementium crepitus consequatur.]

1. 18. perturbasti. Intr. § 20. n. 77.


1. 19. L. Plancus. At his setting out for Spain (late in 46) Caesar had named several city prefects, who with M. Lepidus the mag. equitum conducted the affairs of government. As one of these praefecti L. Munatius Plancus discharged, as we see from this passage, the functions of praetor urbanus. [See letters to and from Plancus, ad fam. x. 1—24.] Cic. says elsewhere (ad Att. xii. 18 a. § 1) of this arrival of Antonius: opinor propter praecedes suos aduccorriisse.

1. 20. praecedes. Every judicial security (sat'sdatio) was to be given by sureties (praecedes) and included their praedia; hence
the common formula populo cavere praedibus praedissisque. After
these securities had been duly given to the community (populus),
i.e., according to our ideas, to the state, and received by the
magistrate, then, not the debtor himself, but the praedes were
held responsible, and their praedia were sold without more ado.
On the securities praedibus praedissisque see Th. Mommsen die
Stadtrechte von Salpenza und Malaca, p. 456 seq. [In the trans-
actions of the Saxon Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, Vol. III.
(1855). 4to.—On the expression praedes tuos venderet, cf. § 65.
l. 8. n. Plaut. most. I. 11: quem absentemcomes.]
1. 21. rei tuae, i.e. not mandatu Caesaris.
[1. 22. etiam. the very populace. So § 14. I. 7. etiam is to
be taken with nobis.]
c. xxxii. l. 25. isti redisti, ‘went and came.’ § 89: irent re-
dirent.
1. 26. fortet, for the war was already ended.
1. 27. nescio quo modo. Intr. § 20 ad fin.
1. 28. Habeat hoc. in Pis. § 81: habet hoc virtus, ut fortet
viros species eius et pulchritudo etiam in hoste posita detecet. Hor.
s. 1. 3. 3 etc. [Plin. ep. vi. 9. § 2, paneg. 83. § 1. SEYFFERT.]
[quem etc. § 50.]
§ 79. l. 32. iussus es. Intr. § 24. [infr. § 80. l. 10. On the
personal use of the verb iuicor (we say ‘it was ordered that you
&c.’) see Madvig, § 396. n. 3, who (Bemerkungen, p. 78) carefully
distinguishes iuicor hoc facere, ‘I receive orders, am ordered to do
this’ (corresponding to iuico te facere), from hacc fieri iuicentur,
where iuicor means ‘orders are given respecting me,’ (correspond-
ing to iuico haec fieri). He cites Liv. xxlii. 31: in Macedoniam
seu milia peditem scribi iussa. Cf. de rep. ii. c. 2: Romulus
dicitur exponi iussus esse. Suet. Tib. 11: iussisse sint omnes
aegri in publicam porticum deferr. He also compares the con-
struction of prohibor. Liv. iii. 28. § 7: ad prohibenda circum-
dari opera. id. xxii. 60. § 3: nec prohibendos ex privato redimi.
Cf. note on ut videris, § 76. l. 25.]
renuntiari. The last solemn act in the comitia for elections;
for though Cæsar disposed of the consulships, there was still a
formal election and renuntiatio by the presiding magistrate. Thus
when Q. Fabius died suddenly at the end of B.C. 45, C. Caninius
Rebilus, who was nominated consul for the last day of the year,
was regularly ‘declared’ in the comitia. (ep. ad fam. vii. 30.
§ 1).
P. 33. l. 1. de Dolabella, about your treatment of Dolabella.
inpulsus, ut consulatum peteret. [On the asyndeton cf. § 75.
l. 4.]
[l. 3. Ille, Caesar.]
l. 4. receptum, 'what he had undertaken to give him.' Verr. v. § 139: satis est factum promisso nostro et recepto. Plancus ep. ad fam. x. 21. § 1: omnia ei et petenti recepti et ultero pollicitus sum.

l. 6. Kal. Ian. B.c. 44. cf. §§ 75, 99, Intr. § 24. The new consuls assumed office on New Year's day first B.c. 153, and thenceforward (Becker, ii. pt. 2. p. 106). Cf. Ov. fast. i. 81, 82, ii. 147, epist. ex Pont. iv. g. 59, 60. ib. ep. 4. 23, 25, 35, 36: ergo ubi, Tane biceps, longum rescraveris annun, | ... pusrpura Pompeium summii velabit honoris. | ... curia te eecipiet, patresque e more vocati | intendent aures ad tua vorba suas.]


§ 80. [l. 10. profisc. for the Parthian war. Intr. § 24.]

insumurum, chosen as an invincible term.


[qui, 'although he'—]

l. 12. sed. § 5 n.

[l. 13. augur. Intr. §§ 8, 24.]

l. 14. impedire, ne fieren (l. 18 n.). vitiare, facta; disturb them by obmuntiation, i.e. by declaring that there was a vitium, which made them null and void.

§ 81. l. 17. sacerdotii auguratus.

l. 18. minus etc. Cic. justly reproaches Ant. as ignorant of augural law, in trusting to his augurship rather than to his consulship as a means of vitiating the election. The auspices, the signs of the divine will, were supposed in political matters to be given to the magistrates chosen auspicato, not immediately to the augurs, who, unless invested with some office of state, were homines privati, not entitled to interrogate the auspices independently on any res publica. They could only observe and interpret at such times as they were called in by a magistrate. The formula by which they were consulted was (Cic. de divin. ii. § 71): te mihi in auspicio esse volo. After the augur had taken his observations, he reported to the magistrate the result, either by the formula silentium esse videtur, i.e. there is no vitium of any kind (Cic. de div. i. c. id silentium dicimus in auspiciis, quod omni vitio careat), or by the formula aliò die, i.e. the comitia are for the day null and void, on account of some observed vitium. This report to the magistrate was called nuntiatio (if unfavourable, generally obmuntiatio). On the other hand the augurs had not the right of spectio, i.e. of watching the heaven for themselves (de caelo servare), and entreating for signs of the divine will. In the spectio the magistrate's bare announcement se servaturum (or
servasse) de caelo, was enough to make comitia impossible for the
day (comitia impedire). This important right probably rested on
the belief in presentiments granted to magistrates solemnly
consecrated, whereby they could presage, that on certain days
the divine will would be manifested by signs in heaven; hence
the mere declaration of the intention to seek such signs was
sufficient to postpone the comitia.

1. 19. Nos, the college of augurs.

1. 21. ctiam is added, because one magistrate could also
obnuntiare to another, i.e. suspend his proceedings by asserting
that he had noticed an inauspicious sign.

[1. 22. numquam sobrio. § 42. 1. 8 n. On the jingle of
sounds prudentia—inpudentiam, cf. § 25. 1. 13. n.]

1. 23. mensibus, rather diebus. [The comitia for Dolabella’s
election were held on some day between 1 Jan. and 15 Feb. 44.]

1. 25. id facturum=ea viisiaturn. § 80 n. [§ 83. 1. 10.]

1. 26. quid vitii etc. i.e. one cannot, without making
mockery of religious institutions, anticipate the appearance of
unfavourable signs, (cannot, that is, determine beforehand on an
obnuntiatio); but it is possible to resolve that on a given day one
will announce se servare de caelo.

[1. 28. comitis, abl. of time; so ludis, and even gladiatoribus.] per leges. Cic. probably means the lex Clodia of B.C. 58 which
abrogated the lex Aelia and Fufia. Cic. p. Sest. § 33 : lata lex
(i.e. Clodia) est, ne auspicia valerent, ne quis obnuntiaret, ne quis
legi intercderet; ut omnibus festis diebus legem ferri liceret; ut
lex Aelia, lex Fufia ne voiceret. (The lex Aelia regulated the right of
spectio and obnuntiatio; the lex Fufia appointed that legislative
comitia should not be held on every dies fastus without exception.)
For though after B.C. 58 several obnuntiationes occur (p. Sest.
§§ 78, 79, 83, 129. cf. Phil. I. § 25, II. § 83), it does not follow
that the lex Clodia was formally repealed, but only that the old
practice was resumed, in spite of its prohibition. Thus Cic. says;
it is illegal de caelo servare at the comitia, but if it is done, it should
be done before they begin, and not when business is actually in
progress.

[1. 30. implicata. In Vatin. § 3: inconstantiam tuam cum
levitate tum ctiam perivrio implicatam. inpudentia abl. ‘He is a
mixture of ignorance and impudence’ (his ignorance goes hand
in hand with his impudence). In Cic. de imp. Ch. Pomp. § 19.
Halm has on good authority expelled the form implicitus. It is
said that Cic. everywhere uses implicatus. Gell. I. 7. § 20.]

§ 82. [1. 32. Idus Martias. B.C. 44. § 88.]

P. 34. [1. 2. abjectus, cf. § 65. 1. 9 n. Hence our ‘abject.’
Properly ‘cast away,’ ‘degraded;’ often joined with humilis. See
Forc., Gesner, or Scheller.]
1. 3. *in aversam lecticam*, into the further side of the lectica, where the cushion (*pulvinar*) was placed. [The constr. is like that of *summus mons* ‘the top of the mountain,’ etc. Madvig, § 311. Mart. viii. 62. 2: *charita aversa*, ‘the back of the paper.’]

c. xxxiii. i. 4 seq. *Ecce* etc. The voting in the *comitia centuriata* at this time took place according to the reformed constitution of the centuries. The chief change introduced by the reform was the combination of the local division of the people in 35 districts (*tribus*) with the Servian division. Neither the time of this reform (Mommsen röm. Gesch. i. 796. ed. 2. dates it B.C. 241) nor the number of the new centuries is exactly known; it is most likely, however, that the 35 tribes were divided into 350 centuries. By the Servian constitution the people was divided into 5 classes according to property, and each class was subdivided into *iuniores* and *seniores*. This division was applied to the tribes in such a way, that each tribe was divided according to property into 5 classes, each class according to age into two halves. Thus each of the 35 tribes contained 10 centuries, and 70 centuries (35 *iuniorum* and 35 *seniorum*) formed one class. Whether beside the 70 centuries from the tribes each class contained a distinct century of artisans (*fabri, laticines, cornicines*), as Mommsen assumes (*die röm. Tribus in administrativer Be-ziehung*, esp. p. 92), cannot be proved, but is probable, because that would give an odd no. (71) of centuries in each class for voting. To the 350 centuries forming the tribes were further added the 18 (or probably at this time only 12, cf. Liv. xliii. 16) centuries of knights, which were retained as distinct centuries from the Servian constitution. (Thus Cic. plainly distinguishes the tribes from the centuries of knights, or. Phil. vii. § 16: *Est enim* (L. Antonius) *patronus quinque et triginta tribum, quarum sua lege, qua cum Caesare magistratum (magistratum comitia?) partitus est, suffragium sustulit; patronus centuriarum equitum Romanorum, quas item sine suffragio esse voluit.*) Another innovation was, that the centuries of knights lost the privilege of voting first, and the *centuria praerogativa* (century that voted first) was determined by lot. That this was taken from the 70 centuries of the first class, is probable, but it remains uncertain, whether from all 70, or only from the 31 *tribus rusticae iuniorum*. When the *centuriae equitum* gave their votes, whether immediately after the *praerogativa*, or together with the centuries of the first class, or after them, cannot be determined from other authorities; nor does our passage lead to any certain result, as it is doubtful whether the centuries of knights are mentioned here or no. As far as the words *deinde, ita ut adsolet, suffragia*, all is plain. ‘The day for D’s election comes: the *praerogativa* is determined by lot; Ant. holds his peace. Its vote is proclaimed; still he is silent. The first class is called forward, and its vote announced etc.’ But the word *suffragia* is very variously interpreted. Some,
and this is at first sight the most natural view, understand by it the votes of the first class; but then renuntiatur cannot possibly stand where it does; it must either be transposed, or struck out (so Garat. and Madvig [opusc. i. 169, ii. 330]). But even granting that renuntiatur is an interpolation, it is strange that Cic. should introduce by ita ut adsolet so natural a proceeding as the tendering of the votes. Hence it seems better with other scholars to understand deinde...suffragia of the votes of the knights. Thus the words ita ut adsolet are no longer superfluous; we can see too why the orator, after saying ‘prima classis vocatur, renuntiatur,’ does not go on to speak at once of the secunda classis. As however suffragia cannot by itself denote the votes of the knights, we must in this case suppose a hiatus in the MSS. Mommsen conjectures: deinde equitum, ut adsolet, suffragia (or equitum might easily drop out after suffragia, as tum follows). Or else xviii. (or xii.) may have fallen out before suffragia, ‘then, as usual, the 18 votes,’ i.e. of the knights. [On this difficult passage see the references in the Zürich edition. Madvig, opusc. ii. 330: ‘Hic enim prorsus assentior, qui, cum illo tempore singulae tribus binas centurias haberent, in ipsis centuris classium discrimen fuisse statunnt; itaque Cic. narrat primum praerogatiae centuriae sortitionem factam eventumque sortitionis renuntiatur esse; deinde praerogatiae centuriae primam classem intro vocatam suffragia consequens more tulisse, tum secundam classem; hic demum Antonium obnuntiasse. Prima classe vocata needum suffragis latis nulla renuntiatio intelligi potest; vox renuntiatur ex superiore versus errore in hunc locum irrepsit. Quam exigua pars suffragiorum et comitiorum peracta fuerit, declarant verba: omnia citius facta, quam dixi.’]

[I. 5. sortitio. Liv. xxiv. 7: cum sors praerogatiae Aniensi iuniorum exisset. id. xxvi. 6 etc. MARQUARDT.]

l. 7. ut adsolet, sc. fieri; an ellipsis very common in this phrase (as in ut solet). [Cf. Madvig on Cic. de fin. pp. 613, 879. ‘de solemni more et ritu certae alieunus rei dicitur,’ Seyffert (on Læl. § 7) compares Tusc. disp. i. § 23: superem equidem utrumque, si posset (sc. fieri), and non posset, ‘it is not possible.’]

§ 83. l. 9. Confecto negotio, rhetorical exaggeration. C. Laelius surnamed Sapiens, the friend of the younger Africanus, from whom Cicero’s tract ‘on friendship’ takes its name. Cic. de nat. deor. iii. § 5: habeoque C. Lælium augurem cundemque sapientem, quem potius audiam de religione dicensem in illa oratione nobili, quem quemquam principem Stoicum.

alia die, note on § 81. l. 18. [de leg. ii. § 31: Quid gravius, quam rem susceperam dirimi, si unus augur alio die dixerit? quid magnificentius, quam posse decernere, ut magistratu sc adiecent consules? ABR. cf. infr. § 84. l. 25.]
l. 11. videras, e.g. lightning; senseras, that there was not perfect clearness in the atmosphere and freedom from wind (silentium. § 81. l. 18 n.); audicras, e.g. thunder. [Phil. v. § 8: Quae porro illa tonitura! quae tempestas! ut, si auspicia M. Antonium non moverent, sustinere tamen cum ac ferre posse tantam vim tempestatis, inbris ac turbinum, mirum videretur. Quam legem igitur se augur dicit tulisse, non modo tonante iove, sed prope caelesti clamore, quern imperitatem, quern vulnus coelestis, dominatur. [Cf. Soph. § 11: qui semper legem sicuti, in idem ipsum religionem suscipit.

l. 12. necque enim, for you must have made some such observation, as you certainly did not declare te de caelo servasse.


l. 15. tua potius, cf. Liv. x. 40. § 11: qui auspicio adest, si quid falsi nuntiat, in semet ipsum religionem suscipit.

[². 16. ement. § 88. l. 11. Phil. 3 § 9. de div. i § 29.]

l. 17. obstrinxisti religionem, ‘you have bound by a religious obligation,’ which the people cannot escape without fearing the divine vengeance.

l. 18. consul consuli, Caesari comitia habenti. From this reproach it appears that such obnuntiationes, though permitted (Messalla in Gell. xiii. 15. § 4: practores consulesque auspicia inter se et vitiant et obtinent), yet were not usual; [Suet. Caes. 20: obnuntiantem collegam (the cos. Bibulus) armis foro expulit.] between brother augurs they were unknown.

l. 20. deferuntur, that it may be determined by the rules of augural law, whether his acta as consul are to be held valid.

§ 84. l. 22. vitiosus = vito creatus.

[². 25. alicie die. § 83. l. 10.]

l. 26. ea quae sit, sc. aliane nisi haec, vitiata esse comitia.

c. xxxiv. l. 29. unam pulcherrimam, § 7. l. 2 n. [So with other words, beside superlatives, that denote eminence. de orat. i. § 60: unum dominatur. Seyffert (ad Lael. § 1. p. 12) cites orat. § 104: unus eminet inter omnes. So longe omnibus unum anteferrre etc. Haase adds Bentl. on Hor. A. P. 32, and for the parallel Gr. constr. (cf. εἰς οἷον ὁμοιότατος etc.) Lob. on Soph. Aj. 1328, Matth. Gr. Gr. § 491.]


Non dissimulat, ‘he attempts no disguise.’ [Transitive verbs are not seldom thus used without an object. Thus Liv. xxviii.
45: in viaticum decurionibus conferre, 'to contribute;' Liv. ii. 51: amnona primit, 'is oppressive;' so often obtinet, whence our 'obtains.' NAEGELESB.

[I. 31. sudat, pallat. On the asyudeton, cf. § 65. 1. 12 and 13.]

1. 32. quod—fécit. § 63.

in portico Minucia, in the circus Flaminianus, where assemblies of the people were often held. It was built by M. Minucius, [cos. b.c. 110], the conqueror of the Scordisci. Vell. ii. 8. § 3. [p. Sest. 33: producti in circu Flaminio in contionem.]

P. 35. l. 1. turpitudinis tantae, quam Lupercalibus in te admisisti.

1. 2. ubi etc. 1.e. in what part of your speech there shall appear such an extraordinary mastery of rhetoric, as can explain your generosity to the rhetor Sex. Clodius (§§ 42, 43) your master, to whom you gave camp. Letont. § 101.

§ 85. l. 3. Sedebat, to watch the Luperci.

1. 4. toga purpurea—coronatus. Intr. n. 81. [de divin. l. § 119: Quod paulo ante interitum Caesaris contigit; qui cum immolare illo dic, quo primum in sella aurea sediti et cum pur-
purea veste processit, in exis bovis opimi cor non fuit. ibid. ii. § 36. Abb. Dio xliv. 6 and 11 distinctly calls it a royal robe.]

[ sella aurea. Suet. Caes. 76: ampliora etiam humano fastigio decerni sibi passus est, sedem aurum in curia et pro tri-
bunali, tensum et femulam Circensii pompa, tempta, aras, simul-
lacra iuxta deos, pulvinar, flaminem, Lupercos, adpallationem mensis c suo nomine. GRAEV. Cf. infr. § 110 seq. Dio calls it gilt (ἐπιχρυσος, κεκρυσωμένος); it afterwards (Dio lvii. 15) be-
longed to Vibius Rufus, whom Tiberius allowed to use it publicly. DRUMANN, iii. 662. n. 8.]

1. 5. ita—ut. Zumpt, § 726. [On the restrictive and con-
cessive uses of ita with ut, see Hand’s Tursell. iii. 475 seq.; on the restrictive use with si, p. 479. Add Plin. epist. vi. 7. § 3: liet hoc ita me delectet ut torquet, ‘if this gives me pleasure, yet it pains me too.’ ib. iii. 9. § 19: quae sicut implicita suspitionibus, ita non satis convicini probationibus visa est. (‘although—
com. § 17: qui ita dignissimus est secura propter artificium, ut dignissimus sit curia propter abstinentiam. Translate here: ‘if you were L., yet you were bound to remember that you were consul,’ or, ‘your office of Lupercus could not dispense you from the duty of remembering that you were consul.’ ‘Lupercus as you were, you were bound to bear in mind,’ etc. Strictly:
‘you were in such sort Lupercus, that you still,’ etc.]
Lupercus. Intr. n. 87

[1. 7. diadema. At the feriae Latinae one of the crowd placed on Cæsar’s statue coronam lauream candidam fuscia praeligatum (Suet. 79), and Cæsar cashiered the tribunes who imprisoned his incautious partisan.]

1. 8. abiectum. ‘For you had not picked it up in the streets, but had brought it with you from home, a villainy studied and deliberate.’ [So N. D. ii. § 83: amplexa, ‘in its bosom,’ etc. Nægelsb. meditari, the same word as μελέταν (by the common change of θ and λ; cf. odor, olere), is used of speakers rehearsing, conning over their speeches, of actors ‘getting up’ their parts. On cogitatum, ‘deliberately planned,’ cf. p. Mil. § 45: cogitatum facinus. ib. § 33: in illis suis cogitatis furoribus. Ant. had practised his part at home, and had carefully weighed his plan.—meditatum is here passive, though meditor is a deponent. See the list of such participles in Madvig. §§ 153, Zumpt, § 632; and for the Gr. Matth. Gr. Gr. § 495 d. (εγνασμαι etc.). So below, § 88: ementitis.]

1. 9. inponebas. observe the imperf.

[1. 12. dominus, the correlative of servus (cf. l. 17). See Lucan i. 665: cum domino pax ista venit. A title refused by Augustus and Tiberius, allowed e. g. by Domitian (Juiv. iv. 96).]

[1. 17. temptares. Bentl. ad Ter. Phorm. iii. 3. 19: ‘Hoc in omne genus MSS. animadverti, tam veterrimus mille et ducentorum annorum, quam recentioribus, vel temptare scribi, vel rarius temptare; numquam, quod hocdie obtinet, tentare.’ Ritschl, Proleg. ciii. ‘nec de temptare forma post Bentleium hodie fere dubitatur.’ Mr Munro in ‘Journ. of philology,’ iv. 283: ‘With good reason he flies in the face of etymology and spells temptare, quattuor, Tippiter, seusca etc.’]
civitati populi R...subvenirent, jidei conservatione percutentem perire non sinister. Ter. Ad. ii. 2. 7. Ov. m. v 26.]

1. 13. ut omnia patere. § 44.

1. 19. nudus. Intr. n. 105. It is not the nudum esse in itself, but the continentia in the habit of a Lupercus that Cic. censures. [Phil. iii. § 13 : nec vero M. Antonium consulam post Lupercalia debuitis putare. Quo enim ille die populo R. inspec-tante nudus, unctus, ebrius est continentia et id egit ut collegae diadema imponeret, eo die se non modo consulatu, sed etiam liber-tate abdicavit. Dionys. i. 80 of the Luperci, 'naked, girt about the middle with skins of victims newly slain.' Hence they are called cinetuti, succincti. Justin. xliii. 1. § 7: ipsum dei (Luperci) simulacrum nudum caprina pelle amictum est, quo habitu nunc Romae Lupercalibus decurritur. Cf. infr. § 111.]

[l. 21. Num exspectas etc. i.e. 'Do you wait to be pierced with an oxgoad?' or more familiarly, 'must we run you through with an oxgoad, before you will wince?' so § 30: an faices admorendae sunt? 'must we take a red-hot poker to you?' Cf. Tusc. disp. iii. § 35: Non est enim in nostra potestate, fodicantibus iis rebus, quas malas esse opinemur, dissimulatio vel oblivio: lacerrant, vexant, stimulos admorent, ignes adhibent, respirare non sinunt. Cf. Plaut. Asin. ii. 4. 12, 13.]

1. 23. hacte oratio, this speech of mine, which declares your shame. Cf. the common metaphor aculei orationis.

1. 24. summorum v. the liberators. Intr. n. 126.

1. 25. Quid indignius. Cic. wished (ad Att. xvi. ii. § 2, cited in Intr. § 56. n. *) to have this altered into indignissimum est vivere ; Atticus probably recommended him to keep the interrogative form of sentence. In another passage (§ 103) a change was made. [That Ant. should have been put out of the way is said also §§ 34. 113, and by Cic. ap. Dion. xliv. 34.]


[ad. Cic. (?) epist. ad Brut. i. 15. § 8: D. Bruto liberato, cum locutissimus ille civitati dies illuxisset, idemque casu Bruti natalis eset, decrevi ut in fastis ad eum diem Bruti nomen adscriberetur.]
1. 31. _minime miror_, because only by a revolution can you hope to escape punishment for so heinous a crime.

P. 36. 1. 1. _de die_, 'of the day,' i.e. of what the day brings in [cf. § 62. 1. 6.] _in diem_, 'for the day,' without care for the morrow. Otherwise Liv. xxii. 39. § 13: _in diem rapto vivit._

Zumpt, § 315. [Bentl. ad Hor. carm. iii. 29. 43. _Heus._ Hand Tursell. iii. 341, and for _de die_, _ii_. 206. Columell. iii. 3. § 6: _nec providet futuro tempori, sed quasi plane in diem vivant, sic_ imperant vitibus,... _ut posteritati non consulat._]

[l. 4. _L. Tarquinius_, etc. §§ 26, 114.]

[l. 5. _Sp. Cassius_, _Sp. Maelius._ Madvig (opusc. ii. 170) altered the old reading _Spurii Cassius_, _Maelius_, because that construction is as bad Lat. as it would be Engl. to say Johns White and Tomkins, for John W. and John T. _M. Maelius Capitolineus_, who (B.c. 384, Gell. xvii. 21), _convictus est consilium de regno occupando inisse convictusque capitis._

[c. xxxv. § 88. [l. 8. _redeamus_, cf. c. xxxiii.]]

l. 9. _acturus._ Intr. § 24 ad fin.

[l. 10. _quid egisses._ 'What would you have done, in case he had fulfilled his intention?']

[l. 11. _eminentis._ Cf. § 83. Phil. iii. § 9: _Serrabant auspicia reges; quae hic consul augurque neglectae, neque solum legibus contra auspicia ferendis, sed etiam collega unam ferente eo, quem ipse eminentis auspiciis virtuosum fecerat._ ABR. On the passive sense of _eminent._ cf. § 85. l. 8 n.]

l. 12. _necesse erat_, until the senate or college of augurs had declared the _obnuntiatio_ invalid.

[quod putares, cf. § 7. 1. 6 n.]

[l. 13. _Sustulit._ _Tollere diem_ (senatus) was a technical term for wasting a sitting of the senate, preventing business for that day. Cic. de leg. ii. § 40: _nec est quamquam longa oratione utendum, nisi...tolli diem utile est._ Cf. the expressions _consumere_, or _eximere, diem dicendo._ Becker, ii. 2. 430.]

[Fortuna. 'Quia Caesar est interfectus: itaque de auspiciis eo die agi non potuit.' _Manut._]

l. 14. _tuum de auspiciis iudicium._ Caesar's death could not make those auspices favourable, which you had declared unfavourable; yet you at once abandoned your objection to Dolebella's election. [Intr. n. 134.]

l. 16. _praeventendum est._ _de divin._ l. § 10: _de quibus quid ipse sentiam, si placet, exponam, ita tamen, si vacas animo, neque habes aliquid, quod huic sermoni praeventendum putes._ Cic. _here_
drops the subject of the auspices, and does not return to it. [See Madvig, § 139 and his Bemerkungen, p. 42. n. * *, for the difference between the active praeverto, 'I outdo,' and the deponent praeverto, 'I turn myself (principally) to this or that.' Here 'I have fallen upon the mention of a time, which claims a prior notice,' etc. Liv. ii. 24. § 5: nec posse, cum hostes prope ad portas essent, bello praevertisse quicquam. id. xxviii. 7. § 15: praevertendum id ratus, 'thinking that it called for immediate attention.]

1. 19. beneficio. Intr. § 30. si sanus esses, i.e. si bene de re publica sentire velles.

§ 89. [l. 21. auguria. § 37. l. 4. § 39. ad fam. vi. 6. §§ 3—12. Abr.]

1. 22. in Capitolio. Intr. § 29.


[l. 27. illo die—postero. Mar. 15 and 16. B. C. 44.]

[l. 30. Post diem tertium, not after the third day, but 'on the third day after.' Zumpt, § 476, Madvig, § 276. n. 6. Compare the expressions ante diem tertium Nonas etc. March 17 was the festival of the Liberalia. ad Att. xiv. 14. § 2 (cited by Heus.): nam Liberalibus quis potuit in senatum non venire?...Nonne omni ratione veterani, qui armati aderant, cum praesidii nos nihil habe-remus, defendendui fuerunt.] [Telluris, near the house of Pompeius (§ 68. l. 8 n.), bought by Antonius, who convened the senate in the neighbouring temple (§ 15 n.) from fear (so App. ii. 120). Becker (ii. 2. 414) ascribes it to the same cause that Cicero summoned a meeting to the temple of Luppiter Stator (or. Catil. i. § 11, Plut. Cic. 16). See on this meeting in Telluris adeae, Intr. § 31 seq. Phil. i. §§ 1 seq., 31. Dio xliv. 22, xlvi. 28. Plut. Brut. 19, Ant. 14.]

§ 90. [l. 31. Qui tibi dies. § 107. l. 23: qui dies ille collegae tui fuit! cf. Qui tu vir just below. On the efforts of Ant. for peace see Dio xliv. 34.]

P. 37. [l. 1. subito. Intr. n. 216.]

c. xxxvi. l. 4. facta per obsidem, 'effected by means of a hostage,' i.e. by your giving up your child as a hostage. [puerum. Intr. n. 136.]
1. 5. M. Fulvius Bambalio, father of Fulvia; Phil. iii. § 16: tuae coniugis, bonae feminae, locupletis quidem certe, Bambalio quidam pater, homo nullo numero. Nihil illo contemptius, qui propter haece tantam lingua (Bambalio = stutterm) stuporemque cordis cognomen ex contumelia traxerit. [Hence Cic. ap. Dion. xlv. 47: 'Bambalio, whose very surname speaks him infamous, he loves.]

[1. 9. funeri. Intr. § 35. On the 19th or 20th of March (Fischer.)] si illud funus fuit. Phil. i. § 5: inseptula sepultura.

§ 91. 1. 11. landatia Caesaris. misratio. ad Att. xiv. ro. § 1: Meministine te clamarc, causam perisse, si funere elatus esset? at ille etc. (as in Intr. n. 146). [Cic. heard the speech (ad Att. xv. 20. § 2), and afterwards read it, ibid. xiv. 11. § 1: cum equidem contionem lego de tanto viro, de clarissimo civi, ferre non quoc. DRUMANN.]

cohortatio, against Caesar's murderers.

[ tu, tu. so in § 53, which is cited by Aquila Rom. § 29 as an instance of palillogia (iteratio).]

1. 12. facis. Intr. n. 144. incendisti. tu, tu, inquam, resumes tua illa...cohortatio. 'your famous eulogy, your lament, your encouragement, you, you, I say, yourself,' etc. so that incendisti is common predicate to all the subjects.

[semustilatus, 'singed,' a heartless gibe. 'Non dicit combustus, sed semustilatus: ut cum rogo caruisse ostendat. quasi id ei, qui tamquam tyrannus carere debit honore sepulturae, iure ac merito contigerit. p. Mil. § 33: Tu P. Clodii cruentum cadaver eicisti domo, tu in publicum abicesti; tu spoliatum imaginibus, exsequius pompa, laudatione, infeliciissimus insignis semustilatus, nocturnis canibus dilaniandum relinquisti. MANUT. When the body of Tiberius was being conveyed to Rome (Suet. 75), a cry was raised that it should be carried to Atella 'et in amphitheatro semustilandum;' but it was borne off by the soldiers, crematumque publico funere. Mark the contrast between semust. and crem. p. f.]


[1. 14. hominum, among whom the Jews were foremost, whom Caesar had befriended at Alexandrea and elsewhere, and had avenged on the conqueror of the Holy City, Pompeius. Suet. Caes. 84. ABR.]

53 (where he translates *tabula* by στάθμη, and says that all such ordinances were engraved on pillars of brass). Cic. ap. Dion. xlv. 23. Plant. trinum. 1039. Ov. m. i 91—2 Heins. Burm.]

l. 20. *immunitate*, properly an exemption from taxes and other services, then generally, a privilege granted to provinces or towns.

[l. 21. *dictatura*. § 115. Phil. i. § 3: *Dictaturam, quae iam vim regiae potestatis obsecurat, funditus ex re publica sustulit, de qua ne sententias quidem diximus; scriptum senatus consultum, quod fieri vellet, attulit, quo recitato auctoritatem eius summo studio secuti sumus, eique amplissimis verbis per senatus consultum gratias egimus.* § 4: *Lux quaedam videbatur oblitera, non modo regno, sed etiam regni timore sublato, magnumque pignus ab eo rei publicae datum, se liberam civitatem esse velle, cum dictatoris nomen, quod saepe iustum fuisset, propter perpetuae dictaturae recentem memoriam funditus ex re publica sustulisset.* Cf. ib. § 32.

—in the year B.C. 22 the title was offered to Augustus, who rejected it with seeming horror. (Suet. 52, Vell. ii. 89. § 5, Dio liv. 1). DRUMANN.]

[l. 24. *eius* etc. cod. Vat. *ei omen nomen* etc. Halm with Muret. *ei omen nomen propter proximi* etc. Madvig, praef. ed. 4. *omne nomen tollere prave dicitur pro eo, quod est funditus nomen tollere, cum unum nomen nullas partes habeat (rectissime enim dicetur omn Latinum nomen tollere)...sententia prava est; neque enim Antonius regni nomen sustulerat, quod tolli opus non crat, sed dictaturae, quae nuper fuerat, neque propter proximi dictatoris metum id fecerat (qui poterat enim mortuus metu?), sed propter ea, quae in posterum timerat... Apparet, Cic. hoc dixisse, Antonium odio regni eo progressum esse, ut id etiam nomen (dicturae), sub quo regnum latere posset, quoque ei proximum esset, tolleret; itaque sententia huiusmodi fere fuit: *ut propter eius (regni) metum etiam proximum dictatoris nomen tolleret, vel brevius comprehensa et acutius: ut etiam proximum dictatoris metum tolleret, hoc est, ut caveres etiam, ne dictator posthae, regi proximus, nedom regnum ipsum, metui possit. Sed quibus verbis Cic. usus sit, exputare nequeo; tantum video, proximum non esse ad dictor is nomen accommodandum.*]

§ 92. [l. 27. aut. Madvig, § 453. n. 2. infr. § 111. l. 17.]

l. 29. *toto Capitolio*, i.e. in and about the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. Laws and other *tabulae* were posted esp. in and near temples. (Cf. Phil. i. § 29, iii. § 30 (quoted above on § 35).]

[l. 30. *immunitates.* § 97. l. 20.]

[l. 31. *non iam*, the proper Lat. for *‘no longer.’*]

[provinciis totis. Phil. iii. § 30: *quid hic victor non audebit, qui nullam adventus victioriam tanta scelera post Cæsaris interitum

P. 38. l. 2. vectigalia. Phil. i. § 24. ii. §§ 35, 97. [VII. § 15.]

l. 3. imperium. § 97. [nundinis. § 35.]

c. xxxvii. § 93. [l. 5. septiens miliscus sc. centena millia = 700,000,000 sestertii.] quod est, 'which stands entered.' Phil. v. § 15: direptio eius pecuniae, cuius ratio in aede Opis conferente est.

l. 6. Opis. Intr. § 40, supr. § 35. Phil. i. § 17: Pecunia utinam ad Opis maneret! cruenta illa quidem, sed his temporeibus, quoniam iis, quorum est, non redditur, necessaria. Quamquam ca quoque sit eius, si ita in actis fuit. [Phil. viii. § 26.] Ops, the goddess of fruitfulness, was wife of Saturn, and was worshipped in common with him on the same festivals. Her temple stood on the Capitol (Liv. xxxix. 22) towards the Forum; hence on inscriptions acdis Opis ad forum or in Capitolio.

[l. 6. funestae, as being the spoils of citizens. illius quidem, 'it is true.' see § 6. l. 19 n.] pecuniae, gen. in apposition to sestertium, to be supplied with miliscus.

l. 7. quorum erat, i.e. the heirs of the fallen Pompeians. [cf. § 75. l. 12.] tributis. The *tributum*, or property tax for defraying extraordinary charges, esp. of war, was remitted B.C. 167 after the conquest of Macedonia; nor were extraordinary impositions similar to the old *tributum* again levied, until the times of the triumvirs, B. C. 43. Becker, iii. 2. 135.

[l. 8. quibrifigentiens, sc. centena millia = 40,000,000 sestertii.]

[l. 9. Idibus Martiiis etc. i.e. How did you discharge that debt in a fortnight after Caesar’s death? On the Kalends, Nones, and Ides (esp. on the *tristes Kal* Hor. S. i. 3. 87) debts were commonly called in. Hor. epod. 2. 69, 70: ommem redegit Idibus pecuniam, quaeerit Kalendis ponere. See Orelli there.]

l. 11. a tuis, 'from your people,' esp. Fulvia. [Cf. §§ 95, 113. tuis, for this diversis was once read, 'eodem orationis vitio, quo epistolos ad diversos appellant, ut diversi sint complures, multi, nulla significata diversitate, quomodo veteres non ponebant.' MADVIG, opusc. i. 206.]

l. 12. rege Deiotaro. Deiotarus, tetrarch of Galatia, sup-
ported the Romans in numerous wars. The services which he rendered to Sulla, Murena, Servilius Isauricus, and esp. to Lucullus, procured repeated decrees of the senate in his honour (Phil. xi. § 33 seq.). Pompeius also availed himself of his aid in the Mithridatic war. At a later date he was rewarded by the senate with the title of king, and with the sovereignty of lesser Armenia. In B.C. 51 he won the friendship of Cicero, then proconsul of Cilicia, by placing his entire forces at his disposal. He fought at the battle of Pharsalus, and accompanied Pompeius in the earlier part of his flight. In November B.C. 45 Cicero defended his friend from a charge of plotting Caesar's murder. The speech, delivered in Caesar's house, is extant.

[l. 13. amicissimo. § 41. l. 26 n.]

§ 94. l. 16. Massiliensibus. Intr. § 13. [Vell. ii. 50. § 3: Massilia... fide melior quam consilio prudentior. Phil. xiii. § 32.]

[l. 18. Igitur. Quintil. (i. 5. § 39) is in doubt whether to call this position of i gitur a solecism by 'transmutatio' (such as it would be to begin a sentence with quoque, eum, or autem); because the best authorities differed, some never beginning a sentence with i gitur, others frequently doing so. Many instances occur in Sallust, and Zumpt, § 357, has collected several from Cic. e.g. above § 41. Add Tusc. i. § 11. See Madvig, opusc. i. 206.]

[l. 19. aequi boni. Asyndeton (cf. § 89. l. 26 n.) is very common in legal and political formulae. Zumpt, § 742. e.g. patres conscripti; usus fructus; velitis iubeatis; sarta tecta. Cf. Lachmann on Lucr. ii. 118. aequum bonum (or frequently aequum et bonum) (the rigour of the law. So in Sen. de clem. ii. 7. § 3: clementia liberum arbitrium habet: non sub formula, sed ex aequo et bono judicat. ct absolvcre illi licet et quanti vult taxare litem.)

l. 20. We should have expected apud eum mortuum, as, where the relative precedes, is is expressed. Yet there are exceptions to this rule. e.g. Phil. i. § 38: Quae potestas si mihi saepius sine meo vestroque periculo fiet, utar. p. Sull. § 92: quae prima innocentis mihi defensio oblatis est suscepi.

l. 20. Compellarat, 'had called him to account.' See Hirt. bell. Alex. 67, 68.

l. 21. praesens, on his march through Asia Minor after the defeat of Pharnaces. [B.C. 47. cf. p. Deiot. §§ 8, 10. Hirt. bell. Alex. 78.]

computarat, 'had calculated, determined the sums to be paid.'

l. 22. unum etc. Mithridates Pergamenus, [who had done
good service in the Alexandrian war], on whom Cæsar conferred the tetrarchy of Galatia with the title of king.

1. 23. Armenia, i.e. the lesser Armenia, which Deiotarutus was forced to give up to Ariobarzanes. Cic. de Divin. ii. § 79: [Fugit (Deiot.) e proclio cum Pompeio; grave tempus. Discessit ab eo; lactuosa res. Cæsarem codem tempore hostem et hospitum vidit; quid hoc tristius? Is cum ei Troymorum tetrarchiam cri-puisset, et assedicae suo Pergamenzzo nescio cui dedisset, cediumq, detraxisset Armenia a senatu datam, etne ab eo magnificentissimo hospitio acceptus esset, spoliatum reliquit et hospitum et regem. Cf. ib. i. § 27, Dio xliii. 48.]

§ 95. [l. 24. vixus eripuit: reddid mortua. Chiasmus (adj., verb; verb, part.). cf. § 75. l. 7 seq. Plin. ep. iii. 15. § 1.]

[l. 25. Mira etc. ‘A strange combination of words!’]

[l. 26. ille, Cæsar.]

[l. 27. adjui, appeared on his behalf. Witness the speech pro rege Deiotarum.]

[l. 29. sestertii. Sestertium, the contracted gen. pl. masc., was mistaken for a neut. nom. sing., and declined accordingly. ad Att. iv. 2. § 5: superficiem aedium aclaimarunt sestertio deiciens. p. Font. § 4: Testis non invenitur in ducentis et tricentis sestertio. Sestertia is found Verr. ii. § 50, iii. § 119, Parad. vi. § 49, ad fam. v. 20, § 9, Madvig. (Bemerkungen, p. 36, and Emend. Livian. 594 n.; cf. Zumpt, § 873.)—centiens = 10,000,000 sesterces.]

1. 31. in gynacio, i.e. in Fulvia’s apartments. ad Att. xiv. 12. § 1: Quid? Deiotari nostri causa non similis? Dignus ille quidem omni regno, sed non per Fulviam. [cf. infr. § 113. minime avara.]

P. 39. l. 1. quid sis actuus, whether you will insist on the discharge of the bond.


§ 96. l. 7. ne iste quidem, prob. the well-known Sextus Clodius, whom P. Clodius employed to draw up his laws. § 9. l. 6.

1. 8. debeni, ‘that anything is due upon this bond.’

[l. 10. suum sibi, sibi not ei, because it is dependent; Cic. could not not say suum sibi vendististi in an independent sentence; but here suum sibi belongs as much to possedit as to venderes, and might be placed before prius or after venderes. On the subj. after prius, quam (implying a purpose ‘before you should’ = that you might not) see Madvig, § 360.]
LIEELLUS. LEGEM FIGERE. [37 38 96—98]

1. 12. auctorem, Cæsar. cf. Phil. xiii. § 2: Nam quid ego de proximo (civi detestabili) dicam, cuius acta defendimus, auctorem ipsum iure caesium fatemur?

c. xxxviii. § 97. [l. 15. institores, 'hawkers,' 'colporteurs.' Madvig, opusc. i. 173, 174.] gladiatorium libellos, lists of the gladiators, programmes of the entertainment, our 'play-bills.' [cf. 'cards of the course.' Sen. epist. 117. § 30: Nemo, qui obstruam parturienti filiae sollicitus accersit, edictum et ludorum ordinem perlegit. Cic. ad fam. ii. 8. § 1: gladiatorium compositiones. Trebell. Poll. Claud. 5: libellus mannerarius. Pictures of the combatants were also exhibited (Hor. S. ii. 7. 96 seq.). ABR.]

[l. 20. Cretensium, cf. § 93.—post M. Brutum, i.e. post cius ex provincia decessum.]

[l. 21. pro consule. Aug. de Gen. contra Manich. ii. § 33: dicitur ex consulibus aut pro consulibus, qui iam non est. Cf. above, § 31. l. 31 n.]

ne sit provincia, it is a great exaggeration to speak of the surrender of vectigalia as the surrender of the province. [Hence Cic. ap. Dion. xlv. 32, ad fin.; cf. Calen. ibid. xlvi. 23.]

[l. 22. constringendus. So of a madman, who needs a strait waistcoat, also or. in Pis. § 48: si familiam tuam dimississes,... amici te constringendum putarent: praesidium tu rvi publicae... dimississes, ei tuae mentis compos friesse. Compare the phrase curatoris egere. (Hor. epist. i. 1. 102.]

1. 24. nihil ad B. pertinentet, because Cæsar had assigned another province to him for the year 43 after his pretorship. Intr. § 45. Accordingly his name could not appear in any genuine decree of Cæsar's respecting Crete.

§ 98. 1. 28. quam facisti, ut a Caesare latam. Therefore not that law, which Ant. passed as tribune (§ 56), which is alluded to below: de quo ferre, cum de reliquis ferres, noluiisti. The exiles recalled 'ex actis Caesaris' were nicknamed Orcini or Charonitae [Plut. Ant. 15]; cf. Phil. v. § 11: restituebantur ecluses quasi lege sine lege. The phrase legem figere (= tabulam legis, i.e. to make known a law that has been carried) is to be distinguished from legem promulgare (to make known the draught of a law, 'a bill.'). [Plin. ep. viii 6 § 14 Corte.]

[Nullius, used as gen. of nemo by the best writers. Madvig, § 91. 5.]

1. 30. inquinatos, as you have recalled men of infamous character. [Madvig reads aequatos with Camerarius.]

dissimilem, most of them, as Cic. hints, were exiled on political grounds, whereas Ant. recalled criminals. cf. App. b. c. ii. 107: 'Cæsar also restored the exiles (b. c. 45), except such as were banished for unpardonable crimes.'
P. 40. l. 2. *in loco patrui.* § 55. l. 20 n., § 56.

l. 3. *ferre.* Intr. n. 49.

l. 4. *censuram.* The uncle must have been restored (in or before B.C. 45) by a decree of Caesar; for he was in the senate 1 Jan. 44. (§ 99). Ant. when consul, as we learn from this passage, declared his intention of holding *comitia censoria* (the last had been held B.C. 50), but did not execute his purpose.

§ 99. l. 6. *an quia,* 'perhaps because etc.' ‘or was it because etc.? After a general question (as here *cur* presupposes various possible reasons) the question with *an* introduces the one point, which the speaker selects for special notice out of several possibilities. cf. §§ 8, 100, 110.

l. 7. *tribunus* pl., qui de caelo spectaverat; § 81 n. on *sinistrum fulmen* see Cic. de divin. ii. § 42: *Itaque in nostris commentariis scriptum habemus:* 'love tonante fulgurante co-mitia populi habere nefas.' Hoc fortasse rei publicae causa constitutum est; comitiorum enim non habendorum causas esse voluerunt. *Itaque comitiorum solum vitium est fulmen, quod idem omnibus rebus optimum habemus, si sinistrum fuit.* Cf. ibid. ii. § 74.

[Tua and tuorum interest. Madvig, § 295, Zumpt, § 449. We have quid referre above, § 29. Cf. Plin. paneg. 40. § 5: *nihil referre iniquitatis, hoc an illud fiat.*]

[l. 8. *nulla auspicia sunt,* § 80 seq. 'when your interests are at all concerned, auspices have no existence for you, (alluding to laws passed by Ant. during a storm, § 83. l. 11 n. Phil. v. § 8, vi. § 3), when it is your uncle’s honour that is at stake, you are seized with a fit of superstition.’]

l. 9. *in septemvirates.* Intr. n. 168. [The acts of the septemvirs were repealed early in B.C. 43: on the proposal of L. Caesar, uncle of Ant. (Cic. Phil. vi. § 14: *Iacent beneficia Nuculae, friget patronus Antonius, etc.*) See further on the septemvirs, Phil. viii. § 26, xi. § 13: *duos collegas Antoniorum et Dolabellae, Nuculam et Lentonom, Italiae divisores leges ca, quam senatus per vin latum indicavit: quorum alter commentarius est mimos, alter eit tragœdiam.* Phil. xii. §§ 20, 23.]

[l. 10. *destituisi,* ‘left in the lurch.’ *Intervenit* ‘intervene-nisse Cic. dicit aliquem, qui il munus patruo debitum inte ce-pirit, et M. Antonio extorserit, quod metueret scilicet, ne salvo capite negare ei non posset. Notus erat senatoribus homo con-temptissimus, quem M. Antonius, patruo detrudo, ad eum locum exeverat; ne nobis quidem plane ignotus; nam aut Nucula aut Lento fuit.’ Madvig.]

[l. 13. *si esset, debebas.* On this constr. of *debebam, oportebat,* etc., where we should rather use the subj., cf. Madvig, § 348 c.
and Obs. Zumpt, § 519 (a). See a special exception above § 67.  l. 7. potuisset; and the analogous constr. of longum est, § 27.  l. 15. Plin. epist. vi. 15. § 1: beatus erat. Ovid. epist. ex Ponto iii. 4. 24: quem fuit utilius non docuisset mihi, ‘it would have been more for my advantage.’]

sororem patruem. Intr. n. 15.


condicione, ‘match.’ [The formula in breaking off a match was (Dig. xxii. 2. § 2) condicione tua non utor. Mart. v. 17. 2 seq.: dum tibi noster eques sordida condicione est, | dum te posse negas nisi luto, Gallia, claro | nubere. Cf. Suet. Galb. 5. Oud. on Suet. Caes. 27. Gronov. Obs. l. 6. Dirksen’s manuale 184 a, Seyffert on Cic. Lael. p. 232, Manut. h. l. Plin. ep. l. 10. § 8.]

ante, alluding to the earlier intimacy of Ant. and Fulvia. cf. § 48. l. 15.

[l. 15. probri = ‘stupri.’ FORCELL. ; see his exx. Abr. adds Dig. xxxii. 2. 41 pr.]

insimulasti. Plut. Ant. 9: ‘Ant, vehemently suspecting that Dolabella was playing him false in the matter of his marriage, and taking the thing to heart, thrust his wife out of doors.’

[l. 17. Frequentissimo, as usual on New year’s day. cf. § 79. l. 6. n. Kal. Ian. b.c. 44. cf. ibid.]

l. 18. cum Dol. odii, as we say: est mihi odium cum aliquo.

[l. 20. comprisisses, specially used of the detection of crime. As Cic. often used the word (comperi omnia) respecting the discovery of Catilina’s plot, Clodius (ad Att. l. 14. § 4) cast it in his teeth; so that Cic. says (ad fam. v. 5. § 2): ‘comperisse’ me non audeo dicere.]

l. 22. Dol. Cicero speaks thus temporis causa; Dolabella was liable to still graver reproaches.

C. xxxix. § 100. [l. 24. redeamus, see § 97. l. 14.

l. 25. cognitio. Intr. § 51.

[l. 26. confirmata. Intr. § 32. l. § 23, XIII. § 10.]

[l. 27. quae quidem egisset, § 7. l. 8. n. ‘such, that is, as Caesar’ etc.]

l. 28. [ista, in its strict sense ‘these acta of yours.’]

quo autore. [§ 35. l. 21 n., Intr. § 39]. Phil. r. § 16: Primum igitur acta Caesaris servanda consensus, non quo probem,... sed quia rationem habendam maxime arbitror pacis atque oti... An in commentariolis et chirographis et libellis se uno autore prolatis ne prolatis quidem, sed tantum modo dietis, acta Caesaris firma erunt? ibid. § 24: Ergo hace uno, verum optimo autore domo prolata defendimus? Phil. v. § 11: Delecta falsa vendebat, regna, civitates, immunitates in aes accepta pecunia iube-
bat incidi. Haec se ex commentariis Caesaris, quorum ipse auctor erat, agere dicebat.

[1. 30. sic. ‘The terms of the resolution were these,’ Kal. Iun. Phil. 1. § 6: Ecce enim Kalendis Iuniiis, quibus ut adessemus edicerant, mutata omnia: nihil per senatum, multa et magna per populum, et absente populo et invito. Intr. § 51.]

I. 31. cognoscere, the two consuls, Ant. and Dolabella, cum cons. with a committee of the senate.

Quod, ‘Of what members did the committee consist?’

I. 32. quem convocasti. Intr. n. 204.

P. 41. l. 1. an, ‘or was it that first of June?’ etc. § 99 n. Ant. delayed convoking the senate, until he had collected so large a force of troops (§ 108), that no independent senator could venture to appear in the senate and thwart his schemes.

[1. 4. Capuam. Capua, as a colony of Caesar’s veterans (below l. 11 n.), was attached to his heir Octavianus, who afterwards called out the settlers (hence evocati or vocati, Dio XLV. 12) to his aid against Antonius. Indeed even those who owed their lands to Ant. himself, rallied round his antagonist (Dio L. 6). Cf. Intr. § 41. Ant. reached Capua before the 4th of May (ad Att. xiv. 17. § 2).]

coloniam deducere, as one of the Septemviri agris adsignandis.


illinc abieris, Ant. was roughly handled in Capua, as the old settlers looked with an evil eye on his new colonists, as intruders on their rights. [Phil. xii. § 7: Capua,... quae temporibus his Roma altera est. Illa impios cives iudicavit, iudicavit, iudicavit. Illi, illi, inquam, urbi fortissime conanti e manibus est creptus Antonius. Ferrar.] However Antonius was not entirely baffled, as appears from his demand made to the senate at the end of Jan. 43 (Phil. VIII. § 25 quoted below on § 101. l. 15).

§ 101. I. 8. paene tollatur, by a general revolt.

[peregrinatio. Cf. the earlier progresses described §§ 57 seq., 62.]

[1. 10. vino lentiam. § 42. l. 8 n.]

I. 11. illa, those which follow.

Agrum Campanum. Suet. Caes. 20: Campum Stellatam maiorum conventacum agrumque Campanum, ad subsidia rei publicae vectigalem reticient (since B.C. 211), divisi extra sortem (Caesar as consul 59) ad viginti milibus civium, quibus terni pluresve liberi essent. When B.C. 45 Caesar’s veterans were rewarded
with grants of land, it was again the ager Campanus [‘domain of Capua,’ for Campanus (not Capuanus) is the adj. for ‘Capuan’] which was brought into requisition. See Suet. 81: Paucos ante menses (before the Ides of March) cum in colonia Capua deducti lege Iulia coloni ad extruendas villas vetustissima sepulcrum disicerent, tabula aenea inventa est etc. Cf. Becker iii. i. 333. [App. b. civ. pi. 10 speaks of its extraordinary fertility.]

1. 12. vectigalibus, sc. agris. tamen, though that was not so wanton a waste.

1. 13. hanc. cf. Madvig, § 408 a. Above § 30. l. 9 n.]


1. 16. Leontinus. This was domain land or property of the Roman people, and was not even let to the townspeople; Cic. Verr. iii. § 109 asserts that with the exception of a single family no Leontine occupied so much as a clod (glaebo) of earth there; the ager was farmed partly by Roman citizens, partly by other Sicilians (esp. Centuripini. Verr. iii. § 114). [The town had properly no name, but took the name of the people; hence Verr. ii. § 160: Leontinis, misera in civitate.]

1. 17. quoniam quidem, as I certainly might with good cause, since etc.


1. 18. grandiferae, a rare word, but supported by cod. Vat. and Martian. Cap. v. § 511. Cf. p. Seaur. § 25: campus ille nobilissimus ac feracissimus Leontinus. [‘Insolens sane et novum grandifer praesertim ex adiectivo priore parte sumpta, cuius formae unum, opinor, adhuc erat exemplum idque poeticum, omnifer. (Madvig forgets multifer.) Sed tamen potuit de agro grandes segetes ferente dici fortasse etiam comuni sermone.’ MADVIG, ed. 3, who questions whether the faenore of the common reading, in the sense of ‘produce of the earth,’ is Ciceronian.]
[1. 20. sanasset, from your madness. § 97. l. 22.]

rhetori, § 43. l. 18 n. duo = \(\frac{1}{15}\) of the whole ager (Verr. iii. 113).

c. xl. § 102. l. 22. [Deduxisti. Mark the chiasmus (§ 95. l. 24 n.), Deduxisti and deduxerat; consuluisi and respondissem; negari and rescripsi; are severally the first and last words in their clauses. Cf. Lael. § 52: diligat—diligatur; circumfluere—civere. de fin. ii. § 40. Nægelsb.]

Casilinum, in Campania on the Appian way. [Liv. xxii. 15. § 3: urbs Vulturno flumine dircxpta Flaternm a Campano agro dividit. ABR. Octavianus, by a bounty of 500 denarii, drew over the veterans of this colony to his side. (ad Att. xvi. 8. § 1).]

1. 24. tu quidem, 'it is true, your question related to Capua; but'—cf. § 5. l. 19 n. posse rec depends on consuluisi, and de Capua—respondissem form a kind of parenthesis.

1. 26. Negari etc. Niebuhr hist. Rom. ii. 625: 'A whole district marked out under the auspices for partition was in fact a temple, and unalterable. There is a reference to this in the opinion pronounced by Cic. in his capacity of augur,...that where a colony had once been founded under regular auspices, so long as it subsisted undestroyed, no new one could be settled.'

1. 28. adscribi, as Archias at Heraclea. The names of such adopted citizens were registered in the town archives (tabularium, Cic. p. Arch. § 8).

1. 30. paucis annis ante, by the lex Julia.

1. 31. vexillum t., like signa tollere, Caes. b. civ. ii. 20, 'so that you marched in military array with colours flying,' i.e. performed the deductio with all formality. Cic. de leg. agr. ii. § 86: tunc illud vexillum Campanae coloniae, vehementer huic imperio timendum, Capum a decemviris inferetur etc. [Cf. Plut. C. Gracch. 11. ABR.] Military standards are the usual type on colonial coins. [Eckhel iv. 490 seq. Marquardt.]

aratum. The circuit of the city was traced by a plough. [Virg. Aen. v. 755: Aeneas urbem designat aratro. Ov. Fast. iv. 825, 826. This rite also often appears on colonial coins. Eckhel iv. 489 seq. Marquardt.]

[1. 32. quidem. 'Yes, and with the share of that plough.' The vulgar 'More by token' exactly gives the force.]

paene etc. Cas. lay only 3000 paces from Capua, on the site of the modern Capua. Old Capua was situated near the modern S. Maria di Capua.
P. 42. l. 1. coloniae, which Capua became B. C. 59 by a law of the consul Caesar. See p. Sest. § 9, whence we learn that Cicero was patronus of Capua.

§ 103. l. 3. M. Terentius Varro, the greatest 'Polyhistor' and the most prolific writer of Roman antiquity, was a sturdy Pompeian, and (B. C. 49) as legatus of Pompeius in Spain fought at the head of two legions against Cesar. In spite of political antipathies Caesar valued him for his learning. Suet. 44: de ornanda instruendaque Urbe, item de tuendo ampliandoque imperio plura ac maiora in dies destinabat...bibliothecas Graecas et Latinas, quas maximas posset, publicare, data M. Varroni cures comparandarum ac digerendarum etc. [In the history of Rome written by a 'Polyhistor' of our day, Th. Mommsen, there is an eloquent account of Varro and his works; Mommsen seems however to have exaggerated the literary power of his hero as unduly as he has depreciated that of Cicero.]

1. 4. fundum, described by Varro de re rust. III. 5. § 9: eum habecm sub oppido Casino flumen, quod per villam fluat liqui- dum et attum etc. [Varro goes on to describe at length his aviary, and mentions a museum, fishponds, terraces, etc. On Casino cf. § 40. l. 23; where the case of L. Rubrius, also of Casinum, is more fully stated; as is that of L. Turselius, § 41. Fundus is a 'homestead' (ager cum aedificio).]

1. 5. L. Rubrii, Cic. had at first written Scipionis (father-in-law of Pompeius, cf. § 109. l. 23), which he altered at the suggestion of Atticus (§ 86. l. 25 n.)

in praedla. Supply from adeolas the more general notion invasist. [cf. § 65. l. 8.]

1. 7. ab hasta, 'If it is from an auction that you have them, let the auction stand, and let the accounts stand, provided only they be Cesar's, not yours; those by which you are proved a debtor, not those by which you rid yourself from debt.' si ab hasta, se. in eas possessiones invasisti. [On hasta cf. § 39. l. 6 n. tabulae, the accounts of the biddings.]

1. 8. debuisti, for the house and goods of Pompeius, § 65 seq. 71 seq. [Intr. § 19.]

[tu te. cf. § 18. l. 20 n.] liberavisti, by the forged commentarii Caesaris. Intr. § 39. §§ 93, 97.

[1. 9. quidem. 'As for Varro's estate at Casino, who affirms that that was sold?']

[1. 11. praconis. § 64. l. 28. Juv. III. 33, VII. 6.]
emeret, as bona publicata.
[l. 13. magnum fuit. On the ind. cf. § 27. l. 15 n.]

§ 104. [l. 15. Varro's. Gell. iii. 10. § 17 cites Varro as saying that he had entered on his twelfth week of years and had written 490 books, several of which when he was proscribed had disappeared in the pillage of his libraries.]

[l. 17. gladios. § 112.]


alia causam, etc. we have agreed for the sake of peace to ratify Cæsar's genuine acts, and therefore to confirm the titles acquired by purchase at his auction spear (§ 100. l. 25).

[l. 19. confidentiae. Tusc. iii. § 14. confidens mala constudidine logiendii in vitio ponitur, ductum verbum a confiden.do, quod laudis est. ABR.]

l. 21. procurator, the agent of an absent owner, who had full power to act in his behalf.

c. xli. l. 23. Ab hora tertia, the ordinary time of the cena was hora nona. [Mart. iv. 8. 6: imperat exstructos frangere nona toros. bibebatur. § 42. l. 8. Cf. ad Att. xiv. 3. § 2: (Antoniium) epularum magis arbitrator rationem habere, quam quidquam mali cogitare.]

[l. 24. ludebatur, alea. § 56. vomebatur. § 63.]

quam dispari domino, from a tragedy. See de off. i. § 139: aliter ampla domus dedecori sacre domino fit, si est in ea solitudo, et maxime, si aliquando alio domino solita est frequentari. Odiosum est enim, cum a practereuntibus dicitur: 'o domus antiqua, heu quam dispari dominare domino l' quod quidem hic temporibus in multis licet diecre.

§ 105. l. 29. Iura p. R. It is now known (Ritschl, die Schriftstellerei des M. Terentius Varro in N. Rhein. Mus. vi. 481 seq.) that Varro wrote 15 books de iure civili.

l. 30. monimenta mai. e.g. Annalium libri iii., de vita populi Romani l. iv., esp. antiquitates rerum humanarum et rerum divinarum in 41 books.

l. 31. ratio, 'theory,' in his book de forma philosophiae (Ritschl, ibid. 503). omnisque doctrinæ, esp. in the 9 books
disciplinarum, an encyclopaedic account of the artes liberales amongst the Romans. [Mommsen supposes that the Trivium and Quadrivium came down from Varro, through Martianus Capella. From Cic. Auson. prof. 20. 9 sq.]

[inquilino. 'Catilina,' says App. b. civ. ii. 2 (after Sallust), 'called Cicero an inquilinus, by which name they are called who inhabit houses not their own.' Scheller cites Justin xliii. 4. § 5: qui nunc inquilini videantur, quandoque dominos regionum futures.]


[l. 3. Casino. § 43. 1. 23.]

[l. 4. Aquinum, a Volscian town in Latium, the birth-place of Juvenal. Juv. iii. 318, 319: quoties te | Roma tuo recifi proporiente reddet Aquino. Still called Aquino. Cic. had a lodge there (ad fam. ix. 24. § 1), and expresses his fears lest his estates should share the fate of those of his friend and neighbour (e.g. ad Att. xvi. 12. § 2).]

[Interamna, says Varr. l. l. v. § 28, quod inter amnes est constitutum. This I. was called Lirinas, as being on the (left) bank of the Liris; 7 miles from Casinum. The extensive ruins on the site are still called Teramc. Mr Bunbury.]

[Admissus etc. Cf. ad Att. xv. 8. § 1: aditus ad cum (Ant.) difficilior esse dicitur.]

[Iure etc. 'There you were right (in refusing homage); for the emblems of rank lost their lustre in a man so infamous;' i.e. you felt that your consular insignia could not give you a title to reverence.]

§ 106. [l. 9. operta lectica. cf. § 58. 1. 18 n. Juv. iii. 242: clausa lectica fenestra. cf. ib. iv. 21.—ut mortuus. C. Gracchus (in Gall. x. 3. § 5) tells a story of a young official, who was borne in a palanquin; a peasant meeting him, and not knowing who it was, asked in jest, num mortuum ferrent. On which the fiery young blade ordered the lectica to be set down, and the jester to be beaten with the thongs which fastened it; under which infraction he died. See more in Gronov. Obs. ii. 15. p. 169 Fr.]

l. 10. via, Latina, which ran southward from the porta Capena.

[l. 11. descenderunt. Sil. xii. 532, 533: surgit suspensa tumci | dorso frugiferis cerealis Anagnia glaucis. Anagnia (now Anagni), capital of the Hernicans in Latium, lay on a hill to
the left (hence devit) of the Via Latina. Cicero had a villa there (ad Qu. fr. ii. 7, ad Att. xii. 1. § 1).]

[l. 12. esset. 'as though he really were consul.' cf. § 68. l. 18 n.]

l. 13. sed sum vicinus. This emendation of the MS. reading sed cum minus is due to Madvig. [See his opusc. ii. 330: 'Puto Ciceronem significasse, se cum villam in illa vicinia haberet, ex ipsis Anaguiinis recentem rem audivisse, cum sine uilla varietate narraretur.'][

l. 14. praeertim cum. § 60. l. 13 n.

l. 15. Musidiam et Laconem. § 8. l. 17 n. In the rough copy of the speech which Cic. sent to Atticus (ad Att. xvi. 11. § 3 in Intr. § 56. n. *), the names were wanting, and Atticus asked who the duo Anaguiini might be. In the published speech the names were added for the sake of clearness. (Manut. less probably condemns them as a gloss.)

§ 107. l. 18. Sidicinos, an Oscan people in the N.W. of Campania, whose capital was Teanum.

[Puteolanos. At Puteoli ('Wells,' now Pozzuoli), a great commercial city on the northern shore of the bay of Cumae, Cic. had a fine villa (Academia, Plin. hist. nat. xxxi. § 6; see the epigram by a freedman of Cicero's, ibid. § 8), to which Hirtius and Pansa came in this year 44 to practise declamation with the orator, 'leaving him no rest even at the baths' (ad Att. xiv. 12. § 2). During the progress of Ant. (April and May) Cic. was there more than once (ib. 7. § 1, 16. § 1, 20. § 1), and was visited by Octavius (Augustus. ib. 11. § 2, 12. § 2). There too he revised this speech (Intr. § 56. n. *). On the name cf. Varr. L. L. v. § 25: A puteis oppidum Puteoli, quod incircum cum locum aquae frigidae et caldoc multae.]

[l. 19. patronos adoptassent. So Orelli inser. 7115: hunc ob merita eius erga rem publicam ordo decurionum patronum municipi (Spoletii) adoptavit. Cic. p. Sest. § 9 (supr. § 100. l. 4 n.). Conquerors became patrons of the new provinces (e.g. the Marcelli of Sicily, divin. p. Caece. §§ 2, 13, 16, Verr. III. § 45); founders, of colonies (p. Sull. § 60); orators, of cities or countries on whose behalf they had pleaded (Tac. dial. 3, 36). The dignity was hereditary (e.g. Antonius was hereditary patron of Bononia, Suet. Oct. 17, Dio L. 6). Many inscriptions on marble or brass (Verr. iv. § 145) remain, attesting this relation; such tablets were fastened in the wall of the patron's atrium. Cf. the Greek πρόξενοι, and on the custom generally, Dionys. ii. 11, App. b. civ. ii. 4. See esp. the humorous account of the statues raised by the 35 tribes, the knights, the military tribunes, and (last, not least) the usurers of the middle Ianus, to their patron L. Antonius, Phil. vi. §§ 12—15, vii. § 16. See the case of the pseudo-Marius. Intr. § 38.]
1. 21. Basilus, doubtless a different man from the L. Minucius B., who served as legatus of Cæsar in his Gallic wars, and was one of his murderers. [Cicero calls Basilus Satrianuus (de off. iii. § 74) patronum agri Piceni et Sabini; o turpem notam temporum illorum!]

1. 22. non modo, 'not to say,' 'much less.' Madvig, § 461. n. 3, Zumpt, § 724 b. [Cf. § 26. 1. 28 n. Ramshorn cites de leg. iii. § 12: nihil habui sane, non modo multum. parad. § 17: ne reusanti quidem..., non modo repugnanti. Plin. h. nat. xi. § 18 (of bees): mortuis ne floribus quidem, non modo corporibus insidunt. See Hand's Tursell. iv. 297.]

1. 23. cliens: The patron was said in clientelam recipere or suscipere.

c. xlii. [qui dies. § 90. l. 31.]

1. 25. bustum. Intr. §§ 38, 43. Phil. i. § 5: alia porro propria Dolabellae, quae, nisi collega auisset, credo iis futura juisse communia. Nam cum saceret in urbe mulieres et idque manaret in dies latius, idemque bustum in foro facerent, qui illam inselpultam seculuram effecerant, et cotidie magis magisque perdisti homines cum sui similibus servis teectis et templis urbis minitarentur, talis animadversio fuit Dolabella cum in audaces sceleratosque servos, tum in impuros et nefarios liceros, talisque eversio illius exsecratae columnae, ut mihi mirum video catur tam valde reliquum tempus ab illo uno die dissensisse. [See the appeal to Dolabella, ibid. § 30: Quem potes recordari in vita inluxisse tibi diem lactorem quam cum expiato fooro, dissipato concursu impiorum, principibus secleris poena adfectis, te domum recepisti? Cic. there goes on to mention the general congratulations on Dolabella's vigorous assertion of the law, the thanks which he himself received as D.'s supposed adviser, the plaudits in the theatre etc. Cf. the letter of thanks to Dolabella (ad fam. ix. 14). Cicero's correspondence (ad Att. xiv. 15—17, 20. § 4) shews the extraordinary importance which he attached to this 'heroic feat.' See Intr. n. 177.]

[l. 26. concidisti. Cf. Phil. v. § 23: Quo ille nuntio audito ...repente concidit. Often thus used of the 'collapse,' prostration, consternation, produced by a sudden shock. We say 'you dropped to the ground as if shot.' The vulgar phrase 'struck all of a heap' gives the exact force of the preposition.]

1. 27. metum. No: see Intr. n. 180.

[l. 28. collegam. ad Att. xiv. 18. § 1: Sacius me iam agitas, quod rem gestam Dolabellae nimiris in caelum videar efferre ....Sed totum se a te abalienavist Dolabella, ca de causa, qua me quòque sibi inimicumissimum reddidit. He goes on to say that]
he had written a very ‘stinging’ letter (satis aculeatias litteras),
to Dolabella.)

quidem, ‘that is certain.’

de caelo, cf. for the expression, Phil. iv. § 6: Caesar furtur
in caelum, qui contra te exercitum comparavit, laudantur exqui-
sitissimis verbis legiones, quae te reliquerunt. ad Att. xiv. 6. § 2:
nihil tam sólalou, quam τραγωντάυον ἐν caelo esse (ad Att. xvi.
§ 5. § 2, it is said cos laudari atque amari), tyranni facta defendi.
Fiorus ii. 19 (i. 34). § 3: bellis Gallicis atque Germanicis, quibus
populus R. caelum ipsum gloria ascendit. infr. § 114: cam
gloriam... quae vix caelo capi posse videatur. [Cic. to Dolabella,
ad fam. ix. 14. § 1: te summis laudibus ad caelum extulcrunt.]

[l. 29. tu quidem. § 6. l. 19 n.]

§ 108. [l. 31. relictus. § 100. l. 2. Intr. § 46.]

[l. 32 seq. Phil. v. § 17: Cinnam memini, vidi Sullam, modo
Caesarem: ... Non possum affirmare nullis telis cos stipatos fuisse;
hoc dico, nec multis et occultis. § 18: At hane pestem agmen
armatorum sequabatur: Cassius, Mustela, Tiro, gladios osten-
tantes, sui similes greges daecabant per forum; certum agminis
locum tenebant barbari sagittarii. Cum autem erat ventum ad
adem Concordiae, gradus complebantur, lectioae collocabantur,
non quo ille scuta occulta esse vellet, sed ne familiares, si scuta
ipsi ferrent, laborarent etc. ABR.]

P. 44. [l. 3. nec ita multi, just as we say, ‘and not so many
of them,’ i.e. ‘not very many.’ Hand Tursell. iii. 490 seq.
cites e. g. Brut. § 244: verum qui omnino nomen habuerint, non
ita multos fuisse; and the common phrase (de off. ii. § 19 etc.)
ne ita multo post. For non tam ef. Madvig on de fin. i. § 1.]

Ista etc. ‘But what an Asiatic despotism is this of yours.’

[l. 4. Agmine quadrato. Tibull. iv. 1. 101, 102: seu sit
opus quadratum acies consistat in agmen, rectus ut aequatis
decurrat frontibus ordo. Sen. epist. 59. § 7: ire quadrato ag-
mine exercitum, ubi hostis ab omni parte suspectus est, pugnae
paratum. Phil. v. § 20 (speaking of the meeting of the senate,
19 Sept. 44, Intr. § 56): agmine quadrato in acdem Concordiae
venit atque in me absentem orationem ex ore impurissimo evomuit.
Quo die, si per amicos mihi cupienti in senatum venire licentiss,
cadis initium fecisset a me.—The agmen quadratum was not
necessarily a square, as it is in Tibullus, l. c., but a force present-
ing an even front to an enemy; always used of an army on
the alert. Sall. Jug. 100. § 1, Liv. x. 14. § 7, Caes. b. Gall.
viii. 8. § 3. quadrare is ‘to dress’ a line. MARQUARDT.]

[sectorum lecticas, ‘palanquin-loads of shields;’ a humorous
use of the constr. which we have in cadus vini etc.]

[. 11. facinora efficet. § 42. 1. 13 n. de fin. II. § 95: vide, ne facinus facias, ‘take heed, lest you commit a crime.’

NAEGELSB.]

[chirographa. Intr. n. 160 and 164.]

1. 12. leges. Intr. § 53. Phil. I. § 18: De Caesare ipso si quae rerum, quidnam egisset in urbe et in ioga, leges multas respondet se et praeclaras tulisse, chirographa vero aut mutaret aut non daret aut, si dedisset, non istas res in actis suis duceret …… § 19: Quae lex melior, utilior, optima etiam re publica saepius flagitata, quam ne praetoriae provinciae plus quam annuum nere plus quam biennium consultae obtinercntur? Hae leges sublata videnturne robust posse Caesaris acta serrari? (on the leges indicinia see Intr. n. 212)……. § 21: Altera promulgata lex est ut et de vi et maiestatis damnati ad populum provocent, si velint …. § 23: Quid quod obrogatur legibus Caesaris, quae indulcit ei, quia de vi, itemque ei, qui maiestatis damnatus sit, aqua et igni interdici? quibus cum provocatio datur, nonne acta Caesaris rescinduntur….. § 24: …cas leges, quas ipse (Caesar) nobis inspectantibus recitavit, prouunciavit, tulit, quibus latis gloriarus cique legibus rebus publicam contineri putabat, de provinciis, de iudiciis, cas, inquam, Caesaris leges nos, qui defen dimus acta Caesaris, exercendias putamus?


1. 17. nihil lege gravius. I. § 18: Ecquid est quod tam proprie diei possit actum eius, qui togatus in re publica cum potestate imperioque versatus sit, quam lex? …in maximis vero rebus, id est legibus, acta Caesaris dissolvit ferendum non puto.

1. 18. sine prom. I. § 25: de his tamen legibus, quae promulgatae sunt, saltem queri possimus; de iis, quae iam latae dicuntur, ne id quidem licet: illae enim sine uilla promulgatione latae sunt ante quam scriptae. Cf. v. § 7.

1. 19. alias ut tolleret etc. I. e. alias Caesaris leges ut tolleret, ipse leges promulgavit. Phil. I. §§ 19, 23.
HORTI CAESARIS. PULVINAR.

1. 21. obtentum. *Servatum, custoditum, ratum, non mutatum.* P. Quintet. § 75: *obt. mendacium.* de off. iii. § 73: *obt. falsum testamentum.* Heus. Cf. § 3. 1. 10 n.]

1. 22. hortis. Intr. § 34. On the right bank of the Tiber, at the south of the plain under the Janiculum. Hor. s. i. 9. 18 *trans Tiberim longe cubat is prope Caesaris hortos.* Tac. ann. ii. 41, Plut. Brut. 20. Becker, i. 479, 657.]

1. 23. in villam Scipionis. § 42. 1. 7 n. [§ 103. 1. 5 n.]. This too Ant. had acquired ab hasta. Cf. Phil. iii. § 30: *Quid hic victor non audiet, qui nullam adeptus victoriam tanta seclera post Caesaris interitum fecerit? hortos compilarit? ad se ex his omnia ornamenta transplantaret?*

c. xliii. § 110. [1. 24. Et. § 51. 1. 31.]

1. 25. honorem maiorem. Flor. iv. 2 (= ii. 13). § 91, Suet. Caes. 76 (§ 85. 1. 4 n.).

1. 26. pulvinar. [Serv. ad Virg. G. iii. 533: *pulvinaria pro templis ponimus, cum sint proprie lectuli, qui sterno in templis ...consuerunt.* In the lectisternia (first introduced B.C. 399, Liv. v. 13), busts of the gods (capita, Liv. xl. 59) were laid on these cushions, and viands set before them, while a general festival was kept throughout the city. We generally read of them as connected with *supplicationes* (above, § 13. 1. 27, of the thanksgiving for Catilina's defeat; cf. or. Catil. iii. § 23: *ad omnia pulvinaria supplicatio decreta est, a decrece such as frequently appears in Livy.* Hor. Carm. i. 37. 2 seq. (recommending a thanksgiving for Cleopatra's death): *nunc Saliaribus | ornare pulvinarum decorum | tempus erat dapibus, sodales.* Marquardt.]

simulacrum (ἀγάλμα), the image of a god (statua (ἀγάλμα). Or. Catil. iii. § 19: *et simulacra deorum depulsae sunt et statuae veterum hominum decetue.* Cf. de divin. ii. § 45, p. Arch. § 30. [Plin. h. n. xxxiv. § 9: *ad deum simulacra efficiemque hominem.* Ibid. § 15: *simulacrum ex aere factum Cereri ... Transiit (ars) et a dis ad hominum status atque imagines.* Abr.]

1. 27. fastigium. Intr. § 22 ad fin. [Plut. Caes. 63. Suet. Caes. 81. (Calpurnia dreamt collabi fastigium domus.) De orat. iii. § 180: *Capitolii fastigium illud et e veterarum acodem .necessitas ipsa fabricata est. Nam cum esset habita ratio, quem ad modum ex utraque teeci parte aqua dclaberetur, utilitatem templi fastigii dignitas consecuta est; ut, etiam in caclo Capitolium statueretur, ubi imber esse non posset, nullam sine fastigio dignitatem habiturumuisse videatur. On the asyndeton in the climax cf. § 104. 1. 21. amicus...procurator.]

ut Iovi etc. Other gods also had their 'special priests;' but the *flamen Dialis, Martialis and Quirinalis* were the only *flamines*...
maiores, necessarily of patrician blood. The new flamen divi Iulii was indeed nobilis, but of plebeian descent.

[1. 28. divo. This title was conferred on many of the emperors (not on all, e.g. not on Nero or Otho) by a decree of the senate (Plut. Caes. 67) after their death. It was afterwards adopted in the church, ‘divus Augustinus’, etc. A temple of divus Iulius was raised on the site of his bustum (Intr. n. 215. cf. ib. §§ 38, 43, Ov. metam. xv. 841.).]

1. 29. inaugurariis? [On the form, cf. § 19. l. 4 n.]. The flamines were chosen by the pontifex maximus, and then received from an augur the inauguratio, i.e. priestly consecration or ordination, which was performed in the comitia calata in presence of the pontifices (Gell. xv. 27. § 1). That a single augur might consecrate, appears also from Macrobius, Sat. III. 13. § 11: L. Iulius Caesar, qui eum (Lentulum flaminem Martialem) inauguravit. [Phil. xiii. § 41: Tu, tu, inquam, illum occidisti Lupercalibus: cuius, homo ingratiissime, flaminium cur reliquisti? In b.c. 40, to please Octavianus and the veterans, Ant. allowed himself to be consecrated. (Plut. Ant. 33.) DRUMANN.]

vide, ‘look out,’ i.e. choose. [So Juv. viii. 95: praecocem, Chacrippe, tuis circumspice pannis. cf. Theocr. xv. 2.]

1. 30. collegae. §§ 4, 84. l. 26.]

1. 31. Caesaris, cod. Vat.; for which the inferior MSS. have the gloss tyranni.

1. 32. mortui, (dei immortalis. Phil. i. § 13: An me consexit, patres conscripti, quod vos invitii seculi estis, decreturum fuisse, ut parentalia cum supplicationibus miscerentur? ut inexpliites religiones in rem publicam inducereur? ut decernerentur supplicationes mortuo?... Fuerit ille Brutus,...adduci tamen non posse ut quemquam mortuum coniungerem cum immortalium religione, ut, cuius sepulchrum usquam exstet ubi parentetur, ei publice supplicetur.

P. 45. 1. I. heni. Intr. § 56. [Sept. 18. In the calendar in Orelli’s inscr. ii. 308, there are 5 days of ludi Romani in circu; i.e. Sept. 19, on which day Cicero professes to be speaking, is added to the original 4 days of the games.]

1. 2. ludorum Rom. These games, called also magni or maximi, were celebrated in honour of Rome’s chief divinities, who were united in the Capitoline temple, Juppiter, Iuno, and Minerva. They were given by the curule aediles. The proper ludi Romani (Sept. 4—12), were followed after an interval of two days by the special ludi Romani in circu (originally Sept. 15—18), to which after this year 44 another day was added.

1. 4. practextati, ‘in festival attire.’ It seems that the augurs
used their privilege of wearing the praetexta only on festivals or when engaged in the duties of their function.

I. 6. *addendo.* Intr. § 54, n. 215. Phil. i. § 12: *De supplicationibus referebatur* (by Ant. in the senate i Sept. 44). [cf. Phil. i. § 13, just cited.] ‘Or was it that, while you allowed the thanksgivings (proper to the gods) to be polluted (by the addition of a day consecrated to a dead man), you were unwilling that the sacred cushions should be polluted?’ (by that dead man’s bust being laid upon them; the pulvinaria being brought out on occasion of supplicationes). Antonius is reproached with his inconsistency in not enforcing his own decree. [The sentence is one of those so frequent in Gr. and Lat., in which two contrasted clauses are coordinate, where in Eng. the first would be subordinated to the other, and introduced by ‘while,’ ‘though,’ or some such particle. Cf. § 75. 1. 7. Madvig, Lat. Gr. § 438, and Gr. Synt. § 189, Zumpt, § 781, Matthiä, Gr. Gr. § 622, Buttmann’s Index to Demosth. Midias s. v. μέμν. Cie. Tusc. disp. i. § 31, ii. § 34, p. Sest. §§ 33, 45, 46, p. Sull. § 32, p. C. Rabirio, § 16, p. Mur. § 6. N. D. i. § 23: *ita multa sunt incommoda in vita, ut ea sapientes commodorum compensatione leniant, stulti nec vitare venientia possint nec ferre praesentia;* where the clause ut—leniant, is only introduced for the sake of the contrast; we should say ‘so many, that though the wise alleviate them, fools can neither avoid nor bear them.’ ibid. ii. § 13: *An eetra mundus habebit omnia, hoc unum, quod plurimi est, non habebit?* See Xen. memor. i. 6. § 5 and Kühner’s n., Demosth. p. 426. l. 26, 449. l. 17, 459. l. 20, 460. l. 23, 502. l. 5. See Addenda, p. 160.]

§ III. [I. 11. *quid potes dicere cur,* ‘on what assignable principle do you’—?] [I. 14. *eloquentiam—disertissimum.* de or. i. § 94 (the orator Antonius is speaking): *scripsit...discertos me cognoscit nonnullus, eloquentem audire neminem, quod cum statuebam disertum, qui posset satis acuta atque dilucide apud mediocres homines ex communi quadam opinione hominum dicere, eloquentem vero, qui mirabilius et magnificentius augere posset atque ornare, quae vellet, omnusque omnium rerum, quae ad dicendum pertinent, fontes animo ac memoria contineret. Afr.]

[arum. Intr. § 1.]

[I. 15. *apertiorem.* *Apertum pectus was proverbial (Lael. § 97: ut dicitur).*

IISCO. VALVAE CONCORDIAE. [43 44 111—113]

[1. 17. *ant.* § 92. l. 27 n.—hisere. In Liv. XLIV. 45. § 10. (aliquotiens dicere incipientem cum lacrimae praepedissent, quia ipse dicere nequinit) Madvig (emendat. Liv. 591, cf. 619) restores hisere from the MS. "Neque enim in co verbo apud Latinos quiekam est iocosci aut nimis humile, sed prorsus respondit ei, quod Germanice dias: weil er kein Wort hervorzubringen vermochte; (cf. XXXIX. 12). Idem verbum a librario oblitteratum videbimus XLV. 37. § 13." Commonly used with non audere or non posse. Liv. VI. 10. § 3: nec attollere oculos aut hisere audebant. A. W. Ernesti also quotes, for it is a favourite word with Livy, IX. 4. § 7. 6. § 12: non salutantibus dare responsum, non hisere quemquam praec metu potuisse. X. 19. § 7, XLV. 26. § 6.]

c. XLIV. § 112. [l. 21. *hodiernum diem.* § 110. l. 1 n.]

1. 23. armatorum. As the speech was not actually delivered, this must be taken as a description of the manner in which the senate was usually overawed by Ant. Cf. ep. ad fam. X. 2. § 1: Meum studium honori tuo non defuisset, si aut tuto in senatum aut honeste vnaire potuisse. Sed nec sine periculo quisquam libere de re publica sentientes versari potest in summa inipunitate gladiorum, nec nostrae dignitatis videtur esse ibi sententiam de re publica dicere, ubi me et melius et proprius audiant armati quam senatores. [supr. § 8. l. 18 seq., § 15. l. 21. §§ 19, 46, 108.]

1. 24. Concordiae. [§§ 15. l. 18 n., 19. l. 31 n.] Phil. v. § 18: Illud vero tacterrimum non modo alspectu, sed etiam auditu, in cella Concordiae conlocari armatos, latrones, sicarios; de templo carecere fieri; oportis valvis Concordiae, cum inter subsellia senatus versarentur latrones, patres conscriptos sententias dicere.


[1. 27. *Non igitur* etc. Antonius might remember that Caesar was taken at his word, who discharged his Spanish guard, saying (Suet. 86), insidias semper inminentes subire semel satius esse, quam carecre semper. ABR. Dio XLIV. 7 ad fin., Plut. Caes. 57.]

§ 113. P. 46. l. 1. nobis, the party of the optimates.

1. 3. minime avara. § 95. l. 31 n.

1. 4. sine contumelia. § 30. l. 5 n. describo, portray.

1. 5. tertiam pensionem, instalment, to be paid on a fixed day. [Fulvia has already paid two instalments of her debt to the country, in the deaths of her two former husbands, P. Clodius and C. Curio (§ 111); it is high time for her to pay the third by giving you up, for she is a woman (Phil. v. § 11) 'sibi felicior quam viris.'

1. 6. *ad quos*, the liberators. [qui ubicumque etc. 'who carry with them, wherever they go.']
1. 9. nonclum reciperavit. Cic. ad C. Cassium (ad fam. xii. 1. § 2): \( \text{Hace omnia volis sunt expedienda nec hoc cogitandum satis iam habere rem publicam a vobis. Habet illa quidem tantum, quantum numquam mihi in mentem venit optare, sed contenta non est... Adhuc ulta suas iniurias est per vos interitu tyranni, nihil amplius. Ornamenta vero sua quae reciperavit? etc.} \)

\[ \text{Habet quidem eorte etc. cf. l. 5. 'The people is at no loss whom to choose as rulers;...at any rate it certainly knows where to look for champions.' Cf. Hand's Tursell. ii. 27. p. Sest. § 24: malì quidem eorte nihil pertimescendam.} \]

1. 10. adulescentes. M. Brutus was born b.c. 85 (Brut. § 324), Cassius was older still. [cf. §§ 52. l. 7, 118. l. 8.]

1. 11. quam volent illi cedant. Cic. N. D. ii. § 46: \( \text{Hic quam volent Epicurus iocetur. p. Cael. § 67: quam volent in conviciis faceti sint. RAMSHORN. Plin. epist. i. 20. § 25. We rather use the pres. than fut., 'as much as they please,' not 'shall please.' This constr. explains the use of quamenis with the conj.} \]

1. 12. pacis, with reference to otio l. 11.

§ 114. [l. 16. Quod si. Madvig, § 449.]

[l. 17. at. Madvig, § 437 e. Hand Turs. i. 427, who cites p. Mil. § 93: si mihi bona re publica frui non liceret, at carebo mala.]

[l. 19 seq. Tarquinium etc. §§ 26, 87.]

[l. 21. suspitionem. 'sectius is the same as sectius (sceitius), a form occurring in Plautus, and follows the analogy of artus for arctus, autunnus, and suspicio which is for suspiciot, suspicio being an inexplicable form and resting on no authority whatever.' Mr Munro in Journal of Philology, iv. 284.]

1. 22. primum. So cod. Vat. not primi; cf. Verr. v. § 60: cognoscite nunc nuncam praedandi rationem, ab hoc primum ex cogitationem. in Cat. iii. § 15: quod mihi primum post urbem conditione toga confert.

[in regnum adpetentem. Genitives and adverbs are often interposed between the prep. and its case; occasionally the object governed by an adj. or part. comes between it and the prep. on which it depends. Zumpt, § 794, Madvig, § 469. 2. Ovid. epist. ex Pont. iv. 2. 11: interque Helicona colentes. id. ep. heroid. 19. 148: a tibi suspecto ducet Ulixes genus. Liv. xxvii. 36. § 2: ad merece auxilia conducunda, where see Weissenborn. Such a position as (Virg. ecl. 6. 19) ipsis cx vincula sertis, is only found in the poets.]

1. 26. caelo. § 107. l. 28 n.
1. 28. *immortalitatem, of fame.* I. § 34. [The ancient languages have a great advantage in being able to bring contrasted words into juxtaposition naturally and easily. To us ‘when this mortal shall have put on immortality’ is perhaps the most forcible position in which the words could be arranged. With this example of *annominatio* (§ 25. 1. 13 n.) cf. the epitaph of the poet Nævius on himself, the dirge of the old Roman literature (Gell. l. 24. § 2): *Inmortales mortales si foret fas flere, | flereant dirae Camenae Nacrium poëtam. | Itaque postquam est orchi traditus thesaurus, | oblití sunt Romae loquior lingua Latina.*]

c. xlv. § 115. [l. 31. *dictaturam.* § 91. l. 21. Intr. § 37.]

1. 31 seq. *pone—tum intelleges.* or. Catil. I. § 8: *Reconose—; iam intelleges.* [Above, § 104. l. 17 n. Tusc. v. § 100: *Confer—; tum intelleges.*]

P. 47. [l. 1. *mundinatione.* Intr. § 39.]

§ 116. [l. 14. *suis.* ‘one’s own friends.’ So amor sui ‘self-love.’ Nægelsb. cites ad fam. vi. 7. § 4: *cum plurimum ad alieni sensus conicituram, non ad suum iudicium scribantur;* ‘where guess at another man’s likings, not one’s own judgement, regulates the composition.’ de fin. I. § 67: *amicitiae...efferctrices sunt voluptatem tam amicis quam sibi.* N. D. III. § 88: *iudicium hoc omnium mortalium est, fortunam a deo petendum, a se ipso sumendum esse sapientiam.*]

1. 15. *quosdam,* as D. Brutus (Dio xliv. 14), P. and C. Servilius Casca, L. Tillius Cimber, C. Trebonius, L. Minucius Basillus, Serv. Sulpicius Galba, who as Cæsarians joined the conspiracy. Other conspirators, as M. Brutus and C. Cassius, were originally Pompeians, received to favour by Cæsar. [Above, §§ 5. l. 9 n., 26, 27. Plut. Cæs. 57.]

[l. 16. *re,* ‘respect.’ So below, § 117. l. 27. So § 23. *tota re,* ‘altogether,’ ‘in every respect,’ *res* often corresponds too to our word ‘case.’ Nægelsb.]

[Fuit etc. Observe the chiasmus in the next three clauses, Fuit begins the first, esserat cruts the third; gesserat in the second has moved forward two places. So ad Qu. fr. I. l. § 7: *exsistunt graves controversiae, multae nascuntur inimicæ, magnae contentiones consequuntur.* Nægelsb.]


litterae. Cæsar was eminent as a historian, orator and (in his work de analogia) grammarian; he also composed a great work de auspicis, and one de astris. [Cic. Brut. § 252 (Atticus is speaking): *de Cæsare et ipse ita iudico et de hoc (Cic.) huîus*
generis accerrimo existimatore saepissime audio, illum omnium fecer oratorum Latine loqui elegantissime; ... ut esset perfecta illa bene loquendi laus, multis litteris et eis quidem reconditis et exquisitis summoque studio et diligentia est consecutus. See ibid. § 253 on the de analogia, dedicated to Cic. Cf. Cic. ap. Suet. Caes. 55, and Suet. c. 56.]

[. 19. at tamen, 'yet at any rate.' Madvig on Cic. de fin. ii. § 85: 'Uno modo recte dicitur at tamen, ubi et in de-scensu ad minus post si, si non, etsi posito superadditur tamen, ut de or. iii. § 15. Brunt. § 15: sì non pari, at grato tamen munere. ad fam. ii. 6, § 3. Phil. xiii. § 18: Caesare dominante veniebamus in senatum, si non libere, at tamen tuto. de off. ii. § 58.]

1. 21. muneribus gladiatorii [Plut. Caes. 55, 57 ad fin., App. b. c. ii. 102, Suet. 26, 39.]

monimentis, buildings. [Circus, forum, amphitheatrum, templum Veneris Genetricis.' ABBR. Suet. 44 gives a list of the public works which he planned. conq. ep. Dio xliv. 39, Suet. 38.]

[l. 22. praemiis. § 50. l. 11 seq. Sall. Catil. 54. § 2 seq. Cic. himself was a debtor to Caesar, ad Att. vii. 3. § 8, 3. § 5. DRUMANN.]

1. 23. Clementiae specie. See Dio xlvi. 62 seq., xlivii. 50. [Above, § 71. Cicero himself confutes this ungrateful (§ 5. l. 5) taunt p. Marc. § 31: Vicit is (Caesar), qui non fortuna in-flammarct odium suum, sed bonitate leniret, neque omnes, quibus iratus esset, eosdem exsilio aut morte dignos indicaret. ad fam. vi. 6. § 8: In Caesarem haec sunt; multus clementissque natura etc. p. Deiot. §§ 8, 9, 40, 43. Drumann cites ad Att. ix. 16. § 1: Cum eiusmod (Caesari) elementam Corfiniensem illum per litteras collaudarissim, rescripsit hoc exemplo: 'CAESAR IMP. CICERONI IMP. S. D. Recte augurariis de me...nihil a me abesse longius crudelitate...Neque illud me movet, quod ii, qui a me dimissi sunt, discernisse dicuntur, ut nihil rursus bellum inferrent, nihil enim malo quam et me simul esse et illos sui.' Cf. the funeral oration of Ant. on Caesar (Dio xliv. 45—47), Plut. Caes. 49, 54, 57. Sall. Catil. 54. §§ 2—4, Intr. § 22.]

c. xlvi. § 117. [l. 28. inusta. Often employed where we must be content with a less figurative term; thus (p. Mil. § 33, in Pis. § 30) leges inurere; de or. ii. § 189: motus (emotions) inusti. NAEGELSB.]

[l. 29. tamen. p. Rabir. Post. § 41: quae quidem (dignitas) in miserrimis rebus huic tamen tribuenda maxima est. FERR. Cf. the cases in which tamen is followed by a participle. Halm on p. Sest. § 140, p. 311.]
§ 118. P. 48. [l. 5. quibus ortus sis. Instr. § 1.]

[l. 6. mecum, etc. sc. agito. ‘As for me, live with me on what terms you think fit, only by all means be reconciled to the state.’ Achilles Stat. cites Ter. Hee. v. i. 38: nostra utere amicitia, ut voles. Liv. viii. 35. § 7: mecum, ut voles, recerteris in gratiam: populo R. nihil maius praestiteris. Garatoni adds Cic. N. D. i. § 90: Verum hoc quidem, ut voletis.]

l. 7. videris. Madvig, § 340. n. 4. [Zumpt, § 511. On this use of the future exact in putting off the consideration of a thing see Madvig, opusc. II. 92: ‘coniuncta autem cum differenti notione est curae aut in aliun aut in se transferendae, quo simul ea cura differtur.’ He gives examples of dixerem, sedixerem, ivero, etc. so used by Plautus and Terence, but videro (with which Heinsius compares τί προς ἡμᾶς; σύ δέπη) alone remained in common use (ibid. 96, ‘Cic. ad Qu. fr. ii. 15. § 2: sed videro, spatium sumens cogitandi et se deliberaturum promittens’). Tertullian employs videro rather singularly, ‘viderit persona’ (=quid nihili cum p.?), cum doctrina nihili quascio est. Add to the passages cited in the index of Schütz, de test. anim. c. i.]

[l. 8. ipsce. We say, ‘I will make protestation for myself’ (de me ipsō); in Lat. and still more in Gr. (αὐτῆς δ' αὐτῆς etc.) the ipsce (αὐτῆς) very frequently is attached to the nominative, even where there is not (as here there is tu—ego) a contrast between it and a nom. in another clause, but oblique cases are contrasted in the two clauses, as in Liv. ii. 9. § 5: nec hostes medo timebant, sed suosmet ipsi (not ipsorum) elices. The reason is that there is a twofold contrast; within the clause between subject and object, without between the two objects. We lay stress on the latter, the Romans often on the former contrast. See Kühner on Tusc. disp. i. § 73. ad fam. iv. 8. § 1: non ita abundo ingenio, ut te consoler, cum ipsē me non possim. NaeGelsb. Weissenborn adds Liv. i. 11. § 9, 54. § 8. See Madvig, § 487 b, Zumpt, § 696.] adulescens, as consul. [B. C. 63, ad. 44. Cf. § 113. 1. 10.]

l. 11. contempsi, hence Juv. x. 122 seq. (printed on the back of the dedication).

l. 12. repraesentari, ‘brought nearer to the present,’ ‘realised.’ cf. ep. ad fam. v. 16. § 6: non debemus exspectare temporis medicinam, quam repraesententur ratione possimus.


§ 119. abhinc, with acc. Madvig, § 235. n. 2. [Abhinc with the acc. ‘ago’ (i.e. before this time); with the abl. ‘before that time’ (=ante). The rarer use with the abl. (Cic. Verr. ii. § 130, Plaut. Most. ii. 2. 62) may be compared with the use of adhuc
for *ad id tempus* (Madvig on Cic. de fin. v. c. 6. p. 639) and *etiam nunc* for *etiamtum*. In Cic. *ad Att. xii. 17* the abl. is owing to the comparative *amplius*. *Abhinc* with acc. p. Rose. com. § 37 (*triennium*; but also *annis*). *Verr. i. c. 12, ii. c. 9, p. Balb. c. 6, de divin. ii. c. 57, Hor. epist. ii. i. 36. etc. *Madvig, Bemerkungen, 65, 66.*

1. 14. *prope viginti.* § 1. 1. 2 n. [*hoc in templo*, Concordiae. § 15. 1. 18.]

_negavi._ or. Catil. iv. § 3: *si quid obtigerit, acque animo paratoque moriar._ *Nam neque turpismos fortis viro potest accidere neque immatura consulari._ [Hence in Cic. ap. Dion. xlv. 46. Madvig (opusc. ii. 339, 341) justly insists upon this proof of the genuineness of the 4th Catilinarian. Of late years Bake and other Dutch scholars, with the excessive scepticism which infects the countrymen of Hofman Peerlkamp and Cobet (‘quern honoris causa nominatum volo’) have assailed the first oration; but see Boot’s ed. Amst. 1857.]

1. 17. _adeptus—ut,* wanting in cod. Vat. 1st hand, and probably a later interpolation.

1. 21. _cuique,* esp. to you, Antonius. [*Quisque,* both in relative and demonstrative clause. de off. i. § 21: *quod cuique obtigit, id quisque teneat.* de rep. iii. c. ii: *tribuere id cuique, quod est quoque dignum.* ad fam. vii. 30. § 2, de fin. iv. § 33. Where there is but one *quisque,* it is commonly in the relative clause (with us, in the demonstrative). In de rep. vi. c. 24 (*mens cuiusque est quisque*) we must say ‘each man’s mind is the man himself.’ NAEGELESB.]
ADDENDA.

[§ 17. l. 11 n. Add 'In p. Caec. § 48: cui, cum superet coque consilio venisset,...licetum non sit accedere; read with PT. in Jordan qui cum.' R. S.]


[§ 21. l. 30 n. Add 'So in Plaut. Trinum. l. 34, 35 (Ritschl, nimioque hic pluris panciorum gratiam | faciunt pars hominum quam id quo prosint pluribus) read with A quod prosint.' R. S.]


[§ 104. l. 18 n. 'Ter. Phorm. III. 3. 28: Praestost; audacis-sume oneris quidevis impone, et feret. Some time ago I conjectured cceferet (anticipated by Fleckeisen). The usage of poets before Seneca's time is occasionally congruous to the Greek and our own. Virg. eel. III. 105, 107, 108. On Luc. iv. 486, 487 Cortius cites passages from Augustan age poets.' R. S.]

[§ 110. l. 6 n. Madv. on Cic. de fin. i. § 15: 'de orat. i. § 161. The Greeks make this far plainer than the Latins by their μέν. I believe I am right in my ann. crit. Dem. F. L. § 91 in my insertion of μέν after προσκνοιμέν in Plat. iii. Rep. 398 a (Bekker suggests a similar insertion in 1. Rep. 340 b). I always marvel that in Dem. Mid. p. 583, § 271, Bekk. Oxon. = § 215, μέν should be omitted by so many MSS. The same however (with one or two more) omit δε in the second clause. I am still more surprised that in S. Paul Rom. vi. 17, μέν is omitted. Surely God is not thanked that men were the servants of sin. Is it fanciful in 1 Corinth. viii. 1, 4, to conjecture οἴδα μέν for οἴδαμεν?' R. S.]
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