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First Edition 1861.
VIRO EREGIO,
UNI OPTIME DE CICERONE MERITO.
CAROLO HALMIO,
QUOD HUIC OPERI ACCESSIT NOVI
EXCUTIENDUM EDITOR TRADIT,
REFERT ACCEPTUM
QUOD IPSIUS EST.
ELOQUIUM AC PAMAM DEMOSTHENIS AUT GICERONIS INCIPIT OPTARE ET TOTIS QUINQUATRIBUS OPTAT, QUISQUIS ADHUC UNO PARCAM COLIT ASSE MINERVAM, QUEM SEQUITUR CUSTOS ANGUSTAE VERNULA CAESAR. ELOQUIO SED UTERQUE PERIT ORATOR, UTRUMQUE LARGUS ET EXUNDANS LETO DEDIT INGENII PONS. INOENIO MANUS EST ET CERVIX CAESA, NEC UMQUAM SANGUINE CAUSIDICI MADERUNT ROSTRA PUSILL. 'O FORTUNATAM NATAM ME CONSULE ROMAM?' ANTONI GLADIUS POTUIT CONTEMNERE, SI SIG OMNIA DIXISET. RIDENDA POEMATA MALO, QUAM TE CONSPICUAE, DIVINA PHILIPPICA, FAMAE, VOLVERIS A PRIMA QUAE PROXIMA.

Luven. 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, Cicer, 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 Abekeu'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 Ciceronianii. 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 'römishe 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 abridgments 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, 8vo) 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. Merget's complete 'Lexikon zu den Reden des Cicero. Jena, Mauke,' small fol. has been brought down to 'ingredior.'

EDITIONS. a. Rhetorical works. Ellendt's 'de oratore' (Königsb. 1840, 2 vols. 8vo) and 'Brutus' (ib. 1844), 8vo. A. S. Wilkins 'de or. Oxf. 1879,' vol. i.


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, Hauniac, 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 Nägelsbach'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. [1861]

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 sämmtliche Reden, Band 3. Leipzig. 1839), and Winckler (or. Phil. ii. adnott. in us. scholarum illustrata. Marburg. 1829), the German translation of Wernsdorf, and the text of Trot- scher.

* 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.
INTRODUCTION.

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 Catiline, 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. ii. §§ 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, 99.] 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. Lentulus⁵ 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 Plutarch⁶, 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 squandered⁷; notwithstanding which he persisted in maintaining his place in the theatre among the seats of the knights⁸. 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. Curio⁹, 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

INTRODUCTION.

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.
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 indis-
pendable 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 prob-
ably also with supplies of money, to sue for the
quæstorship. Cicero, flattered by Cæsar’s application,
lent his countenance to Antonius the more readily,
because the latter, while still a candidate for the
quæstorship, 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.

§ 48. According
to Plut. l. c. it was Antonius, who emboldened the hesitating
Gabiniius to undertake the illegal expedition.

§ 6: in ultimam Galliam.

§ 49.

§ 21, 49.

p. Mil. § 40. [Cic. ap. Dion. XLV. 40].
his appointment Antonius returned to Caesar, to administer the office under him\textsuperscript{23}, without either awaiting the decision of the lot\textsuperscript{24}, or being commissioned by express mandate of the people\textsuperscript{25}. The motive for this neglect of legal rules lay, as Cicero asserts\textsuperscript{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 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\textsuperscript{27}, and by the agitation of the tribune C. Curio\textsuperscript{28}, 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\textsuperscript{29}, of which he had been before the champion, procured for Antonius in the same year the office of tribune of the people\textsuperscript{30}. His administration of this magistracy

\textsuperscript{23} \textsuperscript{24} \textsuperscript{25} \textsuperscript{26} \textsuperscript{27} \textsuperscript{28} \textsuperscript{29} \textsuperscript{30}
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 Caesar 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. xlvi. 27.]
32) § 23.
33) Caes. b. civ. 1. 1: referunt consules de re publica.
34) Caes. i. 2: ut ante diem certam exercitum dimittat; si non faciat, eum 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 § 10 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 urbem, ne quid res publica

35) Caes. l. c. Refertur confestim 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 impedient, 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 respiciere ac timere consentant: 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 nescisse ... illum (Caesarem) initium facere armorum aut statim nobis minus paratis aut tum, cum comitis, amicis eius postulantibus 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 impedien 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.
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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.

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. 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) 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

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 proprætor, 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 concursandam Italiam tradidit. 44) Cic. ep. ad Att. x. 8 Α. [† ad Att. x. 10.] 45) Plut. Ant. 6. 46) § 57.
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.

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-

§ 14

47) Caes. ii. 21: ibi legem de dictatore latam sequere dictatorem dictum a M. Lepido praetore cognosceit. 48) esp. of Antonius. Phil. ii. §§ 56, 98 ; cf. Dio xliii. 27. 49) Caes. b. c. iii. 1: Itemque praetorisbus 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 occurrat, in primis nihil esse certius quam ut omnes, qui leges 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 §15 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 hazardous an attack, delivered

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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 mutus ex eo fierent, prohiberique omnes Italiam nisi quorum ipse causam cognovisset: deque eo vehementius erat scriptum. Itaque Antonius pete-
up his fleet in a sudden panic, entreating for mercy. In the offing before Alexandria Caesar 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.

§ 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.
INTRODUCTION.

"Pitiable," says Dio, "was the unwonted aspect of the city on the first of January and long after. No consul or praetor was to be seen. 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 robberies, 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 debts. 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) xliv. 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 xliv. 29—33. Livii perioch. cxxii.: Cum seditiones Romae a P. Dolabela tr. pl. legem ferente de novis tabulis excitatae essent et ex ea causa plebs tumultuatetur, inductis a M. Antonio magistro equitum in urbem militibus octingenti e plebe caesi sunt.
the rioters feared the severest punishments. But Cæsar 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 Cæsar'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, Cæsar, 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 xliii. 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 Cæsar on his return both forgave Dolabella, and when elected consul (ὑπατος, rather δικτατωρ) for the third time, chose not Antonius, but Lepidus as partner of his power' (magister equitum). 64) not unius, 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.
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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 67 nor in Spain did Antonius § 19 fight at Cæsar's side. A coolness had sprung up between them 68, because Cæsar demanded the payment of the sum, which Antonius had bid for the estate of Pompeius 69. Antonius was nettled by this demand, thinking that he had deserved so well of Cæsar, that he might securely reckon on a greater recompense 70. But the dictator insisted, and even threatened to put in a military execution 71, 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

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 Cæsar: '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 Caesar's order. Antonius' irritation was so great, that he was even charged with hiring an assassin to despatch Caesar, which seems however to be only a malicious calumny, although Cicero assures us, that Caesar openly complained of the matter in the senate. Ultimately Caesar 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 Caesar; 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 Caesarian 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 Caesar's designs. Accordingly Antonius found it necessary for

§ 20 See however § 74 n. § 74: paucis tibi ad solvendum propter inopiam tuam prorogatis diebus. §§ 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 Caesar 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 Caesar.' § 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 Caesar 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, \textit{i.e.} according to Cicero's interpretation\textsuperscript{73}, to prevent the distress of his goods by the representative of the \textit{praetor urbanus}\textsuperscript{79}. When Cæsar drew near, Antonius again left the city to meet him, on which occasion an entire reconciliation ensued\textsuperscript{80}, the price of which on Cæsar's part was undoubtedly the remission of the outstanding debt.

The greater the apprehensions with which many\textsuperscript{21} 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\textsuperscript{81}. He received the honourable appellations of 'deliverer' (which was also recorded in the \textit{fasti}), and 'father of his country,' together with the right of employing the title 'imperator' as a standing \textit{praenomen-
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 Cæsar. The month Quintilis, in which he was born, received the name Iulius 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 wellbeing; moreover a special festival was to be observed every 5th year (ludi quinquennales) as in honour of a demigod ( νρως)\(^{86}\). To the two colleges of Luperci (priests of Lupercus)\(^{87}\), Fabiani and Quintiliani, which celebrated the Lupercalia, a third was added and named the Julian\(^{88}\). Finally they did not stick to style him Iuppiter Iulius, 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 taken the god upon earth; it was embellished with a

\(^{82}\) Dio xliii. 44. \(^{83}\) § 85, Dio xlv. 6. \(^{84}\) ib. xlv. 5. \(^{85}\) ib. xliv. 45 and xlv. 6. \(^{86}\) Dio xlv. 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. \(^{88}\) ἐταυπλα Τουλκα (Dio xlv. 6); Antonius became president of the college (ὑγεμόν τῶν συμπερέων). See Dio xlvi. 5 and xlv. 30; cf. Phil. ii. § 85. \(^{89}\) Dio xlv. 6, App. ii. 106; hence he also received a pulvinar, Phil. ii. § 110 seq.
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fastigium\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 Cæsar'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. Drummann iii. 646. n. 60.  
\textsuperscript{92} § 79 : iussus es renuntiari 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 consulcm. [Cf. App. iii. 88.]  
\textsuperscript{94} § 79.
the Parthians, and enter upon office before he himself departed from Rome. Upon this Antonius, who in Caesars 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 Caesars 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-

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

Capitol. Nevertheless he permitted an entry in the fasti to the effect, that the consul M. Antonius had by order of the people offered the royal diadem to C. §27 Cæsar, 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.

And as the saying was industriously noised abroad, voices were heard to cry, 'Cæsar 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.' Cæsar 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 curia of Pompeius, in order to hear from Cæsar 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

as subjects should yet shrink from the name of king as destructive to freedom!'

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107) So Dio xliv. 15 and Nicolaos Damascenus in the vita Cæs. 21 (Fragm. hist. Graec. ed. Müller iii. 427 seq.1) whose relation is the fullest, but tricked up with many embellishments. In Livy we read (periocha l. cxvi.): a M. Antonio, consule collega suo inter Lupercos currente diadema capiti suo impositum in sella repositum.

108) Dio xliv. 15.

109) App. 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 Cæsar 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 ruffians. In the evening several men of eminence, strangers to the plot, appeared on the Capitol\textsuperscript{115}, and amongst them Cicero\textsuperscript{116}, 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\textsuperscript{117}, the conspirators had charged one of their accomplices, C. Trebonius, to detain him in conversation without the walls of the curia\textsuperscript{118}. Some of them had proposed that he also, as Cæsar’s most powerful friend and the special favourite of the soldiery, should be put to death\textsuperscript{119} together with Lepidus\textsuperscript{120}, but Brutus spurned the suggestion, lest the glory of their undertaking should be sullied by the imputation of interested motives\textsuperscript{121}. When the bloody deed was

\textsuperscript{115} Dio xliv. 21.
\textsuperscript{116} Phil. ii. § 89: neque te illo die neque postero vidi.
\textsuperscript{117} The motive assigned by Cic. (Phil. ii. § 34) in order to discredit Antonius in the eyes of the Cæsarian 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.’
\textsuperscript{118} Cic. ad Trebonium (ep. ad fam. x. 28. § 1): Quam vellem ad illas pulcherrimas epulas me idibus Martis invitassem: reliquiuarum nihil haberemus. At nunc cum iis tantum negotii est, ut vestrum illud divinum in rem publicam beneficium nonnullam habeat querellam. Quod vero a te, viro 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.]
\textsuperscript{119} App. iii. 33.
\textsuperscript{120} So Dio xliv. 19, App. ii. 114 names only Antonius.
\textsuperscript{121} Dio l. 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 through, 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.' Phil. ii. § 88, Dio XLIV. 22. Plut. Ant. 14: 'he exchanged his dress for that of a servant and hid himself.' App. III. 34. Dio XLIV. 34, App. II. 118. App. II. 121 seq. § 89: cum ceteri consulares irent redirent etc. App. II. 123. Suet. 84.
expressed his readiness to leave everything to the disposal of the senate. In the following very bustling night Cæsar’s private treasure and his memoranda were conveyed to the dwelling of Antonius, whether because Cæsar’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 Cæsar, 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 Cæsar’s friends gathered about Antonius, and Calpurnia Cæsar’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 xliv. 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 xliv. 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. 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. The consuls also summoned the people to a contio, in which the resolutions of the senate were read, and Cicero in a long oration ex-tolled 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 and Lepidus 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. The consuls complied, but in no cheerful mood: Antonius was greatly disturbed by the sudden veering of popular favour.

134) I. § 31, II. § 84, Dio xlv. 53. 135) App. ii. 137—142, Dio xlv. 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. 1 B): est autem oratio scripta elegantissime sententiis, verbis, ut nihil posset ultra: ego tamen, si illum causam habuissem, scripsissem ardentius. 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: relut pacis auctor liberos suos obsides in Capitolium misit fidemque descendendi tuto interfectoribus Cesa ris dedit. 137) Livii periochae lib. cxvi. Dio xlv. 34. 138) App. II. 147.
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, Cæsar'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 Cæsar's father-in-law, L. Piso, entreaty him, by way of precaution against further commotions, to take care that Cæsar'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 Cæsar'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) I. § 6, II. §§ 31, 89, 114, Dio xliv. i, 35. The opposite party called them parricidac (Phil. II. § 31, ad fam. xii. 3. § 1, and cf. the commentators on Tac. ann. iv. 34), a name which Cæsar'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. 55, App. II. 143.
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...tititude, 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 Pompeii; 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...
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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
atempt 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 in-
discreet oration\textsuperscript{149}, whereby, among other ill effects, the
late amnesty had become an empty promise\textsuperscript{150}. An-
tonius 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 miserabiliter, servique et
egentes in tecta nostra cum facibus immissi}.

\textsuperscript{147} According to
Suetonius, this occurred after the attack upon the houses had been
repulsed. \textsuperscript{148} App. ii. 147. \textsuperscript{149} Dio xliiv. 35 : \textit{a very fine
and admirable speech, but not expedient in that posture of affairs}.

\textsuperscript{150} § 37. App. iii. 2. He makes Antonius himself say (iii. 35) : \textit{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 Caesar'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-
the senate by salutary measures. 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. He himself advocated the perpetual abolition of the dictatorship, which was so universally approved, as to be accepted without discussion. He also obviated further outbreaks of popular violence by his vigorous interposition against the demagogue Amatius. This man, an oculist by profession, 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 Cæsar on account of his dangerous agitation, 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. Upon this

sisting 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.

\[151\] Phil. i. § 3, 32, 41, 38, 115. \[152\] ibid. consilium interficiendi senatus capere 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
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\(^{164}\).

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\(^{165}\). In order to assign for distribution the fertile Leontine domain in Sicily, lands in Campania\(^{166}\) and even the Pontine marshes\(^{167}\), as though they had been already drained and reclaimed, seven commissioners\(^{168}\) were nominated, amongst whom was the consul Antonius\(^{169}\). 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

\(^{164}\) 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 delenitus 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. Caesare ad aedem 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 xliv. 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).
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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 Cæsar. 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 Cæsar's remaining estate, or to give an account of the purposes to which his inheritance had been applied. Hereupon Octavianus offered Cæsar's lands for sale, and also devoted his own patrimony to the payment of Cæsar'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

170) ad Att. xiv. 21. § 2 : Et nosti virum, quam tectus (Balbus), sed tamen Antonii consilia narrabat: illum circumire veteranos, ut acta Cæsaris 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. 172) §§ 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 Caesar’s bustum by the execution of the counterfeit Marius. But the altar, which had been erected in the form of a pillar, 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 Caesar’s name. But this fanatical idolatry was only the cloak of the most dangerous designs, which threatened the life and property of the better citizens. Dolabella at length (at the end of April) put a stop to the ferment; 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. Finally, the pillar,
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the beacon of mutiny, was rased to the ground, the
site levelled and paved. The great applause, which
Dolabella won by this bold stroke, may have in-
spired him with the thought of assuming an inde-
pendent position with relation to Antonius, and of
making a bid for the leadership of the aristocratical
party. 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; Dolabella was re-
lieved from his embarrassments and the threatened
opposition was silenced, the rather as he was appreh-
ensive 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.

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

subdubitabam. Magnam άναθεώρησε τοις ἱστατοῖς, τοιάντα
locum illum sternendum locare. Phil. I.
§ 7. 179) ad Att. xiv. 20. § 2: L. Antonii horribilis contio,
Dolabellae praetexta: and esp. § 4: Dolabellae et prima illa actio
et haec contra Antonium contio mihi profectisse permutum videtur:
prorsus ibat res. Nunc autem videmur habituri ducem, quod
unum municipia bonique desiderant. 180) As Cicero writes
to Atticus (xiv. 18. § 1) on the 8th of May: ‘O hominem
pudentem! Kal. Ian. debutit (sc. solvere), adhuc non solvit,
praesertim cum se maximo aere alieno Faberii manu liberarit et
opem ad 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
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:
idque praec prae me feram, et quidem me mea facere et rei publicae causa
ut illum (Dolabella) oderim, quod, cum cum me auctore defendere
copisset, non modo deseruerit emptius pecunia, sed etiam quantum in
ipsa fuit eveterit. 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 Cæsar'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

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183) Dio xlv. 51. Cicero (ad Att. xiv. 10. § 1) says Trebonius travelled to his province 'itineribus deviis.'
183) 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.
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corn for the state, Brutus in Crete, Cassius in Cyrene.\(^{187}\) The provinces assigned to them by Caesar had already been otherwise disposed of. As early as the month of April\(^{188}\) Dolabella had received Syria from the people, with the right of conducting the war against the Parthians; whereupon Antonius procured from the senate Macedonia, where were posted the legions, which Caesar had sent forward for the same war.\(^{190}\) Afterwards he desired to exchange this province for Gallia cisalpina, 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.\(^{191}\) The refusal of Brutus to abandon Gaul was afterwards the occasion of the so-called bellum Mutinense.

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\(^{192}\) which belonged to the office of the praetor urbanus, and which in his name and at his charges\(^{193}\) were

\(^{187}\) Phil. ii. §§ 31, 97.
\(^{188}\) as C. Peter (in Schneidewin's Philologus, viii. 427) has shewn good grounds for believing.
\(^{189}\) App. iii. 7.
\(^{190}\) App. iii. 8. [* There was a report that Antonius would demand both the Gauls, transalpine as well as cisalpine (ad Att. xiv. 4. § 4, Phil. i. § 8).]
\(^{191}\) App. iii. 24, 30, 37. The transfer was probably made before the end of June. In July the Macedonian legions were already expected at Brundisium (ad Att. xvi. 2. § 4, § 3, 5, § 3). On the 9th of October Antonius left Rome to receive them.
\(^{192}\) they began on the 7th of July; see ad Att. xvi. 4. § 1.
\(^{193}\) ad Att. xv. 12. § 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 Antonii. 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 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.] App. III. 23. ad Att. xvi. 5. § 3. ad Att. xvi. 2. § 3. Brutu tuac litterae gratiae erant. Delectari mihi Tercio videbatur et habere maiorem Attio quam Antonii gratiam. Mihi autem quo laetiora sunt, eo plus stomachi et molestiae est populum Romanum manus suas non in defendenda re publica, sed in plaudendo consumere. Cf. Phil. i. § 36, ii. § 31. § 1. § 8. Vell. ii. 62. § 3: M. Brutus et C. Cassius, nunc metuentes arma Antonii, nunc ad augendam cius invidiam simulantes se metuere, testati edictis liberer se vel in perpetuo exilio victuros, dum res publica constaret et concordia, nec ullam bellii civilis praebituros materiam, plurimum sibi honoris esse in conscientia facti sui, profecti urbe atque Italia etc. [* Phil. i. § 9. ad Att. xvi. 7. § 5: Nam xvi. Kal. Sept. cum venisset Veliam, Brutus audiet; erat crimin cum suis navibus apud Hulæum fluvium citra Veliam milia passuum. III. Pedibus ad me statini.]
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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 legatus¹⁹⁸. 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 legatus¹⁹⁹. On the 1st of August he reached Syracuse, where he took ship for Greece²⁰⁰. 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 senate²⁰¹. The day assigned for the

¹⁹⁸) Phil. i. § 3 : Quae cum audire mallem quam videere, habe- remque in us 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. § 4 : Dolabella me sibi legavit a. d. iii. Nonas; id mihi heri vesperi nuntiatum est. Volita (sc. legatio) ne tibi quidem placebat. Etenim erat absurdim, quae, si statisset res publica, vosvissem, ea me eversa illa vota suscipere, et habenti, opinor, liberae legationes definitum tempus legi Julia nec facile addi potest. Avo genus legationis, ut, cum velis, in- troire exire licet : quod nunc mihi additum est. Bella est autem huic inris quinquennii licentia.¹⁹⁹) ad Att. xv. 19. § 2 : A Dolabella mandata habeo, quae mihi videbuntur, id est nihil: and xv. 20. § 1 : Dolabellae mandata sint quaelibet, mihi aliquid (sc. mandet) vel quod Niciae vuntim.²⁰⁰) i. § 7.²⁰¹) i. § 7. Cf. ad Att. xvi. 7. § 1 : vii. 1d. Sect. cum a Leucopetra prefectus—inde enim tramittebam—stadia circiter ccc. processis- sen, recietus sum austro vehementi ad eandem Leucopetrum. Ibi cum ventum exspectarem—erat enim villa Valerius nostri, ut fami- liariter esset et liberenter —, Rhegini 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 Cæsar'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.

venerunt Roma sane recentes, in iis Bruti nostri hospes, qui Brutum Neapoli reliquisset. Haec adjerebant: edictum Bruti et Cassii, et fore frequentem senatum Kalendis, a Bruto et Cassio litteras missas ad consulares et praetorios ut adessent rogare. Summam spem nuntiabant fore ut Antonius cederet, res conveniret, nostri Romam redirent. Ad debitam etiam me desiderari, subaccusari. Quae cum audisset, sine uilla dubitatione abieci consilium profectionis, quo me herculane antea quidem delectabar. 202 Phil. ii. § 100: sic placuerat ut Kal. Iunii de Caesaris actis cum consilio cognosceretis. 203 Il. § 108 ad fin. ad Att. xiv. 22. § 2: Equidem in his locis morer a multis, ne in senatu Kalendis; dicuntur enim occulte milités ad eam diem parati et quidem in istos (liberatos), qui mihi videntur ubi vis tutius quam in senatu fore. 204 Cic. Capitoni (ad Att. xvi. 16 c. § 11): Deinde, quem ad modum tu scis—interfuisti enim, cum consules oporteret ex senatus consulto de actis Caesaris cognoscer—, res ab iis in Kalendas dilata est. Accessit ad senatus consultum lex, quae lata est a. d. III. Non. Ian., quae lex earum rerum, quas Caesar statuisset decrevisset egisset, consulibus (i.e. to them and the elected committee of the senate, see ad Att. xvi. 16. § 18) cognitionem dedit; cf. too ad Att. xvi. 16. § 8. Hence it is no slight misrepresentation, when Cic. says,
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Ignorant as we are of the conclusions arrived at by this con clave 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?

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Some such are mentioned ad Att. xvi. 16 e and f. §§ 15 and 18. Brutus et Cassius Antonio (ad fam. xi. 2. § 1): Scribitur nobis magnam veteranorum multitudo Romam convenisse iam et ad Kal. Ianias 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. § 1: de consulis ficto timore cognoveram: and cf. Phil. i. § 27 ad fin. ii. § 112. Phil. i. § 6, ii. § 109. As early as 23 May Cicero wrote to Atticus (xv. 4. § 1): Antonii consilia narras turbulenta: atque utinam potius per populum agat quam per senatum, quod quidem ita credo. Sed mili totum eius consilium ad bellum spectare videtur, si quidem D. Bruto provincia eripitur. ad Att. xv. 21. § 1. Phil. i. §§ 18 seq. ii. § 109. Dio xiii. 25.
late praetors 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 Caesar, 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 decury of jurors, the other granting an appeal to the people in actions for assault and for high treason.

211) I. § 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 Caesar. 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 antem 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. 11. § 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. 1. § 19: Quid ? lege, quae promulgata est de tertia decuria, nonne omnes iudiciarum leges Caesaris dissolvuntur? Cf. ib. § 20. The lex Aurelia of the praetor L. Aurelius Cotta (b. c. 70) created 3 decuries of iudices, one of senators, one of knights, one of tribuni ecravir. 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. 1. §§ 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.
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§ 54 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 supplicationes a day in honour of Cæsar 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 Cæsar. 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 prætor and the iudices appointed by him.

This explanation is favoured by Dio XLIII. 44: 'They granted Cæsar a public residence, and a special festival (ἰεπομνήλαυ ὀξαλπερόν = proprio 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 Cæsar’s death, (XLV. 7): ‘on certain thanksgivings for victory (ἱεπομνήλαυ) 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 (ὅρμον) 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 Cæsar even after his death.’ I have cited these passages at length, because the account in Drumann (i. 192) and Brückner (i. 731) is inaccurate.

Phil. i. §§ 11, 12. v. § 19: huc eīnam nisi venīvēm Kal. Sept., fabros se missurum et domum meam disturbāturum esse dīxit. [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 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 expectas, dum eas laudem. Nescio animi an ingenii tui maior in his libellis laus continentur. Iam concedo ut vel Philippici vocentur, quod tu quadam epistola iocans scripisti.* 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 Φίλιππικοὺς ἀντιγραφὰς). Quintil. III. 8, § 46: *cum Ciceroni dabimus consilium, ‘ut Antonium roget, vel etiam ‘ut Philippicas (ita vitam pollicente co) ‘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 (t. 22, vii. 11, xiii. 1, and 21 or 22) cites Antonianae, once (t. 16) ‘M. Cicero in sexta in Antonium.’ [* Yet cf. e. 13 § 33: domestici.] 218) Phil. v. § 19: *Locutus sum de re publica, minus equidem libere quam mea consuetudo, liberius
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

* Liv INTRODUCTION.

tamen quam periculi minue postulabant. At ille homo vehemens et violentus, qui hanc consuetudinem liber coerulaverat, invicem mihi denuntiavit, adesse in senatum iussit a. d. xiii. Kal. Octobres. Isse interea septendecim dies de me in Tiburtino Scipionis declamitavit situm quaeans; hacc enim ei causa esse declamandi solat.

219 Cic. Cassio (ad fam. xii. 2. § 1) Sed homo amens et perditus...cudis initium quaeat nullamque aitiam ob causam me auctorem fuisse Caesaris interficiendi criminament nisi ut in me veterani incitentur...Ite nec Pisoni, qui in cum primus inuentus est, nec mihi, qui idem tricesimo post die feci, nec P. Scribilo, qui me est consecutus, tuto in senatum venire licet. Cudem enim gladiator quaerit eiusque initium a. d. xiii. Kal. Oct. a me se facturum putavit etc. [Phil. iii. § 33.] [* 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 custodiendae et proferendae arbitrium tuum. Sed quando illum dicerem, cum tu eodem putes?... § 7: Hacc cum scriberem, tantum quod existimabam ad te orationem esse perlatam. Hui, quam timeo, quid existimes! ct si quid ad me, quae non sit foras prodictura, nisi re publica recuperata? De quo quid sperem, non audoe scribere. ibid. xvi. 11. § 1 seq. (from Puteoli 5 Nov. 44, partly quoted below, § 3. 1. 8 n.): Tu vero leges Sexto eis quoque iudicium mihi perscrives. Els épol vmpov. Caleni intervenent et Calvenae cavedis. § 2: Quod veres, ne aposleos mihi tu: quis minus?...Quod me admoles, tu vero etiamse reprehenderes, non modo facile puterem, sed etiam laborer; quippe; cum in reprehensione est prudentia cum euveta. Ita libenter ca corrigam, quae a te animadversa sunt. Eodem iure, quo Rubriana potius, quam quo Scipionis (ef. infra. § 103); et de laudibus Dobsellae dcrnnam cunum (cf. § 107). Attamen est isto loco (§ 75) bella, ut mihi videtur, elpovela, quod cum ter contra eives in acie. Illud etiam malo, indig nisiissimum est hunc vivere, quam: quid indignius? (§ 83). § 3: Anagnini (§ 106) sunt, Mustela raušpex e Laco, qui plurimum bibt. ibid. iv. § 4 he again desires to hear what Sextus thinks of the speech; Sexti iudicum 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\(^2^{20}\), 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\(^1\). 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\(^2^{21}\); 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. \(^1\) 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 (\(\tau\epsilon\beta\nu\nu\eta\alpha\kappa\beta\)). 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.’ Mile, when living in exile, on receiving a copy of the extant speech \(\text{pro Milone}\), 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 : \(\text{Nos hic cum homine gladiatori omnium nequis-}
\text{simo, collega nostro Antonio, bellum gerimus, sed non pari condi-
\text{cione contra arma verbis.}\)
INTRODUCTION.

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. Paullus, Antonius his uncle L. Caesar (infr. §14), and Octavianus Cicero (Liv. peroch. cxx. Plut. Cic. 46). Antonius despatched the centurion Herennius and M. Popilius Laenas, by whom Cicero was murdered 7 Dec. b. c. 43, act. 64. (dial. de orat. 17. § 2. See the extracts from Livy and others, all describing the murder, in Sen. suas. 6; cf. Plut. Ant. 20, Cic. 48, 49). App. b. c. iv. 20: ‘Then Laenas, 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. Laenas 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. Cic. 49). Cf. Vell. ii. 64. §§ 3, 4: 


[Tacitus dial. 37: nec Ciceronem magnum oratorem P. Quintius defensus aut Licinius Archias faciunt: Catilina et Milo et Verres et ANTONIUS 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 optaram dederunt: te miror, Antoni,
quorum facta imitere, eorum exitus non perhorrescere.
Atque hoc in aliis minus mirabar. Nemo enim illo-
um inimicus mihi fuit voluntarius, omnes a me rei
publicae causa lacessiti. Tu ne verbo quidem violatus,
vt audacior quam Catilina, furiosior quam Clodius
viderere, ultro me maledictis lacessisti 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
eredit? qui ordo clarissimis civibus bene gestae rei
publicae testimonium multis, mihi uni conservatae
dedit. An decertare mecum voluit contentionem dicen-
di? 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 ini-micus. 3. Cui prius quam de ceteris rebus respondeo, de amicitia, quam a me violatam esse criminatus est, quod ego gravissimum crimen iudico, paucu dicam. 5

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 ætatis flore collectam? non venirem contra inuiiuriam, quam iste intercessoris ini- quissimi beneficio obtinuit, non iure praetorio? Sed hoc idcirco commemoratum a te puto, uti te insimo ordini commendares, cum omnes te recordarentur libertini generum et liberos tuos nepotes [Q. Fadii], libertini hominis, fuisse. At enim te in disciplinam meam tradideras—nam ita dixisti—, domum meam ventitaras. Ne tu, si id fecisses, melius famae, melius pudicitiae tuae consuluiisses. Sed neque fecisti nec, si cuperes, tibi id per C. Curionem facere licuisset.— 4. Auguratus petitionem mihi te concessisse dixisti. O incredibilem audacie! o inpudentiam praedicandam! Quo enim tempore me augurem a toto collegio expetitum Cn. Pompeius et Q. Hortensius nominaverunt— nec enim licebat a pluribus nominari—, tu nec solven-do eras nec te ullo modo nisiversa re publica fore incolunmem putabas. Poteras autem eo tempore auguratum petere, cum in Italia C. Curio non esset? aut tum, cum es factus, unam tribum sine Curione ferre potuisse? 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 solesbas, detulerat ex latronibus suis principatum, salvum esse voluisset, in Italiam ire iussisset, eum tu occideres? Fac potuisse. Quod est alius, patres conscripti, beneficium latronum, nisi ut commemorare possint eis se dedisse vitam, quibus non ademerint? Quod si esset beneficium, numquam qui illum interfecerunt, a quo erant conservati, quos tu clarissimos viros soles appellare, tantam essent gloriam consecuti. Quale autem beneficium est, quod te abstineris nefario scelere? Qua in re non tam iucundum mihi videri debuit non interfunctum me a te, quam miserum te id impune facere potuisse. 6. Sed si beneficium, quando quidem mius accipi a latrone nullum potuit: in quo potes me dicere ingratum? An de interitu rei publicae queri non debui, ne in te ingratum viderer? At in illa querella, misera quidem et luctuosa, sed mihi pro hoc gradu, in quo me senatus popularusque Romanus collocavit, necessaria, quid est dictum a me cum contumelia? quid non moderate? quid non amice? Quod quidem cuius temperantiae fuit, de M. Antonio querenem abstiner maledictis! praesertim cum tu reliquias rei publicae dissipavisses, cum domi tuae turpissimo mercatu omnia essent venalia, cum leges eas, quae numquam promulgatae essent, et de te et a te latas confittere, cum auspicia augur, intercessionem consul sustulisses, cum esses foedissime stipatus armatis, cum omnes inpuritatis 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 persiciam ut intellegat, quantum a me beneficium tum 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 bonorum consuetudinem nosset, litteras ad se ab amico missas offensione aliqua interposita in medium prolata palamque recitavit? Quid est alius tollere ex vita vitae societatem, tollere amicorum conloquium absentium? Quam multa solent esse in epistulis, quae prolata si sint, inepta videantur! quam multa seria, neque tamen ullo modo divulganda! 8. Sit hoc inhumanitatis: stultitiam incredibilem videte. Quid habes quod mihi opponas, homo diserte, ut Tironi et Mustelae iam esse videris ? qui cum hoc ipso tempore stent cum gladiis in conspectu senatus, ego quoque te disertum putabo, si ostenderis, quo modo sis eos inter sicarios defensurus:—sed quid opponas tandem, si negem me umquam ad te istas litteras misisse? Quo me teste convincas? an chirographo ? in quo habes scientiam quae est nostram. Qui possis? sunt enim librarif manu. Iam invideo magistro tuo, qui te tanta mercede, quantam iam proferam, nihil sapere dociat. 9. Quid enim est minus non dico oratoris, sed hominis, quam id obiciere adversario, quod ille si verbo negarit, longius progredi non possit, qui obiecerit? At ego non nego, teque in isto ipso convinco non inhumanitatis solum, sed etiam amentiae. Quod enim verbum in istis litteris est non plenum humanitatis, officii, benevolentiae?
Onae autem 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 laccissitam, tamen non proferam: quibus petis ut tibi per me licet quendam de exsilio reducere, adiurasque id te invito me non esse facturum. Idque a me impetrasti. Quid enim me interponerem audaciae 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 legum reductus? Sed vide licet meum gratiam voluit esse, in quo ne ipsius quidemulla esse poterat legem lata.

V. Sed cum mihi, patres conscripti, et pro me aliquid et in M. Antonium multa dicenda sint, alterum pote a vobis ut me pro me dicentem benigne, alterum ipse efficiam ut, contra illum cum dicam, attente audiat. 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 illa controversia consularis. 11. Ut igitur intelligeretis, qualem ipse se consulem profiteretur, oblicit mihi consulatum meum. Qui consulatus verbo meus, patres conscripti, re vester fuit. Quid enim ego constitui, 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 Publiliumque 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 cum primum nominem ex illius temporis consularibus, qui proxime est mortuus; placuit Q. Catulo, cuius semper in hac re publica vitet 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 multa vita 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 se natui 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, tot et 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 constantia, qua gravitate sententiam
diit in sororis sua virum, vitricum tuum! Hunc
tu cum auctorem et praeeptorem omnium consiliorum
totiusque vitae debuisses habere, vitrici te similem
quam avunculi maluisti. Huius ego alienus consiliis
consul usus sum: tu, sororis filius, equid ad eum
umquam de re publica retrulisti? 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
ferendam! 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 exhauiunt?

VII. Tuus videlicet salu-
taris consulatus, perniciosus meus. Adeone pudorem
cum pudicitia perdidisti, ut hoc in eo templo dicere
ausus sis, in quo ego senatum illum, qui quondam
florens orbi terrarum praesidebat, consulebam, tu ho-
miones perditissimos cum gladiis conlocavisti? 16. At
etiam ausus es—quid autem est quod tu non audeas?
—clivum Capitolinum dicere me consule plenum ser-vorum armatorum fuisse. Ut illa, credo, nefaria
senatus consulta ficerent, vim adserebam senatui. O
miser, sive illa tibi nota non sunt—nihil enim boni
nosti—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 sufficere nec tabulae nomina
illorum capere potuerunt. 17. Etenim cum homines nefarii de patriae parricidio consitterentur, conscriorum indicis, sua manu, voce paene litterarum coacti, se urbem inflammare, cives 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 nunc 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 vitii esse superatum. 18. Qui autem tibi venit in memem redigere in memoria nostra, te domi P. Lentuli esse educatum? An verebare ne non putaremus natura te putuisse tam inprobum evadere, nisi accessisset eam disciplina? VIII. Tam autem eras excois, ut tota in oratione tua tecum ipse pugnare, non modo non cohaerentia inter se diceres, sed maxime disjuncta atque contraria, ut non tanta mecum quanta tibi tecum esset contention. Vitricum tuum suisse in tanto scelere fabe bare, poena afectumquerere. Ita quod propri mecum est, laudasti, quod totum est senatus, reprehendisti: nam comprehensio sentium mea, animadversione senatus fuit. Homo disertus non intellegit cum, quem contra dicit, laudari a se, cos, apud quos dicit, vituperari. 19. Iam illud cuius est, non dico audaciae—cupit enim se audacem—, sed, quod minime vult, stultitiae, qua vincit omnes, clivi Capitolini mentionem facere, cum inter subsellia nostra versentur armati? cum iu hac cella Concordiae, di immortales, in qua me consule salutares sententiae dictae sunt,
OR. PHILIPPICA II. c. 7—9. §§ 16—21. 9


IX. 21. P. Clodium meo consilio interfectum esse dixisti. Quidnam homines putarent, si tum occisus esset, cum tu illum in foro spectante populo Romano gladio inscensus es negotiumque transegisses, nisi se ille in scalas tabernae librariae conicissset iisque oppulatis impetum tuum compressisset? Quod quidem ego lavisse me tibi fato? suasisse ne tu quidem dicis. At Miloni ne favere quidem potui; prius enim rem
10 M. TULLII CICERONIS

transegit quam quisquam eum facturum id suspicaretur. At ego suasi. Scilicet is animus erat Milonis, ut prodesse rei publicae sine suasore non posset! At laetatus sum. Quid ergo? in tanta laetitia cunctae civitatis me unum tristem esse oportebat? 22. Quamquam de morte Clodii fuit quaestio—non satis prudenter illa quidem constituta; quid enim attiniebat nova lege quaeriri de eo, qui hominem occidisset, cum esset legibus quaestio constituta? quaesitum est tamen—: 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 amicitia esse diiunctum ob camque causam culpa mea bellum civile esse natum, in eo non tu quidem tota re, sed, quod maximum est, temporibus errasti. X. Ego M. Bibulo, praestantissimo cive, consule nihil praetermissi, quantum facere enitique potui, quin Pompeium a Caesaris conjunctione avocaret. In quo Caesar felicior fuit; ipse enim Pompeium a mea familiaritate diiunxit. Postea vero quam se totum Pompeius Caesari tradidit, quid ego illum ab eo distrahere conarer? Stulti erat sperare, suadere inpudentis. 24. Duo tamen tempora incidunt, quibus aliquid contra Caesarem Pompeio suaserim. Ea velim reprehendas, si potes: unum, ne quinquennii imperium Caesari prorogaret, alterum, ne pateretur ferri ut absentis eius ratio haberetur. Quorum si utrumvis persuasisset, in has miserias numquam incidissemus. Atque idem ego, cum iam opes omnes et suas et populi Romani Pompeius ad Caesarem detulisset seroque ea sentire coepisset, quae ego multo ante provideram, inferrique patriae bellum viderem nefarium,
pacis, concordiae, compositionis auctor esse non destiti, meaque illa vox est nota multis: 'Utinam, Pompei, cum Caesare societatem aut numquam coisses aut numquam diremissetis! fuit alterum gravitatis, alterum prudentiae tuae.' Haec mea, M. Antoni, semper et de Pompeio et de re publica consilia fuerunt: quae si valuissent, res publica staret, tu tuis flagitiis, egestate, infamia concidisses.

ad contrariam uaves appulisset. 27. Cn. Domitium non patris interitus, clarissimi viri, non avunculi mors, non spoliatio dignitatis ad reciperandam libertatem, sed mea auctoritas excitavit? An C. Trebonio ego persuasi? cui ne suadere quidem ausus essem: quo etiam maiorem ei res publica gratiam debet, qui libertatem populi Romani unius amicitiae praeposuit depulsore quo dominatus quam particeps esse maluit. An L. Tillius Cimber me est auctorem secutus? quem ego magis fecisse illam rem sum admiratus, quam facturum pustavi, admiratus autem ob eam causam, quod inmemor beneficiorum, memor patriae fuisset. Quid? duo Servilios—Caseas dicas an Ahalas?—et hos auctoritate mea censes excitatos potius quam caritate rei publicae? Longum est persequi eteros, idque rei publicae praeclarum, fuisse tam multos, ipsis gloriosum.

XII. 28. At quem ad modum me coarguerit homo acutus, recordamini. Caesare interfector, inquit, statim cruentum alte extollens Brutus pugionem Ciceronem nominatim exclamavit atque ei reciperatam libertatem est gratulatus. Cur mihi potissimum? quia sciebam? Vide ne illa causa fuerit appellandi mei, quod, cum rem gessisset consimilem rebus ipsis quas ipse gesseram, me potissimum testatus est se aemulum meorum laudium extitisse. 29. Tu autem, omnium stultissime, non intellegis, si, id quod me arguis, voluisse interfici Caesarem crimen sit, etiam laetatum esse morte Caesaris crimen esse? Quid enim interest inter suas- sorem 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
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cur legatorum numerus auctus? Atque haec 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 haec summa est conclusionis meae: quoniam scelere a te liberati sunt, ab eodem amplissimis praemiis dignissimos iudicatos. Itaque iam retexo orationem meam. Scribam ad illos ut, si qui forte (quod a te mihi obiecutum 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 Juppiter! non modo in hac urbe, sed in omnibus terris est gesta maior: quae gloriosior? quae commendatio hominum memoriae semper? In huius me tu consilii societatem tamquam in equum Troianum 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 humanus, 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 gloriae non immortalitatis memoriae prosequantur? Tu vero adscribe me talem in numerum. XIV 34. Sed unam rem vereor ne non proves. Si enim fuissem, non solum regem, sed etiam regnum de re publica sustulissem; et, si meus stilus ille fuissest, ut
dicitur, mihi crede, non solum unum actum, sed totam fabulam confecissem. Quamquam si interfici Caesarem voluisse crimen est, vide, quaeo, Antoni, quid tibi futurum sit, quem et Narbone hoc consilium cum Trebonio cepisse notissimum est, et ob eius consiliis societatem, cum interficeretur Caesar, tum te a Trebonio vidimus sevocari. Ego autem—vide quam tecum agam non inimice—, quod bene cogitatistli aliquando, laudo; quod non indicasti, gratias ago: quod non fecisti, ignosc: virum res illa quaerebat. 35. Quod si te in iudicium quis adducat usurptque illud Cassianum, cui bono fuerit, vide, quaeo, ne haerass. Quamquam illud fuit, ut dicebas quidem, omnibus bono, qui servire nollebant, tibi tamen praecepue, 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 quae tuosisimae est falsorum commentariiurn et chirographorum officina, agrorum, oppidorum, immunitatum, vectigalium flagittiosissimae nundinae. 36. Etenim quae res egestati et aeri alieno tuo praeter mortem Caesaris subvenire potuisset? Nescio quid conturbatus esse videris: num quid subtimes ne ad te hoc crimen pertinere videatur? Libero te metu: nemo credet umquam; non est tuum de re publica bene mereri; habet istius pulcherrimi facti clarissimos viros res publica auteores: ego te tantum gaudere dico, fecisse non arguo. Respondi maximis criminibus: nunc etiam reliquis respondendum est.

XV. 37. Castra mihi Pompei atque illud omne tempus obieci sti. Quo quidem tempore si, ut dixi,
meum consilium auctoritasque valuisset, tu hodie egeres, nos liberi essemus, res publica non tot duces et exercitus amisset. Fateor enim me, cum ea quae acciderunt providerem futura, tanta in maestitia fuisset, quanta ceteri optimi cives, si idem providissent, fuisset. Dolebam, dolebam, patres conscripti, rem publicam vestris quondam meisque consiliis conservatam brevi tempore esse perituram. Nec vero cras tam indoctus ignarusque rerum, ut frangerer animo propter vitae cupiditatem, quae me manens conficeret angori-bus, dimissa molestias omnibus liberaret. Illos ego praesistantissimos viros, lumina rei publicae, vivere volebam, tot consulares, tot praetorios, tot honestissimos senatores, omnem praeterea florem nobilitatis ac inventutis, tum optimorum civium exercitus: qui si viverent, quamvis iniqua condicione pacis—mihi enim omnis pax cum civibus bello civili utilior videbat—rem publicam hodie teneremus. 38. Quae sententia si valuisset, ac non ei maxime mihi, quorum ego vitae consulebam, spe victoriae elati obstitissent, ut alia omittam, tu 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? cum ullo aut sermones aut consilia contulit saepius? quod quidem erat magnum, de summa re publica dissentientes in cadem consuetudine amicitiae permanere. Ego, quid ille, et contra ille, quid ego sentirem et spectarem, videbat. Ego incolumitati civium primum, ut postea dignitati nossemus, ille praesenti dignitati potius consulebat. Quod autem habebat uterque quid sequeretur, idcirco tolerabilior erat nostra dissensio. 39. Quid vero ille singularis
vir ac paene divinus de me sensorit, sciunt qui cum de Pharsalia fuga Paphum persecuti sunt. Numquam ab eo mentio de me nisi honorifica, nisi plena amicissimi desiderii, cum me vidisse plus fateretur, se speravit visse meliola. Et eius viri nomine me insectari audes, cuius me amicum, te sectorem esse fateare? XVI. Sed omissatur bellum illud, in quo tu nimium felix fuisti. Ne de iocis quidem respondebo, quibus me in castris usum esse dixisti. Erant quidem illa castra plena 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 utroqueuisse moderatum.

15 Hereditatem mihi negasti venire. Utinam hoc tum verum crimen esset! plures amici mei et necessarii viverent. Sed qui instuc tibi venit in mentem? ego enim amplius sestertium ducentiens acceptum hereditatibus rettuli. Quamquam in hoc genere fateor feliciorem esse te. Me nemo nisi amicus fecit heredem, ut cum illo commodo, si quod erat, animi quidam dolor iungere tur: te is, quem tu vidisti numquam, L. Rubrius Casinas [fecit heredem]. 41. Et quidem vide, quam te amarit is, qui albus aterne fuerit ignoras. 25 Fratris filium praeteriit; Q. Fusii, honestissimi equitis Romani suiique 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
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heredem. In multas praeterea pecunias alienissimorum hominum vi eiecit veris heredibus, tamquam heres esset, invasit. Quamquam hoc maxime admiratus sum, mentionem te hereditatum ausum esse facere, cum ipse hereditatem patris non adisses.


ista culpa est. Concedo; etenim est pietatis plena defensio. Illud tamen audaciae tuae, quod sedisti in quattuordecim ordinibus, eum esset lege Roscia decoc- toribus certus locus, quamvis quis fortunae vitio, non suo decoxisset. Sumpsisti virilem, quam statim mul- liebrem togam reddidisti. Primo vulgare scortum; certa flagitii merces nec ea parva; sed cito Curio intervenit, qui te a meretricio quae est abduxit et, tam- quam stolam dedisset, in matrimonio stabili et certo conlocavit. 45. Nemo umquam puer emptus libidi- nis causa tam fuit in domini potestate quam tu in Cu- rionis. Quotiens te pater eius domi sua eicit! quo- tiens custodes posuit, ne limen intrares! cum tu ta- men noce socia, hortante libidine, cogente mercede per tegulas demitterere. Quae flagitia domus illa diu- tius ferre non potuit. Scisne me de rebus mihi notis- simis dicere? Recordare tempus illud, cum pater Curio maerens iacebat in lecto, filius se ad pedes meos propter na lacrimans te mihi commendabat: orabat ut te contra suum patrem, si sestertium sexagiens pe- teret, defenderem; tantum enim se pro te intercessisse dicebat. Ipse autem amore ardens confirmavit, quod desiderium tuui disediui ferre non posset, se in exsilium iturum. 46. Quo tempore ego quanta mala floren- tissimae familie sedavi vel potius sustuli! Patri per- suasi ut aec alienum filii dissolveret, redimeret adules- centem, summa spe et animi et ingenii praeditum, rei familiaris facultatibus eumque non modo tua fami- liaritate, sed etiam congressione patrio iure et potes- tate prohiberet. Haec tu cum per me acta reminis- ses, nisi illis, quos videmus, gladiis confideres, male- dictis 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 reliquum vitae cursum 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 audiatis; debet enim talibus in rebus excitare animos non cognitio solum rerum, sed etiam recordatio: etsi incidamus, opinor, media, ne nimis sero ad extrema veniamus.

cumque eam rem tua sponte conarere, non impulsu meo, tamen ita praedicabas, te non existimare, nisi illum interfecisses, umquam mihi pro tuis in me iniuriis satis esse facturum. In quo demiror, cur Milonem impulsu meo rem illam egisse dicas, cum te ultero mihi idem illud deferentem numquam sim adhortatus: quoniam, si in eo perseverares, ad tuam gloriam rem illam referri malebamus 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, aceris alieni, nequitiar perditis vitae rationibus perfugium esse ducebas. Ibi te cum illius largitionibus et tuis rapinis expluvisses, si hoc est explere, haurire quod statim effundas, advocasti 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 huius enim scelere omnium malorum principium natum reperietis. 51. Nam cum L. Lentulo C. Marcello consilibus 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 ei subiecit securi, qua multi minoribus in peccatis occiderunt. In te, M. Antoni, id decrevit senatus et quidem incolmis, 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 indicatus? 

Commemoratio illius tui sceleris intermissa est, non memoria deleta. Dum genus hominum, dum populi Romani nomen exstabit—quod quidem erit, si per te nuncet, sempiternum,—, tua illa pestifera intercessio nominabitur. 52. Quid cupide a senatu, quid temere fiebat, cum tu unus adulescentes universum ordinem decernere de salute rei publicae prohibuisti, neque semel, sed saepius, neque tu tecum de senatus auctoritate agi passus es? Quid antem agebatur, nisi ne deleri et everti rem publicam funditus velles? Cum te neque principes civitatis rogando neque maiores natum monendo neque frequens senatus agendo de vendita atque addicata sententia movere potuissest, tum illud multis rebus ante temptatis necessario tibi vulnus inflictum est, quod paucis ante te, quorum incolumis fuit nemo: tum contra te dedit arma hic ordo consulibus reliquisque imperiiis et potestatibus: quae non effugisses, nisi te ad arma Caesari contulisses. XXII. 53. Tu, tu, inquam, M. Antoni, princeps C. Caesari omnium perturbare cupienti causam bellicam contra patriam inferendi dedisti. Quid enim alius ille dicebat? quam causam sui dementissimi consilii et facti adfecerat, nisi quod intercessio neglecta, ius tribunicium sublatum, circumscriptus a senatu esset Antonius? Omitto quam haec falsa, quam levia, praesertim cum omnino nulla causa iusta cu quam 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 haece intellegis, miseriorem, 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 nihilo 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, lustratio 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 vestrae scientiae. Etenim quod umquam in terris tantum flagitium exstitisse auditum est, tantam turpitudinem, tantum dedecus? XXIV. 58. Vehebatur in essedo tribunus pl.; li-
tores 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 miserae mulieris fecunditatem calamitosam! Horum flagitiorum iste vestigiis omnia mu-
nicipia, praefecturas, colonias, totam denique Italianam impressit.

59. Reliquorum factorum eins, patres conscripti, difficilis est 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 reverti
tisti. Ibi me non occidisti. Magnum beneficium! potuisse enim fateor: quamquam nemo erat eorum, qui tum tecum fuerunt, qui mihi non censeret parci oportere. 60. Tanta est enim caritas patriae, ut vestris etiam legionibus sanctus essem, quod eam a me ser

vatam esse neminisset. Sed fac id te dedisse mihi, quod non ademisti, meque a te habere vitam, quia non a te sit erepta: licuitne mihi per tuas contu

melias hoc tuum beneficium sic tueri, ut tuebar, prae-
sertim cum te haec audìturum videres? XXV. 61.

15 Venisti Brundisium, in sinum quidem et in complexum tuae mimulae. Quid est? num mentior? Quam mis-

serum est id negare non posse, quod sit turpissimum confiteri! Si te municipiorum non pudebat, ne ve-

trani quidem exercitus? quis enim miles fuit qui

20 Brundisii illam non viderit? quis qui nescierit ve-
nisse 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 mimà, in oppida militum crudelis

25 et misera deductio, in urbe auri, argenti maximeque vini foeda direptio. Accessit ut Caesare ignaro, cum esset ille Alexandriae, beneficio amicorum cius ma-
gister equitum constitueretur. Tum existimavit se suo iure cum Hippia vivere et equos vectigales Sergio

30 mimo tradere. Tum sibi non hanc, quam nunc male tuetur, sed M. Pisonis domum ubi habitaret 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
5 ei vivendum latronum rite, ut tantum haberet, quan-
tum rapere potuisset.

Sed haec, quae robustioris inprobitatis sunt, omit-
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 auditu! Si inter cenam in
ipsis tuis immanibus illis poculis hoc tibi accidisset,
quis non turpe duceret? in eoetu vero populi Romani,
hegotium publicum gerens, magister equitum, cui
ructare turpe esset, is womens frustis esculentis vinum
redolentibus gremium suum et totum tribunal imple-
vit. Sed haec 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 subiceta Cn.
Pompei—miserum me! consumptis enim lacrimis
tamen infixus haaret animo dolor—, bona, inquam, Cn.
Pompei Magni voci acerbissimae subiceta praeconis.

Una in illa re] servitutis oblita civitas ingemuit ser-
vientibusque animis, cum omnia metu tenerentur, gemitus tamen populi Romani liber fuit. Exspectan-
ibus omnibus quisnam esset tam inpius, tam demens,
tam dis hominibusque hostis, qui ad illud scelus sectionis anderet accedere, inventus est nemo praeter Antonium, praeertim cum tot essent circum hastam illam, qui alia omnia anderent: unus inventus est qui id anderet, 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 exsacratum 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, institutia carior. XXVII. In eius igitur viri copias cum se subito ingurgitasset, exsultabat gudio 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, ala minae: domus erat aleatoribus referta, plena ebriorum; totos dies potabatur atque id locis
pluribus: suggerebantur etiam saepe—non enim sem-
per iste felix—damna aleatoria. Conchyleatis Cn.
Pompei peristromatis servorum in cellis lectos stratos
videres. Quam ob rem desinite mirari haec tam cele-
riter esse consumpta: non modo unius patrimonium
quamvis amplum, ut illud fuit, sed urbes et regna
celeriter tanta nequitia devorare potuisset. 68. At
idem aedes etiam et hortos. O audaciam immanem!
tu etiam ingredi illam domum ausus es, tu illud
sanctissimum limen intrare, tu illarum aedium dis
penatibus os inpurissimum ostendere? Quam domum
aliquamdiu nemo adspicere poterat, nemo sine lacrimis
praeterire, haec te in domo tam diu deversari non
pudet, in qua, quamvis nihil sapias, tamen nihil tibi
potest esse iucundum? XXVIII. An tu, illa in ves-
tibulo rostra cum adspexisti, domum tuam te introire
putas? fieri non potest. Quamvis enim sine mente,
sine sensu sis, ut es, tamen et te et tua et tuos nosti.
Nec vero te umquam neque vigilantem neque in som-
nis credo posse mente consistere. Necesse est, quam-
vis sis, ut es, vinulentus et furens, cum tibi obiecta sit
species singularis viri, perterritum te de somno exci-
tari, furere etiam saepe vigilantem. 69. Me quidem
miseret parietum ipsorum atque tectorum. Quid enim
umquam domus illa viderat nisi pudicum, quid nisi?
ex optimo more et sanctissima disciplina? Fuit enim
ille vir, patres conscripti, sicuti seitis, cum foris clarus
tum domi admirandus, neque rebus externis magis
laudandus quam institutis domesticis: huius in sedi-
bus pro cubiculis stabula, pro conclavibus popinace
sunt. Etsi iam negat: nolite quaerere; frugi factus
est: illam mimam suas res sibi habere iussit, ex duo-

indeclinable an
decim tabulis claves ademit, exegit. Quam porro spectatus civis, quam probatus! cuius ex omni vita nihil est honestius quam quod cun mima fecit divor-
tium. 70. At quam crebro usurpat 'et consul et
Antonius!' hoc est dicere: et consul et inpudicissi-
mus, et consul et homo nequissimus. Quid est enim
aliud Antonius? Nam si dignitas significaretur in
nomine, dixisset, credo, aliquando avus tuus se et
consulem et Antonium—numquam dixit—: dixisset
tetiam conlega meus, patruus tuus, nisi si tu es solus
Antonius. XXIX. 71. Sed omitto ea peccata, quae
non sunt earum partium propria, quibus tu rem pub-
licam vexavisti: ad ipsas tuas partes redeo, id est ad
civile bellum, quod natum, conflatum, susceptum
[opera tua] est. Cui bello cum propter timiditatem
tuam, tum propter libidines defuisti. Gustaras civi-
lem sanguinem vel potius exsorbueras; fueras in acie
Pharsalica antesignanus; L. Domitium, clarissimum
et nobilissimum virum, occideras multisque practerea
qui e proelio effugerant, quos Caesar, ut nonnullus, for-
tasse servasset, crudelissime persecutus trucidaras.
Quibus rebus tantis talibus gestis, quid fuit causae cur
in Africam Caesarem non sequerere, cum praesertim
belli pars tanta restaret? Itaque quem locum apud
ipse Caesarem post eis ex Africa reditum obti-
nuisti? quo numero fuisti? Cuius tu imperatoris
quaestor fueras, dictatoris magister equitum, belli
princeps, crudelitatis auctor, praedae socius, testamento,
ut dicebas ipse, filius, appellatus es de pecunia, quam
pro domo, pro hortis, pro sectione debebas. 72. Primo
respondisti plane ferciter et, ne omnia videar contra
te, prope modum aequa et iusta dicebas. A me C.
Caesar pecuniam? cur potius quam ego ab illo? an sine me ille vicit? At ne potuit quidem. Ego ad illum belli civilis causam attuli; ego leges perniciosas rogavi; ego arma contra consules imperatoresque populi Romani, contra senatum populumque Romanum, contra deos patrios arasque et focos, contra patriam tuli. Num sibi soli vicit? Quorum facinus est commune, cur non sit eorum praeda communis? Ius postulabas, sed quid ad rem? plus ille poterat. 73. Itaque excussis suis vocebus et ad te et ad praedes tuos multos lites misit, cum repente a te praeclara illa tabula prolata est. Qui risus hominum! tantam esse tabulam, tam varias, tam multas possessiones, ex quibus praeter partem Miseni nihil erat, quod is qui auctionaretur posset suum dicere. Auctionis vero miserabilis ad spectus: vestis Pompei non multa caque maculosa, eiusdem quaedam argentea vasa conlisa, sordidata mancipia, ut doloremus quicquam esse ex illis reliquis, quod videre possemus. 74. Hanc tamem actionem heredes L. Rubrii decreto Caesaris prohibuit. Haerebat nebulo: quo se vereret 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? 75. Profectus est aliquando tandem in Hispaniam, sed tuto, ut ait, pervenire non potuit.
tum primum patriam repetebant—esto; fuerit haec partium causa communis: repetebant praeterea deos patrios, aras, focos, larem suum familiarem, in quae tu invaseras. Haec cum peterent armis ii, quorum erant legibus—etsi in rebus iniquissimis quid potest esse acqui?—tamen quem erat acquissimum contra Cn.

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Cum tu Narbone mensas hospitum convomeres, Dolabella pro te in Hispania dimicaret?

76. Qui vero Narbone reditus? etiam quaerebat cur ego ex ipso cursu tam subito revertissim. Exposui nuper, patres conscripti, causam reditus mei: volui, si possem, etiam ante Kalendas Januarias prodesse rei publicae. Nam quod quaerebas, quo modo redissem: primum luce, non tenebris, deinde cum calceis et toga, nullis nec Gallicis nec lacerna. At etiam adspicis me et qui
dem, 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, et qua nos tum, cum consulatus petebatur, non rogabatur, petere consulatum solcebamus, 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 flens—erat enim scripta amatorie; caput autem litterarum, sibi cum illa mima posthaec nihil futurum; omnem se amorem abieicisse illim atque in hanc transfudisse—: cum mulier fleret uberius, homo misericors ferre non potuit: caput aperuit, in collum invasit. O hominem nequam! quid enim aliud dicam? magis proprie nihil possum dicere. Ergo ut te Catamitum, nec opinato cum te ostendisses, praeter spem mulier adspiceret, idcirco urbem terrore nocturno, Italian 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 dicacem in te reddidisti. Sed nimis multa de nugis: ad maiora veniamus.

XXXII. C. Caesari ex Hispania redeunti obviam longissime processisti. Celeriter isti redisti, ut cog nosceret te, si minus fortem, at tamen strenuum. Factus es ei rursus nescio quo modo familiaris. Habebat hoc omnino Caesar: quem plane perditum aere alieno egentemque, si eundem nequam hominem audacemque, cognorat, hunc in familiaritatem liben tissime recipiebat. 79. His igitur rebus praeclare 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 perfidiae voluntatem tuam adscripsisti. Venient Kalendae Ianuariae: cogimur in senatum; in vectus est copiosius multo in istum et paratius Dolabella quam nunc ego. 80. Hic autem iratus quae dixit, di boni! Primum cum Caesar ostendisset se prius quam proficisceretur 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 inpedire vel vitiare posset, idque se facturum esse adseveravit. In quo primum incredibilem stupiditatem hominis cognoscite. 81. Quid enim? istud, quod te sacerdotii inre facere posse dixisti, si augur non esses et consul esses, minus facere potuisses? Vide ne etiam facilius. Nos enim nutiationem solum habemus, consules et reliqui magistratus etiam spectionem. Esto: hoc inperite; 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 portici Minucia
OR. PHILIPPICA II. c. 32—34. §§ 82—87. 35

fecit. Quae potest esse turpitudinis tantae defensio? Cupio audire, ut videam, ubi rhetoris tanta merces, ubi campus Leontinus appareat. 85. Sedebat in ros-tris collega tuus, amictus toga purpurea, in sella au-re, coronatus. Escendis, accedis ad sellam—ita eras Lupercus, ut te consulem esse meminisse deberes—, diadema ostendis. Gemitus toto foro. Unde diadema? non enim abiectum sustuleras, sed attuleras domo me-ditatum et cogitatum scelus. Tu diadema inponebas cum plangore populi: ille cum plausu reciebat. Tu ergo unus, scelerate, inventus es qui, cum auctor regni esses eumque, quem collegam habebas, dominum habere velles, idem temptares, quid populus Romanus ferre et pati posset. 86. At etiam misericordiam captabas: supplex te ad pedes abiciebas. Quid petens? ut servies? Tibi uni pateres, qui ita a puero vixeras, ut omnia paterere, ut facile servires: a nobis populoque Romano mandatum id certe non habebas. O pra-claram illam eloquentiam tuam, cum es nudus con-tionatus! Quid hoc turpius, quid foedius, quid sup-pliciiis omnibus dignius? Num exspectas, dum te stimulis fodiamus? haec te, si ullam partem habes sensus, lacerat, haec cruentat oratio. Vereor ne im-minuam summorum virorum gloriam; dicam tamen dolore commotus. Quid indignius quam vivere eum qui inposuerit diadema, cum omnes fatacantur iure interfectum esse qui abiecerit? 87. At etiam adscribi iussit in fastis ad Lupercalia: C. Caesari, dictatori perpetuo, M. Antonium consulem populi iussu regnum detulisse, Caesarem uti noluisse. Iam, iam minime miror te otium perturbare; non modo ur-bem odisse, sed etiam lucem; cum perditissimis latroni-
bus non solum de die, sed etiam in diem bibere. 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 Martiis fuit in senatu Caesar acturus. Quaero: tum tu quid egisses? Audiebamus 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 Caesarii sustulit? Sed incidi in id tempus, quod iis rebus, in quas ingressa erat oratio, praevertendum est. Quae tua fuga, quae formido praeclario 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 recepistis! 89. O mea frustra semper verissima auguria rerum futurarum! Dicebamus illis in Capitolio liberatoribus nostris, cum me ad te ire vellent, ut ad defendendam rem publicam te adhortaret: quoad metuere, omnia te promissura; simul ac timere desisses, similem te futurum tui.

Itaque cum ceteri consulares irent redirent, in sententia mansi: neque te illo die neque postero vidi, neque ullam societatem optimis civibus cum importunissimo 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 nepotem. Quamquam bonum
te timor faciebat, non diuturnus magister officii, in-
probum fecit ea, quae, dum timor abest, a te non
discedit, audacia. Etsi tum, cum optimum te putab-
unti, me quidem dissentiente, funeri tyranni, si illud
funus fuit, seeleratissime praefuisti. 91. Tua illa
 pulchra laudatio, tua miseratio, tua cohortatio, tu, tu,
inquam, illas faces incendisti, et eas, quibus semusti-
latus ille est, et eas, quibus incensa L. Bellieni
domus deflagravit. Tu illos impetus perditorum ho-

minum et ex maxima parte servorum, quos nos vi
manuque repulimus, in nostras domos immisisti. Idem

tamen quasi fuligine abstera reliquis diebus in Cap-
tolio praecerta senatus consulta fecisti, ne qua post
Idus Martias immunitatis tabula neve cuius benefici
feretur. Meministi ipse, de exsulibus, scis, de im-
munitate quid dixeris. Optimum vero, quod dictaturae
nomen in perpetuum de re publica sustulisti: quo
quidem facto tantum te cepisse odium regni videba-
tur, ut eius omen omne propter proximum dictatoris
metum tolleres. 92. Constituta res publica videbatur
alis, mihi vero nullo modo, qui omnia te gubernante
naufragia metuebam. Num igitur me fefellit, aut
num diutius sui potuit dissimilis esse? Inspectabantus
vobis toto Capitolio tabulae figebantur, neque solum

singulis veniabant immunitates, sed etiam populis uni-
versis: civitas non iam singillatim, sed provinciis totis
dabatur. Itaque si haec manent, quae stante re pub
lica manere non possunt, provincias universas, patres conscripti, perdidisti; neque vectigalia solum, sed etiam imperium populi Romani huius domesticis mun-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 quadringentiens sester-tium, quod Idibus Martiis debuisti, quonam modo ante Kalendas Apriles debere desisti? Sunt ea quidem in-numerabilia, quae a tuis emebantur non inscicnte te, sed unum egregium de rege Deiotaro, populi Romani amicissimo, decretum in Capitolio fixum: quo proposito nemo erat, qui in ipso dolore risum posset continere. 94. Quis enim cuiquam inimicior quam Deiotaro Caesar? 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 Deiotarus quicquam aequi boni inpe-travit, apud mortuum factus est gratiosus? Compellarat hospitem praesens, computarat, pecuniam inperarat, 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 absenti adefui Deiotaro—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 plu-rimae res venierunt et veneunt. Qua ex syngrapha...
OR. PHILIPPICA II. c. 36—38. §§ 92—98. 39

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 suisse, ut, quae tyranni eripuissent, ea tyrannis interfecit ei, quibus crepta essent, recuperarent. Nemo igitur iure consultus, ne iste quidem, qui tibi uni est iure consultus, per quem haec agis, ex ista syngrapha debendi dicit pro iis rebus, quae erant ante syngrapham recuperatae: non enim a te emit, sed prius, quam tu suum sibi venderes, ipse possedit. Ille vir fuit, nos quidem contemnendi, qui actorem odimus, acta defendimus.

XXXVIII. 97. Quid ego de commentariis in finitiis, 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 vectigallibus liberantur, statuiturque ne post M. Brutum pro consule sit Creta provincia. Tu mentis es conspos? tu non constringendus? An Caesaris decreto Creta post M. Bruti decessum potuit liberari, cum Creta nihil ad Brutum Caesarem vivo pertineret?

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

O praeclaram illum 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 minitaris. Utinam conecus ut aliquando illud paene tollatur! At quam nobilis est tua illa peregrinatio! Quid prandiorum adparatus, quid furiosam vinulentiam tuam proferam? Tua ista detrimenta sunt, illa nostra. Agrum Campanum, qui cum de vectigalibus eximebatur ut militibus darétur, tamen infligi magnum rei publicae vulneram putabamus, hunc tu conpransoribus tuis et conlusoribus dividebas.

rum, natabant pavimenta vino, madebant parietes, ingenui pueri cum meritoriis, scorta inter matres familias versabantur. Casino salutatum veniebant, Aquino, Interamna. Admissus est nemo. Iure id quidem; in homine enim turpissimo obsolèteabant 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 descenderunt, ut istum, tamquam si esset, consulem salutarent. Incredibile dictu est; sed sum vicinus; inter omnes constabat neminem esse resalutatum, praesertim 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 adoptasset? Magno quidem studio, iudicio, benevolentia, caritate, non, ut te et Basilum, vi et armis, et alios vestri similis, quos clientes nemo habere velit, non modo illorum cliens esse. 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 eos, 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-
tem, Sullam postea dominantem, modo regnantem Cae-
sarem videramus. Erant fortasse gladii, sed absconditi
nec ita multi. Ista vero quae et quanta barbaria est!
Agmine quadrato cum gladiis sequuntur: scutorum
lecticas portari videmus. Atque his quidem iam
inverteratis, patres conscripti, consuetudine obdurui-
mus. Kalendis Iuniis cum in senatum, ut erat consti-
tutum, venire vellemus, metu perterriti repente diffugimus.

109. At iste, qui senatu non egeret, neque desideravit
quamquam, sed potius discessu nostro laetatus est, statimque
illa mirabilia facinora effecit. Qui chiro-
grapha Caesaris defendisset luci sui causa, is leges
Caesaris easque praecertas, ut rem publicam concutere
posset, evertit. Numerum annorum provinciis proro-
gavit, idemque, cum actorum Caesaris defensor esse
deberet, et in publicis et in privatis rebus acta Caesaris
rescidit. In publicis nihil est legi gravius, in privati-
s firmissimum est testamentum. Leges alias sine pro-
mulgatione sustulit, alias ut tolleret, promulgavit.
Testamentum in ritum fecit, quod etiam insimis civibus
semper obtentum est. Signa, tabulas, quas populo
Caesar una cum hortis legavit, eas hic partim in hortos
Pompei deportavit, partim in villam Scipionis.

XLIII. 110. Et tu in Caesaris memoria diligens?
tu illum amas mortuum? Quem is honorem maiorem
consecutus erat, quam ut haberet pulvinar, simulacrum,
fastigium, flaminem? Est ergo flamen, ut Iovi, ut
Marti, ut Quirino, sic divo Iulio M. Antonius. Quid
igitur cessas? cur non inauguraris? Sume diem, vide
qui te inauguret: collegae sumus; nemo negabit. O
detestabilem hominem, sive quod Caesaris sacerdos es,
sive quod mortui! Quaero deinceps, num hodiernus
orem Philippica II. c. 42—44. §§ 108—113. 45
dies qui sit ignores? Nescis heri quartum in circi
diem ludorum Romanorum fusse? te autem ipsum ad
populum tulisse ut quintus praeterea dies Caesari
tribueretur? Cur non sumus praetextati? cur honorem
Caesaris tua lege datum deseri patimur? an supplica-
tiones addendo diem contaminari passus es, pulvinaria
contaminari noluisti? Aut undique religionem tolle
aut usque quaque conserva. 111. Quaeris placeatne
mihi pulvinar esse, fastigium, flaminem. Mihi vero
nihil istorum placet: sed tu, qui acta Caesaris defendis,
quid potes dicere cur alia defendas, alia non cures? nisi
forte vis fateri te omnia quaestu tuo, non illius digni-
tate metiri. Quid ad haec tandem?—exspecto enim
eloquentiam tuam: desertissimum cognovi avum tuum,
at te etiam apertiorem in dicendo; ille numquam
nudus est contionatus, tuum hominis simplicis pectus
vidimus—: respondebisne ad haec aut omnino hiscere
audebis? ecquid reperies ex tam longa oratione mea,
cui te respondere posse confidas?

XLIV. 112. Sed praeterita omittamus: hunc
unum diem, unum, inquam, hodiernum diem, hoc
punctum temporis, quo loquor, defende, si potes. Cur
armatorum corona senatus saepus est? cur me tui
satellites cum gladiis audiunt? cur valvae Concordiae
non patent? cur homines omnium gentium maxime
barbaros, Ityraeos, cum sagittis deducis in forum?
Praesidii sui causa se facere dicit. Non igitur miliens
perire est melius quam in sua civitate sine armatorum
praesidio non posse vivere? Sed nullum est istud,
i nhi crede, praesidium: caritate te et benevolentia
civium saepus oportet esse, non armis. 113. Eripiet
et extorquebit tibi ista populus Romanus, utinam
salvis nobis! sed quoquo modo nobiscum egeris, dum istis consiliis uteris, non potes, mihi crede, esse diuturnus. Etenim ista tua minime avara coniunx, quam ego sine contumelia describo, nimium diu 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 reciperavit. Habet quidem certe res 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 ctiam repellendum. 114. Quod si se ipsos illi nostri liberatores e conspectu nostro abstulerunt, at exemplum facti reliquerunt. Illi, quod nemo fecerat, fecerunt. Tarquinium Brutus bello est persecutus, qui tum rex fuit, cum esse Romae licebat; Sp. Cassius, Sp. Maelius, M. Manlius propter 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 imitantum est, praesertim cum illi eam gloriam consecuti sint, quae vix caelo capi posse videatur. Etsi enim satis in ipsa conscientia pulcherrimi 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 populique Romani, confer cum hae
inmani 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 libidinosi, 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 iudicia non timeat, 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 praemiiis, adversarios clementiae specie devinixerat: quid multa? attulerat 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 gloriosum tyrannum occidere? An, cum illum homines non tulerint, te ferent? 118. Certatim posthaec, mihi crede, ad hoc opus curretur neque occasionis tarditas exspectabitur.

Resipisce, quaeso, aliquando; quibus ortus sis, non quibuscum vivas considera; mecum, uti voles: redi cum re publica in gratiam. Sed de te tu videreis, ego de me ipse profitebor. Defendi rem publicam adulescens, non deseram senex: contempsi Catilinae gladios, non pertimescam tuos. Quin etiam corpus libenter obtulerim, si repraesentari morte mea libertas civitatis potest, ut aliquando dolor populi Romani pariat, quod iam diu parturit. 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 quisque mereatur.
PASSAGES

IN WHICH CONJECTURES HAVE BEEN ADOPTED.

(The MS. 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-
dicti || § 7 ex vita H: et uta || multa loca || § 8 diserte, ut Tironi
et Mustelae iam esse videris H: disserte mus et laetam esse
videris || § 11 praeter te Pubiunque Clodium P. Richard
Müller (Philologus IX. 186): praeter te p. aut clodium || § 12
M. Glabrioni Muret: m. glabrioni || § 19 quia, cum tantam H:
quia tantam || § 27 Tillius Cimber Barbarorius: T. cimber ||
§ 28 quia sciebam Graev.: qui sciebam || § 33 quom acc. Ernesti: quo
accesserint || § 35 illud fuit, ut dicebas quidem H: illud fuit
tu ut dicebas quidem || § 39 ne de locis Wesenberg: ne totis
|| § 41 aut certe Faernus: aut (ut pr. m.) cere || § 45 demit-
terere Ferrarius: dimitterere || confirmavit H: confirmauit || §. 49
ad parentem tuam Frotscher: ad parentem tuum || postca sum
cultus Muret: potenscum cultus || § 50 haurire supplied by
Faernus || decus Madvig [Opusc. I. 166, II. 322]: dedecus ||
§ 55 nobis eripuit H: bonus eripuit || belli bracketed by H,
[omitted by Madvig]: || § 56 Denticulum Buecheler: denticu-
labum || pro nihilost, ita H: pro nihilò si ita || § 68 rostra Orelli:
rostran spolia || § 69 pro conclavibus popinae H: pro conclavibus
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:
50 CONJECTURES ADOPTED.


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


ADDENDUM.

[ARGUMENT. cc. I—III. §§ 1—5.

EXORDIUM. c. I.

c. I. § 1. 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: Catiline 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. (§ 1. cf. § 2. p. 2. line 1). 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

† § 3: Cui prius quam de ceteris rebus respondeo, de amicitia, quam a me violatam esse criminatus est, paucis dicam.

4—2
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 applaud 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 master'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, careless 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. Clodius; § 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, however 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. xii. § 28. ‘Brutus raised his dagger, recking with Caesar’s blood, and wished me joy, singling 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- pen) 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 hate 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, Rubrius, § 41, disinherit not only his brother's son, but also his declared heir, young Tufius. 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 respondi, de ipso emendatore et correctore nostro quaedam dicenda sunt.
† § 47: iam supra et flagitia omittamus;... reliquum vitae cursum videte, quem quidem celeriter perstringam. Ad haec enim, quae in civili bello,... et ad ea, quae coticie facti, festinat animus.
You supported Clodius in his tribuneship (B.C. 58). You were with Gabinius (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 Caesar in Gaul. XX. § 49. You came to Rome B.C. 53, as a candidate for the questorship, and I, at Caesar'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 Caesar, in the hope of sharing his plunder.

His tribuneship*. (B.C. 49. c. xxi—xxiv. §§ 50—58.) I pass to the treasons of Aut. § 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 Caesar, 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 sceleri) had no mercy on your banished uncle C. Antonius. § 57. Then came your progress through Italy during Caesar's absence in Spain. xxiv. § 58. Your mistress Cytheris, borne in an open litter among your victors, 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 Caesar was in Egypt you were named master of the horse. As such (tribarchos) 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 Caesar's return from Alexandrea (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 Cræsus,' § 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 (§ 40) 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, xxi.) § 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 distraint.

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

Thwaris Dolabella's election. (c. xxi, xxiii.) 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 en-s'ave 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 Cæsar 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 embezzle the treasures in the temple of Ops, and in Cæsar’s name sell privileges to all comers; even king Deiotarus, § 94, who in Cæsar’s lifetime could never obtain common justice, is restored by the dead Cæsar, § 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 Cæsar’ were hawked about the streets like playbills. In Cæsar’s name you decreed that from and after Brutus’ departure Crete should cease to be a province; forgetting that while Cæsar 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 Cæsar’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 dissolve 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 auspices 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 Caesar 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 Caesar. 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 Caesar.

'Consecration' of Caesar. (c. xliii.) § 110. Divine honours have been voted to Caesar, and you are his flamen. Why are you not consecrated? Yesterday (18 Sept.) was the 4th day of the ludi Romani in circo, to-day by your law (of 1 Sept.) is a 5th day of festival, in honour of Caesar. 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. xlv—end.)

Force put upon the senate by Antonius; threats of retaliation. (c. xlv.) § 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; Cæsar 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.]

ADDENDA.

P. 3, c. iii. § 5, l. 7, beneficium latronum, cf. § 60, p. 25, l. ii. xi. § 20, non igitur, quod ereptum non est, id existimandum est datum. cf. the proverb (Apostol. x. 20 a, with Leutsch’s n. vol. ii. p. 491) Κύκλωνος δωρεάν ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀνωπελής. Sen. n. q. ii. 59, § 7. Demetr. περὶ ἐρμην. 130. Xen. Cyrop. vii. 5, § 78. Rigalt on Phaedr. i. 2 (the Wolf and the Crane). Lact. m. p. 37, § 6. luv. iii. 300 n. pp. 214, 391. Ter. ad. 595—6. Rufin. h.e. iii. 6, p. 121, sed et hoc beneficii loco cesserat, si comprehensum vivum licuisset evadere.


P. 18, c. xvii. § 43, l. 18. On Sex. Clodius see Cic. Phil. iii. § 22. Arn. v. 18. Lact. i. 27, § 11. Porphyr. abst. i. 3 extr. ii. 6 extr.
NOTES.

c. I. § 1. 1. 2. *his annis viginti*. ‘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, *abhire annos prope viginti*, the difference of months is taken into account.


[plus etc. de Leg. ii. §§ 43, 44: *Vidimus illos, qui, nisi odis- sent patriam, numquam inimici nobis fuissent . . . plus poenarum habeo quam petivi*. MAN. Cf. p. Mil. c. 13. § 33. *Heus.*]

optarem, constructed like vellem (p. Sest. § 82: *quod ni esset patefactum Paulo citius quam vellem*): ‘than I would wish, if I still had the choice.’

tei. Antoni. Intr. § 57. [Cf. Dio XLV. 47. ABR.]

optaram Madvig, optarem codd. vulg. C. F. W. Müller. cf. in Pis. § 49, *fines provinciae tantos . . . quantos optarat*.


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

1. 22. *quid uberius sc. cuiquam*.

[1'. 2, 1. 1. *Illud profecto*. ad fam. XII. 22. § 2. extr. illud profecto, quoad potero, tuam famam et dignitatem tuebor.]
c. II. § 3. I. 6. contra rem suam venisse, sc. in iudicio aliquo. r. s. not se, because Cic. did not directly oppose Ant., but only appeared in a case in which they took an interest. On the expression cf. Phil. VIII. § 18: cum suo magnno esset beneficiio, venisse cum contra se. p. Rosc. Com. § 18: Quid? tu, Saturi, qui contra hunc venis, existimas aliter? p. Rosc. Am. § 147: seis hunc nihil unquam contra rem tuam cogitasse etc. The details of the case are unknown.


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

1. 8. pro familiari, Sicca. See ad Att. XVI. 11. § 1: [De Sicca ita est, ut scribis. At st! aegre me tenui. Itaque per-stringam sine uilla contumelia Sicce aut Septimiae; tantum, ut sciant patides patidar... eum ex Galli Fadii filia liberos habuisse... Atque utinam eum diem vidcam, cum ista oratio (Phil. II.) ita libere vagetur, ut etiam in Sicce domum introeat.]

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

1. 10. iniur. quam obt. {ius suum contra aliquam obtinere. [cf. Liv. xxix. I. § 17: pertinacem uad obtinendam iniuriam. Tac. H. II. 84: obt. 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. See Cic. ad Q. fr. I. I. § 35: nos cum necessitatem, quae est nobis cum publican- nis, obtinere et conservare patientur; i.e. to secure and preserve our existing alliance. Liv. III. 36. § 9: possessum semel obt. imperi- um, where see Gronov. Cf. infr. §§ 48, 71, 109. Tac. Agric. 23.] intere. It is doubtful whether this refers to the official interposi- tion of a tribune (who had no right to meddle with a private suit, such as this seems to have been, cf. iure practorio), or merely to the mediation of some man of influence.

1. 12. hoc, contra rem tuam me venisse. inf. ordinia = hominius infinis, 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. fuisse, not ess, because according to Roman notions the death of Fadius had dissolved the tie. [Cic. p. Sest. § 6: Ademit Albino soecr iomen mors filiae, where see Halm’s note. Add p. Cluent. § 41: Dinaeae testamentum faciente, cum tabulæ prchendisset Oppianicus, qui gener eius fuisset.] At enim, intro- duces a new objection of Antonius. [= d×lλa ἐπὶ Αἰα.] 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. Cælius was deducus a patre to Cicero. (p. Cael. § 9).

Tac. dial. 34: Ergo apud maiores nostros iucnscis ille qui foro et eloquentiae parabatur, imbutus iam domestica disciplina, refertus honestis studiis deducebatur a patre vel a propinquis ad eum oratorem, qui principem in civitate locum obtinebat, hunc sectari, hunc prosequi, huius omnibus dictionibus interesse sive in indicies sive in confectionibus adsusccebat, etc. Plin. ep. ii. 14. § 3. Cic. Lael. § 1. ABR. Quintil. xii. II. § 5: Frequenlumunt vero eius domum optimi iucnes more veteran, et veram dicendi viam velut ex oraculo petent. Cf. ibid. x. 5. § 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 multae erant litterae. Cic. off. i. § 122, ii. § 46. Sen. ep. 4. § 2.

[1. 17. Ne. Ritschl Proleg. ad Plaut. Trinum. p. xvii. 'prorsus novicia affirmandii particula nse est quam constantissimo testimonio antiqui libri ne fuisse consentiunt.]

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

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

[1. 22. expetitum. ad Fam. x. 4. § 13. MANUT.]


[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 deminutam 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. incolarem &c. to escape bankruptcy. [Cf. p. Sest. § 18: Alter ... puteali et faeneratorum grechius inflatus, ... se etiam invito senatu provinciam sperare dicebat; eamque nisi adeptus esset, se incolarem nullo modo fore arbitrabatur]

1. 27. in Italia... non esset; he was then proquastor 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 tuit punctum, qui miscuit utile dulce.]

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

c. iii. § 5. l. 32. [semper etc. § 59. l. § 11: cui (Ant.) sum amicus, idque me non nullo eius officio debere esse prae me semper tuli. Intr. § 15. Plut. Cic. 39.]

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

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

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

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


1. 9. Quod si esset ben., to spare a man's life (p. Sull. § 72). In that case M. Brutus and Cassius and other τυραννοκτόνοι 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. 84): men servasse, ut essent qui me perderent! Cf. infr. § 116, [App. b. c. ii. 146.]

1. 11. clarissimos. infr. § 30. l. § 6: patiae liberatores... quos... ipsi consules in contionibus et in omni sermone laudabant.

§ 6. l. 19. At in illa quereilla, i.e. the first Philippic. I refrained from personal reflexions. [On the orthography of quereilla cf. Lachmann's canon on Lucr. iii. 1014: '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 praecedit, ut custodela clientela sua-delae can dela sute la cautela cune teenpletutera corrupte mandatela... acetela... l geminatur ubi prima brevis est: caque a tertia ac simplici forma (i.e. the 3rd conj.) fercunt veteres, ut loquentiam quereillum sequellam tuellam fugellam.]

misera quidem. In this form ille is generally inserted before quidem (l. § 17, ii. §§ 22, 66, 93, and in the 2nd person tu quidem
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(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 manceret! cruenta illa quidem, sed his temporibus, quoniam viis, quorum est, non redditur, necessaria. Quamquam ea quoque sit effusa, si ita in actis fuit.

1. 26. domi tueae. §§ 92, 95.

1. 28. de te, against the provisions of the lex Licinia et Ae- butia (de leg. agr. Il. § 21): 'quae non modo eum, qui tulerit de aliqua curatione ac potestute, sed etiam collegas eius, cognatos, ad fines excipit, ne eis ea potestas curatimove mandetur.' On a violation of this law see Intr. n. 169. a te, i.e. not ex actis Caesaris.

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 dicit tulisse non modo tonante love, sed prope caelesti clamore prohibente, hunc dubitabit contra auspicia latam confici? Quid? quod cum co collega tulit, quern ipse fecit sua nuntiatione vitiums, 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 erant disposita pro- sidia, ut, quo modo hostium aditus urbis prohibentur, ita castellis et operibus ab ingressione fori populum tribunosque plebis propulsuri videre. As consul Ant. was especially bound to uphold all constitutional powers.

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

§ 7. 1. 32. M. Crasso, who fell in battle against the Par- thians 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. c. 34. § 84. Madvig, § 310. n. 2.]


P. 4. 1. 6. dicetur. Zumpt, § 551. cf. infr. § 60: quod... meminissent. [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): Qui e Galia veniunt, superbiam tuam accusant, quod negent, te per unciantibus respondere, = ‘quod, ut dicunt, non respondeas,’ 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 saeculis; sed, quod litteris existet, Pherecydes Syrius primus dixit, etc. So quod sciarn, quod meminierim, 'to the best of my knowledge (recollection).' Cf. infr. § 25. Quantum has in Cic. the ind. in this use; yet see Quintil. iii. 1. § 19: quantum ego quidem sciarn.

1. 11. Quid est aliud, sc. nisi hoc. i. § 22: Quid est aliud hortari adolescentes, ut turbulenti... cives velit 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 orationem geminati et hanc esse sententiam: quid est aliud tollere et vita vitae societatem et amicorum conloquia, 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 § 20.

1. 17. Tir. Must. § 106 n. In Phil. xiii. § 3 they are called conlusores et sodales and duces comitatus Antonii. [v. § 18: hanc pestem agmen armatorum sequelatur: Cassius, Mustela. Tiro, gladios ostentantes, cui similes Greges ducebant per forum; certum agminis locum tenebant barbari sagittarii. Cf. viii. § 26. HEUS.]

L 18. cum gladiis. § 112 n.

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

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

[I. 24. Qui. Madvig, § 88. n. 2. librarii. Cf. ad Qu. fr. II. 16. § 1: cum a me litteras librarii manu acceperis, ne paulum me oti habuisse indicato; cum autem mea, paulum. Gárat. 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 manu litteras expectabis. 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, ob epistolulis. Cf. Hand Tursell. I. 59).]


§ 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. e. m. hominis, non modo oratoris or ne dicam oratoris? Cf. Madvig. § 461. n. 2. Zumpt, § 724 a.]

I. 28. quod ille etc. i.e. according to our idiom, quod sit cius modi, ut si adversarius id negarit, longius etc. Cf. § 17: quælis si qui nunc esset etc. [Niéelsbach compares Cic. de or. I. § 126: essem 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 for 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 scriptis de restitutione Sec. Clodii, quam honoriflce quod ad me attinet ex ipsius litteris cognosces—nisi enim tibi exemplum—, quam dissolute quamque iu
perniciose, ut non numquam Caesar desiderandus esse vidcatur, facile existimabili. Quae enim Caesar numquam neque fecisset neque passus esset, ea nune ex falsis eius commentariis proferuntur. Ego autem Antonio faciliimun me praebui. Etenim ille, quontam semel induxit animum sibi licere quod vellet, fecisset nihilo minus me invito. [Cf. ibid. 14. § 2.]

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

1. 6. quendam. See note on p. 4. 1. 25. Sex. Clodins, 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 Caesare petii ut Sex. Clodium restitueretur; impetravt. 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. I. 31).]

[1. 8. impetrasti. ad Att. xiv. 19. § 2: Antonius ad me tantum de Clodio rescripsit, mean lenitatem et elementiam et sibi esse gratam et mihi voluptati magnae fore.]

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


e. v. [1. 18. alterum ipse etc. 'Quia magis in rebus ver- sabitur oratio mea.' MANUT.]

1. 23. ne ille quidem, nor did he treat me etc. [ne quidem and ovè are often used where there is no gradation. So Cic. N. D. l. § 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: Miristae rei non interfusi: 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 Caec. § 60.]

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


1. 3. tibi—manet, 'is reserved for you.' So also in Gr. in this special sense (Eurip. ap. Stob. Flor. 124, 29): τως πάσιν ἀνδρῶτοι καθανείν μέρει.
1. 4. C. Curioni, who as legatus of Caesar, b. c. 49, fell in battle with P. Attius Varus and king Juba. Caes. b. civ. ii. 23—44, esp. c. 42.


§ 12. [L 6 seq. placuit etc. Cf. the list in ad Att. xii. 21. § 1.] P. Servilius Vatia, the famous Isauricus, cos. b. c. 79. He died b. c. 44 [hence proxime, l. 8] ἐνεργήσας, Dio xliv. 16.

1. 8. Q. Lutatius Catulus, cos. b. c. 78, † 61. [He was princeps senatus, and addressed Cic. as pater and parens patriae, p. Sest. § 121 seq., in Pis. § 6.]

1. 10. Luculli, 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, † 53 in battle with the Parthians. Q. Hortensius, the famous orator, cos. 69, † 50. Cf. Brut. § 323: [consulatusque mens, qui illum (Hort.) primo leviter perstrinxerat, idem nos rerum meorum gestarum, quas ille admiravat, laude contuxerat.]

1. 11. C. Scriboniius Curio (father of C. Curio, §§ 11, 45), cos. 76, obtained some successes in Thrace; a bitter opponent of Caesar † 52. [ad Att. i. 16. § 13: Consulatum illum nostrum, quem Curio anteá apodéwov 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.]

multa, where we say 'among many other evils, precluded this also.' Verr. iv. § 147: cum multa, tum etiam hoc me memini 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. Tusc. ii. § 61.]

[Cic. de off. i. § 58: miki quidem certe vir abundans bellicis laudibus, Cn. Pompeius, multis audientibus hoc tribuit ut diceret, frustra se triumphum tertium deportaturum fuisset, 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.

l. 22. *referret acceptam*, e.g. Crassus in the senate B.C. 61. ad Att. i. 14. § 3: Crassus surrexit ornatissimeque de meo consulatu locutus est, ut ita decreet, se, quod esset senator, quod civis, quod liber, quod viveret, mihi acceptum referre; quotiens coniugem, quotiens domum, quotiens patriam videret, totiens se beneficium meum videre.


consularium illius temporis. § 12. l. 7. L. Aurelia Cotta, cos. 65, or. p. domo sua, § 68: vir prudentissimus, et cum rei publicae, tum mihi, tum etiam veritati amicissimus.

l. 27. *supplicationem—verbis-ampli.* etc. or. in Catil. iii. § 15: supplicatio dis immortalibus pro singulare corum merito meo nomine decreta est, et his verbis decreta est, 'quod urbem incondiis, caede cives, Italian bello liberasse.'

[l. 30. *honos* and *lepos* are the common forms in Cic. Zumpt, § 59 d, Madvig, § 41. The Medecine Virgil has always *arbus* and *honos*, but labor. Cf. Lachmann ad Lucr. vi. 1260. Quintil. i. 4. § 13: ut Valesii et Fusii in Valerios Furioso venirent; ita arbus labos vapos etiam et clamos ac lases. Madvig (Bemerkungen, etc. p. 35 n.) affirms that nouns derived from verbs never end in -os, 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 B.C. 3 between two vowels was exchanged in many words for r, and the change in oblique cases generally occasioned a corresponding change in the nominative; monosyllables however for the most part retain the s, e.g. *mas, aes, glis, flos, rus*; cf. *Ceres, cinis, Liguos, decus, tellus*. The date of the change is indicated by Cic. ad fam. ix. 21. § 2: L. Papirium Crassum (cos. B.C. 330), qui primum Papisiest vocari desitus. See Corssen 'über Aussprache, Vokalisimus und Betonung der lat. Sprache. Leipzig. 1858.' 1. 85 seq.]


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

P. 7. l. 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 rei publicae, crudclior mudiuster- tius visus est, cum sororis suae, feminiae lectissimae, virum praesciret et audirem qua virum privandum esse dixit. [Calenus in his invective against Cic. (Dio XLVI. 20) calls Lentulus ándra étniekk, whom ó kaloós óvotos Tullius cast into the dungeon (Tullianum) which bears his name.]

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

l. 3. te similis maluisti, as § 19, cupit se audacem. de orat. ii. § 246: ut iste, qui se vult dieacem et me hercule est, Appius. [cf. Madvig on Cic. de fin. ii. § 102. p. 316.]

[l. 7. scilicet, our colloquial 'why,' 'to be sure;' very frequent after questions. ad Att. vii. i. § 4: Quis? Tu ipse scilicet. See Stiremb. ad Cic. p. Arch. p. 73 seq. So nempe. Juv. x. 185: Sed quals rediti? nempe una nave.]

§ 15. l. 8. descendit in forum. [Hor. ep. i. 20. 5 Bentl.]

[l. 9. nat., i.e. cenum. A birthday debauch was proverbial. Juv. v. 37, xi. 85, xii. 1. Sen. de ir. ii. 33. § 4: potiones vix honestas natalibus liberorum. Faern. 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 (natalicus). They should always be written with a c; cf. civicus, patricia; amicus, commenticus. When derived from verbs the antepenultimate is long; when from nouns, short (except novicius). nutricius is of different formation.—hortis. § 68.]

l. 10. putate. § 1: recordamini. n.

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

l. 11. Ball. a pimp in the Pseudulus of Plautus. or. p. Rosci. Com. § 20: Gallionem illum inprobissimum et periurissimum lenonem cum agit (Roscius), agit Chacream.

c. vii. l. 16. Tuus, etc. resuming, cf. § 12. l. 6 seq.

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

l. 18. templo. § 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. Besiide 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. Lampred. Alex. 6: quum senatus frequens in curiam, hoc est in academ Concordiae templum inauguratum, convenisset. Becker H. d. r. A. i. 312, ii. pt. 2. 414. Sall. Catil. 46. §§ 5, 6: Consul (i.e. Cicerone) Lentulum, quod prætor erat, ipse manu tenens perducit, reliquos cum custodibus in academ Concordiae venire vult. Eo senatum advocat. Cf. or. in Catil. iii. § 21, p. Sest. § 26. (Ant. summoned the senate to the temple of Tellus. infr. § 89.).]

1. 21. gladiis. § 19

§ 16. [l. 23. elivum 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. 1. § 7: equitatus ille quem ego in elivum Capitolino te signifero ac principe collocaram.]

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

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

1. 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 haec intellegis, miseriorem, si non intellegis!

[l. 29. adulescens. On the orthography cf. Ritschel, Proleg. p. xcv. ‘certissimo autem consilio (u tuitus sum) in adulescens, cuius vicariam adulescens formam vix unquam boni libri sine discrepantia agnoscunt.’

nobilis, p. Mil. § 49. [quoted below on § 21.] uillius ordinis.

or. in Catil. iv. § 14: Omnes adsunt omnium ordinum homines, omnium denique actaturn. 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 prætor to ‘swear in’ the well affected citizens. Dio xxxvii. 35.]

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

[scribae. From this mention of scribae in elivum Capitolino, Becker H. d. r. A. i. 318, concludes that the schola Xanthe once belonged to the Aerarium.]

§ 17. [P. 8. l. 2. consciorum. The Allobroges and Volturni; the design, as confessed by V., was (or. in Catil. iii. § 8): ut, cum urbem ex omnibus partibus, quem ad modum descrip-
tum distributumque erat, incendissent caedemque infinitam civium fecissent, praesto esset ille (Catil.).

[i. 3. sua manu. manus (cf. § 8) like χεῖρ and 'hand' = hand-writing. Lentulus, Cethegus, 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.]

[paeon, evidently modifies voce. So de leg. II. § 4: incunabula paeon mea; Verr. v. § 110, p. Plane. § 65, and Cat. mai. § 49; though Madvig (on Cic. de fin. I. § 4) says, 'non memini ubi Cic. paene post vocem primariam posuerit.' Below, §§ 39, 100, 102, paene does come first.]

1. 5. se consensisse, 'that is, that they had conspired,' inf. exegeticus to de patriae parr. conf.

[i. 8. qualis si qui nume esset. Cf. § 6. I. 23, § 9 n., § 41, § 37. I. 15: qui si viverent. So de fin. III. § 9: infici debet puer iis artibus, quas si, dum est tener, combibcrit, ad maiora veniet paration. ad fam. Ix. 14: tantum vales apud Dolabella, quantum si ego apud sororis filium valerem, iam salvi esse possemus. 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 want 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.' Contingo, properly 'to meet,' denotes some connexion between the occurrence and the person, so that the one fits (προσήκει) 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: scis plura mala contingere nobis quam accidere ('misfortunes are often a blessing than a curse'). quoties 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 ulla alia culpa mca contigisset.] vitriici. [§ 14. p. 7. 1. 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.]

[i. 10. negat. On the change of person, cf. l. 25, and § 41. p. 18. 1. 3. invasit.]
1. 11. quem.... superatum, so the Vulgata; but as the MSS. have cum after vitis, Stürenburg's emendation cui quia iure inimicus fui, d. a te o. v. cum 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 eo quaereretur. ad fam. vi. 4. § 2: quae tamen, si possis eam suscipere, maxima est. Nægelsb. See Addenda, p. 160.]

§ 18. [l. 13. Qui. § 8. l. 24 n.]

1. 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 (σελεγεία says Plut. Cic. 17). [On the construction see Madvig, § 296 b. n. 1. cf. 233. Similarly domi alienae esse, domum regiam venire, etc.]

c. viii. [l. 17. excors. Tusc. disp. l. § 18: aliiis cor ipsum animus videtur; ex quo exordices vocordes concordesque dicitur, et Nasica ille prudentes, ... Corculum, et 'Egregie cordatus homo, Catus Aelius' Sextus.' So cor habere in Plautus.]

1. 18. cum has probably dropped out before non modo. [Madvig reads ut non modo.]

[l. 20. tibi tccum. 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.]


§ 19. [l. 27. non dico.... sed. § 9.]

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

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

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

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

1. 3. capulatus. There was an old feud between the senate and the knights respecting the iudicia. or. in Catil. iv. § 15: Quid ego hic equites Romanos commemorem? qui vobis ita summam ordinis consiliique concedunt, ut vobiscum de amore rci publicae currrent; quos ex multorum annorum dissensione huius ordinis ad societatem concordiamque revocatos hodiernus dies vobiscum atque hacc causa coniungit etc. Cf. ad Att. i. 14. § 4. [fruit Addenda, p. 160.]

[l. 4. dum. 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 inuocationis). In the 4th conj. this termination is rare. It was antiquated in Quintilian’s time, i. 5. § 42: fuerunt, qui nobis quoque adicerent dualcm, scripsere legere: quod evitandae asperitatis gratia mollitum est, ut apud veteres pro ‘male mereris’ ‘male merere.’]

1. 5. Ityraei, a warlike people (κακοῦργοι πάντες 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: Ityraeos taxi torquentur in arcos. They often occur in inscriptions.]

[l. 7. cum. supplied by Halm. Madvig (Opusc. i. 204, 205, and in his ed.) reads sed quia tantam . . . vides. 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 uxore, i.e. his mistress Cytheris; §§ 58. 61, 62, 77. ad Att. x. 10. § 5: hic tamen Cytherida secum lectica aperita portat, alteram uxorem: septem praeterea coniunctae lecticae amicarum; cae sunt amicorum.

Cedant arma togae. From Cicero’s epic de temporibus suis; ep. ad Fam. i. 9. § 23: Scripsi etiam versibus tres libros de temporibus meis, quos iam pridem ad te misissem, si esse edendos putassem; . . . sed quia verebar non eos, qui se laeos arbitrantur (et enim id feci parce et molliter), sed eos, 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 invadi solere ab improbis et invidis audio: 'Cedant arma togae, concedat laurea laudi.' Ut enim alios omittam, nobis rcm p. gubernantibus nonne togae arma cesscrunt? Neeque enim periculum in re publica fuit gravius umquam nec minus otium. Cicero (or. in Pis. § 73) gives the words the meaning 'bellum ac tumultum paci atque otio concessurum;' 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 saecpe iam experti sumus; est enim tua toga omnium armis felicior. [Plut. (comp. Dem. c. Cic. 2) renders laudi τῆς γλώττυ.—Cicero quotes the third book of his poem (ad Att. ii. 3. § 3). It was written B.C. 60.]


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

l. 20. defvissse. Ant. seems to have suggested that Cic. might spend his time more profitably than in writing doggrel.

[l. 21. omni genere. Calenus (invective against Cic. in Dio xlvi. 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.

[l. 22. iuventuti. ad Att. ii. 1. § 3: oratiunculas autem et quas postulas et plures etiam mittam, quoniam quidem ea, quae nos scribimus adolescetulorum studiis excitati, te 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 sqq.]

l. 23. nomini R. Cf. Vell. Pat. ii. 34. § 3: M. Cicero — ut vita clarus ita ingenio maximus, qui effect ne, quorum arma viceramus, corum ingenio vinceremur.


[l. 29. scalas. Only used in the plur. Varr. L. L. ix. § 69: scalae quod ab scandendo dicantur et singulos gradus scanderent, magis erat quaedam, si appellassent singulari vocabulo scalam, cum origo nominatus ostenderet 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: correpti in scalas. Hor. epist. ii. 2. 14, 15 of a slave: semel hic cessavit et, ut fit, in scalis latuit metuens pendentis habenae. So in Cic. p. Mil. § 40, where he describes the same scene as here: Nuper vero cum M. Antonius summam spem salutis bonis omnibus aitulisset,
gravissimamque adulescens nobilissimus rei publicae partem fortissime suscepisset, atque illam bellum, iudicii laqueos declinante, iam irretitam tencret, qui locus, quod tempus illud, di immortales, fuit! cum se ille fugiens in scalarum tendebras addidisset, magnum Miloni fuit conficere illum pestem, Antonii vero maxima gloria.

[tabernae. Hor. S. I. 4. 71: nulla taberna meos habeat neque pilae 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 PREGULAE COENACULA. (cf. no. 7201). In another inscription we find what seems to mean repositiones subscalares (ib. 4331).]

[librariae. The bookshop of the brothers Sosii was in the vicus Tuscus 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 (xvii. 4) the visus Sandaliarius: in Sandaliario forte apud librarios faimus; cum ibi in multorum hominum coetu Apollinaris Subpicius, vir in memoria nostra praeter alios doctus, iactatorem qucipiam et venditurum 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.]


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 suasor facti, if there were one, must have been named; I was not named.
Illa quidem. § 6. 1. 19. n. cf. tu quidem. § 23. l. 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 recitavit; duas ex S. C. promulgavit, alteram de vi, qua nominatim caedem in Appia via factam et intervendum curiae et domum M. Lepidi interregis oppugnatam comprehendit, alteram de ambitu; poenam gravioriorem et formam iudiciorum breviorem: utraque enim lex prius testes dari, deinde uno die atque coem et ab accusatore et ab reo perorari iubebat, ita ut duae horae accusatoris, tres reo darentur. Cic. p. Mil. § 15: Cn. Pompeius rogatione sua et de re et de causa indicavit; tulit enim de caede, quae in Appia via facta esset, in qua P. Clodius occisus esset. Quid ergo tulit? nemo ut quaeretur.

1. 9. legibus. p. Mil. § 13: Hanc vero quaestionem, et si non est iniqua, numquam tamen senator constitucendam putavit. Erat enim leges, erant quaestiones vel de caede vel de vi; nec tantum maeror ac luctum senatiui mors P. Clodiui afferebat, ut nova quaestio constitueretur. Milo might have been accused by the lex Cornelia de sicariis or the lex Plauti de vi.

1. 10. nemo. Yet Cic. says (p. Mil. § 47): seitis, iudices, fuisset, qui in hac rogatione suadenda dicerent, Milonis manu caedem esse factam, consilio vero maioris alicuius... Respiravi, liberatus sum; non vecor, ne, quod ne suspiceri quidem potuerim, videar id cogitasse. Asconius (ad loc.): Q. Pompeius Rufus et C. Sallustius tribuni fuerunt, quos significat. [The same charge made by Calenus ap. Dion. XLVI. 2.]

c. x. § 23. l. 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 Cic. 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. 20, who has preserved the epigram: Non Bibulo quiddam nuper, sed Caesare factum est, | nam Bibulo fieri consule nil memini). ABR.]

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

1. 18. facere evitique, cf. div. in Cacc. § 26, in quo quid eviti
ant quid efficere possim. ) (Phil. IV. § 16: quantum cura niti atque
efficere possim.

a Caesaris coniunctione. Cf. de prov. cons. § 38: ab huius or-
dinis coniunctione. in Cat. iv. § 15: ex multorum annorum dissen-
sione huius ordinis, i.e. with this order. [ep. ad fam. III. 10. § 9:
hominis nobilissimi atque honoratissimi coniunctio. ib. ep. 4. § 22:
conunctiones necessario run tuorum. MAEVIG ad Cie. de fin. V. § 71. See in Pis. § 76: sua coni. Cf. l. 20. mea fam.]


l. 25. quinquennii = quinquennal, 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.’]

l. 27. ferri etc. The lex ut ratio absentis Caesaris in petitione consulatus habetur was carried by M. Calius 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 hoc liceret (sc. ut Caesar absens consulatum pateret) adiuvii, rogatus ab ipso Ravennae de Caelio tribuno pl. Ab ipso autem etiam a Gnaeo nostro in illo divino tertio consulatu. [In early times consuls etc. were often elected in their absence; e.g. in the 7th cent. U.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 hono- rum absentes submovebat.’ Pomp. added an exception in Caesar’s favour after the law had been deposited in the aerarium. Becker, III. 2. 47 seq.]

P. II. [I. I. 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 haberi ... cum vel iniussimam pacem instissimo bello anteferrum ... Quo in bello nihil adversi accidit non praedicente me.’ ib. § 7, Cic. calls himself augur publicus. See too ib. IV. 14. § 2.]

l. 2. utinam etc. ep. ad Fam. VI. 6. § 4: plurimi sunt testes
COIRE. C. ACC. ANNOMINATIO. 79

me et initio ne coniungeret se cum Cacsare monuisse Pompeium et postea ne se seiuengeret: coniunctione frangi senatus opes, diiunctione civile bellum excitari videbam.

[1. 3. coisset. 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: Pina vero ... cum parva squilla quasi societatem coit comparandi cibi. See Zumpt, § 386. Madvig, § 224 b. Coire soc. = coeivundo soc. efficere ; just as ludere carmina= ludendo carmina componere.]

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

[1. 6. quae si etc. § 37.]

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

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

1. 11. praev. Antonius.

[1. 13. alienis. So Hahn and Madvig from cod. Vat. ; other MSS. read oneraret alienis, which reading Orelli (Cic. oratt. xv. Turici 1830) thus defended, 'immeritaes laudes et alienae reapse oneri sunt, non ornamento,' referring to Zumpt (ad Verr. p. 661) for exx. of annominatio or verbal allusion in Cic. Zumpt quotes Cic. N.D. i. § 17 (udiutorem—auditorem), or. Phil. iii. § 22 (ex oratorre arator), etc., and refers to Quintil. ix. 3. § 65 seq., ad Herenn. iv. § 29 seq., Rutil. Lup. i. § 3 (where Ruhmk. 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. Eun. v. 8. 27 = ii. 7, Bothæ Poet. Scen. Lat. v. 248). The later writers, e.g. St Augustine, reveal in the use of this puerile figure. Milton has not disdained it, 'beseeching or besieging,' Anson. 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. Plant. Pseud. 1. 1. 62; idyll. 6. 2, (amantes—amantes) cf. Plant. Merc. prol. 81; lud. vii. sap. praeef. 3, 4 (legenda—tegenda); gratiar. act. § 36 (libris—liberis). Above all, idyll. iv. 97 seq.: posses ornatus, posses oneratus haberi. | accessit tamen ex nobis honor inclitus: hunc tu | officie ne sit onus. See below § 81 (prudentia—inpudentiam), and § 114 (mortalii immortalitatem). See p. 160.]

[1. 15. qui—fuisse. § 7. 1. 8 n. in eo numero, far more common in Cic. than in eorum 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 genere, 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 dictarunt. Cf. Acad. ii. § 15. Madvig on Cic. de fin. iii. § 70.]
1. 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 = rather; and in vulgar English 'I would die first.' Cf. the Germ. 'eher.']


[l. 18. [eonsci] Madvig.]

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


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 XLIV. 12); the later Junii were of plebeian descent. But it was for the interest of Cæsar’s murderers to represent the Bruti as descendants of the first champion of liberty. Plut. (Brut. 1), who appeals to Posidonius, has allowed himself to be misled. [Phil. i. § 13: *ille Brutus, qui et ipse dominatu regio rem publicam liberavit et ad similim virtutem et similis factum stirpem iam prope in quingentesimum annum propagavit*. Heus. On the statues of the old L. Brutus, and on the tribunal of the prætor 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. Ahalaec. Servilia, Marcus’ mother, traced her pedigree to C. Servilius Ahala, who slew Sp. Mælius B.C. 439. [Plut. Brut. i. 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. 1. § 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: *quaecunque foris veniunt*. Cf. Hand Tursell. II. 708, 709. Mencken cites for *foris petece. 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. i. § 87: mortuorum autem non modo vitae commodis, sed ne vita quidem ipsa quisquam caret, which might have been expressed thus. M. a. nemo non modo v. c. 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 Velleinus, 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 abiit, damnatum necatumque constat. Sunt qui patrem auctorem eius supplicii ferent: eum cognita domi causa verberasse ac necasse peculiumque jilii Cereri consecravisse: signum inde factum esse et inscriptum ‘ex Cassia familia datum.’ [infr. §§ 87, 114.]

1. 31. in Cilicia, Intr. n. 55. [The Cydnus, now ‘Tersustchai,’ 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 maestitia fuisse quanta ceteri. ad Att. iii. 19. § 2: Me tuae litterae numquam in tantam spem adduxerunt quantum aliorum. ad Att. viii. 11 b, § 2: in cadem opinione fui qua religi etc. [Madvig, § 323 b, n. 1, and ad Cic. de fin. i. § 32, Zumpt, § 778, Matthiä Gr. Gr. § 595. 4, Schäfer ad Soph. Oed. C. 749, Heindl ad Plat. Phaed. § 57. Cic. Tusc. disp. i. § 93: ante tempus mori miserum esse. Quod tandem tempus? ibid. § 94, de fin. i. § 49, iv. § 56, de leg. iii. § 33, Nep. v. 3. § 1. Xen. Hist. Gr. i. 6. § 11: et τὸ κρόνος ὅ τ’ ἄν ἐκείνα προσδεχόμεθα. Plat. Gorg. 449 E, 453 E, Demosth. p. 271. § 134. Ter. Adelphi ii. 1. 32.]

§ 27. P. 12. l. 1. Cn. Domitianus Ahenobarbus, who with his father Lucius, the legatus of Pomp., was taken prisoner at Corfinium 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 conscientios Caesarinae necis quamquam insons damnatus legi Pedia (on the lex Pedra cf. Vell. ii. 69. § 5); so too L. Cocceius Nerva in App. b. civ. v. 62. Drummann (Gesch. Rom. 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 vires 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.

[I. 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. anus essem, on account of his intimacy with Cæsar. § 116 n. [cf. § 34. Vell. ii. 56. § 3: idibus Martiiis ... adiectis adiessi similique consiliaris ac candidi familiarissimi omnium et fortuna partium eius in sumnum ecectis fastigium, D. Bruto et C. Trebonio, ... interemptus est.]

1. 8. L. Tiliaeus Cimber, who however took the lead in the assassination, giving his confederates the signal by tearing Cæsar’s toga from off his shoulder. [Sen. de’ira, iii. 30. §§ 4, 5: Divum Tulium plures amici confecerunt quam intimi ... Vidit itaque strictis circa sellam suam gladiis commilitones suos, Cimbrum, Tullium acerrimum paulo ante partium defensionem, aliosque post Pompeium demum Pompeianos. Abr.]

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

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

[I. 15. Longum est, where we say ‘it were (would be) tcddious.’ (Madvig, § 348 c. 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 rogaverro aliquid, 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, facile est, consentancem est. Quintil. i. 6. § 35: inhumanum est. ibid. 10. § 1: infinitum erat. Cf. the use of ἐδει, προς ἱκετον, etc. without πρὸς. Matthiä, § 505. 2. Obs.]


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

[I. 25. laudium. § 35: immunitation. Cic. de off. iii. § 75: fraudium. Zumpt, § 66 c. Madvig here reads laudum, which is the more common form.]
§ 29. [1. 31. reguire generally implies arbitrary, tyrannical rule; vex.] (lex. Suet. Calig. 22.)

[1. 32. Omnes etc. cf. § 25. l. 9 n.]


pecaudis, 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: homines agrestes, si homines illi ac non pecudes potius. Koch adds Lael. § 48. parad. § 14. Tac. xiii 1.]


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

[1. 9 seq. ille—is. Madvig, § 489 a. infr. § 63. l. 18. § 101: Agrum Campanum—hunc. de off. III. § 13 (cited by Heus.). illud quiden honestum, quod proprie vereque dicitur, id in sapi- cutibus est solis. N. D. I. § 61: ego ipse pontifex, qui... arbitrò, is... velim. Acad. I. § 1.]

[1. 10. Esto; sit. Cf. § 8. l. 10 n. § 75. l. 9. Cf. de fin. IV. § 73: ne sit sanc.]

1. 13. quam velis esse causam: bonam an malam.

[1. 14. exhala, and c. 17. § 42 exhalandí. So C. F. W. Müller. Lachmann reads (Lucr. vi. 478) alitús; (III. 432) exalare. See his note there p. 170. Mr Munro (vol. ii. p. 53) retains the h. Cf. on inquam Madvig Opusc. i. 157: 'quum te constituere illud iubeo, hoc iubeo, crapulam ut edormias; ea est enim causa oblivionis tuae.]

veterum librorum auctoritate faciunt suo periculo antiquarii; qui inepti habendi sunt, donec demonstraverint in huius modi vocabulis ablativos inesse, quantis, aliquantis, paullis, paulliss, tantis.

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

\[l. 25. patriae parentem. A title which often appears on coins. Cf. Phil. XIII. § 23, Suet. 76, 85. de off. III. § 83: Potest enim... cuiquam esse utile foedissimum et taeterrimum parricidium patriae; quamvis is, qui eo se obstrininct, ab oppressis civibus parens nominetur? Cicero was jealous of a distinction which he himself long enjoyed alone. Juv. VIII. 243, 244: Roma parentem, | Roma patrem patriae Ciceronem libera dixit.\]

1. 26. quid dicis? By what name do you call them?
1. 27. si parricidas, sc. 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 Corneliamam p. 57: Antiquo iure cautum erat ne quis nisi per populum legibus solvetur, itaque in omnibus senatoris consultis, quibus aliquem legibus solvi placebat, adici erat solitum, ut de ca re ad populum ferretur: sed paulatim ferri erat desitum, resque iam in cam consuetudinem venerat, ut postremo ne adiceretur quidem in senatoris consultis de rogatione ad populum ferenda, eaque ipsa senatoris consulta per pauculos admodum fiebant. Cf. Intr. n. 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 Proconsul.]

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

P. 14. 1. 2. homicidas, sc. 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.' Cf. Cic. Topica § 56: Reliqui dialecticorum modi plures sunt, qui ex
diiunctionibus constant: 'aut hoc aut illud: hoc autem, non igitur illud.' Itemque: 'aut hoc aut illud; non autem hoc, illud igitur.' Quae conclusiones idcirco ratae sunt, quod in diiunctione plus uno verum esse non potest. Acad. ii. § 97: si e contrariis diiunctio — contraria autem ca dico, cum alterum ait, alterum negat —, si talis diiunctio 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. [retexo. I 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.' Nagelsbach 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; doceo 'I instruct,' velo '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 color with de (p. Sull. § 39, p. Client. § 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 Tcr. Hec. iv. 4. 23, and the rare constr. in Lucan v. 200. nullumque futuri | a superis celate diei.)]

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

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

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

§ 33. l. 21. relegatos. the technical word for expulsion from the city. p. Sest. § 29: in contione relegavit, edixitque, ut ab urbe absisset militia passuum ducenta.

[l. 22. qui locus . . . tam desertus . . . qui. Dobe (Advers. i. 426) compares e. g. Demosth. Mid. p. 536. 6. § 66: tis ovtw

I. 31. fuissem 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; interfecit enim rege regios omnes nutus tuemur. Neque vero id solum, sed etiam quae ipse ille, si viveret, non faceret, ea nos quasi cogitata ab illo probanus. Nec eis quidem rei finem video. Tabulae figuntur, immunitates dantur, pecuniae maxime describuntur, exsules reducuntur, senatus consulta falsa deferuntur, ut tantum modo odium illud hominis iurupti et servitutis dolor depulsus esse videatur, res publica inaequ in is perturbationibus, in quas cum ille coniecit. ad Att. xiv. 9. § 2: O di boni vivit tyrannus, tyrannus occidit. [Intr. § 30. ad Att. xiv. 14. § 2: sublato enim tyrannonom tyrannida manerum video. Nam quae illae facturus non fuit, ca fluit, ut de Clodio, de quo mihi exploratum est illum non modo non facturum sed etiam ne passurum quidem fuisse. (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 Martii me ad cenam invitasses: reliquirum nihil fuisse. Nunc me reliquiae vestrae exercet, et quidem praeter ceteros me. Cf. infr. §§ 86, 113 seq. On regnum supr. § 29. l. 31 n.]

I. 32. stilus, a double entendre (hence ut dicitur = ut aiunt), as Horat. sat. ii. I. 39: sed hic stilus haud petet utro quorumque animantem et me veluti custodiet ensis | vagina teceat. [For ut dicitur Seyffert (ad Lael. § 97, p. 539) cites Cic. de off. i. § 80: de gradu deci, ut dicitur. Lael. § 101: ad calcem, ut dicitur, pererire, etc. Add ad fam. ix. 26. § 2.]

P. 15. [L. I. 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. vi. 6. § 1, viii. 14. § 1, xiv. 15. § 2.]

[L. 2. consecissum. verbum ambiguum, quod non solum est absolvere, sed etiam occidere. consecctores = bestiarii. Abbr.]

I. 4. Narbo. 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 importum of British tin.]

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

I. 6. te follows after quem, as often when two relative sen-
CASSIANUM ILLUD, CUI BONO?

Cassianum, qui.

In ro6, homo. cuiusquam L. 

Trebonium pitionem fuisset. quaerere quaerarent, verissimum cui maxima fuit, —i- 

alarmed ibid. Cic. of always sequebatur, improhi sonia strictness. 

magnam quaereret. quam menta dem 

toriam dedisse Idibus Homer.

§ qui. Zumpt, tentences 5i. 47-2.

maleficinm which 5i

potius

ad

potius

praedam

audaci

in

spem

Iliad.

et

indicasti.

et

qui.

qui.

at

sine

sine

in

nemo
ducus,

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noble,

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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, cum accusator id, quod adversarium fecisset criminiatur, id nemini nisi reo bono fuisse demonstrat; aut etc.... Hoc loco defensor demonstravit aut aliis quoque bono fuisse 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: Paucis tementas est bono, multis malo. The true Latin for ‘Of what use is it?’ is Quid 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 quorsum haec? (‘to what end?’). Or we may say, e.g. for ‘What was the good of your writing to him?’ Quid ut inde boni caperes, ad eum scripsisti? In the jurists we find Quo bonum est? (Cf. Dirksen’s Manuale, p. 101 b.) In St Augustine, ut quid (ivç 71) de civ. Dei, i. 18. § 1, ii. 23, § 1, de gen. ad litt. i. § 23 pr., tract. in Jo. iii. § 8, cv. § 8. See Tac. dial. 9.]

[l. 12. vide ne. § 28. l. 22. Vide ne haecres 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 Caesar’s death. [See Cic. ap. Dion. xlv. 41.]

[l. 13. Madvig opusc. i. 207, in the old reading illud quidem fuit, ut tu dicebas, changed tu into tum: ‘ea, quae nune ab Antonio dicantur et agantur, ab illius temporis dictis discrepare orator dicit.’]

ut dicebas. 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.]

[l. 15. aere alieno. On the debts of Ant. cf. § 4. l. 24, §§ 44 sqq., 50, 62, 71 seq., 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 pecuniarum publicarum ferenda nullo modo est, per quam sestertium septiens milieus falsis perscriptionibus donationibusque avertit.

l. 18. delata. Intr. § 31. with n. 129.
19. falsorum, etc. Intr. § 40. [On the practice of forgery in Rome, cf. Suet. Tit. 3: E pluribus comperi, notis (short hand) qui cepisse velocissime solitum, cum amanuensis suis per ludum iocumque certamin, imitarique chirographa quaeque vidisset; ac profiteri saepe, 'Se maximum falsarium esse potuisse.' cf. Torr. ad loc.]

[chir. § 109. § 8: an chirographo? in quo habes scientiam quaeestuosam.]

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


§ 36. l. 23. Nescio quid. 'You seem to be somewhat confused.' On this use of the acc. of neuter pronouns, cf. § 21. l. 30 n. n. 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. Madvig on Cic. de fin. l. § 14. p. 33. For conturb. cf. supr. p. 14. l. 4. Cic. top. § 52: pallor, rubor, titubatio, si qua alia signa conturbationis et conscientiae: in Tusc. IV. § 19. Cic. defines conturbationem metum excutientem cogitata.

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


[l. 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.

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

[l. 6. Dolebam, dolebam, p. c., cf. § 43. l. 16: Audite, audite, p. c.]

[l. 10. angoribus. '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 praecipitae = 'rhetoric;' numeri = 'arithmetic' (de fin. I. § 72, where astra is even used for 'astronomy'). Naegelsb.]
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CONDICIO. EL. PLUS. ULLO. [15 37—39]

[1. 14. omnem, 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.]

[1. 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. p. 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 condiciores crant. Fateor; sed numquid hoc peius? Add ad Fam. vi. 4. § 4: Prima illa consolatio est, vidisse me plus quam ectorum, cum cupiebam quantum iniqua condicione pacem.]

§ 38. [1. 19. ei. nom. plur.] On this early and less usual form, cf. Madvig, § 83. n. 1. Ritschel excludes the form ei from early writers (Proleg. xviii.): ‘geminatum i in pronomine non maiorem fidem habet quam in dii diis, pro quibus aut di dis aut ei is, aut dei desit ut ci cies veteres probatur.’]

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

[1. 23. An. § 3. 1. 7. Madvig, § 453. ‘Was there then any one, etc?’ Hand cites Ter. Eun. ii. 3. 91: P. Flagitium fecimus. Cf. An nil flagitium est, etc.?]

1. 24. plus. often used where magis might stand, just as the adverbial multum = magno opere, valde; and quantum = quanto 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 uilius 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.]

1. 25. quidem. ‘certainly.’

[1. 27. Ego (videbam) quid ille (sentiret et spectaret), and so 1. 28: Ego (conselebam). 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.]

1. 31. quid seq. ‘his definite ains.’

§ 39. P. 17. 1. 2. Pharsalia. This form of the adj. (cf. Φαρσάλιος) is found in the MSS. also in Phil. xiv. § 23, de divin. i. § 68. Paplum. 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 

[Cic. Tusc. iii. § 66 n., Luc. ix. 117.]

[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. Ch. 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. vili. 8. § 4: Sin autem ille (Caesar) fureret, vehementer hominem contemnebat (Pompeius) et suis et rci publicae copiis confide-bat.]

[1. 5. Et, like 'And,' at the beginning of a sentence in impassioned exclamations or questions. § 51. l. 31, § 110. l. 24. Liv. ii. 38. § 5: et hanc urbern 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 scqui, instead of secare (Cic. p. Rosc. Amer. § 80: sectores bonorum et coUorum). 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 qui-bus 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. l. 8. iocos. Some very cutting ones in Plut. Cic. 38, Macrob. Sat. ii. 3. § 7: [Pompeius Ciceronis facettiarum impatiens fuit; cuius haece dicta ferreabantur. 'Ego vero quem fugiam habeo, quem sequar non habeo.' Sed et cum ad Pompeium venisset, dicentibus sero cum 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 trans fugam civitate Romana: 'Hominem bellum,' inquit: 'Gallis civitatem promittit alienam, qui nobis nostram non potest reddere.' Propter quae merito videbatur dixisse Pompeius: 'Cupio ad hostes Cicero transeat, ut nos timent.' See generally for Cicero's jests the whole chapter 3 of Maccobius, Plut. comp. Dem. c. Cic. 1, Plut. Cic. 25—27, who says (c. 28) that they gave great offence.]
HOMINES—modo homines. SESTERTIUM. [16 39 40

[L. 9. quidem illa, not illa quidem, as usual (§ 6. l. 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 absit a culpa, suspitione tamen non earet: tametsi miserum est, tamen ei qui hunc accuset possum aliquo modo ignoscere.

homines—modo homines. An example of the figure diaphora (Rutil. Lup. i. § 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. maestitiam... iaeum. Plut. 'Cic. 38, also blames both.]

[L. 15. Hereditatem. Cf. § 41. l. 4. A similar taunt in Cic. ad Att. I. 16. § 10: 'Regem appellas,' 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 eius (of Junia, sister of M. Brutus, and widow of Cassius) multo apud vulgum rumore fuit; quia in magnis opibus, cum ferme cunctos procercs cum honore nominavisset, Caesarem omisit. quod cives 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. Chuent. §§ 34, 41. The nearest relations, if not mentioned in a will, could bring a querella inofficiosi, and procure its reversal.]

[L. 17. quin. § 8. l. 24.]

[L. 18. sestertium. The gen. plur. of nouns denoting money, weight and measure, is commonly contracted. Madvig, § 37. n. 4 ; Zumpt, § 51. So infr. §§ 43, 101: iugurum. Varr. L. L. VIII. § 71: quaeveunt, si sit analogia,... cur dicatur mille denarium, non mille denarious est enim hoc vocabulum figura, ut Vatinius, Manilius, denarius: debet igitur dici, ut Vatiniorem, Maniliorum, denariorum. Cic. orat. § 157: alias ita loquor ut concessum est, ut hoc vel 'pro deum' dico vel 'pro deorum,' alias ut necesse est, cum 'trium virum,' non 'viriorem,' cum 'sestertium nummum,' non 'nummorum;' quod in his consuetudo varia non est. Cf. ib. 155, 156.]

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

[1. 22. L. Rubrius. § 103.]

1. 23. Casinas, 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.]

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

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

l. 24. albus etc. proverbial of those, with whom we have no intimate acquaintance. Catull. 93: Nil nimium studeo, Caesar, tibi velle placere, | nec scire 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. Fuji, sc. filium. cf. § 74.

[l. 26. sui amicissimi. Madvig, § 247 n. 1. infr. § 42. l. 8 n.] palam. p. Mil. § 48: testamentum autem palam fecerat, et illum heredem et me scripserat. Ulp. in Dig. xxviii. l. 21: Heredes palam, ita ut exaudiri possint, nuncupandi sunt. Licebit ergo testandi vel nuncupare heredes vel scribere, sed si nuncupat, palam debet. Quid est palam? Non utique in publicum, sed ut exaudiri possit, exaudiri autem non ab omnibus, sed a testibus; et si plures fuerint testes adhibiti, sufficit sollemnem numerum exaudire.

l. 27. nominat, in testamento. We should have expected nominavit.

l. 28. sal. 'visited.'

l. 32. Igitur, relates to scio quae praedia 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' magnae pecuniae (de imp. Cn. Pomp. § 18, where Halm cites Lob. ad Soph. Aj. p. 127 seq.); multae pecuniae 'many different sums of money' (Verr. v. § 48. NAEGELSB.)

l. 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.

l. 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. xliv. 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 tui potest. Reincites ad fam. xiii. 61, Suet. Aug. 66, Cic. p. Quint. § 14: Heredem testamento reliquit hunc P. Quinctium, ut, ad quem summus maenor morte sua venieth, ad eundem summus honos quoque perveniret. Val. Max. vii. chapters 7 and 8 (de testamentis rescessis; de ratis testamentis).]

c. xvii. § 42. l. 7. tot dies. Phil. v. § 19: ipse interea septemdecim dies de me in Tiburtino Scipionis (father-in-law of Pompeius; he slew himself after the battle of Thapsus) declamavit sitim quaerens; haece enim ci causa esse declamandi solet. [Cic. writes to Cassius this year, ad Fam. xii. 2. § 1: Caelem cniim gladiator (Ant.) quaerit, eiusque initium a me se facturum putavit; ad quam paratus venerat, cum in villa Metelli complures dies commentatus esset. Quae autem in bustris et in vino commentatio potuisse esse? Itaque omnibus est visus, ut ad te antea scripsi, vobserver suo more, non dicere. Abr. cf. on Scipio's villa infr. § 109.]

[l. 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 nimirem hanc gloriam auferre Cicero voluit interfectori patris sui M. Antonio; is enim ante cum avidissime adprehenderat hanc palamem, edito ctiam volumine de sua eliiriate... § 148: Exiquo tempore ante proelium Actiacum id volumen eumuiit. 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, respondisse familiaris eius ferebatur: 'Quod canis in Aegypto; bibit et fugit.' HEUSINGER. See also Vell. ii. 63.]

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

1. 10. magistrum. § 43. 'a master, whom you and your boon-companions write 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 uocem Fulviam, cui altera bucca inflator erat, acumen stilli (cf. supr. § 34. l. 32), temptare dixit, nec eo minus, immo vel magis ob hoc Antonio
MUINO. DICTA DICERE.

gratus. a quo max consule ingens etiam congiarium accept, ut ei in Philippique Cicero obicit: 'adhibes ... dicere.' 'at quanta ... disceres.' In the bellum Mutinense both Ant. and Octavianus practised declamation. Suct. Rhet. 1. Antonius' eloquence was of the florid, Asiatic style (Plut. 2, but cf. 43.)

1. 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).

1. 12. omnino concessive; properly 'by all means.' It is often thus, like scilicet, used where quidem (μεν) might stand, with sed (ὅδε) following. Halm on Cic. p. Sest. § 84, p. 221, and index p. 334 a. Add de nat. deor. 1. § 95: utrumque omnino durum, sed usu mollicenda nobis verba sunt. ibid. § 12, de off. 11. § 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.

1. 13. dicta 'witticisms.' In Gr. also where we find λόγον (λόγους) λέγεων, λόγος has a different (more restricted) sense; e.g. Herod. 1. 141, ἔξεσε λόγον 'he recited a fable'; Eurip. Med. 322: μηδ λόγος 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 connote 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 servitutem servire (Plaut. Aul. IV. i. 6, Cic. Top. § 29, p. Mur. § 61), servitus implies more than servire; not all who serve are slaves. Cf. infr. § 109. p. 44. I. 11. n. Again Caed. ap. Cic. ad fam. VIII. 2. § 1: ut sum gaudium gauderemus. Hor. Carm. III. 29. 50: ludum insolentem ludere. (Partly from Nageisd.b and Reisig.) On the narrower sense of dicta (= dicteria, Macrob. Sat. II. 1. § 14), see Macr. ib. § 13: Is iocus...inter alia eius dicipa celebratur. § 14: Sed in hoc verbum non casu incidi. Testis idem Cicero, qui in libro epistolarum ad Cornelium Nepotem secundo sic ait: 'Itaque nostri, cum omnia quae dixissesmus dicta essent, ea proprio nomine appellari dicta voluerunt.' Cic. de or. II. § 221: defenso tota redundavit hilaritate quadam et ioco; dicta illa brevia non habuit. ib. § 222: haec scilicet bona dicta, quae salsa sint; nam ea dicta appellantur proprio ian nomine. Cf. Quintil. VI. 3. §§ 16, 60, Varr. L.L. VI. § 61 (dictum in mimo). Mart. I. 4. 3; consuevere iocos vestri quae ferre triumphi; | Materiam dictis nec pudet esse decem. Jul. Cæs. (Suet. 50) published dicta collectanea. We find dicta dicere also de orat. II. § 244. p. Planc. § 85.]
ELLIPSIS OF VERB. SUBST. IN -TOR. [17 42 43

[1. 14. avum. Intr. § 1. See the criticisms in de orat. iii. § 32: in unaquaque re commorans (=sensim here), etc. Brut. § 139: omnia veniebant Antonio in mentem; caque suo quaque loco, ubi plurimum proficere et valere possent, ...collocabantur. Cf. ib. § 215.]

§ 43. [l. 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. l. 23.] populi R. i.e. discharged by the state [= publica. Cf. Phil. iii. § 22 just quoted.]

1. 20. nihil supere. § 8 n. [§ 68. See the quaint observation of Quintil. v. 13. § 38: illae reprehensiones ...inscitiae verum verborumque et insulsitatis etiam, qualis in Antonium est, animo dantur aut injustis oidiis; suntque utiles ad conciliandum ris, 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 Philippius; generally in short, esp. interrogative, sentences. E.g. Phil. i. §§ 6, 25: Phil. ii. § 53: Sed nihil de Caesar etc. § 68: At idem acdes etiam et hortos. § 72: ne omnia videar contra te sc. dicere. ib.: A me O. Caesar pecuniam? cum potius quam cgo ab illo? § 74: tam bonus gladiator rudem tam cito? § 77: confestim ad eam etc. § 81: esto, hoc imperite. § 101: medico tria milia iugerum, rhetori duo. § 110: Et tu in Caesaris memoria diligentis?

[1. 21. Caesar. comm. § 97.]

1. 22. alio 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: εἴτων ἐται evidiose corrector dicitur, qui alios castigat ipse eiusdem culpae reus. Cic. p. Balb. § 20: O praeclarum ...correctorem atque emendantorem nostrae civitatis.' etc. Naegelsb.]
I. 32. praet. 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. 10. 1. 3. ord. Liv. perioch. XIX.: L. Roscius trib. pl. (B. C. 67) legem tulit ut equitibus R. in theatro XIII. gradus (rows of seats) proximi (orchestrae, i.e. to the floor of the theatre, where the senators sat) adsignarentur. [In the civil wars so many were ruined, that Augustus (Suet. 40) permitted all, quibus ipsis parentibus equester census unquam fuisse, to sit in these seats. Cf. Juv. III. 153—159. Ibid. XIV. 323 seq.: office sumnum, | bis septem ordinibus quam lex dignatur Othonis. | haec quoque si rugam trahit extenditque labellum; | sume duos equites, juc tertia quadringenta.] decocitoribus, 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.

I. 5. muliebrem, i.e. meretriciam. The meretrices and libertinae, 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 questorship, 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 represents this sin against our nature.]

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

§ 45 l. 10. nemo puer. Cf. nemo hostis. § I. Stürenb. on Cic. de off. p. 182 seq.]

7
DOMU. DISCIDIUM. RECTISSIME. [18 19 45—48

[L. 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 veniat in dubium hac domu dicendum sit, an hac domo.]

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

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

[L. 21. intercessisse = soluturum promissesse. MANUT.]

[L. 23. discidii. Madvig (on Cic. de fin. p. 812 seq., cf. Seyffert on Læl. pp. 152, 153) seems to have proved that this is the only true form, and that dissidium is a mere corruption.] sc 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.)

[l. 28. tua fam. cf. § 23. l. 18 n.]

[l. 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 molitus 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.

[l. 19. quicum. Madvig, § 86. n. 2.]

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

l. 20. Galliam. Intr. § 6
1. 21. autem, correcting. 'Yet what house? ' 'Why do I say house?' In the figure Correctio autem is used for dico or ingenii autem... e.g. fragm. or. Pison.: Quod minimum speciem in te ingenii? ingenii autem? immo ingenii hominis ac libri etc. p. Rab. Post. § 10: num quis testis Postumum appellavit? testis autem? num accusator?

1. 22. tum, before the confiscations. [obt. § 3. 1. 11 n.]

[l. 24. pedem poneres. 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 oculus ad tuum pervenias? 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. NAEGELS.]

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

1. 25. Sisapo, a town of Hispania Baetica, in the neighbourhood of which were celebrated mines of cinnabar (vermilion). Plin. hist. nat. XXXIII. 8. 40. § 119 seq. [Cinnabar (minimum) was only imported from Spain, celeberrimo Sisaponei regione in Baetica miniario metallo vectigalibus populi R. Nullius rei diligentiori custodia, non licet ubi perficere id excoquique; Romam adfertur vena signata ad bina milia fere pondo annua, Romae autem lavatur, in vendendo pretio statuta lege, ne modum excederet H.S. XXX. in libras; sed adulteratur multis modis, unde praeda societati...... § 120: Hoc ergo 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. infr. § 73: praeeter partem Miseni.

c. xx. § 49. Venisti etc. Intr. § 6.

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

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

1. 30. de gratia, sc. reconcilianda. adiutus doubtful emendation of the corrupt ovatus (cod. Vat.).

1. 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 confitere venisse (p. Rosc. 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...bis idem pronomen subjuncti loco ponit debitum (de orat. III. § 147: me licet existimes desperare ista posse perdiscere, 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.]

[I. 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.


[I. 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. Abr. cites ad Att. VII. 3. § 5: video eum homine audacissimo paratissimoque negotium esse; omnes damnatos, omnes ignominia effectos, omnes damnatione ignominiaque dignos illae facerc, omnen fere iuvenutem, omnen illum urbem ac perditam plebem, tribunos valentes addito C. Cassio, 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.

l. 16. viri tui, C. Curio (§ 44), tribune B.C. 50. Intr. § 8.

c. xxi. [l. 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 ueterem. 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. I. 22. L. Lentulo etc. Intr. § 8 seq.

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

l. 30. hostem. The decree dext operam consulès 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. n. 36.
[l. 21. 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.]

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

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

l. 18. reliquis imperiis, see the terms of the decree, Intr. § 10. cf. also ep. ad fam. xvi. 11. § 3: Postea quan senatus consulis, praetoribus, tribunis pl. et nobis, qui pro consulis sumus, negotium deductum ut curaremus, ne quid res publica detrimenti caperet etc. [p. reg. Deiot. § 11: Cum audiret, senatus consentiens auctoritate arma sumpta esse, consulis, praetoribus, tribunis pl., nobis imperatoribus rem publicam defendandam datam.]


l. 22. quam causam adferebat. We certainly read in Caes. b. civ. r. 32: inuriam in eripendis legionibus praecipat (Cæsar in the senate, Intr. § 12), crudelitatem et insolentiam in circumscriptionem (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 ducis motus et causas invenit armis. | expulit ancipiti discordes urbe tribunos | victo iure minax iactatis curia Gracchis. | hos iam mota ducis vicinaque signa petentes | audax venali comitatur Curio lingua: | vox quondam populi, libertatemque tueri | ausus et armatos plebi miscere potentes.]

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

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

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

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

l. 2. quod: the same attraction Phil. v. § 39: Pompicio 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 innocentiae. Tusc. disp. r. § 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 toil, this a work.’

[l. 4. consulares. p. reg. Deiot. § 11: ut audivit, consules ex
Italia profugisse omnesque consulares—sae enim ei nuntiabatur,—
cunctum senatum, totam Italiam eissam. Talibus enim nuntiis et
rumoribus patebat ad orientem via; nulli veri nuntii subsequebantur.
Nihil ille de conditionibus tuis, nihil de studio concordiae et pacis,
nihil de conspiratione audiebat certorum hominum contra diuitia-
tem tuam. The whole passage, addressed as it is to Cæsar, should
be compared with this.]

casqui cladem illum fugamque, to effect that disastrous flight.
[So Cat. mai. § 15: res, quae inventutе geruntur ac viribus, ‘by
youthful strength.’ p. Rosc. Amer. § 9: summus timor, quem
mihi natura pudorque meus attribuit, ‘my inborn bashfulness.’
Naegelsb.]

[l. 6. subolem. ‘the whole stock, breed which makes up our
youth.’ Cf. Pollio in Cic. ad fam. x. 33: robur et suboles militum
interiit, ‘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: prolemque 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. l. 8. in seminibus. Dem. de cor. § 59: ο γαρ το σπέρμα
παραχων, ούτος των φυτων κακων αἰτίων. [Cic. ap. Dion.
xlv. 27.]

l. 10. tres exercitus. § 75.

l. 11 seq. Antonius—Antonius etc. Figure of conversio, i.e.
of the inverted repetitio (ad Herenn. iv. § 16, where see definition
and examples). Phil. I. § 24: De cæsilio reducti a mortuo, civitas
data non solum singulis, sed nationibus et provinciis universis a
mortuo, immunitibus infinitis sublata vectigalia a mortuo.
[Cf. p. Mil. § 59: Quis eos postulavit? Appius. Quis pro-
duxit? Appius. Unde? ab Appio. (quoted by Manut. with de
leg. agr. II. § 22). Add the example in ad Herenn. iv. § 29,
Quintil. ix. 3. § 31. Rutil. Lup. i. § 8 calls conversio ‘epiphora,’
and repetitio ‘epibile’ (ib. § 7). Sosicrates (ib. § 8): initio ad
bellum suscipicandum nos primum impulit Philippus, deinde in ipso
belli labore ac periculo deservit nos Philippus, novissime nunc cala-
mitati nostrae, proinde atque culpae, succensuit idem Philippus.
For the emphatic position of Antonius here cf. § 2. l. 17.—We
have an example of repetitio (=epibole) in § 3. 1. 6 seq. (non venirem). Cf. Verr. II. § 26 (Verres).]

[1. 12. cives. cf. § 37 n.]

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

1. 20. scelus in scelere. The recall of condemned criminals was a scelus, as a rescinding of res iudicatae; 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. 1. 21. Restit. in integrum.


1. 24. de alea. Gambling with dice was very early made penal at Rome [Hor. vetita legibus alca], 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 liceret. For him therefore the restitution 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 passage, when (c. 47) he calls Denticulus an exile.

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

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

perciderat, Antonius, ben. leg. diss., i.e. with the money received from Denticulus for carrying the law. A restitution 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 iudicata. [credo. § 26. 1. 30.]

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

[1. 32. At. § 21. p. 10. 1. 2. 'But, you will say.]

P. 24. 1. 1. Nihil id quidem ad rem, i.e., that would not of itself justify the setting aside of a res iudicata.

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

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

[1. 4. in foro. de off. III. § 75: in foro, mihi crede, saltaret. cf. ib. § 93. |HEUS.|]
l. 6. *studium suum, sc. alca ludendi.*

§ 57. 1. 8. *Italiam.* Intr. § 33.

[1. 11. notiora. § 47. 1. 8.]

l. 12. *mihi, qui non fui.* Ant. in a very friendly letter (ad Att. x. 3 a) dissuaded Cic. from leaving Italy. [cf. a letter from 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 nobulo) venit mihi obviam 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 *essedia.* Abr. Originally a British and Belgian (Virg. G. iii. 204) 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): *essedea cuculis siste Britannam ingis.*]

*licitores,* who escorted Ant. as proprætor, not as tribune. [ad Att. x. 16. § 5: *Antonius, cuius inter licitores lectica mima portabatur.* HEUS.]

l. 18. *laureati,* with wreaths of bay about their *fasces,* a custom originally adopted in honour of victorious *imperatores.* The *fasces laureati* 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 laureati? si ab ipso (Cæsare), 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 (vede). Becker’s Gallus, iii. 2 seq. [](operta. § 106.)


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

[1. 22. *reda.* A Gallic word. Quintil. i. 5. § 57: *Plurima Gallica (verba) valuerunt, ut reda ac petorritum. 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.*

I. 23. *reecta,* in the rear. *mater,* Iulia, daughter of L. Iulius Cæsar, 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. vitricus. § 14). When her brother L. Cæsar (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. *vestigii municipia impressit.* We say, ‘he imprinted footmarks on the mun.,’ and so it can be said in Lat., *vestigia municipiis impressit.* However with *inscribo, imprimo,* *inuero, praecipio,* the common construction is that which is strange to us. So Cic. ad fam. i. 9. § 15: *monumentum...cruentis inustum litteris.* NAEGELS. Cf. Madvig, § 260 b. Zumpt, § 478.]

§ 59. l. 29. *lubrica,* because of the danger of offending the veterans. [infr. p. 25. l. 3.]


P. 25. l. 2. *secuti sunt* their old general Cæsar.


I. 4. *revertisti.* Intr. § 15. [In this sense in the pres. and tenses formed from it *revertor* etc. (cf. *devertor; reverto* only in Liv. XLV. 28. § 6); in the perf. *reverti* (so *deverti*); seldomer (never in Cic.) *reversus sum.* Thus infr. § 76. *revertissem.* Madvig. § 139, Haase on Reisig, n. 290.]

I. 5. *non occidisti* etc. c. 3.

§ 60. [l. 9. *servatam.* § 2. l. 19. *quod—meminissent* = *quod,* ut meminerant, *servata esset.* Cf. § 7. l. 6 n. and Seyffert ad Lael. p. 243.]

I. 13. *tue, bear in mind,* thankfully acknowledge. *praesertim cum* refers to *per tuas contumelias;* 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, adiungi aliquid singulatim ad id, quod generalius dictum sit quo id augeatur, hoc speciale apud Latinos, maxime Cic., saepe ex contrario genere est, ut ideo maius esse videatur id, quod dicatur, quod tamen nihilominus sit. Atque hic transitus ad significandum rem eo memorabilem, quod alius exspectetur, fit iam in simplici particula, ut de div. II. § 142: *nee 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 praesertim et praesertim cum* (nullo, quod animadverterim, discrimine,) et *qui praesertim canem vim habent ac si dicas: idque* *cum tamen, quamvis, qui tamen.* He explains our passage: 'non destitisti me provocare, quamvis vides etc.' To his exx. add p. red. in sen. § 10: *non modo deserurunt, in causa praesertim publica et consulari*, i.e. 'and that in' etc. Nagelsb. cites Phil. viii. § 5: *non exspectavit vestra decreta*, praesertim *cum illud esset aetatis*. 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. *mimulae*. § 58. 1. 19.]

1. 19. *exerc., sc. pudebat*. Madvig, § 478 n.]

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

l. 25. *deductio*, to be billeted on the inhabitants.

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

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

*vectigales*, cf. Asc. ad or. in toga cand. p. 94: *Diximus iam supra Sullae ludis...quadrigas C. Antonium et alios quosdam nobiles homines agitasse*. Praeterea Antonius redemptas habebat ab aervario vectigales quadrigas, quam redemptionem 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 censoribus ob inopiam aervari se iam locationibus abstinerent acdium sacrarum tuendarum curuliumque equorum praebendorum—converere ad cos frequentes, qui hasvae huius generis adsaucerant 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 Halm 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. *eq. vectigales,* 'qui nonnullis populis stipendiariis quotannis a populo Romano tributi nomine imperati erant; senatores cuique certum numerum minimo, ut videtur, pretio redimere licebat: eiusmodi equos Ant. Sergio, ut ex iis quem vellet quaes-tum faceret, tradebat.' Orelli, who thinks that Juv. vi. 82, 104, 105, has borrowed the names Sergiolus and Hippia (whom he makes a woman) from this passage.]

1. 30. *hanc, i. e. Cn. Pompeii.* [§ 64 seq.] *male tuctur,* because 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.

[l. 6. *tantum—quantum.* 'just so much, and no more;'
 'neither more nor less.' Juv. xiv. 233: *nemo sat is credit tantum delinquere, quantum | permittas. So tam ad Att. *III. 13* § 2.*]

§ 63. [l. 10. *Tu* etc. Quintil. IX. 4. § 23: *Augeri enim dc bent sententiae et insurgere:* ut optime Cicero, *‘Tu,* inquit, *‘istis...firmitate.’* Aluim enim maius alio superveniit. At si coe-pisset a toto corpore, non bene ad latera faucesque descendere.

Id. viii. 4. § 16: *Obiecturus Antonio Cicero merum et vonitum,* *‘Tu,* inquit, *‘istis...firmitate.’* Quid fauces et latae ad ebria-tatem? Minime sunt otiosa. Nam respicientes ad hac possun- democr, quantum ille vini in Hippiae nuptiis exhauserit, quod ferre ct concogere non possit ilia corporis gladiatoria firmitate.]*

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

[l. 11. *vini.* §§ 42, 52. 1. 26.*]


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

[l 16 seq. *In coctu—equitum.* Quintil. viii. 4. § 8: Singula
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. ructare. ad fam. xii. 25. § 4 (written b.c. 43): Sic sum in Antonium invectus, ut ille non ferret omnemque suum vino-
ientum furorem in me unum effunderet, meque tum elicere vellet ad 
aedis causam, tum temptaret insidias; quem ego ructante et nau-
scantem conieci in Caesaris Octaviani plagas.]

[i. 18—20. Quintil. viii. 6. § 68: Fit (hyperbole) pluribus 
modis. Aut enim plus facto dicimus, 'vomens...implevit.']

[l. 19. gremium suum. Cf. Plut. Ant. 9 (North's transl.): 'As for prooe hereof it is reported, that at Hippias marriage, one 
of his feasters, he drank wine so lustily all night, that the next 
morning when he came to pleade before the people assembled in 
council, who had sent for him: he being quesie stomached with 
his surfeit he had taken, was compelled to lay all before them, and 
one of his friends held him his gown in stead of a basen.'

c. xxvi. § 64. l. 22. se recepit. Intr. § 17.

[l. 23. qui sit. § 7. l. 8 n. Seyffert ad Lael. p. 167.]

[l. 24. Hasta. § 103. cf. § 39. l. 6 n.]

[l. 25. pro aede etc. opposite the equestrian statue of Cloelia, 
the Summa Nova via and Summa Sacra via, at the foot of 
the Palatium, by the arch of Titus. Becker l. 112. Ov. trist. iii. 
i. 31, 32. fast. vi. 793, 794: tempus idem Sator acdis habitat, quam 
Romulus olim [ante Palatini condidit ora iugi]. Cicero once con-
vened the senate there (Plut. 16).]

[l. 27. animo. 'cum voce haeret coniungendum est.' Madvig, 
opusc. i. 145.]

bona, inquam etc. Figure of conduplicatio (ad Herenn. iv. c. 
28. § 38), 'cum ratione amplificationis aut miserationis eiusdem 
uinis aut plurium verborum iteratio, hoc modo: ... Nunc etiam 
aules in horum conspectum venire, proditor patriae, proditor, 
inquam, patriae venire aules in horum conspectum? etc. 
Verr. v. §§ 31 and 107. [Phil. xiii. § 10: Salvis enim actis 
Caesaris, quae concordiae causa defendimus, Pompeio sua domus 
patebit, camque non minoris, quam emit Antonius, redimet: 
redimet, inquam, Cn. Pompei domum filiis... § 11: Redimet 
hortos, aedes, urbana quaedam, quae possidet Antonius. Nam 
argentum, vestem, supellectilem, vinum amittet aequo animo, quae 
ille huius dissipavit. Aquil. Rom. § 32, calls this figure anadi-
plosis. Cf. Madv. opusc. i. 265, Quintil. ix. 3. § 29.]
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. scelus sectionis = scelestam sectionem. Verr. v. § 26: dici brevitas convivii, noetis longitudo stupris et flagitiis continebatur. de or. II. § 237: parcendum maxime est caritati hominum, ‘those whom we love.’ NAEGELSB. cf. lines 5 and 6, omnium—audacia, ‘all, however reckless.’]


nemo. Yet see Intr. n. 64. [The Aneres. Phil. XIII. § 11, where Cic. says, ‘sunt alii pluris fortasse, sed de mea memoria dilabuntur.’]

l. 3. praecertim 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 hue adductum esse? Nescimus per ista tempora eosdem fere sectores fuisset collorum et bonorum? [on the expression isto loco natus (cf. summo or nobi 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. § 78: praedes suos (= bona eorum) vendere. Suet. Claudi. 9: Claudius venalis pependit, i.e. his goods were advertised for sale. p. dom. sua, § 20: cum lege nefaria Ptolemacum (i.e. Ptolemacii bona)...publicasses. cf. p. Sest. §§ 57 (where see Halm) and 59. NAEGELSB. Suet. Domit. 9.]

l. 9. essecratum, ‘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 contemnauit. So conspectus ‘visible’ (Fabri on Liv. xxII. 4. § 6). So esp. in compounds with in; indomitus,
‘unconquerable,’ *inviolatus*, ‘invincible,’ *inaccessus*, ‘unapproachable.’ *Nægelsb. incuratus* (Hor.), *inaudatus* (Virg. Gell.).

[Plut. Caes. 51.] Corfinius rebuilt a house of Pompeius, as insufficient for him.] *abundantis*. By the peace of Misenum, 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. Calenus (ibid. XLVI. 14) says, Cicero is always speaking of Sicily, as though we were likely to forget that he fled to that island.]

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Colum.
[l. 30. mimi. Plut. Ant. 9 and 21, Cic. ap. Dion. xlv. 28.]

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

[l. 2. Conchyliatis etc. Quintil. viii. 4. § 25: Quid? M. Tullius de M. Antonii luxuria tantum fingere saltum potuisset, quantum ostendit dicendo, 'Conchyliatis...videres'? conchyliata peristromata, et Cn. Pompeii, terrunt servi, et in cellis, nihil dici potest ultra; et ncessa est tamnu infinito plus in domino cogitare.]

[l. 3. peristromatis. This is the ordinary form of the dat. and abl. of Gr. neuters in ma. Thus poëmatis (not poëmatibus), epigrammatis, preiptasmatis etc. The grammarians cite from Cic. and others poëmatorum etc. RUDDIM. I. 99. Nagelsbach 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; gy-naccium scoffingly of Fulvia's 'boudoir.' Cicero was on the whole a rigid purist, cf. Acad. l. § 25, Tusc. disp. l. § 15, de off. l. § 111. NAEGELSB. add orat. § 132.]

[cellis. Hor. S. i. 8. 8. 9: hoc prius angustis eictae cadaver a cellis | conservus vili portanda locabat in arca. In the back parts of the house and in the garrets.]

[l. 5. non modo—sed. § 32. l. 13.]

[l. 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. [l. 8. acdes. On the site, see Suet. gram. 15: in Carin-nis ad Telluris (infr. § 89 n.) acdem, in qua regione Pompeiorum domus fuerat. cf. id. Tiber. 15, App. b. c. ii. 126, or. de har-rusp. resp. § 49, Dio xlv. 22. Hence the jest of Sex. Pom-peius, Vell. ii. 77. § 17 cum Pompeio quoque circa Misenum pax inita [b. c. 39]; qui haud absurdo, cum in navi Caesaremque et Antonium cena exciperat, dixit, 'in Carinis suis se cenan dare,' referens hoc dictum ad loci nomen, in quo paterna domus ab Antonio possidebatur. (The same jest in Dio xlviii. 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. xlvii. 14, Cic. ib. xlv. 28. In this speech §§ 39, 62.]

hortos, sc. occupavit, as continuation of the foregoing in-vasit in fortunas. [infr. § 109. l. 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: \textit{Iam quidem hortorum nomine in ipsa urbe delicias, agros villasque possident...Romae quidem per se hortus ager paupерis erat; ex horto plebei macellum, quanto innocentio viciu}]

l. g. \textit{etiam. 'so much as to —.'}\\

\[\text{[l. ii seq.} \textit{quam domum—hac in domo. On the repetition of the substantive cf. Madvig, § 315 a, n. 2, Zumpt, § 743, Oud. on Cæs. b. Gall. ii. 18. § 1.} \textit{Dies is perhaps more commonly repeated than not. Cic. p. Sull. § 43: \textit{dico locum in orbe terræ rum esse nullum, quo in loco —. On the hac see Madvig on Cic. de fin. iii. § 12: 'in huiusmodi pronominis coniunctione, ubi, praecedente sententia relativa, aut contrarium aliquid in eadem re notatur aut consequens, recte hic poni potest, re tam quam propius admota, ut or. p. Cæl. § 78: que in civitate....in hac civitate.'}\\

\[\text{[l. 14.} \textit{nihil sapias. § 8. l. 26.}]

c. xxviii. l. 15. \textit{vestibulo. Becker’s Gallus, ii. 148, and esp. 150. [Gellius (xvi. 5. § 2) says that many in his day thought, ‘vestibulum’ esse partem domus primum, quam vulgus ‘atrium’ vocat. § 3: C. Aelius Gallus in libro de significazionee verborum, quae ad ius civile pertinent, secundo ‘vestibulum’ esse dicit non in ipsis aedibus neque partem aedium, sed locum ante ianuam domus vacuum, per quem a via aditus accessuasque ad aedes est, cum dextra sinistrae ianuam tectaque sunt viue iuncta atque ipsa ianua procul a via est, arca vacanti intersita. ‘Forecourt.’}\\

l. 16. \textit{rostra. Plin. h. n. xxxv. 2. § 7: Aliac foris et circa limina animorum ingentiæ imaginés erant, adjiciē hostium spo lis, quae nec emptori refuger liceret, triumphabantque etiam dominis mutatis ipsae domus. Erat hac stimulatio ingens, expromuntibus tecitis cotidie in bello dominum intrare in alienum triumphum. [Jul. Capit. Gord. 3: extat silva eius memorabilis quae picta est in domo rostrata Cn. Pompeii. ibid. 1: Gordianus senior...Romae Pompeianam domum possidens. Virg. vii. 183, 186: multa praeterea sacră in postibus arma ... spurculaque clipeique ereptaque rostra carinis. Cf. Suet. Ner. 38. ABR. The beaks were of vessels captured in the war with the pirates, b. c. 67.]}\\

\textit{adspectisti.} Madvig, § 335 b, n. 1; \textit{id. on Cic. de fin. v. § 41: ubi aliquid certo tempore fieri solere significentur, idque tempus actionis praegressae absolute notatur (in quo Latini diligentius actionum tempora distinguunt, nos fere, tamquam eiusmodem temporis sinut, bis praesenti tempore utimur), ibi Latine sic loquor, de or. ii. § 24: cum (id est, quotiens) huc veni, hoc ipsum nihil agere...detectat. de fin. iv. § 38: sensus, cum accessit ad naturam, tuetur illam (significentur enim ea progressio, quam in omnibus factam esse et fieri solere intellegitur). Cf. ib. iii. § 63: in eam-}
demque cum se receptit, includitur.’ See more there, pp. 690, 800. In his ‘Bemerkungen u. s. w.’, p. 65 u., the following exx. are added. Caes. b. Gall. vi. 19. § 3: cum...decessit,...conveniunt. or. Catil. iv. § 12: Cum vero mihi proposui regnamentum Lentulum,... tum...perhorresco (‘when I picture to myself,—I shudder’). de off. ii. § 19: cum reflavit, affligimur. Quintil. xii. 6. § 5: non nulli senes in schola facti stupent novitate, cum in iudicia vene-
run.]

[l. 18. ut es. § 43. l. 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. i. § 17: sit ista res magna, sicut est. p. Rosc. Am. § 22: quamvis ille felix sit, sicut est. Brut. § 38: suavis, sicuti fuit, videri maluit quam gravis. Sometimes certe is added, e.g. ibid. § 76: sit En-
nius sane, ut est certe, perfectior. Seyffert ad Lael. § 24, p. 160. p. Lig. § 13. or. § 144. Koch.]

l. 21. furens (cf. § 65, 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 vinolentium tuam. ep. ad fam. xii. 25. § 4, cited on § 63. l. 18. Garat.]

obiecta sit, prob. corruption of obiecta est (= obiectast); cf. l. 16, (cum adspecieis).

[l. 22. excitari. Hor. epod. 5. 91 seq.: quin ubi perire iussus exspiruero, | nocturnus occurram Furor | petamque vultus umbra curris ungubus | quae vis deorum est manum, | et inquitis assidens praecordiis | pavorie 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. pudicum. Plut. Pomp. 40.]

l. 26. ex optimo more. p. Deiot. § 20: quid nisi moderate, nisi quieta, 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-
mavi, nec...factum illius comprobare voluit, qui fortunas suas in stabulum contuminationum proiercerat. ABR.] conclavia, ‘dining-
rooms,’ as Verr. iv. § 58. pop. ‘tap-rooms.’ [Spartian. Pescenn. Nig. 3: pro tricliniis popinias habent, pro cubiculis meritiora. C. Gracchus ap. Gall. xv. 12. § 2, (a singular proof of the general corruption even in his case): Versatus sum in provincia... Nulla apud me fuit popina neque pueri excima facie stabant et in convivno liberi vestri modestius erant, quam apud principia. LAMBIN.]
l. 32. minam. 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. exegit = foras exire iussit. cf. § 99. ciecisti. 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. l. 31. sudat, pallec.]

§ 70. l. 5. hoc est dicere. cf. Verr. iv. § 45.
[l. 8. avus. Intr. § 1. cos. b.c. 99.]

l. 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 indubitable examples in Cic. (Hand Tursell. iv. 239 seq.). It is especially frequent in nisi si quis.

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

l. 13. ipsas suas partes, ‘your proper (specific) work. [Verr. iv. § 93: cives Romani...permulti in illo oppido coniunctissimo animo cum ipsis Agrigentini vivunt. ‘with the Agrigentines proper.’ Naegelsb.]

[1. 14. natum. § 53.]

l. 15. Cui bello, quamquam a te conflato. [On the adversative force of the relative Nägelsbach cites Liv. xliii. 20. § 2: legati benignae auditis sunt; qui (= and yet they) responsam sinc effectu tulerunt.—propter timiditatem. § 75 seq. Cic. ap. Dion. xliv. 40.]

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

l. 18. antesignanam. Intr. n. 52.—L. Domitium. § 27 n. [On the nobility of the family cf. Suet. Ner. 1: functi...consulibus septem, triumpho censurique duplici. ABR.]

[1. 21. fortasse servasset. § 116 n.]
[1. 22. *quid fuit causa*, cur. Madvig, § 366. n. 6. cf. supr. § 56. l. 28.]


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

[1. 25. *obtinuisti*. § 3. l. 11 n.]


1. 27. *quaestor*. § 50. [The relation of the quaestor to his prætor was compared to that of a son to his father. ep. ad fam. xiii. 10. § 1, 26. § 1, div. in Cacc. §§ 46, 61, 65, p. Planc. § 11, p. red. in sen. § 35, etc. *Abr.* and Becker, π. pt. 2. p. 358. Add Plin. epist. iv. 15. § 9, viii. 23. § 5, x. 11 (= 27). § 1.]

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

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

[App. ii. 143. (on the opening of Cæsar’s will). ‘what excited the most commisération was the discovery that Dec. Brutus, one of the murderers, ἐγέρας πρῶτον παῖς 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 fugit al et me ut sponsorem appellat.*] *Tac.* ann. vi. 17.

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

§ 72. [1. 31. *contra te, sc. dicere.*]

P. 30. [1. i. *pecuniam, sc. petet!* cf. l. 28.]

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

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


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


§ 73. l. 10. *excussis*, strong expression for *reiectis*. [Tibull. 8—2]
II. 6. 12: ex equitant clausae forta verba fores. Madvig reads ex equitant clausae fortia verba fores.]

praedex. § 78 n.

[I. ii. repente. Madvig adds est. See his opusc. i. 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. 4. § 5: tabulam proscriptis, SE FAMILIAM CATONIANAM VENDITVRVM. de off. iii. § 68: si tu aedes proscriptas, tabulam tamquam plagam ponas, domum propter vitia vendas. ib. § 55: si qui proscriptum VILLAM BONAM BENEQUE AEDIFICATAM. Also called libellus, album, or titulus. Sen. de ben. IV. 1-2. § 3: spondeo pro iudicato c.t suspensis amia, bonis libellum decicio creditoribus eius me obligaturus. Sales were also announced by a praecox. Rein.]

1. 14. partem Miseni. § 48 n.

[I. 15. adspectus. Madvig ad Cic. de fin. v. § 48: ‘Alibi... conspectus tantum de conspiciendi aut actione aut facultate ponis solis; (facultas significatur, cum in conspectum aliquid venire dicitur); forma et species rei oculis subjectae ter subter saltem a Cicerone aspectus appellata est. N. D. ii. § 158, Catil. iv. § 11 etc.’]

1. 16. vestis. § 66.

[I. 17. vasa. Plut. Ant. 9, speaks of his display of gold cups.]

§ 74. I. 20. heredes L. Rubrii, 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.

[I. 25. in Hispaniam. Intr. §§ 18—20.]

[I. 27. gladiator. § 63. Phil. vii. § 17: quem gladiatorom non ita appellavi, ut interdum etiam M. Antonius gladiator appellari solet, sed ut appellant ii, qui plane ct Latine loquuntur.]

§ 20, de off. iii. § 109.—The *rudis* was the wooden sword given to discharged gladiators (*rudiarii*); Ov. am. ii. 9. 22: *tutaque deposito sumitur ense rudis.* Juv. vii. 171.]

[I. 29. *timidus.* § 71. l. 15.]

[C. xxx. § 75. I. 32. *Hispaniam—tuto.* Intr. § 20.]


I. 5. Cic. himself (ad Att. xvi. 17. § 2, cited in Intr. § 56, n. *) notices the irony in this commendation of Dolabella.

[I. 6. *nollem,* sc. adfuisset.]

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


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

I. 9. *primum* does not belong to *tum,* 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.]

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

[I. 11. *quaes,* in the nouter, though all the antecedents are masc. or fem. Madvig, § 214. n. c. Cic. Tusc. disp. i. § 56: *quam vites, quam arboris; haec enim etiam dicinum vivere.*]

I. 14. aequi anticipates the following *erat 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.

[I. 15. *sectorem.* § 39. l. 6 n.]

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

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


[1. 19. reveritissem. On the form cf. § 59. l. 4 n.]

1. 20. nuper, in or. Phil. l. [§§ 7 seq. Cf. Intr. § 50.]

[1. 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. l. § 6.]

[1. 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.

[1. 23. luce — tenebris. On the abl. of time cf. Madvig, § 276, Zumpt, § 475. luce is very frequent. cf. Drakenb. on Liv. xxxviii. 36. § 4: luce inter horam tertiam ferme et quartam tenebras 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.]


[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 cumbersome 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 xlvi. 18, retorts these sarcasms upon Cic., ‘the naked, the perfumed, with a tunic reaching to his ankles, and thin laenae (χλαυδία), 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, chlamys, and crepidae. (p. Rabir. Post. § 25 seq.) Cf. Quintil. v. 13. § 39.]

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

1. 24. Gallicis, sc. soleis, slippers, used in-doors. In Hadrian’s time T. Castricius, a teacher of rhetoric (Gell. N. A. xiii. 22 [21]), cum me forte præsente, usus enim sum eo magistro, dis-
capulos quosdam suos senatores vidisset die feriato tunicis et lacerinis indutos et Gallicis calciatos: 'equidem,' inquit, 'maluissem, vos togatos esse; pigitum 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 scite atque incorrupte: 'omnia enim ferme id genus, quibus plantarum calces tantum infimae teguntur, cetera prope nuda et teretibus habenis vinca sunt, soleas dixerunt, non numquam voce Graecae 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... cucurristi (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 correpta, id genus calciamentum appellantur, quod Graeci κρηπίδας vocant.' lucerna, 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, § 386), even in parenthetical sentences. Cic. Lael. § 9: sed, ut mihi videris, non recte iudicas. See Seyffert there, p. 41. Matthiäi Gr. Gr. § 297. R. S. adds Elmsl. ad Eur. Herac. 681.]

[Ne. § 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 fussis. Ant. had at this time (B. C. 45) ceased to hold the office.

[L. 29. prox. an. B. C. 44.]

[L. 29 seq. peteres—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 rogamarem, ut petere viderer, quia familiaris est meas etc. ad fam. n. 6. § 1: grave est enim homini prudenti petere aliquid magnum ab eo, 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 praetors, questors and legati. Cf. the phrase *ex province triumphare. [Madvig retains a; and the mention of *colon, and *mun. (see next note) makes it more likely that *petere is 'to canvass for.']*

[l. 32. *petere consulatum solebamus.* Cic. 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 videtur in suffragiis multum posse Gallia... exuvremus mense Septembri legati ad Pisonem, ut Ianuario revertamur. It had become customary to canvass in person the coloniae and municipia (Caes. b. Gall. viii. 50). Becker, ii. pt. 2. p. 42.]

e. xxxi. § 77. P. 32. [l. 1. levitatem. cf. Gall., quoted on l. 13.]

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. Rosc. Amer. § 19: *Decem horis nocturnis sex et quinquaginta milia passuum cisio per rolavat,* where Schol. 'cis. genus vehiculi Gallici.' [Virg. catalect. 8. 3: *volantis impetum cisio.* It had two wheels (Non. ii. 139). Anson. epist. 8. 6, 8: *vel cisio triiugi, si placet, insilias... propere dum modo iam venias.* Becker’s Gallus, iii. 9.]

[l. 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 *lacerna* (Mart. xiv. 132 and 139) was drawn over the head. So too by way of disguise (Juv. viii. 145): *nocturnus adulter | tempora Santonico velas adoperta cucullo.* See Becker’s Gallus, i. 120, iii. 127, 128. Cf. the ‘domino’ of modern masquerades.]

[l. 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, puta, aut Publi—gaudent praenomine molles | auriculae—, tibi me virtus tua fecit amicum.] Mommsen, röm. Forsch. 1. 23.

1. 7. *ad eam Fulviam.* [On the omission of *decucitur,* or some such word, Nägelsb. compares the ellipsis of *ire, de off. iii. § 80: et ceteri quidem aliquis alicius recta. 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 ne ——.]

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

1. 11. illim, from which form illinc (= illincce) is derived.
[cf. exim, istim, 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 generatür ipso. Hor. s. i. 6. 12,
§ 29.]

[1. 13. nequam. Gell. VII. II. tells us that in his day levitas
was used as = 'inconstantia,' 'mutabilitas;' and nequitia as =
'sollertia,' 'astutia,' whereas veterum hominum qui proprié atque
integre locuti sunt 'leves' dixerunt, quos vulgo nunc viles et nullo
honore dignos dicimus,... et 'nequam' hominem nihilii, neque 
neque frugis bonae, quod genus Graeci fere davor vel dödöavor 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 conecutientem, ex quo fit,
ut... terrorem pallor et tremor et dentium crepitis consequatur.]

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

§ 78. causam amoris, i.e. amorem causam cur redires ha-
buisti. [Just as we say 'there was the motive of passion.' See
on this gen. of definition (instead of a noun in apposition) Zumpt,
§ 425; Madvig, § 286, who cites (Bemerkungen, p. 71 n.) divin. in
Cace. §§ 6, 59, (causa necessitudinis); p. Sull. § 23, in Catil. II.
§ 24 (urbes coloniarum ac municipiorum); p. Planc. § 30. Add
Ov. met. IV. 520: seu dolor hoc fecit, seu sparsi causa vecnii. Cic.
ib. § 21: regnum consulatur. de fin. III. § 41: cresceendi accessio
(where see Madvig). p. red. in sen. § 11: aram tribunatus. p.
Mun. § 23: virtutibus continentiae, gravitatis etc. Liv. I. 13. § 2:
liberum progeniem. Tac. Germ. 2: vocabulum Germaniae 'the
term G.' id. hist. II. 21. § 1: pulexerrimum amphitheatr o opus.]

1. 19. L. Plancus. At his setting out for Spain (late in 46)
Cæsar 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 urbano. [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
praedex suos aduncurrisse.

1. 20. praedex. Every judicial security (satisfatio) was to be
given by sureties (praedex) and included their praedia; hence
the common formula *populo cavere praedibus praediiisque*. 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 *praedees* were held responsible, and their *praedia* were sold without more ado. On the securities *praedibus praediiisque* see Th. Mommsen *die Stadtrechte von Salpensa und Malaca*, p. 466 seq. [In the transactions of the Saxon Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, Vol. III. (1855). 4to.—On the expression *praedibus tuos venderet*, cf. § 65. l. 8. n. Plaut, most. l. 1. 11: *quem absentem comes.*]

1. 21. *rei tuae*, i.e. not *mandatu Caesaris.*

[1. 22. *etiam.* the very populace. So § 14. l. 7. *etiam* is to be taken with *nobis.*]

c. xxxii. l. 25. *isti redisti, *went and came.* § 89: *irent redirent.*

1. 26. *fortem,* for the war was already ended.

1. 27. *nescio quo modo.* Intr. § 20 ad fin.

1. 28. *Habebat hoc.* in Pis. § 81: *habet hoc virtus, ut fortes viros species eius et pulchritudo etiam in hoste posita delectet.* Hor. s. i. 3. 3 etc. [Plin. ep. vi. 9. § 2, paneg. 83. § 1. SEYFFERT.]

[quem etc. § 50.]

§ 79. l. 32. *iusus es.* Intr. § 24. [infr. § 80. l. 10. On the personal use of the verb *iubeor* (we say ‘it was ordered that you &c.’) see Madvig, § 396. n. 3, who (Bemerkungen, p. 78) carefully distinguishes *iubeor hoc facere,* ‘I receive orders, am ordered to do this’ (corresponding to *iubeo te facere*), from *haec fieri iubentur,* where *iubeor* means ‘orders are given respecting me,’ (corresponding to *iubeo haec fieri*). He cites Liv. xlii. 31: *in Macedoniam sena mitia peditem scribi iussa.* Cic. de rep. ii. c. 2: *Romulus dicitur exponi iussus esse.* Suet. Tib. 11: *iusseque sunt omnes aegri in publicam porticum deferri.* He also compares the construction of *prohibeor.* Liv. iii. 28. § 7: *ad prohibenda circundari opera.* id. xxvii. 60. § 3: *nece prohibendos ex privato redimi.* Cf. note on ut *videris,* § 76. l. 25.]

renoentiari. The last solemn act in the *comitia* for elections; for though Cæsar disposed of the consulships, there was still a formal election and *renuntiation* 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. *inspulsus,* ut consulatum peteret. [On the asyndeton cf. § 75. l. 4.]

[l. 3. *Ille, Cæsar.*]
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.


§ 80. [l. 10. profisc: for the Parthian war. Intr. § 24.] iussurum, chosen as an invidious term.


l. 12. sed. § 5 n.

[l. 13. augur. Intr. §§ 8, 24.]

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

§ 81. l. 17. sacrèdottii 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 auspicate, 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 mihii 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. l. c. id silentium dicimus in auspiciis, quod omni vitio careat), or by the formula alto 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 obnuntiatio). 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. etiam 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. l. 8 n. On the jingle of
sounds prudentia—impudentiam, cf. § 25. l. 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 vitiaturum. § 80 n. § 83. l. 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. comitia, 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 Fusia. Cic. p. Sest. § 33: lata lex
(i.e. Clodia) est, ne auspicia valerent, ne quis obnuntiaret, ne quis
legi intorcederet; ut omnibus festis diebus legem ferri liceret; ut
lex Aelia, lex Fusia ne valeret. (The lex Aelia regulated the right of
spectio and obnuntiatio; the lex Fusia 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 tueam cum
levitate tum etiam periurio implicatam. impudentia abl. 'He is a
mixture of ignorance and impudence' (his ignorance goes hand
in hand with his impudence). In Cic. de imp. Cn. Pomp. § 19.
Halm has on good authority expelled the form implicatus. It is
said that Cic. everywhere uses implicatus. Gall. l. 7. § 20.]

§ 82. [l. 32. Idus Martias. b.c. 44. § 88.]

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

c. xxxiii. 1. 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. 1. 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, liticines, cornicines), as Mommsen assumes (die röm. Tribus in administrativer Beziehung, 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 triburnum, quam sua lege, qua cum Caesaris magistratum (magistratuum comitii!) partitus est, suffragium sustulit; patronus centuria rum 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 adsoleat, 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. 333]). 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 secondum 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 equum, ut adsolet, suffragia* (or *equum* 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. n. 330: 'Iis enim prorsus assentior, qui, cum illo tempore singulae tribus binas centurias haberent, in ipsis centurii classium discrimenuisse statuunt; itaque Cic. narrat primum praerogativae centuriae sortitionem factam eventumque sortitionis renuntiatum esse; deinde praerogativae centuriae primam classem intro vocatam suffragia consueto more tulisse, tum secundam classem; hic demum Antonium obnuntiassse. Prima classe vocata needum suffragiis latis nulla renuntiatio intelligi potest; vox *renuntiatur* ex superiore versus errore in luene locum irrepit. Quam exigua pars suffragiorum et comitiorum peracta fuerit, declarant verba: *omnia citius facta, quam dixi.*']

[1. 5. sortitio. Liv. xxiv. 7: *cum sors praerogativae Antonii juniorum exisset.* id. xxvi. 6 etc. MAIRQUARDT.]

1. 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 sollemni more et ritu certae aliquius rei dictur.' Seyffert (on Læ. § 7) compares Tusc. disp. 1. § 23: *cuperem equidem utrumque, si possit (sc. fieri), and non potest, 'it is not possible.'*

§ 83. 1. 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. Laelium augurem cum cupiente, quem potius audiam de religione dicentem in illa oratione nobili, quem quemquam principem Stoicum.*

*alia die*, note on § 81. 1. 18. [de leg. II. § 31: *Quid gravius, quam rem susceps dirimi, si unus augur alio die dixerit? quid magnificentius, quam posse decernere, ut magistratu se ad- dicent consules?* ABR. cf. infr. § 84. 1. 25.]
1. 11. videras, e.g. lightning; senseras, that there was not perfect clearness in the atmosphere and freedom from wind (silentium. § 81. 1. 18 n.); audieras, e.g. thunder. [Phil. v. § 8: quae porro illa tonitrum/ quae tempestas] ut, si auspicia M. Antonium non moverent, sustinere same cum ac ferre posse tan-
tam vim tempestatis, imbris ac turbinum, mirum videretur. Quam 
legem igitur se augur dicit tulisse, non modo tonante foro, sed 
prope cælesti clamore prohibente, hunc dubitabit contra auspicia 
latam consiteri? § 9. Quid? quod eum eo collega (Dolab.) tulit, 
quam ipse fecit sua nuntiatione vitiosum, nihilne ad auspicia bonus 
augur pertinente arbitratus est? ABR.

1. 12. neque cnīm, for you must have made some such ob-
ervation, as you certainly did not declare te de caelo servasse.

[l. 14. Kal. Ian. §§ 79. 1. 6, 80. 1. 15.]

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

[l. 16. ement. § 88. 1. 11. Phil. 3 § 9. do div. i § 29.]

l. 17. obstināxisti religione, 'you have bound by a religious 
obligation,' which the people cannot escape without fearing the 
divine vengeance.

l. 18. consul consul, Caesari comitia habenti. From this 
reproach it appears that such obnuntiationes, though permitted 
(Messalla in Gell. xiii. 15. § 4: praetores consulesque auspicia 
ter 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. deferantur, 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 = vitio creatus.

[l. 25. alio die. § 83. 1. 10.]

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

c. xxxiv. l. 29. unam pulcherrimam, § 7. 1. 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 eminat inter omnes. So longe omnibus unum ante-
ferre etc. Haase adds Bentl. on Hor. A. P. 32, and for the 
parallel Gr. constr. (cf. 8is oiωδος ἀρωτος etc.) Lob. on Soph. Aj. 
1328, Matth. Gr. Gr. § 461.]

xliv. 30, Plut. Caes. 61. Quintil. ix 3 § 61.]

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: *annona premit*, 'is oppressive;' so often *obtinet*, whence our *‘obtains.’* Naefetb.


1. 32. *quod—fecit.* § 63.

*in portici Minucia*, in the *circus Flaminius*, 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 circio Flaminio in contionem.*]

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

1. 2. *ubi* etc. i.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. Leont.* § 101.

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

1. 4. *toga purpurea—coronatus*. Intr. n. 81. [de divin. i. § 119: *Quod paulo ante interitum Caesaris contigit*; quì cum immolaret illo die, quo *primum in sella aurca sedit et cum purpurea veste processit*, in extis bovis *opini cor non fuít.* ibid. ii. § 36. ABR. 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 aurcaem in curia et pro tribunali, tenam et ferculum Circensi pompa, templum, aras, simulacra iucta deos, pulvinar, flaminem, Lupercos, adpellationem mensis e suo nomine.* Graev. Cf. infr. § 110 seq. Dio calls it gilt (*ἐτερχυσος, κερερυσιμενος*); it afterwards (Dio lvii. 15) belonged to Vibius Rufus, whom Tiberius allowed to use it publicly. Drunnmm, iii. 662. n. 8.]

1. 5. *ita—ut.* Zumpt, § 726. [On the restrictive and concessive 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: *litect hoc ita me delectet ut torqueat, ‘if this gives me pleasure, yet it pains me too.’* ib. iii. 9. § 19: *quae sicut implieita suspicionibus, ita non satis convinci probationibus visa est* (‘although—still’). ib. vii. 29. § 10, x. 28 (=18). § 1. See esp. p. Rosc. com. § 17: *qui ita dignissimus est scaena propter artificio, 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.]
1. 8. abietum. '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. P. § 83: amplexa, 'in its bosom,' etc. Naegelsb. meditari, the same word as mederan (by the common change of d and l; cf. odor, olerc), is used of speakers rehearsing, coming 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 c. (ἑφυσαμαι etc.). So below, § 88: eμεντιτις.]

1. 9. inponebas. observe the imperf.

[1. 12. dominus. See Lucan i. 665: eum domino pax ista venit. A title refused by Augustus and Tiberius, allowed e. g. by Domitian (Juv. iv. 96).]

[1. 17. temptares. Bentl. ad Ter. Phorm. iii. 3. 19: 'Hoc in omne genus MSS. animadversi tam veterrimis milite et ducentorum annorum, quam recemseribus, vel temptare scribi, vel rarius temptare; numquam, quod hodie obtinet, tentare.' Ritschl, Proleg. ch. 'nec de temptare forma post Gentileum 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, Tupitter, scena etc.']

LUPERCI. IN FASTIS.

130 [34 86 87]

civitati populi R...subuenirent, fidei conservatione pereunt em perire non sinerent. Ter. Ad. n. 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 contionari in the habit of a Lupercus that Cic. censures. [Phil. III. § 12: nec vero M. Antonium consulenum post Lupercalia debuisist putare. Quo enim ille die populo R. inspectante nudus, unctus, ebrius est contionatus et id eigit ut collegae diadema imponeret, eo die se non modo consulatu, sed etiam libertate abdicavit. Dionys. I. So of the Luperci, 'naked, girt about the middle with skins of victims newly slain.' Hence they are called cinctuti, succincti. Justin. XLIII. I. § 7: ipsum dei (Luperci) simulacrum nudum caprina pelle amicium est, quo habitu nunc Romae Lupercalibus decurritur. Cf. infr. § III. Minuc. 24. § 3.]

[I. 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 faces admoventi sunt? 'must we take a red-hot poker to you?' Cf. Tusc. disp. III. § 35: Non est enim in nostra potestate, fodiabantibus is rebus, quas malas esse opinemur, dissimulatitio vel oblivio: lacrant, vexant, stimulus admovent, ignes adhibent, respirare non sinunt. Cf. Plaut. Asin. II. 4. 12, 13.]

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

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

I. 25. Quid indignius. Cic. wished (ad Att. XVI. II. § 2, cited in Intr. § 56. n. 5) 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 laetissimus ille civitati dies illuxisset, idemque casu Bruti natalis esset, 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. 20. 43. HEUS. Hand Tursell. iii. 341, and for *de die*, p. 206. Columell. iii. 3. § 6: nec provident futuro tempore, sed quasi plane in diem vivant, sic imperant vitibus...ut posteriti non consultat. See p. 50.]

[1. 4. L. Tarquinius, etc. §§ 26, 114.]

[1. 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 John White and Tomkinds, for John W. and John T. M. Maelius Capitolinus, who (b.c. 384, Gell. xvii. 21), convictus est consilium de regno occupando inisse convictusque capitis.]

c. xxxv. § 88. [1. 8. redeamus, cf. c. xxxiii.]


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

[1. 11. ementitis. Cf. § 83. Phil. iii. § 9: Servabant auspicia reges; quae hic consul augurque neglexit, neque solum legibus contra auspicia ferendis, sed etiam collega una ferente eo, quem ipse ementitis auspiciis vitiosum fecerat. ABR. On the passive sense of *ement*. cf. § 85. 1. 8 n.]

1. 12. *necesse erat*, until the senate or college of augurs had declared the obnuntiatio invalid. [parere n. luv. iii. 290.]

[quod putares, cf. § 7. 1. 6 n.]

[1. 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 unquam longa oratione utendum, nisi...tollit 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.]

1. 14. *tuum de auspiciis judicium*. Caesar's death could not make those auspices favourable, which you had declared unfavourable; yet you at once abandoned your objection to Dolsella's election. [Intr. n. 134.]

1. 16. *praeventendum est*. de divin. i. § 10: de quibus quid ipse sentiam, si placet, exponam, ita tamen, si vacas animo, nequae 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."

l. 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.]

l. 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 omnis ratione veterani, qui armati aderant, cum praesidii nos nihil habe-remus, defendendi fuerunt.]

[Telluris, near the house of Pompeius (§ 68. i. 8 n.), bought by Antonius, who convened the senate in the neighbouring temple (§ 15 n.) from fear (so App. ii. 126). Becker (ii. 2. 414) ascribes it to the same cause that Cicero summoned a meeting to the temple of Iuppiter Stator (or. Catil. i. § 11, Plut. Cic. 16). See on this meeting in Telluris aede, 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. 1. 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, bona feminae, locupletis quidem certe, Bambalio 
quadam pater, homo nullo numero. Nihil illo contemptius, qui 
propter haesiantiam linguae (Bambalio = stutterer) stuporem-
que 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: insepulta sepultura.

§ 91. i. ii. laudatio Caesaris. miseratio. ad Att. xiv. 10. 
§ 1: Meministine te clamare, causam perisse, si funere clatus esset 
at ille etc. (as in Intr. n. 146). [Cic. heard the speech (ad Att. 
xxv. 20. § 2), and afterwards read it, ibid. xiv. 11. § 1: cum equi-
dem contionem lego de tando viro, de clarissimo civi, ferre 
non quae. DRUMANN. ]

cohortatio, against Caesar's murderers.

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

l. 12. faces. Intr. n. 144. incendisti. tu, tu, inquam, re-
sumes tua illa...cohortatio. 'your famous eulogy, your lament, 
your encouragement, you, you, I say, yourself,' etc. so that incen-
distis is common predicate to all the subjects.

[semustilatus, 'singed,' a heartless gibe. 'Non dicit combustus, 
sest semustilatus: ut cum rogo caruiisse ostendat. quasi id ei, qui 
tanquam tyrannus caree debuit honore sepulturae, iure ac merito 
contigerit. p. Mil. § 33: Tu P. Clodii cruentum cadaver eiecisti 
domo, tu in publicum abiecisti, tu spoliatum imaginibus, exsequis, 
pompa, laudatione, infelicissimis lignis semustilatum, nocturnis 
caniibus dilaniandum reliquisti. MANUT. When the body of Ti-
berius was being conveyed to Rome (Suet. 75), a cry was raised 
that it should be carried to Atella 'et in amphitheatro semusi-
landum; but it was borne off by the soldiers, crematunque pub-
lico funere. Mark the contrast between semust. and crem. p. f.]


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

[l. 18. praecclara etc. Intr. § 37. Phil. i. § 3: Num qui 
exsules restituti? Unum aiebat (Antonius), praeterea neminem. 
Num immunitates datae? Nullae, respondebat. Adsentiri etiam 
noi Ser. Sulpicio, clarissimo viro, voluit, ne qua tabula post Idus 
Martias ullius decreti Caesaris aut beneficii fugeretur. Dio xliv.
53 (where he translates tabula by στήλη, and says that all such ordinances were engraved on pillars of brass). Cic. ap. Dion. xlv. 23. Plaut. trimum. 1039. Ov. m. i 91—2 Heins. Burm.]

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

[l. 21. dictatae. § 115. Phil. i. § 3: Dictaturam, quae iam vim regiae potestatis obsederat, funditus ex re publica sustulit, de qua ne sententias quidem diximus; scriptum senatus consultum, quod fieri vellet, attulit, quo recitato auctoritatem eius summo studio secuti sumus, eique amplissimis verbis per senatus consultum gratias egimus. § 4: Lux quaedam videbatur oblato, non modo regno, sed etiam regni timore sublato, magnunque pignus ab eo rei publicae datum, se liberam civitatem esse, cum dictatoris nomen, quod sacpe iustum fuisset, propter perpetuae dictatae recentem memoria 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. i). DRUMANN.]

[l. 24. eius etc. cod. Vat. ‘eiu omen nomen’ etc. Halm with Muret. ‘eiu omne nomen propter proximi’ etc. Madvig, prae. ed. 4: ‘omne nomen tollere prave dicitur pro eo, quod est funditus nomen tollere, cum unum nomen nullas partes habeat (rectissime enim diceretur omne Latinum nomen tollere)...sententia prava est; neque enim Antonius regni nomen sustulerat, quod tolli opus non erat, sed dictatae, quae nuper fuerat, neque propter proximi dictatoris metum id fecerat (qui poterat enim mortuus metui?), sed propter ea, quae in posterum timeri poterant... Apparct, Cic. hoc dixisse, Antonium odio regni eo progressum esse, ut id etiam nomen (dictatae), sub quo regnum latere posset, quoque ei proximum esset, tolleret; itaque sententia huiusmodi fere fuit: ut propter eius (regni) metum etiam proximum dictatoris nomen tolleres, vel brevius comprehensa et acutius: ut etiam proximum dictatoris metum tolleres, hoc est, ut caveres etiam, ne dictator posthae, regi proximus, nedum regnum ipsum, metui posset. Sed quibus verbis Cic. usus sit, exputare nequeo; tantum video, proximum non esse ad dictatoris nomen accommodandum.]
fectum est; referunt eius domum exhauserit? hortos compilaverit?

ad se ex iis omnia ornamenta transtulerit? caedis et incendiorum
causam quaesierit ex funere? duobus aut tribus senatus consultis
bene et re publica factis reliquas res ad lucrum praedamque re-
vocaverit? vendiderit immunitates? civitates liberaverit? pro-
vincias universas ex imperii populi R. iure sustulerit? exsules
reducserit?] Phil. i. § 24. ad Att. xiv. 12. § 1: Ecce autem An-
tonius, accepta grati pecuniae, fixit legem a dictatore comitii
latam, qua Siculi cives R.; cuivis rei vivo illo mentio nulla.

P. 38. l. 2. vectigaliam. Phil. i. §§ 24, 40. §§ 35, 97. [VII. § 15.]

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

c. xxxvii. § 93. [l. 5. septiens milia sc. centena milia =
700,000,000 sestertii.] quod est, 'which stands entered.' Phil. v. §
15: diripit eum pecuniae, cuivis ratio in aede Opis confecta est.

l. 6. Opis. Intr. § 49, supr. § 35. Phil. i. § 17: Pecunia
utinam ad Opis manerit! cruenta illa quidem, sed his tempo-
ribus, quoniam tuis, quorum est, non redditur, necessaria. Quam-
quam ea quoque sit eussa, 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 acidis Opis ad forum or in Capitolio.

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

l. 7. quorum erat, i.e. the heirs of the fallen Pompeians.
[cf. § 75. l. 12.] tributis. The tributum, or property tax for
de fray ing extraordinary charges, esp. of war, was remitted b.c. 167
after the conquest of Macedonia; nor were extraordinary im-
positions similar to the old tributum again levied, until the times
of the triumvirs, b. c. 43. Becker, III. 2. 135.

[l. 8. quadrincentium, sc. centena milia = 40,000,000 sese-
tertii.]

[1. 9. Idibus Martis 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: omnem redegit Idibus
pecuniam, i quaerit Kalendis ponere. See Orelli there.]

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

l. 12. rege Deiotarum. 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.

[I. 13. amicissimo. § 41. l. 26 n.]

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

[I. 18. Igitur. Quintil. (i. 5. § 39) is in doubt whether to call this position of igitur a solecism by 'transmutatio' (such as it would be to begin a sentence with quoque, enim, or autem); because the best authorities differed, some never beginning a sentence with igitur, 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.]

[I. 19. aequi boni. Asyndeton (cf. § 89. l. 26 n.) is very common in legal and political formulæ. Zumpt, § 742. e.g. patres conscripti; usus fructus; velitis iubecatis; sarta tecta. Cf. Lachmann on Lucr. II. 118. aequum bonum (or frequently aequum et bonum) as the rigour of the law. So in Sen. de clem. II. 7. § 3: elementia liberum arbitrium habet: non sub formula, sed ex aequo et bono iudicat. et absolvere illi licet et quanti vult taxare iurem.]

1. 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 sacius sine meo vestroque periculo fiet, utar. p. Sull. § 92: quae prima innocentis mihi defensio oblata est suscepi.

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

1. 21. praecens, 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.'

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

l. 23. Armenia, i.e. the lesser Armenia, which Deiotaros was forced to give up to Ariobarzanes. Cic. de Divin. II. § 79: Fugit (Deiot.) e proelio cum Pompecio; grave tempus. Discersit ab eo; luctuosa res. Caesarum codem tempore hostem et hospitem vidit; quid hoc tristius? Is cum ei Trogmorum tetrarchiam eripiesset, et assiclas suo Pergameno uscio cui dedisset, eidemque detraxisset Armeniam a senatu datam, cumque ab eo magnificentissimo hospitio acceptus esset, spoliatum reliquit et hospitem et regem. Cf. ib. I. § 27, Dio XLII. 48.

§ 95. [l. 24. vivus eripuit: reddit mortuos. 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, Caesar.]

[l. 27. adfui, appeared on his behalf. Witness the speech pro rege Deiotaros.]

[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 aestimarunt sestertio deciens. p. Font. § 4: Testis non inventur in ducentis et triciens 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 sestercies.]

l. 31. in gynaeicio, 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 axara.]

P. 39. l. 1. quid sis acturus, 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.

l. 8. deberei, 'that anything is due upon this bond.'

[l. 10. suum sibi, sibi not ei, because it is dependent; Cic. could not say suum sibi vendidisti 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 (implies a purpose 'before you should' =that you might not) see Madvig, § 360.]
L. 12. auctorem, Cæsar. cf. Phil. xiii. § 2: Nam quid ego de proximo (civi detestabili) dicam, cuius acta defendimus, auctorem ipsum iure caesum fatemur?

c. xxxvii. § 97. [L. 15. institores, 'hawkers,' 'colporteurs].' Madvig, opusc. I. 173, 174.] gladiatorum libellos, lists of the gladiators, programmes of the entertainment, our 'play-bills.' [cf. 'cards of the course.' Sen. epist. 117. § 30: Nemo, qui obstetricem parturienti filiae sollicitus accersit, edictum et ludorum ordinem perlegit. Cic. ad fam. II. 8. § 1: gladiatorum compositiones. Trebell. Poll. Claud. 5: libellus munera.rius. 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 eius ex provincia decessum.]


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. xl. 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 familium tuam dimisisses,... amici te constringendum putarent: praesidium tu rei publicae... dimisisses, si tuae mentis conpos fusses. Compare the phrase curatoris egere. (Hor. epist. I. 1. 102.]

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

§ 98. I. 28. quam fixisti, ut a Cæsare latam. Therefore not that law, which Ant. passed as tribune (§ 56), which is alluded to below: de quo ferre, cum de reliquis ferres, notuisi. The exiles recalled 'ex actis Caesaris' were nicknamed Orcini or Charonitae [Plut. Ant. 15]; cf. Phil. v. § 11: restituebantur exules quasi leges 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. Suet. Vesp. 8.]

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


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 i 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, 10.

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: ‘Iove tonante fulgurante comitia 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 refert above, § 20. Cf. Plin. paneg. 40. § 5: nihil referre iniquitatis, hoc an illud fuit.]

[l. 8. nulla auspicio 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 septemviratu. 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. vii. § 14: Iacent beneficia Nuculac, friget patronus Antonius, etc.) See further on the septemvirs, Phil. VIII. § 26, XI. § 13: duos collegos Antoniorum et Dolabellae, Nuculam et Lentonem, Italiae divisores lege ca, quam senatus per vim latam indicavit: quorum alter commentatus est minos, alter egit tragodiam. Phil. XII. §§ 20, 23.]

[l. 10. destinasti, ‘left in the lurch.’ intervenit ‘Interveni
nisse Cic. dicit aliquem, qui id munus patruo debitum inte cepit, et M. Antonio extorsiter, quod metueret scilicet, ne salvo capite negare ei non posset. Notus erat senatoribus homo contemplissimus, quem M. Antonius, patruo detruso, 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. vii. 15. § 1: beatius 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 condicio est, | dum te posse negas nisi lato, Gellia, clavo | nubere. Cf. Suet. Galb. 5. Oud. on Suet. Caes. 27, Gronov. Obs. i. 6, Dirksen’s manuale 184 a, Seyffert on Cic. Lael. p. 232, Manut. h. l. Plin. ep. 1. 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. xxii. 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. comperisses, 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. i. 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. 17. 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 auctore. [§§ 35. l. 21 n., Intr. § 39]. Phil. l. § 16: Primum igitur acta Caesaris scrivendo sense, non quo probem,... sed quia rationem habendam maxime arbitror pacis atque othii... An in commentariolis et chirographis et libellis se uno auctore prolatis ne prolatis quiden, sed tantum modo dictis, acta Caesaris firma erunt? ibid. § 24: Ergo haec uno, verum optimo auctore domo prolata defendimus? Phil. v. § 11: Decreta falsa vendebat, regna, civitates, immunitates in aes accepta pecunia iube-
bat incidi. Hace se ex commentarii Caesaris, quorum ipse auctor erat, agere dicbat.

[l. 30. sic. 'The terms of the resolution were these.' Kal. Iun. Phil. 1. § 6: Ecce enim Kalendis Iuniis, quibus ut adessemus edixerant, multitam omniam: nihil per senatum, multa et magna per populum, et absente populo et invito. Intr. § 51.]

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

Quod, 'Of what members did the committee consist?'

l. 32. quem convocasti. Intr. n. 204.

P. 41. l. i. 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.

[l. 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 xlvi. 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.

l. 5. conatus es. Cf. § 102.

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...quaec temporibus his Roma altera est. Iliia impios cives indicavit, ecit, exclusit. Illi, illi, inquam, urbi fortissime conanti e manibus est erectus 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. l. 8. paene tollatur, by a general revolt.

[peregrination. Cf. the earlier progresses described §§ 57 seq., 62.]

[l. 10. vinolentiam. § 42. l. 8 n.]

l. 11. illa, those which follow.

Agrum Campanum. Suet. Caes. 20: Campum Stellatem maioribus consecratum agrumque Campanum, ad subsidia rei publicae vectigalem relictum (since b.c. 211), divisit extra sortem (Cesar as consul 59) ad viginti milibus civium, quibus termini plurresve 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: *Paucoe ante menses* (before the Ides of March) *cum in colonia Capua deducti lege Italia coloni ad exstruendas villas vetustissima sepulera disicerent, tabula acena inventa est* etc. Cf. Becker III. i. 333. [App. b. civ. II. 10 speaks of its extraordinary fertility.]

1. 12. *vectigalibus, sc. agris. tamen, though that was not so wanton a waste.*


1. 16. *Leontino.* 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 (glæba) 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. Scaur. § 25: campus ille nobilissimus ac feracissimus Leontinus. [‘Insolens sane et novum grandifer praecertim 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 communi sermone.’ Madvig, ed. 3, who questions whether the *faenore* of the common reading, in the sense of 'produce of the earth,' is Ciceronian.]
FOUNDATION OF COLONIES.

[1. 20. sanasset. from your madness. § 97. l. 22.]

rhetor, § 43. l. 18 n. duo = \( \frac{1}{2} \) of the whole ager (Verr. iii. 113).

c. xl. § 102. l. 22. [Deduxisti. Mark the chiasmus (§ 95. l. 24 n.), Deduxisti and deduxerat; consulvi and respondissem; negavi and rescripsi; are severally the first and last words in their clauses. Cf. Lael. § 52: diligat—diligatur; circumfluere—vivere. de fin. II. § 40. Naegelsb.]

Casilinum, in Campania on the Appian way. [Liv. xxii. 15. § 3: urbs Vultumo flumine dircempta Falernum 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. possesne depends on consulvi, and de Capua—respondisse form a kind of parenthesis.

1. 26. Negavi 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 siga 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, Capuam a decemviris inferetur etc. [Cf. Plut. C. Gracch. ii. 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 Caesar. 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 cura 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: cum habeam sub oppido Casino flumen, quod per villam fluat liquidum et album etc. [Varro goes on to describe at length his aviary, and mentions a museum, fishponds, terraces, etc. On Casinum 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 praedia. Supply from advolas the more general notion invasisti. [cf. § 68. 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 Caesar’s, not yours; those by which you are proved a debtor, not those by which you rid yourself from debt.’ si ab hasta, sc. in eas possessiones invasisti. [On hasta cf. § 39. l. 6 n. tabulæ, 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.

[i. 9. quidem. ‘As for Varro’s estate at Casinum, who affirms that that was sold? ’]

[i. 11. praeconis. § 64. l. 28. Juv. iii. 33, vii. 6.]

[i. 12. Alexandream. Intr. § 15.]

emeret, as bona publicata.
[p. 13. *magnum fuit.* On the ind. cf. § 27. l. 15 n.]

§ 104. [p. 15. *Varronis.* 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.]

[p. 17. *gladios.* § 112.]


aliam causam, etc. we have agreed for the sake of peace to ratify Caesar’s genuine acts, and therefore to confirm the titles acquired by purchase at his auction spear (§ 100. l. 25).


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 exstractos frangere nona toros. bibebatur.* § 42. l. 8. Cf. ad Att. xiv. 3. § 2: (Antonium) *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: *alter ampla domus dedicari suepe domino sit, si est in ea solitudo, et maxime, si aliquando alio domino solita est frequentari. Odiosum est enim, cum a prueterentibus dicitur: ‘o domus antiqua, heu quam dispari dominare domino!’ quod quidem his temporibus in multis liceit dicere.


l. 30. *monimenta mai.* e.g. *Annalium libri iii., de vita populii 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 doctrinae,* 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. 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 regi-
num futuros.]

tus coronis. Humus erat lutulentus vino, coronis languardulis et spinis cooperta piscium. This of his client!—Hor. Carm. ii. 14.
26, 27: mero | tinget pavimentum superbo. See Orelli there.]

[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 refici pro-
perantem 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).]

[Interamma, says Varr. L. L. v. § 28, quod inter amnem est consitutum. 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 Terame. Mr Bunbury.]

[Admissus etc. Cf. ad Att. xv. 8. § 1: aditus ad eum (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 lecctica. cf. § 58. l. 18 n. Juv. iii. 242: clausa lectica fenestra. cf. ib. iv. 21.—ut mortuus. C. Gracchus
(in Gell. 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 in-
fliction he died. See more in Gronov. Obs. ii. 15. p. 169 Fr.]

l. io. via, Latina, which ran southward from the porta
Capena:

[l. xi. descenderunt. Sil. xii. 532, 533: surgit suspensa
tumenti | dorso frugiferis cerealis Anagnia glaebis. Anagnia
(now Anagv), capital of the Hernicans in Latium, lay on a hill to
the left (hence devi) of the Via Latina. Cicero had a villa there (ad Qu. fr. 11. 7, ad Att. xii. 1. § 1).]

[1. 12. esset. ‘as though he really were consul.’ cf. § 68. l. 18 n.]

1. 13. sed sum vicinus. This emendation of the MS. reading sed cum vinus is due to Madvig. [See his opusc. ii. 330: ‘Puto Ciceronem significasse, se cum villam in illa vicinia habebat, ex ipsis Anagniniis recentem rem audivisse, cum sine ulla varietate narraretur.’]

1. 14. praesertim cum. § 60. l. 13 n.

1. 15. Mustelam 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 Anagnini 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 Tceanum.

[Puteolanus. At Puteoli (‘Wells,’ now Pozzuoli), a great commercial city on the northern shore of the bay of Cuma, 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 caldae multae.]

[1. 19. patronos adoptassent. So Orelli inscr. 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. Cacc. §§ 2, 13, 16, Verr. iii. § 45; founders, of colonies (p. Sull. § 60); orators, of cities or countries on whose behalf they had pleaded (Tact. 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 πρόξενος, 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. Minu- 
cius B., who served as legatus of Cæsar in his Gallic wars, and 
was one of his murderers. [Cicero calls Basilus Satrianus (de off. 
III. § 74) patronum agrì Piceni et Sabinì: o turpem notam tem-
porum 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 
recusanti quidem..., non modo repugnanti. Plin. h. nat. xi. § 18 (of 
bees): mortuis ne floribus quidem, non modo corporibus insidant. 
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. l. § 5: alia porro 
propria Dolabellae, quae, nisi collega a fuisset, credo iis futura 
fuisset communia. Nam cum serperet in urbem infinitum malum 
idque manaret in dies latius, idemque bustum in foro facerent, qui 
illum insepultam sepulturam efferrent, et cotidie magis magisque 
perditi homines cum sui similibus servis tectis ac templis urbis 
minitantur, talis animadversio fuit Dolabellae cum in audaces 
sceleratosque servos, tum in impuros et nefarios liberos, talisque 
evrsio illius exsecratae columnae, ut nihil mirum vidcatur tum 
valde reliquum temporum ab illo uno die dissessisse. [See the appeal 
to Dolabella, ibid. § 30: Quem potes recordari in vita intusxe 
tibi diem laetiorem quam cum expiato foro, dissipato concursu impio-
rum, principibus sceleris poena adfectis, te domum recepisti? Cíc. 
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 
théatre 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.]

...repente concidit. Often thus used of the 'collapse,' prostra-
tion, 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.

[1. 28. collegam. ad Att. xiv. 18. § 1: Saeptius me iam 
agitas, quod rem gestam Dolabellae nimis in cuelum videor effere ..
. Sed totum se a te abalienavit Dolabella, ea de causa, qua me 
quoque sibi inimicissimum reddidit. He goes on to say that
he had written a very 'stinging' letter (satis aculeatas 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 expulcitatis sem verbis legiones, quae te reliquerunt. ad Att. xiv. 6. § 2: nihil tam σόλοκος, quam τυρπαυκρόνος in caelo esse (ad Att. xvi. 5. § 2, it is said eos laudari atque amari), τυρπαυκρόνος facta defendi. Florus ii. 19 (i. 34). § 3: bellis Gallicis atque Germanicis, quibus populus R. caelum ipsum gloria ascendit. infr. § 114: eam gloriam... quae vix caelo capi posse videatur. [Cic. to Dolabella, ad fam. ix. 14. § 1: te summis laudibus ad caelum extulerunt.]

[1. 29. tu quidem. § 6. l. 19 n.]

§ 108. [l. 31. reeditus. § 100. l. 2. Intr. § 46.]

[1. 32 seq. Phil. v. § 17: Cinnam memini, vidi Sullam, modo Caesarem: ... Non possum affirmare nullis telis eos stipatos fuisse; hoc dico, nec multis et occultis. § 18: At hanc pestem agmen armatorum sequabatur: Cassius, Mustela, Tiro, gladios ostentantes, sui similes greces ducebant per forum; certum agminus locum tenebant barbari sagittarii. Cum autem erat ventum ad aedem Concordiae, gradus complebant, lecticea 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 multosuisse; and the common phrase (de off. ii. § 19 etc.) nec ita multopost. For non tam cf. Madvig on de fin. i. § 1.]

Ista etc. 'But what an Asiatic despotism is this of yours.'

[1. 4. Agmine quadrato. Tibull. iv. r. 101, 102: sec sit opus quadratum acies consistat in agmen, rectus ut aequatis decurrat frontibus ordo. Sen. epist. 59. § 7: ire quadrato agmine exercitum, ubi hostis ab omni parte suspecst est, pinguae paratum. Phil. v. § 20 (speaking of the meeting of the senate, 19 Sept. 44, Intr. § 56): agmine quadrato in aedem Concordiae ventu atque in me absentem orationem ex ore impurissimo evomuit. Quo die, si per amicos mihi cupienti in senatum venire licuisset, caedis initium fecisset a me.—The agmen quadratum was not necessarily a square, as it is in Tibullus, l. c., but a force presenting 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.]

[scutorum lecticas, 'palanquin-loads of shields;' a humorous use of the constr. which we have in cadus vini etc.]
NEQUE...QUE. CAESARIS LEGES. [42 108 109]


§ 109. [I. 9. egeret, conj. after qui causal. Madvig, § 366.] neque correlative to que l. 11. or. Catil. n. § 28: perficiam,...ut neque bonus quisquam intereat paucorumque poena vos omnes salvi esse possitis. Neque—et is far more common. Similarly et—que is sometimes found for et—et. [Madvig on Cic. de fin. p. 730. 'prorsus ex eodem genere (as et—que) est, cum dicitur interdum neque—que (de fin. 1. § 48, III. § 3); nam etiam neque talem separationem significat, ut alterum, si ex negativa in affirmativam formam transitur, tamen particula et notari, non per que priori adiungi debeat.' Add de divin. i. § 68, II. § 91. Cf. Xen. Mem. i. 2. § 47: ovte γάρ αυτώσ ἄλας ἤρεσκε, εἴ τε.—Matthiäi, Gr. Gr. § 609.]

[I. 11. facinora efficet. § 42. i. 13 n. de fin. n. § 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 quaceres, quidnam egisset in urbe et in toga, leges multas respondet se et praeclaras tulisse, chirographa vero aut mutaret aut non daret aut, si dedisset, non istas re s in actis suis duceret ...... § 19: Quae lex melior, utilior, optima etiam re publica scelus flagitata, quam ne praetoriae provinciae plus quam annum neve plus quam biennium consulares obtinuerunt? Hae leges sublitera videnturne vobis posse Caesaris acta servari? (on the leges iudiciariae 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 iubent ei, qui de vi, itemque ei, qui maiestatis damnatus sit, aqua et igni interdici? quibus cum provocatio datur, nonne acta Caesaris rescinduntur...... § 24: ...eas leges, quas ipse (Caesar) nobis inspectatibus recitavit, pronuntiavit, tuquit, quibus latis gloriamatur eisque legibus rem publicam contineri putabat, de provinciis, de iudiciis, eas, inquam, Caesaris leges nos, qui defendimus acta Caesaris, evertendos putamus?

1.14. Numerum etc. i. § 19. Intr. n. 211.

1.17. nihil lege gravius. i. § 18: Esequid est quod tam proprie dici possit actum eius, qui togatus in re publica cum potestate imperioque versatus sit, quam lex?....in maximis vero rebus, id est legibus, acta Caesaris dissolvi ferendum non puto.

1.18. sine prom. i. § 25: de his tamen legibus, quae promulgatae sunt, saltem quier possumus; de ipsis, quae iam latae dicuntur, ne id quidem licuit : 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.
[l. 21. obtentum. 'Servatum, custoditum, ratum, non mutatum.' p. Quinct. § 75: obt. mendacium. de off. iii. § 73: obt. falsum testamentum. Heus. Cf. § 3. l. 10 n.]

[l. 22. hortis. Intr. § 34. On the right bank of the Tiber, at the south of the plain under the Janiculum. Hor. s. l. 9. 18. trans Tiberim longe cubat is prope Caesaris hortos. Tac. ann. ii. 41, Plut. Brut. 20. Becker, 1. 479, 657.]

hortos Pompei. § 68. l. 8 n.

l. 23. in villam Scipionis. § 42. l. 7 n. [§ 103. l. 5 n.]. This too Ant. had acquired ab haste. Cf. Phil. iii. § 30: Quid hie victor non audiet, qui nullam aedipus victoriam tanta scelera post Caesaris interitum fecerit? hortos compilerit? ad se ex his omnia ornamenta transitulterit?

c. xliii. § 110. [l. 24. Et. § 51. l. 31.]

l. 25. honorem maiorem. Flor. iv. 2 (= ii. 13). § 91, Suet. Caes. 76 (§ 85. l. 4 n.).

l. 26. pulvinar. [Serv. ad Virg. G. iii. 533. pulvinaria pro templis ponimus, cum sint proprie lectuli, qui sterni in templis ...consuurent. In the lectisternia (first introduced B.c. 309, 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. l. 27, of the thanksgiving for Catilina's defeat; cf. or. Catil. iii. § 23: ad omnia pulvinaria supplicatio decreta est, a decree such as frequently appears in Livy). Hor. Carm. i. 37. 2 seq. (recommending a thanksgiving for Cleopatra's death): nunc Saliaribus | ornare pulvinar deorum | tempus erat dapibus, sodales. Marquardt.]

simulacrum (ἀγαλμα), the image of a god (ιενεκτω) (statua (ἀνάπδος). or. Catil. iii. § 19: et simulacrum deorum depulsa sunt et statuae veterum hominum delectae. cf. de divin. ii. § 45, p. Arch. § 30. [Plin. h. n. xxxiv. § 9: ad deum simulacrum effigiemque hominem. ibid. § 15: simulacrum ex aere factum Cereri... Transiti (ars) et a dis ad hominem statuas atque imagines. Abr.]

l. 27. fastigium. Intr. § 22 ad fin. [Plut. Caes. 63. Suet. Caes. 81. (Calpurnia dreamt collabi fastigium domus.) de orat. iii. § 150: Capitolii fastigium illud et ceterarum aedium...necessitas ipsa fabricata est. Nam cum esset habita ratio, quem ad modum ex utraque testi parte aqua delaberetur, utilitatem templi fastigii dignitas consecuta est; ut, etiamsi in caelo Capitolium statueretur, ubi imber esse non posset, nullam sinc fastigio dignitatem habiturum fruisse videtur. On the asyndeton in the climax cf. § 104. l. 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.

[l. 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. metem. xv. 841).]

1. 29. inaugurari? [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 occidiisti Iapercalibus: cuius, homo ingratissime, 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: praconem, Chacrippe, tuis circumspice pannis. cf. Theocr. xv. 2.]

[l. 30. collegae. §§ 4, 84. l. 26.]

1. 31. Caesaris, cod. Vat.; for which the inferior MSS. have the gloss tyranni.

1. 32. mortui in deis immortalis. Phil. i. § 13: An me consederis, patres conscripti, quod vos invitus scuti estis, decerterum fuisse, ut parentalia cum supplicationibus misereantur? ut inexpiabiles religiones in rem publicam inducerantur? ut decerereruntur supplicationes mortuus?... Fuerit ille Brutus,... adduci tamen non posse ut quemquam mortuum consignerem cum immortalium religione, ut, cuius sepulcrum usquam exstet ubi parentetur, ei publice supplicetur.

P. 45. l. 1. here. Intr. § 56. [Sept. 18. In the calendar in Orelli’s inscr. ii. 308, there are 5 days of ludi Romani in circo; 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, Iuppiter, Iuno, and Minerva. They were given by the curule ædiles. The proper ludi Romani (Sept. 4—12), were followed after an interval of two days by the special ludi Romani in circo (originally Sept. 15—18), to which after this year 44 another day was added.

1. 4. praetextati, ‘in festival attire.’ It seems that the augurs
used their privilege of wearing the prætexta only on festivals or when engaged in the duties of their function.

1. 6. addendo. Intr. § 54. n. 215. Phil. I. § 12: De suppli- cationibus 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 supplications). 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. μεβ. Cic. Tusc. disp. I. § 31, n. § 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 compensacione leniant, stulti nec vitare venientia possint nec ferre præserva; 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. n. § 18: An cetera mundus habebit omnia, hoc unum, quod plurimi est, non habebi? See Xen. mem. 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.]

§ 111. [I. II. quid potes dicere cur, 'on what assignable principle do you'—?]

[1. 14. eloquentiam—disertissimum. de or. i. § 94 (the orator Antonius is speaking): scripsi...disertos me cognosse nonnullos, eloquentem adhuc neminem, quod cum statuebam disertum, qui posset satis acute atque dilucide apud mediocres homines ex commune quadam opinione hominum dicere, eloquentem vero, qui mirabilis et magnificentius augere posset atque ornare, quae vellet, omnesque omnium rerum, quae ad dicendum pertinere, fontes animo ac memoria contineret. ABR.]

[arum. Intr. § 1.]

[1. 15. apertiorem. Apertum pectus was proverbial (Lael. § 97: ut dicitur).]

1. 16. pectus. § 86. [Phil. xiii. § 31: Lupercorum mentio- nem facere audet? nique illius diei memoriam perhorrescit, quo annus est obitus vino, unguentis obitus, nudus gementem populum R. ad servitutem cohortari?]
[I. 17. aut. § 92. l. 27 n.—hiscere. In Liv. XLIV. 45. § 10, (aliquotiens dicere incipicentem cum lacrimeae praepedissent, quia ipse dicere nequirit) Madvig (emendat. Liv. 591, cf. 619) restores hiscere from the MS. 'Neque enim in eo verbo apud Latinos quicquam est iocosus aut nimis humile, sed prorsus respondit ei, quod Germaniae dicacias: 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. VL 16. § 3: nec attollere oculos aut hiscere audebant. A. W. Ernesti also quotes, for it is a favourite word with Livy, IX. 4. § 7. 6. § 12: non salutantibus dare responsum, non hiscere quemquam praet metu potuisse. x. 19. § 7, XLV. 26. § 6.]

c. XLIV. § 112. [l. 21. hodiernum diem. § 110. l. 1 n.]

l. 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 honoris tuo non defuisset, si aut tuto in senatum aut honeste venire potuisset. Sed nec sine periculo quisquam liberde de re publica sentientes versari potest, in summa unipunctate gladiorum, nec nostrac dignitatis videtur esse ibi sententiam de re publica dicere, ubi me et melius et propius audiant armati quam senatores. [supr. § 8. l. 18 seq., § 15. l. 21. §§ 19, 46, 108.]

l. 24. Concordiae. [§§ 15. l. 18 n., 19. l. 31 n.] Phil. v. § 18: Illud vero taeterrimum non modo adspectu, sed etiam auditu, in cella Concordiae conlocari armatos, latrones, sicarios; de templo carcere fieri; opertis valvis Concordiae, cum inter subsellia senatus versaventur latrones, patres conscriptos sententias dicere.

l. 26. Ityracos. § 19. l. 5 n.

[l. 27. Non igitur etc. Antonius might remember that Caesar was taken at his word, who discharged his Spanish guard, saying (Suet. 86), insidias semper imminentes subire semel satius esse, quam caverre semper. Abr. Dio XLIV. 7 ad fin., Plut. Caes. 57.]

§ 113. P. 46. l. 1. nobis, the party of the optimates.

l. 3. minime avara. § 95. l. 31 n.

l. 4. sine contumelia. § 30. l. 5 n. describo, portray.

l. 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 (§ 11);] 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.'

l. 6. ad quos, the liberators. [qui ubicumque etc. 'who carry with them, wherever they go.']
I. 9. nondum reciperavit. Cic. ad C. Cassium (ad fam. xii. 1. § 2): Haece omnia vobis 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 ultra suas iniurias est per vos interitus tyranni, nihil amplius. Ornamenta vero sua quae reciperavit? etc.

[Habet quidem certe 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. p. 27. p. Sest. § 24: mali quidem certe nihil pertimescendum.]

I. 10. adulescentes. M. Brutus was born B.C. 85 (Brut. § 324), Cassius was older still. [cf. §§ 52. 1. 7, 118. 1. 8.]

[I. 11. quam volent illi cedant. Cic. N. D. ii. § 46: Hic quam volet Epicurus iocietur. p. Cael. § 67: quam volent in convivis faceti sint. RAMSHORN. Plin. epist. l. 20. § 25. We rather use the pres. than fut., 'as much as they please,' not 'shall please.' This constr. explains the use of quamvis with the conj.]

I. 12. pacis, with reference to otiö l. 11.

§ 114. [l. 16. Quod si. Madvig, § 449.]

[I. 17. at. Madvig, § 437 c. Hand Turs. 1. 427, who cites p. Mil. § 93: si mihi bona re publica frui non licuerit, at carebo mala.]

[I. 19 seq. Tarquinium etc. §§ 26, 87.]

[I. 21. suspitionem. 'setius is the same as sectius (secitius), a form occurring in Plautus, and follows the analogy of artus for arctus, autumnus, and suspicio which is for suspicio, suspicio being an inexplicable form and resting on no authority whatever.' Mr MUNRO in Journal of Philology, iv. 284.]

I. 22. primum. So cod. Vat. not primi; cf. Verr. v. § 60: cognoscite nunc novam praedandi rationem, ab hoc primum ex cogitatum. in Cat. iii. § 15: quod mihi primum post urbem conditam togato contigit.

[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 suspicio ducit Ulire genus. Liv. xxvii. 36. § 2: ad mercede auxilia conducenda, where see Weissenborn. Such a position as (Virg. ecl. 6. 19) ipsis ex vincula sertis, is only found in the poets.]
1. 28. immortalitatem, of fame. 1. § 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 dirigé of the old Roman literature (Gell. 1. 24. § 2): Inmortales mortales si forct fas färe, fierent divae Camenae Naevium poëtam. itaque postquam est orchi traditus thesauro, | oblitum sunt Romae loquéri lingua Latina.]

c. xlV. § 115. [L. 31. dictaturam. § 91. l. 21. Intr. § 37.]

l. 31 seq. pone—tum intelleges. or. Catil. l. § 8: Recognosce—; iam intelleges. [Above, § 104. l. 17 n. Tusc. v. § 100: Confer—; tum intelleges.]
P. 47. [L. 1. nundinatione. Intr. § 39.]

§ 116. [L. 14. suis. 'one's own friends.' So amor sui 'self-love.' Naegelsb. cites ad fam. vi. 7. § 4: cum plurima ad alieni sensus coniecturam, non ad suum iudicium scribantur; 'where guess at another man's likenings, not one's own judgement, regulates the composition.' de fin. l. § 67: amicitiae...effectrices sunt voluptatum tam amicis quam sibi. N. D. iii. § 88: iudicium hoc omnium mortalem est, fortunam a deo petendum, a se ipso sumendam esse sapientiam.]

l. 15. quosdam, as D. Brutus (Dio xliv. 14), P. and C. Servilius Casca, L. Tillius Cimber, C. Trebonius, L. Minucius Basilus, Serv. Sulpicius Galba, who as Cæsarians joined the conspiracy. Other conspirators, as M. Brutus and C. Cæsius, were originally Pompeians, received to favour by Caesar. [Above, §§ 5. l. 9 n., 26, 27. Plut. Cæs. 57.]

[l. 16. re, 'respect.' So below, § 117. l. 27. So § 23. totam re, 'altogether,' 'in every respect.' res often corresponds too to our word 'case.' Naegelsb.]

[Fuit etc. Observe the chiasmus in the next three clauses, Fuit begins the first, effecerat ends the third; gesserat in the second has moved forward two places. So ad Qu. fr. 1. 1. § 7: exsistent graes controversiae, maiæ nascentur iniuriae, magnae contentiones consequuntur. Naegelsb.]


litterae. Cæsar was eminent as a historian, orator and (in his work de analogia) grammarian; he also composed a great work de auspiciis, and one de astris. [Cic. Brut. § 252 (Atticus is speaking): de Cæsare et ipse ita iudico et de hoc (Cic.) huius
generis acerrimo existimatore saepissime audio, illum omnium fere oratorum Latine logui 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.]

[l. 19, at tamen, 'yet at any rate.' Madvig on Cic. de fin. II. § 85: 'Uno modo recte dicitur at tamen, ubi ut in descensu ad minus post si, si non, etsi posito superadditur tamen, ut de or. III. § 15. Brut. § 15: si non pari, at grato tamem munere. ad fam. II. 6. § 3. Phil. XIII. § 18: Caesare dominante venichamus in senatum, si non libere, at tamem tuto. de off. II. § 58.]

l. 21. muncribus gladiatorii [Plut. Caes. 55, 57 ad fin., App. b. c. II. 13, 102, Suet. 26, 39.]

monimentis, buildings. ['Circus, forum, amphitheatrum, templum Veneris Geneticis,' ABR. Suet. 44 gives a list of the public works which he planned. cong. ep. Dio xliv. 39, Suet. 38.]

[l. 22. præmiis. § 50. l. 11 seq. Sall. Catil. 54. § 2 seq. Cic. himself was a debtor to Caesar, ad Att. VII. 3. § 8, 8. § 5. DRUMANN.]

l. 23. clementiæ species. See Dio xli. 62 seq., xlIII. 50. [Above, § 71. Cicero himself conffutes this ungrateful (§ 5. l.5) taunt p. Marc. § 31: Vicit is (Caesar), qui non fortuna in-flammaret odium suum, sed bonitate leniret, neque omnes, quibus iratus esset, cosdem exsilio aut morte dignos indicaret. ad fam. VI. 6. § 8: In Caesare huc sunt; mitis clemensque natura etc. p. Deiot. §§ 8, 9, 40, 43. Drumann cites ad Att. IX. 16 § 1: Cum eius (Caesari) clementiam Corfiiciscem illum per litteras coLLaudavissem, rescriptis hoc exemplo: 'CAESAR IMP. CICERONI IMP. S. D. Recte auguraris de me... nihil a me abesse longius crudelitate...Neque illud me movet, quod ii, qui a me dimissi sunt, discessisse dicuntur, ut mihi rursus bellum inferrent; nihil enim malo quam et me mi similem esse et illos suì.' 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. NæGELSb.]

[l. 29. tamen. p. Rabir. Post. § 41: quae quidem (dignitas) in miserrimis rebus huic tamem tribuenda maxima est. FERR. Cf. the cases in which tamen is followed by a participle. Halm on p. Sest. § 140, p. 311.]
VIDERO. IPSE. ABHINC.

§ 118. P. 48. [I. 5. quibus ortus sis. Intr. § 1.]


I. 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 differendi notione est curae aut in aliun aut in se transferendae, quo simul ea cura differtur.’ He gives examples of dicero, redico, ivero, etc. so used by Plautus and Terence, but videro (with which Heinsius compares τι προς ήμας; ου δης) alone remained in common use (ibid. 96, ‘Cic. ad Qu. fr. II. 15. § 2: sed videro, spatium sumens cogitandi et se deliberatum promittens’). Tertullian employs videro rather singularly, ‘videriit persona’ (= quid mihi cum p.), cum doctrina mihi quaestio est. Add to the passages cited in the index of Schütz, de test. anim. c. 1.]

[I. 8. ipse. We say, ‘I will make protestation for myself’ (de me ipso); in Lat. and still more in Gr. (αὐτής δι’ αὐτής etc.) the ipse (αὐτός) 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 modum tinembant, sed suosmet ipsi (not ipسورum) cives. 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 ipse me non possim. NAEgelsb. Weissenborn adds Liv. I. ii. § 9, 54. § 8. See Madvig, § 487 b, Zumpt, § 696.] adulescens, as consul. [V. c. 63, xet. 44. Cf. § 113. 1. 10.]

I. 11. contemps, hence Juv. x. 122 seq. (printed on the back of the dedication).


§ 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 etiam tum. In Cic. ad Att. xii. 17 the abl. is owing to the comparative amplius. Abbine with acc. p. Rosc. 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. 1. 36. etc. Madvig, Bemerkungen, 65, 66.

1. i.4. prope viginti. § 1. l. 2 n. [hoc in templo, Concordiae. § 1. 1. 18.]

negavi. or. Catil. iv. § 3: si quid obtigit, aeque animo paratoque moriar. Nam neque turpissimors fortii vire potest accedere 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 (‘quam honoris causa nominatum volo’) have assailed the first oration; but see Boot’s ed. Amst. 1857.]

1. i.7. 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. 11: tribuere id cuique, quod est quoque dignum. ad fam. vii. § 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 is est quisque) we must say ‘each man’s mind is the man himself.’ Nægelsb.]

ADDENDA.

P. 23, c. xxiii. § 56. l. 32. Nihil horum. cf. § 66. l. 23, ad Herenn. iv. § 7 (cf. ii. §§ 3; 7). Iuv. x. 71. [Quintil.] decl. 227, 344, 377, p. 774, Burm. Sen. const. sap. 19. § 1: quidquid horum ab imprudentioribus fiet. So omnium (primum o. cet.) is used as genitive of omnia, though very often harum rerum, omnium rerum take the place of the neuter genitive.

ADDENDA.

[§ 17. l. 11 n. Add 'In p. Caec. § 48: oui, cum cuperet coque consilio venisset,...licitum non sit accedere; read with PT. in Jordan qui cum.' R. S.]

[§ 19. l. 3. copulatus fuit. See Madvig's essay, 'Discrimen formarum amatus sum et amatus fui a veteribus et bonis scriptori-bus constantissime servatum,' in his opuscula II. 218 seq., esp. p. 219: 'cum...Latine dicimus, verbi causa, fixum est, utrumque significari potest, et fixisse aliquem, participio et verbo substantivio in unam notionem perfecti passivi coalescentibus, et nunc illud fixum manere, ut participium statum aliquem rei significet, verbum, cum statum nunc esse. Nec enim Latinus sermo praec-teritum tempus rei effectae et praesens rei agendo effectae et manentis nota utra distinguish. Cum autem fuit dicitur, unum significatur, praeteritum tenipus rei effectae et in statu aliquo manentis, ut participium statum, verbo eum esse. Nec enim Latinus scrnio iurae-teritum tempus rei gestae et praesens rei agendo effectae et remanentis nota nulla distinguish. Cum autem fuit dicitur, unum significatur, praeteritum tenipus rei effectae et in statu aliquo manentis, ut participium statum, verbo eum esse.' Cf. Zumpt, § 592, Madvig, § 344.]

[§ 21. l. 30 n. Add 'So in Plaut. Trinum. l. 34, 35 (Ritschl, nimiique hic plures pauciorem gratiam | faciunt pars hominum quem id quo prosint pluribus) read with A quod prosint.' 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. E. L. § 91 in my insertion of μέν after προσκυνοιμεν in Plat. III. Rep. 398 a (Bekker suggests a similar insertion in 1. Rep. 340 d). 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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P. 46, c. xliv. § 113, l. 8: ipsa res publica, quae se advinc

tantummodo ut la est, nondum recipieravit. Cic. fam. xii. 1. § 2

(to Cassius, end of May, b.c. 44: res publica) adhuc uta suas

injurias est per vos interitu tyranni; nihil amplius: ornamenta

vero sua quae recipieravit? an quod ei mortuo paret, quem

vivum ferre non poterat?

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