LATIN SERIES · VOLUME 82

Philippics

Cicero

Philippicae

Philippics

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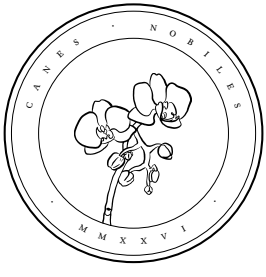
with a word-for-word interlinear English translation

preserving the original word order



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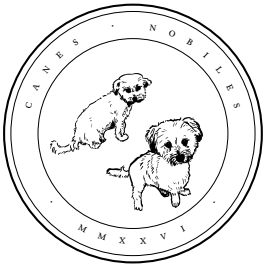

Volume 82 of the Canes Nobiles Latin interlinear texts

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Set from the Perseus Digital Library's canonical Latin corpus, with corrections

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PHILIPPICA PRIMA

I · WHY CICERO LEFT

Before speaking on the state, Cicero explains why he left Rome and why he returned. After the Ides he had worked for peace in the temple of Tellus, and Antony at first seemed to deserve well: he spoke for concord, found nothing in Caesar's notebooks but what all knew, recalled only one exile, granted no exemptions, and abolished the dictatorship, as if lifting the fear of kingship itself from the state.

Ante quam de re publica, patres conscripti, dicam ea 1
before than about the-thing public fathers enrolled I-speak those-things
quae dicenda hoc tempore arbitror, exponam vobis breviter
which to-be-spoken at-this time I-think I-shall-set-forth to-you briefly
consilium et profectionis et reversionis meae. Ego cum
the-plan both of-departure and of-return my I when
sperarem aliquando ad vestrum consilium auctoritatemque rem
I-hoped at-last to your counsel and-authority the-thing
publicam esse revocatam, manendum mihi statuebam quasi
public to-have-been recalled to-be-remained by-me I-decided as-if
in vigilia quadam consulari ac senatoria. Nec vero usquam
on watch a-certain consular and senatorial nor indeed anywhere
discedebam nec a re publica deiciebam oculos ex eo
I-departed nor from the-thing public I-turned-away my-eyes from that
die quo in aedem Telluris convocati sumus. In quo templo,
day which into the-temple of-Tellus summoned we-were in which temple
quantum in me fuit, ieci fundamenta pacis Atheniensiumque
as-much-as in me was I-laid the-foundations of-peace and-of-the-Athenians
renovavi vetus exemplum; Graecum etiam verbum usurpavi quo
I-renewed the-old precedent the-Greek even word I-used which

tum in sedandis discordiis usa erat civitas illa, atque omnem
then in calming discords used had state that and all
memoriam discordiarum oblivione sempiterna delendam censui.
memory of-discords by-oblivion everlasting to-be-blotted-out I-voted
2 Praeclara tum oratio M. Antoni, egregia etiam voluntas; pax
splendid then the-speech of-Mark Antony excellent also the-goodwill peace
denique per eum et per liberos eius cum praestantissimis
finally through him and through children his with the-most-eminent
civibus confirmata est. Atque his principiis reliqua
citizens confirmed was and with-these beginnings the-rest
consentiebant. Ad deliberationes eas quas habebat domi de
agreed to the-deliberations those which he-held at-home about
re publica principes civitatis adhibebat; ad hunc ordinem
the-thing public the-leading-men of-the-state he-called-in to this order
res optimas deferebat; nihil tum nisi quod erat notum
matters the-best he-brought nothing then except what was known
omnibus in C. Caesaris commentariis reperiebatur; summa
to-all in Gaius Caesar's notebooks was-found with-the-greatest
constantia ad ea quae quaesita erant respondebat.
consistency to those-things which asked had-been he-answered
3 Num qui exsules restituti? Unum aiebat, praeterea neminem.
surely-not any exiles restored one he-said besides none
Num immunitates datae? 'Nullae' respondebat. Adsentiri
surely-not exemptions granted none he-answered to-assent
etiam nos Ser. Sulpicio, clarissimo viro, voluit, ne qua
even us to-Servius Sulpicius a-most-illustrious man he-wished that-not any
tabula post Idus Martias ullius decreti Caesaris aut benefici
tablet after the-Ides of-March of-any decree of-Caesar or of-favor
figeretur. Multa praetereo eaque praeclara; ad singulare
should-be-posted many-things I-pass-over and-those splendid to singular
enim M. Antoni factum festinat oratio. Dictaturam, quae iam
for Mark Antony's deed hastens my-speech the-dictatorship which already

vim regiae potestatis obsederat, funditus ex re publica
the-force of-royal power had-seized from-the-roots from the-thing public
sustulit; de qua ne sententias quidem diximus. Scriptum
he-removed about which not opinions even we-spoke written
senatus consultum quod fieri vellet attulit, quo recitato
of-the-senate a-decree which to-be-made he-wished he-brought with-which read
auctoritatem eius summo studio secuti sumus eique
authority his with-the-utmost zeal followed we-have and-to-him
amplissimis verbis per senatus consultum gratias egimus.
in-most-ample words through of-the-senate a-decree thanks we-gave
Lux quaedam videbatur oblata non modo regno, quod 4
a-light a-certain seemed offered not only with-the-kingship which
pertuleramus, sed etiam regni timore sublato, magnumque
we-had-endured but even of-kingship the-fear removed and-a-great
pignus ab eo rei publicae datum, se liberam civitatem
pledge by him to-the-thing public given himself a-free state
esse velle, cum dictatoris nomen, quod saepe iustum fuisset,
to-be to-wish when of-dictator the-name which often lawful had-been
propter perpetuae dictaturae recentem memoriam funditus
on-account-of of-the-perpetual dictatorship the-recent memory from-the-roots
ex re publica sustulisset.
from the-thing public he-had-removed

II · THE TURN OF THE KALENDS OF JUNE

A few days later the senate was freed from the fear of slaughter when the false Marius was executed, and Dolabella punished the rioters and overturned the accursed column. But on the Kalends of June everything changed: nothing went through the senate and much through the people, the consuls designate dared not attend, the liberators were kept from Rome, and the veterans were roused by hope of plunder. Cicero set out for Greece; the south wind drove him back to Leucopetra, where men of Rhegium brought Antony's speech, the edict of Brutus and Cassius, and hopes of concord. He hurried home, met Brutus at Velia, and learned there of Piso's speech of the Kalends of August.

Liberatus periculo caedis paucis post diebus senatus;
freed from-the-danger of-slaughter a-few after days the-senate
uncus impactus est fugitivo illi qui in Mari nomen
a-book driven was into-the-runaway that who on Marius' name
invaserat. Atque haec omnia communiter cum conlega; alia
had-seized and these all in-common with his-colleague others
porro propria Dolabellae quae, nisi conlega afuisset, credo
moreover the-own of-Dolabella which unless his-colleague had-been-absent I-believe
eis futura fuisse communia. Nam cum serperet in urbe
to-them going-to-be to-have-been common for when was-creeping in the-city
infinitum malum idque manaret in dies latius, idemque
a-boundless evil and-it was-spreading by days wider and-the-same
bustum in foro facerent qui illam insepultam sepulturam
a-tomb in the-forum were-making who that unburied burial
effecerant, et cotidie magis magisque perditi homines cum
had-effected and daily more and-more ruined men with
sui similibus servis tectis ac templis urbis minarentur,
of-themselves like slaves the-roofs and temples of-the-city were-threatening
talis animadversio fuit Dolabellae cum in audacis sceleratosque
such the-punishment was of-Dolabella both upon audacious and-criminal

servos, tum in impuros et nefarios liberos, talisque
slaves and upon impure and wicked freemen and-such
eversio illius exsecratae columnae ut mihi mirum videatur
the-overturning of-that accursed column that to-me strange it-seems
tam valde reliquum tempus ab illo uno die dissensisse.
so greatly the-remaining time from that one day to-have-differed
Ecce enim Kalendis Iuniis, quibus ut adessemus 6
behold for on-the-Kalends of-June on-which that we-should-attend
edixerant, mutata omnia: nihil per senatum, multa
they-had-proclaimed changed all-things nothing through the-senate many-things
et magna per populum et absente populo et invito.
and great through the-people and in-the-absence-of the-people and unwilling
Consules designati negabant se audere in senatum
the-consuls designate denied themselves to-dare into the-senate
venire; patriae liberatores urbe carebant ea cuius a
to-come of-the-fatherland the-liberators of-the-city were-deprived that whose from
cervicibus iugum servile deiecerant, quos tamen ipsi
necks the-yoke slavish they-had-thrown-off whom still themselves
consules in contionibus et in omni sermone laudabant.
the-consuls in public-meetings and in all talk were-praising
Veterani qui appellabantur, quibus hic ordo diligentissime
the-veterans who were-called for-whom this order most-diligently
caverat, non ad conservationem earum rerum quas habebant,
had-provided not to the-preservation of-those things which they-had
sed ad spem novarum praedarum incitabantur. Quae cum
but to the-hope of-new plunders were-roused which-things since
audire mallem quam videre haberemque ius legationis
to-hear I-preferred than to-see and-I-had the-right of-embassy
liberum, ea mente discessi ut adessem Kalendis
free with-that mind I-departed that I-might-be-present on-the-Kalends
Ianuariis, quod initium senatus cogendi fore videbatur.
of-January which the-beginning of-the-senate being-convened going-to-be seemed

7 Exposui, patres conscripti, profectionis consilium: nunc
I-have-set-forth fathers enrolled of-my-departure the-plan now
reversionis, quae plus admirationis habet, breviter exponam.
of-my-return which more of-wonder has briefly I-shall-set-forth
Cum Brundisium iterque illud quod tritum in Graeciam
when Brundisium and-the-route that which beaten to Greece
est non sine causa vitavissem, Kalendis Sextilibus veni
is not without cause I-had-avoided on-the-Kalends of-Sextilis I-came
Syracusas, quod ab ea urbe transmissio in Graeciam
to-Syracuse because from that city the-crossing to Greece
laudabatur: quae tamen urbs mihi coniunctissima plus una
was-praised which still city to-me most-closely-joined more-than one
me nocte cupiens retinere non potuit. Veritus sum ne meus
me night desiring to-keep not could feared I-have lest my
repentinus ad meos necessarios adventus suspicionis aliquid
sudden to my connections arrival of-suspicion something
adferret, si essem commoratus. Cum autem me ex Sicilia
might-bring if I-had lingered when however me from Sicily
ad Leucopetram, quod est promunturium agri Regini,
to Leucopetra which is a-promontory of-the-territory of-Rhegium
venti detulissent, ab eo loco conscendi ut transmitterem;
the-winds had-carried from that place I-embarked that I-might-cross
nec ita multum provectus reiectus austro sum in eum
nor so far advanced driven-back by-the-south-wind I-was to that
ipsum locum unde conscenderam.
very place whence I-had-embarked

8 Cumque intempesta nox esset mansissemque in villa
and-when dead the-night was and-I-had-stayed in the-villa
P. Valeri, comitis et familiaris mei, postridieque apud
of-Publius Valerius companion and friend my and-the-next-day with
eundem ventum exspectans manerem, municipes Regini
the-same the-wind awaiting I-was-staying townsmen of-Rhegium

complures ad me venerunt, ex eis quidam Roma recentes:
several to me came of them some from-Rome fresh
a quibus primum accipio M. Antoni contionem, quae mihi
from whom first I-receive Mark Antony's speech which to-me
ita placuit ut ea lecta de reversione primum coeperim
so pleased that with-it read about return first I-began
cogitare. Nec ita multo post edictum Bruti adfertur et
to-think nor so much later the-edict of-Brutus is-brought and
Cassi, quod quidem mihi, fortasse quod eos plus etiam
of-Cassius which indeed to-me perhaps because them more even
rei publicae quam familiaritatis gratia diligo, plenum
of-the-thing public than of-friendship for-the-sake I-love full
aequitatis videbatur. Addebant praeterea — fit enim
of-fairness seemed they-added besides it-happens for
plerumque ut ei qui boni quid volunt adferre adfingant
mostly that those who good anything wish to-bring invent
aliquid quo faciant id quod nuntiant laetius —
something by-which they-may-make that which they-announce more-joyful
rem conventuram: Kalendis senatum frequentem fore;
the-matter going-to-be-settled on-the-Kalends the-senate full going-to-be
Antonium, repudiatis malis suasoribus, remissis provinciis
Antony rejected the-bad advisers given-up the-provinces
Galliis, ad auctoritatem senatus esse rediturum.
the-Gauls to the-authority of-the-senate to-be going-to-return
Tum vero tanta sum cupiditate incensus ad reditum ut mihi 9
then indeed with-such I-was desire inflamed for return that to-me
nulli neque remi neque venti satis facerent, non quo me ad
no neither oars nor winds sufficiently did not that me in
tempus occursurum non putarem, sed ne tardius quam cuperem
time going-to-arrive not I-thought but lest more-slowly than I-desired
rei publicae gratularer. Atque ego celeriter Veliam
to-the-thing public I-should-congratulate and I quickly to-Velia

devectus Brutum vidi: quanto meo dolore non dico. Turpe
carried-down Brutus I-saw with-how-great my grief not I-say base
mihi ipsi videbatur in eam urbem me audere reverti ex qua
to-me myself it-seemed into that city me to-dare to-return from which
Brutus cederet, et ibi velle tuto esse ubi ille non posset.
Brutus was-withdrawing and there to-wish safely to-be where he not could
Neque vero illum similiter atque ipse eram commotum esse vidi.
nor indeed him similarly as myself I-was disturbed to-be I-saw
Erectus enim maximi ac pulcherrimi facti sui conscientia
upright for of-the-greatest and most-beautiful deed his-own by-the-consciousness
nihil de suo casu, multa de vestro querebatur.
nothing about his-own fall many-things about yours he-complained
10 Exque eo primum cognovi quae Kalendis Sextilibus in senatu
and-from him first I-learned what on-the-Kalends of-Sextilis in the-senate
fuisset L. Pisonis oratio: qui quamquam parum erat —
had-been of-Lucius Piso the-speech who although too-little he-was
id enim ipsum a Bruto audieram — a quibus debuerat
this for itself from Brutus I-had-heard by those-by-whom he-ought
adiutus, tamen et Bruti testimonio — quo quid potest
helped still both by-Brutus' testimony than-which what can
esse gravius? — et omnium praedicatione quos postea vidi
to-be weightier and of-all by-the-praise whom afterward I-saw
magnam mihi videbatur gloriam consecutus. Hunc igitur ut
great to-me he-seemed glory to-have-gained this-man therefore that
sequerer properavi quem praesentes non sunt secuti, non ut
I-might-follow I-hastened whom those-present not have followed not that
proficerem aliquid — nec enim sperabam id nec praestare
I-might-accomplish anything nor for I-hoped that nor to-perform
poteram — sed ut, si quid mihi humanitus accidisset —
I-could but that if anything to-me humanly should-have-happened
multa autem impendere videntur praeter naturam etiam
many-things however to-overhang seem beyond nature even

praeterque fatum — huius tamen diei vocem testem rei
and-beyond fate of-this still day the-voice as-witness to-the-thing
publicae relinquerem meae perpetuae erga se voluntatis.
public I-might-leave of-my perpetual toward it goodwill

III · THE SENATE OF THE FIRST OF SEPTEMBER

Cicero complains of Antony's threats on the previous day, when he demanded Cicero's attendance and threatened to pull down his house, all for a motion on thanksgivings, business at which attendance is barely required. Cicero would never have voted to mingle funeral rites with thanksgivings to a dead man. He thanks Piso, who alone spoke freely, and asks the senate to hear him kindly even if it dares less.

Quoniam utriusque consili causam, patres conscripti, probatam 11
since of-each plan the-reason fathers enrolled approved
vobis esse confido, prius quam de re publica dicere
to-you to-be I-trust before than about the-thing public to-speak
incipio, pauca querar de hesterna M. Antoni
I-begin a-few-things I-shall-complain-of about yesterday's Mark Antony's
iniuria: cui sum amicus, idque me non nullo eius officio
wrong to-whom I-am a-friend and-that me not by-no his service
debere esse prae me semper tuli. Quid tandem erat causae
to-owe to-be before me always I-carried what pray was-there of-reason
cur die hesterno in senatum tam acerbe cogerer?
why on-day yesterday into the-senate so harshly I-should-be-compelled
Solusne aberam, an non saepe minus frequentes fuistis,
was-I-alone absent or not often less full have-you-been
an ea res agebatur ut etiam aegrotos deferri
or that matter was-being-treated that even the-sick to-be-carried-down
oporteret? Hannibal, credo, erat ad portas aut de Pyrrhi
it-behooved Hannibal I-suppose was at the-gates or about Pyrrhus'

pace agebatur, ad quam causam etiam Appium illum et
peace it-was-being-treated to which cause even Appius that both
caecum et senem delatum esse memoriae proditum est.
blind and old carried-down to-have-been to-memory handed-down it-is
12 De supplicationibus referebatur, quo in genere senatores
about thanksgivings it-was-being-referred which in kind senators
deesse non solent. Coguntur enim non pignoribus,
to-be-wanting not are-accustomed they-are-compelled for not by-pledges
sed eorum de quorum honore agitur gratia; quod idem
but of-those about whose honor it-is-treated by-favor which the-same
fit, cum de triumpho refertur. Ita sine cura consules sunt
happens when about a-triumph it-is-referred so without care the-consuls are
ut paene liberum sit senatori non adesse. Qui cum mihi
that almost free it-is for-a-senator not to-attend which when to-me
mos notus esset cumque e via languerem et mihimet
the-custom known was and-when from the-journey I-was-weary and with-myself
displicerem, misi pro amicitia qui hoc ei diceret. At ille
I-was-displeased I-sent for friendship one-who this to-him should-say but he
vobis audientibus cum fabris se domum meam venturum
with-you hearing with workmen himself to-house my going-to-come
esse dixit. Nimis iracunde hoc quidem et valde intemperanter.
to-be said too angrily this indeed and very intemperately
Cuius enim malefici tanta ista poena est ut dicere in hoc
of-what for misdeed so-great that penalty is that to-say in this
ordine auderet se publicis operis disturbaturum publice ex
order he-should-dare himself by-public works going-to-pull-down publicly by
senatus sententia aedificatam domum? Quis autem umquam
of-the-senate decision built a-house who however ever
tanto damno senatorem coegit? aut quid est ultra pignus
by-so-great a-loss a-senator compelled or what is-there beyond a-pledge

aut multam? Quod si scisset quam sententiam dicturus
or a-fine but if he-had-known what opinion going-to-speak
essem, remisisset aliquid profecto de severitate cogendi.
I-was he-would-have-remitted something surely from the-severity of-compelling
An me censetis, patres conscripti, quod vos inviti 13
or me do-you-think fathers enrolled what you unwilling
secuti estis, decreturum fuisse, ut parentalia cum
followed have going-to-decree to-have-been that the-rites-for-the-dead with
supplicationibus miscerentur, ut inexpiabiles religiones in
thanksgivings should-be-mingled that inexpiable religions into
rem publicam inducerentur, ut decernerentur supplicationes
the-thing public should-be-brought-in that should-be-decreed thanksgivings
mortuo? Nihil dico cui. Fuerit ille L. Brutus
for-a-dead-man nothing I-say for-whom let-him-have-been that Lucius Brutus
qui et ipse dominatu regio rem publicam liberavit et
who both himself from-domination royal the-thing public freed and
ad similem virtutem et simile factum stirpem iam prope
to like virtue and like deed his-stock now almost
in quingentesimum annum propagavit: adduci tamen non
into the-five-hundredth year propagated to-be-brought still not
possem ut quemquam mortuum coniungerem cum deorum
I-could that anyone dead I-should-join with of-the-gods
immortalium religione; ut, cuius sepulcrum usquam exstet
immortal the-worship that of-whom a-tomb anywhere exists
ubi parentetur, ei publice supplicetur. Ego vero
where rites-for-the-dead-are-paid to-him publicly thanksgiving-be-made I indeed
eam sententiam dixissem ut me adversus populum
that opinion would-have-spoken that myself before the-people
Romanum, si qui accidisset gravior rei publicae casus,
Roman if any had-befallen heavier to-the-thing public mishap
si bellum, si morbus, si fames, facile possem defendere;
if war if pestilence if famine easily I-could defend

quae partim iam sunt, partim timeo ne impendeant. Sed
which partly already are partly I-fear lest they-overhang but
hoc ignoscant di immortales velim et populo Romano
this may-pardon the-gods immortal I-would-wish and the-people Roman
qui id non probat, et huic ordini qui decrevit invitus.
which it not approves and this order which decreed(-it) unwilling
14 Quid? de reliquis rei publicae malis licetne dicere?
what about the-remaining of-the-thing public evils is-it-allowed to-speak
Mihi vero licet et semper licebit dignitatem tueri,
to-me indeed it-is-allowed and always will-be-allowed dignity to-guard
mortem contemnere. Potestas modo veniendi in hunc locum
death to-despise the-power only of-coming into this place
sit: dicendi periculum non recuso. Atque utinam, patres
let-there-be of-speaking the-danger not I-refuse and would-that fathers
conscripti, Kalendis Sextilibus adesse potuissem! non quo
enrolled on-the-Kalends of-Sextilis to-attend I-had-been-able not that
profici potuerit aliquid, sed ne unus modo consularis,
to-be-accomplished could anything but lest one only consular
quod tum accidit, dignus illo honore, dignus re
which then happened worthy of-that honor worthy of-the-thing
publica inveniretur. Qua quidem ex re magnum accipio
public should-be-found which indeed from thing great I-receive
dolorem, homines amplissimis populi Romani beneficiis
pain men by-the-most-ample of-the-people Roman benefits
usos L. Pisonem ducem optimae sententiae non
having-used Lucius Piso the-leader of-the-best opinion not
secutos. Idcircone nos populus Romanus consules fecit
to-have-followed for-this-reason-did us the-people Roman consuls make
ut in altissimo gradu dignitatis locati rem publicam pro
that in the-highest step of-dignity placed the-thing public for

nihilo haberemus? Non modo voce nemo L. Pisoni
nothing we-should-hold not only by-voice no-one to-Lucius Piso
consulari sed ne voltu quidem adsensus est.
the-consular but not by-face even assented has
Quae, malum, est ista voluntaria servitus? Fuerit 15
what curse is that voluntary slavery let-there-have-been
quaedam necessaria; neque ego hoc ab omnibus eis desidero
a-certain necessary nor I this from all those do-desire
qui sententiam consulari loco dicunt. Alia causa est eorum
who opinion in-consular place speak another the-case is of-those
quorum silentio ignosco; alia eorum, quorum vocem requiro.
whose silence I-pardon another of-those whose voice I-require
Quos quidem doleo in suspicionem populo Romano venire
whom indeed I-grieve into suspicion to-the-people Roman to-come
non metu, quod ipsum esset turpe, sed alium alia
not through-fear which itself would-be base but one another
de causa deesse dignitati suae. Qua re primum
for reason to-be-wanting to-dignity their-own by-which thing first
maximas gratias et ago et habeo Pisoni, qui non quid
the-greatest thanks both I-give and hold to-Piso who not what
efficere posset in re publica cogitavit, sed quid facere
to-effect he-could in the-thing public thought but what to-do
ipse deberet. Deinde a vobis, patres conscripti, peto ut,
himself he-ought next from you fathers enrolled I-ask that
etiam si sequi minus audebitis orationem atque auctoritatem
even if to-follow less you-shall-dare the-speech and authority
meam, benigne me tamen, ut fecistis adhuc, audiatis.
my kindly me still as you-have-done so-far you-may-hear

Cicero would keep Caesar's acts for the sake of peace, and Caesar's laws above all, since nothing is so truly an act as a law. Yet Antony keeps the notebooks and memoranda and overturns the laws themselves, such as Caesar's law limiting the tenure of provinces, the best that was ever passed.

16 Primum igitur acta Caesaris servanda censeo, non quo
first therefore the-acts of-Caesar to-be-kept I-vote not that
probem — quis enim id quidem potest? — sed quia rationem
I-approve(-them) who for that indeed can but because regard
habendam maxime arbitror pacis atque oti. Vellem adesset
to-be-had most I-think of-peace and of-quiet I-could-wish were-present
M. Antonius, modo sine advocatis — sed, ut opinor, licet
Mark Antony only without supporters but as I-think it-is-allowed
ei minus valere, quod mihi heri per illum non licuit —
to-him less to-be-well which for-me yesterday through him not was-allowed
doceret me vel potius vos, patres conscripti, quem ad
he-would-teach me or rather you fathers enrolled how in
modum ipse Caesaris acta defenderet. An in commentariolis
manner himself Caesar's acts he-was-defending or in little-notebooks
et chirographis et libellis se uno auctore prolatis, ne
and autographs and memoranda by-himself sole authority brought-forth not
prolatis quidem sed tantum modo dictis, acta Caesaris firma
brought-forth even but only merely spoken the-acts of-Caesar firm
erunt: quae ille in aes incidit, in quo populi iussa
will-be which he on bronze cut in which of-the-people the-commands
perpetuasque leges esse voluit, pro nihilo habebuntur?
and-perpetual laws to-be he-wished for nothing will-be-held

Equidem existimo nihil tam esse in actis Caesaris quam 17
I-indeed think nothing so to-be in the-acts of-Caesar as
leges Caesaris. An, si cui quid ille promisit, id erit
the-laws of-Caesar or if to-anyone anything he promised that will-be
fixum quod idem facere non potuit? ut multis multa
fixed which the-same to-do not he-could as to-many many-things
promissa non fecit: quae tamen multo plura illo mortuo
promised not he-did which still much more with-him dead
reperta sunt quam a vivo beneficia per omnis annos
found were than by him-alive favors through all years
tributa et data. Sed ea non muto, non moveo: summo
bestowed and given but those not I-change not I-move with-the-greatest
studio illius praeclara acta defendo. Pecunia utinam ad Opis
zeal his splendid acts I-defend the-money would-that at Ops'
maneret! Cruenta illa quidem, sed his temporibus, quoniam
it-remained bloody that indeed but in-these times since
eis quorum est non redditur, necessaria. Quamquam ea
to-those whose it-is not it-is-returned necessary although that
quoque sit effusa, si ita in actis fuit.
also let-it-be poured-out if so in the-acts it-was
Ecquid est quod tam proprie dici possit actum eius qui 18
anything is-there which so properly to-be-called could act of-him who
togatus in re publica cum potestate imperioque versatus
in-the-toga in the-thing public with power and-command engaged
sit quam lex? Quaere acta Gracchi: leges Semproniae
has than a-law ask the-acts of-Gracchus the-laws Sempronian
proferentur; quaere Sullae: Corneliae. Quid? Pompei tertius
will-be-brought-forth ask of-Sulla the-Cornelian what of-Pompey the-third
consulatus in quibus actis constitit? Nempe in legibus. De
consulship in which acts did-it-consist surely in laws about
Caesare ipso si quaereres quidnam egisset in urbe et in
Caesar himself if you-asked what he-had-done in the-city and in

toga, leges multas responderet se et praeclaras tulisse,
the-toga laws many he-would-answer himself and splendid to-have-carried
chirographa vero aut mutaret aut non daret aut, si
autographs indeed either he-would-change or not would-give or if
dedisset, non istas res in actis suis duceret. Sed
he-had-given not those things among acts his-own he-would-count but
haec ipsa concedo; quibusdam etiam in rebus coniveo;
these very-things I-grant in-certain even in things I-wink-at
in maximis vero rebus, id est in legibus, acta Caesaris
in the-greatest indeed things that is in laws the-acts of-Caesar
dissolvi ferendum non puto.
to-be-dissolved to-be-borne not I-think

19 Quae lex melior, utilior, optima etiam re publica
what law better more-useful the-best even with-the-thing public
saepius flagitata quam ne praetoriae provinciae plus quam
more-often demanded than that-not praetorian provinces more than
annum neve plus quam biennium consulares obtinerentur?
a-year nor more than two-years consular should-be-held
Hac lege sublata videturne vobis posse Caesaris acta
with-this law removed do-they-seem to-you to-be-able Caesar's acts
servari? Quid? Lege quae promulgata est de tertia
to-be-kept what by-the-law which promulgated was about the-third
decuria nonne omnes iudiciariae leges Caesaris dissolvuntur?
jury-panel not all judicial laws of-Caesar are-dissolved
Et vos acta Caesaris defenditis qui leges eius evertitis?
and you the-acts of-Caesar defend who the-laws his overturn
Nisi forte, si quid memoriae causa rettulit in libellum,
unless perhaps if anything of-memory for-the-sake he-entered in a-memorandum
id numerabitur in actis et, quamvis iniquum et inutile
that will-be-counted among the-acts and however unfair and useless

sit, defendetur: quod ad populum centuriatis comitiis tulit,
it-be will-be-defended what to the-people in-the-centuriate assembly he-carried
id in actis Caesaris non habebitur.
that among the-acts of-Caesar not will-be-held

V · THE NEW LAWS

Antony's new laws undo Caesar's: a third panel of judges drawn from centurions and the Larks, and an appeal to the people for men condemned of violence or treason, which ends both courts. Cicero upholds even the exiles, grants, and exemptions issued in a dead man's name, yet Caesar's own laws fall. The laws already carried were passed unpromulgated, before they were written; for the rest Antony threatens a fenced forum and armed guards. Can that be law? Remove the defects, Cicero warns, and the arms.

At quae est ista tertia decuria? 'Centurionum' inquit. Quid? 20
but what is that third jury-panel of-centurions he-says what
isti ordini iudicatus lege Iulia, etiam ante Pompeia,
to-that order judging by-the-law Julian even before Pompeian
Aurelia non patebat? 'Census praefiniebatur,' inquit. Non
Aurelian not lay-open a-property-rating was-prescribed he-says not
centurioni quidem solum sed equiti etiam Romano; itaque
for-a-centurion indeed only but for-a-knight also Roman and-so
viri fortissimi atque honestissimi qui ordines duxerunt res et
men most-brave and most-honorable who companies have-led cases both
iudicant et iudicaverunt. 'Non quaero' inquit 'istos: quicumque
judge and have-judged not I-seek he-says those-men whoever
ordinem duxit, iudicet.' At si ferretis quicumque equo
a-company has-led let-him-judge but if you-proposed whoever on-horse
meruisset, quod est lautius, nemini probaretis; in iudice
had-served which is more-elegant to-no-one you-would-commend(-it) in a-judge

enim spectari et fortuna debet et dignitas. 'Non quaero'
for to-be-regarded both fortune ought and dignity not I-seek
inquit 'ista: addo etiam iudices manipularis ex legione
he-says those-things I-add also as-judges privates from the-legion
Alaudarum. Aliter enim nostri negant posse se salvos
of-the-Larks otherwise for our-men deny to-be-able themselves safe
esse.' O contumeliosum honorem eis quos ad iudicandum
to-be O insulting honor to-those whom to judging
nec opinantis vocatis! Hic enim est legis index
not expecting you-summon this for is of-the-law the-indication
ut ei res in tertia decuria iudicent qui libere iudicare
that those cases in the-third jury-panel should-judge who freely to-judge
non audeant. In quo quantus error est, di immortales!
not dare in which how-great an-error is-there o-gods immortal
eorum qui istam legem excogitaverunt! Ut enim quisque
of-those who that law devised for as each
sordidissimus videbitur, ita libentissime severitate iudicandi
most-sordid shall-seem so most-gladly by-the-severity of-judging
sordis suas eluet laborabitque ut honestis decuriis
sordidness his he-will-wash-away and-will-labor that of-honorable panels
potius dignus videatur quam in turpem iure coniectus.
rather worthy he-may-seem than into a-base rightly thrown

21 Altera promulgata lex est ut et de vi et maiestatis
a-second promulgated law is that both of violence and of-treason
damnati ad populum provocent, si velint. Haec utrum
the-condemned to the-people may-appeal if they-wish this whether
tandem lex est an legum omnium dissolutio? Quis est enim
pray a-law is or of-laws all the-dissolution who is for
hodie cuius intersit istam legem manere? Nemo reus est
today whose it-matters that law to-remain no-one a-defendant is
legibus illis, nemo quem futurum putemus. Armis enim
under-laws those no-one whom going-to-be we-may-think by-arms for

gesta numquam profecto in iudicium vocabuntur. 'At res
things-done never surely into court will-be-summoned but a-thing
popularis.' Utinam quidem aliquid velletis esse populare! Omnes
popular would-that indeed something you-wished to-be popular all
enim iam cives de rei publicae salute una et mente
for now citizens about of-the-thing public the-safety with-one both mind
et voce consentiunt. Quae est igitur ista cupiditas legis
and voice agree what is therefore that eagerness of-the-law
eius ferendae quae turpitudinem summam habeat, gratiam
that to-be-carried which baseness the-utmost has favor
nullam? Quid enim turpius quam qui maiestatem populi
none what for baser than who the-majesty of-the-people
Romani minuerit per vim, eum damnatum iudicio ad eam
Roman has-diminished by violence him condemned by-judgment to that
ipsam vim reverti propter quam sit iure damnatus?
very violence to-return on-account-of which he-has-been rightly condemned
Sed quid plura de lege disputo? Quasi vero id agatur 22
but why more-things about the-law do-I-argue as-if indeed this be-aimed-at
ut quisquam provocet: id agitur, id fertur ne quis
that anyone may-appeal this is-aimed-at this is-proposed that-not anyone
omnino umquam istis legibus reus fiat. Quis
at-all ever under-those laws a-defendant be-made who
enim aut accusator tam amens reperietur qui reo
for either an-accuser so mad will-be-found who the-defendant
condemnato obici se multitudini conductae velit,
condemned to-be-thrown himself to-a-mob hired would-wish
aut iudex qui reum damnare audeat, ut ipse ad operas
or a-judge who the-defendant to-condemn dares that himself to the-gangs
mercennarias statim protrahatur? Non igitur provocatio ista
hireling at-once be-dragged not therefore an-appeal by-that
lege datur, sed duae maxime salutares leges quaestionesque
law is-given but two most salutary laws and-courts

tolluntur. Quid est aliud hortari adulescentis ut turbulenti,
are-removed what is-it else to-urge young-men that turbulent
ut seditiosi, ut perniciosi cives velint esse? Quam
that seditious that ruinous citizens they-should-wish to-be what
autem ad pestem furor tribunicius impelli non poterit
however to plague the-madness tribunician to-be-driven not will-be-able
his duabus quaestionibus de vi et maiestate sublatis?
with-these two courts about violence and treason removed
23 Quid, quod obrogatur legibus Caesaris, quae iubent ei qui
what that is-repealed to-the-laws of-Caesar which order for-him who
de vi itemque ei qui maiestatis damnatus sit aqua
of violence and-likewise for-him who of-treason condemned has-been from-water
et igni interdici? quibus cum provocatio datur, nonne acta
and fire to-be-interdicted to-whom when appeal is-given not the-acts
Caesaris rescinduntur? Quae quidem ego, patres conscripti, qui
of-Caesar are-rescinded which indeed I fathers enrolled who
illa numquam probavi, tamen ita conservanda concordiae causa
them never approved still so to-be-preserved of-concord for-the-sake
arbitratus sum ut non modo, quas vivus leges Caesar tulisset,
thought have that not only which alive laws Caesar had-carried
infirmandas hoc tempore non putarem, sed ne illas quidem
to-be-weakened at-this time not I-thought but not those even
quas post mortem Caesaris prolatas esse et fixas videtis.
which after the-death of-Caesar brought-forth to-have-been and posted you-see
24 De exsilio reducti a mortuo; civitas data non solum singulis
from exile brought-back by a-dead-man citizenship given not only to-individuals
sed nationibus et provinciis universis a mortuo; immunitatibus
but to-nations and provinces whole by a-dead-man by-exemptions
infinitis sublata vectigalia a mortuo. Ergo haec uno, verum
countless taken-away revenues by a-dead-man therefore these-things by-one but
optimo auctore domo prolata defendimus: eas leges quas
the-best authority from-home brought-forth we-defend those laws which

ipse nobis inspectantibus recitavit, pronuntiavit, tulit, quibus
he-himself with-us looking-on recited proclaimed carried by-which
latis gloriabatur eisque legibus rem publicam contineri
carried he-gloried and-by-those laws the-thing public to-be-held-together
putabat, de provinciis, de iudiciis, eas, inquam, Caesaris
he-thought about provinces about courts those I-say of-Caesar
leges nos qui defendimus acta Caesaris evertendas putamus?
laws we who defend the-acts of-Caesar to-be-overturned think
Ac de his tamen legibus quae promulgatae sunt saltem 25
and about these still laws which promulgated have-been at-least
queri possumus: de eis quae iam latae dicuntur ne illud
to-complain we-can about those which already carried are-said not that
quidem licuit. Illae enim sine ulla promulgatione latae
even has-been-allowed those for without any promulgation carried
sunt ante quam scriptae. Quaero autem quid sit cur aut
were before than written I-ask however what it-is why either
ego aut quisquam vestrum, patres conscripti, bonis tribunis
I or any of-you fathers enrolled with-good tribunes
plebi leges malas metuat. Paratos habemus qui intercedant;
of-the-plebs laws bad should-fear ready we-have who may-veto
paratos qui rem publicam religione defendant: vacui metu
ready who the-thing public by-religion may-defend free of-fear
esse debemus. 'Quas tu mihi' inquit 'intercessiones, quas
to-be we-ought what you to-me he-says vetoes what
religiones?' Eas scilicet quibus rei publicae salus
religions those evidently by-which of-the-thing public the-safety
continetur. 'Neglegimus ista et nimis antiqua ac stulta
is-held-together we-disregard those-things and too ancient and foolish
ducimus: forum saepietur; omnes claudentur aditus;
consider the-forum will-be-fenced all will-be-closed the-approaches
armati in praesidiis multis locis conlocabuntur.' Quid tum?
armed-men in garrisons in-many places will-be-placed what then

26 Quod ita erit gestum, id lex erit? et in aes incidi
what so shall-be done that a-law will-be and in bronze to-be-cut
iubebitis, credo, illa legitima: consules populum
you-will-order I-suppose those-formulas lawful the-consuls the-people
iure rogaverunt — hocine a maioribus accepimus ius
rightly asked this from ancestors did-we-receive the-right
rogandi? — populusque iure scivit. Qui populus? Isne qui
of-asking and-the-people rightly enacted what people that which
exclusus est? Quo iure? an eo quod vi et armis
shut-out was by-what right or by-that which by-violence and arms
omne sublatum est? Atque haec dico de futuris, quod
all removed has-been and these-things I-say about future-things because
est amicorum ante dicere ea quae vitari possint:
it-is of-friends beforehand to-say those-things which to-be-avoided can
quae si facta non erunt, refelletur oratio mea. Loquor
which if done not shall-be will-be-refuted speech my I-speak
de legibus promulgatis, de quibus est integrum vobis,
about laws promulgated about which it-is untouched for-you
demonstro vitia: tollite! Denuntio vim: arma removete!
I-show the-defects remove(-them) I-give-warning violence arms take-away

Cicero asks that frank words for the state not anger the consuls: Antony may resent insult, but not free speech, and should not answer it with arms. He reminds Dolabella of the joyful day he cleansed the forum, and Antony of his day in the temple of Tellus, when he made peace, sent his son as a hostage, and later abolished the dictatorship.

Irasci quidem vos mihi, Dolabella, pro re publica dicenti 27
to-be-angry indeed you with-me Dolabella for the-thing public speaking
non oportebit. Quamquam te quidem id facturum non
not will-behoove although you indeed that going-to-do not
arbitror — novi facilitatem tuam — conlegam tuum aiunt in
I-think I-know easiness your colleague your they-say in
hac sua fortuna quae bona ipsi videtur — mihi, ne gravius
this his-own fortune which good to-himself seems to-me lest more-heavily
quippiam dicam, avorum et avunculi sui consulatum si
anything I-should-say of-grandfathers and of-uncle his the-consulship if
imitaretur, fortunatior videretur — sed eum iracundum audio
he-imitated more-fortunate he-would-seem but him irascible I-hear
esse factum. Video autem quam sit odiosum habere eundem
to-be become I-see however how it-is hateful to-have the-same-man
iratum et armatum, cum tanta praesertim gladiorum sit
angry and armed with so-great especially of-swords there-is
impunitas: sed proponam ius, ut opinor, aequum, quod
impunity but I-shall-propose a-right as I-think fair which
M. Antonium non arbitror repudiaturum. Ego, si quid in
Mark Antony not I-think going-to-reject I if anything against
vitam eius aut in mores cum contumelia dixero, quo
life his or against morals with insult shall-have-said that
minus mihi inimicissimus sit non recusabo; sin consuetudinem
the-less to-me most-hostile he-be not I-shall-refuse but-if custom

meam quam in re publica semper habui tenuero, id est
my which in the-thing public always I-have-had I-shall-have-kept that is
si libere quae sentiam de re publica dixero, primum
if freely what I-think about the-thing public I-shall-have-spoken first
deprecor ne irascatur; deinde, si hoc non impetro, peto ut
I-beg that-not he-be-angry next if this not I-obtain I-ask that
sic irascatur ut civi. Armis utatur, si ita necesse est, ut
so he-be-angry as with-a-citizen arms let-him-use if so necessary it-is as
dicit, sui defendendi causa: eis qui pro re publica
he-says of-himself defending for-the-sake to-those who for the-thing public
quae ipsis visa erunt dixerint ista arma ne
what to-themselves seemed-right shall-have shall-have-spoken those arms let-them-not
noceant. Quid hac postulatione dici potest aequius?
harm what than-this demand to-be-said can fairer

28 Quod si, ut mihi a quibusdam eius familiaribus dictum est,
but if as to-me by certain his intimates said has-been
omnis eum quae habetur contra voluntatem eius oratio graviter
every him which is-made against will his speech heavily
offendit, etiam si nulla inest contumelia, feremus amici
offends even if no is-in insult we-shall-bear of-a-friend
naturam. Sed idem illi ita mecum loquuntur: 'non idem
the-nature but the-same they so with-me speak not the-same
tibi adversario Caesaris licebit quod Pisoni socero,' et
to-you adversary of-Caesar will-be-allowed as to-Piso father-in-law and
simul admonent quiddam quod cavebimus: 'nec erit
at-the-same-time they-warn of-something which we-shall-beware nor will-be
iustior in senatum non veniendi morbi causa quam mortis.'
more-just into the-senate not coming illness the-reason than death

29 Sed per deos immortalis! — te enim intuens, Dolabella,
but by the-gods immortal you for looking-at Dolabella
qui es mihi carissimus, non possum de utriusque vestrum
who are to-me most-dear not I-can about of-each of-you

errore reticere. Credo enim vos nobilis homines magna
the-error be-silent I-believe for you noble men great
quaedam spectantis non pecuniam, ut quidam nimis creduli
some-things aiming-at not money as some too credulous
suspicantur, quae semper ab amplissimo quoque clarissimoque
suspect which always by most-ample each and-most-illustrious
contempta est, non opes violentas et populo Romano
despised has-been not resources violent and for-the-people Roman
minime ferendam potentiam, sed caritatem civium et
least to-be-borne power but the-affection of-citizens and
gloriam concupivisse. Est autem gloria laus recte factorum
glory to-have-coveted is however glory the-praise of-rightly done-things
magnorumque in rem publicam fama meritorum, quae
and-of-great toward the-thing public the-fame of-services which
cum optimi cuiusque, tum etiam multitudinis testimonio
both of-the-best each and also of-the-multitude by-the-testimony
comprobatur.
is-approved
Dicerem, Dolabella, qui recte factorum fructus esset, nisi 30
I-would-say Dolabella what of-rightly done-things the-fruit was unless
te praeter ceteros paulisper esse expertum viderem. Quem
you beyond the-rest for-a-little to-have experienced(-it) I-saw what
potes recordari in vita inluxisse tibi diem laetiorem quam
can-you recall in life to-have-dawned for-you day more-joyful than
cum expiato foro, dissipato concursu impiorum, principibus
when with-cleansed the-forum dispersed the-concourse of-the-impious the-leaders
sceleris poena adfectis, urbe incendio et caedis metu
of-crime with-punishment afflicted the-city from-fire and slaughter's fear
liberata te domum recepisti? Cuius ordinis, cuius generis,
freed you home betook-yourself of-what order of-what kind
cuius denique fortunae studia tum laudi et gratulationi
of-what finally fortune the-zeal then for-the-praise and congratulation

tuae se non obtulerunt? Quin mihi etiam, quo auctore
your themselves not offered nay to-me even by-whose advice
te in his rebus uti arbitrabantur, et gratias boni viri
you in these things to-use they-thought both thanks good men
agebant et tuo nomine gratulabantur. Recordare, quaeso,
were-giving and in-your name were-congratulating recall I-beg
Dolabella, consensum illum theatri, cum omnes earum rerum
Dolabella agreement that of-the-theater when all those things
obliti propter quas fuerant tibi offensi significarent
forgetting on-account-of which they-had-been with-you offended signified
se beneficio novo memoriam veteris doloris abiecisse.
themselves by-the-benefit new the-memory of-old grief to-have-cast-off
31 Hanc tu, P. Dolabella, — magno loquor cum dolore — hanc
this you Publius Dolabella with-great I-speak with grief this
tu, inquam, potuisti aequo animo tantam dignitatem deponere?
you I-say could-you with-calm mind so-great dignity lay-down
Tu autem, M. Antoni, — absentem enim appello — unum
you however Mark Antony absent for I-address(-you) one
illum diem quo in aede Telluris senatus fuit non omnibus
that day which in the-temple of-Tellus the-senate was not to-all
his mensibus quibus te quidam multum a me dissentientes
these months in-which you some much from me dissenting
beatum putant anteponis? Quae fuit oratio de concordia!
fortunate think do-you-prefer what was the-speech about concord
quanto metu senatus, quanta sollicitudine civitas tum
with-how-great fear the-senate with-how-great anxiety the-state then
a te liberata est cum conlegam tuum, depositis inimicitiis,
by you freed was when the-colleague your with-laid-aside enmities
oblitus auspiciorum a te ipso augure populi Romani
forgetting the-auspices by you yourself the-augur of-the-people Roman

nuntiatorum, illo primum die conlegam tibi esse voluisti; cum
announced on-that first day colleague to-you to-be you-wished when
tuus parvus filius in Capitolium a te missus pacis obses fuit!
your little son into the-Capitol by you sent the-hostage of-peace was
Quo senatus die laetior, quo populus Romanus? qui 32
on-what the-senate day more-joyful on-what the-people Roman which
quidem nulla in contione umquam frequentior fuit. Tum
indeed no in assembly ever more-crowded was then
denique liberati per viros fortissimos videbamur, quia,
at-last freed through men most-brave we-seemed because
ut illi voluerant, libertatem pax consequebatur. Proximo,
as they had-wished liberty peace followed the-next
altero, tertio, denique reliquis consecutis diebus non
the-second the-third finally the-remaining following days not
intermittebas quasi donum aliquod cotidie adferre rei
you-ceased as-if a-gift some daily to-bring to-the-thing
publicae; maximum autem illud quod dictaturae nomen
public the-greatest however that that of-the-dictatorship the-name
sustulisti. Haec inusta est a te, a te, inquam, mortuo
you-removed this branded was by you by you I-say on-the-dead
Caesari nota ad ignominiam sempiternam. Ut enim propter
Caesar a-mark to disgrace everlasting as for on-account-of
unius M. Manli scelus decreto gentis Manliae neminem
of-one Marcus Manlius' crime by-the-decree of-the-clan Manlian no
patricium Manlium Marcum vocari licet, sic tu propter
patrician Manlius Marcus to-be-called it-is-allowed so you on-account-of
unius dictatoris odium nomen dictatoris funditus sustulisti.
of-one dictator the-hatred the-name of-dictator from-the-roots you-removed

Cicero fears Antony thinks it glorious to be feared rather than loved, which his grandfather's life and Caesar's death refute. The applause at the games and the alarm for the life of Hirtius show both consuls what Rome thinks, and men who hold such a life so dear are thinking about the consuls' lives too. He has reaped the fruit of his return and will speak again if he safely may.

33 Num te, cum haec pro salute rei publicae tanta
surely-not you when these-things for the-safety of-the-thing public so-great
gessisses, fortunae tuae, num amplitudinis, num claritatis,
you-had-done of-fortune your surely-not of-greatness surely-not of-fame
num gloriae paenitebat? Unde igitur subito tanta ista
surely-not of-glory did-it-repent whence therefore suddenly so-great that
mutatio? Non possum adduci ut suspicer te pecunia
change not I-can be-brought that I-should-suspect you by-money
captum. Licet quod cuique libet loquatur, credere non est
captured it-is-allowed what to-each pleases let-him-say to-believe not it-is
necesse. Nihil enim umquam in te sordidum, nihil humile
necessary nothing for ever in you sordid nothing low
cognovi. Quamquam solent domestici depravare non
I-have-known although are-accustomed household-members to-corrupt not
numquam; sed novi firmitatem tuam. Atque utinam ut
never but I-know firmness your and would-that as
culpam, sic etiam suspicionem vitare potuisses! Illud magis
blame so also suspicion to-avoid you-had-been-able that more
vereor ne ignorans verum iter gloriae gloriosum putes plus
I-fear lest not-knowing the-true road of-glory glorious you-think more
te unum posse quam omnis et metui a civibus tuis
you alone to-be-able than all and to-be-feared by citizens your
quam diligi malis. Quod si ita putas, totam ignoras
than to-be-loved you-prefer but if so you-think the-whole you-do-not-know

viam gloriae. Carum esse civem, bene de re publica
road of-glory dear to-be a-citizen well of the-thing public
mereri, laudari, coli, diligi gloriosum est; metui vero
to-deserve to-be-praised to-be-courted to-be-loved glorious is to-be-feared indeed
et in odio esse invidiosum, detestabile, imbecillum, caducum.
and in hatred to-be odious detestable weak perishable
Quod videmus etiam in fabula illi ipsi qui ‘oderint, 34
which we-see also in the-play to-that very-one who let-them-hate
dum metuant’ dixerit perniciosum fuisse. Utinam,
provided they-fear said ruinous to-have-been would-that
M. Antoni, avum tuum meminisses! de quo tamen
Mark Antony grandfather your you-had-remembered about whom still
audisti multa ex me eaque saepissime. Putasne illum
you-have-heard many-things from me and-those very-often do-you-think him
immortalitatem mereri voluisse, ut propter armorum
immortality to-deserve to-have-wished that on-account-of of-arms
habendorum licentiam metueretur? Illa erat vita, illa secunda
to-be-held the-license he-should-be-feared that was life that prosperous
fortuna, libertate esse parem ceteris, principem dignitate. Itaque,
fortune in-liberty to-be equal to-the-rest first in-dignity and-so
ut omittam res avi tui prosperas, acerbissimum eius
that I-may-omit the-things of-grandfather your prosperous the-most-bitter his
supremum diem malim quam L. Cinnae dominatum,
last day I-would-prefer than of-Lucius Cinna the-domination
a quo ille crudelissime est interfectus.
by whom he most-cruelly was killed
Sed quid oratione te flectam? Si enim exitus C. Caesaris 35
but why by-speech you shall-I-bend if for the-end of-Gaius Caesar
efficere non potest ut malis carus esse quam metui,
to-bring-about not can that you-prefer dear to-be than to-be-feared
nihil cuiusquam proficiet nec valebit oratio. Quem qui beatum
nothing of-anyone will-profit nor will-avail the-speech whom who happy

fuisse putant, miseri ipsi sunt. Beatus est nemo qui ea
to-have-been think wretched themselves are happy is no-one who on-that
lege vivit ut non modo impune sed etiam cum summa
condition lives that not only with-impunity but even with the-greatest
interfectoris gloria interfici possit. Qua re flecte te, quaeso,
of-the-killer glory to-be-killed he-can by-which thing bend yourself I-beg
et maiores tuos respice atque ita guberna rem publicam
and ancestors your look-back-on and so govern the-thing public
ut natum esse te cives tui gaudeant: sine quo nec
that born to-have-been you citizens your may-rejoice without which neither
beatus nec carus nec iucundus quisquam esse omnino potest.
happy nor dear nor pleasant anyone to-be at-all can
36 Populi quidem Romani iudicia multa ambo habetis, quibus
of-the-people indeed Roman judgments many both you-have by-which
vos non satis moveri permoleste fero. Quid enim
you not sufficiently to-be-moved very-grievously I-bear what for
gladiatoribus clamores innumerabilium civium? quid populi
at-the-gladiators the-shouts of-countless citizens what the-people's
versus? quid Pompei statuae plausus infiniti? quid duobus
verses what for-Pompey's statue the-applause unbounded what for-the-two
tribunis plebis qui vobis adversantur? parumne haec
tribunes of-the-plebs who to-you are-opposed too-little do-these-things
significant incredibiliter consentientem populi Romani universi
signify incredibly agreeing of-the-people Roman whole
voluntatem? Quid? Apollinarium ludorum plausus vel testimonia
the-will what of-the-Apollinarian games the-applause or testimonies
potius et iudicia populi Romani parum magna vobis
rather and judgments of-the-people Roman too-little great to-you
videbantur? O beatos illos qui, cum adesse ipsis propter
did-they-seem O happy those who when to-be-present themselves on-account-of
vim armorum non licebat, aderant tamen et in medullis
the-force of-arms not it-was-allowed were-present still and in the-marrow

populi Romani ac visceribus haerebant! Nisi forte Accio tum
of-the-people Roman and the-vitals were-clinging unless perhaps Accius then
plaudi et sexagesimo post anno palmam dari, non Bruto
to-be-applauded and in-the-sixtieth after year the-palm to-be-given not to-Brutus
putabatis, qui ludis suis ita caruit ut in illo apparatissimo
you-thought who from-games his-own so was-absent that at that most-lavish
spectaculo studium populus Romanus tribueret absenti,
show its-zeal the-people Roman bestowed on-him-absent
desiderium liberatoris sui perpetuo plausu et clamore leniret.
the-longing for-liberator its by-continuous applause and shouting it-soothed
Equidem is sum qui istos plausus, cum popularibus civibus 37
I-indeed he am who those applauses when to-popular citizens
tribuerentur, semper contempserim; idemque cum a summis,
they-were-bestowed always have-despised and-the-same when by the-highest
mediis, infimis, cum denique ab universis hoc idem fit,
the-middle the-lowest when finally by all this same is-done
cumque ei qui ante sequi populi consensum solebant
and-when those who before to-follow of-the-people the-agreement were-accustomed
fugiunt, non plausum illum, sed iudicium puto. Sin haec
flee not applause that but a-judgment I-think but-if these-things
leviora vobis videntur quae sunt gravissima, num etiam hoc
lighter to-you seem which are most-weighty surely-not even this
contemnitis quod sensistis tam caram populo Romano
do-you-despise that you-have-perceived so dear to-the-people Roman
vitam A. Hirti fuisse? Satis erat enim probatum illum
the-life of-Aulus Hirtius to-have-been enough it-was for approved him
esse populo Romano, ut est; iucundum amicis, in quo
to-be by-the-people Roman as he-is pleasant to-friends in which
vincit omnis; carum suis, quibus est ipse carissimus:
he-surpasses all dear to-his-own to-whom he-is himself most-dear

tantam tamen sollicitudinem bonorum, tantum timorem
so-great still anxiety of-the-good so-great fear
omnium in quo meminimus? Certe in nullo.
of-all in whose-case do-we-remember surely in none
38 Quid igitur? hoc vos, per deos immortalis! quale sit
what therefore this you by the-gods immortal what-sort it-is
non interpretamini? Quid? Eos de vestra vita cogitare
not do-you-interpret what them about your life to-think
non censetis quibus eorum quos sperant rei publicae
not do-you-suppose to-whom of-those whom they-hope for-the-thing public
consulturos vita tam cara sit?
going-to-consult the-life so dear is
Cepi fructum, patres conscripti, reversionis meae, quoniam
I-have-reaped the-fruit fathers enrolled of-return my since
et ea dixi, ut quicumque casus consecutus esset,
both those-things I-have-said that whatever mishap followed might-have
exstaret constantiae meae testimonium, et sum a
there-might-stand of-steadfastness my a-testimony and I-have-been by
vobis benigne ac diligenter auditus. Quae potestas si mihi
you kindly and attentively heard which power if to-me
saepius sine meo vestroque periculo fiet, utar:
more-often without my and-your danger shall-be-given I-shall-use(-it)
si minus, quantum potero, non tam mihi me quam
if not as-much-as I-can not so-much for-myself myself as
rei publicae reservabo. Mihi fere satis est quod vixi
for-the-thing public I-shall-reserve to-me almost enough is what I-have-lived
vel ad aetatem vel ad gloriam: huc si quid accesserit, non
either for age or for glory to-this if anything shall-be-added not
tam mihi quam vobis reique publicae accesserit.
so-much to-me as to-you and-to-the-thing public it-will-have-accrued

PHILIPPICA SECUNDA

I · WHY ANTONY ATTACKS

For twenty years every enemy of the state has also declared war on Cicero, and Antony, unprovoked, has attacked him to win the favor of wicked citizens, bolder than Catiline, madder than Clodius. Cicero answers first the charge of broken friendship: he appeared against Antony only for a friend, Antony never studied under him, and Antony did not yield him the augurate, since Pompey and Hortensius nominated him when Antony was bankrupt.

Quonam meo fato, patres conscripti, fieri dicam ut 1
by-what my fate fathers enrolled to-come-about shall-I-say that
nemo his annis viginti rei publicae fuerit hostis qui
no-one in-these years twenty to-the-thing public has-been an-enemy who
non bellum eodem tempore mihi quoque indixerit? Nec
not war at-the-same time on-me also has-declared nor
vero necesse est quemquam a me nominari: vobiscum ipsi
indeed necessary is-it anyone by me to-be-named with-yourselves yourselves
recordamini. Mihi poenarum illi plus quam optarem dederunt:
recall to-me penalties they more than I-could-wish have-given
te miror, Antoni, quorum facta imitere, eorum exitus non
you I-wonder-at Antony whose deeds you-imitate their ends not
perhorrescere. Atque hoc in aliis minus mirabar. Nemo enim
to-dread and this in others less I-wondered-at no-one for
illorum inimicus mihi fuit voluntarius: omnes a me rei
of-them an-enemy to-me was voluntary all by me of-the-thing
publicae causa lacessiti. Tu ne verbo quidem violatus, ut
public for-the-sake provoked you not by-a-word even outraged that
audacior quam Catilina, furiosior quam Clodius viderere,
more-audacious than Catiline more-mad than Clodius you-might-seem

ultro me maledictis lacessisti, tuamque a me alienationem
unprovoked me with-abuse have-attacked and-your from me estrangement
commendationem tibi ad impios civis fore putavisti.
a-recommendation for-you to impious citizens going-to-be you-thought
2 Quid putem? Contemptumne me? Non video nec in vita
what am-I-to-think despised-whether me not I-see neither in life
nec in gratia nec in rebus gestis nec in hac mea mediocritate
nor in influence nor in deeds done nor in this my moderation
ingeni quid despicere possit Antonius. An in senatu facillime
of-talent what to-despise could Antony or in the-senate most-easily
de me detrahi posse credidit? qui ordo clarissimis
from me to-be-detracted to-be-able he-believed which order to-most-illustrious
civibus bene gestae rei publicae testimonium multis, mihi
citizens well managed of-the-thing public testimony to-many to-me
uni conservatae dedit. An decertare mecum voluit contentione
alone of-preserved has-given or to-contend with-me he-wished in-a-contest
dicendi? Hoc quidem est beneficium. Quid enim plenius, quid
of-speaking this indeed is a-kindness what for fuller what
uberius quam mihi et pro me et contra Antonium dicere?
richer than for-me both for me and against Antony to-speak
Illud profecto: non existimavit sui similibus probari
that surely not he-thought of-himself to-the-like to-be-approved
posse se esse hostem patriae, nisi mihi esset inimicus.
to-be-able himself to-be an-enemy of-his-fatherland unless to-me he-were hostile
3 Cui prius quam de ceteris rebus respondeo, de amicitia
to-whom before than about the-other matters I-reply about friendship
quam a me violatam esse criminatus est, quod ego
which by me violated to-have-been charged he-has which I
gravissimum crimen iudico, pauca dicam.
the-gravest charge judge a-few-things I-will-say

Contra rem suam me nescio quando venisse questus
against interest his-own me I-know-not when to-have-come complained
est. An ego non venirem contra alienum pro familiari et
he-has or I not should-come against a-stranger for an-intimate and
necessario, non venirem contra gratiam non virtutis spe,
close-friend not should-I-come against influence not of-virtue by-the-hope
sed aetatis flore conlectam, non venirem contra iniuriam
but of-age by-the-flower gathered not should-I-come against an-injustice
quam iste intercessoris iniquissimi beneficio obtinuit, non iure
which he of-a-vetoer most-unjust by-the-favor obtained not by-right
praetorio? Sed hoc idcirco commemoratum a te puto ut te
praetorian but this therefore mentioned by you I-think that yourself
infimo ordini commendares, cum omnes te recordarentur
to-the-lowest order you-might-commend since all you remembered
libertini generum et liberos tuos nepotes Q. Fadi,
of-a-freedman the-son-in-law and the-children your grandchildren of-Quintus Fadius
libertini hominis, fuisse. At enim te in disciplinam meam
a-freedman man to-have-been but for you into discipline my
tradideras — nam ita dixisti — domum meam ventitaras.
you-had-handed-over for so you-said to-the-house my you-had-come-often
Ne tu, si id fecisses, melius famae, melius pudicitiae
truly you if that you-had-done better for-reputation better for-chastity
tuae consuluisses. Sed neque fecisti nec, si cuperes,
your you-would-have-provided but neither you-did-it nor if you-wished
tibi id per C. Curionem facere licuisset.
for-you that by Gaius Curio to-do it-would-have-been-allowed
Auguratus petitionem mihi te concessisse dixisti. O 4
of-the-augurate the-candidacy to-me you to-have-conceded you-said O
incredibilem audaciam, o impudentiam praedicandam! Quo
incredible audacity O impudence to-be-proclaimed at-what
enim tempore me augurem a toto conlegio expetitum
for time me as-augur by the-whole college sought

Cn. Pompeius et Q. Hortensius nominaverunt — nec
Gnaeus Pompey and Quintus Hortensius nominated nor
enim licebat a pluribus nominari — tu nec solvendo eras
for it-was-allowed by more to-be-nominated you neither solvent were
nec te ullo modo nisi eversa re publica incolumem
nor yourself in-any way except with-overturned the-thing public safe
fore putabas. Poteras autem eo tempore auguratum petere
going-to-be thought could-you however at-that time the-augurate to-seek
cum in Italia Curio non esset, aut tum cum es factus unam
when in Italy Curio not was or then when you-were made one
tribum sine Curione ferre potuisses? Cuius etiam familiares
tribe without Curio to-carry could-you-have whose even intimates
de vi condemnati sunt, quod tui nimis studiosi fuissent.
of violence condemned were because of-you too eager they-had-been

II · THE FAVOR AT BRUNDISIUM

Antony boasts of a kindness: he did not kill Cicero at Brundisium, whom Caesar had spared. That is a brigand's kindness, and if it were one, Caesar's killers, whom Antony calls illustrious, would deserve no glory. Cicero's complaint in the senate was restrained, though Antony was selling everything at home. Antony read out a private letter of Cicero's, against all decency, and found in it only kindness; Cicero will not answer in kind.

5 At beneficio sum tuo usus. Quo? Quamquam illud ipsum
but by-kindness I-have your used what and-yet that very-thing
quod commemoras semper prae me tuli: malui me
which you-mention always before me I-have-borne I-preferred myself
tibi debere confiteri quam cuiquam minus prudenti non satis
to-you to-owe to-confess than to-anyone less prudent not enough
gratus videri. Sed quo beneficio? quod me Brundisi non
grateful to-seem but what kindness that me at-Brundisium not

occideris? Quem ipse victor qui tibi, ut tute gloriari
you-killed whom himself the-victor who to-you as you-yourself to-boast
solebas, detulerat ex latronibus suis principatum, salvum
were-wont had-conferred of brigands his-own the-chieftainship safe
esse voluisset, in Italiam ire iussisset, eum tu occideres?
to-be had-wished into Italy to-go had-ordered him you would-kill
Fac potuisse. Quod est aliud, patres conscripti, beneficium
suppose to-have-been-able what is other fathers enrolled the-kindness
latronum nisi ut commemorare possint eis se dedisse
of-brigands except that to-mention they-can to-those themselves to-have-given
vitam quibus non ademerint? Quod si esset beneficium,
life from-whom not they-took-it but if it-were a-kindness
numquam qui illum interfecerunt a quo erant
never those-who him killed by whom they-had-been
conservati, quos tu ipse clarissimos viros soles appellare,
preserved whom you yourself most-illustrious men are-wont to-call
tantam essent gloriam consecuti. Quale autem beneficium
such-great would-have glory attained what-sort however a-kindness
est quod te abstinueris nefario scelere? Qua in re
is-it that yourself you-kept from-a-wicked crime which in matter
non tam iucundum mihi videri debuit non interfectum me
not so pleasant to-me to-seem ought not killed me
a te quam miserum te id impune facere potuisse.
by you as wretched you that with-impunity to-do to-have-been-able
Sed sit beneficium, quando quidem maius accipi a 6
but let-it-be a-kindness since indeed greater to-be-received from
latrone nullum potuit: in quo potes me dicere ingratum? An
a-brigand none could in what can-you me to-call ungrateful or
de interitu rei publicae queri non debui, ne in
about the-destruction of-the-thing public to-complain not ought-I lest toward
te ingratus viderer? At in illa querela misera quidem et
you ungrateful I-should-seem but in that complaint wretched indeed and

luctuosa, sed mihi pro hoc gradu in quo me senatus
mournful but for-me in-accordance-with this rank in which me the-senate
populusque Romanus conlocavit necessaria, quid est dictum a
and-people Roman has-placed necessary what was said by
me cum contumelia, quid non moderate, quid non amice?
me with insult what not moderately what not in-friendly-fashion
Quod quidem cuius temperantiae fuit, de M. Antonio
which indeed of-what self-control it-was about Mark Antony
querentem abstinere maledicto, praesertim cum tu reliquias
complaining to-refrain from-abuse especially when you the-remnants
rei publicae dissipavisses, cum domi tuae turpissimo
of-the-thing public had-squandered when at-home your by-a-most-base
mercatu omnia essent venalia, cum leges eas quae numquam
traffic all-things were for-sale when the-laws those which never
promulgatae essent et de te et a te latas confiterere, cum
promulgated had-been both about you and by you carried you-confessed when
auspicia augur, intercessionem consul sustulisses, cum esses
the-auspices as-augur the-veto as-consul you-had-removed when you-were
foedissime stipatus armatis, cum omnis impuritates impudica
most-foully hemmed with-armed-men when all impurities unchaste
in domo cotidie susciperes vino lustrisque confectus.
in house daily you-were-undertaking with-wine and-with-dens worn-out
7 At ego, tamquam mihi cum M. Crasso contentio esset,
but I as-if for-me with Marcus Crassus the-contest were
quocum multae et magnae fuerunt, non cum uno gladiatore
with-whom many and great have-been not with one gladiator
nequissimo, de re publica graviter querens de homine
most-worthless about the-thing public gravely complaining about the-man
nihil dixi. Itaque hodie perficiam ut intellegat
nothing I-said and-so today I-will-bring-it-about that he-may-understand
quantum a me beneficium tum acceperit. At etiam
how-great from me a-kindness then he-received but even

litteras, quas me sibi misisse diceret, recitavit homo
a-letter which me to-himself to-have-sent he-said he-read-out a-man
et humanitatis expers et vitae communis ignarus. Quis
both of-humanity devoid and of-life common ignorant who
enim umquam qui paulum modo bonorum consuetudinem
for ever who a-little only of-the-good the-custom
nosset, litteras ad se ab amico missas offensione aliqua
knew a-letter to himself from a-friend sent with-offense some
interposita in medium protulit palamque recitavit? Quid
intervening into the-middle brought-forth and-openly read-out what
est aliud tollere ex vita vitae societatem, tollere amicorum
is-it other to-remove from life of-life the-fellowship to-remove of-friends
conloquia absentium? Quam multa ioca solent esse in
the-talks absent how many jokes are-wont to-be in
epistulis quae, prolata si sint, inepta videantur, quam
letters which brought-forth if they-be silly would-seem how
multa seria neque tamen ullo modo divolganda!
many serious-things nor still in-any way to-be-divulged
Sit hoc inhumanitatis: stultitiam incredibilem videte. Quid 8
let-be this of-inhumanity the-folly incredible see what
habes quod mihi opponas, homo diserte, ut Mustelae
have-you which to-me you-may-oppose man eloquent as to-Mustela
tamen Seio et Tironi Numisio videris? Qui cum hoc
still Seius and to-Tiro Numisius you-seem who since at-this
ipso tempore stent cum gladiis in conspectu senatus, ego
very time they-stand with swords in sight of-the-senate I
quoque te disertum putabo, si ostenderis quo modo
also you eloquent shall-think if you-shall-have-shown in-what way
sis eos inter sicarios defensurus. Sed quid opponas
you-are them among assassins going-to-defend but what would-you-oppose
tandem, si negem me umquam ad te istas litteras
pray if I-should-deny me ever to you that letter

misisse? Quo me teste convincas? An chirographo? in
to-have-sent with-what me witness would-you-convict or by-handwriting in
quo habes scientiam quaestuosam. Qui possis? Sunt enim
which you-have a-knowledge lucrative how could-you it-is for
librari manu. Iam invideo magistro tuo, qui te tanta
of-a-secretary in-the-hand now I-envy teacher your who you for-so-great
mercede quantam iam proferam nihil sapere doceat.
a-fee as-great-as now I-shall-disclose nothing to-know teaches

9 Quid enim est minus non dico oratoris, sed hominis quam id
what for is less not I-say of-an-orator but of-a-man than that
obicere adversario quod ille si verbo negarit longius
to-charge to-an-adversary which he if by-a-word he-shall-have-denied further
progredi non possit qui obiecerit? At ego non nego, teque
to-advance not could he-who has-charged-it but I not deny and-you
in isto ipso convinco non inhumanitatis solum sed etiam
in that very convict not of-inhumanity only but even
amentiae. Quod enim verbum in istis litteris est non plenum
of-madness what for word in that letter is not full
humanitatis, offici, benevolentiae? Omne autem crimen tuum
of-humanity of-duty of-goodwill all however charge your
est quod de te in his litteris non male existimem, quod
is that about you in this letter not badly I-think that
scribam tamquam ad civem, tamquam ad bonum virum, non
I-write as-if to a-citizen as-if to a-good man not
tamquam ad sceleratum et latronem. At ego tuas litteras,
as-if to a-criminal and brigand but I your letter
etsi iure poteram a te lacessitus, tamen non proferam:
although by-right I-could by you provoked still not I-will-bring-forth
quibus petis ut tibi per me liceat quendam de exsilio
in-which you-ask that to-you through me it-be-allowed a-certain-man from exile
reducere, adiurasque id te invito me non esse facturum;
to-bring-back and-you-swear that you with-unwilling me not to-be going-to-do

idque a me impetras. Quid enim me interponerem audaciae
and-that from me you-obtain why for myself should-I-interpose to-audacity
tuae, quam neque auctoritas huius ordinis neque existimatio
your which neither the-authority of-this order nor the-estimation
populi Romani neque leges ullae possent coercere?
of-the-people Roman nor laws any could to-restrain
Verum tamen quid erat quod me rogares, si erat is
but still what was-there that me you-should-ask if was he
de quo rogabas Caesaris lege reductus? Sed videlicet meam
about whom you-asked by-Caesar's law brought-back but evidently my
gratiam voluit esse, in quo ne ipsius quidem ulla esse
favor he-wished to-be in which not of-himself even any to-be
poterat lege lata.
could with-the-law carried
Sed cum mihi, patres conscripti, et pro me aliquid et
but since by-me fathers enrolled both for myself something and
in M. Antonium multa dicenda sint, alterum peto
against Mark Antony many-things to-be-said are the-one I-ask
a vobis ut me pro me dicentem benigne, alterum ipse
from you that me for myself speaking kindly the-other I-myself
efficiam ut, contra illum cum dicam, attente audiatis.
will-bring-about that against him when I-speak attentively you-may-hear
Simul illud oro: si meam cum in omni vita tum
at-the-same-time that I-beg if my both in all life and
in dicendo moderationem modestiamque cognostis, ne me
in speaking moderation and-modesty you-have-known lest me
hodie, cum isti, ut provocavit, respondero, oblitum
today when to-that-man as he-has-provoked I-shall-have-answered forgotten
esse putetis mei. Non tractabo ut consulem: ne ille
to-have-been you-think of-myself not I-will-treat-him as a-consul not he
quidem me ut consularem. Etsi ille nullo modo consul,
even me as a-consular although he in-no way a-consul

vel quod ita vivit vel quod ita rem publicam gerit vel
either because so he-lives or because so the-thing public he-manages or
quod ita factus est; ego sine ulla controversia consularis.
because so made he-was I without any dispute a-consular

III · CICERO'S CONSULSHIP

Antony attacked Cicero's consulship, which was the senate's in fact. No one but Antony and Clodius ever blamed it, and Clodius' fate awaits him. Servilius, Catulus, the Luculli, Crassus, Hortensius, Cato, and Pompey all approved it, and of the two ex-consuls living, Cotta decreed the thanksgiving and Lucius Caesar, Antony's uncle, spoke against Antony's stepfather. Antony ignores his uncle and consults men whose birthday parties keep him from the senate, and he dares say armed slaves filled the Capitoline slope in Cicero's consulship, when every knight stood there.

11 Ut igitur intellegeretis qualem ipse se consulem
that therefore you-might-understand what-sort he-himself himself a-consul
profiteretur, obiecit mihi consulatum meum. Qui consulatus
professed he-charged to-me consulship my which consulship
verbo meus, patres conscripti, re vester fuit. Quid enim ego
in-word mine fathers enrolled in-fact yours was what for I
constitui, quid gessi, quid egi nisi ex huius ordinis
decided what did-I-conduct what did-I-do except from of-this order
consilio, auctoritate, sententia? Haec tu homo sapiens, non
the-counsel authority vote these-things you a-man wise not
solum eloquens, apud eos quorum consilio sapientiaque gesta
only eloquent before those whose by-counsel and-wisdom done
sunt ausus es vituperare? Quis autem meum consulatum
they-were dared have to-vilify who however my consulship
praeter te et P. Clodium qui vituperaret inventus est?
except you and Publius Clodius who would-vilify found was

Cuius quidem tibi fatum, sicuti C. Curioni, manet,
whose indeed to-you the-fate as for-Gaius Curio awaits
quoniam id domi tuae est quod fuit illorum utrique fatale.
since that at-home your is which was of-them to-both fatal
Non placet M. Antonio consulatus meus. At placuit 12
not pleases Mark Antony consulship my but it-pleased
P. Servilio, ut eum primum nominem ex illius temporis
Publius Servilius that him first I-may-name of that time
consularibus qui proxime est mortuus; placuit Q. Catulo,
of-the-consulars who most-recently has died it-pleased Quintus Catulus
cuius semper in hac re publica vivet auctoritas; placuit
whose always in this thing public will-live the-authority it-pleased
duobus Lucullis, M. Crasso, Q. Hortensio, C. Curioni,
the-two Luculli Marcus Crassus Quintus Hortensius Gaius Curio
C. Pisoni, M'. Glabrioni, M'. Lepido, L. Volcatio,
Gaius Piso Manius Glabrio Manius Lepidus Lucius Volcatius
C. Figulo, D. Silano, L. Murenae, qui tum
Gaius Figulus Decimus Silanus Lucius Murena who then
erant consules designati; placuit idem quod consularibus
were consuls designate it-pleased the-same as the-consulars
M. Catoni, qui cum multa vita excedens providit, tum
Marcus Cato who both many-things life departing foresaw and
quod te consulem non vidit. Maxime vero consulatum meum
that you consul not he-saw most indeed consulship my
Cn. Pompeius probavit qui, ut me primum decedens ex
Gnaeus Pompey approved who as-soon-as me first departing from
Syria vidit, complexus et gratulans meo beneficio patriam
Syria he-saw embracing and congratulating by-my kindness his-fatherland
se visurum esse dixit. Sed quid singulos commemoro?
himself going-to-see to-be said but why individuals do-I-mention
Frequentissimo senatui sic placuit ut esset nemo qui mihi
the-very-crowded senate so it-pleased that there-was no-one who to-me

non ut parenti gratias ageret, qui mihi non vitam suam,
not as to-a-parent thanks gave who to-me not life his-own
fortunas, liberos, rem publicam referret acceptam.
fortunes children the-thing public declared received

13 Sed quoniam illis quos nominavi tot et talibus viris
but since of-those whom I-have-named so-many and such men
res publica orbata est, veniamus ad vivos qui duo de
the-thing public bereaved has-been let-us-come to the-living who two from
consularium numero reliqui sunt. L. Cotta, vir summo
of-the-consulars the-number left are Lucius Cotta a-man of-the-highest
ingenio summaque prudentia, rebus eis gestis quas
talent and-the-highest prudence for-the-deeds those done which
tu reprehendis supplicationem decrevit verbis amplissimis,
you censure a-thanksgiving decreed in-words most-ample
eique illi ipsi quos modo nominavi consulares senatusque
and-to-him those very whom just-now I-named consulars and-the-senate
cunctus adsensus est; qui honos post conditam hanc urbem
whole assented has which honor since the-founding of-this city
habitus est togato ante me nemini.
held has-been for-a-man-in-a-toga before me for-no-one

14 L. Caesar, avunculus tuus, qua oratione, qua constantia,
Lucius Caesar uncle your with-what speech with-what constancy
qua gravitate sententiam dixit in sororis suae virum,
with-what weight his-opinion spoke against of-sister his-own the-husband
vitricum tuum! Hunc tu cum auctorem et praeceptorem
stepfather your him you though as-author and adviser
omnium consiliorum totiusque vitae debuisses habere,
of-all plans and-of-the-whole life you-ought to-have
vitrici te similem quam avunculi maluisti. Huius ego
of-your-stepfather yourself like than of-your-uncle you-preferred his I
alienus consiliis consul usus sum: tu, sororis filius, ecquid
a-stranger counsels as-consul used have you of-his-sister the-son whether-at-all

ad eum umquam de re publica rettulisti? At ad quos
to him ever about the-thing public have-you-referred but to whom
refert? di immortales! Ad eos scilicet quorum nobis etiam
does-he-refer gods immortal to those forsooth whose for-us even
dies natales audiendi sunt. Hodie non descendit Antonius.
the-days natal to-be-heard are today not comes-down Antony
Cur? Dat nataliciam in hortis. Cui? Neminem nominabo: 15
why he-gives a-birthday-feast in the-gardens for-whom no-one I-will-name
putate tum Phormioni alicui, tum Gnathoni, tum etiam Ballioni.
suppose now for-a-Phormio some now for-a-Gnatho now even for-a-Ballio
O foeditatem hominis flagitiosam, o impudentiam, nequitiam,
O foulness of-the-man disgraceful O impudence worthlessness
libidinem non ferendam! Tu cum principem senatorem, civem
lust not to-be-borne you though a-leading senator a-citizen
singularem tam propinquum habeas, ad eum de re
singular so near you-have to him about the-thing
publica nihil referas, referas ad eos qui suam rem nullam
public nothing you-refer you-refer to those who their-own property none
habent, tuam exhauriunt? Tuus videlicet salutaris consulatus,
have yours drain your forsooth salutary consulship
perniciosus meus. Adeone pudorem cum pudicitia perdidisti
pernicious mine so-far-whether shame with chastity have-you-lost
ut hoc in eo templo dicere ausus sis in quo ego senatum
that this in that temple to-say dared you-have in which I the-senate
illum qui quondam florens orbi terrarum praesidebat
that which once flourishing over-the-circle of-the-lands presided
consulebam, tu homines perditissimos cum gladiis conlocavisti?
consulted you men most-abandoned with swords have-placed
At etiam ausus es — quid autem est quod tu non 16
but even dared you-have what however is-there which you not
audeas? — clivum Capitolinum dicere me consule plenum
dare the-slope Capitoline to-say with-me as-consul full

servorum armatorum fuisse. Ut illa, credo, nefaria
of-slaves armed to-have-been that those-things I-suppose wicked
senatus consulta fierent, vim adferebam senatui. O
of-the-senate decrees might-be-made violence I-was-bringing on-the-senate O
miser, sive illa tibi nota non sunt — nihil enim boni
wretch whether those-things to-you known not are nothing for of-good
nosti — sive sunt, qui apud talis viros tam impudenter
you-know or they-are who before such men so impudently
loquare! Quis enim eques Romanus, quis praeter te
you-speak who for knight Roman who except you
adulescens nobilis, quis ullius ordinis qui se civem esse
a-young-man noble who of-any order who himself a-citizen to-be
meminisset, cum senatus in hoc templo esset, in clivo
remembered when the-senate in this temple was on the-slope
Capitolino non fuit, quis nomen non dedit? quamquam nec
Capitoline not was who name not gave and-yet neither
scribae sufficere nec tabulae nomina illorum capere potuerunt.
the-clerks to-suffice nor the-tablets the-names of-them to-hold could

IV · THE CAPITOLINE SLOPE

Antony complains that Cicero refused his stepfather Lentulus burial, and mocks the armed knights on the Capitoline slope while his own Ituraeans surround the senate. He sneers at "let arms yield to the toga," and charges Cicero with Clodius' murder, which Milo did unprompted, and with breaking Pompey from Caesar.

17 Etenim cum homines nefarii de patriae parricidio
for-indeed when men nefarious about of-the-fatherland parricide
confiterentur, consciorum indiciis, sua manu, voce
were-confessing of-accomplices by-the-informations by-their-own hand voice
paene litterarum coacti se urbem inflammare, civis
almost of-letters compelled themselves the-city to-burn the-citizens

trucidare, vastare Italiam, delere rem publicam consensisse,
to-butcher to-lay-waste Italy to-destroy the-thing public to-have-agreed
quis esset qui ad salutem communem defendendam non
who would-be who for safety common to-be-defended not
excitaretur, praesertim cum senatus populusque Romanus
would-be-roused especially when the-senate and-the-people Roman
haberet ducem, qualis si qui nunc esset, tibi idem quod
had a-leader such-as if any now were to-you the-same which
illis accidit contigisset? Ad sepulturam corpus vitrici
to-them happened would-have-befallen to burial the-body of-stepfather
sui negat a me datum. Hoc vero ne P. quidem
his-own he-denies by me given this indeed not Publius even
Clodius dixit umquam: quem, quia iure ei inimicus fui,
Clodius said ever whom because justly to-him an-enemy I-was
doleo a te omnibus vitiis iam esse superatum.
I-grieve by you in-all vices now to-be surpassed
Qui autem tibi venit in mentem redigere in memoriam 18
how however to-you came into mind to-bring-back into memory
nostram te domi P. Lentuli esse educatum?
our that-you at-the-house of-Publius Lentulus to-have-been brought-up
An verebare ne non putaremus natura te potuisse tam
or were-you-afraid lest not we-should-think by-nature you to-have-been-able so
improbum evadere, nisi accessisset etiam disciplina? Tam
wicked to-turn-out unless had-been-added also training so
autem eras excors ut tota in oratione tua tecum ipse
however you-were witless that whole in speech your with-you yourself
pugnares, non modo non cohaerentia inter se diceres,
you-fought not only not things-cohering among themselves you-said
sed maxime diiuncta atque contraria, ut non tanta mecum
but most disjoined and contrary so-that not so-great with-me
quanta tibi tecum esset contentio. Vitricum tuum fuisse
as with-you with-yourself was the-contest the-stepfather your to-have-been

in tanto scelere fatebare, poena adfectum querebare. Ita
in so-great a-crime you-confessed with-punishment afflicted you-complained thus
quod proprie meum est laudasti; quod totum est senatus
what properly mine is you-praised what wholly is of-the-senate
reprehendisti. Nam comprehensio sontium mea, animadversio
you-blamed for the-arrest of-the-guilty mine the-punishment
senatus fuit. Homo disertus non intellegit eum quem contra
of-the-senate was the-man eloquent not understands him whom against
dicit laudari a se; eos apud quos dicit vituperari.
he-speaks to-be-praised by himself those before whom he-speaks to-be-vilified
19 Iam illud cuius est, non dico audaciae — cupit enim
now that of-what is not I-say of-audacity he-desires for
se audacem — sed, quod minime volt, stultitiae, qua
himself bold but what least he-wants of-stupidity in-which
vincit omnis, clivi Capitolini mentionem facere, cum
he-surpasses all of-the-slope Capitoline mention to-make when
inter subsellia nostra versentur armati, cum in hac cella
among benches our move-about armed-men when in this shrine
Concordiae, di immortales! in qua me consule salutares
of-Concord gods immortal in which with-me consul salutary
sententiae dictae sunt, quibus ad hanc diem viximus, cum
opinions spoken were by-which to this day we-have-lived with
gladiis homines conlocati stent? Accusa senatum; accusa
swords men stationed stand accuse the-senate accuse
equestrem ordinem qui tum cum senatu copulatus fuit;
the-equestrian order which then with the-senate joined was
accusa omnis ordines, omnis civis, dum confiteare hunc
accuse all orders all citizens provided-that you-confess this
ordinem hoc ipso tempore ab Ituraeis circumsederi. Haec
order at-this very time by Ituraeans to-be-besieged these-things
tu non propter audaciam dicis tam impudenter, sed quia
you not on-account-of audacity say so impudently but because

tantam rerum repugnantiam non vides. Nihil profecto sapis.
so-great of-things contradiction not you-see nothing surely you-know
Quid est enim dementius quam, cum rei publicae
what is for more-insane than when to-the-thing public
perniciosa arma ipse ceperis, obicere alteri salutaria?
destructive arms yourself you-have-taken to-reproach another-with salutary
At etiam quodam loco facetus esse voluisti. Quam id te, di 20
but also in-a-certain place witty to-be you-wished how it you gods
boni, non decebat! In quo est tua culpa non nulla. Aliquid enim
good not became in which is your fault not none some for
salis a mima uxore trahere potuisti. 'Cedant arma togae.'
of-salt from your-actress wife to-draw you-could let-yield arms to-the-toga
Quid? tum nonne cesserunt? At postea tuis armis cessit
what then not did-they-yield but afterward to-your arms yielded
toga. Quaeramus igitur utrum melius fuerit libertati populi
the-toga let-us-ask therefore whether better it-was to-the-liberty of-the-people
Romani sceleratorum arma an libertatem nostram armis tuis
Roman of-the-wicked the-arms or the-liberty our to-arms your
cedere. Nec vero tibi de versibus plura respondebo: tantum
to-yield nor indeed to-you about verses more I-shall-answer only
dicam breviter, te neque illos neque ullas omnino litteras
I-shall-say briefly that-you neither them nor any at-all letters
nosse; me nec rei publicae nec amicis umquam defuisse,
to-know I neither the-thing public nor friends ever to-have-failed
et tamen omni genere monumentorum meorum perfecisse
and still in-every kind of-monuments my to-have-accomplished
operis subsicivis ut meae vigiliae meaeque litterae et
with-hours spare so-that my vigils and-my letters both
iuventuti utilitatis et nomini Romano laudis aliquid adferrent.
to-youth of-use and to-the-name Roman of-praise something might-bring
Sed haec non huius temporis: maiora videamus.
but these-things not of-this time greater-things let-us-see

21 P. Clodium meo consilio interfectum esse dixisti.
Publius Clodius by-my plan killed to-have-been you-said
Quidnam homines putarent, si tum occisus esset cum
what men would-think if then slain he-had-been when
tu illum in foro inspectante populo Romano gladio
you him in the-forum with-looking-on the-people Roman with-a-sword
insecutus es negotiumque transegisses, nisi se ille
pursued you-have and-the-business you-would-have-finished unless himself he
in scalas tabernae librariae coniecisset eisque oppilatis
onto the-stairs of-a-shop of-a-bookseller had-thrown and-with-them blocked
impetum tuum compressisset? Quod quidem ego favisse
attack your had-checked which indeed I to-have-favored
me tibi fateor, suasisse ne tu quidem dicis. At Miloni
myself you I-confess to-have-urged not you even say but Milo
ne favere quidem potui; prius enim rem transegit quam
not to-favor even I-could before for the-thing he-accomplished than
quisquam eum facturum id suspicaretur. At ego suasi. Scilicet
anyone him going-to-do it suspected but I urged of-course
is animus erat Milonis ut prodesse rei publicae sine
such the-spirit was of-Milo that to-benefit the-thing public without
suasore non posset. At laetatus sum. Quid ergo? in tanta
an-adviser not he-could but rejoiced I-did what therefore in so-great
laetitia cunctae civitatis me unum tristem esse oportebat?
joy of-the-whole state me alone sad to-be it-was-proper
22 Quamquam de morte Clodi fuit quaestio non satis
although about the-death of-Clodius there-was an-inquiry not enough
prudenter illa quidem constituta — quid enim attinebat
wisely that indeed set-up what for was-the-point
nova lege quaeri de eo qui hominem occidisset, cum
by-a-new law to-be-inquired about him who a-man had-killed when
esset legibus quaestio constituta? — quaesitum est tamen.
there-was by-the-laws an-inquiry established inquired-into it-was still

Quod igitur, cum res agebatur, nemo in me dixit,
what therefore when the-thing was-being-done no-one against me said
id tot annis post tu es inventus qui diceres?
that so-many years after you were found who should-say
Quod vero dicere ausus es idque multis verbis, opera 23
what indeed to-say dared you-have and-that with-many words by-work
mea Pompeium a Caesaris amicitia esse diiunctum
my Pompey from of-Caesar friendship to-have-been disjoined
ob eamque causam culpa mea bellum civile esse
on-account-of and-that cause by-fault my the-war civil to-have
natum, in eo non tu quidem tota re sed, quod
been-born in that not you indeed in-the-whole matter but what
maximum est, temporibus errasti. Ego M. Bibulo,
greatest is in-the-times you-erred I with-Marcus Bibulus
praestantissimo civi, consule nihil praetermisi, quantum facere
most-excellent citizen consul nothing I-omitted as-much-as to-do
enitique potui, quin Pompeium a Caesaris coniunctione
and-to-strive I-could but-that Pompey from of-Caesar union
avocarem. In quo Caesar felicior fuit. Ipse enim
I-might-call-away in which Caesar more-fortunate was he-himself for
Pompeium a mea familiaritate diiunxit. Postea vero quam
Pompey from my intimacy disjoined afterward indeed when
se totum Pompeius Caesari tradidit, quid ego illum ab eo
himself wholly Pompey to-Caesar handed-over why I him from him
distrahere conarer? Stulti erat sperare, suadere impudentis.
to-draw-away should-I-try of-a-fool it-was to-hope to-urge of-a-shameless-man
Duo tamen tempora inciderunt quibus aliquid contra 24
two still times occurred in-which something against
Caesarem Pompeio suaserim. Ea velim reprehendas, si
Caesar to-Pompey I-urged them I-would-like you-to-blame if
potes: unum ne quinquenni imperium Caesari prorogaret,
you-can one not five-years' the-command to-Caesar he-should-extend

alterum ne pateretur ferri ut absentis eius ratio
the-other not he-should-allow to-be-proposed that absent his account
haberetur. Quorum si utrumvis persuasissem, in has miserias
be-taken of-which if either I-had-persuaded into these miseries
numquam incidissemus. Atque idem ego, cum iam opes
never we-would-have-fallen and the-same I when now resources
omnis et suas et populi Romani Pompeius ad Caesarem
all both his-own and of-the-people Roman Pompey to Caesar
detulisset, seroque ea sentire coepisset quae multo ante
had-transferred and-late those-things to-feel had-begun which much before
provideram, inferrique patriae bellum viderem nefarium,
I-had-foreseen and-to-be-brought on-the-fatherland war I-saw nefarious
pacis, concordiae, compositionis auctor esse non destiti,
of-peace concord of-compromise the-promoter to-be not I-ceased
meaque illa vox est nota multis: 'Utinam, Cn. Pompei, cum
and-my that saying is known to-many would-that Gnaeus Pompey with
C. Caesare societatem aut numquam coisses aut numquam
Gaius Caesar alliance either never you-had-joined or never
diremisses! Fuit alterum gravitatis, alterum prudentiae tuae.'
you-had-broken-off it-was the-one of-gravity the-other of-prudence your
Haec mea, M. Antoni, semper et de Pompeio et de
these my Mark Antony always both about Pompey and about
re publica consilia fuerunt. Quae si valuissent, res
the-thing public counsels were which if had-prevailed the-thing
publica staret, tu tuis flagitiis, egestate, infamia concidisses.
public would-stand you by-your disgraces by-poverty by-infamy would-have-fallen

Antony says Caesar was killed on Cicero's advice. Cicero would be honored, but no conspirator's name was concealed and his was never heard: the Bruti, Cassius, Domitius, Trebonius, Cimber, and the Cascas needed no adviser. Brutus called Cicero's name as a fellow savior of liberty. If wishing Caesar's death is a crime, all good men are guilty; and the assassins are either murderers or liberators, and Antony's own honors to them say liberators. Antony himself plotted it with Trebonius at Narbo, and no one profited more.

Sed haec vetera, illud vero recens, Caesarem meo 25
but these-things old that indeed recent that-Caesar by-my
consilio interfectum. Iam vereor, patres conscripti, ne, quod
plan was-killed now I-fear fathers enrolled lest what
turpissimum est, praevaricatorem mihi apposuisse videar, qui
most-shameful is a-collusive-accuser for-myself to-have-put-up I-seem who
me non solum meis laudibus ornaret sed etiam oneraret
me not only with-my-own praises would-adorn but also would-burden
alienis. Quis enim meum in ista societate gloriosissimi
with-another's who for my in that alliance of-the-most-glorious
facti nomen audivit? Cuius autem qui in eo numero fuisset
deed name heard whose however who in that number had-been
nomen est occultatum? Occultatum dico? Cuius non
the-name has-been concealed concealed I-say whose not
statim divolgatum? Citius dixerim iactasse se aliquos
at-once spread-abroad sooner I-would-say to-have-boasted themselves some
ut fuisse in ea societate viderentur, cum conscii non
so-that to-have-been in that alliance they-might-seem when accomplices not
fuissent, quam ut quisquam celari vellet qui fuisset.
they-had-been than that anyone to-be-concealed would-wish who had-been

26 Quam veri simile porro est in tot hominibus partim
how true like moreover is in so-many men partly
obscuris, partim adulescentibus neminem occultantibus
obscure partly young-men no-one concealing
meum nomen latere potuisse? Etenim si auctores ad
my name to-lie-hidden to-have-been-able for-indeed if instigators for
liberandam patriam desiderarentur illis actoribus, Brutos
liberating the-fatherland were-wanted for-those doers the-Bruti
ego impellerem, quorum uterque L. Bruti imaginem cotidie
I would-urge-on of-whom each of-Lucius Brutus the-image daily
videret, alter etiam Ahalae? Hi igitur his maioribus
saw the-other also of-Ahala these therefore with-these ancestors
ab alienis potius consilium peterent quam a suis et
from strangers rather counsel would-seek than from their-own and
foris potius quam domo? Quid? C. Cassius in ea familia
out-of-doors rather than at-home what Gaius Cassius in that family
natus quae non modo dominatum, sed ne potentiam quidem
born which not only domination but not the-power even
cuiusquam ferre potuit, me auctorem, credo, desideravit: qui
of-anyone to-bear could me as-instigator I-suppose wanted who
etiam sine his clarissimis viris hanc rem in Cilicia ad
even without these most-illustrious men this thing in Cilicia at
ostium fluminis Cydni confecisset, si ille ad eam ripam
the-mouth of-the-river Cydnus would-have-accomplished if he to that bank
quam constituerat, non ad contrariam navis appulisset.
which he-had-fixed not to the-opposite the-ship had-brought-in

27 Cn. Domitium non patris interitus, clarissimi viri, non
Gnaeus Domitius not of-his-father the-death most-illustrious man not
avunculi mors, non spoliatio dignitatis ad recuperandam
of-his-uncle the-death not the-despoiling of-his-rank for recovering
libertatem, sed mea auctoritas excitavit? An C. Trebonio ego
liberty but my authority roused or Gaius Trebonius I

persuasi? Cui ne suadere quidem ausus essem. Quo etiam
persuaded whom not to-urge even dared I-would-have by-which even
maiorem ei res publica gratiam debet qui libertatem
greater to-him the-thing public thanks owes who the-liberty
populi Romani unius amicitiae praeposuit depulsorque
of-the-people Roman of-one-man to-friendship put-before and-the-repeller
dominatus quam particeps esse maluit. An L. Tillius
of-domination than a-sharer to-be preferred or Lucius Tillius
Cimber me est auctorem secutus? Quem ego magis fecisse
Cimber me has as-instigator followed whom I more to-have-done
illam rem sum admiratus quam facturum putavi, admiratus
that thing have wondered than going-to-do I-thought wondered
autem ob eam causam quod immemor beneficiorum,
however on-account-of that cause that unmindful of-benefits
memor patriae fuisset. Quid duos Servilios — Cascas
mindful of-the-fatherland he-had-been what the-two Servilii the-Cascas
dicam an Ahalas? — et hos auctoritate mea censes
shall-I-say or the-Ahalas and these by-the-authority my you-think
excitatos potius quam caritate rei publicae? Longum
roused rather than by-love of-the-thing public long
est persequi ceteros, idque rei publicae praeclarum
it-is to-go-through the-others and-that for-the-thing public splendid
fuisse tam multos, ipsis gloriosum.
to-have-been so many for-themselves glorious
At quem ad modum me coarguerit homo acutus recordamini. 28
but how to manner me he-convicted the-man sharp remember
'Caesare interfecto' inquit 'statim cruentum alte extollens
with-Caesar killed he-says at-once bloody high raising
Brutus pugionem Ciceronem nominatim exclamavit atque ei
Brutus the-dagger Cicero by-name cried-out and him
recuperatam libertatem est gratulatus.' Cur mihi potissimum?
on-recovered liberty has congratulated why me above-all

quia sciebam? Vide ne illa causa fuerit appellandi mei quod,
because I-knew see lest that the-cause was of-naming me that
cum rem gessisset consimilem rebus eis quas ipse
when a-thing he-had-done very-like to-the-things those which I-myself
gesseram, me potissimum testatus est se aemulum
had-done me above-all called-to-witness he-has that-he a-rival
mearum laudum exstitisse.
of-my praises to-have-shown-himself

29 Tu autem, omnium stultissime, non intellegis, si, id
you however of-all most-stupid not you-understand if that
quod me arguis, voluisse interfici Caesarem crimen sit,
which me you-accuse to-have-wanted to-be-killed Caesar a-charge be
etiam laetatum esse morte Caesaris crimen esse? Quid
also rejoiced to-have at-the-death of-Caesar a-charge to-be what
enim interest inter suasorem facti et probatorem? aut
for difference-is between the-adviser of-a-deed and the-approver or
quid refert utrum voluerim fieri an gaudeam factum?
what matters-it whether I-wanted it-to-be-done or I-rejoice it-done
Ecquis est igitur exceptis eis qui illum regnare gaudebant
anyone-at-all is therefore excepting those who him to-reign were-glad
qui illud aut fieri noluerit aut factum improbarit?
who that either to-be-done did-not-want or done disapproved
Omnes ergo in culpa. Etenim omnes boni, quantum in
all therefore in fault for-indeed all the-good as-far-as in
ipsis fuit, Caesarem occiderunt: aliis consilium, aliis
themselves was Caesar killed to-some counsel to-others
animus, aliis occasio defuit; voluntas nemini.
courage to-others opportunity was-lacking will to-no-one

30 Sed stuporem hominis vel dicam pecudis attendite. Sic enim
but the-stupidity of-the-man or shall-I-say of-the-beast attend-to thus for
dixit: ‘Brutus, quem ego honoris causa nomino, cruentum
he-said Brutus whom I of-honor for-the-sake I-name bloody

pugionem tenens Ciceronem exclamavit: ex quo intellegi
the-dagger holding Cicero cried-out from which to-be-understood
debet eum conscium fuisse.' Ergo ego sceleratus appellor a te
it-ought that-he an-accomplice to-have-been therefore I criminal am-called by you
quem tu suspicatum aliquid suspicaris; ille qui stillantem prae
whom you having-suspected something you-suspect he who dripping before
se pugionem tulit, is a te honoris causa nominatur? Esto;
himself the-dagger carried he by you of-honor for-the-sake is-named let-it-be
sit in verbis tuis hic stupor: quanto in rebus sententiisque
let-there-be in words your this stupidity how-much in deeds and-opinions
maior? Constitue hoc, consul, aliquando, Brutorum, C. Cassi,
greater decide this consul at-last of-the-Bruti of-Gaius Cassius
Cn. Domiti, C. Treboni, reliquorum quam velis esse
of-Gnaeus Domitius of-Gaius Trebonius of-the-rest which you-wish to-be
causam; edormi crapulam, inquam, et exhala. An faces
the-case sleep-off the-hangover I-say and breathe-it-out or torches
admovendae sunt quae excitent tantae causae indormientem?
to-be-applied are which may-rouse over-so-great a-case one-sleeping
Numquamne intelleges statuendum tibi esse utrum illi qui
will-you-never understand to-be-decided by-you to-be whether those who
istam rem gesserunt homicidaene sint an vindices libertatis.
that thing did whether-murderers they-are or the-champions of-liberty
Attende enim paulisper cogitationemque sobrii hominis 31
attend for for-a-little and-the-thought of-a-sober man
punctum temporis suscipe. Ego qui sum illorum, ut ipse
for-a-point of-time take-up I who am of-them as I-myself
fateor, familiaris, ut a te arguor, socius, nego quicquam
confess an-intimate as by you I-am-accused an-accomplice I-deny anything
esse medium: confiteor eos, nisi liberatores populi Romani
to-be in-between I-confess them unless liberators of-the-people Roman
conservatoresque rei publicae sint, plus quam sicarios, plus
and-preservers of-the-thing public they-be more than assassins more

quam homicidas, plus etiam quam parricidas esse, si quidem
than murderers more even than parricides to-be if indeed
est atrocius patriae parentem quam suum occidere. Tu
is more-atrocious of-the-fatherland the-parent than one's-own to-kill you
homo sapiens et considerate, quid dicis? Si parricidas, cur
man wise and considerate what you-say if parricides why
honoris causa a te sunt et in hoc ordine et apud populum
of-honor for-the-sake by you have-they and in this order and before the-people
Romanum semper appellati? Cur M. Brutus referente
Roman always been-named why Marcus Brutus with-moving(-it)
te legibus est solutus, si ab urbe plus quam decem dies
you from-the-laws was released if from the-city more than ten days
afuisset? Cur ludi Apollinares incredibili M. Bruti
he-had-been-absent why the-games of-Apollo with-incredible of-Marcus Brutus
honore celebrati? Cur provinciae Bruto, Cassio datae, cur
honor celebrated why provinces to-Brutus to-Cassius given why
quaestores additi, cur legatorum numerus auctus? Atqui haec
quaestors added why of-legates the-number increased and-yet these-things
acta per te. Non igitur homicidas. Sequitur ut liberatores
done by you not therefore murderers it-follows that liberators
tuo iudicio, quando quidem tertium nihil potest esse.
by-your judgment since indeed a-third nothing can to-be
32 Quid est? Num conturbo te? Non enim fortasse satis quae
what is-it surely-not I-confuse you not for perhaps enough what
diiunctius dicuntur intellegis. Sed tamen haec summa est
more-disjointedly are-said you-understand but still this the-sum is
conclusionis meae: quoniam scelere a te liberati sunt,
of-the-conclusion my since from-crime by you freed they-have-been
ab eodem amplissimis praemiis dignissimos iudicatos. Itaque
by the-same of-the-most-ample rewards most-worthy judged and-so
iam retexo orationem meam. Scribam ad illos ut, si qui
now I-unweave speech my I-shall-write to them that if any

forte, quod a te mihi obiectum est, quaerent sitne
perhaps what by you to-me charged has-been shall-ask whether-it-be
verum, ne cui negent. Etenim vereor ne aut celatum me
true not to-anyone they-deny for-indeed I-fear lest either concealed me
illis ipsis non honestum aut invitatum refugisse
from-them themselves not honorable or invited to-have-shrunk-back
mihi sit turpissimum. Quae enim res umquam, pro sancte
for-me be most-shameful what for thing ever by holy
Iuppiter! non modo in hac urbe sed in omnibus terris est
Jupiter not only in this city but in all lands has-been
gesta maior; quae gloriosior, quae commendatior hominum
done greater what more-glorious what more-commended of-men
memoriae sempiternae? In huius me tu consili societatem
to-the-memory everlasting into of-this me you of-counsel the-alliance
tamquam in equum Troianum cum principibus includis?
as-if into the-horse Trojan with the-leaders you-shut
Non recuso; ago etiam gratias, quoquo animo facis. 33
not I-refuse I-give even thanks with-whatever mind you-do-it
Tanta enim res est ut invidiam istam quam tu in
so-great for the-thing is that the-ill-will that which you against
me vis concitare cum laude non comparem. Quid
me you-wish to-stir-up with the-praise not I-would-compare what
enim beatius illis quos tu expulsos a te praedicas
for more-blessed than-those whom you driven-out by you you-proclaim
et relegatos? qui locus est aut tam desertus aut tam
and banished what place is either so deserted or so
inhumanus qui illos, cum accesserint, non adfari atque
inhuman which them when they-have-come not to-address and
appetere videatur? qui homines tam agrestes qui se, cum
to-seek seems what men so rustic who themselves when
eos aspexerint, non maximum cepisse vitae fructum putent?
them they-have-seen not the-greatest to-have-taken of-life the-fruit may-think

quae vero tam immemor posteritas, quae tam ingratae litterae
what indeed so unmindful posterity what so ungrateful letters
reperientur quae eorum gloriam non immortalitatis memoria
will-be-found which their glory not of-immortality with-memory
prosequantur? Tu vero ascribe me talem in numerum.
may-attend you indeed enroll me such into-a number
34 Sed unam rem vereor ne non probes: si enim fuissem,
but one thing I-fear lest not you-approve if for I-had-been
non solum regem sed etiam regnum de re publica
not only the-king but also the-kingship from the-thing public
sustulissem; et, si meus stilus ille fuisset, ut dicitur,
I-would-have-removed and if my pen that had-been as is-said
mihi crede, non solum unum actum sed totam fabulam
to-me believe not only one act but the-whole play
confecissem. Quamquam si interfici Caesarem voluisse
I-would-have-finished although if to-be-killed Caesar to-have-wanted
crimen est, vide, quaeso, Antoni, quid tibi futurum sit,
a-charge is see I-beg Antony what to-you going-to-be may-be
quem et Narbone hoc consilium cum C. Trebonio cepisse
who both at-Narbo this plan with Gaius Trebonius to-have-taken
notissimum est et ob eius consili societatem, cum
most-known is and on-account-of of-that plan the-alliance when
interficeretur Caesar, tum te a Trebonio vidimus sevocari.
was-being-killed Caesar then you by Trebonius we-saw to-be-called-aside
Ego autem — vide quam tecum agam non inimice — quod
I however see how with-you I-deal not unfriendly that
bene cogitasti aliquando, laudo; quod non indicasti, gratias
well you-thought once I-praise that not you-informed thanks
ago; quod non fecisti, ignosco.
I-give that not you-did-it I-pardon

Virum res illa quaerebat. Quod si te in iudicium quis 35
a-man thing that was-seeking but if you into court anyone
adducat usurpetque illud Cassianum, 'cui bono
should-bring and-should-apply that-famous Cassian to-whom for-a-benefit
fuerit,' vide, quaeso, ne haereas. Quamquam illud quidem fuit,
it-was see I-beg lest you-get-stuck although that indeed was
ut tu dicebas, omnibus bono qui servire nolebant, tibi
as you used-to-say to-all for-a-benefit who to-be-slaves did-not-want to-you
tamen praecipue qui non modo non servis sed etiam regnas;
still especially who not only not are-a-slave but even reign
qui maximo te aere alieno ad aedem Opis liberavisti;
who from-the-greatest yourself bronze another's at the-temple of-Ops freed
qui per easdem tabulas innumerabilem pecuniam dissipavisti;
who through the-same accounts countless money squandered
ad quem e domo Caesaris tam multa delata sunt;
to whom from the-house of-Caesar so many-things brought were
cuius domi quaestuosissima est falsorum commentariorum et
whose at-home a-most-profitable is of-false notebooks and
chirographorum officina, agrorum, oppidorum, immunitatium,
of-autographs workshop of-lands of-towns of-exemptions
vectigalium flagitiosissimae nundinae.
of-revenues most-scandalous markets

Antony taunts Cicero with Pompey's camp. Had Cicero's counsel of peace prevailed, Antony would be in want and the state free; Cicero mourned because he foresaw the ruin of the commonwealth. Pompey and he disagreed without breaking their friendship, and Pompey praised him after Pharsalus. Antony says no one leaves Cicero legacies; Cicero has received over twenty million sesterces from friends, while Antony was named heir by a stranger he never saw, and he paid his rhetor with two thousand acres of the Leontine plain.

36 Etenim quae res egestati et aeri alieno tuo praeter
for-indeed what thing to-the-poverty and to-the-bronze another's your except
mortem Caesaris subvenire potuisset? Nescio quid conturbatus
the-death of-Caesar to-relieve could-have I-know-not what disturbed
esse videris: num quid subtimes ne ad te hoc crimen
to-be you-seem surely-not something you-half-fear lest to you this charge
pertinere videatur? Libero te metu: nemo credet umquam;
to-pertain may-seem I-free you from-fear no-one will-believe-it ever
non est tuum de re publica bene mereri; habet istius
not is your about the-thing public well to-deserve has of-that
pulcherrimi facti clarissimos viros res publica auctores; ego
most-beautiful deed most-illustrious men the-thing public as-authors I
te tantum gaudere dico, fecisse non arguo. Respondi
you only to-rejoice say to-have-done-it not I-accuse I-have-answered
maximis criminibus: nunc etiam reliquis respondendum est.
to-the-greatest charges now also the-remaining to-be-answered is
37 Castra mihi Pompei atque illud omne tempus obiecisti. Quo
the-camp to-me of-Pompey and that whole time you-cast-up at-which
quidem tempore si, ut dixi, meum consilium auctoritasque
indeed time if as I-said my counsel and-authority
valuisset, tu hodie egeres, nos liberi essemus; res
had-prevailed you today would-be-in-want we free would-be the-thing

publica non tot duces et exercitus amisisset. Fateor
public not so-many leaders and armies would-have-lost I-confess
enim me, cum ea quae acciderunt providerem futura,
for that-I when those-things which happened I-foresaw going-to-be
tanta in maestitia fuisse quanta ceteri optimi cives, si
so-great in sorrow to-have-been as-great-as the-other best citizens if
idem providissent, fuissent. Dolebam, dolebam, patres
the-same they-had-foreseen would-have-been I-grieved I-grieved fathers
conscripti, rem publicam vestris quondam meisque
enrolled that-the-thing public by-your once and-my
consiliis conservatam brevi tempore esse perituram. Nec vero
counsels preserved in-a-short time to-be going-to-perish nor indeed
eram tam indoctus ignarusque rerum ut frangerer animo
was-I so untaught and-ignorant of-things that I-should-be-broken in-spirit
propter vitae cupiditatem, quae me manens conficeret
on-account-of of-life desire which me remaining would-wear-out
angoribus, dimissa molestiis omnibus liberaret. Illos ego
with-anguish sent-away from-troubles all would-free those I
praestantissimos viros, lumina rei publicae, vivere volebam,
most-excellent men the-lights of-the-thing public to-live wished
tot consularis, tot praetorios, tot honestissimos
so-many ex-consuls so-many ex-praetors so-many most-honorable
senatores, omnem praeterea florem nobilitatis ac iuventutis, tum
senators all moreover the-flower of-the-nobility and of-the-youth then
optimorum civium exercitus; qui si viverent, quamvis iniqua
of-the-best citizens the-armies which if they-lived however on-unequal
condicione pacis — mihi enim omnis pax cum civibus bello
condition of-peace to-me for every peace with citizens than-war
civili utilior videbatur — rem publicam hodie teneremus.
civil more-useful seemed the-thing public today we-would-hold

38 Quae sententia si valuisset ac non ei maxime mihi quorum
which opinion if had-prevailed and not those most me whose
ego vitae consulebam spe victoriae elati obstitissent,
I of-the-life was-taking-thought by-hope of-victory elated had-opposed
ut alia omittam, tu certe numquam in hoc ordine
to other-things I-may-omit you surely never in this order
vel potius numquam in hac urbe mansisses. At vero
or rather never in this city would-have-remained but indeed
Cn. Pompei voluntatem a me alienabat oratio mea.
of-Gnaeus Pompey the-goodwill from me was-estranging speech my
An ille quemquam plus dilexit, cum ullo aut sermones
or he anyone more loved with anyone or conversations
aut consilia contulit saepius? Quod quidem erat magnum,
or counsels exchanged more-often which indeed was great
de summa re publica dissentientis in eadem consuetudine
about the-highest thing public men-disagreeing in the-same intimacy
amicitiae permanere. Ego quid ille et contra ille quid
of-friendship to-continue I what he and on-the-other-hand he what
ego sentirem et spectarem videbat. Ego incolumitati civium
I thought and looked-to saw I to-the-safety of-the-citizens
primum, ut postea dignitati possemus, ille praesenti
first so-that afterward to-their-rank we-could(-look) he to-present
dignitati potius consulebat. Quod autem habebat uterque
rank rather looked which however had each
quid sequeretur, idcirco tolerabilior erat nostra dissensio.
what he-should-follow therefore more-tolerable was our disagreement
39 Quid vero ille singularis vir ac paene divinus de me
what indeed that singular man and almost divine about me
senserit sciunt qui eum de Pharsalia fuga Paphum persecuti
thought they-know who him from Pharsalian flight to-Paphos followed
sunt. Numquam ab eo mentio de me nisi honorifica,
have never by him mention about me unless honorable

nisi plena amicissimi desideri, cum me vidisse plus
unless full of-the-most-friendly longing when me to-have-seen more
fateretur, se speravisse meliora. Et eius viri nomine me
he-confessed himself to-have-hoped better-things and of-that man in-the-name me
insectari audes cuius me amicum, te sectorem esse
to-attack you-dare whose me a-friend you a-buyer-of-confiscated-goods to-be
fateare? Sed omittatur bellum illud in quo tu nimium
you-must-confess but let-be-omitted war that in which you too
felix fuisti. Ne de iocis quidem respondebo quibus me
fortunate were not about jokes even I-shall-answer which me
in castris usum esse dixisti: erant quidem illa castra plena
in the-camp used to-have you-said was indeed that camp full
curae; verum tamen homines, quamvis in turbidis rebus sint,
of-care but still men although in turbulent affairs they-be
tamen, si modo homines sunt, interdum animis relaxantur.
still if only men they-are sometimes in-mind are-relaxed
Quod autem idem maestitiam meam reprehendit, idem 40
that however the-same-man the-sorrow my blames the-same
iocum, magno argumento est me in utroque fuisse
the-jest great proof is that-I in both to-have-been
moderatum.
moderate
Hereditates mihi negasti venire. Utinam hoc tuum verum
inheritances to-me you-denied to-come would-that this your true
crimen esset! Plures amici mei et necessarii viverent. Sed qui
charge were more friends my and kinsmen would-live but how
istuc tibi venit in mentem? Ego enim amplius sestertium
that to-you came into mind I for more-than sesterces
ducentiens acceptum hereditatibus rettuli. Quamquam in hoc
twenty-million received from-inheritances entered although in this
genere fateor feliciorem esse te. Me nemo nisi amicus fecit
kind I-confess more-fortunate to-be you me no-one unless a-friend made

heredem, ut cum illo commodo, si quod erat, animi
heir so-that with that advantage if any there-was of-the-mind
quidam dolor iungeretur; te is quem tu vidisti numquam,
a-certain grief might-be-joined you he whom you saw never
L. Rubrius Casinas fecit heredem.
Lucius Rubrius of-Casinum made heir

41 Et quidem vide quam te amarit is qui albus aterne fuerit
and indeed see how you he-loved he who white or-black whether-he-was
ignoras. Fratris filium praeterit, Q. Fufi, honestissimi
you-do-not-know of-his-brother the-son he-passes-over of-Quintus Fufius a-most-honorable
equitis Romani suique amicissimi, quem palam heredem
knight Roman and-his-own most-friendly whom openly heir
semper factitarat, ne nominat quidem: te, quem numquam
always he-had-made not he-names even you whom never
viderat aut certe numquam salutaverat, fecit heredem. Velim
he-had-seen or surely never had-greeted he-made heir I-would-like
mihi dicas, nisi molestum est, L. Turselius qua facie fuerit,
to-me you-tell unless troublesome it-is Lucius Turselius of-what looks he-was
qua statura, quo municipio, qua tribu. 'Nihil scio' inquies
of-what stature of-what township of-what tribe nothing I-know you-will-say
'nisi quae praedia habuerit.' Igitur fratrem exheredans te faciebat
except what estates he-had therefore his-brother disinheriting you he-made
heredem. In multas praeterea pecunias alienissimorum hominum
heir into many besides moneys of-utter-strangers men
vi eiectis veris heredibus, tamquam heres esset, invasit.
by-force with-thrown-out the-true heirs as-if heir he-were he-burst

42 Quamquam hoc maxime admiratus sum, mentionem te
although this most wondered-at I-have mention you
hereditatum ausum esse facere, cum ipse hereditatem
of-inheritances dared to-have to-make when you-yourself the-inheritance
patris non adisses.
of-your-father not had-entered-upon

Haec ut conligeres, homo amentissime, tot dies in aliena
these-things that you-might-collect man most-mad so-many days in another's
villa declamasti? Quamquam tu quidem, ut tui familiarissimi
villa you-declaimed although you indeed as your most-intimate
dictitant, vini exhalandi, non ingeni acuendi causa
keep-saying of-wine to-be-breathed-off not of-wit to-be-sharpened for-the-sake
declamitas. At vero adhibes ioci causa magistrum suffragio
practice-declaiming but indeed you-employ of-jest for-the-sake a-master by-the-vote
tuo et compotorum tuorum rhetorem, cui concessisti
your and of-drinking-companions your a-rhetor to-whom you-granted
ut in te quae vellet diceret, salsum omnino hominem,
that against you what he-wished he-might-say witty altogether a-man
sed materia facilis in te et in tuos dicta dicere. Vide
but the-material easy against you and against your-own sayings to-say see
autem quid intersit inter te et avum tuum. Ille sensim
however what difference-there-is between you and grandfather your he slowly
dicebat quod causae prodesset; tu cursim dicis aliena.
said what to-the-case would-be-of-use you quickly say irrelevant-things
At quanta merces rhetori data est! Audite, audite, patres 43
but how-great a-fee to-the-rhetor given was hear hear fathers
conscripti, et cognoscite rei publicae volnera. Duo milia
enrolled and learn of-the-thing public the-wounds two thousand
iugerum campi Leontini Sex. Clodio rhetori adsignasti
iugera of-the-plain Leontine to-Sextus Clodius the-rhetor you-assigned
et quidem immunia, ut populi Romani tanta mercede
and indeed tax-free so-that of-the-people Roman at-so-great a-fee
nihil sapere disceres. Num etiam hoc, homo audacissime,
nothing to-know you-might-learn surely-not also this man most-audacious
ex Caesaris commentariis? Sed dicam alio loco et de
from of-Caesar notebooks but I-shall-speak in-another place both about
Leontino agro et de Campano, quos iste agros ereptos
the-Leontine land and about the-Campanian which he lands snatched

rei publicae turpissimis possessoribus inquinavit. Iam
from-the-thing public with-most-shameful possessors defiled now
enim, quoniam criminibus eius satis respondi, de ipso
for since to-the-charges his enough I-have-answered about the-very
emendatore et correctore nostro quaedam dicenda sunt. Nec
emender and corrector our some-things to-be-said are nor
enim omnia effundam, ut, si saepius decertandum sit,
for all-things shall-I-pour-out so-that if more-often to-be-fought-out it-be
ut erit, semper novus veniam: quam facultatem mihi
as it-will-be always new I-may-come which opportunity to-me
multitudo istius vitiorum peccatorumque largitur.
the-multitude of-his vices and-sins grants

VII · ANTONY'S YOUTH

Cicero surveys Antony's life from boyhood: bankrupt as a boy, a common prostitute until Curio took him into a stable marriage; Cicero persuaded the elder Curio to pay his son's debts. Then came his intimacy with Clodius, his journey to Egypt with Gabinius, his return to Caesar in Gaul, and his canvass for the quaestorship.

44 Visne igitur te inspiciamus a puero? Sic opinor; a
do-you-wish therefore you that-we-examine from boyhood thus I-think from
principio ordiamur. Tenesne memoria praetextatum te
the-beginning let-us-begin do-you-hold in-memory in-the-bordered-toga that-you
decoxisse? 'Patris' inquies 'ista culpa est.' Concedo.
to-have-gone-bankrupt of-your-father you-will-say that the-fault is I-grant
Etenim est pietatis plena defensio. Illud tamen audaciae tuae
for-indeed it-is of-filial-piety full a-defense that still of-audacity your
quod sedisti in quattuordecim ordinibus, cum esset lege
that you-sat in the-fourteen rows when there-was by-the-law
Roscia decoctoribus certus locus constitutus, quamvis quis
Roscian for-bankrupts a-fixed place established however-much anyone

fortunae vitio, non suo decoxisset. Sumpsisti virilem,
of-fortune by-fault not his-own had-gone-bankrupt you-took-up the-man's
quam statim muliebrem togam reddidisti. Primo volgare
which at-once a-woman's toga you-made first a-common
scortum; certa flagiti merces nec ea parva; sed cito Curio
harlot fixed of-the-disgrace the-fee nor that small but quickly Curio
intervenit qui te a meretricio quaestu abduxit et, tamquam
intervened who you from the-harlot's trade led-away and as-if
stolam dedisset, in matrimonio stabili et certo conlocavit.
a-matron's-robe he-had-given in marriage stable and fixed placed
Nemo umquam puer emptus libidinis causa tam fuit in 45
no ever boy bought of-lust for-the-sake so was in
domini potestate quam tu in Curionis. Quotiens te pater
the-master's power as you in Curio's how-often you the-father
eius domu sua eiecit, quotiens custodes posuit ne limen
his from-house his threw-out how-often guards he-posted lest the-threshold
intrares? Cum tu tamen nocte socia, hortante libidine,
you-should-enter when you still by-night companion with-urging lust
cogente mercede, per tegulas demitterere. Quae flagitia
with-compelling the-fee through the-tiles you-were-let-down which disgraces
domus illa diutius ferre non potuit. Scisne me de rebus
house that longer to-bear not could do-you-know that-I about things
mihi notissimis dicere? Recordare tempus illud cum pater
to-me best-known to-speak recall time that when the-father
Curio maerens iacebat in lecto; filius se ad pedes meos
Curio grieving was-lying in bed the-son himself at feet my
prosternens, lacrimans, te mihi commendabat; orabat ut
prostrating weeping you to-me commended begged that
se contra suum patrem, si sestertium sexagiens peteret,
him against his-own father if sesterces six-million he-should-claim
defenderem; tantum enim se pro te intercessisse dicebat.
I-should-defend so-much for himself for you to-have-gone-surety he-said

Ipse autem amore ardens confirmabat, quod desiderium
he-himself however with-love burning affirmed that the-longing
tui discidi ferre non posset, se in exsilium iturum.
for-you of-separation to-bear not he-could himself into exile going-to-go
46 Quo tempore ego quanta mala florentissimae familiae sedavi
at-which time I how-great evils of-a-most-flourishing family I-calmed
vel potius sustuli! Patri persuasi ut aes alienum fili
or rather removed the-father I-persuaded that the-bronze another's of-his-son
dissolveret; redimeret adulescentem, summa spe et animi
he-should-pay he-should-redeem the-young-man with-highest promise both of-mind
et ingeni praeditum, rei familiaris facultatibus eumque
and of-talent endowed of-the-thing familial with-the-resources and-him
non modo tua familiaritate sed etiam congressione
not only from-your intimacy but also from-meeting
patrio iure et potestate prohiberet. Haec tu cum
by-a-father's right and power he-should-bar these-things you when
per me acta meminisses, nisi illis quos videmus gladiis
through me done you-remembered unless in-those which we-see swords
confideres, maledictis me provocare ausus esses.
you-trusted with-insults me to-provoke dared you-would-have
47 Sed iam stupra et flagitia omittamus: sunt quaedam quae
but now debaucheries and disgraces let-us-omit there-are certain-things which
honeste non possum dicere; tu autem eo liberior quod
honorably not I-can to-say you however by-that freer that
ea in te admisisti quae a verecundo inimico audire
those-things against yourself you-admitted which from a-modest enemy to-hear
non posses. Sed reliquum vitae cursum videte, quem quidem
not you-could but the-remaining of-life course see which indeed
celeriter perstringam. Ad haec enim quae in civili bello,
quickly I-shall-touch-on to these for which in the-civil war
in maximis rei publicae miseriis fecit, et ad ea quae
in the-greatest of-the-thing public miseries he-did and to those which

cotidie facit, festinat animus. Quae peto ut, quamquam multo
daily he-does hastens the-mind which I-ask that although much
notiora vobis quam mihi sunt, tamen, ut facitis, attente
better-known to-you than to-me they-are still as you-do attentively
audiatis. Debet enim talibus in rebus excitare animos non
you-may-hear ought for such in matters to-rouse the-minds not
cognitio solum rerum sed etiam recordatio; etsi incidamus,
the-knowledge only of-things but also the-recollection although let-us-cut
opinor, media ne nimis sero ad extrema veniamus.
I-think the-middle-things lest too late to the-last-things we-come
Intimus erat in tribunatu Clodio qui sua erga me beneficia 48
most-intimate he-was in the-tribunate with-Clodius who his toward me benefits
commemorat; eius omnium incendiorum fax, cuius etiam
recalls his of-all fires the-torch whose even
domi iam tum quiddam molitus est. Quid dicam ipse
at-home already then something contrived he-has what I-mean he-himself
optime intellegit. Inde iter Alexandream contra senatus
best understands thence the-journey to-Alexandria against of-the-senate
auctoritatem, contra rem publicam et religiones; sed habebat
the-authority against the-thing public and religious-scruples but he-had
ducem Gabinium, quicum quidvis rectissime facere posset.
as-leader Gabinius with-whom anything most-rightly to-do he-could
Qui tum inde reditus aut qualis? Prius in ultimam Galliam
what then thence the-return or of-what-kind before into farthest Gaul
ex Aegypto quam domum. Quae autem domus? Suam enim
from Egypt than home what however home his-own for
quisque domum tum obtinebat nec erat usquam tua. Domum
each home then held nor was anywhere yours home
dico? Quid erat in terris ubi in tuo pedem poneres praeter
I-say what was in the-lands where on your-own a-foot you-could-set except
unum Misenum quod cum sociis tamquam Sisaponem tenebas.
one Misenum which with partners as-if Sisapo you-held

49 Venis e Gallia ad quaesturam petendam. Aude dicere te
you-come from Gaul for the-quaestorship to-be-sought dare to-say that-you
prius ad parentem tuam venisse quam ad me. Acceperam iam
before to mother your to-have-come than to me I-had-received already
ante Caesaris litteras ut mihi satis fieri paterer a te: itaque
before of-Caesar a-letter that me satisfied to-be I-should-allow by you and-so
ne loqui quidem sum te passus de gratia. Postea sum
not to-speak even I-have you allowed about reconciliation afterward I-was
cultus a te, tu a me observatus in petitione quaesturae; quo
courted by you you by me attended in the-canvass of-the-quaestorship at-which
quidem tempore P. Clodium approbante populo Romano
indeed time Publius Clodius with-approving the-people Roman
in foro es conatus occidere, cumque eam rem tua
in the-forum you-have tried to-kill and-when that thing of-your-own
sponte conarere, non impulsu meo, tamen ita praedicabas,
accord you-attempted not at-the-instigation my still thus you-proclaimed
te non existimare, nisi illum interfecisses, umquam mihi
that-you not to-think unless him you-had-killed ever to-me
pro tuis in me iniuriis satis esse facturum. In quo
for your against me injuries satisfaction to-be going-to-make in which
demiror cur Milonem impulsu meo rem illam egisse dicas,
I-wonder why Milo at-instigation my thing that to-have-done you-say
cum te ultro mihi idem illud deferentem numquam
when you of-your-own-accord to-me the-same that offering never
sim adhortatus. Quamquam, si in eo perseverares, ad tuam
I-have urged although if in that you-persisted to your
gloriam rem illam referri malebam quam ad meam gratiam.
glory thing that to-be-credited I-preferred than to my favor

Quaestor, Antony ran to Caesar without lot or decree, then to the tribunate. When the senate tried to prop the falling state in January 49, he set his sold veto against it, and the decree passed against a public enemy fell on him; fleeing to Caesar's arms, he gave Caesar his pretext for war. Cicero laments what posterity will remember: the consuls and Pompey driven from Italy with the senate's best, and the state expelled from its seat.

Quaestor es factus: deinde continuo sine senatus consulto, 50
quaestor you-were made then immediately without of-the-senate a-decree
sine sorte, sine lege ad Caesarem cucurristi. Id enim unum
without lot without law to Caesar you-ran that for one
in terris egestatis, aeris alieni, nequitiae perditis vitae
in the-lands of-poverty of-bronze another's of-worthlessness with-ruined of-life
rationibus perfugium esse ducebas. Ibi te cum et illius
the-accounts a-refuge to-be you-considered there yourself when both with-his
largitionibus et tuis rapinis explevisses, si hoc est explere,
largesses and with-your plunderings you-had-filled if this is to-fill
expilare quod statim effundas, advolasti egens ad tribunatum,
to-pillage what at-once you-may-pour-out you-flew needy to the-tribunate
ut in eo magistratu, si posses, viri tui similis esses.
that in that magistracy if you-could to-husband your like you-might-be
Accipite nunc, quaeso, non ea quae ipse in se
hear now I-beg not those-things which he-himself against himself
atque in domesticum decus impure et intemperanter, sed
and against the-domestic honor impurely and intemperately but
quae in nos fortunasque nostras, id est in universam
which against us and-fortunes our that is against the-whole
rem publicam, impie ac nefarie fecerit. Ab huius enim
thing public impiously and nefariously he-did from of-this-man for
scelere omnium malorum principium natum reperietis.
crime of-all evils the-beginning born you-will-find

51 Nam cum L. Lentulo C. Marcello consulibus Kalendis
for when Lucius Lentulus Gaius Marcellus as-consuls on-the-Kalends
Ianuariis labentem et prope cadentem rem publicam fulcire
of-January slipping and almost falling the-thing public to-prop-up
cuperetis ipsique C. Caesari, si sana mente esset,
you-desired and-yourselves to-Gaius Caesar if in-sound mind he-were
consulere velletis, tum iste venditum atque emancipatum
to-take-thought-for wished then he sold and alienated
tribunatum consiliis vestris opposuit cervicesque suas ei
the-tribunate to-counsels your opposed and-neck his to-that
subiecit securi qua multi minoribus in peccatis occiderunt.
put-under axe by-which many lesser in sins have-fallen
In te, M. Antoni, id decrevit senatus et quidem incolumis,
against you Mark Antony that decreed the-senate and indeed unharmed
nondum tot luminibus exstinctis quod in hostem togatum
not-yet so-many lights extinguished which against an-enemy toga-clad
decerni est solitum more maiorum. Et tu apud patres
to-be-decreed is accustomed by-the-custom of-the-ancestors and you before fathers
conscriptos contra me dicere ausus es, cum ab hoc ordine
enrolled against me to-speak dared you-have when by this order
ego conservator essem, tu hostis rei publicae iudicatus?
I preserver was you an-enemy of-the-thing public judged
Commemoratio illius tui sceleris intermissa est, non
the-mention of-that your crime interrupted has-been not
memoria deleta. Dum genus hominum, dum populi Romani
the-memory wiped-out while the-race of-men while of-the-people Roman
nomen exstabit — quod quidem erit, si per te licebit,
the-name shall-stand which indeed will-be if through you it-shall-be-allowed
sempiternum — tua illa pestifera intercessio nominabitur.
everlasting your that pestilent veto shall-be-named

Quid cupide a senatu, quid temere fiebat, cum tu unus 52
what greedily by the-senate what rashly was-being-done when you alone
adulescens universum ordinem decernere de salute rei
a-young-man the-whole order to-decree about the-safety of-the-thing
publicae prohibuisti, neque semel, sed saepius, neque tu
public prevented and-not once but more-often nor you
tecum de senatus auctoritate agi passus es? quid autem
with-you about of-the-senate the-authority to-be-dealt allowed have what however
agebatur nisi ne deleri et everti rem publicam
was-being-sought except lest to-be-destroyed and to-be-overturned the-thing public
funditus velles, cum te neque principes civitatis
from-its-foundations you-should-wish when you neither the-leaders of-the-state
rogando neque maiores natu monendo neque frequens senatus
by-asking nor the-elder in-birth by-warning nor the-crowded senate
agendo de vendita atque addicta sententia movere potuit?
by-pleading about the-sold and knocked-down vote to-move could
Tum illud multis rebus ante temptatis necessario tibi volnus
then that with-many things before tried necessarily on-you the-wound
inflictum est quod paucis ante te, quorum incolumis fuit nemo:
inflicted was which on-few before you of-whom unharmed was no-one
tum contra te dedit arma hic ordo consulibus reliquisque 53
then against you gave arms this order to-the-consuls and-to-the-other
imperiis et potestatibus: quae non effugisses, nisi te
commands and powers which not you-would-have-escaped unless yourself
ad arma Caesaris contulisses. Tu, tu, inquam, M. Antoni,
to the-arms of-Caesar you-had-betaken you you I-say Mark Antony
princeps C. Caesari omnia perturbare cupienti causam
first to-Gaius Caesar all-things to-throw-into-confusion desiring the-cause
belli contra patriam ferendi dedisti. Quid enim aliud ille
of-war against the-fatherland to-be-borne gave what for else he
dicebat, quam causam sui dementissimi consili et facti
said than cause of-his-own most-insane plan and deed

adferebat, nisi quod intercessio neglecta, ius tribunicium
brought except that the-veto disregarded the-right tribunician
sublatum, circumscriptus a senatu esset Antonius? Omitto
removed hemmed-in by the-senate had-been Antony I-pass-over
quam haec falsa, quam levia, praesertim cum omnino
how these-things false how trivial especially when at-all
nulla causa iusta cuiquam esse possit contra patriam arma
no cause just for-anyone to-be can against the-fatherland arms
capiendi. Sed nihil de Caesare: tibi certe confitendum
of-taking but nothing about Caesar by-you surely to-be-confessed
est causam perniciosissimi belli in persona tua constitisse.
it-is the-cause of-the-most-destructive war in the-person your to-have-stood
54 O miserum te, si haec intellegis, miseriorem, si non
O wretched you if these-things you-understand more-wretched if not
intellegis hoc litteris mandari, hoc memoriae prodi,
you-understand this to-letters to-be-committed this to-memory to-be-handed-down
huius rei ne posteritatem quidem omnium saeculorum
of-this thing not posterity even of-all ages
umquam immemorem fore, consules ex Italia expulsos,
ever unmindful going-to-be the-consuls from Italy driven-out
cumque eis Cn. Pompeium quod imperi populi
and-with them Gnaeus Pompey who of-the-empire of-the-people
Romani decus ac lumen fuit, omnis consularis qui per
Roman the-glory and the-light was all the-ex-consuls who through
valetudinem exsequi cladem illam fugamque potuissent,
health to-follow disaster that and-flight could
praetores, praetorios, tribunos plebis, magnam partem
the-praetors the-ex-praetors the-tribunes of-the-plebs a-great part
senatus, omnem subolem iuventutis, unoque verbo rem
of-the-senate all the-offspring of-the-youth and-in-one word the-thing
publicam expulsam atque exterminatam suis sedibus!
public driven-out and banished from-its-own seats

Antony was the seed of this war, as Helen was of Troy's: the three armies lost are his work. As tribune he restored exiles, though not his uncle, and his gambling partner Licinius Lenticula. Left by Caesar to trample Italy, he rode in a Gallic chariot, an actress in an open litter among his lictors whom the towns had to greet as Volumnia, his mother following her as if she were a daughter-in-law. At Brundisium he spared Cicero, a great favor, and fell into the actress's arms before the veterans.

Ut igitur in seminibus est causa arborum et stirpium, 55
as therefore in seeds is the-cause of-trees and of-plants
sic huius luctuosissimi belli semen tu fuisti. Doletis tris
so of-this most-grievous war the-seed you were you-grieve-for three
exercitus populi Romani interfectos: interfecit Antonius.
armies of-the-people Roman killed killed-them Antony
Desideratis clarissimos civis: eos quoque vobis eripuit
you-miss most-illustrious citizens them too from-you snatched
Antonius. Auctoritas huius ordinis adflicta est: adflixit
Antony the-authority of-this order struck-down has-been struck-it-down
Antonius. Omnia denique, quae postea vidimus — quid
Antony all-things finally which afterward we-saw what
autem mali non vidimus? — si recte ratiocinabimur, uni
however of-evil not have-we-seen if rightly we-shall-reckon to-one
accepta referemus Antonio. Ut Helena Troianis, sic iste
credited we-shall-enter to-Antony as Helen to-the-Trojans so he
huic rei publicae belli causa, causa pestis atque exiti
to-this thing public of-war the-cause the-cause of-plague and of-destruction
fuit. Reliquae partes tribunatus principi similes. Omnia
was the-remaining parts of-the-tribunate of-the-beginning like all-things
perfecit quae senatus salva re publica ne fieri
he-accomplished which the-senate with-safe the-thing public lest to-be-done
possent profecerat. Cuius tamen scelus in scelere cognoscite.
they-could had-achieved whose still crime within crime learn

56 Restituebat multos calamitosos: in eis patrui nulla
he-was-restoring many unfortunates among them of-his-uncle no
mentio. Si severus, cur non in omnis? Si misericors, cur
mention if severe why not against all if merciful why
non in suos? Sed omitto ceteros: Licinium Lenticulam de
not toward his-own but I-pass-over the-others Licinius Lenticula for
alea condemnatum, conlusorem suum, restituit, quasi vero
gambling condemned partner his he-restored as-if indeed
ludere cum condemnato non liceret, sed ut quod in
to-play with one-condemned not it-were-allowed but so-that what at
alea perdiderat beneficio legis dissolveret. Quam attulisti
dice he-had-lost by-the-favor of-the-law he-might-pay what did-you-bring
rationem populo Romano cur eum restitui oporteret?
reason to-the-people Roman why him to-be-restored it-was-right
Absentem, credo, in reos relatum; rem indicta causa
absent I-suppose among the-accused entered the-case with-unpleaded the-cause
iudicatam; nullum fuisse de alea lege iudicium;
judged no to-have-been about gambling under-the-law trial
vi oppressum et armis; postremo, quod de patruo
by-force crushed and by-arms finally what about uncle
tuo dicebatur, pecunia iudicium esse corruptum? Nihil
your was-said with-money the-trial to-have-been corrupted none
horum. At vir bonus et re publica dignus. Nihil id
of-these but a-man good and of-the-thing public worthy nothing that
quidem ad rem; ego tamen, quoniam condemnatum esse
indeed to the-point I still since condemned to-have-been
pro nihilo est, si ita esset, ignoscerem. Hominem omnium
for nothing is if so it-were I-would-pardon the-man of-all
nequissimum qui non dubitaret vel in foro alea ludere,
most-worthless who not would-hesitate even in the-forum at-dice to-play

lege quae est de alea condemnatum qui in integrum
by-the-law which is about gambling condemned who in full
restituit, is non apertissime studium suum ipse profitetur?
restored he not most-openly the-partiality his-own himself professes
In eodem vero tribunatu, cum Caesar in Hispaniam 57
in the-same indeed tribunate when Caesar into Spain
proficiscens huic conculcandam Italiam tradidisset, quae fuit
setting-out to-him to-be-trampled Italy had-handed-over what was
eius peragratio itinerum, lustratio municipiorum! Scio me in
his tour of-roads circuit of-towns I-know that-I in
rebus celebratissimis omnium sermone versari, eaque
things most-talked-of of-all in-the-talk to-be-engaged and-those-things
quae dico dicturusque sum notiora esse omnibus qui in Italia
which I-say and-going-to-say am better-known to-be to-all who in Italy
tum fuerunt quam mihi qui non fui: notabo tamen singulas
then were than to-me who not was I-shall-mark still single
res, etsi nullo modo poterit oratio mea satis facere vestrae
things although in-no way will-be-able speech my enough to-do for-your
scientiae. Etenim quod umquam in terris tantum flagitium
knowledge for-indeed what ever in the-lands so-great disgrace
exstitisse auditum est, tantam turpitudinem, tantum dedecus.
to-have-arisen heard-of has-been such baseness such dishonor
Vehebatur in essedo tribunus plebis; lictores laureati 58
was-carried in a-war-chariot a-tribune of-the-plebs lictors laurel-wreathed
antecedebant, inter quos aperta lectica mima portabatur,
went-before among whom in-an-open litter an-actress was-borne
quam ex oppidis municipales homines honesti, obviam
whom from the-towns townsmen men honorable to-meet-her
necessario prodeuntes, non noto illo et mimico nomine,
of-necessity coming-out not by-the-known that and stage name
sed Volumniam consalutabant. Sequebatur raeda cum
but Volumnia they-saluted followed a-carriage with

lenonibus, comites nequissimi; reiecta mater amicam impuri
pimps companions most-worthless cast-off his-mother the-mistress of-her-foul
fili tamquam nurum sequebatur. O miserae mulieris
son as-if a-daughter-in-law followed O of-the-wretched woman
fecunditatem calamitosam! Horum flagitiorum iste vestigiis
the-fecundity calamitous of-these disgraces he with-the-traces
omnia municipia, praefecturas, colonias, totam denique
all towns prefectures colonies the-whole finally
Italiam impressit.
Italy stamped

59 Reliquorum factorum eius, patres conscripti, difficilis est sane
of-the-remaining deeds his fathers enrolled difficult is truly
reprehensio et lubrica. Versatus in bello est; saturavit se
the-censure and slippery engaged in war he-was he-glutted himself
sanguine dissimillimorum sui civium: felix fuit, si potest
with-the-blood most-unlike himself of-citizens fortunate he-was if can
ulla in scelere esse felicitas. Sed quoniam veteranis cautum
any in crime to-be good-fortune but since for-the-veterans safeguarded
esse volumus, quamquam dissimilis est militum causa et
to-be we-wish although unlike is of-the-soldiers the-case and
tua — illi secuti sunt, tu quaesisti ducem — tamen, ne
yours they followed have you sought a-leader still lest
apud illos me in invidiam voces, nihil de genere
among them me into ill-will you-may-bring nothing about the-kind
belli dicam. Victor e Thessalia Brundisium cum legionibus
of-war I-shall-say victor from Thessaly to-Brundisium with the-legions
revertisti. Ibi me non occidisti. Magnum beneficium!
you-returned there me not you-killed a-great benefit
Potuisse enim fateor. Quamquam nemo erat eorum qui
to-have-been-able for I-confess although no-one was of-those who
tum tecum fuerunt qui mihi non censeret parci oportere.
then with-you were who to-me not thought to-be-spared to-be-fitting

Tanta est enim caritas patriae ut vestris etiam legionibus 60
so-great is for the-love of-the-fatherland that to-your even legions
sanctus essem, quod eam a me servatam esse meminissent.
sacred I-was because it by me preserved to-have-been they-remembered
Sed fac id te dedisse mihi quod non ademisti, meque
but suppose that you to-have-given to-me what not you-took-away and-that-I
a te habere vitam, quia non a te sit erepta: licuitne
from you to-have life because not by you it-was snatched-away was-it-allowed
mihi per tuas contumelias hoc tuum beneficium sic tueri
to-me through your insults this your benefit so to-guard
ut tuebar, praesertim cum te haec auditurum videres.
as I-guarded-it especially when you these-things going-to-hear you-saw
Venisti Brundisium, in sinum quidem et in complexum 61
you-came to-Brundisium into the-bosom indeed and into the-embrace
tuae mimulae. Quid est? num mentior? Quam miserum
of-your little-actress what is-it surely-not I-lie how wretched
est id negare non posse quod sit turpissimum confiteri!
it-is that to-deny not to-be-able which is most-shameful to-confess
Si te municipiorum non pudebat, ne veterani quidem
if you of-the-towns not it-shamed not of-the-veterans even
exercitus? Quis enim miles fuit qui Brundisi illam
of-the-army what for soldier was-there who at-Brundisium her
non viderit? quis qui nescierit venisse eam tibi tot
not saw who who did-not-know to-have-come her to-you of-so-many
dierum viam gratulatum? quis qui non indoluerit tam sero
days a-journey to-congratulate who who not grieved so late
se quam nequam hominem secutus esset cognoscere?
himself what a-worthless man followed he-had to-learn

X · POMPEY'S GOODS

After a second tour of Italy with the actress, Antony was made master of the horse while Caesar was in Alexandria; he lived with the mime Hippias and vomited before the people in the forum the morning after Hippias' wedding. Then Pompey's goods were put up at auction, and while the city groaned, Antony alone dared buy them. Within days he devoured the wine, silver, and tapestries; actors and gamblers sacked the house, and Pompey's purple coverlets lay on slaves' beds. Now he lodges in Pompey's sacred house.

62 Italiae rursus percursatio eadem comite mima; in
of-Italy again a-running-through with-the-same as-companion the-actress into
oppida militum crudelis et misera deductio; in urbe auri,
the-towns of-soldiers a-cruel and wretched settling in the-city of-gold
argenti maximeque vini foeda direptio. Accessit ut Caesare
of-silver and-most of-wine a-foul plundering it-was-added that with-Caesar
ignaro, cum esset ille Alexandreae, beneficio amicorum
unaware when was he at-Alexandria by-the-favor of-the-friends
eius magister equitum constitueretur. Tum existimavit se
his master of-the-horse he-was-appointed then thought he
suo iure cum Hippia vivere et equos vectigalis Sergio
by-his-own right with Hippias to-live and the-horses tax-paying to-Sergius
mimo tradere; tum sibi non hanc quam nunc male
the-actor to-hand-over then for-himself not this which now badly
tuetur, sed M. Pisonis domum ubi habitaret legerat.
he-holds but of-Marcus Piso the-house where he-might-live he-had-chosen
Quid ego istius decreta, quid rapinas, quid hereditatum
why I his decrees why plunderings why of-inheritances
possessiones datas, quid ereptas proferam? Cogebat
possessions given why snatched should-bring-forward compelled-him
egestas; quo se verteret non habebat: nondum ei tanta
want where himself to-turn not he-had not-yet to-him so-great

a L. Rubrio, non a L. Turselio hereditas venerat;
from Lucius Rubrius not from Lucius Turselius an-inheritance had-come
nondum in Cn. Pompei locum multorumque aliorum qui
not-yet into of-Gnaeus Pompey the-place and-of-many others who
aberant repentinus heres successerat. Erat vivendum latronum
were-absent a-sudden heir had-succeeded it-was to-be-lived of-robbers
ritu, ut tantum haberet, quantum rapere potuisset.
in-the-manner that so-much he-might-have as-much-as to-seize he-could
Sed haec quae robustioris improbitatis sunt, omittamus: 63
but these-things which of-sturdier wickedness are let-us-omit
loquamur potius de nequissimo genere levitatis. Tu istis
let-us-speak rather about the-most-worthless kind of-levity you with-those
faucibus, istis lateribus, ista gladiatoria totius corporis
jaws with-those flanks with-that gladiatorial of-the-whole body
firmitate tantum vini in Hippiae nuptiis exhauseras ut tibi
strength so-much of-wine at of-Hippias the-wedding had-drained that for-you
necesse esset in populi Romani conspectu vomere postridie.
necessary it-was in of-the-people Roman sight to-vomit the-next-day
O rem non modo visu foedam sed etiam auditu! Si inter
O thing not only to-see foul but also to-hear if during
cenam in ipsis tuis immanibus illis poculis hoc tibi accidisset,
dinner in very your monstrous those cups this to-you had-happened
quis non turpe duceret? In coetu vero populi Romani
who not shameful would-think in the-assembly indeed of-the-people Roman
negotium publicum gerens, magister equitum, cui ructare
business public conducting master of-the-horse for-whom to-belch
turpe esset, is vomens frustis esculentis vinum redolentibus
shameful would-be he vomiting with-morsels of-food of-wine smelling
gremium suum et totum tribunal implevit. Sed haec ipse
lap his-own and the-whole tribunal filled but this he-himself
fatetur esse in suis sordibus: veniamus ad splendida.
confesses to-be among his-own filth let-us-come to the-splendid-things

64 Caesar Alexandrea se recepit, felix, ut sibi quidem
Caesar from-Alexandria himself betook fortunate as to-himself indeed
videbatur, mea autem sententia, qui rei publicae sit
he-seemed in-my however opinion who to-the-thing public is
infelix, felix esse nemo potest. Hasta posita pro
unfortunate fortunate to-be no-one can with-the-spear set-up before
aede Iovis Statoris bona Cn. Pompei — miserum
the-temple of-Jupiter Stator the-goods of-Gnaeus Pompey wretched
me! Consumptis enim lacrimis tamen infixus animo haeret
me with-spent for the-tears still fixed in-the-mind sticks
dolor — bona, inquam, Cn. Pompei Magni voci
the-grief the-goods I-say of-Gnaeus Pompey the-Great to-the-voice
acerbissimae subiecta praeconis. Una in illa re servitutis
most-bitter put-under of-the-auctioneer alone in that matter of-servitude
oblita civitas ingemuit servientibusque animis, cum omnia
forgetful the-state groaned and-with-enslaved minds when all-things
metu tenerentur, gemitus tamen populi Romani liber
by-fear were-held the-groan still of-the-people Roman free
fuit. Exspectantibus omnibus quisnam esset tam impius,
was with-waiting all who-in-the-world would-be so impious
tam demens, tam dis hominibusque hostis qui ad illud
so mad so to-gods and-men an-enemy who to that
scelus sectionis auderet accedere, inventus est nemo praeter
crime of-purchase should-dare to-approach found was no-one except
Antonium, praesertim cum tot essent circum hastam
Antony especially when so-many there-were around spear
illam qui alia omnia auderent: unus inventus est qui id
that who other all-things would-dare alone found was who that
auderet quod omnium fugisset et reformidasset audacia.
would-dare which of-all had-fled and had-shrunk-from the-audacity

Tantus igitur te stupor oppressit vel, ut verius dicam, tantus 65
so-great therefore you stupidity overwhelmed or that more-truly I-may-say so-great
furor ut primum, cum sector sis isto loco natus, deinde
madness that first when a-buyer you-are in-that place born then
cum Pompei sector, non te exsecratum populo Romano,
when of-Pompey the-buyer not yourself accursed to-the-people Roman
non detestabilem, non omnis tibi deos, non omnis homines
not detestable not all to-you gods not all men
et esse inimicos et futuros scias? At quam insolenter statim
both to-be hostile and going-to-be you-know but how insolently at-once
helluo invasit in eius viri fortunas cuius virtute terribilior
the-glutton burst into of-that man the-fortunes whose by-valor more-terrible
erat populus Romanus exteris gentibus, iustitia carior! In eius
was the-people Roman to-foreign nations by-justice dearer into of-that
igitur viri copias cum se subito ingurgitasset, exsultabat
therefore man the-riches when himself suddenly he-had-plunged he-exulted
gaudio persona de mimo, modo egens, repente dives. Sed, ut
with-joy a-character from a-mime just-now needy suddenly rich but as
est apud poetam nescio quem 'male parta male dilabuntur.'
is in a-poet I-know-not whom badly gotten badly slip-away
Incredibile ac simile portenti est quonam modo illa tam 66
incredible and like a-portent it-is in-what way those so
multa quam paucis non dico mensibus sed diebus
many-things in-how few not I-say months but days
effuderit. Maximus vini numerus fuit, permagnum optimi
he-poured-out the-greatest of-wine quantity was very-great of-the-best
pondus argenti, pretiosa vestis, multa et lauta supellex et
a-weight of-silver precious clothing much and elegant furniture and
magnifica multis locis, non illa quidem luxuriosi hominis,
magnificent in-many places not that indeed of-a-luxurious man

sed tamen abundantis. Horum paucis diebus nihil erat.
but still of-a-well-supplied of-these in-few days nothing there-was
Quae Charybdis tam vorax?
what Charybdis so voracious
67 Charybdin dico? quae si fuit, animal unum fuit: Oceanus,
Charybdis I-say which if it-was an-animal one it-was Ocean
me dius fidius, vix videtur tot res tam dissipatas,
so-help-me the-god of-faith scarcely seems so-many things so scattered
tam distantibus in locis positas tam cito absorbere potuisse.
so distant in places placed so quickly to-swallow to-have-been-able
Nihil erat clausum, nihil obsignatum, nihil scriptum. Apothecae
nothing was shut nothing sealed nothing written storerooms
totae nequissimis hominibus condonabantur; alia mimi
whole to-most-worthless men were-given-away some-things actors
rapiebant, alia mimae; domus erat aleatoribus referta,
seized other-things actresses the-house was with-gamblers crammed
plena ebriorum; totos dies potabatur atque id locis pluribus;
full of-drunkards whole days it-was-drunk and that in-places several
suggerebantur etiam saepe — non enim semper iste felix —
there-were-supplied also often not for always he lucky
damna aleatoria; conchyliatis Cn. Pompei peristromatis
losses of-gambling with-purple of-Gnaeus Pompey with-coverlets
servorum in cellis lectos stratos videres. Quam ob
of-slaves in the-cells couches spread you-would-see which on-account-of
rem desinite mirari haec tam celeriter esse consumpta.
thing cease to-wonder these-things so quickly to-have-been consumed
Non modo unius patrimonium quamvis amplum, ut illud
not only of-one-man a-patrimony however ample as that
fuit, sed urbis et regna celeriter tanta nequitia devorare
was but cities and kingdoms quickly so-great worthlessness to-devour
potuisset. At idem aedis etiam et hortos.
could-have but the-same-man the-house also and the-gardens

O audaciam immanem! Tu etiam ingredi illam domum ausus 68
O audacity monstrous you even to-enter that house dared
es, tu illud sanctissimum limen intrare, tu illarum aedium
have you that most-sacred threshold to-pass you of-that dwelling
dis penatibus os impurissimum ostendere? Quam domum
to-the-gods household face most-impure to-show which house
aliquamdiu nemo aspicere poterat, nemo sine lacrimis
for-some-time no-one to-look-at could no-one without tears
praeterire, hac te in domo tam diu deversari non pudet?
to-pass-by this you in house so long to-lodge not are-you-ashamed
in qua, quamvis nihil sapias, tamen nihil tibi potest esse
in which although nothing you-know still nothing to-you can to-be
iucundum. An tu illa in vestibulo rostra cum aspexisti,
pleasant or you those in the-vestibule beaks when you-have-looked-at
domum tuam te introire putas? Fieri non potest. Quamvis
house your that-you to-enter think to-be-done not it-can although
enim sine mente, sine sensu sis, ut es, tamen et te
for without mind without sense you-be as you-are still both yourself
et tua et tuos nosti. Nec vero te umquam neque
and your-things and your-people you-know nor indeed you ever either
vigilantem neque in somnis credo posse mente consistere.
waking or in sleep I-believe to-be-able in-mind to-stand-firm
Necesse est, quamvis sis, ut es, violentus et furens,
necessary it-is although you-be as you-are violent and raving
cum tibi obiecta sit species singularis viri, perterritum
when to-you presented has-been the-image of-a-singular man terrified
te de somno excitari, furere etiam saepe vigilantem.
you from sleep to-be-roused to-rave even often waking
Me quidem miseret parietum ipsorum atque tectorum. Quid 69
me indeed it-pities of-the-walls themselves and of-the-roofs what
enim umquam domus illa viderat nisi pudicum, quid nisi ex
for ever house that had-seen except chaste what except from

optimo more et sanctissima disciplina? Fuit enim ille vir, patres
best custom and most-sacred discipline he-was for that man fathers
conscripti, sicuti scitis, cum foris clarus tum domi admirandus,
enrolled just-as you-know both abroad illustrious and at-home admirable
neque rebus externis magis laudandus quam institutis
nor for-things external more to-be-praised than for-arrangements
domesticis. Huius in sedibus pro cubiculis stabula, pro
domestic of-his in seats instead-of bedrooms stables instead-of
conclavibus popinae sunt. Etsi iam negat. Nolite quaerere;
dining-rooms taverns are although now he-denies do-not ask
frugi factus est: illam suam suas res sibi habere iussit,
thrifty made he-is that-woman his her things for-herself to-have he-ordered
ex duodecim tabulis clavis ademit, exegit. Quam porro
from the-twelve tables the-keys he-took-away he-drove-her-out how moreover
spectatus civis, quam probatus! Cuius ex omni vita nihil
well-tried a-citizen how approved of-whom out-of all life nothing
est honestius quam quod cum mima fecit divortium.
is more-honorable than that with the-actress he-made a-divorce

XI · THE CIVIL WAR

Antony prides himself on being "both consul and Antony." He shirked the African and Spanish campaigns and, asked for the price of Pompey's goods, protested that Caesar owed him for the victory. He returned from Narbo in Gallic shoes and slipped into Rome disguised to surprise his wife with a love letter.

70 At quam crebro usurpat: 'et consul et Antonius!' Hoc est
but how often he-uses both consul and Antony this is
dicere, et consul et impudicissimus, et consul et homo
to-say both consul and most-unchaste and consul and man
nequissimus. Quid est enim aliud Antonius? Nam si dignitas
most-worthless what is for else Antony for if dignity

significaretur in nomine, dixisset, credo, aliquando avus
were-signified in the-name would-have-said I-suppose sometime grandfather
tuus se et consulem et Antonium. Numquam dixit.
your himself both consul and Antony never he-said
Dixisset etiam conlega meus, patruus tuus, nisi si tu
would-have-said also colleague my uncle your unless perhaps you
es solus Antonius. Sed omitto ea peccata quae non sunt
are the-only Antony but I-pass-over those sins which not are
earum partium propria quibus tu rem publicam vexavisti:
of-those parts peculiar with-which you the-thing public harassed
ad ipsas tuas partis redeo, id est ad civile bellum, quod
to the-very your parts I-return that is to the-civil war which
natum, conflatum, susceptum opera tua est.
born kindled undertaken by-work your has-been
Cui bello cum propter timiditatem tuam tum propter 71
to-which war both on-account-of timidity your and on-account-of
libidines defuisti. Gustaras civilem sanguinem vel potius
lusts you-were-wanting you-had-tasted civil blood or rather
exsorbueras; fueras in acie Pharsalica antesignanus;
had-drained you-had-been in the-battle-line Pharsalian a-front-ranker
L. Domitium, clarissimum et nobilissimum virum, occideras
Lucius Domitius most-illustrious and most-noble man you-had-killed
multosque praeterea qui e proelio effugerant, quos Caesar,
and-many besides who from the-battle had-fled whom Caesar
ut non nullos, fortasse servasset, crudelissime persecutus
as not none perhaps he-would-have-saved most-cruelly having-pursued
trucidaras. Quibus rebus tantis talibus gestis quid fuit causae
you-had-butchered with-which things so-great such done what was of-cause
cur in Africam Caesarem non sequerere, cum praesertim
why into Africa Caesar not you-should-follow when especially
belli pars tanta restaret? Itaque quem locum apud ipsum
of-the-war a-part so-great remained and-so what place with himself

Caesarem post eius ex Africa reditum obtinuisti? quo
Caesar after his from Africa return did-you-hold in-what
numero fuisti? Cuius tu imperatoris quaestor fueras, dictatoris
number were-you whose you of-the-commander quaestor had-been of-the-dictator
magister equitum, belli princeps, crudelitatis auctor, praedae
master of-the-horse of-the-war the-leader of-cruelty the-author of-the-booty
socius, testamento, ut dicebas ipse, filius, appellatus es de
partner by-will as you-said yourself son called you-were about
pecunia quam pro domo, pro hortis, pro sectione debebas.
the-money which for the-house for the-gardens for the-purchase you-owed
72 Primo respondisti plane ferociter et, ne omnia videar
first you-answered quite fiercely and lest in-all-things I-may-seem
contra te, prope modum aequa et iusta dicebas: 'A
against you almost in-measure fair-things and just-things you-said from
me C. Caesar pecuniam? Cur potius quam ego ab illo?
me Gaius Caesar money why rather than I from him
an sine me ille vicit? At ne potuit quidem. Ego ad
or without me he conquered but not he-could even I to
illum belli civilis causam attuli; ego leges perniciosas rogavi;
him of-war civil the-cause brought I laws destructive proposed
ego arma contra consules imperatoresque populi Romani,
I arms against the-consuls and-commanders of-the-people Roman
contra senatum populumque Romanum, contra deos patrios
against the-senate and-the-people Roman against the-gods ancestral
arasque et focos, contra patriam tuli. Num sibi soli
and-altars and hearths against the-fatherland bore surely-not for-himself alone
vicit? Quorum facinus est commune, cur non sit
he-conquered of-whom the-deed is common why not should-be
eorum praeda communis?' Ius postulabas, sed quid ad rem?
their the-booty common right you-demanded but what to the-point

Plus ille poterat. Itaque excussis tuis vocibus et ad te et 73
more he could and-so with-shaken-off your words both to you and
ad praedes tuos milites misit, cum repente a te praeclara
to sureties your soldiers he-sent when suddenly by you splendid
illa tabula prolata est. Qui risus hominum, tantam esse
that catalog brought-out was what laughter of-men so-great to-be
tabulam, tam varias, tam multas possessiones, ex quibus
the-catalog so varied so many possessions from which
praeter partem Miseni nihil erat quod is qui auctionaretur
except a-part of-Misenum nothing there-was which he who was-auctioning
posset suum dicere. Auctionis vero miserabilis aspectus:
could his-own to-call of-the-auction indeed a-wretched the-look
vestis Pompei non multa eaque maculosa; eiusdem quaedam
clothing of-Pompey not much and-that stained of-the-same some
argentea vasa conlisa, sordidata mancipia, ut doleremus
silver vessels battered shabby slaves so-that we-grieved
quicquam esse ex illis reliquiis quod videre possemus.
anything to-be from those remains which to-see we-could
Hanc tamen auctionem heredes L. Rubri decreto Caesaris 74
this still auction the-heirs of-Lucius Rubrius by-the-decree of-Caesar
prohibuerunt. Haerebat nebulo: quo se verteret
prevented was-stuck the-good-for-nothing where himself to-turn
non habebat. Quin his ipsis temporibus domi Caesaris
not he-had indeed at-these very times at-the-house of-Caesar
percussor ab isto missus deprehensus dicebatur esse cum
an-assassin by him sent caught was-said to-be with
sica: de quo Caesar in senatu aperte in te invehens
a-dagger about whom Caesar in the-senate openly against you inveighing
questus est. Proficiscitur in Hispaniam Caesar paucis tibi
complained has sets-out for Spain Caesar with-a-few to-you
ad solvendum propter inopiam tuam prorogatis diebus. Ne
for paying on-account-of poverty your extended days not

tum quidem sequeris. Tam bonus gladiator rudem tam
then even you-follow so good a-gladiator the-wooden-sword so
cito? Hunc igitur quisquam qui in suis partibus, id est
quickly him therefore anyone who in his-own party that is
in suis fortunis, tam timidus fuerit pertimescat.
in his-own fortunes so timid has-been should-dread
75 Profectus est aliquando tandem in Hispaniam; sed tuto, ut
set-out he-has at-some-time at-last for Spain but safely as
ait, pervenire non potuit. Quonam modo igitur Dolabella
he-says to-arrive not he-could in-what way therefore Dolabella
pervenit? Aut non suscipienda fuit ista causa, Antoni, aut,
arrived either not to-be-undertaken was that cause Antony or
cum suscepisses, defendenda usque ad extremum. Ter
when you-had-undertaken-it to-be-defended right to the-end three-times
depugnavit Caesar cum civibus, in Thessalia, Africa, Hispania.
fought-it-out Caesar with citizens in Thessaly Africa Spain
Omnibus adfuit his pugnis Dolabella; in Hispaniensi etiam
at-all was-present these battles Dolabella in the-Spanish even
volnus accepit. Si de meo iudicio quaeris, nollem;
a-wound he-received if about my judgment you-ask I-would-not-wish
sed tamen consilium a primo reprehendendum, laudanda
but still the-plan from the-first to-be-blamed to-be-praised
constantia. Tu vero quid es? Cn. Pompei liberi
the-constancy you indeed what are-you of-Gnaeus Pompey the-children
tum primum patriam repetebant. Esto, fuerit
then first the-fatherland were-seeking-again let-it-be it-may-have-been
haec partium causa communis. Repetebant praeterea
this of-the-party the-cause common they-were-seeking-again besides
deos patrios, aras, focos, larem suum familiarem,
the-gods ancestral the-altars the-hearths the-household-god their-own familial
in quae tu invaseras. Haec cum peterent armis ei
into which you had-burst these-things when they-sought by-arms those

quorum erant legibus — etsi in rebus iniquissimis quid
whose they-were by-the-laws although in things most-unequal what
potest esse aequi? — tamen quem erat aequissimum contra
can to-be of-fair still whom was-it most-fair against
Cn. Pompei liberos pugnare? Quem? Te sectorem.
of-Gnaeus Pompey the-children to-fight whom you the-buyer
An ut tu Narbone mensas hospitum convomeres Dolabella 76
or that you at-Narbo the-tables of-your-hosts might-vomit-over Dolabella
pro te in Hispania dimicaret?
for you in Spain should-fight
Qui vero Narbone reditus! Etiam quaerebat cur ego ex ipso
what indeed from-Narbo a-return he-even asked why I from the-very
cursu tam subito revertissem. Exposui nuper, patres conscripti,
course so suddenly had-turned-back I-set-forth lately fathers enrolled
causam reditus mei. Volui, si possem, etiam ante Kalendas
the-cause of-return my I-wished if I-could even before the-Kalends
Ianuarias prodesse rei publicae. Nam, quod quaerebas quo
of-January to-benefit the-thing public for as-to-what you-asked in-what
modo redissem, primum luce, non tenebris; deinde cum calceis
manner I-had-returned first by-light not by-darkness then with shoes
et toga, nullis nec Gallicis nec lacerna. At etiam aspicis me
and toga with-no neither Gallic-sandals nor cloak but even you-look-at me
et quidem, ut videris, iratus. Ne tu iam mecum in gratiam
and indeed as you-seem angry truly you now with-me into favor
redeas, si scias quam me pudeat nequitiae tuae, cuius
would-return if you-knew how me it-shames of-the-worthlessness your of-which
te ipsum non pudet. Ex omnium omnibus flagitiis nullum
you yourself not it-shames out-of of-all all disgraces none
turpius vidi, nullum audivi. Qui magister equitum fuisse
baser I-saw none I-heard you-who master of-the-horse to-have-been
tibi viderere, in proximum annum consulatum peteres
to-yourself you-seemed for the-next year the-consulship you-were-seeking

vel potius rogares, per municipia coloniasque Galliae, a
or rather you-were-begging through the-towns and-colonies of-Gaul from
qua nos tum cum consulatus petebatur, non rogabatur, petere
which we then when the-consulship was-sought not begged to-seek
consulatum solebamus, cum Gallicis et lacerna cucurristi.
the-consulship were-accustomed with Gallic-sandals and a-cloak you-ran
77 At videte levitatem hominis. Cum hora diei decima fere
but see the-levity of-the-man when at-the-hour of-day tenth about
ad Saxa rubra venisset, delituit in quadam cauponula atque
to the-Rocks Red he-had-come he-hid in a-certain little-tavern and
ibi se occultans perpotavit ad vesperum; inde cisio celeriter
there himself concealing drank-on to evening then in-a-gig quickly
ad urbem advectus domum venit capite involuto. Ianitor,
to the-city carried home he-came with-head wrapped the-doorkeeper
'Quis tu?' 'A Marco tabellarius.' Confestim ad eam deducitur
who you from Marcus a-courier at-once to her he-is-led
cuius causa venerat, eique epistulam tradidit. Quam cum
whose for-the-sake he-had-come and-to-her the-letter handed which when
illa legeret flens — erat enim scripta amatorie; caput autem
she was-reading weeping it-was for written lovingly the-head however
litterarum sibi cum illa mima posthac nihil futurum; omnem
of-the-letter for-himself with that actress hereafter nothing going-to-be all
se amorem abiecisse illim atque in hanc transfudisse —
himself love to-have-cast-off from-there and onto this to-have-poured
cum mulier fleret uberius, homo misericors ferre non
when the-woman wept more-abundantly the-man compassionate to-bear not
potuit, caput aperuit, in collum invasit. O hominem nequam!
could the-head he-uncovered on-her neck he-fell O man worthless
Quid enim aliud dicam? magis proprie nihil possum dicere.
what for else shall-I-say more properly nothing I-can to-say
Ergo, ut te Catamitum, nec opinato cum te ostendisses,
therefore that you Catamitus not expectedly when yourself you-had-shown

praeter spem mulier aspiceret, idcirco urbem terrore
beyond hope the-woman might-see therefore the-city with-terror
nocturno, Italiam multorum dierum metu perturbasti?
nocturnal Italy of-many days with-fear you-threw-into-confusion

XII · THE AUGUR'S OBSTRUCTION

His debts and his love letter done with, Cicero turns to greater things. Antony went far to meet Caesar returning from Spain, became his intimate again, and was named consul with him, while Dolabella was cheated of the promised office; as augur, Antony claimed he could block Dolabella's election. On the day he sat silent through the voting and only when it was done declared, "On another day," though he had watched no sky.

Et domi quidem causam amoris habuisti, foris etiam turpiorem 78
and at-home indeed a-cause of-love you-had abroad also baser
ne L. Plancus praedes tuos venderet. Productus autem in
lest Lucius Plancus sureties your should-sell brought-forward however into
contionem a tribuno plebis cum respondisses te rei
the-assembly by a-tribune of-the-plebs when you-had-answered that-you of-the-thing
tuae causa venisse, populum etiam dicacem in te
your-own for-the-sake to-have-come the-people even witty against you
reddidisti. Sed nimis multa de nugis: ad maiora veniamus.
you-made but too many-things about trifles to greater-things let-us-come
C. Caesari ex Hispania redeunti obviam longissime
to-Gaius Caesar from Spain returning to-meet-him very-far
processisti. Celeriter isti, redisti, ut cognosceret te
you-went-out quickly you-went and-came-back so-that he-might-learn you
si minus fortem, at tamen strenuum. Factus es ei
if less brave but still energetic made you-were to-him
rursus nescio quo modo familiaris. Habebat hoc omnino
again I-know-not in-what way intimate he-had this altogether

Caesar: quem plane perditum aere alieno egentemque, si
Caesar whom quite ruined by-bronze another's and-needy if
eundem nequam hominem audacemque cognorat, hunc in
the-same a-worthless man and-bold he-had-known him into
familiaritatem libentissime recipiebat.
intimacy most-gladly he-received

79 His igitur rebus praeclare commendatus iussus es
by-these therefore things splendidly commended ordered you-were
renuntiari consul et quidem cum ipso. Nihil queror de
to-be-declared consul and indeed with himself nothing I-complain about
Dolabella qui tum est impulsus, inductus, elusus. Qua in
Dolabella who then was urged-on led-on mocked which in
re quanta fuerit uterque vestrum perfidia in Dolabellam
matter how-great was each of-you treachery toward Dolabella
quis ignorat? Ille induxit ut peteret, promissum et
who does-not-know he led-him-on that he-should-seek the-thing-promised and
receptum intervertit ad seque transtulit; tu eius perfidiae
undertaken he-intercepted to and-himself transferred you his treachery
voluntatem tuam ascripsisti. Veniunt Kalendae Ianuariae;
will your added come the-Kalends of-January
cogimur in senatum: invectus est copiosius multo in
we-are-compelled into the-senate inveighed he-has more-copiously much against
istum et paratius Dolabella quam nunc ego.
him and more-preparedly Dolabella than now I

80 Hic autem iratus quae dixit, di boni! Primum cum
he however angry what-things he-said gods good first when
Caesar ostendisset se, prius quam proficisceretur, Dolabellam
Caesar had-shown himself before than he-set-out Dolabella
consulem esse iussurum — quem negant regem, qui et faceret
consul to-be going-to-order whom they-deny a-king who both did
semper eius modi aliquid et diceret — sed cum Caesar
always of-that kind something and said but when Caesar

ita dixisset, tum hic bonus augur eo se sacerdotio
thus had-said then this good augur with-that himself priesthood
praeditum esse dixit ut comitia auspiciis vel impedire vel
endowed to-be said that the-elections by-auspices either to-hinder or
vitiare posset, idque se facturum esse adseveravit. In quo
to-vitiate he-could and-that himself going-to-do to-be he-asserted in which
primum incredibilem stupiditatem hominis cognoscite.
first the-incredible stupidity of-the-man learn
Quid enim? istud quod te sacerdoti iure facere 81
what for that which you of-the-priesthood by-right to-do
posse dixisti, si augur non esses et consul esses,
to-be-able said if an-augur not you-were and consul you-were
minus facere potuisses? Vide ne etiam facilius. Nos enim
less to-do could-you-have see lest even more-easily we for
nuntiationem solum habemus, consules et reliqui magistratus
the-announcement only have the-consuls and the-other magistrates
etiam spectionem. Esto: hoc imperite; nec enim est ab
also the-observation let-it-be this ignorantly nor for is from
homine numquam sobrio postulanda prudentia, sed videte
a-man never sober to-be-demanded wisdom but see
impudentiam. Multis ante mensibus in senatu dixit se
the-shamelessness many before months in the-senate he-said himself
Dolabellae comitia aut prohibiturum auspiciis aut id
of-Dolabella the-elections either going-to-prevent by-the-auspices or that
facturum esse quod fecit. Quisquamne divinare potest quid
going-to-do to-be which he-did anyone to-divine can what
viti in auspiciis futurum sit, nisi qui de caelo servare
of-fault in the-auspices going-to-be may-be except he-who about the-sky to-watch
constituit? quod neque licet comitiis per leges et si qui
has-decided which neither is-allowed during-elections by the-laws and if anyone
servavit non comitiis habitis, sed prius quam habeantur,
has-watched not with-the-elections held but before than they-are-held

debet nuntiare. Verum implicata inscientia impudentia est:
he-ought to-announce but entangled with-ignorance shamelessness is
nec scit quod augurem nec facit quod pudentem decet.
nor he-knows what an-augur nor does what a-modest-man befits
82 Atque ex illo die recordamini eius usque ad Idus Martias
and from that day recall his right to the-Ides of-March
consulatum. Quis umquam apparitor tam humilis, tam
consulship what ever attendant so humble so
abiectus? Nihil ipse poterat; omnia rogabat; caput in
abject nothing himself he-could all-things he-asked his-head into
aversam lecticam inserens, beneficia quae venderet a
the-back of-the-litter thrusting favors which he-might-sell from
conlega petebat. Ecce Dolabellae comitiorum dies. Sortitio
his-colleague he-sought behold of-Dolabella of-the-elections the-day the-lot
praerogativae; quiescit. Renuntiatur: tacet. Prima classis
of-the-first-voting-century he-is-quiet it-is-declared he-is-silent the-first class
vocatur, deinde ita ut adsolet suffragia, tum secunda classis,
is-called then thus as is-usual the-votes then the-second class
quae omnia sunt citius facta quam dixi.
which all were more-quickly done than I-have-said
83 Confecto negotio bonus augur — C. Laelium diceres —
with-finished the-business the-good augur Gaius Laelius you-would-say
'Alio die' inquit. O impudentiam singularem! Quid videras,
on-another day he-says O shamelessness singular what had-you-seen
quid senseras, quid audieras? Neque enim te de caelo
what had-you-perceived what had-you-heard nor for you from the-sky
servasse dixisti nec hodie dicis. Id igitur obvenit vitium
to-have-watched you-said nor today you-say that therefore occurred the-fault
quod tu iam Kalendis Ianuariis futurum esse provideras
which you already on-the-Kalends of-January going-to-be to-be had-foreseen
et tanto ante praedixeras. Ergo hercule magna, ut spero,
and so-long before had-foretold therefore by-Hercules great as I-hope

tua potius quam rei publicae calamitate ementitus es
your rather than of-the-thing public calamity falsified you-have
auspicia; obstrinxisti religione populum Romanum; augur
the-auspices you-bound with-religion the-people Roman an-augur
auguri, consul consuli obnuntiasti. Nolo plura,
to-an-augur a-consul to-a-consul you-announced-bad-omens I-do-not-wish more
ne acta Dolabellae videar convellere, quae necesse est
lest the-acts of-Dolabella I-may-seem to-tear-up which necessary it-is
aliquando ad nostrum conlegium deferantur. Sed adrogantiam
at-some-time to our college be-referred but the-arrogance
hominis insolentiamque cognoscite.
of-the-man and-insolence learn

XIII · THE LUPERCALIA

If Dolabella's election stands, Antony was not sober when he said "On another day"; if they have force, Cicero asks what it is. At the Lupercalia Antony, naked, mounted the rostra where Caesar sat in purple on a golden chair and offered him a diadem, which Caesar rejected amid applause; he had it entered in the calendar that the consul offered kingship at the people's order. Was Tarquin driven out so that Antony might set up a king at Rome?

Quam diu tu voles, vitiosus consul Dolabella; rursus, cum 84
as long you shall-wish faulty consul Dolabella again when
voles, salvis auspiciis creatus. Si nihil est, cum augur
you-shall-wish with-safe auspices elected if nothing it-is when an-augur
eis verbis nuntiat, quibus tu nuntiasti, confitere te, cum
with-those words announces with-which you announced confess that-you when
'Alio die' dixeris, sobrium non fuisse; sin est aliqua
on-another day you-said sober not to-have-been but-if there-is some
vis in istis verbis, ea quae sit augur a conlega requiro.
force in those words that what it-is an-augur from his-colleague I-ask

Sed ne forte ex multis rebus gestis M. Antoni rem
but lest perhaps out-of the-many things done of-Marcus Antony thing
unam pulcherrimam transiliat oratio, ad Lupercalia veniamus.
one most-beautiful may-skip speech to the-Lupercalia let-us-come
Non dissimulat, patres conscripti: apparet esse commotum;
not he-hides fathers enrolled it-is-plain him-to-be moved
sudat, pallet. Quidlibet, modo ne nauseet, faciat quod in
he-sweats he-is-pale anything-he-likes provided not he-be-sick let-him-do what in
porticu Minucia fecit. Quae potest esse turpitudinis tantae
the-portico of-Minucius he-did what can to-be of-baseness so-great
defensio? Cupio audire, ut videam ubi rhetoris sit tanta
the-defense I-desire to-hear so-that I-may-see where of-the-rhetor be so-great
merces, ubi campus Leontinus appareat.
the-fee where the-plain Leontine may-appear
85 Sedebat in rostris conlega tuus amictus toga purpurea, in
was-sitting on the-rostra colleague your wrapped in-a-toga purple on
sella aurea, coronatus. Escendis, accedis ad sellam — ita
a-chair golden crowned you-climb-up you-approach to the-chair so
eras Lupercus ut te consulem esse meminisse deberes —
you-were a-Lupercus that you consul to-be to-remember you-ought
diadema ostendis. Gemitus toto foro. Unde diadema?
a-diadem you-show a-groan in-the-whole forum whence the-diadem
Non enim abiectum sustuleras, sed attuleras domo
not for thrown-down you-had-picked-it-up but you-had-brought from-home
meditatum et cogitatum scelus. Tu diadema imponebas cum
premeditated and planned crime you the-diadem were-placing with
plangore populi; ille cum plausu reiciebat. Tu ergo unus,
the-wailing of-the-people he with applause was-rejecting-it you therefore alone
scelerate, inventus es qui cum auctor regni esses, eumque
criminal found were who when the-author of-kingship you-were and-him

quem conlegam habebas dominum habere velles, idem
whom as-colleague you-had as-master to-have wished the-same-man
temptares quid populus Romanus ferre et pati posset.
should-test what the-people Roman to-bear and to-endure could
At etiam misericordiam captabas: supplex te ad 86
but even pity you-were-trying-to-catch a-suppliant yourself at
pedes abiciebas. Quid petens? Ut servires? Tibi uni
his-feet you-threw what seeking that you-might-be-a-slave for-yourself alone
peteres qui ita a puero vixeras ut omnia paterere, ut
you-should-seek who so from boyhood had-lived that all-things you-endured that
facile servires; a nobis populoque Romano mandatum
easily you-might-be-a-slave from us and-the-people Roman a-mandate
id certe non habebas. O praeclaram illam eloquentiam tuam,
that surely not you-had O splendid that eloquence your
cum es nudus contionatus! Quid hoc turpius, quid
when you-have naked harangued what than-this baser what
foedius, quid suppliciis omnibus dignius? Num exspectas
fouler what of-punishments all more-worthy surely-not you-wait
dum te stimulis fodiamus? Haec te, si ullam partem habes
until you with-goads we-dig these-words you if any part you-have
sensus, lacerat, haec cruentat oratio. Vereor ne imminuam
of-sense lacerates this bloodies speech I-fear lest I-may-diminish
summorum virorum gloriam; dicam tamen dolore commotus.
of-the-greatest men the-glory I-shall-say still by-grief moved
Quid indignius quam vivere eum qui imposuerit diadema, cum
what more-unworthy than to-live him who placed the-diadem when
omnes fateantur iure interfectum esse qui abiecerit?
all confess justly killed to-have-been him-who threw-it-down
At etiam ascribi iussit in fastis ad Lupercalia: 87
but even to-be-added he-ordered in the-calendar at the-Lupercalia
C. Caesari, dictatori perpetuo, M. Antonium consulem
to-Gaius Caesar dictator perpetual Mark Antony consul

populi iussu regnum detulisse; Caesarem uti noluisse.
of-the-people by-order kingship to-have-offered Caesar to-use to-have-refused
Iam iam minime miror te otium perturbare; non modo
now now least I-wonder that-you peace to-disturb not only
urbem odisse sed etiam lucem; cum perditissimis latronibus
the-city to-hate but even the-light with most-ruined robbers
non solum de die sed etiam in diem bibere. Ubi enim tu
not only from day but also into day to-drink where for you
in pace consistes? qui locus tibi in legibus et in iudiciis
in peace will-take-your-stand what place for-you in the-laws and in the-courts
esse potest, quae tu, quantum in te fuit, dominatu regio
to-be can which you as-far-as in you it-was by-domination kingly
sustulisti? Ideone L. Tarquinius exactus, Sp. Cassius,
removed was-it-for-this Lucius Tarquinius driven-out Spurius Cassius
Sp. Maelius, M. Manlius necati ut multis post saeculis a
Spurius Maelius Marcus Manlius killed that many after ages by
M. Antonio, quod fas non est, rex Romae constitueretur?
Mark Antony which right not is a-king at-Rome should-be-established

XIV · THE IDES AND AFTER

On the Ides Antony fled home in terror. At the temple of Tellus, two days later, he made peace and gave his son as hostage; had he kept that mind he would have been a great man. Instead he inflamed the funeral and posted forged decrees on the Capitol, selling exemptions and citizenship.

88 Sed ad auspicia redeamus, de quibus Idibus Martiis fuit in
but to the-auspices let-us-return about which on-the-Ides of-March was in
senatu Caesar acturus. Quaero: tum tu quid egisses?
the-senate Caesar going-to-act I-ask then you what would-you-have-done
Audiebam equidem te paratum venisse, quod me de
I-heard indeed that-you prepared to-have-come because me about

ementitis auspiciis, quibus tamen parere necesse erat, putares
falsified auspices which still to-obey necessary it-was you-thought
esse dicturum. Sustulit illum diem fortuna rei publicae.
to-be going-to-speak took-away that day the-fortune of-the-thing public
Num etiam tuum de auspiciis iudicium interitus Caesaris
surely-not also your about the-auspices judgment the-death of-Caesar
sustulit? Sed incidi in id tempus quod eis rebus in quas
took-away but I-have-fallen upon that time which to-those things upon which
ingressa erat oratio praevertendum est. Quae tua fuga, quae
entered had the-speech to-be-put-first is what your flight what
formido praeclaro illo die, quae propter conscientiam scelerum
dread on-the-splendid that day what on-account-of the-consciousness of-crimes
desperatio vitae, cum ex illa fuga beneficio eorum qui te, si
despair of-life when from that flight by-the-kindness of-those who you if
sanus esses, salvum esse voluerunt, clam te domum recepisti!
sane you-were safe to-be wished secretly yourself home you-betook
O mea frustra semper verissima auguria rerum futurarum! 89
O my in-vain always most-true auguries of-things future
Dicebam illis in Capitolio liberatoribus nostris, cum me
I-said to-those on the-Capitol liberators our when me
ad te ire vellent, ut ad defendendam rem publicam te
to you to-go they-wished that to defending the-thing public you
adhortarer, quoad metueres, omnia te promissurum; simul
I-might-exhort as-long-as you-feared all-things you going-to-promise as-soon
ac timere desisses, similem te futurum tui. Itaque cum
as to-fear you-had-ceased like you going-to-be to-yourself and-so when
ceteri consulares irent, redirent, in sententia mansi: neque te
the-other ex-consuls went came-back in opinion I-remained nor you
illo die neque postero vidi neque ullam societatem optimis
on-that day nor the-next I-saw nor any alliance for-the-best
civibus cum importunissimo hoste foedere ullo confirmari
citizens with a-most-ruthless enemy by-treaty any to-be-confirmed

posse credidi. Post diem tertium veni in aedem Telluris
to-be-able I-believed after the-day third I-came into the-temple of-Tellus
et quidem invitus, cum omnis aditus armati obsiderent.
and indeed unwilling when all approaches armed-men were-besieging
90 Qui tibi dies ille, Antoni, fuit? Quamquam mihi inimicus
what to-you day that Antony was although to-me an-enemy
subito exstitisti, tamen me tui miseret quod tibi
suddenly you-have-shown-yourself still me for-you it-pities because yourself
invideris. Qui tu vir, di immortales, et quantus
you-have-grudged what you a-man gods immortal and how-great
fuisses, si illius diei mentem servare potuisses! Pacem
you-would-have-been if of-that day the-mind to-keep you-could-have peace
haberemus, quae erat facta per obsidem puerum nobilem,
we-would-have which was made through a-hostage a-boy noble
M. Bambalionis nepotem. Quamquam bonum te timor
of-Marcus Bambalio the-grandson although good you fear
faciebat, non diuturnus magister offici, improbum fecit ea
made not lasting a-teacher of-duty wicked has-made that
quae, dum timor abest, a te non discedit, audacia. Etsi
which while fear is-absent from you not departs audacity although
tum, cum optimum te putabant me quidem dissentiente,
then when best you they-thought with-me indeed dissenting
funeri tyranni, si illud funus fuit, sceleratissime praefuisti.
at-the-funeral of-the-tyrant if that a-funeral was most-criminally you-presided
91 Tua illa pulchra laudatio, tua miseratio, tua cohortatio; tu, tu,
your that beautiful eulogy your pity your exhortation you you
inquam, illas faces incendisti, et eas quibus semustilatus ille
I-say those torches lit both those by-which half-burnt he
est et eas quibus incensa L. Bellieni domus deflagravit.
was and those by-which set-on-fire of-Lucius Bellienus the-house burned-down
Tu illos impetus perditorum hominum et ex maxima parte
you those attacks of-ruined men and for the-greatest part

servorum quos nos vi manuque reppulimus in nostras
of-slaves which we by-force and-hand drove-back onto our
domos immisisti. Idem tamen quasi fuligine abstersa
houses you-let-loose the-same-man still as-if with-the-soot wiped-off
reliquis diebus in Capitolio praeclara senatus consulta
on-the-remaining days on the-Capitol splendid of-the-senate decrees
fecisti, ne qua post Idus Martias immunitatis tabula neve
you-made lest any after the-Ides of-March of-exemption tablet or
cuius benefici figeretur. Meministi ipse de exsulibus, scis
of-any favor should-be-posted you-remember yourself about the-exiles you-know
de immunitate quid dixeris. Optimum vero quod dictaturae
about exemption what you-said best indeed that of-the-dictatorship
nomen in perpetuum de re publica sustulisti: quo quidem
the-name in perpetuity from the-thing public you-removed by-which indeed
facto tantum te cepisse odium regni videbatur ut eius
deed such you to-have-taken a-hatred of-kingship seemed that its
omnem propter proximum dictatorem metum tolleres.
all on-account-of the-last dictator the-fear you-would-remove
Constituta res publica videbatur aliis, mihi vero nullo
established the-thing public seemed to-others to-me indeed in-no
modo, qui omnia te gubernante naufragia metuebam.
way who all with-you steering shipwrecks feared
Num igitur me fefellit, aut num diutius sui potuit esse 92
surely-not therefore me he-deceived or surely-not longer to-himself could to-be
dissimilis? Inspectantibus vobis toto Capitolio tabulae
unlike with-looking-on you over-the-whole Capitol tablets
figebantur, neque solum singulis venibant immunitates
were-being-posted nor only to-individuals were-sold exemptions
sed etiam populis universis: civitas non iam singillatim,
but also to-peoples whole citizenship not now one-by-one
sed provinciis totis dabatur. Itaque si haec manent quae
but to-provinces whole was-given and-so if these-things remain which

stante re publica manere non possunt, provincias
with-standing the-thing public to-remain not can provinces
universas, patres conscripti, perdidistis, neque vectigalia solum
whole fathers enrolled you-have-lost nor revenues only
sed etiam imperium populi Romani huius domesticis
but also the-empire of-the-people Roman by-this-man's domestic
nundinis deminutum est.
markets diminished has-been

XV · THE FORGED DECREES

Where is the seven hundred million at the temple of Ops? How did Antony's forty million debt vanish before April? He sold a decree restoring Deiotarus, Caesar's enemy, though the king had already recovered his kingdom himself; a bond for ten million was signed in Fulvia's quarters. He sold freedom from tax to Crete, a province, and recalled exiles, while leaving his uncle among them.

93 Ubi est septiens miliens quod est in tabulis quae
where is the-seven-hundred times-a-million which is in the-accounts which
sunt ad Opis? Funestae illius quidem pecuniae, sed tamen
are at Ops' funereal that indeed money but still
quae nos, si eis quorum erat non redderetur, a tributis
which we if to-those whose it-was not it-were-returned from taxes
posset vindicare. Tu autem quadringentiens sestertium quod
could to-set-free you however forty-million sesterces which
Idibus Martiis debuisti quonam modo ante Kalendas Aprilis
on-the-Ides of-March you-owed in-what way before the-Kalends of-April
debere desisti? Sunt ea quidem innumerabilia quae
to-owe did-you-cease there-are those-things indeed countless which
a tuis emebantur non insciente te, sed unum egregium
from your-people were-bought not with-unaware you but one remarkable

de rege Deiotaro, populi Romani amicissimo, decretum
about king Deiotarus of-the-people Roman most-friendly a-decree
in Capitolio fixum: quo proposito nemo erat qui in
on the-Capitol posted with-which displayed no-one there-was who in
ipso dolore risum posset continere.
the-very grief laughter could to-restrain
Quis enim cuiquam inimicior quam Deiotaro Caesar? Aeque 94
who for to-anyone more-hostile than to-Deiotarus Caesar equally
atque huic ordini, ut equestri, ut Massiliensibus, ut
as to-this order as to-the-equestrian as to-the-Massilians as
omnibus quibus rem publicam populi Romani caram
to-all to-whom the-thing public of-the-people Roman dear
esse sentiebat. Igitur a quo vivo nec praesens nec
to-be he-perceived therefore from whom alive neither present nor
absens rex Deiotarus quicquam aequi boni impetravit,
absent king Deiotarus anything fair the-good obtained
apud mortuum factus est gratiosus. Compellarat hospitem
with the-dead become he-has in-favor he-had-rebuked his-host
praesens, computarat pecuniam, in eius tetrarchia unum ex
present he-had-reckoned money in his tetrarchy one of
Graecis comitibus suis conlocarat, Armeniam abstulerat
Greek companions his he-had-placed Armenia he-had-taken-away
a senatu datam. Haec vivus eripuit, reddit mortuus.
by the-senate given these-things alive he-snatched-away returns dead
At quibus verbis? Modo aequum sibi videri, modo non 95
but with-what words now fair to-himself to-seem now not
iniquum. Mira verborum complexio! At ille numquam —
unfair wonderful of-words a-combination but he never
semper enim absenti adfui Deiotaro — quicquam sibi
always for absent I-supported Deiotarus anything to-himself
quod nos pro illo postularemus aequum dixit videri.
which we for him might-request fair said to-seem

Syngrapha sesterti centiens per legatos, viros bonos,
a-bond of-sesterces ten-million through envoys men good
sed timidos et imperitos, sine nostra, sine reliquorum
but timid and inexperienced without our without of-the-other
hospitum regis sententia facta in gynaecio est, quo in
guest-friends of-the-king opinion made in the-women's-quarters was which in
loco plurimae res venierunt et veneunt. Qua ex syngrapha
place very-many things have-been-sold and are-sold which from bond
quid sis acturus meditere censeo: rex enim ipse
what you-are going-to-do you-should-ponder I-advise the-king for himself
sua sponte, nullis commentariis Caesaris, simul atque
of-his-own accord with-no notebooks of-Caesar as-soon as
audivit eius interitum, suo Marte res suas recuperavit.
he-heard his death by-his-own Mars things his-own recovered
96 Sciebat homo sapiens ius semper hoc fuisse ut, quae tyranni
knew the-man wise right always this to-have-been that what tyrants
eripuissent, ea tyrannis interfectis ei quibus erepta
had-snatched-away those-things with-tyrants killed those from-whom snatched-away
essent recuperarent. Nemo igitur iure consultus, ne iste
they-had-been should-recover no-one therefore in-law learned not he
quidem, qui tibi uni est iure consultus, per quem haec
even who for-you alone is in-law learned through whom these-things
agis, ex ista syngrapha deberi dicet pro eis rebus quae erant
you-do from that bond to-be-owed will-say for those things which were
ante syngrapham recuperatae. Non enim a te emit, sed prius
before the-bond recovered not for from you he-bought but before
quam tu suum sibi venderes ipse possedit. Ille vir fuit; nos
than you his-own to-him might-sell he-himself possessed he a-man was we
quidem contemnendi qui auctorem odimus, acta defendimus.
indeed contemptible who the-author hate the-acts defend

Quid ego de commentariis infinitis, quid de innumerabilibus 97
what I about the-notebooks endless what about the-countless
chirographis loquar? Quorum etiam institores sunt qui
autographs shall-say of-which even shopkeepers there-are who
ea tamquam gladiatorum libellos palam venditent. Itaque
them as-if of-gladiators the-programs openly hawk and-so
tanti acervi nummorum apud istum construuntur ut iam
so-great heaps of-coins at his-house are-built-up that now
expendantur, non numerentur pecuniae. At quam caeca avaritia
are-weighed not counted the-moneys but how blind avarice
est! Nuper fixa tabula est qua civitates locupletissimae
is lately posted a-tablet was by-which the-states most-rich
Cretensium vectigalibus liberantur, statuiturque ne post
of-the-Cretans from-taxes are-freed and-it-is-decided that-not after
M. Brutum pro consule sit Creta provincia. Tu mentis
Marcus Brutus as proconsul should-be Crete a-province you of-mind
compos, tu non constringendus? An Caesaris decreto Creta post
in-possession you not to-be-bound-up or by-Caesar's decree Crete after
M. Bruti decessum potuit liberari, cum Creta nihil ad Brutum
Marcus Brutus' departure could to-be-freed when Crete nothing to Brutus
Caesare vivo pertineret? At huius venditione decreti — ne
with-Caesar alive pertained but of-this by-the-sale decree lest
nihil actum putetis — provinciam Cretam perdidistis. Omnino
nothing done you-may-think the-province Crete you-have-lost at-all
nemo ullius rei fuit emptor cui defuerit hic venditor.
no-one of-any thing was a-buyer for-whom was-lacking this seller
Et de exsulibus legem quam fixisti Caesar tulit? Nullius 98
and about the-exiles the-law which you-posted Caesar proposed of-no-one
insector calamitatem: tantum queror, primum eorum reditus
I-attack the-calamity only I-complain first of-them the-returns
inquinatos quorum causam Caesar dissimilem iudicarit; deinde
defiled whose case Caesar unlike had-judged then

nescio cur non reliquis idem tribuas: neque enim plus quam
I-know-not why not to-the-rest the-same you-grant nor for more than
tres aut quattuor reliqui sunt. Qui simili in calamitate sunt,
three or four remaining are who like in calamity are
cur tua misericordia non simili fruuntur, cur eos habes in
why your pity not like do-they-enjoy why them do-you-hold in
loco patrui? de quo ferre, cum de reliquis ferres,
the-place of-your-uncle about whom to-propose when about the-rest you-proposed
noluisti: quem etiam ad censuram petendam impulisti,
you-did-not-wish whom even to the-censorship seeking you-pushed
eamque petitionem comparasti quae et risus hominum
and-that canvass you-arranged which both the-laughter of-men
et querelas moveret. Cur autem ea comitia non habuisti?
and complaints would-stir why however those elections not did-you-hold

XVI · ANTONY'S FAMILY

Antony let his uncle's censorial election lapse, dropped him from the board of seven, insulted him, and divorced his cousin, the uncle's daughter, publicly charging her with adultery with Dolabella. His inquiry into Caesar's acts, promised for June, was a veterans' camp. He settled a new colony at Casilinum against the auspices and gave the Campanian and Leontine lands, the people's richest, to his drinking companions, his doctor, and his rhetor.

99 An quia tribunus plebis sinistrum fulmen nuntiabat? Cum
or because a-tribune of-the-plebs on-the-left lightning announced when
tua quid interest, nulla auspicia sunt; cum tuorum, tum
your what concerns no auspices there-are when your-people's then
fis religiosus. Quid? Eundem in vii viratu nonne
you-become scrupulous what the-same in the-seven board-of-men did-you-not
destituisti? intervenit enim cui metuisti, credo, ne salvo
abandon he-intervened for of-whom you-feared I-believe lest with-safe

capite negare non posses. Omnibus eum contumeliis onerasti
status to-refuse not you-could with-all him insults you-loaded
quem patris loco, si ulla in te pietas esset, colere debebas.
whom in-a-father's place if any in you piety there-were to-cherish you-ought
Filiam eius, sororem tuam, eiecisti, alia condicione
the-daughter his the-cousin your you-threw-out with-another match
quaesita et ante perspecta. Non est satis: probri insimulasti
sought and before looked-over not it-is enough of-disgrace you-accused
pudicissimam feminam. Quid est quod addi possit?
a-most-chaste woman what is-there which to-be-added could
Contentus eo non fuisti: frequentissimo senatu Kalendis
content with-that not you-were in-the-fullest senate on-the-Kalends
Ianuariis sedente patruo hanc tibi esse cum Dolabella causam
of-January with-sitting your-uncle this for-you to-be with Dolabella the-cause
odi dicere ausus es quod ab eo sorori et uxori
of-hatred to-say dared you-have that by him on-the-cousin and wife
tuae stuprum esse oblatum comperisses. Quis interpretari
your a-debauch to-have-been offered you-had-discovered who to-interpret
potest, impudentiorne qui in senatu, an improbior qui in
can whether-more-shameless who in the-senate or more-wicked who against
Dolabellam, an impurior qui patre audiente, an crudelior
Dolabella or more-impure who with-his-father hearing or more-cruel
qui in illam miseram tam spurce, tam impie dixeris.
who against that wretched-woman so foully so impiously you-spoke
Sed ad chirographa redeamus. Quae tua fuit cognitio? Acta 100
but to the-autographs let-us-return what your was the-inquiry the-acts
enim Caesaris pacis causa confirmata sunt a senatu: quae
for of-Caesar for-peace's sake confirmed were by the-senate which
quidem Caesar egisset, non ea quae egisse Caesarem dixisset
indeed Caesar had-done not those which to-have-done Caesar had-said
Antonius. Unde ista erumpunt, quo auctore proferuntur?
Antony whence those burst-forth by-what author are-they-produced

Si sunt falsa, cur probantur? Si vera, cur veneunt? At sic
if they-are false why are-they-approved if true why are-they-sold but thus
placuerat ut ex Kalendis Iuniis de Caesaris actis cum
it-had-been-resolved that from the-Kalends of-June about of-Caesar the-acts with
consilio cognosceretis. Quod fuit consilium, quem umquam
a-council you-should-inquire what was the-council whom ever
convocasti, quas Kalendas Iunias exspectasti? An eas ad quas
did-you-convene what Kalends of-June did-you-await or those to which
te peragratis veteranorum coloniis stipatum armis rettulisti?
you with-toured of-the-veterans the-colonies thronged with-arms brought-back
O praeclaram illam percursationem tuam mense Aprili
O splendid that touring-about your in-the-month April
atque Maio, tum cum etiam Capuam coloniam deducere
and May then when even to-Capua a-colony to-lead
conatus es! Quem ad modum illinc abieris vel
tried you-have how to manner from-there you-went-away or
potius paene non abieris scimus.
rather almost not went-away we-know

101 Cui tu urbi minitaris. Utinam conere, ut aliquando illud
which you city you-threaten would-that you-may-try so-that at-last that
'paene' tollatur! At quam nobilis est tua illa peregrinatio!
almost be-removed but how famous is your that travel
Quid prandiorum apparatus, quid furiosam vinolentiam tuam
why of-luncheons the-preparation why the-mad drunkenness your
proferam? Tua ista detrimenta sunt, illa nostra: agrum
shall-I-bring-forward your those losses are these ours the-land
Campanum, qui cum de vectigalibus eximebatur ut militibus
Campanian which when from the-revenues it-was-exempted that to-the-soldiers
daretur, tamen infligi magnum rei publicae volnus
it-might-be-given still to-be-inflicted a-great on-the-thing public wound
putabamus, hunc tu compransoribus tuis et conlusoribus
we-thought this you to-fellow-lunchers your and gambling-partners

dividebas. Mimos dico et mimas, patres conscripti, in
were-dividing actors I-mean and actresses fathers enrolled on
agro Campano conlocatos. Quid iam querar de agro
the-land Campanian settled why now shall-I-complain about the-land
Leontino? quoniam quidem hae quondam arationes Campana
Leontine since indeed these once plowlands Campanian
et Leontina in populi Romani patrimonio grandiferae et
and Leontine in of-the-people Roman the-patrimony rich-yielding and
fructuosae ferebantur. Medico tria milia iugerum: quid, si te
fruitful were-reckoned to-the-doctor three thousand iugera what if you
sanasset? rhetori duo: quid, si te disertum facere potuisset.
he-had-cured to-the-rhetor two what if you eloquent to-make he-could-have
Sed ad iter Italiamque redeamus. Deduxisti coloniam 102
but to the-journey and-Italy let-us-return you-led a-colony
Casilinum, quo Caesar ante deduxerat. Consuluisti me per
to-Casilinum where Caesar before had-led-one you-consulted me by
litteras de Capua tu quidem, sed idem de Casilino
letter about Capua you indeed but the-same about Casilinum
respondissem: possesne ubi colonia esset, eo coloniam
I-would-have-answered whether-you-could where a-colony was there a-colony
novam iure deducere. Negavi in eam coloniam quae esset
new by-right to-lead I-said-no into that colony which was
auspicato deducta, dum esset incolumis, coloniam novam
with-auspices led while it-was unimpaired a-colony new
iure deduci: colonos novos ascribi posse rescripsi. Tu
by-right to-be-led colonists new to-be-enrolled to-be-able I-wrote-back you
autem insolentia elatus omni auspiciorum iure turbato
however by-insolence elated with-all of-the-auspices the-law confounded
Casilinum coloniam deduxisti, quo erat paucis annis ante
to-Casilinum a-colony led where it-had-been a-few years before
deducta, ut vexillum tolleres, ut aratrum circumduceres;
led so-that the-standard you-might-raise that the-plow you-might-draw-round

cuius quidem vomere portam Capuae paene perstrinxisti,
whose indeed with-the-share the-gate of-Capua almost you-grazed
ut florentis coloniae territorium minueretur.
so-that of-the-flourishing colony the-territory might-be-diminished

XVII · VARRO'S VILLA

Antony seized Varro's estate at Casinum, never sold, and reveled there from the third hour, vomiting where Varro had studied law and history. Passing Aquinum he was carried shut in his litter like a corpse, greeting no one at Anagnia. He threatened the Sidicini and Puteoli for adopting the Bruti and Cassius as patrons; meanwhile his colleague Dolabella overturned Caesar's altar in the forum, and Antony collapsed at the news.

103 Ab hac perturbatione religionum advolas in M. Varronis,
from this confounding of-religious-rules you-fly to of-Marcus Varro
sanctissimi atque integerrimi viri, fundum Casinatem. Quo
most-upright and most-blameless man the-estate at-Casinum by-what
iure, quo ore? 'Eodem,' inquies 'quo in heredum
right with-what face by-the-same you-will-say by-which onto of-the-heirs
L. Rubri, quo in heredum L. Turseli praedia,
of-Lucius Rubrius by-which onto of-the-heirs of-Lucius Turselius the-estates
quo in reliquas innumerabilis possessiones.' Et si ab
by-which onto the-remaining countless possessions and if from
hasta, valeat hasta, valeant tabulae, modo Caesaris, non
the-spear let-hold the-spear let-hold the-accounts only of-Caesar not
tuae, quibus debuisti, non quibus tu te liberavisti.
yours by-which you-owed not by-which you yourself freed
Varronis quidem Casinatem fundum quis venisse dicit,
of-Varro indeed the-Casinum estate who to-have-been-sold says
quis hastam istius venditionis vidit, quis vocem praeconis
who the-spear of-that sale saw who the-voice of-the-auctioneer

audivit? Misisse te dicis Alexandream qui emeret
heard to-have-sent yourself you-say to-Alexandria someone-who should-buy
a Caesare; ipsum enim exspectare magnum fuit.
from Caesar him for to-wait-for great it-was
Quis vero audivit umquam — nullius autem salus 104
who indeed heard ever of-no-one's however safety
curae pluribus fuit — de fortunis Varronis rem ullam
a-concern to-more was about the-fortunes of-Varro thing any
esse detractam? Quid? Si etiam scripsit ad te Caesar
to-have-been taken-away what if even wrote to you Caesar
ut redderes, quid satis potest dici de tanta
that you-should-return-it what enough can to-be-said about so-great
impudentia? Remove gladios parumper illos quos videmus:
shamelessness remove the-swords for-a-little those which we-see
iam intelleges aliam causam esse hastae Caesaris, aliam
now you-will-understand one the-case to-be of-the-spear of-Caesar another
confidentiae et temeritatis tuae. Non enim te dominus
of-the-confidence and rashness your not for you the-master
modo illis sedibus sed quivis amicus, vicinus, hospes,
only from-those seats but any friend neighbor guest
procurator arcebit. At quam multos dies in ea villa
steward will-keep-off but how many days in that villa
turpissime es perbacchatus! Ab hora tertia bibebatur,
most-shamefully you-have reveled-through from the-hour third there-was-drinking
ludebatur, vomebatur. O tecta ipsa misera, 'quam dispari
gambling vomiting O roofs themselves wretched how unlike
domino' — quamquam quo modo iste dominus — sed
by-a-master although in-what way he a-master but
tamen quam ab dispari tenebantur! Studiorum enim
still how by unlike-masters they-were-held of-studies for
suorum M. Varro voluit illud, non libidinum deversorium.
his-own Marcus Varro wished that not of-lusts a-lodging-house

105 Quae in illa villa antea dicebantur, quae cogitabantur, quae
what in that villa before was-said what was-thought what
litteris mandabantur! Iura populi Romani, monumenta
to-writing was-committed the-laws of-the-people Roman the-monuments
maiorum, omnis sapientiae ratio omnisque doctrinae. At
of-the-ancestors of-all wisdom the-theory and-of-all learning but
vero te inquilino — non enim domino — personabant
indeed with-you as-lodger not for as-master resounded
omnia vocibus ebriorum, natabant pavimenta vino,
all-things with-the-voices of-drunkards swam the-pavements with-wine
madebant parietes, ingenui pueri cum meritoriis, scorta inter
were-wet the-walls freeborn boys with hirelings harlots among
matres familias versabantur. Casino salutatum veniebant,
mothers of-families moved-about from-Casinum to-greet-him they-came
Aquino, Interamna: admissus est nemo. Iure id quidem;
from-Aquinum from-Interamna admitted was no-one justly that indeed
in homine enim turpissimo obsolefiebant dignitatis insignia.
in a-man for most-shameful were-becoming-worn of-dignity the-insignia
106 Cum inde Romam proficiscens ad Aquinum accederet,
when thence to-Rome setting-out to Aquinum he-was-approaching
obviam ei processit, ut est frequens municipium, magna
to-meet him came-out as it-is a-populous town a-great
sane multitudo. At iste operta lectica latus per oppidum
truly multitude but he in-a-covered litter carried through the-town
est ut mortuus. Stulte Aquinates: sed tamen in via
was like a-dead-man foolishly men-of-Aquinum but still on the-road
habitabant. Quid Anagnini? Qui, cum essent devii,
they-lived what the-men-of-Anagnia who though they-were off-the-road
descenderunt ut istum, tamquam si esset consul, salutarent.
came-down that him as if he-were consul they-might-greet
Incredibile dictu, sed inter omnis constabat neminem esse
incredible to-say but among all it-was-agreed no-one to-have-been

resalutatum, praesertim cum duos secum Anagninos haberet,
greeted-back especially when two with-him men-of-Anagnia he-had
Mustelam et Laconem, quorum alter gladiorum est princeps,
Mustela and Laco of-whom the-one of-swords is the-chief
alter poculorum.
the-other of-cups
Quid ego illas istius minas contumeliasque commemorem 107
why I those his threats and-insults should-recall
quibus invectus est in Sidicinos, vexavit Puteolanos,
with-which inveighed he-has against the-Sidicini harassed the-Puteolani
quod C. Cassium et Brutos patronos adoptassent? Magno
because Gaius Cassius and the-Bruti as-patrons they-had-adopted with-great
quidem studio, iudicio, benevolentia, caritate, non, ut te
indeed zeal judgment goodwill affection not as you
et Basilum, vi et armis, et alios vestri similis quos
and Basilus by-force and arms and others of-you like whom
clientis nemo habere velit, non modo illorum cliens esse.
as-clients no-one to-have would-wish not only their client to-be
Interea dum tu abes, qui dies ille conlegae tui fuit, cum
meanwhile while you are-away what day that for-colleague your was when
illud quod venerari solebas bustum in foro evertit?
that which to-venerate you-used the-tomb in the-forum he-overturned
Qua re tibi nuntiata, ut constabat inter eos qui una
with-which thing to-you announced as it-was-agreed among those who together
fuerunt concidisti. Quid evenerit postea nescio — metum
were you-collapsed what happened afterward I-know-not fear
credo valuisse et arma — conlegam quidem de caelo
I-believe to-have-prevailed and arms the-colleague indeed from the-sky
detraxisti effecistique non tu quidem etiam nunc ut
you-dragged-down and-you-brought-about not you indeed even now that
similis tui, sed certe ut dissimilis esset sui.
like to-you but surely that unlike he-should-be to-himself

His return to Rome brought armed bands with shields carried in litters. He annulled Caesar's laws and his will, carrying off the statues bequeathed to the people. Though named Caesar's flamen, he has not been inaugurated, and he let a day of Caesar's games pass unmarked. Cicero challenges Antony to answer this speech, if he can find a word in it to rebut.

108 Qui vero inde reditus Romam, quae perturbatio totius
what indeed thence a-return to-Rome what confusion of-the-whole
urbis! Memineramus Cinnam nimis potentem, Sullam postea
city we-remembered Cinna too powerful Sulla afterward
dominantem, modo Caesarem regnantem videramus. Erant
domineering just-now Caesar reigning we-had-seen there-were
fortasse gladii, sed absconditi nec ita multi. Ista vero quae et
perhaps swords but hidden nor so many this indeed what and
quanta barbaria est! Agmine quadrato cum gladiis sequuntur;
how-great barbarism is in-column square with swords follow
scutorum lecticas portari videmus. Atque his quidem
of-shields litters to-be-carried we-see and with-these indeed
iam inveteratis, patres conscripti, consuetudine obduruimus.
now grown-old fathers enrolled by-habit we-have-hardened
Kalendis Iuniis cum in senatum, ut erat constitutum,
on-the-Kalends of-June when into the-senate as it-was arranged
venire vellemus, metu perterriti repente diffugimus.
to-come we-wished by-fear terrified suddenly we-scattered
109 At iste, qui senatu non egeret, neque desideravit quemquam
but he who the-senate not needed nor missed anyone
et potius discessu nostro laetatus est statimque illa mirabilia
and rather at-departure our rejoiced has and-at-once those wonderful
facinora effecit. Qui chirographa Caesaris defendisset lucri
crimes accomplished he-who the-autographs of-Caesar had-defended of-gain

sui causa, is leges Caesaris easque praeclaras, ut rem
his-own for-the-sake he the-laws of-Caesar and-those splendid that the-thing
publicam concutere posset, evertit. Numerum annorum
public to-shake he-could overturned the-number of-years
provinciis prorogavit; idemque, cum actorum Caesaris
for-the-provinces he-extended and-the-same-man when of-the-acts of-Caesar
defensor esse deberet, et in publicis et in privatis rebus
defender to-be he-ought both in public and in private things
acta Caesaris rescidit. In publicis nihil est lege gravius;
the-acts of-Caesar he-annulled in public nothing is than-law weightier
in privatis firmissimum est testamentum. Leges alias sine
in private most-firm is the-will laws some without
promulgatione sustulit, alias ut tolleret promulgavit.
promulgation he-removed others that he-might-remove he-promulgated
Testamentum inritum fecit, quod etiam infimis civibus
the-will void he-made which even to-the-lowest citizens
semper obtentum est. Signa, tabulas, quas populo Caesar
always upheld has-been the-statues the-pictures which to-the-people Caesar
una cum hortis legavit, eas hic partim in hortos
together with the-gardens bequeathed those he partly into the-gardens
Pompei deportavit, partim in villam Scipionis.
of-Pompey carried-off partly into the-villa of-Scipio
Et tu in Caesaris memoria diligens, tu illum amas 110
and you in of-Caesar the-memory diligent you him love
mortuum? Quem is honorem maiorem consecutus erat quam
dead what he honor greater attained had than
ut haberet pulvinar, simulacrum, fastigium, flaminem?
that he-should-have a-couch an-image a-pediment a-flamen
Est ergo flamen, ut Iovi, ut Marti, ut Quirino, sic
there-is therefore a-flamen as for-Jupiter as for-Mars as for-Quirinus so
divo Iulio M. Antonius? Quid igitur cessas? Cur non
for-the-divine Julius Mark Antony why therefore do-you-delay why not

inauguraris? Sume diem, vide qui te inauguret: conlegae
are-you-inaugurated take a-day see who you may-inaugurate colleagues
sumus; nemo negabit. O detestabilem hominem, sive quod
we-are no-one will-deny O detestable man whether because
tyranni sacerdos es sive quod mortui! Quaero deinceps
of-a-tyrant the-priest you-are or because of-a-dead-man I-ask next
num hodiernus dies qui sit ignores? Nescis heri
whether today's day what it-is you-know-not do-you-not-know yesterday
quartum in circo diem ludorum Romanorum fuisse? te
the-fourth in the-circus day of-the-games Roman to-have-been you
autem ipsum ad populum tulisse ut quintus praeterea dies
however yourself to the-people to-have-proposed that a-fifth besides day
Caesari tribueretur? Cur non sumus praetextati? Cur honorem
to-Caesar should-be-assigned why not are-we in-bordered-togas why the-honor
Caesaris tua lege datum deseri patimur? an supplicationes
of-Caesar by-your law given to-be-deserted do-we-allow or the-thanksgivings
addendo diem contaminari passus es, pulvinaria noluisti?
by-adding a-day to-be-polluted allowed have-you the-couches you-would-not
Aut undique religionem tolle aut usque quaque conserva.
either everywhere religion remove or right-through everywhere preserve
111 Quaeris placeatne mihi pulvinar esse, fastigium, flaminem.
you-ask whether-it-pleases me a-couch to-be a-pediment a-flamen
Mihi vero nihil istorum placet: sed tu qui acta Caesaris
to-me indeed nothing of-those pleases but you who the-acts of-Caesar
defendis quid potes dicere cur alia defendas, alia non
defend what can-you to-say why some you-defend others not
cures? Nisi forte vis fateri te omnia quaestu tuo,
you-care-for unless perhaps you-wish to-confess that-you all-things by-gain your
non illius dignitate metiri. Quid ad haec tandem? exspecto
not by-his dignity to-measure what to these at-last I-await
enim eloquentiam. Disertissimum cognovi avum tuum,
for eloquence most-eloquent I-knew grandfather your

at te etiam apertiorem in dicendo. Ille numquam nudus
but you even more-open in speaking he never naked
est contionatus: tuum hominis simplicis pectus vidimus.
did harangue your of-a-man straightforward chest we-have-seen
Respondebisne ad haec, aut omnino hiscere audebis?
will-you-answer to these or at-all to-open-your-mouth will-you-dare
Ecquid reperies ex tam longa oratione mea cui te
anything will-you-find out-of so long speech my to-which you
respondere posse confidas? Sed praeterita omittamus.
to-answer to-be-able may-trust but past-things let-us-omit

XIX · LIBERTY OR SLAVERY

Why is the senate ringed with armed men and Ituraean archers? Antony would be better guarded by the citizens' love. The Roman people will wrest his power from him; its leaders, wherever they are, are the state's defense, and the young nobles stand ready. Peace is sweet, but between peace and slavery the difference is great. The liberators left an example, and the glory of that deed will draw imitators, which Antony in his greed cannot see.

Hunc unum diem, unum, inquam, hodiernum diem, hoc 112
this one day one I-say today's day this
punctum temporis, quo loquor, defende, si potes. Cur
point of-time in-which I-speak defend if you-can why
armatorum corona senatus saeptus est, cur me tui satellites
of-armed-men by-a-ring the-senate fenced-in is why me your attendants
cum gladiis audiunt, cur valvae Concordiae non patent, cur
with swords hear why the-doors of-Concord not stand-open why
homines omnium gentium maxime barbaros, Ituraeos, cum
men of-all nations most barbarous Ituraeans with
sagittis deducis in forum? Praesidi sui causa se
arrows do-you-lead into the-forum of-protection his-own for-the-sake himself

facere dicit. Non igitur miliens perire est melius quam in
to-do-it he-says not therefore a-thousand-times to-perish is better than in
sua civitate sine armatorum praesidio non posse vivere?
one's-own state without of-armed-men protection not to-be-able to-live
Sed nullum est istuc, mihi crede, praesidium: caritate te
but no is that to-me believe protection by-the-love you
et benevolentia civium saeptum oportet esse, non armis.
and goodwill of-the-citizens fenced it-is-proper to-be not by-arms
113 Eripiet et extorquebit tibi ista populus Romanus,
will-snatch and will-wrest from-you those-things the-people Roman
utinam salvis nobis! Sed quoquo modo nobiscum egeris,
would-that with-safe us but in-whatever way with-us you-deal
dum istis consiliis uteris, non potes, mihi crede, esse
while those counsels you-use not you-can to-me believe to-be
diuturnus. Etenim ista tua minime avara coniunx quam
long-lasting for-indeed that your least greedy wife whom
ego sine contumelia describo nimium diu debet populo
I without insult describe too long owes to-the-people
Romano tertiam pensionem. Habet populus Romanus ad quos
Roman the-third installment has the-people Roman to whom
gubernacula rei publicae deferat: qui ubicumque
the-helm of-the-thing public it-may-hand-over who wherever
terrarum sunt, ibi omne est rei publicae praesidium vel
of-the-lands they-are there all is of-the-thing public the-defense or
potius ipsa res publica, quae se adhuc tantum modo ulta
rather the-very thing public which itself so-far so-much only avenged
est, nondum recuperavit. Habet quidem certe res publica
has not-yet recovered has indeed surely the-thing public
adulescentis nobilissimos paratos defensores. Quam volent
young-men most-noble ready defenders as-much-as will-wish
illi cedant otio consulentes; tamen a re publica
they let-them-yield to-peace taking-thought still by the-thing public

revocabuntur. Et nomen pacis dulce est et ipsa res
they-will-be-recalled both the-name of-peace sweet is and the-very thing
salutaris; sed inter pacem et servitutem plurimum interest.
salutary but between peace and slavery very-much there-is-difference
Pax est tranquilla libertas, servitus postremum malorum
peace is tranquil liberty slavery the-last of-evils
omnium, non modo bello sed morte etiam repellendum.
all not only by-war but by-death even to-be-repelled
Quod si se ipsos illi nostri liberatores e conspectu 114
but if themselves them those our liberators from sight
nostro abstulerunt, at exemplum facti reliquerunt. Illi
our have-removed yet the-example of-the-deed they-have-left they
quod nemo fecerat fecerunt. Tarquinium Brutus bello est
what no-one had-done did Tarquinius Brutus with-war did
persecutus, qui tum rex fuit cum esse Romae licebat;
pursue who then king was when to-be at-Rome it-was-allowed
Sp. Cassius, Sp. Maelius, M. Manlius propter
Spurius Cassius Spurius Maelius Marcus Manlius on-account-of
suspicionem regni appetendi sunt necati: hi primum cum
suspicion of-kingship of-seeking were killed these first with
gladiis non in regnum appetentem, sed in regnantem
swords not against kingship one-seeking but against one-reigning
impetum fecerunt. Quod cum ipsum factum per se
attack made which when the-very deed through itself
praeclarum est atque divinum, tum expositum ad imitandum
splendid is and divine then set-forth for imitating
est, praesertim cum illi eam gloriam consecuti sint quae
it-is especially since they that glory attained have which
vix caelo capi posse videatur. Etsi enim satis in
scarcely by-heaven to-be-contained to-be-able may-seem although for enough in

ipsa conscientia pulcherrimi facti fructus erat, tamen
the-very consciousness of-the-most-beautiful deed of-reward there-was still
mortali immortalitatem non arbitror contemnendam.
for-a-mortal immortality not I-think to-be-despised
115 Recordare igitur illum, M. Antoni, diem quo dictaturam
recall therefore that Mark Antony day on-which the-dictatorship
sustulisti; pone ante oculos laetitiam senatus populique
you-removed set before your-eyes the-joy of-the-senate and-of-the-people
Romani; confer cum hac nundinatione tua tuorumque: tum
Roman compare-it with this trafficking of-yours and-your-people's then
intelleges quantum inter laudem et lucrum intersit.
you-will-understand how-much between praise and gain difference-there-is
Sed nimirum, ut quidam morbo aliquo et sensus stupore
but no-doubt as some by-disease some and of-sense by-dullness
suavitatem cibi non sentiunt, sic libidinosi, avari, facinerosi
the-sweetness of-food not perceive so the-lustful the-greedy the-criminal
verae laudis gustatum non habent. Sed si te laus adlicere ad
of-true praise the-taste not have but if you praise to-entice to
recte faciendum non potest, ne metus quidem a foedissimis
rightly doing not can not fear even from most-foul
factis potest avocare? Iudicia non metuis: si propter
deeds can to-call-away the-courts not you-fear if on-account-of
innocentiam, laudo; sin propter vim, non intellegis, qui
innocence I-praise-you but-if on-account-of force not you-understand who
isto modo iudicia non timeat, ei quid timendum sit?
in-that way the-courts not may-fear to-him what to-be-feared is

Caesar had genius, learning, and achievements, and still he was killed; Antony has only his lust for power, and the people now know whom to trust. Let Antony look to his ancestors and make peace with the state. Cicero defended it young and will not desert it old; he scorned Catiline's swords and will not fear Antony's. He would gladly give his life if his death could free Rome, wishing only to leave the people free and each man repaid as he deserves.

Quod si non metuis viros fortis egregiosque civis, quod a 116
but if not you-fear men brave and-outstanding citizens because from
corpore tuo prohibentur armis, tui te, mihi crede,
body your they-are-kept by-arms your-own-people you to-me believe
diutius non ferent. Quae est autem vita dies et noctes timere
longer not will-bear what is however a-life days and nights to-fear
a suis? Nisi vero aut maioribus habes beneficiis obligatos
from one's-own unless indeed either by-greater you-have benefits bound-men
quam ille quosdam habuit ex eis a quibus est interfectus,
than he certain-ones had of those by whom he-was killed
aut tu es ulla re cum eo comparandus. Fuit in illo
or you are in-any thing with him to-be-compared there-was in him
ingenium, ratio, memoria, litterae, cura, cogitatio, diligentia;
talent reason memory letters care thought diligence
res bello gesserat, quamvis rei publicae calamitosas,
things in-war he-had-done although for-the-thing public calamitous
at tamen magnas; multos annos regnare meditatus, magno
but still great many years to-reign having-planned with-great
labore, magnis periculis quod cogitarat effecerat;
toil with-great dangers what he-had-planned he-had-accomplished
muneribus, monumentis, congiariis, epulis multitudinem
with-shows with-monuments with-largesses with-feasts the-multitude
imperitam delenierat; suos praemiis, adversarios clementiae
ignorant he-had-soothed his-own with-rewards his-adversaries of-clemency

specie devinxerat. Quid multa? Attulerat iam liberae
by-the-show he-had-bound what many-words he-had-brought now to-a-free
civitati partim metu partim patientia consuetudinem serviendi.
state partly by-fear partly by-endurance the-habit of-serving
117 Cum illo ego te dominandi cupiditate conferre possum,
with him I you of-domineering by-the-desire to-compare can
ceteris vero rebus nullo modo comparandus es. Sed ex
in-the-other indeed things in-no way to-be-compared you-are but out-of
plurimis malis quae ab illo rei publicae sunt inusta
the-very-many evils which by him on-the-thing public have-been branded
hoc tamen boni est quod didicit iam populus Romanus
this still of-good is that has-learned now the-people Roman
quantum cuique crederet, quibus se committeret, a
how-much to-each-man it-should-trust to-whom itself it-should-commit from
quibus caveret. Haec non cogitas, neque intellegis satis
whom it-should-beware these-things not you-think nor understand enough
esse viris fortibus didicisse quam sit re pulchrum,
to-be for-men brave to-have-learned how it-is in-fact beautiful
beneficio gratum, fama gloriosum tyrannum occidere? An,
in-benefit welcome in-fame glorious a-tyrant to-kill or
cum illum homines non tulerint, te ferent?
when him men not bore you will-they-bear
118 Certatim posthac, mihi crede, ad hoc opus curretur neque
in-rivalry hereafter to-me believe to this work it-will-be-run nor
occasionis tarditas exspectabitur.
of-opportunity the-delay will-be-awaited
Respice, quaeso, aliquando rem publicam, M. Antoni,
look-back-at I-beg at-last the-thing public Mark Antony
quibus ortus sis, non quibuscum vivas considera: mecum, ut
from-whom sprung you-be not with-whom you-live consider with-me as
voles: redi cum re publica in gratiam. Sed de te tu
you-will return with the-thing public into favor but about yourself you

videris; ego de me ipse profitebor. Defendi rem publicam
will-see I about myself myself will-declare I-defended the-thing public
adulescens, non deseram senex: contempsi Catilinae gladios,
a-young-man not I-shall-desert-it an-old-man I-despised of-Catiline the-swords
non pertimescam tuos. Quin etiam corpus libenter obtulerim, si
not I-shall-dread yours indeed even my-body gladly I-would-offer if
repraesentari morte mea libertas civitatis potest, ut aliquando
to-be-made-present by-death my the-liberty of-the-state can so-that at-last
dolor populi Romani pariat quod iam diu parturit!
the-pain of-the-people Roman may-bring-forth what now long it-is-in-labor-with
Etenim si abhinc annos prope viginti hoc ipso in templo negavi 119
for-indeed if ago years almost twenty this very in temple I-denied
posse mortem immaturam esse consulari, quanto verius
to-be-able death untimely to-be for-an-ex-consul how-much more-truly
nunc negabo seni? Mihi vero, patres conscripti, iam
now shall-I-deny-it for-an-old-man to-me indeed fathers enrolled now
etiam optanda mors est, perfuncto rebus eis quas adeptus
even to-be-wished-for death is having-discharged the-things those which attained
sum quasque gessi. Duo modo haec opto, unum ut moriens
I-have and-which I-did two only these-things I-wish one that dying
populum Romanum liberum relinquam — hoc mihi maius ab
the-people Roman free I-may-leave this to-me greater by
dis immortalibus dari nihil potest — alterum ut ita
the-gods immortal to-be-given nothing can the-other that so
cuique eveniat ut de re publica quisque mereatur.
to-each-man it-may-turn-out as about the-thing public each may-deserve

PHILIPPICA TERTIA

I · THE LATE SUMMONS

The senate meets at last, later than it should, while Antony attacks Decimus Brutus' province and threatens Rome. Cicero would not wait for January. Young Caesar raised a veteran army on his own counsel and saved the state from Antony, fresh from butchery at Brundisium; he deserves the senate's backing, and the Martian legion, which left Antony for Alba, deserves its praise.

Serius omnino, patres conscripti, quam tempus rei 1
later altogether fathers enrolled than the-time of-the-thing
publicae postulabat, aliquando tamen convocati sumus; quod
public demanded at-last still summoned we-have-been which
flagitabam equidem cotidie, quippe cum bellum nefarium
I-was-demanding indeed daily inasmuch-as since a-war wicked
contra aras et focos, contra vitam fortunasque nostras ab
against altars and hearths against life and-fortunes our by
homine profligato ac perdito non comparari, sed geri iam
a-man debauched and ruined not to-be-prepared but to-be-waged already
viderem. Exspectantur Kalendae Ianuariae, quas non exspectat
I-saw are-awaited the-Kalends of-January which not awaits
Antonius qui in provinciam D. Bruti, summi et singularis
Antony who into the-province of-Decimus Brutus a-supreme and singular
viri, cum exercitu impetum facere conatur; ex qua se
man with an-army an-attack to-make tries from which himself
instructum et paratum ad urbem venturum esse minitatur.
equipped and ready to the-city going-to-come to-be he-threatens
Quae est igitur exspectatio aut quae vel minimi dilatio 2
what is therefore the-waiting or what even of-the-least the-delay
temporis? Quamquam enim adsunt Kalendae Ianuariae,
of-time although for are-at-hand the-Kalends of-January

tamen breve tempus longum est imparatis. Dies enim
still short time long is for-the-unprepared a-day for
adfert vel hora potius, nisi provisum est, magnas
brings or an-hour rather unless provided-against it-has-been great
saepe clades; certus autem dies non ut sacrificiis, sic consiliis
often disasters a-fixed however day not as for-sacrifices so for-counsels
exspectari solet. Quod si aut Kalendae Ianuariae fuissent
to-be-awaited is-accustomed but if either the-Kalends of-January had-been
eo die quo primum ex urbe fugit Antonius, aut
on-that day on-which first from the-city fled Antony or
eae non essent exspectatae, bellum iam nullum haberemus.
they not had-been awaited war now none we-would-have
Auctoritate enim senatus consensuque populi Romani
by-the-authority for of-the-senate and-the-agreement of-the-people Roman
facile hominis amentis fregissemus audaciam. Quod
easily of-the-man mad we-would-have-broken the-audacity which
confido equidem consules designatos, simul ut magistratum
I-trust indeed the-consuls designate as-soon as office
inierint, esse facturos; sunt enim optimo animo,
they-shall-have-entered to-be going-to-do they-are for of-the-best mind
summo consilio, singulari concordia. Mea autem festinatio
of-the-highest counsel of-singular concord my however haste
non victoriae solum avida est sed etiam celeritatis.
not for-victory only eager is but also for-speed

3 Quo enim usque tantum bellum, tam crudele, tam nefarium
to-what for point so-great a-war so cruel so wicked
privatis consiliis propulsabitur? cur non quam primum
by-private counsels will-be-repelled why not as soon-as-possible
publica accedit auctoritas? C. Caesar adulescens, paene potius
public is-added authority Gaius Caesar a-young-man almost rather
puer, incredibili ac divina quadam mente atque virtute, cum
a-boy with-incredible and divine a-certain mind and virtue when

maxime furor arderet Antoni cumque eius a Brundisio
most the-madness was-blazing of-Antony and-when his from Brundisium
crudelis et pestifer reditus timeretur, nec postulantibus nec
cruel and pestilential return was-feared neither demanding nor
cogitantibus, ne optantibus quidem nobis, quia non posse
thinking not wishing even us because not to-be-able
fieri videbatur, firmissimum exercitum ex invicto
to-be-done it-seemed a-most-firm army from the-unconquered
genere veteranorum militum comparavit patrimoniumque suum
race of-veteran soldiers he-procured and-patrimony his
effudit: quamquam non sum usus eo verbo quo debui; non
poured-out although not I-have used that word which I-ought not
enim effudit: in salute rei publicae conlocavit.
for he-poured(-it)-out in the-safety of-the-thing public he-placed(-it)
Cui quamquam gratia referri tanta non potest quanta 4
to-whom although thanks to-be-returned so-great not can as-great-as
debetur, habenda tamen est tanta quantam maximam animi
is-owed to-be-held still is so-great as the-greatest the-minds
nostri capere possunt. Quis enim est tam ignarus rerum,
our to-hold can who for is so ignorant of-affairs
tam nihil de re publica cogitans qui hoc non intellegat,
so nothing about the-thing public thinking who this not understands
si M. Antonius a Brundisio cum eis copiis quas se
if Mark Antony from Brundisium with those forces which himself
habiturum putabat, Romam, ut minabatur, venire potuisset,
going-to-have he-thought to-Rome as he-threatened to-come had-been-able
nullum genus eum crudelitatis praeteriturum fuisse? quippe
no kind him of-cruelty going-to-pass-over to-have-been inasmuch-as
qui in hospitis tectis Brundisi fortissimos viros optimosque
he-who in a-host's house at-Brundisium most-brave men and-best
civis iugulari iusserit; quorum ante pedes eius morientium
citizens to-be-butchered ordered of-whom before feet his of-dying

sanguine os uxoris respersum esse constabat. Hac
with-the-blood the-face of-his-wife spattered to-have-been it-was-agreed with-this
ille crudelitate imbutus, cum multo bonis omnibus veniret
he cruelty steeped since much to-the-good all he-was-coming
iratior quam illis fuerat quos trucidarat, cui tandem
angrier than to-those he-had-been whom he-had-slaughtered to-whom pray
nostrum aut cui omnino bono pepercisset?
of-us or to-whom at-all to-good-man would-be-have-spared
Qua peste privato consilio rem publicam — neque enim
from-which plague by-private counsel the-thing public nor for
fieri potuit aliter — Caesar liberavit: qui nisi in hac
to-be-done it-could otherwise Caesar freed who unless in this
re publica natus esset, rem publicam scelere Antoni
thing public born he-had-been the-thing public by-the-crime of-Antony
nullam haberemus. Sic enim perspicio, sic iudico, nisi unus
none we-would-have so for I-perceive so I-judge unless one
adulescens illius furentis impetus crudelissimosque conatus
young-man of-that raging the-onslaughts and-most-cruel attempts
cohibuisset, rem publicam funditus interituram fuisse.
had-restrained the-thing public from-the-roots going-to-perish to-have-been
Cui quidem hodierno die, patres conscripti — nunc enim
to-whom indeed on-today's day fathers enrolled now for
primum ita convenimus ut illius beneficio possemus ea
first so we-have-met that by-his favor we-could those-things
quae sentiremus libere dicere — tribuenda est auctoritas, ut
which we-felt freely say to-be-given is authority that
rem publicam non modo a se susceptam sed etiam
the-thing public not only by himself undertaken but even
a nobis commendatam possit defendere.
by us entrusted he-may-be-able to-defend

Nec vero de legione Martia, quoniam longo intervallo loqui 6
nor indeed about the-legion Martian since after-a-long interval to-speak
nobis de re publica licet, sileri potest. Quis
to-us about the-thing public it-is-allowed to-be-passed-in-silence it-can who
enim unus fortior, quis amicior umquam rei publicae
for one braver who friendlier ever to-the-thing public
fuit quam legio Martia universa? Quae cum hostem populi
was than the-legion Martian whole which when an-enemy of-the-people
Romani Antonium iudicasset, comes esse eius amentiae
Roman Antony it-had-judged the-companion to-be of-his madness
noluit: reliquit consulem; quod profecto non fecisset,
refused it-left the-consul which surely not it-would-have-done
si eum consulem iudicasset quem nihil aliud agere, nihil
if him consul it-had-judged whom nothing else to-do nothing
moliri nisi caedem civium atque interitum civitatis videret.
to-attempt except the-slaughter of-citizens and the-destruction of-the-state it-saw
Atque ea legio consedit Albae. Quam potuit urbem eligere
and that legion settled at-Alba what could-it a-city choose
aut opportuniorem ad res gerendas aut fideliorem aut
either more-suitable for things to-be-done or more-loyal or
fortiorum virorum aut amiciorum rei publicae civium?
of-braver men or more-friendly to-the-thing public of-citizens

The fourth legion, under the quaestor Egnatuleius, has followed the Martian to young Caesar, and the senate must reward them. Decimus Brutus' edict keeps Gaul for the senate. Tarquin, whom the ancestors would not bear, was merely proud; Antony sold the rights of kingship, butchered citizens, and led an army against the Roman people.

7 Huius legionis virtutem imitata quarta legio duce
of-this legion the-virtue imitating the-fourth legion with-as-leader
L. Egnatuleio quaestore, civi optimo et fortissimo,
Lucius Egnatuleius the-quaestor a-citizen best and bravest
C. Caesaris auctoritatem atque exercitum persecuta
of-Gaius Caesar the-authority and army followed
est. Faciendum est igitur nobis, patres conscripti, ut
has to-be-done it-is therefore by-us fathers enrolled that
ea quae sua sponte clarissimus adulescens atque
those-things which of-his-own accord a-most-illustrious young-man and
omnium praestantissimus gessit et gerit hac auctoritate
of-all most-outstanding has-done and does by-this authority
nostra comprobentur, veteranorumque, fortissimorum virorum,
our be-approved and-of-the-veterans most-brave men
tum legionis Martiae quartaeque mirabilis consensus ad
then of-the-legion Martian and-fourth the-wonderful agreement for
rem publicam recuperandam laude et testimonio nostro
the-thing public to-be-recovered by-praise and testimony our
confirmetur, eorumque commoda, honores, praemia, cum
be-confirmed and-their advantages honors rewards when
consules designati magistratum inierint, curae nobis
the-consuls designate office shall-have-entered for-a-care to-us
fore hodierno die spondeamus.
going-to-be on-today's day we-should-pledge

Atque ea quidem quae dixi de Caesare deque eius 8
and those indeed which I-have-said about Caesar and-about his
exercitu iam diu nota sunt nobis. Virtute enim admirabili
army already long known are to-us by-the-virtue for admirable
Caesaris constantiaque militum veteranorum legionumque
of-Caesar and-the-steadfastness of-the-soldiers veteran and-of-the-legions
earum quae optimo iudicio auctoritatem nostram, libertatem
those which with-the-best judgment authority our the-liberty
populi Romani, virtutem Caesaris secutae sunt a cervicibus
of-the-people Roman the-virtue of-Caesar followed have from necks
nostris est depulsus Antonius. Sed haec, ut dixi, superiora:
our has been-driven-off Antony but these-things as I-said earlier
hoc vero recens edictum D. Bruti quod paulo ante
this indeed recent edict of-Decimus Brutus which a-little before
propositum est certe silentio non potest praeteriri. Pollicetur
posted has-been surely in-silence not can be-passed-over he-promises
enim se provinciam Galliam retenturum in senatus
for himself the-province Gaul going-to-keep in of-the-senate
populique Romani potestate. O civem natum rei
and-of-the-people Roman the-power O citizen born for-the-thing
publicae, memorem sui nominis imitatoremque maiorum!
public mindful of-his-own name and-imitator of-his-ancestors
Neque enim Tarquinio expulso maioribus nostris tam fuit
nor for with-Tarquin expelled to-ancestors our so was
optata libertas quam est depulso Antonio retinenda nobis.
desired liberty as is with-driven-off Antony to-be-retained by-us
Illi regibus parere iam a condita urbe didicerant: nos 9
they kings to-obey already from the-founded city had-learned us
post reges exactos servitutis oblivio ceperat. Atque ille
after kings driven-out of-slavery oblivion had-seized and that
Tarquinius quem maiores nostri non tulerunt non crudelis,
Tarquin whom ancestors our not bore not cruel

non impius, sed superbus est habitus et dictus: quod nos
not impious but proud was held and called which we
vitium in privatis saepe tulimus, id maiores nostri ne in
vice in private-men often have-borne that ancestors our not in
rege quidem ferre potuerunt. L. Brutus regem superbum
a-king even to-bear could Lucius Brutus a-king proud
non tulit: D. Brutus sceleratum atque impium regnare
not bore Decimus Brutus a-criminal and impious to-reign
patietur Antonium? Quid Tarquinius tale qualia innumerabilia
will-allow Antony what did-Tarquin such as countless
et facit et fecit Antonius? Senatum etiam reges habebant:
both does and has-done Antony a-senate even the-kings had
nec tamen, ut Antonio senatum habente, in consilio regis
nor still as with-Antony the-senate holding in the-council of-the-king
versabantur barbari armati. Servabant auspicia reges; quae
were-moving barbarians armed they-observed the-auspices the-kings which
hic consul augurque neglexit, neque solum legibus contra
this consul and-augur neglected nor only by-laws against
auspicia ferendis sed etiam conlega una ferente
the-auspices to-be-carried but even with-(his)-colleague together carrying(-them)
eo quem ipse ementitis auspiciis vitiosum fecerat.
him whom himself by-false auspices faulty had-made
10 Quis autem rex umquam fuit tam insignite impudens
who however king ever was so notably shameless
ut haberet omnia commoda, beneficia, iura regni
that he-should-have all the-advantages favors rights of-the-kingdom
venalia? quam hic immunitatem, quam civitatem, quod
for-sale what this-man exemption what citizenship what
praemium non vel singulis hominibus vel civitatibus vel
reward not either to-single men or to-states or
universis provinciis vendidit? Nihil humile de Tarquinio,
to-whole provinces sold nothing low about Tarquin

nihil sordidum accepimus: at vero huius domi inter
nothing sordid we-have-received but indeed at-this-man's house among
quasilla pendebatur aurum, numerabatur pecunia; una in
the-wool-baskets was-weighed gold was-counted money one in
domo omnes quorum intererat totum imperium populi
house all whose it-concerned the-whole empire of-the-people
Romani nundinabantur. Supplicia vero in civis Romanos
Roman were-trafficking punishments indeed against citizens Roman
nulla Tarquini accepimus: at hic et Suessae iugulavit eos
none of-Tarquin we-have-received but this-man both at-Suessa butchered those
quos in custodiam dederat et Brundisi ad ccc
whom into custody he-had-given and at-Brundisium about three-hundred
fortissimos viros civisque optimos trucidavit.
most-brave men and-citizens best slaughtered
Postremo Tarquinius pro populo Romano bellum gerebat 11
finally Tarquin for the-people Roman war was-waging
tum cum est expulsus: Antonius contra populum Romanum
then when he-was expelled Antony against the-people Roman
exercitum adducebat tum cum a legionibus relictus nomen
an-army was-leading then when by the-legions abandoned the-name
Caesaris exercitumque pertimuit neglectisque sacrificiis
of-Caesar and-the-army he-dreaded and-with-neglected sacrifices
sollemnibus ante lucem vota ea quae numquam solveret
solemn before dawn vows those which never he-would-pay
nuncupavit, et hoc tempore in provinciam populi Romani
he-pronounced and at-this time into a-province of-the-people Roman
conatur invadere. Maius igitur a D. Bruto beneficium
he-tries to-invade a-greater therefore from Decimus Brutus benefit
populus Romanus et habet et exspectat quam maiores
the-people Roman both holds and expects than ancestors

nostri acceperunt a L. Bruto, principe huius maxime
our received from Lucius Brutus the-founder of-this most
conservandi generis et nominis.
to-be-preserved family and name

III · DECIMUS BRUTUS AND GAUL

Slavery to so foul and drunken a master would be unbearable. Decimus Brutus, by keeping Antony out of Gaul, judges him no consul, and he has been none since the Lupercalia, when he offered Caesar the diadem; the province itself, the flower of Italy, stands firm. Although the tribunes moved only a guard for the senate on the Kalends of January, Cicero will cover the whole state in his motion: authority for the generals, rewards for the soldiers, and Antony judged an enemy.

12 Cum autem est omnis servitus misera, tum vero intolerabile
when however is all slavery wretched then indeed intolerable
est servire impuro, impudico, effeminato, numquam ne
it-is to-be-slave to-an-impure unchaste effeminate never not
in metu quidem sobrio. Hunc igitur qui Gallia prohibet,
in fear even sober-man this-man therefore who from-Gaul keeps(-out)
privato praesertim consilio, iudicat verissimeque iudicat non
by-private especially counsel he-judges and-most-truly he-judges not
esse consulem. Faciendum est igitur nobis, patres conscripti,
to-be consul to-be-done it-is therefore by-us fathers enrolled
ut D. Bruti privatum consilium auctoritate publica
that of-Decimus Brutus the-private counsel by-authority public
comprobemus. Nec vero M. Antonium consulem post
we-may-approve nor indeed Mark Antony consul after
Lupercalia debuistis putare: quo enim ille die, populo
the-Lupercalia ought-you to-think on-what for he day with-the-people
Romano inspectante, nudus, unctus, ebrius est contionatus
Roman looking-on naked oiled drunk has harangued

et id egit ut conlegae diadema imponeret, eo die
and this aimed-at that on-his-colleague a-diadem he-might-place on-that day
se non modo consulatu sed etiam libertate abdicavit.
himself not only from-the-consulship but even from-liberty he-resigned
Esset enim ipsi certe statim serviendum, si Caesar
it-would-have-been for for-himself surely at-once to-be-slaved if Caesar
ab eo regni insigne accipere voluisset. Hunc igitur ego
from him of-kingship the-emblem to-accept had-wished this-man therefore I
consulem, hunc civem Romanum, hunc liberum, hunc
consul this-man a-citizen Roman this-man free this-man
denique hominem putem qui foedo illo et flagitioso die
finally a-man should-think who on-foul that and disgraceful day
et quid pati C. Caesare vivo posset et quid eo
both what to-suffer with-Gaius Caesar alive he-could and what with-him
mortuo consequi ipse cuperet ostendit?
dead to-obtain himself he-desired showed
Nec vero de virtute, constantia, gravitate provinciae Galliae 13
nor indeed about the-virtue steadfastness weight of-the-province Gaul
taceri potest. Est enim ille flos Italiae, illud
to-be-kept-silent it-can is for it the-flower of-Italy that
firmamentum imperi populi Romani, illud ornamentum
foundation of-the-empire of-the-people Roman that ornament
dignitatis. Tantus autem est consensus municipiorum
of-dignity so-great however is the-agreement of-the-towns
coloniarumque provinciae Galliae ut omnes ad auctoritatem
and-colonies of-the-province Gaul that all for the-authority
huius ordinis maiestatemque populi Romani defendendam
of-this order and-the-majesty of-the-people Roman to-be-defended
conspirasse videantur.
to-have-conspired they-seem

Quam ob rem, tribuni plebis, quamquam vos nihil
which on-account-of thing tribunes of-the-plebs although you nothing
aliud nisi de praesidio ut senatum tuto consules Kalendis
else except about a-guard that the-senate safely the-consuls on-the-Kalends
Ianuariis habere possint rettulistis, tamen mihi videmini
of-January to-hold may-be-able have-referred still to-me you-seem
magno consilio atque optima mente potestatem nobis de
with-great counsel and best mind the-power to-us about
tota re publica fecisse dicendi. Cum enim tuto haberi
the-whole thing public to-have-made of-speaking when for safely to-be-held
senatum sine praesidio non posse iudicavistis, tum statuistis
the-senate without a-guard not to-be-able you-judged then you-decided
etiam intra muros Antoni scelus audaciamque versari.
also within the-walls Antony's crime and-audacity to-be-moving

14 Quam ob rem omnia mea sententia complectar, vobis,
which on-account-of thing all-things by-my motion I-shall-embrace with-you
ut intellego, non invitis, ut et praestantissimis ducibus a
as I-understand not unwilling that both to-the-most-outstanding leaders by
nobis detur auctoritas et fortissimis militibus spes ostendatur
us be-given authority and to-the-bravest soldiers hope be-shown
praemiorum et iudicetur non verbo, sed re non modo
of-rewards and be-judged not by-word but by-deed not only
non consul sed etiam hostis Antonius. Nam si ille consul,
not consul but even an-enemy Antony for if he consul
fustuarium meruerunt legiones quae consulem reliquerunt,
cudgeling have-deserved the-legions which the-consul abandoned
sceleratus Caesar, Brutus nefarius qui contra consulem privato
criminal Caesar Brutus wicked who against the-consul by-private
consilio exercitus comparaverunt. Si autem militibus exquirendi
counsel armies procured if however for-the-soldiers to-be-sought-out
sunt honores novi propter eorum divinum atque immortale
are honors new on-account-of their divine and immortal

meritum, ducibus autem ne referri quidem potest gratia,
service to-the-leaders however not to-be-returned even can thanks
quis est qui eum hostem non existimet quem qui
who is-there who him an-enemy not thinks whom those-who
armis persequantur conservatores rei publicae iudicentur?
with-arms pursue preservers of-the-thing public are-judged

IV · ANTONY'S EDICTS

Cicero mocks Antony's edicts. He abused young Caesar for his mother's birth at Aricia, a town that has given Rome laws, curule magistrates, and knights, and called a son of the Julian line ignoble while boasting of the same descent himself. He dared to write that young Quintus Cicero plotted to kill his father and uncle, and he summoned the senate for the twenty-fourth of November and did not come.

At quam contumeliosus in edictis, quam barbarus, quam rudis! 15
but how insulting in edicts how barbarous how uncouth
primum in Caesarem ut maledicta congessit deprompta
first against Caesar how abuse he-heaped drawn
ex recordatione impudicitiae et stuprorum suorum! Quis
from the-recollection of-unchastity and debaucheries his-own who
enim hoc adulescente castior, quis modestior, quod in
for than-this young-man more-chaste who more-modest what in
iuventute habemus inlustrius exemplum veteris sanctitatis?
youth have-we a-more-illustrious example of-old purity
quis autem illo qui male dicit impurior? Ignobilitatem
who however than-that-one who ill speaks more-impure low-birth
obicit C. Caesaris filio cuius etiam natura pater, si
he-throws-at of-Gaius Caesar the-son whose also by-nature father if
vita suppeditasset, consul factus esset. 'Aricina mater.'
life had-lasted consul made would-have-been an-Arician the-mother

Trallianam aut Ephesiam putes dicere. Videte quam
a-woman-of-Tralles or of-Ephesus you-would-think him-to-say see how
despiciamur omnes qui sumus e municipiis, id est omnes
we-are-despised all who are from towns that is all
plane: quotus enim quisque nostrum non est? Quod autem
clearly how-few for each of-us not is what however
municipium non contemnit is qui Aricinum tanto opere despicit,
town not despises he who Arician so much despises
vetustate antiquissimum, iure foederatum, propinquitate
in-antiquity most-ancient in-right federated in-nearness
paene finitimum, splendore municipum honestissimum?
almost bordering in-the-splendor of-its-townsmen most-honorable
16 Hinc Voconiae, hinc Atiniae leges; hinc multae sellae curules
hence the-Voconian hence the-Atinian laws hence many chairs curule
et patrum memoria et nostra; hinc equites Romani
both in-our-fathers' memory and ours hence knights Roman
lautissimi et plurimi. Sed si Aricinam uxorem non probas,
most-elegant and most-numerous but if an-Arician wife not you-approve
cur probas Tusculanam? Quamquam huius sanctissimae
why do-you-approve a-Tusculan although of-this most-upright
feminae atque optimae pater, M. Atius Balbus, in primis
woman and best the-father Marcus Atius Balbus in the-first(-rank)
honestus, praetorius fuit: tuae coniugis, bonae feminae,
honorable an-ex-praetor was of-your wife a-good woman
locupletis quidem certe, Bambalio quidam pater, homo nullo
wealthy indeed surely Bambalio a-certain the-father a-man of-no
numero. Nihil illo contemptius qui propter haesitantiam
account nothing than-him more-contemptible who on-account-of the-hesitation
linguae stuporemque cordis cognomen ex contumelia
of-his-tongue and-the-dullness of-his-heart his-surname from an-insult
traxerit. 'At avus nobilis.' Tuditanus nempe ille
drew but his-grandfather noble Tuditanus surely that-one

qui cum palla et cothurnis nummos populo de rostris
who with mantle and buskins coins on-the-people from the-rostra
spargere solebat. Vellem hanc contemptionem pecuniae
to-scatter was-accustomed I-could-wish this contempt of-money
suis reliquisset! Habetis nobilitatem generis gloriosam.
to-his-own he-had-left you-have the-nobility of-the-family glorious
Qui autem evenit ut tibi Iulia natus ignobilis videatur, 17
how however does-it-happen that to-you of-Julia born low-born seems
cum tu eodem materno genere soleas gloriari? Quae
when you of-the-same maternal stock are-accustomed to-boast what
porro amentia est eum dicere aliquid de uxorum ignobilitate
moreover madness is-it him to-say anything about of-wives the-low-birth
cuius pater Numitoriam Fregellanam, proditoris filiam, habuerit
whose father Numitoria of-Fregellae a-traitor's daughter had
uxorem, ipse ex libertini filia susceperit liberos? Sed hoc
as-wife himself from a-freedman's daughter has-raised children but this
clarissimi viri viderint, L. Philippus qui habet Aricinam
most-illustrious men may-see-to Lucius Philippus who has an-Arician
uxorem, C. Marcellus qui Aricinae filiam: quos certo
wife Gaius Marcellus who an-Arician's daughter whom certainly
scio dignitatis optimarum feminarum non paenitere. Idem
I-know of-the-dignity of-the-best women not to-repent the-same
etiam Q. Ciceronem, fratris mei filium, compellat edicto,
also Quintus Cicero of-brother my son assails in-an-edict
nec sentit amens commendationem esse compellationem
nor he-perceives the-madman commendation to-be the-assailing
suam. Quid enim accidere huic adulescenti potuit optatius
his what for to-happen to-this young-man could more-desired
quam cognosci ab omnibus Caesaris consiliorum esse socium,
than to-be-known by all of-Caesar's counsels to-be the-partner
Antoni furoris inimicum?
of-Antony's madness the-enemy

18 At etiam gladiator ausus est scribere hunc de patris
but even the-gladiator dared has to-write this-one about of-his-father
et patrui parricidio cogitasse. O admirabilem impudentiam,
and uncle the-murder to-have-thought O wonderful shamelessness
audaciam, temeritatem! in eum adulescentem hoc scribere
audacity recklessness against that young-man this to-write
audere quem ego et frater meus propter eius suavissimos
to-dare whom I and brother my on-account-of his most-charming
atque optimos mores praestantissimumque ingenium certatim
and best morals and-most-outstanding talent vying
amamus omnibusque horis oculis, auribus, complexu tenemus?
love and-at-all hours with-eyes ears embrace hold
Nam me isdem edictis nescit laedat an
for me in-the-same edicts he-does-not-know whether-he-should-hurt or
laudet. Cum idem supplicium minatur optimis civibus
praise when the-same punishment he-threatens to-the-best citizens
quod ego de sceleratissimis ac pessimis sumpserim, laudare
which I on the-most-criminal and worst took to-praise
videtur, quasi imitari velit; cum autem illam pulcherrimi
he-seems as-if to-imitate he-wishes when however that most-beautiful
facti memoriam refricat, tum a sui similibus invidiam
deed the-memory he-rubs-open then from his-own likes odium
aliquam in me commoveri putat.
some against me to-be-stirred he-thinks

19 Sed quid fecit ipse? Cum tot edicta proposuisset,
but what did he-himself when so-many edicts he-had-posted
edixit ut adesset senatus frequens a. d. viii.
he-proclaimed that should-attend the-senate full on the-day eighth
Kalendas Decembris: eo die ipse non adfuit. At quo
before-the-Kalends of-December on-that day himself not was-present but in-what
modo edixit? haec sunt, ut opinor, verba in extremo:
manner did-he-proclaim(-it) these are as I-think the-words at the-end

‘Si quis non adfuerit, hunc existimare omnes poterunt
if anyone not shall-have-attended him to-judge all will-be-able
et interitus mei et perditissimorum consiliorum auctorem
both of-the-destruction of-me and of-most-ruinous counsels the-author
fuisse.’ Quae sunt perdita consilia? an ea quae pertinent ad
to-have-been what are ruinous counsels or those which pertain to
libertatem populi Romani recuperandam? Quorum consiliorum
the-liberty of-the-people Roman to-be-recovered of-which counsels
Caesari me auctorem et hortatorem et esse et fuisse
to-Caesar me the-author and urger both to-be and to-have-been
fateor. Quamquam ille non eguit consilio cuiusquam, sed tamen
I-confess although he not needed the-counsel of-anyone but still
currentem, ut dicitur, incitavi. Nam interitus quidem tui
him-running as it-is-said I-spurred for of-the-destruction indeed of-you
quis bonus non esset auctor, cum in eo salus et vita optimi
what good-man not would-be the-author when in it the-safety and life of-the-best
cuiusque, libertas populi Romani dignitasque consisteret?
every the-liberty of-the-people Roman and-dignity rested

V · THE SENATE THAT NEVER MET

Antony skipped his own summons, kept away by feasting, and dared not refer young Caesar’s army, which was to judge himself an enemy. Cicero mocks his edict’s Latin. At news that the fourth legion had gone over he forced a thanksgiving through by division and fled the city in his general’s cloak.

Sed cum tam atroci edicto nos concitavisset, cur ipse non 20
but when by-so savage an-edict us he-had-roused why himself not
adfuit? Num putatis aliqua re tristi ac severa? vino atque
was-present surely-not do-you-think by-some thing sad and severe by-wine and
epulis retentus, si illae epulae potius quam popinae nominandae
feasts detained if those feasts rather than cookshops to-be-called

sunt, diem edicti obire neglexit: in ante diem iv Kalendas
are the-day of-the-edict to-meet he-neglected to before the-day fourth before-the-Kalends
Decembris distulit. Adesse in Capitolio iussit; quod in
of-December he-put(-it)-off to-attend on the-Capitol he-ordered which into
templum ipse nescio qua per Gallorum cuniculum ascendit.
the-temple himself I-know-not by-what through the-Gauls' tunnel climbed
Convenerunt conrogati et quidem ampli quidam homines sed
there-gathered those-summoned and indeed great some men but
immemores dignitatis suae. Is enim erat dies, ea fama, is
forgetful of-dignity their-own that for was the-day that the-report that
qui senatum vocarat ut turpe senatori esset nihil timere.
he-who the-senate had-called that base for-a-senator it-should-be nothing to-fear
Ad eos tamen ipsos qui convenerant ne verbum quidem ausus
to those still very who had-gathered not a-word even dared
est facere de Caesare, cum de eo constituisset ad senatum
has to-make about Caesar although about him he-had-decided to the-senate
referre: scriptam attulerat consularis quidam sententiam.
to-refer written had-brought consular a-certain a-motion
21 Quid est aliud de eo referre non audere qui contra
what is-it else about him to-refer not to-dare who against
se consulem exercitum duceret nisi se ipsum hostem
himself the-consul an-army was-leading except himself himself an-enemy
iudicare? Necesse erat enim alterutrum esse hostem; nec
to-judge necessary it-was for one-or-other to-be an-enemy nor
poterat aliter de adversariis ducibus iudicari. Si igitur
could otherwise about opposing leaders it-be-judged if therefore
Caesar hostis, cur consul nihil refert ad senatum? Sin ille
Caesar an-enemy why the-consul nothing refers to the-senate but-if he
a senatu notandus non fuit, quid potest dicere quin, cum
by the-senate to-be-branded not was what can-he say but when
de illo tacuerit, se hostem confessus sit? Quem in
about him he-has-been-silent himself an-enemy confessed he-has whom in

edictis Spartacum appellat, hunc in senatu ne improbum
edicts Spartacus he-calls this-one in the-senate not wicked
quidem dicere audet. At in rebus tristissimis quantos excitat
even to-call he-dares but in things most-sad what-great he-rouses
risus! Sententiolas edicti cuiusdam memoriae mandavi
laughs little-maxims of-an-edict a-certain to-memory I-have-committed
quas videtur ille peracutas putare: ego autem qui intellegeret
which he-seems he very-witty to-think I however who understood
quid dicere vellet adhuc neminem inveni.
what to-say he-wished so-far none have-found
'Nulla contumelia est quam facit dignus.' Primum quid est 22
no insult is which makes a-worthy-man first what is
dignus? nam etiam malo multi digni, sicut ipse. An quam
worthy for even of-evil many worthy as he-himself or which
facit is qui cum dignitate est? Quae autem potest esse maior?
makes he who with dignity is what however can be greater
Quid est porro facere contumeliam? quis sic loquitur? Deinde:
what is moreover to-make an-insult who so speaks then
'nec timor quem denuntiat inimicus.' Quid ergo? ab amico timor
nor fear which threatens an-enemy what therefore by a-friend fear
denuntiari solet? Horum similia deinceps. Nonne satius
to-be-threatened is-accustomed of-these like-things in-succession not better
est mutum esse quam quod nemo intellegat dicere? En cur
is-it dumb to-be than what no-one may-understand to-say behold why
magister eius ex oratore arator factus sit, possideat in agro
the-master his from orator plowman made was he-possesses in the-land
publico campi Leontini duo milia iugerum immunia, ut
public of-the-plain Leontine two thousand iugera tax-free that
hominem stupidum magis etiam infatuet mercede publica.
the-man stupid more even he-may-make-a-fool by-fee public

23 Sed haec leviora fortasse: illud quaero cur tam mansuetus
but these-things lighter perhaps that I-ask why so gentle
in senatu fuerit, cum in edictis tam fuisset ferus. Quid
in the-senate he-was when in edicts so he-had-been fierce what
enim attinuerat L. Cassio tribuno plebis, fortissimo et
for had-it-concerned to-Lucius Cassius a-tribune of-the-plebs most-brave and
constantissimo civi, mortem denuntiare, si in senatum venisset;
most-steadfast citizen death to-threaten if into the-senate he-came
D. Carfulenum, bene de re publica sentientem,
Decimus Carfulenus well about the-thing public feeling
senatu vi et minis mortis expellere; Ti. Cannutium,
from-the-senate by-force and threats of-death to-drive-out Tiberius Cannutius
a quo erat honestissimis contionibus et saepe et iure
by whom he-had-been in-most-honorable public-meetings both often and rightly
vexatus, non templo solum verum etiam aditu
harassed not from-the-temple only but even from-the-approach
prohibere Capitoli? Cui senatus consulto ne intercederent
to-keep of-the-Capitol to-what of-the-senate decree lest they-should-veto
verebatur? De supplicatione, credo, M. Lepidi, clarissimi
was-he-afraid about the-thanksgiving I-suppose of-Marcus Lepidus a-most-illustrious
viri. Atque id erat periculum, de cuius honore extraordinario
man and that was the-danger about whose honor extraordinary
cotidie aliquid cogitabamus, ne eius usitatus honos impediretur.
daily something we-were-planning lest his customary honor be-hindered
24 Ac ne sine causa videretur edixisse ut senatus
and lest without cause he-might-seem to-have-proclaimed that the-senate
adesset, cum de re publica relaturus fuisset, adlato
should-attend when about the-thing public going-to-refer he-had-been with-brought
nuntio de legione quarta mente concidit, et fugere festinans
the-news about the-legion fourth in-mind he-collapsed and to-flee hastening
senatus consultum de supplicatione per discessionem fecit,
of-the-senate a-decree about the-thanksgiving by division he-made

cum id factum esset antea numquam. Quae vero profectio
although that done had-been before never what indeed a-departure
postea, quod iter paludati, quae vitatio oculorum,
afterward what a-journey in-general's-cloak what avoidance of-the-eyes
lucis, urbis, fori, quam misera fuga, quam foeda,
of-the-light of-the-city of-the-forum how wretched a-flight how foul
quam turpis! Praeclara tamen senatus consulta illo ipso
how base splendid still the-senate's decrees on-that very
die vespertina, provinciarum religiosa sortitio, divina vero
day in-the-evening of-the-provinces sacred the-allotment divine indeed
opportunitas ut, quae cuique apta esset, ea cuique obveniret.
the-fitness that what to-each suited was that to-each fell

VI · THE LOTS AND THE FLIGHT

The tribunes rightly move for the guard of the consuls and the senate. Cicero praises the praetors who judged Antony's allotment of provinces void or refused it, and Lucius Cinna's integrity makes his refusal no surprise; he mocks the men who drew the provinces they had wanted. Young Caesar's sudden rescue saved the city from Antony, who had called himself its guardian, the wolf set to guard the sheep.

Praeclare igitur facitis, tribuni plebis, qui de praesidio 25
splendidly therefore you-do tribunes of-the-plebs who about a-guard
consulum senatusque referatis, meritoque vestro maximas
of-the-consuls and-of-the-senate refer and-for-service your the-greatest
vobis gratias omnes et agere et habere debemus. Qui enim
to-you thanks all both to-give and to-hold ought how for
periculo carere possumus in tanta hominum cupiditate et
of-danger to-be-free can-we in such-great of-men greed and
audacia? Ille autem homo adflictus et perditus quae de
audacity he however a-man broken and ruined what about

se exspectat iudicia graviora quam amicorum suorum?
himself does-be-expect judgments heavier than of-friends his-own
Familiarissimus eius, mihi homo coniunctus, L. Lentulus,
most-intimate his to-me a-man joined Lucius Lentulus
et P. Naso, omni carens cupiditate, nullam se habere
and Publius Naso all lacking greed none themselves to-have
provinciam, nullam Antoni sortitionem fuisse iudicaverunt.
province none of-Antony an-allotment to-have-been judged
Quod idem fecit L. Philippus, vir patre, avo
which the-same did Lucius Philippus a-man of-father grandfather
maioribusque suis dignissimus; in eadem sententia fuit
and-ancestors his most-worthy in the-same opinion was
homo summa integritate atque innocentia, C. Turranius;
a-man of-the-highest integrity and innocence Gaius Turranius
idem fecit Sp. Oppius; ipsi etiam qui amicitiam
the-same did Spurius Oppius themselves even who the-friendship
M. Antoni veriti plus ei tribuerunt quam fortasse
of-Mark Antony fearing more to-him have-granted than perhaps
vellent, M. Piso, necessarius meus, et vir et
they-might-wish Marcus Piso connection my both a-man and
civis egregius, parique innocentia M. Vehilius, senatus
citizen excellent and-of-equal innocence Marcus Vehilius the-senate's
auctoritati se obtemperaturos esse dixerunt.
authority themselves going-to-obey to-be have-said

26 Quid ego de L. Cinna loquar? cuius spectata multis
why I about Lucius Cinna should-speak whose proven in-many
magnisque rebus singularis integritas minus admirabilem facit
and-great things singular integrity less admirable makes
huius honestissimi facti gloriam, qui omnino provinciam
of-this most-honorable deed the-glory who altogether the-province
neglexit, quam item magno animo et constanti C. Cestius
neglected which likewise with-great mind and steadfast Gaius Cestius

repudiavit. Qui sunt igitur reliqui quos sors divina
rejected who are therefore the-remaining whom the-lot divine
delectet? T. Annius, M. Gallius. O felicem utrumque!
may-delight Titus Annius Marcus Gallius O happy each
nihil enim maluerunt. C. Antonius Macedoniam. Hunc
nothing for they-preferred Gaius Antonius Macedonia this-one
quoque felicem! hanc enim habebat semper in ore
also happy this for he-had always in his-mouth
provinciam. C. Calvisius Africam. Nihil felicius! modo enim
province Gaius Calvisius Africa nothing happier just-now for
ex Africa decesserat et quasi divinans se rediturum
from Africa he-had-departed and as-if divining himself going-to-return
duos legatos Uticae reliquerat. Deinde M. Cusini Sicilia,
two legates at-Utica he-had-left next Marcus Cusinius' Sicily
Q. Cassi Hispania. Non habeo quid suspicer: duarum
Quintus Cassius' Spain not I-have what I-may-suspect of-the-two
credo provinciarum sortis minus divinas fuisse.
I-believe provinces the-lots less divine to-have-been
O C. Caesar — adulescentem appello — quam tu salutem 27
O Gaius Caesar the-young-man I-address what you salvation
rei publicae attulisti, quam improvisam, quam repentinam!
to-the-thing public have-brought how unforeseen how sudden
Qui enim haec fugiens fecit, quid faceret insequens?
who for these-things fleeing did what would-he-do pursuing
Etenim in contione dixerat se custodem fore urbis,
for in a-public-meeting he-had-said himself guardian going-to-be of-the-city
seque usque ad Kalendas Maias ad urbem exercitum
and-himself right to the-Kalends of-May near the-city an-army
habiturum. O praeclarum custodem ovium, ut aiunt, lupum!
going-to-keep O splendid guardian of-the-sheep as they-say the-wolf
Custosne urbis an direptor et vexator esset Antonius?
guardian of-the-city or plunderer and harasser would-be Antony

Et quidem se introiturum in urbem dixit exiturumque
and indeed himself going-to-enter into the-city he-said and-going-to-leave
cum vellet. Quid illud? nonne audiente populo sedens pro
when he-wished what that not with-hearing the-people sitting before
aede Castoris dixit, nisi qui vicisset, victurum neminem?
the-temple of-Castor he-said except who had-won going-to-live no-one

VII · FREEDOM OR THE ANTONIES

For the first time in a long while the senate sets foot in its liberty. The issue is whether Antony pays the penalty or Rome serves him. What would he dare as victor, who hated all good men when he had no reason? Cicero warns the senate not to open the gates to the Antonies, and to act while generals and soldiers are ready.

28 Hodierno die primum, patres conscripti, longo intervallo
on-today's day first fathers enrolled after-a-long interval
in possessionem libertatis pedem ponimus: cuius quidem
into the-possession of-liberty the-foot we-place of-which indeed
ego quoad potui non modo defensor sed etiam conservator
I as-long-as I-could not only defender but even preserver
fui. Cum autem id facere non possem, quievi, nec abiecte
was when however that to-do not I-could I-was-quiet nor abjectly
nec sine aliqua dignitate casum illum temporum et
nor without some dignity the-mishap that of-the-times and
dolorem tuli. Hanc vero taeterrimam beluam quis ferre
the-pain I-bore this indeed most-foul beast who to-bear
potest aut quo modo? Quid est in Antonio praeter
can or in-what manner what is-there in Antony besides
libidinem, crudelitatem, petulantiam, audaciam? Ex his totus
lust cruelty wantonness audacity from these whole

vitiis conglutinatus est. Nihil apparet in eo ingenuum, nihil
vices glued-together he-is nothing appears in him freeborn nothing
moderatum, nihil pudens, nihil pudicum.
moderate nothing modest nothing chaste
Quapropter, quoniam res in id discrimen adducta 29
wherefore since the-thing into that crisis brought
est utrum ille poenas rei publicae luat an nos
has-been whether he penalties to-the-thing public should-pay or we
serviamus, aliquando, per deos immortalis, patres conscripti,
be-slaves at-last by the-gods immortal fathers enrolled
patrium animum virtutemque capiamus, ut aut libertatem
the-paternal spirit and-virtue let-us-take that either the-liberty
propriam Romani et generis et nominis recuperemus
proper of-the-Roman both race and name we-may-recover
aut mortem servituti anteponamus. Multa quae in libera
or death to-slavery we-may-prefer many-things which in a-free
civitate ferenda non essent tulimus et perpessi sumus, alii
state to-be-borne not were we-have-borne and endured have some
spe forsitan recuperandae libertatis, alii vivendi nimia
in-hope perhaps to-be-recovered of-liberty others of-living by-too-great
cupiditate: sed, si illa tulimus quae nos necessitas
desire but if those-things we-bore which us necessity
ferre coegit, quae vis quaedam paene fatalis — quae
to-bear compelled which a-force a-certain almost fatal which
tamen ipsa non tulimus — etiamne huius impuri latronis
still themselves not we-have-borne even of-this impure brigand
feremus taeterrimum crudelissimumque dominatum?
shall-we-bear the-most-foul and-cruelest domination
Quid hic faciet, si poterit, iratus qui, cum suscensere 30
what this-man will-do if he-shall-be-able angry who when to-be-angry
nemini posset, omnibus bonis fuerit inimicus? quid hic
with-no-one he-could to-all good-men was hostile what this-man

victor non audebit qui nullam adeptus victoriam tanta
as-victor not will-dare who no having-gained victory such-great
scelera post Caesaris interitum fecerit, refertam eius
crimes after Caesar's death has-committed the-stuffed his
domum exhauserit, hortos compilaverit, ad se ex eis
house has-emptied the-gardens has-plundered to himself from them
omnia ornamenta transtulerit, caedis et incendiorum causam
all ornaments has-transferred of-slaughter and of-fires a-cause
quaesierit ex funere, duobus aut tribus senatus consultis
has-sought from the-funeral with-two or three of-the-senate decrees
bene et e re publica factis reliquas res ad lucrum
well and from the-thing public made the-remaining things to profit
praedamque revocaverit, vendiderit immunitates, civitates
and-booty has-recalled has-sold exemptions states
liberaverit, provincias universas ex imperi populi
has-freed provinces whole from of-the-command of-the-people
Romani iure sustulerit, exsules reduxerit, falsas leges
Roman the-right has-removed exiles has-brought-back false laws
C. Caesaris nomine et falsa decreta in aes incidenda
in-Gaius Caesar's name and false decrees on bronze to-be-cut
et in Capitolio figenda curaverit, earumque rerum omnium
and on the-Capitol to-be-posted has-caused and-of-those things all
domesticum mercatum instituerit, populo Romano leges
a-domestic market has-established on-the-people Roman laws
imposuerit, armis et praesidiis populum et magistratus
has-imposed with-arms and garrisons the-people and magistrates
foro excluserit, senatum stiparit armatis, armatos
from-the-forum has-shut-out the-senate has-packed with-armed-men armed-men
in cella Concordiae, cum senatum haberet, incluserit,
in the-sanctuary of-Concord when the-senate he-was-holding has-shut-in
ad legiones Brundisium cucurrerit, ex eis optime sentientis
to the-legions to-Brundisium has-run from them the-best feeling

centuriones iugulaverit, cum exercitu Romam sit ad interitum
centurions has-butchered with an-army to-Rome has for the-destruction
nostrum et ad dispertitionem urbis venire conatus?
our and for the-division of-the-city to-come tried
Atque is ab hoc impetu abstractus consilio et copiis Caesaris, 31
and he from this onslaught dragged-away by-the-counsel and forces of-Caesar
consensu veteranorum, virtute legionum, ne fortuna
by-the-agreement of-the-veterans by-the-virtue of-the-legions not by-fortune
quidem fractus minuit audaciam nec ruere demens nec
even broken has-lessened his-audacity nor to-rush-headlong the-madman nor
furere desinit. In Galliam mutilatum ducit exercitum; cum
to-rage he-ceases into Gaul a-mutilated he-leads army with
una legione et ea vacillante L. fratrem exspectat, quo
one legion and that wavering Lucius his-brother he-awaits than-whom
neminem reperire potest sui similiorem. Ille autem ex
no-one to-find he-can of-himself more-like he however from
myrmillone dux, ex gladiatore imperator quas effecit strages,
gladiator leader from gladiator commander what he-has-caused slaughters
ubicumque posuit vestigium! Fundit apothecas, caedit
wherever he-has-set his-foot he-pours-out the-wine-stores he-slaughters
greges armentorum reliquique pecoris quodcumque nactus
the-herds of-cattle and-of-the-remaining livestock whatever come-upon
est; epulantur milites; ipse autem se, ut fratrem imitetur,
he-has feast the-soldiers himself however himself that his-brother he-may-imitate
obruit vino; vastantur agri, diripiuntur villae, matres familiae,
buries with-wine are-laid-waste the-fields are-plundered the-villas mothers of-families
virgines, pueri ingenui abripiuntur, militibus traduntur. Haec
maidens boys freeborn are-carried-off to-the-soldiers are-handed-over these
eadem, quacumque exercitum duxit, fecit M. Antonius.
same-things wherever an-army he-led did Mark Antony

32 His vos taeterrimis fratribus portas aperietis, hos umquam in
to-these you most-foul brothers the-gates will-open these ever into
urbem recipietis? non tempore oblato, ducibus paratis, animis
the-city will-you-receive not with-the-time offered the-leaders ready the-minds
militum incitatis, populo Romano conspirante, Italia tota ad
of-the-soldiers roused the-people Roman conspiring Italy whole for
libertatem recuperandam excitata, deorum immortalium beneficio
liberty to-be-recovered roused of-the-gods immortal the-kindness
utemini? Nullum erit tempus hoc amisso. A tergo, fronte,
will-you-use no will-be time with-this lost from behind in-front
lateribus tenebitur, si in Galliam venerit. Nec ille armis
on-the-flanks he-will-be-held if into Gaul he-shall-have-come nor he by-arms
solum sed etiam decretis nostris urgendus est. Magna vis
only but even by-decrees our to-be-pressed is great the-force
est, magnum numen unum et idem sentientis senatus.
is great the-divine-power one and the-same feeling of-the-senate
Videtisne refertum forum, populumque Romanum ad spem
do-you-see the-crowded forum and-the-people Roman to the-hope
recuperandae libertatis erectum? qui longo intervallo cum
to-be-recovered of-liberty raised which after-long interval when
frequentis hic videt nos, tum sperat etiam liberos convenisse.
in-full-numbers here it-sees us then it-hopes also free to-have-assembled

VIII · THE DAY AWAITED

Cicero avoided Antony's arms while waiting for this day; now the gods have given Rome young Caesar for the city and Brutus for Gaul. Slavery to Antony's household of gamblers and drunkards would be the worst disgrace: Romans are born for honor and liberty, to keep them or die with dignity.

Hunc ego diem exspectans M. Antoni scelerata arma 33
this I day awaiting of-Mark Antony the-criminal arms
vitavi, tum cum ille in me absentem invehens non
avoided then when he against me absent inveighing not
intellegebat ad quod tempus me et meas viris reservarem.
did-understand for what time me and my strength I-was-reserving
Si enim tum illi caedis a me initium quaerenti
if for then to-him of-slaughter from me the-beginning seeking
respondere voluissem, nunc rei publicae consulere non
to-answer I-had-wished now for-the-thing public to-take-thought not
possem. Hanc vero nactus facultatem, nullum tempus,
I-could this indeed having-gained opportunity no time
patres conscripti, dimittam neque diurnum neque nocturnum
fathers enrolled I-shall-let-go neither by-day nor by-night
quin de libertate populi Romani et dignitate vestra quod
but about the-liberty of-the-people Roman and the-dignity your what
cogitandum sit cogitem, quod agendum atque faciendum, id
to-be-thought is I-may-think what to-be-done and to-be-made that
non modo non recusem sed etiam appetam atque deposcam.
not only not I-may-refuse but even seek and demand
Hoc feci dum licuit; intermisi quoad non licuit.
this I-did while it-was-allowed I-stopped as-long-as not it-was-allowed

Iam non solum licet sed etiam necesse est, nisi servire
now not only it-is-allowed but even necessary it-is unless to-be-slaves
malumus quam ne serviamus animis armisque decernere.
we-prefer than that-not we-be-slaves with-minds and-arms to-decide
34 Di immortales nobis haec praesidia dederunt: urbi
the-gods immortal to-us these defenses have-given for-the-city
Caesarem, Brutum Galliae. Si enim ille urbem opprimere
Caesar Brutus for-Gaul if for he the-city to-crush
potuisset, statim, si Galliam tenere, paulo post optimo cuique
had-been-able at-once if Gaul to-hold a-little later for-the-best every
pereundum, reliquis serviendum. Hanc igitur occasionem
to-be-perished for-the-rest to-be-slaved this therefore opportunity
oblatam tenete, per deos immortalis, patres conscripti, et
offered hold by the-gods immortal fathers enrolled and
amplissimi orbis terrae consili principes vos esse aliquando
of-the-most-ample circle of-the-earth of-counsel the-leaders you to-be at-last
recordamini. Signum date populo Romano consilium vestrum
remember a-signal give to-the-people Roman counsel your
non deesse rei publicae, quoniam ille virtutem suam non
not to-be-wanting to-the-thing public since he virtue his not
defuturam esse profitetur. Nihil est quod moneam vos.
going-to-be-wanting to-be professes nothing is-there that I-should-warn you
Nemo est tam stultus qui non intellegat, si indormierimus
no-one is so stupid who not understands if we-shall-have-slept-through
huic tempori, non modo crudelem superbamque dominationem
this time not only a-cruel and-proud domination
nobis sed ignominiosam etiam et flagitiosam ferendam esse.
by-us but disgraceful also and shameful to-be-borne to-be
35 Nostis insolentiam Antoni, nostis amicos, nostis totam
you-know the-insolence of-Antony you-know his-friends you-know his-whole
domum. Libidinosis, petulantibus, impuris, impudicis,
household to-the-lustful the-wanton the-impure the-unchaste

aleatoribus, ebriis servire, ea summa miseria est summo
the-gamblers the-drunk to-be-slave that the-utmost misery is with-the-utmost
dedecore coniuncta. Quod si iam — quod di omen
disgrace joined but if now which the-gods the-omen
avertant! — fatum extremum rei publicae venit, quod
may-avert the-fate final of-the-thing public has-come what
gladiatores nobiles faciunt ut honeste decumbant, faciamus
gladiators noble do that honorably they-may-fall-down let-us-do
nos, principes orbis terrarum gentiumque omnium, ut cum
we the-leaders of-the-circle of-lands and-of-peoples all that with
dignitate potius cadamus quam cum ignominia serviamus.
dignity rather we-may-fall than with disgrace be-slaves
Nihil est detestabilius dedecore, nihil foedius servitute. Ad 36
nothing is more-detestable than-disgrace nothing fouler than-slavery for
decus et ad libertatem nati sumus: aut haec teneamus
honor and for liberty born we-are either these-things let-us-hold
aut cum dignitate moriamur. Nimium diu teximus quid
or with dignity let-us-die too long we-have-covered what
sentiremus; nunc iam apertum est; omnes patefaciunt in
we-felt now now open it-is all lay-bare to
utramque partem quid sentiant, quid velint. Sunt impii
either side what they-feel what they-wish there-are impious
cives — pro caritate rei publicae nimium multi, sed
citizens for the-affection of-the-thing public too many but
contra multitudinem bene sentientium admodum pauci —
against the-multitude well of-those-thinking very few
quorum opprimendorum di immortales incredibilem
whose being-crushed the-gods immortal incredible
rei publicae potestatem et fortunam dederunt. Ad
to-the-thing public power and fortune have-given to
ea enim praesidia quae habemus iam accedent consules
those for defenses which we-have now will-be-added consuls

summa prudentia, virtute, concordia, multos mensis de
of-the-highest prudence virtue concord many months about
populi Romani libertate commentati atque meditati.
of-the-people Roman the-liberty having-thought and having-pondered
His auctoribus et ducibus, dis iuvantibus, nobis
with-these as-authors and leaders with-the-gods helping with-us
vigilantibus et multum in posterum providentibus, populo
being-vigilant and much for the-future providing with-the-people
Romano consentiente, erimus profecto liberi brevi tempore.
Roman agreeing we-shall-be surely free in-short time
Iucundiorem autem faciet libertatem servitutis recordatio.
more-pleasant however will-make liberty of-slavery the-recollection

IX · THE MOTION OF DECEMBER 20

Cicero moves that the consuls designate keep the senate safe on the Kalends of January; that Decimus Brutus, who keeps Gaul for the senate, be praised with his army, the towns, and the colonies; that young Caesar and the Martian and fourth legions be honored and their rewards considered; and that the provinces be held by their present governors until the senate appoints successors.

37 Quas ob res, quod tribuni plebis verba
for-which on-account-of things whereas the-tribunes of-the-plebs words
fecerunt uti senatus Kalendis Ianuariis tuto haberi
made that the-senate on-the-Kalends of-January safely to-be-held
sententiaeque de summa re publica libere dici
and-opinions about the-highest thing public freely to-be-spoken
possint, de ea re ita censeo uti C. Pansa
may-be-able about that thing so I-vote that Gaius Pansa
A. Hirtius, consules designati, dent operam uti senatus
Aulus Hirtius consuls designate give effort that the-senate

Kalendis Ianuariis tuto haberi possit. Quodque edictum
on-the-Kalends of-January safely to-be-held may-be-able and-whereas the-edict
D. Bruti, imperatoris, consulis designati, propositum
of-Decimus Brutus commander consul designate posted
sit, senatum existimare D. Brutum, imperatorem,
has-been the-senate to-judge Decimus Brutus commander
consulem designatum, optime de re publica mereri,
consul designate excellently of the-thing public to-deserve
cum senatus auctoritatem populique Romani libertatem
since of-the-senate the-authority and-of-the-people Roman the-liberty
imperiumque defendat;
and-empire he-defends
quodque provinciam Galliam citeriorem, optimorum et 38
and-whereas the-province Gaul hither of-the-best and
fortissimorum amicissimorumque rei publicae civium,
bravest and-most-friendly to-the-thing public citizens
exercitumque in senatus potestate retineat, id eum
and-the-army in of-the-senate the-power he-retains that him
exercitumque eius, municipia, colonias provinciae Galliae
and-the-army his the-towns the-colonies of-the-province Gaul
recte atque ordine exque re publica fecisse et
rightly and in-order and-from the-thing public to-have-done and
facere. Senatum ad summam rem publicam pertinere
to-do the-senate to the-highest thing public to-pertain
arbitrari a D. Bruto et L. Planco imperatoribus,
to-think by Decimus Brutus and Lucius Plancus commanders
consulibus designatis itemque a ceteris qui provincias
consuls designate and-likewise by the-rest who provinces
obtinent obtineri ex lege Iulia, quoad ex senatus
hold to-be-held according-to the-law Julian until by of-the-senate
consulto cuique eorum successum sit, eosque dare operam
decree to-each of-them succeeded it-be and-them to-give effort

ut eae provinciae eique exercitus in senati populique
that those provinces and-those armies in of-the-senate and-of-the-people
Romani potestate praesidioque rei publicae sint. Cumque
Roman the-power and-for-protection of-the-thing public may-be and-whereas
opera, virtute, consilio C. Caesaris summoque consensu
by-the-work virtue counsel of-Gaius Caesar and-by-the-highest agreement
militum veteranorum, qui eius auctoritatem secuti
of-the-soldiers veteran who his authority having-followed
rei publicae praesidio sunt et fuerunt, a gravissimis
to-the-thing public for-protection are and have-been from most-grave
periculis populus Romanus defensus sit et hoc tempore
dangers the-people Roman defended has-been and at-this time
defendatur;
is-defended

39 cumque legio Martia Albae constiterit, in municipio
and-whereas the-legion Martian at-Alba has-stationed-itself in a-town
fidelissimo et fortissimo, seseque ad senatus auctoritatem
most-loyal and most-brave and-itself to of-the-senate the-authority
populique Romani libertatem contulerit; et quod
and-of-the-people Roman the-liberty has-betaken and whereas
pari consilio eademque virtute legio quarta usa,
with-equal counsel and-the-same virtue the-legion fourth having-used
L. Egnatuleio duce quaestore optimo, civi egregio,
Lucius Egnatuleius as-leader the-quaestor an-excellent citizen outstanding
senatus auctoritatem populique Romani libertatem defendat
of-the-senate the-authority and-of-the-people Roman the-liberty defends
ac defenderit, senatui magnae curae esse ac fore
and has-defended to-the-senate of-great concern to-be and going-to-be
ut pro tantis eorum in rem publicam meritis
that for so-great their toward the-thing public services
honores eis habeantur gratiaeque referantur. Senatui
honors to-them be-paid and-thanks be-returned to-the-senate

placere uti C. Pansa A. Hirtius, consules designati,
to-be-pleasing that Gaius Pansa Aulus Hirtius consuls designate
cum magistratum inissent, si eis videretur,
when office they-should-have-entered if to-them it-should-seem
primo quoque tempore de his rebus ad hunc ordinem
at-the-first every opportunity about these things to this order
referrent, ita uti e re publica fideque sua
they-should-refer so as from the-thing public and-good-faith their
videretur.
it-should-seem

PHILIPPICA QUARTA

I · THE PEOPLE AGREE

Cicero tells the crowded assembly that the senate has, in effect, judged Antony an enemy. The people's shouts confirm it. He praises young Caesar, who raised an army to save Rome, the Martian legion, which deserted Antony for Alba, and the fourth, which followed it; the senate's thanks to those who oppose a consul declare that consul an enemy.

Frequentia vestrum incredibilis, Quirites, contioque tanta 1
the-throng of-you incredible citizens and-the-assembly so-great
quantam meminisse non videor et alacritatem mihi summam
as-great-as to-remember not I-seem both eagerness to-me the-highest
defendendae rei publicae adfert et spem recuperandae.
of-defending the-thing public brings and hope of-recovering(-it)
Quamquam animus mihi quidem numquam defuit:
although courage to-me indeed never has-been-lacking
tempora defuerunt, quae simul ac primum aliquid lucis
the-times were-lacking which as-soon as first some light
ostendere visa sunt, princeps vestrae libertatis defendendae
to-show seemed have the-leader of-your liberty to-be-defended
fui. Quod si id ante facere conatus essem, nunc facere
I-was but if that before to-do tried I-had now to-do
non possem. Hodierno enim die, Quirites, ne mediocrem
not I-could on-today's for day citizens lest a-moderate
rem actam arbitremini, fundamenta iacta sunt reliquarum
thing done you-think the-foundations laid have-been of-the-remaining
actionum. Nam est hostis a senatu nondum verbo appellatus,
actions for is an-enemy by the-senate not-yet in-word called
sed re iam iudicatus Antonius.
but in-deed already judged Antony

2 Nunc vero multo sum erectior quod vos quoque illum
now indeed much I-am more-upright because you also him
hostem esse tanto consensu tantoque clamore approbavistis.
an-enemy to-be with-so-great agreement and-so-great shouting have-approved
Neque enim, Quirites, fieri potest ut non aut ei sint
nor for citizens to-happen it-can that not either those be
impii qui contra consulem exercitus comparaverunt, aut ille
impious who against the-consul armies have-procured or he
hostis contra quem iure arma sumpta sunt. Hanc igitur
an-enemy against whom rightly arms taken were this therefore
dubitationem, quamquam nulla erat, tamen ne qua posset
doubt although none there-was still lest any could
esse senatus hodierno die sustulit. C. Caesar qui rem
be the-senate on-today's day has-removed Gaius Caesar who the-thing
publicam libertatemque vestram suo studio, consilio,
public and-liberty your by-his-own zeal counsel
patrimonio denique tutatus est et tutatur maximis
patrimony finally protected has and protects with-the-greatest
senatus laudibus ornatus est.
of-the-senate praises adorned has-been

3 Laudo, laudo vos, Quirites, quod gratissimis animis
I-praise I-praise you citizens that with-most-grateful minds
prosequimini nomen clarissimi adulescentis vel pueri
you-attend the-name of-a-most-illustrious young-man or boy
potius; sunt enim facta eius immortalitatis, nomen aetatis.
rather are for the-deeds his of-immortality the-name of-youth
Multa memini, multa audivi, multa legi, Quirites:
many-things I-remember many-things I-have-heard many-things I-have-read citizens
nihil ex omnium saeculorum memoria tale cognovi: qui
nothing from of-all ages the-memory such I-have-known who
cum servitute premeremur, in dies malum cresceret, praesidi
when by-slavery we-were-pressed by days the-evil was-growing of-protection

nihil haberemus, capitalem et pestiferum a Brundisio tum
nothing we-had the-deadly and pestilential from Brundisium then
M. Antoni reditum timeremus, hoc insperatum omnibus
of-Mark Antony return we-feared this unhoped-for by-all
consilium, incognitum certe ceperit, ut exercitum invictum ex
plan unknown surely took that an-army unconquered from
paternis militibus conficeret Antonique furorem crudelissimis
his-father's soldiers he-should-make and-of-Antony the-madness by-most-cruel
consiliis incitatum a pernicie rei publicae averteret.
counsels roused from the-ruin of-the-thing public he-should-turn-aside
Quis est enim qui hoc non intellegat, nisi Caesar exercitum 4
who is for who this not understands unless Caesar an-army
paravisset, non sine exitio nostro futurum Antoni reditum
had-prepared not without destruction our going-to-be Antony's return
fuisse? Ita enim se recipiebat ardens odio vestri,
to-have-been so for himself he-was-withdrawing burning with-hatred of-you
cruentus sanguine civium Romanorum quos Suessae, quos
bloody with-the-blood of-citizens Roman whom at-Suessa whom
Brundisi occiderat ut nihil nisi de pernicie populi
at-Brundisium he-had-killed that nothing except about the-ruin of-the-people
Romani cogitaret. Quod autem praesidium erat salutis
Roman he-thought what however protection was of-safety
libertatisque vestrae, si C. Caesaris fortissimorum sui
and-liberty your if of-Gaius Caesar of-the-bravest his
patris militum exercitus non fuisset? Cuius de laudibus
father's soldiers the-army not had-been whose about praises
et honoribus qui ei pro divinis et immortalibus meritis
and honors which to-him for divine and immortal services
divini immortalesque debentur mihi senatus adsensus paulo
divine and-immortal are-owed with-me the-senate agreeing a-little
ante decrevit ut primo quoque tempore referretur.
before decreed that at-the-first every opportunity it-should-be-referred

5 Quo decreto quis non perspicit hostem esse Antonium
by-which decree who not perceives an-enemy to-be Antony
iudicatum? Quem enim possumus appellare eum contra quem
judged what for can-we call him against whom
qui exercitus ducunt, eis senatus arbitratur singularis
those-who armies lead for-them the-senate thinks singular
exquirendos honores? Quid? Legio Martia, quae mihi videtur
to-be-sought-out honors what the-legion Martian which to-me seems
divinitus ab eo deo traxisse nomen a quo populum
divinely from that god to-have-drawn its-name from whom the-people
Romanum generatum accepimus, non ipsa suis decretis
Roman begotten we-have-received not itself by-its-own decrees
prius quam senatus hostem iudicavit Antonium? Nam si
sooner than the-senate an-enemy judged Antony for if
ille non hostis, hos qui consulem reliquerunt hostis necesse
he not an-enemy these who the-consul abandoned enemies necessary
est iudicemus. Praeclare et loco, Quirites, reclamatione
it-is we-judge splendidly and fittingly citizens by-shouting
vestra factum pulcherrimum Martialium comprobavistis: qui
your the-deed most-beautiful of-the-Martians you-have-approved who
se ad senatus auctoritatem, ad libertatem vestram,
themselves to of-the-senate the-authority to liberty your
ad universam rem publicam contulerunt, hostem illum et
to the-whole thing public betook an-enemy him and
latronem et parricidam patriae reliquerunt.
a-brigand and a-parricide of-the-fatherland they-abandoned

6 Nec solum id animose et fortiter sed considerate etiam
nor only that spiritedly and bravely but considerately also
sapienterque fecerunt: Albae constiterunt, in urbe opportuna,
and-wisely they-did at-Alba they-halted in a-city convenient
munita, propinqua, fortissimorum virorum, fidelissimorum
fortified near of-most-brave men of-most-loyal

civium atque optimorum. Huius legionis legio quarta
citizens and best this legion's the-legion fourth
imitata virtutem, duce L. Egnatuleio, quem senatus
having-imitated the-virtue with-as-leader Lucius Egnatuleius whom the-senate
merito paulo ante laudavit, C. Caesaris exercitum persecuta
deservedly a-little before praised Gaius Caesar's army followed
est. Quae exspectas, M. Antoni, iudicia graviora? Caesar
has what do-you-expect Mark Antony judgments heavier Caesar
fertur in caelum qui contra te exercitum comparavit;
is-borne into the-sky who against you an-army procured
laudantur exquisitissimis verbis legiones quae te reliquerunt,
are-praised in-most-exquisite words the-legions which you abandoned
quae a te arcessitae sunt, quae essent, si te consulem
which by you summoned have-been which would-be if you consul
quam hostem maluisses, tuae: quarum legionum fortissimum
than enemy had-preferred yours of-which legions the-bravest
verissimumque iudicium confirmat senatus, comprobat
and-truest judgment confirms the-senate approves
universus populus Romanus, nisi forte vos, Quirites,
the-whole people Roman unless perhaps you citizens
consulem, non hostem iudicatis Antonium.
consul not enemy judge Antony

All Italy agrees with the people. Decimus Brutus shuts Antony out of Gaul, and the senate praises the province for resisting him, which it could not do were he consul. With this enemy there can be no peace.

7 Sic arbitrabar, Quirites, vos iudicare ut ostenditis. Quid?
so I-thought citizens you to-judge as you-show what
municipia, colonias, praefecturas num aliter iudicare censetis?
the-towns the-colonies the-prefectures surely-not otherwise to-judge do-you-think
Omnes mortales una mente consentiunt; omnia arma eorum
all mortals with-one mind agree all arms of-those
qui haec salva velint contra illam pestem esse capienda.
who these-things safe wish against that plague to-be to-be-taken
Quid? D. Bruti iudicium, Quirites, quod ex hodierno
what Decimus Brutus' judgment citizens which from today's
eius edicto perspicere potuistis, num cui tandem
his edict to-perceive you-have-been-able surely-not to-anyone pray
contemnendum videtur? Recte et vere negatis, Quirites. Est
contemptible does-it-seem rightly and truly you-deny citizens has-been
enim quasi deorum immortalium beneficio et munere datum
for as-if of-the-gods immortal by-the-kindness and gift given
rei publicae Brutorum genus et nomen ad libertatem
to-the-thing public of-the-Bruti the-family and name for the-liberty
populi Romani vel constituendam vel recipiendam.
of-the-people Roman either to-be-established or to-be-recovered

8 Quid igitur D. Brutus de M. Antonio iudicavit?
what therefore Decimus Brutus about Mark Antony judged
Excludit provincia; exercitu obsistit; Galliam totam
he-shuts(-him)-out from-the-province with-the-army he-opposes(-him) Gaul whole
hortatur ad bellum, ipsam sua sponte suoque iudicio
he-urges to war itself of-its-own accord and-by-its-own judgment

excitatam. Si consul Antonius, Brutus hostis: si conservator
roused if consul Antony Brutus an-enemy if the-preserver
rei publicae Brutus, hostis Antonius. Num igitur
of-the-thing public Brutus an-enemy Antony surely-not therefore
utrum horum sit dubitare possumus? Atque ut vos una
which of-these it-be to-doubt can-we and as you with-one
mente unaque voce dubitare vos negatis, sic modo decrevit
mind and-one voice to-doubt you deny so just-now decreed
senatus, D. Brutum optime de re publica mereri,
the-senate Decimus Brutus excellently of the-thing public to-deserve
cum senatus auctoritatem populique Romani libertatem
since of-the-senate the-authority and-of-the-people Roman the-liberty
imperiumque defenderet. A quo defenderet? Nempe
and-empire he-was-defending from whom was-he-defending(-them) surely
ab hoste: quae est enim alia laudanda defensio?
from an-enemy what is for other praiseworthy defense
Deinceps laudatur provincia Gallia meritoque ornatur verbis 9
next is-praised the-province Gaul and-deservedly is-adorned with-words
amplissimis ab senatu quod resistat Antonio. Quem si
most-ample by the-senate because it-resists Antony whom if
consulem illa provincia putaret neque eum reciperet, magno
consul that province thought nor him received with-great
scelere se astringeret: omnes enim in consulis iure
crime itself it-would-bind all for in of-the-consul the-jurisdiction
et imperio debent esse provinciae. Negat hoc D. Brutus
and command ought to-be the-provinces denies this Decimus Brutus
imperator, consul designatus, natus rei publicae civis;
commander consul designate born for-the-thing public a-citizen
negat Gallia, negat cuncta Italia, negat senatus, negatis
denies(-it) Gaul denies(-it) all Italy denies(-it) the-senate deny(-it)
vos. Quis illum igitur consulem nisi latrones putant?
you who him therefore consul except brigands think

Quamquam ne ei quidem ipsi, quod loquuntur, id sentiunt
although not they even themselves what they-say that feel
nec ab iudicio omnium mortalium, quamvis impii nefariique
nor from the-judgment of-all mortals however impious and-wicked
sint, sicut sunt, dissentire possunt. Sed spes rapiendi atque
they-be as they-are to-dissent can but the-hope of-snatching and
praedandi occaecat animos eorum quos non bonorum donatio,
plundering blinds the-minds of-those whom not of-goods the-gift
non agrorum adsignatio, non illa infinita hasta satiavit; qui
not of-lands the-assignment not that infinite spear has-sated who
sibi urbem, qui bona et fortunas civium ad praedam
for-themselves the-city who the-goods and fortunes of-citizens for booty
proposuerunt; qui, dum hic sit quod rapiant, quod
have-set-forth who while here there-be what they-may-snatch what
auferant, nihil sibi defuturum arbitrantur; quibus
they-may-carry-off nothing to-themselves going-to-be-lacking think to-whom
M. Antonius — o di immortales, avertite et detestamini,
Mark Antony O gods immortal avert and curse
quaeso, hoc omen! — urbem se divisurum esse promisit.
I-beg this omen the-city himself going-to-divide to-be has-promised
10 Ita vero, Quirites, ei ut precamini eveniat atque huius
so indeed citizens to-him as you-pray may-it-happen and of-this
amentiae poena in ipsum familiamque eius recidat! Quod
madness the-penalty on himself and-household his may-fall-back which
ita futurum esse confido. Iam enim non solum homines sed
so going-to-be to-be I-trust now for not only men but
etiam deos immortalis ad rem publicam conservandam
even the-gods immortal for the-thing public to-be-preserved
arbitror consensisse. Sive enim prodigiis atque portentis
I-think to-have-agreed whether for by-prodigies and portents
di immortales nobis futura praedicunt, ita sunt
the-gods immortal to-us future-things foretell so they-are

aperte pronuntiata ut et illi poena et nobis libertas
openly declared that both to-him the-penalty and to-us liberty
appropinquet; sive tantus consensus omnium sine impulsu
is-approaching or so-great an-agreement of-all without the-impulse
deorum esse non potuit, quid est quod de voluntate
of-the-gods to-be not could what is-there that about the-will
caelestium dubitare possimus?
of-the-heavenly-ones to-doubt we-can
Reliquum est, Quirites, ut vos in ista sententia quam 11
remaining it-is citizens that you in that opinion which
prae vobis fertis perseveretis. Faciam igitur ut imperatores
before yourselves you-carry you-persevere I-shall-do therefore as commanders
instructa acie solent, quamquam paratissimos milites
with-drawn-up battle-line are-accustomed although most-ready the-soldiers
ad proeliandum videant, ut eos tamen adhortentur, sic
for fighting they-see that them still they-exhort so
ego vos ardentis et erectos ad libertatem recuperandam
I you burning and roused for liberty to-be-recovered
cohortabor. Non est vobis, Quirites, cum eo hoste certamen
shall-encourage not is to-you citizens with that enemy a-contest
cum quo aliqua pacis condicio esse possit. Neque enim
with whom any of-peace condition be can nor for
ille servitutem vestram, ut antea, sed iam iratus sanguinem
he slavery your as before but now angry blood
concupiscit. Nullus ei ludus videtur esse iucundior quam
covets no to-him game seems to-be more-pleasant than
cruor, quam caedes, quam ante oculos trucidatio civium.
gore than slaughter than before his-eyes the-butchering of-citizens

Antony is no mere villain but a monstrous beast caught in a pit, to be buried there; courage, the Roman race's own, repels a cruel death. The ancestors' enemies had a state; Antony is a brigand, a Spartacus, Catiline's match in crime, and will soon be crushed. Cicero pledges his care to their liberty, and today, with Servilius presiding, hope of liberty is kindled.

12 Non est vobis res, Quirites, cum scelerato homine ac
not is to-you the-business citizens with a-criminal man and
nefario, sed cum immani taetraque belua quae, quoniam in
wicked but with a-savage and-foul beast which since into
foveam incidit, obruatur. Si enim illim emerserit,
a-pit it-has-fallen let-it-be-buried if for from-there it-shall-have-emerged
nullius supplici crudelitas erit recusanda. Sed tenetur,
of-no punishment the-cruelty will-be to-be-refused but he-is-held
premitur, urgetur nunc eis copiis quas iam habemus,
he-is-pressed he-is-hard-driven now by-those forces which already we-have
mox eis quas paucis diebus novi consules comparabunt.
soon by-those which in-few days the-new consuls will-procure
Incumbite in causam, Quirites, ut facitis. Numquam
apply-yourselves to the-cause citizens as you-are-doing never
maior consensus vester in ulla causa fuit; numquam
greater agreement your in any cause has-been never
tam vehementer cum senatu consociati fuistis. Nec
so vehemently with the-senate allied you-have-been nor
mirum: agitur enim non qua condicione victuri, sed
surprising it-is-at-stake for not on-what condition going-to-live but
victurine simus an cum supplicio ignominiaque perituri.
whether-going-to-live we-are or with punishment and-disgrace going-to-perish

Quamquam mortem quidem natura omnibus proposuit; 13
although death indeed nature for-all has-set-forth
crudelitatem mortis et dedecus virtus propulsare solet,
the-cruelty of-death and the-disgrace virtue to-ward-off is-accustomed
quae propria est Romani generis et seminis. Hanc retinete,
which proper is of-the-Roman race and seed this keep
quaeso, Quirites, quam vobis tamquam hereditatem maiores
I-beg citizens which to-you as-if an-inheritance ancestors
vestri reliquerunt. Alia omnia falsa, incerta sunt, caduca,
your have-left other all-things false uncertain are perishable
mobilia: virtus est una altissimis defixa radicibus, quae
movable virtue is alone by-deepest fixed roots which
numquam vi ulla labefactari potest, numquam demoveri
never by-force any to-be-shaken can never to-be-moved
loco. Hac maiores vestri primum universam Italiam
from-its-place by-this ancestors your first the-whole Italy
devicerunt, deinde Karthaginem exciderunt, Numantiam
conquered then Carthage destroyed Numantia
everterunt, potentissimos reges, bellicosissimas gentis in
overturned most-powerful kings most-warlike peoples into
dicionem huius imperi redegerunt.
the-sway of-this empire brought
Ac maioribus quidem vestris, Quirites, cum eo hoste 14
and for-ancestors indeed your citizens with that enemy
res erat qui haberet rem publicam, curiam, aerarium,
the-business was who had a-thing public a-senate-house a-treasury
consensum et concordiam civium, rationem aliquam, si ita
agreement and concord of-citizens a-reckoning some if so
res tulisset, pacis et foederis: hic vester hostis vestram
the-thing had-brought of-peace and of-treaty this your enemy your
rem publicam oppugnat, ipse habet nullam; senatum, id
thing public attacks himself has none the-senate that

est orbis terrae consilium, delere gestit, ipse consilium
is of-the-circle of-the-earth the-council to-destroy he-longs himself council
publicum nullum habet; aerarium vestrum exhausit, suum
public none has the-treasury your he-has-emptied his-own
non habet. Nam concordiam civium qui habere potest, nullam
not he-has for concord of-citizens how have can-he no
cum habeat civitatem? pacis vero quae potest esse cum eo
when he-has state of-peace indeed what can be with him
ratio in quo est incredibilis crudelitas, fides nulla?
reckoning in whom is incredible cruelty good-faith none
15 Est igitur, Quirites, populo Romano, victori omnium
is-there therefore citizens for-the-people Roman victor over-all
gentium, omne certamen cum percussore, cum latrone, cum
peoples every contest with a-murderer with a-brigand with
Spartaco. Nam quod se similem esse Catilinae gloriari
a-Spartacus for as-to-that himself like to-be to-Catiline to-boast
solet, scelere par est illi, industria inferior. Ille cum
he-is-accustomed in-crime equal he-is to-him in-industry inferior he when
exercitum nullum habuisset, repente conflavit: hic eum
army none he-had-had suddenly stirred-up(-one) this-one that
exercitum quem accepit amisit. Ut igitur Catilinam diligentia
army which he-received he-lost as therefore Catiline by-diligence
mea, senatus auctoritate, vestro studio et virtute fregistis, sic
my by-the-senate's authority by-your zeal and courage you-broke so
Antoni nefarium latrocinium vestra cum senatu concordia tanta
of-Antony the-wicked brigandage by-your with the-senate concord so-great
quanta numquam fuit, felicitate et virtute exercituum
as-great-as never has-been by-the-good-fortune and courage of-the-armies
ducumque vestrorum brevi tempore oppressum audietis.
and-leaders your in-short time crushed you-will-hear

Equidem quantum cura, labore, vigiliis, auctoritate, consilio 16
I-indeed as-much-as by-care labor watches authority counsel
eniti atque efficere potero, nihil praetermittam quod
to-strive and to-accomplish shall-be-able nothing I-shall-pass-over which
ad libertatem vestram pertinere arbitrabor; neque enim id
to liberty your to-pertain I-shall-think nor for that
pro vestris amplissimis in me beneficiis sine scelere
in-return-for your most-ample toward me benefits without crime
facere possum. Hodierno autem die primum referente viro
to-do I-can on-today's however day first referring a-man
fortissimo vobisque amicissimo, hoc M. Servilio, conlegisque
most-brave and-to-you most-friendly this Marcus Servilius and-colleagues
eius, ornatissimis viris, optimis civibus, longo intervallo
his most-distinguished men best citizens after-a-long interval
me auctore et principe ad spem libertatis exarsimus.
me as-author and leader for the-hope of-liberty we-have-blazed-up

PHILIPPICA QUINTA

I · THE KALENDS OF JANUARY

The day the senate has long awaited has come, and the consuls' speeches have raised Cicero's hopes, though the first speaker's proposal would have dismayed him. If Antony wants peace, let him lay down his arms and beg for it. To send envoys to a man the senate judged thirteen days ago would be madness, since it has praised the commanders, the veterans, and the legions who took up arms against him. Some are expected to give him Further Gaul, which would hand an enemy money, cavalry, and barbarian allies for civil war.

Nihil umquam longius his Kalendis Ianuariis mihi visum 1
nothing ever longer than-these Kalends of-January to-me seemed
est, patres conscripti: quod idem intellegebam per hos dies
has fathers enrolled which the-same I-understood through these days
uni cuique vestrum videri. Qui enim bellum cum re
to-one each of-you to-seem those-who for war with the-thing
publica gerunt, hunc diem non exspectabant; nos autem,
public wage this day not were-awaiting we however
tum cum maxime consilio nostro subvenire communi
then when most by-counsel our to-come-to-the-aid-of the-common
saluti oporteret, in senatum non vocabamur. Sed querelam
safety it-behooved into the-senate not were-summoned but the-complaint
praeteritorum dierum sustulit oratio consulum, qui ita locuti
of-the-past days has-removed the-speech of-the-consuls who so spoke
sunt ut magis exoptatae Kalendae quam serae esse videantur.
have that more longed-for the-Kalends than late to-be they-seem
Atque ut oratio consulum animum meum erexit spemque attulit
and as the-speech of-the-consuls mind my raised and-hope brought
non modo salutis conservandae verum etiam dignitatis pristinae
not only of-safety to-be-preserved but also of-dignity former

recuperandae, sic me perturbasset eius sententia qui primus
to-be-recovered so me would-have-disturbed his opinion who first
rogatus est, nisi vestrae virtuti constantiaeque confiderem.
asked was unless in-your virtue and-steadfastness I-trusted

2 Hic enim dies vobis, patres conscripti, inluxit, haec potestas
this for day for-you fathers enrolled has-dawned this power
data est ut quantum virtutis, quantum constantiae, quantum
given has-been that how-much of-virtue how-much of-steadfastness how-much
gravitatis in huius ordinis consilio esset, populo Romano
of-weight in of-this order the-counsel there-was to-the-people Roman
declarare possetis. Recordamini qui dies nudius tertius
to-declare you-might-be-able remember what day now-the-day third
decimus fuerit, quantus consensus vestrum, quanta virtus,
tenth has-been how-great the-agreement of-you how-great the-virtue
quanta constantia; quantam sitis a populo Romano laudem,
how-great the-steadfastness how-great you-have from the-people Roman praise
quantam gloriam, quantam gratiam consecuti. Atque illo
how-great glory how-great gratitude gained and on-that
die, patres conscripti, ea constituistis ut vobis iam nihil
day fathers enrolled those-things you-settled that for-you now nothing
sit integrum nisi aut honesta pax aut bellum necessarium.
be untouched except either an-honorable peace or a-war necessary

3 Pacem volt M. Antonius? arma deponat, roget,
peace wants Mark Antony arms let-him-lay-down let-him-ask
deprecetur. Neminem aequiorem reperiet quam me cui,
let-him-beg no-one fairer he-will-find than me to-whom
dum se civibus impiis commendat, inimicus quam amicus
while himself to-citizens impious he-commends an-enemy than a-friend
esse maluit. Nihil est profecto quod possit dari bellum
to-be he-preferred nothing is-there surely which can be-given war
gerenti; erit fortasse aliquid quod concedi possit
to-one-waging there-will-be perhaps something which be-granted can

roganti; legatos vero ad eum mittere de quo gravissimum
to-one-asking envoys indeed to him to-send about whom the-heaviest
et severissimum iudicium nudius tertius decimus feceritis,
and severest judgment now-the-day third tenth you-made
non iam levitatis est, sed, ut quod sentio dicam, dementiae.
not now of-levity it-is but that what I-feel I-may-say of-madness
Primum duces eos laudavistis qui contra illum bellum
first the-leaders those you-praised who against him war
privato consilio suscepissent; deinde milites veteranos qui,
by-private counsel had-undertaken then the-soldiers veteran who
cum ab Antonio in colonias essent deducti, illius
though by Antony into colonies they-had-been led to-his
beneficio libertatem populi Romani anteposuerunt.
favor the-liberty of-the-people Roman preferred
Quid? legio Martia: quid? quarta, cur laudantur? si enim 4
what the-legion Martian what the-fourth why are-they-praised if for
consulem suum reliquerunt, vituperandae sunt; si inimicum
consul their they-abandoned to-be-censured they-are if an-enemy
rei publicae, iure laudantur. Atqui cum consules nondum
of-the-thing public rightly they-are-praised and-yet when consuls not-yet
haberetis, decrevistis ut et de praemiis militum et de
you-had you-decreed that both about the-rewards of-the-soldiers and about
honoribus imperatorum primo quoque tempore referretur.
the-honors of-the-commanders at-the-first every opportunity it-be-referred
Placet eodem tempore praemia constituere eis qui contra
does-it-please at-the-same time rewards to-establish for-those who against
Antonium arma ceperint et legatos ad Antonium mittere? ut
Antony arms have-taken and envoys to Antony to-send so-that
iam pudendum sit honestiora decreta esse legionum quam
now shameful it-be more-honorable the-decrees to-be of-the-legions than
senatus: si quidem legiones decreverunt senatum defendere
of-the-senate if indeed the-legions have-decreed the-senate to-defend

contra Antonium, senatus decernit legatos ad Antonium. Utrum
against Antony the-senate decrees envoys to Antony whether
hoc est confirmare militum animos an debilitare virtutem?
this is to-strengthen of-the-soldiers the-minds or to-weaken (their)-courage
Hoc dies duodecim profecerunt ut, quem nemo praeter
this days twelve have-achieved that he-whom no-one except
Cotylonem inventus sit qui defenderet, is habeat iam patronos
Cotyla found was who would-defend he has now patrons
etiam consularis? Qui utinam omnes ante me sententiam
even consular who would-that all before me for-their-opinion
rogarentur! — quamquam suspicor quid dicturi sint quidam
were-asked although I-suspect what going-to-say are some
eorum, qui post me rogabuntur — facilius contra dicerem
of-those who after me will-be-asked more-easily against I-would-speak
si quid videretur. Est enim opinio decreturum aliquem
if anything should-seem(-so) is for the-opinion going-to-decree someone
M. Antonio illam ultimam Galliam quam Plancus obtinet.
to-Mark Antony that farthest Gaul which Plancus holds
Quid est aliud omnia ad bellum civile hosti arma
what is-it else all for war civil to-the-enemy arms
largiri, primum nervos belli, pecuniam infinitam qua nunc
to-lavish first the-sinews of-war money infinite which now
eget, deinde equitatum quantum velit? Equitatum dico?
he-lacks then cavalry as-much-as he-may-wish cavalry I-say
Dubitabit, credo, gentis barbaras secum adducere. Hoc
he-will-hesitate I-suppose peoples barbarian with-himself to-bring this
qui non videt, excors, qui cum videt decernit, impius est.
he-who not sees is-witless he-who when he-sees decrees impious is

No friendship excuses arming such a citizen. Antony overturned Caesar's laws while claiming to defend his acts, and carried his own by violence and against the auspices, with no legal notice and with a colleague he himself, as augur, had declared flawed. Cicero moves that all his laws be void, and that those on Caesar's acts, the dictatorship, and the colonies be passed again lawfully.

Tu civem sceleratum et perditum Gallorum et Germanorum 6
you a-citizen criminal and ruined of-the-Gauls and of-the-Germans
pecunia, peditatu, equitatu, copiis instrues? Nullae istae
with-money infantry cavalry forces will-equip none those
excusationes sunt: 'Meus amicus est.' Sit patriae
excuses are my friend he-is let-him-be of-the-fatherland
prius. 'Meus cognatus.' An potest cognatio propior ulla
first my kinsman or can kinship nearer any
esse quam patriae in qua parentes etiam continentur?
be than of-the-fatherland in which the-parents even are-contained
'Mihi pecuniam tribuit.' Cupio videre qui id audeat
to-me money he-has-given I-desire to-see who that may-dare
dicere. Quid autem agatur cum aperuero, facile erit
to-say what however is-at-stake when I-shall-have-disclosed easy it-will-be
statuere quam sententiam dicatis aut quam sequamini.
to-decide what opinion you-should-speak or which you-should-follow
Agitur utrum M. Antonio facultas detur opprimendae
it-is-at-stake whether to-Mark Antony opportunity be-given of-crushing
rei publicae, caedis faciendae bonorum, urbis, agrorum
the-thing public of-slaughter making of-the-good of-the-city of-the-fields
suis latronibus condonandi, populum Romanum servitute
to-his-own brigands of-giving-away the-people Roman with-slavery

opprimendi, an horum ei facere nihil liceat. Dubitate
of-crushing or of-these to-him to-do nothing be-allowed doubt
quid agatis. 'At non cadunt haec in Antonium.'
what you-should-do but not fall these-things upon Antony
7 Hoc ne Cotylo quidem dicere auderet. Quid enim in
this not Cotyla even to-say would-dare what for upon
eum non cadit qui, cuius acta se defendere dicit,
him not falls who of-whom the-acts himself to-defend he-says
eius eas leges pervertit quas maxime laudare poteramus?
of-him those laws has-overturned which most to-praise we-could
Ille paludes siccare voluit; hic omnem Italiam moderato
he the-marshes to-drain wished this-one the-whole Italy to-a-moderate
homini, L. Antonio, dividendam dedit. Quid? Hanc legem
man Lucius Antonius to-be-divided gave what this law
populus Romanus accepit? Quid? Per auspicia ferri
the-people Roman accepted what by the-auspices to-be-carried
potuit? Sed augur verecundus sine conlegis de auspiciis.
could-it but the-augur modest without colleagues about auspices
Quamquam illa auspicia non egent interpretatione augurum;
although those auspices not need the-interpretation of-augurs
Iove enim tonante cum populo agi non esse fas quis
Jupiter for thundering with the-people to-deal not to-be lawful who
ignorat? Tribuni plebis tulerunt de provinciis contra
does-not-know tribunes of-the-plebs carried(-a-law) about the-provinces against
acta C. Caesaris: ille biennium, hi sexennium. Etiam
the-acts of-Gaius Caesar he two-years these six-years also
hanc legem populus Romanus accepit? Quid? Promulgata
this law the-people Roman accepted what promulgated
fuit? Quid? Non ante lata quam scripta est? Quid? Non
was-it what not before carried than written it-was what not
ante factum vidimus quam futurum quisquam est suspicatus?
before done did-we-see than going-to-be anyone has suspected

Ubi lex Caecilia et Didia, ubi promulgatio trinum 8
where the-law Caecilian and Didian where the-promulgation of-three
nundinum, ubi poena recenti lege Iunia et Licinia?
market-days where the-penalty by-the-recent law Junian and Licinian
Possuntne hae leges esse ratae sine interitu legum
can these laws be valid without the-destruction of-the-laws
reliquarum? Eccui potestas in forum insinuandi fuit?
remaining to-whom-then power into the-forum of-making-one's-way was
Quae porro illa tonitrua, quae tempestas! ut, si auspicia
what moreover those thunders what storm so-that if the-auspices
M. Antonium non moverent, sustinere tamen eum ac
Mark Antony not moved to-withstand still him and
ferre posse tantam vim tempestatis, imbris, turbinum
to-bear to-be-able so-great a-force of-storm of-rain of-whirlwinds
mirum videretur. Quam legem igitur se augur dicit
wonderful it-would-seem which law therefore himself the-augur says
tulisse non modo tonante Iove sed prope caelesti clamore
to-have-carried not only thundering Jupiter but almost the-heavenly outcry
prohibente, hanc dubitabit contra auspicia latam confiteri?
forbidding this will-he-hesitate against the-auspices carried to-confess
Quid? Quod cum eo conlega tulit quem ipse fecit sua 9
what what with that colleague he-carried whom himself made by-his-own
nuntiatione vitiosum, nihilne ad auspicia bonus augur pertinere
announcement faulty nothing to the-auspices the-good augur to-pertain
arbitratus est? Sed auspiciorum nos fortasse erimus interpretes
thought has but of-the-auspices we perhaps shall-be interpreters
qui sumus eius conlegae: num ergo etiam armorum
who are his colleagues surely-not therefore also of-arms
interpretes quaerimus? Primum omnes fori aditus ita
interpreters do-we-seek first all of-the-forum the-approaches so
saepti ut, etiam si nemo obstaret armatus, tamen nisi
fenced that even if no-one stood-in-the-way armed still unless

saeptis revolsis introiri in forum nullo modo posset; sic vero
the-fences torn-down to-be-entered into the-forum in-no way it-could so indeed
erant disposita praesidia ut quo modo hostium aditus
were placed the-garrisons that in-which manner of-enemies the-approaches
urbe prohibentur castellis et operibus, ita ab ingressione
from-the-city are-kept-off by-forts and works so from the-entry
fori populum tribunosque plebis propulsari videres.
of-the-forum the-people and-tribunes of-the-plebs to-be-repelled you-would-see
10 Quibus de causis eas leges quas M. Antonius tulisse
which for reasons those laws which Mark Antony to-have-carried
dicitur omnis censeo per vim et contra auspicia latas eisque
is-said all I-vote by force and against the-auspices carried and-by-those
legibus populum non teneri. Si quam legem de actis
laws the-people not to-be-bound if any law about the-acts
Caesaris confirmandis deve dictatura in perpetuum tollenda
of-Caesar to-be-confirmed or-about the-dictatorship for ever to-be-removed
deve coloniis in agros deducendis tulisse M. Antonius
or-about colonies into fields to-be-settled to-have-carried Mark Antony
dicitur, easdem leges de integro ut populum teneant salvis
is-said the-same laws from fresh that the-people they-may-bind with-intact
auspiciis ferri placet. Quamvis enim res bonas vitiose per
auspices to-be-carried it-pleases although for things good faultily through
vimque tulerit, tamen eae leges non sunt habendae, omnisque
and-force he-has-carried still those laws not are to-be-held and-all
audacia gladiatoris amentis auctoritate nostra repudianda est.
audacity of-the-gladiator mad by-authority our to-be-repudiated is

Antony embezzled seven hundred million sesterces through forged entries, and sold forged decrees, kingdoms, and exemptions as if from Caesar's notebooks, while his wife auctioned provinces. His jury law filled a third panel with gamblers, exiles, Greeks, and dancers, Cydas of Crete among them. Cicero would repeal these laws even if they had been passed lawfully.

Illa vero dissipatio pecuniae publicae ferenda nullo modo est 11
that indeed squandering of-money public to-be-borne in-no way is
per quam sestertium septiens miliens falsis perscriptionibus
through which of-sesterces seven-hundred millions by-false entries
donationibusque avertit, ut portenti simile videatur
and-gifts he-diverted so-that to-a-portent like it-may-seem
tantam pecuniam populi Romani tam brevi tempore perire
so-great money of-the-people Roman in-so short a-time to-perish
potuisse. Quid? illi tot immanes quaestus ferendine
to-have-been-able what those so-many monstrous gains to-be-borne-are-they
quos M. Antoni exhausit domus? Decreta falsa vendebat,
which of-Mark Antony has-drained the-house decrees false he-sold
regna, civitates, immunitates in aes accepta pecunia iubebat
kingdoms states exemptions on bronze received money he-ordered
incidi. Haec se ex commentariis C. Caesaris,
to-be-cut these-things himself from the-notebooks of-Gaius Caesar
quorum ipse auctor erat, agere dicebat. Calebant in interiore
of-which himself the-author was to-do he-said were-busy in the-inner
aedium parte totius rei publicae nundinae; mulier
of-the-house part of-the-whole thing public the-markets a-woman
sibi felicior quam viris auctionem provinciarum
for-herself more-fortunate than for-her-husbands an-auction of-provinces
regnorumque faciebat; restituebantur exsules quasi lege
and-kingdoms was-making there-were-being-restored exiles as-if by-law

sine lege; quae nisi auctoritate senatus rescinduntur,
without law which unless by-the-authority of-the-senate are-rescinded
quoniam ingressi in spem rei publicae recuperandae
since entered into the-hope of-the-thing public to-be-recovered
sumus, imago nulla liberae civitatis relinquetur.
we-have an-image none of-a-free state will-be-left
12 Neque solum commentariis commenticiis chirographisque
nor only by-notebooks invented and-autographs
venalibus innumerabilis pecunia congesta in illam domum
for-sale countless money heaped-up into that house
est, cum, quae vendebat Antonius, ea se ex actis
has-been since what he-was-selling Antony those-things himself from the-acts
Caesaris agere diceret, sed senatus etiam consulta pecunia
of-Caesar to-do said but the-senate's even decrees money
accepta falsa referebat; syngraphae obsignabantur; senatus
received false he-was-entering bonds were-sealed of-the-senate
consulta numquam facta ad aerarium deferebantur. Huius
decrees never made to the-treasury were-brought of-this
turpitudinis testes erant etiam exterae nationes. Foedera interea
baseness witnesses were even foreign nations treaties meanwhile
facta, regna data, populi provinciaeque liberatae, ipsarumque
made kingdoms given peoples and-provinces freed and-of-those
rerum falsae tabulae gemente populo Romano toto
things false tablets with-groaning the-people Roman on-the-whole
Capitolio figebantur. Quibus rebus tanta pecunia una in domo
Capitol were-posted by-which things so-much money one in house
coacervata est ut, si hoc genus pecuniae iure redigatur, non
heaped-up has-been that if this kind of-money rightly be-recovered not
sit pecunia rei publicae defutura. Legem etiam
would-be money to-the-thing public going-to-be-lacking a-law also
iudiciariam tulit, homo castus atque integer, iudiciorum et
judicial he-carried a-man pure and upright of-courts and

iuris auctor. In quo nos fefellit. Antesignanos et manipularis
of-right the-author in which us he-deceived front-rankers and privates
et Alaudas iudices se constituisse dicebat: at ille legit
and the-Larks as-judges himself to-have-established he-said but he chose
aleatores, legit exsules, legit Graecos — o consessum
gamblers he-chose exiles he-chose Greeks O bench
iudicum praeclarum! O dignitatem consili admirandam!
of-judges splendid O dignity of-the-council admirable
Avet animus apud consilium illud pro reo dicere! Cydam 13
longs the-mind before council that for the-defendant to-speak Cydas
amo Cretensem, portentum insulae, hominem audacissimum
I-love the-Cretan the-portent of-the-island a-man most-audacious
et perditissimum. Sed fac non esse: num Latine
and most-ruined but suppose(-him) not to-be surely-not Latin
scit? Num est ex iudicum genere et forma? num,
does-he-know surely-not is-he of the-judges' class and form surely-not
quod maximum est, leges nostras moresve novit? num
what greatest is laws our or-customs does-he-know surely-not
denique homines? Est enim Creta vobis notior quam
finally the-men is for Crete to-you better-known than
Roma Cydae. Dilectus autem et notatio iudicum etiam in
Rome to-Cydas the-selection however and marking of-judges even among
nostris civibus haberi solet; Cortynium vero iudicem quis
our citizens to-be-held is-accustomed a-Gortynian indeed judge who
novit aut quis nosse potuit? Nam Lysiaden Atheniensem
knew or who to-know could for Lysiades the-Athenian
plerique novimus; est enim Phaedri, philosophi nobilis, filius;
most we-know he-is for of-Phaedrus the-philosopher noble the-son
homo praeterea festivus, ut ei cum M'. Curio consessore
a-man moreover festive so-that he with Manius Curius bench-fellow
eodemque conlusore facillime possit convenire.
and-the-same fellow-gambler most-easily could agree

14 Quaero igitur, si Lysiades citatus iudex non responderit
I-ask therefore if Lysiades called as-judge not shall-have-answered
excuseturque Areopagites esse nec debere eodem tempore
and-shall-be-excused an-Areopagite to-be nor to-be-obliged at-the-same time
Romae et Athenis res iudicare, accipietne excusationem is
at-Rome and at-Athens cases to-judge will-accept the-excuse he
qui quaestioni praeerit Graeculi iudicis, modo palliati,
who over-the-court shall-preside of-the-little-Greek judge now cloaked
modo togati? An Atheniensium antiquissimas leges negleget?
now togaed or of-the-Athenians the-most-ancient laws will-be-neglect
Qui porro ille consessus, di boni! Cretensis iudex isque
what moreover that bench gods good a-Cretan judge and-he
nequissimus. Quem ad modum ad hunc reus adleget,
most-worthless how in manner to this-one the-defendant may-plead
quo modo accedat? Dura natio est. At Athenienses
in-what manner may-he-approach harsh the-nation is but the-Athenians
misericordes. Puto ne Curium quidem esse crudelem qui
merciful I-think not Curius even to-be cruel who
periculum fortunae cotidie facit. Sunt item lecti iudices qui
trial of-fortune daily makes there-are likewise chosen judges who
fortasse excusabuntur; habent enim legitimam excusationem,
perhaps will-be-excused they-have for a-lawful excuse
exsili causa solum vertisse nec esse postea restitutos.
of-exile for-the-sake the-soil to-have-changed nor to-have-been afterward restored
15 Hos ille demens iudices legisset, horum nomina ad aerarium
these he mad as-judges had-chosen of-these the-names to the-treasury
detulisset, his magnam partem rei publicae credidisset,
had-brought to-these a-great part of-the-thing public had-entrusted
si ullam speciem rei publicae cogitavisset? Atque ego
if any appearance of-a-thing public he-had-thought-of and I
de notis iudicibus dixi: quos minus nostis nolui
about known judges have-spoken those-whom less you-know I-was-unwilling

nominare: saltatores, citharistas, totum denique comissationis
to-name dancers lyre-players the-whole finally of-the-revel
Antonianae chorum in tertiam decuriam iudicum scitote
Antonian chorus into the-third panel of-judges know
esse coniectum. En causam cur lex tam egregia
to-have-been thrown behold the-reason why a-law so excellent
tamque praeclara maximo imbri, tempestate, ventis, procellis,
and-so splendid in-the-heaviest rain storm winds gales
turbinibus, inter fulmina et tonitrua ferretur, ut eos iudices
whirlwinds amid lightnings and thunders was-carried that those as-judges
haberemus quos hospites habere nemo velit. Scelerum
we-might-have whom as-guests to-have no-one would-wish of-crimes
magnitudo, conscientia maleficiorum, direptio eius pecuniae
the-greatness the-consciousness of-misdeeds the-plundering of-that money
cuius ratio in aede Opis confecta est hanc tertiam
of-which the-account in the-temple of-Ops made-up was this third
decuriam excogitavit; nec ante turpes iudices quaesiti quam
panel devised nor before base judges were-sought than
honestis iudicibus nocentium salus desperata est.
by-honorable judges of-the-guilty the-safety despaired-of was
Sed illud os, illam impuritatem caeni fuisse ut hos 16
but that face that impurity of-filth to-have-been that these
iudices legere auderet! quorum lectione duplex imprimeretur
judges to-choose he-should-dare by-whose selection a-double would-be-stamped
rei publicae dedecus: unum, quod tam turpes iudices
on-the-thing public disgrace one that so base the-judges
essent; alterum, quod patefactum cognitumque esset
should-be the-other that laid-bare and-known it-should-be
quam multos in civitate turpis haberemus. Hanc ergo et
how many in the-state base-men we-had this therefore and
reliquas eius modi leges, etiam si sine vi salvis
the-remaining of-that sort laws even if without violence with-intact

auspiciis essent rogatae, censerem tamen abrogandas: nunc
auspices they-had-been proposed I-would-vote still to-be-repealed now
vero cur abrogandas censeam, quas iudico non rogatas?
indeed why to-be-repealed should-I-vote which I-judge not proposed

IV · THE ARMED SENATE

Antony alone since Rome's founding kept armed men openly in the city; barbarian archers marched in his column, and armed men filled the temple of Concord while the senate spoke. He threatened to pull down Cicero's house over a motion on thanksgivings, then on the nineteenth of September attacked him in his absence, while his brother Lucius parceled out land. Cicero moves that the acts of the land board of seven be declared void.

17 An illa non gravissimis ignominiis monumentisque huius
or that not with-the-heaviest marks-of-disgrace and-records of-this
ordinis ad posteritatis memoriam sunt notanda, quod unus
order for of-posterity the-memory are to-be-branded that alone
M. Antonius in hac urbe post conditam urbem palam
Mark Antony in this city after the-founded city openly
secum habuerit armatos? quod neque reges nostri fecerunt
with-himself has-had armed-men which neither kings our did
neque ei qui regibus exactis regnum occupare voluerunt.
nor those who the-kings expelled the-kingship to-seize wished
Cinnam memini; vidi Sullam; modo Caesarem: hi enim
Cinna I-remember I-saw Sulla lately Caesar these for
tres post civitatem a L. Bruto liberatam plus potuerunt
three after the-state by Lucius Brutus freed more could
quam universa res publica. Non possum adfirmare nullis
than the-whole thing public not I-can assert by-no
telis eos stipatos fuisse; hoc dico: nec multis et occultis.
weapons them surrounded to-have-been this I-say not by-many and hidden-ones

At hanc pestem agmen armatorum sequebatur; Crassicius, 18
but this plague a-column of-armed-men was-following Crassicius
Mustela, Tiro, gladios ostentantes, sui similis greges
Mustela Tiro swords displaying of-themselves like herds
ducebant per forum; certum agminis locum tenebant
were-leading through the-forum a-fixed of-the-column place held
barbari sagittarii. Cum autem erat ventum ad aedem
barbarian archers when however one-had come to the-temple
Concordiae, gradus complebantur, lecticae conlocabantur, non
of-Concord the-steps were-filled litters were-placed not
quo ille scuta occulta esse vellet, sed ne familiares, si scuta
that he shields hidden to-be wished but lest his-intimates if shields
ipsi ferrent, laborarent. Illud vero taeterrimum non modo
themselves they-carried should-toil that indeed most-foul not only
aspectu sed etiam auditu, in cella Concordiae conlocari
to-sight but also to-hearing in the-sanctuary of-Concord to-be-placed
armatos, latrones, sicarios; de templo carcerem fieri;
armed brigands assassins out-of the-temple a-prison to-be-made
opertis valvis Concordiae, cum inter subsellia senatus
closed the-doors of-Concord while among the-benches of-the-senate
versarentur latrones, patres conscriptos sententias dicere.
moved brigands the-fathers enrolled opinions to-speak
Huc nisi venirem Kalendis Septembribus, etiam fabros se 19
hither unless I-came on-the-Kalends of-September even workmen himself
missurum et domum meam disturbaturum esse dixit. Magna
going-to-send and house my going-to-pull-down to-be he-said a-great
res, credo, agebatur: de supplicatione referebat. Veni
matter I-suppose was-being-treated about a-thanksgiving he-was-referring I-came
postridie: ipse non venit. Locutus sum de re publica,
the-next-day he-himself not came spoken I-have about the-thing public
minus equidem libere quam mea consuetudo, liberius tamen
less indeed freely than my custom more-freely still

quam periculi minae postulabant. At ille homo vehemens et
than of-danger the-threats demanded but he a-man vehement and
violentus, qui hanc consuetudinem libere dicendi excluderet —
violent who this custom of-freely speaking would-shut-out
fecerat enim hoc idem maxima cum laude L. Piso xxx diebus
had-done for this same greatest with praise Lucius Piso thirty days
ante — inimicitias mihi denuntiavit; adesse in senatum
before enmities to-me declared to-be-present in the-senate
iussit a. d. xiii. Kalendas Octobris. Ipse interea
he-ordered on the-day thirteenth before-the-Kalends of-October he-himself meanwhile
xvii dies de me in Tiburtino Scipionis declamitavit, sitim
seventeen days about me in the-Tiburtine(-villa) of-Scipio declaimed thirst
quaerens; haec enim ei causa esse declamandi solet.
seeking this for to-him the-reason to-be of-declaiming is-accustomed
20 Cum is dies quo me adesse iusserat, venisset, tum vero
when that day on-which me to-be-present he-had-ordered had-come then indeed
agmine quadrato in aedem Concordiae venit atque in me
with-column square into the-temple of-Concord he-came and against me
absentem orationem ex ore impurissimo evomuit. Quo die,
absent a-speech from mouth most-impure vomited on-which day
si per amicos mihi cupienti in senatum venire licuisset,
if through friends to-me desiring into the-senate to-come it-had-been-allowed
caedis initium fecisset a me; sic enim statuerat;
of-slaughter the-beginning he-would-have-made from me so for he-had-decided
cum autem semel gladium scelere imbuisset, nulla res ei
when however once his-sword in-crime he-had-steeped no thing to-him
finem caedendi nisi defetigatio et satietas attulisset.
an-end of-slaughtering except weariness and satiety would-have-brought
Etenim aderat Lucius frater, gladiator Asiaticus, qui myrmillo
for was-present Lucius his-brother the-gladiator Asiatic who as-gladiator
Mylasis depugnarat; sanguinem nostrum sitiebat, suum in
at-Mylasa had-fought blood our was-thirsting-for his-own in

illa gladiatoria pugna multum profuderat. Hic pecunias vestras
that gladiatorial fight much he-had-shed this-one moneys your
aestimabat; possessiones notabat et urbanas et rusticas;
was-valuing possessions was-marking both city and country
huius mendicitas aviditate coniuncta in fortunas nostras
of-this-one the-beggary with-greed joined over fortunes our
imminebat; dividebat agros quibus et quos volebat; nullus
was-hanging he-was-dividing fields to-whom and which he-wished no
aditus erat privato, nulla aequitatis deprecatio. Tantum
access was for-a-private-man no of-fairness plea so-much
quisque habebat possessor quantum reliquerat divisor Antonius.
each had as-owner as-much-as had-left the-divider Antony
Quae quamquam, si leges inritas feceritis, rata esse non 21
which although if the-laws void you-shall-have-made valid to-be not
possunt, tamen separatim suo nomine notanda censeo,
they-can still separately by-its-own name to-be-branded I-vote
iudicandumque nullos vii viros fuisse, nihil placere ratum
and-to-be-judged no seven men to-have-been nothing to-be-pleasing valid
esse quod ab eis actum diceretur. M. vero Antonium quis
to-be which by them done might-be-said Mark indeed Antony who
est qui civem possit iudicare potius quam taeterrimum et
is-there who as-a-citizen could judge rather than as-the-most-foul and
crudelissimum hostem, qui pro aede Castoris sedens audiente
most-cruel enemy who before the-temple of-Castor sitting hearing
populo Romano dixerit nisi victorem victurum neminem?
the-people Roman said except the-victor going-to-live no-one
Num putatis, patres conscripti, dixisse eum minacius
surely-not do-you-think fathers enrolled to-have-spoken him more-threateningly
quam facturum fuisse? Quid vero quod in contione
than going-to-do to-have-been what indeed that in a-public-meeting
dicere ausus est, se, cum magistratu abisset, ad urbem
to-say dared he-has himself when from-office he-had-gone-out near the-city

futurum cum exercitu, introiturum quotienscumque vellet,
going-to-be with an-army going-to-enter as-often-as he-wished
quid erat aliud nisi denuntiare populo Romano servitutem?
what was-it else except to-announce to-the-people Roman slavery

V · THE MARCH FROM BRUNDISIUM

Antony went to Brundisium to bring an army against Rome, and when the legions shouted down his promises he had loyal centurions butchered before his wife's feet. As he marched on the city, young Caesar, by the gods' favor and his own courage, raised his father's veterans and checked him; when the Martian and fourth legions went over to Caesar, Antony collapsed. Without the customary sacrifices and vows he fled in his general's cloak to Gaul, where he now besieges Decimus Brutus in Mutina.

22 Quod autem eius iter Brundisium, quae festinatio, quae
what however his journey to-Brundisium what haste what
spes, nisi ad urbem vel in urbem potius exercitum maximum
hope unless to the-city or into the-city rather an-army very-great
adduceret? Qui autem dilectus centurionum, quae effrenatio
he-might-lead what however selection of-centurions what unbridledness
impotentis animi! Cum eius promissis legiones fortissimae
of-an-uncontrolled mind when his to-promises the-legions most-brave
reclamassent, domum ad se venire iussit centuriones
had-shouted-down home to himself to-come he-ordered the-centurions
quos bene sentire de re publica cognoverat eosque ante
whom well to-feel about the-thing public he-had-learned and-them before
pedes suos uxorisque suae, quam secum gravis imperator
feet his-own and-of-wife his whom with-himself the-weighty commander
ad exercitum duxerat, iugulari coegit. Quo animo
to the-army had-led to-be-butchered he-compelled with-what mind
hunc futurum fuisse censetis in nos quos oderat,
this-one going-to-be to-have-been do-you-think toward us whom he-hated

cum in eos quos numquam viderat tam crudelis fuisset,
when toward those whom never he-had-seen so cruel he-had-been
et quam avidum in pecuniis locupletium qui pauperum
and how greedy in the-moneys of-the-wealthy he-who of-the-poor
sanguinem concupisset? quorum ipsorum bona, quantacumque
the-blood had-coveted whose very goods however-great
erant, statim suis comitibus compotoribusque discripsit.
they-were at-once to-his-own companions and-drinking-companions he-distributed
Atque ille furens infesta iam patriae signa a 23
and he raging hostile now against-the-fatherland standards from
Brundisio inferebat; cum C. Caesar deorum immortalium
Brundisium was-bearing when Gaius Caesar of-the-gods immortal
beneficio, divina animi, ingeni, consili magnitudine,
by-the-kindness with-divine of-spirit of-talent of-counsel greatness
quamquam sua sponte eximiaque virtute, tamen
although of-his-own accord and-by-exceptional virtue still
approbatione auctoritatis meae colonias patris adiit,
with-the-approval of-authority my the-colonies of-his-father approached
veteranos milites convocavit, paucis diebus exercitum fecit,
the-veteran soldiers he-summoned in-few days an-army he-made
incitatos latronum impetus retardavit. Postea vero quam
the-roused of-the-brigands onslaughts he-checked afterward indeed when
legio Martia ducem praestantissimum vidit, nihil egit aliud
the-legion Martian the-leader most-outstanding saw nothing it-did else
nisi ut aliquando liberi essemus; quam est imitata quarta
except that at-last free we-might-be which has imitated the-fourth
legio. Quo ille nuntio audito cum senatum vocasset
legion with-which he news heard when the-senate he-had-summoned
adhibuissetque consularem qui sua sententia C. Caesarem
and-had-brought-in a-consular who by-his opinion Gaius Caesar
hostem iudicaret, repente concidit.
an-enemy should-judge suddenly he-collapsed

24 Post autem neque sacrificiis sollemnibus factis neque votis
afterward however neither with-sacrifices solemn performed nor with-vows
nuncupatis non profectus est, sed profugit paludatus. At quo?
pronounced not set-out has but he-fled in-general's-cloak but whither
In provinciam firmissimorum et fortissimorum civium qui
into a-province of-most-steadfast and most-brave citizens who
illum, ne si ita quidem venisset ut nullum bellum inferret, ferre
him not if so even he-had-come that no war he-brought to-bear
potuissent, impotentem, iracundum, contumeliosum, superbum,
could-have uncontrolled irascible insulting proud
semper poscentem, semper rapientem, semper ebrium. At ille
always demanding always snatching always drunk but he
cuius ne pacatam quidem nequitiam quisquam ferre posset
whose not peaceful even worthlessness anyone to-bear could
bellum intulit provinciae Galliae; circumsedet Mutinam,
war brought-upon the-province of-Gaul he-besieges Mutina
firmissimam et splendidissimam populi Romani coloniam;
a-most-steadfast and most-splendid of-the-people Roman colony
oppugnat D. Brutum, imperatorem, consulem designatum,
he-attacks Decimus Brutus commander consul designate
civem non sibi, sed nobis et rei publicae natum.
a-citizen not for-himself but for-us and for-the-thing public born

If Hannibal was an enemy, so is Antony, who has done worse. Envoys to him would weaken the people, delay the war, and look like fear; Saguntum's envoys went to a foreign enemy, but Antony is a citizen attacking a Roman commander and colony. The senate's decrees of December 20 have already condemned him, and he will not obey while his brother Lucius leads his household.

Ergo Hannibal hostis, civis Antonius? Quid ille fecit 25
therefore Hannibal an-enemy a-citizen Antony what he did
hostiliter quod hic non aut fecerit aut faciat aut moliatur
hostilely which this-one not either has-done or does or contrives
et cogitet? Totum iter Antoniorum quid habuit nisi
and plans the-whole march of-the-Antonii what has-it-held except
depopulationes, vastationes, caedis, rapinas? quas non faciebat
devastations ravagings slaughters plunderings which not did
Hannibal, quia multa ad usum suum reservabat: at hi,
Hannibal because many-things for use his-own he-was-reserving but these
qui in horam viverent, non modo de fortunis et de bonis
who for the-hour lived not only about the-fortunes and about the-goods
civium, sed ne de utilitate quidem sua cogitaverunt.
of-the-citizens but not about advantage even their-own have-thought
Ad hunc, di boni! legatos mitti placet? Norunt isti
to this-man gods good envoys to-be-sent does-it-please know those
homines formam rei publicae, iura belli, exempla
men the-form of-the-thing public the-rights of-war the-examples
maiorum, cogitant quid populi Romani maiestas, quid
of-the-ancestors do-they-consider what of-the-people Roman the-majesty what
senatus severitas postulet? Legatos decernis? Si, ut deprecere,
of-the-senate the-severity demands envoys do-you-decree if that you-may-beg
contemnet; si, ut imperes, non audiet; denique
he-will-scorn(-them) if that you-may-command not he-will-listen finally

quamvis severa legatis mandata dederimus, nomen ipsum
however severe to-the-envoys instructions we-shall-have-given the-name itself
legatorum hunc quem videmus populi Romani restinguet
of-envoys this which we-see of-the-people Roman will-quench
ardorem, municipiorum atque Italiae franget animos. Ut
the-ardor of-the-towns and of-Italy will-break the-spirits that
omittam haec quae magna sunt, certe ista legatio moram
I-may-omit these-things which great are surely that embassy delay
et tarditatem adferet bello.
and slowness will-bring to-the-war

26 Quamvis dicant quod quosdam audio dicturos: 'Legati
although they-may-say what some I-hear going-to-say let-the-envoys
proficiscantur: bellum nihilo minus paretur,' tamen
set-out war by-nothing less let-it-be-prepared still
legatorum nomen ipsum et animos molliet et belli
of-the-envoys the-name itself both the-spirits will-soften and of-the-war
celeritatem morabitur. Minimis momentis, patres conscripti,
the-speed will-delay by-the-smallest moments fathers enrolled
maximae inclinationes temporum fiunt, cum in omni casu
the-greatest turns of-the-times happen both in every chance
rei publicae tum in bello et maxime civili quod opinione
of-the-thing public and in war and most civil which by-opinion
plerumque et fama gubernatur. Nemo quaeret quibuscum
mostly and by-report is-governed no-one will-ask with-what
mandatis legatos miserimus: nomen ipsum legationis ultro
instructions envoys we-sent the-name itself of-an-embassy voluntarily
missae timoris esse signum videbitur. Recedat a
sent of-fear to-be the-sign will-seem let-him-withdraw from
Mutina, desinat oppugnare Brutum, decedat ex Gallia;
Mutina let-him-cease to-attack Brutus let-him-depart from Gaul
non est verbis rogandus, cogendus est armis.
not he-is by-words to-be-asked to-be-compelled he-is by-arms

Non enim ad Hannibalem mittimus ut a Sagunto 27
not for to Hannibal we-send that from Saguntum
recedat, ad quem miserat olim senatus P. Valerium
he-may-withdraw to whom had-sent once the-senate Publius Valerius
Flaccum et Q. Baebium Tampilum — qui, si Hannibal non
Flaccus and Quintus Baebius Tampilus who if Hannibal not
pareret, Carthaginem ire iussi sunt: nostros quo iubemus ire,
obeyed to-Carthage to-go ordered were ours where do-we-order to-go
si non paruerit Antonius? — ad nostrum civem mittimus,
if not he-shall-have-obeyed Antony to our-own citizen we-send
ne imperatorem, ne coloniam populi Romani oppugnet. Itane
lest a-commander lest a-colony of-the-people Roman he-attack is-it-so
vero? hoc per legatos rogandum est? Quid interest, per
indeed this through envoys to-be-asked is what difference-is-there by
deos immortalis, utrum hanc urbem oppugnet an huius urbis
the-gods immortal whether this city he-attack or of-this city
propugnaculum, coloniam populi Romani praesidi causa
the-bulwark the-colony of-the-people Roman of-protection for-the-sake
conlocatam? Belli Punici secundi quod contra maiores
placed of-the-war Punic second which against ancestors
nostros Hannibal gessit causa fuit Sagunti oppugnatio.
our Hannibal waged the-cause was of-Saguntum the-siege
Recte ad eum legati missi: mittebantur ad Poenum,
rightly to him envoys sent were-being-sent to the-Carthaginian
mittebantur pro Hannibalis hostibus, nostris sociis. Quid
they-were-being-sent for Hannibal's enemies our allies what
simile tandem? Nos ad civem mittimus ne imperatorem
like pray we to a-citizen send lest a-commander
populi Romani, ne exercitum, ne coloniam circumsedeat,
of-the-people Roman lest an-army lest a-colony he-besiege
ne oppugnet, ne agros depopuletur, ne sit hostis.
lest he-attack lest the-fields he-lay-waste lest he-be an-enemy

28 Age, si paruerit, hoc civi uti aut volumus aut
come if he-shall-have-obeyed this citizen to-use either do-we-wish or
possumus? Ante diem xiii. Kalendas Ianuarias decretis
can-we on the-day thirteenth before-the-Kalends of-January by-decrees
vestris eum concidistis; constituistis ut haec ad vos
your him you-cut-down you-decided that these-things to you
Kalendis Ianuariis referrentur quae referri videtis, de
on-the-Kalends of-January should-be-referred which to-be-referred you-see about
honoribus et praemiis bene de re publica meritorum
the-honors and rewards of-those-well of the-thing public having-deserved
et merentium: quorum principem iudicastis eum qui fuit
and deserving of-whom the-first you-judged him who was
C. Caesarem, qui M. Antoni impetus nefarios ab
Gaius Caesar who of-Mark Antony the-onslaughts wicked from
urbe in Galliam avertit, tum milites veteranos qui
the-city into Gaul turned-aside then the-soldiers veteran who
primi Caesarem secuti sunt, tum illas caelestis divinasque
first Caesar followed have then those heavenly and-divine
legiones, Martiam et quartam comprobastis quibus, cum
legions the-Martian and the-fourth you-approved to-whom since
consulem suum non modo reliquissent, sed bello etiam
consul their not only they-had-abandoned but with-war even
persequerentur honores et praemia spopondistis; eodemque
were-pursuing honors and rewards you-pledged and-on-the-same
die D. Bruti, praestantissimi civis, edicto adlato atque
day of-Decimus Brutus a-most-outstanding citizen with-the-edict brought and
proposito factum eius conlaudastis, quodque ille bellum privato
posted the-deed his you-praised and-that he war by-private
consilio susceperat, id vos auctoritate publica comprobastis.
counsel had-undertaken that you by-authority public approved

Quid igitur illo die aliud egistis nisi ut hostem iudicaretis 29
what therefore on-that day else did-you-do except that an-enemy you-judged
Antonium? His vestris decretis aut ille vos aequo animo
Antony these your decrees either he you with-calm mind
aspicere poterit aut vos illum sine dolore summo videbitis?
to-look-at will-be-able or you him without pain the-utmost will-see
Exclusit illum a re publica, distraxit, segregavit non solum
has-shut-out him from the-thing public torn-away separated not only
scelus ipsius sed etiam, ut mihi videtur, fortuna quaedam
the-crime of-himself but also as to-me it-seems a-fortune a-certain
rei publicae. Qui si legatis paruerit Romamque
of-the-thing public who if the-envoys he-shall-have-obeyed and-to-Rome
redierit, num umquam perditis civibus vexillum quo
shall-have-returned surely-not ever for-ruined citizens a-standard to-which
concurrant defuturum putatis? Sed hoc minus vereor:
they-may-rally going-to-be-lacking do-you-think but this less I-fear
sunt alia quae magis timeam et cogitem. Numquam
there-are other-things which more I-may-fear and ponder never
parebit ille legatis. Novi hominis insaniam, adrogantiam;
will-obey he the-envoys I-know of-the-man the-madness the-arrogance
novi perdita consilia amicorum, quibus ille est deditus.
I-know the-ruined counsels of-the-friends to-whom he is devoted
Lucius quidem frater eius, utpote qui peregre depugnarit, 30
Lucius indeed brother his inasmuch-as he-who abroad has-fought
familiam ducit. Sit per se ipse sanus, quod numquam
the-household leads let-him-be by himself himself sane which never
erit: per hos esse ei tamen non licebit.
he-will-be through these to-be to-him still not it-will-be-allowed
Teretur interea tempus; belli apparatus refrigescent.
will-be-worn-away meanwhile time of-war the-preparations will-grow-cold
Unde est adhuc bellum tractum nisi ex retardatione
whence has so-far the-war been-drawn-out except from slowing

et mora? Ut primum post discessum latronis vel potius
and delay as first after the-departure of-the-brigand or rather
desperatam fugam libere senatus haberi potuit, semper
(his)-desperate flight freely the-senate to-be-held could always
flagitavi ut convocaremur. Quo die primum convocati
I-demanded that we-should-be-summoned on-what day first summoned
sumus, adfui ipse, cum designati consules non adessent,
we-were I-was-present myself when the-designate consuls not were-present
ieci sententia mea maximo vestro consensu fundamenta
I-laid by-opinion my with-the-greatest your agreement the-foundations
rei publicae, serius omnino quam decuit — nec enim
of-the-thing public later altogether than it-was-fitting nor for
ante potui — sed tamen si ex eo tempore dies nullus
before I-could but still if from that time day none
intermissus esset, bellum profecto nullum haberemus.
passed-over had-been war surely none we-would-have

VII · THE MOTION FOR WAR

An evil is easily crushed at birth, and waiting for envoys breeds doubt. Cicero moves that envoys go unmentioned, an emergency be declared, business suspended, cloaks of war taken, and levies held without exemptions, and that deserters from Antony before February 1 go unpunished. Antony's letter to a land commissioner promises Rome's fortunes to his followers.

31 Omne malum nascens facile opprimitur: inveteratum fit
every evil being-born easily is-crushed grown-old it-becomes
plerumque robustius. Sed tum exspectabantur Kalendae
mostly stronger but then were-awaited the-Kalends
Ianuariae, fortasse non recte. Verum praeterita omittamus:
of-January perhaps not rightly but past-things let-us-omit

etiamne hanc moram, dum proficiscantur legati, dum
even this delay while the-envoys set-out while
revertantur? quorum exspectatio dubitationem belli adfert.
they-return whose waiting doubt of-war brings
Bello autem dubio quod potest studium esse dilectus?
with-war however doubtful what can zeal to-be of-the-levy
Quam ob rem, patres conscripti, legatorum mentionem
which on-account-of thing fathers enrolled of-the-envoys mention
nullam censeo faciendam; rem administrandam arbitror
none I-vote to-be-made the-business to-be-administered I-think
sine ulla mora et confestim gerendam; tumultum
without any delay and at-once to-be-carried-on a-state-of-emergency
decerni, iustitium edici, saga sumi dico
to-be-decreed a-suspension-of-business to-be-proclaimed military-cloaks to-be-taken I-say
oportere, dilectum haberi sublatis vacationibus in urbe et
to-behoove a-levy to-be-held with-removed exemptions in the-city and
in Italia praeter Galliam tota.
in Italy except Gaul whole
Quae si erunt facta, opinio ipsa et fama nostrae severitatis 32
which if shall-be done the-opinion itself and the-report of-our severity
obruet scelerati gladiatoris amentiam. Sentiet sibi
will-overwhelm of-the-criminal gladiator the-madness he-will-feel by-himself
bellum cum re publica esse susceptum; experietur
war with the-thing public to-have-been undertaken he-will-experience
consentientis senatus nervos atque viris; nam nunc quidem
of-the-agreeing senate the-sinews and strength for now indeed
partium contentionem esse dictitat. Quarum partium? Alteri
of-parties a-contest to-be he-keeps-saying of-what parties the-ones
victi sunt, alteri sunt e mediis C. Caesaris partibus;
conquered are the-others are from the-midst-of Gaius Caesar's party
nisi forte Caesaris partis a Pansa et Hirtio consulibus et a
unless perhaps Caesar's party by Pansa and Hirtius the-consuls and by

filio C. Caesaris oppugnari putamus. Hoc vero bellum non
the-son of-Gaius Caesar to-be-attacked we-think this indeed war not
est ex dissensione partium, sed ex nefaria spe perditissimorum
is from dissension of-parties but from the-wicked hope of-most-ruined
civium excitatum, quibus bona fortunaeque nostrae notatae
citizens roused by-whom the-goods and-fortunes our marked-down
sunt et iam ad cuiusque optionem distributae.
have-been and already to of-each the-choice distributed

33 Legi epistulam Antoni quam ad quendam vii virum,
I-have-read a-letter of-Antony which to a-certain of-the-seven man
capitalem hominem, conlegam suum, miserat. 'Quid concupiscas
a-capital man colleague his he-had-sent what you-may-covet
tu videris: quod concupiveris certe habebis.' En ad
you may-see-to what you-shall-have-coveted surely you-shall-have behold to
quem legatos mittamus, cui bellum moremur inferre:
whom envoys we-are-to-send on-whom war we-are-delaying to-bring
qui ne sorti quidem fortunas nostras destinavit, sed libidini
who not to-the-lot even fortunes our has-assigned but to-the-lust
cuiusque nos ita addixit ut ne sibi quidem quicquam
of-each us so has-knocked-down that not to-himself even anything
integrum quod non alicui promissum iam sit reliquerit.
untouched which not to-someone promised already be he-has-left
Cum hoc, patres conscripti, bello, inquam, decertandum
with this-man fathers enrolled by-war I-say to-be-fought
est, idque confestim; legatorum tarditas repudianda est.
is and-that at-once of-the-envoys the-slowness to-be-repudiated is

34 Quapropter ne multa nobis cotidie decernenda sint,
wherefore lest many-things for-us daily to-be-decreed be
consulibus totam rem publicam commendandam censeo
to-the-consuls the-whole thing public to-be-entrusted I-vote
eisque permittendum ut rem publicam defendant
and-to-them to-be-permitted that the-thing public they-defend

provideantque ne quid res publica detrimenti accipiat,
and-provide lest any the-thing public of-harm receive
censeoque ut eis qui in exercitu M. Antoni sunt
and-I-vote that for-those who in the-army of-Mark Antony are
ne sit ea res fraudi, si ante Kalendas Februarias ab eo
not be that thing for-harm if before the-Kalends of-February from him
discesserint. Haec si censueritis, patres conscripti,
they-shall-have-departed these-things if you-shall-have-voted fathers enrolled
brevi tempore libertatem populi Romani auctoritatemque
in-short time the-liberty of-the-people Roman and-authority
vestram recuperabitis. Si autem lenius agetis, tamen
your you-will-recover if however more-gently you-will-act still
eadem, sed fortasse serius decernetis. De re publica
the-same-things but perhaps later you-will-decree about the-thing public
quoad rettulistis satis decrevisse videor.
as-far-as you-have-referred enough to-have-decreed I-seem

VIII · HONORS FOR BRUTUS AND LEPIDUS

Cicero turns to honors. Decimus Brutus, consul designate, kept Gaul in the senate's power and shut Antony out of it on his own judgment, and Cicero moves a decree in his praise. Lepidus, who turned away when Antony offered Caesar the diadem, ended the civil war with Sextus Pompey by clemency and restored Pompey's son to the state; Cicero moves a decree thanking him and setting up a gilded equestrian statue of him in the forum.

Altera res est de honoribus: de quibus deinceps intellego 35
the-other matter is about honors about which next I-understand
esse dicendum. Sed qui ordo in sententiis rogandis servari
to-be to-be-spoken but what order in opinions being-asked to-be-kept
solet, eundem tenebo in viris fortibus honorandis. A
is-accustomed the-same I-shall-hold in men brave to-be-honored from

Bruto igitur, consule designato, more maiorum capiamus
Brutus therefore consul designate in-the-custom of-the-ancestors let-us-take
exordium. Cuius ut superiora omittam, quae sunt maxima
a-beginning whose that the-earlier-things I-may-omit which are very-great
illa quidem sed adhuc hominum magis iudiciis quam publice
those indeed but so-far by-men's rather judgments than publicly
laudata, quibusnam verbis eius laudes huius ipsius temporis
praised by-what-pray words his praises of-this very time
consequi possumus? Neque enim ullam mercedem tanta virtus
to-reach can-we nor for any reward so-great virtue
praeter hanc laudis gloriaeque desiderat; qua etiam si careat,
except this of-praise and-of-glory desires which even if it-lack
tamen sit se ipsa contenta: quamquam in memoria
still would-be with-itself itself content although in the-memory
gratorum civium tamquam in luce posita laetetur. Laus
of-grateful citizens as-if in light placed it-may-rejoice the-praise
igitur iudici testimonique nostri tribuenda Bruto est.
therefore of-judgment and-of-testimony our to-be-given to-Brutus is
36 Quam ob rem his verbis, patres conscripti, senatus
which on-account-of thing in-these words fathers enrolled of-the-senate
consultum faciendum censeo: 'cum D. Brutus, imperator,
a-decree to-be-made I-vote whereas Decimus Brutus commander
consul designatus, provinciam Galliam in senatus populique
consul designate the-province Gaul in of-the-senate and-of-the-people
Romani potestate teneat, cumque exercitum tantum tam
Roman the-power holds and-whereas an-army so-great in-so
brevi tempore summo studio municipiorum coloniarumque
short a-time with-the-highest zeal of-the-towns and-colonies
provinciae Galliae, optime de re publica meritae
of-the-province Gaul excellently of the-thing public having-deserved
merentisque, conscripserit, compararit, id eum recte et
and-deserving he-has-enrolled has-raised that him rightly and

ordine exque re publica fecisse, idque D. Bruti
in-order and-from the-thing public to-have-done and-that of-Decimus Brutus
praestantissimum meritum in rem publicam senatui
most-outstanding service toward the-thing public to-the-senate
populoque Romano gratum esse et fore: itaque senatum
and-the-people Roman welcome to-be and going-to-be and-so the-senate
populumque Romanum existimare, D. Bruti imperatoris,
and-the-people Roman to-judge of-Decimus Brutus commander
consulis designati, opera, consilio, virtute incredibilique studio
consul designate work counsel virtue and-incredible zeal
et consensu provinciae Galliae rei publicae difficillimo
and agreement of-the-province Gaul to-the-thing public in-a-most-difficult
tempore esse subventum.'
time to-have-been helped

Huic tanto merito Bruti, patres conscripti, tantoque in rem 37
to-this so-great service of-Brutus fathers enrolled and-so-great toward the-thing
publicam beneficio quis est tantus honos qui non debeatur?
public benefit what is so-great an-honor which not be-owed
Nam si M. Antonio patuisset Gallia, si oppressis municipiis
for if to-Mark Antony had-lain-open Gaul if with-crushed the-towns
et coloniis imparatis in illam ultimam Galliam penetrare
and colonies unprepared into that farthest Gaul to-penetrate
potuisset, quantus rei publicae terror impenderet?
he-had-been-able how-great to-the-thing public a-terror would-hang-over
Dubitaret, credo, homo amentissimus atque in omnibus
he-would-hesitate I-suppose a-man most-mad and in all
consiliis praeceps et devius non solum cum exercitu suo sed
counsels headlong and astray not only with army his but
etiam cum omni immanitate barbariae bellum inferre nobis, ut
even with all the-savagery of-barbarism war to-bring on-us so-that
eius furorem ne Alpium quidem muro cohibere possemus.
his madness not of-the-Alps even by-the-wall restrain we-could

Haec igitur habenda gratia est D. Bruto qui illum,
this therefore to-be-felt the-gratitude is to-Decimus Brutus who him
nondum interposita auctoritate vestra, suo consilio atque
not-yet interposed authority your by-his-own counsel and
iudicio, non ut consulem recepit, sed ut hostem arcuit Gallia
judgment not as consul received but as enemy kept-off from-Gaul
seque obsideri quam hanc urbem maluit. Habeat ergo
and-himself to-be-besieged than this city preferred let-him-have therefore
huius tanti facti tamque praeclari decreto nostro testimonium
of-this so-great deed and-so splendid by-decree our a-testimony
sempiternum; Galliaque quae semper praesidet atque praesedit
everlasting and-Gaul which always protects and has-protected
huic imperio libertatique communi merito vereque laudetur,
this empire and-liberty common deservedly and-truly be-praised
quod se suasque viris non tradidit, sed opposuit Antonio.
that itself and-its strength not it-handed-over but opposed to-Antony
38 Atque etiam M. Lepido pro eius egregiis in rem
and also to-Marcus Lepidus for his outstanding toward the-thing
publicam meritis decernendos honores quam amplissimos censeo.
public services to-be-decreed honors as most-ample I-vote
Semper ille populum Romanum liberum voluit maximumque
always he the-people Roman free wished and-the-greatest
signum illo die dedit voluntatis et iudici sui, cum
sign on-that day he-gave of-his-will and judgment his-own when
Antonio diadema Caesari imponente se avertit gemituque
Antony a-diadem on-Caesar placing himself turned-away and-by-groaning
et maestitia declaravit quantum haberet odium servitutis,
and sadness declared how-much he-had hatred of-slavery
quam populum Romanum liberum cuperet, quam illa quae
how the-people Roman free he-desired how those-things which
tulerat temporum magis necessitate quam iudicio tulisset.
he-had-borne of-the-times more by-necessity than by-judgment he-had-borne

Quanta vero is moderatione usus sit in illo tempore civitatis
with-how-great indeed he moderation used has at that time of-the-state
quod post mortem Caesaris consecutum est, quis nostrum
which after the-death of-Caesar followed has who of-us
oblivisci potest? Magna haec, sed ad maiora properat oratio.
to-forget can great these-things but to greater hastens (my)-speech
Quid enim, o di immortales! admirabilius omnibus gentibus, 39
what for O gods immortal more-admirable to-all peoples
quid optatius populo Romano accidere potuit quam, cum
what more-desired for-the-people Roman to-happen could than when
bellum civile maximum esset, cuius belli exitum omnes
a-war civil very-great there-was of-which war the-outcome all
timeremus, sapientia et misericordia id potius exstingui
we-feared by-wisdom and mercy it rather to-be-extinguished
quam armis et ferro rem in discrimen adducere? Quod
than by-arms and sword the-thing into decision to-bring but
si eadem ratio Caesaris fuisset in illo taetro miseroque
if the-same the-method of-Caesar had-been in that foul and-wretched
bello, ut omittam patrem, duos Cn. Pompei, summi et
war that I-may-omit the-father the-two of-Gnaeus Pompey a-supreme and
singularis viri, filios incolumis haberemus: quibus certe pietas
singular man sons unharmed we-would-have for-whom surely piety
fraudi esse non debuit. Utinam omnis M. Lepidus servare
for-harm to-be not ought would-that all Marcus Lepidus to-save
potuisset! Facturum fuisse declaravit in eo quod potuit,
had-been-able going-to-do to-have-been he-declared in that which he-could
cum Sex. Pompeium restituit civitati, maximum ornamentum
when Sextus Pompey he-restored to-the-state the-greatest ornament
rei publicae, clarissimum monumentum clementiae suae.
of-the-thing public the-most-illustrious monument of-clemency his
Gravis illa fortuna populi Romani, grave fatum. Pompeio
heavy that fortune of-the-people Roman heavy the-fate with-Pompey

enim patre, quod imperi populi Romani lumen fuit,
for the-father who of-the-empire of-the-people Roman the-light was
exstincto interfectus est patris simillimus filius.
extinguished killed was to-his-father the-most-like son
40 Sed omnia mihi videntur deorum immortalium iudicio
but all-things to-me seem of-the-gods immortal by-the-judgment
expiata Sex. Pompeio rei publicae conservato. Quam ob
expiated Sextus Pompey for-the-thing public preserved which for
causam iustam atque magnam et quod periculosissimum civile
reason just and great and because the-most-dangerous civil
bellum maximumque humanitate et sapientia sua M. Lepidus
war and-greatest by-humanity and wisdom his Marcus Lepidus
ad pacem concordiamque convertit, senatus consultum his
to peace and-concord turned of-the-senate a-decree in-these
verbis censeo perscribendum: 'cum a M. Lepido imperatore,
words I-vote to-be-written-out whereas by Marcus Lepidus commander
pontifice maximo, saepe numero res publica et bene et
pontiff greatest often in-number the-thing public both well and
feliciter gesta sit, populusque Romanus intellexerit ei
successfully managed has-been and-the-people Roman has-understood to-him
dominatum regium maxime displicere, cumque eius opera,
domination royal most to-displease and-whereas his by-the-work
virtute, consilio singularique clementia et mansuetudine
virtue counsel and-singular clemency and gentleness
bellum acerbissimum civile sit restinctum,
the-war most-bitter civil has-been extinguished
41 Sextusque Pompeius, Gnaei filius, Magnus, huius ordinis
and-Sextus Pompey of-Gnaeus son the-Great of-this order
auctoritate ab armis discesserit et a M. Lepido imperatore,
by-the-authority from arms has-departed and by Marcus Lepidus commander
pontifice maximo, summa senatus populique Romani
pontiff greatest with-the-highest of-the-senate and-of-the-people Roman

voluntate civitati restitutus sit, senatum populumque
will to-the-state restored has-been the-senate and-the-people
Romanum pro maximis plurimisque in rem publicam
Roman for the-greatest and-very-many toward the-thing public
M. Lepidi meritis magnam spem in eius virtute,
of-Marcus Lepidus services great hope in his virtue
auctoritate, felicitate reponere oti, pacis, concordiae,
authority good-fortune to-place of-leisure of-peace of-concord
libertatis, eiusque in rem publicam meritorum senatum
of-liberty and-of-his toward the-thing public services the-senate
populumque Romanum memorem fore, eique statuam
and-the-people Roman mindful going-to-be and-to-him a-statue
equestrem inauratam in rostris aut quo alio loco in foro
equestrian gilded on the-rostra or in-what other place in the-forum
vellet ex huius ordinis sententia statui placere.' Qui
he-may-wish by of-this order the-opinion to-be-set-up to-please which
honos, patres conscripti, mihi maximus videtur, primum
honor fathers enrolled to-me greatest seems first
quia iustus est; non enim solum datur propter spem
because just it-is not for only it-is-given on-account-of hope
temporum reliquorum sed pro amplissimis meritis redditur;
of-times remaining but for most-ample services is-rendered
nec vero cuiquam possumus commemorare hunc honorem
nor indeed to-anyone we-can recall this honor
a senatu tributum iudicio senatus soluto et libero.
by the-senate bestowed with-the-judgment of-the-senate released and free

Without young Caesar none of them would be alive. When Antony raced toward the city from Brundisium, Caesar raised the veterans unasked and saved Rome, a greater deed than young Pompey's for Sulla. Cicero moves that he hold command as propraetor, sit in the senate among the former praetors, and stand for any office as if he had been quaestor the year before, since the ancestors had no age laws, and Scipio, Flamininus, and Alexander did great things young.

42 Venio ad C. Caesarem, patres conscripti, qui nisi fuisset,
I-come to Gaius Caesar fathers enrolled who unless he-had-been
quis nostrum esse potuisset? Advolabat ad urbem a
who of-us to-be could-have was-flying to the-city from
Brundisio homo impotentissimus, ardens odio, animo
Brundisium a-man most-uncontrolled burning with-hatred with-mind
hostili in omnis bonos cum exercitu Antonius. Quid
hostile against all good-men with an-army Antony what
huius audaciae et sceleri poterat opponi? Nondum ullos
to-this-man's audacity and crime could be-opposed not-yet any
duces habebamus, non copias; nullum erat consilium publicum,
leaders we-had not forces no was counsel public
nulla libertas; dandae cervices erant crudelitati nefariae;
no liberty to-be-offered necks were to-cruelty wicked
fugam quaerebamus omnes, quae ipsa exitum non habebat.
flight we-were-seeking all which itself an-outlet not had
43 Quis tum nobis, quis populo Romano obtulit hunc
who then to-us who to-the-people Roman offered this
divinum adulescentem deus? qui, cum omnia ad perniciem
divine young-man what-god who when all-things for the-ruin
nostram pestifero illi civi paterent, subito praeter spem
our to-pestilent that citizen lay-open suddenly beyond the-hope
omnium exortus prius confecit exercitum quem furori
of-all having-arisen sooner raised an-army which to-the-madness

M. Antoni opponeret quam quisquam hoc eum cogitare
of-Mark Antony he-might-oppose than anyone this him to-be-thinking
suspicaretur. Magni honores habiti Cn. Pompeio, cum
suspected great honors were-paid to-Gnaeus Pompey when
esset adulescens, et quidem iure. Subvenit enim rei
he-was a-young-man and indeed rightly he-helped for the-thing
publicae, sed aetate multo robustior et militum ducem
public but in-age by-much stronger and of-the-soldiers a-leader
quaerentium studio paratior et in alio genere belli.
seeking by-the-zeal better-prepared and in another kind of-war
Non enim omnibus Sullae causa grata. Declarat multitudo
not for to-all Sulla's cause welcome declares(-it) the-multitude
proscriptorum, tot municipiorum maximae calamitates.
of-the-proscribed of-so-many towns the-greatest calamities
Caesar autem annis multis minor veteranos cupientis iam 44
Caesar however by-years many younger veterans desiring now
requiescere armavit; eam complexus est causam quae esset
to-rest armed that he-embraced has cause which was
senatui, quae populo, quae cunctae Italiae, quae dis
to-the-senate which to-the-people which to-whole Italy which to-gods
hominibusque gratissima. Et Pompeius ad L. Sullae
and-men most-welcome and Pompey to of-Lucius Sulla
maximum imperium victoremque exercitum accessit: Caesar
the-greatest command and-victorious army came-over Caesar
se ad neminem adiunxit, ipse princeps exercitus faciendi
himself to no-one joined he-himself the-first of-an-army being-made
et praesidi comparandi fuit. Ille adversariorum partibus
and of-protection being-provided was he of-the-opponents to-the-party
agrum Picenum habuit inimicum: hic ex Antoni amicis
the-territory Picene had hostile this-one from Antony's friends
sed amicioribus libertatis contra Antonium confecit exercitum.
but friendlier to-liberty against Antony made an-army

Illius opibus Sulla regnavit: huius praesidio Antoni
by-that-one's resources Sulla reigned by-this-one's protection Antony's
dominatus oppressus est.
domination crushed was
45 Demus igitur imperium Caesari sine quo res militaris
let-us-give therefore command to-Caesar without which the-thing military
administrari, teneri exercitus, bellum geri non potest:
to-be-administered to-be-held an-army war to-be-waged not can
sit pro praetore eo iure quo qui optimo.
let-him-be as propraetor with-that right with-which whoever with-the-best
Qui honos quamquam est magnus illi aetati, tamen ad
which honor although it-is great for-that age still for
necessitatem rerum gerendarum, non solum ad dignitatem
the-necessity of-things to-be-done not only for dignity
valet. Itaque illa quaeramus quae vix hodierno die
it-avails and-so those-things let-us-seek which scarcely on-today's day
consequemur. Sed saepe spero fore huius adulescentis
we-shall-obtain but often I-hope going-to-be of-this young-man
ornandi et nobis et populo Romano potestatem;
of-adorning both for-us and for-the-people Roman the-power
46 hoc autem tempore ita censeo decernendum: 'quod C. Caesar,
at-this however time so I-vote to-be-decreed whereas Gaius Caesar
Gai filius, pontifex, pro praetore, summo rei publicae
of-Gaius son pontiff as propraetor at-the-supreme of-the-thing public
tempore milites veteranos ad libertatem populi Romani
time the-soldiers veteran to the-liberty of-the-people Roman
cohortatus sit eosque conscripserit, quodque legio Martia
exhorted has and-them has-enrolled and-whereas the-legion Martian
quartaque summo studio optimoque in rem publicam
and-the-fourth with-the-highest zeal and-best toward the-thing public
consensu C. Caesare duce et auctore rem publicam,
agreement Gaius Caesar as-leader and as-author the-thing public

libertatem populi Romani defendant, defenderint, et quod
the-liberty of-the-people Roman defend have-defended and whereas
C. Caesar pro praetore Galliae provinciae cum exercitu
Gaius Caesar as propraetor to-Gaul province with an-army
subsidio profectus sit, equites, sagittarios, elephantos in suam
for-help has set-out the-cavalry the-archers the-elephants into his-own
populique Romani potestatem redegerit, difficillimoque
and-of-the-people Roman power has-brought and-in-the-most-difficult
rei publicae tempore saluti dignitatique populi Romani
of-the-thing public time to-the-safety and-dignity of-the-people Roman
subvenerit, ob eas causas senatui placere, C. Caesarem,
has-come-to-the-aid for those reasons to-the-senate to-be-pleasing Gaius Caesar
Gai filium, pontificem, pro praetore, senatorem esse
of-Gaius son pontiff as propraetor a-senator to-be
sententiamque loco praetorio dicere, eiusque rationem,
and-his-opinion in-the-place praetorian to-speak and-his reckoning
quemcumque magistratum petet, ita haberi ut haberi per
whatever magistracy he-shall-seek so to-be-held as to-be-held by
leges liceret, si anno superiore quaestor fuisset.'
the-laws it-would-be-allowed if in-the-year former quaestor he-had-been
Quid est enim, patres conscripti, cur eum non quam 47
what is-there for fathers enrolled why him not as
primum amplissimos honores capere cupiamus? Legibus
soon-as-possible the-most-ample honors to-take we-should-desire by-the-laws
enim annalibus cum grandiorem aetatem ad consulatum
for of-years when an-older age for the-consulship
constituebant, adulescentiae temeritatem verebantur: C. Caesar
they-established of-youth the-rashness they-feared Gaius Caesar
ineunte aetate docuit ab excellenti eximiaque virtute
at-the-entering-on of-age has-shown from excellent and-exceptional virtue
progressum aetatis exspectari non oportere. Itaque maiores
the-advance of-age to-be-awaited not to-behoove and-so ancestors

nostri veteres illi admodum antiqui leges annalis non habebant,
our old those very ancient laws annual not had
quas multis post annis attulit ambitio, ut gradus essent
which many after years brought ambition that steps there-might-be
petitionis inter aequalis. Ita saepe magna indoles virtutis,
of-candidature among equals so often a-great natural-talent of-virtue
prius quam rei publicae prodesse potuisset, exstincta est.
before than to-the-thing public to-be-of-use it-could extinguished was
48 At vero apud antiquos Rulli, Decii, Corvini multique alii,
but indeed among the-ancients the-Rulli the-Decii the-Corvini and-many others
recentiore autem memoria superior Africanus, T. Flamininus
in-more-recent however memory the-elder Africanus Titus Flamininus
admodum adulescentes consules facti tantas res gesserunt
very young consuls made such-great things did
ut populi Romani imperium auxerint, nomen ornarint.
that of-the-people Roman the-empire they-increased the-name they-adorned
Quid? Macedo Alexander, cum ab ineunte aetate res
what the-Macedonian Alexander when from the-entering-on of-age things
maximas gerere coepisset, nonne tertio et tricesimo anno
the-greatest to-do he-had-begun not in-the-third and thirtieth year
mortem obiit? quae est aetas nostris legibus decem annis
death he-met which is an-age by-our laws by-ten years
minor quam consularis. Ex quo iudicari potest virtutis
less than consular from which to-be-judged can of-virtue
esse quam aetatis cursum celeriorem. Nam quod ei
to-be than of-age the-course swifter for as-to-what those
qui Caesari invident simulant se timere, ne verendum
who Caesar envy pretend themselves to-fear not to-be-feared
quidem est ut tenere se possit, ut moderari, ne
even it-is that to-hold himself he-may-be-able that to-moderate lest
honoribus nostris elatus intemperantius suis opibus utatur.
by-honors our elated more-intemperately his resources he-use

Unlike his father, the dictator, a young man who has tasted true glory will not trade it for dangerous power, and Cicero pledges that young Caesar will always be the citizen he is today. He moves honors for Egnatuleius, who brought over the fourth legion, and exemptions and land for Caesar's veterans and the Martian and fourth legions when the war is over.

Ea natura rerum est, patres conscripti, ut qui sensum 49
that the-nature of-things is fathers enrolled that he-who the-sense
verae gloriae ceperit quique se ab senatu, ab equitibus
of-true glory has-taken and-who himself by the-senate by the-knights
Romanis populoque Romano universo senserit civem
Roman and-the-people Roman whole has-perceived a-citizen
carum haberi salutaremque rei publicae, nihil cum
dear to-be-held and-salutary to-the-thing public nothing with
hac gloria comparandum putet. Utinam C. Caesari,
this glory to-be-compared may-think would-that to-Gaius Caesar
patri dico, contigisset adulescenti ut esset senatui
the-father I-say it-had-befallen as-a-young-man that he-should-be to-the-senate
atque optimo cuique carissimus! Quod cum consequi
and to-the-best each most-dear which when to-attain
neglexisset, omnem vim ingeni, quae summa fuit in
he-had-neglected all the-force of-talent which the-greatest was in
illo, in populari levitate consumpsit. Itaque cum respectum
him in popular fickleness he-spent and-so when regard
ad senatum et ad bonos non haberet, eam sibi
for the-senate and for the-good-men not he-had that for-himself
viam ipse patefecit ad opes suas amplificandas quam
road he-himself opened for resources his to-be-increased which
virtus liberi populi ferre non posset. Eius autem
the-virtue of-a-free people to-bear not could his however

fili longissime diversa ratio est: qui cum omnibus
son's very-far different the-method is who both to-all
carus est, tum optimo cuique carissimus. In hoc
dear is and to-the-best each most-dear in this-one
spes libertatis posita est; ab hoc accepta iam
the-hope of-liberty placed is from this-one received already
salus; huic summi honores et exquiruntur et parati
safety for-this-one the-highest honors both are-sought and prepared
sunt.
have-been
50 Cuius igitur singularem prudentiam admiramur, eius
of-whom therefore singular the-prudence we-admire his
stultitiam timemus? Quid enim stultius quam inutilem
folly do-we-fear what for more-foolish than useless
potentiam, invidiosas opes, cupiditatem dominandi praecipitem
power envied resources desire of-ruling headlong
et lubricam anteferre verae, gravi, solidae gloriae? An
and slippery to-prefer to-true weighty solid glory or
hoc vidit puer: si aetate processerit, non videbit?
this saw the-boy if in-age he-shall-have-advanced not will-he-see
'At est quibusdam inimicus clarissimis atque optimis
but he-is to-some hostile most-illustrious and best
civibus.' Nullus iste timor esse debet. Omnis Caesar
citizens no that fear to-be ought all Caesar
inimicitias rei publicae condonavit; hanc sibi
enmities to-the-thing public has-forgiven this for-himself
iudicem constituit, hanc moderatricem omnium consiliorum
as-judge he-has-established this as-moderator of-all counsels
atque factorum. Ita enim ad rem publicam accessit
and deeds so for to the-thing public he-came
ut eam confirmaret, non ut everteret. Omnis habeo
that it he-might-strengthen not that he-might-overturn all I-have

cognitos sensus adulescentis. Nihil est illi re
known the-feelings of-the-young-man nothing is to-him than-the-thing
publica carius, nihil vestra auctoritate gravius, nihil
public dearer nothing than-your authority weightier nothing
bonorum virorum iudicio optatius, nihil vera gloria
of-good men than-the-judgment more-desired nothing than-true glory
dulcius.
sweeter
Quam ob rem ab eo non modo nihil timere 51
which on-account-of thing from him not only nothing to-fear
sed maiora et meliora exspectare debetis, neque in eo
but greater and better-things to-expect you-ought nor in him
qui ad D. Brutum obsidione liberandum profectus
who to Decimus Brutus from-siege to-be-freed has
sit timere ne memoria maneat domestici doloris
set-out to-fear lest the-memory remain of-domestic grief
quae plus apud eum possit quam salus civitatis.
which more with him may-avail than the-safety of-the-state
Audeo etiam obligare fidem meam, patres conscripti,
I-dare even to-pledge faith my fathers enrolled
vobis populoque Romano reique publicae; quod
to-you and-to-the-people Roman and-to-the-thing public which
profecto, cum me nulla vis cogeret, facere non auderem
surely since me no force compelled to-do not I-would-dare
pertimesceremque in maxima re periculosam opinionem
and-I-would-dread in a-very-great matter a-dangerous opinion
temeritatis. Promitto, recipio, spondeo, patres conscripti,
of-rashness I-promise I-guarantee I-pledge fathers enrolled
C. Caesarem talem semper fore civem qualis hodie
Gaius Caesar such always going-to-be a-citizen as today

sit qualemque eum maxime velle esse et optare
he-is and-such him most to-wish to-be and to-desire
debemus.
we-ought

52 Quae cum ita sint, de Caesare satis hoc tempore
which since so they-are about Caesar enough at-this time
dictum habebo. Nec vero de L. Egnatuleio, fortissimo
said I-shall-bold nor indeed about Lucius Egnatuleius a-most-brave
et constantissimo civi amicissimoque rei publicae,
and most-steadfast citizen and-most-friendly to-the-thing public
silendum arbitror; sed tribuendum testimonium virtutis
to-be-silent I-think but to-be-given a-testimony of-virtue
egregiae, quod is legionem quartam ad Caesarem
outstanding that he the-legion fourth to Caesar
adduxerit, quae praesidio consulibus, senatui populoque
has-brought which for-protection to-the-consuls to-the-senate and-to-the-people
Romano reique publicae esset: ob eam causam
Roman and-to-the-thing public should-be for that reason
placere uti L. Egnatuleio triennio ante legitimum
to-be-pleasing that to-Lucius Egnatuleius three-years before the-lawful
tempus magistratus petere, capere, gerere liceat. In
time magistracies to-seek to-take to-conduct be-allowed in
quo, patres conscripti, non tantum commodum tribuitur
which fathers enrolled not so-much advantage is-bestowed
L. Egnatuleio quantus honos: in tali enim re satis
on-Lucius Egnatuleius as-much-as honor in such for a-thing enough
est nominari.
it-is to-be-named

53 De exercitu autem C. Caesaris ita censeo decernendum:
about the-army however of-Gaius Caesar so I-vote to-be-decreed
‘senatui placere, militibus veteranis qui Caesaris pontificis
to-the-senate to-be-pleasing for-the-soldiers veteran who of-Caesar pontiff

pro praetore auctoritatem secuti libertatem populi
as propraetor the-authority having-followed the-liberty of-the-people
Romani auctoritatemque huius ordinis defenderint atque
Roman and-the-authority of-this order have-defended and
defendant ipsis liberisque eorum militiae vacationem
defend for-themselves and-children their of-military-service exemption
esse, utique C. Pansa A. Hirtius consules, alter ambove,
to-be and-that Gaius Pansa Aulus Hirtius consuls one or-both
si eis videretur, cognoscerent qui ager eis coloniis esset
if to-them it-should-seem should-investigate what land in-those colonies there-was
quo milites veterani deducti essent, qui contra legem
to-which the-soldiers veteran led had-been which against the-law
Iuliam possideretur, ut is militibus veteranis divideretur;
Julian was-possessed that it to-the-soldiers veteran be-divided
de agro Campano separatim cognoscerent inirentque
about the-land Campanian separately they-should-investigate and-should-enter-into
rationem de commodis militum veteranorum augendis,
a-reckoning about the-advantages of-the-soldiers veteran to-be-increased
legionique Martiae et legioni quartae et eis militibus
and-to-the-legion Martian and to-the-legion fourth and to-those soldiers
qui de legione secunda, tricesima quinta ad C. Pansam
who from the-legion second thirtieth fifth to Gaius Pansa
A. Hirtium consules venissent suaque nomina edidissent,
Aulus Hirtius the-consuls had-come and-their names had-given-in
quod eis auctoritas senatus populique Romani libertas
because to-them the-authority of-the-senate and-of-the-people Roman the-liberty
carissima sit et fuerit, vacationem militiae ipsis
most-dear is and has-been exemption of-military-service for-themselves
liberisque eorum esse placere extra tumultum Gallicum
and-children their to-be to-please outside the-emergency Gallic
Italicumque: easque legiones bello confecto missas
and-Italian and-those legions with-the-war finished discharged

fieri placere; quantamque pecuniam militibus earum
to-be-made to-please and-how-much money to-the-soldiers of-those
legionum in singulos C. Caesar, pontifex, pro praetore
legions to individuals Gaius Caesar pontiff as propraetor
pollicitus sit, tantam dari placere; utique C. Pansa
promised has so-much to-be-given to-please and-that Gaius Pansa
A. Hirtius consules, alter ambove, si eis videretur,
Aulus Hirtius the-consuls one or-both if to-them it-should-seem
rationem agri haberent qui sine iniuria privatorum dividi
a-reckoning of-land should-make which without wrong of-private-men to-be-divided
posset, eisque militibus, legioni Martiae et legioni
could and-to-those soldiers to-the-legion Martian and to-the-legion
quartae ita darent, adsignarent ut quibus militibus
fourth so they-should-give should-assign as to-whom soldiers
amplissime dati, adsignati essent.' Dixi ad ea omnia,
most-amply given assigned had-been I-have-spoken to those all
consules, de quibus rettulistis: quae si erunt sine
consuls about which you-have-referred which if shall-be without
mora matureque decreta, facilius apparabitis ea quae
delay and-early decreed more-easily you-will-prepare those-things which
tempus et necessitas flagitat. Celeritate autem opus est:
the-time and necessity demands of-speed however need there-is
qua si essemus usi, bellum, ut saepe dixi, nullum
which if we-had used war as often I-have-said none
haberemus.
we-would-have

PHILIPPICA SEXTA

I · THE EMBASSY EXPLAINED

Cicero reports to the people what the senate has done. For three days his motion for war prevailed, but today the senate, swayed by a vague hope, voted to send envoys instead. The embassy, he says, is no embassy but a declaration of war unless Antony obeys: he must leave Mutina, stop his levies, and submit to the senate. Cicero predicts that he will do none of it.

Audita vobis esse arbitror, Quirites, quae sint acta in 1
heard by-you to-have-been I-think citizens what has-been done in
senatu, quae fuerit cuiusque sententia. Res enim ex Kalendis
the-senate what was of-each the-opinion the-matter for from the-Kalends
Ianuariis agitata paulo ante confecta est, minus quidem illa
of-January debated a-little before concluded was less indeed it
severe quam decuit, non tamen omnino dissolute. Mora est
severely than was-fitting not still altogether laxly delay has-been
adlata bello, non causa sublata. Quam ob rem, quod
brought to-the-war not the-cause removed which on-account-of thing as-to-what
quaesivit ex me P. Apuleius, homo et multis officiis mihi
has-asked of me Publius Apuleius a-man both by-many services to-me
et summa familiaritate coniunctus et vobis amicissimus, ita
and by-the-closest intimacy joined and to-you most-friendly so
respondebo ut ea quibus non interfuistis nosse possitis.
I-shall-answer that those-things at-which not you-were-present to-know you-may-be-able
Causa fortissimis optimisque consulibus Kalendis Ianuariis
the-reason for-the-most-brave and-best consuls on-the-Kalends of-January
de re publica primum referendi fuit ex eo quod a. d.
about the-thing public first of-referring was from this that on the-day
xiii. Kalendas Ianuarias senatus me auctore decrevit.
thirteenth before-the-Kalends of-January the-senate with-me as-author decreed

2 Eo die primum, Quirites, fundamenta sunt iacta rei
on-that day first citizens the-foundations have-been laid of-the-thing
publicae: fuit enim longo intervallo ita liber senatus ut
public there-was for after-a-long interval so free the-senate that
vos aliquando liberi essetis. Quo quidem tempore, etiam si ille
you at-last free might-be at-which indeed time even if that
dies vitae finem mihi adlaturus esset, satis magnum ceperam
day of-life an-end to-me going-to-bring were enough great I-had-reaped
fructum, cum vos universi una mente atque voce iterum a
fruit when you all with-one mind and voice again by
me conservatam esse rem publicam conclamastis. Hoc vestro
me preserved to-be the-thing public cried-out by-this your
iudicio tanto tamque praeclaro excitatus ita Kalendis Ianuariis
judgment so-great and-so splendid roused so on-the-Kalends of-January
veni in senatum ut meminissem quam personam impositam
I-came into the-senate that I-remembered what part imposed
a vobis sustinerem. Itaque bellum nefarium inlatum rei
by you I-was-sustaining and-so war wicked brought on-the-thing
publicae cum viderem, nullam moram interponendam insequendi
public when I-saw no delay to-be-interposed of-pursuing
M. Antonium putavi, hominemque audacissimum qui multis
Mark Antony I-thought and-the-man most-audacious who with-many
nefariis rebus ante commissis hoc tempore imperatorem
wicked things before committed at-this time a-commander
populi Romani oppugnaret, coloniam vestram fidissimam
of-the-people Roman was-attacking colony your most-faithful
fortissimamque obsideret, bello censui persequendum:
and-most-brave was-besieging with-war I-voted to-be-pursued
tumultum esse decrevi; iustitium edici, saga
an-emergency to-be I-voted a-suspension-of-business to-be-proclaimed military-cloaks
sumi dixi placere, quo omnes acrius graviusque
to-be-taken I-said to-please that all more-keenly and-more-seriously

incumberent ad ulciscendas rei publicae iniurias, si
might-apply-themselves to avenging of-the-thing public the-wrongs if
omnia gravissimi belli insignia suscepta a senatu viderent.
all of-a-most-serious war the-insignia undertaken by the-senate they-saw
Itaque haec sententia, Quirites, sic per triduum valuit ut, 3
and-so this opinion citizens so through three-days prevailed that
quamquam discessio facta non esset, tamen praeter paucos
although a-division made not had-been still except a-few
omnes mihi adsensuri viderentur. Hodierno autem die spe
all to-me going-to-assent seemed on-today's however day by-hope
nescio qua eis obiecta remissior senatus fuit. Nam plures
I-know-not what to-them offered more-lax the-senate was for more
eam sententiam secuti sunt ut, quantum senatus auctoritas
that opinion followed have that how-much of-the-senate the-authority
vesterque consensus apud Antonium valiturus esset, per
and-your agreement with Antony going-to-avail was through
legatos experiremur.
envoys we-should-test
Intellego, Quirites, a vobis hanc sententiam repudiari, neque
I-understand citizens by you this opinion to-be-rejected nor
iniuria. Ad quem enim legatos? ad eumne qui pecunia
wrongly to whom for envoys to him who with-the-money
publica dissipata atque effusa per vim et contra auspicia
public squandered and poured-out by violence and against the-auspices
impositis rei publicae legibus, fugata contione, obsesso
imposed on-the-thing public laws put-to-flight the-assembly besieged
senatu, ad opprimendam rem publicam Brundisio legiones
the-senate for crushing the-thing public from-Brundisium legions
arcessierit; ab eis relictus cum latronum manu in Galliam
has-summoned by them abandoned with of-brigands a-band into Gaul
inruperit, Brutum oppugnet, Mutinam circumsedeat? Quae
has-burst Brutus attacks Mutina besieges what

vobis potest cum hoc gladiatore condicionis, aequitatis,
to-you can with this gladiator of-terms of-fairness
legationis esse communitas?
of-embassy be community

4 Quamquam, Quirites, non est illa legatio, sed denuntiatio
although citizens not is that an-embassy but a-declaration
belli, nisi paruerit: ita enim est decretum ut si legati
of-war unless he-shall-have-obeyed so for it-is decreed as if envoys
ad Hannibalem mitterentur. Mittuntur enim qui nuntient
to Hannibal were-being-sent are-sent for men-who may-announce
ne oppugnet consulem designatum, ne Mutinam
that-not he-attack the-consul designate that-not Mutina
obsideat, ne provinciam depopuletur, ne dilectus habeat,
he-besiege that-not the-province he-lay-waste that-not levies he-hold
sit in senatus populique Romani potestate. Facile vero
let-him-be in of-the-senate and-of-the-people Roman the-power easily indeed
huic denuntiationi parebit, ut in patrum conscriptorum
this declaration he-will-obey so-that in of-the-fathers enrolled
atque in vestra potestate sit qui in sua numquam
and in your power he-may-be who in his-own never
fuerit! Quid enim ille umquam arbitrio suo fecit? Semper
has-been what for he ever by-choice his-own did always
eo tractus est quo libido rapuit, quo levitas, quo
thither dragged he-has-been whither lust snatched whither fickleness whither
furor, quo vinolentia; semper eum duo dissimilia genera
madness whither drunkenness always him two unlike kinds
tenuerunt, lenonum et latronum; ita domesticis stupris,
have-held of-pimps and of-brigands so by-domestic debaucheries
forensibus parricidiis delectatur ut mulieri citius avarissimae
forensic murders he-is-delighted that to-a-woman sooner most-avaricious
paruerit quam senatui populoque Romano.
he-has-obeyed than to-the-senate and-to-the-people Roman

Itaque, quod paulo ante feci in senatu, faciam apud vos. 5
and-so what a-little before I-did in the-senate I-shall-do before you
Testificor, denuntio, ante praedico nihil M. Antonium
I-testify I-warn beforehand I-predict nothing Mark Antony
eorum quae sunt legatis mandata facturum; vastaturum
of-those-things which are to-the-envoys entrusted going-to-do going-to-lay-waste
agros, Mutinam obsessurum, dilectus qua possit habiturum. Is
the-fields Mutina going-to-besiege levies where he-can going-to-hold he
est enim ille qui semper senatus iudicium et auctoritatem,
is for he who always of-the-senate the-judgment and authority
semper voluntatem vestram potestatemque contempserit. An
always will your and-power has-despised or
ille id faciat quod paulo ante decretum est, ut exercitum
he that may-do which a-little before decreed has-been that (his)-army
citra flumen Rubiconem, qui finis est Galliae, educeret,
this-side the-river Rubicon which the-boundary is of-Gaul he-should-lead
dum ne propius urbem Romam cc milia admoveret?
provided not nearer the-city Rome two-hundred miles he-should-move
Huic denuntiationi ille pareat, ille se fluvio Rubicone
to-this declaration he is-he-to-obey he himself by-the-river Rubicon
et cc milibus circumscriptum esse patiatur?
and two-hundred miles bounded to-be is-he-to-allow

Antony is not the man to let envoys enter Mutina or to withdraw because Rome tells him to, as Hannibal was told to spare Saguntum. Brutus could have handed over his province and gone home, but chose to bar Antony from Gaul. Cicero tells the people to get their military cloaks ready. Even if Antony wished to obey, his brother Lucius, whom he values above Trebellius and Plancus, would not let him.

6 Non is est Antonius; nam si esset, non commisisset
not such is Antony for if he-were not he-would-have-let-it-happen
ut ei senatus tamquam Hannibali initio belli
that to-him the-senate as-if to-Hannibal at-the-beginning of-the-war
Punici denuntiaret ne oppugnaret Saguntum. Quod vero
Punic should-declare that-not he-attack Saguntum as-to-what indeed
ita avocatur a Mutina ut ab urbe tamquam pestifera
so he-is-called-away from Mutina that from the-city as-if a-pestilent
flamma arceatur, quam habet ignominiam, quod iudicium
flame he-is-kept-off what it-has disgrace what judgment
senatus! quid, quod a senatu dantur mandata legatis
of-the-senate what that by the-senate are-given instructions to-the-envoys
ut D. Brutum militesque eius adeant eisque
that Decimus Brutus and-the-soldiers his they-should-approach and-to-them
demonstrent summa in rem publicam merita beneficiaque
show the-highest toward the-thing public services and-benefits
eorum grata esse senatui populoque Romano eisque eam
their welcome to-be to-the-senate and-the-people Roman and-to-them that
rem magnae laudi magnoque honori fore? Passurumne
thing for-great praise and-great honor going-to-be going-to-allow
censetis Antonium introire Mutinam legatos, exire inde
do-you-think Antony to-enter Mutina the-envoys to-go-out thence

tuto? Numquam patietur, mihi credite. Novi violentiam,
safely never he-will-allow to-me believe I-know the-violence
novi impudentiam, novi audaciam.
I-know the-shamelessness I-know the-audacity
Nec vero de illo sicut de homine aliquo debemus, sed ut de 7
nor indeed about him as about a-man some ought-we but as about
importunissima belua cogitare. Quae cum ita sint, non omnino
a-most-savage beast to-think which since so they-are not altogether
dissolutum est quod decrevit senatus: habet atrocitatis aliquid
lax is what decreed the-senate has of-harshness something
legatio: utinam nihil haberet morae! Nam cum plerisque in
the-embassy would-that nothing it-had of-delay for while most in
rebus gerendis tarditas et procrastinatio odiosa est, tum hoc
things to-be-done slowness and procrastination hateful is so this
bellum indiget celeritatis. Succurrendum est D. Bruto,
war needs speed to-be-helped is Decimus to-Brutus
omnes undique copiae conligendae; moram exhibere ullam
all from-everywhere forces to-be-gathered delay to-show any
in tali cive liberando sine scelere non possumus.
in such a-citizen being-freed without crime not we-can
An ille non potuit, si Antonium consulem, si Galliam 8
or he not could if Antony consul if Gaul
Antoni provinciam iudicasset, legiones Antonio et provinciam
Antony's province he-had-judged the-legions to-Antony and the-province
tradere, domum redire, triumphare, primus in hoc ordine,
to-hand-over home to-return to-triumph first in this order
quoad magistratum iniret, sententiam dicere?
until office he-should-enter (his)-opinion to-speak
Quid negoti fuit? Sed cum se Brutum esse meminisset 9
what of-trouble was-there but when himself Brutus to-be he-remembered
vestraeque libertati natum, non otio suo, quid egit aliud
and-your for-liberty born not for-leisure his-own what did-he else

nisi ut paene corpore suo Gallia prohiberet Antonium? Ad
except that almost with-body his-own from-Gaul he-kept-off Antony to
hunc utrum legatos an legiones ire oportebat? Sed praeterita
this-man whether envoys or legions to-go it-behooved but past-things
omittamus: properent legati, quod video esse facturos; vos
let-us-omit let-hasten the-envoys as I-see to-be going-to-do you
saga parate. Est enim ita decretum ut, si ille auctoritati
military-cloaks prepare it-is for so decreed that if he to-the-authority
senatus non paruisset, ad saga iretur. Ibitur; non
of-the-senate not had-obeyed to the-military-cloaks one-should-go one-will-go not
parebit: nos amissos tot dies rei gerendae queremur.
he-will-obey we lost so-many days of-the-thing to-be-done shall-complain-of
Non metuo, Quirites, ne, cum audierit Antonius, me
not I-fear citizens lest when he-shall-have-heard Antony me
hoc et in senatu et in contione confirmasse, numquam
this both in the-senate and in the-assembly to-have-asserted never
illum futurum in senatus potestate, refellendi mei causa,
him going-to-be in of-the-senate power of-refuting me for-the-sake
ut ego nihil vidisse videar, vertat se et senatui
that I nothing to-have-seen may-seem he-may-turn himself and to-the-senate
pareat. Numquam faciet; non invidebit huic meae
may-obey never he-will-do(-it) not he-will-begrudge this my
gloriae; malet me sapientem a vobis quam se modestum
glory he-will-prefer me wise by you than himself modest
existimari.
to-be-thought

10 Quid? ipse si velit, num etiam Lucium fratrem
what himself if he-should-wish surely-not also Lucius his-brother
passurum arbitramur? Nuper quidem dicitur ad Tibur, ut
going-to-allow do-we-think lately indeed he-is-said at Tibur as
opinor, cum ei labare M. Antonius videretur, mortem
I-think when to-him to-totter Mark Antony seemed death

fratri esse minitatus. Etiamne ab hoc myrmillone
on-his-brother to-have threatened even by this gladiator
Asiatico senatus mandata, legatorum verba audientur? Nec
Asiatic of-the-senate the-instructions of-the-envoys the-words will-be-heard nor
enim secerni a fratre poterit, tanta praesertim
for to-be-separated from his-brother he-will-be-able with-so-great especially
auctoritate. Nam hic inter illos Africanus est: pluris habetur
authority for this-one among them an-Africanus is more he-is-held
quam L. Trebellius, pluris quam T. Plancus, quam
than Lucius Trebellius more than Titus Plancus than
Extitius, adolescens nobilis. Plancum quidem, qui omnibus
Extitius a-young-man noble Plancus indeed who by-all
sententiis maximo vestro plausu condemnatus nescio quo
votes with-the-greatest your applause condemned I-know-not in-what
modo se coniecit in turbam atque ita maestus rediit ut
way himself threw into the-crowd and so sad returned that
retractus, non reversus videretur, sic contemnit tamquam si
dragged-back not returned he-seemed so he-despises(-him) as if
illi aqua et igni interdictum sit: aliquando negat ei
to-him from-water and fire interdicted it-were at-times he-denies to-him
locum esse oportere in curia qui incenderit curiam.
a-place to-be to-behoove in the-senate-house who has-burned the-senate-house
Nam Trebellium valde iam diligit: oderat tum, cum ille 11
for Trebellius greatly now he-loves he-hated(-him) then when he
tabulis novis adversabatur; iam fert in oculis, postea
to-account-books new was-opposing now he-carries(-him) in his-eyes after
quam ipsum Trebellium vidit sine tabulis novis salvum esse
that himself Trebellius saw without account-books new safe to-be
non posse. Audisse enim vos arbitror, Quirites, quod etiam
not to-be-able to-have-heard for you I-think citizens what also
videre potuistis, cotidie sponsores et creditores L. Trebelli
to-see you-could daily the-guarantors and creditors of-Lucius Trebellius

convenire. O Fide! — hoc enim opinor Trebellium sumpsisse
to-meet O Fides this for I-think Trebellius to-have-taken
cognomen — quae potest esse maior fides quam fraudare
as-surname what can be greater faith than to-defraud
creditores, domo profugere, propter aes alienum ire ad
creditors from-home to-flee on-account-of money another's to-go to
arma? Ubi plausus ille in triumpho est, saepe ludis, ubi
arms where applause that at the-triumph is often at-the-games where
aedilitas delata summo studio bonorum? Quis est qui
the-aedileship conferred with-the-highest zeal of-the-good who is-there who
hunc non casu existimet recte fecisse, nequitia sceleste.
this-man not by-chance may-think rightly to-have-acted by-worthlessness criminally

III · LUCIUS, PATRON OF THE TRIBES

Cicero mocks Lucius Antonius, hailed by gilded statues as patron of the thirty-five tribes, of the knights, of the military tribunes, and of the bankers at the Janus, who parceled out land as far as the Field of Mars. The senate has undone his land board. Cicero urges the people to await the envoys calmly: better praise from all in twenty days than blame from a few now.

12 Sed redeo ad amores deliciasque vestras, L. Antonium, qui
but I-return to the-loves and-darlings your Lucius Antonius who
vos omnis in fidem suam recepit. Negatis? Num quisnam
you all into protection his has-received you-deny(-it) surely-not anyone
est vestrum qui tribum non habeat? Certe nemo. Atqui illum
is of-you who a-tribe not has surely no-one and-yet him
quinque et triginta tribus patronum adoptarunt. Rursus
five and thirty tribes as-patron have-adopted again
reclamatis? Aspicite illam a sinistra equestrem statuam
you-shout-against(-it) look-at that on the-left equestrian statue

inauratam, in qua quid inscriptum est? 'QUINQUE ET
gilded on which what inscribed is FIVE AND
TRIGINTA TRIBUS PATRONO.' Populi Romani igitur
THIRTY TRIBES TO-THE-PATRON of-the-people Roman therefore
est patronus L. Antonius. Malam quidem illi pestem!
is the-patron Lucius Antonius an-evil indeed to-him plague
clamori enim vestro adsentior. Non modo hic latro quem
with-the-shout for your I-agree not only this brigand whom
clientem habere nemo velit sed quis umquam tantis
as-client to-have no-one would-wish but who ever with-so-great
opibus, tantis rebus gestis fuit qui se populi Romani
resources so-great things done was who himself of-the-people Roman
victoris dominique omnium gentium patronum dicere auderet?
victor and-master of-all peoples the-patron to-call dared
In foro L. Antoni statuam videmus, sicut illam 13
in the-forum Lucius Antonius' statue we-see as that
Q. Tremuli, qui Hernicos devicit, ante Castoris. O
of-Quintus Tremulus who the-Hernici conquered before Castor's O
impudentiam incredibilem! Tantumne sibi sumpsit, quia
shamelessness incredible so-much to-himself has-he-taken because
Mylasis myrmillo Thraecem iugulavit, familiarem suum?
at-Mylasa as-gladiator a-Thracian he-butchered intimate his
quonam modo istum ferre possemus, si in hoc foro
in-what-pray manner him to-bear could-we if in this forum
spectantibus vobis depugnasset? Sed haec una statua. Altera
with-looking-on you he-had-fought but this one statue another
ab equitibus Romanis equo publico: qui item ascribunt,
by the-knights Roman with-a-horse public who likewise inscribe
'PATRONO.' Quem umquam iste ordo patronum adoptavit?
TO-THE-PATRON whom ever that order as-patron adopted
Si quemquam, debuit me. Sed me omitto; quem censorem,
if anyone it-ought me but me I-omit what censor

quem imperatorem? Agrum eis divisit. O sordidos qui
what commander land to-them he-divided O sordid-men who
acceperint, improbum qui dederit!
received(-it) wicked-man who gave(-it)
14 Statuerunt etiam tribuni militares qui in exercitu Caesaris
set-up also the-tribunes military who in the-army of-Caesar
bis fuerunt. Quis est iste ordo? Multi fuerunt multis
twice were what is that order many there-were many
in legionibus per tot annos. Eis quoque divisit
in legions through so-many years to-them also he-divided
Semurium. Campus Martius restabat, nisi prius cum fratre
the-Semurium the-field of-Mars remained unless first with his-brother
fugisset. Sed haec agrorum adsignatio paulo ante, Quirites,
he-had-fled but this of-lands assignment a-little before citizens
L. Caesaris, clarissimi viri et praestantissimi senatoris,
of-Lucius Caesar a-most-illustrious man and most-outstanding senator
sententia dissoluta est: huic enim adsensi vii virum
by-the-opinion dissolved was to-this for having-assented of-the-seven men
acta sustulimus. Iacent beneficia Nuculae; friget patronus
the-acts we-removed lie-low the-favors of-Nucula grows-cold the-patron
Antonius. Nam possessores animo aequiore discedent: nullam
Antonius for the-possessors with-mind calmer will-depart no
impensam fecerant; nondum instruxerant, partim quia non
expense they-had-made not-yet they-had-furnished partly because not
confidebant, partim quia non habebant.
they-trusted partly because not they-had
15 Sed illa statua palmaris de qua, si meliora tempora essent, non
but that statue prize-worthy about which if better times were not
possem sine risu dicere: L. Antonio a Iano medio
I-could without laughter speak to-Lucius Antonius from the-Janus middle
patrono. Itane? Iam Ianus medius in L. Antoni clientela
the-patron is-it-so now the-Janus middle in of-Lucius Antonius the-clientship

est? Quis umquam in illo Iano inventus est qui L. Antonio
is who ever in that Janus found was who to-Lucius Antonius
mille nummum ferret expensum? Sed nimis multa
a-thousand of-sesterces should-enter paid-out but too many-things
de nugis: ad causam bellumque redeamus; quamquam non
about trifles to the-cause and-the-war let-us-return although not
alienum fuit personas quasdam a vobis recognosci, ut
foreign it-was persons certain by you to-be-recognized that
quibuscum bellum gereretur possetis taciti cogitare.
with-whom war was-being-waged you-might-be-able silently to-think
Ego autem vos hortor, Quirites, ut, etiam si melius aliud
I however you urge citizens that even if better other
fuit, tamen legatorum reditum exspectetis animo aequo.
was still of-the-envoys the-return you-await with-mind calm
Celeritas detracta de causa est; boni tamen aliquid
speed taken from the-cause has-been of-good still something
accessit ad causam.
has-been-added to the-cause
Cum enim legati renuntiarint quod certe renuntiabunt, 16
when for the-envoys shall-have-reported what surely they-will-report
non in vestra potestate, non in senatus esse Antonium,
not in your power not in the-senate's to-be Antony
quis erit tam improbus civis qui illum civem habendum
who will-be so wicked a-citizen who him a-citizen to-be-held
putet? Nunc enim sunt pauci illi quidem, sed tamen
may-think now for there-are few they indeed but still
plures quam re publica dignum est, qui ita loquantur:
more than the-thing public worthy is who so speak
'Ne legatos quidem exspectabimus?' Istam certe vocem
not the-envoys even shall-we-await that surely utterance
simulationemque clementiae extorquebit istis res ipsa
and-pretense of-clemency will-wrest from-them the-thing itself

publica. Quo etiam, ut confitear vobis, Quirites, minus
public for-which also that I-may-confess to-you citizens less
hodierno die contendi, minus laboravi, ut mihi senatus
on-today's day I-strove less I-labored that for-me the-senate
adsentiens tumultum decerneret, saga sumi iuberet.
assenting an-emergency should-decree military-cloaks to-be-taken should-order
Malui viginti diebus post sententiam meam laudari ab
I-preferred twenty days after opinion my to-be-praised by
omnibus quam a paucis hodie vituperari.
all than by a-few today to-be-blamed

IV · ROME CANNOT BE A SLAVE

Cicero asks the people to bear a few days' delay. He owes them everything, a new man raised above the nobles, and will watch for them day and night. He has never seen an assembly so united: all orders and all Italy want the same thing. The time has come; other nations can endure slavery, but liberty is the Roman people's own.

17 Quapropter, Quirites, exspectate legatorum reditum et
wherefore citizens await of-the-envoys the-return and
paucorum dierum molestiam devorate. Qui cum redierint,
of-a-few days the-annoyance swallow who when they-shall-have-returned
si pacem adferent, cupidum me; si bellum, providum
if peace they-will-bring desirous me if war provident
iudicatote. An ego non provideam meis civibus, non dies
judge or I not should-provide for-my citizens not days
noctesque de vestra libertate, de rei publicae salute
and-nights about your liberty about of-the-thing public the-safety
cogitem? Quid enim non debeo vobis, Quirites, quem vos
should-think what for not do-I-owe to-you citizens whom you
a se ortum hominibus nobilissimis omnibus honoribus
from himself sprung to-men most-noble in-all honors

praetulistis? An ingratus sum? Quis minus? qui partis
preferred or ungrateful am-I who less who with-won
honoribus eosdem in foro gessi labores quos petendis.
honors the-same in the-forum carried-on labors as in-seeking(-them)
Rudis in re publica? Quis exercitatior? Qui viginti
inexperienced in the-thing public who more-practiced who twenty
iam annos bellum geram cum impiis civibus.
now years war am-waging with impious citizens
Quam ob rem, Quirites, consilio quantum potero, 18
which on-account-of thing citizens with-counsel as-much-as I-can
labore plus paene quam potero, excubabo vigilaboque
with-labor more almost than I-can I-shall-keep-watch and-be-vigilant
pro vobis. Etenim quis est civis, praesertim hoc gradu
for you for who is-there a-citizen especially in-this rank
quo me vos esse voluistis, tam oblitus benefici vestri, tam
in-which me you to-be wished so forgetful of-favor your so
immemor patriae, tam inimicus dignitati suae quem
unmindful of-the-fatherland so hostile to-dignity his-own whom
non excitet, non inflammet tantus vester iste consensus?
not would-rouse not would-inflame so-great your that agreement
Multas magnasque habui consul contiones, multis interfui:
many and-great I-held as-consul public-meetings at-many I-was-present
nullam umquam vidi tantam quanta nunc vestrum est.
none ever I-have-seen so-great as-great-as now yours is
Unum sentitis omnes, unum studetis, M. Antoni conatus
one-thing you-feel all one-thing you-are-eager-for Mark Antony's attempts
avertere a re publica, furorem exstinguere, opprimere
to-turn-aside from the-thing public his-madness to-extinguish to-crush
audaciam. Idem volunt omnes ordines; eodem incumbunt
his-audacity the-same wish all orders on-the-same press

municipia, coloniae, cuncta Italia. Itaque senatum bene
the-towns the-colonies whole Italy and-so the-senate well
sua sponte firmum firmiorem vestra auctoritate fecistis.
of-its-own accord firm firmer by-your authority you-have-made
19 Venit tempus, Quirites, serius omnino quam dignum populo
has-come the-time citizens later altogether than worthy of-the-people
Romano fuit, sed tamen ita maturum ut differri iam
Roman it-was but still so ripe that to-be-deferred now
hora non possit. Fuit aliquis fatalis casus, ut ita dicam,
by-an-hour not it-can there-was some fatal chance as so I-may-say
quem tulimus, quoquo modo ferendus fuit: nunc si quis
which we-bore in-whatever way to-be-borne it-was now if any
erit, erit voluntarius. Populum Romanum servire fas
shall-be it-will-be voluntary the-people Roman to-be-slave lawful
non est, quem di immortales omnibus gentibus imperare
not is whom the-gods immortal over-all peoples to-rule
voluerunt. Res in extremum est adducta discrimen; de
have-wished the-thing to the-extreme has been-brought crisis about
libertate decernitur. Aut vincatis oportet, Quirites, quod
liberty it-is-being-decided either you-must-conquer it-behooves citizens which
profecto et pietate vestra et tanta concordia consequemini,
surely both by-piety your and by-so-great concord you-will-achieve
aut quidvis potius quam serviatis. Aliae nationes servitutem
or anything rather than you-be-slaves other nations slavery
pati possunt, populi Romani est propria libertas.
to-endure can of-the-people Roman is proper liberty

PHILIPPICA SEPTIMA

I · SMALL MATTERS AND GREAT

The consul and a tribune refer small matters, the Appian Way, the Mint, and the Luperci, but the mind turns to the danger of the state. Cicero always feared the embassy. Antony's friends already invent his answers: that all armies be disbanded, that he give up nearer Gaul for farther, or that he ask only for Macedonia. Posing as advocates of peace, they call Cicero a warmonger; but men who read out Antony's letters to hearten the wicked are not consulars.

Parvis de rebus sed fortasse necessariis consulimur, patres 1
small about matters but perhaps necessary we-are-consulted fathers
conscripti. De Appia via et de Moneta consul, de
enrolled about the-Appian road and about the-Mint the-consul about
Lupercis tribunus plebis refert. Quarum rerum etsi
the-Luperci a-tribune of-the-plebs refers of-which of-matters although
facilis explicatio videtur, tamen animus aberrat a sententia
easy the-settlement seems still the-mind wanders from the-question
suspensus curis maioribus. Adducta est enim, patres
held-in-suspense by-cares greater brought has for fathers
conscripti, res in maximum periculum et in extremum
enrolled the-matter into the-greatest danger and into the-extreme
paene discrimen. Non sine causa legatorum istam missionem
almost crisis not without cause of-the-envoys that sending
semper timui, numquam probavi: quorum reditus quid sit
always I-feared never approved whose return what it-is
adlaturus ignoro; exspectatio quidem quantum adferat
going-to-bring I-do-not-know the-waiting indeed how-much it-may-bring
languoris animis quis non videt? Non enim se tenent
of-languor to-minds who not sees not for themselves they-contain
ei qui senatum dolent ad auctoritatis pristinae spem
those who the-senate grieve to of-authority former the-hope

revirescere, coniunctum huic ordini populum Romanum,
to-grow-green-again joined to-this order the-people Roman
conspirantem Italiam, paratos exercitus, expeditos duces.
conspiring Italy ready the-armies unencumbered the-generals
2 Iam nunc fingunt responsa Antoni eaque defendunt. Alii
already now they-invent the-answers of-Antony and-those they-defend some
postulare illum ut omnes exercitus dimittantur. Scilicet
to-demand him that all the-armies be-dismissed of-course
legatos ad eum misimus, non ut pareret et dicto
envoys to him we-sent not that he-might-obey and to-the-word
audiens esset huic ordini, sed ut condiciones ferret,
obedient might-be to-this order but that terms he-might-propose
leges imponeret, reserare nos exteris gentibus Italiam iuberet,
laws he-might-impose to-unbar us to-foreign nations Italy might-order
se praesertim incolumi a quo maius periculum quam
with-himself especially safe from whom greater danger than
ab ullis nationibus extimescendum est.
from any nations to-be-dreaded is
3 Alii remittere eum nobis Galliam citeriorem, illam ultimam
others to-give-up him to-us Gaul hither that farthest
postulare — praeclare: ex qua non legiones solum sed
to-demand splendidly from which not legions only but
etiam nationes ad urbem conetur adducere — alii nihil
also nations to the-city he-may-try to-bring others nothing
eum iam nisi modeste postulare. Macedoniam suam vocat
him now except modestly to-demand Macedonia his-own he-calls(-it)
omnino, quoniam Gaius frater est inde revocatus. Sed
altogether since Gaius his-brother has-been from-there recalled but
quae provincia est ex qua illa fax excitare non possit
what province is-there from which that firebrand to-rouse not can
incendium? Itaque idem quasi providi cives et senatores
a-conflagration and-so the-same as-if provident citizens and senators

diligentes bellicum me cecinisse dicunt, suscipiunt pacis
diligent the-war-signal me to-have-sounded they-say they-take-up of-peace
patrocinium. Nonne sic disputant? Inritatum Antonium non
the-patronage do-they-not thus argue provoked Antony not
oportuit: nequam est homo ille atque confidens; multi praeterea
it-behooved worthless is a-man he and bold many besides
improbi — quos quidem a se primum numerare
wicked-men whom indeed from themselves first to-count
possunt qui haec loquuntur — eos cavendos esse
they-can who these-things say these to-be-guarded-against to-be
denuntiant. Utrum igitur in nefariis civibus ulciscendi,
they-declare whether therefore in-the-case-of wicked citizens of-punishing
cum possis, an pertimescendi diligentior cautio est?
when you-can or of-fearing more-careful the-caution is
Atque haec ei loquuntur qui quondam propter levitatem 4
and these-things those say who formerly on-account-of fickleness
populares habebantur. Ex quo intellegi potest animo
popular were-held from which to-be-understood it-can in-mind
illos abhorruisse semper ab optimo civitatis statu, non
they to-have-shrunk always from the-best of-the-state condition not
voluntate fuisse popularis. Qui enim evenit ut, qui
by-choice to-have-been popular how for does-it-happen that those-who
in rebus improbis populares fuerint, idem in re una
in things wicked popular have-been the-same in a-matter one
maxime populari, quod eadem salutaris rei publicae sit,
most popular because the-same salutary to-the-thing public it-is
improbos se quam popularis esse malint? Me quidem
wicked themselves than popular to-be prefer me indeed
semper, uti scitis, adversarium multitudinis temeritati haec
always as you-know an-opponent of-the-multitude to-the-rashness this
fecit praeclarissima causa popularem.
has-made most-splendid cause popular

5 Et quidem dicuntur vel potius se ipsi dicunt consularis:
and indeed they-are-called or rather themselves they say consulars
quo nomine dignus est nemo, nisi qui tanti honoris
by-which name worthy is no-one except who of-so-great honor
onus potest sustinere. Faveas tu hosti? ille litteras
the-burden can sustain should-you-favor you to-the-enemy he a-letter
ad te mittat de sua spe rerum secundarum; eas tu
to you should-send about his hope of-things favorable it you
laetus proferas, recites, describendas etiam des improbis
glad should-produce read-out to-be-copied even give(-it) to-wicked
civibus, eorum augeas animos, bonorum spem virtutemque
citizens their should-increase spirits of-the-good the-hope and-courage
debilites, et te consularem aut senatorem, denique civem
weaken and yourself a-consular or a-senator or-even a-citizen
putes? Accipiet in optimam partem C. Pansa, fortissimus
think will-take in the-best part Gaius Pansa most-brave
consul atque optimus. Etenim dicam animo amicissimo:
consul and best for I-shall-say with-mind most-friendly
hunc ipsum, mihi hominem familiarissimum, nisi talis consul
this very to-me man most-intimate unless such a-consul
esset ut omnis vigilias, curas, cogitationes in rei
he-were that all watches cares thoughts on of-the-thing
publicae salute defigeret, consulem non putarem.
public the-safety he-fixed a-consul not I-would-think(-him)

Cicero praises Pansa, a consul in a fearful time. Then, always the advocate of peace, Cicero says what will shock the senate: he does not want peace with Antony, because it is shameful, dangerous, and impossible. It is shameful because the senate has already judged Antony an enemy in fact, by honoring the young Caesar, the veterans who followed him, and the legions that deserted Antony.

Quamquam nos ab ineunte illius aetate usus, consuetudo, 6
although us from the-beginning of-his age usage intimacy
studiorum etiam honestissimorum societas similitudoque
of-studies also most-honorable the-fellowship and-likeness
devinxit, eiusdemque cura incredibilis in asperrimis belli
has-bound and-his care incredible in the-harshest of-war
civilis periculis perspecta docuit non modo salutis sed
civil dangers seen-through has-taught(-me) not only of-safety but
etiam dignitatis meae fuisse fautorem, tamen eundem,
also of-dignity my him-to-have-been the-supporter still the-same-man
ut dixi, nisi talis consul esset, negare esse consulem auderem:
as I-said unless such a-consul he-were to-deny to-be a-consul I-would-dare
idem non modo consulem esse dico sed memoria mea
the-same not only a-consul to-be I-say but in-memory my
praestantissimum atque optimum consulem, non quin pari
the-most-outstanding and best consul not that with-equal
virtute et voluntate alii fuerint, sed tantam causam non
courage and goodwill others have-not-been but so-great a-cause not
habuerunt in qua et voluntatem suam et virtutem declararent.
they-had in which both goodwill their and courage they-might-declare
Huius magnitudini animi, gravitati, sapientiae tempestas est 7
to-his greatness of-mind gravity wisdom a-storm has-been
oblata formidolosissimi temporis. Tum autem inlustratur
offered of-a-most-fearful time then however is-made-illustrious

consulatus, cum gubernat rem publicam, si non optabili,
a-consulship when it-governs the-thing public if not at-a-desirable
at necessario tempore. Magis autem necessarium, patres
at-least at-a-necessary time more however necessary fathers
conscripti, nullum tempus umquam fuit. Itaque ego ille
enrolled no time ever has-been and-so I that-man
qui semper pacis auctor fui, cuique pax, praesertim
who always of-peace the-advocate was and-to-whom peace especially
civilis, quamquam omnibus bonis, tamen in primis fuit
civil although to-all good-men still in first-things has-been
optabilis — omne enim curriculum industriae nostrae in foro,
desirable all for the-course of-industry our in the-forum
in curia, in amicorum periculis propulsandis elaboratum
in the-senate-house in of-friends dangers being-repelled spent
est; hinc honores amplissimos, hinc mediocris opes,
has-been from-here honors most-ample from-here moderate wealth
hinc dignitatem si quam habemus consecuti sumus —
from-here dignity if any we-have attained we-have
8 ego igitur pacis, ut ita dicam, alumnus qui quantuscumque
I therefore of-peace as so I-may-say a-nursling who however-great
sum — nihil enim mihi adrogo — sine pace civili
I-am nothing for to-me I-claim without peace civil
certe non fuissem — periculose dico: quem ad modum
certainly not would-have-been dangerously I-speak how in manner
accepturi, patres conscripti, sitis, horreo, sed pro mea
going-to-receive(-it) fathers enrolled you-may-be I-shudder but for my
perpetua cupiditate vestrae dignitatis retinendae et augendae
lasting desire of-your dignity being-kept and being-increased
quaeso oroque vos, patres conscripti, ut primo, etsi erit
I-beg and-pray you fathers enrolled that at-first although it-will-be
vel acerbum auditu vel incredibile a M. Cicerone esse
either bitter to-hear or incredible by Marcus Cicero to-have-been

dictum, accipiatis sine offensione quod dixero, neve
said you-receive without offense what I-shall-have-said and-not
id prius quam quale sit explicaro repudietis — ego
it before than of-what-kind it-is I-shall-have-explained you-reject I
ille, dicam saepius, pacis semper laudator, semper
that-man I-shall-say(-it) rather-often of-peace always the-praiser always
auctor, pacem cum M. Antonio esse nolo. Magna spe
the-advocate peace with Mark Antony to-be I-do-not-wish with-great hope
ingredior in reliquam orationem, patres conscripti, quoniam
I-enter into the-remaining speech fathers enrolled since
periculosissimum locum silentio sum praetervectus.
the-most-dangerous place in-silence I-have sailed-past
Cur igitur pacem nolo? Quia turpis est, quia periculosa, 9
why therefore peace do-I-not-wish because shameful it-is because dangerous
quia esse non potest. Quae tria dum explico, peto
because to-be not it-can which three-things while I-explain I-ask
a vobis, patres conscripti, ut eadem benignitate qua
from you fathers enrolled that with-the-same kindness with-which
soletis mea verba audiatis.
you-are-accustomed my words you-hear
Quid est inconstantia, levitate, mobilitate cum singulis
what is than-inconsistency fickleness changeability both for-individual
hominibus, tum vero universo senatui turpius? quid porro
men and indeed for-the-whole senate more-shameful what further
inconstantius quam quem modo hostem non verbo sed re
more-inconsistent than whom just-now an-enemy not in-word but in-fact
multis decretis iudicaritis,
by-many decrees you-have-judged
cum hoc subito pacem velle coniungi? Nisi vero, cum 10
with this suddenly peace to-wish to-be-joined unless indeed when
C. Caesari meritos illi quidem honores et debitos, sed
for-Gaius Caesar earned for-him indeed honors and owed but

tamen singularis et immortalis decrevistis, unam ob
still unique and immortal you-decreed one on-account-of
causam quod contra M. Antonium exercitum comparavisset,
cause because against Mark Antony an-army he-had-raised
non hostem tum Antonium iudicavistis, nec tum hostis est
not an-enemy then Antony you-judged nor then an-enemy was
a vobis iudicatus Antonius cum laudati auctoritate vestra
by you judged Antony when praised by-the-authority your
veterani milites qui C. Caesarem secuti essent, nec tum
the-veteran soldiers who Gaius Caesar followed had nor then
hostem Antonium iudicastis cum fortissimis legionibus,
an-enemy Antony you-judged when to-the-most-brave legions
quod illum qui consul appellabatur cum esset hostis,
because him who consul was-called though he-was an-enemy
reliquissent, vacationes, pecunias, agros spopondistis.
they-had-abandoned exemptions moneys lands you-promised

III · AN ENEMY IN ALL BUT NAME

When the senate praised Brutus and Gaul, sent one or both consuls to war, and saw the sick Hirtius set out, it judged Antony an enemy. So it did when it ordered levies throughout Italy and abolished exemptions. Arms are being forged in the city, and soldiers follow the consul. Antony has not been called an enemy, but he has been judged one.

11 Quid? cum Brutum omine quodam illius generis et nominis
what when Brutus by-omen a-certain of-that family and name
natum ad rem publicam liberandam exercitumque eius pro
born for the-thing public to-be-freed and-the-army his for
libertate populi Romani bellum gerentem cum Antonio
the-liberty of-the-people Roman war waging with Antony

provinciamque fidelissimam atque optimam, Galliam, laudibus
and-the-province most-faithful and best Gaul with-praises
amplissimis adfecistis, tum non hostem iudicastis Antonium?
most-ample you-honored then not an-enemy you-judged Antony
Quid? cum decrevistis ut consules, alter ambove, ad bellum
what when you-decreed that the-consuls one or-both to the-war
proficiscerentur, quod erat bellum, si hostis Antonius non erat?
should-set-out what was-it war if an-enemy Antony not was
Quid igitur profectus est vir fortissimus, meus conlega et 12
why therefore set-out has a-man most-brave my colleague and
familiaris, A. Hirtius consul? at qua imbecillitate, qua
intimate Aulus Hirtius the-consul but with-what weakness with-what
macie! Sed animi viris corporis infirmitas non retardavit.
emaciation but of-mind the-strength of-body the-infirmity not held-back
Aequum, credo, putavit vitam quam populi Romani votis
fair I-believe he-thought the-life which of-the-people Roman by-the-vows
retinuisset pro libertate populi Romani in discrimen adducere.
he-had-kept for the-liberty of-the-people Roman into crisis to-bring
Quid? cum dilectus haberi tota Italia iussistis, cum 13
what when levies to-be-held in-whole Italy you-ordered when
vacationes omnis sustulistis, tum ille hostis non est
exemptions all you-removed then he an-enemy not has-been
iudicatus? Armorum officinas in urbe videtis; milites
judged of-arms workshops in the-city you-see soldiers
cum gladiis sequuntur consulem; praesidio sunt specie
with swords follow the-consul as-protection they-are in-appearance
consuli, re et veritate nobis; omnes sine ulla recusatione,
to-the-consul in-fact and truth to-us all without any refusal
summo etiam cum studio nomina dant, parent auctoritati
with-the-highest even with zeal names give they-obey to-authority
vestrae: non est iudicatus hostis Antonius?
your not has-been judged an-enemy Antony

Cicero laments the embassy: the legions send envoys to the senate, and the senate sends envoys to Antony. The senate must recover its old severity or die. It would be disgraceful to have Antony speak in the senate as a consular after his crimes. Peace is dangerous, too, with the Antonies in the city, Lucius patron of the tribes and centuries, a gladiator who butchered his own friend in Asia.

14 At legatos misimus. Heu, me miserum! Cur senatum cogor,
but envoys we-sent alas me wretched why the-senate am-I-forced
quem laudavi semper, reprehendere? Quid? Vos censetis,
which I-have-praised always to-blame what you think
patres conscripti, legatorum missionem populo Romano vos
fathers enrolled of-the-envoys the-sending to-the-people Roman you
probavisse? non intellegitis, non auditis meam sententiam
to-have-approved not do-you-understand not do-you-hear my opinion
flagitari? cui cum pridie frequentes essetis adsensi,
to-be-demanded to-which when on-the-day-before in-full-numbers you-had assented
postridie ad spem estis inanem pacis devoluti. Quam
on-the-day-after to the-hope you-have empty of-peace rolled-down how
turpe porro legiones ad senatum legatos mittere, senatum ad
shameful further legions to the-senate envoys to-send the-senate to
Antonium! Quamquam illa legatio non est, denuntiatio est
Antony although that an-embassy not is a-declaration it-is
paratum illi exitium, nisi paruerit huic ordini. Quid
prepared for-him destruction unless he-shall-have-obeyed this order what
refert? tamen opinio est gravis. Missos enim legatos omnes
does-it-matter still the-opinion is serious sent for envoys all
vident; decreti nostri non omnes verba noverunt. Retinenda est
see of-decree our not all the-words know to-be-kept is
igitur nobis constantia, gravitas, perseverantia; repetenda vetus
therefore by-us constancy gravity perseverance to-be-recovered old

illa severitas, si quidem auctoritas senatus decus, honestatem,
that severity if indeed the-authority of-the-senate distinction honor
laudem dignitatemque desiderat, quibus rebus hic ordo caruit
praise and-dignity requires which things this order has-lacked
nimium diu. Sed erat tunc excusatio oppressis, misera illa
too long but there-was then an-excuse for-the-oppressed wretched that
quidem, sed tamen iusta: nunc nulla est. Liberati regio
indeed but still just now none is freed from-kingly
dominatu videbamur: multo postea gravius urgebamur armis
despotism we-seemed much afterward more-heavily we-were-pressed by-arms
domesticis. Ea ipsa depulimus nos quidem: extorquenda
domestic those very-arms we-repelled we indeed to-be-wrested-away
sunt. Quod si non possumus facere — dicam quod dignum
they-are but if not we-can do(-it) I-shall-say what worthy
est et senatore et Romano homine — moriamur.
is both of-a-senator and of-a-Roman man let-us-die
Quanta enim illa erit rei publicae turpitudo, quantum 15
how-great for that will-be of-the-thing public the-disgrace how-great
dedecus, quanta labes, dicere in hoc ordine sententiam
dishonor how-great a-stain to-speak in this order (his)-opinion
M. Antonium consulari loco! cuius ut omittam innumerabilia
Mark Antony in-a-consular place whose that I-may-omit the-countless
scelera urbani consulatus, in quo pecuniam publicam
crimes of-the-city consulship in which money public
maximam dissipavit, exsules sine lege restituit, vectigalia
very-great he-squandered exiles without law restored revenues
divendidit, provincias de populi Romani imperio sustulit,
sold-off provinces from of-the-people Roman the-empire removed
regna addixit pecunia, leges civitati per vim imposuit,
kingdoms knocked-down for-money laws on-the-state by violence imposed
armis aut obsedit aut exclusit senatum: ut haec,
with-arms either besieged or shut-out the-senate that these-things

inquam, omittam, ne hoc quidem cogitatis, eum qui
I-say I-may-omit not this even do-you-consider him who
Mutinam, coloniam populi Romani firmissimam, oppugnarit,
Mutina a-colony of-the-people Roman most-steadfast has-attacked
imperatorem populi Romani, consulem designatum, obsederit,
a-commander of-the-people Roman a-consul designate has-besieged
depopulatus agros sit, hunc in eum ordinem recipi
laid-waste the-fields has this-man into that order to-be-received
a quo totiens ob has ipsas causas hostis iudicatus
by which so-often on-account-of these very causes an-enemy judged
sit quam foedum flagitiosumque sit?
he-has-been how foul and-scandalous it-is

16 Satis multa de turpitudine. Dicam deinceps, ut proposui,
enough many-things about disgrace I-shall-speak next as I-proposed
de periculo: quod etsi minus est fugiendum quam turpitudo,
about danger which although less is to-be-shunned than disgrace
tamen offendit animos maioris partis hominum magis.
still offends the-minds of-the-greater part of-men more
Poteritis igitur exploratam habere pacem, cum in civitate
will-you-be-able therefore assured to-have peace when in the-state
Antonium videbitis vel potius Antonios? Nisi forte contemnitis
Antony you-shall-see or rather the-Antonies unless perhaps you-despise
Lucium: ego ne Gaium quidem. Sed, ut video, dominabitur
Lucius I not Gaius even but as I-see will-lord-it
Lucius. Est enim patronus quinque et triginta tribuum,
Lucius he-is for the-patron of-five and thirty tribes
quarum sua lege qua cum C. Caesare magistratus
of-which by-his-own law by-which with Gaius Caesar the-magistracies
partitus est suffragium sustulit; patronus centuriarum equitum
shared he-has the-vote he-removed the-patron of-the-centuries of-knights

Romanorum quas item sine suffragio esse voluit, patronus
Roman which likewise without vote to-be he-wished the-patron
eorum qui tribuni militares fuerunt, patronus Iani medii.
of-those who tribunes military have-been the-patron of-the-Janus middle
Quis huius potentiam poterit sustinere? Praesertim cum 17
who his power will-be-able to-withstand especially since
eosdem in agros etiam deduxerit. Quis umquam omnis
the-same-men into lands also he-has-led-out who ever all
tribus, quis equites Romanos, quis tribunos militaris?
tribes who the-knights Roman who the-tribunes military
Gracchorum potentiam maiorem fuisse arbitramini quam
of-the-Gracchi the-power greater to-have-been do-you-think than
huius gladiatoris futura sit? Quem gladiatorem non ita appellavi
of-this gladiator going-to-be is whom gladiator not so I-have-called
ut interdum etiam M. Antonius gladiator appellari solet, sed
as sometimes also Mark Antony a-gladiator to-be-called is-wont but
ut appellant ei qui plane et Latine loquuntur. Myrmillo
as call(-him) those who plainly and in-Latin speak as-gladiator
in Asia depugnavit. Cum ornasset Thraecidicis comitem
in Asia he-fought-it-out when he-had-equipped in-Thracian-armor his-companion
et familiarem suum, illum miserum fugientem iugulavit,
and intimate his that wretch fleeing he-butchered
luculentam tamen ipse plagam accepit, ut declarat cicatrix.
a-splendid still himself wound he-received as declares the-scar
Qui familiarem iugularit, quid is occasione data 18
who an-intimate has-butchered what he with-the-opportunity given
faciet inimico? et qui illud animi causa fecerit,
will-do to-an-enemy and who that for-amusement's sake has-done
hunc praedae causa quid facturum putatis? Non rursus
this for-booty's sake what going-to-do do-you-think not again
improbos decuriabit, non sollicitabit rursus agrarios, non
the-wicked will-be-enroll-in-squads not will-be-stir-up again the-land-men not

queretur expulsos? M. vero Antonius non is erit ad
will-be-complain-of the-expelled Mark indeed Antony not he will-be to
quem omni motu concursus fiat civium perditorum?
whom in-every commotion a-rush may-be-made of-citizens ruined
Ut nemo sit alius nisi ei qui una sunt, et ei qui hic
that no-one there-be else except those who with-him are and those who here
ei nunc aperte favent, parumne erunt multi? praesertim
to-him now openly are-favorable too-few will-they-be many especially
cum bonorum praesidia discesserint, illi parati sint ad nutum
since of-the-good the-garrisons shall-have-departed they ready be at a-nod
futuri? Ego vero metuo, si hoc tempore consilio lapsi erimus,
going-to-be I indeed fear if at-this time in-counsel slipped we-shall-have
ne illi brevi tempore nimis multi nobis esse videantur.
lest they in-a-short time too many to-us to-be may-seem

V · WHY PEACE IS IMPOSSIBLE

War is wrapped in the name of peace; only by waging it will Rome enjoy peace. Cicero will warn and testify. Peace is impossible because Antony cannot live at peace with the senate, with the knights who stood on the steps of Concord, with the people who twice called Cicero to an assembly, or with the towns, whose zeal the Firmani and Marrucini show.

19 Nec ego pacem nolo, sed pacis nomine bellum involutum
nor I peace do-not-wish but in-peace's name war wrapped
reformido. Qua re si pace frui volumus, bellum
I-dread by-which thing if peace to-enjoy we-wish war
gerendum est; si bellum omittimus, pace numquam fruemur.
to-be-waged is if war we-neglect peace never we-shall-enjoy
Est autem vestri consili, patres conscripti, in posterum quam
it-is however of-your counsel fathers enrolled for the-future as

longissime providere. Idcirco in hac custodia et tamquam
far-as-possible to-provide therefore in this guard-post and as-it-were
specula conlocati sumus uti vacuum metu populum
watchtower placed we-have-been that free from-fear the-people
Romanum nostra vigilia et prospicientia redderemus. Turpe
Roman by-our watchfulness and foresight we-might-render shameful
est summo consilio orbis terrae, praesertim in re
it-is for-the-highest council of-the-circle of-the-earth especially in a-matter
tam perspicua, consilium intellegi defuisse.
so clear counsel to-be-understood to-have-been-lacking
Eos consules habemus, eam populi Romani alacritatem, 20
such consuls we-have such of-the-people Roman eagerness
eum consensum Italiae, eos duces, eos exercitus, ut nullam
such agreement of-Italy such generals such armies that no
calamitatem res publica accipere possit sine culpa senatus.
calamity the-thing public to-suffer can without fault of-the-senate
Equidem non deero: monebo, praedicam, denuntiabo,
I-for-my-part not shall-be-wanting I-shall-warn I-shall-foretell I-shall-declare
testabor semper deos hominesque quid sentiam, nec solum
I-shall-call-to-witness always gods and-men what I-feel nor only
fidem meam, quod fortasse videatur satis esse, sed in principe
good-faith my which perhaps may-seem enough to-be but in a-leading
civi non est satis: curam, consilium vigilantiamque praestabo.
citizen not is enough care counsel and-vigilance I-shall-supply
Dixi de periculo: docebo ne coagmentari quidem posse 21
I-have-spoken about danger I-shall-show not to-be-cemented even to-be-able
pacem; de tribus enim quae proposui hoc extremum est. Quae
peace of the-three for which I-proposed this the-last is what
potest pax esse M. Antonio primum cum senatu? quo
can peace be for-Mark Antony first with the-senate with-what
ore vos ille poterit, quibus vicissim vos illum oculis intueri?
face you he will-be-able with-what in-turn you him eyes to-look-at

quis vestrum illum, quem ille vestrum non oderit? Age, vos
which of-you him whom he of-you not shall-hate come you
ille solum et vos illum? quid? ei qui Mutinam circumsedent,
he alone and you him what those who Mutina besiege
qui in Gallia dilectus habent, qui in vestras fortunas imminent,
who in Gaul levies hold who on your fortunes hang
amici umquam vobis erunt aut vos illis? An equites
friends ever to-you will-they-be or you to-them or the-knights
Romanos amplectetur? Occulta enim fuit eorum voluntas
Roman will-he-embrace hidden for was their will
iudiciumque de Antonio. Qui frequentissimi in gradibus
and-judgment about Antony who in-the-greatest-numbers on the-steps
Concordiae steterunt, qui nos ad libertatem recuperandam
of-Concord stood who us to liberty to-be-recovered
excitaverunt, arma, saga, bellum flagitaverunt, me una
roused arms military-cloaks war demanded me together
cum populo Romano in contionem vocaverunt, hi Antonium
with the-people Roman into an-assembly called these Antony
diligent et cum his pacem servabit Antonius?
will-love and with these peace will-keep Antony
22 Nam quid ego de universo populo Romano dicam? qui
for what I about the-whole people Roman shall-say which
pleno ac referto foro bis me una mente atque voce
with-full and crowded forum twice me with-one mind and voice
in contionem vocavit declaravitque maximam libertatis
into an-assembly called and-declared the-greatest of-liberty
recuperandae cupiditatem. Ita, quod erat optabile antea ut
to-be-recovered desire so what was desirable before that
populum Romanum comitem haberemus, nunc habemus
the-people Roman as-companion we-should-have now we-have(-it)
ducem. Quae est igitur spes, qui Mutinam circumsedent,
as-leader what is therefore the-hope those-who Mutina besiege

imperatorem populi Romani exercitumque oppugnant, eis
the-commander of-the-people Roman and-the-army attack for-them
pacem cum populo Romano esse posse?
peace with the-people Roman to-be to-be-able
An cum municipiis pax erit quorum tanta studia 23
or with the-towns peace will-there-be whose so-great zeal
cognoscuntur in decretis faciendis, militibus dandis, pecuniis
is-recognized in decrees being-made soldiers being-given moneys
pollicendis, ut in singulis oppidis curiam populi
being-promised that in individual towns the-senate-house of-the-people
Romani non desideretis? Laudandi sunt ex huius ordinis
Roman not you-miss to-be-praised are by of-this order
sententia Firmani qui principes pecuniae pollicendae fuerunt;
the-opinion the-Firmani who leaders of-money being-promised were
respondendum honorifice est Marrucinis qui ignominia
to-be-answered honorably is to-the-Marrucini who with-disgrace
notandos censuerunt eos si qui militiam subterfugissent.
to-be-branded voted those if any military-service had-shirked
Haec iam tota Italia fient. Magna pax Antonio cum
these-things now in-whole Italy will-be-done great peace for-Antony with
eis, his item cum illo. Quae potest esse maior discordia?
them for-these likewise with him what can be greater discord
In discordia autem pax civilis esse nullo pacto potest.
in discord however peace civil to-be in-no way can

Antony cannot be reconciled with Visidius, with young Caesar, with Brutus, or with Gaul. The senate must not wish for what cannot be. Before Antony asks anything he must obey every command: stop attacking Brutus, admit the envoys, withdraw from Gaul to this side of the Rubicon but no nearer Rome than two hundred miles, and submit to the senate and people. Cicero warns Pansa not to let his great preparations come to nothing, and agrees with Servilius on the matters referred.

24 Ut omittam multitudinem, L. Visidio, equiti Romano,
that I-may-omit the-multitude to-Lucius Visidius a-knight Roman
homini in primis ornato atque honesto civique semper
a-man in first-things distinguished and honorable and-a-citizen always
egregio, cuius ego excubias et custodias mei capitis
outstanding whose I the-watches and guards of-my life
cognovi in consulatu meo; qui vicinos suos non cohortatus
I-came-to-know in consulship my who neighbors his not urged
est solum ut milites fierent sed etiam facultatibus
has only that soldiers they-should-become but also with-means
suis sublevavit: huic, inquam, tali viro, quem nos
his-own has-relieved(-them) to-this I-say such a-man whom we
senatus consulto conlaudare debemus, poteritne esse pacatus
of-the-senate by-decree to-praise ought will-he-be-able to-be reconciled
Antonius? Quid? C. Caesari qui illum urbe, quid?
Antony what to-Gaius Caesar who him from-the-city what
25 D. Bruto qui Gallia prohibuit? Iam vero ipse se
to-Decimus Brutus who from-Gaul kept(-him) now indeed he-himself himself
placabit et leniet provinciae Galliae a qua expulsus et
will-appease and soothe to-the-province of-Gaul by which expelled and
repudiatus est? Omnia videbitis, patres conscripti, nisi
rejected he-has-been all-things you-will-see fathers enrolled unless
prospicitis, plena odiorum, plena discordiarum, ex quibus
you-look-ahead full of-hatreds full of-discords from which

oriuntur bella civilia. Nolite igitur id velle quod fieri non
arise wars civil do-not therefore that wish which to-be-done not
potest, et cavete, per deos immortalis! patres conscripti,
can and beware by the-gods immortal fathers enrolled
ne spe praesentis pacis perpetuam pacem amittatis.
lest by-hope of-present peace lasting peace you-lose
Quorsum haec omnis spectat oratio? quid enim legati egerint 26
to-what-end this all looks speech what for the-envoys have-done
nondum scimus. At vero excitati, erecti, parati, armati animis
not-yet we-know but indeed roused alert ready armed in-minds
iam esse debemus, ne blanda aut supplici oratione aut
already to-be we-ought lest by-coaxing or suppliant speech or
aequitatis simulatione fallamur. Omnia fecerit oportet
by-fairness' pretense we-be-deceived all-things he-must-have-done it-behooves
quae interdicta et denuntiata sunt, prius quam aliquid
which forbidden and declared have-been before than anything
postulet: Brutum exercitumque eius oppugnare, urbis et agros
he-demands Brutus and-the-army his to-attack the-cities and fields
provinciae Galliae populari destiterit; ad Brutum adeundi
of-the-province of-Gaul to-lay-waste he-must-have-ceased to Brutus of-approaching
legatis potestatem fecerit, exercitum citra flumen
to-the-envoys the-power he-must-have-granted his-army this-side the-river
Rubiconem eduxerit, nec propius urbem milia passuum
Rubicon he-must-have-led nor nearer the-city miles of-paces
cc admoverit; fuerit et in senatus et in
two-hundred he-must-have-moved he-must-have-been both in of-the-senate and in
populi Romani potestate. Haec si fecerit, erit
of-the-people Roman power these-things if he-shall-have-done there-will-be
integra potestas nobis deliberandi; si senatui non paruerit,
unimpaired the-power to-us of-deliberating if to-the-senate not he-shall-have-obeyed
non illi senatus, sed ille populo Romano bellum indixerit.
not on-him the-senate but he on-the-people Roman war will-have-declared

27 Sed vos moneo, patres conscripti: libertas agitur populi
but you I-warn fathers enrolled the-liberty is-at-stake of-the-people
Romani, quae est commendata vobis; vita et fortunae
Roman which has-been entrusted to-you the-life and fortunes
optimi cuiusque, quo cupiditatem infinitam cum immani
of-the-best each at-which desire infinite with monstrous
crudelitate iam pridem intendit Antonius; auctoritas vestra,
cruelty now long-since aims Antony authority your
quam nullam habebitis, nisi nunc tenueritis; taetram
which none you-will-have unless now you-shall-have-held-fast a-foul
et pestiferam beluam ne inclusam et constrictam dimittatis
and pestilent beast lest shut-in and bound you-let-go
cavete. Te ipsum, Pansa, moneo — quamquam non eges
beware you yourself Pansa I-warn although not you-need
consilio, quo vales plurimum, tamen etiam summi
counsel in-which you-are-strong very-much still even the-greatest
gubernatores in magnis tempestatibus a vectoribus admoneri
helmsmen in great storms by passengers to-be-advised
solent — hunc tantum tuum apparatum tamque praeclarum
are-wont this so-great your preparation and-so splendid
ne ad nihilum recidere patiare. Tempus habes tale quale
lest to nothing fall-back you-allow a-time you-have such as
nemo habuit umquam. Hac gravitate senatus, hoc studio
no-one has-had ever with-this gravity of-the-senate with-this zeal
equestris ordinis, hoc ardore populi Romani potes
of-the-equestrian order with-this ardor of-the-people Roman you-can
in perpetuum rem publicam metu et periculo liberare.
into perpetuity the-thing public from-fear and danger free
Quibus de rebus refers, P. Servilio adsentior.
which about matters you-refer with-Publius Servilius I-agree

PHILIPPICA OCTAVA

I · WAR OR EMERGENCY

Yesterday's debate was confused: following Lucius Caesar, the senate struck out the word war and voted an emergency. Cicero argues that an emergency is graver than a war, since exemptions hold in war but not in an emergency, and that the facts are war: Brutus attacked, Mutina besieged, Gaul laid waste, Claterna taken, the cavalry routed, as Pansa read from Hirtius' letter.

Confusius hesterno die est acta res, C. Pansa, 1
more-confusedly on-yesterday's day was conducted the-matter Gaius Pansa
quam postulabat institutum consulatus tui. Parum mihi visus
than demanded the-practice of-consulship your too-little to-me seemed
es eos quibus cedere non soles sustinere. Nam cum
you-have those to-whom to-yield not you-are-wont to-withstand for when
senatus ea virtus fuisset quae solet, et cum re viderent
of-the-senate that courage had-been which is-usual and when in-fact they-saw
omnes esse bellum quidamque id verbum removendum
all to-be war and-some that word to-be-removed
arbitrarentur, tua voluntas in discessione fuit ad lenitatem
thought your will in the-division was toward leniency
propensior. Victa est igitur propter verbi asperitatem
more-inclined defeated was therefore on-account-of of-the-word the-harshness
te auctore nostra sententia: vicit L. Caesaris,
with-you as-author our opinion prevailed of-Lucius Caesar
amplissimi viri, qui verbi atrocitate dempta oratione
a-most-distinguished man who of-the-word the-harshness removed in-speech
fuit quam sententia lenior. Quamquam is quidem, ante
was than in-opinion milder although he indeed before
quam sententiam diceret, propinquitatem excusavit. Idem
than his-opinion he-spoke his-kinship pleaded the-same

fecerat me consule in sororis viro quod hoc
he-had-done with-me consul in-the-case-of his-sister's husband which at-this
tempore in sororis filio fecit, ut et luctu sororis
time in-the-case-of his-sister's son he-did that both by-the-grief of-his-sister
moveretur et saluti populi Romani provideret.
he-might-be-moved and for-the-safety of-the-people Roman might-provide

2 Atque ipse tamen Caesar praecepit vobis quodam modo,
and he-himself still Caesar instructed you in-a-certain way
patres conscripti, ne sibi adsentiremini, cum ita dixit,
fathers enrolled that-not with-himself you-should-agree when so he-spoke
aliam sententiam se dicturum fuisse eamque se
another opinion himself going-to-speak to-have-been and-that of-himself
ac re publica dignam, nisi propinquitate impediretur.
and of-the-thing public worthy unless by-kinship he-were-hindered
Ergo ille avunculus: num etiam vos avunculi qui illi
therefore he an-uncle surely-not also you uncles who with-him
estis adsensi? At in quo fuit controversia? Belli nomen
have assented but in what was the-dispute of-war the-name
ponendum quidam in sententia non putabant: tumultum
to-be-set-down some in the-motion not thought an-emergency
appellare malebant, ignari non modo rerum sed etiam
to-call(-it) they-preferred ignorant not only of-things but also
verborum: potest enim esse bellum ut tumultus non
of-words can for there-be war so-that an-emergency not
sit, tumultus autem esse sine bello non potest.
there-is an-emergency however to-be without war not can

3 Quid est enim aliud tumultus nisi perturbatio tanta ut maior
what is for else an-emergency except a-disturbance so-great that greater
timor oriatur? unde etiam nomen ductum est tumultus. Itaque
fear arises whence also the-name derived is of-emergency and-so
maiores nostri tumultum Italicum quod erat domesticus,
ancestors our an-emergency Italian because it-was domestic

tumultum Gallicum quod erat Italiae finitimus, praeterea nullum
an-emergency Gallic because it-was to-Italy neighboring besides none
nominabant. Gravius autem tumultum esse quam bellum hinc
they-named more-serious however an-emergency to-be than war hence
intellegi potest quod bello vacationes valent, tumultu
to-be-understood it-can that in-war exemptions hold in-an-emergency
non valent. Ita fit, quem ad modum dixi, ut bellum
not they-hold so it-comes-about as in manner I-said that war
sine tumultu possit, tumultus sine bello esse non possit.
without emergency can-be an-emergency without war to-be not can
Etenim cum inter bellum et pacem medium nihil sit, 4
for since between war and peace intermediate nothing there-is
necesse est tumultum, si belli non sit, pacis esse: quo
necessary it-is an-emergency if of-war not it-is of-peace to-be than-which
quid absurdius dici aut existimari potest? Sed nimis
what more-absurd to-be-said or to-be-thought can but too
multa de verbo: rem potius videamus, patres conscripti,
many-things about the-word the-thing rather let-us-look-at fathers enrolled
quam quidem intellego verbo fieri interdum deteriorem
which indeed I-understand by-the-word to-be-made sometimes worse
solere. Nolumus hoc bellum videri. Quam igitur municipiis
to-be-wont we-do-not-wish this war to-seem what therefore to-the-towns
et coloniis ad excludendum Antonium auctoritatem damus?
and colonies for shutting-out Antony authority do-we-give
quam ut milites fiant sine vi, sine multa, studio,
what that soldiers they-become without force without fine by-zeal
voluntate? quam ut pecunias in rem publicam polliceantur?
by-will what that moneys to the-thing public they-promise
Si enim belli nomen tolletur, municipiorum studia
if for of-war the-name shall-be-removed of-the-towns the-zeal

tollentur; consensus populi Romani, qui iam descendit
will-be-removed the-agreement of-the-people Roman which already has-come-down
in causam, si nos languescimus, debilitetur necesse est.
into the-cause if we grow-languid be-weakened necessary it-is
5 Sed quid plura? D. Brutus oppugnatur: non est bellum?
but why more Decimus Brutus is-attacked not it-is war
Mutina obsidetur: ne hoc quidem bellum est? Gallia vastatur:
Mutina is-besieged not this even war is Gaul is-laid-waste
quae pax potest esse certior? Illud vero quis potest bellum
what peace can be more-certain that indeed who can war
esse dicere? Consulem, fortissimum virum, cum exercitu
to-be to-say a-consul most-brave man with an-army
misimus, qui, cum esset infirmus ex gravi diuturnoque
we-sent who though he-was weak from a-grave and-lengthy
morbo, nullam sibi putavit excusationem esse oportere,
illness no for-himself he-thought excuse to-be to-behoove
cum ad rei publicae praesidium vocaretur. C. quidem
when to of-the-thing public the-defense he-was-called Gaius indeed
Caesar non exspectavit vestra decreta, praesertim cum
Caesar not did-await your decrees especially since
illud esset aetatis: bellum contra Antonium sua sponte
that was of-age war against Antony of-his-own accord
suscepit. Decernendi enim tempus nondum erat: bellum
he-undertook of-decreeing for the-time not-yet was war
autem gerendi tempus si praetermisisset, videbat re
however of-waging the-time if he-had-let-slip he-saw with-the-thing
publica oppressa nihil posse decerni.
public crushed nothing to-be-able to-be-decreed
6 Ergo illi nunc et eorum exercitus in pace versantur. Non est
therefore they now and their armies in peace are-engaged not is
hostis is cuius praesidium Claterna deiecit Hirtius; non est
an-enemy he whose garrison from-Claterna dislodged Hirtius not is

hostis qui consuli armatus obsistit, designatum consulem
an-enemy who to-a-consul armed stands-in-the-way a-designate consul
oppugnat, nec illa hostilia verba nec bellica quae paulo ante ex
attacks nor those hostile words nor warlike which a-little before from
conlegae litteris Pansa recitavit: 'Deieci praesidium; Claterna
his-colleague's letter Pansa read-out I-dislodged the-garrison of-Claterna
potitus sum; fugati equites; proelium commissum; occisi
gained-possession I-have put-to-flight the-cavalry a-battle joined killed
aliquot.' Quae pax potest esse maior? Dilectus tota Italia
several what peace can be greater levies in-whole Italy
decreti sublatis vacationibus; saga cras sumentur;
decreed with-removed the-exemptions military-cloaks tomorrow will-be-taken
consul se cum praesidio descensurum esse dixit.
the-consul himself with a-guard going-to-come-down to-be said

II · A WAR UNLIKE THE OTHERS

Rome's earlier civil wars, Sulla against Sulpicius, Cinna against Octavius, Sulla against Marius and Carbo, arose from disputes over the state. This fifth civil war is waged by a united people against one man. Antony promises his brigands houses, the city, and villas; Rome promises its soldiers liberty, laws, and the empire of the world.

Utrum hoc bellum non est, an est tantum bellum quantum 7
whether this war not is or is-it so-great war as-great-as
numquam fuit? Ceteris enim bellis maximeque civilibus
never has-been in-other for wars and-especially civil
contentionem rei publicae causa faciebat. Sulla cum
the-contest of-the-thing public cause made Sulla with
Sulpicio de iure legum quas per vim Sulla latas esse
Sulpicius about the-validity of-laws which by violence Sulla passed to-have-been
dicebat; Cinna cum Octavio de novorum civium suffragiis;
said Cinna with Octavius about of-new citizens the-votes

rursus cum Mario et Carbone Sulla ne dominarentur
again with Marius and Carbo Sulla that-not should-lord-it
indigni et ut clarissimorum hominum crudelissimam
the-unworthy and that of-most-illustrious men the-most-cruel
puniretur necem. Horum omnium bellorum causae ex
should-be-punished slaughter of-these all wars the-causes from
rei publicae contentione natae sunt. De proximo bello
of-the-thing public a-contest sprang have about the-latest war
civili non libet dicere: ignoro causam, detestor exitum.
civil not it-pleases to-speak I-do-not-know the-cause I-detest the-outcome
8 Hoc bellum quintum civile geritur — atque omnia in
this war the-fifth civil is-waged and all in
nostram aetatem inciderunt — primum non modo non in
our age have-fallen first not only not in
dissensione et discordia civium sed in maxima consensione
dissension and discord of-citizens but in the-greatest agreement
incredibilique concordia. Omnes idem volunt, idem
and-incredible concord all the-same-thing wish the-same-thing
defendunt, idem sentiunt. Cum omnis dico, eos excipio
defend the-same-thing feel when all I-say those I-except
quos nemo civitate dignos putat. Quae est igitur in medio
whom no-one of-the-state worthy thinks what is therefore in the-middle
belli causa posita? Nos deorum immortalium templa, nos
of-war the-cause placed we of-the-gods immortal the-temples we
muros, nos domicilia sedesque populi Romani, aras,
the-walls we the-homes and-seats of-the-people Roman the-altars
focos, sepulcra maiorum; nos leges, iudicia, libertatem,
hearths the-tombs of-our-ancestors we the-laws courts liberty
coniuges, liberos, patriam defendimus: contra M. Antonius
wives children fatherland defend against(-us) Mark Antony
id molitur, id pugnat ut haec omnia perturbet, evertat,
this strives-for this fights-for that these-things all he-may-confound overturn

praedam rei publicae causam belli putet, fortunas
the-plunder of-the-thing public the-cause of-war may-think fortunes
nostras partim dissipet partim dispertiat parricidis.
our partly squander partly distribute to-parricides
In hac tam dispari ratione belli miserrimum illud est quod 9
in this so unequal nature of-war most-wretched that is which
ille latronibus suis pollicetur primum domos; urbem enim
he to-brigands his promises first houses the-city for
divisurum se confirmat; deinde omnibus portis quo velint
going-to-divide himself he-affirms next by-all gates where they-wish
deducturum. Omnes Cafones, omnes Saxae ceteraeque
going-to-lead-out(-them) all Cafos all Saxas and-the-other
pestes quae sequuntur Antonium aedis sibi optimas,
plagues which follow Antony houses for-themselves the-best
hortos, Tusculana, Albana definiunt. Atque etiam homines
gardens Tusculan Alban mark-out and even men
agrestes, si homines illi ac non pecudes potius, inani spe ad
rustic if men they and not beasts rather by-empty hope to
aquas usque et Puteolos pervehuntur. Ergo habet Antonius
the-waters even and Puteoli are-carried therefore has Antony
quod suis polliceatur. Quid nos? num quid tale
what to-his-men he-may-promise what we surely-not anything such
habemus? Di meliora! id enim ipsum agimus ne quis
have-we the-gods better-things this for very-thing we-are-doing that-not anyone
posthac quicquam eius modi possit polliceri. Invitus dico, sed
hereafter anything of-this sort can promise unwilling I-say(-it) but
dicendum est: hasta Caesaris, patres conscripti, multis improbis
to-be-said it-is the-spear of-Caesar fathers enrolled to-many wicked-men
et spem adfert et audaciam. Viderunt enim ex mendicis
both hope brings and audacity they-saw for from beggars

fieri repente divites: itaque semper hastam videre cupiunt ei
to-become suddenly rich-men and-so always the-spear to-see desire those
qui nostris bonis imminent, quibus omnia pollicetur Antonius.
who over-our goods hang to-whom all-things promises Antony
Quid? nos nostris exercitibus quid pollicemur? Multo
what we to-our armies what do-we-promise much
meliora atque maiora. Scelerum enim promissio et eis
better-things and greater of-crimes for the-promise both for-those
qui exspectant perniciosa est et eis qui promittunt: nos
who expect(-it) ruinous is and for-those who promise(-it) we
libertatem nostris militibus, leges, iura, iudicia, imperium
liberty to-our soldiers laws rights courts the-empire
orbis terrae, dignitatem, pacem, otium pollicemur. Antoni
of-the-circle of-the-earth dignity peace leisure promise of-Antony
igitur promissa cruenta, taetra, scelerata, dis hominibusque
therefore the-promises bloody foul criminal to-gods and-men
invisa, nec diuturna neque salutaria: nostra contra
hateful nor lasting nor salutary ours on-the-other-hand
honesta, integra, gloriosa, plena laetitiae, plena pietatis.
honorable upright glorious full of-joy full of-piety

Calenus praises the blessings of peace, but slavery is not peace. Cicero recalls Nasica, Opimius against Gracchus, and Marius and Valerius against Saturninus: the ancestors did not want every citizen safe. As a diseased limb is cut off to save the body, so a pestilent citizen must be cut away. Calenus thought Clodius a model citizen; Cicero concedes he saw more in that one man.

Hic mihi etiam Q. Fufius, vir fortis ac strenuus, 11
here to-me also Quintus Fufius a-man brave and energetic
amicus meus, pacis commoda commemorat. Quasi vero,
friend my of-peace the-advantages recounts as-if indeed
si laudanda pax esset, ego id aeque commode facere non
if to-be-praised peace were I that equally fitly to-do not
possem. Semel enim pacem defendi, non semper otio
could once for peace I-defended not always for-leisure
studui? quod cum omnibus bonis utile est, tum praecipue
I-was-eager which while to-all good-men useful is so especially
mihi. Quem enim cursum industria mea tenere potuisset
to-me what for course industry my to-hold could-have
sine forensibus causis, sine legibus, sine iudiciis? quae
without forensic cases without laws without courts which
esse non possunt civili pace sublata.
to-be not can with-civil peace removed
Sed quaeso, Calene, quid tu? Servitutem pacem vocas? 12
but I-beg Calenus what you slavery peace do-you-call
Maiores quidem nostri non modo ut liberi essent sed etiam
ancestors indeed our not only that free they-might-be but also
ut imperarent, arma capiebant: tu arma abicienda censes
that they-might-rule arms took-up you arms to-be-thrown-away think
ut serviamus? Quae causa iustior est belli gerendi quam
that we-may-be-slaves what cause more-just is of-war being-waged than

servitutis depulsio? in qua etiam si non sit molestus dominus,
of-slavery the-repelling in which even if not he-be troublesome the-master
tamen est miserrimum posse, si velit. Immo aliae causae
still it-is most-wretched to-be-able if he-should-wish nay other causes
iustae, haec necessaria est. Nisi forte ad te hoc non putas
just this necessary is unless perhaps to you this not you-think
pertinere, quod te socium fore speras dominationis Antoni.
to-pertain because you a-partner going-to-be you-hope of-the-despotism of-Antony
In quo bis laberis: primum quod tuas rationes communibus
in which twice you-slip first because your-own calculations with-the-common
interponis; deinde quod quicquam stabile aut iucundum in
you-interpose next because anything stable or pleasant in
regno putas. Non, si tibi antea profuit, semper proderit.
a-kingdom you-think not if to-you before it-has-profited always it-will-profit
13 Quin etiam de illo homine queri solebas: quid te facturum
nay even about that man to-complain you-used what you going-to-do
de belua putas? Atque ais eum te esse qui semper pacem
about the-beast do-you-think and you-say him you to-be who always peace
optaris, semper omnis civis volueris salvos. Honesta oratio,
have-wished always all citizens have-wished safe an-honorable speech
sed ita si bonos et utilis et e re publica civis: sin
but so if good and useful and from the-thing public citizens but-if
eos qui natura cives sunt, voluntate hostes, salvos velis, quid
those who by-nature citizens are by-will enemies safe you-wish what
tandem intersit inter te et illos? Pater tuus quidem,
pray would-be-the-difference between you and them father your indeed
quo utebar sene auctore adulescens, homo severus
whom I-used-to-employ an-old-man as-adviser a-young-man a-man strict
et prudens, primas omnium civium P. Nasicae qui
and prudent the-first-place of-all citizens to-Publius Nasica who

Ti. Gracchum interfecit dare solebat: eius virtute, consilio,
Tiberius Gracchus killed to-give was-wont by-his courage counsel
magnitudine animi liberatam rem publicam arbitrabatur.
greatness of-mind freed the-thing public he-judged
Quid? nos a patribus num aliter accepimus? Ergo is 14
what we from our-fathers surely-not otherwise have-received therefore he
tibi civis, si temporibus illis fuisses, non probaretur, quia
to-you a-citizen if in-times those you-had-been not would-be-approved because
non omnis salvos esse voluisset. 'Quod L. Opimius consul
not all safe to-be he-had-wished as-to-what Lucius Opimius the-consul
verba fecit de re publica, de ea re ita censuerunt
words made about the-thing public about that matter so they-voted
uti L. Opimius consul rem publicam defenderet.' Senatus
that Lucius Opimius the-consul the-thing public should-defend the-senate
haec verbis, Opimius armis. Num igitur eum, si tum esses,
this with-words Opimius with-arms surely-not therefore him if then you-were
temerarium civem aut crudelem putares, aut Q. Metellum,
rash a-citizen or cruel you-would-think or Quintus Metellus
cuius quattuor filii consulares, P. Lentulum, principem
whose four sons consulars Publius Lentulus the-leader
senatus, compluris alios summos viros qui cum Opimio consule
of-the-senate several other most-eminent men who with Opimius the-consul
armati Gracchum in Aventinum persecuti sunt? quo in proelio
armed Gracchus onto the-Aventine pursued have which in battle
Lentulus grave volnus accepit, interfectus est Gracchus et
Lentulus a-severe wound received killed was Gracchus and
M. Fulvius consularis, eiusque duo adulescentuli filii. Illi igitur
Marcus Fulvius a-consular and-his two young sons those therefore
viri vituperandi: non enim omnis civis salvos esse voluerunt.
men to-be-blamed not for all citizens safe to-be they-wished

15 Ad propiora veniamus. C. Mario L. Valerio consulibus
to nearer-things let-us-come Gaius Marius Lucius Valerius as-consuls
senatus rem publicam defendendam dedit: L. Saturninus
the-senate the-thing public to-be-defended gave Lucius Saturninus
tribunus plebis, C. Glaucia praetor est interfectus. Omnes
tribune of-the-plebs Gaius Glaucia praetor was killed all
illo die Scauri, Metelli, Claudii, Catuli, Scaevolae, Crassi
on-that day the-Scauri Metelli Claudii Catuli Scaevolae Crassi
arma sumpserunt. Num aut consules illos aut clarissimos
arms took-up surely-not either the-consuls those or most-illustrious
viros vituperandos putas? Ego Catilinam perire volui. Num
men to-be-blamed do-you-think I Catiline to-perish wished surely-not
tu qui omnis salvos vis Catilinam salvum esse voluisti? Hoc
you who all safe wish Catiline safe to-be wished this
interest, Calene, inter meam sententiam et tuam. Ego
is-the-difference Calenus between my opinion and yours I
nolo quemquam civem committere ut morte multandus
do-not-wish any citizen to-let-it-happen that with-death to-be-punished
sit; tu, etiam si commiserit, conservandum putas. In corpore
he-be you even if he-shall-have-done(-it) to-be-preserved think in the-body
si quid eius modi est quod reliquo corpori noceat,
if anything of-that sort is which to-the-remaining body may-harm
id uri secarique patimur ut membrum aliquod potius
it to-be-burned and-cut we-allow that a-limb some rather
quam totum corpus intereat. Sic in rei publicae corpore,
than the-whole body may-perish so in of-the-thing public the-body
ut totum salvum sit, quicquid est pestiferum amputetur.
that the-whole safe may-be whatever is pestilent let-it-be-cut-off
16 Dura vox! Multo illa durior: 'Salvi sint improbi,
a-harsh utterance much that harsher safe let-them-be the-wicked
scelerati, impii; deleantur innocentes, honesti, boni,
criminal impious let-them-be-destroyed the-innocent honorable good

tota res publica!' Uno in homine, Q. Fufi, fateor
the-whole thing public one in man Quintus Fufius I-confess
te vidisse plus quam me. Ego P. Clodium arbitrabar
you to-have-seen more than me I Publius Clodius judged
perniciosum civem, sceleratum, libidinosum, impium, audacem,
a-pernicious citizen criminal lustful impious audacious
facinerosum, tu contra sanctum, temperantem, innocentem,
villainous you on-the-contrary holy temperate innocent
modestum, retinendum civem et optandum. In hoc uno
modest to-be-kept a-citizen and to-be-wished-for in this one-thing
te plurimum vidisse, me multum errasse concedo. Nam
you very-much to-have-seen me much to-have-erred I-concede for
quod me tecum iracunde agere dixisti solere, non est ita.
that me with-you angrily to-deal you-said to-be-wont not it-is so
Vehementer me agere fateor, iracunde nego. Omnino irasci
vehemently me to-deal I-confess angrily I-deny at-all to-be-angry
amicis non temere soleo, ne si merentur quidem.
with-friends not lightly I-am-wont not if they-deserve(-it) even

IV · CALENUS' FRIEND

Cicero differs from Calenus without insult but not without pain: Calenus favors Antony and wants Mutina stormed. Antony rejected the three leading envoys and battered Mutina before their eyes. Cicero also rebukes Calenus' hostility to Massilia, whose fidelity Caesar himself respected.

Itaque sine verborum contumelia a te dissentire possum, 17
and-so without of-words insult from you to-differ I-can
sine animi summo dolore non possum. Parva est enim mihi
without of-mind the-highest pain not I-can small is for for-me
tecum aut parva de re dissensio? ego huic faveo, tu
with-you or small about matter the-disagreement I this-man favor you

illi? Immo vero ego D. Bruto faveo, tu M. Antonio:
that-man nay indeed I Decimus Brutus favor you Mark Antony
ego conservari coloniam populi Romani cupio, tu expugnari
I to-be-preserved a-colony of-the-people Roman desire you to-be-stormed
studes. An hoc negare potes, qui omnis moras interponas
are-eager or this to-deny can-you who all delays interpose
quibus infirmetur Brutus, melior fiat Antonius? Quo usque
by-which be-weakened Brutus better become Antony how long
enim dices pacem velle te? Res geritur; conductae
for will-you-say peace to-wish you the-thing is-being-done brought-up
vineae sunt; pugnatur acerrime. Qui intercurrerent, misimus
the-sheds have-been there-is-fighting most-fiercely who might-intervene we-sent
tris principes civitatis. Hos contempsit, reiecit, repudiavit
three leaders of-the-state these despised rejected repudiated
Antonius: tu tamen permanes constantissimus defensor Antoni.
Antony you still remain most-constant the-defender of-Antony
18 Et quidem, quo melior senator videatur, negat se illi
and indeed that better a-senator he-may-seem he-denies himself to-him
amicum esse debere: cum suo magno esset beneficio, venisse
a-friend to-be to-be-obliged since by-his great he-was favor to-have-come
eum contra se. Videte quanta caritas sit patriae: cum
him against himself see how-great the-love be of-the-fatherland though
homini sit iratus, tamen rei publicae causa defendit
with-the-man he-be angry still of-the-thing public for-the-sake he-defends
Antonium. Ego te, cum in Massiliensis tam es acerbus,
Antony I you when against the-Massilians so you-are bitter
Q. Fufi, non animo aequo audio. Quo usque enim Massiliam
Quintus Fufius not with-mind calm I-hear how long for Massilia
oppugnabis? ne triumphus quidem finem facit belli, per quem
will-you-attack not the-triumph even an-end makes of-war through which
lata est urbs ea sine qua numquam ex Transalpinis gentibus
carried was the-city that without which never over the-Transalpine peoples

maiores nostri triumpharunt. Quo quidem tempore populus
ancestors our triumphed at-which indeed time the-people
Romanus ingemuit: quamquam proprios dolores suarum
Roman groaned although their-own griefs of-their-own
rerum omnes habebant, tamen huius civitatis fidelissimae
affairs all had still of-this state most-faithful
miserias nemo erat civis qui a se alienas arbitraretur.
the-miseries no-one was a-citizen who from himself foreign thought
Caesar ipse qui illis fuerat iratissimus tamen propter 19
Caesar himself who with-them had-been most-angry still on-account-of
singularem eius civitatis gravitatem et fidem cotidie aliquid
the-singular of-that state steadfastness and faith daily something
iracundiae remittebat: te nulla sua calamitate civitas satiare
of-anger relaxed you by-no its-own calamity the-state to-satisfy
tam fidelis potest? Rursus iam me irasci fortasse dices.
so faithful can again now me to-be-angry perhaps you-will-say
Ego autem sine iracundia dico omnia nec tamen sine
I however without anger say all-things nor still without
dolore animi: neminem illi civitati inimicum esse arbitror
pain of-mind no-one to-that state hostile to-be I-think
qui amicus huic sit civitati. Excogitare quae tua ratio
who a-friend to-this be state to-think-out what your calculation
sit, Calene, non possum. Antea deterrere te ne popularis
may-be Calenus not I-can before to-deter you that-not popular
esses non poteramus: exorare nunc ut sis popularis
you-should-be not we-could to-prevail-on now that you-be popular
non possumus. Satis multa cum Fufio ac sine odio
not we-can enough many-things with Fufius and without hatred
omnia, nihil sine dolore. Credo autem, qui generi
all-things nothing without pain I-believe however one-who of-his-son-in-law
querelam moderate ferat, aequo animo laturum amici.
the-complaint mildly bears with-calm mind going-to-bear(-that) of-a-friend

20 Venio ad reliquos consularis, quorum nemo est — iure
I-come to the-remaining consulars of-whom none is by-right
hoc meo dico — quin mecum habeat aliquam coniunctionem
this my I-say but with-me has some connection
gratiae, alii maximam, alii mediocrem, nemo nullam. Quam
of-goodwill some very-great some moderate none none how
hesternus dies nobis, consularibus dico, turpis inluxit! Iterum
yesterday's day on-us consulars I-say shameful dawned again
legatos? Quasi ille faceret indutias? Ante os oculosque
envoys as-if he were-making a-truce before the-face and-eyes
legatorum tormentis Mutinam verberavit; opus ostendebat
of-the-envoys with-engines Mutina he-battered the-works he-showed
munitionemque legatis; ne punctum quidem temporis, cum
and-the-siege-wall to-the-envoys not a-moment even of-time when
legati adessent, oppugnatio respiravit. Ad hunc legatos?
the-envoys were-present the-assault breathed to this-man envoys
cur? An ut eorum reditu vehementius pertimescatis?
why or that at-their return more-violently you-may-be-terrified
21 Equidem cum ante legatos decerni non censuissem, hoc
I-for-my-part when before envoys to-be-decreed not I-had-voted with-this
me tamen consolabar, cum illi ab Antonio contempti et
myself still I-consoled when they by Antony despised and
reiecti revertissent renuntiavissentque senatui non modo
rejected had-returned and-had-reported to-the-senate not only
illum de Gallia non discessisse, uti censuissemus, sed
him from Gaul not to-have-departed as we-had-voted but
ne a Mutina quidem recessisse, potestatem sibi
not from Mutina even to-have-withdrawn the-power to-themselves
D. Bruti conveniendi non fuisse, fore ut
of-Decimus Brutus of-meeting not to-have-been it-would-come-about that
omnes inflammati odio, excitati dolore, armis, equis,
all inflamed with-hatred roused by-indignation with-arms horses

viris D. Bruto subveniremus. Nos etiam languidiores
men to-Decimus Brutus we-should-come-to-the-aid we even more-languid
postea facti sumus quam M. Antoni non solum audaciam
afterward become have than of-Mark Antony not only the-audacity
et scelus sed etiam insolentiam superbiamque perspeximus.
and crime but also the-insolence and-arrogance we-perceived

V · ANTONY'S DEMANDS

Cicero wishes Lucius Caesar were well and Sulpicius alive; the consulars have deserted the state. Popilius drew a circle around King Antiochus, but these envoys brought back Antony's demands: land for his legions, protection for his gamblers and mimes, the dictator's memoranda and his colleague's decrees kept, his judiciary law, and long-haired Gaul for five years. Piso and Philippus heard this, and Cotyla was admitted to the senate.

Utinam L. Caesar valeret, Ser. Sulpicius viveret: multo 22
would-that Lucius Caesar were-well Servius Sulpicius were-alive much
melius haec causa ageretur a tribus quam nunc agitur ab
better this cause would-be-pleaded by three than now it-is-pleaded by
uno. Dolenter hoc dicam potius quam contumeliose. Deserti,
one sorrowfully this I-shall-say rather than insultingly deserted
deserti, inquam, sumus, patres conscripti, a principibus.
deserted I-say we-have-been fathers enrolled by the-leading-men
Sed — saepe iam dixi — omnes in tanto periculo qui
but often already I-have-said all in so-great danger who
recte et fortiter sentient erunt consulares. Animum nobis
rightly and bravely shall-feel will-be consulars courage to-us
adferre legati debuerunt: timorem attulerunt — quamquam
to-bring the-envoys ought fear they-brought although

mihi quidem nullum — quamvis de illo ad quem missi
to-me indeed none however-much about him to whom sent
sunt bene existiment: a quo etiam mandata acceperunt.
they-were well they-may-think from whom also instructions they-received
23 Pro di immortales! Ubi est ille mos virtusque maiorum?
O gods immortal where is that custom and-courage of-our-ancestors
C. Popilius apud maiores nostros cum ad Antiochum regem
Gaius Popilius among ancestors our when to Antiochus the-king
legatus missus esset et verbis senatus denuntiasset
as-envoy sent he-had-been and in-the-words of-the-senate had-declared
ut ab Alexandrea discederet quam obsidebat, cum tempus
that from Alexandria he-should-depart which he-was-besieging when time
ille differret, virgula stantem circumscripsit dixitque se
he was-putting-off with-a-rod standing he-drew-around(-him) and-said himself
renuntiaturum senatui, nisi prius sibi respondisset quid
going-to-report to-the-senate unless first to-him he-had-answered what
facturus esset quam ex illa circumscriptione exisset.
going-to-do he-was before from that circle he-had-gone-out
Praeclare: senatus enim faciem secum attulerat auctoritatemque
splendidly the-senate for the-face with-him he-had-brought and-the-authority
rei publicae. Cui qui non paret, non ab eo
of-the-thing public to-whom whoever not obeys not from him
mandata accipienda sunt, sed ipse est potius repudiandus.
instructions to-be-received are but he-himself is rather to-be-rejected
24 An ego ab eo mandata acciperem qui senatus mandata
or I from him instructions should-I-receive who of-the-senate the-instructions
contemneret? aut ei cum senatu quicquam commune
despised or for-him with the-senate anything common
iudicarem qui imperatorem populi Romani senatu
should-I-judge who a-commander of-the-people Roman with-the-senate
prohibente obsideret? At quae mandata! qua adrogantia,
forbidding besieged but what instructions with-what arrogance

quo stupore, quo spiritu! Cur autem ea legatis nostris
with-what stupidity with-what haughtiness why however them to-envoys our
dabat, cum ad nos Cotylam mitteret, ornamentum atque
was-he-giving when to us Cotyla he-was-sending the-ornament and
arcem amicorum suorum, hominem aedilicium? si vero tum
citadel of-friends his a-man of-aedile's-rank if indeed then
fuit aedilis cum eum iussu Antoni in convivio servi
he-was an-aedile when him at-the-order of-Antony at a-banquet slaves
publici loris ceciderunt.
public with-thongs beat
At quam modesta mandata! Ferrei sumus, patres conscripti, 25
but how modest instructions iron-hearted we-are fathers enrolled
qui quicquam huic negemus. 'Utramque provinciam' inquit
who anything to-this-man we-deny each province he-says
'remitto: exercitum depono: privatus esse non recuso.' Haec
I-give-up my-army I-lay-down a-private-man to-be not I-refuse these
sunt enim verba. Redire ad se videtur. 'Omnia obliviscor,
are for the-words to-return to himself he-seems all-things I-forget
in gratiam redeo.' Sed quid adiungit? 'Si legionibus meis
into favor I-return but what does-he-add if to-legions my
sex, si equitibus, si cohorti praetoriae praedia agrumque
six if to-the-cavalry if to-the-cohort praetorian estates and-land
dederitis.' Eis etiam praemia postulat quibus ut
you-shall-have-given for-them also rewards he-demands for-whom that
ignoscatur si postulet, impudentissimus iudicetur.
pardon-be-granted if he-should-demand most-shameless he-would-be-judged
Addit praeterea ut, quos ipse cum Dolabella dederit agros,
he-adds besides that which himself with Dolabella he-gave lands
teneant ei quibus dati sint.
should-hold those to-whom given they-were

26 Hic est Campanus ager et Leontinus, quae duo maiores nostri
this is the-Campanian land and the-Leontine which two ancestors our
annonae perfugia ducebant. Cavet mimis, aleatoribus,
of-the-grain-supply refuges reckoned he-provides for-mimes gamblers
lenonibus: Cafoni etiam et Saxae cavet, quos centuriones
pimps for-Cafo also and for-Saxa he-provides whom as-centurions
pugnacis et lacertosos inter mimorum et mimarum greges
pugnacious and brawny among of-mimes and of-actresses the-troupes
conlocavit. Postulat praeterea ut chirographorum summa et
he-placed he-demands besides that of-the-autographs the-total and
commentariorum conlegaeque sui decreta maneant. Quid
of-the-notebooks and-of-his-colleague his the-decrees should-stand why
laborat ut habeat quod quisque mercatus est, si quod accepit
does-he-labor that should-have what each-one bought has if what he-received
habet qui vendidit? et ne tangantur rationes ad Opis: id
has he-who sold and that-not be-touched the-accounts at of-Ops that
est, ne septiens miliens recuperetur; ne fraudi sit vii
is that-not seven-hundred millions be-recovered lest a-harm it-be to-the-seven
viris quod egissent. Nucula hoc, credo, admonuit: verebatur
men what they-had-done Nucula this I-believe advised he-feared
fortasse ne amitteret tantas clientelas. Caveri etiam volt
perhaps lest he-should-lose such-great clienteles to-be-safeguarded also he-wishes
eis qui secum sint quicquid contra leges commiserint.
for-those who with-him are whatever against the-laws they-have-committed
Mustelae et Tironi prospicit: de se nihil laborat.
for-Mustela and for-Tiro he-provides about himself nothing he-labors
27 Quid enim commisit umquam? num aut pecuniam
what for has-he-committed ever surely-not either money
publicam attigit aut hominem occidit aut secum habuit
public has-he-touched or a-man killed or with-himself had
armatos? Sed quid est quod de eis laboret? Postulat
armed-men but what is-there that about them he-should-labor he-demands

enim ne sua iudiciaria lex abrogetur. Quo impetrato
for that-not his judiciary law be-repealed with-which obtained
quid est quod metuat? an ne suorum aliquis a Cyda,
what is-there that he-should-fear or lest of-his-men any by Cyda
Lysiade, Curio condemnetur? Neque tamen nos urget
Lysiades Curius be-condemned nor still us he-presses
mandatis pluribus; remittit aliquantum et relaxat. 'Galliam'
with-instructions more he-remits somewhat and relaxes Gaul
inquit 'togatam remitto, comatam postulo' — otiosus videlicet
he-says toga-wearing I-give-up long-haired I-demand at-leisure of-course
esse mavolt — 'cum sex legionibus' inquit 'eisque suppletis
to-be he-prefers with six legions he-says and-those filled-up
ex D. Bruti exercitu,' non modo ex dilectu suo, tam
from of-Decimus Brutus the-army not only from levy his-own so
diuque ut obtineat dum M. Brutus C. Cassius consules
and-long that he-may-hold(-it) while Marcus Brutus Gaius Cassius consuls
prove coss. provincias obtinebunt. Huius comitiis
or-in-place-of consuls the-provinces shall-hold of-this-man at-the-elections
C. frater — eius est enim annus — iam repulsam tulit.
Gaius brother his it-is for the-year already defeat suffered
'Ipse autem ut quinquennium' inquit 'obtineam.'
he-himself however that for-five-years he-says I-may-hold(-it)
At istud vetat lex Caesaris, et tu acta Caesaris defendis. 28
but that forbids the-law of-Caesar and you the-acts of-Caesar defend
Haec tu mandata, L. Piso, et tu, L. Philippe, principes
these you instructions Lucius Piso and you Lucius Philippus leaders
civitatis, non dico animo ferre verum auribus accipere
of-the-state not I-say with-mind to-bear but with-ears to-receive
potuistis? Sed, ut suspicor, terror erat quidam: nec vos
could-you but as I-suspect terror there-was a-certain nor you
ut legati apud illum fuistis nec ut consulares, nec vos
as envoys with him were nor as consulars nor you

vestram nec rei publicae dignitatem tenere potuistis.
your nor of-the-thing public dignity to-keep you-could
Et tamen nescio quo pacto sapientia quadam, credo,
and still I-know-not in-what way by-wisdom a-certain I-believe
quod ego non possem, non nimis irati revertistis. Vobis
which I not could-have not too angry you-returned to-you
M. Antonius nihil tribuit, clarissimis viris, legatis populi
Mark Antony nothing granted most-illustrious men envoys of-the-people
Romani: nos quid non legato M. Antoni Cotylae
Roman we what not to-the-envoy of-Mark Antony Cotyla
concessimus? Cui portas huius urbis patere ius non erat,
have-we-conceded to-whom the-gates of-this city to-be-open right not it-was
huic hoc templum patuit, huic aditus in senatum
to-this-man this temple was-open to-this-man access to the-senate
fuit, hic hesterno die sententias vestras in codicillos
there-was this-man on-yesterday's day the-opinions your into notebooks
et omnia verba referebat, huic se etiam summis
and all the-words was-entering to-this-man themselves even the-highest
honoribus usi contra suam dignitatem venditabant.
honors having-held against their dignity were-offering-for-sale

A consular should not receive an enemy's envoy at home. Cicero recalls Scaevola the augur, old and ill, receiving all comers in the Marsic war. While some consulars favor the enemy, the people cannot bear to see consular insignia, so Cicero will not wear his. Varius may return to Antony but never to Rome. Cicero moves that whoever leaves Antony's army for the consuls, Brutus, or young Caesar before the Ides of March be pardoned, and that anyone but Varius who goes over to him after the decree be held to have acted against the state.

O di immortales! quam magnum est personam in 29
O gods immortal how great it-is the-part in
re publica tueri principis! quae non animis
the-thing public to-maintain of-a-leading-man which not the-minds
solum debet sed etiam oculis servire civium. Domum
only must but also the-eyes serve of-the-citizens into-his-home
recipere legatum hostium, in cubiculum admittere, etiam
to-receive the-envoy of-the-enemy into the-bedroom to-admit even
seducere hominis est nihil de dignitate, nimium
to-take-aside of-a-man is nothing about dignity too-much
de periculo cogitantis. Quod autem est periculum?
about danger thinking what however is the-danger
Nam si maximum in discrimen venitur, aut libertas
for if the-greatest into crisis it-comes either liberty
parata victori est aut mors proposita victo:
ready for-the-victor is or death set-before the-vanquished
quorum alterum optabile est, alterum effugere nemo
of-which the-one desirable is the-other to-escape no-one
potest. Turpis autem fuga mortis omni est morte
can shameful however flight from-death than-every is death
peior.
worse

30 Nam illud quidem non adducor ut credam, esse
for that indeed not I-am-induced that I-should-believe there-to-be
quosdam qui invideant alicuius constantiae, qui labori,
some who begrudge someone's constancy who to-the-labor
qui perpetuam in re publica adiuvanda voluntatem
who the-lasting in the-thing public helping goodwill
et senatui et populo Romano probari moleste
both to-the-senate and to-the-people Roman to-be-approved annoyingly
ferant. Omnes id quidem facere debebamus, eaque
take all that indeed to-do we-ought and-that
erat non modo apud maiores nostros sed etiam nuper
was not only among ancestors our but also lately
summa laus consularium, vigilare, adesse animo, semper
the-highest praise of-consulars to-be-vigilant to-be-present with-mind always
aliquid pro re publica aut cogitare aut facere aut
something for the-thing public either to-think or to-do or
dicere.
to-say

31 Ego, patres conscripti, Q. Scaevolam augurem memoria
I fathers enrolled Quintus Scaevola the-augur in-memory
teneo bello Marsico, cum esset summa senectute et
I-hold in-the-war Marsic though he-was in-extreme old-age and
perdita valetudine, cotidie simul atque luceret
ruined health daily at-the-same-time as it-grew-light
facere omnibus conveniendi potestatem sui: nec eum
to-make for-all of-meeting the-opportunity him nor him
quisquam illo bello vidit in lecto, senexque et
anyone in-that war saw in bed and-an-old-man and
debilis primus veniebat in curiam. Huius industriam
feeble first he-used-to-come into the-senate-house his industry
maxime equidem vellem ut imitarentur ei quos
most I-for-my-part would-wish that should-imitate those whom

oportebat; secundo autem loco ne alterius labori
it-behooved in-second however place that-not of-another the-labor
inviderent.
they-should-begrudge
Etenim, patres conscripti, cum in spem libertatis sexennio 32
for fathers enrolled since into the-hope of-liberty by-six-years
post sumus ingressi diutiusque servitutem perpessi
afterward we-have entered and-longer slavery having-endured
quam captivi frugi et diligentes solent, quas vigilias, quas
than captives thrifty and diligent are-wont what watches what
sollicitudines, quos labores liberandi populi Romani causa
anxieties what labors of-freeing the-people Roman for-the-sake
recusare debemus? Equidem, patres conscripti, quamquam
to-refuse ought-we I-for-my-part fathers enrolled although
hoc honore usi togati solent esse, cum est in
this honor having-held in-togas are-wont to-be when is in
sagis civitas, statui tamen a vobis ceterisque civibus
military-cloaks the-state I-decided still from you and-the-other citizens
in tanta atrocitate temporis tantaque perturbatione rei
in so-great harshness of-the-time and-so-great disturbance of-the-thing
publicae non differre vestitu. Non enim ita gerimus nos
public not to-differ in-dress not for so conduct ourselves
hoc bello consulares ut aequo animo populus Romanus
in-this war the-consulars that with-calm mind the-people Roman
visurus sit nostri honoris insignia, cum partim e nobis
going-to-see is our office the-insignia when partly of us
ita timidi sint ut omnem populi Romani beneficiorum
so timid are that all of-the-people Roman of-the-favors
memoriam abiecerint, partim ita a re publica
the-memory they-have-cast-away partly so from the-thing public
aversi ut se hosti favere prae se ferant,
turned-away that themselves to-the-enemy to-favor before themselves they-display

legatos nostros ab Antonio despectos et inrisos facile
envoys our by Antony despised and mocked easily
patiantur, legatum Antoni sublevatum velint. Hunc enim
they-endure the-envoy of-Antony relieved they-wish him for
reditu ad Antonium prohiberi negabant oportere et
from-return to Antony to-be-hindered they-said-it-did-not to-behoove and
in eodem excipiendo sententiam meam corrigebant. Quibus
in the-same being-excepted opinion my they-corrected to-whom
geram morem. Redeat ad imperatorem suum Varius, sed
I-shall-do the-will let-him-return to commander his Varius but
ea lege ne umquam Romam revertatur. Ceteris
on-that condition that-not ever to-Rome be-return to-the-others
autem, si errorem suum deposuerint et cum re
however if error their they-shall-have-laid-aside and with the-thing
publica in gratiam redierint, veniam et impunitatem dandam
public into favor have-returned pardon and impunity to-be-given
puto.
I-think

33 Quas ob res ita censeo: Eorum qui cum
which on-account-of things so I-move of-those who with
M. Antonio sunt, qui ab armis discesserint et aut
Mark Antony are who from arms shall-have-departed and either
ad C. Pansam aut ad A. Hirtium consules aut ad
to Gaius Pansa or to Aulus Hirtius the-consuls or to
Decimum Brutum imperatorem, consulem designatum, aut
Decimus Brutus commander consul designate or
ad C. Caesarem pro praetore ante Idus Martias primas
to Gaius Caesar as propraetor before the-Ides of-March first
adierint, eis fraudi ne sit quod cum M. Antonio
shall-have-gone for-them a-harm not let-it-be that with Mark Antony
fuerint. Si quis eorum qui cum M. Antonio sunt
they-have-been if anyone of-those who with Mark Antony are

fecerit quod honore praemiove dignum esse videatur,
shall-have-done what of-honor or-reward worthy to-be may-seem
uti C. Pansa A. Hirtius consules, alter ambove,
that Gaius Pansa Aulus Hirtius the-consuls one or-both
si eis videbitur, de eius honore praemiove primo
if to-them it-shall-seem about his honor or-reward on-the-first
quoque die ad senatum referant. Si quis post hoc
each day to the-senate should-refer if anyone after this
senatus consultum ad Antonium profectus esset praeter
of-the-senate decree to Antony set-out had except
L. Varium, senatum existimaturum eum contra rem
Lucius Varius the-senate going-to-judge him against the-thing
publicam fecisse.
public to-have-acted

PHILIPPICA NONA

I · A STATUE FOR SULPICIUS

Servius Sulpicius died on his embassy, and Cicero answers Servilius, who would give a statue only to an envoy killed by the sword. The ancestors looked to the cause of death, not its manner: they honored the envoys Lars Tolumnius killed at Fidenae, and Gnaeus Octavius, killed at Laodicea. Sulpicius set out knowing he would not return, and the embassy itself killed him.

Vellem di immortales fecissent, patres conscripti, 1
I-would-wish the-gods immortal had-brought-it-about fathers enrolled
ut vivo potius Ser. Sulpicio gratias ageremus quam
that to-living rather Servius Sulpicius thanks we-were-giving than
honores mortuo quaereremus. Nec vero dubito quin, si ille
honors for-the-dead we-were-seeking nor indeed I-doubt that if that
vir legationem renuntiare potuisset, reditus eius et vobis
man the-embassy to-report had-been-able the-return his both to-you
gratus fuerit et rei publicae salutaris futurus,
welcome would-have-been and to-the-thing public salutary going-to-be
non quo L. Philippo et L. Pisoni aut studium aut
not that to-Lucius Philippus and to-Lucius Piso either zeal or
cura defuerit in tanto officio tantoque munere, sed cum
care has-been-lacking in so-great a-duty and-so-great a-task but since
Ser. Sulpicius aetate illis anteiret, sapientia omnibus, subito
Servius Sulpicius in-age them surpassed in-wisdom all suddenly
ereptus e causa totam legationem orbam et debilitatam
snatched from the-case the-whole embassy bereaved and weakened
reliquit.
he-left

2 Quod si cuiquam iustus honos habitus est in morte
but if to-anyone a-just honor paid has-been in death
legato, in nullo iustior quam in Ser. Sulpicio reperietur.
as-envoy in no-one more-just than in Servius Sulpicius it-will-be-found
Ceteri qui in legatione mortem obierunt ad incertum
the-others who on an-embassy death met to an-uncertain
vitae periculum sine ullo mortis metu profecti sunt:
of-life danger without any of-death fear set-out have
Ser. Sulpicius cum aliqua perveniendi ad M. Antonium spe
Servius Sulpicius with some of-arriving at Mark Antony hope
profectus est, nulla revertendi. Qui cum ita adfectus esset
set-out has none of-returning who when so affected he-was
ut, si ad gravem valetudinem labor accessisset, sibi ipse
that if to a-grave illness labor had-been-added to-himself he-himself
diffideret, non recusavit quo minus vel extremo spiritu,
would-distrust not he-refused by-which less even with-last breath
si quam opem rei publicae ferre posset, experiretur.
if any help to-the-thing public to-bring he-could he-should-try
Itaque non illum vis hiemis, non nives, non longitudo
and-so not him the-violence of-winter not the-snows not the-length
itineris, non asperitas viarum, non morbus ingravescens
of-the-journey not the-roughness of-the-roads not the-illness growing-worse
retardavit, cumque iam ad congressum conloquiumque eius
held-back and-when already to the-meeting and-conference of-him
pervenisset ad quem erat missus, in ipsa cura ac
he-had-come to whom he-had-been sent in the-very care and
meditatione obeundi sui muneris excessit e vita.
contemplation of-discharging his task he-departed from life
3 Ut igitur alia, sic hoc, C. Pansa, praeclare quod et nos
as therefore other-things so this Gaius Pansa splendidly that both us
ad honorandum Ser. Sulpicium cohortatus es et ipse
to honoring Servius Sulpicius urged you-have and you-yourself

multa copiose de illius laude dixisti. Quibus a te dictis nihil
many-things copiously about his praise have-said with-which by you said nothing
praeter sententiam dicerem, nisi P. Servilio, clarissimo
except my-motion I-would-say unless to-Publius Servilius a-most-illustrious
viro, respondendum putarem, qui hunc honorem statuae nemini
man to-be-answered I-thought who this honor of-a-statue to-no-one
tribuendum censuit nisi ei qui ferro esset in legatione
to-be-granted voted except to-him who by-the-sword had on an-embassy
interfectus. Ego autem, patres conscripti, sic interpretor
been-killed I however fathers enrolled so interpret
sensisse maiores nostros ut causam mortis censuerint, non
to-have-thought ancestors our that the-cause of-death they-thought not
genus esse quaerendum. Etenim cui legatio ipsa morti
the-manner to-be to-be-sought for for-whom the-embassy itself to-death
fuisset, eius monumentum exstare voluerunt, ut in bellis
had-been his monument to-stand they-wished that in wars
periculosis obirent homines legationis munus audacius.
dangerous should-undertake men of-an-embassy the-task more-boldly
Non igitur exempla maiorum quaerenda, sed consilium
not therefore the-precedents of-our-ancestors to-be-sought but the-intent
est eorum a quo ipsa exempla nata sunt explicandum.
is their from which the-very precedents sprang have to-be-unfolded
Lars Tolumnius, rex Veientium, quattuor legatos populi 4
Lars Tolumnius king of-the-Veientes four envoys of-the-people
Romani Fidenis interemit, quorum statuae steterunt usque ad
Roman at-Fidenae killed whose statues stood right-up to
meam memoriam in rostris: iustus honos: eis enim maiores
my memory on the-rostra a-just honor to-them for ancestors
nostri qui ob rem publicam mortem obierant pro brevi
our who for the-thing public death had-met for a-brief
vita diuturnam memoriam reddiderunt. Cn. Octavi, clari
life a-lasting memory gave-back of-Gnaeus Octavius a-famous

viri et magni, qui primus in eam familiam quae postea
man and great who first into that family which afterward
viris fortissimis floruit attulit consulatum, statuam videmus
with-men most-brave flourished brought the-consulship the-statue we-see
in rostris. Nemo tum novitati invidebat; nemo virtutem non
on the-rostra no-one then the-newness begrudged no-one courage not
honorabat. At ea fuit legatio Octavi in qua periculi suspicio
honored but that was an-embassy of-Octavius in which of-danger suspicion
non subesset. Nam cum esset missus a senatu ad animos
not was-present for when he-had-been sent by the-senate to the-minds
regum perspiciendos liberorumque populorum, maximeque, ut
of-kings to-be-examined and-of-free peoples and-especially that
nepotem regis Antiochi, eius qui cum maioribus nostris
the-grandson of-the-king Antiochus that who with ancestors our
bellum gesserat, classis habere, elephantos alere prohiberet,
war had-waged fleets to-have elephants to-keep he-should-prevent
Laudiceae in gymnasio a quodam Leptine est interfectus.
at-Laodicea in the-gymnasium by a-certain Leptines he-was killed
5 Reddita est ei tum a maioribus statua pro vita
given was to-him then by our-ancestors a-statue in-return-for life
quae multos per annos progeniem eius honestaret, nunc ad
which many through years offspring his should-honor now to
tantae familiae memoriam sola restaret. Atqui et huic
of-so-great a-family the-memory alone should-remain and-yet both to-this-man
et Tullo Cluvio et L. Roscio et Sp. Antio et
and to-Tullus Cluvius and to-Lucius Roscius and to-Spurius Antius and
C. Fulcinio qui a Veientium rege caesi sunt non sanguis
to-Gaius Fulcinius who by of-the-Veientes the-king slain were not the-blood
qui est profusus in morte, sed ipsa mors ob rem publicam
which was shed in death but itself death for the-thing public
obita honori fuit. Itaque, patres conscripti, si Ser. Sulpicio
met for-an-honor was and-so fathers enrolled if to-Servius Sulpicius

casus mortem attulisset, dolerem equidem tanto rei
chance death had-brought I-should-grieve I-for-my-part at-so-great of-the-thing
publicae volnere, mortem vero eius non monumento, sed
public a-wound the-death but his not with-a-monument but
luctu publico esse ornandam putarem. Nunc autem quis
with-mourning public to-be to-be-honored I-would-think now however who
dubitat quin ei vitam abstulerit ipsa legatio? Secum enim
doubts that from-him life has-taken itself the-embassy with-him for
ille mortem extulit quam, si nobiscum remansisset, sua cura,
he death carried-out which if with-us he-had-remained by-his care
optimi fili fidelissimaeque coniugis diligentia vitare potuisset.
of-the-best son and-most-faithful wife's diligence to-avoid he-could-have

II · THE SENATE SENT HIM

Sulpicius chose to die in the service of the state rather than seem to fail it, refusing rest along the way. Antony rejoiced at his death, and as its cause killed him as surely as Leptines killed Octavius. The senate itself pressed Sulpicius to go despite his illness, so it owes him the honor; Cicero recalls how Pansa's urging moved Sulpicius to go, and how his parting words seemed an omen.

At ille cum videret, si vestrae auctoritati non paruisset, 6
but he when he-saw if your authority not he-had-obeyed
dissimilem se futurum sui, sin paruisset, munus sibi
unlike himself going-to-be of-himself but-if he-had-obeyed the-task to-him
illud pro re publica susceptum vitae finem fore, maluit
that for the-thing public undertaken of-life the-end going-to-be he-preferred
in maximo rei publicae discrimine emori quam minus
in the-greatest of-the-thing public crisis to-die than less
quam potuisset videri rei publicae profuisse. Multis illi
than he-could-have to-seem to-the-thing public to-have-profited many to-him

in urbibus iter qua faciebat reficiendi se et curandi
in cities the-journey where he-made of-refreshing himself and of-caring
potestas fuit. Aderat et hospitum invitatio liberalis
the-opportunity there-was there-was-present also of-hosts the-invitation generous
pro dignitate summi viri et eorum hortatio qui una
worthy-of the-dignity of-a-very-great man and of-those the-urging who together
erant missi ad requiescendum et vitae suae consulendum.
had-been sent to resting and of-life his taking-care
At ille properans, festinans, mandata vestra conficere cupiens,
but he hurrying hastening instructions your to-complete desiring
in hac constantia morbo adversante perseveravit.
in this constancy with-illness opposing persevered

7 Cuius cum adventu maxime perturbatus esset Antonius, quod
whose since at-arrival greatly disturbed had-been Antony because
ea quae sibi iussu vestro denuntiarentur auctoritate
those-things which to-him at-order your were-being-declared by-the-authority
erant et sententia Ser. Sulpici constituta, declaravit quam
had-been and opinion of-Servius Sulpicius established he-showed how-much
odisset senatum, cum auctorem senatus exstinctum laete atque
he-hated the-senate when the-adviser of-the-senate extinguished gladly and
insolenter tulit. Non igitur magis Leptines Octavium nec
insolently he-bore(-it) not therefore more Leptines Octavius nor
Veientium rex eos quos modo nominavi quam Ser. Sulpicium
of-the-Veientes the-king those whom just-now I-named than Servius Sulpicius
occidit Antonius: is enim profecto mortem attulit qui causa
killed Antony he for surely death brought who the-cause
mortis fuit. Quocirca etiam ad posteritatis memoriam pertinere
of-death was wherefore even to of-posterity the-memory to-pertain
arbitror exstare quod fuerit de hoc bello iudicium senatus.
I-think to-stand what was about this war the-judgment of-the-senate

Erit enim statua ipsa testis bellum tam grave fuisse
will-be for the-statue itself a-witness the-war so serious to-have-been
ut legati interitus honoris memoriam consecutus sit.
that of-the-envoy the-death of-honor the-memory won has
Quod si excusationem Ser. Sulpici, patres conscripti, 8
but if the-excuse of-Servius Sulpicius fathers enrolled
legationis obeundae recordari volueritis, nulla dubitatio
of-the-embassy to-be-undertaken to-recall you-will-wish no doubt
relinquetur quin honore mortui quam vivo iniuriam
will-be-left that with-honor to-the-dead which to-the-living injury
fecimus sarciamus. Vos enim, patres conscripti, — grave dictu
we-did we-should-mend you for fathers enrolled grave to-say
est sed dicendum tamen — vos, inquam, Ser. Sulpicium
it-is but to-be-said still you I-say Servius Sulpicius
vita privastis: quem cum videretis re magis morbum quam
of-life deprived whom when you-saw in-fact more his-illness than
oratione excusantem, non vos quidem crudeles fuistis —
in-speech excusing not you indeed cruel were
quid enim minus in hunc ordinem convenit? — sed cum
what for less to this order is-fitting but since
speraretis nihil esse quod non illius auctoritate et sapientia
you-hoped nothing to-be which not by-his authority and wisdom
effici posset, vehementius excusationi obstitistis atque
to-be-accomplished could more-vehemently the-excuse you-opposed and
eum qui semper vestrum consensum gravissimum iudicavisset
him who always your agreement most-weighty had-judged
de sententia deiecistis.
from his-opinion you-dislodged
Ut vero Pansae consulis accessit cohortatio gravior quam aures 9
when indeed of-Pansa the-consul was-added the-urging weightier than the-ears
Ser. Sulpici ferre didicissent, tum vero denique filium meque
of-Servius Sulpicius to-bear had-learned then indeed at-last his-son and-me

seduxit atque ita locutus est ut auctoritatem vestram vitae suae
he-took-aside and so spoke has that authority your to-life his
se diceret anteferre. Cuius nos virtutem admirati non ausi
himself he-said to-prefer whose we courage admiring not dared
sumus adversari voluntati. Movebatur singulari pietate filius; non
have to-oppose his-will was-moved by-singular piety his-son not
multum eius perturbationi meus dolor concedebat: sed uterque
much to-his distress my grief yielded but each
nostrum cedere cogebatur magnitudini animi orationisque
of-us to-yield was-forced to-the-greatness of-mind and-of-speech
gravitati, cum quidem ille maxima laude et gratulatione
to-the-weight when indeed he with-the-greatest praise and congratulation
omnium vestrum pollicitus est se quod velletis esse facturum,
of-all you promised has himself what you-wished to-be going-to-do
neque eius sententiae periculum vitaturum cuius ipse
nor of-that opinion the-danger going-to-avoid of-which he-himself
auctor fuisset: quem exsequi mandata vestra properantem
the-adviser had-been whom to-execute instructions your hurrying
mane postridie prosecuti sumus. Qui quidem discedens
in-the-morning on-the-next-day we-escorted have who indeed departing
mecum ita locutus est ut eius oratio omen fati videretur.
with-me so spoke has that his speech an-omen of-fate seemed

The senate should give Sulpicius back his life in memory. His gravity, constancy, and care for the state will be celebrated, and his almost divine knowledge of law, always turned toward equity. His son's piety also deserves the honor. Sulpicius, who loved the restraint of the ancestors, would prefer a bronze standing statue to a gilded equestrian one.

Reddite igitur, patres conscripti, ei vitam cui ademistis. 10
give-back therefore fathers enrolled to-him life from-whom you-took(-it)
Vita enim mortuorum in memoria est posita vivorum.
the-life for of-the-dead in the-memory is placed of-the-living
Perficite ut is quem vos inscii ad mortem misistis
bring-it-about that he whom you unknowing to death sent
immortalitatem habeat a vobis. Cui si statuam in rostris
immortality may-have from you for-whom if a-statue on the-rostra
decreto vestro statueritis, nulla eius legationem posteritatis
by-decree your you-shall-have-set-up no his embassy of-posterity
obscurabit oblivio. Nam reliqua Ser. Sulpici vita multis
will-obscure forgetfulness for the-rest-of of-Servius Sulpicius the-life by-many
erit praeclarisque monumentis ad omnem memoriam
will-be and-splendid monuments to all memory
commendata. Semper illius gravitatem, constantiam, fidem,
commended always his gravity constancy good-faith
praestantem in re publica tuenda curam atque prudentiam
outstanding in the-thing public guarding care and prudence
omnium mortalium fama celebrabit. Nec vero silebitur
of-all mortals the-fame will-celebrate nor indeed will-be-passed-over
admirabilis quaedam et incredibilis ac paene divina eius
admirable a-certain and incredible and almost divine his
in legibus interpretandis, aequitate explicanda scientia.
in laws interpreting in-equity unfolding knowledge

Omnes ex omni aetate qui in hac civitate intellegentiam
all from every age who in this state understanding
iuris habuerunt si unum in locum conferantur, cum
of-law have-had if one into place they-should-be-brought with
Ser. Sulpicio non sint comparandi. Nec enim ille
Servius Sulpicius not they-would-be to-be-compared nor for he
magis iuris consultus quam iustitiae fuit.
more of-law skilled than of-justice was

11 Ita ea quae proficiscebantur a legibus et ab iure
so those-things which proceeded from the-laws and from law
civili semper ad facilitatem aequitatemque referebat, neque
civil always to ease and-equity he-referred nor
instituere litium actiones malebat quam controversias tollere.
to-institute of-lawsuits actions he-preferred than disputes to-remove
Ergo hoc statuae monumento non eget; habet alia maiora.
therefore this of-a-statue monument not he-needs he-has others greater
Haec enim statua mortis honestae testis erit, illa memoria
this for statue of-a-death honorable a-witness will-be that the-memory
vitae gloriosae, ut hoc magis monumentum grati
of-a-life glorious so-that this more the-monument of-a-grateful
senatus quam clari viri futurum sit.
senate than of-a-famous man going-to-be may-be

12 Multum etiam valuisse ad patris honorem pietas fili
much also to-have-availed toward of-the-father the-honor the-piety of-the-son
videbitur; qui quamquam adflictus luctu non adest, tamen sic
will-seem who although stricken with-grief not is-present still so
animati esse debetis ut si ille adesset. Est autem ita adfectus
minded to-be you-ought as if he were-present he-is however so affected
ut nemo umquam unici fili mortem magis doluerit quam ille
that no-one ever of-an-only son the-death more has-grieved than he
maeret patris. Et quidem etiam ad famam Ser. Sulpici
mourns his-father's and indeed also to the-reputation of-Servius Sulpicius

fili arbitror pertinere ut videatur honorem debitum patri
the-son I-think it-pertains that he-may-seem the-honor owed to-his-father
praestitisse. Quamquam nullum monumentum clarius
to-have-rendered although no monument more-illustrious
Ser. Sulpicius relinquere potuit quam effigiem morum suorum,
Servius Sulpicius to-leave could than the-image of-character his
virtutis, constantiae, pietatis, ingeni filium, cuius luctus aut
of-courage of-constancy of-piety of-talent his-son whose grief either
hoc honore vestro aut nullo solacio levari potest.
by-this honor your or by-no consolation to-be-relieved can
Mihi autem recordanti Ser. Sulpici multos in nostra 13
to-me however recalling of-Servius Sulpicius many in our
familiaritate sermones gratior illi videtur, si qui est
intimacy conversations more-welcome to-him seems if any is
sensus in morte, aenea statua futura et ea pedestris
feeling in death a-bronze statue going-to-be and that on-foot
quam inaurata equestris, qualis L. Sullae primum statuta
than a-gilded equestrian such-as for-Lucius Sulla first set-up
est. Mirifice enim Servius maiorum continentiam diligebat,
was wonderfully for Servius of-our-ancestors the-restraint loved
huius saeculi insolentiam vituperabat. Ut igitur si ipsum
of-this age the-insolence he-blamed as therefore if him-himself
consulam quid velit, sic pedestrem ex aere statuam
I-should-consult what he-wishes so on-foot of bronze a-statue
tamquam ex eius auctoritate et voluntate decerno: quae
as-if by his authority and will I-propose which
quidem magnum civium dolorem et desiderium honore
indeed the-great of-the-citizens grief and longing by-the-honor
monumenti minuet et leniet.
of-the-monument will-lessen and soothe

Servilius proposes a public tomb, which is a greater honor than a statue, so Cicero would grant both. He moves that a bronze standing statue be set on the rostra, with a place of five feet around it for Sulpicius' descendants at the games, that he be given a public funeral, and that a tomb thirty feet square be assigned in the Esquiline field.

14 Atque hanc meam sententiam, patres conscripti, P. Servili
and this my opinion fathers enrolled of-Publius of-Servilius
sententia comprobari necesse est: qui sepulcrum publice
the-opinion to-be-confirmed necessary it-is who a-tomb at-public-cost
decernendum Ser. Sulpicio censuit, statuam non censuit.
to-be-decreed for-Servius Sulpicius voted a-statue not he-voted
Nam si mors legati sine caede atque ferro nullum
for if the-death of-an-envoy without slaughter and sword no
honorem desiderat, cur decernit honorem sepulturae qui
honor requires why does-he-decree the-honor of-burial which
maximus haberi potest mortuo? Sin id tribuit Ser. Sulpicio,
the-greatest to-be-paid can to-the-dead but-if that he-grants to-Servius Sulpicius
quod non est datum Cn. Octavio, cur quod illi datum
which not was given to-Gnaeus Octavius why what to-him given
est huic dandum esse non censet? Maiores quidem nostri
was to-this-man to-be-given to-be not does-he-vote ancestors indeed our
statuas multis decreverunt, sepulcra paucis. Sed statuae intereunt
statues to-many decreed tombs to-few but statues perish
tempestate, vetustate, sepulcrorum autem sanctitas in ipso
by-weather by-age of-tombs however the-sanctity in the-very
solo est quod nulla vi moveri neque deleri potest, atque,
soil is which by-no force to-be-moved nor to-be-destroyed can and
ut cetera exstinguuntur, sic sepulcra sanctiora fiunt vetustate.
as other-things are-extinguished so tombs more-sacred become with-age

Augeatur igitur isto honore etiam is vir cui 15
let-him-be-increased therefore by-that honor also that man to-whom
nullus honos tribui non debitus potest; grati simus in
no honor be-granted not owed can grateful let-us-be in
eius morte decoranda cui nullam iam aliam gratiam
his death adorning to-whom no now other thanks
referre possumus. Notetur etiam M. Antoni nefarium
to-render we-can let-it-be-branded also of-Mark Antony wicked
bellum gerentis scelerata audacia. His enim honoribus habitis
war waging the-criminal audacity these for honors paid
Ser. Sulpicio repudiatae reiectaeque legationis ab Antonio
to-Servius Sulpicius of-the-repudiated and-rejected embassy by Antony
manebit testificatio sempiterna.
will-remain the-attestation everlasting
Quas ob res ita censeo: 'Cum Ser. Sulpicius Q. F.
which on-account-of things so I-move since Servius Sulpicius of-Quintus son
lemonia Rufus difficillimo rei publicae tempore,
of-the-Lemonian-tribe Rufus at-a-most-difficult of-the-thing public time
gravi periculosoque morbo adfectus, auctoritatem senatus,
by-a-grave and-dangerous illness affected the-authority of-the-senate
salutem rei publicae vitae suae praeposuerit contraque
the-safety of-the-thing public to-life his has-preferred and-against
vim gravitatemque morbi contenderit, ut in castra
the-violence and-severity of-the-illness has-striven that into the-camp
M. Antoni quo senatus eum miserat perveniret, isque,
of-Mark Antony whither the-senate him had-sent he-might-arrive and-he
cum iam prope castra venisset, vi morbi oppressus
when already near the-camp he-had-come by-the-violence of-the-illness overcome
vitam amiserit maximo rei publicae tempore, eiusque
his-life has-lost at-the-greatest of-the-thing public time and-his

mors consentanea vitae fuerit sanctissime honestissimeque
death consistent with-his-life has-been most-blamelessly and-most-honorably
actae in qua saepe magno usui rei publicae
spent in which often of-great use to-the-thing public
16 Ser. Sulpicius et privatus et in magistratibus fuerit:
Servius Sulpicius both as-a-private-man and in magistracies has-been
cum talis vir ob rem publicam in legatione mortem
since such a-man for the-thing public on an-embassy death
obierit, senatui placere Ser. Sulpicio statuam pedestrem
has-met to-the-senate to-please for-Servius Sulpicius a-statue on-foot
aeneam in rostris ex huius ordinis sententia statui,
of-bronze on the-rostra by of-this order the-decree to-be-set-up
circumque eam statuam locum ludis gladiatoribusque
and-around that statue a-place at-the-games and-gladiatorial-shows
liberos posterosque eius quoquo versus pedes quinque habere,
children and-descendants his in-every direction feet five to-have
eamque causam in basi inscribi quod is ob rem
and-that cause on the-base to-be-inscribed that he for the-thing
publicam mortem obierit, utique C. Pansa A. Hirtius
public death met and-that Gaius Pansa Aulus Hirtius
consules, alter ambove, si eis videatur, quaestoribus urbanis
the-consuls one or-both if to-them it-seem-good to-the-quaestors urban
imperent ut eam basim statuamque faciendam et in rostris
should-order that that base and-statue to-be-made and on the-rostra
statuendam locent, quantique locaverint,
to-be-set-up they-should-contract and-for-how-much they-shall-have-contracted
tantam pecuniam redemptori attribuendam solvendamque
so-much money to-the-contractor to-be-assigned and-paid
curent. Cumque antea senatus auctoritatem suam in virorum
should-see-to and-since before the-senate authority its in of-men

fortium funeribus ornamentisque ostenderit, placere eum
brave the-funerals and-honors has-shown that-it-please him
quam amplissime supremo suo die efferri.
as amply-as-possible on-the-last his day to-be-carried-out
Et cum Ser. Sulpicius Q. F. lemonia Rufus 17
and since Servius Sulpicius of-Quintus son of-the-Lemonian-tribe Rufus
ita de re publica meritus sit ut eis ornamentis
so of the-thing public deserved has that with-those honors
decorari debeat, senatum censere atque e re publica
to-be-adorned be-ought the-senate votes and from the-thing public
existimare aedilis curulis edictum quod de funeribus habeant
judges the-aediles curule the-edict which about funerals they-have
Ser. Sulpici Q. F. lemonia Rufi funeri
of-Servius Sulpicius of-Quintus son of-the-Lemonian-tribe Rufus for-the-funeral
remittere: utique locum sepulcro in campo Esquilino
to-remit and-that a-place for-a-tomb in the-field Esquiline
C. Pansa consul, seu quo in loco videbitur, pedes
Gaius Pansa the-consul or whatever in place it-shall-seem-good feet
xxx quoquo versus adsignet quo Ser. Sulpicius inferatur;
thirty in-every direction should-assign where Servius Sulpicius may-be-buried
quod sepulcrum ipsius, liberorum posterorumque eius esset,
which tomb his-own of-his-children and-descendants his should-be
uti quod optimo iure publice sepulcrum datum esset.'
as which by-the-best right publicly as-a-tomb given had-been

PHILIPPICA DECIMA

I · BRUTUS' LETTER

Cicero thanks Pansa for summoning the senate as soon as Marcus Brutus' letter arrived. He must answer Calenus, who has never agreed with the consul who calls on him first and always attacks the Bruti, the men all should revere. Cicero asks Calenus whom he would want his son to resemble, a Brutus or an Antony, and mocks his praise of the letter's style rather than of Brutus.

Maximas tibi, Pansa, gratias omnes et habere et agere 1
the-greatest to-you Pansa thanks all both to-feel and to-give
debemus qui, cum hodierno die senatum te habiturum
ought-we who though on-today's day the-senate you going-to-hold
non arbitraremur, ut M. Bruti, praestantissimi civis,
not we-thought as-soon-as of-Marcus Brutus most-outstanding citizen
litteras accepisti, ne minimam quidem moram interposuisti
the-letter you-received not the-least even delay you-interposed
quin quam primum maximo gaudio et gratulatione
so-that as soon-as-possible the-greatest joy and congratulation
frueremur. Cum factum tuum gratum omnibus debet esse,
we-might-enjoy while deed your welcome to-all ought to-be
tum vero oratio qua recitatis litteris usus es. Declarasti
so indeed the-speech which read the-letter used you-have you-declared
enim verum esse id quod ego semper sensi, neminem
for true to-be that which I always have-felt no-one
alterius qui suae confideret virtuti invidere.
of-another who in-his-own trusts courage to-envy
Itaque mihi qui plurimis officiis sum cum Bruto et maxima 2
and-so to-me who by-very-many services am with Brutus and by-the-closest
familiaritate coniunctus minus multa de illo dicenda sunt.
intimacy joined fewer many-things about him to-be-said are

Quas enim ipse mihi partis sumpseram, eas praecepit oratio
which for myself to-me parts I-had-taken those has-anticipated speech
tua. Sed mihi, patres conscripti, necessitatem attulit paulo
your but on-me fathers enrolled the-necessity has-brought a-little
plura dicendi sententia eius qui rogatus est ante me; a quo
more of-saying the-opinion of-him who asked was before me from whom
ita saepe dissentio ut iam verear ne, id quod fieri minime
so often I-differ that now I-fear lest that which to-be-done least
debet, minuere amicitiam nostram videatur perpetua dissensio.
ought to-lessen friendship our may-seem lasting disagreement

3 Quae est enim ista tua ratio, Calene, quae mens ut
what is for that your reasoning Calenus what mind that
numquam post Kalendas Ianuarias idem senseris quod is
never after the-Kalends of-January the-same you-have-felt as he
qui te sententiam primum rogat, numquam tam frequens
who you for-your-opinion first asks never so full
senatus fuerit cum unus aliquis sententiam tuam secutus
the-senate has-been that one anyone opinion your followed
sit? cur semper tui dissimilis defendis? Cur cum te
has why always of-yourself unlike do-you-defend why when you
et vita et fortuna tua ad otium, ad dignitatem invitet,
both life and fortune your to leisure to dignity invite
ea probas, ea decernis, ea sentis quae sint
those-things you-approve those-things you-decree those-things you-feel which are
inimica et otio communi et dignitati tuae.
hostile both to-the-leisure common and to-dignity your

4 Nam ut superiora omittam, hoc certe quod mihi maximam
for that the-earlier-things I-may-omit this surely which in-me the-greatest
admirationem movet non tacebo. Quod est tibi
astonishment rouses not I-shall-pass-over-in-silence what is to-you
cum Brutis bellum? cur eos quos omnes paene venerari
with the-Bruti war why those whom all almost to-revere

debemus solus oppugnas? Alterum circumsederi non moleste
ought-we alone do-you-attack the-one to-be-besieged not annoyingly
fers, alterum tua sententia spolias eis copiis quas
you-take the-other by-your opinion you-strip of-those forces which
ipse suo labore et periculo ad rei publicae non
he-himself by-his-own labor and danger for of-the-thing public not
ad suum praesidium per se nullo adiuvante confecit.
for his-own protection by himself with-no-one helping raised
Qui est iste tuus sensus, quae cogitatio, Brutos ut non
what is that your sense what thought the-Bruti that not
probes, Antonios probes; quos omnes carissimos habent, tu
you-approve the-Antonies you-approve whom all most-dear hold you
oderis, quos acerbissime ceteri oderunt, tu constantissime
hate whom most-bitterly the-others hate you most-constantly
diligas? Amplissimae tibi fortunae sunt, summus honoris
love most-ample to-you fortunes are the-highest of-honor
gradus, filius, ut et audio et spero, natus ad laudem, cui
rank a-son as both I-hear and hope born for praise whom
cum rei publicae causa faveo, tum etiam tua.
both of-the-thing public for-the-sake I-favor and also for-yours
Quaero igitur, eum Brutine similem malis an Antoni, 5
I-ask therefore him of-Brutus-(whether) like you-would-prefer or of-Antony
ac permitto ut de tribus Antoniis eligas quem velis. 'Di
and I-allow that from the-three Antonies you-choose whom you-wish the-gods
meliora!' inquies. Cur igitur non eis faves, eos laudas
better-things you-will-say why therefore not to-them do-you-favor them praise
quorum similem tuum filium esse vis? Simul enim et
whom like your son to-be you-wish at-the-same-time for both
rei publicae consules et propones illi exempla ad
for-the-thing public you-will-consult and you-will-set-before him examples for
imitandum. Hoc vero, Q. Fufi, cupio sine offensione nostrae
imitating this indeed Quintus Fufius I-desire without offense of-our

amicitiae sic tecum ut a te dissentiens senator queri.
friendship so with-you as from you differing a-senator to-complain
Ita enim dixisti et quidem de scripto, ne te inopia verbi
so for you-said and indeed from a-script lest you from-lack of-a-word
lapsum putarem, litteras Bruti recte et ordine scriptas
to-have-slipped I-should-think the-letter of-Brutus rightly and in-order written
videri. Quid est aliud librarium Bruti laudare, non Brutum?
to-seem what is-it else the-secretary of-Brutus to-praise not Brutus

II · BRUTUS' PATIENCE

Calenus would strip Brutus of the legions he won from Gaius Antonius. Brutus as urban praetor left Rome, gave his games in absence, and at Velia left Italy rather than cause a civil war; the people cheered his memory at the games. When he saw Rome roused to liberty, he stopped Gaius Antonius and saved Macedonia, Illyricum, and Greece, leaving Antony holding three towns.

6 Usum in re publica, Calene, magnum iam habere et
experience in the-thing public Calenus great now to-have both
debes et potes. Quando ita decerni vidisti aut quo
you-ought and you-can when so to-be-decreed have-you-seen or by-what
senatus consulto huius generis — sunt enim innumerabilia —
of-the-senate decree of-this kind there-are for countless
bene scriptas litteras decretum a senatu? Quod verbum tibi
well written a-letter decreed by the-senate which word from-you
non excidit, ut saepe fit, fortuito: scriptum, meditatum,
not slipped as often happens by-chance written meditated
cogitatum attulisti. Hanc tibi consuetudinem plerisque in
pondered you-brought(-it) this to-you habit in-most in
rebus bonis obtrectandi si qui detraxerit, quid tibi quod
things good of-disparaging if anyone shall-have-removed what to-you that

sibi quisque velit non relinquetur? Quam ob rem
for-himself each-one would-wish not will-be-left which on-account-of thing
conlige te placaque animum istum aliquando et mitiga:
collect yourself and-appease mind that at-last and soften
audi viros bonos, quibus multis uteris; loquere cum
listen-to men good whom many you-associate-with speak with
sapientissimo homine, genero tuo, saepius quam ipse tecum:
a-most-wise man son-in-law your more-often than yourself with-yourself
tum denique amplissimi honoris nomen obtinebis. An vero hoc
then at-last of-a-most-ample honor the-name you-will-hold or indeed this
pro nihilo putas in quo quidem pro amicitia tuam vicem
for nothing do-you-reckon in which indeed for friendship your lot
dolere soleo, efferri hoc foras et ad populi Romani
I-am-wont to-grieve-for to-be-carried this out-of-doors and to of-the-people Roman
auris pervenire, ei qui primus sententiam dixerit
the-ears to-come that-with-him who first his-opinion has-spoken
neminem adsensum? quod etiam hodie futurum arbitror.
no-one has-agreed which also today going-to-be I-think
Legiones abducis a Bruto. Quas? nempe eas quas ille
the-legions you-withdraw from Brutus which surely those which he
a C. Antoni scelere avertit et ad rem publicam
from of-Gaius Antonius the-crime turned-away and to the-thing public
sua auctoritate traduxit. Rursus igitur vis nudatum
by-his-own authority brought-over again therefore you-wish stripped
illum atque solum a re publica relegatum videri.
him and alone from the-thing public banished to-seem
Vos autem, patres conscripti, si M. Brutum deserueritis 7
you however fathers enrolled if Marcus Brutus you-shall-have-deserted
et prodideritis, quem tandem civem umquam ornabitis,
and betrayed what pray citizen ever will-you-honor
cui favebitis? nisi forte eos qui diadema imposuerint
whom will-you-favor unless perhaps those who a-diadem imposed

conservandos, eos qui regni nomen sustulerint deserendos
to-be-preserved those who of-kingship the-name removed to-be-deserted
putatis. Ac de hac quidem divina atque immortali laude
you-think and about this indeed divine and immortal praise
Bruti silebo quae gratissima memoria omnium civium
of-Brutus I-shall-be-silent which in-the-most-grateful memory of-all citizens
inclusa nondum publica auctoritate testata est. Tantamne
enclosed not-yet by-public authority attested has-been so-great
patientiam, di boni! tantam moderationem, tantam in iniuria
patience gods good so-great moderation so-great in injury
tranquillitatem et modestiam! qui cum praetor urbanus
calm and modesty who though praetor urban
esset, urbe caruit, ius non dixit, cum omne
he-was the-city he-did-without justice not he-administered though all
ius rei publicae recuperavisset, cumque concursu
the-right of-the-thing public he-had-recovered and-though with-the-concourse
cotidiano bonorum omnium qui admirabilis ad eum fieri
daily of-the-good all which admirable to him to-happen
solebat praesidioque Italiae cunctae saeptus posset esse,
was-wont and-with-the-protection of-Italy whole fenced he-could be
absens iudicio bonorum defensus esse maluit quam
absent by-the-judgment of-the-good defended to-be he-preferred than
praesens manu: qui ne Apollinaris quidem ludos pro sua
present by-force who not the-Apollinarian even games for his-own
populique Romani dignitate apparatos praesens fecit, ne
and-of-the-people Roman dignity prepared present held lest
quam viam patefaceret sceleratissimorum hominum audaciae.
any road he-should-open of-most-criminal men to-the-audacity
8 Quamquam qui umquam aut ludi aut dies laetiores fuerunt
although what ever either games or days more-joyful have-been
quam cum in singulis versibus populus Romanus maximo
than when at single verses the-people Roman with-the-greatest

clamore et plausu Bruti memoriam prosequebatur? Corpus
shouting and applause of-Brutus the-memory attended the-body
aberat liberatoris, libertatis memoria aderat: in qua Bruti
was-absent of-the-liberator of-liberty the-memory was-present in which of-Brutus
imago cerni videbatur. At hunc eis ipsis ludorum diebus
the-image to-be-seen seemed but this-man on-those very of-the-games days
videbam in insula clarissimi adulescentis, Cn. Luculli,
I-saw on the-island of-a-most-illustrious young-man of-Gnaeus Lucullus
propinqui sui nihil nisi de pace et concordia civium
kinsman his nothing except about peace and concord of-citizens
cogitantem. Eundem vidi postea Veliae, cedentem Italia ne
thinking the-same-man I-saw afterward at-Velia leaving Italy lest
qua oreretur belli civilis causa propter se. O spectaculum
any should-arise of-war civil cause on-account-of himself O spectacle
illud non modo hominibus sed undis ipsis et litoribus
that not only for-men but for-the-waves themselves and the-shores
luctuosum! cedere e patria servatorem eius, manere
mournful to-leave from the-fatherland the-savior its to-remain
in patria perditores! Cassi classis paucis post diebus
in the-fatherland the-destroyers of-Cassius the-fleet a-few after days
consequebatur, ut me puderet, patres conscripti, in eam
was-following so-that me it-shamed fathers enrolled to that
urbem redire ex qua illi abirent. Sed quo consilio
city to-return from which they were-going-away but with-what intent
redierim initio audistis, post estis experti. Exspectatum
I-returned at-first you-heard afterward you-have experienced awaited
igitur tempus a Bruto est.
therefore the-time by Brutus was
Nam quoad vos omnia pati vidit, usus est ipse incredibili 9
for as-long-as you all-things to-endure he-saw used has himself incredible
patientia: postea quam vos ad libertatem sensit erectos,
patience after that you to liberty he-perceived raised

praesidia vestrae libertati paravit. At cui pesti quantaeque
defenses for-your liberty he-prepared but to-what plague and-how-great
restitit! Si enim C. Antonius quod animo intenderat
he-stood-up if for Gaius Antonius what in-mind he-had-intended
perficere potuisset — at potuisset nisi eius sceleri
to-accomplish had-been-able and he-would-have-been-able unless his crime
virtus M. Bruti obstitisset — Macedoniam, Illyricum,
the-courage of-Marcus Brutus had-opposed Macedonia Illyricum
Graeciam perdidissemus; esset vel receptaculum pulso
Greece we-would-have-lost there-would-be either a-refuge for-routed
Antonio vel agger oppugnandae Italiae Graecia: quae quidem
Antony or a-rampart for-attacking Italy Greece which indeed
nunc M. Bruti imperio, auctoritate, copiis non instructa
now of-Marcus Brutus by-command authority forces not equipped
solum sed etiam ornata tendit dexteram Italiae suumque
only but also honored stretches-out its-right-hand to-Italy and-its
ei praesidium pollicetur. Qui ab illo abducit exercitum,
to-it protection promises he-who from him withdraws the-army
et respectum pulcherrimum et praesidium firmissimum
both a-recourse most-splendid and a-defense most-firm
adimit rei publicae.
takes-away from-the-thing public

10 Equidem cupio haec quam primum Antonium audire, ut
I-for-my-part desire these-things as soon-as-possible Antony to-hear that
intellegat non D. Brutum quem vallo circumsedeat,
he-may-understand not Decimus Brutus whom with-a-rampart he-besieges
sed se ipsum obsideri. Tria tenet oppida toto in orbe
but him himself to-be-besieged three he-holds towns whole in the-circle
terrarum; habet inimicissimam Galliam; eos etiam quibus
of-lands he-has most-hostile Gaul those even in-whom
confidebat alienissimos, Transpadanos; Italia omnis infesta est;
he-trusted most-estranged the-Transpadanes Italy all hostile is

exterae nationes a prima ora Graeciae usque ad Aegyptum
foreign nations from the-first coast of-Greece right-up to Egypt
optimorum et fortissimorum civium imperiis et praesidiis
of-the-best and most-brave citizens by-the-commands and garrisons
tenentur. Erat ei spes una in C. Antonio qui duorum
are-held there-was to-him hope one in Gaius Antonius who of-the-two
fratrum aetatibus medius interiectus vitiis cum utroque
brothers in-the-ages in-the-middle placed in-vices with each
certabat. Is tamquam extruderetur a senatu in Macedoniam
contended he as-if he-were-being-thrust-out by the-senate into Macedonia
et non contra prohiberetur proficisci, ita cucurrit.
and not on-the-contrary were-forbidden to-set-out so ran

III · THE LEGIONS ARE THE STATE'S

Brutus' speed checked Gaius Antonius, who was hurrying to Macedonia. All legions belong to the state, not to Antony or Brutus. Gaius is at Apollonia with seven cohorts; Piso's legion went over to Cicero's son; the cavalry left their quaestor; Vatinius opened Dyrrachium. Macedonia, Illyricum, and Greece are now Rome's, and Brutus never lay idle.

Quae tempestas, di immortales, quae flamma, quae vastitas, 11
what storm gods immortal what flame what devastation
quae pestis Graeciae, nisi incredibilis ac divina virtus furentis
what plague for-Greece unless incredible and divine courage of-the-raging
hominis conatum atque audaciam compressisset! quae celeritas
man the-attempt and audacity had-checked what speed
illa Bruti, quae cura, quae virtus! Etsi ne C. quidem
that of-Brutus what care what courage although not of-Gaius even
Antoni celeritas contemnenda est, quam nisi in via caducae
Antonius the-speed to-be-despised is which unless on the-road lapsed

hereditates retardassent, volasse eum, non iter fecisse
inheritances had-delayed to-have-flown him not a-journey to-have-made
diceres. Alios ad negotium publicum ire cum cupimus,
you-would-say others to business public to-go when we-desire
vix solemus extrudere: hunc retinentes extrusimus. At quid
scarcely we-are-wont to-thrust-out this-one holding-back we-thrust-out but what
ei cum Apollonia, quid cum Dyrrachio, quid cum Illyrico,
to-him with Apollonia what with Dyrrachium what with Illyricum
quid cum P. Vatini imperatoris exercitu? Succedebat, ut
what with of-Publius Vatinius the-commander the-army he-was-succeeding as
ipse dicebat, Hortensio. Certi fines Macedoniae, certa
he-himself said to-Hortensius fixed boundaries of-Macedonia a-fixed
condicio, certus, si modo erat ullus, exercitus: cum Illyrico
condition a-fixed if only there-was any army with Illyricum
vero et cum Vatini legionibus quid erat Antonio?
indeed and with of-Vatinius the-legions what was-there to-Antonius
12 'At ne Bruto quidem': id enim fortasse quispiam improbus
but not to-Brutus either that for perhaps someone wicked
dixerit. Omnes legiones, omnes copiae quae ubique sunt
may-say all legions all forces which anywhere are
rei publicae sunt: nec enim eae legiones quae
of-the-thing public are nor for those legions which
M. Antonium reliquerunt Antoni potius quam rei
Mark Antony abandoned Antony's rather than of-the-thing
publicae fuisse dicentur. Omne enim et exercitus et
public to-have-been will-be-said all for both of-army and
imperi ius amittit is qui eo imperio et exercitu rem
of-command right loses he who with-that command and army the-thing
publicam oppugnat. Quod si ipsa res publica iudicaret aut
public attacks but if itself the-thing public were-to-judge or
si omne ius decretis eius statueretur, Antonione an Bruto
if all right by-the-decrees its were-settled to-Antonius or to-Brutus

legiones populi Romani adiudicaret? Alter advolarat subito ad
the-legions of-the-people Roman would-it-award the-one had-flown suddenly to
direptionem pestemque sociorum ut, quacumque iret, omnia
the-plundering and-ruin of-the-allies that wherever he-went all-things
vastaret, diriperet, auferret, exercitu populi Romani
he-might-lay-waste plunder carry-off the-army of-the-people Roman
contra ipsum populum Romanum uteretur; alter eam legem
against the-very people Roman he-might-use the-other that law
sibi statuerat, ut, quocumque venisset, lux venisse
for-himself had-set that wherever he-had-come a-light to-have-come
quaedam et spes salutis videretur. Denique alter ad evertendam
a-certain and a-hope of-safety might-seem finally the-one for overturning
rem publicam praesidia quaerebat, alter ad conservandam.
the-thing public forces sought the-other for preserving(-it)
Nec vero nos hoc magis videbamus quam ipsi milites a
nor indeed we this more saw than the-very soldiers from
quibus tanta in iudicando prudentia non erat postulanda.
whom so-great in judging prudence not was to-be-demanded
Cum vii cohortibus esse Apolloniae scribit Antonium, qui 13
with seven cohorts to-be at-Apollonia he-writes Antonius who
iam aut captus est — quod di duint! — aut certe homo
already either taken has-been which the-gods may-grant or certainly a-man
verecundus in Macedoniam non accedit ne contra senatus
modest into Macedonia not does-approach lest against of-the-senate
consultum fecisse videatur. Dilectus habitus in Macedonia
the-decree to-have-acted he-may-seem a-levy held in Macedonia
est summo Q. Hortensi studio et industria; cuius
has-been with-the-highest of-Quintus Hortensius zeal and industry whose
animum egregium dignumque ipso et maioribus eius ex
spirit outstanding and-worthy of-himself and of-ancestors his from
Bruti litteris perspicere potuistis. Legio quam L. Piso
of-Brutus the-letter to-perceive you-could the-legion which Lucius Piso

ducebat, legatus Antoni, Ciceroni se filio meo tradidit.
was-leading the-legate of-Antonius to-Cicero itself to-son my surrendered
Equitatus qui in Syriam ducebatur bipertito alter eum
the-cavalry which into Syria was-being-led in-two-parts the-one that
quaestorem a quo ducebatur reliquit in Thessalia seseque
quaestor by whom it-was-being-led abandoned in Thessaly and-itself
ad Brutum contulit; alterum in Macedonia Cn. Domitius
to Brutus betook the-other in Macedonia Gnaeus Domitius
adulescens summa virtute, gravitate, constantia a legato
a-young-man of-the-highest courage gravity constancy from the-legate
Syriaco abduxit. P. autem Vatinius qui et antea iure
Syrian led-away Publius however Vatinius who both before rightly
laudatus a vobis et hoc tempore merito laudandus est
praised by you and at-this time deservedly to-be-praised is
aperuit Dyrrachi portas Bruto et exercitum tradidit.
opened of-Dyrrachium the-gates to-Brutus and the-army handed-over

14 Tenet igitur res publica Macedoniam, tenet Illyricum,
holds therefore the-thing public Macedonia holds Illyricum
tuetur Graeciam: nostrae sunt legiones, nostra levis armatura,
protects Greece ours are the-legions ours the-light armament
noster equitatus, maximeque noster est Brutus semperque
ours the-cavalry and-especially ours is Brutus and-always
noster, cum sua excellentissima virtute rei publicae
ours both by-his most-excellent courage for-the-thing public
natus tum fato quodam paterni maternique generis et
born and by-the-fate a-certain of-his-father's and-mother's family and
nominis. Ab hoc igitur viro quisquam bellum timet qui, ante
name from this therefore man anyone war fears who before
quam nos id coacti suscepimus, in pace iacere quam in
than we it compelled undertook in peace to-lie-low than in
bello vigere maluit? Quamquam ille quidem numquam iacuit
war to-flourish preferred although he indeed never lay-low

neque hoc cadere verbum in tantam virtutis praestantiam
nor this to-fall the-word upon so-great of-courage eminence
potest. Erat enim in desiderio civitatis, in ore, in sermone
can he-was for in the-longing of-the-state on the-lips in the-talk
omnium; tantum autem aberat a bello ut, cum cupiditate
of-all so-far however he-was-absent from war that when with-desire
libertatis Italia arderet, defuerit civium studiis potius quam
of-liberty Italy was-burning he-failed the-citizens' zeal rather than
eos in armorum discrimen adduceret. Itaque illi ipsi si
them into of-arms the-crisis he-should-bring and-so those very-men if
qui sunt qui tarditatem Bruti reprehendant tamen idem
any there-are who the-slowness of-Brutus blame still the-same
moderationem patientiamque mirantur.
the-moderation and-patience admire

IV · THE VETERANS' NAME

Some claim the veterans resent Marcus Brutus' army. But the four armies praised for fighting for liberty differ in nothing from his, and Hirtius, Caesar's friend, and the young Caesar, his son, are fighting to free Decimus Brutus. Pansa sees no danger in Marcus Brutus' army. Cicero rejects the habit of opposing the veterans' name to every good cause; the youth of Italy will defend liberty.

Sed iam video quae loquantur; neque enim id occulte faciunt. 15
but now I-see what they-say nor for it secretly they-do
Timere se dicunt quo modo ferant veterani exercitum
to-fear themselves they-say in-what manner may-bear(-it) the-veterans an-army
Brutum habere. Quasi vero quicquam intersit inter
Brutus to-have as-if indeed anything there-were-a-difference between
A. Hirti, C. Pansae, D. Bruti, C. Caesaris et
of-Aulus Hirtius of-Gaius Pansa of-Decimus Brutus of-Gaius Caesar and

hunc exercitum M. Bruti. Nam si quattuor exercitus ei
this army of-Marcus Brutus for if the-four armies those
de quibus dixi propterea laudantur quod pro populi
about which I-have-spoken therefore are-praised because for of-the-people
Romani libertate arma ceperunt, quid est cur hic M. Bruti
Roman liberty arms they-took-up what is-there why this of-Marcus Brutus
exercitus non in eadem causa reponatur? At enim veteranis
army not in the-same cause should-be-placed but for to-the-veterans
suspectum nomen est M. Bruti. Magisne quam Decimi?
suspect the-name is of-Marcus Brutus more than of-Decimus
Equidem non arbitror. Etsi est enim Brutorum commune
I-for-my-part not think-so although is for of-the-Bruti common
factum et laudis societas aequa, Decimo tamen eo iratiores
the-deed and of-praise the-fellowship equal with-Decimus still by-this more-angry
erant ei qui id factum dolebant quo minus ab eo rem
were those who that deed resented by-how-much the-less by him thing
illam dicebant fieri debuisse. Quid ergo agunt
that they-said to-be-done to-have-been-obliged what therefore are-they-doing
nunc tot exercitus nisi ut obsidione Brutus liberetur? qui
now so-many armies except that from-siege Brutus be-freed who
autem hos exercitus ducunt? Ei, credo, qui C. Caesaris res
however these armies lead those I-believe who of-Gaius Caesar things
actas everti, qui causam veteranorum prodi volunt.
done to-be-overturned who the-cause of-the-veterans to-be-betrayed wish
16 Si ipse viveret C. Caesar, acrius, credo, acta sua defenderet
if himself were-alive Gaius Caesar more-keenly I-believe the-acts his would-defend
quam vir fortissimus defendit Hirtius, aut amicior causae
than the-man most-brave defends Hirtius or more-friendly to-the-cause
quisquam inveniri potest quam filius? At horum alter nondum
anyone to-be-found can than his-son but of-these the-one not-yet
ex longinquitate gravissimi morbi recreatus quicquid habuit
from the-length of-a-most-grievous illness recovered whatever he-had

virium, id in eorum libertatem defendendam contulit quorum
of-strength that to their liberty being-defended has-brought by-whose
votis iudicavit se a morte revocatum; alter virtutis robore
vows he-judged himself from death recalled the-other of-courage strength
firmior quam aetatis cum istis ipsis veteranis ad D. Brutum
stronger than of-age with those very veterans for Decimus Brutus
liberandum est profectus. Ergo illi certissimi idemque acerrimi
being-freed has set-out therefore those most-sure and-also most-keen
Caesaris actorum patroni pro D. Bruti salute bellum
of-Caesar's acts the-patrons for of-Decimus Brutus the-safety war
gerunt, quos veterani sequuntur; de libertate enim populi
are-waging whom the-veterans follow about the-liberty for of-the-people
Romani, non de suis commodis armis decernendum vident.
Roman not about their-own advantages by-arms to-be-decided they-see
Quid est igitur cur eis qui D. Brutum omnibus opibus 17
what is-there therefore why to-those who Decimus Brutus with-all resources
conservatum velint M. Bruti sit suspectus exercitus? An
preserved wish of-Marcus Brutus be suspect the-army or
vero, si quid esset quod a M. Bruto timendum
indeed if anything there-were which from Marcus Brutus to-be-feared
videretur, Pansa id non videret, aut, si videret, non laboraret?
seemed Pansa it not would-see or if he-saw not would-labor
Quis aut sapientior ad coniecturam rerum futurarum aut
who either wiser for conjecture of-things future or
ad propulsandum metum diligentior? Atqui huius animum
for repelling fear more-diligent and-yet his mind
erga M. Brutum studiumque vidistis. Praecepit oratione
toward Marcus Brutus and-zeal you-have-seen he-instructed in-speech
sua quid decernere nos de M. Bruto, quid sentire
his what to-decree us about Marcus Brutus what to-think
oporteret, tantumque afuit ut periculosum rei
it-behooved and-so-far he-was-from that dangerous to-the-thing

publicae M. Bruti putaret exercitum ut in eo firmissimum
public of-Marcus Brutus he-thought the-army that in it the-firmest
rei publicae praesidium et gravissimum poneret. Scilicet
of-the-thing public defense and most-weighty he-placed of-course
hoc Pansa aut non videt — hebeti enim ingenio est — aut
this Pansa either not sees dull for of-wit he-is or
neglegit: quae enim Caesar egit, ea rata esse non curat:
neglects which for Caesar did those valid to-be not he-cares
de quibus confirmandis et sanciendis legem comitiis
about which being-confirmed and sanctioned a-law at-the-assembly
centuriatis ex auctoritate nostra laturus est. Desinant igitur
centuriate by authority our going-to-carry is let-them-cease therefore
aut ei qui non timent simulare se timere et prospicere
either those who not fear to-pretend themselves to-fear and to-look-out
rei publicae, aut ei qui omnia verentur nimium esse
for-the-thing public or those who all-things fear too-much to-be
timidi, ne illorum simulatio, horum obsit ignavia.
timid lest of-those the-pretense of-these may-harm the-cowardice

18 Quae, malum! est ista ratio semper optimis causis
what the-devil is that the-method always to-the-best causes
veteranorum nomen opponere? Quorum etiam si amplecterer
of-the-veterans the-name to-oppose whose even if I-embraced
virtutem, ut facio, tamen, si essent adrogantes, non possem
the-courage as I-do still if they-were arrogant not I-could
ferre fastidium. At nos conantis servitutis vincla rumpere
bear the-disdain but us trying of-slavery the-chains to-break
impediet si quis veteranos nolle dixerit? Non sunt
will-it-hinder if anyone the-veterans not-to-wish shall-have-said not are
enim, credo, innumerabiles qui pro communi libertate arma
for I-believe countless who for common liberty arms
capiant; nemo est praeter veteranos milites vir qui ad
take-up no-one is besides the-veterans soldiers a-man who for

servitutem propulsandam ingenuo dolore excitetur; potest
slavery repelling by-free-born indignation be-roused can
igitur stare res publica freta veteranis sine magno
therefore stand the-thing public relying on-the-veterans without great
subsidio iuventutis. Quos quidem vos libertatis adiutores
support of-the-youth whom indeed you of-liberty as-helpers
complecti debetis: servitutis auctores sequi non debetis.
to-embrace ought of-slavery as-authors to-follow not ought

V · DEATH BEFORE SLAVERY

If the veterans' nod is to govern the senate, death is better than slavery. Rome would not bear a servitude almost fated; it will not bear one it chooses. All nations can bear slavery, but Rome cannot. The veterans first, then the Martian and fourth legions, then Hirtius and young Caesar have checked Antony, who still has Lucius, Trebellius, Plancus, Saxa, and Cafo with him.

Postremo — erumpat enim aliquando vera et me digna 19
finally let-burst-out for at-last a-true and of-me worthy
vox! — si veteranorum nutu mentes huius ordinis
utterance if of-the-veterans by-the-nod the-minds of-this order
gubernabuntur omniaque ad eorum voluntatem nostra dicta
shall-be-governed and-all-things to their will our words
facta referentur, optanda mors est, quae civibus Romanis
deeds shall-be-referred to-be-wished-for death is which to-citizens Roman
semper fuit servitute potior. Omnis est misera servitus;
always has-been than-slavery preferable all is wretched slavery
sed fuerit quaedam necessaria: ecquodnam principium
but suppose-there-was a-certain necessary what-pray beginning
optatius libertatis capessendae? An, cum illum necessarium
more-desirable of-liberty to-be-seized or when that necessary

et fatalem paene casum non tulerimus, hunc feremus
and fatal almost chance not we-have-borne this shall-we-bear
voluntarium? Tota Italia desiderio libertatis exarsit; servire
voluntary whole Italy with-longing for-liberty has-blazed-up to-be-slave
diutius non potest civitas; serius populo Romano hunc
longer not can the-state later to-the-people Roman this
vestitum atque arma dedimus quam ab eo flagitati sumus.
dress and arms we-have-given than by it demanded we-were
20 Magna quidem nos spe et prope explorata libertatis causam
with-great indeed we hope and almost assured of-liberty the-cause
suscepimus; sed ut concedam incertos exitus esse belli
have-undertaken but that I-may-concede uncertain the-outcomes to-be of-war
Martemque communem, tamen pro libertate vitae periculo
and-Mars common still for liberty with-life's danger
decertandum est. Non enim in spiritu vita est, sed ea nulla est
to-be-fought-out it-is not for in breath life is but it none is
omnino servienti. Omnes nationes servitutem ferre possunt:
at-all for-one-being-slave all nations slavery to-bear can
nostra civitas non potest, nec ullam aliam ob causam nisi
our state not can nor any other on-account-of cause except
quod illae laborem doloremque fugiunt, quibus ut careant
that those labor and-pain shun which that they-may-be-free-of
omnia perpeti possunt, nos ita a maioribus instituti atque
all-things to-endure they-can we so by our-ancestors trained and
imbuti sumus ut omnia consilia atque facta ad dignitatem et
imbued have-been that all counsels and deeds to dignity and
ad virtutem referremus. Ita praeclara est recuperatio libertatis
to courage we-should-refer so splendid is the-recovery of-liberty
ut ne mors quidem sit in repetenda libertate fugienda. Quod
that not death even is in recovering liberty to-be-shunned but
si immortalitas consequeretur praesentis periculi fugam, tamen
if immortality should-follow of-the-present danger the-flight still

eo magis ea fugienda videretur quo diuturnior servitus
by-this more it to-be-shunned would-seem by-how-much more-lasting the-slavery
esset. Cum vero dies et noctes omnia nos undique fata
would-be since indeed days and nights all us from-everywhere fates
circumstent, non est viri minimeque Romani dubitare
surround not it-is of-a-man and-least of-a-Roman to-hesitate
eum spiritum quem naturae debeat patriae reddere.
that breath which to-nature he-owes to-the-fatherland to-give-back
Concurritur undique ad commune incendium restinguendum; 21
there-is-a-rush from-everywhere for the-common fire being-put-out
veterani quidem primi Caesaris auctoritatem secuti conatum
the-veterans indeed first of-Caesar the-authority having-followed the-attempt
Antoni reppulerunt; post eiusdem furorem Martia legio
of-Antony repulsed afterward his madness the-Martian legion
fregit, quarta adflixit. Sic a suis legionibus condemnatus
broke the-fourth struck-down thus by his-own legions condemned
inrupit in Galliam, quam sibi armis animisque infestam
he-burst into Gaul which to-him in-arms and-in-spirits hostile
inimicamque cognovit. Hunc A. Hirti, C. Caesaris
and-unfriendly he-has-found him of-Aulus Hirtius of-Gaius Caesar
exercitus insecuti sunt; post Pansae dilectus urbem totamque
the-armies pursued have afterward of-Pansa the-levy the-city and-whole
Italiam erexit; unus omnium est hostis. Quamquam habet
Italy has-roused one of-all is the-enemy although he-has
secum L. fratrem, carissimum populo Romano civem,
with-him Lucius his-brother most-dear to-the-people Roman a-citizen
cuius desiderium ferre diutius civitas non potest.
for-whom the-longing to-bear longer the-state not can
Quid illa taetrius belua, quid immanius? qui ob eam causam 22
what than-that more-foul beast what more-monstrous who for that reason
natus videtur ne omnium mortalium turpissimus esset
born seems lest of-all mortals the-most-shameful should-be

M. Antonius. Est una Trebellius, qui iam cum tabulis
Mark Antony there-is with-him Trebellius who now with account-books
novis redit in gratiam; T. Plancus et ceteri pares: qui
new returns into favor Titus Plancus and the-other equals who
id pugnant, id agunt ut contra rem publicam restituti
for-this fight for-this strive that against the-thing public restored
esse videantur. Et sollicitant homines imperitos Saxae et
to-have-been they-may-seem and they-stir-up men inexperienced Saxas and
Cafones, ipsi rustici atque agrestes, qui hanc rem publicam
Cafos themselves rustics and boors who this thing public
nec viderunt umquam nec videre constitutam volunt, qui
neither have-seen ever nor to-see established wish who
non Caesaris, sed Antoni acta defendunt, quos avertit
not of-Caesar but of-Antony the-acts defend whom has-turned-away
agri Campani infinita possessio, cuius eos non pudere
of-the-land Campanian the-boundless possession at-which them not to-be-ashamed
demiror, cum videant se mimos et mimas habere vicinos.
I-wonder since they-see themselves mimes and actresses to-have as-neighbors

VI · THE MOTION FOR BRUTUS

Marcus Brutus tried patience and then met force with force; the senate owes him the approval it gave Decimus Brutus and young Caesar in December. Cicero moves that Quintus Caepio Brutus, proconsul, be praised for holding Macedonia, Illyricum, and Greece, and that he command his army, raise money and grain, and keep his forces near Italy.

23 Ad has pestis opprimendas cur moleste feramus quod
for these plagues being-crushed why annoyingly should-we-take-it that
M. Bruti accessit exercitus? immoderati, credo, hominis
of-Marcus Brutus has-been-added the-army of-an-intemperate I-suppose man

et turbulenti: videte ne nimium paene patientis. Etsi
and turbulent see lest too almost patient although
in illius viri consiliis atque factis nihil nec nimium
in of-that man the-counsels and deeds nothing either too-much
nec parum umquam fuit. Omnis voluntas M. Bruti,
or too-little ever has-been all the-will of-Marcus Brutus
patres conscripti, omnis cogitatio, tota mens auctoritatem
fathers enrolled all thought whole mind the-authority
senatus, libertatem populi Romani intuetur: haec habet
of-the-senate the-liberty of-the-people Roman looks-to these-things he-has
proposita, haec tueri volt. Temptavit quid patientia
set-before-him these-things to-protect he-wishes he-has-tried what patience
perficere posset: nihil cum proficeret, vi contra vim
accomplish could nothing when he-achieved by-force against force
experiendum putavit. Cui quidem, patres conscripti, vos
to-be-tried he-thought to-whom indeed fathers enrolled you
idem hoc tempore tribuere debetis quod a. d. xiii.
the-same at-this time to-grant ought which on the-day thirteenth
Kalendas Ian. D. Bruto C. Caesari me auctore
before-the-Kalends of-January to-Decimus Brutus to-Gaius Caesar me as-author
tribuistis: quorum privatum de re publica consilium
you-granted whose private about the-thing public counsel
et factum auctoritate vestra est comprobatum atque
and deed by-authority your has-been approved and
laudatum.
praised
Quod idem in M. Bruto facere debetis, 24
which same-thing in-the-case-of Marcus Brutus to-do you-ought
a quo insperatum et repentinum rei publicae
by whom an-unhoped-for and sudden for-the-thing public
praesidium legionum, equitatus, auxiliorum magnae
defense of-legions of-cavalry of-auxiliaries great

et firmae copiae comparatae sunt. Adiungendus est
and firm forces raised have-been to-be-joined is
Q. Hortensius qui, cum Macedoniam obtineret, adiutorem
Quintus Hortensius who when Macedonia he-was-holding a-helper
se Bruto ad comparandum exercitum fidissimum et
himself to-Brutus for raising an-army most-faithful and
constantissimum praebuit. Nam de M. Apuleio separatim
most-constant offered for about Marcus Apuleius separately
censeo referendum, cui testis est per litteras
I-move there-must-be-a-motion for-whom a-witness is by letter
M. Brutus, eum principem fuisse ad conatum exercitus
Marcus Brutus him the-first to-have-been in the-attempt of-an-army
comparandi.
to-be-raised
25 Quae cum ita sint, quod C. Pansa consul verba
which since so they-are as-to-what Gaius Pansa the-consul words
fecit de litteris quae a Q. Caepione Bruto pro
made about the-letter which by Quintus Caepio Brutus as
consule adlatae et in hoc ordine recitatae sunt, de
proconsul brought and in this order read was about
ea re ita censeo: 'cum Q. Caepionis Bruti pro
that matter so I-move since of-Quintus Caepio Brutus as
consule opera, consilio, industria, virtute difficillimo
proconsul by-the-effort counsel industry courage at-a-most-difficult
rei publicae tempore provincia Macedonia et Illyricum
of-the-thing public time the-province Macedonia and Illyricum
et cuncta Graecia et legiones, exercitus, equitatus in
and whole Greece and the-legions army cavalry in
consulum, senatus populique Romani potestate sint,
of-the-consuls of-the-senate and-of-the-people Roman power are
id Q. Caepionem Brutum pro consule bene et e
that Quintus Caepio Brutus as proconsul well and from

re publica pro sua maiorumque suorum dignitate
the-thing public for his and-of-ancestors his dignity
consuetudineque rei publicae bene gerendae fecisse;
and-custom of-the-thing public well being-managed to-have-acted
eam rem senatui populoque Romano gratam esse et
that thing to-the-senate and-the-people Roman welcome to-be and
fore;
to-be-going-to-be
utique Q. Caepio Brutus pro consule provinciam 26
and-that Quintus Caepio Brutus as proconsul the-province
Macedoniam, Illyricum cunctamque Graeciam tueatur,
Macedonia Illyricum and-whole Greece should-protect
defendat, custodiat incolumemque conservet, eique exercitui
defend guard and-unharmed preserve and-to-that army
quem ipse constituit, comparavit, praesit, pecuniamque
which he-himself formed raised should-command and-money
ad rem militarem, si qua opus sit, quae publica sit
for the-thing military if any need be which public be
et exigi possit, exigat, utatur, pecuniasque a quibus
and to-be-exacted can exact use and-moneys from whom
videatur ad rem militarem mutuas sumat, frumentumque
it-seem-good for the-thing military on-loan take and-grain
imperet operamque det ut cum suis copiis quam proxime
levy and-effort give that with his forces as nearest
Italiam sit; cumque ex litteris Q. Caepionis Bruti
Italy he-be and-since from the-letter of-Quintus Caepio Brutus
pro consule intellectum sit, Q. Hortensi pro consule
as proconsul understood it-is of-Quintus Hortensius as proconsul
opera et virtute vehementer rem publicam adiutam
by-the-effort and courage greatly the-thing public helped
omniaque eius consilia cum consiliis Q. Caepionis Bruti
and-all his counsels with the-counsels of-Quintus Caepio Brutus

pro consule coniuncta fuisse, eamque rem magno usui
as proconsul joined to-have-been and-that thing of-great use
rei publicae fuisse, Q. Hortensium pro consule
to-the-thing public to-have-been Quintus Hortensius as proconsul
recte et ordine exque re publica fecisse, senatuique
rightly and in-order and-from the-thing public to-have-acted and-to-the-senate
placere Q. Hortensium pro consule cum quaestore
to-please Quintus Hortensius as proconsul with quaestor
prove quaestore et legatis suis provinciam Macedoniam
or-as quaestor and legates his the-province Macedonia
obtinere quoad ei ex senatus consulto successum
to-hold until to-him by of-the-senate decree a-successor-sent
sit.'
be

PHILIPPICA UNDECIMA

I · THE DEATH OF TREBONIUS

Trebonius' cruel death has at least shown the savagery of Antony and Dolabella, the two foulest monsters since men were born: what Dolabella did, Antony threatens. Dolabella entered Smyrna by night after friendly talks and embraces, tortured Trebonius for two days over the public money, cut off his head, and had it carried on a pike while his body was thrown into the sea.

Magno in dolore, patres conscripti, vel maerore potius quem 1
great in grief fathers enrolled or sorrow rather which
ex crudeli et miserabili morte C. Treboni, optimi civis
from the-cruel and pitiable death of-Gaius Trebonius a-most-excellent citizen
moderatissimique hominis, accepimus, inest tamen aliquid quod
and-most-moderate man we-have-received there-is still something which
rei publicae profuturum putem. Perspeximus enim quanta
to-the-thing public going-to-profit I-may-think we-have-perceived for how-great
in eis qui contra patriam scelerata arma ceperunt inesset
in those who against the-fatherland criminal arms have-taken-up was-present
immanitas. Nam duo haec capita nata sunt post homines
savagery for two these heads born have-been since men
natos taeterrima et spurcissima, Dolabella et Antonius:
born the-foulest and filthiest Dolabella and Antony
quorum alter effecit quod optarat, de altero patefactum
of-whom the-one has-accomplished what he-had-wished about the-other revealed
est quid cogitaret. L. Cinna crudelis, C. Marius
it-has-been what he-was-intending Lucius Cinna cruel Gaius Marius
in iracundia perseverans, L. Sulla vehemens; neque ullius
in anger persisting Lucius Sulla violent nor of-any

horum in ulciscendo acerbitas progressa ultra mortem est;
of-these in avenging the-harshness proceeded beyond death has
quae tamen poena in civis nimis crudelis putabatur.
which still a-penalty on citizens too cruel was-thought
2 Ecce tibi geminum in scelere par, invisitatum, inauditum,
behold for-you a-twin in crime pair unseen unheard
ferum, barbarum. Itaque quorum summum quondam inter
wild barbarous and-so whose the-greatest once between
ipsos odium bellumque meministis, eosdem postea singulari
themselves hatred and-war you-remember the-same-men afterward with-singular
inter se consensu et amore devinxit improbissimae
among themselves agreement and love has-bound of-a-most-wicked
naturae et turpissimae vitae similitudo. Ergo id quod fecit
nature and most-shameful life the-likeness therefore that which did
Dolabella in quo potuit multis idem minatur Antonius.
Dolabella in whom he-could to-many the-same threatens Antony
Sed ille cum procul esset a consulibus exercitibusque
but he since far he-was from the-consuls and-armies
nostris neque dum senatum cum populo Romano conspirasse
our nor yet the-senate with the-people Roman to-have-conspired
sensisset, fretus Antoni copiis ea scelera suscepit quae
had-perceived relying on-Antony's forces those crimes undertook which
Romae iam suscepta arbitrabatur a socio furoris sui.
at-Rome already undertaken he-thought by the-partner of-madness his
3 Quid ergo hunc aliud moliri, quid optare censetis aut
what therefore this-man else to-strive-for what to-wish do-you-think or
quam omnino causam esse belli? Omnis, qui libere de
what at-all the-cause to-be of-war all us-who freely about
re publica sensimus, qui dignas nobis sententias diximus,
the-thing public have-felt who worthy of-us opinions have-spoken
qui populum Romanum liberum esse voluimus, statuit ille
who the-people Roman free to-be have-wished he-has-decided he

quidem non inimicos, sed hostis: maiora tamen in
indeed not personal-enemies but public-enemies greater still against
nos quam in hostem supplicia meditatur: mortem naturae
us than against an-enemy punishments he-contemplates death of-nature
poenam putat esse, iracundiae tormenta atque cruciatum.
a-penalty he-thinks to-be of-anger tortures and torment
Qualis igitur hostis habendus est is a quo victore, si
what-kind therefore an-enemy to-be-held is he by whom as-victor if
cruciatus absit, mors in beneficii parte numeretur? Quam
torment be-absent death in of-favor the-part may-be-counted which
ob rem, patres conscripti, quamquam hortatore non
on-account-of thing fathers enrolled although of-an-urger not
egetis — ipsi enim vestra sponte exarsistis ad libertatis
you-need yourselves for of-your-own accord you-have-blazed to of-liberty
recuperandae cupiditatem — tamen eo maiore animo
to-be-recovered desire still with-so-much greater spirit
studioque libertatem defendite quo maiora proposita
and-zeal liberty defend by-how-much greater set-before
victis supplicia servitutis videtis.
to-the-vanquished the-punishments of-slavery you-see
In Galliam invasit Antonius, in Asiam Dolabella, in 4
into Gaul burst Antony into Asia Dolabella into
alienam uterque provinciam. Alteri se Brutus obiecit
another's each province against-the-one himself Brutus threw
impetumque furentis atque omnia divexare ac diripere
and-the-onset of-one-raging and all-things to-harry and to-plunder
cupientis vitae suae periculo conligavit, progressu arcuit,
desiring of-life his at-the-danger he-bound from-advance he-kept(-him)
a reditu refrenavit, obsideri se passus ex utraque
from return he-curbed(-him) to-be-besieged himself having-allowed from each
parte constrinxit Antonium. Alter in Asiam inrupit. Cur?
side he-has-hemmed-in Antony the-other into Asia burst-in why

Si ut in Syriam, patebat via et certa neque longa; sin
if as into Syria was-open the-road both sure nor long but-if
ut ad Trebonium, quid opus fuit cum legione? Praemisso
as to Trebonius what need was-there with a-legion sent-ahead
Marso nescio quo Octavio, scelerato latrone atque egenti, qui
Marsus I-know-not what Octavius a-criminal brigand and needy who
popularetur agros, vexaret urbis non ad spem constituendae
should-lay-waste the-fields harry the-cities not for the-hope of-establishing
rei familiaris, quam tenere eum posse negant qui
the-estate family which to-hold him to-be-able deny who
norunt — mihi enim hic senator ignotus est — sed ad
know(-him) to-me for this senator unknown is but for
praesentem pastum mendicitatis suae, consecutus est Dolabella.
the-present feeding of-beggary his followed has Dolabella
5 Nulla suspicione belli — quis enim id putaret? — secutae
with-no suspicion of-war who for it would-think followed
conlocutiones familiarissimae cum Trebonio; complexus
conversations most-intimate with Trebonius embraces
summae benevolentiae falsi indices exstiterunt in amore
of-the-highest goodwill false witnesses stood-out in love
simulato; dexterae quae fidei testes esse solebant sunt
feigned the-right-hands which of-faith witnesses to-be were-wont have-been
perfidia et scelere violatae: nocturnus introitus Zmyrnam quasi
by-treachery and crime violated a-nocturnal entry into-Smyrna as-if
in hostium urbem, quae est fidissimorum antiquissimorumque
into of-enemies a-city which is of-most-faithful and-most-ancient
sociorum; oppressus Trebonius, si ut ab eo qui aperte
allies overwhelmed Trebonius if as by him who openly
hostis esset, incautus; si ut ab eo qui civis etiam tum
an-enemy were off-guard if as by him who of-a-citizen even then
speciem haberet, miser. Ex quo nimirum documentum nos
the-appearance had wretched from which no-doubt a-lesson us

capere fortuna voluit quid esset victis extimescendum.
to-take fortune wished what were for-the-vanquished to-be-dreaded
Consularem hominem consulari imperio provinciam Asiam
a-consular man with-consular command the-province Asia
obtinentem Samiario exsuli tradidit: interficere captum
holding to-Samiarius an-exile he-handed-over to-kill him-captured
statim noluit, ne nimis, credo, in victoria liberalis videretur.
at-once he-was-unwilling lest too I-suppose in victory generous he-might-seem
Cum verborum contumeliis optimum virum incesto ore
when of-words with-insults a-most-excellent man with-incestuous mouth
lacerasset, tum verberibus ac tormentis quaestionem habuit
he-had-torn then with-blows and tortures an-inquiry he-held
pecuniae publicae, idque per biduum. Post cervicibus
of-money public and-that through two-days afterward his-neck
fractis caput abscidit, idque adfixum gestari iussit in pilo;
broken the-head he-cut-off and-it fixed to-be-carried he-ordered on a-pike
reliquum corpus tractum atque laniatum abiecit in mare.
the-remaining body dragged and mangled he-threw into the-sea

II · DOLABELLA AND ANTONY

Dolabella's cruelty is a copy of Antony's. Cicero asks the senate to picture the night attack on Smyrna and Trebonius' brave endurance. Dolabella, who tortured him, is far more wretched than his victim. Cicero once called Dolabella a friend; now the man's vices are plain, and Antony's band, his brother Lucius first, is far larger than Dolabella's.

Cum hoc hoste bellandum est cuius taeterrima crudelitate 6
with this enemy to-be-warred-with it-is whose most-foul by-cruelty
omnis barbaria superata est. Quid loquar de caede
all barbarism surpassed has-been why should-I-speak about the-slaughter

civium Romanorum, de direptione fanorum? Quis est qui
of-citizens Roman about the-plundering of-shrines who is-there who
pro rerum atrocitate deplorare tantas calamitates
in-keeping-with of-the-things the-atrocity to-lament such-great calamities
queat? Et nunc tota Asia vagatur, volitat ut rex; nos alio
could and now whole Asia he-roams flits as a-king us by-another
bello distineri putat: quasi vero non idem unumque
war to-be-kept-occupied he-thinks as-if indeed not the-same and-one
bellum sit contra hoc iugum impiorum nefarium. Imaginem
war it-were against this yoke of-the-impious wicked the-image
M. Antoni crudelitatis in Dolabella cernitis: ex hoc illa
of-Mark Antony's cruelty in Dolabella you-see from this-man that
efficta est; ab hoc Dolabellae scelerum praecepta sunt
copied has-been by this-man to-Dolabella of-crimes the-precepts have-been
tradita. Num leniorem quam in Asia Dolabella fuit in
handed-down surely-not milder than in Asia Dolabella was in
Italia, si liceat, fore putatis Antonium? Mihi quidem
Italy if it-were-allowed going-to-be do-you-think Antony to-me indeed
et ille pervenisse videtur quoad progredi potuerit feri
both he to-have-come seems as-far-as to-advance could of-a-wild
hominis amentia, neque Antonius ullius supplici adhibendi,
man the-madness nor Antony of-any punishment being-applied
si potestatem habeat, ullam esse partem relicturus.
if the-power he-have any to-be part going-to-leave

7 Ponite igitur ante oculos, patres conscripti, miseram illam
place therefore before your-eyes fathers enrolled wretched that
quidem et flebilem speciem, sed ad incitandos nostros
indeed and pitiable sight but for rousing our
animos necessariam: nocturnum impetum in urbem Asiae
minds necessary the-nocturnal attack on a-city of-Asia
clarissimam, inruptionem armatorum in Treboni domum,
most-illustrious the-bursting of-armed-men into Trebonius' house

cum miser ille prius latronum gladios videret quam quae
when wretched he first of-the-brigands the-swords saw than what
res esset audisset; furentis introitum Dolabellae, vocem
the-thing was he-had-heard of-raging the-entry Dolabella the-voice
impuram atque os illud infame, vincla, verbera, eculeum,
foul and mouth that infamous chains blows the-rack
tortorem carnificemque Samiarium: quae tulisse illum
the-torturer and-executioner Samiarius which to-have-borne him
fortiter et patienter ferunt. Magna laus meoque iudicio
bravely and patiently they-say great praise and-in-my judgment
omnium maxima. Est enim sapientis, quicquid homini
of-all the-greatest it-is for of-the-wise-man whatever to-a-man
accidere possit, id praemeditari ferendum modice esse, si
to-happen can that to-foresee to-be-borne calmly to-be if
evenerit. Maioris omnino est consili providere ne
it-shall-have-happened of-greater altogether is of-wisdom to-provide that-not
quid tale accidat, animi non minoris fortiter ferre.
anything such happen of-spirit not of-lesser bravely to-bear
Ac Dolabella quidem tam fuit immemor humanitatis — 8
and Dolabella indeed so was unmindful of-humanity
quamquam eius numquam particeps fuit — ut suam
although of-it never a-sharer he-was that his
insatiabilem crudelitatem exercuerit non solum in vivo,
insatiable cruelty he-exercised not only on the-living
sed etiam in mortuo; atque in eius corpore lacerando atque
but also on the-dead and in his body mangling and
vexando, cum animum satiare non posset, oculos paverit suos.
harrying since his-mind to-satisfy not he-could the-eyes he-fed his
O multo miserior Dolabella quam ille quem tu miserrimum
O much more-wretched Dolabella than he whom you most-wretched
esse voluisti! ‘Dolores Trebonius pertulit magnos.’ Multi
to-be wished pains Trebonius endured great many

ex morbi gravitate maiores, quos tamen non miseros, sed
from of-illness the-severity greater whom still not wretched but
laboriosos solemus dicere. 'Longus fuit dolor.' Bidui, at
suffering we-are-wont to-call long was the-pain of-two-days but
compluribus annorum saepe multorum. Nec vero graviora sunt
for-several of-years often many nor indeed more-grievous are
carnificum cruciamenta quam interdum tormenta morborum.
of-executioners the-tortures than sometimes the-torments of-illnesses
9 Alia sunt, alia, inquam, o perditissimi homines et amentissimi,
other there-are other I-say O most-abandoned men and most-insane
multo miseriora. Nam quo maior vis est animi quam
much more-wretched for by-how-much greater the-force is of-mind than
corporis, hoc sunt graviora ea quae concipiuntur
of-body by-so-much are more-grievous those-things which are-conceived
animo quam illa quae corpore. Miserior igitur qui
by-the-mind than those which by-the-body more-wretched therefore he-who
suscipit in se scelus quam is qui alterius facinus subire
takes-up upon himself crime than he who of-another the-deed to-undergo
cogitur. Cruciatus est a Dolabella Trebonius: et quidem
is-forced tortured was by Dolabella Trebonius and indeed
a Carthaginiensibus Regulus. Qua re cum crudelissimi
by the-Carthaginians Regulus by-which thing since most-cruel
Poeni iudicati sint in hoste, quid in cive de
the-Carthaginians judged have-been toward an-enemy what toward a-citizen about
Dolabella iudicandum est? An vero hoc conferendum est aut
Dolabella to-be-judged is or indeed this to-be-compared is or
dubitandum uter miserior sit, isne cuius mortem senatus
to-be-doubted which more-wretched be he whose death the-senate
populusque Romanus ulcisci cupit, an is qui cunctis senatus
and-the-people Roman to-avenge desires or he who by-all of-the-senate
sententiis hostis est iudicatus? Nam ceteris quidem
votes an-enemy has-been judged for in-the-other indeed

vitae partibus quis est qui possit sine Treboni maxima
of-life parts who is-there who could without of-Trebonius the-greatest
contumelia conferre vitam Treboni cum Dolabellae? Alterius
insult compare the-life of-Trebonius with Dolabella's of-the-one
consilium, ingenium, humanitatem, innocentiam, magnitudinem
the-counsel talent humanity innocence greatness
animi in patria liberanda quis ignorat? Alteri a puero
of-mind in the-fatherland being-freed who does-not-know to-the-other from a-boy
pro deliciis crudelitas fuit; deinde ea libidinum turpitudo
for delights cruelty was then such of-lusts the-shamefulness
ut in hoc sit semper ipse laetatus, quod ea faceret
that in this was always he-himself glad that those-things he-did
quae sibi obici ne ab inimico quidem possent verecundo.
which to-him to-be-cast-up not by an-enemy even could modest
Et hic, di immortales! aliquando fuit meus. Occulta enim 10
and this-man gods immortal once was mine hidden for
erant vitia non inquirenti. Neque nunc fortasse alienus ab eo
were the-vices not to-one-inquiring nor now perhaps estranged from him
essem, nisi ille nobis, nisi moenibus patriae, nisi huic urbi,
I-would-be unless he to-us unless to-the-walls of-the-fatherland unless to-this city
nisi dis penatibus, nisi aris et focis omnium nostrum,
unless to-the-gods household unless to-the-altars and hearths of-all of-us
nisi denique naturae et humanitati inventus esset inimicus. A
unless finally to-nature and humanity found had-been an-enemy by
quo admoniti diligentius et vigilantius caveamus Antonium.
whom warned more-diligently and more-vigilantly let-us-beware-of Antony
Etenim Dolabella non ita multos secum habuit notos
for Dolabella not so many with-him had known
atque insignis latrones: at videtis quos et quam multos
and notorious brigands but you-see whom and how many
habeat Antonius. Primum Lucium fratrem: quam facem,
has Antony first Lucius his-brother what a-firebrand

di immortales, quod facinus, quod scelus, quem gurgitem,
gods immortal what a-deed what a-crime what a-whirlpool
quam voraginem! Quid eum non sorbere animo, quid non
what an-abyss what him not to-swallow in-mind what not
haurire cogitatione, cuius sanguinem non bibere censetis,
to-drain in-thought whose blood not to-drink do-you-think
in cuius possessiones atque fortunas non impudentissimos
on whose possessions and fortunes not most-shameless
oculos spe et mente defigere?
eyes in-hope and mind to-fix

III · ANTONY'S COMPANY

Cicero lists Antony's followers: Censorinus, who said he wanted to be urban praetor and did not; Bestia, who seeks Brutus' consulship; Saxa, Cafo, Nucula, Lento, Domitius, Trebellius, Plancus, and Annius Cimber. Such men will commit any crime. Cicero gladly agrees with Calenus, who has moved that Dolabella be judged an enemy and his goods confiscated.

11 Quid Censorinum? qui se verbo praetorem esse urbanum
what of-Censorinus who himself in-word praetor to-be urban
cupere dicebat, re certe noluit. Quid Bestiam? qui
to-desire said in-fact surely was-unwilling what of-Bestia who
consulatum in Bruti locum se petere profitetur. Atque hoc
the-consulship in Brutus' place himself to-seek professes and this
quidem detestabile omen avertat Iuppiter! Quam absurdum
indeed detestable omen may-avert Jupiter how absurd
autem, qui praetor fieri non potuerit, petere eum
however that-he-who praetor to-become not could to-seek he
consulatum? nisi forte damnationem pro praetura putat. Alter
the-consulship unless perhaps a-conviction for a-praetorship he-reckons a-second

Caesar Vopiscus ille summo ingenio, summa potentia,
Caesar Vopiscus that-man of-the-highest talent of-the-highest power
qui ex aedilitate consulatum petit, solvatur legibus:
who from the-aedileship the-consulship seeks let-him-be-released from-the-laws
quamquam leges eum non tenent propter eximiam, credo,
although the-laws him not do-bind on-account-of his-exceptional I-suppose
dignitatem. At hic me defendente quinquiens absolutus
dignity but this-man with-me defending five-times acquitted
est: sexta palma urbana etiam in gladiatore difficilis.
has-been the-sixth palm in-the-city even for a-gladiator difficult
Sed haec iudicum culpa, non mea est. Ego defendi
but these-things of-the-judges the-fault not mine is I defended(-him)
fide optima: illi debuerunt clarissimum et praestantissimum
in-faith the-best they ought a-most-illustrious and most-outstanding
senatorem in civitate retinere. Qui tamen nunc nihil aliud
senator in the-state to-keep who still now nothing else
agere videtur nisi ut intellegamus illos quorum res iudicatas
to-do seems except that we-may-understand those whose things judged
inritas fecimus bene et e re publica iudicavisse.
void we-made well and from the-thing public to-have-judged
Neque hoc in hoc uno est: sunt alii in isdem castris 12
nor this in this one-man is there-are others in the-same camp
honeste condemnati, turpiter restituti. Quod horum consilium
honorably condemned shamefully restored what of-these the-counsel
qui omnibus bonis hostes sunt nisi crudelissimum putatis
who to-all good-men enemies are except most-cruel do-you-think
fore? Accedit Saxa nescio quis, quem nobis Caesar
going-to-be there-is-added Saxa I-know-not who whom to-us Caesar
ex ultima Celtiberia tribunum plebis dedit, castrorum
from farthest Celtiberia as-tribune of-the-plebs gave of-the-camp
antea metator, nunc, ut sperat, urbis: a qua cum sit
before a-surveyor now as he-hopes of-the-city from which since he-is

alienus, suo capiti salvis nobis ominetur. Cum hoc
a-foreigner on-his-own head safe us may-he-bring-the-omen with this
veteranus Cafo, quo neminem veterani peius oderunt.
the-veteran Cafo than-whom no-one the-veterans worse hate
His quasi praeter dotem quam in civilibus malis acceperant
to-these as-if besides the-dowry which in civil evils they-had-received
agrum Campanum est largitus Antonius, ut haberent
the-land Campanian has lavished Antony that they-might-have
reliquorum nutriculas praediorum. Quibus utinam contenti
of-the-rest nurseries of-estates with-which would-that content
essent! ferremus, etsi tolerabile non erat, sed quidvis
they-were we-would-bear(-it) although tolerable not it-was but anything
patiendum fuit, ut hoc taeterrimum bellum non haberemus.
to-be-endured was that this most-foul war not we-might-have
13 Quid? Illa castrorum M. Antoni lumina, nonne ante oculos
what those of-the-camp of-Mark Antony lights not before your-eyes
proponitis? Primum duos conlegas Antoniorum et Dolabellae,
do-you-set first the-two colleagues of-the-Antonies and of-Dolabella
Nuculam et Lentonem, Italiae divisores lege ea quam
Nucula and Lento of-Italy the-dividers under-the-law that which
senatus per vim latam iudicavit; quorum alter commentatus
the-senate by violence carried judged of-whom the-one composed
est mimos, alter egit tragoediam. Quid dicam de Apulo
has mimes the-other acted tragedy what shall-I-say about Apulian
Domitio? cuius modo bona proscripta vidi. Tanta procuratorum
Domitius whose just-now goods proscribed I-saw so-great of-the-agents
est neglegentia. At hic nuper sororis filio infudit
is the-negligence but this-man lately to-his-sister's son poured
venenum, non dedit. Sed non possunt non prodige vivere
poison not gave(-it) but not can not prodigally live
qui nostra bona sperant, cum effundant sua. Vidi etiam
those-who our goods hope-for when they-squander their-own I-saw also

P. Deci auctionem, clari viri, qui maiorum exempla
of-Publius Decius the-auction of-a-famous man who of-his-ancestors the-examples
persequens pro alieno se aere devovit. Emptor tamen in
pursuing for another's himself money devoted a-buyer still at
ea auctione inventus est nemo. Hominem ridiculum qui se
that auction found was none a-man ridiculous who himself
exserere aere alieno putet posse, cum vendat aliena.
to-free from-debt borrowed may-think to-be-able when he-sells another's-things
Nam quid ego de Trebellio dicam? quem ultae videntur 14
for what I about Trebellius shall-say whom to-have-avenged seem
Furiae debitorum; vindicem enim novarum tabularum novam
the-Furies of-debtors the-champion for of-new account-books a-new
tabulam vidimus. Quid de T. Planco? quem praestantissimus
account-board we-have-seen what about Titus Plancus whom a-most-outstanding
civis, Aquila, Pollentia expulit et quidem crure fracto:
citizen Aquila from-Pollentia expelled and indeed with-his-leg broken
quod utinam illi ante accidisset, ne huc redire potuisset!
which would-that to-him before had-happened lest hither to-return he-could-have
Lumen et decus illius exercitus paene praeterii, T. Annium
the-light and ornament of-that army almost I-passed-over Titus Annius
Cimbrum, Lysidici filium, Lysidicum ipsum, quoniam omnia
Cimber of-Lysidicus son a-Lysidicus himself since all
iura dissolvit, nisi forte iure Germanum Cimber occidit.
rights he-has-dissolved unless perhaps by-right a-German Cimber killed
Cum hanc et huius generis copiam tantam habeat Antonius,
since this and of-this kind a-supply so-great has Antony
quod scelus omittet, cum Dolabella tantis se obstrinxerit
what crime will-he-omit when Dolabella by-such-great himself has-bound
parricidiis nequaquam pari latronum manu et copia?
murders by-no-means with-an-equal of-brigands band and supply

15 Quapropter, ut invitus saepe dissensi a Q. Fufio, ita
wherefore as unwilling often I-have-differed from Quintus Fufius so
sum eius sententiae libenter adsensus: ex quo iudicare debetis
I-have his to-opinion gladly assented from which to-judge you-ought
me non cum homine solere, sed cum causa dissidere. Itaque
me not with the-man to-be-wont but with the-cause to-disagree and-so
non adsentior solum sed etiam gratias ago Fufio: dixit enim
not I-assent only but also thanks I-give to-Fufius he-spoke for
severam, gravem, re publica dignam sententiam: iudicavit
a-severe weighty of-the-thing public worthy opinion he-judged
hostem Dolabellam; bona censuit publice possidenda.
an-enemy Dolabella his-goods he-voted publicly to-be-taken-possession-of
Quo cum addi nihil potuisset — quid enim atrocius
to-which since to-be-added nothing could what for more-atrocious
potuit, quid severius decernere? — dixit tamen, si quis eorum
could what more-severe to-decree he-said still if anyone of-those
qui post se rogati essent graviorem sententiam dixisset, in
who after him asked had-been a-heavier opinion should-have-spoken to
eam se iturum. Quam severitatem quis potest non laudare?
that himself going-to-go which severity who can not praise

IV · WHO SHOULD COMMAND

Dolabella, now an enemy, must be pursued, and a commander chosen. Cicero rejects both proposals: the ancestors gave Asia to Lucius Scipio with Africanus as his legate, and the war against Aristonicus to the consul Crassus, not to a private man.

16 Nunc, quoniam hostis est iudicatus Dolabella, bello
now since an-enemy has-been judged Dolabella by-war
est persequendus. Neque enim quiescit; habet legionem,
is to-be-pursued nor for he-is-quiet he-has a-legion

habet fugitivos, habet sceleratam impiorum manum; est
he-has runaways he-has a-criminal of-the-impious band he-is
ipse confidens, impotens, gladiatorio generi mortis addictus.
himself bold uncontrolled to-a-gladiatorial kind of-death consigned
Quam ob rem, quoniam Dolabella hesterno die hoste
which on-account-of thing since Dolabella on-yesterday's day an-enemy
decreto bellum gerendum est, imperator est deligendus.
having-been-decreed war to-be-waged is a-commander is to-be-chosen
Duae dictae sunt sententiae quarum neutram probo:
two spoken have-been opinions of-which neither I-approve
alteram quia semper, nisi cum est necesse, periculosam
the-one because always except when it-is necessary dangerous
arbitror; alteram quia alienam his temporibus existimo.
I-think the-other because foreign to-these times I-consider(-it)
Nam extraordinarium imperium populare atque ventosum est, 17
for an-extraordinary command popular and windy is
minime nostrae gravitatis, minime huius ordinis. Bello
least-of-all of-our gravity least-of-all of-this order in-the-war
Antiochino magno et gravi, cum L. Scipioni provincia
Antiochine great and grave when to-Lucius Scipio as-province
Asia obvenisset, parumque in eo putaretur esse animi, parum
Asia had-fallen and-too-little in him was-thought to-be of-spirit too-little
roboris, senatusque ad conlegam eius, C. Laelium, illius
of-strength and-the-senate to the-colleague his Gaius Laelius of-that
sapientis patrem, negotium deferret, surrexit P. Africanus,
wise-man the-father the-business was-transferring rose Publius Africanus
frater maior L. Scipionis, et illam ignominiam a familia
the-brother elder of-Lucius Scipio and that disgrace from the-family
deprecatus est, dixitque et in fratre suo summam virtutem
begged-off has and-said both in brother his the-highest courage
esse summumque consilium neque se ei legatum, id
to-be and-the-highest counsel and-not himself to-him as-legate of-that

aetatis eisque rebus gestis, defuturum. Quod cum ab eo
age and-with-those things done going-to-fail which when by him
esset dictum, nihil est de Scipionis provincia commutatum;
had-been said nothing was about Scipio's province changed
nec plus extraordinarium imperium ad id bellum quaesitum
nor more an-extraordinary command for that war sought
quam duobus antea maximis Punicis bellis quae a consulibus
than in-the-two before greatest Punic wars which by consuls
aut a dictatoribus gesta et confecta sunt, quam Pyrrhi, quam
or by dictators waged and concluded were than of-Pyrrhus than
Philippi, quam post Achaico bello, quam Punico tertio; ad
of-Philip than later in-the-Achaean war than in-the-Punic third for
quod populus Romanus ita sibi ipse delegit idoneum ducem,
which the-people Roman so for-itself itself chose a-fit general
P. Scipionem, ut eum tamen bellum gerere consulem vellet.
Publius Scipio that him still the-war to-wage as-consul it-wished
18 Cum Aristonico bellum gerendum fuit P. Licinio
when with-Aristonicus war to-be-waged was Publius Licinius
L. Valerio consulibus. Rogatus est populus quem id
Lucius Valerius as-consuls asked was the-people whom that
bellum gerere placeret. Crassus consul, pontifex maximus,
war to-wage it-pleased Crassus the-consul pontiff chief
Flacco conlegae, flamini Martiali, multam dixit, si a
on-Flaccus his-colleague the-flamen of-Mars a-fine pronounced if from
sacris discessisset: quam multam populus Romanus remisit;
the-rites he-had-departed which fine the-people Roman remitted
pontifici tamen flaminem parere iussit. Sed ne tum
to-the-pontiff still the-flamen to-obey it-ordered but not then
quidem populus Romanus ad privatum detulit bellum,
even the-people Roman to a-private-man transferred the-war
quamquam erat Africanus qui anno ante de Numantinis
although there-was Africanus who in-the-year before over the-Numantines

triumpharat; qui, cum longe omnis belli gloria et virtute
had-triumphed who though far all of-war in-glory and courage
superaret, duas tamen tribus solas tulit. Ita populus Romanus
he-surpassed two still tribes only got so the-people Roman
consuli potius Crasso quam privato Africano bellum
to-the-consul rather Crassus than to-the-private-man Africanus the-war
gerendum dedit. De Cn. Pompei imperiis, summi
to-be-waged gave about of-Gnaeus Pompey the-commands of-a-very-great
viri atque omnium principis, tribuni plebis turbulenti
man and of-all the-leading-man tribunes of-the-plebs turbulent
tulerunt. Nam Sertorianum bellum a senatu privato
carried(-laws) for the-Sertorian war by the-senate to-a-private-man
datum est, quia consules recusabant, cum L. Philippus
given was because the-consuls refused when Lucius Philippus
pro consulibus eum se mittere dixit, non pro consule.
in-place-of the-consuls him himself to-send said not as proconsul
Quae igitur haec comitia, aut quam ambitionem constantissimus 19
what therefore this election or what canvassing the-most-constant
et gravissimus civis, L. Caesar, in senatum introduxit?
and most-weighty citizen Lucius Caesar into the-senate introduced
Clarissimo viro atque innocentissimo decrevit imperium,
to-a-most-illustrious man and most-blameless he-has-decreed a-command
privato tamen: in quo maximum nobis onus imposuit.
to-a-private-man still in which a-very-great on-us burden he-has-imposed
Adsensus ero, ambitionem induxero in curiam;
assented I-shall-have canvassing I-shall-have-brought into the-senate-house
negaro, videbor suffragio meo, tamquam comitiis,
I-shall-have-refused I-shall-seem by-vote my as-if at-an-election
honorem homini amicissimo denegavisse. Quod si comitia
an-honor to-a-man most-friendly to-have-refused but if an-election
placet in senatu haberi, petamus, ambiamus, tabella modo
it-pleases in the-senate to-be-held let-us-seek let-us-canvass a-ballot only

detur nobis, sicut populo data est. Cur committis,
be-given to-us as to-the-people given has-been why do-you-let-it-happen
Caesar, ut aut praestantissimus vir, si tibi non sit
Caesar that either a-most-outstanding man if with-you not there-be
adsensum, repulsam tulisse videatur aut unus quisque
assent defeat to-have-suffered may-seem or each one
nostrum praeteritus, si, cum pari dignitate simus, eodem
of-us passed-over if though of-equal dignity we-be of-the-same
honore digni non putemur?
honor worthy not we-may-be-thought

V · NOT THE CONSULS

Young Caesar's extraordinary command was a necessity. That the consuls draw lots for Asia and Syria is unworthy of them while Decimus Brutus is besieged: Pansa must think only of Mutina, and Brutus must be recovered first.

20 At enim — nam id exaudio — C. Caesari adulescentulo
but for for that I-hear to-Gaius Caesar a-young-man
imperium extraordinarium mea sententia dedi. Ille enim mihi
a-command extraordinary by-my opinion I-gave he for to-me
praesidium extraordinarium dederat: cum dico mihi, senatui
a-protection extraordinary had-given when I-say to-me to-the-senate
dico populoque Romano. A quo praesidium res publica, ne
I-say and-to-the-people Roman from whom a-protection the-thing public not
cogitatum quidem, tantum haberet ut sine eo salva esse non
imagined even so-great had that without it safe to-be not
posset, huic extraordinarium imperium non darem? Aut
it-could to-this-man an-extraordinary command not should-I-give either
exercitus adimendus aut imperium dandum fuit. Quae est enim
the-army to-be-taken-away or a-command to-be-given it-was what is for

ratio aut qui potest fieri ut sine imperio teneatur
the-reasoning or how can it-come-about that without command be-held
exercitus? Non igitur, quod ereptum non est, id existimandum
an-army not therefore what snatched-away not is that to-be-thought
est datum. Eripuissetis C. Caesari, patres conscripti,
is given you-would-have-snatched from-Gaius Caesar fathers enrolled
imperium, nisi dedissetis. Milites veterani qui illius
the-command unless you-had-given(-it) the-soldiers veteran who his
auctoritatem, imperium, nomen secuti pro re publica
authority command name having-followed for the-thing public
arma ceperant volebant sibi ab illo imperari; legio
arms had-taken-up wished themselves by him to-be-commanded the-legion
Martia et legio quarta ita se contulerant ad auctoritatem
Martian and the-legion fourth so themselves had-betaken to the-authority
senatus et rei publicae dignitatem ut deposcerent
of-the-senate and of-the-thing public the-dignity that they-demanded
imperatorem et ducem C. Caesarem. Imperium C. Caesari
as-commander and leader Gaius Caesar the-command to-Gaius Caesar
belli necessitas, fascis senatus dedit. Otioso vero et nihil
of-war the-necessity the-fasces the-senate gave to-one-at-leisure indeed and nothing
agenti privato, obsecro te, L. Caesar — cum peritissimo
doing to-a-private-man I-beseech you Lucius Caesar with a-most-expert
homine mihi res est — quando imperium senatus dedit?
man to-me the-matter is when a-command the-senate gave
Sed de hoc quidem hactenus, ne refragari homini amicissimo
but about this indeed thus-far lest to-oppose a-man most-friendly
ac de me optime merito videar. Etsi quis potest
and about me best deserving I-may-seem although who can
refragari non modo non petenti verum etiam recusanti?
oppose not only not one-seeking but even one-refusing

21 Illa vero, patres conscripti, aliena consulum dignitate, aliena
that indeed fathers enrolled foreign to-the-consuls' dignity foreign
temporum gravitate sententia est ut consules Dolabellae
to-the-times' gravity opinion is that the-consuls of-Dolabella
persequendi causa Asiam et Syriam sortiantur. Dicam cur
being-pursued for-the-sake Asia and Syria should-draw-by-lot I-shall-say why
inutile rei publicae, sed prius quam turpe consulibus sit
useless to-the-thing public but before than shameful for-the-consuls it-is
videte. Cum consul designatus obsideatur, cum in eo liberando
see when a-consul designate is-besieged when in his being-freed
salus sit posita rei publicae, cum a populo Romano
the-safety is placed of-the-thing public when from the-people Roman
pestiferi cives parricidaeque desciverint, cumque id bellum
pestilent citizens and-parricides have-revolted and-when that war
geramus quo bello de dignitate, de libertate, de vita
we-are-waging in-which war about dignity about liberty about life
decernamus, si in potestatem quis Antoni venerit, proposita
we-are-deciding if into the-power anyone of-Antony shall-have-come set-before-him
sint tormenta atque cruciatus, cumque harum rerum omnium
are tortures and torment and-when of-these things all
decertatio consulibus optimis et fortissimis commissa et
the-decisive-contest to-the-consuls best and most-brave entrusted and
commendata sit, Asiae et Syriae mentio fiet, ut aut
commended has-been of-Asia and of-Syria mention shall-be-made that either
suspicioni crimen aut invidiae materiam dedisse videamur?
for-suspicion a-charge or for-envy material to-have-given we-may-seem
22 At vero ita decernunt 'ut liberato Bruto': id enim restabat,
but indeed so they-decree as freed Brutus that for remained
ut relicto, deserto, prodito. Ego vero mentionem omnino
as left deserted betrayed I indeed mention at-all
provinciarum factam dico alienissimo tempore. Quamvis
of-provinces made I-say at-a-most-unsuitable time however-much

enim intentus animus tuus sit, C. Pansa, sicut est, ad
for intent the-mind your be Gaius Pansa as it-is on
virum fortissimum et omnium clarissimum liberandum,
the-man most-brave and of-all most-illustrious being-freed
tamen rerum natura cogit te necessario referre animum
still of-things the-nature forces you necessarily to-turn-back the-mind
aliquando ad Dolabellam persequendum et partem aliquam
sometime to Dolabella being-pursued and part some
in Asiam et Syriam derivare curae et cogitationis tuae. Si
into Asia and Syria to-divert of-care and thought your if
autem fieri posset, vel pluris te animos habere vellem
however to-be-done it-could even more you minds to-have I-would-wish
quos omnis ad Mutinam intenderes. Quod quoniam fieri
which all to Mutina you-might-direct which since to-be-done
non potest, isto te animo quem habes praestantissimum
not it-can with-that you mind which you-have most-outstanding
atque optimum nihil volumus nisi de Bruto cogitare.
and best nothing we-wish except about Brutus to-think
Facis tu id quidem et eo maxime incumbis, intellego; duas 23
you-do you that indeed and on-it most you-press I-understand two
tamen res, magnas praesertim, non modo agere uno tempore
still things great especially not only to-do at-one time
sed ne cogitando quidem explicare quisquam potest. Incitare
but not in-thinking even to-unfold anyone can to-rouse
et inflammare tuum istuc praestantissimum studium, non ad
and to-inflame your that most-outstanding zeal not to
aliam ulla ex parte curam transferre debemus. Adde istuc
another any from part care to-transfer we-ought add to-that
sermones hominum, adde suspiciones, adde invidiam: imitare
the-talk of-men add the-suspicions add the-envy imitate
me quem tu semper laudasti: qui instructam ornatamque a
me whom you always have-praised who equipped and-furnished by

senatu provinciam deposui ut incendium patriae omissa
the-senate a-province laid-down that the-fire of-the-fatherland omitted
omni cogitatione restinguerem. Nemo erit praeter unum
all thought I-might-put-out no-one will-be except one
me quicum profecto, si quid interesse tua putasses, pro
me with-whom surely if anything to-concern you you-had-thought for
summa familiaritate nostra communicasses, qui credat
closest intimacy our you-would-have-shared(-it) who would-believe
te invito provinciam tibi esse decretam. Hanc, quaeso,
you unwilling a-province to-you to-have-been decreed this I-beg
pro tua singulari sapientia reprime famam atque effice
for your singular wisdom repress rumor and bring-it-about
ne id quod non curas cupere videare.
that-not that which not you-care-for to-desire you-may-seem

24 Quod quidem eo vehementius tibi laborandum est quia in
which indeed by-this more-vehemently by-you to-be-labored-for is because into
eandem cadere suspicionem conlega, vir clarissimus,
the-same to-fall suspicion your-colleague a-most-illustrious man
non potest. Nihil horum scit, nihil suspicatur; bellum gerit,
not can nothing of-these he-knows nothing he-suspects war he-wages
in acie stat, de sanguine et de spiritu decertat;
in the-battle-line he-stands about blood and about breath he-contends
ante provinciam sibi decretam audiet quam potuerit
before a-province to-himself decreed he-will-hear than he-could
tempus ei rei datum suspicari. Vereor ne exercitus quoque
time to-that matter given to-suspect I-fear lest the-armies also
nostri qui non dilectus necessitate, sed voluntariis studiis
our which not of-the-levy by-necessity but by-voluntary zeal
se ad rem publicam contulerunt tardentur animis, si
themselves to the-thing public have-betaken be-slowed in-spirits if
quicquam aliud a nobis nisi de instanti bello cogitatum
anything else by us except about the-impending war thought-of

putabunt. Quod si provinciae consulibus expetendae videntur,
they-shall-think but if provinces by-the-consuls to-be-sought seem
sicut saepe multis clarissimis viris expetitae sunt, reddite
as often by-many most-illustrious men sought they-have-been give-back
prius nobis Brutum, lumen et decus civitatis; qui ita
first to-us Brutus the-light and ornament of-the-state who so
conservandus est ut id signum quod de caelo delapsum
to-be-preserved is as that image which from heaven fallen
Vestae custodiis continetur; quo salvo salvi sumus futuri.
in-Vesta's keeping is-held which being-safe safe we-are going-to-be
Tunc vel in caelum vos, si fieri potuerit, umeris nostris
then even into heaven you if to-be-done it-could on-shoulders our
tollemus; provincias certe dignissimas vobis deligemus; nunc
we-shall-raise provinces surely most-worthy for-you we-shall-choose now
quod agitur agamus. Agitur autem liberine vivamus an
what is-being-done let-us-do is-being-done however whether-free we-may-live or
mortem obeamus, quae certe servituti anteponenda est.
death we-may-meet which surely to-slavery to-be-preferred is
Quid? si etiam tarditatem adfert ista sententia ad Dolabellam 25
what if also slowness brings that opinion to Dolabella
persequendum? Quando enim veniet consul? An id
being-pursued when for will-come the-consul or that
exspectamus quoad ne vestigium quidem Asiae civitatum
are-we-waiting-for until not a-trace even of-Asia's states
atque urbium relinquatur? At mittent aliquem de suo
and cities be-left but they-will-send someone from their
numero. Valde mihi probari potest qui paulo ante
number greatly to-me to-be-approved it-can who a-little before
clarissimo viro privato imperium extra ordinem non dedi.
to-a-most-illustrious man private a-command outside the-order not gave
At hominem dignum mittent. Num P. Servilio
but a-man worthy they-will-send surely-not than-Publius Servilius

digniorem? At eum quidem civitas non habet. Quod ergo
more-worthy but him indeed the-state not has what therefore
ipse nemini putavi dandum, ne a senatu quidem, id ego
I-myself to-no-one thought to-be-given not by the-senate even that I
unius iudicio delatum comprobem?
of-one-man by-the-judgment conferred should-approve

VI · CASSIUS FOR SYRIA

The state needs a ready commander with lawful power: Marcus Brutus or Gaius Cassius. Brutus is needed in Greece, but Cassius set out for Syria by the law of nature, which is right reason, as Brutus did for Macedonia. Cicero moves that Cassius, proconsul, hold Syria with greater power than any governor in the provinces he enters, receive the armies there, and pursue Dolabella.

26 Expedito nobis homine et parato, patres conscripti, opus
ready for-us a-man and prepared fathers enrolled need
est et eo qui imperium legitimum habeat, qui praeterea
is and that one-who a-command lawful may-have who besides
auctoritatem, nomen, exercitum, perspectum animum in
authority name army proven mind in
re publica liberanda.
the-thing public being-freed
Quis igitur is est? Aut M. Brutus aut C. Cassius aut
who therefore he is either Marcus Brutus or Gaius Cassius or
uterque. Decernerem plane, sicut multa 'consules, alter
both I-would-decree plainly as many-times the-consuls one
ambove,' ni Brutum conligassemus in Graecia et eius
or-both had-we-not Brutus bound-fast in Greece and his
auxilium ad Italiam vergere quam ad Asiam maluissemus;
help toward Italy to-incline than toward Asia preferred

non ut ex acie respectum haberemus, sed ut ea ipsa
not that from the-battle-line a-recourse we-might-have but that that very
acies subsidium haberet etiam transmarinum. Praeterea, patres
battle-line support might-have also overseas besides fathers
conscripti, M. Brutum retinet etiam nunc C. Antonius, qui
enrolled Marcus Brutus holds-back even now Gaius Antonius who
tenet Apolloniam, magnam urbem et gravem; tenet, opinor,
holds Apollonia a-great city and important holds I-think
Byllidem, tenet Amantiam, instat Epiro, urget Oricum, habet
Byllis holds Amantia presses Epirus urges Oricum he-has
aliquot cohortis, habet equitatum. Hinc si Brutus erit
several cohorts he-has cavalry hence if Brutus shall-have-been
traductus ad aliud bellum, Graeciam certe amiserimus. Est
transferred to another war Greece surely we-shall-have-lost there-is
autem etiam de Brundisio atque illa ora Italiae providendum.
however also about Brundisium and that coast of-Italy to-be-provided
Quamquam miror tam diu morari Antonium; solet enim
although I-wonder so long to-delay Antony he-is-wont for
ipse accipere manicas nec diutius obsidionis metum sustinere.
himself to-take-on the-gauntlets nor longer of-siege the-fear to-endure
Quod si confecerit Brutus et intellexerit plus
but if he-shall-have-finished(-it) Brutus and shall-have-understood more
se rei publicae profuturum, si Dolabellam persequatur
himself to-the-thing public going-to-profit if Dolabella he-pursue
quam si in Graecia maneat, aget ipse per sese, ut
than if in Greece he-remain he-will-act himself through himself as
adhuc quoque fecit, neque in tot incendiis quibus
so-far also he-has-done nor in so-many fires to-which
confestim succurrendum est exspectabit senatum.
at-once to-be-helped it-is he-will-await the-senate

27 Nam et Brutus et Cassius multis iam in rebus ipse
for both Brutus and Cassius many already in things themselves
sibi senatus fuit. Necesse est enim in tanta conversione
to-themselves the-senate have-been necessary it-is for in so-great an-overturning
et perturbatione omnium rerum temporibus potius parere
and disturbance of-all things the-times rather to-obey
quam moribus. Nec enim nunc primum aut Brutus aut
than customs nor for now first either Brutus or
Cassius salutem libertatemque patriae legem sanctissimam
Cassius the-safety and-liberty of-the-fatherland as-law most-sacred
et morem optimum iudicavit. Itaque si ad nos nihil
and custom best has-judged and-so if to us nothing
referretur de Dolabella persequendo, tamen ego pro decreto
were-referred about Dolabella being-pursued still I for a-decree
putarem, cum essent tales virtute, auctoritate, nobilitate ei
would-take(-it) since they-were such in-courage authority nobility those
summi viri quorum alterius iam nobis notus esset exercitus,
very-great men of-whom of-the-one already to-us known was the-army
alterius auditus. Num igitur Brutus exspectavit decreta
of-the-other heard-of surely-not therefore Brutus waited-for decrees
nostra, cum studia nosset? Neque enim est in provinciam
our since our-zeal he-knew nor for he-has into province
suam Cretam profectus: in Macedoniam alienam advolavit;
his Crete set-out into Macedonia another's he-flew
omnia sua putavit quae vos vestra esse velitis; legiones
all-things his he-thought which you yours to-be would-wish legions
conscripsit novas, excepit veteres; equitatum ad se abduxit
he-enrolled new he-took-over old the-cavalry to himself he-drew
Dolabellae atque eum nondum tanto parricidio oblitum
of-Dolabella and him not-yet by-so-great a-parricide polluted

hostem sua sententia iudicavit. Nam ni ita esset, quo
an-enemy by-his-own opinion judged for unless so it-were by-what
iure equitatum a consule abduceret?
right the-cavalry from a-consul would-he-draw
Quid? C. Cassius, pari magnitudine animi et consili 28
what Gaius Cassius with-equal greatness of-mind and of-counsel
praeditus, nonne eo ex Italia consilio profectus est ut
endowed did-he-not with-that from Italy design set-out has that
prohiberet Syria Dolabellam? Qua lege, quo iure? Eo
he-might-keep-off from-Syria Dolabella by-what law by-what right by-that
quod Iuppiter ipse sanxit, ut omnia quae rei publicae
which Jupiter himself sanctioned that all-things which to-the-thing public
salutaria essent legitima et iusta haberentur. Est enim lex nihil
salutary were lawful and just should-be-held is for law nothing
aliud nisi recta et a numine deorum tracta ratio, imperans
else except right and from the-will of-the-gods derived reason commanding
honesta, prohibens contraria. Huic igitur legi paruit Cassius,
the-honorable forbidding the-contrary this therefore law obeyed Cassius
cum est in Syriam profectus, alienam provinciam, si homines
when he-has into Syria set-out another's province if men
legibus scriptis uterentur, eis vero oppressis suam lege naturae.
laws written were-using these indeed crushed his-own by-law of-nature
Sed ut ea vestra quoque auctoritate firmetur, censeo: 29
but that it by-your also authority may-be-confirmed I-move
cum P. Dolabella quique eius crudelissimi et
since Publius Dolabella and-those-who of-his most-cruel and
taeterrimi facinoris ministri, socii, adiutores fuerunt hostes
most-foul deed the-agents partners helpers have-been enemies
populi Romani a senatu iudicati sint, cumque senatus
of-the-people Roman by the-senate judged have-been and-since the-senate
P. Dolabellam bello persequendum censuerit, ut is qui omnia
Publius Dolabella by-war to-be-pursued has-voted that he who all

deorum hominumque iura novo, inaudito, inexpiabili scelere
of-the-gods and-of-men rights by-a-new unheard-of inexpiable crime
polluerit nefarioque se patriae parricidio obstrinxerit
has-polluted and-by-a-wicked himself of-the-fatherland parricide has-bound
poenas dis hominibusque meritas debitasque persolvat,
penalties to-gods and-men deserved and-owed may-pay
30 senatui placere C. Cassium pro consule provinciam Syriam
to-the-senate to-please Gaius Cassius as proconsul the-province Syria
obtinere, ut qui optimo iure eam provinciam obtinuerit,
to-hold as-one who by-the-best right that province has-held
eum a Q. Marcio Crispo pro consule, L. Statio
he from Quintus Marcius Crispus as proconsul from-Lucius Statius
Murco pro consule, A. Allieno legato exercitus accipere,
Murcus as proconsul from-Aulus Allienus the-legate the-armies to-receive
eosque ei tradere, cumque eis copiis et si quas
and-that-they to-him hand-over(-them) and-with those forces and if any
praeterea paraverit bello P. Dolabellam terra marique
besides he-shall-have-prepared by-war Publius Dolabella by-land and-sea
persequi. Eius belli gerendi causa quibus ei videatur
to-pursue of-that war to-be-waged for-the-sake from-whom to-him it-seem-good
navis, nautas, pecuniam ceteraque quae ad id bellum
ships sailors money and-the-other-things which to that war
gerendum pertineant, ut imperandi in Syria, Asia, Bithynia,
being-waged pertain that of-requisitioning in Syria Asia Bithynia
Ponto ius potestatemque habeat, utique, quamcumque
Pontus the-right and-power he-have and-that whatever
in provinciam eius belli gerendi causa advenerit, ibi
into province of-that war to-be-waged for-the-sake he-shall-have-come there
maius imperium C. Cassi pro consule sit quam eius
greater the-command of-Gaius Cassius as proconsul be than of-him
erit qui eam provinciam tum obtinebit, cum
shall-be who that province then shall-hold when

C. Cassius pro consule in eam provinciam venerit; regem 31
Gaius Cassius as proconsul into that province shall-have-come king
Deiotarum patrem et regem Deiotarum filium, si, ut multis
Deiotarus the-father and king Deiotarus the-son if as in-many
bellis saepe numero imperium populi Romani iuverint,
wars often in-number the-empire of-the-people Roman they-have-helped
item C. Cassium pro consule copiis suis opibusque
likewise Gaius Cassius as proconsul with-forces their and-resources
iuvissent, senatui populoque Romano gratum esse facturos.
should-have-helped to-the-senate and-the-people Roman welcome to-be going-to-do
Itemque si ceteri reges, tetrarchae dynastaeque fecissent,
and-likewise if the-other kings tetrarchs and-dynasts should-have-done(-so)
senatum populumque Romanum eorum offici non immemorem
the-senate and-the-people Roman of-their service not unmindful
futurum. Utique C. Pansa A. Hirtius consules, alter ambove,
going-to-be and-that Gaius Pansa Aulus Hirtius the-consuls one or-both
si eis videretur, re publica recuperata de provinciis
if to-them it-should-seem-good the-thing public recovered about the-provinces
consularibus, praetoriis, ad hunc ordinem primo quoque
consular praetorian to this order at-the-first each
tempore referant. Interea provinciae ab eis a quibus obtinentur
time should-refer meanwhile the-provinces by those by whom they-are-held
obtineantur quoad cuique ex senatus consulto successum sit.
be-held until to-each by of-the-senate decree succeeded be
Hoc senatus consulto ardentem inflammabitis et armatum 32
by-this of-the-senate decree the-burning you-will-inflame and the-armed
armabitis Cassium; nec enim animum eius potestis ignorare nec
you-will-arm Cassius nor for the-mind his you-can not-know nor
copias. Animus is est quem videtis; copiae quas audistis,
the-forces the-mind such is as you-see the-forces which you-have-heard-of
fortes et constantes viri, qui ne vivo quidem Trebonio
brave and constant men who not with-alive even Trebonius

Dolabellae latrocinium in Syriam penetrare sivissent.
Dolabella's brigandage into Syria to-penetrate would-have-allowed
Allienus, familiaris et necessarius meus, post interitum
Allienus the-intimate and close-friend my after the-death
Treboni profecto ne dici quidem se legatum Dolabellae
of-Trebonius surely not to-be-called even himself the-legate of-Dolabella
volet. Est Q. Caecili Bassi, privati illius quidem,
will-wish there-is of-Quintus Caecilius Bassus of-a-private-man that indeed
sed fortis et praeclari viri, robustus et victor exercitus.
but brave and splendid of-a-man a-strong and victorious army

VII · DEIOTARUS AND CASSIUS

Cassius will have the army of Deiotarus, father and son, whose loyalty Sulla, Murena, Servilius, Lucullus, and Pompey praised; Cicero and Bibulus were helped by him in their provinces. Fleets will come from Tyre, where Cassius' name is strong. He has already routed the Parthians and freed Syria, and his greatest praise is better kept in memory than spoken.

33 Deiotari regis et patris et fili et magnus et nostro
of-Deiotarus the-king both the-father and the-son both great and in-our
more institutus exercitus; summa in filio spes, summa ingeni
fashion trained the-army the-highest in the-son hope the-highest of-talent
indoles, summa virtus. Quid de patre dicam? cuius
native-quality the-highest courage what about the-father shall-I-say whose
benevolentia in populum Romanum est ipsius aequalis
goodwill toward the-people Roman is of-himself equal
aetati; qui non solum socius imperatorum nostrorum fuit
to-the-age who not only an-ally of-commanders our has-been
in bellis verum etiam dux copiarum suarum. Quae de
in wars but also the-leader of-forces his-own what-things about

illo viro Sulla, quae Murena, quae Servilius, quae
that man Sulla what-things Murena what-things Servilius what-things
Lucullus, quam ornate, quam honorifice, quam graviter saepe
Lucullus how ornately how honorably how weightily often
in senatu praedicaverunt?
in the-senate proclaimed
Quid de Cn. Pompeio loquar? qui unum Deiotarum in 34
what about Gnaeus Pompey shall-I-speak who one Deiotarus in
toto orbe terrarum ex animo amicum vereque benevolum,
the-whole circle of-lands from the-heart a-friend and-truly well-disposed
unum fidelem populo Romano iudicavit. Fuimus imperatores
the-one faithful to-the-people Roman judged we-were commanders
ego et M. Bibulus in propinquis finitimisque provinciis:
I and Marcus Bibulus in neighboring and-bordering provinces
ab eodem rege adiuti sumus et equitatu et pedestribus
by the-same king helped we-were both with-cavalry and with-infantry
copiis. Secutum est hoc acerbissimum et calamitosissimum
forces followed has this most-bitter and most-calamitous
civile bellum in quo quid faciendum Deiotaro, quid omnino
civil war in which what to-be-done by-Deiotarus what at-all
rectius fuerit dicere non est necesse, praesertim cum
more-right would-have-been to-say not is necessary especially since
contra ac Deiotarus sensit victoria belli iudicarit. Quo
contrary-to as Deiotarus felt the-victory of-the-war has-judged which
in bello si fuit error, communis ei fuit cum senatu;
in war if there-was error common to-him it-was with the-senate
sin recta sententia, ne victa quidem causa vituperanda est.
but-if a-right opinion not defeated even the-cause to-be-blamed is
Ad has copias accedent alii reges, etiam dilectus accedent.
to these forces will-be-added other kings also levies will-be-added

35 Neque vero classes deerunt: tanti Tyrii Cassium faciunt,
nor indeed fleets will-be-lacking so-much the-Tyrians Cassius esteem
tantum eius in Syria nomen atque Phoenice est. Paratum
so-great his in Syria the-name and Phoenicia is ready
habet imperatorem C. Cassium, patres conscripti, res
has as-commander Gaius Cassius fathers enrolled the-thing
publica contra Dolabellam nec paratum solum sed peritum
public against Dolabella and-not ready only but skilled
atque fortem. Magnas ille res gessit ante Bibuli, summi
and brave great he things did before of-Bibulus a-very-great
viri, adventum, cum Parthorum nobilissimos duces maximas
man the-arrival when of-the-Parthians the-most-noble generals the-greatest
copias fudit Syriamque immani Parthorum impetu
forces he-routed and-Syria from-the-monstrous of-the-Parthians onset
liberavit. Maximam eius et singularem laudem praetermitto;
freed the-greatest his and singular praise I-pass-over
cuius enim praedicatio nondum omnibus grata est, hanc
whose for proclaiming not-yet to-all welcome is this
memoriae potius quam vocis testimonio conservemus.
by-memory's rather than by-voice's testimony let-us-preserve

Cicero is accused of honoring Brutus and Cassius too highly; he honors those who are the ornaments of the state, not the Antonies or Censorinus. Veterans who defend the state he will protect and reward, and the quiet he will praise, but never Antony's companions. The senate should fear the veterans less than what the recruits, the flower of Italy, think of its firmness, and he asks it to approve his motion.

Animadverti, patres conscripti, exaudivi etiam nimium a me 36
I-have-noticed fathers enrolled I-have-heard also too-much by me
Brutum ornari; Cassio vero sententia mea dominatum et
Brutus to-be-honored to-Cassius indeed by-opinion my lordship and
principatum dari. Quos ego orno? Nempe eos qui ipsi
primacy to-be-given whom do-I honor surely those who themselves
sunt ornamenta rei publicae. Quid? D. Brutum nonne
are the-ornaments of-the-thing public what Decimus Brutus have-I-not
omnibus sententiis semper ornavi? Num igitur reprehenditis?
by-all votes always honored surely-not therefore do-you-blame(-me)
An Antonios potius ornarem, non modo suarum familiarum
or the-Antonies rather should-I-honor not only of-their-own families
sed Romani nominis probra atque dedecora? an Censorinum
but of-the-Roman name the-disgraces and dishonors or Censorinus
ornem in bello hostem, in pace sectorem? an
should-I-honor in war an-enemy in peace a-buyer-of-confiscated-goods or
cetera ex eodem latrocinio naufragia conligam? Ego vero
the-other from the-same brigandage wrecks should-I-gather I indeed
istos oti, concordiae, legum, iudiciorum, libertatis inimicos
those of-leisure of-concord of-laws of-courts of-liberty enemies
tantum abest ut ornem ut effici non
so-far it-is-away that I-should-honor(-them) that to-be-brought-about not
possit quin eos tam oderim quam rem publicam diligo.
it-can but-that them so I-hate as the-thing public I-love

37 'Vide,' inquit 'ne veteranos offendas:' hoc enim vel maxime
see he-says lest the-veterans you-offend this for even most
exaudio. Ego autem veteranos tueri debeo, sed eos quibus
I-hear I however the-veterans to-protect ought but those to-whom
sanitas est; certe timere non debeo. Eos vero veteranos
soundness is surely to-fear not ought those indeed veterans
qui pro re publica arma ceperunt secutique sunt
who for the-thing public arms took-up and-followed have
C. Caesarem auctorem beneficiorum paternorum, hodieque
Gaius Caesar the-author of-favors paternal and-today
rem publicam defendunt vitae suae periculo, non tueri
the-thing public defend of-life their at-the-danger not to-protect
solum sed etiam commodis augere debeo. Qui autem
only but also with-advantages to-increase I-ought those-who however
quiescunt, ut septima, ut octava legio, in magna gloria et
are-quiet as the-seventh as the-eighth legion in great glory and
laude ponendos puto. Comites vero Antoni qui, postquam
praise to-be-placed I-think the-companions indeed of-Antony who after
beneficia Caesaris comederunt, consulem designatum obsident,
the-favors of-Caesar they-have-eaten-up a-consul designate besiege
huic urbi ferro ignique minitantur, Saxae se et
on-this city with-sword and-fire threaten to-Saxa themselves and
Cafoni tradiderunt ad facinus praedamque natis, num quis
to-Cafo have-handed-over for crime and-plunder born surely-not anyone
est qui tuendos putet? Ergo aut boni sunt quos
is-there who to-be-protected may-think(-them) therefore either good they-are whom
etiam ornare, aut quieti quos conservare debemus, aut impii
even to-honor or quiet whom to-preserve we-ought or impious
quorum contra furorem bellum et iusta arma cepimus.
whose against madness war and just arms we-have-taken-up

Quorum igitur veteranorum animos ne offendamus veremur? 38
of-which therefore veterans the-minds lest we-offend do-we-fear
eorumne qui D. Brutum obsidione cupiunt liberare? Quibus
of-those who Decimus Brutus from-siege desire to-free to-whom
cum Bruti salus cara sit, qui possunt Cassi nomen odisse?
since of-Brutus the-safety dear is how can-they of-Cassius the-name hate
An eorum qui utrisque armis vacant? Non vereor ne acerbus
or of-those who from-both arms are-free not I-fear lest harsh
cuiquam istorum sit qui otio delectantur. Tertio vero generi
to-anyone of-those it-be who in-leisure delight to-the-third indeed kind
non militum veteranorum, sed importunissimorum hostium
not of-soldiers veteran but of-most-savage enemies
cupio quam acerbissimum dolorem inurere. Quamquam, patres
I-desire as bitter-as-possible a-pain to-brand although fathers
conscripti, quousque sententias dicemus veteranorum arbitratu?
enrolled how-long opinions shall-we-speak at-the-veterans' discretion
Quod eorum tantum fastidium est, quae tanta adrogantia
what their so-great disdain is what so-great arrogance
ut ad arbitrium illorum imperatores etiam deligamus?
that at the-discretion of-them commanders even we-should-choose
Ego autem — dicendum est enim, patres conscripti, quod 39
I however to-be-said it-is for fathers enrolled what
sentio — non tam veteranos metuendos nobis arbitror quam
I-feel not so-much the-veterans to-be-feared by-us I-think as
quid tirones milites, flos Italiae, quid novae legiones
what the-recruits soldiers the-flower of-Italy what the-new legions
ad liberandam patriam paratissimae, quid cuncta Italia de
for freeing the-fatherland most-ready what whole Italy about
vestra gravitate sentiat. Nihil enim semper floret; aetas succedit
your gravity may-feel nothing for always flourishes age succeeds
aetati: diu legiones Caesaris viguerunt; nunc vigent Pansae,
age long the-legions of-Caesar have-flourished now flourish Pansa's

vigent Hirti, vigent Caesaris fili, vigent Planci; vincunt numero,
flourish Hirtius' flourish Caesar's son's flourish Plancus' they-win in-number
vincunt aetatibus; nimirum etiam auctoritate vincunt. Id enim
they-win in-ages no-doubt also in-authority they-win that for
bellum gerunt quod ab omnibus gentibus comprobatur. Itaque
war they-wage which by all peoples is-approved and-so
his praemia promissa sunt, illis persoluta. Fruantur illi
to-these rewards promised have-been to-those paid let-them-enjoy those
suis, persolvantur his quae spopondimus. Id enim deos
their-own let-be-paid to-these what we-have-pledged that for the-gods
immortalis spero aequissimum iudicare.
immortal I-hope most-fair to-judge
Quae cum ita sint, eam quam dixi sententiam vobis,
which since so they-are that which I-have-stated opinion by-you
patres conscripti, censeo comprobandam.
fathers enrolled I-move to-be-approved

PHILIPPICA DUODECIMA

I · THE MIST CLEARS

Cicero admits that he erred with the senate and the consul in hoping for peace when Piso and Calenus, Antony's intimates, spoke of it and Antony's household was said to be grieving. Now both deny knowing anything new: the case was Antony's, pleaded by his friends. The embassy is named, but only a fool persists in error. The mist has lifted, as Servilius' report and Pansa's defense of himself show.

Etsi minime decere videtur, patres conscripti, falli, 1
although least to-befit seems fathers enrolled to-be-mistaken
decipi, errare eum cui vos maximis saepe de rebus
to-be-deceived to-err him with-whom you on-the-greatest often about matters
adsentiamini, consolor me tamen quoniam vobiscum pariter
agree I-console myself still since with-you equally
et una cum sapientissimo consule erravi. Nam cum
and together with a-most-wise consul I-have-erred for when
duo consulares spem honestae pacis nobis attulissent, quod
two consulars a-hope of-an-honorable peace to-us had-brought because
erant familiares M. Antoni, quod domestici, nosse
they-were intimates of-Mark Antony because members-of-his-household to-know
aliquod eius volnus quod nobis ignotum esset videbantur.
some his wound which to-us unknown was they-seemed
Apud alterum uxor, liberi; alter cotidie litteras mittere,
with the-one a-wife children the-other daily letters to-send
accipere, aperte favere Antonio.
to-receive openly to-favor Antony
Hi subito hortari ad pacem, quod iam diu non fecissent, 2
these suddenly to-urge to peace which now for-long not they-had-done
non sine causa videbantur. Accessit consul hortator. At qui
not without cause they-seemed was-added the-consul as-urger but what-a

consul! Si prudentiam quaerimus, qui minime falli
consul if prudence we-seek one-who least to-be-deceived
posset; si virtutem, qui nullam pacem probaret nisi
could if courage one-who no peace would-approve except
cum cedente atque victo; si magnitudinem animi, qui
with one-yielding and defeated if greatness of-mind one-who
praeferret mortem servituti. Vos autem, patres conscripti,
would-prefer death to-slavery you however fathers enrolled
non tam immemores vestrorum gravissimorum decretorum
not so unmindful of-your most-weighty decrees
videbamini quam spe adlata deditionis quam amici pacem
seemed as by-the-hope brought of-surrender which friends peace
appellare mallent de imponendis, non accipiendis legibus
to-call preferred about imposing not receiving laws
cogitare. Auxerat autem meam quidem spem, credo item
to-think had-increased however my indeed hope I-believe likewise
vestram, quod domum Antoni adflictam maestitia audiebam,
yours that the-house of-Antony stricken with-sorrow I-heard
lamentari uxorem. Hic etiam fautores Antoni quorum in
to-lament his-wife here also the-supporters of-Antony whose in
voltu habitant oculi mei tristiores videbam.
face live the-eyes my sadder I-saw

3 Quod si non ita est, cur a Pisone et Caleno potissimum,
but if not so it-is why by Piso and Calenus especially
cur hoc tempore, cur tam improviso, cur tam repente pacis
why at-this time why so unexpectedly why so suddenly of-peace
est facta mentio? Negat Piso scire se, negat audisse
has-been made mention denies Piso to-know himself denies to-have-heard
quicquam; negat Calenus rem ullam novam adlatam esse.
anything denies Calenus thing any new to-have-been brought
Atque id nunc negant, postea quam nos pacificatoria
and that now they-deny after that us in-a-peacemaking

legatione implicatos putant. Quid ergo opus est novo
embassy entangled they-think what therefore need is-there of-new
consilio, si in re nihil omnino novi est? Decepti,
counsel if in the-matter nothing at-all new there-is deceived
inquam, sumus, patres conscripti: Antoni est acta causa
I-say we-have-been fathers enrolled of-Antony has-been pleaded the-cause
ab amicis eius, non publica. Quod videbam equidem sed
by friends his not the-public which I-saw I-for-my-part but
quasi per caliginem: praestrinxerat aciem animi D. Bruti
as-if through a-mist had-dazzled the-sight of-mind of-Decimus Brutus
salus. Quod si in bello dari vicarii solerent, libenter me
the-safety but if in war to-be-given substitutes were-wont gladly me
ut D. Brutus emitteretur pro illo includi paterer.
that Decimus Brutus might-be-let-out in-place-of him to-be-shut-in I-would-allow
Atque hac voce Q. Fufi capti sumus: 'Ne si a Mutina 4
and by-this utterance of-Quintus Fufius taken we-were not if from Mutina
quidem recesserit, audiemus Antonium, ne si in senatus
even he-shall-have-withdrawn shall-we-hear Antony not if in of-the-senate
quidem potestate futurum se dixerit?' Durum videbatur:
even the-power going-to-be himself he-shall-have-said harsh it-seemed
itaque fracti sumus, cessimus. Recedit igitur a Mutina?
and-so broken we-were we-yielded does-he-withdraw therefore from Mutina
'Nescio.' Paret senatui? 'Credo,' inquit Calenus 'sed ita
I-do-not-know does-he-obey the-senate I-believe-so says Calenus but so
ut teneat dignitatem.' Valde hercules vobis laborandum
that he-may-keep his-dignity greatly by-Hercules by-you to-be-labored
est, patres conscripti, ut vestram dignitatem amittatis, quae
it-is fathers enrolled that your dignity you-may-lose which
maxima est; Antoni, quae neque est ulla neque esse potest,
very-great is Antony's which neither is any nor to-be can
retineatis, ut eam per vos reciperet quam per se
you-may-keep that it through you he-may-recover which through himself

perdidit. Si iacens vobiscum aliquid ageret, audirem
he-has-lost if lying-low with-you something he-were-negotiating I-would-hear(-him)
fortasse: quamquam — sed hoc malo dicere, audirem:
perhaps although but this I-prefer to-say I-would-hear(-him)
stanti resistendum est aut concedenda una cum dignitate
one-standing to-be-resisted is or to-be-yielded together with dignity
libertas. At non est integrum: constituta legatio est.
liberty but not it-is unimpaired appointed the-embassy is
Quid autem non integrum est sapienti quod restitui
what however not unimpaired is to-a-wise-man which to-be-restored
potest? Cuiusvis hominis est errare; nullius nisi insipientis
can of-any man it-is to-err of-none except of-a-fool
perseverare in errore. Posteriores enim cogitationes, ut
to-persist in error later for thoughts as
aiunt, sapientiores solent esse. Discussa est illa caligo quam
they-say wiser are-wont to-be dispersed is that mist which
paulo ante dixi; diluxit, patet, videmus omnia, neque
a-little before I-mentioned it-has-dawned it-is-plain we-see all-things nor
per nos solum, sed admonemur a nostris. Attendistis
through ourselves only but we-are-warned by our-own-men you-attended-to
paulo ante praestantissimi viri quae esset oratio. 'Maestam'
a-little before of-a-most-outstanding man what was the-speech sad
inquit 'domum offendi, coniugem, liberos. Admirabantur
he-says the-house I-found my-wife children were-wondering
boni viri, accusabant amici quod spe pacis legationem
good men were-accusing friends that in-hope of-peace the-embassy
suscepissem.' Nec mirum, P. Servili: tuis enim severissimis
I-had-undertaken nor surprising Publius Servilius by-your for most-severe
gravissimisque sententiis omni est non dico dignitate sed
and-most-weighty opinions of-all has-been not I-say dignity but
etiam spe salutis spoliatus Antonius.
also hope of-safety stripped Antony

Ad eum ire te legatum quis non miraretur? De me 6
to him to-go you as-envoy who not would-wonder about myself
experior: cuius idem consilium quod tuum sentio quam
I-am-experiencing whose same counsel as yours I-feel how-much
reprehendatur. Nos reprehendimur soli? Quid? vir fortissimus
it-is-blamed we are-blamed alone what the-man most-brave
Pansa sine causa paulo ante tam accurate locutus est tam diu?
Pansa without cause a-little before so carefully spoke has so long
Quid egit nisi uti falsam proditionis a se suspicionem
what did-he-do except that a-false of-treason from himself suspicion
depelleret? Unde autem ista suspicio est? Ex pacis patrocinio
he-might-repel whence however that suspicion is from of-peace the-advocacy
repentino quod subito suscepit eodem captus errore quo nos.
sudden which suddenly he-undertook by-the-same caught error as we

II · THE EMBASSY HURTS THE WAR

A change of counsel is the best harbor. The peace embassy weakens the zeal of the towns and colonies, of Capua, and of the Martian and fourth legions, which left Antony as an enemy and will flag if the senate seems to hate him less; Hirtius and young Caesar want victory, and Gaul and the Patavines have fought for it. Antony has rejected every approach and demands more than can be given.

Quod si est erratum, patres conscripti, spe falsa atque 7
but if there-has-been erring fathers enrolled by-hope false and
fallaci, redeamus in viam. Optimus est portus paenitenti
deceptive let-us-return to the-road the-best is harbor for-one-repenting
mutatio consili. Quid enim potest, per deos immortalis! rei
a-change of-counsel what for can by the-gods immortal to-the-thing
publicae prodesse nostra legatio? Prodesse dico? Quid si etiam
public profit our embassy profit I-say what if even

obfutura est? Obfutura? quid si iam nocuit atque obfuit? An
going-to-harm it-is going-to-harm what if already it-has-hurt and harmed or
vos acerrimam illam et fortissimam populi Romani libertatis
do-you most-keen that and most-brave of-the-people Roman of-liberty
recuperandae cupiditatem non imminutam ac debilitatam
to-be-recovered desire not lessened and weakened
putatis legatione pacis audita? quid municipia censetis? quid
think by-the-embassy of-peace heard-of what the-towns do-you-think what
colonias? quid cunctam Italiam? futuram eodem studio
the-colonies what whole Italy going-to-be with-the-same zeal
quo contra commune incendium exarserat? An non putamus
with-which against the-common fire it-had-blazed or not do-we-think
fore ut eos paeniteat professos esse et prae se
it-will-come-about that them it-repent professed to-have and before themselves
tulisse odium in Antonium qui pecunias polliciti sunt,
to-have-borne hatred against Antony who moneys promised have
qui arma, qui se totos et animis et corporibus in salutem
who arms who themselves wholly both in-minds and in-bodies for the-safety
rei publicae contulerunt? Quem ad modum nostrum hoc
of-the-thing public have-betaken how in manner our this
consilium Capua probabit, quae temporibus his Roma altera
counsel Capua will-approve which in-times these Rome a-second
est? Illa impios civis iudicavit, eiecit, exclusit. Illi, inquam,
is it impious citizens judged cast-out shut-out from-that I-say
urbi fortissime conanti e manibus est ereptus Antonius.
city most-bravely trying out-of its-hands was snatched Antony
8 Quid? legionum nostrarum nervos nonne his consiliis
what of-legions our the-sinews have-we-not by-these counsels
incidimus? Quis est enim qui ad bellum inflammato animo
cut who is for who to war with-inflamed mind
futurus sit spe pacis oblata? Ipsa illa Martia caelestis et
going-to-be be with-the-hope of-peace offered itself that Martian heavenly and

divina legio hoc nuntio languescet et mollietur atque illud
divine legion at-this news will-grow-languid and be-softened and that
pulcherrimum nomen amittet: excident gladii, fluent arma
most-splendid name will-lose will-fall the-swords will-slip the-arms
de manibus. Senatum enim secuta non arbitrabitur se
from their-hands the-senate for having-followed not it-will-think itself
graviore odio debere esse in Antonium quam senatum.
with-heavier hatred to-be-obliged to-be against Antony than the-senate
Pudet huius legionis, pudet quartae quae pari
I-am-ashamed-before this legion ashamed-before the-fourth which with-equal
virtute nostram auctoritatem probans non ut consulem
courage our authority approving not as a-consul
et imperatorem suum, sed ut hostem et oppugnatorem
and commander its-own but as an-enemy and assailant
patriae reliquit Antonium; pudet optimi exercitus qui
of-the-fatherland abandoned Antony ashamed-before the-best army which
coniunctus est ex duobus, qui iam lustratus, qui profectus
joined is from two which already purified which set-out
ad Mutinam est; qui si pacis, id est timoris nostri, nomen
for Mutina has which if of-peace that is of-fear our the-name
audierit, ut non referat pedem, insistet certe.
shall-have-heard though not it-draw-back its-foot will-halt surely
Quid enim revocante et receptui canente senatu properet 9
why for recalling and the-retreat sounding the-senate should-it-hasten
dimicare? Quid autem hoc iniustius quam nos inscientibus
to-fight what however than-this more-unjust than us without-the-knowledge
eis qui bellum gerunt de pace decernere? nec solum
of-those who the-war are-waging about peace to-decide nor only
inscientibus sed etiam invitis? An vos A. Hirtium,
without-their-knowledge but also against-their-will or do-you Aulus Hirtius
praeclarissimum consulem, C. Caesarem, deorum beneficio
a-most-splendid consul Gaius Caesar by-the-gods' favor

natum ad haec tempora, quorum epistulas spem victoriae
born for these times whose letters a-hope of-victory
declarantis in manu teneo, pacem velle censetis? Vincere illi
declaring in hand I-hold peace to-wish think to-conquer they
expetunt pacisque dulcissimum et pulcherrimum nomen non
seek and-of-peace the-sweetest and most-splendid name not
pactione, sed victoria concupiverunt. Quid? Galliam quo
by-bargain but by-victory have-desired what Gaul with-what
tandem animo hanc rem audituram putatis? Illa enim huius
pray mind this thing going-to-hear do-you-think it for of-this
belli propulsandi, administrandi, sustinendi principatum tenet.
war being-repelled administered sustained the-primacy holds
Gallia D. Bruti nutum ipsum, ne dicam imperium,
Gaul of-Decimus Brutus the-nod itself not to-say the-command
secuta armis, viris, pecunia belli principia firmavit;
having-followed with-arms men money of-the-war the-beginnings strengthened
eadem crudelitati M. Antoni suum totum corpus obiecit;
the-same to-the-cruelty of-Mark Antony its whole body exposed
exhauritur, vastatur, uritur: omnis aequo animo belli patitur
it-is-drained laid-waste burned all with-calm mind of-war it-endures
iniurias, dum modo repellat periculum servitutis.
the-wrongs provided only it-repel the-danger of-slavery
10 Et ut omittam reliquas partis Galliae — nam sunt omnes
and that I-may-omit the-remaining parts of-Gaul for they-are all
pares — Patavini alios excluserunt, alios eiecerunt missos
equal the-Patavines some shut-out others cast-out sent
ab Antonio, pecunia, militibus, et, quod maxime deerat,
by Antony with-money with-soldiers and what most was-lacking
armis nostros duces adiuverunt. Fecerunt idem reliqui
with-arms our generals they-helped did the-same the-others
qui quondam in eadem causa erant et propter multorum
who once in the-same cause were and on-account-of of-many

annorum iniurias alienati a senatu putabantur: quos
years' wrongs estranged from the-senate were-thought whom
minime mirum est communicata cum eis re publica
least surprising it-is with-shared with them the-thing public
fidelis esse, qui etiam expertes eius fidem suam semper
faithful to-be who even without-share in-it faith their always
praestiterunt. His igitur omnibus victoriam sperantibus
have-shown to-these therefore all victory hoping
pacis nomen adferemus, id est desperationem victoriae?
of-peace the-name shall-we-bring that is despair of-victory
Quid si ne potest quidem ulla esse pax? Quae enim est 11
what if not can even any be peace what for is
condicio pacis in qua ei cum quo pacem facias nihil
the-condition of-peace in which to-him with whom peace you-make nothing
concedi potest? Multis rebus a nobis est invitatus ad pacem
be-conceded can by-many things by us has-been invited to peace
Antonius: bellum tamen maluit. Missi legati repugnante me,
Antony war still he-preferred sent envoys opposing me
sed tamen missi; delata mandata: non paruit. Denuntiatum est
but still sent conveyed instructions not he-obeyed declared it-was
ne Brutum obsideret, a Mutina discederet: oppugnavit
that-not Brutus he-should-besiege from Mutina he-should-depart he-attacked
etiam vehementius. Et ad eum legatos de pace mittemus qui
even more-violently and to him envoys about peace shall-we-send who
pacis nuntios repudiavit? Verecundioremne coram putamus
of-peace the-messengers rejected more-modest face-to-face do-we-think
in postulando fore quam fuerit tum cum misit mandata
in demanding going-to-be than he-was then when he-sent instructions
ad senatum? Atqui tum ea petebat quae videbantur
to the-senate and-yet then those-things he-was-seeking which seemed
improba omnino sed tamen aliquo modo posse concedi;
wicked altogether but still in-some way to-be-able to-be-conceded

nondum erat vestris tam gravibus tamque multis iudiciis
not-yet he-was by-your so weighty and-so many judgments
ignominiisque concisus: nunc ea petit quae dare nullo
and-disgraces cut-down now those-things he-seeks which to-give in-no
modo possumus, nisi prius volumus bello nos victos confiteri.
way we-can unless first we-wish in-war ourselves defeated to-confess

III · WHAT PEACE WOULD MEAN

The senate cannot make his forged decrees true or restore his laws, and posterity will not forget the blood at Brundisium. If Antony and his band return to the city while Rome lays down its arms, Rome is defeated. Lucius Piso said he would leave Italy if Antony crushed the state. Cicero will not serve on an embassy where his dissent would be unknown.

12 Senatus consulta falsa delata ab eo iudicavimus: num
of-the-senate the-decrees false brought-in by him we-have-judged surely-not
ea vera possumus iudicare? Leges statuimus per vim et
them true can-we judge the-laws we-have-decided by violence and
contra auspicia latas eisque nec populum nec plebem
against the-auspices passed and-by-them neither the-people nor the-plebs
teneri: num eas restitui posse censetis? Sestertium
to-be-bound surely-not them to-be-restored to-be-able do-you-think sesterces
septiens miliens avertisse Antonium pecuniae publicae
seven-hundred millions to-have-embezzled Antony of-money public
iudicavistis: num fraude poterit carere peculatus?
you-have-judged surely-not from-harm will-be-able to-be-free the-embezzlement
Immunitates ab eo civitatibus, sacerdotia, regna venierunt:
immunities by him to-states priesthoods kingdoms were-sold
num figentur rursus eae tabulae quas vos decretis vestris
surely-not will-be-fixed again those tablets which you by-decrees your

refixistis? Quod si ea quae decrevimus obruere volumus,
have-unfixed but if those-things which we-have-decreed to-bury we-wish
num etiam memoriam rerum delere possumus? Quando
surely-not also the-memory of-things to-blot-out can-we when
enim obliviscetur ulla posteritas cuius scelere in hac
for will-forget any posterity by-whose crime in this
vestitus foeditate fuerimus? Ut centurionum legionis Martiae
of-dress squalor we-have-been that of-the-centurions of-the-legion Martian
Brundisi profusus sanguis eluatur, num elui
at-Brundisium the-shed blood be-washed-out surely-not to-be-washed-out
praedicatio crudelitatis potest? Ut media praeteream,
the-proclaiming of-cruelty can that the-middle-things I-may-pass-over
quae vetustas tollet operum circum Mutinam taetra
what age will-remove of-the-works around Mutina the-foul
monumenta, sceleris indicia latrocinique vestigia?
monuments of-crime the-signs and-of-brigandage the-traces
Huic igitur importuno atque impuro parricidae quid habemus, 13
to-this therefore savage and impure parricide what have-we
per deos immortalis! quod remittamus? An Galliam ultimam
by the-gods immortal which we-may-give-up or Gaul farthest
et exercitum? Quid est aliud non pacem facere, sed
and the-army what is-that else not peace to-make but
differre bellum, nec solum propagare bellum sed concedere
to-defer war nor only to-prolong war but to-concede
etiam victoriam? An ille non vicerit, si quacumque
even the-victory or he not would-have-conquered if on-whatever
condicione in hanc urbem cum suis venerit? Armis
terms into this city with his-men he-shall-have-come by-arms
nunc omnia tenemus; auctoritate valemus plurimum; absunt
now all-things we-hold by-authority we-are-strong very-much are-absent
tot perditi cives, nefarium secuti ducem; tamen eorum
so-many abandoned citizens a-wicked having-followed leader still of-them

ora sermonesque qui in urbe ex eo numero relicti sunt
the-faces and-speeches who in the-city from that number left have-been
ferre non possumus. Quid censetis, cum tot uno tempore
to-bear not we-can what do-you-think when so-many at-one time
inruperint, nos arma posuerimus, illi non deposuerint,
shall-have-burst-in we arms shall-have-laid-down they not shall-have-laid-down(-theirs)
nonne nos nostris consiliis victos in perpetuum fore?
not we by-our counsels defeated for ever going-to-be
14 Ponite ante oculos M. Antonium consularem; sperantem
place before your-eyes Mark Antony a-consular hoping-for
consulatum Lucium adiungite; supplete ceteros neque nostri
the-consulship Lucius add fill-up the-others and-not of-our
ordinis solum honores et imperia meditantis: nolite ne
order only honors and commands contemplating do-not not
Tirones quidem Numisios et Mustelas Seios contemnere.
the-Tiros even the-Numisii and the-Mustelas the-Seii despise
Cum eis facta pax non erit pax, sed pactio servitutis.
with them made peace not will-be peace but a-bargain of-slavery
L. Pisonis, amplissimi viri, praeclara vox a te
of-Lucius Piso a-most-distinguished man the-splendid utterance by you
non solum in hoc ordine, Pansa, sed etiam in contione
not only in this order Pansa but also in the-assembly
iure laudata est. Excessurum se ex Italia dixit, deos
rightly has-been praised going-to-depart himself from Italy he-said the-gods
penatis et sedes patrias relicturum, si — quod di
household and the-homes ancestral going-to-leave if which the-gods
omen averterint! — rem publicam oppressisset Antonius.
the-omen may-avert the-thing public should-have-crushed Antony
15 Quaero igitur a te, L. Piso, nonne oppressam rem
I-ask therefore of you Lucius Piso would-you-not crushed the-thing
publicam putes, si tot tam impii, tam audaces, tam
public think if so-many so impious so audacious so

facinerosi recepti sint? Quos nondum tantis parricidiis
villainous received be whom not-yet by-so-great by-parricides
contaminatos vix ferebamus, hos nunc omni scelere coopertos
polluted scarcely we-bore these now in-every crime covered
tolerabilis censes civitati fore? Aut isto tuo, mihi crede,
tolerable do-you-think to-the-state going-to-be either that your to-me believe
consilio erit utendum, ut cedamus, abeamus, vitam
counsel will-be to-be-used that we-may-withdraw go-away life
inopem et vagam persequamur, aut cervices latronibus dandae
needy and wandering pursue or necks to-brigands to-be-given
atque in patria cadendum est. Ubi sunt, C. Pansa,
and in the-fatherland to-be-fallen it-is where are Gaius Pansa
illae cohortationes pulcherrimae tuae quibus a te excitatus
those exhortations most-splendid your which by you roused
senatus, inflammatus populus Romanus non solum audivit
the-senate inflamed the-people Roman not only heard
sed etiam didicit nihil esse homini Romano foedius servitute?
but also learned nothing to-be for-a-man Roman more-foul than-slavery
Idcircone saga sumpsimus, arma cepimus, iuventutem 16
was-it-for-this military-cloaks we-took-up arms took-up the-youth
omnem ex tota Italia excussimus, ut exercitu florentissimo
all from whole Italy shook-out that with-an-army most-flourishing
et maximo legati ad pacem mitterentur? si accipiendam,
and largest envoys for peace should-be-sent if to-be-received
cur non rogamur? si postulandam, quid timemus?
why not are-we-asked if to-be-demanded what do-we-fear
In hac ego legatione sim aut ad id consilium admiscear
in this I embassy should-be or with that counsel be-mixed
in quo ne si dissensero quidem a ceteris sciturus
in which not if I-shall-have-dissented even from the-rest going-to-know
populus Romanus sit? Ita fiet ut si quid remissum
the-people Roman be so it-will-come-about that if anything remitted

aut concessum sit, meo semper periculo peccet Antonius,
or conceded be at-my always peril may-sin Antony
cum ei peccandi potestas a me concessa videatur.
when to-him of-sinning the-power by me conceded may-seem

IV · THE WRONG ENVOY

Even if peace were to be sought, Cicero, who always called Antony an enemy, is the last man to send. Antony's friends object to him; he cannot bear to look at Antony, who gave Cicero's goods to his followers, or at Lucius, Saxa, Cafo, and the rest. His life, though he does not hold it dear, should not be cheap to the state.

17 Quod si habenda cum M. Antoni latrocinio pacis ratio
but if to-be-had with Mark Antony's brigandage of-peace an-account
fuit, mea tamen persona ad istam pacem conciliandam
it-was my still person for that peace being-brought-about
minime fuit deligenda. Ego numquam legatos mittendos
least was to-be-chosen I never envoys to-be-sent
censui; ego ante reditum legatorum ausus sum dicere, pacem
voted I before the-return of-the-envoys dared have to-say peace
ipsam si adferrent, quoniam sub nomine pacis bellum
itself if they-should-bring since under the-name of-peace war
lateret, repudiandam; ego princeps sagorum; ego semper
would-lurk to-be-rejected I the-leader of-the-military-cloaks I always
illum appellavi hostem, cum alii adversarium; semper hoc
him called an-enemy when others an-opponent always this
bellum, cum alii tumultum. Nec haec in senatu solum:
a-war when others an-emergency nor these-things in the-senate only
eadem ad populum semper egi; neque solum in
the-same-things before the-people always I-did nor only against
ipsum sed in eius socios facinorum et ministros, et
him-himself but against his partners of-crimes and agents both

praesentis et eos qui una sunt, in totam denique
the-present and those who with-him are against the-whole finally
M. Antoni domum sum semper invectus.
of-Mark Antony house I-have always inveighed
Itaque ut alacres et laeti spe pacis oblata inter se 18
and-so as eager and glad at-the-hope of-peace offered among themselves
impii cives, quasi vicissent, gratulabantur, sic me iniquum
the-impious citizens as-if they-had-won were-congratulating so me as-unfair
eierabant, de me querebantur; diffidebant etiam Servilio:
they-were-rejecting about me they-were-complaining they-distrusted also Servilius
meminerant eius sententiis confixum Antonium; L. Caesarem
they-remembered by-his votes transfixed Antony Lucius Caesar
fortem quidem illum et constantem senatorem, avunculum
brave indeed he and steadfast a-senator an-uncle
tamen; Calenum procuratorem; Pisonem familiarem; te ipsum,
still Calenus an-agent Piso an-intimate you yourself
Pansa, vehementissimum et fortissimum consulem factum
Pansa most-vehement and most-brave consul made
iam putant leniorem: non quo ita sit aut esse possit,
now they-think milder not that so it-be or to-be could
sed mentio a te facta pacis suspicionem multis attulit
but the-mention by you made of-peace a-suspicion to-many brought
immutatae voluntatis. Inter has personas me interiectum
of-changed will among these persons me interposed
amici Antoni moleste ferunt: quibus gerendus mos est,
the-friends of-Antony annoyingly take to-whom to-be-borne custom is
quoniam semel liberales esse coepimus.
since once generous to-be we-have-begun
Proficiscantur legati optimis ominibus, sed ei proficiscantur 19
let-set-out the-envoys with-the-best omens but those let-set-out
in quibus non offendatur Antonius. Quod si de Antonio
in whom not may-be-offended Antony but if about Antony

non laboratis, mihi certe, patres conscripti, consulere debetis.
not you-labor for-me surely fathers enrolled to-take-thought you-ought
Parcite oculis saltem meis et aliquam veniam iusto dolori
spare the-eyes at-least my and some indulgence to-a-just grief
date. Quo enim aspectu videre potero — omitto hostem
grant with-what for countenance to-see shall-I-be-able I-omit the-enemy
patriae, ex quo mihi odium in illum commune vobiscum
of-the-fatherland for which to-me the-hatred toward him common with-you
est — sed quo modo aspiciam mihi uni crudelissimum
is but in-what manner shall-I-look-at to-me alone most-cruel
hostem, ut declarant eius de me acerbissimae contiones?
an-enemy as declare his about me most-bitter public-speeches
Adeone me ferreum putatis ut cum eo congredi aut illum
so me iron do-you-think that with him to-meet or him
aspicere possim qui nuper, cum in contione donaret
to-look-at I-could who lately when in an-assembly he-was-presenting
eos qui ei de parricidis audacissimi videbantur, mea
those who to-him of the-parricides most-audacious seemed my
bona donare se dixit Petusio Urbinati, qui ex naufragio
goods to-give himself he-said to-Petusius of-Urbinum who from the-shipwreck
luculenti patrimoni ad haec Antoniana saxa proiectus est.
of-a-splendid patrimony on these Antonian rocks thrown was
20 An L. Antonium aspicere potero, cuius ego crudelitatem
or Lucius Antonius to-look-at I-shall-be-able whose I cruelty
effugere non potuissem, nisi me moenibus et portis et studio
to-escape not could-have unless me with-the-walls and gates and zeal
municipi mei defendissem. Atque idem hic myrmillo Asiaticus,
of-town my I-had-defended and the-same this gladiator Asiatic
latro Italiae, conlega Lentonis et Nuculae, cum Aquilae primi
brigand of-Italy colleague of-Lento and of-Nucula when to-Aquila of-the-first
pili nummos aureos daret, de meis bonis se dare dixit:
javelin coins gold he-was-giving from my goods himself to-give he-said

si enim de suis dixisset, ne aquilam quidem ipsam crediturum
if for from his-own he-had-said not the-eagle even itself going-to-believe
putavit. Non ferent, inquam, oculi Saxam, Cafonem, non
he-thought not will-bear I-say the-eyes Saxa Cafo not
duo praetores, non duo designatos tribunos, non Bestiam,
the-two praetors not the-two designate tribunes not Bestia
non Trebellium, non T. Plancum. Non possum animo
not Trebellius not Titus Plancus not I-can with-mind
aequo videre tot tam importunos, tam sceleratos hostis;
calm see so-many so savage so criminal enemies
nec id fit fastidio meo, sed caritate rei publicae.
nor that comes-about from-disdain my but from-love of-the-thing public
Sed vincam animum mihique imperabo: dolorem 21
but I-shall-conquer my-mind and-on-myself I-shall-impose grief
iustissimum, si non potuero frangere, occultabo. Quid? vitae
most-just if not I-shall-be-able to-break I-shall-hide what of-life
censetisne, patres conscripti, habendam mihi aliquam esse
do-you-think fathers enrolled to-be-taken by-me some to-be
rationem? quae mihi quidem minime cara est, praesertim
account which to-me indeed least dear is especially
cum Dolabella fecerit ut optanda mors esset, modo
since Dolabella has-brought-it-about that to-be-wished death were provided
sine cruciatu atque tormentis; vobis tamen et populo
without torment and tortures to-you still and to-the-people
Romano vilis meus spiritus esse non debet. Is enim sum,
Roman cheap my breath to-be not ought I for am
nisi me forte fallo, qui vigiliis, curis, sententiis, periculis
unless me perhaps I-deceive who by-watches cares votes dangers
etiam quae plurima adii propter acerbissimum omnium
also which very-many I-have-faced on-account-of the-most-bitter of-all

in me odium impiorum perfecerim ut non obstarem
against me hatred of-the-impious I-have-accomplished that not I-was-a-hindrance
rei publicae, ne quid adrogantius videar dicere.
to-the-thing public lest anything too-arrogantly I-may-seem to-say

V · THREE ROADS TO MUTINA

Cicero is barely safe even in Rome, which is his post. Every road to Mutina is dangerous: the Cassian runs through Etruria, where Lento waits; the Flaminian to Ariminum, with Ventidius perhaps at Ancona; the Aurelian past Clodius' estates. He cannot safely cross the Apennines, and once there he would have to meet Antony, who, with his brother Lucius beside him, would never keep his hands off him.

22 Quod cum ita sit, nihilne mihi de periculo meo cogitandum
which since so it-is nothing to-me about danger my to-be-thought
putatis? Hic cum essem in urbe ac domi, tamen multa saepe
do-you-think here when I-was in the-city and at-home still many-things often
temptata sunt, ubi me non solum amicorum fidelitas sed
have-been attempted where me not only of-friends the-faithfulness but
etiam universae civitatis oculi custodiunt: quid censetis, cum
also of-the-whole state the-eyes guard what do-you-think when
iter ingressus ero, longum praesertim, nullasne insidias
a-journey entered I-shall-have long especially no snares
extimescendas? Tres viae sunt ad Mutinam — quo festinat
to-be-dreaded three roads there-are to Mutina whither hastens
animus ut quam primum illud pignus libertatis populi
my-mind that as soon-as-possible that pledge of-the-liberty of-the-people
Romani, D. Brutum, aspicere possim; cuius in complexu
Roman Decimus Brutus to-look-on I-may-be-able whose in embrace
libenter extremum vitae spiritum ediderim, cum omnes
gladly the-last of-life breath I-would-give-up since all

actiones horum mensum, omnes sententiae meae pervenerint ad
the-actions of-these months all opinions my have-arrived at
eum qui mihi fuit propositus exitum. Tres ergo, ut dixi, viae:
that which to-me has-been proposed the-outcome three therefore as I-said roads
a supero mari Flaminia, ab infero Aurelia, media Cassia.
from the-upper sea the-Flaminian from the-lower the-Aurelian the-middle the-Cassian
Nunc, quaeso, attendite num aberret a coniectura suspicio 23
now I-beg attend whether strays from conjecture the-suspicion
periculi mei. Etruriam discriminat Cassia. Scimusne igitur,
of-danger my Etruria divides the-Cassian do-we-know therefore
Pansa, quibus in locis nunc sit Lentonis Caesenni vii
Pansa what in places now be of-Lento Caesennius of-the-seven
viralis auctoritas? Nobiscum nec animo certe est nec corpore.
board the-authority with-us not in-mind surely is nor in-body
Si autem aut domi est aut non longe a domo, certe
if however either at-home he-is or not far from home surely
in Etruria est, id est in via. Quis igitur mihi praestat
in Etruria he-is that is on the-road who therefore to-me guarantees
Lentonem uno capite esse contentum? Dic mihi praeterea,
Lento with-one head to-be content tell me besides
Pansa, Ventidius ubi sit, cui fui semper amicus ante
Pansa Ventidius where he-be to-whom I-was always a-friend before
quam ille rei publicae bonisque omnibus tam aperte
than he to-the-thing public and-to-the-good all so openly
est factus inimicus. Possum Cassiam vitare, tenere Flaminiam:
was made hostile I-can the-Cassian avoid hold-to the-Flaminian
quid, si Anconam, ut dicitur, Ventidius venerit, poterone
what if Ancona as is-said Ventidius shall-have-come shall-I-be-able
Ariminum tuto accedere? Restat Aurelia. Hic quidem
Ariminum safely to-approach there-remains the-Aurelian here indeed
etiam praesidia habeo; possessiones enim sunt P. Clodi.
even protection I-have the-estates for are of-Publius Clodius

Tota familia occurret; hospitio invitabit propter
the-whole household will-come-to-meet(-me) into-hospitality will-invite on-account-of
familiaritatem notissimam.
the-intimacy most-notorious

24 Hisce ego viis me committam qui Terminalibus nuper
to-these I roads myself shall-I-entrust who at-the-Terminalia lately
in suburbium, ut eodem die reverterer, ire non sum
into the-suburb that on-the-same day I-might-return to-go not have
ausus? Domesticis me parietibus vix tueor sine amicorum
dared by-domestic myself walls scarcely I-protect without of-friends
custodiis. Itaque in urbe maneo, si licebit, manebo.
guards and-so in the-city I-remain if it-shall-be-allowed I-shall-remain
Haec mea sedes est, haec vigilia, haec custodia, hoc
this my seat is this my-watch this guard this
praesidium stativum. Teneant alii castra, gerant res bellicas;
protection stationary let-hold others the-camps let-conduct affairs military
occiderint hostem; nam hoc caput est; nos, ut dicimus
let-them-kill the-enemy for this the-head is we as we-say
semperque fecimus, urbem et res urbanas vobiscum pariter
and-always have-done the-city and affairs urban with-you equally
tuebimur. Neque vero recuso munus hoc: quamquam populum
shall-protect nor indeed I-refuse the-task this although the-people
Romanum video pro me recusare. Nemo me minus
Roman I-see for me to-refuse no-one than-me less
timidus, nemo tamen cautior. Res declarat. Vicesimus
timid no-one still more-cautious the-fact declares(-it) the-twentieth
annus est cum omnes scelerati me unum petunt. Itaque
year it-is since all criminals me alone attack and-so
ipsi, ne dicam mihi, rei publicae poenas dederunt:
they-themselves not to-say to-me to-the-thing public penalties have-paid
me salvum adhuc res publica conservavit sibi. Timide hoc
me safe so-far the-thing public has-preserved for-itself timidly this

dicam; scio enim quidvis homini accidere posse — verum
I-shall-say I-know for anything to-a-man to-happen to-be-able but
tamen semel circumsessus lectis valentissimorum hominum
still once surrounded by-picked of-most-powerful men
viribus cecidi sciens ut honestissime possem exsurgere.
forces I-fell knowingly so-that most-honorably I-could rise-again
Possumne igitur satis videri cautus, satis providus, si me huic 25
can-I therefore enough to-seem cautious enough provident if myself to-this
itineri tam infesto tamque periculoso commisero? Gloriam in
journey so hostile and-so dangerous I-shall-have-entrusted glory in
morte debent ei qui in re publica versantur, non culpae
death ought those who in the-thing public are-engaged not of-fault
reprehensionem et stultitiae vituperationem relinquere. Quis
censure and of-folly blame to-leave what
bonus non luget mortem Treboni? quis non dolet interitum
good-man not mourns the-death of-Trebonius who not grieves-at the-death
talis et civis et viri? At sunt qui dicant dure illi quidem,
of-such both a-citizen and a-man but there-are who say harshly they indeed
sed tamen dicunt: minus dolendum quod ab homine impuro
but still they-say less to-be-grieved because against a-man impure
nefarioque non caverit. Etenim qui multorum custodem
and-wicked not he-was-on-guard for who of-many the-guardian
se profiteatur, eum sapientes sui primum capitis aiunt
himself professes he wise-men of-his-own first head say
custodem esse oportere. Cum saeptus sis legibus et
the-guardian to-be it-behooves when fenced you-are by-laws and
iudiciorum metu, non sunt omnia timenda neque ad omnis
of-the-courts by-fear not are all-things to-be-feared nor against all
insidias praesidia quaerenda. Quis enim audeat luci,
snares defenses to-be-sought who for would-dare in-daylight

quis in militari via, quis bene comitatum, quis inlustrem
who on a-military road who one-well escorted who one-illustrious
aggredi? Haec neque hoc tempore neque in me valent.
to-attack these-things neither at-this time nor in my-case hold
26 Non modo enim poenam non extimescet qui mihi vim
not only for punishment not will-dread he-who on-me violence
attulerit sed etiam gloriam sperabit a latronum gregibus
shall-have-brought but also glory he-will-hope from of-brigands the-herds
et praemia. Haec ego in urbe provideo: facilis est
and rewards these-things I in the-city foresee easy is
circumspectus unde exeam, quo progrediar, quid ad dexteram,
the-looking-around whence I-may-go-out whither I-may-proceed what on the-right
quid ad sinistram sit. Num idem in Appennini tramitibus
what on the-left there-be surely-not the-same on of-the-Apennines the-tracks
facere potero? in quibus etiam si non erunt insidiae, quae
to-do shall-I-be-able on which even if not there-shall-be snares which
facillime esse poterunt, animus tamen erit sollicitus, ut nihil
most-easily be will-be-able my-mind still will-be anxious so-that nothing
possit de officiis legationis attendere. Sed effugi insidias,
it-can about the-duties of-the-embassy attend-to but I-have-escaped the-snares
perrupi Appenninum: nempe in Antoni congressum
I-have-broken-through the-Apennines surely into Antony's meeting
conloquiumque veniendum est. Quinam locus capietur? Si
and-conference to-be-come it-is what place will-be-taken if
extra castra, ceteri viderint: ego me vix tuto futurum
outside the-camp the-others let-them-see-to-it I myself scarcely safe going-to-be
puto. Novi hominis furorem, novi effrenatam violentiam. Cuius
think I-know the-man's madness I-know his-unbridled violence whose
acerbitas morum immanitasque naturae ne vino quidem
harshness of-character and-savagery of-nature not by-wine even
permixta temperari solet, hic ira dementiaque inflammatus
mixed to-be-tempered is-wont he with-anger and-madness inflamed

adhibito fratre Lucio, taeterrima belua, numquam profecto
having-brought-in his-brother Lucius a-most-foul beast never surely
a me sacrilegas manus atque impias abstinebit.
from me his-sacrilegious hands and impious will-keep

VI · NO SAFE CONFERENCE

Cicero recalls conferences of old, Pompeius Strabo with the Marsian Scato and Sulla with Scipio between Cales and Teanum, held without danger. Antony's camp is not safe. Cicero would only refer everything back to the senate, and the soldiers might blame him for delaying peace. He will go if he may go safely, judging by the advantage of the state alone.

Memini conloquia et cum acerrimis hostibus et cum gravissime 27
I-remember conferences both with most-bitter enemies and with most-seriously
dissidentibus civibus. Cn. Pompeius, Sexti filius, consul me
disagreeing citizens Gnaeus Pompeius of-Sextus son the-consul me
praesente, cum essem tiro in eius exercitu, cum P. Vettio
being-present when I-was a-recruit in his army with Publius Vettius
Scatone, duce Marsorum, inter bina castra conlocutus est:
Scato leader of-the-Marsi between the-two camps conferred has
quo quidem die memini Sex. Pompeium, fratrem consulis,
on-which indeed day I-remember Sextus Pompeius brother of-the-consul
ad conloquium ipsum Roma venire, doctum virum atque
to the-conference itself from-Rome to-come a-learned man and
sapientem. Quem cum Scato salutasset, 'Quem te appellem?'
wise whom when Scato had-greeted what you shall-I-call
inquit. At ille 'Voluntate hospitem, necessitate hostem.' Erat
he-said and he in-will a-host by-necessity an-enemy there-was
in illo conloquio aequitas; nullus timor, nulla suberat suspicio;
in that conference fairness no fear no lay-beneath suspicion

mediocre etiam odium. Non enim ut eriperent nobis socii
moderate even hatred not for that they-might-snatch from-us the-allies
civitatem, sed ut in eam reciperentur petebant. Sulla
the-citizenship but that into it they-might-be-received they-were-seeking Sulla
cum Scipione inter Cales et Teanum, cum alter nobilitatis
with Scipio between Cales and Teanum when the-one of-the-nobility
florem, alter belli socios adhibuisset, de auctoritate
the-flower the-other of-the-war the-allies had-brought about the-authority
senatus, de suffragiis populi, de iure civitatis leges
of-the-senate about the-votes of-the-people about the-right of-citizenship laws
inter se et condiciones contulerunt. Non tenuit omnino
among themselves and terms they-compared not kept altogether
conloquium illud fidem: a vi tamen periculoque afuit.
conference that faith from violence still and-danger it-was-free
Possumusne igitur in Antoni latrocinio aeque esse tuti? Non
can-we therefore in of-Antony brigandage equally be safe not
possumus; aut, si ceteri possunt, me posse diffido.
we-can or if the-others can me to-be-able I-distrust
28 Quod si non extra castra congrediemur, quae ad conloquium
but if not outside the-camp we-shall-meet what for the-conference
castra sumentur? In nostra ille numquam veniet; multo
camp will-be-taken into ours he never will-come much
minus nos in illius. Reliquum est ut et accipiantur et
less we into his remaining it-is that both be-received and
remittantur postulata per litteras. Ergo erimus in castris,
be-sent-back the-demands through letters therefore we-shall-be in the-camp
meaque ad omnia postulata una sententia; quam cum
and-my to all demands one opinion which when
hic vobis audientibus dixero, isse, redisse me
here you hearing I-shall-have-spoken to-have-gone to-have-returned me
putatote: legationem confecero. Omnia ad senatum mea
think the-embassy I-shall-have-completed all-things to the-senate by-my

sententia reiciam, quaecumque postulabit Antonius. Neque
opinion I-shall-refer whatever shall-demand Antony nor
enim licet aliter neque permissum est nobis ab hoc
for it-is-allowed otherwise nor permitted it-has-been to-us by this
ordine, ut bellis confectis decem legatis permitti solet
order as with-wars finished to-ten envoys to-be-permitted is-wont
more maiorum, neque ulla omnino a senatu mandata
by-the-custom of-our-ancestors nor any at-all from the-senate instructions
accepimus. Quae cum agam in consilio non nullis, ut
we-have-received which when I-do in the-council not none as
arbitror, repugnantibus, nonne metuendum est ne imperita
I-think opposing surely to-be-feared it-is lest the-inexperienced
militum multitudo per me pacem distineri putet?
of-soldiers multitude by me peace to-be-kept-off may-think
Facite hoc meum consilium legiones novas non improbare; 29
grant this my counsel the-legions new not to-disapprove
nam Martiam et quartam nihil cogitantis praeter dignitatem
for the-Martian and the-fourth nothing thinking-of except dignity
et decus comprobaturas esse certo scio: quid? veteranos non
and honor going-to-approve to-be surely I-know what the-veterans not
veremur — nam timeri se ne ipsi quidem volunt —
do-we-fear for to-be-feared themselves not they-themselves even wish
quonam modo accipiant severitatem meam? Multa enim
in-what-pray manner they-may-take severity my many for
falsa de me audierunt; multa ad eos improbi detulerunt,
false-things about me they-have-heard many-things to them wicked-men have-reported
quorum commoda, ut vos optimi testes estis, semper ego
whose advantages as you the-best witnesses are always I
sententia, auctoritate, oratione firmavi: sed credunt improbis,
by-vote authority speech have-strengthened but they-believe the-wicked
credunt turbulentis, credunt suis. Sunt autem fortes illi
they-believe the-turbulent they-believe their-own they-are however brave they

quidem, sed propter memoriam rerum quas gesserunt pro
indeed but on-account-of the-memory of-the-things which they-did for
populi Romani libertate et salute rei publicae nimis
of-the-people Roman the-liberty and the-safety of-the-thing public too
feroces et ad suam vim omnia nostra consilia revocantes.
fierce and to their-own force all our counsels referring
30 Horum ego cogitationem non vereor; impetum pertimesco. Haec
their I thinking not I-fear the-onset I-dread these
quoque tanta pericula si effugero, satisne tutum reditum
also so-great dangers if I-shall-have-escaped enough safe the-return
putatis fore? Cum enim et vestram auctoritatem meo more
do-you-think going-to-be when for both your authority in-my fashion
defendero et meam fidem rei publicae constantiamque
I-shall-have-defended and my faith to-the-thing public and-constancy
praestitero, tum erunt mihi non ei solum qui me oderunt
I-shall-have-shown then there-will-be for-me not those only who me hate
sed illi etiam qui invident extimescendi. Custodiatur igitur vita
but those also who envy to-be-dreaded let-be-guarded therefore the-life
rei publicae mea, quoad vel dignitas vel natura patietur,
for-the-thing public my as-long-as either dignity or nature shall-allow
patriae reservetur, mors aut necessitatem habeat fati
for-the-fatherland let-it-be-reserved death either the-necessity let-it-have of-fate
aut, si ante oppetenda est, oppetatur cum gloria. Haec cum
or if before to-be-met it-is let-it-be-met with glory these-things since
ita sint, etsi hanc legationem res publica, ut levissime
so they-are although this embassy the-thing public to most-lightly
dicam, non desiderat, tamen si tuto licebit ire, proficiscar.
speak not requires still if safely it-shall-be-allowed to-go I-shall-set-out
Omnino, patres conscripti, totum huiusce rei consilium
altogether fathers enrolled the-whole of-this matter's counsel
non periculo meo, sed utilitate rei publicae metiar.
not by-danger my but by-the-advantage of-the-thing public I-shall-measure

De	qua	mihi	quoniam	liberum	est	spatium,	multum	etiam
about	*which*	*to-me*	*since*	*free*	*there-is*	*time*	*much*	*even*

atque	etiam	considerandum	puto	idque	potissimum	faciendum
and	*even*	*to-be-considered*	*I-think*	*and-that*	*especially*	*to-be-done*

quod	maxime	interesse	rei	publicae	iudicaro.
which	*most*	*to-concern*	*of-the-thing*	*public*	*I-shall-have-judged*

PHILIPPICA TERTIA DECIMA

I · NO PEACE WITH THE ANTONIES

Peace is sweet, but whoever loves civil war should be cast out of humankind. With Sulla, Cinna, or Pompey and Caesar peace might have been made; with the Antonies, Censorinus, Ventidius, Trebellius, Bestia, Nucula, Lento, Saxa, and their crew of gamblers and veterans it cannot. Their faces, their threats, and the senate's own decrees against them make peace impossible.

A principio huius belli, patres conscripti, quod cum impiis 1
from the-beginning of-this war fathers enrolled which with impious
civibus conscleratisque suscepimus, timui ne condicio insidiosa
citizens and-criminal we-undertook I-feared lest a-condition treacherous
pacis libertatis recuperandae studia restingueret. Dulce enim
of-peace of-liberty to-be-recovered the-zeal might-quench sweet for
etiam nomen est pacis, res vero ipsa cum iucunda tum
even the-name is of-peace the-thing indeed itself both pleasant and
salutaris. Nam nec privatos focos nec publicas leges videtur
salutary for neither private hearths nor public laws he-seems
nec libertatis iura cara habere quem discordiae, quem
nor of-liberty the-rights dear to-hold whom discords whom
caedes civium, quem bellum civile delectat, eumque ex
the-slaughter of-citizens whom war civil delights and-him from
numero hominum eiciendum, ex finibus humanae naturae
the-number of-men to-be-cast-out from the-bounds of-human nature
exterminandum puto. Itaque sive Sulla sive Marius sive
to-be-banished I-think and-so whether Sulla or Marius or
uterque sive Octavius sive Cinna sive iterum Sulla sive alter
both or Octavius or Cinna or again Sulla or the-second

Marius et Carbo sive qui alius civile bellum optavit, eum
Marius and Carbo or whoever else civil war has-wished him
detestabilem civem rei publicae natum iudico.
a-detestable citizen for-the-thing public born I-judge
2 Nam quid ego de proximo dicam cuius acta defendimus,
for what I about the-latest shall-say whose acts we-defend
auctorem ipsum iure caesum fatemur? Nihil igitur hoc cive,
the-author himself rightly slain we-confess nothing therefore than-this citizen
nihil hoc homine taetrius, si aut civis aut homo habendus
nothing than-this man more-foul if either a-citizen or a-man to-be-held
est, qui civile bellum concupiscit. Sed hoc primum videndum
is who civil war covets but this first to-be-seen
est, patres conscripti, cum omnibusne pax esse possit an
is fathers enrolled with whether-all peace be can or
sit aliquod bellum inexpiabile, in quo pactio pacis lex
there-be some war inexpiable in which the-bargain of-peace the-law
sit servitutis. Pacem cum Scipione Sulla sive faciebat
be of-slavery peace with Scipio Sulla whether he-was-making
sive simulabat, non erat desperandum, si convenisset, fore
or was-feigning not it-was to-be-despaired-of if they-had-agreed going-to-be
aliquem tolerabilem statum civitatis. Cinna si concordiam
some tolerable condition of-the-state Cinna if concord
cum Octavio confirmare voluisset, hominum in re publica
with Octavius to-confirm had-wished of-men in the-thing public
sanitas remanere potuisset. Proximo bello si aliquid de summa
sanity to-remain could-have in-the-latest war if something from his-supreme
gravitate Pompeius, multum de cupiditate Caesar remisisset,
gravity Pompey much from his-desire Caesar had-remitted
et pacem stabilem et aliquam rem publicam nobis habere
both peace stable and some thing public to-us to-have
licuisset. Hoc vero quid est? cum Antoniis pax
it-would-have-been-allowed this indeed what is-it with the-Antonies peace

potest esse? cum Censorino, Ventidio, Trebellio, Bestia, Nucula,
can be with Censorinus Ventidius Trebellius Bestia Nucula
Munatio, Lentone, Saxa? Exempli causa paucos nominavi:
Munatius Lento Saxa of-example for-the-sake a-few I-have-named
genus infinitum immanitatemque ipsi cernitis reliquorum.
the-kind boundless and-savagery you-yourselves see of-the-rest
Addite illa naufragia Caesaris amicorum, Barbas Cassios, 3
add those wrecks of-Caesar's friends the-Barbas the-Cassii
Barbatios, Polliones; addite Antoni conlusores et sodalis,
the-Barbatii the-Pollios add of-Antony the-fellow-players and comrades
Eutrapelum, Melam, Pontium, Caelium, Crassicium, Tironem,
Eutrapelus Mela Pontius Caelius Crassicius Tiro
Mustelam, Petusium: comitatum relinquo, duces nomino.
Mustela Petusius the-retinue I-leave the-leaders I-name
Huc accedunt Alaudae ceterique veterani, seminarium iudicum
hither are-added the-Larks and-the-other veterans the-seedbed of-judges
decuriae tertiae, qui suis rebus exhaustis, beneficiis Caesaris
of-the-panel third who their means exhausted the-favors of-Caesar
devoratis, fortunas nostras concupiverunt.
devoured fortunes our have-coveted
O fidam dexteram Antoni qua ille plurimos civis trucidavit, 4
O faithful right-hand of-Antony with-which he very-many citizens butchered
o ratum religiosumque foedus quod cum Antoniis fecerimus!
O valid and-sacred treaty which with the-Antonies we-shall-have-made
Hoc si Marcus violare conabitur, Luci eum sanctitas a
this if Marcus to-violate shall-try of-Lucius him the-sanctity from
scelere revocabit. Illis locus si in hac urbe fuerit,
crime will-call-back for-them a-place if in this city there-shall-be
ipsi urbi locus non erit. Ora vobis eorum ponite
itself for-the-city a-place not will-there-be the-faces to-you their set
ante oculos et maxime Antoniorum; incessum, aspectum,
before your-eyes and especially of-the-Antonies the-gait look

voltum, spiritum, latera tegentis alios, alios praegredientis
face pride the-flanks guarding some others walking-before
amicos. Quem vini anhelitum, quas contumelias fore
friends what of-wine panting what insults going-to-be
censetis minasque verborum! Nisi forte eos pax ipsa leniet
do-you-think and-threats of-words unless perhaps them peace itself will-soften
maximeque, cum in hunc ordinem venerint, salutabunt
and-especially when into this order they-shall-have-come they-will-greet
benigne, comiter appellabunt unum quemque nostrum.
kindly courteously will-address each one of-us
Non recordamini, per deos immortalis! quas in eos sententias
not do-you-remember by the-gods immortal what against them opinions
dixeritis? Acta M. Antoni rescidistis; leges refixistis; per
you-have-spoken the-acts of-Mark Antony you-rescinded laws you-unfixed by
vim et contra auspicia latas decrevistis; totius Italiae dilectus
violence and against the-auspices passed you-decreed of-whole Italy levies
excitavistis; conlegam et scelerum socium omnium hostem
you-roused his-colleague and of-crimes partner of-all an-enemy
iudicavistis. Cum hoc quae pax potest esse? Hostis si esset
you-judged with this-man what peace can be the-enemy if he-were
externus, id ipsum vix talibus factis, sed posset aliquo modo.
foreign that itself scarcely after-such deeds but it-could in-some way
Maria, montes, regionum magnitudines interessent; odisses
seas mountains of-regions the-vastness would-lie-between you-would-hate
eum quem non videres. Hi in oculis haerebunt et, cum
him whom not you-saw these in our-eyes will-stick and when
licebit, in faucibus; quibus enim saeptis tam immanis
it-shall-be-allowed in our-throats with-what for enclosures such savage
beluas continebimus? At incertus exitus belli. Est omnino
beasts shall-we-contain but uncertain the-outcome of-war it-is altogether

fortium virorum, quales vos esse debetis, virtutem praestare —
of-brave men such-as you to-be ought courage to-show
tantum enim possunt — fortunae culpam non extimescere.
so-much for they-can of-fortune the-fault not to-dread

II · LEPIDUS URGES PEACE

Courage bids Rome fight, and wisdom agrees, since life is to be kept only with liberty. Lepidus, imperator and chief pontiff, urges peace. No one's authority weighs more with Cicero; Lepidus deserved well of the state by bringing Sextus Pompey back to peace without arms, for which the senate gave him a statue, and he cannot dissent from the state in will.

Sed quoniam ab hoc ordine non fortitudo solum verum 6
but since from this order not courage only but
etiam sapientia postulatur — quamquam vix videntur
also wisdom is-demanded although scarcely seem
haec posse seiungi, seiungamus tamen — fortitudo
these-things to-be-able to-be-separated let-us-separate(-them) still courage
dimicare iubet, iustum odium incendit, ad confligendum
to-fight bids just hatred kindles to fighting
impellit, vocat ad periculum: quid sapientia? Cautioribus
drives calls to danger what wisdom more-cautious
utitur consiliis, in posterum providet, est omni ratione
it-uses counsels for the-future provides it-is in-every way
tectior. Quid igitur censet? parendum est enim atque id
more-guarded what therefore does-it-think to-be-obeyed it-is for and that
optimum iudicandum quod sit sapientissime constitutum. Si
best to-be-judged which be most-wisely established if
hoc praecipit ne quid vita existimem antiquius, ne
this it-instructs that-not anything than-life I-should-think more-precious that-not

decernam capitis periculo, fugiam omne discrimen, quaeram
I-should-fight of-life with-danger I-should-flee every crisis I-shall-ask
ex ea: 'etiamne, si erit, cum id fecero, serviendum?'
of it even if it-shall-be when that I-shall-have-done to-be-slaved
Si adnuerit, ne ego sapientiam istam, quamvis sit
if it-shall-have-nodded indeed I wisdom that however-much it-be
erudita, non audiam. Sin responderit: 'Tu vero ita vitam
learned not shall-hear but-if it-shall-have-answered you indeed so life
corpusque servato, ita fortunas, ita rem familiarem, ut
and-body keep so fortunes so thing family that
haec libertate posteriora ducas itaque his uti velis, si
these-things than-liberty inferior you-reckon and-so these to-use you-wish if
libera re publica possis, nec pro his libertatem, sed pro
with-free thing public you-can nor for these liberty but for
libertate haec proicias tamquam pignora iniuriae,' tum
liberty these you-throw-away as pledges of-injury then
sapientiae vocem audire videar eique uti deo paream.
of-wisdom the-voice to-hear I-would-seem and-her as a-god I-would-obey
7 Itaque si receptis illis esse possumus liberi, vincamus odium
and-so if received them be we-can free let-us-conquer our-hatred
pacemque patiamur; sin otium incolumibus eis esse nullum
and-peace let-us-endure but-if leisure unharmed them be none
potest, laetemur decertandi oblatam esse fortunam. Aut
can let-us-rejoice of-fighting-it-out offered to-have-been the-chance either
enim interfectis illis fruemur victrice re publica aut
for killed them we-shall-enjoy the-victorious thing public or
oppressi — quod omen avertat Iuppiter! — si non spiritu,
crushed which omen may-avert Jupiter if not in-breath
at virtutis laude vivemus.
at-least of-courage in-the-praise we-shall-live

At enim nos M. Lepidus, imperator iterum, pontifex
but for us Marcus Lepidus commander for-the-second-time pontiff
maximus, optime proximo civili bello de re publica
chief best in-the-latest civil war of the-thing public
meritus, ad pacem adhortatur. Nullius apud me, patres
having-deserved to peace exhorts of-no-one with me fathers
conscripti, auctoritas maior est quam M. Lepidi vel
enrolled the-authority greater is than of-Marcus Lepidus either
propter ipsius virtutem vel propter familiae dignitatem.
on-account-of his-own courage or on-account-of of-his-family the-dignity
Accedunt eodem multa privata magna eius in me merita,
there-are-added to-the-same many private great his to me services
mea quaedam officia in illum. Maximum vero eius beneficium
my some duties to him the-greatest indeed his favor
numero quod hoc animo in rem publicam est, quae
I-reckon that with-this mind toward the-thing public he-is which
mihi vita mea semper fuit carior.
to-me than-life my always has-been dearer
Nam cum Magnum Pompeium, clarissimum adulescentem, 8
for when Magnus Pompey a-most-illustrious young-man
praestantissimi viri filium, auctoritate adduxit ad pacem
of-a-most-outstanding man the-son by-his-authority he-brought to peace
remque publicam sine armis maximo civilis belli periculo
and-the-thing public without arms from-the-greatest of-civil war danger
liberavit, tum me eius beneficio plus quam pro virili parte
he-freed then me by-his favor more than for a-man's part
obligatum puto. Itaque et honores ei decrevi quos potui
bound I-think and-so both honors to-him I-decreed which I-could
amplissimos, in quibus mihi vos estis adsensi, nec umquam
most-ample in which with-me you have assented nor ever
de illo et sperare optime et loqui destiti. Magnis et
about him both to-hope the-best and to-speak I-have-ceased by-great and

multis pignoribus M. Lepidum res publica inligatum tenet.
many pledges Marcus Lepidus the-thing public bound holds
Summa nobilitas est, omnes honores, amplissimum sacerdotium,
the-highest nobility is all honors the-most-ample priesthood
plurima urbis ornamenta, ipsius, fratris maiorumque
very-many of-the-city ornaments of-his-own brother's and-ancestors'
monumenta; probatissima uxor, optatissimi liberi, res
monuments a-most-approved wife most-desired children the-estate
familiaris cum ampla tum casta a cruore civili. Nemo ab eo
family both ample and pure from blood civil no-one by him
civis violatus, multi eius beneficio et misericordia liberati. Talis
a-citizen harmed many by-his kindness and pity freed such
igitur vir et civis opinione labi potest, voluntate a re
therefore a-man and citizen in-opinion to-slip can in-will from the-thing
publica dissidere nullo pacto potest. Pacem volt M. Lepidus.
public to-dissent in-no way can peace wishes Marcus Lepidus
9 Praeclare, si talem potest efficere qualem nuper effecit,
splendidly if such he-can bring-about as lately he-brought-about
qua pace Cn. Pompei filium res publica aspiciet
by-which peace of-Gnaeus Pompey the-son the-thing public will-see
suoque sinu complexuque recipiet, neque solum illum, sed
and-in-its-own bosom and-embrace will-receive nor only him but
cum illo se ipsam sibi restitutam putabit. Haec causa fuit
with him itself itself to-itself restored it-will-think this the-reason was
cur decerneretis statuam in rostris cum inscriptione praeclara,
why you-decreed a-statue on the-rostra with an-inscription splendid
cur absenti triumphum. Quamquam enim magnas res
why for-the-absent-man a-triumph although for great things
bellicas gesserat et triumpho dignas, non erat tamen ei
military he-had-done and with-a-triumph worthy not it-was still to-him
tribuendum quod nec L. Aemilio nec Aemiliano Scipioni
to-be-granted what not to-Lucius Aemilius nor to-Aemilianus Scipio

nec superiori Africano nec Mario nec Pompeio, qui maiora
nor to-the-elder Africanus nor to-Marius nor to-Pompey who greater
bella gesserunt, sed quod silentio bellum civile confecerat,
wars waged but because in-silence war civil he-had-ended
cum primum licuit, honores in eum maximos contulistis.
when first it-was-allowed honors on him the-greatest you-conferred

III · POMPEY'S SON AND LEPIDUS' ARMY

Pompey's son will buy back his father's house and estates from Antony and Dolabella. The envoys Paulus, Thermus, and Fannius report him at Massilia, ready to march on Mutina but for fear of offending the veterans. Lepidus must not threaten with his army: it belongs to the senate and people, and none may lead it against his country. Even his unarmed authority is not needed: Rome cannot be turned from liberty.

Existimasne igitur, M. Lepide, qualem Pompeium res 10
do-you-think therefore Marcus Lepidus such-as Pompey the-thing
publica habitura sit civem, talis futuros in re publica
public going-to-have be as-citizen such going-to-be in the-thing public
Antonios? In altero pudor, gravitas, moderatio, integritas;
the-Antonies in the-one modesty gravity moderation integrity
in illis — et cum hos compello, praetereo animo ex grege
in them and when these I-address I-pass-over in-mind from the-herd
latrocini neminem — libidines, scelera, ad omne facinus
of-brigandage no-one lusts crimes for every deed
immanis audacia. Deinde vos obsecro, patres conscripti, quis
savage audacity next you I-beseech fathers enrolled who
hoc vestrum non videt quod Fortuna ipsa quae dicitur
this of-you not sees which Fortune herself who is-called
caeca vidit? Salvis enim actis Caesaris quae concordiae
blind has-seen safe for the-acts of-Caesar which of-concord

causa defendimus Pompeio sua domus patebit, eamque
for-the-sake we-defend to-Pompey his-own house will-be-open and-it
non minoris quam emit Antonius redimet; redimet,
not for-less than bought Antony he-will-buy-back he-will-buy-back
inquam, Cn. Pompei domum filius. O rem acerbam!
I-say of-Gnaeus Pompey the-house the-son O thing bitter
Sed haec satis diu multumque defleta sunt. Decrevistis
but these-things enough long and-much wept-over have-been you-have-decreed
tantam pecuniam Pompeio quantam ex bonis patriis in
as-much money to-Pompey as from the-goods paternal in
praedae dissipatione inimicus victor redegisset.
the-booty's squandering the-enemy victor had-collected
11 Sed hanc mihi dispensationem pro paterna
but this for-me management in-keeping-with my-paternal
necessitudine et coniunctione deposco: redimet hortos,
connection and association I-claim he-will-buy-back the-gardens
aedis, urbana quaedam quae possidet Antonius. Nam
the-house urban-properties certain which possesses Antony for
argentum, vestem, supellectilem, vinum amittet aequo
the-silver clothing furniture wine he-will-lose with-calm
animo, quae ille helluo dissipavit. Albanum, Formianum a
mind which that glutton has-squandered the-Alban the-Formian from
Dolabella recuperabit; etiam ab Antonio Tusculanum; eique
Dolabella he-will-recover also from Antony the-Tusculan and-those
qui nunc Mutinam oppugnant, D. Brutum obsident, de
who now Mutina attack Decimus Brutus besiege from
Falerno Anseres depellantur. Sunt alii plures fortasse,
the-Falernian let-the-Anseres be-driven-off there-are others more perhaps
sed mea memoria dilabuntur. Ego etiam eos dico qui
but from-my memory they-slip I even those I-say who

hostium numero non sunt Pompeianas possessiones quanti
of-enemies in-the-number not are the-Pompeian possessions for-what
emerint filio reddituros.
they-bought(-them) to-the-son going-to-give-back
Satis inconsiderati fuit, ne dicam audacis, rem ullam ex 12
enough of-thoughtlessness it-was not to-say of-audacity thing any of
illis attingere; retinere vero quis poterit clarissimo
those to-touch to-retain indeed who will-be-able with-the-most-illustrious
domino restituto? An is non reddet qui domini
owner restored or he not will-give-back who of-his-master
patrimonium circumplexus quasi thesaurum draco, Pompei
the-patrimony embracing like a-treasure a-dragon of-Pompey
servus, libertus Caesaris, agri Lucani possessiones
the-slave the-freedman of-Caesar of-the-land Lucanian the-possessions
occupavit? Atque illud septiens miliens quod adulescenti,
has-seized and that seven-hundred millions which to-the-young-man
patres conscripti, spopondistis, ita discribetur ut videatur
fathers enrolled you-pledged so shall-be-apportioned that he-may-seem
a vobis Cn. Pompei filius in patrimonio suo conlocatus.
by you of-Gnaeus Pompey the-son in patrimony his placed
Haec senatus: reliqua populus Romanus in ea familia
these-things the-senate the-rest the-people Roman in that family
quam vidit amplissimam persequetur, in primis paternum
which it-saw most-distinguished will-pursue in first-things his-father's
auguratus locum, in quem ego eum, ut quod a patre
of-augurate the-place into which I him that what from his-father
accepi filio reddam, mea nominatione cooptabo. Utrum
I-received to-the-son I-may-give-back by-my nomination shall-co-opt which
igitur augurem Iuppiter optimus maximus cuius interpretes
therefore augur Jupiter best greatest of-whom interpreters
internuntiique constituti sumus, utrum populus Romanus
and-messengers appointed we-have-been which the-people Roman

libentius sanciet, Pompeiumne an Antonium? Mihi quidem
more-gladly will-sanction Pompey or Antony to-me indeed
numine deorum immortalium videtur hoc fortuna voluisse
by-the-will of-the-gods immortal seems this fortune to-have-wished
ut actis Caesaris firmis ac ratis Cn. Pompei filius
that with-the-acts of-Caesar firm and valid of-Gnaeus Pompey the-son
posset et dignitatem et fortunas patrias recuperare.
could both the-dignity and fortunes paternal recover

13 Ac ne illud quidem silentio, patres conscripti, praetereundum
and not that even in-silence fathers enrolled to-be-passed-over
puto quod clarissimi viri legati, L. Paulus, Q. Thermus,
I-think that most-illustrious men envoys Lucius Paulus Quintus Thermus
C. Fannius, quorum habetis cognitam voluntatem in
Gaius Fannius of-whom you-have known the-will toward
rem publicam eamque perpetuam atque constantem, nuntiant
the-thing public and-that lasting and steadfast report
se Pompei conveniendi causa divertisse Massiliam
themselves Pompey of-meeting for-the-sake to-have-turned-aside to-Massilia
eumque cognovisse paratissimo animo ut cum suis copiis
and-him to-have-found most-ready in-mind that with his forces
iret ad Mutinam, ni vereretur ne veteranorum animos
he-would-go to Mutina if-not he-feared lest of-the-veterans the-minds
offenderet. Est vero eius patris filius qui sapienter faciebat
he-should-offend he-is indeed of-that father the-son who wisely acted
non minus multa quam fortiter. Itaque intellegitis et
not less many-things than bravely and-so you-understand both
animum ei praesto fuisse nec consilium defuisse.
the-spirit to-him at-hand to-have-been and-not counsel to-have-been-lacking
Atque etiam hoc M. Lepido providendum est ne
and also this by-Marcus Lepidus to-be-provided-against is that-not
quid adrogantius quam eius mores ferunt facere videatur.
anything more-arrogantly than his character allows to-do he-may-seem

Si enim nos exercitu terret, non meminit illum exercitum 14
if for us with-his-army he-frightens not he-remembers that army
senatus populique Romani atque universae rei publicae esse,
of-the-senate and-of-the-people Roman and of-the-whole thing public to-be
non suum. At uti potest pro suo. Quid tum? omniane
not his-own but to-use he-can(-it) as his-own what then all-things
bonis viris quae facere possunt facienda sunt, etiamne si
by-good men which to-do they-can to-be-done are even if
turpia, si perniciosa erunt, si facere omnino non licebit?
shameful if ruinous they-shall-be if to-do at-all not it-shall-be-allowed
Quid autem turpius aut foedius aut quod minus deceat
what however more-shameful or more-foul or what less befits
quam contra senatum, contra civis, contra patriam exercitum
than against the-senate against citizens against the-fatherland an-army
ducere? quid vero magis vituperandum quam id facere quod
to-lead what indeed more to-be-blamed than that to-do which
non liceat? Licet autem nemini contra patriam ducere
not is-allowed it-is-allowed however to-no-one against the-fatherland to-lead
exercitum; si quidem licere id dicimus quod legibus, quod
an-army if indeed to-be-allowed that we-call which by-laws which
more maiorum institutisque conceditur. Neque enim,
by-the-custom of-our-ancestors and-institutions is-granted nor for
quod quisque potest, id ei licet, nec, si non obstatur,
what each-one can that to-him is-allowed nor if not it-is-opposed
propterea etiam permittitur. Tibi enim exercitum, Lepide, tam
therefore also it-is-permitted to-you for an-army Lepidus as
quam maioribus tuis patria pro se dedit. Hoc tu arcebis
as to-ancestors your the-fatherland for itself gave with-this you shall-keep-off
hostem, finis imperi propagabis: senatui populoque Romano
the-enemy the-bounds of-empire you-shall-extend the-senate and-the-people Roman
parebis, si quam ad aliam rem te forte traduxerit.
you-shall-obey if any to another matter you perhaps it-shall-have-transferred

15 Haec si cogitas, es M. Lepidus, pontifex maximus,
these-things if you-consider you-are Marcus Lepidus pontiff chief
M. Lepidi, pontificis maximi, pronepos; sin hominibus
of-Marcus Lepidus pontiff chief the-great-grandson but-if for-men
tantum licere iudicas quantum possunt, vide ne alienis
as-much to-be-allowed you-judge as-much-as they-can see lest others'
exemplis eisque recentibus uti quam et antiquis et
examples and-those recent to-use than both ancient and
domesticis malle videare. Quod si auctoritatem interponis
domestic to-prefer you-may-seem but if authority you-interpose
sine armis, magis equidem laudo, sed vide ne hoc ipsum
without arms more I-for-my-part praise(-it) but see lest this itself
non sit necesse. Quamquam enim est tanta in te auctoritas
not be necessary although for there-is so-great in you authority
quanta debet in homine nobilissimo, tamen senatus se
as-great-as ought-to-be in a-man most-noble still the-senate itself
ipse non contemnit, nec vero fuit umquam gravior,
itself not despises nor indeed it-has-been ever weightier
constantior, fortior. Incensi omnes rapimur ad libertatem
more-steadfast braver kindled all we-are-swept to liberty
recuperandam; non potest ullius auctoritate tantus senatus
to-be-recovered not can by-anyone's authority so-great of-the-senate
populique Romani ardor exstingui; odimus, irati pugnamus,
and-of-the-people Roman an-ardor be-extinguished we-hate angry we-fight
extorqueri manibus arma non possunt; receptui signum
to-be-wrested from-our-hands the-arms not can of-retreat the-signal
aut revocationem a bello audire non possumus; speramus
or the-recall from war to-hear not we-can we-hope-for
optima, pati vel difficillima malumus quam servire.
the-best to-endure even the-most-difficult-things we-prefer than to-be-slaves

With young Caesar's army, two consuls, and Plancus' forces, Rome cannot yield to one gladiator; Lepidus' fortune depends on the state's safety. Cicero recalls Lepidus' grief when Antony offered the dictator the diadem. Antony's butchery at Brundisium and Suessa was checked by young Caesar, then by Brutus at Mutina; he spurned the envoys, and with him, Lepidus, no peace is possible.

Caesar confecit invictum exercitum; duo fortissimi consules 16
Caesar has-raised an-unconquered army two most-brave consuls
adsunt cum copiis; L. Planci, consulis designati, varia
are-present with forces of-Lucius Plancus consul designate varied
et magna auxilia non desunt; in D. Bruti salute
and great auxiliaries not are-lacking for of-Decimus Brutus the-safety
certatur; unus furiosus gladiator cum taeterrimorum
there-is-contending one mad gladiator with of-most-foul
latronum manu contra patriam, contra deos penatis, contra
brigands a-band against the-fatherland against the-gods household against
aras et focos, contra quattuor consules gerit bellum.
the-altars and hearths against four consuls wages war
Huic cedamus, huius condiciones audiamus, cum hoc
to-this-man shall-we-yield his terms shall-we-listen-to with this-man
pacem fieri posse credamus?
peace to-be-made to-be-able shall-we-believe
At periculum est ne opprimamur. Non metuo ne is qui suis
but danger there-is lest we-be-crushed not I-fear lest he who his
amplissimis fortunis nisi nobis salvis frui non potest prodat
most-ample fortunes unless with-us safe to-enjoy not can should-betray
salutem suam. Bonos civis primum natura efficit, adiuvat
safety his-own good citizens first nature makes helps

deinde fortuna. Omnibus enim bonis expedit salvam esse
next fortune to-all for good-men it-is-expedient safe to-be
rem publicam. Sed in eis qui fortunati sunt magis id apparet.
the-thing public but in those who fortunate are more it is-apparent
17 Quis fortunatior Lepido, ut ante dixi, quis eodem sanior?
who more-fortunate than-Lepidus as before I-said who than-the-same saner
Vidit eius maestitiam atque lacrimas populus Romanus
saw his sorrow and tears the-people Roman
Lupercalibus; vidit quam abiectus, quam confectus esset,
at-the-Lupercalia it-saw how dejected how overcome he-was
cum Caesari diadema imponens Antonius servum se illius
when on-Caesar a-diadem placing Antony a-slave himself his
quam conlegam esse malebat. Qui si reliquis flagitiis
than colleague to-be preferred who if from-the-rest-of his-outrages
et sceleribus abstinere potuisset, tamen unum ob
and crimes to-abstain had-been-able still one on-account-of
hoc factum dignum illum omni poena putarem. Nam
this deed worthy him of-every punishment I-would-think for
si ipse servire poterat, nobis dominum cur imponebat?
if he-himself to-be-slave could on-us a-master why was-be-imposing
et si eius pueritia pertulerat libidines eorum qui erant
and if his boyhood had-endured the-lusts of-those who were
in eum tyranni, etiamne in nostros liberos dominum
toward him tyrants even upon our children a-master
et tyrannum comparabat? Itaque illo interfecto qualem in
and tyrant was-he-procuring and-so him killed such toward
nos eum esse voluit, talis ipse in ceteros exstitit.
us him to-be he-wished such he-himself toward the-others proved
18 Qua enim in barbaria quisquam tam taeter, tam crudelis
what for in barbarism anyone so foul so cruel
tyrannus quam in hac urbe armis barbarorum stipatus
a-tyrant as in this city with-arms of-barbarians packed

Antonius? Caesare dominante veniebamus in senatum, si
Antony with-Caesar lording-it we-used-to-come into the-senate if
non libere, at tamen tuto. Hoc archipirata — quid enim
not freely at-least still safely with-this arch-pirate why for
dicam tyranno? — haec subsellia ab Ituraeis occupabantur.
should-I-say tyrant these benches by Ituraeans were-occupied
Prorupit subito Brundisium ut inde agmine quadrato ad
he-burst-forth suddenly to-Brundisium that thence in-column square to
urbem accederet; lautissimum oppidum nunc municipum
the-city he-might-approach the-most-splendid town now of-townsmen
honestissimorum, quondam colonorum, Suessam fortissimorum
most-honorable once of-colonists Suessa of-most-brave
militum sanguine implevit; Brundisi in sinu non modo
soldiers with-the-blood he-filled at-Brundisium in the-lap not only
avarissimae, sed etiam crudelissimae uxoris delectos
of-a-most-avaricious but also of-a-most-cruel wife picked
Martiae legionis centuriones trucidavit. Inde se quo
of-the-Martian legion centurions he-butchered thence himself with-what
furore, quo ardore ad urbem, id est ad caedem optimi
madness with-what ardor to the-city that is to the-slaughter of-the-best
cuiusque rapiebat! Quo tempore di ipsi immortales
each he-was-sweeping at-which time the-gods themselves immortal
praesidium improvisum nec opinantibus nobis obtulerunt.
a-protection unforeseen nor expecting us offered
Caesaris enim incredibilis ac divina virtus latronis impetus 19
of-Caesar for the-incredible and divine courage of-the-brigand the-onsets
crudelis ac furibundos retardavit: quem tamen ille demens
cruel and frenzied held-back whom still that madman
laedere se putabat edictis, ignorans quaecumque falso
to-hurt himself thought by-edicts not-knowing whatever falsely
diceret in sanctissimum adulescentem, ea vere recidere
he-said against the-most-blameless young-man those-things truly to-fall-back

in memoriam pueritiae suae. Ingressus urbem est quo
on the-memory of-boyhood his-own entered the-city he-has with-what
comitatu vel potius agmine, cum dextra sinistra, gemente
escort or rather column when right left groaning
populo Romano, minaretur dominis, notaret domos, divisurum
the-people Roman he-threatened masters marked houses going-to-divide
se urbem palam suis polliceretur. Eoque ipso die
himself the-city openly to-his-men promised and-on-that very day
innumerabilia senatus consulta fecit, quae quidem omnia
countless of-the-senate decrees he-made which indeed all
citius delata quam scripta sunt. Rediit ad milites; ibi
sooner entered than written were he-returned to the-soldiers there
pestifera illa Tiburi contio. Inde ad urbem cursus; senatus in
pestilent that at-Tibur assembly thence to the-city a-run the-senate to
Capitolium; parata de circumscribendo adulescente sententia
the-Capitol prepared about restraining the-young-man an-opinion
consularis, cum repente — nam Martiam legionem Albae
by-a-consular when suddenly for the-Martian legion at-Alba
consedisse sciebat — adfertur ei de quarta nuntius. Quo
to-have-settled he-knew is-brought to-him about the-fourth news by-which
perculsus abiecit consilium referendi ad senatum de
struck he-threw-away the-plan of-referring to the-senate about
Caesare: egressus est non viis, sed tramitibus paludatus.
Caesar went-out he-has not by-roads but by-byways in-the-general's-cloak
20 Ex eo non iter, sed cursus et fuga in Galliam.
from that not a-journey but a-run and flight into Gaul
Caesarem sequi arbitrabatur cum legione Martia, cum quarta,
Caesar to-follow he-thought with the-legion Martian with the-fourth
cum veteranis, quorum ille nomen prae metu ferre non
with the-veterans whose he name because-of fear to-bear not
poterat, eique in Galliam penetranti D. se Brutus
could and-to-him into Gaul penetrating Decimus himself Brutus

obiecit, qui se totius belli fluctibus circumiri
threw-in-the-way who himself of-the-whole war by-the-waves to-be-surrounded
quam illum aut regredi aut progredi maluit, Mutinamque
than him either to-go-back or to-go-forward preferred and-Mutina
illi exsultanti tamquam frenos furoris iniecit. Quam cum
on-him exulting as reins of-madness threw which when
operibus munitionibusque saepsisset nec eum coloniae
with-works and-fortifications he-had-hedged-in nor him of-a-colony
florentissimae dignitas neque consulis designati maiestas
most-flourishing the-dignity nor of-a-consul designate the-majesty
a parricidio deterreret, tum me — testor et vos
from parricide deterred then I call-to-witness both you
et populum Romanum et omnis deos qui huic urbi
and the-people Roman and all the-gods who over-this city
praesident — invito et repugnante legati missi tres
preside with-me-unwilling and opposing envoys were-sent three
consulares ad latronum et gladiatorum ducem.
consulars to of-brigands and gladiators the-leader
Quis tam barbarus umquam, tam immanis, tam ferus? Non 21
who so barbarous ever so savage so wild not
audivit, non respondit; neque eos solum praesentis sed multo
he-listened not he-answered nor them only present but much
magis nos a quibus illi erant missi sprevit et pro nihilo
more us by whom they had-been sent he-spurned and for nothing
putavit. Postea quod scelus, quod facinus parricida non
reckoned afterward what crime what deed the-parricide not
edidit? Circumsedet colonos nostros, exercitum populi
has-committed he-besieges colonists our the-army of-the-people
Romani, imperatorem, consulem designatum; agros divexat
Roman a-commander a-consul designate the-fields he-harries
civium optimorum; hostis taeterrimus omnibus bonis cruces
of-citizens the-best an-enemy most-foul to-all good-men crosses

ac tormenta minitatur. Cum hoc, M. Lepide, pax esse
and tortures he-threatens with this-man Marcus Lepidus peace be
quae potest? cuius ne supplicio quidem ullo satiari
what can by-whose not punishment even any to-be-satisfied
videtur posse res publica.
seems to-be-able the-thing public

V · ANTONY'S LETTER

Cicero reads and answers Antony's letter to Hirtius and young Caesar. Antony rejoices at Trebonius' death and grieves that Dolabella was judged an enemy, calls Trebonius a buffoon's son, Hirtius ungrateful, and Caesar a boy who owes everything to his name. Cicero answers each charge, and turns Antony's name for Decimus Brutus, poisoner, against him.

22 Quod si quis adhuc dubitare potuit quin nulla societas
but if anyone so-far to-doubt could that no fellowship
huic ordini populoque Romano cum illa importunissima
for-this order and-the-people Roman with that most-savage
belua posset esse, desinet profecto dubitare his cognitis
beast could be he-will-cease surely to-doubt with-this known
litteris quas mihi missas ab Hirtio consule modo accepi. Eas
letter which to-me sent by Hirtius the-consul just-now I-received it
dum recito dumque de singulis sententiis breviter disputo,
while I-read and-while about the-individual sentences briefly I-discuss
velim, patres conscripti, ut adhuc fecistis, me attente
I-would-wish fathers enrolled as so-far you-have-done me attentively
audiatis. 'Antonius Hirtio et Caesari.' Neque se imperatorem
you-hear Antony to-Hirtius and to-Caesar neither himself commander
neque Hirtium consulem nec pro praetore Caesarem. Satis hoc
nor Hirtius consul nor as propraetor Caesar fairly this

quidem scite: deponere alienum nomen ipse maluit quam
indeed cleverly to-lay-down another's title himself he-preferred than
illis suum reddere. 'Cognita morte C. Treboni non
to-them their-own to-give-back having-learned-of the-death of-Gaius Trebonius not
plus gavisus sum quam dolui.' Videte quid se gavisum,
more rejoiced I-have than I-grieved see what himself to-have-rejoiced
quid doluisse dicat: facilius de pace deliberabitis. 'Dedisse
what to-have-grieved he-says more-easily about peace you-will-deliberate to-have-paid
poenas sceleratum cineri atque ossibus clarissimi viri et
penalties a-criminal to-the-ashes and bones of-a-most-illustrious man and
apparuisse numen deorum intra finem anni vertentis aut
to-have-appeared the-will of-the-gods within the-end of-the-year turning either
iam soluto supplicio parricidi aut impendente laetandum
already paid the-punishment of-parricide or impending to-be-rejoiced
est.' O Spartace! quem enim te potius appellem, cuius
it-is O Spartacus what for you rather should-I-call whose
propter nefanda scelera tolerabilis videtur fuisse Catilina?
because-of unspeakable crimes tolerable seems to-have-been Catiline
laetandum esse ausus es scribere Trebonium dedisse
to-be-rejoiced to-be dared you-have to-write Trebonius to-have-paid
poenas? sceleratum Trebonium? quo scelere, nisi quod te
penalties criminal Trebonius by-what crime unless that you
Idibus Martiis a debita tibi peste seduxit?
on-the-Ides of-March from due to-you the-plague he-drew-aside
Age, hoc laetaris: videamus quid moleste feras. 'A senatu 23
come at-this you-rejoice let-us-see what annoyingly you-take by the-senate
iudicatum hostem populi Romani Dolabellam eo quod
judged an-enemy of-the-people Roman Dolabella on-this because
sicarium occiderit, et videri cariorem rei publicae
an-assassin he-killed and to-seem dearer to-the-thing public
filium scurrae quam C. Caesarem, patriae parentem,
the-son of-a-buffoon than Gaius Caesar of-the-fatherland the-father

ingemiscendum est.' Quid ingemiscis? Hostem Dolabellam?
to-be-groaned-at it-is why do-you-groan an-enemy Dolabella
quid? te non intellegis dilectu tota Italia habito, consulibus
what you not understand with-a-levy in-whole Italy held the-consuls
missis, Caesare ornato, sagis denique sumptis hostem
sent Caesar honored military-cloaks finally taken an-enemy
iudicatum? Quid est autem, scelerate, quod gemas hostem
judged what is-it however criminal that you-groan an-enemy
Dolabellam iudicatum a senatu? Quem tu ordinem omnino
Dolabella judged by the-senate which you order at-all
esse nullum putas, sed eam tibi causam belli gerendi
to-be none think but that to-yourself as-cause of-war being-waged
proponis ut senatum funditus deleas, reliqui boni et
you-set-before that the-senate utterly you-may-destroy the-remaining good and
locupletes omnes summum ordinem subsequantur. At scurrae
rich all the-highest order may-follow but of-a-buffoon
filium appellat. Quasi vero ignotus nobis fuerit splendidus
the-son he-calls(-him) as-if indeed unknown to-us had-been the-splendid
eques Romanus, Treboni pater. Is autem humilitatem
knight Roman of-Trebonius the-father he however the-humbleness
despicere audet cuiusquam qui ex Fadia sustulerit liberos.
to-despise dares of-anyone who by Fadia has-raised children
24 'Acerbissimum vero est te, A. Hirti, ornatum beneficiis
most-bitter indeed it-is you Aulus Hirtius honored with-the-favors
Caesaris et talem ab eo relictum qualem ipse miraris.'
of-Caesar and such by him left as he-himself you-marvel-at
Equidem negare non possum a Caesare Hirtium ornatum,
I-for-my-part to-deny not can by Caesar Hirtius honored
sed illa ornamenta in virtute et in industria posita lucent.
but those honors in courage and in industry placed shine
Tu vero qui te ab eodem Caesare ornatum negare non
you indeed who yourself by the-same Caesar honored to-deny not

potes, quid esses, si tibi ille non tam multa tribuisset?
can what would-you-be if to-you he not so many-things had-granted
ecquo te tua virtus provexisset, ecquo genus? In lustris,
whither you your courage would-have-advanced whither your-birth in brothels
popinis, alea, vino tempus aetatis omne consumpsisses, ut
cookshops dice wine the-time of-age all you-would-have-spent as
faciebas, cum in gremiis mimarum mentum mentemque
you-did when in the-laps of-actresses your-chin and-mind
deponeres. 'Et te, o puer.' Puerum appellat quem non
you-laid-down and you O boy boy he-calls(-him) whom not
modo virum sed etiam fortissimum virum sensit et
only a-man but also a-most-brave man he-has-found and
sentiet. Est istuc quidem nomen aetatis, sed ab eo minime
will-find is that indeed a-name of-age but by him least
usurpandum qui suam amentiam puero praebet ad gloriam.
to-be-used who his madness to-the-boy furnishes for glory
'Qui omnia nomini debes.' Debet vero solvitque praeclare.
who everything to-a-name owe owes indeed and-pays splendidly
Si enim ille patriae parens, ut tu appellas — ego quid 25
if for he the-father of-the-fatherland as you call(-him) I what
sentiam videro — cur non hic parens verior a quo certe
I-may-think shall-see why not this-one a-parent truer from whom surely
vitam habemus e tuis facinerosissimis manibus ereptam?
life we-have from your most-villainous hands snatched
'Id agere ut iure deminutus sit Dolabella?' Turpem vero
that to-act so-that by-right deprived be Dolabella shameful indeed
actionem, qua defenditur amplissimi auctoritas ordinis
the-action by-which is-defended of-the-most-ample the-authority order
contra crudelissimi gladiatoris amentiam! 'Et ut venefica
against of-a-most-cruel gladiator the-madness and that the-poisoner
haec liberetur obsidione?' Veneficam audes appellare eum
this-one be-freed from-siege poisoner do-you-dare to-call that

virum qui tuis veneficiis remedia invenit? quem ita obsides,
man who for-your poisons remedies has-found whom so you-besiege
nove Hannibal aut si quis acutior imperator fuit, ut te
new Hannibal or if anyone shrewder a-general was that you
ipse obsideas neque te istinc, si cupias, possis
yourself besiege nor yourself from-there if you-should-desire could
explicare. Recesseris: undique omnes insequentur;
you-extricate you-shall-have-withdrawn from-everywhere all will-pursue
manseris: haerebis. Nimirum recte veneficam appellas
you-shall-have-remained you-will-stick no-doubt rightly a-poisoner you-call(-him)
a quo tibi praesentem pestem vides comparatam. 'Ut
by whom for-you a-present plague you-see prepared that
quam potentissimus sit Cassius atque Brutus!'
as powerful-as-possible be Cassius and Brutus

VI · ANTONY'S SENATE

Antony charges that the senators call Pompey's camp a senate; Cicero lists Antony's own senate of bankrupts, brigands, and buffoons, from Cotyla to Saxa, against the ten consulars of Pompey's camp. The senate holds Macedonia, Africa, and Syria. Antony complains of Casca's tribunate, of the Luperci's lost revenues, and of the veterans' colonies, which the senate in fact confirmed.

26 Putes Censorinum dicere aut Ventidium aut etiam
you-would-think Censorinus to-be-speaking or Ventidius or even
ipsos Antonios. Cur autem nolint potentis esse non
the-very Antonies why however would-they-not-wish powerful to-be not
modo optimos et nobilissimos viros sed secum etiam in
only the-best and most-noble men but with-themselves also in
rei publicae defensione coniunctos? 'Nimirum eodem
of-the-thing public the-defense joined no-doubt in-the-same

modo haec aspicitis ut priora.' Quae tandem? 'Castra
way these-things you-look-at as the-earlier which pray the-camp
Pompei senatum appellatis.' An vero tua castra potius senatum
of-Pompey the-senate you-call or indeed your camp rather the-senate
appellaremus? in quibus tu es videlicet consularis cuius totus
should-we-call in which you are of-course a-consular whose whole
consulatus est ex omni monumentorum memoria evolsus;
consulship has-been from every of-records memory torn-out
duo praetores sine causa diffisi se aliquid habituros —
two praetors without cause distrusting themselves anything going-to-have
nos enim Caesaris beneficia defendimus — praetorii Philadelphus
we for Caesar's favors defend ex-praetors Philadelphus
Annius et innocens Gallius; aedilicii, corycus laterum et
Annius and blameless Gallius ex-aediles the-punching-bag of-lungs and
vocis meae Bestia, et fidei patronus, fraudator creditorum
of-voice my Bestia and of-faith the-patron the-defrauder of-creditors
Trebellius, et homo dirutus aere Q. Caelius, columenque
Trebellius and a-man ruined by-debt Quintus Caelius and-the-pillar
amicorum Antoni Cotyla Varius, quem Antonius deliciarum
of-friends of-Antony Cotyla Varius whom Antony for-delights'
causa loris in convivio caedi iubebat a servis publicis;
sake with-thongs at a-banquet to-be-beaten ordered by slaves public
vii virales Lento, Nucula; tum deliciae atque amores
of-the-seven board-men Lento Nucula then the-darling and loves
populi Romani L. Antonius; tribuni primum duo designati,
of-the-people Roman Lucius Antonius tribunes first two designate
Tullus Hostilius qui suo iure in porta nomen inscripsit
Tullus Hostilius who by-his-own right on the-gate his-name inscribed
qua, cum prodere imperatorem suum non potuisset, reliquit;
by-which when to-betray commander his not he-could he-deserted

alter est designatus Insteius nescio qui fortis, ut aiunt, latro;
the-other is the-designate Insteius I-know-not who brave as they-say brigand
quem tamen temperantem fuisse ferunt Pisauri balneatorem.
whom still temperate to-have-been they-say at-Pisaurum a-bath-keeper
27 Sequuntur alii tribunicii, T. Plancus in primis: qui si senatum
follow other ex-tribunes Titus Plancus in first-things who if the-senate
dilexisset, numquam curiam incendisset. Quo scelere
he-had-loved never the-senate-house he-would-have-burned for-which crime
damnatus in eam urbem rediit armis, unde excesserat
condemned into that city he-returned by-arms whence he-had-departed
legibus. Sed hoc ei commune cum pluribus sui similibus.
by-the-laws but this to-him common with many of-him like
Illud tamen non verum in hoc Planco quod proverbi loco
that still not true in this Plancus which of-a-proverb in-place
dici solet, perire eum non posse, nisi ei crura fracta
to-be-said is-wont to-perish him not to-be-able unless for-him the-legs broken
essent. Fracta sunt et vivit. Hoc tamen, ut alia multa,
had-been broken they-have-been and he-lives this still as other-things many
Aquilae referatur acceptum. Est etiam ibi Decius, ab illis,
to-Aquila recorded received there-is also there Decius from those
ut opinor, Muribus Deciis; itaque Caesaris munera arrosit:
as I-think Mice Decii and-so Caesar's gifts he-has-gnawed
Deciorum quidem multo intervallo per hunc praeclarum
of-the-Decii indeed after-a-long interval through this splendid
virum memoria renovata est. Saxam vero Decidium praeterire
man the-memory renewed has-been Saxa indeed Decidius pass-over
qui possum, hominem deductum ex ultimis gentibus, ut eum
how can-I a-man brought from the-farthest peoples that him
tribunum plebis videremus quem civem numquam videramus?
as-tribune of-the-plebs we-might-see whom as-citizen never we-had-seen

Est quidem alter Saserna: sed omnes tamen tantam habent 28
there-is indeed another Saserna but all still such have
similitudinem inter se ut in eorum praenominibus
likeness among themselves that in their first-names
errem. Nec vero Extitius, Philadelphi frater, quaestor,
I-err nor indeed Extitius of-Philadelphus the-brother the-quaestor
praetermittendus est, ne, si de clarissimo adulescente
to-be-passed-over is lest if about a-most-illustrious young-man
siluero, invidisse videar Antonio. Est etiam Asinius
I-shall-have-been-silent to-have-envied I-may-seem Antony there-is also Asinius
quidam senator voluntarius, lectus ipse a se. Apertam
a-certain a-senator volunteer chosen himself by himself open
curiam vidit post Caesaris mortem: mutavit calceos; pater
the-senate-house he-saw after of-Caesar the-death he-changed his-shoes a-father
conscriptus repente factus est. Non novi Sex. Albesium, sed
enrolled suddenly made he-was not I-know Sextus Albesius but
tamen neminem tam maledicum offendi qui illum negaret
still no-one so abusive I-have-met who him would-deny
dignum Antoni senatu. Arbitror me aliquos praeterisse;
worthy of-Antony's senate I-think me some to-have-passed-over
de eis tamen qui occurrebant tacere non potui. Hoc
about those still who occurred-to-me to-be-silent not I-could on-this
igitur fretus senatu Pompeianum senatum despicit, in quo
therefore relying senate the-Pompeian senate he-despises in which
decem fuimus consulares: qui si omnes viverent, bellum
ten we-were consulars who if all were-alive war
omnino hoc non fuisset; auctoritati cessisset audacia.
at-all this not would-have-been to-authority would-have-yielded audacity
Sed quantum praesidi fuerit in ceteris, hinc intellegi 29
but how-much of-protection there-was in the-others hence to-be-understood
potest quod ego unus relictus ex multis contudi et fregi
it-can that I alone left from many crushed and broke

adiuvantibus vobis exsultantis praedonis audaciam. Quod si
helping you of-the-exulting pirate the-audacity but if
non fortuna nobis modo eripuisset Ser. Sulpicium eiusque
not fortune from-us lately had-snatched Servius Sulpicius and-his
conlegam ante, M. Marcellum — quos civis, quos viros! —
colleague before Marcus Marcellus what citizens what men
si duo consules, amicissimos patriae, simul ex Italia
if the-two consuls most-friendly to-the-fatherland together from Italy
eiectos, si L. Afranium, summum ducem, si P. Lentulum,
cast-out if Lucius Afranius a-very-great general if Publius Lentulus
civem cum in ceteris rebus tum in salute mea singularem, si
a-citizen both in other things and in the-safety my singular if
M. Bibulum cuius est in rem publicam semper merito
Marcus Bibulus whose is toward the-thing public always deservedly
laudata constantia, si L. Domitium, praestantissimum civem,
praised constancy if Lucius Domitius a-most-outstanding citizen
si Appium Claudium, pari nobilitate et voluntate praeditum,
if Appius Claudius with-equal nobility and goodwill endowed
si P. Scipionem, clarissimum virum maiorumque suorum
if Publius Scipio a-most-illustrious man and-to-ancestors his
simillimum, res publica tenere potuisset, certe eis
most-like the-thing public to-keep had-been-able surely with-those
consularibus non esset Pompeianus despiciendus senatus.
consulars not would-be the-Pompeian to-be-despised senate
30 Utrum igitur aequius, utrum melius rei publicae fuit
whether therefore fairer whether better for-the-thing public was-it
Cn. Pompeium an sectorem Cn. Pompei vivere
Gnaeus Pompey or the-buyer-of-the-goods of-Gnaeus Pompey to-live
Antonium? Qui vero praetorii! quorum princeps M. Cato
Antony what indeed ex-praetors of-whom the-leader Marcus Cato
idemque omnium gentium virtute princeps. Quid reliquos
and-also of-all peoples in-courage the-leader why the-remaining

clarissimos viros commemorem? Nostis omnis. Magis vereor ne
most-illustrious men should-I-recount you-know all more I-fear lest
longum me in enumerando quam ne ingratum in praetereundo
long me in enumerating than lest ungrateful in passing-over
putetis. Qui aedilicii, qui tribunicii, qui quaestorii! Quid
you-may-think what ex-aediles what ex-tribunes what ex-quaestors why
multa? talis senatorum et dignitas et multitudo fuit
many-things such of-senators both the-dignity and the-number was
ut magna excusatione opus eis sit qui in illa castra
that of-great excuse need for-them be who into that camp
non venerunt. Nunc reliqua attendite. 'Victum Ciceronem
not came now the-rest attend-to defeated Cicero
ducem habuistis.' Eo libentius 'ducem' audio quod
as-leader you-had by-this more-gladly leader I-hear-myself-called because
certe ille dicit invitus; nam de victo nihil laboro. Fatum
surely he says(-it) unwilling for about defeated nothing I-labor fate
enim meum est sine re publica nec vinci posse
for my is without the-thing public neither to-be-defeated to-be-able
nec vincere. 'Macedoniam munitis exercitibus.' Et quidem
nor to-defeat Macedonia you-fortify with-armies and indeed
fratri tuo qui a vobis nihil degenerat extorsimus.
from-brother your who from you nothing degenerates we-wrested
'Africam commisistis Varo bis capto.' Hic cum Gaio fratre
Africa you-entrusted to-Varus twice captured here with Gaius his-brother
putat se litigare. 'In Syriam Cassium misistis.' Non
he-thinks himself to-be-litigating into Syria Cassius you-sent not
igitur sentis huic causae orbem terrae patere, te extra
therefore do-you-feel for-this cause the-circle of-the-earth to-be-open you outside
munitiones tuas vestigium ubi imprimas non habere?
fortifications your a-footprint where you-may-impress not to-have
'Cascam tribunatum gerere passi estis.'
Casca the-tribunate to-hold allowed you-have

31 Quid ergo? ut Marullum, ut Caesetium a re
what therefore that Marullus that Caesetius from the-thing
publica removeremus eum per quem ut neque idem
public we-might-remove him through whom that neither the-same
hoc posthac neque multa eius modi accidere possent
this hereafter nor many-things of-this sort happen could
consecuti sumus? 'Vectigalia Iuliana Lupercis ademistis.'
we-obtained have the-Julian revenues from-the-Luperci you-took-away
Lupercorum mentionem facere audet? neque illius diei
of-the-Luperci mention to-make he-dares nor of-that day
memoriam perhorrescit quo ausus est obrutus vino,
the-memory does-he-shudder-at on-which dared he-has overwhelmed with-wine
unguentis oblitus, nudus gementem populum Romanum ad
with-ointments smeared naked the-groaning people Roman to
servitutem cohortari? 'Veteranorum colonias, deductas lege
slavery to-exhort the-veterans' colonies settled by-law
senatus consulto sustulistis.' Nos sustulimus an contra
by-the-senate's decree you-abolished we abolished(-them) or on-the-contrary
lege comitiis centuriatis lata sanximus? Vide ne tu
by-a-law at-the-assembly centuriate passed did-we-sanction see lest you
veteranos, etiam eos qui erant perditi, perdideris in
the-veterans even those who were lost may-have-ruined into
eumque locum deduxeris ex quo ipsi iam sentiunt
and-that place may-have-led from which they-themselves already feel
se numquam exituros.
themselves never going-to-get-out

Cicero answers Antony's complaints: Massilia, the Hirtian law, Marcus Brutus' money from Apuleius, Petraeus and Menedemus, Theopompus, and Galba's dagger. The soldiers were not deceived. Antony complains that peace is refused unless he frees Decimus Brutus or feeds him; doubting the envoys, he confesses his pact with Dolabella.

'Massiliensibus iure belli adempta reddituros vos 32
to-the-Massilians by-the-right of-war the-things-taken going-to-give-back you
pollicemini.' Nihil disputo de iure belli — magis facilis
promise nothing I-discuss about the-right of-war more easy
disputatio est quam necessaria — illud tamen animadvertite,
the-discussion is than necessary that still notice
patres conscripti, quam sit huic rei publicae natus hostis
fathers enrolled how be to-this thing public born an-enemy
Antonius, qui tanto opere eam civitatem oderit quam
Antony who so much that state hates which
scit huic rei publicae semper fuisse amicissimam.
he-knows to-this thing public always to-have-been most-friendly
'Neminem Pompeianum qui vivat teneri lege Hirtia
no Pompeian who lives to-be-bound by-the-law Hirtian
dictitatis.' Quis, quaeso, iam legis Hirtiae mentionem
you-keep-saying who I-beg now of-the-law Hirtian mention
facit? cuius non minus arbitror latorem ipsum quam eos
makes of-which not less I-think the-proposer himself than those
de quibus lata est paenitere. Omnino mea quidem
about whom carried it-was to-repent at-all my indeed
sententia legem illam appellare fas non est; et, ut
in-opinion the-law that to-call right not it-is and supposing
sit lex, non debemus illam Hirti legem putare. 'Apuleiana
it-be a-law not ought-we that Hirtius' law to-think with-Apuleian

pecunia Brutum subornastis.' Quid? si omnibus suis copiis
money Brutus you-have-equipped what if with-all his forces
excellentem virum res publica armasset, quem tandem
an-excellent man the-thing public had-armed what pray
bonum paeniteret? Nec enim sine pecunia exercitum alere
good-man would-it-repent nor for without money an-army to-feed
nec sine exercitu fratrem tuum capere potuisset.
nor without an-army brother your to-capture he-could-have
33 'Securi percussos Petraeum et Menedemum, civitate
with-the-axe struck Petraeus and Menedemus with-citizenship
donatos et hospites Caesaris, laudastis.' Non laudavimus
presented and guest-friends of-Caesar you-praised not we-have-praised(-it)
quod ne audivimus quidem. Valde enim nobis in tanta
which not we-have-heard even greatly for by-us in so-great
perturbatione rei publicae de duobus nequissimis
a-disturbance of-the-thing public about two most-worthless
Graeculis cogitandum fuit. 'Theopompum, nudum, vi
Greeklings to-be-thought it-was Theopompus stripped by-force
expulsum a Trebonio, confugere Alexandream neglexistis.'
driven-out by Trebonius to-flee to-Alexandria you-neglected
Magnum crimen senatus! De Theopompo, summo
a-great charge against-the-senate about Theopompus a-very-great
homine, negleximus, qui ubi terrarum sit, quid agat, vivat
man we-neglected who where of-lands he-be what he-do whether-he-live
denique an mortuus sit, quis aut scit aut curat? 'Ser. Galbam
finally or dead he-be who either knows or cares Servius Galba
eodem pugione succinctum in castris videtis.' Nihil tibi de
with-the-same dagger girded in the-camp you-see nothing to-you about
Galba respondeo, fortissimo et constantissimo civi: coram
Galba I-answer a-most-brave and most-steadfast citizen face-to-face
aderit; praesens et ipse et ille quem insimulas pugio
he-will-be-at-hand present both himself and that which you-accuse dagger

respondebit. ‘Milites aut meos aut veteranos contraxistis
will-answer the-soldiers either mine or the-veterans you-have-assembled
tamquam ad exitium eorum qui Caesarem occiderant: et
as-if for the-destruction of-those who Caesar had-killed and
eosdem nec opinantis ad quaestoris sui aut imperatoris
the-same not expecting into of-quaestor their or of-their-commander
aut commilitonum suorum pericula impulistis.’ Scilicet verba
or of-their-fellow-soldiers own the-perils you-drove of-course words
dedimus, decepimus: ignorabat legio Martia, quarta, nesciebant
we-gave we-deceived did-not-know the-legion Martian the-fourth did-not-know
veterani quid ageretur; non illi senatus auctoritatem, non
the-veterans what was-being-done not they the-senate's authority not
libertatem populi sequebantur: Caesaris mortem ulcisci
the-liberty of-the-people were-following Caesar's death to-avenge
volebant, quam omnes fatalem fuisse arbitrabantur; te
they-wished which all fated to-have-been thought you
videlicet salvum, beatum, florentem esse cupiebant.
of-course safe happy flourishing to-be they-desired
O miser cum re, tum hoc ipso quod non sentis 34
O wretch both in-fact and in-this very-thing that not you-feel
quam miser sis! Sed maximum crimen audite. ‘Denique
how wretched you-are but the-greatest charge hear finally
quid non aut probastis aut fecistis quod faciat, si
what not either have-you-approved or done which would-do if
reviviscat’ — quis? Credo enim, adferet aliquod
he-should-come-to-life-again who I-believe for he-will-bring some
scelerati hominis exemplum — ‘Cn. Pompeius ipse?’ O
of-a-criminal man example Gnaeus Pompey himself O
nos turpis, si quidem Cn. Pompeium imitati sumus! ‘Aut
us shameful if indeed Gnaeus Pompey imitated we-have or
filius eius, si modo possit.’ Poterit, mihi crede: nam
son his if only he-can he-will-be-able to-me believe for

paucis diebus et in domum et in hortos paternos
in-a-few days both into the-house and into the-gardens paternal
immigrabit. 'Postremo negatis pacem fieri posse, nisi
he-will-move finally you-deny peace to-be-made to-be-able unless
aut emisero Brutum aut frumento iuvero.' Alii
either I-shall-have-let-out Brutus or with-grain shall-have-helped(-him) others
istuc negant: ego vero, ne si ista quidem feceris,
that deny I indeed not if those-things even you-shall-have-done
umquam tecum pacem huic civitati futuram puto. 'Quid? hoc
ever with-you peace for-this state going-to-be think what this
placetne veteranis istis? quibus adhuc omnia integra sunt.'
does-it-please veterans those for-whom so-far all-things unimpaired are
Nihil vidi tam integrum quam ut oppugnare imperatorem
nothing I-have-seen so unimpaired as that to-attack the-commander
incipiant quem tanto studio consensuque oderint.
they-should-begin whom with-so-much zeal and-agreement they-hate
35 'Quos iam vos adsentationibus et venenatis muneribus
whom now you with-flatteries and poisoned gifts
venistis depravaturi.' An corrupti sunt quibus persuasum
you-have-come going-to-corrupt or corrupted are to-whom persuaded
sit foedissimum hostem iustissimo bello persequi? 'At
it-has-been a-most-foul enemy in-a-most-just war to-pursue but
militibus inclusis opem fertis. Nihil moror eos salvos esse
to-the-soldiers shut-in help you-bring nothing I-object them safe to-be
et ire quo libet, si tantum modo patiuntur perire eum
and to-go where they-please if so-much only they-allow to-perish him
qui meruit.' Quam benigne! denique usi liberalitate
who has-deserved(-it) how kindly finally having-used the-liberality
Antoni milites imperatorem reliquerunt et se ad hostem
of-Antony the-soldiers their-commander abandoned and themselves to the-enemy
metu perterriti contulerunt: per quos si non stetisset,
through-fear terrified betook through whom if not it-had-depended

non Dolabella prius imperatori suo quam Antonius etiam
not Dolabella sooner to-commander his than Antony even
conlegae parentasset.
to-his-colleague would-have-offered-funeral-rites
'Concordiae factam esse mentionem scribitis in senatu 36
of-concord made to-have-been mention you-write in the-senate
et legatos esse consularis quinque. Difficile est credere,
and envoys to-be consulars five difficult it-is to-believe
eosque qui me praecipitem egerint, aequissimas condiciones
that-they who me headlong have-driven most-fair terms
ferentem et tamen ex his aliquid remittere cogitantem,
offering and still of these something to-remit thinking
putare aliquid moderate aut humane esse facturos. Vix
to-think anything moderately or humanely to-be going-to-do scarcely
etiam veri simile est, qui iudicaverint hostem
even to-the-truth like it-is that-those-who have-judged an-enemy
Dolabellam ob rectissimum facinus, eosdem nobis parcere
Dolabella for a-most-right deed the-same us to-spare
posse idem sentientibus.' Parumne videtur omnium
can the-same-things feeling too-little does-it-seem of-all
facinorum sibi cum Dolabella societatem initam confiteri?
crimes for-himself with Dolabella the-fellowship entered to-confess
Nonne cernitis ex uno fonte omnia scelera manare? Ipse
do-not you-see from one source all crimes flow he-himself
denique fatetur, hoc quidem satis acute, non posse eos qui
finally confesses this indeed enough cleverly not to-be-able those who
hostem Dolabellam iudicaverint ob rectissimum facinus — ita
an-enemy Dolabella have-judged for a-most-right deed so
enim videtur Antonio — sibi parcere idem sentienti.
for it-seems to-Antony himself to-spare the-same-things feeling

Antony boasts of his pact with Dolabella against Trebonius, Brutus, and Cassius, and complains that his fair terms were rejected. He asks whether to avenge Trebonius or Caesar, calls Cicero a trainer pitting Caesar's partisans against each other, and vows loyalty to Dolabella, a pact for slaughter and plunder.

37 Quid huic facias qui hoc litteris memoriaeque
what with-this-man would-you-do who this to-letters and-memory
mandarit, ita sibi convenisse cum Dolabella ut ille Trebonium
has-committed so himself to-have-agreed with Dolabella that he Trebonius
et, si posset, etiam Brutum, Cassium, discruciatos necaret,
and if he-could also Brutus Cassius tortured should-kill
eadem ipse inhiberet supplicia nobis? O conservandus
the-same he-himself should-apply punishments to-us O to-be-preserved
civis cum tam pio iustoque foedere! Is etiam queritur
citizen with so pious and-just a-treaty he also complains
condiciones suas repudiatas, aequas quidem et verecundas,
terms his rejected fair indeed and modest
ut haberet Galliam ultimam, aptissimam ad bellum
that he-might-have Gaul farthest most-suitable for war
renovandum instruendumque provinciam; ut Alaudae in tertia
renewing and-equipping a-province that the-Larks in the-third
decuria iudicarent, id est ut perfugium scelerum esset
panel should-judge that is that a-refuge of-crimes there-should-be
quam turpissimis rei publicae sordibus; ut acta sua rata
as most-shameful of-the-thing public for-the-dregs that acts his valid
essent, cuius nullum remanet consulatus vestigium. Cavebat
should-be of-whose no remains consulship trace he-provided

etiam L. Antonio, qui fuerat aequissimus agri privati
also for-Lucius Antonius who had-been the-fairest of-land private
et publici decempedator, Nucula et Lentone conlega.
and public surveyor with-Nucula and Lento as-colleague
'Quam ob rem vos potius animadvertite utrum sit 38
which on-account-of thing you rather notice whether it-be
elegantius et partibus utilius Treboni mortem persequi an
more-elegant and for-the-party more-useful Trebonius' death to-pursue or
Caesaris, et utrum sit aequius concurrere nos quo facilius
Caesar's and whether it-be fairer to-clash us that more-easily
reviviscat Pompeianorum causa totiens iugulata, an
may-come-to-life-again of-the-Pompeians the-cause so-often butchered or
consentire ne ludibrio simus inimicis.' Si esset iugulata,
to-agree that-not a-laughing-stock we-be to-enemies if it-had-been butchered
numquam exsurgeret: quod tibi tuisque contingat. 'Utrum'
never it-would-rise-up which to-you and-yours may-it-happen whether
inquit 'elegantius.' Atqui hoc bello de elegantia quaeritur!
he-says more-elegant and-yet in-this war about elegance it-is-being-asked
'Et partibus utilius.' Partes, furiose, dicuntur in foro, in 39
and for-the-party more-useful parties madman are-spoken-of in the-forum in
curia. Bellum contra patriam nefarium suscepisti;
the-senate-house a-war against the-fatherland wicked you-have-undertaken
oppugnas Mutinam, circumsedes consulem designatum;
you-attack Mutina you-besiege a-consul designate
bellum contra te duo consules gerunt cumque eis pro
war against you two consuls wage and-with them as
praetore Caesar; cuncta contra te Italia armata est. Istas
propraetor Caesar whole against you Italy armed is that
tu partis potius quam a populo Romano defectionem
you a-party rather than from the-people Roman a-revolt
vocas? Potiusne Treboni mortem quam Caesaris persequimur.
do-you-call rather Trebonius' death than Caesar's do-we-pursue

Treboni satis persecuti sumus hoste iudicato Dolabella;
Trebonius' enough pursued we-have with-an-enemy judged Dolabella
Caesaris mors facillime defenditur oblivione et silentio. Sed
Caesar's death most-easily is-defended by-oblivion and silence but
videte quid moliatur. Cum mortem Caesaris ulciscendam
see what he-is-plotting when the-death of-Caesar to-be-avenged
putat, mortem proponit non eis solum qui illam rem
he-thinks death he-sets-before not for-those only who that thing
gesserunt sed eis etiam si qui non moleste tulerunt.
did but for-those also if any not with-annoyance took(-it)
40 'Quibus, utri nostrum ceciderint, lucro futurum est, quod
to-whom whichever of-us shall-have-fallen for-gain going-to-be is which
spectaculum adhuc ipsa Fortuna vitavit, ne videret unius
spectacle so-far herself Fortune has-avoided that-not she-should-see of-one
corporis duas acies lanista Cicerone dimicantis: qui
body two battle-lines with-the-trainer Cicero fighting who
usque eo felix est ut isdem ornamentis deceperit
even to-that-point fortunate is that with-the-same honors he-has-deceived
vos quibus deceptum Caesarem gloriatus est.' Pergit in
you by-which deceived Caesar he-boasted has he-goes-on against
me maledicta dicere, quasi vero ei pulcherrime priora
me abuse to-speak as-if indeed for-him most-splendidly the-earlier-things
processerint: quem ego inustum verissimis maledictorum notis
had-turned-out whom I branded with-the-truest of-abuse marks
tradam hominum memoriae sempiternae. Ego lanista?
shall-hand-over of-men to-the-memory everlasting I a-trainer
Et quidem non insipiens: deteriores enim iugulari cupio,
and indeed not unwise the-worse for to-be-butchered I-desire
meliores vincere. 'Utri ceciderint,' scribit 'lucro nobis futurum.'
the-better to-conquer whichever shall-have-fallen he-writes for-gain to-us going-to-be

O praeclarum lucrum, cum te victore — quod di omen 41
O splendid gain when with-you as-victor which the-gods the-omen
avertant! — beata mors eorum futura sit qui e vita
may-avert blessed the-death of-them going-to-be may-be who from life
excesserint sine tormentis. A me 'deceptos' ait 'isdem
shall-have-departed without tortures by me deceived he-says with-the-same
ornamentis' Hirtium et Caesarem. Quod, quaeso, adhuc a
honors Hirtius and Caesar what I-beg so-far by
me est tributum Hirtio ornamentum? nam Caesari plura
me has-been granted to-Hirtius as-honor for to-Caesar more
et maiora debentur. Deceptum autem patrem a me dicere
and greater are-owed deceived however the-father by me to-say
audes? Tu, tu, inquam, illum occidisti Lupercalibus: cuius,
do-you-dare you you I-say him killed at-the-Lupercalia whose
homo ingratissime, flaminium cur reliquisti? Sed iam videte
man most-ungrateful the-flaminate why did-you-abandon but now see
magni et clari viri admirabilem gravitatem atque constantiam:
of-a-great and famous man the-admirable gravity and constancy
'mihi quidem constat nec meam contumeliam nec meorum 42
to-me indeed it-is-settled neither my insult nor of-my-friends
ferre, nec deserere partis quas Pompeius odivit nec veteranos
to-bear nor to-desert the-party which Pompey hated nor the-veterans
sedibus suis moveri pati nec singulos ad cruciatum trahi
from-seats their to-be-moved to-allow nor individuals to torture to-be-dragged
nec fallere fidem quam dedi Dolabellae.' Omitto alia: fidem
nor to-break the-faith which I-gave to-Dolabella I-omit other-things the-faith
Dolabellae, sanctissimi viri, deserere homo pius non potest.
of-Dolabella a-most-holy man to-desert a-man pious not can
Quam fidem? an optimi cuiusque caedis, urbis et
what faith or of-the-best each of-the-slaughter of-the-city and
Italiae partitionis, vastandarum diripiendarumque provinciarum?
of-Italy of-the-partition to-be-laid-waste and-to-be-plundered of-provinces

Nam quid erat aliud quod inter Antonium et Dolabellam,
for what was-there else which between Antony and Dolabella
impurissimos parricidas, foedere et fide sanciretur?
most-impure parricides by-treaty and faith should-be-sanctioned

IX · LEPIDUS, PLANCUS, AND DEATH

Antony claims Lepidus and Plancus as partners, inventing the word piissimus *for Lepidus; Plancus, Cicero says, will soon lead the war against him. Antony philosophizes on death and warns what the Pompeians will be as victors. He offers pardon if Caesar's death is avenged; reading this, Hirtius and young Caesar moved closer to the siege lines, Caesar never misled by his father's name.*

43 'Nec Lepidi societatem violare, piissimi hominis.' Tibi cum
nor of-Lepidus the-alliance to-violate a-most-pious man for-you with
Lepido societas aut cum ullo, non dicam bono civi, sicut ille
Lepidus an-alliance or with any not I-shall-say good citizen as he
est, sed homine sano? Id agis ut Lepidum aut impium
is but man sane this you-are-doing that Lepidus either impious
aut insanum existimari velis. Nihil agis — quamquam
or insane to-be-thought you-may-wish nothing you-achieve although
adfirmare de altero difficile est — de Lepido praesertim,
to-affirm about another difficult it-is about Lepidus especially
quem ego metuam numquam; bene sperabo, dum licebit.
whom I shall-fear never well I-shall-hope while it-shall-be-allowed
Revocare te a furore Lepidus voluit, non adiutor esse
to-call-back you from madness Lepidus wished not a-helper to-be
dementiae. Tu porro ne pios quidem, sed piissimos quaeris
of-insanity you further not pious even but most-pious seek

et, quod verbum omnino nullum in lingua Latina est,
and what word at-all none in the-language Latin is
id propter tuam divinam pietatem novum inducis.
that on-account-of your divine piety new you-introduce
'Nec Plancum prodere participem consiliorum.' Plancum 44
nor Plancus to-betray the-sharer of-counsels Plancus
participem? cuius memorabilis ac divina virtus lucem
a-sharer whose memorable and divine courage light
adfert rei publicae — nisi forte eum subsidio tibi
brings to-the-thing public unless perhaps him as-support to-you
venire arbitraris cum fortissimis legionibus, maximo equitatu
to-come you-think with most-brave legions the-greatest cavalry
peditatuque Gallorum — quique, nisi ante eius adventum
and-infantry of-the-Gauls and-who unless before his arrival
rei publicae poenas dederis, ipse huius belli
to-the-thing public penalties you-shall-have-paid himself of-this war
feret principatum. Quamquam enim prima praesidia utiliora
will-bear the-primacy although for the-first defenses more-useful
rei publicae sunt, tamen extrema sunt gratiora.
to-the-thing public are still the-last are more-welcome
Sed iam se conligit et ad extremum incipit philosophari: 45
but now himself he-collects and at the-end begins to-philosophize
'Si me rectis sensibus euntem di immortales, ut spero,
if me with-right feelings going the-gods immortal as I-hope
adiuverint, vivam libenter. Sin autem me aliud fatum manet,
shall-have-helped I-shall-live gladly but-if however me another fate awaits
praecipio gaudia suppliciorum vestrorum. Namque si victi
I-foretaste the-joys of-punishments your for if defeated
Pompeiani tam insolentes sunt, victores quales futuri sint
the-Pompeians so insolent are victors what-kind going-to-be they-may-be
vos potius experiemini.' Praecipias licet gaudia: non enim
you rather will-experience you-foretaste it-is-allowed joys not for

tibi cum Pompeianis, sed cum universa re publica bellum est.
for-you with the-Pompeians but with the-whole thing public war is
Omnes te di homines, summi medii infimi, cives peregrini,
all you gods men highest middle lowest citizens foreigners
viri mulieres, liberi servi oderunt. Sensimus hoc nuper falso
men women free slaves hate we-felt this lately with-false
nuntio; vero prope diem sentiemus. Quae si tecum ipse
news with-true nearly any-day we-shall-feel which if with-yourself you-yourself
recolueris, aequiore animo et maiore consolatione moriere.
shall-have-pondered with-calmer mind and greater consolation you-will-die
46 'Denique summa iudici mei spectat huc ut meorum iniurias
finally the-sum of-judgment my looks hither that of-my-friends the-injuries
ferre possim, si aut oblivisci velint ipsi fecisse
to-bear I-may-be-able if either to-forget they-be-willing themselves to-have-done(-them)
aut ulcisci parati sunt una nobiscum Caesaris mortem.'
or to-avenge ready are together with-us of-Caesar the-death
Hac Antoni sententia cognita dubitaturumne A. Hirtium
with-this Antony's opinion known going-to-hesitate Aulus Hirtius
aut C. Pansam consules putatis quin ad Antonium
or Gaius Pansa the-consuls do-you-think that to Antony
transeant, Brutum obsideant, Mutinam expugnare cupiant?
they-should-go-over Brutus besiege Mutina to-storm desire
Quid de Pansa et Hirtio loquor? Caesar, singulari pietate
what about Pansa and Hirtius do-I-speak Caesar of-singular piety
adulescens, poteritne se tenere quin D. Bruti sanguine
a-young-man will-he-be-able himself to-restrain that-not Decimus Brutus' with-the-blood
poenas patrias persequatur? Itaque fecerunt ut his
the-penalties paternal he-pursue and-so they-acted so-that with-this
litteris lectis ad munitiones propius accederent. Quo maior
letter read to the-fortifications nearer they-approached by-which greater
adulescens Caesar, maioreque deorum immortalium beneficio
the-young-man Caesar and-by-greater of-the-gods immortal favor

rei publicae natus est, qui nulla specie paterni
for-the-thing public born is who by-no appearance of-the-paternal
nominis nec pietate abductus umquam est et intellegit
name nor by-piety led-astray ever has-been and understands
maximam pietatem conservatione patriae contineri.
the-greatest piety in-the-preservation of-the-fatherland to-be-contained

X · CICERO'S MOTION

There are no parties now: on one side the senate's authority and the people's liberty, on the other the slaughter of good men. Antony does not believe the envoys will come; let them not. Cicero read the letter to show Antony's parricides. Peace with him is impossible. He agrees with Servilius on Lepidus' letter and moves that Sextus Pompey be thanked for his promise to the senate and people.

Quod si partium certamen esset, quarum omnino nomen 47
but if of-parties a-contest there-were of-which altogether the-name
exstinctum est, Antoniusne potius et Ventidius partis
extinguished is Antony rather and Ventidius the-party
Caesaris defenderent quam primum Caesar, adulescens
of-Caesar would-defend than first Caesar the-young-man
summa pietate et memoria parentis sui, deinde Pansa et
with-the-highest piety and memory of-parent his next Pansa and
Hirtius, qui quasi cornua duo tenuerunt Caesaris tum cum
Hirtius who as-it-were the-wings two held of-Caesar then when
illae vere partes vocabantur? Hae vero quae sunt partes,
those truly a-party were-called this indeed what is the-party
cum alteris senatus auctoritas, populi Romani libertas,
since for-the-one the-senate's authority of-the-people Roman the-liberty
rei publicae salus proposita sit, alteris caedes
of-the-thing public the-safety set-before be for-the-other the-slaughter

bonorum, urbis Italiaeque partitio? Veniamus aliquando
of-the-good of-the-city and-of-Italy the-partition let-us-come at-last
ad clausulam. 'Legatos venire non credo.' Bene me novit,
to the-close envoys to-come not I-believe well me he-knows
reliqui veniant, proposito praesertim exemplo Dolabellae.
the-rest let-them-come set-before especially the-example of-Dolabella
Sanctiore erunt, credo, iure legati quam duo consules
with-more-sacred they-will-be I-believe right the-envoys than the-two consuls
contra quos arma fert, quam Caesar cuius patris flamen
against whom arms he-bears than Caesar of-whose father the-flamen
est, quam consul designatus quem oppugnat, quam Mutina
he-is than the-consul designate whom he-attacks than Mutina
quam obsidet, quam patria cui igni ferroque minitatur.
which he-besieges than the-fatherland which with-fire and-sword he-threatens
48 'Cum venerint, quae postulant cognoscam.' Quin tu abis in
when they-shall-have-come what they-demand I-shall-learn why-not you go-off to
malam pestem malumque cruciatum? Ad te quisquam veniat
an-evil plague and-an-evil torment to you anyone would-come
nisi Ventidi similis? Oriens incendium qui restinguerent
unless of-Ventidius like the-rising fire who might-put-out
summos viros misimus; repudiasti: nunc in tantam flammam
very-great men we-sent you-rejected(-them) now into so-great a-flame
tamque inveteratam mittamus, cum locum tibi reliquum non
and-so long-established shall-we-send when a-place for-you remaining not
modo ad pacem sed ne ad deditionem quidem feceris?
only for peace but not for surrender even you-have-made
Hanc ego epistulam, patres conscripti, non quo illum dignum
this I letter fathers enrolled not that him worthy
putarem, recitavi, sed ut confessionibus ipsius omnia
I-thought I-have-read-out but that by-the-confessions of-himself all
patefacta eius parricidia videretis.
revealed his parricides you-might-see

Cum hoc pacem M. Lepidus, vir ornatissimus omnibus 49
with this-man peace Marcus Lepidus a-man most-distinguished by-all
et virtutis et fortunae bonis, si haec videret, aut vellet
both of-courage and of-fortune goods if these-things he-saw either would-wish
aut fieri posse arbitraretur? 'Prius undis flamma,' ut
or to-be-done to-be-able would-think sooner with-waves flame as
ait poeta nescio quis, prius denique omnia quam aut cum
says the-poet I-know-not who sooner finally all-things than either with
Antoniis res publica aut cum re publica Antonii
the-Antonies the-thing public or with the-thing public the-Antonies
redeant in gratiam. Monstra quaedam ista et portenta sunt
return into favor monsters certain those and portents are
et prodigia rei publicae. Moveri sedibus huic urbi
and prodigies of-the-thing public to-be-moved from-its-seats for-this city
melius est atque in alias, si fieri possit, terras demigrare,
better it-is and into other if to-be-done it-could lands to-migrate
unde Antoniorum 'nec facta nec nomen audiat,' quam illos,
whence of-the-Antonies neither the-deeds nor the-name it-may-hear than them
Caesaris virtute eiectos, Bruti retentos, intra haec moenia
by-Caesar's courage cast-out by-Brutus' held-fast within these walls
videre. Optatissimum est vincere; secundum est nullum
to-see most-desired it-is to-conquer the-second is no
casum pro dignitate et libertate patriae non ferendum
chance for the-dignity and liberty of-the-fatherland not to-be-borne
putare. Quod reliquum est, non est tertium, sed postremum
to-think what remaining is not is the-third but the-last
omnium, maximam turpitudinem suscipere vitae cupiditate.
of-all the-greatest disgrace to-undertake of-life from-desire
Quae cum ita sint, de mandatis litterisque M. Lepidi, 50
which since so they-are about the-instructions and-letter of-Marcus Lepidus
viri clarissimi, Servilio adsentior, et hoc amplius censeo,
man most-illustrious with-Servilius I-agree and this further I-move

Magnum Pompeium, Gnaei filium, pro patris
Magnus Pompey of-Gnaeus the-son in-keeping-with of-his-father
maiorumque suorum animo studioque in rem publicam
and-ancestors his spirit and-zeal toward the-thing public
suaque pristina virtute, industria, voluntate fecisse, quod
and-his former courage industry goodwill to-have-acted because
suam eorumque quos secum haberet operam senatui
his and-of-those whom with-him he-had the-service to-the-senate
populoque Romano pollicitus esset, eamque rem senatui
and-the-people Roman promised he-had and-that thing to-the-senate
populoque Romano gratam acceptamque esse, eique
and-the-people Roman welcome and-acceptable to-be and-to-him
honori dignitatique eam rem fore. Hoc vel coniungi
for-honor and-dignity that thing going-to-be this either to-be-joined
cum hoc senatus consulto licet vel seiungi potest
with this of-the-senate decree it-is-allowed or to-be-separated it-can
separatimque perscribi, ut proprio senatus consulto
and-separately to-be-written-out so-that by-its-own of-the-senate decree
Pompeius conlaudatus esse videatur.
Pompey praised to-have-been may-seem

PHILIPPICA QUARTA DECIMA

I · NOT YET THE TOGA

The letters report that Antony's army has been routed. Cicero opposes the motion to return to the toga: Rome took the military cloak for Decimus Brutus and should lay it down only when Brutus is freed from Mutina. Some who favor the motion want to rob Brutus of that glorious day. Pansa, Hirtius, and young Caesar have all labored to save Brutus.

Si, ut ex litteris quae recitatae sunt, patres conscripti, 1
if as from the-letter which read has-been fathers enrolled
sceleratissimorum hostium exercitum caesum fusumque
of-the-most-criminal enemies the-army slain and-routed
cognovi, sic, id quod et omnes maxime optamus et
I-have-learned so that which both all most we-wish and
ex ea victoria quae parta est consecutum arbitramur,
from that victory which won has-been followed we-think
D. Brutum egressum iam Mutina esse cognossem,
Decimus Brutus gone-out now from-Mutina to-have I-had-learned
propter cuius periculum ad saga issemus, propter
on-account-of whose danger to the-military-cloaks we-went on-account-of
eiusdem salutem redeundum ad pristinum vestitum sine
his-same safety one-must-return to the-former dress without
ulla dubitatione censerem. Ante vero quam sit ea res quam
any doubt I-would-vote before indeed than be that thing which
avidissime civitas exspectat adlata, laetitia frui satis est
most-eagerly the-state awaits brought the-joy to-enjoy enough it-is
maximae praeclarissimaeque pugnae; reditum ad vestitum
of-the-greatest and-most-splendid battle the-return to dress
confectae victoriae reservate.
for-a-finished victory keep

2 Confectio autem huius belli est D. Bruti salus. Quae
the-finishing however of-this war is Decimus Brutus' safety what
autem est ista sententia ut in hodiernum diem vestitus
however is that opinion that for today's day the-dress
mutetur, deinde cras sagati prodeamus? Nos vero
be-changed then tomorrow in-military-cloaks we-go-forth we indeed
cum semel ad eum quem cupimus optamusque vestitum
when once to that which we-desire and-wish-for dress
redierimus, id agamus ut eum in perpetuum
we-shall-have-returned that let-us-act so-that it into perpetuity
retineamus. Nam hoc quidem cum turpe est, tum ne
we-keep for this indeed both shameful is and not
dis quidem immortalibus gratum, ab eorum aris ad
to-the-gods even immortal welcome from their altars to
quas togati adierimus, ad saga sumenda discedere.
which in-togas we-shall-have-gone to military-cloaks to-be-taken to-depart
3 Atque animadverto, patres conscripti, quosdam huic favere
and I-notice fathers enrolled some to-this to-favor
sententiae quorum ea mens idque consilium est ut, cum
opinion whose that mind and-that counsel is that when
videant gloriosissimum illum D. Bruto futurum diem
they-see most-glorious that for-Decimus Brutus going-to-be the-day
quo die propter eius salutem redierimus, hunc
on-which day on-account-of his safety we-shall-have-returned this
ei fructum eripere cupiant, ne memoriae posteritatique
from-him fruit to-snatch they-desire lest to-memory and-posterity
prodatur propter unius civis periculum populum
it-be-handed-down on-account-of of-one citizen the-danger the-people
Romanum ad saga isse, propter eiusdem
Roman to the-military-cloaks to-have-gone on-account-of his-same
salutem redisse ad togas. Tollite hanc: nullam tam
safety to-have-returned to togas take-away this none of-so

pravae sententiae causam reperietis. Vos vero, patres conscripti,
perverse an-opinion cause you-will-find you indeed fathers enrolled
conservate auctoritatem vestram, manete in sententia, tenete
preserve authority your remain in your-opinion hold
vestra memoria quod saepe ostendistis, huius totius belli in
in-your memory what often you-have-shown of-this whole war in
unius viri fortissimi et maximi vita positum esse discrimen.
of-one man most-brave and greatest the-life placed to-be the-crisis
Ad D. Brutum liberandum legati missi principes civitatis 4
for Decimus Brutus being-freed envoys were-sent the-leading-men of-the-state
qui illi hosti ac parricidae denuntiarent ut a Mutina
who to-that enemy and parricide should-declare that from Mutina
discederet; eiusdem D. Bruti conservandi gratia consul
he-should-depart for-the-same Decimus Brutus being-preserved for-the-sake the-consul
sortitu ad bellum profectus A. Hirtius, cuius imbecillitatem
by-lot to the-war set-out Aulus Hirtius whose weakness
valetudinis animi virtus et spes victoriae confirmavit;
of-health of-mind the-courage and the-hope of-victory strengthened
Caesar, cum exercitu per se comparato cum primum
Caesar with an-army by himself raised when first
his pestibus rem publicam liberasset, ne quid postea
from-these plagues the-thing public he-had-freed lest anything afterward
sceleris oreretur profectus est ad eundem Brutum liberandum
of-crime should-arise set-out has for the-same Brutus being-freed
vicitque dolorem aliquem domesticum patriae caritate.
and-conquered grief some domestic of-the-fatherland by-love
Quid C. Pansa egit aliud dilectibus habendis, pecuniis 5
what Gaius Pansa did-he-do else in-levies being-held moneys
comparandis, senatus consultis faciendis gravissimis in
being-raised of-the-senate decrees being-made most-severe against
Antonium, nobis cohortandis, populo Romano ad causam
Antony us being-urged the-people Roman to the-cause

libertatis vocando, nisi ut D. Brutus liberaretur? A quo
of-liberty being-called except that Decimus Brutus might-be-freed from whom
populus Romanus frequens ita salutem D. Bruti una
the-people Roman in-full-numbers so the-safety of-Decimus Brutus with-one
voce depoposcit ut eam non solum commodis suis sed etiam
voice demanded that it not only to-advantages their-own but also
necessitati victus anteferret. Quod sperare nos quidem debemus,
to-the-necessity of-food it-preferred which to-hope we indeed ought
patres conscripti, aut inibi esse aut iam esse confectum: sed
fathers enrolled either at-the-point to-be or already to-be accomplished but
spei fructum rei convenit et evento reservari ne aut
of-hope the-fruit to-the-thing it-is-fitting and to-the-outcome to-be-reserved lest either
deorum immortalium beneficium festinatione praeripuisse
of-the-gods immortal the-favor by-haste to-have-snatched-beforehand
aut vim fortunae stultitia contempsisse videamur.
or the-force of-fortune by-folly to-have-despised we-may-seem

II · NAME HIM ENEMY

The legions' swords are soaked with blood: an enemy's is devotion, a citizen's a crime. A thanksgiving cannot be decreed for victory over citizens without naming them enemies. Lucius Antonius' atrocities at Parma surpass Hannibal's cruelty, and Rome itself feared slaughter for two days. Cicero would add days to the thanksgiving and hail all three generals as commanders.

6 Sed quoniam significatio vestra satis declarat quid hac de
but since the-signification your enough declares what this about
re sentiatis, ad litteras veniam quae sunt a consulibus et
matter you-feel to the-letters I-shall-come which have-been by the-consuls and
a pro praetore missae, si pauca ante quae ad ipsas litteras
by as propraetor sent if a-few-things before which to themselves the-letters

pertineant dixero. Imbuti gladii sunt, patres conscripti,
pertain I-shall-have-said dipped the-swords have-been fathers enrolled
legionum exercituumque nostrorum vel madefacti potius
of-the-legions and-armies our or soaked rather
duobus consulum, tertio Caesaris proelio. Si hostium fuit ille
in-two of-the-consuls in-a-third of-Caesar battle if of-enemies was that
sanguis, summa militum pietas: nefarium scelus, si civium.
blood the-highest of-the-soldiers piety a-wicked crime if of-citizens
Quo usque igitur is qui omnis hostis scelere superavit nomine
how long therefore he who all enemies in-crime has-surpassed of-the-name
hostis carebit? nisi mucrones etiam nostrorum militum
of-enemy shall-be-without unless the-points even of-our soldiers
tremere voltis dubitantis utrum in cive an in hoste
to-tremble you-wish hesitating whether into a-citizen or into an-enemy
figantur. Supplicationem decernitis: hostem non appellatis.
they-be-plunged a-thanksgiving you-decree an-enemy not you-call(-him)
Gratae vero nostrae dis immortalibus gratulationes erunt, 7
welcome indeed our to-the-gods immortal thanksgivings will-be
gratae victimae, cum interfecta sit civium multitudo! 'De
welcome the-victims when killed has-been of-citizens a-multitude about
improbis' inquit 'et audacibus.' Nam sic eos appellat clarissimus
the-wicked he-says and audacious for so them calls a-most-illustrious
vir: quae sunt urbanarum maledicta litium, non inustae belli
man which are of-urban the-abuses of-lawsuits not the-branded of-war
internecini notae. Testamenta, credo, subiciunt aut eiciunt
internecine marks wills I-suppose they-forge or they-eject
vicinos aut adulescentulos circumscribunt: his enim vitiis
neighbors or young-men they-cheat with-these for vices
adfectos et talibus malos aut audacis appellare consuetudo solet.
tainted and such as-bad or audacious to-call custom is-wont

8 Bellum inexpiabile infert quattuor consulibus unus omnium
war inexpiable brings on-four consuls one of-all
latronum taeterrimus; gerit idem bellum cum senatu
brigands the-foulest he-wages the-same war with the-senate
populoque Romano; omnibus — quamquam ruit ipse
and-the-people Roman to-all-men although he-is-falling himself
suis cladibus — pestem, vastitatem, cruciatum, tormenta
by-his-own disasters plague devastation torment tortures
denuntiat: Dolabellae ferum et immane facinus quod
he-threatens Dolabella's wild and monstrous deed which
nulla barbaria posset agnoscere, id suo consilio factum
no barbarism could acknowledge that by-his counsel done
esse testatur; quaeque esset facturus in hac urbe,
to-have-been he-testifies and-what he-was going-to-do in this city
nisi eum hic ipse Iuppiter ab hoc templo atque
unless him here this-very Jupiter from this temple and
moenibus reppulisset, declaravit in Parmensium calamitate,
walls had-repelled he-declared in the-Parmans' calamity
quos optimos viros honestissimosque homines, maxime
whom most-excellent men and-most-honorable persons most
cum auctoritate huius ordinis populique Romani dignitate
with the-authority of-this order and-of-the-people Roman the-dignity
coniunctos, crudelissimis exemplis interemit propudium illud
joined by-most-cruel examples killed disgrace that
et portentum, L. Antonius, insigne odium omnium
and portent Lucius Antonius the-signal hatred of-all
hominum vel, si etiam di oderunt quos oportet, deorum.
men or if even the-gods hate whom they-ought of-the-gods
9 Refugit animus, patres conscripti, eaque dicere reformidat
shrinks my-mind fathers enrolled and-those-things to-say dreads
quae L. Antonius in Parmensium liberis et coniugibus
which Lucius Antonius on the-Parmans' children and wives

effecerit. Quas enim turpitudines Antonii libenter cum
has-wrought which for disgraces the-Antonies gladly with
dedecore subierunt, easdem per vim laetantur aliis se
dishonor have-undergone the-same by force they-rejoice on-others themselves
intulisse. Sed vis calamitosa est quam illis obtulerunt:
to-have-brought but violence calamitous is which on-them they-brought
libido flagitiosa qua Antoniorum oblita est vita. Est igitur
lust shameful with-which the-Antonies' smeared is life is-there therefore
quisquam qui hostis appellare non audeat quorum scelere
anyone who enemies to-call not dare by-whose crime
crudelitatem Carthaginiensium victam esse fateatur? Qua
the-cruelty of-the-Carthaginians outdone to-have-been he-may-confess what
enim in urbe tam immanis Hannibal capta quam in Parma
for in city so savage Hannibal captured as in Parma
surrepta Antonius? nisi forte huius coloniae et ceterarum
stolen Antony unless perhaps of-this colony and of-the-others
in quas eodem est animo non est hostis putandus.
toward which with-the-same he-is mind not is an-enemy to-be-thought
Si vero coloniarum et municipiorum sine ulla dubitatione 10
if indeed of-the-colonies and towns without any doubt
hostis est, quid tandem huius censetis urbis quam ille
an-enemy he-is what pray of-this do-you-think city which he
ad explendas egestates latrocini sui concupivit, quam iam
for filling-up the-needs of-brigandage his coveted which already
peritus metator et callidus decempeda sua Saxa diviserat?
a-skilled surveyor and clever with-measuring-rod his Saxa had-divided
Recordamini, per deos immortalis! patres conscripti, quid
remember by the-gods immortal fathers enrolled what
hoc biduo timuerimus a domesticis hostibus rumoribus
these two-days we-feared from domestic enemies rumors
improbissimis dissipatis. Quis liberos, quis coniugem aspicere
most-wicked spread who his-children who his-wife to-look-on

poterat sine fletu? quis domum, quis tecta, quis larem
could without weeping who his-house who his-roof who household-god
familiarem? Aut foedissimam mortem omnes aut miserabilem
family either a-most-foul death all or a-pitiable
fugam cogitabant. Haec a quibus timebantur, eos hostis
flight were-pondering these-things by whom were-feared them enemies
appellare dubitamus? Gravius si quis attulerit nomen,
to-call do-we-hesitate a-heavier if anyone shall-have-brought name
libenter adsentiar: hoc volgari contentus vix sum, leviore
gladly I-shall-agree with-this common content scarcely I-am a-lighter
non utar.
not I-shall-use

11 Itaque cum supplicationes iustissimas ex eis litteris quae
and-so since thanksgivings most-just from that letter which
recitatae sunt decernere debeamus, Serviliusque decreverit,
read has-been to-decree we-ought and-Servilius has-decreed(-them)
augebo omnino numerum dierum, praesertim cum non
I-shall-increase altogether the-number of-days especially since not
uni, sed tribus ducibus sint decernendae. Sed hoc primum
for-one but for-three generals they-are to-be-decreed but this first
faciam ut imperatores appellem eos quorum virtute, consilio,
I-shall-do that commanders I-may-call those by-whose courage counsel
felicitate maximis periculis servitutis atque interitus liberati
good-fortune from-the-greatest dangers of-slavery and death freed
sumus. Etenim cui viginti his annis supplicatio decreta
we-have-been for to-whom in-twenty these years a-thanksgiving decreed
est ut non imperator appellaretur aut minimis rebus
has-been that not commander he-was-called either for-the-smallest things
gestis aut plerumque nullis? Quam ob rem aut
done or for-the-most-part none which on-account-of thing either
supplicatio ab eo qui ante dixit decernenda non fuit aut
the-thanksgiving by him who before spoke to-be-decreed not was or

usitatus honos pervolgatusque tribuendus eis quibus etiam
the-usual honor and-commonplace to-be-granted to-them to-whom even
novi singularesque debentur.
new and-singular are-owed

III · THE RUMOR OF THE FASCES

The commanders deserve the title and honor, since the people carried Cicero to the Capitol for their victory. Cicero answers the rumor that he planned to take the fasces at the Parilia: Antony's partisans spread it to make him hated and to prepare an attack on him, but the tribune Apuleius cleared him before a crowded assembly, and the good news came within hours.

An si quis Hispanorum aut Gallorum aut Threcum mille 12
or if anyone of-the-Spaniards or of-the-Gauls or of-the-Thracians a-thousand
aut duo milia occidisset, illum hac consuetudine quae
or two thousand had-killed him by-this custom which
increbruit imperatorem appellaret senatus: tot legionibus
has-grown-common commander would-call the-senate so-many legions
caesis, tanta multitudine hostium interfecta — ita, inquam,
slain so-great a-multitude of-enemies killed so I-say
hostium, quamvis hoc isti hostes domestici nolint —
of-enemies however-much this those enemies domestic may-not-wish
clarissimis ducibus supplicationum honorem tribuemus,
to-most-illustrious generals of-thanksgivings the-honor shall-we-grant
imperatorium nomen adimemus? Quanto enim honore,
of-commander the-name shall-we-take-away with-how-great for honor
laetitia, gratulatione in hoc templum ingredi debent illi ipsi
joy congratulation into this temple to-enter ought those very
huius urbis liberatores, cum hesterno die propter eorum res
of-this city liberators when on-yesterday's day on-account-of their things

gestas me ovantem et prope triumphantem populus Romanus
done me in-ovation and almost in-triumph the-people Roman
in Capitolium domo tulerit, domum inde reduxerit?
to the-Capitol from-home has-carried home thence has-led-back
13 Is enim demum est mea quidem sententia iustus triumphus
that for at-last is in-my indeed opinion a-just triumph
ac verus, cum bene de re publica meritis
and true when to-those-well of the-thing public having-deserved
testimonium a consensu civitatis datur. Nam sive in
testimony by the-agreement of-the-state is-given for whether in
communi gaudio populi Romani uni gratulabantur,
the-common joy of-the-people Roman one-man they-were-congratulating
magnum iudicium, sive uni gratias agebant, eo
great the-judgment or to-one-man thanks they-were-giving by-that
maius, sive utrumque, nihil magnificentius cogitari potest.
greater or both nothing more-magnificent to-be-thought can
Tu igitur ipse de te? dixerit quispiam. Equidem
you therefore yourself about yourself may-say someone I-for-my-part(-speak)
invitus, sed iniuriae dolor facit me praeter consuetudinem
unwilling but of-injury the-pain makes me beyond custom
gloriosum. Nonne satis est ab hominibus virtutis ignaris
boastful not enough is by men of-courage ignorant
gratiam bene merentibus non referri? etiam in eos
thanks to-those-well deserving not to-be-returned even against those
qui omnis suas curas in rei publicae salute defigunt,
who all their cares on of-the-thing public the-safety fix
crimen et invidia quaeretur?
a-charge and envy will-be-sought
14 Scitis enim per hos dies creberrimum fuisse sermonem,
you-know for through these days most-frequent to-have-been the-talk
me Parilibus, qui dies hodie est, cum fascibus descensurum. In
me at-the-Parilia which day today is with the-fasces going-to-come-down upon

aliquem credo hoc gladiatorem aut latronem aut Catilinam esse
some I-suppose this gladiator or brigand or Catiline to-be
conlatum, non in eum qui ne quid tale in re publica
laid not upon him who that-not anything such in the-thing public
fieri posset effecerit. An vero ego qui Catilinam haec
be-done could brought-about or indeed I who Catiline these-things
molientem sustulerim, everterim, adflixerim, ipse exstiterim
contriving have-removed overturned struck-down myself should-have-stood-forth
repente Catilina? Quibus auspiciis istos fascis augur acciperem,
suddenly a-Catiline with-what auspices those fasces an-augur should-I-receive
quatenus haberem, cui traderem? Quemquamne
how-long should-I-have(-them) to-whom should-I-hand-them-over that-anyone
fuisse tam sceleratum qui hoc fingeret, tam furiosum qui
to-have-been so criminal as this to-invent so mad as
crederet? Unde igitur ista suspicio vel potius unde iste sermo?
to-believe whence therefore that suspicion or rather whence that talk
Cum, ut scitis, hoc triduo vel quadriduo tristis a Mutina 15
when as you-know in-these three-days or four-days a-sad from Mutina
fama manaret, inflati laetitia atque insolentia impii cives
rumor was-flowing puffed-up with-joy and insolence the-impious citizens
unum se in locum, ad illam curiam furiis potius
one themselves into place to that senate-house for-madness rather
suis quam rei publicae infelicem congregabant. Ibi
their than for-the-thing public unlucky were-flocking there
cum consilia inirent de caede nostra partirenturque
when plans they-were-entering about the-slaughter of-us and-were-dividing
inter se qui Capitolium, qui rostra, qui urbis portas
among themselves who the-Capitol who the-rostra who of-the-city the-gates
occuparent, ad me concursum futurum civitatis putabant.
should-seize to me a-rush going-to-be of-the-state they-thought
Quod ut cum invidia mea fieret et cum vitae etiam
which that with ill-will toward-me it-might-happen and with to-life even

periculo, famam istam fascium dissipaverunt; fascis ipsi ad
danger the-rumor that of-the-fasces they-spread the-fasces themselves to
me delaturi fuerunt. Quod cum esset quasi mea voluntate
me going-to-bring were which when it-had-been as-if by-my will
factum, tum in me impetus conductorum hominum quasi
done then against me an-attack of-hired men as-if
in tyrannum parabatur; ex quo caedes esset vestrum
against a-tyrant was-being-prepared from which slaughter would-have of-you
omnium consecuta. Quae res patefecit, patres conscripti, sed
all followed which thing has-revealed fathers enrolled but
suo tempore totius huius sceleris fons aperietur.
at-its-own time of-whole this crime the-source will-be-opened

16 Itaque P. Apuleius, tribunus plebis, meorum omnium
and-so Publius Apuleius tribune of-the-plebs of-my all
consiliorum periculorumque iam inde a consulatu
counsels and-dangers now from-the-time from consulship
meo testis, conscius, adiutor, dolorem ferre non potuit
my the-witness the-confidant the-helper the-pain to-bear not could
doloris mei: contionem habuit maximam populo Romano
of-pain my an-assembly he-held very-great with-the-people Roman
unum atque idem sentiente. In qua contione cum me
one and the-same feeling in which assembly when me
pro summa nostra coniunctione et familiaritate
in-keeping-with closest our connection and intimacy
liberare suspicione fascium vellet, una voce cuncta contio
to-free from-the-suspicion of-the-fasces he-wished with-one voice the-whole assembly
declaravit nihil esse a me umquam de re publica
declared nothing to-have-been by me ever about the-thing public
nisi optime cogitatum. Post hanc habitam contionem duabus
except best thought after this held assembly in-two
tribusve horis optatissimi nuntii et litterae venerunt: ut
or-three hours the-most-desired news and letters came so-that

idem dies non modo iniquissima me invidia liberarit sed
the-same day not only from-a-most-unjust me ill-will freed but
etiam celeberrima populi Romani gratulatione auxerit.
also with-the-most-crowded of-the-people Roman congratulation increased

IV · CICERO'S RECORD

Cicero has spoken of himself only to warn the envious that courage should be imitated, not begrudged. He laments consulars who are timid or careless, and invites rivalry only in good counsel. The people judge each senator. Cicero has led the fight for liberty since December, always calling Antony an enemy, and a thanksgiving itself now judges him one.

Haec interposui, patres conscripti, non tam ut pro me 17
these-things I-have-interposed fathers enrolled not so-much that for myself
dixerim — male enim mecum ageretur, si parum vobis
I-might-have-spoken badly for with-me it-would-be-dealt if too-little to-you
essem sine defensione purgatus — quam ut quosdam nimis
I-were without defense cleared as that certain-men with-too
ieiuno animo et angusto monerem, id quod semper ipse
meager a-mind and narrow I-might-warn that which always myself
fecissem, uti excellentium civium virtutem imitatione dignam,
I-had-done that of-excellent citizens the-courage of-imitation worthy
non invidia putarent. Magnus est in re publica campus,
not of-envy they-should-think great is in the-thing public the-field
ut sapienter dicere M. Crassus solebat, multis apertus
as wisely to-say Marcus Crassus was-wont to-many open
cursus ad laudem. Utinam quidem illi principes viverent
the-course to praise would-that indeed those leading-men were-alive
qui me post meum consulatum, cum eis ipse cederem,
who me after my consulship when to-them I-myself yielded

principem non inviti videbant! Hoc vero tempore in tanta
as-leading-man not unwilling saw at-this indeed time in so-great
inopia constantium et fortium consularium quo me
a-dearth of-steadfast and brave consulars with-what me
dolore adfici creditis, cum alios male sentire, alios nihil
pain to-be-affected do-you-believe when some badly to-feel others nothing
omnino curare videam, alios parum constanter in suscepta
at-all to-care I-see others too-little steadfastly in the-undertaken
causa permanere sententiamque suam non semper utilitate
cause to-remain and-opinion their not always by-the-advantage
rei publicae, sed tum spe tum timore moderari?
of-the-thing public but now by-hope now by-fear to-regulate
18 Quod si quis de contentione principatus laborat, quae
but if anyone about a-contest of-leadership labors which
nulla esse debet, stultissime facit, si vitiis cum virtute
none to-be ought most-foolishly he-acts if by-vices with courage
contendit; ut enim cursu cursus, sic in viris fortibus
he-contends as for in-running running so among men brave
virtus virtute superatur. Tu, si ego de re publica
courage by-courage is-surpassed you if I about the-thing public
optime sentiam, ut me vincas, ipse pessime senties?
best shall-feel that me you-may-conquer yourself worst will-feel
aut, si ad me bonorum concursum fieri videbis, ad te
or if to me of-the-good a-rush to-be-made you-shall-see to you
improbos invitabis? Nollem, primum rei publicae
the-wicked you-will-invite I-would-not-wish(-it) first of-the-thing public
causa, deinde etiam dignitatis tuae. Sed si principatus
for-the-sake then also of-dignity your but if the-leadership
ageretur, quem numquam expetivi, quid tandem mihi esset
were-at-stake which never I-have-sought what pray to-me would-be

optatius? Ego enim malis sententiis vinci non possum,
more-desirable I for by-bad opinions to-be-conquered not can
bonis forsitan possim et libenter.
by-good perhaps I-may and gladly
Haec populum Romanum videre, animadvertere, iudicare 19
these-things the-people Roman to-see to-notice to-judge
quidam moleste ferunt. Poteratne fieri ut non proinde
some annoyingly take could-it come-about that not accordingly
homines de quoque ut quisque mereretur iudicarent? Ut
men about each as each-one deserved should-judge as
enim de universo senatu populus Romanus verissime iudicat
for about the-whole senate the-people Roman most-truly judges
nullis rei publicae temporibus hunc ordinem firmiorem
in-no of-the-thing public times this order firmer
aut fortiorem fuisse, sic de uno quoque nostrum et
or braver to-have-been so about each one of-us and
maxime qui hoc loco sententias dicimus sciscitantur omnes,
especially who in-this place opinions speak they-inquire all
avent audire quid quisque senserit: ita de quoque ut
are-eager to-hear what each-one has-felt so about each as
quemque meritum arbitrantur existimant.
each deserving they-think they-judge
Memoria tenent me ante diem xiii. Kalendas Ianuarias 20
in-memory they-hold me on the-day thirteenth before-the-Kalends of-January
principem revocandae libertatis fuisse; me ex Kalendis
the-leader to-be-recalled of-liberty to-have-been me from the-Kalends
Ianuariis ad hanc horam invigilasse rei publicae;
of-January to this hour to-have-kept-watch for-the-thing public
meam domum measque auris dies noctesque omnium
my house and-my ears days and-nights to-all-men's
praeceptis monitisque patuisse; meis litteris, meis nuntiis,
precepts and-advice to-have-lain-open by-my letters by-my messages

meis cohortationibus omnis qui ubique essent ad patriae
by-my exhortations all who anywhere were to of-the-fatherland
praesidium excitatos; meis sententiis a Kalendis Ianuariis
the-defense roused by-my opinions from the-Kalends of-January
numquam legatos ad Antonium; semper illum hostem,
never envoys to Antony always him an-enemy
semper hoc bellum, ut ego qui omni tempore verae pacis
always this a-war so-that I who at-every time of-true peace
auctor fuissem huic essem nomini pestiferae pacis inimicus;
the-advocate had-been to-this was name of-pestilent peace hostile
21 idem P. Ventidium, cum alii praetorem, ego semper
the-same Publius Ventidius when others a-praetor I always
hostem. Has in sententias meas si consules discessionem
an-enemy these into opinions my if the-consuls a-division
facere voluissent, omnibus istis latronibus auctoritate ipsa
to-make had-wished from-all those brigands by-the-authority itself
senatus iam pridem de manibus arma cecidissent. Sed
of-the-senate now long-since from their-hands arms would-have-fallen but
quod tum non licuit, patres conscripti, id hoc tempore
what then not was-allowed fathers enrolled that at-this time
non solum licet verum etiam necesse est, eos qui re
not only is-allowed but also necessary is those who in-fact
sunt hostes verbis notari, sententiis nostris hostis iudicari.
are enemies in-words to-be-branded by-opinions our enemies to-be-judged
22 Antea cum hostem ac bellum nominassem, semel et saepius
before when an-enemy and war I-had-named once and more-often
sententiam meam de numero sententiarum sustulerunt: quod
opinion my from the-number of-opinions they-removed which
in hac causa iam fieri non potest. Ex litteris enim
in this case now to-be-done not can from the-letter for
C. Pansae A. Hirti consulum, C. Caesaris pro praetore,
of-Gaius Pansa of-Aulus Hirtius the-consuls of-Gaius Caesar as propraetor

de honore dis immortalibus habendo sententias dicimus.
about honor to-the-gods immortal to-be-paid opinions we-speak
Supplicationem modo qui decrevit, idem imprudens hostis
a-thanksgiving just-now who decreed the-same unwittingly enemies
iudicavit; numquam enim in civili bello supplicatio decreta est.
judged never for in civil war a-thanksgiving decreed has-been
Decretam dico? ne victoris quidem litteris postulata est.
decreed I-say not by-the-victor's even letter demanded it-has-been

V · THREE COMMANDERS

No thanksgiving was decreed in Rome's earlier civil wars, nor for Pharsalus; Cicero's own was for saving citizens. To decree one now is to call Antony an enemy, so the generals must be hailed as commanders. Pansa was wounded leading the Martian legion; Hirtius routed Antony with the fourth and seventh; young Caesar defended the camp with a few cohorts.

Civile bellum consul Sulla gessit, legionibus in urbem 23
civil war as-consul Sulla waged with-legions into the-city
adductis quos voluit expulit, quos potuit occidit:
brought those-whom he-wished he-expelled those-whom he-could he-killed
supplicationis mentio nulla. Grave bellum Octavianum
of-thanksgiving mention none a-grave war Octavian
insecutum est: supplicatio Cinnae nulla victori. Cinnae
followed has thanksgiving for-Cinna none the-victor Cinna's
victoriam imperator ultus est Sulla: nulla supplicatio decreta
victory as-commander avenged has Sulla no thanksgiving decreed
a senatu. Ad te ipsum, P. Servili, num misit ullas
by the-senate to you yourself Publius Servilius surely-not sent any
conlega litteras de illa calamitosissima pugna Pharsalia?
your-colleague letter about that most-calamitous battle of-Pharsalus

num te de supplicatione voluit referre? Profecto
surely-not you about a-thanksgiving he-wished to-refer surely
noluit. At misit postea de Alexandrea, de Pharnace:
he-did-not-wish but he-sent afterward about Alexandria about Pharnaces
Pharsaliae vero pugnae ne triumphum quidem egit. Eos
for-the-Pharsalian indeed battle not a-triumph even he-held those
enim civis pugna illa sustulerat quibus non modo vivis
for citizens battle that had-removed with-whom not only alive
sed etiam victoribus incolumis et florens civitas esse posset.
but also victorious unharmed and flourishing the-state be could
24 Quod idem contigerat superioribus bellis civilibus. Nam
which same-thing had-happened in-the-earlier wars civil for
mihi consuli supplicatio nullis armis sumptis non ob caedem
to-me as-consul a-thanksgiving with-no arms taken-up not for the-slaughter
hostium, sed ob conservationem civium novo et inaudito
of-enemies but for the-preservation of-citizens in-a-new and unheard-of
genere decreta est. Quam ob rem aut supplicatio
kind decreed was which on-account-of thing either a-thanksgiving
re publica pulcherrime gesta postulantibus nostris
with-the-thing public most-splendidly managed demanding our
imperatoribus deneganda est, quod praeter A. Gabinium
generals to-be-refused is which except Aulus Gabinius
contigit nemini, aut supplicatione decernenda hostis eos
has-happened to-no-one or with-a-thanksgiving decreed enemies those
de quibus decernitis iudicetis necesse est. Quod ergo
about whom you-decree you-should-judge necessary it-is what therefore
ille re, id ego etiam verbo, cum imperatores eos appello:
he in-fact that I also in-word when commanders them I-call
hoc ipso nomine et eos qui iam devicti sunt et eos
by-this very name both those who already conquered have-been and those
qui supersunt hostis iudico.
who survive enemies I-judge

Quo modo enim potius Pansam appellem, etsi habet 25
how in-manner for rather Pansa should-I-call(-him) although he-has
honoris nomen amplissimi; quo Hirtium? Est ille quidem
of-honor the-name most-ample how Hirtius be-is he indeed
consul, sed alterum nomen beneficī populī Romani est,
consul but the-one name of-the-favor of-the-people Roman is
alterum virtutis atque victoriae. Quid? Caesarem, deorum
the-other of-courage and victory what Caesar by-the-gods'
beneficio rei publicae procreatum, dubitemne appellare
favor for-the-thing public begotten should-I-hesitate to-call
imperatorem? qui primus Antoni immanem et foedam
commander who first Antony's monstrous and foul
crudelitatem non solum a iugulis nostris sed etiam a
cruelty not only from throats our but also from
membris et visceribus avertit. Unius autem diei quot
limbs and vitals turned-aside of-one however day how-many
et quantae virtutes, di immortales, fuerunt!
and how-great virtues gods immortal there-were
Princeps enim omnium Pansa proeli faciendi et cum Antonio 26
the-first for of-all Pansa of-battle being-joined and with Antony
confligendi fuit; dignus imperator legione Martia, digna
of-clashing was worthy commander of-the-legion Martian worthy
legio imperatore. Cuius si acerrimum impetum cohibere
legion of-the-commander whose if most-fierce onset to-restrain
Pansa potuisset, uno proelio confecta res esset.
Pansa had-been-able in-one battle finished the-thing would-have-been
Sed cum libertatis avida legio effrenatius in aciem
but when for-liberty eager the-legion more-unbridledly into the-battle-line
hostium inrupisset ipseque in primis Pansa pugnaret,
of-the-enemies had-burst and-himself among the-foremost Pansa was-fighting
duobus periculosis volneribus acceptis sublatus e proelio
two dangerous wounds having-received carried from the-battle

rei publicae vitam reservavit. Ego vero hunc non
for-the-thing public his-life he-reserved I indeed this-man not
solum imperatorem sed etiam clarissimum imperatorem
only a-commander but also a-most-illustrious commander
iudico qui, cum aut morte aut victoria se satis facturum
judge who when either by-death or by-victory himself enough going-to-do
rei publicae spopondisset, alterum fecit, alterius di
to-the-thing public had-pledged the-one he-did of-the-other the-gods
immortales omen avertant.
immortal the-omen may-avert

27 Quid dicam de Hirtio? qui re audita e castris duas
what shall-I-say about Hirtius who the-thing heard from the-camp two
legiones eduxit incredibili studio atque virtute, quartam illam
legions led-out with-incredible zeal and courage the-fourth that
quae relicto Antonio se olim cum Martia legione
which having-abandoned Antony itself once with the-Martian legion
coniunxit, et septimam quae constituta ex veteranis docuit
joined and the-seventh which formed from veterans showed
hoc proelio militibus eis qui Caesaris beneficia servassent
in-this battle to-soldiers those who Caesar's favors had-preserved
senatus populique Romani carum nomen esse. His
of-the-senate and-of-the-people Roman dear the-name to-be with-these
viginti cohortibus, nullo equitatu, Hirtius ipse aquilam
twenty cohorts with-no cavalry Hirtius himself the-eagle
quartae legionis cum inferret, qua nullius pulchriorem
of-the-fourth legion while he-carried-forward than-which of-no more-splendid
speciem imperatoris accepimus, cum tribus Antoni legionibus
image of-a-commander we-have-received with three of-Antony legions
equitatuque conflixit, hostisque nefarios, huic Iovis optimi
and-cavalry clashed and-the-enemies wicked to-this of-Jupiter best
maximi ceterisque deorum immortalium templis, urbis tectis,
greatest and-to-the-other of-the-gods immortal temples to-the-city's roofs

libertati populi Romani, nostrae vitae sanguinique imminentis
to-the-liberty of-the-people Roman to-our lives and-blood threatening
prostravit, fudit, occidit, ut cum admodum paucis, nocte
he-laid-low routed slew so-that with very few by-night
tectus, metu perterritus, princeps latronum duxque fugerit. O
covered by-fear terrified the-chief of-brigands and-leader fled O
solem ipsum beatissimum qui, ante quam se abderet, stratis
sun itself most-blessed which before than itself it-hid strewn
cadaveribus parricidarum cum paucis fugientem vidit Antonium!
the-corpses of-parricides with a-few fleeing saw Antony
An vero quisquam dubitabit appellare Caesarem imperatorem? 28
or indeed will-anyone hesitate to-call Caesar commander
Aetas eius certe ab hac sententia neminem deterrebit,
the-age his surely from this opinion no-one will-deter
quando quidem virtute superavit aetatem. Ac mihi semper
since indeed in-courage he-has-surpassed his-age and to-me always
eo maiora beneficia C. Caesaris visa sunt quo
by-this greater the-favors of-Gaius Caesar seemed have by-how-much
minus erant ab aetate illa postulanda: cui cum imperium
less they-were from age that to-be-demanded to-whom when a-command
dabamus, eodem tempore etiam spem eius nominis
we-were-giving at-the-same time also the-hope of-that name
deferebamus; quod cum est consecutus, auctoritatem decreti
we-conferred which when he-has attained the-authority of-decree
nostri rebus gestis suis comprobavit. Hic ergo adulescens
our by-things done his he-has-confirmed this therefore young-man
maximi animi, ut verissime scribit Hirtius, castra multarum
of-the-greatest spirit as most-truly writes Hirtius the-camp of-many
legionum paucis cohortibus tutatus est secundumque proelium
legions with-a-few cohorts protected has and-a-second battle

fecit. Ita trium imperatorum virtute, consilio, felicitate
fought so of-three commanders by-the-courage counsel good-fortune
uno die locis pluribus res publica est conservata.
in-one day in-places several the-thing public has-been preserved

VI · A MONUMENT FOR THE FALLEN

Cicero moves fifty days of thanksgiving and the renewal of the rewards promised to the legions. He proposes a splendid monument for the soldiers of the Martian legion and the others who fell, since the Martian was the first to leave Antony. Their deaths, owed to nature, were paid to their country, and the monument will make them immortal.

29 Decerno igitur eorum trium nomine quinquaginta dierum
I-propose therefore of-them three in-the-name fifty of-days
supplicationes: causas, ut honorificentissimis verbis consequi
thanksgivings the-reasons as in-the-most-honorable words to-attain
potuero, complectar ipsa sententia.
I-shall-be-able I-shall-embrace in-the-very motion
Est autem fidei pietatisque nostrae declarare fortissimis
it-is however of-faith and-piety our to-declare to-the-most-brave
militibus quam memores simus quamque grati. Quam
soldiers how mindful we-are and-how grateful which
ob rem promissa nostra atque ea quae legionibus
on-account-of thing promises our and those-things which to-the-legions
bello confecto tributuros nos spopondimus hodierno
with-the-war finished going-to-grant us we-pledged by-today's
senatus consulto renovanda censeo; aequum est enim
of-the-senate decree to-be-renewed I-move fair it-is for
militum, talium praesertim, honorem coniungi.
of-soldiers such especially the-honor to-be-joined

Atque utinam, patres conscripti, civibus omnibus solvere 30
and would-that fathers enrolled to-the-citizens all to-pay
nobis praemia liceret! quamquam nos ea quae
for-us rewards it-were-allowed although we those-things which
promisimus studiose cumulata reddemus. Sed id quidem
we-promised zealously heaped-up shall-give-back but that indeed
restat, ut spero, victoribus, quibus senatus fides praestabitur:
remains as I-hope for-the-victors to-whom of-the-senate the-faith shall-be-kept
quam quoniam difficillimo rei publicae tempore secuti
which since in-a-most-difficult of-the-thing public time followed
sunt, eos numquam oportebit consili sui paenitere. Sed
they-have them never it-will-behoove of-counsel their to-repent but
facile est bene agere cum eis a quibus etiam tacentibus
easy it-is well to-deal with those by whom even silent
flagitari videmur: illud admirabilius et maius maximeque
to-be-dunned we-seem that more-admirable and greater and-most
proprium senatus sapientis est, grata eorum virtutem
proper of-a-senate wise is with-grateful their courage
memoria prosequi qui pro patria vitam profuderunt.
memory to-attend who for the-fatherland life have-poured-out
Quorum de honore utinam mihi plura in mentem venirent! 31
of-whose about honor would-that to-me more-things into mind came
Duo certe non praeteribo quae maxime occurrunt: quorum
two-things surely not I-shall-pass-over which most occur of-which
alterum pertinet ad virorum fortissimorum gloriam sempiternam,
the-one pertains to of-men most-brave the-glory everlasting
alterum ad leniendum maerorem et luctum proximorum. Placet
the-other to soothing the-sorrow and grief of-their-nearest it-pleases
igitur mihi, patres conscripti, legionis Martiae militibus et
therefore me fathers enrolled of-the-legion Martian for-the-soldiers and
eis qui una pugnantes occiderint monumentum fieri
for-those who together fighting fell a-monument to-be-made

quam amplissimum. Magna atque incredibilia sunt in rem
as ample-as-possible great and incredible are toward the-thing
publicam huius merita legionis. Haec se prima latrocinio
public of-this the-services legion it itself first from-the-brigandage
abrupit Antoni; haec tenuit Albam; haec se ad Caesarem
broke-away of-Antony it held Alba it itself to Caesar
contulit; hanc imitata quarta legio parem virtutis gloriam
betook it imitating the-fourth legion equal of-courage the-glory
consecuta est. Quarta victrix desiderat neminem: ex Martia
attained has the-fourth victorious misses no-one of the-Martian
non nulli in ipsa victoria conciderunt. O fortunata mors
not none in the-very victory fell O fortunate death
quae naturae debita pro patria est potissimum reddita!
which to-nature owed for the-fatherland has above-all been-paid
32 Vos vero patriae natos iudico; quorum etiam nomen a
you indeed for-the-fatherland born I-judge whose even name from
Marte est, ut idem deus urbem hanc gentibus, vos huic
Mars is so-that the-same god city this for-the-nations you for-this
urbi genuisse videatur. In fuga foeda mors est; in victoria
city to-have-begotten may-seem in flight foul death is in victory
gloriosa. Etenim Mars ipse ex acie fortissimum quemque
glorious for Mars himself from the-battle-line the-bravest each
pignerari solet. Illi igitur impii quos occidistis etiam
to-claim-as-pledge is-wont those therefore impious-men whom you-killed even
ad inferos poenas parricidi luent; vos vero qui extremum
among the-dead the-penalties of-parricide will-pay you indeed who the-last
spiritum in victoria effudistis piorum estis sedem et locum
breath in victory poured-out of-the-pious have the-seat and place
consecuti. Brevis a natura vita nobis data est; at memoria
attained short by nature life to-us given has-been but the-memory
bene redditae vitae sempiterna. Quae si non esset longior quam
well given-back of-a-life everlasting which if not were longer than

haec vita, quis esset tam amens qui maximis laboribus
this life who would-be so mad who with-the-greatest labors
et periculis ad summam laudem gloriamque contenderet?
and dangers to the-highest praise and-glory would-strive
Actum igitur praeclare vobiscum, fortissimi, dum vixistis, 33
it-has-been-dealt therefore splendidly with-you most-brave-men while you-lived
nunc vero etiam sanctissimi milites, quod vestra virtus neque
now indeed also most-holy soldiers because your courage neither
oblivione eorum qui nunc sunt nec reticentia posterorum
by-the-forgetfulness of-those who now are nor by-the-silence of-posterity
sepulta esse poterit, cum vobis immortale monumentum
buried to-be will-be-able since for-you an-immortal monument
suis paene manibus senatus populusque Romanus
with-their-own almost hands the-senate and-the-people Roman
exstruxerit. Multi saepe exercitus Punicis, Gallicis, Italicis
has-built many often armies in-the-Punic Gallic Italian
bellis clari et magni fuerunt, nec tamen ullis tale genus
wars famous and great have-been nor still to-any such a-kind
honoris tributum est. Atque utinam maiora possemus,
of-honor granted has-been and would-that greater-things we-could
quando quidem a vobis maxima accepimus! Vos ab urbe
since indeed from you the-greatest-things we-have-received you from the-city
furentem Antonium avertistis; vos redire molientem reppulistis.
the-raging Antony turned-aside you to-return striving repelled
Erit igitur exstructa moles opere magnifico incisaeque
there-will-be therefore built a-mass of-work magnificent and-carved
litterae, divinae virtutis testes sempiternae, numquamque de
letters of-divine courage witnesses everlasting and-never about
vobis eorum qui aut videbunt vestrum monumentum aut
you of-those who either shall-see your monument or

audient gratissimus sermo conticescet. Ita pro mortali
shall-hear most-grateful talk will-fall-silent so in-return-for the-mortal
condicione vitae immortalitatem estis consecuti.
condition of-life immortality you-have attained

VII · THE FINAL MOTION

Cicero consoles the families of the fallen: their sons, fathers, husbands, and brothers died the finest death and lie in a public monument. His motion names Pansa, Hirtius, and young Caesar commanders and decrees a fifty-day thanksgiving, a monument for the fallen, the promised rewards for the surviving soldiers, and the fallen's rewards for their parents, children, wives, and brothers.

34 Sed quoniam, patres conscripti, gloriae munus optimis
but since fathers enrolled of-glory the-tribute to-the-best
et fortissimis civibus monumenti honore persolvitur,
and most-brave citizens by-the-monument's honor is-paid
consolemur eorum proximos, quibus optima est haec quidem
let-us-console their nearest for-whom best is this indeed
consolatio: parentibus quod tanta rei publicae praesidia
consolation for-parents that such-great of-the-thing public defenses
genuerunt; liberis quod habebunt domestica exempla
they-begot for-children that they-will-have domestic examples
virtutis; coniugibus quod eis viris carebunt, quos laudare
of-courage for-wives that those husbands they-will-lack whom to-praise
quam lugere praestabit; fratribus quod in se ut
than to-mourn it-will-be-better for-brothers that in themselves as
corporum, sic virtutis similitudinem esse confident. Atque
of-bodies so of-courage the-likeness to-be they-will-trust and
utinam his omnibus abstergere fletum sententiis nostris
would-that from-these all to-wipe-away weeping by-opinions our

consultisque possemus, vel aliqua talis eis adhiberi publice
and-decrees we-could or some such to-them be-applied publicly
posset oratio qua deponerent maerorem atque luctum
could speech by-which they-might-lay-aside sorrow and grief
gauderentque potius, cum multa et varia impenderent
and-might-rejoice rather since many and various were-threatening
hominibus genera mortis, id genus quod esset pulcherrimum
men kinds of-death that kind which was most-beautiful
suis obtigisse eosque nec inhumatos esse nec
to-their-own to-have-fallen and-that-they neither unburied are nor
desertos, quod tamen ipsum pro patria non miserandum
deserted which still itself for the-fatherland not to-be-pitied
putatur, nec dispersis bustis humili sepultura crematos,
is-thought nor in-scattered pyres with-humble burial cremated
sed contectos publicis operibus atque muneribus eaque
but covered by-public works and gifts and-by-that
exstructione quae sit ad memoriam aeternitatis ara
structure which be for the-memory of-eternity an-altar
virtutis.
of-courage
Quam ob rem maximum quidem solacium 35
which on-account-of thing the-greatest indeed solace
erit propinquorum eodem monumento declarari et
will-be of-the-kinsmen by-the-same monument to-be-declared both
virtutem suorum et populi Romani pietatem et
the-courage of-their-own and of-the-people Roman the-piety and
senatus fidem et crudelissimi memoriam belli: in
of-the-senate the-faith and of-a-most-cruel the-memory war in
quo nisi tanta militum virtus exstitisset, parricidio
which unless so-great of-soldiers courage had-stood-forth by-the-parricide
M. Antoni nomen populi Romani occidisset.
of-Mark of-Antony the-name of-the-people Roman would-have-perished

Atque etiam censeo, patres conscripti, quae praemia
and also I-move fathers enrolled which rewards
militibus promisimus nos re publica recuperata
to-the-soldiers we-promised we with-the-thing public recovered
tributuros, ea vivis victoribusque cumulate, cum tempus
going-to-grant those to-the-living and-victorious amply when the-time
venerit, persolvenda; qui autem ex eis quibus
shall-have-come to-be-paid those-who however of those to-whom
illa promissa sunt pro patria occiderunt, eorum
those promised have-been for the-fatherland fell their
parentibus, liberis, coniugibus, fratribus eadem tribuenda
to-the-parents children wives brothers the-same to-be-granted
censeo.
I-move

36 Sed ut aliquando sententiam complectar, ita censeo:
but that at-last my-opinion I-may-sum-up so I-move
cum C. Pansa consul, imperator, initium cum
since Gaius Pansa consul commander the-beginning with
hostibus confligendi fecerit, quo proelio legio Martia
the-enemies of-clashing has-made in-which battle the-legion Martian
admirabili incredibilique virtute libertatem populi Romani
with-admirable and-incredible courage the-liberty of-the-people Roman
defenderit, quod idem legiones tironum fecerint;
has-defended which same-thing the-legions of-recruits have-done
ipseque C. Pansa consul, imperator, cum inter media
and-himself Gaius Pansa consul commander while between the-middle
hostium tela versaretur, volnera acceperit, cumque
of-the-enemies weapons he-was-engaged wounds has-received and-since
A. Hirtius consul, imperator, proelio audito, re cognita,
Aulus Hirtius consul commander the-battle heard-of the-thing learned
fortissimo praestantissimoque animo exercitum castris
with-most-brave and-most-outstanding spirit his-army from-the-camp

eduxerit impetumque in M. Antonium exercitumque
has-led-out and-an-onset on Mark Antony and-the-army
hostium fecerit eiusque copias occidione occiderit, suo
of-the-enemies has-made and-his forces by-slaughter has-slaughtered his-own
exercitu ita incolumi ut ne unum quidem militem
army so unharmed that not one even soldier
desiderarit,
he-has-missed
cumque C. Caesar pro praetore, imperator, consilio 37
and-since Gaius Caesar as propraetor commander by-counsel
diligentiaque sua castra feliciter defenderit copiasque
and-diligence his the-camp successfully has-defended and-the-forces
hostium quae ad castra accesserant profligarit, occiderit:
of-the-enemies which to the-camp had-approached has-routed has-slain
ob eas res senatum existimare et iudicare eorum trium
for those things the-senate to-think and to-judge of-those three
imperatorum virtute, imperio, consilio, gravitate, constantia,
of-commanders by-the-courage command counsel gravity constancy
magnitudine animi, felicitate populum Romanum foedissima
greatness of-mind good-fortune the-people Roman from-the-foulest
crudelissimaque servitute liberatum, cumque rem publicam,
and-most-cruel slavery freed and-since the-thing public
urbem, templa deorum immortalium, bona fortunasque
the-city the-temples of-the-gods immortal the-goods and-fortunes
omnium liberosque conservarint dimicatione et periculo
of-all and-children they-have-preserved by-combat and danger
vitae suae, uti ob eas res bene, fortiter feliciterque
of-life their that for those things well bravely and-successfully
gestas C. Pansa A. Hirtius consules, imperatores, alter
done Gaius Pansa Aulus Hirtius consuls commanders one
ambove, aut si aberunt, M. Cornutus, praetor urbanus,
or-both or if they-shall-be-absent Marcus Cornutus praetor urban

supplicationes per dies quinquaginta ad omnia pulvinaria
thanksgivings for days fifty at all couches
constituat:
should-appoint
38 cumque virtus legionum digna clarissimis imperatoribus
and-since the-courage of-the-legions worthy of-most-illustrious commanders
exstiterit, senatum, quae sit antea pollicitus legionibus
has-stood-forth the-senate what it-has before promised to-the-legions
exercitibusque nostris, ea summo studio re
and-armies our those-things with-the-highest zeal with-the-thing
publica recuperata persoluturum, cumque legio Martia
public recovered going-to-pay and-since the-legion Martian
princeps cum hostibus conflixerit, atque ita cum maiore
first with the-enemies has-clashed and so with a-greater
numero hostium contenderit ut plurimos caederent caderent
number of-enemies has-contended that very-many they-slew there-fell
non nulli, cumque sine ulla retractatione pro patria
not none and-since without any hesitation for the-fatherland
vitam profuderint; cumque simili virtute reliquarum
life they-have-poured-out and-since with-like courage of-the-remaining
legionum milites pro salute et libertate populi Romani
legions the-soldiers for the-safety and liberty of-the-people Roman
mortem oppetiverint, senatui placere ut C. Pansa
death have-met to-the-senate to-please that Gaius Pansa
A. Hirtius consules, imperatores, alter ambove, si eis
Aulus Hirtius consuls commanders one or-both if to-them
videatur, eis qui sanguinem pro vita, libertate, fortunis
it-seem-good for-those who blood for the-life liberty fortunes
populi Romani, pro urbe, templis deorum immortalium
of-the-people Roman for the-city the-temples of-the-gods immortal
profudissent monumentum quam amplissimum locandum
had-shed a-monument as ample-as-possible to-be-contracted

faciendumque curent: quaestoresque urbanos ad eam rem
and-made should-see-to and-the-quaestors urban for that thing
pecuniam dare, attribuere, solvere iubeant, ut testetur ad
money to-give assign pay should-order that it-may-attest to
memoriam posteritatis sempiternam scelus crudelissimorum
the-memory of-posterity everlasting the-crime of-the-most-cruel
hostium militumque divinam virtutem, utique, quae praemia
enemies and-of-the-soldiers the-divine courage and-that what rewards
senatus militibus ante constituit, ea solvantur eorum qui
the-senate to-the-soldiers before has-set those be-paid of-those who
hoc bello pro patria occiderunt parentibus, liberis,
in-this war for the-fatherland fell to-the-parents children
coniugibus, fratribus: eisque tribuantur quae militibus
wives brothers and-to-them be-granted what to-the-soldiers
ipsis tribui oporteret, si vivi vicissent qui morte
themselves to-be-granted it-would-behoove if alive they-had-conquered who by-death
vicerunt.
conquered
