and sympathy for myself. But when Clodius arrived, that raging fiend, at the height of his frenzy, the Roman People could scarcely restrain themselves, men could scarcely help wreaking their hatred upon his foul and abominable person; cries, menacing gestures, loud curses came in a flood from all. But why do I speak of the spirit and courage of the Roman People, when at last after long servitude they had a glimpse of freedom, in their attitude towards a man whom even the actors did not spare to his face as he sat in the audience, though he was then a candidate for an aedileship! For when a comedy,

The Pretender, I fancy, was being performed, the whole company, speaking all together in loud tones, bent forward threateningly and looking straight at the foul wretch, loudly chanted the words,

This, Titus, is the sequel, the end of your vicious life! He sat utterly disconcerted, and the man who used to make his meetings resound with the hoots of a ribald claque was hooted away by the speech of genuine actors. And since I have mentioned theatrical performances, I will not omit to say that, among many and varied reflections in the comedy, there was never a passage, seeming, from the poet's words, to have some bearing on our times, either where the whole People failed to grasp, or where the actor himself failed to give, the special point. And here, gentlemen, I beg you not to think that any spirit of levity has led me to fall into an unusual method of speaking, if I talk about poets, actors, and plays in the course of a trial.

LVI. I am not so ignorant of legal proceedings, gentlemen, not so unaccustomed to speaking, as to hunt for what I intend to say from every kind of subject, and to pluck and pull all kinds of flowers of speech from every source. I know what is due to your dignity, to this body of counsel, that gathering of citizens, what the high character of Publius Sextius, the greatness of his danger, my age, and my position demand. But on this occasion I have undertaken, if I may say so, to instruct our youth, as to who are the "Aristocrats." In making that clear, I must show that not all those are "Friends of the People" who are thought to be so. I shall most easily be able to do that, if I describe the true and uncorrupted
judgment of the whole People, and the inmost feelings of the country. What, then, do you think of this? When news had just been brought to the shows and to the stage of that decree of the Senate which was passed in the Temple of Virtue, before a vast audience a great artist who, upon my soul, has always played a most noble part in public life as well as on the stage, weeping with joy still fresh, with mingled grief and longing for me, pleaded my cause before the Roman People in much weightier words than I could have pleaded myself! For he expressed the genius of a great poet not only by the exercise of his art, but also by his own grief. For while he uttered the words:

Who with firm spirit helped the public cause,
Upheld it, ever stood with the Achivi—
with what force he made it clear that I had stood on your side, as he pointed to your assembled Orders! He was encored by all when he went on to say:

In wavering affairs did never waver
His life to offer, nor did spare his head.

What shouts of applause greeted his performance of this passage, when they took no notice of the acting, but applauded the words of the poet, the earnestness of the actor and the hope of my recall!

Our greatest friend, in this our greatest war.
The actor himself added the words

Endowed with greatest genius
out of friendship for me, and perhaps the spectators approved owing to some regret for my absence.

LVII. A little later in the same play, how the Roman People groused when they heard these words spoken by the same actor!

O my father!
He thought that it was I, I in my absence, who ought to be lamented as a father, whom Quintus Catulus and many others in the Senate had often called “Father of his Country.” How he wept as he spoke of the burning and destruction of my house, when lamenting an exiled father, his afflicted fatherland, his house burnt and ruined, where his acting was so pathetic, that after having described his former prosperity, he turned to the audience with the words

All these things I have seen in flames,
and drew tears even from my enemies and from my detractors! And then again, by heaven, how he declaimed these other words!—

words which seemed to me to have been so delivered and written that they might well have been uttered even by Quintus Catulus; had he come to life again; for he was sometimes in the habit of freely censoring and blaming rashness by the People or error by the Senate:

O thankless Argives, disobliging Greeks,
Forgetful of past kindness!

No, that was not true, for they were not ungrateful, but unfortunate, because they were not permitted to save him who had saved them, nor has anyone ever found one person more grateful to anyone than they have all been to me. But, be that as it may, a most eloquent poet must have written the following words

LVII. Iam illa quanto cum gemitu populi Romani ab eodem paulo post in eadem fabula sunt acta!

O pater—
Me, me ille absentem ut patrem deplorandum putabat, quem Q. Catulus, quem multi alii saepe in senatu patrem patriae nominabant. Quanto cum leuiter de illis nostris incendiae ac ruinis, cum patrem pulsum, patrissiam adjudicatam deploraret, domum incensam iversamque, sic egit, ut, demonstrata pristina fortuna cum se convertisset:

haec omnia vidi inflammari

fletum etiam inimicis atque invidis excitaret! Pro di immortales! quid? illa quem ad modum dixit idem! quaie mihi quidem ita et acta et scripta videntur esse, ut vel a Q. Catulo, si revivissit, praecelse posse dici viderentur; is enim libere reprehenderede et accusare populi non nunquam temperitatem solebat aut errorem senatus:

O ingratiici Argivi, immunes Grai immemores beneficij! Non erat illud quidem verum; non enim ingrati, sed miseri, quibus reddere salutem, a quo acceperant, non liceret, nec unus in quemquam omniam gratior quam in me universi; sed tamen illud scripsit discretissimus
poeta pro me,1 eti fortissimus actor, non solum optimus, de me, cum omnes ordines demonstraret, senatum, equites Romanos, universum populum Romanum accusaret.

exulare sinitis, sistis pelli, pulsum patimini!

Quae tum significatio fuerit omnium, quae declaratio voluntatis ab universo populo Romanum in causa hominis non popularis, equidem audiebam, existinare\textsuperscript{2} facilius possunt, qui adiuerunt.

LVIII. Et quoniam hue me prosexit oratio, histrio caussa meum totiens consacravit, cum icta dolenter ageret causam meam, ut vox eins illa praecelara lacrimis impediretur, neque poetae, quorum ego semper ingenia dilexi, temporini meo defuerunt; caeque populus Romanus non solum plausu, sed etiam gemitu suo comprobavit.

Utrum igitur haec Aesopum potius pro me aut Accius diece oportuit, si populus Romanus liber esset, an principes civitatis? Nominatis sum appellatus in Brutu:

Tullius, qui libertatem civibus stabilivert.

Miliens revocatum est. Parumne videbatur populus Romanus indicare id a me et a senatu esse constitutum, quod perditio cives sublatum per nos crimina bantur? Maximum vero populi Romani iudicum universi consessu gladiatorio declaratum est. Erat

in my interest, and the actor, as remarkable for his courage as for his acting, applied them to me, when he pointed to all the Orders and accused the Senate, the Roman Knights, and the entire Roman People:

A banished man you leave him; you consent,

As you consented to his banishment!

How on that occasion the whole audience indicated their feelings, how the whole Roman People declared their goodwill for a man who was not a “Friend of the People,” I heard by report; those who were present can more readily estimate.

LVIII. And since my speech has led me thus far, the actor bewailed my lot so often, as he pleaded my cause with such emotion, that that splendid voice of his was choked with tears; nor did the poets, whose talents have always been my delight, fail me in my trouble; and the Roman People showed, not only by applause but also by lamentation, how much they approved of these allusions. Ought then Aesopus or Accius to have pleaded thus for me, had the Roman People been free, or ought the chief men of the State? In the Brutus\textsuperscript{3} I was mentioned by name:

Tullius,\textsuperscript{4} who stablished safe the people’s freedom.

The line was encored a thousand times. Did the Roman People fail to express their judgment, that what scoundrels charged us with overthrowing had in fact been established by myself and the Senate? But the strongest expression of the judgment of the whole Roman People was plainly given by an audience at gladiatorial games. They were a show given by

Scipio, one worthy both of the giver and of Quintus Metellus in whose honour it was given.\textsuperscript{5} And it was that kind of show which is attended by crowds of all classes in great numbers, and which has a special charm for the masses. Into that crowd of spectators came Publius Sestius, then tribune of the commons, who was wholly devoted to my cause during his term of office; he came and showed himself to the People, not that he was eager for applause, but he wished that our enemies themselves might recognize the goodwill of the whole Roman People. He came, as you know, from the Maenian Column.\textsuperscript{6} At once from all the spectators’ seats right down from the Capitol, and from all the barriers of the Forum, there were heard such shouts of applause, that it was said that the whole Roman People had never shown greater nor more manifest unanimity in any cause. Where then were those who lord over meetings, who tyrannize over laws, who drive citizens into exile? Or have those traitors some other People of their own, to whom I have been odious and hateful?

LIX. I for my part think that there has never been a greater crowd than at that gladiatorial show, neither at any meeting nor indeed at any Assembly. What then did this countless throng of men, this unanimous expression of the feeling of the entire Roman People, at the very time when it was

\textsuperscript{1} poeta: poet

\textsuperscript{2} existinare: understand

\textsuperscript{3} Brutus

\textsuperscript{4} Tullius

\textsuperscript{5} Scipio

\textsuperscript{6} Maenian Column