

[Realpolitik and the Transactional Nature of Cicero's Alliance with Octavian](#)

1) ***De Re Publica* 6.13**

sed quo sis, Africane, alacrior ad tutandam rem publicam, sic habeto, omnibus, qui patriam conservaverint, adiuerint, auxerint, certum esse in caelo definitum locum, ubi beati aevo sempiterno fruuntur; nihil est enim illi principi deo, qui omnem mundum regit, quod quidem in terris fiat, acceptius quam concilia coetusque hominum iure sociati, quae civitates appellantur; harum rectores et conservatores hinc profecti huc revertuntur.

But, Africanus, be assured of this, so that you may be even more eager to defend the commonwealth: all those who have preserved, aided, or enlarged their fatherland have a special place prepared for them in the heavens, where they may enjoy an eternal life of happiness. For nothing of all that is done on earth is more pleasing to that supreme God who rules the whole universe than the assemblies and gatherings of men associated in justice, which are called States. Their rulers and preservers come from that place, and to that place they return.

2) **August Ludwig von Rochau's Four Assertions (trans. J. Bew)**

- ❖ That the law of the strong is the determining factor in politics
- ❖ That the most effective government is the one that incorporates the powerful social forces in the state and balances them
- ❖ That ideas matter but immoral ideas are just as important as moral ones
- ❖ That the *Zeitgeist* is the most important factor in determining the future of a nation's politics

3) **John Bew's Two Acts of Statescraft**

- ❖ To identify the contending social, economic, and ideological forces struggling for supremacy within the state
- ❖ To attempt to achieve some equilibrium and balance among those forces so that they would not hinder the development of the nation-state

4) ***De Officiis* 1.77 (c. November 44 BCE)**

illud autem optimum est, in quod invadi solere ab improbis et invidis audio cedant arma toga concedat laurea laudi. ut enim alios omittam, nobis rem publicam gubernantibus nonne togae arma cesserunt? neque enim periculum in re publica fuit gravius umquam nec maius otium. ita consiliis diligentiaque nostra celeriter de manibus audacissimorum civium delapsa arma ipsa ceciderunt.

The whole truth, however, is in this verse, against Cicero's great victory. which, I am told, the malicious and envious are wont to rail: "Yield, ye arms, to the toga; to civic praises, ye laurels." Not to mention other instances, did not arms yield to the toga, when I was at the helm of state? For never was the republic in more serious peril, never was peace more profound. Thus, as the result of my counsels and my vigilance, their weapons slipped suddenly from the hands of the most desperate traitors—dropped to the ground of their own accord!

5) ***Pro Lege Manilia* 29 (The *Virtutes Imperatoriae* of Pompey)**

neque enim illae sunt solae virtutes imperatoriae, quae volgo existimantur,—labor in negotiis, fortitudo in periculis, industria in agendo, celeritas in conficiendo, consilium in providiando: quae tanta sunt in hoc uno, quanta in omnibus reliquis imperatoribus, quos aut vidimus aut audivimus, non fuerunt.

For the qualities proper to a general are not only those which are commonly supposed to be so—application to duty, courage in danger, thoroughness in operation, rapidity in execution, wisdom in strategy—qualities which are possessed in greater measure by Pompeius alone than by all other generals whom we have seen or heard of.

6) ***Ad Familiares* 11.20.1 (Decimus Brutus to Cicero, 24 May 43)**

saepe enim mihi cum esset dictum neque a me contemptum, novissime Labeo Segulius, homo sui simillimus, narrat mihi apud Caesarem se fuisse multumque sermonem de te habitum esse; ipsum Caesarem nihil sane de te questum, nisi dictum quod diceret te dixisse, laudandum adolescentem, ornandum, tollendum; se non esse commissurum, ut tolli posset. Hoc ego Labeonem credo illi rettulisse aut finxisse dictum, non ab adolescente prolatum

Here is something I have often been told and have not thought negligible—my latest informant is Labeo Segulius (he never acts out of character), who tells me that he has been with Caesar and that a good deal of talk about you took place. Caesar, he says, made no complaints about you to be sure, except for a remark which he attributed to you: ‘the young man must get praises, honours, and—the push.’ He added that he had no intention of letting himself get the push. I believe that the remark was repeated to him (or invented) by Labeo, not produced by the young man.

7) ***Philippica* 5.23 (1 January 43 BCE)**

atque ille furens infesta iam patriae signa a Brundisio inferebat, cum C. Caesar deorum immortalium beneficio, divina animi, ingenii, consilii magnitudine, quamquam sua sponte eximiaque virtute, tamen adprobatione auctoritatis meae colonias patrias adiit, veteranos milites convocavit, paucis diebus exercitum fecit, incitatos latronum impetus retardavit.

And now in his rage he was bringing hostile standards from Brundisium against his native land, when Gaius Caesar intervened: by grace of the immortal gods and by godlike greatness of heart, mind, and judgment, of his own volition and noble impulse though not without the approval of my authority, he visited his father’s colonies, called the veteran soldiers together, created an army in a matter of days, and put a brake on the rapid rush of the bandits.

*All translations of Latin texts are taken from the respective Loeb Classical Library text.*

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